

**ENOS NUTTALL PUBLIC LECTURE DELIVERED BY  
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**Archbishop Enos Nuttall and the Outreach of the Anglican Church in Jamaica, 1862-1916.**

In this lecture I will focus on Archbishop Enos Nuttall's transformational leadership of the Church of England in Jamaica, together with his vision and ideas about the furtherance of his Jamaican and international Christian mission. I will examine how, under Nuttall's leadership the Anglican Church not only over-rode the financial crisis created by disestablishment in 1870 but entered a period of expansion of churches, missions and schools. Nuttall's work also needs to be understood against the background of Empire, race, culture and class in late nineteenth century Jamaica, since missionary work had to confront racial and class attitudes which were at the forefront of the consciousness of most Jamaican citizens (white, brown and black) who prided themselves on their membership of the British Empire.

Enos Nuttall (born January 26, 1842) arrived in Jamaica in 1862 from England as a Methodist lay missionary, but with residual links to the Anglican Church. In 1866, one year after the Morant Bay Rebellion and the year of Jamaica's adoption of Crown Colony Government, Nuttall was ordained a priest of the Anglican Church, Island Curate and appointed to St. George's in Kingston. Nuttall's explanation of his break with the Wesleyans exemplifies his strong belief in cooperation between Christian churches: no doubt bearing in mind that John Wesley, an Anglican priest, never left the Anglican Church.

I found that the Methodist society of Jamaica was so worked as not to admit of their association of its members with the Church of England which John Wesley first intended and steadily maintained as far as he could, and which I had been familiar with. . .With my experience, training, habits and predilections, it seemed to me that I was in any case certain to have withdrawn from the Wesleyan Society as soon as it became apparent that allegiance to the existing Wesleyan organization meant separation from and in a sense antagonism to the Church of England. Such was not the Methodism of Wesley. (Cundall, *Life of Enos Nuttall*)

Between 1866 and 1870 Nuttall probably dedicated himself mainly to the welfare of his St. Georges congregation; though his welfare involvement at the Sailor's Home and the Kingston Dispensary led his congregation to complain that he seemed too busy for them. He married Lillie Chapman in 1867. There were five children. He emerges briefly in 1865 as part of a joint response of dissenting clergymen who sent a note of congratulation to Governor Eyre on his successful

repression of the Morant Bay Rebellion. It is not likely that Nuttall favoured the cruel repression by Eyre. More probably his response mirrored his recent arrival and his profound concern for order.

By the time that Nuttall became Bishop in 1880, succeeding Bishops Courtenay and Tozer, he was well known for his strong objections to “excessive ritualism” and the Roman Catholicisation of Anglican ritual. It also became clear that Nuttall believed that leadership of the Church should remain with whites in the medium and long term. Ironically, the bid of Rev. C.F. Douet to become bishop failed because, according to Nuttall himself, the coloured laity made it clear that his white Jamaican heritage could lead to their victimization through his friends. He became Assistant Bishop. The concept of white leadership was to extend to the Deaconess movement. Nuttall also was convinced that the controlling hand of the British government (Crown Colony Government) was needed until “we prove ourselves capable of caring fully and well for all sections and interests in the community.” The Archbishop, then, as a man of conservative inclinations and an exceedingly practical orientation, bought into the idea that the Crown Colony system would provide a balance between contending race and class interests. I now turn to the disestablishment of the Church of England in Jamaica.

## **DISESTABLISHMENT OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH, 1870.**

The first bishop of Jamaica, Christopher Lipscomb (1824-43), had arrived in Jamaica in 1825 following the establishment of the Jamaican Diocese in 1824.

The Anglican Church remained, until its disestablishment, the official church of the state, from which it received an annual subsidy of close to £40,000. Non-conformists considered the subsidy unjust since the Anglican Church was not the majority church in Jamaica.

Sir John Peter Grant (1866-74), the first, and autocratic, governor under the Crown Colony system who was moved less by dissenters' opinion than by the funds the state would save by disestablishment, made immediately clear his intention to reduce or remove subsidies to the Anglican Church. He ceased to replace clergymen who had died or resigned. Notifying Bishop Courtenay that the Clergy Act that regulated Church state relations, would not be renewed when it expired in 1869 Grant passed Law 30 of 1870 that disestablished the Anglican Church.

Although the disestablishment of the Anglican Church took place during Bishop Reginald Courtenay's tenure, Rev. Nuttall was deeply involved with the adjustment of the Anglican Church to the new reality of a volunteer rather than a subsidized Church. It is not by chance that Nuttall was Secretary of the Diocesan

Financial Board. As a young man working with his father who was into multiple construction projects, young Enos had learned building design and account keeping. In fact, after Nuttall became Bishop he designed several of the mission and school buildings himself. The Anglican Church though not a business enterprise needed Nuttall's business acumen to deliver its spiritual and temporal services. Nuttall, the businessman, succeeded in putting the disestablished Church on a sound financial footing. He persuaded the Anglican Church to adopt the system of "our Wesleyan brethren" to cope with the financial crisis following disestablishment. He raised funds for the Diocese, brought the SPCK, SPG and CMS back on board. Nuttall was also largely responsible for drafting the new constitution and canons of the disestablished Church of England in Jamaica.

Nuttall became bishop of Jamaica in 1880 (consecrated at St. Paul's Cathedral) continued the work of his predecessors, and embarked on some of his own.

The dioceses of Jamaica, Barbados, Antigua, British Guiana and Trinidad came together in 1883 as the Province of the West Indies, which later incorporated the dioceses of Bahamas and Belize. Nuttall played a leading role in drafting a Constitution for a Provincial Synod in October 1883 in Jamaica. The first Primate

of the Province was Bishop Austin of British Guiana. Nuttall became Primate in 1893 and Archbishop in 1897.

The additional burden of work necessitated the appointment of an Assistant Bishop of Jamaica – Bishop Charles F. Douet – who served faithfully under Nuttall until Douet's resignation in 1904.

Bishop Courtenay's (1856-79) establishment (in 1861) of the Jamaica Home and Foreign Mission Society, which advocated the evangelization of the Jamaican hinterland and urged missions in West Africa (Rio Pongas); and the Miskito kingdom of Central America, was an indication that the concept of the mission frontier had been proposed even before Nuttall became Bishop in 1880. From 1874 the Anglican Church also committed itself to a native ministry. These plans, which were temporarily shelved because of the financial crisis, were revived and implemented by Nuttall except for the Miskito mission.

The Miskito kings, some of whom were crowned in Jamaica and who had had strong affiliation to the Anglican Church came under the complete sway of the Moravians.

Since, administratively, the Theological College (which was later dubbed St. Peter's) was at the centre of Nuttall's missionary enterprise, I now turn to the role of the College that brought several policies together under one roof.

## **Church Theological College**

The Theological College established (stone laying 1893) with an endowment of £9,000 from Dowager Countess Howard de Walden is a tribute both to Nuttall's fund-raising capabilities, his English contacts, and his ability to create workable and coordinated systems of Church administration. The Theological College was central to the establishment of a local ministry and the preparation of candidates for the voluntary church and keeping church accounts. It seasoned priests coming out of England and prepared Jamaicans for missionary work both in Jamaica and in West Africa. (Training of a native ministry really began in Jamaica with Rev. Douet's sessions in Spanish Town since 1874). The native ministry would spearhead the expansion of the Anglican Church, schools and missions. Eventually, as a tertiary institution attached to the University of Durham, it provided continuous education for priests and the evangelical Church Army.

Missionaries received additional training at Mico College, also at the centre of the overseas enterprise, and to some extent the Kingston Public Hospital, to provide them with supplementary pharmaceutical and medical skills. Prior to this training took place at Codrington College Barbados. The College also gave this

“hands-on” Bishop the opportunity to supervise personally the preparation of missionaries to West Africa.

## **THE MISSION FRONTIER**

Having examined the institutional arrangements for missionary work, I now turn to a description of the “mission frontier” and Nuttall’s responses to it.

The Jamaican mission frontier was physical in the sense that, following Emancipation in 1838, thousands of the ex-enslaved had withdrawn into remote parts of the Jamaican hinterland out of reach of mainstream churches, or other institutions. The frontier was also spiritual and cultural since religious expression in Jamaica was not confined to the mainstream religious bodies. Since many black Christian converts interpreted Christianity in African religious terms, religious syncretism that merged mainstream Christian belief with African beliefs such as Myalism, conversion to mainstream Christian denominations was often seen as nominal. Myalism had driven the great revivals of 1860 and 1861. Younger, enthusiastic Anglican missionaries who came to Jamaica after 1815 reported that some converts to Anglicanism believed that Baptism was a shield against Obeah. Bedwardism and the 1883 Revival were still to come in the 1880s and 1890s.

The very remoteness of some sections of the countryside encouraged the growth of a distinct hermeneutics, differing from orthodox Euro-Christianity.



According to Brian Moore and Michelle Johnson:

Although Afro-Jamaicans did embrace the basic tenets of Christianity and the concept of salvation through Christ, they did not adopt the Euro-Christian notion that man was helpless before God and could only entreat him through prayer and await forgiveness. Instead, they retained the African cosmology of interpenetrating worlds in which God (as a spirit) along with other spirits, good and bad, interacted with humanity and could be appealed to, and propitiated, in order to influence life. Thus Christ, who was grafted on to their preexisting cosmology, was one of a pantheon of spirits that included those of their ancestors, the Christian divine trinity, the angels and archangels, and Jesus' disciples. The emphasis in their practice of Christianity was on spirituality, not on "rational" morality. For them the true Christian was one who experienced, or was possessed by, the spirits. (Moore & Johnson, *Neither Led nor Driven*, 318)

As for the credibility of Christianity and the Bible:

Africans were "fascinated to find how similar was the biblical world to their own, with purifying sacrifices, instructive dreams, important ancestors, the family with a large and extended membership, many wives for patriarchs and kings, disasters through curses, healing through spiritual power, dancing in joyful worship, and many miracles after prayer." (David Edwards, *Christianity. The First Two thousand years*, 1997), 541.

In late nineteenth century Jamaica religious practice among Afro-Jamaicans did not receive social or theological approval and was viewed as blasphemy, superstition, and the absence of civilization. The toleration that orthodox churches allowed between themselves did not apply to Afro-Jamaican Christianity. The Morant Bay Rebellion, the ruling classes remembered with apprehension, had been preceded by vigorous revivals in 1860 and 1861. Nuttall, rejecting the notion that the African mind was a tabula rasa on which European

Christianity could simply be imposed recognized the difference in cosmology

when he stated:

The correction of superstitious tendencies must be kept constantly in view. There is a tendency among the Negroes to transfer into their Christian associations that superstitious element which is an integral part of native African life, as, in fact, it forms a part of the life of all undeveloped races, and of the ignorant sections of the more advanced races. In the West Indies this often takes the form of expecting miraculous healing through the application of some crude medicament, or the drinking of some bush water, or the bathing in some stream which has been blessed by a native prophet or preacher. These various operations attract large crowds, and are usually accompanied by prolonged religious exercises. Such things are frequently pointed to as evidence of the deep degradation of the negro But I have often publicly called attention in Jamaica to the fact that these practices do not differ essentially, or even in most of the concomitants, from what is to be witnessed even at sacred shrines in European countries, or in the temples of the Christian Scientists in America.

Even while acknowledging superstitious tendencies, Nuttall viewed the African

Jamaican population as having a “strong realization of a personal God”.

In keeping with the original bent of the negro mind, but modified and developed by Christianity, the negro Christian is especially strong in the habit of realizing the presence and power of God in all nature, in all life, in all circumstances. He sees God in everything. (Enos Nuttall, “Characteristics of the Negro”, 97)

Consciousness of a personal God was accompanied by a strong adhesion to

vigorous participation in worship, and according to the Bishop, a belief in a

brotherhood of believers.

The Jesuit, Joseph Williams, attributes some funerary practices to Ashanti custom, and noted the tendency of some Church members to ambivalence.

At times, when they wake the dead, and incidentally the entire neighbourhood, not a few of the time-honoured superstitions will creep out. . .In general, the Church member will feign to be above these remnants of the days of slavery. . .

Nuttall confronted the concepts of Social Darwinism that theorized the eventual disappearance of the “weaker” races that were “unfit” to survive in a world of keen competition. On the contrary, he wrote, the African race was “likely to continue and to increase”. Furthermore, two generations of evangelization had generated among Afro Jamaican members of Christian churches “the more permanent traits of Christian character and life which will be exhibited by Negro people on a large scale, when they become subject to the influences of Christianity and Christian civilization.” (“Characteristics of the Negro”, 93)

Elsewhere, however, Nuttall showed himself unhappy at the “Old Testament” rather than the “New Testament consciousness” of Afro Jamaicans.

While many among Jamaica’s leadership interpreted black Jamaican consciousness as a product of race Nuttall attributed that consciousness not to race but to acquired culture and class. Acquired culture could be modified over time with firm, intelligent and sympathetic spiritual guidance and education.

Afro-Jamaican Christians were not only vigorous participants in church services, but their outbursts of emotion did not differ fundamentally from comparable outbursts from British working class congregations. Although the ecumenical movement started most clearly in 1910, Nuttall was arguing from long before then, that there was enough work for all Christian denominations on Jamaica's and the world's mission frontiers. There was an Anglican mission to the Indian and Chinese populations. As it was the Quakers and Presbyterians were also particularly keen on Indian evangelization, the Catholics on Chinese evangelization. Nuttall's response to the inflow of Lebanese immigrants who were attached to the Christian Greek Orthodox church was one more indication that despite his belief in the superiority of Anglo-Saxon Christian religion, that he was enthusiastic about receiving the Greek Orthodox Lebanese members into the Anglican community. Nuttall, in fact, lamented the artificial division of Christianity into multiple denominations of Christians, for the Christian Church, really, had only one foundation.

I now turn to the methods used by Nuttall to influence the Jamaican mission frontier.

## **EXPANSION OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.**

Nuttall's strategy as Diocesan (1880-1916) was to expand mission stations, financed partly through grants from the SPCK and SPG, and British philanthropic organizations such as the Jamaica Church Aid Association, Jamaica Church Ladies Association in England, the Christian Faith Society and the generous Dowager Countess Howard de Walden. Equally significant was the contribution of the voluntary (unpaid) labour of the congregations and the donation of materials in the construction of the missions and mission schools.

The rapid growth of the African Jamaican membership of the Anglican Church was both cause and effect of the growth of churches and missions. The expansion of the Anglican Church meant the wholesale inclusion of Afro-Jamaicans, especially in rural Jamaica. In 1900 nearly one-third of the Anglican clergy was black or coloured, and the same was true of the lay members of Synod. To the zeal of missionary work was added a pragmatic interest in the expansion of Afro-Jamaican congregations and pastors once the Anglican Church began to operate on a voluntary basis. Thus in 1874 the Church of England ("Proposals for a Church of England Training College") declared: "there are thousands of our peasantry who would profit more by the ministrations of one of their own class provided

that there was superior education and practical and efficient training) than they would be by the ministrations of a stranger fresh from Europe.”

In pursuit of the policy of using Black evangelists to evangelize black congregations the Brotherhood of St. Andrew (1896), the Church Army and Catechists were consciously engaged to evangelize populations that were “outside the reach of our ordinary agencies”. The Church Army, lay evangelists trained at the theological college, was “equipped with a Gazette which was a paper for working folk containing simple Gospel, and Church teaching of a kind which they need and can understand.” (By the early 1890s the Mothers’ Union membership was about 700.) “The Church Army visited homes, distributed Bibles and Prayer books, conducted open air and cottage mission room meetings in which they are assisted, significantly, by some of our intelligent and devout church members chiefly belonging to the working class.” Catechists who doubled as school masters and conductors of church services had some influence over parents and children. For reasons that are unclear the system of catechists was criticized. Nuttall resolutely defended his catechists, and even proposed to identify houses for them “instead of helping out with a few pounds per year for a few years.”

Each cure had at least two mission stations attached. By 1900 there were 96 mission stations. In 1884 there were 92 Anglican churches, 212 in 1900. In 1892 there were 100 Anglican clergy, and 150 catechists. According to the 1911 census, registered members of the Anglican Church were 266,678, ahead of the Baptists, 195,053 the Wesleyans 83,228, and Moravians 36,208. There were, however, thousands who had no identifiable religious affiliation.

Quick to identify need and opportunity Nuttall began to focus more attention on extending the role of the Church of England in Kingston. The urbanization of Kingston (which had become Jamaica's capital in 1872 and whose population had grown from 28,912 in 1861 to 48,504 in 1891) rendered this action more urgent, since demand was exceeding accommodation and where there were people who lived "practically regardless of religion." The mission frontier was extended to Kingston. St. Jude's, St. Matthews, St. Luke's, St. Patrick's and All Saints thus came into being.

The expansion of the Anglican Church necessitated a close watch on the discipline of clergymen, lest the Church be brought into disrepute. Nuttall was clearly a disciplinarian. Described by Adolphe Roberts (who knew him) as a "massive figure of a man, tall and commanding in appearance", austere and punctual, it is

thought that many of his clergymen associates feared him. But he was discreet and compassionate. Even the saints, Nuttall once wrote, were not perfect.

He wrote a strong letter to a clergyman who had conducted a tea-meeting – an aspect of Afro-Jamaican culture – all night in the Anglican Church at Birnamwood. Bishop Douet meanwhile removed from one Cure a priest who had had too much alcohol at a cattle show at Shettlewood. That plus his outfit was bringing the Church into disrepute.

Over the local mission frontier loomed, however, a larger mission or vision. This vision was a commitment to the British Empire and its potential role in converting African Jamaicans, Indians and Chinese, to what he called “Anglo-Saxon Christianity”. Nuttall’s strong imperial vision never wavered from the idea that the Empire had a mission to “uplift subject people”. When Frank Cundall in his biography of Archbishop Nuttall describes him as an “imperialist” he was being complimentary not derogatory. The British Empire that had advanced into Africa and India asserted at the end of the nineteenth century a focus on imperial unity and efficiency in face of growing competition from Germany and the USA. Nuttall



described himself as “an ardent Anglo-American Alliance Advocate and a believer in the destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race.”

The powerful attachment to Empire and monarchy was not confined to the Archbishop. Jamaican consciousness existed but mainly in the sentimental identification of “local colour”. From the standpoint of the early 21<sup>st</sup> century it may be difficult to appreciate the tremendous sentimental value for, and loyalty to, monarchy and membership of the British Empire in the late nineteenth century by Jamaicans. The critiques of empire that did emerge in the late nineteenth century failed to erase the cross-class and cross-race appeal of empire and monarchy to Jamaicans.

The concept that blacks in the Diaspora should return to Africa to bring western civilization (partly through Christianity) to Africa (the analogy was Joseph and his brothers) to bring Africa into the modern world grew apace. Black interest in Africa was also aided by the continued existence of nostalgia for Africa in Jamaica. However, the interest in the liberation of Africa was overshadowed by a strong adhesion to the British Empire. There were black Jamaicans, for example the Burrisses, who went to West Africa. Burriss, significantly, following his training at Mico, was ordained in Sierra Leone, not in Jamaica. So then, there was a link,

which was more than functional, between black Jamaicans who desired to bring Africa into modern world civilization and Christianity, and clergymen who like Nuttall agitated for the spread of Christianity in Africa.

For Nuttall evangelization of Afro-Jamaicans which involved “mental and moral elevation” was **one** step towards the expansion of Christendom, since there were aspects of Afro-Jamaican religious culture that, if incorporated into the Church, would strengthen both the Anglican Church and Christendom as a whole. He did not include, I imagine, the practice of Obeah which was illegal in any case and was potentially excommunicable; but among other things that the “African mind” saw God in all nature, though the Archbishop can be viewed as stereotyping.

A test of Nuttall’s conclusions that Afro-Jamaican beliefs would be modified through time came in 1883 with a new Revival starting in Manchester. Some members of the Anglican clergy were enthusiastic; others very concerned that the revival of 1860-1 was to be re-enacted. Nuttall’s view was that “if it were a revival of pure religion” he would wish to share and support it. “But I see clearly that we are all so in danger of guarding against the evils of enthusiasm in religion as these develop in this country that we are in greater danger of losing the power of vital religion.” Looking back at early Christianity Nuttall thought that revivals were sources of “great social, moral and spiritual improvement”. Nuttall’s critics

considered that he was too complacent about the “outbreak of superstition”; while others considered him not sufficiently enthusiastic. Yet others considered that Nuttall’s patient policy was not working, On the other hand, Nuttall could point to the Moravians who argued that the revivals of 1860 and 1861 had strengthened, not weakened, the Moravian Church.

Alexander Bedward’s arrest for lunacy following the revival of the 1890s was quite consistent with the prevailing reality that seven percent of Afro-Jamaicans housed in the lunatic asylum had been placed there because of “revivalism, obeah or other religious excitement”. Bedwardism which had a strong New Testament consciousness, in addition to its emphasis on fasting” was widely condemned as superstition. Nuttall, whom presumably Governor Blake consulted, informed the governor that there was nothing to fear from the Bedwardian revival, apart from perhaps “immoral practices”. “Bye and bye” Jamaicans would recognize the error of their ways. There was no need to interfere, or to undertake more than the “quiet” methods being adopted.

## **EDUCATION**

School and Church were two facets of the Bishop's principle of anglicizing the mission frontier. The role of Religious Bodies in the progress of education in Jamaica no doubt increased the credibility of the European-based churches in Jamaica. Nuttall was far wiser and humane than some members of the dominant classes who argued that funds directed towards mass education would be better spent on trams; or at best should serve to reduce delinquency and hence the expenses of the police. Nuttall's views on education indicated his belief that the mass of Jamaicans should enjoy all the rights of citizens:

- (1) Education was not a privilege but a right of citizenship
- (2) Education should be universal
- (3) Education should be functional, practical and moral
- (4) Education was important for social stability. "Lack of education," argued the Bishop "could pose a genuine drawback to the stability of the state."
- (5) Education served the needs of the empire
- (6) The best workers were educated workers.
- (7) Education was the modern path to progress for all races.

(8) Education contributed to the long-term policy of assimilation, cooptation and social control.

9. It was the major means through which Jamaicans would prepare themselves for self government.

10. Government must take increasing responsibility for education.

His education policy like his policy in religious organization was governed by his reverence for the British Empire. Indeed, we have already noted that as the nineteenth century grew to a close the imperial centre grew more aggressive in its determination to be efficient and unified in face of competition from the US and Germany.

Earlier Anglican schools that had focused on evangelization rather than teaching literacy were succeeded now by schools that provided a more general education, including skills training, a moral focus and reverence for empire. Taking his cue from Britain— and Nuttall was much influenced by social policy initiatives in Britain — Nuttall insisted that the government take increased responsibility for education of the masses of the population:

What the Religious Bodies have done for the primary secular education of the people, they have done of their own free will, being moved thereto by the love of

God, and a yearning for the material and mental improvement as well as for the spiritual enlightenment of the people.”

The state did respond by increasing building grants and providing lands for the construction of schools. In a strong letter to Mr. Thomas Capper (Inspector of Education) Nuttall wrote:

Mr. Capper needs to be reminded also, when he talks of Government finding most of the money spent on popular education, that the Government finds it chiefly in the pockets of those members of the Religious Bodies whose children are at present taught in the Schools: and that it is therefore only bare justice that the people’s own money should be spent on the education of their children with some regard to their real needs and wishes.

I greatly regret the tone of patronage adopted by Mr. Capper in his letter in reference to government grants for education. He does not realize how utterly offensive it is to any people to have it hinted that what is done for them at their own expense by their own servants is done as a favour and a boon. (Bishop’s Letter Book Nuttall to Walker 25 April 1883)

The number of elementary schools grew from 687 in 1881 to 723 in 1886, to 836 in 1891, and peaked at 962 in 1895. In 1892 there were 260 Anglican schools (32 percent) in the country and 150 catechists. These catechists performed a dual function: heads of schools and preachers, thereby ensuring some control and influence over students and their parents, and gaining access to remote sections of the Jamaican countryside. Fees for tuition in elementary schools were discontinued after 1892, and while universal education was not achieved until perhaps a hundred years later, it became a commitment under Nuttall’s

leadership. Only one-third of children of school age attended school; probably for a variety reasons: use of children as workers by parents and prohibitive school fees. Nuttall, while not relenting on religious teaching, went along with the idea that schools did not have to demonstrate a “denominational” bias. As early as 1883 he proposed the establishment of a Board of Education “with gentlemen of experience and position and representative character [which] should be collectively consulted.” This would avoid a mass of correspondence between each denominational school and its manager.

Under his administration, and influenced by US experience, he advocated professional training of teachers. In 1883 he set up parish associations of Church of England teachers for the training of catechists, and to “improve their status”. He did not object to membership in general associations of teachers. The strongest and most vibrant of these Anglican parish associations was the North Manchester Teachers’ Association operating out of Mount Olivet. In 1894, the first professional organization of teachers was formed – the Jamaica Union of Teachers (1894).

Nuttall joined a group of churches from other denominations to advocate the establishment of a college for the training of female teachers who would be role

models for school girls. The teaching profession, until then, had been dominated by men.

Shortwood College founded in 1885 and financed by government joined Mico and Bethlehem Moravian Colleges as teacher-training institutions. Nuttall was appointed Chairman of the interdenominational Board at Shortwood. Ever the businessman, Nuttall nudged the Jamaican government to expand, not contract, the financially-strapped institution in 1889. Meanwhile he converted the Visiting Board of Mico into a formal professional school board, of which he became chairman.

Enos Nuttall also had a pronounced interest in the curriculum. The Bishop favoured a curriculum that had the practical benefit of catering to manpower needs. This orientation found favour with the employers of labour. There was some success insofar as practical instruction in agriculture, and manual skills were formally adopted in several if not most elementary schools. He thought seriously about manpower needs because skills (as masons, blacksmiths, coopers, carpenters) that workers had learned through apprenticeship on the estates were declining in decline.



The Bishop was also involved in secondary education. He was appointed chairman in 1883 of the Jamaica Schools' Commission (1879). One of the tasks of the Commission was to help provide secondary education in parishes that had none. Nuttall, using Drax funds, established the Jamaica High School, now Jamaica College. He became chairman. The Diocese established what is now St. Hilda's (Brown's Town) in 1906; St. Hugh's (1899) (Deaconess Home School); and Cathedral High School in Spanish Town.

Consistent with British thinking of the day, the Archbishop never advocated universal secondary education, which in his view was designed to create leadership in the religious Ministry, Civil Service and Commerce. At the same time, children with proven abilities should be given the opportunities to pursue secondary education.

### **SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND CHARITY**

While his immediate focus as Bishop of Jamaica (1880-1916) had, of necessity, to be the administration of the Anglican Church and the spiritual welfare of its congregations, Enos Nuttall combined the Church's spiritual mission with a broader mission to address the temporal needs of the Jamaican community. His definition of temporal or material needs ranged from education, to agriculture, agro industry and economic diversification. He was involved in the formation of

the Jamaica Agricultural Society in 1895. He also advocated import substitution and protection of new industries— in spite of the free trade regime. His advocacy of scientific agriculture, clearly influenced by the scientific principles of the day, was designed to increase agricultural productivity.

His advocacy of economic diversification in face of the decline of sugar merged with the belief that economic growth of the island had to be combined with poverty alleviation. Concluding that the Building Societies helped the middle classes but not the poor he proposed the organization of a company to build houses for the poor, run on business principles, but with the cooperation of ALL denominations. Nuttall placed all this in the context of the work of the Church: “It is only in accordance with the precedent of British history that the Church should be in advance of the State as a unifying agency.”

Again In his words:

Let not the clergy think that anything they can do in these matters is beyond their calling: for everything that appertains to the welfare of our people is our proper care. . . Not for a moment must we lose sight of the spiritual interests of the people: but they will respond none the less but all the more, if they know that in a time of stress, and strain, and difficulty we have cared for their temporal things.

Nuttall was convinced of the importance of love for other human beings. He, therefore, obviously struggled with what would constitute heavenly rewards for charitable work exercised by non-Christians:

When the nations are judged which have not had the light of the Gospel and did not know that the poor and suffering are His special care, but who, nevertheless, fed the hungry and clothed the naked and sheltered the strangers, in obedience to the law of human love implanted in their hearts – these souls, notwithstanding their imperfect knowledge and faith, will have the Divine acknowledgement, benediction and reward for their obedient following of the light they had (Matthew 25: 34-40) (*Jottings*, 14)

We have already referred to the expansion by Nuttall of churches in Kingston in response to the rural-urban migration, and the consequent existence of “spiritual destitution” in Kingston. Widows or women with children who had been abandoned by their partners – some of whom had disappeared overseas – were a major concern of the Kingston and Liguanea Charity Organization Society, founded by Nuttall and patterned off the London Charity Organization Society in 1882. It went into abeyance because its papers had been destroyed by fire, but was re-founded by Nuttall in 1900 as the Kingston Charity Organization Society. The board of the KCOS was multi-denominational. The concern for girls was manifested in the Belmont Orphanage (an industrial school run by Nuttall’s

daughter in partnership with government) which prepared girls for the domestic service; and the Girls' Friendly Society (1905).

Obviously influenced by processes in England he was a strong advocate of prison reform; recommended a regular Anglican chaplaincy and chaplains for non-Anglican denominations; he criticized the vagrancy law which he argued should come after, not before, jobs had been founded. In spite of his proposal that Jamaica provide an educational programme for juvenile vagrants and a work-study programme for Kingston's juveniles, Jamaica enacted one of the most vicious vagrancy laws in history.

## **DEACONESSES**

The Deaconess system, introduced by Nuttall in 1892 indicates how closely he linked the Church's Christian mission to broader community welfare. Although deaconesses were expected to cater particularly to the needs of women and children they –under the guidance of two Mildmay deaconesses Sister Kate Vick and Sister Isabel (1890) and Madeline Thomas – became an adjunct to the public health system, by training nurses. The Deaconesses founded what is now St. Hugh's , St. Hilda's, and what was St. Helena's in Montego Bay.

Although Nuttall admitted that several of the nursing trainees had reached high standards of efficiency he believed that the time had not yet come to enroll “native trained workers” as full Deaconesses. Through the Deaconess programme Nuttall sought to develop a corps of nurses, though as Nuttall indicated, the preference was for coloured women:

As regards nursing even more had been accomplished. In this work one real difficulty to contend with has been the prejudice against it on the part of many, especially among the coloured people to whom we chiefly look for volunteers, but who have not been in the habit of considering the vocation of nurse a very honourable one.” Bishop’s Letter Book. Nuttall to Jamaica Church Ladies’ Association in England, 9 August, 1892.)

The sisters established a Nursing Hostel at 106 East Street in 1908, and turned out a modest nine trained nurses and six probationers. Evans reports that 16 doctors “sent their patients there,” including from other W.I. islands, Cuba, Haiti and Central America. It became known as the Archbishop Nuttall Nursing Home.

In 1904 the Jamaican Nurses Union was established, as a professional body of health workers rather than a trade union type organization, with the encouragement of the Anglican Church. The union facilitated communication between nurses and medical men as well as patients who required their services.”

## **1907 EARTHQUAKE**

Enos Nuttall was attending a meeting of the West India Agricultural Conference at Mico College when the earthquake occurred. In the ensuing panic, Nuttall insisted on prayer.

The earthquake of 1907 and the ensuing fire led to about 1,000 casualties, the destruction of and damage to homes and businesses, including scores of churches and mission stations. The government turned to Nuttall to chair the Earthquake Relief committee for the reconstruction of Kingston. Governor Sir James Swettenham had clearly panicked. It was Nuttall that carried out the task of raising funds in England for reconstruction of the city (not only the Anglican churches). He negotiated a loan from the imperial government of £800,000 and received a grant-in-aid of £150,000, from Mansion House £53,395: after personal negotiations with Winston Churchill, Lord Elgin and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Thirty Anglican Church properties had been entirely wrecked or damaged- including the Theological College, Deaconess house, Bishop's Lodge. By 1911 most of the churches had been restored.

Nuttall's contemporary, Herbert George De Lisser after noting that Nuttall had often been the butt of criticism and belittlement in the Jamaican

community, became, after the earthquake “our beloved Archbishop” even for those who did not belong to the Anglican Church. His fame, at home and abroad was such that the King himself requested through the Archbishop of Canterbury a meeting with Archbishop Nuttall at Buckingham Palace in 1911. Nuttall noted modestly in his diary that the King congratulated him on the work he had done in Jamaica.

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## **Conclusion**

Adopting Jamaica as home, Nuttall died May 31, 1916, after a 54 year sojourn in Jamaica. He is interred in Jamaica, near the western entrance of the St. Andrew Parish Church. His son, Ernest says:

“Many men wept for they had known and loved him... (He was} strong in will, resolute in action, successful in deed, but he was also a good man with a heart which sympathised with human frailty.”

New Archbishop: “He had been a Father to me. . . He was a tower of strength to the West Indies. . . The Church will miss his guiding hand”

Adolphe Roberts:” Clerical admirers say that he was a simple man. But, as H.G. de Lisser has pointed out, such a character as his could not be simple. Nuttall believed in his own ability, and he was moved by an ambition to guide others, to

direct events, and to win acceptance of his ideas on the level of statesmanship.

*(Six Great Jamaicans, 69)*

DeLisser:” I have known quite humble people who loved him, on account of his quiet but genuine interest in their welfare”

Six years after Nuttall’s death Frank Cundall, secretary of the Institute of Jamaica, published the Archbishop’s biography, *Life of Enos Nuttall* ; a bust was erected in the Spanish Town Cathedral, and in 1923 the Nuttall Memorial Hospital, built in the Archbishop’s memory, was opened.

Nuttall’s impact on Jamaica was such that W. Adolphe Roberts, a Jamaican nationalist, included Nuttall as one of his *Six Great Jamaicans* (1951). Nuttall’s 36 years as Anglican Bishop of Jamaica make him the longest serving Bishop of Jamaica. But it is not only his longevity that counts but rather his influential role in adapting the Anglican Church to the changing circumstances following the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in 1870. His social work and his advice on social and economic issues; his role in education and health; the restoration of Kingston after the 1907 earthquake; the Deaconess movement; the Brothers of St. Andrew and the evangelical Church Army when considered together indicated



that he was willing to ride above the racial and anti-religious prejudices of his age, an age when science and social Darwinist dogma often dismissed religion and faith as “pre-scientific”.

It may seem ironic now that his contribution was linked not only to fundamental Christian beliefs of service to humanity –whatever their position in society –but to a larger vision of the extent to which the British Empire could provide Christian service to humanity. This imperial vision, as it turned out, was not incompatible with the view that service to humanity, radiating from a Christian spiritual centre, has meaning in the material, moral and social universe.

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