

**GEORGE LIELE: BLACK BAPTIST AND PAN-
AFRICANIST 1750 – 1826**

I

George Liele (Lisle, Sharpe)¹ was born a slave to slave parents Liele and Nancy, in servitude to the family of Henry Sharpe in Virginia in about the year 1750.² Henry Sharpe, his owner, was a Loyalist supporter and Deacon in the Buckhead Creek Baptist Church pastored by the Rev. Matthew Moore. George moved with the Sharpe family to Burke County, Georgia, prior to 1770 and in a letter from Kingston dated 1791 and reprinted in Rippon's³ *Baptist Register* says he knew little of his parents as "he went to several parts of America when young and at length resided in New Georgia." He was "informed by both white and black people that his father was the only black man who knew the Lord in a spiritual way" and he himself having "a natural fear of God from his youth was often checked in conscience with the thoughts of death, which barred him from many sins and bad company."

In 1774 Liele was converted after hearing a sermon by Mr. Moore and was accepted into the church. It was after this that he "began to discover his love to other negroes" who were on the same plantation with himself and read hymns to them, encouraged them to sing and also explained difficult passages of scripture. Moore's church then invited him to call at their quarterly meeting to preach before the congregation and so convinced were they of his ministerial gifts, supported by his successes among his own people, that they unanimously agreed that he should be licensed to preach. Sharpe, by this time serving as a British officer in the American War of Independence gave Liele his freedom so as to enable him to preach full-time.

Between 1774 and 1775, Liele operated between Augusta, Georgia, and across the Savannah River into South Carolina where he preached to a gathering of converts at Gaulphin's Mill (Silver Bluff). This congregation at Silver Bluff is probably the first Negro Church gathering in America. It was this same congregation which was to be organised into the First Bryan Baptist Church of Savannah, Georgia, in 1778. In his *Negro Baptist History* Jordan notes that he helped to "reorganise the first African Baptist Church at Savannah in 1778 where there had already been a Negro Baptist Church since 1770, of which it seems George Liele was pastor at the time." In 1778 Liele moved to

Savannah and between then and 1782 he baptized the converts who were to form the second Negro Church constituted in America.

When the war ended, Sharpe's children attempted to reinstate Liele in slavery and he was gaoled for some time but was able to regain his liberty by producing his "free papers." And so borrowing \$700.00 for a passage for himself and his family from Colonel Kirkland, a British officer, he left Savannah with the Colonel as an indentured servant on board one of the ships which evacuated British troops in 1782, accompanying the Colonel to Kingston, Jamaica. Thus when Liele came to this island he was no novice as far as organising churches was concerned.

In Kingston, Liele was employed by Governor Campbell on Kirkland's recommendation and worked with him for two years, receiving a certificate of good behaviour on the Governor's retirement in 1784. As soon as he had settled Colonel Kirkland's demands on him, Liele obtained certificates of freedom for himself and family, according to the laws of the island.

II

Liele's position in Jamaican society at this time must have been, at best, a difficult one. He was a non-native, a black American southerner, free, literate, deeply religious, and ardently committed to his race. This at once made his position precarious as he could hardly be correctly grouped with the local slaves or for that matter with the slightly more privileged free coloureds; and he had experienced a slave society somewhat different from the one he was encountering in Jamaica. Orlando Patterson notes the difference in his *Sociology of Slavery*:

In contrast to Latin America and North America, Jamaican slave society was loosely integrated; so much so, that one hesitates to call it a society since all that it amounted to was an ill-organised system of exploitation....not only were the non-legal institutions ineffective, but... they came very close to being non-existent. There was therefore no collectively held system of values, no religion, no educational system to reinforce the laws....Jamaica was the plantocratic society 'par excellence.' The men who ruled the country and made its laws were themselves the planters who were the masters of the slaves....Jamaica is best seen more as a collection of autonomous plantations....than as a total social system.⁴

At this time too, Jamaica, unlike the North American colonies, had had no war of Independence to infuse the people with a common sense of identity in spite of the underlying problems presented by racial differences and the existence of slavery. Jamaican society was still consciously colonial and clearly divided into colour/class groups.

Those in authority — the whites and the white oriented members of the society, looked to Britain for patterns of social intercourse, for leadership and financial 'backative' in affairs of trade. The local political, economic, and social institutions were all white dominated and were so closely inter-related that it was almost impossible to operate in one sphere without directly or indirectly affecting another. Above all, slavery imposed its pattern of inequality and brutality on every aspect of the society.

Liele was immediately a messiah among the blacks, and an immediate suspect to the whites who did not know him. He was therefore bound to come into conflict with the authorities in spite of his Government House connections. Dr. Horace Russell in his thesis⁵ makes the point that whether consciously or not, Liele had been ingratiating himself with authority even before he began to preach in Jamaica. We shall see later that his "Covenant" was in many ways pacifist so that he was able, through this, to allay some of the fears of the whites.

Ironically, it was the Established church which presented the most formidable obstacle to Liele's work in Jamaica. The Church of England in Jamaica held the tacit authority to decide who should or should not preach in the island, since under Orders in Council, the colonies were ecclesiastically considered a part of the See of London, and the Archbishop considered the island an appendage of his diocese.⁶ (This privilege continued until 1860 when the Anglican Church was disestablished). In addition, the island magistrates had the legal right to grant or withhold licenses to preach to any person other than Church of England clergymen (Act of Toleration, Jamaica 1689).

So the authorities, both civil and clerical, had authority to prosecute Liele and he was in fact prosecuted for sedition when he preached on a text from Romans 10: vi - : *'Brethren, my heart's desire and prayer to God... is that they may be saved.'*

The speed with which he overcame these encumbrances and still pressed on with the work testifies to Liele's own zeal and political acumen and reflected perhaps his community's need for leadership. In a 1790 letter to Rippon Liele could report:

I began about September 1784, to preach in Kingston, in a small private house, to a good smart congregation, and I formed the church with four brethren from America beside myself, and the preaching took very good effect with the poorer sort, especially the slaves.⁷

Later on in the same correspondence he continues:

We have nigh 350 members, a few white people among them; one, of the First Battalion of Royals from England. . . I promoted a free school for the instruction of the children both free and slaves and a Deacon of the church is schoolmaster.

It was probably Moses Baker (see below) who was in charge of this school which was later to develop into the Gully School affiliated with Joshua Tinson's Hanover Street Chapel and which is today the Calabar Primary School, connected with the East Queen Street Baptist Church.

Liele's witness spread so quickly that he was soon able to say: 'At Kingston I baptize in the sea, at Spanish Town in the river, and at convenient places in the country. . . we have together with well wishers and followers in other parts of the country about fifteen hundred people.' Having met persecution in his earlier attempts, he applied to the House of Assembly and 'they granted liberty and sanction so that. . . [his followers] could worship as they pleased in Kingston.' By 1791 Liele and his congregation had "purchased a piece of land at the East end of Kingston containing three acres for the sum of 155.1 currency [100 pounds sterling] and on it began a meeting house 57 feet in length by 37 in breadth. [They] raised a brick wall 8 feet from the foundation and intended to have a gallery. Several gentlemen members of the Assembly and others subscribed towards the building about 40 pounds,"⁸ among them Bryan Edwards, the historian.⁹ This church, called the Windward Road Chapel was located at the corner of Victoria Avenue and Elletson Road, Kingston.

In 1786, Mr. G. Lascelles Winn, a Quaker, bought slaves belonging to Liele's church. Being a religious man, he sought and found for them a religious teacher in the person of Moses Baker, who was one of Liele's associates. Thus the expansion of the Black church in Jamaica began with the establishment of a second Baptist chapel at Crooked Spring in the parish of St. James in 1791.

III

The guiding principle of Liele's church was a covenant referred to in at least two early works as *The Covenant of the Anabaptist church began in America in 1777 and in Jamaica 1783*. The covenant is worthy of reproduction. The clauses marked with an asterisk are especially worthy of note.

1. We are of the Anabaptist persuasion because we believe agreeable to the Scriptures. (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)
3. We hold to be baptized 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 the shedding of blood. (Genesis ix: 6; Matt. xxvi: 51-52)
- *11. We are forbidden to go to law one 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. (Matt. v: 33-37)
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 (sic). (1 Peter iii: 3, 4; 1 Timothy ii: 9-10)
- *15. We permit no slave to join the Church without first having a few lines from their owners of their good behaviour. (1 Peter ii: 13-16; 1 Thess. iii: 13)
- *16. To avoid fornication we permit no one 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 Cor. vii: 2; Heb. xii: 4)
18. If any of this Religion should transgress and walk disorderly and not according to the Commands which we have received in this Covenant, he will be censored according to the Word of God. (Luke xii: 47-8)
- *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 idolator, a railer, a drunkard, an extortioner or whore-monger; or should commit any abominable sin, and do not give satis-

faction to the Church according to the Word of God, he or she, shall be put away from among us, not to keep company or 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 this life, but should they return in peace, and make a confession 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 xviii: 3, 4)
21. We hold to all other Commandments, Articles, Covenants and Ordinances, recorded in 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 give them as nigh as we possibly can, agreeable to the Word of God. (John xv: 7-14)

This document makes certain things clear about the early church community and its relationship to the society as a whole, and appears to have been acceptable to both masters and slaves. The master/slave relationship is frankly accepted in articles 15 and 17, the former finding it necessary to obtain the sanction of the master before the slave could obtain membership in the church. This was at least practical, for Cooke writing to Rippon complained about the tactlessness of the Methodists in admitting slaves into their fellowship with or without their masters' permission. Cooke was already concerned with the animosity that any religious movement could arouse, as 'the idea too much prevailed...among the masters of slaves that if their minds were considerably enlightened by religion and otherwise it should be attended with most dangerous consequences.' Liele was, therefore, "playing it safe."

At the same time, the Covenant also contained a subtle criticism of the norms of the society. Thus while article 14 directly condemned ostentation (which, according to the account in the Repository, could create prejudice in the minds of the owners), it was also stating that this kind of status symbol did not really affect the slaves' lives at all.

By implication, the Covenant is condemnatory of the break-up of families, article 16 offering a direct affront to the masters in a society where marriage was rigorously discouraged or openly repressed.

The Covenant also sets up a system of law within the church/slave circle thus by-passing the civil authorities which it discards as 'The Unjust' (Article 11). The appointment of judges and officers created potential leadership, which was in fact the nucleus of the class leadership system which was an important factor in the organization of the

1831 slave revolt, referred to by historians as the 'Baptist War' and may have been the embryo of the peoples' courts reported in (the Baptist) Paul Bogle's area on the eve of the Morant Bay rebellion of 1865.¹⁰

But the Covenant also includes a cultural sanction where the African slave was particularly sensitive. After deliberately creating a fellowship, the transgressor could be censured or excommunicated (Arts. 18 & 19). The effect of this was twofold. On the one hand the member was expelled from the fellowship and on the other, he could arouse the wrath of his master, who had already given permission for him to join. But excommunication also involved the loss of burial rites (Art. 20) which was not merely a separation from a privilege of the Church or the Jamaican society, but a severing of any possibility of the 'spirit' ever returning to Africa or to rest in heaven.¹¹

This clause is the only positive proof we have of an African manifestation in Liele's church, but it will be useful at this point to take note of what Russell terms the 'présence Africane' in Moses Baker's church in St. James. We might note too that Alston (Barry) Chevannes in his *Jamaican Lower Class Religion*¹² quotes W. G. Gardner as reporting that 'many [slaves] mingled superstitious observances with what they had learned from the Scriptures'¹³ and indeed many whites seemed to have looked askance at Moses Baker's habitual trances — a direct retention of the spirit possession typical of African religious practices. Besides, 'the possession of the Spirit renders the subject free from human discipline and in [the context of] the Jamaican society, it was a reaction against both the Established church and the authoritarian and repressive government.'¹⁴

Apart from the fact that Liele's covenant gave the slave a dynamic concept of himself and so augured conflict, the church as a group presented open opposition to the white dominated society. In 1805 the Assembly enacted a law forbidding all preaching to slaves but it was not strictly administered until about 1810 when a group of Klu-Klux Klan-like planters¹⁵ instituted a reign of terror among the Christian slaves. The following is an account of this terror and the defiance of it by one slave preacher:

Following a period of rebellion and the proclaiming of Martial Law by those in authority, some slave owners determined to stamp out a slave prayer meeting, armed themselves and raided the meeting with the intention of killing all present. The leader of that group of Christians, Moses Hall, was absent and his place was that day filled by his assistant, David. David was seized and murdered. His head was cut off and those white savages paraded with it through the village as a warning to his followers not to attend Prayer Meeting. In the middle of the village, David's head was hung on a pole to the horror and amazement of his followers, who gathered around it. They were sternly warned to expect the same fate if they were caught assembling for prayers. Into their midst rode Moses Hall, the pastor of that group. He was

rudely seized, dragged forward and made to stand against the pole, where he could see his colleague's head and where all assembled could see him. 'Now Moses Hall,' said the leader of that gang of murderers, 'whose head is that?' 'David's, Massa.' 'Do you know why he is there?' 'Yes, Massa, for Praying Sir' replied Moses Hall. 'Mark you, then; we will stop your religious nonsense' said the leader of the raiding gang. 'No more of your prayer meetings; if we catch you at it, we will serve you as we have served David.' There was a pause and the awestruck crowd stood breathlessly watching their leader. Raising his clasped hands Heavenward, Moses Hall knelt down upon the earth just beneath the martyr's head, and said solemnly: 'Let us pray.' Immediately the whole circle knelt in prayer and before the masters could recover from their surprise the voice of the valiant hero of the Cross rose clearly over the silence, praying that God would 'bless all the Massa Buckra and make them to know the Lord Jesus Christ and that their soul might be saved at last.' The masters listened and when the prayer was ended, turned away without carrying out their threat.¹⁶

Thus the church had become a *maroon* or resistant community within the larger society and was employing a method of passive resistance somewhat similar to what Martin Luther King would use later in his struggle in the United States.

IV

Liele's church had been expanding continuously since 1791 and he himself had been in touch with the British Baptist Society since he began appealing to that body for financial help in the completion of the Windward Road chapel.

In 1814 John Rowe, the first white Baptist missionary, was sent to Baker's congregation in St. James. Russell makes the point that the Jamaican church leadership in contrast to the British, was illiterate, old and in bondage — all of which held the possibility of strained relationships.¹⁷ For one thing the Jamaican Baptist organization was not viewed by the British as an independent entity but was seen and treated as part of its American province. Rippon, the editor of the *Baptist Register*, continually placed news from Jamaica with that from Georgia and Nova Scotia and no doubt Liele's Covenant did little to change this as he himself refers to it as 'The Covenant of the Anabaptist church BEGAN in America in 1777 and [continued] IN JAMAICA 1783.' Thus, in a sense, the response of the Baptist Missionary Society to the Jamaican plea was considered to be a response to their American brethren. Russell thinks that it is possible that the B.M.S. had ideas of training 'black agents' for the evangelization of Africa and for this reason responded to Liele. If this were so, it meant that the first B.M.S. missionaries came to Jamaica having already formulated a plan of work in which they would act as *trainer/*

supervisors to an already established black 'elite' — and this definitely contained the seeds of conflict.

What is especially interesting is that the conflict would not only be local, it would also involve differing attitudes and concepts of Africa. As it has already been indicated, the Black church in Jamaica had retained within itself an African connection which must have made it easy for the British as well as the Jamaican church to assume that the evangelization of Africa could have been launched from the West Indies. Indeed the first mission to Africa undertaken by the British Baptist Missionary Society was in response to appeals from David George and other black missionaries who had gone to settle in Sierra Leone; and David George was one of Liele's earliest associates in America, having known each other from childhood.

But the difference between the two 'missions-to-Africa' ideas was that whereas the whites were paternalistic, patronizing and mainly concerned with 'saving the heathen,' the black missionaries to Africa were, in addition, concerned with settlement and re-establishing black brotherhood.¹⁸ Hence when a meeting of the Jamaica Baptist Association in Montego Bay, in 1839, asked for British help in organizing another mission to Africa, there came this crushing reply:

We are grateful to learn... that the churches under your care are desirous to promote a mission to Africa and will rejoice to render what assistance we may be able... but at the present there appear to be difficulties... and we would earnestly recommend you to turn your attention to vigorous efforts to make yourselves in pecuniary affairs independent of the society and to evangelize the peasantry of Jamaica and the other West Indian islands.¹⁹

At the same time, however, the British Mission was willing to acknowledge the difference in social place and response the white missionary and local leader were likely to encounter because of slavery, and advised its local representative, Rev. Rowe, to give Moses Baker (Liele's former assistant) the precedence as befitted an elder, insisting that Rowe should make use of his social 'advantages' only as a last resort.

V

In concluding this study, I should like to examine a few pertinent figures.²⁰ By 1831 there was a total of 21 churches in the island and this figure does not include groups which had not managed to erect a permanent building for themselves. There were also 27 schools with a total of 4,000 pupils on roll between the day, evening, and Sunday classes. It must be remembered that there was probably no school for the instruction of Negro children before Liele and Baker organised theirs, and also that the first school for the coloured section of the community was organised by Joshua Tinson who took over Liele's church. In his report on education, Latrobe described this institution as 'a well conducted school... conducted with energy and system.'

Liele's church had also recorded 1,400 marriages and we have already commented on the attitude of the society to slave marriages at that time.

Even more interesting are the figures representing the membership of the church. By 1836 there were approximately 30,000 members of the Jamaican population attending the Baptist Church on a regular basis. 10,000 of these were staunch or baptised members. This figure is just short of being phenomenal, for a rough estimate of the population for this period would put the figure at somewhere between 300,000 and 340,000.²¹ This means that 10 per cent of the population was already Baptist. This is all the more remarkable since it represents the almost single-handed work of a black man in a repressive slave society. Nor was the influence of these Black Baptists to be confined to the slave period. We have already noted a connection between Liele's organization, as expressed in his Covenant, and the people's courts of 1865. Barry Chevannes points out that Revivalism also developed out of this movement which (therefore) reaches also to Rastafari. In fact we might say that the Jamaican sufferers' civil struggle against oppression began in 1784 when George Liele preached his first sermon on the Racecourse in Kingston.

What I have only hinted at in this study, however, is the cultural phenomenon of George Liele himself. His successful political manipulation of the forces against him; the initiation, building, establishment and expansion of his church; his social and educational programmes; the subtle ideology revealed in his Covenant and his sense of the need for organizing structure and his ability to set this up in the form of cellular units, not easily destroyed, is nothing short of miraculous. But the accomplishment of all this was only, in a sense, the beginning of Liele: he had also kept open his American connection so that by 1803, his original church in Georgia had spawned five other branches and was continuing to flourish under the guidance of Jesse Peters and Andrew Bryan; his friend David George had established a mission in Freetown, Sierra Leone, with which Liele was clearly in contact;²² and in 1822, on the invitation of black congregations in London, Liele left Jamaica for Britain, remaining there for four to five years.²³ Not until Marcus Garvey in this century was there to be, for the black world, a man with this ecumenical energy and Pan-African vision.

22. **Chronicle** February 14 1871.
23. **New Era** March 6 1871 and February 5 1872.
24. **Port of Spain Gazette** April 17 1875.
25. **Ibid.** March 9 1878 and March 1 1879.
26. **New Era** February 16 1880.
27. Pearse p. 188.
28. **New Era** March 7 1881. See also J. N. Brierly, **Trinidad Then and Now** (Port of Spain 1912) Chapter 21 *passim*.
29. See **New Era** March 7 and 28 1881; **Palladium** March 25 and April 23 1881; **Port of Spain Gazette** March 26 1881; and **Chronicle** March 26 1881.
30. The Hamilton Report into the Disturbances in connection with the Carnival. In **Port of Spain Gazette** October 22 1881.
31. **New Era** November 7 1881.
32. **Ibid.** December 19 1881.
33. **Port of Spain Gazette** February 25 1882.
34. **Ibid.** February 11 1882 and **Fair Play** February 9 1882.
35. **Port of Spain Gazette** February 25 1882 and **Fair Play** February 23 1882 and **Chronicle** March 4 1882.
36. **Chronicle** February 7 1883 and **Palladium** February 10 1883.
37. **Fair Play** February 8 1883 and **New Era** February 12 1883.
38. **Port of Spain Gazette** January 26 1884: Legislative Council January 25 1884.
39. **Review** January 31 1884: A Proclamation d. January 28 1884.
40. **Review** January 23 and 30 1884.
41. **Ibid.** February 14 1884.
42. **Recorder** February 27 1884 and **Port of Spain Gazette** March 1 1884.
43. **Port of Spain Gazette** February 6 1891 and **New Era** February 21 1890.
44. **Daily News** January 21 1893. The **pierrot** was a champion stick-fighter, always aggressive and disorderly, challenging rivals to combat. See Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-30.
45. **Port of Spain Gazette** January 22 and February 7 and 27 1895.
46. **New Era** February 23 1885 and **Chronicle** February 18 1885.
47. **Daily News** February 15 1893.
48. **New Era** February 17 1888 and February 14 1890. **Port of Spain Gazette** February 27 and January 12 1895.
49. **Daily News** February 15 1893.
50. For this paragraph, see Pearse, '19th Century Carnival,' pp. 189-90.
51. R. Quevedo, 'History of Calypso' in **This Country of Ours** (Port of Spain 1962) p. 90.
52. **Ibid.** Translated from the patois.

Page 58 **GEORGE LIELE: BLACK BAPTIST AND PAN-AFRICANIST 1750 - 1826 —**
 Beverley Brown

1. George was called Sharpe after his owner Henry Sharpe and Liele or Lisle after his father. His letters are signed L-i-e-l-e. See **Baptist Annual Register 1798-1801** p. 332.

2. Edward Holmes' estimate. See **Baptist Quarterly** vol. xx.
3. John Rippon was a British Baptist and editor of the **Baptist Register** in London.
4. Orlando Patterson, **The sociology of slavery** (London 1967), p. 70.
5. Horace Russell, 'The missionary outreach of the West Indian Church to West Africa in the nineteenth century...' Ph.D. thesis University of Oxford, 1972.
6. Thomas Coke, **A history of the West Indies**, Vol. i (1808), pp. 403-4.
7. 'An account of several Baptist Churches....' in **Journal of Negro History**. Vol. 1, Jan. 1916, p. 71.
8. **Baptist annual register** 1790-3.
9. See, Anon., **Baptist work in Jamaica before the arrival of the missionaries**, pp. 332-337.
10. See Noelle Chutkan's article p. 85 above.
11. The African believed that on burial the soul returned to 'Mother Earth' from which it came and where it will be united with the ancestors. Suicide or decapitation was considered an abomination and thus denied the individual the rite of burial. For a discussion on this topic, see Janheinz Jahn, **Muntu** (London 1961).
12. M.Sc. thesis (UWI, Mona), 1971.
13. Chevannes, op. cit., p. 35. See also his 'Revival and Black struggle,' **Savacou** 5 (June 1971), pp. 27-39.
14. Russell, op. cit., Chapter 3, note 20.
15. The Colonial Church Union.
16. Anon; **An hundredfold** (Kingston, 1836), p. 11. A Jamaica Baptist Union publication.
17. Russell, op. cit., Chapter 1.
18. See, for instance, Edwin S. Redkey, **Black exodus** (Yale Univ. Press, 1969).
19. Baptist Missionary Society, Committee Minute Book, entry for 11 April, 1839.
20. See 'Tabular view of the churches, stations, schools, etc. in connection with the Baptist Mission in Jamaica' (Jamaica, 1836), Appendix.
21. See G. W. Roberts' **The Population of Jamaica**. There are no figures for this specific year, but this crude estimate was obtained by comparing the figures that we do have for the years 1829 & 1844. Roberts refers us to p. 42 of his book on this. See also pp. 41, & 43, Tab. 7.
22. For a full discussion of this, see 'The planting of a universal idea in the Caribbean' in Russell, op. cit., Ch. 1.
23. The course of Liele's life after 1822 is not clear. He seems to have returned to Jamaica in 1826 and to have died soon after. William Knibb mentions having attended Liele's funeral.

I should like to express my sincerest gratitude to Dr. Edward Brathwaite without whose help and encouragement this study would not have got off the ground; to the Rev. Dr. Horace Russell who opened his home and offered his personal records for my perusal and whose doctoral thesis was invaluable to this study. I also wish to express my thanks to Mr. Olson Robertson who read the first draft of this paper and offered helpful advice as to how it could be generally improved. Especial thanks to friends who helped with anecdotes from their personal experience of Baptist history; to the Librarians at the Institute of Jamaica who were particularly helpful, to the numerous persons who suffered my interrogations for purposes of this study and finally to a long-suffering friend and typist, Miss Elorene Burnett, and Mr. Wray Knight who designed and executed the binder for an earlier version of this paper.

Page 68 IS JAMES' HERO TOUSSAINT OR DESSALINES? — Clyde Phillip

1. C. R. L., James **The Black Jacobins** Preface to first edition.
2. *Ibid* appendix pp. 393. Second edition 1963.