CALEB EVANS AND THE ANTI-SLAVERY QUESTION'

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In a sermon titled: *The Remembrance of Former Days,* preached in Broadmead on 5 November 1778, Caleb Evans spoke of what he understood by `civil liberty' in these terms,

> Liberty from arbitrary confinement at the mere will of a superior independent of law and justice, liberty from unjust condemnation and death; and liberty to enjoy and dispose of our own property. In every free state, and such, blessed be God, is ours, this liberty is enjoyed, nor can there be true freedom without it. Where an arbitrary tyrant can imprison who he please, without even producing an accusation, or naming the accusers; where he can deprive of life, merely to gratify his resentment and caprice; and where the property of his subjects is at his absolute disposal, not their own: what are such men but poor, abject slaves, who may be rather said to breathe than live; reduced as they are to an equality with brutes, the property and at the disposal of the masters who happen to possess them. A more humiliating state cannot, I think, be conceived off. And yet this, alas, was once the case in too great a degree, with the inhabitants of this land ...

In a footnote, Evans adds,

> If any man, or sett of men, over whom I have no legal controll, have the absolute disposal of my property, how can I still be a free-man? ... Even if it should be proved that slavery is preferable to liberty; or that to have our property at the absolute disposal of those over whom we have no control is to be FREE...[1]

In terms of British Constitutional liberty, particularly as it affected the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts at home and the right of tax-paying

American colonists abroad to have representation in the British parliament, Caleb Evans was a campaigner. His published works and his activity within the larger Bristol Dissenting community is well researched by James Bradley.[2] However, the nearest he comes to political action for the anti-slavery movement is when the issue surfaces within the Western Baptist Association in 1788 and, as the Moderator for that Assembly, he signs a resolution to recommend

> earnestly to the members of all our churches to unite in promoting to the utmost of their power every scheme, that is or may be proposed, to procure the ***abolition*** of a traffic so unjust, inhuman, and disgraceful; and the continuance of which tends to counteract and destroy the operation of the benevolent principles and spirit of our common Christianity.[3]

The 1789 Association Letter contains a copy of Granville Sharp's reply on behalf of the abolitionists, in which Sharp notes that Caleb Evans sent one of his sons to London with the five guineas. The Association's intention had already found its way into the ***Bristol Gazette,*** 12 June 1788, along with other earlier correspondence and [Pg 4] articles arising out of Thomas Clarkson's visit to Bristol in June 1787. Clarkson had a letter of introduction to a Bristol Quaker, Harry Gandy. Gandy's experience of two slave voyages as a young man had brought him into the Bristol Society of Friends who had already been campaigning for abolition for a decade.[4]

Clarkson's view of Bristol attitudes to slavery at this time was, `every body seemed to execrate it, though no one thought of its abolition'.[5] The issue remained a lively one in the Western Baptist Association, and two more donations of five guineas `from our little fund' were sent to Granville Sharp and the London Committee in 1789 and 1790, with the issue being commended each year to local congregations for action.[6] Baptist experience now, as then, is that it is easy to have resolutions passed at the Association annual meeting but difficult to get them on to the agenda of a local congregation for further action. There is no reference to the anti-slavery concern at Broadmead, either in the Baptist or the Independent (Little Church) minute books. The Anti-Slavery issue might be thought to have caught the congregations' attention not only because it was being widely canvassed in the Bristol press[7] and the Western Association but also because of its relevance to an application for membership which came before the church in the spring of 1789. `Frances Coker, the descendant of African ancestors, gave a most intelligent and pleasing account of the work of God

upon her soul and was accepted as a candidate for baptism.' A later hand, probably John Ryland's, adds, `Lived honourably and died comfortably, April 1820'.[8] However, there is no record of the Association's Anti-Slavery issue coming before a regular church meeting prior to the arrival of John Ryland. Other public issues do find a place, for example on 9 April 1789 the church book minutes that `John Harris, John Page and Mr Lunell to be deputies' to act for the repeal of the Test Act.[9]

A key factor in the lack of response from Broadmead to the abolitionist concern could be its obsession with the deep divisions in the congregation over the ministry of its associate minister and classical tutor at the Academy, Robert Hall junior. Hall had been nominated a John Ward scholar and came to Bristol Academy at the age of fourteen in 1778. Caleb Evans had a considerable interest in the young man and prepared him to go on to further studies at King's College, Aberdeen, in November 1781. The young Hall had preached at the Broadmead mid-week service prior to moving to Scotland and in the summer of 1783 supplied the Sunday ministry at Broadmead. A church meeting of 19 October 1783 invited Hall to become co-pastor with Evans when he finished at Aberdeen in 1785.[10] Hall accepted and in that year also took responsibility for tutoring classics at the Academy as James Newton's health was failing. He was also appointed pastor at the so-called `Little Church', an independent congregation which had functioned in parallel with Broadmead since 1757.[11]Hall was now twenty-one and Evans forty-eight, the latter at the height of his powers. Hall's pulpit ministry was popular and the Broadmead congregation grew; but there were increasing tensions over Hall's doctrinal orthodoxy, his attitude to baptism, and his eccentric bachelor life-style. Eventually he decided to seek a more congenial pastorate and his contacts with St Andrew's Street, Cambridge, were deepened when its ailing [Pg 5] minister, Robert Robinson, died in June 1790. Hall went to preach at Cambridge over a six-month period and gave in his resignation to Broadmead on 11 November 1790.[12] Caleb Evans, aware of the tensions over Hall's ministry, affirmed his personal support of Hall, while recognizing that the two Broadmead congregations and the Academy had problems with aspects of his ministry. Hall initially indicated that `my opinions upon some points of religious and moral speculation are different from those proposed by this Society', and his preference for `a congregation in which I shall meet with sentiments more congenial with my own and where I shall not be in danger of falling into acts of collusion or incurring the vexations of honesty. I have always endeavoured to avoid the mixing of private passions with religious conduct.'[13] He had come close to Socinian views and Andrew Fuller and John Ryland, jun., had both mentioned their

concern to Hall, which Caleb Evans would also share because of his own trenchant and published attack on it. It emerged that Hall was `not a strict Calvinist', but in that respect Evans would have been more sympathetic, having himself espoused a moderated Calvinism which Andrew Fuller had acknowledged in his *Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation* (1785) by quoting Caleb Evans at length on the issue. It had also been claimed he was not a Baptist, over which Hall felt he had been seriously misunderstood and affirmed that in regard to the subject and the mode he was a Baptist, that he believed infant baptism to be `a perversion' of the ordinance but he did not think he could 're-baptize anyone who has been sprinkled in adult age'.[14]

There were those who felt that Caleb Evans had manoeuvred Hall's resignation, by suppressing full discussion in the Church Meeting, declining to accept a resolution for Hall's re-invitation to the pastorate because not seconded, and threatening his own resignation if such a course were followed. That matter came to a head after a series of church meetings in November and December 1790, when an attempt to reconcile the estranged parties took place at the Bristol Mansion House on 18 December prior to a church meeting the following day. John Harris, the senior Broadmead deacon, and John Tozer, the senior deacon of the Little Church stood with Caleb Evans and John Prothero and John James with Robert Hall. It was a total disaster with Hall, Prothero and James making accusations against Caleb Evans, Harris and Tozer, and then refusing to hear a reply to what they had alleged. The matter flared up when in early January 1791 Hall and his supporters circulated their view of events in London. Harris and Tozer believed their own characters, as well as Caleb Evans', had been `grossly injured by a paper lately sent them and now in circulation in London and other places' by Prothero and James relative to the Mansion House meeting on 18 December 1790.[15] Caleb Evans' account of the special church meeting demanded by Harris and Tozer was his last entry, covers ten pages of the Church Book, and concludes with his own view of the present sad situation. He was deeply hurt by the `unjust' and `unprecedented' attacks on his character made by some at Broadmead, complaining that, after thirty-two years of fidelity and success, `to be traduced, calumniated, vilified, my ministry forsook and the Table of the Lord at which I reside withdrawn from - is treatment which surely could never be suspected to have been given to a [Pg 6] Pastor, by a people who had professed to love and honour him'.[16] After affirming his own `almost unconquerable attachment' to Hall, he then moves to a defence of himself. `Mr Hall has said in London, to my certain knowledge, that I was capable of *telling* deliberate lyes, that what he had

hitherto done was but *milk and water*, but he had pepper and salt in store for me.' Further, Hall said `he must lye down under a "blasted character" for I have blasted it for him at Bristol thoro'ly, or words to that effect'.[17] Hall's biographers are aware of this clash with Evans, acknowledge his Socinian tendencies, the concern of Fuller and Ryland, the personal support of Evans for Hall, and move speedily to the ministry at Cambridge.

Was it only doctrine and life-style that led to this outburst at the Mansion House? Timothy Whelan's recent article on Hall's support of the abolitionist cause under the assumed name of `Britannicus' in the *Bristol Gazette* of 7 and 14 February 1788 gives a clear indication of Hall's own strong feelings.[18] There is no doubt in my mind that the paper's printer, William Pine, would be well aware of Hall's identity as Pine had published and printed at least sixteen sermons, tracts and books by Caleb Evans since 1771. Hall's opening sentence of his letter to his father on 10 February 1788 told him: `We have a great deal of talk here about the slave-trade as I understand from your letter you have had too.' It was the talk of the city and everyone who lived and worked there was caught up in the outcome of the abolitionists' cause, which particularly included the Broadmead minister, Caleb Evans, and members of the congregation who were engaged in trade, shipping and sugar.

Caleb Evans was born in Bristol and grew up in Broadmead, a well-to-do nonconformist community, where his father was the minister. He was sent to London for formal education, and while there was baptized by Samuel Stennett, minister of Little Wild Street, and received a call to Christian ministry which was confirmed when he was invited to join the Josiah Thomsons, father and son, at Unicorn Yard. Evans moved among the `elite' London Baptist society of the Stennetts, and had as a family friend nearby Andrew Gifford, who collected coins for King George III, lectured for the institution in Sloane Square which became the British Museum, and was a confidant of George Whitfield. When Foskett died Caleb was invited to join his father, Hugh, at Broadmead and after an initial hesitation came back to Bristol in 1759.[19]

Once more he was among friends who held key roles in the city's commercial and public life. The Pope family was no longer in membership at Broadmead, but Andrew Pope was a generous benefactor. His grandfather, Michael Pope, had bought out Whitson Court when Terrill's widow had died in 1691 and built a second Sugar House at Lewin's Mead, which remained in the Pope family till 1808 when the family moved into banking. Michael was admitted a member of the Merchant Venturers Society

on 18 July 1720 and was Sheriff in 1733. Andrew Pope was Master of the Merchant Venturers Society in 1769, Sheriff of Bristol in 1763 and Mayor in 1776.[20] A member of the Little Church, deacon Nathaniel Wraxall, who died in 1786, had been `swordbearer for the city of Bristol' since 1781.[21] Most important among all these connections, for Caleb Evans, was John Harris. The Harris family had Broadmead [Pg 7] connections going back into the seventeenth century. John was baptized in 1746 and he and Caleb grew up together in the church. John was elected deacon in 1760, just as Caleb came back to Bristol and for over thirty years they worked together in the leadership of Broadmead with a unity which remained unimpaired despite the distress caused by the young Robert Hall. It was Harris who had taken the initiative in proposing Robert Hall to the church in 1783.[22] In 1776, Harris, a hosier by trade, was appointed a Common Councillor for Bristol, having taken `the oath appointed, instead of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy and also the oath of a Common Council Man' before the Mayor on 12 September. Harris was Sheriff in 1776 and 1788, and appointed Mayor in 1790. In April 1789 Harris, Page and Lunnell were appointed deputies by Broadmead to work for the repeal of the Test Act.[23]

A further significant commercial person and councillor was John Bull. Sheriff in 1764, he was Mayor elect in 1778 but had to decline appointment because of ill health, though he later served for a short time in 1780. Originally John Bull was a founder member of the Little Church on 25 December 1757. In January 1766 Bull gave an account of his Christian faith and was accepted for baptism and membership. However, it was then noted in the church book without any explanation that he had been privately baptized by Hugh Evans in 1765.[24] When Trustees were required for the newly formed Bristol Education Society, John Bull became the first Treasurer, a post he filled until 1783. Another friend of Caleb Evans was Frederic Bull, a London tea merchant who became Lord Mayor of London in 1773-4 and an MP from 1773-1784, and was a member of Little Prescott Street. He contributed £150 to the Bristol Education Society in 1770 and left it a legacy of £1,000.[25] Everything points to Caleb Evans' significant place among the leading political and commercial citizens of Bristol and London. His father, Hugh Evans, had paid four shilling s and sixpence to purchase his place as a freeman of the city on 24 January 1735, to which he became entitled by his marriage to Sarah Brown. Caleb followed his father's example and paid the same amount to become a freeman of the city on 9 January 1765, thereby securing, as his father had done, his voting rights in the city.[26]

It was impossible to ignore the slave connections for commerce

particularly as it related to the sugar trade. Whitson Court, originally created in the 1660s by Ellis and Terrill, with Terrill's son, William, working on the Barbados Plantation at the end of the seventeenth century, was now in the hands of the Pope family, who employed John Collett as a manager. Collett had a one-tenth holding in the ship *Molly*, which he relinquished in 1752, proof of his business interest depending indirectly on the slave trade; he was noted as a generous benefactor to Broadmead.[27] In the city there were not large numbers of African slaves because `the whole purpose of the Triangular Trade was to take goods from Bristol to Africa, slaves from Africa to the West Indies, and cargoes like sugar, tobacco and rum back to Bristol, not to bring African slaves to England'. [28]There are considerable myths about the numbers of black slaves in the city, but the newspapers provide no `evidence in Bristol of a public auction or for the sale of more than one slave at a time. The picture of the warehouse full of slaves being [Pg 8] auctioned on the dockside is entirely unfounded'.[29] In 1765 Granville Sharpe, the reformer and colleague of Clarkson, took up the case of a slave called Somerset, owned by David Lyle. Lyle mistreated Somerset and, when he became ill, abandoned him. Sharpe took Somerset in and the slave recovered, whereupon Lyle demanded him back. `The whole case came to a head in 1772 when Lord Mansfield found that James Somerset (supported by Sharpe), by the fact of having landed in England, became subject to English law which forbade the practice of slave owning. In effect, this meant the abolition of black slavery in the British Isles ... Africans therefore could be welcomed into a church community in their own right…' [30]

For most Bristolians it was the Triangular Trade and the obsession with sugar which meant society at large could not fail to have some awareness of the slave trade. Hugh Thomas underlines the close connection between sugar and the slave trade, delineating the eighteenth century as the age of sugar.

> "We observe in England the consequences, in the fat faces in the portraits of the beauties and the kings, of the ostlers and the actresses. In 1750, already, `the poorest English farm labourer's wife tok sugar in her tea'. She baked sweetcakes, and spread treacle on her bread as well as her porridge. Mrs Hannah Glasse's famous first cookery book in England (1747) ... shows that sugar was no longer to be considered primarily a medicine ... The pudding, hitherto made of fish or light meat now embarked on its unhealthy history as a separate sweet course ... How could the supply of sugar be assured? ... the plantations of the West Indies

seemed, therefore, the source of all comfort."[31]

Even a minority group of Baptist dissenters knew the craving and one at least made the connection. William Carey put it into words and drew a conclusion at the close of his *Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use means for the Conversion of the Heathens* (1792). The finance for such a project could easily be raised among Baptists.

> "Many persons have of late left off the use of *West Indian sugar* on account of the iniquitous manner in which it is obtained. Those families who have done so, and have not substituted anything else in its place, have not only cleansed their hands of blood, but have made a saving to their families, some of sixpence and some of a shilling a week. If this, or a part of this were appropriated to the uses before mentioned, it would abundantly suffice. We only have to keep the end in view, and have our hearts thoroughly engaged in the pursuit of it, and the means will not be very difficult."[32]

But for Baptists at Broadmead the connection, though known with the head, was not so easily recognized in daily life. It was for them a blind spot, as their involvement, either directly or indirectly, clouded the issue.

As yet I have not been able to discover the documents relating to the Mansion House meeting, but it is hard to believe that the slavery issue did not surface on that [Pg 9] occasion: and if that is so then John Harris may well be at the heart of the matter since, without doubt, he was the one who shifted his position on the abolition issue in the critical two years 1788-1790.

It was imperative for Clarkson to see the Customs House records if he was to prepare his evidence for Parliament, and this was made possible by Tucker, the Dean of Bristol. Henry Sulgar, the Moravian minister provided documentary evidence of Africans being killed in Calibar in 1767. The Bristol Quaker, Harry Gandy, to whom Clarkson had an introduction provided him with access to a number of sailors and ships' surgeons who knew the mortality of crews and slaves on the `middle' passage. Clarkson reported to his London committee in October 1787 that Bristol and other places in the west of England were ready to petition against the trade when the signal was given.[33]

It was on 28 January 1788 that the Bristol abolitionists held their first meeting at the Guildhall and formed a committee to prepare a petition against the trade and, among a variety of clergy, Caleb Evans was one of the

prominent dissenting ministers involved, along with Alderman John Harris, a senior deacon at Broadmead, together with doctors and merchants.

In February 1788 Robert Hall's brilliant attack on slavery was published in the *Bristol Gazette* on 7 and 14 February and Hall indicated to his parents his intention to publish his pieces in pamphlet form which he hoped to send them in due course. He did not publish them and it would be more than thirty years before he addressed the issue again, still using a pseudonym. Certainly by March 1788 it was likely that John Harris had become aware of Robert Hall's views, not least because of the William Pine-Caleb Evans connection. *Bonner and Middleton's Bristol Journal* of 2 February 1788 indicated that the petition for abolition of the slave trade would be available for signature during the week commencing 9 February. The Bristol newspapers carried correspondence for and against the slave trade through the next few weeks. Inevitably the supporters of the trade began to oppose the abolitionists. A meeting was held at the Merchants Hall on 6 March where it was agreed to petition the Privy Council in London with the views of the Merchant Venturers Society. Some felt the abolitionists' cause would soon be dissipated but the unexpected introduction of Sir William Doblen's bill to regulate conditions on the slave ships changed that. The bill established the maximum number of slaves to be carried in proportion to the tonnage of the ship - and this seriously threatened the profitability of the trade. James Jones, with nine ships, was Bristol's largest trader and Dolben's bill meant he would be compelled to reduce his cargoes by a quarter. In London in February 1788 a West India committee of planters and merchants had been formed to oppose abolition. It was a year later, in April 1789, that they requested the support of Bristol merchants to gather petitions opposing abolition. A large meeting in Bristol on 13 April 1789 began to organize these petitions. Peter Marshall concludes: `The shift of opinion in Bristol was clearly indicated by the presence on the committee of Alderman Daubeney and Harris who had, in January 1788, supported the initial protest against the trade'. [34] [Pg 10] News of this Bristol meeting appeared in Bristol, Bath and London newspapers, three petitions against abolition were quickly organized and were in London by the end of April. Henry Cruger, one of the two Bristol Members of Parliament, in the absence through illness of Matthew Brickdale, took on the task of presenting the now six petitions against abolition when William Wilberforce opened his parliamentary campaign on 12 May 1789.

Cruger had fought and won the parliamentary elections in 1774 and 1784,

although he lost his seat in 1780-2. The role of Dissenting ministers in these elections in Bristol is discussed in considerable detail by James Bradley who comments,

> "The clergy known for their Tory sympathies voted overwhelmingly against the government candidate in 1754 and for the government in 1774 and 1781, while the Dissenting ministers turned unanimously to the Whig opposition." [35]

It is perhaps surprising that Caleb Evans consistently supported Henry Cruger in each Parliamentary election between 1774 and 1784 in Bristol, and Cruger was still one of the two Bristol MPs in 1790. Evans' argument with John Wesley over issues relative to the latter's ambivalence towards the American Colonies is well rehearsed by Henry Abelove and has already been documented by W.M.S. West.[36] Abelove calls Cruger `a flamboyant radical ... Born and educated in New York, Cruger came to Bristol while still young and made a reputation there as a merchant, a womanizer, an opponent of the Stamp Act, and a partisan of Wilkes. Campaigning in 1774, he issued a broadside calling for more frequent Parliaments ... favored conciliation with the Americans ... opposed the ministry's policy of tolerating the Catholic of Canada ... and ... believed members of Parliament should vote as their constituents instructed.'[37] James Bradley states that in the 1774 Parliamentary election `the most frequently occurring theme was liberty: in broadside after broadside Burke and Cruger were associated with America, and America, in turn, was associated with civil and religious liberty ... The election literature in favour of Burke and Cruger clearly reinforced the pro-American political orientation of the Dissenting sermons of Caleb Evans.'[38] Bradley further claims that `When Caleb Evans went to the polls in 1774, 1781 and 1784, he voted for Henry Cruger and his Baptist congregation, almost to a man faithfully followed in his steps!'[39]

In Evans's *Letter to John Wesley and Political Sophistry Detected (1776),* he said that his political attitudes were based on reason, scripture and the English constitution and told his opponent that if he could prove that `political slavery' was recommended in the Bible, it would shock his feelings and revolt his mind, but he would as a Christian submit to it absolutely.[40] ‘Slavery', said Evans, `considered in its principle, does not depend upon the treatment of the slave, for if he is deprived of his liberty, and is at the disposal of another, he is equally a slave when treated well as when treated ill.'[41]

When Wilberforce opened his abolitionist campaign on 12 May 1789, among the six Bristol petitions against abolition were those from the Corporation and the Merchant Venturers. The West India interest claimed that three-fifths of Bristol's [Pg 11] commerce depended upon African and Caribbean trade, and abolition would have dire effects on British shipping, which included Bristol shipping, bring about the closure of Bristol sugar refineries, throwing several hundred out of work, and would bring no improvement to the Negro's life, therefore cautious regulation of the trade was the way forward.

Throughout the parliamentary debate Cruger kept in touch with the Bristol opponents of Wilberforce. He also played an active part in resisting the abolitionist case: on 21 May when Wilberforce proposed that the House go into committee, Cruger spoke in support, but as a means of proceeding to a refutation of the arguments for abolition. Declaring himself to be a supporter of humanitarian causes and an opponent of oppression, he proceeded to demand that `the cost of ending the trade should not fall on individuals, but the nation ... he argued for gradual regulation leading to abolition, rather than for a "precipitate amputation". The bringing to Africa of internal peace and industry would do more than international agreement to abolish the trade ... For these reasons Cruger proclaimed his support of the petitions he had presented and his intention to vote against Wilberforce's propositions.'[42]

In this oblique manner Cruger moved in public towards his already privately agreed arrangement with the West Indian group to defeat the bill. Cruger had written to the Bristol Merchant Venturers on 18 May about the tactics to be used in Parliament against Wilberforce, of which his own intervention was a significant part. The Bristol West India Merchants' meeting on 3 June 1789 imposed a tax of `sixpence per hogshead and puncheon' on all imported articles for a year from 24 April 1789 to finance the costs of opposing abolition, a move which affected all who traded in Bristol through the port. The West India interest in Parliament persuaded the Commons to make their own enquiry into the slave trade but this did not begin until January 1790.[43] In the 1790 general election Cruger retired as one of the two Bristol MPs and his successor Lord Sheffield spoke frequently against abolition.[44] Wilberforce sustained his attack and the 24 and 31 March 1792 editions of *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal* reported abolitionist petitions with over a thousand signatures including many nonconformist ministers and laity. However, both sides were now settled into their positions and the `surprise onslaught of 1789 had by 1792 become

a phase in a protracted struggle.'[45]

As the century came to a close, although the abolitionist agitation had aroused moral distaste for the trade, it was the economic crisis of 1793 which broke Bristol's connection with the trade. Of sixty voyages undertaken from Bristol between 1790 and May 1792, twenty-seven were supported in whole or part by those who were reported bankrupt in 1793. Unlike London merchants, Bristol merchants owned their ships and all were affected. When in 1806 it was finally decided to abolish the slave trade, `relief was doubtless general in Bristol at the passing of a trade which had once seemed both indefensible and essential: the economics of 1793 had fatally sapped the material strength of the slave trade [from] Bristol.[46]

It could be that Caleb Evans sincerely welcomed Hall's intervention because he [Pg 12] recognized he was too closely involved with members and personal friends whose commercial interests depended both directly and indirectly on the trade. It may have been that Evans, like all people, had a personal `blind spot'. Whatever Evans's views were on slavery and whether this was the issue at the root of the disastrous Bristol Mansion House meeting on 18 December 1790, will not be known until the materials circulated by Hall and his London supporters can be found. What is clear is that the violent disagreement between himself and Hall, with its considerable fall-out in the congregation, resulted in great personal stress for Evans and his early death in 1791. The disagreement in the congregation continued for some years and resulted in serious problems for John Ryland during his Broadmead ministry. Perhaps the final word regarding the congregation's attitude to slavery in the next Broadmead generation, which was led by John Ryland jun., should be in the recognition that from its ranks came 'Knibb, the Notorious: the slaves' missionary', as his 1973 biographer, David Wright, called him.

NOTES

1 Caleb Evans, *The Remembrance of former days.…1778*. W.Pine, Bristol, (1778), pp.13-15.

2 See James E Bradley, *Religion, Revolution and English Radicalism: Non-conformity in Eighteenth -century Politics and Society.* CUP, 1990, especially chapters 4-7 for Caleb Evans.

3 Western Baptist Association Letter, 1788, p.8

4 Thomas Clarkson, *The History of the Rise, Progress and Accomplishment of the Abolition of theA frican Slave Trade by the British Parliament.* (London, 1808, 2 Vols). 1, pp.294-5.

5 Ibid., 1, p.297.

6 Western Baptist Association Letter, 1789, p.13; 1790, p.11

[7] References to the press campaign will be found in Peter Marshall, *The Anti-Slave Trade Movement in Bristol,* Historical Association (Bristol Branch Reprint), 1998, pp.1,7,18,20.

[8] Broadmead Baptist Church Minute Book, 1779-1817, p.61. (Bristol Record Office, 30251/M1/3) Hereafter, Broadmead Minutes.

[9] Ibid., p.62.

[10] Ibid., pp.31-2.

[11] Independent Church Minute Book, 1757-1818, for 1783. (Bristol Record Office, 30251/M2/1. Hereafter Little Church Book.

[12] Broadmead Minutes, pp.68-70.

[13] Ibid., pp.69-70.

[14] J.W Morris, *Biographical Recollections of Robert Hall,* 1833, p.72.

[15] Broadmead Minutes, under date 25 January 1791.

[16] Ibid., p.83.

[17] Ibid., p.85.

[18] T.Whelan, 'Robert Hall and the Bristol Slave-trade Debate, 1787-1788', BQ, Vol. 38, pp.212-224.

[19] R.Hayden, Evangelical Calvinism among eighteenth-century Particular Baptists, Ph.D, Keele,1991

[20] Donald Jones, *Bristol's sugar Trade and Refining Industry,* Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, 1996. See also Bristol Record Society, Vol.27, 1974, pp.7-11; and Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, Vol.65, 1944, pp.1-95 for I V Hall's article on Whitson Court Sugar House.

[21] Little Church Book, pp.27,31.

[22] Broadmead Minutes, 19 Oct 1783, pp.31-2.

[23] Bristol, *Proceedings of the Common Council, 1772-1782,* folio, 126. Broadmead Minutes, 9 April, 1789, p.62

[24] Broadmead Minutes, 5 and 7 January, 1766.

[25] D W Bebbington, 'Baptist MPs in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries'. BQ, Vol.28, pp.245-26.

[26] Bristol Record Office. FC/BD/1/(M) 3, f.40. FC/BB/1(V)3, f.11.

[27] Davd Richardson, *The Bristol Slave Traders: a collective portrait.* Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, Reprint, 1997, pp.14-15.

[28] R Jones & R Youseph, *The Black Population of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century.* Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, Reprint, 1994, p.2.

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[29] Ibid., p.5.

[30] Ibid., p.9.

[31] ` Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade, 1440-1870,* Picador, 1997, pp.263-4.

[32] BMS, reprint, 1991, p.111

[33] Peter Marshall, *The Anti-Slave Trade Movement in Bristol,* Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, Reprint, 1998, provides the basic outline of events given here.

[34] Ibid., p.12.

[35] James Bradley, *op.cit.,* p.233.

[36] Henry Abelove, 'John Wesley's A Plagiarism of Samuel Johnson', Huntington Library Quarterly, 1997, Vol.59, pp.73-79; and W.M.S.West, 'Methodists and Baptists in Eighteenth Century Bristol'. Wesley Historical Journal, 1994, Vol.44, pp.157-167.

[37] Abelove, *op.cit.,* p.74.

[38] J.E.Bradley, *op.cit.,* p.214. It was Cruger's 'supposedly treasonous letter to Peter Wikoff' in Philadelphia, July 1774, which cost him the elections in 1780 and 1781, when his opponents re-published Wesley's *Calm Address,* (5,000 copies), for distribution to the electorate. (Bradley, pp.216-217).

[39] Ibid., p.236

[40] C.Evans, *A Letter to John Wesley* (1775), Bristol, p.51.

[41] J.E. Bradley, *op.cit.,* p.152, quoting Caleb Evans

[42] Peter Marshall, *op.cit.,* pp.13-14

[43] *Ibid.,* p.15

[44] *Ibid.,* p.17.

[45] *Ibid.,* p.18.

[46] *Ibid.,* p.24

ROGER HAYDEN, *President, Baptist Historical Society* **[Pg.14]**