

# THE AFRICANS IN LAMBETH

Historical and Empirical Evidence



Jon Newman, Head of Lambeth Archives. Feyisa Demie, Head of Research and Statistics.

Published by Lambeth Research and Statistics Unit, Lambeth Children and Young People's Service, International House, Canterbury Crescent, London, SW9 7QE.

First Published June 2006. © Lambeth Council 2006. All rights reserved.

**Cover picture:** Olaudah Eguiano (1745-1797) was the most famous member of a small African community in Britain in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He was born in 1745 in Nigeria, shipped at the age of 11 to a Virginia plantation in the USA and then later sold again to an English naval officer. Eguiano learned to read and write in English and married into English society where he became a leading abolitionist. His book 'The Interesting Narrative of the life of Olaudah Eguiano or Gutstavus Vaasa, The African' was the first widely published writing by an African before the twentieth century.

# THE AFRICANS IN LAMBETH

# Historical and Empirical Evidence

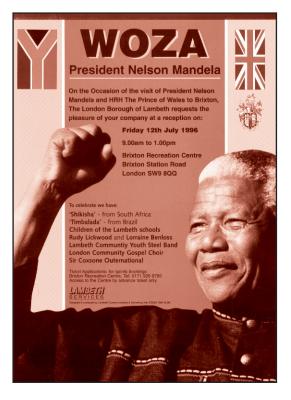
# Contents

1. HISTORICAL LINK BETWEEN LAMBETH AND AFRICA	2
Introduction	2
The First African in Lambeth	3
Explorers and Collectors	4
Africans Living in Lambeth	6
Christianity and Missionaries	7
Africa and the Slave Trade	10
African Performers	12
African Voices	14
2. THE BLACK AFRICAN POPULATION IN LAMBETH	16
Background to the Growth of African Population in Britain	16
The Black African Population in Britain	18
The African Population in Lambeth	20
The Changing Pattern of School Populations in Lambeth	21
3. CONCLUSIONS	24

### 1. HISTORICAL LINKS BETWEEN LAMBETH AND AFRICA

#### Introduction

Most people assume that the London Borough of Lambeth's association with Africa is comparatively recent. The voyage of the Empire Windrush in 1948 is typically cited as the starting point for the large-scale post-war economic migration of people from the Caribbean and from West Africa. Brixton became a focus for the settlement of Jamaicans in particular, but it also provided a home to people from Ghana and Nigeria from the early 1950s as well as to people from many of the other Caribbean islands. Lambeth has subsequently become an established home to people from many other parts of Africa. So much so that when Nelson Mandela visited Britain in 1996 he could not but visit Brixton.



Nelson Mandela, the president of South Africa, accompanied by Prince Charles visited Brixton in July 1996.



Portrait photograph taken in Nigeria and brought to Lambeth for re-copying. Harry Jacobs' archive, n.d.

Most Africans arriving in Lambeth brought their heritage with them – precious objects like their family photographs and traditional dress and fabrics that kept them in touch with their families and their culture back home. Many West Africans coming to Brixton used local studios to send photographs of themselves back home. They also brought in their older family photos to have them recopied; and the archive of Harry Jacobs' studio – one of the local photographers used by Africans in Lambeth - contains many such images.<sup>1</sup>

However Lambeth's association with Africa substantially pre-dates this late-twentieth century settlement. Historical evidence in the archives shows that there were Africans living in Lambeth from the seventeenth century and that the impact of Africa was widely felt locally long before there was a substantial black population. Plant collectors and early explorers displayed their treasures from Africa in Lambeth; there were significant local associations with both the anti-slavery campaign and the missionary movement; African performers appeared through the nineteenth century in local Lambeth theatres and there was a small but significant black African population living in Lambeth by the late-eighteenth century.

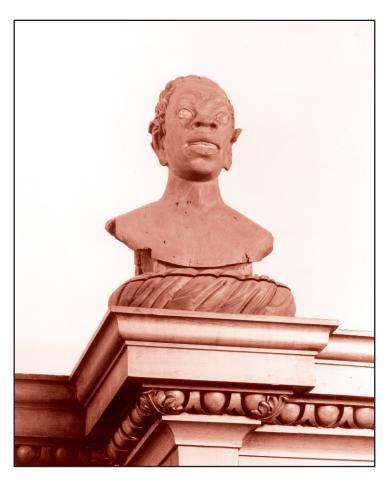
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>See Also Twin Lens Reflex; the portrait photographs of Harry Jacobs and Bandele "Tex" Ajetunmobi, Jon Newman, Lambeth Archives, 2004.

### The First African in Lambeth

Lambeth Palace is the Medieval riverside home of the Archbishops of Canterbury. Walk into the Great Hall, now used as a library, and you will be struck by the two carved wooden portrait busts of an African young man that adorn the tops of the bookshelves. They date from the rebuilding of the great hall by Archbishop Juxon; they were probably carved in about 1663. They seem to suggest an ancient linkage between this part of South London and Africa.

In 1660, when King Charles II returned to England to become King, he appointed William Juxon as his new Archbishop of Canterbury. Juxon had been a supporter of the crown. He had been with the new King's father, Charles I, on the scaffold to receive his final prayers when Charles had been executed in 1649; the archbishopric was perhaps a reward for this loyalty. The Juxon family's coat of arms had been granted in the 1630s when William became Bishop of London. It consisted of a red cross on a gold background with four "Moor" or Negro heads. Why Juxon chose this design is unclear. "Moors" heads had previously been granted as arms to knights who had fought in the Crusades but there is no evidence for an earlier Crusader family history among the Juxons.

One of Juxon's first acts as Archbishop was to rebuild the Great Hall at Lambeth Palace that had been damaged during the Civil War. He had the architect incorporate various references to his family arms in the design of the new building; so the roof beams were carved with stylised "Moorish" heads and the two large carved-wood portrait busts set up at the entrance to the hall. His motive was simply to commemorate his own generosity.



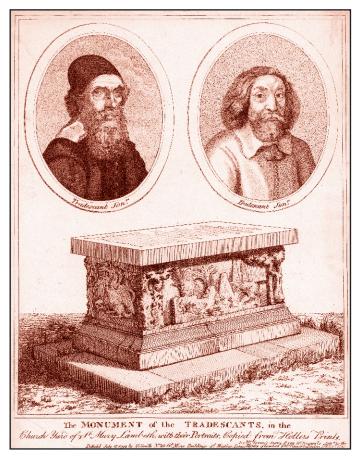
Carved wooden portrait bust of young African man, ca 1663 © Lambeth Palace library.

Even if the portrait busts are not as immediately connected with Africa as we might hope and their presence has rather more to do with William Juxon's personal selfaggrandisement nevertheless and intriguingly they are contemporary with the first Africans known to be living in Lambeth. Parish registers would often note the race or colour of children being baptised; because of this we know the first baptism of a black person in Lambeth happened in 1669 when John, the son of Abimelech Potter "a blackamore". was baptised in St. Mary's church right next door to Lambeth Palace.

Assuming that the wooden busts in the Great Hall were carved from life and were, perhaps, commissioned locally, one might even ask if the young Abimilech Potter was the model for these curious statues which, regardless of the motive behind them, are the earliest surviving representations of African people in Lambeth.

# **Explorers and Collectors**

If the earliest African presence in Lambeth dates from the late-seventeenth century, there is even earlier evidence of engagement with Africa as a place of interest for trade, exploration and collecting of plants and objects.



Portraits of John Tradescant the elder and younger; their tomb is still in Lambeth Churchyard, now the Museum of Garden History.

From the 1630s to the 1660s the John Tradescants, father and son, lived in Lambeth and their famous gardens and collections of rarities became a national and international destination for visitors. effectively it was Europe's first public museum. John Tradescant the elder started his career as a professional gardener, working for King Charles and various aristocratic patrons before he came to South Lambeth in 1628 to set up his own three acres of gardens. His intense botanical curiosity took him and his son, John, on collecting expeditions to France, Holland, Russia, North Africa and Virginia and resulted in the introduction of many now familiar plants and trees including Muscovy Roses, Spiderwort and the Larch.

The first African plants came from a 1620 expedition to Algiers when John Tradescant brought back many species which he planted in his Lambeth garden including the sweet Daffodil of Africa, the Barbarie Apricot and the great early African Daffodil.

But the Tradescants did not just confine themselves to collecting plants. They also developed an early museum collection, a "cabinet of curiosities", including animal skins and bones, birds eggs, sea shells, that the visitors to the house could also look at. When John Tradescant had worked for the Duke of Buckingham he wrote to merchants and sea captains who were trading with Africa – in Gine or Binne or Senego turkey.... & the Gouldcost...... that they will take care to furnish his grace with all manner of beasts & fowells and Birds alive or if not with heads, horns, beaks, clawes, skin, fethers, slipes or seeds, plants, trees or shrubs.

Tradescant also specified On Ellephonts head with the teethe In; It is very larg. On River horses head of the Bigest that can be. The collectors were also asked to come back with any artefacts made by African people with what Els strang of the habits weapons and Instruments of ther Ivory Long fluts.

By the time that these collectors started returning to England with their objects Buckingham was dead and Tradescant was established in Lambeth with his own garden and collection so the fruits of these African expeditions ended up there; The catalogue of the collection made in 1656 lists the African objects that were on display in the house. These included: a Drum from Ginny of a whole piece of wood, Ginny drum made of one piece, Knives from Ginny, 3 sorts, Bracelets from Guiny, A Ginny lanthorn and Ginny drinking cups made of birch as well as zoological specimens such as an elephant head, zebra skin, Rhinoceros horn, jaw and back bone, Lions head and teeth and foot of a Guinny dog. Presumably these were all collected by trading ships and sold on to John Tradescant.

The term Ginny or Guiny, used by Tradescant and his contemporaries, refers to the Guinea Coast, that area of West Africa that was Europe's focus for the development of trade – including the slave trade – with Africa and now includes, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Cote d'Ivoire and Liberia

The South Lambeth house and its collection known as "Tradescant's Ark" became a sort of museum open to the public. Here London's elite and travellers from Europe came to view the marvels. One such visitor wrote of his visit in 1634, "I am almost persuaded a man might in one day behold and collect into one place more curiosities than he should see if he spent all his life in travel."

The surviving African objects collected by the Tradesdants are today in the Ashmolean Museum and the Natural History Museum in Oxford where Elias Ashmole, John Tradescant's heir, bequeathed the collections in 1683. They are doubly significant not



African drum and trumpet, originally displayed at the Tradescants' house in Lambeth in the 1650s.

<sup>®</sup> Ashmolean Museum.

only because they are the earliest display of African objects in the first British museum and in some instances – the drum – the oldest surviving African artefacts in the world but also for our purposes because this collection was first put together and displayed in Lambeth.

If the Tradescant's represent the cutting edge of early modern exploration – bringing back the unknown, then by the early nineteenth century there were many more wealthy plant collectors, using money gained through trade or industry, to finance the fashionable hobby of collecting "exotic" plants. One such was George Hibbert who lived at Clapham Common and whose income as a "West India Merchant" derived ultimately from the slave trade. His early amateur interests in botany and

horticulture grew to such an extent that he was financing professional plant collectors like James Niven, working in South Africa between 1803 and 1815, to gather for him such an extraordinary collection of plants – including the largest collection of the African genus Protea ever assembled including many now-extinct / species - that his gardens at Clapham were said to rival Kew Gardens.

One final connection between Lambeth and African exploration is the person of Henry Stanley, the brash American journalist who became famous as the man who "found" the missionary David Livingstone in Africa in1871 and who then went on to finance and lead further African expeditions during the period known as the "Scramble for Africa" when European nations competed to appropriate the continent as colonies. Finally, in older age he returned to London and was elected MP for North Lambeth from 1895 – 1900.



Henry Stanley, African explorer and Lambeth MP.

# Africans Living in Lambeth

By the eighteenth century the slave trade was institutionalised throughout Western Europe. Not only had British consumers become familiar with plantation products like sugar, tobacco, cocoa that were available at cheap prices, but also with the Africans whose lives had been completely destroyed by slavery who now started to be seen in England. A tiny minority of these black people were free; the majority were either still slaves or indentured servants or, in cities like London, Bristol and Liverpool, escaped slaves living outside the law. There was still little sense of Caribbean identity at this stage; the majority of slaves working on plantations were first or second generation Africans with strong links back to their homeland in terms of culture and language.

On: 20 Trancos the Tough lix Smith was the marriet 21 Mary the Taughter of Joh Dovisod in the Trying pann in the princes ( Buty. 2) Eligaboth the Vangher of Riha y of Rop Roard was Savaev up for in the princes library 27 William the Son of the may owon was the Church. 24 Mary the Taughter of Jamos Clower at Mrs Howers was the Kings drug in the 30 Goorgo Blackmore a nogro about the olgo of 12 years belonging tom philips at the Rign of the castle war Double Durit ings in the panish of or marting in the Frotos 30 William the son of Honey paw war the Kings Hoad in the Dishops (i Oxly.
4 dronous the for of Houry Since was the Flore in the princes (i Bry. Och: 4 Jan the Youghter ) of Michael ~ 1 far thall was Konnington Common 4 dun the Vaughter of Elomas Voling ton was the Kings damy in thank.

4 Mary the Jangh ber of Michael ~ Tilly-paliced in College throst. 4 Symon tav Son of Joseph got warn

Lambeth, then at the edge of London, had its share of former African slaves living in the parish. The evidence for this is found in the parish registers and also occasionally in the poor law accounts. Abimilech Potter and his son John were the first identified Africans in 1669; between that date and 1812 more than 80 black Africans are listed.

Most of the Lambeth African baptisms were of slaves or domestic servants. It was common to give slaves no surname and a number of the baptisms do this. Many were baptised later in life and were unsure of their exact age - suggesting a recent arrival and a prior, non-Christian life in Africa or the Caribbean. The absence of the parent's name indicates that most had been orphaned by slavery. Some were described as the property of a master. The disproportionate number of men also suggests their slave origin. Some of the names given are also reminders of slavery: William and Richard Lambeth baptised in 1774, described as the servants of John Knott of Kennington Lane were examples of the practice of naming slaves after a master or his place of residence. January, a poor black, buried in January 1784, seems to have only been named

in death after the month in which he died. By contrast, Robert Freeman baptised as an adult in 1749 was clearly a recently liberated slave acquiring a symbolic surname for the first time. Carlos, the black servant of Thomas Geils, baptised in 1781 received no surname and a further reminder of his slave status was his position in the register at the end of a list of Geil's five children, all baptised on the same day.<sup>2</sup>

Sometimes the parish register gives more detail; this 1712 baptism describes George Blackmore a Negro about the age of 12 years belonging to Mr. Philips at the sign of the Castle near Beaufort Buildings in the parish of St Martins in the Fields

The parish poor law accounts, which recorded the payments of relief paid to sick and poor people, list four Africans in 1722 -3. Two are named servants, George Fox and Henry Mundox, but the others - the "Barbary Child" and the "Black Woman at Brixton Causeway" - are identified by their race and effectively have no name.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Also Windrush Forbears, Black People in Lambeth 1700 – 1900, Jon Newman, Lambeth Archives, 2002.

# Christianity and Missionaries

The Christian religion and the evangelical tendencies of both non-conformist and Anglican churches was a huge force for developing links with Africa. The desire to convert Africans to Christianity or to compete with the evangelism of Islam saw missionaries and ministers following in the wake of traders and explorers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; there are a number of significant Lambeth and South London connections here.

Methodism was to have a huge impact both in Africa and the Caribbean but the first conversions of black Africans took place in South London when John Wesley baptized two men on November 29, 1758. He wrote in his diary: "I rode to Wandsworth, and baptized two Negroes belonging to Mr. Gilbert, a gentleman lately from Antigua. One of these was deeply convinced of sin; the other is rejoicing in God, her saviour, and is the first African Christian I have known."

As missionaries followed the traders and the slavers, many African kings were starting to send their sons to England for a Christian education. William Ansah Sessarakoo was sent from the Gold Coast in the 1740s and he stayed in London for four years where he lived a fashionable metropolitan life, going to the theatre, having his portrait painted and having a memoir of his time in London published. Naimbana, the ruler of the Koyo kingdom in Sierra Leone, sent three of his sons abroad for education in the 1780s. Keeping his options open he sent two to Europe for a Christian education - one to France and one to England - while the third received an Islamic education in North Africa.

The son sent to England was taken under the patronage of what became known as the Clapham sect. This was a group of wealthy evangelical Christians living in Clapham who were profoundly troubled by the concept of slavery. The MP William Wilberforce, who was the figurehead for the national parliamentary campaign to abolish slavery was one of this group. His neighbours included John Venn, the rector of Clapham, Zachary Macaulay, Granville Sharp and Henry Thornton. When the young Naimbana was baptised Henry Granville Naimbana in 1792 in Holy Trinity church, Clapham, his new Christian names acknowledged two of these Clapham patrons. The young prince travelled around England and received his education. Then in February 1793 King Naimbana died in Sierra Leone and his son returned home. Contracting a fever on the ship, he wrote his will and died just as the boat reached Sierra Leone.

Zachary Macaulay had previously been involved in the Government sponsored attempt to set up a colony for freed slaves in West Africa at Sierra Leone in the late 1780s. It was here presumably that he met King Naimbana and introduced his son to his friends in Clapham. When he returned home in the 1790's after a spell as governor of Sierra Leone, he turned to practical ways of supporting the new colony. His response was to start a school, the "African Academy", initially at his own house in Clapham to educate Africans and freed slaves so that they could then return to Sierra Leone to help in its government and development.

"The most important subsidiary assistance will be afforded to the influence of the colony on the neighbouring nations, by giving instruction in England to some African Children who are either most promising in themselves, or most important in their African connexions. About 24 such children are now under Education in this Kingdom, who will carry back to their country minds considerably enlightened and will be well instructed in the Christian Religion".

The progress of the school can be partly charted by the parish registers. All of the African children were baptised when they came to Clapham and these ceremonies were high profile, public occasions attended by Wilberforce, Macaulay and other members of the Clapham sect. The Holy Trinity registers record 18 baptisms of African boys and young men as well as five burials between 1801 and 1805.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Report from the committee on the petition of the court of directors of the Sierra Leone Company, May 1802.

The rector, John Venn, was a supporter of the Academy and his meticulous baptismal register entries - giving age, status and often the precise part of Africa or the Caribbean that the students came from – provide an unusually detailed record. Many were from Sierra Leone - the Bullom Shore, Rio Pongas in the Susoo country, Bananas and Logo in the Temne country are all specified. Others like John Thorp have their transatlantic slave ancestry described, "A Maroon originally from the coast of Africa near

	11		
	Dapeles	ems in the Parish of Claphan.	1802 Bopher
82.	Bannah.	William Banah, aged to years, Sen of Saimbanna, the Reports of Tirama hing of the Timenancy County, afrea	I.ly
73.	Ra Topice	Joseph Williams aged to pom thengaling a beam in the Suser Country Jon of the Fish a Chief in the Robelle . afren	Inty 31
34	Pa Deck	Polen Smith agest to from the Bullow then Son of to Steed of higher to to fact, that of the Bullow Sheer, who constitute Buylogging	Inly 31.
25.	Santa.	William Jamba, aged 12, In of Pa Samba. a Sanda from the Bulliam Snort.	Judy 31.
76	Your barres	Sames Santomarae, aged to don of Fore land Sonaton from the Bullan Mine son usward at Rakamote, in the Susse Country.	Juny 31
27	Hunter	Many I Boughton of Thomas Stanter, Laun List seife late a wather the	Ang!
8.8	Gardener.	Maria I Staughter of James Gardener, & Sharlotte her leefe, late C. Hoodgen St.	angl
89.	Taylor.	Maria 5 " Enreption of 18th Jay lon, & Marijohes Wife, late M. Morten for.	lengt 11.
90	Lock	France 1" Daughter of John Lock, Taylo, of Mary his Wife, loto M. Lodger St.	Ang 4
41.	Balls	Ann 1 Daughter of Samuel Bales, Enchant that Charlotte his wife, late . O Speen for	Augh
12	Dogwell.	Mary line Stratett, 3" Daughter of John Bornell Gardon of Sophia has Dife, late I Chingstone Str	Augst 24
9.3	Painter	Labourer & Martha his bife late M	27
9/4	Langhour		dugt 13

Clapham register of baptisms, listing the students at the African Academy 1802 © London Metropolitan Archives.



14 Church Buildings (on right), on Clapham Common North Side was Macaulay's house and was used as the African Academy.

the Gulf of Guinea – born in Jamaica". There was a separate school for three or four African girls, but as they were living at a house in the neighbouring parish of Battersea, their baptisms do not appear in the Clapham registers.<sup>4</sup>

The boy's school was run by William Greaves, a Yorkshire man. His syllabus was described in a report in 1802.

"They were placed under his care about two and a half years ago. Their ages are from 10 – 17. He instructs them in reading, writing and arithmetic; and one of them, who is the most forward, in mensuration [measurement of area and volume]. Almost all of them can speak and read English tolerably well. Pains are taken to give them information on general subjects; as, history, geography, natural philosophy and mechanics.

He had not observed any inferiority of capacity. Allowance being made for the deficiencies under which they laboured when they came into his care. They converse together in their own language, but more frequently in English. Three of the children having learned to read and write, have been put out to learn Boat-building; and it is proposed to place the others, as they get forward, to learn different trades." <sup>5</sup>

Greaves also set about making a translation of the bible into Sussoo, their local language.

Two more high status African baptisms took place in Clapham in1836 when John Tootoo Quamina Comassee and William Accootoo Comassee, both described as Kings of Ashantee in Ghana, were baptised at Holy Trinity church. The baptism entry does not give any other detail, but presumably they too had been sent to Clapham for a religious education, perhaps because of the positive associations that the place had developed with the anti – slavery campaigns and with Christian evangelism.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> John Venn and the Clapham Sect, p.241.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Report from the committee on the petition of the court of directors of the Sierra Leone Company, May 1802.

The involvement of the Clapham sect in the foundation of Sierra Leone had a further intriguing footnote. Following the uni-lateral abolition of the slave trade by the Britain in 1807 Sierra Leone achieved a new importance as a base for the British naval squadrons that stopped and searched other nations' vessels and as the place where slaves were brought to be liberated if any were found aboard. A Portuguese ship intercepted by the British in April, 1822 was carrying Yoruba slaves from Western Nigeria who were duly put ashore in Sierra Leone. One of the young would-be-slaves, Ajayi, was then educated in one of the religious schools at Freetown and decided to be a missionary.

He was subsequently ordained in London in 1841 as the Reverend Samuel Crowther; he was the Church Missionary Society's first African clergyman. He returned to Yorubaland to convert his own people and became probably the most prominent African missionary of the nineteenth century. Like William Greaves, he saw one of his first tasks as being to reduce the Yoruba language, then still an oral one, to a script so that he could start translating the bible into Yoruba, In 1864 Crowther was invited to return to England by the then CMS secretary, Henry Venn, who had secured for him a new post as the first Anglican African bishop of "the countries of Western Africa beyond the limits of the Queen's dominions." Venn, of course was the son of John Venn, who had been a founder of the CMS in the 1790s and who as rector of Clapham had assisted Macaulay with the African Academy project.

So it was only fitting that Crowther, on the occasion of his consecration as bishop should have gone back to Clapham – in one sense his spiritual home – to speak to the local branch of the CMS about his work in Africa. The local paper reported Crowther's talk in detail and described him as "evidently a very intelligent man and speaks English well, with a tone and manner indicative of quiet power".



Portrait of Samuel Crowther, n.d.

Another important Lambeth link with Christianity in Africa is the missionary Robert Moffat. Moffat was a Scot who spent his working life in Africa working with the Bechwana people of South Africa, setting up schools and mission stations, translating the Bible into Sechwana and travelling across the region. His sons became missionaries and his daughters married other missionaries; his daughter Mary married David Livingstone.

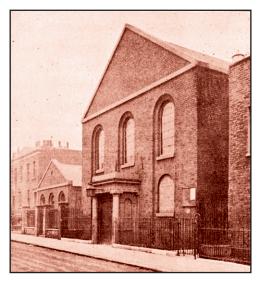
Finally in 1870 after 52 years in Africa Moffat returned to England and settled in Knowle Road Brixton. Here he was associated with the Brixton Independent Church and here in 1875 – having previously opened several institutes and mission stations in Africa that had been named after him – he opened the Moffat Institute for the poor in Kennington. The Moffat Institute in Esher Street, Kennington, where "cheery and willing workers are despatched to all parts of the dreary locality on all sorts of missions".

Moffat, despite being in his eighties, made a point of going up to central London to see King

Cetewayo when he visited Britain in 1882. The Zulu king, despite the recent campaigns against the British in South Africa at Ishwandala and Rorke's Drift, was hugely popular in London and did much to educate the British public about Africa and Africans. The South London Press carried an interview with him on its front page where he was described as "handsome, jovial, benign and genial"; and a pub in Waterloo renamed itself "The Contented Zulu" in his honour.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Clapham Gazette, 1 May 1864.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> South London Press 19 August 1882.



For Moffat it must have been a curiously nostalgic moment to see Africans again and there was a delightful moment when he met Cetewayo. "Among the Zulu king's attendants was a man who could speak Sechwana, and with him Moffat at once got into conversation. The man's delight was unbounded. He had been in the train of a son of Moselekatse, and had heard of the missionary. "Au Moshete?" (Are you Moffat) he asked again and again, with beaming eyes exclaiming when convinced of the fact, "I see this day what my eyes never expected to behold, Moshete!" "8"

Robert Moffat died in 1883 and was buried at West Norwood cemetery where his funeral was attended by MPs, missionaries and the mayor of Bloemfontein in South Africa. At the bicentenary of his birth in 1995 English and

African priests gathered at his grave for a memorial service, many of them still based at the missions he had established in South Africa in the 1820s.

#### Africa and the Slave Trade

Britain's role in the nineteenth century slave trade was a complex one. From being the leading slave trader in the late-eighteenth century it had become the first developed nation to abolish the trade in 1807 and then to go on and abolish slavery itself in 1833. This transition from key player to leader of the abolitionist movement had been an uncomfortably rapid one.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century Lambeth was an important centre for entertainment with many new theatres catering for London and local audiences. Astley's Amphitheatre on Westminster Bridge Road, the Surrey Theatre on Blackfriars Road and the Royal Coburg Theatre (latterly the Old Vic) along with the established Vauxhall Gardens provided popular melodramas for local audiences. Such theatre was one of the most effective methods of mass-communication to a pre-literate nineteenth century audience and it was frequently used as a way of discussing "issues" in the way that scriptwriters now use television soap operas. It is difficult to assess just how influential it was.

However, a large number of plays with a black or colonial theme and frequently dramatising slavery were performed in Lambeth between 1820 and 1835 including The Slave or The Revolt of Surinam, The Negro's Curse or The Foulah Son, The Death of Christopher King of Hayti, Agamemnon the Faithful Negro, Black Caesar, The Negro's Hate, and My Poll and my Partner Joe. Many of them provided a commentary on current international events; The Death of Christopher follows on from Toussaint L'Ouverture's revolt against the French on Haiti, while My Poll and my Partner Joe is set on a "Peter Ship", one of the Royal Navy boats that patrolled the West African coast after the abolition of the slave trade to intercept slave traders and free their human cargoes. Such dramas informed contemporary attitudes to black people as well as creating an awareness of issues like slavery and colonialism.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Robert Moffat, The Missionary hero of Kuruman, David J. Deane.



Playbill for Black Caesar performed at the Surrey Theatre in 1825.

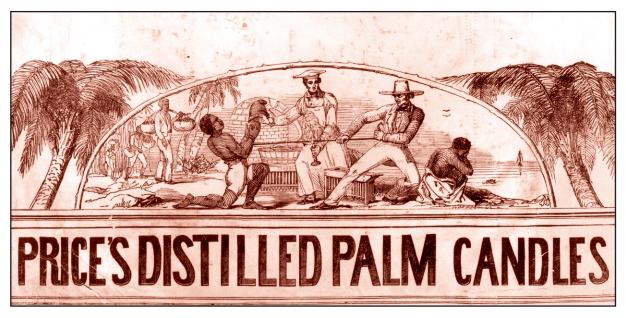
We can see this awareness in the advertising used by one Lambeth company in the late-1840s to market its products. Prices Patent Candle Company, based in Lambeth at Vauxhall Bridge and at Battersea, manufactured "hi-tech" candles from new raw materials including coconuts.

Once slavery had been abolished the British government tried to encourage other trades with West Africa. One potential product was palm oil; it was starting to be used by soap makers (the soap brand name Palmolive still exists today). Prices went on to develop a way of making candles from palm oil; and this advertisement shows the quite sophisticated way in which they chose to market this new product.

The advertisement is framed by the palm trees that produce the palm oil nut. On the left Africans bring calabashes of palm oil to trade; on the right a ship is moored in the bay. Is it a slaver or a merchantman? The two alternative possibilities are acted out centre stage. The slaver (centre right) wearing a broad brimmed hat has purchased a slave who crouches to his right; he also has a rope around a second African who he is about to drag away. This slave is being rescued by the candle maker (standing centre).

He wears the flat hat and apron of his trade to protect himself from the grease. Around him are the tools of his trade: the brick-built still for extracting the oil from the palm nuts, a tub for melting the palm oil and a frame of candle moulds in to which the liquid oil was poured to set as candles. In his left hand he holds a (palm oil) candle with which he is burning through the rope that binds the slave. In his right hand he holds the red cap, symbolising liberty, which he is offering up to the slave.

The message of the advertising campaign is clear; buy Price's candles and feel good about the contribution you are making to the international campaign against slavery. Sermons were preached in South London encouraging congregations to buy these candles because of the company's attitude to slavery. Harriet Beecher-Stowe, the author of Uncle Tom's Cabin, also wrote to praise the product. It is an example of local "ethical" advertising that we might previously have only associated with the late-twentieth century.



Prices advertisement, ca 1850.

By the late-nineteenth century the English were almost complacent about their role in the abolition of slavery, certainly in comparison with what was going on in the Southern United States. Afro-American speakers appeared at clubs and halls in Lambeth to speak of their former lives as slaves. Mary E. Webb, "a lady of colour, from the United States", gave public readings from Uncle Tom's Cabin; Henry Box Brown, an escaped slave, described his experiences as did the Reverend Sella Martin, also from the USA. The topic was still newsworthy in 1900 when a Mr J Dickerson appeared at Brixton Hall giving the narrative of "My life as a Slave"; he also sang John Brown's "Emancipation Song" to the audience.

One of the most curious post-abolition accounts is the visit to England in 1892 of an elderly former slave, Martha Ann Rix, who travelled five hundred miles from Liberia to be introduced to Queen Victoria at Windsor and have lunch with the Lord Mayor of London. The reports of the visit and the publication of her grateful letters of thanks upon her return home seem to have been something of a sentimental public relations triumph, confirming the English image of themselves as the true friend of the African. It was reported widely and presumably not just in The Brixtonian.

#### African Performers

We have already discussed the local theatres in Lambeth in the context of plays about the slave trade. These melodramas were inevitably written and enacted by white performers, "blacked up" in paint or burnt cork. From these there developed a tradition of "blackface" acts – "Jim Crow", "Ethiopian Minstrels", "Southern Serenaders" – that sought to parody the supposed lives of Afro-American plantation slaves and their music. This tradition descended into the twentieth century with shows like "the Black and White Minstrels".

However, simultaneously there was a developing tradition of black performers who appeared on the Lambeth stage, some African, many Afro-American, although they all tended to get portrayed as being African princes. At Ashley's Amphitheatre in 1824 a horse rider known as the "the African Youth" performed "some difficult vaulting exercises on the hunting mare of Arabian breed, Zemira". In the following year the Afro-American actor, Ira Aldridge made his first appearance in this country as Oronooko in The Revolt of Surinam at the Royal Coburg Theatre, now the Old Vic. 12

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> South London Journal, 23 Dec. 1856, 6 Jan. and 7 Apr. 1857; South London Press, 4 Nov. 1865.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The Brixtonian, 9 Feb. 1900. <sup>11</sup> The Brixtonian, 16 & 23 July. 10 & 24 Sept. 1892. <sup>12</sup> Peter Fryer, Staying Power, p253.



"Ethiopian Quadrille" music performed at Vauxhall Gardens in the 1840s.



Ira Aldridge, performing at the Surrey Theatre, 1848.

Aldridge went on to perform Othello and many more tragedies both in Lambeth, across the country and in Europe. His success saw him quickly re-branded for white audiences; rather than being described as the son of a freed American slave, he was presented as the "African Roscius, Prince of Senegal".

When he returned to Lambeth in 1841 to perform the role of Zanga in the melodrama "The Revenge" at the Surrey Theatre in 1848 he addressed the audience at the end of the play, "The twenty years struggle I have made is amply repaid by the reception I have this night received.... and I hope the prejudice is fast dying away, when one man should be deprived of a hearing on the stage, because his face was of another colour, which brought down the most deafening applause".<sup>13</sup>

In the same year a younger dancer was performing at Vauxhall Gardens and then at the Surrey. Master Juba, or William Henry Lane, was an extraordinary dancer, now credited with introducing tap dance as a technique. The name Juba again suggests Africa, but like Aldridge he was an Afro-American out of New York. Real North Africans performed at Vauxhall in 1851 from Algeria, and the reporting of the performance suggests that there was still something of the spectacle about such acts.

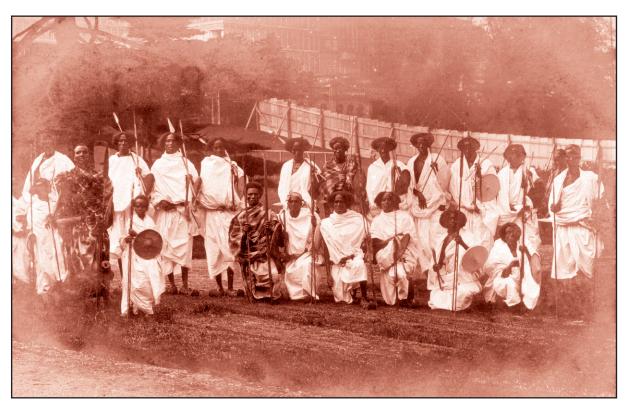
"'The Algerine Family', whose recent arrival in this country has excited so much curiosity, have been engaged. This interesting troupe consists of the principal, Yousof Ben Ibrahim, three young females of exquisite beauty, wife and sisters of the principal, and a child of uncommon loveliness, aged five years son of Yousoff. It is believed this is the first appearance of Mohammedan females in England; and the interest consequent on the presence of these strangers from an Eastern clime, will be greatly increased by the magnificence, and gorgeousness of their costumes."

A real African princess, in somewhat straitened circumstances also found herself on the Lambeth stage at the Old Vic, as the local press reported in 1886. Princess Azahmglona was the niece of the Zulu King, Cetewayo.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> The Illustrated London News, 1 April 1848.

After his capture in South Africa she had come to Britain and together with 'others of her own race' had arranged to give certain entertainments and war dances.

She joined a troupe performing Uncle Tom's Cabin in London but the agent left her destitute due to cancellation. She was then engaged to perform at the Royal Victoria Hall, Waterloo Road, presumably performing more war dances.<sup>14</sup>



Kenyan tribesmen at Crystal Palace, 1911.

Even as late as the festival of Empire held at the Crystal Palace in 1911, there is a sense of Africans being brought in to add to the spectacle. A group of tribesmen from Kenya were brought to the Festival and duly performed their dances and ceremonies for the crowds.

#### African Voices

While there is much evidence of how the local population perceived or were presented with African people, it is very rare to hear African people's own accounts of how they felt. Before the twentieth century black people were itemised by clergymen, accounted for by overseers of the poor, depicted on the stage by white playwrights and white actors, parodied as minstrels and singers, converted by missionaries, written approvingly of in local newspapers and had their artefacts preserved in museum collections as objects of curiosity; but their own voice is all too rarely heard.

One glorious exception to this is Olaudah Equiano who wrote his autobiography in old age when settled as a free man in London. His experiences of slavery must have been typical of so many thousands of Africans. He described his kidnapping from Eboe in Eastern Nigeria, the march to the coast and being sold on to slave traders, his passage in a slave ship to Barbados and then on to London and North America before finally regaining his freedom in London. Like the slaves and servants baptised in Lambeth, he underwent the humiliation of losing his name – being called Jacob, then Michael, then being baptised as Gustavaus Vasa, before finally reasserting his African name again.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Westminster and Lambeth Gazette, 15 May 1886.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Equiano, Olaudah, The Life of Olaudah Equiano, Longmans, 1989, ed. Paul Edwards.

He lived briefly in London just across the river opposite Lambeth while still a slave to Captain Pascal in the 1750s, "I was sometimes however with my Master at his rendez-vous house which was at the foot of Westminster Bridge. Here I used to enjoy myself playing about the bridge stairs and often in the waterman's wherries with other boys."

And there is an identified South London location for that most unusual and potent of accidental meetings – that between the one-time slave and his former master, which Equiano describes with extraordinary restraint.



Living as a free man, with the Misses Guerin at Mays Hill (Maze Hill) Greenwich, he meets their cousin, his former owner, Captain Pascal, by chance, "I met him four or five days after in Greenwich Park. When he saw me he appeared a good deal surprised and asked me how I came back? I answered, "In a ship," to which he replied drily, "I suppose you did not walk back to London on the water".

As I saw by his manner that he did not seem to be sorry for his behaviour to me, and that I had not much reason to expect any favour from him, I told him that he had used me very ill after I had been such a faithful servant to him for so many years, on which without saying any more, he turned about and went away."

# 2. THE BLACK AFRICAN POPULATION IN LAMBETH

# The Growth of Black African Population in Britain

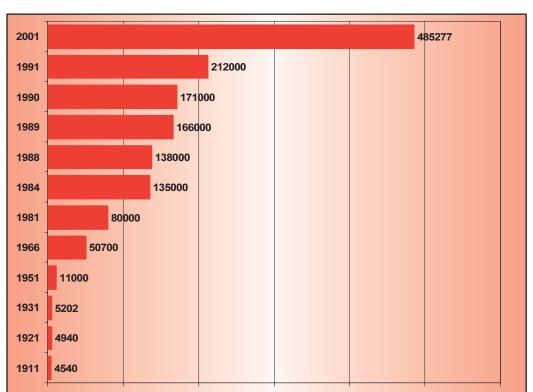
The United Kingdom is an area of increasing ethnic diversity. The majority of the population are White British, but a pattern of migration since the middle of the twentieth century has produced a number of recognisable minority groups. Many have their own distinct appearance, language, religion and culture.

The 1950s and 1960s were periods of mass immigration from the new Commonwealth countries, in particular the Caribbean, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Hong Kong and Africa. The 1980s onwards witnessed a dramatic increase in the number of asylum seekers. More recently there has been an increase in migration from eastern European countries.

It is widely accepted by academics that Black presence in Britain dates back at least the Roman occupation in the first A.D (Fryer 1984). Some of the earliest black to come to Britain arrived with the arms of the Romans around 50AD and some of them held senior positions (Fryer 1984). As James Walvin (2000) points out:

Black people have lived in Britain for centuries. During the Roman occupation, for instance, a unit of African troops was stationed near Carlisle. There is evidence of Africans in York in the same period. Africans similarly found their way to many parts of Europe in the course of the middle ages. (p.83)

Africans arrived in small numbers due to Britain's involvement in the slave trade and Black presence was particularly evident in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Fryer 1984). However, towards the end of the eighteenth century, at the height of the slave trade, there was, relatively speaking, a large black population estimated variously between 10-20,000. These were mainly centred around London and the ports. (Fryer, 1984)., p.68)



300000

400000

500000

600000

Figure 1. Growth of African population in Britain, 1911 to 2001.

O

100000

200000

#### Note to the data:

- 1. Black African population data for year 1911 to 1951 based on David Killingary estimate. For details see Killingray, D. (1984). African in Britain, Ilford, Essex, Frank Cass and Co.
- African population data for year 1966 is based on West African population (estimate of Gambia, Ghana, Nigeria and Siera Leone) in England and Wales and do not include people from other part of Africa and therefore underestimate the African population. For details of the census data see Deakin, Nicholas (1970). Colour Citizenship and British Society, Panther Modern Society, Oxford University press, p.59-60.
- 3. African population data for year 1981 to 1990 is based on Trevor Jones (1993) Britain ethnic minorities, Policy Studies Institute, p.24. His book evidence is based on 1981 1990 Labour force survey (G.B). The 1981 census country of birth were also used to estimate the 1981 African population.

The African population declined during the course of the nineteenth century. According to David Killingray, census returns suggested there were 4,540, Africans in the UK in 1911, 4,940 in 1921, 5,202 in 1931, 11,000 in 1951. Most African in pre-1950 came from West Africa, and lived mainly in London or the other major ports of Liverpool, Bristol and Cardiff (Killingray, D. 1984). After 1950 there has been a rise in African populations all over the country. It was estimated based on census data there were 50700 in 1966, 80000 in 1981, 212000 in 1991 and 485277 in 2001 national census (see Figure 1 and table 1).

There two main reasons for sizable increase in African population in recent periods in UK. Large number of Africans migrated to United Kingdom in the post 1960 independence that heralded the end of British colonialism in Africa. Others escaped the political upheavals and economic crises in the continent in the 1970 and 1980s to settle in UK. For example, the national statistics suggest that of the 69,932 Black African in 16-24 age groups in 2001 census, 71% were students compared to 41% nationally (see Census 2001).

It is also well known that the colonisation of Africa by Britain fuelled the desire of Africans to go to schools leading to Africans migrating to Britain for the purpose of higher education and technical training. African held high esteem with British education and many came to Britain to gain qualifications in British universities to help them to improve socio-economic development and self-governance in Africa. Overseas education is something only the elite could afford in Africa and some came through British Government scholarship. Some remained in Britain and they now form part of the educated, strong middle class, African community in UK.

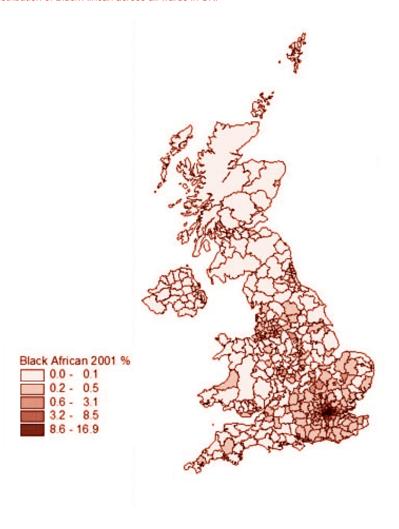
In addition in postcolonial Africa, there has been political upheavals that uprooted large number of Africans from the country such as South Africa, Mozambique, Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Sudan, Uganda, Ghana, Nigeria, Congo and Zimbabwe. The political instability and economic problems has resulted in rapid rise in Black African migration from the African continent. For example, in recent migration from Ghana (11,215 in 1971; 32,672 in 1991) and Nigeria (28,565 in 1971; 47,085 in 1992) was particularly sizable (OCPS 1991;OCPS 1992).

# The Black African Population: Evidence from 2001 census

The 2001 census presented the first opportunity to accurately measure the size of the ethnic minority population. Table 1 gives Britain's Ethnic minority population based on 2001 census. This table shows that in 2001 about 92.1 % of the population were White British, 1.8% Indian, 1.3 % Pakistani, 1.2% Mixed, 1% Black Caribbean, 0.8% African, 0.5% Bangladeshi, 0.4% Chinese, 0.4% other ethnic groups and 0.2% Black other. The census for 2001 indicated that London was the home to nearly half of the United Kingdom's Black and minority ethnic communities. The reminders are concentrated in urban areas of the West Midlands (13.6%), Yorkshire and Humberside (7.6%) and North West and Mersyside (6.8%). 7.9% of the population of the United Kingdom were from Black and minority ethnic communities (Figure 2 and 3).

In the 2001 census the Black African population accounted for 485000 people and was far more concentrated in London than any other ethnic groups. More than 79% live in London compared to 63% Black other, 61% Black Caribbean, 42% Indian, 55% Bangladeshi and 35% Chinese and 9.4% White British. It is now the second largest ethnic group other than White in London, behind Indian, with 5.3% of the population in this group. Southwark (16%, Newham (13%), Hackney (12%) and Lambeth (12%) had the largest proportions in the country (see figure 2). London completely dominates the national ranking for Black Africans, with all of the top 25 authorities being London boroughs. Figure 3 shows the distribution of Black African across all wards in London. (See Howes 2003).

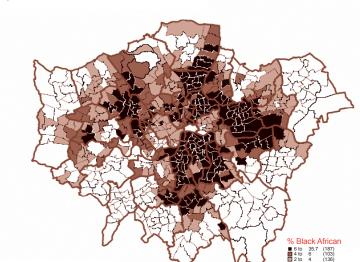
Figure 2. Shows the distribution of Black African across all wards in UK.



Source: Social and Spacial Inequities Research Group (2006), University of Sheffield, www.sasi-group.shef.ac.uk/publications/pandexexamples.gtm. Accessed on 3 march 2006.

'The top three wards are all in Southwark- Peckham has nearly 36 percent, Livesey has 27% and Faraday has 25 percent. There are six other wards with more than 20 percent Black Africans, Evelyn in Lewisham, Camberwell Green and East Walworth in Southwark, Royal Dock in Newham and Chaucer and Brunswick Park in Southwark. At other end of the scale there are more than 100 wards in London with less than one percent Black Africans' (Howes, 2003:18).

The local authority district outside London with the largest of Black Africans is Slough with 1.9 percent, and ranked 26. Manchester, Luton, reading, Watford and Leicester have also comparatively a significant African communities outside London (see figure 2).



Map 9 Percentage of people who were Black African, 2001.

2001 Census, Key Statistics Table KS06, Produced by Data Management and Analysis Group, Greater London Authority.

Table 1. The population of Lambeth, London and the United Kingdom 2001.

	Ethnia Crauna	Lambeth		London		UK	
	Ethnic Groups	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
White	White British	131939	49.6	4287861	59.8	45533741	87.5
	Irish	8689	3.3	220488	3.1	641804	1.2
	Other White	25430	9.6	594854	8.3	1345321	2.6
Mixed	White and Black Caribbean	5322	2.0	70928	1.0	237420	0.5
	White and Black African	2159	0.8	34182	0.5	78911	0.2
	White and Asian	2100	8.0	59944	0.8	189015	0.4
	Other Mixed	3273	1.2	61057	0.9	155688	0.3
Asian	Indian	5316	2.0	436993	6.1	1036807	2.0
	Pakistan	2634	1.0	142749	2.0	714826	1.4
	Bangladeshi	2169	8.0	153893	2.2	280830	0.5
	Other Asian	2045	8.0	133058	1.9	241274	0.5
Black	Black Caribbean	32139	12.1	343567	4.8	563843	1.1
	Black African	30836	11.6	378933	5.3	479665	0.9
	Other Black	5579	2.1	60349	0.8	96069	0.2
Chinese	Chinese	3362	1.3	80201	1.1	226948	0.4
and Other	Other Ethnic Group	3177	1.2	113034	1.6	219754	0.4

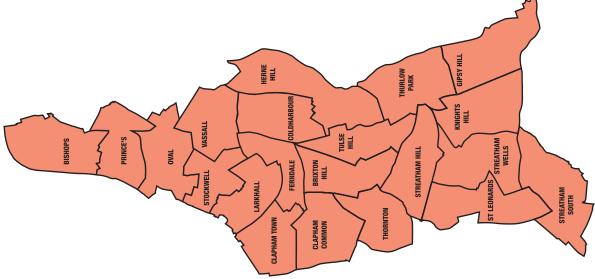
Source: Census 2001.

# The African Population in Lambeth

In the 2001 census the population of Lambeth was estimated to be 266170. Of these 62.5% of Lambeth residents were white. The largest ethnic groups were Black Caribbean (12.1%), Black African (11.6%), mixed (4.8%), other Black (2.1%), Indian (2.0%) and Pakistani (1.0%).

Figure 4. Black African Population In Lambeth by Wards.





Source: Census 2001.

#### THE CHANGING PATTERN OF SCHOOL POPULATIONS IN LAMBETH

Figure 5, below, demonstrates the main ethnic backgrounds of pupils in Lambeth schools and shows how the ethnic composition of the borough has changed since 1991.

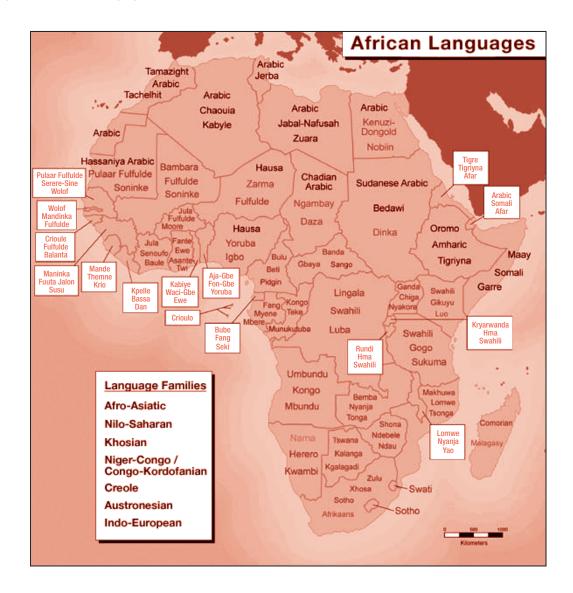
The 2004 census recorded details of 28,812 pupils' ethnic and language background. Of these, African pupils formed the largest ethnic group with 23.2% followed by Caribbean 22.1%, White British 19.3%, mixed race 9.6%, other White 5.9% and Portuguese 4.9%. Overall 66% of pupils in LEA schools belonged to black and other ethnic minority communities in 1991 compared to 81% in 2004 (see Demie et al 2002).

% — African — Caribbean → English/Scotish/Welsh

Figure 5. The Changing Pattern of School Population.

The ethnic composition of the school population has changed considerably since 1991 (this is illustrated by Figure 5 overleaf). White British pupils no longer represent the largest group, having decreased by 13% over the last 10 years. The proportion of Caribbean pupils has also declined (by 5%) over the same period. African pupils now form the largest group, having increased by 9% since 1994.

Figure 6 Map of African languages.



Source: www.isp.msu.edu/afrlang/AfrLangMap.htm. Accessed on 9 May 2006. Copyright African Studies Center, Michigan State University.

Across the authority many other languages are spoken, reflecting the different cultures, experiences and identities of the people in the community. Table 2 shows the most frequently spoken African languages other than English and demonstrates. The survey suggests that over 145 languages were spoken at home by 11,873 pupils. Of these 94 were African languages. At least 25 African languages have more than 10 speakers in the LA schools.

What is immediately evident from previous research is the considerable rise in the numbers of speakers of African languages in Lambeth schools (see table 2). West African languages have also shown significant increases. Since 1992 the number of Yoruba speakers in the borough's schools' has increased by 889.

Yoruba, one of the main languages of Nigeria, which is spoken by about 17 million people around the south-western area of Ibadan, is the third most commonly spoken language after English and Portuguese. Twi has shown the second highest increase (624 in total) out of the West African languages with Somali, Ga, Tigrinya and Krio also increasing significantly over the same 12 year period. These findings are reflected in changes to the ethnic composition of Lambeth schools, outlined previously.

Table 2: Main African Languages Spoken in Lambeth Schools, 1992 - 2005.

Main African Languages	1992	2000	2003	2005	%Change 1992-2005
Yoruba	800	1840	1754	1578	97.3
Twi	342	916	945	909	165.8
Arabic	295	374	428	463	56.9
Somali	32	222	423	707	2109.4
Ibo	291	275	266	258	-11.3
Ga	99	203	192	171	72.7
Tigrinya	66	166	162	214	224.2
Krio	9	18	103	121	1244.4
Luganda	21	69	91	111	428.6
Lingala	12	79	82	124	933.3
Amharic	27	39	67	88	225.9
Swahali	23	65	66	89	287.0
Fante	24	43	38	51	112.5
Urhobo	12	33	29	22	83.3

In addition to the above trend table which have over 50 speakers, the 2005 Census also recorded that there were many languages spoken in Lambeth schools. At least Over 70 languages have less than 23 speakers in Lambeth schools. These were Shona, Edo and Ewe (each 22 speakers); Acholi, Luo, Konkani, Efik, Akan, Zulu (each 14 speakers); Luo and Hausa (each 11 speakers); Kikuyu and Fulani (each 9 speakers); Temne, Kinyarwanda, Ishan; Bemba and Ashante (each 8 speakers); Mende, Memon, Kalabari (each 7 speakers); Itsekiri and Dari (each 5 speakers); Nyanaga, Isoka, Dioula, Chewa and Bayanaga (each 4 speakers); Tiv; Shao, Rundi, Dinka, Mandego, Malinke, Icaray, Isan, Bini and Berber (each 3 speakers); Wolof, Ukani, Runakore, Oriya, Ndebele, Mandingo, Lusoga, Iskwerre and Ifaw (each 2 speakers); Etche, Eleme, Bamileke, Bambara, Ateso, Afrikaans, Tsonga, Tigre, Oromo, Sothho, Sindhi, Setswana, Saho, Pahari, Okrika, Ngemba, Mandinka, Lozi, Limba, Krobo, Effutu, Ebira, Dinka, Dhophadola, Chtrali, Bukusu, Bilen and Banis (each 1 speaker).

### 3. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This research report has two aims. The first is to trace the historical evidence of the presence of African people in Lambeth in particular and Britain in general. Second is to provide a statistical picture of Britain's African populations.

#### Our finding shows that:

- The presence of African people in Britain can be traced to Roman times. In the third century AD, a 500 strong African battalion guarded Hadrian's Wall near Carlisle. Africans arrived in small numbers due to Britain's involvement in the slave trade and black presence was particularly evident in the 16th and 17th centuries. However, towards the end of the 18th century at the height of the slave trade, there was relatively speaking a large black population estimated variously between 10-20000. Recent census data suggests that there were 50700 Africans in 1966, 80000 in 1981, 212000 in 1991 and 485277 in 2001.
- The London Borough of Lambeth has strong links with Africa. Evidence from parish registers, local theatres, poor law records, local press and census data shows a significant Black African presence in Lambeth from the middle of the 17th century. There is also evidence that wealthy British merchants involved in slavery and who had sugar plantation links with Africa, lived in Streatham and Clapham in the 18th century. Brixton became a home to people from Ghana and Nigeria from the early 1950s as well as people from many of the Caribbean islands. Lambeth has subsequently become an established home to people from many parts of Africa.
- The 2001 census shows about 11.6% of the 26600 Lambeth population are African. The Lambeth school population is even higher, about 23.2% of pupils are Black African followed by Black Caribbean 22.1%, White British 19.3%, Mixed Race 9.6%, Other White 5.9% and Portuguese 4.9%.

#### References

Demie, F (2005). Language Diversity in Lambeth Schools, Research and Statistics Unit

Edwards, P. (1995 edited). The Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa the African, Longman.

Fryer, Peter (1984). Staying Power: The History of Black People in Briatain, Concrod, MA, Pluto Press.

Howes, E. (2003). 2001 Census Key Statistics: Ethnicity, religion and country of birth, Greater London Authority.

Killingray, D ed., (1994). African in Britain, Ilford, Essex, Frank Cass and Co.

Ruck, S.K (1960) Ed. The West Indian Comes to England, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.

Walvin, James (2000). Making the Black Atlantic: Britain and the African Diaspora, Cassell.

Walvin, James (1994). Black Ivory: a History of British Slavery, Howard University Press.



Jon Newman, Head of Lambeth Archives. Feyisa Demie, Head of Research and Statistics.

Published by Lambeth Research and Statistics Unit, Lambeth Children and Young People's Service, International House, Canterbury Crescent, London, SW9 7QE.

First Published June 2006. © Lambeth Council 2006. All rights reserved. ISBN 0-9545519-5-8

