



a partnership
of churches
in mission

LEGACIES OF SLAVERY

CORE
GROUP
REPORT
2018

THE NATIONAL MEMORIAL FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE



FOREWORD

Council for World Mission has come a long way to have been daring enough to provide space for the hearings on legacies of slavery to take place. As one who participated in the hearings; and in my interaction with my colleagues in the Mission Development area, who directed this project, I have had the enviable pleasure and privilege to witness and to learn about the courage displayed by several individuals to tell their stories of pain, dislocation, struggle and hope regarding the impact of the legacies of slavery. Accordingly, I am pleased to commend this report to the Board of Directors, the CWM member churches and our ecumenical partners. In my role as General Secretary of CWM, and as one whose ministry, work and being have been devoted to overcoming the legacies of slavery in my own context and life, I regard this project and its outcome as strategic to the mission of CWM.

This is a bold, passionate and far reaching report. It expresses deeply the vision of CWM's theme Healing: Hope in Action. The deep feelings of

hurt, named in this report, is like Abel's blood crying out from the ground, calling for action towards healing and reconciliation and peace. If there is any organisation, with the historical encounters with suffering and struggle, that can hear these stories and rise to the challenge, it is CWM.

In 1977 CWM emerged as a way to dismantle our colonial mission past. We responded to the just calls of that moment in a spirit of joy and hopefulness and we can do so again. In a sense, this past has not been fully dismantled; we are still in a process of dismantling the power dynamics that divide and conquer. The Legacies report calls on us to continue casting out the colonial evils of racism that violate the gift of community, the meaning of church and the integrity of creation. The Legacies hearings also invite us to consider the call to restorative justice as concrete signs of repentance and renewal.

If the outcomes of these hearings of this project were shaped and made possible by the profound, risk-taking, and pain-staking investment of

struggling, searching victims of oppression, then I pray that CWM will be equal to this risk, pain and hope. I invite us to step forward with fresh zeal, passion and commitment to say, in our spirit of mutuality and mission, that we give ourselves to this journey; that we will embrace God's vision of justice and peace; and that we will work towards fullness of life for all creation. As we read this report we are going to discover that Christian organisations, including our antecedent bodies, have been complicit in the active and systematic dehumanising and impoverishing of peoples and that they did so in God's name.

The recommendations set out in this report are for our prayerful consideration and courageous response. May the God of justice stir us to act with holy outrage, causing the world to experience freedom and renew their faith in the God of life.

Rev Dr Collin Cowan

CONTENTS

1

CWM initiated the Legacies of Slavery project to address four areas

2

Background

4

Calling out complicity and treachery

5

Contested memories and silenced communities/Listen! Then if we have ears

6

Aim 1: CWM is looking to assess its own story and complicity with the systems of slavery

7

Complicities with Empires economy

9

Aim 2: Understand better the urgency of achieving racial justice and the issues which intersect with it

11

Aim 3: Find ways to advocate reparation with its member churches

12

Aim 4: Discover anti-Imperial models of Christian mission in today's world

13

Recommendations:
Healing-Hope-Action/Call for apology/Call for action on Reparation/Call for action on Whiteness

14

Call for the promotion of Black cultures and power/Call for theologies, missiologies and methodologies which amend for our colonial past/Call for programmatic development of the Legacies of Slavery findings

15

Call for further study and engagement/Call to others to join

CWM initiated the Legacies of Slavery project to address four areas:

- ◆ Assess its own story and complicity with the systems of enslavement and empire
- ◆ Understand better the urgency of achieving racial justice and the issues which intersect with it
- ◆ Find ways to advocate reparation with its member churches
- ◆ Discover anti-Imperial models of Christian mission in today's world.

Through four hearings constituted in the UK, Ghana, Jamaica and the US in 2017 and 2018 CWM confronted its racist and colonial past in the era of the London Missionary Society and other partner mission societies. We also bore witness to the persistence of racist powers and structures in the world, our societies and churches today.

The archives of London Missionary Society (LMS) / CWM revealed a complex history. Some instances of resistance to systems of enslavement became clear in LMS, especially from African and African descendent people. However, the survey also revealed the wide and deep extent of intentional and unconscious complicities with the policies and practices of Colonisation. LMS churches and missionaries echoed, advanced and in many ways baptised Empire's White Supremacist ideology as the norm of Christian mission and anthropology. In 1832, William Hankey, Treasurer of the LMS, spoke against emancipation to the British Parliamentary Select Committee investigating the case for outlawing the slave trade. He received compensation for the emancipation of 300 enslaved people worth over £630,000 in 2018 terms. The plantation he owned was sold in 1954 and the proceeds of that sale were transferred to CWM through the Commonwealth Mission Society.

The contemporary witness sharing in these four different but interconnected contexts reveal racism today is rooted in mentalities, spiritualities and systems which were developed to sustain and profit from evangelism and enslavement. The legacies of slavery are not a thing of the past, they are not past at all, but flourish in many forms, enslaving the minds, wounding the bodies and impoverishing the communities of African and African descendent people still. The report urges CWM and its member churches and partner organisations to confess the sins and legacies it owes. But also urges commitment to Jesus' mission which liberates us from sin, particularly the sin of racism and colonialism.

The report includes thirty recommendations. They call on CWM to make apology and offer reparations to invite restorative justice. CWM and member churches should find programmatic ways to combat Racism, act against White Privilege and promote Black power and cultures. Theologies, missiologies and methodologies are needed which amend for our colonial past. Further study is needed on the CWM history as well as extension of the project to address how mission, racism and colonialism has operated in other regions and aspects of CWM's history and life. As CWM shapes a new strategy for work beyond 2020, the report challenges CWM its member churches and partners to see that the freedom and fullness of life which Jesus offers is in fact an urgent call to confront and dismantle the sin, violence, structures and spiritualities of racism.

Christ's mission is to announce and embody liberation and redemption in the context of Empire. We live with powers and economies exploiting and demeaning African and African descendent people still. CWM stands with Black prophets like Zephaniah, the Ethiopian Eunuch, Quamina and the many who participated in the Hearings to declare that 'From beyond the rivers of Ethiopia my suppliants, my scattered ones, shall bring my offering. Then they will pasture and lie down, and no one shall make them afraid', (Zeph 3:12-13).

COUNCIL FOR WORLD MISSION

Legacies of Slavery Core Group Report

Background

The legacies of the Transatlantic Slave Trade shape the experience of millions of people in the world today, through the endemic, traumatic and intentional persistence of racial injustice, manifest in political, social, cultural, economic and religious life. These legacies cannot be written off as a thing of the past. With this in view, the Council for World Mission decided to address the legacies of slavery with four aims in mind:

1. Assess its own story and complicity with the systems of enslavement and empire.
2. Understand better the urgency of achieving racial justice and the issues which intersect with it.
3. Find ways to advocate reparation with its member churches.
4. Discover anti-Imperial models of Christian mission in today's world.

Photo: In 1966 the London Missionary Society and the Commonwealth Missionary Society merged to form the Congregational Council for World Mission (CCWM).



Four Hearings were organised around the route of the Transatlantic Slave Trade. They took place through 2017 and 2018, in the UK, in Ghana, in Jamaica and in the USA. Each Hearing produced its own report, but what follows here comes from the eight people who formed a core group to bring their reflections on all the Hearings. These are the core group members:

- **Rev Verna Cassels**
Jamaica/UCJCI
- **Ms Ayana McCalman**
Guyana/GCU
- **Rev Dr Peter Cruchley**
UK/CWM
- **Rev Dr Setri Nyomi**
Ghana/Former GS WCRC
- **Rev Dr Michael Jagessar**
Guyana/The Netherlands/UK URC
- **Rev Douwe De Roest**
The Netherlands/PKN
- **Minister Lynnette Li**
Singapore/CWM
- **Rev Dr Karen Georgia Thompson**
Jamaica/USA/United Church of Christ (USA).

Concern was voiced early in the process that the Hearings would be talk without outcome. The core group became mindful that the Hearings were in danger of making African and African descendent people relive the traumas of racism without creating space for White people to address and own their part in racism and White privilege. The outcomes of this report cannot allow this either. These Hearings put CWM under a burden of trust. The exposure of the sins of racism past and present must not be obscured or evaded.

CWM began to right the wrongs of its colonial past in 1977, by dismantling the Euro-centric basis of the mission relationships in the organisation. CMW became an organisation built on mutuality and partnership, sharing ideas, resources and people in mission as equals. The core group is confident that CWM can once again summon the will, hope and joy of committing to further this urgent task as it confesses and confronts the sin of racism in our history, present, churches, communities and systems.

Moments of realisation for some of the UK Hearing participants



Biblical reflections on hearing

Ending the silence

From beyond the rivers of Ethiopia[c]
my suppliants, my scattered ones,
shall bring my offering.

Then they will pasture and lie down,
and no one shall make them afraid.

¹⁴Sing aloud, O daughter Zion;
shout, O Israel!

Rejoice and exult with all your heart,
O daughter Jerusalem!

¹⁵The Lord has taken away the
judgements against you,
he has turned away your enemies.

Zephaniah 3: 10, 12,14

Depiction of Prophet Zephaniah



The Hearings gave opportunity to listen to many voices. The Prophet Zephaniah the son of Cushi is a Black voice to hear in the text. Zephaniah was a contemporary of Jeremiah who prophesied in the days of Josiah, ruler of the Kingdom of Judah (B.C. 641-610). His name reveals that Zephaniah was Black. His father was probably a Kushite (Sudan or Ethiopia geographically) who had a child with a Hebrew woman. Another possibility is that he was possibly a Hebrew with dark skin that resembled Kushites, and was named such because of his skin. Kedar, Abraham’s grandson was also named so, because of his dark skin. The Core group raises a Black voice from the biblical text, because the Hearings reflected how such voices and characters have been silenced and made invisible in White dominated readings. Zephaniah invites restoration and healing and testifies to the joy which will flow from sharing in such sacred prophetic tasks. The Church needs to listen to the Zephaniahs of our text and contexts.

Calling out complicity and treachery

The word that came to Jeremiah from the Lord, after King Zedekiah had made a covenant with all the people in Jerusalem to make a proclamation of liberty to them— that all should set free their Hebrew slaves, male and female, so that no one should hold another Judean in slavery. And they obeyed, all the officials and all the people who had entered into the covenant that all would set free their slaves, male or female, so that they would not be enslaved again; they obeyed and set them free. But afterwards they turned about and took back the male and female slaves they had set free, and brought them again into subjection as slaves. Therefore, thus says the Lord: You have not obeyed me by granting a release to your neighbours and friends; I am going to grant a release to you, says the Lord—a release to the sword, to pestilence, and to famine. I will make you a horror to all the kingdoms of the earth.

Jeremiah 34: 8 11, 17

Testimonies in the UK Hearing



One of the key repeated statements in the Hearings has been to ‘call out’ the systematic and persistent racism of Whiteness. White people and systems have been deceitful, deceptive and racist. For example, British history is often told as if this were the nation who abolished the slave trade, forgetting conveniently their complicity in founding it and the centuries of profit from it. The real and appalling truth, however, is that when slavery was finally outlawed, in the British Empire, the people who were compensated were the enslavers and not the enslaved. In 1833, Britain used £20 million, 40% of its national budget, to pay compensation to the slave owners. The amount of money borrowed for the Slavery Abolition Act was so large that it wasn’t paid off until 2015. Even after the act of emancipation slaves were expected to continue to work on the plantations as ‘apprentices’. This was slavery in all but name, as the apprenticeships were for up to six years and were without pay. There is a great deal White people and systems need to confess and restore. It cannot be said that this is all in the past, that African and African descendent people should just ‘get over it’ and move on

Contested memories and silenced communities



Dancers performing for the Africa Hearing

To what then will I compare the people of this generation, and what are they like? They are like children sitting in the market-place and calling to one another, "We played the flute for you, and you did not dance; we wailed, and you did not weep."

Luke 7:31-32

The Hearings made clear that the legacies of slavery are often contested by powers who profited from enslavement and who benefit still from the legacies of inequality in our economic system. African and African descended communities have made their demands for change to come in acts and voices of protest, sacrifice, endurance and grace and all too often they have been ignored by White interests who have sought to silence them or to 'correct' or moderate them. The Hearings have taken place expecting a response. They are music for a new dance and an outpouring of grief and anger to provoke weeping and more.

Listen! Then if we have ears

The Message to Philadelphia: 'And to the angel of the church in Philadelphia write: These are the words of the holy one, the true one, who has the key of David, who opens and no one will shut, who shuts and no one opens: 'I know your works. Look, I have set before you an open door, which no one is able to shut' Revelation 3: 6f



Dancers performing for the Africa Hearing

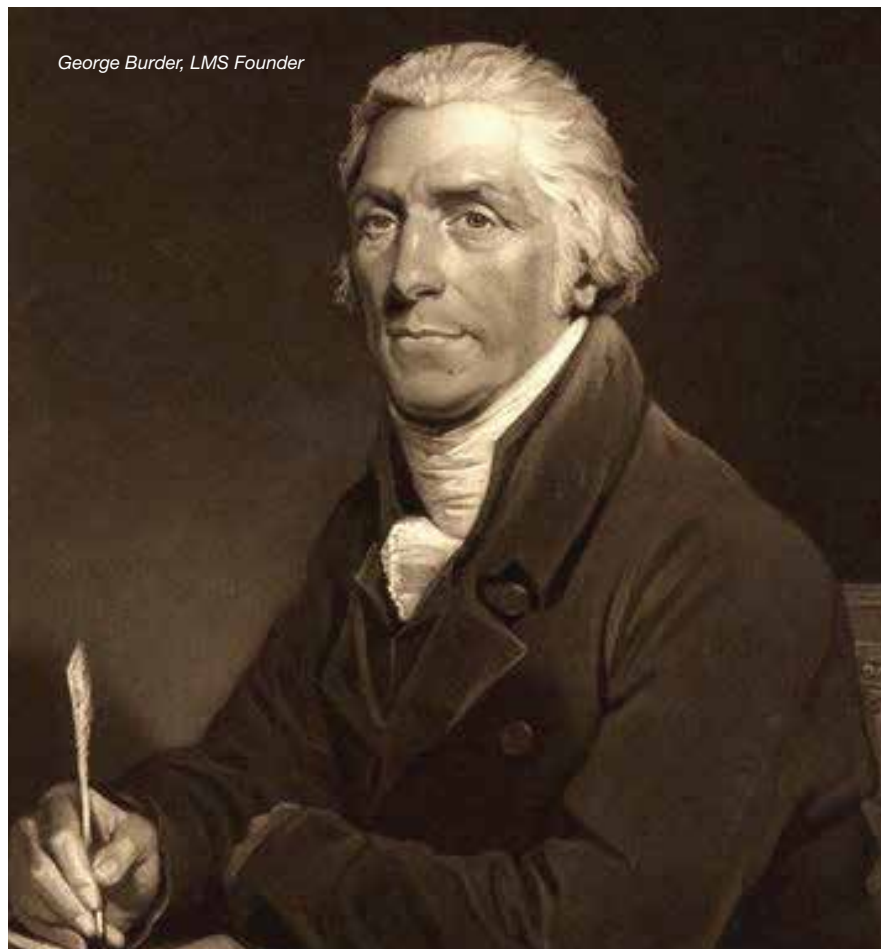
The recommendations of this report and the spirit in which the Hearings took place are offered then as a doorway God has opened. Through this doorway change can come because the Spirit is speaking in the witness and leading of African and African descended people. Where else should the Spirit turn but to a mission organisation? A mission organisation which recognises its complicities with Empire and seeks "Fullness of life Through Christ, for all Creation", which 'envisages a different world, a world inspired by the values of love, justice, peace and compassion. As CWM has said, 'Our vision inspires us to action, to decisively and urgently live out our faith, walking together as partners in God's mission and working in harmony with the whole of God's creation for its freedom and wholeness. Living the values of fullness of life for all creation, and resisting the norms of Empire we participate in God's alternative'.

Having heard from the four Hearings truths we cannot ignore the core group offer the following reflections and recommendations as the threshold of this open door.

Aim 1: CWM is looking to assess its own story and complicity with the systems of slavery

We recognise that legacies of slavery are different between and within the CWM membership. CWM is made up of communities and churches whose roots lie in the enslaving and enslaved. CWM's ethos of mutuality means the members need to account to each other for a history and for a present which has treated each other unequally. Systematic racism cannot be treated as a thing of the past. The institution of slavery may have come to an end in the British Empire in 1833 or in 1865 in the US or 1888 in Brazil, or 1962 in Saudi Arabia but racism continues to skew our politics, economics, education, culture and religion at all levels. The legacies of slavery manifested in personal and institutional racism continue to divide, destroy and despoil human lives, communities, nations and economies, from the continent of Africa to the communities of African descent peoples globally. The silence of London Missionary Society at the time of enslavement and emancipation means CWM must end the continuing silence over these issues now. CWM must confess that the evangelical piety which fired the founders of the LMS left injustice unchallenged as they sought not to 'disclaim all political views and party designs; abhorring all attempts to disturb order and government in this or any other country', (George Burder, London Missionary Society founder)

There are three dimensions to the legacies made clear from African perspectives on this era. Firstly, slavery depopulated the African continent, stealing its young and productive members for nearly 500 years. This had profound implications for the political history and economic development of its people. Secondly, this system of enslavement consolidated the 'dominant-dominated' relations between White and Black, making racism the primary justification for colonial exploitation. This racism continues to the present in different guises, in Africa and beyond. Thirdly, White people and their descendants reaped more than economic benefits from slavery. Fed better, the population of Europe increased, with new wealth and industry, Europe developed better technology with which to further conquer and exploit others. All of which points to Empire's simultaneous occupation of Land and Being in Africa. The occupation of Being is something mission and missionaries particularly enabled, as the humanity of African and African descendent people was denied theologically. The Transatlantic Slave Trade therefore intensified the mix of different motives—greed for material, geographical and spiritual possession and consumption, combined with racism and self-aggrandizement. This has a history which began with the Crusades and a present which continues in global Capitalism.



George Burder, LMS Founder

LMS/CWM Direct Assets:

The Hearings and preliminary work in the LMS archives reveal LMS/CWM has benefitted from direct investments in enslavement through constituent parts of LMS/CWM and its officers. William Hankey the LMS Treasurer was called before the Select Committee on Slavery on July 20 1832 to give evidence as it considered the manumission of enslaved people held in the British Empire. Hankey owned 300 slaves in Trelawney, Jamaica. He was questioned closely and his evidence was recorded.

Select committee question

'Has the result of your experience, as treasurer of the Society, led you to the conclusion, from the progress of civilisation among the slaves, that when instructed they have become more obedient and tranquil?

Hankey – 'Quite so; I believe their value, even in the market, has risen in proportion as they have been so instructed; we have had instances of that, a slave has been regarded as more valuable in consequence of his being instructed by the missionaries of our own and other societies



William Hankey, LMS Treasurer

Hankey, LMS Treasurer received £5777 in 1834 as 'compensation' for the liberation of his slaves. That is the equivalent of £630,000 in 2018 terms, Hankey owned the Arcadia Plantation in Trelawney, Jamaica. It was held in his family until it was given in trust to the Commonwealth Missionary Society. Arcadia was sold in 1954 to the Kaiser Bauxite Co for £13,240, this is the equivalent of £350,000 in 2018 terms. The Commonwealth Missionary Society was one of the constitutive mission bodies with LMS when CWM was first formed in 1966. This indicates capital complicit in profit from enslavement of Africans.

Indirect Assets

While LMS did not own a slave plantation as an institution, in the way the Anglican mission societies did, the people behind the LMS were often deeply invested in the slave trade. The accounts to the Directors show that LMS was funded by the subscription of individuals and Non-Conformist chapels. The British Industrial revolution was powered by enslavement and English, Welsh and Scots Non-conformists drove much of the

Industrial Revolution. The LMS was funded by those whose businesses, savings, and earnings were directly and indirectly resourced by the Transatlantic Slave Trade and the Industrial Revolution, but because these organisations wished not to disturb order or government, no connection was made with this history. CWM's accounting for complicity in enslavement should recognise this significant indirect investment.

Travel policy and colonial advantage

Shipping, slavery, trade and militarisation were at the heart of the business of the British Empire, and the Industrial Revolution. LMS took advantage of this once it had lost its own ship, the Duff. Thomas Haweis described his vision of LMS transport policy 'My idea is that our society should have a transport ship, chartered to carry convicts to Norfolk Island or Botany Bay and to have home freight from China on account of the India Company' (Evangelical Magazine 3 July 1795) But after the LMS ship, the Duff, was captured by French Pirates off Brazil in 1798, the LMS took passage on other ships bound for territories in Asia, the Pacific and Africa. The accounts to the Directors in the early years of LMS, lists the ships used. The Calypso, Hillsborough, Royal Admiral, Eliza, Wellesley and The Penguin are listed. The Calypso and the Eliza were slave ships and the Hillsborough also doubled as a slave ship. Van der Kemp, for example, sailed on the Hillsborough. The Calypso sailed from the Foulah country in West Africa to Barbados in 1797. The Eliza sailed from Africa to Cuba 1802, Windward Coast to South Carolina 1805, Sierra Leone and South Carolina 1807. In addition to its Convict transport routes, The Hillsborough sailed from West Central Africa and St Helena to Nevis and Jamaica 1805 – 1807.

Complicities with Empire's ideology

LMS complicity with colonization demonstrated the classic European formulation of 'Civilise and Christianise'. The early sermons from the LMS gatherings were full of appeals for White Christians to take the benefits of their faith and culture to the 'benighted heathen lands'. Play was made on the privilege of White life and culture, so that the hearer felt duty bound to embark upon a mission which sought to extend the benefit of White culture and Christianity to all. The result was the demonization of Africa as savage, Africans as beasts, and led to the occupation of Black land, bodies and souls by White powers, churches and cultures. The LMS mission model, in common with the others of the time, sought to depose and demonise other religious traditions, spiritualities and identities. The evangelical piety of LMS forgave them their complicity, they could focus on saving souls while ignoring bodies because the LMS did not want to cause political upheaval and disruption. Thus, Selena Countess of Huntingdon, a leading British Non-Conformist of the era, who endowed many Non-Conformists chapels and institutions in England and Wales, was a slave owner. Enslaved people she inherited from George Whitfield one of the evangelical heroes of the age. Selena, on being asked about emancipation, replied: "God alone, by His Almighty power, who can and will in His own time bring outward, as well as spiritual deliverance to his afflicted and oppressed creatures." Through mission Christianity was offered as a way to access and exercise privilege, as the way for the domineered to navigate the Empire and hierarchies who dominated them. This underscores one of CWM's questions: What is it about this kind of faith that falls into complicity with empire, denying common humanity, turning a blind eye to injustice?

Elements of our history show resistance

Two of the leaders of the Demerara Uprising in Guyana in 1823 belonged to the LMS chapel, Bethel. Under the belief that the Plantocracy was concealing news of the slaves' emancipation, a slave rebellion broke out under the leadership of an enslaved person called Jack Gladstone. His father, Quamina, was a deacon at Bethel, the local LMS chapel. He tried to persuade the enslaved people not to resort to violence but to go on strike. Around 9000 enslaved people were involved in the revolt. They were armed only with knives and pikes and, unlike in other revolts, they did not hurt the British plantation owners or their families. A one-sided battle took place at a plantation named Bachelor's Adventure which left many enslaved people dead or wounded. Quamina managed to escape but three weeks later he was tracked down and shot. His body was hung in chains in front of one of Demerara's plantations. This mirrors stories of resistance of enslaved people elsewhere in the Hearings, from racial justice activists in the UK, to rebels in Elmina or on slave ships, to the Maroon communities in Jamaica to the Civil Rights movements of the US and beyond.

One might think that Quamina became known as the Demerara Martyr, but this title was given to the LMS Missionary, John Smith. Smith in fact tried to stop the rebellion telling Quamina and the other rebels they should be patient. Smith, however, was blamed by the authorities for inciting the rebellion and was sentenced to death. He died of pneumonia in prison and the death of this 'first White martyr' for the abolitionist cause mobilised popular opinion in the UK against enslavement. LMS instructions after Smith's death forbade direct intervention in the issue of abolition, and only outlawed missionaries owning slaves in 1832. This is a familiar story of Black resistance being moderated by White allies, whose story then eclipses the legitimate Black struggle.



Aim 2: Understand better the urgency of achieving racial justice and the issues which intersect with it

The UN International Decade for People of African Descent (2015-2024) programme preamble gives a clear summary of many of the legacies of slavery we focused on in the Hearings:



‘There are around 200 million people identifying themselves as being of African descent live in the Americas. Many millions more live in other parts of the world, outside of the African continent. Whether as descendants of the victims of the transatlantic slave trade or as more recent migrants, they constitute some of the poorest and most marginalized groups. Studies and findings by international and national bodies demonstrate that people of African descent still have limited access to quality education, health services, housing and social security. In many cases, their situation remains largely invisible, and insufficient recognition and respect has been given to the efforts of people of African descent to seek redress for their present condition. They all too often experience discrimination in their access to justice, and face alarmingly high rates of police violence, together with racial profiling. Furthermore, their degree of political participation is often low, both in voting and in occupying political positions. In addition, people of African descent can suffer from multiple, aggravated or intersecting forms of discrimination based on other related grounds, such as age, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, social origin, property, disability, birth, or other status.’

Dismantling White power

One of the key and consistent points in all of the Hearings is that the power, culture and practice of Whiteness needs to be urgently dismantled, and its evil spirits cast out. The experiences and intersections of injustice for Black people and communities do not happen in a vacuum. CWM has a role to play in enabling White people to be accountable for their history, to acknowledge what Whites did as enslavers and colonisers, and in recognising that White supremacy and Christian Supremacy have been and continue to be intermingled. The model of the global imposition of Colonial White Christianity as divinely inspired has given rise to the further mission view that all the world should be Christian, that non-Christian faiths, communities, lives etc need to be converted, and those whose lives do not conform to 'Christian' values are 'othered' and marginalised. CWM can assist in shaping a vision and practice of evangelism which is not Christian colonialism.

Faith leaders confronting White racism in Charlottesville USA Aug 12th 2017



White lives, communities, economies continue to benefit from the legacies of slavery which manifest themselves in White privilege which White people take for granted. Black lives, communities and cultures in White majority contexts live under the threat of racial hate and violence, micro-aggressions, and exposure to inequalities shaped by White policies, powers and interests. Africa continues to be a continent on whose peoples and resources White powers and transnational corporations gorge, with Chinese power joining in this model of neo-colonialism. The Hearings call out a model of Whiteness which needs to be dominant and supreme, this is often expressed as paternalism, (White people having the answer for/ responsibility for poor peoples' problems etc). But it is also expressed as cultural violence and political control. The Core Group witnessed this in the Hearings in the testimonies of the continuing occupation and oppression of Black persons, communities and nations, and the trauma experienced by African descendent peoples in majority White cultures. In the Hearings African and African descendent persons repeatedly recounted their experiences of racism with little or no accounts from White people about their complicity in racism or of their racist behaviours and attitudes. In the long struggle for freedom for Black lives and communities there is a history of White fragility and fickleness, where White people joined the struggle as allies and lost interest or sought, like Smith, to moderate the justice movements and so sided with racist powers and spirits.

Aim 3: Find ways to advocate reparation with its member churches

The Hearings call CWM into restorative justice and as a part of that, make its own reparation for slavery and for complicity with White supremacy. Reparation is key to bring peace, healing and restorative justice. Without reparations the inequalities between White and Black nations and communities are perpetuated. This is the next step in CWM's story of decolonisation from the structures and spiritualities of empire. This is to propose relational reparation, so that Whiteness is addressed, but also financial reparation needs to be advocated and offered. The enormity of Britain's financial advantage from enslavement is clear from the figures calculated for reparation to those nations who were enslaved. Prof Verene Shepherd, Chair of The National Commission on Reparations in Jamaica calculates at least £2.3 trillion (approximately J\$416.3 trillion) are due from any slavery reparations paid by Britain to the region. This money would be able to pay off Jamaica's national debt of \$2 trillion and set the nation on a new economic path. This is a figure for but one former colony of the British Empire, imagine what this looks like for former British colonies in Africa. At the end of the Jamaica hearing Caribbean participants said:

“We are waiting to hear from the member churches in Europe what they want to say”.

Prof. Verene Shepherd addresses the Hearings participants at a plenary held at the University of West Indies in Jamaica



CWM came into being in 1977 as part reparation for LMS. CWM was formed as a 'decolonising act', to make right relationships out of nearly two centuries of unequal colonial relationships. The mission of the member churches would no longer be steered from London, not resourced with paternalistic funds from British churches. Instead, the member churches would work to an ethos of mutuality and shared resources, ideas and people in a spirit of partnership. This enabled a dismantling of centuries of mission shaped by White imperial vision. The Hearings offer CWM a renewed spur to this, particularly amongst member churches who need to examine and account for their history and practice, and did not do so in the formation of CWM in 1977.

CWM should consider a restorative justice process with these key components

- Invite healing through admission of guilt and honest effort to put things right.
- Make reparation for complicity in enslavement and the profits of enslavement by assisting in creating routes out of poverty afflicting many African and African descent communities and nations. This can be work shared with the reparation action of member churches and with other organisations.
- Invest in activities and movements which enhance the economic, political, social, cultural, spiritual capital of African and African descendent people, communities and nations.
- Bring forward new theologies of mission which break from our colonising mission past.
- Partner with wider reparations movement.

Aim 4: Discover anti-Imperial models of Christian mission in today's world.

CWM came into being following the fall of the British Empire. But Empire has not fallen, as CWM's theology espouses. The Hearings show how it has mutated, especially in the economic systems which privilege White nations, corporations, peoples and interests. Has Colonial Christianity also mutated into evangelical Christianities that claim Christianity is supreme over all others? This key idea continues to occupy the heart and soul of so much mission thinking. CWM emerged as the way to be counter-Imperial for the old model of Empire, rooted in London and the British empire. But, how to be counter-Imperial in the new empire? The Hearings often expressed gratitude for CWM raising the issue but many wondered is CWM any less complicit in the economies of empire than LMS? What should our investments look like given the deeply racist roots and nature of our economic systems? How can CWM further champion a liberating and life-enhancing vision of mission and evangelism?



The Dutch placed this sign in the chapel above the women's dungeon in Elmina

The Hearings brought forward many dimensions to the legacies of slavery, from the impact of racism on economics, whereby human beings are valued according to skin colour and wealth is disproportionately centred on White nations and communities. It manifests itself in systematic inequalities: impoverished communities, under representation in the leadership of political, economic, social and religious life, stigmatisation and victimisation shown in the growing incarceration of Black people in UK, Europe and North America, and the increase in police violence against Black people and communities and hostile policies towards migrants and migration as well as legitimate citizens of African descent. Racism is a dimension of patriarchy. The techniques used to marginalise, stigmatise and exploit Black people have also been similarly applied to women, people of diverse sexualities, and abilities, caste and class, so that their humanity is questioned, their dignity impugned and their lives commodified.



Grocery Stall sign North St. Jamaica

The work of discovering anti-Imperial models of Christian mission is already present in the CWM programme. The Legacies of Slavery programme invites new impetus in this work, especially as the new strategic plan for 2020-2029 comes together. The work CWM is doing on a New International Financial and Economic Architecture can be an important platform for advocating the reparatory and restorative justice of the Legacies of Slavery Hearings. The model of A More Able Church, whereby member churches have been offered funds to increase the participation and leadership of people with disabilities could be developed to enable churches to seek funds to work on being racially inclusive communities, addressing and dispelling racist attitudes and behaviours. CWM's financial support of partner organisations could be used as model extended to support the work of the Reparation movement and for setting up a fund which invests, for example, in Black led business.

Recommendations: Healing – Hope – Action

The Hearings calls for CWM to be an agent of restorative justice that it might realise its own theme of Healing: Hope in Action. In the light of all we have heard and shared CWM must begin with acts and liturgies of concrete apology which lead to hopeful action and healing relationships. Healing the memories, traumas and injustices of the past and present calls for action rooted in the desire to confess and make reparation. Such action invites restoration for all and healing can begin as a gift of God's Spirit amongst us. This is the hope we feel Christ has in CWM now, who has journeyed with us as an unseen participant and ancestor in each of these Hearings. The hope of Christ is seen in his power to rise up in the face of the forces of death and Empire to announce fullness of life for all, and we invoke this hope as an ever-flowing stream into the work of these recommendations:

Call for apology

1. CWM and its member churches are called upon to make apology to African and African descendent people and to their ancestors for the colonising history and role of CWM/LMS, and for complicity with empire, enslavement and racial injustice. As an apology is made deep gratitude is also expressed for the histories and spiritualities of resistance and dissent embodied in African and African descendent communities and histories, which inspire the path to restorative justice. A commitment to racial justice should also be made as central to CWM's vision of mission after the Legacies of Slavery process. This is to be marked with memorials located across LMS's connection with the Transatlantic Slave Trade route in the UK, Africa and Jamaica.

Call for action on Reparation

2. CWM must provide reparation for its complicities with enslavement (especially Hankey and for Arcadia Plantation and any other such assets) and challenge member churches to do the same.
3. CWM sets aside funds to assist member church work on racial justice and an investment fund to resource Black led businesses. This will recognise in the first instance £1million alone from the legacies of Hankey. As this is a Jubilee moment, (Leviticus 25: 8 -13) we propose CWM commits itself sevenfold, to a further £7 million.
4. CWM and member churches must consider how their investments can develop the wealth and prosperity of black communities and divest from corporations which have unpaid legacies of slavery and those who exploit poor, black and vulnerable communities.
5. CWM and member churches partner with reparation movements and racial justice research projects.
6. CWM assist member churches and other mission agencies in seeking racial justice and eliminating all forms of discrimination.

Call for action on Whiteness

7. CWM develops models for truth-telling, creating 'healing spaces' for further transformative conversations in which racism is addressed and White people especially make account for the privilege and supremacy their racism has created.
8. CWM develops tools to dismantle the culture, history, ecclesiology and ethos of Whiteness and its manifestation in White benevolence and paternalism, White supremacy and White privilege. CWM and member churches seek regular racial justice audits to monitor our institutions, investments, practices and policies to ensure accountability to the restorative justice vision of the Legacies of Slavery Hearings.

9. CWM participate in the annual White Privilege Conference and bring leadership there from the predominantly White churches in its membership.

Call for the promotion of Black cultures and power

10. CWM and member churches bring forward histories, theologies and spiritualities which celebrate Blackness and reinforce positive images of the power, lives, dignity and beauty, of African and African descendent people through its communications output, mission stories and participation in wider events like Black History Month.
11. CWM enables a gathering of Africans and African descendent people to seek restoration and healing between themselves as a way beyond the hurt and history of the Transatlantic Slave Trade.
12. CWM establishes a project which captures the historic and contemporary African and Black presence in the Bible and in Christian practices.

Call for theologies, missiologies and methodologies which amend for our colonial past

13. CWM explores how restorative justice offers a new method for its work in the new Programme.
14. CWM develops resources from the Legacies of Slavery project 'Reading the Bible in places of colonial and racist violence' to assist in the formation of new theologies.
15. CWM and member churches work through the Arts as an important medium for story-telling and resistance raising and commissions art, literature drama etc which addresses the need for racial justice.
16. CWM and member churches address the racial justice needs of children and young people and the climate of racism in which they live. CWM invites member churches to ensure their children and youth materials advocates diversity and addresses the realities of racism and the quest for racial justice.
17. CWM and member churches learn from and advocates from grass roots community organisation models that enable communities to build resistance and change, especially in working for racial justice.

Call for programmatic development of the Legacies of Slavery findings

18. CWM ensures that Legacies of Slavery work and racial justice are prominent in the new strategy, and prioritise this work on racial injustice through to 2029 and considers committing staff to delivering this work.
19. CWM applies the insights from the Legacies of Slavery process to the work of the NIFEA programme to expose the past and present racist, enslaving, exploitative nature of economies imposed by the Empire.
20. CWM and member churches do racial justice audits to monitor our institutions, investments, practices and policies to ensure we are accountable to the findings of the Legacies of Slavery Hearings.
21. CWM and member churches place the legacies of slavery and racial justice at the heart of developing Missional Congregations.

Call for further study and engagement

22. CWM and member churches develop further the analysis and challenge of the Hearings programme into critiquing the racism and xenophobia endemic in all our contexts.
23. CWM and member churches continue to explore their own history and especially the legacies of enslavement and racism as they appear elsewhere in our regions, particularly in Asia-Pacific where indenturing of Indians and the kidnapping of Pacific Islanders for forced labour followed the end of the Transatlantic Slave Trade
24. CWM support further academic work on the legacies of slavery through the University College London Legacies project, other institutions and its Academic Accompaniment funds.
25. CWM devise a Black led research project with UK, Africa, Caribbean, US further interrogating the LMS archive and other mission archives for the presence of African and African descendent people in the LMS/CWM story, examining also LMS complicities with other intersections with legacies of slavery in terms of gender, sexual diversity etc.
26. CWM enable an African and African descendant telling of the histories of enslavement on the African continent and in the Americas.
27. CWM develop intentional partnerships on the legacies of slavery in the North American and wider African context to partner on the urgent racial justice struggles there, where CWM is not present.
28. CWM engage in the UN International Decade for People of African Descent.

Call to others to join

29. CWM facilitates the sharing of the work and progress of member church engagement on legacies of slavery and racial justice and assists in the networking of projects and movements.
30. Shares its report and findings widely with political, economic, inter-faith and ecumenical bodies to invite more to join in providing restorative justice.

**CWM Legacies of Slavery Core Group
October, 2018**

Memorial Sign in Elmina Slave Castle

*IN EVERLASTING MEMORY
OF THE ANGUISH OF OUR ANCESTORS.
MAY THOSE WHO DIED REST IN PEACE.
MAY THOSE WHO RETURN FIND THEIR ROOTS.
MAY HUMANITY NEVER AGAIN PERPETRATE
SUCH INJUSTICE AGAINST HUMANITY.
WE, THE LIVING VOW TO UPHOLD THIS.*

