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JOHN ALEXANDER BARBOUR-JAMES

Jonathan Oates

A century ago there were very few black people living locally. The 1921 census statistics list the number of people born overseas, and in Acton there were 13 people who had been born in Africa. In Ealing there were 14. Furthermore, 25 Acton and 99 Ealing residents had been born in the West Indies. Some of these people would have been white, so we cannot know for certain how many black people were living locally at the time. However, we can be certain that we are looking, therefore, at a very small number of people. There were, for example, far more French or American born residents in Ealing at this time than those from Africa or the West Indies.

One black resident who is not unknown is Grace Stevenson, who committed suicide in Ealing in 1919 as a result, in part, because of racial taunts from lads in the street. In 1926 a black youth stabbed his tormentor in Ealing High Street. However, not all black people locally had such terrible experiences. Cleo Laine and her family, for one.

Another was John Alexander Barbour James, who is not a well known figure in local history and even I was unaware of him until 2015. He was, however, perhaps the most influential black man in this locality in the 1920s and 1930s, and features in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, yet is only known to a few. I will be exploring his life and achievements, focussing on his time in London.

Barbour-James was born in the Berbice-Courantyne district of British Guiana on 5 June 1867 (from 1966 Guyana). His parents were both of African descent, his

Berbice-Courentyne district of British Guiana (Guyana)

father being a farmer. He went to the Congregational school at Hope Town, to Bath School and to Rodborough House School. He also taught younger children. This education enabled him to take a job in the civil service and he became a clerk in the postal service from about 1882. He soon became postmaster, partly because he studied telegraphy and undertook a law course by correspondence. He was also active in the Anglican Church and in helping others in self help projects, founding the Victoria-Belfield Agricultural Society, involving planters, peasants, officials and teachers, which he gave to the people of the colony and was rewarded with a testimonial and money. He was later given a monetary award for this and for another project he was involved in but in both cases gave the money he received back to the institutions he had been working for. He was described as being 'a leading coloured advocate of imperial interests' During the Boer War he organised a charity in aid of the dependants of British soldiers and sailors.

He was also concerned about the lynchings of black people in America. However, on raising these worries with his elders, with a view to approaching Queen Victoria on behalf of their fellow Africans, he was told they should not do so. This was because the elders believed that any British comment about what happened in America would be resented as interference in purely domestic American politics.

In 1894 he married Caroline Thelma Louisa Spooner who was about six years his junior and had been born in Georgetown. They had eight children. The third, Walter, was named after the benevolent governor of the colony, Walter Sendall. Another son was named after a leading Liberal MP and later prime minister, Herbert Asquith. Barbour-James was an ambitious man, eager to improve the lot of his fellow Africans. He also wanted to go to the land of his forefathers. So he obtained a transfer to the Gold Coast (1957, Ghana) postal service in 1902. Again, as before, he founded self help schemes to assist farming schemes, which also involved doctors, lawyers and businessmen. He created a library that he had secured from Messrs Elder Dempster for the Gold Coast Reading Club and promoted the first local Agricultural Exhibition in 1908. In his official capacity, both Europeans and Africans found him to be efficient and courteous in his work during peace and war.

Cape Coast Castle, Gold Coast & postage stamp, 1902

In 1905 at Cape Coast Castle he gave a lecture about the need for agricultural improvements there. This, he argued, could only be achieved by education and one way to do this was to hold agricultural exhibitions. Together with other officials and with the support of funds from the governor, these were held throughout colonial West Africa.

Meanwhile his family lived in England, settling in Acton by 1905, but possibly as early as 1902. It is possible that he suffered what would now be called racial abuse initially for in 1923 he said 'he came to Acton over 20 years ago, and had lived down one or two unpleasant early experiences'. We don't know what these were, however, but as perhaps the sole black inhabitant in a locality it would not be surprising if a few people had taken exception to his having a different appearance to them. They lived at 19 Birkbeck Grove from 1908-1915, a small terraced house just off the busy Uxbridge Road.

They are listed there on the 1911 census as follows:
Joseph William, aged 17 and a student, Muriel Louisa, aged 14, Cynthia Beryl, aged 12, all born in Georgetown, as had the eight year old Beryl Winifred Agatha. Ten year old Winifred Evelyn had been born in Victoria (all in British Guiana). All were at school. Finally there were Caroline Amy aged 5 and John Asquith Victor aged two, both of whom had been born in Acton. There were, unusually, no servants and so predictably Mrs Barbour-James was not employed outside of the

house. In any case, in the same year as the census she gave birth to another daughter, called Mabel. It is not known where the ten year old Henry was living at this time.

The children may well all have attended Acton Central School. John went to Acton College and later Chiswick polytechnic, where Joseph may have studied before him. John later went on to take an electrical engineering course at Acton Technical College.

Little is known about the family's social life but it seems they worshipped at All Saints' church in south Acton.►

Joseph was organist there for a time and his younger brother Henry was a leading chorister.

This picture of his sons in the church choir at the time is the oldest picture to show black people locally. John was very musical, too, as was his sister Caroline. He was on the PCC of the parish church of St. Mary's and was also a sidesman, as

was his son, John. In his writings he stated that God made man to overcome the difficulties in his way. A newspaper report stated that they 'have won the respect of a large number of residents in the town'. They were also on good terms with the Hampden-King family, with Mr Hampden-King being the Immigration Agent-General of British Guiana, and the Clarkes; Mr Clarke being Customs Officer for the Gold Coast.

Statue of Cecil Rhodes , Oriel College, Oxford University

When he was on leave he would stay with them. There he was equally hard at work, giving lectures, such as one in 1907 at the Acton Central Hall titled 'The Colony of British Guiana, South America' and writing *The Agricultural and other Industrial Possibilities of the Gold Coast* which was published in 1911. This was a detailed examination of the colony's history, transport, finance and of course its agricultural products. It also indicates the author's support for the British monarchy and empire, as well as his call for a 'West African Cecil Rhodes' (the recent agitation against Rhodes' statue would have appalled him). Under imperial patronage he also produced the African Gift Book, the proceeds of which went to the British Red Cross and the Society of St. John of Jerusalem.

The next few years were years of personal tragedy. Four of his children – Joseph, Henry, Cynthia and Edith died in 1915 and Mabel died in 1919. His wife died in 1917. Barbour-James had been unable to attend the funerals in 1915 and 1917 because he was at work in Africa. On the first occasion, when two of his children had died on the same day, there was a very large gathering at the funeral and it made front page news in the local newspaper. He was cabled to in Africa when his wife died, but could not get back in time. When he returned in June 1917, the event of

Chapels in Willesden Lane Cemetery

his return was mentioned in the local newspaper and it said that the journey had been eventful; perhaps there had been the danger of submarine attack, this being during the First World War. All these people were buried in Acton's new cemetery on Willesden Lane and the service had been held in All Saints' church with the curate officiating. It is noteworthy that the newspaper report of the 1915 funeral did not mention their colour or nationality but one in 1917 referred to the family as being 'natives of the West Indies'.

By 1917 Barbour-James had retired from the colonial civil service on the grounds of ill health. Yet as a newspaper observed, 'It speaks much for his loyalty and patriotic spirit to record that in spite of the retirement which he has so well earned, he has taken up an important war appointment'. This meant that he was working as a civil servant in the War Office. He now resided at 84 Goldsmith Avenue, his home until 1933 and he called the house The Kieture, presumably after the waterfalls in British Guinea. It was rather more select than his earlier address. They had a telephone installed in 1929 at a time when few people were on the telephone. It seems the family got on well with the Smiths and Jarvisses who lived nearby and Caroline later visited them in the 1950s.

In 1918 he had become very physically ill. Dr Thornton diagnosed this as a minor attack of malarial fever and he became an inpatient of Acton Hospital. He stayed there for 17 weeks and eventually recovered his health. Whilst there he met one Mr Rennie, a fellow patient, and they discussed the possibility of a visit from Roland Hayes described as a 'negro tenor', but this was not to be. As we shall see, he was greatly appreciative of the work of the doctors and nurses there and was able to show his gratitude in a very practical manner.

He and his four remaining children were joined there by a middle aged headmistress, Barbados born Gold Coast resident Edith Rita Goring, who had founded the Girl Guide movement there, who initially resided in Camberwell. The two were married on 19 October 1920 at St. Dunstan's church ◄ in East Acton. On what must have been a very unusual and colourful occasion, many Africans and Caribbeans resident in London also attended. The white capped Chief Otuwa of Lagos, Nigeria and his entourage in full robes and regalia was there, too. The chief wore white and peacock blue robes of state. His party arrived by carriage but were late as they had initially gone to St. Mary's church before being redirected by a postman. You can see this event on the internet as Pathe News deemed it of such interest as to film it for showing at cinemas as, presumably, a novelty item. Barbour-James welcomed publicity and no doubt collaborated in this. Apparently 'The church was crowded…Acton, especially feminine Acton, was obviously taking a great interest in the wedding'. One newspaper referred to it as being the first significant wedding in London of black people.

Barbour-James now had time on his hands, but, in his mid fifties, he was as active as ever he had been and now he had no paid job to take up much of his time. He was involved in numerous organisations. These were the African Progress Union from 1918-1927, the League of Coloured Peoples, 1931-1947, he was founder and President of the Association of Coloured People in London in 1923. In 1919 he had joined a South African delegation to Lloyd George, then prime minister, and in 1924 guided people around the Gold Coast section of the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley. He also helped overseas students in London and enabled people of different backgrounds to meet. He also attended royal garden parties and presented representative Africans to the royal family. He represented one of his organisations to give condolences following the death of Queen Alexandria in 1926.

In 1919 he addressed a meeting at the Central Hall in Acton and it was reported on the front page of an Ealing newspaper under the heading 'Trust the Black Man'. His talk was described thus, 'Love and pride of race were blended with gratitude to England and a belief in her imperial mission'. He said that Britain was 'the world's champion of the right' and that Africans referred to 'Our Empire'. He said that the prince of Ashanti claimed his country had prospered under British protection and that he hoped that his subjects would enjoy greater rights. British and German rule in Africa were contrasted (there had been a German colony adjacent to the Gold Coast before 1915), and Barbour-James asserted 'on the whole British rule was very satisfactory and even handed justice was upheld'. However, Britain did need to place more confidence in the Africans who were loyal, intelligent and progressive, presumably men like himself, and deal with the subject people more tactfully.

Apart from himself, there were other Africans present at the meeting and as part of the evening's performance. Mr A. F. Adderley, described as an African vocalist, performed ballads and Miss Sylvia Acklam, described as 'a dainty little coloured lady' performed dances and recitals. Mr Broadhurst, secretary of the African Patriotic Union, a Mr J. Wade, chairman of the local committee, and Miss Wilkinson, daughter of Captain Wilkinson, a mid-Victorian African explorer and sportsman were also there. James Hamilton, chairman of Acton council, presided over affairs.

One of the big events in Acton which Barbour-James, said to be 'our well known African resident' organised was the visit of King Sobhuzall of Swaziland, with his African counsellors and Amoahll, Chief of the Gold Coast. In February 1923 these dignitaries attended a civic reception at the town hall and a charity concert in aid of the Acton Hospital Extension Fund. Among those present were the mayor, Alderman Kent and the MP, Sir Harry Brittain.

The visitors arrived in two cars and were cheered by local Cubs and Scouts. The King and his courtiers beamed at this and then went into the town hall council chamber. It had been decorated with union flags and bunting. The King was young, attractive and smartly dressed; his entourage wore suits and one had a

circular crown formed from a rib of dark leather. Among the audience of numerous local dignitaries were 'several members of the African community living in the neighbourhood'. There were speeches and much applause for the guests.

It was an evening when there was much mutual appreciation and celebration. Mr King Baker, who had written a history of Acton, presented a copy to the guests. He also asserted that 'the evening had been an object lesson to the town in the equality of races' and that Acton had always been a pioneer in great movements. Others talked about the great strides that Africans were making in terms of social, religious and economic improvements to their lives. The visitors expressed their thanks for the welcome they had had from everyone they had met in Britain from the King down. There was reference to the common humanity of mankind, the bond between the British and the Africans and for the greatness of the British Empire.

The music included songs from Madame Marie Lawrence, 'the singer of negro spirituals' such as Go down Moses and 'oh yes'. Miss Dorothy Callender, aged 17, and her parents, Mr and Mrs W. E. S. Callender, who had been born in the Caribbean, also gave musical performances. This was a highly musically talented family; the daughter had won the Bambridge scholarship in the previous year for her skill as a pianoforte soloist. She had also performed at the Steinway Hall on two occasions, performing Classical works on piano and winning much praise – these being reported on the front page on the Acton Gazette. The family lived at 56 King Edward's Gardens in Acton from about 1920-1923 and then left the district. Her father was a barrister.

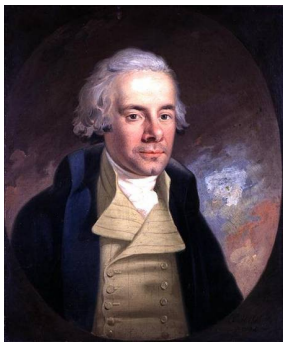
In 1925 the Prince of Wales and Princess Marie Louise went on separate tours of Africa. Before they went Barbour-James met them at both St. James' Palace and Buckingham Palace. He presented the Prince with a telegram from the Association of Coloured People, of which he was President, expressing their best wishes for a safe and pleasant visit. He presented him with an address, expressing

Prince of Wales watching a traditional dance, Freetown, Sierra Leone, 1925

appreciation of his visit to their ancestral lands and noted the concern of Queen Victoria for her African subjects. He presented the princess to Prince Ansah of the Ashanti and to Chief Amoh III of Cape Cook of the Gold Coast.

One of his major tasks was to inform people in Britain about Africans, for most would never have seen one, let alone have met one. Barbour-James sought to educate by letters to the press and by talking about, to use his words 'the various and high achievements in culture and arts by full-blooded negroes of both sexes'. He was a member of an African organisation known as the Elks. He was also involved in African and West Indian protest delegations, but he was not a radical; being a member of the Royal Empire Society and the Conservative Party, as well as being a freemason.

His work took him around the country. In 1925 he told a meeting in a church in Tottenham Court Road that the British were a foster parent to the coloured people. The latter were a remnant of a great past. He spoke appreciatively of the governors of Nigeria and the Gold Coast for their work in helping the colonies to progress. He said similar things at a meeting in 1932 when he praised a former governor of British Guinea for making a major road in the colony and how that helped the people there. In 1933 he preached in a Baptist church in Hull to mark the centenary of the death of William Wilberforce (once a Tory MP for Hull) and to celebrate his work in ending the British slave trade. In 1931 he founded the Tottenham branch of the YMCA.



William Wilberforce

There was also a service at the parish church in Acton to mark the Wilberforce centenary and Barbour-James took part in that. It was attended by the mayor and mayoress. Black performers gave musical accompaniment. There was a meeting in the church hall afterwards and a black clergyman spoke about how black Africans suffered from British businesses operating there. Barbour-James said he had never had any experience of such and that the role of the governor there was crucial.

As with his ancestors, Barbour-James was very musically talented, too, and was a poet-composer. In British Guiana he had sung in choirs. He organised all black musical services for the African Brotherhood and concerts by the Afro-West Indian community at the Imperial Institute. In 1924 and 1925 he had three works published; *Beautiful England*, a march for piano solo, *Dear Demerara*: march for

Imperial Institute, demolished 1957

piano and *Mighty Kaieteur*, march for piano solo. It will be remembered that he named his house after the waterfall in Guyana, too. These pieces of music were played by the British Guiana Militia Band led by Corporal Clement Nichols at the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley in 1925. He also wrote Christian songs as well, and with Edith published, in 1928, 'A Christmas Song' with lines such as 'On Christmas day the Great Redeemer the Virgin's son to us was born. And for our cares gave up himself as saviour of a world of sin'. His wife was also musically talented and in 1922 was noted as playing the piano at a meeting of the Acton Unionists Women's meeting.

He was a great believer in the British Empire as a force for good in the world, when compared to what had happened in Africa under German rule prior to 1914. Not all British officials were perfect, of course, but they were much better than the Germans had been. He said that officials should trust the black people more and give them greater rights and government. He said that black Africans had been loyal to what they termed 'Our Empire'. He gave various lectures on this topic locally, mostly in church halls, and African entertainers took part with music and song.

One thing he tried to put across was that he was not an exceptional African, but an ordinary one and that Africans were not uncivilised people who lived in jungles and wore loin cloths. He explained, for example, that he was not an exceptional black man who only wore a suit because he was a civilised man. Black people were civilised and wore similar attire to white people. They were far from savages as sometimes depicted in the media of the time.

Barbour-James seems to have had an optimistic view of the future. He had been writing to numerous American presidents about the lynchings which occurred in the southern states of America. He emphasised with them the need to uphold the law for all citizens and said that he had received sympathetic replies. He also spoke approvingly of the increases in expenditure for education of black people in America, and similar steps taken by Britain for Africans.

He also spoke about the achievements of Wesleyan Africans in the Gold Coast. He talked about the congregation having rebuilt their own church by their own efforts. Chief J.E. Biney provided £1500 for a pipe organ. All this work was recorded in an illustrated book which Barbour-James showed to all he could.

The power of the press was utilised by Barbour-James to spread his message and he stated that his 'only desire in having these facts presented in this country is to afford an opportunity for the liberal minded sons and daughters of Britain, of whom there are millions, to take pride in what their kinsmen have been the source of achieving for the Kingdom of God, which should also lead to a better mutual understanding'.

Apparently *The Acton Gazette* was particularly helpful and often had relevant pieces about his work on their front page. Barbour-James wrote a letter to the editor, stating:

'On behalf of the African Progress Union and all Africans, I write to express sincere thanks to you for your invariable intercept and courtesy in all matters by which they are affected.

'The persistent and continued services rendered on our behalf by your widely circulated journal in enlightening public opinion in this country about the correct viewpoints of the African peoples during a long period are very highly valued, and I fear it would be difficult for us to sufficiently render you what is your due'.

Muriel, his eldest daughter, began to make what she could of her own life in Acton. Some of what she did would certainly have met with her earnest father's approval. She had been the original local Alexandra Rose day girl. She was involved with the work of the Conservative Primrose League and even embroidered a banner for the group. She also helped out with local charities on flag days. She was accomplished in the art of art needlework, and was encouraged by her many white friends to take this up as a career. She seems to have been well liked in Acton.

Barbour-James' children began to leave home and follow their own careers. This was not always very smooth and their father had difficulties in adjusting to their behaviour. On a Sunday in 1925 the family were at the morning service of St. Dunstan's church. Muriel was at home and on their return they expected to see her there. However, they found a note that she had written, 'Dear Dad, I have got work and have gone there'. She had taken a few of her things and was thought to

have gone to East London. This disappearance seemed mysterious and was commented upon in some newspapers, much to Barbour-James' distress as he did not want his family's dirty linen seen in public.

Muriel was 28 and her own woman. Her father had not wanted her to take up any career, which she may have been influenced towards by her friends. It was stated, 'having no sympathy with the present laxity in regard to young people', her father was 'an old fashioned believer in proper discipline in the home and in the united family'. He was more concerned than the average modern father in believing that his daughters should obey their father.

Muriel left no forwarding address. Her father did not initiate a search for her, but would do all he could to assist those in authority to find her. He put a note in the local paper, appealing for her whereabouts to be known to him. It read 'Muriel. If not home, regrettable. Write to 2 Oriental Place, Brighton. Important'. We do not know when father and daughter were reconciled, but she does not seem to have returned to the family home in the next few years.

John left home in 1931 and eschewed an engineering life and concentrated on music. He became a popular artiste as a bass vocalist at various concert halls in and around London and sang before the microphone for the BBC. He was apparently discovered by the famous African actor, Paul Robeson and sang and acted with Robeson in a number of stage and film productions. These included *King Solomon's Mines* and *Songs of Freedom*. His sister, Caroline was a mezzo-soprano, was well known for singing negro spirituals and they associated with John Payne, an American baritone. In 1936 they broadcast with him in 'Tone and Colour'. They also took part as solo artistes in music at services at St. ◄Martins in the Fields, St. Andrew's in the Wardrobe, at Doctors' Commons and at other churches in London and the West End.

Paul Robeson in 1942

John took part in charity concerts, too. One was on behalf of the Greater London Fund for the Blind. He married one Gladys Thomas in 1936 and lived in Hackney, but they did not have any children in what was a short lived marriage.

He entered into a contract with Gaumont cinemas in 1937 to appear in their films. He featured in the prologue to the film *Show Boat* where he sang Ol' Man River

and other songs, some of them made well known by Robeson. In 1938 he was in the Gainsborough Studios film *Old Bones of the River*. Whilst shooting at the Shepperton Sound Studio there was a fire and he was injured. He was taken to Weybridge Hospital where he died three days later of burns and was buried at Weybridge Cemetery.

In 1933 a gold framed painting of himself was presented to his father by Miss Alice Fraser, a well known singer of negro spirituals. He was also given an illuminated address which was a tribute to his work. It read as follows:

'As a civil servant in the postal service of British Guiana, the land of your birth, you have by earnest devotion to duty, and integrity of character, rose to the highest rank of the service, and so merited the deserving promotion to the Gold Coast civil service, were, as Administrator of Post Offices, you so efficiently performed your office as to have won the admiration and commendation of the government and the people, leaving upon your retirement ingrate memories of your association there.

'It was an easy thing to spend your days of retirement in ease and comfort, but so great has been the desire to serve your fellow men that you have devoted the rest of your life in doing real good service here in the heart of the great metropolis, where you elected to reside, in order to improve the lot of the great race of which we are so proud to know you as a distinguished member'.

Barbour-James stated that he had always been politically independent in order that he could put the case of his people before members of all parties. He hoped to publish volumes of books showing the pictures he had taken of African customs. He had shown many of these pictures, which he had taken, as lantern slide lectures in many towns and cities in England.

The Barbour-Jameses – man and wife and daughter Caroline - left Acton in 1934 and lived in 60 Ivanhoe Drive, Hendon, and they retired to the West Indies in 1939. They were still remembered in Acton and there were articles about them in the Acton Gazette in 1938 and 1939. Acton artist Joseph Topham Vinall presented him with a painting of himself as a leaving present. What was only planned as a temporary stay became permanent as World War Two made crossing the Atlantic travel dangerous.

A number of Caroline's letters to her parents in the 1940s and 1950s shed some light on his later career. They lived at 305 Church Street, Queenstown, Georgetown and were active in the life of their church. He had been ill but hoped

Property at 299 Church Street, Queenstown, Georgetown, Guyana (The Barbour-Jameses lived at number 305)

to attend a reception he had been invited to meet Lady Baden-Powell. He also helped to erect a community centre at Victoria Village and inaugurated Sendell Park.

Caroline often met people in London who remembered her father with affection. A Mr Kirkpatrick had a brother in British Guinea and was 'talking about dad all the time'. One Sir Drummond Shields in 1951 sent her father his best wishes. At a Royal Geographical Society meeting members who knew him asked her when they might see him again.

The house at Goldsmiths Avenue was still owned by the family after they had left it and so it was presumably rented out. In 1951 Barbour James was in correspondence with his daughter about a proposed sale. There had been an offer of £450 but Caroline thought this was too low and that £1000 would be a more realistic offer. It seems that they held out for that for the property was not sold until after 1958.

He died in Georgetown, where he had once been postmaster, in 1954, the same year as his wife. In 1963 William Arno wrote to Caroline about her father, 'your dear father, Sir Barbour to his friends at this end' and added, 'He is remembered constantly by many in British Guiana and we feel assured that his soul rests in quiet repose'. Arno wanted a photograph of Barbour-James to install into the foresaid community hall.

Their other daughter Muriel, had been employed in the West Indies as a social worker, but later returned to England and died, unmarried as far as is known, in 1964. Caroline was employed as a secretary; she lived at 57 Christchurch Avenue, Kenton from about 1960. In 1947 she travelled to Trinidad and returned three years later. She never married and died in Brent in 1988.

Barbour-James had served Britain as a civil servant for many years and believed in the empire as a force for good. He also believed in the people of Africa and the West Indies and that they could improve themselves in that framework. He was not an uncritical admirer of Britain but believed that other countries managed their African colonies far worse; Germany before 1914 in particular. He was not an advocate of independence movements but that men should be treated with respect no matter what the colour of their skin. To some in the era of decolonisation of the 1950s and 1960s he would be seen as old fashioned and conservative. Socially he was certainly conservative in his outlook judging by his views on how his daughters should behave.

Caroline & John Alexander Barbour-James

As a footnote, two other black men expressed their views on Empire in this district in the early twentieth century. At a meeting of the Southall Brotherhood, a Christian association, in 1915 one of the speakers was from British Guiana and another was from South Africa. The first was a Mr S.S. Cambridge. He began by pointing out that the British Empire was populated by people of many races and religions. The question was that ruling must be just. He was concerned about the issue of skin colour, but he said that this was trivial and that Christianity as expressed by the Brotherhood would be the means to harmonise these differences. Mr Sol Plaatge talked about racial inequality in South Africa and how war had held up negotiations. He hoped that practical Christianity would help solve the grievances he and his fellow men were suffering under.