A series of research papers produced in conjunction with the Community Religions Project in the Department of Theology and Religious Studies at the University of Leeds.

The papers in this series are working documents only, some having been given at seminars and conferences, and some having been published. They may be cited freely, but quotations from them may be published only with the written permission of the Head of the Department of Theology and Religious Studies, The University of Leeds, Leeds, LS2 9JT.
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foreword</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 1: Setting the scene</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2: Black-led churches</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3: Afro-Caribbean Christians in the historic churches</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 4: Signs of hope today and signposts for tomorrow</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Footnotes</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 1: People and organisations visited in connection with research</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 2: Useful addresses</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This is the fourth in a series of research papers produced by the Community Religions Project in the Department of Theology and Religious Studies at the University of Leeds.

The Community Religions Project (CRP) is a research group committed to working on contemporary issues related to religions in Britain, particularly those of relevance to ethnic minorities. In addition to the production of research papers, it has published a series of monographs (see back page for details). Much of the work of the project in recent years has been concerned with the religions of South Asian communities in Britain. This continues. We are also interested, however, in conducting and promoting research on Afro-Caribbean religious life in Britain.

This paper is the first to be published by the CRP on this subject. It reports on the research done by Vanessa Howard in 1985 while she was employed on a pilot study for the CRP on Black Christianity in Britain (funded jointly by the British Academy and the Hibbert Trust).

It contains a great deal of useful information on the historical and social background of Afro-Caribbean Christians and their religion in Britain, and on the role of racism and other migration and settlement experiences in both the growth of black-led churches and adherence to these and the historic churches in Britain. Practical religious life in the churches is also described, and is followed by a discussion on partnership between black-led and white-led churches, on black theology, and on the need for a more thorough understanding of racism in British Christian life and fellowship.

In addition to this need for more research on the relationship between racism and religion, other aspects of Afro-Caribbean Christianity call for further examination and discussion. Four areas of interest are of particular importance because of their significance for the growth and health of contemporary Christianity in Britain. The first of these concerns changing patterns of adherence in the West Indies and Britain. Why, if most Afro-Caribbeans were church members before coming to this country, have so many ceased to be so now they live here? Is there a growing separation of religious and secular ways of life in the Afro-Caribbean community? If so, does this separation reveal a new and deep-seated rift, or is it a reflection of elements of life which were once compatible? Has religion become something that only certain types of British Afro-Caribbeans choose to be involved in?

The second area which invites more investigation is historical comparison with white British churches. Some English Free Churches, especially of the more independent sort, have shown characteristics similar to black-led churches (liturgy, types of worship, leadership and local organisation, popular evangelicalism, and the hymnody of Sankey).
They are sharing communities with more socially disadvantaged people in their congregations than many other English churches. Could black and white churches of this sort have similar histories? Might the story of other popular, free, evangelical forms of Christianity in urban Britain since 1800 help us to understand the processes of growth and change which black-led churches will experience? This report suggests, for example, that although people in certain age groups are being attracted to these churches in growing numbers, those in the age range of 18-35 are less committed. From the late nineteenth century, various English Free Churches experienced a similar problem with the result that their membership gradually declined. Will the black-led churches suffer the same consequences? Will they be able to attract young adults and hold them or will their membership stabilise and even decline like that of other British churches since the late nineteenth century?

Related to this are questions concerning the role of black-led churches in Britain today. These churches are undoubtedly meeting with some success in relation to the evangelisation of the inner cities, a success rarely shared by the mainline churches. Do they therefore hold the key to a Christian presence in these areas, and, if so, what does this mean for the relationship between black- and white-led churches? How does this contribute to an understanding of the role and nature of Christianity in the inner cities, in terms of resources, buildings, and partnership?

The fourth and last area of interest also concerns the issue of ecumenism. This report describes various initiatives in partnership and dialogue. Obviously racism has shaped the participation of Afro-Caribbean Christians in these ventures. Sometimes fear of encountering racist attitudes in white churches has inhibited it. In other cases concern about racism has encouraged it, because many Afro-Caribbean Christians are determined not to give in to racism. In addition, initiatives in dialogue may have neglected to include Afro-Caribbean churches or their representatives as a result of institutionalised racism and a lack of awareness of their presence and contribution to British Christian life. Another factor, which may discourage some from participation in dialogue and may limit those ecumenical ventures which have already begun, is that of theological differences. Black-led churches tend to be more conservative than most white-led ones. Does the fear of confronting issues which spring out of a commitment to either a conservative or liberal theological position, a confrontation which may seem to suggest unfriendliness or hostility, discourage an honest approach to ecumenism?

It is hoped that these issues will be examined in the near future by other researchers and by those involved in Black Christianity or in partnership with it. Members of the Community Religions Project are currently engaged in further work on Afro-Caribbean religion and we hope to announce further publications on this subject in due course. We would welcome enquiries from anyone interested in working with us.

Kim Knott
Community Religions Project
Department of Theology and Religious Studies, University of Leeds. February 1987
INTRODUCTION

The research was commissioned by the Community Religions Project which is a research group within the Department of Theology and Religious Studies at the University of Leeds. The project is concerned with the study of contemporary religions in Britain, and, in particular, with the religious life and practice of ethnic minority groups.

I was appointed in July 1985 for a period of five months halftime, with the very broad brief of finding out all I could about the present day religious practice and experience of British Afro-Caribbean Christians. The department already had some resources on the subject, but very little that had been produced more recently than the early seventies. Thus, one of my tasks was to find out what work had been done on the topic since then, and to update the department's resources. This included compiling a fairly extensive bibliography of all relevant material, and a card index of the names of useful contacts.

Starting with the resources already within the department, I read the material then available and drew up a list of all the contacts then known to us. I arranged to visit several people, and conducted informal interviews to try to get a feel for the current situation. These people put me in touch with many others, and recommended many books and papers which had been, or are being written. I soon discovered that there is a definite network of people concerned with black and white Christian partnership and race relations, many of whom know each other. I was welcomed into this network, and I was most impressed by the willing help I was given by everyone I approached, and by the genuine interest they showed in the work I was doing and the work of the Community Religions Project. I am indebted to all those I visited, and I am most grateful to them for giving so generously of their time. A list of their names and responsibilities can be found in Appendix 1.

There is no way that my research can be said to be complete. In such a short period of time only a limited amount can be achieved. The main aims were straightforward, and can be summarised as follows:

1. To find out what research has been done on contemporary Afro-Caribbean Christianity in the last 10 years or so.
2. To detail all relevant source material and contacts.
3. To try to identify changing trends in Afro-Caribbean religion in the last 10 years or so.
4. To identify fruitful areas for future research.

Some progress was made in all areas, and my findings are included in what follows. For the sake of clarity I have included information gleaned from secondary as well as primary sources in the hope that the resulting document will provide a useful introduction to the whole subject of contemporary British Afro-Caribbean Christian experience.
1. Brief History of Immigration

'Most British people, black or white, usually suppose that the black presence in Britain is entirely modern, a consequence of post-1945 immigration, but nothing could be further from the truth.' So writes Ian Duffield in an article in History Today September 1981. (1) In fact, as he and others in that same article go on to recounts, black people have been living in Britain since at least Roman times. There are several well-documented references to black men and women at all levels of British Society in the Middle ages, and by the reign of Elizabeth I they were present in sufficient numbers for an attempt to be made to repatriate some of them. (2) Thus, it seems that if black people in British Society are not a new phenomenon neither, sadly is white racism.

With the growth of the slave trade in the late seventeenth century, it became increasingly popular for those who could afford it to have black servants or slaves, and in 1764 The Gentlemans' Magazine estimated that the black population of London was 20,000. (3) This may well be an over-estimate as the figure of 14,000 or 15,000 was cited in a legal case in 1772 for the number of black people in the whole country. (4) Peter Fryer in his history of black people in Britain, Staying Power, settles on a figure of about 10,000. (5)

There is evidence that some black people in service in London in the eighteenth century were meeting together to discuss matters of common concern, and for music and dancing. Thus networks were developing which could be used to support runaway slaves. Although there were many black slaves in Britain in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the legality of slavery in Britain was never established. A series of court cases in the eighteenth century concerning runaway slaves did little to clarify matters. (6) However the confusion resulting from them encouraged slaves to run away and discouraged some former masters from doing anything about it. By the end of the eighteenth century most black slaves in Britain had either been freed or had freed themselves by absconding.

The majority of black people in Britain in the eighteenth century were men, and many of them married white women on gaining their freedom. There is evidence of much inter-marriage in the nineteenth century. Most of the children and grand-children of such unions ceased to think of themselves as part of a distinctive black community. However, closely knit black communities did persist in many British cities, and they grew when a further wave of immigration took place in the early twentieth century. By this time some black people were beginning to gain prominence in public life, in the fields of the arts, medicine, sport, business, law and politics. John Richard Archer, British born but of African descent, was the first black mayor to be elected in Britain. He became Mayor of Battersea in 1913. (7) Britain's black population was further increased during the first world war by an influx of seamen, munitions workers and others from the colonies who rallied to the aid of the Mother country. Their contribution was not appreciated by soldiers.
returning from the war and finding employment in short supply. They vented their resentment on the black workers, and the situation erupted into riots in Cardiff, Liverpool and other seaports. In response the coalition government under the Prime-minership of Lloyd George proposed repatriation schemes, an idea consistently raised during the inter-war period. Restrictive legislation, such as the Aliens' Order, 1920, and the Special Restriction (Coloured Alien Seamen) Order, 1925, was later enacted to check any further influx of 'coloured' people.

During the inter-war period the black community suffered greatly, facing discrimination from both employers and white trade unions. Even so, some immigration took place during this period. When the second world war ended the situation was suddenly very different. There was a shortage of labour in Britain, especially for jobs in textiles, heavy engineering, transport and healthcare. It was this factor which was largely responsible for bringing about the most recent and largest wave of Afro-Caribbean immigration to Great Britain. It began in June 1948 when the 'Empire Windrush' docked at Tilbury with 492 people from Kingston, Jamaica on board. Accurate figures may be impossible to obtain, but it seems likely that the numbers arriving from the Caribbean in 1948, 1949 and 1950 were comparatively low, under 1,000 per year. By the early 1950s the numbers began to increase slightly, but the figures for 1951, 1952 and 1953 were probably only about 2,000 per year. After 1953 the figures increased sharply to about 24,000 in 1954 and 26,000 in 1956. They then dropped slightly to 22,000 in 1957 and 16,000 in 1958. (8) The sharp increase was accounted for by the passing in 1952 of the McCarran-Walter Act in the United States. This limited the annual entry of Jamaicans to the United States to one hundred, and had the effect of increasing the immigration of Jamaicans to Britain.

There are many reasons why Afro-Caribbean immigrants came to Britain in the fifties. In addition to the 'push' factors of poor living conditions in the Caribbean, the decline of the sugar industry, the expanding population and low rates of economic growth, there were the 'pull' factors of the need for an increased workforce in Britain, coupled with the promise of a higher standard of living. Ceri Peach in his book West Indian Migration to Britain argues convincingly that the figures for Afro-Caribbean immigration correlate strongly with the figures for unfilled vacancies in Britain. He concludes that 'the main determinant of West Indian migration has been the demand for labour in this country'. (9) This view was shared by Hugh Gaitskell who said in the debate on the second reading of the Commonwealth Immigrants bill in 1961:

There has been over the years an almost precise correlation between the movement in the number of unfilled vacancies, that is to say, employers wanting labour, and the immigration figures. As the number of unfilled vacancies goes down, the immigration figures go down, and as the number of unfilled vacancies rises, the immigration figures go up. It is, in my opinion, an utter and complete myth that there is the slightest danger or prospect of millions and millions of brown and black people coming to this country. Anyone who is trying to put that across is only trying to frighten people into believing that. (10)
Certainly some British employers were actively recruiting staff in the West Indies. London Transport began recruiting in Barbados in 1956 and later began to recruit in Trinidad and Jamaica also. The then health minister, Mr. Enoch Powell, welcomed West Indian nurses to Britain in the 1950s. Thus, not surprisingly, the feeling expressed by many older West Indian people I have spoken to was that, far from forcing themselves on British society, the immigrants of the 1950s were responding to an invitation and supplying a need in the Mother country.

The numbers of Afro-Caribbeans entering Britain rose very sharply in 1960 and 1961 to around 57,170 and 74,590 respectively. (11) This increase was due to a fear of impending legislation restricting immigration, which proved to be well-founded. The 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act restricted Commonwealth Immigration to the dependents of those already in Britain, and to those who could obtain employment vouchers. These were difficult to obtain and only issued to those who had a skill that was in demand in Britain. Thus by the mid-sixties the wave of Afro-Caribbean immigration had been effectively halted and by 1969 the numbers entering Britain were very low indeed.

As there was a correlation between job vacancies in Britain and the numbers of Caribbean immigrants entering Britain in the 1950s and 1960s, one would logically expect them to settle in areas where demand for labour was highest. Surprisingly, this is not so. Whilst few settled in the areas of least demand (Scotland, Wales, North-East and North-West England), they were proportionately under-represented in the areas of highest demand (South East and South West England). The exception was London where demand was high and where large numbers settled, but large numbers also settled in regions of moderate demand (the East and West Midlands and South and West Yorkshire). Study of the mobility patterns of white workers helps to throw some light on this. The trend then, as now, is for white workers to move out of the large cities and industrial areas to new towns, suburbs and semi-rural areas. The black population moved into the inner city areas and the industrial towns to replace them and to fill vacancies in industries and services which had difficulty attracting labour. As Ceri Peach wrote, 'they have gone to the decreasing urban cores of expanding industrial regions'. (12)

It is almost impossible accurately to estimate the size of the black population in Britain today. The 1981 census, like other population censuses in the UK, did not include an 'ethnic' question, but it did ask a question on the birthplace of heads of household. This provides the most accurate guide available for estimating the ethnic origin of all members of UK households. Working from the 1981 census figures the Commission for Racial Equality estimates the total New Commonwealth and Pakistani population at 2,207,245 and the population of Afro-Caribbean origin at 545,744. (13) Most black people are still to be found in the 'urban cores', where they may, in some areas, outnumber the remaining white population. Their obvious presence in the inner cities can mislead people into thinking that the black population is larger than it really is. People of New Commonwealth and Pakistani origin comprise only 4.2% of the British population as a whole, and Afro-Caribbeans make up about a third of that, perhaps about 1.4%. Of these about half were born in Britain. The Afro-Caribbean community
is growing and will continue to grow until around the year 2000, but even so, their numbers will remain comparatively small.

ii. The Christian Church in the West Indies

'Religion, more than any other cultural phenomenon, mirrors the heterogeneity of the Caribbean.' Elizabeth Thomas-Hope's words in her article 'The pattern of Caribbean religions' point to the difficulty of trying to summarise briefly the complex and varied tapestry of Caribbean religious life. (14)

Although the islands have much in common from a geographical point of view, they present an astonishing diversity of race and culture. Differences of religion between the islands have arisen, by and large, because of their different colonial histories. The influence of colonialism on Caribbean life in general cannot be overstated. Colonial rule began in the 1650s and continues in some islands to the present day, so some islands have experienced more than three centuries of colonialism. As Philip Sherlock points out:

Colonialism, however important, was an incident in the history of Nigeria and Ghana, Kenya or Uganda, but it is the whole history of the West Indies, and as a West Indian novelist has pointed out, it has a deeper meaning for the West Indian than for the African who has never been wholly severed from the cradle of continuous culture and tradition. Colonialism is the very base and structure of the West Indian's cultural awareness. (15)

In the early part of the colonial period Britain had very little territory in the West Indies compared with Spain and France, but she significantly increased her holding during the great wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, acquiring Jamaica in 1655 and Trinidad in 1797 from Spain. By the end of the century Britain had also acquired Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia and Dominica from France. She also acquired a stake in the Bahamas, Belize (then British Honduras) and Guyana (then British Guiana). In those British islands acquired from France and Spain the Roman Catholic Church predominates (except for Jamaica which was acquired very early and is one of the most British of the British colonies), whereas in islands such as Barbados which have been under British rule throughout their colonial history, the Anglican Church is the strongest church numerically.

The Church of England was not slow to establish itself in the West Indies, and a parish system was soon set up. However, it did not see itself as engaged in missionary activity. The woefully inadequate number of clergy who went to the West Indies saw themselves primarily as chaplains to the white landowners and overseers. For a century and a half the doors of the Anglican churches were closed to slaves, and the rites of Christian baptism, marriage and burial were withheld from them. In contrast, in French and Spanish islands some regard was paid to making slaves Christian (at least by baptising them), and 'rescuing them from heathendom' was used as an excuse to justify slavery. In the British islands there was a huge gap between law and practice. The slave code of Jamaica of 1696 obliged slave owners to provide religious instruction for slaves, but this was universally ignored.
The Anglican Church in the West Indies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was weak in every way. Many parishes had no church building and there were too few clergy, and those that there were were less well-qualified and less well-paid than those in Britain. Very little was said or done about the widespread practice of white landowners taking black women as concubines, and of course, slavery was condoned. No attempt was made by the Anglican Church to improve the lot of the slaves in terms of education, healthcare or pastoral care. (16)

Little change could be detected in the Anglican Church until the early eighteen hundreds which saw the dawn of a period of humanitarian reform both in Britain and the West Indies. In Britain the 1832 Reform Act gave the vote to the middle classes for the first time, and the Whig government also passed a series of other social reforms. Much of the pressure for change came from churchmen, both evangelical Anglicans and non-conformists, who were also pressing for the abolition of slavery in the colonies. The slave trade itself had been abolished in 1807, and in 1834 the Act of Emancipation finally set all slaves in British colonies free.

In the period leading up to emancipation and immediately following it there was a period of intense missionary activity which resulted in the growth of Methodist, Baptist, Moravian, Congregational and Presbyterian churches in the West Indies. The different missionary groups concentrated their efforts on different islands and met with varying levels of success. One of the earliest groups was the United Brethren or the Moravians. They began work on the Danish island of St. Thomas in 1732, and established themselves in the British West Indies in 1754. They were active in Jamaica and Barbados, and were extremely successful in Antigua where four missionaries managed to bring into being a community of nearly nine thousand Moravians. (17)

The Methodists began their work in Antigua in the 1760s when a Methodist slave owner began to preach to his own slaves, and Baptist work began in Jamaica in 1783 when a black Baptist preacher, George Liele, came from America to preach and establish a chapel in Kingston. Non-conformist missionaries met with great opposition from whites. They were regarded with suspicion and hostility as friends of the slaves, and some were imprisoned on petty charges such as infringing the terms of their licences. Nevertheless, they continued and established a strong presence on many of the islands.

After emancipation the Anglican Church also began to rally. More money and clergy were given to the West Indian parishes to enable them to cope with their responsibilities. The doors of the churches were now open to the freed slaves and they were encouraged to be baptised, married, confirmed and buried by the church. The ex-slaves were keen to respond.

The Roman Catholic Church has never been a significant force in those islands first conquered by Britain, but the islands acquired from France and Spain in the eighteenth century remained strongly Roman Catholic. The Anglican church, of course, was established much later in these islands than in the other British colonies. The Catholic Church never excluded slaves from Christian rites, although in the
early part of the colonial period it gave virtually no religious instruction and provided nothing by way of pastoral care, health care or education. When the islands became British the Anglican Church became the State church, but no pressure was put on the inhabitants to change their religious allegiances, and few did so. Thus the State church remained a minority church. Following emancipation the Catholic Church like the Anglican and non-conformist churches began to found schools and provide more pastoral and spiritual care.

Generally the first half of the nineteenth century was a period of revival and growth for the West Indian churches. In the second half of the century, and in the twentieth century many other church groups and religious sects became active in the islands, such as the Salvation Army, Christian Scientists, Seventh Day Adventists, Quakers and Jehovah's Witnesses.

In addition to this, several Pentecostal and Holiness churches were established as a result of links with groups in the United States. Although elements of pentecostal belief and practice, such as possession by the Holy Spirit, had been important in some churches of the Baptist tradition in the British West Indies since the late eighteenth century, the American Pentecostal churches did not begin to develop there until the twentieth century. (18) In 1909, a native of the Bahamas, Edmund Barr, visited a Church of God camp in Florida, returned home to evangelise, and was followed a year later by another Church of God family. (19) By the end of the second decade the Church of God had begun to grow in Jamaica, and by 1924 E. Simons had been appointed as the First Overseer of Jamaica. (He had reported to one Assembly that most congregations followed that branch of the Church of God which was later to become known as the Church of God of Prophecy.) By the end of the Second World War the Church of God had branches in nearly all the islands of the Caribbean and was growing fast. G.E. Simpson shows that in Jamaica by 1960 it had grown to be the third largest denomination, after the Baptists and Anglicans, with a membership of some 200,000, 12% of the island's population. (20)

To make the picture even more complex, in some rural areas of certain islands cults and sects of African origin have persisted. Elements of African tribal religion have also been syncretised with elements of Christianity (usually Roman Catholic Christianity), for example, the Shango cult of Trinidad and the Santeria cult in Cuba. The Pocomanian cult in Jamaica developed when surviving forms of African religion syncretised with revivalist protestantism. (21) Thus the influences of different colonial powers, missionary activity and African traditional religion combine to produce an extremely varied and complex picture of religious life in the Caribbean.

Perhaps as many as 80-90% of the population became members of the congregations of one or other of the Christian churches or sects. Clifford Hill estimated in 1971 that 69% of the total population of the British West Indies attended regularly one of the six major denominations (Church of England, Roman Catholic, Baptist, Methodist, Congregationalist, Presbyterian) prior to the last major wave of immigration in the 1950s. (22) If the Moravians, the Pentecostal churches and all the other smaller churches and sects are added on to Clifford Hill's figure of 69% then it can be assumed that the vast majority of the people of the British West Indies were church goers.
West Indian migration did not begin in the 1950s and '60s but it was during that period that Britain became the major destination for migrants. Former slaves began to migrate from the Caribbean very soon after emancipation. Apart from the quest for material wealth, emigration was a way of expressing the personal freedom so long denied them. Prior to the 1950s West Indian migration was primarily to the United States, but also South America, the Hispanic countries of Central America and the Netherlands' Antilles. Migration was always to countries of higher wage levels, and the migrants confidently expected to make their fortunes before returning home.

The islands of the West Indies were, and are, economically dependent on the outside world, and this factor promotes a sense of psychological dependence. It is a strongly and widely held belief in the West Indies that emigration is the major channel of self advancement, and young people in particular are encouraged to go abroad to better their prospects.

In addition to general expectations about migration, specific expectations were attached to migration to Britain. Most took great pride in their status as British citizens and confidently expected to be welcomed as such in the Mother Country. Britain was seen as a benevolent and just society where, if the streets were not paved with gold, there was at least opportunity for a good living to be made for all who were prepared to work for it. As most white people in the West Indies were at least relatively rich, few of the migrants were expecting to see white people who were poor and in low status jobs. Neither were they prepared for the realities of poverty, poor housing and racial prejudice which most of them encountered. (23)

Elizabeth Thomas-Hope interviewed some West Indians prior to emigrating, and the following account is taken from her article 'Hopes and reality in West Indian migration today'.

The perceived risk of emigrating hardly ever included the possibility of failure. On the contrary, failure was seen rather in not emigrating. 'He should have some ambition and go abroad to make himself a man', it was said of a young man in one family. In several other instances the same point was made. People showed surprise whenever I raised the question of the risk of not obtaining suitable employment, housing and the like. This was rarely contemplated and in the course of the interview usually dismissed as being of little real consequence. (24)

However, whether they contemplated it or not, most migrants did encounter problems in obtaining housing and employment, as Ceri Peach wrote:

Of the twin difficulties facing the West Indian of breaking into the white reservations of jobs and housing, housing is the greatest. It has already been stressed that the migration produced a conflict between the social and economic needs of Britain. The shortage of workers made West Indians economically acceptable, the shortage of houses made them
socially undesirable. The colour prejudice of landlords and landladies coupled with shortage of houses has made the overcrowding of much of the accommodation available to migrants inevitable, and this in turn has increased their image of undesirability. Thus, from being refused accommodation on the grounds that they were coloured, they are now refused accommodation on the grounds that they will overcrowd. It is surely an ideal system in which prediction produces its own justification. (25)

Their experiences in housing and employment has parallels in all other areas of life. The prejudice they encountered dismayed and shocked them, all the more so because they were totally unprepared for it. Hardest of all to take perhaps was the realisation that not even in the churches could they be sure of a welcome. On coming to Britain many of the immigrants made their way to the nearest church of their denomination expecting to be welcomed as fellow-believers and members of the wider church family. Some brought communion cards or letters of introduction from their home churches. There were doubtless churches that did their best to welcome them and make them feel at home, but stories abound of indifference, coldness and even downright hostility. Newly-arrived West Indian immigrants in the 1950s and '60s were soon told by those who had preceded them that they would not be welcome in the British churches.

This is how Ira Brooks, now a pastor in the New Testament Church of God, described his first experience of the Church of England in Britain to Anita Jackson in her recent book Catching Both Sides of the Wind.

When I got to Gloucester I quickly sought out the Anglican church. I was a stranger and they offered nothing, absolutely nothing. Not that I was looking for anyone to lift me up but - I mean - a stranger in the country. Arriving with the warmth of the church I had known, I thought the church, especially the church, would have taken me in. Perhaps back home it was my local church where everybody knew everybody. I don't know. But here it was just a blank grey situation, just like the weather. Everything was cold. The people, the atmosphere. One of my first experiences was chilling. I discovered that certain pews in the church were reserved. How did I discover this? I went and took my seat, and then someone came up and politely hustled me away, drawing my attention to some name or number - I don't remember what was on the seat. And not being accustomed to English ways - you understand? - I had to think, I couldn't pick things up as quickly as they were saying them to me. I was partly bewildered. Sometimes it was days before you could interpret what happened last week. When I fully realised what this person was saying to me, that the seats were reserved, I went to sit at the back. After the service nobody spoke to me. (26)

Robinson Milward, now a Methodist minister in Stoke Newington told Anita Jackson a similar story:
Yes, I have had negative experiences within the church. I would say that most of my experiences of racialism are not unique. They are the common experiences of my people. The depths of rejection I felt in the Methodist church when I came here. Think of a youngster just arrived in a foreign country, which you were taught was a Christian country, to be told by a minister with a dog-collar on his neck not to come back to his church. It was more than a bomb. I couldn't believe it. I went to his church where the congregation was white. I wasn't welcome because I was black. You'd be surprised how blunt people can be. It's a basic lack of respect for the black person. Along with this kind of outright rejection, there is the difficulty one has in feeling accepted... (27)

Heather Ward found this kind of experience was typical of the majority of black people within Methodism and details several personal stories in her recent report: A Tree God Planted - Black People in British Methodism. (28) David Moore recounts very similar stories in his paper 'Invisible People - Black People in the Church of England'. (29) There are also several accounts of prejudice experienced within the Catholic Church in the recently published report of Cardinal Hume's advisory group on the Catholic Church's commitment to the black community, With You in Spirit? (30)

It was also my experience as I spoke to Afro-Caribbean people within the historic churches that most had experienced and were still experiencing to some extent, racial discrimination within the church context. The situation has changed since the 1950s in that people are seldom openly told that they are not wanted, but recent research in the Methodist and Anglican Churches shows that Afro-Caribbeans are still under-represented in the historic churches as a whole and in positions of responsibility within those churches. The findings of these reports will be summarised in Chapter 3.

Although the majority of Afro-Caribbean immigrants to Britain attended church whilst in the West Indies, only a minority of the British Afro-Caribbean community now do so. It is impossible to accurately estimate the size of this minority, but about 20% was the figure most often quoted to me. Of those attending church in Britain only about a third are now in the historic churches. (31) Most of the remaining two-thirds are in black-led churches which are mainly (though not entirely) pentecostal in doctrine and practice, or in the Seventh Day Adventist Church. By contrast, in the West Indies about two-thirds of churchgoers are in the historic churches, and about a third in pentecostal or holiness churches. There has been a tremendous increase in the number of black-led churches in Britain since the 1950s and both the numbers of churches and the numbers of people attending them continue to grow. Clifford Hill and others have attributed this growth to the cold reception generally received by black people in the historic churches. (32) This is certainly a large part of the explanation but, as we shall see, there may also be other factors.
CHAPTER 2
BLACK-LED CHURCHES

i. What is a Black-led Church?

By 'black-led churches' I mean all local churches which have black leadership and where the membership is predominantly black. Although this report is concerned only with Afro-Caribbean Christianity, it is worth noting that there are also small but increasing numbers of African and Asian Churches.

Increasingly black church leaders are preferring the term 'black-led churches' to 'black churches' though some do object to it. (1) It is a more accurate term because very few churches are wholly black. Most have a handful of white members and would welcome more. There is a determination to avoid the racial discrimination which black people have felt in white-led churches, and some black church leaders I spoke to expressed sadness that there are not more white people in their churches.

The term 'black-led' emphasises positively that leadership is exercised by men and women whose ethnic background is seen as the main distinguishing factor. However, even this term is not helpful in every instance as not all predominantly black churches are black-led. I was told of a white Jewish man presently training for the New Testament Church of God ministry, and he will not be the first white pastor in this denomination in Britain. However the majority of pastors and worshippers in British New Testament Church of God churches are Afro-Caribbean, although the parent church in the United States is predominantly white. Many churches which are almost entirely black and black-led in Britain have white denominational leadership in the United States.(2)

ii. Growth of Black-led Churches

Most black-led churches in Britain have been established since the 1950s, and whilst almost all other types of churches have declined numerically over the last thirty-five years, black-led churches have grown considerably. Paul Charman estimates this growth at over 5% a year and Anita Jackson (basing her figures on the 1983 edition of the U.K. Christian Handbook) at 6%. (3) This is all the more remarkable when one considers that they are thriving in the very areas where other churches have great difficulty even maintaining a presence - Britain's inner cities.

The unwelcoming attitude of the historic churches towards black Christians was the main factor leading to the establishment of black-led churches in the 1950s, and their growth since then can be partly accounted for by increasing numbers of immigrants (up until the 'ban' in 1962), and partly by natural growth in the Afro-Caribbean community. However, there are also other possible explanations.

Social class may well be a factor in the rejection by Afro-Caribbeans of the historic churches. Most immigrants in the 1950s
obtained unskilled or semi-skilled jobs, alongside the white working class. In the churches they encountered middle class people with middle class values and they felt out of place and uncomfortable. In addition, by attending church they were behaving differently from their white workmates and thus increasing the social distance between them. Many left the churches never to return, but others were attracted to the newly-established black-led churches. The black-led churches are still gaining new members from those people who left the historic churches in the 1950s and '60s. Those black Christians who remained within the historic churches are mainly middle class as Heather Walton discovered in her research in the Methodist denomination. (4) Sybil Phoenix, a Guyanan Christian who stayed within the Methodist Church and is now a local preacher, details some of her experiences of rejection by the churches in her book Willing Hands. (5) She told me that although she became Sunday School Superintendent at one church she attended, she never really felt accepted, and attributed this as much to class difference as to racism.

Another factor in the establishment and growth of black-led churches was undoubtedly the desire to maintain a sense of cultural identity in an unfamiliar and generally unwelcoming society. The rejection and discrimination they experienced drew people closer together. As Paul Charman writes:

The church became a place of refuge and of acceptance by God and by people of like background and common experience: it was a place where people could find fulfilment, where their spiritual, social, economic and emotional needs could be met and where they could make a contribution towards meeting the needs of others. Black-led churches remain, for some older members, places where members may reflect and reminisce on times spent talking on sunny street corners, of family and neighbourhood solidarity and of churches with open windows through which the whole community could witness the proceedings. (6)

The evangelistic zeal of most black-led churches has also contributed to their growth. Most churches have programmes of visitation, and much emphasis is placed on youth work. Some churches were actually founded as mission churches by pastors from the West Indies who came to Britain to propagate the teachings of their particular denomination or tradition. Other churches have split to form two churches, sometimes over doctrinal differences or leadership disputes, but often to deliberately plant another church in a different area.

Many of the pastors I spoke to saw themselves as pastors of the entire black community in their geographical area, and increasingly pastors are emphasising the need for churches to be involved in the community. Many churches are trying to meet local needs by providing playgroups, old people's luncheon clubs, or facilities for the unemployed. This is probably also contributing to growth, as people turn to the churches for practical help, or attend an activity organised by the church. However, it is likely that many of the people who join the churches this way have previously been church attenders in the West Indies.
The overall picture is of an increasing number of growing and developing churches. The Conference for Christian Partnership (a committee of the British Council of Churches) has recently estimated that there are over 160 denominations involving perhaps 100,000 people in about 2,500 congregations. (7) There are no indications that the growth is slowing. Britain's black-led churches appear to be in very good health, and have much to teach other sections of the Christian Church.

iii. Theology of Black-led Churches

There are two equal and opposite temptations to avoid when considering the theology of black-led churches. One is to minimise the differences between the churches and the other is to over-emphasise them. Many people, including those within the Afro-Caribbean community, say that they are all basically the same and dismiss them as 'holy rollers', whereas Roswith Gerloff in her writings distinguishes between nine separate categories of black-led churches. (8)

Black church leaders I met explained the differences more simply. Churches are either in the Pentecostal or the Holiness tradition, and the Pentecostal churches either emphasise Jesus (the so-called Jesus Name or Oneness churches) or they emphasise the Trinity. Thus three major categories emerge:

- Pentecostal Trinitarian, e.g. New Testament Church of God; Pentecostal Oneness, e.g. Oneness Apostolic;
- Holiness, e.g. Wesleyan Holiness.

Almost all black-led churches hold a conservative evangelical position and a fundamentalist view of Scripture.

The terms Pentecostal, Holiness, Trinitarian and Oneness may require further explanation.

Pentecostal

The majority of black-led churches are Pentecostal, and have their roots in the Pentecostal movement that began in the United States in the 1890s. (9) They emphasise speaking in tongues and other gifts of the Spirit as evidence that a person has been baptized in the Spirit. Baptism in the Spirit is seen as a distinct experience following conversion and water baptism. There are two traditions within Pentecostalism. The 'Church of God' tradition sees baptism in the Spirit as a third stage after conversion and sanctification, whereas the Elim or Assemblies of God tradition sees sanctification by baptism in the Spirit as a second stage. (Roswith Gerloff uses the terminology of three-stage crisis experience and two-stage crisis experience.) (10) Some churches believe that the gift of tongues is the necessary visible evidence of the Holy Spirit's working in a person's life, and would hold that a person who does not speak in tongues is not filled with the Spirit. Other churches are less dogmatic on this issue. The other gifts of the Spirit listed in the New Testament are also sought and practised, both privately and publicly. (11) Worship services may involve speaking in tongues, interpretation, prophecy, prayers for healing, and sometimes words of knowledge. Churches vary a great deal in how much of the service is given to the practice of spiritual gifts.
Holiness

Churches in the Holiness tradition have their roots in American primitive Wesleyanism, which separated in 1843 from the Methodist Episcopal Church over the former's support for the abolition of slavery, the emancipation of women, and other political and social issues. They emphasise only conversion and sanctification. The largest black-led church in the Holiness tradition in Britain is the Wesleyan Holiness Church. The following is taken from their Statement of Faith:

We believe that God not only counts the believer as righteous, but that He makes him righteous, freeing him of sin's dominion at conversion, purifying his heart by faith and perfecting him in love at entire sanctification, and providing for his growth in grace at every stage of his spiritual life, enabling him through the presence and power of the Holy Spirit to live a victorious life. (12)

Spiritual gifts may be practised privately but do not normally form part of public worship, which usually follows the free church pattern of hymns and choruses, prayers, Bible readings and a sermon. Other churches in the Holiness tradition in Britain include the A.M.E. (the African Methodist Episcopal) and various black-led Baptist churches.

Trinitarian

The word trinitarian is used to distinguish those pentecostals holding an orthodox view of the Trinity from the Oneness or Jesus-Name pentecostals.

Jesus-Name or Oneness

The Oneness Pentecostals separated from the American Assemblies of God in 1913 over the form of words used at Baptism. They claim to go back to the earliest practice of the Apostles by baptising only in the Name of Jesus, rather than in the Name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. (13) This practice reflects a different interpretation of the doctrine of the Trinity. Many Oneness churches hold to a form of modalism, that is to say that God has been revealed in three different forms at different times. God's Name is Jesus, and the Holy Spirit is today's revelation of God. To call such churches Unitarian is misleading as this is by no means always their position. Some churches have developed the modalist doctrine much more than others, but in all Oneness churches Jesus is central in the worship and preaching.

Most Oneness or Jesus-Name churches have the word 'Apostolic' somewhere in their title, and the largest of them is the Apostolic Church of Jesus Christ which is an international denomination. Roswith Gerloff writes of the Oneness Pentecostals:

In Britain they form one third of the black pentecostal movement, one of the organisations, the First United Church of Jesus Christ, being the largest indigenous black church in England, and they are more dynamic in both their interest for social change and ecumenical participation with other
Christian bodies. They are the fastest growing group among the black pentecostals, a fact which may be related to their enthusiastic features, their outspokenness on black issues, and their more innovative doctrines. (14)

Other doctrines and traditions

Sabbatarianism

There are two main Afro-Caribbean Sabbatarian denominations, the Seventh Day Baptists and the Church of God Seventh Day. The Seventh Day Baptist Church is very small. It was one of the oldest non-conformist groups in England alongside the Quakers in the seventeenth century but had declined out of existence by the mid-eighteenth century. It has now been revived in Britain by Jamaicans proud of their history of religious liberty and martyrdom. The Church of God Seventh Day encompasses both the Sabbatarian and Pentecostal traditions.

The greatest number of Afro-Caribbean Sabbatarian Christians are to be found in the Seventh Day Adventist Church. In fact, blacks now outnumber whites in what was once a predominantly white middle class church. The church has changed dramatically in the last thirty years and the changes have not been entirely problem-free. Afro-Caribbeans in the Seventh Day Adventist Church will be considered in more detail in Chapter 3.

Healing

Much more emphasis is placed on healing in most black-led churches than in most white-led churches, and prayers for healing accompanied by anointing with oil and the laying on of hands are common practice in most of the pentecostal churches. In some churches, such as the Miracle Mission in East London, healing is central, and special healing meetings are held.

Baptism

Almost all black-led churches practise believers' baptism by immersion. It is seen as a very important event, often drawing several congregations together.

Communion

Communion services are held regularly but not weekly. In most churches they are open to all believers. Some churches make a point of only using unfermented wine and unleavened bread. Communion is often preceded by the rite of washing the feet of the Saints.

Washing the feet of the Saints

Washing each other's feet is a distinctive feature of most Afro-Caribbean pentecostal churches. Men and women form separate groups and wash each other's feet in turn in obedience to Jesus' words in John 13 verses 14 and 15.
Eschatology

Preaching in black-led churches makes frequent reference to the future, and much use is made of the eschatological passages of both the Old and the New Testaments. Present trials are contrasted with the glorious inheritance awaiting the saints in Heaven after the imminent return of Christ.

iv. Worship

Each congregation worships in its own way but certain general comments can be made about the worship of black-led Pentecostal churches. (Holiness churches tend to follow a fairly typical non-conformist form of service, though the worship in some Holiness churches is very much the same as in Pentecostal churches). Although on a first visit the service might seem unstructured and even chaotic, it almost certainly will follow a pattern which will become apparent on subsequent visits. There will be little variation from that pattern week by week. The elements of the service are usually prayer, hymn singing, testimony, preaching and scripture reading, plus sometimes, though not always, speaking in tongues and prophecy. The service is strongly Bible-centred and the Bible is seen as having great contemporary significance. Almost equal use is made of the Old and New Testaments. The sermon will be a biblical exhortation, and frequent themes will be the wickedness of the world, the sufferings of the people of God and their future deliverance and glorification at the return of Christ. Until recently comment on contemporary social and political issues was rare but this is changing and some preachers now tackle these themes. The sermon may call for responses from the congregation such as 'Amen!' or 'Praise the Lord!'. Indeed such responses may be called for by the leader at various points throughout the service. This helps to engender a sense of participation and involvement on the part of the worshippers. Response may also be invited in the form of altar calls for healing and ministry.

The congregation can be involved in the service in various other ways. Opportunity is generally given for the sharing of testimony, personal news and prayer requests. Sometimes there may be a Scripture shower where members of the congregation recite favourite texts. Worshippers may lead in prayer or request hymns or choruses which are often sung from memory. The pastor of the church may not necessarily lead the worship. This may be delegated to another individual, or to the women or the young people of the church.

The Authorized Version of the Bible is commonly used and the language of the Authorised Version is reflected in preaching and prayer. Worshippers usually bring their own Bibles and follow the Bible readings and sermon.

Music plays a large part in worship. Larger churches have choirs and sometimes groups of instrumentalists. Various musical styles are found, from traditional hymns (especially Moody and Sankey and Wesley hymns), to spirituals, traditional choruses and modern worship songs. Many different musical instruments are used and worshippers often clap along with the singing.
Services are often much longer than in most white-led churches. Two hour or even three hour services are not unusual. It is felt that worship takes time, and should not be hurried. No shame is attached to leaving before the end of the service.

The atmosphere in a service of worship in a black-led church is generally very warm and welcoming. It engenders a sense of social solidarity and acceptance. It is this warmth and acceptance that black people often miss in white churches. Heather Walton quotes a black Methodist:

You go to church in the West Indies and you feel full - as if you's received a blessing. Most churches you go to here, you walk in, sit there for an hour and you go home empty. (15)

I believe it is this feeling of being personally involved and ministered to which, more than anything, accounts for the continuing growth of black-led churches. The enthusiasm and warmth of their worship is one of their chief strengths.

v. Leadership and training

Most pastors of black-led churches have to earn their own living and so carry out their preaching and pastoral work in their spare time. It is generally only the larger denominations such as the New Testament Church of God that have full-time ministers. Likewise few ministers have had the luxury of full-time ministerial training. Pastors and leaders are therefore very much men and women of the people sharing the lifestyles and the social and educational backgrounds of their congregation. Although there is much less 'culture gap' between minister and people in black-led churches than in most white-led churches, ministers are held in very high regard by their own congregations and given a lot of authority.

Qualifications for the pastorate are largely spiritual and practical. A man or woman must have a thorough grounding in the congregational life of the church, a proven ability to preach and lead, and above all, a sense of calling. It would not be correct to say that black pastors are untrained for, as Paul Charman writes,

Training of ministers in many black-led churches is both extended and comprehensive, within the bounds of evangelicalism and the King James version of the Bible. It begins at 'conversion' and standards are expected to be met at each stage of development towards full ordination. This training is usually, though not always, undertaken in oral forms rather than in written examinations. It is constantly tested through the charismatic nature of the leadership. If a minister fails to exemplify, through preaching and living, the standards of holiness which is the basis of almost all black-led churches, the congregation will simply express its disapproval by leaving. (16)

This approach to training certainly has its merits but its chief weakness is that it can lead to narrowness and inflexibility. The value of formal training (to supplement rather than replace practical
training) is recognised in black-led churches, and some pastors make great sacrifices to obtain it. They may well work full-time, pastor a church and study by correspondence course.

New opportunities for training have been emerging in recent years, and at last a range of flexible options are open to black church leaders who wish to acquire formal training provided that is that he or she can find the time and the money. There follows an account of the training opportunities which I have been able to discover. It is probably not comprehensive.

Some denominations have their own training colleges. The Seventh Day Adventist Church (which is not really a black-led church) has a college at Bracknell in Berkshire, and the New Testament Church of God has a sizeable training college, offering a range of courses open to all who are training for Christian ministry, at Overstone in Northamptonshire. I had hoped to visit Overstone College to discover more about its courses but my enquiries did not result in an invitation. However, an interesting prospectus is available from the college and new courses are currently being developed including one on 'Music Ministry'. There is also a New Testament Church of God centre in Stoke Newington, the Ebenezer Bible Institute, which offers correspondence courses. Shiloh Apostolic Church has a college offering a wide variety of courses in Croydon, and the New Testament Assemblies run some part-time courses from their headquarters in Tooting. The Bibleway Church also offers some part-time training courses.

Some black church leaders have trained in ecumenical Bible Colleges, for example Io Smith, a pastor and leader in The New Testament Assemblies, trained at London Bible College. Most Wesleyan Holiness pastors train at the British Isles Nazarene College in Manchester, although one trained at Overstone College and some trained in the United States.

There have been various initiatives in recent years to provide part-time training open to pastors of all denominations. Probably the earliest was the Central Bible Institute in Birmingham which was started in 1973. It is an inter-denominational institution which began by offering part-time training and now offers both full and part-time courses. It was started with black church leaders in mind but is open to all and there have been white and Asian students as well as black.

The United Evangelical Project is an offshoot of the Central Bible Institute. The Project is primarily concerned with work in the community but also runs adult education classes, including one in theology. It also monitors a correspondence course in theology for the International Correspondence Institute in Brussels. Negotiations are taking place at the time of writing with the Department of Mission at Birmingham University about the possibility of running a course similar to that at the Centre for Black and White Christian Partnership.

The Centre for Black and White Christian Partnership, also in Birmingham, was started in 1978 by Roswith Gerloff and continues to the present. The Certificate in Theology course which the centre offers aims to bring together those trained in classical and oral theology. The course takes fourteen week-ends spread over two academic years, and is open to all denominations, to both lay and ordained people.
It leads to a certificate validated by the University of Birmingham, and is recognised as a qualification giving access to higher education. There have been substantially more black than white participants up until now, and support from the historic churches has been slow. (17)

The Manchester Christian Institute also offers a course for the pastors and leaders of black-led churches (though not exclusively for them). The first course began in 1980. Only one course runs at a time and it lasts three years, so the second group of students finished in summer 1986. It is part-time and consists of a weekly evening class plus some residential week-ends. It leads to the Certificate in Religious Studies validated by the University of Manchester's extramural Department. All the course participants have been from the Manchester area.

The most recent development in training is at Goldsmith's College in South London. A two year part-time course consisting of two elements, a study of the synoptic gospels and pastoral care, began in September 1984. It is primarily for pastors and leaders of ethnic minority churches and it was initiated by the International Ministerial Council of Great Britain. About thirty people will complete the course and will obtain certificates from Goldsmith's College which are recognised qualifications for University entrance. The course has been very successful and will be broadened and expanded in the future.

These new initiatives represent a growing awareness on the part of some colleges that the training needs of black churches have not been met in the past. They are thus welcome developments.

At first the multiplicity of different leadership roles in black-led churches can be confusing, but they ensure that most committed members of a congregation are given a definite place and sense of purpose in a church. This is particularly important when members are in low status jobs which provide little or no scope for using their gifts and abilities. Each church has its own leadership structure. In the New Testament Church of God, the largest black-led denomination in Britain, there are deacons, elders and ministers. Deacons are responsible for practical and administrative matters, and elders are involved in pastoral and spiritual duties alongside the minister. There are three orders of ministry. An exhorter is licensed to preach but not to carry out the full duties of a minister or to lead a congregation. A licensed minister or evangelist is usually the pastor of a local congregation or one who has special duties at a district level. An ordained minister may have responsibility for just one congregation, or he may be a District Overseer with oversight of several churches. There is also a National Overseer for the British Isles and a General Overseer in the United States. Only ordained ministers can vote to elect the National Overseer.

In most black-led churches there are some women in positions of leadership (there are presently two ordained women ministers in the Wesleyan Holiness Church and several other women lay leaders). Women leaders are out-numbered by men, but less so than in white-led churches, and my impression is that there is more equality between the sexes in black-led churches than in white-led churches. However, there are very few women in the higher offices of the churches.
Disputes over leadership have sometimes led to splits in congregations and the formation of new churches, though this is less common now than in the past. This may be a result of qualifications for leadership being judged more on an ability to provoke a response than on formal qualifications. However, the results of such splits are not always negative as they often produce two thriving congregations instead of one.

During my fieldwork I tried to discover the extent to which black church leaders exercise leadership in the wider community. Opinions varied. Some felt they had a very important role, and were widely recognised and accepted as leaders of the entire Afro-Caribbean Community. Others felt that this was a role that had been taken rather than bestowed, and that the black churches were being presumptuous in claiming to speak for all black people. Although a much higher proportion of black people than white people attend a church, at least 80% are non-churchgoers. There are many other black organisations and black leaders that these people may look to. I was told that in Brixton, non-churchgoing members of the black community feel that church leaders are over-represented on bodies like the Police Committee. Whether this is true or not, the commitment of black church leaders and members to their neighbourhoods is strong, and the black-led churches are increasingly being recognised as a positive force in their communities.

vi. Lifestyle

Most black-led churches expect certain standards of behaviour from their members. Alcohol, tobacco, strong drugs, extra-marital sexual relations and swearing are taboo. Women are expected not to wear cosmetics or jewellery, and hairstyles and dress must be plain. Going to the cinema, nightclubs, public houses or parties are considered to be totally unsuitable forms of entertainment for Christians. Such requirements may seem strict, but they need to be seen against the background of Westindian life in this country. John Root explains in his booklet Westindian Pentecostalism and Ministry:

Most Westindians of any or no religious persuasion are shocked to see white Christians, particularly clergy, smoking cigarettes or drinking alcohol or going to places of public entertainment. Behind this is the assumption that these are worldly forms of behaviour, which saints will have renounced. There are, in fact, in the Westindian community two fairly clearly defined and competing patterns of life, focusing around the church and the blues party. Whilst most Westindians would not conform absolutely to either, it is generally accepted that the characteristics of each do not mix at all - thus reggae music, alcohol, tobacco and sexual promiscuity belong to the partying life-style, and must be renounced by Christians. Instead a saint will spend a very large proportion of his leisure time with other Christians, attending services, prayer and youth meetings, choir practices, evangelistic rallies, and conventions at which churches gather together. Thus upon conversion a person will immediately have available a full and demanding pattern of activities to cover evenings, week-ends and bank holidays, and which can replace a previously profane and good-timing way of life. (18)
This rejection of worldliness is very much a feature of the black-led churches. The boundaries between being a Christian and not being a Christian are clear so people know where they stand. This gives the Christian community a sense of certainty and assurance.

vii. Links with the United States and the West Indies

Some black-led churches in this country are part of international denominations. The largest of these is the New Testament Church of God which is known as the Church of God in America. In the States it is a predominantly white church, and white missionaries first established the church in the West Indies from whence it spread to Britain. The Church of God of Prophecy, also quite strong in Britain, split from the Church of God in 1923.

In the early years, American pastors and missionaries from these denominations (usually white) came to Britain to help the churches establish themselves. Both of these churches have now national leadership in Britain, but these leaders are ultimately answerable to Head Offices in the United States. This is also true of the Wesleyan Holiness Church, the Apostolic Church of Jesus Christ and others. (19) Being part of a large international organisation brings both benefits and problems. On the positive side, money and resources are made available to the British churches for the purchase of buildings, or for church building programmes. Help may be given for pastors to train in the United States, and Overstone College (New Testament Church of God) was financed with American help. The international perspective helps to foster a strong sense of identity, which is strengthened through regional and national gatherings. The organisation can provide its own teaching materials and support networks. Over against these advantages are the disadvantages which being answerable to a geographically remote leadership can bring.

Pastor Ira Brooks of the New Testament Church of God comments on this in Catching Both Sides of the Wind:

On this score I have some criticism of our own church. The American Church of God has been very helpful to us in our pioneering days in this country. Only now I am somewhat weary. I think that they may be losing that sense of understanding of the progress and the change that has come about in our membership over the last two or three decades. I think that they fall into the misunderstanding that they are still preaching and ministering to a West Indian church. They do not take into account that nearly 40% of the church is indigenous. They are black English. The doctrine and the practical commitments of the church were drawn up one hundred years ago by Americans, at a time when they naturally had no foresight of how the church would be extended to foreign fields. You are going to have problems if you try to maintain an all-American church in a different culture like England's. The American control may be due to the lack of initiative within the 'immigrant church'. We need more freedom. I am agitating for an initiative on our part that commands respect. I want our contribution to complement the American, the German or whatever. I want other nationalities, other members to see and to recognise that we fellows can manage. It's a delicate matter. I wouldn't want to say
that they disrespect us. But some American preachers who come here have an image of the West Indians which is false now. It belongs to the idea of the emotional West Indian of fifty years ago. There's no emphasis on those who are born here. I think it's the right and the responsibility of the minister to speak out whether in support of a policy or in criticism of it, or an organisation. I think the church is strong enough to learn to go forward by constructive criticism. I see it as my responsibility to speak out because the church has a long way to go.

The theology of the church needs adjusting. It is not in the interests of someone like myself. It does not relate to the history through which our black experience has come. Not our history, or our saints or our heroes. The church should take some interest and proclaim our heroes along with us as we proclaim their history and heroes along with them. (20)

The British New Testament Church of God has developed, and is developing differently over the years from the American church. It is slightly more liberal theologically and has invited speakers from the States who wouldn't gain a hearing in the U.S. churches. Some New Testament Church of God pastors have become involved in ecumenical initiatives, and the British Church as a whole is involved in the inter-church consultative process which may lead to it coming into membership of the British Council of Churches in the 1990s. Ecumenism is not generally encouraged by the American leadership who are against membership of the World Council of Churches. The same is true of the Church of God of Prophecy which is probably the least ecumenically-minded of all the black-led churches. Up until now it has largely been the small independent black-led churches which have co-operated with the British Council of Churches. This is mainly because of this reluctance on the part of the international leaderships of the larger groups to be ecumenically involved.

viii. Recent trends in the black-led churches

During the course of my research I tried to identify ways in which the black-led churches are changing and developing. As I spoke to black church leaders and people involved in black and white Christian partnership certain themes and trends emerged.

Continuing growth

Everyone I spoke to thought the black-led churches were still growing and would continue to grow whilst black people continue to experience social inequalities. The growth is mainly with the under-12s and the over-35 age group (some of whom are coming back into the churches).

Increasing social and political involvement

In the early years of their establishment in this country the black-led churches concentrated on providing a spiritual life-line to people who were suffering the pain of racial discrimination, as well as the inner-city problems of poor housing, unemployment, isolation,
poor educational facilities etc. The churches' main task then was to preach a gospel which offered hope of liberation from suffering in the future rather than to work for change in the present. In the last ten years or so there has been a definite shift from this position, especially amongst younger leaders and church members. Some see the gospel message of liberation as having a present as well as a future application and see it as part of their Christian calling to work for positive social change.

Most churches give very practical as well as spiritual help to their members. One minister I spoke to told me that pastoral work could include sorting out benefit entitlements or problems at work. This practical help often extends to people outside the church as well. Many churches have sought to serve their communities by sponsoring projects for needy groups of people, often in conjunction with the Manpower Services Commission. Others have set up their own advice centres.

In Leeds, the six main black-led churches are each planning or running a community project. They have jointly decided on these projects which include a workshop for the disabled, a workshop for the 50-plus age group, a project on health and race, a skill centre for the unemployed and a nursery.

There are also para-church organisations concerned with meeting community needs. The United Evangelical Project in Birmingham is one example. It provides adult education classes, hostels for young people, holidays for under-privileged children and a full-time advice centre.

Becoming involved in working for change in people's living conditions inevitably leads into the area of politics. For many years politics was taboo in the black-led churches, and some older people still shy away from political involvement, but there is a growing realisation that to effect change one has to get to know the people who have power. Hence more and more black pastors and lay leaders are to be found on the committees of various local pressure groups and organisations like police committees and gent-teacher associations. During the riots of 1981 many black church leaders became involved in discussions with the police and tried to use their influence to defuse the tensions in the communities. Increasingly the black-led churches are speaking out on social and political issues and being heard.

Young People

About 52% of the Afro-Caribbean population in Britain are British-born, and therefore young. Many of them have never been to the West Indies. They have British passports, a British education and their only experience of life is life in Britain, yet they are still 'between two worlds'. (21) At school they are totally immersed in British culture, but at home they live in a different culture with different values and standards of behaviour. West Indian child-rearing practices are strict. Children are expected to be obedient to their parents, and for Christian families that means attending church every Sunday, being involved in the youth activities of the church, and not attending unsuitable places of entertainment. Most West Indian children comply with these expectations although their behaviour at school may be quite different from their behaviour at home. There comes a point, however, when some
young people rebel and reject the church, and sometimes the home and
the parents as well. The fact that young people are leaving the black-
led churches in significant numbers is worrying parents and church
leaders. The churches have responded by making sure that they provide
plenty of activities for their young people. The growth in popularity
of black gospel choirs may be helping to hold some young people (see
next section on choirs). Boys are leaving the churches in greater
numbers than girls, and working class young people in greater numbers
than middle class young people. Most of the young people remaining in
the churches are at college or in white-collar jobs. This is probably
due to 'redemption and lift (i.e. they may have been working class to
begin with, but their religious commitment prompted them to work hard
and achieve good qualifications).

Some young Afro-Caribbean people (mainly boys) have been attracted
to Rastafarianism. This is perhaps more true of children of churchgoing
parents than others. Being caught between two cultures can create almost
unbearable pressure, and one way of resolving this is to turn to a cult
or religious movement which rejects one of the cultures entirely. During
my fieldwork I asked various church leaders if they were concerned about
the influence of Rastafarianism on their young people. Answers varied.
Some knew surprisingly little about it and did not see it as a threat.
Others saw it as something quite sinister and were very concerned that
young people should not become involved with it. One leader thought it
better for young people to be Rasta than nothing at all as it does at
least provide some sort of sense of identity. However, Rastafarianism is
not attracting large numbers of young people. Most of those who leave the
black-led churches are rejecting religion altogether. Although many
black-led churches see this as a problem, it is probably true to say that
black-led churches 'hold' their young people more successfully than most
white-led churches.

Gospel Choirs

Many people I spoke to mentioned the effect that gospel choirs are
having on the black-led churches. There is a long and rich tradition of
choirs in black Pentecostal churches, but it is only in recent years
that some choirs have reached a high enough standard of professionalism
to be widely known outside their own churches. These choirs are adding a
new and vital dimension to their own church worship and something of
this can be shared with others as they sing at concerts and on
television. They are bringing churches together, as choirs like the
London Community Gospel Choir draw their members from many different
churches. They are also challenging some of the taboos as they go on
television and into places of entertainment to sing. Young unemployed
people can find a sense of worth and identity through the choirs. A
sense of corporate identity is fostered by the wearing of robes or
uniforms. Choirs are helping to give the black-led churches a very
positive public image through media coverage. They are doing a very
effective public relations job for the churches.

Increasing co-operation and partnership

Links between churches of the same denomination have always been
strong and church members will travel many miles to attend a rally or
special service at a sister church, but an important trend in recent
years has been the increasing cooperation between black-led churches of
different denominations.
The International Ministerial Council of Great Britain was the first organisation to bring black-led churches together. It was started in 1968 by the Reverend David Douglas. It draws together several of the smaller denominations and some independent congregations. It is an 'affiliated council' of the British Council of Churches and is committed to working for better relationships between black-led and white-led churches.

The Afro-Caribbean United Council of Churches (AWUCOC), although not affiliated to the British Council of Churches, is the largest of the organisations linking black-led churches. It came into being in 1976 through the efforts of Reverend A.O. Lyseight, a former overseer of the New Testament Church of God, Reverend Ben Cunningham (also New Testament Church of God), and Reverend Desmond Pemberton of the Wesleyan Holiness Church. They produce their own church directory (22), and Bishop Wilfred Wood, writing in the 1984 edition, describes AWUCOC thus:

AWUCOC is a federation of black-led churches established to promote a sense of unity without conformity among the various church groups. Members work together on tackling social and educational issues; doctrine remains a matter for the individual member churches. (23)

A very recent development is the West Indian Evangelical Alliance. It was set up in April 1984 to promote unity among West Indian churches. It works in conjunction with the Evangelical Alliance and describes its aims thus:

- To promote relationships among believers, various independent churches and denominations.
- To bridge the gap and build bridges between West Indian Christian communities and English Christian communities.
- To encourage and equip leadership in local situations by conducting consultations, seminars and workshops.
- To stimulate prayer and faith for Renewal, Restoration and Revival.
- To be a voice and representation in matters social and spiritual.
- To stir the people of God to evangelism. (24)

There are also some organisations which link African churches together. The Organisation of African Independent Churches began in 1978 and has a training emphasis, running its own theological correspondence courses. There is also another grouping called The Council of African and Allied Churches. A few of the African churches are in membership with AWUCOC.

As well as this growing commitment to working with each other, the black-led churches are becoming more committed to working with white-led churches. Initiatives in this area will be discussed in Chapter 4.

ix. Problems facing black-led churches

The black-led churches have come a long way since the early 1950s. They are now a strong and well-established part of the British church scene, but although many difficulties have been overcome others remain.
It is still very difficult for many churches to obtain suitable premises in which to meet. Even if they can afford to buy a building, there may be nothing suitable in the areas where their members live. When white-led churches can no longer manage to maintain a presence in Britain's inner cities, black-led churches have to pay high prices for their buildings. Morris Stuart comments appositely on this:

It may also be that the black churches hold the key to the evangelisation of the vast track of the British unevangelised, the urban working class unchurched, because the black church is mainly an urban church. This being the case, white churches ought to ask themselves the question, 'If our main interest is the maintenance of Christian witness and presence in the inner city, is it Christian and ethical to sell at a profit, redundant and dilapidated church plans to the only other Christian group which is prepared to accept the challenge?' God may show himself white as well as capitalist! (25)

The majority of black churches are forced to rent buildings, sometimes schools or community centres, but more often the halls of white-led churches. In a minority of cases a real sharing develops between the black- and white-led churches, but more often the black-led church is treated as a tenant and charged high rents. Black Christians find it hard to understand why their white brothers and sisters do not seek a closer relationship with them. The British Council of Churches has tried to encourage host churches to think more in terms of working together in partnership, and the B.C.C. working party report Building Together in Christ suggests ways of developing such partnerships. (26)

Linked with the problem of premises is the problem of finance generally. Most black church attenders tithe, but if many are unemployed, or on low incomes the amounts raised may not be very great. The majority of black pastors are unpaid and have to work to support themselves and their families. This puts them under a lot of pressure and means that they cannot attend ministers fraternals and ecumenical groups that meet during the daytime. White Christians do not always understand this, and take their absence to mean that they are not interested. Training is also a problem for similar reasons - lack of money, and the need for pastors to work to support themselves.

Many black-led churches are keen to be involved in ecumenical ventures, provided it is on equal terms with white-led churches. Too often I was told 'the agenda was set somewhere else' or 'we were invited in half-way through when someone suddenly realised we weren't represented.' White churches tend to look to black churches to join with them in what they are doing already, rather than being prepared to join in what black churches are doing, or looking for new things they can do together. There are hopeful signs that things may be improving, but white-led churches still have much to learn about the nature of true ecumenism.

x. Summary

By way of summary and conclusion to this section I quote some words from Pastor Io Smith of the New Testament Assemblies:
Within the first ten years of the black churches' history in the United Kingdom, things began to look brighter. Many areas were now being reached, and, where one would have to travel from east to west to find a black church, churches began to spring up all around the London area. Within a few years, areas such as Brixton, Willesden, Hackney, Dalston, Tottenham, Lewisham, Balham and Tooting had their own established churches, and resolutely the black church began to spread its wings.

In retrospect the growth is hardly believable! Today 1983 the black churches are no longer 'down in the valley of despair', hidden away in some cold, unsanitary little hall. There were times when the black Christians arrived for worship to find these halls littered with the remnants from jumble sales, parties etc., in the very room where the worship service was to be conducted. Today, many outstanding and notable changes have taken place which have enabled the black church to be moving in the right direction. Until the year 1974, no-one saw the needs and struggles of the black churches. White Christians did not stop to question, those in authority did not investigate and no-one was concerned, but, to quote from the well known hymn 'Through many dangers, toils and snares - the black churches have come!' (27)
CHAPTER 3

AFRO-CARIBBEAN CHRISTIANS IN THE HISTORIC CHURCHES

As was emphasised in Chapter 1, the historic Churches lost many potential Afro-Caribbean members in the 1950s and 60s. However, about 30% of Afro-Caribbean church-goers do attend one of the historic Churches. Some of those who stayed were doubtless welcomed and made to feel at home, but most stayed out of a deep commitment to their particular denomination, and a determination not to be forced out of their Church. David Moore quotes a determined black Anglican:

"Well we went home, and continued to go to St. Mary's for about four years. You know that place was strange. We go there for three years every Sunday... you know that every Sunday we end up sitting by ourselves. Nobody talks to us, they don't even smile, sometimes they nod. Anyway I say to my wife, we going to keep going, because they is so unfriendly, they not going to stop us from praying to God in His house. You know it hurt me so much. Back home we all one... we come here and find we aren't one, we are different. Man it hurt, it really hurt. Still I says to my children you don't go to no clap hand church. You're Church of England, you staying in... it's your church too. (1)"

Clearly for many black Christians in the historic Churches it is a sense of loyalty that keeps them 'in' rather than a preference for what their church has to offer. Determination to 'stay in' hasn't necessarily led to a high level of involvement by Afro-Caribbeans in the life of their churches, or an appreciation by others of their gifts and talents. Often their involvement is limited to attendance at morning worship, with a visit to the local black-led Pentecostal church in the evening for a spiritual 'top-up'. One black Church of England vicar told me he also attended the Pentecostal church when the church of England was getting him down! Some, especially Anglicans, also feel that the black-led churches are not proper 'Church' and though they might attend a black-led church much more often than an Anglican church they would look to the Church of England for baptism, confirmation, marriage and burial.

Some Afro-Caribbeans in the historic Churches had no previous allegiance to the denomination in which they now worship but simply went along to their local church and decided to stay. It may be true to say that numbers of Afro-Caribbeans in the historic Churches are slowly growing, as some black people I spoke to said they thought Afro-Caribbeans were now returning and finding a welcome.

Statistics detailing the island origins of Afro-Caribbeans in Britain are hard to find, if indeed they exist, and figures on denominational allegiances prior to emigration can only be speculative. The majority of Afro-Caribbeans in Britain are from countries which were or are British colonies. In Jamaica the Anglican Church is by far
the largest church, followed by the Baptists, Roman Catholics and Methodists. In Guyana too, the Anglican Church is the largest church, followed by the Roman Catholics, Lutherans and Moravians. In Trinidad, Dominica, Grenada, and St. Lucia Roman Catholics are in the majority. In most of the other smaller islands Anglicanism predominates, although the Methodist Church is also quite strong. Given this information we might expect to find substantial numbers of Afro-Caribbeans in the Anglican, Roman Catholic, Methodist and Baptist Churches in Britain. In fact there are no figures except for the Methodist Church where they make up 1.2% of the membership, but 5.2% of attenders. (2) What is clear is that all the major denominations have lost large numbers of Afro-Caribbean people to the black-led churches, and that it is only now, thirty years after the main wave of immigration, that there is any recognition of this fact, and any attempt to do anything about it.

In the majority of Anglican, Methodist, Roman Catholic, United Reformed and Baptist churches there are very few or no Afro-Caribbeans. Many white Christians in these denominations are unaware, however, that in some inner-city and council estate churches of their denomination 50% or more of the membership may be Afro-Caribbean. In fact some of these churches would not have remained open if it were not for their Afro-Caribbean members. Inner city churches of all denominations 'host' black-led churches. Sometimes this leads to meaningful contact between black and white Christians, and sometimes not. Although I could find out very little about the numbers and involvement of Afro-Caribbeans in the denominations as a whole (with the exception of Methodism), in every denomination I was told of churches where substantial numbers of Afro-Caribbean worshippers were to be found. It seems likely that the conclusions of Heather Walton's research on Methodism may well hold good for the other denominations as well, or at least for the Free Churches. A summary of the main findings of her research follows along with such information as I have been able to glean on other denominations.

**The Methodist Church**

Heather Walton's study *A Tree God Planted - Black People in British Methodism* was published late in 1985. It was commissioned by the Ethnic Minorities in Methodism Working Group. The term 'black' as Heather Walton uses it includes people of South Asian origin as well as Afro-Caribbean origin, and the figures given below apply to both groups, although South Asians will only make up a very small minority. The study is based on the results of a survey sent to one in ten Methodist churches in England and Wales. From this she concludes the following.

- There have been black people in British Methodism for twenty years.
- 16% of Methodist churches have black worshippers and 6% have more than ten black people in the congregation.
- The number of churches becoming multi-racial is increasing each year.

- There are about 16,000 black people in British Methodist churches.
- 1.2% of all Methodist church members are black, but 5.2% of attenders and 2.8% of children in Sunday school.

- In inner city churches 35% of regular attenders are black, and in council estate churches 19% are black so the majority of black Methodists attend inner-city or council estate churches. In inner London black people account for 41.4% of those attending Methodist churches.

- Many inner-city churches depend on their black members for survival. Welcoming gestures are often more forthcoming when this is the case.

- A fall in white membership is sometimes associated with an increase in black membership. Some white people stay to stop the church 'from going downhill'.

- The minister is a key figure. A change of minister can turn a church with no black presence into a thriving multi-racial church in a very few years.

- Black people complain of coldness in worship but are not seeking 'clap-happy' worship. Many are from the high church tradition and appreciate the Service of 'Morning Prayer'. They dislike the lack of participation and would prefer more Bible-based preaching.

- Out of every 100 black worshippers, 49 are not church members. This is a barrier to the development of black leadership.

- Black people are seriously under-represented in positions of leadership, and the more responsible the position the more underrepresented they are.

- Very few black Methodists are involved in mid-week activities.

- Only six black ministers trained in this country. One is in training, and a further eight trained overseas. Less than 0.2% of ministers are black, and it is difficult to find churches to accept them. All but one of the ministers exercise their ministries in multi-racial areas.

- The final chapter is about racism which Heather Walton concludes is a significant problem in the Methodist Church.

It is impossible to do justice to this most interesting, comprehensive and carefully researched report in the space available here. Reasons and causes are suggested for the facts discovered, and suggestions are made for the future. As she concludes, the report 'has provided information about the position of black people in Methodism which was previously unavailable. Now that we have access to the facts we are no longer able to claim ignorance of the need for changes in the Church. The time for thoughtful, prayerful actions has come'. (3)

The Methodist Church has also produced other material relevant to this subject. People, Churches and Multi-racial Projects, written by Tony Holden and published in 1985, describes some Methodist responses to multi-racial Britain. (4) A short paper has also been produced arguing the need for theological colleges to prepare their students better for work in multi-racial Britain. (5) A series of posters showing black people at work in Methodism has been produced by the Division of Social Responsibility, and more importantly there is a Racism Awareness training programme aimed at ministers and lay leaders. It is also relevant to note that the Zebra Project, though ecumenical, was started by Methodists with Methodist money (see Chapter 4).
In spite of the fact that there is much more evidence of a concern for black people in Methodism than in any other denomination, both black and white Methodists are saying that there is a long way to go, and that much more should be done. Some black Methodists I spoke to felt that little had really changed over the years and they saw little prospect of change in the future. On a more positive note, some said they thought that there may be older black Methodists returning to the churches. It is also encouraging that Methodism currently has its first black Vice Chairman of Conference, in the person of Leon Murray. He is in a position to challenge all Methodists to work for a more multi-racial and racially-just Church.

ii. The Church of England

The Anglican Communion worldwide contains more black Christians than white, a fact that is often overlooked by its British members. Afro-Caribbean Anglicans were not members of the Church of England prior to their emigration, but of other Churches in the Anglican Communion which have slightly different traditions and practices. This may account in part for the fact that some did not settle in the Church of England on their arrival in Britain, finding it too different from the Church they knew back home. A more major reason is probably the racism they encountered in the churches which is amply illustrated in the quotation at the beginning of this chapter.

There are no figures available on the participation of Afro-Caribbean people in the Church of England, but there is no doubt that many, many potential members have been lost. The drift of black people away from the Church of England into the independent churches may well be continuing.(6) The Church does recognise the problem of racism, however, and is the only denomination to have appointed a Field Officer for Race Relations. The Officer himself, however, feels that Race Relations has been marginalised. (7) Certainly there is a limit to what one person can hope to achieve in an organisation as large as the Church of England.

In 1985 the Race, Pluralism and Community Group of the Board for Social Responsibility published a book called Inheritors Together - Black People in the Church of England. (8) It did not, however, commission the work which was undertaken independently by the three contributors. One of these contributors, Renate Wilkinson, undertook 'a sociological study of the relationship between black Anglicans and the Church of England in the Diocese of Birmingham in 1983'. Much of it is based on the results of a survey sent to the churches. From this she discovered that 7% of people regularly attending an Anglican church in the diocese were black, and that 89 out of 135 churches had black people attending regularly and 6 had a majority black congregation. Yet, she concludes the following.
- Few black Anglicans participate in the spiritual leadership (ordained or otherwise) of their church or in its teaching ministry.
- Black Anglicans are under-represented on the decision-making councils of the Church. This is the case at parish level but even more so at diocesan level.
- Few black people hold paid jobs in local churches.
- Black adult members do not participate fully in the organisational life of their church. (9)
She attributes the low level of participation of black people to personal and institutional racism, and argues that positive steps must be taken to increase levels of black participation. She makes several suggestions as to how this might be achieved.

Although this study is not as detailed as Heather Walton's work on the Methodist Church and only related to one diocese, the general conclusions are very similar. The figure of 7% involvement of black people in Anglican churches in Birmingham Diocese will be much higher than the national average, as Birmingham has nearly 4 times the national average of black residents. (10) Thus it seems likely that the national figure might be between one and two percent, and thus quite similar to Methodism. As so many Afro-Caribbeans were previously Anglican in the West Indies one might expect this figure to be higher.

The third paper contained within the book Inheritors Together is by James H. Evans Jnr., a black North American Baptist. He spent part of the summer of 1984 researching and writing an essay on black people in the Church of England. Like David Moore in his paper 'Invisible people - Black people in the Church of England', (11) he concludes that the black presence in the Church of England is more or less ignored. He writes:

The invisibility of black people in the Church of England is demonstrated by the paucity of attention paid to them in Paul A. Welsby's 'A History of the Church of England 1945-1980... The Church recently received a report which suggested the direction and attempted to chart the course of the Anglican body well into the next century. John Tiller's 'A Strategy for the Church's Ministry' is to be admired for the candour with which it faces up to the changes which have occurred in the Church and society in the last century... However the major - and perhaps fatal - flaw in the report is that it virtually ignores the one group whose very presence constitutes the most eloquent challenge to British life and Anglican faith. The existence of black Anglicans is hardly mentioned in the report... As a result of their invisibility, black people in the Church of England experience a sense of powerlessness. (12)

All three contributors to Inheritors Together stress that there is a need for more understanding and recognition of black Anglicans. There is a need for them to develop a sense of positive identity, and for more black people to be trained for the ordained ministry in the Church of England because 'for a multi-racial Church to be whole, it needs black as well as white spiritual leadership'. (13) Theological training needs to better prepare clergy for work in a multi-racial Church (14), and 'There is a need for serious theological reflection on the issue of racism in Britain'. (15) Also needed, according to James Evans, is 'a black theology for Britain' which for black Christians in the Anglican Church would have to address their problems in relation to that Church.

There are no official figures for numbers of black clergy in the Church of England. The Association of Black Clergy, which was started in 1981 in response to a report to the Church of England by Afro-Caribbean clergy on the problems of black people in the Church, estimates that
there may be about a hundred black clergy of whom half will be Afro-
Caribbean. (16) However, there are only two British-born black clergy, 
David Moore and Barry Thorley. In addition there are two British-born 
and one Caribbean-born women in training as deaconesses. These small 
numbers underline the need to encourage black vocations.

There is a short section in Faith in the City, the recently published 
report of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on Urban Priority 
Areas, on 'The Church and Minority Ethnic Groups'. (17) The Commission 
recognises that the gifts of black Anglicans are not being recognised and 
utilised, and makes several recommendations for action to remedy this 
including the establishment of a 'Standing Commission on Black Anglican 
Concerns'. New appointments are recommended to staff the new commission and 
also to foster black Anglican vocations. The Commission notes that only 2 
(0.3%) members of General Synod in 1984/5 were from minority ethnic groups, 
and recommends that the new synod in 1985 should consider how a more 
appropriate system of representation which pays due regard to minority 
interests, can be implemented for the General Synod elections in 1990. They 
also say that every effort must be made to encourage black Anglicans to put 
their names forward for election to Church governing bodies at all levels as, 
at the moment, their representation is disproportionately low. To 
follow these recommendations, which are only a few of many contained within 
the report, it will require the allocation of considerable resources of 
time and money. It remains to be seen whether these resources can be found. 
(18)

iii. The Roman Catholic Church

There is no statistical information available on the involvement 
of Afro-Caribbeans in the Roman Catholic Church but it seems very likely 
that quite large numbers of Afro-Caribbean Catholics have drifted away. 
Few priests were familiar with the culture of the West Indies in the 
early years of immigration, and some Afro-Caribbean couples bringing 
their children for Baptism found that they were not accepted as practising 
Catholics because they were not married. They found it difficult to 
get their children accepted into Catholic schools for the same reason. 
Some found it easier to have their children baptised in the Anglican 
or Methodist Church and transferred their allegiances there. Some 
got to the black-led Pentecostal churches, and others stopped going 
to church altogether.

However, in some multi-racial areas large groups of Afro-Caribbeans 
do attend mass and there are now growing numbers of Afro-Caribbean 
children in Catholic schools. Churches which have significant numbers of 
Afro-Caribbeans generally find that their presence contributes much to 
the life of the church. They are often involved in choirs and in 
community initiatives, but they are almost certainly under-represented 
both in leadership positions, and in the Church as a whole. The Catholic 
Church has recognised the special needs of its Afro-Caribbean members by 
appointing chaplains to the Afro-Caribbean community in four dioceses: 
Southwark, Westminster, Birmingham and Manchester. All the chaplains are 
themselves white, although one had an Afro-Caribbean working alongside 
him for a while. There are no Afro-Caribbean priests as far as I could 
discover, although one is about to be ordained. There is also one British 
born Afro-Caribbean in training. There are several more Afro-Caribbean 
priests in Britain for study, or for short periods of service in the 
British churches. One such is attached to Westminster Cathedral and part 
of his job is to foster black vocations.

33
An advisory group was set up in May 1984 by Cardinal Hume to look at the Catholic Church's commitment to the Black Community. Their report, *With You in Spirit?* was published in June 1986. It examines many aspects of Catholic life in the Westminster diocese and concludes that none is free from the effects of racism. The report points to the lack of black priests, black seminarians, and black people in the decision-making bodies of the Church. It cites some specific instances of racism which black people have encountered in churches and church schools, mainly from clergy and members of religious orders. The report gives the impression that racism is a significant problem within the Catholic Church in Britain. The group make a number of suggestions which they believe will help counter racism and create a more racially-just Church as the following quotations illustrate.

The important question of Black involvement 'on whose terms' has to be sensitively considered... priests have to recognise the value of the rich and vibrant cultures of the black community. If they do they will learn something of what it is like to be a Black Catholic. There is an urgent need for priests to listen to Black parishioners so that they may be able to encompass the needs of the whole person and to develop a new pastoral vision. The Church as a whole must be more prominently anti-racist...(20)

Bitter experience has shown the divisiveness created by a Black chaplaincy being headed by White priests. Top priority must be given to equipping experienced black clergy with the wherewithal to tend their flock... The Church must find ways of breaking the damaging cycle of non-representation of black people in its power structures. (21)

It is our view that a great deal of racism awareness training is needed to change the stubbornly racist attitudes which seriously impede progress on more Black people being attracted to the priesthood... But, while exposure to the merits and values of Black culture through racism awareness training is part of the solution for White people, there is no substitute for those in positions of power acting swiftly on the demands for justice by Black people. (22)

There is an urgent need for those responsible for education in Catholic schools to put their house in order and to demonstrate to the Black community that the system of education they are offering is fair and just for all God's people. (23)

The Church must be on the side of the oppressed. It is to racism in its overt and covert forms that the Westminster Diocese must address itself. Firstly, by listening to Black Catholics. Secondly, by supporting Black Catholics. And thirdly, by all Catholics in the Diocese working together as equals to eliminate racism within the Church and every other institution with which they may be involved. (24)
The report concludes with detailed recommendations for changes in the Caribbean Pastoral Service (the Westminster Diocese Caribbean chaplaincy), Diocesan structures, education, provision for black youth and the training of priests.

Some sections of the Church recognise the need for such changes but others are quite resistant to change. The seminaries as yet show little sign of taking up the challenge of preparing priests to serve in a multi-racial, multi-cultural society. The Catholic Association for Racial Justice seeks to bring issues of racial justice to the fore within the Church but it does not yet have sufficient influence to be really effective.

iv. The Baptist Church

Very little can be said with certainty about the involvement of Afro-Caribbeans in churches of the Baptist Union. No figures are available but it seems likely that the proportion of Afro-Caribbean worshippers will be similar to Methodism, or slightly less. In most churches there are few or no Afro-Caribbeans, but there are some inner-city churches where they are in a majority or a sizeable minority. Churches that made them welcome in the early days have attracted more over the subsequent years, so they tend to be concentrated in certain churches. As with Methodism it seems that the attitude of the minister is an important factor. All the churches which I came across with a large percentage of Afro-Caribbeans had some black deacons and my impression is that at the local church level Afro-Caribbeans are quite well represented in positions of leadership. However there are very few Afro-Caribbean ministers. I came across three in pastoral charge, of whom two were accredited by the Baptist Union. There are at least two Afro-Caribbeans presently training for the Baptist ministry. There are also a small number of Sri Lankan ministers, and one from Zimbabwe. There is some recognition of the need for black people to be represented in the decision making processes of the denomination in that two black people have been co-opted onto the Baptist Union Council. One of the elected representatives on the Baptist Union Council is an Afro-Caribbean minister. Last year it was stressed that there was a need for black people (as well as women and youth) to be nominated to the Council.

One interesting fact is that there is a Baptist church in London which was formed by the merger of a white Baptist church and a black-led church. This is now almost entirely a black church under black leadership. Several inner-city Baptist church buildings are used by black-led churches, and Baptists are very often approached by black-led churches for the use of the baptistry.

The Baptist Union is planning to set up a working group to explore Baptists and racism. Racism awareness training is being discussed by the denomination at present, but there are no firm plans to set up a programme as yet.

v. The United Reformed Church

There is not a great deal of information available on Afro-Caribbean participation in the United Reformed Church. The Presbyterian and Congregational Churches which came together to form the United Reformed Church are not as strong in the Caribbean as the Anglican, Roman Catholic,
Methodist or Baptist Churches, so one would expect to find a lower percentage of Afro-Caribbeans. Also the United Reformed Church is not all that strong in inner-city areas where most Afro-Caribbeans live. However, I came across a few U.R.C. churches with high percentages of Afro-Caribbean members. There are five black clergy in the U.R.C.. One was appointed by the Presbyterian Church in Ghana, and two by the Council for Overseas Mission. Of these two, one is Indian and one is Afro-Caribbean. There is another Afro-Caribbean minister who trained and was appointed in British, and one minister who trained in Jamaica but was appointed in this country. There are no Afro-Caribbeans in training at present, though there is a Ghanaian and a Japanese.

As with the Baptist Church, it is those churches who were welcoming in the early years of immigration which have Afro-Caribbean members today. In churches which already have an Afro-Caribbean presence, the size of that presence is in some cases slowly increasing. Many of those coming in now had no previous connection with the U.R.C. but attend because it is their local church and they feel happy there. Some of those who were previously Presbyterian or Congregational may have gone elsewhere because they did not realise that the United Reformed Church encompassed these two denominations. One church in London is changing its noticeboard for this reason.

In 1982 and again in 1983 the Thames North and Southern Provinces of the U.R.C. held consultations on Ethnic Minority Groups. Some small working parties were set up following these to look at aspects of the U.R.C.'s relationship with ethnic minority groups in greater detail. Some of the conclusions from the consultations and the research following them were published in a small booklet called 'Mission in a Multi-ethnic City' which has not been very well publicised in the denomination. Early in the document it is admitted that:

There has been a tendency, when those of non-U.K. origin do become established in the life of a congregation, for all but an enthusiastic core of white members to disappear. While there are in the U.R.C. a number of congregations where those of non-U.K. origin have come to feel at home, and are indeed in the majority, there are few congregations which accurately reflect the racial and social mix of the neighbourhoods they serve. (25)

The report also stated that 'the voice of the many black U.R.C. members has been inadequately heard' and suggests the setting up of a group of twenty to thirty black U.R.C. members to advise on changes needed at congregational, district and provincial levels. They also strongly recommended a review of all the available educational material on racial justice with a view to using the most appropriate materials in churches. One meeting of black U.R.C. members was held as a result of this. However, a U.R.C. working group on racism was set up in 1985 following another consultation in Autumn 1984. No findings have been forthcoming from this group as yet, but the group is working on several recommendations to bring to the General Assembly.

vi. The Moravian Church

The Moravian Church in Britain is quite small, having about 3,700
members in 40 churches. A high proportion of the membership is Afro-Caribbean, a minimum of 20% and perhaps as many as 50%. Some churches have 95% or more Afro-Caribbean members. Of their four London churches, one is 95% Afro-Caribbean, one is about 85% and the other two are about 50%. The Leicester church is almost entirely black. Afro-Caribbeans have been coming into British Moravian churches for more than twenty years, and four churches, in Birmingham, Leicester and two in London, came into being because of Afro-Caribbean immigration.

The Moravians began missionary work in the West Indies very early (1732) and they established sizeable Moravian communities in St. Thomas, St. Kitts, Jamaica, Barbados, Antigua, and Guyana. Afro-Caribbean Moravians seem to have a great sense of denominational identity, and many of them travelled quite long distances to attend a Moravian church in Britain when they first arrived. According to Moravian Church House, although there were a few problems in the early years, on the whole black and white members have integrated well. Church House also says that its Afro-Caribbean members have not brought about any changes in worship patterns, and that if anything they are more traditional in this respect than white British Moravians.

Only one of the 29 Moravian ministers in Britain is Afro-Caribbean, and he is non-stipendiary. There is one Afro-Caribbean woman in training. I was told that Afro-Caribbeans were well represented on church committees, and I was also told that they were not! One black ex-Moravian told me that black people were encouraged to be lay preachers but not ministers. He thought that the Church would continue to be white-led as there was no real challenge to the structures of the Church.

vii. The Seventh Day Adventist Church

The Seventh Day Adventist Church was described to me by one person as a 'white-led black Church'. This is not a completely accurate description as not all its ministers are white, and not all the membership is black, nevertheless the description is not too wide of the mark.

The Church has changed almost beyond recognition since the early 1950s, and the change is almost entirely attributable to Afro-Caribbean immigration. It was a small, struggling, white middle class Church, and it is now a growing, mainly black, mainly working class Church. The Seventh Day Adventist Church is not all that strong numerically in the Caribbean, but a very large proportion of Caribbean Adventists did settle in the British Adventist churches after immigration. This can be attributed to two factors. Firstly, at least to begin with, a genuinely warm welcome seems to have been extended to them. (26) The second reason is that there are very few nominal Adventists, because of the demands it makes on its members. Most will therefore seek out an Adventist church, and will be unlikely to go to any other church. Out of the 16,000 Adventists in British churches, a minimum of 65%, probably more, are of Afro-Caribbean origin. Some churches are 100% black and black-led. About 27 of the 75 or so pastors are Afro-Caribbean (about 36%).

Although the overall numbers in the Church have risen markedly since the beginning of Afro-Caribbean immigration there has been a
steady exodus of white people from Adventism. As numbers of Afro-Caribbeans increased, numbers of white members decreased. Some will have died, and others will have moved to the suburbs, but some certainly left because they did not like the black people being there. As the black membership grew, white members felt first bewildered, and then swamped. Many departed, and no new white members came in to take their places. A handful of small white churches sprang up as some members withdrew from their former churches, but most left the Church altogether. This has been frankly documented in the history written for the centenary of British Adventism in 1974. (27)

In the late seventies a dispute arose over the question of black representation in leadership. The details of the dispute are complicated and have been documented elsewhere, but the result was a polarisation within the Seventh Day Adventist movement in Britain which came close to being a major schism. (28) Eventually a solution was worked out which recognised and made provision for the needs of the black majority, including the need for Afro-Caribbean pastors in churches where Afro-Caribbeans are in the majority.

The Seventh Day Adventist Church is a truly multi-racial church but it has faced problems and difficulties in becoming so. Whether all the difficulties are over is open to question.

viii. Other Denominations

I discovered during the course of my research that there are large numbers of Afro-Caribbeans in some of the Strict Baptist churches in London, and that there are also some in the Salvation Army and in white-led pentecostal churches. Unfortunately I did not have sufficient time to investigate their involvement in these churches or in the Brethren, the House Churches or any of the other independent churches.

ix. Summary

All the historic Churches, with the possible exception of the Seventh Day Adventist, lost Afro-Caribbean Christians in the early years of settlement. However, there are some indications that the churches have become more welcoming in recent years, and certainly less overtly racist. However, Afro-Caribbeans are still under-represented in most of the historic Churches, especially in leadership positions. Information in this area is very sparse, and research along the lines of Heather Walton's report on Methodism would be useful in the other denominations.
CHAPTER 4

SIGNS OF HOPE TODAY AND SIGNPOSTS FOR TOMORROW

Although there is still a long way to go, I believe some valuable progress has been made over the last ten years. The black-led churches have flourished and grown, and are finding ways of working together. They are speaking out on social and political issues, particularly those relating to racism and the problems of Britain's inner cities. There are those within the major historic Churches who, realising the mistakes of the past, are looking for ways forward into a more just, multi-racial future for their denominations.

1. Working Together

Black and White Christians are also working together in many areas of the country and it is not possible to discover, let alone tell every story. However, this report would be very incomplete without brief descriptions of the work of the Centre for Black and White Christian Partnership, the Conference for Christian Partnership and the Zebra Project.

The Centre for Black and White Christian Partnership

The Centre, which is based at Selly Oak Colleges in Birmingham, describes itself thus: 'A project aimed at the encouragement of inter-church relations, mutual trust, the sharing of resources and the building up of competent leadership in partnership between black and white Christians'. (1) It realises these aims primarily through the provision of educational facilities (see Chapter 2), but also arranges events to bring black and white Christians together, and makes its resources available to churches. The Centre was started in 1978 under the co-direction of Roswith Gerloff and Bongani Mazibuko. The present directors are Bishop Patrick Kalilombe and Mrs Eileen Bowen who commenced in January 1985.

The Conference for Christian Partnership

A joint working party between black-led and white-led churches was established in late 1976 following a conference of black-led churches in Luton and the Assembly of the British Council of Churches in Swanwick. Its aim was to explore how relationships between the churches could be deepened and improved. This working party produced three reports, 'Coming together in Christ', 'Building together in Christ' and 'Learning in Partnership'. (2) In 1981 an 'Open Forum' was convened by the working party at Brixton, and following this a new group was formed under the title of 'The Conference for Christian Partnership'. This group has met regularly since that time and has looked at a wide variety of issues including the police and the community, the black community and the media, twinning of black-led and white-led churches, young people and the church, and racism awareness. The meetings have been held at various venues throughout the country drawing in people from the localities in which it has met. Although the members of the Conference would admit that its achievements are modest, it is the only group of its kind working at a national level.
The Zebra Project

The Zebra Project was probably the earliest black and white partnership project. It was pioneered in 1975 by Paul Charman who describes it thus:

The Zebra Project is an attempt in North East London to discover ways of promoting Christian understanding, fellowship and common action in a multi-racial situation. The project came into being in response to the realisation that there was a major area of ignorance and separation between the newly formed black churches and the older established white churches. From the origins the aim has been to discover ways by which black and white Christians can meaningfully relate to each other. (3)

In its ten year history the staff of the Zebra Project have been involved in many different initiatives. These have included racism awareness programmes, literacy training programmes, youth and community fieldwork and general education work in the churches. In addition, the Project has produced many very worthwhile publications. Originally a Methodist initiative, and based at the Methodist Bow Mission in East London, it works ecumenically and has an ecumenical management committee. Two of its present staff, Pastor Io Smith of the New Testament Assemblies, and the Reverend Tony Holden of the Methodist Church, are well-known figures nationally in the field of black and white inter-church co-operation. (Io Smith is also co-chair of the Conference for Christian Partnership.)

ii. Learning from each other

Each of the three organisations described above came into being because there are people who believe that black and white Christians have much to teach each other. Unfortunately many white Christians have yet to be convinced of that. As one person put it, they do not feel 'incomplete' without the fellowship of their Afro-Caribbean neighbours. They are self-sufficient and therefore do not feel the need for change, yet they are missing the opportunity of enlarging their experience and their understanding of the gospel. Mention has already been made of the faith, commitment, and joy in worship which many Afro-Caribbeans contribute to church life, but they also have much to say in the field of theology.

Probably the majority of black worshippers, like the majority of white, give little thought to theology, but in that they hold views about God, sin, salvation, the world and the hereafter, each has a theology. There are of course many black clergy and lay people who have very well-thought-out theological views, although unfortunately few have written them down. As there is so little written material to consult I draw the following conclusions, very tentatively, mainly from conversations and observations. It seems to me that there are two main theological responses to the situation in which black British Christians find themselves, both arising from the sense of rejection and oppression which they have experienced. The first, which was strongly taught in the early years of immigration, deals with that sense of rejection by putting the emphasis on the life to come. The powers
of evil are at work in the world and God's people are bound to suffer oppression and rejection. True liberation will come only after death. This view is fairly common in the black-led churches, but a second view is emerging, particularly among younger people, who see the gospel as a message for all oppressed people in the here and now. People who hold this view may be prepared to get involved in political and social affairs and to work for change. Often they have been influenced by the liberation theology of Latin America, South Africa and the United States, and some would claim that they are working out a black theology for Britain.

It is probably true to say that there is as yet no true British Black Theology. One or two people have written tentative papers on the subject, and, for the most part, they are trying to apply the insights of liberation theology from overseas to the British situation. In particular, reference is often made to the black American theologians James Cone and Gayraud Wilmore. As Walter Hollenweger writes 'any theology is culturally co-determined' (4), therefore a British black theology cannot be the same as British white theology, nor can it be the same as Latin American, South African or North American black theology, because in each case the cultural setting is different. However, there is a common denominator in all black theology, and that is the belief that the Christian Gospel is a message of liberation to an oppressed people, and that God is on the side of the oppressed. David Moore, a British-born Anglican priest takes up this theme in his paper 'Black Theology - a tentative exploration':

Black theology has to be seen within the context of liberation theology. It is not an ethnic theology with all that that implies. It holds to the premise that liberation is not part of the gospel message, nor even is it consistent with the Gospels, but that it is the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Black theology is rooted in the Christian community, which feels itself to be oppressed, and it takes seriously the black experience ..... we (black Christians in Britain) are exploring very tentatively our faith in the light of the reality that we find ourselves living in today. (5)

That exploration is not yet complete and it is a task that only black Christians can tackle, but white Christians can only gain by listening to a different cultural perspective on a world-wide faith which has more black followers than white. In the words of Walter Hollenweger 'the European way of theologising is not the only way, and perhaps not even the best ... it is onlyone way amongst others... it has to feed on the challenge and the critique of other ways of doing theology'. (6)

iii. Looking to the future

What then does the future hold for Britain's Afro-Caribbean Christians? I have already indicated many positive signs of progress at the beginning of this chapter, but I believe there is a major problem still to be overcome.
When I embarked on this research I was determined not to get side-tracked (as I saw it then) into issues of racism. As my work continued I realised that this determination was both impossible to maintain and wrong. Everything I read and everyone I spoke to referred to white racism. Racism has influenced British Afro-Caribbean Christianity just as it has affected every other area of black experience in this country. It is a major reason for the establishment and growth of black-led churches, and it is at the root of the under-representation of Afro-Caribbeans in the historic churches. It has shaped and is shaping Black Theology. Racism may have changed its character over the years, becoming more subtle, but it is still prevalent. Most white Christians probably do not think they are racist, but they may still exhibit unconscious attitudes of superiority which give messages to black people that they are not welcome, or that they are not capable of responsibility. Most recent reports by white-led churches recognise that racism is a problem in their churches, and many are earnestly trying to tackle it. More resources will be needed to tackle it effectively, and more research in the historic denominations will help to pin-point areas where specific action needs to be taken. Racism awareness programmes or study programmes on race may be part of the answer. Much helpful material of this type already exists. (7) Working to combat racism will not be easy, cheap or painless, but it is necessary if black and white Christians are ever going to enjoy the fellowship and unity that God intended for them.

In a society which is becoming ever more divided, racially and socially, black and white Christians can make an important witness. They can also enrich their own Christian experience as they go forward together.
CHAPTER 1: SETTING THE SCENE


4. P. Fryer, op. cit., p. 68.

5. Ibid., p. 68.

6. It has often been thought that the Mansfield Judgment in 1772 (see Fryer, pp. 120-126, p. 132) outlawed slavery in Britain, whereas, in fact, all that Mansfield said was that a master could not by force compel a slave to go out of England. Long after the Somerset Case and the judgment by Lord Chief Justice Mansfield that followed it, advertisements for the sale of black slaves continued to appear in English newspapers. Despite this, many people interpreted the judgment as a victory for the cause of the emancipation of slaves in Britain.


11. Figures taken from Ceri Peach, op.cit., p.112, and based on Home Office figures.

12. Peach, op. cit., p. 82.


17. Ibid, p. 73.


21. Information about these and other cults can be found in Harold Turner, 'New Religious Movements in the Caribbean' in Brian Gates, op.cit.


25. Ceri Peach, op.cit., p. 100.


27. Ibid., p. 36.


31. This was the estimation of Ken Leech, Race Relations Field Officer for the Church of England Board for Social Responsibility.


CHAPTER 2: BLACK-LED CHURCHES

2. For example, the New Testament Church of God, the Apostolic Church of Jesus Christ, The Wesleyan Holiness Church.

3. Paul Charman, Reflections, Black and White Christians in the City, Zebra Project, 1979, p. 44. Anita Jackson, op. cit., p. XV.


7. 'Black Christians in Britain', British Council of Churches, op.cit.


11. See 1 Corinthians 12 vss. 4-11, Ephesians 4 vss. 11-12, Romans 12 vss. 4-8.


13. See Acts 2 vs. 38.


16. Paul Charman. op.cit., p. 27.

17. Further information on the Centre for Black and White Christian Partnership is given in Chapter 4.


19. Several such visits are recorded in Pilgrims in Progress, op.cit.


21. Anita Jackson, ibid., p. 29.


23. Ibid., p. 9.


CHAPTER 3: AFRO-CARIBBEANS IN THE HISTORIC CHURCHES

1. David Moore, op. cit.

2. Figures taken from Heather Walton, op.cit., p. 15.

3. Ibid., p. 63.


7. Ibid., p. 8.


9. Ibid., p. 28.


13. Ibid., p. 44.


15. Ibid., p. 69.
16. The aims of the Association of Black Clergy are:
   i. Support for members;
   ii. Identification of issues of social justice, and theological reflection on them;
   iii. Action in the Community and Church which is a sign of commitment to 'Kingdom' principles.


18. Since this report was written a further document has been published by the Church of England Board for Social Responsibility entitled Anglicans and Racism, 1986.


20. Ibid., p. 16.

21. Ibid., p. 17.

22. Ibid., p. 18.

23. Ibid., p. 28.

24. Ibid., pp. 40-41.


CHAPTER 4: SIGNS OF HOPE FOR TODAY AND SIGNPOSTS FOR TOMORROW

1. From a promotional leaflet about the Centre for Black and White Christian Partnership.


APPENDIX I

PEOPLE AND ORGANISATIONS VISITED IN CONNECTION WITH RESEARCH

Evangelical Christians for Racial Justice.
(Sue Conlon and Raj Patel)

Centre for Black and White Christian Partnership.
(Rev. Bongani Mazibuko)

Rev. Desmond Pemberton.
(Chairman of the Afro-Westindian United Council of Churches and Superintendent of the British Isles District of the Wesleyan Holiness Church)


Church of England Board for Social Responsibility.
(Rev. Ken Leech - Race Relations Field Officer)

Methodist Church Division of Social Responsibility.
(Ivan Weekes - Assistant Secretary of Community and Race Relations Committee)

Evangelical Coalition for Urban Mission.
(Rev. Colin Marchant and Greg Smith)

Paul Charman.
(Founder of Zebra Project)

Rev. Doug Hollidge.
(Baptist minister of multi-racial church and Chairman of Newham Community Renewal Programme)

Community and Race Relations Unit of the British Council of Churches. (Dr. Liz Varley and Rev. Kennedy Bedford)

Department of Ecumenical Affairs, British Council of Churches. (Rev. Colin Davey)

Mrs. Sybil Phoenix.
(Methodist local preacher and worker on Methodist Leadership Racism Awareness Programme)

Rev. David Moore.
(Vicar of St. Werberg's Church in the St. Pauls area of Bristol, and previously curate at St. Matthew's Church, Brixton.)

Many more visits were intended, particularly to black church leaders, but unfortunately the field work had to be cut short due to illness. Thanks are due to those who spared the time to be interviewed in connection with this research, and also to the very many people, too numerous to list, who gave valuable information by letter and over the telephone.
APPENDIX 2

USEFUL ADDRESSES

Afro-Westindian United Council of Churches, Caribbean House, 76 Bridport Place, London N1 5DS.

Association of Black Clergy: Rev. Rajinder Daniel (secretary), St. Matthew's Vicarage, 1 St. Matthew's Road, Smethwick, West Midlands, B66 3TN.

Community and Race Relations Unit, British Council of Churches, 2 Eaton Gate, London, SW1W 9BL.

Conference for Christian Partnership, Department of Ecumenical Affairs, British Council of Churches, 2 Eaton Gate, London SW1W 9BL.

(The British Council of Churches will be moving, probably at the end of 1987, to Inter-Church House, 35-41 Lower Marsh, Waterloo, London SE1.)

Secretary for Social Affairs, Baptist Union, Baptist Church House, 4 Southampton Row, London WC1B 4AB.

Caribbean Pastoral Service (Roman Catholic Diocese of Westminster), 7 Henry Road, London N4 2LH.

Catholic Association for Racial Justice, 5 Henry Road, London N4 2LH.

Centre for Black and White Christian Partnership, Selly Oak Colleges, Library Extension, Birmingham B29 6LQ.

Christian Action, St. Peter's House, 308 Kennington Lane, London SE1 5HY.

Church of England Field Officer for Race Relations, Church House, Dean's Yard, Westminster, London SW1P 3NZ.

Commission for Racial Equality, Elliot House, 10/12 Allington Street, London SW1E 5EH.

Evangelical Christians for Racial Justice, 12 Bell Barn Shopping Centre, Cregoe Street, Birmingham B15 2DZ.


Community and Race Relations Committee, Methodist Church Division of Social Responsibility, 1 Central Buildings, Westminster, London SW1H 5NH.

Overstone College (New Testament Church of God), Main House, Overstone Park, Overstone, Northampton NN6 8AD.

The Runnymede Trust, 178 North Gower Street, London NW1 2NB.

Church and Society Department, The United Reformed Church, 86 Tavistock Place, London WC1H 9RT.
APPENDIX 2: continued:

The West Indian Evangelical Alliance, Philip Mohabir, 71 Haytor Road, Brixton, London SW2.

The Zebra Project, Bow Mission, 1 Marchant Street, London E3 4LY.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

GENERAL


HISTORY OF IMMIGRATION


Donald Hinds, Journey to an Illusion: the West Indian in Britain, Heinemann, 1966.

Ceri Peach, West Indian Migration to Britain: A Social Geography, Oxford University Press, 1960.

David Pearson, Race, Class and Political Activism - a Study of West Indians in Britain, Gower, 1981.


DEMOGRAPHY


52


THE CHURCH IN THE WEST INDIES


P.M. Sherlock, West Indies, Thames and Hudson, 1966.


BLACK-LED CHURCHES


HISTORIC CHURCHES


'Mission in a Multi-Ethnic City', report of a working party of the Thames North and Southern provinces of the United Reformed Church, 1984.


BLACK THEOLOGY


James Cone, God of the Oppressed, SPCK, 1977.


**BLACK AND WHITE CHRISTIAN PARTNERSHIP**


Cost: 1-5 £2.50 each; 6-12 £3 each.
Community Religions Project Monographs

◆ Hinduism in Leeds:
A study of religious practice in the Indian Hindu community and in Hindu related groups.


◆ The Bengali Muslims in Bradford:
A study of their observance of Islam with reference to the function of the mosque and the work of the Imam.


◆ The Sathya Sai Baba Community in Bradford:
Its origins and development, religious beliefs and practices.


◆ The Evolution of a Sikh Community in Britain:
Religious and social change among the Sikhs of Leeds and Bradford.


◆ Sectarian influences within Islam in Britain with reference to the concepts of 'ummah' and 'community'


Cheques should be made payable to 'The University of Leeds' and sent to the Project Secretary, Jill Killington, Department of Theology and Religious Studies, The University, Leeds LS2 9JT.