



Black Baptists in Britain 1640–1950

David Killingray

To cite this article: David Killingray (2003) Black Baptists in Britain 1640–1950, Baptist Quarterly, 40:2, 69–89, DOI: [10.1080/0005576X.2003.12043504](https://doi.org/10.1080/0005576X.2003.12043504)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/0005576X.2003.12043504>



Published online: 21 Dec 2018.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 71



View related articles [↗](#)



Citing articles: 2 View citing articles [↗](#)



BLACK BAPTISTS IN BRITAIN 1640-1950¹

David Killingray

-
- *David Killingray is Professor of Modern History, Goldsmiths College, University of London*
 - *Britain has had a small Black population since 1500; this increased in size during the 18th century. The earliest known record of a Black Baptist is from the 1640s. Jamaican and African-American Baptists visited during the 19th century as part of the abolitionist crusade. Black men became ministers of British churches, students at Spurgeon's College, and also missionaries and evangelists. British and Baptist history has largely ignored the presence and contribution of Black people, although this did not prevent contemporaries discriminating against them on grounds of race.*
-

On 12 June 1840 the Anti-Slavery Convention met at the Freemasons Hall, Great Queen Street, London. Benjamin Haydon's painting, now in the National Portrait Gallery, captured the gathering. Standing in the centre of the picture, addressing the crowd with his left hand raised, is Thomas Clarkson, the 'father' of anti-slavery. One-hundred-and-thirty people sit listening, their faces directed towards the speaker. In the congregation, prominent in the foreground, is Henry Beckford, a black Baptist from Jamaica. Several other black men, including Edward Barrett, also a Jamaican Baptist, are shown in the painting. That there should be two Jamaican Baptists in London for the great Anti-Slavery Convention should occasion no surprise. Baptist work in Jamaica was well established and the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) had played a major role in opposing slavery

and demanding emancipation. Who better than ex-slaves to help plead that cause in London?

BLACK PEOPLE IN BRITAIN

Britain has had a small black population for hundreds of years. Leaving aside the occasional references to people of African origin visiting these shores before 1500, the first increase in the black population came during the age of reconaissance and the subsequent development of Atlantic commerce. Black people were clearly a recognizable minority in London by 1601 when Elizabeth I issued a proclamation, which had no effect, to banish from the kingdom 'the great numbers of negars and Blackamoors which are crept into this realm for that most of them are infidels, having no understanding of Christ or his Gospel'.² By the early eighteenth century the African slave trade to the Americas formed a growing proportion of British transatlantic commerce. As a result Africans and African Americans came to Britain as seamen, servants and slaves. It is estimated that by 1770 there were 5,000 black people in London and altogether 10,000 in the British Isles.³ Most were concentrated in the major trading ports of London, Bristol and Liverpool, but they were also to be found in towns and villages throughout Britain. Black slaves brought to Britain, mainly from the Americas, had an ambiguous status until the early years of the nineteenth century. Mansfield's decision in the Somerset case of 1772 did not end slavery in Britain, as is often falsely stated, but only determined that no slave could forcibly be removed out of the country.⁴

Free black people were active in the British campaign for the abolition of the slave trade. This eventually came in 1808. However, the further campaign for emancipation of slaves in the British Empire, took another thirty years. By then sea traffic with Africa and the Americas was rapidly increasing, and Britain had become the cross-roads of an expanding Empire. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth century black population had been mainly male. Inter-marriage with white women appears to have steadily reduced this visible minority but it now increased as Africans and people of African descent came into Britain to work, study, or settle. Although many black immigrants would have been itinerant, non-literate and employed as labourers or artisans, by

the mid and late nineteenth century there were a good number working in professional employ as lawyers, doctors, clergy, and in commerce. The number of black people in Britain in the nineteenth century is not known. The decennial census did not require people to state their ethnicity, race or colour. In all probability by 1911 there were around 10,000 black people in Britain. As before most lived in the major port cities, but there were new communities in Cardiff and in South Shields,⁵ and other black people scattered up and down the country. No restrictions were placed on black people from any part of the Empire entering the United Kingdom, although once they had arrived many faced racial discrimination, particularly in employment and housing. A further increase in the black population occurred during the First World War as men from the Empire came either to enlist or work for the war effort. This was repeated during the Second World War but a new and much larger influx of black men occurred in 1943 with the arrival of black GIs from the United States. Many of these must have been Baptists but, to the best of my knowledge, their spiritual story in Britain has not been investigated. The great post-war increase in black immigration to Britain is often marked by the arrival of the *Empire Windrush* at Tilbury in June 1948 with 492 Jamaicans seeking work in British industry.

BLACK CHRISTIANS

A Christian influence of some kind touched many of the black people who came to Britain in the eighteenth and especially the nineteenth centuries. Slaves sometimes embraced Christianity because they believed, usually falsely, that this might hasten their freedom. Certainly many literate blacks were Christians. They were likely to have been educated in Christian mission schools and also to have come to Britain as a result of connection with a Christian agency. The slave narrative, with the detailed account of Christian conversion, originated in eighteenth-century America and was replicated in Britain. There is, for example, the life story of John Marrant who was ordained in Bath as a minister of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion;⁶ in Britain the slave narrative is exemplified in autobiographies written by two Africans, Ukawsaw Gronniosaw and Olaudah Equiano.⁷ I do not doubt

that both men were devout Christians, although it is important to be alert to the circumstances under which ex-slaves wrote accounts of their lives and the agendas that they, and also those who patronized them, were seeking to promote.

John Jea's narrative of his life, published in Portsea about 1815, was very much in that vein. Jea, an ex-slave and itinerant black preacher, also composed a book of hymns. Writing of his preaching in Lancashire and Yorkshire, he said: 'I was permitted to preach in every place of worship, in the Methodist, Baptist and Calvinist, Presbyterian, and every other place, excepting the Church of England'.⁸ There were, of course, black preachers who may not have had an immediate experience of slavery and who were mainly evangelists. Many of them deserve to be better known. Let me mention some of them: Boston King, Methodist pastor;⁹ Zilpha Elaw, African American Methodist who preached throughout Britain in the years 1840-45;¹⁰ Thomas Birch Freeman, a black Briton born in Hampshire in 1810, the premier Wesleyan Methodist missionary in West Africa;¹¹ the itinerant preacher and anti-Roman Catholic bigot, John Orr, who called himself the 'Angel Gabriel';¹² Dr Christopher J. Davis, from Barbados, who while a medical student in Aberdeen was active as an evangelist for the Brethren;¹³ Samuel Jules Celestine Edwards, from Dominica, who studied at King's College London, worked as a temperance lecturer before becoming secretary of the Christian Evidence Society and editor of its journal *Lux*, only to return to the West Indies to an early death in July 1894;¹⁴ Salim Wilson, a former slave from the Sudan who became first a missionary in Africa and then an evangelist in the north of England;¹⁵ Pastor Daniels Ekarte, from Freetown, who worked among the black population of Liverpool;¹⁶ and then Dr Harold Moody, Jamaican physician in south London, founder of the League of Coloured Peoples in 1931, active lobbyist against racial discrimination, and leading Congregational layman.¹⁷ Undoubtedly there are many others whose names are not known, such as 'the coloured gentleman who was a bright and shining light among the Peculiar People' in north-west Kent in the early 1870s.¹⁸ And I have not yet mentioned any Baptists! So let me now turn to them.

EARLY BLACK BAPTISTS

The earliest record that I know of a black Baptist is a woman in Bristol in the late 1640s. A full name is not given, but the Broadmead church records that a 'Blackymore maide, named Francis, a servant to one of that lived upon ye Back of Bristoll, which thing is somewhat rare in our dayes to have an Ethyopian or Blackmore, to be truly Convinced of Sin and to be truly Converted to ye Lord Jesus Christ'.¹⁹ Nearly 150 years later, in the same church, another black woman was recorded, 'Frances Coker, the descendant of African ancestors who gave a most intelligent and pleasing account of the work of God upon her soul and was accepted as a candidate for baptism'.²⁰ George Liele seems to have visited London between 1822 and 1826 where he ministered to a primarily black congregation, possibly at the church in Carter's Lane.²¹ White Baptists in Bristol were often uncomfortably divided over the question of the slave trade and slavery from which the city derived so much wealth. Both John Ryland and Caleb Evans were in touch with black American Baptists, including the former slave, George Liele, and his protégé, Moses Baker, who had been evangelizing slaves in Jamaica since the 1780s. Newton and Cottle, at the Baptist Academy in Bristol, also influenced a generation of missionaries with anti-slavery ideas. Many of the black people who came to Britain landed at Bristol. It would be interesting to know of the reception of black Christians in the Baptist churches of the city. I am not sure whether David George, the black evangelist involved in the settlement of poor blacks at Freetown, visited Bristol when he came to England in 1793. It would seem likely.²²

George's involvement with the Nova Scotian settlement at Freetown in West Africa, and the sending of two Baptist missionaries there, marked a forward move into the continent by the newly founded BMS. It was not to last long. Political disagreements led to the withdrawal of the missionaries and the closure of that particular door. The Nova Scotian Baptist church was left to fend for itself.²³ In the meantime the Baptist ministers, John Foster, the most able Baptist essayist of his generation, and Joseph Hughes, Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, provided a home in Battersea for a small group of Sierra Leone boys in England for education.²⁴

ANTI-SLAVERY VOICES

British Baptists were prominent in opposing the slave trade and slavery. Once abolition of the trade had been achieved by Britain and the United States in 1808, action continued against illegal slaving and slavery itself. Emancipation did not come until 1838 in the British Empire and the 1860s in the United States. The anti-slavery lobby was one of the great Christian and humanitarian movements in Britain during the nineteenth century, although campaigners were often divided in their strategies.

The BMS had been active in Jamaica from the 1820s onwards.²⁵ Baptist churches, including those of the so-called Native Baptists, were well established by the 1830s when slaves were emancipated. The Jamaican revolt of 1831, missionary support for emancipation, and reaction by planters in the island to Baptists in general, resonated among Baptists in Britain. The London headquarters, once apolitical, now became strongly outspoken against slavery and the affairs of Jamaica.²⁶ When slavery was abolished in 1834, Baptists and other British Christians condemned the system of apprenticeship which succeeded it. Baptist missionaries, such as William Knibb and James Phillippo, became notorious in the island among the planter class for their radical words and actions. Knibb's vision for Jamaica, writes Catherine Hall, 'was of a harmonious racially mixed society that would operate like a family and be led by missionaries'.²⁷ On his return to Britain in 1833, Phillippo was joined in his itinerant preaching tour by 'Robert Smith, the black brother from Jamaica', whose presence in Wales caused a great stir. Smith had made his escape 'from slavery and imprisonment' in Jamaica and reached England 'hidden in the hold of a vessel'. Later he was baptized by the Revd Joseph Ivimey, historian of the denomination, at Eagle Street church in London.²⁸ The cause of Caribbean apprenticed labourers was taken up by the Quaker philanthropist, Joseph Sturge, a member of the recently established Anti-Slavery Society, who relied on Baptist missionaries in the island for information. Sturge and Thomas Harvey visited six West Indian islands, including Jamaica, in 1836-7, to enquire into the violations of the apprenticeship scheme. On his return to Britain, Sturge brought with him a black Jamaican Baptist, James Williams, whose freedom he had purchased. Williams's account of his experiences, written down and

framed probably by the active abolitionist, Thomas Price, minister of Devonshire Square Baptist Church in London and editor of the *Eclectic Review*, and published in 1837, became a major text in the anti-apprenticeship campaign.²⁹ Williams briefly attended the Borough Road School, but clearly his stay in Britain was not viewed by Sturge as a success. 'The comparatively idle life and luxurious living but probably above all the attention James Williams has attracted and his introduction to persons and situations so different to what he was accustomed has produced an unfavourable effect upon him'.³⁰ Williams was returned to Jamaica and to obscurity.

Three years later William Knibb took with him to London two Baptist deacons from west Jamaica, Henry Beckford and Edward Barrett, as representatives to the great Anti-Slavery Convention. Together with Knibb they toured Britain speaking on anti-slavery platforms. At Birmingham Town Hall in May 1840, before a crowd of 5,000 people, where both men spoke of the sufferings in Jamaica, Knibb introduced them as 'men of colour, each of whom was a deacon of a Baptist congregation they would detail to the meeting the results of the emancipation which had been achieved by the efforts of the British people'.³¹ A few weeks later, Beckford and Barrett attended the great Anti-Slavery Convention in London to be recorded on canvas by Haydon.

Twenty-five years later, prominent British Baptists were active in Jamaican affairs. Dr Edward Underhill, secretary of the BMS, toured the island in 1859, wrote a book about his visit, and in a critical report on the island pressed the Colonial Office for reform. When Governor Eyre brutally suppressed the Morant Bay rising of 1865, in the process hanging the Native Baptist leader, George Gordon, many Baptists in Britain joined in the chorus of condemnation. At the Baptist Union meeting in Liverpool in October 1866, Underhill read a paper on the rising in which he condemned Eyre and praised Gordon. In the debate that followed, the 'Rev S. Holt (a coloured man), minister of St. Elizabeth's, Jamaica, who was received with rapturous and long-continued applause, supported the resolution in a speech of remarkable power'.³²

Morant Bay and the affairs of Jamaica fed easily into that other great popular movement of Victorian Britain, the anti-slavery campaigns,

particularly condemnation of continued slavery in the United States. African Americans, freed blacks and escaped slaves, found a ready platform in halls and churches throughout the country, where they provided authentic accounts of the brutalities of US slavery. The purpose was two-fold and symbiotic: the anti-slavery societies promoted their cause with propaganda; some African Americans, including Baptists, tried to raise money to advance one or other cause on behalf of slaves or freed blacks in the USA and Canada. Inevitably this gave rise to suspicion on both sides of the Atlantic among supporters and would-be donors that the moneys gathered were not being used for the purposes for which they were solicited. On the part of white promoters there was often a strong sense of patronage and of being let down, as in the case of Sturge and Williams, when the black subject turned out to be less pious or pliant than had been hoped.

Undoubtedly many whites active in the anti-slavery campaign viewed black people as being in some way child-like. The term or the sentiment occurs again and again in the literature of the period. This patronizing attitude is further indicated in that frequently a more exacting standard of behaviour was demanded of black Christians than that required from fellow whites.

Some suspicion stuck to Nathaniel Paul, a black abolitionist Baptist minister from Albany, New York, who had joined the Wilberforce settlement in Upper Canada in 1830, and who was sent to Britain in 1831 to raise funds on behalf of the community. Paul toured Britain for nearly four years speaking against slavery, and returned to Canada with a white wife.³³ It would be useful to look at Paul's activities in Britain, as well as those of other Black American abolitionists, and to see the responses recorded in Christian journals and the local press. It is a story not yet analysed. For example, Jeremiah Asher toured Britain in 1849-50 to collect money for his Baptist church in Philadelphia; he attended a BMS meeting at Bristol and preached in Baptist churches in Yorkshire.³⁴ Asher reported that the Baptist institutions of learning in London, Bristol and Bradford had no prohibition against black students.³⁵ Likewise, Edmund Kelly, who had escaped from slavery to become a Baptist preacher in Massachusetts, came to England in 1852 in order to raise money to buy the freedom of his family. He preached

in London, Leeds and Bristol, and on 7 April 1853 to a large gathering at the Baptist chapel in Lower Abbey Street, Dublin.³⁶

All too little is known about the lives of black abolitionist preachers in Britain. This is often true even of those who wrote autobiographies, or had them 'ghosted'. Mohommah Baquaqua's brief autobiography, originally published in Detroit in 1854, has recently been republished with a detailed introduction and notes provided by Robin Law and Paul Lovejoy. Baquaqua's slim volume is of particular interest because his claim, that he was enslaved first in Africa and then taken to the Americas, can be validated. This makes it a unique account for the nineteenth century.³⁷ Having gained his freedom Baquaqua planned (or it was planned for him?) to go to Africa as a missionary on behalf of the abolitionist American Baptist Free Mission Society. He studied at the ABFMS college at McGrawville in upper state New York. In January 1855 Baquaqua sailed from New York for Liverpool; he appears to have spent two years in England but nothing further is known of his life.³⁸ William Allen, one of the black Baptist teachers at McGrawville, became involved with a white student, Mary King. He was driven out of town, married Mary, and together they sailed to England in April 1853, where they were active on the abolitionist lecture circuit. By 1855-6 they were probably living in Bristol. Subscriptions from British supporters set up Allen as a teacher at the Caledonia Training School in Islington.³⁹

More is known of the life of the Revd John Sella Martin, an African American Baptist who made four visits to Britain from 1861 to 1868. It is possible to trace some of his movements on the abolitionist circuit. For example, he preached at General Baptist churches in Woolwich and in the Weald of Kent, and intriguingly there is a reference to his association with a 'fledgling church in Bromley [which] had flourished, and [where] he was liked and respected by his working-class congregation'.⁴⁰

BLACK BAPTIST MINISTERS

Martin's pastoral connection with a church in Bromley is a suitable point to turn from the abolitionist preaching network to black Baptists who led churches in Britain. The first of whom I know is the Revd

George Cousens who had a forty-year ministry in the West Midlands at Cradley Heath, Brierley Hill and Netherton. Cousens was from Jamaica. His arrival at Cradley Heath in 1837 attracted a great deal of attention and 'the whole populace turned out to see him'.⁴¹ Cousens only reluctantly retired in 1879 after the deacons had several times reduced his salary due to falling congregations. He died in October 1881. The Revd John Piper came from Demerara, modern Guyana. He left the colony and came to Britain to begin an itinerant ministry, becoming minister of a small Strict Baptist iron mission church in Verulam Street, St Albans. Piper preached in the metropolis - at Grove Chapel, Camberwell, and in Clapham - but died of what appears to have been consumption and pleurisy at the age of forty-five in July 1888. He was buried in St Albans Cemetery.⁴² The first black student to enter Pastors' College for ministerial training was J. McGee, from Toronto, in 1867. He left two years later to serve in pastorates in Tennessee and Ohio.⁴³

Thanks to the ongoing research of Paul Walker, the minister of Highgate Baptist Church in Birmingham, we are likely to know a good deal about the life of the Revd Peter Stanford who was minister of the Hope Street Baptist Church in that city from 1889-96.⁴⁴ Stanford was born a slave in Hampton, Virginia in 1859. He was converted at a Moody and Sankey meeting in New York, and then trained at the Suffield Baptist Institute in Connecticut. Stanford worked as a minister and an editor in Ontario and then was sent by his black Canadian congregation to Britain in order to collect funds for the work among ex-slaves of the African Baptist Association. The account of his early life, told in his autobiography published in 1889 when he was only twenty-nine years old, describes his youthful adventures, which may or may not be true, and his arrival in Liverpool in 1883.⁴⁵ For the next six years, by his claim, he studied, spoke publicly on the 'Cry of Ex-Slaves', and engaged in evangelistic work in West Yorkshire, before moving to the West Midlands where, in 1888, he married Beatrice Stickley, 'an English lady, a cultivated Christian woman', at the Regent Street Baptist Chapel, Smethwick. Stanford and his wife became members of Small Heath Baptist Church in Birmingham, where Charles Joseph was the minister. In the following year Stanford was called to the pulpit of Hope Street Baptist Chapel in Birmingham.⁴⁶ He served there until 1896 and then returned to work in the United States;⁴⁷ Stanford died in

Cambridge, Massachusetts, in May 1909. His life story is complex and not altogether convincing, although it must be interpreted as a continuation of the slave narrative written by a man who is out to prove by the parade of credentials that he is as worthy of respect as any white man.

In the Old King Street Chapel, Bristol, in 1901, when the minister was suddenly taken ill before a service, the deacons asked the only obviously ordained man in the congregation to take his place. He happened to be black. The Revd T. Gordon Somers, later secretary of the Jamaica Baptist Union, not only took the service that morning and evening but continued to serve as temporary minister for the next six months.⁴⁸ In addition to these ordained black Baptist ministers, there must have been a good number of black lay preachers. For example, a diary entry tells us that 'Mr. Preston a man of colour of Nova Scotia preached' at the Garland Street Baptist Church, Bury St Edmunds.⁴⁹ Henry Parker, most likely an ex-slave who arrived in Bristol from Boston as a young man, settled in the St Paul's district, married and raised a family. He worked first in the docks and then as a quarryman. He was a member of the Baptist church in St Paul's and established a reputation as a lay preacher;⁵⁰ he died in February 1912.

THE MISSIONARY IMPULSE

African Americans contributed significantly to the expanding missionary movement in the nineteenth century, although their role is often ignored. This was truly a 'Black Atlantic' endeavour, mainly from the Americas but also involving Britain, and directed principally at Africa. All three parts of the triangle provided and trained black missionaries. From the late eighteenth century a small number of African Americans in the North American colonies had thought in terms of evangelizing Africa; the idea of a black return to the continent also began then. However, the first Baptist missionary endeavour was by blacks to Jamaica and the Bahamas in the 1780s, when Liele and Baker began evangelistic work in Jamaica and an ex-slave known only as Amos started a small Christian work in New Providence.⁵¹ The next black Baptist missionary step was David George's work in Freetown, to which reference has already been made. In the 1830s, white Baptist

missionaries in Jamaica were urging the value of the native agency for the island and also for Africa. By 1842 the Jamaican Baptist Missionary Society had been established, with evangelistic eyes on the home mission field, the Caribbean, but particularly Africa.⁵² The first black Jamaican missionary to Africa was Alexander McCloud Fuller, a former slave, who went with Phillippo to Britain in 1840 en route to West Africa. While in Britain, Fuller 'was placed under the instruction of the Rev. Wm. Salter, of Amersham, who bore high testimony to his Christian character'.⁵³ Richard and Joseph Merrick, father and son, were both accepted for the African field; only Joseph went, in 1842, via Britain to which he returned later in the decade on deputation work.⁵⁴ The Jamaican mission in Fernando Po and Cameroon had a shaky start. Jamaican BMS work was revived principally by Joseph Jackson Fuller.⁵⁵ After many years in Cameroon, Fuller and his white wife came to England in 1870, with their sons, Samuel and Joseph, for recuperation. Fuller spoke at the BMS meeting in Cambridge and 'travelled in England for about 18 months'. His elder son, Samuel, was placed with 'Messrs Ritches and Watts in Norwich [his white wife's home town] to learn the Engineering business'. Fuller and his wife retired to live in Barnes and then in Stoke Newington. John Pinnock, a Jamaican missionary who served in Congo from 1887-1908, also retired to live in Britain. A descendant of his was a member of Victoria Road Baptist Church, Eastbourne, Miss P. Pinnock, whom the Revd Ted Williams (sometime minister of Stratford Road Baptist Church, Birmingham) remembered from childhood as the black woman member known to his family as 'Aunt Pattie'.⁵⁶

By the 1870s a trickle of African Americans, from the United States and the Caribbean, entered Pastors' College in London with a view to missionary work in Africa. The first was Thomas Lewis Johnson, born into slavery in Virginia, who entered in 1876. He was joined by Calvin Richardson, also from the USA. The two men and their wives went to Cameroon in late 1878; Johnson's wife died and he was invalided home to Britain after little more than a year. While Richardson moved to the Congo, Johnson became an itinerant evangelist in the USA and then in Britain where he settled in 1887. He continued active in Baptist work until his death in Eastbourne in 1921.⁵⁷ Also at Pastors' College in the years 1888-1907 were Simeon C. Gordon, and William Forde, who

served with the BMS.⁵⁸ They tend to be marginalized in histories of the BMS, as was also George Grenfell's second wife, Rose Edgerley, who was Jamaican, although an added reason is that their marriage took place against a background of scandal.⁵⁹ Rose retired to London and their black daughters attended Walthamstow Hall, a school for the daughters of missionaries in Sevenoaks.

The practicality of the African agency appealed to William Hughes who had served briefly with the BMS in Congo, 1882-5. He established the Congo Training Institute at Colwyn Bay 'with the view of training African young men in this country, in the hope that many of them will return to their native land either as missionaries, schoolmasters, or useful handicraftsmen'.⁶⁰ The work began in a Victorian house but by 1889 a large yellow brick building was secured and the Institute formally opened. The first two young men from the Congo were followed by a further 150 from various areas of Africa, mainly Nigeria and the Caribbean. The Elder Dempster Line assisted with cheap passages. A stream of black Christians and missionaries visited the Institute, including Dr Theophilus Scholes⁶¹ and Mojolo Agbebi. Most of the students returned to Africa, some with fluent Welsh; a few died and are buried at Llanellian. The formal story is that the Institute closed in the early twentieth century because of financial mismanagement. In fact it was due to sexual liaison between a student and a local woman. The newspaper headline 'Black Baptist's Brown Baby' led to scandal and closure.⁶²

Mojolo Agbebi, the Nigerian Baptist leader, visited Britain on a number of occasions and preached in various Baptist churches, for example, to over 500 people at Sloane Street Baptist Church in London in June 1904. To emphasize his African personality he always wore a single piece of Africa cloth wherever he went, thus striking a colourful figure in a London pulpit. A similar but less certain path in Britain was cut by the Revd Mark Hayford, founder of a Baptist mission and school in the Gold Coast, who had difficulty raising money locally for his work. He therefore toured Britain and America over several years as a Baptist beggar, with little success and to the concern of officials in the Colonial Office who knew Hayford from his membership of a delegation in 1912.⁶³ African Baptists came to Britain to help with translation work, for example, Don Nlemvo who worked with Holman Bentley in Edgware

in 1884 and again in 1892-3; although blind, he returned to London in 1904 to continue with the Kikongo translation project and also to attend the Baptist World Congress where 'he spoke a few well-chosen words'.⁶⁴ In 1892 Grenfell brought to Britain a Congo artisan, Bongudi, a leader of the Bolobo Baptist Church, who had helped to assemble the steamer *Goodwill*.⁶⁵ Early in the twentieth century a BMS missionary brought to Britain a young man from Angola, Ambrosio Norman Luyanzi, who lived for a year in north London where he went to school. Later Luyanzi served for many years (c.1916-60) as the secretary of the São Salvador Baptist Church. The Revd Jim Grenfell relates that when Luyanzi returned to Angola he took with him a highly prized pair of boots. As the ship neared the African coast the accompanying missionary threw them overboard with the retort: 'You won't be needing these anymore!'⁶⁶

As a footnote to Baptist work in the Congo Free State, it has to be said that the BMS and its missionaries often were silent and slow to condemn the 'red rubber' atrocities committed by Leopold's agents.⁶⁷ However, two African Americans, the former Baptist minister, George Washington Williams, and the Presbyterian missionary, William Shepherd, from early on consistently condemned the excesses of the Congo authorities.⁶⁸

INTERNATIONAL DIMENSIONS

Even though the anti-slavery campaign had divided Baptists in the USA, on a larger canvas, it can be seen as bringing Baptists together across national boundaries. This internationalism, together with the impact of the missionary movement, was demonstrated in the first Baptist World Congress in London in mid 1905. An idea of a universal gathering had long been the ambition of some Baptists, but it was J. H. Shakespeare who took up the ideas which resulted in the Baptist World Alliance meeting in London. Among the representatives were black Baptists from around the world, most being African Americans from the United States. With considerable sensitivity, Shakespeare had not only enquired of African American Baptist leaders as to the appropriate racial terminology to be used in describing them, but he also attempted to ensure that black delegates did not suffer any racial discrimination on the passenger liner that brought them to Britain. At the BWA meetings in Exeter Hall, African American Baptists sat alongside fellow white

Baptists from the United States. Nlemvo, Holman Bentley's linguistic assistant, addressed the Congress briefly as 'a native representative of the Congo', while the Revd E.C. Morris and the Revd Dr C.G. Jordan, both African Americans, spoke of the claims of 'mission which the negro race have to their brethren in Africa'.⁶⁹ The second woman to speak was Nannie Helen Burroughs, an African American from Louisville, Kentucky. Burroughs had earlier tried to gain the support of white Baptist women against Jim Crow laws,⁷⁰ but at the Alliance she concluded her speech with an appeal relating to Africa. Burroughs was in Britain for several months and in July spoke at a large meeting in Hyde Park. Ten thousand leaflets and hymn sheets were distributed for the occasion and Burroughs addressed the crowd from a wagon.⁷¹ Later she became a major educational reformer through her National Training School for Women and Girls in Washington DC.

CONCLUSION

What is the significance of looking at the presence of black Baptists in Britain before the First World War, or indeed singling out black people as a topic for research? One very good reason is that they have been largely ignored or at best marginalized by most historians. Therefore even well-informed Britons, including historians, express surprise that Britain had a small black population before 1950. Black people effectively have been erased from British history. So a good purpose is to correct this omission and to ensure that these small, diverse, but obviously visible ethnic minorities are written into the pages of British history. This has been, and is being done, as working-class people and women are given their rightful place in history. What E.P. Thompson did for the 'poor stockinger', historians are now doing for black people. I oppose the idea of a separate 'black history', which all too often descends into either a compensating plea for what Orlando Patterson has called 'we too-ism', or an antiquarian list of people and activities. There is only one British history, although it has great diversity of shape and colour in its complex weft and warp.

A further reason for looking specifically at the history of black people is that people of African origin and descent were a visible minority in Britain for several hundred years. They attracted attention and treatment because of their race and colour. How racial attitudes and

discrimination developed is, of course, a subject of concern to the modern social and cultural historian. To get nearer to understanding that is to learn more about past societies and present ones. When and why did black people begin to attract obloquy? At times, and in places, it would appear that blacks were accepted and that their presence attracted little comment. However, this seems to have been rare. Public response from whites may not have been hostile but motivated by curiosity and patronage for people seen as exotic or unusual. That is a social common-place but it does need to be analysed and understood. From the late seventeenth century onwards, as the transatlantic slave trade grew, blackness increasingly became a badge of inferiority.⁷² How that was interpreted in Britain during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is still open to considerable debate. By the mid nineteenth century 'scientific racism', based on ethnographic ideas and the writings of Prichard and of Knox, popularized by Carlyle, and given biological weight by Darwin, all helped to fuel an antipathy towards people of African origin and descent.⁷³ White belief in black inferiority was given further currency by the Indian rebellion of 1857 and also by the Morant Bay rebellion in Jamaica in 1865. By the late nineteenth century, with the European 'scramble', conquest and partition of the African continent, the idea that black people were child-like, savage and inferior seems to have become firmly fixed in the British public mind. Empire, after all, was largely about race. Even educated black people, particularly Africans, were often deemed to have but a thin veneer of 'civilisation' beneath which lurked a simian nature. These attitudes were compounded by those who wrote with first-hand knowledge of Africa, including missionaries, by the media, in advertisements, novels, children's stories, and within the school curriculum. The twentieth century began with racial discrimination at the heart of large parts of British public life (including a growing hostility towards Jews!) which was marked by patronizing or denigratory attitudes towards black peoples. Fifty years later black Christians, recently arrived in this country from the Caribbean, were often cold-shouldered out of churches and forced to form their own. The presence of separate black churches today is a severe indictment on our recent Christian past.

NOTES

- 1 This article originated as a paper given to the Baptist Historical Summer School, Manchester, 11-14 July 2002. I am grateful for comments and suggestions made by participants.
- 2 Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain*, 1984, p.12. This is the most accessible book on the subject although, such is the volume of recent research, in need of substantial revision. See also Falorin Shyllon, *Black People in Britain 1555-1833*, 1977; Edward Scobie, *Black Britannia: A History of Blacks in Britain*, Chicago: Johnson Publishing, 1972; Jagdish S. Gundara & Ian Duffield, eds, *Essays on the History of Blacks in Britain*, Aldershot, 1992.
- 3 Contemporary estimates in the early 1770s stated that as many as 20,000 black people lived in Britain. However, see Norma Myers, *Reconstructing the Black Past: Blacks in Britain 1780-1830*, 1996, ch.2.
- 4 See F.O. Shyllon, *Black Slaves in Britain*, 1974, ch.10.
- 5 For black people in Wales see Charlotte Williams and Neil Evans, eds, *Tolerant Nation? Exploring ethnic diversity in Wales* (forthcoming, 2003); an older work on Cardiff is K.L. Little's oddly sub-titled study, *Negroes in Britain: A study of racial relations in English society*, 1948.
- 6 John Marrant, *A Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings with John Marrant, a Black*, 4th edn, 1785. See also Lamin Sanneh, *Abolitionists Abroad: American blacks and the making of modern West Africa*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard UP, 1999, pp.85-7.
- 7 Ukawsaw Gronniosaw, *A Narrative of the Remarkable Particulars in the Life of James Ukawsaw Gronniosaw, An African Prince, related by himself*, c.1770; see further Paul Edwards & David Dabydeen, eds, *Black Writers in Britain 1760-1890*, Edinburgh, 1991, pp.7-23. Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African. Written by Himself*, 2 vols., 1789. The best and most accessible edition is edited and introduced by Vincent Carretta, *Olaudah Equiano: The Interesting Narrative and other Writings*, Harmondsworth, 1995. See further James Walvin, *An African's Life: The life and times of Olaudah Equiano 1745-1797*, 1998.
- 8 John Jea, *The Life, History and Unrivalled Sufferings of John Jea, the African Preacher*, Portsea, c.1815. See also Graham Russell Hodges, *Black Itinerants of the Gospel: The narratives of John Jea and George White*, New York: Palgrave, 2002, p.130.
- 9 'Memoirs of the life of Boston King', *Methodist Magazine* 21, 1798, pp.105-10, 157-61, 209-31, 261-5.
- 10 For Zilpha Elaw see entry in Donald M. Lewis, ed., *The Blackwell Dictionary of Evangelical Biography 1730-1860*, Vol.1, Oxford, 1995, p.350.
- 11 Allen Birtwhistle, *Thomas Birch Freeman: West African Pioneer*, 1950.
- 12 Orr caused unrest in Scotland in the early 1850s; he did likewise in New York and on his return home to British Guiana; see John Wolfe, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain 1829-1860*, Oxford, 1991, p.194.
- 13 John D. Hargreaves, 'The good Black doctor: Christopher J. Davis, 1840-1870', *ASACHIB Newsletter*, 16, 1996, pp.6-7.
- 14 See Jonathan Schneer, *London 1900: The imperial metropolis*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999, pp.205-12.
- 15 Salim C. Wilson, *I Was a Slave*, 1939; Douglas H. Johnson, 'Salim Wilson: the Black evangelist of the North', *Journal of Religion in Africa*, XXXI, 1, 1991, pp.26-

- 41.
- 16 Marika Sherwood, *Pastor Daniels Ekarte and the African Churches Mission Liverpool 1931-1964*, 1994.
- 17 See David A. Vaughan, *Negro Victory: The life story of Harold A. Moody*, 1950. I am writing the biography of Harold Moody; in the meantime see David Killingray, 'Harold Moody and the League of Coloured Peoples: the Christian dimension', *Christianity and History Newsletter*, 11, 1993, pp.20-36; 'Race, Faith and Politics: Harold Moody and the League of Coloured Peoples', Goldsmiths College London, 1999.
- 18 C. Maurice Davies, *Unorthodox London or Phases of Religious Life in the Metropolis*, 1873, pp.299-300.
- 19 Roger Hayden, ed., *The Records of a Church of Christ in Bristol, 1640-1687*, Bristol, 1974, pp.101-2.
- 20 A later hand (maybe John Ryland?) added: 'Loved honourably and died comfortably, April 1820'. See Roger Hayden, 'Caleb Evans and the Anti-Slavery question', unpublished paper delivered at Bristol Baptist College, 13 May 2000.
- 21 See Horace O. Russell, *The Missionary Outreach of the West Indian Church: Jamaican Baptist missions in West Africa in the nineteenth century*, New York: Peter Lang, 2000, pp.13-14. As Russell says, Liele's visit to London needs further research.
- 22 S.R. Frey, *Waters from the Rock: Black resistance in a revolutionary age*, Princeton UP, 1991; G. Gordon, *From Slavery to Freedom. The life of David George, pioneer Black Baptist minister*, Hartport, Nova Scotia, 1992.
- 23 Christopher Fyfe, 'The Baptist churches in Sierra Leone', *Sierra Leone Bulletin of Religion*, V, 2, 1963, pp.55-60.
- 24 Lewis, *Blackwell Dictionary of Evangelical Biography*, Vol.1, p.400.
- 25 Gordon A. Catherall, 'British Baptist involvement in Jamaica 1783-1865', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Keele, 1971.
- 26 K.R.M. Short, 'A study in political nonconformity: the Baptists 1827-1845 with particular reference to slavery', unpublished DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1972. Swithin Wilmot, 'Baptist missionaries and Jamaican politics 1838-54', paper given to the 12th conference of the Association of Caribbean Historians (1980), ed. K.O. Laurence (1980). The most recent work covering this is Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and colony in the English imagination 1830-1867*, Oxford, 2002.
- 27 Catherine Hall, 'William Knibb and the constitution of the new black subject', *Small Axe*, 8, 2000, p.54.
- 28 E.B. Underhill, *Life of James Mursell Phillippo: Missionary in Jamaica*, 1881, pp.105, 107-8.
- 29 *A Narrative of Events, since the First of August, 1834, by James Williams, an Apprenticed Labourer in Jamaica*, 1837. This has been reprinted, with an introduction, by Diana Paton, Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2001. The *Narrative* was quickly followed by Sturge and Harvey's own book, *The West Indies in 1837*, 1838.
- 30 Joseph Sturge to Revd John Clark, 15 August 1837, in Paton, *Narrative of Events*, p.97.
- 31 *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, 20 May 1840, quoted in Hall, *Civilising Subjects*, pp.331-2.
- 32 The General Baptist Magazine, 1866, p.429. See further Gad Heuman, *The Killing Time: The Morant Bay rebellion in Jamaica*, 1994, ch.4.
- 33 Robin Winks, *The Blacks in Canada: a history*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1971, pp.158-61. J.K. Lewis, *Religious Life of Fugitive Slaves and the Rise of Coloured Baptist Churches, 1820-1865*, New York, 1980. R.J.M. Blackett, *Building an Antislavery Wall: Black Americans in the Atlantic abolitionist movement, 1830-1860*, Baton Rouge:

- Louisiana State University Press, 1983, pp.52-60. Benjamin Quarles, *Black Abolitionists*, Oxford, 1969, pp.130-1.
- 34 *The Baptist Magazine*, April 1850, pp.228-9, a reference I owe to David Bebbington. Jeremiah Asher, *Incidents in the Life of Rev. Jeremiah Asher Pastor of Shiloh (Colored) Baptist Church*, Philadelphia, 1850, pp.50, 60, 65-6.
- 35 Jeremiah Asher, *An Autobiography, with Details of Visit to England*, Philadelphia, 1862.
- 36 Bill Rolston & Michael Shannon, *Encounters: How Racism Came to Ireland*, Belfast: Beyond the Pale Publications, 2002, pp.74-5. C. Peter Ripley, ed., *The Black Abolitionist Papers, vol.1. The British Isles 1830-1865*, Chapel Hill, 1985, pp.332-4.
- 37 There is some doubt now that Equiano was actually born in Africa as he claimed; see Carretta's 'Introduction' to *Olaudah Equiano*.
- 38 Robin Law and Paul E. Lovejoy, eds, *The Biography of Mamommah Gardo Baquaqua: His passage from slavery to freedom in Africa and America*, Princeton: Marcus Wiener, 2001.
- 39 William G. Allen, *American Prejudice Against Colour. An authentic narrative, showing how easily the Nation got into an uproar*, 1853. *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, 1 July 1863. Law and Lovejoy, *Baquaqua*, p.78. R.J.M. Blackett, 'William G. Allen: the forgotten professor', *Civil War History* 26, 1980, pp.39-52. Ripley, *Black Abolitionist Papers, Vol.1*, pp.355-82, 423-6 and 453-6.
- 40 R.J.M. Blackett, *Beating Against the Barrier: The lives of six nineteenth-century Afro-Americans*, Cornell University Press, 1986, ch.IV on Martin. See also Norman Hopkins, *The Baptists of Smarden and the Weald of Kent 1640-2000*, privately printed Ashford, 2000, pp.161-2; *Kentish Independent*, 28 March 1863. Bromley Public Library, Kent. W. Noble Twelvetees to the Librarian, 16 January 1932, in Notes Re. Bromley (Ts file.).
- 41 John Williams, *Centenary Souvenir: Four Ways Baptist Church, Cradley Heath*, 1933, pp.17-18, 31-5. I owe this information to Revd Paul Walker.
- 42 *The Earthen Vessel and Gospel Herald*, XLIV, September 1888, pp.261-4, and November 1881, pp.331-4.
- 43 Spurgeon's College, London. Student records. I am grateful to Mrs Judy Powles, the Librarian, for her assistance.
- 44 The Revd Paul Walker is researching Stanford's life for a PhD.
- 45 Peter Stanford, *From Bondage to Liberty: Being the life story of the Rev. P.T. Stanford who was once a slave and is now the recognised pastor of an English Baptist church*, Smethwick, 1889. The book had an introductory note by Charles Joseph, a strong supporter of Stanford, and who was to become President of the Baptist Union in 1914. I am grateful to Paul Walker for a copy of the book (which is not in the British Library) and for further details of Stanford's life.
- 46 *Birmingham Faces and Places: An Illustrated Local Magazine*, vol.VI, 1894, pp.182-5.
- 47 On Stanford's departure from Hope Street chapel see *The Freeman*, early Oct 1896. Stanford subsequently wrote *The Tragedy of the Negro in America*, Boston, 1897-8.
- 48 Ernest Price, *Banana-Land: A missionary chronicle*, 1930, pp.31-2.
- 49 Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich. MSS Dairy of Cornelius Elven, minister of Garland St., Bury, 20 September 1831.
- 50 I owe this information to Revd Paul Walker.
- 51 *The Annual Baptist Register*, vol.1 1791-4, pp.212-3. Edward A. Holmes, 'George Liele: Negro slavery's prophet of deliverance', *Baptist Quarterly* 20, 1965, pp.340-51.
- 52 I.K. Sibley, *The Baptists of Jamaica*, Kingston, 1965, ch.V. Hall, *Civilising*

- Subjects*, ch.2. Horace Russell, *The Missionary Outreach of the West Indian Church. Jamaican Baptist missions to West Africa in the nineteenth century*, New York: Peter Lang, 2000.
- 53 Underhill, *Life of ... Phillippo*, p.216.
- 54 John Clarke, *Memoir of Richard Merrick. Missionary in Jamaica, 1850; and Memoir of Joseph Merrick missionary to Africa, 1850*.
- 55 Brian Stanley, *The History of the Baptist Missionary Society 1792-1992*, 1992, pp.109-14. Angus Library, Regent's College, Oxford. BMS Archives. A/5/19. 'Autobiography of the Rev. J.J. Fuller of Cameroons, West Africa', ts. Robert Glennie, *Joseph Jackson Fuller. An African Christian missionary*, 1933. Jeffrey Green, 'Family history - Joseph Jackson Fuller of Jamaica, Africa and England', unpublished paper. Fuller's son, Joseph Alfred Albert taught in the Sunday school at Barnes Baptist church and received a Bible in April 1890 'on the occasion of his leaving England for Mission work on the Congo'. I am grateful to Jeff Green for a copy of his paper and also the ts. entries that he has written for the *New Dictionary of National Biography* on Fuller, as well as those on Johnson and Theophilus Scholes.
- 56 I owe this information to Revd Paul Walker.
- 57 Thomas Lewis Johnson. *Africa for Christ: Twenty-eight years a slave*, 1882, expanded and republished several times, e.g. *Twenty-Eight Years a Slave*, 7th edn, Bournemouth, 1909. Jeffrey Green, 'Thomas Lewis Johnson (1836-1921): the Bournemouth evangelist', in Rainer Lotz and Ian Pegg, eds., *Under the Imperial Carpet. Essays in Black history 1780-1950*, Crawley, 1986, pp.55-68.
- 58 Simeon C. Gordon, from Savanna-la-Mar, Jamaica, studied 1888-90; missionary in Congo 1890-1926; died 1932. William Forde, from Barbados, Spurgeon's 1903-7; served with Jamaica BMS in Costa Rica, 1907-68; see *Spurgeon's College Record*, August 1948, pp.11-12, and April 1950, pp.6-8. Forde's first Spurgeon's sermon: 'The man of Ethiopia'. Spurgeon's College, Student records contain photographs of Gordon, Johnson, Richardson and also McGee.
- 59 Stanley, *History*, pp.119-20.
- 60 W. Hughes, *Dark Africa and the Way Out*, 1892, p.1.
- 61 Scholes, a Jamaican, graduated in medicine at Edinburgh, MD Brussels, medical missionary in Congo 1886-7 for the Baptist Foreign Mission Convention of the US. He had evangelized with Thomas Lewis Johnson. Scholes seems to have abandoned his Christian faith; by the late 1890s he began to write political works critical of imperialism: *The British Empire and Alliances: Britain's duty to her colonies and subject races*, 1899, and *Glimpses of the Ages, or, the 'Superior' and 'Inferior' Races, so-called, Discussed in the Light of Science and History*, 2 vols. 1905, 1908. After 1912 little is known of Scholes, not even the place and date of his death. See Patrick Bryan, 'Black perspectives in late nineteenth-century Jamaica: the case of Dr Theophilus E.S. Scholes', in Rupert Lewis & Patrick Bryan, eds., *Garvey: His work and impact*, Mona, Jamaica, 1988, pp.47-63. Mojola Agbebi (1860-1917), was president of the independent Baptist Church in Lagos, and of the Yoruba Baptist Association; see J.B. Webster, *The African Churches among the Yoruba 1888-1922*, Oxford, 1964; A.E. Ayandele, *A Visionary of the African Church. Mojola Agbebi (1860-1917)*, Nairobi, 1971; Hazel King, 'Mojola Agbebi: Nigerian church leader', in Lotz and Pegg, *Under the Imperial Carpet*, pp.84-108.
- 62 Charlotte Williams, *Sugar and Slate*, Aberystwyth, 2002, pp.26-33, 56-7. Williams & Evans, *Tolerant Nation?* The student whose actions led to the

- scandal was John L. Franklin, from the West Indies. He had earned his living as an actor, was apparently converted during the Welsh revival and 'destined for medical mission work'; *Strand on Sunday*, 1, 1908, p.174.
- 63 See G. Haliburton, 'Mark Christian Hayford: a non-success story', *Journal of Religion in Africa* 12, 1, 1981, pp.20-37. Hayford wrote *West Africa and Christianity*, 1903.
- 64 H.M. Bentley, *W. Holman Bentley: The life and labours of a Congo pioneer*, 1907, p.403. L. H. Ofusu-Appiah, ed., *Dictionary of African Biography: Vol.2: Sierra Leone-Zaire*, Algonac, MI, 1971, pp.256-7, Mantantu Dundulu (1865-1938), also known as Nlemvo, was 'a major African literary expert'. The Bentleys also brought to Britain from the Congo a woman named Aku, a former slave captive of Tippu Tip. Jeffrey Green, *Black Edwardians. Black people in Britain 1901-1914*, 1998, ch.10.
- 65 W.Y. Fullerton, *The Christ of the Congo River*, 1928, pp.74-5.
- 66 Jim Grenfell, 'The history of the Baptist Church in Angola 1879-1975', unpublished MPhil thesis, Leeds, 1998, pp.86ff.
- 67 Stanley, *History*, pp.135-9.
- 68 John Hope Franklin, *George Washington Williams: a biography*, Chicago UP, 1985; and Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost. A story of greed, terror and heroism in colonial Africa*, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1998.
- 69 *The Baptist World Congress, London, July 11-19, 1905. Authorized Record of Proceedings*, 1905, pp.11-12 and 127.
- 70 Jim Crow laws were statues in the Southern States imposing racial segregation mainly against African Americans.
- 71 *Baptist World Congress*, pp.220-1. Karen Smith, "'Honoured partners and fellow workers?'" British women and the Baptist World Alliance', paper given at the Baptist Historical Society Summer School, Manchester, 11-14 July 2002. I am grateful to Dr Smith for her help.
- 72 See the scurrilous views of Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica*, 3, 1774; reprinted 1970.
- 73 There is a substantial literature on racial attitudes in the 19th and 20th centuries; see Philip D. Curtin, *The Image of Africa: British ideas and action, 1780-1850*, 1965, ch.15; Christine Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race*, 1971; Douglas A. Lorimer, *Colour, Class and the Victorians. English attitudes to the Negro in the mid-nineteenth century*, Leicester, 1978; Nancy Leys Stephan, *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain 1800-1960*, 1982; Hall, *Civilising Subjects*.

My Ancestors were Baptists

A revised and enlarged edition of the booklet by Geoffrey R. Breed is available, price £5-95 + £1-00 p&p, from the Society of Genealogists Enterprises, 14 Charterhouse Buildings, London EC1M 7BA, tel: 020 7702 5483, fax: 020 7250 1800, email: sales@sog.org.uk