











Company and the Royal African Company. The research also highlights interesting evidence about the presence of African, Asian and Chinese people working on English and Welsh estates. It has also shown that a number of properties can be connected to support for the abolition of the slave trade, including Peckover House, Mount Stewart and Sudbury Hall – or for the campaign against colonial oppression, as at Lyveden.

The histories that have been, and will continue to be, highlighted by this work are sometimes straightforward, while others are much more complex. Many of them challenge the familiar, received histories, which both exclude the vital role that people of colour have played in our national story and overlook the central role that the oppression and violence of the slave trade and the legacies of colonialism have played in the making of modern Britain. No one alive today is responsible for the iniquities of the period in question and consequently, we should feel confident in acknowledging the positive and the negative factual evidence of the past as part of our shared histories. These histories are sometimes difficult to read and to consider. They make us question our assumptions about the past, and yet they can also deepen and enrich our understanding of our economic status, our remarkable built heritage and the art, objects, places and spaces we enjoy today and look after for future generations.

The National Trust is in the process of setting up an independent external advisory group of heritage and academic experts, many with lived experience, to guide how we continue to explore the histories and legacies of colonialism and slavery at our places (see Appendix: Next Steps on page 110 for further details).

We cannot uncover and share these histories alone – they belong to everyone. We therefore welcome your questions, thoughts, and ideas on how we can explore them further together:

- **What is your feedback in response to this Report?**
- **How would you like to see the National Trust share these histories in the future?**

Please use this link:

**<https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/addressing-the-histories-of-slavery-and-colonialism-at-the-national-trust>**



received its charter from Elizabeth I in 1600) until the disintegration of the British Empire in the mid-twentieth century, 'Empire fundamentally shaped elite British country houses in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, adding to the constellation of dynamic processes by which British built environments absorbed and reflected global material cultures.'<sup>3</sup>

### **Legacies of Slavery**

The majority of research that deals directly with the relationship between the country house and histories of slavery, studies of colonialism and black presence in Britain has only emerged in the past decade. The literature underpinning this research, however, has its origins in a number of groundbreaking works including the 1938 book *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* by Trinidadian historian C.L.R. James (1901–89) and Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978). The 1944 work *Capitalism and Slavery* by the historian (and later the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago) Eric Williams (1911–81) has been particularly influential on the studies of enslavement. His historical account of slavery was crucial in its contextualisation of the subject within the broader scope of economic history and capitalism. Williams argued that European elites did not discard slavery because of humanitarian concerns, but because it was a means of economic production that was no longer useful by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, once the elites had accumulated enough wealth to finance the new economic model of industrialisation.<sup>4</sup> Although historians have interrogated almost every aspect of Williams's thesis, it remains the foundational text on the economic history of Caribbean slavery and its abolition. His contention that the profits of overseas trade, including that of sugar, were an important contributing factor to economic growth and industrialisation Britain, is supported by the findings of the *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* project at University College London (UCL). Another important, more recent, historian of slavery in the New World is Robin Blackburn, whose three works *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, 1776–1848* (1988), *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492–1800* (1997) and *American Crucible: Slavery, Emancipation and Human Rights* (2011) build on Williams's economic thesis to offer a complex multinational, political, social and economic picture of slavery and its abolition, in which forces such as the French Revolution, the Napoleonic wars, the success of the Haitian Revolution and the fear of working-class revolt in Europe precipitated the gradual abolition of slavery in European colonies.<sup>5</sup>

However, although academic discussions of the relationship between slavery and heritage and tourism in the Caribbean and beyond are now well established, particularly in the field of tourism studies,<sup>6</sup> the discussion of the relationship between slavery and British heritage is a relatively new one that is still developing. Undoubtedly, the most influential and significant works in this field so far are the *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* (2009–12) and *Structure and Significance of British Caribbean Slave-ownership 1763–1833* (2013–15) projects, based at the Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slave-ownership at UCL. These projects established a



database of compensation claims by slave-owners that is updated on an ongoing basis and has been hugely significant, both for family historians and for researchers into the connections between slave-ownership and the built heritage of Britain. A 2016 book based on the *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* project, with the eminent historians Catherine Hall and Nicholas Draper among its authors, looks at the commercial, political, cultural, social, intellectual, physical and imperial legacies of slave-ownership and the long-lasting impact these had on Victorian Britain and the wider British Empire.<sup>7</sup> One of these legacies was, of course, the building of, and improvements to, British country houses, gardens and parkland, and the collections that they housed. A 2009 conference on this subject, organised by English Heritage in association with the National Trust, resulted in the 2013 volume *Slavery and the British Country House*, edited by the historians Madge Dresser and Andrew Hann.<sup>8</sup> This collection of essays was the first truly significant publication looking at the direct relationship between British country houses and their collections and the slave trade and slave-ownership, and Madge Dresser's research on built heritage in Bristol and the South West of England examined a number of National Trust properties, including Dyrham Park and Clevedon Court. Dresser also contributed 'Legacies of British Slave Ownership: Facing a Difficult Past' to the 2018 Royal Oak Foundation and National Trust publication *The Country House, Past, Present, Future*, edited by David Cannadine and Jeremy Musson. In this essay, Dresser argues that, 'Though the relationship between enslaved African labour and the treasure houses of Britain is often complex and challenging, failing to face it impoverishes our understanding both of Britain's built heritage and of our own place in the world.'<sup>9</sup>

Simon Gikandi's *Slavery and the Culture of Taste* (2013) looks at the ways in which taste, aesthetics and collecting in the eighteenth century were fashioned by a notion of Enlightenment, modernity and civilisation that deliberately set itself in opposition to perceived ideas of blackness and the 'barbarian' world of slavery. In many instances, though, it was the wealth generated by that world that funded celebrated collections of art and decorative art, such as that of the phenomenally rich collector, novelist and absentee slave-owner William Beckford (1760–1844), which is now dispersed across a number of collections, including those at Charlecote Park (NT), the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Wallace Collection.<sup>10</sup>

On 1 September 2020, Historic England published 'The Transatlantic Slave Economy and England's Built Environment: A Research Audit', a report authored by Mary Wills and Madge Dresser.<sup>11</sup> It brings together research that identifies connections between slavery and the built environment in each region of England, looking at four categories: ports and industrial heritage; residential and further development; historical black presence; and abolition and built heritage. This publication is a hugely welcome resource for anyone wishing to explore the tangible legacies of slavery heritage.

## Legacies of Empire

In addition to recent work on the relationship between slavery and British country houses, there is a growing body of writing that addresses the broader histories of colonialism and empire in the context of the country house. Stephanie Barczewski's 2014 book, *Country Houses and the British Empire 1700–1930*, moves historical debates onward from a focus on the influence of the British Empire on life in Britain (the metropole) to an exploration of country houses as dynamic vehicles of colonial influence. Barczewski examines the sheer number of properties that were either built or improved by fortunes gained overseas, estimating that between 6 and 16 per cent of British stately homes may have been purchased by colonial or imperial wealth. By investigating the distribution of new estates after 1700, Barczewski also demonstrates the significance of the development of these in the countryside around the main merchant and slave-trade ports including Bristol, Liverpool, London and Glasgow.<sup>12</sup> Another recent contribution to the field is a volume edited by Jon Stobart and Andrew Hann, *The Country House: Material Culture and Consumption* (2016), which devotes a number of essays to aspects of the consumption of colonial and imperial goods in the British country house.<sup>13</sup> Margot Finn and Kate Smith's edited volume, *The East India Company at Home, 1757–1957* (2018), emerged from a major research project based at University of Warwick and then University College London. This important study looks at the immense impact that the economic, social and political influence of EIC employees and their families had on the British country house and on politics and society more broadly from 1757, when Robert Clive (1725–74) effectively conquered much of India, to the Great Rebellion of 1857, which marked the end of the EIC's rule in India and the beginning of the British Raj.<sup>14</sup>

## Historic Black Presence in Britain

The 2016 television series and book *Black and British: A Forgotten History*, by the historian and broadcaster David Olusoga, brought to the fore for the first time the long history of the presence of people of colour in Britain since the Roman occupation.<sup>15</sup> One of the earliest and most significant works in this area is *Staying Power: Black People in Britain Since 1504* (1984) by the author and journalist Peter Fryer, who explored the forgotten or erased histories of African and black presence in Britain since the Tudor period. More recently, works such as Miranda Kaufmann's *Black Tudors* (2017), an account of the lives of ten black people who lived in Tudor England, have sought to explore more fully the presence of people of colour in specific historical periods.<sup>16</sup> Written records and portraiture provide evidence that a number of people of colour lived at properties now in the care of the National Trust from the seventeenth century (and possibly even earlier) onwards, including several individuals with mixed African heritage who owned National Trust houses, such as Mary Sarah Hibbert Oates (1834–1925) of Dyrham Park and Charles Paget Wade (1883–1956) of Snowhill Manor. However, the majority of these people were servants, or possibly enslaved individuals, including Grace Robinson (*fl.* seventeenth

century) and John Morockoe (*fl.* seventeenth century), who were recorded as working at Knole, Zebedee Lovemoore (?1702–82) at Polesden Lacey<sup>17</sup> and Thomas Radakissan (*fl.* eighteenth century) at Basildon Park. Further research is needed to understand more about the lives of these people of colour, as well as countless others who lived in Britain before the twentieth century, as most were without the sort of influence, wealth or power that affords a meaningful place in the historical record.

### **Colonial Wealth and Property-Ownership**

Power located in the country house could take many forms, and one of the most significant of these was economic. The ownership of land in the form of a country estate had been a prerequisite form of wealth for most individuals and families with any social and/or political ambition since the Norman Conquest of 1066, and the country house was the hub of these aspirations. Although there is much debate among historians about the various social and economic causes, it is clear that during the period from the mid-seventeenth century to the end of the nineteenth, that the general trend was towards increasingly larger parcels of land being held by a smaller number of families and individuals.<sup>18</sup> It was the families that owned the largest country estates who, until the electoral reforms of 1832, exerted control over those elected to local parliamentary seats. Country estates were also local centres of art, taste and upper-class networking and sociability. Until the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, however, the so-called ‘old money’ or inherited wealth of the landed gentry and the nobility continued to dominate land-ownership in Britain. From the sixteenth century, merchants had sought increasingly to consolidate their socio-economic and political status by acquiring country estates and marrying their children into the landed classes. From the mid-eighteenth century until the abolition of slavery in the 1830s, the absentee landlords of West Indian sugar plantations and their heirs invested and settled in country houses and estates. As the historian Lowell Joseph Ragatz noted in 1931: ‘A wave of unprecedented prosperity, beginning roughly about 1750, filled the proprietors’ coffers. This made it possible for them, first, to educate their children abroad, and secondly, to retire beyond the Atlantic and there live lives of ease. Then, from approximately 1775 to 1815, transatlantic estates in large number passed into the possession of inhabitants of England by inheritance.’<sup>19</sup>

A similar story is told of the famed ‘nabob’ employees and merchants of the EIC returning to Britain from India with their (often immense) wealth stowed in the highly portable form of diamonds. Company men such as Robert Clive, who had effectively subjugated much of the Indian subcontinent in the name of the EIC, invested in land and property, much to the consternation of the landed gentry. EIC employees and their families and servants who had lived overseas might, it was feared, have adopted ‘foreign’ or ‘exotic’ traits and customs. As Tillman Nechtman emphasised, ‘That nabobs were purchasing British estates was important to their critics. Land was a traditional measure of wealth, power and prestige. The land was the nation,

and it was the strength of the nation's people. Those who owned land had a stake in it and in the fate of the country. Clive was the first nabob to raise people's eyebrows when he purchased Claremont estate from the Duchess of Newcastle for £25,000 in 1760. He also purchased a house at Esher and several tracts of surrounding land before improving the combined estates for an additional £43,000.<sup>20</sup>

The Indian nabobs were generally treated with suspicion or hostility because of their connection with India, while many West Indian plantation and slave-owners were accepted more readily. The nabobs were also figures of popular satire in the eighteenth century, and they regularly featured in comedic plays and the cartoons of artists such as James Gillray (1756–1815). It has been convincingly argued that wealth gained in the West Indies was more readily accepted because the British landed gentry understood the fact that it came from landownership, whereas the portable wealth that was brought back from India was 'alien'.<sup>21</sup> The eighteenth century saw many mutually advantageous marriages, with wealthy merchant and plantation heirs such as Elizabeth Knight (c.1692–1731) readily accepted into the aristocracy. Knight inherited wealth from her uncle Charles Knight (d.1706), who had made his fortune from plantations, the ownership of enslaved people and merchant trading linked to the slave trade. In 1708, she married Thomas Onslow, 2nd Baron Onslow (1679–1740) of Clandon Park (NT), and her immense wealth, like so many inherited fortunes gleaned from slavery and colonialism, allowed her to move from the social milieu of City of London and Jamaican merchants and planters into the world of the British nobility. The fortune she brought to the Onslow family almost certainly paid for the rebuilding of the house at Clandon Park in the Palladian style, and was part of an increasing trend in marriages that deliberately created alliances between the landed 'old money' gentry and aristocracy and the 'new money' of mercantile trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (and, from the late eighteenth century onwards, the 'new money' of industrialists). Nevertheless, in spite of the mistrust of EIC money, many individuals and families who had returned to Britain having served the company in India, acquired numerous country-house estates, particularly in the counties surrounding London, such as Berkshire, Hertfordshire and Essex. Indeed, Berkshire had so many EIC residents that it became known at the time as 'English Hindoostan'.<sup>22</sup>

EIC families effectively created their own social networks and clusters but, despite the hostility they faced, they were increasingly part of the social and political elite of the country. As with the wealthy planters, there were a number of instances of the offspring of wealthy EIC officials and merchants making what would have been perceived as mutually advantageous marriages with the aristocracy, and it is clear that a larger number of EIC families sought marriages with each other in order to consolidate their wealth and influence. For instance, Elizabeth Sykes (1775–1882), the daughter of one of the most wealthy and successful nabobs of them all, Sir Francis Sykes (c.1730–1804) of Basildon Park (NT), married Richard Benyon de Beauvoir (1770–1854) in 1797. Her husband's father, Richard Benyon (d.1796), had ended his own

EIC career as Governor of Fort Street in Madras.<sup>23</sup> Elizabeth Millward (1613–?), daughter of Humphrey Milward, a founder of the EIC and niece of Captain John Milward an EIC silk merchant who owned Sutton House (NT) in Hackney (known as Bryck House in the early seventeenth century) in the 1620s, married Edward Abbot (1605–?), the son of Sir Maurice Abbot (1565–1642), Governor of the EIC from 1624 to 1638.

### **Politics and Power**

If the wealth gained in the British colonies could create influential social networks, enable social mobility and underpin investment in country houses, the same colonial interests also often reinforced the political power located in those properties and estates. The 1711 Property Qualifications Act had restricted membership of the House of Commons to men receiving an income of £600 a year from land for county MPs, and £300 a year for borough MPs, ensuring (in most cases) that the ownership of a profitable estate was a necessity for anyone wishing to exert political power in Britain. In the eighteenth century, a number of leading nabobs such as Sir Francis Sykes sat in Parliament. Sykes was MP for Shaftesbury and then for Wallingford, which was much closer to his estate at Basildon Park, and became a peer in 1781. At the election of 1768, nineteen nabobs were, in the face of clamorous accusations of bribery, elected to Parliament, where they could further the interests of the EIC.<sup>24</sup>

In the second half of the eighteenth century, it is also estimated that around 50 MPs, including Richard Pennant (c.1737–1808) of Penrhyn (NT), represented the slave plantations of the Caribbean.<sup>25</sup> Pennant was an absentee owner of enslaved people and plantations who sat in the House of Commons from 1761 to 1790, first as MP for Petersfield in Hampshire, then as MP for Liverpool – a major centre of the slave trade. Pennant was a leading member of The London Society of West India Planters and Merchants (later known as the West Indies Committee), a lobbying organisation formed in the 1780s by those with shared interests in the economic success of West India trade, and used his parliamentary platform to make around 30 speeches that advocated for the interests of West Indian slave-owners and in favour of the continuation of the trade in enslaved African people.<sup>26</sup>

The anti-abolition lobby led by owners of enslaved people and plantations undoubtedly delayed the abolition of both the slave trade and of slavery in the British Empire, ensuring that a movement that began in the 1780s did not achieve its aims of freeing enslaved people across the empire for around 50 years. Likewise, the EIC lobby ensured that, despite the best efforts of other politicians, the rule of the EIC in India only came to an end when their brutal suppression of the 1857 conflict turned the tide of political and public opinion. The influence of the inhabitants of country houses, their power to affect world history, and the ways that owning country houses helped them to consolidate that power, should not be underestimated.

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<sup>1</sup> Strong, Roy, Binney, Marcus and Harris, John, *The Destruction of the Country House: 1875–1975* (Thames and Hudson, London, 1974), p.13.

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- <sup>2</sup> Cox, Oliver, 'The "Downton Boom": Country Houses, Popular Culture, and Curatorial Culture', *The Public Historian*, vol. 37, no. 2, May 2015, p.112.
- <sup>3</sup> Finn, Margot and Smith, Kate, *The East India Company at Home, 1757–1857* (UCL Press, London, 2018), p.20.
- <sup>4</sup> Williams, Eric, *Capitalism and Slavery* (The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1944).
- <sup>5</sup> Blackburn, Robin, *American Crucible: Slavery, Emancipation and Human Rights* (Verso, London and New York, 2011), *The Making of New World Slavery: from the Baroque to the Modern, 1492–1800* (Verso, London and New York, 1997) and *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, 1776–1848* (Verso, London and New York, 1988).
- <sup>6</sup> See, for example, Jolliffe, Lee, ed., *Sugar Heritage and Tourism in Transition* (Channel View Publications, 2012) and Stone, Philip, 'Dark Tourism Scholarship: a critical review', *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research*, vol. 7, no. 3, 2013, pp.307–18.
- <sup>7</sup> Hall, Catherine, Draper, Nicholas et al., *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership: Colonial Slavery and the Formation of Victorian Britain* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2016). UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/> [accessed 25 August 2020].
- <sup>8</sup> Dresser, Madge and Hann, Andrew, eds, *Slavery and the British Country House* (English Heritage, Swindon, 2013): <https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/slavery-and-british-country-house/> [accessed 2 July 2020].
- <sup>9</sup> Dresser, Madge, 'Legacies of British Slave Ownership: Facing a Difficult Past' in Cannadine, David and Musson, Jeremy, *The Country House, Past, Present, Future* (Royal Oak & National Trust, Rizzoli, 2018), p.347.
- <sup>10</sup> Gikandi, Simon, *Slavery and the Culture of Taste* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2013), pp.129–44; see Gikandi, Simon, 'Aesthetic Reflection and the Colonial Event: The Work of Art in the Age of Slavery', *The Journal of the International Institute*, vol. 4, issue 3, Summer 1997: <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/j/jii/4750978.0004.306> [accessed 29 August 2020].
- <sup>11</sup> Wills, Mary and Dresser, Madge, 'The Transatlantic Slave Economy and England's Built Environment: A Research Audit' (English Heritage, Swindon, 1 September 2020): <https://research.historicengland.org.uk/Report.aspx?i=16784>
- <sup>12</sup> Barczewski, Stephanie, *Country Houses and the British Empire 1700–1930* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2014), pp.122–3.
- <sup>13</sup> Stobart, Jon and Hann, Andrew, eds, *The Country House: Material Culture and Consumption* (English Heritage, Swindon, 2016).
- <sup>14</sup> Finn and Smith, op. cit.
- <sup>15</sup> Olusoga, David, *Black and British, A Forgotten History* (Macmillan, London, 2016).
- <sup>16</sup> Fryer, Peter, *Staying Power: Black People in Britain Since 1504* (Pluto Press, London, 1984); Kaufmann, Miranda, *Black Tudors, The Untold Story* (Oneworld Books, London, 2017).
- <sup>17</sup> Godfrey, Brian, 'Zebedee Lovemore (?1702–82): Arthur Moore's Indian Boy', *Leatherhead and District Local History Society Proceedings*, vol. 6, no. 7, 2003, pp.168–71 and 'Addendum to Zebedee Lovemore', *Leatherhead and District Local History Society Proceedings*, 2004, p.197.
- <sup>18</sup> Beckett, J.V., 'The Pattern of Landownership in England and Wales, 1660–1880', *The Economic History Review*, vol. 37, no. 1, February 1984, pp.1–22.
- <sup>19</sup> Ragatz, Lowell Joseph, 'Absentee Landlordism in the British Caribbean, 1750–1833', *Agricultural History*, vol. 5, no. 1, January 1931, p.7.
- <sup>20</sup> Nechtman, Tillman W., 'A Jewel in the Crown? Indian Wealth in Domestic Britain in the Late Eighteenth Century', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 41, no. 1, Fall 2007, p.74.
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p.75.
- <sup>22</sup> Finn and Smith, op. cit., p.193.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.172–3.
- <sup>24</sup> Lawson, Philip and Phillips, Jim, "'Our Execrable Banditti": Perceptions of Nabobs in Mid-Eighteenth Century Britain', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, vol. 16, no. 3, Autumn 1984, p.232.
- <sup>25</sup> 'Many "absentee" plantation owners and merchants involved in the Slave Trade, rose to high office as mayors or served in Parliament. William Beckford, for example, the owner of a 22,000 acre estate in Jamaica, was twice Lord Mayor of London and, in the mid to late 1700s, over 50 MPs in parliament represented the slave plantations.' *The Abolition Project* website: [http://abolition.e2bn.org/slavery\\_110.html](http://abolition.e2bn.org/slavery_110.html) [accessed 30 August 2020].
- <sup>26</sup> Namier, L. and Brooke, J., eds, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1754–1790* (Boydell and Brewer, London, 1964): <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/pennant-richard-1736-1808> [accessed 31 August 2020].



global trade routes.<sup>13</sup> In 1488, Bartolomeu Dias (c.1450–1500) successfully rounded the Cape of Good Hope, opening a passage around southern Africa into the Indian Ocean, followed by Vasco da Gama (c.1460s–1524), who reached India in 1497. Christopher Columbus (before 1451–1506) undertook four expeditions westwards to the New World between 1492 and 1504, and in 1493 probably introduced sugar cane to Spanish colonies in the Caribbean.<sup>14</sup>

Following Portugal's first encounter with Brazil in 1500, and the latter's subsequent colonisation, sugar cultivation was established with plantations carved out from the virgin tropical environment. These were worked from the mid-sixteenth century onwards by enslaved Africans traded mainly from present-day Angola. By 1600, Brazilian sugar netted Portugal greater profits than the spice trade<sup>15</sup> and by 1630, 400,000 enslaved Africans had been transported to Brazil for this purpose.<sup>16</sup>

Royal and Papal support for these activities was key to their success.<sup>17</sup> The Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494 had divided all newly charted lands in the Americas between the Portuguese and Spanish Empires, with Portugal retaining and strengthening its African interests, while Spain was granted the larger part of the New World, although still excluded from Africa.<sup>18</sup> Hence, from 1518 onwards, Spain made use of legal agreements called *asiento de negros* in entering into contracts with merchants from other countries for the supply of enslaved Africans into the Spanish Americas.<sup>19</sup>

### **Early British Slave-Traders**

Other northern European maritime nations, particularly the Dutch and the British, were similarly eager to exploit the benefits of trade and colonisation and sought to break the monopoly of the Iberians in Africa and the Americas. In the 1530s, William Hawkins of Tavistock (b. before 1490–1554/5) traded across the Atlantic from Guinea to Brazil,<sup>20</sup> while in 1554–5, John Lok was the first English merchant to bring back a group of enslaved Africans to England, together with gold, ivory and *malaguetta* (pepper). Between 1551 and 1553, Thomas Wyndham<sup>21</sup> (d.1554) sailed into the Bight of Benin and attempted to navigate the River Niger. Although he died on the voyage, his ships brought back 150 pounds of gold.<sup>22</sup> However, it was the admiral, privateer and slave-trader John Hawkins (1532–95)<sup>23</sup> who established what became known as the 'triangular trade' in slaves and goods between Britain, Africa and the Caribbean.<sup>24</sup> Hawkins made three slaving voyages across the Atlantic between 1562 and 1569, on each occasion circumventing the Spanish monopoly on the importation of enslaved labour to the Caribbean.<sup>25</sup> He was also joined on his voyages by his cousin, Francis Drake (c.1540–96).<sup>26</sup> Highly lucrative privateering by Drake<sup>27</sup> and others throughout the Caribbean during the 1580s and 1590s, together with the weakening of Spanish dominance, enabled British settlement of the West Indies<sup>28</sup> and the subsequent surge of the sugar and slave trades.



## Merchant Companies and the Slave Trade

In the early seventeenth century, trading companies set up by the British on both sides of the Atlantic formalised and expanded opportunities for trade and colonisation of the Americas. In 1606, the Virginia Company was established by Royal Charter, with the purpose of settling the eastern seaboard of North America<sup>29</sup> and, in 1607, Jamestown became the first permanent settlement in North America, with some of the earliest instances of Africans being landed there prior to 1619.<sup>30</sup>

In 1618, James I also awarded a 30-year monopoly to the Company of Adventurers of London Trading to the Ports of Africa, known as the Guinea Company, whose primary interest was in trading gold, rather than slavery. Other Europeans competed for trade and established bases on the West African coast. The Dutch West India Company, founded in 1621, became the dominant presence there, usurping the Portuguese by the middle of the seventeenth century<sup>31</sup> and, through their naval prowess, also seizing Brazil from the Portuguese from 1630 to 1654.

The Royal African Company, founded in 1663 under a charter from Charles II and restructured in 1672, controlled a series of British trading posts between Senegambia and Benin on the West African coast and held the monopoly for supplying Africans to British colonies.<sup>32</sup> By the time their monopoly was revoked in 1697 by the Trade with Africa Act,<sup>33</sup> the company had transported 120,000 Africans across the Atlantic.<sup>34</sup> In 1713, under the Treaty of Utrecht<sup>35</sup> following the War of the Spanish Succession, Britain was granted the *asiento*<sup>36</sup> to import Africans on behalf of the Spanish Indies for a period of 30 years, and during the 1730s British ships carried 170,000 Africans, up to a third of whom were destined for the Spanish Empire via Jamaica.<sup>37</sup>

Other companies traded enslaved people eastwards across the Indian Ocean between East Africa and Asia, a practice begun in the fifteenth century by Islamic and Portuguese traders, who had trafficked African people to the west coast of India and onwards to Indonesia where, although engaged in servile work, they were not assigned the chattel status of Africans transported as part of the Atlantic trade.<sup>38</sup> The British East India Company (see section 6), founded by Royal Charter in 1600, transported people from Mozambique to Java as early as 1628,<sup>39</sup> while the Dutch East India Company moved both Africans and Asians eastwards and westwards, to and from their colonies in Jakarta, Malacca and spice plantations in Eastern Indonesia, Sri Lanka, and the Mascarenes, and to the Cape Colony in South Africa.<sup>40</sup>

Estimates suggest that, together, the British, Dutch and French purchased and exported over half a million men, women and children from Mozambique, the Swahili coast, Madagascar, India, Sri Lanka and South East Asia throughout the Indian Ocean basin between 1500 and 1800 to satisfy demand for labour,<sup>41</sup> in addition to transporting Africans from west and central Africa to the Cape of Good Hope, Mascarenes, India and the Indonesian archipelago.<sup>42</sup>

More broadly, as Europeans exploited earlier patterns of trading in enslaved people on the African continent, their rapacious demand for labour in the Americas and elsewhere transformed

the scale of local practices.<sup>43</sup> The economies of many African states became highly dependent on slavery, and both leaders and elites sanctioned and participated in the trade.<sup>44</sup> Africans were taken from the interior to traders on the coast and exchanged for imported currencies, acquired by merchants from across the globe, cowrie shells from the Maldives, Indian textiles (*guinée bleues*),<sup>45</sup> iron bars, copper or brass wire in the form of bracelets (*manillas*), as well as glass beads, alcohol, gunpowder<sup>46</sup> and firearms.<sup>47</sup>

Textiles, especially silks, from India and China, imported by the Dutch East India Company and sold on to English and French merchants, were a particularly important commodity in the exchange of Africans, and in the late seventeenth century up to £20,000 worth of East Indian goods, largely textiles, were traded annually by the British.<sup>48</sup>

The captains and the crews of ships were mostly inured to the physical and psychological trauma Africans suffered during their transportation across the Atlantic.<sup>49</sup> Africans were viewed solely as chattels with a monetary value, and any humanity extended towards them was usually based on minimising financial losses for their traders. Despite the presence of surgeons on later voyages, mortality rates ranged from approximately 20 per cent in the early seventeenth century to an average of ten per cent by the early eighteenth century, as traders became more knowledgeable and ships swifter in sailing the Middle Passage.<sup>50</sup> For those Africans able to resist and revolt against their plight, any onboard insurrection was invariably unsuccessful and the retaliation brutal.<sup>51</sup>

The destination for most enslaved Africans was to Brazil<sup>52</sup> and the Caribbean, with fewer sent to North America. The British trade in slavery accelerated rapidly from the mid-seventeenth century onwards, as the appetite for sugar in Europe exploded. With the benefit of Dutch technical expertise,<sup>53</sup> both British and French planters in the Caribbean<sup>54</sup> abandoned small-scale tobacco and cotton farming worked by white indentured labour in favour of highly profitable sugar, molasses, rum and coffee produced by enslaved labour.<sup>55</sup> Large plantations were created, many with absentee landowners. Those with direct associations to National Trust properties include the Hibberts of Hare Hill and the Rutsons of Nunnington Hall, who were also involved in the trading and financing of slaving; Samuel Greg of Quarry Bank Mill; the Pennants of Penrhyn; John Blagrove the Younger of Ankerwycke; the Stapletons of Greys Court; William Perrin of Leith Hill; John Rock Grosett of Lacock Abbey; William Hudson Heaven of Lundy Island; Sir Rose Price of Trengwainton. Other properties benefited from the wealth brought through marriages with other plantation-owning families. British sugar production was centred on Barbados and later Jamaica, following its seizure from the Spanish in 1655. By 1700, more than a quarter of a million Africans had been transported to the British Caribbean, with Barbados, Jamaica and the Leeward Islands subsequently exporting nearly half of the sugar consumed in Western Europe.<sup>56</sup> In 1710, 25,000 tons of sugar was imported into Britain, rising to 97,000 tons in 1775, an average of 11 pounds per head.<sup>57</sup>

Slavery was also introduced to the North American colonies in the seventeenth century, as Africans similarly replaced white indentured labour in plantation systems of agriculture, particularly of tobacco.<sup>58</sup> In Virginia, John Rolfe (1585–1622)<sup>59</sup> introduced a sweet strain of tobacco to the Chesapeake area, smuggling seeds out of Spanish-controlled Trinidad and creating a highly profitable trade, which, from 1612 onwards, ensured the prosperity of the colony. By the 1690s, 3,500 Africans had been brought to Virginia to work in the tobacco plantations, rising to 15,000 in the 1720s.<sup>60</sup> Over time, through natural increase of enslaved populations, the numbers of Africans who were directly traded gradually declined.<sup>61</sup>

Tobacco accounted for some £70 million worth of exports from British North America by 1750,<sup>62</sup> while further south, in the colonies of the Carolinas and Georgia,<sup>63</sup> nearly 60,000 Africans were shipped to cultivate indigo and rice. From South Carolina, exports of the latter reached £27 million in 1750.<sup>64</sup> From the 1790s onwards, cotton gradually exceeded tobacco production and enslaved people were moved inland and further south to work in plantations in Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi, fuelling exports to the cotton mills of Lancashire during the early nineteenth century.<sup>65</sup>

### **Slave Economies**

The Atlantic slave trade marked a significant change in the ways in which many societies, in both the Caribbean and the southern states of North America, functioned; slavery and the outputs of enslaved labour, such as tobacco, sugar and cotton, dominated the political, social, economic and cultural structures of these colonies. The historian Robert B. Sheridan discusses the seismic changes that a system based almost entirely on sugar and slavery brought to St Kitts, which, by the mid-eighteenth century ‘had come to possess the characteristics of a highly developed sugar colony: dispossession of smallholders, amalgamation of land into large plantations, extensive sugar monoculture, a small landholding plantocracy, and masses of African slaves’. Sheridan adds that the white population fluctuated somewhat from the late seventeenth century to the mid-eighteenth, but there were 1,897 white inhabitants in 1678 and 2,377 in 1745. On the other hand, the number of enslaved Africans on the island rose from 1,436 in 1678 to 19,174 in 1745. Less than 1,000 tons of sugar were exported annually in the late seventeenth century, rising to 8,789 in 1748. In around 70 years, the development of a society based entirely around enslaved labour producing sugar to be transported to Europe ensured that ‘In proportion to its extent, St Kitts was the richest colony in the British Empire by the middle decades of the eighteenth century.’<sup>66</sup>

### **Slavery and British Ports**

In Britain, the ending of the Royal African Company’s monopoly in 1697 had enabled companies and merchants from ports in Bristol, Liverpool and, later, Glasgow<sup>67</sup> to participate legally in a trade that they had previously undertaken illicitly. While London remained the centre for

banking and credit, as well as marine insurance, the major provincial ports largely overtook the capital in terms of slave-trading.<sup>68</sup>

Bristol became the principal slaving hub and sent 50 ships per year to Africa between 1728 and 1732, transporting over 100,000 Africans.<sup>69</sup> In 1750 alone, 8,000 of the 20,000 enslaved Africans sent to the British Caribbean and North America were transported by Bristol traders<sup>70</sup> and between 1698 and 1807, a total of 2,108 slaving voyages departed from the city.<sup>71</sup> The trade in Africans, sugar and tobacco generated immense wealth, particularly for Bristol's Merchant Venturers<sup>72</sup> who controlled and expanded the city's docks and wharves and whose members included slavers such as Edward Colston (1636–1721), Isaac Hobhouse (1685–1763) and the Eltons of Clevedon Court (NT). Further prosperity was brought to the surrounding area, with imported raw sugar and molasses being processed in refineries built on the River Avon and at nearby Frome.<sup>73</sup>

In the middle of the eighteenth century, Bristol was supplanted by Liverpool as the principal British slaving port.<sup>74</sup> Its first slave ship had carried 220 slaves to Barbados in 1700, but by 1740, 33 ships were being sent annually.<sup>75</sup> Liverpool's local industries provided goods for export, including linen, glass, leather and metal, and, when the Bridgewater Canal opened between Liverpool and Manchester in 1772, cotton textiles from the mills of Lancashire and Yorkshire.<sup>76</sup>

During the last quarter of the eighteenth century, more than a thousand ships left ports in Britain and the British colonies bound for West Africa and some 300,000 Africans shipped across the Atlantic, of whom only 276,100 survived the Middle Passage.<sup>77</sup> Slavery was largely accepted as the mechanism by which the wheels of Britain's economy were oiled, as well as being the provider of great individual wealth and prosperity. In 1775 alone, exports worth £2.75 million were sent to British slave colonies in the Americas, with imports to Britain from the Caribbean amounting to £3.15 million.<sup>78</sup>

### **Abolition, and the Continuation of Slavery**

By the end of the eighteenth century, however, objections about the morality of the slave trade were increasingly voiced by critics in North America, Scotland and France and by religious campaigners, notably the Quakers, who had pushed for abolition since the 1690s. Criticism was also fuelled by the ideals of liberty, fraternity and equality manifested in American Independence and the French Revolution. Abolition of the trade itself was eventually achieved in Britain in 1807 and the United States in 1808, with Britain using its naval blockades and diplomatic powers to persuade other European nations to follow suit. Slavery continued in the nineteenth century, with emancipation only granted in the British colonies with the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833, and in the United States after the Civil War in 1865. Slavery was finally ended in Cuba and Brazil in the 1880s.<sup>79</sup>

Slavery also persisted within the continent of Africa, with people taken from the interior to the east coast to work in clove, coconut and grain plantations and where numbers rose to a high of 170,000 in the 1870s.<sup>80</sup> East Africans were also taken at a rate of 15,000–20,000 per year to domestic slave markets in Arabia, Mecca and Medina.<sup>81</sup>

Of the 27,000 known trading voyages sailed during the transatlantic slave trade, approximately 12,000 were carried out by the British and their North American colonies, with over 5,000 originating in Liverpool.<sup>82</sup> As a European nation, Britain was by far the largest perpetrator in the slave trade, trafficking 3.25 million Africans<sup>83</sup> in a system by which over 12.5 million people were moved across the Atlantic and of whom 10.7 million survived the crossing.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Walvin, James, *Atlas of Slavery* (Pearson Longman, Harlow, 2006), p.16, fig.9; Walvin, James, *A Short History of Slavery* (Penguin Books, London, 2007), p.7.

<sup>2</sup> Hornblower, Simon and Spawforth, Antony, eds, *The Oxford Companion to Classical Civilization* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1988), pp.111, 670.

<sup>3</sup> Davis, David Brion, *Inhuman Bondage, The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2006), p.44.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p.42.

<sup>5</sup> Lovejoy, Paul E., *Transformations in Slavery: A History of slavery in Africa*, African Studies Series 36 (Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp.15–18.

<sup>6</sup> This practice continued in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries during which period Muslims enslaved over one million western Europeans, see Davis, Robert, C., *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters, White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast and Italy, 1500–1800* (Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2003). Some historians question the extent of the East African trade at this date and its association with the movement of the *Zanj*, a racially offensive term to categorise Bantu speaking people, from East Africa to present-day Iraq and with their subsequent uprising in c.869CE. See Talhami, Ghada Hashem, 'The Zanj Rebellion Reconsidered', *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, vol. 10, no. 3 (1977), pp.443–62: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/216737>

<sup>7</sup> Walvin, *Atlas of Slavery*, op. cit., p.28.

<sup>8</sup> Much of this exploration was sponsored by Prince Henry 'the Navigator' (1394–1460), see Thomas, Hugh, *The Slave Trade: The History of the Atlantic Slave Trade 1400–1870* (Phoenix, London 2006), pp.52–3.

<sup>9</sup> Walvin, *Atlas of Slavery*, op. cit., p.31; Walvin, *A Short History of Slavery*, op. cit., p.38.

<sup>10</sup> Lovejoy, op. cit., pp.36–7.

<sup>11</sup> By 1448, the Portuguese had transported approximately 1,000 back to Portugal or their Atlantic islands. See Thomas, Hugh, op. cit., p.59. By 1550, enslaved Africans accounted for ten per cent of Lisbon's population. See Davis, op. cit., p.93.

<sup>12</sup> Walvin, *A Short History of Slavery*, op. cit., p.39.

<sup>13</sup> Davis, op. cit., p.86.

<sup>14</sup> Thomas, op. cit., p.91.

<sup>15</sup> Davis, op. cit., p.109.

<sup>16</sup> Walvin, *Atlas of Slavery*, op. cit., pp.35, 39. In 1600, 16,000 tons of sugar were produced annually, rising to 20,000 tons by 1650, ten times that produced in any other colony in the Americas.

<sup>17</sup> Thomas op. cit., pp.64–5. In 1442, Pope Eugenius IV granted Portugal exclusive rights over its African discoveries and this approval was confirmed and extended in 1454 by Pope Nicholas V. A key concern in both approvals was the ongoing conflict between Christianity and Islam, as well as the efforts of the King of Portugal in this regard.

<sup>18</sup> The demarcation agreed at Tordesillas was a line 370 leagues (1,184 nautical miles) west of the Cape Verde Islands, off the west coast of Africa, roughly along what is now the 46°W meridian. This protected Portuguese trade routes along the west coast of Africa, as well as allowing Portugal later to claim what is now Brazil and other adjacent lands in South America.

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- <sup>19</sup> The *asiento* had existed as a form of legal agreement in Spain since the early sixteenth century.
- <sup>20</sup> Morgan, Basil, entry for William Hawkins, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)* online, 2004: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12683>
- <sup>21</sup> See Gazetteer entry for Felbrigg (NT). Thomas Wyndham (d.1554), son of Sir Thomas Wyndham (d.1522) of Felbrigg, Norfolk and his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Henry Wentworth of Nettlestead, Kent. Alsop. J.D., entry for Thomas Wyndham (d.1554), *ODNB* online, 2009: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/30146>
- <sup>22</sup> Thomas, op. cit., p.154.
- <sup>23</sup> Morgan, Basil, entry for John Hawkins (1532–95), *ODNB* online, 2007: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12672> John Hawkins was the second son of William Hawkins.
- <sup>24</sup> Sir John Hawkins, Royal Museums Greenwich website: <https://www.rmg.co.uk/discover/explore/sir-john-hawkins>
- <sup>25</sup> Walvin, *Atlas of Slavery*, op. cit., pp.42–3; Thomas Hugh, *The Slave Trade: The History of the Atlantic Slave Trade 1400–1870* (Phoenix, London 2006), p.156. On his first voyage, Hawkins seized 300 slaves from Portuguese ships off Sierra Leone and traded them at Hispaniola for ginger, sugars, pearls and hides. Hawkins was knighted in 1565. His coat of arms includes a captive and bound African.
- <sup>26</sup> Royal Museums Greenwich website, op. cit.
- <sup>27</sup> See Gazetteer entry for Buckland Abbey (NT). Both Drake and Raleigh raided gold, silver, indigo and other goods from Spanish ships, while Hawkins seized sugar from Portuguese ships during the 1560s. See Davis, op. cit., p.110.
- <sup>28</sup> The British first settled Bermuda in 1609, followed by St Kitts (1624), Barbados (1627), Nevis (1628), Antigua and Monserrat (1632) and Jamaica (1655). Over time, European colonisation devastated not only the region's Taino Indians and Kalinago people through violence, coercion and European diseases, but also the natural rainforest environment.
- <sup>29</sup> This consisted of two stock companies, later known as the Virginia Company of London and the Virginia Company of Plymouth, empowered by the Crown for self-government by 1618. Earlier attempts at colonisation, such as Walter Raleigh's Roanoake colony, had only lasted from 1585 to 1590.
- <sup>30</sup> In 1619, 20 Africans were sold by a Dutch captain to English settlers, but Africans had been present in Spanish Florida as early as the 1560s. See Davis, op. cit., p.124.
- <sup>31</sup> Walvin, *Atlas of Slavery*, op. cit., p.41.
- <sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p.46.
- <sup>33</sup> The Royal African Company had not been able to meet the demand for African labour, and the revoking of their monopoly in effect formalised a supply that had been run illegally by those known as 'interlopers'.
- <sup>34</sup> Walvin, *Atlas of Slavery*, op. cit., pp.45–6.
- <sup>35</sup> Thomas Wentworth of Wentworth Castle Gardens (NT), a member of the Royal African Company, had been joint negotiator of the treaty in 1711.
- <sup>36</sup> The British government sold this privilege for £7.5 million to the South Sea Company, which had been established in 1711 to clear the national debt. Notwithstanding this monopoly, trade continued with Dutch, Portuguese and French traders transporting enslaved Africans to the Americas. See Paul, Helen Julia, 'The South Sea Company's slaving activities' (n.d.), Discussion Papers in Economics and Econometrics, University of Southampton: [https://www.southampton.ac.uk/economics/research/discussion\\_papers/author/helen\\_paul/0924\\_the\\_south\\_sea\\_company\\_slaving\\_activities.page](https://www.southampton.ac.uk/economics/research/discussion_papers/author/helen_paul/0924_the_south_sea_company_slaving_activities.page)
- <sup>37</sup> Thomas, op. cit., p.246.
- <sup>38</sup> Allen, Richard, 'Satisfying the Want for Labouring People: European Slave Trading in the Indian Ocean, 1500–1850', *Journal of World History*, vol. 21, no. 1 (March 2010), pp.45–73: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20752925> Allen suggests that because trade in slavery in the Indian Ocean was of far greater antiquity than that in the Atlantic Ocean, it is probable that a greater number of people were exported from sub-Saharan Africa across the Indian Ocean and Sahara than were transported across the Atlantic. Also, Africa was not just a source of enslaved labour, as many people were trafficked into Africa from India and South-East Asia.
- <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p.55.
- <sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.54–5. The Dutch East India Company, formed in 1602, established a base at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652.
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p.60.
- <sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p.66.
- <sup>43</sup> While some Africans, particularly the Ashanti people on the Gold Coast and in Dahomey, benefited from the wealth and political prominence generated by the trade, in Angola it severely affected the growth of the population, while the states of Senegal and Nigeria were brought to the point of collapse. Walvin, *Atlas of Slavery*, op. cit., p.53.

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<sup>44</sup> Lovejoy, op. cit., pp.107–8.

<sup>45</sup> Thomas, op. cit., p.321. *Guinée bleues* or baft were manufactured in Madras and Pondicherry. Peregrine Cust (1723–85), brother of Sir John Cust (1718–70) of Belton House, and a member of the Company of Merchants Trading into Africa, specialised in the importation of these East-Indian cloths. He appears in Enoch Seaman's group portrait, *The Cust Family*, at Belton House: <http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/436139>

<sup>46</sup> By 1790, two million pounds was exported annually to Africa.

<sup>47</sup> Lovejoy, op. cit., pp.103–7. By 1730, 180,000 flintlocks and pistols had been traded along the West African coast.

<sup>48</sup> Thomas, op. cit., p.319.

<sup>49</sup> Journeys took, on average, one month from Africa to Brazil and two months from Africa to the Caribbean and North America. Walvin, *A Short History of Slavery*, op. cit., p.72.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.72–3.

<sup>51</sup> As many as 493 revolts were recorded on slave ships. Walvin, *Atlas of Slavery*, op. cit., p.116.

<sup>52</sup> More than four million people were transported to Brazil, predominately via Rio de Janeiro, during the transatlantic trade. Wherever their point of arrival in the Americas, Africans were held in slave warehouses, or *barracoons*, to improve their appearance of health and thereby ensuring traders secured the highest price for them. Those too unwell to be selected, known as 'refuse slaves', were abandoned to die. Following their auction, enslaved Africans were often branded by their owners and moved on to other destinations. During the late sixteenth century, for those bound for the metal mines of Peru a further gruelling overland march was required. Walvin, *Atlas of Slavery*, op. cit., pp.78–9, 82.

<sup>53</sup> The Dutch, through their seizure of Brazil in 1630, damaged Portuguese sugar production, at the same time creating opportunities for alternative supply in the Caribbean. The Dutch West India Company colonised Saint Martin (1631), St Eustatius (1636), Curaçao (1634) and Saba (1640s); see Davis, op. cit., pp.111, 114.

<sup>54</sup> The French colonised Martinique (1635), Guadeloupe (1635) and, later, St Dominigue (now Haiti, 1670).

<sup>55</sup> Between 1640 and 1700, 134,000 Africans were shipped to Barbados, and from 1660 to 1713, 160,548 Africans were brought to Jamaica. Walvin, *Atlas of Slavery*, op. cit., p.45.

<sup>56</sup> Davis, op. cit., p.110.

<sup>57</sup> Walvin, *Atlas of Slavery*, op. cit., p.97.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.100–1. Whereas indentured white labourers would eventually be freed, having served their bond, this was not the case for enslaved Africans.

<sup>59</sup> In 1614, John Rolfe married Princess Matoaka (c.1596–1617), known famously as Pocahontas, daughter of Wahunsenacawh (1547–1618), Chief of the Powhatan.

<sup>60</sup> Walvin, *Atlas of Slavery*, op. cit., pp.101–2.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p.102.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p.104.

<sup>63</sup> Georgia held out against the use of enslaved people until 1750. See Thomas, op. cit., p.246.

<sup>64</sup> Walvin, *Atlas of Slavery*, op. cit., p.104.

<sup>65</sup> By the mid-nineteenth century, there were four million enslaved people in the South, of whom 60 per cent worked in cotton. Walvin, *ibid.*, p.110.

<sup>66</sup> Sheridan, Richard B., 'The Formation of Caribbean Plantation Society, 1689–1748', in Marshall, P.J., ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Vol. 2: The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1998), pp.393–414 (p.403).

<sup>67</sup> Glasgow became the major port for the importation of tobacco by 1760.

<sup>68</sup> Smaller ports on the north-west coast also became involved in trading in the 1740s and 1750s, including Lancaster, which became the fourth-largest slaving port, together with Whitehaven, Preston, Poulton and Ulverston. Thomas, op. cit., pp.265–6.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p.245.

<sup>70</sup> Dresser, Madge, *Bristol and the Transatlantic Slave Trade*, Bristol Museums: <https://www.bristolmuseums.org.uk/stories/bristol-transatlantic-slave-trade/>

<sup>71</sup> Giles, Sue 'The Great Circuit: Making the Connection between Bristol's Slaving History and the African-Caribbean Community', *Journal of Museum Ethnography*, no. 13, March 2001, pp.15–21: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40793663>

<sup>72</sup> Latimer, John, *The history of the Society of Merchant Venturers of the City of Bristol; with some account of the anterior Merchants' Guilds* (J.W. Arrowsmith, Bristol, 1903), pp.179–85: <https://archive.org/details/historyofsociety00latiuoft/page/n9/mode/2up>

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<sup>73</sup> Thomas, *op. cit.*, p.202.

<sup>74</sup> Many of the slave-traders operating in Liverpool included local members of Parliament, including Richard Pennant of Penrhyn, MP (1767–80 and 1784–90), and landowners such as the Rutsons of Nunnington Hall.

<sup>75</sup> Thomas, *op. cit.*, p.247.

<sup>76</sup> Manchester's export trade was £300,000 in 1779, two-thirds of it directed to the slave trade. Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp.248–9.

<sup>77</sup> Walvin, *A Short History of Slavery*, *op. cit.*, p.147.

<sup>78</sup> Walvin, *Atlas of Slavery*, *op. cit.*, p.47.

<sup>79</sup> Between 1820 and 1880, this illegal trade saw the movement of over 2.3 million people to Cuba and Brazil, where slavery was finally abolished in 1886 and 1888 respectively. See, Davis, *op. cit.*, p.80.

<sup>80</sup> Lovejoy, *op. cit.*, p.151.

<sup>81</sup> Walvin, *Atlas of Slavery*, *op. cit.*, p.127.

<sup>82</sup> Walvin, *A Short History of Slavery*, *op. cit.*, p.69.

<sup>83</sup> Walvin, *Atlas of Slavery*, *op. cit.*, p.46.

<sup>84</sup> See *Slave Voyages*, Emory Center for Digital Scholarship, Emory University, Georgia: <https://slavevoyages.org/>





revolution led to the creation of the first modern black republic in 1804. The role of the enslaved in their future emancipation cannot be overlooked.

### **Abolitionism in Britain**

One of the most familiar stories of British abolition relates to the Members of the Religious Society of Friends, or the Quakers, many of whom believed that all people are created equal in the eyes of God. The historian J. William Frost summarises the evolution of Quaker abolitionism through several stages, beginning with an early period, from the 1650s, that looked to convert owners of enslaved Africans without a focus on dismantling slavery. This was followed by a longer period, between 1680 and 1755, when the morality of slavery was debated, while Friends continued to trade enslaved people. From 1758 to 1830, Friends were asked to stop participating in the slave trade and free the enslaved. Eventually, the Friends more widely agreed that slavery was immoral, but there remained a variety of responses around how to go about ending slavery, a question of pace, as well as ambivalence.<sup>7</sup>

From the mid-eighteenth century, British and American Quakers, such as the Peckover family of Peckover House (NT), took a stand against enslavement. Jonathan Peckover (1755–1833) was a tradesman who settled in Wisbech in 1777 and campaigned for the abolition of slavery. Edmund Peckover (1757–1810), Jonathan’s brother, was among nearly 300 Quakers to sign the first petition against slavery presented to Parliament in 1783.<sup>8</sup> The Peckover family were among the founders of the Wisbech & Fenland Museum, whose collection includes the campaigning chest used by their close friend, the abolitionist Thomas Clarkson (1760–1846). Clarkson’s campaign chest contains slavery artefacts such as shackles and branding irons and goods made by skilled African artisans that helped bring his public lectures to life, making the point that the trade in good was better than trading in people and reinforcing the humanity of the enslaved.<sup>9</sup> Clarkson also campaigned with a poster of the 1788 drawing of *The Brookes*, a Liverpool slave ship, which illustrated the suffering of the enslaved people whose bodies were crammed into the boat and carried across the Atlantic. The image of *The Brookes* became an important part of pro-abolition campaigning. Clarkson also published the image in his book, *The history of the rise, progress and accomplishment of the abolition of the African slave-trade by the British Parliament* (1808).<sup>10</sup>

Clarkson wrote a publication entitled *An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, Particularly the African* (1786), which provided background evidence for an informal committee set up to lobby Members of Parliament (MPs). This informal 12-member group became the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade in 1787. Clarkson played an integral role in recruiting William Wilberforce (1759–1833) to the society. As an MP with anti-slavery sentiments, Wilberforce took command of endeavours to pursue the abolition of slavery in the House of Commons. While the Society was firmly opposed to slavery, its strategy entailed only attacking the slave trade, while leaving plantation slavery intact.<sup>11</sup>

## Anti-Abolitionism in Britain

Many Britons advocated for the continuation of slavery. One of the more outspoken opponents of the abolition movement who clashed with Wilberforce was George Hibbert (1757–1837), a merchant engaged in the West Indies through trade in the products of enslaved labour. Hibbert was a Chairman of The London Society of West India Planters and Merchants and presented pro-slavery evidence to Parliament in 1790, in opposition to Wilberforce's Abolition Bill of 1791.<sup>12</sup> George and his younger brother, William Hibbert (1759–1844), were partners working in London as sugar merchants, plantation suppliers and creditors.<sup>13</sup> William Hibbert remained in Clapham, London, throughout his life but also purchased a country estate called Hare Hill (NT) in Cheshire in 1798.<sup>14</sup> George and William's uncle Thomas (1710–80) moved to Jamaica in 1734 and acted as a slave factor, buying enslaved people from ships and selling them, as well as investing in slavery interests.<sup>15</sup> His Kingston home is now the headquarters of the Jamaica National Heritage Trust. The Hibbert family accumulated substantial wealth through the transatlantic slave trade across three generations, and the Hibberts remained prominent defenders of slavery.

In 1790, John Baker Holroyd (1735–1821), who inherited Sheffield Park (NT) in Sussex, published *Observations on the Project for Abolishing the Slave Trade*, in which he wrote that 'nothing is more vain and empty than the idea that the British Legislature could immediately abolish slavery' and denounced the 'madness' of the anti-slavery movement in a speech in the House of Commons.<sup>16</sup> On 18 April 1791, Wilberforce's Abolition Bill was defeated.<sup>17</sup> The abolition movement had yet to allay public concerns about the financial detriment Britain would face through the loss of supply chains involving the first leg of the transatlantic slave trade. Some also argued that enslaved people were not ready for freedom. Wilberforce was one of the firmest supporters of abolition, but he believed that enslaved Africans needed a gradual introduction to freedom for their own benefit.<sup>18</sup>

## The Slave Trade Act of 1807

By the early 1800s, a political and moral anti-slavery stance had gained popularity in Britain. The Slave Trade Act of 1807 was championed by the pro-abolition Prime Minister William Wyndham Grenville (1759–1834), whose family owned Stowe (NT) in Buckinghamshire, and the bill passed in Parliament easily. Stowe provides an example of how positions towards abolition could be polarised even within the same family. William Grenville supported the 1807 Act, while his nephew, Richard Grenville (1776–1839), opposed it and continued to represent the interests of plantation owners in Parliament.<sup>19</sup> Another contemporary of Wilberforce, William Windham III (1750–1810) of Felbrigg Hall (NT) in Norfolk, was a long-serving MP and appointed Secretary for War and the Colonies in 1806. Windham believed abolition would result in Britain's economic ruin<sup>20</sup> and was one of only 16 MPs to vote against the Abolition Bill in 1807, which was supported by 283 votes.<sup>21</sup>

The 1807 Act prohibited the continuation of the slave trade, but the campaign to emancipate the enslaved within the British Empire continued. By 1823, the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade was superseded by the more active Anti-Slavery Society, which vigorously campaigned for the Slavery Abolition Act (1833). Several MPs linked to properties that are now in the care of the National Trust presented Parliament with petitions from their constituents for the abolition of slavery. Among these were Sir Charles Morgan (1760–1846) of Tredegar House (NT) in Monmouthshire,<sup>22</sup> in 1826, and Robert Vernon Smith (1800–73) of Lyveden (NT), who served on a select committee on West Indian commerce and presented a petition for the abolition of slavery in 1830.<sup>23</sup> Wilberforce was a member of the new Anti-Slavery Society, and although retired from the House of Commons, he spoke at an anti-slavery meeting in the Bath Assembly Rooms (NT) in 1830. The speech was described in the *Bath Chronicle* as ‘a most animated and effective appeal ...’.<sup>24</sup> William Wolryche-Whitmore (1787–1858) of Dudmaston (NT) in Shropshire, spoke out against the power of West Indian plantation owners, arguing the case for emancipated labour in the West Indies<sup>25</sup> and frequently presenting and supporting anti-slavery petitions during the 1830s.

### **Women’s Voices**

The voices of black enslaved and free individuals provided popular first-hand accounts that fostered greater public awareness about the injustices of slavery and helped to move British abolition supporters from a desire for ‘gradual’ to ‘immediate’ freedom for the enslaved.<sup>26</sup> In 1831, Mary Prince (c.1788–c.1833) authored her autobiography and described her experiences of mistreatment in Antigua, struggles to gain her freedom on arrival in London and the experience of indiscriminate separation from her family.<sup>27</sup> Today, Prince’s biography and its impact on the abolition campaign is easily recognisable.<sup>28</sup> When the Slavery Abolition Act (1833) was passed, slavery ended in the Caribbean, British African colonies and British Canadian colonies, but not in the United States of America, nor the areas administered by the East India Company.<sup>29</sup>

Authors such as Mary Prince and Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811–96)<sup>30</sup> appealed particularly to the anti-slavery-campaigning women who felt connected to the domestic struggles of the enslaved and the tragedy of separating families. Harriet Howard (1806–68) of Cliveden (NT) in Buckinghamshire was an enthusiastic proponent of the anti-slavery campaign, lending patronage to the movement, and, notably, to Harriet Beecher Stowe. Howard petitioned her sisters in the United States against slavery in 1852.<sup>31</sup> The author and historian Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881), whose house in Chelsea is now in the care of the National Trust, was a direct critic of Howard’s politics, and advocated for the reintroduction of slavery to the West Indies.<sup>32</sup> His pamphlet, *Shooting Niagara: And after?* (1867), encouraged historic perceptions of racial hierarchies and promoted the idea that Africans were born for servitude.

The survival of slavery in the southern United States persisted until 1865 after the introduction of the Thirteenth Amendment to the US Constitution. Within some parts of the

British Empire, slavery continued to exist or shifted towards a type of indentured servitude or ‘apprenticeship’, as seen in the Caribbean.<sup>33</sup> Despite opposition by many Britons who profited from the slave trade, resistance, protest and the campaigning efforts of abolitionists enabled the monumental achievement of ending slavery in the British Empire. Abolition was one of the earliest social-justice movements, bringing together a range of individuals (black, white, female, male) who were able to raise awareness about the injustice of slavery and its impact on enslaved Africans. Individuals such as Robert Stewart or Lord Castlereagh (1769–1822) of Mount Stewart (NT) also supported the wider European abolition of slavery, securing treaties with Spain, Portugal and the Netherlands in 1817.<sup>34</sup> The story of the long campaign and achievement of abolition is important to the history of Britain, but the story cannot be divorced from an acknowledgment of the British administrative dominance and domestic participation in slavery.

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<sup>1</sup> Olusoga, David, *Black and British, A Forgotten History* (Pan Macmillan, London, 2016), pp.199–232. Olusoga expands on the physical distance and ingrained economic position of the British slave trade and also reflects on the key players of movement and how they campaigned.

<sup>2</sup> While this article examines the British abolition of chattel slavery on individuals of African descent and the evolution of this movement within British society in connection with National Trust places, there is only room here to briefly acknowledge that the reaches of slavery in the British Empire disadvantaged many populations in places outside Africa and the Americas for years after the Slavery Abolition Act (1833). For further information on slavery in India, see Hansard Parliamentary Papers 125 (1828), 128 (1834), 697 (1837), 238 (1841), 525 (1843), 14 (1844), London, House of Commons, as referenced in Major, Andrea, *Slavery, Abolitionism and Empire in India, 1772–1843* (Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 2012).

<sup>3</sup> *Britannica* website, entry for Alfonso I: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Afonso-I-king-of-Kongo-kingdom>

<sup>4</sup> Law, Robin, ‘King Agaja of Dahomey, the slave trade, and the question of west African plantations: The embassy of Bulfinch Lambe and Adomo Tomo to England, 1726–32’, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. 19:2, pp.137–63, 1991.

<sup>5</sup> Richardson, David, ‘Shipboard Revolts, African Authority, and the Atlantic Slave Trade’, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 58, no. 1 (2001), pp.69–92.

<sup>6</sup> Olusoga, op. cit., pp.219–20.

<sup>7</sup> Frost, J. William, ‘Why Quakers and Slavery? Why Not More Quakers?’ in Carey, Brycchan and Plank, Geoffrey, eds, *Quakers & Abolition* (University of Illinois Press, Champaign Illinois, 2014), pp.29–42. In the late eighteenth century, the abolitionist movement took hold in Great Britain as individuals and religious communities, such as the English Quakers, advanced ideas that the practice of slavery was morally contentious, but not necessarily unnatural. Lesser-known attitudes of racism and ambivalence among the Friends towards black free and enslaved people are explored in McDaniel, Donna and Julye, Vanessa, *Fit for Freedom, Not for Friendship: Quakers, African Americans, and the Myth of Racial Justice* (Quaker Press, London 2009).

<sup>8</sup> ‘First Petition to Parliament’, *The Abolition Project* website: [http://abolition.e2bn.org/abolition\\_view.php?id=34&expand=1](http://abolition.e2bn.org/abolition_view.php?id=34&expand=1) [accessed 4 July 2020].

<sup>9</sup> *The Abolition Project* website, entry for Thomas Clarkson: <http://abolition.e2bn.org/box.html> [accessed 15 July 2020].

<sup>10</sup> Clarkson, Thomas, *The history of the rise, progress, and accomplishment of the abolition of the African slave-trade by the British Parliament* (Longman and Co., London, 1808).

<sup>11</sup> Brogan, Hugh, entry for Thomas Clarkson, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)* online, 2011: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5545>. For further explanation, see Olusoga, op. cit., pp.206–8.

<sup>12</sup> UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entry for George Hibbert: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/16791> The evidence Hibbert presented against abolition was aligned with general sentiments about abolition during this period. The outbreak of the French Revolution as well as the successful St Domingue (Haiti) rebellion also distracted the progress of abolition.

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<sup>13</sup> The two brothers lived in Clapham, near other members of the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade who formed part of the 'Clapham Sect'. See also Donington, Katie, 'A Society Built On Slavery', *History Today*, vol. 65, issue 9 (September 2015): <https://www.historytoday.com/archive/feature/society-built-slavery> [accessed 15 August 2020].

<sup>14</sup> UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entry for William Hibbert: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/42210>

<sup>15</sup> UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entry for Thomas Hibbert: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146642349>

<sup>16</sup> *The History of Parliament* website, entry for John Baker Holroyd: <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/baker-holroyd-john-1735-1821>

<sup>17</sup> Wolffe, John, entry for William Wilberforce, *ODNB* online, 2009: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29386>

<sup>18</sup> During the 16 March 1807 parliamentary debates on the abolition of the slave trade, Wilberforce re-affirmed his position of gradual abolition, stating that enslaved Africans were not yet fit for emancipation and needed to improve their minds (*Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates*, vol. IX, pp.145–6).

<sup>19</sup> UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entry for Richard Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146638733>

<sup>20</sup> 'Windham-William (1750–1810)' in Thorne, R.G., ed., *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1790–1820* (Secker & Warburg, London, 1986). *The History of Parliament* website, entry for William Windham: <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/windham-william-1750-1810> [accessed 3 July 2020].

<sup>21</sup> 'Parliament and the British Slave Trade', UK Parliament website: <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/tradeindustry/slavetrade/overview/parliament-abolishes-the-slave-trade/> [accessed 5 July 2020].

<sup>22</sup> Suggett, Richard, report commissioned by the National Trust on Tredegar House, 2020; on the impact of slavery on the built heritage of South East Wales.

<sup>23</sup> 'Smith, Robert Vernon (1800–1873), of Savile Row, Middlesex. and Farming Woods, nr. Thrapston, Northamptonshire' in Fisher, D.R., ed., *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1820–1832* (Cambridge University Press, 2009). *The History of Parliament* website, entry for Robert Vernon Smith: <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/smith-robert-1800-1873>

<sup>24</sup> Quoted in Holly, R., 'The Anti-Slavery Movement in Bath', *Bath History*, vol. XIV [2016].

<sup>25</sup> *Hansard* online, Slavery in the West Indies, House of Commons debate, 6 March 1828. vol. 18, cc1023–48: <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1828/mar/06/slavery-in-the-west-indies>

<sup>26</sup> The phrasing 'immediate abolition' was coined by Quaker abolitionist Elizabeth Heyrick (1769–1831), who published *Immediate, not gradual abolition, or, An inquiry into the shortest, safest, and most effectual means of getting rid of West Indian slavery* in 1824. She advocated for the immediate abolition of slavery, while William Wilberforce was still advocating for the gradual abolition of slavery. Grundy, Isobel, entry for Elizabeth Heyrick (née Coltman), *ODNB* online, 2010: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/37541>

<sup>27</sup> Prince, Mary, *The History of Mary Prince: A West Indian Slave Related by Herself* (F. Westly and A.H. Davis, London, 1831).

<sup>28</sup> Prince's narrated autobiography was published through the efforts of Thomas Pringle (1789–1834) and served as a useful catalyst for public sympathies, adding to the body of knowledge supporting an awareness of the realities of enslavement for the British public. However, her narrative did not pave the way for her acceptance in society, nor did the validity of her statements on slavery go unquestioned. Prince was drawn into legal cases (libel suits involving Pringle and former slaver Woods) in which she was derided, and her story was called into question. As an enslaved female domestic worker, she was considered an outsider and unable to champion her own case. See Vigne, Randolph, *Thomas Pringle: South African Pioneer, Poet and Abolitionist* (James Currey, 2012), pp.218–20.

<sup>29</sup> An Act for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Colonies, 3° & 4° Gulielmi IV, cap. LXXIII (August 1833): [https://www.pdavis.nl/Legis\\_07.htm](https://www.pdavis.nl/Legis_07.htm) [accessed 15 August 2020].

<sup>30</sup> Stowe, Harriet Beecher, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852).

<sup>31</sup> Reynolds, K.D., entry for Harriet Gower (née Howard), *ODNB* online, 2004: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16544>

<sup>32</sup> Carlyle, Thomas, 'Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question', *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, London, December 1849).

<sup>33</sup> Madden, Richard Robert, 'First Proclamation of his Excellency the Governor to the Negroes' in *A Twelvemonth's Residence in the West Indies, during the transition from slavery to apprenticeship; with incidental notices of the state of society, prospects, and natural resources of Jamaica and other islands* (London, 1835).

<sup>34</sup> Thorne, Roland, entry for Robert Stewart, *ODNB* online, 2008: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26507>

## 4. Compensation for Slave-ownership

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The Slavery Abolition Act (1833) made provision for £20 million to be paid in compensation to the owners of 'slave property'. This was equivalent to approximately 40 per cent of the government's total annual expenditure at the time, which, if applied today, would equate to well over £100 billion.<sup>1</sup> Over 45,000 claims for compensation were made, relating to 800,000 enslaved people. No compensation was paid to the enslaved. Due to the way it was financed, the loan needed to fund this Act was only fully repaid in 2015. A total of 80 claims made by individuals historically associated with the families of 29 places in England and Wales (none in Northern Ireland) owned by the National Trust have currently been identified in the database of claims created by the University College London's (UCL) *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* project.

### Abolition and Compensation

The need for the compensation scheme was discussed in Parliament for many years before the abolition of slavery was accepted. Merchants, investors and trustees of plantations and absentee plantation owners (some of whom were Members of Parliament), as well as many others within Britain, were financially dependent on the proceeds from colonial slavery. Speeches, pamphlets and letters during the time of abolition capture varying concerns about the loss of 'property' in the form of enslaved labourers in the colonies, and concerns for the ruin of commercial centres of trade in people and goods, such as Liverpool. After the passing of the Slave Trade Act (1807), it became clear that the next step would be the full emancipation of the enslaved labourers on plantations in the British Empire. MPs became more vocal about the need to compensate British losses to the business of slavery, while supporters of abolition were divided, torn between moral objection to payment and acknowledgement that it could achieve the emancipation of enslaved people.

One of the earliest advocates of the compensation scheme was merchant George Hibbert (1757–1837), who came from a family of plantation owners. As early as 1790, he argued that West India interests would be ruined without support from the government.<sup>2</sup> Hibbert relentlessly petitioned in favour of a compensation scheme, serving as an MP in support of West India interests from 1806 until 1812. In 1807, Hibbert likened compensation for abolition to the need for government support if it were to close a large factory in a northern county. Critically, his analogy was that even if factory conditions were adverse and detrimental to the labourers, the

loss of a businessman's livelihood demanded compensation because their estates 'will be either considerably depreciated, or of no value at all'.<sup>3</sup>

The value of the loss of slavery to individuals in Britain would become imminently clear, as the Hibbert family received compensation for numerous estates in Jamaica totalling over £100,000. George Hibbert together with his brother William Hibbert (1759–1844) and their cousin, Robert Hibbert (1769–1849), were linked through business as partners in a West India merchant house. William purchased Hare Hill as his country home in 1798, passing it on to his son, William Tetlow Hibbert (1792–1881), and the gardens are now cared for by the National Trust. Both William and his son were the claimants or beneficiaries of 13 separate claims for 2,654 enslaved people. One of William's claims was unsuccessful, but his immediate family received a total of £48,115 in compensation.<sup>4</sup> William's nephew, George Hibbert Oates (1791–1837), was a planter in Jamaica, who received £353 16s. 11d. for 19 enslaved people as the owner of Morven Estate in Hanover, Jamaica. Oates also acted as attorney, agent and receiver in 12 additional claims, and presumably received compensation for his role. His daughter, Mary Sarah Hibbert Oates (1834–1925), who was 'formerly a slave on Georgia estate',<sup>5</sup> was sent to England, where she eventually became the lady of Dyrham Park in Gloucestershire, as the wife of Rev. Wynter Thomas Blathwayt (1825–1909).

UCL's *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* project has identified all the individuals who received awards listed in the slave-compensation records of the 1830s. These beneficiaries were distributed throughout the UK: 1,879 from England, 394 from Scotland, nearly 100 either born or based in Ireland and 36 from Wales.<sup>6</sup> Research reveals that payments extended beyond plantation owners and the merchant class centred around the ports of London, Liverpool and Bristol associated with slavery and the importing of goods from the West Indies.<sup>7</sup> Among the beneficiaries were absentee slave-owners who were financially dependent on slavery but had never seen a plantation, including the descendants of slave-traders and merchants who had used family wealth to buy substantial property in the country, or families who had acquired an interest through marriage. Compensation records indicate that 5–10 per cent of national elites in British society can be connected to slavery, and the same percentage can be linked to the built heritage of country houses.<sup>8</sup>

### *The politics of compensation*

The real cost of slavery rested in the human lives that were exploited and lost in pursuit of material and financial wealth, as well as their continued indentured servitude in the British Empire.<sup>9</sup> The compensation scheme devised monetary formulas for human life under the guise of losses to property, and a bureaucratic process was established so that slaveholders could apply for remuneration for their loss of enslaved people. The Commission of Arbitration (the Commission) was set up by the Slavery Abolition Act (1833) and had professional staff and offices that processed the claims for 800,000 enslaved people.<sup>10</sup> The work of Nick Draper<sup>11</sup> and



the wider UCL *Legacies of Slave-ownership* project has examined the Commission's papers in the National Archives and illuminated differing monetary values that were assigned to individuals based on their age, skill, productivity, gender and where they were enslaved.<sup>12</sup> The names of slaveholders were committed to the records of the Commission, while the names of the enslaved are absent; their individuality reduced to aspects of property capital.

Some individuals in British society recognised the conundrum of paying slaveholders for their losses in 'slave property' as an idea that inherently undermined the arguments of abolition. Before the Slave Trade Act (1807) ended the slave trade, a group of merchants and planters presented a petition to the House of Lords arguing against its cessation and requesting compensation. Thomas Clarkson (1760–1846), an early abolition supporter, responded in several letters in which he explored the exploitation of Africa by Great Britain, describing it as a 'scene of blood and desolation'. Clarkson continued to relate that providing compensation for the loss of enslaved labourers would be 'a violation both of morals and of all the principles of jurisprudence'.<sup>13</sup>

The payment of compensation was contested in parliamentary debates between abolitionists and those campaigning for West India interests in the 1820s. As slave-owners and merchants had made their fortunes, they returned to Britain to take up positions in society that would give them political influence, such as becoming a Member of Parliament (MP) or marrying into an elite family. In 1831, nearly 50 serving MPs had a personal connection to the slave trade and therefore an interest in gaining substantive compensation following the dismantling of the slavery system.<sup>14</sup> Following abolition, more than 100 MPs, both pro- and anti-abolitionist, received compensation.

In 1821, Mary Anne Boode (1799–1882), the daughter of a powerful Dutch slave-holding family in British Guiana, married Edward Cust (1794–1878),<sup>15</sup> brother of Sir John Cust, 1st Earl Brownlow (1779–1853) of Belton (NT). Following military retirement, Edward Cust served as an MP and a standing member of The London Society of West India Planters and Merchants from 1818 until 1832, voting in their interests and against emancipation during the 1820s and 1830s. The brothers became joint trustees and executors (together with Wilbraham Egerton MP (1832–1909)) of the Greenwich Park plantation in British Guiana owned by Margaret Boode (Mary's mother) and were beneficiaries of compensation of £5,029 7s. 8d. paid for 185 enslaved people. After visiting his plantations in 1838, Edward later reflected that the process of abolishing slavery should have begun immediately after the 1823 parliamentary resolutions.<sup>16</sup>

Officials were appointed to act on behalf of the government to oversee the process of abolition in the West Indies. Felix Bedingfeld (1808–84), son of Sir Richard Bedingfeld, 5th Baronet (1767–1829) of Oxburgh Hall (NT), trained as a barrister and served for much of his career as a British government colonial official. In 1833, he became legal advisor to Monserrat to oversee the implementation of abolition.<sup>17</sup> Bedingfeld recorded his experiences in a diary in which he details his dealings with the six plantations on the island. He also took the opportunity

to purchase the Amershams Estate in Monserrat the same year, later receiving compensation of £1,024 4s. 2d. for the 61 enslaved people who worked there.<sup>18</sup> He continued in colonial office and his obituary in the *Law Magazine and Legal Review* records his service as Crown Commissioner of the Turks Islands (1842–9), Master of the Supreme Court of Trinidad (1849–54) and Colonial Secretary of Mauritius 1860–68.<sup>19</sup>

### *Inheritance and marriage*

By the 1830s, slave-ownership in Britain had become commodified through a complex network of mortgages, contracts and other financial arrangements. The identities of enslaved individuals are occasionally revealed through the indentures and warrants attached to financial transactions, such as marriage settlements for women, which were written within an understanding of property transference and annuities reserved for minors and widows in Britain.<sup>20</sup> When Elizabeth Hervey (1780–1803) of Ickworth (NT) in Suffolk married the Jamaican plantation owner Charles Rose Ellis, Lord Seaford (1771–1845), in 1798 (the same year he purchased Claremont (NT) in Surrey), a list of 349 named enslaved men, women and children were included in the warrant attached to her marriage settlement, along with a sugar works on the Montpelier Estate (New Works).<sup>21</sup> This document makes individual lives visible but at the same time is dehumanising, as an enslaved person lost their given, likely African, birth name and found it replaced by ‘Eve’, ‘Apollo’, ‘Beauty’ or ‘Liverpool’. Their names reference ports, slaveholders’ family estates, figures from mythology or are a form of sexualised denigration. Ellis was a descendent of Colonel John Ellis, who had established the family fortune by settling in Jamaica in 1665 and inherited from his father his plantation of 404 acres ‘planted in sugar canes’ worked by 349 enslaved people.<sup>22</sup> He was the Chairman of the Standing Committee of The London Society of West India Planters and Merchants and a leading promoter of the West Indian interest in Parliament and resisted abolition continuously, receiving compensation of more than £18,000 for 1,018 enslaved people.<sup>23</sup>

Anna Eliza Elletson (1735–1813) had inherited the wealth and holdings of her first husband, Roger Hope Elletson (1723–75), a Jamaican-born slave-owner and former lieutenant-governor of the island, whose property included the Hope Plantation.<sup>24</sup> Anna Eliza took on the role of absentee manager of Hope Estate, with 385 enslaved men, women and children, through detailed correspondence between herself and her attorneys in the Caribbean. In 1776, she wrote to her attorneys requesting that the enslaved people on the plantation were ‘well taken care of in sickness or health, and their [...] situations rendered as comfortable as possible’. She continued to express more commercial sentiments over the loss of ‘Bacchus’, as his work was essential to the Still House, and hoped ‘that the loss is not irreplaceable’.<sup>25</sup> In 1777, Anna Eliza married James Brydges (1731–89), and on her death, she bequeathed Hope Estate to her daughter Anne Elizabeth (1779–1836). Anne Elizabeth married Richard Grenville, 1st Duke of Buckingham and Chandos (1776–1839) of Stowe (NT), Buckinghamshire. Grenville consistently opposed abolition

and made three unsuccessful claims for compensation in 1836 for Hope Estate, Middleton and Hampstead Park, Jamaica St Andrew.<sup>26</sup> A compensation award equalling £6,630 5s. 6d. for the enslaved people of Hope Estate was eventually distributed to Richard and Anne's son, Richard Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville (1797–1861), Hon. George Neville (1789–1854) and John Campbell (1796–1862) of Glastonbury Tor (NT) in Somerset.<sup>27</sup>

### *Unsuccessful claims*

Although compensation enabled the end of the slavery system, the large amounts of money on offer caused 'a feeding frenzy' among certain sections of elite society.<sup>28</sup> The government commission set up to manage the huge number of claims also had to establish the legality of claims in situations in which there were multiple claimants or complex mortgage and annuity arrangements. Long association with a plantation did not guarantee success. The experience of the Stapletons at Greys Court (NT) provides a good example of this. Sir William Stapleton (d.1686) was Governor of the Leeward Islands and a substantial plantation owner on all four islands. Managed by later generations of largely absentee owners who also married into other plantation owning families from the West Indies, by the early nineteenth century their landownership had become commodified parts of financial arrangements such as entailments and mortgagees. While Ann Byam Stapleton (née Kerby) (1796–1842) received compensation as tenant-in-tail of estates in Antigua, the Hon and Rev. Sir Francis Jarvis Stapleton's (1806–74) compensation claim Nevis 16 (Mont Pellier), made in his role as executor of his father Sir Thomas Stapleton, 6th Baronet (1766–1831), was unsuccessful and £666 15s. 4d. for 32 enslaved people was awarded instead to Walter Williamson, Receiver.<sup>29</sup>

Edward Gregory Morant Gale (1773–1855)<sup>30</sup> is associated with Upton House (NT) in Warwickshire, as well as being a descendent of Edward Pennant (1672–1736), Governor of Jamaica and great-grandfather of the builder of Penrhyn Castle (NT). Gale made unsuccessful claims for four estates in Jamaica, totalling approximately £9,800, and the successful counterclaim, for £12,000, came from his nephews John and George Morant, and Robert Lambert.<sup>31</sup>

### *Caribbean plantations*

Following abolition, plantations continued to exist in the Caribbean, and their liberated labourers were transformed by the law into 'apprentices'. Apprentices were forced to work for their former slavers for between four and six years, and children under the age of six were emancipated. Apprentices worked without pay in return for food and shelter.<sup>32</sup> Plantation owners in Bermuda and Antigua opted to pay a daily wage to their liberated labourers, finding it cheaper than feeding and housing them.<sup>33</sup> For all intents and purposes, labourers experienced the same hardships in the apprenticeship scheme as they did during slavery. In James Williams's (c.1819–?) account of being an 18-year-old apprentice in Jamaica, *A narrative of events since the 1st*

of *August, 1834* (1838), he described gruelling labour and receiving cruel punishments. This report, along with widespread refusal by apprentices to work and evidence collected by the Colonial Office, brought apprenticeships to an end by 1838 and heralded a new system of indentured servitude. Between 1838 and 1917, Indian indentured servants were shipped to locations within the British Empire to replace former enslaved labourers.<sup>34</sup>

The bureaucratic process of compensation in the Caribbean aligned with land-ownership and property transference in Britain but did not discriminate by ethnicity. Some descendants of enslaved Africans also received wealth from the enduring sugar and cotton plantations. Charles Paget Wade (1883–1956), who owned Snowhill Manor (NT), inherited a share of the family import business, Sendall and Wade, from his father in 1911. Charles was an architect, illustrator and plantation owner. His father, Paget Augustus Wade (1849–1911), was of mixed heritage and the son of Solomon Abraham Wade (1806–81) and Mary Jones (sometimes recorded as James) (1817–1914), (born in St Kitts in 1817), a black woman thought to be his housekeeper, but recorded as a ‘huckster’ or someone who sells items door to door. Paget received £16,000 from his father to purchase Woodleys Estate in St Kitts. The Wades made several small, successful claims, totalling £283 for 18 enslaved people,<sup>35</sup> and successive generations continued to profit from the sugar plantation in St Kitts. Charles Paget Wade’s inheritance enabled him to buy Snowhill Manor.

Some individuals connected to National Trust places also moved back to the Caribbean during emancipation. One example is John Rock Grosett (c.1784–1866), anti-abolitionist and MP for Chippenham.<sup>36</sup> Through his father, mother and wife, Grosett received a combined inheritance of at least three Jamaican estates: Chepstow Pen and Spring Gardens Estate in St George and Petersfield in St Thomas-in-the-East. In 1822, he joined the Standing Committee of The London Society of West India Planters and Merchants and supported planters’ interests in Parliament.<sup>37</sup> Grosett was a tenant who rented Lacock Abbey (NT) in Wiltshire for 17 years before moving to Jamaica in 1830. Grosett listed his formal address as ‘of Lacock Abbey’ for his compensation claims, instead of Jamaica, where he was resident.<sup>38</sup> Grosett and his lawyer successfully claimed compensation for 916 enslaved people totalling £16,143 ls. 9d.<sup>39</sup>

The success of the Greg family of Quarry Bank Mill (NT) in the cotton trade was bolstered by the involvement of several generations in slavery in the Caribbean and the trade connections they made through marriage to other families connected to business in the West Indies.<sup>40</sup> John Greg (1716–95), the uncle of Samuel Greg (1758–1834), owned two estates in Dominica – Hertford and Hillsborough – and also inherited Cane Garden in St Vincent from his wife, Catharine. John sold Hertford, but Hillsborough and Cane Garden passed on to his nephews – Samuel and his brother Thomas (1752–1832).<sup>41</sup> Thomas married Margaret Hibbert (1749–1818), the sister of West India merchant William Hibbert of Hare Hill (NT), and provided insurance for his brother-in-law’s transatlantic trade as a member of Lloyd’s.<sup>42</sup> Samuel’s son, Thomas (d.1839), inherited the estates and claimed for the loss of 210 enslaved people across St Vincent and

Dominica, receiving approximately £5,080 in compensation.<sup>43</sup> Hillsborough finally passed on to Thomas's brother, Robert Hyde Greg (1795–1875), in 1839 and the family continued to benefit from sugar production at the estate as it passed down the family line until Robert Philips Greg (1826–1906) sold his interest in Hillsborough to his nephew, John Tylston Greg (1871–1961), in 1894. John Tylston decided to move to Dominica to supervise the sugar plantation directly until 1928, before returning to Oxford to live in a house named Hillsborough. The estate was sold to a Dominican family named Rolle after the Greg family was persuaded that it was acceptable to sell Hillsborough to a 'coloured family'.<sup>44</sup>

### **Hidden Histories – Legacy**

It is inevitable that such a considerable and precipitous transfer of money from the Treasury into private hands will have manifested itself in various forms of reinvestment and spending, thereby concealing the source of this wealth and the history of slavery embedded in our cultural, political, social and material heritage. These legacies are still writ large on the British landscape. Civic and private building investment; towns and cities whose streets bear the names of beneficiaries; private country houses and public monuments; charitable institutions, churches and schools.

#### *Property*

William Hudson Heaven (1800–83) of Bristol, a merchant and plantation owner, purchased Lundy Island (NT) in the Bristol Channel in 1834 for 9,400 guineas and in 1836 constructed Millcombe Villa on the island.<sup>45</sup> In 1835, he had received £11,739 in compensation, awarded in six tranches against four estates (Ramble Pen, Silver Grove, Golden Grove and Bean's) in Hanover, Jamaica, as owner-in-fee. At this time, he is shown as 'of Penridge House, Somerset and Bean's Jamaica'.

In 1825, William Rutson (1791–1867) married Charlotte Mary Ewart (c.1803–81). Their fathers, William Calton Rutson (d.1817) and Charlotte's father, William Ewart (1763–1823) were Liverpool-based merchants and partners in Ewart Rutson & Co. (later Ewart Myers & Co.), which traded in goods produced by enslaved labour, particularly sugar and cotton. In October 1835, Ewart Myers & Co. were mortgagees-in-trust at Long Lane Delp's sugar plantation in Antigua, receiving £2,790 8s. 8d. as compensation for the land and 213 enslaved people. William purchased Nunnington Hall (NT) in North Yorkshire in 1839, settling his family's wealth in a respectable property which the family used as a sporting lodge. Nunnington Hall was bequeathed to the National Trust by Margaret Rutson, William's great-niece, in 1952.

#### *Commercial enterprise*

The building and acquisition of property, furnishings and art are obvious ways in which compensation wealth can be demonstrated. However, many of the beneficiaries were

businessmen first and foremost, and reinvested their gains in new and existing enterprise. In the case of George Hay Dawkins-Pennant (1764–1840), he completed the construction of Penrhyn Castle (NT) and transformed the north Wales slate industry from a local, family-based enterprise into an industrial-scale operation, exporting slate around the world.

In 1835, Dawkins-Pennant had received £14,683 in compensation for 764 enslaved people across four sugar plantations in Clarendon, Jamaica: Pennants, Denbigh, Cotes and Kupuis. Pennant was the MP for New Romney, Kent, from 1820 to 1830 and was a vigorous anti-abolitionist and opposed the emancipation of slaves within the British Empire. From about 1820, he had begun the construction of his great country house, Penrhyn Castle (NT), on the historic family estate, near Bangor. It would be completed in the early 1830s and it can be no coincidence that he then set about furnishing the castle extravagantly. On his death in 1840, his elder daughter, Juliana Isabella (1808–42), inherited. Juliana and her husband Colonel Edward Gordon Douglas (1800–86), who then took the name Pennant and later, in 1866, the title First Baron Penrhyn of Llandygai, were tasked with acquiring a grand collection of suitable pictures: Dutch landscapes and portraits, including Rembrandt's *Catherina Hoogshaet*, Italian and Spanish classical and religious works, and a considerable number of Canaletto and Belotto landscapes, many of which remain in the castle today.

Through the 1840s, Colonel Douglas-Pennant instituted large-scale improvement across the 41,000-acre estate, investing in farmhouses and agricultural buildings under the management of James Wyatt, who wrote in 1841 that 'Colonel Douglas-Pennant's wish is to see his property improved and under a better system of husbandry, a thriving and improved class of farmers'.<sup>46</sup>

At the start of the nineteenth century, Penrhyn slate quarry was already growing, producing 40,000 tons of slate in 1820, with a workforce of 1,000 men. By 1859, that had grown to 120,000 tons, drawing an income of £100,000 and employing 2,500. The purpose-built Port Penrhyn was extended and deepened in 1855 to take even larger ships.

### *Connoisseurship: art and culture*

The role of British plantation owners and West Indian merchants as connoisseurs and collectors, as philanthropists and as founders or participants in new cultural and social institutions is considerable. Not only are our public and national collections endowed with the benefits of compensation money, but private collecting also responded to the influx of wealth in the 1830s. Richard Grenville, 2nd Duke of Buckingham and Chandos (1797–1861), was ultimately the beneficiary of compensation from his mother's Hope Estate in Jamaica (discussed above). By 1847–8, he was bankrupt. He had inherited a heavily encumbered estate from his father, but added to it, and by 1847 had debts of £1.5 million with £66,000-plus annual interest and an income of no more than £61,000.

Hence, over 40 days in August and September 1848, the 'great Stowe sale' took place and the entire contents of the house auctioned. *The Times* (14 August 1848) wrote that Grenville had 'flung all away by extravagance and folly, and reduced his honours to the tinsel of a pauper and the bauble of a fool'.<sup>47</sup> His financial life was peppered with good and bad fortune (much of his own making). He was an extravagant collector of prints, books and manuscripts, and his lifestyle led to divorce. He died bankrupt, but the fruits of his investment can still be seen in the British Museum<sup>48</sup> and British Library collections.<sup>49</sup>

### *Philanthropy*

Some of the less tangible manifestations of compensation can be seen in community investment and philanthropy. Richard Watt III (d.1855) of Speke (NT) and Low Hall was a Lieutenant in the second battalion of the East Riding Local Militia in 1809 and served as High Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1811. Following receipt in 1835 of £4,485 in compensation for 256 enslaved people on St George's Plain Estate in Westmoreland, Jamaica, he took to providing an ox for the villagers in Bishop Burton as 'Christmas bounty' and organised entertainments to celebrate the coronation of Queen Victoria in 1837 and the birth of her first child in 1840. On the latter occasion the local paper commented that 'The tables groaned under the weight of the feast.'<sup>50</sup>

### *Empire*

Concurrent with changes to the economies of the West Indian plantations, was the emergence of a wider British Empire, attracting investors and settlers to areas such as the Indian subcontinent, far beyond the former colonial territories and West Indian plantations founded on slavery of the Americas. The descendants of families who had made their fortunes in the West Indies and moved their wealth and influence back to Britain began to take up colonial positions in India.

Reverend John Trevelyan, 4th Baronet of Nettlecombe (1735–1828), owner of Wallington (NT) in Northumberland, inherited seven sugar plantations in Grenada, via his wife, Luisa Marianne Simond (1734–72). His children and grandchildren were considerable beneficiaries of compensation, sharing a total sum of £27,000 for 1,004 enslaved people, and many of them went on to hold administrative office in India. One of those grandchildren, Sir Charles Edward Trevelyan, 1st Baronet (1807–86), son of Reverend George Trevelyan (1764–1827), worked for the East India Company and served in India as the Governor of Madras (1859) and Finance Minister (1862–5).<sup>51</sup>

The legacies of wealth connected to slavery and the compensation scheme became integrated into the society we know today. By examining the great variety of commercial, cultural, political and physical impacts connected to the compensation scheme we can create greater understanding about this entangled period of history and remember the human lives behind the prosperity seen in Great Britain today.

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<sup>1</sup> Draper, Nicholas, ‘Possessing Slaves’: Ownership, Compensation and Metropolitan Society in Britain at the time of Emancipation 1834–40’, *History Workshop Journal*, no. 64, 2007, pp.74–102. On page 79, Draper estimated that 40 per cent of the expenditure of the British government in 2007, the year that marked the bicentenary of abolition, to be £100 billion pounds. See also HM Treasury response to a related Freedom of Information request, accessed here: [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/680456/FOI2018-00186\\_-\\_Slavery\\_Abolition\\_Act\\_1833\\_-\\_pdf\\_for\\_disclosure\\_log\\_003\\_.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/680456/FOI2018-00186_-_Slavery_Abolition_Act_1833_-_pdf_for_disclosure_log_003_.pdf)

<sup>2</sup> *The History of Parliament* website, entry on George Hibbert: [https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/hibbert-george-1757-1837#footnote2\\_8xtiaaz](https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/hibbert-george-1757-1837#footnote2_8xtiaaz). See also UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entry for George Hibbert: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/16791>

<sup>3</sup> Hibbert, George, *The substance of three speeches in parliament on the Bill for the abolition of the slave trade, and on the petition respecting the state of the West-India trade*, vol. 2 (Lane, Darling & Co., London, 1807).

<sup>4</sup> UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entries for William Hibbert: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/42210> and William Tetlow Hibbert: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/45849>

<sup>5</sup> UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entry for George Hibbert Oates: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/19116>

<sup>6</sup> Hogan, Liam, ‘Opinion: Following the money – Irish slave-owners in the time of abolition’, *TheJournal.ie*, 27 July 2014: <https://www.thejournal.ie/readme/irish-slaveowners-compensation-1587899-Jul2014/>

<sup>7</sup> Draper, 2007, op. cit., p.77.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.20–1.

<sup>9</sup> Madden, Richard Robert, ‘First Proclamation of his Excellency the Governor to the Negroes’ in *A Twelvemonth’s Residence in the West Indies, during the transition from slavery to apprenticeship, with incidental notices of the state of society, prospects, and natural resources of Jamaica and other islands* (J. Cochrane and Co., London, 1835).

<sup>10</sup> Draper, 2007, op. cit., p.79.

<sup>11</sup> Draper, Nicholas, ‘Slave ownership and the British country house: the records of the Slave Compensation Commission as evidence’, in Dresser, Madge and Hann, Andrew, eds, *Slavery and the British Country House* (English Heritage, Swindon, 2013), pp.17–28

<sup>12</sup> UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/project/context/>

<sup>13</sup> Clarkson, Thomas, *Three letters (one of which has appeared before) to the planters and slave-merchants principally on the subject of compensation* (Phillips and Fardon, London, 1807).

<sup>14</sup> Draper, 2007, op. cit., p.90.

<sup>15</sup> Anon., revised by Lunt, James, entry for Sir Edward Cust, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (ODNB) online, 2015: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6973>

<sup>16</sup> Hall-Jones, Asha, *Legacies of Slavery: Belton House* (University of Birmingham, unpublished, 2018) and Tiana, Kelly, *Links to Colonialism: Belton* (University of Birmingham, unpublished, 2018)

<sup>17</sup> Caroe Architecture, *Oxburgh Conservation Management Plan* (Unpublished, 2019).

<sup>18</sup> UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entry for Felix Bedingfeld: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/25004>

<sup>19</sup> Boase, Frederic, *Modern English Biography* (Netherton and Worth, Truro, 1892).

<sup>20</sup> Zahedieh, Nuala, ‘An open elite? Colonial commerce, the country house and the case of Sir Gilbert Heathcote and Normanton Hall’ in Dresser, Madge and Hann, Andrew, eds, *Slavery and the British Country House* (English Heritage, Swindon, 2013), p.72.

<sup>21</sup> Suffolk Records Office HA507/4/26, quoted on *The Abolition Project* website: [http://abolition.e2bn.org/source\\_25.html](http://abolition.e2bn.org/source_25.html)

<sup>22</sup> UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entry for Charles Rose Ellis: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/13399>

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> Young, Hannah, entry for Anna Eliza Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville, *ODNB* online, 2016: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/109598>



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- <sup>25</sup> Letter from Anna Elletson to Ballard, 13 January 1776 (NLJ MS29A), quoted in Young, Hannah, 'Forgotten Woman: Anna Eliza Elletson and Absentee Slave Ownership' in Donington, Katie, Hanley, Ryan and Moody, Jessica, eds, *Britain's History and Memory of Transatlantic Slavery: Local Nuances of a 'National Sin'* (Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 2016), pp.83–101.
- <sup>26</sup> UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entry for Richard Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146638733>
- <sup>27</sup> UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entry for Hope Estate: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/19451>
- <sup>28</sup> Draper, 2007, op. cit., p.78.
- <sup>29</sup> UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entry for Sir Francis Jarvis Stapleton: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146630475> and claim: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/25291>
- <sup>30</sup> UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entry for Edward Gregory Morant Gale: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/1269273545>
- <sup>31</sup> UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, counterclaim detail: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/14848>
- <sup>32</sup> Latimer, James 'The Apprenticeship System in the British West Indies', *The Journal of Negro Education* 33, no. 1, 1964, pp.52–7.
- <sup>33</sup> Smith, S.D., *Slavery, Family and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles, 1648–1834* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006), p.255.
- <sup>34</sup> See Hansard Parliamentary Papers 128 (1834), 697 (1837), 238 (1841), 525 (1843), 14 (1844), London, House of Commons, as referenced in Major, Andrea, *Slavery, Abolitionism and Empire in India, 1772–1843* (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 2012).
- <sup>35</sup> UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entries for Solomon Abraham Wade: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/26074> and Frances Wade (née Paget) <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/26072>
- <sup>36</sup> Draper, 2013, op. cit., p.23.
- <sup>37</sup> 'Grosset, John Rock (?1784–1866), of Lacock Abbey, nr. Chippenham, Wilts.; Spring Garden and Petersfield, Jamaica' in Fisher, D.R., ed., *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1820–1832* (Cambridge University Press, 2009). *The History of Parliament* website, entry for John Rock Grossett: <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/grossett-john-1784-1866>
- <sup>38</sup> Draper, 2013, op. cit., p.23.
- <sup>39</sup> UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entry for John Rock Grossett [Grossett]: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/43220>
- <sup>40</sup> Samuel Greg built Quarry Bank Mill (NT) in 1783.
- <sup>41</sup> UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entry for Thomas Greg: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/10314>
- <sup>42</sup> Donington, Katie, 'Transforming capital: slavery, family, commerce and the making of the Hibbert family, in hall, Katherine, Draper, Nichola, McClelland, Keith, Donington, Katie and Lang, Rachel, eds, *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership: Colonial Slavery and the formation of Victorian Britain* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2014), pp.203–49.
- <sup>43</sup> UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entries for Cane Garden: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/27332> and Hillsborough: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/10275>
- <sup>44</sup> UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entry for Thomas Greg: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/10314>
- <sup>45</sup> The Landmark Trust website, feature on William Hudson Heaven and Lundy: <https://www.landmarktrust.org.uk/lundyisland/discovering-lundy/history/the-heavens/>
- <sup>46</sup> Anon., *Penrhyn Castle, Gwynedd*, National Trust Guidebook (National Trust, London, 1991).
- <sup>47</sup> UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entry for Richard Plantagenet Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/-989281059>
- <sup>48</sup> British Museum website, entry for Richard Grenville: <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BLOG70727>
- <sup>49</sup> British Library website, detailed record for Stowe: <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=965&CollID=21&NStart=67>
- <sup>50</sup> UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entry for Richard Watt III: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/13160>
- <sup>51</sup> Archives Hub website, entry on Charles Edward Trevelyan: <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/archives/5b9f8f57-5ae8-3a27-8f6f-cbae0d1dfd67>

## 5. Merchant Companies

Rupert Goulding, *Lead Curator, South West Region, National Trust*

Throughout the medieval period, merchants grouped together in guilds aligned to trades and commodities. From around the fourteenth century, a similar approach was applied to foreign trade. New companies sought trading privileges by accepting closer regulation and taxation. They evolved over time from simple partnerships into 'joint-stock' businesses owned by investors through transferable shares who then received any profits. Companies depersonalised enterprise, enabling commercial continuity through long-term investment, land acquisition and governance.<sup>1</sup> Companies were significant in British colonial history, as they often funded the earliest developments of Atlantic trade and settlement, which included trading in enslaved people, and, notably in the case of the East India Company, assumed quasi-governmental responsibilities (see section 6 on the EIC).<sup>2</sup>

The Muscovy Company<sup>3</sup> became the first major English joint-stock company when chartered by Mary I (1516–58) in 1555. In 1592, the trading privileges of Venetian and Turkey merchants were amalgamated to form the Levant Company,<sup>4</sup> which had exclusive trading rights with the eastern Mediterranean, but also hosted English consuls and ambassadors. The company was in business for over 200 years, finally dissolving in 1825. Sir Thomas Lowe (c.1546–1623) of Newark Park (NT) was Governor of both the Levant Company and the cloth-exporting Company of Merchant Adventurers of London (chartered 1407).<sup>5</sup>

The Company of Barbary Merchants Resident in London (established 1585) traded with North Africa, and in 1618 was joined by the Guinea Company,<sup>6</sup> whose interests were principally in gold, but increasingly turned to enslaved people. In 1660, Charles II (1630–85) chartered for his brother James, Duke of York (1633–1701) and associates the Company of the Royal Adventurers into Africa to take over from the Guinea Company and the African interests of the East India Company. In 1663, a renewed patent was issued, the first to explicitly mention enslaved people, for whom the company now had a monopoly.<sup>7</sup> In 1672, the company was indebted and re-chartered again as the Royal African Company of England, with greater powers to wage wars and establish courts. In the company's next 50 years, it transported nearly 150,000 enslaved people from Africa to the British Caribbean.<sup>8</sup> Members of the early iterations of the company included Arthur Moore (c.1666–1730) of Polesden Lacey (NT) and Thomas Povey (c.1613–c.1705), associated with Dyrham Park (NT).

The dominance of the Royal African Company declined by the late seventeenth century to independent traders, aided by the successful petition to Parliament by Bristol's Society of Merchant Venturers to open up the slave trade to add to their established business in colonial imports and exports.<sup>9</sup> By 1732, almost half of all slave ships sailing to Africa were from Bristol.<sup>10</sup> Successive generations of the Elton family of Clevedon Court (NT) were Masters of the Merchant Venturers.<sup>11</sup>

Alongside these merchant companies, ‘adventurers’ secured charters to explore, claim, govern and trade from distant lands, reserving profits and paying the Crown dividends. Two examples from Devon include the voyage to Newfoundland by Sir Humphrey Gilbert (1537–83) of Compton Castle and Greenway (NT) in 1583, and the transplantation of colonists to Roanoke, now North Carolina, in 1585 by Sir Richard Grenville (1542–91) of Buckland Abbey (NT).

In 1606, two Virginia Companies were founded to establish colonies in North America. The London company was first governed by Thomas West, 3rd Baron De La Warr (1577–1618) of Sheffield Park (NT); and the Plymouth company involved James Bagg (1554–1624) and his son Sir James (c.1592–1638) of Saltram (NT), who continued in the successor Plymouth Council for New England (established in 1620). Edward Sackville, 4th Earl of Dorset (1590–1652) of Knole (NT), briefly served as Governor of the Somers Island Company, which administered Bermuda from 1615, and later became a Commissioner for Planting Virginia (c.1632).

The South Sea Company was founded in 1711, devised by a government committee led by the Chancellor of the Exchequer Robert Harley, 1st Earl of Oxford (1661–1724) and Earl Mortimer (1661–1724), to support restructuring the national debt.<sup>12</sup> It was granted a monopoly to trade enslaved Africans to the Spanish colonies. Shipping lists show they made 96 voyages to the West Indies or Spanish America, transporting 34,000 enslaved people. The company famously caused an economic bubble in 1720, when its stock collapsed.<sup>13</sup> Many individuals associated with National Trust houses invested, including Sir Abraham Elton II (1679–1742) of Clevedon Court (NT), who was almost bankrupted by the bubble, and the banker Henry Hoare (1677–1725) of Stourhead (NT), who profited from the stock trading.<sup>14</sup> The following were involved in the establishment and governance of the company: John Aislabie (1670–1742) of Studley Royal (NT); Thomas Wentworth, Lord Raby and 1st Earl of Strafford (1672–1739), of Wentworth Castle (NT); and Arthur Moore (c.1666–1730) of Polesden Lacey (NT).

There were many other merchant companies involved in British colonisation and trade, especially in the seventeenth century, with individuals from properties now owned by the National Trust involved as company founders, members and investors.<sup>15</sup> Not all companies were successful or endured, and they generally proved unsuitable vehicles to support colonial expansion in the Atlantic beyond the initial settlement. Instead, the state assumed greater control, with broadly deregulated commerce within the bounds of its emergent empire. Yet, merchant companies had enabled early territorial colonial ambitions, and, significantly, built economic foundations through encouraging the allied development of insurance, banking and stock-trading financial services.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Carr, Cecil, ‘Select Charters of Trading Companies, AD 1530–1707’, *The Publications of the Selden Society*, vol. XXVIII, 1913, Introduction, pp.x–cxxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Zahedieh, Nuala, *The Capital and the Colonies, London and the Atlantic Economy 1660–1700* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp.80–1.

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<sup>3</sup> Fellowship of English Merchants for Discovery of New Trades, though the original name was considered too long by Parliament: Merchants Adventurers of England for the discovery of lands, territories, isles, dominions, and signories, unknown and not before the late adventure or enterprise by sea or navigation commonly frequented.

<sup>4</sup> Governor and Company of Merchants of the Levant.

<sup>5</sup> Carr, op. cit.; the Merchant Adventurers was not a joint-stock company and operated as a guild-like union; Bucholz, R. and Ward, J., *London: A Social and Cultural History, 1550–1750* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), p.82.

<sup>6</sup> The Company of Adventurers of London trading into the parts of Africa.

<sup>7</sup> Renamed the Company of Royal Adventurers of England trading into Africa.

<sup>8</sup> Carr, op. cit., pp.xliv–xlvi; Pettigrew, William A., *Freedom's Debt: The Royal African Company and the Politics of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1672–1752* (University of North Carolina, 2013), pp. 22–23, 11.

<sup>9</sup> Such as exporting cloth, copper and brass goods to importing sugar and tobacco; the Royal African Company went bankrupt in 1708 but continued smaller-scale trading before being replaced by the Company of Merchants trading to Africa in 1750, which was active until 1820.

<sup>10</sup> 'SMV's historical links to the Transatlantic slave trade', The Society of Merchant Venturers website: <https://www.merchantventurers.com/who-we-are/history/transatlantic-slave-trade/> [accessed 8 July 2020].

<sup>11</sup> Elton, Margaret, *Annals of the Elton Family: Bristol Merchants & Somerset Landowners* (Alan Sutton, Stroud, 1994), p.12.

<sup>12</sup> 'Harley, Robert (1661–1724)' in Hayton, D., Cruickshanks, E. and Handley, S., eds, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1690–1715* (Boydell & Brewer, 2002). *The History of Parliament* website, entry for Robert Harley: <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/harley-robert-1661-1724> [accessed 8 July 2020].

<sup>13</sup> Paul, Helen J., 'The South Sea Company's slaving activities', University of Southampton website: <http://www.southampton.ac.uk/socsci/economics/research/papers> [accessed 8 July 2020].

<sup>14</sup> Temin, P. and Voth, H-J., 'Riding the South Sea Bubble', *The American Economic Review*, vol. 94, no. 5, December 2004, pp.1,654–68.

<sup>15</sup> Scott, W.J., *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1710* (3 volumes; Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1910–12); other companies associated with the owners of National Trust houses include the Massachusetts Bay Company (1629), the New England Company (1649) and the Hudson's Bay Company (1670).

<sup>16</sup> Zahedieh, op. cit., pp.16, 81–6, 283.

## 6. The East India Company

Lucy Porten, *Curator, London and the South East Region, National Trust*

For over 250 years, the East India Company (EIC) led a complex global trading network. It was founded to develop trading opportunities in India, South East Asia and China and to compete with Dutch, and later French, East India companies. Overseen by directors based in London, it became one of the most powerful companies ever to exist, governing territories greater than the British Isles in size and population<sup>1</sup> and generating vast wealth and power. At least 229 landed estates were purchased in Britain by those who had made their fortune either as employees of the company or as independent merchants in India between 1700 and 1850.<sup>2</sup> Among the properties now cared for by the National Trust, at least 50 have a connection to the company, be it through past owners or their family members, those who worked for, supplied,<sup>3</sup> supported or opposed<sup>4</sup> it, or through the items in our collections, their commission, acquisition or subject matter.<sup>5</sup> Often, such a connection can be found across several generations, even if the property in question changed hands.

For those who were willing and survived the risk, great fortunes could certainly be made, and National Trust properties reveal a breadth of roles in the company,<sup>6</sup> from early investors,<sup>7</sup> through those holding administrative roles,<sup>8</sup> to directors;<sup>9</sup> those it made and those it ruined.

Receiving a Royal Charter from Queen Elizabeth I (1533–1603) in 1600, the company focused on trade at first. It had a monopoly and numerous fortified posts on the western and south-eastern coasts of Mughal India, with the support of both the British Crown and local governors. However, following its defeat in the first Anglo-Mughal War of the 1680s, its interests became increasingly territorial. The company's victories over the Nawabs of Bengal during the battles of Plassey (1757) and Buxar (1764) made them a major political and military power in India with, at its height, a private army twice the size of Britain's.<sup>10</sup> After the battle of Buxar, the 1765 Treaty of Allahabad between the Mughal Emperor Shah Allam II (1728–1806) and Robert Clive ('Clive of India', 1725–74) saw the EIC granted the diwani, which allowed them to collect taxes directly from the people of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. With the right to raise revenue and administer finances in place, 'the grandest society of merchants in the Universe'<sup>11</sup> (a private company rather than any nation state) was the effective ruler of Mughal India with, by the time Queen Victoria (1819–1901) ascended the throne in 1837, indirect control over much of the rest of the subcontinent, too.<sup>12</sup> The EIC set about stripping India of its assets, thereby becoming the richest institution in Europe. Until 1765, part of the company's business also relied on labour through enslavement, and it was actively involved in trafficking people from West and East Africa and transporting them to their holdings in India, Indonesia and St Helena.

Robert Clive, perhaps the company's most famous employee,<sup>13</sup> is closely associated with two National Trust properties. At Claremont (NT),<sup>14</sup> purchased with the wealth he had made in India, he built a new house, intended to be his main residence<sup>15</sup> and to display the treasures he

had amassed. In the early 1770s, Clive had begun acquiring Old Master pictures, which were intended for the Great Room at Claremont. At the time of his death, the house, unfinished and unfurnished, was a repository for his various collections, including that of 'Indian Curiosities'<sup>16</sup> (still unpacked at that point). Robert's son, Edward (1754–1839), would become 1st Earl of Powis, following his marriage to Lady Henrietta Herbert (1758–1830) in 1784, and Governor of Madras in 1798. Their amalgamated collections, containing some 1,000 objects from about 1600 to the 1830s, are now displayed at Powis Castle (NT) and include ivories, textiles, statues of Hindu gods, ornamental silver and gold, weapons and ceremonial armour from India and East Asia.

Beyond the vast economic returns and collections accumulated by those serving the company abroad, other associated objects also flooded into Britain,<sup>17</sup> furnishing its homes, forging fashions, identities and cultural change. Some, such as the Chinese dinner services purchased by Sir Francis Sykes (c.1730–1804) of Basildon Park (NT)<sup>18</sup> or Sir Robert Cowan (d.1737) now at Mount Stewart (NT),<sup>19</sup> were commissioned directly by those working for the EIC while in India. Many were acquired over several years, as at Osterley (NT), where three generations of the Child family were directors of the East India Company,<sup>20</sup> Sir Robert (1674–1721) serving as Chairman (1715–16). At Osterley, among the eighteenth-century interiors designed by Robert Adam (1728–92), are numerous 'oriental' objects (lacquerware, porcelain and textiles) sourced through the company's maritime trade in luxury goods. The family were also connected to three EIC ships named after the estate.<sup>21</sup> In some cases, objects resulted in East India Company commissions, such as the set of four aquatints by Thomas and William Daniell at Basildon Park (NT) showing Indian scenes and taken from sketches they produced during their travels while sponsored by the company.<sup>22</sup> Some were taken – one example being the eighteenth-century silver dress sword and scabbard at Charlecote (NT), set with turquoise and garnet stones, its hilt shaped as a tiger's head.<sup>23</sup> Believed to have been taken following the siege of Lucknow in September 1857 by Major-General Charles Powlett Lane (1826–1910)<sup>24</sup> – who participated in the first unsuccessful attempt at ending the siege there led by Captain Havelock (later Sir Henry, 1795–1857), Powlett Lane gave it to his mother-in-law Mary Elizabeth Lucy (1803–89) the same year as his marriage to her daughter Caroline.

The siege of Lucknow saw the East India Company's prolonged defence of the Residency<sup>25</sup> there during the Great Rebellion of 1857.<sup>26</sup> After this revolt, which began with an uprising of sepoys (Indian infantryman) in the EIC's own army, the British government withdrew the company's right to rule India the following year. The Government of India Act of 1858 saw the British Crown assume direct control of India, essentially creating the new British Raj and effectively abolishing the EIC. The company was finally dissolved in 1874.<sup>27</sup> It had laid the foundations of Britain's Eastern empire and its impact was far reaching and long lasting. It built roads and railways, established lawcourts, introduced a merit-based system on which the British and Indian civil services were modelled and was, at its height, responsible for roughly 14 per cent

of all imports to Britain. Yet its ‘conquest of India almost certainly remains the supreme act of corporate violence in world history’.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Barrow, Ian, *The East India Company 1600–1858: A Short History with Documents* (Hackett Publishing Company, 2017), p.xxiii.

<sup>2</sup> Barczewski, Stephanie, *Country Houses and the British Empire 1700–1930* (Manchester City Press, 2014), pp.45, 52. It is suggested in Finn, Margot and Smith, Kate, *The East India Company at Home 1757–1856* (UCL Press, 2018), p.7, that the 229 landed estates identified by Barczewski may be an underestimate.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Thomas Clinton, 3rd Earl of Clinton (1568–1619) of Tattershall Castle (NT), who supplied ordnance.

<sup>4</sup> See Gazetteer entry for Berrington Hall (NT).

<sup>5</sup> At Stourhead (NT), for instance, is a print showing the East India Company’s almshouses in Poplar, 1799; at Chartwell (NT) are books either written by EIC post-holders or covering the company’s history.

<sup>6</sup> The National Trust’s collections include portraits of ‘EIC men’. See, for example, those of *Colonel Alexander Dow* at Petworth (inventory number NT 486809); *Cornish Gambier* (as a boy) at Baddesley Clinton (NT 343217); and *Robert Stewart* at Montacute (NT 597922).

<sup>7</sup> Examples include Sir Thomas Myddelton I (c.1556–1631) of Chirk Castle (NT), the Milwards of Sutton House (NT) and Sir Robert Cowan (d.1737) of Mount Stewart. Sir Thomas Myddelton I ‘invested in the first trading voyage to Asia in 1599 and in the following year was a founder member of the EIC’ (see Welch, Charles, revised by Dickie, Trevor, entry for Sir Thomas Myddelton, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (ODNB) online, 2008:

<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-19685?rskey=JbrUnp&result=2>). Captain John Milward owned Sutton House between 1624 and 1642. A ‘merchant adventurer’ on the East India Company’s third voyage and then again in 1625, his brother, Humphrey, was one of the 214 founders of the company [research undertaken by Daniel Adediran as part of the *Colonial Countryside* project]. Sir Robert Cowan, the unmarried brother of Mary Stewart (d.1788) of Mount Stewart, secured the East India Company’s permission to go to Bombay as a free merchant in 1719 (see Watson, I.B., entry for Sir Robert Cowan, *ODNB* online, 2008: <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-63503?rskey=oS5Klp&result=2>).

<sup>8</sup> Examples include Sir Charles Trevelyan (1807–86) of Wallington Hall (NT), who entered the East India Company’s Bengal service as a writer in 1826 (see Boase, G.C., revised by Washbrooke, David, entry for Sir Charles Edward Trevelyan, *ODNB* online, 2016: <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-27716?rskey=mb5Svd&result=2>) and William Paxton (c.1744–1824) of Paxton’s Tower (NT), who served as an agent and banker.

<sup>9</sup> Examples include William Wolryche-Whitmore (1787–1858) of Dudmaston (NT), who served on the EIC Committee, and Samuel Shephard (1677–1748) of Anglesey Abbey (NT), a Director of the New EIC from 1717 to 1720.

<sup>10</sup> Dalrymple, William, *The Anarchy. The Relentless Rise of the East India Company* (Bloomsbury, 2019), p.xxix.

<sup>11</sup> Dalrymple, op. cit., p.xxx.

<sup>12</sup> Gilmour, David, *The British in India: A Social History of the Raj* (Picador, 2018), p.16.

<sup>13</sup> Robert Clive became the richest self-made man in Europe. See Dalrymple, op. cit., p.xxviii.

<sup>14</sup> Claremont Gardens are owned by the National Trust; the mansion is not and is now a school.

<sup>15</sup> Harvey, Robert, *Clive; the Life and Death of a British Emperor* (Hodder and Stoughton, 1998), p.328.

<sup>16</sup> ‘An Account of Goods, etc., Pack’d up at Claremont the Property of the Rt. Honable. Lord Clive’, undated (c.1774). See Archer, Mildred, Rowell, Christopher and Skelton, Robert, *Treasures from India: The Clive Collection at Powis Castle* (National Trust, 1987).

<sup>17</sup> Finn, Margot and Smith, Kate, eds, *The East India Company at Home 1757–1857* (UCL Press, 2018), p.2.

<sup>18</sup> Inventory number 266484. It seems probable that this was ordered by Sykes before he left India. It bears his crest showing a lady of Bengal holding a rose in her right hand.

<sup>19</sup> Inventory number NT 1220252. Sir Robert was the brother of Mary, who married Alexander Stewart (1699/70?–1781) of Mount Stewart. A merchant and later Governor of Bombay, he worked for the East India Company in India from 1719 to 1735. Recent research by Edward Owen Teggin suggests the service was ordered from Surat in April 1722, while Cowan was living in Bombay.

<sup>20</sup> Finn and Smith, op. cit., p.91.

<sup>21</sup> Finn and Smith, op. cit., p.97.

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<sup>22</sup> Inventory numbers NT 767970.1–4 at Basildon Park.

<sup>23</sup> Inventory number NT 532361.

<sup>24</sup> Burke, Sir Bernard, ed., *Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry*, 7th edition (Burke's Peerage Ltd, London, 1886), p.1,152.

<sup>25</sup> Political office that housed a senior British official (Resident).

<sup>26</sup> Its name is contested; it is sometimes referred to as the Great Rebellion or the First War of Independence.

<sup>27</sup> Following the East India Stock Dividend Redemption Act of 1873.

<sup>28</sup> Dalrymple, William, *op. cit.*, p.394.



## 7. Banking and Bankers

Frances Bailey, *Lead Curator, Northern Ireland, National Trust*

International trade has always been an expensive business. It depends on investors lending money to traders on the promise of a share of the profit once the trade is complete. Investors from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries often had to wait many years for their investment to return a profit. Trade was carried out using gold bullion and goods to barter. In the sixteenth century, private investors such as Sir Thomas Myddelton (c.1556–1631) – who owned Chirk Castle (NT) – invested in privateers (private traders), as well as in companies such as the Merchant Adventurer's Company (from 1582), the Guinea Company (from 1594) and in the joint-stock East India Company (of 1600). A joint-stock was safer, as it didn't depend on individual investors but on the success or failure of the company as a whole, and the East India Company had a Royal Charter, which gave it extensive powers abroad, thus further increasing its chances of success.

Banking took off from the middle of the seventeenth century in parallel with the growth in international trade, later providing bills of credit (in effect, early bank notes), which could be used in lieu of coin and were a much safer way of transferring money from one country to another. It took the risk away from individual investors and traders and spread it across all the bank's members.

Slaving needed a high level of investment at each leg of the voyage, although the cash remained largely in Britain, where it was used to procure shipping and initial stocks of goods to trade. Once the trading cycle was complete, goods were sold in Britain for cash, but the middle stages were fuelled by bills of credit. As the systems grew more complex, banks also provided mortgages to buy land for plantations and to buy or sell the enslaved people who worked on them. In this way, enslaved people were used as collateral in complex financial deals.

As Chancellor of the Exchequer, with interests in the SSC, John Aislabie (1670–1742) of Fountains Abbey and Studley Royal (NT), was found to have taken a bribe during a financial crisis in which the share price of South Sea stock collapsed, and he lost his political office.

Houblon & Hankey (1685–1865),<sup>1</sup> of Fenchurch Street, London, were 'traders to Jamaica, Antigua and the Leeward islands'.<sup>2</sup> In the eighteenth century, the firm of Hankey & Co. handled the accounts of William Beckford (1760–1844), who was described by Lord Byron as 'England's wealthiest son' and who is believed to have owned more enslaved people than anyone else in Britain at the time, having inherited 1,356 slaves and 13 sugar plantations from his father, Alderman William Beckford (1709–70).<sup>3</sup> Jacob Houblon III (1710–70) was an MP and a member of the Cocoa-Tree Club chocolate house, who purchased Hatfield Forest (NT), part of the Hallingbury Place estate, in 1729 using the fortune amassed by his large family of bankers and traders. His uncle, Sir John Houblon (1632–1712), was a founding member of the Bank of England<sup>4</sup> and its first Governor. As the historian James Walvin has noted, when the Bank of

England was founded in 1694, many of its members had made their fortunes through the slave trade, and the stability the bank brought to the economy enabled Britain to pursue the wars that were aimed to protect and further its interests in slavery and colonialism.<sup>5</sup>

Some of the earliest banks to be directly connected with the slave trade were based in port towns such as Bristol, which depended heavily on it. The founders of the oldest bank in Bristol, Old Bank,<sup>6</sup> established in 1750,<sup>7</sup> had interests in the trade between Africa and the Caribbean. By 1811 there were thirteen banks operating in the city. The Heywood family of Liverpool invested in over 120 slaving voyages between 1745 and 1789, from which they made a fortune. Heywood Bank was founded in 1773 on the proceeds.<sup>8</sup>

Most owners of enslaved people would have needed to use banking services, especially to manage the transfers of money between countries. William Rutson (1738–93) – grandfather of a former owner of Nunnington Hall (NT) – was involved in financing at least 42 voyages transporting enslaved Africans between 1780 and 1793, while his son was a partner in Ewart Rutson & Co., which traded in cotton and sugar. In 1817, two of his partners had a claim for £15,000 as mortgagees on a sugar plantation in Nevis. Slaves were also used as collateral in raising mortgages or loans from banks and other sources of finance, especially in the southern states of America, where the financing of the trade is still being researched.<sup>9</sup>

By contrast, Jonathan Peckover (1755–1833), the manager of the Wisbech and Lincolnshire Bank and the owner of Peckover House (NT) from the 1790s, was a Quaker who campaigned with other members of his family for the abolition of slavery. In 1896, the bank was amalgamated with 19 other Quaker banks to form Barclays Bank.

Emancipation had two significant impacts on banking. First, it provided cash compensation for former owners, which could be used to found banks or make other capital investments, such as building houses or investing in industry. The Bank Charter Act of 1833 allowed joint-stock (i.e. shareholder) banks to open for the first time in London, a role previously limited to private banks and the Bank of England, and some of these new banks were founded with the proceeds of the slave trade.

Secondly, it created the need for a cash economy in the Caribbean, as the planters now had to pay cash for services that had previously been supplied by enslaved people.<sup>10</sup> The Colonial Bank was founded by Royal Charter in 1836 to trade in the British West Indies and British Guiana, including Trinidad and Barbados. In 1916, it was enabled to extend operations to West Africa and, soon after, worldwide.<sup>11</sup> The UCL compensation database<sup>12</sup> lists two of the original managers and three directors of the Colonial Bank, including William Tetlow Hibbert (1792–1881) of Hare Hill (NT) and his family, who were major beneficiaries of compensation claims for 2,654 enslaved people, as owners and as a mortgagee. William was also a director of the Canada Company, involved in the colonisation of Canada, and of the Royal Exchange Assurance Corporation.<sup>13</sup> The Tetlows had owned firms in London and the West Indies that shipped and distributed sugar and other commodities, owned ships and managed finance and credit.<sup>14</sup>

The West India Bank, founded in 1840, was less successful, collapsing in 1847 after the introduction of the Sugar Duties Act by Britain, which removed preferential duty on sugar produced in the colonies. This ‘ruined many of the newly freed slaves who had placed their faith in its viability’.<sup>15</sup>

Closely allied to banking was the need to manage the risks to shipping and goods during the voyages – including the enslaved people, who were treated as cargo. Insurance companies, including Lloyds of London, provided insurance for slave ships. It is estimated that ‘Between a third and 40 per cent of the London marine insurance in the eighteenth century was accounted for by the slave trade and by the movement of slave-grown produce across the Atlantic’.<sup>16</sup> Thomas Greg (1752–1832), the brother of Samuel Greg (1758–1834) of Quarry Bank Mill (NT), was a plantation owner and a member of Lloyds, providing insurance for the transatlantic trade of the Hibbert family of Hare Hill (NT), to whom he was connected through marriage. In June 2020, Lloyds of London issued a statement of apology for its role in the slave trade, although this matter has yet to be fully resolved.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Now part of the NatWest Group.

<sup>2</sup> See the ‘Heritage Hub’ section of the NatWest Group website for further details: <https://www.natwestgroup.com/heritage/companies/hankey-and-co.html>

<sup>3</sup> UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entry for Alderman William Beckford: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146640587>; UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entry for William Thomas Beckford: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/22232>

<sup>4</sup> From the Bank of England’s ‘Statement in relation to the Bank’s historical links to the slave trade’, published on its website, 19 June 2020: ‘As an institution, the Bank of England was never itself directly involved in the slave trade, but is aware of some inexcusable connections involving former Governors and Directors and apologises for them.’ <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/news/2020/june/statement-in-relation-to-the-banks-historical-links-to-the-slave-trade>

<sup>5</sup> ‘When it was set up in 1694, it underpinned the whole system of commercial credit, and its wealthy City members, from the governor down, were often men whose fortunes had been made wholly or partly in the slave trade. The Bank of England stabilised the national finances and enabled the state to wage its major wars of the eighteenth century. These wars were aimed at securing and safeguarding overseas possessions, including the slave colonies, and to finance the military and naval means that protected the Atlantic slave routes and the plantation economies.’ Walvin, James, ‘Slavery and the Building of Britain: Banks and Banking’, BBC History website: [http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/abolition/building\\_britain\\_gallery\\_02.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/abolition/building_britain_gallery_02.shtml)

<sup>6</sup> Originally called the Bristol Bank, it became known as the Old Bank after the opening of Miles’ Bank in 1752. Through a series of mergers, the Old Bank was to eventually become part of National Westminster Bank in 1970. See also Manco, Jean, ‘The Beginning of Banks in Bristol’, *Bristol Past* website: <https://www.buildinghistory.org/bristol/banks.shtml>

<sup>7</sup> Manco, *ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Later merged with the Bank of Liverpool, Martins Bank and, in 1969, Barclays Bank. Barclays Bank was founded by the Quaker anti-slavery campaigner David Barclay; for further details, see Historic England’s website: <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1062580>

<sup>9</sup> Sharon Ann Murphy PhD paper on Slavery in the Antebellum South, Yale University Economic History Workshop, 1 May 2017, New Haven, Connecticut (unpublished). For further research in this area: Sharon Ann Murphy, ‘Collateral Damage: The Impact of Foreclosure on Enslaved People during the Panic,’ for a Forum on the Panic of 1819 in *The Journal of the Early Republic*, Andrew Shankman and David Waldstreicher (eds.), University of Pennsylvania Press [forthcoming Winter 2020].

<sup>10</sup> Besson, Gerard A., *The Caribbean History Archives*, Pariah Publishing Co. Ltd, webpost, Aug 2011: <https://caribbeanhistoryarchives.blogspot.com/>

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<sup>11</sup> See the 'Colonial Bank' page in the 'Archives' section of the Barclays website: <https://www.archive.barclays.com/items/show/5336>

<sup>12</sup> UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/firms/>

<sup>13</sup> Later incorporated in AXA insurance.

<sup>14</sup> UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entry for William Tetlow Hibbert: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/45849>

<sup>15</sup> Besson, *ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> Nick Draper, former Director of the Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slave-ownership, quoted by Reuters online, 18 June 2020: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-minneapolis-police-protests-lloydsogl/explainer-london-faces-up-to-former-role-insuring-atlantic-slave-trade-idUSKBN23P2US>

<sup>17</sup> 'At Lloyd's we understand that we cannot always be proud of our past. In particular, we are sorry for the role played by the Lloyd's market in the eighteenth and nineteenth Century slave trade – an appalling and shameful period of English history, as well as our own. In acknowledging our own history, we also remain committed to focusing on the actions we can take today to shape our future into one that we can truly be proud to stand by.' 'Building an inclusive Lloyd's market place', Corporation News section of the Lloyd's website, 10 June 2020: <https://www.lloyds.com/news-and-risk-insight/news/lloyds-news/2020/06/building-an-inclusive-lloyds-marketplace>

## 8. The British Raj in India after 1857

Dr Rachel Conroy, *Lead Curator, North Region, National Trust*

Links to the period of the British Raj permeate through many places in the National Trust's care. They include a number of past owners and family members who held positions of political or administrative authority, or undertook military service in the country, adding objects to their homes acquired through these connections. In 1857, following a century of governance, large sections of the Indian population began to rebel against the East India Company (EIC). There was not one single catalyst for the rebellion, but a catalogue of grievances against a background of oppressive, westernising policies.<sup>1</sup> A lack of concern shown by the military leadership around the religious sensitivities of Muslim and Hindu soldiers serving in the British forces also played a significant part.<sup>2</sup> The events are referred to in India as the First War of Independence or Indian Rebellion, and otherwise as the Indian Mutiny.

The rebellion began on 10 May 1857 with the mutiny of a group of sepoys (Indian infantrymen serving the EIC) of the 3rd Light Cavalry, based at the military station in Meerut, north of Delhi. The cavalrymen had been court-marshalled for refusing to use gun cartridges rumoured to be greased with animal fat, which was potentially abhorrent to soldiers of the Hindu and Muslim faiths.<sup>3</sup> The uprising was quashed, but was a catalyst for further military and civic rebellions centred in the upper Ganges plain and Central India, spreading to areas in the north and east of the country. Major-General George Anson (1797–1857) of Shugborough (NT) was serving as Commander-in-Chief of India when the mutiny began. He mobilised troops at Ambala and began to march towards Delhi, which had been captured early in the rebellion. He contracted cholera and died a few days into the journey.<sup>4</sup>

Both sides committed appalling acts of violence, and huge numbers of civilians were killed. Sensational accounts of atrocities against white Britons generated broad support for the EIC among the British public, although this was ultimately undermined by the brutal actions of its army. Nine months after the initial uprising, the EIC army rounded up and murdered tens of thousands of suspected rebels in towns along the Ganges. This has been described as 'probably the bloodiest episode in the entire history of British colonialism'.<sup>5</sup> Robert Vernon Smith (1800–73) of Lyveden (NT) was President of the Board of Control for the British government at the time of the rebellion.<sup>6</sup> Smith was responsible for overseeing the activity of the EIC and was chief official in London for Indian affairs, so was directly involved, if at a distance. In February 1858, he introduced the East India Loan Bill, designed to raise funds to meet the ongoing costs of opposing the rebellion.<sup>7</sup>

The rebellion was ultimately unsuccessful, but led to political and organisational reform. The Governor General, Lord Canning (1812–62), announced that the EIC's assets, including its army, were to be transferred to the British Crown. Despite some opposition from politicians

such as Benjamin Disraeli (1804–81) of Hughenden Manor (NT), India was brought under direct British imperial rule with the 1858 Government of India Act, becoming known as the ‘British Raj’.

The Raj did not control the entire Indian subcontinent. Over 560 principalities were governed by local rulers under British paramountcy, ensuring that Britain had control over their foreign policy. Reforms to the military were made to engender a respect of cultural and religious differences to ensure imperial security and avoid a repeat of the mutiny.<sup>8</sup> Pomp and ceremony were also considered fundamental to Britain’s continued authority. The first ‘Delhi Durbar’, an elaborate public celebration, was held in 1877 to celebrate Queen Victoria’s new status as Empress of India, conferred to her by Disraeli, who was then serving as Prime Minister. Similar events were held to celebrate the coronation and emperorship of King Edward VII (planned by George Nathaniel Curzon of Kedleston (NT)) and King George V.<sup>9</sup>

Sir Charles Edward Trevelyan (1807–86) of Wallington (NT) held administrative posts in India before and after the rebellion. In 1838, he published *On the Education of People of India*, which advocated for a colonial education system based on European subjects and the adoption of English as the common language.<sup>10</sup> He was later appointed Governor of Madras (1859) and Finance Minister (1862–5). The spectacular dish from the imperial Mughal treasury of Shah Jahan, which is now held in the National Trust’s collection at Wallington, was possibly taken when the British looted the Qaisar Bagh Palace in Lucknow during the early stages of the rebellion.<sup>11</sup> In 1862, his son, Sir George Otto Trevelyan, 2nd Baronet (1838–1928), worked briefly as his father’s secretary in Calcutta (now Kolkata). In 1864, he published *The Competition Wallah*, a series of letters exploring attitudes of colonial British settlers to Indian people from the perspective of an imaginary young civil servant in India. A second publication, *Cawnpore: The Story of a Massacre* (1865), offered an account of the destruction of the British settlement at Kanpur (Cawnpore) during the rebellion, in which seven of Trevelyan’s relatives had died.

George Nathaniel Curzon, 1st Viscount Scarsdale (1859–1925), of Kedleston Hall (NT) served as Under-Secretary of State for India in 1891 and as Viceroy from 1899 to 1905.<sup>12</sup> Although Curzon made some positive reforms, he opposed demands from Indian nationalists for greater participation in government. The aid offered by Curzon’s administration during the famine of 1899–1900 was limited, and it is estimated that around one million people perished. In 1903, Curzon supported the British invasion of Tibet under Francis Younghusband (1863–1942), and in 1905 he oversaw the first partition of Bengal, which was promoted as an opportunity to increase administrative efficiency but was seen as a move to consolidate British power in the region through ‘divide and rule’. It proved to be deeply unpopular and was reversed in 1911.

Lieutenant Colonel Ronald D’Arcy Fife (1866–1946) of Nunnington Hall (NT) served in the Yorkshire Regiment in India and was aide-de-camp (assistant and confidante) to Lord Amphill (1869–1935), the Governor of Madras from 1901 to 1906.<sup>13</sup> He was Master of the ‘Ooty’ pack of hunting hounds (named after the British settlement of Ootacamund) and Nunnington’s Stone Hall is home to numerous ‘big-game’ trophies of animals shot by Fife while in India.

Sir Winston Churchill (1874–1965), whose family home is Chartwell (NT), served as Secretary of State for the Colonies from 1921 to 1922. He was Prime Minister during the devastating Bengal Famine of 1943, the British response to which has been heavily criticised. Churchill opposed the Government of India Act in 1935, which granted India a degree of self-governance. On 1 July 1947, he wrote to Prime Minister Clement Attlee (1883–1967), arguing that India should not gain independence.<sup>14</sup> The passing of the Indian Independence Act on 18 July 1947 saw the partition of British India and the creation of the independent nations of India and Pakistan. Three hundred years of colonial rule ended.

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<sup>1</sup> Hawkins, Angus, 'British Parliamentary Party Alignment and the Indian Issue. 1857–1858', *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 23, no. 2, 1984, p.80.

<sup>2</sup> Olusoga, David, *The World's War* (Head of Zeus Ltd, London, 2014), p.54.

<sup>3</sup> Brendon, Piers, *The Decline and Fall of the British Empire, 1781–1997* (Vintage Books, London, 2008), p.129.

<sup>4</sup> Arbuthnot, A.J., revised by Lunt, James, entry for George Anson, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)* online, 2008: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/575> [accessed 11 August 2020].

<sup>5</sup> Dalrymple, William, *The Anarchy. The Relentless Rise of the East India Company* (Bloomsbury Publishing, London, 2019), p.391.

<sup>6</sup> Williams, W.R. revised by Matthew, H.C.G., entry for Robert Vernon, *ODNB* online, 2008: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25898> [accessed 11 August 2020].

<sup>7</sup> Hawkins, op. cit., p.87.

<sup>8</sup> Olusoga, op. cit., pp.59–62.

<sup>9</sup> A pair of ivory portrait busts of King George V and Queen Mary were given to Curzon by the Maharaja of Darbhanga, Sir Rameshwar Singh (1860–1929), to commemorate the Durbar (Kedleston, inventory number NT 108989.1–2).

<sup>10</sup> Trevelyan, Charles Edward, *On the Education of the People of India* (Longman, Orme, Brown, Green & Longmans, London, 1838).

<sup>11</sup> Inventory number NT 581660; Ferguson, Patricia F., *Ceramics: 400 Years of British Collecting in 100 Masterpieces* (Philip Wilson Publishers, London and New York, in association with the National Trust, Swindon, 2016), p.190.

<sup>12</sup> Oxford DNB, Gilmour, David Curzon, George Nathaniel, Marquess Curzon of Kedleston (1859–1925), *ODNB* online 2004: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/32680>

<sup>13</sup> Voden-Decker, Lisa, *Nunnington Hall* (National Trust, Swindon, rev. 2018), pp.8–9, 30–1.

<sup>14</sup> Churchill Archive reference CHUR 2/43A-B images 250 and 251: <http://www.churchillarchive.com/churchill-archive/explore/page?id=CHUR%20%2F43A-B#image=249> [accessed 13 August 2020].

## 9. Industrialisation and the Import of Cotton

Emma Slocombe, *Textile Curator, National Trust*

For many thousands of years, the production of cotton cloth was a domestic enterprise, where the white, fluffy fibres of locally grown cotton were spun into yarn and then woven into fabric in communities across the Americas, Africa and Asia. Even so, Indian cotton textiles were traded globally and Europeans had, since the seventeenth century, become familiar with fabrics such as muslin, chintz and calico through the imports of East Indian trading companies.<sup>1</sup> Cotton was decorative, versatile, cheap and easily cleaned and so ideal for furnishings and clothes. In the 1700s, it would have been hard to imagine that, less than 100 years later, the demand for cotton products would spark European industrialisation and the development of a global industry founded on the production of cheap, slave-grown cotton from the West Indies and North America.

In England, where there were established wool and linen industries, merchants, weavers and spinners in the eighteenth century saw the popularity of imported Indian fabrics as a threat to their livelihoods. Petitioning Parliament, they persuaded the government to pass the Calico Act (1700), banning imports of finished cloth, while domestic use was made illegal in 1721.<sup>2</sup> Despite this, manufacturers saw the potential of the fibre, and raw cotton continued to be imported from Turkey and plantations in the Caribbean. The repeal of the acts in 1774 resulted in large-scale investment in cotton manufacture.

Samuel Greg (1758–1834) was among a new generation of textile entrepreneurs seeking to profit from the lifting of restrictions. From a family of affluent Manchester textile merchants traditionally contracting Lancashire cottagers to weave ‘fustian’ (a legal cotton and linen fabric), the Gregs’ success owed much to eighteenth-century technological advances. John Kay’s flying shuttle (1733), for instance, doubled a handweaver’s production rate, while James Hargreaves’ spinning jenny (1764) spun eight times more thread. Yet, it was Richard Arkwright’s water frame (1769), a water-powered cotton-spinning machine, that revolutionised production. Acquiring the family business in 1782, Greg built Quarry Bank Mill (NT) at Styal in Cheshire two years later, specifically to operate water frames. It was just one of many mills that appeared across the North West, the Midlands and Scotland heralding industrialisation in Britain.

Mechanisation only increased demand for raw cotton. Planters in the British Caribbean colonies responded, with Barbados becoming the centre of production after the destruction of its sugar crop by a hurricane in 1780; the French Caribbean islands and Brazil followed suit.<sup>3</sup> These colonies all cultivated cotton using enslaved labour, as intensive production was believed to be unprofitable without such exploitation. Moreover, slavery enabled great fortunes to be made by European merchants, plantation owners and manufacturers.

Even so, the availability of raw cotton continued fluctuate. The 1791–1804 revolution in the French colony of Saint-Dominique (afterwards known as Haiti), freed thousands of enslaved



people but also reduced cotton imports to Britain by a quarter.<sup>4</sup> The solution was North American expansion. Departing from the old tobacco estates of Virginia and South Carolina, white settlers moved into Louisiana, Alabama and Mississippi, taking the enslaved population with them to cultivate cotton in vast regions previously occupied by indigenous peoples.<sup>5</sup> In 1793 Eli Whitney developed the cotton gin, mechanising seed-removal from short-staple cotton and thereby freeing labour for cultivation and speeding up processing. Commercial success rested on slavery, and with it came the creation of an internal slave trade and a distinct culture based on slave-ownership. By 1850, 2.5 million bales of raw cotton were produced by 2.4 million slaves, some 60 per cent of the American South's subjugated population.<sup>6</sup>

Shipped across the Atlantic, most slave-grown cotton alighted in Liverpool before being transported to the mills of Lancashire to be turned into yarn and cloth. Between 1811 and 1851, the weight of annual cotton imports rose from 65 million pounds to 452 million pounds, necessitating the expansion of the Liverpool docks to a length of 2.5 miles.<sup>7</sup> Mechanisation, a cheap labour force of largely women and children, and a global trading network in which to sell finished goods combined to create a cotton boom. The Lancashire landscape proliferated with large textile factories and mill towns, establishing Manchester as a hub for local textile production and the global export trade, its cotton fabric an important commodity used for bargaining and exchange by slave-traders along the coast of West Africa. Thus, cotton had become the engine of the Industrial Revolution, and Lancashire factories a model for a new form of industrial capitalism that would spread the world over.<sup>8</sup>

At Quarry Bank Mill, Samuel Greg looked again to new technology to boost production. Power to drive textile machinery was essential and his installation of a second water wheel in 1796 enabled the number of spindles to rise from 2,425 to 3,452.<sup>9</sup> The mill was extended in 1810 and then doubled in size in 1818–20 to accommodate new machines as the entire manufacturing process mechanised, powered by a new 'Great Wheel' of iron.<sup>10</sup> The outcome of Greg's investment – and that of thousands like him – was that by 1825, it took British workers 135 hours to produce 100 pounds of cloth compared with 50,000 hours to produce the same by hand in India.<sup>11</sup>

Despite the Slavery Abolition Act (1833) ending slavery in most British colonies, the cotton industry remained reliant on cheap, raw cotton cultivated by enslaved people in the American South. Writing in 1857, the economist J.T. Danson concluded that 'there is not, and never has been, any considerable source of supply for cotton, excepting the East-Indies, which is not obviously and exclusively maintained by slave-labour'.<sup>12</sup> The nineteenth-century economies of Britain and America were centred on cotton production. By the 1860s, 20–25 per cent of the population in England worked in the cotton industry, producing 50 per cent of the nation's exported goods from 800 million pounds of cotton, 77 per cent of which was slave-cultivated.<sup>13</sup> The value of cotton exports to the American economy was worth \$192 million – 60 per cent of its total exports.<sup>14</sup>

This reliance was tested by the American Civil War (1861–5). Fought between northern and southern states along an approximate line that divided free and enslaved people, it was as much about the economics of slavery and cotton production as it was the survival of the union.<sup>15</sup> During the war, blockades halted exports, resulting in almost all cotton production in Lancashire ceasing by 1863, causing over half a million workers to seek poor relief.<sup>16</sup> The end of the war brought freedom to four million slaves and permanent change to the global cotton industry.<sup>17</sup> Expanding cultivation in Egypt, India and Brazil transformed their societies and economies, although Brazil continued to exploit slave labour until 1888.

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<sup>1</sup> Watt, Melinda, “‘Whims and Fancies’; Europeans respond to textiles from the East’ in Amelia Peck, ed., *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500–1800* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York and Yale University Press, New Haven, 2013), pp.82–8.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Walvin, James, *Slavery in Small Things: Slavery and Modern Cultural Habits* (Wiley Blackwell, Chichester, 2017), pp.244–5.

<sup>4</sup> Beckert, Sven, *Empire of Cotton: A New History of Global Capitalism* (Penguin Random House UK, London, 2014), p.96.

<sup>5</sup> Walvin, James, *Atlas of Slavery* (Routledge, New York, 2006), p.109.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Walvin, 2017, op. cit., pp.247.

<sup>8</sup> Beckert, 2014, op. cit., pp.80–1.

<sup>9</sup> *Quarry Bank Mill and Styal Estate*, National Trust Guidebook (2007), p.13.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p.11.

<sup>11</sup> Walvin, 2017, op. cit., pp.242–3.

<sup>12</sup> Quoted in Beckert, Sven, ‘Emancipation and Empire: Reconstructing the Worldwide Web of Cotton production in the Age of the American Civil War’, *The American Historical Review*, vol. 109, no. 5 (December 2004), p.1,409.

<sup>13</sup> Beckert, 2004, op. cit., pp.1,405–1,438; Beckert, 2014, op. cit., pp.242–3.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p.206.

<sup>15</sup> Beckert, 2004, op. cit., pp.1,405–38.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

## 10. Research

Sophie Chessum, *Senior Curator, London and the South East Region, National Trust*

Properties and places have been acquired by the National Trust over the past 125 years for a variety of reasons, such as their beauty, importance to our national story or because they were at risk of destruction. Many country houses come with hundreds of years of history and a legacy of stories that are predominantly focused on the families who made and shaped them. In the past, the focus of interpretation often fell on the social standing of elite families: the careers of sons and heirs, fortunes made and lost, advantageous marriages made and tales of significant family events told. These stories grew out of a tradition established in eighteenth-century country-house guides<sup>1</sup> and, later, family histories,<sup>2</sup> and continued in early National Trust guidebooks, which were occasionally penned by family members or by Trust staff – such as James Lees-Milne (1908–97),<sup>3</sup> an architectural historian who worked for the National Trust from 1936 to 1973 and who was often associated with the families he was writing about.<sup>4</sup> Histories relating to the sources of wealth that paid for places and collections, the lives of staff and servants, the history of black presence at our places and the wider context of British colonisation, were occasionally mentioned, but were largely felt to be less relevant to typical country-house visitors in the past. Interest in the place of the British country house within global histories is a more recent phenomenon, and brings with it the opportunity to pursue wider historical research that begins to explore multiple perspectives.

Change began with the new millennium. Increased academic interest in questions of how we view heritage, the digitisation of archives<sup>5</sup> and the curiosity of our visitors prompted new routes of enquiry into the layered histories of our places and their role in British society. More widespread research and the publication of diverse and challenging histories is now considered vital to a better understanding of the properties and places that are now in the care of the National Trust and crucial to the organisation's commitment to 'welcome everyone' and ensuring access, inclusivity and diversity for all – but still has its critics.<sup>6</sup> Uncovering new histories and multiple narratives has also been embraced by a number of 'historic families' who have worked with the National Trust to explore often complex histories around slavery and colonialism.

It was the bicentenary of the Slave Trade Act (1807) in 2007 that saw new research presented to visitors for the first time, at Clevedon Court (NT), Dyrham Park (NT), Ham House (NT), Penrhyn Castle (NT) and Tyntesfield (NT).<sup>7</sup> This led to further work on country houses and their former owners who had connections with slavery, in an academic partnership between the National Trust, English Heritage and the University of the West of England, resulting in a conference<sup>8</sup> and publication.<sup>9</sup> *The East India Company at Home, 1757–1857*<sup>10</sup> (2011) used National Trust houses as case studies<sup>11</sup> in a partnership with the University of Warwick and University College London (UCL). In 2014, Osterley Park (NT) held *The Trappings of Trade* exhibition,<sup>12</sup>

which focused on the Child family's involvement in the East India Company.<sup>13</sup> More recently, work undertaken by the National Trust with the University of Winchester on Tyntesfield<sup>14</sup> revealed more about the Gibbs family's collecting in South America.<sup>15</sup> The 70th anniversary of India's independence in 2017 also started long-running research projects at both Powis Castle (NT)<sup>16</sup> and Kedleston Hall (NT).<sup>17</sup> Since then, *Colonial Countryside: National Trust Houses Reinterpreted*,<sup>18</sup> a writing project that aims to connect children with the colonial histories of 11 National Trust houses, has continued our close association with Professor Corinne Fowler at the University of Leicester. In September 2019, Professor Fowler was commissioned by the National Trust to bring together into a report the current research around colonial legacies at our places. It is this work which has provided the foundations of this expanded report. Collaboration with universities on doctoral and post-doctoral projects continue, particularly with the GW4,<sup>19</sup> the Oxford University and National Trust Research Partnership and Open-Oxford-Cambridge training partnerships.<sup>20</sup>

The property entries in this report demonstrate awareness of existing research into colonial and slavery narratives at National Trust places, and the importance of sharing this with wider audiences. It has also revealed that there is great potential for the National Trust and its partners to build on, and expand, this research. The Trust continues to encourage collaboration and remains committed to making our places and collections as accessible as possible.

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<sup>1</sup> For an overview, see Tinniswood, Adrian, *A History of Country House Visiting* (Oxford 1989). Early examples of country-house guides include George Bickham's guide to Hampton Court Palace and Windsor Castle of 1742, Benton Seely's guide to Stowe (NT) of 1744 and Richard Cowdry's guide to Wilton House of 1751.

<sup>2</sup> Examples of family members writing their own histories relating to properties now in the care of the National Trust include R.W. Ketton-Cremer's *Felbrigg, The Story of a Country House* (Rupert Hart-Davis Ltd, London, 1962), Alice Fairfax-Lucy's *Charlecote and the Lucys* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1958), Lord Leconfield (H.A. Wyndham) on *Petworth Manor in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1954), Margaret Meade-Fetherstonhaugh on *Uppark and Its People* (George Allen and Unwin, London, 1964), *Knole and the Sackvilles* (William Heinemann, London, 1922) by Vita Sackville-West, and *Inheritance: The Story of Knole and the Sackvilles* by Robert Sackville-West (Bloomsbury, London, 2010).

<sup>3</sup> Lees-Milne, James, *A Guide to Britain's Historic Buildings Preserved by the National Trust* (Batsford, London, 1948).

<sup>4</sup> See *ibid.* An Old Etonian, James Lees-Milne was a great friend of Eddy Sackville-West of Knole and moved in social circles that included aristocrats and landed gentry. He was a passionate advocate of the country house and responsible for many houses coming into the care of the National Trust during the period he worked for the organisation.

<sup>5</sup> Most notably, in 2015, UCL's *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* project: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/> [accessed 12 August 2020].

<sup>6</sup> In 2017, the National Trust marked 50 years since the partial decriminalisation of homosexuality with its *Prejudice and Pride* programme: <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/prejudice-and-pride-exploring-lgbtq-history> [accessed 12 August 2020]. Although supported by many, a vocal minority felt threatened by what it saw as an unwelcome departure from the narratives to which they had become accustomed. The Trust's *Women and Power* programme the following year was less controversial: <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/women-and-power-exploring-womens-history-at-our-places> [accessed 13 August 2020].

<sup>7</sup> This project was supported by the Heritage Lottery Fund.

<sup>8</sup> *Slavery and the British Country House*, held at the London School of Economics, 2009.

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<sup>9</sup> Dresser, Madge and Hann, Andrew, eds, *Slavery and the British Country House* (English Heritage, Swindon, 2013): <https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/slavery-and-british-country-house/> [accessed 14 July 2020].

<sup>10</sup> Funded by the Leverhulme Trust, it ran until 2014.

<sup>11</sup> Details on the UCL website: <https://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/case-studies-2/> [accessed 12 August 2020].

<sup>12</sup> Details on the UCL website: <https://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/trappings-of-trade-display-at-osterley-park-and-house/> [accessed 12 August 2020].

<sup>13</sup> Davies, Pauline and Sharma, Yuthika, “A jaghire without a crime”: East India Company and the Indian Ocean Material World at Osterley 1700–1800’, UCL website: <https://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/osterley-park-middlesex/> [accessed 12 August 2020].

<sup>14</sup> An AHRC-funded collaborative project; details on the Hispanic-Anglosphere website: <https://hispanic-anglosphere.com/> [accessed 12 August 2020].

<sup>15</sup> For details, see the Hispanic-Anglosphere website: <https://hispanic-anglosphere.com/public-history/online-exhibitions/> [accessed 12 August 2020].

<sup>16</sup> Undertaken in collaboration with UCL and the British Museum; Dr Liz Green, curator at Powis Castle, contributed a conference paper, ‘Putting South Asia on Display’, and there have been numerous research projects on the Clive Collection, including those by Kieran Hazzard of Oxford University and Rhea Tuli, doctoral candidate at Cambridge University.

<sup>17</sup> A collaborative, community project to plan the redisplay of the Eastern Museum, the collection amassed by Nathaniel Curzon while Viceroy of India (1899–1905). For further details, see the National Trust website: <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/kedleston-hall/features/a-year-of-listening> [accessed 12 August 2020].

<sup>18</sup> For further details, see the website of the University of Leicester: <https://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/english/creativewriting/centre/colonial-countryside-project> [accessed 13 August 2020]; and the website of the National Trust: <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/colonial-countryside-project> [accessed 13 August 2020].

<sup>19</sup> The GW4 Alliance (GW4) is a consortium comprising the universities of Bath, Bristol, Cardiff and Exeter. *Colonial Connections* is a collaboration between GW4 and the National Trust at several properties in the South West region, including Dyrham, Greenway (on Syrian and Iraqi archaeology) and Bath Assembly Rooms. For further details, see the GW4 website: <https://gw4.ac.uk/colonial-connections/>

<sup>20</sup> For further details, see the website of the University of Oxford: <https://torch.ox.ac.uk/national-trust-partnership> [accessed 13 August 2020]

## Gazetteer of National Trust Properties

This gazetteer focuses on the places and collections owned by the National Trust that meet key criteria relating to colonialism and slavery for this interim report. Where possible, all dates are taken from the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB). Although most of the entries in this section are of a similar length, this does not imply that the relationships of each of these places to histories of slavery and colonialism are of equal significance. The inclusion of a compensation claim associated with an individual or family does not mean that the funds received were used to embellish a property or develop a collection. The gazetteer entries have a strong historical narrative that relates to one, or more, of the following:

- Wealth connected to the proceeds of slavery, or through the slavery compensation scheme. Where links to compensation claims are known, web addresses (URLs) to additional information on the University College London (UCL) *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* online database are listed after the main property entry (accessed June–September 2020)
- Ownership of a company or business connected to the enslavement of people
- Ownership of a company or business with significant interests in overseas colonies
- A history of support for or opposition to the abolition of slavery
- A history relating to expansion and settlement into countries resulting in the displacement or injury of people, or the creation of unequal economic benefits (examples of this include involvement in ‘merchant companies’ such as the East India Company, Virginia Company, South Sea Company or Royal African Company)
- Involvement in colonial administration in a senior capacity
- A culturally significant relationship to the literature or the promotion of colonialism or slavery, such as the colonial writings of Rudyard Kipling and the pro-slavery writings of Thomas Carlyle
- The African, Asian and Chinese presence in National Trust places from Tudor times to the present, as well as key collections that indicate their presence.
- Collections taken by documented illicit means in colonial territories (examples might include objects seized in battle)

**National Trust properties in this gazetteer are organised by region, as summarised below:**

**East of England:** Anglesey Abbey, Blicking Hall, Felbrigg Hall, Hatfield Forest Shell House, Ickworth, Oxburgh Hall, Peckover House, Wimpole Hall

**London and the South East:** Ankerwycke, Ashdown House, Basildon Park, Bateman's, Bodiam Castle, Carlyle's House, Chartwell, Clandon Park, Claremont, Cliveden, Greys Court, Ham House, Hatchlands Park, Hinton Ampner, Hughenden Manor, Knole, Leith Hill Tower and Countryside, Morden Hall Park, Osterley Park and House, Owletts, Petworth, Polesden Lacey, Sheffield Park and Garden, Stowe, Sutton House, West Wycombe Park

**Midlands:** Belton House, Berrington Hall, Calke Abbey, Charlecote Park, Coughton Court, Croft Castle, Croome Court, Dudmaston, Hardwick Hall, Kedleston Hall, Lyveden, Shugborough, Sudbury Hall, Tattershall Castle

**Northern Ireland:** Mount Stewart

**North of England:** Allan Bank, Craggside, Dunham Massey, Fountains Abbey and Studley Royal, Hare Hill, Nostell, Nunnington Hall, Quarry Bank Mill, Rufford Old Hall, Seaton Delaval Hall, Speke Hall, Wallington Hall, Washington Old Hall, Wentworth Castle Gardens

**South West:** Barrington Court, Bath Assembly Rooms, Buckland Abbey, Castle Drogo, Clevedon Court, Compton Castle and Greenway, Cotehele, Dyrham Park, Glastonbury Tor, Godolphin, Kingston Lacy and Corfe Castle, Lacock Abbey, Lanhydrock, Lundy, Newark Park, Saltram, Sherborne Park Estate, Shute Barton, Snowhill Manor, Stourhead, Trengwainton Garden, Tyntesfield

**Wales:** Chirk Castle, Erddig, Paxton's Tower, Penrhyn Castle, Powis Castle, Tredegar House

## East of England

### **Anglesey Abbey**, Cambridgeshire

Anglesey Abbey, which incorporates the remains of an Augustinian priory, was purchased in 1739 by Samuel Shephard (c.1676–1748). Shephard was a wealthy merchant and Cambridgeshire Member of Parliament (MP) who served as director of the new East India Company and headed the South Sea Company. His father, Samuel Shephard senior (c.1648–1719), was also an MP and merchant, building the family fortune on overseas trade. He was a founder member of the new East India Company and the South Sea Company, where he held the office of deputy-governor from 1713.

Today, the house and garden are largely the creation of Huttleston Rogers Broughton, 1st Lord Fairhaven (1896–1966), an American-born collector.

### **Blickling Hall**, Norfolk

Blickling Hall was inherited by William Schomberg Robert Kerr, 8th Marquess of Lothian (1832–70). His mother, Lady Cecil Chetwynd-Talbot (1808–77), was the daughter of Charles Chetwynd-Talbot, 2nd Earl Talbot of Hensol (1777–1849). As an executor and trustee of two plantations in Jamaica – the Worthy Park plantation in St John and the Mickleton Pen plantation in St Thomas-in-the-Vale – Charles received £4,660 for 543 enslaved people.

Philip Henry Kerr, 11th Marquess of Lothian (1882–1940), was a politician and diplomat. From 1905 to 1910 he served as a member of the South African government, later becoming editor of *The Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*. Kerr became Secretary of the Rhodes Trust in 1925. In this capacity, he oversaw a University of Oxford scholarship for British Commonwealth students, funded by Cecil John Rhodes (1853–1902), an advocate of colonial expansion. Rhodes established the De Beers Mining Company in South Africa and became prime minister of the Cape Colony (1890–6).

From 1931 to 1932, Kerr was Under-Secretary of State for India. In 1938, Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964), a pro-independence activist and politician, and his daughter, Indira Priyadarshini Gandhi (1917–84), visited Kerr at Blickling. Both served terms as Prime Minister of India following independence in 1947.

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- Charles Chetwynd-Talbot, 2nd Earl Talbot (plantation owner and awardee): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/20032>
- Jamaica St John 64A – Worthy Park (claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/19973>
- Jamaica St Thomas-in-the-Vale 321A – Mickleton Pen (claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/20392>



### **Felbrigg Hall, Norfolk**

An owner of Felbrigg, William Windham III (1750–1810), was a long-serving MP and contemporary of the anti-slavery campaigner William Wilberforce (1759–1833). Although initially a supporter of abolition, by the time Windham was appointed Secretary for War and the Colonies in 1806, he believed abolition would result in Britain's economic ruin. He clashed with Wilberforce during parliamentary debates and was one of only 16 MPs to vote against the Abolition Bill in 1807 (it received 283 votes in favour). Wilberforce visited Felbrigg in 1822, some 12 years after the death of his adversary, and recalled that while Windham 'had many of the true characteristics of a hero ... he had one great fault as a statesman, he hated the popular side of any question ... I had a melancholy proof of it in the instance of the Slave Trade'.

### **Hatfield Forest Shell House, Essex**

Jacob Houblon III (1710–70) was an MP and a member of the Cocoa-Tree Club (an elite gentleman's chocolate-drinking establishment, founded in Pall Mall around 1698, that eventually became a 'Gentleman's Club', lasting until 1932). In 1729, the trustees of the family fortune purchased the Hallingbury Place Estate, including Hatfield Forest, of which Houblon took possession when he came of age in 1732. Houblon came from a large family of bankers and traders. His uncle, Sir John Houblon (1632–1712), was the first Governor of the Bank of England, from 1694 to 1697. The family name appears in documents dating from 1674 that indicate the Houblons had established a business partnership with the plantation-owning Hankey family. Houblon & Hankey were 'traders to Jamaica, Antigua and the Leeward Islands'.

Hatfield Forest Shell House is closely linked to the story of West Indies trade in the eighteenth century. It was built in 1757 by Jacob Houblon III to a decorative design credited to his daughter, Laetitia (1742–1828). The interior and exterior are embossed with shells from the Caribbean, West Africa and the Indo-Pacific. Cowrie shells are associated with the transatlantic slave trade and were carried by ship from the Maldives – via India and Britain – to the African coast to be bartered for enslaved Africans, who were then transported to the Americas.

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- Hankey & Co. (firm): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/firm/view/-2083428190>

### **Ickworth, Suffolk**

Admiral Augustus John Hervey, 3rd Earl of Bristol (1724–79), served in the Royal Navy throughout the Seven Years' War. This was a global conflict that involved Anglo-French struggles for overseas territory from 1756 to 1763.

The Hervey family is linked to Jamaican plantations through a marriage settlement made at the time of the union in 1798 of Elizabeth Hervey (1780–1803) and Charles Rose Ellis, Lord Seaford (1771–1845). It includes a list of 349 named enslaved men, women and children on the Montpelier Estate in Jamaica, who were to be transferred along with other property including a

sugar works (Suffolk Records Office HA507/4/26). Ellis was the owner of several Jamaican plantations and received compensation of more than £18,000 for 1,018 enslaved people at the time of abolition (see entry for Claremont).

Caroline Hervey, daughter of Felton Hervey (1712–73) and granddaughter of John, 1st Earl of Bristol (1665–1751), married Peeke Fuller (d.1798). Fuller was the owner of Fuller’s Rest and Thetford Estates in St John, Jamaica. His will sets out instructions for his wife and children to return to England in the event of his death and names Frederick Augustus Hervey, 4th Earl of Bristol and Bishop of Derry (1730–1803), as a trustee.

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- Peeke Fuller (plantation owner): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146642785>

### **Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk**

Felix Bedingfeld (1808–84), son of Sir Richard Bedingfeld, 5th Baronet (1767–1829) of Oxburgh Hall, trained as a barrister and served for much of his career as a British government colonial official in the West Indies. In 1833, he became legal advisor to Monserrat and oversaw the implementation of the Slavery Abolition Act (1833). Bedingfeld recorded his experiences in a diary, in which he details his dealings with the six plantations on the island. He purchased the Amershams Estate in 1833 and, three years later, received compensation of £1,024 4s. 2d. for the 61 enslaved people who worked there. He continued in colonial office and his obituary in the *Law Magazine and Legal Review* records his service as Crown Commission of the Turks Islands (1842–9), Master of the Supreme Court of Trinidad (1849–54) and Colonial Secretary of Mauritius (1860–8).

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- Felix Bedingfeld (plantation owner and awardee): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/25004>
- Montserrat 141 – Amershams (claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/24921>

### **Peckover House, Cambridgeshire**

Jonathan Peckover (1755–1833) was a tradesman who settled in Wisbech in 1777. In 1794, he moved to Bank House (later known as Peckover House) with his wife, Susanna Payne (1762–1853), and managed the Wisbech and Lincolnshire Bank in a banking hall adjoining their house. The Peckovers were members of the Religious Society of Friends, otherwise known as the Quakers, many of whom believed that all people are created equal in the eyes of God and campaigned for the abolition of slavery. Edmund Peckover (1757–1818), Jonathan’s brother, was among nearly 300 Quakers to sign the first petition against slavery presented to Parliament in 1783.

With their growing banking wealth, the Peckover family were among the founders of the Wisbech & Fenland Museum. The museum collection includes the campaigning chest of slavery artefacts and African goods used by their close friend, Thomas Clarkson (1760–1846), a pioneer

slave trade abolitionist who was born in Wisbech. After Clarkson's death, they donated a large sum for a memorial to him and fellow abolitionists, which is located in Wisbech town centre.

### **Wimpole Hall**, Cambridgeshire

Sir Thomas Chicheley (1614–99) of Wimpole Hall married Sarah Russell (d.1654) in 1635. Sarah was the daughter of Sir William Russell, 1st Baronet of Chippenham (c.1575–1654), a politician and member of the Muscovy Company, director of the East India Company (1615–8) and treasurer of the Virginia Company (1622–3).

Henrietta Cavendish Holles (1694–1755) inherited Wimpole in 1711, and in 1713 married Edward Harley (1689–1741), later 2nd Earl of Oxford and Mortimer. Edward's father was Robert Harley, 1st Earl of Oxford and Mortimer (1661–1724), who, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, established the South Sea Company in 1711 and was connected to plantations in Barbados, Antigua and Surinam. Their daughter, Margaret Cavendish Bentinck (1715–85), married William Bentinck, 2nd Duke of Portland (1709–62). William's father, Henry Bentinck, 1st Duke of Portland (1682–1726), was a trader in South Sea Company stock, a colonial governor and a plantation owner.

In 1740, Wimpole was purchased by Philip Yorke, 1st Earl of Hardwicke (1690–1764) who served as Attorney General and later Lord Chancellor. During his time as Attorney General, he issued the 1729 'Yorke-Talbot Opinion' with Charles Talbot (1685–1737), Solicitor General. They stated that runaway enslaved people coming to Great Britain or Ireland from the West Indies were not free, nor could they become free through baptism. This gave slavers the legal right to enforce their return to the plantations.

Charles Yorke (1722–70), the 1st Earl's son, served as an MP and legal counsel for the East India Company during the 1750s and was responsible for the 'Pratt-Yorke Opinion', upholding the rights to ownership of land acquired by the East India Company in India.

## London and the South East

### **Ankerwycke, Surrey**

The Ankerwycke Estate was purchased in the early nineteenth century by John Blagrove the Younger (1753–1824), a plantation owner with Welsh connections. Upon coming of age, he spent 25 years in Jamaica before returning to England in 1805. At the time of his death, he was the owner of 1,500 enslaved men and women in Jamaica. In his will, he left each of them a dollar ‘as a small token of my regard for their faithful and affectionate service and willing labours to myself and my family’.

Blagrove inherited substantial wealth from his grandfather, John Blagrove the Elder (d.1755), the owner of the Orange Valley, Unity, Pembroke, Magotty and Cardiff Hall Estates in Jamaica. The elder Blagrove was listed in the Jamaican Quit Rent books for 1754 as the owner of 301 acres of land in St Ann and 1,579 acres of land in Hanover, and the co-owner of 2,955 acres of land in St Ann in partnership with his uncle, Thomas Williams. The younger Blagrove left one-third of his St Ann claim to his son John William Blagrove (?1781–1854) in his will. The compensation records confirm that this award was overseen by trustees.

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- John Blagrove the Elder (plantation owner): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146648761>
- John Blagrove the Younger (plantation owner): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/1305465018>
- Henry John Blagrove (plantation owner and awardee):  
<http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/780500515>
- John Williams Blagrove (claimant or beneficiary): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/20391>
- Jamaica St Ann 584 – Orange Valley Estate (claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/11331>
- Jamaica St Ann 544[A] – Cardiff Hall Pen (claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/11338>

### **Ashdown House, Berkshire**

Ashdown House was built around 1660 by William Craven, 1st Earl of Craven (1608–97). After the Restoration, Craven was granted a share in the colony of Carolina and served as one of the eight Lords Proprietors – Englishmen granted the joint-ownership by Charles II through the Carolina Charters of 1663 and 1665. In 1670, he was appointed a governor of the Hudson’s Bay Company and in 1673 he was appointed a Commissioner for Tangier.

### **Basildon Park, Berkshire**

In 1771, Basildon Park was purchased by Francis Sykes (c.1730–1804), who returned from India to settle in Berkshire as one of the ‘nabobs’ (East India Company officials who had lived on the subcontinent and returned with wealth and a taste for luxury).

Sykes joined the East India Company as a writer in 1750. While working at the English trading factory of Cossimbazar in Murshidabad in 1756, the factory was captured by the Nawab of Bengal, Siraj ud-Daula. Later, he served as Resident at the Nawab’s court at Murshidabad,

where he acted jointly with the Nawab's chief minister in the direction of the government – the first time an English merchant became a member of the indigenous executive.

Sykes's success not only enabled him to acquire Basildon Park but also to purchase further estates in Yorkshire and Dorset, to become Member of Parliament in Shaftesbury and then for Wallingford, and to acquire a coat of arms and a baronetcy. It is also thought that he returned with at least one Indian servant, as his will mentions the 'Black servant Thomas Radakissan'. His will left Thomas the sum of seven shillings a week during the term of his natural life and the request that he be given a mourning ring.

### **Bateman's**, East Sussex

Bateman's was the home of Rudyard Kipling (1865–1936) from 1902 until his death. He was born in Bombay, the son of John Lockwood Kipling (1837–1911), a professor of architectural sculpture at the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy School of Art and, later, Curator at Lahore Museum. Kipling spent over six years working for Indian newspapers, travelling around the country, writing fiction and verse, and carrying out special assignments. He would move between India, South Africa, the United States and England over the course of his life, and the British Empire was a central theme and context of his literary output.

### **Bodiam Castle**, East Sussex

Bodiam was given to the National Trust by George Nathaniel Curzon, Marquess Curzon of Kedleston (1859–1925) (see entry for Kedleston Hall).

The castle had been saved from demolition by John 'Mad Jack' Fuller (1757–1834), who bought it in 1828 for 3,000 guineas. Fuller inherited an estate near Bodiam and a plantation in Jamaica, including enslaved people, from his uncle, Rose Fuller MP (1708–77). Rose relied on his brothers Stephen and Thomas to process and trade sugar when it arrived in England. John and Rose Fuller were anti-abolitionists.

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- Rose Fuller MP of Jamaica and Rose Hill Sussex (plantation owner): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146649557>
- John Fuller (plantation owner): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/-1047169191>

### **Carlyle's House**, Greater London

Carlyle's House was the home of the author, biographer and historian Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881) and his wife Jane (1801–66) from 1834 until their respective deaths. Carlyle, described as an 'apologist for slavery' by the historian David Olusoga, published an essay entitled 'Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question' in *Fraser's Magazine* in 1849, advocating for the reintroduction of slavery to the West Indies.

He also established the Governor Eyre Defence and Aid Committee in 1866. Edward Eyre (1815–1901), Governor of Jamaica (1862–5), suppressed the Morant Bay rebellion in 1865, resulting in the death and serious injury of hundreds of people. Other committee members included Charles Dickens (1812–70), John Ruskin (1819–1900) and Alfred Tennyson (1809–92).

In *Shooting Niagara: And After?* (1867) Carlyle encouraged historic perceptions of racial hierarchies and promoted the idea that Africans were born for servitude.

### **Chartwell, Kent**

Chartwell was the family home of Sir Winston Churchill (1874–1965) from 1922 until his death. One of the longest-serving political figures in British history, he was Prime Minister twice (1940–5 and 1951–5), famously during the Second World War – a period that coincided with the Bengal Famine of 1943. Leading historians, such as Robert Rhodes James, comment that Churchill lived an ‘exceptionally long, complex, and controversial life’. He served as Secretary of State for the Colonies (1921–2) and helped to draft the Anglo-Irish Treaty at the time of the creation of the Irish Free State. However, Churchill opposed the granting of Dominion status to India, voting against the India Bill in 1935.

### **Clandon Park, Surrey**

In 1708, Thomas Onslow, 2nd Baron Onslow (1679–1740) married Elizabeth Knight (c.1692–1731), who had inherited a substantial fortune from her uncle, including a plantation in Jamaica that was reliant on the labour of enslaved people, and the proceeds of his business transporting and trading enslaved people. This new wealth was used to rebuild the house at Clandon Park.

The Onslow family, through commercial interests and marriage alliances, had built strong links to merchants in the City of London and engaged in overseas trade and early colonialism. They held positions of authority in livery and trading companies, and Thomas Onslow was a founder of the Royal Exchange Assurance, which underwrote the risks of ships trading in enslaved people. The family managed their plantation remotely until it was sold by the 3rd Earl of Onslow around 1832.

William, 4th Earl of Onslow (1853–1911) was Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies and Governor of New Zealand from 1888 to 1892. In 1892, he purchased the iconic carvings of a Māori meeting house known as Hinemihi o te Ao Tawhito, which he brought back to Clandon Park. Hinemihi has deep spiritual significance for Māori and wider New Zealand communities and has fostered a unique relationship focused around her presence at Clandon Park. In 2019 this relationship led to the Trust’s agreement in principle (subject to statutory consents) to return Hinemihi’s carvings to New Zealand in exchange for contemporary carvings to form a new meeting house.

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- Charles Knight (plantation owner): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146653247>

- Elizabeth Onslow (née Knight) (plantation owner): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146653249>
- Thomas Onslow, 2nd Baron Onslow (plantation owner): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146648873>
- Whitehall (Jamaica/St Thomas-in-the-East, Surrey) (claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/17421>

### **Claremont, Surrey**

Claremont was purchased in 1714 by Thomas Pelham-Holles, Duke of Newcastle upon Tyne and 1st Duke of Newcastle-under-Lyme (1693–1768). Pelham-Holles held numerous political posts, including Secretary of State for the Southern Department responsible for the American Colonies, and was twice Prime Minister. His tenure overlapped with significant events, notably the Seven Years' War, and rivalries with Spain and France. When he died, his estate was purchased by Robert Clive (1725–74) with wealth amassed in India (see entry for Powis Castle). Clive built a new mansion fit to house his valuable Indian objects and growing painting collection. His suicide in 1774 meant he never saw Claremont completed.

Charles Rose Ellis, first Baron Seaford (1771–1845), purchased Claremont around 1798 (see entry for Ickworth). He was a descendent of Colonel John Ellis, who established the family fortune by settling in Jamaica in 1665. Both of Charles's grandfathers, George Ellis (bapt. 1704) and John Pallmer, were Chief Justices of Jamaica in the 1730s and 1750s, respectively. Seaford inherited from his father a Jamaican sugar plantation of 404 acres, including 349 enslaved people, worth £20,000. He was the longstanding chairman of the Standing Committee of The London Society of West India Planters and Merchants and a leading promoter of anti-abolitionist, West Indian interests in Parliament. He received substantial compensation totalling around £18,000 for five estates in Jamaica. He sold Claremont to the Crown in 1815, and Princess Victoria (1819–1901) – later Queen and Empress of India – frequently visited her uncle Prince Leopold (1790–1865) there.

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- Charles Rose Ellis, Lord Seaford (plantation owner): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/13399>
- Jamaica Hanover 13 – Shettlewood Pen (claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/15975>
- Jamaica St Catherine 539 – Crawle Pen (claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/20461>
- Jamaica St Catherine 542 – Ellis Caymanas (claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/20462>
- Jamaica St James 1 – New Montpelier Estate (claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/13326>
- Jamaica St James 2 – Old Montpelier Estate (claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/13327>

### **Cliveden, Buckinghamshire**

Many families have lived at Cliveden since George Villiers, 2nd Duke of Buckingham (1628–87), bought the estate in around 1666. George Hamilton, 1st Earl of Orkney (1666–1737) and the owner of Cliveden from 1696 to 1737, was married to Elizabeth Villiers (c.1657–1733), whose

relationship with William III provided the confiscated Irish estates of James II. George held a patent as Governor of Virginia (1710–37), although he never visited.

Frederick Lewis, Prince of Wales (1707–51), leased Cliveden from Anne, 2nd Countess of Orkney (1696–1756), in 1738 and it was there, on 1 August 1740, that the patriotic song ‘Rule, Britannia!’ was first performed with the lines ‘Rule, Britannia! Britannia, rule the waves! Britons never, never, never shall be slaves.’

Cliveden was sold in 1849 to George Granville Leveson-Gower, 2nd Duke of Sutherland (1786–1861), for £30,000. His wife, Harriet Howard (1806–68), was a close friend of Queen Victoria and an enthusiastic proponent of the anti-slavery movement. She provided patronage, notably to the American author Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811–96), and hosted a meeting at Stafford House, her London mansion, where she petitioned her ‘sisters’ in the United States against slavery. In response, the former US First Lady Julia Tyler (1820–89) wrote a defence entitled ‘The Women of England vs. the Women of America’. The Duchess’s petition was later ridiculed by Thomas Carlyle (see entry for Carlyle’s House) and criticised by Karl Marx (1818–83), not least because the Duke’s mother had been associated with the clearance of the inhabitants of Sutherland 30 years earlier, removing highland small tenants to settlements on the coast.

### **Greys Court, Oxfordshire**

This Tudor house was owned by the London merchant William Paul MP (1673–1711) and given as a dowry in 1724 when his daughter Catherine married Sir William Stapleton MP (c.1698–1740), whose parliamentary career was conducted largely in support of the interests of fellow sugar plantation owners in the West Indies. Sir William’s grandfather – another Sir William (d.1686) – landed with the English Civil War Parliamentarian Sir Tobias Bridge in 1667 on the Leeward Islands, and married Anne Russell in 1671, whose father Colonel Randolph (or Randal) Russell (d.1678) was Governor of Nevis. Sir William the Elder became Governor of the Leeward Islands and a substantial plantation owner on all four islands.

The Stapleton family became absentee plantation owners and despite continuing to receive this income, the family appear to have accumulated large debts, which meant that Greys Court was rented out and mortgaged on occasion.

Sir Thomas Stapleton (1766–1831), 6th Baronet, married Elizabeth Eliot (c.1758–1848) in 1791. She was born in Antigua and was the granddaughter of John Byam (d.1754) whose family included four Governors of the Leeward islands. Their son, the Rev. Hon. Miles J. Stapleton (1801–30) married Ann Byam Stapleton (née Kerby) (1796–1842) who received compensation as tenant-in-tail of estates in Antigua. Despite the long family association with Nevis, the Hon and Rev. Sir Francis Jarvis Stapleton’s (1806–74) compensation claim Nevis 16 (Mont Pellier), made in his role as executor of his father Sir Thomas Stapleton, 6th Baronet (1766–1831), was unsuccessful. Greys Court was sold in 1935 by Sir Miles Stapleton (1893–1977) .



Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- Sir William Stapleton 4th Bart. (plantation owner): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146658311>
- Hon. Ann Byam Stapleton (née Kerby) (beneficiary): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/1096>
- Antigua 363 – Stephen Blizard’s (claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/624>
- Antigua 812 (claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/1005>

### **Ham House**, Greater London

Ham was built by Sir Thomas Vavasour (1560–1620), courtier, merchant and naval captain under Sir Walter Raleigh (1554–1618). Vavasour’s sister Frances (1568–c.1606) married explorer and privateer Sir Thomas Shirley (1564–c.1633), author of *Discours of the Turkes* (1606–7).

Ham’s owner Elizabeth Murray Countess of Dysart, later Countess and Duchess of Lauderdale (1626–98), married as her second husband John Maitland, 2nd Earl and 1st Duke of Lauderdale (1616–82), who was among a close circle of advisers to Charles II. In 1663, Lauderdale was a signatory to the Royal charter founding the Royal English Merchant Adventurers Company Trading to Africa (later the Royal African Company), which had a monopoly on the trading of ivory, gold and slaves along the west coast of Africa. Lauderdale held official positions which connected him closely to trade and early colonialism, including Commissioner of the Council of Trade (from 1668), Commissioner of the Council of Plantations (from 1671) and when founded in 1675, one of the Lords of Trade and Plantations.

Additionally, Grace Carteret (1713–55), descendant of Guinea Company founder and early coloniser of America and the Bahamas, Sir George Carteret, married Lionel, 4th Earl of Dysart (1708–70). Grace, along with their child and an unnamed black servant, was painted in about 1740 by Johann Eckhardt (?-1779) (NT 1139793).

### **Hatchlands Park**, Surrey

The current house at Hatchlands Park was built in 1756 for Admiral Edward Boscawen (1711–61) and his wife Frances ‘Fanny’ (1719–1805). The Admiral was assigned to protect British interests in India, presiding over the Siege of Pondicherry in 1748, with a young Robert Clive (see entry for Claremont and Powis) under his command. The same year, Fanny Boscawen was given the ‘gift’ of an enslaved child by a Lieutenant Bemish. Fanny named the child Tom Pride (c.1738–?) and he is referred to several times in her published letters.

Hatchlands was sold in 1770 to William Brightwell Sumner (1728–96), a lawyer who worked for the East India Company from 1744. He met and married his English wife in India and several of their children were born there. He served as Deputy Governor General to Lord Clive and had a lucrative career in India, benefiting from taking large bribes – a fact later made public by Clive.

Part of the current collection was once owned by Thomas Alexander Champion Cobbe (1788–1836), who also had a career in the East India Company and married an Indian woman,

Nuzzeer Begum (*fl.* nineteenth century), daughter of Azeeze Khan. He died on the return voyage to England in 1836 with his family, Indian servants, and a ship full of Indian collections.

### **Hinton Ampner**, Hampshire

In 1768, Mary Bilson-Legge, 1st Baroness Stawell (1726–80), married her second husband, Wills Hill, Lord Hillsborough (1718–93), who was President of the Board of Trade and Plantations (1763–5) and Secretary of State for the Colonies (1768–72). Mary and her first husband Henry (1708–64) had rarely lived at Hinton Ampner, a house lived in by Mary's ancestor Sir Thomas Stewkeley. Consequently, the house was leased from 1765 to 1772 to William Henry Ricketts (1736–99), his wife Mary Jervis (c.1737–1828), their three children, and eight indoor servants. The Ricketts' lifestyle was supported by his ownership of a plantation in Jamaica, which he visited on several occasions. His son, Edward Jervis Jervis (né Ricketts), 2nd Viscount St Vincent (1767–1859), was an awardee of three compensation claims for estates in Jamaica.

The histories of the Stewkeleys, the Stawells and the Duttons, who, by inheritance, owned Hinton Ampner and its estate, are currently being researched.

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- William Henry Ricketts of Canaan and Longwood Hants (plantation owner):  
<http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146647757>
- Edward Jervis Jervis (né Ricketts), 2nd Viscount St Vincent (plantation owner and awardee):  
<http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/14331>

### **Hughenden Manor**, Buckinghamshire

Benjamin Disraeli (1804–81) and his wife Mary Anne (1792–1872) came to live at Hughenden in 1848, remaining there for the rest of their lives. Disraeli, a novelist and politician, served as Prime Minister twice (in 1868 and 1874–80). In 1858 the British government transferred control of British India and its princely states from the mercantile East India Company to the Crown under the Government of India Act. It followed the deposition of the nominal Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar at the conclusion of the Great Rebellion of India of 1857. This marked the beginning of the British Raj. The East India Company was officially dissolved on 1 June 1874 and Disraeli, by then Prime Minister, offered Queen Victoria the title of Empress of India, which she accepted in May 1876. The Delhi Durbar of January 1877 functioned as an imperial coronation. The title was finally dropped in 1948, with the passing of the Indian Independence Act (1947).

Earlier owners of the estate include Philip Dormer Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield (1694–1773), after whom Chesterfield County, Virginia and Chesterfield County, South Carolina in America are both named (as were Chesterfield cigarettes).

### **Knole**, Kent

Richard Sackville, 3rd Earl of Dorset (1589–1624), inherited Knole in 1609. His household and servants numbered over 100 and the Great Hall seating plan of 1613 to 1624 includes Grace

Robinson at the laundry-maid's table and John Morockoe seated with the kitchen and scullery staff. Both names are annotated 'a Blackamoor'.

Edward Sackville, 4th Earl of Dorset (1590–1652), became Governor of the Somers Island Company (which governed Bermuda from 1615) between 1623 and 1624, Commissioner of the Settling of Virginia (1629–34) and petitioned Charles I in 1637 for the governance of 'certain Islands on the south of New England ... not yet inhabited by any Christians'.

John Frederick Sackville, 3rd Duke of Dorset (1745–99), commissioned portraits from Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–92), including a portrait of Huang Ya Dong (inventory number NT 129924) painted in 1776. Huang came to England from Canton (now Guangzhou) with the naturalist John Bradby Blake (1745–73), an employee of the East India Company. A letter of 1775 describes Huang as being 22 years old. Having heard that he would be favourably received in England, Huang entered the household of the Duke, returning to China by 1785, where he became a merchant in Canton.

Knole was inherited by Mary Sackville (1792–1864), daughter of the 3rd Duke. In 1839, she married William Pitt Amherst, 1st Earl Amherst of Arracan (1773–1857), who had served as Ambassador Extraordinary to China (1816–7) and Governor General of India (1823–8).

### **Leith Hill Tower and Countryside, Surrey**

The Tower was built by Richard Hull (1690–1772) of Bristol, whose biography requires further research. The estate has had a succession of wealthy owners including an 'Oporto merchant' Harry Thompson (d.1796) and William Philip Perrin (1742–1820).

Perrin inherited five sugar plantations in Jamaica, with 135 enslaved people, from his father, who was also named William (d.1759). Perrin junior never visited Jamaica but employed Malcolm Laing, an agent who was also plantation owner, to manage his estates. This necessitated transatlantic correspondence which still survives today – including receipts for cargoes of sugar, lists and invoices for enslaved people and instructions for the management of the plantations. Perrin used the wealth from his business interests to buy West Farleigh Hall in Kent (not NT) in 1774, and Parkhurst and Leith Hill (both in Surrey) in 1795. He restored and added to the height of Hull's Tower, which, by that time, had become derelict.

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- William Philip Perrin (plantation owner): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146632393>

### **Morden Hall Park, Greater London**

The Morden Hall Estate, with the River Wandle running through it, prospered in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries because of its snuff mills. The mills were built in 1750 and 1830, when the Manor of Morden was held by the Garth family. In 1834, a lease was granted to Alexander Hatfeild, a part-owner in the tobacco firm Taddy & Co. The family would later buy the whole estate, sourcing tobacco from plantations in Virginia, grinding it at Morden (producing some

6,000 pounds in weight each month) and blending and processing the final product in the Taddy & Co. factory in the Minories in London. The Hatfeild family benefited from marriage connections to the Taddy and Gilliat families, both of whom profited from the tobacco and cotton industries.

### **Osterley Park and House, Middlesex**

Sir Francis Child the Elder (1641/2–1713) acquired Osterley in the year of his death. The Child family's involvement with maritime trade and links with the East India Company increased their wealth and enabled them to furnish their house with lacquerware, Chinese porcelain and Indian textiles.

Francis was a substantial stockholder in the Old East India Company, serving on the Court of Directors and the committee, which finalised its merger with the United Company of Merchants. Two of his sons, Sir Robert (1674–1721) and Sir Francis the Younger (c.1684–1740), served as directors of the company and committee members. One grandson, Francis (c.1735–63), held nearly £33,000 worth of stock, while another, Robert (1739–82), married Sarah Jodrell (c.1741–93) of Ankerwycke, whose grandparents had been factors or merchants in India and Persia. There were also three company ships named *Osterley*, which undertook goods trading in China, Madras, Bengal, Bombay and St Helena.

Victor Child-Villiers, 7th Earl of Jersey (1845–1915), was Governor of New South Wales (1890–2), representing the UK at the 1894 Colonial Conference in Canada and acting as New South Wales's Agent-General in London between 1903 and 1905.

### **Owletts, Kent**

Owletts was the home of Sir Herbert Baker (1862–1946), one of the leading architects of the British Empire. He spent over two decades in South Africa designing public buildings and homes for government officials, including Cecil John Rhodes (1853–1902), the prime minister of the Cape Colony. Relocating to India in 1913, Baker worked in partnership with his friend and fellow architect, Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869–1944), to build the imperial capital of Delhi. Together they designed Parliament House and Baker designed the two Secretariat Buildings either side of the axial route leading to the Viceroy's Palace in New Delhi. However, the partnership of Baker and Lutyens eventually collapsed due to divergent architectural approaches. Baker also designed India House and South Africa House in London, which are still used by the Indian and South African High Commissions today.

### **Petworth, West Sussex**

George O'Brien Wyndham, 3rd Earl of Egremont (1751–1837) supported novelist Charlotte Smith (1749–1806) in an unsuccessful attempt to resolve her financial affairs by briefly acting as a Trustee of the estate of her late father-in-law, the East India Company director and plantation

owner, Richard Smith. In taking on this role, Egremont was cited in the battle for Smith's estate in Barbados. Egremont's two younger brothers held royal appointments in the West Indies from childhood. They never visited the islands and their roles were leased to deputies. Percy Charles Wyndham (1757–1833) was Register in Chancery in Jamaica and Secretary and Clerk of the Court in Barbados and Charles William Wyndham (1760–1828) was Secretary of the Island of Jamaica.

Although there is no family connection, Petworth contains the portraits of Circassian Teresia Sampsonia (1589–1668) (inventory number NT 486170) and her husband Sir Robert Shirley (c.1581–1628) (NT 486169). Shirley was a diplomat to the Persian Shah Abbas and the portraits, painted by Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641), show the couple wearing Persian court dress. Sir Robert's brother Sir Thomas was married to Frances Vavasour, sister of Sir Thomas Vavasour of Ham House (see entry for Ham House).

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- Richard Smith of Islington (plantation owner): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146650053>

### **Polesden Lacey, Surrey**

In the early eighteenth century, Polesden Lacey was owned by the Moore family. Church records for 1720 indicate the baptism of 'Zebedee an Indian boy somewhat under twenty years old belonging to Arthur Moore Esq.' Arthur Moore (c.1666–1730) was a financier and MP who held numerous lucrative appointments involving him closely in colonial affairs and the slave trade. These included Commissioner of Trade and Plantations and directorships of the Royal African Company and the South Sea Company. Moore used this wealth to build Fetcham Park and buy Polesden Lacey.

Given the surname Lovemoore, Zebedee's life can be followed in correspondence and parish records. He married Mary Fellows in 1726, had several children and continued to work for the Moore family. He is known to have worn livery indicative of a lower servant in 1734, but afterwards gained greater responsibility, eventually acting as steward for the family's Surrey estates. Lovemoore continued to work for Arthur Moore's executors after the sale of Polesden Lacey to Sir Francis Geary (1709–96) in 1748, at which time he moved to Epsom. Lovemoore's daughter, also called Mary (d.1745) was 'brought up and educated' by Arthur's second wife, Theophila Moore (c.1676–1739), who intended to leave the residuary of her estate to Mary, had Mary not died before reaching the age of 21 years.

### **Sheffield Park and Garden, Sussex**

Thomas West, 3rd Baron De La Warr (1577–1618), was appointed the first Lord Governor of the Virginia Company of London in 1609 and, a year later, Captain-General of Virginia for life. The Delaware tribe, bay and river – as well as the US state – are named after him. Returning to the colony of Virginia from a trip to England, he died at sea and is believed to be buried in Jamestown.

Three of Thomas West's brothers emigrated to Virginia, two of them serving as Governors, including John (1590–c.1659), who was granted 3,000 acres of land on the York River, an area known today as West Point. Their descendant, John West, the 1st Earl De La Warr (1693–1766), was appointed Governor of New York and New Jersey in 1737, but never visited America. The 5th Earl, George John (1791–1869), married Lady Elizabeth Sackville (1795–1870) in 1813 to become Sackville-West.

In 1769, the property was sold by John West, 2nd Earl De La Warr (1729–77), to John Baker Holroyd (1735–1821), later the 1st Earl of Sheffield. In 1790, he published *Observations on the Project for Abolishing the Slave Trade*, writing that 'nothing is more vain and empty than the idea that the British Legislature could immediately abolish slavery'. He denounced the 'madness' of the anti-slavery movement in a speech against the abolition of the slave trade in the House of Commons the following year.

### **Stowe, Buckinghamshire**

Stowe was owned by the same family from 1589 until 1921. Among the Stowe Papers is a 1715 bill of sale for 272 enslaved people and ivory purchased in Guinea and sold in Jamaica, which may be linked to Richard Temple, 1st Viscount Cobham (1675–1749).

Temple's nephew, the Rt. Hon. George Grenville (1712–70), was the father of William Wyndham Grenville, 1st Baron Grenville (1759–1834), a politician committed to the abolition of the slave trade. As Prime Minister, he proposed and managed the Slave Trade Act (1807). His nephew, Richard, 1st Duke of Buckingham and Chandos (1776–1839), married Anne Elizabeth Brydges (1779–1836). Anne had inherited the Hope Estate and its enslaved people through her mother, Anna Eliza, who in turn inherited them from her first husband, Roger Hope Elletson (1723–75). He was a Jamaican-born enslaver and former lieutenant-governor of the island.

Buckingham, who opposed Wilberforce's bill for abolition, made three unsuccessful claims for compensation in 1836 (for the Hope Plantation, Middleton and Hampstead Park, Jamaica St Andrew). His son, Richard, the 2nd Duke of Buckingham (1797–1861), however, was the beneficiary of a claim the same year (Jamaica St Andrew 114, Hope Plantation). The 2nd Duke was Chairman of the West Indies Committee and represented plantation owners in Parliament, particularly for compensation following abolition. His son, Richard, 3rd Duke (1823–89) served as Secretary of State for the Colonies and Governor of Madras.

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- Richard Plantagenet Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville, 2nd Duke of Buckingham and Chandos (plantation owner): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/-989281059>
- Jamaica St Andrew 114 – Hope Estate (claim): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/19451>

### **Sutton House, Greater London**

Built for a Tudor courtier around 1535, Sutton House has had various owners and manifestations – home, school, institute, community squat. Between 1624 and 1641, it belonged to an East India Company merchant named Captain John Milward, a trader in luxury goods, particularly silks. Milward's older brother, Humphrey, was one of the 214 founders of the East India Company. His daughter, Elizabeth (1613–?), married Edward Abbot (1605–?), the son of Sir Maurice Abbot (1565–1642), Governor of the EIC from 1624 to 1638. By 1625, John Milward was one of the members of the company's Court of Committees. However, he was later brought before the Star Chamber on charges of illegally dying silk to sell on for profit. He subsequently mortgaged Sutton House to a fellow East India Company member. His stock, worth around £30,000 at its height, was worth just a tenth of this at his death in the early 1640s.

### **West Wycombe Park, Buckinghamshire**

West Wycombe Park has connections to the East India Company and was once owned by Samuel Dashwood (c.1643–1705) and his brother, Sir Francis Dashwood, 1st Baronet (c.1658–1724). They were successful London merchants, importing silk and other luxury goods. Samuel became the East India Company's Vice-Governor in 1700 and was appointed Lord Mayor of London two years later. Francis, also an alderman of the city, was, by 1680, the largest importer of silk from Smyrna in Turkey and maintained links with Elihu Yale (see entry for Erddig), the agent for the East India Company in Madras.

Sir John Dashwood-King, 3rd Baronet (1716–93), inherited the baronetcy in 1781 but lived at nearby Halton. His grandson, Sir George Henry Dashwood, 5th Baronet (c.1790–1862), moved into West Wycombe following his marriage in 1823. George was devisee-in-trust of his brother-in-law Harrison Walke[r] Sober's Barbados estate, receiving compensation for enslaved people on the Spring and Ashton Hall plantations in 1836.

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- Sir George Henry Dashwood 5th Bart (beneficiary): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/44929>
- Barbados 2034 – Spring (claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/1051>
- Barbados 4598 – Over Hill (claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/1053>
- Barbados 4925 – Ashton Hall (claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/1055>

## Midlands

### **Belton House**, Lincolnshire

Belton House was inherited by John Cust, 1st Earl Brownlow (1779–1853), in 1807. The family of his second wife, Caroline Fludyer, had benefited from government contracts in the North American colonies, and his father-in-law, George Fludyer (1761–1837), voted for Charles James Fox's 1783 bill to challenge the power of the East India Company.

In 1821, John's younger brother, Sir Edward Cust, 1st Baronet (1794–1878), married Mary Anne Boode (1799–1882), the daughter of a powerful Dutch slave-holding family. Edward and John became joint trustees and executors (with the MP Wilbraham Egerton (1832–1909)) of the estate owned by Margaret Boode (Mary's mother), Greenwich Park in British Guiana, including 185 enslaved people. Edward was a standing member of The London Society of West India Planters and Merchants, voting in their interests and opposing emancipation in the 1820s and 1830s. After visiting his plantations in 1838, Edward later reflected that the process of abolishing slavery should have begun straight after the 1823 parliamentary resolutions.

John Cust's nephew, Robert Needham Cust (1821–1909), served in the East India Company from 1844, becoming Magistrate and, in 1858, Commissioner in Lahore, India. He distinguished himself in Sanskrit, Persian and Hindustani, later being appointed Honorary Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- John Cust, 1st Earl Brownlow (claimant or beneficiary): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/8986>
- General Sir Edward Cust 1st Bart (claimant or beneficiary): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/1282228190>
- British Guiana 716A & B – Greenwich Park (claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/8908>

### **Berrington Hall**, Herefordshire

Berrington Hall was built between 1778 and 1781 for Thomas Harley (1730–1804), an MP and banker. Using his wife's wealth, Harley established a company supplying clothing and wages to the army during the American War of Independence. His banking partnership of Harley Cameron & Co. had Indian shipping interests, but collapsed in 1797. Chairing a secret parliamentary committee on East Indian Affairs in 1772, he introduced a bill to restrain the East India Company. He later voted against Charles James Fox's *East India Bill*, which sought to alter the balance of power between government and the company.

Harley's fifth daughter, Margaret (1765–1830), married Sir John Boyd, 2nd Baronet (1750–1815). Boyd was co-owner of plantations on St Vincent and St Kitts, with between 170 and 200 enslaved people. He had inherited the plantations from his father, Sir John Boyd, 1st Baronet (1718–1800), who was Deputy Chairman of the East India Company from 1759 to 1760.



Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- Sir John Boyd 2nd Bart. (plantation owner): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146639821>

### **Calke Abbey, Derbyshire**

The Harpur family acquired the Calke Estate in 1622. A new mansion, incorporating parts of an older Elizabethan house, was built between 1701 and 1704 for Sir John Harpur, 4th Baronet (1679–1741). His sister, Anne Harpur (1681–1751), married Borlase Warren (1677–1747) of Stapleford, Nottinghamshire. He was grandfather of Admiral Sir John Borlase Warren (1753–1822), who was made Commander-in-Chief of the consolidated North American, Jamaican and Leeward Islands squadrons in 1812 during the Anglo-American war.

Sir John's Harpur's son, Edward (1713–61), married Mary Newton, daughter of Samuel Newton (1695–1771) of Kings Bromley, Staffordshire in 1741. The Newton family had owned the eponymous Newton Plantation in Barbados since the late seventeenth century. Sir John's daughter, Catherine Harpur (1711–40), married Sir Henry Gough (1709–74), MP and East India Company merchant (1735–51).

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- Samuel Newton of Kings Bromley (plantation owner): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146665119>

### **Charlecote Park, Warwickshire**

Charlecote Park has been home to the Lucy family since the late twelfth century. The current house was built by Sir Thomas Lucy (c.1532–1600) in the 1550s. His great-great-grandson Thomas Lucy (c.1655–84) inherited the property in 1677 and served as Captain of the Household Guards during the Dutch Wars of the 1670s. A portrait by Godfrey Kneller (1646/9–1723) in the National Trust's collection depicts Lucy with an unidentified young black groom or page wearing a metal collar (inventory number NT 533847). Parish records list the baptism in 1735 of Philip Lucy, a six-year-old black boy. More research is needed on his relationship, if any, to the Lucy household. Evidence from neighbouring parishes reveals the presence of black people in Warwickshire during this period.

George Hammond Lucy (1789–1845) inherited Charlecote in 1823 and, with his wife Mary Elizabeth Williams (1803–90), decorated the house with objects bought at the sale of William Beckford's Fonthill Abbey (which is not owned by the National Trust). Beckford's immense wealth derived from sugar plantations he inherited in Jamaica.

George and Mary Elizabeth's daughter, Caroline (1828–64), married Captain Charles Pawlett Lane (1828–1910), who served during the 1857 siege of Lucknow under General Henry Havelock (1795–1857).

Charlecote's collection includes a number of objects associated with the siege of Lucknow in India including an eighteenth-century silver dress sword and scabbard presented to Mary Elizabeth Lucy (1803–89) by her son-in-law Major-General Charles Powlett Lane (1826–1910) who participated in the siege in 1857.

### **Coughton Court**, Warwickshire

The manor of Coughton had long been owned by the Throckmorton family and Elizabeth Throckmorton (1565–c.1647) became Gentlewoman to the Privy Chamber of Elizabeth I. In 1591, she secretly married Sir Walter Raleigh (1554–1618), who, between 1585 and 1590, had unsuccessfully attempted to establish the first English colony on Roanoke Island, now North Carolina.

In 1763, Sir Robert Throckmorton, 4th Baronet (1702–91), married Lucy Heywood (d.1795). There were no children from the marriage. Lucy's grandfather, Sir Abraham Elton, 2nd Baronet (1679–1742), was a slave-trader and politician (see entry for Clevedon Court). He served as High Sheriff of Bristol (1710–1) and Master of the Society of Merchant Venturers (1719). He became Mayor of Bristol but was bankrupted by the South Sea Bubble.

Lucy's father, James Heywood (d.1738), owned the Heywood Hall Estate in St Mary, Jamaica, holding 232 enslaved people, 67 of whom were children. Her brother, James Modyford Heywood (1729–98), MP for Fowey, acquired two further plantations amounting to over 5,600 acres. He sold the Heywood plantation, including its enslaved workforce, in the 1790s for £18,000.

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- James Heywood (plantation owner): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146655899>
- James Modyford Heywood (plantation owner): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146649387>

### **Croft Castle**, Herefordshire

Croft was held by Bernard de Croft at the time of *Domesday Book* (1086). The castle continued to be owned by the Croft family until debts incurred during the South Sea Company crash forced its sale by Sir Archer Croft, 2nd Baronet (1683/4–1753), in 1746. His father, Sir Herbert Croft, 1st Baronet (c.1652–1720), was involved with the East India Company, as was his father-in-law, Thomas Archer (c.1619–85).

Through his marriage to Sophia Cleeve (1754–92), Rev. Sir Herbert Croft, 5th Baronet (1751–1816), became executor to the estate of his mother-in-law, Elizabeth Cleeve, in Antigua (untraced), and a reversionary interest in the estate may have formed part of their marriage settlement in 1779.

In 1837, Herbert Croft's nephew, Sir Archer Denman Croft, 8th Baronet (1801–65), married Julia Garstin (1805–64), who had been born in Calcutta (now Kolkata). Julia's father, Major-General John Garstin (1756–1820), served in the East India Company and rose to become

Surveyor General in Bengal from 1808 to 1813. Brigadier-General Sir Henry Page Croft, 1st Lord Croft (1881–1947), as with many leading Tories, campaigned against constitutional reform in India and opposed the Government of India Act of 1935, which gave more political autonomy to the provinces under the British Raj.

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- Elizabeth Cleeve (née Voguell) (beneficiary): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146655383>

### **Croome Court, Worcestershire**

Croome D’Abitot was purchased 1592 by Sir Thomas Coventry (1547–1606). In 1715, Gilbert Coventry, 4th Earl of Coventry (c.1668–1719), married Anne Master (1691–1788), daughter of Sir Streyntsham Master (1640–1724), who had joined the East India Company in 1659 and in 1677 became Governor of Fort St George, Madras.

In 1821, William Coventry (1797–1877), son of George William, 7th Earl (1758–1831), married Mary Laing (d.1892) in Jamaica. Mary was the daughter of James Laing (c.1765–1827), who, together with his partners, owned, or was associated with, 48 plantations. The largest, Goshen Estate, St Ann, held over 450 enslaved people. In 1835, Anna Maria Coventry (1766–1837), daughter-in-law of the 6th Earl, received compensation for six enslaved people on Clifford Cottage Estate, St Ann, Jamaica.

In 1836, George William, Viscount Deerhurst (1808–38), son of George William, 8th Earl (1784–1843), married Harriet Anne Cockerell (1812–42). Her father, Sir Charles Cockerell, 1st Baronet (1755–1837), was an official of the East India Company and rose to the position of Postmaster General (1784–92). He co-owned plantations and supplied indentured labourers from India to Mauritius.

Charles John Coventry (1867–1929), son of George William, 9th Earl (1838–1930), served in the Matabele War (1893), the Jameson Raid into the Transvaal (1896) and the West African Frontier force (1898–9). The 9th Earl’s daughter Lady Anne (1874–1956), married Victor Albert Jay Duleep Singh (1866–1918), eldest son of Maharaja Duleep Singh (1838–93), in 1898.

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- Sir Charles Cockerell 1st Bart. (plantation owner): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146011675>
- Mauritius 4876 (claim): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/2120008069>
- Hon. James Laing (plantation owner): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146641331>
- Hon. Anna Maria Coventry (née Eves) (beneficiary): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/18374>
- Jamaica St Ann 233 – Clifford Cottage (claim): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/18363>

### **Dudmaston, Shropshire**

The Wolryche family’s sixteenth-century fortified manor at Dudmaston was replaced by the present house, which was built between 1695 and 1701 for Sir Thomas Wolryche, 3rd Baronet (1672–1701). The estate passed to the Whitmore family later in the eighteenth century and was

inherited by William Wolryche-Whitmore (1787–1858) in 1815. Serving as a Whig MP for Bridgnorth and, later, Wolverhampton (1820–34), he focused on trade, agriculture and commerce. He served on the East India Committee, where he warned of the effect of British colonialism on India's economy and advocated for improvements to the working lives of Indian populations, such as those labouring in the indigo trade. Wolryche-Whitmore opposed the creation of the West India Company, which he perceived as a monopolistic threat. He argued for the equalisation of tariffs on East and West Indian sugar, presenting petitions from East Indian traders and Calcutta merchants disadvantaged by the system. He also spoke against the power of West Indian plantation owners, arguing the case for emancipated labour in the West Indies and frequently presenting and supporting anti-slavery petitions during the 1830s.

### **Hardwick Hall**, Derbyshire

Generations of the Cavendish family, the former owners of Hardwick Hall, had colonial interests, including William Cavendish, 1st Earl of Devonshire (1551–1626), the son of Elizabeth Talbot (Bess of Hardwick), Countess of Shrewsbury (c.1527–1608). Cavendish had investments in the Russia Company, the Somers Island Company, and the North-West Passage Company, as well as considerable investments in the East India Company.

Lord William Henry Cavendish Bentinck (1774–1839), grandson of the 4th Duke of Devonshire, was Governor General of India (1828–35) and oversaw a period of social, economic and political reform. He also made an unsuccessful claim for a plantation in Trinidad as an incumbrancer (someone having a legal claim on an estate) under the marriage settlement of Marc René, Count de Montalembert (1810–70).

Caroline Howard (1803–81), granddaughter of the 5th Duke, married William Saunders Sebright Lascelles (1798–1851), member of a prominent slave-holding family. Lascelles' six plantations in Barbados and Jamaica each held around 100 enslaved people. William's father, Henry Lascelles, 2nd Earl of Harewood (1767–1841), received £26,307 from the slavery compensation scheme.

Spencer Compton Cavendish, 8th Duke of Devonshire (1833–1908), was Secretary of State for India from 1880 until 1882, during the British withdrawal from Afghanistan. His nephew, Victor, 9th Duke (1868–1938), became Secretary of State for the Colonies (1922–4), while Victor's father-in-law, Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice, 5th Marquess of Lansdowne (1845–1927), had been Viceroy of India (1888–94) and Secretary of State for War (1895–1900) at the time of the Second South African War and Foreign Secretary (1900–5).

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- Lord William Henry Cavendish-Bentinck (beneficiary): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/1299780778>
- Trinidad 1684 (L'amitie) (unsuccessful claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/30049>
- Henry Lascelles, 2nd Earl of Harewood (six claims): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/6180>

### **Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire**

Kedleston Hall, described as a 'a temple to the arts' in the first guidebook to the house in 1769, was built from 1758 for Nathaniel Curzon, 1st Baron Scarsdale (1726–1804).

Alfred Nathaniel Curzon, 4th Baron Scarsdale (1831–1916) married Blanche Senhouse (1837–75), granddaughter of Sir Joseph Senhouse (1743–1829), owner of estates in Dominica and Tobago. In 1776, Senhouse's Dominican plantation and its enslaved people were valued at £11,607 15s.

George Nathaniel Curzon, 1st Viscount Scarsdale (1859–1925), served as Under-Secretary of State for India in 1891 and Viceroy of India from 1899 to 1905. During his tenure, he made many reforms, but he opposed demands from Indian nationalists for greater participation in government. The aid offered by Curzon's administration during the famine of 1899 and 1900 was limited. In 1903, Curzon supported the British invasion of Tibet under Francis Younghusband (1863–1942), and in 1905 he oversaw the partition of Bengal. On his return from India he was appointed Foreign Secretary, a position he held from 1919 until 1924.

Curzon's passion for building conservation was demonstrated in the restoration of the Taj Mahal. He amassed a private collection gathered from across China and southern and western Asia. The collection was originally loaned to the Victoria and Albert Museum, but it was arranged as the Eastern Museum at Kedleston in 1925 and is currently the subject of a re-presentation and interpretation project.

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- Sir Joseph Senhouse (plantation owner): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146654247>

### **Lyveden, Northamptonshire**

In 1732, Lyveden passed to Anne Robinson, Lady Gowran (d.1744), the wife of Richard Fitzpatrick, 1st Baron Gowran (c.1662–1727), and granddaughter of Sir John Robinson, 1st Baronet (1615–80). During the 1660s and 1670s, Sir John was a member of the Levant Company, the East India Company and the Company of Royal Adventurers Trading into Africa, as well as Deputy Governor of the Hudson Bay Company.

Lyveden was inherited through the female line, and Robert Vernon Smith (1800–73) was created 1st Baron Lyveden in 1859. Robert presented a petition for the abolition of slavery in 1830 and served on the select committee on West Indian commerce. He was Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies (1839–41) and President of the Board of Control (1855–8), overseeing the East India Company during the Great Rebellion of India.

His father, Robert Percy Smith (1770–1845), had served as Advocate General in Bengal from 1802 and as an MP from 1812. During debates over the renewal of the East India Company's charter, he opposed Christian missions to the country, advocating for the education of Indians in their own cultural tradition.

### **Shugborough, Staffordshire**

Shugborough was acquired in 1624 by William Anson, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, and was extensively developed by his two great-grandsons, Thomas Anson (c.1695–1773) and Admiral George Anson (1697–1762). In 1740, Admiral Anson circumnavigated the globe, undertaking official piracy in the Spanish-controlled Americas. He sailed into Canton (now Guangzhou) in 1742, an episode later commemorated in the buildings and collections created at Shugborough. The following year, he captured the Spanish galleon *Nuestra Señora de Covadonga* off the Pacific coast, collecting nearly a third of the £400,000 worth of silver on board.

Shugborough was inherited in 1773 by Thomas Anson's nephew George Adams, later Anson (1731–89). His daughter, Mary Anson (d.1837), married Sir Francis Ford, 1st Baronet (1758–1801), who is known to have owned as many as seven plantations in Barbados. The Anson family – notably Thomas Anson, 1st Earl of Lichfield (1795–1854), his mother Anne Margaret, Viscountess of Lichfield (1779–1843) and his uncles Sir George Anson (1769–1849) and Edward Anson (1775–1837) – made substantial but unsuccessful claims for slavery compensation on Lear's Plantation on the Ford Estate.

Thomas William Anson, 1st Earl of Lichfield (1795–1854), married Louisa Catherine Phillips (1800–79) in 1819. Her father, Nathaniel Phillips (1733–1818), a member of The London Society of West India Planters and Merchants, owned plantations in Kingston, Jamaica, each of which held more than 100 enslaved people. Major George Anson, the younger brother of the 1st Earl (1797–1857) served in Madras (now Chennai) and became Commander-in-Chief in India in 1857, at the time of the Great Rebellion.

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- Sir Francis Ford 1st Bart. (plantation owner): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146638825>
- Sir Francis Ford 2nd Bart. (plantation owner): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2763>
- Barbados 3258 – Ridge (claim): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/2763>

### **Sudbury Hall, Derbyshire**

Sudbury Hall was built in the 1660s for George Vernon (c.1635–1702). His third wife, Catherine (1663–1710), was daughter of Sir Thomas Vernon (d.1710), a director of the East India Company. Catherine's sister Judith (1676–1738) married John Aislachie (1670–1742), a former Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was forced to resign in 1721, following the collapse of the South Sea Company (see entry for Fountains Abbey and Studley Royal).

George Venables Vernon, 1st Baron Vernon (1709–80), the grandson of George Vernon, married Mary Howard (1710–40) in 1733. Her sister, Anne (d.1775), the wife of Sir William Yonge, 4th Baronet (1693–1755), appears together with a black male page who is wearing a metal slave collar in a portrait of 1737 in the Sudbury Hall collection (inventory number NT 653164).

George, 4th Baron Vernon (1779–1835) married Frances Warren (1784–1837), daughter of Sir John Borlase Warren (1753–1822), Commander-in-Chief of the consolidated North American,

Jamaican and Leeward Islands squadrons in 1812, during the Anglo-American war (see entry for Calke Abbey).

Georgiana Vernon (1788–1824), daughter of the 2nd Baron and Jane Georgiana Fauquier, Lady Vernon (1748–1823), married Edward Harbord, 3rd Baron Suffield (1781–1835), an MP who persistently advocated for the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade from 1822. George John, 5th Baron Vernon (1803–66), also supported abolition.

### **Tattershall Castle**, Lincolnshire

Tattershall Castle was purchased by Edward Fiennes de Clinton, 9th Baron Clinton (1512–85), who was created 1st Earl of Lincoln in 1572. Thomas Clinton, 3rd Earl of Clinton (1568–1619), supplied artillery to the East India Company in 1619. His son, Theophilus Clinton, 4th Earl (c.1600–67), supported the purposes of fellow Puritans in the formation of the Massachusetts Bay Company and the establishment of its colony in North America. Thomas Dudley (1576–1653), the steward for Clinton's estate, later became Governor of the colony. Theophilus's father-in-law, William Fiennes, 1st Viscount Saye and Sele (1582–1662), shared these interests and established the Providence Island colony in 1630.

Tattershall passed into the ownership of the Fortescue family from 1789, although the family never lived there as they resided in Devon. John Inglett Fortescue (1758–1840), MP for Callington, Cornwall, was related to the Earls of Fortescue through his paternal grandmother. In 1836, Fortescue made an unsuccessful claim for 88 enslaved people on the Hope Estate, St Vincent.

The castle remained in the ownership of the Fortescue family and became a picturesque ruin until it was rescued and repaired by Lord Curzon of Kedleston in 1911 (see entry for Kedleston Hall).

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- John Inglett Fortescue (unsuccessful claimant): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/1766541704>
- St Vincent 572 – Hope (unsuccessful claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/27133>

## Northern Ireland

### **Mount Stewart, County Down**

In 1744 Alexander Stewart (c.1700–81), descendent of Scottish plantation landowners in County Donegal, used the immense dowry of his wife, Mary Cowan (1713–88), to purchase land in County Down, including an estate that he renamed Mount Stewart. Mary was Alexander Stewart's cousin, but also heiress to her brother, Sir Robert Cowan (d.1737), an East India Company merchant who had pursued a career trading in coffee and other commodities in Lisbon and the Yemen before becoming the Company's Governor of Bombay in India. Robert accumulated a large fortune and brought back diamonds from India's Golconda mines that are still in the possession of his sister's descendants, the Marquesses of Londonderry, and which are currently on display in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Mary's grandson, Robert, Viscount Castlereagh (1769–1822), pursued a notable political and diplomatic career, and at the Congress of Vienna in 1814–15, after the defeat of Napoleon, he called for the abolition of the slave trade in a declaration signed by all the powers of Europe, including Russia. Although the European governments, including Great Britain, Portugal, Spain, Holland and France and their overseas colonies, acted on this treaty at different times and to varying degrees, the treaty expressed, in Castlereagh's words, their condemnation of an age-old injustice and was a precursor to the abolition of slavery itself.



## North of England

### **Allan Bank**, Cumbria

The poet William Wordsworth (1770–1850) lived for a time at Allan Bank. He and his sister, writer Dorothy Wordsworth (1771–1855), are both known for expressing views in opposition to slavery.

Their brother, John Wordsworth (1772–1805), became Commander of the East India Company ship *Earl of Abergavenny* in 1801. He captained two successful voyages to China, in which the family invested. Wordsworth's third voyage would have made the family a considerable sum, but the ship sank a few days into the journey, causing the death of John and many others.

### **Cragside**, Northumberland

Sir William Armstrong (1810–1900) was a Newcastle upon Tyne-born industrialist, designer and manufacturer of arms. His work led to his knighthood in 1859 and his simultaneous appointment as government engineer for rifled ordnance and superintendent of the royal gun factory at Woolwich. During the four years he was working directly with the government, it placed over £1 million worth of orders for Armstrong breech-loading guns. The arms were used by British military forces in conflicts across the globe, including those relating to imperial interests, and were also used in the American Civil War.

### **Dunham Massey**, Cheshire

George Booth, 2nd Earl of Warrington (1675–1758), married Mary (d.1740), daughter of the East India Company merchant John Oldbury (d.1701) in 1702.

There is a family connection to colonial South Africa through Harry Grey, 8th Earl of Stamford (1812–90), who lived in Cape Colony and married Martha Solomon(s) (d.1916). After Harry's death, his son, John Grey (1877–?), was considered the rightful heir to the Stamford title and a seat in the House of Lords under Dutch law in South Africa, but not English law, as he had been born outside of marriage. The seat was granted to Grey's nephew, William Grey (1850–1910), who became the 9th Earl of Stamford.

Roger Grey, 10th Earl of Stamford (1896–1976), was Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for India, Viscount Peel (1867–1937). In 1938, Grey received Emperor Haile Selassie I (1892–1975), the exiled ruler of Ethiopia, at Dunham Massey. This ignited a lasting friendship that continued for the rest of their lives.

A statue of a kneeling black male figure (inventory number NT 936871) personifying Africa and supporting a sundial, was installed outside the house in the eighteenth century. These figures exist within the range of 'exotica' manufactured in support of colonial representations of the people and places of the British Empire. The statue has recently been re-sited and will be the subject of future collaborative interpretation.

### **Fountains Abbey and Studley Royal, North Yorkshire**

John Aislable (1670–1742) of Studley Royal supported the South Sea Company's proposition to take over the national debt in exchange for government bonds. Having received a £20,000 bribe in company stock in exchange for promoting the scheme, Aislable negotiated the South Sea contract and got the bill passed in the House of Commons. He was serving as British Chancellor of the Exchequer when the South Sea Company collapsed in 1720. Aislable was forced to resign the following year, shortly before a report into the collapse was published. He was found guilty of corruption, expelled from the House of Commons and imprisoned in the Tower of London.

Aislable was named directly in legislation produced by Parliament that the estate of individuals implicated in the South Sea Company corruption should be confiscated. However, since he had owned Studley Royal prior to his deception, he was afforded a dispensation allowing him to keep the property he possessed – around £119,000 out of an estate estimated to be worth £164,000. After his release, he retired from political life to Studley Royal, where he focused on the transformation of his gardens.

### **Hare Hill, Cheshire**

William Hibbert (1759–1844) purchased Hare Hill in 1797 and the property was inherited by his son, William Tetlow Hibbert (1792–1881), who lived there until 1879. The Hibbert family accumulated substantial wealth through trading enslaved people and the goods produced using enslaved labour across three generations.

William and William Tetlow Hibbert were partners in the family business, based at the West India trading house in London. It owned ships and quays, and organised the transport, insurance and distribution of commodities produced through enslaved labour, particularly sugar. Hibbert's uncle owned a slave-factorage business in Kingston, Jamaica. Slave factors purchased enslaved Africans from ships and resold them to local planters. The Hibberts were prominent defenders of slavery during the abolition campaign.

The Hibbert family received approximately £103,000 in compensation as owners and creditors (equivalent to almost £7 million in 2020). William was a beneficiary in 12 of these claims, both as an owner and a mortgagee, involving 2,654 enslaved people across 12 Jamaican plantations. William Tetlow was a beneficiary in nine of the claims and in 1839 was involved in establishing the Colonial Bank of the West Indies, a forerunner of Barclays Bank. He was also a director of the Canada Company, which facilitated the colonisation of Upper Canada, and of the Royal Exchange Assurance Corporation (later incorporated into the French insurance firm, AXA).

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- Thomas Hibbert Senior (plantation owner): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146642349>
- William Hibbert (plantation owner): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/42210>
- William Tetlow Hibbert (plantation owner): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/45849>
- Jamaica Clarendon 333 – Halse Hall (claim): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/14067>
- Jamaica Clarendon 358 – Hanbury Pen (claim): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/14080>

- Jamaica Portland 268 – Twickenham Pen (claim): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/21631>
- Jamaica St James 168 – Leyden Estate (claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/15090>
- Jamaica St James 169 – Windsor Lodge (claim): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/15091>
- Jamaica St James 184 – Paisley Estate (claim): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/15103>
- Jamaica St Mary 133 – Carlton Woodhouse Estate (claim):  
<http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/18271>
- Jamaica St Mary 30 – Hopewell Estate and Pen (claim): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/13303>
- Jamaica St Thomas-in-the-East, Surrey 225 – Pleasant Hill (claim):  
<http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/17740>
- Jamaica Trelawney 126 – Long Pond Estate (claim): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/24073>
- Jamaica Trelawney 133 (claim): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/24074>
- Jamaica Trelawney 667 – Mahogany Hall (claim): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/17854>
- Jamaica Westmoreland 230 – Delve (claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/22890>

### **Nostell, West Yorkshire**

The Winn family acquired the Nostell Estate in the mid-seventeenth century, although the building of the present house began around 1733. Archival records suggest that Sir Rowland Winn, 4th Baronet (1706–65), invested in both the South Sea Company and the East India Company. More research is needed to understand this aspect of the family’s history.

The cabinetmaker Thomas Chippendale (1718–79) supplied much of the furniture and furnishings at Nostell. The Thomas Chippendale Account (1766–72) entry from 20 January 1770 in the West Yorkshire archive (reference WYW1352/3/3/1/5/3/47), includes ‘2 Blankets for the housekeepers & the blacks bed’, at a cost of £1 3s. *Od.*

### **Nunnington Hall, North Yorkshire**

Nunnington Hall was purchased in 1839 by William Rutson (1791–1867). William was the main beneficiary of his father’s will, and his personal wealth can be directly connected to his father’s business activities. The family of William’s wife, Charlotte Mary Ewart (1803–1881), were linked through business to the Rutsons.

Rutson’s grandfather, who was also called William Rutson (1738–93), was a cotton merchant and slave-trader who operated from Liverpool as a partner in the firm Backhouse and Rutson, described as ‘African traders’. Between 1780 and 1793, William the Elder was involved in financing, or part-financing, at least 42 voyages transporting enslaved Africans.

William Rutson’s father, William Calton Rutson (d.1817) and Charlotte’s father William Ewart (1763–1823) were partners in Ewart Rutson & Co. (later Ewart Myers & Co.), which traded in goods produced by enslaved labour, particularly sugar and cotton. It also acted as a consignee for slave-owners and in 1807 was party to power of attorney to William Barton of Liverpool ‘to obtain possession of estates on Barbados’.

In 1817, at least two of the partners had a claim for £15,000 as lenders of mortgages secured on Saddle Hill, a sugar plantation on the Caribbean island of Nevis. In September 1835,

Ewart Myers & Co., which included several members of Charlotte Mary's family, were mortgagees-in-trust at Long Lane Delp's sugar plantation in Antigua, receiving £2,790 8s. 8d. as compensation for the land and 213 enslaved people.

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- William Rutson (family connection to claim) <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146644615>
- William Calton Rutson (family connection to claim): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146665043>
- Antigua 86 – Long Lane Delap's (claim): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/637>
- William Ewart (mortgage holder): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146651793>
- Ewart Myers (firm): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/firm/view/873303471>

### **Quarry Bank Mill, Cheshire**

Samuel Greg (1758–1834) built Quarry Bank Mill in 1783. Although Greg did not rely directly on his Caribbean estate earnings to enter the cotton trade, his wealth was partly due to the wider family engagement in businesses related to slavery through several generations. His uncle, John Greg (1716–95), had been the first Government Commissioner for the sale of land in the West Indies. John, and Thomas Greg (1718–96), who was Samuel's father, had interests in four estates in Dominica and St Vincent between them. Samuel and his brother, who was also called Thomas (1752–1832), inherited Hillsborough plantation in Dominica and other estates. Thomas married Margaret Hibbert (1749–1818), the sister of the West India merchant William Hibbert, in 1774, and proved insurance for his brother-in-law's transatlantic trade as a member of Lloyd's (see entry for Hare Hill).

Archival records show that enslaved people were being purchased to work at the Hillsborough plantation between 1817 and 1829. On Samuel's death, the estates passed to his son, another Thomas (d.1839), who then bequeathed his lands to Francis Pye (*fl.* nineteenth century) and his nephew Samuel Hibbert (1783–1867), to be held in trust and the profits split between his brothers. He left his residual estate 'especially the money I am now entitled to in right of my slaves upon the West India estates' to his sisters. The estates eventually became the joint property of Thomas's surviving brothers, but not before he received over £5,000 in compensation. Hillsborough passed to his brother, Robert Hyde Greg (1795–1875) and remained in the family until 1928.

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- Samuel Greg (plantation owner): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146644249>
- Thomas Greg (plantation owner): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/10314>
- Dominica 319 – Hillsborough (claim): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/10275>
- St Vincent 547 – Cane Garden (claim): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/27332>

### **Rufford Old Hall**, Lancashire

Rufford Old Hall is linked by marriage to the early colonisation of North America through Lucy Rigby (d.1688), who married Robert Hesketh (d.1650) of Rufford in 1641. In 1643, Lucy's father, Colonel Alexander Rigby (c.1594–1650), purchased the 'plough patent', which gave him control of the independent province of Lygonia in New England, an area in the southern part of present-day Maine. Lygonia was one of eight patents for new provinces created by the Plymouth Council, designed to encourage English settlement and develop local farming and forestry economies. Rigby, a Parliamentarian, remained in England and was involved at a distance. On his death, the patent passed to his son, Edward. Lygonia was absorbed into the larger province of Massachusetts Bay 15 years after it was founded.

After serving in the American War of Independence, Thomas Hesketh (1750–82) married Jacintha Dalrymple (d.1802), daughter of Hugh Dalrymple (d.1774), Attorney General of Grenada. An unidentified estate in Grenada was owned by a 'Dalryple' from 1780 to 1782. This is thought to refer either posthumously to Dalrymple or, perhaps more likely, to his heirs.

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- Dalrymple (plantation owner): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146649851>

### **Seaton Delaval Hall**, Northumberland

Admiral George Delaval (c.1668–1723) purchased stock in the South Sea Company in 1711, the year of its formation, and maintained his shares until at least 1720.

Sir John Hussey Delaval, Baronet (1728–1808), assumed a leading role in his family's estates, and in 1766 sought advice on how to set up and manage a sugar plantation from Joseph Manesty (d.1771/2), a Liverpool slave-trader. Manesty's detailed response includes, for example, lists of necessary tools and equipment, appropriate furnishings for the 'Masters House' and the number of people required, including '3 white servants ... 10 Negro Men ... 10 negro women'. It is not known whether Sir John Delaval followed Manesty's advice, but he did obtain an allotment of 20,000 acres in East Florida in 1766. He held this land for at least five years, but a letter of 1771 indicates he was looking to sell.

The actor, soldier and MP Sir Francis Blake Delaval (1727–71), the great-nephew of George Delaval, had an illegitimate son, Lieutenant-General Francis Delaval (c.1752–1824), who was Governor of St Lucia and a resident of Martinique. His will included an instruction to bequeath an enslaved person in his ownership to 'my friend' Mr Alexander(?) Glennie.

### **Speke Hall**, Merseyside

Sir William Norris, 1st Baronet (1658–1702), was MP for Liverpool (1695–1701) and concerned with protecting the city's tobacco and sugar interests. In 1696, he audited the East India Company accounts, and in 1698, chaired the Parliamentary Africa Select Committee. He became

Ambassador to India for the new East India Company in 1699 and his brother, Edward (c.1665–1726), was Secretary.

Another of William's brothers, Richard Norris (1670–1730), traded tobacco from Virginia and sugar from the West Indian plantations that enslaved Africans.

In 1795, Speke was sold to Richard Watt I (1724–96). He owned the Saint George's Plain Estate, Jamaica, and, in partnership with Alexander Allardyce (1743–1801), traded in slave-produced rum and sugar. He invested in two slave-trading passages with Richard Savage (1714–93) in 1760 and 1767 and financed another slave-trading passage from Iles de Los to Grenada and Jamaica in 1775. He purchased a slave ship in 1793 and trafficked 549 Africans to Jamaica (539 survived the journey).

Richard Watt III (d.1855) inherited George's Plain Estate and received £4,485 in compensation for 256 enslaved people. Richard Watt Walker (1792–1852) and Francis Watt (1787–1844) received shares in compensation relating to the plantation at Potosi, Jamaica, totalling £3,421 for 189 enslaved people.

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- Alexander Allardyce (plantation owner /slave factor / slave-trader): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146652069>
- Richard Watt I, of Jamaica and Oak Hill (plantation owner): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146635641>
- Richard Watt III (plantation owner): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/13160>
- Francis Watt of Ottringham (plantation owner): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/15137>
- Richard Watt Walker (beneficiary): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/43237>
- Jamaica St James 152A-C – Potosi (claim): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/15113>
- Jamaica Westmoreland 84 – George's Plain Estate (claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/13160>

### **Wallington Hall, Northumberland**

In 1757, John, 4th Baronet Trevelyan of Nettlecombe (1734–1828), married Louisa Marianne Simond (1734–72). Louisa was the daughter of Peter Simond (d.1785), who owned seven sugar plantations on Grenada, many in partnership with his adopted son, John Peter Hankey (1770–1807). Following Simond's death, Trevelyan inherited a share of his estates (Luisa pre-deceased her father) and they continued to be passed down the family line. The Trevelyans were involved in several compensation claims for slave-ownership amounting to almost £27,000 for 1,004 enslaved people.

In 1826, Sir Charles Edward, 1st Baronet Trevelyan of Wallington (1807–86), joined the East India Company, taking on a variety of administrative roles in Delhi and Calcutta (now Kolkata). He married Hannah More Macaulay (1810–73), sister of his close friend, Lord Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800–59), a member of the council of the Governor General of India. In 1838, Trevelyan published *On the Education of People of India*, supporting ideas developed in

Macaulay's *Minute on Indian Education* of 1835, which promoted a colonial education system and the adoption of English as the *lingua franca*. Hannah was the daughter of Zachary Macaulay, a Scottish abolitionist and former plantation administrator who had dedicated his life to the abolition of the slave trade.

Sir George Otto, 2nd Baronet Trevelyan of Wallington (1838–1928) worked briefly as his father's secretary in Calcutta (now Kolkata). His notable publications include *The Competition Wallah* (1864), a series of letters exploring attitudes of colonial British settlers to Indian people from the perspective of an imaginary young civil servant in India.

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- Peter Simond (plantation owner): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146634550>
- John Peter Hankey (plantation owner) <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146640951>
- Sir John Trevelyan 4th Bart. of Nettlecombe (plantation owner): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146636918>
- Rev. George Trevelyan (beneficiary): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/45685>
- Harriet Trevelyan widow (née Neave) (beneficiary): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/45679>
- Rev. John Thomas Trevelyan (beneficiary): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/45684>
- Walter Trevelyan (beneficiary): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/45683>
- Grenada 445 – Tempe Estate (claim): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/10543>
- Grenada 760 (claim): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/10503>
- Grenada 771 – Simon Estate (claim): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/10511>
- Grenada 857 – Requin (?) Estate (claim): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/10856>
- Grenada 860 – Sagesse Estate (claim): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/10858>
- Grenada 435 – Beausejour Estate (claim): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/10540>

### **Washington Old Hall, Tyne and Wear**

Washington Old Hall incorporates the medieval foundations of the property owned by the ancestors of George Washington (1732–99), the first President of the United States, founding father of the American Constitution and holder of enslaved people in Mount Vernon, Virginia.

There are a number of notable objects in the collection associated with George and Martha Washington.

### **Wentworth Castle Gardens, South Yorkshire**

Thomas Wentworth, Lord Raby and 1st Earl of Strafford (1672–1739), was owner of Wentworth Castle from 1708 to 1739. Following his military service, Wentworth began a diplomatic career, first as envoy and later Ambassador to Berlin, the Hague and Ambassador-Extraordinary to Brandenburg-Prussia. In 1711, Wentworth was appointed as joint negotiator for the Treaty of Utrecht. As part of these negotiations in 1713, Britain signed a contract with Spain giving it exclusive rights, through the South Sea Company, to supply enslaved Africans to the Spanish territories, known as the *asiento de negros*. Despite being impeached (though never prosecuted)

in 1715 for improper conduct in relation to the negotiations, Wentworth considered Utrecht to represent the high point of his diplomatic career.

A sculpture of a kneeling black male figure is displayed within the conservatory at Wentworth (on loan from Barnsley Museums), and is based on the standard model created in the eighteenth century after the Flemish sculptor John Nost the Elder (1660–died between 1711 and May 1713). These statues were designed to personify Africa, and this figure will be the subject of an interpretation partnership with Northern College and other stakeholders to help us interpret this complex historic object.



## South West

### **Barrington Court, Somerset**

The National Trust acquired Barrington Court in 1907, in a derelict condition. From 1920, Barrington was leased and restored by Colonel Abram Arthur Lyle (1880–1931), using architectural salvage collected from other houses. Lyle was the grandson of the founder of Abram Lyle & Sons, a sugar-producing company of which the colonel became director, and which merged to form Tate & Lyle in 1921. Both businesses were established after the abolition of slavery. The early nineteenth and early twentieth century British sugar industry was predominantly supplied by Caribbean plantations, founded under colonialism and supported by enslaved labour.

### **Bath Assembly Rooms, Somerset**

Bath and its ‘New’ or ‘Upper’ Assembly Rooms were connected to wider colonial and slavery economies of the eighteenth century. The Assembly Rooms were designed by John Wood the Younger (1728–82) and opened in 1771. They were funded by a tontine subscription, a form of group life-annuity investment in which survivors benefit from the deaths of other participants. James Leigh-Perrot (1735–1817), one such founding investor, was the maternal uncle of the author Jane Austen. In 1764, he married Jane Cholmeley (1744–1836), who was born in Barbados to Robert Cholmeley (died c.1754) and latterly the sister-in-law of the Barbados Governor William Spry (d.1772). The couple lived part of the year in Bath, and it is believed Jane Leigh-Perrot was heiress to her father’s plantations. Executors for her mother, Ann Workman (d.1790), sold a plantation in 1791.

Jane Austen (1775–1817) wrote to her sister Cassandra (1773–1845) in 1801, describing Frank, whom she identified as a black servant in her aunt and uncle’s household: ‘Frank, whose black head was in waiting in the Hall window, received us very kindly; and his Master & Mistress did not shew less cordiality ...’.

In 1830, William Wilberforce (1759–1833) spoke at an anti-slavery meeting at the Assembly Rooms, described in the *Bath Chronicle*: ‘Mr Wilberforce then, in a very low voice addressed the meeting. He soon, however, increased in energy, and made a most animated and effective appeal...’.

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- Jane Leigh Perrot (née Cholmeley) (plantation owner):  
<http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146660413>

### **Buckland Abbey, Devon**

Buckland Abbey was acquired by the Grenville family in 1541. Sir Richard Grenville (1542–91), an MP and naval commander, converted the monastic buildings around 1576. As Sheriff of Cork,

Ireland (c.1568–9), he transplanted over 100 English settlers. It is likely he invested in Sir Humphrey Gilbert's (1537–83) 'New World' expeditions of 1578 and 1583. In 1585, Grenville sailed colonists to establish Roanoke (now North Carolina), ordered the destruction of the Native American Aquascogoc village as punishment for a missing silver cup, and transported to Bideford a Native American, who was baptised in 1588 as 'Raleigh a Wynganditoian' and died a year later.

In 1581, Sir Francis Drake (c.1540–96) bought Buckland and made alterations. Drake's kinsman, John Hawkins (1532–95), initiated the English triangular slave trade route from 1562, and Drake sailed on his ships. In 1572, Drake met Diego, an escaped enslaved African, when attacking the Spanish town of Nombre de Dios in present-day Panama. Diego remained with Drake on the mission (which probably earned over £100,000) as a paid member of the crew. Diego died a free man in 1579 near the Moluccas, Indonesia, while employed on Drake's circumnavigation. According to documentary sources, on that same journey, Drake took three Africans, including an enslaved pregnant woman named Maria, and later left them on an Indonesian island.

### **Castle Drogo, Devon**

Castle Drogo was built for the tea-merchant Julius Drewe (1856–1931) and designed by the architect of New Delhi, Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869–1944). At the age of 18, Drewe was sent to China as a tea-buyer by his uncle, Francis Peek (c.1836–99), a partner in Liverpool tea-merchants Peek and Winch. Julius's great uncle, Richard Peek (1782–1867), one of the three brothers who founded Peek and Winch, was an abolitionist and philanthropist who was on the organising committee of the anti-slavery conventions held in London in 1840 and 1843. The Peek and Winch company later expanded into coffee, cocoa, rubber and spices, and owned plantations in the Dutch East Indies. In 1878, Drewe returned to Liverpool and opened the Willow Pattern Tea Store. In 1883, Drewe and John Musker (1846–1926) founded the Home and Colonial Trading Association (later Home and Colonial Stores), which sold teas selected in India by Drewe, alongside other groceries. By 1903, the company had 500 stores.

In 1889, both Drewe and Musker left the business as wealthy men, and Drewe married Frances Richardson (1871–1954), whose father was the Derbyshire cotton manufacturer Thomas Richardson (*fl.* nineteenth century).

In 1910, Drewe commissioned Lutyens to build a castle near Drewsteignton, and it was completed in 1930. In 1913, Lutyens was appointed by the British Indian Government as joint architect, with Herbert Baker (see entry for Owletts), and drew on the influence of Islamic and Hindu architecture in his designs. Parallels between Lutyens' New Delhi designs and Castle Drogo can be seen in the gardens at both sites.

### **Clevedon Court, Somerset**

Sir Abraham Elton I (1654–1728) purchased Clevedon Court in 1709. He was an industrialist, merchant, MP, alderman, Mayor of Bristol and member and Master of the city's Society of Merchant Venturers. Elton's commercial activities included brass and iron foundries, tin and calamine mines, glass and pottery works, salt production and cloth weaving. Many of these products were exported to Africa, stocking ships he owned that transported enslaved Africans to Jamaica, Barbados and Carolina.

Subsequent Elton generations remained at the centre of Bristol's political, civic and mercantile life, connected through marriage to local families with overlapping commercial interests. Sir Abraham's heir, Abraham Elton II (1679–1742), maintained the transatlantic slave-trading business with his brothers Isaac (1681–1714) and Jacob (1684–1765). Abraham II also invested and lost heavily during the South Sea Bubble of 1720. Generations of the extended family continued the trade, owned plantations in Jamaica, developed sugar refining in Bristol and became members of the Company of Merchants Trading to Africa. The connection with the Society of Merchant Venturers endured, counting seven Elton masters and 13 members.

Jacob's descendants continued the Elton's established mercantile operations. From the mid-eighteenth century the Baronets at Clevedon had legal, clerical and military careers, and increasingly focused upon property-ownership and estate management.

### **Compton Castle and Greenway, Devon**

The Gilbert family owned both Compton Castle and Greenway since the Middle Ages. Sir Humphrey Gilbert (1537–83), MP, soldier, explorer and half-brother of Sir Walter Raleigh (1554–1618), fought in Ireland and attempted to establish a colony. In 1578, he received letters patent to seek out new lands in the Americas, which led to an unsuccessful voyage the same year. In 1583, he sailed to Newfoundland and claimed the first 'New World' territory for England since John Cabot (c.1451–c.1498) in 1497. Gilbert died returning from the expedition when his ship *Squirrel* sank near the Azores. In 1606, Gilbert's son Captain Raleigh Gilbert (c.1582–1633) jointly received letters patent for the Virginia Company of Plymouth and, in 1607, led the establishment of the short-lived Popham Colony in Maine.

The Gilberts sold Greenway around 1700. In 1791, it was purchased by Edward Elton (1742–1811), who was descended from Sir Abraham Elton I (1654–1728) of Clevedon Court, Somerset (see entry for Clevedon Court).

The author Agatha Christie (1890–1976) and her husband, the archaeologist Max Mallowan (1904–78), purchased Greenway in 1938, having met at excavations in Ur, Iraq, then under British mandate.

### **Cotehele, Cornwall**

The Edgumbes were an established Cornish family, who acquired Cotehele in 1353 through marriage. Successive generations were highly active in regional politics, military and mining activities. In 1741, Edgecombe County in North Carolina was named for Richard Edgumbe (c.1680–1758), who was made 1st Baron Edgumbe the following year, and was a member of the Board of Trade which, along with the Secretaries of State, was responsible for British colonial affairs, particularly those in North America. A settlement called Edgecomb in Lincoln County, Maine, was, according to the American Geological Survey of 1905, ‘named for Lord Edgecombe, a friend of the American colonies’.

### **Dyrham Park, Gloucestershire**

George Wynter (d.1581) and Sir William MP (c.1525–89), naval commanders of Lydney, Gloucestershire, bought Dyrham Park in 1571. Wynter owned vessels sailed in John Hawkins’s (1532–95) slave-trading voyages in the 1560s. George’s son, John (d.1619), captained Sir Francis Drake’s (c.1540–96) circumnavigation of 1577. John’s great-granddaughter, Mary Wynter (1650–91), the sole Dyrham heiress, married William Blathwayt MP (c.1649–1717) in 1686.

Blathwayt was brought up by his uncle Thomas Povey (c.1613–c.1705), an MP and colonial administrator. Povey co-authored ‘Overtures’ for Oliver Cromwell (in 1654) that defined government colonial management, sat on colonial committees and councils, and was a member of the Royal African Company. Povey engineered Blathwayt’s colonial career: he became Surveyor, then Auditor-General of Plantation Revenues (1680–1717) and a member of the Board of Trade (1696–1707). Deeply knowledgeable in colonial matters, Blathwayt had a long career and his colonial contacts helped fund and furnish a new house and gardens at Dyrham.

In 1899, Rev. Wynter Thomas Blathwayt (1825–1909) inherited Dyrham. His wife, Mary Sarah Hibbert Oates (1834–1925), was of mixed heritage, born illegitimately in Jamaica to the plantation owner George Hibbert Oates (1791–1837).

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- George Hibbert Oates (plantation owner): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/19116>
- Jamaica Hanover 401 (claim): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/19116>

### **Glastonbury Tor, Somerset**

In 1825 the Rev. Hon. George Neville-Grenville (1789–1854) inherited Butleigh Court including Glastonbury Tor. In 1836, Neville administered compensation of £6,630 5s. 6d. for 379 enslaved people at the Hope Estate, St Andrew, Jamaica, owned by Richard Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville, 1st Duke of Buckingham and Chandos (1776–1839) of Stowe (see entry for Stowe). Neville was acting as trustee for the marriage settlement benefiting the Duke’s son and heir, Richard (1797–1861).

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- Hon. George Neville Grenville (successful claim as trustee): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/42697>
- Jamaica St Andrew 114 – Hope Estate (claim): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/19451>

### **Godolphin, Cornwall**

Sir William Godolphin MP (c.1640–1710), died without children and left the Godolphin Estates to his brother, Sidney (1645–1712), 1st Earl of Godolphin and the Lord Treasurer. The Earl of Godolphin oversaw financial restructuring of the Treasury, including financing the costly War of Spanish Succession (1701–14). This was aided by his negotiations in 1707 for the consolidation of the East India Company and the New India Company, with special privileges in return for a loan to the government of over £3 million. Another brother, Charles (c.1650–1720), who also worked in the Treasury, was a Commissioner of Customs, a director in the Royal African Company and an East India Company investor.

### **Kingston Lacy and Corfe Castle, Dorset**

Henry Bankes MP (1756–1834) inherited Kingston Lacy and Corfe Castle from his father in 1776, and in 1784 married Frances Woodley (c.1760–1823), daughter of William Woodley MP (1728–93), a plantation owner and Governor of the Leeward Islands. The same year he commissioned architect Robert Furze Brettingham (c.1750–1820) to remodel Kingston Lacy.

Henry and Frances's son and heir, William John Bankes MP (1786–1855), made an unsuccessful claim in 1836, as a Woodley trustee, for compensation of £2,925 4s. 2d. for 172 enslaved people on St Kitts. William John undertook a Grand Tour between 1813 and 1822, mostly travelling through Egypt and Syria. He accumulated one of the largest private collections of ancient-Egyptian artefacts, including the Philae obelisk (2nd century BC).

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- William Woodley MP (plantation owner): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146644865>
- William John Bankes (unsuccessful beneficiary): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146645443>
- St Kitts 705 (unsuccessful claim): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/25561>

### **Lacock Abbey, Wiltshire**

John Rock Grosett MP (c.1784–1866) was a plantation owner who leased Lacock Abbey during the 1820s. He was the son of Schaw Grosett (1741–1820), a merchant of Clifton, Bristol, and Mary Rock (1755–1807). John Rock Grosett married his cousin, Mary Spencer Shirley (1784–1820), and through his father, mother and wife received a combined inheritance of at least three Jamaican estates: Chepstow Pen and Spring Gardens Estate in St George, and Petersfield in St Thomas-in-the-East. In 1822, he joined the Standing Committee of The London Society of West India Planters and Merchants and supported planters' interests in Parliament. By 1831, Grosett had left

Lacock to live in Jamaica, elected to the Assembly that year. In 1834, he and his lawyer received compensation totalling £16,143 1s. 9d. for 916 enslaved people.

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- Schaw Grosett (plantation owner): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146646847>
- John Rock Grosett [Grossett] (plantation owner): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/43220>
- Jamaica St George 56 – Chepstow Pen (claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/21807>
- Jamaica St George 66 – Spring Garden Estate (claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/21808>
- Jamaica St Thomas-in-the-East, Surrey 563 – Petersfield (claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/21809m>

### **Lanhydrock, Cornwall**

John Robartes, 1st Earl of Radnor (1606–85), held senior governmental roles, including Privy Councillor, Lord Privy Seale and, briefly, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He sat on successive influential colonial groups, including the Committee for Trade and Plantations, the Council of Trade, the Council for Foreign Plantations and the Board of Trade. He was also a member of various companies, including the Providence Company and the Company for Propagation of the Gospel in New England.

### **Lundy, Devon**

Thomas Benson (1708–72) was Sheriff of Devon (1746–47) and the MP for Barnstaple (1747–54), as well as a smuggler and practitioner of piracy. In 1747, he gained a contract to ship convicts to Virginia and Maryland, but instead shipped them to Lundy, where he employed them as slave labour. In the subsequent court case, Benson argued that transporting the convicts to Lundy was no different from transporting them to the Americas, and his interpretation of the law was upheld.

William Hudson Heaven (1800–83) of Bristol, was a merchant and plantation owner who purchased Lundy in 1836 for 9,400 guineas and constructed Millcombe Villa on the island. He was the son of Thomas Heaven (1757–1839), a West India merchant of Bristol. Hudson Heaven owned multiple plantations in Hanover, Jamaica, including Golden Grove, Silver Grove, Beans Estate, Ramble Pen and Burnt Ground Pen. They appear to have been inherited from William Hudson (1737–1807), who emigrated to Jamaica in 1757, although the nature of their relationship is uncertain.

In 1835–6, Hudson Heaven received a total compensation of £11,742 1s. 11d. for 638 enslaved people across four estates in six awards. The family ownership of Jamaican plantations continued into the mid-twentieth century, and Lundy was sold in 1917.

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- William Hudson Heaven (plantation owner): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/14495>
- Jamaica Hanover 22 – Ramble Pen (claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/15980>
- Jamaica Hanover 24 – Silver Grove Estate (claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/15982>

- Jamaica Hanover 27 – Golden Grove Estate (claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/15984>
- Jamaica Hanover 633 (claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/14493>
- Jamaica Hanover 635 – Ramble Pen (claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/14495>
- Jamaica Hanover 97 – Bean’s Estate (claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/16017>

### **Newark Park, Gloucestershire**

Sir Thomas Lowe (c.1546–1623) purchased Newark Park in 1593. Sir Thomas was a cloth merchant, MP, Mayor of London, Master of the Haberdashers’ Company and Governor of both the Merchant Adventurers [of London] and the Levant Company. His maiden speech as an MP in 1607 petitioned on behalf of Mediterranean and West Indies merchants.

In 1769, James Clutterbuck (d.1776) bought Newark Park. A mercer and banker from London, he left Newark Park to his godson, Rev. Lewis Clutterbuck (c.1765–1820). Rev. Clutterbuck’s son, Lewis II (1794–1861), married Sarah (1787–1867), the daughter of William Balfour (d.1803/4) of Martha Brae, Trelawney, Jamaica. In the compensation records, Sarah Clutterbuck was awarded £290 11s. 9d. for 12 enslaved people in St James, Jamaica, in 1836, and made an unsuccessful claim of £2,169 4s. 2d. for 98 enslaved people from the Retirement Estate, St Ann, Jamaica, in 1839.

Lewis and Sarah Clutterbuck’s second son, James Edmund (1823–93), inherited Newark after his elder brother’s death. He retired from the army in 1883 as Surgeon General, having served with the Flying Columns in Fatehpur District (Uttar Pradesh, India) during the Great Rebellion of India from 1857 to 1858, and in the Anglo-Ashanti War from 1873 to 1874.

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- Sarah Clutterbuck (née Balfour) (plantation owner): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/19224>
- Jamaica St James 439(claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/19223>
- Jamaica St James 440 (claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/19224>
- Jamaica St Ann 571 (Retirement) (unsuccessful claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/19828>

### **Saltram, Devon**

James Bagg MP (c.1554–1624), a merchant and Mayor of Plymouth in Devon, purchased Saltram around 1614. He invested in the Virginia Company of Plymouth (established in 1606) and its successor, the Plymouth Council for New England (established in 1620), along with his son and heir, Sir James Bagg MP (c.1592–1638), a merchant and Deputy-Mayor of Plymouth. In 1632, Sir James was elected to the Plymouth Council for New England. Both father and son were Comptrollers of Customs in Plymouth and Fowey, Cornwall.

### **Sherborne Park Estate, Gloucestershire**

John Dutton, 2nd Baron Sherborne (1779–1862), inherited the Sherborne Park Estate in 1820. Lord Sherborne was an executor for the estate of Sir Rose Price (1768–1834), who had married his cousin, Elizabeth Lambert (1782–1826). As co-executor, Lord Sherborne administered

compensation of £3,579 3s. 2d. for 464 enslaved people at the Worthy Park Estate, St John, Jamaica, in 1836, but is unlikely to have personally benefited.

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- John Dutton, 2nd Baron Sherborne (executor of estate):  
<http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/43361>
- Jamaica St John 64A (Worthy Park) (claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/19973>

### **Shute Barton, Devon**

Sir William Templer Pole (1782–1847) inherited from his father (c.1799) both Shute Barton (a partially demolished fourteenth-century house) and the newly-built New Shute House (which is not owned by the National Trust). In 1835, he received compensation from two estates, jointly inherited with kinsman Henry Coombe Compton (1789–1866) from their great-grandfather, John Mills (d.1758) of Woodford Bridge, Essex. The awards were £2,512 8s. 0d. for 170 enslaved people at the Mills plantation and £2,784 8s. 4d. for 170 enslaved people at the Golden Rock plantation, both St Kitts.

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- John Mills of Woodford Bridge (plantation owner):  
<http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146645361>
- Sir William Templer Pole 7th Bart. (plantation owner):  
<http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/44005>
- St Kitts 424 – Golden Rock (claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/25694>
- St Kitts 761 – Mills (claim): <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/25462>

### **Snowhill Manor, Gloucestershire**

Abraham Solomon Wade (d.1817) of St Martin married Frances Paget (1769–1845) of St Kitts. Frances received compensation of £145 4s. 7d. for nine enslaved people in 1835. Their son, Solomon Abraham Wade (1806–81), was a merchant, agent and, latterly, plantation owner on St Kitts, receiving compensation in 1835 of £29 17s. 4d. for two enslaved people and shared £109 19s. 0d. for seven enslaved people.

In 1844, Solomon's first child was born with his unmarried partner Mary Jones (sometimes recorded as James) (1817–1914), a black woman thought to be his housekeeper, but recorded as a 'huckster' or someone who sells items door to door or from a stall. They married in 1855, having purchased the first of several plantations in 1850, but moved to Kent, England, by 1861. Their fourth child, Paget Augustus Wade (1849–1911), received £16,000 from his father to purchase plantations on St Kitts, and he established an import business, Sendall and Wade in London. He married Amy Blanche Spencer (1858–1943) in 1882 and had a son named Charles Paget Wade (1883–1956).

Wade was an architect, illustrator and plantation owner who purchased Snowhill Manor in 1919. In 1911, he inherited a share of the family business from his father, whose death certificate



recorded his mixed heritage ethnicity as 'coloured'. His mother, Amy Wade, ran the company and bought out her sisters-in-law to consolidate their sugar and cotton plantations on St Kitts and Montserrat. Wade only visited St Kitts frequently after the Second World War. He gifted Snowhill Manor to the National Trust in 1951 and spent his remaining years between St Kitts and England. The collection at Snowhill Manor contains a slave collar which possibly comes from the West Indies. More research is planned on this object.

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- Frances Wade (née Paget) (beneficiary): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/26072>
- St Kitts 167 (claim): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/26046>
- Solomon Abraham Wade (plantation owner): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/26074>
- St Kitts 169 (claim): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/26048>
- St Kitts 391 (claim): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/25549>

### **Stourhead, Wiltshire**

Henry Hoare (1677–1725) bought the Stourhead Estate by 1717 and between 1720 and 1725 demolished the earlier house for a new design by the architect Colen Campbell (1676–1729). In 1719 Hoare inherited his father's bank which, during the period of the South Sea Bubble (February to September 1720), earned him a profit of £21,000 (about £1.6 million in 2020). The Bank's commercial success was achieved by 'riding the bubble', through buying South Sea Company stock when it fell in price and selling it when it had a large rise.

### **Trengwainton Garden, Cornwall**

Sir Rose Price, 1st Baronet (1768–1834) purchased Trengwainton in 1814 and set about rebuilding the house and laying out gardens. Price was descended from an established Cornish-Jamaican plantation-owning family, started by Lieutenant Francis Price (1635–89), who acquired 840 acres of land called Worthy Park in St John, Jamaica, in 1670. Sir Rose Price owned or controlled multiple Jamaican plantations. Following his death in 1834, his executors handled compensation claims from his estate, including £3,579 3s. 2d. for 464 enslaved people at Worthy Park in 1836, with a second successful claim at Worthy Park for £5,860 9s. 11d. in 1838, and another claim for £1,662 0s. 5d. for 79 enslaved people at Spring Garden, St Dorothy. Trengwainton was sold by mortgage holders in 1835.

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- Sir Rose Price 1st Bart. (plantation owner): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/19625>
- Jamaica St Dorothy 127 – Spring Garden (claim): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/19592>
- Jamaica St John 64A – Worthy Park (previous owner, compensation awarded to executors): <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/19973>

### **Tyntesfield, Somerset**

William Gibbs (1790–1875), known as ‘the richest commoner in England’, purchased the Georgian house and estate at Tyntesfield in 1844. His great wealth, which enabled the complete remodelling of Tyntesfield from 1863, was accrued by his company Anthony Gibbs & Sons, which had held a monopoly for importing Peruvian bird-guano fertiliser. A. Gibbs & Sons’ guano business operated from 1842 to 1861 and, with pressure from external observers, workers’ conditions improved through increased pay and access to basic medical care. Yet most extraction was performed by indentured and often coerced Chinese laborers, working in slavery-like conditions, alongside convicts, conscripts and army deserters, and, before the abolition of Peruvian slavery in 1854, enslaved people. In his youth, Gibbs was briefly employed by his uncle, George Gibbs (1753–1818) of the West Indian trading house which became Gibbs, Bright, and Co. This company later merged with A. Gibbs & Sons in 1881, and in 1887 the unprofitable West-Indies trading Bristol office was shut.

## Wales

### **Chirk Castle, Wrexham**

Chirk Castle was built from 1295 for Roger Mortimer (c.1256–1326). Some 300 years later, it was purchased by Sir Thomas Myddelton I (c.1556–1631), a prominent figure in late-sixteenth-century sugar trading, in investment in privateering activities, and in the East India Company. Myddelton was apprenticed to the London grocer Fernandino Poyntz (*fl.* sixteenth century), became a sugar trader in Antwerp around 1583, and later acquired a sugar refinery in Mincing Lane, London. He married Hester (d.1586), daughter of Richard Saltonstall (1521–1601), who was the uncle of Sir Richard Saltonstall (1586–1661), who arrived in the colony of Massachusetts in 1630 and founded Watertown.

Myddelton became Freeman of the Grocer's Company of London in 1582 and liveryman ten years later. He was a member of the Merchant Adventurers' Company by 1585. Along with his brother, Robert (c.1563–1616), he was one of the first investors in the East India Company in 1599 and a member of the Virginia Company in 1609. Myddelton became Lord Mayor of London in 1613. He helped finance the voyages of Sir Francis Drake (c.1540–96) (see entry for Buckland Abbey) and Sir Walter Raleigh (1554–1618).

### **Erddig, Wrexham**

The Yorkes inherited Erddig from John Meller (1665–1733), who was a lawyer and Master of the High Court of Chancery. Meller bought Erddig in 1714, becoming sole owner in 1716. The house was built by Joshua Edisbury (d.1718). One of Edisbury's benefactors, Elihu Yale (1649–1721), made his fortune with the East India Company as Governor of Fort St. George, Madras (now Chennai) (1687–92). Yale supported the establishment of Yale University, whose collection includes a painting of Yale with Lord James Cavendish (c.1678–1751), who married his daughter, and a black pageboy or servant wearing a collar.

Believed to have derived partly from farming and rents, Erddig's income also came from the leasing of mineral rights to ironworks, including those at Bersham. There were links between the ironworking industry and the slave trade, although there are no confirmed connections with Erddig.

The National Trust collection at Erddig includes a portrait of a black coachman. The provenance of the portrait is unknown, but it could be John Meller's coachman, John Hanby, aged 25. Another suggestion is that Philip Yorke (1743–1804), an MP and poet, simply bought the portrait of an unknown coachman and added it to his growing collection of servants' portraits, but not before writing a poem in support of abolition, which appears on the painting.

### **Paxton's Tower, Carmarthenshire**

Paxton's Tower is a banqueting house formerly within the landscape of Middleton Hall (which is not owned by the National Trust). About 1789, the estate was purchased by William Paxton (c.1744–1824). During the early 1770s, Paxton held the post of Assay Master of Fort William, Bengal, and in 1778 he was appointed Master of the Calcutta Mint. He later became an East India Company agent and banker. Between 1793 and 1795, Paxton commissioned the architect Samuel Pepys Cockerell (1754–1827) to design a Palladian mansion at Middleton, including the banqueting house. As a Carmarthenshire MP, Paxton also invested in the local area, developing Tenby as a bathing resort and providing a piped-water supply to Carmarthen.

In 1824, Middleton was bought by Edward Hamlin Adams (1777–1842), who was born in Jamaica and possibly descended from the Adams family of Barbados. He was a trustee in the Charlottenburg Estate and joint owner of a plantation at Port Royal, Jamaica, which documented 18 enslaved people in 1823. Between 1817 and 1829, Adams, Robertson and Co. supplied a number of enslaved men to foot regiments as 'pioneers'.

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- Edward Hamlin Adams (plantation owner): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146645839>

### **Penrhyn Castle, Caernarfonshire**

Gifford Pennant was a soldier serving in Jamaica around 1655, who later settled and established sugar plantations in Clarendon. His son, Edward Pennant (1672–1736), extended the estates and became Chief Justice of Jamaica. The next generation departed Jamaica: Samuel (1709–50) became a partner in Drake, Pennant and Long West India Merchants, and Lord Mayor of London in 1749; and John (d.1782) became a successful Liverpool merchant.

John's son, Richard, 1st Baron Penrhyn (c.1737–1808), married Anne Susannah Warburton (1745–1816) in 1765, re-uniting the Penrhyn Estate. Richard was a Liverpool MP and a vigorous defender of the slave trade. Richard invested the Jamaican profits in his Caernarfonshire agricultural estates and established the Penrhyn Slate Quarry and Port Penrhyn. He died without heir and the estate passed to his cousin, George Hay Dawkins-Pennant (1764–1840), who built Penrhyn Castle in its current form.

As MP for Newark in Nottinghamshire and New Romney in Kent, Dawkins-Pennant consistently opposed the emancipation of the enslaved within the British Empire. In 1835, he received £14,683 17s. 2d. compensation for the loss of 764 enslaved people on his four Jamaican plantations: Pennant's, Denbigh, Cote's and Kupuis.

Additional information from the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database

- Richard Pennant, 1st Baron Penrhyn (plantation owner): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146643723>
- George Hay Dawkins Pennant (plantation owner): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/22227>
- Jamaica Clarendon 3 – Pennant's (claim): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/22213>
- Jamaica Clarendon 351 – Denbigh (claim): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/14074>

- Jamaica Clarendon 362 – Cote’s (claim): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/14082>
- Jamaica Clarendon 4 – Kupuis (claim): <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/22214>

### **Powis Castle, Powys**

Powis Castle became associated with the Clive family following the marriage of Edward Clive, 2nd Baron Clive of Plassey (1754–1839), later 1st Earl of Powis, to Lady Henrietta Herbert (1758–1830). Edward Clive became Governor of Madras (now Chennai) in 1798. He was the son of Robert Clive, 1st Baron Clive of Plassey (1725–74), the first British Governor of Bengal and a major figure in the East India Company. Robert amassed vast fortunes derived from his activities in India, both in cash and in fine and decorative arts.

The Clive Collection contains over 1,000 objects acquired by Robert, Edward and Henrietta. It includes the tent of Tipu Sultan (1750–99), ‘Tiger of Mysore’, and a gold tiger’s head finial from his throne – both of which were taken after Tipu’s death during the siege of Seringapatam.

Robert Clive had intended to house his collection at Claremont (see entry for Claremont), but the rebuild was not completed before his death in 1774. The Clive treasures were united with objects acquired by Edward and Henrietta at Powis by the end of the eighteenth century.

The provenance of the collection has been researched by Dr Kieran Hazzard. The Clive Collection at Powis is the subject of ongoing research, developing re-presentation and interpretation of this significant part of Powis’s history.

### **Tredegar House, Monmouthshire**

Tredegar House is a Restoration house, built around an earlier Tudor house during the 1660 and 1670s, and the home of the Morgan family. The Morgan family owned shares in the Royal African Company, the mercantile company set up by City of London merchants in 1660, to trade along the west coast of Africa, led by James, Duke of York (1633–1701), the brother of Charles II. Between 1674 and 1685, the Morgans commissioned a ship, the *Tredegar* of Newport, which traded with Barbados in 1676 and returned to Bristol with cargoes of sugar for Bristol merchants. It is precisely at this period that Tredegar House was completed, very probably supported by lucrative trade with the West Indies, although further research is needed.

The Morgans were colonial administrators in the West Indies. Family members included their cousin, Henry Morgan (c.1635–88), the privateer, who became lieutenant-governor of Jamaica in 1674. Sir Charles Morgan, 2nd Baronet (1760–1846), presented his constituents’ petitions for the abolition of West Indian slavery on 10 February 1826.

## Appendix: Next Steps

The National Trust is committed to continuing research into, and communication of, the histories of slavery, colonialism and black presence at our places. This report is an interim reflection of current research, and we will publish an updated edition of the report in Winter 2020, with updated versions incorporating new research and information following at six-month intervals thereafter. The National Trust is committed to working with, and giving a voice to, source communities and experts who have lived, and/or have professional experience of, the legacies of slavery and colonialism in contemporary society, and with family historians, academic and other partners who can help us develop our knowledge of these histories. As of September 2020, the National Trust is in the process of setting up an independent external advisory group of heritage and academic experts, many with lived experience, chaired by the heritage and museums consultant Rita Maclean, a former Director of Birmingham Museums (2004–12). The advisory group will report back to the National Trust on the following:

- How can the National Trust continue to explore and share the histories of slavery and colonialism in its properties and collections, and engage people in these histories?
- What are key actions, challenges and opportunities for the National Trust as an organisation in exploring the legacies of colonialism?

This expert advice and guidance will shape the future work of the National Trust and ensure that the ways in which we research and communicate the histories and stories we share is fair, relevant, accurate and approached in a sensitive and thoughtful way.

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## ONLINE/DIGITAL RESOURCES

- The Abolition Project* website: <http://abolition.e2bn.org/index.php>
- Britannica* website: <https://www.britannica.com>
- Churchill Archive website: <http://www.churchillarchive.com/>
- Historic England website: <https://historicengland.org.uk>
- History of Parliament* website: <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org>
- History Today* website: <https://www.historytoday.com>
- National Trust website: <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk>
- National Trust website, 'Addressing the histories of slavery and colonialism at the National Trust': <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/addressing-the-histories-of-slavery-and-colonialism-at-the-national-trust>
- National Trust Collections website: <http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk>
- Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)* online: <https://www.oxforddnb.com>
- UCL *Legacies of British Slave Ownership* website: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/>
- UK Parliament website: <https://www.parliament.uk>

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