

Notes to Paul Walker's article, 'Revd Nathaniel Paul (1793-1839): Another African-American Baptist Minister in Britain (1832-1835), which appeared in *Baptist Quarterly* 43.2, April 2009, where the numbering went wrong from note 26 on.

- 1 Grant Gordon, *From Slavery to Freedom: The Life of David George, Pioneer Black Baptist Minister*, Hantsport, Nova Scotia: Lancelot Press, 1992.
- 2 James W.St.G. Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone 1783-1870*, (Toronto: University Press, 1976, p.2. Kathleen Taylor, 'David George: Black Loyalist', *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, vol.3, no.1, 1983, p.71-82.
- 3 David Killingray and Joel Edwards, *BlackVoices: The Shaping of our Christian Experience*, Nottingham: IVP, 2007, p.126. Paul Walker, *The Revd Peter Thomas Stanford, 'Birmingham's Coloured Preacher'*, unpublished PhD, Manchester, 2004.
- 4 James Watkins, *Narrative of the Life of James Watkins Formerly 'Chattel' in Maryland, U.S. Containing an Account of His Escape from Slavery and his Subsequent History*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed. Birmingham, 1853. In 2006 Dr Andy Green at the Birmingham archives' Connecting Histories project found it bound into an uncatalogued volume with other material from the period.
- 5 The effectiveness of the collection is enhanced by the search facility and useful indexing system. A useful method of searching these documents for specific words, phrases or references is to copy them into a Microsoft Word document and use the 'find' facility.
- 6 <http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/index.html> (January 2006).
- 7 <http://www.math.buffalo.edu/~sww/0history/hwny-steward.html> (March 2006)
- 8 <http://docsouth.unc.edu/steward/steward.html#steward183> (March 2006). Steward (1793-1865), a barber and editor of several black newspapers, came from Albany, New York. Believing that black people needed their own paper, he started the *African Sentinel and Journal of Liberty* in 1831, a monthly journal opposed to slavery and racial prejudice, which urged 'Education, Temperance and Morality'. Much involved in the antislavery and black convention movement, he was opposed to the American Colonization Society (ASC) plans for Liberian colonization, favouring Upper Canada as an alternative goal for black emigration. He joined the Wilberforce colony in 1831 at the request of a group of the settlers. He became chairman, organized and directed the settlement successfully despite internal tensions, but returned to Rochester in 1837 disgusted by all the quarrelling and lack of realism. He returned to business in Albany, and, amongst other things, served on a committee appointed to oversee black schools in the city. His business was destroyed by fire and he moved to Canandaigua about 1842 and became a school teacher.
- 9 David Killingray, 'Black Baptists in Britain 1640-1950', *Baptist Quarterly*, Vol.40, April 2003, pp.69-89. Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain*, London: Pluto Press, 1984, p.432. See also: Benjamin Quarles, *Black Abolitionists*, Oxford: University Press, 1969, pp.130-31 J.K. Lewis, *Religious Life of Fugitive Slaves & the Rise of Colored Baptist Churches 1820- 1865* Manchester, NH: Ayer Co. Publishing, 1979.
- 10 D. Gellman and D. Quigley, ed.. *Jim Crow New York, A Documentary History of Race and Citizenship 1777-1877*, New York University Press, 2003, pp.226-235. At [http://64.233.183.104/search?q=cache:Cqcsa\\_VDzUJ:www.nyscss.org/resources/publications/NYandSlavery/Chapter%2520D/Documents/1827C.NAT.pdf+Nathaniel+Paul&hl=en&ie=UTF-8](http://64.233.183.104/search?q=cache:Cqcsa_VDzUJ:www.nyscss.org/resources/publications/NYandSlavery/Chapter%2520D/Documents/1827C.NAT.pdf+Nathaniel+Paul&hl=en&ie=UTF-8) (accessed February 2006).
- 11 Robert S. Levine, 'Fifth of July: Nathaniel Paul and the Construction of Black Nationalism', *Genius in Bondage: Literature of the Early Black Atlantic*, Vincent Carretta and Philip Gould eds., Lexington, KT: University Press of Kentucky, 2001, p.242-260. See also <http://docsouth.unc.edu/steward/support1.html> (accessed March 2006).
- 12 See fn 6. The abolition of slavery was enacted on 4 July. The black community did not celebrate that day but rather, because the majority of black people were still in bondage and the US remained a land where slavery was the law, chose to do so on the 5 July. On the significance of this and its effect in later years see Levine, 'Fifth of July', Carretta and Gould

- eds. *Genius in Bondage*, p.242ff.
- 13 As fn 6.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Ibid, p.3.
- 16 Ibid., p.2.
- 16\* Ibid., p.4.
- 17 Benjamin Paul (?-1836) was, like three of his brothers, Thomas, Nathaniel, and Shadrach, a Baptist minister. He followed Nathaniel as minister in Albany, New York, until 1824, when he became pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church in New York City, and was actively involved in black community affairs, particularly education. He moved to Rochester in 1830, where he became enthused about the Wilberforce settlement and solicited funds throughout New York State, before moving to Wilberforce with his family in 1831. When Nathaniel went to Britain in 1831, Benjamin replaced him as minister of the settlement's First Baptist Church until his death on 31 March 1836. According to Steward, he was 'inclined to pulmonary diseases', (Steward, *Twenty Years*, p.258) .Rayford W. Logan and Michael R. Winston, eds., *Dictionary of American Negro Biography*, pp. 481-82.
- 18 Robin W. Winks, *The Blacks in Canada: A History*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997, p.155.
- 19 Ibid. p.158.
- 20 Ibid. p.156.
- 21 Austin Steward, *Twenty-Two Years a Slave and Forty Years a Freeman*, Rochester, NY, 1857, p.176.  
<http://docsouth.unc.edu/steward/steward.html#steward145> accessed March 2006.
- 22 Winks, *Blacks in Canada*, p.156.
- 23 'Wilberforce Colony, Biddulph Township', John Leverton, *Lucan 125 Souvenir Booklet 1871-1996*. <http://lucanheritage.tripod.com/history.html> (accessed March 2006).
- 24 <http://docsouth.unc.edu/steward/support1.html> (January 2006). Letter from Austin Steward and Benjamin Paul to John G. Stewart, August 1831, *The Liberator*, 17 September 1831. Reprinted in C. Peter Ripley, et al., *The Black Abolitionist Papers vol. 2, Canada, 1830-1865*, Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1986, pp.47-56.
- 25 Leverton, Wilberforce Colony, <http://lucanheritage.tripod.com/history.html>.
- 26 Letter from A. Steward and B. Paul to J.G. Stewart as footnote 14. The Baptist Church's first reported minister was Nathaniel Paul, followed by Benjamin Paul in 1831, and in 1836, Daniel A. Turner. By 1835 the church, with a congregation of twenty, was a member of the Western Baptist Association. By 1853 it had only ten members and was dropped from the Western Baptist Association's minutes in 1856.
- 27 Winks, *Blacks in Canada* p.158. According to Steward's narrative (p.254-55) the incident was more serious. Lewis attempted to ambush Steward as he crossed an area of deserted swamp returning to the colony one night. The bullet missed and his horse outran his attackers. Steward, whose account of his rival should be read with caution, gives an extensive record of Lewis's misbehaviour and comments on his flawed personality including correspondence regarding Lewis with some leaders in the abolition movement, including Authur Tappan and Willian Lloyd Garrison. Steward, *Twenty Two Years a Slave*, p.282-289.
- 28 Steward narrative p.188.
- 29 Winks, *Blacks in Canada*, p.158.
- 30 Ibid. p.158.
- 31 Letter from A. Steward and B. Paul to J.G. Stewart .
- 32 See *The Patriot* 10 July 1833, Report of a Debate over the pros and cons of the goals of the American Colonization Society. The Black Abolitionist Archives, University of Detroit [http://image.udmercy.edu/BAA/Paul\\_00602spe.pdf](http://image.udmercy.edu/BAA/Paul_00602spe.pdf) (August 2007).
- 33 The American Colonization Society, established in 1816/17 by Reverend Robert Finley, Presbyterian minister at Basking Ridge, New Jersey, aimed to assist free black people to emigrate to Africa. The idea of colonization was a contentious issue amongst both blacks and

- whites. Some of the black population supported emigration believing that they would never be treated justly in America. Others thought that the struggle against slavery and for full American citizenship should be the goal. Some whites saw it as a way of decreasing the black population, others seem genuinely to have thought that African Americans, free from racial discrimination, would be happier in Africa. The belief that emigrants could be part of the Christianization and civilizing of Africa was also widespread. The opinions of members and supporters of the ACS, on both sides of the Atlantic varied along similar lines.<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part3/3p1521.html> (June 2007). Also <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/african/afam002.html> (June 2007).
- 34 Available at *The Black Abolitionist Archive*, Doc.No. 00611.  
[http://image.udmercy.edu/BAA/Paul\\_00611spe.pdf](http://image.udmercy.edu/BAA/Paul_00611spe.pdf)(September 2007)
- 35 *The Patriot*, 10 July 1833. [http://image.udmercy.edu/BAA/Paul\\_00602spe.pdf](http://image.udmercy.edu/BAA/Paul_00602spe.pdf) (November 2007)
- 36 *Liberator*, 14<sup>th</sup> March, 1835 [http://image.udmercy.edu/BAA/Paul\\_01066spe.pdf](http://image.udmercy.edu/BAA/Paul_01066spe.pdf) (November 2007).
- 37 Winks, *The Blacks in Canada*, p.142.
- 38 House of Commons Sessional Papers, Reports from Committees (1831-32), 20:232.)
- 39 Letter from A. Steward and B. Paul to J.G. Stewart.
- 40 Commons Sessional Papers. (1831-32), 20:232.)
- 41 Delroy Reid-Salmon, *Burning for Freedom: The Faith of the Enslaved and Caribbean Emancipatory Theology – The Case of the Sam Sharpe Rebellion Against Slavery*. (Unpublished paper, Slavery and Abolition Conference, Regent’s Park College, 22 March 2007).
- 42 Steward, *Twenty-Two Years a Slave*, p.245. According to Steward, Nell arrived too late to connect with Paul in Britain. (Steward Narrative p.251). Steward complains that the Willberforce Board never saw Nell again, having given him \$700 for his trip to Britain! (p 251).
- 43 Ibid. p.352.
- 44 Ibid. p.353. The reference is to the legislation in 1833 emancipating all slaves in the British Empire with effect from 1 August 1834, though because of the apprenticeship system this did not bring immediate freedom to Caribbean slaves. John Scoble was the national secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society in Britain.
- 45 Ibid. p.261.
- 46 Ibid. p.341-2.
- 47 Ibid. p.263-4.
- 48 Ibid. p.264.
- 49 Winks, *Blacks in Canada*, pp.158-61 & 263-64. Steward, *Twenty-Two Years a Slave*, pp.216-17.