The Diaries of Thomas Brem Wilson, 1865-1929: African Businessman and Pentecostal Pioneer in Britain.
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This disk contains transcripts of the diaries of Thomas Brem Wilson, an African businessman from the Gold Coast, who settled in Britain in 1901. I am grateful to members of the Brem Wilson family who gave me access to the diaries, provided photographs and other papers, and allowed me to transcribe the diaries and make them available to other scholars.

As an introduction to the Diaries I have included an essay which is an extended version of a paper of mine earlier published as ‘TransAtlantic networks of early African Pentecostalism: the role of Thomas Brem Wilson, 1901-1929’, Studies in World Christianity, 23, 3, (2017), 218-36.

Many of Brem Wilson’s entries in his diaries consist of single lines, often mentioning his friends and acquaintances. I have added footnotes to the transcripts to help readers know who some of these people were and the circumstances in which they contributed to Brem Wilson’s life and his varied activities.

I would be grateful to receive comments on the diaries, corrections to the footnotes and the essay, and comments on the value of the diary, to dmkillingray@hotmail.com

David Killingray, July 2019

Professor Emeritus of Modern History, Goldsmiths, and a Senior Research Fellow in the School of Advanced Study, University of London
THOMAS BREM WILSON AND EARLY AFRICAN PENTECOSTAL ORIGINS IN BRITAIN, 1901-29’

ABSTRACT

Thomas Brem Wilson, a west African businessman who settled in London in 1901, is a little-known figure in early British Pentecostalism. However, the discovery of his diaries provides an insight into his spiritual life as he moved from being a nominal Wesleyan to becoming a pastor of one of London’s first Pentecostal chapels. When Brem Wilson came to London he was baptised as a member of Alexander Dowie’s Zion chapel in the Euston Road. The diaries detail his contacts and financial dealings with Dowie when he visited Zion City in the Autumn of 1904. The visit appears to have given Brem Wilson new spiritual fervour; he took several of his African friends to the Euston Road chapel, and he also helped promote the Zion cause in the Gold Coast. As Dowie’s mantle fell, other Pentecostal influences touched Brem Wilson’s life; he practised speaking in tongues, and at a crucial time he provided financial support for Alexander Boddy’s journal Confidence. The diaries reveal Brem Wilson as a complex figure with a dysfunctional family life; he may have been a Pentecostal pioneer but his domestic life was not a model for others. Nevertheless, he continued to pastor a Pentecostal chapel and to preach in the London streets, and on occasions as far away as the Orkney Islands and south Wales until shortly before his death.

Thomas Brem Wilson from West Africa is a relatively little-known figure in the early history of British Pentecostalism. The Revd Alexander Boddy mentioned him in his magazine Confidence in 1907 and 1908, and the veteran Pentecostal T.B. Barratt referred to ‘a coloured gentleman from London’ in his autobiography published in the 1920s.¹ More recently the late Desmond Cartwright in an article mentioned Brem Wilson as a founder of what was locally known as ‘the black man’s church’ in Walworth, South London.² In the last two years enquiries via the web led to contact with members of the Brem-Wilson family who generously made available photographs, correspondence, documents, and also Thomas Brem Wilson’s diaries which intermittently cover the years

¹ T.B. Barratt, When the Spirit Fell: An outline of my life (Oslo, 1927), p. 156.
1899-1925. From these and other primary sources it has been possible to retrieve from obscurity the life of Brem Wilson, and to plot his journey from nominal Wesleyanism in West Africa, involvement in Dowie’s divine healing movement, to Pentecostal preacher and ‘missioner’ in south London.

Thomas Brem Wilson was born at Dixcove in the British colony of the Gold Coast in 1865. He received his education in the Wesleyan School at Cape Coast, where he subsequently taught, before becoming headmaster of the Wesleyan school in his home town. He then turned to commerce. Many entries in his diaries are concerned with his various commercial interests in West Africa, and relations with the African lawyers J.E. Casely Hayford and Peter Renner. In a letter Brem Wilson stated that ‘I have a practical knowledge of working Palm oil, palm kernels, Mahogany, Gold mining and general cultivation of the soil’. He owned auriferous land concessions, for example at Tuasie near Acquidah, and elsewhere, which he hoped to mine and to exploit for timber or to develop with palm oil and rubber. Dixcove was a small port, although without a

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3 Thomas Brem Wilson rarely used a hyphen in his name, and that is the convention that I have maintained; the family today use a hyphen. Papers have come from two branches of the Brem-Wilson family, the diaries indicated as TBW1, other papers as TBW2. I was also given photographs by another branch of the Brem-Wilson family.


5 TBW2. J.E. Casely Hayford (1866-1930), became distinguished as a journalist, politician, and lawyer in the Gold Coast; his *Gold Coast Native Institutions*, the first of his several books, was published in London in 1903. In a letter, dd. Anona Chambers, Axim, Gold Coast, 9 June 1906, he curtly reminded Brem Wilson that his legal services required prompt payment: ‘Your letter of 6th November 1903 was urgent, and, pray, how was I to know the grantors of Pakiavilly [mine] owed you money. Did you expect me to do all the legal work and pay the fees and rents besides to enable you to keep the contract? As it is, you have to pay your share of the legal expenses.’

6 Peter Awooner Renner, son of Dr. William James Awooner Renner of Freetown, Sierra Leone, educated in England and Germany, called to the bar (Lincoln’s Inn) 1883; began practice as a lawyer in Sekondi in 1884, claiming in 1888 to be making more than £1,000 p.a. (The National Archives, Kew - hereafter TNA. CO96/200/9638, 15 January 1889). Like many members of the West African educated elite, Renner was a freemason: ‘Visitors from Cape Coast … and Accra entertained by their brethren here [as is] Brother P.A. Renner, P.M. of the Gold Coast Lodge’; Letter from ‘A Mason’, *Gold Coast Globe and Ashanti Argus* (London), 18 February 1902, p. 205. Renner was active in Gold Coast politics and helped to establish the Aborigines’ Rights Protection Society in 1897.

7 TBW2. Statement by Thomas Brem Wilson, most likely addressed to the Management Committee of Zion Church, London, dd. 28 April [probably 1905].

8 For the background see Raymond E. Dumett, *El Dorado in West Africa. The gold-mining frontier, African labor, and colonial capitalism in the Gold Coast, 1875-1900* (Athens, OH., 1998), and articles cited in the bibliography on African mercantile entrepreneurship, although Wilson is not mentioned.
harbour for ocean-going steamers; since the 1850s steamer services had put the Gold Coast in faster and more reliable contact with Britain, and the postal service and the telegraph were well established in the coastal area by the late 1890s.\(^9\)

Little is known of the earlier history of Brem Wilson’s family, part of the formally educated elite who bore European names. Modern family recollection asserts that Brem Wilson’s father, Thomas B. Wilson, who died in 1906 was related to the veteran black British missionary Thomas Birch Freeman.\(^10\) Thomas B. Wilson, and other members of the family, did not use the prefix ‘Brem’. The family were Wesleyan Methodists, members of the Dixcove church,\(^11\) although there is no evidence from Brem Wilson’s early diaries that he was particularly devout or active. Indeed, he drank alcohol, womanised, and dabbled in indigenous religious rituals. The latter should not occasion surprise; it was not uncommon for members of the West African educated elite to inhabit plural religious worlds. By 1899 he was married to Hagare, and had two children, relationships that would complicate his later life.\(^12\)

It is not known if Brem Wilson travelled outside West Africa in the early 1890s. Members of the family state that he visited Britain in 1897, and indeed a ‘Mr T. Wilson’ did travel to Liverpool on board the ‘Cabenda’ from Axim in July that year and returned, in the company of a Mr Mensah, on the ‘Laguna’ to Chama in late September.\(^13\) Brem

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\(^9\) Overseas mail to the Gold Coast was carried by steamer. An inland postal service was established in the Gold Coast in 1888, the volume of mail greatly increasing with the mining boom at the end of the century. A submarine cable from Liverpool to Accra was in operation in 1886, and by 1894 a direct coastal line ran from Axim in the west to Lomé, the capital of the German colony of Togo, to the east. See David Kimble, *A Political History of Ghana 1850-1928* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), pp. 31-2.

\(^10\) The two biographies of Thomas Birch Freeman, F. Deauville Walker, *Thomas Birch Freeman, the son of an African* (London, 1929), and Allen Birtwhistle, *Thomas Birch Freeman: West African pioneer* (London, 1950), offer little information about his children, two boys and two girls, the products of his third marriage to an educated African woman in 1854. Thomas Brem Wilson was born in 1865 so his father could not have been one of Birch Freeman’s two sons. Perhaps the Wilsons were related to T.B. Freeman via the third Mrs Freeman.

\(^11\) *Gold Coast Leader*, 16 May 1908, p. 5.

\(^12\) The family state that the son of the African marriage, studied at the Crystal Palace School of Engineering, in south London, founded in 1872.

\(^13\) *The Colonies and India*, 24 July 1897, p. 27, and 25 September 1897, p. 26. *The West African and Trader’s Review Illustrated*, 1, 2, (June 1900), p. 62 reported that Mr W.G. Mensah, of Chama, is ‘at present in London arranging for the disposal of some mining concessions in the neighbourhood of the Sekondi-Tarkwa railways …’. He is also shown in a photograph of a ‘Group of West Africans (Gold
Wilson’s commercial dealings principally involved two commercial companies in London that traded with West Africa, William Coates, and Palliser & Co. ‘Suppliers of every created commodity’. The earliest piece of correspondence with Coates & Co., dated 4 July 1898, is a bill for £266 that should have been paid on 24 December 1897, a strong indication that he had been in London that year. In the autumn of 1900 Brem Wilson came to London to deal with business matters, mainly related to a gold mine at Sarnie and a concession at Kobola Kasa. A vital, and long suffering, agent for his business affairs was his solicitor Emanuel & Simmonds. In October 1901 Brem Wilson again returned to Britain to pursue further commercial interests, principally his gold mines, but he also negotiated sales of concessions to Gold Coast lands, a not uncommon activity for West Africans in London. It is not known if he made return visits to the Gold Coast; a report of the death of his brother Isaac in 1908 mentions that ‘his eldest

14 TFW2. Undated statement by Thomas Brem Wilson on his business dealings with Palliser, referring to a letter received dd. 28 April [nd.1905?]. Brem Wilson had agreed to act as an agent for Palliser in West Africa, also providing names of possible business contacts there. The Company advertised in *West Africa*, e.g. 15 October 1904, p. 1.
16 TFW2. Emanuel & Simmonds to Brem Wilson, Guildford Street, Russell Square, London W., 3 August 1900.
17 TFW2 includes nearly 60 letters, and a few bills, from Emanuel & Simmonds, with offices in Finsbury Circus, EC, to Brem Wilson, dd. 1 August 1900-October 1904. Without the reciprocal correspondence from Brem Wilson it is difficult to follow the details of his financial affairs which, at the best of times seem to be convoluted.
18 For example, the brothers John (d. 1909) and Albert Owusu Ansah, the former envoys to London from the Asantehene in 1895, both settled in Britain. They unsuccessfully sought to raise money on concessions in Asante and were made bankrupt, John in 1898 and Albert in 1906. Brem-Wilson had commercial discussions with one of them, possibly Albert, in 1904 (e.g. TFW1, diary entry 27 January 1904). Another example is the Fante lawyer James Richard Brew (‘Prince Brew of Dunquah’) who had lived in Britain since 1888 and agreed to handle the Asante Embassy’s legal affairs. Since 1890 Brew had attempted to sell Gold Coast concessions. When adjudicated bankrupt in April 1903 he claimed assets in West Africa of £176,000 (*The Times*, 10 April 1903 and 7 May 1903). Living off concession sales was a fraught and risky business. Brew died in Camberwell on 14 April 1915; his death certificate described his occupation as ‘Land Company Promoter’. See Margaret Priestley, *West African Trade and Coastal Society. A family study* (London, 1969), ch. 4. A.B.C. Merriman-Labor, from Sierra Leone, while a student at Lincoln’s Inn, set up ‘The African General Agency’ in June 1905; see Danell Jones, *An African in Imperial London. The indomitable life of A.B.C. Merriman-Labor* (London, Hurst, 2018). In late Spring 1904 Brem Wilson discussed business matters with King Gbadebo of the Egba, the Alake of Abeokuta, who was in Britain on a state visit, also with the Alake’s secretary, Adegbuyega Edun, formerly the Methodist minister Revd J. Henryson Samuels (d. 1930), who was also secretary to the autonomous Egba United Government from 1902-18, and with the wealthy Nigerian businessman and merchant Richard Beale Blaize (1845-1904), who founded and owned the *Lagos Times*, and made frequent visits to London. In his will Blaize left his six children nearly £90,000. See TFW1, diary entries 28 May-3 June 1904.
brother Mr T.B. Wilson Jr. has been in England for the last seven years’. In London, Brem Wilson had no paid employment, although later in the decade he confided in his diary that he ought to find work in order to produce a regular income. Much of his recorded time involved visits to city offices connected to his gold mining concessions in the Gold Coast, or attempts to develop trading contacts in rubber and timber. He also speculated in dress diamonds and jewellery. The diaries contain details of his revenue and expenditure, loans and receipts of monies from friends and acquaintances, often sums below twenty pounds. Brem Wilson’s commercial activities were often precarious, many bills being paid at the very last moment. At one low point in his personal finances he pawned his overcoat in winter.

In the first decade of the twentieth century, there were probably c.5,000 black people resident in London. This included a small number of well educated, professional men and a few women. In his diaries for this period Brem Wilson says a good deal about his social and commercial contacts with fellow West Africans, and he also refers to the formation of a United African Association in 1906, a short-lived pan-African body ‘to promote friendly intercourse amongst “coloured” races coming to Europe’. He records that ‘the black people of London met … to form an Association’, and nine days later, on the 19 February he noted: ‘We met at Saracen’s [Head] Hotel tonight to discuss the United African Association. Officers were selected.’ Unfortunately he does not name the ‘officers’, and little further is known of this apparently abortive body.

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19 Gold Coast Leader, 16 May 1905, p. 5.
20 TBW1. Indenture dd. 10 April 1901, with Chief Kofi Amuaku and others, £150 paid for ‘a piece of land known as Tuasie near Acquidah in the District of Dixcove measuring 1500 fathoms more or less or thereabouts in the East, 1500 fathoms on the West’. Another document is for the Bartie Corporation Ltd, copy from the Stock Exchange Prospectus 1901-1902. BW2. Letters from Emanuel & Simmonds, February 1901-October 1904 mention Brem Wilson’s West African Mahogany Company, agreements with the Ashanti Syndicate, the Bartie Corporation, with Ashong and R.F. Brace, and his half share with John B. Kwofie in gold mines at Wonsinabiapa and Arkntalian; dealings with the Gold Coast lawyer J.E. Casely Hayford over the Pakiavilly mine; disputes with A.E. Kempf, B.P. Harris, William Coates, and H.E. Kershaw Ltd. For Kempf & Co., of 22-23 Laurence Poultney Lane, London, EC, see TNA. CO879/58/578, ‘Further Correspondence relating to Land Concessions and Regulations’, 2 November 1899.
21 TBW1 diary entries for 10 February and 16 April 1906. Among those who attended the first meeting was Albert S. Cann and probably D. Kvesi Bhoma.
22 The initiator was the South African law student Alfred Mangena (1879-1924), later a founder of the South African Native National Congress. See report in Jamaica Times, 8 September 1906, p. 9; I am grateful to Danell Jones for this reference. The Gold Coast Leader, 10 March 1906, p. 5, reported the meeting with the comment: ‘Another meeting, as I write has been arranged for next Monday, the 19th inst.'
Wilson’s personal relationships largely revolved around several West African male friends, with whom he also had commercial dealings, and a number of black and white women. He established a close friendship with Esther Cantor (1883-1962), Ettie as he called her, a Jewish stage artiste, to whom he appears to have written on at least one occasion from West Africa, and whom he later married.23 The relationship with Ettie, her sister Ray and her family were at times stormy, perhaps due to Brem Wilson’s relations with other women which are frequently mentioned in his diaries. Brem Wilson’s initial contact with the Cantors had been through the father, Philip, a sponge and general merchant in Southampton Row, with whom Brem Wilson had business dealings established before 1900, and who also offered a convenient accommodation postal address in London.24

On the second day after arriving in London in October 1901, Brem Wilson went to John Alexander Dowie’s Christian Catholic Church that met in Zion Chapel on the Euston Road.25 Within a short time he was baptised and had become an active member. This contact with a controversial and eccentric faith healing movement suggests foreknowledge of its existence. In entries in his diary for early 1901 Brem Wilson does not indicate any great interest in Christian matters. There is the occasional mention of the Dixcove Wesleyan church, references about equal in number to the times when relationships with women or sexual activity of some kind or other are recorded. So why Brem Wilson’s sudden interest in the Zion chapel in London? And how did news of Dowie’s Catholic Church penetrate to the Gold Coast?

**A.J. Dowie and the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church**

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24 Philip Cantor (1849-1903), born in the City of London, had a business at 26 Southampton Row, Holborn. Following his death, the family moved from Holborn to Earlsfield in southwest London.
25 R. Mudie-Smith, ed., *The religious life of London* (London, 1904), p. 178, lists 81 Euston Road, London as ‘Zion Tabernacle (Dr. Dowie’s)’ – total in attendance in 1903 was 266.
John Alexander Dowie was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1847 and emigrated with his parents to Adelaide in Australia in 1860. He studied theology back in his natal city and was ordained as a Congregational minister in Australia. By the late 1870s Dowie claimed powers as a faith healer, establishing the International Faith Healing Association in Melbourne, and becoming a noted figure in the new divine healing movement. At the end of the decade Dowie moved to the United States, settling first in California, late evangelising in Pennsylvania and Maryland, and finally going to live in Chicago. He attracted great attention at the Chicago World Fair of 1893, and three years later he established his Christian Catholic Church of which he was the ‘General Overseer’. The doctrines of the Christian Catholic Church appeared to be standard evangelical tenets – the centrality of Christ, repentance for sin, and belief in the truth of the Bible. Believers’ baptism was triune, candidates being immersed three times in the name of Father, Son and Holy Ghost. However, evidence of Christ’s atoning work was closely linked to divine healing, and Dowie’s Chicago church had walls adorned with medicines, crutches, braces, and trusses, the symbols of Satan’s defeated power. Testimonies to God’s healing power were a standard part of Christian Catholic Church meetings. Reverting to the use of medicine after confession for sin and for healing was ‘sinful’, as was drinking alcohol and the use of tobacco. Dowie also proclaimed that Christians need not be financially poor in this world, an early form of ‘prosperity gospel’ teaching. The Christian Catholic Church lost members disillusioned by Dowie’s dominant methods, but at the same time its doctrine of faith healing attracted many others among whom were notable evangelicals, including one of the ‘Cambridge Seven’, the independent-minded missionary Stanley P. Smith of the China Inland Mission, Reginald Studd, the younger brother of C.T. Studd, and, for a brief time, the Booth-Clibborns, formerly senior members of the Salvation Army. Another adherent was Mrs Mary

28 See Leaves of Healing, 8 April 1899, p.p. 46, 448, 2 December 1899, p. 189, and 17 March 1900, p. 702. A common slogan used by Dowie was ‘Where God Rules Man Prospers’.
29 For Stanley P. Smith see Leaves of Healing, 1 April 1899, pp. 430-1, and 15 April 1899, pp. 479-80; Reginald Studd, Leaves of Healing, 2 September 1899, pp. 876-80; Arthur Booth-Clibborn (1855-1939) and Catherine (1858-1955) his wife, the daughter of General William Booth, lately Salvation Army commissioners in The Netherlands, joined Zion in November 1901; Leaves of Healing, 4 January 1902, p.
Jane Wigglesworth, the wife of Smith Wigglesworth, both prominent faith-healing preachers, she being baptised by Dowie along with fifty other believers in the Caledonian Road Public Baths, London, in October 1900.30

In the late 1890s Dowie bought ten square miles of lakeside land 40 miles north of Chicago and by 1901 Zion City, planned as an integrated urban centre for the sinless faithful, was beginning to grow as houses, offices and industries were built on a grid-shaped ground plan.31 Defectors had begun to leave the Christian Catholic Church through 1900-01 as Dowie increasingly made it known that he believed that he was the prophet Elijah the Restorer, a claim he made publicly to a meeting of 7,000 people in June 1901.32 The clear implication was that the return of Christ was imminent. From 1904, Dowie’s church was known as the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church, the only true church; it was unapologetically theocratic in direction and nature. All modern denominations, Dowie claimed, were apostate bodies that ‘do not represent the Body of Christ. [They] must be done away with’. Dowie’s claim was that his church was ‘Restorationist’ possessing ‘the primitive powers bestowed upon the Apostolic Church at Pentecost’. This did not include speaking in tongues, although that was adopted following Dowie’s disgrace, deposition, and then death in 1907, and in the wake of the Azusa Street revival.

Dowie’s sermons, often delivered with wit accompanied by pithy stories, were easy to understand, and had a mix of the eccentric – flat earthism, Anglo-Israelitism, opposition to the consumption of pork, but along with radical doctrines that opposed war

470. The Booth-Clibborns left Dowie’s church on his death and turned to independent Pentecostal evangelism.
32 Leaves of Healing, 8 June 1901, pp. 196-203. See Deuteronomy 18. 15-22, and Malachi 3: 5-6: ‘Behold I will send you Elijah the Prophet before the great and terrible day of the Lord come.’
and racism (Dowie publicly applauded miscegenation), as well as organisations with covert practices such as Masons and trade unions. Denouncing ‘race prejudice as contemptible and abominable’, Dowie in 1904, referred publicly to the experiences of insults in America both North and South told to him in a conversation: ‘I had a little while ago with me an African gentleman, cultivated, and in some respects, better educated than I am. He owns large properties on the Gold Coast, and was trained in English schools, being a member of the English bar’. Some of Dowie’s pulpit energy was devoted to attacking Roman Catholics and also the major Protestant denominations. The aptly named *Leaves of Healing*, the weekly newspaper of the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church, thanks to cheap postal rates served to promote Dowie’s ideas and doctrines within the Americas, in Australia, Europe, India, China, Japan, and also South Africa, and to a few subscribers at Axim, in the Gold Coast, which had connections with Zion City via London.

**Early Pentecostalism and Faith Healing in West Africa**

The main focus of Zionist evangelism in Africa was in southern Africa where both black and white adherents were baptised. Zion work was also extended into Southern Rhodesia with new ‘members’ recorded in Mashonaland in mid 1902. Activity in North Africa, especially Egypt, but also Abyssinia (then usually referred to in Zion literature as ‘Ethiopia’), is mentioned in *Leaves of Healing*, but for West Africa only individuals are occasionally referred to in Christian Catholic Church literature. In South Africa, the Rev. Johannes Buchler, had been attracted to Dowie’s ideas by reading *Leaves of Healing*, and he was appointed the first Overseer; by 1905 following a revival at

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33 *Leaves of Healing*, 13 August 1904, p. 550. If this ‘African gentleman’ was Brem Wilson, then he gave Dowie a false account of his life. Members of the Gold Coast modern elite living overseas were few, some having been educated in Britain and called to the Bar, although not many visited the United States in this period.

34 Revelation 22: 2, ‘On each side of the river stood the tree of life … And the leaves of the tree are for the healing of the nations.’

35 M.J. Taylor, ‘Publish and be blessed. A case study in early Pentecostal publishing history, 1906-1926’, PhD University of Birmingham, 1994. This version of *Leaves of Healing* began publication in August 1894, Dowie later claimed that the periodical was ‘inspired by God’ and was a continuation of the New Testament; see *Leaves of Healing*, 23 October 1897, pp. 830-31.


37 Buchler broke with Dowie after a visit to Zion City in 1904, and he was succeeded as Overseer by Daniel Bryant. Bryant, in cooperation with a former Dutch Reformed Church minister, Pieter Le Roux,
Wakkerstroom, Zion adherents numbered several hundred baptised members, and the work had been taken north to central Africa.\(^{38}\) Christian Catholic resources did not stretch to immediate work in West Africa.\(^{39}\) However, ships and the postal services (there was a flat-rate postage system) carried Zion literature with seeming little hindrance to wherever it was addressed, and in 1898 this included ‘56 rolls of Zion literature’, copies of Dowie’s *Leaves of Healing*, to subscribers or potential readers in the West African colonies.\(^{40}\)

The advent of Pentecostal work in the British colony of the Gold Coast has usually been ascribed to Peter Anim in the 1920s and the Scots-Irish missionary James McKeown from the late 1930s onwards.\(^{41}\) Peter Anim’s attention to holiness and faith healing was aroused in 1917 by reading the American publication the *Sword of the Spirit* produced from Faith Tabernacle in Philadelphia, a church that emerged from Dowie’s expanded the Zion work. See ‘Zion among the Zulus in South Africa’, *Leaves of Healing*, 20 September 1904, pp. 413-15.


\(^{40}\) *Leaves of Healing*, 30 April 1898, p. 535; and 26 February 1898, p. 357, Dowie commented on ‘Zion work’ in the Transvaal, Natal, Orange Free State, and Cape Colony where ‘we have many subscribers all over White man’s Africa’. On ‘Print, post & proselytism’ see Maxwell, *African Gifts of the Spirit*, ch. 1. Colonial authorities, when they could, tried to prevent the importation of ‘subversive’ literature into their African colonies. Religious literature in the late 19th and early 20th centuries appears not to have excited any comment or embargoes, unlike the publications of the Watch Tower movement in Brooklyn and those of Marcus Garvey’s Universal Negro Improvement Association in the years following the First World War.

Philadelphia branch. However, at the end of the nineteenth century there were already a few Wesleyan Methodists, and perhaps others, in West Africa who were interested in Holiness ideas, and also some who were reading *Leaves of Healing*. Richard Reader Harris’ Pentecostal League of Prayer, a holiness movement, also had a small band of followers in Nigeria and the Gold Coast. These included the Baptist ministers Mojola Agbebi in ‘Yoruba Land’, and the Revd Mark Hayford who was first recorded in the League’s magazine, *Tongues of Fire*, in August 1899 as ‘General Secretary for the Gold Coast’ with meetings in Cape Coast, Salt Pond, and Elmina. The following month it was reported that at the League’s bookstall at Keswick ‘we were selling *Tongues of Fire* to Indians, Africans, and Persians’ and ‘Pentecostal Leaguers from ... so far off as the Gold Coast of Africa’. Two years later the editor of *Tongues of Fire*, in an editorial headed ‘Pentecost in West Africa’, endorsed Hayford who has been ‘one of the speakers at the Annual Meetings of the Pentecostal League, and General Secretary of the League Centres in West Africa’, as worthy of financial support by members in order that the work might be extended in the Gold Coast. Hayford, as Halliburton argues, was not very reliable, a point obliquely made by Fred Osborne, a member of the Pentecostal

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45 *Tongues of Fire*, September 1899, pp. 3-4. This is probably a reference to Mark Hayford, among others.

46 *Tongues of Fire*, June 1901, p. 6.
League of Prayer from Truro, who went to work in the Gold Coast in 1902. Osborne reported that on arriving in Cape Coast he made enquiries but failed to find the League Centre which had regularly been reported in *Tongues of Fire*, and his sober comment was that ‘Nothing is being done there just now’. Proceeding to his place of work 120 miles in the interior, Osborne established a ‘hut as a church’ and could ‘thank God for visible results ... left in the hands of a catechist’. Perhaps Osborne’s humble hut helped prepare a few African Christians for the new Pentecostal revival that spread around the world after the events of 1904-6, and also laid the ground for the growth of Pentecostal healing ideas that flourished in the Gold Coast during the 1920s-30s.48

Divine healing appealed to many African Christians who had limited access to modern biomedicine. In late 1899 an anonymous ‘native preacher on the Gold Coast’ wrote to J.A. Dowie requesting ‘Zion’s prayers for some in his flock who are sick’, and he concluded his letter: ‘How long, O Lord, ere Thou wilt direct Thy full light to shine on the path of the benighted Africans? I dare say with confidence that the religion attended with miracles of healing will be grasped at once by the native.’ 49 A key figure in this early divine healing activity in the Gold Coast appears to have been D. Kwesi Bhma, an elder in the Methodist Church in Axim, and a close friend of Brem Wilson.50 Eighteen months later, in May 1901, he wrote to the Revd William Hamner Piper at Zion City, recounting how as a result of prayer he, his wife and son Kofi, had recovered from smallpox during the recent epidemic of the disease. His evangelistic ardour was forcibly expressed: ‘Oh, how I do long to carry the Full Gospel to my people when I shall be prepared and sent for that purpose (Romans 10: 15). Pray for me and my children with

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47 *Tongues of Fire*, October 1902, p. 10. An example of Hayford’s questionable financial dealings, in this case over cocoa commissions, not mentioned by Haliburton, was reported in *The Daily Mail* (London), 3 December 1912, also in the *Gold Coast Leader*, 28 December 1912, p. 2, and 4 January 1913, p. 3. A further comment in the *Leader*, 25 January 1913, p. 3, censures Hayford: ‘The Rev. gentleman we are afraid is more for money than for the souls of his flock he has left at Cape Coast.’


50 School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. Minutes of the Gold Coast district Synod, Cape Coast, 2 March 1900, p. 1. I owe this reference to Dr. Adam Mohr. At the time of his death in late 1913, Bhma was employed as a storekeeper by Millers, the trading company, in Axim; *Gold Coast Leader*, 15 November 1913, p. 2.
whom I hope to be doing God’s work in the nearest future.’ Brem Wilson knew Bhoma in the Gold Coast and when he moved to London he was in frequent postal contact. Bhoma came to London in 1902 and was baptised at Zion chapel in October that year. Occasional entries in Brem Wilson’s diary mention that he had written to a West African ‘about religion’. Shortly after having been baptised, and, perhaps due to his exertions, several of his West African friends in London followed his example in triune baptism: J.E. Ashong in March 1902, J. Benj Kwofie and C.C. Stephin in July of that year, Joseph Mensah and Zachary Taylor Greene in November 1904.

Bhoma returned to the Gold Coast in 1903 or 1904 and evidence of his influence is provided by a letter in Leaves of Healing, written in March 1905, by J.E.B. Yalley of Axim, who owed his conversion to his efforts. Yalley claimed that he had been healed of guinea worm (as later did Peter Anim), stating that ‘I was most reprobate in my former manner of life. I knew I was sinning, but I could not be aroused from my apathy and lethargy, until through Brother Bhoma’s presentation I was led to accept Zion’s truths and the blessings of the Full Gospel’. A copy of Leaves of Healing, which Bhoma gave him and that he read ‘carefully and earnestly’, appears to have played a significant part in his conversion because ‘presently my eyes were opened, and I gave myself up to God, my Heavenly Father, through the Christ, my Redeemer and King, for my healing, instead of taking physic from the sorcerers, as I had been doing before.’ In Yalley’s case he not only abandoned indigenous cures but also modern medicine, writing to Cantel in London to inform him about his change of life. His letter to Cantel ended on a note of expectancy and with an indication that he and Bhoma were not the sole adherents of Dowie’s doctrines in the Gold Coast: ‘It is with reverence and thanksgiving that some of us in this part of the world thus realize the power and presence of the Holy Spirit, and that a Prophet is again on earth to teach the long-lost truths’. Bhoma wrote to Harry Cantel in London in April 1905 with a ‘testimony to God’s healing’, recounting how the year

51 Leaves of Healing, 12 October 1901, p. 809.
52 TBW1. E.g. diary 5 October 1906, to J.F. Ellis, Dixcove, West Africa.
53 The CCA Church recorded the name and address of every person who was triune baptised, the lists appearing regularly in the pages of Leaves of Healing.
before had been ‘a year of struggling with Satan. He strove to take my life on two occasions’, but prayer alone led to healing. In his letter Bhoma mentioned ‘Mr. C.B. Arthur, who is apprenticed under me and believes in Divine Healing’. Bhoma appears to have formed a Dowie church in Axim but what links this had with parent bodies in the United States or Britain is unclear. His adherence lasted until 1911 when, it was reported, he ‘now thought it proper to join the Wesleyan Church that gave him birth, and to relinquish “Dowie’s Zion Church”. Mr. Bhoma was prominent in this Church but for some reason or other he bade it a long farewell.’ By then Dowie’s Christian Catholic Apostolic Church had splintered into several different strands. Such a change in allegiance did not mean abandoning belief in faith healing. One man for whom there is evidence that he maintained this belief over the years was J.E.B. Yalley. Described in the local press as ‘a man of wide experience, of consummate ability and exemplary character’, he was, in the mid-1920s, a member of the Faith Tabernacle branch at Sekondi where he worked as a professional letter writer, an occupation that would lead to his expulsion as it was deemed unscriptural work by the Tabernacle’s leadership.

These brief accounts of conversion and baptism provide evidence of a measure of divine healing and Pentecostal activity in the Gold Coast well before the first Faith Tabernacle branch was established in 1918. Faith Tabernacle literature had been circulating in the Gold Coast since 1906 which, along with Leaves of Healing, melded divine healing with Pentecostal ideas. It is clear that there were a small number of people in the Gold Coast on a religious trajectory that took them from Wesleyan holiness ideas in the 1890s, to Dowie’s divine healing, and on to the influence of the new Pentecostalism. Brem Wilson’s diary entries establish that some of the men baptised at Zion chapel in London returned to the Gold Coast. However, there is no firm evidence of

56 Gold Coast Leader, 5 June 1911, p. 5.
a separate Dowie meeting in the Gold Coast. Brem Wilson remained in London for the rest of his life, and by 1907-8 he was questioning certain of J.A. Dowie’s ideas and had begun to embrace the new Pentecostalist revivalism involving speaking in tongues.

**Zion in London**

In Britain in 1899 there were a few followers of J.A. Dowie, known as ‘Friends of Zion’, who met in East Ham, London, and also at gatherings in Yorkshire and Nottingham. The Nottingham followers included Samuel Stevenson, a lace manufacturer in Beeston, who moved his lace making operations to Zion City. The Zion Tabernacle in the Euston Road, opened in 1901, was led by Harry E. Cantel who had a background in the Holiness movement and whose second wife Margaret was the daughter of a Dowie elder in Zion City. Following Brem Wilson’s triune baptism in the Caledonian Baths in November 1901 there is more evidence of how his new enthusiasm worked into his life. He was active in street and public house evangelism in the latter part of 1901, and in July 1902 he paid fifty pounds through his friend D. Kwesi Bhoma to the Zion City Bank in Illinois. Brem Wilson’s diaries for 1902 and 1903 are missing; that for 1904 has entries for most days but for the first half of the year there is little mention of Zion Tabernacle or to Sunday worship. Despite his baptism the ambiguities of his life are revealed in a diary devoid of Biblical references or of a life influenced by Holiness ideas. Indeed, he appears to have spent most Sundays in pursuit of Ettie Cantor or with his West African friends. In one letter to Ettie he states that he cannot meet her the next Sunday as ‘unfortunately I have to go to church in the morning’.

A photograph of ‘Overseer H.E. Cantel, Ordained Officers, and a portion of Zion Restoration Host,

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58 On the East Ham meeting see *Leaves of Healing* 28 January 1899, p. 369, 13 May 1899, p. 550, and 3 March 1900, pp. 606-7. By 1901 there were Dowie assemblies in Manchester, Leeds, Nottingham, Edinburgh, Dundee, Bradford, and Gateshead. In London the Zion Publishing House was at 33 Rosebury Avenue, EC.

59 Harry Eugene Cantel (1865-1910) was French; he went to New Orleans and worked for the YMCA in the late 1890s. Having heard of Dowie he moved to Chicago and was ordained in 1899, subsequently being sent to London as Overseer of Zion work in the British Isles. He and his wife Margaret were baptised in the Holy Spirit at Azusa in January 1908. Together they established their Pentecostal centre in Upper Street, Islington early in 1908. Harry Cantel died of appendicitis in August 1910. See Gordon P. Gardiner, *Out of Zion into all the world* (Shippensburg, PA: Companion Press, 1990), ch. XXIII.

60 TBW2. ‘To D. Kwesi Bhoma, Axim, 14 July 1902. Received of Mr Thomas Brem Wilson of London the sum of Fifty pounds sterling on loan through the Bank of British West Africa to be made payable to Zion City Bank in America, U.S.A. at convenience.’

61 TBW2. Brem Wilson to Ettie Cantor, 7 April 1905.
London, England’, printed in *Leaves of Healing* in June 1905, includes Brem Wilson, wearing a three piece suit and a hat, standing on the far left of the back row. But this was after his visit to Zion City which appears to have further stimulated his fervour and vigour for Dowie’s cause.

A few days before Sunday 12 June 1904, Brem Wilson went to the Zion Tabernacle in order to get a ticket which would admit him to the meeting at which J.A. Dowie was scheduled to speak. This was part of Dowie’s world tour and it was a ticketed meeting because his presence occasioned considerable unrest. His ‘Faith healing crusade’ in Britain in late 1900 had been disrupted in London, Edinburgh, Manchester, Belfast, and Leeds by medical students. This did not diminish Dowie’s outspoken and crude denunciation of medicines and doctors, along with smokers, whom he termed ‘stinkpots’. While in Australia in 1904 he censured Edward VII for his immoral life. This might be thought a rebuke well deserved, but it did not play well with popular sentiment in London. When he arrived in the metropole, Dowie was ejected from the Hotel Cecil and he had to seek alternative accommodation. His meeting in Zion Tabernacle, on the Euston Road, at 3 pm was attended by a large crowd, many being opponents who were eventually dispersed by the police. Unfortunately Brem Wilson merely records that he heard Dowie speak on that day, commenting neither on the reception nor on the content of the preacher’s address. By June 1904 Dowie’s Zion City venture was beginning to look a bit frayed. Plans for work on the Godly city exceeded income and there had been defections of followers, and thus a fall in tithes.

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63 See *The Times*, 14 June 1904, 12c, and *New York Times*, 13 June 1904. *Leaves of Healing*, 24 June 1905, reported Dowie’s two visits to London in the following terms: in 1900 he ‘shook London, and, indeed, the entire United Kingdom, to their foundations, with a mission to the great metropolis and a number of other cities in England, Scotland, and Ireland’ (p. 322); in June 1904 Dowie was up against ‘the bitter enmity of the Secret Empire and the hypocritical and hireling “religious” leaders in the Church of England, among the Dissenters, and in non-ecclesiastical organization; the frenzied and murderous opposition of the greater part of the press; and the wild, unthinking fury of a degenerate and anarchistic mob, coupled with the tacit consent of the Court to all these outrages, and the palsied cowardice of the managers of the London hotels, made it impossible for the General Overseer and his family to find accommodations … ’ (p. 323).
Although Dowie’s meeting in the Euston Road Tabernacle was besieged by a hostile crowd, before he retreated to return to the United, he appears to have sown certain ideas in Brem Wilson’s mind. The very next day Brem Wilson, the enthusiastic businessman and seller of prospects, wrote a personal letter to Dowie. He followed this up the next day by taking a sample of quartz to Harry Cantel at Zion Tabernacle. Two weeks later Brem-Wilson received via Dowie £50 to pay his fare to Zion City, and he booked a passage to New York on the Lacania for mid-July. There may be documentary evidence in the Zion City archives to further explain why Brem Wilson went to the US, but it would seem that Dowie was eager for financial support and Brem Wilson, probably motivated by a mix of fervour and pecuniary interest, was willing to enter into a business deal. While dealing with these financial matters, Brem Wilson also had to cope with a domestic crisis: Ettie’s sister Ray, jealous that Brem Wilson favoured her younger sister, took poison. It sounds more like an angry way of attracting attention, but it led to what Brem Wilson called ‘a mob’ and to Mrs Cantor closing the door firmly in his face. Perhaps it was with some relief at escaping the fracas in the Cantor family that Brem Wilson boarded a ship in Liverpool bound for Philadelphia; he arrived in Zion City on 24 July 1904.

Brem Wilson’s visit to Zion City

During the nearly two months that Brem Wilson spent in Zion City he discussed financial and commercial matters with J.A. Dowie and various officials, recording in his diary many of his daily activities. A business agreement was signed with Dowie, in the presence of Judge Barnes and others, which offered Brem Wilson one-third of all profits connected with an African venture of some sort. In mid-July, just before leaving for Zion City, Brem Wilson borrowed fifty pounds from Palliser & Co., a London manufacturer for whom he had agreed to act as agent in West Africa, also providing names of possible business contacts there. On his return to the UK a further £250 came

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64 TBW1. Diary Monday 13 June 1904, ‘To Green’s again & wrote General Overseer’. Tuesday 14 June: ‘To Palliser’s & got some of the sample quartz & took to Zion Tabernacle & left in care of the Revd Cantel for Elder Clibbon [Booth-Clibborn]’.

65 His arrival was recorded in Zion Banner, 26 July 1904, p. 353.

66 TBW1. Diary 19 September 1904. Zion Banner, 9 August 1904, p. 366, reported that ‘T Brem Wilson, a native of Africa, and recently from the gold fields of that country, was a guest at Elijah Hospice during the Feast, and is now with the General Overseer as his guest at Ben McDhui’.
from Zion City, so clearly there was expectation that whatever had been agreed would result in financial gain for Brem Wilson and also the increasingly cash-strapped Christian Catholic Apostolic Church. Back in London from America, in early October Brem Wilson went to see Palliser and told him that he planned to visit West Africa in connection with a scheme supported by the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church. Deacon Hachnel arrived in London from Zion City on 26 November 1904 and Brem Wilson took him to meet Palliser ‘to order some goods and provisions from him for our African expedition thinking that we would be instructed from Headquarters to proceed to Africa any moment’. Clearly there was controversy with Palliser over money and orders because he complained to Zion Tabernacle about Brem Wilson’s business conduct. In defending his actions, Brem Wilson concluded his statement by stating that Palliser was an ‘unfit person to represent Zion in Africa or in London’, and that ‘I do not owe Mr Palliser one penny’.67

What is also apparent from the diary entries for the latter months of 1904 is that Brem Wilson became more devoted to the cause of Zion, taking several of his West African friends to services and then having the satisfaction of seeing a number baptised. It is known that he frequently corresponded with his friend and commercial colleague D. Kwesi Bhoma, who was back in the Gold Coast and working as an evangelist for the Zion cause, and it seems more likely that Bhoma’s faith challenged Brem Wilson than the reverse. No diary exists for 1905 so nothing yet is known of Brem Wilson’s activities that year. The 1906 diary is fairly full and shows Brem Wilson’s increasing attention to the affairs of Zion Tabernacle and to the handful of small offshoots of that meeting elsewhere in the metropolis. For example, he records a meeting with ‘the parson in Walham Green’ and how he lent him a copy of Arthur Chamber’s ‘Our life after death’, or, the teaching of the Bible concerning the unseen world.68 It was also a year which brought news of Dowie’s deposition at Zion City following accusations that he practised and promoted false doctrines, accompanied by disruptions within his family, and loss of support from his once faithful followers. Brem Wilson heard of this through ‘officers’ at

67 TBW 2. Undated statement by Thomas Brem-Wilson to the Elders at Zion Chapel, London, on his business dealings with Palliser, referring to a letter received dd. 28 April [1905?].
68 TBW1. Diary entry Friday 1 September 1906. Chambers was vicar of Brockenhurst, Hants; his book originally published in London in 1894 was frequently reprinted.
Zion Tabernacle and from the press which widely reported the dispute and the Prophet’s fall. In March 1907 Dowie died.

Another area of Brem Wilson’s commercial and religious life is his relations with Samuel Stephenson, a lace manufacturer from Beeston, Nottingham. Stevenson was attracted to the idea of a religious community and he invested money and then became the general manager of Dowie’s lace manufactory in Zion City which, at its peak employed nearly 3,000 people. He married Mary, Dowie’s sister, and was ordained a Deacon in the spring of 1900. However, a rift between Dowie and Stevenson soon developed. First there was the unfortunate death of Mary at sea returning with her husband from London to the United States in November 1901. In her will she left $50,000 in the Zion Bank to her husband. Samuel refused to take Zion stock in lieu of money, and nor would he contemplate Dowie interfering in the management of the lace works. On Dowie’s part there was a feeling that Stevenson had not been open about his financial dealings with his British creditors. By mid-1901 Stevenson had ceased to manage the factory and soon after he was then expelled from the Church. Stevenson sued Dowie for payment for the lace manufactory, a case settled out of court to his advantage. Six years later Brem Wilson was in touch with Stevenson, an agreement being signed in which Stevenson and a Mr Humphrey lent Brem Wilson one thousand pounds, although the circumstances are unknown. Stevenson funded various Christian activities, at his death leaving his interests to the Unevangelized Fields Mission.

**Brem Wilson and Alexander Boddy**

Brem Wilson married in July 1906. The entry in his diary was curt: ‘I got married to Ettie this afternoon about 2.30 at the Register Office in Fulham – Cann and Greene were witnesses to it. We went to her mother’s place. I kissed her mother and then we

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69 Samuel Stevenson (b. 1860) came to Zion City with a party of English lace makers in 1900. *The Coming City* (Chicago), 12 December 1900, pp. 146-48; ‘Zion lace experts in Chicago’, *Leaves of Healing*, 8 December 1900, p. 214.

70 TBW1. Agreement made on 7 October 1907.

proceeded to Westcliff on Sea.’ There is no suggestion of doubt in his diary that he was being ‘unequally yoked’ to a non-believer. Ettie may have insisted on marriage as she appears to have been six weeks pregnant. On the marriage certificate Brem Wilson is noted as ‘The divorced husband of Hagare Brem formerly Cobbinah, spinster’. Details of the first marriage, whether it was a ‘traditional marriage’ or formally conducted in the Wesleyan church, have not come to light. Equally it is unknown if the divorce from Hagare was ‘official’. Whatever, his previous marriage and divorce would have prevented Brem Wilson from being married in the Zion Chapel in the Euston Road. The marriage produced five sons and a daughter, although only three male children survived childhood. It was also an uncomfortable marriage, not helped when Ettie discovered from his diary that he had children in the Gold Coast. According to his grand-daughter, Ettie scrawled in red ink across the diary for 1908, a record which is now lost.

Ettie occasionally accompanied Brem Wilson to church but such accounts in his diaries are rare. In 1906 and after, Brem Wilson’s church attendance increased, and he commented more frequently on the places where he worshipped. He became a Sunday school teacher in charge of boys at Zion Tabernacle, and he saw the work extended to Bloomsbury Hall. During 1906 he attended worship at Holiness meetings in Plumstead, Bethshan in Islington, and Akerman Road in Brixton, three meetings associated with the Holy Spirit work of the Revd Alexander Boddy, the vicar of Monkwearmouth.

72 TBW1. Diary entry 11 July 1906. Albert Sam Cann (1871-1930s), a Fanti merchant with gold mining interests in Eastern Wassaw and Axim listed in Gold Coast Globe and Ashanti Argus (London), 21 January 1902, pp. 86-7; he married a middle class white English wife, Emma Dowsett from Dulwich, in 1909, and lived in Britain and Germany until the 1930s.

73 I conclude this in that they were married on 11 July 1907 and their first child was born seven months and-a-half months later on 1 March 1907.

74 I have not discovered any evidence of a legal divorce. On marriages by West African educated elite males, and specifically that of the lawyer J.A. Casely-Hayford, see the comments by Adelaide Cromwell, An African Victorian feminist. The life and times of Adelaide Smith Casely Hayford 1868-1960 (Washington DC, 1992), pp. 87-9, 212 fn. 34. See the ideas on marriage by Casely Hayford in his fictive work Ethiopia Unbound. Studies in Race Emancipation (London, C.M. Phillips, 1911), pp. 191-93. However, there were Christian elite marriages in West Africa that adhered strongly to a life-long monogamous pattern; see Kristin Mann, Marrying Well: Marriage, status and social change among the educated elite in colonial Lagos (Cambridge 1985), pp. 115-6.

75 There was also a diary for 1907 but, according to the family, this has been lost. The family say that it included entries about Brem Wilson’s relationship with Kate Prettyjohn, a member of the Zion chapel, which angered Ettie.

76 Donald Gee, Word and Flame (Croydon, 1967), 21, called the Akerman Road gathering at the home of Mrs Catherine Sophia Price the ‘first definitely Pentecostal meeting established in England’.
Sunderland. During the following year he probably attended one of Boddy’s gatherings in Sunderland, although he was not the ‘dark gentleman’, noted in the local press, who rose and in ‘fervid tones’ asked ‘that the Spirit of Christ might enter the hall’ to shouts of ‘Hallelujah! Hallelujah!’ In 1910 Brem Wilson spoke at the Preston Convention, being recorded in Boddy’s Confidence as ‘Mr B. Wilson, of London’.

A defining moment in the history of new Pentecostalism was speaking in tongues. There are a number of claims to early dates and places of origin, although pride of place is often given to the Azusa Street revival of late 1906 in Los Angeles. News of the revival and ecstatic expression in tongues spread rapidly around the world resulting in new churches and a growth in new missionary activity.

It would seem that Brem Wilson began using tongues in late 1907. Here are a few of his diary entries for early January 1908:

Wed 8 Jan: To Bethshan meeting and the Spirit of God began to quiver my lips and my throat was worked upon as if a person who has Saint Vitals (sic) Dance & it continued on & off in the trams while came home. Glory be to God only.

Thur 9 Jan: To Bethshan meeting & the Spirit of God shook my head terribly on & off. And also worked upon my throat.

Fri 10 Jan: To Bethshan meeting & the Spirit of God still worked upon my head & I testified. As I was cleaning my boots in the morning in the kitchen and meditating upon God, the Devil banged right across my face & nose as if a man had done it & praise the Lord for it.

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77 Alexander Boddy (1854-1930), an early pioneer of the Pentecostal movement. He trained in law but was greatly influenced by the holiness teaching of the Keswick Convention and decided to be ordained in the Church of England. As vicar of All Saints, Monkwearmouth, Sunderland, from 1886-1922, he exercised great influence over the development of the Pentecostal movement although he remained within the Anglican church. See Edith Blumhofer, ‘Alexander Boddy and the rise of Pentecostalism in Great Britain’, Pneuma. The Journal for the Society of Pentecostal 8, 1 (1986), 31-40. Gavin Wakefield, Alexander Boddy. Pentecostal Anglican pioneer (Carlisle, 2007), and Alexander Boddy, Pentecost at Sunderland: A vicar’s testimony (Sunderland, 1909).

78 This is to correct one account that identifies the ‘dark gentleman’ as Brem Wilson; it was in fact Max Reich, a converted Jew and ‘leader of the Bethshan Home in London’. See Sunderland Daily Echo, 30 September 1907, p. 3, and ‘Speaking in Tongues: interview with Pastor Barratt’, 4 October 1907, p. 3. Confidence, April 1910, p. 90.

79 Alexander Boddy produced a series of leaflets on ‘Tongues’, c. May-June 1907. For a testimony by Catherine Price of speaking in tongues in Spring 1908, see Confidence, August 1910, 192-9, which Neil Hudson claims as ‘being the first recorded account of tongues speech in the twentieth century’; ‘Dealing with the first early Pentecostal responses to the practice of speaking in tongues and spoken prophecy’, Journal of the European Society of Pentecostal Theological Studies XXVIII, 2 (2008), 147 fn. 5.
Sat 11 Jan: To Akerman Rd & the power of God was in the meeting. Bro Hook laid hands upon me & laughed in the Spirit & my head shook.

A month later Brem Wilson was recording regular manifestations of what he described as the work of the Holy Spirit:

Thur 13 Feb: To Akerman Rd meeting – I gave a testimony of the workings of the Holy Spirit upon my mouth & after that I was led to pray & as I was praying the Holy Spirit filled the room & was upon many until some one grieved Him by singing several times.

Sun 16 Feb: Glory to Jesus the Blessed Holy Spirit has come to me tonight in His fullness & spoke in tongues in me & sang also between 7 & 8 o’clock P.M. Bless His dear name. – Bros Hook & Kirk laid hands on me at Plumstead.

Sometime in 1906 Brem Wilson also helped to form a Pentecostal meeting in south London. The unknown author, or authors, of the history of Sumner Road Chapel, Peckham, undated but probably written in the late 1940s, claimed that

In 1906 Brother Wilson and Newlands gathered together with a few devout men and women and formed the first Pentecostal Church in London; meeting in PECKHAM ROAD [Bethel Chapel] ... the Lord blessed them, the Fire of the Lord fell, and strange things began to happen, people began speaking in tongues.81

In a later account Donald Gee, in his magazine Pentecost, stated: ‘In 1906 two coloured ministers opened an assembly in Sumner Lane, Peckham, and returned from Sunderland in 1907 baptised in the Holy Ghost. It was stigmatised as the “Black Man’s Church”’.82

All Brem Wilson’s early accounts of speaking in tongues occur in meetings connected with Alexander Boddy’s work in Sunderland. In early Spring 1908, he noted in his diary: ‘Brother Boddy was telling me I dreamed that Brother [unclear] had received his pentecost and spoke in tongues for 5 hours but before his pentecost he fought with demons for 3 hours’.83 It is not clear whether this is an actual conversation with

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82 Donald Gee, Pentecost 26 (1951?), p. ?
83 TBW 1. Diary entry 10 March 1908.
Later that year, in September 1908, Boddy’s magazine *Confidence* stated: ‘Brother T. Brem Wilson is now having great blessing at Bethel Hall, Camberwell. The power and presence of God has been manifested mightily in recent meetings.’

During the next month Boddy toured Britain by motor car and recorded visiting Bethel Hall:

> Then over the Thames and past Lambeth Palace to Battersea. Here we had a blessed time of conference with a dear African Brother who is deeply taught of God and lives in His Presence. May our God ever bless him and his. We were refreshed by that time of fellowship and prayer.

Boddy had good reason to be thankful to Brem Wilson. He had written to him asking if he would financially support *Confidence*, his free monthly magazine. Brem Wilson recorded: ‘God confirmed that I should sent (sic) the £15 to Bro Boddy & I did this morning. He also told me not to register the letter.’ Later when Ettie read the diary she scrawled in red ink on this entry: ‘and wife and children starving’.

The May issue of *Confidence* noted that ‘The cost of the first issue of “Confidence”, with Supplement and postage (3,000 copies) was a little over £13. This heavy item was met by one of the Lord’s Stewards (TBW)’. However, Brem Wilson was ‘led by the Lord’ to refuse to write his testimony for *Confidence*, a loss to future historians.

Later in the year, he complied with Boddy’s appeal for a further twenty pounds to print ‘more literature’. It would appear from his business dealings in 1908-10 that Brem Wilson could afford to be generous. He recorded meetings with various business clients, withdrawing £500 from his bank, and instructing Messrs Hawksley & Shrewsbury of London to deal with his

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84 In his diary Brem Wilson noted details of his dreams which were about teeth, animals, sexual activity, and the death of members of his family and of people that he knew in the Gold Coast. Occasionally he interpreted certain dreams as portents of ill-health or death.
85 *Confidence*, September 1908, p. 13.
86 *Confidence*, October 1908, p. 8.
87 TBW1. Diary entry 4 May 1908. On this visit Boddy was accompanied by his friend Cecil H. Polhill (1860-1938), a fellow Anglican and former missionary to China; see P. Hocken, ‘Cecil H. Polhill, Pentecostal layman’, *Pnuema* 10, 1-2 (1988), pp. 116-40.
88 TBW1. Diary entry 11 May 1908.
89 TBW1. Diary entry 26 August 1908.
properties in West Africa. At the same time he was slowly shifting away from adherence to Dowie’s tight doctrines, for example questioning his Biblical views banning the eating of pork, and loosening his ties with Zion Tabernacle.

**The Bethel Years**

From 1907, and for the rest of his life, Brem Wilson was involved in the work of Bethel Hall in south London, a chapel which he helped to found. Bethel moved a number of times until coming in 1920 to Sumner Road, Peckham. From 1911 onwards the church met in the Walworth Road, opposite the Town Hall. According to the brief history published in the late 1940s, at this time people were being healed, and people were speaking in tongues. (At this time the Church was called the Black Man’s Church, because a number of the members were black people.) So the people round about began to create disturbances, saying that the black man was of the Devil, and accompanied to the Local Authorities, with the result that the police attended the meetings to make a report. But the police could find no fault, and told the Church to carry on with the work, and they made a good report.

On one occasion a brick was thrown through one of the chapel windows. At times Brem Wilson helped support financially the work at Bethel Hall, much to his wife’s anger.

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90 TBW1. Diary entry 15 January 1908, meeting with Dr Henri Frans Schomerus (b. Elmina, Gold Coast, 1850), of African-Dutch parents, a ‘Company promotion agent’ and latterly ‘Spanish vice consul’ in London. Ibid. Diary entry 16 July 1908, withdrawal from British Bank of West Africa. TBW2. Thomas Brem-Wilson to Messrs Hawksley & Shrewsbury, dd. London 11 August 1910, referring to his properties Kobola Kasa, Sarnie, and Kojobulotah; ‘Other old workings showing gold results have been obtained. The Properties have Palm, Mahogany & Rubber.’

91 TBW1. For example, diary entries 3 March and 15 March 1908, where Brem Wilson notes the refusal of Cantel, the Overseer at Zion Chapel, to discuss these matters.

92 Between 1906 and 1920, Bethel Hall moved to eight different places, Peckham Road to Rye Lane, then to White Hart Square in Kennington, and in 1911 to the Walworth Road. The next move was to Castle Buildings, Mansion Street, Camberwell, which became a ‘red light’ district, and so in 1916 the chapel went to Elder Street. After four years it took over a former Methodist church in Sumner Road, Peckham. See *London’s Oldest Pentecostal Assembly*, p. 4. Today, with a multi-national congregation led by the Revd Steve Armah, and associated with the Assemblies of God, the work has moved to larger buildings on an industrial estate in Herne Hill Road.

93 *London’s Oldest Pentecostal Assembly*, pp. 1-2. The complaints and subsequent actions were probably reported in the local press, but without a date I have not attempted to find this information.
Ettie also took great exception to his street preaching in Peckham.\textsuperscript{94} Services at Sumner Road, were attended by about 150 people, and worship was often noisy and ecstatic, much to the annoyance of people in neighbouring houses who complained to the police. In August 1920 the \textit{Daily Express} sent a special reporter to Peckham and, in typical sensationalist terms, he described ‘Dixie mission scenes’ reminiscent of ‘negro camp meetings in the Southern States’, where’ white girls were anointed by black men’. ‘There was religious frenzy on the part of the black pastor’, wrote the reporter, and ‘people writhed in ecstasies of religious emotion’ and loudly spoke in ‘gibberish’ tongues.\textsuperscript{95} This was also reported in another national daily, the \textit{Daily Mirror}, which sent a photographer and printed pictures of Brem Wilson arriving at ‘his chapel for the Bank Holiday revival service’, and also of two deacons, Mr Tom Campbell, who was black, and Mr Jonah Engleman, who was white.\textsuperscript{96}

Over the years the Brem Wilson’s marriage steadily fell apart, as disclosed in the local and national press in late 1920. Half a page was given in one Sunday newspaper to Ettie’s plea for a separation on the grounds of her husband’s cruelty. According to one report she had summoned him earlier for assault.\textsuperscript{97} One son testified to his father’s cruelty, and Ettie stated that the Sumner Road chapel had suspended him ‘for familiarity with women of the congregation, but [he] resumed his office last Good Friday’.\textsuperscript{98} According to a report in one national daily, Mrs Wilson was jealous of her husband’s relations with women at the mission and had disturbed some of the meetings.\textsuperscript{99} Ettie admitted burning a bible ‘because her husband had ordered her to clear all the pictures off the walls except the picture of her in her tights’.\textsuperscript{100} Brem Wilson refused to give

\textsuperscript{94} Unfortunately, there are no extant diaries for the years 1909 to 1921, thus it is an unknown period in Brem Wilson’s life. Given his habit of noting his life it would be surprising if he had not written diaries for part of this period.\textsuperscript{95} \textit{Daily Express}, 2 August 1920, p. 5.\textsuperscript{96} \textit{Daily Mirror}, 3 August 1920, p. 7.\textsuperscript{97} \textit{Ashburton Guardian} (New Zealand), 19 November 1920, p. 4, which reported that Ettie had interrupted a service at Sumner Road chapel and been removed by the elders.\textsuperscript{98} \textit{News of the World}, 20 December 1920, p. 3, and \textit{South London Press}, 17 December 1920, p. 2.\textsuperscript{99} \textit{Daily Mail}, 16 December 1920, p. 4.\textsuperscript{100} The report in the \textit{Daily Mirror}, 8 December 1920, pp. 2 & 5, described Brem Wilson as ‘a full-blooded negro’. In the \textit{Daily Mail}, 6 December 1920, p. 7 col. 5, Brem Wilson was described as ‘the Black Pastor of Peckham’, the leader of a ‘sect calling themselves “The body of the Holy Ghost, inspired by God, and speaking in unknown tongues”’. 
evidence and the summons for cruelty was dismissed, the Lambeth magistrate suggesting that the ‘partners separate by arrangement’. The harsh behaviour of Brem Wilson towards his sons is borne out by his grand-daughter who recalls how Thomas had ‘my dad arrested when he was young and put in a remand [home]’:

… being hungry all the time I assumed he had stolen food. My Dad wanted to please his father and he and a friend broke into the school opposite and stole some books which had been allocated for prize giving. His friend had good handwriting and wrote Philip’s name in some of the books i.e. ‘prize for English etc’ . His father knew he wasn’t academic and took him straight to the school for his punishment. He was put in a remand home for 4 years (rather extreme).

Ettie remained living with Brem-Wilson, but sleeping in a separate room, finally leaving him to live in Downham three years later in 1923.

While his marriage was disintegrating Brem Wilson continued preaching. It is not known if his fellow Christians at Sumner chapel commented on his private life. In June 1922 Brem-Wilson attracted further attention by being arrested for preaching outside the Royal Exchange in the City of London. According to the local press he was ‘ejaculating Hallelujah, Hallelujah’ before a crowd of 400-500 people who were blocking the traffic. When a policeman asked Brem Wilson to stop preaching he asked the officer ‘Are you born again?’ He was committed to Brixton prison, where he was examined in the hospital (Ettie visited him). During a prison chapel service Brem-Wilson praised God out loud and refused to keep quiet, for which he was returned to his cell. In court he was ordered to find surety of £50 and to be of good behaviour for 12 months, with an alternative of three months prison. The weekly *West Africa* offered a fairer report stating that the terms were ‘savage’ for what was only ‘a technical breach of the peace’, and quoted a police officer who knew Brem Wilson as calling him ‘a straight, honest, sincere man’.

This encounter with the law and brief spell in prison seemed not to dim Brem

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101 *Daily Mail*, 20 December 1920, p. 4, col. 8; *Daily Express*, 16 December 1920, p. 9.
102 Nina Brem-Wilson to David Killingray, email February 2010.
103 Ettie Cantor later moved to a rented house in Keston, Kent, and then to Consort Road, London SE15; she died in St Giles’ Hospital, SE5 in May 1965.
Wilson’s preaching ardour or to reduce the invitations asking him to come and preach, although they came from places distant from London. He spoke in Wales on several occasions, also attending the Apostolic Conference at Penygroes in 1923, where he was the only black face.\textsuperscript{106} He preached in Herefordshire, Malton, Glasgow, and Paisley, and then two weeks of indoor and outdoor meetings in the Orkney Islands in July 1925.\textsuperscript{107} The penultimate entry in his diary for September that year was ‘preaching at Ystradgynlais’. It was not every day that an African preached in the open air in Stromness or Abertillery.

There is a further intriguing aspect of Brem Wilson’s final year when he was living in 3 Bridge Cottages, Penrose Street, Walworth. One of his lodgers was recorded in the Electoral Register for 1929 as Thomas Edward Samuel Scholes. This is surely the Revd Dr Theophilus E.S. Scholes, the Jamaican born former Baptist missionary and pan-Africanist writer.\textsuperscript{108} Where and when the two black men met, how the lodging arrangements came about, and whether or not Scholes was present when Brem Wilson was taken in to hospital in March, are unknown. Their black and ‘African’ identity was a possible common bond, but so was their Christianity, albeit by then of a very different form. History is full of dilemmas and untidy, unanswered questions; evidence might emerge to tie the names of these two elderly black men together, a source of encouragement to optimistic researchers to continue looking.

\textit{Conclusion}

Brem Wilson was a flawed man, perhaps deeply depressed at times, particularly in his later years. He died in Dulwich Hospital on 29 March 1929 and following a

\textsuperscript{106} Gordon Weeks, \textit{Chapter Thirty-Two-Part of a History of the Apostolic Church 1900-2000} (Barnsley, 2003), p. 84.
\textsuperscript{107} \textit{The Orcadian}, 9 July 1925, p. 8.
\textsuperscript{108} Scholes’ major work was \textit{Glimpses of the Ages or the ‘Superior’ and ‘Inferior Races, so-called, Discussed in the Light of Science and History}, 2 vols (London: John Long, 1905 and 1908), a study which he planned as six volumes. Scholes (1856-c.1940) graduated in medicine from Edinburgh, served as a missionary in Congo (1885-91) and New Calabar (1895-97), and thereafter lived in Britain where he wrote several books condemning racial imperialism. David Killingray, ‘The Reverend Dr Theophilus Edward Scholes: Baptist missionary and imperial critic at the heart of empire, 1856-c.1940, in Anthony R. Cross and John H.Y. Briggs, eds, \textit{Freedom and the Powers. Perspectives from Baptist history} (Didcot, Baptist Historical Society, 2014), pp. 175-202.
service at the Peckham chapel was buried in Nunhead Cemetery, south London. The cause of death was given as ‘acute bronchitis & influenza’. His death card read ‘Peace, perfect peace’, something that he seems to have rarely enjoyed in his latter life.\textsuperscript{109} He was intestate but with effects valued at £300. Brem Wilson is a minor figure in several broad histories - the West African educated commercial elite, black migrants in Britain, but most importantly he was a significant, if overlooked, contributor to the early years of British Pentecostalism. His life offers useful insights into the beginnings of the modern Pentecostal movement as it moved from ideas of being ‘Baptised with the Holy Ghost’ and ‘a personal Pentecost’ to beliefs and practices, increasingly prevalent after 1906, that speaking in tongues was essential evidence of full Baptism in the Holy Spirit. As an African, Brem Wilson was distinctive in appearance in an overwhelmingly white society. This may have worked to his advantage, or the other way around.\textsuperscript{110} There is a good deal of evidence from the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries that black preachers attracted large congregations. Brem Wilson’s race and colour has probably reduced recognition of his role by the white historians of Pentecostalism, similar to the neglect accorded William J. Seymour of Azusa Street. Historians have also paid little attention to the role of black people in the spread of Pentecostal ideas from the United States and Britain to West Africa, a movement in which Brem Wilson was a significant actor.

\textsuperscript{109} TBW1. Card announcing the death and burial of Thomas Brem-Wilson.

\textsuperscript{110} In his diaries he records only two incidents of racial discrimination: in the United States in 1904, when he was refused admission to a Christian Endeavor hotel in St Louis, and many years later in the 1920s when a woman at Bethel chapel refused to be baptised by him because of his colour.
THOMAS BREM WILSON

1899 J. & J. Smiths Pocket diary and almanack.  60 x 90 mm.

[outside cover of diary missing]


[p. 2 inside front cover: following list]
1   Mensa.  Gold mine
2   Atakurukum do [ditto]
3   Amanpeh do
4   Twiresu do
5   Esua Borobuni do
6   Esianthiajo do
7   Darkuatha do
8   Rgwaa do
9   Kwabinarli do
10  Ntumndaa do
11  Kyiraso do
12  Brewm do
13  Kebi do
14  Dibbi do
15  Kadakwaw do.
16  Kwaahan Baka
17  Abithisu
18  Nankabaka.

1  Brem Wilson (29 September 1865-29 March 1929).  Brem Wilson’s father, also Thomas, did not use the prefix ‘Brem’.  There were Wilsons trading along the West African coast: see Adam Jones & Peter Sebald, eds, An African Family Archive.  The Lawsons of Little Popo/Aneho (Togo) 1841-1938 (Oxford, 2005).  
T.C. McCaskie, ‘The creation of the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation, Ltd, ca.1890-1910: An episode in the colonial impact upon Ashanti’, Asantesem 9 (June 1978), p. 39, refers to Edwin Cade crossing the Pra into Adanse accompanied by three Fante men, Joseph Ellis and Edward Biney, two Fante merchants and concessionaires, and Wilson who had acted as manager of the concession.  It would seem that Brem-Wilson made his first visit to England in 1897, a further (second?) visit in 1900, and the one described in these diaries in 1901.  According to one member of the family (a) Brem Wilson adopted the ‘Brem’ from his African wife; at the time other members of the family were known as ‘Wilson’; (b) that Brem Wilson was related to Thomas Birch Freeman, the premier black British missionary in West Africa, and (c) Thomas Brem Wilson was educated at Cape Coast and became headmaster of the Wesleyan school at Dixcove.

1899 p. 3: 1/4/99 I dreamt of Etur [Elur?] shaving head – also she had shaved Amba’s hairs – of Jaufirs child, of Henry’s cable reply that the company [company] will not wish to be deceived of mileage.

p. 4: Lawyer Hayford’s. 3 10/5/99 25.5/99 Epirah gold mine or Isibu Creek gold mine – Bentinbaka
“ “ Sarko Bonn
Rent £200 - consider £100 an. [annually] Leasor T? Homiaz (?)
Bush marking £2.10. ea.
Axim 24/7/99.

Memoranda
[following details listed]
7 Collars
4 Shirts
1 Trousers

Expenses of Chfs [chiefs]
Renner4 consultation 1. 3. 6
1 Red Twill 0. 2. 6
6 yds mosq net 0. 9. 0
60 feet Pitch Pine S? 1.0. 0
1 pec Muslin 0-6-0
1 iron bar 0. 4. 6
1 set Wash Stand 0.12. 6
1 Diary 0. 2. 0
1 pair shoes 0. 4. 6

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capitalism in the Gold Coast, 1875-1900 (Athens, OH., 1998), and articles cited in the bibliography on African mercantile entrepreneurship, although Wilson is not mentioned.

3 Joseph Ephraim Casely Hayford (1866-1930), born Cape Coast and educated there and at Fourah Bay College, Freetown. He became a schoolteacher and journalist, studied law in London and economics at Cambridge, and was called to the bar in 1896. Lawyer in the Gold Coast and active in the Aborigines’ Rights Protection Society; he also served in the Legislative Council in 1916. Hayford was the leading patriot politician of his day and the author of several books.

4 Peter Awooner Renner, son of Dr. William James Awooner Renner of Freetown, Sierra Leone, and brother of Dr William Renner. P.A. Renner was educated in England and Germany, called to the bar (Lincoln’s Inn) 1883; began practice as a lawyer in Sekondi in 1884, claiming in 1888 to be making more than £1,000 p.a. (CO96/200/3850, W. Brandford Griffith to Knutsford, dd. Accra, 15 January 1889). Married to Hannah Smith (1862-96); after her death he remarried Awuba Affra, the mother of his more famous son, the leftwing activist and politician Kweku Bankole Awooner Renner, who was born in Elmina in June 1898. Like many members of the West African educated elite, Renner was a freemason: ‘Visitors from Cape Coast … and Accra entertained by their brethren here [as is] Brother P.A. Renner, P.M. of the Gold Coast Lodge’; Letter from ‘A Mason’, Gold Coast Globe and Ashanti Argus (London), 18 February 1902, p. 205. Renner was active in Gold Coast politics and helped to establish the Aborigines’ Rights Protection Society in 1897.
2 tins Cf & Co & milk 0-2-0
3 pts Ginger Beer 0-1-6
2 “ “ “ . 1 .
1 Port Wine . 2 .
1 bot Rum . 1 3

Memoranda p. 2
13/1/99
A.S. Bentil⁵ paid on Bikig (?) 0 2 6
Messrs Alfred Tarshie & Jrs Steph presented me 2 bot Port wine
P.H. Thompson Axim to Coates
[rest age, illegible]

Sun 1 Jan 1899: 1. Preparing to leave for Kamanko. 2. New Years leases to Hoehold & Pa.⁶

Mon 2 Jan: 1. We (N, G. M & J) started for Kamanko for loan – Reached. 2. Slept with Mr Ashun. 3. Subsisted 1/6 to h/men [hammockmen].

Tu 3 Jan: 1. Doaw 1/- to h/men. 2. Returned to Dixcove with a letter to L.C. Henry,⁷ Axim.

Wed 4 Jan: 1. Given 5/- to Hagar, 5/- to Etur & 5/- to Fanton. 2. Brehun gave me 2/- out of his job. 3. I got the Aguna leases from N.G.M. 4. I got his B? 2/- salmon Haddock 1/- for convoy. 5. We started to Axim 6 Dram (?).


Fr 6 Jan: 1. J. Arkhurst¹⁰ went to Dixcove with my cause. 2. Chief Argiyan man arrived. 3. Bght butter ½ sardines 9d cocoa? 1/- sauce 1/6 & ?.

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⁵ The Bentil family were traders on the Gold Coast.
⁶ Pa: Thomas Birch Wilson, Thomas Brem Wilson’s father
⁷ Reported as having died by July 1908.
⁸ Joshua Wilson, TBW’s brother.
⁹ TBW’s cousin, James Athelstane Cromwell (1890-1954). A family photograph, from the mid 1920s, includes Cromwell in the uniform of the Salvation Army. According to his SA ‘Career card’, James came from Dixcove, he married Arabella Fountain, also from Dixcove, in 1916, and they had eight children. James and Arabella entered training in February 1926 and were commissioned November 1926, James being promoted major 1943. For this information I am grateful to Alex von der Becke of The Salvation Army International Heritage Centre. 29 March 2009.
¹⁰ The Akhurst’s (Arkhurst) were traders on the West Coast; J. Akhurst was probably a descendant of John Henry Akhurst, an Englishman who had operated for some time from Cape Coast, certainly from late 1838. He was in London in 1844, writing a letter to the editor of the Times supporting T.B. Freeman’s integrity; The Times, 31 October 1844, 6. Akhurst was again in London in 1852, recorded in several
**Sat 7 Jan 1899**: S.S. Lagos landed Sgnt Major Death and Sgnt Aikins & ORs for hinterland. 2. Etur & one as Deputation for Dixcove Arbitrators for Chf Agyiman. 3. Lawyer Renner arrived. [*brief list of goods bought*].

Sun 8 Jan: 1. Recd £100 from Afirah for the expenses of his case with Gyartey. 2. Wrote a letter to Henry per expenses bearer(?).

Mon 9 Jan: Retained Lawyer Renner £1. 3. 6 for Dakyie (?) v. Agaom. Bought Bike from W. (?) Essien¹¹ £1.3.6. 3. Joshua & Bhoma¹² began biking.

Tu 10 Jan: 1. Saco Mr Henry & gave him the 2 Aguna leases. 2. Isaac wrote of Fantin’s delivery. 3. Visited Idn’s tonight – sick.


Th 12 Jan: 1. Bght Whisky 3/- Port 2/- 2 Ginger 1/- 2. Professor Abonsaw visited me. 3. L.C. Henry gone to Kamankoro. 4. Renner gone to C. Coast. 5. Paid 2/- for repairing spanner. 6 screw of my bike lost.


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¹¹ This may be Frank William Essien (d. London December 1923), nephew of Albert Duke Essien Sr (see below fn 119).

¹² D. Kwesi Bhoma (d.1913), from Axim, and a close associate of TBW in the Gold Coast and in London.


¹⁴ W.G. Mensah, TBW’s business partner, who died in January 1901 (see below entry for Tu 22 January 1901). A ‘Mr T. Wilson’ (possibly Brem Wilson) travelled to Liverpool on board the ‘Cabenda’ from Axim in July 1897 and returned, in the company of a Mr Mensah, on the ‘Laguna’ to Chama in late September; see *The Colonies and India*, 24 July 1897, p. 27, and 25 September 1897, p. 26. The *West African and Trader’s Review Illustrated*, 1, 2, (June 1900), p. 62, reported that Mr W.G. Mensah, of Chama, is ‘at present in London arranging for the disposal of some mining concessions in the neighbourhood of the Sekindi-Tarkwa railways …’. He is also shown in a photograph, ‘Group of West Africans (Gold Coast) now resident in London, and their friends’, in ibid., 1, 7 (November 1900), p. 208.

¹⁵ A ship of the Elder Dempster Line, sunk by a U-Boat in 1915.
Sun 15 Jan 1899: 1. A.S. Bentil invited me to B’fast. 2. Bike was hired for 5/- an hour. 3. Seen Oro?ond ?

Mon 16 Jan: 1. Seen Lawyer Sarbah. 2. Q. Nkruma gave me the land called Kwedu mines for £15 consideration. 3. Sarbah ??

Tu 17 Jan: 20/- to Q Nkruma. 1. Canoe bght ? from DC [Dixcove]. 2. Joshua arrived from Assinie. 3. Joshua proceeded cycling. FR

Wed 18 Jan: 1. c/men gone this morning. 2. Joshua first riding. 3. Door fixed as the Locks. 4. Bght cocoa 4/6 chutney 1/6 oatmeal 9d. Bought pair of socks 1/6. 20/- to Old Arkhurst.

Th 19 Jan: 4/- to Adoo. 1. I made to Ankobras with a gun and shot a bird. 2. LCH [Henry] gave me the W? 3. Stewarts ? bike collided.

Fri 20 Jan: 1. Bght Bovril 1/6 Ginger 2/6 ?? 2. [illegible].


Sun 22 Jan 1899: Chain put on good order free. 1. Joshua rode to Ankobra & back. 2. certain whitemen came to me for drinkables 3 Ports 10/6. 3. Having sexual intercourse 10/- in my room. 4. dose of Pills – not well.


Wed 25 Jan: [1 – 6 list of small sums of money paid] 7. Started by boat to Axim. 8. Given 2/- to boatmen.

Th 26 Jan: 1 Reached Axim 2. Seen W.G. M [Mensah]. 3. We signed Mortgage. 4. Cash £260 to me. 5. Ch’agree to give security.

\textsuperscript{16} John Mensah Sarbah (1864-1910), born Cape Coast, educated in Cape Coast and at Taunton School, Devon, studied law Lincoln’s Inn and in 1887 became the first African from the Gold Coast to qualify as a barrister. Sarbah returned to the Gold Coast and built up a lucrative legal practice, combining this with business interests and political activity; he helped form the Aborigines’ Rights Protection Society (ARPS) in 1897 to oppose the Lands Bill. Sarbah wrote several important books on Fanti law. He was appointed to the Legislative Council in 1901.

Sat 28 Jan: 1 Seeing L.C.H of Judge Richard. 2. ?? 3. & 4. [minor payments]

Sun 29 Jan 1899: 1. Paid 10/6 to Adoo to hire to Chama. 2. Tuosie & wife Akwasio case not yet settled tonight. 3. Wontels presented me meals.

Mon 30 Jan: 1. Gyarty v Yirah called. 2. wired Arbah. 3. We retained Hayford in the above case who charged £75. 4. Some witnesses were examined.


Fr 3 Feb: 1. Summons ?? 2. 2 pairs shoes [???] we made a/c with chfs to £70 [small purchases].


Sun 5 Feb: I paid out the £50 today & made note dated 4/2/99. Went to chapel.

Mon 6 Feb: 24/- to Pobee for loading c?

Tu 7 Feb: Back wheel of my bike off.


Th 9 Feb: 1. Paid £5.5. 0. for Mortgage. 2. [unclear]. 3. Signed mortgage with Agyiman ??


Sat 11 Feb: 1. Chfs Agyiman and Yirah & their people left town this morning. 2. I wrote Isaac and sent him ?

Sun 12 Feb: 1. Heavy rain this morning. 2. Gave £1.7.0 to Joshua for his khaki.

Mon 13 Feb: 1. Recd a wire (Reply) from Renner about his conf. next week. 2. Seen the T? ed costs £12. 3. Bght Bynan 7/- Pills 1/6 for chf Akye Kofi.
Tu 14 Feb 1899: 1. Took Tandorkyie to swear affidavit. 2. Efua Bidna, Eliaba & Hun arrived.

Wed 15 Feb: no entry.

Th 16 Feb: Paid 5/- Register Dadson for copy. Rec’d the Bill of Costs (copy).

Fri 17 Feb: Registered a mortgage to S.H. Cobbel (?). Written Pa enclosed Henry(?). Notice ? Akwansie.

Sat 18 Feb: [illegible].

Sun 19-Tu 21 Feb: [no entries]

Wed 22 Feb: Given 4/- to Ampoley Kofi of Agyaure with no intention of leasing his lands.

Th 23 Feb: no entry.

Fri 24 Feb: Eyantel(?) was paying his costs – IO didn’t pay until the arrival.

Sat 25 Feb: no entry.

Sun 26 Feb: no entry.

Mon 27 Feb: Rec. 20/- for WGM. Rec. 6/- from Hansen.17 Dakyse v Yirah & ors [others] was called & adjourned to Thursday next.


Th 2 Mar: Dakyie v Yirah called – motion made by pltff’s [plaintiff’s] council (sic).

Fri 3-Thu 9 Mar: no entries.

Fri 10 Mar: 1. I had ghonohria (sic) this morning. 2. Bght syringe tube & sulphate of zinc 5/-. 3. Send samples to LCH [L.C. Henry?].

Tu 14 Mar: 1. We started from Axim to Abeasi with Josiah Kweku & Annan. 2. Reached & slept. 3. C.E. Stephen gone to Dixcove. 4. Old Quanine Gyaabin had a talk with me.

17 Probably a member of a prominent trading family on the Gold Coast.
Annual nominal rent is 12£ ea.  3. ??  4. Yearly rents not fixed.  5. Bght hog meat 4/- 2 legs.  6. AOS’s mother’s gift of Yam.

Th 16 Mar: 1. Given 5/- to Old Gyaabin & Old Bakasie? for showing boundaries for road cutters drain.

Fr 17 Mar: 1. I went to Baidos to see Jane (?). 2. Abugie came here & gave me monkey leg. 3. [various sums of money listed].

Sat 18 Mar: 1. I started to Axim. Reached Axim 1.30 P.M.  2. Bght 2/3 Bitter & 3d bread. 3. Got a gift of hen from ?

Sun 19-Fri 24 Mar: [ no entries]

Sat 25 Mar.  Amba Yankah was born. [TBW’s child?]

Sun 26 Mar: [no entry]

**Mon 27 Mar**: Sophia arrived here from Bayin [Fist?] entrance £5. E’s band(?)  [in margin: Heard of Emma Cudjous].

**Tu 28 Mar**: 1. A.O. Stephen gone to Dixcove with Sophia by boat. 2. Given 1/- to Old Gyaabin 2/- to Abon? 3. Quacoo my boy arrived from Dixcove. 4. Given 5/- to Ampele Kofi.  5. Bght scent 2/6.

**Wed 29 Mar**: 1. Given 5/- to Chf Asuab Kofi for Subsistence.  2. Abonsam went to wuKu? for the £35. 3. given 1/6 to Wm Jacobs. 4. We signed the Asuklu lease at Lawyer Hayford’s house. Josiah played me trick.

Th 30 Mar: 1. Wm Jacobs finished 2 leases. 2. We signed the Asuklu lease the second time. 3. Quacoo my boy went to Dixcove.  4. Chf Nkruma brought me samples.

**Fr 31 Mar**: 1. Given 10/- to Wm Jacobs for copying. 2. We signed the Dapaon & Tandorkuma mines.

**Sat 1 Apr**: Bad dreams last night about my child Bremba etc.


**Mon 3 Apr**: 1. Gold taken John Ammanoo arrd [arrived] from Dixcove. 2. Letter from Uncle John.  3. 2 of from Joshua.
**Tu 4 Apr 1899:** 1. Seen Mr Everest whtman [white man] about gold ming [mining] transaction.


Th 6 Apr: 1. We started to Agyamba village. 2. We reached with bike. 3. Abuagyil arrived etc. 4. Sent a boy to Joshua Axim 1/3. 5. Talked about Kumasi.

Fr 7 Apr: 1. We inspected Kumasi Gold ? 2. Records to Kassor 6/- 3. Did not see Henry. Gone to Dixcove. 4. Slept at Baidod.

Sat 8-Mon 10 Apr: [no entries]

Tu 11 Apr: 1. Started to Doadoo (?) & from hence to Impatasie and inspected Aposuri Creek the north western boundary of ? 4. Sent a ? to Isaac at Abasi with a letter.

Wed 12 Apr: We went from Adwimaku to Wairkuma Birber (?) Nkwawilaf Rutyima boundaries and to (?).

Th 13 Apr: Isaac and ? went to Dixcove.

Fr 14 Apr: 1. I went to Abasi to see western boundary token. 2. ? Jones and Yirah fixed the western boundary of Impatasie property.

Sat 15 Apr: Bght Dokor Honey 2/6.

Sun 16 Apr-Mon 1 May: [no entries]

Tu 2 May: We (Fred & Abuagyu) started to Dompini – did not meet blsf [?] 2. Nkrumah in town. Gone to Tacquah.

Wed 3 May: no entry.

Th 4 May: Kwofie arrived from Kanofla (?) 1. Given 2/- to Abrah to buy fowls. 2. We went to Kohulakara village to see boundary. 3. Given 2/- cash & 1 piece coral ? 4. ditto 3/6 gin for the inspection.

Fri 5-Sun 7 May: [no entries]

Mon 8 May: Chf Q Nkruma of Dompa arrived with his people – Chf Nkrumah visited me in the midnight.

Tu 9 May: 1. Noku, Nkruma’s bearer took me to Kwadu mi – 2/6 to Noku. 2. Bentill sent a bearer to me to go & see Everest Axim.

Th 11 May: Reached Axim.

Fr 12 May: Beors brought samples from Kumasi mine.

Sat 13-Th 25 May: [no entries]

Fr 26 May: S. S. Fantee called the first time from England.


Sun 28 May: I went to the Kumasi mines.


Tu 30 May: 1. Started to Jumantu village to see Pakiaviley property & was greatly deceived Noontun mine. 4. Slept at Nibiaba.

Wed 31 May: 1. Went to Pakiaviley mines – seeing Nthama village thro Suabu creek. 2.? ruins. 3. Returned to Pampansu – after meals proceeded to Agyasfe (?). 4. Given 3 flasks gin ?

Th 1 June: Signed deed with Awor(?) Kwesi Hill small – about 10 shafts (?) – one very low hill.

Fri 2-Sun 18 June: [no entries]

Mon 19 June: Rec’d 20/- from Etur.

Tu 20-Wed 21 June: [no entries]

Th 22 June: Started with Hampton to see Hayford’s mines. Recd 10/- from Etur. Reached Froobonhu.

Fri 21 July: Written Coates.18

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18 William Coates & Co, manufacturers, 35 Wood Street, London. Brem Wilson had bought goods such as oil, cable, and iron roofing from Coates in 1897, and he was later to have frequent dealings with Coates.
Fri 23 June-Mon 17 July, 1899: [no entries]

Tues 18 July: Effue 2/- advance. Etur 5/-. Started to Simpos(?). 2/- tobacco bought.

Wed 19 July: [no entry]


Fri 21 July: 1. Bght 5/- a lock & 4/6 cloth. 2. JM gone to Dixcove. Written Coates.

Sat 22 July: [no entry]

Sun 23 July: Boman arrived from?

Mon 24 July: Casely Hayford paid by me.


Wed 26 July: Myself and Bentill paid 20/- to Chf 2 for option lands.

Th 27 July: Went to Princes Amonakurma to see Bissiassi mine. Posted Coates of London.

Fr 28 July: 1. Seen the mines & fixed boundaries. 2. Given 6d to a sick woman. 3. Paid 2/- to Akwansie.

Sat 29 July: Returned to Axim

Mon 31 July: Effu & Yami Bekyire arrived Simpas. Talked with Conway about the 2 Aguna properties being in the hands of Hughes.19

Tu 1 Aug: 1. Effu & Y Bekyire … started to Simpas. 2. J.J. Ashon arrived from K’didi.

Wed 2 Aug: Paid 4/6 to Fantin’s aunt’s funeral custom.


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& Co. A ‘Mr Coates’, is in the photograph of a ‘Group of West Africans (Gold Coast) now resident in London, and their friends’, in West Africa, 1,7 (November 1900), p. 208.

19 Hughes: this may be George Hughes (or a member of that family), the prosperous Cape Coast merchant, who had been a member of the Aborigines’ Rights Protection Society deputation to London in May 1898.

20 Charles E. Stephen, of whom no more is known.
Fr 4 Aug 1899: 1. given 18/- to Mr Jonas Mensah for his debt. 2. C.E.S. rode on Mensah’s bike. 3. Rec’d a letter from W.E. Richardson,21 Dixcove.
Sat 5 Aug: Joshua bought me a pair shoes. A.C. Bentill gave me £10 together with the £10 I gave him for ?

Sun 6-Tu 8 Aug: [no entries]


Thu 10-Wed 16 Aug: [no entries]

Th 17 Aug: Mensa, Ammu & Kwamkina are fined 2/- etc for disobedience.

Fri 18 Aug-Tu 12 Sept: no entries.

Wed 13 Sept: Jos & Arthur sent their uncle Koom to me to take him to Axim.

Th 14 Sept: Kissed my family. 1. Inspected Amamsel Gold mines. 2. Proceed thro’ Kamankor and slept at Nkran.


Sun 17 Sept: 1. I did not go out until in the night. 2. Ambas brought forth male child. a/c due Hayford, 30/- 30/- 10/-.

Mon 18 Sept: 1. C. Hayford asked me to come again 8 P.M. which I did with Koom. 2. Recd the confirmatory deed of Ksi [Kumasi mine?].


Th 21 Sept: I started with Mensa for K’si - & slept.

Fri 22-Sat 23 Sept: [no entries]

Sun 24 Sept: My Birthday not quite celebrated.

Mon 25-Tu 26 Sept: [no entries]

21 Richardson, a member of Dixcove Wesleyan chapel and a member of the Society of Oddfellows.
Wed 27 Sept 1899: 1. We went to Essa mine.  2. to the plantation – I saw one of them.
3. Found very nice tailings from the washing of the stones.
4. ?

Fri 29 Sept: I started from Nkwantasu arrived at Dixcove about 12 AM. I did not see W.G.M. gone to Axim.

Sat 30 Sept: Payne & wife’s divorcement. 1. I wired W.G.M. [Mensah] at Axim; he replied I must go there.  2. I wrote him ? Berkor (?) to come here.

Sun Oct 1: I recd wire from W.G.M to wait.

Mon 2 Oct: 1. W.G.M. arrived from Axim having paid his part £10.  2. I had a talk with Hagar of her conduct.

Tu 3 Oct: 1. Steamer called homeward.  2. C.E.S. & R.K. Bhoma arrived from Axim. 3. Apoun Kofie’s case with us. 4. We wrote J. Cousey.

Wed 4 Oct: W.G.M. gone to Chama.

Th 5 & Fri 6 Oct: [no entries]

Sat 7 Oct: Began removing big stone at the Infumatifu road.  2. Letters to Joshua, Isaac, Jon & C. Hayford.

Sun 8-Sun 29 Oct: [no entries]

Mon 30 Oct: Started from K’sa slept Menruosu.

Tu 31 Oct: 1. I started from Jamsu to Tarquah. 2. Abakaba gave me meals. 3. Reached Asuosu & I did not meet Mr Russell\(^\text{22}\) here.


Th 2 Nov: Mr Schmeltz gave me 2 candles. Mr Russell wrote to be here at end of this week.

Fri 3 –Sat 4 Nov: [no entries]

\(^\text{22}\) This may be the Russell (mentioned in Stock Exchange prospectus 1901-1902) who owned land concessions adjacent to the Bartie property. See also The National Archives, Kew (TNA). CO879/57/578, Chamberlain to Governor F.M. Hodgson, 8 August 1899 and 11 August 1899.
Sun 5 Nov 1899: 1. Took pills only this morning. 2. Recd a letter from W.G.M. 3. Mrs J.J. Cobbas arrived from Winnebah.

Mon 6 Nov: Mr Russell arrived.

Tues 7 Nov: I paid 6d to Bassa for cutting my teeth. 1. Started from Esuosu. 2. Mr Russell gave dynamiter & fuses to go to Kobalakasa. 3. Slept at Kessi’s plantation.

Wed 8 Nov: [no entry]

Th 9 Nov: We began working Sarnie.

Fri 10 Nov-Sun 17 Dec: [no entries]


Tu 19 Dec: Recd a letter from W.G.M. 1. The Tramway Co. began digging the Road. 2. School (Sunday) anivy meeting to night – Pa was chairman. I was a speaker.

Wed 20 Dec: Recd letters from W.G.M., Chama, Bentill Axim, Joshua Axim. 2. Quacom arrived from Axim with ? from Joshua. 3. Ma gave me 18/6.

Th 21 Dec: 1. Given 40/- to Eturu for her father. 2. Lent John Kwofie\textsuperscript{23} 10/-.  

Fri 22 Dec: Yankeh taken to bush to be provided with devil medicine & c & c & returned. 2. I made gymnastic exercises on the beach. Given 20/- to J. Amusnnoo – miner.

Sat 23 Dec: 1. Recd a wire from C.E.S [Stephen], Chama. 2. I replied C.E.S. and asked if W.G.M. was at there. 3. Written to W.G.M. Chama.

Sun 24 Dec: This night was extra. Fac etc.

Mon 25 Dec: [no entry]

Tues 26 Dec: 1. Given 6/- to Eturu’s mother & she returned it. 2. Bought Herrings (440) 6/-.  

Wed 27 Dec: Asaba went with Herrings. 1. Paid for cloth for my women 35/3. 2. Recd a letter from W.G.M. asking me to meet.

Th 28 Dec: Wired W.G.M.[&] Bhoma to meet me at Adjuah 7th.

\textsuperscript{23} Probably John B. Kwofie, a business associate of TBW, who was baptised in London on 16 July 1902, see \textit{Leaves of Healing}, 19 July 1902, p. 439.
Fr 29 Dec 1899: 1. I started to meet Mr W.G. Mensah at Adjuah. 2. I rode with Hoe to the village near Ponpondec (?). 3. We made a little exercise in dancing.

Sat 30 Dec:  Joe lent me his bike. 1. We started (myself & W.G.M) with bikes to Dixcove. 2. W.G.M. lodged with me. 3. Bght 3/- Croydon (?) for sleeping, 2/- meat, 2/- wine, 1/- sardine.

Sun 31 Dec: I attended the morning service and the public meeting & the Watch Night.

Entries in 1899 diary marked for 1900

6th Jan 1900: Etura’s. 1. Given Amuanu 10/-. 2. ? & Quamina arrived. 3. We posted Aborigines24 - written Josh, Mensah, Jonah & Isaac. 4. We bailed?

7th Jan 1900: 1. LCH [L.C. Henry] & FJL (?) arrived.

8th Jan 1900: 1. Seeing LCH. 2. ? & C arrived. 3. Letter from ? that Kisse (Dakya?) has been dethroned.

10th Jan 1900: Given 1/- to Akaadi & Quainma.

[In the ‘Cash account’: Feb: ‘Medicine for Nancy’ Heart disease.’ Nov 1899: heading ‘Devil Medicine’, and listed below: ‘Gather the leaves of Kanimaku (?), etc, etc. and apply to the body.] Dec 1899: ‘Kwanwa gold mine consideration £35.0.0. Sample taken £6.0.0, 1 case gin £1.17.6 total £42.17.6.

No diary found for 1900.

1901 Charles Lett’s Self-opening and pocket diary. 139 x 50 mm. [bound in leather with weekly diary page opp ‘cash account’ page.]

Sat 5 Jan: I landed ex Lagos. 14 pkges & paid duty. (£1.15.0).

Tu 8 Jan: 1. Myself ES & Fred stad [started] to Axim with bikes & slept at Princess.

Wed 9 Jan: 1. We processed to Axim. 2. I went to see Hughes.

Th 10 Jan.  I went to Ancobra to see some logs (clients).

Mon 14 Jan: We settled Kumasi at Apambra for £90. Slept at Krakrome.

Tu 15 Jan: I arrived at Dixcove with CES.

24 The Gold Coast Aborigines, a newspaper established in January 1898, edited and managed by the Revds S.R.B. Attoh Ahuma and K. Egyir Asaam, which was the mouthpiece of the Aborigines’ Rights Protection Society, a patriot-led political party founded in Cape Coast in April 1897.
Sat 19 Jan 1901: Notice to Hotopo people was served by Brehun Quacoe. I paid £16.14.3 to Chief of Kwesir Krome.

Tu 22 Jan: Recd wire of Mr W.G. Mensah’s death. 2. Recd sums of Hotopo land to appear High Court Axim

Wed 23 Jan: CES [C E Stephen] started with bike to C. Coast 7 am. 2. I started by the Roquelle\textsuperscript{25} to C.C. [Cape Coast] (passage paid £1.17.6.). 3. Queen Victoria died this morn.\textsuperscript{26}

Th 24 Jan: Myself and C. E. Stephen went to Elmina to Boham.\textsuperscript{27}


Sat 26 Jan: 1. I wired Swanzy\textsuperscript{29} Axim & Hughes to stop Boham’s pay. 2 Boham signed the deed of Conveyce of Hotopo.

Sun 27 Jan: Chief Abacbo & ors [others] came to see me about Hotopo.

Mon 28 Jan: The Hotopo deed signed by DC.

Wed 30 Jan: We went aboard the Sokoto\textsuperscript{30} for Axim with CES [C.E. Stephen]. (passage fee £1.13.9)

Thur 31 Jan: Arrived Axim.

Sat 2 Feb: Amisah Krome about Chief Yamikeh’s Attabassie lands.

Th 7 Feb: Kessi v. my Father & ors. Judgement for do do [ditto ditto i.e. in favour of BTW’s father].

Fri 8 Feb: Arrived from Axim by Cameroon.\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{25} Roquelle: ship of the Elder Dempster line, scrapped 1908.
\textsuperscript{26} The Queen died on the evening of 22 January; the telegraph conveyed the news around the world including to Dixcove.
\textsuperscript{27} Possibly a member of the Boham merchant family in Elmina.
\textsuperscript{28} Philip Cantor (1849-1903), a sponge and general merchant, 26, Southampton Row, London WC, the father of Esther (Ettie) whom TBW later married. According to a member of the family, Cantor’s business premises were swallowed up when Kingsway was developed 1900-1905. Following Philip Cantor’s death in early 1903, his family moved from Holborn in central London to the suburb of Earlsfield in south west London.
\textsuperscript{29} F. & A. Swanzy, a European trading company which had established the Wassau (Gold Coast) Gold Mining Company in 1880.
\textsuperscript{30} An Elder Dempster vessel, built 1899.
\textsuperscript{31} Elder Dempster vessel; 1904 holed and beached Liberia, total loss.
Wed 11 Feb 1901: CES & J.B. Kofi from Axim. To Daddie Kwaku Krome. We drank palm wine.

No entries in diary until -

Th 4 April: The soldiers who refused to stay at C. Coast passed here.  

Fri 5 April-Wed 11 April 1901: [No entries]

Th 11 Apr: 1. Landed basket bicycle per Lagos. 2. Paid £45 for the House Bassiati (?) auction thro Kinnah.

Fr 12 Apr: Written B.P. Harris at Assorbrompon per Amuassoo & Duka.  

Mon 15 Apr: Joshua & Cromwell to Quasie with James Arthur & workmen.

Tu 16-Sat 20 April: [No entries]

Sun 21 April: I went to chapel after my serious illness.

Tu 23 April: I went to Tuassie & saw the land boundes [boundaries]. Ajako & returned to Dixcove.

Wed 24 Apr: ‘Joshua and Cromwell arrived from Quasie.

Th 25 Apr: Chf of Acquidah charged £40 more for the Tuassie Land (£15). Acquidah Chief swore Tuassie affidavit.

Fri 26 April-Wed 8 May [no entries]

Th 9 May: 7 labourers began work.

Fr 10 May: Esther & ors went to Sekondi.

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33 B.P. Harris (probably a European) was involved in certain business disputes with Brem-Wilson over the Packiavilly mine; questions of payment rumbled on from December 1902.

34 Mr Duka was apparently in London in October 1902 as he was appointed one of the arbitrators in a dispute between Brem Wilson and William Coates.

35 An indenture, dd, 10 April 1901, in the possession of TBW1, is for ‘a piece of land known as Tuasie near Acquidah in the district of Dixcove’ bought by Brem Wilson ‘the younger of Discove’ from Chief Amuaku for £150 and which measured ‘1500 fathoms more or less or thereabouts in the East, 1500 fathoms on the West.’ There is an accompanying map.
Th 16 May 1901: Besha & Ors arrived from Sekondi.

Sun 19 May: I sang solo in the chapel.

Tu 21 May: I wrote B.P. Harris, Cape Coast.

Sun 26 May: Eliz Jonah Mensah died suddenly

Mon 27 May: Joshua arrived from Sekondi.

Tu 28 May: Judge Smith, Solic. General & engineer & DC inspts the town.

Sat 1 June: The Hotopo people began making a daily expenses.

Sun 2 June: 1. Chf Foonya & people of Awoosiayo gave us a goat & plantains. 2. Cromwell preached at Hotopo.

Fr 7 June: We (Bentill) started to Axim by hammock. 2. Seeing Hughes about Assorbronpon.

Tu 11 June: started by “Benin” to Dixcove.

Wed 12 June: Bartlett Bros, Daws & Gearnes lodged here.

Sat 15 June: 1. Bartlett Bros & ors went away to Sekondi. 2. posted Ettie, Coates & Twiner.

Sun 23 June: I did not attend evening service. Ellis to Hotopo.

Mon 24 June: The Dixcove I.S. Quacoe arrived from Hotopo.

Th 27 June: The Dixcove I.S.

Fr 28 June: Recd a letter from Hotopo chief.

Tu 2 July: Hotopo chief & people arrived from Hotopo to see me and I gave bearers 4/6.

Fr 5 July: Bentill went away by the Benguela to Saltpond.

36 James Abram M’Carthy, born Freetown, Sierra Leone, educated Inner Temple, called to Bar 1879, Senior Advocate in Freetown, appointed Solicitor General in the Gold Coast 1894.

37 This may be John Daw (1851-1934), born Devon, mining engineer, first manager of the Ashanti Gold Fields Corporation who, after 1903, succeeded Edwin Cade as managing director.

38 Ettie? – possibly Esther Cantor (1883-1965), daughter of Philip Cantor, who eventually became TBW’s wife. See below diary entry, and footnote, at start of 1904.

39 Elder Dempster ship, wrecked 1905.
Sat 6 July 1901: I had a note of hand from Abasko for £900.0.0 to purchase portion of Hotopo lands.

Sun 7 July: The rains prevented the night service.

Mon 8 July: 1. Isaac started to Sekondi. 2. Recd £4.17.6 from the court (George Mensah’s).

Fr 12 July: Quabina Epow of Himan started for gold concessions.

Fr 19 July: Early I began writing the West A.M.P Gold Co.

Wed 24 July: I signed a lease with Marfuon Dadobue gold land.

Th 25 – Fr 26 July: [no entries]

Sat 27 July: We started from Axim by boat & got Dixcove.

Sun 28 July: I wired Hayford about copies of Kohulakasa. Paid Nancy for Silk Hnkfs 0.15. 0.

Th 1 Aug: Etur 20/-. Given Etur 20/- for cooking.

Fr 2 Aug: We started from Dixcove to Hotopo & back.

Sat 3 Aug: Grand croquet.

Sun 4 Aug: [no entry]

Mon 5 Aug: The boat-men brought the 11.00.0 [£11?] Charged £3.10.0.

Tu 6 – Sun 11 Aug: [no entries]


Wed 14 Aug: Bimpeh Isaac’s wife was taken to the camp infected by s’pox.40

Th 15 Aug: Isaac arrived from Sekondi.

Sat 17 Aug: Isaac went to Sekundi (sic). Given to Isaac for concession [£]27.00.

Mon 19 Aug: Telegram from Isaac coming from Sekondi at Adjuah.

Tu 20 Aug: Isaac arrived. 2. Boham’s baby died. 3. Cooke with letter from a company.

40 Smallpox was present in one part of the Gold Coast or another for much of the early twentieth century; a serious outbreak occurred 1901-02.
Th 22 Aug 1901: Boham & Fred arrived from Axim.

Fr 23 Aug: Recd a gift of a jug & 6 tumblers from Ise Adjuah. Had champion croquet play = 12 medals.

Sun 25 Aug: I went to Axim by SS Elmina\(^{41}\) from Dixcove. Passage myself & boy (£)0.16.6.

Wed 28 Aug: Heard Chief Duku’s (?) death of smallpox.

Fr 30 Aug: Paid 3/- to Acquy for summoning witnesses

Sat 31 Aug: Heard Chief Kofie Kaye died last night of small pox. 2. Joshua’s carpenter paid 20/- for his photo. Recd £3 from Yankson to be paid at Dixcove to A. O. Stephen.\(^{42}\)

Sun 1 Sept: [on opposite page] Small pox medicine. Afutua and Quabe roots ground with Guinea Grains well to be drunk. Abarba root to be boiled and drunk. Quabeh & Afubua roots to be ground mixed with Guinea grains & sarsima for the application on the body.

Fr 6 Sept: We signed mortgage J Arkhurst & Clintons £150. 2. Packiavilly chief arrived from Princess.

Sun 8 Sept: took photo with ?.

Tu 10 Sept: We signed affidavit in court (John Arkhurst) etc.

Th 12 Sept: arrived Dixcove from Axim by 3 Hrs and wrecked in akumbro this rock ?

Wed 18 Sept: started from D’cove by canoe, capsized and I ? to Princes & slept.

Th 19 Sept: Reached Axim about 9.30 from Princess. Harris and me called, adjourned until Monday the 23rd - given an O. N. to Hayford that Hayford should take the 20% for his trouble in the Assorbrompon.

Sat 28 Sept: Purchased 3 loaves, cheese 3/6 ea .. 10.6. 1 Tin Salmon 9d 2 tins.

Th 3 Oct: Signed “Attabassie” gold mining lease. Arrived Dixcove from Axim by Kurt Woermann.\(^{43}\)

Sat 5 Oct: Agyiman & ors [others] £40 paid to me being their part debt. 2. Bhoma & Essaw’s case.

\(^{41}\) Elder Dempster ship, scrapped 1907.

\(^{42}\) Andrew O. Stephen, ‘Native medical Man’ and ‘Herbalist’, according to an advertisement in the *Gold Coast Leader*, 18 February 1905, p. 1.

\(^{43}\) Ship owned by the Hamburg based Woermann shipping line.
Mon 7 Oct 1901: Myself & Joshua went to see Tandorkyie land. Agyiman.

Tu 8 Oct: Dixcove with Joshua, Arkhurst & Bhoma with the Swanzy’s & Boat to Adjuah & from thence to Sekondi same day.

Wed 9 Oct: measured Arkhurst house 78 x 64. S.S. Sokoto started from Sekondi to England with me. A Customs Officer Mr Andoh did me the good of giving me a boat 3/-.

Sun 13 Oct: posted Joshua, Hayford & Fred from Sierra Leone. “Sokoto” moved for Las Palmas.

Wed 16 Oct: A passenger in the 2nd class died of fever & was buried (by the purser).

Th 17 Oct: There was a concert in the saloon. Paid 1/- for the widows and oph (sailors).

Sat 19 Oct: Posted Joshua, Isaac, Jim, Bhoma, Fred & Charlie at Las Palmas. Sokoto started for Plymouth. Bought Silk Hdks (12) 11/-, 2 ties 2/-, 1 Brilliantine 1/6, cable 8/-, sherry 2/-, cab 1/- = £1.5.6.

Sun 20 Oct: one first class passenger died; interred at 4 p.m. by the purser.

Wed 23 Oct: we passed Cape Finister (sic) about 6.30 p.m.


Sun 27 Oct: Seen Zion Tabernacle.

Tu 29 Oct: Seen Peck about Impatasie lands.


Th 31 Oct: Weighed myself at Mansion Hse Station – 10 stones 2lbs.

Fri 1 Nov: Seen Revd Campel (Cantel) & he laid his hands upon me in the names of the Lord. Signed card. Seen the King and his family – about 1 p.m. [On opposite page]: Macan came to see me in 26 South Road. 3. Mrs Gray’s intercourse.

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44 Duke of Cornwall hotel, built 1863, in a prominent place near the docks and the main railway station.
Sun 3 Nov 1901: I am Recd now in Zion Church – sat on the Lord’s Supper. I was Recd as one of the 70.S [Saloon Seventies] – Went in 3’s to B Sqre [Bloomsbury? Square].

Tu 5 Nov: Dreamed of old Fiasu not being very fat.

Fri 8 Nov: Renner in London. Removed to Vernon Chambers.\(^{47}\) Recd from Coates £10.0.0. [margin note: P.A. Renner c/o Herschell & Co, 20 Red Cross St, London]

Sat 9- Th 14 Nov: [no entries]


Sat 16 Nov: I joined the Saloon Seventies\(^{48}\) and distributed Zion literature.

Fri 22 Nov: Darrell\(^{49}\) v Brem Wilson. Letters from the Gold Coast.

Sun 24 Nov: I was baptised by triune immersion\(^{50}\) by Revd [Harry E.] Cantel at Caledonian Baths.\(^{51}\)

Sun 25 Nov –Sat 2 Dec: [no entries]

Sun 3 Dec: I am recd now in Zion Church – sat on the Lord’s Supper.

Th 12 Dec: Sent in request for prayers about concerns & difficulties; prayers were offered.

Tu 17 Dec: concert.

Wed 18 Dec: Minnie to Putney with the Pantomime.

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\(^{46}\) Harry E. Cantel (1865-1910), born in France, went to the United States; ordained by Dowie in 1899 and the next year made Overseer of Zion work in the British Isles. His first wife (Ruth Stevens) died and in 1907 he married Margaret Fielden (d. 1926), the daughter of one of Dowie’s close associates. The Cantel’s converted a rented shop at 73 Upper Street, Islington, into a meeting hall and a divine healing home. Cantel produced a magazine, *The Overcoming Life* [copies in BL]. See *Leaves of Healing*, 24 June 1905, pp. 322-26; and Gordon P. Gardiner, *Out of Zion into all the world* (Shippensburg PA: Companion Press, 1990), ch. XXIII.

\(^{47}\) 2, Vernon Chambers, Southampton Row.

\(^{48}\) Groups of Dowie’s followers who evangelized in local public houses.

\(^{49}\) Brem Wilson had business dealings with Darrell in 1901-02. In an action in April 1902 Brem Wilson paid Darrell £250 as settlement.

\(^{50}\) Triune baptism, the form of believer’s baptism practised by Dowie’s followers which involved being immersed three times in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

\(^{51}\) Few churches in London would allow Dowie’s followers the use of their baptismal pools, so the Zionists hired public swimming pools for the purpose.
Cashnotes – at end of diary: ‘Bought 2 Bibles 0.11.2 1 Dictionary 0. 2. 8. etc. P.A.
Renner c/o Herschell & Co, 20 Red Cross St, Liverpool. B-W; lists letters written 29 Oct
1901: to J. Wilson, Isaac Wilson, Fredk Arkhurst, D. Kwesi Bhoma, F.B. Wilson Snr,

**Diaries for 1902 & 1903 not found.**

**1904 Renshaw’s Diary and Almanack.** 70 x 112 [Inscription at front] To my
darling Tom wishing you the best of good luck in this year. Ettie.
Fri 1 Jan: Rcd letters from Ettie, Ray, and Maude. To Earlsfield & to the City with
Ray. I wrote to Revd Cantel to see him tomorrow at 2 pm.’

Sat 2 Jan: To Palliser’s office with Cann. To Zion Tabernacle – Cantel not there. To
the shop several times.Pawned clothes for 12/-.

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52 D. Kwesi Bhoma (d.1913) lived in Axim, Gold Coast. He was in touch with Dowie’s church in May
1900: see Bhoma to the Revd William Hamner Piper, Overseer at Large in the United States, dd. Axim 29
July 1901, *Leaves of Healing*, 12 October 1901, p. 809. In the letter of October 1901, Bhoma refers to the
serious outbreak of smallpox in Axim which he and his family survived as a result of prayer and not
medicine. He concludes his letter: ‘Oh, how I do long to carry the Full Gospel to my people when I shall
be prepared and sent for that purpose (Romans 10:15). Pray for me and my children with whom I hope to
be doing God’s work in the nearest future.’ Bhoma came to Britain in 1902 and was baptised by Cantel at
the Mansion House Mission, S.E., on 15 October; see *Leaves of Healing*, 1 November 1902, p. 61. After
the death of Dowie, Bhoma rejoined the Wesleyan Methodist church in 1911.

53 Ettie - Esther Cantor (1883-1965), a shop assistant in 1901 but subsequently a stage artiste under the
name of ‘Ettie Cinders’, whom Brem Wilson married in July 1906. Ettie is frequently mentioned by her
stage name in the pages of the *Era*, and of provincial newspapers. According to the family Thomas met
Ettie through her father, Philip Cantor, a sponge merchant (1901 census). By 1904 the Cantor’s, but not the
father, were living in Earlsfield, SW London with Mrs Eva Cantor as the head of house. Ettie’s marriage to
BTW was unhappy and she left him in the early 1920s, subsequently moving to work as a chef and to live
in Reigate Road, on the recently built Downham Estate, south London; she later moved to Keston, Kent,
but returned to south London where she died in 1965.

54 Ray (Miriam) Cantor (born c.1885), the younger sister of Ettie.

55 Albert Sam Cann (1871-1930s), a Fanti merchant (brother of Robert S. Cann, 1871-c.1930s,
‘Commercial Cann’ of Saltpond), with gold mining interests in Eastern Wassaw and Axim listed in *Gold
Coast Globe and Ashanti Argus* (London), 21 January 1902, pp. 86-7. In a letter on ‘Mining in the Gold
Coast’, in *West Africa*, 21 February 1903, p. 190, Cann said that ‘my experience extends over many years
as a merchant on the coast’. He married a middle-class white English wife, Emma Dowsett from Dulwich
in 1909, and two years later they had a daughter Rita. Cann returned to the Gold Coast in late November
1904, but he was in and out of Britain over the next few years. For example, in 1905 he was one of the
shareholders in the Association of Fante Public Schools Ltd, with an address at 13 Charing Cross
Mansions, Charing Cross Road, London, WC (Gold Coast Leader, 7 January 1905, p. 4). He became a
close friend of John A. Barbour-James, and a member of the African Progress Union, being in the
deputation led by John Archer, the former black mayor of Battersea, to see Liverpool’s deputy lord mayor
on 16 June 1919, following the race riots in the city. He was Barbour-James’ best man when he remarried
in London in October 1920 (*West Africa*, 11 March 1922, p. 203). The Canns settled in Germany, and Rita
left that country in 1934. See obituary of Rita Cann (1911-2001), the pianist and singer, by Val Wilmer,
Biography*. Further information from Jeffrey Green.
Sun 3 Jan 1904: To Zion Tabernacle 11.20 – to Earlsfield.

Mon 4 Jan: 1. To E & Simmonds – asked him to write to Cox & Larfone re Ashong & Brace. 2. Written to Coates, Ettie & Nandi(?). 3. Recd letters from Pa & Fredk. 4. To the Comedy Theatre with Cann. 5. Written to Cooper.

Tu 5 Jan: 1. Recd a letter from Ettie together with postal orders for 30/-. 2. Recd 15/- from Poace?. 3. We, Cann & Arkah went Harvey. 4. Clifton with Ansah. D. Cooper called at the flat. 5. Recd a letter from Mr. Chapman.

Wed 6 Jan: 1. To the City to E & Simmonds about Chapman’s letter etc. 2. To Palliser’s office. Recd the agreement to be signed

Th 7 Jan: To Prince Ansah’s with Cann & Arkah – only Cann’s draft agts [agreements] finished. Seeing Ray in the shop. D. Cooper in the flat (Canns). Kiss. No dinner.

Fr 8 Jan: To E & Simmonds about Ashong & Brace mortgage to me. To Palliser & Co. Written Joshua, Frdk, Cromwell, & Mills Calabar. To Earlsfield with Ray - I took the first off & returned to the flat (Canns).

Sat 9 Jan: To Palliser’s office & signed agreement. To the flat – Canns. He went to a dance – outside D.G. Cooper’s.

57 J.E. Ashong, a business associate of Brem Wilson’s from the Gold Coast, who was baptised at the Caledonian Baths, 30 March 1902, his address being 1 Victoria Chambers, Southampton Row, London, see Leaves of Healing, 26 April 1902, p. 39. In 1920 he appears as a Dixcove timber merchant, see BT31/24684’15688, 191-20, Africa and Orient Trade Exchange Ltd, list of companies no. 5.
58 Prince Albert Owusu Ansa (c.1865-1945). He and his elder brother Prince John Owusu Ansa (1851-1909), were the sons of John Owusu Ansa and grandsons of the Asenthen Osei Bonsu, the ruler of Asante. Albert worked for the Gold Coast government and then set up as a merchant in Cape Coast, later forming the partnership of Johnson and Ansa in Axim. John, educated in the Gold Coast, was employed in the Gold Coast government service and then worked in commerce. In 1889 he took charge of the Asante ‘English Chancery’ in Kumase. Together the two brothers led an abortive Asante embassy to London in 1895 aiming to thwart British plans to invade their country. British forces invaded Kumase and the brothers found they were not welcome back in Asante or in the Gold Coast. They both returned to London and resumed commercial work. John then returned to the Gold Coast in 1900 as local representative of the Ashanti Gold Concession Syndicate Ltd; see Gold Coast Leader, 25 October 1900, p. 2. See further Ivor Wilks, Asante in the nineteenth century (Cambridge 1975; revised edn 1989), ch. 14. Prince Albert was reported as attending the funeral of H.E. Taylor, Highgate Cemetery, London: West Africa, 4 October 1919, p. 925; he was mentioned in an action in the King’s Bench Division, West Africa, 28 July 1934, p. 823, and in a photograph with the Gold Coast and Ashanti Delegation to London, ibid. 4 August 1934, p. 854. He died in Lambeth, south London, in March 1945.
59 Solomon Ashong and Brace were involved in a business transaction with Brem-Wilson in 1902-03; Brace probably Richard F. Brace (d. 31 December 1903), TBW’s cousin.
60 Palliser, & Co, ‘General merchants and colonial agents’, 22-23 Great Tower Street, London EC, who in their advertisements (e.g. West Africa, 15 October 1904, p. 1) stated that they were ‘Suppliers of every created commodity’, appointed TBW as their mercantile agent on the west coast of Africa. All orders were to be sent to Palliser in writing ‘by me [TBW] or my nominee, covered by 50% in cash or produce’. TBW 2. TBW to ?, dd 28 May [1905?].
**Sun 10 Jan 1904:** To Cann’s flat.

Mon 11 Jan: 1. To Everett’s office with Cann to see about the draft from Harvey Clifton. 2. Delvd [Delivered] Chemi lease & report to Mr. Palliser. 3. To New Street shop & saw Ray. 4. Recd a wire from Ettie (I [Isle] of Wight). 5. Posted Ettie & Maude. Recd a letter from D.G. Cooper.

Tu 12 Jan: Recd letter from Ettie (I of Wight). To Palliser’s office. To Cann’s flat.


Th 14 Jan: [no entry]


Sat 16 Jan: 1. To Prince Ansah’s with Cann & also to Allaways^62^ and signed agreement with Allaways. 2. Seen Ray in the shop. 3. To the World’s Fair with Cann. Met some girls & treated them on the roundabouts. 4. Posted a letter to Ettie.

Sun 17 Jan: To Earlsfield – out with Ray. To St James in the morning.

Mon 18 Jan: 1. To Palliser’s office. 2. Recd letters from Ettie – Worthing, & D.G. Cooper. 3. To Cann’s & us much troubled & worried. 4. I slept with Cann in my room. 5. Heard of Hutchinson’s (sic) arrival.^63^

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^61^ Chief J.D. Abraham, of Cape Coast, one of the founders of the Aborigines’ Rights Protection Society, formed in 1897 to protest at Governor Maxwell’s Lands Bill. See Kimble, *Political History*, pp. 341 and 373.

^62^ On 3 September 1903 the Allaway Trust, Bourne House, 34 Copthall Avenue, London EC, received from Brem Wilson three original leases on Gold Coast properties, and a copy of the lease of Kwesi Krome. See TNA. BT 31/8952/66046. ‘The Allaway Trust’, established by agreement on 20 June 1900 between ‘William Allaway, Merchant and Mine-owner, James Johnston, Gentleman, and George Barratt, Merchant’. In November 1903, Allaway wrote to Gray’s Inn complaining about the conduct of Henry Sylvester Williams and certain dealings with J. Edmestone Barnes, described as one of Allaway’s employees; see Marika Sherwood, *Origins of pan-Africanism. Henry Sylvester Williams and the African diaspora* (London, 2011), p. 144, where Allaway is described as ‘Attaway’. In 1910 the Allaway Trust was struck off the list of joint stock companies and dissolved; see *The London Gazette*, 25 February 1910, p. 1429.

^63^ William Francis Hutchison (1854-1931) - TBW at times spelled the name as ‘Hutchinson’. W.F. Hutchison was born at Elmina and educated in the Gold Coast and in England. He became a land surveyor and, as other sources have suggested, became involved in the ‘procurement, initial development, and sale of mining concessions in the Gold Coast hinterland, an activity in which many Gold Coast businessmen participated in the 1890s and 1900s’, (Michel R. Doortmont, *The Pen-Pictures of Modern Africans and African celebrities by Charles Francis Hutchison* (London, nd., c.1930; Leiden 2005), p.13. Raymond E. Dumett, *El Dorado in West Africa. The gold-mining frontier, African labor, and colonial capitalism in the Gold Coast, 1875-1900* (Athens, OH, 1998). Hutchison lived in Britain from 1898-1919 being involved in commercial affairs but better known for his work as a newspaperman and journalist writing for the West African press and for London publications such as the black-owned *African Times and Orient Review* and *West Africa* (1917-). William F. Hutchinson (sic), aged 46, born West Africa, living in Holborn, and described as ‘Mining engineer’, was listed in the 1901 census; in the 1911 census Hutchison was living in
**Tu 19 Jan 1904:** 1. Had breakfast with Cann. 2. To Norfolk Hotel (Paddington St) to see Hutchinson (sic). 3. To the city to 71 Bishopsgate. 4. To E & S - & from thence to Charing X and said goodbye to Dot.

Wed 20 Jan: 1. To Allaway’s office – Cann told me Allaway gave him £10 from Brion. 3. To Clifton’s with Cann – he got an extension of time. Slept here with Cann.

Th 21 Jan: 1. To the city with Cann. 2. Gave a note of Paid? £2 to Mrs O’rielly (sic?) on Cann’s a/c to be on Monday. 3. To Earlsfield with Ray & back. 4. Slept with Cann.

Fr 22 Jan: 1. To the City with Cann. 2. Given 4 silk Hdots to Ruth in ? & dressed me with flowers. 3. To Earlsfield with Ray & back from Waterloo in a cab. 4. It is very foggy today at Earlsfield & also in Brompton & Fulham.

Sat 23 Jan: 1. Recd a letter from Ettie (Worthing). 2. To Cann’s flat. 3. To the World’s Fair with Cann and Fletcher. 4. It was very foggy this morning and also early part of the afternoon.

Sun 24 Jan: To Earlsfield – Ray went to T Ditton [Thames Ditton] then I returned to Cann’s flat.

Mon 25 Jan: Recd letter from Pa, & Lawyer Hayford (W.A.), Ettie (Worthing) and Palliser. To Palliser’s & from thence to Doyle in Shoe Lane about stationery etc. To Cann’s flat and paid Mrs Orielly on Cann’s the sum of £2. I wrote Ettie, Brighton.

Tu 26 Jan: 1. To the City – Seen Ruth and Prince Ansah took me to Clifton’s. 2. To Earlsfield with Ray. 3. Recd a letter from Ettie (Brighton).

Wed 27 Jan: To the City. To Prince Ansah’s. Prince Ansah gave me a note re Commission.

Th 28 Jan: To Palliser’s and asked him to give the whole Gold Coast (agency) and he said he would. To Earlsfield and did not see Ray.

Fr 29 Jan: Recd letter from Palliser. Posted Joshua the Agreements & papers also N.S. Hamilton – Axim, and Bahoma. Seen Ray in the shop. Ruth left Copthall Avenue today.

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*Edmonton, North London. Later in TBW’s diaries there appears the pencilled note ‘Employed C[harles] F[rankis] Hutchison’, but this is most likely to have been for work in the Gold Coast, although Charles Francis Hutchison did come to London in 1903 but left in May of that year. His father William acted as his son’s agent in London. At the end of the 1922 Diary, in ‘Memoranda’, W.F. Hutchison’s London address is given as 23 Highbury Crescent N5. Obituary in *West Africa*, 2 January 1932, p. 1639.*

*64 Then a riverside village in Surrey to the south west of Kingston upon Thames.*
Sat 30 Jan 1904: To Palliser’s office in the City. To 31 Shoe Lane (Mr Doyle’s) and bought copying book & ink for 5/-. Sold them to Arkah for 8/-. To Earlsfield with Ray. To the Imperial-Bar London. Recd letters from Ettie, Dot, & Maude.

Sun 1 Jan: To Peckham with Cann to dinner.

Mon 1 Feb: I went to Palliser’s office. Then to dinner with Cann at his rooms in Peckham. Heard of Minnie’s arrival from Paris with her husband.

Tu 2 Feb: I went to Palliser’s. I went to find Hutchison65 for my £40 & I was told he did not sleep in his rooms in 49 Southampton Row, WC. Seen Ray outside the Mansions.

Wed 3 Feb: To Palliser’s & signed more documents for the Gold Coast trading. To Earlsfield with Ray. Bought 2 furs (muffs) for Ray & Ettie. Pawned 2 suits and pair boots 25/-.

Th 4 Feb: To the City. I went to Hutchison. He gave me 5/- & then gave me particular of 2 leases to raise £200 on them. Ettie arrived from Bexhill on Sea. To Peckham with Cann. I quarrelled with the tram conductor.

Fri 5 Feb: To Palliser’s & wrote Joshua, Cromwell, J. D. Abraham & Bhoma, Gold Coast. Saw Ettie today. Loaned 30/- to Ray today for her mother. Recd a letter from E & Simmonds about Hutchison’s a/c. He asks me to come at 1 pm tomorrow

Sat 6 Feb: To 49 Southampton Row & Hutchison was not found in. I was totally disappointed. Ray darted to the Hip [Hippodrome] stage door as soon as she saw me.

Sun 7 Feb: To Hyde Park & from thence Cann’s Peckham for dinner.

Mon 8 Feb: To Palliser’s with Halin’s orders which Hutchison gave me. Got 5 pairs of boots from by Allaway’s introduction. Pawned 4 pairs for 40/-. Recd letters from Ray, Maudie, & Ettie.

Tu 9 Feb: 1. Recd letters from Palliser & Co & also from Hind & Robinson.66 2. To Palliser’s office & defined my agency boundary. To Earlsfield with Ray. Ray paid the 30/- to me. To Hutchison’s place & did not see him.

Wed 10 Feb: To Hind & Robinson’s office re Packiavilly papers. To the shop & saw Ettie. Recd a letter from Maude.

Th 11 Feb: Have written to Maude. 1. To Hutchison’s and he asked me to meet him at the Holborn Restaurant at 2 pm & he did not turn up.67 2. While standing there waiting

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65 William Francis Hutchison (1854-1931), member of a Gold Coast-Scottish family, educated in Scotland, surveyor, ‘traded in all sorts of produce’, mining business in Tarkwa, and a journalist. He came to live in Britain in 1898 and returned to the Gold Coast in 1919.

66 A firm of Solicitors.
saw Minnie & husband from the Restnt & he shook hands with me. 3. I went to Peckham with Cann & dinner about 8 pm.

**Fri 12 Feb 1904:** 1. To Palliser’s & posted letters to Joshua, Cromwell, Bhoma & J.D. Abraham. 2. Wired Maude that I could not keep appointment. I wrote Maud & Ruth.

Sat 13 Feb: To Hutchison’s & disappointed again. I met Ruth at the Royal Exchange & walked to L’pool St Station with her; bought her 2/6 (?).

Sun 14 Feb: To Peckham to Dinner. To Zion Chapel with Cann.

Mon 15 Jan: 1. To E & Simmonds about Hutchison. Got 15 pairs of boots from the Bootmakers in London Wall, got 54/- from 10 prs boots.

Tu 16 Feb: To 49 Southampton Row & did not see Hutchison. To Allaways. Ettie lent me 18/-. Paid £6.16.6 to landlords. To Pallisers & we went to Mr Wells about Sarnie.

Wed 17 Feb: To Pallisers & gave him for the tools. To the shop & gave Ettie the 18/- she lent me. Recd a letter from Joshua.

Th 18 Feb: [no entry]

Fri 19 Feb: To Pallisers & posted letters to Hewerd Mills at Accra & Calabar, also to Joshua, Cromwell, Casely Hayford & Vroom. To Earlsfield with Ray.

Sat 20 Feb: With Palliser to Mr Wells’ office & talked about the Sarnie alluvial washing.

Sun 21 Feb: To Peckham to dinner. Orgias & Hansen were there. To Zion Tabernacle.

Mon 22 Feb: 1. Recd a letter from Hutchison. 2. To Hutchison at 11 a.m.. 3. To E & Simmonds & ask them to make the bill of all their work. To the shop – seen Ettie 7 Ray.

Tu 23-Fri 27 Feb: [no entries]

Sat 27 Feb: To Allaways & met Cann & ors [others]. To the shop saw Ettie.. Seen Daisy Garwood in the shop. Recd Bill & letter from E & Simmonds. Given 4 silk hankershiefes [sic] to Ettie.

Sun 28 Feb: To Earlsfield. Given 2 silk hdks to Ray..

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67 ‘It is the custom of the black merchants from the Gold Coast of Africa, who go to London every year to buy goods, to have a commerce or trades dinner at Holborn’s (sic) restaurant, Holborn Street, near Southampton Road, London’. William M. Ferris, *The African abroad*, vol. 2 (New Haven C, 1913), p. 840.

68 Vroom was the name of a well-known elite family in the Gold Coast.
Mon 29 Feb: To Pallisers with the letter about the Sarnie Alluvial washing. To Bartie Corporation\textsuperscript{69} Dashwood house with Orgias their washing on the “Bartie” mine. To Hutchisons. To the shop and Ettie proposed to me for marriage this being leap year.

**Tu 1 Mar 1904:** To Pallisers & we went to Wells & we didn’t see him. To the shop. Hutchison to Pallisers.

Wed 2 Mar: To Pallisers & from thence to Wells & settled ore alluvial Sarnie washing. To the shop. To tea.

Tr 3 Mar: To the shop & saw Ettie.

Fri 4 Mar: To Palliser & he gave me £50 10/- for Bhoma to buy logs. Posted letters to Bhoma, Joshua, Cromwell, Abraham & Pa & Ahuma [Attoh-Ahuma?].\textsuperscript{70}

Sat 5 Mar: To Pallisers with the Commission note to him. To Peckham & saw Cann. Recd a letter from Davis.

Sun 6 Mar: To Peckham from thence to Earlsfield.

Mon 7 Mar: To Pallisers & he was not in the office. I left the sample crushed there to be given him. To the shop & Ettie mended my fur coat for me.

Tu 8 Mar: To Pallisers. I went with him to Liverpool Station for Bury St Edmunds to see Bowles [illeg ‘machinery: check Directory]. We dined Suffolk Arms with Bowles. Returned about 7 pm. I wrote Mrs Cantor for the £30 owed me.

Wed 9 Mar: To Pallisers & the Sarnie alluvial washing with Wells fell through. Mrs Cantor quarrelled with me because I asked her to give me I.O.U. for the £30 she owed me. Posted Maudie, Dot & F?.

Th 10 Mar: To Pallisers. Hutchison was there & talked about his deal. To the shop & saw Ettie. Written Mills, Hamilton & Joshua

Fri 11 Mar: To Bartie’s office & saw Mr Hammond re the 6 properties to some people. To the shop & from thence to Earlsfield to see Ray. Recd 2 letters from Joshua & also Davis.

Sat 12 Mar: To Pallisers & he wasn’t in. To the shop & from thence to Earlsfield & saw Ray.

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\textsuperscript{69} The Bartie Corporation Ltd rented certain of Brem Wilson’s lands in the Gold Coast.

\textsuperscript{70} Samuel Richard Brew Attoh-Ahuma, aka Sam Solomon (1864-1921), Wesleyan minister, journalist and politician, and author of *The Gold Coast Nation and National Consciousness* (London, 1911).
Sun 13 Mar: To Earlsfield. To Peckham & Laidi was with Ribeiro, Allaway, Bart & Hansen & Cann. Ettie home.

Mon 14 Mar 1904: To Pallisers & told him of Joshua & Bahoma letters about gin; also asked him to let me join the Kofehin (?) land.

Tu 15 Mar: To Pallisers & waited for Hutchison who signed to P & Co. to pay me the £4 he owes me.

Wed 16 Mar: Recd letter from Hutchison & National Furnishing Co. To Pallisers & spoke to him about Chemi concession. To Peckham, Cann’s & took a tram ride to Lewisham.

Th 17 Mar: To Peckham & wrote Coast letters with Cann. Wrote to National Furnishing Co in reply to theirs.


Sat 19 Mar: To Earlsfield & stayed there from morning till night. Ray was left at home with the servant. Hand break. I cycled back from Earlsfield.

Sun 20 Mar: To Peckham but I dined at home.

Mon 21 Mar: To Bartie’s office & Mr Hammond told me that Coates trust has written to them to pay to him out of Tansie [not clear]. Given list of properties to be sold to Hammond. To the shop & Ettie gave me R Harris’ address. Also to Peckham and posted Harris – also Mrs Cantor.

Tu 22 Mar: To Lumley’s with Cann from thence to the shop & saw Ettie. To Peckham with Cann. Recd a letter from Mr Chapman about the £4.4 for cost of (?)

Wed 23 Mar: Several time in the shop this morning & did not see any body. Got my coat & shoes from the pawnbrokers. To Canns with my cycle & I cycled back home.

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71 This was one of the Ribeiro brothers, Miguel Francisco Ribeiro (1867-1922), and Henry Francisco (born 1873, from the Gold Coast, who studied at Lincoln’s Inn; Miguel was called to the Bar in 1898 (Times, 5 May 1898, p. 8), while Henry (‘Harry’), also at Lincoln’s Inn (1902-5), was remembered by Charles Francis Hutchison as a close associate along with Vidal Buckle; Hutchison, Pen-pictures, pp. 164-65. Miguel Ribeiro was a member of the Pan-African Association and attended the Pan-African Conference in London in July 1900. In 1901 he was married and living in Streatham Hill, south London, where a daughter was born (Times, 2 July 1901); in August 1902 he attended a banquet in London in honour of Sir Alfred Jones given ‘by representative natives of West Africa now residing in London’ (Times, 20 August 1902, 4; West Africa, 23 August 1902. pp. 161-68). Ribeiro returned to the Gold Coast in 1903; he was practising in the colony’s courts that year, see Gold Coast Leader, 19 December 1903, p. 3. Henry F. Ribeiro was a member of the West African Conference held in Accra in 1920; see MacMillan, Red Book of West Africa, pp. 140 and 226.
Th 24 Mar: To No 11 Buckingham Street & met Ettie & we went to the shop together. I recd a letter from Mr Searle a reply on behalf of Mrs Cantor. To Peckham and taught Cann cycling. Posted a letter to Chapman.

Fri 25 Mar 1904: To Lumley’s office & asked him to see draft of letter I was going to write to Searle re Mrs Cantor’s affairs. To Pallisers & posted letters to Mills, Joshua & Bhoma. To the shop & saw Ettie.

Sat 26 Mar: To Earlsfield & saw Ray & Ettie. Seen Ettie off at the station to the shop and Ray to Fulham. To the shop & from there to Peckham. Ray’s hair cut.

Sun 27 Mar: To Earlsfield did not see any body. From thence to Peckham.

Mon 28 Mar: To Pallisers & Baylies office. To the shop and from thence to Peckham & taught Cann cycling.

Tu 29 Mar: Recd letter from Joshua, Isaac & Cromwell. I wrote J Edgell & Searle & went to his office myself & he took me to luncheon. To the shop.

Wed 30 Mar: Recd letter from Bhoma & Palliser. To Pallisers & from thence to the shop & walked with Ray to the City. To Peckham.

Th 31 Mar: Posted Joshua & Bhoma & forgot to post Jims letter. To Allaway’s & to the shop from thence to Earlsfield & saw Ray. I was there when Ettie & mother came home. I wired Cann to meet me & Ettie.

Fri 1 Apr: To Putney sports with Ettie.

Sat 2 Apr: To Canns Peckham after having been to the shop. To Masonic Hall & slept at Cann’s.

Sun 3 Apr: To Earlsfield. Cann came & slept with me.

Mon 4 Apr: To Earlsfield after having seen Cann to the station at Gower st.

Tu 5 Apr: To the City. Palliser with the letter to Mr Halin’s agency. To Allaways & met Cann & we went to Gower St Station, he going to Liverpool with Mr Macintosh. I took medicine for the first time – cold. Was examined by Dr Cater.

Wed 6 Apr: I recd a letter from Cann L’pool that he has been engaged to go to Africa with Macintosh ? for £25 a month. I did not go to the City.

Th 7 Apr: Asked A.S. Cann for the Bangle. Recd postcards from Ettie & R.F. Davis and telegram from Cann. Met Ettie at Buckingham place. To Earlsfield & back home. Did not see Cann.
Fri 8 Apr: To Pallisers & had a copy of the Agency Agreement from them posted to Bhoma. To Peckham (Canns).

Sat 9 Apr: To Earlsfield. Recd 2 letters from Bhoma about 11.00 P.M. in the night.

Sun 10 Apr 1904: To Peckham to tea.

Mon 11 Apr: To Hammonds. To Pallisers & gin shipped to C. Konny, Chama. With Cann to the mansions & Lumleys. To Earlsfield & was not comfortable.

Tu 12 Apr: To Charing X Bank & drew £3.00 (three pounds). To Lumleys with Cann & asked him to draw Prinosley (?) Agreement.

Wed 1 Apr: To Pallisers & Cann signed agreement about £100 goods to be shipped to him. To Earlsfield – cycled with Ettie to Wimbledon woods, Ray & Mrs Cantor walked there at the same. They did not give me breakfast.

Th 14 Apr: To Lumleys with Cann & fixed the agreement to be signed tomorrow. To Palliser’s with Cann. To Earlsfield – given copies of letters to R. Harris & Foron. R Harris to Mrs Cantor. Cycled with Ray.

Fri 15 Apr: Signed power of attorney to Cann also signed Partnership Agreement with Cann at Lumleys. Posted a letter to Regie, Paris. I saw Cann off at Euston station midnight with others. To Oxford. Ansichall with Cann.

Sat 16 Apr: Recd a wire from Cann & I sent him one. He went away by S.S. Sobo. To Pallisers & gave him the agreement he made with Cann. To Earlsfield & cycled with Ettie to Balham while Mrs Cantor & Ray walked.

Sun 17 Apr: To Earlsfield. Ettie went to Barnes

Mon 18 Apr: Recd letters from Pa and Regie Harris. To Pallisers – recd a letter from Bhoma. Met Ettie at Buckingham place. Went to luncheon with her at the Vegetarian in St Martin’s Lane.

Tu 19 Apr: To the City with Orgias to Allaway for Cann’s 500 shares. We gave a receipt for them. To Earlsfield & cycled with Ettie. Told Ray & Ettie that I recd a letter from Regie about the bangle & the rings.

Wed 20 Apr: To Mr Searle’s & he was not in; left a message. To Lumley’s and got the Agreement made with Cann & also some fibre from Africa. I saw Linda & she told me not to write to Dot again.

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72 Ship of the Elder Dempster line.
Th 21 Apr: To Earlsfield with my cycle. I did not speak to Mrs Cantor about the rings.

Fri 22 Apr: To Pallisers & met Hutchison and talked about my Commissions which he promised to pay us? Next week £3.10/-.

**Sat 23 Apr 1904**: To Searle & asked him to make agreement between myself & Arkah. To Earlsfield cycled. A Cab pushed me down and rode on my foot at North-end Road about 11.50 p.m.

Sun 24 Apr: To Earlsfield – cycled with Ettie to Wimbledon with Eda.

Mon 25 Apr: To the City – see Palliser & also Allaway & Arkah. To Earlsfield - cycled with Ray to Woking Common. I posted letters to Regie and his wife.

Tu 26 Apr: Recd letters from P, Joe & W.E. Hamilton, Mr & Mrs J.W. Abraham. To Earlsfield & Ettie was not well. Madam Townend & Mrs Garwood were there.

Wed 27 Apr: Cycled to Earlsfield & Ettie kept a bed all day. I cycled with Ray to the woods.

Th 28 Apr: To Earlsfield & Ettie was up & she went to bed early. Ray was smoking cigarettes all the time.

Fri 29 Apr: Posted Bhoma, Abraham, Hamilton, Joshua & Pa. To Pallisers. To Searle & he said he would? To Kensington Town Hall & heard a lecture given by the Revd Cantel. Recd a letter from J.D. Hanson – Cann’s.

Sat 30 Apr: To Earlsfield & Mrs Cantor had a row with me because Searle had written her about our affairs.

Sun 1 May: To Earlsfield. Daisy & Sweetheart Eda also Tom McCarthy were there.

Mon 2 May: To Searle’s – he introduced me to Mrs Barnard & daughter & some person took us to tea. To Walham Green & saw Florie.

Tu 3 May: Recd letter from Mills – Calabar. To Palliser’s & me thought how to write to him. To Searles & saw the agmnt drawn. To Earlsfield.

Wed 4 May: To Allaway’s & he told me about Cann’s cheque. To Palliser’s & he showed me Joshua’s letter & indent. To Earlsfield. Letter from Searle.
Th 5 May: To Searle’s & fixed the Agrmt for Arkah’s signature. To Exeter hall⁷³ and heard lecture. To Arkah’s rooms at Brixton.

Fri 6 May: To Searles & from thence to Allaway’s and from to Pallisers & wrote letter to Mills, Jos. & Bhoma. Palliser paid me £3 10/- on Hutchison’s a/c for my Commission.

Sat 7 May 1904: Loyds(sic) Bank Fenchurch St Corner for £0. 10/-. To Searle with Arkah and he did not sign the Agreement. To Earlsfield.

Sun 8 May: To Earlsfield – biked.


Tu 10 May: To Palliser & talked about the Hotopo land. £500 cash for wash manager’s after 1 year £500 and £1000 a year after 2 years, then tools & c & machinery to be found by partners who divi’d profits equally with me – also about my mortgages. To Earlsfield, cycled. To Searle & paid £35.

Wed 11 May: To E & Simmonds & got the Ashong & Braces contract relative to the mortgages. To Allaways & talked to Green about his business & got coco nut fibre from ?. To Palliser’s & Co’s. with Ashong & Braces to them – met Hutchison there. To Earlsfield – cycled with Ettie to Barnes Common & back to Earlsfield.

Th 12 May: To Kittel⁷⁴ & he asked me to make appointment to bring Hutchison. To Palliser. To Earlsfield cycled with Ettie to the woods.

Fri 13 May: To Palliser & Co & had the Agreement signed by Arkah witnessed by Buckle & Palliser. To Orgias & enquired if the people are open to buy Hirman concessions. Palliser paid £6 to Arkah & got his deeds as security. To Earlsfield cycled.

Sat 14 May: To Palliser’s with Arkah’s Powr of attorney. Also to Taylor’s (Collyer’s) to sign about Fletchers a/c with Palliser. To the library & read.

Sun 15 May: To Arkah’s rooms & got the £1. To Earlsfield & cycled with Ettie to Arkahs.

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⁷³ Exeter Hall, building off The Strand, London, built in 1829-31, used as a nonsectarian hall for religious and humanitarian meetings, for which it became a byword. Acquired by the Young Men’s Christian Association in 1880; demolished in 1907.

⁷⁴ Possibly Theodore B. Kittel, a German born naturalized Briton, then a 44 year-old merchant living in Hampstead.
Mon 16 May: To Palliser’s office & got my mortgage papers from him. Recd a letter from Searle. I saw Howel also E & Simmonds about Brace & Ashong’s shares.

Tu 17 May: To the City. To Howel’s & arranged to meet at E & Simmonds. To Palliser’s. To Earlsfield, cycled.

Wed 18 May: To Pallisers & gave him Brace & Ashong’s papers. To Searle’s & showed him Arkah’s signature. To Earlsfield, cycled – heard the tap running when leaving the house.

Th 19 May 1904: To Allaways. To Howel’s made appointment to meet at Simmonds at 10.30 tomorrow. To Palliser’s twice & did not meet him in the office. To Earlsfield cycled with Ettie to the woods. Mrs CantoR asked all to go to bed.

Fri 20 May: To E & S with Howel & settled the Brace washing affairs to be completed soon. To Palliser & signed the 1/5 [one fifth] of the Brace & Ashong’s affair. To Earlsfield & cycled with Ettie.

Sat 21 May: To Charing X to Lumleys & he asked me to pay for Cann’s flat. Redeemed 2 gold rings 24/8. To Earlsfield.

Sun 22 May: To Earlsfield.

Mon 23 May: Mr Morison (Cann’s landlord) came here & saw me about the £3.10 he gave. To the Exhibition with Greene & his girls.

Tu 24 May: Recd letters from Bhomas, Joshua & Cann (W.A). To Pallisers & from thence to Lumleys & £7 10/- to him for Cann’s flat. To Earlsfield. Said I wanted to talk to Mrs Cantor & she did not come down.

Wed 25 May: To the Library. To Earlsfield cycled – Ettie went to Daisie Garwood’s & cycled to Thames Ditton.

Th 26 May: To Allaway’s & talked with Greene. To Mrs Morrison’s at Peckham Rd. To Earlsfield, cycled.

Fri 27 May: To Lumley’s & he asked to return there again in the afternoon. To Pallisers & posted letter to Cromwell, Bhoma, Cann & Money. Did not see Greene today. Recd a letter from Coates receivers.

Sat 28 May: To E & S with the Receiver’s letter. Greene came here & I went to the City with him. To Westminster Hotel to see the Alake’s secty & the Prince. [is that Ansah?] To Earlsfield cycled.

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75 Zachary Taylor Greene, a fellow Gold Coaster and business associate of TBW.
Sun 29 May: To Earlsfield, cycled with Edie & Ettie to Garwoods.

**Mon 30 May 1904**: To Pallisers & got a little sample to give to the Alake. To E & S & asked them to write the Receiver (Coates in Liquidation).

Tu 31 May: ‘Westminster Palace Hotel & saw the scty [secretary]77 & the Alake and also Mr Blaise (sic)78 & was asked to go there on Sunday.

Wed 1 June: To Pallisers and phoned Coates about the goods in 1900 and he denied. See Greene and gave him £3. Got Ettie’s watch from the shop in New St (1/6).

Th 2 June: To Palliser’s with Greene & spoke Greene’s affairs. To Orgia’s office. Cycled to Earlsfield & left my bicycle there & walked home. Letter from Ray this morning. Touched Lillie’s hair [this is written above]

Fri 3 June: Letter from Ray & postcard from Greene. I wrote Ray & posted it this morning. To Palliser’s. Seen Greene. Got clothes. With Ray to Earlsfield Station had dinner & to Charing Cross. RM.

Sat 4 June: Recd letter from J.D. Hanson & I replied to it this morning. To Palliser. I got my season ticket. With Ray to Hammersmith.

Sun 5 June: Greene came here. I went to see the Alake. To Earlsfield.

Mon 6 June: Recd letter from Jos, Jim, Pa, John Arkhurst & Cann. To Pallisers & saw the sample box which Jos shipped. To Earlsfield & got my bicycle.

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78  Richard Beale Blaize (1845-1904) born in Freetown, worked as an apprentice printer, and then came to Lagos in 1862 where he became a government printer. A wealthy businessman and merchant, he left his six children nearly £90,000. He founded and owned the *Lagos Times*. Blaize made frequent visits to London, e.g. in June 1902 when he stayed first at the Temple Hotel and then moved to No.1 Richmond Mansions, South Kensington. *Gold Coast Globe and Ashanti Argus*, 24 June 1902, p. 709, and 1 July 1902, p. 735. See A.G. Hopkins, ‘Richard Beale Blaize, 1845-1904: merchant prince of West Africa’, *Tarikh* 1, 2 (1965), pp. 70-79.
Tu 7 June: To Pallisers with Greene & also with Greene to Allaways and he tore the Agreement in his presence. Recd letter from E & S, Lumley, Buckle.  

Wed 8 June: To the Alake this morning. Greene came in my rooms & we talked about the two properties. To E & S also to Orgia’s and Lumleys. To Earlsfield cycled. Ettie went under operation - nose & throat.

**Th 9 June 1904:** To Lumleys & asked him to make agreement between Greene & me. Seen Buckle at the Common room, Gray’s Inn. With Ray from Charing X to Earlsfield & returned EM.

Fri 10 June: To Pallisers with Greene & from thence to Lumley’s & asked him to write Allaway for the copies of the Leases. With Ray to Kew & returned.

Sat 11 June: To Zion for ticket for the meeting. To Greene’s rooms & talked about business. To Earlsfield from Waterloo St.

Sun 12 June: To Zion Tabernacle at 3 pm & heard Dowie. To Greene’s rooms & business. Earlsfield on byke (sic).

Mon 13 June: Recd letters from Joshua, Nancy, for Tommy Ana & John Arkhurst. To Willie Essien’s rooms & also saw Greene to Palliser’s & left him there. To Zion Tabernacle at 3 p.m. & heard Overseer Excel. To Green’s again & wrote General Overseer [Alexander Dowie].

Tu 14 June 1904: To Palliser’s & got some of the sample quartz & took it to Zion Tabernacle & left in care of the Revd Cantel for Elder Clibbon. To Lumley’s with

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79 Vidal James Buckle (1880-1920), one of the sons of James Buckle (d. 1901) a Gold Coast merchant, then a student at Gray’s Inn to which he had been admitted in November 1901.

80 John Alexander Dowie (1847-1907), founder of the Zion church in Zion City, IL. Alexander Dowie (see fn 73) was due to speak at the Zion chapel on 12 June and because his earlier provocative sermons had resulted in disturbances both inside and outside the building, entry to the meeting was by ticket only.

81 See Philip Lee Cook, *Zion City Illinois: Twentieth century utopia* (Syracuse NY, 1996), and Grant Wacker, ‘Marching to Zion: Religion in a modern Utopian community’, *Church History*, 54, 4 (1985), pp. 496-511. Dowie visited London in 1900, in 1903, and again in 1904 as part of his world tour. While in Australia he made what the *Times* called ‘disrespectful references to King Edward’ (who was widely referred to as ‘Edward the Caresser’) and in London he met with considerable hostility from a large crowd in the streets outside the Zion Tabernacle, Euston Road, where he went to preach. *The Times*, 14 June 1904, 12c. According to the *New York Times*, 13 June 1904, in a report dated 12 June, Dowie arrived at 10.30 am, and left with his wife and son Gladstone at 9 o’clock. Dowie, who was staying at the Hotel Cecil under another name, was asked to leave by the management. Dowie returned to London in September 1905; he preached at Zion Tabernacle on ‘Should engaged couples kiss one another?’, to which he and Cantel said emphatically ‘no’. *New York Times*, 10 September 1905.

82 Arthur Booth-Clibborn (1855-1939), married Catherine, the daughter of General William Bramwell Booth founder of the Salvation Army and changed his name to Booth-Clibborn. Booth-Clibborn and his wife Catherine joined Dowie’s Christian Catholic Church in 1902, he having previously been the Salvation
draft agreem’t form – Greenes. Written Ray on Postcard. Palliser showed me Mill’s cablegram 43 of the 20 casks palm oil.

Wed 15 June: Greene came to my place & we went to the Library. I took the order of Survey to Lumley having recd from Greene. With Ray to tea at Earlscourt & rode on the tram to Wimbledon & back.

**Th 16 June 1904:** To Pallisers with Greene. To Lumley’s with Greene. To Earlsfield to see Ettie.

Fri 17 June: To Pallisers with Greene. To Lumleys with Greene. Posted Heward Mills & Cromwell, Bhoma. With Ray to Earlscourt & to the Kensington Gradens. Postcard to Greene.

Sat 18 June: To Pallisers & received letter from Bhoma, Arkhurst & Pa. To Earlscourt with Ray.

Sun 19 June: To Earlsfield ‘Right in this time’.


Tu 21 June: Gave Lillie 2 bangles (10/6) at 1.56 [p.m. ?] To Palliser’s & telephoned to Howell, E & S and also Coates. To Zion & Lumley’s. With Ray to Earlsfield – and Ettie & Ray quarrelled because Ray spoke ill of me.

Wed 22 June: Recd letter from Ray. Replied to Ray’s letter. To Pallisers & saw Arkah. With Ray to Greenwich & she was going to jump out of the train (?). I posted a letter to the Revd Clibbon about my properties.

Th 22 June: To Pallisers. To Earlscourt with Ray. To Arkhursts rooms & he was not there. Recd a letter from Elder Clibbon.

Fri 24 June: Posted Cann, Joshua, Pa, J. Arkhurst, Anderson & Bhoma & Tom & Nkekia. To Zion & saw Clibbon. To Earfield to see Ettie.

Sat 25 June: To Westminster Palace Hotel to see Mr Edun & the Alake & made appointment to see them on Tuesday with Palliser. I told Palliser. With Ray to Hammersmith.

Sun 26 June: To Earlsfield – Ray took poison chlorodyne owing to a quarrel between Ettie & her about me. There was a mob.

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Army’s Commissioner in Switzerland. They were ordained as Zionist elders, but in 1906 they left Dowie’s church and became independent Pentecostal preachers.
Mon 27 June: To Pallisers & wrote a letter to Mr. A. Edun, Alake’s secretary. Seen Ray but not to speak to as I was with Greene.

Tu 28 June: Recd a letter from Ray. To see the Alake with Mr Palliser & we were nicely received. Palliser gave a Commission note for the work done. Written Ray.

Wed 29 June: I cabled to Dowie Zion City this morning for £50 – no reply. To Pallisers, Greenes & Lumleys. To Earlsfield but nobody was in.

Th 30 June 1904: Letters from Cann, Cromwell & Dofah. Recd a letter from E & S about Ashong & Braces affair. I went to the city & gave it to Palliser. To Earlsfield but Mrs Cantor asked me not to stop her house any more & so I returned – very very sorry I could [not] get to speak with Ettie.

Fri 1 July: Recd a letter from Ettie and I replied to it. To Pallisers & wrote to Cann, Joshua & Cromwell.

Sat 2 July: Recd a postcard from Ettie. Letter from Greene. I met Ettie at Walham Greene (sic) station & took her to the Earlscourt Exhibition. Greene removed to his house.

Sun 3 July: With Greene to Bishops Park & back.

Mon 4 July: Recd an invitation card from the Alake of Abeokuta. To the Alake with Greene & back. Met Ettie at Walham Green Station & took her High St for her (?)

Tu 5 July: To Palliser’s & spoke to him about Greene’s partners coming to England. To the Alake’s At Home at Westminster Palace Hotel.

Wed 6 July: To Charing Cross with Greene & he went to Brighton with his sweetheart. I saw Yankah of Appawasu. Recd a postcard from Ettie.

Th 7 July: To the City with Greene. Bibiana people. From thence to Palliser. With Ettie cycling to the wood & had tea. Telegram from Revd Cantel to go to Euston Rd up to 10 p.m.

Fri 8 July: EM I went to Zion & was told £50 has been produced by the General Overseer to be given to me. To Pallisers. To Earlsfield & cycled with Ettie.

Sat 9 July: To the Exhibition [Earlscourt?] with Ettie & had her statue made in clay for 10/6.

Sun 10 July: To Zion with Greene. To Earlsfield & rode on an electric tram with Ettie to Westminster.

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83 Probably the Italian Exhibition which started in late May 1904.
Mon 11 July: To the City & saw Allaway, also Palliser. Met Ettie in High St Kensington & arranged to buy her a dress. Greene’s friend Mr Joseph Mensah arrived London from Liverpool.

Tu 12 July: To the city with Greene & Mensah. Met Ettie at High St & bought a dress for her.

Wed 13 July: To Palliser’s with Greene & Mensah & from thence to Old Jewry St solicitors.

Th 14 July 1904: To Zion & got my ticket for New York. I met Ray & her friends in Villiers St – she did not speak to me. With Ettie to High St train to Aldgate & back to Walham Green. Earlsfield with her from Waterloo.

Fri 15 July: To Pallisers & bade goodby (sic) to him. To Alloways got my Leases. Recd a note from Ettie. The S.S. Lucania\textsuperscript{84} sails about 4.30.

Sat 16 July: Cab to Euston with Haluish. Wired Ettie (Earlsfield) and Greene (L’pool). Arrived at Liverpool 10.45 train at 2.35 P.M. Lucania sailed about 4.30 P.M. sent a wire to Ettie through Greene.

Sun 17 July: The Lucania called at Queenstown.

Mon 18 July: I was removed to the upper room this afternoon without extra charge.

19-21 July: (no entries).\textsuperscript{85}

Fri 22 July: The Lucania arrived New York about 9 P.M..

Sat 23 July: Lucania landed passengers New York this morning about 8 o’clock. Seen Zion Representative here who took very fine care of me. Introduced me to Dr Speicher.\textsuperscript{86} Started by train 8.30 P.M. from New York to Chicago by train.

Sun 24 July: Arrived Chicago about 9.30 P.M. Slept here in a hotel ($1).

\textsuperscript{84} The Cunard Line’s ‘Lucania’, 12,952 tons, sister ship of the Campania, steel constructed in Glasgow 1893. It had places for 600 first class, 400 second class, and 1,000 third class passengers.

\textsuperscript{85} According to Zion Banner, 16 August 1904, p. 376, Deacon and Deaconess R.A. Beetlestone - he had engineering interests in Cambridge – were fellow passengers with Brem-Wilson. It also reported that it was a rough voyage for part of the way.

\textsuperscript{86} John G. Speicher, homeopathic physician; met Dowie while he was student of theology at the University of Chicago. Commissioner of Health, Zion City, where he was also an Overseer, essentially second in rank to Dowie. He was removed from office by Dowie in January 1905 but reinstated after Dowie’s departure the next year.
Mon 25 July: Arrived Zion City (train 9 A.M.) at 10.40.87 I wrote the General Overseer about my arrival. I had a card to call on Col. Stern88 the next morning 10 o’clock.

**Tu 26 July 1904:** The General Overseer89 saw me & shook hands with me & asked me to go & lunch with him at 12.15 A.M. which I did & and was nicely treated. He gave me $30 as pocket money & a man took me round the City.

Wed 27 July: I went to see the College.90 I went to Shiloh Tabernacle91 meeting held by the General Overseer.

Th 28 July: Written letter to my father, Joshua, Joe & Bhoma (W. Africa). I phoned Judge Barnes & I went out to have interview with him.92 I went again & had general interview with him & Deacon Barnard while the type writer was taking everything I said down.93

Fr 29 July: I posted a letter to Greene (registered) £4 cheque enclosed. I took quartz samples to Judge Barnes also the Bibiani report. The youngman94 took me for a ride to the Lace industries.95

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87 Brem-Wilson’s arrival was recorded in *Zion Banner*, Tuesday 26 July 1904, p. 353. The edition of 16 August, p. 374, mentions that he was in Zion City as the guest of Dr Dowie.

88 Carl F. Stern (d.1905), City Marshall of Zion City. A former Chicago city policeman, saloon keeper and a drunkard, was converted as a result of hearing Dowie preach. His wife Ida was private secretary to Jane Dowie.

89 Dowie returned to Zion City on 30 June 1904 from a world tour which included London.

90 Zion College opened in February 1904.

91 Shiloh Temple was built in 1902 to seat 5,200; it was enlarged in 1904 to hold 7,300.

92 Visscher V. Barnes, educated at Yale University, practised and taught law in Chicago. In 1900 he was a prohibition candidate for Governor of Illinois. With his wife he came to Zion City in March 1902 where he was appointed by Dowie at Solicitor-General and later the Judge of the Zion City Court of Arbitration.

93 Charles J. Barnard, cashier of Zion City Bank, and later the author of a critical account of Dowie’s management of Zion City, from which Barnes departed in February 1905; for a biographical sketch see *Leaves of Healing*, 11 March 1899, pp. 365-66.

94 At the end of the 1904 diary, Brem Wilson notes: ‘Fredk Staley, George B Staley (Father). This Youngman saw me off to the station from Chicago, very kind & good of him.’ See *Leaves of Healing*, 27 May 1899, p. 599.

95 Samuel Stevenson, a lace manufacturer of Beeston, Nottingham, read a copy of *Leaves of Healing* and, along with other members of his family, became interested in Dowie’s work. Stevenson visited Chicago and was captured by the idea of a Christian city. In 1899 he brought his business to Zion City where he was ordained a deacon in Spring 1900. He married Mary, Dowie’s sister-in-law, in July 1900 but she died on board ship homeward bound from a visit to England in December of that year. Lace makers had been recruited in England but not all of them adapted to the moral rigours of Zion City. A rift opened between Stevenson and Dowie over the Chief Overseer’s claim that he not only owned the lace factory but that he
Sat 30 July: No entry.

Sun 31 July: ‘I attended 6.30 a.m. meeting at the Tabernacle & also at 2.30. Doctor [Dowie] sent to me & asked me to go on Monday with him.

**Mon 1 Aug 1904:** The wind blew my panama hat off. Posted a letter to Palliser. We started by train & got to Chicago the Youngman took me to Lincoln Park. We joined the ? to Ben Macdhui. The last stop was Muskegan.

Tu 2 Aug: At Ben Macdhui this morning and the General Overseer’s secy’s electric boat came along for him & went to Montague & tents were pitched.

Wed 3 Aug: I went fishing with Freeman in the lake & we did not [catch] a bite. Mrs Webb tells me she is Pomade Manufacturer.

Th 4 Aug: Myself & the Band. Went to Ben Macdui. I was made a Drum Major. I was brought back with the ladies in the Doctor’s yacht by the Doctor himself.

Fri 5 Aug: I was invited by Dr Dowie to Ben MacDhui to lunch with his wife & son & was detained there for supper: then he had a very long interview with me about my properties. [this entry is crossed out and written below for Sat 6 July]

Sat 6 Aug: I was invited by Dr Dowie to Ben MacDhui to lunch with him & wife & son & and also detained there to supper. Then he had a long interview with me about my properties. I returned home about 11. p.m.

Sun 7 Aug: To Ben MacDhui for morning (11.00) service conducted by the G.O [General Overseer]. At 3 P.M. meeting at the Church conducted by Dr Gladstone Dowie.

Mon 8 Aug: I went to the other side of the lake with Freeman & saw a saw mill working – very interesting & on our going to Montague we met the Doctor & his family in their electric launch. We went again to Muskegan by train & saw a big saw mill sawing

should have a major hand in directing it. In the summer of 1901 Stevenson ceased being manager of the factory; he was expelled from Zion Church and subsequently won a court case for substantial financial restitution. Brem-Wilson knew Stevenson; in October 1907 he lent Brem-Wilson, via a mortgage agreement, £1,000. A copy of this agreement is with the family (TBW1). Stevenson left his financial interests to the Unevangelized Fields Mission.

96 Ben MacDhui: Dowie’s country house on White Lake, near Montague, Michigan, bought by him in 1898.

97 Dowie married his cousin Jane Dowie in Adelaide, Australia, in May 1876. They had three children: Gladstone, Jeannie, and Esther. Jeannie died as a child, while Esther died of burns resulting from an accident while she was a student at the University of Chicago in the spring of 1902. Gladstone trained as a lawyer. Jane Dowie was an Overseer at Zion City.
several logs of timber. We walked in the city – fine sight. I prayed in the Camp prayer meeting.

Tu 9 Aug: With Freeman in a trap to the country farms where we had luncheon with 3 sisters & some boys to the lake Michigan side steep hill & back home.

Wed 10 Aug: I asked prayers to be offered for me in the Camp prayer meeting. To Ben Macdhui with the band and the G. Overseer. Took us for a ride in his electric launch & home. He gave me letter from the Gold Coast to read.

Th 11 Aug 1904: The band (Zion) played at Montague this night. I went with them.

Fri 12 Aug: To Ben MacDhui by the Doctor’s invitation & had lunch with Deacon Stern & ors [others]. The Doctor goes to Zion City.

Sat 13 Aug: We arrived at Zion City about quarter to 8 o’clock by steamer from Ben MacDhui with the Zion Band.98

Sun 14 Aug: To the morning service conducted by the G.O., and also at 2.30.

Mon 15 Aug: I was introduced to Governor Wilson Zion City organist (in tabernacle). I went to the Tabernacle to see the Restorationist’s meeting.

Tu 16 Aug: I gave Mrs Ware an interview for the Zion Banner.99

Wed 17 Aug: I have given another interview Mrs Ware.

Th 18 Aug: No entry.

Fri 19 Aug: I was invited by the General Overseer to lunch in Shiloh House.100 There were Deacon New & Miss Shillum, the stenographist, at table with us. We (myself & Toombs) went to choir practice at Shiloh Tabernacle.

Sat 20 Aug: Dr Brister began to fix my teeth with gold (upper front teeth). Out for a rake ride round town with Freeman Hachenl. To Mr & Mrs Mayfield’s house & Miss Pearl Mayfield played the piano & sang beautifully.

Sun 21 Aug: To early morning meeting conducted by the General Overseer, also the evening service by the G.O [General Overseer].

98 Zion City had many musical organisations, the Zion Orchestra, the Zion Band, and a choir that ranged from 500 to 1,000 voices.

99 Zion Banner, the weekly newspaper produced by Dowie at Zion City; the interview has not been found.

100 Shiloh House, the three storeyed house built for Dowie in 1902. Since 1967 it has been the home of the Shiloh Historical Society.
Mon 22 Aug: I received a letter from Messrs Palliser of London. I was invited Mr & Mrs Nelson’s at home where there several people in which Organist Wilson’s father himself & wife were there. I thoroughly enjoyed myself.

Tu 23 July: Dr Brister finished my teeth this morning. To Zion Divine Healing meeting in the Tabernacle conducted by the G.O.

Wed 24 Aug: To the rally conducted by the G.O. I fasted this evening.

Th 25 Aug 1904: This morning fasting & I broke at 6 P.M. I spoke to Dr Stern about my wanting money.

Fri 26 Aug: Dr Stern brought me the $30 this morning.

Sat 27 Aug: (no entry)

Sun 28 Aug: To the Tabernacle Early Morning Service by the G.O. In the evening at 3 by the G.O.

Mon 29 Aug: I and Freeman arrived at Saint Louis about 7 OC PM. To Christian Endeavour Hotel.101 I was refused admittance because I am black. 102

Tu 30 Aug: We went to the Fair Ground and inspected the saw mills & other places also the sawings.

Wed 31 Aug: To the Fair Grounds & saw the Forestry & many other things.103

101 Dowie mentioned this in a talk on ‘Interrmarriage’, see Leaves of Healing 4 September 1904, also reported in two African American newspapers: Rising Sun (Kansas City, MO), 16 September 1904, p. 1; and also the Daily Progress (Petersburg, VA), 6 September 1904, p. 1, which stated that ‘Brother Wilson, a negro, one of Dowie’s followers, was recently refused a lodging at the Christian Endeavor hotel …’.

Christian Endeavor societies, an organisation formed for the purpose of promoting spiritual life among young people, founded in the United States in 1881; it was especially active in non-Episcopal and dissenting churches, and by 1904 the CE was an international organisation with over two million members worldwide.


103 Dowie’s Zion church had a stall or presence at the St. Louis World’s Fair, Missouri, an international exposition to celebrate the centenary of the Louisiana Purchase by the United States; see Leaves of Holiness, 19 December 1904, p. 246. The Fair, which occupied a 1200 acre site, opened on 30 April 1904 and ran until 1 December. Among the many exhibits which Brem Wilson might have seen were a military spectacle with re-enactments of battles in the recent South African War (1899-1902), and ‘human zoos’ that displayed Asian and African peoples in ‘native villages’. One of the ‘exhibits’ was Ota Benga from central Africa, see Phillips Verner Bradford and Harvey Blume, Ota Benga: the pygmy in the zoo (New York, 1992); Fabrice Delsahut, ‘The 1904 Anthropological Games’, in Pascal Blanchard et. al., eds, Human Zoos. Science and spectacle in the age of colonial empires (Liverpool: Liverpool U.P., 2008), pp. 294-306.
Th 1 Sept: We went to the Fair Ground also the Foundry. I posted Ettie (London) and Palliser (London) tonight after our return from fair Grounds.

Fri 2 Sept: We arrived in Zion City about 9.30 P.M. - & I was put in a different room.

Sat 3 Sept: I received from Deacon Stern a cablegram sent there by Greene demanding me for £20.

Sun 4 Sept: To the Tabernacle both morning 7 afternoon. I partook of the Lord’s Supper.

Mon 5 Sept 1904: I was invited by Miss Pearl Edith Mayfield to Dinner. She did all the cooking, very nice too. I went to the College Building meeting of the Opening School.

Tu 6 Sept: To Divine Healing meeting G.O.

Wed 7 Sept: Opening College address by the G.O this morning at the College Building. I had a long interview with the General Overseer – He spoke to me of (⅓) profit to come to me. Rally for Special Declaration made by the G.O.

Th 8 Sept: To Judge Barnes’ office & he had the agreement between myself & the General Overseer. Took the order given me by the G.O. to Deacon Peckham104 to execute. To Miss Pearl Mayfield’s with Toombs & she played the piano to us. She & her mother gave me flowers. I posted a registered letter to Joshua.

Fri 9 Sept: No entry.

Sat 10 Sept: I posted a registered letter to Joshua (Gold Coast).

Sun 11 Sept: To both today’s services conducted by the G.O. To Miss Pearl Edith Mayfield and heard her play.

Mon 12 Sept: To Restorationist’s meeting in Shiloh Tabernacle conducted by G.O. & S. Lee.

Tu 13 Sept: To the College & watch Elder Cassel teach Hebrew & Greek. To Mrs Mayfield’s & she told me that Miss Pearl was very much disappointed that we did not go to Mr. Tileman’s(?). Heard of Mrs Collins death.

Wed 14 Sept: No entry.

Th 15 Sept: The Funeral Service of Mrs Collins conducted by G.O. at the Hospice & her remains also carried to the cemetery. To Mr & Mrs Lillie’s with Toombs. Mr & Mrs Mayfield ? did enjoy ourselves well today.

104 William S. Peckham, assistant cashier of Zion Bank.
Fri 16 Sept: I went to the College School with Toombs both morning & afternoon. To the Choir practice at the Tabernacle.

Sat 17 Sept: No entry.

Sun 18 Sept 1904: Mrs Mayfield refused my taking Miss Pearl to Dinner at the Restaurant Elijah Hospice. The Declaration of the Apostleship of the General Overseer was made today. Met Miss Washington & brought her to the Hospice.

Mon 19 Sept: The Agreement was entered into between myself & the First Apostle Dr Dowie in the presence of Judge Barnes & others. To Miss Pearl’s with Toombs & Miss Washington to hear her play the piano.

Tu 20 Sept: To Dr Bernard & got 130 dollars. Bought few things from the Stores. Invited by Mr & Mrs Johnson, went with Toombs, Misses Pearl Mayfield & Washington putting their arms in mine.

Wed 21 Sept: Started from Zion City & stayed at Mrs Webb’s & had my hair done. Freeman returned to Zion Cy. I started to Buffalo by Pullman Car.

Th 22 Sept: Arrived at Buffalo at 4 P.M. I went to Niagara Falls by car & returned to join the West Shore (NY) train.

Fri 23 Sept: Arrived New York about 10 A.M. and walked thro’ the city & then went aboard the Lucania.

Sat 24-Tu 27 Sept: (no entries)

Wed 28 Sept: I saw Ana Aha at a concert on board the 2nd class?

Th 29 Sept: (no entry)

Fri 30 Sept: Arrived Liverpool.

Sat 1 Oct: Arrived London rooms about 11.30 A.M.

Sun 2 Oct: To Euston Rd Zion Tabernacle & heard Cantel in the morning & in the night.

Mon 3 Oct: No entry.

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105 Elijah Hospice, a four storey hotel opened in July 1902; it contained 350 rooms, initially constructed to accommodate the crowds expected to attend the second Feast of Tabernacles, it became a centre for social and cultural affairs in Zion City.

106 Dowie’s proclamation before 7,000 people in the Shiloh Temple that he was the ‘First Apostle of the Lord Jesus, the Christ, in the Christian Apostolic Church in Zion, who is also Elijah, the Prophet of the Restoration of All Things’. See Cook, Zion City, pp. 171-4.
Tu 4 Oct: To Palliser & Co - & saw Hutchison. To the Revd Cantel’s.

Wed 5 Oct: (no entry)

Th 6 Oct 1904: To Bromley to see Ettie & returned. Met Mrs Garwood there.

Fri 7 Oct: To Bromley to see Ettie & returned.

Sat 8 Oct: To Bromley to see Ettie.

Sun 9 -Tu 11 Oct: (no entries)

Wed 12 Oct: Paid Emanuel & Simmonds £400 and redeemed the deeds in their possession.

Th 13 Oct: (no entry)

Fri 14 Oct: E & Simmonds gave me a reconveyance of the Mortgage.

Sat 15 Oct: To Newmarket & saw Ettie. To the Hall & saw Ettie as Fifi.

Sun 16 Oct: Caught fresh cold at the Heath.

Mon 17 Oct: Returned to London very ill of fever.

Tu 18 Oct: (no entry)

Wed 19 Oct: The Doctor came to see me. Greene brought the fowl I asked him to buy (3/6).

Th 20 Oct: Greene & Mensah were here.

Fri 21 Oct: Deacon Rush was here and prayed with me. He told me I have £250 waiting for me. I ask God today to help me.

Sat 22 Oct: No entry.

Sun 23 Oct: Ettie visited me about 12.30 A.M. & went to her family’s about 5 P.M.

Mon 24 Oct: Ettie visited me about 11.30 in the morning & went away about 3 P.M. to Kettering.
Tu 25 Oct: I went out this morning – also to the Bank of B.W. Africa & cabled Joshua £20 1[s] 4[d] for costs. Also to Zion & claimed the £250.

Wed 26 Oct: Greene came here & asked me to pay him a thousand pounds for speaking to Mensah about the properties & I refused to pay him that amt.

Th 27 Oct 1904: I did not go out today being foggy. Posted Ettie & also Greene.


Sat 29 Oct: To Hamstead (sic) Rd & bought Coral neclet (sic) (8/6). To Greene & Mensah’s.

Sun 30 Oct: Only Porridge. To Caledonian Baths & saw Mensah going to be baptised.108

Mon 31 Oct – Fri 4 Nov: (no entries)

Sat 5 Nov: I removed from 78 Sedlescombe Rd to 21 Saint Oswalds Rd about 7.30 P.M.109

Sun 6 Nov: To Zion Tabernacle both services.

Mon 7 Nov: I paid Messrs Palliser & Co £5 more to be £60 re B ? & Ashong. Posted Ettie at Bridgewater. Posted Ray in the night.

Tu 8 –Th 10 Nov: (no entries)

Fri 11 Nov: To Palliser’s & spoke about Mensah & Greene’s affairs. Lillie had tea with me.

Sat 12 – Th 24 Nov: (no entries)


108 Joseph Mensah was probably the friend and associate of Z. Taylor Greene, who, according to TBW’s diary, had arrived in London from Liverpool on Monday 11 July 1904. His baptism at the Caledonian Baths by Overseer H.H. Cantel is reported in Leaves of Healing, Saturday 19 November 1904, p. 158, when his address was given as 3, Torrington Street, London WC, which was where Taylor lived. This may be the W.J. Mensah who lived in Dixcove and who is mentioned as opening a branch of the Gospel Temperance Union at Chama in the late 1890s and also coming to Britain in July 1897; The Temperance Caterer, 16 May 1891, p. 236, and The Colonies and India, 10 July 1897, p. 25 and also 2 October 1897, p. 24.

109 Sedlescombe Rd, off North End Road, SW, to Saint Oswalds Rd, off Green Lane, both in south west London.
Fri 25 Nov: Seeing Palliser with Mr Barnes\textsuperscript{110} about South African diamond mines.

Sat 26 Nov: Deacon Hachnell arrived from America. I went to the Bazaar (?) with young Lillie & Miss Green.

\textbf{Sun 27 Nov 1904:} Z. Taylor Greene\textsuperscript{111} was baptised this morning. I saw Deacon Hachnell & talked with him.

Mon 28 Nov: Had a talk with Hachnell at the Bedford Hotel.

Tu 29 Nov: Mr Morrison came in here to demand for Cann’s a/c £3.10/- due to his wife for board & lodging & I refused to pay. I gave him back the dishonoured cheque given by Cann.

Wed 30 Nov: (no entry)

Th 1 Dec: I met Cann at Paddington Station he being on his way from the Gold Coast. I slept with him in my rooms.

Fri 2 – Sat 3 Dec: (no entries)

Sun 4 Dec: Wore F Guards [Fire Guards?] clothes for the first time. Ettie arrived at Paddington from her tour. I met her.

Mon 5 – Tu 6 Dec: (no entries)

Wed 7 Dec: Myself & Hachnell went to the City buying goods for Africa. Ettie came to the Earlscourt Exhibition with me. Cann left my rooms for the Clapham Rd.

Th 8 – Sat 10 Dec: (no entries)

Sun 11 Dec: Got ZG’s [Zachary Greene] bible today.

Mon 12 Dec: To Jones with Hachnel & returned. Ettie saw me & had supper together.

Tu 13 Dec: (no entry)

Wed 14 Dec: To Cann’s at 160 Clapham Rd.

Th 15 Dec: I did not go to the City today. Ettie came to see me.

Fri 16 Dec: I met Ettie at Charing X & took her to dinner.

\textsuperscript{110} Isaac Ednemestone Barnes (1857-1930s?), Jamaican geologist, mining speculator, and Christadelphian missionary. His biographer, Dr. Alan Eyre, in an email: 4 August 2008, confirms that this ‘date coincides exactly with a meeting that Barnes had in London over funding for his diamond mines in Kroonstad. There is a passing mention of Palliser but no details.’

\textsuperscript{111} Zachary Taylor Greene was baptised at Caledonian Baths, his address given as 3 Torrington St, London, WC, presumably living with Joseph Mensah. \textit{Leaves of Healing}, 17 December 1904, p. 292.
Sat 17 Dec: Revd Cantel, docs Innes & Hachnell & myself to 3 New Square Lincoln’s Inn to hear their counsel’s opinion of the properties. Ettie came to see me.

Sun 18 Dec: I saw Ettie off to Shrewsbury then to Zion Tabernacle.

Mon 19 – Tu 27 Dec: (no entries)

**Wed 28 Dec 1904:** To Howell’s. Lillie came to show the coat.

Th 29 Dec: (no entry)

Fri 30 Dec: To Cox & Lafone with Mr. Howell re Brace & Ashong’s affairs. To Shrewsbury to see Ettie.

Sat 31 Dec: I returned to London by 2.40 train which arrived Euston at 8.30.

**Payments 1904**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>March</th>
<th>Receipts</th>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Cann</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>3.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>Palliser &amp; Co re Hutchison’s agreement at Lawleys 10.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>3.0</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>4.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>26</td>
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<p>| 4      | 9d       | Hutchison         |
| “      | 50.10.0  | Palliser          |
| “      | 50.10.0  | Bhoma Axim        |
| 5      | 10.0     | Cann              |
| 7      | 3.0      | London stn        |
| 10     | 3.0      | Cann              |
| 14     | 2.10.0   | Cann              |
| 16     | 1.0      | Hutchison         |
| “      | 3.0      | Cann              |
| 20     | 4.0      | “                 |
| 22     | 1.0      | “                 |
| “      | 2.10.0   | “                 |
| 24     | 3.0      | “                 |
| 26     | 5.0      | “                 |
| “      | 2 Tickets for Putney race 3.0 |</p>
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<td>Pd? To Hutchison</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>from Ankah</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>Palliser for 1/5 share</td>
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<td>Davis ticket</td>
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<td>Chain (gold) &amp; Ettie ? chain</td>
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<td>Lumlsey on Cann’s Plat</td>
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<td>Z. Taylor Greene</td>
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<td>Ettie</td>
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<td>Mrs Halnuish</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>30</td>
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*September – December 1904 no entries*
Memoranda

1888
26 January
Dorothy Grace Cooper

This diary also contains a torn scrap of paper covered with writing in pencil about TBW’s dreams. Ed.

Dreams
3rd April 1904 Ettie dreamt of her teeth coming out while I was with her & ask her to let me a chloroform.

“Lucania”

16th to 17th July 1904 I dreamt of catching a goat – also of the Kaiser.

17th to 18th of July 1904 Dreamt of buying mushrooms also advising Solomon Ashong eating sugar cane. Date palm trees on the grass Seen Nibi (dead) sending message to Karāku.

23 July 1904 early morning I dreamt of having four (4) of my lower teeth out & I was lamenting the loss of them [marginally written note: ‘On board’.]

22-23 July 1904 Dreamed of Ettie in a train to Earlsfield. Somehow I missed her & try to follow by foot.

29th night I dreamed of drinking palm wine with others.

30th morn [July] 1904: I dreamt of Etur washing her baby. She was quite naked & well made & I was partly naked & dreamed of John Kwofie quite naked.

1st & 2nd August I dreamt Dinah was telling me that my mother was dead.

2nd & 3rd Aug 1904 – I dreamt of tearing strong spider’s webs & putting it in my pocket.

3rd-4th Aug I dreamt of something like a big tree falling & we were running away when it fell the other side – also something like a big chimney falling but did not exactly fall. Dreamt also of Josiah Ashom had given me several diamond rings & other rings & jewels. Also Cromwell (Jim) was going to equally sharing the profits of sales. Also flew down with umbrella also larking with a boy.

6th August 1904. I dreamt of Ettie talking with me about a soup which she said Ray told her that I was greedy in making it; also taking a house & wishing a pew to be removed in
John Mensah’s house & then I wanted to go in with her. She said she was going to miss somebody’s house. I was seeing while talking. I dreamt I saw Ray – also of Simon Mensah.

5th & 6th August. I dreamt of either 2 lions or a lion and tiger leading them but then one disappeared & only one lion was left with me & then it became frightened & screamed out. Then some people came & the lion assumed the form of a powerful man & held the lion by the hair & shook & slapped him and also slapped my bottom & I told him to slap me more and then he signed his name on my document & also Richard Brace’s [deceased] document which he was pleased & wanted him to sign his name in Hebrew & I woke up. I dreamt also I was playing a game with a woman when my brother Joshua said it was nearly 12 in the midnight & I got up.

6th-7th August 1904. I dreamt of having a big sore on my leg with a big palm worm sticking in it & I pulled it out & the sore began to bleed.

7th -8th August 1904. I dreamt of Ray saying the diamond ring on my finger was I think Mrs Cantor or someb’y else was there when she has that. Also that the General Overseer speaking to me about my writing the letter “g”. Also I dreamt I was in church where they were partaking of the Lord’s Supper & I thought I must partake of some.

8th-9th August 1904. I dreamt of Ray and Kate Mensah making love. That Andrew Stephen was going to fight a fellow for Axim & he fired a pistol he fight Andrew. That I was in a ripe cornfield. That Arkah was wearing a big Moustache on his lip. As (?) I saw Dinah Cobbah in my dream.

9th-10th Aug 1904. I dreamt of swimming across a stream or sea to land easily with throwing arms swim.

*Memoranda*
Sikafuah Timber & Gold Mining Conces. 9th day of Feb 1903.

Stephen Francis Acquah, Cape Coast Niwhe –Yam land.

*(1904) Fredk Staley  George B Staley (Father) This Youngman saw me off to the station from Chicago, very kind & good of him.*

*Dixie meadows & Barnseley Elkhorne i.e. copper & iron.*

*Employed C.F. Hutchison*

---

112 Mensah is a common name in southern Ghana. A ‘John Alfred Mensah’, who would have been aged 23 in 1904, is listed in the 1911 census, as a ‘Merchant, Gold Coast WCA, visitor’ in a boarding house at 9 Heathcote Street, St. Pancras. In the 1901 census, an Elizabeth Mensah, from Cape Coast, and Iso Ellen Bannerman, from Accra, are listed as boarding students at the Granville College, in Croydon.
Terms of surveying 18 properties in the Gold Coast W Africa
£1800  fees for self & labour
£24      Fare to Sekondi
£75      Surveying instruments to be charged to C.T.H.
£6       for tent

11th Oct 1904

Mr Herbert Brown re met this place at 11.10 A.M. 3 New Sq, Lincoln’s Inn, off Carey St 5303 Bank

J MacCarthy 2 Anson(?) Street WC

6 properties at £1000 cash & 6000 + 5000 shares ea.

Greene 78 Sedlescombe Rd West Brompton London

Z [Zachery] Taylor Greene 10 properties 23/5/04
7 out of the 10 m Sefwi District
3 of the 10 on the Ankobra river
£15 cash to be paid to Allaway before the delivery of the above Documents at the Exhibition.
J.E. Meadowcroft 3rd floor. I was introduced to him at Newgate St EC by Mr Allaway.

Cablegram to Joshua Wilson Dixcove Gold Coast. Meet me London with ? first steamer very important Brem £5.

To Cann’s affairs at Peckham on 25th August (?) ’02.

An appointment made by Mr Eding for 11 o’clock on Tuesday next to go there with Palliser [rest illegible; followed by a list of purchases dd. 21st Sept 1904 Chicago].

18th Nov 1904
Mensah’s a/c  gold watch, ring, chain, etc.
Greene’s a/c

J.D. Hanson  12 Palace Rd Upper Norwood.

Dreamed of goats this morning the 5th of May 1904

Isu Wn babee, Sefwi district, Kofi Gychee & Ekrordia Sefwi district  Kofi Gychee & ors [others]  4 Mills Square - £250
Copies of two leases required.

---

113 Charles Francis Hutchison (1879-after 1930), son of William Francis Hutchison, a surveyor and merchant.
Purchase of clothes on 7th Sept 1904.

Notes on small sums of money.

April fortunate days. Make changes, seek new situation [rest illegible]

Searle, Solicitor, 13 Salisbury Rd Lower Mortlake Rd, Richmond.
Hutchison\textsuperscript{114} 168 Coningham [Rd], Shepherds Bush

*Enclosure: a torn piece of paper with pencil writing on both sides about TBW’s dreams:*

Of running down a hill as flying. Of flying walk up a rubbish heap.

24\textsuperscript{th} Aug 1904: Of seeing Ray entering a house.
? 25\textsuperscript{th} Aug 1904: Of seeing my linen shirt or cloth hanging with blood saturated at the corner of it. Of seeing Ettie naked & I cohabited? her. [?] wanting to love my late sister Agatha? (Marther?). Of Ettie slighting me.

9\textsuperscript{th}-10\textsuperscript{th} Aug 1904: Of seeing Jon his (?) and Ray saying that Morrison was coming to take her for a ride.

? 11\textsuperscript{th} Sept 1904: Of making love to Ray. Of my late sister Marther (?) talking to George Quashie drippingly soaked with water & had been sitting by Quashie’s mother’s fire side until my (sic) & Quashie arrived & I said to her why she did not go to her father’s house so near & change.

11\textsuperscript{th}-12\textsuperscript{th} Sept 1904: Of buying rice which seemed like wheat (?) Of Ettie sewing her dress (?) heard Ray’s voice in another (?) & I made her excuse in order to love Ray & I met Ray in the passage then I woke up.

12\textsuperscript{th}-13\textsuperscript{th} Sept 1904: Of somebody like Mrs Dowie passing by like a ghost & disappeared.

\textbf{1906 Collins’ Portable Diary.} 85 x 115 mm

Inscribed on inside cover [in Ettie’s hand-writing]: ‘To my own darling lovely boy with fondest love from your own little girl.’

S. Smith 156 Brook Av? Newington SE

Worners Rubber manufactory St Martins LeGrand.

\textsuperscript{114} W.F. Hutchison.
R. Festin Davies 9 Applegarth Rd Brook Green W.

Mr. Golding [Fielding?] 16 Dev??? St Strand WC.


**Memoranda**

Misc. purchase and prices, all undated.

**Memoranda from 1905**

Kofi Breywu (?) the alluvial deposits in Sefwi District.

Lists of gold and jewellery bought and sold – often making a slight profit on each transaction, although includes ‘pledged’ items.

T.S. Coppin[^115^] 40 Westbourne St Ealing Sq W


Total of Kate’s unpaid sums – all small.

Ivor Davies 3 Drayton Gdns South Kensington Old Brompton Rd

Small sums from and repaid to Ettie through 1905 and 1906 e.g. regular payments by Ettie of £1 or 10/- on 12, 21, 26, Feb., and on 5, 13, 19 March 1906 and so on to end of year.

G? C? Wright 46 Huskisson St Liverpool.

**Mon 1 Jan 1906**: Zion Conferences continued till 11 P.M.

Tu 2 Jan: Received a letter with Christmas or rather New Year’s Cards for me – also 1 for Mr & Mrs Greene and Kate from Ettie (Scotland)

Wed 3 Jan: Bought a ring (diamond) for Cann [£]7. 15. 0. Mensah & Greene came here to have their case settled between them by myself & Cann. There was a bust up with Kate[^116^] & Mensah. I gave Cann the ring [£]7. 15.

Th 4 Jan: [no entry]

Fri 5 Jan: Given to Cann for Dawson the two gems £5. 10, £6. 10, 12. 0. 0.

[^115^]: Superintendent Terry S. Coppin, Gold Coast Police, who retired from the Gold Coast in 1919. See entry 16 November 1906.

[^116^]: This may be Kate Prettyjohn; see fn 124 below.
Sat 6 Jan: Received from Cann a part payment [£]3. 0. 0. Mensah & Katie’s matter is brought before her Grand Mother.

Sun 7 Jan: Attended all the services.

Mon 8 Jan: R.F. Davies\textsuperscript{117} visited me this evening and sang several songs.

\textbf{Tu 9-Wed 10 Jan 1906:} [no entries]

Th 11 Jan: I received a nice letter from Judge Barnes (Zion City).

Fri 12 Jan: Received from the Revd Cantel [£]5. 0. 0. Withdrew the watch guard pendant umbrella & pin & Diamond ring [£]5. 2. 6. I dreamt father was dead & frightened me with his Ghost.

Sat 13 Jan: Sold gold watch, chain & pin to Joseph Mensah for £7 but not paid for. I dreamed of Esther my sister was dead.

Sun 14 Jan: Deacon Rush\textsuperscript{118} took the Overseer’s place both morning services as the Overseer thinks or rather says he is wanting deliverance before or else he will go to Zion City.

Mon 15 Jan: Myself, Mensah & his solicitor’s clerk met at Mr Mellows to discuss the judgement M v. N.

Tu 16 Jan: Received a parcel of 2 sleeping suits from Ettie (Paisley).

Wed 17 Jan: [no entry]

Th 18 Jan: Mensah gave me a receipt of the goods I sold him 15. 10.

Fri 19- Tues 23 Jan: [no entries]

Wed 24 Jan: I settled with Mensah at Mr Mellow’s office in the presence of Z.T. Greene the judgement he had against me for £127 reduced & [£]37. 5. 0. by my counterclaim.

Th 25 Jan: Received from Zion (H. Cooper) [£]20. 0. 0.

\textsuperscript{114} R. Festin (Fetyn) Davies, whose address was listed at the start of the diary for 1906, was born near Ffestiniog and studied at London’s Guildhall of Music. He sang in an English opera company but moved to the United States, probably sometime in the late 1890s. It is not known how TBW made his acquaintance. See Cambrian, a semi-monthly magazine for Welsh Americans, 1 January 1914, p. 11, and 1 December 1918, p. 12.

\textsuperscript{118} E.A. Rush, who lived at 46 Morris Avenue, Church Road, Little Ilford.
Fri 26 Jan: Received from Greene (£8. 0. 0.) cheque.

Sat 27 Jan: I drew the cheque.

Sun 28 Jan: Attended all the services.

Mon 29 Jan: Finally settled with Joseph Mensah for the two school properties – balance (£12. 11. at Mr Mellow’s office.

Tu 30 –Wed 31 Jan: [no entries]

Th 1 Feb 1906: Mensah bought 2 diamond rings from me at (not pad) (£7. 10. 0.)

Fri 2 Feb: [no entry]

Sat 3 Feb: Mensah returned the 2 diamond Ring (sic) (£7. 10. 0.).

Sun 4 Feb: Zion all services. Greene gave me – 10[£]. -.

Mon 5 Feb: [no entry]

Tu 6 Feb: Received from Revd Rush (£5. 0. 0. Removed the necklaces from the warehouse sale room (£5. 17. 6.

Wed 7 – Fri 9 Feb: [no entries]

Sat 10 Feb: The black people in London met at [Saracen’s] Head Hotel119 to form an association.120

Sun 11 Feb: [no entry]

Mon 12 Feb: Replied to Ettie’s letter about ‘off the shelf’. Received from R order of (£1. 0. 0. In search of room for our ‘African’ meeting. Alice went to work at High

119 The Saracen’s Head Hotel, Holborn Viaduct, W.C. London.

120 In a later diary entry Wilson calls this the ‘United African Association’ (Mon 19 Feb 1906). The meeting was called by Alfred Mangena (1879-1924), from South Africa, then a student at Lincoln’s Inn, and later a founder of the South African Native National Congress, inviting ‘coloured’ people resident in London, to discuss ways and means by which a society could be formed in London to promote friendly intercourse amongst ‘coloured’ races coming to Europe, to render mutual help, discuss social and political subjects connected with the race, and to work in such other ways as the society when formed may think would be conducive to the progress of Africans, and to the advancement of the interests of the African. Another meeting has been arranged.’ Among those reported as attending were J.J. Brown, Frederick Iris (West Indies), Moses Taylor, Gosford Sawyerr (Sierra Leone), Alfred Mangena (South Africa), T.A. Wilson [T.B. Wilson], A. Boehm, John Theo. Helm (barrister-at-law), P.E. Sampson, Jos. E. Eminsang and A.S. Cann (West Coast). Jamaica Times, 8 September 1906, p. 9. I am grateful to Danell Jones for this newspaper reference.
Street Kensington today. Myself & Cann had supper with Mr & Mrs Leslie\textsuperscript{121} tonight, came home 11.15 P.M.

\textbf{Tu 13 Feb 1906:} [crossed out entry for Wed 14 Feb below]. Bought a diamond ring for £2. 10. at the sale & paid 10/- deposit on it.

Wed 14 Feb: Took my overcoat to 26 King Street Convent Garden to have it sold for what is would fetch. I gave Greene the £2 cheque he gave (back to him) for a fresh one which he did.

Th 15 Feb: Paid for the Diamond Stud (£)2. 0. 0. & pledged it for £3. 0. 0.

Fri 16-Sun 18 Feb: [no entries]

Mon 19 Feb: We met at Saracen’s Hotel tonight to discuss about the United African Association. Officers were selected. Received a letter from Judge Barnes & another from Toombs.

Tu 20 Feb: No entry.

Wed 21 Feb: Received a letter from Ettie with 20/- postal order. I replied Ettie’s letter & posted tonight.

Th 22 Feb: To the Tabernacle & Elder Rush spoke to me about Judge Barnes’s letter.

Fri 23 Feb: Received a letter from Mr Wells’ solicitor about Palliser’s affairs and I took it to Mr Mellow’s office & the clerk took it for Mellows out. Cann gave me 0. 2. 0.

Sat 24-Sun 25 Feb: [no entries]

\textsuperscript{121} Alfred William Leslie (1868-1922) was an African American, born in the US, recorded in the 1901 census as living at 18 Albion Road, Stoke Newington, north London, a ‘commercial traveller’. In March 1903 he married Florence Ada Hepzibah Blake (c.1876-1962), presumably white British, born in Holloway, London; they had two children. In the 1911 census the Leslie’s were living at 73 Manor Road, Stoke Newington, he described as a ‘Traveller’ in rubber goods’. All the shares in his rubber reclaiming company (A.W. Leslie & Co., Ltd) were bought-out in 1906 – see The Chemist and Druggist, 28 January 1911, p. 109 (a reference I owe to my friend Danell Jones). Leslie had dealings with other West Africans; he is listed as a creditor in the bankruptcy proceedings of the Sierra Leonean A.B.C. Merriman-Labor in 1908; see TNA, Kew, BT226/3686, 1913. Evidence that he was of African descent comes from the Bodleian Library, Rhodes House Library: MSS. Brit. Emp. 2 22 G431. A.B. Merriman to the Rev. John Harris, 28 June 1912, where he lists several ‘well-known African natives in London’. In The Motor Car Journal, vol. 10, 19 September 1908, p. 636, Leslie was described as ‘a well-known dealer in motor tyres and scrap rubber’. In c.1910 Leslie is reported as the superintendent of the ‘Venture’ plantation, owned by the London registered Malayalam Rubber and Produce Co. Ltd, in the Kalthuritty Valley, inland from Quilon in southern India; Arnold Wright, ed., Southern India: its history, people, commerce, and industrial resources (London: 1914?), pp. 563-66. Leslie wrote The Universal Standard Grading of Scrap Rubber (London: printed by Maclaren & Sons, 1915). Leslie, along with A.S. Cann, were at the inaugural dinner of the African Progress Union in the Great Eastern Hotel, London, 18 December 1918.
Mon 26 Feb: Rec’d a letter & pot [postal] order of 20/- from Ettie. Replied letter this morning.

Tu 27 Feb: [no entry]

Wed 28 Feb: Received a letter from H.E. Kershaw about ‘Tuasie’ to meet him at Mayo’s office on Friday 11 o’clock.

Th 1 March: I wrote to Ettie.

Fri 2 March: I met Kershaw at Mayo’s office about ‘Tuasie’.

Sat 3 March 1906: Cann asked me to meet him in his rooms when he knew he was going to Brighton to see his sweetheart. I waited hours he didn’t turn up.

Sun 4 March: I went only to the morning service. I went to dinner at Cann’s when Nellie122 & others were there.

Mon 5 March: Received a letter from Ettie with postal order (20/-).

Tu 6 March: This morning Mrs Fullick came to my room Kate followed. I went to Greene this afternoon.

Wed 7 Feb: I wrote & posted to Judge Barnes, Zion City, a letter in reply to his.

Th 8-Fri 9 March: [no entries]

Sat 10 March: [Joseph] Mensah caught Kate out with a fellow while on his way with Nellie Essien to Earls court Station.

Sun 11 March: I attended all the services in Zion.

Mon 12 March: I went to the sale room of 26 King Street, Covent Garden.

Tu 13-Sat 17 March: [no entries]

122 Nellie Essien, whose name and address is listed at the beginning of the diary for 1906. Unknown but may have been related to Albert Duke Essien (1869-19??), an African merchant, joint-owner of the Liverpool firm Kerr & Essien. He was described by the London Evening News, 24 July 1897, p. 2, as ‘one of the originators of the West African rubber industry at Lagos’; also a fellow of the Royal Colonial Institute – see his portrait in ‘Portrait of Fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute’, Cambridge University Library, RC1/8/28. Adjudicated a bankrupt, see TNA. BT 226/692, and The Times, 3 September 1903, While living in Brighton he was convicted of theft and sentenced to five months hard labour in Lewes Gaol for fraud, The Times, 24 November 1903, p. 7, Sussex Agricultural Express, 28 August 1903, p. 6, and 28 November 1903, p. 10. In the 1901 census Essien was described as aged 32, born Accra, ‘living on allowance from father’, in Hornsey, with his wife Rose and 3 children. Essien remarried in 1908 and three years later he was in the West African timber trade as Essien Brothers & Co; see Gold Coast Leader, 1 July 1911, p. 6.
Sun 18 March: Ettie wrote from Scotland. To all the services.

Mon 19 March: Received a letter from Ettie this morning that she would be here at 3 o’clock & she came about 4.30. I dreamt of having my upper tooth weak & some broken off.

Tu 20 March: I asked God to keep me faithful to him.

Wed 21 March: I bought goods to the value of £19. 1. 6. today at the sale at Debenhams 26 King St CG.

Th 22 March 1906: [no entry]

Fri 23 March: Ettie came to tea.

Sat 24 –Sun 25 March: [no entries]

Mon 26 March: I went out with Davies to the City pledging my Goods to the amount of £10. 17/-.

Tu 27 March-Wed 4 April: [no entries]

Th 5 April: I wrote Bhoma about Dr Dowie what I have heard from the officers here & the officers in Zion City as I heard through the daily newspapers.123

Fri 6 April: Ackonu came to my rooms tonight that I might teach him cycling & I did not get a bicycle. I bought ?

Sat 7-Th 12 April: [no entries]

Fri 13 April: I went to Malden with Ettie to see the Garwoods. Alice & Kate went to Uxbridge to visit their friend Jack.

Sat 14 April: [no entry]

Sun 15 April: Ettie went to Southport to perform a show.

Mon 16 April: Alice & Kate again went to Uxbridge to visit their friend. We held a meeting at 2 Rochester Square Camden Rd N.W.124

123 This would be about Dowie’s dismissal from Zion City which was widely reported in the press.

124 A reference to the United African Association. An interesting note: when the Jamaican medical missionary and writer Dr T.E.S. Scholes was elected a member of the African Society on 21 Sept 1903, his address was given as 17 Rochester Square NW; see Journal of the African Society IX, Oct 1903, p 12.
Tu 17 April: I went to Elder Rush to cable Deacon Barnes for my papers (Mensah’s) which he did. Rec’d a letter from Ettie – Southport. Replied to Ettie’s letter.

Wed 18 April: I took Ackonu\textsuperscript{125} to Dodd’s to buy the Gypsy Ring (Dd) which he bought for £15. 0. 0. I went to Green’s & I returned with ? & things from him.

Th 19 April-Wed 9 May: [no entries, although on the pages for 3-6 May the following is written]: Dreamt this week of a look of my mouth.\textsuperscript{126}

\textbf{Thur 10 May 1906}: Received a letter from Judge Barnes, Zion City.

Fri 11-Sat 12 May: [no entries]

Sun 13 May: Attended all the services. Heard of the death of Elder Cantel.\textsuperscript{127}

Mon 14 May: Received the papers & letters from Judge Barnes – Zion city. Also a letter from Mr. Granger. I was cross with Alice because of Mensah – she made him stand there for a long time.

Tu 15 May: I was ?

Wed 16 May: Didn’t see Alice today. I went to see Greene & he gave me 4 tins sardines 1 corned beef 2 jams 3 jellies 1 bottle wine 1 tin herrings 1 tin cocoa & some tea & 3 oranges. To a meeting with the Gold Coasters at York House to hear the Revd Agyir [Egyir] Asaam about govt imposing taxation on the people of Cape Coast.\textsuperscript{128}

Th 17 May: I took my Hotopo deeds to have copies taken of them. Have not seen Alice today.

Fri 18 May: Have not seen Alice today.

Sat 19 May: Alice & I made it up.

\textsuperscript{125} Unknown, but it is a Gold Coast name.

\textsuperscript{126} On Wed 9 May, TBW and Alfred B. Cann attended the Imperial Institute for a lecture by J. Cathecart Wason MP, ‘The importance of West Africa’. The audience of 150 included Roger Casement, Henry Sylvester Williams, Rev. Fynn Egyir-Asaam (who had come to London as an ARPS delegate to appeal against the Town Councils Ordinance), Alfred W. Leslie, F.W. Nanka-Bruce (then studying medicine at Edinburgh), and E.F. Ofom-Quartey. \textit{See Journal of African Society} 5, 10 (1906), p. 421.

\textsuperscript{127} This presumably refers to the father of Harry Cantel. Harry Cantel died of appendicitis, aged 45, in August 1910; he edited the paper \textit{Overcoming Life} from February 1909 to August 1910; see Desmond Cartwright, ‘Margaret Cantel’, in Stanley Burgess, ed., \textit{International dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic movements} (Grand Rapids MI: Zondervan, 2002), pp. 454-455.

\textsuperscript{128} Egyir Asaam was no doubt speaking about the deputation to the Colonial Office, reported in \textit{The Times}, 5 May 1906, 13, which included ‘Mr. J. Sylvester Williams’ (sic’), Keir Hardie M.P., and two Liberal MPs.
Sun 20 May: [no entry]

Mon 21 May: I dreamt of one of my teeth very very loose: it means dangerous illness to myself.

Tu 22 May: I went to Greene’s house today to ask him to help me write letters to Zion City.

Wed 23 May: I went to Greene’s to finish writing letter to Zion City.

**Th 24-Sat 26 May 1906:** [no entries]

Sun 27 May: Ettie on tour for a week.

Mon 28 – Tu 29 May: [no entries]

Wed 30 May: I went to see Greene & got my ticket for my bicycle which I pledged. I came home with him and had supper together.

Th 31 May-Sun 3 June: [no entries]

Mon 4 June: We (myself Kate & Alice) cycled to Kew Gardens – the afternoon. Ettie came here to tea & supper & returned to her Aunts Putney.

Tu 5-Wed 6 June: [no entries]

Th 7 June: I dreamt of one of my useless teeth out.

Fri 8 June: To Leslie’s house with my papers.

Sat 9-Mon 11 June: [no entries]

Tu 12 June: Met Palliser in Fenchurch St this afternoon & we went to tea at ABC’s shop.

Wed 13 June: Received the Cheyne lease from Palliser by post tonight.

Th 14-Sun 17 June: [no entries]

Mon 18 June: I went to Mr. Leslie’s & I slept there for the night.

Tu 19 June: Alice, John, Elsie & Mabel came here. Returned from Stoke Newington & saw Ettie.

Wed 20-Fri 29 June: [no entries]
Sat 30 June: Ettie to Finchley Northend Road.

Sun 1 July: First Sunday of Zion in Mornington Hall Islington.\textsuperscript{129}

Mon 2-Tu 3 July: [no entries]

\textbf{Wed 4 July 1906:} To Greene’s at Leyton & we came here together after having visited his sister-in-law. I dreamt I shot a wild goat & K. Brehun flayed it.

Th 5 July: [no entry]

Fri 6 July: Dreamt of Ettie wearing a nurse clothes & cap or bonnet of brown silk.

Sat 7-Th 10 July: [no entries]

Wed 11 July: I got married to Ettie this afternoon about 2.30 at the Register Office in Fulham – Cann and Greene were witnesses to it.\textsuperscript{130} We went to her mother’s place. I kissed her mother and then we proceeded to Westcliff on Sea.

Th 12 July: [no entry]

Fri 13 July: We returned from Westcliff on Sea to London. Ettie came home & I went to Mr Leslie’s at Stoke Newington – came home about 11.30 P.M.

Sat 14 July: [no entry]

Sun 14 July: Ettie & I went to Leslie’s at Stoke Newington & slept there for the night.

Mon 16 July: Returned home with Ettie from Leslies.

Tu 17-Fri 27 July: [no entries]

Sat 28 July: Ettie dreamt of giving birth to a cat with a lightish brown fluffy wool like Persian.

Sun 29 July: [no entry]

Mon 30 July: My self & Ettie went to Greene’s to dinner, tea & supper & returned about 10.30. Greene gave me 5/- & few provisions.

\textsuperscript{129} ‘The Christian Assembly’, a converted shop at 73 Upper Street, Islington, the Cantel’s home, and a meeting hall and divine healing centre.

\textsuperscript{130} The marriage certificate stated that TBW was divorced, which was an obvious reason for the marriage taking place at a registry office. Ettie most probably was pregnant as their first child Joshua Kwame was born seven months later on 1 March 1907.
Tu 31 July: [no entry]

Wed 1 Aug: I went to Ackonu’s lodging & I was told he was still in Paris.

Th 2-Fri 3 Aug: No entries.

**Sat 4 Aug 1906:** Ettie.

Sun 5-Mon 6 Aug: [no entries]

Tu 7 Aug: Received by Cann £25 with £8. 10. interest from a Solicitor putting my Cheyne lease & his lease as security.

Wed 8-Th 9 Aug: [no entries]


Sat 11-Mon 13 Aug: [no entries]

Tu 14 Aug: To Leslie’s with Ettie to Dinner & their niece was there.


Th 16 Aug: Mr Leslie took me from the ‘Little Arms’ West Brompton in his motor car to Melksham – we had dinner at Marlborough.

Fri 17-Tu 21 Aug: [no entries]

Wed 22 Aug: I had a dream of the clouds blossoming into flowers.

Th 23 Aug: Ettie.

Fri 24 Aug: Ettie.

Sat 25 Aug: Ettie. I paid to the Rev’d Cantel for Mr Harness the sum of £5. 0. 0.

Sun 26 Aug: [no entry]

Mon 27 Aug: I received a letter from Leslie to go to his place. I went to Leslie’s Stoke Newington & he suggested to me that he is prepared to advance me money to go to Africa & buy rubber.131

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131 From 1880-1905 the Gold Coast was the leading exporter of rubber in the British Empire (and fifth in the world), the trade largely in the hands of indigenous growers and traders. In 1906 the Gold Coast
Tu 28-Th 30 Aug: [no entries]

Fri 31 Aug: Ettie. I wrote letters to Joshua to sail to England as soon he received a cable from Leslie – written Pa & also Bhoma Sassandra.

**Sat 1 Sept 1906**: I dreamt of kissing Ettie.

Sun 2 Sept: I dreamt Kate was kissing me on my bed & Ettie came from the sitting room & kissed me.

Mon 3 Sept: [no entry]

Tu 4 Sept: I went to be examined by a doctor to be insured at an insurance office opposite Cannon St Station.

Wed 5 Sept: I went to Leslie’s at 7 o’clock & he talked to me about giving him a security for money that will be sent to my brother to buy Rubber.

Th 6 Fri-7 Sept: [no entries]

Sat 8 Sept: Received a letter from Mr Birch that I am unfit to be insured.

Sun 9 Sept: I thank God with my heart.

Mon 10-Th 13 Sept: [no entries]

Fri 14 Sept: I phoned Leslie this morning & he told me to go to his place tomorrow.

Sat 15 Sept: I went to see Ackonu & he paid me 5/- out of the money he owes me. I went to Leslie at 5 o’clock & we read the agreement (draft).

Sun 16 Sept: Kate dreams this night that I pulled her tooth out – my death it means perhaps.

Mon 17-Th 20 Sept: [no entries]

Fri 21 Sept: I lent the parson in Walham Green (near the Church) my book called ‘Our Life After Death’.132

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132 Arthur Chambers, *Our life after death*, or, the teaching of the Bible concerning the unseen world (London, 1894), a book frequently reprinted. Chambers was vicar of Brocklehurst, Hants.
Sat 22 Sept: I went to see Leslie and he motors to my place (21 St Oswald’s Rd) with me accompanied by his wife. Had a prescription.

Sun 23 –Mon 24 Sept: [no entries]

Tu 24 Sept: I went to see Leslie (Stoke Newington) to talk about rubber business.

Wed 26 Sept: [no entry]

**Th 27 Sept 1906:** I received a wire from Leslie to go which I did.

Fri 28 Sept: Received a letter from Leslie confirming our conversation about the Rubber business that he agrees to give me a quarter of the gross profits.

Sat 29 Sept: Received a letter from Pa about my marriage.

Sun 30 Sept: Overseer Bryant\(^{133}\) conducted the service this morning & evening. This evening he preached about receiving the Holy Spirit.

Mon 1 Oct: [no entry]

Tu 2 Oct: Overseer Bryant preached.

Wed 3 Oct: [no entry]


Fri 5 Oct: Written & posted letter to J.F. Ellis,\(^{134}\) Dixcove, West Africa about religion.

Sat 6 Oct: [no entry]

Sun 7 Oct: Overseer Bryant preached.

Mon 8-Sat 13 Oct: [no entries]

Sun 14 Oct: Overseer Bryant opened & consecrated Bloomsbury Hall for Zion worship.

Mon 15 Oct: I had wet dreams – I was disgusted.

Tu 16-Fri 19 Oct: [no entries]\(^{135}\)

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\(^{133}\) From 1904-6 Daniel Bryant was the Overseer of Dowie’s church in South Africa. He returned to the United States in 1907 and subsequently broke with Voliva, Dowie’s successor, and founded his own church. On Dowie’s Zion church in South Africa see Cabrita, *The People’s Zion.*

Sat 20 Oct: I went to Leslie’s with Ettie & I asked him to find me some work to do. I went to see Cann this morning.

Sun 21 Oct 1906: [no entry]

Mon 22-Wed 24 Oct: [no entries]

Th 25 Oct: Kate told me that she would never speak or rather hold conversation with me any more & that I must not call her Kate but Miss Prettyjohn because I said I had kids. Mr Leslie & his wife came here in their car.

Fri 26 Oct: My old man in Farm Lane passed away today & he is resting with Jesus.

Sat 27 Oct-Th 1 Nov: [no entries]

Fri 2 Nov: Written & posted to Mama a letter about the church at Dixcove.

Sat 3-Th 8 Nov: [no entries]

Fri 9 Nov: Case between myself & Coates has been settled out of court that £50 cash be paid on the 16 inst & £60 in goods to be selected by me paid for by Coates before end of this month.

Sat 10-Th 15 Nov: [no entries]

Fri 16 Nov: I was introduced to Supt Coppin at Ackonu’s rooms. Coates has paid £50. 0. 0. to my Solicitor today.

Sat 17 Nov: [no entries]

Sun 18 Nov: I was made a teacher over the senior boys in Zion on Sundays – began today.

Mon 19 Nov: [no entry]

135 TBW’s father died at Dixcove in October 1906, but this is not recorded in the diary. A pointed and rather blunt report in the *Gold Coast Leader*, 17 October 1906, p. 3, indicates family tensions, and the will is stated to contain ‘words that portrayed the contemptible nature of home life from wife and son which the departed or rather the released man had to endure under the law: A grand lesson for many a self-willed wife and unruly sons’.

136 The census 1901 gives a Kate Prettyjohn, aged 12 years, living in Fulham; is this the Kate, now aged c. 18 referred to here? Kate and Alice Prettyjohn, Kate having an address at 21 St Oswald’s Road, West Brompton (which was also the address for TBW and Ettie), were baptised at the Caledonian Baths on 1 January 1906; see *Leaves of Healing*, 24 February 1906, p. 416.

137 The ‘kids’ referred to were probably TBW’s children by his Gold Coast wife.
Tu 20 Nov: I went to Coates office to select the goods but I was told he was away to Yorkshire.

Wed 21 Nov: We entertained Soo Soo – Ettie’s friend and also Mr Supt Coppin my friend to tea & supper. Dr Baker’s told me about the effect of the powder.

Th 22-Fri 23 Nov: [no entries]

**Sat 24 Nov 1906**: Wet dream. Dreamt of Davies making love to Ettie & also to Kate.

Sun 25-Tu 27 Nov: [no entries]

Wed 28 Nov: Christian Science Reading Room lent me of their books.

Thu 29 Nov: I was introduced by Cann to the people in 11 Victoria Street & they decided to buy my two properties for £900 each & 3000 shares ea.

Fri 14-Tues 11 Dec: No entries.

Wed 12 Dec: I stopped by the help of God using medicine for diarrhea (sic). Mrs Garwood & Edie visited us this evening & we had supper together.

Thu 13 Dec: Went to Greene’s & he did not give me any thing.

Fri 14-Sun 16 Dec: [no entries]

Mon 17 Dec: Kate goes to County Court about the piano Mensah gave her & loses the case.

Tu 18-Mon 24 Dec: [no entries]

Tu 25 Dec: Myself & Ettie were invited to spend the Christmas with the Leslie’s – we stayed all night.

Wed 26 Dec: We were asked to stay today which we do.

Th 27 Dec: We returned to our rooms to night.

Fri 28-Mon 31 Dec: [no entries]

**Cash Account 1906**
March
Ettie paid TB-W £1.0.0 on 5 March, 10/- on 13 and 19 March, and he paid Ettie back £1 on 23 March. Also payments to and from Mensah, Cann, and Greene.

April
Payments to and from Ettie, Kate, Mensah, Cann, Greene, and Ackonu

May
TB-W received £3 from Ettie on 15 May, repaid £2 on 19 May

June
Small sums mainly received from Ettie - £2 on 6 June; also from Cann and Mensah

[and so on for each month of 1906]

December

1907\textsuperscript{138}

1908 Collins Compact Diary. 125 x 80

Addresses
Bart M. Wilkinson 22 Battledean Road, Hornsey N.
G.S. Allen 36 Drayton Rd Harlesdon NW.

Memoranda for 1907
3\textsuperscript{rd} April 1908. ‘OO Sala fugyiga OO Salak ſyigya’ said 3 times while I was reading about the second coming of the Lord.

Wilkinson’s address: Chr. Herald Office. Speaking in tongues by Robert Baxter.\textsuperscript{139}

33 Tormont Rd Plumstead.\textsuperscript{140}

\textsuperscript{138} There was also a diary for 1907 but, according to the family, this has been ‘lost’. The family say that it included entries about TBW’s relationship with Kate Prettyjohn, which angered Ettie. Another source of anger was when she discovered that TBW had children in the Gold Coast; according to the family she scrawled over certain sections of the diary in red ink. On marriages by West African educated elite males, and specifically that of the lawyer Archie Casely-Hayford, see the comments by Adelaide Cromwell, \textit{An African Victorian feminist. The life and times of Adelaide Smith Casely Hayford 1868-1960} (Washington DC, 1992), pp. 87-9, 212 fn. 34. However, there were Christian elite marriages in West Africa that adhered strongly to life-long monogamous pattern; see Kristin Mann, \textit{Marrying Well: Marriage, status and social change among the educated elite in colonial Lagos} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895), pp. 115-6. See also Casely Hayford’s comments on marriage in his fictive work \textit{Ethiopia Unbound. Studies in Race Emancipation} (London, C.M. Phillips, 1911), pp. 191-93. In August-September 1907 Brem-Wilson probably attended one of Boddy’s meetings in Sunderland, but he is not the ‘dark gentleman’ noted in the \textit{Sunderland Echo}, 30 October 1907 for which see ‘Interview with Pastor Barre’, \textit{Sunderland Echo}, 4 September 1907, p. 3. In 1910 Brem-Wilson spoke at the Preston Convention: ‘Mr B Wilson, of London’. \textit{Confidence} (April 1910), p. 90.

\textsuperscript{139} Revd Michael Paget Baxter (1834-1910), the owner of the \textit{Christian Herald}. 

\textsuperscript{140}
30/11/08  Pa Rika Pa Rika  Praise Jesus  Praise Jesus while praying at Cantel’s & said the above Miss Hibbert said as above.

**Wed 1 Jan 1908:** Myself, Ettie & baby\(^{141}\) went to Leslie’s to the Children’s party.

**Th 2 Jan 1908:** It is very cold today. I came home & took the letters & baby’s thing. To Furnival Hall & God blessed us.

Fri 3 Jan: We returned from Leslie’s.

Sat 4 Jan: [no entry]

Sun 5 Jan: Rec’d message thro’ Miss Hibbert from God & wrote to Bro Humphrey.

Mon 6 Jan: I did not even go outside the door today – I did some washing.

Tu 7 Jan: To Bethshan\(^{142}\) meeting.

Wed 8 Jan: To Bethshan meeting and the Spirit of God began to quiver my lips and my throat was worked upon as if a person who has Saint Vitals (sic) Dance & it continued on & off in the trams while came home. Glory be to God only.

Th 9 Jan: Ettie visited her Auntie Ray today. To Bethshan meeting & the Spirit of God shook my head terribly on & off. And also worked upon my throat.

Fri 10 Jan: To Bethshan meeting & the Spirit of God still worked upon my head & I testified. As I was cleaning my boots in the morning in the kitchen and meditating upon God, the Devil banged right across my face & nose as if a man had done it & praise the Lord for it.

Sat 11 Jan: To Akerman Rd\(^{143}\) & the power of God was in the meeting. Bro Hook laid hands upon me & laughed in the Spirit & my head shook. Posted a letter to Hubert Grant.

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140 Tormount Rd, Plumstead, south-east London, a Zion meeting led by a Mr Bristow.

141 Thomas and Ettie had six children, five sons (of whom two survived) and a daughter: Joshua Kwami Brem-Wilson, b. 2 March 1907, at 21 St Oswald’s Road, Fulham [on the birth certificate TBW’s occupation was given as ‘Farmer (British Protectorate)’], who died at St Thomas’ Hospital 29 May 1911. Kwesi Philip Raymond b. 1908, Kweku R. born 1910 in Wandsworth, Kwame Daniel b. 23 November 1912. Two further children died in infancy: Paul Kofi b. 12 February 1915 died in 1916, and Eliza Esther b. 27 April 1917, died 1918, this last death registered under Ettie’s name. According to the census taken in the Spring of 1911, and completed in Thomas Brem Wilson’s handwriting (the first census in which this could be done), the family were living at 67, East Street, Southwark, and Thomas’ occupation was given as a ‘Marine store dealer’ employed ‘own account’.

142 ‘Bethshan’, the healing house of Mrs Elizabeth Baxter (d.1926), wife of Revd Michael Paget Baxter (1834-1910), the owner of the *Christian Herald*. Elizabeth Baxter produced a journal called *The Healer*. 
Sun 12 Jan: To Zion & saw Cantel – The Spirit of God still worked upon me both morn. & evening. Ettie attended the evening service.

Mon 13 Jan: Recd letter from Dr. F.F. Clarke Portland Oregon U.S.A. To Zion. Refreshment with Ettie & Baby & Kate.

**Tu 14 Jan 1908:** To Greene’s house.

Wed 15 Jan: I met Mr Allen & Greene at the Royal Exchange & Mr Allen took me to see Dr. Schomerus. 144

Th 16 Jan: Myself & Allen met at Chancery Lane tube station & I gave him the deeds. To Zion & received blessing from the Lord.

Fri 17-Sat 18 Jan: [no entries]

Sun 19 Jan: To Bethel Hall 145 & heard Bro Post preach.

Mon 20 Jan: Rec’d a letter from Bro Stevenson 146 & I wrote to Bro Humphrey about it. [Cross in red ink added by Ettie]

Tu 21 Jan: I met Brothers Humphrey & Stevenson & delivered the message God gave me thro’ Miss Hibbert.

Wed 22 Jan: To Akerman Rd & saw Bro Post for the last time as he sails to India tomorrow.

Th 23 Jan: Greene visited us this morning & brought us a parcel of groceries.

Fri 24 Jan: Mr Allen came here & said he was angry with Greene for writing to him!

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143 Pentecostal meeting at 14 Akerman Road, Brixton, run by Mr & Mrs Price.

144 Dr Henri Frans Schomerus (1850-19??), born Elmina, Gold Coast, the ‘legitimate’ son of the Dutch governor Hero Schomerus (1853-6) and Ellen Frij (Fry), probably a Euro-African from Accra. Following the death of both his parents in 1856, Henri Frans was formally adopted by Rintje Boomsma and taken to Den Helder in The Netherlands where he lived until the early 1870s. He married in 1872 and had three daughters. In 1891 Schomerus and his family were living in Hackney, east London, and he described himself as a ‘Company promotion agent’. [TNA: RG12/192]. In the 1901 census Schomerus, along with his wife and eldest daughter, was living in Streatham Hill, south London, his occupation given as ‘Spanish vice consul’. [TNA: RG13/476]. Schomerus was involved on the fringes of the Pan-African Conference and the subsequent Pan-African Association. He is referred to in a report of a dinner given to honour Sir Alfred Jones organized ‘by representative natives of West Africa now residing in London’ as ‘Spanish Consul’. (Times, 20 August 1902, p. 4). [I am grateful for some of this information from Dr Larry W. Yarak, Dr Michel Doortmont, and to Mrs Lynne Marsh].

145 In Camberwell.

146 This is Samuel Stevenson, the Nottingham lace maker, who had broken with Dowie in 1901. See fn 94 above.
Sat 25 Jan: I posted a letter to Dr F.F. Clarke in America. Bought food & feeding bottle for baby.

Sun 26 Jan: [no entry]

**Mon 27 Jan 1908:** I went to the office of Humphrey & Stevenson & God was with me as he promised. I came home & wrote them a letter about writing to my brother. I dreamed of my father at Swanzy\(^{147}\) at Dixcove & also Robert my brother.

Tu 28 Jan: [no entry]

Wed 29 Jan: I began to fast from 6 P.M. – a blessing.

Th 30 Jan: I had my meals soon after 6 P.M. & went to Zion & received a blessing. The Spirit has been working upon my head many times today.

Fri 31 Jan: Posted a letter to my brother about purchasing timber. Posted a letter to Fredk at Grand Bassam about the same subject.

Sat 1 Feb: Kwame was ill of diarrhia (sic) & vomiting & God healed him

Sun 2 Feb: I kept indoors all day.

Mon 3-Tu 4 Feb: [no entries]

Wed 5 Feb: I went to Leslie’s with Ettie & stayed the night.

Thu 6 Feb: We returned home. Ethel Goldshen, Ettie’s friend, stayed with us. I was led to Akerman Rd & the working of the Holy Spirit increased.

Fri 7 Feb: [no entry]

Sat 8 Feb: Led to Akerman Rd & the Spirit still worked increasingly & He opened my mouth & shut it as it pleased Him.

Sun 9 Feb: The manifestation of the Spirit showed me that my father is dead! Also that the woman is still alive – I heard during the day that she is alive.

Mon 10 Feb: As I was praying the manifestation showed that I could buy chickens & that the woman downstairs would sell them to me but to my surprise it didn’t come true so I at once put it down as an evil spirit & began to wait upon God for guidance.

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\(^{147}\) F. & A. Swanzy was a major trading company in the Gold Coast; see Frederick Pedler, *The Lion and the Unicorn in Africa. The United Africa Company 1787-1931* (London: Heinemann, 1974), chs 3 and 9.
Tu 11 Feb: I went to Brother Hook’s house & thro’ conversation I have grieved the dear Holy Spirit by not understanding His ways & so while praying in his kitchen He worked upon my mouth & head & throat again praise His Holy name

Wed 12 Feb: [no entry]

Th 13 Feb 1908: To Akerman Rd meeting – I gave a testimony of the workings of the Holy Spirit upon my mouth etc & after that I was led to pray & as I was praying the Holy Spirit filled the room & was upon many until some one grieved Him by singing several times.

Fri 14-Sat 15 Feb: [no entries]

Sun 16 Feb: Glory to Jesus the Blessed Holy Spirit has come to me tonight in His fullness & spoke in tongues in me & sang also between 7 & 8 o’clock P.M. Bless His dear name. – Bros Hook & Kirk laid hands on me at Plumstead.

Mon 17 Feb: The Holy Spirit has been speaking thro’ me several languages – I can recognize Kru languages, Lagos language, Chinese language & others. He sang beautifully in Kru languages & others. I remember one word that I know in Congo language. Praise His dear name for ever.

Tu 18 Feb: The Holy Spirit spoke & sang thro’ me while singing. He danced with me. Cried when I thought of the suffering of Jesus Christ. I noted that the language I thought to be Chinese is Bassa language.

Wed 19 Feb: To [took] wife & baby for a ride, the spirit said so. The Holy Spirit sang & also danced with me. During the waiting time I formed a song ‘Glory Glory to the Lamb for evermore. Glory Glory to the king of kings for evermore’ etc etc & I was singing while doing my washing but the H. Spirit did not respond. Then I changed it & sang ‘Glory Glory to the Father for ever more’ & the H. Spirit shouted loudly & more loudly that it frightened baby. My wife also – I got astonished.

Th 20 Feb: There were certains foretold which were not true – For a voice said I will baptize 1 person at Akerman Rd meeting & I went there & it did not happen. So I thank God the Father of Jesus Christ has led me to see that the Evil one trying to deceive me & I plead the Blood.

Fri 21 Feb: I wrote another letter to my brother telling him not say anything about the letter I posted him yesterday. Praise God His Blood is protecting me.

Sat 22 Feb: To Akerman Rd meeting & the Spirit of God was in the meeting.

148 A family of languages spoken along the coasts of Liberia and Côte d’Ivoire.
Sun 23 Feb: To “Zion” Furnival Hall & was led to read Luke 11. Oh the Spirit of God was in meeting & in the evening to Akerman Rd. Greene visited & I took him to Cann.

Mon 24 Feb: The Holy Spirit began to work again upon me. Made a sign to me to buy bacon & to refused (sic) the one I wanted to buy.

Tu 25 Feb 1908: The Holy Spirit made a sign to buy things from the shops – He made another sign showing me a man possessed of the devil & led me home after by the same he led me out not knowing where & took me exactly where I buy my bread to buy cheap. In the night He led me out & made a sign to take a car [tram] to Vauxhall pointing to a man in the car, the man got out Vauxhall but he took another car & went off there. I asked the H. Spirit to direct me but no answer came & I started to walk homewards & He directed me towards the same direction walking as then asking the reason why he made me walking in the rain & sign came that He is punishing me, then I said ‘Jesus has borne all my punishment’, then directed me to take a car & said it is the devil that is possessing me, then I said No! It is the Holy Spirit & pleaded the Blood of Jesus.

Wed 26 Feb: ???

Th 27 Feb: Thank God for the wisdom he has given me to watch the temptation of the evil one & I have prayed Him to stop which He has & continues to be faithful to me, praise his loving name. To Plumstead & the room was filled with demons – hard as rock but God gave the victory towards the end.

Fri 28 Feb: [no entry]

Sat 29 Feb: To Akerman Rd. Da Costa\(^{149}\) came to live here again with us.

Sun 1 March-Mon 2 March: [no entries]

Tu 3 March: To Cantel’s & spoke to him about food – that all food is good. Gave him several passages of Scripture relating refs.

Wed 4 March: [no entry]

Th 5 March: To Akerman Rd.

Fri 6 March: To Greene’s house and spoke about sanctification to himself & wife. Returned home about 11.30 P.M.

Sat 7 March: [no entry]

\(^{149}\) The family of E. José da Costa was prominent in Elmina. This is more likely to be the son, Manoel da Costa.
Sun 8 March: To Bridge Rd Wesleyan Chapel – morning. To Cantel’s in the evening.

Mon 9 March: [no entry]

Tu 10 March 1908: Brother Boddy\textsuperscript{150} was telling me I dreamed that Brother Baker(?) had received his pentecost and spoke in tongues for 5 hours but before his pentecost he fought with demons for 3 hours.

Wed 11 March: To Gamage’s\textsuperscript{151} & he promised to find me some work.

Th 12-Sat 14 March: [no entries]

Sun 15 March: To Cantel’s and I as I was testifying to the leading of the Holy Spirit regarding Pork & was just going to quote Jesus’ own words in Mark 7.12 when he stop me from proceeding further in that.

Mon 16-Th 19 March: [no entries]

Fri 20 March: I paid 10/- for 3 fowls & coop from Mrs White (downstairs).

Sat 21 March: To Akerman Rd meeting & we all went to Bethel Hall to hear brothers from America.

Sun 22 March: To Wesleyan Bridge Road, went to the morning. To Cantel’s in the evening & God was mightily present.

Mon 23 March: We got an egg from our chicken.

Tu 24 March: To Baptist mission Hall in Bridge Rd & gave a testimony.

Wed 25-Fri 27 March: [no entries]

Sat 28 March: To Bethel Hall & the Holy Spirit was there in power amongst the baptized.

Sun 29 March: To Confirmation meeting at Akerman Rd & all were confirmed except Bro Hook. Messages to Bros Kirk & Challi as an evangelist. Myself to South America as a Pastor but was not properly confirmed. To the Baptist mission at Bridge Rd &

\textsuperscript{150} Alexander A. Boddy (1854-1930), Vicar of Monkwearmouth, near Sunderland, and a leading influence in early Pentecostalism. The second issue of Boddy’s free monthly publication *Confidence*, ‘A Pentecostal paper for Great Britain’, May 1908, p. 19, contains the following: ‘The cost of the first issue of “Confidence”, with Supplement and postage (3,000 copies) was a little over £13. This heavy item was met by one of the Lord’s Stewards (TBW).’ See Gavin Wakefield, *Alexander Boddy. Pentecostal Anglican pioneer* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2007).

\textsuperscript{151} Gamage was a large department store in Holborn Circus, on the western edge of the City of London.
delivered my testimony there, the Lord was in the midst. Bro Hook prayed & the Pastor closed the meeting sharply because Bro H prayed in tongues.

Mon 30-Tu 31 March: [no entries]

**Wed 1 April 1908:** To Bethel Hall - Bro Riley took the meeting.

Th 2 April: I believe I am let to pray for the Gift of Tongues & the interpretation thereof – So, I have prayed for them. I think it was tonight that I heard a voice saying “Every one whom the Father gives me will come to me”. Jo. 6.3.

Fri 3-Sat 4 April: [no entries]

Sun 5 April: Asked about Bro Riley & party regarding sending something & an affirmative answer was given me. To Wesley chapel Bridge Rd. Spoke to (Pastor A?) Bennett about the congregation. To Battersea Congregational Church & partook of the Lord’s Supper.

Mon 6 April: To the Bank of BWA. To Bethel Hall for few mins.

Tu 7-Wed 8 April: [no entries]

Thur 9 April: To Akerman Rd & the Lord was there in power. Testified & spoke about the importance of love; led by the Spirit of God to say it.

Fri 10 April: [no entry]

Sat 11 April: Paid for 12 chickens & brought them home 7/-; Met Greene at Camberwell Green[e] & went with him to Bethel Hall & then to my surprise the Power of God was upon him & he shouted praise God etc, etc. I praise God for it.

Sun 12 –Mon 13 April: [no entries]

Tu 14 April: Drew the £500 from B.B.W.A. this morning. The Devil tricked me again regarding the signs [Cross in red ink by Ettie]

Wed 15 April: Bought 12 more chickens for 6/-. 

Th 16 April: The Lord showed me to put the £500 in Charing X Bank in two separate deposits & I did so. [Cross in red ink by Ettie]

Fri 17 April: I saw one of the chics (sic) ill & I asked God if I should pray for its recovery, the Lord said ‘No’ & we tried to make it recover by putting it in a warm place but it died few minutes. Praise His Name!

Sat 18 April-Fri 1 May: [no entries]
Sat 2 May: Brothers Clarke & Wilkinson came here to tea. Posted Greene £30 by the Lord’s leading & the Lord told me not to register the letter. [Cross in red ink by Ettie]

Sun 3 May: Greene came to Bethel Hall & we parted at Camberwell Green.

**Mon 4 May 1908:** God confirmed that I should sent (sic) the £15 to Bro Boddy & I did this morning. He also told me not to register the letter. [Ettie added in red ink: ‘and wife and children starving’]

Tu 5 –Wed 6 May: [no entries]

Th 7 May: This morning while praying the Spirit prayed in tongues for about about (sic) a minute & gave few interpretations, also spoke few sentences in English. I believe I am receiving the Gift of interpretation.

Fri 8 May: I think in my dream this morning that God said “Speak tongues Knox mission” but I thought God wanted people baptized sent to that mission for training. I thought it was in Germany. I asked the Lord about it & when I awoke He said No training No Germany. Dreamed again a girl was praying & said I would understand when it is fulfilled. Bethel Hall all night.

Sat 9 May: Came home this morning to about 6.30. Rec’d a letter from Africa of the death of Isaac my brother.152

Sun 10 May: The power of God was so manifest in the meeting. He began to work on my arms & also my fingers.

Mon 11 May: Bros O’Reilly, Townsend & Bristow to Liverpool. Rec’d a letter from Bro Boddy to write a testimony to healing & I asked the Lord whether I should. He said ‘No’.153 To Bethel Hall & they are stopped to go to the Hall any longer. So we had prayer in their house or apartmt & the Lord was there in power.

Tu 12 May: Bro Thos Clarke Davies came to live in this house.

Wed 13 May: No entry.

Th 14 May: To Plumstead & had beautiful meeting with Bro O’Reilly & party.

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152 Isaac Wilson died at Furrah Junction, on the Ancobra river. *The Gold Coast Leader*, 16 May 1908, p. 5, reported that Isaac was ‘the last child of old T.B. Wilson and Madam Hannah Mensah, the oldest leader of the Wesleyan Society here [Dixcove] and brother to the respected Wilson brothers and sisters of this place. His eldest brother Mr T.B. Wilson Jr. has been in England for the last seven years.’

153 This would be for inclusion in Boddy’s Pentecostal monthly *Confidence*. 
Fri 15 May: I went to Waterloo Station & saw Bro O’Reilly & party off to Southampton for South America.

Sat 16 –Mon 18 May: [no entries]

**Th 19 May 1908:** Bro Clarke Davies said in a year’s time I shall either be a rank spiritualist or an atheist or rather a simple believer in X [Christ].

Wed 20-Tu 26 May: [no entries]

Wed 27 May: To Brother Hook’s & while we were praying He said the Lord had told him to lay hands upon me for something & He obeyed. I asked the Lord what it was for. He said He would let me know presently.

Th 28 May: Auntie & Uncle Simons came here to tea.

Fri 29 May: Bro Kirk came here to tea. Kate also came here.

Sat 30 May: [no entry]

Sun 31 May: To Cantle’s meeting in the morning. To Bethel Hall proclaimed Christ in the street & read few words of Scripture & testified in the Hall.

Mon 1 June: To Bethel Hall proclaimed Jesus in the street & spoke in the Hall.

Tu 2 June: To the bank: led to see Bro Humphries. To Mrs Meade in 76 Church St Chelsea & spoke about the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. To Bethel Hall proclaimed Jesus in the street & spoke in the Hall; a brother questioned me regarding Faith.

Wed 3-Sat 6 June: [no entries]

Sun 7 June: Bethel hall & the Spirit was powerful in the meeting.

Tu 9 June: To Bethel hall.

Wed 10 June: To the City & withdrew the lost money in the Bank £1.11. 0. To Bethel Hall. [Ettie adds cross in red ink]

Th 11 June: To Plumstead & spoke to Sister Estelle.

Fri 12 June: I rec’d a letter from my brother about paying Isaac’s debts with the money in his hands - & I replied him today. To Bethel Hall – heard of the sisters (Salvation Armyists). [Ettie added a cross in red ink]

Sat 13-Wed 17 June:[no entries]
Th 18 June: To York Rd Mission tonight.

Fri 19 June: Asked the Lord today about the 7th chapter of Romans & he said it is not a sanctified life & I asked again if Christ was baptized with the Holy Spirit & spoke in tongues. He said ‘No’. He was anointed with the H.G & with power.

Sat 20 –Wed 24 June 1908: [no entries]

Th 25 June: To Plumstead.

Fri 26 June: [no entry]

Sat 27 June: To Plumstead & spoke about faith from Mark 11 as the Spirit directed me. Then returned to Bethel & attended the meeting there.

Sun 28 June: Bro & Sister Price attended the morning service at Bethel Hall.

Mon 29 June – Fri 3 July: [no entries]

Sat 4 July: To Bethel Hall & while cycling home with Brother I fell with my bike & cut my chin & my knee.

Mon 6-Tu 7 July: [no entries]

Wed 8 July: I fasted today & we had a special meeting tonight at Bethel & God was mightily in our midst. A sister was under the power of the Holy Spirit & recd when she went home.

Th 9 July: To Peckham Rye & heard Mrs Penn Lewis preach. Ethel slept Ettie’s room with her. I in the sitting room & I woke up in the night meditating when I saw the bust of Jesus looking towards the East & disappeared. Towards the morning between waking & sleeping I saw large letters of words across the room thus --- 11th The Cross --- I could not read the words before or after those words.

Sat 11 July: After the meeting a lady said I have offended her & Mrs Newland about the Wednesday meeting by not allowing them, to come. I said I did not do anything of the kind intentionally.

Sun 12 July: I did not go to Bethel Hall today. I was led to go to Akerman Rd tonight.

154 Jessie Penn Lewis (1861-1927), evangelical revivalist and missioner. Born in south Wales, Lewis married in 1880 and moved with her husband as his employment changed. Plagued by ill-health, Lewis sought spiritual sanctification and a life of personal holiness, a consecration she found in the 1890s which led to extensive work in international mission. She was a close friend of Evan Roberts, one of the leaders of the Welsh revival of 1904-5.
Mon 13 July: To B. Hall.

Tu 14 July: To Y.M.C.A. meeting at Lordship Lane, held by Bros.

**Wed 15 July 1908:** asked God this morning me afresh for tonight’s meeting at Bethel & praise Him He did & the meeting was full of His power. 1 woman was set free from the power of the evil one.

Th 16 July: Jam made today. I was led to go to Cantel’s meeting. Drew out the money from the Bank (Charing X) £200 (5 pds). [Cross in red ink by Ettie]

Fri 17-Tues 21 July: [no entries]

Wed 22 July: Fasting today began from last evening.

Th 23 July: (Chickens to sit). Some sisters came to the meeting from Brighton. I read the first part of ‘Trust’ June No. this morning & the Lord put the Spirit of intercession for labourers in the foreign field with weeping & then laughing and promised me that He will baptized (sic) hundreds of people in London alone this year & send some to the fields. Praise His Living Name. Davies friend slept here.

Fri 24 July: The Lord taught me (Rev 14) about the 144,000.

Sat 25-Tu 28 July: [no entries]

Wed 29 July: God came into the meeting (Bethel Hall) baptized a girl while my hands & a sister’s hands were laid upon her & she spoke in tongues. Bless Jehovah for His goodness.

Th 30-Fri 31 July: [no entries]

Sat 1 Aug: Paid £14. 2. 6. for Ettie’s furniture bought from the sale room.

Sun 2 Aug: Mary the maid servant came here. To Mrs Sherlock’s talked with her sister.

Mon 3 Aug: Bros & Sister from Plumstead & other places came to Bethel Hall at 3 service (& tea) & 6.30 service. Temptation of the Devil permitted but the Blood of Jesus is all my plea.

Tu 4 Aug: Strong manifestation seemed to abate from this morning.

Wed 5 Aug: Contradictions of past answers given to me this morning before he anointed me afresh. God came in the meeting (Bethel Hall) & baptized a lady while my hands were laid upon her according to His leading & she spoke in tongues. Glory be to God thro the Blood of Jesus.
Th 6-Tues 11 Aug: [no entries]

Sat 8 Aug: Bought a sack of mixed chicken food for 16/-.

Sun 9 Aug 1908: Led to lay hands on the 12 year old girl & the power of the Holy Spirit was upon her but did not speak in tongues.

Mon 10-Tu 11 Aug: [no entries]

Wed 12 Aug: The Lord graciously came to the meeting (Bethel Hall) & witnessed to the Baptism of a little girl of 12 years & anointed some.

Th 13 Aug: Stayed at home today. I did not even go outside the street door. Ettie went to Mortlake.

Fri 14 Aug: [no entry]

Sat 15 Aug: A drunken woman came to the meeting & talked much but God gave a faint relief. Lesson this morning Mark 6.

Sun 16 Aug: Lesson Deut. 25 & 26. The same woman came tonight, sobs but could not give herself to God. I spoke about water baptism.

Mon 17 Aug: Lesson given me by the Spirit this morning in Acts 10 so beautifully read.

Tu 18 Aug: Lesson this morning Mal. 2, 3 & 4 then 1 Cor. 2. 3 (Bethel Hall). Tonight a lady – the Christian Spiritualist told me among other things that the Spirit which was with her has left her since she came to these meetings. Bless God for it as I prayed God thro’ the Blood & bound the spirits with her etc in the name of Jesus.

Wed 19 Aug: Lesson Joel 2 – Rec’d a letter from Sister Townsend from South America.

Th 20 Aug: Lesson Mark 6. I did not go to any place of worship tonight.

Fri 21-Tues 25 Aug: [no entries]

Wed 26 Aug: Lesson 1 Cor. 16. A letter was sent me by brother A.A. Boddy Sunderland (with free literatures) asking me to ask God if it is His will to let me send him £20.0.0 for to print more of the free literatures. I asked the Lord & an answer came affirmatively to send the £20 - & I asked Him to confirm it to me by baptising 2 persons at the meeting tonight & He said “Yes”.

155 There are no diary entries for late 1908. Brem Wilson was later, and intermittently, the pastor of the Pentecostal chapel in Sumner Road, Peckham, in south London. Donald Gee, in his magazine Pentecost 26 wrote: ‘In 1906 two coloured ministers opened an assembly in Sumner Lane, Peckham, and returned from Sunderland in 1907 baptised in the Holy Ghost. It was stigmatised as the “Black Man’s Church”.’ See also
**Th 27 Aug to end year 1908:** [no entries]

**Notes for 1909 in 1908 diary**

[To Bro Carpenter, Bro Gordon, Bro Cawston – small sums of money paid. In the January ‘Cash Account’ for 1908 small sums of money received from Bro Richards, Mr Creer, Bros Baker, Greene, Maynard, Fregnell and Milstead, and Sisters Walsh, Cooper, Devitt, palmer, Thomas, Woodward and Sherlock.]

**1922**

*There are not entries in this diary for each day, and the gaps have not been indicated.*

Address in front cover:
Mrs Vaughan 55 St James’ Rd Plumstead

Sat 3 June: Mr Greene came in to lodge.

Th 8 June: The door was barred against me tonight. Gave me such awful beating near the top of Penrose St. Sat on one of the seats at the embankment & a young man gave his heart to the Lord. Took car [tram] to Abbey Woods & prayed & then preached before I returned home.

Th 15 June: Rabbits (new born rabbits) this afternoon. Arrested preaching at the Avenue Royal Exchange.\(^{156}\)

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*London’s Oldest Pentecostal Assembly* (nd. c.1948). Brem Wilson is reputed to have established the church ‘with another coloured brother J. Barnes who died in 1950 aged 82.’ Desmond Cartwright, ‘Black Pentecostal Churches in Britain’, *Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association*, XXVII, 2 (2007), pp. 128-36. An early mention of Brem-Wilson in Peckham is by the veteran Pentecostalist preacher T.B. Barratt who mentions ‘a coloured gentleman from London’; see his *When the Fell. An outline of my life* (Oslo, 1927), p. 156. In September 1908 Boddy’s *Confidence* stated: ‘Brother T. Brem Wilson is now having great blessing at Bethel Hall, Camberwell. The power and presence of God has been manifested mightily in recent meetings.’ (September 1908, p. 13). During the next month Boddy toured Britain by motor car and visited Brem Wilson in Battersea: ‘Then over the Thames and past Lambeth Palace to Battersea. Here we had a blessed time of conference with a dear African Brother who is deeply taught of God and lives in His Presence. May our God ever bless him and his. We were refreshed by that time of fellowship and prayer.’ *Confidence*, October 1908, p. 8. The Bethel mission as a place of Pentecostal worship is not included in the list compiled by Boddy in *Confidence*, July 1908, p. 2, which may indicate that it came into existence sometime in August 1908.

\(^{156}\) *South London Press*, 30 June 1922, p. 1, ‘Peckham Black Pastor in Court’; Brem Wilson was arrested for being disorderly. He was preaching behind the Royal Exchange and, according to the *South London Press*, ‘ejaculating Hallelujah, Hallelujah’ before a crowd of 400-500 people who were blocking the traffic. When a constable asked Brem-Wilson to stop preaching he asked the officer ‘Are you born again?’ In court he was ordered to find surety of £50 and to be of good behaviour for 12 months.
Fri 16 June: My case settled at Mansion House by a magistrate for a week’s remand & was taken to Brixton Prison. Examined & put in Hospital.

Sat 17 June 1922: My wife visited me. Chief Medical Officer sent for me & asked me questions & was put on observation room – took me out again to Hospital.

Sun 18 June: To Chapel – while praising God they shut me up, but I kept on preaching at the Spirit’s impulse.

Mon 19 June: Brother Folleffe visited me and afterwards I taken from the Hospital to a Cell alone.

Wed 21 June: Dreamed of some one threw something in the sea. There were 2 or 3 men in the water & it burst killed many fish large & small & went about gathering them & ors [others] also gathering. I saw Brother Wells in it.

Th 22 June: I asked the Lord about City preaching if not His will. No answer at all but if his will to dreamed a policeman. I dreamed I was preaching & I saw a policeman & I stopped preaching & got out of his way.

Fri 23 June: At Mansion House Court. Told to stop preaching in the City for a year on £50 bail or 3 months imprisonment. Green came & stood for me.

Sun 25 June: A youngman got saved who was with Ettie in the same club.

Sat 1 July: Commenced terribly against & a stranger came to stop me & gave him the book against me etc.

Tu 4 July: Ettie gave me £1.15. to pay for the frock coat & 2 trousers I bought before I went to Brixton Prison.

Th 6 July: My wife really wanted to kill me this morning by punching hard on my private parts & eventually ? but God protected me.

Th 3 Aug: Ettie & Sissie’s court case came on & dismissed with Sissie bound for a year.

Wed 23 Aug: My wife threw old cheese at my left eye. I thought the eye was smashed. I cried ‘My God! Lord Jesus, help me’, several times.

Fri 15 Sept: To Fulham Pentecostal meeting with my wife & children.

Fri 22 Sept: My second time of going to Fulham P meeting with my family.

Sun 1 Oct: Knocking me about in the streets after the tonight service.
Fri 17 Nov: Myself, Barnes\textsuperscript{157} & Sharral went to the funeral of young brother Chambers (27 yrs of age).

Fri 24 Nov 1922: I went to the funeral of Brother Cook (71 yrs of age).

\textit{Notes entered at the end of the diary for 1922 under the heading ‘1923’}:

\textbf{17 May 1923}: Kweku my son had accident at Stanford Rd School while playing & was sent to King’s [College] Hospital was pronounced on danger list. Visited him with Bro & anointed for healing.

20th May 1923: Ettie came in with Kwame while finishing my supper & carried on so much that I asked Kwame to go & call a policeman to see – When she heard that she went out after ripping my frockcoat & never returned.\textsuperscript{158}

\textit{And at the end of the diary}:

5/3/23: Received a cable from Joshua that Mother has passed away to the glory land. The cable was sent on Tuesday at 8 a.m. Reached here 9.10 am reporting her departure the previous night. Strange I told my wife I was not going out that day when mother’s body was lying in state for burial. Although I had not heard anything & yet I remained quiet until I went to the ?? the night.\textsuperscript{159}

Mon 30 July: This message was given me early this morning (31\textsuperscript{st}): ‘He that trusteth in Him shall be safe’.

Tu 31 July: Rec’d a letter from Morgan in Farnborough that Kwesi is very ill indeed. So I replied.

Wed 1 Aug: The Apostolic Church in Wales sent me 40/- for my fare. I went to Northwood Sanatorium to see Kwesi who is very ill & Lord help us.

Th 2 Aug: Paid for my ticket this afternoon.

\textsuperscript{157} Barnes – is this William Barnes, born West Africa (1867-1950), from Cape Coast family, a dentist practicing in London with whom Brem Wilson founded the Peckham meeting?

\textsuperscript{158} Relations between Esther and her husband deteriorated. Brem Wilson was reported as having been too familiar with women at the mission, inciting Esther’s jealousy and leading her to occasionally disrupt services there. In late 1920 Esther complained to the police that her husband had been cruel to her and she requested a legal separation. The case was heard at Lambeth police court in December 1920, the police magistrate recommending the couple to separate; see \textit{The News of the World}, 20 December 1920, p. 3, and \textit{South London Press}, 17 December 1920, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{159} According to the family, Thomas’ uncle, Ebenezer Brem Wilson came to Britain, was in a nursing home but died in an hotel in Liverpool in the 1920s; he was buried in a pauper’s grave in the city.
Sat 4 Aug 1923: The Lord woke me up about 5 a.m. Had my usual devotions & went downstairs & couldn’t get out so I went by the back over the wall. Arrived Llanelly about 2 P.M. – some man asked to a brother Jones’ house & had tea.

Tu 7 Aug: Posted to Mr Clarke with enclosure of 10/- for my wife.

Sun 12 Aug: I dreamed I saw my boy Kwesi.

Mon 13 Aug: I left Penygroes this morning to Llanelly to catch train for London – 1.10 P.M. arrived Penrose St at 7 P.M.

Tu 21 Aug: My wife moved her things to her own rooms which she had saying she is not going live with me any more. She still slept in my place.

Sun 2 Sept: One brother & sister baptized in water by Brother Welch because the sister would not allow a Blackman to baptize her.

Th 4 Oct: My wife brought back the things which she moved.

Tu 16 Oct: To Hammersmith – Pastor Allen & had a good meeting – a sister was Baptized in Spirit.

**Sun 6 Jan 1924**: Barnes told us what the Lord had revealed to him this morning. Written across the sky – 1924 the harvest great year - & people were flocking to see terrified.

Sun 13 Jan: Spoke in the City Rd mission at 3.15 service.

Tu 15 Jan: I told bro Jonah not to sit on the platform or prophecy (sic) in our meetings until he repent.

Mon 21 Jan: The Lord shewed me that James should take my place in my absence in answer to my prayer.

Tues 22 Jan: Early this morning I dreamt of dental organs which I believe means severe illness or death etc etc.

Sat 26 Jan: I left London 9.30 A.M. and arrived Hereford in the ? Bro went to his shop with brother Stanton & bought me a hat, a pair of trousers, waistcoat, ties, collars & front.

Tu 29 Jan: To dinner at his house.

Wed 30 Jan: To dinner at his ? He gave me £2. The dentist finished my teeth & charged me 25/-.

Sat 2 Feb: This afternoon for – this teaching of healing. The evening for evangelism.
Mon 4 Feb 1924: A little old sister gave me 10/- this morning and another old sister gave me 2/6 tonight in the meeting.

Wed 6 Feb: Arrived at Leominster.

Th 7 Feb: Some of Hereford people came here. Mrs Smith gave me 12/6.

Fri 8 Feb: Mrs Jones 20/- to me this morning.

Tu 12 Feb: One sister gave me 4[s].6.[d] Mrs Smith came from Hereford and was mightily saved & many baptized in Spirit.

Wed 13 Feb: The landlady on the farm got wonderfully this morning. Four were baptized in Spirit this afternoon meeting.

Th 14 Feb: This morning I had a dream of John wearing glasses blue line & he asked for his broom which a woman had hidden (I was watching the woman) & he got it from her. Mrs Nosworthy rec’d Baptism this morning.

Memoranda C.F. Hutchison160 23 Highbury Crest N5.

Sun 16 Feb 1925: Bro Hart with Bro Stanley began to do up the Mission – God’s House.

Sun 8 March: Message to me from the Lord by Bro James that he will give me the desire of my heart for he has heard my secret prayers will see things.

Tu 17 March: Did not give her [Ettie?] her fare as I have not enough money.

Sun 22 March: Ettie took my two glasses costing 32/6 & other things.

Mon 13 April: Followed Ettie & she entered the Police Station & not satisfied & coming out she ran again from me not answering me ? with when & where she was going.

Mon 20 April: My wife away from me – to Westcliff-on-Sea.

Wed 29 April: Bro Welch gave me 11 eggs & my chickens on them.

Th 30 April: A scandalous post card sent me in the mission.

Th 7 May: In bed this morning. These words came: Trust you, Trust you in the Lord. Trust, Trust for always.

160 Charles Francis Hutchison (1879-after 1930), the son of William Francis Hutchison. By 1922 C.F. Hutchison was a successful businessman in the Gold Coast having established in 1920 the Swan Mount Trading Co Ltd which had offices in Accra, Winneba, and in London. See Doortmont, The Pen-pictures, pp. 13-14.
**Sun 17 May 1925**: Kwame rec’d his Baptism tonight at the mission.

Tu 19 May: 1 chick hatched.

Wed 20 May: She hatched two more today.

Fri 5 June: Pastor Stephen Jeffrey’s laid hands on me.

Sat 6 June: To Malton from Liverpool St Station.

Sun 7 June: Preached 3 times 24 persons yielded to Jesus

Tu 9 June: 3 persons yielded to Jesus.

Wed 10 June: 4 persons yielded to Jesus.

Th 11 June: 3 persons yielded.

Fri 12 June: To London from Malton.

Fri 13 June: Arrived Glasgow from London. 1 saved in Paisley church tonight.

Sun 14 June: 6 saved in Paisley church.

Tu 16 June: 3 rec’d the Baptism in Spirit.

Wed 17 June: Dream of Coconut tree that have borne lots of coconuts also palm nuts.

Th 18 June: 3 children gave themselves to the Lord tonight.

Mon 22 June: Dreamed that my wife had married to that George.

Wed 24 June: 1 girl was Baptized in Spirit.


Fri 26 June: A young sister Baptized in Spirit.

Sun 28 June: Renfrew St Church 1 young woman saved & 1 Baptised in spirit.

Mon 29 June: I dreamed of fishes stranded at a corner of a shore. Planned to see the Lord’s work at the seamen’s mission at Glasgow tonight.

Tu 30 June: We – Pastors Turnbull & Larkins & Prophet T. Turnbull & myself with motor car from Glasgow about 7 A.M. arrived at Thurso about 8 PM.
**Wed 1 July 1925:** Joined the S.S. St Ola landed at Stromness & preached on the night.

Th 2 July: Preached in the open air & also in the church.\(^\text{161}\)

Fri 3 July: Trip by motor car to Kirkwall & back again to Stromness open air & inside.

Sat 4 July: Open air & inside.

Sun 5 July: 2 Brothers rec’d their baptism. To Dounby & preached there.

Mon 6 July: Open air & in the church.

Tu 7 July: Open air & inside.

Wed 8 July: Open air & inside.

Th 9 July: Open air & inside.

Fri 10 July: After the service I, Dick & Tom Turnbull & George went fishing. To Kirkwall & preached open air & inside as well.

Sun 12 July: To Dounby again this afternoon & preached. Open air & inside & open air after service.

Mon 13 July: To the Cathedral.

Tu 14 July: From Orkney Islands & slept at Inverness.

Wed 15 July: Arrived Glasgow after 4 P.M. I preached at the seaman’s mission tonight & a woman got saved.

Th 16 July: Arrived London tonight about 6.30 P.M.

Sun 30 Aug: A motor car knocked me down about 9.15-9.30 carried to King’s College Hospital.

Sun 27 Sept: Began preaching at Ystradgynlais.

Sun 26 Oct: Bro Welch didn’t attend.

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\(^{161}\) *The Orcadian*, 9 July 1925, p. 8, has a brief note of members of the Apostolic Church preaching indoors and in the open air.