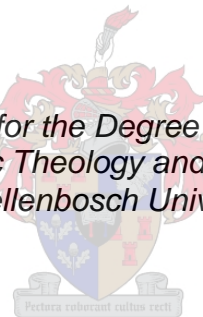


**Calvinistic Baptists in Jamaica? A historical-theological study of the relationship  
between the theology and work of five pioneering missionaries in Jamaica.**

**by**

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*Dissertation presented for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
in Systematic Theology and Ecclesiology  
at Stellenbosch University*



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Prof. Retief Muller and Prof. Dion Forster**

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## **DECLARATION**

By submitting this dissertation electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof, that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Sheldon Kirk Yohannes Campbell

March, 2021

## ABSTRACT

This study examines the theology and work of five Baptist missionaries (George Liele, John Rowe, William Knibb, Thomas Burchell, and James M. Phillippo) who came to Jamaica during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century. It purports that there has not been any previous collective study of Calvinistic Baptist missions from 1782 to 1879 in Jamaica. Furthermore, it argues that these men's theology was largely influenced by Calvinistic theology, which they affirmed and that this in part was responsible for the resilience they had despite the many challenges and trials they had in Jamaica.

To test the validity of his claim, the author examines each of the five men's lives, including their birth, family of origin, education, teachings, speeches, publications, work, character and death. Additionally, he discusses the origin, history, and theology of Calvinistic Baptists to examine how widespread it was during the late eighteenth and late nineteenth century to demonstrate the likelihood that all five men held to this view.

He also analyses if they affirmed God's sovereignty and providence through Arminian, Calvinist, General Baptist and Particular Baptist confessions to locate where they were theologically. This analysis seeks to ascertain whether their views were more in keeping with Calvinism to deduce if they were Particular Baptists or not. Thus, he surveys if they affirmed God's providence in salvation through Arminian, Calvinist, General Baptist and Particular Baptist confessions and the acronym TULIP (total depravity, unlimited election, limited atonement, irresistible grace and the perseverance of the saints) for each of the four confessions. The reason for this approach is that the Calvinistic doctrines which are usually more emphasised or distinguishable in the lives of believers would be in terms of how they view God's sovereignty, providence and God's providence in salvation (namely through the acronym TULIP).

The author also highlights the positive impact that these five Baptist missionaries made in missions, education, health care, social and economic development and character development too, and partially attributes it to their Calvinistic convictions.

Finally, he argues that learning Church History has many advantages. For instance, it can help Christians to avoid mistakes in the past (such as being suspicious of Calvinism). Also, it can assist in informing denominations which unintentionally excluded important areas of their history regarding their origins and the reasons why they did what they did in the past and how that knowledge may benefit them going forward.

## OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie ondersoek die teologie en werk van vyf Baptiste-sendelinge (George Liele, John Rowe, William Knibb, Thomas Burchell en James M. Phillippo) wat gedurende die 18de en 19de eeu na Jamaika gekom het. Dit argumenteer dat daar geen vorige kollektiewe studie van Calvinistiese Baptiste-sendings van 1782 tot 1879 in Jamaika was nie. Verder beweer dit dat hierdie mense se teologie grotendeels beïnvloed is deur die Calvinistiese teologie, wat hulle onderskraag het en dat dit deels verantwoordelik was vir die entoesiasme wat hulle gehad het ondanks die vele uitdagings en beproewings wat hulle in Jamaika gehad het.

Om die geldigheid van sy argument te toets, ondersoek die outeur elk van die vyf mense se lewens, insluitend hul geboorte, familie van herkoms, opvoeding, leerstellings, toesprake, publikasies, werk, karakter en dood. Verder bespreek hy die oorsprong, geskiedenis en teologie van Calvinistiese Baptiste om te verstaan hoe wydverspreid dit gedurende die laat agtiende en laat negentiende eeu was ten einde aan te toon dat dit waarskynlik was dat al vyf mans hierdie siening gehuldig het.

Die studie bespreek ook die sieninge van God se soewereiniteit en voorsienigheid onder Arminiaanse, Calvinistiese, Algemene Baptiste en Besondere Baptiste-belydenisse.. Hierdie analise poog om vas te stel of hulle sienings meer ooreenstem met die Calvinisme om te bepaal of dit spesifieke baptiste was of nie. Daar word dus gevra of en how hulle God se voorsienigheid in redding bevestig het deur Arminiaanse, Calvinistiese, Algemene Baptiste en Besondere Baptiste-belydenisse en die afkorting TULIP (totale verdorwenheid, onbeperkte verkiesing, beperkte versoening, onweerstaanbare genade en die volharding van die heiliges) binne die konteks van die vier geloofstradisies. Die rede vir hierdie benadering is dat die Calvinistiese leerstellings wat gewoonlik duidelik of onderskeibaar is in die lewens van gelowiges, sou te voorskyn kom in terme van hoe hulle God se soewereiniteit, voorsienigheid en God se voorsienigheid in redding beskou (naamlik deur die akroniem TULIP).

Die skrywer beklemtoon ook die positiewe impak wat hierdie vyf Baptiste-sendelinge op missies, onderwys, gesondheidsorg, sosiale en ekonomiese ontwikkeling en karakterontwikkeling gehad het, en hy skryf dit gedeeltelik toe aan hul Calvinistiese oortuigings.

Ten slotte voer hy aan dat die studie van Kerkgeskiedenis baie voordele inhou. Dit kan Christene byvoorbeeld help om foute in die verlede te vermy (soos om agterdogtig te wees oor Calvinisme). Dit kan ook help om denominasies in te lig wat onbewustelik belangrike dele van hul geskiedenis uitgesluit het aangaande hul herkoms, die redes waarom hulle gedoen het wat hulle in die verlede gedoen het aan te dui en om kennis te bied wat tot hul voordeel kan strek.

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I would like to say thanks to Professor Michael Haykin from Southern Baptist Theological Seminary who told me to consider working with Calvinistic Baptists. He gave me the names of William Knibb, Thomas Burchell, and James M. Phillippo when I was having difficulty choosing a denomination.

I would also like to thank Mikaela Levons for helping to edit my work and for giving me excellent feedback when I requested it.

I would also like to thank my first supervisor Prof. Retief Muller who had been with me for the past three years as this progressed from an idea to the research proposal and now dissertation. Your contribution has been indelible. However, I must also express my gratitude to Prof Dion Forster (my second supervisor) who assisted me with the completion of the work. Prof. Muller was unable to do so, through a new assignment in the U.S. Nonetheless, he graciously conducted a final review of my doctoral thesis and for this I am very grateful.

I would like to especially thank my wife Sara and boys Isaiah and Elijah that allowed me to devote the necessary time to pursue this study. I recognise your sacrifice, and I am so appreciative.

## **DEDICATION**

I will like to dedicate this work to the many faithful missionaries that left the comforts of their homes and countries to travel to Jamaica to share the gospel of Jesus Christ here. I know many died prematurely, and for some, their wives and children may have even preceded them in death, but they continued investing in this island, which they believed God had called them to serve. We are forever grateful for their sacrifice!



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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

<b>BMS</b>	Baptist Missionary Society
<b>CGJ</b>	Church of God in Jamaica
<b>CGP</b>	Church of God of Prophecy
<b>CRCA</b>	Christian Reformed Churches of Australia
<b>CTC</b>	Calabar Theological College
<b>JBMS</b>	Jamaica Baptist Missionary Society
<b>NRSV</b>	New Revised Standard Version
<b>NTCG</b>	New Testament Church of God
<b>OCG</b>	Other Church of God
<b>SDA</b>	Seventh-Day Adventists
<b>TULIP</b>	Total Depravity, Unlimited Atonement, Limited Atonement, Irresistible Grace, Perseverance of the Saints
<b>WRBC</b>	Windward Road Baptist Church
<b>YBC</b>	Yeovil Baptist Church

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## CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background and Motivation

Basic knowledge of Church history provides Christians and churches with many benefits, such as, identifying and avoiding doctrinal errors, understanding doctrinal formulation, and learning their denomination's history, beliefs and practices. However, sometimes this subject in the church has been taken for granted or excluded based on several reasons. While, this may not have been deliberate, it is crucial to understand that learning about church history may protect believers from repeating some of the problems of the past, namely doctrinal errors. Thus, churches need to seek to ascertain how their denominations came about and what role theology played at the time. Therefore, learning about how churches/denominations formulated their doctrines then should assist believers today in terms of how they view and practice theology in their context.

With that in mind, this study attempts to show that five pioneering<sup>1</sup> Baptist missionaries, George Liele, John Rowe, James M. Phillippo, Thomas Burchell, and William Knibb that came to Jamaica were Calvinists<sup>2</sup>. It argues that their Calvinistic theology had a bearing on the work which they accomplished.

In 1782, George Liele became the first Baptist missionary to travel to Jamaica (Akin 2012:85). He was followed by John Rowe, who arrived in 1814 as the first Baptist missionary from the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) in England. The BMS was originally called, "the **Particular Baptist** Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Amongst the Heathen" (Rippon 1793:371-378;485, emphasis added). In 1823, nine years after Rowe,

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<sup>1</sup> The term "pioneering" is being used to mean within the first 50 years of entering Jamaica, i.e. from Liele in 1782 to Knibb who came last in 1824. Furthermore, Rowe, Burchell, Phillippo and Knibb came between 1814 and 1824. Only a few Baptist missionaries came to Jamaica in half a century (see table 1 on pages 15-16).

<sup>2</sup> Calvinist is "one who adheres to theological thought developed by John Calvin (1509-64) and his followers" (McKim 1996:36).

James M. Phillippo landed and settled in Jamaica. A few months later, Thomas Burchell arrived in Jamaica in 1824, and then William Knibb came in 1825.

All these five missionaries spent the majority of the rest of their lives in Jamaica, and all died in Jamaica, except for Burchell who went back home to London as he was ill.

John Rowe was the first to die being only two years after he arrived in 1816 (Falmouth, Jamaica). The next missionary to die was George Liele who had served for 46 years in Jamaica and passed away in 1828. Liele's death was followed by William Knibb who died in 1845 in the parish of Falmouth, Jamaica. Knibb's service to Jamaica spanned 20 years. Then came, Thomas Burchell, who died in 1846 (London, United Kingdom) served for about 21 years in Jamaica. The last of the five missionaries to die was James M. Phillippo who served the people of Jamaica for 56 years before dying in 1879. By 1879, the five missionaries had all died, and the author will consider their contribution to the Jamaican society in this thesis.

Rowe and Burchell attended Bristol Academy (Baptist Missionary Society 1813:289; 1823:522), while Phillippo was trained at the Horton Academy (Underhill 1881:21). The researcher believes these details are significant based on Baptist Pastor and author Peter Shepherd (2011, emphasis added) who reports that,

The **Particular Baptist Academy** at Little Horton, on the outskirts of Bradford in the West Riding of Yorkshire, commenced its work in 1806 in a converted warehouse, rented for the purpose by the Northern Education Society (known from 1817 as the Northern Baptist Education Society)... it was unanimously agreed that a society be formed 'for the purpose of encouraging pious young men, recommended by the churches to which they belong, persons of promising abilities for the Ministry' (Minutes of Northern Education Society, 24 May 1804). The resolution referred to the good work done by academies for training ministers in other parts of the country, specifically mentioning the **Bristol Baptist Academy**, at that time the only such institution among the **Particular Baptists**."



This indicates that both Horton Academy and Bristol Baptist Academy were specifically for Particular Baptist students. Therefore, Rowe, Burchell and Phillippo attended institutions, which were for Particular Baptist students.

Hayden (2011) advised that, “The ministers at Broadmead Baptist Church, Bristol, from 1720 to 1825, were also principals and tutors of the academy”. Additionally, Payne (1958:61) noted that Bristol Academy and the Broadmead Baptist Church “both accepted the 1689 Baptist Confession of Faith as their doctrinal standard until 1832, when the basis of the Baptist Union changed to admit ministers and churches who ‘agree in the sentiments usually denominated evangelical’”. Thus, Rowe, Knibb, Burchell would have affirmed this 1689 Baptist Confession of Faith, since they all attended those institutions before 1832. In chapter 5, I will explain that the 1689 Baptist Confession of Faith was written by Particular Baptists and demonstrate that this is a Calvinistic Baptist confession.

Calvinistic Baptists are Baptists that affirm Calvinism. This study sought to assess whether the four men from the BMS were “Particular Baptists”. Therefore, it examined them individually to see if that was true. For the sake of historical analysis, “Calvinistic Baptists” and “Particular Baptists” are generally treated as the same (Baptist Missionary Society 1823:23; Bisnauth 1989:119; Haykin 1992:304; 2010:277; Cooke 2013:143; Morden 2016:67). Elliott (2007:5) notes that Particular Baptists “retained more Calvinistic theology than the more inclusive General Baptists allowed: ‘Particular’ here denotes the belief in a ‘particular’ atonement, limited to the elect.”

Ryland (1818) suggests that,

**The Particular Baptists espouse the Calvinistic sentiments**, on what are called the **Five Points**; namely, [1.] That the elect were eternally foreordained to holiness, obedience, and happiness, as the end, through sanctification and the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus, as the means of obtaining that end, to the glory of sovereign grace: [2.] That the peculiar blessings of redemption, purchased by the death of Christ, are actually imparted only to the elect, all of whom shall certainly enjoy them; [3.] That mankind are so universally and totally depraved, that they never

can be brought back to God, without the powerful influence of the Holy Spirit: [4.] That the special operations of the Divine Spirit are invincibly efficacious, and cannot be frustrated by the rebellious will of man: [5.] That all who are truly regenerated shall persevere in grace, to glory (p. 4, emphasis added).

Jamaica is known to have one of the highest number of churches per square mile in the world (Olsen 1999:64; Chang 2011). According to the most recent census in 2011, about 6.7% of Jamaican churches are Baptist (Central Intelligence Agency 2020). In the Jamaica Baptist Union, there are presently 334 Jamaican Baptist churches (Jamaica Baptist Union n.d.). However, there are several other Baptist churches in Jamaica, including independent Baptists (GARBC International 2011), Jamaica Free Baptists (Jamaica National Heritage Trust 2011), Spiritual Baptists (King 2017), Seventh Day Baptists (Jamaica Seventh Day Baptist Conference n.d.), and Reformed Baptists<sup>3</sup> (Grace Reformed Baptist Church is located at 33 Red Hills Road, Kingston 10, Jamaica). Grace Reformed Baptist Church is possibly the only Calvinistic Baptist congregation in Jamaica.

For the most part, the researcher argues that Jamaican Baptist Churches have a Calvinistic heritage since they have resulted from the works of at least the five missionaries under review. However, he believes this is not something that most Baptist leaders would know or acknowledge. But, Baptist history, particularly in its formative years in Jamaica, was influenced by Calvinistic theology. Thus, many of the pioneering Baptist missionaries coming to Jamaica would have subscribed to that particular school of thought. This realisation is critically important from a Church historical standpoint. Moreover, Calvinistic soteriology did play a part in these missionaries' life and work.

The researcher also believes most modern Jamaican Baptist churches have gravitated towards Arminianism and not Calvinism because they were never taught about the latter. However, Calvinism is a part of their history, considered to be orthodoxy in evangelicalism (Ursinus & Olevianus 1563; Driggers 2013:34; Ellis 2020:204), and in the past played a

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<sup>3</sup> Reformed Baptists are Calvinistic Baptists. However, this term was not used in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and 19<sup>th</sup> century.

significantly positive role in the lives of individuals, families, communities, churches, schools, and businesses in Jamaica.

In the Jamaican context, Calvinism is not widely known in the Baptist denominations and almost all other denominations.<sup>4</sup> According to the *Population and Housing Census 2011 Jamaica: General Report*, six Christian denominations experienced growth since the last census in 2001 based on persons' religious affiliation (The Statistical Institute of Jamaica 2012:xv). They were as follows:

1. Seventh-Day Adventists (SDA) increased by 14.53% and had 322,228 persons.
2. Pentecostals had a 19.29% increase (highest) and reported 295,195 persons.
3. Other Church of God (OCG) had a 14.36% increase and 246,838 persons.
4. The New Testament Church of God (NTCG) grew 17.19% and had 192,086 persons.
5. Church of God of Prophecy (CGP) increased by 7.22% and had 121,400 persons.
6. Church of God in Jamaica (CGJ) grew 4.32% and had 129,544 persons.

These statistics demonstrate, in Jamaica, a growing trend in evangelical denominations and a declining trend in mainline denominations such as the Anglicans (-20%), Roman Catholics (-13.8%), United Church (-13.7%), Methodists (-13.4%), Moravians (-12.5%), Baptists (-4.3%), and Brethren (-2.4%). If we were to group the Pentecostals with OCG, NTCG, CGP and CGJ as they are all pentecostal in nature, it is likely that we would see a greater tendency towards Arminianism.<sup>5</sup> This Arminian tendency would be the same for

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<sup>4</sup> For instance, The United Church in Jamaica and the Cayman Islands (UCJCI) is the result of a merger among the Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Disciples of Christ Churches ("About Us – The United Church in Jamaica and the Cayman Islands" n.d.). On November 17, 2020, UCJCI was still listed under the World Communion of Reformed Churches (see <https://canaac.wrc.ch/member-churches.html>). Therefore, it affirms or is affiliated with the Reformed tradition in Jamaica. McKim (1996:36) notes that Calvinism "is also called the Reformed tradition". However, with the UCJCI's merger, one is unaware of how many churches within the denominations have pastors and congregants that hold to the Reformed tradition as it is not a requirement. Moreover, Reformed doctrine or soteriology is not reflected in their section entitled "our values". On November 17, 2020, their website noted that "the UCJCI has approximately 14,000 members in 194 congregations" ("About Us – The United Church in Jamaica and the Cayman Islands" n.d.). This observation would generally be the case for other denominations too.

<sup>5</sup> Horton (1994:50) notes that, "most Pentecostals tend toward the Arminian system of theology, seeing the necessity for response to the gospel and to the Holy Spirit on the part of the individual".

the SDA church, and most of the mainline denominations as well. Moreover, this growth in Pentecostalism in Jamaica is in keeping with global trends too.<sup>6</sup>

Therefore, bringing awareness of the positive role Calvinism has played locally and globally is very important. Furthermore, it informs Baptists and other evangelicals in Jamaica that Calvinism is a very robust theological system, which has existed as orthodoxy much longer than Arminianism (Ursinus & Olevianus 1563; Driggers 2013:34; Ellis 2020:204). Moreover, studying Jamaica's Baptist history may help in not only understanding their tradition - including present Baptist beliefs and practices – or lack of tradition (its Calvinistic heritage), but it may even help in reassessing common church practices within the Baptist denomination.

## 1.2 Problem Statement and Focus

Despite the worldwide recognition of the pioneering work of Baptist missionaries in Jamaica, namely George Liele<sup>7</sup> and the BMS individuals such as John Rowe, William Knibb, James M. Phillippo, and Thomas Burchell from England during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century in Jamaica there has been virtually no extensive study of their collective theological position (s). In addition, no one has conducted a scholarly examination of the commonalities and differences of these missionaries' theologies. I posit that these five missionaries' theologies can be distilled into the system of Calvinistic Baptist theology.

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<sup>6</sup> Hefner (2013;1) notes that, "the worldwide communion of Pentecostals and charismatic Christians may include as many as 500 or even 600 million people. Even if only approximate, this figure bespeaks an extraordinary change in global Christianity. It means that more than one-fourth of the world's Christians are Pentecostal or charismatic; among Christian denominations, Pentecostalism is second only to Roman Catholicism in its demographic girth".

<sup>7</sup> George's surname was either spelt Liele, Leile, or Lisle. My direct quotes from sources includes these three spelling variations, but my first preference will be to use Liele.

## 1.3 Prior Study

### 1.3.1 Selection

Of the five Baptist missionaries who have been selected for this dissertation, one came from America (George Liele), while the other four (John Rowe, James M. Phillippo, and Thomas Burchell and William Knibb) came from the same organisation in England (Cooke 2013:129). Examining the contribution of George Liele was an obvious choice as he was the first Baptist missionary to Jamaica in 1782.<sup>8</sup> However, the process was not as straightforward with the other four men. According to Russell (1993:19), the BMS had sent a total of 42 missionaries between 1814 and 1832 to Jamaica. However, I chose only these four persons based on their pioneering work and contribution.<sup>9</sup> The author selected John Rowe because he was the first missionary to come from BMS to Jamaica. At the same time, the author chose James M. Phillippo, Thomas Burchell and William Knibb, who came in quick succession because of their success in helping to abolish slavery and in promoting education (Hinton 1847:136-137, 144, 151-152, 295; Catherall 1966:349-350; Bisnauth 1989:135; Hall 1993:103; 2002:86-88; Masters 2006:29).

### 1.3.2 Theology

Through literature review, I have found resources that discussed some aspects of the theology held by the pioneering Baptist missionaries to Jamaica named above. However, to my knowledge, a collective study of these missionaries has not been carried out.

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<sup>8</sup> This date should be significant, because William Carey a Calvinistic Baptist was the first missionary of the BMS, and is known to be the "father of modern day missions", but George Liele had preceded him by more than ten years on the mission field (Akin 2012:85). Additionally, Liele had supposedly established the first black congregation in America (Silver Buff, South Carolina), as well as the first black Baptist church in America (Savannah, George). In 1888, after adjudication by the African Missionary Baptist State Convention on the matter, it was decided that Liele had established the latter (Cooke 2013: 110-111).

<sup>9</sup> These four came within the first decade of John Rowe's arrival, i.e. between 1814 and 1824. William Knibb came last out of the four (Masters 2006:9). While Masters (2006:9) suggests that Knibb was only preceded by six BMS missionaries at the time, my research indicates at least twice that amount (see table 1 on pages 15-16 and Cox 1842:12-52).

1. There have been several books and literature regarding George Liele, and in them, they have written about his theology. However, they did not all agree on his central school of thought, i.e. whether he was a Calvinist or Arminian (Russell 1993:11; Holifield 2005:310; Akin 2012:96). Moreover, there is not a consensus on the soundness of his theology as well (Love (1888: 35; Gayle 1982:14; Cooke 2013:117). Nonetheless, in this thesis, I sought to show from his statements, testimony, practices, associations with members of the BMS and Bristol Academy that he was likely a Calvinist.

2. John Rowe studied at Bristol Academy, which was a Particular Baptist institution under Dr. John Ryland (Baptist Missionary Society 1823:522; Payne 1958:61; Shepherd 2011). Ryland was a known Particular Baptist, but there have been differing views concerning whether he was either a moderate, strict or high Calvinist (Daniel 1983:17; Naylor 2007:54; Cross 2017:364). Rowe would have also learnt theology from his pastor Rev. Thomas Price, who made statements that would be deemed Calvinistic in nature (Baptist Missionary Society 1817:405). Accordingly, the argument was made that Rowe was a Calvinist too.

3. Thomas Burchell was listed as a Particular or Calvinistic Baptist minister (Baptist Missionary Society 1823:23). His literature was published in the Particular Baptist Magazine Catherall (1966:352). Burchell attended Bristol Academy, which was a Particular Baptist institution (Baptist Missionary Society 1823:522; Payne 1958:61; Shepherd 2011). His testimony was consistent with a Calvinistic understanding (Burchell 1849:169). Altogether, I suggested that he was a Calvinist in this doctoral thesis.

4. James M. Phillippo confessional statements were consistent with Calvinism (Underhill 1881:323,11-12; Baptist Missionary Society 1824:42). He attended Horton Academy, which was a Particular Baptist institution (Underhill 1881:21; Payne 158:61; Shepherd 2011). Moreover, his association with BMS at the time likely meant he was a Calvinist too. The author purported this view of Phillippo in this study.

5. William Knibb grew up attending a Calvinistic Baptist Sunday School at the Kettering Independent Church (Masters 2006:9). Subsequently, he went to Broadmead Baptist Church, which was a Particular Baptist church at the time that was pastored by Dr. Ryland (Payne 1958:61; Masters 2006:9; Shepherd 2011). Additionally, Knibb made statements that were consistent with Calvinism (Hinton 1847:108, 27, 30, 541-542; Smith 1896:111). Thus, I sought to demonstrate that Knibb affirmed Calvinism as well.

#### 1.4 Central Claim

The central claim of this study is that Liele, Rowe, Knibb, Phillippo, and Burchell were likely Calvinists and their significant contributions between 1782 and 1879 in Jamaica might be partly<sup>10</sup> due to them having Calvinistic views.<sup>11</sup>

#### 1.5 Objectives

##### 1.5.1 Primary Objective

The primary objective of the study was to examine the lives of five<sup>12</sup> pioneering Baptist missionaries (George Liele, John Rowe, Thomas Burchell, James Phillippo and William Knibb) who came to Jamaica between 1782 and 1879. The purpose is to present a credible historical argument that these men were Calvinists and to see how Jamaican Baptists might benefit from that knowledge.

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<sup>10</sup> The word “partly” was carefully chosen as Calvinism was very likely influential in Liele, Rowe, Burchell, Phillippo and Knibb’s thought, but they likely drew from other sources as well.

<sup>11</sup> Calvinistic soteriological views give motivations to missions (Newton 1824:52; Spurgeon 1856:230; Stewart 2009:78; DeYoung 2015:45-68).

<sup>12</sup> This research would typically have been to examine the population, i.e. the lives of all Calvinist Baptist missionaries who arrived and worked in Jamaica between 1782 and 1879. However, the researcher chose to limit the study based on reasons given in 1.3.1 and 1.8.

### 1.5.2 Secondary Objectives

The study will achieve the primary objective by dividing it into three secondary objectives.

The three secondary objectives are:

1. To explain Calvinist Baptist theology, and how prevalent was it between 1782 and 1879.
2. To inform Jamaican Baptists about their Calvinistic origin.
3. To highlight the contribution(s) of Calvinist Baptists.

### 1.6. Research Questions

Since the problem which inspired this research project has been presented along with the objectives that the study seeks to obtain, it is essential to consider the key questions that influenced this undertaking too.

#### **Key Questions:**

1. What was the contribution of Liele, Rowe, Knibb, Phillippo, and Burchell between 1782 and 1879 in Jamaica?
2. What is Calvinistic baptistic theology and how prevalent was it between 1782 and 1879?
3. What supporting evidence exists for these five Baptist missionaries being Calvinistic and it possibly influencing their accomplishments?

To address question 3, the author covered the following areas:

1. God's sovereignty and providence;
2. God's providence in salvation; and
3. Missions, education, social and economic development, and character development.



## 1.7 Research Design and Methodology

### 1.7.1 Research Design

The proposed study falls within the field of church history. Solving the main problem will require three major steps. First, the study will highlight the contributions of Liele, Rowe, Knibb, Phillippo, and Burchell between 1782 and 1879 in Jamaica. Then, it will define Calvinistic Baptist theology, and determine how prevalent it was between 1782 and 1879. Next, it will examine what supporting evidence exists for these five Baptist missionaries being Calvinistic, and it possibly influencing their accomplishments? Because of the broad scope that was utilised to address the third major step, it was prudent to break it down into three mini-steps. Beginning with God's sovereignty and providence, then God's providence in salvation, and finally, missions, education, social and economic development, and character development.

My research methodology is solely a historical-theological approach, which incorporates history and theology.

### 1.7.2 Methodology and Approach

This doctoral thesis is designed as an examination of both history and theology. This approach is due to requiring both a Church history component on Baptists (particularly five missionaries) and theology component to ascertain whether they were Calvinists. Thus, collectively it is a historical-theological study. However, to do this twin-approach, it was necessary for the proper use of historiography to aid the process. Historiography, as Vann (2020) explains, allows how one may write a historical narrative to a large extent from a careful study of sources and using specific details from them responsibly.

Furthermore, historiography is not only interested in ensuring the truth of what happened in the past, but it entails learning the reasons why it happened to find the importance and relevance of the event (s). As a result, actively engaging in interactions of historians along

the same topic to ascertain what they believe should prove helpful. However, the outcome of our process must be consistent with an authentic approach to explaining history.

Charles Busha and Stephen Harter (1980:91) suggest six steps for conducting historical research:

1. Acknowledging a historical problem or recognising that certain historical knowledge is required.
2. Obtaining the maximum amount of relevant information about the problem or topic.
3. If suitable, create a hypothesis that preliminarily describes the relationships between historical factors.
4. Collecting and organising evidence in an extremely thorough way, and verifying the legitimacy and truth of information and its sources.
5. Selecting, organising, and analysing the most relevant evidence that was collected, and drawing conclusions; and
6. Recording conclusions about the narrative in a meaningful way.

According to Osborne (1991: 297), there are deductive and inductive approaches to theological reasoning. Deductive reasoning emerges from general beliefs or facts to arrive at specific conclusions, while inductive reasoning emerges from specific beliefs or facts to arrive at general conclusions. Corcoran (1989:18) notes that the interaction or argumentation of sources upon known hypotheses may provide the means or support to confirm their validity. Moreover, when these argumentations deduce that the known claims are true, then it is a deductive methodology. Nonetheless, deductive reasoning, like all approaches to hypothesis testing, has the potential to give false conclusions (Tucker 2009:93). However, even if the conclusions are true, the basis of the argument may be false. As a result, in that case, more information was needed to be incorporated into the model (pp. 263-264). In this doctoral thesis, I sought to employ a more deductive than inductive approach. Also, I am not testing a hypothesis, but rather arguing or putting forward a central claim (see section 1.4).

I did not conduct any empirical research. I analysed primary textual sources (letters, articles, sermons, and speeches from George Liele, John Rowe, William Knibb, James Phillippo, and Thomas Burchell), along with secondary sources (journals, books, etc.) to evaluate the central claim about Calvinistic Baptist missions in Jamaica. Besides, their implicit beliefs revealed in their actual behaviour and actions was incorporated in the study to attest to their theological position.

The researcher attempted to obtain a few primary sources relating to the four BMS missionaries and their work in Jamaica from the library of Regent's Park College, University of Oxford, London. However, the Coronavirus pandemic has caused the library to be closed and no access to these resources. As a result, the researcher has had to also rely on secondary sources which should be considered sufficient in this case. Additionally, this dissertation looked at several different missionaries, and thus the comparative nature of the work reduced the need for primary sources. In other words, primary sources would have been far more important had the researcher focus on a single figure.

It is also important to note that missionaries' literature would sometimes involve the request of financial and other support for various causes from their missionary organisations. Therefore, the positive way in which the missionaries and their work were highlighted should be considered when reading the reports that were prepared and sent by them or others (Nehrbass & Dunaetz 2018:388-389).

To answer key question 1, I attempted, for the most part, to relate the data by delineating each missionary's contribution to the Baptist church and society in Jamaica. Therefore, assessing the effects of their contributions involved a qualitative analysis of the literature.

To address key question 2, I examined the history and theology of Calvinistic Baptists, and whether the places where these missionaries were coming from, for instance, countries (USA and England), churches, schools (Bristol Baptist Academy and Horton Academy) and an organisation (BMS) taught Calvinism during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century,

and how widespread it was in those places at the time. Additionally, I sought to learn how prevalent Calvinism was in Jamaica at the time.

To answer key question 3 - similar to question 1 - I also, for the most part, related the data, but the assessment only entailed a qualitative analysis of the literature. Altogether, my findings from these helped me to conclude whether each Baptist missionary had a greater degree to be a Calvinist or Arminian. I did this exercise for each of the five missionaries.

### 1.8 Specific Contribution of the Dissertation

This thesis presents a collective study of Calvinistic Baptist missions in Jamaica, which has never been accomplished before. It also argued that the significant contributions of George Liele, John Rowe, William Knibb, James M. Phillippo, and Thomas Burchell in Jamaica was partly due to them having Calvinistic views. It also advises Jamaican Baptist Churches about their Calvinistic heritage and the importance of learning Church history. Therefore, it presents a challenge to the popular Arminian theological view held by most Jamaican Baptist churches.

### 1.9 The Significance of the Study

The goal of this dissertation is to advise Jamaican Baptist Churches about their Calvinistic heritage and the importance of learning Church history so that they will know the reasons why they operated in the past in the way they did. However, I do not believe from casual observation that most Baptist church leaders in Jamaica have devoted the time to study their own denomination's historical theology. This study includes in its formative years in Jamaica and made the connection with the significant role Calvinism has played.

As such, it seems that many Jamaican Baptists are not aware of the Calvinistic theological positions which were held by the pioneering missionaries who formed the Baptist denomination in Jamaica, and how it influenced their life and work. This unawareness

could be as a result of churches focusing more on what they did rather than on the reasons why they did what they did.

I hope my research is enlightening, truthful and persuasive for many Jamaican Baptists who are unaware of Church History, including their Calvinistic tradition so that they study it and adopt it. Therefore, this thesis aimed to reduce the suspicion that often surrounds Calvinism which Jamaicans do not know or fully understand.

Moreover, throughout Scripture, we see God asking his people to remember the acts which he has done. Many of these involved actions by God in using individuals (like the five Baptist missionaries under review) to do great and mighty feats in his name. Accordingly, remembrance was promoted as a means to foster faithfulness to him. Through Church History, we remember and appreciate God's master's plan through Christ's work to save a people for his glory and their good. Learning one's history is a means by which they are confronted with the truth of the past. It makes us humble as we seek to learn from them. Furthermore, it reminds us that we are a part of a community of believers, despite our theological differences. As such, this thesis has the potential to facilitate ongoing conversations with many individuals and denominations in Jamaica concerning Calvinistic theology.

This viewpoint is particularly appealing, since, during the past two years, I planted a Calvinistic church with two other pastors in St. Catherine, Jamaica. Therefore, I have a bias towards this viewpoint. However, I am not a Baptist, although I am in agreement with much of their doctrines, along with churches having a mild Presbyterian governance structure.

In 1988, William Knibb posthumously received the highest civil honour (The Order of Merit) given to a foreigner in Jamaica because of his contribution in abolishing slavery. (Lorenzen 2008:149). Thus, I think it is significant based on the research that he held to Calvinistic views. Furthermore, Knibb was not only instrumental in Jamaica, but he left

Jamaica in 1832 and returned home in England to lobby for the antislavery cause which helped William Wilberforce's work significantly (Masters 2006:28-29).

Additionally, George Liele was black and a former slave. He had the first black congregation in America, and was the first black Baptist pastor there, too. He also became the first Baptist missionary to the nations, including Jamaica. Thus, I believe it is important for others to learn of Liele's Calvinistic views, and the factors that lead him to establish several Baptist churches in Jamaica amid the challenges he faced.

John Rowe, Thomas Burchell and James Phillippo's work should also be recognised as having been partly influenced by their Calvinistic understanding. Consequently, this may present more opportunities for Calvinistic Baptists and ensuing discussions among existing Jamaican Baptists, mainly residing in areas that Rowe, Burchell and Phillippo laboured, to learn its doctrines.

Finally, in light of much of the recent discussions on racism, particularly in the US, it is significant to note that the fight against racial discrimination carried out mainly by Burchell, Phillippo, and Knibb was of great importance to their ministries. This fight can be examined in this dissertation.

#### 1.10 The Scope and the Limitation

Based on the table below, at least 51 Baptist missionaries from the BMS travelled to Jamaica within the first 28 years (1813-1841) of John Rowe's arrival to the island. However, I limited the scope of my research by choosing to study the four highlighted Baptist missionaries (John Rowe, James M. Phillippo, Thomas Burchell, and William Knibb) from the table based on the reasons given in section 1.3.1. Since, the majority of missionaries from the BMS were Particular Baptists, it should be expected that most of these individuals would have affirmed Calvinistic theology (Cooke 2013:143). For instance, if I expanded the scope of my research to include, Thomas Knibb, James

Coultart, and John Shoveller to argue for them being Calvinistic Baptists, I believe they would most likely be based on the following:

Thomas Knibb was William Knibb's older brother, who was baptised by Dr. Ryland and a member of his church at Broadmead (Hinton 1847:4, 9-11). He was recommended by Dr. Ryland for the missionary post in Jamaica (Cox 1842:44). Also, given Thomas' family and church background, along with his involvement with the BMS, it is very likely that he would have been a Calvinist.

James Coultart had been at Bristol Academy for three and a half years and later became a BMS missionary in 1816. Coultart's ordination took place at a Broadmead meeting, Bristol, where he was questioned and "gave a satisfactory account of his experience— motives for becoming a missionary, and the articles of his faith" (Baptist Missionary Society 1817:157). At the time, this institution was largely Calvinistic, and Coultart's confession would have been in keeping with that.

John Shoveller, said to John Clarke while he was dying, 'I wish to live for the **elect**'s sake:' but immediately added, 'God can perform his work very well **without me.**' (Baptist Missionary Society 1832:128). Shoveller, also said, "**Chosen in thy Son; called by thy grace;** sanctified by thy Spirit through thy holy Word" (p. 128). He was likely a Calvinist, and accusations about him being hypercalvinistic were set against him, which he counteracted in his book entitled, "Plain Dialogues" (p. 423).

**Table 1: Missionaries from the BMS who came to Jamaica.**

Persons	Name	Year	Whence Sent	Died
1	<b>John Rowe</b>	1813	Yeovil	1823
2	Lee Compere	1815	Broadmead	
3	James Coultart	1817	Hollywood, Dumfries	
4	Thomas Gooden	1818		1819
5	Christopher Kitching	1818	Bradford	1819
6	Thomas Knibb	1822	Broadmead	1824
7	Joshua Tinson	1822	Bristol	
8	Henry Tripp	1822	Java	
9	<b>Thomas Burchell</b>	1823		
10	J. Fleming	1823		
11	<b>James M. Phillippo</b>	1823	East Dereham	
12	Ebenezer Phillips	1823		
13	<b>William Knibb</b>	1824	Broadmead	
14	George Pearce	1826	Stepney	
15	J. Flood	1826		
16	Edward Baylis	1826		
17	James Mann	1826		
18	Joseph Burton	1828		
19	H.C. Taylor	1829		
20	Nicholls	1830		
21	W. W. Cantlow	1830		
22	Francis Gardner	1831	Burton Latimer	1838
23	John Shoveller	1831	Penzance	
24	Griffith	1831	Birmingham	
25	W. Whitehorne	1831	Jamaica	
26	T. F. Abbott	1831	Jamaica	
27	Walter Dendy	1832	Waltham Abbey	
28	John Kingdom	1832		
29	B. B. Dexter	1834	Stepney	
30	John Hutchins	1834	Stepney	
31	John Clark	1836	Devonsh sq	
32	Sanuel Oughton	1836	Surrey chapel	
33	James Reid	1837	Glasgow	
34	David Day	1838		
35	R. Merrick	1838		
36	E. J. Francies	1839	Stepney	



Persons	Name	Year	Whence Sent	Died
37	Jabez Tunley	1839	Northampton	
38	H. J. Dutton	1839	Stepney	
39	G. Rouse	1839		
40	J. E. Henderson	1840	Stepney	
41	Benjamin Millard	1840	Stepney	
42	John May	1840	Saltash	
43	P. H. Cornford	1840	Newport Pagnell	
44	E. Woolley	1840	Stepney	
45	William Hare	1840	Hastings	
46	J. Dallewell	1840	Sunderland	1840
47	John Williams	1840		
48	H. Bloomfield	1840	Hastings	
49	C. Armstrong	1840	Thapstone	
50	W. Lloyd	1841		
51	Thomas Dowson	1841	Bradford	
52	J. H. Wood	1841	Stepney	
53	E. Hewett	1841	Stepney	

This table was adapted from Cox (1842:322-323, emphasis added).

### 1.11 The Outline of the Study

This dissertation comprises of seven chapters.

#### **Chapter 1 - Introduction**

This chapter gives an introduction to the topic under review. It also provides a general summary of the topic and attempts to offer a preliminary understanding of the research problem. In the Jamaican context, despite the significant role these five pioneering Baptist missionaries work played in the past, their theologies were never collectively put together and analysed. Accordingly, the motivation (1.1), specific contribution (1.6) and significance (1.7) of the study give several explanations why this study is important. Moreover, the reasons why particular methodologies were selected in providing a solution and answers to our research problem and questions, respectively, were covered.

One of the goals of this chapter was to indicate how the study commenced, reached its final destination, and the process along the journey, i.e. somewhere between the two points.

## **Chapter 2 - Their Biographies and Contribution**

In this chapter, the reader was introduced to five Baptist missionaries (George Liele, John Rowe, James M. Phillippo, Thomas Burchell, and William Knibb) that came to Jamaica. It gave their brief individual histories and contribution to the Baptist Church in Jamaica and the society. It examined the work of Knibb, Burchell and Phillippo in the abolition of slavery. Their collective efforts played an integral role in the campaign against slavery, not only in Jamaica, but it included parts of Europe, namely Britain. Additionally, it covered their desire to i) send native missionaries to Africa, ii) build a strong Jamaican church, iii) establish educational institutions, iv) improve family life and marriages, v) create free villages to assist former slaves, and vi) establish Baptist congregations throughout Jamaica. Altogether, it surveyed their significant contributions between 1782 and 1879 in Jamaica.

## **Chapter 3 - Calvinistic Baptist History and Theology**

This chapter answered what Calvinistic baptistic theology is by first discussing the history of Baptists, their theology, and those among them who affirmed Calvinistic theology. After that, the author explained Calvinistic Baptist theology. Finally, the author examined how widespread Calvinistic baptistic theology was during the late eighteenth and late nineteenth century.

Twelve cases were presented, ranging from topics such as the preaching, hymns, and theology of Calvinist Baptists. These cases included individuals such as Samuel Pearce (1766-1799), Anne Steele (1717-1778), Andrew Fuller (1754-1815), Rev. John Ryland, D.D. (1753–1825), John Gill (1697-1771), Rev. James Hinton (1761-1823), Rev. John Dyer (1783-1841), Rev. Joseph Angus, M.A., D.D. (1816-1902), Charles H. Spurgeon (1834-1892), George Whitefield (1714-1770), Shubal Stearns (1706-1771) and John Leadley Dagg (1794-1884).

The chapter included other subject areas to name a few, the Calvinistic Baptist Revival in England & Wales; the Calvinistic Baptists in America; the Great Awakening & Baptists in America; the Separate Baptists and the Sandy Creek Church. It also had individuals such as George Galphin, Henry Sharp, Matthew Moore, Waitstill (Wait) Palmer, Jesse Peter, David George, and Rev. John Shoveller.

#### **Chapter 4 - Supporting Calvinistic Evidence and its Influence 1: God's Sovereignty and Providence**

This chapter sought to address our third key question of the dissertation, i.e. "what supporting evidence exists for these five Baptist missionaries being Calvinistic and it possibly influencing their accomplishments". However, it was prudent to tackle this over three chapters based on the volume of information, which was categorised into three main subject areas. As such, this chapter dealt with the first category, i.e. God's sovereignty and providence. In terms of approach, the author applied both a deductive historiographical methodology and historical-theological methodology in this chapter.

Several steps were also employed to answer our research question in this chapter. For instance, it involved an examination of four theological views (Arminian, Calvinist, General Baptist and Particular Baptist) and selecting the appropriate confessions for the same. Then, the author noted those four theological views with regards to God's sovereignty and how each confession explained them. Subsequently, it sought to identify what God's providence is and how those same confessions described it. After that, an assessment was carried out to see if the five Baptists missionaries under review affirmed both God's sovereignty and providence, and whether their theological views were more in keeping with Calvinistic Baptists. Finally, the author discussed how likely their Calvinistic views impacted their practices and behaviour regarding God's providence.

It is generally assumed that the General Baptist and Particular Baptist views are considered to be subsets of the Arminian and Calvinist views, respectively (Cooke 2013:143; Drummond 1992:61). As a result, each subset was expected to be consistent with its respective whole. Nonetheless, they were not taken for granted, i.e. assumed to be true in the study. Consequently, through deductive reasoning and observation that was proven to be a wise step based on the findings in this chapter, since it was not as clear cut with General Baptists and Arminians.

## **Chapter 5 - Supporting Calvinistic Evidence and its Influence 2: God's Providence in Salvation**

This chapter's main purpose was to answer our third key question of this thesis, "what supporting evidence exists for these five Baptist missionaries being Calvinistic and it possibly influencing their accomplishments". However, it dealt with the second category, i.e. God's providence in salvation.

One of the goals of this chapter was to provide additional information, so one could discover how the Baptists at the time thought about God's providence in salvation, which may be seen as unique in Calvinism or rather different from the Arminian schools of thought. Therefore, while God's sovereignty and providence were addressed in the previous chapter, God's providence in salvation was a more straightforward manner that assisted in identifying their Calvinists' beliefs. According to Calvinist's theology, God's providence in salvation entailed concepts such as predestination and TULIP (total depravity, unconditional election, limited atonement, irresistible grace, and perseverance of the saints) which are more readily associated with Calvinism (Ryland 1818:1-5; (Driggers 2013:38). Thus, the author undertook observation from the five Baptist missionaries' verbal and written communication with an examination of their understanding of soteriology. Subsequently, a determination was made whether these five Baptist missionaries' communication was consistent with Calvinism, and then seeing if that at least in part attributed to their achievements, which was addressed in chapter 2.

Finally, the findings from this exercise also helped in concluding. So, the author was able to make more definitive statements about where these five Baptists were in terms of their theological convictions. Similar to the previous chapter, the author used a deductive historiographical methodology in conjunction with the overall historical-theological approach.

### **Chapter 6 - Supporting Calvinistic Evidence and its Influence 3: Missions, Education, Health Care, Social and Economic Development, and Character Development**

The goal of this chapter was also to answer our third key questions of this thesis, i.e. “what supporting evidence exists for these five Baptist missionaries being Calvinistic and it possibly influencing their accomplishments”. It addressed the third category, which covered missions, education, health care, social and economic development and character development. However, while it tackled both aspects of the research question, it focused primarily on the latter part. Thus, it involved a brief survey of the positive impact these five Baptist missionaries and other Calvinists made in the areas outlined above. It also assumed that this impact was attributable to the five Baptist missionaries having Calvinistic convictions. Additionally, the chapter highlighted a few possible drawbacks or negative implications of Calvinism.

### **Chapter 7 – Conclusion**

In this chapter, the author gave an overview of the doctoral thesis. It reviewed the objectives (section 7.2) and traced the argument (section 7.3) to show that it answered the research questions and satisfied the objectives by addressing the research problem. It then discussed the findings regarding the research questions (section 7.4) where the summary of major observations identified (7.4.1) and further discussion of findings (7.4.2) took place. Contributions of these findings to Jamaican Baptist History (section 7.5) and possibilities for further research (7.6) followed.

## 1.12 Concluding Remarks

This chapter provided an introduction of the problem of there being no collective study of the pioneering Baptist missions work about its theology in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century in Jamaica. Thus, the author conducted a prior study (section 1.3), and gave a basic description of the scope and limitation of the study (section 1.10). It also included the background and motivation (section 1.1), significance (section 1.9), specific contribution (section 1.8), and the research design and methodology (section 1.7). It also presented the central claim of the study (section 1.4), which was tackled by seeking to obtain the objectives (section 1.5) and answering the research questions (section 1.6).

## **CHAPTER 2 - WHAT WAS THE CONTRIBUTION OF LIELE, KNIBB, PHILLIPPO, AND BURCHELL BETWEEN 1782 AND 1879 IN JAMAICA?**

### 2.1 Chapter Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to address the first key research question, which is “what was the contribution of Liele, Rowe, Knibb, Phillippo, and Burchell between 1782 and 1879 in Jamaica?” This objective is important because it tackles the first part of the central claim of this doctoral thesis that, “The significant contributions of Liele, Rowe, Knibb, Phillippo, and Burchell between 1782 and 1879 in Jamaica may be partly due to them having Calvinistic views”. Thus, this chapter does not examine their theology, but it particularly looks at their overall contribution, which is covered in eleven sections.

This introduction is the first section 2.1. In the next section 2.2, it presents who the five Baptist missionaries were that came to Jamaica, and what they did as they served. To accomplish this, it briefly examined the lives of George Liele, John Rowe, James M. Phillippo, Thomas Burchell, and William Knibb individually and their contribution to the Baptist Church in Jamaica and the society.

In section 2.3, it looks at some of the benefits of freedom from slavery in Jamaica, because of the work of three of the five Baptist missionaries (Knibb, Burchell and Phillippo) in the abolition work. It does so by observing the contrast of the slaves’ circumstances under slavery (Hughes 1945:130-131; Zacek and Brown 2014:456,458; Kenny 2009:453) in comparison to when they obtained their freedom (Hughes 1945:132; (Burchell 1849:94; Catherall 1966: 352-353; Hinton 1847:51; Baptist Missionary Society 1818:46; Baptist Missionary Society 1832:399-400; Blouet 1990:628; Bynner, Schuller & Feinstein 2003:358; Vila 2000:21-22).

Section 2.4, demonstrates that the collective efforts by Knibb, Burchell and Phillippo played an integral role in the campaign against slavery, not only in Jamaica, but it included parts of Europe, namely Britain (Smith 1896:xx-xxi; Catherall 1966:349-350; Hall 2002:88).

In section 2.5, Knibb and Burchell wanted freed slaves to have a robust Jamaican church with an understanding of their African identity and heritage (Morrison n.d.:14).

Section 2.6 reveals the benefit which former black slaves received by being able to attend ministerial training at Calabar Theological College.

Section 2.7 shows that family life and marriage was improved as former slaves were encouraged to get married (Dick 2002:53). This improvement was aided by the Free Villages which were established by Knibb, Burchell and Phillippo as well (BMS World Mission n.d.; Phillippo 1843:220-221; Underhill 1881:185).

Section 2.8 reports one of the benefits from the Baptists coming was that there were Baptist congregations in nearly every parish in Jamaica by 1841 (Catherall 1966:358).

In section 2.9, it discusses mistakes and possible wrongdoing that Knibb and Burchell did (Scott 2018).

Nonetheless, in section 2.10, it informs of the positive way that individuals have responded to the work of Knibb, Burchell and Phillippo decades after their death (Smith (1896: xv). The chapter ends with a summary and conclusion in section 2.11.

Having conducted a brief introduction in this section, we move to the next, which addresses the lives and contributions of the five Baptist missionaries.



## 2.2 Individual Histories and Contribution to the Baptist Church in Jamaica and the Society

### 2.2.1. George Liele

George Liele was born around the year 1750 (Rippon 1793:335). He was a slave and in 1773 at the age of 23 became saved (pp. 332—333; Gayle 1982:6; Morrison n.d.:2). In the 1770s, Liele was instrumental in founding one of the first black Baptist churches in America (Silver Bluff, South Carolina) (Rippon 1793:335; Liele et al. 1916:69). This accomplishment was primarily due to his influence as a preacher (Rippon 1793:334-335; Bisnauth 1989:115-116).

Liele was travelling between Augusta, Georgia and Savannah, South Carolina to preach during 1774 and 1775 (Rippon 1793:334-335; Hatfield 2009). Two years later, he was the first black person in America to become an ordained minister in 1775. In 1778, Liele obtained his freedom from his master Henry Sharp (Rippon 1793:334). Sharp was a Baptist that promoted the British in the Revolutionary war (pp. 333-334; Neely 1998:400). Because of Liele's involvement with the British, too, he opted to go to Jamaica when the war ended, and others were evacuating (Rippon 1793:334). The researcher believes he likely feared that some harm would have come to him or his family.

George Liele arrived in Jamaica in 1782 (p. 334). He was the first Baptist missionary that came from overseas to Jamaica (Akin 2012:85). Liele was an indentured servant of Colonel Kirkland (Rippon 1793:334; Bisnauth 1989:115). Liele's liability was due to him not possessing money to pay for his trip to Jamaica. Therefore, he borrowed the money from Kirkland upon his arrival on the island (Rippon 1793:334; Love 1888:35). Liele through Colonel Kirkland's recommendation was able to secure a job. He worked with the governor of Jamaica shortly after his arrival (Rippon 1793:334; Gayle 1982:13). In this manner, Liele worked to satisfy the financial needs of his wife and four children and to repay his debt (Rippon 1793:334; Love 1888:35; Jamaica Baptist Union n.d.). Within two years Liele had paid what he owed to Kirkland (Rippon 1793:334). Liele accomplished

this by working as a farmer and hauling goods from one place to the other in his horse-wagon (p. 335). He was also actively preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ at the same time (Cox 1842:12; Love 1888:35).

Liele arrived in Jamaica with ministry experience as a pastor, church planter, and evangelist with converts from Georgia and North Carolina. As a result, he continued in this regard (Rippon 1793:332-335; Jamaica Baptist Union n.d.). It is most likely that Liele shortly after his arrival started preaching at Kingston Race Course. At that time, Kirkland contracted him to work. While slaves under Liele's ministry experienced salvation then, he did not conduct his first baptism as yet. It seems Liele was steering clear of having any disagreement with white persons, since he was an indentured labourer at the time (Gayle 1982:14). Kingston Race Course was subsequently called the National Heroes Circle (Jamaica Baptist Union n.d.).

Liele was a free black African-American. He was educated and a Christian as well (Rippon 1793:334-335). These things made him different (Lawson 2013:117). The researcher believes Liele's perspective would have also been different and likely given him hope that he could make a difference, despite the circumstances.

Lawson (2013:117) asserts that Liele did not easily fit into the regular groups that black men in Jamaica did. Being a slave in the US was very different from being one in Jamaica. Also, the plantation system in Jamaica was not integrated as it were in North America. However, they were similar in how cruel they treated their slaves. Moreover, those who governed Jamaica and determined the legislation was also the owners of slaves. This situation fostered exploitation and made it difficult for slaves in Jamaica and those who wanted to help them.

Given these factors, the significant achievements which Liele experienced were unexpected. However, Liele competently worked in his transportation business in the day and preaching with proper restraint at night. This approach was what Liele believed led to his success (p. 118). Liele had such success in the first seven years of his ministry in

Jamaica, i.e. between 1783-1790 that he had administered baptism to about five hundred persons (Rippon 1793:542; Liele et al 1918:84). He was effective in the black community with bonded and liberated slaves and creoles community with persons of mixed race, too. They were being affected and saved by Liele's preaching, which led to several church establishments. The first congregation established under Liele's leadership was the Windward Road Chapel in East Kingston that began in 1789 (Jamaica Baptist Union n.d.). Morrison (n.d.:6) notes that the chapel completion took place in 1793.

Liele's posture to not disturb the relationship between the slaves and planters comforted the planters. Accordingly, they permitted their slaves to attend his service. However, this led to several of the people who used to work with Liele to separate themselves from him. They believed they needed to use a different approach than Liele. These persons later formed "Native Baptist" churches (Lawson 2013:125).

While the researcher believes Liele must have had a problem with slavery, and how some of the white and planter population treated him. His choosing to surrender or not resist them could be both out of fear and the success he was now having with slaves being permitted to come to his church.

According to Russell (2013), Liele thought of himself and Christianity in light of Africa. However, there is no document with him answering questions along these lines. Although, Liele did in a letter to Dr Rippon associate himself and his members with "Ethiopians". This practice was in keeping with Psalms 68:31, and this label has remained because of its importance over time. This association with Africa had some influence on Baptists in Jamaica after emancipation occurred, leading to the Jamaica Baptist Missionary Society (JBMS) formation in 1842. JBMS sent persons to Africa for missionary work. It also sent persons to the Calabar Theological College (CTC). CTC conducted training for men to serve as ministers and teachers in Caribbean churches (p. 9). The name Calabar comes from a place in Nigeria, Africa (Morrison n.d.:14). Finally, Baptists have the earliest references and evidence for associating themselves with Ethiopia (Russell 2013:9).

Finley & Alexander (2009:324) noted that Myalism<sup>13</sup> was increasing at the same time when the Baptist denomination was growing under the influence of George Liele, Moses Baker, and George Lewis. While, this may have been the case, the researcher believes that does not necessarily imply that these three men were responsible for it.

Morris (2006:209) supports the view that Liele, Baker and Lewis contributed to the revival of customs fixated around spirit-healing and spirit-possession. Moreover, in the early nineteenth century, the founding of Native Baptist churches facilitated a blending of myalism and Christianity. Also, Davis (1918:48) argues that the Native Baptists pursued “the Africanization of Christianity along myal lines, which led to a major rift in the Baptist Church in Jamaica”. He asserts that this was what forced Baker and his partners to seek help from Britain. They wanted to limit the wrong views and practices associated with the Gospel”. The researcher disagrees with Morris and Davis’ views of this kind of mixture taking place within Native Baptist churches, and believes the arguments presented by Dick (2009:128-130) seem more credible.

Dick (2009:128) observed that nineteenth-century writers wrote about Obeah when Native Baptists were plentiful and did not comment on them practising Obeah. They did not correlate the two belief systems. This association of Native Baptists and Obeah is a relatively new undertaking. Dick (2009) also explains that myalism became illegal in 1855/56. However, Native Baptists have never been deemed illegal. This realisation is due to the stark dissimilarities between Myal practitioners and Native Baptists (p. 130). Therefore, the researcher does not believe Myalism and Native Baptists were associated.

Clement Gayle, a historian, former JBU President and Baptist pastor, alleges that Liele was orthodox in his ministry approach. He tried to establish this by demonstrating, for example, in the “The Covenant of the Anabaptist Church Began in America December 1777 and in Jamaica, December 1783” how Liele relied on Scripture for each of the articles he constructed. Liele’s approach was different in Gayle’s perspective from how

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<sup>13</sup> Myalism is a religious system that has African roots. It is not Christian and considered to be cultic, meaning having beliefs that are extreme, strange or false (Dick 2009:24-27).

the Native Baptists functioned. Therefore, he did not believe Liele was a Native Baptist (Gayle 1982:33-34). The researcher agrees with Gayle's perspective in that Liele seemed to place high regard on the Scripture. However, the researcher does not want to necessarily generalise all Native Baptists as being unorthodox and unscriptural in their approach.

Liele not only experienced the First Great Awakening in the US that took place in the eighteenth century, but he was a preacher during that time. Liele was encouraging others to become literate before that became a feature of Africans in the nineteenth century. Existing African literature in England and America verifies this (Liele et al. 1916:73; Shannon 2013:1).

Liele believed being educated was very beneficial to appreciating scripture and the Gospel. So, he established schools in the same vicinities as his chapels' locations. Classes were kept either within the chapels or somewhere next to them. The original intention for these schools was to serve members of his church and their families. A good percentage of these people were either slaves or former slaves who gained their freedom and were poor. This church-school model was one of Liele's lasting contributions. It was the pattern which later Baptists and other denominations involved in education in Jamaica implemented. Liele's model also contributed considerably to the continuous development of community life, especially with the poor and slaves (Jamaica Baptist Union n.d.).

The missionaries from the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) came to Jamaica and built on the foundations that Liele and those he had trained laid. James M. Phillippo became the pastor of the Baptist church in Spanish Town. Liele had established this church in 1818. Phillippo longed to see mass education become a reality. Phillippo in keeping with Liele's practice of having a chapel and school, created a type of education system that the British government supported financially (Pugh 2007:368). Some recipients of salvation and disciples under Liele's ministry later started congregations elsewhere. This group included a few persons who had laboured with him in the early days of the Church

planting work, such as, Nicholas Sweigle, George Gibbs and Moses Baker (Jamaica Baptist Union n.d.).

Friday (2017:93) highlights that Liele was also “a transformational leader...which addresses character and competencies”. A few of Liele's main achievements in Jamaica also includes establishing one of the most robust Protestant denominations and undertaking pioneering work in the Education field (p. 96; Gayle 1982:35). It should be noteworthy that of Jamaica's seven national heroes, three (Paul Bogle, Samuel Sharpe, and George William Gordon) were Baptist (Gayle 1982:39). However, there is a sense today that the Baptist denomination in Jamaica has not implemented its best undertakings or accomplished its optimal goals (Friday 2017:90).

Liele encouraged Baptist Churches that many aspects of community life and its social settings were important. Hence, Church members should seek to promote a beneficial way in which they relate to it. We see this reflected in their Church covenants and practices. For instance, obtaining permission from slave owners to attend meetings (Russell 2013:9).

Liele saw the pursuit of education and acquiring of land as two key goals. Concerning education, he instructed slaves to read using the Bible and it did give them the opportunity to read other books and material like the newspaper (Russell 2013:11).

Some slave owners saw the benefit of having their slaves educated. But this was not most owners' posture towards it. Liele's schools assisted with teaching their students the tenets of evangelical Christianity and Baptist doctrine. They also gave students useful skills for their society (Russell 2013:9).

Morrison indicates that when the BMS missionaries came, Liele and his contemporaries were at least 60 years old. At the time, the stresses of life from enslavement and living itself had rendered them almost incapable as they grew increasingly weak and infirm. However, they had put the necessary measures in place to advance. There were

leadership development and succession planning efforts. However, the executions that took place after the Baptist Revolt in 1831 made growth in the church difficult (n.d.:11).

The researcher wants the reader to know that the Baptist Revolt began as slaves, primarily Samuel Sharpe, a deacon in Burchell's church, who tried to organise a peaceful strike regarding wages and freedom (Hinton 1847:115; Dick 2008:392-393). Sharpe's plan was for the slaves to oppose working on Christmas Day, December 25, 1831, and afterwards. Their only exception to continually striking was if the plantation owners and managers accepted their terms. However, on December 27, 1831, the slaves began their revolt by setting on fire the Kensington Estate Great House (Hinton 1847:115; Jamaica Information Service n.d.). Subsequently, there were other fires in the vicinity, and it became evident that Sharpe's passive resistance plan was not possible and practical. The slaves had armed themselves with weapons and rebelled by capturing properties in St. James and its neighbouring parishes. However, the insurgence was put to an end within two weeks (Jamaica Information Service n.d.). Knibb and Burchell were arrested and charged for the insurrection (Hinton 1847:119-120; Burchell 1849:178-179). While, Phillippo was already recovering from illness in England (Underhill 1881:97). Subsequently, Knibb and Burchell were released (Hinton 1847:122-130; Burchell 1849:193-194).

Holmes (1965: 27) calls George Liele "one of the unsung heroes of religious history". It is remarkable that he had accomplished so much. However, Gayle (1982:1 of preface) explains, Liele did not have a missionary organisation that sent him to Jamaica and supported him. Thus, he had no one broadcasting his work. If he were attached to a missionary organisation, it would likely have led to his activities being recorded. Of these records, historians could use or extract information today. However, this was not done and presents difficulties in narrating Liele's story (Gayle 1982:1 of preface).

Craton notes that Baptist chapels were not initially set up by white missionaries. It was by black men such as George Liele, Moses Baker and others in the 1780s. These achievements occurred at least 25 years before the white missionaries arrived (1978:155;

cf. Rippon 1793:334-335; 1801:212-214). Gayle (1982:1 of preface) suggested that one of the reasons why Liele is unpopular in Church History is because he is a black person. Accordingly, people did not want to credit him with being the founder of the Baptist work in Jamaica.

Furthermore, during colonisation and slavery, it would not have been beneficial that Liele, the founder, was a former black slave from the USA. Therefore, Gayle argues that William Knibb and Thomas Burchell being white missionaries that helped slavery would prevent that problem leading to recognition of their Baptist work in Jamaica. He also pointed out that the Golden Jubilee in 1864 was the first celebration Baptists had. This celebration inadvertently signified John Rowe's coming as the first BMS missionary to Jamaica. It seemed to ignore Liele's work (Gayle 1982:1 of preface).

Gayle (1982:2 of preface) argues that Liele changed Jamaican history by bringing and introducing the Baptist denomination. Also, through his appeal for the British Baptists to come to Jamaica. These actions by him ultimately led to the tremendous impact that Baptists had from the times of slavery until today in Jamaica.

Gayle (1982:2-3) explained that before George Liele came to Jamaica, there were Christian denominations that existed. Thus, the pioneering work of Liele refers to him being: i) the first Baptist missionary, ii) the first ordained black pastor to preach, iii) the first one to have many conversions of slaves, and iv) the first to set up a black church in the United States.

The various churches and pastors who laboured in Jamaica before Liele did not cater much to the slaves, or they were not very successful with them. Accordingly, the Established Church was ineffective with slaves. Also, the Moravian Church came to Jamaica with the specific purpose to minister to the slave population, and they did not have much impact (Gayle 1982:4). Stephen Cooke, who was a member of the House of Assembly, thought Liele was prudent by instituting a different approach in comparison to others who had gone before him. For instance, he would not admit slaves into his church,



unless they had obtained permission from their owners. In this way, Liele encouraged friendship, and limited resistance from slave owners (pp. 16-17).

As the researcher considers the reason why Liele did not challenge the status quo, it seems that he may have been apprehensive. Liele had previously been required to leave America, because he did not want to be re-enslaved when the revolutionary war ended. Now that Liele and his family relocated to Jamaica, he likely did not want to put either them or himself in jeopardy. Moreover, to go against the planters had severe implications, which will be seen and addressed later regarding the Insurrection. Therefore, if Liele did not have a good deal of support from persons within and outside of Jamaica, it would be challenging to succeed.

In Nov. 26, 1791, Liele reported that he had baptised 400 persons in Jamaica. Also, that his church had nearly three hundred and fifty members, including a few white persons (Rippon 1793:335; Gayle 1982:20).

The biographer asserts that Liele was one of the first set of people who meaningfully sought to make education available to slaves in Jamaica. At times, he utilised his churches and meeting places to keep school. Liele's deacons served both in the church and school. He facilitated the teaching of education to both bonded and free slave children. In several areas in Jamaica, Liele had selected teachers providing education in small groups. Notwithstanding, it was in keeping with his guidance, and he would time to time visit to check if this was so (Gayle 1982:22).

George Liele placed a lasting signature upon Jamaica's Baptist witness. He accomplished this between 1782 and 1813 – before the BMS missionaries came – where he associated himself with the poor and oppressed descendants of Africa. Liele also showed that the preaching of the Gospel and education complemented each other. He was, “the first black man to take the gospel to his fellow black brothers and sisters in the island.” Today Jamaica Baptists are still thought of in these ways (Gayle 1982:35). The researcher believes what the biographer alleges of Liele's contribution is commendable, and more

Jamaicans should be aware of these achievements. This information is instructive as Jamaican Baptists learn more of their rich heritage.

George Liele fulfilled a crucial role in the history of foreign Christian missions. After Liele's invitation to the BMS, they supported and reinforced his work in Jamaica. This relationship eventually led to BMS sending missionaries into other parts of the Caribbean such as Bahamas, Trinidad and Tobago, Turks and Caicos Islands and even in West Africa. Moreover, the Baptist Witness in Haiti, Cuba, Central America and Cayman Brac conducted by the JBMS took place less than two decades after Liele's death. So, it is not inconceivable that his work would have had some influence on their missionary initiatives (Gayle 1982:36). The researcher believes this is possible, even when one considers David George, who Liele in the USA mentored. George went on to do foreign missions in Nova Scotia and Freetown, Sierra Leone (see Van Broekhoven 2013:31).

George Liele's work predated other Baptists like William Carey and Adoniram Judson in the 18th century when Protestant missions began to take place. Also, knowing Liele's circumstances in the midst of his achievements makes him remarkable. Furthermore, Liele's international travels nearly covered the same distance as George Whitefield (Van Broekhoven 2013:22).

One of the factors impacting missionaries' treatment, would have to do with the temporary or permanent nature of the itinerant preacher. For instance, preachers, including Baptists, travelled from place to place where they would sometimes challenge and threaten the current state of things in churches and communities. This situation often happened by not adhering to the legal framework or jurisdiction of the place. So, this caused fear. However, Liele's desire to comply and serious commitment to his congregation meant that the planters did not necessarily see him as an itinerant preacher (Van Broekhoven 2013:26).

Liele was instrumental in the conversion and ordination of persons who went on to bring the gospel to various parts of the world, including Sierra Leone, Liberia and Nova Scotia (p. 31). As indicated in the methodology, sometimes, missionaries did not highlight their

weaknesses in their literature. Although a missionary organisation did not send Liele to Jamaica, his association with BMS may have lent itself to that approach as well. Furthermore, Gayle had suggested earlier that there is not much literature on Liele. Therefore, when the researcher considered his shortcomings, it would likely include i) his apprehension to confront slavery, and ii) his desire to independently take on debt on behalf of the church, which led to Liele's imprisonment for failure to make payments.

Liele travelled to England in 1822. He returned to Jamaica and resumed his work until his passing. This likely happened in 1826 as William Knibb attended it. In 1983, Jamaican Baptists celebrated their 200th anniversary since Liele came to Jamaica. A monument exists at the East Queen Street Baptist Church to remember Liele and his contribution. This location is near to where he commenced his missionary's work in Jamaica (Lawson 2013:127). Liele's founded the Windward Road Baptist Church (WRBC) which is not in existence. However, both the East Queen Baptist Church and the Hanover Street Baptist Church today, benefited from members coming out of WRBC (Gayle 1982:21).

### 2.2.2. John Rowe

John Rowe was born on September 14, 1788, in the county of Somerset. His parents were both members of the Baptist church at Yeovil (Baptist Missionary Society 1818: 41). Rowe was brilliant from an early age. His parents also noted his "hatred of sin" and the decision to avoid immoral children's conversations then. John carefully studied his Bible. In his prayer closet, Rowe would often be heard "pouring out his soul in prayer". He wanted to "cultivate habitual nearness to his God". Rowe was knowledgeable about many truths in the Bible. However, he remained humble, and this made him likeable to those who knew him (p. 42).

Moses Baker was integral in forging a relationship between the Jamaican Baptists and English Baptists, which continues today. At the time, Moses Baker was old and had health issues and with increasing responsibilities became convinced that he needed help. Hence, he wrote to England, which responded with the sending of John Rowe. For several

years, Rowe had been a student at Bristol Academy in Bristol, England. He was a hardworking, humble, and pious person that was highly recommended by his tutors (British Missionary Society 1818:42). In 1813, the BMS sent John Rowe as their first missionary to Jamaica. Rowe sought to strengthen the work of George Liele and Moses Baker (Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle 1803:365, 550; 1804:469; Baptist Missionary Society 1813:289; 1818:42; Besson 2011:322).

On December 31, 1813, John Rowe and his family sailed from Bristol to Jamaica. They arrived at Montego Bay in the parish of St. James, on February 23, 1814 (Baptist Missionary Society 1818:44). From Montego Bay, Rowe journeyed to Falmouth in the parish of Trelawny. Shortly after he visited Moses Baker, who lived about twelve miles outside of Falmouth and was able to give instructions to the negroes from Baker's congregation. Mr Baker was a respected old man and graciously received Rowe. On the following Sunday, Rowe preached to Baker's congregation that were negroes who numbered about five hundred and showed much interest in what he was sharing. Mr Baker had not administered baptism or communion, nor had a functioning polity for possibly as long as ten years. This situation was attributable to persecution, unfavourable legislation and restrictions on preaching and communication with the negroes. As such, things were in disarray (Baptist Missionary Society 1818:45).

Some of Baker's congregants seemed to be genuine believers. However, a good percentage of them lacked basic biblical knowledge and was disorderly. This situation was what he observed in other locations among the Baptists. Thus, it was in this environment that Rowe patiently laboured. He was expected to solve some of these issues by God's power and assistance. Rowe saw the people's sinful behaviour as alarming. There was an overall disdain for religion and morality. These persons attitude negatively affected even those who had previous exposure to religion and morality. As a result, the latter lowered their standards of decency or became desensitised (Baptist Missionary Society 1818:45). However, Dick (2009:46) presented a different view of Baker's congregation through James Coultart's who had paid a visit.

Of note, I believe since Coultart's visit would have been after Rowe's, then his contribution to Coultart would need to be considered, and these events not merely be treated as a difference of opinions.

Some magistrates told Rowe that it might be more prudent for him not to preach right away as some people had problems with the Baptist denomination. Thus, they encouraged him to set up a school. Also, to allow persons to learn more about him, before launching into preaching. Although this was contrary to what he wanted to do, he complied. This response gave him good standing with these magistrates. Rowe received the magistrates' endorsement when he started preaching in June 1814 (Baptist Missionary Society 1818:45).

During the period when he was unable to preach, he heard Baker's sermons with satisfaction. Rowe believed that Baker's preaching was befitting for the negroes' context and condition. He discovered areas of agreement in his discussions with other elders of Baker's congregation. This agreement occurred despite them being illiterate (Baptist Missionary Society 1818:45-46).

One of Baker's elders was desirous to receive communion from him, as there was none administered for the past ten years there. In April, Rowe established a school at Falmouth. He also commenced a free Sabbath-school. It was for children from low-income families and slaves who obtained permission to attend from their owners (Baptist Missionary Society 1818:46; Masters 2006:9).

Rowe still waited to communicate his design to one of the magistrates even before preaching to make sure that everything was satisfactory. This humble act was favourably received. The magistrate gave Rowe assurance that once he continued to act in such a polite fashion that he would help to promote this work. He even sent a slave's child to Rowe giving him responsibility for taking care of the child. The following Sunday, which was early in June, Rowe preached in his house to about forty persons. They were composed of a few slaves, several white people, and many persons of importance. All

who gathered listened attentively and were orderly. The next Sunday, seventy persons attended, with more white people than before and many persons of respectability (Baptist Missionary Society 1818:46).

In Rowe's last letter dated November 14, 1815, he notes that there is uncertainty about the success of the missionary work he had engaged. However, he felt hopeful through educating the slaves' children to read and teaching slaves who obtained permission from their owners the basics of Christianity. Rowe believed in time they would see the fruit of it, although it seemed negligible then. Rowe was optimistic and had faith that God would do it. He thought over time he would have more influence with the more honourable planters. This strategy would be a means for the gospel to come to that group of people (Baptist Missionary Society 1814:677; 1818:46).

Catherall (1994:296) highlighted a challenge for 'white-skinned' missionaries - they were regarded as advocates for the Anti-Slavery Society - and not welcomed. Because of Rowe's wisdom and humility, those who were once in opposition - including, those who were immoral and careless - to his work at his passing became regretful.

When Rowe received permission to give public instructions, he prudently applied diligence, passion, and restraint in his behaviour. The Baptist Missionary Society (1815:71) notes that Rowe's journals, "during his whole residence on the island, strongly evince his earnest desire to promote the spiritual welfare of all around him, in connection with the most careful concern not to give any unnecessary offence, by taking a step out of his proper line." While, this may have seemed to be wise to Rowe it still begs the question of why he and the BMS missionaries that came after did not tackle the cruel practice of slavery in Jamaica. This work would have promoted the general welfare of the slaves. The slavery which existed did not treat blacks as human beings with dignity and value. This understanding should have been plain from studying the Bible.

During the period, when Rowe could not preach lawfully, he sought to support himself by running a school. Rowe was planning to refund BMS when he died. This refund was a partial payment of expenses incurred to send and support him in Jamaica (Baptist Missionary Society 1814:677). The Baptist Missionary Society (1818:47) noted that the Custos and people of Trelawney had highly regarded Rowe. They knew him as a man of substance and virtue. Rowe was ideal for the office he was assigned. His contribution includes starting a school and later a church (Jamaica Baptist Union n.d.).

After Rowe's untimely death in 1816 from yellow fever, many other Baptist missionaries came to Jamaica where they established churches (Besson 2011:322). Indeed, he had paved the way for other BMS missionaries to follow.

### 2.2.3. James M. Phillippo

On October 14, 1798, James Phillippo was born in East Dereham (Underhill 1881:1). His parents were Peter and Sarah Phillippo. James' father was a master builder. From a very early age, James demonstrated that he had a great aptitude to learn and remember information. At seven, Phillippo came under the tutelage of the Rev. Samuel Green, who was the Baptist minister in East Dereham. Phillippo's stay there was brief due to his ongoing disobedience and mischief, which often resulted in punishment. Thus, he left and went to the grammar school at Scarning, where the principal was a respectable scholar and rector. However, the principal's punishments were severe, and this did not encourage Phillippo to excel academically (pp. 2-3).

At about 12 years old, Phillippo's baptism took place in the Established Church. Shortly after, he left school and temporarily worked in his father's business. At fourteen, he started realising that he needed salvation. Hence, he continually declined to take part in communion (Underhill 1881:4). He went to live with his grandfather who did not demand that Phillippo live religiously. Therefore, he began living more sinfully.

God used Rev. Carter, of Mattishall who would occasionally preach late on Sundays about judgement and repentance to let him consider where he stood before God then. Several near-death experiences that Phillippo had, also weighed on his mind (Underhill 1881:5). As a result, he decided to go to the Baptist chapel in 1815. Within a few weeks, the messages and conviction of the Holy Spirit led Phillippo to seek a counsellor. Consequently, he prayed for mercy and came to receive it through Christ's blood. Around this time, he also left his grandfather's business and began working at Elsing. In 1816, Rev. Samuel Green conducted Phillippo's baptism as a believer (p. 8).

Phillippo began to study God's Word and attend an evening school. He also started learning subjects such as medicine, masonry, cabinetry, agriculture, food and clothing manufacture, and so forth. He thought these would be useful on the missions' field in distant lands. This perspective came after he started reading missionary publications that gave him a desire for it. Eventually, people began to notice his knowledge and gifts. They wanted him to preach in the surrounding villages (Underhill 1881: 8).

Phillippo's employer became ill. However, the way in which he cared for him and conducted himself led to his employer suggesting that Phillippo pursue full-time ministry. This suggestion resulted in him undergoing more training but this time under Rev. Joseph Kinghorn of Norwich since Rev. Green was reassigned (Underhill 1881:9-10).

Kinghorn told Phillippo to make his wishes known to the BMS. He forwarded his application to the BMS secretary John Dyer. Phillippo noted that he was pursuing this based on the advice from Rev. Green and Rev. Kinghorn (p. 11).

On November 25, 1819, after ten months of waiting for the BMS Committee, they interviewed Phillippo and accepted him (Underhill 1881:13-14). During 1820 and 1821, he became a student at Chipping Norton, where he studied, and preached in nearby villages. In January 1822, Phillippo left Chipping Norton for Bradford. This relocation was necessary to complete his missionary preparations under Rev. William Steadman, who was the President of the Academy at Horton then (p. 21). His ordination service was



September 23, 1823 (p. 24). In October, Phillippo married Hannah Selina Cecil. This marriage occurred a few days before he left for Jamaica (p. 28).

On December 20, 1823, Mr and Mrs Phillippo landed in Jamaica (Underhill 1881:33). At the time Spanish Town's population was about 10,000 persons (p. 34). The mission home they received there was small and not in good condition, but they made it work (p. 36). Shortly after, Phillippo started experiencing opposition from the planters as he sought to share the gospel with the slaves. It was due to the following reasons.

Firstly, Thomas Fowell Buxton had proposed to abolish slavery in all British colonies gradually. Buxton argued that slavery was against the principles of the British Constitution and Christianity. The proposition was not approved. Anyone who seemed to cater to slaves was grouped with the Anti-Slavery Society. Therefore, they received unfair treatment (p. 38).

Secondly, Phillippo was refused a license to preach as the signatures which he had, was not accompanied by their respective seals. These seals took four to five months to come by from England. However, the seals came and were also rejected, with the demand for the Lord Mayor of London's seal (Underhill 1881:39-40). Thirdly, they arrested him for not joining the military, although he was sick and a Gospel minister (p. 40).

Lastly, they continued to do all in their powers to frustrate Phillippo. Notwithstanding, in January 1825 he obtained the Lord Mayor of London Waithman's signature and seal. Thus, they had to give Phillippo a license to preach, much to their dismay (p. 41).

Hayden suggests that the planters had considerable sway in the House of Assembly in Jamaica. They influenced many local magistrates, and supporters were from the Established Church (2003). Notwithstanding, Phillippo did preach in places which were not aware of the prohibition, or never cared about it. He also commenced preparations for a new church building and a school (Underhill 1881:42).

The old chapel had about two hundred and fifty persons, consisting of almost all black people, and only three or four white and brown persons. Phillippo often felt the consequences, two to three days later, after preaching in the overcrowded chapel. As such, Phillippo needed a new chapel and financial help to get it. Therefore, for him to baptise sixty persons on May 1 and another forty persons in a previous month shows that the congregation was growing (p. 46). After appealing to those in England, he received enough funds to go ahead with the chapel's construction. The construction commenced on November 13, 1825.

On May 5, 1825, he started a private school for scholarly education that required payment. Phillippo was the only teacher then. At that time, he also established a Lancastrian school, to teach more destitute children that were slaves or free (Underhill 1881:47).

Phillippo also preached the Gospel in the evenings to slaves after they had left work in the communities of Passage Fort and Old Harbour (pp. 47-48). In his private school, he had a good percentage of Jews. Here, Phillippo taught subjects such as arithmetic, Latin, Hebrew, geography, and grammar (p. 50). Over the next fifty years, Phillippo got some help with school management. However, it was mostly him that managed the school (p. 51).

On February 18, 1827, the new chapel was finished. It could hold between 1,200 and 1,500 persons (Underhill 1881:53). After this, Phillippo enlarged and remodelled the mission-house through a loan from a friend. It was by the Custos of Spanish Town, who was the chief magistrate. Phillippo paid him annually (pp. 54-55). He also preached to people nearby at Jericho in St. Thomas-in-the-Vale (pp. 72-73). Phillippo was also able to carry the Gospel into Vere, which was probably in the worst condition than any other parish. Its state was due to the people's ignorance, and the sinful behaviour of the overseers and white residents (Underhill 1881:73). He tirelessly worked preaching at times three times a day for two hours each time (p. 77). Apart from his growing congregation, white attendants were increasing with an appreciation to hear what he was sharing. This group included soldiers, Jews, and so forth (p. 93).

In 1830, Phillippo helped to set up an auxiliary to the British and Foreign Bible Society in both Kingston and Spanish Town (Underhill 1881:94). In 1831, Phillippo reported how well children of slaves and free population did. It was regarding scriptural knowledge, English diction, writing and arithmetic skills. Along with understanding areas of geography, mathematics and astronomy. Phillippo also explained that during the brief time the School of Industry was in operation that some young persons achieved various degrees of mastery. For instance, one family was able to make clothing, and other fabrications. Despite their father's death, they were able to obtain a decent living. Phillippo also wanted everyone to know that black children whether bonded or free were not inferior in any way intellectually. They progressed in education to high standards commensurate with children living in developed societies. A gentleman who observed the public examinations of children that attended Phillippo's school confirmed this (Baptist Missionary Society 1832:399-400).

Zacek and Brown (2014:500) assert that Phillippo believed the lack of material possessions on the slaves' part led to physical uneasiness and hindered their morality. This conclusion was due to, slaves' homes not improving despite their strong domestic ties which led to resentment from their sinful hearts. Thus, it prevented them from having proper roles in marriage and parenting. In my view, if Zacek and Brown have correctly interpreted Phillippo, then this represents a wrong perspective by him in light of the slaves' reality. Moreover, material possessions are not necessary for contentment or for all persons to achieve.

Phillippo's desire to share the gospel meant that he would often on a Saturday evening travel to St. Thomas-in-the-Vale. He would preach the following day Sunday until midday under the shade of a tree there. He would then take a short break and then make his way down to Spanish Town. Often, he would bear the brunt of the sun or the pouring rain to preach to his large congregation in Spanish Town. This regular activity severely compromised his health. At times, he had to take breaks to regain it (Underhill 1881:94-95).

As a result, occasionally, he encouraged the BMS to set up a school to train native people to occupy missionary stations. Natives were more accustomed to the conditions than Europeans, and thus they would fare better (pp. 95-96). Thus, Phillippo was recovering overseas in England with his family when the insurrection occurred (p. 97). Phillippo had been there from 1831 and obtained the news in February 1832. The report included burnt houses, active militia and arrested missionaries. The planters had seized the opportunity to demolish ten Baptist chapels and mission houses. However, the insurrection was quelled by the killing of hundreds of slaves (BMS World Mission n.d.).

Knibb and other Baptist missionaries in Jamaica signed a document on February 13, 1832, addressed to His Excellency Earl Belmore, the Governor of Jamaica, explaining they saw “several of their Chapels totally demolished, their persons threatened with violence, under the countenance and with the aid of Magistrates and Officers of Militia,” (Knibb 1832:1-2). Knibb (1832:3-4) included in the report that “the property of Mr. Burchell, were severally burnt by the Militia”.

In June 1832, Phillippo became an advocate for the slaves while he was in England and presented at the BMS’ 40th anniversary (BMS World Mission n.d.). Phillippo was able to communicate about how well the slaves were doing academically. Also, he told them that the slaves were grasping the Gospel with much joy. These achievements happened despite the great oppression and sacrifices they experienced to attend church. Notwithstanding, natives were being developed to minister to other locals. Accordingly, Phillippo's written and verbal communication helped to defend the other Baptist missionaries after the rebellion. He did this through the local paper, lectures, and talks. These communications had an impact in Jamaica and were not received well by the planters (Underhill 1881:103-104).

Early in 1833, Phillippo regained his health. So, he went all over England preaching and telling others about Jamaica (Underhill 1881:104-107). By August, the passing of the Slavery Abolition Act took place, but it was not in effect until the following year (BMS World Mission n.d.).

On March 13, 1834, Phillippo arrived back in Jamaica (Underhill 1881:110). He delegated to Mr Clarke, St. Thomas-in- the-Vale. However, Phillippo quickly sought to set up himself at “Above Rocks” in the mountains, and other locations in St. John's (p. 111). Phillippo was then able to give his church in Spanish Town his primary care (pp. 111-112). He also wanted boys, girls, and infants to be separately taught in his schools. Phillippo started two schools with one being for boys and the other for girls, which could hold 300 scholars. The chapel’s expansion allowed 500 more persons to hold (p. 114-115).

On August 1, 1834, children under six years old were all emancipated. Thus, churches sought to create elementary schools for them. Opportunities were given to the highest achievers to become teachers, which did not occur during slavery. Three years later, there were 183 elementary schools with 12,258 people attending and 257 teachers. At the same time, Intermediary high schools were for white, Jews and coloureds. Therefore, blacks could not participate in this. Only elementary education was offered to black people, but it required payment. Church schools had to then make education available to the two different groups because of the social structure (Dick 2002:34). Therefore, you can see some early successes of Phillippo’s labours.

Underhill (1881:116) notes that on August 31, 1834, Phillippo observed that at least six of his former students who were once scholars had become Sunday-school teachers. Moreover, three of the women were slaves before.

Phillippo was able to communicate and give some evidence in the press and government dealings of the inhumane treatment that persons suffered under apprenticeship (Underhill 1881:125-131). His efforts aided the abolition cause since the apprenticeship programme ended two years earlier than planned. Moreover, Phillippo had convinced the Governor of Jamaica, Sir Marcus Sligo in Spring 1838, to grant freedom to all his slaves. Sligo chose August 1, 1838, to do so. By May 22, 1838, the House of Commons also agreed to end the apprenticeship system on August 1 (Hayden 2003).

Phillippo's church exercised church discipline regularly, and this seemed to keep the number of offences at a negligible level (Underhill 1881:143). The efforts of the Baptist missionaries were seen as authentic and favourably by the slaves and oppressed, and thus they were called upon when there was difficulty (p. 144). It appears to me that Phillippo and other Baptist missionaries were making a positive impact.

By 1836, Phillippo noted that since returning to Jamaica from England he had conducted between two and three hundred marriages. He had distributed 1,500 copies of the Scriptures. He had also circulated thousands of tracts (Underhill 1881:146).

Phillippo recognised some challenges which people in the apprenticeship period were experiencing, since they did not own property. He created the first Free Village named Sligoville. This property was land that was unrelated to the slaves' former estates. So, they were required to find work nearby. Sligoville became a mission station with a chapel and a school-room. Other Baptist missionaries created Free Villages, aided by the finances of others in Britain. These Free Villages continued to grow even in the time of emancipation. Former slaves now needed to secure their housing (Underhill 1881:183).

On March 7, 1840, Joseph John Gurney, an evangelical minister and pro abolitionist, visited Sligoville in Phillippo's presence. Gurney described Sligoville as fifty acres of land that contained 150 lots. Lots (land which was divided into smaller units for residential or commercial purposes) were sold to freed negroes providing shelter and sanctuary for them, as many were once overworked in their former homes. A chapel and school existed there. The freed negroes built good cottages, temporary sheds, while others were starting the construction process. They were all married with most having children. The men spent a considerable amount of time working for pay in the estates nearby. The people seemed devout, industrious, content and hopeful (Underhill 1881:184-185).

Two years later a medical gentleman visited Sligoville and spent a week. He said, that all the land was sold, but people were still interested in buying property there. The produce (cane, fruit, etc.) was at least on par or better than any others in Jamaica. While, many residents were impoverished when they arrived, they have laboured and paid for the land

by selling their produce. They have built cottages that they are content with and experiencing the pinnacle of happiness. They are worry-free and extremely appreciative. This appreciation is to Christians who lobbied for them, and God who granted them liberation (Underhill 1881:185).

Phillippo's wife had nine children with five dying of sickness. While, she was often sick that required her residing most times at Sligoville in solitude for most days of the week (Underhill 1881:175). Phillippo's relationship with Sir Lionel Smith – the governor of Jamaica – allowed him to have a good influence in seeking to serve those oppressed. However, Governor Smith departed from Jamaica on October 1, 1839 (Underhill 1881:189-190).

In 1842, Phillippo went to England for medical attention. He left the church in Rev. Dowson's care. They corresponded by letter. In 1844, Phillippo returned and learned that most of the members of his church preferred Rev. Dowson over him. This preference created a tension which widened by January 1845. In March of that year, Rev. Dowson was chosen as a replacement for Phillippo. After considering to tender his resignation, Phillippo took the matter to the courts. On November 4, 1850, nearly seven years after, the court ruled in favour of Phillippo. Rev Dowson and his supporting members opted to leave the church ("The History of Phillippo Baptist Church: How it all Began" 2018).

In 1843, Phillippo proposed the idea of a Jamaican university. This institution was realised in 1948 when the University of the West Indies was established. The Jamaica Council of Churches, of which the Jamaica Baptist Union is a member, participated in the decision (Dick 2002:34).

Phillippo joyfully helped in managing CTC and its annual examinations. He supported new initiatives such as in 1854 when a regular school department began (Underhill 1881:274).

The Great Revival took place between 1860 and 1861 in Jamaica. Phillippo's church agreed to have revival meetings then. Consequently, Phillippo's church increased in attendance and services daily (Underhill 1881:304-306).

On July 23, 1864, the Baptists celebrated Jubilee being fifty years after John Rowe first came to Jamaica. At the time, nineteen pastors of the forty-one serving were born in Jamaica. They had studied at CTC, Rio Bueno, Trelawny. CTC was presently training about 90 masters for the day-schools, which had 3,500 scholars. This number when added to Sunday-school children from all locations, revealed that teaching was consistently occurring for at least ten thousand people at that time (Underhill 1881:321-322). Phillippo in speaking to the Jamaican Baptist churches at the Jubilee celebration said, "Think of thirty thousand souls converted to God in this our island alone!" (p. 323). God had moved through these faithful men to save many souls.

Phillippo laboured for fifty-five years in Jamaica (p. 431). He started missionary stations and schools in four (St. Catherine, Clarendon, St. Andrew and Manchester) out of the fourteen parishes in Jamaica. These were either done by Phillippo himself or him in partnership with others between 1824 and 1874 (pp. 434-436; Prestwidge n.d.).

<b>Schools/Stations</b>	<b>St. Catherine</b>	<b>Schools/Stations</b>	<b>Clarendon</b>
1	Spanish Town	21	Hayes' Savanna
2	Passage Fort	<b>Schools/Stations</b>	<b>St. Andrew</b>
3	Hartlands	22	Rose Hill
4	Kent Village	<b>Schools/Stations</b>	<b>Manchester</b>
5	Taylor's Caymanas	23	Vale Lionel (Porus)
6	Thankful Hill	24	Victoria
7	Kensington	25	Mandeville
8	Clarkson Town	26	Cabbage Hall
9	Sturge Town	27	Four Paths
10	Old Harbour		



11	Spring Garden
12	Rosswell
13	Sligoville
14	Constant Spring (Now Jericho)
15	Rock River
16	St. John's
17	Garden River
18	New Point Hill
19	Kitson Town
20	Beecher Town

Underhill (1881:436) reported that Phillippo baptised between five and six thousand persons at the various locations. Also, that about five thousand children received an education in the schools that he established and taught by himself.

In 1879, Phillippo died in Jamaica at the age of 81 (p. 428).

It is noteworthy that Underhill's book which was heavily referenced in this section is an autobiography written by Phillippo that Underhill put together (p. 427). I am uncertain whether this is the reason why there was little information on Phillippo's failings as an individual compared to the many significant contributions he made in Jamaica.

#### 2.2.4. Thomas Burchell

William Burchell, the biographer and brother of Thomas Burchell, asserts that Thomas was born on December 25, 1799, in the small town of Tetbury in the district of Gloucestershire, England. Burchell's grandfather was the Baptist minister there (Burchell 1849:1-2; Catherall 1966:350). He grew up in a Christian home. Thomas' parents modelled and instilled those values in him and his siblings. His mother had regularly taught him the scriptures from an early age. Thomas learnt about the misery and

damaging nature of sin which he participated in as a sinner against God. Also, how only Christ could make amends to this by his shed blood. It was in these times that seeds were planted which eventually led to his conversion many years later. These teaching prevented him from engaging in many sinful activities while growing up but did not save him. He became moralistic (Burchell 1849:7).

The biographer alleges that Thomas Burchell was fourteen years old when he travelled to Worcester to study under the tutelage of Rev. Joseph Belcher. Belcher was the pastor of the Baptist church there. At Worcester, Phillippo was confronted with new areas of life and society. This setting along with his studies challenged and further shaped Burchell in his thinking and character. Subsequently, Burchell changed where he was living. Therefore, he began attending Shortwood Baptist Church. At that time Rev. William Winterbotham who pastored the church taught, aroused, and captivated Burchell's mind. He was already being convicted of sin continually which was creating turmoil in his soul. It eventually compelled him to seek forgiveness of his sin by the work of Christ on the cross. Thus, he became saved (p. 7). His mother had also aided him by giving him missionary literature to read such as the Baptist and Evangelical Magazines, and many Baptist Periodical Accounts (Burchell 1849:5-8).

The biographer asserts that Burchell was learning and preparing to manufacture cloth when the teaching and practices of Shortwood Baptist Church switched his focus towards the mission field (Burchell 1849:6).

On November 25, 1819, one month before Burchell's twentieth birthday, he was examined as an applicant by the BMS Committee for his suitability for missionary work. In the waiting room, before his interview took place, he got to meet James M. Phillippo for the first time. This introductory meeting was the beginning of a life-long friendship that grew over time as they worked together in Jamaica. Five days later, Burchell enrolled at the Bristol Academy for preparation of missionary work. Phillippo was at the Academy at Horton undergoing similar training. Burchell and Phillippo wisely sought to equip

themselves by learning more than their programme's standard requirements (Burchell 1849:31-34; Catherall 1966:350).

Four years later, in January 1824 Burchell landed in Jamaica, where he was giving several disappointing news. First, that the mission was discontinuing services on one of the estates, and thus they would only need him to serve every other Sunday at Flamstead. Also, that the place designated for them to live was now turned into a hospital that treated negroes. Therefore, it was best that Burchell would work from Montego Bay as the place for his missionary work (Burchell 1849:51-52; Catherall 1966:351).

In 1826 because of health-related reasons Burchell and his family briefly returned to England Burchell 1849:71-74. Burchell received more disappointing news, as he had described to the committee what was happening in Jamaica, and they did not seem alarmed. Although he was successful in his preaching in Jamaica, he found it difficult to change their opinion. This stance by the committee made him extremely disappointed. After discussion with some friends, he proposed to the committee that they let another organisation take over the responsibilities of the Jamaica mission. This suggestion was useful and caused them to act in the interest of Jamaica (Burchell 1849:106; Catherall 1966:351-352).

In 1827, when Burchell made his way back home, he found out that the local authorities had brought a court action against him Burchell 1849:107; 119. This charge against him was due to a published letter of his that William his brother had placed in the Particular Baptist Magazine, November issue. Burchell had spoken out against the poor treatment of slaves by owners to hinder their spiritual walk. Burchell, who was going to defend himself, prepared an elaborate amount of evidence (pp. 119-120). An associate of the prosecution saw it, which outlined what Burchell had seen and heard. This discovery led to them prematurely dismissing the charges (Catherall 1966:352).

In 1831, Burchell had to travel back to England for health reasons, and he brought up the topic of slavery again with BMS. Additionally, he wanted them to send new missionaries to Jamaica. Things were improving amidst the challenging circumstances. He also wanted financial support to build a school in Montego Bay to educate the slaves. Finally, he desired to tell them how other missionary bodies, particularly the Presbyterians had problems with their use of “membership tickets”. Although the Presbyterians presently used it or knew other churches in their denominations which utilised them too. This matter was causing distress to Knibb and Burchell, as this was a way of how they could adequately steward their membership duties. They had adopted this from George Liele and Moses Baker (Catherall 1966: 352-353).

Burchell (1849:163) explains that many persons attended Thomas Burchell's church, and since his members were spread out over many miles he gave them tickets. These membership tickets were renewed quarterly, once they were in good standing. On Sundays when communion was served, members were required to have these tickets. Membership tickets helped the deacons and Burchell to recognise those who were regular and approved members.

After the revolt had taken place during 1831 and 1832, Knibb decided to return to England. He told them of what had occurred and was taking place in Jamaica. In England, Knibb was able to mobilise the Baptist denomination and influence the nation. Afterwards, Burchell arrived in England. At the time Phillippo was recovering in England. So, the three men joined their efforts to communicate to the nation about what slavery was like in Jamaica. Over several conversations, Burchell informed Fowell Buxton, the leader of the Anti-Slavery movement in the House of Commons that compensation for the destruction to places of worship should be awarded. On February 25, 1834, the British Government awarded £12,205 to rebuild the chapels. They also had created the Apprenticeship system for both slaves and planters to use, while full emancipation lingered (Catherall 1966:355).

The Apprenticeship system had its shortcomings and exploitations. However, it facilitated some good practices that were further advanced after emancipation in 1838. For instance, negroes received compensation after working more than 40 hours on their plantations. They could also work on other farms for hire, or plant and cultivate trees and vegetation on their lot which fruits and products they sold. As a result, many slaves bought their freedom and lots (Catherall 1966:355).

In 1835, Burchell started training teachers, as he along with Knibb wanted to do more work in educating children. He wanted to have more schools, but his resources were limited. After a year, Burchell had schools in Montego Bay and Mount Carey, which could host 300 and 200 children, respectively. He also was training other teachers at the time (Catherall 1966:357). He encouraged those in positions of responsibility to get leadership training too. Burchell sought a few men that could help him in the various stations with the eventual outcome of building a local missionary society. This desire of his, sounds very similar to Calabar College which came into being in 1843. As such, had Calabar College not been formed Burchell would have likely created a similar institution (p. 358).

Burchell spent a considerable amount of time, energy, and resources caring for the sick. This demand on him increased when emancipation occurred, as many medical doctors left Jamaica after formerly working on the estates. Therefore, the care of negroes who were ill was left to those who were deeply concerned about them. As a result, this involuntarily caused Burchell to attend to them. He was already overworked. Thus, he established a dispensary in Mount Carey, which both served their health needs and his. This healthcare establishment would likely have been one of the earliest places where 'free health services' were recorded. It had between two and three thousand negroes that yearly received free healthcare services there. Burchell applied his knowledge of Chemistry to make his resins, tincture, and so forth. However, it still was costly. He also performed surgeries because of his knowledge of physiology and anatomy. He eventually trained others to apply dressings to wounds, and so forth (Catherall 1966: 361-362; cf. 1994:299).

Burchell's daughter Esthranna was the first child of the BMS missionaries that was publicly baptised with natives in Jamaica. She was born in Jamaica and grew up there as well. This event would have helped natives to believe that the distinction between the whites and blacks were not practised by everyone (Burchell 1849:373). Hall (2002:98) again shows how Burchell sought to tackle racial prejudice by telling white, black, and brown to carry the coffin of a missionary's wife that died. This practice was not done at the time with burials, which separated persons based on skin colour.

Burchell's consistent preaching of the gospel led to individuals being saved. His sermons showed them that the existing practices and customs of the people stood in opposition to sound doctrine. Thus, more and more persons got saved. As such, this led to some abandoning the previous money-making activities that they believed were irreligious (Burchell 1849:59). Burchell invested in those under his care, which those he baptised received. He would ask them to write about their religious experience and ask them questions to see what they affirmed doctrinally. He also asked others about the suitability and character of these potential baptismal candidates (p. 61).

Burchell reported that the behaviour of negroes had started to have noticeable change and improvement. One magistrate Mr G. gave him a financial gift and advised that he would continue to send negroes which he was responsible for to Burchell for religious instruction (Burchell 1849:94).

The impact Burchell had on those in the church can be seen upon his return to Jamaica from England. Burchell (1849:285) notes that he had left because of health reasons. When Burchell came back, there were two to three thousand persons that went to see him. Some travelled upwards of three miles to do so. They were amazed to see him and cried for joy, praising God, waving handkerchiefs and hats, shouting, clapping hands, and so forth.

In 1845, the effects of two years of illness (scarlet fever and dysentery) on the people in Mount Carey, as well as the drought which came after propelled Burchell into financial difficulty. Individuals were unable to satisfy the financial needs of their families. He was incapable of paying interest or his debt. Burchell had to live on credit, which was disconcerting for him (Burchell 1849:379). Here again, we get a glimpse of Burchell's commitment to Jamaica when he did not leave with his family to England amidst the severe challenges he was facing. This resilience must have encouraged others going through similar difficulties then.

Burchell, nonetheless, intermittently encountered severe disappointment (Burchell 1849:400). Moreover, we know that though Phillippo was "not free from occasional hastiness or fretfulness of temper, he was never morose; and though sometimes chargeable with errors of judgement, he was seldom dogmatical" (p. 405). Notwithstanding, he was very "willing to heal the wounds he might have incautiously inflicted, or more frank and generous in his terms of reconciliation to those to whom he had thus occasioned pain or injury." (p. 405). Phillippo also had a growing dislike for public speaking because of the difficulty he often experienced. For instance, in the process of him beginning "to speak before great and intelligent assemblies, he frequently turned pale - was discomforted in mind and trembled in every limb." (p. 405).

The twenty-two years of Burchell's missionary work led to the establishment of many stations. Burchell (1849:380) reveals that there were no mission-station within a hundred miles of Montego Bay when Thomas Burchell came. However, there were mission-stations at Montego Bay, Salter's Hill, Shortwood, Gurney's Mount, Mount Carey, and Bethel Hill solely because of Burchell's efforts. With regards to the mission-stations at Falmouth, Rio Bueno, Savanna-la-Mar, and Fuller's Field, they ensued from Burchell's toils along with brother Mann. Burchell started the mission-station at Lucea. He also worked at Fletcher's Grove from February 1835 to August 1836. The biographer also believes Thomas Burchell should be credited with solely establishing Watford Hill and partnering with Mann to set up Stewart Town. After the Apprenticeship Act had been passed, Burchell started and maintained British schools at Montego Bay, Mount Carey,

Shortwood, Watford, and in other locations. He also started and took care of infant schools at Montego Bay, Mount Carey, and Bethel Town.

In 1846, Burchell died of yellow fever. This disease was a result of him having taken care of William Knibb day and night when he had the disease (Burchell 1849: 384). Even in the cause of Burchell' death, we may learn about his care that positively affected thousands of souls.

In concluding, Burchell's ministry saw slavery abolished, many mission-stations, schools and health centres established, and thousands of conversions.

#### 2.2.5. William Knibb

On September 7, 1803, William Knibb was born at Kettering, in Northamptonshire, England. He was the son of Thomas and Mary Knibb which marriage produced eight children (Hinton 1847:1). His father Thomas was a tailor, and his mother Mary was a teacher (Beardall 2010). Mary was a pious and intelligent person (Hinton 1847:1-2). While, William's father Thomas was an unbeliever (p. 40).

In 1816, William and his older brother Thomas worked for J. G. Fuller who owned a printing business. J. G. Fuller was the son of Andrew Fuller, who founded the Baptist Missionary Society in 1792. Andrew was also the Baptist minister in Kettering. Shortly after, J.G. Fuller, William, and Thomas moved to Bristol where they continued in the printing business. It was in Bristol that they joined Broadmead Baptist church, where Dr John Ryland Jnr. was the pastor. At the time, Ryland was also the president of Bristol College (Hayden 2003).

In 1820, at about seventeen years of age, William became a Sunday school teacher (Hinton 1847: 5). However, it was not until a little over a year later, after hearing a sermon from J.G. Fuller that he was deeply convicted of sin. William felt dishonest that he was unsaved and teaching children. These convictions led to his salvation (p. 8). On March 7,



1822, several months after his conversion that Ryland baptised him (p. 9). Shortly after, William started preaching in the streets, such as in the vicinity of Brick street, and in places where many preachers at the time would not go. In a year's time, William's efforts saw an increase in attendance from ten to sixty persons (pp. 14-15). His longing for overseas missions increased when his older brother Thomas left England to do missionary work in Jamaica (pp. 18-20).

William decided to take up the missionary post in Kingston when his brother Thomas who occupied it for three months died (Hinton 1847:26). On October 5, 1824, William married Mary Watkins (p. 33). On November 5, 1824, Mr and Mrs William Knibb sailed from England to Jamaica (p. 33). At the time, Knibb did not think he was an excellent public speaker. Although, the Lord continued to bless his speaking engagements (Hinton 1847:19-20; 43). On February 12, 1825, they arrived in Jamaica (p. 44).

A few weeks later Knibb made his way to Kingston. The next morning, he went to the school which his brother Thomas had established (p. 50). The existing school conditions were not suitable, and so he quickly started the process of obtaining funds and resources for a new one. On August 9, 1825, the new classroom construction started with completion taking place early January 1826. This classroom could contain 250 children and was located on the mission premises near the chapel (p. 51). Knibb worked from 9 am to 3 pm there, and observed the children excelling. He was pleased that two slaves (a boy and a girl) topped their departments (p. 52). Their first publicly held school examination was in December 1826. They had two hundred and thirty children participating. The children results were very encouraging (p. 53).

Because of the demand for gospel preaching in Kingston, Knibb shortly after coming to Jamaica was required to preach often. He was only commissioned to teach there. However, his wife's health started to deteriorate because of the high temperatures in Kingston. Thus, they had to move her to Port Royal temporarily. William used this opportunity to preach there. They had no one proclaiming the gospel in Port Royal since Thomas' death. The chapel was re-opened on April 17, 1825. Knibb returned to Kingston

and would still once a week preach in Port Royal (Hinton 1847:55-56). Over the next three years, Knibb enlarged the chapel at Port Royal because it was not able to hold all the people. This church building was officially opened in April 1828 (p. 58).

In 1826, the number of people in his congregation multiplied. As a result, he laboured to see if they exhibited evidence of true salvation. He did this by examining their professions of faith and their lifestyles (Hinton 1847:59). Knibb did not have a license to preach in Kingston. Therefore, he had to ask the BMS to apply for the certificate eventually. However, he did not have the requisite academic education as a preacher based on the BMS standards. Therefore, he needed their approval on an exception basis (pp. 60-61). At the time Knibb would preach weekly in Port Royal and every other week in Kingston. On February 1, 1827, the BMS granted Knibb his preaching license (p. 62).

In April 1826, the Jamaica Baptist Association was established. Knibb was appointed its provisional secretary. The expectation was that this organisation would unite the actions taken by Baptists, while expressing care to each other (Hinton 1847:62). So, this was another way in which Knibb served the local Baptists in Jamaica.

By February 1828, prayer meetings at Knibb's church were well attended. For instance, their Wednesday morning prayer meetings usually had between 600 and 1000 persons in attendance (Hinton 1847:63-64). The people's presence indicates trust and dependence on God's sovereignty and the value they placed on prayer. It may also speak to Knibb's leadership.

Knibb resigned from the Kingston school to take up posts at Savanna-la-Mar and Ridgeland on July 3, 1829 (Hinton 1847:66-67). At his departure, two thousand persons were presented at East Queens Street Church in Kingston which Coultart pastored (pp. 67-68). This large gathering might indicate how people viewed Knibb's contribution over the time he served them.

Knibb even bought slaves and gave them immediate freedom (Hinton 1847:70). This action reveals the heart that he had. This type of activity would be seen favourably by the slaves. The recipients should likely feel a sense of dignity and value as a person.

On December 22, 1826, the Consolidated Slave Law was passed in Jamaica, which had several clauses that may have hampered evangelical efforts. Such as, 'slaves found guilty of preaching and teaching, as Anabaptists or otherwise, without permission from their owner and the quarter sessions for the parish, should be punished by whipping or imprisonment in the work house to hard labour'. Also, 'that no sectarian minister or other teacher of religion should keep open his place of meeting between sunset and sunrise.' Additionally, 'religious teachers taking money from slaves, should pay a penalty of twenty pounds for each offence, and in default of payment be committed to the common jail for a month.'

The biographer asserts that the law took effect on May 1, 1827, and had some negative impact on Knibb's congregation, but it was not significant. However, the BMS communicated the problems with it with their government, and the law was removed. This removal angered the planters who created an island-wide commotion. Knibb and other missionaries who published their disapproval of those actions were continuously slandered (Hinton 1847:86-89). It is important to recognise that these are the type of measures which many planters resorted to at the time. These similar measures hindered Baptists and other missionaries which sought to share the gospel and offer a thriving religious community for slaves amidst their present state of slavery. Another observation, is that Anabaptists were sometimes linked<sup>14</sup> with the Baptists in Jamaica. Hence, BMS' intervention when the law was passed.

On February 17, 1830, Mr Mann from the Falmouth station died. At a meeting about a suitable replacement, Knibb was chosen (Hinton 1847:100-101). Thus, Knibb left Savanna-la-Mar and moved to Falmouth in that summer (Smith 1896:14).

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<sup>14</sup> This association or confusion between Anabaptists and Baptists is addressed in greater detail on page 175-177.

Besson (2011:322) notes that when Knibb arrived in Falmouth, no Baptist chapel or mission home existed. However, he quickly bought land and started construction for the church at Falmouth, Rio Bueno and Stewart Town.

The talk of freedom was falsely circulated in 1831 by the slave masters. They said the King of England was going to grant it. Sam Sharpe believed their freedom was approved. So, he encouraged slaves to stop working after Christmas if they were not being paid. This rebellion was planned from mid-October (Hinton 1847:111-115). On the evening of December 26, Knibb heard about this plan from Mr Blyth, a Presbyterian. Knibb instantly tried to prevent it. He spoke out against it on all occasions. He told his people not to get involved (pp. 116-117). Scott (2018) alleges that on December 27, 1831, at the opening ceremony of the Salter's Hill Baptist Church in St James, that Knibb said he would expel all slaves from his church that participated in the planned rebellion. This declaration infuriated some of the slaves who walked out of the church insulting him. Thus, Knibb who was offended, vindicatively agreed on January 7, 1832, to use his church in Falmouth as a military barracks and a jail in the slaves' rebellion. The researcher has not been able to verify this claim made by Scott.

Hinton (1847:119-120) explained that during the revolt, some of Knibb's members stayed to defend their masters' estates from being destroyed by fire. Knibb was coerced into enlisting as a soldier at court on January 2, 1832, and then arrested. Whitehouse and Abbott were also arrested. Knibb was later released on February 14, 1832 (p. 120). Most of the planters and magistrates' wrong posture towards Knibb and others showed the Baptist missionaries that they needed to tackle the problem of slavery directly. They had avoided it before. Thus, they sent Knibb to England to promote the abolition of slavery (pp. 136-137).

I believe Knibb's agreement with the BMS to avoid the issue of slavery was a colossal blunder. Christianity advocates for all persons having dignity and value as image bearers of God even if they are negroes and unsaved.

In England, Phillippo and Knibb had the privilege of speaking at the annual meeting of the BMS Society. Phillippo spoke positively of the missionary work in Jamaica, while Knibb right after shared on the issue of slavery (Hinton 1847:144).

Knibb went to answer charges at the Assembly Rooms at Bath, UK, which were publicly made against him that he had incited Jamaica's slaves' rebellion (Knibb 1833:2). Hall (2002:85-86) indicates that Knibb told people and institutions that the accusations and charges made against him and other missionaries were false. He also explained that they needed money for the demolished churches, which needed rebuilding. Burchell and Phillippo wisely sought to equip themselves by learning more than their programme's standard requirements (Burchell 1849:31-34; Catherall 1966:350).

Hinton (1847:151-152) explained that within two years – between summer 1832 and January 1834 – Knibb travelled throughout the entire United Kingdom having public talks on slavery. Bisnauth (1989:135) remarked that William Knibb became “the champion for the cause of emancipation”. Masters (2006:29) suggests, “almost single-handedly he swept from the minds of many thousands of people any lingering susceptibility to the lies and half-truths of colonial self-justification, and his message spread throughout Nonconformity”. He further adds, “Knibb’s public addresses had a power altogether overwhelming. Sceptics were convinced, waverers became decided, apathetic people were roused, and great numbers of hearts everywhere kindled to irrepressible support”.

Hall (2002:86) suggests that Knibb’s efforts were rewarded when slavery was abolished on August 1, 1834. Hinton (1847:295) notes that Knibb was the critical player in Jamaica obtaining emancipation. However, Hinton also reveals that when Knibb’s arrived in 1832, committees were recently mandated in both houses of parliament. They were tasked to learn about the conditions of British colonies in the West Indies, and to explain their views on abolishing slavery. Thus, Knibb must have known about their inquiry, especially as “he was summoned to appear before them” (pp. 172-173). Knibb’s efforts were also rewarded by a government grant of £5510 and contributions to BMS society of £13000 for the destroyed chapels in Jamaica (pp. 180-181).

Knibb noted when speaking to a large gathering at Exter Hall, UK, that “In the year 1832, as you are aware, the whole of our chapels in the western district of the mission were destroyed” (1842:11). Knibb’s chapel was rebuilt after being destroyed in the insurrection. The construction started in February 1835 and ended in April 1837. For the reopening, about six thousand persons consisting of four thousand adults and two thousand children were present for their services. The total collections came to about £600 sterling (Hinton 1847:199). This collection indicates how appreciative they were for the gospel and it’s outworking through what Knibb was doing.

On October 2, 1837, Knibb recalled that he had built four chapels, three school rooms and three mission houses. These constructions took place after the insurrection and required much labour and expenses (Hinton 1847:226).

In April 1839, Knibb started to encourage the Baptist Missionary Society that they needed to conduct missions to Western Africa (Hinton 1847:275). He further explained that Jamaica had already sent their first missionary to Africa to proclaim salvation through Jesus Christ (p. 276). Subsequently, Knibb explained to persons gathered at Exeter Hall, UK, on Friday, May 22, 1840, that he “will then soon return to Jamaica, and you shall hear that I am there in the midst of the people I love. When I stood here eight years ago, I stated that the **great object I had in view in endeavouring to obtain the emancipation of my brethren in Jamaica, was the introduction of the Gospel of Jesus Christ into the land of their fathers**” (Knibb 1840:15, emphasis added). The researcher believes that Knibb had a strong desire and commitment to see Jamaican missionaries bring the gospel to Africa.

Knibb negotiated so that former slaves would be adequately compensated. He believed as part of their independence they should be able to buy the goods and services which they needed. Knibb surmised that they would gladly work given those circumstances (Hinton 1847:284). He wanted to see blacks, and whites, enjoy the same level of equality (p. 285).

Some planters decided not to rehire the former slaves. Moreover, they destroyed their houses and ground provision. As a result, Knibb chose to create a free village. He borrowed money to buy land, build a school, keep some acres for the mission and to sell the remaining part as lots. The former slaves would buy the lots. They would also have the gospel being preached regularly to them on the property (Hinton 1847:299-300).

In 1835, Knibb started 'The Baptist Herald and Friend of Africa' newspaper (Morrison n.d.:14). Hinton (1847:336) suggests that it was first issued in September 1839. It was created to teach the emancipated classes. Masters (2006) indicates that slaves became very dependent on their pastors when they were given their freedom. This dependency was primarily due to their illiteracy (p. 43). Knibb confirmed this dependence (p. 45). Knibb also created missionary journals to encourage freed Africans who went back home in their mission work. These measures were very successful (Morrison n.d.:14).

Knibb was selected to attend the Anti-Slavery Convention in London in June 1840. He was to also advance the planned mission to Africa (Hinton 1847:338). He left Jamaica in February 1840 and arrived in England in May 1840 (p. 343).

Sir Charles Metcalfe – a former governor of Jamaica – in writing to Knibb indicated that the Baptists are unlike other missionaries. Metcalfe said this as he was not aware of any blame being communicated against other ministers. Also, he felt that the Baptists had a significant influence, as they operated with the strength of a political party. This feat was not achieved by other denominations in Jamaica (Hinton 1847:350).

Knibb explained that in 1831 Baptists had twenty-four churches, with 10,838 members, and 17,000 inquirers. By 1839, they had thirty-nine churches, with 24,777 members and 21,111 inquirers. Knibb attributed the drastic increase to the slaves obtaining freedom that facilitated their church attendance (Hinton 1847:358). Knibb was able to explain the deficient levels of crime that existed since emancipation occurred. In the Western Union, which has 24,776 members and inquirers, only one person was arrested for an offence, and he was acquitted (p. 359). On June 3, the BMS Committee agreed to start the mission to Western Africa (p. 366).

Knibb noted that in the Western Union between 1835 and 1840, eight missionaries are most responsible for the building of eighteen chapels, twenty-three mission-houses and nineteen classrooms (Hinton 1847:421-422). He also explained that in 1835 they had 13,966 members and 10,000 inquirers. However, by 1840 they had increased to 27,607 members and 18,984 inquirers (p. 426).

Zacek and Brown argue that Knibb used the Baptist Herald to provide precise details of how one's house should be appropriately furnished and arranged. Families were to have 'a neat white-pine or cedar table, with a good few chairs ... so that you and your family may be comfortably seated at meals; have a clean table-cloth, plates, knives and forks on your table, and accustom your children to come to meals with their hands and faces clean' (2014:502-503). This view would have created wrong expectations for the slaves to attain. I believe the former slaves' circumstances then should have shown Knibb how impractical his advice was at the time.

In 1842, Knibb went to London and presented evidence about Jamaica's situation to a committee appointed to examine and advise on West India Colonies. The Hon. George Berkeley was a committee member who interrogated him about reports that some former slaves had furnished their homes with elegant furniture. Knibb's response indicated that he saw this as a kind of development on the former slaves' part (Zacek and Brown 2014:503).

On October 6, 1843, Knibb spoke to and encouraged the former slaves to continue working for the planters at fair wages. Knibb gave this encouragement at the Jubilee of BMS' celebration. The Baptist Herald and Friend of Africa had printed his speech (Baptist Missionary Society 1843:43).

Several of Knibb's children died in Jamaica before him (Hinton 1847:454). Moreover, Mrs Knibb at a point had to travel to England. The eighteen years which she lived in Jamaica had severely compromised her health. Thus, for a time, he had to live many thousands



of miles away from his wife while she recovered (p. 455). So, Knibb made great sacrifices to help Jamaica, sometimes at his family's own expense.

By 1844, Knibb had constructed at least six chapels, schools and mission-houses. They were also fully paid (Hinton 1847:477).

There were significant discriminatory taxes which the Government in cohorts with the planters put on food and construction items when the slaves were free. The Government then used some of these revenues to pay for indentured labour (Hinton 1847:488-492).

Knibb arrived in Jamaica when the average missionary's life was only three years. However, with the collective effort to build healthy and comfortable residences and chapels, the average of missionary life increased to more than seven years. He believed the climate in Jamaica had much to do with their high mortality (Hinton 1847:495). Naturally, much of Knibb's work in the building of chapels, schools, etc. would thus be correlated to this improvement in life expectancy in Jamaica.

Knibb had two houses in the parish of Trelawny. One in Falmouth and another in Kettering. In 1841, Philip Henry Cornford visited Knibb and described his home in Falmouth as having no decorations or embellishments. It had plain polished floors, and whitewashed or simple painted walls. It also had chairs made of mahogany which was expensive, but looked common and had no cushions. This property was an ordinary and comfortable townhouse in Falmouth. Knibb's house in Kettering was a two-storey stone structure where he had established a free village. The freedmen had built this house for him, and it was valued at £1000 then. Some believed this was a bit excessive (Zacek and Brown 2014:498).

Notwithstanding, Knibb in a speech on April 28, 1842, mentioned the report of John Candler who travelled throughout Jamaica and said, "we met with many mission-houses too small for a family, and very inconvenient; and a few homely enough, but none that we should consider too good for the occupant. Extravagance of furniture and decoration,

which some persons seem to speak of exists only in the imagination, so far, at least, as my knowledge extends” (Knibb 1842:13).

Knibb notes that one of the consequences of abolishing slavery is that negroes can now attend chapel service weekly. In the past, negroes may have visited chapel at most once or twice for the month on a Sunday. This limitation was due to the slaves' many responsibilities (Hinton 1847:496). This practice again reflects positively on Knibb's efforts to abolish slavery, so that people could regularly attend worship. During slavery, women and children worked on the plantations from sunrise to sunset. However, Baptists such as Knibb made sure that children attended school and wives could be homemakers attending to their families (Hall 1993:108).

In Knibb's entire ministry in Jamaica, he may have baptised between five and six thousand persons. However, he did not want to pastor a large church. He thought it best to plant new churches in other locations. Thus, he sent members from his church in Falmouth six times with several hundred members to plant other churches (Hinton 1847:549-550). For instance, in 1845 Knibb explained that his church in Falmouth had 1280 members. From this church, they had first planted a church in Refuge which had 780 members. Second, a church in Rio Bueno which had 315 members. Third, a church in Waldensia which had 746 members. Fourth, a church in Stewart Town which had 814 members. Fifth, a church in Unity which had 340 members. Sixth and last, a church in Kettering which had 200 members (p. 497). Thus, Knibb wanted more accessibility to church and for other pastors' involvement in caring for others. I believe this is a very mature and wise perspective.

Hinton (1847:497) also noted that Knibb after sending out members to plant would see the chapel with vacant seats and say joyfully, “We must work hard, and fill it again”.

Knibb explained that he could not find a married couple when he first arrived in Westmorland, twelve years ago. However, between 1842 and 1845 Baptists had married 8,710 couples which were the most in Jamaica out of the total conducted marriages of 28,000 (Hinton 1847:500).

Knibb died at the age of forty-two (p. 522). Knibb's daughter Ann went on to marry Rev Ellis Fray who was one of the trained native pastors at Calabar Theological College (Hall 2002:95; Jackson 2003). Thus, Knibb's daughter to some extent must have accepted equality among other races, which her father laboured to achieve.

Knibb had an excellent character, but his passion at times led to impatience. His enthusiasm was tarnished by indiscretion, and his anger was seen as bitterness. It was said that he was egotistical and loved power. However, while these faults concerning Knibb may not be entirely false, we know that he detested them (Hinton 1847:558-559).

### 2.3 Some of the Benefits of Freedom from Slavery in Jamaica

Hughes (1945:130-131) explained that under slavery, individuals were forced to have sexual intercourse and expected to give birth to many babies to produce labour for the commercial activities of slave owners. Therefore, slaves were often left uneducated. Slaves possessed no legal rights, and thus males (husbands, fathers, brothers) were often powerless in fighting against those persons who would violate their females (wives, mothers, sisters). Additionally, worship was an act that was punishable due to a fear of illumination and salvation for the slave through Christianity. Lastly, slaves were treated as possessions without a soul. So, when freedom came, slaves were seen as persons who could potentially become God's children (p. 131). Freedom had positive and cultural benefits. For instance, by 1844, 19,000 former slaves were owners of lots (p. 132).

Charles Stewart Renshaw observed how slavery had perverted the Christian family. He pointed out that 'husbands and wives frequently rent and cultivate different "grounds," keep separate purses, and defend their rights as rigidly against each other as against strangers' (Zacek and Brown 2014:456).

Some individuals believed Jamaica's economic and social problems today were a consequence of how the British chose to end slavery. For example, the British rewarded slaveowners financially for their future losses but provided little to none assistance to freedmen with regards to financial and other resources (Kenny 2009:453).

Many in the mission also found fault with the disparity between wages and rents, a complaint that black Jamaicans also voiced in the post-emancipation period. One of the Americans complained that his church members travelled from estate to estate for work so much that it was a 'waste of time ... so a large class are able to do but little more than supply the daily wants of their families' (Zacek and Brown 2014:458).

Some of the benefits arising from the work of Knibb, Burchell and Phillippo for freed slaves, included education, social, and economic benefits (Burchell 1849:94; Catherall 1966: 352-353; Hinton 1847:51; Baptist Missionary Society 1818:46; Baptist Missionary Society 1832:399-400; Blouet 1990:628; Bynner, Schuller & Feinstein 2003:358; Vila 2000:21-22). From these sources, we also see that these benefits included slaves no longer being violated sexually, slaves being treated as individuals, slaves being able to obtain an education, slaves being able to attend Church, and slaves being able to own land. Therefore, addressing most of the issues identified under slavery in the section.

Altogether, this section demonstrated some of the negative consequences of slavery. However, it also served to highlight the benefits, which freed slaves experienced as a result of the abolition work of mainly three of the five Baptist missionaries (Knibb, Burchell and Phillippo).

## 2.4 Collective Efforts

Hall (2002:88) notes that William Knibb, Thomas Burchell and James Mursell Phillippo as missionaries played a very prominent role in Jamaica and Britain. They each had a chapel named after them too.

A little over a century after Liele's arrival, J. G. Greenhough noted that Baptists was highest based on membership and association which was almost 20% of the Jamaica population (Smith 1896:xx-xxi). As we consider the works of George Liele and John Rowe commencing in 1782 and 1814, respectively, it is clear that they helped to prepare the stage for this gradual increase in the Baptists' movement presence. Thus, when others such as James Mursell Phillippo, William Knibb and Thomas Burchell came on the scene, it further facilitated this increase in Jamaica.

While many overlook Burchell's contribution, Catherall (1966:349-350) believes it was the thinking of Burchell and words of Knibb that led to their success between 1831 and 1845. Hall (1993:104) explained that, William Knibb, Thomas Burchell, James Phillippo and others conducted a hugely effective public campaign against slavery in England between 1832 and 1833.

## 2.5 African Identity/Heritage

Knibb exhibited an unyielding longing and backing for a germane African Jamaican church. Knibb did not call them 'Ethiopian' as Liele did. Knibb often said the words 'Africa' and 'African'. This acknowledgement would give inspiration to the emancipated slaves, especially since many remembered Africa as their home (Morrison n.d.:14).

Knibb and Burchell determined to separate the church in Jamaica from Britain. Knibb wanted a local Jamaican Baptist expression. Thus, Dick (2002:32) explained that the blacks who were not endowed financially had to fund the work then. Therefore, the BMS did not have to support the Jamaica mission any more. Also, the leadership in Jamaica

did not have to refer all decisions to Britain any longer. They could make decisions where they wanted to do like missions in Africa and beginning a religious institution such as Calabar.

## 2.6 Calabar Theological College

Dick (2002:32) notes that in 1843, the Calabar Theological College was set up as a training facility for blacks to become pastors and missionaries. This institution signalled an awareness that blacks could cope and profit from theological education.

Calabar High School (n.d.) notes that from back in 1839, William Knibb, Thomas Burchell and James Phillippo sought the creation of an institution to train native Baptist ministers. It also recognised this was a collective work of the three prominent English Baptist Missionaries at the time.

## 2.7. Family Life and Marriage

During slavery, Blacks were prohibited to get married, and family life was not encouraged. With emancipation and the advent of Free Villages, a change took place with marriage rates rising exponentially then (Dick 2002:53). Hence, I believe the work of Phillippo, Burchell and Knibb through their preaching, and the conducting of marriages would have significantly contributed. Their actions would have sought to counter the low view of marriage perpetrated by the planters too. For instance, Hinton (1847:500) refers to Baptist missionaries conducting the most marriages in Jamaica between 1842 and 1845.

Phillippo was the first to form a free village. However, Burchell and Knibb also joined in building Free Villages. There were almost 200 free villages establishments in the first five years of its inception (BMS World Mission n.d.). The freed slaves marriages and lives improved in the free villages too (Phillippo 1843:220-221; Underhill 1881:184-185).

There was a level of humility, flexibility and wisdom that Knibb and others employed that led to their success. Hall (2002:130) believes since the Baptists were willing to change their locations to serve the people – when others such as the Established Church would not – it contributed to their influence. For instance, Knibb in 1844 told the BMS, that he followed his congregation after a third of them moved out-of-town.

## 2.8 Places of Worship

James Stephen, the Colonial Office's Permanent Secretary, wrote in 1841 that there existed in nearly every parish in Jamaica good chapels and large congregations (Catherall 1966:358). I believe this is a significant achievement considering the setting in which this occurred. Also, that the Baptist missionary work only started with George Liele less than 60 years before.

## 2.9 Baptist History

In recent years, lecturer and historian Shalman Scott, who was the former Mayor of Montego Bay, St. James, Jamaica, has argued that the orthodox Baptist history involving Knibb and Burchell were not as honourable as we have learned. He has also sought more recognition of black missionaries, including Liele (Scott 2018). However, as human beings, we have all made mistakes and continue to on a daily basis. Thus, it is very likely that they may be possible wrongdoing on both the black and white Baptist missionaries' part. However, I think their intentions were mostly genuine in helping people and the slaves.

## 2.10 Nineteenth - Century Sentiments

The overall impact of these men may be hard to quantify. However, here is an observation of the reactions people had almost fifty years after Knibb and Burchell's death, and seventeen years after Phillippo's death. Smith (1896: xv) reported that, "in Falmouth, and all around the district, the mention of Knibb's name brings tears. At Montego Bay and

Mount Carey, Knibb is recalled with profound feeling, but Burchell's is the name held in greatest reverence; while at Spanish Town and in the south of the island there is no word so potent as Phillippo”.

## 2.11 Summary and Conclusion of Chapter

The achievements of Liele, Rowe, Phillippo, Burchell and Knibb as five Baptist missionaries in establishing and strengthening the Baptists witness in Jamaica should not go unnoticed. These five men also helped native Jamaicans to understand that they are valuable as human beings bearing the image of God. All focused on teaching education and sharing the gospel in some way. However, it was Phillippo, Burchell and Knibb that were primarily effective in their efforts to abolish slavery, along with helping former slaves to live independently with success when slavery ended. Their efforts may not have always been selfless, or they had may not have completed their actions with the right motives. However, they, for the most part, wanted to help Jamaicans as five men who were not natives.



## **CHAPTER 3 - WHAT IS CALVINISTIC BAPTISTIC THEOLOGY, AND HOW PREVALENT WAS IT BETWEEN 1782 AND 1879?**

### 3.1 Chapter Introduction

This chapter aimed to answer the second key research question, which is “what is Calvinistic Baptist theology, and how prevalent was it between 1782 and 1879?”. It also sought to address the central claim of this doctoral thesis that, “the significant contributions of Liele, Rowe, Knibb, Phillippo, and Burchell between 1782 and 1879 in Jamaica may be partly due to them having Calvinistic views”. However, whereas chapter 2 tackled the first part of the central claim, i.e. their contribution, chapter 3 addressed the second part, which had to do with their theology. Accordingly, it was essential to systematically present credible evidence what these five Baptist missionaries’ theology was based on what was common at the time. Also, in the succeeding chapters, an examination of what they said in written and verbal communication sought to assist in making that determination as well.

In the next section 3.2, it attempted to answer what Calvinistic baptistic theology is by first discussing the history of Baptists. Section 3.3, continued to help the reader to understand what Calvinistic baptistic theology is by dealing broadly with what Baptist theology is before addressing those individuals within the denomination who affirmed Calvinistic theology. Section 3.4, explained Calvinistic Baptist theology. Section 3.5, provided an examination of how widespread Calvinistic baptistic theology was during the late eighteenth and late nineteenth century. In the process, Calvinistic Baptists in Europe (3.5.1), America (3.5.2) and Jamaica (3.5.3) were examined. Also, in this section, the author noted twelve cases involving the preaching, hymns, and theology of key Calvinistic Baptists existing at the time. Finally, the chapter ended with a summary and conclusion in section 3.6.

### 3.2 History of Baptists

In the sixteenth century, many Christians from England were adamant that the church needed to make changes or amendments to its beliefs and practices. They believed the church was dishonest and self-serving in its actions, and that it mostly veered from the fundamental truths of scripture. At the time of the Protestant Reformation, there were several contributing factors which promoted this view, such as the doctrines of Martin Luther in Germany and John Calvin in Geneva; the Bible being translated in English which was the vernacular; and a greater desire for church participation in keeping with changes socially and politically (McBeth 2013:68).

The “Puritans” were one of those Protestant groups within the Church of England which emerged then due to their desire to have the right teachings and practices being promoted in the body of Christ. The Puritans had a strong Calvinistic influence which was evident in their theological convictions and application of it (McBeth 2013:68).

The “Separatists” was another Protestant group that was desirous of reformation. They were predominantly made up of Puritans that believed it was best to separate themselves from the Church of England as their efforts to facilitate change within had proven unsuccessful. Thus, they established local congregations which grew from a few at the beginning of the seventeenth century to many churches by the year 1625 (McBeth 2013:68).

The Anabaptists or “rebaptizers,” was another group of Protestants, which was formed in the early stage of the Reformation in the sixteen century. The Anabaptists were believers who opted to be baptised as adults, although they would have previously been baptised as infants. The first baptism occurred on January 21, 1525, when Conrad Grebel baptised Jörg [George] Blaurock, an adult. The baptism was done by affusion, which involves the pouring of the water on the head. At the time, this would have been the way most Swiss Anabaptists would have conducted baptisms, although a month later Wolfgang Ulimann

was baptised by Grebel by the method of immersion, which dips or plunges someone in the water. The Anabaptists saw believer's baptism as an initiatory sign of the process of authentic Christian living (Chute, Finn & Haykin, 2015:12).

Moreover, the Anabaptist view of separating the church and state was frowned upon by professing believers in Western Europe who would most likely be the majority of residents. Anabaptists were seen as possibly destabilising the country, and so many were killed by both Roman Catholics and Protestants. Thus, their decisions to be baptised again created opposition with Roman Catholic believers and other Protestant believers (Chute et al., 2015:12).

Lee (2003:19) notes that there are several views as to how the Baptists came into existence and because of this there has been much debate. Notwithstanding, a large number of scholars, including B.R. White, believes that the Baptists came from the group of Separatists and not necessarily from the Anabaptists (or at most their influence was minimal) (White 1971:xii; Haykin 2005:12-13; Brackney 2006:22; Robinson 2009; Chute et al. 2015:13-14). Some scholars, such as James Coggins, think that the Baptists were a derivation from the Separatists, but they became heavily influenced by the Anabaptists, particularly the Mennonites (Payne 1957:313; Watts 1978:7-8; Coggins 1984:247-259). The remaining group of scholars such as Irving Horst, believes that the Anabaptists in England influenced both the Separatists and Baptists. They think this was cemented when they immigrated to the Netherlands. Horst contends that a good deal of Anabaptist doctrines exist in the exact locations where the English Separatists were most dominant (Horst 1972:170-176).

Chute et al. (2015:13-14) acknowledge the presence of Anabaptists in England before the Baptists came into existence. However, this does not prove that the Anabaptists had a particular influence on the Baptists who surfaced in the seventeenth century. First, Anabaptists and Baptists both studied the scriptures and so they could have arrived at similar convictions (unknown to the other) and used these to guide their church polity. Second, if Baptists had significantly owed their development to Anabaptists, this would

be very hard to substantiate, as Baptists sought to distance themselves from the Anabaptists who were viewed as a brutal, revolutionary group which had partially grown through the Münster incident in the sixteen century. For instance, in 1644 a confession of faith was created by the first Particular Baptist churches which made mention of them being regularly mistaken as Anabaptists. Third, it is most likely that the Baptists emerged from the English Separatists in agreement with historian B. R. White.

Separatist congregations began to form in the 1580s and 1590s. There are two books written by Robert Browne in 1582 which explain their emergence. Browne himself was a Separatist who came from a wealthy family. He was a relative of Robert Cecil, who was the lord treasurer and chief minister of Queen Elizabeth I. Browne had become a Presbyterian at Cambridge University while he was pursuing his undergraduate studies. However, his views changed over the next couple of years to asserting that all churches should have the authority to elect their elders. In 1581, Browne advocated for new churches being established outside of the state governed church and its accompanying parish system. Thus, he began a Separatist church at Norwich in Norfolk. Due to persecution, the members of the church relocated from England to the Netherlands in 1582. There were several contributing factors such as its geographical closeness to England, its religious tolerance, its financial success, and its Calvinistic influenced churches. Browne's perspectives which were published in two books and influenced English Separatists, including Baptists over the next 100 hundred years (Chute et al., 2015:14-15).

Browne believed that the State should exercise its power and authority in areas of law and governance. However, he argued that this excluded the using of this right to govern local churches. Thus, church members as citizens of the State were required to submit to the laws, regulations and governing authorities. Notwithstanding, this did not justify them forcing religion, subjection, and church multiplication on them through coercion, which happened at times. He saw the majority congregational vote of the church as a means by which pastors and elders were appointed to office. Although, God was the One that called them and gave them the authority to do so. Christianity to Browne necessitated

individuals having the right to believe, and not merely responding positively to some public duty (Chute et al., 2015:14-15).

Browne subsequently announced publicly that his views were wrong. Nevertheless, three men (John Greenwood, Henry Barrow, and John Penry) continued advancing that view. As a result, in 1593 they were hanged for formally withdrawing from the established church which was thought to be an act of civil disobedience. Before this, their verbal and written communication impacted many Christians who embraced Separatism (Chute et al., 2015:15).

In April 1593, the established church and state believed it could reduce the number of persons becoming Separatists. They sought to do this by passing a law that made it mandatory for all persons older than sixteen to attend their parish church. However, if they did not comply with the law within a month, they were put in prison. After they were released from prison, if they still did not attend after three months, then had the choice of being forced to leave their country or death. Justifiably, many chose to leave their country (Chute et al., 2015:15).

Approximately forty of these persons went to Amsterdam where Francis Johnson their pastor subsequently joined them. Johnson, Greenwood and Barrow were all arrested at the same time; however, he was spared though being kept in imprisonment until 1597, when he was freed and suppose to leave the country for Canada. However, he chose to go to Amsterdam where members of his Separatist congregation were. In 1608, another Separatist church came to Amsterdam with John Smyth as the leader. At first, the two churches were very similar in theology and demographics. Nonetheless, within several months marked differences existed between the two groups. These dissimilarities resulted in Smyth's church becoming the first English-speaking Baptists (Chute et al., 2015:15-16).

John Smyth had been a Church of England minister. As he progressed from his studies as a student to a pastor, he formed Puritan and Separatist perspectives. Smyth desired to see the church experience reformation. After, this was unsuccessful he became a member of a small Separatist church in Gainsborough, England. Eventually, this Separatist group increased to the point where it was unsafe to have public meetings. Therefore, they conveniently split into two groups. One group relocated to Scrooby Manor under the leadership of John Robinson, William Brewster, and William Bradford. This group became the core of the “Pilgrims Fathers” who went on the Mayflower to America. The remaining persons for the Gainsborough group came under the leadership of John Smyth. This Gainsborough remnant always had the threat of experiencing harsh treatment in England based on a vow from King James I and because English law forbids churches from being independent or in disagreement with the Church of England. This threat resulted in the Smyth's group opting to go to Amsterdam in 1607 (McBeth 2013:69).

John Smyth and Thomas Helwys were a part of the group of Separatist that left England. When Smyth's group went to Amsterdam, they met Dutch Mennonites who are a subgroup of the Anabaptists that promoted believers' baptism and religious freedom (McBeth 2013:69). As mentioned earlier some believe this Anabaptist influence resulted in this group being the first set of Baptists. This view is not what I take in this dissertation, as I believe B.R. White's is the most credible. Nonetheless, this interaction between Smyth's group and Anabaptists is the reason why scholars such as Coggins think the Anabaptists had much influence on those who became Baptists. Humphreys (2000:9) and Driggers (2013:33) contend that Smyth and Helwys were the two first Baptist theologians. Humphreys (2000:9) explained that Smyth studied theology at Cambridge University, while Helwys was not formally trained in theology. According to Coggins, Smyth changed from being a Puritan to a Separatist, then to a Baptist and lastly to an Anabaptist (1984:247). Therefore, Smyth left from affirming Calvinism to Arminianism in his lifetime, where his Arminian views were mostly expressed when he became an Anabaptist, but there were hints of him beginning to lean in that direction from his writings when he became a Baptist (Coggins 1984:253-254; cf. Lee 2003:84-86).

Three of their major baptistic distinctives were “believer’s baptism, sectarian withdrawal from society, and religious liberty” (Humphreys 2000:9). Regarding, believer’s baptism, Smyth baptised himself through pouring water on his head, followed by him baptising Helwys and the rest of believers (Lee 2003:72-73). Smyth pastored the Gainsborough remnant group first, but shortly after in Amsterdam departed to become an Anabaptist (Driggers 2013:33).

After about three to four years in Amsterdam, Thomas Helwys and a few members returned to England in 1611 or 1612. Here, they established the first recognised Baptist church in Spitalfields, England. Eventually, they grew, and other Baptist churches were started.

### 3.3 What is Baptistic Theology?

A large part of Baptist theology that exists centres around folk theology instead of academic theology. Folk theology refers to the theology that a community of believers hold and follow. While, academic theology relates to the theology that believers hold which place very high importance on intellectualism and to some extent their social and work statuses. For the most part, folk theology requires an individual to assimilate and learn from the ideas and values associated with the belief, but it may not be necessarily communicated verbally to them, while academic theology is communicated verbally to individuals, but they may not necessarily have assimilated and learned from the ideas and values associated with the belief. Furthermore, academic theology generally seeks to develop a system, while that tends not to be the case in folk theology (Humphreys 2000:7-8).

Some have argued that Baptists have historically done little to give rise to their own theology (McClendon 2002:20). They believe Baptist theology has been influenced by theological convictions external to their group, for instance in the eighteenth and nineteenth century where Baptists were having discussions on Calvinism and Arminianism (pp. 24-26). Many theologians view Baptist history as being generally divided

into two theological schools, i.e. regular or Calvinistic Baptists history and general or Arminian Baptists history (Van Broekhoven 2013:28).

Chute et al. (2015:6) assert that the Calvinistic Baptists came from Henry Jacob, John Lathrop and Henry Jessey's contribution. While, Driggers (2013:33) indicates that those in the Helwys tradition opposed Calvinism and were regarded as Arminians or General Baptists, while the Calvinistic Baptists were termed Particular Baptists around 1638.

Chute et al. (2015:6) indicated that Baptist history shows individuals and groups retaining some of their Calvinistic or Arminian beliefs or incorporating them together. While, some have decided to work together despite their disagreement in theology. Nonetheless, Driggers (2013:34) highlighted that General and Calvinistic Baptists both gained in popularity and importance in the seventeenth century.

As we consider the two main theological camps in Baptist history, it is essential to know the origins of both Calvinism and Arminianism. Driggers (2013:34) explains that John Calvin from which Calvinism was derived was a Frenchman that undertook studies as a Roman Catholic. However, he changed his views and accepted Protestantism around 1533. Calvin turned into a crucial player in the Reformation while he was in Geneva, Switzerland. He is regarded as the father of Presbyterianism and had a significant influence on the Puritans. While, Jacobus Arminius from which Arminianism was derived was a pastor who had reformed views that eventually rejected it. Arminius established his system with emphasis on human responsibility in salvation and rejected unconditional election and irresistible grace which was affirmed by Calvinists.

Driggers (2013) suggests that the organisational polity among churches was another way in which Particular Baptists differed from General Baptists. For instance, Particular Baptists churches were more opposed to a hierarchical governance structure among their churches, while General Baptists were satisfied with it. Thus, Particular Baptists churches were more comfortable with exercising their independence (p. 35).



### 3.4 What is Calvinistic Baptist Theology?

Piper (2016:19) notes that, “The term Particular Baptist is a technical term taken from the phrase particular redemption, one of the tenets of the Calvinistic Baptists. Therefore, Particular Baptists were the Calvinistic Baptists, in distinction from the General (or Arminian) Baptists”.

Driggers (2013:34-35) suggests that Particular Baptists affirmed God’s sovereign grace, predestination, election, perseverance of the saints, total depravity, the Scripture’s absolute authority, the church’s vital role, Believer’s baptism and immersion, and religious and civil freedoms. While, General Baptists also affirmed religious and civil liberties, they believed in unlimited atonement, strong approaches to evangelism, and individuals having a free will choice of salvation.

Bisnauth (1989:119) notes that the first Particular Baptist church was formed in Wapping, London in 1633. However, Driggers (2013:35) suggests that it was established in 1638, although 1633 is a possible date. Horner (2014:265) indicates that several Baptist congregations published in 1644 what now is referred to as the London Confession. Hill II (2014:52) also notes that the London Confession was doctrinally Calvinistic and affirmed believers’ baptism and immersion. During this period, we know of persons like Abiezer Coppe in England who was formerly a puritan minister that came to affirm believers’ baptism as biblical and thus he became a Particular Baptist. He was particularly named in the 1640s due to his connection with Hanserd Knollys and William Kiffen who were Baptist leaders that he acted as a scribe for (Betteridge 2010:17).

Some persons like Whitley believe in the 18<sup>th</sup> century that high Calvinism<sup>15</sup> was common among Particular Baptists. However, this view has been somewhat challenged by Roger Hayden who revealed that much of the evangelistic effort of the Calvinistic Baptists out of Bristol Academy happened during the first fifty years in that period. Notwithstanding,

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<sup>15</sup> High Calvinism or hyper-Calvinism was the belief that not all people had a duty to have faith, i.e. trust and believe the Gospel and be saved, and so it led to an undermining of evangelism and world missions (Piper 2016:35-36).

various Particular Baptist churches in England were dominated with high Calvinism theology. This theology was due to the influence of John Gill and John Brine who purported such views (Morden 2016:76).

John Ryland, the principal of Bristol Academy, had previously embraced high Calvinism, but his friend Rev. John Newton convinced him that it was wrong (Morden 2016:78). Moreover, other ministers like Hugh Evans and Andrew Gifford as Particular Baptists rejected it and aggressively evangelised. However, proponents of high Calvinism made preservation of this doctrine rather than evangelism the prevailing belief at the time (p. 78).

John Gill (1697-1771) saw the decline in Calvinistic Baptists' numbers but advocated that they needed to preserve their distinctives and maintain strict church discipline practices as a new means for renewal (Morden 2016:78). However, Andrew Fuller (1754-1815) one of the founders of BMS sought to address the wrong view of high Calvinism by pointing out that all men have a natural ability to have faith, i.e. to trust and believe in Christ, but that they did not have the moral ability to do so (Piper 2016:42-43). This belief of Fuller<sup>16</sup> was not espoused among Puritans or John Bunyan that had shaped his thinking, but was evident in Jonathan Edwards' book, "The Freedom of Will". Edwards' writings had been influencing individuals for over ten years, before Fuller's book, "Gospel Worthy" was published (Morden 2016:84-85). Morden (2016:85) notes that, "The Gospel Worthy was the most influential text in weaning the majority of Particular Baptists away from high Calvinism".

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<sup>16</sup> Some persons have wrongly considered Andrew Fuller a moderate Calvinist because of this perspective. However, as Thompson (2004:67) reports Fuller saying, "I should rather choose to go through the world alone than be connected with [the Arminians]". Piper (2016:39) notes that "Fuller is a Calvinist".

### 3.5 How Prevalent was Calvinistic Baptist Theology Between 1782 and 1879?

#### 3.5.1 Calvinistic Baptists in Europe

The London Baptist Association was established in 1704 by Particular Baptists. Thus, it was made up of churches which were mostly inclined to Calvinism (Driggers 2013:35). The Particular Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen or as it was subsequently called Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) was established on October 2, 1792 (Morden 2016:89).

The London Missionary Society (LMS) was formed in 1795. The LMS had a different view from the BMS in terms of how they carried out baptism, but they both generally affirmed Calvinism (Stewart 2009:78). In 1812, a national Baptist Union among Particular Baptist churches was established with the central purpose being to support missions work. This organisation had a normative view of local and foreign missions being a part of the work which believers are called for engagement. Therefore, many Calvinistic Baptists had come to learn and agree with the insight of persons like the English Particular Baptist preacher Benjamin Keach who for over a century earlier shared strong views concerning the harvest of souls that awaited those who laboured hard in the fields (Morden 2016:95).

##### 3.5.1.1 Case 1: Preaching - Samuel Pearce (1766-1799) in England

On July 20, 1766, Samuel Pearce was born in Plymouth, England. Samuel's parents (William and Lydia Pearce) were Particular Baptists, and he was brought up with those convictions. In 1782, i.e. his sixteenth year he was converted (Morden 2016:91). Haykin (2017:52) notes that Pearce had the opportunity to study at Bristol Baptist Academy because of a recommendation from his church. Therefore, from August 1786 to May 1789 Pearce pursued studies at the only Calvinistic Baptist institution in Great Britain that was conducting pastoral/ministerial training for their denomination. The Principal of Bristol Academy at the time was Caleb Evans (1737-1791) who played a significant role in the late eighteenth-century among the group of people identifying as Calvinistic Baptists. Pearce also learnt from Robert Hall, Jr. (1764-1831) who was supposedly brilliant and

became an effective preacher in the nineteenth century (Haykin (2017:52). Morden (2016:92) indicates that Pearce was able to minister with much success at his local church which was located in the city. He had 335 new persons becoming members of his congregation while he was a pastor. He also baptised nearly 40 persons who were most likely new converts over a five-month period.

### 3.5.1.2 Case 2: Hymns – Anne Steele (1717-1778) in England

Anne Steele was the daughter of an English Particular Baptist pastor. Steele wrote hymns from her reflections on the scriptures and to supplement the songs at her dad's church (Carmichael 2012:1). In 1769, 62 of Steele's hymns were included in a hymn book that was co-edited and published by Caleb Evans. In 1787, John Rippon selected 47 of Steele's compositions in his hymn book. Evans and Rippon's books were well known. By 1800, Rippon's became the preferred songbook for many Particular Baptists. Through Steele, Bunyan and other influences, Calvinistic Baptists continued being grounded in their history for the complete duration of the 18th century (Morden 2016:94-95). Steele's hymns were instrumental in the growing Particular Baptist community from the 1730s to 1830s (Carmichael 2012:10).

### 3.5.1.3 The Calvinistic Baptist Revival in England & Wales

A list of Calvinistic Baptist churches and ministers were published by John Rippon in his Baptist Annual Register in 1794, i.e. two years after the BMS was established. Rippon approximated that England had 326 churches and Wales contained 56 churches then. This growth in the number of churches was more than twice than what existed in 1750. In 1798, four years later, Rippon published another list of churches, which indicated that the churches in England and Wales had grown from 326 to 361 and 56 to 84, respectively. As Rippon considered the numbers, he penned, "It is said, that more of our meeting houses have been enlarged, within the last five years, and built within the last fifteen, than had been built and enlarged for thirty years before." Chute et al. concur that Rippon was not overstating what was occurring at the time. While, the Calvinistic Baptists were experiencing a gradual increase in their numbers from the 1760s to 1800, it was between

the 1790s to 1800 that had the most significant arrival of converts. The BMS commitment to missions and evangelism and Fuller's theology was a major contributor to this revival (Chute et al., 2015:108).

#### 3.5.1.4 Case 3: Theology - Andrew Fuller (1754-1815)

Charles H. Spurgeon referred to Andrew Fuller as “the greatest theologian” of his century (Laws 1942:127). Ryland Jr (1815:2-3) noted that Fuller was “perhaps the most judicious and able theological writer that ever belonged to our denomination”. Chute et al. (2015:101) assert that John Gill was the foremost theologian for many Baptist communities during the mid-eighteenth century. However, Andrew Fuller had that similar status in the late-eighteenth century. A. H. Newman, a Southern Baptist historian, noted that Fuller’s effect on American Baptists was too great to be calculated.

Chute et al. (2015:105) explain that Fuller helped to establish the BMS in 1792, which subsequently sent William Carey to India in 1793. Fuller was the BMS’ secretary until he died in 1815( Morden 2016:90). The coming of the BMS ushered in a new development or approach in Christianity’s history, along with how England related to India, the West Indies, China and the Congo (Stanley 1992:1-2).

#### 3.5.1.5 Case 4: Theology - John Gill (1697-1771)

John Gill gained popularity due to his exposition of the Song of Songs in 1728. In the late 1730s Gill defending Calvinism, through his publications of “The Cause of God and Truth” between 1735 and 1738, when Calvinism in Britain was under attack. As a result, he was seen as one of the top apologists then. Subsequently, he published a commentary on the entire New Testament in three volumes between 1746 and 1748. After that, Gill published a companion to this commentary, which was a commentary on the Old Testament in four volumes between 1763 and 1766. These commentaries on the Bible were regarded in high esteem in Baptist libraries. Additionally, Gill’s most important work was, “The Body of Doctrinal and Practical Divinity”, published between 1769 and 1770, where he outlined his theological perspective (Chute et al., 2015:68-69).

As we consider how pervasive Calvinistic Baptist theology was in the period 1792 -1879, it is especially important to examine the heads of the BMS and their theologies, and how they may have influenced John Rowe, James M. Phillippo, William Knibb, and Thomas Burchell.

Former BMS Secretaries<sup>17</sup>:

1792 - 1815 Rev. Andrew Fuller

1815 - 1825 Rev. John Ryland, D.D.

1815 - 1817 Rev. James Hinton

1817 - 1841 Rev. John Dyer

1840 - 1849 Rev. Joseph Angus, M.A., D.D.

1849 - 1870 Rev. Frederick Trestrail, D.D.

1849 - 1876 Mr. Edward Bean Underhill, LL.D.

1871 - 1878 Rev. Clement Bailhache

1871 - 1906 Mr. Alfred Henry Baynes, J.P.

Note: all BMS missionaries, except Phillippo, died by 1846. Also, Phillippo's last trip to England was in 1843. Thus, biographical sketches will only be provided from Fuller to Angus.

### 3.5.1.6 Andrew Fuller (1754-1815) continued

We had previously addressed Andrew Fuller, however, based on the period when **John Rowe** attended the BMS it would imply that Fuller would have influenced him up until the time Rowe left for Jamaica in 1813 (Baptist Missionary Society 1818:42-43).

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<sup>17</sup> This table was included in the 130<sup>th</sup> annual report for the BMS (see Baptist Missionary Society 1922:76). The years reflected when they held the office of secretary at BMS.

### 3.5.1.7 Case 5: Theology - Rev. John Ryland, D.D (1753–1825)

Culross (1897:5) notes that Ryland, “was intensely orthodox, according to the Calvinism of his day”. Champion (1971:157-62) reveals how John Newton the hymn writer and Anglican priest was a close friend of Ryland. Newton would offer pastoral advice to him, and Ryland made himself accountable to him. Newton was a Calvinist (Newton 1762). Also, Cross (2017:364) indicates that,

Ryland was...in one accord with his three predecessors as Principal of the Academy, who, between them, passed on their moderate and evangelical Calvinist convictions on the usefulness of theology to the domestic ministry and mission work to those students under their tutelage, and through them to the church they served.

**John Rowe** was one of **Ryland’s** students at Bristol Academy (p. 364). Thus, I believe this is of particular importance. Moreover, Dr Peter Masters, Pastor of Metropolitan Tabernacle, where Dr. John Rippon had previously served, noted that **William Knibb** “learned the Gospel in the town’s Calvinistic Baptist Sunday School...he professed conversion while attending the church pastored by **Dr. Ryland**, and quickly set his heart on missionary service.” (Masters 2006:9).

### 3.5.1.8 Case 6: Theology - Rev. James Hinton (1761-1823)

John Hinton, the biographer, argued regarding his father James Hinton that “No man could be more thoroughly evangelical, or more soundly Calvinistic” (1824:149). Also, Lovegrove (1979:138) noted a violent incident in 1794 when Rev. James Hinton was conducting itinerant preaching at Oxfordshire in his article entitled “Particular Baptist Itinerant Preachers during the late 18th and early 19th Centuries”. This reference confirms the theological conviction of Hinton being a Calvinistic Baptist.

### 3.5.1.9 Case 7: Theology - Rev. John Dyer (1783-1841)

Ivimey (1830:616) says about Dyer, “To that system of doctrine which is called Calvinism he was zealously attached, from a firm conviction that it was the doctrine of Scripture, as well as from an experience of its salutary influence upon himself”.

Additionally, we know that in 1819, **James Phillippo** had sent his application for missionary training to Dyer (Underhill 1881:11). On November 25, 1819, **Thomas Burchell** and **James Phillippo** were examined separately as applicants for missionary work suitability by the BMS Committee (Catherall 1966:350).

### 3.5.1.10 Case 8: Theology - Rev. Joseph Angus, M.A., D.D. (1816 - 1902)

Armitage (1887:589) indicates that Joseph Angus “began to preach early, and before he was twenty-one became pastor of the Church so long presided over by Dr. Gill and Dr. Rippon”. Moreover, Charles Spurgeon, the great Calvinistic Baptist became a pastor at that same church after him (p. 589; cf. Manley 2007:81). Therefore, it is highly conceivable that Angus was a Calvinistic Baptist. Furthermore, Angus (1869:607) in his handbook makes the following points on the Book of Romans under “personal communications”: i) “man’s extreme need of salvation in consequence of his guilt, **depravity**, and wretchedness”... ii) “The only way of justification - **free favour of God** through faith in the righteousness of Christ”...vi) “the privileges consequent on justification - adoption, the inward presence, testimony and help of the Spirit, the **certainty of complete salvation and a glorious inheritance**”...vii) “The source of **redemption-God's sovereign love and eternal purpose**”. In my estimation, these words in bold (my emphasis) would be consistent with a Calvinistic understanding of the scriptures.

The Particular Baptists experienced growth in the latter half of the eighteenth century through various means, including the writings and work of Edwards and Fuller which led to greater evangelism. Moreover, expansion was facilitated through the evangelical contribution of persons that attended and served at Bristol Academy as well (Morden 2016:95). Therefore, Calvinistic Baptist Theology in Europe was prevalent during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century.



### 3.5.2 Calvinistic Baptists in America

The discovery of America by the Spaniards which occurred in the latter part of the 15<sup>th</sup> century led to many ships departing from Spain, France and Britain in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century to America. At the same time, Baptists in Europe notably Britain were growing. Subsequently, a large portion of Baptists decided to migrate to America. They were desirous of making wealth and exercising their religious and political liberty. Several locations in America were developing under the political control of England. Accordingly, the king of England gave certain rights and privileges to companies, and grants to settlers to acquire land in America (Driggers 2013:36).

In 1620, the Mayflower an English ship took ninety-nine optimistic passengers from Plymouth, England to Massachusetts, America. They are referred to today as Pilgrims, although they were from the Congregational Church and Separatist Puritans. They left England due to religious persecution and to achieve greater wealth and success. The Puritans started the Massachusetts Bay Colony. They constructed churches in connection to their Congregational Church in England. Shortly, after the Puritans influence became extensive (Driggers 2013:36).

#### 3.5.2.1 Establishing of Baptist Churches in America

In 1639, Roger Williams, a Puritan pastor, founded a Baptist church in Providence, Rhode Island. Although Williams never referred to himself as a Baptist, this congregation was the first Baptist establishment in America. Not long after, John Clarke, a physician, started a second Baptist church in Newport, Rhode Island.

By the nineteenth century, Baptists were one of the established denominations in America. As time passed, there were two types of Baptists, i.e. General Baptists and Regular Baptists. General Baptists aligned more with American Separatists distancing themselves from the Congregational church, and Regular Baptists were Calvinistic Baptists. The American Separatists embraced Arminian theology with various Calvinistic tenets. These Separatists opposed creeds and confessions of faith, and actively

encouraged public appeals for evangelism, and emotions in worship with energetic singing. The Regular Baptists usually affirmed the five points of Calvinism (TULIP): total depravity (T), unconditional election (U), limited atonement (L), irresistible grace (I), perseverance of the saints (P). They also encouraged ministers and preachers to be educated, advocated church discipline, and promoted creeds and confessions of faith. Regular Baptists' worship was logical, formal, less emotive and singing conducted only for the Psalms (Driggers 2013:37-38). Bisnauth (1989:119) reveals that Henry Jacob and John Lathrop migrated to North America from England. Thus, Calvinistic Baptists settled early in North America.

### 3.5.2.2 The Great Awakening & The Baptists in America

The eighteenth century was the period when the Baptist denomination in America grew significantly along with its influence. This growth was for the most part attributable to the Great Awakening (Driggers 2013:38). Driggers asserts that,

Through the evangelistic preaching of Jonathan Edwards, Gilbert Tennent, John Wesley, and especially George Whitefield in New England, thousands “experienced religion” by coming to personal faith in Jesus as Savior contrast to the quieter, emotionless preaching heard in numerous churches, particularly Congregational and Anglican (p. 38).

Van Broekhoven (2013:23,27) notes that historians examining the spread of Christianity in America in the eighteenth century, will refer to Edwards and Whitefield's preaching. However, those paying particular attention to the southern British colonies (Carolinas, Georgia, e.tc) will refer to Shubal Stearns, Daniel Marshall, George Liele, and so forth. I think it is noteworthy that these three persons in the South were all Baptists.

### 3.5.2.3. Case 9: Preaching – George Whitefield (1714-1770)

George Whitefield travelled seven times from England to America preaching throughout the North American colonies (Chute et al. 2015:74). Regarding Whitefield, Harry Stout (1993:13-14) noted,

So pervasive was Whitefield's impact in America that he can justly be styled America's first cultural hero. Before Whitefield, there was no unifying intercolonial person or event. . . . But by 1750 virtually every American loved and admired Whitefield and saw him as their champion.

While, English Baptists did not support Whitefield's ministry, many American Baptists did so publicly. Here are three cases. First, in July 1740, Isaac Chanler, the pastor of Ashley River Baptist Church, South Carolina, gave Whitefield the opportunity to speak to a large crowd of people at his church. Subsequently, Chanler published in a sermon a prayer of blessing for Whitefield. Second, Oliver Hart shared publicly how he benefited from listening to Whitefield's sermons, where he was born in Pennsylvania and where he pastored in South Carolina at the First Baptist Church of Charleston from 1750 to 1780. Third, Whitefield was invited to preach (delivering the first message) at Euhaw Baptist Church when they started meeting in the building to have service in March 1752 (Chute et al., 2015:74-75).

The African America Baptists developed through using and modifying practices learnt from the first Great Awakening, where "white evangelicals, like George Whitefield, carried Christianity to African American populations in South Carolina" (Futrell 2013:3).

While, the Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists, were instrumental in the Great Awakening, the Baptists denomination was the principal beneficiary of it. For instance, in 1700, fourteen Baptist churches existed in America with approximately 6,500 members. By 1800, there were 1,200 churches with about 100,000 members. Also, many churches became Baptist by leaving their former denominations, especially the Congregational church. Concurrently, many Baptist churches were being established by a small number of local believers (Driggers 2013:39).

### 3.5.2.4 Case 10: Preaching – Shubal Stearns, Separate Baptists and the Sandy Creek Church

Shubal Stearns was also impacted by the Great Awakening and Whitefield's ministry. Stearns was born in 1706 in Boston, but relocated to Connecticut with his family. Stearns became saved in 1745 under Whitefield's preaching. Later, he served as a Separate preacher, but came to reject infant baptism and became a Baptist in 1751. Stearns and his family, along with five other couples, and their children relocated from New England to Virginia. Stearns felt a strong sense that God was calling him westward "to execute a great and extensive work." (Chute et al., 2015:78).

Stearns and his friends, which mostly included relatives were joined by his sister Martha and her husband Daniel Marshall in Virginia. Martha had experience evangelising the Mohawk Indians for a few years. Subsequently, Stearns' Separate Baptists group moved from Virginia to Sandy Creek, North Carolina. In North Carolina, they founded the first Separate Baptist church in that state. After several years the church grew to 590 members. The Sandy Creek Church was used to plant other churches in the Carolinas, Virginia, and Georgia. Many of these churches started as a ministry of the Sandy Creek Church. The Sandy Creek Association was established in 1758 (Chute et al., 2015:78).

Stearns, Marshall and Philip Mulkey travelled extensively as itinerant preachers throughout the late 1750s and 1760s. In 1762, Mulkey planted a church in Broad River, South Carolina. This church (although it relocated) went on to plant many churches in South Carolina and North Carolina. In 1771, when Stearns died, forty-two churches and 125 ministers proceeded from the Sandy Creek church (Chute et al., 2015:78-79).

Ascol (2001:5) notes that "the first covenant of the Sandy Creek Baptist Church affirms predestination, effectual calling, and perseverance of the saints". Paschal (1930:401) gives evidence of this church covenant from Grassy Creek Church, which was a member of the Sandy Creek Association. It says the following:

Holding believers' baptism; laying on of hands ; *particular election, of grace by predestination of God in Christ*; effectual calling by the Holy Ghost; free justification

through the imputed righteousness of Christ; progressive sanctification through God's grace and truth; the final perseverance, or continuance of the saints in grace; the resurrection of these bodies after death, at that day which God has appointed to judge the quick and the dead by Jesus Christ, by the power of God, and by the resurrection of Christ; and life everlasting. Amen.

Paschal placed in italics the portion which he believed Stearns would never have written. Furthermore, Paschal was of the view that the Sandy Creek Association, gradually had "become Calvinists before Benedict was writing in 1810". However, Ascol (2001:5) references William McLoughlin that Separate Baptists were Calvinistic Baptists of New England and that the separation of Regular Baptists from Separate Baptist was between two streams of Calvinistic Baptists in the South. McLoughlin indicates that Shubal Stearns practised Calvinism evangelistically. Thus, McLoughlin would disagree with Paschal regarding Stearns' beliefs.

Ascol (2001:5) also notes that Separate Baptists came from Congregationalism which affirmed the Savoy Declaration, a Reformed confession of faith. Thus, after the Great Awakening, those who became Separate Baptists were rejecting what they thought was lifeless, creedal Christianity instead of a life-giving, experiential Christianity. Therefore, they were still Calvinists, but wanted to express it differently. Chute et al. (2015:80) also suggest that "the Separate Baptists were also far more open to 'leadings of the Holy Spirit' in the form of impressions, even visions, than other Calvinistic Baptists". Benedict (1813:37) said, "Stearns and most of the Separates had strong faith in the immediate teachings of the Spirit."

Ascol (2001:5) revealed that the Sandy Creek Association 1816 Principles of Faith affirms the Calvinistic understanding of total depravity in Article 3, and election, effectual calling, and perseverance in Article 4. Purefoy (1859:104-5) reports article 3 as:

That Adam fell from his original state of purity, and that his sin is imputed to his own posterity; that human nature is corrupt, and that man, of his own free will and ability, is impotent to regain the state in which he was primarily placed.

Purefoy (1859:105) reports article 4 as:

We believe in election from eternity, effectual calling by the Holy Spirit of God, and justification in his sight only by the imputation of Christ's righteousness. And we believe that they who are thus elected, effectually called, and justified, will persevere through grace to the end, that none of them be lost.

Altogether, Ascol (2001:5) suggests that Separate Baptists, including those who were a part of the Sandy Creek Association, were Calvinists. Chute et al. (2015:80) give further evidence through John Taylor, a Separate Baptist pastor who planted a church in Kentucky that agreed that the Separate Baptists were Calvinistic. Moreover, Daniel Marshall established in 1772, Kiokee Baptist Church, which is presently the oldest Baptist Church in Georgia. It had a Calvinistic statement of faith declaring commitment to “the great doctrine of election, effectual calling, particular redemption, justification by the imputed righteousness of Christ alone, . . . the saints’ absolute final perseverance in grace.” Clendenen & Waggoner (2008:48) assert that Marshall developed Kiokee Baptist Church’s statement of faith in keeping with Stearns’ his brother-in-law.

Williams (2004:32-33) explained that many New Light Congregationalist churches with all their members became Separate Baptist churches. He noted that the majority of them remained Calvinistic, but rejected their old polity as Separate Baptists operated autonomously. Williams believes the Great Awakening and the introduction of Separate Baptist churches led to the significant increase of Baptists in colonial America. In 1740, about 65 Baptist churches existed with 3,100 members. In 1790 precisely 986 Baptist churches existed with nearly 70,000 members.

While, Separate Baptist usually differentiated themselves from Regular Baptist churches between 1750 and 1780, this changed by 1790, when most Separate and Regular Baptist churches started calling themselves “United Baptists”. The Philadelphia, Charleston, and Warren Associations facilitated this amalgamated view, but the Philadelphia Association was a major contributor to it (Williams 2004:33).

In 1696, William Screven, a Regular Baptist in Charleston, South Carolina planted First Baptist Church and went on to start other churches in the lower section of the state and South Georgia. Edmund Botsford (1745-1819), a Regular Baptist, planted several churches in Georgia. In 1773, he started The New Savannah which later became Botsford's Old Meetinghouse. It was the second Baptist church in Georgia, which exists today (Driggers 2013:40).

Concerning Calvinistic Baptists in America in the late eighteenth century, Thompson (2004:62) notes:

John Asplund's *Annual Register of the Baptist Denomination* (1790) showed that in the late eighteenth century, of thirty-five associations in the United States and frontier territories, seventeen formally subscribed to the Westminster Calvinism of the *Philadelphia Confession*, and nine more held to the "Calvinistic system" or "Calvinistic sentiment".

Moreover, from the remaining nine other associations, three were "General Provision", three were "Bible alone," and three had no confession as Calvinistic and Arminian views were present among their ministers (Thompson 2004:62-63). Altogether, this shows how prevalent Calvinistic Baptists were in America when George Liele left America to settle in Jamaica.

In 1790, there were about 68,000 Baptists in America. Baptist memberships were highest in Virginia, North Carolina, Massachusetts, South Carolina, New York, and Rhode Island. In 1750, Baptists membership was highest in Rhode Island. Thus, the Baptist denomination's concentration moved southward, as 61 per cent of Baptists in 1790 were in the South. The Regular Baptists had twenty-nine associations, 813 churches and 57,436 members. The Separate Baptists had 81 churches and 4,022 members. The Separate Baptists had experienced a decline as nearly 50 per cent of their churches, totalling eleven associations became Regular Baptists. The significant growth of the Regular Baptists was primarily due to them. There were seven specifically African-American Baptist churches then, with the largest being the African Baptist Church in

Savannah, Georgia, which George Liele had established. Liele's former church had 250 members (Chute et al., 2015:108).

As we examine the prevalence of Calvinistic Baptists in America between the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, it would be particularly relevant to investigate areas where George Liele resided, preached, or established churches. Also, a brief history of the key persons surrounding Liele (and if possible their theologies would be helpful). I will address Liele's theology in the next chapter. However, since Liele is the only American Baptist coming to Jamaica out of the five Baptist missionaries that are being examined regarding Calvinistic theology, then this is critical.

Driggers (2013:41) highlighted the primary locations where Liele and other black Baptist preachers and churches emerged between the 1740s and the early 1800s. These locations included Burke County, Savannah, and Augusta in Georgia and Silver Bluff in South Carolina. He included key persons that facilitated this new development such as George Galphin, Henry Sharp, Matthew Moore, Wait Palmer, David George, Jesse Peter, and Andrew Bryan.

In 1710, **George Galphin** was born in Ireland. Sometime in the 1740s, he migrated to America. Subsequently, Galphin started Silver Bluff, a settlement in South Carolina, which was twelve miles from Augusta, Georgia. He became a very successful businessman in South Carolina and Georgia. Galphin was also a kind-hearted person to nearly everyone, including slaves (Driggers 2013:42).

In 1764, **Henry Sharp** and his family relocated from Virginia to St. George's Parish, Georgia. They had nine slaves that came with them. One of the slaves later became known as George Liele. Henry was a farmer and Tory captain. Henry fell into problems with the authorities in his area. Also, due to two Indian uprisings that left many settlers dead, he decided to move to Buckhead Creek with his wife and children. Henry also had issues with the authorities since he believed the church having non-white preachers was acceptable, but they disagreed. Sharp likely owned 1,500 acres in George's Parish and



assisted with the establishment of a Baptist church there. The congregation possibly met in Sharp's house initially. It was a Tory Baptist Church, which created problems with some people. Galphin and Sharp may have known each other as large landowners. Sharp's wife Mildred was the sister of **Matthew Moore**, a Baptist preacher (Driggers 2013:42-43).

Sometime between 1773 and 1774, Moore and Sharp (a deacon) started a Baptist church by Buckhead Creek. It was sometimes referred to as Matthew Moore's church. Sharp died in war shortly after. Moore decided to dissolve the church. In 1787, the church was replanted. Previously, Moore, Sharp and the church members had express willingness to have Liele, a young slave preach, which was extraordinary. Liele had attended Matthew Moore's Church and learnt to read and write by Sharp's family members. Liele became saved under Moore's ministry, and was also baptised by him (Driggers 2013:45-46). Liele used to preach at George Galphin's plantation at Silver Bluff (p. 48).

**Waitstill (Wait) Palmer** who had baptised Shubal Stearns in 1751 was the one that started the Baptist church at Silver Bluff (p. 49). Palmer was a Separate Baptist Pastor; thus, Silver Bluff began as a Separate Baptist Church (Driggers 2013:54). Moreover, when the war ended Silver Bluff church was restored to life by **Jesse Peter** and became a Regular Baptist church (p. 55). Therefore, based on that I believe we can most likely say it was Calvinistic.

For the first couple of years, Matthew Moore's church may not have called itself a Separate or Regular Baptist church. Nonetheless, there are at least four clues that it was the latter (Driggers 2013:53).

First, Regular Baptists in America had greater connections with England than Separate Baptists, and both Henry Sharp and Matthew Moore were strong British supporters (Driggers 2013:53).

Second, Botsford Baptist Church is in the same vicinity where Matthew Moore church was located. Thus, Reverend Botsford, a Regular Baptist may have likely played a part in the starting of the church near Buckhead Creek. Reverend Botsford had help to plant several churches in Georgia, including Botsford Baptist Church (Driggers 2013:53).

Third, Regular Baptists used Church covenants significantly more than Separate Baptists. If Moore and Sharp were Regular Baptists, then Liele would likely have embraced church covenants too. Liele had a church covenant for his members in Jamaica to follow. Additionally, John Rippon, an English Regular Baptist, helped Liele financially in Jamaica. It is unlikely that this would have occurred if Liele was a Separate Baptist (Driggers 2013:54).

Fourth, there were four buildings which were built over the years on the property where Matthew Moore's church was established (Driggers 2013:54). In 1894, Reverend W. L. Kilpatrick, one of the pastors said:

On the present site, or very nearby, four houses of worship have stood, inclusive of the one now occupied. The first was of logs; the second was framed and worth about \$300, completed in 1807; the third, built of brick in 1830, cost about \$4,000, but from some defect in its construction, it was deemed unsafe, and gave place to the present building. The last is a neat structure, costing \$3,000 (Kilpatrick 1894:293).

Driggers (2013:54) noted that Matthew Moore's church:

is a handsome structure of old Southern architectural style. It is, as observed earlier, eerie how similar it is to the sanctuary building of First Baptist Church<sup>18</sup>, Charleston, South Carolina, which was erected in 1822. Again, could there have been a Regular Baptist connection between the two churches?

The researcher believes it is likely there was an association between the two churches.

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<sup>18</sup> William Screven, a Regular Baptist established First Baptist Church, Charleston, South Carolina (Clayton 1984:319).

Liele's sermons in Georgia impacted both Andrew Bryan and David George (Chute et al., 2015:98). Davis (1918:124) reported that Andrew Bryan "became converted under the preaching of George Liele when the latter served the church in Savannah". On January 20, 1788, Abraham Marshall (son of Daniel Marshall) appointed Andrew Bryan, the pastor of the Savannah church, Georgia, after assessing his qualifications (p. 126). Daniel Marshall's Calvinistic beliefs were previously discussed and likely affirmed by his son Abraham. Chute et al. (2015:98) notes that when Liele migrated to Jamaica, **Bryan**, who was previously baptised by Liele, became the pastor of the Georgia church. This church grew significantly through Bryan's preaching and by 1802, it had 850 members.

Andrew Bryan wrote a short letter to the Regular Baptist, John Rippon in 1800, telling him about how things were going in his church. He included a note on Mr. Holcombe, a Regular Baptist that:

An event which has had a happy influence on our affairs was the coming of Mr. Holcombe, late pastor of the Euhaw Church, to this place, at the heads of the city, of all denominations, who have remained for the 13 months he has been here, among his constant hearers, and liberal supporters. His salary is 2000 a year. He just had a baptistery, with convenient appendages, built in his place of worship, and has commenced baptising (Rippon 1801:367).

This account of Bryan, to John Rippon, a Regular Baptist about Henry Holcombe (1762-1824), a Regular Baptist suggests that Bryan who had developed under Liele's ministry was at least in connection with Calvinistic Baptists (Chute et al., 2015:98). We know, Liele was in communication with Rippon too, and received financial support from him as discussed earlier in this dissertation. Thus, it is not unlikely that Andrew Bryan was a Calvinistic Baptist also.

Regarding **David George**, he, his family and a few other slaves were abandoned by their master during the American Revolution war and forced to provide for themselves, without any assistance from others. This situation compelled George and his family to move to Savannah, where the British had occupied. George obtained his freedom in Savannah.

In 1782, nearing the defeat of the British in the war, George and his family departed to Nova Scotia where other British loyalists went. From 1782 to 1792, they lived in Shelburne, Nova Scotia, where George founded a Particular Baptist Church (Chute et al., 2015:98-99).

Noll (2002:148) reveals,

George was one of the founders of the black Baptist Church in Silver Bluff, South Carolina, which, when constituted in the early 1770s, may have been the first African-American Church on the North American mainland. He was converted and instructed by Particular Baptist preachers, black and white, whose view of salvation included the conservative Calvinist conviction that Christ died only - or particularly - for the elect.

Liele regularly preached at Silver Bluff Church. He did this before and after it was formed (Brooks 1922:176). Thus, George, a Calvinist Baptist, may have learnt these views from Liele.

#### 3.5.2.5 Baptists in America During the Nineteenth Century

Baptist in America increased from 68,000 in 1790 to more than 700,000 in 1850. At the time, Methodists were the largest denomination being a little over one million members, and they too had experienced similar growth. Thus, Baptists became the second largest denomination in America surpassing Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Episcopalians (Chute et al., 2015:115).

#### 3.5.2.6. Baptists, Media and Publications in the Nineteenth Century

Many factors may have led to an increase in Baptists in the nineteenth century. Two contributing factors may be regarding their increased media coverage and publications. There were public discussions and disagreements with some Baptists. There were missionary stories of families like the Careys and the Judsons, which were being disseminated in religious periodicals. These were stirring up a desire for others to fund or participate in missions as well. Missionaries were requesting financial support through

letters, which were being published. In 1790, The Baptist Annual Register was established in England. Thirteen years later, the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine was started in America. In 1817, the Triennial Convention merged the latter, calling it the American Baptist Magazine. Luther Rice bought 'The Columbian Star', which was later renamed 'The Christian Index' by Jesse Mercer who obtained it. Mercer freely gave it to the Georgia Baptist Convention, which continues to publish it today. Religious newspapers, published sermons, teachings, and revival news. Baptists were influencing public opinion and to some extent governmental policy through the media. For example, Andrew Fuller obtained more than 50,000 signatures through the Baptist Magazine where a petition for Parliament was made to protect the interests of Baptist missionaries (Chute et al., 2015:133-134).

As Baptists were brought together through the use of media and ministry, different associations and societies emerged. Thus, Isaac Backus established one in New England, and later came the Massachusetts Bay Missionary Society in 1802. The work that started in North America expanded into Canada by 1804 (Chute et al., 2015:134-135). In 1836, the Association of Regular Baptist Churches of Color was established in Ohio (p. 138).

#### 3.5.2.7 Case 11 – Theology - John Leadley Dagg (1794-1884)

John Dagg was a Calvinist Baptist who had worked in several pastorates. He also was a former college president, and wrote the first systematic theology as a Southern Baptist (Chute et al., 2015:178). As we consider how prevalent Calvinistic Baptists were in the nineteenth century in the US, Dagg who is a highly respected American Baptist would also have had much influence then on how individuals approached theology.

Thomas Burchell in speaking about the state of American churches noted,

The Baptist denomination is very numerous here, and in many parts equally influential; there is, however, a great diversity of sentiment among them. Formerly they were nearly all rather high in doctrinal sentiment; at present, Fullerism prevails in the Atlantic states. In the more southern and western states, hyper-calvinism,

accompanied by too much of antinomianism. In some of the northern states, also, I fear there is considerable danger of the Holy Spirit's agency in the conversion of sinners being either forgotten or perhaps declared unnecessary (Burchell 1849:242).

It should be noted here how positive Burchell spoke about Fullerism which is associated with Particular Baptists and Calvinism. Moreover, how prevalent Calvinistic theology was present in American churches.

### 3.5.3 Calvinistic Baptists in Jamaica in the Nineteenth Century

Between 1814 and 1831, the BMS sent twenty-five missionaries to Jamaica. This investment was mostly due to the achievements of Leile as a Baptist missionary living there. In 1814, The Jamaica Baptist Association was established and fifteen years later reported that more than 7,000 Baptists existed in the country (Chute et al., 2015:137).

While, my thesis seeks to explain the coming of Calvinistic Baptists to Jamaica with the likes of Liele and four English Particular Baptists (Rowe, Burchell, Phillippo and Knibb) from the BMS which will be addressed in my next chapter. There were other Calvinistic Baptists that came to Jamaica, particularly from the BMS during the nineteenth century (as stated in the previous paragraph). Let's examine one, the Rev. John Shoveller.

#### **Rev. John Shoveller**

On August 4, 1796, Rev. John Shoveller was born. At about nineteen years of age, he was converted and baptised by his father. He subsequently attended Bristol Academy but left prematurely. Later, he spent over a year conducting itinerant preaching to youths in an area of town that had not had much exposure to the gospel. He was ordained and married in April 1819. He laboured as a minister for five years in England, and saw several conversions, and was held in high regard by his church. However, a false claim about him being hyper-Calvinistic was made about him, and so he was determined to address it. Thus, he published "Plain Dialogues," where he sought to adequately explain the Calvinistic concepts of predestination (election), spiritual inability (total depravity),

Christian perseverance (perseverance of the saints), and how Christians are to approach the Moral law. Shoveller later felt called to do overseas missions. As such, he travelled with his family to Jamaica, where he took up the missionary post of Rev. James Coultart from BMS, who was ill at the time. Sadly, within a few months of ministry on the island, he became sick and died (Baptist Missionary Society 1832:421-424).

John Clarke reported Rev. John Shoveller saying during his state of illness, **‘I wish to live for the elect’s sake:’** but immediately added, **‘God can perform his work very well without me.’** (Baptist Missionary Society 1832:128). This statement is consistent with the Calvinistic concepts of election (a chosen few or elect that will ultimately experience God's salvation) and God's sovereignty (God carrying out his purposes, i.e. performing his actions at times irrespective of our human efforts). Shoveller further said, **“Chosen in thy Son; called by thy grace; sanctified by thy Spirit through thy holy Word”** (p. 128). This “chosen” again is a reference to election. On December 12, 1831, Shoveller died after only a few days of illness (pp. 127-129; 173-174).

Shoveller was listed as a Particular or Calvinistic Baptist in the 1823 Baptist Magazine, affirming the 1689 Confession of Faith (Baptist Missionary Society 1823:29).

### 3.6. Summary and Conclusion of Chapter

This chapter dealt with the question: *What is Calvinistic Baptist Theology, and how prevalent was it between 1782 and 1879?* Thus, a survey of Baptist history from its origins in the sixteenth century to the late nineteenth century was conducted. Within this four hundred year period, the dominant theological perspectives of Baptists were examined. This study was primarily observed through the lens of both Calvinistic and Arminian Baptist Theology. After that, a narrowing of focus to analyse only the extent of Calvinistic Baptist Theology throughout Europe, America and Jamaica was pursued within the late eighteenth and nineteenth century.

The findings suggest that there is ample evidence that Calvinistic Baptist Theology was prevalent in America and Europe between 1782 and 1879 where the five missionaries (George Liele, John Rowe, William Knibb, Thomas Burchell and James M Phillippo) under review in this thesis migrated from to Jamaica.

This evidence was seen in Calvinistic Baptists associations, annual Calvinistic Baptist registers, confessions, sermons, hymns and literature, including letters and books that existed at the time.

Chapter 4 will be concerned with if there is evidence to support that these five Baptist missionaries were Calvinistic, and if so, could that have influenced some of the missionary work and other activities that they accomplished?



## **CHAPTER 4 - SUPPORTING CALVINISTIC EVIDENCE AND ITS INFLUENCE 1: GOD'S SOVEREIGNTY AND PROVIDENCE**

### 4.1 Chapter Introduction

In the previous chapter, we briefly discussed Calvinism and Calvinistic Baptist Theology. However, where these doctrines are usually more emphasised or distinguishable in the lives of believers would be in terms of how they view God's sovereignty, providence and God's providence in salvation. Examining these three doctrines is essential in our discussion, because one's theology generally impacts their practices/actions and behaviour. Thus, by using these three doctrines, we are hoping that it would provide the basis for ascertaining whether the five Baptists were Calvinists, and whether their school of thought would have influenced some of the missionary activities that they did, which we addressed in chapter 2.

This chapter seeks to address our third primary objective of this dissertation, i.e. "what supporting evidence exists for these five Baptist missionaries being Calvinistic and it possibly influencing their accomplishments?" Due to the length and breadth of the three main areas that will be covered to tackle this question, it was preferred to do this over the next three chapters. They are as follows:

1. God's sovereignty and providence;
2. God's providence in salvation; and
3. Missions, education, social and economic development, and character development

As a result, we will examine God's sovereignty and providence in this chapter, God's providence in salvation in chapter 5, missions, education, social and economic development, and character development in chapter 6.

There are six steps, which will be employed to answer our research question in this chapter. First, a brief introduction to the chapter will be given, which is happening now. Second, an examination of four theological views (Arminian, Calvinist, General Baptist and Particular Baptist) and their confessions will be conducted. Third, those four theological views concerning God's sovereignty and how their confessions explained them will be addressed. Fourth, identifying what God's providence is and how those same confessions described it would be tackled. Fifth, an assessment will be carried out of the five Baptists missionaries under review to see if they affirmed both God's sovereignty and providence, and whether their theological views were more in keeping with Calvinism to deduce if they were or not Calvinists, specifically Particular Baptists. Sixth, a discussion on how their theological views, which we are deducing, impacted their practices and behaviour will be pursued.

The methodology which will be applied in this chapter and the next chapter will be deductive historiography. However, it will be done in alignment with the overall approach for this dissertation, which is a historical-theological methodology. While we believe a deductive historiography methodology will assist in trying to pinpoint the beliefs of the five Baptist missionaries, we also recognise that it is not full-proof and so we must humbly accept that our conclusion will have a margin of error. Furthermore, by choosing to use this model, there was a need to design this chapter and the next chapter in keeping with the logic of deductive reasoning. As a result, there will not be any other methodologies, especially if it is contrary that will be incorporated in this study. For instance, an inductive historiographic approach, which is an alternative to deductive historiography, will have to be excluded.

There are four views of God's sovereignty, which will be examined. They are a) Arminian view, b) Calvinist view, c) General Baptist view and d) Particular Baptist view. This sequence will also be the order in which they will be discussed. It is noteworthy to state that the General Baptist and Particular Baptist views are generally considered to be subsets of the Arminian and Calvinist views, respectively (Cooke 2013:143; Drummond 1992:61). As a result, each subset should be consistent with its respective whole.

Nonetheless, using the confessions of each group will be done to ascertain whether their understanding of the four theological views is accurate.

The following three criteria determined the suitability of these confessions. First, the period these confessions were formed, i.e. between the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century. Second, the popularity and general use of these confessions. Third, the affirmation by scholars that these confessions reflected the respective school of thought that is being analysed. Let us proceed to step 2.

## 4.2. Four Theological Views & Confessions

We will begin this section with the Arminian view, followed by the Calvinist, General Baptist and Particular Baptist views. It also includes a few of their respective confessions.

### 4.2.1. Arminian View<sup>19</sup>:

Ellis (2020:204-208), indicates two main groups (Dutch & Wesley) in Arminianism.

- i) Dutch Arminianism in the 17<sup>th</sup> century will be examined through three of their confessions (see Foster 1923:13),
  - a. *"The Articles of the Remonstrants (1610)"*<sup>20</sup>,
  - b. *"The Opinions of the Remonstrants (1618)"*<sup>21</sup>, and
  - c. *"The Remonstrants or Arminian Confession of 1621."*
- ii) Wesley Arminianism in the 18<sup>th</sup> century will be assessed through one of his confessions, *"The Articles of Religion (1784)"*.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Arminianism is "a Biblical interpretive construct and a theological response to Calvinism. Arminianism differs from Calvinism on the role free will faith plays in divine election, on the extent and purpose of Christ's atonement, and on whether a saint may fall away from faith. Arminians and Calvinists differ, however, most fundamentally, on the concept of predestination." (Ellis 2020:199).

<sup>20</sup> Also referred to as the "Five Articles of the Remonstrants" (Ellis 2020:200-201).

<sup>21</sup> Also referred to as the "The Interpretations of the Remonstrants (1618)" where the Remonstrants gave their opinions on the Five Articles (Ellis 2005:viii, back cover).

<sup>22</sup> The Articles of Religion are one of Methodism's confessional doctrinal statements. John Wesley who was one of the founders of Methodism had shortened the original Thirty-Nine Articles of the Anglican Church. Wesley did this by taking out the sections that had Calvinistic theology to reflect his Arminian theology (Melton 2005:48). According to Stein (1984:25), "On December 24, 1784 some sixty Methodist preachers gathered on invitation at their Lovely Lane Chapel in Baltimore, Maryland." The Articles of Religion were adopted here (p. 33). Melton (2005:48) notes that, "Among the items deleted by Wesley as unnecessary for Methodists were articles on Of Works Before Justification, which in Calvinism are largely discounted, but in Methodism lauded; Of Predestination and

These four confessions will represent the Arminian view in this thesis.

#### 4.2.2 Calvinist View

The Reformed Church in the United States (2011) notes there are three major Calvinistic confessions termed as the “Three Forms of Unity” that have been affirmed by different denominations, since the 16th century. They are the Belgic Confession (1561), the Heidelberg Catechism (1563)<sup>23</sup>, and Canons of Dort (1618-1619)<sup>24</sup>. The Westminster Confession of Faith (1647) has been used since the 17th century in the "Churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland" (Bray 2004:486).

These four confessions will represent the Calvinist view of understanding in this dissertation.

#### 4.2.3 General Baptist View:

Dr Rex D. Butler, Professor of Church History and Patristics at New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary (NOBTS), and Dr Lloyd A. Harsch, Professor of Church History and Baptist Studies at NOBTS presented in 2007 on “Baptist Confessions & Theology”.

Under the section, regarding General Baptists, Butler and Harsch (2007) noted the four following confessions which General Baptists affirmed:

- 1) Declaration of Faith (1611)<sup>25</sup>
- 2) Faith and Practice of Thirty Congregations (1651)
- 3) Standard Confession (1660)
- 4) Orthodox Creed (1678)

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Election, which Wesley felt would be understood in a Calvinist manner that the Methodists rejected; and Of the Traditions of the Church, which Wesley felt to be no longer at issue”.

<sup>23</sup> “The Synod of Dort approved the Heidelberg Catechism in 1619, and it soon became the most ecumenical of the Reformed catechisms and confessions. It has been translated into many European, Asian, and African languages and is still the most widely used and warmly praised catechism of the Reformation period” (Ursinus & Olevianus 1563).

<sup>24</sup> The Canons of Dort focuses specifically on God’s sovereignty in salvation (Reformed Church in the United States 2011).

<sup>25</sup> Also referred to as the “Helwys Confession” (Helwys 1611).

These four confessions will represent the General Baptist view in this thesis.

#### 4.2.4 Particular Baptist View

Butler & Harsch (2007) under the section, regarding Particular Baptists, noted the three following confessions which they affirmed:

1. First London (1644, revised 1646)<sup>26</sup> that “strengthened Calvinism”.
2. Somerset Confession (1656) which was the "earliest attempt to bring together Particular & General Baptists".
3. Second London (1677, revised 1688/89) which modified “the Westminster Confession (Presbyterian-1647) & Savoy Confession (Independent-1658)”.

These three confessions will represent the Particular Baptist view in this dissertation.

Now, that we have explained which confessions will be used and the reasons they were chosen. Let us go on to step 2, where we will examine the four views and their confessions with regards to God's sovereignty.

#### 4.3. Four Views of God's Sovereignty

We will begin our discussion on God's sovereignty with the Arminian view. The Calvinist, General Baptist and Particular Baptist views will be done afterwards. However, let us define the sovereignty of God first.

Easton (1897) noted that God's Sovereignty is “his absolute right to do all things according to his own good pleasure”. Piper (2019) says, “God's sovereignty is his right and power to do all that he decides to do.”

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<sup>26</sup> The First London Baptist Confession of Faith (1644) was written by seven Particular Baptist Churches in London and revised in 1646 (“The First London Baptist Confession of Faith” 1646).

#### 4.3.1. Arminian View of God's Sovereignty

Of our four Arminian confessions, only one spoke to God's sovereignty explicitly, which was "*The Remonstrants*"<sup>27</sup> or *Arminian Confession of 1621*". Under chapter 2, article 5, it mentioned God as having 'divine sovereignty' and being 'most supreme and high'. Subsequently, it said,

Because of this utterly absolute authority or irresistible power, He can decide whatever He wants for all of His creatures and goods, namely, to give, take away, preserve, destroy, make alive, kill, command, prohibit, permit, punish, pardon, increase, diminish, change, translate, etc., as He knows is fitting for His glory and the salvation of those that are His, and sees it to agree with His wisdom, goodness and justice (Ellis 2005:46).

This corresponds to chapter 6, article 1 where it says, "the governing and directing of our actions and of all events (whether they be good or evil) which happen in time by whatever manner to His creatures, but especially to men and most of all to the godly. And this was instituted according to the most exact rule of divine wisdom, justice and equality" (Ellis 2005:58). However, there is a concept which is introduced two sections later, which serves to nuance this position. For instance, in article 3, it says, "Concerning disobedience or sin, in the first place, although He has greatest hatred for it yet He knowingly and willingly permits it, but not with such permission, **that being granted, disobedience cannot but follow**. For thus disobedience would as necessarily follow from God's permission as an effect from its cause and God would be altogether the author of sin" (p. 60, emphasis added).

In essence, this section says that if God exercises his sovereignty and permits disobedience or sin to take place, then it must be the case that it does not have to come to pass, because if that were true, then God would be responsible for the sin. Altogether, it seems that it follows that God's omniscience would be limited in this case, since there is no acknowledgement that he knows what the actual outcome is going to be in the

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<sup>27</sup> The Confession or Declaration of the Pastors which in the Belgian Federation are Called the Remonstrants, on the Principle Articles of the Christian Religion.

granting of the disobedience or sin to take place. Nonetheless, one could be mistaken, but this appears to be a logical consequence. Thus, Arminians in their desire to seemingly not make God the author of sin may have inadvertently limited his sovereignty and omniscience.

Notwithstanding, many Arminians may contest this limiting of God's omniscience view by the author of this dissertation, based on chapter 2, section 8, which in this confession affirms God being "omniscient" (Ellis 2005:46).

Olson (2006:118) notes that, "Arminians reject the narrow definition of sovereignty—absolute and meticulous control—because it cannot avoid making God the author of sin and evil, in which case, Arminians believe, God would be morally ambiguous. The word sovereignty simply does not mean absolute control".

In fact, in article 6 of chapter 6, Ellis (2005) indicates:

Although divine providence always intervenes in all human deeds, words and thoughts, and through it God manages all outward actions and events of all things according to His will alone, still, by it **He never takes away the natural contingency of things and the innate liberty of the human will**, once given long ago in creation, but ordinarily He leaves the natures of things safe. And thus it concurs with the will of man in acting that He permits it also to act according to its own nature and freely performs its part, and therefore does not at any time impose on it the absolute necessity of doing well, much less of doing evil (p. 62, emphasis added).

This article seems to suggest a limiting of God's sovereignty in order to facilitate what Arminians call "the free will of man". Therefore, the Arminian view seems to have at least two limits that they place on God's sovereignty in their understanding of Scripture. Let us now go on to the Calvinist View of God's Sovereignty.

#### 4.3.2. Calvinist View of God's Sovereignty

Of the four Calvinistic confessions, three of them addressed God's sovereignty.

First, in the Belgic Confession (1561), article 13 addresses God's sovereignty under the title of God's providence. For instance, it refers to God creating everything, and that he "rules and governs them, according to his holy will, **so that nothing happens in this world without his appointment**" (Schaff 1977:383). Despite this, they deny the possibility of God being the author of sin. They also explain that through him "nothing can befall us by chance". (p. 384, emphasis added).

Second, in answering question 27, in the Heidelberg Catechism (1563), concerning providence, it refers to God as "The almighty and every where present power", that "upholds heaven and earth, with all creatures" (Schaff 1977:316). Thus, this appears to describe God's sovereignty.

Third, the Westminster Confession of Faith (1647), in chapter 2, article 2 says,

He is the alone foundation of **all being**, of whom, through whom, and to whom are **all things**; and hath **most sovereign dominion over them, to do by them, for them, or upon them whatsoever himself pleaseth**. In his sight all things are open and manifest, **his knowledge is infinite, infallible, and independent upon the creature; so as nothing is to him contingent or uncertain** (Schaff 1977:607, emphasis added).

This confession's description of God's sovereignty reveals no limitation in him exercising what he wills to do. Note the reference to God being sovereign over "all things" and doing "whatsoever Himself pleaseth". Moreover, he is omniscient and has full independent knowledge of all creatures, including mankind. This view was reflected in the latter part of the citation above.



Furthermore, in chapter 5, article 1, under providence it says,

God, the great Creator of all things, doth uphold, direct, dispose, and govern all creatures, actions, and things, from the greatest even to the least, by his most wise and holy providence, according to his **infallible foreknowledge**, and the free and immutable counsel of his own will, to the praise of the glory of his wisdom, power, justice, goodness, and mercy (Schaff 1977:612, emphasis added).

It is noteworthy that how God is exercising his sovereignty, which is referenced in the first part of the paragraph is tied to his providence, omniscience, will, among other attributes. This omniscience seems limited by the Arminian view of God's sovereignty as was discussed in the previous section 4.3.1, but this is not the case for the Calvinist.

Moreover, three articles later in article 4 under providence, it says,

The almighty power, unsearchable wisdom, and infinite goodness of God so far manifest themselves in his providence **that it extendeth itself even to the first fall, and all other sins of angels and men, and that not by a bare permission, but such as hath joined with it a most wise and powerful bounding, and otherwise ordering and governing of them, in a manifold dispensation, to His own holy ends**; yet so, as the sinfulness thereof proceedeth only from the creature, and not from God; who, being most holy and righteous, neither is nor can be the author or approver of sin (Schaff 1977:613, emphasis added).

Therefore, the Calvinist view believes God in exercising sovereignty permits all evil and sins in accordance with his manifold wisdom and will, but never to the point where he is culpable of the sin.

Olson (2006:118) argues that, "The Calvinist account of sovereignty is simply incongruous with sovereignty as we know it in the world. Even though Calvinists may express it in softer language, Arminians believe "absolute and meticulous control" is the classical Calvinist view". Thus, Olson as an Arminian would disagree with the Calvinist's

view of God's sovereignty as was previously mentioned and claims that this perspective makes God the author of sin, which we see that Calvinists in their confessions deny.

As we consider that our period under review for this thesis is the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, it may be insightful to learn of Jonathan Parsons who was ordained as a minister in 1730 at Lyme, Connecticut, and he remembered that, "I was greatly in Love with Arminian Principles, and especially I abhor'd the Doctrine of God's Absolute Sovereignty..." (Goodwin 1968:219). Thus, this idea of Arminianism denying the doctrine of God's Absolute Sovereignty was present before 1782, when George Liele from America came to Jamaica. Goodwin (1968:219) notes that Parson came to his understanding of this through "Anglicanism".

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Puritan Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758) wrote against the Arminians' view of God's sovereignty in New England that would be tantamount to saying that they do not affirm it. However, Olson disagrees and argues that they affirm it, but not in the way, Calvinists do. Moreover, he believes that the Arminians which Edwards was referring to were 'becoming unitarian and deistic' (Olson 2006:118).

Now, that we have discussed the first two views (Arminian and Calvinist) of God's sovereignty and seen how they differ, we will go ahead and discuss the General Baptist view in that regard in the next section.

#### 4.3.3. General Baptist View of God's Sovereignty

In two of the four General Baptist confessions, they were some indications of God's sovereignty being affirmed, although they were not extensive.

In articles 1 to 3 of the Faith and Practice of Thirty Congregations (1651), it collectively states that God, "is Infinite in power and wisdom, universal, invisible, eternal". He "created all creatures visible and invisible, by his own wisdom [sic] and power". Furthermore, "That God preserveth all creatures which are in being" ("Faith and Practise of Thirty Congregations" 1651).

This confession, through these three articles together, helps to describe God's sovereignty.

In article II of the Orthodox Creed (1678) where it addresses God's attributes, it says that, God is **Infinite**, of universal, **unlimited**, and Incomprehensible Perfection, most Holy, Wise, Just, and Good; whose wisdom is his Justice, whose Justice is his Holiness, and whose Wisdom, Justice, and Holiness, is Himself. Most Merciful, Gracious, Faithful and True, a full Fountain of Love, and who is that Perfect, **Sovereign**, Divine Will, the Alpha of Supreme Being ("An Orthodox Creed: Or, a Protestant Confession of Faith" 1678, emphasis added).

Thus, as a part of understanding God's attributes, there is acknowledgement in this creed of him being infinite, unlimited, sovereign, among others. Moreover, in article XL (i.e. thirteen articles after this one), it indicates that, "the light of nature sheweth there is a God, who hath a Sovereignty [sic] over all" ("An Orthodox Creed: Or, a Protestant Confession of Faith" 1678). Thus, God's sovereignty was affirmed.

Humphreys (2000:13) notes that, "in 1678, the General Baptists issued 'The Orthodox Creed' for the purpose of uniting Protestants against contemporary Christological errors; the document is special because it was worded in ways that would appeal to Calvinists". Accordingly, I hope this does not make its inclusion in our thesis and comparisons disingenuous. Nonetheless, it is a General Baptist confession.

Altogether, we can conclude that the General Baptist view did to some extent affirm God's sovereignty from the confessions, which we looked at here. However, their treatment of the subject was not as comprehensive as the Arminian view, which we studied. While, their views may be the same or similar, our examination of these confessions does not allow us to know if the General Baptist view was nuanced or limited God's sovereignty as well.

Harper (2019) notes, "It is fair to say that serious issues plagued **England's 18<sup>th</sup> century Baptists. The Particular Baptists quarrelled over the extent of God's sovereignty** and antinomianism, while the General Baptists struggled with issues such as Christ's deity and nuances of the atonement" (emphasis added).

The reason why the Particular Baptists and Calvinists paid more attention to God's sovereignty may have been because it was essential to their system, i.e. more important to their school of thought than those of the General Baptists and Arminians, respectively. Hence, highlighting instances of these doctrines in the lives of believers could be an indicator of their school of thought. On a separate note, because General Baptists focused on other areas these may likely have contributed to their lack of extensively and explicitly addressing God's sovereignty in the confessions which we have been reviewing.

Drummond (1992:61) notes that, "it has been pointed out that General Baptist were essentially Arminian in their theology". This stance was the most likely outcome, when comparing both views, but this was not taken as a known fact. Thus, our analysis of both of them. Our findings in this section did not substantiate this.

Drummond (1992:63) suggests "that through the years as the Particular Baptists flourished, the General Baptists slowly slipped into decline and began to deteriorate. The General Baptists moved into a liberal theological stance, many ultimately becoming Unitarians and universalistic in their doctrine". Humphreys (2000) indicates that in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, "General Baptists moved toward unorthodox expressions of the Christian faith that resulted in the loss of their Baptist identity altogether". However, Drummond (1992:63) explained that, "although doctrinal controversy and spiritual decline characterised the General Baptists in the first half of the eighteenth century, the conversion of a man by the name of Dan Taylor (1738-1816) signaled hope" (p. 63).

This is another reason why the General Baptist confessions, which we have been examining lacked information. It could have been because they were in spiritual decline and were possibly trying to understand what they actually believed, and so they penned only the areas in their confessions and creeds that they had a mutual agreement.

Nonetheless, Humphreys (2000) asserts that, “the General Baptists had experienced a renewal under the leadership of Dan Taylor (1738–1816) who owed much to the Wesleyan revivals. Taylor organised a New Connexion of General Baptists which retrieved doctrinal orthodoxy for and introduced revivalistic evangelism to the General Baptists”. This move reconnected General Baptists with Arminians.

Since we just discussed the General Baptist view, let us proceed to address the fourth and final school of thought, which is the Particular Baptist view of God’s Sovereignty in our next section.

#### 4.3.4. Particular Baptist View of God’s Sovereignty

All three Particular Baptist confessions addressed God’s sovereignty.

First, the London Baptist Confession of Faith (1644) article III notes, “that God has (Isa. 46:10) decreed in Himself from everlasting **touching all things, effectually to work and dispose them (Eph. 1:11) according to the counsel of His own will**, to the glory of His name; in which decree appears His wisdom, constancy, truth, and faithfulness (Col. 2:3)” (“The First London Baptist Confession of Faith” 1646, emphasis added). This article is a description of God’s sovereignty showing his absolute control over everything.

Second, in article I of the Somerset Confession (1656), it refers to God as “almighty” and “infinite”. Also, article II notes that God “did according to his own will in time, create all things, by, and for Jesus Christ (Heb. 1:2; Col. 1:16; John 2:3); who is the word of God (John 1:1) and upholds all things by the word of his power (Heb. 1:3.)” (“Somerset Confession of Faith” 1656). Therefore, these two articles in this confession collectively demonstrate God’s sovereignty.

Butler & Harsch (2007) explain that the Somerset confession was the “earliest attempt to bring together Particular & General Baptists” together. Again, the hope is that this initiative does not compromise the findings of this research. Notwithstanding, the confession identifies as a Particular Baptist confession.

Third, in chapter 2, paragraph 1 of the Second London Baptist Confession of Faith (1689), it says God is “**almighty, every way infinit\_[sic], most holy, most wise, most free, most absolute; working all things according to the counsel of His own immutable and most righteous will, for His own glory**” (“Second London Baptist Confession of Faith” 1689, emphasis added).

This section seems to be a description of God's sovereignty here.

Additionally, paragraph 2 notes that,

He is the alone fountain of all being, of whom, through whom, and to whom are all things, and He hath most sovereign dominion over all creatures, to do by them, for them, or upon them, whatsoever Himself pleases; in His sight all things are open and manifest, His knowledge is infinite, infallible, and independent upon the creature, so as nothing is to Him contingent or uncertain (“Second London Baptist Confession of Faith” 1689).

This explanation is identical to the Westminster Confession of Faith (1647), chapter 2, article 2 above. As a result, no additional explanations will be provided.

In paragraph 4, of chapter 2 for the Second London Baptist Confession of Faith (1689), it reads,

The almighty power, unsearchable wisdom, and infinite goodness of God, so far manifest themselves in His providence, that His determinate counsel extends itself even to the first fall, and all other sinful actions both of angels and men; and that not by a bare permission, which also He most wisely and powerfully binds, and otherwise orders and governs, in a manifold dispensation to His most holy

ends; yet so, as the sinfulness of their acts proceeds only from the creatures, and not from God, who, being most holy and righteous, neither is nor can be the author or approver of sin (“Second London Baptist Confession of Faith” 1689).

This paragraph is also identical to the Westminster Confession of Faith (1647), chapter 5, article 4 above. As a result, no additional explanation will be provided. Nonetheless, this confirms what Butler & Harsch (2007) noted in their presentation that the Second London (1677, revised 1688/89) modified “the Westminster Confession (Presbyterian-1647)” or as Akin (2014:170) refers to it as “Echoing the language of the Westminster Confession of Faith”.

Altogether, from our brief look at Particular Baptists Confessions of Faith regarding God’s sovereignty, we can certainly see that they were in total agreement with the Calvinistic confessions that were reviewed as well.

#### 4.3.5 Summary of Four Theological Views & God’s Sovereignty

From our study, we can see that all four views sought to explain God’s sovereignty as they saw it in Scripture. Calvinists and Particular Baptists were generally advocating for God’s sovereignty over everything. At the same time, Arminians indicated that God was not in full control in the sense that he has chosen to limit His sovereignty so that human beings can experience the freedom to choose whatever they desire, including their salvation. Other studies, such as Tiessen (2000:71-72) confirm this view. However, some contest this notion (see Alcorn 2014:10-17; Pinson 2015). We also saw a possible limiting of God’s sovereignty and omniscience in Arminianism, although they may disagree especially with the latter. However, we did not see these two limitations present in the General Baptist confessions, and so we cannot treat them as a subset of Arminians, while they may be. Notwithstanding, we were able to establish that the Particular Baptists view of God’s sovereignty was consistent with general Calvinistic view of God’s sovereignty. Additionally, the generalisation that Calvinists, including Particular Baptists, emphasises more of God’s sovereignty than Arminianism and General Baptists seems acceptable from our findings.

In our next section, we will examine the four views of God's sovereignty in providence to see if it will give us greater insight into how we will later address the five Baptist missionaries under review. For instance, this concept of God's sovereignty in providence will be vital concerning how believers would likely respond to the trials and sufferings which they face, and this will be handled in the following section after the upcoming one.

#### 4.4 Four Views of God's Providence

In this section, we will first address the Arminian view of God's providence. This perspective will then be followed by the Calvinist, General Baptist and Particular Baptist views of God's providence. The same respective confessions, which we have been using in this chapter so far, will assist in addressing these theological views of God's providence. However, let us begin by seeking to define God's providence before we proceed to examine this confession.

Piper (2019) asserts that God's providence "is sovereignty in the service of wise purposes. Or you could say providence is *wise and purposeful sovereignty*". Whereas, Tiessen (2000:13) defines providence as "God's care for and action in the world that he has created". In keeping with Tiessen, Dodds (2018:31) describes providence as God's care for us. Altogether, providence explains the wise purposes behind God's sovereignty, which is demonstrated by God's absolute ability to care for his creation, humans, and especially his elect. However, this providence does not guarantee that humans, including the elect outcomes in every situation, will always be what they wanted or that it will be free from trials, suffering, and death.

Based on this definition of God's providence, then the affirmation of God's sovereignty is a prerequisite or foundational to this understanding. Moreover, by speaking about his providence, we are assuming God's sovereignty. Thus, it will not generally be necessary to speak about both concepts together, other than when we are trying to delineate a point or differentiating between the two. Nevertheless, because there is no clear cut definition



of the term globally, the goal is to ensure that all readers are at least aware of the concepts throughout this thesis.

#### 4.4.1. The Arminian View of God's Providence

Of the four Arminian confessions we have been using, only "The Remonstrants" or Arminian Confession of 1621 explicitly addressed God's providence in its sixth chapter.

In chapter 6, article 1, It begins by explaining that God's providence covers both creation and redemption. This providence encompasses all dispensations with all the activities of the past, present and future. It then refers to providence being

a serious and continual inspection, care and control of the entire universe, but especially of man (for whose good, to the glory of God, all things were composed), or the preservation and sustenance of all creatures, namely, of things and persons, likewise the governing and directing of our actions and of all events (whether they be good or evil) which happen in time by whatever manner to His creatures, but especially to men and most of all to the godly. And this was instituted according to the most exact rule of divine wisdom, justice and equality (Ellis 2005:58).

In this first out of eight articles in chapter 6, I believe there would be agreement within all four views regarding God's providence. It also sufficiently covers all the areas, which I had defined in my understanding of this doctrine.

In article 2, it discusses the concept of a general versus special providence of God where the general providence of God refers to "all creatures", and the special providence of God refers to "godly and holy people" and partially to "angels and men" as well (pp. 58-59). These three beneficiaries of God's providence are then treated in a more extensive manner. However, a few areas of observations will be highlighted as an examination of the confession takes place.

First, in the general providence of God, it mentions him “not **only conserves their natures** or properties and powers, but also uses them according to His will, either for the good or punishment of man” (p. 58, emphasis added).

While, God’s conservation of humans’ natures is real, does this encapsulates for Arminians the idea of the preservation of the “free will nature of mankind”? If so, would there not be a limitation in God’s sovereignty which I have argued earlier in section 4.3.1?

Second, the special providence of God concerning angels seemed straightforward (likely generally accepted) in how they interacted with creation and humanity.

Third, the special providence of God regarding men, it did seek to indicate that about the free and especially religious operations of men, it moves in various manners. **For first He limits and circumscribes the liberty of their will by legislation, that man cannot either will or do whatever he wants without sin, and principally for this end, that he may not will nor do except that which is right and just**, and this so that, just like a living image, he might reflect his creator, and always remain subject to Him (Ellis 2005:59, emphasis added).

This section suggests that God in his providence limits the freedom of the will of humans to some extent.

Regarding article 3, an argument has been previously given by the author of this dissertation in section 4.3.1 on the Arminian view where a limitation may arise regarding God’s sovereignty and omniscience as a result of this kind of reasoning.

Concerning article 6, it acknowledged that in God’s providence intervention on His part constantly takes place in all human activities, where management of these actions and events are done in keeping with His will and none other. However, the article adds,

**still, by it He never takes away the natural contingency of things and the innate liberty of the human will, once given long ago in creation**, but ordinarily

He leaves the natures of things safe. And thus it concurs with the will of man in acting that He permits it also to act according to its own nature and freely performs its part, and **therefore does not at any time impose on it the absolute necessity of doing well**, much less of doing evil (Ellis 2005:60, emphasis added).

Thus, the Arminian view suggests that one of the ways God's providence is evident would be through him allowing humans free will, which they believe would be consistent with nature and how God designed it in creation. Moreover, a general imposition on God's part by "absolute necessity" to do "well" or "evil" would then be seen as inconsistent and most likely, a violation of free will.

Article 7, begins by acknowledging God's providence and omniscience. However, it notes that,

For truly there is nothing either good or evil which is fatally or not contingently done by man or by absolute necessity, that is, God either violently compelling their wills to this or that, by **offering some irresistible power, some absolute and always efficacious decree (whether you will call it effective or permissive, as some foolishly say), or some other way of acting**\_(Ellis 2005:63, emphasis added).

Thus, in principle, the Arminian view denies the Irresistible Grace of God doctrine as it seems inconsistent with the freedom of the human will. Altogether, they believe humanity should be able to resist the grace of God for salvation to their detriment. Now, that we have examined the Arminian view of God's providence, let us see what the Calvinist's position on it is in the next section.

#### 4.4.2. The Calvinists View of God's Providence

Three of our four Calvinist confessions dealt explicitly with this doctrine and are discussed below. The Canons of Dort (1618-1619) is excluded, since it addresses God's providence in salvation, which is handled in the next chapter.

First, the Belgic Confession Article 13 regarding God's providence referred to him creating everything, and not leaving them to randomness. On the contrary, God intentionally governs his creation based on his purposes. He is in total control of what takes place on the earth. Notwithstanding, God does not sin when he allows sins to manifest, due to his good nature and plans for it that is beyond our human understanding. God's omnipotence and omniscience ensure that his purposes will be accomplished with the highest excellence and justice, even taking into consideration the evil actions of men and the devil. (Schaff 1977:396-397).

Thus, as believers, we humbly and respectfully acknowledge the holiest and wise decisions and deeds that God make, while trusting His word and being satisfied in Him. Moreover, our understanding of providence gives us indescribable joy through learning the truth that, "nothing can befall us by chance, but by the direction of our most gracious and heavenly Father; who watches over us with a paternal care, keeping all creatures so under his power, that not a hair of our head (for they are all numbered), nor a sparrow, can fall to the ground, without the will of our Father" (Schaff 1977:397-398).

Second, the Heidelberg Catechism (1563) had two questions and answers concerning the doctrine of God's providence. The answer to its first question, i.e. # 27, suggests that, "The almighty and ever present power of God by which God upholds, as with his hand, heaven and earth and all creatures, and so rules them that leaf and blade, rain and drought, fruitful and lean years, food and drink, health and sickness, prosperity and poverty—all things, in fact, come to us not by chance but by his fatherly hand".

As we compare the Heidelberg Catechism (1563), question 27, and the Belgic Confession Article 13 both indicate that God is meticulously demonstrating his fatherly care and governance over his creation. Nothing at all can happen to it without his approval.

Also, note there is no discussion about humanity's ability to choose contrary to God's will based on their nature, i.e. free will (Schaff 1977:316). This perspective should indicate one difference between the Arminian and Calvinist view in terms of how human actions are explained in light of God's providence.

While in answering the second question, # 28 of the Heidelberg Catechism (1563), it even expounded on the benefits of God's providence, in terms of the knowledge of it leads to being, "patient in adversity, thankful in prosperity, and for what is future have good confidence in our faithful God and Father that no creature shall separate us from his love, since all creatures are so in his hand that without his will they can not so much as move" (Schaff 1977:316). Thus, an argument for increased patience, gratefulness, confidence and love may be presented for those who affirm the Calvinist view of God's providence.

Third, in article 1 of chapter V of the Westminster Confession of Faith, concerning the Providence of God, it notes that the omnipotent God who created everything is sovereignly taking care of it through his omniscience and wisdom in keeping with his good, just, and gracious purposes (Schaff 1977:612). This view is consistent with the other two Calvinistic confessions.

In article 3, it says that God, "maketh use of means, yet is free to work without, above, and against them, at His pleasure" (Schaff 1977:612-613). The unlimited language of God's sovereignty that is being delineated in this article is noteworthy.

Finally, article 4 was previously addressed in section 4.3.2 (Schaff 1977:613). This article is identical to the Second London Baptist Confession (1689) section 5.4 that we dealt with in section 4.3.4, and will handle in section 4.4.4 too.

Suk (2018:42) argues that the orthodox Calvinist story is that God makes provision for all things in the universe and all people by his providence and not random chance. Wells (2018:6) suggests that the, "theology of providence pertains to all that God provides in nature and history, including the biblical history of salvation".

Altogether, the Calvinistic confessions along with the views of Suk (2018:42) and Wells (2018:6) are consistent with the Calvinists' view of God's providence.

#### 4.4.3. General Baptists' View of God's Providence

Only one of the four Arminian Confessions addressed God's providence, which was the Orthodox Creed (1678), Article XII. It read as follows:

The Almighty God, that Created all Things, and gave them their Being, by his infinite Power and Wisdom, doth Sustain, and Uphold, and Move, Direct, Dispose, and Govern, all Creatures and Things, from the greatest to the least, according to the Counsel of his own good Will and Pleasure, for his own Glory, and his Creatures good ("An Orthodox Creed: Or, a Protestant Confession of Faith" 1678).

This Arminian confession could have been affirmed by a Calvinist, since it espoused a general and concise view of God's providence. Nonetheless, as was previously explained, this was one of the goals of the Orthodox Creed (1678) (Humphreys 2000:13).

#### 4.4.4. The Particular Baptists' View of God's Providence

Out of the four Calvinistic confessions, the three which addressed God's sovereignty, also pertain to God's Providence.

First, in Article V of the First London Baptist Confession of Faith (1644) notes that, "God in His infinite power and wisdom, doth dispose all things to the end for which they were created; that neither good nor evil befalls any by chance, or **without His providence; and that whatsoever befalls the elect, is by His appointment, for His glory, and their good**" (emphasis added).

Second, in the Somerset Confession of Faith Article XLV, it notes that, "THAT nothing doth come to pass by fortune or chance, but **all things are disposed by the hand of God, and all for good to his people**" ("Somerset Confession of Faith", 1656, emphasis added).

Third, the Second London Baptist Confession (1689) section 5.4, which is identical to the Westminster Confession of Faith, Chapter V, article 4.

As we consider, the Particular Baptists confessions it consistently mentions that the purpose of God's providence is for the good of the people and his glory. Thus, God's wisdom, omniscience, omnipotence, justice, and mercy all work together toward that one goal.

#### 4.4.5. Summary of Four Theological Views & God's Providence

All four theological views alluded to God's power, wisdom using everything in creation, in keeping with his providence. Moreover, this providence enables the glory He receives, and the good his elect obtains in the process.

The Arminian and Calvinist views of God's providence exhibited two differences. First, in how God interacted with humanity through what Arminians refer to as "free will" as well as affirming that they have the ability to resist God's grace for salvation. Second, with how Arminian sought to account for God allowing sin and disobedience to occur and not being the author of sin, which all four views uphold, led to the Arminian view requiring that God did not know what the actual outcome would be in his granting of the person to sin or disobey, which seems to limit God's omniscience and sovereignty in providence.

The Calvinistic and Particular Baptist, for the most part, relayed the same or similar information regarding the concept of providence. These Calvinistic confessions would have given believers who affirm these confessions confidence in God's rule and gratitude towards him, even when they were experiencing trials and difficulties as he uses everything for their good and his glory. This posture would be more in keeping with the answer to the second question, i.e. # 28 of the Heidelberg Catechism (Schaff 1977:316).

While, the Arminian and General Baptist confessions did not have such a closely noticeable relationship from the author's observation. This finding may have been due to the General Baptist confessions being too small and since they may not have seen the need to go into all the other details. It could also be that providence was not one of the issues which the General Baptists were tackling in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Nonetheless, we can

come out of this exercise realising that Particular Baptists would be more inclined to be confessing God's providence than General Baptists. Also, in the absence of the actual confession of God's providence, without the use of language concerning "free will" and people resisting God's grace, it may be difficult to pinpoint the difference between the Particular Baptists and General Baptists in this study.

#### 4.5 The Implications of God's Providence

John Calvin believed that, "Ignorance of providence is the ultimate of all miseries; the highest blessedness lies in the knowledge of it" (Calvin, Battles & McNeill 2011:225). Altogether, there was a particular way in which the Calvinistic Baptists understood God's providence that seemed relevant and beneficial in living in this fallen world. This view was addressed in answering question 28 of the Heidelberg Catechism (Schaff 1977:316).

Highfield (2015:13-14) argues that human beings commonly exhibit anxiety. This feeling of uneasiness tends to come from people not having the power to direct or determine the future. As a result, Jesus instructed his disciples to not be afraid in Luke 12:7 and to stop worrying about their lives in Matthew 6:25. They can only have this assurance because God is faithfully watching over his creation based on 1 Peter 4:19. Accordingly, Highfield rejects "other models of creation and providence that deny that God accomplishes his good will in all things, and, hence, undermine the confidence that Peter commends" (p. 15). This belief may be a mistake that many non-Calvinistic denominations make in failing to realise the importance of understanding God's providence from a Calvinist perspective. The absolute sovereignty of God which they affirm removes any limitation on God and aid his people to trust and rest in him and his promises.

Case-Winters notes that providence supports the view that God is continually performing actions in the world, which is an essential truth in Christianity. If this belief is not true, then it would be difficult to make a credible argument for the reason why individuals pray (Case-Winters 2018:18).



This view provides another explanation of why this Calvinistic understanding of God's providence may be useful in motivating persons to pray. For instance, we may pray for a loved one asking and believing God to intervene and save them, although they outright oppose the gospel. Nevertheless, in God's kindness, he answers our prayers. Here, we are asking God to override someone else's free will because we love them and want to see them saved. This notion is consistent with the Calvinist's view of God's providence, but not with the Arminians' perspective. However, from the author's observation Arminians regularly pray those kinds of prayers.

Wells (2018:6) explains that, "the theology of providence continues to be of great importance to faith. It underlies what we say in times of joy, when we overflow with gratitude, but also in times of bereavement or disaster, when we cry out in sorrow or despair. A theology that dismissed providence would render God absent and inactive". Wells' view seems sound and Calvinistic Baptists would likely agree with it too. Accordingly, the author's examination of Liele, Rowe, Phillippo, Burchell and Knibb's responses to situations (whether bad or good) will be along these lines to attempt to see if they indicated a certain type of providence that would be more Calvinistic in nature.

As we consider God's providence, it lends itself to an examination of our human responses to it. Specifically, with reference to the resignation of humankind's will to God's. This submission to God's purposes is highlighted in Calvinism (Martin 2007:4-5). It could be regarding our wisdom (Isaiah 55:8-9), our salvation (Ephesians 2:1-8), our plans (Proverbs 19:21), our trials (James 1:2-4), and our suffering (Romans 5:3-5). Due to God providentially working all things "together for good for those who love God, who are called according to his purpose." (Romans 8:28, NRSV). Therefore, analysis of the cases where the trials, sufferings, and plans of Liele, Rowe, Philipppo, Burchell and Knibb may have demonstrated this level of resignation or submission to God's will be done based on their knowledge of God's providence. This exercise is what will be addressed in the next section.

## 4.6. The Five Baptists Missionaries and Providence

For this section, the argument purported is that, if all Calvinistic Baptists affirm God's providence in a particular manner and the five Baptists missionaries affirmed God's providence in that way, then we can deduce that the five Baptists missionaries were Calvinists.

We will begin by our examination with George Liele, who came first to Jamaica.

### 4.6.1. George Liele's Resignation to God's Will in His Trials, Sufferings and Plans

Morrison (2014:81) reports that Liele was charged with preaching to incite people to rebel against Jamaica's authorities. Thus he was incarcerated, but later was acquitted. The researcher believes Liele's devotion to Jamaicans did not wane due to his incarceration. His ministry campaign was quite successful to slaves, and those unfairly treated, being a former slave himself.

Lawes (2008:370) explained that Liele and his team started the construction of a church building and requested assistance from the British. Notwithstanding, they did not have adequate financial resources, and consequently, Liele was put into prison for almost three and a half years because he could not repay his creditors. It seems that Liele must have had a perspective that embraced suffering as a part of God's plan to save others. Morrison (2015:47) notes that "Liele believed that God had given him a mission to take the gospel primarily to those of African descent, whether slave or free".

Thus, it would not be unreasonable in keeping with Moule (1962:2) and Morrison (2015:47) for Liele to assume that God who is in control was using these cases of imprisonment and other challenging situations to accomplish His good plan for those of African descent to be saved eventually. So, Liele could be at peace during these trying circumstances. Notwithstanding, there is not sufficient evidence to suggest whether Liele was more Calvinistic or not based on God's providence in this section.

Now, that we have looked at George Liele, let us analyse John Rowe, who was the first Baptist missionary to come to Jamaica from the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS).

#### 4.6.2. John Rowe's Resignation to God's Will in His Trials, Sufferings and Plans

The Baptist Missionary Society (1816:107) reported that on Wednesday, October 18, 1815 that Rowe and others who were engaged in missionary activities in Jamaica experienced a hurricane, and yet there was a call for more labour to come to Jamaica to assist in the work. Reflecting on this report about Rowe is telling as most persons would be reluctant to have persons come to an island far away that has recently experienced a hurricane. Moreover, they would be expected to help an ethnicity that was most likely different, i.e. being black and having a different culture and accent. However, this would be acceptable because God was at work in this place, despite the challenges.

Catherall (1994) reports that, **"while chafing at these restrictions, 29 especially the refusal to grant him a licence to preach, Rowe exercised patience to good effect, winning over many influential people and establishing a school in Falmouth"** (p. 296, emphasis added). As one considers the sacrifice, which Rowe endured to come to Jamaica, including his training and preparation it would have been expected for him to be frustrated with the denial of a preaching license and restrictions that were placed upon him in Jamaica. Notwithstanding, through having a good perspective on God's providence, he obeyed the counsel he received and focused on areas and people that led to some success.

In one of the last accounts of Rowe's life, he scrutinised the situation in Jamaica and explained the present difficulties and the little success they have achieved. However, he was optimistic about the future. He recognised that there was much work to do before their missionary activities may begin to see much fruit from their service. However, Rowe's positive outlook was rooted in the reality that God is sovereign, i.e. "the Lord can, and I hope will, accomplish it" (Baptist Missionary Society 1818:46).

The researcher believes Rowe's posture may help prepare believers, as DeYoung (2012) noted, to suffer in this life. However, this goes against much of what society promotes, and so our natural instincts are generally to resist it. Moreover, this suffering may take place in a setting where we are required to suffer silently. Although, that is not always the case. Notwithstanding, we ought to be mindful of the Gospel, which is on display to others in the midst of suffering.

Rowe's understanding of God's ability to save the souls of Jamaicans through the good news of Jesus Christ at the high cost of what missionaries at that time needed to sacrifice and endure is indicative that he comprehended the biblical principle of suffering in the lives of Christians.

Rowe contracted yellow fever and died prematurely in 1816 (Besson 2002:99). However, the health risks for foreigners who travelled and settled in Jamaica were likely known at the time (Oldstone 2009:103). Therefore, these consequences must have been considered by Rowe and others, including the unfavourable outcome of death. Altogether, Rowe exhibited a resignation to God's will demonstrating knowledge of his providence from how he handled the situations in which he encountered and from what we are able to extrapolate from his writings. However, there is insufficient evidence to suggest that Rowe was more inclined to Calvinism based on God's providence in this section.

We have examined George Liele and John Rowe. In the next section, we will investigate James M. Phillippo to see if he exhibited a Calvinistic understanding of God's providence.

#### 4.6.3. James M. Phillippo's Resignation to God's Will in His Trials, Sufferings and Plans

In 1823, the BMS told Phillippo that they were going to send missionaries to Jamaica, it "was clear to his mind that **it was his duty there to stay**, until **Providence**, by an equally emphatic missive, **directed his removal from it**" (Underhill 1881:24, emphasis added). Thus, Phillippo submitted his plans to God's and felt through his belief in divine providence that the direction or course of his life would be influenced by it. This resignation of

Phillippo's will to God's was linked to his understanding of God's providence and care for him. Accordingly, Phillippo wanted to ensure that he stayed where God had determined for him.

Underhill indicates that Phillippo, **“nor was he without the discipline of sorrow, arising from the illness of himself and his dear wife, and the trial which befell them in the death of their eldest child. Nevertheless, amidst every discouragement and trial, his faith failed not. He felt that he was ‘in the Lord's hand, to live or to die as might be His will’.”** (Underhill 1881:42, emphasis added). Again, it appears that Phillippo demonstrated a deep sense of trust in God's control over everything, including his life, wife and offspring. This understanding of God's providence amidst the trials he faced did not weaken or destroy the faith he had in the good sovereign Lord. While, one cannot say conclusively from this section whether Phillippo was a Calvinist, his mention of the term "providence" might be indicative that he was one based on our exercise above where General Baptists did not prominently use this term in their confession.

In the next section, we will assess Thomas Burchell, having examined George Liele, John Rowe, and James M. Phillippo already.

#### 4.6.4. Thomas Burchell's Resignation to God's Will in His Trials, Sufferings and Plans

Burchell (1849:28) explained that as he grew older and came to understand the depravity of the unsaved and their spiritual blindness, that he realised that he could sacrifice the privileges of his home in answering the call to be a missionary in foreign lands which had different practices and customs that would not be consistent with Christianity.

Burchell outlined that it would be challenging and require much labour, but it would be necessary to teach them the truths of the gospel in the Bible. As a result, he started praying for direction and clarity, whether he should do this or not. Consequently, he said, **"At length I determined to let matters take their course, believing that, if it were the design of providence to employ me in this department of service, he would clear my way before** (pp. 29-30). Therefore, he wrote a letter to his pastor expressing his

desire, since he believed God would bring his plans to nought if it were amiss (p. 30, emphasis added).

It is important to note that Burchell was confident through his belief in God's providence that whatever the outcome was, would be in his best interest. This perspective was foremost in his decision making. Accordingly, he did not want to proceed in any direction which was not in keeping with God's will. Moreover, Burchell did not believe that God would prosper any deviation from his will.

At Crooked Spring, Burchell had plans but, “the disappointments he had so unexpectedly met with, induced him ‘to look to himself less and to Christ more, to pray earnestly **for divine direction and influence, and to rely on the Saviour alone for present encouragement and ultimate success;**’ they led him to turn his attention to Montego Bay, as the principal sphere of his ministry.” (Burchell 1849:52, emphasis added). It appears that Burchell was learning through disappointments of his temptations of pride, and his continual need to depend on Christ for everyday life. His ultimate success relied on God's providence as expressed through Christ.

Tripp (2019) explains that, “suffering is spiritual warfare. It exposes you to particular seductive and attractive—but devastating—temptations. You could argue that suffering will always either deepen your faith and affection for your Redeemer, or it will weaken the same”. As we consider that Burchell had to rely on Christ alone for encouragement and success, when disappointments (suffering) came, we should notice that it also prevented him from the temptation to depend on himself. This realisation of Christ alone being necessary for Burchell's success is consistent with the belief in God's providence. Burchell's faith would likely deepen in the process based on Tripp's argument and the work Christ was doing to teach Burchell trust and dependence in Him.

Ross (2017) indicates that “suffering can also prompt hope. The obedience, suffering, and exaltation of Jesus as King will finally deliver us from hardship and misery. In the meantime, suffering peels our eyes away from ourselves. As we turn from despair amid

our suffering, we rely upon and proclaim the gospel in hope: King Jesus lives, so we live in him. And his kingdom will never fail". This perspective is the hope that Burchell seemed to develop through his disappointments and knowledge of God's providence.

Burchell sought the Lord's favour to obtain a license to preach, although John Rowe who tried before him was unsuccessful in obtaining his. Burchell understood that it was God who directed human hearts, and so when he received the license, he believed it was due to, "**divine Providence in his favour**" (Burchell 1849:53-54, emphasis added). It appears that his view of God's providence was consistent with that of Calvinistic Baptists.

Burchell recognised that what he was doing in terms of ministry that gave him joy was because it advanced God's kingdom and not his. He did not desire to become affluent or to be recognised by his worldly achievements. Burchell was concerned about non-believers and hoped that they would become saved. Thus, there was no cost or suffering for the Lord's work, which would be too great for him to facilitate persons' salvation, and so he determined to make God the one to sustain him through those times (Burchell 1849:36). Therefore, we can see that Burchell found strength in God's providence during difficult circumstances.

Burchell wrote to his elder brother about his first visit to Kingston that he needed to be courageous amidst the challenges and oppositions which he was facing. He recognised that by speaking out or resisting the injustices that were being meted out against him that he might escalate things, but he felt it was better to do so on his part than letting their churches have to tackle and face the ramifications of such actions which might lead to their closure. Notwithstanding, in response, he cited Jesus saying, '**Thou hast no power at all, except it be given thee from above**' (Burchell 1849:74, emphasis added).

In Burchell's perspective, he again reveals his belief that the Sovereign God was in control and working His plan out in the process, and so he could rest in God's providential care. Burchell wrote to Mr Dyer about his firstborn and his wife. His son had suffered greatly but recovered, and Burchell saw this as an answer to prayer. However, his wife contracted

yellow fever, and after a couple of days, she pleaded with Burchell to resign himself to the will of God. As a result, Burchell **“prayed the Lord to make me submissive to his will, whatever it might be; and he supported me. O my dear sir, ‘tis in the near prospect of death, and in these hours of distress, that the truth and efficacy and value of religion are seen and felt. What besides can minister such consolation in times of bitter sorrow! What else can contribute such patience in affliction, and such resignation and peace in view of the king of terrors?”** (Burchell 1849:75, emphasis added). Here, Burchell reflected on the benefits of having a relationship with the Sovereign Lord which provided patience, resignation and peace during trying times.

Burchell recognised that many of those who wrongfully mistreated the Baptists and their followers had died, and so it **“lead some persons to believe in the doctrine of divine providence who previously questioned, or at least practically disregarded it”** (Burchell 1849:235, emphasis added). Here, the negative outcome of these persons led Burchell and others to believe that this was retributive justice and an indication of God’s providence to protect and care for them. Burchell added, “Oh that it may operate as an effectual warning to the survivors, many of whom impiously pervert the long suffering and forbearance of God into approbation of their iniquity” (Burchell 1849:235).

Burchell listened as an imprisoned negro told him that while Burchell was incarcerated that he could hardly handle to see Burchell confined, especially when he considered that Burchell had forsaken his family and country to serve Jamaicans. The negro felt this was something he could bear. Nevertheless, he said, ‘never mind, massa; hear up, keep good heart; you know we Saviour suffer more than we suffer’ (Burchell 1849:265).

Keller (2004:2) says, “Jesus suffered, not that we might not suffer but that when we suffer, we could become like him.” Also, Sobolik (2014) notes that Christ explaining the inevitability of Christian suffering in this world would be challenging to accept. Yet, Christ says it is doable because he has ‘overcome the world’.



It seems that the belief of the certainty of Christians suffering for Christ's sake and its progressive sanctifying work to become more like Him, along with Burchell's trust in God's providence not only served as an encouragement for him, but even for slaves that regularly experienced suffering through slavery in Jamaica. Thus, this statement from the slave who was imprisoned with Burchell is quite instructive and reveals one of the reasons why Baptists may have been so successful in their mission.

Again, one can not say for certain based on observation of the literature on Burchell. Nonetheless, his repeated use of the word "providence" and resignation to the will of God is likely an indicator that he was a Particular/Calvinist Baptist.

We have looked at four (George Liele, John Rowe, James M. Phillippo and Thomas Burchell) of the five Baptist missionaries. In the next section, we will analyse our last missionary, who is William Knibb.

#### 4.6.5. William Knibb's Resignation to God's Will in His Trials, Sufferings and Plans

The information supplied by Hinton (1847:34-35) below was extracted directly from Knibb's journal. On page 33, it reads, "He kept a journal, by a few extracts from which both the circumstances of his voyage, and the exercises of his mind, will be presented to us".

On November 5, 1824, William Knibb wrote, "Amidst all the feelings of pain with which I was exercised, **I was enabled to cast my care upon God, and to put my trust in him; and though I felt that I was severed from the most endearing ties**, I found a sweet consolation arising from the cause in which I had embarked, **and humbly committed all my future concerns into the hands of Him who hath done all things well**" (Hinton 1847:34-35, emphasis added). Here Knibb credits God's enabling power to overcome pain and anxiety by surrendering to God's providence. Sobolik (2014), in response to the regularly associated anxiety from suffering, suggests that seeing God's providential care is crucial to coping properly with it.

On November 22, 1824, William Knibb wrote, “Beat about to-day with contrary winds and a heavy sea, which impeded us in our course. I think that I never felt **so much resignation to the will of God**, and humility when viewing myself, as I have done this evening. **I trust that I was enabled to be passive in the hands of my Maker, and felt willing either to live or die, as would most conduce to his glory**” (Hinton 1847:35, emphasis added).

Amid a life-threatening experience, Knibb could recognise God’s sovereign role and his need to humbly submit to the divine plan that was unfolding before him. Knibb realised he had to trust God’s providence and desired God to receive the glory that was due to him in the process.

Carter (2017) says, “As Christians we can be thankful that we are children of the sovereign Lord. Even when our life seems to be spinning out of control, we can trust that God is fully in command and that he uses times of trouble to make us mature and complete”. Carter also says, “there is a major difference between being thankful for every situation in life and being thankful in those situations”. Based on Carter and Knibb’s view, thankfulness and humility were two critical elements in addressing trials and acknowledging God’s sovereignty and providence.

Hinton (1847) introduced an extract of a letter which Knibb wrote on November 26, 1822, to his brother Thomas and sister,

I fully join with you in wishing that the next time the Ocean leaves the British shores, after it has wafted you in safety to your destined haven, I may be permitted to form a part of the cargo. My desire after missionary labour is still as great as ever, and, **if it is the will of my God**, I trust that I shall go; but I hope that I can **rest resigned to all his will**. If he has work formed there he will bring it to pass, and if not, I am sure you would not wish to see me arrive (p. 16, emphasis added).

This letter shows that William Knibb’s strong belief in God’s sovereignty tempered his expectations. Thus, if God granted his desire, then it would come to pass. Otherwise, if it

did not transpire, William encouraged his brother and sister that they should be glad about God's wise decision. This perspective illustrates his understanding of God's providence.

In March 1823, Knibb wrote again to them saying,

**His promises are kind and large, to those who on his grace rely'**, and surely to none more so than to those who have left all the endearments of home, and the sweet society of friends, to be enabled to spread his banners and extend his kingdom...pray, my dearest brother and sister, that I may be permitted to join you in that day, when the ransomed of the Lord shall return to Zion with everlasting joy (Hinton 1847:17-18, emphasis added).

Therefore Knibb continued desiring to join his brother and sister, but knew that it was dependent on the Lord's approval. This ongoing desire reveals one of the mysteries of the gospel that one can affirm God's providence, but also recognise that God has ordained certain means for which we can exercise our human responsibility such as prayer. Thus, Knibb could continue praying and asking God to join his family there, but ultimately knew it was based on God's decision to allow or disallow him to do so.

On April 2, 1823, William wrote to his brother Thomas, "**should it be the will of God that I should go**, I think it will be as a schoolmaster" (Hinton 1847:20, emphasis added). One of the benefits from Knibb's approach regarding God's providence is that Knibb did not assume that He necessarily knew what God's will was in the circumstances. This assumption is an area which some take for granted today, and may lead to a wrong view of God's goodness and causes disappointment. Notwithstanding, Knibb believed if God granted approval, then it was likely his will from him to go to Jamaica and become a schoolmaster. Thus, if this did not transpire, then it was not God's will for him.

On August 29, 1824, William Knibb wrote to Mr. S. Nichols, "**I hope that, if consistent with the will of God** that my existence should be protracted, I may be the instrument of turning many children from darkness unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God. It is pleasing to feel an assurance that **all our times are in his hand, and all our concerns**

**under his control.**" (Hinton 1847:28, emphasis added). There was a joy that Knibb had as he considered God's sovereignty and the possibility of God's kindness to him to lengthen his life, so that Knibb may seek to share the gospel with others that they may hear it and be saved by God's Spirit. This view indicates an understanding of providence.

On August 28, 1824, William Knibb wrote to his brother Edward, "**I hope the glory of God and the salvation of sinners is my superior aim, and if I should lose my existence in the service, I trust a crown of life will be conferred upon me, which will abundantly compensate for every little exertion I make for him who died to redeem my soul**" (Hinton 1847:29, emphasis added). Knibb recognised that he could die on the missions' field. Nonetheless, if that occurred, he believed he would be rewarded for his service to others from the Lord. Moreover, he desired that his goal in this was for the people's good and God's glory. Wetherell (2016) says that regarding the length of human lives and God's providence "We can live unafraid, then, of what might happen to us". Essentially, it appears that there would be no such thing as premature death, since it would exactly coincide with the timing of God's plan, i.e. his providence.

Hinton (1847) reports William Knibb saying,

For some days I have felt slight indications of indisposition. **Should it please the Master** whom, I trust, I serve, **to remove me speedily from active labours in his vineyard, O that it may be to dwell with him forever!** How fleeting and transitory are all the employments and enjoyments of time, when eternity appears in prospect! **When contemplating a near approach to it, I think I can say I have a hope by which I can plunge into eternity. All my hopes are placed on Christ. He is my all. May he be my eternal portion!** (pp. 42-43, emphasis added).

Knibb recognised that death was always a possibility as he served in Jamaica. Thus, when he became mildly ill for several days as reported, it was not surprising that he remained steadfastly in submission to God's sovereign will. Hartman (2014) explains that "death does not have the final word, for Christ has conquered it and ensured that one day even death will die."

It seems that God's providence to ensure events such as the cessation of death may provide hope for the future for believers, and comfort and lead them to be more longsuffering.

We have examined William Knibb, and in keeping with the other four Baptist missionaries, we could not say whether he was a Calvinist based on his communication regarding God's providence in this section. However, his many mentions of resignation to God's will likely point to him being one in the author's perspective.

While, we have examined all five Baptist missionaries individually with regards to God's providence, in the next section we will look at an experience where both William Knibb and Thomas Burchell may together indicate what their particular view was.

#### 4.6.6. William Knibb & Thomas Burchell's Resignation to God's Will in Their Trials, Sufferings and Plans

William Knibb noted that "On Monday morning **I and brother Burchell** started for Kingston; and though sometimes under a **burning sun, and at others drenched with wet**, it was a delightful journey. We talked of our missionary prospects, and our hearts were cheered; **we talked of our trials, and sang, 'Begone, unbelief.'**" (Hinton 1847:65). Amidst the challenging circumstances in which Knibb and Burchell worked in advancing the gospel, they saw it as God who was at work in the process. Thus, their singing of the song, 'Begone, unbelief'. This song was written by the Calvinist, Rev. John Newton (Newton 1762), and in the first verse says, "**Begone, unbelief, My Savior is near, And for my relief, Will surely appear; By prayer let me wrestle, And He will perform; With Christ in the vessel, I smile at the storm**" (Newton 1779, emphasis added).

This song demonstrates a trust in a God providentially working for the good of his people ('He will perform'). Also, the song's emphasis on Christ being near and in the vessel and thus allowing them to 'smile at storm' expresses an understanding of God being in control despite the situation, i.e. his providence. Notwithstanding, that this was a song written by

a Calvinist that was purporting this view of God's providence. Again, it seems likely that Knibb and Burchell were Calvinistic Baptists.

#### 4.6.7. Implications of Affirming God's Providence for the Five Baptist Missionaries

From our study, we have seen that knowledge of God's providence may lead to, name a few, more:

1. peace,
2. gratitude,
3. joy,
4. confidence, and
5. hope.

Moreover, certain schools of thought such as the Calvinist and Particular Baptist emphasised it more. Thus, it is likely that the benefits derived from those who affirmed these beliefs would be greater than those who did not emphasise it that much, such as, the Arminians and General Baptists.

When we consider the impact that the Baptists made that were addressed in chapter 2, it is possible that their theology was in part driving their success too. Despite being incarcerated and persecuted, Liele's longsuffering may have demonstrated his view of God's providence and increased his influence among the black community and slaves, which benefitted him. Moreover, other persons, including members of his church, may have decided to embrace suffering through observing him in the process.

John Rowe was able to look forward to a time in the future despite the difficulties he faced, such as, a hurricane, and the rejection of a preaching license. He believed that God would do a work in Jamaica and that propelled him to seek support from the BMS and to work hard at making his mission successful. As a result, Rowe won influential people over and established a school in Falmouth. He had a positive outlook that could be related to affirming God's providence. Finally, we know that Knibb and others benefitted from the work that Rowe started.

Phillippo submitted his plans and felt at peace that God would work everything out. He demonstrated a deep trust in God amidst trials. These did not weaken his faith.

Burchell prepared to sacrifice everything, such as, his home, and going to a foreign land as a missionary. Furthermore, God's providence led Burchell to Montego Bay. He outlined patience, resignation and peace as a benefit that was arising due to it. Lastly, his suffering served to remind the imprisoned slave that Jesus also suffered and was victorious, so they can endure and be successful as well.

Knibb overcame pain and anxiety because of God's providence. Knibb did not assume to know God's ways and became disappointed. He experienced joy and rested in God's care.

Our conclusions were inconclusive for all five missionaries. It seems plausible that given how Arminianism has become increasingly more liberal with regards to God's sovereignty and providence where they may not be affirmed by some "professing Arminians" today, then the impact of these missionaries' work would likely have been more evident in our time, as Calvinists in Jamaica, provided that everything else remains constant.

#### 4.7. Summary and Conclusion of Chapter

In this chapter, it was presented that George Liele, John Rowe, James M. Phillippo, Thomas Burchell, and William Knibb view of God's providence may have been Calvinistic, but that determination was inconclusive because we would need to bring other information to bear on that conclusion.

Notwithstanding, through their belief in God's providence, it would have helped them to endure the hardship and trials that they faced as missionaries. These men views would also have informed them on how they should plan, and prepare for these difficult situations in missions, particularly at the time when it included illness, death, imprisonment, and general ridicule from the plantocracy, as they sought to cater to mostly

slaves in their Jamaican churches. Their confidence, joy, and prayers likely demonstrated the benefit of having a Calvinistic Baptist view of God's providence, but we can examine that conclusion in the next two chapters to see if that was likely the case.



## **CHAPTER 5 - SUPPORTING CALVINISTIC EVIDENCE AND ITS INFLUENCE 2: GOD'S PROVIDENCE IN SALVATION**

### 5.1 Chapter Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to answer our third primary objective of this thesis, i.e. "what supporting evidence exists for these five Baptist missionaries being Calvinistic and it possibly influencing their accomplishments?" This chapter is the second of three chapters devoted to answering those questions.

In the previous chapter, which was the first one seeking to provide an answer to our third primary objective, it was seen that all five Baptist missionaries exhibited beliefs and actions that were consistent with the Calvinistic Baptist view of God's providence. However, due to insufficient data and evidence that determination could not be confirmed. Notwithstanding, some of their achievements could have also been as a result of them having a Calvinistic Baptist view of God's sovereignty in providence. Nonetheless, to make that conclusion as well, we would need to bring in other information which will be covered in this chapter and the next one.

One of the goals of this chapter is to provide the additional information, and to discover how Baptists thought at the time. This process will be carried out by examining if the five Baptist missionaries affirmed God's providence in salvation, which is unique to the tenets of Calvinism. Thus, if that is true, we could at least in part attribute their achievements, which was outlined in chapter 2, due to their Calvinist's view.

As mentioned in chapter 4, the concepts of God's sovereignty, providence, and providence in salvation may help us to ascertain whether these five Baptists were Calvinists. While, God's sovereignty and providence were addressed in the previous chapter, God's providence in salvation would be a more straightforward manner to identify

Calvinists' beliefs, since it would entail concepts such as predestination and TULIP (total depravity, unconditional election, limited atonement, irresistible grace, and perseverance of the saints) which are unique to Calvinism (Ryland 1818:1-5; Driggers 2013:38).

This chapter, therefore, seeks to examine God's providence in salvation in four steps in order to make that determination. First, a brief introduction to the chapter will be given. Second, an examination of four theological views (Arminian, Calvinist, General Baptist and Particular Baptist) and their confessions concerning God's providence in salvation and how their confessions explained them will be carried out. Third, an assessment of the five Baptist missionaries under review to see if they affirmed God's sovereignty in salvation would be pursued to deduce if they were Calvinists. Fourth, a conclusion will be drawn by bringing to bear how successful the additional information from this chapter assisted us in making definitive statements about where these five Baptists were in terms of their theological convictions.

Similar to the previous chapter, a deductive historiographical methodology will be used in conjunction with the overall historical-theological approach.

## 5.2 Four Views of God's Providence in Salvation

In addressing the four theological views of God's providence in salvation, a change in the order from the previous chapter will be made. The idea is to address the Arminian and General Baptist perspectives first, because historically in this area, there have been many similarities between the two. Subsequently, the Calvinist and Particular Baptist views will be done due to the same rationale.

### 5.2.1 Arminian View of God's Providence in Salvation

#### 5.2.1.1. The Articles of the Remonstrants (1610)

In article 1 of the Articles of the Remonstrants (1610), it explains that God had planned before the world began that his son Jesus Christ would choose to save sinful persons

from all of mankind, that is, “through Christ, those who, through the grace of the Holy Ghost, shall believe on this his Son Jesus, and shall persevering this faith and obedience of faith, through this grace, even to the end” (Schaff 1877:517).

This article opposes the Calvinist doctrine of unconditional election. It suggests that God’s election is conditional upon those who would place their trust in Christ. This article is commonly entitled “conditional election” or “conditional predestination” (Schaff 1877: 518). As a result, their election or choosing on the part of God for their salvation was based on those He knew would believe in Christ beforehand.

In article 2, it said that, “Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world, died for all men and for every man, so that he has obtained for them all, by his death on the cross, redemption and the forgiveness of sins, yet that no one actually enjoys this forgiveness of sins except the believer, according to the word of the Gospel of John 3:16”.

This article, therefore, argues that Jesus' atoning work on the cross was for everyone. This article is commonly entitled “unlimited atonement” or “universal atonement” (Schaff 1877:518). It opposes the Calvinistic doctrine of limited atonement that affirms that Christ’s death and salvific work was only for the elect, that is, a chosen set of people. Notwithstanding, the Arminians would agree that the salvation, which Christ obtained is limited to those who would place their trust in Christ.

In article 3, it indicates that a person cannot become saved only out of their own accord, including free-will. This reality is that all humans are in a rebellious, corrupt and sinful state that makes them incapable of doing anything,

that is truly good (such as saving Faith eminently is); but that it is needful that he be born again of God in Christ through his Holy Spirit, and renewed in understanding, inclination, or will, and all his powers, in order that he may rightly understand, think, will, and effect what is truly good, according to the Word of Christ, John 15:5.

This article is titled “saving faith” (Schaff 1877:518). It agrees with the Calvinist doctrine of total depravity, where a person is incapable of doing God’s will and obtaining salvation without God’s grace at work.

In article 4, it notes that God's grace is necessary for everything good, including a born-again believer who needs this grace in their thoughts and actions to do good through Christ. This article is sometimes titled “resistible grace” (Schaff 1877:518). However, it disagrees with Calvinism that, “as respects the mode of the operation of this grace it is not irresistible, inasmuch as it is written concerning many, that they have resisted the Holy Ghost (Acts 7:51), and elsewhere in many places” (p. 518).

This article thus agrees with the Calvinist view of the Holy Spirit being necessary to regenerate an individual, as they are totally depraved and in need of God’s grace, including saving grace. Nonetheless, it rejects the Calvinist doctrine of irresistible grace, instead believing that through free will humanity can resist God’s grace for salvation.

In article 5, it suggests that true believers in Christ through the Holy Spirit’s enabling power may,

strive against Satan, sin, the world, and their own flesh, and to win the victory; it being well understood that it is ever through the assisting grace of the Holy Ghost; and that Jesus Christ assists them through his Spirit in all temptations, extends to them his hand, **and if only they are ready for the conflict, and desire his help, and are not inactive, keeps them from falling, so that they, by no craft or power of Satan, can be misled nor plucked out of Christ’s hands**, according to the Word of Christ, John 10:28: “Neither shall any man pluck them out of my hand.” But whether they are capable, through negligence, of forsaking again the first beginnings of their life in Christ (Heb 3:6, 14; 2 Pet 1:10; Jude 3; 1 Tim 1:19; Heb 11:13), **of again returning to this present evil world, of turning away from the holy doctrine which was delivered to them, of losing a good conscience, of becoming void of grace, that must be more particularly determined out of**

**the Holy Scripture, before we ourselves can teach it with full persuasion of our minds** (Schaff 1877:519, emphasis added).

This article suggests that a believer's steadfastness to Christ is conditional upon the person. It is sometimes entitled "The Uncertainty of Perseverance" (Schaff 1877:519). It presents an uncertainty regarding the Calvinist doctrine of the perseverance of the saints at the time, and thus they would need to do more examination of the scriptures. Subsequently, in "The Opinion of the Remonstrants" (1618), they became convinced that the Bible taught that believers could permanently backslide, that is, turning away from Christianity and suffering the fate of unbelievers that die and go to hell.

#### 5.2.1.2 The Opinions of the Remonstrants (1618)

In section A, it addresses the first article of "The Articles of the Remonstrants (1610)", and suggest in opinion 1 that,

God has not decided to elect anyone to eternal life, or to reject anyone from the same, prior to the decree to create him, without any consideration of preceding obedience or disobedience, according to His good pleasure, for the demonstration of the glory of His mercy and justice, or of His absolute power and dominion (DeJong 1968:222).

This opinion or explanation given by the Remonstrants confirms their previous view in 1610 that the Calvinist doctrine of predestination or an unconditional election is not correct. Moreover, they believe God's election is based on "preceding obedience or disobedience", in other words, God seeing that the individual would obey or disobey him in the future. As a result, their Arminian views remained the same regarding article 1.

In opinion 8, section A, it suggests that an individual who does not obtain eternal life is based on their unbelief which they had from before and their continued persistence in it (DeJong 1968:223). Thus, they rejected the Calvinist view that God chose to pass over individuals that were not elected, which is sometimes referred to as reprobation.

In opinion 1, Section B, it addresses the second article, and argues for unlimited atonement. The Remonstrants note that Christ's redeeming work was sufficient for all humanity, and since this payment was made for everyone, "therefore no one is absolutely excluded from participation in the fruits of Christ's death by an absolute and antecedent decree of God" (DeJong 1968:224). Hence, it confirms its previous rejection of the Calvinist doctrine of limited atonement. However, in opinion 3 for the same section, they want to make it clear that no one may be, "a true partaker of the benefits obtained by the death of Christ in any other way than by faith; nor are sins forgiven to sinning men before they actually and truly believe in Christ" (p. 224). Finally, in opinion 4, they argue that reprobates may conclude that Christ did not die for them, and thus they are not required to trust in Him. Moreover, "can they be justly condemned on account of the contrary refusal to believe this" (p. 225). Thus, the Arminians end, section B, with a philosophical argument which seems to undermine the Calvinist doctrine of unlimited atonement.

In section C, opinion 1, regarding the third article of the Remonstrants it confirmed its previous view of total depravity that,

Man does not have saving faith of himself, nor out of the powers of his free will, **since in the state of sin he is able of himself and by himself neither to think, will, or do any good (which would indeed to be saving good, the most prominent of which is saving faith)**. It is necessary therefore that by God in Christ through His Holy Spirit he be regenerated and renewed in intellect, affections, will, and in all his powers, so that he might be able to understand, reflect upon, will and carry out the good things which pertain to salvation (DeJong 1968:225, emphasis added).

In section C, opinion 4, it notes that, "The will in the fallen state, before calling, **does not have the power and the freedom to will any saving good**. And therefore we deny that the freedom to will saving good as well as evil is present to the will in every state" (p. 226, emphasis added).

Thus, these two opinions (1 & 4) of section C regarding article 3, again affirms the Calvinist doctrine of total depravity.

In section C, opinion 5, concerning the fourth article of the Remonstrants, it says,

The **efficacious grace by which anyone is converted is not irresistible**; and though God so influences the will by the word and the internal operation of His Spirit that he both confers the strength to believe or supernatural powers, and actually causes man to believe, **yet man is able of himself to despise that grace and not to believe, and therefore to perish through his own fault** (DeJong 1968:226, emphasis added).

Thus, this confirms their previous view, which rejected the Calvinist doctrine of irresistible grace. Furthermore, in opinion 8, of the same section, it argues that for God's calling to be authentic and free from pretence, then his grace must be able to be rejected or accepted by individuals (p. 227).

In section D, opinion 1, regarding the fifth article of the Remonstrants, it suggests that the Calvinist doctrine of the perseverance of the saints "is not an effect of the absolute decree by which God is said to have chosen singular persons defined by no condition of obedience" (DeJong 1968:228). Thus, the Calvinist doctrine of unconditional election is refuted by the Remonstrants as facilitating the perseverance of the saints. Moreover, in opinion 2, they note, "it is never charged to God's account that they do not persevere" (p. 228). Therefore, this suggests that God is not responsible for keeping these believers saved. Additionally, in opinion 4, it states that "true believers are able to fall through their own fault into shameful and atrocious deeds, **to persevere and to die in them; and therefore finally to fall and to perish**" (p. 229, emphasis added).

So, the Remonstrants finally decided that a true believer could fall away from the faith and die in their sin. Therefore, the believer would suffer the consequences of an unbeliever who perishes. Thus, they changed from their uncertainty in the fifth article of

the Remonstrants to believing that some believers can abandon their faith entirely or be in a permanent backslidden state.

#### 5.2.1.3 The Remonstrants or Arminian Confession of 1621

In chapter 7, article 2 of the “Arminian Confession of 1621”, regarding “sin and misery of man” noted that Adam and Eve’s disobedience that resulted with sin coming into the world (Ellis 2005:64). Consequently, in the fifth article, they recognised the depravity of man, and in article 10 (five articles later), it explains,

It was from this that the highest necessity and also advantage of divine grace, prepared for us in Christ the Savior before the ages, clearly appeared. For without it we could neither shake off the miserable yoke of sin, nor do anything truly good in all religion, nor finally ever escape eternal death or any true punishment of sin. Much less could we at any time obtain eternal salvation without it or through ourselves (p. 68).

This article seems to agree with the Calvinist doctrine of total depravity.

In chapter 8, article 10, concerning the “work of redemption and the person and offices of Christ”, they reject the Calvinist doctrines of unconditional election and limited atonement stating,

For the Elect, as they call them, or those who are predestinated to life, have no need of any such expiation and reconciliation because they have been absolutely elected to salvation”. They are in the flaming grace of God and are already esteemed by God with the highest and immutable love that belongs to sons and heirs of God. But concerning the reprobate, as they call them, they themselves deny any atonement was truly made for them, and besides being something absurd in itself, of course it implies a contradiction (Ellis 2005:73).



In chapter 17, article 7, regarding “the benefits and promises of God, principally of election to grace, calling to faith” it noted persons may reject God’s grace and that the notion of irresistible grace is “silly and irrational” (Ellis 2005:105). Therefore, this reveals their rejection of the Calvinistic doctrine.

In chapter 18, article 5, regarding “the promises of God that are performed in this life to those who are converted and are believers, that is, election to glory, adoption, justification, sanctification and sealing”, it notes that

Sealing by the Holy Spirit is a more solid and strong confirmation in a true confidence and hope of the heavenly glory and the certainty of divine grace by which believers are rendered more and more certain of their adoption, justification and glorification, as if by a deposit or pledge, and **if they keep themselves in it, they may be preserved** even to the end in a sense of the grace of God and in true faith against all kinds of temptations, being granted total, final perseverance (Ellis 2005:112, emphasis added).

This article appears to affirm conditional perseverance of the saints, which is a rejection of the Calvinist's view. Note, it refers to “if they keep” instead of “if God keeps”. Also, “may be preserved” instead of “will be preserved”.

#### 5.2.1.4 The Articles of Religion (1784)

In article VII of the Articles of Religion (1784) concerning “original or birth sin”, it affirms the “corruption of the nature of every man, that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam, whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and of his own nature inclined to evil, and that continually” (Schaff 1977:808).

This article seems to align with the Calvinist doctrine of total depravity. In the subsequent article regarding "free will" it refers to humanity as a result of the Fall being unable to “turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and works, to faith, and calling upon God; wherefore we have no power to do good works, pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and

working with us, when we have that good will” (Schaff 1977:809). This human inability to do good seems to be one of the main arguments for total depravity by Calvinists.

#### 5.2.1.5 Summary of the Arminian View of God’s Providence in Salvation

For ease of reference, after completing this section on the Arminian view of God's Providence in Salvation, the decision was made to put it in tabular form based on the confessions in this chapter. The table below represents the author's view on how each confession addressed the Calvinist's Acronym TULIP.

**Table 2: Summary of the Arminian View of God’s Providence in Salvation**

	<b>The Articles of the Remonstrants (1610)</b>	<b>The Opinions of the Remonstrants (1618)</b>	<b>The Remonstrants or Arminian Confession of 1621</b>	<b>The Articles of Religion (1784)</b>
<b>Total Depravity</b>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<b>Unconditional Election</b>	No	No	No	
<b>Limited Atonement</b>	No	No	No	
<b>Irresistible Grace</b>	No	No	No	No
<b>Perseverance of the Saints</b>	Not Sure	No	No	

Three left blank spaces for the Article of Religion (1784) have been left blank, although it is generally believed that they would have answered “No” due to Wesley’s writings and views. However, since they were not addressed in the confession, it was left blank.

#### 5.2.2 General Baptist View of God’s Providence in Salvation

##### 5.2.2.1 Declaration of Faith (1611)

In article 4 of the Declaration of Faith (1611) refers to humanity “now being fallen, and having all disposition unto evil, and no disposition or will unto any good, yet GOD giving grace, man may receive grace, or my reject grace” (Helwys 1611).

As a result, the Calvinist doctrine of total depravity seemed to be affirmed in this article, while the doctrine of irresistible grace was rejected.

In article 5, it argues for predestination, election and reprobation as being scriptural, but in the conditional sense that God has not,

Predestinated men to be wicked, and so to be damned, but that men being wicked shall be damned, for GOD would have all men saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth, (1 Timothy 2:4) and would have no man to perish, but would have all men come to repentance. (2 Peter 3:9) and wills not the death of him that dies. (Ezekiel 18:32). And therefore GOD is the author of no man's condemnation; according to the saying of the Prophet. (Hosea 13). Thy destruction O Israel, is of thy self, but thy help is of me (Helwys 1611).

Therefore, it was the free will choices of the individuals who chose to accept or reject Christ's salvation that determined their election to salvation or reprobation. As a result, this kind of conditional election is a rejection of the Calvinist doctrine of unconditional election or predestination. It also follows from this argument that Christ's atoning work was for all of humanity, and not limited or particular for a group of individuals and thus a rejection of another Calvinist doctrine, i.e. the doctrine of limited atonement. Thus, it reflects an unlimited or general atonement for all of humankind.

In article 7, it supports the belief that true believers could fall away from the Christian faith (Helwys 1611). Thus, those who affirmed this confession rejected the Calvinist doctrine of the perseverance of the saints.

#### 5.2.2.2 Faith and Practice of Thirty Congregations (1651)

In article 22, reference is made to Christ's atonement being for "the people" ("Faith and Practise of Thirty Congregations" 1651). This explanation is not very specific, as it may be for the elect ("the people of God", i.e. those who truly believed, is believing, or will believe in Christ) or humankind ("the people of all time", i.e. everyone that has lived, is living, or will live). As a result, we cannot say what it meant conclusively. However, it

seems more likely to be referring to the latter based on the context, and since other General Baptists used that passage for unlimited atonement or general atonement.

In article 31, it notes that God's grace is what allows people to believe in him. However, in article 45, it indicates that individuals can reject this grace which was provided to their ultimate ruin ("Faith and Practise of Thirty Congregations" 1651). Altogether, this reveals that they embraced the doctrine of prevenient or resistible grace, which is a rejection of the Calvinist doctrine of irresistible grace.

In article 72, it explains that true believers can succumb to temptations to sin and live a sinful lifestyle which is contrary to their Christian profession and so "shipwreck their faith". However, in article 43, it indicated that "all those that continue stedfastly unto the end of their lives, pressing forward to the mark (Jesus Christ) that is set before them, shall not only have the comfort and joy which is a part of their portion in this life, but they shall also have a Crown of eternal glory in the life to come" ("Faith and Practise of Thirty Congregations" 1651). As a result, they affirmed conditional perseverance of the saints that allows for permanent backsliding for a Christian. Thus, this position is a rejection of the Calvinist doctrine of the perseverance of the saints.

#### 5.2.2.3 Standard Confession (1660)

In article II, it makes reference to humanity after the Fall being into "a miserable and mortal estate" ("The Standard Confession" 1660). However, it did not indicate how this plays a part in God's plan of salvation. Thus, we will not be able to conclude whether they affirmed the Calvinist doctrine of total depravity.

In article III, it refers to Christ giving "himself a ransome [sic] for all, 1 Tim. 2.5,6. tasting death for every man, Heb. 2.9. a propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole World, 1 John 2.2" ("The Standard Confession" 1660).

From this article, an assumption would be that they rejected the Calvinist doctrine of limited atonement. Therefore, they believed Christ's atoning sacrifice was for everyone and not just the elect.

In article VIII, it explained that,

God hath even before the foundation of the world chosen, (or elected) to eternal life, such as believe, and so are in Christ, John 3.16. Ephes. 1.4, 2 Thes. 2.13. yet confident we are, that the purpose of God according to election, was not in the least arising from fore-seen faith in, or works of righteousness done by the creature, but only from the mercy, goodness, and compassion dwelling in God, and so it is of him that calleth, Rom. 9. ii. whose purity and unwordable holiness, cannot admit of any unclean person (or thing) to be in his presence, therefore his decree of mercy reaches only the godly man, whom (saith David) God hath set apart for himself, Psal. 4. 3. ("The Standard Confession" 1660).

This article seems to align itself with the Calvinist doctrine of unconditional election, since their election for salvation was not based on "fore-seen faith".

In article XXIV, it notes that, "it is the will, and mind of God (in these Gospel times) that all men should have the free liberty of their own Consciences in matters of Religion, or Worship, without the least oppression, or persecution" ("The Standard Confession" 1660).

The article above appears to purport the notion of free-will, where God does not coerce individuals in what their religious belief must be. Typically, it seems that, the Calvinist doctrine of irresistible grace is refuted by those affirming the concept of human's free-will because God's grace can be obeyed or disobeyed. Hence, the grace of God can be rejected.

#### 5.2.2.4 Orthodox Creed (1678).

In article XX, regarding “Free-will in Man” it notes that humanity from the Fall has, lost all ability, or liberty of Will, to any Spiritual Good, for his eternal Salvation, his Will being now in bondage under Sin and Satan; and therefore not able of his own strength to Convert himself, nor prepare himself thereunto, without God’s Grace taketh away the enmity out of his Will, and by his special Grace, freeth him from his natural Bondage under Sin, enabling him to will freely and sincerely, that which is spiritually good (“An Orthodox Creed: Or, a Protestant Confession of Faith” 1678).

This article, seems to agree with the Calvinist doctrine of total depravity that the unsaved will not be able to obey God for their salvation without his grace and help in the first place.

However, the grace which the affirmers of this confession refer to would be a resistible or prevenient grace based on what this article addressed in an earlier section concerning free-will where it said that “God hath endued the Will of Man with that natural liberty and power, of acting upon Choice, that it is neither forced, nor by any necessity of Nature determined, to do Good or Evil” (“An Orthodox Creed: Or, a Protestant Confession of Faith” 1678). Thus, they can accept or reject this grace of God, which contradicts the Calvinist doctrine of irresistible grace.

In article IX, regarding “Predestination and Election” it notes that in God’s providence he had purposed in the laying of this world foundation and “constantly Decreed in his Counsel secret to us, to deliver from Curse and Damnation, those whom he hath chosen in Christ, and bring them to everlasting Salvation, as Vessels made to Honour, through Jesus Christ, whom he Elected before the Foundation of the World, and is called God’s Elect” (“An Orthodox Creed: Or, a Protestant Confession of Faith” 1678).

Therefore, this is an acknowledgement that election and predestination occurs. However, this is interpreted differently from the Calvinist doctrine of unconditional election and predestination as it indicates in Article X, concerning “Preterition, or Reprobation” that it refers to God from eternity foreseeing the Fall of Adam “in his eternal Counsel and Wisdom, did Elect and chose Jesus Christ, and all that do or shall believe in him, out of that fallen Lump of Mankind” (“An Orthodox Creed: Or, a Protestant Confession of Faith” 1678).

As a result, they appear to affirm that the election and predestination are based on God seeing in the future that they would accept or reject his gift of salvation and thus they became the elect or reprobates, respectively. This perspective then affirms conditional election and rejects the Calvinist doctrine of unconditional election and predestination.

In article XVIII, regarding “Christ Dying for all Mankind”, it suggests that “Christ died for all Men, and there is a sufficiency in his Death and Merits for the Sins of the whole World” (“An Orthodox Creed: Or, a Protestant Confession of Faith” 1678). As a result, this is a rejection of the Calvinist doctrine of limited atonement.

In article XXXVI, concerning “Perseverance” it noted that, “those that are effectually called, according to God’s eternal Purpose, being justified by Faith, do receive such a measure of the holy Unction, from the Holy Spirit, by which they shall certainly persevere unto Eternal Life, Rom. 8:30” (“An Orthodox Creed: Or, a Protestant Confession of Faith” 1678).

This article affirms the Calvinist doctrine of the perseverance of the saints.

#### 5.2.2.5 Summary of the General Baptist View of God’s Providence in Salvation

For ease of reference, see the General Baptist view of God’s Providence in Salvation in tabular form based on the confessions in this chapter. The table below represents the author’s views on how each confession addressed the Calvinist’s Acronym TULIP.

**Table 3: Summary of the General Baptist View of God’s Providence in Salvation**

	<b>Declaration of Faith (1611)</b>	<b>Faith and Practice of Thirty Congregations (1651)</b>	<b>Standard Confession (1660)</b>	<b>Orthodox Creed (1678)</b>
<b>Total Depravity</b>	Yes			Yes
<b>Unconditional Election</b>	No		Yes	No
<b>Limited Atonement</b>	No	No?	No	No
<b>Irresistible Grace</b>	No	No	No	No
<b>Perseverance of the Saints</b>	No	No		Yes

The blanks are where the confessions did not address one of the five points of Calvinism.

### 5.2.3 Calvinist View of God’s Providence in Salvation

#### 5.2.3.1 Belgic Confession (1561)

In article 14 of the Belgic Confession (1561), regarding “the Creation and Fall of man, and his Incapacity to perform what is truly good” it affirmed the Calvinist doctrine of total depravity. It explained that when Adam disobeyed God,

he transgressed; and by sin separated himself from God, who was his true life, having corrupted his whole nature; whereby he made himself liable to corporal and spiritual death. And being thus become wicked, perverse, and corrupt in all his ways, he has lost all his excellent gifts, which he had received from God, and only retained a few remains thereof, which, however, are sufficient to leave man without excuse (Schaff 1977:398-399).



As a result, the Calvinist noted their rejection of the Arminian view “concerning the free will of man, since man is but a slave to sin, and has nothing of himself, unless it is given from heaven”. This article is a confirmation of their view of irresistible grace that it requires enablement in this respect, i.e. “given from heaven” to saving God's elect. Now, while, it did not explicitly say that this grace cannot be resisted. It would be implicitly understood, since in article 16 below it explains how God saves all those he elected for salvation. Therefore, none can or will reject this grace and remain unsaved.

In article 16, concerning “Eternal Election” it noted that,

We believe that all the posterity of Adam being thus fallen into perdition and ruin, by the sin of our first parents, God then did manifest himself such as he is; that is to say, merciful and just: Merciful, **since he delivers and preserves from this perdition all, whom he, in his eternal and unchangeable counsel of mere goodness, has elected in Christ Jesus our Lord, without any respect to their works: Just, in leaving others in the Fall and perdition wherein they have involved themselves** (Schaff 1977:401, emphasis added).

This article affirms the Calvinist doctrine of unconditional election and predestination.

In article 21, regarding "the atonement", it notes that “this only sacrifice, once offered, by which believers are made perfect forever. This is also the reason why he was called by the angel of God, JESUS,—that is to say, **SAVIOUR**—because he would save **his people** from their sins” (Schaff 1977:407, emphasis added).

The reference to Jesus' sacrifice and saving of his people is a common way to express that he died for his elect, i.e. it is a possessive pronoun. This description is in contrast to the general (the people) which is not possessive that we saw previously in the Arminian and General Baptist views. Thus, we can conclude that it is an affirmation of the Calvinist doctrine of limited atonement.

In Article 27, regarding “The Holy Catholic Church” it notes that,

We believe and confess one single catholic or universal church—a holy congregation and gathering of true Christian believers, awaiting their entire salvation in Jesus Christ, **being washed by his blood, and sanctified and sealed by the Holy Spirit. This church has existed from the beginning of the world and will last until the end** (Schaff 1977:416-417, emphasis added).

This article affirms the belief by Calvinists regarding the perseverance of the saints. God will ensure through his Holy Spirit that his saints, i.e. those who make up his true church will “last until the end”.

#### 5.2.3.2 The Heidelberg Catechism (1563)

In answer #7 in the Heidelberg Catechism (1563), it explains the total depravity of man as a consequence of the fall “whereby our nature became so corrupt, that we are all conceived and born in sin”. In answer #8, it explains that our depravity renders us unable to do any good, “unless we are born again by the Spirit of God” (Schaff 1977:310).

In question # 86, it assumes that in light of our depravity, our redemption through Christ was a consequence of God’s grace in him and not based on what we did (Schaff 1977:338).

In answer #37, regarding Christ’s suffering it noted that “he bore, in body and soul, the wrath of God against the **sins of the whole human race**; in order that by His passion, as the only atoning sacrifice, he might redeem **our** body and soul from everlasting damnation, and **obtain for us** the grace of God, righteousness and eternal life” (Schaff 1977:320, emphasis added).

It is noteworthy that when this confession refers to sin, it indicates that Christ suffered God's wrath "for all mankind". However, concerning his atoning sacrifice and beneficiaries, there is a reference to "our" and "us".<sup>28</sup> In question #42, it similarly assumed that "Christ died for us" too. As a result, a conclusive statement on whether they affirmed the Calvinist doctrine of limited atonement could not be provided. Although, the "our" and "us" would likely have been in particular reference to God's people or the elect (see footnote 26).

#### 5.2.3.3 Canons of Dort (1618-1619)

The Canons of Dort (1618-1619) comprised of five main points of doctrine, which corresponded directly to the acronym TULIP, while it was not necessarily in that order.

The first main point of doctrine addressed "divine election and reprobation", where article 7 indicated that God in his goodness before creation through Christ had "chosen, from the whole human race, which had fallen through their own fault, from their primitive state of rectitude, into sin and destruction" (Schaff 1977:582). However, as article 9 suggests, this election was not due to God foreseeing in the future that these individuals would choose Christ and thus have faith in him (p. 583).

The second main point of doctrine pertained to "Christ's death and human redemption through it" where article 8 suggest that God the Father has purposed that his Son Jesus Christ's death would particularly benefit,

all the elect, in order that God might grant justifying faith to them only and thereby lead them without fail to salvation. In other words, it was God's will that Christ through the **blood of the cross** (by which he confirmed the new covenant) should effectively redeem from every people, tribe, nation, and language **all those and only those who were chosen from eternity to salvation and given to him by**

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<sup>28</sup> In the beginning section of the Heidelberg Catechism it notes the following: "One of the Catechism's precious distinctives is its presentation of doctrines with clarity and warm piety in an experiential, practical manner. It is more subjective than objective, more spiritual than dogmatical. It is not surprising that the Catechism, so personal and devotional throughout as exemplified in its use of singular pronouns, has been called "the book of comfort" for God's people".

**the Father; that Christ should grant them faith (which, like the Holy Spirit's other saving gifts, he acquired for them by his death)** (Schaff 1977:587, emphasis added).

It seems clear that this article refers to the Calvinist doctrines of limited atonement. Here, Christ's death and redemption was only for the elect.

The third and fourth main points of doctrine dealt with "the corruption of man, conversion to God, and the manner thereof" where article 1 explained that due to the Fall the nature of human beings has changed. As a result, "entailed upon himself blindness of mind, horrible darkness, vanity, and perverseness of judgment, became wicked rebellious, and obdurate in heart and will, and impure in [all] his affections" (Schaff 1977:588). Furthermore, in article 2, through the descendants of Adam and Eve, this corruption has spread to every single human being, except for Jesus Christ. Thus, as article 3 suggests, everyone is "conceived in sin and are by nature children of wrath, incapable of any saving good, prone to evil, dead in sin, and in bondage thereto; and, without the grace of the Holy Spirit they are neither willing nor able to return to God, to reform their distorted nature, or even to dispose themselves to such reform". Altogether, these three articles describe the reasons for the Calvinist doctrine of the total depravity of man.

Article 11, speaks to the work which the Holy Spirit does in converting sinners where God, illuminate their minds by his Holy Spirit, that they may rightly understand and discern the things of the Spirit of God, but, by the **efficacy of the same regenerating Spirit**, he pervades the inmost recesses of the man, he opens the closed and softens the hardened heart, and circumcises that which was uncircumcised; infuses new qualities into the will, which, though heretofore dead, **he quickens**; from being evil, disobedient, and refractory, **he renders it good, obedient, and pliable** (Schaff 1977:590, emphasis added).

This article describes the Calvinist doctrine of irresistible grace, where the regenerated work of the Holy Spirit and his "efficacy" cannot be resisted regarding salvation.

The fifth main point of doctrine addressed “the Perseverance of the Saints” where article 3 explained that true believers are still in need for God to preserve them to the end. This view is particularly true since they are still tempted by sin and may give into sin. Moreover, in their conversion, they did not eradicate sin from their lives. Thus, “those who are converted could not persevere in a state of grace if left to their own strength. **But God is faithful, who having conferred grace, mercifully confirms and powerfully preserves them therein, even to the end**” (Schaff 1977:593, emphasis added). This article affirms the Calvinist doctrine of the Perseverance of the Saints.

#### 5.2.3.4 The Westminster Confession of Faith (1647)

In article I of Chapter VI, concerning “the Fall of Man, Sin, and the Punishment thereof”. It explains that God permitted Adam and Eve to be enticed by Satan’s craftiness and temptation, which led to their disobedience and sin. This allowance was in keeping with God’s wisdom and counsel with the goal of his glorification (Schaff 1977:615). In article II, it notes that they “became dead in sin, and wholly defiled in all the faculties and parts of soul and body” (p. 615). Article III suggests that the consequence of their actions was that the human race was imputed with the culpability of this sin, depravity and its penalties (p. 615). Thus, in article IV, as it refers to humans being “utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil” (p. 615). Articles I – IV, seems to make a case for the Calvinist doctrine of the total depravity of man. However, this is strengthened in the author's view when consideration is given to the next article too.

In article III of Chapter IX, regarding “Free Will” notes that, “Man, by his fall into a state of sin, hath **wholly lost all ability of will to any spiritual good accompanying salvation: so as, a natural man, being altogether averse from that good, and dead in sin, is not able, by his own strength, to convert himself, or to prepare himself thereunto**” (Schaff 1977:623, emphasis added).

Thus, no one in the entire human race in exercising their “free will” would choose to trust and obey Christ for salvation. Altogether, this affirms the Calvinist doctrine of total depravity.

In article I of Chapter III of The Westminster Confession of Faith (1647), regarding “God’s Eternal Decree” it indicates that in God’s wisdom and counsel, he ordained everything that happens. However, God cannot be blamed for being the cause of sin (Schaff 1977:608). In article II, it suggests that this decree was not based on God foreseeing anything whatsoever (p. 608). In article III, it explains that it is the reason why “some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others fore-ordained to everlasting death”(pp. 608-609). In article IV, we learn that this number is fixed and cannot increase or decrease (p. 609). In article V, it notes that this election of a certain set of individuals for salvation was before the foundation of the world (p. 609).

Articles I–V, above affirms the Calvinist doctrine of unconditional election or predestination.

In article I of Chapter VIII, concerning “Christ the Mediator” notes that God through Jesus “from all eternity give **a people**, to be **his seed**, and to be by him in time redeemed, called, justified, sanctified, and glorified” (Schaff 1977:619, emphasis added). The personal pronouns in this article suggest that Jesus’ atoning work is limited to the elect. Moreover, in article V, it indicates that Jesus “purchased, not only reconciliation, but an everlasting inheritance in the kingdom of heaven, **for all those whom the Father hath given unto Him**” (p. 621, emphasis added). Hence, referring to the Calvinist doctrine of limited atonement.

In the upcoming section, the Calvinist doctrine of irresistible grace is alluded and addressed. For instance, in article IV of Chapter IX, regarding “Free Will” indicates that “when **God converts a sinner, and translates him** into the state of grace, **He freeth him from his natural bondage under sin**; and, by **His grace alone, enables him freely to will and to do that which is spiritually good**” (Schaff 1977:622, emphasis added). Therefore, an acknowledgement of God doing the work of conversion through his grace alone, i.e. it is not from the individual’s choice is explained.

Moreover, in article I of Chapter X, regarding “Effectual Calling” has reference to all the elect through God’s pleasure, appointment and time being called,

by His Word and Spirit, out of that state of sin and death, in which they are by nature, **to grace and salvation by Jesus Christ**; enlightening their minds spiritually and savingly to understand the things of God, taking away their heart of stone, and giving unto them a heart of flesh; renewing their wills, and, by His almighty power determining them to that which is good, and **effectually drawing them to Jesus Christ**: yet so, as they **come most freely, being made willing by His grace** (Schaff 1977:624, emphasis added).

This effectual calling or drawing to salvation enables what the Calvinist refer to as the doctrine of irresistible grace where through “His grace” unbelievers “come most freely”.

In article I of Chapter XVII, concerning “the Perseverance of the Saints” suggest that true believers in Christ who are “effectually called, and sanctified by His Spirit, **can neither totally, nor finally, fall away from the state of grace: but shall certainly persevere therein to the end, and be eternally saved**” (Schaff 1977:636, emphasis added). Furthermore, in article II, “this perseverance of the saints depends not upon their own free will, but upon the immutability of the decree of election” and God’s love (p. 636).

Therefore, these two articles demonstrate the Calvinist doctrine of the Perseverance of the Saints.

#### 5.2.3.5 Summary of the Calvinist View of God’s Providence in Salvation

For ease of reference, see the Calvinist view of God’s Providence in Salvation in tabular form based on the confessions in this chapter. The table below represent the author's views on how each confession addressed the Calvinist's Acronym TULIP.

**Table 4: Summary of the Calvinist View of God’s Providence in Salvation**

	<b>Belgic Confession (1561)</b>	<b>The Heidelberg Catechism (1563)</b>	<b>Canons of Dort (1618- 1619)</b>	<b>The Westminster Confession of Faith (1647)</b>
<b>Total Depravity</b>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<b>Unconditional Election</b>	Yes		Yes	Yes
<b>Limited Atonement</b>	Yes	*Not sure	Yes	Yes
<b>Irresistible Grace</b>	Yes		Yes	Yes
<b>Perseverance of the Saints</b>	Yes		Yes	Yes

The blanks in the table are where the confessions did not address one or more of the five points of Calvinism with the acronym TULIP.

#### 5.2.4 Particular Baptist View of God’s Providence in Salvation

##### 5.2.4.1 First London (1644, revised 1646)

In article IV of the First London (1644, revised 1646), it explains that through Adam's disobedience to God's commands that humanity fell "whereby death came upon all his posterity; **who now are conceived in sin, and by nature the children of wrath, the servants of sin**, the subject of death, and other miseries in this world, and **for ever, unless the Lord Jesus Christ set them free**" ("The First London Baptist Confession of Faith" 1646, emphasis added).

This article describes the Calvinist doctrine of total depravity, where God’s elect will never be free to believe Christ without God’s intervention due to the nature of their depravity or bondage of the will.



In Article III, it explained that “**God had in Christ before the foundation of the world, according to the good pleasure of His will, foreordained some men to eternal life through Jesus Christ**, to the praise and glory of His grace (Jude 4,6; Rom. 9:11- 13; Prov. 16:4), leaving the rest in their sin to their just condemnation, to the praise of His justice” (“The First London Baptist Confession of Faith” 1646, emphasis added). Moreover, in article VI it demonstrates that God’s election to salvation was not based on anything that they did, but on His gracious and merciful self.

These two articles describe the Calvinist doctrine of unconditional election.

In article XXI, it referred to Jesus Christ particularly dying for the elect and these persons would benefit from God’s salvation (“The First London Baptist Confession of Faith” 1646).

This article is an affirmation of the Calvinist doctrine of limited atonement.

In article XXII, it indicates that God graciously gives the elect faith as a gift. This work is carried out by the Holy Spirit where their eventual outcome is that they will believe in Christ for salvation (“The First London Baptist Confession of Faith” 1646).

This effectual work is despite their affirmation of total depravity, which was addressed previously, and so this appears to support the Calvinist doctrine of irresistible grace.

In article XXIII, it says,

**All those that have this precious faith wrought in them by the Spirit, can never finally nor totally fall away**; seeing the gifts of God are without repentance; so that He still begets and nourisheth in them faith, repentance, love, joy, hope, and all the graces of the Spirit unto immortality; and though many storms and floods arise, and beat against them, yet they shall never be able to take them off that foundation and rock, which by faith they are fastened upon (“The First London Baptist Confession of Faith” 1646).

This article affirms the Calvinist doctrine of the perseverance of the saints.

#### 5.2.4.2 Somerset Confession (1656)

In article VII, it notes that, “out of this condition none of the sons of Adam were able to deliver themselves (Rom. 8:3; Eph. 2:1, 5; Rom. 5:6.)” (“Somerset Confession of Faith” 1656).

This article refers to the Calvinist doctrine of total depravity.

In article IX, it suggests that, “God in his son did freely, without respect to any work done, or to be done by them as a moving cause, **elect and choose some to himself before the foundation of the world** (Eph. 1:3, 4; 2 Tim. 1:9.), whom he in time hath, doth, and will call, justify, sanctify and glorify” (“Somerset Confession of Faith” 1656, emphasis added).

This article affirms the Calvinist doctrine of unconditional election.

In article XV, it indicates that “this man Christ Jesus suffered death under Pilate, at the request of the Jews (Luke 23:24.), **bearing the sins of his people** on his own body on the cross (I Pet. 2:24), according to the will of God” (“Somerset Confession of Faith” 1656, emphasis added).

This article is an attestation of the Calvinist doctrine of limited atonement. Note, the use of “his people”, which would be referring to the elect.

In article X, it notes that, “those that were thus elected and chosen in Christ were by nature (before conversion) children of wrath even as others (Eph. 2:3; Rom. 3:9.)” (“Somerset Confession of Faith”, 1656).

This article demonstrates the Calvinist doctrine of irresistible grace, i.e. that the elect at one point were totally depraved, but God's will for them to be saved prevailed over theirs.

In article XI, it indicates that, “those that are chosen of God, called and justified, **shall never finally fall from him, but being born from above are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation**” (“Somerset Confession of Faith”, 1656, emphasis added).

This article affirms the Calvinist doctrine of the perseverance of the saints.

#### 5.2.4.3 Second London (1677, revised 1688/89)

In article 6.2, it explains that Adam and Eve fell from the right standings and relationship that they had with God originally. As a consequence of this Fall, all human beings who were in them fell, and so “death came upon all; **all became dead in sin and totally defiled in all the faculties and parts of soul and body**” (“Second London Baptist Confession of Faith” 1689, emphasis added).

This article affirms the Calvinist doctrine of total depravity.

In article 3.4, it indicates how God had predestined and foreordained both angels and human beings for salvation. These entities were “specifically and irreversibly designated, and their number is so certain and definite that it cannot be either increased or diminished” (“Second London Baptist Confession of Faith” 1689). Furthermore, in article 3.5 this process of predestination or election on the part of human beings were “**before the foundation of the world**, in accordance with his eternal and immutable purpose, and the secret counsel and good pleasure of his will. **God chose them in Christ for eternal glory, solely out of his free grace and love, without anything in the creature as a condition or cause moving him to choose them**” (“Second London Baptist Confession of Faith” 1689, emphasis added).

This article is an affirmation of the Calvinist doctrine of unconditional election.

In article 8.1, it refers to God out of his good pleasure from eternity purposefully choosing to give Jesus Christ **“a people to be his progeny**. In time these would be redeemed, called, justified, sanctified, and glorified by him” (“Second London Baptist Confession of Faith”, 1689, emphasis added).

This article refers to "a people to be his progeny". In other words, Christ's people and augurs well with the Calvinist doctrine of limited atonement.

In article 20.4, it notes,

If people who are dead in trespasses are to be born again, brought to life or regenerated, **an effectual, irresistible work of the Holy Spirit** upon every part of the soul is necessary **to produce in them a new spiritual life. Without this no other means will bring about their conversion to God** (“Second London Baptist Confession of Faith”, 1689, emphasis added).

This article describes the Calvinist doctrine of irresistible grace.

In article 17.1, it suggests that the elect **“can neither totally nor finally fall from the state of grace, but they shall certainly persevere in grace to the end and be eternally saved**. For God will not repent of his gifts and calling, therefore he continues to bring about and nourish in them faith, repentance, love, joy, hope, and all the graces of the Spirit that lead to immortality” (“Second London Baptist Confession of Faith”, 1689, emphasis added).

This article is an attestation of the Calvinist doctrine of the perseverance of the saints.

#### 5.2.4.4 Summary of the Particular Baptist View of God's Providence in Salvation

For ease of reference, see the Particular Baptist view of God's Providence in Salvation in tabular form based on the confessions in this chapter. The table below represent the author's views on how each confession addressed the Calvinist's Acronym TULIP.

**Table 5: Summary of the Particular Baptist View of God's Providence in Salvation**

	<b>First London (1644, revised 1646)</b>	<b>Somerset Confession (1656)</b>	<b>Second London (1677, revised 1688/89)</b>
<b>Total Depravity</b>	Yes	Yes	Yes
<b>Unconditional Election</b>	Yes	Yes	Yes
<b>Limited Atonement</b>	Yes	Yes	Yes
<b>Irresistible Grace</b>	Yes	Yes	Yes
<b>Perseverance of the Saints</b>	Yes	Yes	Yes

As we put the summaries of the four theological views together from the four tables which the author constructed, an overall summary was obtained which seems to be extremely beneficial to assess the five Baptist missionaries at the time. This approach is critical because many individuals have a subjective view of what General Baptists and Particular Baptists believed, but they have never conducted a similar exercise to see if history or the confessions at the time would substantiate their perspectives on the matter. As a result, please see the author's findings of this overall summary in the next section below.

#### 5.2.4.5 Summary of the Four Theological Views on God's Providence in Salvation

**Table 6: Summary of the Four Theological Views on God's Providence in Salvation**

	<b>Total Depravity</b>	<b>Unconditional Election</b>	<b>Limited Atonement</b>	<b>Irresistible Grace</b>	<b>Perseverance of the Saints</b>
Arminian	Yes	No	No	No	No or Not sure
General Baptist	Yes	Yes or No	No	No	No
Calvinist	Yes	Yes	Yes or Not sure	Yes	Yes
Particular Baptist	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

From this summary, we can say based on the confessions that General Baptists and Particular Baptists were essentially Arminian and Calvinist, respectively. However, the General Baptist had two areas (unconditional election and perseverance of the saints) where it might have differed from Arminians. Similarly, Particular Baptists had one area (limited atonement) which they affirmed, which Calvinists affirming the Heidelberg Catechism might have varied from the Particular Baptists at times depending upon their understanding.

Now, that we have addressed the four theological views concerning God's providence in salvation, let us examine if the five Baptist missionaries under review were Calvinist. This topic is what will be discussed in the next section.

### 5.3 Is there Evidence to Support that these Five Baptist Missionaries were Calvinistic?

#### 5.3.1 George Liele

1. Concerning Liele's theology, there is disagreement. Lawes (2008:373-375) contends that Liele and Baker as members of the Native Baptist Missionary Society were heterodox. Cooke (2013:117) and Gayle (1982:34) argues that Liele was orthodox, despite the other Native Baptists who were unorthodox, misguided, and unscriptural in their practices. However, Mary Turner described Native Baptists as basically being Christian, although they had African expressions of worship. Moreover, Love (1888:35) noted that Liele "handled skillfully the sword of truth and drew crowds after him wherever he preached the gospel." Altogether, it seems that the majority of sources from the literature review conducted suggest that Liele was orthodox, and that is the author's perspective as well. This view is despite whether Liele was or was not a Native Baptist. Notwithstanding, the researcher is more inclined to believe that Liele was not a part of the Native Baptists.

Dr. Horace O. Russell, Jamaican Church Historian, believes “Liele was neither a hyper-Calvinist nor a strict Arminian. He confessed in a letter<sup>29</sup> to Rippon<sup>30</sup> that he accepted ‘election, redemption, the fall of Adam, regeneration and perseverance knowing that the promise to all that endure in grace, faith and good works to the end, shall be saved.’” (Russell 1993:11). However, Prof. E. Brooks Holifield, American Church Historian and Prof. Daniel Akin, the President of Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, have argued based on this confession that Liele was a Calvinist (Holifield 2005:310; Akin 2012:96).

Russell (2013:9) argues,

Liele's understanding of the Baptist church and her place in society can be inferred from the Church Covenant he drew up for the church he established in Kingston, which was to inform Baptist witness island-wide. The theology and structure of the covenant appears to have been drawn from the Georgia Association and was forwarded to London in 1792. A second covenant quite similar to the first (probably belonging to Moses Baker, an early convert of Liele's) was dispatched in 1796. The covenants show that Liele had charted for himself a middle ground between Calvinism and Arminianism.

Paul Finkelman, an American legal historian and President of Gratz College, Pennsylvania, noted that Liele was “one of the earliest black exponents of Calvinist thought”<sup>31</sup>, but thinks Liele’s “description is representative of an African Arminian theological<sup>32</sup> interpretation.” (2006:189). He argues that “the term election is clearly used

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<sup>29</sup> Liele and Rippon communicated via letter in 1791, where Liele answered questions about his life, faith, and ministry. This would have been only nine years after Liele went to Jamaica (Morrison 2014:53-56).

<sup>30</sup> Daniel (1983:18) suggests that Rippon used “his influence to move the Particular Baptists into a more Moderate Calvinism in his generation.” Manley (2007:6) says, “The importance of John Rippon contribution to Nonconformity, especially to the Particular Baptists in both Britain and America, is that he represented a combination of the best elements of both old and new traditions.”

<sup>31</sup> Finkelman (2006:189) believes that Calvinist theology “central premise was that human beings were essentially evil and could be saved only by the grace of God. God had predetermined the fate of each man and woman - to end up in either heaven or hell - before the beginning of time.”

<sup>32</sup> Finkelman (2006:188) argues that in the nineteenth century slaves on plantations and “black congregations led by black ministers... began not only to preach but also to publish a system of religious thought - a theology - which, though based upon Christian principles and the Bible, took on a decidedly African American flavor.” However, it also relied “upon the theology of the Protestant Christian Church, with which they were or had been affiliated.” At

in the Calvinist tradition, but the reference to ‘good works’ seem to denote an Arminian tendency.” p. 189). Finkelman believes “the use of the terms ‘fall, regeneration, and endure’, although they certainly exist in Christian Theology, embody African concepts of life after death, where salvation results from one’s perseverance and good works.” (p. 189).

However, this view of good works seems unlikely when in Liele's testimony, he explained in a letter dated Dec. 18, 1971, that,

I knew no other way at a time to hope for salvation but only in the performance of my **good works**... The Rev. Minister Matthew Moore, one Sabbath afternoon, as I stood with curiosity to hear him, he unfolded all my dark views, opened my best behavior and **good works** to me which I thought I was to be saved by, and I was convinced that I was not in the way to heaven, but in the way to hell (Rippon 1793:335; Sernett 1999:45, emphasis added).

Therefore, Liele recognised that he could not contribute any good work to his salvation.

Moreover, Liele further explained that, “I saw my condemnation in my own heart, and I found no way wherein I could escape the damnation of hell, **only through the merits of my dying Lord and Savior Jesus Christ**...I requested of my Lord and Master to give me a **work**, I did not care how mean it was, only to try and see how **good** I would do it.” (Sernett 1999:45, emphasis added). Thus, Liele viewed his salvation by Christ alone, and the good works he refers to results from his salvation.

Altogether, Liele’s view of good works and salvation based on his testimony is completely consistent with Calvinism, and would contradict Finkelman’s African Arminian theological interpretation of Liele’s confession to Dr. Rippon.

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the time, the Protestant Christian theology “was essentially either Calvinist or Arminian” (p. 188). Finkelman notes that supporters of Arminian theology believe “that Jesus Christ had died for everyone; thus, saving grace was available to everyone, and each person had the ability to accept or reject that grace” (p. 189). Thus, Finkelman sees African Arminian theology as a fusing of this African American flavour theology and Arminian theology.



Russell and Finkelman's conclusion appears to depict a level of uncertainty towards Liele's theology, which they thought was a blend of Arminian and Calvinistic views. If their conclusions were correct, it has three possible implications.

First implication - that Liele was either a moderate Calvinist or unclear in his theological views where he was an Arminian who believed the Calvinistic doctrine of election<sup>33</sup>. However, concerning the latter, most if not all Arminians would disagree with unconditional election, because they believe it undermines the choices which individuals make to become saved (Grudem 1994:680-681). Thus, it is unlikely that Liele was Arminian. Moreover, Morrison (2014:54) notes that,

in seeking to establish Liele's credibility Rippon, sent him more than 50 questions about himself and his ministry. Liele appears to have responded openly in the same year<sup>34</sup>, sharing his history, faith perspective and pastoral ambition, along with information as to the ministers, ministries and individuals who had supported his ministry (cf. Rippon 1793:332).

Morrison adds, "by the turn of the century Liele, and his followers had so convinced Rippon, that he was able to declare in his writings to the world that Liele and the EB were a credible Baptist witness." (p. 60). As a result, Rippon's conclusions seemed to dismiss the possibility of Liele's theological views being unclear as well.

Second implication - that Liele was unaware of how ambiguous his confessional letter would have been to Dr. John Rippon, a Calvinist reading it, as terms such as, 'election' and 'perseverance' are two of the five points of Calvinistic soteriology. Moreover, Liele's reference to 'redemption' could have also been understood to be 'particular redemption'<sup>35</sup> or limited atonement' and hence, one more point of Calvinistic soteriology. Thus, Liele may have been referring to three of the five points of Calvinistic soteriology.

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<sup>33</sup> The doctrine of election or unconditional election is the belief that God had chosen to save some individuals from before creation (Grudem 1994:670).

<sup>34</sup> 1791.

<sup>35</sup> Liele did not mention 'unconditional election' in his confessional letter. He had 'election', which was understood by Finkelman (2006:189) as being Calvinistic.

So, Rippon would have likely believed that Liele was either a moderate or strict Calvinist. However, Finkelman only notes Liele's reference to election as Calvinistic, with the rest of terms being African Arminian theology. Notwithstanding, it makes better sense to argue that Liele was clear about the Calvinistic doctrinal stance of Dr. Rippon, and so he was affirming his own Calvinistic views and not African Arminian theology.

Moreover, if Liele did not want to identify with Calvinistic soteriology but African Arminian theology he could have used nuances or caveats to reduce the possibility of ambiguity, since the doctrine of "election" and "perseverance" are commonly associated with Calvinistic soteriology, but Liele did not do so. As such, Liele is likely a Calvinist, though probably a moderate one.

Third implication - arising from the second implication, it could have been that Liele was seeking to mislead<sup>36</sup> Dr. Rippon. However, this is most unlikely since Liele was a man of integrity<sup>37</sup>.

Dick (2009:100) notes that "The Covenant of the Anabaptist Church Began in America December 1777 and in Jamaica, December 1783 **provided insights into the beliefs and practices of the Original Baptists**" (Emphasis added). The researcher has decided to include it on this page below.

1. We are of the Anabaptist persuasion because we believe it agreeable to the Scriptures. Proof: - (Matt.iii.1-3; 2 Cor. Vi. 14-18.)
2. We hold to keep the Lord's Day throughout the year, in a place appointed for Public Worship, in singing psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs, and preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ. (Mark xvi. 2, 5, 6; Col. iii.16.)

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<sup>36</sup> Concerning misleading - could it be that Liele had African Arminian views but wanted to improve his relationship with Dr. John Rippon because of his influence, and so he wrote in an ambiguous manner? However, this is purely speculative, and would be misleading and sinful on Liele's part.

<sup>37</sup> It would also contradict much of what we understand about Liele's cross-centred life and good character (Akin 2012:100; Morrison 2014:60).

3. We hold to be Baptised in a river, or in a place where there is much water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. (Matt. iii. 13, 16, 17; Mark xvi. 15, 16; Matt. xxviii.19.)
4. We hold to receiving the Lord's Supper in obedience according to His commands. (Mark xiv. 22-24; John vi. 53-57.)
5. We hold to the ordinance of washing one another's feet. (John xiii. 2-17.)
6. We hold to receive and admit young children into the Church according to the Word of God. (Luke ii. 27-28; Mark x.13-16.)
7. We hold to pray over the sick, anointing them with oil in the name of the Lord. (James v.14,15.)
8. We hold to labouring one with another according to the Word of God. (Matt. xviii. 15-18.)
9. We hold to appoint Judges and such other Officers among us, to settle any matter according to the Word of God. (Acts vi. 1-3.)
10. We hold not to shedding of blood. (Genesis ix. 6; Matt. xxvi. 51-52.)
11. We are forbidden to go to law with another before the unjust, but to settle any matter we have before the Saints. (1 Cor. Vi. 1-3.)
12. We are forbidden to swear not at all (sic). (Matt. v.33-37; Jas. v.12.)
13. We are forbidden to eat blood, for it is the life of a creature, and from things strangled, and from meat offered to idols. (Acts xv. 29.)
14. We are forbidden to wear any costly raiment, such as superfluity. (1 Peter iii. 3, 4; 1 Timothy ii. 9-10.)
15. We permit no slaves to join the Church without first having a few lines from their owners of their good behaviour. (1 Peter ii.13-16; 1Thess. iii. 13.)
16. To avoid Fornication, we permit none to keep each other, except they be married according to the Word of God. (1 Cor. Vii. 2; Heb. xiii. 4.)
17. If a slave or servant misbehave to their owners they are to be dealt with according to the Word of God. (1 Tim. i. 6; Eph. Vi. 5; 1 Peter ii. 18-22; Titus ii. 9-11.)
18. If any one of this Religion should transgress and walk disorderly, and not according to the Commands which we have received in this Covenant, he will be censured according to the Word of God. (Luke xii. 47-48.)

19. We hold, if a brother or sister should transgress any of these articles written in this Covenant so as to become a swearer, a fornicator, or adulterer; a covetous person, an idolater, a railer, a drunkard, an extortioner or whoremonger; or should commit any abominable sin, and do not give satisfaction to the Church, according to the Word of God, he or she, shall be put away from among us, not to keep company, nor to eat with him. (1 Cor. V. 11-13)

20. We hold if a Brother or Sister should transgress, and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ, and he, or she, after being justly dealt with agreeable to the 8th article, and be put out of the Church, that they shall have no right or claim whatsoever to be interred into the Burying-ground during the time they are put out, should they depart life; but should they return in peace, and make a concession so as to give satisfaction, according to the word of God, they shall be received into the Church again and have all privileges as before granted. (2 John i. 9-10; Gal. vi. 1, 2; Luke xvii, 3, 4.)

21. We hold to all the other Commandments, Articles, Covenants, and Ordinances, recorded in the Holy Scriptures as are set forth by our Lord and Master Jesus Christ and His Apostles, which are not written in this Covenant, and to live to them as nigh as we possibly can, agreeable to the Word of God. (John xv. 7-14.)

Dr. Ernest A. Payne, the late British Baptist administrator, historian and scholar, noted concerning Liele's church covenant that "we have record that a copy was sent to Rippon in 1792, but that recently found in the Mission House Library is dated 1796. 'It is read,' wrote Liele, 'once a month here on sacrament meetings, that our members may examine if they live according to all those laws which they professed, covenanted and agreed to.'" (Payne 1934-1935:24).

Payne adds, "There was evidently no fear of the name" Anabaptist," and in this connection it is worth recalling that the parish register of St. James' describes John Rowe as an "Anabaptist Missionary" (p. 24). Moreover, Moses Baker referred to his similar covenant beginning with, "we are of the Baptist persuasion, because we believe it agreeable to the Scriptures " (Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle 1803:370). Therefore, Baker used the word "Baptist" instead of "Anabaptist" with the same beginning of his

covenant in comparison to Liele's. Thus, I believe at the time, persons would use these terms interchangeably and that it was not based on doctrine.

Of note, Dr. Payne studied at Regent's Park College and wanted to become a missionary of BMS. Also, Dr. Horace Russell who was referenced, actually studied under Dr Payne's leadership at Regent. Thus, the argument concerning George Liele identifying or being an anabaptist is weak, that is, if they would call John Rowe from BMS an anabaptist. Also, please recall that Russell affirmed that Liele, although he was aware of this church covenant.

In the previous chapter, it was shown that Calvinistic Baptists in America were widespread during George Liele's time (Thompson 2004:62-63; Chute et al., 2015:108). Also, Andrew Bryan, who was saved under Liele's ministry, was likely a Calvinistic Baptist (Davis (1918:124; Chute et al., 2015:98). Moreover, David George, who worked alongside Liele was a Calvinistic Baptist (Brooks 1922:176; Noll 2002:148; Chute et al., 2015:98-99). With this and other factors, it suggests that, George Liele was mostly likely an orthodox Calvinistic Baptist.

### 5.3.2 John Rowe

Concerning Rowe, Knibb, Phillippo, and Burchell's theology, most people would probably assume they were all Calvinists as they came from the BMS. However, Cooke (2013:143) argues that, "not all the Baptist missionaries to come to Jamaica through the Baptist Missionary Society were from the same strand of Baptist beliefs. The BMS was not a denominational agency...While most were of the 'Particular Baptist' stripe, there were a few from the 'General Baptist' persuasion." Therefore, based on Cooke's view that there were a few General Baptists (those who are more Arminian in their theology as our survey of the Arminian confessions in this chapter demonstrated) in the BMS; an assessment of their theological views was undertaken. Notwithstanding, the researcher will demonstrate that the four BMS missionaries under review, were Particular Baptists by first showing that their churches and pastors were Particular Baptists. As a result, kindly see the list in the Baptist Magazine below.

The Baptist Magazine in 1823 printed a “**List of Particular or Calvinistic Baptist Churches in England**” (Baptist Missionary Society 1823:23, emphasis added). It noted that, “The ‘Confession of Faith’, adopted and published by the general assembly, held in London, 1689, is the standard of doctrine which the Particular Baptist have always offered. By the principles of this confession, we have endeavoured to regulate the following list, not admitting any church whose minister is known to be either Arminian, Antinomian or Anti-Trinitarian.” Included in this list are, “**William Winterbotham, Shortwood; Thomas Burchell, Tetbury; Samuel Green, Bluntisham; John Rippon, Carter-lane; Joseph Kinghorn, Norwich; John Ryland, Broadmead; Thomas Claypole, Yeovil; John Shoveller, Melksham; William Steadman, Bradford**” (pp. 25-29, emphasis added).

This list confirms that William Winterbotham, Thomas Burchell, Samuel Green, John Rippon, Joseph Kinghorn, John Ryland, Thomas Claypole, John Shoveller, William Steadman were Particular or Calvinistic Baptists.

Cross (2017) notes that “Ryland sent one of his students, **John Rowe**, to Jamaica.” He adds that, “Ryland was...in one accord with his three predecessors as Principal of the Academy, who, between them, **passed on their moderate<sup>38</sup> and evangelical Calvinist convictions** on the usefulness of theology to the domestic ministry and mission work to those students under their tutelage, and through them to the church they served” (p. 364, emphasis added).

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<sup>38</sup> Naylor (2007:54) noted that Dr. John Ryland “an admitted high Calvinist, he was concerned for evangelism.” On the contrary, Daniel (1983:17) suggest that he was a moderate Calvinist. While, Culross (1897:78-79) indicate that Ryland’s positive posture towards missions and evangelism was not always the case, but it changed through the work of Fuller and other Baptists. Ryland (1818:136-139) reported that Ryland and Fuller were founders of the BMS. I disagree with both Naylor and Daniel’s Calvinistic view of Ryland. I believe Ryland - similar to Fuller - was a strict Calvinist, who was convinced of the biblical mandate of evangelism and missions to the lost or unsaved. Ryland was listed as a Particular Baptist who affirmed the 1689 Confession of Faith in the Baptist Magazine 1823 on page 28. Thus, this confirms that he would have been a strict Calvinist affirming the acronym TULIP based on Table 6 (p. 172) and Ryland (1818:4).

So, Rowe was a student of Bristol Academy (Baptist Missionary Society 1813:289). Moreover, (Shepherd 2011) noted that “Bristol Baptist Academy, at that time the only such institution among the Particular Baptists.” Additionally, Payne (1958:61) noted that Bristol Academy “accepted the 1689 Baptist Confession of Faith as their doctrinal standard until 1832”, which was already shown to be a Particular Baptist confession in this dissertation. Therefore, Rowe, as a student, would have affirmed this Particular Baptist confession. Moreover, it is very unlikely that Ryland would send Rowe to Jamaica if he did not affirm Calvinist convictions for such a momentous and pioneering work.

The Baptist Annual Register for 1798, 1798, 1800, and part of 1801, had Thomas Price, Yeovil in its list of the Particular Baptist Churches in England on page 32 (Rippon 1801:32). Therefore, Thomas Price - the Pastor of Yeovil Baptist Church (YBC), where Rowe was a member - was a Particular or Calvinistic Baptist. When Rev. Thomas Price died, Thomas Claypole became Yeovil Baptist Church's pastor (Baptist Missionary Society 1817:405). Claypole was included in the list above (1823:28). This information would also indicate that Rowe's church (Yeovil Baptist Church) was a Particular Baptist denomination. Thus, Price was a Particular or Calvinistic Baptist.

The Baptist Missionary Society (1817:405) records Rev. Thomas Price saying, “I am utterly astonished when I reflect on His goodness to one so vile; I suppose there was never a more **depraved** wretch afloat in a vessel, **yet I obtained mercy.**” He also said, “I am his - **he chose me from eternity, redeemed me by blood**” (p. 406, emphasis added). These two statements by Price are consistent with Calvinistic soteriology, namely total depravity and election.

Therefore, Rowe's Pastor (Rev. Thomas Price) and Principal (Dr. John Ryland<sup>39</sup> of Bristol Academy) affirmed Calvinistic convictions, which would have been most likely passed to Rowe, and held by him as well.

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<sup>39</sup> "In 1793 Ryland moved to Bristol where, until his death in 1825, he was the pastor of Broadmead Church and the principal of Bristol Baptist Academy. An outstanding Hebrew scholar and inspiring preacher, Ryland was to exercise a significant influence on the lives of the two hundred or so students who studied at Bristol during his time as principal. The majority of them went on to become Baptist pastors and missionaries, imbued with Ryland's

Whereas, the BMS may have had individuals that were not Particular Baptists according to Cooke (2013:143), it would likely not have seen the occurrences of such persons under the tutelage of Ryland and in the early years of the BMS when that was one of its main distinctive. Altogether, Rowe was a Calvinistic Baptist.

### 5.3.3 James Mursell Phillippo

In 1816, Rev. Samuel Green baptised Phillippo (Underhill 1881:8). In the Baptist Magazine 1817, it indicates that Rev. Joseph Kinghorn and Rev. Samuel Green were Particular Baptists:

On the 13th of March, a small meeting-house, in the **Particular Baptist connection**, was opened at Yaxham, near East Dereham, in the county of Norfolk, when two sermons were preached, one in the morning, by the, **Rev Joseph Kinghorn**, of Norwich; and the other in the evening, by the **Rev. Samuel Green**, of East Dereham. The place was well attended, and the blessing of God enlivened his worship (Baptist Missionary Society 1817:159, emphasis added).

Therefore, in the list above (section 5.3.2) and this account, it shows that Rev. Samuel Green, Phillippo's pastor was a Particular Baptist and would likely have taught him Calvinism before his baptism or in his sermons.

Phillippo attended Horton Academy, where he studied under Dr. William Steadman, the principal (Underhill 1881:21). Horton was a Particular Baptist institution (Payne 1958:61; Shepherd 2011). As demonstrated above, Steadman was also a Particular or Calvinistic Baptist. Therefore, the researcher will examine a correspondence where Dr. Steadman explains the way he went about teaching at Horton, which should give insight into what Phillippo was learning there.

Thomas Steadman, son of Dr William Steadman, had put together a memoir of his has extracts from Dr Steadman's correspondence,

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evangelical Calvinism and commitment to revival" (Haykin 1990:178).



Little Horton, near Bradford, Nov. 10, 1815. My very dear Brother, In compliance with your request, I will give you the best account I can of the plan of education I have pursued...With the two first sets of students we went through **Watt's Logic**" ...I deliver two theological lectures every week. I have drawn up a course for my own use, beginning with the evidences of the being of God; of the Divinity of the Christian religion; and of the inspiration of the Scriptures. Then, the perfections of Deity; the doctrine of the Trinity; and, afterwards the **Fall of man, and its consequences**: then the origin and process of the work of **redemption, regeneration**, faith, justification, sanctification, **election, final perseverance**; and, finally, the state of man after death, the resurrection. **I deal in the didactic** rather than the controversial; confirming, as I go on , the several positions by Scripture evidence. I, however, introduce the principal heads of argument in support of evangelical truth, **in opposition to the Socinian, Arminian, Antinomian, and Restitution schemes**; and whatever else of the kind may appear worthy of notice (Steadman 1838:318-320).

The researcher believes the Fall of man and its consequences, redemption, regeneration, election, and final perseverance is consistent with Calvinistic teaching. Moreover, Calvinists would also use Watt's logic in their curriculum.

This will be addressed in further details regarding Knibb in section 5.3.5 below. The author also believes a very important observation in Dr. Steadman's letter is that does not explicitly mention "limited atonement or particular redemption". However, from Dr. Steadman affirmation of the 1689 confession of faith, then it is certain that he would have affirmed that. Therefore, could this be the reason why the researcher did not observe this language as well for the five Baptist missionaries under review, although they would have likely affirmed it too? The researcher believes that this is most likely the case.

Thus, Dr Steadman was teaching his students at Horton Calvinism and pointing out his disagreements with Arminianism. Therefore, Phillippo would have learnt these Calvinistic doctrines from Dr. Steadman. Furthermore, Horton Academy had a reasonably small

student population. So they would be very intentional who they would accept and train based on their purpose “of encouraging pious young men, recommended by the churches to which they belong as persons of promising abilities for the ministry” (Steadman 1838:213).

Underhill explained that James M. Phillippo “was encouraged to communicate his views and wishes to the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society, with the assurance that **Mr. Kinghorn** would sustain the application by a private letter from himself (p. 11, emphasis added). So, the context would suggest that Phillippo was a Particular Baptist, as Particular Baptist Green knew Particular Baptist Kinghorn, and Green was sending Phillippo of his members to the BMS, which at that time was known to be a Particular Baptist organisation (Underhill 1881: 11; cf. Rippon 1793:371-378;485).

Phillippo wrote,

I believe in the **total depravity** of all mankind; in the absolute necessity of a change of heart; in **man’s inability** to accomplish this work; **that it is effected by the Holy Spirit**, through the use of means; that Christ is the only way of salvation; the necessity of personal holiness. I recognise also two Ordinances: Baptism, administered to adults on a profession of faith in Christ and the Lord’s Supper. I believe in the final salvation of believers, and the final destruction of unbelievers” (Underhill 1881:12, emphasis added).

Thus, the researcher believes Phillippo wrote consistently with Calvinistic soteriology, since he referred to total depravity and irresistible grace through regeneration and man’s inability. Additionally, due to the time when Phillippo was being trained for missionary work at the BMS and deployed to Jamaica, it is expected that Phillippo would have been a Calvinistic Baptist (Underhill 1881:13-14). Moreover, Phillippo’s Calvinistic view was depicted in the following two quotations below as well.

Underhill (1881:323) notes that Phillippo, “Speaking of the Baptist churches in Jamaica, he says: ‘Think of thirty thousand souls converted to God in this our island alone! Every one of them once **depraved**, but now **regenerated** sons and daughters of Ham, together with the thousands now before the throne of God and the Lamb’.”

Phillippo (1843) indicates that,

The most untutored of those who have enjoyed the advantages of Christian instruction for any length of time, have a correct, if not an extensive, knowledge of the great and essentials doctrines of the Gospel - of the proper Deity of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit - **the depravity of human nature** - the plan of salvation, and the **necessity of Divine influence to regenerate the heart**: indeed, **the knowledge of these fundamental truths is absolutely necessary to admission into the churches** (pp. 307-308, emphasis added).

Altogether, I believe this confirms that not only was Phillippo a Calvinistic Baptist, but most if not all of the other Baptist churches at the time were teaching Calvinism and requiring knowledge of it for admission into membership.

#### 5.3.4 Thomas Burchell

Thomas Burchell attended Shortwood Baptist Church, where Rev. William Winterbotham was the pastor. The list above (section 5.3.2), showed that both Winterbotham and Burchell were listed as Particular or Calvinistic Baptists affirming the 1689 Confession of Faith (Baptist Missionary Society 1823: 25). Additionally, the Baptist Annual Register for 1798, 1798, 1800, and part of 1801, had Joseph Burchell, Tedbury, in its list of the Particular Baptist Churches in England on page 15 (Rippon 1801:15). Therefore, Joseph Burchell, who was Thomas’ grandfather, was a Particular or Calvinistic Baptist. Thomas was likely influenced by his grandfather too.

The Baptist Magazine in 1823 referred to “Messrs. **Burchell** and Mursell of Bristol Academy” (Baptist Missionary Society 1823: 522, emphasis added). Bristol Academy affirmed Calvinistic soteriology. Moreover, from chapter 2 of this dissertation, it was

mentioned that Burchell attended Bristol Academy in 1819. Furthermore, we know that Ryland was still principal at the time based on the information that we addressed earlier in this chapter. Also, in keeping with these two factors Burchell would have been taught Calvinism and affirmed it. Additionally, Burchell arrived in Jamaica in 1824; thus, he was a part of the BMS in the early period of its establishment, and so Burchell being a Particular Baptist is expected.

Catherall (1966) notes that Thomas Burchell “On arrival back in Montego Bay in 1827, Burchell discovered - that he was in trouble with the local authorities. His brother William had published a **letter of his in the November issue of the Particular Baptist Magazine, 1827.**” (p. 352, emphasis added).

Again, it seems clear that Thomas Burchell identified as a Particular Baptist. Even his brother William published a letter from Thomas in a magazine devoted to Calvinist Baptists.

Thomas Burchell in his testimony explains,

From earliest infancy I had a kind and affectionate mother... **impressing me with the conviction of the baneful and destructive nature of sin, —that I was myself a sinner against the Most High, - and that Christ alone could save me and cleanse me from the pollutions of guilt by his blood.** “These instructions, however inefficient in accomplishing the great object for which they were designed, —the conversion of my soul, — which **could be effected only by the almighty influences of the Lord the Spirit** (Burchell 1849:169, emphasis added).

Burchell (1849) further explained that, “formerly I had thought it would be cruel in God to doom me to perdition; I now saw that he would be just in inflicting on me his heaviest judgments; that **salvation was entirely unmerited on my part**, and that if ever enjoyed by me it must be **wholly of free, rich, and sovereign grace**” (p. 169, emphasis added). From this, it appears that Burchell affirmed the Calvinist doctrines of total depravity and irresistible grace.

Moreover, Burchell questioned potential members in his church “to ascertain what led the candidate first to think of religious concerns ... **his inability to effect his own salvation**” (Burchell 1849:169, emphasis added). Hence, Burchell’s testimony and the membership question are also consistent with Calvinistic soteriology.

Russell (1993:31) notes that even though Thomas Burchell was a Particular Baptist, he had connections with General Baptists. Altogether, these provide a compelling case that Thomas Burchell was a Particular or Calvinistic Baptist.

### 5.3.5 William Knibb

Dr. Peter Masters, the biographer, asserts that Knibb “learned the Gospel in the town’s Calvinistic Baptist Sunday School...he professed conversion while attending the church pastored by Dr. Ryland, and quickly set his heart on missionary service.” (Masters 2006:9, emphasis added). Thus, Knibb would have grown up attending Sunday School and learning Calvinistic Baptist doctrine. Therefore, the researcher will seek to demonstrate that both of these men were Calvinists.

Knibb’s pastor and Sunday School teacher of the independent church in Kettering were Mr Troller and Mr. Gill, respectively (Winks 1842:101; Hinton 1847:2-3). Winks (1842:100) asserts that, “On the previous Sabbath, Mr. A. G. Fuller preached in his father’s chapel and at Mr. Toller’s, and in the evening addressed both congregations”. Therefore, Mr. Troller approved of Particular Baptist Andrew Fuller preaching at his church. Also, the Particular Baptist Robert Hall allegedly said, “it appeared...as if God had summoned his attributes to confer a blessing on its people, when he sent Fuller and Toller to Kettering.” (Winks 1842:101). The researcher believes someone affirming a similar doctrine would most likely give this kind of commendation to them. However, that is not always the case.

J.G. Fuller noted after Knibb died in the Baptist Magazine, “When a mere child he was a Sunday scholar, in connexion with the church and congregation under the pastoral care of the late Mr. Toller, my father’s highly esteemed contemporary; and his respected

teacher is, I believe, still living to rejoice in his course, and to lament its early termination” (The Baptist Missionary Society 1846:73).

The researcher believes this statement by Andrew Fuller’s son asserts that Mr. Toller and Mr Gill were well respected. Again this points to them likely be Calvinists.

Hinton, the biographer, included in Knibb’s memoir that, “I once offered sixpence,” says Mr. Gill,” to the boy who should get me the greatest number of questions in one week, and repeat them correctly. Several of the boys acquitted themselves well, but Thomas beat them all; in fact, he did more than all the others put together. He repeated the whole of Dr. Watts’s first, second, and third Catechisms, with proofs; the Assembly’s, and its proofs; the whole of the Epistle of James; the first four chapters of Proverbs, with several Psalms” (1847:4). Based on this account and the others above, the researcher can confidently say that Mr Gill was teaching Calvinism to the children in his Sunday School. Dr Isaac Watt was a Calvinist, and his book, which included the Assembly’s, was a shorter version of the Calvinistic Westminster’s confession (Watts 1779; 1825).

Knibb, having been influenced by the teachings of Mr Gill’s Calvinistic Baptist Sunday School, and Rev. Toller at Kettering Independent Church, and then having Dr Ryland as a pastor at Broadmead Baptist Church, indicates that he was a Calvinist Baptist. Moreover, since Knibb sought to do his missionary service through the BMS in the 1820s (similar to Burchell and Phillippo), it suggests he was a Calvinistic Baptist.

Masters (2006) adds, that Knibb “was a child of that wonderful and long season of church history, when Calvinists were activists and soul-winners” (p. 51, emphasis added). Therefore, Masters indicates that Knibb was a Calvinist.

Moreover, the church, which he later attended as an adult, was the Broadmead Baptist Church. This congregation was under the leadership of Dr John Ryland, who was the pastor and Principal of Bristol College at the time. As was mentioned in chapter 1, the Broadmead Baptist Church affirmed the 1689 Baptist Confession of Faith (Payne

1958:61). Furthermore, the researcher has also proven previously that this was a Calvinistic Baptist confession. Therefore, Knibb would have affirmed this Calvinistic Baptist confession.

William Knibb, appeared to want to experience increasingly the Calvinistic theological convictions that he had concerning salvation. Here are two examples: "I feel, and long to feel it more, that **salvation is all of grace**" (Smith 1896:111, emphasis added). "Ever may I feel, that if I am saved, it must be by 'great and **sovereign grace**'" (Hinton 1847:108, emphasis added).

Moreover, we see where Knibb alludes to total depravity where he said, "The state of **man by nature** is that of **rebellious revolt and alienation**" (Hinton 1847:541-542, emphasis added).

"On the blank leaf of **his copy of Baxter's Reformed Pastor**, I find the following words in his handwriting— 'The reading of this book has often made me pray and tremble'." (Hinton 1847:537-538, emphasis added).

Knibb possessing a Calvinist copy of how to pastor is instructive and his notes regarding how he had read it several times and that it led him to prayer and sobriety indicate that he held at least the Calvinist approach to pastoring in high regard. Altogether, Knibb was a Calvinistic Baptist.

#### 5.4 Summary and Conclusion of Chapter

After examining the five Baptist missionaries (George Liele, John Rowe, Thomas Burchell, James M. Phillippo, and William Knibb) including their historical background, context, literature, and speeches, it seems best to conclude that they were all Calvinistic or Particular Baptists. This determination was also made after we surveyed four theological views (Arminian, General Baptist, Calvinist and Particular Baptist) with their respective confessions regarding God's providence in salvation through the acronym TULIP that enabled us to judge where they would be in closest proximity to theologically.

We were also able to observe that General Baptist were more inclined to be Arminian and Particular Baptist to be Calvinist. Moreover, views can change over time, for instance, with Arminian changing from not being sure about the doctrine of the perseverance of the saints to rejecting it in later years. Nonetheless, these did not have any bearing on the five Baptist missionaries who for the most part, affirmed Calvinistic convictions regarding the scriptures. The limited atonement doctrine was not prominent in the author's observation of the data on the five Baptist missionaries. Also, Dr. Steadman, a Particular Baptist affirming the 1689 Confession of Faith, did not mention it in his teaching. Thus, these individuals likely assumed limited atonement. Another two significant observations were that: i) the former pastors (Price, Green, Winterbotham, Ryland) of the BMS missionaries (Rowe, Phillippo, Burchell and Knibb), respectively, all listed themselves as Particular or Calvinistic Baptists. ii) Second, all four BMS missionaries attended institutions (educational and religious) that required them to affirm the 1689 Confessions. For instance, Rowe and Burchell attended Bristol Academy, Phillippo attended Horton Academy, and Knibb was a member at Broadmead Baptist Church.



## **CHAPTER 6 - SUPPORTING CALVINISTIC EVIDENCE AND ITS INFLUENCE 3: MISSIONS, EDUCATION, HEALTH CARE, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, AND CHARACTER DEVELOPMENT.**

### 6.1 Chapter Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to answer our third primary objective of this thesis, i.e. “what supporting evidence exists for these five Baptist missionaries being Calvinistic and it possibly influencing their accomplishments?” This chapter is the third and last of three chapters devoted to answering the question above. This chapter will focus primarily on the latter part of the question which has not been tackled thus far.

In the previous two chapters, we sought to provide an answer to the first part of the question, by looking at both God’s providence and God’s providence in salvation to ascertain whether the five Baptist missionaries under review were Calvinistic Baptists. Whereas, we were uncertain about the answer of this question based on God’s providence in chapter 4, as it pertains to God’s providence in salvation in chapter 5 we became confident that all five Baptist missionaries exhibited beliefs and actions were consistent with the Calvinistic Baptist view, based on their affirmation for most of the doctrines espoused in the Calvinist acronym TULIP.

This chapter’s primary goal will involve addressing the positive impact these five Baptist missionaries made in missions, education, health care, social and economic development and character development. It will assume that this impact was attributable to their Calvinistic convictions. The chapter will also highlight a few possible drawbacks or negative impact of Calvinism, since all theological schools of thoughts have advantages and disadvantages, and it is vital to at least acknowledge that truth. Having discussed what we would be doing in this chapter, let us begin by looking at Calvinistic missions.

## 6.2. Calvinistic Missions

We will address this section into two parts. First, we will be looking on where Calvinistic missions have taken place globally. Second, we will also provide some arguments or rationale for Calvinistic missions.

### 6.2.1 Calvinistic Missions Globally

Medders (2019) notes that Calvinists embraced the crucial work of sharing the gospel of Jesus Christ everywhere. He argues that Calvinism from inception has been missional citing John Calvin and Charles Spurgeon as examples. Concerning Calvin, Medders (2019) refers to the observation of John Starke that he and his followers established five churches in France in 1555. By 1559, they had started about 100 churches. Three years later, they, along with other associated churches, had established more than 2,000 churches. Thus, Calvin would have been the foremost church planter in Europe. Moreover, Calvin was very devoted to this missional work and taught, examined, advised, and prayed for missionaries who were on the field.

Regarding Spurgeon, Medders (2019) references Church and Baptist historian Tom Nettles who explains that the Pastors' College which Spurgeon established had "planted churches in England, Spain, North and South Africa, New Zealand, Australia, Jamaica, Turks Island, Dominican Republic, Haiti, South America, India, Canada, and the United States. In the 1891-1892 report of the Pastors' College, almost 900 men were trained in Spurgeon's College. And counting from 1865, almost 30 years prior, nearly 100,000 people had been baptized by Spurgeon's planters".

Medders (2019) concludes that, "Calvin, Spurgeon, and modern-day Acts 29 - which has 740 churches in Australia, Burkina-Faso, Chile, Democratic Republic of Congo, India, Japan, Kenya, Lebanon, Malawi, Mozambique, Pakistan, Romania, Slovakia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, Uganda, and more—all show that Calvinists take church planting seriously".

Therefore, when we consider Calvin and Spurgeon who were huge proponents of Calvinism, the evidence suggests that Calvinists take planting churches and missions seriously.

### 6.2.3. Calvinistic Missions in Europe & South America

Starke (2012) notes that “Calvin and Geneva sent missionaries not only to France but also to Italy, the Netherlands, Hungary, Poland, and the free Imperial city-states in the Rhineland. We even know of two missionaries sent from Geneva in 1557 to Brazil”.

This evidence suggests that Calvin and those in Geneva did not send missionaries only to their neighbouring countries in Europe, but they went as far as South America. They saw the importance of missions.

Boice and Ryken (2002:40) notes that the city of Geneva,

Prior to the Reformation was infamous for its immorality. Among the wealthy city’s common vices were drunkenness, disorderly conduct, gambling, prostitution, and adultery. On occasion, Genevans had been known to run naked through the streets singing vulgar and even blasphemous songs. Unfair business practices, such as usury, were common. The city was also troubled by dissension in the form of what one observer described as “ungodly and dangerous factions”.

Boice and Ryken (2002:42) asserts that, “Calvin and his Calvinism came to exercise a profound influence on the city of Geneva. This influence did not come through coercion, as is sometimes thought, but primarily through persuasion”.

McGrath (2012:220-221) indicates:

Calvin was no Genevan dictator, ruling the population with a rod of iron. He was not even a citizen of Geneva through-out his time there, and was thus denied access to political authority. His status was simply that of a pastor who was in no position to dictate to the magisterial authorities who administered the city. Indeed, those authorities retained to the end the right to dismiss Calvin, even if they chose

not to exercise that right. As a member of the Consistory, he was certainly able to make representations to the magistracy on behalf of the ministers—representations which were frequently ignored, however... Calvin's influence over Geneva rested ultimately not in his formal legal standing (which was insignificant) but in his considerable personal authority as a preacher and pastor.

Boice and Ryken (2002:42-44) believes Calvin's daily teaching was what transformed Geneva. The citizens felt they were responsible as they became Christians living in the city to promote holiness. Their gratitude to God, along with the discovery of Grace-filled worship with the Psalms engendered a happier environment. Thus, the city's drunkenness and adultery decreased, resulting in the closure of bars and separation of unisex public bathrooms where showers were once taken by both men and women together. Calvin also created a sewer system, a fund for refugees, and a school that trained both men and women, including pastors for missions and church planting. He also had a Consistory set up where pastors and elders came together weekly to deal with church affairs. Calvin desired spiritual care to be administered to the members of the church, and the solving of disagreements and application of church discipline to address specific cases of sin. Family counselling was encouraged by Calvin too. Altogether, these led to a decline in immorality.

Kik (1963:83) says,

Cleanliness was practically unknown in towns of his generation and epidemics were common and numerous. He moved the Council to make permanent regulations for establishing sanitary conditions and supervision of markets. Beggars were prohibited from the streets, but a hospital and poorhouse were provided and well conducted. Calvin labored zealously for the education of all classes and established the famous Academy, whose influence reached all parts of Europe and even to the British Isles. He urged the council to introduce the cloth and silk industry and thus laid the foundation for the temporal wealth of Geneva. This industry . . . proved especially successful in Geneva because Calvin, through the gospel, created within the individual the love of work, honesty, thrift and

cooperation. He taught that capital was not an evil thing, but the blessed result of honest labor and that it could be used for the welfare of mankind.

I believe Calvin's approach to not only impact the lives of the people through missions, particularly by the sharing of the gospel, but to incorporate practical things, which could help them such as, education, developing skills, and obtaining land ownership. These were outlined in chapter 2 by the five Baptist missionaries' contributions and showed the general holistic approach that Calvinists have to Christianity.

#### 6.2.4. Calvinism & Switzerland, Netherlands, India, China, South & Central Africa

Stewart (2009:77) argues that Calvinists by being Protestants gained access to the sea in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, which led to their missionary journeys to Geneva and subsequently the Netherlands. Later, the English Puritans conducted their own missions. In 1793, William Carey made his way to India. There was a great passion for missionary work, as evident in the Baptist Missionary Society and London Missionary Society which were established in close order. They both affirmed Calvinism, but differed in how baptism should be administered. In 1818, Robert Morrison translated the Bible into Chinese. Robert Moffat and his son-in-law David Livingstone served as missionaries to South and Central Africa.

Thus, I believe it was evident that Calvinism supported and affirmed missionary work.

Stewart (2009:38) notes that,

The most famous missionary of the 18th century was the Congregationalist David Brainerd (1718-1747), another evangelist among America's native peoples. Funding for his work came from Presbyterians in Scotland. His famous Diary provided a spark which kindled missionary interest in William Carey (1761-1834), pioneer Baptist missionary, and a good Calvinist of rightful fame, and in Henry Martyn (1781-1812), pioneer Church of England missionary to the Persian Gulf region. Canadians John Geddie (1815-72) and Jonathan Goforth (1859-1936)

were just two of a galaxy sent out from Churches in the Presbyterian and Reformed branch of the Christian family. By century's end, it could be credibly claimed that one-quarter of all Protestant missionaries in the world were Presbyterian.

#### 6.2.5. Calvinism & Taiwan

Cheng (2009:187) believes there are some significant features of how the Dutch Calvinist engaged in Taiwan that is worthy of interest.

I will highlight one of them, i.e. that they were "far more evangelistically energetic and successful there" than in other parts of the East Indies" (p. 188). Moffett concurs that and adds that their character was one of the reasons why they were able to achieve such success (p. 188).

This statement about them being "evangelistically energetic" suggest to me there were probably more zealous or public in their efforts of gospel proclamation, which led to the achievements they experienced. Thus, their understanding of God's sovereignty did not necessarily hinder evangelism as some non-Calvinists argue, but it may have promoted it as I along with other Calvinists suggest. It is also beneficial to note that Taiwan is East Asia, and so Calvinism has travelled to or exists in several continents.

#### 6.2.6. Calvinism & North America

Carpenter (2002:524) indicates that John Eliot and other Puritans desired to conduct missions to the Algonquians. In 1649, the New England Company was established, which financially supported the work Eliot was doing and gave encouragement to native missions.

I believe this attest to the value these Calvinists placed on missions, i.e. sharing the gospel to lost souls regardless of their ethnicity or location. Here, North American missions follow behind Brazil in South America, where Calvin and Geneva sent them.

### 6.2.7. Calvinism & Korea

Seong (2018:541) notes that,

Although the introduction and accommodation of Calvinism was initiated as the goal for conservative theology, ironically Korean liberal thinkers...moved Calvinism into the practical arena of Christian life. They concentrated on ...church polity, and preaching of persecution. This approach demonstrated the process of contextualization of Calvinism in Korea. This process influenced the division of progressive and conservative theology in Korea during the period of Japan colonization and the Korean War.

It seems that the introduction of Calvinism as a means of way of life and thought amidst challenging situation has often proven quite successful such as in Korea.

### 6.2.8. Calvinism & South Africa

In the mid-17th century, the Dutch Reformed Church in South African begun with the first set of white individuals from the Netherlands who travelled to South Africa to settle. Presently, a significant portion of South Africa's white population are members of this church (Ray, n.d.).

While, Calvinists were instrumental in the abolition of slavery in Jamaica. It is noteworthy that Calvinists were responsible for Apartheid in South Africa (see Davenport 1998; Gruchy, Gruchy & Tutu 2005; Elphick 2012; Huffel & Vosloo 2013). However, I believe this should not necessarily discredit the truths expounded in Calvinism, as some people often use the Bible to justify their self-serving needs.

Wyk (2016:7) notes,

We have mentioned that the moral principle of justice played an important role in the theology of Calvin and I think it was this principle, more than anything else, that gradually undermined the ideology of apartheid and brought it to a fall. It was this principle that played a decisive role in the dismantling of apartheid by F.W. de

Klerk. Apartheid was a policy of injustice against black people and brown people and it was in contradiction to the Law of God and the teaching of Christ. It should never have been justified, implemented, defended and promoted by people who called themselves Calvinists.

#### 6.2.9 Calvinism in Hungary, Belgium, Bohemia, France and Poland

Howe (1972:320) notes that, “Hungary, Belgium, Bohemia, France – in all these countries noble and politically influential Calvinists were driven into exile or brutally persecuted. In Poland the religious program of the Crown was pursued by less drastic means but with the same result in the long run: the eventual extirpation of Calvinism”.

Thus, we will never know what the real, lasting impact of Calvinism would have been in these geographical locations because of the deliberate and successful attempt to make it extinct.

#### 6.2.10. Calvinism & France

Those who affirmed Calvinism in France were called “Huguenots”. Calvin was hugely influential in France and even, “gave the Huguenots their creed and form of government”. A good portion of the French quickly embraced Calvinism (Boettner 1975).

Again, this indicates the missionary work of the Calvinists then. However, Calvinism in France died too, because of the intentional actions of those in power to penalise Calvinists then.

#### 6.2.11. Calvinism & Hungary

Despite the persecution, Calvinism has survived in Hungary. “According to the 2011 Census, the RCH is the second largest denomination in Hungary after the Roman Catholic Church. There are 2.5 million Reformed Hungarians living in Hungary and its six neighbouring countries (the so-called Carpathian Basin) as well as the diaspora into



Western Europe, North America and Australia” (“Facts and Statistics: General information of the Reformed Church in Hungary in Figures”, n.d.).

#### 6.2.12 Calvinism & Scotland

Scotland was remarkably changed for the better after it was exposed to Calvinism through John Knox. The country’s moral values increased significantly with an accompanying reduction in crime (Boettner 1975).

This result is similar to that of the city of Geneva in Switzerland. I believe this is a testimony of the work of God, the gospel of Jesus Christ, and the benefits of Calvinistic theology as a consequence of its deliberate role in conducting missionary work as one of God’s ordained means to facilitate salvations. Welzien (2001) makes a similar point. However, I would add this approach, may lead to human flourishing.

#### 6.2.13. Calvinism & Australia

Presently, the Christian Reformed Churches of Australia (CRCA) total over fifty churches which span across most states and territories in Australia (Christian Reformed Churches of Australia, n.d.). They noted that,

Since 2000 the CRCA has renewed its commitment to be a church that is reforming to reach the lost for Christ. It adopted a fourfold task (Pray, Train, Grow, Align) as the framework to expand the CRCA's gospel impact throughout Australia. In every state there are renewed efforts to continue the pattern of the first CRC churches in Australia: to plant many new churches and also welcome migrants who are making their home in Australia. The CRCA is committed to see ‘the gospel bearing fruit and growing throughout the whole world.’ (Colossians 1:6).

On the whole, I have demonstrated that Calvinism has been present in six continents (Asia, Africa, Europe, Australia, North America, and South America) based on some of the countries or continents, which I have previously mentioned. Thus, only Antarctica as a continent has been excluded based on the extreme temperatures of cold and since no

one permanently resides there. The extent and success of Calvinistic missions, can be seen when we consider tables 7 and 8 below.

**Table 7: Member Denominations of the World Reformed Fellowship**

<b>Continent</b>	<b>Member Denomination</b>
Africa	21
Asia	26
Europe	6
North America	12
Oceania	3
South America	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>73</b>

Source: (“Denominational Members of the World Reformed Fellowship” 2016)

**Table 8. Members of the World Communion of Reformed Churches**

<b>Region</b>	<b>Members</b>
Africa	71
Asia	62
Caribbean	10
Europe	40
Latin America	21
Middle East	5
North America	13
Pacific	14
<b>Total</b>	<b>236</b>

Source: (“World Communion of Reformed Churches Members” n.d.)

It is noteworthy to mention that there are other reformed organisations such as the International Conference of Reformed Churches which has 34 members (“International Conference of Reformed Churches” n.d.) that would not necessarily be a part of those two organisations referenced above. Altogether, over 100 million individuals in the world would likely profess to be reformed believers based on the work of Calvinistic missions (“World Communion of Reformed Churches” n.d.).

Phillippo (1865) presented an argument and appeal for Christian missions in a section of a book entitled “The Voice of Jubilee”. Here, Phillippo discussed the reasons, need and successes of Christian missions (pp. 257-359). The researcher believes these are the kind of perspectives, which the Baptist missionaries under review had that led to the contribution they made in Jamaica. Also, he would partly attribute some of the success stories to those having a Calvinistic view of God’s providence amidst persecution and suffering, which was addressed in Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

### 6.3. Calvinistic Missions Rationale

#### 6.3.1 Calvinistic Mission Rationale – Some Reasons

Welzien list several reasons for Calvinistic evangelism. Here are three. First, it is a commandment by Jesus (Mark 16:15). Second, we honour the Father by preaching the gospel of His Son Jesus Christ (John 5:22-23). Finally, God saves his people through gospel centred preaching (Welzien 2001). Thus, because God has sovereignly chosen missions and evangelism as a means to share the gospel and has instructed us and given us the message for salvation, then we gladly obey.

Smethurst argues that,

**Only Calvinism consistently teaches that God saves you personally.** Every other theological tradition embraces views that, at least implicitly, take your salvation out of God’s hands and drop you into the grinding gears of a naturalistic soteriology. **We Calvinists care so much about the sovereignty of God because we care about the fact that God loves people first,** not nature—we worship a powerfully loving God, not a watchmaker (2012, emphasis added).

I believe when individuals come to know or realise this view of God's involvement in their salvation which Calvinism teaches that it will be a strong motivator for missions, worship and for those who want to experience God's redemption.

Smethurst says,

How we pastor, 'do church,' and (dare we say) approach missions in many ways reflects our theological bent. As pastors, when we pray for the lost in our congregations, do we ask God to *actually* save them? Or when we counsel a member who just lost her husband, can we genuinely reassure her that the **God who has predestined, called, and justified her will indeed work all things (yes, even evil things) together for good?** Or when we commission missionaries to the field, perhaps even to spill their blood for the gospel, do we believe that God *will unfailingly* call his elect in all nations? (2012, emphasis added).

Here, Smethurst refers to predestination of individuals for salvation, and alludes to God's sovereignty in providence. He provides a compelling case why missions carried out by those who affirm Calvinism should not be hindered but promoted from their understanding of the gospel.

### 6.3.2 Calvinistic Missions Rationale – More Reasons (TULIP):

#### 6.3.2.1 Calvinistic Missions Rationale - Total Depravity

Medders (2019) suggests that since people are totally depraved, then it provides a basis for missions with God's unconditional election and his effectual calling at work, that has been enabled through the preached or shared word by believers to these unsaved individuals, which leads to their salvation.

### 6.3.2.2 Calvinistic Missions Rationale - Unconditional Election

Medders (2019) believes unconditional election and limited atonement informs of God's saving plan to redeem people from every tribe, nation, and tongue due to the work of Christ. Jesus has His chosen people (elect) throughout the world, and they need to learn about Him.

Thus, I believe unconditional election and limited atonement, when understood rightly, should lead to greater mission and evangelism on Calvinists' part.

Smethurst (2012) rejects the view that Calvinism dampens missions. He explains that the Apostle Paul affirmed the belief of unconditional election in Romans 9 and then shows how this is tied to the evangelism of God's chosen people which Paul speaks about in Romans 10. He says, "For Paul, predestination is the theological foundation and impetus for missions. Also, a brief survey of church history reveals that Calvinists have always been on the frontlines of missions. Consider Calvin who sent missionaries to Brazil, the missions-minded zeal of Gisbertus Voetius, or William Carey, the founder of the modern missionary movement".

I agree with Smethurst having addressed this fact in the first part of this section on Calvinistic missions.

Cara (2017) notes that if, "God predestined whoever will believe and he predestined the ends. He also predestined the means. So, if you really believe God is controlling the world and you really believe that God uses our means to get to his ends, that is an encouragement to do evangelism".

I believe Cara's argument makes logical sense, but as I have previously reported that I am a Calvinist, and as such, I might be biased in this regard.

### 6.3.2.3 Calvinistic Missions Rationale - Limited Atonement

Smethurst believes Calvinism functions,

As the foundation on which the gospel itself is built. Behind the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ is a God who has already determined the end from the beginning, including the destination of every living soul—not on the basis of anything we will do but purely because of his good pleasure. He is a God who sends his Son to **die for those he has predestined**. He is a God who sends his Spirit to **effectually call and monergistically regenerate** those he has **elected** and for whom he has sent his Son to die (2012, emphasis added).

Here, limited atonement is seen as Jesus dies, particularly for the elect. Smethurst considers this as fundamental to understanding the gospel. This personal, intentional work on God's part to ensure that his elect or chosen people will be saved. I think it is interesting that the very concept of limited atonement, which many non-Calvinists disagree with and claim hinders missions can be viewed as such a precious truth by Calvinists (or those who affirm Reformed theology) to do it. Again, I find Smethurst arguments compelling here.

### 6.3.2.4 Calvinistic Missions Rationale – Irresistible Grace

Medders (2019) asserts that irresistible grace removes the pressure from believing that we are truly responsible for the salvation of those we share the gospel with. “God *will* make the spiritually dead alive in Christ. The success of our ministries isn't on us—it doesn't finally come down to our sermons, strategies, or slick services. God—and God alone—saves”.

Nonetheless, I do not believe it discounts our human responsibility to share the gospel with others. In fact, as Medders (2019) notes, “We can humbly and confidently plant churches, proclaim the gospel, and make disciples who will make disciples, because God will do what he's promised”.

Again, I see this Calvinistic belief as providing motivation for missions.

Montgomery & Jones (2014, 141-142) notes,

Historically, the truth that God can overcome any barrier to his grace has been a force that drives missions! Many of the early missionaries in the modern missions movement — people like William and Dorothy Carey, Hudson and Maria Taylor, Ann and Adoniram Judson — embraced the truth of God’s sovereign grace. Mission has always stood at the heart of true Calvinism”.

Thus, Montgomery, in keeping with other Calvinists, believes irresistible grace contributes positively to church planting, missions and evangelism, which is the work that the five Calvinistic Baptist missionaries did in Jamaica. I think this is a valid argument as I have argued in chapters 2 & 4, although other schools of thought may disagree.

#### 6.3.2.5 Calvinistic Missions Rationale – Perseverance of the Saints

Montgomery & Jones (2014) in discussing Calvinism notes that,

**God transforms sinners into his beloved adopted children**, filling the bank accounts of their identity with all the goodness of his Son, **sealing their destiny by the power of his Spirit, and securing them on a journey that will not end** until his splendor floods the earth like waters surging in the sea (Psalm 72:19; Habakkuk 2:14; Romans 4:24; 2 Corinthians 1:21 – 22; Ephesians 1:4 – 5, 13 – 14). The true and living God does all this for his own glory and for the praise of his grace (Isaiah 43:7; Ephesians 1:6; 1 Peter 5:10) (p. 12, emphasis added).

The sealing and securing of Christians refer to the perseverance of the saints. This gracious and undeserving action by God, along with his transformative work, is what I believe leads Calvinists to joy and confidence.

Hindley (2018) makes the case that joy is essential when conducting missions, particularly in the planting of churches.

I suspect this joy emanating from affirming the perseverance of the saints would likely then have a positive impact on the work, and individuals interacting with the five Calvinistic Baptist missionaries and their particular perspective on soteriology.

Smethurst contends that through the doctrines of the perseverance of the saints and God's sovereignty in salvation that triumphant victory is inevitable and gives positive motivation to missionaries who would need that encouragement through the scriptures.

For instance, He notes that,

He is a **God who will not be defeated**, but rather **will preserve his children to the very end**. It is this *big* God we can **rest assured will triumph in the end**. His purpose will stand, and he will do all that he pleases (Isa. 46:9-10; 45:7; Lam. 3:37-38; Dan. 4:34-35). Since he is sovereign over all things, rather than having his sovereignty limited by libertarian freedom, he can guarantee that his gospel will go forth to the nations, actually **having the power to accomplish his saving purpose. His gospel will not fail to save those for whom it is intended** (2012, emphasis added).

Spurgeon (1993) reports a sermon where Charles Spurgeon expressed similar views saying,

And I have my own private opinion that there is no such a thing as preaching Christ and him crucified, unless you preach what now-a-days is called Calvinism. I have my own ideas, and those I always state boldly. It is a nickname to call it Calvinism; Calvinism is the gospel, and nothing else. I do not believe we can preach the gospel, if we do not preach justification by faith, without works; nor unless we preach the sovereignty of God in his dispensation of grace; nor unless we exalt the electing, unchangeable, eternal, immutable, **conquering**, love of Jehovah; nor do I think we can preach the gospel, unless we base it upon the peculiar redemption which Christ made for his elect and chosen people; nor can I comprehend a gospel **which lets saints fall away after they are called, and suffers the children of God to be burned in the fires of damnation after having believed**. Such a



gospel I abhor. The gospel of the Bible is not such a gospel as that. We preach Christ and him crucified in a different fashion, and to all gainsayers we reply, "We have not so learned Christ." (p. 58, emphasis added).

Smethurst (2012) believes persons reading Spurgeon and his views may be surprised, and particularly those who stand in opposition to Calvinism. However, he is contending that "Calvinism is simply biblical Christianity". Although, he is not purporting that "only Calvinists believe the gospel or that only Calvinists are Christians".

I believe Spurgeon's expressed view of the perseverance of the saints, unconditional election coupled with this conquering love of God again presents a strong case for persisting in missions even when there are difficulties, which will lead to more significant opportunities of success.

Medders (2019) sees the perseverance of the saints as a demonstration of God's promise that His children will not forfeit what He has for them. However, the church facilitates this by playing an integral part in the process.

DeYoung (2015:61) explains that the doctrine of election is beneficial in missions. He goes about illustrating this in Acts 18 where the Apostle Paul who is experiencing hostility and is considering leaving Corinth has a dream with Jesus saying, "Do not be afraid, but go on speaking and do not be silent, for I am with you, and no one will attack you to harm you, for I have many in this city who are my people" (vv. 9-10). Thus, DeYoung (2015) concludes,

Without the **doctrine of election**, Paul wouldn't have pressed on in evangelism... So if you go and labor among unreached peoples and labor for years with little or no visible fruit, you should remember the promise that there are some among that people group who are appointed for eternal life. That's how you can stay. That's how you can go. Samuel Zwemer, the Apostle to Islam, probably saw less than a dozen converts in his forty years as a missionary. God's sovereignty is our best fuel for ministry faithfulness (p. 61, emphasis added).

I believe this case in the Book of Acts, which DeYoung cites is convincing.

DeYoung (2015) asserts that God's love for a believer,

is a specific, unique, particular, effective, redeeming, electing love. That's good news. It cannot be over emphasized that we have not seen the full meaning of the cross until we have seen it as the center of the gospel. Flanked on the one hand by **total inability** and **unconditional election** and on the other by **irresistible grace** and **final preservation**. For the full meaning of the cross only appears when the atonement is defined in terms of these four truths. Christ died to save a certain company of helpless sinners upon whom God has set his free saving love. Christ's death **insured the calling and keeping of all whose sins he bore**. That is what Calvary means and what it meant (p. 65, emphasis added).

Thus, DeYoung sees Calvinism, the gospel and missions working in tandem.

Boice and Ryken (2002:23-24) argues that Calvinism builds, "the most solid foundation and provide the most enduring motivation for the most effective proclamation of the gospel. As we shall see, only thoroughly biblical convictions about divine election, particular redemption, and irresistible grace give confidence that the gospel has the power actually to accomplish God's saving purpose".

Medders (2019) argues that "TULIP, the popular acronym for Calvinism, does more than itemize the Reformed view of salvation. It *theologizes* church planters, sparking their sending and fortifying their missiology".

This perspective agrees with what Boice and Ryken (2002), DeYoung (2015), Montgomery & Jones (2014), Raymond (2010), Smethurst (2012) and Spurgeon 1993 have already argued in the section which I have just outlined.

Now, that we have looked at Calvinistic missions and some of the rationale and reasons for it, let us examine education. Education is also an aspect that Calvinists have focused a lot of attention in the past, still do today, and most likely will in the future.

## 6.4 Education

### 6.4.1. Calvinism and Education

#### 6.4.1.1 Calvinism and Education in Europe.

John Calvin urged by his pious desire to see people benefit from an education became a huge proponent of it. However, Calvin's sterling contributions to theology, church and state, led to his work in education being largely overlooked. Moreover, while the reformers who came from Scotland, The Netherlands, Scotland and Britain had great success in education, it should be noted that many of these leaders were trained in Geneva. Therefore, Calvin, who directly or indirectly trained persons in Geneva, should be somewhat credited for their achievements in this regard (Zabilka 1989:77).

Boettner (1975) argues that Calvinism has been a great promoter of education in the past. It is a school of thought that requires intellectual maturity and reasoning. It suggests that one must love God with one's total being, including the mind. Calvin saw faith and intelligence as being complimentary. He desired to train pastors, but also the masses. In Geneva, Calvin established an Academy which was central to the work which he sought to accomplish. He trained thousands of students from within Europe who ended up taking his doctrines all across the globe. Knox became confident that mass education was essential to Protestantism and creating stability for a country.

Therefore, one can say that from inception, Calvinism was tied to education.

#### 6.4.1.2 Calvinism and Education in North America.

While, some denominations that affirm Arminianism have made an indelible contribution to education, this thesis will indicate that Calvinism has been strongly correlated with education. As a result, where Calvinistic missions took place, one would usually observe the establishment of schools or curriculum to educate the people. This argument is one which Boettner (1975) makes in that Calvinists have built many reputable schools and universities. For instance, Harvard, Yale, and Princeton were known as Calvinistic

institutions. Harvard trained many ministers in its early periods. Yale was referred to as a Puritan school. Calvinistic Presbyterians from Scotland established Princeton. Leitch (2015:151-152) notes that Calvinistic theologian Jonathan Edwards was principal of Princeton in 1758.

Smith (1901:148) says, “Our boasted common-school system, is indebted for its existence to that stream of influences which followed from the Geneva of Calvin, through Scotland and Holland to America; and, for the first two hundred years of our history almost every college and seminary of learning and almost every academy and common school was built and sustained by Calvinists.” As such, from the 16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> century, this was the kind of influence that Calvinism had in those geographical areas. So, it would not be far-fetched to believe that it found itself to the part of America where George Liele resided then. Furthermore, these same ideologies would have likely made its way into England (also a part of Europe) and where the four Baptist missionaries (John Rowe, Thomas Burchell, James Phillippo and William Knibb) from the BMS came.

#### 6.4.1.3 Calvinism and Education in South Africa

Landmann (2013:243) notes the “universities of Stellenbosch, Pretoria, the Free State and North-West where the theological training has been predominantly – but not exclusively – Reformed”. From various rankings, it can be confirmed that these are some of the top schools in South Africa, and likely Africa. Calvinists from the Netherlands established Stellenbosch University (SU), and this is where the author of this dissertation is doing his doctoral work. SU’s high ranking and theology played a vital role in his decision to study with them.

Meeter (1930:96-99) made a comparison between Calvinists and Roman Catholics and Calvinists and Lutherans as it pertained to education and concluded that Calvinists from the start had significantly invested in education, because for practical purposes it has benefited their school of thought and the way they conduct their churches and polity. As a result, that is one reason why Calvinists have been involved in education from early childhood up until the adult and university level.

## 6.4.2 Calvinism and Theological Education

### 6.4.2.1. Calvinism, Theological Education (Clergy) and Ordination

Boettner (1975) also notes that Calvinistic churches have, for the most part, always required at least a college graduate education with tutelage under an approved theological professor to be considered for ordination in ministry.

As we consider three of the five Baptist missionaries (Rowe, Burchell and Phillippo) who came to Jamaica, we can say that this approach was generally applied, when we think of the training that took place at Bristol Academy and Horton Academy (Baptist Missionary Society 1818:42; Catherall 1966:350). Liele and Knibb were exceptions as they did not benefit from formal theological training. However, Knibb would have learnt theological concepts in his local church, Broadmead Baptist Church, under Dr John Ryland, who was pastor there and Principal of Bristol Academy.

### 6.4.2.2. Calvinism and Theological Education (Clergy) and Ordination in Jamaica

Similarly, in 1839, in Jamaica, Calvinists William Knibb, Thomas Burchell and James M Phillippo pushed for the creation of a training facility for indigenous black Jamaicans to become pastors and missionaries. This dream was realised in 1843 with the establishment of Calabar Theological College (Calabar High School 2020).

### 6.4.2.3. Calvinism, Theological Education (Children) and Catechisms

Anthony (2001:21) notes that “Zwingli (1484-1531) and Calvin (1509-1564) in Switzerland and John Knox (1505-1572) in Scotland, also organized schools and developed catechisms to aid the instruction of children in the faith. Knox also promoted the minister’s role as a teacher of children in the Christian faith. Sunday afternoons were to be used for instruction in the catechism by the minister”.

I believe as we examine Zwingli, Calvin and Knox whom were major figures in the Reformation and who many would argue affirmed Reformed theology – which today has

become almost synonymous with Calvinism - it is instructive to see the emphasis that they placed on education.

Zabilka (1989:78) suggests that, Calvin desired to serve his students by preparing a revised catechism in 1541, which was shorter and simpler. Moreover, students had a little over a year to master it. Thus, one of Calvin's expectations was that children were to be able to read and understand it. Nonetheless, Calvin wanted people to more have the right doctrine and authentic faith rather than education and so it was seen as below in priority to those.

I believe as Downs (1994:14) indicates that, "Christian education, simply defined, is the ministry of bringing the believer to maturity in Jesus Christ". Furthermore, as Blank Jr (2001:11) highlights, "In the past, Christian education served the mission of the local church, and healthy growth ensued". Thus, even Christian education is a tool, but it must lead to a growing relationship with our triune God. As such, I agree with Calvin's posture regarding catechism and doctrine, and think it is likely similar to the reason why Liele had his covenants that the members of his church had to subscribe to (Russell 2013:9). However, this should likely be the stance of most believers to value spiritual formation above education, so we see that Burchell would ask potential members to write about their testimony of salvation and what they affirmed doctrinally. He also allowed others to weigh in on their suitability and character as potential baptismal candidates (Burchell 1849:61).

Concerning education, Calvin himself studied at the University of Paris to become a priest. However, his father instructed him to withdraw from the programme and to pursue studies in law. As a result, Calvin went to Orleans to be educated under the tutelage of both Peter de l'Etoile (who practised law successfully and was a logician too) and under Melchoir Wolmar, who played a part in the Reformation. Consequently, Calvin received a doctoral degree for completion of his studies. He later studied in Bourges, then went back to Paris for other studies (Zabilka1989:83).

I believe this indicates Calvin's commitment to education, as he was highly trained and still invested more in his education.

#### 6.4.2.4. Calvinism, Theological Education (Clergy & Laity) and Catechisms

One of Calvin's main goals was to organise schools to successfully train both the clergy and laity in the reading and comprehension of the Bible (Zabilka 1989:83). Moreover, when he came to understand that families teaching catechisms were ineffective, then he required schools to do it. Altogether, the pastors came to see that having uneducated members created obstacles for the development of a robust church (p. 84). Furthermore, he realised that the better trained pastors had many positive effects on the church. As such, he created a higher education curriculum for them in 1537, which underwent revision and was later presented in 1541 (p. 85).

Overall, Calvin saw the many benefits of education, and I believe Calvinistic pastors and missionaries have followed suit in their approach too.

It is noteworthy that in Calvin's "Institutes of the Christian Religion", which is one of his most famous and substantial works regarding his school of thought that as Zabilka (1989) cites that, "Calvin's educational intentions are discerned in the first edition of the Institutes of the Christian Religion, the catechisms, the formal organization of schools, and were influenced by Johann Sturm and Calvin's own education" (p. 77).

Thus, in six chapters, Calvin demonstrated his desire for the first edition to be an introductory teaching geared for those who wanted to learn the fundamental beliefs that existed in Christianity. However, in the later editions, this teaching emphasis became less prominent, and more focus was placed on his theological views, which had a thorough understanding on many different topic areas (Zabilka 1989: 77-78). Notwithstanding, "the final form of the Institutes did contain his discussion of the teaching attitude of the minister" (p. 78).

### 6.4.3. Calvinism and Teaching

For Calvin, teachers played an important role in the church and the state. Thus, they should demonstrate graciousness, wisdom and expertise in the counsel which they gave. Thus, any teacher operating contrary to those values would hinder the effectiveness of their teaching (p. 78). According to Zabilka (1989:78), Calvin believed teachers should also “be honest, sincere and an example to their students, both as scholar and spiritual leader. Wit and reason were presumed helpful. False teachers were a curse from God upon the authorities who failed to select well”.

As I consider, Calvin’s view on teaching it is consistent with the approach that we had seen in chapter two of this dissertation, where all five Baptist missionaries were integrally involved with educating the people in their churches and those who were living in their neighbourhoods, towns and parishes.

To begin, Liele had encouraged slaves to become educated before other individuals and mission groups at that time, even considered educating slaves (Liele et al. 1916:73; Shannon 2013:1). Jamaica Baptist Union (n.d.) indicates that Liele saw education as a helpful tool for studying and understanding scripture and the gospel. As a result, schools were established by him in the same vicinities as chapels.

Also, all four British Baptist missionaries formally operated in teaching capacities. Firstly, John Rowe was a missionary-schoolmaster at Falmouth, Trelawney (Baptist Missionary Society 1818:46; Masters 2006:9). Secondly, Thomas Burchell was a missionary-schoolmaster at Montego Bay, St. James (Catherall 1966: 352-353; 357-358). Thirdly, James M. Phillippo was a missionary-schoolmaster in Spanish Town, St. Catherine (Underhill 1881:47). Fourthly, William Knibb was a missionary-schoolmaster at Kingston (Hinton 1847:50-53). Altogether, their view of education was directly linked to what they believed they were called by God to accomplish. Again, showing the strong correlation between Calvinism and education.



Zabilka (1989:78) notes that, whereas ministers who taught as teachers would exhibit these kinds of qualities, it was also expected for those persons who were engaged in teaching altogether. Furthermore, Calvin was especially keen on seeing kindness being shown to children who were learning. Morrison & Martin (2017:64) notes that, “William Knibb, Baptist missionary in Jamaica, played with children on the floor, and told them about ‘our Saviour’s love’”. The researcher believes this kindness that Knibb showed the children was consistent with Calvin’s view, and Zabilka would endorse it. It would also facilitate learning and be important for ministers of the gospel to do.

Morrison & Martin (2017) also adds that, “Parenting in early-nineteenth-century Britain has been re-evaluated, with greater emphasis on playfulness and affection than severity...playfulness and religious expression could be integral to the construction of the pious child” (p. 64). The researcher believes this approach by Morrison & Martin would augur well with Zabilka’s view and likely bring children closer to God as they watch how those teaching them exhibited kindness.

#### 6.4.4. The Calvinistic Baptists Educating Slaves in Jamaica

Knibb recognised the importance of education for the slaves. Thus, when emancipation occurred, he would give them free legal advice to help them to make the right decisions. He noted that, “Often I have had persons come to me for advice who have walked twenty miles to ask for it” (Hinton 1847:470). Knibb also established a weekly newspaper, *the Baptist Herald and Friend of Africa*, which was an opportunity to share about the experiences of the slaves and to encourage them to become educated (Morrison n.d:14). As a result, I believe Calvinist Knibb in keeping with other Calvinists who preceded him sought to educate people in whatever manner he could.

Dornan (2019:113) notes that,

the BFSS’s incursion into the West Indies during the 1810s and 1820s confirms Nonconformist missionary efforts to teach slaves to read and, more controversially, in some cases also to write, as part of their evangelical mission to convert slaves. More significantly, it also points to how and why missionaries like William Knibb

went about instructing the enslaved through acquiring and implementing the British System as part of their *modus operandi* in the West Indian slave colonies.

Here, Dornan argues that education was a vehicle to assist slaves' conversion. Moreover, Knibb is referenced, which also helps to strengthen the case of Calvinists using education as a part of their evangelistic tool and the positive benefits that typically result from it. Furthermore, I believe because salvation, to some extent, is predicated on belief and understanding and so the missionaries would have viewed God as have given the slaves an equal opportunity to learn and benefit from salvation.

#### 6.4.4.1. The Success of the Calvinistic Baptists Educating Slaves in Jamaica

Phillippo (1843:207) notes concerning blacks being sub-standard to whites that, the natural inferiority of the negro in mental capacity and his consequent unsusceptibility of the advantages of culture and instruction are proved to be utterly fallacious. But additional evidence may be afforded as the result of repeated and impartial experiments. In schools, of which the writer has for many years had the direction, both white, coloured, and black children have begun the alphabet and advanced together in the same schools for years, their advantages in every respect being equal' and whether it has been owing, on the part of the white pupil, to parental indulgence, or to the influence of climate, or, on the part of the black, to the absences of these causes, or to a more implicit dependence on their own resources, in almost every instance the black and brown children have made the greatest proficiency, and have appeared to the best advantage at public examinations.

The researcher believes it was important for these white Calvinistic Baptist missionaries such as Phillippo to make these assertions when many white people did not think this was so.

Dornan (2019:116) noted that

James Howell wrote to the BFSS that former slaves 'are quite as capable of improvement in mental discipline as Europeans ... in any thing that is entirely mechanical, they are already equal to if not superior to the children of labourers in England...Those Nonconformist missionaries who extolled their pupils' capacity for learning in letters to the BFSS actively strove to reassure their supporters back home in Britain that through a good Christian (and British) education, the emancipated were perfectly capable of being transformed into 'virtuous' and 'industrious' British subjects.

The researcher believes these two cases show how well the children of slaves referred to as "black and brown children" did in their academic studies in Jamaica compared to white children.

#### 6.4.4.2. The Benefits from the Calvinistic Baptists Educating Slaves in Jamaica

##### 6.4.4.2.1 Heightened Status and Dignity of the Slaves

I believe the actions of Calvinist Baptists (Rowe, Knibb, Burchell and Phillippo) in Jamaica must be highlighted here (Burchell 1849:94; Catherall 1966:352-353; Hinton 1847:51; Baptist Missionary Society 1818:46; 1832:399-400) along with other Nonconformists (Calvinist Baptists) like William Carey that did missionary work with slaves in India and other parts of the world (Elliott 2007:54). They were instrumental in explaining that black slaves did have the capacity to learn, since many persons in Europe and other parts of the world at the time did not believe that was possible. As such, it was not only slaves that were benefiting from the education, but people from becoming aware of this truth.

However, they were persons that because of their prejudice against blacks who would still refuse to believe such reports. For instance, Blouet (1990:628) notes that, "In the British West Indies planters viewed slaves as barbarous, heathen, ignorant, black, African aliens, which made slavery easier to justify and perpetuate. To most planters slaves could never become Britons, therefore they would never be free".

Thus, notice the achievements, which these Calvinist Baptists had in successfully turning the slaves in “British subjects”, which James Howell reported that the planters said would not be possible.

Phillippo (1843:307-308) indicates that,

The most untutored of those who have enjoyed the advantages of Christian instruction for any length of time, have a correct, if not an extensive, knowledge of the great and essentials doctrines of the Gospel - of the proper Deity of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit - the depravity of human nature - the plan of salvation, and the necessity of Divine influence to regenerate the heart: indeed, the knowledge of these fundamental truths is absolutely necessary to admission into the churches.

One of the benefits, which we see from education here is how it allows individuals to learn doctrines, and in this case, facilitated the knowledge of Calvinistic soteriology which was essential for membership in the Baptist churches then.

Below is a lengthy (page and a half) but instructive testimony by Phillippo (1843:421-423) on the benefits of Christian education for the slaves when emancipation occurred,

Since that auspicious event, when liberty and hope first dawned in reality upon these long oppressed descendants of Ham, the value and importance of schools have become increasingly apparent. The knowledge they conveyed was the knowledge of the Scriptures the knowledge of light and truth. Thousands of coloured and black children have drunk at these living streams: while the most salutary habits of virtue were planted and confirmed. The multiplied blessings which they have been the means of communicating compel the beholder to exclaim with astonishment and gratitude—“what hath God wrought!”

Schools contributed in a very considerable degree to promote the temporal interest of the people, enabled many of the negro race to find their way into public offices, fitted them to become confidential servants in mercantile establishments, to become subordinate managers of estates, and properties in general, as well as

to fill other important situations, to which without these advantages they could never have aspired. Nor were the moral results of education less conspicuous. It inspired feelings of self-respect and self confidence – taught the people that character was essential—showed them the advantages of civilization - gave them a taste for the enjoyment of domestic life, and created a relish for those pleasures or acquirements which stimulate the industry and transform the aspect and character of society—refining the habits and awakening the charities of the pupils— softening their hearts and restraining their passions. Nor is it too much to affirm that hundreds of interesting young females have thus been saved from prostitution, enabled to form reputable matrimonial connexions, and who are now living in comfort and respectability.

The influence which schools have exerted upon the religious condition of the people has, perhaps, never been exceeded in any part of the world. “They have supplied a large tributary stream to the church.” In the metropolitan schools, where, during the last ten years, nearly 300 children have been in daily attendance, it is believed that full one half have been savingly converted to God,\* while the rest have been brought under an influence which may, at no distant period, become productive of the same blessed results. Many of these are now governesses and school-masters, or assistant missionaries, the latter of whom, in addition to their other duties, carry on divine worship, and conduct various religious services during the week. In the Spanish Town district alone, including female teachers, there are no less than twelve of these pious and devoted agents, irrespective of those who in other parts of the island occupy similar situations.

In Jamaica, schools have already proved emphatically the nurseries of the churches, and to them are the missionaries confidently looking for a succession of well qualified native agents, who shall “prepare the way of the Lord,” and proclaim the glad tidings of mercy, not only in the still destitute portions of their own land, but throughout the islands of the west in Africa, and the contiguous continent of South America (p. 423).

I believe this testimony explains the many benefits of Calvinistic missions and education for the slaves, which was seen, to name a few, in the jobs, possessions, self respect, and confidence they obtained.

#### 6.4.4.2.2. Social Benefits for the Slaves

Blouet (1990) added that, “since education is part of a process of socialization, designed to fit people into society rather than exclude them, it was in the best interests of masters to deny education to their slaves. Understandably, most West Indian planters concluded that education was ‘dangerously unsuitable for West Indian slaves’” (p. 628).

Hence, I believe through the education, which was one of the Calvinistic approaches to evangelism and discipleship that slaves were becoming to be valued and experience the dignity that all persons in humanity are due because they were made in the likeness and image of God.

Phillippo (1843:189) notes that,

Previous to the year 1823 there were not more than one or two schools in the whole island expressly for the instruction of the black population. Hence they were generally ignorant of the art of reading; while their improvement was universally opposed by the planters as inimical to the future peace and prosperity of the island.

This great benefit that Calvinism afforded should not be overlooked, as Behrman & Stacey (1997:1) indicates that,

For decades, the primary argument in justifying education has been based on its direct economic effects. Yet it is widely perceived that the effects of education spread beyond economic effects to include “social benefits” for individuals and society at large. Such benefits include a better way of taking care of ourselves and consequently creating a better society in which to live.

In Behrman & Stacey’s book, there are four chapters by different authors on several subject areas, indicating the benefits of education. They are as follows, “Michael

Grossman and Robert Kaestner on health; Rebecca A. Maynard and Daniel J. McGrath on family structure, fertility, and child welfare; V. Kerry Smith on the environment; and Ann Dryden Witte on crime” (Behrman & Stacey, 1997:1). Furthermore, Bynner, Schuller & Feinstein (2003:358) suggest, “taking part in education ... is closely associated with changes in people’s lives – their health, their wellbeing, their social attitudes and their levels of civic participation”.

#### 6.4.4.2.2. Economic Benefits for the Slaves

Vila (2000:21-22) reveals that,

the economic benefits that education bestows are not limited to higher expected production or lower production costs. They could also consist in direct additions to welfare possibilities in terms of longer life expectancy, less criminal behaviour, stronger social cohesion or greater political participation. Part of the benefits of education that directly improve well-being are likely to be reflected in higher income, but it is clear from the few examples above that traditional measures do not capture all the utility-enhancing effects of education.

Thus, I am arguing that Calvinism, with its strong emphasis on general education, was providing development in various aspects, not only to individuals, but it was positively impacting the Jamaican society.

#### 6.4.4.2.3. Particular Benefits for the Slaves (Women and Girls)

Underhill (1881) highlights that, Phillippo observed on August 31, 1834, at least six of his former students who went on to become Sunday-school teachers. It is noteworthy that, three of the women were previously slaves. As such, women who had often been exempted from learning in school were now benefitting from education (p. 116). Furthermore, when we consider women and education globally, we see that William Carey, a Calvinistic Baptist, as a part of his mission formed schools for girls and women when emancipation occurred (Haldar 2015:7).

Hall (1993) suggest that women and children worked on the plantations from the sun came up until it went down, during the period slavery existed. As such, Baptists such as Knibb saw to it that children attended school and women (particularly wives) were encouraged to take care of the home (p. 108).

Thus, I believe apart from children benefitting from education, which was beneficial that such encouragement from the Calvinistic Baptists would have been crucial for women (particularly wives) to learn and to foster a healthy family structure, since financial support is not the only important factor that families need to consider. However, Dornan (2019:122) indicates that during the emancipation period, many poor black families opted to have their children work to support the family, instead of obtaining an education, since it did not secure job opportunities for them.

Zabilka (1989) notes that, “as the Calvinistic influence expanded, the growth of schools was not far behind. The Genevan pattern of educating citizen and minister together until the university level became the normal pattern wherever Calvinistic thought permeated” (p. 88). This approach was first seen in France, where it had a significant impact, but due to several factors, it was not permanent. Other countries such as Holland and Scotland had Calvinistic education, maintaining a more prolonged influence. However, it did not necessarily have such an impact upon Italy, Austria, Poland, Hungary and Bohemia, where it had some footing in education (Zabilka 1989:89-90).

Finally, Zabilka (1989) explains that, “the effects of Calvinism in England upon education of the very young were less spectacular than Holland and Scotland. England had much greater difficulty breaking away from the idea that education was for the wealthy” (p. 92).

Nonetheless, I believe it did have some impact as I consider the work of Bristol Academy, Hanton Academy and the BMS to train at least three of the four Baptists which came from Britain to Jamaica.



Now that we have discussed Calvinism's contribution to missions and education globally, including Jamaica, let us look at its role in assisting the health care sector in Jamaica and beyond.

## 6.5. Health Care

### 6.5.1 Calvinism and Health Care

#### 6.5.1.1. John Calvin and Health Care

To examine Calvinism's role in promoting health care, we will begin by examining Calvin's posture to the health care system. Kik (1963:83) notes that Calvin addressed the problem of uncleanness in his time. Many towns were regularly riddled with infectious diseases. As such, "he moved the Council to make permanent regulations for establishing sanitary conditions and supervision of markets. Beggars were prohibited from the streets, but a hospital and poorhouse were provided and well conducted".

Therefore, I believe Calvin in the 16<sup>th</sup> century was integral in helping individuals experiencing good health through the measures that he had put in place.

#### 6.5.1.2 Cotton Mather and Health Care

In the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, Cotton Mather, a Calvinist (specifically, a Puritan minister) "practiced some medicine in New England. Mather gained a reputation in the Old World as well as the New for advocating inoculation for smallpox during an epidemic, and for encouraging and supporting physician Zabdiel Boylston in carrying out an early and successful experiment in immunization" (Wiest 1988:183). Moreover, Niederhuber (2014) notes that,

Smallpox continued to be a significant health threat throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, and part of the 20<sup>th</sup>, but the introduction and success of inoculation in the early 1700s, followed later by the much safer vaccination method developed by Edward Jenner, steadily reduced the threat the disease posed until its eradication in 1980".

I believe this work by Calvinist Mather helped to successfully tackle the 1721 epidemic despite the challenges he encountered and attests to another individual who affirms Calvinism that played a positive role in public health.

#### 6.5.1.3 William Carey and Health Care

Haldar (2015:7) notes that William Carey whom we have discussed extensively as a Calvinistic Baptist and founder of BMS in this dissertation “was also instrumental in establishing a leprosy hospital and an institution for the poor and neglected children in Calcutta”.

Thus, we see from the founder of BMS, where Knibb, Burchell and Phillippo were sent to Jamaica had a view about Calvinistic missions and medicine as a means to help people physically and spiritually.

Haldar (2015:7) indicates that, “at that time there was another dreadful practice or ritual against which Carey fought tooth and nail was infanticide. Carey’s role was also enormous in abolishing infanticide”.

I believe this work again confirms Calvinism role in promoting good health care.

#### 6.5.1.4 Peter Parker and Health Care

Anderson (2013:152) notes, “On June 4, 1834, Parker sailed from New York for Canton on the merchant ship Morrison. He went with some apprehension that he would never return or see his family again. He also went as a single man, apparently with little thought about his prospects for marriage”.

Thus, I believe it is clear that in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Peter Parker, a Calvinist was making his way to become a medical missionary in Canton, China. This date was three days before Carey died and when the Jamaican slaves were about to begin Apprenticeship (August

1, 1834) with William Knibb, Thomas Burchell and James Phillippo actively engaged in the missions' work.

Wiest (1988:189) indicated that,

Reformed concern for health manifested itself throughout the world from the beginning of the "Great Century" in missions. Peter Parker, one of the early missionaries sent out by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions established an eye clinic in Canton, China. Medical missionaries, men and women, became heroes and heroines of the cause, and American philanthropists satisfied charitable impulses by funding this kind of work.

Thus, Wiest (1988:189) confirms that Calvinists had been actively engaged in missions work and medicine from early in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

#### 6.5.1.5 Thomas Burchell and Health Care

Regarding, Burchell's medical work we have Catherall (1966: 361-362) stating that,

Burchell spent a considerable amount of time, energy, and resources caring for the sick. This demand on him increased when emancipation occurred, as many medical doctors left Jamaica after formerly working on the estates. Therefore, the care of negroes who were ill was left to those who were deeply concerned about them. As a result, this involuntarily caused Burchell to attend to them. He was already overworked. Thus, he established a dispensary in Mount Carey, which both served their health needs and his. This healthcare establishment would likely have been one of the earliest places where 'free health services' were recorded. It had between two and three thousand negroes that yearly received free healthcare services there. Burchell applied his knowledge of Chemistry to make his resins, tincture, and so forth. However, it still was costly. He also performed surgeries because of his knowledge of physiology and anatomy. He eventually trained others to apply dressings to wounds, and so forth.

Catherall also noted that Burchell had “a practical interest in medicine and the training of dispensary nurses” (1994:299).

Therefore, from these two quotes from Catherall, we see that Burchell, who was one of the five Calvinistic Baptist missionaries under review, was engaged in applying health care to those in need in Jamaica at the time.

#### 6.5.1.6 Calvinism and Medical Missions

Wiest (1988:190) notes that, “Medical missions became a sizable part of the work of the foreign mission boards of Reformed churches”. He also indicated that, “At first, missionaries who were not physicians often dispensed medicine and developed hospitals, sometimes offering care not much better than medicine practiced in the host country” (p. 189).

I believe this would have been the case for Burchell.

Wiest (1988:189) instructively explains that, “the practice of medicine was a means to help in the evangelization of the world. Missionary concern for the health of people grew until medical missions obtained a more independent role in missions as an expression of Christian love even though it was still held subordinate to bringing the world to a saving knowledge of Christ”.

I believe because of Calvinism intentional missional thrust that medical missions provided another opportunity for Calvinistic missionaries to evangelise. While, I had addressed missions and education more extensively, I think from the few cases that I have mentioned that Calvinism has shown to have a positive impact on the health care system. Accordingly, this is one of the benefits, which the Jamaicans received through at least one of the missionaries, particularly Thomas Burchell.

#### 6.5.1.7 James M. Phillippo and Health Care

Phillippo (1843:217-218) indicates the type of housing and living conditions that the slaves had before emancipation occurred which was very unhealthy such that,

The negro villages were, in general, situated amongst groves of fruit-trees, presenting to the eye at a distance, especially in the full blaze of the sun, an appearance very far from forbidding; but on a nearer approach they were unsightly, and, owing to the offensive effluvia arising from quantities of decayed vegetable matter, far from healthy. The houses were thrown together without any pretence to order or arrangement; and, with a few exceptions, were wretched habitations. They consisted of posts put into the ground at the distance of about two feet asunder; the intermediate space being closed up with wattle, daubed over on the inside with mud. In some instances they were divided into two or three apartments, but thousands consisted of one room only. This served the whole of the family for all domestic uses. At night all huddled promiscuously round a fire kindled in its centre; and with scarcely any other covering than women, to wait at table, at parties composed of white ladies and gentlemen, with no other covering than a long shirt, or a loose habit of a similar description... Multitudes were exceedingly filthy in their persons. Some were particular in their diet, and scrupulously clean in the process of its preparation; but with others cane-rats, cats, putrid fish, and even reptiles and animals in a state of decomposition, were their common food.

I believe it is clear that in the inhumane situation that these slaves lived that it can be reasonably assumed that their life expectancy would have been shorter than if they were free and employed.

#### 6.5.1.8 Knibb, Burchell, Phillippo and Health Care

Furthermore, with the work of Knibb, Burchell, Phillippo regarding the free villages, so that Phillippo (1843:220-221) reported concerning the same situation mentioned above that,

From this revolting picture we turn with pleasure to the contrast as exhibited in the progress of the last twenty years. There is not generally so great an improvement in the size, structure, and interior arrangement of the cottages upon estates as might have been expected, but in those which form the new villages that have been established throughout the island since the abolition of slavery, the difference is striking. Most of these are in all respects equal, and some of them superior, to the tenancies of labourers in the rural districts of England. They vary in size with the number of the family. In general they are from 20 to 30 feet in length, and from 14 to 16 in breadth. They are either neatly thatched, or shingled with pieces of hard wood hewn somewhat in the shape of slates. Some are built of stone or wood; but the generality are an improvement on those on estates, being plastered also on the outside, and white-washed. Many are ornamented with a portico in front to screen the sitting apartment from the sun and rain: while, for the admission of light and air, as well as to add to their appearance, all of them exhibit either shutters or jealousies, painted green, or small glass windows. There is usually a sleeping-apartment at each end, and a sitting-room in the centre. The floors are in most instances terraced, although boarded ones for sleeping-rooms are becoming common. Many of the latter contain good mahogany bedsteads, a wash-hand stand, a looking glass, and chairs. The middle apartment is usually furnished with a sideboard, displaying sundry articles of crockery-ware, some decent-looking chairs, and not unfrequently with a few broad-sheets of the Tract Society hung round the walls in neat frames of cedar. For cooking food, and other domestic purposes, a little room or two is erected at the back of the cottage, where are also arranged the various conveniences for keeping domestic stock.

Therefore, we can again see a positive role that those who affirmed Calvinism played in promoting better public health care systems for individuals.

While there was an improvement for slaves under emancipation and the free village system, note that Baptist missionaries over time also experienced better living conditions, which is referenced in the paragraph below.

#### 6.5.1.9. William Knibb and Health Care

Hinton (1847:495) notes that,

Knibb arrived in Jamaica when the average missionary's life was only three years. However, with the collective effort to build healthy and comfortable residences and chapels, the average of missionary life increased to more than seven years. He believed the climate in Jamaica had much to do with their high mortality.

Naturally, much of Knibb's work in the building of chapels, schools, etc. would thus be correlated to this improvement in life expectancy in Jamaica.

#### 6.5.1.10. Unhealthy Living Conditions During Slavery & Apprenticeship in Jamaica

While, I referenced the living conditions of the slaves during slavery in Jamaica, I believe it is essential to mention what working under slavery meant for individuals to show how unhealthy it was. As such, Phillippo (1843:159-160) notes concerning work in slavery that,

Their labour, under the fervent heat of a tropical sun, was indeed cruelly excessive, sufficient, during a comparatively short period of time, to expend the vigour and exhaust the spirits of the strongest and most energetic frame, inasmuch as they had to perform by manual operation those processes which, in every other country, are performed by horses, oxen, and machinery. In thousands of instances did it induce exhaustion and weakness, sickness, and premature death, facts of which no question can be entertained, it having been proved to a demonstration that the destruction of human life in those islands where sugar is most cultivated has been going on at a rate which, were it generally to prevail, would depopulate the earth in half a century.

Even the mental health and morals of slaves were severely impacted by the slave owners and those in authority. For instance, Phillippo (1843: 157) reports that,

Not only did the task-master torture the bodies of his vassals by the whip, but he also corrupted their morals by his licentiousness. There was no law either to guard the chastity of a female slave, or to avenge any insult that might be offered to her violated honour. Nay more, the simple expression of nature on the part of a slave as he witnessed the ruin of his wife, his mother, or his daughter by any of the white fraternity, was legally prohibited, and an attempt to protect them might be punishable with death. Thus, as they had no protection in their domestic intercourse, so neither had they any security in their sympathies and sorrows. They were subject to punishment at all times, which was inflicted by various legalized instruments of torture, by the common stocks, the thumb -screw, the field stocks, the iron collar, the yoke, the block and tackle, and the cart-whip.

Some of the cases were even heightened during the apprenticeship period where Phillippo (1843:171-172) reported that,

During the short period of two years, 60,000 apprentices received, in the aggregate, one quarter of a million of lashes, and 50,000 other punishments by the tread -wheel, the chain - gang, and other means of legalized torture; so that, instead of a diminution, there was a frightful addition to the miseries of the negro population, inducing a degree of discontent and exasperation among them never manifested under the previous system; and which, but for the influence exerted by the Governor, the missionaries, and some of the special magistrates, would, in all probability, have broken out into open and general rebellion.

Therefore, the benefits of slaves in Jamaica obtaining freedom from living under slavery and apprenticeship would have greatly improved their health in many aspects.



#### 6.5.1.11 Calvinists, Health Care and Emancipated Slaves in Jamaica.

I believe when we examine the magnitude of what Knibb, Burchell and Phillippo achieved in their abolition efforts and their work to get the former slaves to be employable, having better living conditions and experiencing some level of human equality it seems a little bit short of being a miracle.

Altogether, I believe it must be mentioned that the work of Calvinists in Jamaica and beyond have played a significant role in promoting better health for individuals. However, as I have previously discussed, unfortunately, it was some misguided Calvinists that were also responsible for Apartheid in South Africa (see Davenport 1998; Gruchy, Gruchy & Tutu 2005; Elphick 2012; Huffel & Vosloo 2013).

Since, we have discussed Calvinism's contribution to missions, education, and health care in Jamaica, we turn our attention to its impact on the social and economic development of the country.

### 6.6. Social and Economic Development

#### 6.6.1 Calvin, Puritans and Social and Economic Development

According to Graafland (2009:233), "Calvin has not only been very influential in theology, but also his social and economic thought has greatly influenced the economic development of Western society". Graafland believes this can be substantiated when one looks at Max Weber's (1958) work, where he argued that Calvinism had fostered a spirit or ethic that influenced capitalism and began the process of actively putting in place how free labour should be rationally organised (p. 233). Tawney (1998:xxxii-xxxviii) notes that the basis of Weber's argument was put together specifically from the Puritans who affirmed Calvinism and came later in history. Nonetheless, Calvin's views and literature on the economy may also provide some grounds to justifying capitalism.

Thus, I believe Calvinism, whether directly or indirectly, may be credited with promoting social and economic development on an international level to some extent.

#### 6.6.1.1. Calvin's Capitalistic Spirit, Business Ethics and Economic Development

Tawney (1998:102-132) suggests that Calvin,

was not suspicious of the capitalistic spirit of entrepreneurship and acknowledged the need for capital, credit and trade. Also providers of capital have a useful function in society. By relating the prohibition of interest in the Bible to the context of the economy of Old Israel, he provided a way to legitimize the role of money and interest in the economy of his days. Calvin's position on lending at interest is therefore often considered a turning point in the economic history of the West.

As a result, it seems that Calvin did at least positively impact social and economic development in the West by encouraging investments and savings through the appropriate use of interest rates.

Gordon (2010:39) notes that,

Calvin argued for moderation in business ethics. Lending and profit-making should be permitted only insofar as they were useful, never simply to build personal wealth. All of this fell within his understanding of work and labor as vocations. In performing useful work a person served both God and humanity, and the rewards should be commensurate.

I do believe Calvin's approach is wise, as many businesses which give loans are seeking to maximise profits and it may be to the detriment of those on the receiving end who desire assistance, but do not have sufficient capital and thus need to borrow a loan at a particular interest rate. However, if the interest rate is too high, then it would not be prudent and profitable for them.

### 6.6.1.2. Calvinism, Capitalism and Economic Development

It is noteworthy that Gordon (2010:39) suggest regarding Weber that,

The broad outlines of the argument are familiar, though more often than not crudely caricatured. Weber was a subtle and perceptive student of history, theology, and economics. He never argued for a simple causal relationship between Protestantism and capitalism. Rather he identified the ways in which Calvinism contained a “spirit” or “ethic” that made possible the rise of capitalism and granted it legitimacy.

I agree with Gordon here. Moreover, I disagree with some of Weber’s thesis, for instance, regarding predestination and how it led to pious individuals becoming rich and successful compared to those who did not reflect this piety and them being poor and unsuccessful. This observation is not always true (see Benedict 2004:540). Furthermore, Kahl (2005:107) argues that Calvinists based on Weber’s thesis despised the poor and penalised them. However, this demonstrates that Weber’s view of Calvinism is either too nuanced because of his survey of the Puritans or at times inaccurate. Moreover, there are several aspects of Weber’s thesis that seem exaggerated and too simplistic in terms of causality (see Benedict 2004:541).

Bethlen (2018:360) notes that,

Calvin came to the conclusion that the loans borrowed for business purposes in the hope of large profit would be acceptable that the money owner, such as a wealthy citizen of Geneva, to claim interest on the money he had made available to the borrower in the given timeframe. At the same time, while economy was developing rapidly, he strived to obtain a bridging loan with a more accessible “price”, that has affordable interest rates for the growing amount of those in need of it, caused by the speedy development of economy. Hoping that by using it well would allow them to recover from their difficult situation. That is why he hoped in such cases that interest rates up to 3% would be more accessible (Calvin, 1559, Book 4).

However, Terrell (2004) notes that “Calvin forbade usury only in lending to the poor”.

Thus, I believe this showed that Calvin cared for the welfare of the poor. He was not only thinking about maximisation of profit, which is typical behaviour in capitalism. He, along with other Calvinists, played a positive role in the social and economic welfare of the poor.

#### 6.6.2. Carey, Savings, Social and Economic Development in India

In India, William Carey “promoted the idea of saving money in the banks for the poor” (Haldar 2015:5). He also believed,

the educated well-wishers of the society could stand against the evil practices and support the cause of the poor. He showed that the Scriptures and the social customs should be properly studied, interpreted and applied for the welfare of the society. He encouraged the rich people and the government employees to be sympathetic toward the poor people of the society. Thus, Carey’s contributions to the society are far-reaching and inestimably significant, which will be remembered by the posterity forever (Haldar 2015:7).

Similar to Calvin, Carey had policies and practices to protect the welfare of the poor.

#### 6.6.3 Knibb, Phillippo, and Social and Economic Development in Jamaica

William Knibb secured loans with interest to buy land that could be divided into smaller lots so that emancipated slaves could purchase (Hall 1993:112). Phillippo also did the same through appealing to individuals in Britain (Phillippo 1843:118-119).

#### 6.6.4. Liele, Gender Equality and Social and Economic Development in Jamaica

Liele promoted gender equality (Dick 2013), which is a widely accepted social and economic development goal (see articles from the United Nations (UN), World Bank, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) discussing Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), gender development and more).

#### 6.6.5. Calvinist's Abolition Work Promoted Social and Economic Development in Jamaica

Under slavery, “no legal facilities were afforded by which they might be enabled to purchase their freedom” (Phillippo 1843:160). Under apprenticeship, “negroes received compensation after working more than 40 hours on their plantations. They could also work on other farms for hire, or plant and cultivate trees and vegetation on their lot which fruits and products they sold. As a result, many slaves bought their freedom and lots” (Catherall 1966:355). After emancipation, “men spent a considerable amount of time working for pay in the estates nearby. The people seemed devout, industrious, content and hopeful” (Underhill 1881:184-185). They also sold their produce from where they were able to cultivate and bought land (p. 185).

As we consider the work of Knibb, Burchell and Phillippo to this end, we can affirm that Calvinists have helped to foster social and economic development in the countries they served and this includes service among the poor. Moreover, I believe their efforts against racism was essential to their mission work as well.

In the next section, we will address the matter of character development, having discussed the positive role Calvinism has played in missions, education, health care, and social and economic development.

#### 6.7 Character Development

There was something about the Baptists approach that really impacted Jamaicans. Whereas, this was briefly discussed in chapter 2, the focus will be upon their character development, including spiritual formation in this section. Also, I will seek to tie it to the Calvinistic framework, as I focus on the five Baptists missionaries under review.

### 6.7.1 Character Development & Church Membership

Phillippo (1843:298) reported based on unprecedented increases in salvation and church membership that, “A holy influence is evidently breathed upon the people, creating a hungering and thirsting after the bread and water of life, which nothing but the Spirit of God can satisfy”. However, he notes regarding members being admitted in the Jamaican churches that,

**their numbers would have been more than doubled...** These would have been glad to have advanced at once to the privileges of members; but have been retained as inquirers for **twelve months or upwards, to afford evidence of a spiritual change by their daily walk and conversation. There are, however, certain presumptive evidences of piety by which we may judge of the validity of a Christian profession,** and which we hesitate not to apply to the Christians of Jamaica (p. 307, emphasis added).

So, by Phillippo’s statement, we can see that character development and spiritual formation was a crucial part in ascertaining whether persons became members.

Phillippo (1843) explained in further details some of the things which the Church leaders who were mentoring the new converts or professing believers to do as necessary for membership as follows,

These are generally persons who, having removed their sinful practices and expressed a desire to give themselves up to God, are enrolled as regular hearers, and thereby place themselves under the especial superintendence of the ministers and churches with which they have thus become connected. While one particular object of this plan is to encourage religious impressions, and to induce immediate decision in the ways of God bringing the hopefully penitent under regular religious instruction; it, at the same time, affords an **effectual security against the admission of improper characters. Hence *all*, before they are proposed as members for church fellowship, have been in the regular habit of attending the house of God, and the various private means of grace, and have also been the subjects of special “oversight in the Lord”** (p. 327, emphasis added).

Phillippo (1843) asserts that, “Among the Baptists its seldom the case that an application is made for an **admission to the privileges of membership until after a probation of twelve months at least** - the individual having, during that time, as far as could be ascertained, led to a **consistent and holy life**” (p. 327, emphasis added).

I believe this probationary year strengthens the argument for the evidence of their character development. It was an understood practice to wait for that period.

Phillippo (1843) noted that, “**Such an astonishing change has taken place in the individual character of hundreds of the members of the churches** that their pastors could no more question the reality of their conversion to God” (pp. 378-379, emphasis added). Moreover, he reported, “From the previous state of society in Jamaica, **almost every individual who has been united in church-fellowship has exhibited a most striking change, both in character and conduct, while in many that change has been so great as fully to exemplify the sentiment**” (p. 380, emphasis added).

While, Phillippo was a pastor and observing the change in the people could be considered self-serving in terms of the work he did, I believe for him to make such claims about the change in the people in Jamaica that there must be some to full truth in it. Their character development was exceptional good.

Thus, we have established that the Baptists wanted to see evidence of the new converts’ salvation and since that was done, then we can begin to discuss some of the character traits which believers experienced and how Calvinism may have aided in the development of these.

#### 6.7.2 Character Development & Patience/ Longsuffering

Patience/ Longsuffering - is one of the attributes in the fruit of the Spirit in Galatians 5:22. According to Phillippo (1843:349),

Sacrifices were made by them during slavery, not only of time, comfort, and emolument, but also of property and freedom. The fact that any negroes on estates

possessing a little property were professing Christians, was, in numerous cases, a sufficient pretence for the depredations of individuals to whose power they were subjected. Hence their huts were frequently entered, and the little money, which by their superior habits and industry they had acquired, ruthlessly taken away. Many suffered in their worldly circumstances in other respects.

Phillippo (1843) explains the unfair treatment of a new convert and her resolve to undergo severe hardship for her newfound Christian faith. Here is the record of it:

An excellent African negro woman, with a family of six or seven children, who, on account of her fidelity and unwearied attentions to some part of the family to which she belonged, **was promised her freedom, and the manumission-papers, both for herself and children, were actually prepared. She had just begun to attend on the preaching of the Gospel**, intelligence of which soon reaching the end of her master he questioned her upon the subject; she acknowledged that she had begun to pray, and that her heart letter to take up God's work. **The master threatened that unless she at once abandoned all connexion with the missionaries he would recall his promise with regard to giving her liberty. She was immoveable; he reasoned; reapproached her with obstinacy and with a want of natural affection for her children. She wept, but remained steadfast.** He gave her a few days to consider his determination. She carried her case to God and to her minister. At the conclusion of the specified time she was again ushered into the presence of her master. The writings were exhibited, and the terms again proposed. She had prepared herself for the result, and replied with tears, and an almost bursting heart, **“Massa, me want de free, but me cannot deny me Saviour”**. The master was enraged, and **commanded her to take the papers and put them into the fire. She did so, and superintended the flames until they were consumed to ashes** (p. 353, emphasis added).

I believe this is a case where a professing new believer decided to experience longsuffering by not denying the Christ that had saved her. As such, she and her family chose to remain slaves, despite the opportunity of their freedom.



**Satisfactory to every real Christian as must be such evidences of the real piety of our Jamaica churches**, there is yet another to be added which is perhaps still more interesting and decisive. **Thousands have proved the sincerity of their profession, and the firmness of their confidence, on the day of affliction and in the hour of death.** These are seasons when the reality of religion is brought to the test, and no where is it more severely tested than in a land where sickness so often terminates fatally, and with so little warning. **The experience and conduct of Christian negroes and their descendants under such circumstances have been truly astonishing. Their uniform calmness, their patience, their resignation, their deep spirituality of mind, their ardent relish for holy conversation—all indicate the existence of divine and holy principle** (Phillippo 1843:403, emphasis added).

Therefore, Phillippo believed many of the slaves were true believers based on the long suffering and patience they exhibited in the midst of persecution, and affliction.

Smethurst (2012) suggests that if one is a Calvinistic pastor, then they would affirm God's sovereignty and this would be reflective in their prayer and actions, including how they patiently wait for God to bring His plans to pass.

I believe this was the posture of the five Baptist missionaries under review, and that providence fuelled their patience in Missions, which is another good trait to have.

DeYoung (2015:61) argues that, "If we are ever going to make a difference for Christ — especially in the difficult work of the Great Commission — we have to become not just senders or goers, but stayers. And the only way we'll stay for the long haul is if we trust in the never failing, always timely providence of God".

Thus, DeYoung adds another layer of patience, not just waiting patiently based on Smethurst which may be seen as passive, but actively being patient as they serve for long terms in difficult geographical locations for the advancement of the gospel.

Partial confirmation of this is alluded to in Stewart (2009:63) which notes that, “in the mid-twentieth century, one could readily find informed Protestant observers acknowledging the Calvinist tradition’s major missionary contribution”. He explained that in 1950, N. Carr Sargant, a British Methodist missionary who was not a Calvinist and served in India, investigated and wrote on the “Calvinists, Arminians, and Missions” and “maintained that **the Calvinism of the period of the Great Awakening or Evangelical Revival was merely showing its true colors when it began to pursue foreign mission aggressively**” (p. 63, emphasis added). Stewart also demonstrated that some persons in the mid-twentieth century saw **Calvinistic missions as including overseas heathen lands, while some non-Calvinistic denominations did not pursue such foreign missions** (2009:63-64, emphasis added).

I believe this “Calvinistic missions as including overseas heathen lands” would require patience as it would not necessarily be comfortable in proclaiming the gospel in these parts of the world.

Furthermore, Stewart (2009:63) asserts that “the founding of the broadly Calvinist London Missionary Society (originally simply the ‘Missionary Society’) in 1795 was in fact the linear descendent of a proposal of 1772 made at Trevecca, Wales to send missionaries to pre-revolutionary America’s settlers and aboriginals”.

Again, this would require persons patiently trusting God to move upon a foreign group of people that beliefs and practices would most likely have been much different from theirs.

Packer believes the sovereignty of God allows one to be bold, patient and prayerful in evangelism (Packer 2012:15-17). While, the five missionaries under review gave themselves to making disciples in Jamaica, it would require them doing activities that opposed the existing cultures and wrong prevailing views of those in authority, thus grounding oneself in God’s sovereignty as Packer unpacks. It leading to the missionaries being prayerful and bold would be essential in the discipleship process.

Altogether, I believe Calvinism may arguably prepare believers more for suffering than other non-Calvinistic schools of thought in Christianity due to its emphasis on God sovereignly using all things including the evil actions of men and women, trials, to work out his plan for his glory and our good based on Romans 8:28. This subject was addressed in chapter 4 of this dissertation.

### 6.7.3 Character Development & Joy

Hartman (2014) notes that, “we forget how much we have been rescued from, and we ignore the fact that we still need healing. We ought not to be surprised when we find traces of pain in joy or beauty in sorrow, for this is the nature of living in a broken world being redeemed”.

I believe this understanding is magnified in Calvinism through how it facilitates joy by recognising the extent to which sin has infiltrated this world and its inhabitants through its total depravity view and the need for the redemptive work of Christ to solve that through God’s election. However, a believer still has to daily rely on the gospel of Jesus Christ to tackle the consequences of sin. Thus, Calvinism prepares persons, as Hartman says for “pain in joy or beauty in sorrow”.

Bartlett (2019) argues that “suffering strips away counterfeit joys. In suffering, we are confronted with the question: Is Jesus enough? It’s one thing to talk about delighting in God when your bank account is flush, when your core team is flourishing, and when new folks are flocking to your church”.

In keeping with Bartlett (2019), I believe the Jamaican slaves in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century would see these five Calvinistic Baptist missionaries’ lifestyles with their associated joy and thus the slaves came to realise that it was authentic and not suppressed by the suffering that they experienced. This realisation would have given the slaves and others glimpses of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ, which in of itself is attractive, and led to many persons desiring to attend church or become believers.

Raymond (2010), a Calvinistic pastor asserts,

The gospel is the Father giving the One who gives him eternal joy. He gives him to **rebels like us, that we might be made to rejoice in him**. This happiness then reverberates through us unto God in praise and thanksgiving. All of this serves to magnify the giving and receiving of Jesus. There is joy in the giving of Jesus by the Father. There is joy in the receiving of Jesus by his people. And it is the Holy Spirit who communicates this blessed gospel symphony to us, through us, and for us, all to the glory of Christ.

I believe the Calvinistic view suggests that God solely redeemed us from sin when we were still in our rebellion to him. Thus, it would, as a consequence, lead to greater joy than other non-Calvinistic schools of thought because of our inability to assist him in saving ourselves.

Smethurst notes that,

Calvinism is (or ought to be) a joyful devotional life first...There is a **beautiful joy in knowing that God** loves each of us personally and **saves each of us personally**, and is willing to miraculously rearrange the entire natural order to do it. He didn't just create some mechanical salvation system, watchmaker-style, and then permit the system to unfold apart from his active guidance—leaving each of us to either get saved or go to hell according to the mindless gears of nature and the autonomous whims of our dysfunctional psychology (2012, emphasis added).

I believe Smethurst confirms the view that Calvinism causes joy on the part of an individual who receives salvation, not from their doing, but God's enablement. He also includes how personally involved God was in the process, which should lead to greater joy and gratitude for the believer.

#### 6.7.4 Character Development & Gratitude

Carter (2017), argues that “All of us struggle in times of suffering and despair to express our gratitude for what God has done for us”. Yet, “believers can be thankful in times of trouble: 1. Because we are not alone ... 2. Because God is sovereign... 3. Because we have hope... 4. Because we have God”.

From Carter’s argument, I believe Calvinism highlights the reasons behind the gratitude a believer has through their relationship with God, and the knowledge that He is also the One who is in control of everything that must lead to the strengthening of their resolve in the gospel truths irrespective of the challenges they face. Therefore, they can be thankful even when they are experiencing stressful situations like what the five Baptist missionaries experienced and still worked heartily daily.

#### 6.7.5. Character Development & Assurance

Medders notes,

God’s sovereignty in salvation maximizes our mission. When we know that **God is the only unstoppable and unailing force in the universe**—and that we are on mission with him—then our hearts and eyes widen for the lost. Far from hamstringing our efforts and **endurance**, the doctrines of grace energize us and remind us why we plant churches: because *God* saves sinners. Or, as Jonah simply puts it, “Salvation belongs to the LORD” (Jonah 2:9). (2019, emphasis added).

Consequently, in keeping with Medders, I believe God’s assurance of success in granting his elect salvation gives individuals involved in missions the necessary motivation to endure difficulty. Furthermore, since God saves, then believers should share the gospel in all situations to that end. In the process, these believers will develop greater passion for the lost and patience to endure trials.

DeYoung (2015) explains that, “Those who belong to Christ are promised eternal life because in a real way they have already been given eternal life. When we are joined to Christ in faith we are made participants in his triumphant, **never-failing, never-faltering, eternal life**. While our sense of communion with Christ may ebb and flow, our union with Christ is **fixed and firm**”. (p. 66, emphasis added).

So, I believe DeYoung shows that the assurance from knowing that nothing can separate us from our union with Christ and that he secures our eternal life is encouraging, and should not lead to procrastination on our part.

DeYoung 2015:67 maintains,

No matter how wise you are, no matter how talented your group of volunteers, no matter how accomplished your NGO, you will not be able to fix any of these problems with ultimate, lasting security. But you can go, and you can promise, in the name of Jesus, eternal security. You can tell the nations that there is one, and only one, who can save, one who can keep, one who can forgive your sins and give you life that never ends.

Therefore, DeYoung seems to indicate that it is not our ability that will safeguard our eternal security. This benefit comes from Christ. I concur with this view.

DeYoung (2015:68) notes that this “glorious Big-God theology tells us what to say and provides the best reasons for going out there to say it. Why give everything you have for a message that is not necessary, a plan that is not fixed, a cross that does not save, a grace that cannot conquer, and a promise that may not hold?”

I believe this distinction is critical. It is the difference between Jesus dying for the possibility of us being saved (promoted in many non-Calvinistic circles) versus his dying for the actual salvation of his elect (adhered to by many that affirm Calvinism). Calvinism suggests that God’s elect will at a point in their lives respond positively to the gospel messages that are shared with them.

Moreover, they will maintain this salvation once they are truly God's elect. These positions, when incorporated, would provide more motivation rather than an Arminian view as it gives more assurance of success for the missionary dealing with people in their conducting of evangelism and missions. With this in mind, DeYoung (2015:68) posits, "The peoples of the earth need to hear it, and those whom God has chosen, and for whom Christ savingly died, will irresistibly believe it, receive it, and live forever. That's why we send. That's why we go. That's why we stay".

#### 6.7.6. Character Development & Humility

One of the characteristics that the five missionaries under review have been cited with was humility. I will use William Knibb as an example. For instance, he had a humility, tone and spirit that was very influential (Hinton 1847:169-170). There are so many examples of this through Hinton's book where Knibb seems himself as a lowly individual that God has saved and used.

I believe it has to do with this notion that God was the one who regenerated him to believe (Calvinistic view) and not as the Arminians view it which is more susceptible to spiritual pride, as some may congratulate themselves (knowingly or unknowingly) for choosing to accept Christ's salvation.

#### 6.7.7. Character Development & Meekness

Another one of the characteristics that the five missionaries under review had was meekness. I will illustrate through Thomas Burchell, who was gentle but strong in purpose and vision (Catherall 1966:362).

I believe that the five Baptist missionaries' understanding of God's sovereignty would help them to remember that God was a vindicator even when there were times that they could have exercised their rights and authority to respond to injustices done to them.

## 6.8. Possible Drawbacks to Affirmers of Calvinistic Theology

### 6.8.1 Intellectualism

Piper (2008) notes,

There is an attractiveness about [the doctrines of grace] to some people, in large matter, because of their intellectual rigor. They are powerfully coherent doctrines, and certain kinds of minds are drawn to that. And those kinds of minds tend to be argumentative. So the intellectual appeal of the system of Calvinism draws a certain kind of intellectual person, and that type of person doesn't tend to be the most warm, fuzzy, and tender. Therefore this type of person has a greater danger of being hostile, gruff, abrupt, insensitive, or intellectualistic. I'll just confess that. It's a sad and terrible thing that that's the case. Some of this type aren't even Christians, I think. You can embrace a system of theology and not even be born again.

It is a sober reminder that we are called to have a relationship with the triune God and not intellectualism. Thus, Piper's warning is appreciative. Moreover, Montgomery & Jones (2014, 141) asserts that, "The doctrines of God's sovereign grace can become divorced from God's mission in the world". This caution means that Calvinists need to re-examine their motives and desires periodically and to see if it is properly aligned with God's mission.

### 6.8.2 Gap Between Calvinism & God's Mission

Montgomery (2015) indicates that he fears "too many pastors and churches aren't seeing the beautiful connections between the doctrines of God's grace we treasure and the adventure of God's mission we're called to pursue".

I believe if that happens with those giving leadership to the church, then it needs to be addressed. However, from my experience, it has been the contrary, i.e. pastors feel that



they have a better understanding of God's mission. Moreover, they communicate daily some of the truths and connections they are making and how it is fuelling their ministry.

### 6.8.3 Deterrent to Missions and Evangelism

One of the claims that have been made in the past and present is that Calvinism's teaching on predestination is a deterrent to missions and evangelism (Stewart 2009:64). For example, J. I. Packer addressed this on October 24, 1959, at a "Pre-Mission conference of the London Inter-Faculty Christian Union" (Packer 2012:11). Consequently, Packer produced a book based on it and explained in the preface that, "The aim of the discourse is to dispel the suspicion (current it seems in some quarters) that faith in the absolute sovereignty of God hinders a full recognition and acceptance of evangelistic responsibility and to show that, on the contrary, only this faith can give Christians the strength that they need to fulfill their evangelistic task" (p. 11). Notwithstanding, Stewart (2009:64-65) surveyed scholars such as William Estep, Norman Geisler, and Dave Hunt that believed Calvinism (or extreme forms of it) creates hindrances to missions and evangelism.

While, I have shown the opposite of this in section 6.2, it is important to highlight that some Calvinists lack of missionary journeys in the Reformation era could be for several reasons. For instance, the absence of trips to foreign lands by way of the sea did not necessarily mean that Calvinists found such activities irrelevant or less important based on their theological perspective. Stewart (2009:67) presented several compelling reasons why transoceanic missions did not occur in the early stages of the Reformation period. Here are two reasons. Firstly, Protestants did not have access to the ships, and so forth to travel by sea. At that time, Catholic countries such as Spain and Portugal had the privilege to these resources, and this partially explains the reason why the Catholics were considered the leading missionary countries then. However, other Catholic countries had access, such as France that did not exhibit a desire to conduct foreign missions. Secondly, whereas the Catholics in Europe received financial support from the heads of state and monarchy, Protestants did not (pp. 67-68).

Regarding Calvinism and missions, Boice and Ryken (2002:19) notes,

Puritans were the heirs of the Scottish Reformer John Knox: Thomas Cartwright, Richard Sibbes, John Owen, John Bunyan, Matthew Henry, Thomas Boston, and many others. In America many thousands were influenced by Jonathan Edwards, Cotton Mather, and George Whitefield, all of whom were Calvinists. In more recent times the modern missionary movement received its direction and initial impetus from those in the Reformed tradition. The list of these pioneers includes such great missionaries as William Carey, John Ryland, Henry Martyn, Robert Moffat, David Livingstone, John G. Paton, and John R. Mott. For all of these men, the doctrines of grace were not merely an appendage to Christian thought; rather, these were the central doctrines that fueled their evangelistic fires and gave form to their preaching of the gospel.

As a result, the vast majority of Church history has indicated the opposite, i.e. that Calvinism did not hinder but advanced the work of the gospel and God's kingdom. Altogether, Calvinists greatly value missions, evangelism, discipleship and people's salvation. Thus, this reveals some of the reasons why the five Calvinistic Baptists missionaries under review migrated to Jamaica.

#### 6.8.4 Faulty Logic

Fanning (2009:5) argued that Calvinism use of Aristotelean logic goes beyond the scope of Scripture. However, I would disagree and cite two concepts such as the Trinity, and the Hypostatic Union of Christ, which would require that type of logic to successfully understand these widely held views in evangelical and mainstream Christianity.

To illustrate, the Trinity.

- God is one
- The Father, Jesus - the Son, and the Holy Spirit is God
- Then, The Father, Jesus - the Son, and the Holy Spirit is God and is one.

To illustrate, the Hypostatic Union of Christ.

- Jesus is fully God
- Jesus is fully man
- Then, Jesus is fully God and man

#### 6.8.5 Racism

While, I have previously addressed racism, namely through Apartheid which was a practice of segregation between whites and non-whites, where some white Calvinists in South Africa were racist and approved of this type of racial discrimination. Recently on June 28, 2020, Princeton University decided to remove former US President Woodrow Wilson's name from one of its campus building. Wilson was also a former president of Princeton University. The decision was made after George Floyd's death which generated many protests and because of Wilson's past racist policies and practices (BBC News 2020). Wilson was a Calvinist (Hankins 2016:1).

As I have previously argued, many Christians, including Calvinists, frequently blunder and have blind spots. However, that does not mean that Calvinism supports racism. It is just that sin is deceptive. Nonetheless, I believe this dissertation has demonstrated that at least Burchell, Phillippo and Knibb (Calvinists) were integral in the fight against racism, which positively impacted the work they came to do as missionaries.

#### 6.8.6 Slavery

On July 2, 2020, the University of Penn announced the removal of Calvinist George Whitefield statue from their campus. This decision was due to Whitefield being a former advocate for slavery ("Penn announces plans to remove statue of George Whitefield and forms working group to study campus names and iconography" 2020).

This wrong view of Whitefield like Wilson in the previous section on racism suggests how susceptible we are to be blinded by sin, i.e. we may have blind spots today. Thus, we

need to be humble and ask the Lord to help us despite how robust we believe our Calvinistic doctrine is and how mightily God has used us.

## 6.9. Summary and Conclusion of Chapter

In this chapter, I examined the work that the five Baptist missionaries accomplished in terms of missions, education, health care, social and economic development and character development. These areas were addressed in light of a Calvinistic framework. While, one chapter is not adequate to report on the work that Calvinists have done in these areas, I believe it was sufficient to suggest that Liele, Rowe, Burchell, Phillippo and Knibb's work in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century was consistent with the work of Calvinists in the past and presently today.

The global thrust of Calvinistic missions and education starting from Calvin himself benefited people so that they could learn the truths of the Bible and have a meaningful contribution to society, achieving their individual goals, while enhancing their family wellbeing, and spiritual lives. All five Baptist missionaries were engaged in ministry to this end.

Health care was another area that Calvin and his followers had promoted, although it may not have had high participation rates such as missions and education. Creating hospitals, pursuing medical missions, and the establishing of more suitable living, working, and worshipping conditions are a few of the area that were discussed. Knibb, Burchell and Phillippo efforts are notable in this regard.

Concerning the fostering of the development of people and the economy, Calvin's view on interest rates and lending, business ethics, and other Calvinists such as Carey promotion of savings for the poor are noteworthy. Additionally, the establishment of free villages by Knibb, Burchell and Phillippo, along with Liele's gender equality would promote social and economic development too.

Regarding character development, all five men toiled to see the slaves and people in Jamaica have authentic relationships with God through the work of Jesus Christ.

However, what I presented in this chapter was how Calvinism could aid in this experience based on its doctrine, which leads to patience/longsuffering, joy, gratitude, assurance of salvation, humility, meekness and surrender to God's sovereignty.

Lastly, I addressed areas such as Calvinism and intellectualism, the possible disconnect between Calvinistic doctrine and God's mission, whether Calvinism is a deterrent to missions and evangelism and whether it is predicated upon faulty logic. The section dealt with Calvinism and racism, and Calvinism and Slavery too. In these areas, I explained that these all had been associated directly or indirectly with Calvinism. However, they have been as a result of individuals who may affirm Calvinism, but these beliefs are not directly derived from the school of thought per se. It is the deceitfulness of sin that is at work. Moreover, Calvinists including Burchell, Phillippo and Knibb have rightly challenged racial discrimination against blacks and brown people, which is sinful and ungodly, and found their ministries to be blessed with the support of these marginalised group.

Altogether, I believe that the work carried out by Liele, Rowe, Burchell, Phillippo and Knibb was partially successful because of their Calvinistic beliefs.

## CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

### 7.1 Chapter Introduction

This research project sought to argue from a Church History standpoint that Baptists in Jamaica owe much to the establishment of their denomination to the theology and work of five pioneering Calvinistic missionaries. However, the emphasis of their theological roots may largely have been overlooked. Notwithstanding, this is likely an 'oversight' in historical theology, rather than an indictment on other historians, theologians, pastors and church workers in Jamaica.

Having given this short introduction of the work carried out in this doctoral dissertation, the next section 7.2 will review the objectives of the study. This review will be followed in section 7.3 by tracing the argument that was made throughout the thesis. Section 7.4 will present a discussion of the findings regarding the research questions. In section 7.5, we shall consider the contributions of the findings to Jamaican Baptist history. Section 7.6 and 7.7 offer a concluding set of reflections on the significance of the research process and findings.

### 7.2 A Review of the Objectives

In the introduction of this doctoral thesis (chapter 1), the research problem was stated as follows: *Despite the worldwide recognition of the pioneering work of Baptist missionaries in Jamaica, namely George Liele and the BMS individuals such as John Rowe, William Knibb, James M. Phillippo, and Thomas Burchell from England during the 18th and 19th century in Jamaica there has been virtually no extensive study of their collective theological position (s). In addition, no one has conducted a scholarly examination of the commonalities and differences of these missionaries' theologies. It was posited that these five missionaries' theologies could be distilled into the system of Calvinistic Baptist theology.*

Thus, the primary objective of the study was to examine the lives of five<sup>40</sup> pioneering Baptist missionaries (George Liele, John Rowe, Thomas Burchell, James Phillippo and William Knibb) who came to Jamaica between 1782 and 1879, which the researcher believed were Calvinists. As a result, the purpose was to present credible evidence that these men were Calvinists and see how Jamaican Baptists might benefit from that knowledge.

There were three secondary objectives, with a chapter each devoted to the first objective and two chapters each to the second and third objectives. Hence, the main goal was broken down into three smaller ones:

- 1 To explain Calvinist Baptist theology, and how prevalent was it between 1782 and 1879. This objective was achieved in chapter 3.
- 2 To inform Jamaican Baptists about their Calvinistic origin. This objective was achieved in chapters 4 and 5.
- 3 To highlight the contribution(s) of Calvinist Baptists. This objective was achieved in chapters 2 and 6.

Having reviewed the primary and secondary objectives of this research with the brief explanation that they were successfully achieved in this section, then our attention will be placed on tracing the argument in section 7.2, which is next.

### 7.3 Tracing the Argument

The study argued that *Liele, Rowe, Knibb, Phillippo, and Burchell were likely Calvinists and their significant contributions between 1782 and 1879 in Jamaica might be partly due to them having Calvinistic views.*

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<sup>40</sup> This research would typically have been to examine the population, i.e. the lives of all Calvinist Baptist missionaries who arrived and worked in Jamaica between 1782 and 1879. However, the researcher chose to limit the study based on reasons given in sections 1.3.1 and 1.10.

Three key research questions were designed to examine our central claim, and they correspond to our primary and second objectives as well. They were as follows:

1. *What was the contribution of Liele, Rowe, Knibb, Phillippo, and Burchell between 1782 and 1879 in Jamaica?* This question was addressed in chapter 2.
2. *What is Calvinistic baptistic theology and how prevalent was it between 1782 and 1879?* This question was addressed in chapter 3.
3. *What supporting evidence exists for these five Baptist missionaries being Calvinistic and it possibly influencing their accomplishments?* This question was addressed in chapters 4, 5 and 6. The reason for this was that in answering key question 3, the following topics were covered and it was prudent to devote a chapter each based on the volume of information:
  - a. God's sovereignty and providence in chapter 4
  - b. God's providence in salvation in chapter 5
  - c. Missions, education, social and economic development, and character development in chapter 6.

Altogether, in answering the three key questions, the primary and secondary objectives were achieved as well.

In keeping with the goal of the research project, the approach which was best suited after much discussion and careful investigation was a historical-theological methodology (Busha and Harter 1980:91; Vann 2020). This method was selected due to the thesis' emphasis on history (namely, Church History) and theology (particularly, Calvinism). However, a deductive approach to theological reasoning was also chosen to supplement the primary research method, since it would aid in examining the central claim of the study that the Baptists were Calvinists and their theology having an impact on their work (Osborne 1991: 297). The deductive method was believed to facilitate a level of objectivity that promotes credibility (Corcoran 1989:18; Tucker 2009:93).



Regarding the historical-theological methodology, this doctoral study was undertaken to inform the Jamaican Church, Baptists mainly, that there are areas to their history, such as, its Calvinistic theological underpinning that was more prevalent in the denomination during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century than now. Moreover, an examination of the five pioneering Baptist missionaries' lives in the past (history) involved the observation of the relationship between their theology and work, which is not often factored in when discussing and learning from them.

This project commenced with the notion that there has not been any previous collective study of Calvinistic Baptist missions for the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century in Jamaica. Therefore, most Jamaican Baptist believers would not have known about their Calvinist roots today, out of there not being sufficient existing material or extensive research to inform them of the same. Altogether, all of this information was taken into consideration when this doctoral thesis was being conducted.

After tracing the argument for the research project here, we will turn next to a discussion of the findings regarding the research questions which will be discussed in section 7.2.4.

#### 7.4 A Discussion of the Findings Regarding the Research Questions

In this section, we will provide a summary of the major observations concerning the research questions.

##### 7.4.1. Summary of Major Observations

As discussed in section 7.3, the first research question being, “*what was the contribution of Liele, Rowe, Knibb, Phillippo, and Burchell between 1782 and 1879 in Jamaica?*”, was addressed in chapter 2.

It was concluded that the accomplishments of Liele (Gayle 1982:22,35-36; Pugh 2007:368; Lawson 2013:118; Russell 2013:9-11; Friday 2017:93, 95), Rowe (Baptist Missionary Society 1818:45-47; Masters 2006:9), Phillippo (Underhill 1881:42,46-48;53-55, 72-73, 77, 93-95, 103-107,111-117,125-131, 146, 183-185, 274, 304-306, 321-323, 399-400, 431, 434-436; Dick 2002:34; Hayden 2003; Prestwidge n.d.), Burchell (Burchell 1849:285, 380; Catherall 1966:352-358, 361-362; Hall 2002:98) and Knibb (Hinton 1847:50-70, 136-137, 144, 151-152, 199, 226, 295, 358, 421-422, 477, 500, 549-550; Besson 2011:322) as five Baptist missionaries in pioneering and building the Baptists' witness in Jamaica were significant and should be recognised.

The research project demonstrated that they all taught church and non-church related matters, promoted education and shared the gospel in various ways (Baptist Missionary Society 1818:46; Burchell 1849:59, 380; Underhill 1881:434-436; Gayle 1982:35; Van Broekhoven 2013:26, 31; Jamaica Baptist Union n.d). However, Phillippo, Burchell and Knibb were the ones who were primarily involved in the abolition work out of the five missionaries under review, and they did play a crucial role altogether and found success in their efforts (Hinton 1847:136-137, 144, 151-152, 295; Catherall 1966:349-350; Bisnauth 1989:135; Hall 1993:104; 2002:86-88; Masters 2006:29). Notwithstanding, Eric Williams has suggested that slavery was becoming more outdated and less profitable in light of industrialisation in Britain. Thus economics contributed to the abolition of slavery as well (Williams 1994:169-177). However, I do not believe that negates the abolition work carried out by Phillippo, Burchell and Knibb, and the assistance they gave to former slaves to live effectively independently when slavery was abolished (Phillippo 1843:220-221; Hinton 1847:299-300; Underhill 1881:184-185; BMS World Mission n.d).

These five missionaries also helped native Jamaicans to better comprehend their value as human beings bearing the image of God (Baptist Missionary Society 1818:46; 1832:399-400; Phillippo 1843:421-423; Hinton 1847:51, 284-285; Burchell 1849:94; Catherall 1966:352-353). Notwithstanding, their actions may not have always been noble, i.e. with the right motives (Scott 2018). Nevertheless, they, generally, wanted to make a difference and to provide assistance to Jamaicans despite being foreigners themselves.

As shown in section 7.3, the second research question being, “*what is Calvinistic Baptist theology and how prevalent was it between 1782 and 1879*”, was addressed in chapter 3. Here, it was observed that from early in the history of the Baptist church that there were two major strands of theology pertaining to Arminianism and Calvinism (Driggers 2013:33; McBeth 2013:68-69; Chute et al. 2015:13-16). Moreover, these two theological schools of thought had continued being embraced globally by Baptists, including the period of the doctoral thesis under review (Stewart 2009:78; Driggers 2013:33-35; Van Broekhoven 2013:28; Chute et al. 2015:6; Morden 2016:76-78, 89, 95).

Thus, within the span of four hundred years, i.e. between the sixteenth century and late nineteenth century both were prevalent. Moreover, there was sufficient evidence that Calvinistic Baptist Theology was prevalent in America and Europe between 1782 and 1879 where the five missionaries (George Liele, John Rowe, William Knibb, Thomas Burchell and James M Phillippo) migrated from to Jamaica. This evidence was observed in the Calvinistic Baptists associations (Driggers 2013:35-36, Morden 2016:89), annual Calvinistic Baptist registers (Thompson 2004:62; Chute et al., 2015:108), confessions (Driggers 2013:37-38), sermons (Morden 2016:92; Haykin 2017:52), hymns (Carmichael 2012:10; Morden 2016:94-95) and literature, including letters and books that existed then (Laws 1942:127; Chute et al. 2015:68-69, 101, 207-208).

As indicated in section 7.3, the third research question being, “*what supporting evidence exists for these five Baptist missionaries being Calvinistic and it possibly influencing their accomplishments?*” was addressed in chapters 4, 5 and 6. Chapter 4 addressed God's sovereignty and providence. Chapter 5 tackled God's providence in salvation, and chapter 6 pertained to missions, education, social and economic development, and character development.

In chapter 4, it was concluded that George Liele (Moule 1962:2; Lawes 2008:370; Morrison 2014:81, 2015:47), John Rowe (Baptist Missionary Society 1816:46, 107; Catherall 1994:296; Anyabwile 2008; DeYoung 2012), James M. Phillippo (Underhill 1881:24, 42), Thomas Burchell (Burchell 1849:28-30, 36, 52, 54, 74-75, 235, 265; Keller

2004:2; Sobolik 2014; Ross 2017; Tripp 2019), and William Knibb's (Hinton 1847:16-18, 20, 28-29, 34-35, 42-43, 65; Sobolik 2014; Wetherell 2016; Carter 2017) view of God's providence might have been Calvinistic. However, for one to speak conclusively to the matter, there would be a need for additional information.

Also, through an affirmation of God's sovereignty and providence (Easton 1897; Tiessen 2000:13; Piper 2019), it would have strengthened them to endure hardship, trials and suffering as missionaries. These men attestation of God's providence and use of circumstances for their good, and His glory would have led them to plan and prepare for difficult situations in missions (Calvin, Battles & McNeill 2011: 225; Highfield 2015:13-15).

At the time, these situations would have included illness, death, imprisonment, and opposition from the plantocracy, as these men sought to provide care to the slaves in their Jamaican churches (Baptist Missionary Society 1816:46, 107; Hinton 1847:16-18, 20, 28-29, 34-35, 42-43, 65; Burchell 1849:28-30, 36, 52, 54, 74-75, 235, 265; Underhill 1881:24, 42; Moule 1962:2; Catherall 1994:296; Keller 2004:2; Anyabwile 2008; Lawes 2008:370; DeYoung 2012; Morrison 2014:81, Sobolik 2014; Morrison 2015:47; Wetherell 2016; Carter 2017; Ross 2017; Tripp 2019).

As seen from their literature, speeches, and prayers was that their confidence and joy may have been due to them having a Calvinistic Baptist view of God's providence (Martin 2007:4-5; Case-Winters 2018:18; Wells 2018:6), but that this conclusion can only be made based on further evidence or information in chapters 5 and 6.

In chapter 5, it was decided after analysing Liele (Russell 1993:9-11; Grudem 1994:680-681; Sernett 1999:45; Holifield 2005:310; Finkelman 2006:189; Akin 2012:96; Morrison 2014:54), Rowe (Baptist Missionary Society 1817:405; Cross 2017:364), Burchell (Baptist Missionary Society 1823:23, 25, 522; Burchell 1849:169; Catherall 1966:352), Phillippo (Underhill 1881:11-12, 307-308, 323; Cross 2017:393), and Knibb (Hinton 1847:108, 537-538, 541-542; Smith 1896:111; Masters 2006:9, 51) including their historical background,

context, literature, and speeches, that it appears best to conclude that they were Calvinistic or Particular Baptists.

This decision was made after we surveyed four theological views (Arminian, General Baptist, Calvinist and Particular Baptist) with their respective confessions regarding God's providence in salvation through the Calvinist acronym TULIP that enabled us to form an opinion of where they would be theologically.

Another observation was that General Baptists were more inclined to be Arminians, and Particular Baptists were more likely to be Calvinists. Moreover, perspectives can change over time, for instance, with the Arminian view changing from their uncertainty about the doctrine of the perseverance of the saints to rejecting it in later years (DeJong 1968:228-229). Nonetheless, the five Baptist missionaries who affirmed Calvinistic convictions concerning the scriptures would not have been impacted by that change. Regarding the doctrine of limited atonement, no discussion by the five Baptist missionaries was observed on it, but that does not mean that they did not affirm it.

In chapter 6, the work that the five Baptist missionaries accomplished in terms of missions, education, health care, social and economic development and character development were examined. These areas were observed through a Calvinistic framework and provided additional insight regarding its typical approach and achievements.

The worldwide thrust of Calvinistic missions began with Calvin himself (Medders 2019). This Calvinistic mission has spanned six continents (Kik 1963:83; Howe 1972:320; Boettner 1975; Boice and Ryken 2002:40-44; Carpenter 2002:524; Cheng 2009:187-188; Stewart 2009:38-77; McGrath 2012:220-221; Starke 2012; "Denominational Members of the World Reformed Fellowship" 2016; Seong 2018:541; Medders 2019; Christian Reformed Churches of Australia, n.d.; Ray, n.d.; "World Communion of Reformed Churches Members", n.d.).

There are several reasons which have been given for Calvinistic missions. Welzien gives three reasons. First, Jesus commanded it (Mark 16:15). Second, the Father is pleased and glorified when the gospel message of His Son is preached (John 5:22-23). Third, God uses preaching and the sharing of the gospel as a means of salvation (Welzien 2001). Other reasons were provided by Smethurst who asserts that only Calvinism affirms that God is the one who saves persons individually. Also, Calvinism gives assurance of God's success in calling the elect (2012). More reasons were also given for Calvinistic missions, but these were in support of the Calvinistic acronym TULIP too (Spurgeon 1993:58; Boice and Ryken 2002:23-24; Smethurst 2012, Montgomery & Jones 2014, 12, 141-142; DeYoung 2015:61, 65; Cara 2017; Hindley 2018; Meddlers 2019).

Calvinism and education is another subject matter that was addressed, where it was demonstrated that there is strong positive correlation between the two subjects. This is also another area which we can trace back to John Calvin who promoted education (Zabilka 1989:77). This relationship between Calvinism and education can be seen in Europe, North America, Africa (Smith 1901:148; Boettner 1975; Landmann 2013:243; Leitch 2015:151-152).

Missions and education have benefited people so that they could experience salvation and obtain Biblical and non-Biblical education leading to better spiritual lives and welfare (Baptist Missionary Society 1818:42; Meeter 1930:96-99; Catherall 1966:350; Boettner 1975; Zabilka 1989:77-78; 83-89; Anthony 2001:21). As a result, Calvinistic missions and education enabled more meaningful contributions to society, the achievement of individual goals, and enhancement of family wellbeing. With that in mind, note that these five Baptist missionaries were engaged in promoting and conducting missional and educational work in Jamaica (Baptist Missionary Society 1818:46; Phillippo 1843:207; Hinton 1847:50-53, 470; Underhill 1881:47; Catherall 1966: 352-353; 357-358; Masters 2006:9; Shannon 2013:1; Calabar High School 2020).

Regarding health care, this was another area that Calvin and his followers got involved with to assist others (Kik 1963:83; Wiest 1988:183, 189-190; Anderson 2013:152; Haldar 2015:7). Calvinists committing to working in health care accounted for less than those conducting missions and promoting education. However, creating hospitals, pursuing medical missions, and the establishing of more suitable living, working, and worshipping conditions are a few of the areas of work that Calvinists did. Knibb, Burchell and Phillippo efforts were notable in this regard too (Phillippo 1843:217-218, 220-221; Hinton 1847:495; Catherall 1966: 361-362).

Concerning Calvinism promoting human and economic development this has been argued in Max Weber's (1958) work (see Tawney 1998:xxxii-xxxviii; Graafland 2009:233). Also, this correlation is also seen when one looks at Calvin's view on interest rates and lending, and business ethics (Tawney 1998:102-132; Terrell 2004; Gordon 2010:39; Bethlen 2018:360), and other Calvinists such as William Carey's promotion of savings for the poor (Haldar 2015:5). Notwithstanding, Weber's thesis seem exaggerated and too simplistic in terms of causality in several areas (see Benedict 2004:541).

Additionally, the establishment of free villages by Knibb (Hall 1993:112), Burchell (BMS World Mission n.d.); and Phillippo (Phillippo 1843:118-119), along with Liele's gender equality measures (Dick 2013) would encourage social and economic development too.

Regarding character development, all five men used their resources, including time, money, and efforts to see the slaves and people in Jamaica have genuine relationships with God through the work of Jesus Christ (Phillippo 1843:298, 307, 327, 378-380). Nevertheless, this section mainly examined how Calvinism could aid in this experience based on its doctrine leading to increased patience/longsuffering (Phillippo 1843:349, 353, 403; Smethurst 2012; DeYoung 2015:61), joy (Raymond 2010, Smethurst 2012; Hartman 2014; Bartlett 2019), gratitude (Carter 2017), assurance of salvation (DeYoung 2015:66-68; Meddlers 2019), humility (Hinton 1847:169-170), meekness (Catherall 1966:362) and surrender to God's sovereignty.

However, there are some possible drawbacks to affirmers of Calvinistic theology, which were addressed. They are as follows: i) intellectualism (Piper 2008), ii) gap between Calvinism and God's mission Montgomery (2015), iii) deterrent to missions and evangelism (Stewart 2009:64-68), iv) faulty logic (Fanning 2009:5), v) racism (Hankins 2016:1; BBC News 2020), vi) slavery (Penn announces plans to remove statue of George Whitefield and forms working group to study campus names and iconography" 2020). Notwithstanding, I believe these drawbacks seem to be due to sin at work in individuals who affirm Calvinism, and not the doctrine itself.

Altogether, Liele, Rowe, Burchell, Phillippo and Knibb's work seem to have been partially successful because of their Calvinistic beliefs.

#### 7.4.2 Discussion of Findings

It should be noted that chapter 2 did not directly address Calvinistic work, but it did explain the work of the five Baptist missionaries. This approach was an essential step as it did not assume that any of the five Baptist missionaries were Calvinists before examining their theology. However, after that the determination was made due to the information supplied in chapters 4 and 5, then we revisited the work that they did in chapter 2. Moreover, chapter 6 while speaking about the work that many Calvinists have accomplished worldwide was aimed at just that, as it compared Calvinists work globally with that of the five Baptist missionaries, and found it to be consistent.

In chapter 3, there was no conclusion that Arminianism was non-existent in the countries and areas identified. These countries were (the US and Britain) and included areas (Savannah, Georgia and Augusta, South Carolina - Liele; Bristol – Rowe, Burchell, Knibb; Horton, Bradford - Phillippo) where the five Baptist missionaries had migrated to Jamaica. However, it at least made a case for Calvinism existing in those parts.



After examining the oral and written communication of the five Baptist missionaries in chapters 4 and 5 regarding Calvinistic theology, it was not possible to determine the degree of their Calvinism. At the beginning of the doctoral thesis, the plan was to categorise these men into three categories: i) Strict Calvinism, ii) Moderate Calvinism and iii) Arminian. However, due to the lack of information on the doctrine of limited atonement, this was not possible.

## 7.5 Contributions of these Findings to Jamaican Baptist History

This research project has shown that Jamaican Baptist History owes much to the influence of Calvinistic missionaries in its pioneering stage. Thus, Jamaican Baptist Churches have a Calvinistic heritage. This doctoral thesis, therefore, emphasises the need for Christian denominations to devote time to learning general Church History and in particular their own.

The work of some pioneering Baptists who migrated to Jamaica have been recognised, but their theology was not. This thesis provided evidence of their theology. An implication would be that most Jamaican Baptist churches had deviated from the predominant Calvinistic theology that existed when Liele and his BMS contemporaries founded their denomination. As a result, most of these churches would be more inclined to affirm an Arminian perspective on the Scriptures rather than a Calvinistic view. This can be seen in the few Calvinistic Baptists churches in Jamaica (Jamaica Seventh Day Baptist Conference n.d.; GARBC International 2011; Jamaica National Heritage Trust 2011; King 2017; Central Intelligence Agency 2020; Jamaica Baptist Union n.d.).

This research project also demonstrated that Calvinism is considered orthodoxy in evangelicalism, and have made significant positive contributions in the lives of individuals, families, communities, churches, schools, and businesses in Jamaica. Furthermore, Calvinism has existed as orthodoxy much longer than Arminianism (Ursinus & Olevianus 1563; Driggers 2013:34, Ellis 2020:204). So, this dissertation informs Baptists and other evangelicals in Jamaica that Calvinism is a robust theological system.

Accordingly, one of the benefits of this dissertation is that it will reduce the suspicion towards Calvinism, since it is not widely known in the Baptist denominations and almost all other denominations in Jamaica. Bringing awareness to Calvinism's positive contribution locally and globally is crucial.

It is believed that this doctoral thesis presented credible, insightful and persuasive evidence for many Jamaican Baptist churches to study the claims of Calvinism to ascertain if the Scriptures are best observed, interpreted and applied from that understanding. However, I am not proposing that this perspective given is the only way it could have been interpreted, although, as a Calvinist pastor, that church is located in Jamaica; there is a bias towards this school of thought. Furthermore, I am not a Baptist, but I affirm much of their doctrines along with a mild Presbyterian leadership structure and polity. Notwithstanding, an effort was made to remain as objective as possible in this research project. Nonetheless, it is my desire that others would adopt this Calvinist perspective because of its many benefits, as demonstrated in this study.

In 1988, Jamaica recognised the contribution of Baptist William Knibb posthumously by conferring on him "The Order of Merit", which is the highest civil honour given to a foreigner due to his work in abolishing slavery (Lorenzen 2008:149). Therefore, the implications of Knibb's work being influenced by his Calvinistic beliefs is essential and should be communicated when discussing him in various social contexts in Jamaica.

George Liele was the first Baptist missionary to the nations, including Jamaica. He was black, a former slave, and had the first black church in America, and was the first black Baptist pastor there as well (Akin 2012:85; Cooke 2013: 110-111). Thus, others need to learn about Liele's Calvinistic views, and the factors that lead him to establish several Baptist churches in Jamaica amid the challenges he faced.

John Rowe, Thomas Burchell and James Phillippo's work had a high possibility of being influenced by their Calvinistic perspective too. So people are likely to benefit as they become aware of this information and learn the theological tenets of Calvinism.

As a consequence of the information from this research project, it may present opportunities for Calvinistic Baptists, particularly those who will or currently reside in areas where these five Baptist missionaries served.

## 7.6 Possibilities for Future Research

It is customary at the end of the research process to obtain results and to discover different approaches that could have been taken. Moreover, new ideas and concepts may be unearthed that could be studied for future research projects. As was indicated in the previous section, this doctoral thesis was generally limited to five individuals to make the work manageable and credible by seeking to provide answers to the research questions and in fulfilling its objectives. Below are a few areas that could be explored for future research.

### 7.6.1 Different Sample of Persons

This doctoral thesis, for the most part, was limited to only five persons, although other individuals at the time were mentioned in it (for instance, see table with other missionaries from the BMS who came to Jamaica on pages 14-15). The rationale for selecting the five Baptist missionaries were already provided in sections 1.3.1 and 1.10. Thus, the limited scope in which the study was conducted was because the author wanted to make a clear and convincing argument. Hence, the five persons selected were carefully chosen in order to best make that point. Naturally, one could do further research on some of the other missionaries mentioned in the table (similar to Thomas Knibb, James Coultart and John Shoveller that I briefly examined in section 1.10 and argued that they were likely Calvinists too). However, that would go beyond the scope of the argument and study, and so it would need to fit into a new (or further) research project.

### 7.6.2 Engaging the Historical Sources with Different Objectives or Questions in Mind

As mentioned above, it was desired to be as objective as possible despite the biased view towards Calvinism. As such, the author went through great lengths not to overstate the findings of the research in this doctoral thesis. Also, this thesis is not giving any claim that the methodology and findings are absolute or normative.

Moreover, this is not the final work that will be pursued. Consequently, more writing and discussions need to happen on the topic, mainly because it expresses a strong central claim and lends itself to many different approaches and analyses. Accordingly, the author plans to do post-doctoral work, and further related research which could be disseminated in books and scholarly journal articles. It is plausible that this thesis may offer useful information to other fields of study. However, for this doctoral thesis, the main disciplines covered within are Church history and theology.

The nature of this claim required limiting the number of people to complete work in the time allotted for the dissertation. Moreover, the methodologies chosen would have been to credibly evaluate the main argument. Thus, they had a specific focus. This acknowledgement, therefore, presents opportunities for other methodologies to be pursued or to use the same methodologies to obtain different information, so that more insight can come from the data. Here are three examples.

First, it might be helpful to see if Regent Park's Angus Library, Oxford, England, might have primary sources that provide additional information on Rowe, Phillippo, Burchell and Knibb. While, the researcher does not believe it will significantly change the drawn conclusions, it might strengthen or nuance them.

Second, it could be beneficial for researchers to see if they can gather more information on the limited atonement doctrine for the five Baptist missionaries to categorise them into either an affirmer of strict Calvinism or moderate Calvinism. However, if this proves unfruitful their fellow Baptist missionaries' lives can be examined similarly or differently to

the doctoral thesis' approach to obtaining information on whether they affirmed the doctrine of limited atonement at the time. Also, it may be helpful if they too could be categorised as being either an affirmer of strict Calvinism or moderate Calvinism.

Third, it would be beneficial for research to be undertaken to determine when there was a switch from the Calvinistic Baptist doctrines as outlined in this thesis to a more General Baptist understanding in Jamaica? Also, examining what were the reasons for the change and understanding what was happening at the time may prove instructive too.

## 7.7 Conclusion

This study commenced with the realisation that the theological background for Liele, Rowe, Burchell, Phillippo and Knibb has mostly been unknown for most Baptists in Jamaica. However, the research conducted in this project has indicated that they were Calvinistic Baptists. The author is convinced that if someone else conducts an appropriate analysis of the data, it would not be unreasonable to conclude that the approach and findings of this dissertation were credible.

Finally, the claims of this doctoral thesis is strong regarding the influence and benefits of Calvinism. It has been argued to affect individuals positively in their relationship with God and how they live out their Christianity regarding their interaction and service to others as well (see chapters 4 to 6). In this study, Calvinism has also been reported to positively impact the socio-economic factors for individuals in terms of their education, income, and employment too (see chapter 2 and 6). Furthermore, it is proposed that the five missionaries be considered in a new light and inspire ongoing research, faithful mission, and a whole new understanding of Christianity in the Jamaican context.

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