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THE TRANSATLANTIC SLAVE ECONOMY AND ENGLAND'S BUILT ENVIRONMENT: A RESEARCH AUDIT

Dr Mary Wills with Dr Madge Dresser

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AND ENGLAND'S BUILT ENVIRONMENT:
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Dr Mary Wills

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Commissioned by Historic England

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SUMMARY

This research audit was conducted during the nationwide closure of public buildings due to the Covid-19 pandemic. It was therefore solely a desk-based project and consultation with published works unavailable online was not possible. It was also difficult to make contact with a number of heritage groups during this period.

CONTRIBUTORS

Dr Mary Wills with Dr Madge Dresser. Commissioned by Historic England

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DATE OF RESEARCH

This research audit was conducted between April and July 2020.

FRONT COVER

Statue of Neptune currently in the gardens of Kingswood Heritage Museum, South Gloucestershire. It was created for William Champion for his gardens at Warmley House. Champion founded the brassworks at Warmley in 1746, which produced copper and brass wares used in the transatlantic slavery economy, specifically for exchange with enslaved Africans on the West African coast. The statue is decorated with copper slag from the brassworks.

IOE01_01546_09 © Mr John A Long. Source: Historic England Archive

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METHODS AND SCOPE

The history of transatlantic slavery is indivisible from the history of England. Recent events associated with the Black Lives Matter movement (June 2020) serve as a potent reminder of how this history of exploiting human life for profit permeates many aspects of English history. There has been much work done over recent decades to understand England's wide-ranging and complex role in transatlantic slavery. This research audit examines how this history finds expression in England's built environment. The challenge for historians, heritage bodies, and local and community researchers has been to identify and recontextualise remnants of England's slavery past found in its buildings, houses, streets, industrial heritage, urban fabrics and rural landscapes. Much remains to be uncovered.

This audit has collected evidence of existing research relating to a broad range of 'slavery connections' with the built environment. The report is divided regionally, and within each region addresses all or some of the following themes:

- The built environment of English cities, towns and villages in relation to Atlantic slavery, and particularly the development of certain English industries and investment in wider urban development
- The country houses and other residences of families and individuals built or renovated as a result of connections to Atlantic slavery, and the impact of this wealth on the surrounding landscapes
- The historic Black presence in England at the time of Atlantic slavery as revealed in the built environment
- The history of abolitionism as evidenced in the built environment
- The public history of these 'slavery connections' as seen in museums, exhibitions, memorials, and creative responses to this history

Put simply, the report considers how the money was made; how the money was spent; and other consequences on the built environment.

This is a summary report of a desk-based review of existing research into connections between the transatlantic slavery economy and England's built environment. It also identifies gaps and recommends areas for future work in this area. Interspersed throughout this report are references to published literature, to the responses of heritage groups, organisations, and artists. These research outputs are listed fully and categorised, with many others, in the accompanying bibliographical Excel database. The time allotted did not allow for new research into slaving wealth and how it was spent in England.

As will be seen, identifying connections with the transatlantic slave economy is not a simple task. Such associations do not only concern individuals owning or trading in enslaved people and subsequently investing funds in the built environment. There were a variety of complex networks of involvement at play, all of which may have had an impact on how wealth derived from transatlantic slavery was spent. This report will provide a broad overview of these connections, as identified by a range of research.

By its nature much of the evidence relating to the Atlantic slave economy is fragmentary and research into connections with England's built environment requires a multi-disciplinary approach as a way of connecting different spaces associated with this history. Piecing together the connections between England's colonial past and its industrial history, its public buildings or grand houses is a relatively new field of historical enquiry. For example, taking on the tangled web of familial connections that make up the history of English landed estates is one challenge to discovering how deeply England's relationship with slavery is interwoven with this history.

It is beyond the reach of this audit to summarise the many works of scholarship detailing the history of English families and their estates, but the significance of these works to current and future research must be emphasised. Empirical research carried out by historians of landed estates or Georgian architecture and landscapes offer opportunities for cross-referencing: notes of an estate, family or individual can in turn indicate a more complex story of slavery and empire.¹ Some of these connections have been highlighted by this report, but there is much more to be unearthed.

This report flags a wide range of connections that have been made by researchers in this field in the last thirty years, from 1990 onwards. The extent of this research ranges from comprehensive academic studies, to local connections that require further investigation.

It covers the work of academic historians; doctoral students; heritage professionals in archives, museums, libraries and galleries; local history societies, amateur historians and community activists; family historians and genealogists. It includes broad and

1 See, for example, Nikolaus Pevsner's *The Buildings of England Series*. On country houses, see Dana Arnold, *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape, and Society* (Stroud: Sutton, 1998); Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley, *Creating Paradise: The Building of the English Country House, 1660-1880* (London: Hambledon and London, 2001), amongst many others. See the 'Country House Bibliography' collated by the *East India Company at Home, 1757-1857* project, at <https://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/resources/>

[All web resources referenced in this report were last accessed on 20 July 2020]

interconnecting themes of the history of slavery and abolition; maritime history; industrial heritage and regional economies; local history; family history; house and garden history; and the history of the African diaspora.²

The audit includes public history projects relating to this history, of which there were a proliferation in 2007 to mark the bicentenary of the 1807 Abolition of the Slave Trade Act, sparking public debate on the histories and legacies of transatlantic slavery. The availability of finance for projects and exhibitions through the Heritage Lottery Fund and other funding bodies and governmental backing meant that a huge number of institutions, heritage organisations, schools, youth groups and community groups could host exhibitions which connected their locales to the history of transatlantic slavery and its abolition. Over 300 commemorative projects relating to the bicentenary have been archived in the *Remembering 1807* (R1807) database produced by researchers at the Wilberforce Institute, University of Hull, launched in 2017.³

Databases relating to the historical archive of Britain's investments in slavery have provided much stimulus for researching this history. The *Slave Voyages* databases allow searches on nearly 36,000 slave voyages that occurred between 1514 and 1866, including those sailing from English ports.⁴ The *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* (LBS) project, based at University College London, used as its starting point the Slave Compensation Committee records, providing data about the individuals and businesses who claimed for compensation for loss of their enslaved workers when slavery was abolished in the British Caribbean on 1 August 1834. The second phase of the project traced ownership of Caribbean estates back to 1763.⁵ These individuals invested the profits from the business of slavery in a variety

2 Two popular histories revealing the importance of genealogy and family history in researching connections to this history are Andrea Stuart, *Sugar in the Blood: A Family's Story of Slavery and Empire* (London: Portobello, 2012) and Richard Atkinson, *Mr Atkinson's Rum Contract: The Story of a Tangled Inheritance* (4th Estate, London, 2020)

3 *Remembering 1807* is a digital archive of the *Antislavery Usable Past* project (a collaboration between the universities of Hull and Nottingham, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC)): <http://antislavery.ac.uk/remembering1807>. *Remembering 1807* contains data on nearly 350 events and exhibitions that took place around the UK to mark the bicentenary in 2007. Materials produced by each project have been collected and, where possible, are freely available to view and download with the permission of the authors.

4 The databases are the culmination of several decades of independent and collaborative research by scholars drawing on data and archives around the Atlantic world. The entries provide information about vessels, routes, and the people associated with them, both enslaved and enslavers: <https://www.slavevoyages.org/>

5 *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* (2009-2012) was funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC); *Structure and significance of Caribbean slave-ownership 1763-1833* (2013-2015) was funded by the ESRC and AHRC (<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/>). In 2015 the project provided the basis for the BAFTA winning BBC TV series *Britain's Forgotten Slave Owners*, presented by historian David Olusoga.

of different ways, including ‘physical legacies’ in the built environment. The LBS database has provided the starting point for much subsequent research, as evidenced in this report.⁶

This audit is not intended to be an exhaustive bibliography of the history of England’s role in transatlantic slavery. Relatively few publications are specifically about the connections between Atlantic slavery and the built environment, but there are many books and articles which refer to these connections as part of wider studies, particularly those which are about the major ports of London, Bristol or Liverpool, or studies about merchants, traders and plantation owners in the Atlantic economy. The audit also includes ongoing PhD research.⁷

The audit includes much research that has been published online, though it should be noted that current events surrounding this history are moving so quickly that not all new material has been included. It includes archived online resources which may no longer be maintained.⁸

By and large, this report refers only to England’s surviving built heritage. Built environment that no longer exists – particularly demolished houses and estates – has its own interesting story to tell, but it was beyond the scope of this project to include such history, unless traces of buildings, landscapes or parklands still survive. Further research studies to analyse the importance of archaeological sites and demolished buildings in understanding the reach and depth of transatlantic slavery’s legacy on the shaping of the British landscape would be welcomed.⁹

Regarding residences, this report refers only to known constructions or renovations of estates and houses rather than acquisitions, reflecting how slavery-related wealth **impacted** the built environment. Research about how such wealth was also invested in the local built environment – in churches, schools, village halls etc – has been noted.

6 Catherine Hall, Nicholas Draper, Keith McClelland, Katie Donington and Rachel Lang, *Legacies of British slave-ownership: Colonial slavery and the formation of Victorian Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016). A related book is Catherine Hall, Nicholas Draper and Keith McClelland (eds), *Emancipation and the remaking of the British Imperial world* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014).

7 For example, Sophie Campbell is a doctoral student studying ‘Before and Beyond Abolition: Remembering the “business of slavery” at heritage sites in England and New England’ at Nottingham University.

8 For example, from 2011, *Understanding Slavery* (www.understandingslavery.com), a national education project funded by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport and the Department for Education and Skills, and developed by the National Maritime Museum, National Museums Liverpool, the British Empire and Commonwealth Museum (Bristol), Bristol City’s Museums, Galleries and Archives, and Hull Museums and Art Gallery. *Port Cities*, www.portcities.org, detailed the maritime histories of UK port cities: Bristol, Hartlepool, Liverpool, London and Southampton.

9 Giles Worsley, *England’s Lost Houses* (London, Aurum, 2002). See also the online resource *Lost Heritage: A Memorial to England’s Lost Country Houses*, at <http://lostheritage.org.uk/>

This report lists known linkages between a house or building and an individual or business with slavery associations. In the vast majority of cases, it is impossible to say whether slavery-related wealth was solely used to build, extend or renovate, as there may have been many sources of wealth at play. However, while it is difficult to identify explicit connections without further archival research, such linkages are important to flag to build a nationwide picture of known associations, and to highlight areas for future research.

(EH) denotes a property in the care of English Heritage; (NT) denotes a property in the care of the National Trust.

Regarding memorialisation, due to the numbers involved this report does not comprehensively list tombs, monuments and memorials of individuals and families made wealthy from associations with the Atlantic slave economy in English parish churches, cathedrals and chapels.¹⁰

Regarding industrial heritage, sometimes an association with the built environment is noted rather than a tangible connection to a building or surviving site. Industry is by its nature constantly evolving; sites are demolished or buildings change in purpose. However, in these sections we believe that highlighting the associations with towns, villages or ports provides opportunities for further research into the connections between England's industrial heritage and the Atlantic slave economy during this period.

Regarding the presence of people of African descent in England at the time of transatlantic slavery, this report does not offer an exhaustive list of evidence identified about the English Black population at this time. It does list research about specific connections between the Black presence and the built environment and will direct the reader to publications and projects around England which have explored these histories in greater depth.

A note on capitalisation: in line with current usage adopted by current style manuals and various groups addressing issues of diversity and equity, we have adopted the practice of capitalising the terms 'Black' and 'Asian' but not the term 'white'. This is because we wish to acknowledge that 'Black' and 'Asian' though they span a multiplicity of ethnic identities are categories which have been specifically shaped by the legacy of Atlantic slavery and empire.

The impact of Atlantic slavery on English society stretches from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. When listing the research sources, this summary has prioritised regional connections, meaning that there are chronological

10 The *Maritime Memorials* database lists several memorials to slave traders and slave trade sailors under the category 'Slavery' (<https://memorials.rmg.co.uk/>). There has been much research conducted on memorials at a local level that can be mined for information regarding individuals with associations with transatlantic slavery: see, for example, this list of transcriptions of internal memorials at St Swithin's Church in Walcot, Bath compiled by P. J. Bendall in 2014, at https://www.batharchives.co.uk/sites/bath_record_office/files/STS%20Internal%20Monuments.pdf

inconsistencies within geographical sections. Within counties, residences are listed in alphabetical order, which again has led to chronological leaps within sections. Listing of research also uses current English county borders (including modern-day London boroughs), which may differ to historical boundaries.

A systematic survey of all England's built environment and its connections to the transatlantic slave economy is beyond the brief of this audit. The research collated is of varying levels of detail and some connections are more concrete than others. We hope, however, that the linkages noted here provide a broad overview of the current research landscape regarding this history, and flag some of the opportunities for further research offered by the LBS project, archival collections and other heritage initiatives.

INTRODUCTION

England's role in the transatlantic slavery economy was part of a highly lucrative network of global commerce existing between Britain, West Africa, Virginia and other slave-holding British colonies in North America, and British territories in the Caribbean. It was a key component of Britain's transformation into a world power in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹¹ At its core was the exploitation of enslaved people of African descent to maximise profits from the plantation economies, resulting in material benefit for British colonial and metropolitan societies. English merchants were involved in the early Spanish and Portuguese slave economies initiated in the 1400s which were themselves linked to the trade in Mediterranean goods.¹² These Mediterranean trade networks encouraged early British forays into the Atlantic slave economy in the later sixteenth century by Elizabethan buccaneers or privateers such as John Hawkins and Francis Drake. Many Englishmen began to settle in the Americas as traders, planters, farmers, soldiers and sailors. Merchant houses emerged in English ports. The first colonies of the British Empire were founded in Virginia (1607) and Barbados (1625), where the construction of the English plantation system began. Jamaica was secured in 1655 from Spain and became a powerhouse of the British Atlantic slave economy.¹³

Cheap labour was central to the economic prosperity of the plantations. The British government encouraged transatlantic slavery on a large scale through the provision of royal charters to trading companies. The largest was the Royal African Company (RAC), set up by the Stuart family (on the throne from 1660) and London merchants, successor to an earlier monopoly, the Company of Royal Adventurers Trading to Africa. The RAC was granted a chartered monopoly over the English slave trade by Charles II in 1672 and established trading posts on the West African coast, with the assistance of the army and navy. Until 1698 London enjoyed a monopoly over the trade by royal charter, the profits making a major contribution to the increase in the financial power of London merchants.¹⁴ Between 1672 and 1740 the RAC operated a monopoly over the transatlantic slave trade and shipped more African slaves (around 150,000) than any other single organisation in the history of the trade. Founded in 1711, the South Sea Company was a British company that

11 The corpus of scholarship on the transatlantic slave economy is huge. An excellent introduction is David Eltis and David Richardson, *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (London: Yale University Press, 2010). Similarly, there are many excellent scholarly works on Britain's rise to global dominance, most recently, Trevor Burnard, *Britain in the Wider World 1603-1800* (Routledge, 2020).

12 Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The History of the Atlantic Slave Trade 1440-1870* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997); Heather Dalton, *Merchants and Explorers: Roger Barlow, Sebastian Cabot, and Networks of Atlantic Exchange 1500-1560* (Oxford University Press, 2016)

13 Douglas Bradburn and John C. Coombs (eds), *Early Modern Virginia: Reconsidering the Old Dominion* (University of Virginia Press, 2011); Larry Gragg, *Barbados – Englishmen transplanted: The English colonization of Barbados, 1627-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Russell R. Menard, *Sweet Negotiations: Sugar, Slavery and Plantation Agriculture in Early Barbados* (Charlottesville, VA: London, 2006).

14 William Pettigrew, *Freedom's Debt: The Royal African Company and the Politics of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1672-1752* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2013)

traded in South America. It is best known for creating new investment schemes that led to the disastrous financial crash, the South Sea Bubble, in 1720, but the business of the South Sea Company was slave trading. The Spanish crown controlled the right (or Asiento) to import slaves into their colonies in the Caribbean and South America. The English acquired this right in 1713 as part of the treaty ending the War of the Spanish Succession.

Such heavy investment meant that by the eighteenth century, British slave ships and merchants dominated the Atlantic slave economy, a global business involving a number of nations.¹⁵ British capital facilitated its expansion to a vast, industrial scale. London was the leading slaving port until the early/mid-eighteenth century when Bristol was briefly dominant, followed by Liverpool. The ports of Lancaster and Whitehaven were also involved, as were other smaller ports.¹⁶ While beyond the scope of this audit, it must be remembered that the Atlantic slave economy was a component part of a complex global economy with streams of wealth created from trade in different parts of the British Empire. The East India Company (established in 1600) was a chartered monopoly controlling trade with India, East and Southeast Asia, and was enormously influential.¹⁷ As shall be seen, some of the goods traded in the transatlantic slave economy came from India. Many individuals and businesses had investments in both the East and West Indies, as they were then known.¹⁸

While an oversimplification of the complexities of British global trade at this time, the ‘triangular trade’ model helps to explain a system designed to maximise profits in one slave-trading voyage. Slave ships departed English ports for trading posts on the West African coast taking a variety of goods (see below) to be exchanged for enslaved African people sold by African and European traders. Those held captive had invariably been kidnapped in the African interior or were prisoners of war. They endured a gruelling, often deadly, ‘Middle Passage’ across the Atlantic Ocean to the Americas, where they were purchased from ship captains by slave factors at an arranged price and resold at a profit to plantation owners in the Caribbean islands and North American colonies such as Virginia and South Carolina.

15 ‘Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade – Estimates’ on the *Slave Voyages* site provides the numbers involved: <https://www.slavevoyages.org/assessment/estimates>. See also the UNESCO Slave Route Project, at <https://en.unesco.org/themes/fostering-rights-inclusion/slave-route>

16 Nigel Tattersfield, *The Forgotten Trade: Comprising the Log of the Daniel and Henry of 1700 and Accounts of the Slave Trade from the Minor Ports of England, 1698-1725* (London: Random House, 1991)

17 William Dalrymple, *The Anarchy: The Relentless Rise of the East India Company* (Bloomsbury, 2019)

18 Chris Jeppesen, ‘East Meets West: Exploring the Connections Between the East India Company and the Caribbean’ (2013), LBS blog at <https://lbsatucl.wordpress.com/2013/05/31/east-meets-west-exploring-the-connections-between-the-east-india-company-and-the-caribbean/>; Sherllyne Haggerty and Susanne Seymour, ‘Imperial careering and enslavement in the long eighteenth century: the Bentinck family, 1710-1830s’, *Slavery & Abolition*, 39:4 (2018), pp. 642-662, offers a case study of ‘imperial careering’, tracing links with slavery and empire across the wider imperial project.

The plantation system combined agricultural labour with industrial production on a large scale. Enslaved labour produced tropical goods such as sugar, coffee, cocoa, cotton, indigo and other dyes, mahogany, Virginia walnut and other hardwoods, which were shipped back to Britain for processing, sale or re-shipping to other parts of the world. A consumer-driven social revolution increased demand (and supply) of colonial goods in English society, no longer regarded as luxury items. Tobacco was grown in the plantations of Virginia from the early 1600s and became a popular addiction in Britain.¹⁹ As noted in this report, the manufacture of tobacco and snuff (made from ground tobacco leaves) took place across England. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, sugar became an integral part of the British diet, sweetening beverages (tea, coffee, drinking chocolate) and foodstuffs. Rum was also a product of the sugar industry.²⁰ Enormous wealth was accumulated from the sale of these products for further investment.

The numbers of people enslaved in the transatlantic slave economy are extraordinary. Between 1501 and 1866, over 12 million Africans are estimated to have been exported to the Americas, around 2 million of whom did not survive the Atlantic crossing. British ships carried an estimated 3.25 million enslaved Africans between 1550 and 1807.²¹ Those enslaved on plantations in British colonies were either African people forcibly transported across the Atlantic, or their descendants born in captivity. Though their conditions of ‘work’ have varied from place to place and over time, they were at their very essence appalling. As enslaved people were categorised as property they could be abused at will by their putative owners. The few checks or records kept about the conditions of enslaved people came toward the end of the period and any legislative constraints on slave owners were rarely enforced.²²

From the 1760s, Britain’s role in the transatlantic slave trade was increasingly challenged. Its morality was questioned by more secular-minded radicals informed by Enlightenment ideas and increasingly by the evangelical movement which influenced Old Dissenting groups such as the Quakers and Baptists as well as some Anglicans. Abolitionists, Black and white, male and female, led a social and political movement of petitioning, pamphleteering and pressure to end British involvement. In 1787 the Committee for Effecting the Abolition of the African Slave Trade was established, which would grow into one of Britain’s largest ever mass political

19 Brent Tarter, *Virginians and Their Histories* (University of Virginia Press, 2020), especially Chapter 5, ‘Tobacco and Slavery’.

20 James Walvin, *Sugar: The World Corrupted from Slavery to Obesity* (Robinson, 2017)

21 The timelapse video on *Slave Voyages* captures the size and complexity of the slave trade from 1515 to 1866 in a single video, see <https://slavevoyages.org/voyage/database#timelapse>

22 Trevor Burnard, *Jamaica in the Age of Revolution* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020); Trevor Burnard, *Planters, Merchants, and Slaves: Plantation Societies in British America, 1650-1820* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015). See the *Early Caribbean Digital Archive* at Northeastern University, an open access collection of pre-twentieth-century Caribbean texts, maps and images which ‘tell the story of European imperial domination, and of the enslaved African and Indigenous American people whose lives, labour and land shaped the culture and development of the Atlantic world’ (<https://ecda.northeastern.edu/>).

movements and parliamentary lobbying campaigns. The international landscape was transformed by a series of revolutions, in North America (1775-1783), France (1789) and the French colony of St Domingue, where a self-liberated slave revolt led to the establishment of the sovereign state of Haiti in 1804.²³ British participation in the transatlantic slave trade was formally abolished by an Act of Parliament in 1807, and the Royal Navy was dispatched to suppress transatlantic slave traffic, although enforcement was patchy and the Atlantic trade continued to flourish under the flags of other nations. A renewed wave of abolitionist pressure led to the abolition of slavery in Britain's Caribbean colonies by an Act of Parliament in 1833, but it took until 1838 for subsequent binding systems of apprenticeship on the formerly enslaved to end.

As over three-quarters of a million slaves were freed in the British colonies, the plantation owners received £20 million in compensation for their loss of 'property'. Many of those who received compensation had never been to the colonies. The compensation records also reveal that some benefitted from slave ownership via indirect networks of mortgages, annuities and other financial arrangements.²⁴ The wealth generated by the produce of British-owned slave plantations in the Americas and by other parts of the Atlantic slave economy remained considerable well into the nineteenth century. Even after the end of Britain's own slave empire, its cotton industry continued to depend on slave-grown cotton from the southern states of the United States until slavery was abolished there in 1865 after the end of the American Civil War (1861-65).²⁵

The transatlantic slavery economy and England's industrial heritage

This history has wide-ranging implications for how we understand and interpret the past today. While as a thesis, the historian Eric Williams's *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944) generated much debate, his work fundamentally altered perceptions of the historical relationship between industrialising Britain, slavery and the Atlantic economy. Williams argued that the transatlantic slave trade and commerce in commodities produced by enslaved people generated vast fortunes while also contributing to the expansion of manufacturing in Britain, citing shipping and shipbuilding, wool and cotton manufactures, banking and insurance as some of the areas affected.²⁶ The processing and distribution of produce such as tobacco,

23 Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006)

24 Nick Draper, '“Possessing Slaves”: Ownership, Compensation and Metropolitan Society in Britain at the time of Emancipation 1834-40', *History Workshop Journal*, 64 (2007), pp. 74-102, at <https://doi.org/10.1093/hwj/dbm030>

25 Marika Sherwood, *After Abolition: Britain and the Slave Trade Since 1807* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007)

26 Joseph E. Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) also argues that the Atlantic slave economy was the principal determinant of economic change and of the development of the commercial and financial infrastructure of eighteenth-century Britain. See also Robin Blackburn, 'Enslavement and Industrialisation' (2011), at http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/abolition/industrialisation_article_01.shtml

sugar and cotton produced on plantations resulted in huge investment in English quaysides, warehouses, factories, trading houses and banks. The ports of London, Bristol and Liverpool grew as the slave colonies became more important, but other ports and towns too reaped the benefits of this lucrative trade. Many national, regional and local industries across England were implicated in Atlantic slavery, as it generated business and capital for investment and contributed to local employment.²⁷

English industries which benefitted from the Atlantic slave economy can very broadly be divided into:

- **Goods produced which were used directly in the transatlantic slave trade:** shipbuilders, joiners and master craftsmen, sailmakers, ropemakers and metal-workers making chains, manacles and other restraints used on slave ships etc. This also included those employed to service the Royal Navy, as naval ships were deputed to ensure the safety of the merchant navy, including slave ships and exports to slave regimes.
- **Goods produced and exported to trade on the West African coast for enslaved people:** cloth producers, alcohol producers, gun-makers, producers of copper pans and other metal goods or manillas used to barter for enslaved people etc. Trading also included Indian cotton and other goods imported by the East India Company.
- **Goods produced and exported which sustained plantations and the enslaved in the colonies:** food producers (beef, for example, or salted fish), producers of cheap and durable caps and clothing, makers of industrial equipment, tools and apparatus such as copper 'stills' for distilling sugar etc.
- **Goods produced and exported to supply plantation owners, their homes and their families in the colonies:** candle-makers, booksellers, watchmakers, haberdashers, milliners, furniture makers, wine merchants etc.²⁸
- **Processing imported goods produced from enslaved labour:** snuff manufacturers, sugar refiners, cotton spinners and weavers, furniture-makers etc.²⁹

27 Madge Dresser, *Slavery Obscured: The Social History of the Slave Trade in an English Provincial Port* (London and New York, 2001), available at <http://www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/History/bristolrecordsociety/publications/dresserslavery.pdf>; Jane Longmore, "'Cemented by the Blood of a Negro?": The Impact of the Slave Trade on Eighteenth-Century Liverpool' in David Richardson, Anthony Tibbles and Suzanne Schwarz (eds), *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007), pp. 227-251

28 Christer Petley, 'Plantations and Homes: The Material Culture of the Early Nineteenth-Century Jamaican Elite', *Slavery & Abolition*, 35:3 (2014), pp. 437-457

29 Bryan Mawer's *Sugar Refiners and Sugarbakers* database is a comprehensive list of individuals and buildings involved in sugar processing across England: <http://www.mawer.clara.net/>

- **Merchandising imported goods produced from enslaved labour:** merchants, coopers furnishing the casks for the transportation of sugar and rum etc.

Some industries manufactured goods which feature in several of these categories. The metal industries, for example, produced chains, padlocks, fetters, copper to sheath the slave ships, firearms and goods to exchange for captive Africans, alongside many of the tools used on slave plantations.³⁰ Garments made with English wool became important trade items in the slave economies, as items to export to Africa, but also as direct exports to the plantations in the Americas as cheap durable woollens to clothe enslaved workers.³¹

There were also investors around the country who used money invested in the Atlantic slave economy to consolidate their industries or diversify into others. The complexities of these economic and business networks require much untangling. Merchants from Birmingham and Bath, for example, invested in slaving voyages out of Bristol. Manufacturing towns, such as Birmingham and Manchester, sold products as trade goods to the slavers in the port cities. Cloth manufacturers in Lancashire and Yorkshire invested capital in voyages of slave-produced cotton arriving in Liverpool.³² Many Liverpool slave traders diversified their economic interests to take advantage of industries springing up around southern Lancashire, including salt manufacture, banking, shipbuilding, rope-making and coal mining.³³ As Britain became an economic powerhouse, many businessmen used the proceeds of slavery to invest in industrial development. As wealthy local elites, slave-owners undoubtedly played a role as investors and managers in the developing transportation infrastructure, including railways in the nineteenth century, an area which requires further study.³⁴

This is not to say that English industrial development was built simply on the proceeds of slavery: the relationship between industrialisation and slavery is complex and much debated. But what is clear is that the wealth generated from the Atlantic slave economy found its way into a myriad of industrial and economic connections.

30 See, for example, Chris Evans, 'The plantation hoe: the rise and fall of an Atlantic commodity', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 69: 1 (2012), pp. 71-100

31 See Chris Evans, 'Telling the Story of Negro Cloth and Welsh Plains', at *From Sheep to Sugar: Welsh Wool and Slavery*: <http://www.welshplains.cymru/index.asp?pageid=695827>. In the eighteenth century Welsh cloth makers produced a coarse woollen fabric from which clothes for enslaved workers were made. For wider discussions about the links between Wales and the transatlantic slavery economy, see Chris Evans, *Slave Wales: The Welsh and Atlantic Slavery, 1660-1850* (University of Wales Press, 2010).

32 Christine Verguson, 'Profiting from slavery...' (2007), at http://www.bbc.co.uk/bradford/content/articles/2007/02/15/west_yorkshire_slave_trade_feature.shtml

33 Laurence Westgaph, *Read the Signs* (Historic Environment of Liverpool, 2007), available at <https://historicengland.org.uk/research/inclusive-heritage/the-slave-trade-and-abolition/read-the-signs/>

34 Nick Draper, 'Slavery and Britain's infrastructure' (2019), LBS blog available at <https://lbsatucl.wordpress.com/2019/05/13/slavery-and-britains-infrastructure/>

This is evident in England's industrial heritage from as far back as the 1500s, through the enormous expansion of English trade and business in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, simultaneously local in nature but drawing from global trade in colonial produce. It is evident in the terrific economic growth of the nineteenth century, when Victorian cities and merchant entrepreneurs of Britain's Industrial Revolution grew rich, often from lucrative trading relationships which continued to rely on slave regimes in North and South America. England's industrial heritage is, therefore, intertwined with slavery associations.

The transatlantic slavery economy and England's residences and local development

The last three decades have seen the emergence of scholarship and public history projects which have identified relationships between English properties and the Atlantic slave economy, where wealth generated from the business of slavery underpinned the acquisition, construction and renovations of grand residences in urban spaces or in the English countryside. Many families of landed wealth were also involved in colonial activity. Between 1700 and 1930 it is estimated that over 1000 landed estates in Britain were bought by men who made money in the empire.³⁵ The English Country House is a hugely popular area of historical study, incorporating architectural history, art history, political and social history.³⁶ However, these emblems of England's heritage should also be viewed as expressions of power and privilege, as set out by Alastair Hennessey's article on Penrhyn Castle in Wales in *History Today*, and James Walvin and Simon D. Smith's research on Harewood House in West Yorkshire, which explicitly addressed the question of slavery wealth.³⁷ Christopher Christie's *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century* (2000) also made the link between stately homes and the fortunes that funded them.

The bicentenary of the 1807 Abolition Act in 2007 encouraged national heritage bodies to investigate the history of properties and revisit the interpretation of their sites. In 2007 English Heritage commissioned a scoping report by Miranda Kaufmann into links with transatlantic slavery or its abolition among families who owned properties now in its care. Of the 33 properties surveyed, 26 were found to have a connection.³⁸ These findings and those of other scholars and heritage practitioners were presented at the 'Slavery and the British Country House'

35 Stephanie Barczewski, *Country Houses and the British Empire 1700-1930* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), p. 19

36 There is a MA in *The English Country House 1485-1945* at the University of Buckingham

37 <https://www.historytoday.com/archive/penrhyn-castle>; Simon D. Smith, *Slavery, Family and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles, 1648-1834* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); James Walvin, 'The Colonial Origins of English Wealth: The Harewoods of Yorkshire', *Journal of Caribbean History*, 39:1 (2005), pp.38-53

38 Miranda Kaufmann, *English Heritage Properties 1600-1830 and Slavery Connections* (2007). As a result, and as listed in this report, more detailed surveys of four sites were commissioned in 2008, namely: Bolsover Castle (Derbyshire), Brodsworth Hall (South Yorkshire), Marble Hill (Twickenham, London) and Northington Grange (Hampshire).

conference at the London School of Economics in 2009, co-organised by English Heritage, the National Trust and the University of the West of England. The conference papers looked at how country houses might be reconsidered in the light of their links to slavery. The papers were reworked and published in *Slavery and the British Country House*, edited by Madge Dresser and Andrew Hann, in 2013.

Recent additions to the field include Stephanie Barczewski, *Country Houses and the British Empire 1700-1930* (2014), which includes an appendix of landed estates purchased by West Indian planters between 1700 and 1930, 132 of which are English estates. *The Country House: Material Culture and Consumption* (2015) edited by Andrew Hann and Jon Stobart, and a volume on *The Country House: Past, Present, and Future* (Rizzoli, 2018) edited by Jeremy Musson and David Cannadine, make numerous connections to slavery and empire.³⁹ Research has revealed that the wealth derived from the trade in and labour of enslaved Africans affected the building, renovation and occupation of a significant number of Britain's stately homes between the 1660s and 1820s.⁴⁰ Furthermore, the money made in transatlantic slavery was also often spent in the local area, as philanthropic donations to build new churches, village halls or schools, or to improve local infrastructure.

The significance of the Atlantic slave economy in financing the buildings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been made more visible by the LBS project, which provides a national overview of the proportion of slave owners who owned country houses in Britain at the time of compensation payments in 1834, estimated at between 5 and 10% (some regions – notably south-west England – appear to exceed this average).⁴¹ The project has revealed that the financial benefits channelled to country houses (and local environments) through the substantial influx of capital provided by compensation varied widely. While the LBS database unearths many connections in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, earlier links dating from the 1600s onwards are harder to identify.

The *East India Company at Home, 1757-1857* project at the University of Warwick and University College London (2012-14) looked at the British country house in an imperial and global context, and in particular the access to Asian luxury goods that transformed British families' material sensibilities and homes. The country house is regarded as an active historical agent, a bastion for British power and

39 See also Jessica Moody and Stephen Small, 'Slavery and Public History at the Big House: Remembering and forgetting at American plantation museums and British country houses', *Journal of Global Slavery* 4:1 (2019) pp. 34-68

40 The National Trust is currently compiling a report on links between its places and slavery and colonialism. Elisabeth Grass of St Peter's College, Oxford, is currently carrying out doctoral research, in collaboration with the National Trust, into links between West Indian slaveholders and a number of English and Welsh country estates, including Trengwainton (Cornwall), Hinton Ampner (Hampshire), Hartwell (Buckinghamshire), Wallington (Northumberland), Shughborough (Staffordshire) and Kingston Lacy (Dorset).

41 Nicholas Draper, 'Slave ownership and the British country house: the records of the Slave Compensation Commission as evidence' in Madge Dresser and Andrew Hann (eds), *Slavery and the British Country House* (English Heritage, 2013), pp. 1-11

identity, and entangled with slavery.⁴² This global perspective across the British empire is also taken up by the *Colonial Countryside* project, a youth-led history and writing initiative about National Trust houses' Caribbean and East India Company connections.⁴³ New creative commissions seek to reinterpret the colonial links of ten National Trust properties: Attingham Park (near Shrewsbury); Basildon Park (near Reading); Buckland Abbey (Devonshire); Calke Abbey, (Derbyshire); Charlecote Park (Warwickshire); Osterley Park (West London); Sudbury Hall, (Derbyshire); Wightwick Manor (near Wolverhampton); Penrhyn Castle (Wales); Dyrham Park (near Bristol).

Research to date points to a complex interplay of criteria by which to assess the connections between an individual's wealth derived from the transatlantic slave economy and England's residences and other built heritage.⁴⁴

These include:

- Plantation owners, with a reliance on enslaved labour to produce tropical commodities, including absentee owners and those retiring 'home' to England from the Caribbean
- Slave traders
- Ship owners, ship builders, ship fitters and warehouse owners who were involved in the transportation of enslaved people and the movement and housing of the commodities
- Investors in slave voyages
- Manufacturers of goods and items to support slavery and the slave trade, or of finished goods which relied on raw materials produced by the enslaved
- Bankers or financiers associated with slaving money
- Insurance brokers insuring ships carrying enslaved Africans and the goods they produced
- Merchants trading in colonial produce. Some merchants' businesses were to offer planters loans or mortgages. If a planter could not repay his debt, the merchant could claim ownership of the plantation, the enslaved, or sometimes both

42 A research project based at the University of Warwick and University College London. Case studies are available at <https://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/case-studies-2/>

43 Led by Corinne Fowler at the University of Leicester: <https://colonialcountryside.wordpress.com/>; <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/colonial-countryside-project>

44 List adapted from Madge Dresser, *Slavery and West Country Houses* in Dresser and Hann, *Slavery*, pp. 29-42 at p. 29.

- Those who inherited wealth from the business of slavery or from marriage into a family made rich from slavery
- Those with colonial careers holding a colonial post, or government office in the administration of slave colonies and the regulation of the Atlantic trade

This list reveals that class is important. Both merchants and the members of Britain's landed elite were involved in the proliferation of country houses: the latter to consolidate their status, the former to gain entry into the elite. English merchants may have used their wealth to move out of the city to larger rural homes. Other merchants made their fortunes in the Caribbean then returned to England to 'retire'. Stephen Hague's *The Gentleman's House in the British Atlantic World, 1680-1780* (2015) addresses the eighteenth-century phenomenon of small country houses raised by merchants and manufacturers who had made money in the burgeoning imperial and manufacturing economy and wanted to spend it on an expression of their new status and success.⁴⁵ An edited volume by Mirelle Galinou has a number of articles written about London merchants with slavery connections who owned historic properties.⁴⁶

The interconnections of family and gender are also significant. Katie Donington's study of the Hibbert family reveals how eighteenth- and nineteenth-century family and friendship networks formed one of the cornerstones of the business of slavery.⁴⁷ Certain family names reappear throughout this report, revealing how formal and informal political and business associations were similarly influential.⁴⁸ There is also a growing field of scholarship regarding the relationship between gender and empire, and the role of women as active investors, settlers, and property owners in English overseas expansion.⁴⁹ This is particularly the case when the profits of slavery were transmitted through inheritance and marriage.⁵⁰

45 Stephen Hague, *The Gentleman's House in the British Atlantic World, 1680-1780* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015). See, for example, the discussion of merchant suburban villas in Woodford and Wanstead in the 'Redbridge and Slavery' project (2007) by Redbridge Museum at *Remembering 1807* (hereafter R1807), <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/865>

46 Mirelle Galinou (ed.), *City Merchants and the Arts 1670-1720* (Oblong Press, Corporation of London, 2004)

47 Katie Donington, *The Bonds of Family: Slavery, Culture and Commerce in the British Atlantic World* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019)

48 See, for example, John Charlton, *Hidden Chains: the Slavery Business and North-East England 1600-1865* (Newcastle: Tyne Bridge Publishing, 2008) regarding networks operating amongst the North-East elite.

49 Hannah Young, 'Negotiating Female Property and Slave-Ownership in the Aristocratic World', *The Historical Journal*, 63:3 (2019), pp. 581-602; Misha Ewen, 'Women Investors and the Virginia Company in the Early Seventeenth Century', *The Historical Journal*, 62:4 (2019), pp. 853-874; Emma Rothschild, *The Inner Life of Empires: An Eighteenth-Century History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011); Sarah Pearsall, *Atlantic Families: Lives and Letters in the Later Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

50 Miranda Kaufmann, *Heiresses: The Caribbean Marriage Trade* (forthcoming, Oneworld).

There is also a relationship between the aesthetics of the country house and slavery interests. Researchers are beginning to chart the ways in which slavery influenced the architectural styles, interior designs and landscaping that distinguished the Georgian stately home. As Simon Gikandi has argued, slavery shaped theories of taste, refinement and high culture.⁵¹ Furthermore, architectural styles in the Caribbean and the British Empire more widely reflect a cultural interaction with Britain.⁵² The professionals involved in the design, construction or renovation of properties were highly sought after by wealthy patrons. The careers of architects John Carr, Samuel and James Wyatt, Robert Adam, John Vanbrugh and others were measurably enhanced by the patronage of those whose riches derived at least in part from slavery. Transformations in architectural style were often funded by such profits.⁵³ For example, pineapples featuring as stone ornaments or on balustrades were modelled on pineapples cultivated on slave plantations, symbolizing wealth, luxury and exoticism.⁵⁴

The landscaping of great gardens was often sourced with money made from the transatlantic slavery economy, as one source of income that could greatly supplement inherited wealth. Landscape gardeners such as Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown were wealthy businessmen who could charge considerable amounts for their commissions.⁵⁵ Edwin Lascelles, for example, spent an equivalent of over £10 million on Brown’s work at Harewood House.⁵⁶ Another ‘Brownian’ garden at Dodington Hall also represents money made in part from slavery. Humphry Repton was famous for producing ‘Red Books’ for clients, bound volumes that contained recommendations for the landscape, plus ‘before and after’ watercolours. Repton undertook over 400 commissions during his thirty-year career, including several noted in this report with connections to slavery-wealth.⁵⁷ Many country house owners invested hugely in their gardens as statements of their status.⁵⁸ These owners

51 Simon Gikandi, *Slavery and the Culture of Taste* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011)

52 Louis P. Nelson, *Architecture and Empire in Jamaica* (Yale University Press, 2016); John M. MacKenzie, *The British Empire through buildings: Structure, function and meaning* (Manchester University Press, 2020).

53 Timothy Mowl has written extensively on historic architecture, landscape and gardens (see <http://timothymowl.co.uk/>). Victoria Perry, ‘Slavery, sugar and the sublime’, unpublished PhD thesis, University College London (2010) looks at the imperial links manifest in the architecture, interiors and landscapes commissioned by the eighteenth-century elite.

54 Barczewski, *Country Houses* includes a list of the architectural uses of pineapples in country houses (see Appendix 7).

55 It was the tricentenary of Brown’s designs in 2016. See *1716-2016: 300 years Capability Brown*, at <http://capabilitybrown.org/>

56 Roderick Floud, *An Economic History of the English Garden* (Penguin, 2019), p. 78.

57 Stephen Daniels, *Humphry Repton, Landscape Gardening and the Geography of Georgian England* (Yale University Press, 1999)

58 See, for example, Susanne Seymour and R. Calcovress, ‘Landscape parks and the memorialisation of empire: the Pierreponts’ “naval seascape” in Thoresby Park, Nottinghamshire during the French Wars 1793-1815’, *Rural History* 18:1 (2007), pp. 95-118

were frequently at the centre of international trade and were able to buy exotic plants, fruits and vegetables. ‘Kneeling slave’ sculptures became popular with the English elite, specifically associated with slavery and wealth.⁵⁹

The material culture of grand houses is also an important part of this story, offering intangible heritage for curators and researchers to unlock connections, as an indication of the family’s interests.⁶⁰ The fashionable Spanish mahogany that created staircases and furniture was representative of refinement and elite status. Tobacco pipes and snuff boxes were associated with smoking. Sugar nippers were used for extracting portions of sugar from sugar loaves. Sugar castors, sugar bowls, coffee pots and tea sets highlight the consumption of sweetened drinks. Punch bowls held rum, while syllabub glasses served a luxury pudding made with the colonial products of sugar and nutmeg.⁶¹ Dessert and breakfast services made by Josiah Wedgwood and others were regarded as highly fashionable and exemplifying wealth.⁶² Family portraits often depicted Black servants in the margins as a symbol of the family’s high status. Indeed, the African diaspora in England is one of the most obvious legacies of transatlantic slavery.

59 Patrick Eyres (ed.), *The Blackamoor and The Georgian Garden: A study of garden statuary in the contexts of commerce and empire, with particular reference to Hampton Court, Melbourne Hall and Wentworth Castle* (New Arcadian Journal, 69/70, 2011). A lead statue of a kneeling Black man holding a sundial was removed from Dunham Massey Hall in Cheshire in June 2020. See National Heritage List for England (hereafter NHLE) entry at, <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1356496>

60 For example, initiatives by the Bath Preservation Trust in 2007 looked at how connections to Caribbean plantations enhanced the luxury of eighteenth-century life in Bath, through objects, paintings and furniture. See ‘Elegance and Exploitation: Luxury Goods and the Slave Trade’, available at <http://antislavery.ac.uk/files/original/d65a96868543a68987a2e3fb07abed07.pdf#viewer.action=download>

61 James Walvin, *Fruits of Empire: Exotic Produce and British Taste, 1660-1800* (New York: New York University Press, 1997)

62 Wedgwood also designed abolitionist material culture, in particular his ‘Man and Brother’ motif which was used on household ceramics, snuff boxes, bracelets, hair ornaments etc. This exemplifies the complexities of the commercial revolution of the eighteenth century where an industry (pottery) could service markets associated with both slavery and abolition.

The transatlantic slavery economy and the historic Black presence in England

England's built environment has many stories to tell about the historic Black presence during the period of transatlantic slavery. Much scholarship and research in the last decades has documented the historical presence of people of African descent in Britain, which can be traced back to Roman times.⁶³ For example, Black musicians featured in English courts during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, including the trumpeter John Blanke.⁶⁴ A significant migration of people of African descent to England is associated with Atlantic slavery, industrialisation, and Britain's growing empire. By the last decades of the eighteenth century, England was home to a Black population of around 15,000 people, mostly in the major ports (and particularly in London) but there were also small but notable African diasporas appearing in market towns and villages across the country.⁶⁵

Many people of African descent were brought from the West Indies and America with their owners (planters, sailors or military men) to become domestic servants, or acquired by wealthy families as a conspicuous sign of wealth and status. They served as pages, valets, footmen, coachmen, cooks and maids. The legal status of those in domestic service is ambivalent: some were paid wages and could leave their employers, while others were enslaved and treated as property. Other people of African descent were sailors and soldiers serving in the British armed forces, in response to the huge manpower needs of a growing empire. Black Loyalists came to England from America after fighting for the British in the American War of

63 Black British history has been pioneered by, amongst others, Peter Fryer, Norma Myers, Edward Scobie, Folarin Shyllon and James Walvin. More recent works include David Dabydeen, John Gilmore and Cecily Jones (eds), *The Oxford Companion to Black British History* (Oxford Companions, 2007); David Olusoga, *Black and British: A Forgotten History* (Pan Macmillan, 2017); Gretchen Gerzina (ed.), *Britain's Black Past* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2020).

64 See the John Blanke Project at <https://www.johnblanke.com/>; Miranda Kaufmann, *Black Tudors: The Untold Story* (London: One World, 2017); Imtiaz Habib, *Black Lives in the English Archives, 1500-1677: Imprints of the Invisible* (London, 2008)

65 Kathleen Chater, *Untold Histories: Black People in England and Wales during the period of the British Slave Trade, c. 1660-1807* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009). The Black and Asian Studies Association (BASA) was established in 1991 to promote Black history research and resources. Some of its newsletters are available to download at http://www.blackandasianstudies.org/newsletter_newsletter-html. *Black Presence: Asian and Black History in Britain 1500-1850* was a partnership project between BASA and the National Archives: (<https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/blackhistory/index.htm>). See also Black History Month resources at <https://www.blackhistorymonth.org.uk/>. *Moving Here* from the National Archives (archived in 2013 but available at <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/moving/>) and more recently, *Our Migration Story: The Making of Britain* (<https://www.ourmigrationstory.org.uk/>), a partnership project between the Runnymede Trust and the universities of Cambridge and Manchester, offer online accounts about England's migration experience.

Independence.⁶⁶ Others were enlisted as drummers.⁶⁷ Research has shown that people of African descent in England had a wide range of life experiences - actors, musicians, entertainers, shopkeepers, artisans, craftsmen, dockworkers, sportsmen and businessmen - and had different experiences across the English regions.⁶⁸ Black writers and activists like Olaudah Equiano, Ignatius Sancho and Ottobah Cugoana played a key role in the anti-slavery movement in England. In the nineteenth century, African-American writers and reformers such as Frederick Douglass (1818-1895) made politicized speaking tours of Britain – from large cities to small fishing villages - to educate audiences about slavery and racism. Some settled in England.⁶⁹ Some people of African descent are remembered in the built environment through memorials or associations with buildings, often marked with a plaque.⁷⁰

Church records (baptism, marriage, burial records), naval records, graves and memorials, newspapers and portraiture all offer ways to explore the Black presence in the historic environment. If an enslaved African was bought or sold as a house servant, it was usually by word-of-mouth or an advertisement in newspapers. Notices for runaway slaves were often found in newspapers during this period.⁷¹ Portraits and archives record the lives of those living in grand houses as Black servants became fashionable as status symbols. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, young Black children were often depicted alongside other newly discovered

66 Maria Alessandra Bollettino, *Slavery, War and Britain's Eighteenth Century Atlantic Empire* (forthcoming). See also *Africa's Sons Under Arms* project at the University of Warwick (<https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/history/research/projects/asua/>); Ray Costello, *Black Salt: Seafarers of African Descent on British Ships* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012), and the associated *Black Salt: Britain's Black Sailors* exhibition at the Merseyside Maritime Museum (2017-2018)

67 John D. Ellis, "Drummers for the Devil?" The Black Soldiers of the 29th (Worcestershire) Regiment of Foot, 1759-1843', *Journal for the Society of Army Historical Research* (2002), available at https://www.academia.edu/38034275/_Drummers_for_the_Devil_The_Black_Soldiers_of_the_29th_Worcestershire_Regiment_of_Foot_1759_1843

68 A number of online resources offer biographical histories of people of African descent in English history, as seen throughout this report. See also the blogsite *Historical Roots*, <http://historicalroots.com/>

69 See Hannah-Rose Murray's map and database, *Frederick Douglass in Britain and Ireland*, at <http://frederickdouglassinbritain.com/>. The Nubian Jak Community Trust erected a plaque in 2013 to Frederick Douglass at Whitehead's Grove in Kensington, where he once stayed, and in 2019 to the journalist Ida B. Wells at Edgbaston Community Centre in Birmingham, near where she stayed in 1893 on her lecturing tour around Britain.

70 See the campaign for an increase in the number of English Heritage Blue Plaques to remember people of African descent, at <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/about-us/search-news/diversity-blue-plaques>. The Nubian Jak Community Trust have erected several plaques to Black Britons: <http://nubianjak.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/Nubian-Jak-UK-Plaques.pdf>

71 See the *Runaway Slaves in Britain* database (<https://www.runaways.gla.ac.uk/>) at the University of Glasgow; Stephen Mullen, Nelson Mundell and Simon P. Newman, 'Black Runaways in Eighteenth-Century Britain' in Gerzina (ed.), *Britain's Black Past*, pp. 81-98.

‘exotic’ items from global trade, such as fruits or animals, to demonstrate the family’s importance.⁷² Imagery of Black people in England can also be found in caricature and prints (notably by William Hogarth), textiles and ceramics of the period.⁷³

The importance of local and community history is crucial here. Local archives are treasure troves of information about people of African descent living in England at the time of transatlantic slavery. As will be seen, many local history and community projects have illuminated the histories of local English Black populations, enabled by the establishment of the Heritage Lottery Fund and other funding bodies. This has also facilitated collaborations between heritage organisations, universities, academics and Black communities and historians around the country to make these stories more visible.⁷⁴ The ways in which these connections are presented and interpreted are hugely important, particularly in England’s grand houses, as an individual association with a property might lead to ‘an encounter with heartfelt questions of family history, identity and belonging’.⁷⁵ This field of study also speak to calls for the teaching of history to have a greater focus on the diverse experiences of people in the past, and to incorporate wider histories of colonialism and empire.⁷⁶ While beyond the remit of this audit, many projects also seek to examine the contemporary relevance of transatlantic slavery to the UK’s diverse communities, stressing the importance of reparative histories.⁷⁷

72 Jan Marsh, *Black Victorians: Black People in British Art, 1800-1900* (Lund Humphries, 2005); Beth Fowkes Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power: Colonial Subjects in Eighteenth-Century British Painting* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999)

73 David Dabydeen, *Hogarth’s Blacks: Images of Blacks in Eighteenth Century English Art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987); V&A, ‘Silver Service Slavery: The Black Presence in the White Home’, at <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/s/silver-service-slavery-the-black-presence-in-the-white-home/> Michael Ohajuru’s *Image of the Black in London Galleries* (at <https://imageoftheblackinlondongalleries.weebly.com/>) highlights the Black presence found in the national art collections in London.

74 For the importance of community-engaged histories of Black Britain, see Meleisa Ono-George, ‘“Power in the Telling”: Community-Engaged Histories of Black Britain’ (2019) part of the special feature of *History Workshop Online*, at <http://www.historyworkshop.org.uk/?s=%22Power+in+the+telling%22>. See, for example, the *Beyond the Windrush* project by 7E Youth Academy in Birmingham, at http://www.7eyouthacademy.org/past_projects/beyond-the-windrush.html

75 Quoted at Dresser and Hann, ‘Introduction’ in *Country House*, pp. xiii-xiv; Daniella Briscoe-People, ‘Telling ‘difficult’ stories at historic houses’ (2019) available at <https://www.historichouses.org/resources/all-resources/telling-difficult-stories-at-historic-houses.html>

76 See the work of *The Black Curriculum* (<https://www.theblackcurriculum.com/>) and the *100 Great Black Britons* campaign, first launched in 2004, relaunched in 2019 to acknowledge key Black British figures in the national curriculum and in British history more widely (<https://www.100greatblackbritons.co.uk/index.html>)

77 See, for example, the work of *Journey to Justice* (<https://journeytojustice.org.uk/>). On reparative histories, see Catherine Hall, ‘Doing Reparatory History: Bringing “race” and slavery home’, *Race & Class* 60 (2018), pp. 3–21; Colin Prescod, ‘Archives, race, class & rage’, *Race & Class* 58 (2017).

The public history of transatlantic slavery in the built environment

Alongside developments in scholarship regarding the transatlantic slave economy over the last three decades has been a movement to acknowledge and interpret this history for a wider public audience. For some time, England's history of transatlantic slavery was viewed solely through the lens of abolition, and the work of abolitionists.⁷⁸ This limited narrative has been substantially challenged in the last decades, in public history initiatives and heritage projects that have focused on broader aspects of the impact of transatlantic slavery on all aspects of England's economic, social and cultural history. As a result, transatlantic slavery has been represented in museums, memorials, art galleries, theatres, on television and in film.⁷⁹

Until the early 1990s the only permanent museum representation of transatlantic slavery was at Wilberforce House in Hull, which as his birthplace focused on the life and career of the abolitionist William Wilberforce. In 1994, the *Transatlantic Slavery: Against Human Dignity* gallery opened at the Merseyside Maritime Museum. Bristol had a number of exhibitions and events exploring the city's involvement in transatlantic slavery before 2000, including a *A Respectable Trade?* at the Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery. The National Maritime Museum in Greenwich opened its *Trade and Empire* gallery in 1999 and Lancaster's city museum held a permanent exhibition entitled *Black Ivory: A History of British Slavery*.

In many ways, the commemorative activities that took place around the bicentenary of the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade in 2007 represented a pivotal moment in England's engagement with this history. While much of what occurred for the bicentenary has legitimately been criticised as a 'Wilberfest' (with an over-concentration on William Wilberforce and abolitionism) it is also true that representations of the nation's contribution to the transatlantic slave economy were revised and contested in 2007.⁸⁰ This period provided a space for reflection and much needed funding for people and organisations to investigate this history. As detailed in this report, there have been a number of exhibitions about the transatlantic slave economy in English museums since 2007, not least the opening of the International Slavery Museum in Liverpool and the permanent gallery *London, Sugar and Slavery* at the Museum of London Docklands.

78 In *Chords of Freedom: Commemoration, ritual and British transatlantic slavery* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), John Oldfield has highlighted the dominance of what he terms a 'culture of abolitionism' in Britain, which has displaced memories of slavery with those of abolition and emancipation.

79 Recent plays and performances about the history of transatlantic slavery in Britain include *The Whip* (Royal Shakespeare Company, 2020) by Juliet Gilkes Romero, *Rockets and Blue Lights* by Winsome Pinnock (2020) and *Sweet Tooth* by Elaine Mitchener (<http://www.elainemitchener.com/sweet-tooth>)

80 Much scholarship has been written on the impact of the bicentenary year. See the articles in *Remembering 1807: Histories of the Slave Trade, Slavery and Abolition* (feature in *History Workshop Journal* 64: 1, 2007); and *Remembering Slave Trade Abolitions: Reflections on 2007 in International Perspective* (special edition of *Slavery and Abolition* 30: 2, 2009)

One of the most significant impacts of 2007 was in local history, as detailed associations with transatlantic slavery were made in locales beyond London, Liverpool and Bristol.⁸¹ This report summarises many of these projects, as archives and collections were investigated for links to abolitionists but also to slave traders and plantation owners, to local trade and industry, and stories of Black history. In large part, as Geoffrey Cubitt has suggested, this exploration of local connections was a way of ‘bringing home’ this history.⁸² The BBC commissioned a range of in-depth regional studies between 2006 and 2008 published on its *Abolition 1807* web pages (now archived), including highlighting local accounts of slave traders alongside abolitionists. *Sites of Memory*, commissioned by English Heritage in 2007, was a review by historians S. I. Martin and Angelina Osborne of its listed buildings and sites with historic links to transatlantic slavery, the abolitionist movement and the Black presence in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁸³

This report also notes the artists and writers investigating the meaning of memorials in relation to the history of Atlantic slavery, creating new ways of thinking about the imperial past through art objects, creative writing, musical compositions, film and other artistic endeavours.⁸⁴ In the light of recent events associated with the Black Lives Matter movement and the toppling of Edward Colston’s statue in Bristol (2020), this discussion about how as a nation England memorialises its slaving past is more pertinent than ever. Fierce debate and protest continues over who should and should not be celebrated in England’s memorial landscape and the Mayor of London has announced a commission into London’s public landmarks. Statues, memorials, collections and paintings are being reviewed and re-interpreted in the light of the discussions about the legacy of England’s involvement in Atlantic slavery. This is an ongoing situation and in many respects is moving too fast to be summarised for this report.

81 Katie Donington, Ryan Hanley and Jessica Moody (eds), *Britain’s History and Memory of Transatlantic Slavery: Local Nuances of a National Sin* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2017).

82 Geoffrey Cubitt, ‘Bringing it Home: Making Local Meaning in 2007 Bicentenary Exhibitions’, *Slavery and Abolition* 30: 2 (2009), pp. 259–75.

83 ‘Sites of Memory: The Slave Trade and Abolition’ (2007) by English Heritage, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/550>

84 See essays in Celeste-Marie Bernier and Hannah Durkin (eds), *Visualising Slavery: Art Across the African Diaspora* (Liverpool University Press, 2016), especially ‘Introduction: “Inside the Invisible”: African Diasporic Artists Visualise Transatlantic Slavery’, pp. 1-14. Alan Rice discusses the theory of ‘guerrilla memorialisation’ in *Creating Memorials, Building Identities: The Politics of Memory in the Black Atlantic* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012) – a term to describe the way memorialising sometimes takes on an overtly political character in order to challenge dominant historical narratives. Most recently, see Celeste-Marie Bernier, Alan Rice, Lubaina Himid and Hannah Durkin (eds), *Inside the Invisible: Memorialising Slavery and Freedom in the Life and Works of Lubaina Himid* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2019). <https://wearetransmission.space/who> is a group of Black archivists and researchers interested in, among other things, linking Black History to the built environment.

Atlantic slavery permeated English society for centuries. This is a summary of the traces of this history that have been identified in England's built environment: in urban architecture, country houses, industrial heritage, churches and educational institutions, in memorialisation and local landscapes. Much work has been done, nationally and locally, to acknowledge the impact of transatlantic slavery in England's built environment. The work surveyed here reinforces the idea that buildings and landscapes, and the stories they hold, are sites of memory, identity, shared heritage, education and local connection. This report shows the breadth and quality of research that has been carried out. There is still much to be discovered.

1 LONDON AND THE SOUTH-EAST

Until the middle of the eighteenth century, London was England's leading slaving port.⁸⁵ From the earliest slaving voyages leaving Deptford in the late sixteenth century until 1807, London ships forcibly transported over 717,000 enslaved Africans to the Americas.⁸⁶ Simultaneously, the City of London rose to a position of pre-eminence in global commerce, becoming the political and business hub of empire and tapping into the vast wealth-generating potential of English settlements in the colonies. From the seventeenth century, the port of London was at the centre of colonial trade in sugar, tobacco, dyes, cocoa, ginger, spices and hardwoods and many merchant firms were established.⁸⁷ As Bristol and Liverpool overtook London as the prime ports of the transatlantic slavery economy in the eighteenth century, London's predominant role became as home to the financial, legal and commercial structures – notably banking and insurance – that underpinned the trade and the lucrative businesses in slave-produced commodities. The London Society of West India Planters and Merchants (established in 1780) were a powerful pro-slavery force in government.⁸⁸ London grew rapidly, including England's largest population of people of African descent, and slavery-related wealth spread to towns and villages in the surrounding countryside. Other ports in the South-East also had associations with the Atlantic slave economy.

London

Traces of built heritage connected to the Atlantic slave economy exist in the modern-day 'Square Mile'. Slave traders and plantation owners had a powerful hold on the City of London: built in the fifteenth century, **Guildhall** on Gresham Street is still the City's administrative centre. This was the meeting place between 1660 and 1690 of 15 Lord Mayors of London, 25 Sheriffs and 38 aldermen of the City of London, all of whom were shareholders in the Royal African Company. It was also the site in

85 James Rawley, *London: Metropolis of the Slave Trade* (London: University of Missouri Press, 2003)

86 David Killingray, 'Kent and the abolition of the slave trade: a county study, 1760s-1807' in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, CXXVII (2007), pp. 107-25, at p. 109. Available at <https://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/Research/Pub/ArchCant/127-2007/Contents.htm>

87 Nuala Zahedieh, *The Capital and the Colonies: London and the Atlantic Economy, 1660-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) examines the merchants who traded with America in an age of imperial expansion.

88 Nicholas Draper, 'The City of London and Slavery: Evidence from the First London Dock Companies, 1795-1800', *Economic History Review*, 6:2 (2008), p. 433

1783 of the trial of the Liverpool slave ship, *Zong*.⁸⁹ More research is required on the connections of London's Livery Companies to Atlantic slavery, and particularly the 'Great Twelve'. Inside the Guildhall is a **statue of William Beckford Senior** (1709-1770), two-times Lord Mayor, MP for the City of London, and owner of vast Jamaican plantations.⁹⁰

The headquarters of the Royal African Company, the East India Company and the South Sea Company were all based in the City of London. The headquarters of the Royal African Company, established 1672, was originally at Warnford Court (Broad Street Ward), then Leadenhall Street. The headquarters of the East India Company was at East India House in Leadenhall Street. Old South Sea House (headquarters of the South Sea Company) was on the corner of Bishopsgate Street and Threadneedle Street but burned down in 1826.⁹¹

A statue of Sir Andrew Riccard (d. 1672) is at St Olave's in the City of London. Riccard was Chairman of the East India Company and an investor in the Royal African Company.⁹²

The Royal Exchange was London's first purpose-built trading centre, first constructed in 1566. It was established by wealthy merchant Sir Thomas Gresham. His backer in the venture was Sir William Garrard, a former Lord Mayor and pioneer of English involvement in the slave trade.⁹³ The building played a vital role in the Atlantic slave economy, in providing a focus for the trading of commodities and the site for shippers, insurance underwriters, financiers etc. The original building was destroyed in 1666, but a second site opened in 1669, again destroyed by fire in 1838.⁹⁴

Trading houses emerged to underpin Britain's overseas trade and London's financial institutions were the main centre of funding, regulating and insuring the slave trade. The **Bank of England**, established in 1694, moved to its current site

89 In this notorious case, the slave ship's captain ordered 133 enslaved Africans to be thrown overboard in order to be able to collect insurance on a lost 'cargo'. The decision by the Lord Chief Justice not to rule the deaths as murder helped to generate support for the abolitionist cause. See James Walvin, *The Zong: A Massacre, the Law and the End of Slavery* (London: Yale University Press, 2011); Anita Rupprecht, "A Limited Sort of Property": History, Memory and the Slave Ship *Zong*, *Slavery and Abolition* 29:2 (2008), pp. 265–77

90 Madge Dresser, 'Set in Stone? Statues and Slavery in London', *History Workshop Journal*, 64 (2007), pp. 162-199; Perry Gauci, *William Beckford: First Prime Minister of the London Empire* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013)

91 'Threadneedle Street', *Victoria County History - British History Online*, at <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/old-new-london/vol1/pp531-544>

92 *Maritime Memorials*, at <https://memorials.rmg.co.uk/m1650/>

93 Entry for 'Garrard (Garrett), Sir William (by 1518-71), of London and Dorney, Bucks', *History of Parliament Online*, [https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509-1558/member/garrard-\(garrett\)-sir-william-1518-71](https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509-1558/member/garrard-(garrett)-sir-william-1518-71)

94 'London, Sugar & Slavery' guided walk (Museum of London), available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/768>

on Threadneedle Street in 1734. A slaving voyage from England to Africa to the Caribbean on a round trip could take 18 months, and therefore relied on a system of credit. The Bank of England provided stable national finances during a time of expansion of overseas possessions and underpinned the developing transatlantic slavery economy.⁹⁵ Its wealthy City members, such as Sir Richard Neave and Beeston Long, were invariably financially involved in the slave trade.

Other banks that offered credit to those involved in the business of slavery were established by Alexander and David Barclay (see also: Liverpool), and Sir Francis Baring, who founded **Baring's Bank** in 1762 on Mincing Lane. Baring had considerable financial interests in slavery. The Baring family (Francis's sons Thomas, Alexander and Henry became partners in the bank at the turn of the nineteenth century) also profited immensely from the expansion of slavery in the American South, through their funding of the Louisiana Purchase in 1802.⁹⁶

Similarly, maritime insurance thrived on the Atlantic slave trade.⁹⁷ The London Assurance Co. and Royal Exchange Assurance were founded in 1720. Originally established in Edward Lloyd's coffeehouse in Tower Street c. 1688, **Lloyds of London** insured ships and their human cargoes. The early site of the company is commemorated with a Blue Plaque on Lombard Street. In 1774 the members moved to the Royal Exchange.

Many merchant houses and shipowners were associated with colonial trade, and in particular the Atlantic slave economy.⁹⁸ The buildings that housed these businesses may no longer survive but pubs named The Sugar Loaf (for example, on Cannon Street) hint at what existed in the area before. Cargoes of sugar cane were landed at the sugar wharf beside the Tower of London and the vast majority of London's sugar brokers and sugar coopers carried out their business in the area of streets and lanes between London Bridge and the Tower. Sugar refineries were established across London.⁹⁹

95 Nicholas Radburn, 'Keeping "the Wheel in Motion": Trans-Atlantic Credit Terms, Slave Prices, and the Geography of Slavery in the British Americas, 1755–1807', *Journal of Economic History* 75:3 (2015), pp. 660–89; James Walvin, 'Slavery and the Building of Britain' (2011), available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/abolition/building_britain_gallery_01.shtml

96 'Sir Francis Baring', 'The Baring Archive', at https://www.baringarchive.org.uk/history/biographies/sir_francis_baring

97 Robin Pearson and David Richardson, 'Insuring the Transatlantic Slave Trade', *The Journal of Economic History*, 79:2 (2019), pp. 417–446.

98 For example, the pub chain and brewer Greene King, founded by the West India merchant Benjamin Greene, plantation owner in Montserrat and St Kitts. See 'The Secret Slave Owners' on the BBC website, at <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/articles/DM3CZJtRPtRYRYcZlGYdg5/the-secret-slave-owners>

99 'Where were London's Refineries?', *Sugar Refiners and Sugarbakers*, at <http://home.clara.net/mawer/loc-london.html>; Mimi Goodall, 'How England became the "sweetshop of Europe"', *The Conversation*, at <https://theconversation.com/how-england-became-the-sweetshop-of-europe-137010>

Coffee was an important crop in England's West Indian plantation economy, particularly in Jamaica and in Dominica. This paralleled the rise of the coffee house in England, serving tea and hot chocolate as well as coffee, but all sweetened by sugar. By 1740 there were over 500 coffee houses in London (and also in other English towns), acting as meeting places where business was conducted, newspapers read and advertisements were displayed. Jamaica Wine House in St Michael's Alley off Cornhill occupies the site where **Pasqua Rosee Coffee House** once stood, which in 1652 was the first establishment to sell coffee in London.¹⁰⁰

Hays Wharf in **Southwark** was founded in 1651 by Alexander Hay. The wharf formed part of the area known as 'London's Larder' because of the quantities of foodstuffs traded and stored along the Thames, including coffee and tea. Southwark also had strong connections with slave grown sugar in the sugarhouses of Tooley Street. Jamaica Road connected the docks and warehouses of Southwark with those in Rotherhithe, Deptford and Woolwich during the earlier period of the Atlantic slave economy.¹⁰¹

Eastwards of the City, East End merchants in Whitechapel, Shadwell, Ratcliffe, Wapping and Mile End had connections to the Atlantic slave economy and invested in sugar refineries, ropeworks, shipbuilding, banking and other industries.¹⁰²

In 1802 the **West India Dock** on the Isle of Dogs became the centre of London's Atlantic slave economy on the River Thames. While the West India trade accounted for only a small percentage of the overall volume of shipping on the Thames, it was estimated to represent around a quarter to one third of London's overseas trade by value.¹⁰³ Today's West India Quay was built by the West India Dock Company for the importation of sugar, rum and coffee from Caribbean plantations, to increase capacity and monopolise trade. The docks had a secure wall and an armed police force so that the ships from the West Indies could land safely.

The West India Dock Company was a powerful alliance of West India planters and merchants, chaired at the turn of the century by Robert Milligan (c.1746-1809), whose statue on the Quay was removed in 2020. Many investors in the West India

100 'Westminster and the Transatlantic Slave Trade' (2007) by City of Westminster Archives Centre, at R1807, <http://www.antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/714>; Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (Yale University Press, 2005). The Queen's Lane Coffee House in Oxford, established 1654, is still in existence.

101 'Southwark and Abolition' (2007) by Southwark Council, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/868>

102 See 'Survey of London: Histories of Whitechapel', at <https://surveyoflondon.org/>; Derek Morris and Ken Cozens, *London's Sailortown, 1600-1800: A Social History of Shadwell and Ratcliffe, An Early Modern London Riverside Suburb* (The East London History Society, 2014); Derek Morris, 'Stepney Merchants and the Slave Trade', in *Cockney Ancestor, the Journal of the East of London Family History Society*, 89 (2000). Kenneth Cozens has compiled databases on the activity of leading merchants in the area, and in particular the ship owners and slave traders 'Camden, Calvert and King': see *The Merchant Networks Project*, <http://www.danbyrnes.com.au/networks/>

103 Draper, 'The City', p. 460

Dock were also slave owners and West Indian merchants.¹⁰⁴ The foundation stone of the West India Dock is on the Quay near 'Hibbert Gate', a replica of the original gate to the Dock.¹⁰⁵ The West India merchant, slave and plantation owner George Hibbert was heavily involved in the plan to construct the West India Dock, investing £2000 and acting as Chairman of the Company eight times between 1799 and 1815. George Hibbert was at the centre of the hugely influential, multi-generational Hibbert family business based on trading in enslaved people and commodities produced by enslaved labour.¹⁰⁶

The Museum of London Docklands opened in 2003 and occupies one of the surviving warehouses built on the North Quay of the West India Dock to receive goods produced by enslaved labour on Caribbean plantations. The museum offers one of England's permanent exhibitions dedicated to the legacy of the Atlantic slave economy in its *London, Sugar and Slavery* gallery.¹⁰⁷

The legacies of slavery found in the built environment of the area around the West India Dock was explored by young people from the London Borough of Newham in 2007 in a project by the Runnymede Trust and Manifesta. *Video ART (Anti-Racist Trails) Postcards* explored connections between slavery, colonialism and contemporary issues of racism in the area using video 'postcards' for self-expression.¹⁰⁸

Five miles from the City, the earliest English slaving voyages were launched from **Deptford**. At the foreshore of **Deptford Strand** is a plaque to Deptford's maritime history, including note of how Elizabeth I knighted Francis Drake there in 1581, on the deck of his ship the *Golden Hind*. Sir John Hawkins (1532-1595) began his career as a merchant in the African trade and became the first English slave trader in the 1560s, using Deptford as a base for his operations.

In 1577 Hawkins became Treasurer of the Navy and later controller, responsible for operating the **Royal Dockyards** at Deptford, where naval ships were built and prepared for voyages. The Royal Navy was employed to provide convoy protection

104 Draper, 'The City' investigates the subscription lists of the founding investors of the West India Dock Company.

105 'London, Sugar & Slavery' guided walk, Museum of London, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/768>

106 See *George Hibbert.com*, an online resource by Nick Hibbert Steele, <https://www.georgehibbert.com/george.html>; Donington, *The Bonds of Family*

107 Danielle Thom, 'Mapping the legacy of slavery in London's Docklands', at <https://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/discover/mapping-londons-legacy-slavery-docklands>; Melissa Bennett and Kristy Warren, 'Looking back and facing forwards: ten years of the London, Sugar & Slavery gallery', *Journal of Historical Geography*, available at <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhg.2018.12.004>.

108 'Young People's Creative Slavery Project: Video ART Postcards', available at <http://www.realhistories.org.uk/uploads/File/VAP.pdf>. The films can be viewed at <https://www.runnymedetrust.org/projects/video-art-postcards.html> and the *Slavery, Racism and Resistance* teaching resource can be downloaded at <https://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/publications/pdfs/VAPTeachersGuide08.pdf>

for ships of the slave trade, West African outposts and the British colonies in the Caribbean. After 1807, the Royal Navy was dispatched to suppress the transatlantic slave trade. Archaeological remains of the first Royal Naval Dockyard have been found at Convoys Wharf.¹⁰⁹ A victualling and supply centre developed on what is now the Pepys Estate, where some warehouses and other buildings survive, including the Dockyard gates.¹¹⁰ Deptford later came under competition from new docks at Plymouth, Portsmouth and Chatham.

Many pointers to Deptford's history with transatlantic slavery survive in the built environment, such as the townhouses of Deptford Broadway, where the town's merchant class lived near to the toll-bridge over Deptford Creek.¹¹¹ **St Nicholas's Church** has many memorials of those involved in Atlantic slavery, including the slave trader Edward Fenton and John Julius Angerstein (1735-1823), who co-owned plantations in Grenada and established Lloyds of London. Notes in the burial register also testify to the Black community that formed here as many people of African origin landed at Deptford.¹¹² The **Wall of Ancestors**, a sculpture by Martin Bond on the wall of Aragon Tower, includes the face of Olaudah Equiano, sold between ship captains at Deptford (see below), alongside other historical figures.¹¹³

Statues of Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Drake and Oliver Cromwell at the front of Deptford's old **Town Hall** in New Cross Road are connected with slavery in the West Indies, and the walls are decorated with carvings of famous seafarers, including Sir Francis Drake.

Nearby, the civilian dock at Rotherhithe was once used by the South Sea Company, which leased various buildings from the dock's owner, Elizabeth Howland. She owned a share in a slave ship, the *Lady Rachel*. **South Sea Street** is near to what is now known as Surrey Docks.¹¹⁴

MOSAF is a community group dedicated to creating a Museum of Slavery and Freedom, either virtually or in a permanent building in Deptford. They highlight the wealth in the area connected to the slave trade, in Deptford's fine churches and houses, and the complex history of the dockyard which requires re-interpretation.

109 NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1021239>

110 NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1416598>; *London Remembers* entry at <https://www.londonremembers.com/memorials/pepys-estate>

111 'Emancipation of the Dispossessed: Slavery, Abolition and Us – a South-East London angle' (2007) by Art of Regeneration was a community project exploring this history in 2007. They produced a guided walk through Deptford and Greenwich exploring the history of slavery and abolition, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/779>

112 Nigel Pocock, 'A Voyage Around the Slave Ports of Britain', Movement for Justice and Reconciliation (2016), available at <http://www.mj-r-uk.com/uploads/1/2/2/0/12205473/slavingports.pdf>

113 *London Remembers* entry at <https://www.londonremembers.com/memorials/wall-of-the-ancestors-leftmost>

114 We are grateful to Dr Helen Paul for this information.

MOSAF are involved with academics and with the local community to bring these hidden histories to light on the Rotherhithe/Deptford/Greenwich stretch of the Thames.¹¹⁵

Other London sites with connections to the Atlantic slave economy include **Westminster Hall**, where Lord Chief Justice Lord Mansfield heard many cases when it was a Court of Law, including the case of James Somerset in 1772. Somerset was a slave from America who escaped while his owner was visiting London but was re-captured and put aboard a ship to Jamaica. Mansfield ruled that “no master ever was allowed to take a slave by force to be sold abroad because he deserted from his service.” (See also: Kenwood House)

Rear Admiral Richard Tyrrell (d. 1766) died in the Seven Years War. He owned plantations in Jamaica and Antigua. An elaborate monument in **Westminster Abbey** depicts the admiral being summoned to eternity from the sea by an archangel.¹¹⁶

On the exterior of the **Foreign Office** in one of the ground floor roundels is a relief portrait of William Wilberforce. Between the arches on the same level are depictions of the continents in female form. ‘Africa’ is shown with a manacle attached to her wrist.¹¹⁷

A Black crewman holding a musket can be made out on the relief at the base of the south side of Nelson’s column at **Trafalgar Square**. This unidentified character could have been one of the nine West Indians who were killed on board Nelson’s ship *Victory*.¹¹⁸

Other sites are associated with the philanthropy of individuals with slavery associations. **Guy’s Hospital** was founded in 1721 by Sir Thomas Guy, a publisher and philanthropist who made his fortune during the ‘South Sea Bubble’. A statue of Thomas Guy stood in Guy’s Courtyard. A statue of Sir Robert Clayton (of the Royal African Company and a factor in Bermuda) stood at **St Thomas’s Hospital**. Both statues were removed in June 2020.¹¹⁹

As a philanthropist George Hibbert took a leading role in the establishment of the **London Institution**, founded in 1805 and paid for by subscription. It was intended for the diffusion of useful knowledge in the arts and sciences. The building

115 www.mosaf.org.uk. We are grateful to MOSAF and Dr Helen Paul for this information.

116 *Maritime Memorials* entry at <https://memorials.rmg.co.uk/m4812/>

117 ‘Events to mark the bicentenary in the City of Westminster’ (2007) by Westminster City Council, available at R1807, <http://www.antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/715>

118 ‘Events to mark the bicentenary in the City of Westminster’

119 Dresser, ‘Set in Stone?’. Statement by the hospitals available at: <https://www.guysandstthomas.nhs.uk/news-and-events/2020-news/june/200611-joint-statement-on-statues.aspx>

at Finsbury Circus was designed by William Brooks and constructed by Thomas Cubitt. It closed in 1912 and the buildings were used for the University of London until their demolition in 1936.¹²⁰

Focusing on his role as philanthropist, George Hibbert was the subject of the *Slavery, Culture and Collecting* exhibition at the Museum of London Docklands in 2018.¹²¹ Indeed, many donors of collections in English museums and galleries have associations with the Atlantic slave economy, explored further in [Section 6](#). The **British Museum** opened in 1759 with a core collection built up by Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753). Sloane studied medicine in Britain and Europe before travelling to Jamaica where he continued his botanical interests. He married the widow of a wealthy Jamaican planter and with inherited money he was able to indulge his passion for collecting. The 71,000 items he owned when he died were bequeathed to the nation and became the basis for the original British Museum and the **National History Museum**.¹²²

The **National Gallery** was set up with a collection of 38 pictures in the grand Pall Mall home of John Julius Angerstein. Born in St Petersburg, Angerstein made his wealth as an underwriter with Lloyds, and much of that business was in the insurance of slave ships. Like many others, he invested his money into a collection of private art.¹²³

Sir John Cass (1661-1718) was a powerful merchant who became an Alderman, Sheriff and then represented the City as its MP. He was heavily involved in slave-trading through his membership of the Royal African Company Court of Assistants between 1705 and 1708. His philanthropic legacy includes setting up a school at St Botolph's Aldgate in 1709. The **Sir John Cass Foundation** was established in 1748 and continues to provide support to a primary school in the City and a secondary school in Stepney. His name also appears on faculties at London Metropolitan University and City University. A lead statue of Cass was placed on the outside of the old Cass Foundation on Jewry Street in Aldgate but was replaced by a

120 LBS entry for 'George Hibbert (1757-1837)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/16791>

121 <https://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/museum-london-docklands/whats-on/exhibitions/slavery-culture-and-collecting>

122 See resources of *Voyage to the Islands: Hans Sloane, Slavery and Scientific Travel in the Caribbean* (John Carter Brown Library), available at https://www.brown.edu/Facilities/John_Carter_Brown_Library/exhibitions/sloane/pages/intro.html

123 <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/about-us/history/collectors-and-benefactors/john-julius-angerstein>

replica in 1899 and is now housed in the Guildhall. Cass and his family owned land in Hackney: **Cassland Road Gardens** is named in his memory, but is set to be renamed in consultation with local residents.¹²⁴

London: residences and local development

This section examines how slavery-related wealth was spent on residences and in the local built environment in London and surrounding areas. For ease, it is ordered around the current London Boroughs, while recognising that when many of these houses were originally built or acquired, they would have been in the countryside a considerable distance from what was considered 'London'.

Westminster / Camden

The LBS project has compiled maps of urban-based slave-owners in central London based on the addresses of recipients of compensation. One is for slave-owners in the **Fitzrovia** area in the 1830s; a second shows those living on the **Portman estate** in Marylebone.¹²⁵ A number of slave-owners lived in Marylebone, and Harley Street in particular.¹²⁶ The LBS project has also looked in detail at the many slave owners who owned grand townhouses in **Bloomsbury** (and Portland Place in particular).¹²⁷

Home House at No. 20 Portman Square was built for Elizabeth Home, Countess of Home, a Jamaican-English heiress. She initially commissioned James Wyatt but replaced him with Robert Adam in 1775. The house is now a private members' club.¹²⁸

Between 1758 and 1772, William Berners, a co-owner of plantations in Jamaica, undertook development of his estate in what is now Fitzrovia, including **Berners Street**.¹²⁹

124 Madge Dresser, 'Set in Stone?'; *The Painted Room: Sir John Cass's Foundation Primary School* (Corporation of London, 2002), available at https://www.sirjohncassfoundation.com/wp-content/uploads/big_files/The_Painted_Room.pdf; 'Hackney, Sugar and Slavery', Key Stage 3 & 4 Teachers' Resources, part of the *Local Roots / Global Routes* project by LBS and Hackney Museum and Archives (2013-2014), available at https://lrgr14.files.wordpress.com/2015/06/teachers_resource.pdf

125 <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/project/fitzroviamap>

126 'Slavers of Harley Street' exhibition at Museum of London Docklands (2008)

127 LBS, 'Slave-owners of Bloomsbury' exhibition panels available at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/project/exhibitions>

128 LBS entry for 'Elizabeth Home Countess of Home, formerly Lawes (née Gibbons)', at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146649547>

129 LBS entry for 'William Berners', at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146649367>

The Revd. David Laing was the son of a slave-owner in Jamaica and a trustee of the Mount Lebanon estate. He co-founded **Queen's College**, Harley Street and assisted in the foundation of the **North London Collegiate** in Camden (where six Laing Scholarships were founded in his memory).¹³⁰

16 St James's Square was built between 1804-1807 for Edmund Boehm, a London West India merchant, and his wife Dorothy Elizabeth on land bought from Thomas Anson. It is now the East India Club.¹³¹

Bedford Square claimants (38 identified) were investigated by the *Drapetomania in Bedford Square* project in 2019, an interactive walking tour led by the artist educator Jean Campbell.¹³²

The Eyre family were responsible for the development of the estate of **St John's Wood** as a modern inner London suburb. Henry Samuel Eyre was son of Walpole Eyre I and Sarah Johnson; his mother received compensation for her late mother's estate in Antigua.¹³³

The London West India merchant, Henry Davidson, sold Rosslyn House in **Hampstead** in 1859 and was then responsible for building housing on parts of the estate.¹³⁴

Kenwood House (EH) in Hampstead was home to William Murray, Lord Chief Justice and First Earl of Mansfield, and his niece Dido Elizabeth Belle (see below).

130 N. Draper, 'British universities and Caribbean slavery' in Jill Pellew and Lawrence Goldman (eds), *Dethroning historical reputations: universities, museums and the commemoration of benefactors* (University of London Press, 2018), pp. 93-107.

131 LBS entry for 'Dorothy Elizabeth Boehm (née Berney)', at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/physical/view/-951950364>

132 <https://drapetomania2019.wixsite.com/mysite>; project detailed in the UAL: Central Saint Martins *MA Narrative Environments* (2019) brochure, at https://www.arts.ac.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0018/190080/MANE-catalogue-2019.pdf, pp. 20-21.

133 Mireille Galinou, *Cottages and Villas: The Birth of the Garden Suburb* (Yale University Press, 2011); LBS entry for 'Henry Samuel Eyre 1770-1851', at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/777>

134 'Hampstead: Belsize', *Victoria County History - British History Online*, at <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/vol9/pp51-60>. See also 'The Transatlantic Slave Trade: Hampstead Connections' (2007) by Hampstead Museum, available at R1807 (<http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/705>) which looked at how fortunes made in the West Indies funded the purchase of properties in this prosperous area of London.

City

The Victorian restoration of **Temple Church** in the City of London in the 1840s was under the direction of William Burge, Attorney-General for Jamaica, MP, anti-abolitionist campaigner, and owner of a Jamaican estate.¹³⁵

Hackney

Hackney enjoys a historical reputation for radicalism, dissent and abolitionism, but during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries it was also a popular place for the banking and mercantile classes to live, including those actively engaged in the slavery business.¹³⁶ *Local Roots / Global Routes* was a collaborative project between LBS and Hackney Museum and Archives (2013-2014) to create teaching resources concerning the links between Hackney and transatlantic slavery, including the Black presence in the borough.¹³⁷

Lambeth / Wandsworth / Southwark

Clapham was home to the ‘Clapham Sect’ of abolitionists (see [Section 7](#)) but was also a popular area for those engaged in transatlantic slavery or associated businesses. William Hibbert, brother of George and involved in the family’s extensive Jamaican business, lived at Crescent Grove and is buried at St Paul’s Churchyard. In memory of their father, his daughters Sarah and Mary Anne erected **almshouses** on Wandsworth Road for the local poor and elderly. Visible on the building is an inscription: ‘These houses for eight aged women were erected by Sarah Hibbert and Mary Ann Hibbert in grateful remembrance of their father William Hibbert Esq. long an inhabitant of Clapham anno domini 1859’.¹³⁸

Older maps show the adjoining gardens of George Hibbert and the banker Robert Barclay extending 500 metres along **The Chase** from their houses on the north side of Clapham Common. Barclay’s house at No. 29 and Hibbert’s at No. 31 now form part of the Trinity Hospice.¹³⁹

135 LBS entry for ‘William Burge, 1787-1849), at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/physical/view/1995968507>

136 ‘Abolition 07’ (2007) by Hackney Museum, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/769>

137 <https://lrgr14.wordpress.com/about/>; Kristy Warren, ‘Hackney and Slavery’ (2015), LBS blog at <https://lbsatucl.wordpress.com/2015/10/23/historising-slavery/>

138 LBS entry for ‘William Hibbert (1759-1844)’ at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/42210>

139 S. I. Martin, ‘Clapham and slavery: a historic walk’, part of ‘Lambeth and the Abolition’ (2007) by London Borough of Lambeth, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/864>

The LBS project has noted a number of slave owners who lived in Wandsworth.¹⁴⁰

Melrose House in Putney was built by John Anthony Rucker, banker, merchant and slave-owner in Grenada. He left the house and his West Indian property to his nephew, Daniel Henry Rucker, a West India and Hamburg merchant. The estate was further developed with Humphry Repton. The house now forms part of the Royal Hospital for Neuro-disability.¹⁴¹

Kensington and Chelsea / Hammersmith and Fulham

Charles Sloane Cadogan, 1st Earl Cadogan and co-heir of his grandfather Hans Sloane, developed the red-brick buildings of the Cadogan estate in **Chelsea**.¹⁴²

Crisp Road in Fulham is named after the slave trader and bead manufacturer Sir Nicholas Crisp. Crisp was integral to the creation of the Company of Merchants Trading into Africa in 1631, an ancestor of the Royal African Company. Crisp inherited a large house by the Thames and built a brick works nearby. In 1635 he was granted a patent for making glass beads (very likely produced to be used for barter in Africa) and had glass-making furnaces built in Hammersmith. He became one of the richest men involved in the African trade: his wealth allowed him to support the building of Hammersmith's first church in 1631, which later became St Paul's Parish Church. There is a memorial to him in the newer church built in 1883. Glass beads were excavated by the Museum of London on the site of Crisp's Hammersmith home.¹⁴³

Hurlingham House (now the Hurlingham Club) in Fulham is a Neoclassic country house built c. 1800 by George Byfield for John Ellis, who inherited three of his father's Jamaican plantations. It incorporates an earlier 'cottage' built by Dr William Cadogan, with landscaping by Humphry Repton.¹⁴⁴

140 LBS, 'Wandsworth and Slavery' exhibition panels: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs//media-new/pdfs/lbswandsworth1.pdf> and <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs//media-new/pdfs/lbswandsworth2.pdf>. See also Sean Creighton, 'Wandsworth – 18thC Powerhouse' (2018), *History & Social Action*, at <https://historyandsocialaction.blogspot.com/2018/06/wandsworth-18thc-powerhouse-part-3.html>

141 LBS entry for 'John Anthony Rucker of West Hill' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146649779>; <https://www.rhn.org.uk/about/history/>

142 LBS entry for 'Charles Sloane Cadogan 1st Earl Cadogan (1728-1807)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/physical/view/1995968429>

143 'Faces of Freedom: Hammersmith and Fulham and the Slave Trade' (2007) by Museum of Fulham Palace, at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/862>; 'Remembering Slavery in Hammersmith and Fulham' (2007) by Hammersmith and Fulham Urban Studies Centre, at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/861>

144 LBS entry for 'John Ellis junior (1752-1832)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146632465>; <https://www.hurlinghamclub.org.uk/about-the-club/history/estate/>

Lewisham / Greenwich

The proximity to London's docks meant that many slave traders and sugar merchants had their London homes in comfortable mansions built around Blackheath common. Many were members of the Royal Blackheath Golf Club, thought to be the oldest golf club in Britain. Residents included the iron merchant Ambrose Crowley (see [Section 5](#)); the West Indian merchant William Innes; plantation owner Duncan Campbell; Thomas King of Dartmouth Grove, a partner in the firm of slave agents in Camden, Calvert & King; and West Indies merchants Samuel and Thomas Fludyer (Samuel lived at Dacre House).¹⁴⁵

Woodlands House in Blackheath was built in the 1770s by the financier John Julius Angerstein, founder of Lloyd's of London and co-owner of a Grenada plantation.¹⁴⁶ It is now Greenwich Steiner School.

Manor House Library in Lee is now owned by London City Council and is in use as a library and public space. It has been home to several generations of London merchants involved in slave trading. In 1676 John Thomson inherited the house from his father Maurice, who had founded the family fortune by transporting captives to his plantation in St Kitts. John married into the Annesley family, who also had Caribbean business interests. By 1749 William Coleman, an agent to the Pinney family (at that time the wealthiest plantation owners in St Kitts and Nevis) lived there. His nephew, Thomas Lucas, inherited the house and holdings in the Caribbean. After Lucas's death, his widow Eliza carried those business interests into her marriage to the financier and plantation owner John Julius Angerstein. In 1796 Angerstein sold the Manor House to Sir Francis Baring, founder of Baring's Bank (with considerable financial interests in slavery and namesake of **Baring Road** in South-East London).¹⁴⁷

Bexley

Danson House in Welling, restored in 2005, now serves as Register Office for the London Borough of Bexley. It was originally designed by leading architect Sir Robert Taylor and constructed in the 1760s for Sir John Boyd (1718-1800), the son of St Kitts planter Augustus Boyd, a sugar merchant and Vice-Chairman of the British East India Company. In the mid-eighteenth-century John Boyd, his father Augustus and other plantation owners were partners in a new trading firm called

145 Seán Mac Mathúna, 'Blackheath and Slavery', at http://www.fantompowa.net/Flame/blackheath_slavery.htm

146 NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1078946>; 'Map of Greenwich, London', The National Archives, at https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/blackhistory/journeys/virtual_tour_html/london/greenwich.htm

147 Joan Anim-Addo, *Longest Journey: A History of Black Lewisham* (London: Deptford Forum Publishing, 1995), pp. 29-31; 'London: Centre of the Slave Trade', Historic England, at <https://historicengland.org.uk/research/inclusive-heritage/the-slave-trade-and-abolition/sites-of-memory/slave-traders-and-plantation-wealth/london-centre-of-the-slave-trade/>

Grant, Oswald and Co, dealing with all aspects of the slave trade.¹⁴⁸ Originally called Danson Hill, this Palladian villa stood over 600 acres of pleasure grounds and agricultural estate and housed Boyd's collection of fine art, rare and antique books. The garden was designed by Nathaniel Richmond, student of Capability Brown. 200 acres of the original estate remain to form Danson Park, the largest public park in the borough. Boyd also became a great public benefactor supporting numerous charities and endowing religious and educational institutions caring for the poor.¹⁴⁹

Lamorbey in Sidcup is now part of Rose Bruford College. The Malcolm family from Scotland were prominent sugar plantation owners in Jamaica. Neill Malcolm MP married Mary Ann Orme of the Lamorbey estate in 1797. The Malcolms inherited and extended the Lamorbey estate in 1812 and were active local community benefactors. They endowed the chapel of Holy Trinity and provided land for a new vicarage. They also supported the church school in Hurst Road and established another in Burnt Oak Lane, where they also erected a series of cottages for workmen.¹⁵⁰

Richmond upon Thames

The locations of many grand houses built alongside the Thames, many of which no longer survive, have been identified by the *Panorama of the Thames* project. For example, St Ann's House in Barnes, built by Nathan Spriggs, partner in the slave-factors Hibbert and Spriggs of Kingston, Jamaica.¹⁵¹

The building and furnishing of **Marble Hill** (EH) in Twickenham in 1724-9 was partially financed by Henrietta Howard's (Countess of Suffolk) investment in the South Sea Company. Subsequent owners and occupiers such as John Hobart, Henrietta Pulteney (Countess of Bath) and Katharine Lowther (Duchess of Bolton) also had strong links with the slave trade.¹⁵²

148 Killingray, 'Kent', pp. 111-112.

149 Cliff Pereira, 'Representing the East and West India links to the British country house: the London Borough of Bexley and the wider heritage picture' in Dresser and Hann, *Slavery*, pp. 132-141; Richard Lea and Chris Miele, *Danson House: The Anatomy of a Georgian Villa* (English Heritage, 2011); 'Bexley: The Slavery Connection' (2007-2009) by Bexley Heritage Trust at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/23>

150 'Bexley: The Slavery Connection'; Pereira, 'Representing'.

151 The project is creating a historical record of the 52 miles of the banks of the river, funded by individual contributions and community groups: <http://www.panoramaofthethames.com/index.html>.

152 Laurence Brown, 'Atlantic slavery and classical culture at Marble Hill and Northington Grange' in Dresser and Hann, *Slavery*, pp. 91-101; Laurence Brown, 'The slavery connections of Marble Hill House' (commissioned by English Heritage, 2010) available at <https://historicengland.org.uk/research/inclusive-heritage/the-slave-trade-and-abolition/slavery-and-the-british-country-house/>

The poet and satirist Alexander Pope invested in the South Sea Company. From 1719 he lived for many years at an elegant Thameside villa in **Twickenham**. His neighbour at **The Grove**, James Craggs, was also an investor. Pope created gardens and an underground grotto, most of which survives under twentieth-century buildings.¹⁵³

Edward Colston lived at **Cromwell House** in Mortlake from 1689 until his death in 1721. He was a trader member of the Royal Africa Company (see also: Bristol). His will provided for Mortlake schools and the rebuilding of cottages as almshouses for the parish. His name survives in **Colston Road**. There were two Black servants recorded as present in Colston's Mortlake household, 'Black Mary' and John. The old house was demolished in 1857 to make way for a new building, which was, in turn, demolished in 1947.¹⁵⁴

Sir Dalby Thomas (c. 1650-1711) was governor of Cape Coast Castle, the main British slave fort on the West African coast. He died in Africa, but his wife Lady Dorothy Thomas and daughter Susanna used family money to pay for a new vicarage at **St Mary's Church, Hampton** and built a lavish tomb to Sir Dalby. Lady Thomas was also responsible for erecting the memorial tablet to her 'Ethiopian' servant Charles Pompey.¹⁵⁵

The impressive tomb for John and Catherine Greg at **Hampton Parish Church** was built in 1795. The Hillsborough estate in Dominica remained in the family until 1928.¹⁵⁶

Sheridan Place, Hampton is named after Dame Ann McGilchrist then Sheridan, part-owner of the Mount Hindmost estate in Jamaica under the will of her first husband Daniel McGilchrist.¹⁵⁷

Sir Robert Udney (1725-1802) made his fortune trading sugar in the Caribbean. He owned Udney House on the High Street in **Teddington** and created an impressive art collection which he displayed in a picture gallery designed by Robert Adam and added in 1790. Udney's gallery and house were demolished in the eighteenth century, but his name lives on in **Udney Park Road**.¹⁵⁸

153 'Alexander Pope's Grotto', The Twickenham Museum, at <http://www.twickenham-museum.org.uk/detail.php?aid=9&cid=1&ctid=2>; 'Parallel Views: Black History in Richmond' (2007) by Orleans House Gallery, Richmond Arts Service, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/614>

154 Helen Deaton, *The Story of Cromwell House at Mortlake* (Barnes and Mortlake History Society)

155 'Parallel Views'

156 'Parallel Views'

157 LBS entry for 'Dame Ann McGilchrist then Sheridan (née Fearon) at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146650659>

158 'Parallel Views'

A memorial to Frances, first wife of Edward Lascelles, and later wife to Francis Holbourne, also involved in the West Indies trade as ship captain and plantation manager, survives in the **Church of St Mary Magdalene, Richmond**.¹⁵⁹

Kingston upon Thames

The London banker William Matthew Coulthurst, a senior partner in Coutts & Co, was awarded compensation for the enslaved people on seven estates in Jamaica. In 1874 he built a church at **Surbiton** at a cost of £19,000 in memory of his sister, Hannah Mabella.¹⁶⁰

Merton

Morden Hall in Morden was owned by the Garth family from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. George Garth was a shareholder in the Royal Africa Company, indicating that a significant portion of the family's wealth originated from the slave trade.¹⁶¹

Morden Hall Park (NT) includes remnants of a large country estate left to the National Trust in 1941 by Gilliat Hatfeild, the last heir of a family of tobacco merchants. A pair of former snuff mills and historic outbuildings still survive. The River Wandle runs through the estate (see: South-East: ports and industrial heritage).¹⁶²

John Innes (1829-1904), property developer and philanthropist (founder the John Innes Horticultural Institution at Merton Park in 1910) was the sixth of the seven known children of the West Indies merchant John Innes (1786-1869) and was left £338,027. The South London garden suburb **Merton Park** was developed by John Innes Junior and H. G. Quartermain from the early 1870s until 1904.¹⁶³

Sutton

What was once the village of **Carshalton** has many links to the transatlantic slavery economy. **Carshalton House** (now part of St Philomena's School) was built for Edward Carlton, a London tobacco merchant. After he went bankrupt it came into the hands of Sir John Fellowes, a governor of the South Sea Company.

159 Valerie Boyes, *Trading in Human Lives: The Richmond Connection* (Museum of Richmond, 2007), available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/2006>

160 LBS entry for 'William Matthew Coulthurst (1797-1877)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/46462>

161 <https://mordenhall.com/history/>

162 'Mr Hatfeild's philanthropy at Morden Hall Park', The National Trust, at <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/morden-hall-park/features/mr-hatfeilds-philanthropy-at-morden-hall-park>; 'Wandle Trail', Wandle Valley Regional Park Trust, available at <https://wandlevalleypark.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/Wandle-Trail-Map-Print.pdf>

163 LBS entry for 'John Innes (1786-1869)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146630293>

Surviving features of some of the original park landscape remain in what is now Carshalton Park, including the Water Tower, built for Fellowes, incorporating an orangery and a bathroom lined with delft tiles. There is also evidence of the original work of Charles Bridgeman (commissioned by John Fellowes to landscape the garden) in the garden folly and bridge.¹⁶⁴

Other landowners in Carshalton were the Carew family (Nicholas Carew was a shareholder in the Royal African Company) and the Scawen family (Sir Thomas Scawen was a wealthy financier and one of the early governors of the Bank of England). George Taylor was born on St Kitts into a family whose wealth was built on sugar plantations. He purchased Carshalton Park from the Scawen family and built **Carshalton Park House** in the 1780s. He left the poor of the parish £1,000 in his will. By 1920 the house had disappeared and most of the land was sold.¹⁶⁵ Carshalton Park is also associated with the West India merchant Beeston Long and his son Samuel Long, who built a house there, demolished c. 1822.¹⁶⁶

Croydon

The building of a house on the **Addington Estate** was started in 1772 by Barlow Trecothick (c. 1718-1775), a North American and West India merchant who owned plantations in Grenada and Jamaica. **Addington Palace** was later finished by his nephew James Ivers, who inherited his uncle's properties and commissioned Capability Brown for the landscaping. He sold Addington Palace in 1802 to the Coles, another family with Caribbean interests.¹⁶⁷

George Smith bought **Selsdon Park** in 1805 and largely rebuilt it and landscaped the park: his son George Robert Smith lived there until his death in 1869. Both were wealthy bankers whose bank, Smith, Payne & Smith, lent money secured on estates and enslaved people in Jamaica and British Guiana. One of their clients, a London West Indian merchant firm called Manning & Anderson failed in 1831. The bank seized estates in St Kitts and the enslaved people who lived on them. The compensation paid to the bank helped it flourish until its merger in 1902 with

164 *Parks and Gardens* entry for 'Carshalton House', at <https://www.parksandgardens.org/places/carshalton-house>; Carshalton Water Tower & Historic Garden Trust, at <http://www.carshaltonwatertower.co.uk/about/4593629185>

165 'Gentlemen Slavers' (2007) by London Borough of Sutton Archives examined how the influence of wealth generated by transatlantic slavery was present in many aspects of Sutton's local history and development, with a particular focus on the Taylor family (<http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/410>)

166 Duncan Hawkins, Andrew Skelton, Mark Bagwell and Jon Lowe, 'Samuel Long's House, a lost Carshalton Mansion', *London Archaeologist* (2004), pp. 204-213; 'Long, Samuel (1746-1807) of Carshalton Park, Surr.', *History of Parliament Online*, <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/long-samuel-1746-1807>

167 LBS, 'Croydon and Slavery' exhibition panels available at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs//media-new/pdfs/lbscroydon1.pdf>. On Croydon's links see also Sean Creighton, 'Croydon's Connections with the British Slavery Business' in *Strange Bedfellows: Croydon's slave Owners and Historians*, *Croydon Natural History & Scientific Society, Proceedings* 20:1 (2017)

Union Bank of London, now owned by the RBS Group. Selsdon Park is now a country park hotel.¹⁶⁸ **Selsdon Wood**, once part of the estate, is now owned by the National Trust.¹⁶⁹

Redbridge

Harts House in Woodford Green was home to William Mellish from 1815 until his death in 1834. His brother, Peter Mellish, invested in the building of the West India Docks; their father owned land in Shadwell next to the Thames. William and Peter made their fortunes through supplying the navy with provisions and becoming shipping agents. William was also MP for Middlesex 1806-1820 and a Director of the Bank of England. Mellish demolished the existing medieval building and built a spacious new house designed in the fashionable classical style. During the twentieth century Harts House was used as a hospital and a private care home.¹⁷⁰

Wanstead House was built by Sir Josiah Child (d. 1699), an early investor in the Royal African Company. Child was also Governor of the East India Company and owned plantations in Jamaica. He spent much of his fortune on his vast country estate and gardens at Wanstead House. Great avenues of trees were planted and the River Roding was diverted to form ornamental ponds. Sir Richard Child inherited Wanstead House and his father's fortune in 1704 and used his inheritance to rebuild Wanstead House in a magnificent classical style by 1722. The grounds were enhanced with the advice of George London, a famous gardener of the day. The house is now demolished, the grounds sold to the Corporation of London and Wanstead Sports Grounds. Several features of the gardens survive, including the lake system, tree avenues and a grotto. Josiah Child is buried in Wanstead Parish Church. A marble memorial was erected in his memory, complete with a life-size statue. Below his are statues of his son Sir Richard and his wife.¹⁷¹

Enfield

The accompanying booklet produced for the *Enfield and the Transatlantic Slave Trade* project (2007) by Enfield Museum Service and Enfield Racial Equality Council uncovered a number of slavery connections in the local area which may point to surviving evidence in the built environment. Humphrey Weld (1546-1610) of Arnos Grove bought land in Edmonton in 1584 including a property known as Arnolds Court. He took an active part in the formation of the Virginia Company founded to establish plantations in Virginia. Sir Robert Nightingale (d. 1727) of the Rectory in Enfield invested in a number of slave trading voyages. John Walker

168 LBS, 'Croydon and Slavery'

169 Friends of Selsdon Wood, at <http://www.friendsofselsdonwood.co.uk/history.php>

170 'Redbridge and Slavery' (2007) by Redbridge Museum at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/865>

171 Hannah Armstrong, 'Josiah Child and the Wanstead Estate', *East India Company at Home, 1757-1857*, at <https://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/josiah-child-and-the-wanstead-estate-case-study/comment-page-1/>; 'Redbridge and Slavery'; 'Wanstead House and the Parklands – a history', Wanstead Wildlife, at <https://www.wansteadwildlife.org.uk/index.php/en/wanstead-house16>

(b. 1766) married Sarah Chorley whose father, John, was a West Indian merchant of Liverpool. John Walker was one of a number of philanthropists who used their wealth in the local community: he established the first free school in Southgate and the family contributed to local charities. Beaver Hall in Southgate (demolished in the 1870s) was built for the Baring family in the mid-eighteenth century, and later was home to the merchant and shipowner, John Locke.¹⁷²

Some schools are indirectly connected to slavery wealth through associations with local churches. For example, in Edmonton, North London, John Snell, a wealthy absentee owner, gifted land to St James' Church, upon which **St John and St James' Primary School** was built and opened in 1851.¹⁷³

London: the historic Black presence

The greatest number of people of African descent who lived and worked in England during the time of transatlantic slavery resided in London.¹⁷⁴ A number of individuals (listed here alphabetically) lived independent lives in London, and are remembered in the built environment in the city (and around England). Some of these individuals were featured in the *Black Georgians: The Shock of the Familiar* exhibition at Black Cultural Archives (2015-2016).

A Blue Plaque to **Ira Aldridge** (1807-1867), the great Black classical Shakespearean actor of Victorian times, was unveiled in 2007 at his former home in Hamlet Road, Upper Norwood.¹⁷⁵ Aldridge performed around England, including Bath and Bristol and the North of England.¹⁷⁶

Francis Barber was servant and legatee to the writer Dr Samuel Johnson. Barber was born enslaved in Jamaica around 1735. He was brought to England by plantation owner Colonel Richard Bathurst, who sent him to school in Yorkshire. After further education at Bishop Stortford Grammar School, Barber became Johnson's trusted servant and secretary at his house in Gough Square, London.

172 Valerie Munday (ed.), *Enfield and the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (Enfield Council, 2008); 'Enfield and the Transatlantic Slave Trade' (2007) by Enfield Museum Service and Enfield Racial Equality Council at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/571>

173 LBS entry for 'John Snell (1774-1847)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/25788>; 'St John & St James Church of England Primary School: Celebrating 160 Years', at <http://www.stjohnandjames.enfield.sch.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/History-of-School-160-Years-presentation-13-11.pdf>

174 'Black Londoners 1800-1900 Map' created by Caroline Bressey for the Equiano Centre at UCL (active 2007-2017): https://www.ucl.ac.uk/drupal/site_equiano-centre/projects/black-londoners-1800-1900; Gretchen Gerzina, *Black London: Life before Emancipation* (Rutgers University Press, 1995), available at <https://www.dartmouth.edu/~library/digital/publishing/books/gerzina1995/>

175 <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/blue-plaques/aldridge-ira/>

176 Theresa Saxon, 'Ira Aldridge in the North of England: Provincial Theatre and the Politics of Abolition' in Gerzina (ed.), *Britain's Black Past*, pp. 275-294; Ira Aldridge at Bristol Old Vic: <https://bristololdvic.org.uk/archive/ira-aldridge>

When Johnson died, he left most of his estate to Francis in his will. Barber married an English woman and the inheritance allowed him to move his family to Lichfield in Staffordshire, where he died in 1801. A plaque remembering Barber was erected in 2016 at Johnson's house by the BBC History Project.¹⁷⁷

Dido Elizabeth Belle (1761 – 1804) grew up at Kenwood House, London. She was the great-niece of William Murray, Lord Mansfield, who as Lord Chief Justice of England and Wales presided over landmark cases that affected enslaved Africans. Dido was the illegitimate daughter of Lord Mansfield's nephew, Sir John Lindsay (a Royal Navy captain), and an African woman named Maria Bell whom he met while stationed in the Caribbean. Dido was brought up in aristocratic surroundings by Lord and Lady Mansfield, along with her cousin, Lady Elizabeth Murray, with whom she features in a portrait. When Lord Mansfield died, he recorded in his will that Dido was a free woman.¹⁷⁸ The exhibition *Slavery and Justice: The Legacies of Dido Belle and Lord Mansfield* at Kenwood House in 2007 explored their relationship, and the social dimensions of transatlantic slavery intertwined with the history of Kenwood. The *Wall of Words* was a literary mural created by artist Beyonder as part of the exhibition.¹⁷⁹

Caroline Bressey has explored the stories of Dido Elizabeth Belle and Lagos-born **Victoria Davies**, who visited her godmother Queen Victoria at Osborne House on the Isle of Wight.¹⁸⁰ Victoria's mother, **Sarah Davies**, was brought to England in 1850 by naval officer Commander Frederick Forbes of HMS *Bonetta*. Forbes had been 'gifted' the freedom of the young girl, born a Yoruba Princess, by the King of Dahomey (in present day Benin) with whom he was negotiating an end to the kingdom's involvement in the slave trade. Sarah lived for a time with the Forbes family in Windsor. Hearing her story, Queen Victoria took financial responsibility for Sarah, and paid for her education in Sierra Leone and afterwards in Brighton. Photographs were taken in London following Sarah's marriage in Brighton to James Davies, a successful merchant. The couple lived in Lagos with their family but visited England on a number of occasions when Victoria, their daughter, would visit Queen Victoria.¹⁸¹

177 Michael Bundock, *The Fortunes of Francis Barber: The True Story of the Jamaican Slave who became Samuel Johnson's Heir* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015); *London Memorials*, <https://www.londonremembers.com/memorials/francis-barber>

178 Gretchen Gerzina, 'The Georgian Life and Modern Afterlife of Dido Elizabeth Belle' in Gerzina (ed.), *Britain's Black Past*, pp. 161-178. Dido Belle has been the subject of a feature film, *Belle* (2013), directed by Amma Asante, and an episode of the BBC's series *Stitch in Time* (2019), <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b09p6mxw>

179 Details of the exhibition are available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/551>; 'The Wall of Words' text is available at <https://historicengland.org.uk/research/inclusive-heritage/the-slave-trade-and-abolition/the-wall-of-words/>

180 Caroline Bressey, 'Contesting the political legacy of slavery in England's country houses: a case study of Kenwood House and Osborne House' in Dresser and Hann (eds), *Slavery*, pp. 121-131.

181 The photographs are part of the National Portrait Gallery collections: <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp63230/sarah-forbes-bonetta-sarah-davies>; *The Gift* (2020) by Janice Okoh is a play about Sarah Davies/Bonetta (Eclipse Theatre's Revolution Mix project).

George Augustus Bridgtower (1779 – 1860) was a soloist and principal violinist in professional orchestras at the age of twelve. His father was from Barbados and had been living in Europe where he had been the personal servant to a prince. Bridgtower made his musical debut in 1789 at The Assembly Rooms in Bath. He became a respected member of London's artistic community and between 1789 and 1799 he performed in around 50 concerts in London theatres. Bridgtower held the post of the Prince of Wales' first violinist in his private orchestra for 14 years. He died in 1860 in poverty and is buried in Kensal Green Cemetery.¹⁸²

William and Ellen Craft were a formerly enslaved African-American couple who lived in Hammersmith in 1857. They became well-known as public speakers against slavery, and their house became one of the centres of the abolitionist movement. William later wrote a book, *1000 Miles to Freedom* (1860). Shepherds Bush Housing Association erected a plaque to them at their former home at Cambridge Grove.¹⁸³

The African Bishop and missionary **Samuel Ajayi Crowther** (1807 – 1891) was born in Yorubaland (present day Nigeria), kidnapped and sold into slavery in the 1820s. After his slave ship was intercepted at sea by the Royal Navy, he was resettled in the British colony of Sierra Leone and began his missionary education at Fourah Bay College in Freetown in 1822. Crowther went on to have a distinguished life. He wrote accounts of his journeys as a missionary in the River Niger in West Africa in 1841-42 and again in 1856. He studied West African languages and produced translations of the Bible. Crowther first visited England in 1826. He studied at St Mary's Parochial School in Islington and was ordained at St Mary's Church in Islington. He later became Vicar at Christ Church in Newgate. He was consecrated as the Church of England's first African bishop in Canterbury Cathedral in 1864.¹⁸⁴

Ottobah Cugoano was one of the first African Britons actively engaged in the campaign for abolition. Born in Ghana in around 1757, he was kidnapped in his teens and enslaved, then transported to the West Indies. He was brought to England by his owner in 1772 and set free and was baptised in the name of John Stuart in 1773 at St James's Church on Piccadilly. In the 1780s, Cugoano was employed as a servant by the society painters Richard and Maria Cosway at their home, now Schomberg House on Pall Mall. During this period he learned to read and write

182 'Sites of Memory'; 'George Bridgtower: Art, Liberty & Slavery 1807' (2007) by City of London Festival, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/894>

183 'Remembering Slavery in Hammersmith'

184 'Crowther's Journey' (2007) by Southwark Pensioners Black History Group, at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/867>; 'Samuel Ajayi Crowther: From slave boy to African national hero' (2007) at Islington Local History Centre, at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/612>; Black History Month feature: <https://www.blackhistorymonth.org.uk/article/section/history-of-slavery/community-heroes-of-the-past-bishop-samuel-ajayi-crowther/>

and established himself as a spokesman for London's growing Black community.¹⁸⁵ He was the first published African critic of the transatlantic slave trade with his autobiography *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil and Wicked Traffic of the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species* (1787).¹⁸⁶

Olaudah Equiano (1745 – 1797) became the leading African figure in the eighteenth-century abolitionist movement.¹⁸⁷ Equiano was enslaved as a child and bought by an English naval captain who renamed him Gustavus Vassa after a famous Swedish king. In 1759 he was baptised at St Margaret's Church in Westminster, where he is remembered by a memorial.¹⁸⁸ Equiano eventually bought his freedom in 1766 and became the defender of Black interests. His autobiography, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African* (1789) told the story of enslavement from the perspective of the enslaved and became a bestseller. His house on the site of 73 Riding House Street in London is currently marked with a green plaque by Westminster Council.

In 1792 Equiano married Susanna Cullen at St Andrew's Church in Soham, Cambridgeshire. They had two daughters, Anna Maria and Joanna.¹⁸⁹ A commemorative plaque to Anna Maria Vassa is found on the side of St Andrew's Church in Chesterton, Cambridgeshire. Joanna Vassa is buried in Abney Park Cemetery in Stoke Newington, London. The monument was erected some time after her death in 1857, and serves in part as a memorial to her father.¹⁹⁰ Equiano spent the last years of his life touring the country, promoting and selling his book. He visited Sheffield and Huddersfield in 1790, where a plaque in the Hudawi Cultural Centre marks the naming of the Equiano Room in 2007.¹⁹¹ Equiano is also

185 See an engraving of Cugoano by Richard Cosway (1784) as a servant to the artist with his wife, Maria, at <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/portchester-castle/history-and-stories/black-people-in-late-18th-century-britain/>; 'Events to mark the bicentenary in the City of Westminster'.

186 See resources about Cugoano on Brycchan Carey's website: <https://brycchancarey.com/cugoano/index.htm>

187 Vincent Caretta, 'Revisiting Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa' in Gerzina (ed.), *Britain's Black Past*, pp. 45-62. Equiano's portrait was part of the National Portrait Gallery's *Portraits, People and Abolition* exhibition in 2007: <https://www.npg.org.uk/learning/digital/history/abolition-of-slavery/olaudah-equiano>

188 *Maritime Memorials*, <https://memorials.rmg.co.uk/m6122/>

189 'Soham at the Time of the Abolition' (2007) was a partnership project between Soham Village College, Soham Museum and Soham Action 4 Youth to celebrate Equiano's life and his connection to the Cambridgeshire town. It included Donna Martin's publication *Olaudah: The Life Story of Olaudah Equiano* (2008). See <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/581>

190 Angelina Osborne, *Equiano's Daughter: The Life and Times of Joanna Vassa, Daughter of Olaudah Equiano, Gustavus Vassa, the African* (2007). NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1392851>. Many other non-conformists and anti-slavery sympathisers are buried in Abney Park Cemetery, see 'Abolition Voices from Abney Park' (2007) by Abney Park Cemetery Trust at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/708>

191 'The Abolition of the Slave Trade' (2007) by Kirklees Council, at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/498>

remembered in a sculpture by Christy Symington which has been exhibited at a number of museums and galleries, including the International Slavery Museum and the Parliamentary Art Collection.¹⁹² The Equiano Society is dedicated to unearthing Equiano's story, leading *The Equiano Project* in 2007 in collaboration with Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, and further research in 2019.¹⁹³

Cesar Picton (c.1755-1836) established himself as a prosperous coal merchant and lived as a gentleman in Kingston and Thames Ditton. Picton was born into a Muslim family in Senegal in 1755 but was brought to Picton Castle in Pembrokeshire in 1761 by Captain Parr. He was educated and trained in household work by the Philipps family, who left him an inheritance. He set up as a coal merchant and owned a wharf and a malt house. He lived at 52 High Street, Kingston upon Thames from 1790 (commemorated by a Kingston local history plaque) and bought Picton House in Thames Ditton in 1816, marked by a plaque from Thames Ditton and West Green Residents' Association.¹⁹⁴

The writer and abolitionist **Ignatius Sancho** was born on board a slave ship to Grenada in the mid-Atlantic in 1729. His parents died and he was brought to England at the age of two and given as a 'gift' to three sisters in Greenwich. He later worked as butler to John, Second Duke of Montagu, in Blackheath. Montagu house stood on Greenwich Park until it was demolished in 1815. There is a plaque to Sancho on the remaining wall of the house. Sancho taught himself to read and write and eventually secured his freedom, becoming a grocer in 1773. A plaque to him was erected by the Nubian Jak Community Trust at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in the City of Westminster. His grocery shop was at number 19 (King) Charles Street (where the entrance to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office now stands).¹⁹⁵

Because he was wealthy and owned property, Sancho had the right to vote, the first known African man to do so in England. He became a composer and writer embraced by the literary and artistic intelligentsia of London. His letters were published after his death and were very popular, helping the cause of abolition.¹⁹⁶ He married Anne Osborne, originally from the West Indies, and he and his seven children were baptised at St Margaret's Church, Westminster. Sancho was buried at

192 'Oludah Equiano – African, slave, author, abolitionist' at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/1997>

193 <https://equiano.uk/>; 'The Equiano Project' (2007) in collaboration with Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery available at <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/129>. In 2019 the Equiano Society was awarded funds from the Heritage Lottery Fund to celebrate the 225th anniversary of the publication of Equiano's *The Interesting Narrative* with a series of talks and exhibitions.

194 'Sites of Memory'

195 *Nubian Jak Community Trust Commemorative Plaques 2006-2020*, at <http://nubianjak.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/Nubian-Jak-UK-Plaques.pdf>

196 Reyhan King, Sukhdev Sandhu, James Walvin, Jane Girdham, *Ignatius Sancho: An African Man of Letters* (National Portrait Gallery, 1997)

Broadway Chapel, Westminster. While this and subsequent churches are no longer standing, a public open space at the site, Christchurch Gardens, is maintained by Westminster City Council and offers some information about Sancho on a plaque.¹⁹⁷

The Blue Plaque to Jamaican nurse **Mary Seacole** (1805-1881) was re-erected by English Heritage at 14 Soho Square in 2007.¹⁹⁸ The plaque formerly adorned her now-demolished home at 157 George Street, Marylebone. A memorial statue of Mary Seacole was unveiled in 2016 in the gardens of St Thomas's Hospital, following a long campaign by the Mary Seacole Memorial Statue Appeal.¹⁹⁹ Seacole is buried in St Mary's Roman Catholic Cemetery in Kensal Green and has a memorial park named after her in Hammersmith and Fulham. Organised by Works4U, a local social enterprise, a group of volunteers regenerated the park, on the edge of the Grand Union Canal.²⁰⁰

The Black presence in and around London is also evidenced in burial sites. **Samuel Mudian** (c.1770-1841) was, according to his gravestone, 'a native of St Kitts'. He worked as a butler at Carshalton Park House for George Taylor, owner of plantations in St Kitts and Nevis. Perhaps as an indication of the respect held for his servant, George Taylor specified in his will that should Samuel return to St Kitts he would grant him his freedom. In 1807, Samuel Mudian married Judith Bluton, a young white woman from Carshalton, and they lived in the local area. His tombstone in the churchyard at All Saints in Carshalton marks how he died in 1841 aged 71 years.²⁰¹

The tomb of Harriet Long and **Jacob Walker** at Old Parish Church of St Mary, Haringey was erected in 1841 to commemorate a Virginian, Harriet Long and her former slave (in Virginia) and servant (in England), Jacob Walker. The inscription compares the relative legal situations in America and England for Walker.²⁰²

Other people of African descent are depicted in paintings and prints. Black people in Hornsey and Tottenham history in this period include the African servant of Lucius and Montague Hare, the two younger sons of the 2nd Lord Coleraine of Bruce Castle, depicted with them in a portrait in c. 1675.²⁰³

197 'Westminster'; 'Events to mark the bicentenary in the City of Westminster'

198 <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/blue-plaques/mary-seacole/>

199 <https://www.maryseacoletrust.org.uk/mary-seacole-statue/>

200 http://www.works-4u.com/news_parkregen.html

201 Sue Barnard, *Gentlemen Slavers: Sutton's connections with the transatlantic slave trade* (London Borough of Sutton, 2009), available at <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/410>

202 NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1392351>

203 Sylvia L. Collicott, 'The 200th Anniversary of the Slave Trade Abolition Act: a North London perspective', available at https://www.haringey.gov.uk/sites/haringeygovuk/files/sylvia_collicott_speech_in_haringey.pdf; 'Links and Liberty' (2007) by Bruce Castle Museum and Euroart Studios, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/709>

Julius Soubise was the servant of the Duchess of Queensbury, of Douglas House in Petersham, Richmond. Soubise was 'gifted' to her by Captain Stair-Douglas in 1764 after he brought him to England from the West Indies. The Duchess lavished affection and money on him. He became an expert horseman and fencer and was known for his flamboyant lifestyle. The duchess and her servant were lampooned in polite society, as demonstrated by the political cartoon *The Duchess of Queensbury and Julius Soubise* engraving by William Austin, 1773 (Bodleian Library).²⁰⁴

A number of projects investigated the Black presence in and around London in 2007, invariably tied to the history of slavery and abolition, as revealed by many entries in the *Remembering 1807* database.²⁰⁵ For example, Eastside Community Heritage worked with young people from West Ham and Stratford to explore the significance of the bicentenary within the context of their own history in London and in British history more widely.²⁰⁶ Walking tours in the last decades have explored Black history in the capital.²⁰⁷

In **Camden**, the *Struggle, Emancipation and Unity* project (2007) by the London Borough of Camden created 'Camden's 18th and 19th Century Slavery Trail', which highlighted the lives of men and women connected to the slave trade who lived in the area. This including Mary Prince, the first woman to have a memoir of her experiences of slavery published in Britain (1831), who for a time lived at Leigh Street.²⁰⁸

In **Clapham**, there are traces of built heritage associated with a group of 25 young formerly enslaved people brought to England from Sierra Leone in the 1790s by the abolitionist Zachary Macaulay to be educated by the Clapham Sect at their African Academy. One of the buildings occupied by the African Academy between 1799 and 1805 can be seen at The Rectory Centre in Clapham Old Town. Several of the African Academy pupils were buried in the parish burial ground of St Paul's, Clapham's original parish church. Most of the gravestones in St Paul's have been cleared and their burial places are now unknown.²⁰⁹

204 Boyes, 'Richmond', p. 12

205 Including 'Parallel Views'; 'Enfield and the Transatlantic Slave Trade'; 'Redbridge and Slavery'; 'Bexley: The Slavery Connection'; 'Southwark'; 'Lambeth'; and 'The Wickedest of Cargoes' (2007) by London Borough of Newham Heritage Service available at R1807, <http://www.antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/615>

206 'The Road to Freedom' (2007) by Eastside Community Heritage, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/1025>

207 For example, Avril's Walks and Tours (<https://www.avrilswalksandtalks.co.uk/>); Black History Walks (<https://www.blackhistorywalks.co.uk/index.php>). Blue Badge Guides provide tours of the City focusing on Black history and on London's historic ties to the slave trade, for example the 'London's Slave Trade: The People, the Port & the Profit' (2018): <https://www.londonsociety.org.uk/event/tour-londons-slave-trade-the-people-the-port-the-profit>

208 'Struggle, Emancipation and Unity' (2007) by the London Borough of Camden, available at R1807, <http://www.antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/703>. A plaque to Mary Prince was erected by the Nubian Jak Community Trust at Senate House, London, near to where she lived in 1829.

209 'Sites of Memory'; Martin, 'Clapham'.

Several projects have investigated the Black presence in **Westminster**.²¹⁰ For example, in 1785 a Committee for the Relief of the Black Poor was formed by a group of London merchants and tradesmen, and relief was doled out at two London public houses: the Yorkshire Stingo in Lisson Green, Marylebone, and the White Raven in Whitechapel. Many of those in receipt of relief were induced to join and were later to perish in the disastrous first Sierra Leone resettlement scheme. The site of the Yorkshire Stingo has since been used for the County Court and Public Baths. The meeting places around Westminster for public debate of the Sons of Africa - a group of African activists who formed themselves around Equiano and Cugoana - included Coachmakers Hall on Noble Street and Westminster School of Eloquence on Pantoon St.²¹¹

The **Greenwich** Slavery Trail produced by the National Maritime Museum detailed the Black presence in the area, including in the church records of St Alfege's Church (see also: Deptford).²¹² Large numbers of African and West Indian mariners passed through the gates of the Royal Hospital for Seamen (now part of the Royal Naval College) and Black sailors became Greenwich Pensioners.²¹³

The presence - or absence - of the historic Black population in London's memorial landscape was taken up by Lubaina Himid in *What Are Monuments For? Possible Landmarks on the Urban Map* (2009). In this satirical performance piece, Himid altered a glossy 'guide book' of London and Paris and asked what might have been if the contributions of African peoples to the capitals had been considered.²¹⁴

'**Gilt of Cain**' is a memorial for the victims of the slave trade - and in honour of those who abolished it - erected in 2008 on Fen Court near Fenchurch Street station. The project was managed by Futurecity for the City of London Corporation together with Black British Heritage. A collaboration between Scottish sculptor Michael Visocchi and the Black British poet Lemn Sissay, 'Gilt of Cain' is situated close to the heart of the financial district of the City of London, and to St Mary Woolnoth church, where the sermons of the reformed slave ship captain John Newton inspired William Wilberforce to take on the cause of abolition.²¹⁵

210 Rory Lalwan, *Sources for Black and Asian History at the City of Westminster Archives Centre* (Westminster City Archives, 2005); *Black History in Westminster* (City of Westminster, 2006), available as part of 'Events to mark the bicentenary in the City of Westminster' and at www3.westminster.gov.uk/docstores/publications_store/bhm_booklet.pdf

211 'Westminster'; *London Remembers* entry for Coachmakers Hall at <https://www.londonremembers.com/memorials/coachmakers-hall>

212 Joan Anim-Addo, *Sugar, Spices and Human Cargo: An Early Black History of Greenwich* (Greenwich Leisure Services, 1996); 'Greenwich Slavery Trail' available at http://portcities.org.uk/london/upload/pdf/slavery_trail.pdf

213 For example, see *A caricature of Greenwich Pensioners* by John Thurston, c. 1800, at <https://collections.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/143250.html>

214 Rice, *Creating Memorials*, pp. 14-17; Alan Rice, 'Tracing slavery and abolition's routes and viewing inside the invisible: The monumental landscape and the African Atlantic', *Atlantic Studies*, 8:2 (2011), pp. 253-274

215 Discussed in Rice, *Creating Memorials*, pp. 17-23

'Memorial 2007' is the campaign for a memorial to the victims of the slave trade in London's Hyde Park which has been running since 2007.²¹⁶

There have been several initiatives creatively exploring the Black presence in London in the built environment, including *After Dark: Image Projections* (2014-2016), part of the Missing Chapter programme by Autograph ABP. A series of temporary large-scale image projections were staged in public spaces around London, including portraits from the late 1800s and rare photographs of Black presences in the UK from the mid-nineteenth century.²¹⁷

South-East: ports and industrial heritage

Outside the City of London, other ports and areas of industry in the South-East were impacted by the transatlantic slavery economy.

A case study of the industrial past of **Wandle Valley** in South London gives a snapshot of how England's local areas and industries could benefit from colonial trade.²¹⁸ The mills along the River Wandle which once produced flour for the local markets of Carshalton and Wallington had by 1800 moved into new areas of manufacturing based on colonial goods. Several mills ground tobacco to make snuff, including the surviving Beddington Mill.²¹⁹ The river was lined with bleach fields where cotton and linen (some of which would have been grown on slave-worked plantations) were whitened in the sun. In the late eighteenth century there were gunpowder mills, the products of which were sold to merchant ships possibly involved in the transatlantic trade. Other mills in the area were converted to the production of copper pots and pans, to fulfil the demand for the export of these kinds of goods to Caribbean plantations or for barter on the West African coast.²²⁰

Erith (historically in Kent) was a busy port on the south bank of the Thames in the eighteenth century, importing goods from Britain's new colonies, such as spices, textiles and tea. Many of the trading ships that transported goods there were part of the East India Company. For example, at Erith in 1712 the *Catherine* unloaded silks and other textiles from Bengal, Gujarat and India, and cowrie shells from the Maldives and East India. These goods were then shipped to the West African coast and sold to merchants as barter for enslaved people.²²¹

216 <http://www.memorial2007.org.uk/the-project>

217 <http://themissingchapter.co.uk/after-dark-image-projections/>

218 'Wandle Trail'

219 'Snuff', Wandle Industrial Museum, at <http://www.wandle.org/exhibitions/snuff.html>; 'Bedington Mill', Wandle Valley Regional Park Trust, at <https://wandlevalleypark.co.uk/locations/sutton/beddington-mill/>. Some features remain of other mills in the area, for example the water wheel at Upper Mill: see Wandle Industrial Museum, <http://www.wandle.org/mills/uppermillcarshalton.pdf>

220 Barnard, *Gentlemen*, pp. 6-7

221 'Bexley: The Slavery Connection'

Some vessels constructed in shipyards in **Folkestone** and **Gravesend** in Kent were engaged directly in Atlantic slavery, or in shipping goods produced by enslaved labour. For example, in 1712, the *Anglesea* sailed from Gravesend for the African coast. There is at least one record of a ship involved in the transatlantic slave trade sailing from **Ramsgate**. Agents of the Royal African Company and the South Sea Company resided in **Deal**: the Bowles family, Crispe family and Boys family were employed in the 'Guinea' trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²²²

John Hawkins 'founded' **Chatham Dockyard** in the mid-sixteenth century and established the Sir John Hawkins Hospital as a naval hospital in 1594. Chatham ships were involved in naval actions in the Caribbean to protect the English colonies. In the nineteenth century, ships built at **Sheerness Dockyard** and Chatham Dockyard were also employed on anti-slavery patrols off the West African coast.²²³

Surviving port books record that between 1699 and 1713, at least eight ships left **Portsmouth** for Africa. Some had started from London and called at Portsmouth to collect additional goods for sale on the African coast, such as cloth, metal, weapons and luxury goods. Portsmouth also provided a boat-building and servicing facility for slave ships. 'The Abolition of Slavery: A Hampshire Perspective' exhibition (2007) detailed the disastrous voyage of the *Mary Anne* of **Warsash**, at the mouth of the River Hamble, to the African coast and on to the West Indies.²²⁴

In the nineteenth century, the trade in tobacco supported the flourishing clay tobacco pipe industry in Hampshire, particularly prominent in and around **Portchester**.²²⁵ Not all tobacco was produced by enslaved labour; further research is required to identify which particular industries benefitted from tobacco farmed by enslaved people.

Cowes on the Isle of Wight was a calling point on at least four slaving voyages. East Cowes was for a time the main customs port for importing tobacco and rice into Britain from America.²²⁶

222 Pocock, 'A Voyage'; Killingray, 'Kent', p. 110

223 See 'Freedom 1807: The Chatham Dockyard Story' (2007) at Chatham Historic Dockyard, available at R1807, <http://www.antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/578>

224 Pocock, 'A Voyage'; 'The Abolition of Slavery: The Hampshire Perspective' (2007) by Hampshire Record Office and Hampshire Museums and Archives Service, available at R1807, <http://www.antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/583>

225 Hampshire Record Office Archive Education Service, *The Transatlantic Slave Trade and Abolition*, available at <http://www.hants.gov.uk/rh/archives/slavery.pdf>; C. J. Arnold, 'The Nineteenth Century Clay Tobacco-Pipe Industry at Portchester, Hants', available at <http://www.hantsfieldclub.org.uk/publications/hampshirstudies/digital/1970s/vol31/Arnold.pdf>

226 Pocock, 'A Voyage'

Founded in 1840, the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company was one of many shipping companies to operate in and of **Southampton**, sailing to the West Indies and Brazil, among other places. The West India Committee gave its support to the formation of the company.²²⁷

South-East: residences and local development

Surrey

Baron Thomas Onslow was able to build a new Palladian mansion at **Clandon Park** (NT) owing in part to his marriage in 1708 to Elizabeth Knight, the heiress to a West Indian fortune. The property was built over an existing Elizabethan house in 1730-1733 to designs of Giacomo Leoni. Fire destroyed the interior and roof of the house in April 2015; the National Trust is seeking to rebuild it.²²⁸

Foxhills in Chertsey is a Victorian manor house built by John Ivatt Briscoe around 1840 on estate land inherited from his father-in-law, Sir Joseph Mawbey. Briscoe (1791-1870) became Lord of the Manor of Epsom upon marrying Anna Maria Mawbey in 1819. His marriage settlement included stakes in a Barbados Estate called Lower Berney's, belonging to William Berney. The house is currently a hotel and spa.²²⁹

In the 1760s, the owner of **Gatton Park**, Sir George Colebrooke, employed Capability Brown to redesign the surrounding parkland: the main lake was greatly expanded and the tributary lakes reshaped. Some of the landscape remains and is maintained by Gatton Trust. Colebrooke was an MP, banker and speculator, plantation owner and also a beneficiary of his wife's inheritance from slavery in Antigua.²³⁰ Gatton Hall is now a boarding school.

Leith Hill Tower (NT) or the Folly Tower, built 1764-5, was later restored and extended by William Philip Perrin (1742-1820). He owned five Jamaican estates which he inherited from his father William Perrin in 1759, but he never visited

227 LBS entry for 'Royal Steam Packet Company' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/firm/view/1240549095>; Anyaa Anim-Addo, 'Places and Mobilities in the maritime world: the Royal Steam Packet Company in the Caribbean, c. 1838 to 1914', unpublished PhD thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London (2012)

228 LBS entry for 'Thomas Onslow, 2nd Baron Onslow (1679-1740)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146648873>; 'Slave Plantations with Surrey Connections', *Exploring Surrey's Past*, at https://www.exploringsurreypast.org.uk/themes/subjects/black_history/surrey/slave-plantations/

229 LBS entry for 'John Ivatt Briscoe (1791-1870)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/physical/view/918958213>; 'Slave Plantations with Surrey Connections'

230 Floud, *An Economic History*, p. 84; *Lost Heritage: England's lost country houses* entry for 'Gatton Hall' at http://www.lostheritage.org.uk/houses/lh_surrey_gattonhall.html; <https://gattonpark.co.uk/about/history/>; *300 Years of Capability Brown* entry for 'Gatton' at <http://capabilitybrown.org/garden/gatton/>

Jamaica. He left his estates to his mother Frances and sister Sarah FitzHerbert but both predeceased him and the main beneficiary of his will was his nephew Sir Henry FitzHerbert (see also: Tissington Hall, Derbyshire).²³¹

Marden Valley (Park) in Woldingham was purchased in 1671 by the merchant banker, Sir Robert Clayton, a member of the Court of Assistants to the Royal African Company and also a factor in Bermuda. In Woldingham he built an elegant country house and created a landscaped deer park.²³²

The first bridge at **Walton-on-Thames** was built by Samuel Dicker, returnee from Jamaica and MP for Plymouth. The first bridge was built of wood between 1748 and 1750; Dicker's nephew, Michael Dicker Sanders, rebuilt the bridge in stone 1783-1788.²³³

Kent

Mote House in Maidstone was rebuilt by Charles Marsham, MP and 1st Earl of Romney, sole heir of his father Robert's sugar plantations on St Kitts, known as 'Romney's'. The architect was Daniel Alexander. Mote Park was established as municipal gardens by Kent Council after purchase in 1929. It is now a retirement complex, including a restaurant.²³⁴

East and West Sussex

Ashdown House in East Grinstead was a country house designed by Benjamin Henry Latrobe and built c.1792-1793 by John Trayton Fuller and his second wife Anne. Fuller reportedly inherited significant wealth from his father Thomas, described as a West India merchant. It is now a school.²³⁵

231 LBS entry for 'William Philip Perrin (1742-1820)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146632393>

232 'History of Woldingham Village', Woldingham History Society, at <https://woldinghamassociation.wordpress.com/about/history-of-woldingham-village/>

233 LBS entry for 'Samuel Dicker' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146649537>

234 LBS entry for 'Charles Marsham, 2nd Earl of Romney (1777-1845)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/23825>; Killingray, 'Kent', pp. 112-113; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1086313>

235 LBS entry for 'John Trayton Fuller' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146645675>; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1286907>

Battle Abbey (EH) is a partially ruined Benedictine Abbey, sold to the Webster family in the 1720s. Sir Godfrey Webster, 4th Bart., married the Jamaican sugar plantation heiress Elizabeth Vassall in 1786. A major renovation programme was initiated between 1810 and 1820 by their son, Sir Godfrey Vassall Webster, 5th Bart. Battle Abbey School incorporates some of the historic buildings.²³⁶

Brightling Park (also known as Rose Hill) estate was owned by the Fuller family between 1697 and 1847. The family wealth was built on the Wealden iron and charcoal industry, and later, gunfoundry. The family also inherited a Jamaican fortune from John Fuller's marriage to Elizabeth Rose in 1709. Their son, John Fuller II spent a considerable fortune between 1745 and 1755 on the estate and rebuilt the house, laid out a deer park and diverted the public road. His son John 'Mad Jack' Fuller (1757-1834) was a patron of the arts and an early sponsor of the Royal Institution, endowing two professorships. He again extended the house and c. 1810-1818 constructed the Sugar Loaf, a 35 feet high cone or obelisk on the Battle-Heathfield Road in Sussex, the Observatory at Brightling, and several follies. He also purchased and repaired **Bodiam Castle** (NT) in Sussex in 1828 to save it from ruin. Brightling Park was partially demolished in 1955; the parkland remains in private ownership.²³⁷

Cralle Place in Warbleton was largely rebuilt in 1724 by the prosperous Southwark brewer John Lade, who was active in the 'African and South Sea trades'.²³⁸

Dangstein in Rogate is a country house built by Charles/James Knowles for James Lyon (brother of David Lyon Jr – see below) after he bought the estate in 1837. Lyon was a retired East India Company officer and in 1827 became a beneficiary of slavery-wealth from his father.²³⁹

236 LBS entry for 'Sir Godfrey Vassall Webster 5th Bart (1789-1836)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146630292>; Miranda Kaufmann, 'Slavery connections and new perspectives: English Heritage properties', available at <http://www.mirandakaufmann.com/ehslaveryconnections.html>

237 D.W. Crossley and R. Saville (eds), *The Fuller letters: guns, slaves and finances, 1728-1755* (Lewes: Sussex Record Society, vol. 26, 1991); LBS entry for 'John Fuller (1757-1834)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/-1047169191>; NHLE entry for 'Brightling Park' at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1001261>

238 Entry for 'Lade, John (1662-1740), of St. Saviour's, Southwark, Surr. And Warbleton, Suss.', *History of Parliament Online*, at <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/lade-john-1662-1740>; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1028562>

239 LBS entry for 'James Lyon of Dangstein' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146650139>; *Parks and Gardens* entry for 'Dangstein' at <https://www.parksandgardens.org/places/dangstein>

Rev. Dr Alexander Brodie was Vicar of **Eastbourne** and a slave-owner in Antigua. The Brodie family were instrumental in the development of the town, especially in the establishment and building of schools. Brodie Hall (opened 1856) attached to Christ Church was one of several schools established by his children.²⁴⁰

Goring Hall in Worthing was built by Charles Barry for David Lyon Jr in 1840 and after a fire was rebuilt as a replica. Lyon also funded the rebuilding of the parish church of St Mary's Goring. David Lyon Jr was a London slave-owner, MP for Bere Alston 1831-32, awarded compensation for several estates in Jamaica.²⁴¹ Goring Hall is now a private hospital.

A statue of Sir John Moore, Member of Court of Assistants of Royal African Company and shareholder in the East India Company stands at Christ's Hospital in **Horsham**.²⁴²

Southdowns Manor in Sussex was originally built as a two-storey house called **Dumpford House** by the Hon John Jervis Carnegie, who bought the neighbouring Fair Oak estate from the Paget family in c. 1850. Carnegie was awarded with his brother the Earl of Northesk the compensation for half the Canaan estate in Jamaica.²⁴³

Hampshire

Blackmoor House was built between 1865 and 1882 to the designs of Alfred Waterhouse, for Roundell Palmer, 1st Earl of Selborne, second son of Rev. William Jocelyn Palmer, claimant for estates in Grenada.²⁴⁴

The Morant Family owned extensive sugar plantations in Jamaica. In 1759 Edward Morant moved to England from Jamaica and bought **Brockenhurst House** and estate in 1770, subsequently rebuilding the house as a large Georgian mansion with extensive grounds. His son John Morant purchased the Manor of **Ringwood** in 1794. Brockenhurst House was greatly extended in 1865; later demolished, a new house was built in 1960. The Morant family were very powerful in Brockenhurst, so much so that when the railway arrived in the village, the Morants dictated the building allowed around the station – including the pub, the 'Morant Arms' - and

240 LBS entry for 'Rev. Dr Alexander Brodie (1773-1828)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146639583>

241 LBS entry for 'David Lyon junior (1794-1872)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/23533>; NHLE entry for 'Church of St Mary' at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1250239>

242 Dresser, 'Set in Stone?'

243 LBS entry for 'John Jervis Carnegie (1807-1892)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/43706>; <https://www.southdownsmanor.co.uk/about/>

244 LBS entry for 'Roundell Palmer, 1st Earl of Selborne (1812-1895)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/182672>; Hampshire Gardens Trust entry for 'Blackmoor House' at <http://research.hgt.org.uk/item/blackmoor-house/>; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1094553>

also arranged for a personal level crossing to allow them to pass unhindered to their entrance gate (still visible today). Ringwood Town Hall was built by John Morant IV, the eldest son and heir of John Morant III, in 1868. The 'Iron Theatre' was given by Hay Richards Morant, a younger son of John Morant III, in 1888.²⁴⁵

Dogsmerfield Park has links to Humphrey St. John Mildmay, one of five beneficiaries from Barings Bank who received compensation in relation to enslaved Africans in British Guiana.²⁴⁶ It is now a hotel.

Foxlease in Lyndhurst was greatly enlarged by Philip Jennings MP, who was married in the 1750s to Anne, co-heiress of Colonel Richard Thompson of Jamaica. Jennings was also likely responsible for forming the landscape park and the lake.²⁴⁷ It is now a Girlguiding activity centre.

Hinton Ampner (NT) was rented by William Henry Ricketts between 1765-1771. Ricketts was a plantation owner who moved between England and Jamaica. The family made their original fortune in Bristol from glassworks.²⁴⁸

The Dewar family of **Hurstbourne Tarrant** owned an estate in St Kitts. George Dewar (1707-1786) was a wealthy West Indian planter who purchased the Manors of Hurstbourne Tarrant, Ibthorpe and Upton. The village of Enham-Alamein today covers the site of a once large house and parkland known as Enham House or Place, likely rebuilt by David Dewar, son of George. Very little remains of the house or gardens.²⁴⁹

245 LBS entry for 'John Morant VI (1787-1857)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/22283>; NHLE entry for 'Brockenhurst Park' at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000499>; 'Parishes: Ringwood', *Victoria County History - British History Online*, at <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/hants/vol4/pp606-614>; 'Morant, Edward (1730-91) of Brockenhurst, nr Lymington, Hants', *History of Parliament Online* at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/morant-edward-1730-91>; 'Village History', Brockenhurst Parish Council, at http://www.brockenhurst.gov.uk/Village_History_25705.aspx; 'The History of Ringwood Regal' at <http://www.ringwood-regal.co.uk/regal-history/>

246 Miranda Kaufmann, 'Georgians Unrevealed' (2013), LBS blog at <https://lbsatucl.wordpress.com/2013/12/20/georgians-unrevealed/>

247 LBS entry for 'Sir Philip Jennings Clerke born Jennings (1728-1788)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146650583>; Hampshire Gardens Trust entry for 'Foxlease' at <http://research.hgt.org.uk/item/foxlease/>

248 LBS entry for 'William Henry Ricketts of Canaan and Longwood Hants (1736-1799)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146647757>

249 LBS entry for 'George Dewar (1707-1786)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146645171>; Hampshire Gardens Trust entry for 'Enham-Alamein' at <http://research.hgt.org.uk/item/enham-alamein-enham-place-enham-house/>; 'The Abolition of Slavery: The Hampshire Perspective'.

Kempshott House was built (on the site of the old manor house) in 1773 by Philip Dehany, a Hampshire magistrate, and owner of sugar estates in Jamaica. The estate later became the Hampshire seat of King George IV as Prince of Wales (later Prince Regent) between 1788 and 1795. The house was demolished in 1965 (replaced by the M3 motorway) but the remaining area of Kempshott Park is a golf course.²⁵⁰

Longwood House in Owlesbury was owned by the Swymmer family, Bristol merchants who amassed much of their great wealth from Jamaican plantations. The estate was later owned by Admiral William Carnegie, 7th Earl of Northesk, and Mary Ricketts, with family connections in Jamaica. Alterations to the house and park took place in the early to mid-nineteenth century.²⁵¹

Milford House in Milford on Sea was purchased by William Reynolds, merchant and Jamaican estate owner, who altered the main road so he had continuous views of the Solent and the Isle of Wight. In the 1780s, his son Edmund Reynolds enlarged the house with Adam style wings. The Reynolds left England for their Jamaican sugar plantation in the 1820s.²⁵²

Northington Grange (EH) was twice remodelled by different banking dynasties, each of which were heavily implicated in the slave trade through their commercial networks. Henry Drumond purchased the Grange in 1787 and his grandson encased the brick house in Roman cement and added a large Doric portico between 1804 and 1809. The house then passed to the Baring family in 1817, who remodelled the living accommodation and built a western extension over the following half-century. As an MP, Alexander Baring opposed the immediate abolition of slavery in the empire. Much of his wealth was sourced through his marriage into the Bingham family, who had gained substantially through trade with the French Caribbean colony of Martinique.²⁵³

Spring Hill on the **Isle of Wight** was purchased in 1794 by William Goodrich, partner in a Bristol tobacco and sugar shipping firm with Robert Shedden. East Cowes was the main customs port for importing tobacco and rice into Great Britain from America, making the Isle of Wight a useful base. Spring Hill House was rebuilt

250 Christopher Golding, 'Kempshott Park: A Prince's Retreat' at <http://www.kempshottmanor.net/1-Kempshott-Park.php>; LBS entry for 'Philip Dehany (1720-1809)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146638189>

251 *The Hampshire Post: The Journal of the Hampshire Postal History Society*, 17:2 (2019) available at http://www.hantsfederation.org.uk/hphshtml/journal/HPHS_Journal_17_2.pdf; LBS entry for 'William Hopetoun Carnegie, 8th Earl of Northesk (1794-1878)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/24187>; Hampshire Gardens Trust entry for 'Longwood Park' at <http://research.hgt.org.uk/item/longwood-park/>

252 LBS entry for 'William Reynolds the eldest of Milford House' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146651061>; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1276173>

253 Laurence Brown, 'The slavery connections of Northington Grange' (commissioned by English Heritage, 2010), available at <https://historicengland.org.uk/research/inclusive-heritage/the-slave-trade-and-abolition/slavery-and-the-british-country-house/>

in 1863 by Shedden's grandson, William George Shedden, awarded compensation for two Jamaican plantations and a partner in Hawthorn & Shedden, West India merchants.²⁵⁴

Elmina Spooner (nee Stewart) was awarded part of the compensation for the Islington estate in St Mary Jamaica. She later married Col Eyre John Crabbe and endowed Eyre Crabbe Wing at Royal South Hants Infirmary in **Southampton** in 1868 in his memory.²⁵⁵

Stratton Park was bought in 1801 by Sir Francis Baring, who remodeled the house in a neoclassical style, and laid out pleasure grounds and a landscape park designed by Humphry Repton. Only the stone portico remains after most of the Stratton Park house was demolished in 1963 by then owner John Baring.²⁵⁶

Berkshire

The **Chilton Estate** in Hungerford was established by John Pearse between 1785-1834, including the building of a new villa by firstly, architect Sir John Soane, and then new designs by Sir William Pilkington. There is a possibility that Humphry Repton laid out the park. Pearse was an MP, banker and factor for the wool and cloth trade, and the recipient of compensation money for enslaved workers on St Kitts.²⁵⁷

Purley Park was built for Anthony Gilbert Storer, who inherited the estate from his uncle, Anthony Morris Storer MP. Storer also inherited a family fortune from sugar plantations in Jamaica. Anthony Morris Storer commissioned Humphry Repton to redesign the property and landscape the park. Anthony Gilbert Storer commissioned James Wyatt to build the mansion between 1800 and 1805, with views across the Thames to Reading.²⁵⁸ The house is now converted into flats.

254 LBS entry for 'William George Shedden (1803-1872)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/42876>; Nick Hartley, *Prince of Privateers: Bridger Goodrich and his family in America, Bermuda and Britain, 1775-1825* (London, 2012); Nick Draper, 'A Black Presence in the Isle of Wight' (2017), LBS blog at <https://lbsatucl.wordpress.com/2017/11/28/a-black-presence-in-the-isle-of-wight/>

255 LBS entry for 'Elmina Spooner (née Stewart) (1812-1888)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/741351899>

256 LBS entry for 'Sir Thomas Baring 2nd Bart (1772-1848)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/physical/view/1209261792>

257 LBS entry for 'John Pearse (1760-1836)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146645357>; 'Chilton Lodge', *Hungerford Virtual Museum*, <https://www.hungerfordvirtualmuseum.co.uk/index.php/24-places/great-estates/468-chilton-lodge>

258 LBS entry for 'Anthony Morris Storer (1746-1799)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146645281>; 'The Storer Family', *Project Purley: The Local History Society for Purley on Thames*, <http://project-purley.net/F0006.php>; 'Purley Park', *David Nash Ford's Royal Berkshire History* at, http://berkshirehistory.com/castles/purley_park.html

The Blagrove/Blagrave family have been connected with **Reading** for over 400 years, evident in the street and pub names in the town. Daniel Blagrove was granted lands in Jamaica by Oliver Cromwell in return for support in the English Civil War. The Cardiff Hall Estate in Jamaica remained in the hands of the family until the 1950s.²⁵⁹

Oxfordshire

Bradwell Grove in Broadwell is a gothic country house designed by William Atkinson and built between 1804-1810 for William Hervey, slave owner in Jamaica. It is now used as offices for the Cotswold Wildlife Park.²⁶⁰

Greys Court (NT) was re-modelled by absentee Nevis sugar estate owner, Sir Thomas Stapleton, 5th Bart, following his marriage to Mary Fane in 1765.²⁶¹

Buckinghamshire

Ankerwycke House near Wraysbury was bought and rebuilt in 1805 by John Blagrove (1753-1824), of the Blagrove family of Jamaican plantation owners. He relocated to England in 1805 from the family's Cardiff Hall Great House in Jamaica. He demolished the sixteenth century mansion known as Great Ankerwycke. Some remains of the house exist in the parkland, now part of Colne Valley Park, including a black walnut tree planted by Blagrove.²⁶²

Fawley Court in Henley-on-Thames was bought by the Freeman family in the early 1680s. A new country house was built on the site of an old manor house by William Freeman, an early slave-owner and merchant in St Kitts, Nevis and Montserrat. Freeman's nephew and heir to his English estates, John Freeman (formerly Cooke), developed pleasure gardens during the 1730s, and John Freeman's son, Sambrooke Freeman, enlarged the estate, remodelled the house and employed Capability Brown to alter the grounds in the 1770s.²⁶³ The estate is now in divided ownership.

259 'Reading's Slave Links' (2007) by Reading International Solidarity Centre, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/34>

260 LBS entry for 'William Hervey (1777-1863)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/24524>; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1199047>

261 LBS entry for 'Sir Thomas Stapleton 5th Bart (1727-1781)' at <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146644085>

262 'The Changing Landscape of the Colne Valley', *Colne Valley Regional Park*, at https://www.colnevalleypark.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/Wraysbury-Ankerwycke-Walk_0.pdf; Raul A. Mosley, 'Kenilworth Great House' (2015), *A Tour of Jamaica's Great Houses, Plantations & Pens*, at <https://thelastgreatgreathouseblog.wordpress.com/tag/john-blagrove/>; 'Ankerwycke House (site of), Ankerwycke', The National Trust, at <https://heritagerecords.nationaltrust.org.uk/HBSMR/MonRecord.aspx?uid=MNA147319>

263 LBS entry for 'William Freeman of St Kitts and Fawley Court' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146651071>; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000390>

Stowe Landscape Gardens (NT) was owned by the Dukes of Buckingham. A significant part of the family wealth was from slave-ownership of Anna Eliza Elletson. Her first marriage was to Roger Hope Elletson in 1770. When he died in 1775 the couple had no children and Anna Eliza inherited his Jamaican estate and she managed it as an absentee. Her second marriage was to James Brydges, 3rd Duke of Chandos; their daughter Anne Elizabeth Brydges married the 1st Duke of Buckingham. Under the Buckingham family the gardens were greatly extended and remodelled.²⁶⁴

Tyringham Hall is a country house built (on the site of an original manor house) by William Praed, MP, banker and Jamaican slave-owner, with plans by Sir John Soane and landscaping by Humphry Repton. It is now privately owned.²⁶⁵

West Wycombe Park (NT) is a lavishly decorated Palladian villa and landscape garden (featuring temples, lakes and streams) created by Sir Francis Dashwood, 2nd Bart., MP for Buckinghamshire and Wycombe. Sir George Henry Dashwood, 5th Bart. moved into West Wycombe in 1823 and embarked on a campaign of refurbishment. He claimed compensation for three plantations in Barbados.²⁶⁶

Robert Smith, 1st Baron Carrington, inherited an estate in Jamaica from his father, the banker and merchant, Abel Smith. He bought the Loakes estate from the third Earl of Shelburne c.1798 and employed James Wyatt to remodel and extend the country house in the Gothic style, possibly with work by Capability Brown. The estate was renamed **Wycombe Abbey** and is now a girls' school and venue to hire.²⁶⁷

264 LBS entry for 'Duchess of Chandos Anna Eliza Brydges formerly Elletson (née Gamon)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146640763>; Young, 'Negotiating Female Property'

265 LBS entry for 'William Praed (1747-1833)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146645359>; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1115849>

266 LBS entry for 'Sir George Henry Dashwood 5th Bart.' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/44929>; 'Introducing the Dashwood Baronets', The National Trust, at <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/introducing-the-dashwood-baronets>;

267 LBS entry for 'Robert Smith, 1st Baron Carrington (1752-1838)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/11954>; NHLE entry for 'Wycombe Abbey' at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000609>; NHLE entry for 'Wycombe Abbey (Parts of Wycombe Abbey School)' at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1310649>

South-East: the historic Black presence

The *Exploring Surrey's Past* resource is an excellent example of the work of local archives in exposing local histories of slave ownership and the Black presence.²⁶⁸ This includes the story of Charlotte Howe, an American slave in Thames Ditton who became part of an extensive legal debate around slavery in the 1780s.²⁶⁹ John Springfield was born in Zanzibar in 1847 and enslaved by the Portuguese. Released from slavery by David Livingston, he served in the Royal Navy and eventually lived in Guildford where he taught cobbling at Robert Macdonald's Guildford Mission Industrial School. He is buried in Stoughton Road Cemetery.²⁷⁰

In **Kent**, the *Untold Stories: A Celebration of Black People in Kent* exhibition was organised by Medway African and Caribbean Association and Chatham Historic Dockyard Trust in 2018, telling the story of African and Caribbean people across Kent and Medway. Among the formerly enslaved in Chatham during the late eighteenth century was Chatham Cuffay, born in St Kitts on a sugar plantation. He may have volunteered for naval service and by 1779 was working as a cook on a hulk at Chatham Dockyard. He was the father of William Cuffay, who became an important figure in London's Chartist movement. William was baptised at St Mary's parish church, Chatham.²⁷¹

In **Hampshire**, there was a small but significant population of Black sailors in Portsmouth.²⁷² In 1796 a fleet of ships from the Caribbean carrying over 2500 prisoners of war docked at Portsmouth harbour; almost all of them lived for a time at Portchester Castle.²⁷³ Some people of African descent would have arrived in England on Royal Navy ships involved in the suppression of the transatlantic slave trade in the nineteenth century. For example, a gravestone of Tom Highflyer was discovered in a graveyard in Brighton. He had been released from slavery by the Royal Navy in the 1860s.²⁷⁴

268 'Early Surrey Records', *Exploring Surrey's Past*, at https://www.exploringsurreypast.org.uk/themes/subjects/black_history/early-surrey-records/

269 Sean Canty, 'Charlotte Howe of Thames Ditton' at <https://www.exploringsurreypast.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/Charlotte-Howe-edit.pdf>

270 Sean Canty, 'John Springfield' at https://www.exploringsurreypast.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2009/03/John-Springfields-full-story-by-Sean-Canty-Rev-16_08_16.pdf

271 'Freedom 1807'; <https://www.cmtrust.co.uk/event/untold-stories-a-celebration-of-black-people-in-kent/>

272 Steve Martin, 'Black People in Late 18th-Century Britain' at <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/portchester-castle/history-and-stories/black-people-in-late-18th-century-britain/>

273 Abigail Coppins, 'Black Prisoners of War at Portchester Castle' at <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/portchester-castle/history-and-stories/black-prisoners-at-portchester/>

274 'Tom Highflyer', *Brighton & Hove Black History*, at <https://www.black-history.org.uk/projects/tom-highflyer/>

Elsewhere in Hampshire, Black servants can be identified in Martyr Worthy and Bramdean. John Rippon served the Earls of Powis for more than 50 years. In his will of 1799, Rippon gave money to his fellow servants and to the poor of Bramdean parish.²⁷⁵ The LBS project researched the history of the Black presence in the Isle of Wight.²⁷⁶

In **Hertfordshire**, research at Watford Museum exemplifies the stories that can be revealed by investigating figures represented in paintings alongside archival records. Cassiobury is now a public park in Watford, created in 1909 from the purchase by Watford Borough Council of part of the estate of the Earls of Essex around Cassiobury House (demolished 1927). A view of the park by John Wootton, c. 1748 shows a Black figure at the bottom of the canvas, while an engraving of servants at Cassiobury entitled *High Life below Stairs* was published in 1774, appearing to show a Black servant with fellow workers. The unfinished painting *Harvest Home*, c. 1809, by J.M.W. Turner also shows a Black servant at Cassiobury. A gravestone in St Mary's churchyard remembers George Edward Doney, c. 1758-1809, one of Cassiobury's Black servants, and further research into local records has revealed other early Black residents in Watford.²⁷⁷

275 Hampshire Record Office, *The Transatlantic Slave Trade*

276 Draper, 'A Black presence'

277 'Cassiobury', *Our Watford History: Telling the stories of a diverse town*, at <https://www.ourwatfordhistory.org.uk/content/category/places/cassiobury-places>; NHLE entry for 'Headstone of George Edward Doney' at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1392854>

2 THE SOUTH-WEST

The coastal ports and towns of South-West England have had direct trading links with Africa and the Americas since at least the fifteenth century. Built at the bridging point of the Frome and Avon rivers, Bristol was an important port for centuries.²⁷⁸ In the seventeenth century, some Bristol merchants already associated with the Mediterranean slave trade vied with those in London to supply the demand in enslaved labour from the tobacco fields of Virginia and Maryland and sugar plantations of the Caribbean. Once London's monopoly of the slave trade was lifted in 1698, Bristol became the premier slaving port in the 1720s and 1730s, home to a booming sugar import trade.²⁷⁹ Ships left for West Africa with goods sourced from local industries in different areas of the South-West: brass and copper-ware, glassware (used to transport rum and brandy), wool and cloth. Ships came in from North America and the West Indies packed with sugar, rum, tobacco, cotton and other colonial goods which were processed in Bristol and the surrounding areas. Between 1698-1807, some 500,000 enslaved Africans were carried on Bristol ships. As late as the end of the eighteenth century, David Richardson concludes that the slave economy still accounted for 40% of Bristol's economy; Bristol's trading links with old partners established during the era of Atlantic slavery also remained into the nineteenth century.²⁸⁰ The city was home to prosperous merchants and, increasingly, West Indian planters who returned 'home' to retire and used their wealth to buy, build or renovate large rural houses and estates around Bristol and into the adjoining counties.

Bristol

Much research has been carried out around the impact of the transatlantic slavery economy in Bristol. Madge Dresser's *Slavery Obscured* (2001) charts the close relationship between Bristol's urban development in the early eighteenth century and the slaving interests of its merchant community, with a particular focus on craft industries in Bristol and the surrounding region. Bristol grew in prominence and civic stature and much of Georgian Bristol survives today.²⁸¹ Research is also being carried out into earlier associations with the city and its architecture that date back to the seventeenth century.

278 R. G. Stone, 'The overseas trade of Bristol before the Civil War', *International Journal of Maritime History*, 23:2 (2011), and R. G. Stone, *Bristol and the Birth of the Atlantic Economy, 1500-1700* (forthcoming).

279 David Richardson, 'Slavery and Bristol's "Golden Age"', *Slavery and Abolition*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (2005), pp. 35-54; Kenneth Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). The film *Under the Bridge* (1999) by Firstborn Studios is available at <https://vimeo.com/11471392>

280 Richardson, 'Slavery'. This was particularly the case with the palm oil trade with West Africa in the nineteenth century, which was also focused on Liverpool. See Martin Lynn, 'British Business and the African Trade: Richard & William King Ltd of Bristol and West Africa, 1833-1918', *Business History*, 34:4 (1992), pp. 20-37.

281 Georgian Bristol and its ties to transatlantic slavery were explored in 'Bristol 1807: A Sense of Place' (2007) by Bristol Libraries, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/428>

There have been a number of exhibitions and events exploring the city's involvement in transatlantic slavery, including *A Respectable Trade?* at the Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery and *Breaking the Chains* (2007) at the British Empire and Commonwealth Museum (closed in 2013). The city's Industrial Museum also developed content related to local trade linked to transatlantic slavery. M Shed opened in 2011 and is housed in a warehouse on Bristol's dockside. The museum explores Bristol's involvement with the transatlantic slave trade and the abolition movement in its *Bristol People* gallery. There have been several walking tours and guides produced in the last three decades connecting Bristol's built environment with transatlantic slavery.²⁸² Most recently, this has included interactive uses of historic and modern maps in the *Know Your Place* project.²⁸³

Guinea Street, with its row of five-storey houses, was home to several slave traders, such as Edmund Saunders and Joseph Holbrook, as the harbour-side location was convenient for managing their business. In the eighteenth century, the name 'Guinea' was used to refer to Africa's west coast. **Prince Street** has a similar history, notably being home to the slave trader and MP Thomas Coster.²⁸⁴

Located close to the harbour, **Queen Square** was home to prominent merchants who had interests in the African trade. The square was developed between 1619-1727 as one of the first planned squares of genteel 'modern' housing in the country. **No. 29** was built in 1709 for Nathaniel Day, part-owner of several slave ships, who went on to become mayor of Bristol in 1737. Later residents included Henry Bright, Mayor of Bristol in 1771 and a prominent Bristol merchant and slave trader. He lived there with his Black servant named Bristol (the building is currently the office of the South-West regional office of Historic England). The privateer and slave trade captain Woodes Rogers lived at **No. 33-35**. Slave traders Abraham Elton II and Thomas Coster promoted the erection of the bronze statue of William III which stands in the centre of Queen Square.²⁸⁵

282 *Slave Trade Trail around central Bristol* by Madge Dresser, Caletta Jordan and Doreen Taylor, was published by Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery in 1999. There have been a number of guided walks produced since including *Bristol Slavery Trail* by Victoria County History (<https://www.victoriacountyhistory.ac.uk/explore/collection/bristol-slavery-trail>); *Bright city, dark secrets: Bristol Slavery Trail* by Royal Geographical Society/Discovering Britain (<https://www.discoveringbritain.org/content/discoveringbritain/trail%20booklets/Bristol%20Slavery%20trail%202.pdf>); *Wulfstan to Colston and the sinews of slavery* by the Bristol Radical History Group (<https://www.brh.org.uk/site/events/history-walk-1-wulfstan-to-colston-and-the-sinews-of-slavery/>). The *Sweet History?* heritage trail was produced by youth groups working with Bristol Architecture and Knowle West Media Centre in 2007 (<http://www.sweethistory.org/>).

283 Created by City Design Group, with funding from English Heritage, in partnership with Bristol Museums, Galleries and Archives and local volunteers: <https://maps.bristol.gov.uk/kyp/?edition=>

284 The life of Edmund Saunders and other inhabitants of Guinea Street were featured in the BBC's *A House through Time*, Series 3, Episode 1: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m000jnn8>; Tayo Lewin-Turner, 'Blood on the Bricks: More Than Colston?' at <https://www.bristolmuseums.org.uk/stories/blood-on-bricks-more-than-colston/>

285 Dresser, *Slavery Obscured*, p. 106

The Custom House, originally opened in 1711 but rebuilt in 1831, symbolises the trade coming in and out of the city. The customs officers made sure ships arriving in the harbour paid the correct taxes. The strong links between Bristol and the USA is evidenced by the **American Consulate**, set up in 1792. Much slave-grown and harvested tobacco came into the city.²⁸⁶

On the **Quayside** of Bristol harbour, the **Hole in the Wall pub** would have once served the harbour's sailor community, many of whom were coerced into spending a life at sea. On the dock side of the pub is a spy house, where a lookout could keep watch for press gangs and customs men. Sailors, shipyard workers and merchants also met at **The Ostrich Inn** and the **Llandogger Trow** on King Street, dating from 1664.

The city's quaysides and warehouses were joined by brass refineries and later, sugar refineries, which serviced the wider Atlantic slave economy. **The Sugar House**, in Lewins Mead, now a hotel, was once a refinery and busy sugar house, used to store and process imported sugar. Remains of another sugar refinery also survive at **Host Street**.²⁸⁷ The barrels sugar were refined further locally before being cast into conical sugar loaves for distribution to shops. **Three Sugar Loaves pub** at Christmas Steps is another link to the thriving Bristol sugar industry, although the nearby refinery itself burnt down in 1859.²⁸⁸ Tobacco processing and chocolate manufacturing were also important local industries.

Merchant's Hall is the administrative home of Bristol's Society of Merchant Adventurers. The city's powerful commercial lobby was founded in 1552. The Hall was relocated to Clifton after the original building in King Street was destroyed in the Bristol Blitz. Many Merchant Venturers were members of the Corporation of Bristol who lobbied against the monopoly of the London-based Royal African Company. A quarter of its members were directly involved in slave-trading thereafter. In 1696 the Bristol Merchant Venturers built **almshouses** on King Street for sick and old sailors, many of whom fell ill while serving on the West African coast.²⁸⁹

Many merchants conducted their business on **Corn Street**. Financing and insuring the trading ships necessitated the founding of banking institutions such as the '**Old Bank**', set up in 1750 to deal with the credit arrangements used to underwrite slaving journeys. The bank served all the Bristol businesses that were interlinked with the Atlantic slave economy, including sugar refineries and glassworks. It

286 Entries for 'The American Consulate' and 'The Custom House' at *Sweet History?*, <http://www.sweethistory.org/trail-map/the-american-consulate/> and <http://www.sweethistory.org/trail-map/the-custom-house/>

287 NHLE entry for 'Former Sugar Refinery' at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1202304>

288 An association acknowledged in the *Port City: On Exchange and Mobility* exhibition at the Arnolfini gallery in 2007, which included *Sweetness* by Meschac Gaba, depicting a city made of sugar. See <https://arnolfini.org.uk/whatson/port-city-on-exchange-and-mobility/>

289 Entry for 'Merchant Venturers Almshouse' at *Sweet History?* at <http://www.sweethistory.org/trail-map/merchant-venturers-almshouse/>

eventually merged with the National Westminster, and a commemoration plaque is on the current site of NatWest bank. There were many coffee houses in Bristol where merchants conducted their business, including the coffee house at 56 Corn St.²⁹⁰

The Exchange is a grand civic structure of the eighteenth century, built in 1741-43 by John Wood the Elder, with carvings by Thomas Paty. The building was used by merchants of all trades. The building's plasterwork illustrates colonial connections of Bristol's mercantile community, with carvings representing Africa, Asia and America. America is a figure with a head-dress of tobacco leaves.²⁹¹ The **Commercial Rooms** was built in 1810 for a newer generation of manufacturers, professionals and merchants associated with the Atlantic slave economy. The frieze includes Britannia receiving tribute from the Empire. The building is now a pub.²⁹²

Virtually every medieval church in Bristol has some association with merchants involved in the slave trade. Established in the thirteenth century, **St Stephen's** was once the city's harbour church, which effectively 'blessed' slave trade ships leaving the port, and which benefitted from merchants' donations. African sailors who worked on these ships are buried within the grounds. This history was acknowledged in the *Reconciliation Reredos* project, whereby a new contemporary permanent altarpiece was unveiled in 2011. It was designed by artist Graeme Mortimer Evelyn and explored the mercantile connections that the city was built on, while also stressing reconciliation.²⁹³

Built in 1766, Bristol's **Theatre Royal** (Bristol Old Vic) in part owes its origins to the wealth created by the Atlantic slave economy. Of the 50 original investors, at least 12 had investments in the transatlantic slave trade, including some slave traders – notable patrons were Henry Bright and members of the Farr family. In 2018, the refurbished theatre faced up to this history; in tribute to the victims of enslavement, lines from Miles Chambers's poem *Bristol!Bristol!* appear inscribed on the shutters of the new glass entrance.²⁹⁴

The Georgian House at 7 Great George Street was once a substantial merchant's town house built in the late eighteenth century for John Pinney, sugar merchant and plantation owner in Nevis. Pinney became richer still through the company he set up with the pro-slavery pamphleteer, James Tobin. They owned ships and loaned money to plantation owners, taking over the plantations (and enslaved labourers) of

290 NHLE entry for '56, Corn Street' at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1202154>

291 Entry for 'Corn Exchange' at Sweet History? at <http://www.sweethistory.org/trail-map/corn-exchange/>

292 NHLE entry for 'Bristol Commercial Rooms' at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1202152>

293 'Reconciliation Reredos' (2007-2008) available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/424>; <https://www.saint-stephens.com/reconciliation-reredos>

294 Dresser, *Slavery Obscured*, p. 108; <https://bristololdvic.org.uk/blog/a-celebration-of-miles-chambers>

those who could not pay their debts. The house was presented to the city in 1937 and Bristol City Council operate the site as a period-house museum, with information about the slavery connections of the family and house.²⁹⁵

Owning over 200 enslaved Africans in his lifetime, Pinney chose two of his servants to accompany him back to Bristol in the 1780s. A freed slave named Frances (Fanny) Coker, and Pero Jones, who had been ‘purchased’ with his sisters at the age of twelve.²⁹⁶ Pero would posthumously have impact on Bristol’s architecture when a footbridge was named after him on the Harbourside in 1999. **Pero’s Bridge** commemorates, and pays tribute to, all the Africans and West Indians enslaved by Bristol’s merchants and planters. *Daughters of Igbo Woman* (2017) by Ros Martin is a trilogy of films inspired by the story of Fanny Coker which gives voice to three generations of eighteenth-century African women, resurrected from the archives of the Pinney family. It was shown as a video installation at the Bearpit.²⁹⁷

Bristol’s street names recall the city’s involvement with the trade, including **Colston Street**, and **Jamaica Street**. **Elton Road** is named after the Elton family, investors in the brass industry and slave ship owners. **Farr Lane** is named after the Farr family, rope makers and slave traders. The Tyndalls invested in businesses associated with Atlantic slavery, remembered at **Tyndall’s Avenue** and **Tyndall’s Park**.

Winterstoke Road is named after Lord Winterstoke, head of the Wills family. Henry Overton Wills III (of the family firm WD & HO Wills) used slave-produced tobacco from the USA to supply his tobacco and cigarette business – a source of revenue not abolished until 1865. His sons financed the Wills Memorial Building at Bristol University to honour their father, who was the university’s first chancellor and left considerable money to the institution (see [Section 6](#)).

Prosperity from the transatlantic slave economy contributed to a rapid growth of population in Bristol. Those that had grown rich from the slave and sugar trades were able to build themselves comfortable new town houses, such as the Georgian House or on Queen Square. **Clifton** developed as an affluent and fashionable suburb with elegant Georgian houses.²⁹⁸

295 Interactive tour of the Georgian House available at <https://www.bristolmuseums.org.uk/georgian-house-museum/whats-at/look-inside/>; Linda Gordon, ‘The inhabitants of the Georgian House, Bristol’ (2020), available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jvvTk3wEIok&feature=youtu.be>

296 Madge Dresser, ‘Pero’s Afterlife: Remembering an Enslaved African in Bristol’, in Gerzina (ed.), *Britain’s Black Past*, pp. 119-140; Christine Eickelmann, ‘Within the Same Household: Fanny Coker’ in Gerzina (ed.), *Britain’s Black Past*, pp. 141-160; Christine Eickelmann and David Small, *Pero: The Life of a Slave in Eighteenth-Century Bristol* (Bristol: Redcliffe Press, 2004)

297 <https://daughtersofigbowoman.wordpress.com/about/>

298 Madge Dresser, ‘Squares of distinction, webs of interest: Gentility, urban development and the slave trade in Bristol, c.1673-1820’, *Slavery & Abolition*, 21:3 (2000).

For example, **Clifton Hill House**, now a university hall of residence, was built in the 1740s for Bristol merchant Paul Fisher, who had a fortune in large part derived from the Atlantic trade.²⁹⁹ **Camp House** was built by Charles Pinney, Bristol merchant and son of the sugar planter and merchant John Pinney, and a major recipient of compensation for enslaved workers in Nevis and St Kitts.³⁰⁰

The Goldney family made their fortune in Bristol in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, investing in the Atlantic slave economy via slave voyages (of Captain Woodes Rogers, 1708-1711) and also the shipping business, mining, ironworks, coal and banking. In 1694 Thomas Goldney II leased a house and garden on Clifton Hill, and had the house partly rebuilt and extended. His son Thomas Goldney III acquired more land and developed the pleasure gardens, which included a lavishly decorated underground grotto and follies. **Goldney Hall** is now a wedding and event venue owned by the University of Bristol.³⁰¹

Slavery-related associations are found in other areas of Bristol's built environment, for example, in the **Clifton suspension bridge**. Thomas Daniel was named as one of the bridge's first three trustees in 1830. The Bristol and London merchant was the son of Thomas Daniel (1730-1802) and Eleanor Neil, and the family were owners of extensive estates and possession in Demerara and other West Indian islands. Indeed, for almost half a century, Alderman Daniel was known as 'King of Bristol'.³⁰²

Flatholm Light House in the Bristol Channel was bought and refitted c. 1819 by William Dickinson II (1771-1837), MP for Ilchester, Lostwithiel and Somerset, and grandson of the merchant and slave-owner Caleb Dickinson.³⁰³

299 Roger Leech, 'Lodges, garden houses and villas: the urban periphery in the early modern Atlantic world' in Dresser and Hann (eds), *Slavery*, pp. 46-56; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1280480>

300 LBS entry for 'Charles Pinney (1793-1867)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/25863>; *Port Cities* entry for 'Camp House, Clifton' at <http://www.discoveringbristol.org.uk/browse/slavery/camp-house-clifton>

301 'An 18th Century Voyage of Discovery', The National Archives, at https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/blackhistory/journeys/voyage_html/goldney.htm; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000444>

302 LBS entry for 'Thomas Daniel (1762-1854)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/92>; Madge Dresser, 'Daniel, Thomas (1762-1854)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press (2016), at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/107411>

303 LBS entry for 'William Dickinson II (1771-1837)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/23936>. In 2007 Jim McNeill of the Bristol Radical History Group gave a talk about how money awarded to Bristol-based slave owners as compensation was invested to stimulate the establishment and growth of industrial development, including gas and railways (<https://www.brh.org.uk/site/events/scandall-the-slave-profiteers/>)

Bristol has seen many creative interventions around the place of transatlantic slavery in its built environment and public history, not least around the controversial figure of **Edward Colston**.³⁰⁴ Born in Bristol in 1636, Colston was an official and shareholder in the Royal African Company. A London-based sugar merchant and slave trader, it appears that much of his wealth derived from slavery-related businesses. Colston left vast amounts of money to Bristol schools, hospitals, church restorations, and almshouses. In recent years his controversial legacy has stimulated a mix of lobbying and artistic protest to have buildings re-named and Colston's philanthropy recast as a problem to be confronted rather than celebrated.³⁰⁵ Colston Hall the concert venue opened in 1876, built on the site of Colston Boys School established in 1707. In 2017 Bristol Music Trust announced the Hall would be changing its name.

In 1895, the Society of Merchant Venturers helped fund the erection of a statue dedicated to Edward Colston in Colston Avenue. A number of artistic interventions have focused on the statue. *Colston* (2006), first shown at St Thomas the Martyr Church, is one of the 'Restoration' series by Hew Locke, later on display at TATE Britain in 2015.³⁰⁶ The *Two Coins: Meditations on Trade* video essay by artist Graeme Mortimer Evelyn was inspired as part of a multimedia moving image installation around the statue.³⁰⁷ In 2017 the sculptor Will Coles fixed an 'unauthorised heritage' plaque to the statue commemorating Bristol and transatlantic slavery.³⁰⁸ In 2019 a project was launched to research and design a 'corrective' plaque, but an agreement on the text proved elusive.³⁰⁹ The statue was toppled as part of a Black Lives Matter protest in June 2020, and its legacy remains at the centre of much discussion and debate as to the future of Bristol's memorial landscape.

304 See also *Ruined*, a permanent public artwork by Hew Locke in Brunswick Cemetery. Cast iron grave markers relate to commercial companies with connections to Bristol's trade history, such as the West Indies Sugar Corporation: <http://aprb.co.uk/projects/all-projects/2010/ruined-hew-locke-brunswick-cemetery>

305 See *Countering Colston – Campaign to Decolonise Bristol*, <https://counteringcolston.wordpress.com/>

306 <http://www.hewlocke.net/restoration2.html>

307 <http://graemeevelyn.com/the-two-coins/?LMCL=B89rQl>

308 By 2020 the plaque was fixed to a wall at the end of Carlyle Road in Easton. See <https://www.bristolpost.co.uk/news/bristol-news/plaque-back--historic-plaque-1146332>. We are grateful to Ruth Hecht for information on these creative responses.

309 Roger Ball, 'The Edward Colston 'corrective' plaque' at <https://www.brh.org.uk/site/articles/the-edward-colston-corrective-plaque/>. The proposed new plaque was also considered by pupils from Colston's Primary School in a *Local Learning* project: <http://www.locallearning.org.uk/colstons-primary-school-70th-anniversary/>

South-West: ports and industrial heritage

Bristol was at the centre of a supply of trading goods for the Atlantic slave economy coming from the surrounding areas. Bristol glass was used to transport brandy and rum processed in the city, in turn traded in West Africa in exchange for enslaved Africans. Remains survive of the John Robert Lucas glassworks in **Nailsea**: the employment and investment opportunities offered by the glassworks, the fourth largest in Britain by 1835, had a significant impact on the built environment of the local area.³¹⁰

Brass (an alloy of copper and zinc) was another industry that flourished in Bristol in the eighteenth century. ‘Guinea Goods’ such as cooking pots, pans, kettles or basins were exported and sold to slave traders – these products were known as ‘hollowware’. Brass and copper rods were used as currency, melted down in West Africa to be made into pots, tools and other household goods. Copper or bronze manillas were armlets that also served as currency among West African peoples. **Saltford Brass Mill**, on the banks of the Avon, survives with a furnace and working water wheel. The *Saltford Brass Mill Project* has been active in exploring and sharing the Mill’s connections with the transatlantic slave trade.³¹¹

Abraham Darby, with backing from Thomas Goldney, established a number of brass and copper mills along the River Avon; he managed the **Baptist Mills** brassworks in 1702 with surplus money from his expanding slave trade business (in the area of Bristol still known as Baptist Mills).³¹²

William Champion (1709–89) founded his own brass works in **Warmley** (South Gloucestershire) in 1746, one of the largest brassworks of its kind in the eighteenth century. As the inventor of a new means of producing zinc, Champion transformed the British brass and metal working industry. Sales books confirm that Champion was supplying wares for barter on the African coast. Buildings (including a Clock Tower), garden features (including a grotto) and other archaeological remains survive

310 NHLE entry for ‘Nailsea Glassworks’ at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1021462>; Peter Wright, *Tyntesfield: Local Memories and Research* (Nailsea and District Local History Society, 2003), available at <http://www.ndlhs.org.uk/ebooks/Tyntesfield-Local-Memories.pdf>. In 2007, Jim McNeill of Bristol Radical History Group led a walk that explored the history of Bristol Blue glass and reveals its links to slavery-related money (<https://www.brh.org.uk/site/events/black-and-blue/>)

311 ‘Hollowware’, *Saltford Brass Mill Project* at http://brassmill.com/saltford_brass_mill_010.htm

312 S. I. Martin, *Britain’s Slave Trade* (London, Channel 4 Books, 1999), p. 16, 50; ‘Baptist Mills Brass Works’, *Grace’s Guide to British Industrial History*, at https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Baptist_Mills_Brass_Works

of the Warmley Brassworks and Gardens, including nearby Warmley House, built in c. 1750 for William Champion. The statue of Neptune in the gardens was created with copper-slag, a by-product of the foundry.³¹³

The key role of guns in the process of exchange within the Atlantic slave economy meant that gunpowder was also crucial.³¹⁴ Bristol merchant Jeremiah Ames diversified his business interests not only into sugar baking and refining and the manufacture of snuff and tobacco, but also gunpowder making.³¹⁵ **Littleton gunpowder works** in Somerset (at Powdermills Farm) survives with some of its original buildings. By the 1750s Ames owned the mill with five other Bristol merchants.³¹⁶

Other ports and towns in the South-West have associations with the Atlantic slave economy.

Gloucestershire has associations with tobacco. In 1610, Thomas De La Warr helped to develop Jamestown, Virginia, and many Gloucestershire families settled in the colony. In the seventeenth century, tobacco plants were cultivated in Gloucestershire, leading to a trade war between the Gloucestershire tobacco growers and the tobacco merchants in Virginia. Despite the resulting suppression of the Gloucestershire tobacco industry, three kiln sites in **Wickwar** demonstrate the connection to the tobacco trade through the pipe-making industry, active between the late 1600s and early 1800s.³¹⁷

Bridgwater, on the River Parrett in Somerset, was a major in-land trading port and trading centre. Alongside the fishing port of **Minehead**, the herring fishing fleet provided salted herring and cod to the plantations in the Caribbean as part of the diet of enslaved people. William Alloway's main trade was in wool and tallow

313 Atkins Heritage, *Champion's Brassworks & Gardens: Conservation Management Plan Final Report* (2007), available at https://www.southglos.gov.uk/documents/warmleycmp20feb07_v1.pdf; NHLE entry for 'Brass works at Warmley' at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1015556>; 'Gardens', Kingswood Heritage Museum, at <http://www.kingswoodmuseum.org.uk/gardens/>; 'Impact: A history of anti-slavery in South Gloucestershire' (2007) by Yate and District Heritage Centre, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/504>

314 Warren C. Whatley, 'The gun-slave hypothesis and the 18th century British slave trade', *Explorations in Economic History*, 67 (2018), pp. 80-104

315 Nicholas Kingsley, 'Ames of Bristol', *Landed Families of Britain and Ireland*, at <https://landedfamilies.blogspot.com/2014/04/120-ames-of-charlton-house-cote-house.html>. Ames became mayor of Bristol in 1759.

316 'Littleton Gunpowder Mill', *Grace's Guide to British Industrial History* at https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Littleton_Gunpowder_Works; <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1019452>

317 Will Simpson and Jim McNeill, *Nicotiana Britannica: The Cotswolds' Illicit Tobacco Cultivations in the 17th Century* (Bristol Radical Pamphleteer, Pamphlet #9, 2009), at <https://www.brh.org.uk/site/pamphleteer/nicotiana-britannica-the-cotswolds-illicit-tobacco-cultivation-in-the-17th-century/>; 'Tobacco and Early Colonial Expansion', Wickwar.org, at <https://wickwar.org/history/tobacco-and-early-colonial-expansion>; 'Impact: A history'

from Ireland, rock salt from Liverpool and tobacco from the West Indies. In 1697, his ship the *Unity* is recorded as having taken more than 600 barrels of herring in one voyage to Barbados.³¹⁸

Eight known slaving voyages left from **Poole** in Dorset, nearly all embarking captives in the Gambia. Both Poole and **Weymouth** were involved in plantation-orientated trading activity. In the latter, the Randall family smuggled rum.³¹⁹ There were also associations with the transatlantic slavery economy in **Bridport** and particularly in **Lyme Regis**. Robert Burridge (d. 1675) was mayor and leading merchant in Lyme Regis, a town built on the wool export trade and then the import of Virginia tobacco, which was taken to Bristol for re-processing. The Burridges took over the import business of the Tucker family who traded in sugar, tobacco, cotton and indigo.³²⁰

In Devon, locally produced cloth was exported to Africa and the Americas. In the seventeenth century Devon cloth was purchased by the Royal African Company as a cheap, durable and not too heavy product. There were wool traders across the South-West, and particularly in Exeter.³²¹

Exeter received its charter to trade with Africa in 1588. The main trade was initially in gold but slaving voyages also left from the town. Exeter was home to a number of other merchants, such as tobacco trader Daniel Ivy, Deputy Lieutenant of Devon (1701). Brass was also worked in Exeter to make manilla in the seventeenth century. Sugar processing factories included those on Goldsmith Street.³²²

Nigel Tattersfield gives an account of the *Daniel & Henry* sailing out of **Dartmouth**, financed by Daniel Ivy and Henry Arthur who made their fortune trading in tobacco. **Bideford** was home to a large trade with the American plantations due to the interests of the Grenville family in Virginia and Carolina. Merchants in Bideford invested in voyages from Bristol.³²³

318 'Blossoming Trade', Bridgewater Council, at <https://bridgewater-tc.gov.uk/history/river-shipping/blossoming-trade/>; LBS, 'Devon and Slavery' exhibition panels available at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs//media-new/pdfs/lbsdevon1.pdf>

319 Pocock, 'A Voyage'

320 Pocock, 'A Voyage'; Tattersfield, *The Forgotten Trade*, Chapter 16.

321 Todd Gray, *Devon and the Slave Trade: Documents on African enslavement, abolition and emancipation from 1562 to 1867* (Exeter: The Mint Press, 2007), pp. 87-93; 'Events to mark the bicentenary in Exeter' by Exeter City Council, available at <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/881>

322 'Events to mark the bicentenary in Exeter'; Pocock, 'A Slaving Voyage'

323 Tattersfield, *The Forgotten Trade*

The coastal town of **Topsham** near Exeter recorded a disastrous voyage in the slave trade for the owners of the ship the *Dragon* in 1699. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the Buttall family set up a refinery in Topsham, now the site of The Retreat, which they supplied with sugar from their plantations in South Carolina and Barbados.³²⁴

The Davy family were shipbuilders on the **River Exe** in Devon. Robert Davy (1762-1862) built large sailing ships, some of which were 'West Indiamen' like the 'Jamaica Planter' built in 1810. Davy sold the ship to London merchants but retained part ownership. The two younger Davy brothers, James and Edward, bought plantations in Jamaica in the 1790s.³²⁵

Plymouth was an important naval port. Sir John Hawkins is generally credited as being the first Englishman to trade in Africans, and his first voyages were from Plymouth to Sierra Leone, taking 1200 captives to Hispaniola and St Domingue c. 1562. Hawkins' cousin, Francis Drake, joined him on a later slaving voyage to the African coast. While focus of the slave trade moved to London, slaving ships continued to leave from the port into the eighteenth century. Sir John Hawkins Square in Plymouth commemorates his career. There is a memorial statue of Sir Francis Drake on The Hoe Promenade, overlooking Plymouth Sound, and another on Drake's Roundabout in Tavistock.³²⁶ The *Living Memory Lab* project (2007) produced short films addressing the area's history with transatlantic slavery, including the legacies of Hawkins and Drake, while the *Human Cargo* exhibition at Plymouth City Museum and Art Gallery in 2007 set out to 'excavate' the legacies of transatlantic slavery in Plymouth and Devon.³²⁷

In Cornwall, Thomas Corker of **Falmouth** (d. 1700) became an agent of the Royal African Company in Sierra Leone, trading in enslaved people with his brother Robert, who was based in Falmouth. There is a commemorative plaque to Thomas in Falmouth parish church. Several slave-trading voyages concluded in Falmouth in

324 Gray, *Devon and the Slave Trade*, pp. 145-147; LBS, 'Devon and Slavery'; 'Glasshouse Lane', *Exeter Memories*, at http://www.exetermemories.co.uk/em/_streets/glasshouse.php

325 C. N. Ponsford (ed.) *Shipbuilding on the Exe: The memoranda book of Samuel Bishop Davy*. Devon and Cornwall Record Society (New Series, Volume 31, 1988); 'Gillian Allen, 'Two Devon families in Jamaica: a local association with slavery'', *Maritime South-West*, 21 (2008), available at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/media-new/pdfs/devonfam.pdf>

326 Len Pole, 'The slave trade in Devon' (2008), at http://www.bbc.co.uk/devon/content/articles/2007/02/28/abolition_devon_slave_trade_feature.shtml; Pocock, 'A Slaving Voyage'; 'John Hawkins: Admiral, Privateer, Slave Trader', Royal Museums Greenwich, at <https://www.rmg.co.uk/discover/explore/sir-john-hawkins>

327 'Living Memory Lab' (2007) was a partnership between Plymouth and District Racial Equality Council, BBC South-West, the community arts agency Creative Partnerships and Plymouth City Museum and Art Gallery, see R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/892>; 'Human Cargo: The Transatlantic Slave Trade, its Abolition and Contemporary Legacies in Plymouth and Devon' (2007) by Plymouth City Museum and Art Gallery and the Royal Albert Memorial Museum in Exeter, see R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/38>

the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a port of call for many ships involved in the slave trade. Merchants from Falmouth also specialised in the luxury trade in silks and wines to the Caribbean and American plantations.³²⁸

South-West: residences and local development

Bristol and Somerset

Prosperous sugar merchants, and West Indian planters who returned ‘home’ to retire, used their wealth to buy, build or renovate large rural houses and estates in the countryside outside Bristol and into adjoining counties. Furthermore, established gentry families in the area may also have benefitted from slavery, sometimes renovating or purchasing their properties as a result. Madge Dresser has identified 42 such properties within an 11-mile radius of Bristol, spreading into the counties of Somerset and Gloucestershire.³²⁹ Many of these properties are detailed below, as is the built environment of Bath, a town intimately connected with the Atlantic slavery economy.

Renovation and improvement to **Ashton Court** (currently owned by Bristol City Council) came after the marriage in 1757 of John Hugh Smyth to the Jamaican heiress Rebecca Woolnough. The Smyth family’s association with the Atlantic slave economy may pre-date this marriage as in an early portrait, a young Florence Smyth (1634-92) is pictured with a young African servant.³³⁰

Blaise Castle near Henbury is a gothic folly built in 1766 by the wealthy investor Thomas Farr on the summit of Blaise Hill, reputedly so that from the top that he could watch his ships returning to Bristol along the River Avon.³³¹

Camerton Court was built to designs by George Repton for John Jarrett III, c. 1838-1840. The Jarrett family owned enslaved workers in Jamaica, for which John Jarrett received compensation in 1834.³³²

328 Charlotte MacKenzie, *Merchants and Smugglers in eighteenth century Cornwall* (Truro: Cornwall History, 2019); Brycchan Carey, ‘From Guinea to Guernsey and Cornwall to the Caribbean: Recovering the History of Slavery in the Western English Channel’ in Donington, Hanley and Moody (eds), *Britain’s History and Memory*, pp. 21-38; Tattersfield, *The Forgotten Trade*, Chapter 19.

329 Madge Dresser, ‘Slavery and West Country Houses’ in Dresser and Hann, *Slavery*, pp. 12-29.

330 Dresser, ‘Slavery’, pp. 16-17; ‘Bower Ashton’, a *Local Learning* project, <http://www.locallearning.org.uk/victorian/bower-ashton/>

331 ‘Slave Traders & Plantation Wealth: Bristol and the South-West’, Historic England, <https://historicengland.org.uk/research/inclusive-heritage/the-slave-trade-and-abolition/sites-of-memory/slave-traders-and-plantation-wealth/bristol-and-the-south-west/>

332 LBS entry for ‘John Jarrett III (1802-1863)’ at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/23686>; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1365682>;

The Cedars in Wells was built in 1759 by the Tudway family, with extensive interests in slave plantations in Antigua. The house was designed by William Paty, the craftsman associated with many of the properties of slaving merchants in Bristol.³³³ It is now part of Wells Cathedral School.

Charlton House was built for the Ames family after they bought the estate in 1668, though it is unclear if they were involved in the slave trade at this time. The Ames family came to be among the ‘merchant princes’ of Bristol.³³⁴

The medieval manor of **Clevedon Court** was purchased by Abraham Elton I (1654-1727) in 1709. He was Mayor of Bristol 1710-11 and its MP from 1722-27, a Bristol merchant whose family wealth came in large part from investing in slaving voyages and providing goods to exchange for people on the West African coast. His son Abraham Elton II was involved in the brass, pottery and glass industries; his brothers, Isaac and Jacob, directly invested in slave ships. Abraham Elton II made several changes to the house.³³⁵ In 2007, *Re:interpretation* was a partnership project between the National Trust and the creative education company Firstborn Creatives which exposed linkages with the transatlantic slave trade by utilizing creative media and supporting community research. The houses involved were **Clevedon Court**, **Dyrham** (Gloucestershire) and **Tyntesfield**.³³⁶

Coker Court near Yeovil was owned by the Helyar family, with links to the Caribbean going back to the seventeenth century. William Helyar (d.1820) made many additions to the fifteenth-century manor house. His portrait by Thomas Beach depicts him holding a design for the Georgian wing of Coker Court.³³⁷

The Court House in West Monkton was the seat of Matthew Brickdale, purchased in 1775. Brickdale and his father had business interests in the brass industry, and in plantation ownership in Nevis and Jamaica.³³⁸ The Brickdale family also built **Monkton House**, c. 1815.³³⁹

Easterlands was most likely built for William Bellet. His daughter Elizabeth married John Shattock, an English landed proprietor and merchant, who made his fortune in Jamaica. The couple settled at Easterlands.³⁴⁰

333 Dresser, ‘Slavery’, p. 21; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1383170>

334 Kingsley, ‘Ames of Bristol’

335 Dresser, ‘Slavery’, p. 18; ‘A brief history of Clevedon Court’, The National Trust, at <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/clevedon-court/features/a-brief-history-of-clevedon-court->

336 Rob Mitchell and Shawn Sobers, ‘Re:Interpretation: the representation of perspectives on slave trade history using creative media’ in Dresser and Hann, *Slavery*, pp. 142-152

337 Dresser, ‘Slavery’, p. 21

338 Dresser, ‘Slavery’, pp. 20-21

339 NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1060428>

340 David Poole, ‘Easterlands’ (2018), *House and Heritage* at <https://houseandheritage.org/2018/06/03/easterlands/>

Earnshill is a Palladian mansion built around 1720 when its owner, Francis Eyles (MP for Devizes) was prosecuted as a director of the South Sea Company. The property was sold to the African trader Richard Combe (1728-80), son of Henry Combe, owner of a Nevis plantation and investor in slave ships.³⁴¹

Elton House in Abbey Green in Bath dates from the seventeenth century, but it was enlarged and remodelled by Elizabeth and Jacob Elton after Elizabeth (nee Marchant) inherited the house. Jacob Elton was the second son of Bristol merchant Abraham Elton of Clevedon Court.³⁴²

Hadspen House near Castle Cary was acquired by Henry Hobhouse in 1785. The family had three generations of involvement in the Bristol slave trade and slave-related trades. The house was originally built by William Player in the seventeenth century and had been purchased some time before 1747 by Vickris Dickinson (a West India trader engaged in the Bristol sugar trade) and probably remodelled in 1750.³⁴³ It is now a hotel which, according to its website, was 'extensively remodelled in Georgian times'.

Ham Green House was originally erected by slaving merchant and West Indian trader Richard Meyler and passed by way of marriage to Henry Bright (1715-77), Bristol MP and Lord Mayor. The house was passed to his sons Richard and Robert, both of whom had mercantile interests in the Caribbean. The house is now the Penny Brohn Cancer Care Centre.³⁴⁴

King Weston, now incorporated as part of a campus of Millfield School, was purchased by Caleb Dickinson in 1740, a Quaker merchant trading in Bristol. His son William rebuilt King Weston House c. 1785-1788, from designs by Henry Holland the younger. The Dickinsons were a prominent family in the Bristol brass trade and the sugar trade, with inherited plantations in Jamaica.³⁴⁵

Kings Weston estate belonged to Sir Humphrey Hooke (1629-77), a merchant and MP, with ties to Barbados and Virginia. Robert Southwell, the Bristol MP and a royal envoy in Europe, purchased Kings Weston in 1679 and his son Edward commissioned Sir John Vanbrugh to build the present house and garden buildings around 1710. Most of these still stand. Both Robert and Edward were involved as government officials in the administration of West Indian affairs. Edward's son, Edward Southwell (1705-55) was Tory MP for Bristol from 1739 to 1754, during

341 Dresser, 'Slavery', p. 22; H.G.M. Leighton, 'Country Houses Acquired with Bristol Wealth', *Trans. Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 123 (2005), pp. 9-16.

342 Jaqueline Burrows, 'Elton House in Abbey Green and the Eltons of Clevedon Court, Bristol', *Bath and the Slave Trade* at <https://slaverybathhistory.wordpress.com/2016/02/24/elton-house-in-abbey-green-and-the-eltons-of-clevedon-court-bristol/>

343 LBS entry for 'Vickris Dickinson' at Dresser, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146637947>; 'Slavery', p. 21

344 Dresser, 'Slavery', p. 17

345 Dresser, 'Slavery', pp. 21-22

which time he promoted the interests of Bristol's Africa, Carolina and West India merchants. His son, a third Edward, who became Lord de Clifford, developed Kings Weston's interior. The house was sold in 1833 to the merchant and banker, and Bristol's first recorded millionaire, Philip John Miles. He had purchased **Leigh Court** and had the present mansion built there. In 1877 the Miles family opened a large new dock where the Kings Weston estate met the banks of the River Severn and began developing **Avonmouth** around it. The house is now a wedding venue and the park is owned by Bristol City Council and the National Trust.³⁴⁶

Leigh Court is a Palladian style mansion built in 1814 by Philip John Miles. Miles built on his father William's success as a planter and trader to become Bristol's first sugar millionaire and largest West India merchant. The house is now a private conference centre.³⁴⁷

Middleton Court (so called by 1807) in Huish Champflower was likely built for Thomas Gordon (claimant for estates in Jamaica) on the site of an earlier farm.³⁴⁸

In the early nineteenth-century a folly was built in the grounds of **Naish House** by James Adam Gordon, who inherited the Gordon family fortune made in part in the West Indies.³⁴⁹

Nettlecombe Court became a seat of the Trevelyan family in the fifteenth century. In 1757, John, 4th Bart., married Luisa Marianne Simond, daughter of the Grenada sugar plantation owner and London merchant, J.P. Simond, who brought her fortune into the Trevelyan family. Sir John Trevelyan ordered major renovations on the family's great estate at Nettlecombe in the 1770s and 1780s, including employing Samuel Heal to make mahogany doors and John Vietch to landscape the park and grounds.³⁵⁰ It is now a centre for an educational charity.

Orchardleigh (or Orchardlea) near Frome was owned by the Champneys family for centuries. Sir Thomas Champneys (b. 1745) owned a sugar estate in Jamaica. He held the office of High Sheriff of Somerset in 1775 and moved to live on the Nutts River Estate, Jamaica, which he inherited from his father in 1776. From

346 LBS entry for 'Philip John Miles (1774-1845)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/19118>; Dresser, 'Slavery', p. 22; 'The Story of Kings Weston House', *A Forgotten Landscape* (South Gloucestershire Council), at <https://www.aforgottenlandscape.org.uk/projects/the-story-of-kings-weston-house/>

347 Dresser, 'Slavery', p. 17; Leighton, 'Country Houses'

348 LBS entry for 'Thomas Gordon of Middleton Court and Charmouth (1760-1855)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146638147>; 'Parishes: Huish Champflower', *Victoria County History - British History Online*, at <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/som/vol5/pp81-88>

349 LBS entry for 'James Adam Gordon (1791-1854)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/physical/view/1995968457>; Toby Keel, 'Little Naish: The folly that went from dilapidated garden shed to beautiful modern home', *Country Life*, at <https://www.countrylife.co.uk/interiors/little-naish-gardeners-cottage-163795>

350 Charlton, *Hidden Chains*, p. 130; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1001152>

mismanagement Champneys and his son Thomas Swymmer Champneys lost the family fortune and sold the Orchardleigh estate to William Duckworth in 1856, who built the current house. Remains of the period of Champney's residence there include lodges dating from the 1820s.³⁵¹

Queen Charlton is connected to Vickris Dickinson who in c. 1769 bought an estate there. Dickinson also remodelled St Margaret's church c. 1795 and built the Poor House c. 1788. The major changes to the house were by his grand-daughter, Frances Dickinson.³⁵²

Until recently a private school for girls, **Redland Court** has longstanding connections with the slave trade. The original house was owned by Sir Robert Yeamans in the 1680s, inherited by his nephew, Colonel Robert Yeamans of Barbados. After being sold to other plantation owners, by 1738 the house was rebuilt (and Redland Chapel added) by the London grocer John Cossins, whose wife Martha Innys had inherited land in the Caribbean. The house was subsequently inherited by Slade Baker, a merchant and shipowner involved in the slave trade, after his marriage to Elizabeth Innes.³⁵³

In **Taunton**, the Market House was built c.1772 by Nathaniel Webb MP, after receiving the support of the local tradesmen in the Market House Society in his election as MP for the town in 1768. Webb was owner of an estate in Montserrat.³⁵⁴ The iconic town centre building is home to the Taunton visitor centre.

Tyntesfield (NT) is a Victorian house once owned by the merchant William Gibbs (1789-1875) who made his fortune trading in bird guano. Recent research has established how this business grew out of social networks and business dealings the family had with the West India and African trades. William was employed as a clerk in his uncle's (George) firm Gibbs, Bright and Gibbs, a West Indian trading house. George Gibbs, married to the daughter of Richard Farr (a leading slave trader) had partnerships with other Bristol and Liverpool West India merchants.³⁵⁵

351 Hampshire Record Office, *The Transatlantic Slave Trade*; 'The History of Orchardleigh' on the Orchardleigh Estate website, <https://www.orchardleigh.net/about/history>; NHLE entry for 'Church Lodge' at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1058143>; NHLE entry for 'Temple Lodge' at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1345350>

352 LBS entry for 'Vickris Dickinson' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/physical/view/1995967923>

353 'Estates within 2 miles of Bristol', *Port Cities: Bristol*, at <http://www.discoveringbristol.org.uk/slavery/routes/america-to-bristol/profits/estates-2-miles-bristol/>; Nicholas Kingsley, '(339) Baker (later Lloyd-Baker) of Waresley Park, Ramsden House, Stouts Hill and Hardwicke Court', *Landed Families of Britain and Ireland*, at <https://landedfamilies.blogspot.com/2018/08/339-baker-later-lloyd-baker-of-waresley.html>

354 LBS entry for 'Nathaniel Webb MP (1726-1786)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146644111>

355 Dresser, 'Slavery', p. 19; James Miller, *Fertile Fortune: The Story of Tyntesfield* (The National Trust, 2006); 'Tyntesfield: the guano palace', The Gardens Trust, <https://thegardenstrust.blog/2015/11/14/tyntesfield-the-guano-palace/>

Wraxhall House was the seat of the Gorges family and so in 1568 was likely the birthplace of Ferdinando Gorges, involved in the early colonisation of Maine, the slave colonies of Virginia and Bermuda, and a member of the Guinea Company (an early precursor to the Royal African Company). Gorges's widow lent money to Bristol's first refinery of Caribbean sugar, and Sir Ferdinando's grandson and namesake was a Barbados planter and merchant (see also Eye Manor).³⁵⁶

Bath was a Georgian spa town dedicated to the pursuit of pleasure by wealthy fashionable society and as such attracted plantation owners who indulged their profits in the city.³⁵⁷ It was a town intimately linked with the fortunes of the transatlantic slave trade, and this wealth has left its mark on the architectural landscape of the town, not least through the designs of John Wood the Elder, and completed by his son, John Wood the Younger. Their patrons included James Brydges, Duke of Chandos, one of the largest shareholders in the Royal African Company, and Richard Marchant and John Jeffreys, who made money from slavery. The architectural legacy of the Woods includes the famous Royal Crescent. It is claimed that Bath Abbey has more funerary monuments for slave traders, planters and West India merchants than anywhere else in Britain.³⁵⁸

Sir William Pulteney, the Earl of Bath, was an English politician, property-developer and plantation owner in Grenada, the latter as a result of both his own investment and inheritance from his brothers. As an MP he took an interest in East India affairs.

Great Pulteney Street was commissioned from his wealth; the **Pulteney Bridge** was built to unite the centre of Bath and today is a famous landmark.³⁵⁹

The history of the Beckford family is intertwined with a huge family fortune built on the Atlantic slave economy. William Beckford (1760-1844) was a wealthy absentee plantation owner and heir of the Beckford sugar dynasty. William was the son of Alderman William Beckford Snr (1737-), twice Lord Mayor of London, one of the wealthiest and most powerful men of his time. His grandfather Peter Beckford (1643-1710) founded a great sugar fortune in the West Indies. When Alderman Beckford moved the headquarters of the Beckford empire back to England in 1744

356 Dresser, 'Slavery', p. 18

357 *Sweet Waters: sense-ing legacies of slave-ownership* is a series of performative walks and creative dialogues in Bath along the River Avon by artist and researcher Richard White: <http://www.walknowtracks.co.uk/sweet-waters.html>

358 Victoria Perry, 'Slavery and the sublime: the Atlantic trade, landscape aesthetics and tourism' in Dresser and Hann, *Slavery*, pp. 102-112; Jacqueline Burrows, series of blogs at *Bath and the Slave Trade*, <https://slaverybathhistory.wordpress.com/>; 'Slavery in Bath' (2013), *The Bath Scrinium*, at <https://thebathscrinium.wordpress.com/2013/02/04/slavery-in-bath/>; 'A View from the Crescent Exhibition Panels' (2018), No. 1 Royal Crescent Museum, <https://no1royalcrescent.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/A-View-from-the-Crescent-Exhibition-panels.pdf>. In BBC *Civilisations Stories: The Remains of Slavery*, Episode 10 (2018), Miles Chambers examined Bristol and Bath's ties to Atlantic slavery (<https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/articles/GThNCvQtxsgJfJrxCxJb2/civilisations-masterworks-of-beauty-and-ingenuity>)

359 LBS entry for 'Sir William Pulteney 5th Bart., born Johnstone (1729-1805)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146632156>; Rothschild, *The Inner Life of Empires*

he purchased **Fonthill** (Wiltshire), where he commissioned a new mansion to be built in the modern and fashionable Palladian style. It became known as Fonthill Splendens. The only significant part remaining is the gateway at Fonthill Bishop.³⁶⁰

William's huge inheritance allowed him to enjoy an extravagant lifestyle, to be a writer, collector and patron of the arts.³⁶¹ In 1790, Beckford employed the architect James Wyatt to design a garden building on the Fonthill estate, which became the gothic **Fonthill Abbey**, filled with Beckford's great collection of books, furniture, objects and art. He began building Lansdown Tower in 1825-27, the same year Fonthill Abbey collapsed. **Beckford's Tower** (and now Museum) on Lansdown Hill still houses his possessions and collections.³⁶²

The Museum of Bath Architecture is housed in a Methodist chapel built in 1765 for Selina Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon. The Countess promoted the publications of formerly enslaved people, such as the African-American poet Phillis Wheatley, whilst also being a slave owner.³⁶³

Gloucestershire

Badminton House is now known for horse trials. It was refashioned in the seventeenth century by Henry Somerset, first Duke of Beaufort. In 1682 the first Duke married Rebecca Child, the daughter of the London merchant Josiah Child. Their son, Henry Somerset, who further fashioned the interior of the house, was one of the six Lord Proprietors of the Bahamas and one of the Lords Proprietors of Carolina. Later generations of the family had close links with Virginia.³⁶⁴

Barrington Park near Cirencester has slavery associations of a political nature as the estate was purchased by Charles Talbot in 1734. The house was built by Talbot 1736-38 for his son, William Talbot and wife Mary, who commissioned pleasure grounds. As Attorney General, Charles Talbot was the joint author of the influential judgement on the status of slaves in England – the so-called York/Talbot judgement

360 'Beckford and the Slave Trade: The Legacy of the Beckford Family and the Slave Trade', Bath Preservation Trust, available at <https://beckfordstower.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/Beckfords-and-Slavery-leaflet-2007.pdf>; Amy Frost, 'The Beckford era' in Caroline Dakers (ed.), *Fonthill Recovered* (UCL Press, 2018), available at <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/j.ctv1xz0t0.8.pdf>; Matthew Parker, *The Sugar Barons: Family, Corruption, Empire and War* (London: Windmill Books, 2011), pp. 352-354.

361 Derek E. Ostergard (ed.), *William Beckford, 1760-1844: An Eye for the Magnificent* (Yale University Press, 2001)

362 <https://beckfordstower.org.uk/>; 'Bath and the Slave Trade' (2007) by Bath Preservation Trust available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/126>

363 John R. Tyson, 'Lady Huntingdon, Religion and Race', *Methodist History*, 50:1 (2011), available at <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/c213/8bbd2a2064bdf5d7621ceff0f4a98ce4c57d.pdf>

364 Dresser, 'Slavery', p. 25

of 1729, stating that a slave in England was not automatically free and could be returned to the colonies (deeply influencing legal opinion up until Lord Mansfield's judgement of 1772).³⁶⁵

Dodington House on the Dodington Park estate was for five centuries home of the Codrington family, whose fortune was in part founded on the Caribbean sugar-planting endeavours of two Christopher Codringtons, father and son, in Barbados, Antigua and Barbuda. Christopher Codrington arrived in Barbados in 1640 and married the daughter of James Drax, a leading plantation owner. He acquired more estates in Barbados and Antigua, as well as the entire island of Barbuda. He was later named Captain General of the Leeward Islands. His son, also Christopher, retired to his estates in Barbados. The estates passed to his first cousin, William Codrington, who disinherited his own son and his wealth passed to his nephew Christopher Bethell Codrington, who in the eighteenth century substantially extended and renovated Dodington Park as it stands today. Capability Brown was employed to landscape the gardens.³⁶⁶

Dyrham Park (NT) near Bath was inherited by William Blathwayt on his marriage to Mary Wynter in 1686. Blathwayt was MP for Bath 1693-1710 and held a number of government offices dealing with trade and the colonies, roles in which he actively promoted the slave trade. Mary Blathwayt's family had connections to the Caribbean. Between 1692 and 1704 Blathwayt undertook a huge renovation of the house, largely demolishing the Tudor manor. The National Trust is currently undergoing a large project to restore and reimagine Dyrham Park.³⁶⁷

Frampton Park was built in 1730 by Richard Clutterbuck, who made his fortune as the Bristol Controller of Customs, regulating merchandise going in and out the port at the height of Bristol's involvement in the African trade.³⁶⁸

The original **Lydney Park** was built in the 1670s by Charles Winter/Wintour. His ancestor William Winter was involved in early slaving voyages between Africa and the new world. Benjamin Bathurst (Deputy Governor of the Leeward Islands in the late seventeenth century and shareholder in the Royal African Company) purchased the estate in 1719 and his descendants have owned it ever since. In 1876 the family demolished the original mansion house and moved to a new house in the centre of the deer park.³⁶⁹

365 Dresser, 'Slavery', p. 25; Parks and Gardens entry for 'Barrington Park' at <https://www.parksandgardens.org/places/barrington-park>

366 Natalie Zacek, 'West Indian echoes: Dodington House, the Codrington family and the Caribbean heritage' in Dresser and Hann (eds), *Slavery*, pp. 113-120; Parker, *Sugar Barons*

367 Mitchell and Sobers, 'Re: Interpretation'; Liz Haines, 'How is colonial history represented in our regional heritage?' (2017), GW4 Alliance, at <https://gw4.ac.uk/opinion/colonial-history-represented-regional-heritage/>; <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/dyrham-park/features/history-of-dyrham-park>

368 Dresser, 'Slavery', p. 26

369 Dresser, 'Slavery', pp. 24-25; <https://www.lydneyparkestate.co.uk/>

Lypiatt Park near Stroud has associations with slavery through the wealthy ship owner, slave plantation owner and West India merchant, Samuel Baker, who purchased the estate in 1838. Baker bequeathed his sugar plantations in Mauritius to his son, Samuel White Baker, and made him a partner in his West India trading company. Samuel White Baker (1821-93) went on to become a well-known African explorer, with deeply racist views about non-European peoples.³⁷⁰ Samuel White Baker was also a significant actor in the development of Gloucester, notably the **Gloucester Docks** (where Baker's Quay remains).³⁷¹

Oldbury Court near Stapleton, of which only the extensive park remains, was owned in the early seventeenth century by the Whitson sugar refining family. The house was purchased in 1667 by Robert Winstone, a Bristol glover in trade with Barbados. His son and grandson, both named Thomas, prospered through the slave trade. 'Jasper' was the Black servant of Thomas Winstone II's wife, Albinia Hayward. She brought a large settlement derived from slave plantations in Tortola. The sugar baron Thomas Graeme purchased Oldbury Court in 1799 and commissioned Humphry Repton to landscape the gardens.³⁷²

Thirlestaine House near Cheltenham was built in 1823 by James Robert Scott, heir to a share of several Jamaican plantations from his uncle William Chisholme. It was a house and gallery; now a school.³⁷³

Tracey Park was purchased in the later eighteenth century by Robert Bush, the Bristol pewterer, brasier and brass founder. His shop in Bristol supplied goods for the Virginia trade, and his company supplied slave ships with trade goods. His son, Robert Bush Jr, enlarged and improved the house in 1808.³⁷⁴ The house is now a hotel and golf club.

Wormington Grange has associations with the tobacco trade through Nathaniel Jeffreys, who built the estate in the 1770s. There is likely a family connection to John Jeffreys (1706-1766) of Brecknock Priory, the son and nephew of two eminent London tobacco merchants, who had both been directors of the Royal African Company. The house was sold to Samuel Gist in 1786 who owned Virginia plantations and was prominent in the London tobacco trade. Samuel Gist freed the

370 Madge Dresser, 'Slavery', p. 26

371 LBS entry for 'Samuel Baker (1795-1862)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/20517>
Hugh Conway Jones, 'How Gloucester Benefitted From Slavery' at <https://www.gloucesterdocks.me.uk/studies/slavery.htm>

372 Dresser, 'Slavery', pp. 22-23; <https://www.bristol.gov.uk/museums-parks-sports-culture/oldbury-court-estate>; 'Table of people of African descent in Bristol before 1850', *Victoria County History*, available at <https://www.victoriacountyhistory.ac.uk/explore/items/people-african-descent-bristol-1850>

373 LBS entry for 'James Robert Scott (1790-1833)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146638853>; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1386724>

374 Dresser, 'Slavery', pp. 26-27

people enslaved on his plantation in his will of 1808, and stipulated they be given freehold plots in Ohio. The descendants of Gist's slaves still gather to commemorate their history.³⁷⁵

Wiltshire

Jamaican plantation owners the Dickinson family, who owned large estates in Somerset, also owned properties in Wiltshire. In 1751 the **Bowden Park** estate near Lacock was bought by the Dickinson family of **Monks Park**, Corsham (also likely built for the family). Bowden House was rebuilt in 1796 by James Wyatt for Barnard Dickinson. In 1849 Bowden Park was bought by John Gladstone, brother of the Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone, and in 1856 he had the parish church of Saint Anne built (see also: Liverpool).³⁷⁶

Landford Lodge is associated with the Greatheed family, owners of estates in St Vincent, specifically Samuel Greatheed and Samuel Greatheed the elder (see also: Warwickshire). Early nineteenth-century interiors of the house date from the occupancy of the family.³⁷⁷

Lucknam Park near Bath was built by James Wallis, a shipowner and wealthy Bristol cloth and tobacco merchant, c. 1700. It was modified by Andreas Christian Boode (his father had owned five coffee plantations in Demerara) who added a portico and wings. Land was also added to the estate. It is now a luxury hotel.³⁷⁸

Trafalgar Park is associated with Henry Dawkins II, who returned from Jamaica in 1759 and enjoyed an income from various slave plantations. Henry bought an estate at Standlynch (now called Trafalgar Park) and greatly enlarged the house in 1766, employing the Bath architect John Wood the younger and the Greek revivalist designer Nicholas Revett, as well as commissioning a lavish mural by G.B. Cipriani

375 Madge Dresser, 'Slavery and the British Country House' in David Cannadine and Jeremy Musson (eds), *The Country House: Past, Present, and Future* (Rizzoli, 2018)

376 LBS entry for 'Barnard Dickinson (1746-1814)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146638053>; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1022132>; 'Wiltshire's Slave Owners in Jamaica' (2016), Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, at <http://www.wshc.eu/blog/item/wiltshire-slave-owners-in-jamaica.html>

377 LBS entry for 'Samuel Greatheed the elder (1752-1829)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146644211>; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1023914>

378 LBS entry for 'Andreas Christian Boode (1763-1844)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/physical/view/1282563524>; 'The History of Lucknam Park Hotel & Spa' at <https://www.lucknampark.co.uk/about/history/>

for the house's new music wing. In 1813 the estate was acquired by Act of Parliament as a gift to Admiral Lord Nelson's brother and heirs to commemorate the Battle of Trafalgar. Nelson was a supporter of slavery.³⁷⁹

Wincombe Park in Donhead St Mary was built by John Gordon, owner of the Glasgow plantation in Jamaica, at the beginning of the nineteenth century.³⁸⁰

Dorset

Bettiscombe Manor was owned by generations of the Pinney family, owners of plantations on St Kitts and Nevis. John Pretor Pinney (cousin and heir of John Frederick Pinney) moved on to build the Georgian House in Bristol. The family also owned **Racedown House**.³⁸¹

In 1827 John Samuel Wanley Sawbridge married Jane Frances Grosvenor, a member of the Drax family, prominent among the slave-owners of Barbados. Sawbridge assumed the name of Erle-Drax and took possession of **Charborough House**. He is said to have spent huge amounts of money on the estate, including the vast brick wall that surrounds it, adding the Georgian façade to the North Front and rebuilding Charborough Tower, which is 420ft above sea level. Erle-Drax also owned an estate at **Holnest**, where he built an elaborate mausoleum besides the parish church – demolished in 1935 and replaced by a flat memorial stone.³⁸²

Kingston Lacey (NT) was owned by Henry Bankes (1756-1834), who married Frances Woodley, daughter of William Woodley, a plantation owner and governor of the Leeward Islands. Her colonial fortune may have contributed to the family wealth that funded the development of the estate and the subsequent remodeling of Kingston Lacey in the early nineteenth century. Their son William Henry Banks was an awardee of slave compensation as a trustee.³⁸³

379 Dresser, 'Slavery and the British Country House'; James Dawkins, 'The Dawkins Family in Jamaica and England, 1664-1833', unpublished PhD thesis, University College London (2018); Christer Petley, 'Reflections on "Nelson's Dark Side"' (2018), *Slavery and Revolution*, at <https://blog.soton.ac.uk/slaveryandrevolution/2018/12/07/reflections-on-nelsons-dark-side/>

380 LBS entry for 'John Gordon of Wincombe Park' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146644379>; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1146083>

381 LBS entry for 'John Pretor Pinney (1740-1818)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146646281>; Rodney Legg, 'Bettiscombe', *Dorset Life*, at <https://www.dorsetlife.co.uk/2009/06/bettiscombe/>

382 LBS entry for 'John Samuel Wanley Sawbridge Erle-Drax (1800-1887)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2246>; Parker, *Sugar Barons*, pp. 360-361; <http://www.charborough.co.uk/history/>

383 LBS entry for 'William John Bankes (1786-1855)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146645443>

Merley House in Canford Magna was built by Ralph Willett, a slave-owner in St Kitts, c. 1751. The house is now a wedding venue.³⁸⁴

Pinhay House near Lyme Regis was rebuilt in the Italianate style for John Ames (1784-1867), after he bought the estate in 1838, retiring from business in Bristol with a vast fortune. John Ames was the son of Levi Ames; the Ames family had extensive interests in banking, ship-owning and the West Indies trade. The grounds were probably landscaped by Ames in the 1840s. The house is now a nursing home.³⁸⁵

Julines Beckford (d. 1764) was brother of Alderman William Beckford of Fonthill. He bought the **Stepleton Iwerne** estate in 1745 and remodelled the house, landscaped the grounds and formed pleasure grounds, including a small lake, formed by damming the River Iwerne.³⁸⁶

Devon

Many Devon families were involved in early plantation economies in the Americas. For example, Elias Ball, a Devonian who inherited a plantation in Carolina at the end of the seventeenth century.³⁸⁷ The close ties between the area and the Dutch provinces was confirmed after 1688 when William of Orange was invited to take over the throne. '200 Blacks' were part of William of Orange's entourage as he processed from Brixham to London.³⁸⁸

Bishop's Palace in Exeter was restored under the direction of Henry Phillpotts (Bishop of Exeter, 1830-1869), a project likely financed by the compensation paid to the Bishop and his colleagues for the 665 slaves they relinquished on Barbados when slavery was abolished in 1838.³⁸⁹

384 LBS entry for 'Ralph Willett (1719-1795)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146639903>; 'The History of Merley House' at <http://merleyhouseevents.co.uk/merley-house-dorset-function-venue/>

385 Kingsley, 'Ames of Bristol'

386 LBS entry for 'Julines Beckford' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/physical/view/1995968173>; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1001266>

387 Edward Ball, *Slaves in the Family* (Ballantine Books, 1998)

388 Lucy MacKeith, 'Unravelling Devon involvement in Slave-Ownership' (2015) available at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/media-new/pdfs/devonandslaveownership.pdf>

389 LBS entry for 'Rt Rev. Henry Phillpotts (1778-1869)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/18347>; John Banks, 'Devon's plantation owners' (2008) at http://www.bbc.co.uk/devon/content/articles/2007/02/28/abolition_devon_wealth_feature.shtml

Buckland Filleigh was inherited by John Inglett Fortescue (1758-1840) from his paternal grandmother. He became MP for Callington in Cornwall in 1801. A friend of John Rolle, he bought Hope Estate in St Vincent in 1822. Fortesque built the house in c.1810 after the original built down in 1790.³⁹⁰ It is now a wedding venue.

The Praeds were a prominent banking family who established **The Exeter Bank** in 1769 in what is now part of the Royal Clarence Hotel. William Praed owned enslaved people in Jamaica between 1811 and 1819.³⁹¹

Follaton House in Totnes is now used as headquarters of South Hams District Council. The early-nineteenth-century country house was built by George Stanley Cary, who, in addition to land in Devonshire, held extensive estates in the West Indies inherited from his great-grandfather Gilbert Fleming.³⁹²

Glenthorne in Countisbury is a country house built c. 1829-30 for the Reverend Walter Stevenson Halliday, owner of the Castle Wemyss estate in Jamaica.³⁹³

Lindridge Manor near Bishopsteignton was built by Sir Peter Leare in 1660, who greatly enlarged and remodelled it. Thomas Modyford, Mayor of Exeter, arrived in Barbados in 1647 with money to invest in plantations with Leare and other merchants such as John Colleton. The house was destroyed by fire in 1963 and its ruins were demolished in the early 1990s to make way for a housing development. The gardens have been restored and are Grade II listed.³⁹⁴

The island of **Lundy** (NT) was bought and developed by William Hudson Heaven, a Bristol merchant and plantation owner, and recipient of compensation in 1834. He built **Millcombe Villa** there in 1836.³⁹⁵

390 Simon D. Smith, 'Slavery's Heritage Footprint: links between British country houses and St Vincent plantations, 1814-1834' in Dresser and Hann (eds), *Slavery*, pp. 57-68.

391 LBS, 'Devon and Slavery'

392 LBS entry for 'George Stanley Cary (1780-1858)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/43950>; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1235624>

393 LBS entry for 'Rev. Walter Stevenson Halliday (1793-1872)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/17980>; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1212846>

394 LBS, 'Devon and Slavery'; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000357>

395 LBS entry for 'William Hudson Heaven (1800-1883)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/14495/>

The Swete family of **Modbury** took over the lease of a property in Antigua. They likely used some of the profits they made to arrange a water supply to be brought into Modbury. There is a memorial stone commemorating Adrian Swete paying for the supply of water in 1708.³⁹⁶

New Shute House near Axminster is a late Palladian country house built in the Adam style by John William de la Pole between 1787-1789, with landscaping by Humphry Repton. Pole was an heir to estates on St Kitts. The 'new' house was built within the grounds of the medieval and Tudor Old Shute House, now maintained by the National Trust. The house is now converted into apartments.³⁹⁷

Oxton House near Exeter was rebuilt by the diarist and traveller Rev John Swete (born Tripe), heir of Esther Swete's slave property in Antigua (he is said to have changed his surname in order to comply with the terms of a bequest). Over a period of ten years Swete undertook major building and landscaping works at Oxton in the 1780s. The house was remodelled again by Swete's son John c. 1830. The house and estate remain in private ownership.³⁹⁸

John Rolle, Baron Rolle of Stevenstone (1751-1842), was MP for Devon 1780-1796, and son of Denys Rolle, a colonial landowner in Florida. The family was later granted plantations in the Bahamas. John Rolle thus became the largest slave owner in the Bahamas and inherited extensive land in Devon from his uncle. Rolle left a significant imprint on Devon, including the **Rolle Canal** in north Devon, the **Rolle Quay** at Barnstaple and urban development in **Exmouth**, including building Holy Trinity Church. Rolle College and Rolle Street are named after him. He built **Bicton House** in about 1800, for years the home of the country agricultural college. His second wife built extensively, including the China Tower at **Bicton** (1839) as a present for her husband, and Bicton Church.³⁹⁹

396 Lucy MacKeith, *Local Black History: A beginning in Devon* (Archives and Museum of Black Heritage, 2003), partnership project between Black Cultural Archives and Middlesex University, available at http://www.blacknetworkinggroup.co.uk/local_black_history.htm

397 LBS entry for 'Sir John William de la Pole 6th Bart. (1757-1799)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146645451>; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1171008>; Maureen Turner, 'The Building of New Shute House 1787-1790', MA dissertation, University of Exeter (1999). Painting and description of Sir John William de la Pole at <http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/352381>

398 LBS entry for 'Rev. John Swete ne Tripe (1752-1821)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146636135>; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1001269>; Anne Bligh, 'Slavery Connections', *Old Ashburton* at <https://www.ashburton.co.uk/Slavery-Connections.php>

399 LBS entry for 'John Rolle, Baron Rolle of Stevenstone (1751-1842)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/1454>; Gray, *Devon and the Slave Trade*, pp. 106-111; NHLE entry for 'Bicton' at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000338>; 'History', The Rolle Canal Company at <https://therollecanal.co.uk/history/>

Stedcombe House near Axmouth was built by Richard Hallett with his brother John Hallett, a Barbados planter. The family also had Black servants.⁴⁰⁰

Cornwall

Pencarrow is a country house in Cornwall extended and remodelled in the 1760s by Sir John Molesworth, 4th Bart., and MP for Newport and Cornwall, and his son of the same name, to designs by Robert Allanson. The family had Jamaican interests, and Sir John was part-owner of Jamaican estates.⁴⁰¹

Trengwainton Garden (NT) in Penzance. Sir Rose Price purchased the Trengwainton estate in 1813, rebuilt the house and laid out pleasure gardens, which remain. Price was descended from a Cornish-Jamaican plantation-owning family and he owned the 'Spring Garden' estate in St. Johns, Jamaica. His father, John Price of Penzance, was the first absentee owner of Worthy Park in Jamaica. '**Chi-owne**' was a retreat built by John Price in the parish of Paul near Penzance.⁴⁰²

South-West: the historic Black presence

There were not large numbers of Black people in **Bristol** in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, certainly not compared to London and Liverpool, although there was a significant population.⁴⁰³ There is a memorial to Scipio Africanus at the Church of St Mary in Henbury. Scipio was servant to Charles William Howard, 7th Earl of Suffolk, and is thought to have lived on the Blaise Estate. Scipio died in 1720 aged 18. The elaborateness of his headstone and footstone suggests he ended his life as a favoured servant.⁴⁰⁴

400 NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1098596>; 'The Trade in Enslaving Black People', Lyme Regis Museum, at <https://www.lymeregismuseum.co.uk/related-article/the-slave-trade/>

401 LBS entry for 'Sir John Molesworth 4th Bart. (1705-1766)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146654117>; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000652>; 'The house and family' at <https://www.pencarrow.co.uk/the-house/>;

402 LBS entry for 'Sir Rose Price 1st Bart. (1768-1834)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/19625>; 'On this Day 21st November 1768: Baptism of Sir Rose Price in Penzance', Penwith Local History Group, at <http://www.penwithlocalhistorygroup.co.uk/on-this-day/?id=288&fbclid=IwAR39wP8c7F3N2FmoNSnwzcHpJINLORtQie1gBO4ku-tme4hykqLoG7nrJY>

403 Pip Jones and Rita Youseph, *The Black Population of Bristol in the 18th Century* (Bristol Branch of the Historical Association), available at <http://www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/History/bristolrecordsociety/publications/bha084.pdf>; Madge Dresser and Peter Fleming, *Bristol: Ethnic Minorities and the City, 1000-2001* (Victoria County History, 2007).

404 'Sites of Memory'

Several projects explored the Black history of Bristol in 2007.⁴⁰⁵ In *The Adisa Project: Bristol Faces, Afrikan Footsteps* (a collaborative partnership project between Bristol Museums and local youth and community groups) young people of African and African Caribbean heritage researched the history and legacy of Bristol's involvement in the trade in enslaved Africans.⁴⁰⁶ *Bristol Black Archives Partnership* involved communities, heritage organisations and academics coming together in 2007 to collect and make accessible the archives of Bristol's Black population.⁴⁰⁷ The *Diverse Stories* project began in 2007 with participants from Malcolm X Elders (an African-Caribbean elders group) taking part in a creative writing project, supported by Show of Strength Theatre Company. The group explored the history of certain sites in Bristol and their links to the slave trade and the abolition movement.⁴⁰⁸

A number of African-Americans visited Bristol in the nineteenth century, including Frederick Douglass. In 2018, *Frederick Douglass: An abolitionist returns to Bristol* was produced by Bristol Old Vic and Colston Hall in association with writer Edson Burton. The day long performance from St Pauls to Clifton featured different actors performing some of the abolitionist's oratory.⁴⁰⁹

A number of records relating to the Black presence in **Gloucestershire** at the time of transatlantic slavery are held by Gloucestershire Archives, including John Prince 'a Black boy lately bought into England' being apprenticed to John Trigge, Attorney at Law in Newnham on Severn in 1715.⁴¹⁰

In **Dorset**, *Dorset's Hidden Histories*, by DEED (Development Education in Dorset) and writer and poet Louisa Adjoa Parker explored 400 years of the stories of people of African and Caribbean heritage across Dorset, Bournemouth and Poole, stressing how English Black histories in this period are not necessarily urban stories. *Forgotten Voices* at Poole Museum (2014) explored slavery and abolition using resources from the Poole History Centre.⁴¹¹

405 Many under the 'Abolition 200' umbrella, see R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/418>; Madge Dresser, 'Remembering Slavery and Abolition in Bristol', *Slavery & Abolition*, 30:2 (2009), pp. 223-246.

406 'The Adisa Project: Bristol faces, Afrikan footsteps' (2007) by Bristol Museums, Archives and Galleries, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/419>

407 'Bristol Black Archives Partnership' at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/421>

408 'Diverse Stories' (2007) by Our Stories Make Waves, Show of Strength Theatre Company and English Heritage, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/561>

409 <https://bristololdvic.org.uk/whats-on/2018/frederick-douglass-an-abolitionist-returns-to-bristol>

410 'A Handlist to Resources relating to BME people and Communities in Gloucestershire', available at https://www.gloucestershire.gov.uk/media/1949/handlist_to_resources_relating_to_bme_people_and_communities_in_gloucestershire-64363.pdf

411 Louisa Adjoa Parker, *Dorset's Hidden Histories* (DEED, 2007), see also entry at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/490>; Louisa Adjoa Parker, 'Black histories aren't all urban: tales from the West Country' (2017) at <https://mediadiversified.org/2017/10/19/black-histories-arent-all-urban-tales-from-the-west-country/>; 'Forgotten Voices Blog', Poole Museum, at <http://www.poolemuseum.org.uk/schools/special-projects/forgotten-voices-blog/?blogpost=95>

Lucy Mackeith has written Black histories of **Devon**, and in 2020 Richard Anderson recorded a virtual talk about **Cornwall** and the African diaspora.⁴¹² A gravestone commemorating Philip Scipio can be found in St Martin's Church in Werrington, Cornwall. Philip was a servant to the Duke of Wharton and later to Lady Lucy Morice. It is believed that Philip died in 1784 aged about 18 years old.⁴¹³ Penwith Local History group has noted how in December 1825 a French ship *Perle* docked in St Ives harbour from the coast of Africa, with five enslaved Africans on board. Only three survived and were freed.⁴¹⁴

The most celebrated African in Cornwall in this period is **Joseph Antonio Emidy** (1775-1835). Born in West Africa, Emidy was sold to the Portuguese and sent into slavery in Brazil. A talented violinist, he returned to Europe, and in 1795 was 'pressed' into service on a Royal Navy ship. Discharged in Falmouth in 1799, he became a music teacher, teaching piano, violin, cello and flute and becoming leader of Truro Philharmonic Orchestra. He died in 1835 and his memorial stone is in the churchyard of Kenwyn Church, Truro.⁴¹⁵ In 2008 Cornish theatre company BishBashBosh Productions toured the play *The Tin Violin* about his life, written by Cornish playwright Alan M Kent. It returned as a revised version in 2012. The life and work of the African violinist was permanently commemorated in Truro Cathedral in 2015. The Joseph Emidy boss was carved by Peter Boex with a violin and a map of Africa and was erected in the ceiling of St Mary's Aisle.⁴¹⁶

412 MacKeith, *Local Black History*; see also Gray, *Devon and the Slave Trade*. Richard Anderson's talk available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aQ09DhQXYo0&feature=youtu.be>

413 'Sites of Memory'

414 'On this Day 9th December 1825: A Slave Ship in St Ives', Penwith Local History Group, <http://www.penwithlocalhistorygroup.co.uk/on-this-day/?id=304>

415 NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1392417>; 'Sites of Memory'; 'Joseph Antonia Emidy (1775-1835)', Black Networking Group, at http://www.blacknetworkinggroup.co.uk/joseph_antonia_emidy.htm

416 Lee Trehwela, 'The African slave who found freedom and fame in Cornwall', *Cornwall Live*, at <https://www.cornwalllive.com/news/history/african-slave-who-found-freedom-4222808>

3 MIDLANDS AND EAST OF ENGLAND

Midlands and East of England: industrial heritage

In **Shropshire**, there are linkages to the Welsh cloth trade to the Americas, as processes such as shearing were carried out over the border in Shrewsbury. Much of the export to the Atlantic trade in Welsh cloth in the eighteenth century went by the way of London, Bristol and Liverpool.⁴¹⁷ Shropshire coal and products from Shropshire ironmasters were also shipped to Bristol. The Goldney and Darby families from Bristol have associations with the ironworks in Coalbrookdale.⁴¹⁸

At the end of the eighteenth century, the Midlands became the centre of the metal trades, some of the products of which were involved in the Atlantic slave economy. The industrialist and progressive reformer Matthew Boulton developed business dealings with the Caribbean plantations from his Birmingham Soho factory. With James Watt, Boulton developed new steam engines that were sold to the sugar plantations, which used steam power to replace wind, water or horse power.⁴¹⁹ In 2007, exhibitions such as *Sugar Coated Tears* at Wolverhampton Art Gallery (with photographer Vanley Burke and blacksmith Lofty Wright) and *Trade Links: Walsall and the Slave Trade* examined how the area's industrial history was entangled in empire and slavery in the problematic legacies of the city's gun, chain, iron, and tool manufacturing industries.⁴²⁰ In 2013 the newly refurbished Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery exhibited *Birmingham: its people, its history*, which reflected on how the city's manufacturing history is interwoven with the story of empire and

417 Chris Evans, 'Telling the story'

418 Martin, *Britain's Slave Trade*, pp. 47-48; 'An 18th Century Voyage of Discovery', The National Archives, at https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/blackhistory/journeys/voyage_html/goldney.htm

419 'James Watt and slavery: The untold story', available at *West Midlands History*, <https://www.historywm.com/podcasts/james-watt-and-slavery-the-untold-story>; 'Birmingham, Boulton, and Steam Enterprise' in David Philip Miller, *The Life and Legend of James Watt: Collaboration, Natural Philosophy, and the Improvement of the Steam Engine* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2019). The plantation owner Simon Taylor commented on Boulton's proposals to adapt steam power to sugar mills in Jamaica in 1787 in letters published at *Slavery and Revolution*, <https://blog.soton.ac.uk/slaveryandrevolution/tag/matthew-boulton/>

420 Andy Green, 'Remembering Slavery in Birmingham: Sculpture, Paintings and Installations', *Slavery & Abolition*, 29:2 (2008), pp. 189-201; 'Trade Links: Walsall and the Slave Trade' (2007-2008) by Walsall Museum and Walsall Youth Arts, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/599>; 'Sugar Coated Tears' (2007), available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/597>

slavery.⁴²¹ **Ashbourne** in Derbyshire is also claimed to have been a manufacturer of manacles and irons for the transatlantic slave trade. Ashbourne did have a thriving metal working industry at this time.⁴²²

The legacies of cotton manufacturing in the Derbyshire Peak District in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are tied to the labour of enslaved peoples in Brazil, North America and the Caribbean. These histories have been explored since 2014 by the University of Nottingham's *Global Cotton Connections* project.⁴²³

Bright Ideas Nottingham began the *Slave Trade Legacies* project in 2014, as a critique of the neglect of connections between British country estates and industrial sites with slavery and the slave trade in heritage site interpretation. Over 100 members, comprising volunteers mainly of Afro-Caribbean heritage, have explored the role of enslaved ancestors in contributing to the material wealth in Britain (see also: Newstead Abbey).⁴²⁴

A collaborative partnership between the *Global Cotton Connections* project, the *Slave Trade Legacies* group and *Sheffield Hindu Samaj Heritage* group focused on the representation of these histories in the Derwent Valley Mills World Heritage Site, and led to the installation of community-led exhibition materials on slavery and colonialism at Cromford Mills Visitor Centre in 2016 and 2018, with support from

421 Kate Donington, "Birmingham: its people, its history': representing slavery", LBS blog at <https://lbsatucf.wordpress.com/2013/11/22/birmingham-its-people-its-history-representing-slavery-in-a-civic-museum-part-i/>

422 'Parwich 2007 Slavery Season' (2007) by Parwich Church and Local History Society, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/990>

423 Arts and Humanities Research Council funded *Global Cotton Connections* blog available at <https://globalcottonconnections.wordpress.com/>

424 *Slave Trade Legacies* blog: <https://slavetradelegacies.wordpress.com/>. 'Changing lives: Unearthing slave histories gives Clive a better outlook on life', Heritage Fund, <https://www.heritagefund.org.uk/cy/stories/changing-lives-unearthing-slave-histories-gives-clive-better-outlook-life>. The group produced two films about their experiences in 2015: *The Colour of Money* and *The Global Cotton Connections*, available at <https://slavetradelegacies.wordpress.com/>

the Arkwright Society.⁴²⁵ Richard Arkwright's cotton mill at Cromford, built 1771, exemplified the mills that began to appear across the North-West, Yorkshire and the Midlands.

Ancestors' Voices (2017-2019) is a continuation of the *Slave Trade Legacies* project; the group are now known as *Legacy Makers*. Volunteers are investigating the history of Darley Abbey, built by Walter Evans, the local mill owner in 1819. The research into the cotton supply chain at Darley Abbey and connections to enslaved labour in the Americas will be used for a pop-up digital exhibition, a new interpretation board, and a concert at St Matthews Church.⁴²⁶

Nottingham's famous historical lace and hosiery industries of the late-eighteenth century drew on supplies of raw cotton produced and cleaned by enslaved people of African descent who laboured on plantations in the American South and elsewhere in the Americas. Artist Godfried Donkor explored these histories in his exhibition *Lace and Slavery* in 2007.⁴²⁷

Midlands and East of England: residences and local development

Herefordshire and Worcestershire

Eye Manor was rebuilt by Ferdinando Gorges (also known as 'King of the Black Market'), who spent his life involved in the Atlantic slave economy, as a trader and plantation owner. He purchased the estate in 1673, and spent much of his fortune rebuilding the house.⁴²⁸

425 *Sheffield Hindu Samaj Heritage* group blogsite: <https://heritagehindusamaj.wordpress.com/>. This group also produced two volumes of poetry: *British Raj in the Peak District: Threads of Connection* (edited by Debjani Chatterjee, 2015) and *Spinning a Yarn, Weaving a Poem* (edited by Debjani Chatterjee, 2018). For background on this project and its outcomes see Susanne Seymour, *Global Cotton Connections Archival Research*, unpublished report for The Arkwright Society (2018); D. Knight (ed.) *Derwent Valley Mills World Heritage Site Research Framework* (DVM Partnership: Matlock, Derbyshire, 2016), including the Strategic Objectives: 'Assess the position of the Derwent Valley cotton industry in terms of the Empire, the slave trade and the pressures of global demand and supply' (S. Seymour and S. Haggerty), p. 87, and 'Investigate how the Derwent Valley and its heritage provision is viewed by British diaspora groups, particularly those of African and Indian descent' (S. Seymour and L. Jones), p. 40, available at <http://flk.bz/R9rc>; S. Seymour, L. Jones, J. Feuer-Cotter, 'The global connections of cotton in the Derwent Valley mills in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries', in C. Wrigley (ed.) *The Industrial Revolution: Cromford, The Derwent Valley and the Wider World* (Arkwright Society: Cromford, 2015), pp 150-70, available at <https://globalcottonconnections.wordpress.com/>

426 <https://ancestorsvoices.home.blog/>; <https://legacymakers.home.blog/2020/06/20/legacy-makers-blacklivesmatter-support-statement/>. We are grateful to Dr Helen Bates and Dr Susanne Seymour for this information.

427 'Lace and Slavery' (2007) by Godfried Donkor, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/1998>

428 'Unfair Trade' (2007) by Herefordshire Museums, available at R1807, <http://www.antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/512>

Hagley Hall is a Palladian mansion at Hagley erected by MP and scholar George Lyttleton whose grandfather Sir Charles Lyttleton was one of the first governors of Jamaica. George's brother, William Henry Lyttleton, was appointed Governor of Jamaica in 1760, the same year Hagley Hall was completed. It is now a private house and wedding venue.⁴²⁹

Hope End in Ledbury was home of the Barrett family, owners of sugar plantations in Jamaica. Elizabeth Barrett Browning, the nineteenth-century poet, was herself a descendant of enslaved people on her father's side. The house was built by Elizabeth's father Edward Moulton Barrett, and is now a hotel.⁴³⁰

Sir John Hawkins married Margaret Vaughan of Kington. In 1632, after his death, Lady Margaret Hawkins bequeathed the building of a school in Kington, and **Lady Hawkins School** is still educating children of the town. In 2007 the pupils produced a book about John Hawkins addressing this history.⁴³¹

Moccas Court was home of the Cornewall family, owners the Lataste estate on Grenada. Sir George Cornewall used the profits from their plantation to develop and expand their Herefordshire estate and commissioned Humphry Repton to landscape the estate, c. 1793. The house is now a hotel.⁴³²

Witley Court and Gardens (EH) was purchased in 1837 by the trustees of William Ward (1817-1885). Ward's fortune came from the coal industry, but he also inherited estates in Jamaica from the 1st Earl of Dudley, John William Ward. Ward engaged the architect Samuel Daukes to remodel the house in Italianate style. He also commissioned the garden designer William Andrews Nesfield to transform the gardens.⁴³³

429 Dresser, 'Slavery and the British Country House'; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1296865>; 'Family History', Hagley Hall, at <https://www.hagleyhall.com/the-hall/family-history>

430 'Unfair Trade'

431 'Unfair Trade'; Nic Dinsdale, 'A school with a slaving past' (2008), at http://www.bbc.co.uk/herefordandworcester/content/articles/2007/03/01/abolition_lady_hawkins_feature.shtml

432 'Unfair Trade'; Susanne Seymour, Stephen Daniels and Charles Watkins, 'Estate and empire: Sir George Cornewall's management of Moccas, Herefordshire and La Taste, Grenada, 1771-1819,' *Journal of Historical Geography*, 24:3 (1998), pp. 313-351; Susanne Seymour, Charles Watkins and Stephen Daniels, 'Sir George Cornewall's management and improvement at Moccas 1771-1819' in P. Harding and T. Wall (eds), *Moccas Deer Park: landscape and wildlife* (English Nature: Peterborough, 2000), pp. 49-61

433 LBS entry for 'John William Ward, Earl of Dudley (1781-1833)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/1283343189>; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1082656>

Shropshire

Aston Hall in Shifnal was owned by George Austin (b. 1710), a tobacco plantation owner in South Carolina. His daughter Eleanor married John Moultrie, an influential South Carolina planter, who came to England and settled at Aston Hall in the 1780s. The house remained in the Moultrie family throughout the nineteenth century, when alterations were made to the house.⁴³⁴

Lythwood House and estate was purchased by Thomas Parr (1769-1847), a Liverpool slave trader and banker. There is a memorial to Thomas Parr in Lythwood.⁴³⁵

Tong Castle and its parklands were built by George Durant (1731-1780) in the 1760s. Durant made his fortune in a variety of ways in the West Indies and built the house on his return. The house was demolished in 1954 and the site is currently part of the route of the M54 motorway. Features of Capability Brown's work can still be seen at Tong, however, including foundations of the castle, Church Pool and clumps of oak and beech trees.⁴³⁶

Staffordshire

Charles Chetwyn-Talbot, 2nd Earl Talbot, 15th Earl Shrewsbury, funded the creation of the landscape that now surrounds **Alton Towers**. He was awarded the compensation for two plantations in Jamaica as executor and trustee of his wife's brother-in-law, Sir Rose Price.⁴³⁷

Ingestre Hall is a Jacobean red-brick mansion damaged by fire and re-built in the early nineteenth century by John Nash for the 2nd Earl Talbot. Purchased by Sandwell Metropolitan Borough Council, Ingestre Hall is now used as a Residential Arts Centre and wedding venue.⁴³⁸

434 'Shifnal's tobacco plantation', available at http://www.bbc.co.uk/shropshire/content/articles/2007/02/28/slavery_moultrie_austin_feature.shtml; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1308059>

435 Westgaph, *Read the Signs*

436 NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1176612>; *300 Years of Capability Brown* entry for 'Tong Castle' at <http://capabilitybrown.org/garden/tong-castle/>; Robert Jeffery, *Discovering Tong: Its History, Myths and Curiosities* (Tong Parochial Church Council, 2007); 'The infamous George Durant' at http://www.bbc.co.uk/shropshire/content/articles/2007/03/02/slavery__george_durant_feature.shtml

437 LBS entry for 'Charles Chetwynd-Talbot, 2nd Earl Talbot (1777-1849)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/20032>

438 Jono Oates, 'The History of Ingestre Hall' (2020), *City Life in Lichfield*, at <https://citylifeinlichfieldltd.co.uk/2020/05/23/the-history-of-ingestre-hall/>

Warwickshire

Bilton Grange near Rugby was purchased in 1840 by John Hubert Washington Hibbert and the house completely remodelled by Augustus Pugin, taking ten years to complete. Hibbert was the son of Thomas Hibbert and Dorothy Mansfield; his father was a partner in his uncle Thomas' slave factorage business in Jamaica. The house is now Bilton Grange Preparatory School. **Saint Marie's Catholic Church** in Rugby was commissioned by John Hibbert (his wife Julia was Catholic). The church was also designed by Pugin; the old chancel became known as Hibbert Chapel.⁴³⁹

Guys Cliffe was bought by Samuel Greatheed, son of John Greatheed, who had made a considerable fortune from his 'Canaries' sugar plantation on the island of St Kitts. Samuel inherited the plantation in 1739 and returned to England to buy land in Warwick and Old Milverton. Bertie Greatheed was heir to Guy's Cliffe and the St Kitts plantation after his father's death in 1765, although he was morally opposed to slavery. Bertie's mother, Lady Mary Greatheed, commissioned a large lead statue of a kneeling enslaved African bearing a sundial on its head, which stood in the driveway until it was removed in the 1940s. Bertie Greatheed was involved in the development of **Leamington Spa**. He owned plots of land along the west side of what is now the Parade, and encouraged investment in the town, including the Pump Rooms, in the 1810s and 1820s. He likely backed the building of the Regent Hotel in 1817. Samuel Galton was another donor – he was among the city's gunmakers, shipping thousands of muskets to West Africa.⁴⁴⁰

George Goodin Barrett the younger (1792-1854) was a member of a prominent family of Jamaican sugar planters and slave owners, first cousin of Elizabeth Barrett Browning's father, Edward Barrett Moulton (later Barrett). He was closely involved in the suburban development of land in **Leamington Priors** from the early 1820s.⁴⁴¹

439 LBS entry for 'John Hubert Washington Hibbert (1804-1875)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/17795>; 'History', Bilton Grange Preparatory School, at <https://www.biltongrange.co.uk/our-school/history/>

440 LBS entry for 'Bertie Greatheed (1759-1826)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146644215>; 'Slavery: A Warwickshire Connection?' (2007) by Warwickshire Record Office, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/544>; 'Sugar and Slavery: A Warwickshire Story', *Our Warwickshire*, at <https://www.ourwarwickshire.org.uk/content/article/sugar-slavery-warwickshire-story>; Jonathan Morley, 'Warwickshire and the Slave Trade' (2008) at http://www.bbc.co.uk/coventry/content/articles/2007/03/28/warwickshire_slave_trade_feature.shtml; 'Take the Timetrail with Warwickshire Museum' at <https://timetrail.warwickshire.gov.uk/exhibitionsview.aspx?eid=14&page=115>

441 LBS entry for 'George Goodin Barrett the younger' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/16117>

Samuel Gist (alias Guest), a Virginian plantation (also owner of Wormington Grange in Gloucestershire) purchased an estate at **Barcheston** in 1806 from William and Ralph Sheldon. Soon afterwards extensive repairs and renovations of buildings on the estate took place.⁴⁴²

Northamptonshire

Astrop House was built c. 1740 for Sir John Willes, who jointly held a plantation in Antigua for several years.⁴⁴³

Ecton Hall has sixteenth-century origins but was renovated significantly c. 1756 for Ambrose Isted, probably by Sanderson Miller. The Isted family owned a sugar and rum plantation in Jamaica from 1694 to 1766.⁴⁴⁴

Rutland

Normanton Hall was built by Sir Gilbert Heathcote, a London merchant and colonial trader with significant involvement in early trade with Jamaica. The house was demolished in 1925, but the stable block of the hall is now part of Normanton Park Hotel. The church of St Matthews, used by the Heathcotes as their private chapel, is now in the middle of Rutland Water, reachable by a causeway.⁴⁴⁵

Leicestershire

Staunton Harold was home of the Shirley family, later Earls Ferrers, with many investments in sugar plantations in the Caribbean. The old hall was demolished and rebuilt as seen today at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century.⁴⁴⁶ It is now used as a wedding venue and is home to the Ferrers Centre for Arts and Crafts.

Wistow Hall was seat of the Halford family. When Sir Henry, 1st Bart. (1766-1844), physician to George III, married Elizabeth Barbara, the daughter of John, 10th Baron St John and Susanna Louisa Simond, the family inherited several

442 'Slavery: A Warwickshire Connection?'; Hilary L. Turner, 'Barcheston's History: Nineteenth Century Development' at <http://www.barchestonhistory.info/nineteenthc.html>

443 NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1226127>; 'Slavery and the abolition of slavery', *Enjoy Northamptonshire's Heritage* (Northamptonshire County Council) at <https://www.northamptonshireheritage.co.uk/learn/historical-events-and-movements/Pages/slavery.aspx>;

444 NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1189661>; 'Slavery and the abolition of slavery'

445 Nuala Zahedieh, 'An open elite? Colonial commerce, the country house and the case of Sir Gilbert Heathcote and Normanton Hall' in Dresser and Hann (eds), *Slavery*, pp. 69-77; <https://normantonchurch.wedding/normanton-church/>

446 'The Long Road to Freedom' (2007) by Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester and Rutland, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/552>; 'History of Staunton Harold Hall' at <http://www.stauntonharoldestate.co.uk/history/>

sugar plantations in Grenada. Sir Henry made extensive improvements to Wistow, including creating a lake and a restoration of the church.⁴⁴⁷ The hall is now converted into flats.

Derbyshire

Tissington Hall has been owned by the FitzHerbert family since the seventeenth century. William FitzHerbert (1712-1772) inherited the ‘Turner’s Hall’ plantation in Barbados from his wife’s family, the Alleynes. Their son William FitzHerbert (1748-1791) inherited a further four sugar and coffee producing Jamaican plantations from the Perrin family. The plantations were managed via attorneys from Tissington Hall. This history was explored by the FitzHerbert family in 2007 in the *Bittersweet* exhibition, with an accompanying booklet written by Frances Wilkins.⁴⁴⁸

The connections between **Bolsover Castle** (EH) and the transatlantic slave economy focus on the Dukes of Portland who held the estate from the early eighteenth century. There is little evidence explicitly linking Bolsover to the slave trade despite the 1st Duke being a colonial governor of Jamaica and a large investor in the South Sea Company. More implicit links were found with the 3rd Duke, William Henry Cavendish-Bentinck, who was heavily involved in debates over slavery and colonial management in the 1790s. The Bentinck family were also associated with nearby **Welbeck Abbey** in Nottinghamshire.⁴⁴⁹

Nottinghamshire

Newstead Abbey was purchased by Lt. Col Thomas Wildman from the Byron family in 1818. Wildman’s father had bought the ‘Quebec’ sugar estate in Jamaica from William Beckford in 1790. Wildman spent heavily on refurbishing and expanding the house and grounds, now owned by Nottingham City Council.

When the *Slave Trade Legacies* group first visited Newstead Abbey they saw no mention of Wildman’s links with slavery. In 2018, the group co-produced *Blood Sugar*, a film about the slavery history of the house, directed by Dr Shawn Sobers, with African Caribbean people as archive interpreters, writers, illustrators, film-makers and performers. Drawing on the lived experiences of enslavement and

447 ‘The Long Road to Freedom’; ‘The history of Wistow’, Wistow Rural Centre & Wistow Maze, at <https://wistow.com/history-of-wistow/>

448 Frances Wilkins, *Bittersweet: A Story of Four Jamaican Plantations* (Historic House Association, 2007); ‘Bittersweet’ (2007) by Tissington Hall, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/592>

449 Haggerty and Seymour, ‘Imperial careering’; Sheryllyne Haggerty and Susanne Seymour, ‘Property, power and authority: the implicit and explicit slavery connections of Bolsover Castle and Brodsworth Hall in the 18th century’ in Dresser and Hann (eds), *Slavery*, pp. 78-90; Susanne Seymour and Sheryllyne Haggerty, ‘Slavery Connections of Bolsover Castle (1600 – c.1830)’ (commissioned for English Heritage, 2010), available at <https://historicengland.org.uk/research/inclusive-heritage/the-slave-trade-and-abolition/slavery-and-the-british-country-house/>

racism handed down through song and other oral traditions, the film represents the importance of the lives and work of enslaved African people to the creation of the house. It is now part of the heritage display at Newstead Abbey.⁴⁵⁰

In 1847 three Africans visited Nottingham and Newstead Abbey. They were all friends of the Victorian explorer David Livingstone, who stayed at Newstead from 1864-5. Their story is the subject of Belong Nottingham's *African Perspectives on David Livingstone* project (2018-2020).⁴⁵¹

Lincolnshire

The Chaplin family owned **Blankney** in Lincolnshire for most of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Between 1820 and 1850 Charles Chaplin built the Hall, rebuilt the church and village and laid out the park. Members of the Chaplin family were jointly awarded compensation for plantations in Grenada with the London banker Vere Lane.⁴⁵²

Burghley House was built and is still owned by the Cecil family. In 1724, Cecil Brownlow, the 8th Earl of Exeter, married Hannah Sophia, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Chambers, a London merchant who had grown rich in the West Indies. When his son, the 9th Earl, inherited in 1754 he employed Capability Brown to modernise the garden, surrounding parkland and aspects of the House, including the construction of stables, an orangery and a Gothic garden summerhouse.⁴⁵³

Little Ponton Hall is associated in the mid-nineteenth century with Vere Fane, a London banker and partner at Praeds and Company, awarded compensation for estates in Jamaica and Grenada jointly with his brother-in-law Rev. Henry Chaplin. He also inherited East India stocks from his father, Henry Fane. His daughter Emily married Colonel Edward Birch Reynardson and they lived at the Hall.⁴⁵⁴

450 Helen Bates and Susanne Seymour, *Newstead Abbey's Slavery, Colonial and Black Histories*, unpublished report for Nottingham City Museums and Galleries (2020). *Blood Sugar* available to view at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eos2yZxuYmY&feature=youtu.be>

451 <http://www.belongnottingham.co.uk/DavidLivingstone/>

452 LBS entry for 'Charles Chaplin (1786-1859)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/-1301733407>; 'Our History', Blankney Estates, <https://www.blankney.com/about-us/our-history/>

453 Dresser, 'Slavery and the British Country House'; 'The House', Burghley, <https://burghley.co.uk/about-us/the-house>

454 LBS entry for 'Vere Lane (1785-1863)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/43538>; David Poole, 'Little Ponton Hall' (2015), *House and Heritage*, at <https://houseandheritage.org/2015/11/24/little-ponton-hall/>

Woodhall Spa was the seat of a branch of the Hotchkin family of Jamaican slave-owners, who also owned other estates in Rutland and Leicestershire. The Hotchkin Course at the National Golf Centre Woodhall Spa is named after Stafford Vere Hotchkin, who gave the land in 1902.⁴⁵⁵

Cambridgeshire

Chippenham Park estate was bought in 1791 by John Tharp, a hugely wealthy Jamaican plantation owner. He commissioned James Wyatt to greatly enlarge the estate and was passionate about trees, of which he planted many thousands. The only part of Wyatt's plans to be built was an entrance gateway in the manner of a triumphal arch with a pair of lodge cottages (bearing a comparison with Wyatt's designs at Dodington Park). North Lodge Cottages, now the main entrance, were probably designed by the architect Thomas Sandys, who also may be responsible for New Row, the cottages built in the village for John Tharp. The interiors retain a number of family portraits of the Tharps.⁴⁵⁶

Dullingham House near Newmarket is understood to have been built in the early eighteenth century for Sir Christopher Jeaffreson, sole heir of West Indies estates from his father. He consulted Humphry Repton about alteration of the grounds.⁴⁵⁷

Bedfordshire

Tempsford Manor was owned by the Payne family, owners of large estates on St Kitts and Nevis from the seventeenth century. Sir Gillies Payne, Lord of the Manors of Tempsford, Drayton and Brays built himself a new seat at Tempsford c. 1769 which became known as Tempsford Hall. The family's main estate in the West Indies was known as the 'Sir Gillies' estate. The original house was destroyed in 1898, but a new hall was built on the site, completed in 1904. It now houses a sports facility.⁴⁵⁸

455 LBS entry for 'Rev. John Hotchkin' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146659117>; 'The Long Road to Freedom'; 'History', Woodhall Spa, <https://www.woodhallspagolf.com/history>

456 'Tharp family of Chippenham', Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Archives, at <https://www.cambridgeshire.gov.uk/residents/libraries-leisure-culture/archives/archives-a-to-z/archives-a-to-z-t-to-z#tharp-family-of-chippenham-0-0>; 'History', Chippenham Park, at <https://www.chippenhamparkgardens.info/history/>

457 LBS entry for 'Christopher Jeaffreson II of Dullingham (1699-1749)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/physical/view/1995968025>; David Poole, 'Dullingham House' (2018), *House and Heritage*, at <https://houseandheritage.org/2018/06/14/dullingham-house/>; *Parks and Gardens* entry for 'Dullingham House' at <https://www.parksandgardens.org/places/dullingham-house>

458 James Collett-White, 'Bedfordshire and the Slave Trade', Bedfordshire Records Service, at <http://bedsarchives.bedford.gov.uk/Newsletters/BedfordshireandtheSlaveTrade.aspx>

Hertfordshire

In 1779 Sir Lionel Lyde of **Ayot Hall** wanted to create an eye-catching view from his drawing room window so he demolished the parish church and built a new church, **Ayot St Lawrence Church**, based on the Temple of Apollo at Delos. Lyde belonged to the Bristol Society of Merchant Venturers, dealing with slave ships and commodities produced by slaves. He owned at least one plantation in Virginia producing tobacco with enslaved labour.⁴⁵⁹

The Greg family (see: Quarry Bank Mill) were wealthy cotton manufacturers and owned two sugar plantations in Dominica. Thomas Greg purchased and extended estates in Westmill, including **Coles Park**.⁴⁶⁰

Langley House in Abbots Langley was built in the 1770s for his retirement by Sir John Cope Freeman, previously owner of a large plantation in Jamaica. Sir John later became County Sheriff of Hertfordshire. In 1759 he had the road through the village diverted around a pond which stood in front of the house. It is now a private hospital.⁴⁶¹

Moor Place in Much Hadham was built 1775-1779 by Robert Mitchell for James Brebner Gordon on an existing Elizabethan manor. Brebner Gordon inherited a plantation in Antigua from his uncle, James Gordon of Antigua.⁴⁶²

In 1829 George Hibbert inherited **Munden**, a country house and estate, through his wife Elizabeth Fonnereau's uncle, Roger Parker. Hibbert extensively remodelled Munden in the 1830s.⁴⁶³

Isabella Worley was a noted local philanthropist in **St Albans**. Christ Church was paid for by Worley, out of the fortune she inherited from her father, London merchant and former slave-trader Joseph Timperon. She also donated 'Mrs

459 'Hertfordshire's Hidden Histories' (2007) by Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/33>

460 'Hertfordshire's Hidden Histories'; NHLE entry for 'Garden Lodge at Coles Park' at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1347552>

461 LBS entry for 'John Cope Freeman (1726-1788)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146634480>; Scott Hastie, 'Abbots Langley: Langley House', *Hertfordshire Genealogy*, at <http://www.hertfordshire-genealogy.co.uk/data/places/places-a/abbots-langley/abbots-langley-langley-house.htm>

462 LBS entry for 'James Brebner Gordon born Brebner (1724-1807)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/physical/view/1995968455>; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1289132>

463 LBS entry for 'George Hibbert (1757-1837)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/16791>; 'Munden, near Watford', *Hertfordshire Genealogy*, at <http://www.hertfordshire-genealogy.co.uk/data/places/places-w/watford/watford-munden.htm>

Worley's Fountain' (a drinking fountain) to the town. **New Barnes House** was purchased by Timperon c. 1810 and greatly extended by him (it is now the Sopwell House Hotel).⁴⁶⁴

Essex

Audley End (EH) was inherited by Richard Aldworth Neville in 1797, who had been appointed the lucrative post of Provost-Marshal of Jamaica in 1762. He expanded the estate, while his son made considerable changes to the house.⁴⁶⁵

Copped Hall in Epping was re-built 1751-1758 (on the site of an Elizabethan house) by John Conyers I. His son John Conyers II was a slave-owner on St Kitts. He had married Catherine, daughter of William Mathew of Baddow and Antigua in 1773. John Conyers II made internal changes to the interior to designs by James Wyatt in 1775-1777 and constructed new southern gate-houses and an entrance screen.⁴⁶⁶

Fingringhoe was home of the Frere family. Thomas Frere had associations with plantations in Barbados in the mid-seventeenth century.⁴⁶⁷

Hylands Estate was purchased by Cornelius Hendrickson Kortright in 1797, a Danish merchant with a fortune in large part founded on the sugar trade in the West Indies. He engaged Humphry Repton to redesign the parkland and enlarge the house. It is now owned and restored by Chelmsford City Council.⁴⁶⁸

Nazeing Park estate was developed between 1780 and 1820 by William Palmer, an East India merchant and younger son of the prominent Leicestershire Palmer family. He had estates in Grenada, later inherited by his sons. In 1796, Palmer diverted the local road so he could extend Nazeing House (later Park) to the designs of James Lewis. The estate was further enlarged by Palmer's son, George.⁴⁶⁹ The house has had many uses and is now available as a rental property.

464 LBS entry for 'Joseph Timperon (1762-1846)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/17508>; 'Hertfordshire's Hidden Histories'; 'Town Drinking Fountain: Mrs Worley's Fountain', St Albans & Hertfordshire Architectural & Archaeological Society, at <https://www.stalbanshistory.org/buildings/historical-buildings/mrs-worleys-fountain>

465 Kaufmann, *English Heritage*

466 LBS entry at 'John Conyers II of Copped Hall Essex' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146645417>; 'Georgian Copped Hall', The Copped Hall Trust, at <http://coppedhalltrust.org.uk/index.php/about/97-georgian-copped-hall>

467 Trevor Hearn, 'Thomas Frere and his Connections to the British Slave Trade' (2020), Mersea Museum, at https://www.merseamuseum.org.uk/mmresdetails.php?col=MM&pid=MARG_127_021&typ=all&ord=dtadd&hit=47

468 'History', Hylands Estate, at <http://hylandsestate.co.uk/explore/hylands-house/history/>

469 LBS entry for 'William Palmer of Nazeing' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/physical/view/1995968557>; 'The Long Road to Freedom'

Suffolk

Great Saxham Hall was bought by Hutchinson Mure in 1754, whose wealth derived in part from his West Indian sugar plantations. Mure commissioned Robert Adam to design a new house, which remained unfinished. The gardens at Great Saxham Hall were landscaped for Hutchinson Mure sometime between 1765 and 1784.⁴⁷⁰

Woolverstone Hall is a Palladian house built c.1776 for William Berners by John Johnson. Berners was co-owner of estate in Jamaica and the developer of the Berners estate in London. Several of William Berners' grandchildren intermarried with members of the Jarrett family, also slave-owners in Jamaica. It is now a wedding venue.⁴⁷¹

Norfolk

Earsham Hall was likely enlarged using wealth from a Jamaican sugar plantation. Sir John Dalling purchased the 'Donnington Castle' estate while he was governor of Jamaica, 1777-1781. When Sir John died in 1798, his estates and baronetcy passed to his son Sir William Windham Dalling. Dalling inherited Earsham Hall from another branch of the family in 1810, and proceeded to do much work on the estate, including a new library in 1820 and the purchase of many fine paintings. It is now a wedding venue.⁴⁷²

Kirby Bedon Hall was owned by Sir John Berney (1757-1825), owner of the Hanson Plantation in Barbados, acquired by marriage in the 1730s.⁴⁷³

Midlands and East of England: the historic Black presence

A gravestone to 'I.D. a native of Africa' in the churchyard of the Church of St John the Baptist in Bishop's Castle, **Shropshire** commemorates an unknown African who died in 1801. Local researchers have attempted to learn more about the occupant of the unnamed grave.⁴⁷⁴

470 LBS entry for 'Hutchison Mure senior' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146639023>; Pete Smith, *The 'Umbrello', Great Saxham Hall, Suffolk: Recording and Analysis* (Historic England Research Report, 2011) available at <https://research.historicengland.org.uk/Report.aspx?i=15025&ru=%2fResults.aspx%3fp%3d1%26n%3d10%26t%3dgreat%2520saxham%26ns%3d1>

471 LBS entry for 'William Berners' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146649367>

472 'Earsham Hall built on slavery' (2008) at http://www.bbc.co.uk/norfolk/content/articles/2007/03/01/norfolk_abolition_earsham_hall_feature.shtml; Richard C. Maguire, 'Presenting the History of Africans in Provincial Britain: Norfolk as a Case Study', *History: The Journal of the Historical Association*, 99 (2014), pp. 819-838; 'The history of Earsham Hall', Earsham Hall Events, at <https://www.earshamhallevnts.co.uk/the-history-of-earsham-hall>

473 Maguire, 'Presenting the History', pp. 832-834

474 'The African's Grave' (2007) by Bishop's Castle Heritage Resource Centre, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/408>

The earliest tomb currently known to have been erected to commemorate a person of African descent remembers 'Myrtilla' in the churchyard at St Lawrence in Oxhill, Warwickshire. The headstone was inscribed in 1705 with 'negro slave to Mr Thos Beauchamp of Nevis'. It is thought that Myrtilla was brought from Nevis to **Warwickshire** by the sugar planter Thomas Beauchamp to serve his wife Perlitta Meese, daughter of the Oxhill rector.⁴⁷⁵

Birmingham-based community group SCAWDI (Sparkbrook Caribbean & African Women's Development Initiative) led the *History Detectives: Black People in the West Midlands, 1650 – 1918* project in 2006, working with local volunteers to research the early presence of Black people in the West Midlands.⁴⁷⁶ An investigation by SCAWDI's Barbara Willis-Brown identified a Black enslaved boy at Charlecote Park, home of the Lucy family.⁴⁷⁷ In the pamphlet *In the Beginning*, Willis-Brown asks how a Black boy came to appear in late-seventeenth century Warwickshire. The group's enquiries led them to Myrtilla's grave.⁴⁷⁸

Connecting Histories (2005-2007), a partnership project led by Birmingham City Archives, the universities of Birmingham and Warwick, and 'Black Pasts, Birmingham Futures', aimed to increase access to culturally diverse archival collections.⁴⁷⁹

Windrush Strikes Back: Decolonising Global Warwickshire (2018) was a community-engaged history project facilitated by the Global Warwickshire Collective (a group of scholars, activists and community engagement practitioners) focused on uncovering the hidden history of British African Caribbean peoples in historic **Warwickshire**, including Coventry, Birmingham and the surrounding areas.⁴⁸⁰

A gravestone in Wanlip Churchyard remembers Rasselas Morjan, the inscription revealing that he was born in Abyssinia and died in 1839 at the age of 19. The circumstances of his 'rescue' and the identity of the 'one whom he loved' who paid for the stone remain a mystery, but it is known that he was a servant of the Palmer

475 'Myrtilla's Trail' (2007) at Leamington Spa Art Gallery & Museum, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/516>; NHLE entry for 'Tomb of Myrtilla' at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1035552>; Carol Clark, 'Where there's a will there's a way', Oxhill News, at <http://www.oxhill.org.uk/OxhillNews/2014Archive/201406June/Myrtilla.htm>

476 David Callaghan, 'The Black Presence in the West Midlands: 1650-1918', *Midland History*, 36:2 (2011); see also R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/416>

477 See portrait of Thomas Lucy (1655-1684) by Godfrey Kneller depicting a Black boy wearing a metal collar, in the National Trust collection: <http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/533847>

478 Corinne Fowler, 'Charlecote Park: who is the boy holding the reins?', *Colonial Countryside* blog at <https://colonialcountryside.wordpress.com/2017/07/12/article-charlecote-park-who-is-the-boy-holding-the-reins/>; Alison Benjamin, 'Beyond the Grave' (2007), *The Guardian*, <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2007/mar/21/communities.raceintheuk>

479 <http://www.connectinghistories.org.uk/>

480 'Courageous Citizens: Windrush Strikes Back' (2019), *European Cultural Foundation*, <https://www.culturalfoundation.eu/library/courageous-citizens-windrush-strikes-back>

family of Wanlip Hall in **Leicestershire**. An exhibition and dramatic performance about Morjan took place in Leicester in 2000, when a memorial service was also held.⁴⁸¹

Edward Juba (c.1724) was a former slave who rose from being the servant of Lord Wentworth at Kirby Mallory in Leicestershire to become the first Black Freeman in the Borough of Leicester. He was the son of a Black servant and was later apprenticed as a needle maker in Leicester and became a freeman on the successful completion of his term. One of his sons became a baker, then a framework knitter and finally a brewer. Juba is buried at Kirby Mallory.⁴⁸²

Charles Bacchus is remembered by a memorial erected in 1762 in the Church of St Mary in Culworth, Northamptonshire. A servant to Richard Bond, he died aged 16. Northamptonshire Black History Association leads community-led projects to record and promote the histories and stories of **Northamptonshire's** Black communities over the past 800 years.⁴⁸³

George John Scipio Africanus (1763–1834) was brought to England from Sierra Leone at three years old and given to wealthy Wolverhampton businessman Benjamin Molineux. After an apprenticeship as a brass founder in one of Molineux's foundries, George moved to **Nottingham**, married a local woman and, in 1829, became a freeholder, owning his own home and business premises. He was Nottingham's first recorded Black entrepreneur, starting the employment agency 'Africanus Register of Servants'. He is buried in St Mary's Churchyard, where he is commemorated by a City of Nottingham plaque.⁴⁸⁴ A Nubian Jak Community Trust plaque was erected in 2014 to Africanus on Pelham Street in Nottingham, near to where he once lived and worked.⁴⁸⁵ George Africanus was also the subject of the *George Africanus – From Slavery to Freedom and Citizenship* project in 2013 by Belong Nottingham.

481 'The Long Road to Freedom'; 'Rasselas Morjan', Wanlip Village Leicestershire, at <https://wanlipvillage.uk/travels/rasselas%20morjan.html>

482 'The Long Road to Freedom'

483 NHLE entry for 'Headstone of Charles Bacchus' at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1040497>; <https://www.northamptonshireblackhistory.com/>. 'Freedom From the Past: Long Time Coming' (2007) was a collaboration between the Northamptonshire Black History Association (NBHA), English Heritage and local schools and churches, see R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/557>

484 'Rededication service for George Africanus' (2007), available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/515>; '300 Years of the Molineux Building', Wolverhampton Arts & Culture, at <http://www.wolverhamptonart.org.uk/300-years-of-the-molineux-building/>

485 *Nubian Jak Community Trust Commemorative Plaques 2006-2020*, at <http://nubianjak.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/Nubian-Jak-UK-Plaques.pdf>

Nottingham's Black history has also been explored by Nottingham Black Archive and other community initiatives.⁴⁸⁶

In 2014, the University of Nottingham hosted the 'Historicising and Reconnecting Rural Community: Black Presences and the Legacies of Slavery and Colonialism in Rural Britain, c. 1600-1939' conference, which unpacked the conventional image of the countryside.⁴⁸⁷ Following this theme, Richard Maguire has argued for a different presentation of the story of people of African descent in the provinces, using **Norfolk** as a case study. His study reveals the presence of Africans in Kings Lynn and Yarmouth and small hamlets and villages across the county engaged in a variety of occupations, from shoemaking to apprenticeship to household service, emphasising individual agency. The 2007 project *Norfolk's Hidden Heritage* researched the links between Norfolk, transatlantic slavery and Black heritage.⁴⁸⁸

At Epping Forest District Museum in **Essex**, the film *The Longest Journey* (2007) detailed the life of autobiographer James Albert Ukawsaw Gronniosaw. Captured into slavery as a child in present-day Nigeria, once freed he travelled to England where he lived and worked in Colchester.⁴⁸⁹ Edward Parson, landowner and slave-owner in Montserret, brought several of his West Indian servants to Little Parndon in Harlow, including Hester Woodley.⁴⁹⁰ In his will (now at The National Archives), the Royal Naval surveyor, Sir William Batten, made his Black servant, Mingo, keeper of the Harwich lighthouse in Essex.⁴⁹¹

In **Luton**, a plaque was erected in 2007 to commemorate 'all slaves who suffered and died in Bedfordshire' by the African Caribbean Community Development Forum and Nubian Jak Community Trust.⁴⁹²

486 <http://nottinghamblackarchive.org/portfolio/armchair-traveller/>; Denise Amos, 'Black community history', *The Nottinghamshire Heritage Gateway*, at <http://www.nottsheritagegateway.org.uk/people/blackcommunity.htm>

487 *Reconnecting Diverse Rural Histories* website: <https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/isos/research/rural-legacies.aspx>

488 Maguire, 'Presenting the History'; *Norfolk's Hidden Heritage* was a partnership between Norwich and Norfolk Racial Equality Council, Norfolk Record Office and Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service. See R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/562>

489 'The Longest Journey: from Slavery to Abolition' (2007) at Epping Forest District Museum, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/1009>

490 LBS entry for 'Edward Parson I' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146644067>; 'The Last Slave of Harlow...' (2016), *Your Harlow*, <https://www.yourharlow.com/2016/11/02/the-last-slave-of-harlow/>

491 The National Archives, https://nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/blackhistory/work_community/transcripts/batten_will.htm

492 *Nubian Jak Community Trust Commemorative Plaques 2006-2020*, at <http://nubianjak.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/Nubian-Jak-UK-Plaques.pdf>

4 THE NORTH-WEST

From early forays into the slave trade in the late seventeenth century, by the mid-eighteenth century, Liverpool overtook Bristol and London as the predominant English slaving port.⁴⁹³ Over 5000 slaving voyages left the port; Liverpool ships were responsible for the transportation of around 1.3 million enslaved African people to the Americas between 1750 and 1807.⁴⁹⁴ The last legal English slaving voyage, the *Kitty's Amelia*, left Liverpool under Captain Hugh Crow in 1807.⁴⁹⁵ Slave traders and merchants of goods associated with the Atlantic slave economy benefitted enormously, as did many members of the local elite who invested in slave voyages.⁴⁹⁶ The profits had an enormous impact on the development of the town and the surrounding regions, and on the lives of Liverpool's inhabitants involved in associated trades of shipbuilding and joinery, pipe-making, pottery, copper-working, gunsmiths, silk weaving and glass-making.⁴⁹⁷ Shipbuilding on the Mersey flourished, and a sophisticated system of warehousing developed to store cotton, tobacco and other goods imported from the West Indies, North America and elsewhere. Sugar refineries existed in Liverpool and across the North-West.⁴⁹⁸ The ports of Whitehaven and Lancaster were also involved in the Atlantic slave economy and had merchant houses entirely dedicated to the slave trade and the products of slavery. After abolition in 1807, goods which were grown and produced on plantations using enslaved labour – notably cotton – were transported through the port of Liverpool to other areas of North-West England, where Manchester was at the centre of a booming cotton industry.⁴⁹⁹

493 Anthony Tibbles, *Liverpool and the Slave Trade* (Liverpool University Press, 2018); Richardson, Tibbles and Schwarz (eds), *Liverpool*; Gail Cameron and Stan Crooke, *Liverpool: Capital of the Slave Trade* (Liverpool, 1992)

494 Kenneth Morgan, 'Liverpool's Dominance in the British Slave Trade, 1740-1807', in Richardson, Tibbles and Schwarz (eds), *Liverpool*; Nicholas Radburn and David Eltis, 'Slavery: new digital tools show how important slave trade was to Liverpool's development', *The Conversation*, <https://theconversation.com/slavery-new-digital-tools-show-how-important-slave-trade-was-to-liverpools-development-132690>

495 'A Necessary Evil' (2007) by Manx National Heritage Library and Archives, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/127>

496 David Pope, 'The Wealth and Social Aspirations of Liverpool's Slave Merchants of the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century' in Richardson, Tibbles and Schwarz (eds), *Liverpool*, pp. 164-226.

497 Longmore, "'Cemented by the Blood of a Negro?'"

498 Mona Duggan, *Sugar for the House: A History of Early Sugar Refining in North-West England* (Fonthill Media, 2013)

499 Liverpool was also at the centre of a lucrative trade in palm oil with West Africa in the nineteenth century, as English merchants were encouraged to pursue forms of 'legitimate trade'. See Martin Lynn, 'Trade and Politics in 19th-Century Liverpool: The Tobin and Horsfall Families and Liverpool's African Trade', in *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 142 (1992)

Liverpool

Recent years have witnessed much discussion over the place of transatlantic slavery in Liverpool's history. In 1994, the *Transatlantic Slavery: Against Human Dignity* gallery opened at the Merseyside Maritime Museum, on Liverpool's Albert Dock. In 2007, the International Slavery Museum opened, the first museum in the world to focus specifically on slavery, both historical and modern.⁵⁰⁰ Walking tours to discuss this history have been led by Eric Lynch (creator of the Liverpool Slavery History Tour) and most recently by Laurence Westgaph, who chairs an active online community of people interested in this history and the connections to Liverpool's built environment.⁵⁰¹ Jessica Moody's forthcoming monograph analyses how transatlantic slavery has been remembered in Liverpool.⁵⁰²

Liverpool street names in particular have been a subject of debate, as many commemorate individuals who alongside being prominent politicians, landowners or patrons of the arts, also prospered from the Atlantic slave economy. *Read the Signs* by Laurence Westgaph, for the Historic Environment of Liverpool project, highlighted the role that wealth accrued through the Atlantic slave economy played in the development of the built heritage of the city.⁵⁰³ Streets identified named after men associated with the business of transatlantic slavery include **Ashton Street**, after John Ashton (1711-1759); **Blackburne Place**, after John Blackburne (1693-1786); **Blundell Street**, after Bryan Blundell (1675-1756); **Cunliffe Street**, after Foster Cunliffe (1682-1758); **Earle Road/Earle Street/Earlestown**, after John Earle (1674-1749); **Gladstone Road**, after Sir John Gladstone (1764-1851) and William E. Gladstone (1809-1898); **Sir Thomas Street**, after Sir Thomas Johnson (1664-1728/9); **Tarleton Street**, after Banastre Tarleton (1754-1833). Streets named after those involved in the campaign for abolition include **Cropper Street**, after James Cropper (1773-1840) and **Roscoe Street/Roscoe Gardens/Roscoe Lane**, after William Roscoe (1753-1831).⁵⁰⁴

500 <https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/international-slavery-museum#section--about>. The annual Slavery Remembrance Day, run by National Museums Liverpool and Liverpool City Council, was first marked in the city in 1999.

501 <https://www.wanderingeducators.com/language/stories/liverpools-hidden-slavery-history.html>; Laurence Westgaph's Facebook group 'Liverpool and Slavery' is continually revealing connections between Liverpool's built environment and its history with transatlantic slavery. 'The Liverpool Enslaved' is a memorial fund to erect a monument in honour and commemoration of the slaves who have lived, died and were buried in Liverpool.

502 Jessica Moody, *The Persistence of Memory: Remembering slavery in Liverpool, 'slaving capital of the world'* (forthcoming 2020, Liverpool University Press). <https://www.liverpooluniversitypress.co.uk/books/id/53167/>

503 An exhibition was held at St George's Hall in 2008. The booklet, commissioned by English Heritage, was also the subject of lunchtime lectures at BBC Liverpool. See also Laurence Westgaph, 'Built on Slavery', *Context* (magazine of the Institute of Historic Building Conservation), No 108 (March 2009), at <http://ihbconline.co.uk/context/108/#28>

504 Westgaph, *Read the Signs*; David Hearn, *The Slave Streets of Liverpool* (The Dusty Teapot, 2020)

The continued development of Liverpool Docks has made the port's connections with transatlantic slavery through its built environment at first harder to identify.⁵⁰⁵ Slave ships began their journey from **Old Dock**, the revolutionary wet dock constructed by the Liverpool Corporation between 1709 and 1715. Its construction was championed by then MP for Liverpool, Sir Thomas Johnson, part-financier of one of the first recorded slave voyages from Liverpool and a trader in slave-produced sugar and tobacco. This innovation in docking facilities would be a major factor in increasing Liverpool's overseas trade.⁵⁰⁶ Remains of the Old Dock were discovered during excavations in 2001 and have been preserved under the new Liverpool ONE building. Sir Thomas was also associated with the building of the churches of St Peter's and St George's, and the Sir Thomas Buildings, a group of structures that stood near the site of the street that now bears his name.⁵⁰⁷

Accounts of slave ships loading and unloading goods (which included enslaved people) focus on sites located along the original dock line, around Old Dock and the Custom House (demolished 1948) and the **Goree Warehouses** on George's Docks (demolished 1958). The Goree Warehouses, built 1793, were named after an embarkation island off Senegal, which also gave its name to the adjacent road by St Nicholas's Church known as Goree Piazza. A water sculpture on Beetham Plaza commemorates Goree Piazza warehouses and a World Heritage plaque marks their original site.⁵⁰⁸

Parts of **Canning Graving Docks**, used for fitting out and repairing slave ships, remain, now part of the Merseyside Maritime Museum. **Salthouse Dock** is the oldest existing dock in Liverpool. John Blackburne was a salt merchant and slave trader and owned the salt works adjacent to Liverpool's second wet dock, which opened in 1753. Due to the proximity of Blackburne's salt works it became known as the Salthouse Dock.⁵⁰⁹

Liverpool Town Hall dates from 1749 and was at the centre of the port's trading activity. The most prominent slave traders in the town during the mid-eighteenth century were involved in its construction, including the Earle, Cunliffe, Heywood and Blundell families. All of the city's mayors between 1787 and 1807 has associations with the transatlantic slavery economy. The Town Hall was designed by the architect John Wood of Bath, and the building has an exterior decorative frieze

505 'Liverpool Docks', *Grace's Guide to British Industrial History*, at https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Liverpool_Docks

506 Westgaph, *Read the Signs*

507 Laurence Westgaph, 'Guest Blog: The Sinister History Behind Liverpool's Buildings and Monuments' (2020), *Independent Liverpool*, at <https://independent-liverpool.co.uk/blog/guest-blog-the-sinister-history-behind-liverpools-buildings-monuments/>

508 Jessica Moody, 'Liverpool's Local Tints: Drowning Memory and "Maritimizing" Slavery in a Seaport City' in Donington, Hanley and Moody (eds), *Britain's History and Memory*, pp. 150-171; 'Goree Piazza (now Beetham Plaza) Fountain', available from Engage Liverpool: <https://www.engageliverpool.com/wp/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Goree-Piazza-Fountain-Liverpool.pdf>

509 Westgaph, *Read the Signs*; 'Canning Dock', *Graces Guide to British Industrial History*, at https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Canning_Dock,_Liverpool

showing busts of African and Native American women, elephants, crocodiles and lions, reflecting the African trading interests of a substantial section of Liverpool's mercantile community. The construction firm tasked with building the hall was owned by Joseph Brooks, another of the town's slave trading elite.⁵¹⁰

The Town Hall was known as the Liverpool Exchange: it was in the taverns, coffee houses and inns of the area where the majority of colonial trading took place. This could involve the sale of enslaved people. In 1765, 'a very fine negro girl about eight years of age, very healthy' was auctioned at George's Coffee house and in 1766 a sale of 11 Africans was held at the Exchange Coffee House, Water Street.⁵¹¹

A plaque at **62 Rodney Street** marks the birthplace of the Liberal Prime Minister, William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898). The house was built for William's father, John Gladstone (1764-1851), who made his fortune investing in West Indian plantations and trading in sugar and cotton. As a young MP William Gladstone spoke for the West Indian interest and argued against the immediate emancipation of slaves in the House of Commons.⁵¹² John Gladstone is also associated with the building in 1815 of **St Andrew's Episcopal Church**, a new gas-lit church in Renshaw Street with a school attached and **St Thomas's Church** at Litherland, Seaforth.⁵¹³

Liverpool Collegiate Institution was a public school established in 1840 by Liverpool citizens to provide education and Christian instruction. The first building of the college, on Shaw St, was in a Tudor-Gothic style. The school was opened by William E. Gladstone in 1843. John and William Gladstone made donations towards its construction. It closed in 1985 and the building is now apartments.⁵¹⁴

Parr Street is named after Thomas Parr (1769-1847), a slave trader and banker. The house at **57 Parr Street**, built by Parr c. 1799, included a warehouse, thought to have stored iron goods destined for Africa. The building became home of the **Liverpool Royal Institution** from 1822 to 1848, established by Liverpool merchants in 1814 for the pursuit of literature, science and the arts. Many of the men who established it had associations with Atlantic slavery.⁵¹⁵

510 Westgaph, 'Guest Blog'; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1360219>

511 'Slavery Sites in the UK', *The Real Histories Directory*, at <https://www.realhistories.org.uk/articles/archive/slavery-sites-in-the-uk.html>

512 Roland Quinault, 'Gladstone and Slavery', *The Historical Journal*, 52:2 (2009), pp. 363-383.

513 LBS entry for 'John Gladstone (1764-1851)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/8961>; NHLE entry for '62, Rodney Street' at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1072958>

514 LBS entry for 'John Gladstone (1764-1851)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/8961>

515 Westgaph, *Read the Signs*

The Heywood brothers, Arthur and Benjamin, made their fortunes investing in slaving voyages between 1745-1789. Their main trade was linen but they also dealt in African goods including ivory. In 1773 they founded the bank Arthur Heywood and Sons & Co. on their profits. The bank was in turn absorbed by the Bank of Liverpool, Martins Bank and finally by Barclay's Bank. Today's **Barclays Bank** on Water Street was built 1927-32 as the then headquarters of Martins Bank. The building's sculptural decoration includes depictions of African children carrying bags of money, flagging the connections to Liverpool's economy. Barclays Bank has Quaker roots, with origins in 1690 in Lombard St, London. The name of the bank changed several times over the next century. Heywoods Bank used Barclay, Bevan and Bening as their London agents and later became part of Barclays Bank. Thus the bank became indirectly involved in financing the slave trade, despite the reservations of Quaker partners.⁵¹⁶

The Lyceum Club on **Bold Street** was built by the architect Thomas Harrison in 1802 to house England's first subscription library, and later became a gentleman's club. Many of the founder members of the Lyceum were associated with the trade in enslaved Africans. **Bold Street** is named after Jonas Bold, who leased the land from Liverpool Corporation around 1785/6. Bold was a slave trade, sugar merchant, mayor and partner in the banking firm Staniforth, Ingram, Bold and Daltera: all four men were involved in the slave trade. Before Bold acquired the land, it had been home to the rope-works of the slave traders Joseph and Jonathan Brooks, remembered in the naming of **Brooks Alley**.⁵¹⁷

Dedicated in 1717, **Bluecoat** began as a charitable boarding school for poor children. Bryan Blundell, tobacco merchant, privateer and slave ship owner (and twice Liverpool mayor) bequeathed 10% of his annual income until his death for the upkeep of this charity school he helped found in 1708. Research suggests that at least 65% of regular subscriptions were derived directly from the trade in enslaved Africans or slavery-related commodities like sugar, tobacco and cotton.⁵¹⁸ As acknowledged on its website, Bluecoat represents the 'contradictory history' of philanthropy in this period, where the economy of transatlantic slavery shaped charity, education and culture. The Blue Coat Arts Centre is a centre for contemporary arts that has taken steps to engage with its historical relationship with slavery.⁵¹⁹ For example, *Trophies of Empire* (1992), an artists' commission series

516 NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1062580>; 'The Heywood family of Manchester' (2007), *Revealing Histories: Remembering Slavery*, at <http://revealinghistories.org.uk/how-did-money-from-slavery-help-develop-greater-manchester/people/the-heywood-family-of-manchester.html>; 'Barclays Bank and its Quaker roots', *Quakers in the World*, <http://www.quakersintheworld.org/quakers-in-action/327>

517 Westgaph, *Read the Signs*. Joseph Brooks Jr was the owner of the infamous *Brooks* slave ship, a diagram of which was used by the abolitionist movement to visually demonstrate how enslaved people were packed as human cargo.

518 Sophie H. Jones, *Subscriptions, Schooling and Slavery brochure* (2016), available at <https://mybluecoat.org.uk/collections/bluecoat-and-slavery/collectioncarousel?id=10303>

519 <https://mybluecoat.org.uk/collections/bluecoat-and-slavery/>

exploring legacies of colonialism and imperialism in Liverpool, Bristol and Hull.⁵²⁰ The Blue Coat School still exists as one of Liverpool's most prestigious schools but moved in 1906 to new accommodation in Wavertree.

William Brown was benefactor of **Liverpool's Central Library** and **World Museum**, both opened in 1860. His wealth was from Liverpool's later role as importer of slave-produced cotton in the first half of the nineteenth century. His Liverpool firm was responsible for acquiring more cotton from the US than any other mercantile house in Britain.⁵²¹

Many people from West Africa, the Caribbean and America settled in Liverpool, and the city's Black community dates back many generations to the 1700s. Many worked as sailors at the docks, or arrived in the port as freed slaves, Black servants or Loyalists from the American War of Independence.⁵²² **St James Church in Toxteth** was built between 1774-5 and church records show that many settlers were baptised and buried there. St James *Heritage & Hope* project is to transform the derelict Church into a usable space and inspire people to discover the hidden history of the church.⁵²³

Slave traders invested in the 'aggrandizement of their personal property' and built fashionable grand homes, for example on Hanover Street, Liverpool's most fashionable street in the 1740s and 1750s.⁵²⁴ Grand properties were also built around Liverpool. Jane Longmore's article 'Rural Retreats: Liverpool slave traders and their country houses' includes an appendix of 24 country houses constructed by Liverpool merchants with slave trading interests within a 6-mile radius of Liverpool between 1699 and 1807, although most were demolished during the suburban development of the city.⁵²⁵

Allerton Hall was likely built for the Liverpool merchant MP John Hardman. The estate was sold to the Hardman family in 1736 and rebuilt in the Palladian style. The Hardmans were involved in around 46 slave voyages between 1729 and 1761. It was later home to the abolitionist William Roscoe. The Hall was given to the City in 1923 and is now Pub in the Park in Clarke Gardens, in what was the former estate.⁵²⁶

520 *Trophies of Empire* publication, available at <https://mybluecoat.org.uk/collections/bluecoat-and-slavery/collectioncarousel?id=10369>

521 Westgaph, 'Guest Blog'

522 Laurence Westgaph, forthcoming PhD thesis, 'African Liverpool: the Black Presence in a Slave Trade Port'; Raymond Costello, 'The Making of a Liverpool Community: An Elusive Narrative' in Gerzina (ed.), *Britain's Black Past*; Diane Frost, 'West African sailors in 19th century Liverpool' (2017), The Runnymede Trust, at <https://www.runnymedetrust.org/blog/west-african-sailors-in-19th-century-liverpool>; Raymond Costello, *Black Liverpool* (Liverpool: Picton Press, 2001)

523 'Sites of Memory'; <https://www.stjamesinthecity.org.uk/>

524 Longmore, "'Cemented by the Blood of a Negro?'" p. 235

525 In Dresser and Hann (eds), *Slavery*, pp. 30-45.

526 Longmore, 'Rural Retreats', p. 44; 'Allerton Hall', *Historic Liverpool*, at <https://historic-liverpool.co.uk/allerton-hall/>

Blackburne House on Hope Street was built by 1790 by the wealthy salt refiner and supporter of the slave trade, John Blackburne, son of John (salt merchant and slave trader). By the 1780s the Blackburne family had acquired large tracts of land around Liverpool, on which the house was built. It became a girls' school and is now a training and resource centre for women.⁵²⁷

The wealth of the **Earle family** is inextricably linked to slavery, as generations of the family were slave ship owners, captains and plantation owners. John Earle masterminded the family's rise, trading in wine, tobacco, sugar and iron goods in the early 1700s. In 1709 he was elected mayor of Liverpool. At his death in 1749, three of his four children were trading in beads, one of a variety of commodities used in slave trading. His youngest son William was a part owner of many slaving vessels and captained a slave ship. In turn William's sons Thomas and William took over the family business. Thomas used the family's wealth to purchase the Spekeland estate, and in 1805 built **Spekeland House**. His son Thomas, Sir Hardman Earle, became Director of the London and North Western Railway and **Earlestown** near Newton le Willows is named in his honour.⁵²⁸

May Place was built pre-1769 by William Williamson, involved in about 20 slave voyages between 1742 and 1771. The house has since been a hospice and care home.⁵²⁹

Speke Hall (NT) on The Walk was owned by Sir William Norris (1658-1702) and Richard Norris (1670-1730), both heavily involved in the Atlantic slave economy. It was later purchased by Richard Watt I, a Liverpool merchant who was involved in almost every aspect of the trade. He bought the house and its 2,400 acre estate in 1795. His great-nephew, Richard Watt III, inherited his wealth (and the people he enslaved) and the money was, through the generations, spent on renovating the Hall as well as the built heritage (often through philanthropy) of Liverpool itself. In the window of the Oak Parlour, there is an unofficial coat of arms of 'The Watts of Speke' depicting the heads of three Black men.⁵³⁰ There is a memorial to Richard Watt in the Anglican Cathedral, a twentieth century building funded in part by his descendant, Adelaide Watt.⁵³¹ Watt also bought the Bishop Burton estate in Yorkshire.

527 Westgaph, *Read the Signs*

528 Westgaph, *Read the Signs*; Peter Earle, *The Earles of Liverpool: A Georgian Merchant Dynasty* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015)

529 Longmore, 'Rural Retreats', p. 44

530 Westgaph, *Read the Signs*; Longmore, 'Rural Retreats', p. 39; Anthony Tibbles, "'My Interest Be Your Guide": Richard Watt (1724-1796), Merchant of Liverpool and Kingston, Jamaica', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Volume 166 (2017), available at <https://doi.org/10.3828/transactions.166.5>

531 Westgaph, 'Guest Blog'

Springwood on Woolton Road, recently known as St Michael's Manor, is now known as Kingswood Manor. The house was part-built in 1839 for plantation owner William Shand, but completed in 1844 under the auspices of Thomas Brocklebank of Brocklebank Shipping Line as his family residence.⁵³²

Woolton Hall in Woolton was purchased by Nicholas Ashton in 1772 using the family fortune of his father John Ashton, salt merchant and investor in the slave trade. Ashton commissioned architect Robert Adam to extensively remodel and expand the building.⁵³³

Falkner Square, built around 1830, was built by the former slave trader Edward Falkner. A number of Liverpool's public parks were originally part of the grounds of wealthy merchants' estates:

Larkhill was a mansion built in 1770 by Jonathan Blundell, slave ship owner and tobacco merchant. The house was demolished in 1962 and the grounds became Larkhill Park.⁵³⁴

Newsham House in Fairfield was built at the end of the eighteenth century by Thomas Molyneux, involved in 39 known slave voyages between 1784-99. The estate was purchased by the Corporation in the 1840s and converted into a public park, Newsham Park.⁵³⁵

Otterspool Park includes the remains of Otterspool House, built by 1812 and demolished in 1931. Liverpool banker and slave-owner John Moss built the house along with a Snuff Mill and workmen's cottages.⁵³⁶

Reynold's Park in Woolton was built as the home of the slave trader John Weston.⁵³⁷

532 LBS entry for 'William Shand of Liverpool (1784-1848)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/1228>; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1063750>

533 Westgaph, *Read the Signs*

534 Longmore, 'Rural Retreats', p. 35

535 Longmore, 'Rural Retreats', p. 45; NHLE entry for 'Newsham House' at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1070619>; *Parks and Gardens* entry or 'Newsham Park' at <https://www.parksandgardens.org/places/newsham-park>

536 LBS entry for 'John Moss (1782-1858)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/7601>; 'Otterspool Park and Prom', *Liverpool Parks*, http://www.liverpoolparks.org/red/docs/parks/otterspool_park/index.html;

537 'History of the Park', at <https://www.friendsofreynoldspark.co.uk/park-history>

Roby Hall was rebuilt in the mid-eighteenth century by John Williamson, Mayor of Liverpool, who was involved in at least 16 slave voyages, 1750-59. The 100-acre estate was given to Liverpool Corporation in 1906 by William Bowring. It was renamed Bowring Park and opened in 1907 'for the use of the inhabitants of Liverpool for all time'.⁵³⁸

Lancaster

North of Liverpool, some of the shipping in and out of the Lancashire port of **Pulton-le-Fylde** was slavers. The ships returned with rum, sugar and mahogany for Gillow's furniture makers at Lancaster (see below).⁵³⁹ Further north again, slave ships sailing from Lancaster and Whitehaven carried in excess of 29,000 and 14,000 enslaved people respectively. The areas of involvement with transatlantic slavery – the slave trade, plantation trade and plantation ownership – had an impact on surrounding areas in north Lancashire and Cumbria. Colonial imports encouraged sugar refining in both ports and a pipe manufactory in Whitehaven.⁵⁴⁰

The history of **Lancaster** as a trading port on the River Lune can be traced back to the seventeenth century, but the peak of overseas trade was 1750-1800, supported by a thriving merchant community with West Indies interests. Sugar refining, furniture making and textile production developed from imports; manufactured goods for export to the colonies included clothing, millinery, candles and iron goods. Success in colonial trade spurred Lancaster merchants to act collectively to improve port facilities between 1750 and 1755 to allow large ships to unload their wares. In 1764 the **Custom House** was commissioned for the collection of taxes on goods traded, alongside the building of a number of substantial warehouses on **St George's Quay** for the receipt of colonial produce. The majority of these warehouses have relatively recently been demolished to make way for housing. **The Sugar House** was where sugar was stored; warehouses on **Powder House Lane** stored ammunition.⁵⁴¹

538 Longmore, 'Rural Retreats', p. 33; 'History of Bowring Park' at <https://www.bowringpark.co.uk/bm~doc/bowringparkhistory.pdf>

539 Graham Evans, *Poulton: Life, Trade and Shipping in a Small Lancashire Port 1577-1839* (Palatine Books 2018)

540 Peter Skidmore, 'New light on seamen, ships and trade of the port of Lancaster in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Volume 159 (2010), pp. 63-82; Melinda Elder, 'The Liverpool Slave Trade, Lancaster and its Environs' in Richardson, Tibbles and Schwarz (eds), *Liverpool*, pp. 118-137; Melinda Elder, *The Slave Trade and the Economic Development of 18th Century Lancaster* (Ryburn Publishing, 1992)

541 'Lancaster and the Slave Trade', Lancashire Museums, at <http://collections.lancsmuseums.gov.uk/narratives/narrative.php?irn=43>

From 1750 to 1775, 100 voyages to the African coast set sail from St George's Quay. **Dodshon Foster** was a slave ship owner and merchant who built his house and warehouse directly next to the Custom House.⁵⁴² Since 1985 the Custom House has housed **Lancaster Maritime Museum**, which has held several exhibitions about the city's links with transatlantic slavery, most recently Lubaina Himid's forthcoming 2020 show *Memorial to Zong* (in collaboration with the Movement for Justice and Reconciliation).⁵⁴³

The Custom House was designed by the architect Richard Gillow of the **Gillow & Co** furniture making family. The firm, begun by Richard's father Robert (1704-1772) in the 1730s, was heavily involved in trade with the West Indies, and Robert Gillow financed a number of Lancaster slave ships. The firm profited from the direct import of tropical woods and dyes from Caribbean plantations, and particularly mahogany, to produce high quality furniture for the homes of England's elite. The cultivation and felling of the wood was dependent upon slave labour. By the 1740s, Gillow was also exporting finished mahogany furniture back to the West Indies to furnish plantation houses.⁵⁴⁴ The 'Robert Gillow' pub on Market Street bears his name. At **No. 1 Castle Hill** is Gillow's Warehouse and former workshop, built in the 1770s but gutted by fire in 1985 and then converted into accommodation – there is a sign over the door and a plaque.⁵⁴⁵

Wealth and trade translated into grand town houses in the city, such as **No.1 Queen Street**, designed and furnished by Richard Gillow for the slave trader William Lindow, who lived there with his Black servant, John Chance.⁵⁴⁶ **Lindow Square** is named after him. What is now the City Museum was once the **Town Hall** where many slave traders were made freemen of the city or received other honours. The current Town Hall sits in Dalton Square. **1 Dalton Square** was home to the plantation and slave owner John Bond, who commissioned Gillows to furnish his residence.

The Sun Inn is where merchants would meet. **1 Great John Street** was built in the 1790s by West India and timber merchant Robert Inman, heir to Charles Inman, the Lancaster slave trader and later merchant in Jamaica. The house later became

542 Melinda Elder, 'Slavery and the North of England' (2006), *OpenLearn*, at <https://www.open.edu/openlearn/history-the-arts/history/heritage/slavery-and-the-north-england>; NHLE entry for 'Maritime Museum' at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1289088>

543 We are grateful to Professor Alan Rice for information about this exhibition.

544 Adam Bowett, 'The Jamaica Trade: Gillow and the Use of Mahogany in the Eighteenth Century', *Regional Furniture Society* (2013), available at <https://regionalfurnituresociety.files.wordpress.com/2013/03/the-jamaica-trade-gillow-and-the-use-of-mahogany-in-the-eighteenth-century-adam-bowett.pdf>

545 NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1220647>

546 S.E. Stuart, 'Number One Queen Square: building and furnishing William Lindow's house, 1772-1773' in *Centre for North-West Regional Studies Regional Bulletin* (1999), pp. 45-59.

the Reform Club.⁵⁴⁷ **Hinde Street** is named after Thomas Hinde, one of Lancaster's most active slave trading merchants and twice mayor. **St John's Church** and **Priory Church** have memorials to slave-ship owner John Lowther, to the Lindow family and the Hinde family.⁵⁴⁸

Much work has been done by scholars, artists, local historians and community activists in Lancaster and the surrounding areas to encourage public engagement with the city's history associated with the transatlantic slave economy, including a number of city walks making connections with the built heritage.⁵⁴⁹ The memorial to enslaved Africans on St George's Quay was unveiled in 2005. STAMP (**Slave Trade Arts Memorial Project**) had worked with a number of artists, schools and community groups to increase public awareness through a series of commemorative exhibitions and performances between 2003 and 2006, culminating in a permanent memorial designed by Kevin Dalton-Johnson.⁵⁵⁰ In 2007, Lancashire Museums explored the consequences of slavery-related wealth in Lancaster in the *Abolished?* Project. The installation *One Tenth* by Sue Flowers reflected the importation of sugar into Lancaster.⁵⁵¹ *Swallow Hard: Lancaster Dinner Service* by Lubaina Himid was exhibited at Judges' Lodgings, a contemporary artistic intervention exposing, in Himid's words, 'beautiful buildings designed by men involved in horrible deeds'.⁵⁵²

The Black presence in Lancaster and Northern Britain is investigated by Preston Black History Group, and the Institute for Black Atlantic Research (IBAR), established in 2014 as an interdisciplinary arts and culture research hub at the University of Central Lancashire.⁵⁵³

547 LBS entry for 'Charles Inman (1725-1767)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/physical/view/1995967805>

548 'Lancaster Slave Trade Town Trail' by Global Link and Lancashire Museums, available at 'Abolished? Lancashire Museums marking 200 years of the abolition of the slave trade', at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/505>; *Maritime Memorials*, <https://memorials.rmg.co.uk/m6128/>

549 'Lancaster Slave Trade Town Trail'; regular slave site tours for local community groups and international visitors have been inaugurated by Professor Alan Rice since 2003, including a 'Historic Slavery and Cotton Tour' in 2018. The tours are currently being revised to include new perspectives on local Black history.

550 Rice, *Creating Memorials*, Chapter 2; Lubaina Himid, 'Monument talk: Delivered at the inaugural public meeting of the Slave Trade Arts Memorial Project (STAMP), Dukes Theatre, Lancaster, on 15 November 2003', *Atlantic Studies*, 9:3 (2012), pp. 273-277; *Maritime Memorials*, <https://memorials.rmg.co.uk/m5771/>

551 <https://greenclose.org/sue-flowers/>

552 Lubaina Himid quoted at 'Swallow Hard', *Making Histories Visible*, at <http://makinghistoriesvisible.com/portfolio/swallow-hard/>; 'Abolished?'

553 <https://ibaruclan.com/>; <https://www.prestonblackhistorygroup.org.uk/>

No. 20 Castle Hill was once home to the Satterthwaite family, who owned and sold enslaved people in the West Indies. The *Castle Park Stories* project aims to inspire local residents to uncover hidden stories in the city, around the castle. ‘Fanny’s Hand’ by Karen Burns details her research into Frances Elizabeth Johnson, a Black woman servant brought to Lancaster from St Kitts by John Satterthwaite.⁵⁵⁴

Near Lancaster, at **Sunderland Point**, is the grave of ‘Samboo’, a young African who arrived in England in 1736 and died soon after. ‘Samboo’ is thought to have been a servant to a sea captain or merchant. The plaque on his grave was added 60 years later and the site has gained poignancy in representing other unknown enslaved people.⁵⁵⁵

Whitehaven

The prosperity of the seaport of **Whitehaven** between 1688 and c. 1750 was based on the importation of tobacco from Virginia and Maryland. Textiles, shoes, clothing, iron goods and coal were exported to Virginia and the West Indies. Branches of the Lowther family exercised tremendous influence over improving the facilities of the port and in attracting maritime expertise to the town. Robert Lowther (1681-1745) acquired the ‘Christchurch’ estate in Barbados while Governor of the island through his marriage to Joan, widow of Robert Carleton. His son Sir James Lowther (1736-1802) inherited the Manor of Whitehaven including the town, harbour, coal mines and flourishing trade with Ireland and American colonies.⁵⁵⁶ William, Viscount Lowther, heir to the estate of Sir James Lowther rebuilt the family home **Lowther Hall** in Cumbria as a castellated mansion.⁵⁵⁷

Whitehaven has many surviving eighteenth-century buildings. The office of Jefferson’s, the successful rum merchants, has been preserved as **The Rum Story** museum and attraction.⁵⁵⁸ Due to Whitehaven imports, tobacconists could be

554 Karen Burns, ‘Fanny’s Hand’, *Castle Park Stories*, by Lancaster’s Litfest, at <https://castleparkstories.org/chapter-13/>. See also Alan Rice, ‘Ghostly Presences, Servants and Runaways: Lancaster’s Emerging Histories and Their Memorialisations’ in Gerzina (ed.), *Britain’s Black Past*

555 Rice, *Creating Memorials*, pp. 34-43; BBC *Villages by the Sea* series, episode ‘Sunderland Point’ (2020), <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m000c7tl>

556 J. V. Beckett, *Coal and Tobacco: The Lowthers and the Economic Development of West Cumberland, 1660-1760* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Rob David, ‘The transatlantic slave trade, its abolition and the Cumbrian connection’ in *“The Abominable Traffic”: Cumbria’s connections to the history and legacy of slavery*, Teachers’ Resource Pack (Creative Partnerships, 2006), available at <https://www.cumbria.gov.uk/eLibrary/Content/Internet/542/795/41053132443.pdf>, pp. 4-15.

557 NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000668>; ‘The Lowther Family’, *Whitehaven Heretofore*, at <https://www.heretofore.co.uk/2019/06/the-lowther-family.html>

558 <https://www.rumstory.co.uk/>

found in many Cumbrian towns in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Kendal snuff industry is a survivor of this involvement. See, for example, the **Gawith Snuff Works** on Lowther Street.⁵⁵⁹

The remains of **Lowwood gunpowder works** in Furness, Cumbria also survive, one of the best-preserved nineteenth-century gunpowder works in northern England. One of its founders was Captain James Fayer, a slave-trader.⁵⁶⁰

North-West: industrial heritage

The North-West has a long history of textile production from the 1400s, based on wool and linen. The cotton industry was to transform English industrial heritage in the North-West, the Pennines, the Peak District and Yorkshire. Cotton was first spun by machinery in England in the early eighteenth century. Raw cotton came from India, but increasingly, cotton from North American plantations was also imported. The invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney in the 1790s contributed to the opening-up of the southern USA as a major supplier of raw cotton. Liverpool provided the North-West region with a means of import (and export of finished cotton abroad). Cloth spun and weaved across the North-West was re-exported for trade with Africa where light woven goods, silks and cotton were popular on the West African coast. Cotton goods were also sent to plantations dependent on enslaved labour in the Americas.

Surviving cotton mills include **Low Mill** in Caton-with-Littledale in Lancashire, built in the late eighteenth-century for cotton weaving by Thomas Hodgson (1738-1817), a slave-trader and son of a Liverpool merchant. The farmhouse was converted into an apprentice house by Hodgson and children from Liverpool worked in the mill. The mill was later bought by the Greg family of Styal.⁵⁶¹

The cotton spinning mill **Quarry Bank Mill** (NT) in Styal, Cheshire, was built at the end of the eighteenth century by the industrialist Samuel Greg, a man whose initial capital came from family slavery-related business in the West Indies. By 1832 the Greg firm was the largest spinning and weaving business in the country. The family also owned estates in Dominica, including two sugar plantations. Cloth produced at Quarry Bank Mill was sent to clothe their enslaved workers. *Hetty*,

559 David, 'The transatlantic slave trade'; 'Kendal - Gawith Snuff Works', *Visit Cumbria*, at <https://www.visitcumbria.com/sl/kendal-gawithsnuff/>

560 NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1018134>; 'Cumbrian involvement in trade of slaves, spices and gunpowder', *Cumberland and Westmorland Herald*, <https://www.cwherald.com/a/archive/cumbrian-involvement-in-trade-of-slaves-spices-and-gunpowder.254406.html>

561 NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1071818>

Esther and Me was a play written and performed by school pupils at Quarry Bank Mill in 2007, which centred on the connections between slave-produced cotton and child labour in English mills.⁵⁶²

Manchester was at the centre of the English cotton processing and production industry in the nineteenth century. Most of the local profit in Manchester and the surrounding towns came after the Abolition Act of 1807, as raw cotton produced by enslaved workers in the United States and South America was imported via Liverpool. The wealth created led to a boom in textiles and related industries including banking and industrial engineering to service the textile mills. *Revealing Histories: Remembering Slavery* (2007-2009) was a partnership project of eight museums in Greater Manchester which used exhibitions, online resources and performances to link the city's wealth to slavery. The *Trade and Empire: Remembering Slavery* exhibition at the Whitworth Art Gallery in Manchester was part of this initiative.⁵⁶³

Manchester was transformed by its role as the world's leading producer and exporter of cotton goods: a new landscape of factories, warehouses, canals, railways and terraced houses was created.⁵⁶⁴ The **Manchester Royal Exchange** traded spun yarn and woven fabrics. The first commodities exchange, built on the site of today's Royal Exchange, was built in 1729, but was rebuilt and enlarged several times. Today's building dates to the 1860s, with a further extension added in the early 1900s to create the world's largest trading room. The Royal Exchange Theatre now occupies the trading floor.⁵⁶⁵ **Manchester Town Hall** was designed by Alfred Waterhouse and opened in 1877. Waterhouse included references to the cotton industry on the exterior, notably two roundels depicting 'Spinning' and 'Weaving'.

As Manchester became an important commercial and financial centre, the **Bank of England** established a branch in the town in 1826, later moving to a new building on King Street designed by the architect Charles Cockerell. The building is now home to the Bank of England agency for the North-West. The cotton industry was a major source of business for merchants who invested in new banks, such

562 LBS entry for 'Thomas Greg' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/10314>; 'The Greg family of Styal', *Revealing Histories: Remembering Slavery*, <http://revealinghistories.org.uk/why-was-cotton-so-important-in-north-west-england/people/the-greg-family-of-styal.html>; 'Hetty, Esther and Me' (2006) by Trafford Youth Service, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/1024>

563 *Revealing Histories: Remembering Slavery* at <http://revealinghistories.org.uk/home.html>; *Trade and Empire: Remembering Slavery* exhibition catalogue (Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester, 2011) available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/405>; Alan Rice, 'Revealing Histories, Dialogising Collections: Museums and Galleries in North-West England Commemorating the Abolition of the Slave Trade', *Slavery & Abolition*, 30:2 (2009), pp. 291-309.

564 Terry Wyke, Brian Robson and Martin Dodge, *Manchester: Mapping the City* (Birlinn, 2018)

565 Emma Poulter, 'The Manchester Royal Exchange', *Revealing Histories: Remembering Slavery*, available at <http://revealinghistories.org.uk/how-did-money-from-slavery-help-develop-greater-manchester/articles/the-manchester-royal-exchange.html>

as the **Manchester and Salford Bank**, founded in 1836, with its head office on the corner of Mosley Street and Marble Street, designed by Richard Tattershall (currently no. 10).

Mills and warehouses appeared across the city. These included showrooms of goods for sale (for example, **Watts Warehouse** - now Britannia Hotel - in Portland Street) and railway warehouses, dealing not only in textiles but other stored goods including tobacco and sugar. **Harvest House** on Mosley Street, dating from 1839 and built for Richard Cobden, is regarded as the first of the palazzo-style warehouses to be built in the commercial quarter of the city centre. The **1830 Warehouse** is now part of the Museum of Science and Industry and incorporates two tropical hardwoods: African oak and greenheart. The former is found in Sierra Leone and other parts of West Africa; the latter in parts of the West Indies and South America, including Guyana (formerly British Guiana).⁵⁶⁶

The World Heritage Site **Ancoats** is regarded as the world's first industrial suburb. It developed rapidly during the late 1700s providing housing, churches, pubs and schools for a growing population and sites for new steam-driven textile mills.⁵⁶⁷ The artist Lubaina Himid's *Cotton.com* (2003) evokes the conversations that might have happened between the cotton workers in Manchester and the enslaved plantation workers in the American South through the medium of painted and framed textile blocs.⁵⁶⁸

The Portico Library on Mosley Street opened in 1806 as a socially exclusive newsroom and library for businessmen and professional gentlemen. Its first chairman, John Ferriar, was a passionate anti-slavery campaigner. In 2017 the library was the venue for the *Bittersweet: Legacies of Slavery and Abolition in Manchester* exhibition, which included works of contemporary art by Mary Evans, Keith Piper and others which reflected the history of British involvement in slavery.⁵⁶⁹

566 See several sites identified as part of the feature 'How did money from slavery help develop Greater Manchester?', *Revealing Histories: Remembering Slavery*, at <http://revealinghistories.org.uk/how-did-money-from-slavery-help-develop-greater-manchester/places.html>

567 Michael E. Rose with Keith Falconer and Julian Holder, *Ancoats: Cradle of Industrialisation* (English Heritage, 2011) available at <https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/ancoats/ancoats/>

568 Alan Rice, 'The Cotton That Connects, The Cloth That Binds: Manchester's civil war, Abe's statue, and Lubaina Himid's transnational polemic', *Atlantic Studies*, 4:2 (2007), pp. 285-303; see also *Cotton Global Threads* (2012) (<http://cottonglobalthreads.com/>) where a number of contemporary artists addressed the global history of the production, consumption and trade in cotton.

569 'Bittersweet: Legacies of Slavery & Abolition in Manchester', *The Portico Library*, <https://www.theportico.org.uk/event-calendar/2017/9/15/bittersweet-legacies-of-slavery-abolition-in-manchester>

The **statue of Oliver Heywood** (b. 1825) on Albert Square was unveiled in 1894. Heywood devoted considerable time and money to assist charities and liberal causes in Manchester and Salford. He was the son of the banker and philanthropist, Sir Benjamin Heywood. The family's fortune was derived from banking in the 1800s, but the family wealth can also be traced back to the 1700s, when Liverpool members of the family were merchants involved in transatlantic slavery.⁵⁷⁰

Alfred Waterhouse, the architect of the **Old Quadrangle** at Manchester University in 1903 was son of Alfred, a cotton broker and partner in Nicholas Waterhouse & Sons, who claimed slave compensation as a creditor of a large estate in British Guiana.⁵⁷¹

Many mills survive across the North-West, alongside other industrial heritage highlighting this history.

Bolton, long an important textile centre, expanded rapidly following the building of its first spinning mill in 1780: Samuel Crompton's invention of the spinning mule was a key factor in the mechanised development of the cotton spinning industry (the only surviving spinning mule is at Bolton Museum). **Bolton Town Hall**, designed by architect William Hill and opened in 1873, has on its exterior a symbolic sculpture representing Bolton's industrial and commercial strength, which includes the depiction of a Black child carrying a basket of cotton. On Bridge Street, stone carvings on the wall which came from **Sunnyside Mills** show the stages in the processing of cotton. The **parish church of St Peter's** was completed in 1871 and funded by Peter Ormrod, a cotton spinner who made his fortune from the industry. **St Helena Mill**, the oldest surviving mill in Bolton, dates from 1780.⁵⁷²

The Industrial Revolution transformed **Oldham** into the primary cotton spinning town, increasingly reliant on the USA for the supply of raw cotton. The disruption of supplies during the American Civil War (1861-65) during the so-called cotton famine (caused by the embargo on Southern produced cotton) brought widespread suffering to the local population. **Alexandra Park**, the town's first major public park, was created to provide work for the unemployed.⁵⁷³ Nonconformity was strong in the region and many cotton workers supported the cause of the northern US

570 'Statue of Oliver Heywood', *Revealing Histories: Remembering Slavery*, at <http://revealinghistories.org.uk/how-did-money-from-slavery-help-develop-greater-manchester/places/statue-of-oliver-heywood-albert-square-manchester.html>

571 Draper, 'British universities', p. 106

572 'Connections with Slavery – a walk round Bolton Town Centre' in 'Chains & Cotton – Bolton's perspective on the slave trade', Key Stage 3 Education Pack (Bolton Museum, 2007), available at <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/400>; Washington Alcott, 'Bolton and cotton manufacturing', *Revealing Histories: Remembering Slavery*, at <http://revealinghistories.org.uk/how-did-money-from-slavery-help-develop-greater-manchester/articles/bolton-and-cotton-manufacturing.html>

573 'Revealing Histories: Remembering Slavery (Gallery Oldham)' (2007), available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/402>; Washington Alcott, 'Oldham and cotton industries', *Revealing Histories: Remembering Slavery*, at <http://revealinghistories.org.uk/how-did-money-from-slavery-help-develop-greater-manchester/articles/oldham-and-cotton-industries.html>

states. John Bright was a **Rochdale** mill owner and Liberal MP who supported Abraham Lincoln; he is remembered with a marble bust in the town hall and a portrait statue in the main park.⁵⁷⁴

England's extensive canal system in the North-West was built in large part to carry goods and raw materials, many of which had slavery associations. Some canals, for example the **Lancaster Canal**, had a number of investors who were associated with the Atlantic slave economy.⁵⁷⁵ The **Sankey Canal** was built in the 1750s, originally carrying coal to the Mersey and Liverpool, later taking raw sugar from Liverpool for the Sankey Sugar Works at Earlestown. John Ashton used his profits from salt and slavery to subsidise the construction of the canal, owning 51 out of 120 shares.⁵⁷⁶

Manchester was at the centre of a network of canals. The **Bridgewater Canal** was built in the 1760s between Manchester and Runcorn, but by 1872 had fallen into disrepair. The Manchester terminus was at **Castlefield**, where large warehouses like the **Merchants' Warehouse** (erected in the 1820s) were built on the side of the canal in response to the growth in trade, especially in raw cotton. **Rochdale Canal** linked the West Riding of Yorkshire to Manchester. Factories and warehouses were built along the canal and its wharves, some of which traded in the American raw cotton which was carried in barges from Liverpool.⁵⁷⁷

The **Liverpool and Manchester Railway** opened in 1830, the world's first modern railway. The growth of cotton production and the need to move raw material and finished products between Liverpool and Manchester quickly led to businessmen in both cities lobbying for the construction of a railway. More research is needed to understand how far investors in English railways more widely had associations with the Atlantic slave economy.⁵⁷⁸

574 'Revealing Histories: Remembering Slavery (Touchstones Rochdale)', available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/404>; Washington Alcott, 'Rochdale and cotton production', Revealing Histories: Remembering Slavery, at <http://revealinghistories.org.uk/how-did-money-from-slavery-help-develop-greater-manchester/articles/rochdale-and-cotton-production.html>; James Heartfield, *British Workers & the US Civil War: How Karl Marx and the Lancashire Weavers Joined Abraham Lincoln's Fight Against Slavery* (2012)

575 Channel 4, *Great Canal Journeys*, 'Lancaster Canal' (Series 9, Episode 5, 2019), <https://www.channel4.com/programmes/great-canal-journeys/episode-guide>

576 Westgaph, *Read the Signs*; 'A Brief History of the Sankey (St Helens) Canal', Sankey Canal Restoration Society, at <https://www.sankeycanal.co.uk/about-sankey-canal>

577 Terry Wyke, 'Merchants' Warehouse, Castlefield, Manchester', *Revealing Histories: Remembering Slavery* at <http://revealinghistories.org.uk/how-did-money-from-slavery-help-develop-greater-manchester/places/merchants-warehouse-castlefield-manchester.html>; Emma Poulter, 'Transport systems in the north-west', *Revealing Histories: Remembering Slavery*, at <http://revealinghistories.org.uk/how-did-money-from-slavery-help-develop-greater-manchester/articles/transport-systems-in-the-north-west.html>

578 See railway companies listed at LBS, 'Commerical Legacies', at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/commercial/>

North-West: other residences and local development

Cheshire

Bank Hall in Warrington, now Warrington Town Hall, was designed and built by James Gibbs for Thomas Patten and his family in 1750. The Patten family of Warrington were merchants dealing in a range of commodities including tobacco, sugar and tea. They also owned smelting works at Bank Quay which produced copper bangles traded for enslaved Africans and coppers used to boil sugar and distil rum.⁵⁷⁹

Birtles Hall in Over Alderley was built c. 1819 for the West Indies merchant Robert Hibbert, third son of the West India merchant and cotton manufacturer Robert Hibbert (1717-1784) after the original house was demolished. The interior was rebuilt in 1938 after a fire.⁵⁸⁰

Combermere Abbey in Whitchurch was originally a medieval abbey but saw a succession of 'Gothic remodelling' between 1814 and 1820 by the Cotton family. Stapleton Cotton, 1st Viscount Combermere, owned enslaved people on Nevis and St Kitts. He also served as Governor of Barbados and commander-in-chief for the Leeward Islands between 1817 and 1820. The house is now a wedding venue.⁵⁸¹

Davenham Hall was built in the late eighteenth century and either rebuilt or significantly extended by John Hosken Harper, c. 1822, who was awarded compensation for enslaved people in Montserrat. His father, William Harper, was a major slave-trader in Liverpool.⁵⁸² The house is currently a nursing home.

Hare Hill in Over Alderley was built by William Hibbert as a country estate in 1797/98 (his main residence was in Clapham). He was the sixth son of Robert Hibbert. In the 1780s William went to Jamaica where his brothers Thomas and Robert were already working in the family slave factorage business in Kingston. The Hibberts also held commercial partnerships and had their own plantations in Jamaica. William won a lottery and returned to England, where he became a

579 'History of Warrington Town Hall', Warrington.gov.uk, at <https://www.warrington.gov.uk/townhall>

580 LBS entry for 'Robert Hibbert of Chalfont Park and Birtles Hall (1750-1835)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146638523>; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1329626>;

581 LBS entry for 'Stapleton Cotton, 1st Viscount Combermere' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/25180>; 'History of the Abbey', Combermere Abbey Estate, at <https://combermereabbey.co.uk/history/>

582 LBS entry for 'John Hosken Harper (1781-1865)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/24952>; Nicholas Kingsley, '(98) Allen of Davenham Hall' (2013), *Landed Families of Britain and Ireland*, at <https://landedfamilies.blogspot.com/2013/12/98-allen-of-davenham-hall.html>

business partner in the Hibbert family's London partnership, which shipped, insured and distributed colonial commodities, particularly sugar. The house at Hare Hill was sold to private owners in 1978; Hare Hill gardens are owned by the National Trust.⁵⁸³

Leasowe Castle in Wallasey was built in 1593 by Ferdinando, 5th Earl of Derby. In 1802 it was acquired by Margaret Boode. Her daughter Mary Anne married General Edward Cust, who took possession in 1821 and made many additions to the building. Cust and his mother-in-law made a compensation claim on Greenwich Park in British Guiana.⁵⁸⁴ The house is currently a hotel.

Mere 'New Hall' in Knutsford was built in 1834 by Peter Langford-Brookes, compensation claimant for an estate in Antigua. It is now a hotel and golf resort.⁵⁸⁵

Orford Hall in Warrington was the family seat of Liverpool salt merchant and slave trader John Blackburne, Mayor of Liverpool in 1760. Some of his wealth was used to refurbish the estate. Blackburne was a naturalist and horticulturist and the estate had a famous hothouse, thought to be the first in the country to grow pineapples, coffee, tea and sugarcane. The house was demolished in 1935, but its grounds remain as a public park (Orford Park).⁵⁸⁶

Linkages to the twin settlements of **Parkgate** and **Neston**, around eight miles from Liverpool, evidence some shipbuilding and a small community of investors in the slave trade in the 1760s.⁵⁸⁷

Peckforton Castle was built in the 1840s by John Tollemarche (born John Halliday, taking the name Tollemache from his mother, Lady Jane Tollemache in 1821). Tollemache was a politician and landowner in Cheshire, and owner of six estates in Antigua. The Tollemache ancestral home is Helmingham Hall in Suffolk. Peckforton Castle is now a hotel.⁵⁸⁸

583 LBS entry for 'William Hibbert (1759-1844)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/42210>; 'The Hibbert family', The National Trust, at <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/hare-hill/features/the-hibbert-family->

584 LBS entry for 'General Sir Edward Cust 1st Bart. (1794-1878)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/1282228190>

585 LBS entry for 'Peter Langford Brooke (1793-1840)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/40875>; 'A Little History', The Mere Rutland, at <http://themereresort.co.uk/our-story/history/>

586 Westgaph, *Read the Signs*; 'Rise and fall of the historic hall paid for by slavery', *Warrington Guardian* (16 June 2019), at <https://www.warringtonguardian.co.uk/news/17696531.rise-and-fall-the-historic-hall-paid-for-by-slavery/>

587 Anthony Annakin-Smith, 'Neston and Parkgate: their links to the slave trade in the mid to late eighteenth century', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Volume 160 (2011), pp. 27-54

588 LBS entry for 'John Tollemache (formerly Halliday) (1805-1890)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/256>

Rookery Hall was built in 1816 by William Hilton Cooke, proprietor of the ‘Chester Castle’ sugar plantation in Jamaica. It is now a hotel.⁵⁸⁹

Tatton Park in Knutsford was extensively remodelled between 1780 and 1813 by the architects Samuel Wyatt and Lewis William Wyatt. Much of the building of the house, collections and gardens date from the ownership of Wilbraham Egerton (1781-1856), named in the compensation records as a trustee for an estate in British Guiana. The rich furnishing of the house and its important collection of books and paintings reflect the growing wealth and status of the Egerton family, including an extensive collection of Gillow’s of Lancaster furniture.⁵⁹⁰

Lancashire

Eleanora Atherton was a local philanthropist, awarded compensation for plantations in St James and Trelawny. She funded the building of **Holy Trinity Church in Hulme** in 1841 and **St Paul’s Church in Kersal** (Salford) in 1841-43, where she is buried. She erected almshouses in **Prescot** in memory of her sister Mrs Willis at a cost of £10,000.⁵⁹¹

Browsholme Hall has been owned for generations by the Parker family; the present house dates back to the sixteenth century. The most significant migration for the family was to the Colony of Virginia in the mid-seventeenth century, after Richard Parker (1630-1677), the ‘emigrant’.⁵⁹²

Forton Lodge was built by William Brade, Liverpool slave-trader and slave-owner in Dominica and Montserrat, and left to his sister Isabella in his will.⁵⁹³

Haigh Hall in Wigan is a country house built between 1827 and 1840 by James Lindsay, 7th Earl of Balcarres. He claimed for one-third of the compensation for groups of enslaved people employed by the British army under arrangements put in place by his father, the 6th Earl, while Governor of Jamaica. The family’s

589 LBS entry for ‘William Hilton Cooke junior’ at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/16054>; ‘History of Rookery Hall Hotel & Spa’, Rookery Hall, <https://www.handpickedhotels.co.uk/rookeryhall/welcome/inspirations/our-heritage#>

590 LBS entry for ‘Wilbrahim Egerton (1781-1856)’ at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/41827>; ‘About the Mansion’, Tatton Park, http://www.tattonpark.org.uk/what_to_see_and_do/mansion/mansion.aspx

591 LBS entry for ‘Eleanora Atherton (1782-1870)’ at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/43274>

592 ‘Genealogy – An American Link’, Browsholme Hall, available at https://browsholme.com/content/uploads/2016/09/Parkers_in_American.pdf

593 LBS entry for ‘William Brade of Forton Lodge (1751-1820)’ at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146644743>

wealth derived in significant part from slavery; the 7th Earl also invested in the coal industry, creating the Wigan Coal and Iron Company in 1865.⁵⁹⁴ The house is currently a hotel, built, it is claimed, using wood from Jamaica.⁵⁹⁵

Leck Hall in Leck was built by George Welch, second son of Robert Welch, a Liverpool merchant who had bought the estate in 1771. During the period 1783-92 George was a leading Liverpool slave merchant. In 1804 he had architect John Carr design and build a new house to replace High House in Leck, completed in 1811.⁵⁹⁶

Littledale Hall near Lancaster was built in 1849 for Revd John Dodson of a Liverpool shipping family. He also built a Free Church there in 1849. Dodson's father was awarded compensation in British Guiana and Berbice and left his estate in the township of Littledale to his son. The house became a residential addiction treatment centre in 2006.⁵⁹⁷

The Thomasson family of Bolton were a Quaker family of cotton spinning industrialists who built the Mill Hill factories. Their wealth enabled JP Thomasson to buy **Mere Hall** for Bolton. He presented this and the adjoining estate to the Bolton Corporation in 1890 for the purpose of a public park, art gallery and museum, donating a further £5,000 for any necessary alterations.⁵⁹⁸

The Ainsworth family of Bolton were cotton bleachers who established their business in 1739. They owned **Mossbank Hall** and Estate and moved to the Manor of **Smithills Hall** in 1801. Both are now owned by Bolton Council (Mossbank Hall has since been demolished and the land and estate is now a public park).⁵⁹⁹

594 LBS entry for 'James Lindsay, 7th Earl of Balcarres (1783-1869) at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/21571>; 'History of Haigh Hall' at <http://www.haighhallhotel.co.uk/hotel/history/>

595 'Haigh Woodland Park', Wigan Council, at <https://www.wigan.gov.uk/Resident/Leisure/Greenheart/Haigh-Hall-and-Country-Park.aspx>

596 'Townships: Leck', *Victoria County History - British History Online*, at <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/lancs/vol8/pp240-241>

597 LBS entry for 'John Dodson' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/45433>; NHLE entry for 'Littledale Hall' at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1163923>; NHLE entry for 'Littledale Free Church' at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1071817>

598 'The Thomasson family of Bolton', *Revealing Histories: Remembering Slavery*, at <http://revealinghistories.org.uk/how-did-money-from-slavery-help-develop-greater-manchester/people/the-thomasson-family-of-bolton.html>; NHLE entry for 'Mere Hall' at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1388129>

599 'The Ainsworth family of Bolton', *Revealing Histories: Remembering Slavery*, at <http://revealinghistories.org.uk/how-did-money-from-slavery-help-develop-greater-manchester/people/the-ainsworth-family-of-bolton.html>

Cumbria

Orton Park in Carlisle (originally Hylton Castle) was built in the 1830s by Sir Wastel Brisco, 2nd Bart., for his son Hylton. Brisco inherited an estate on St Kitts. The house is now a County Council home.⁶⁰⁰

Joseph Gillbanks (b. 1780) went to Jamaica to pursue a career as a merchant and subsequently married Mary Jackson, niece of the Chief Justice of Jamaica. In 1814 he returned to England and purchased the estates of Whitefield, Orthwaite and Stockdale. **Overwater Hall** in Keswick was subsequently built on the site of the former Whitefield House and became the family seat. The Gillbanks' coat of arms can be seen above the (now) hotel entrance.⁶⁰¹

Storrs Hall in Windermere is a striking lakeside villa built for John Bolton, largely the creation of architect Joseph Gandy. John Bolton was a Cumbrian who made a fortune as a Liverpool slave trader, with plantations in St Vincent and St Lucia. He bought Storrs Hall in 1806 and greatly extended the building and estate. He used the residence to entertain in style, holding regattas on the lake which were attended by William Wordsworth and Sir Walter Scott amongst others. Bolton was dubbed 'the Liverpool Croesus' by Wordsworth. He also occupied himself with local philanthropy. Bolton died in 1837 and is buried at St Martin's parish church, Bowness.⁶⁰² Storrs Hall is currently a hotel.

Temple Sowerby House has been identified at the centre of a 'tangled inheritance' associated with the West India merchant Richard Atkinson.⁶⁰³

Whernside Manor is associated with the Sill family, long established landowners in Dent. During the eighteenth century some members of the family became involved in the West Indies trade and came to own 'Providence' plantation in Jamaica. It is likely that Edmund Sill built Westhouse (now known as Whernside Manor) through profits from two slave carrying ships he owned with his brothers: *The Pickering* and *The Dent*.⁶⁰⁴ His nephew, John Sill, likely used the inherited wealth from his uncle's Jamaican enterprises to purchase several estates in Cumbria. The church of St Andrews has an oval plaque in the nave as a tribute to 'the memory

600 LBS entry for 'Sir Wastel Brisco 2nd Bart. (1778-1862)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/25598>; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1335673>

601 LBS entry for 'Joseph Gillbanks' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146650423>; 'History', Overwater Hall, at <http://www.overwaterhall.co.uk/about-us/history>

602 David, 'The transatlantic slave trade'; Smith, 'Slavery's Heritage Footprint', p. 61; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1332564>

603 Atkinson, *Mr Atkinson's Rum Contract*

604 LBS entry for 'Ann Sill' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/1287751141>; 'Slavery', Dent Village Museum & Heritage Centre, at <http://museumsintheyorkshiredales.co.uk/mobile/slavery.html>

of John Sill of Providence in the island of Jamaica'. The Sill family and Dentdale have a role to play in English literary history thanks to the similarities found in Emily Brontë's novel *Wuthering Heights*.⁶⁰⁵

North-West: other evidence of the historic Black presence

Chloe Gambia is buried in the churchyard of St Peter's in Aston, Cheshire. She appears to have arrived in England in 1767 when she was around seven years old, likely arriving in Liverpool. She served in the household of Henry Hervey Aston and his wife Catherine. She died in 1838.⁶⁰⁶

In the churchyard of St Martin's Church, Bowness on Windermere, is a headstone 'In memory of Rasselas Belfield a Native of Abyssinia' who died in 1822 aged 32 years. The poetical inscription celebrates Britain's role in ending slavery. It reads: "A Slave by birth I left my native land/And found my Freedom on Britannia's Strand/Blest Isle! Thou Glory of the Wise and Free/They Touch alone unbinds the Chains of Slavery."⁶⁰⁷

James Anthony, known as 'Tony', was the servant of Captain William Giles of the British Army, who had served in the West Indies in the 1780s, settling with his family in Jamaica. The family returned to England, bringing James Anthony with them. Tony was later servant to other families in Carlisle and is buried in St Mary's churchyard.⁶⁰⁸

A number of formerly enslaved African-Americans visited and settled in the North-West. Henry 'Box' Brown, for example, was born enslaved in Virginia in 1815. In 1849 he escaped to freedom by being posted in a box. He arrived in Liverpool in 1850 and toured Northern England to help raise awareness of slavery. Brown married an English wife and had two children, settling for a time in Cheetham, Manchester. James Johnson was born into slavery in North Carolina in 1847. He escaped during the American Civil War and arrived in Liverpool in 1862, before

605 Christopher Heywood, 'Yorkshire Slavery in *Wuthering Heights*', *The Review of English Studies*, 38 (1987), pp. 184-198; Anthony Gambrell, 'The Legacy of Jamaica in Britain: Slavery and Sugar' (2016), *Jamaica Gleaner*, at <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/article/focus/20160417/anthony-gambrell-legacy-jamaica-britain-slavery-and-sugar-part-2>

606 'Lives Remembered: Slaves in the 1700s and 1800s', Historic England, at <https://historicengland.org.uk/research/inclusive-heritage/the-slave-trade-and-abolition/sites-of-memory/black-lives-in-england/lives-remembered-slaves-in-1700s-and-1800s/>

607 'Sites of Memory'; 'The Long Road to Freedom'; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1392853>

608 John A. Ferguson, 'Massa Very Good to Tony': The family of Captain William Giles – encounters with slavery', deposited at Cumbria Record Office, available at <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/579>

settling in Oldham in 1866. He worked for a company making machines for the cotton industry before becoming a religious preacher sermonising about the evils of slavery.⁶⁰⁹

609 'What evidence is there of a Black presence in Britain and north-west England?', *Revealing Histories: Remembering Slavery*, at <http://revealinghistories.org.uk/what-evidence-is-there-of-a-black-presence-in-britain-and-north-west-england/objects.html>; 'Is this James Johnson?', Gallery Oldham, <https://galleryoldham.org.uk/is-this-james-johnson/>

5 YORKSHIRE AND THE NORTH-EAST

Yorkshire and the North-East: industrial heritage

In the nineteenth century **Sheffield** manufacturers created tools for building slave ships and for use by enslaved plantation workers. Metal goods such as cutlery were traded with African merchants. Butcher's Works, a principal Sheffield steel manufacturer in the nineteenth century, still stands, now converted into flats.⁶¹⁰

Yorkshire (and parts of what is now Cumbria) has historic links with the textile industry. Many Yorkshire woollen firms manufactured goods specifically intended for Africa to be bartered for enslaved people. Cheap woollen cloth, knitted stockings and 'bump caps' made in Dent and other parishes in the West Riding of Yorkshire were exported to the West Indies to clothe the enslaved.⁶¹¹

In the nineteenth century, the shoddy and mungo industries dealt with waste wool: inferior woollen cloth to be made into products and clothes were made by shredding scraps of woollen rags into fibres, grinding them and then mixing them with small amounts of new wool. It is believed that shoddy was first produced in **Batley** in West Yorkshire by Benjamin Law, and its production spread quickly to surrounding textile towns of Dewsbury, Heckmondwyke and Ossett.⁶¹² In the mid-Victorian period much of the cloth was exported to the US, often used for army uniforms and blankets. Furthermore, on a tour of the Yorkshire textile districts in 1849 Angus Bethune Reach observed: "In Batley I went over two shoddy establishments – the Bridge Mill and the Albion Mill. In both of these rags were not only ground, but the shoddy was worked up into coarse bad cloth, a great proportion of which is sent to America for slave clothing."⁶¹³ In Batley, grand buildings were built from the proceeds, such as the 'Shoddy Temple', a chapel on Market Square. Machell Brothers' **Shoddy and Mungo Mill** still stands in Dewsbury, now converted into flats.⁶¹⁴

610 LBS entry for 'Towards Liberty: Slavery, the Slave trade, Abolition and Emancipation' (2007), a study sources booklet by Sheffield Archives, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/888>

611 'Hidden History' (2012), Yorkshire Dales National Park, at <https://yorkshiredalesnationalpark.blogspot.com/2012/10/hidden-history.html>; Chris Evans, 'Telling the story'

612 Christine Widdall, 'Shoddy and Mungo', *Kirklees Cousins: West Yorkshire Family History*, at <https://kirkleescousins.co.uk/shoddy-and-mungo/>; David T. Jenkins, 'Transatlantic Trade in Woollen Cloth 1850-1914: The Role of Shoddy' in *Textiles in Trade: Proceedings of the Textile Society of America Biennial Symposium* (1990), available at <https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/tsaconf/607/>

613 Quoted at Christine Verguson, 'An "avowedly repugnant" trade!' (2008) at http://www.bbc.co.uk/bradford/content/articles/2007/02/26/slavery_west_yorkshire_feature.shtml

614 'Shoddyopolis', *Vivien Tomlinson's Family History*, at <https://vivientomlinson.com/batley/ui63.htm>

On the Yorkshire coast, the shipbuilding industry is said to have supplied ships for slaving voyages.⁶¹⁵

Hull was a major British port with maritime links to Europe. Some slave-produced sugar, cotton and tobacco were processed here. James Hamilton, ship-owner and tar merchant, built the **Georgian Houses** in Hull, next to Wilberforce House. The Hamilton family traded with North America, and James Hamilton imported tar that was produced on slave plantations. Tar was an important product for water-proofing ships.⁶¹⁶

Stockton-on-Tees was an important port for carrying both refined sugar and molasses from London between 1766-1794. In Thistle Green on the riverside, once an open space, is the site of a sugar refinery, the only sugar house between Hull and Newcastle. The building was demolished in 1929. Several Georgian port buildings still survive.⁶¹⁷

The *Remembering Slavery Archive and Mapping Project* (2007) led by Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society, was part of the *Remembering Slavery* (2007) project in the North-East. The accompanying research was published in John Charlton's *Hidden Chains* (2009) which revealed a complex web of connections between the Atlantic slave economy and North-East industries. It also identified a long list of North-Easterners involved in the slavery business and North Americans with North-East connections, many of whom were interrelated by family and business connections.⁶¹⁸

The early iron industry in the region was established in 1690 by iron manufacturer Ambrose Crowley, who brought his technical and business skills from the South-East to **Derwent Valley**, west of Newcastle. The Crowley family bought homes in the area, including Whickham Manor, but maintained their warehouses on the Thames at Blackwall and Greenwich, to enable close connections with London's American and West Indian merchant community. In 1711-16 Ambrose and his son were deeply involved in lobbying for the establishment of the South Sea Company. Before his death in 1718 Crowley Ambrose had built one of world's largest iron enterprises

615 'From Africa – Baht'at: African Heritage in Yorkshire' (2007) by Diasporian Stories Research Group, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/996>

616 'Walking with Wilberforce Heritage Trail' (2007) by Hull City Council, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/533>; 'Wilberforce House and Hull's High Street', Hull Museums Collection, at <http://museumcollections.hullcc.gov.uk/collections/storydetail.php?irn=692&master=442>

617 'Slavery Here!' (2007) by Stockton Museums Service, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/40>; 'Stockton-on-Tees', England's North-East, at <https://englandsnortheast.co.uk/stockton/>

618 'Remembering Slavery Archive and Mapping Project', led by Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society, part of 'Remembering Slavery' initiative at Tyne and Wear Museums (see R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/5>). The North-East Slavery & Abolition Group was set up by the project's volunteers to continue research and writing about slavery and abolition in the North-East. Research findings are included in the *Popular Politics Project* at <http://ppp.nelh.net/>

in and around the villages of **Whickham**, **Swalwell** and **Winlton**. Over 2,000 artisans and labourers used cottage forges to produce metal goods, many of which were exchanged for enslaved Africans on the West African coast. Warehouse inventories also included tools used on slave-worked plantations, including Virginia hoes, sugar shovels, axes, shackles, chains and branding irons. Winlton Forge is the only surviving example of one of the many workshops in the village producing iron goods.⁶¹⁹

The Atlantic slavery economy was interlinked with the eighteenth-century prosperity and growth of the North-East region, built on a booming coal trade and with many links to the global Atlantic trade, particularly from Newcastle. Coal from local pits was shipped out to the Caribbean to heat the pans and boilers used in the processing of raw sugar. Many North-East merchants transported slave-produced goods such as sugar, cotton, mahogany or rum to ports around the world.⁶²⁰ Goods manufactured in Northern Europe – for example, glass trade beads from Italy – might land at one of the North Sea ports and then be transported via ship, canal or road to another port for the next stage of its trading route. Carriers took goods from Newcastle west to Carlisle, Cockermouth and Whitehaven.⁶²¹ During the eighteenth century, Newcastle merchant Ralph Carr imported tar from Barbados.⁶²²

Newcastle has associations with the Atlantic slave economy and abolition.⁶²³ Developments along Northumberland Street and fashionable Westgate Street created market suburbs and new money helped to build and furnish the Assembly Rooms. Opposite the Guildhall on Sandhill was Katy's Coffee House, established in the early 1800s, on a site now occupied by the Royal Insurance Buildings. **Blackett Street** is named after John Erasmus Blackett (1729–1814) of the Blacketts of Newby Hall in Yorkshire. Blackett served an apprenticeship under Liverpool merchant and slave trader Forster Cunliffe. He moved to London and became a merchant and was

619 Charlton, *Hidden Chains*, Chapter 12; NHLE entry for 'Winlton Forge' at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1025172>; 'Ambrose Crowley', *The Land of Oak & Iron Local History Portal*, at <http://www.landof oakandironlocalhistoryportal.org.uk/index.asp?pageid=668618> and the most recent website, <http://landof oakandiron.org.uk/>

620 Tamsin Lilley, 'Remembering Slavery: South Shields' links to the trans-Atlantic slave trade' (June 2008), available at http://collectionsprojects.org.uk/slavery/_files/research-zone/South_Shields_and_the_Slave_Trade.pdf; North-East Slavery & Abolition Group ENewsletter, No. 7 (September 2009), available at <http://www.tyneandweararchives.org.uk/pdf/NESAG-Newsletter-7.pdf>

621 Charlton, *Hidden Chains*, pp. 90–94; 'Trade Beads', Victoria and Albert Museum, at <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/t/trade-beads/>

622 *North-East Slavery & Abolition Group ENewsletter*, No. 5 (February 2009), available at <http://www.tyneandweararchives.org.uk/pdf/NESAG-Newsletter-5.pdf>

623 'The Roots Initiative' (2007) by identity on tyne (a group for writers and artists of colour) featured a heritage walk around Newcastle highlighting the events, individuals and places concerned with slavery and abolition (available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/1021>). In 2019, city guide Tony Flynn led a walk on Newcastle's links with the slave trade and abolition: see 'Discover Newcastle's links to the slave trade, and the fight to abolish it', *Chronicle Live*, at <https://www.chroniclive.co.uk/news/north-east-news/discover-newcastles-links-slave-trade-16473925>

four-time Lord Mayor of Newcastle in the 1700s. He then became manager of the estate at Wallington Hall in Northumberland belonging to his cousin, Christopher Blackett, a Newcastle merchant, coal owner and the region's major importer of Jamaican rum.⁶²⁴

John Graham Clarke (d. 1818) was known as 'Newcastle's West Indiaman', with extensive business interests in Jamaica and the North-East and Yorkshire. Graham Clarke owned several ships, a brewery, a colliery, flax mills, sugar houses, glassworks and banking shares. In 1816 he was elected as the first President of Newcastle Chamber of Commerce. Through his marriage settlement to Arabella Altham, he earned South Sea consoles bound up with the Caribbean and the slave trade, plus a share of the Fenton and Nesbitt Estate in north Northumberland. He owned three substantial properties on Pilgrim Street in Newcastle; mansions at Fenham Hall and Kenton Lodge; and the Frocester Estate near Gloucester.⁶²⁵

Yorkshire and the North-East: residences and local development

South Yorkshire

Brodsworth Hall (EH) has connections to the trading interests of Huguenot merchant and banker Peter Thellusson (1737-97), who bought the South Yorkshire estate in 1790/91. In 1790, he married the daughter of Sir Christopher Bethell-Codrington. Thellusson had considerable investments in Caribbean plantations, mainly through providing loans and insurance to plantation owners, and was also heavily implicated in the trade in goods connected with the Atlantic slave economy, such as beads used as currency. He provided the funds for the rebuilding of Brodsworth by his great-grandson Charles Sabine Augustus Thellusson in the 1860s.⁶²⁶

Hellaby Hall in Rotherham was built by Ralph Fretwell, a sugar merchant and slave-owner in Barbados, who returned to Hellaby around 1688 and commenced building the present hall, farm and cottages. The influence of houses built in the Dutch style is seen in Hellaby. The Hall is now a hotel.⁶²⁷

624 Charlton, *Hidden Chains*, Chapter 15; J.R. Boyle, 'Katy's Coffee House, Newcastle' (2016), *Northeastlore*, at <https://northeastlore.com/2016/03/17/katys-coffee-house-newcastle/>

625 Charlton, *Hidden Chains*, Chapter 14

626 Haggerty and Seymour, 'Property, power and authority'; Susanne Seymour and Sheryllynne Haggerty, 'Slavery Connections of Brodsworth Hall (1600-c.1830)' (commissioned by English Heritage, 2010) available at <https://historicengland.org.uk/research/inclusive-heritage/the-slave-trade-and-abolition/slavery-and-the-british-country-house/>

627 NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1192650>; 'History', Hellaby Hall Hotel, at <http://www.hellabyhallhotel.co.uk/history/>;

Cannon Hall is the ancestral home of the Spencer family, who made their fortune in the iron industry. In the mid-eighteenth century, Benjamin Spencer had built and fitted out the *Cannon Hall* slave ship.⁶²⁸

Wentworth Castle and Gardens (NT) near Barnsley was created by Thomas Wentworth, 1st Earl of Strafford (1672-1739) as an estate to outshine his cousin, Thomas Watson of nearby Wentworth Woodhouse. Wentworth had a military and diplomatic career and designed his gardens to show off his wealth, influence and political views. In 1713 he helped to negotiate the Peace of Utrecht, an international treaty that confirmed Britain as the most important commercial power in Europe. This included a monopoly over the Atlantic slave trade. In his gardens he placed a sundial in the shape of a kneeling African man.⁶²⁹ The house is home to the Northern College; the gardens were reopened by the National Trust in 2019.

East Yorkshire

Bishop Burton was purchased by Liverpool slave-trader and merchant Richard Watt (b. 1751) (see also: Speke Hall). His nephew Richard Junior based himself at Bishop Burton Hall (now demolished) and the family's wealth was spent transforming Bishop Burton into one of East Riding's most picturesque villages. Members of the family are remembered in the church.⁶³⁰

Norwood House in Beverley was built in the late 1750s by Jonathan Midgley, three times Mayor of Beverley. When he died in 1778 his estate passed to his wife and then youngest daughter Mary, married to William Beverley from Virginia. William's great-great-grandfather emigrated to Virginia in 1663 where he and his descendants became leading figures in government and society. By 1788, William's father Robert Beverley III had 540 slaves on the tobacco plantation at Blandfield in Essex County (William Beverley's childhood home). William was a supporter of Wilberforce and opposed to the slave trade and distanced himself from his slave-owning background. It was during Beverley's occupation that Norwood House and estate were enlarged and various alterations were carried out, including a North-East wing and neo-Grecian style library.⁶³¹ The building is now Beverley High School for Girls.

628 Michael Charlesworth, 'The Voyage of the Cannon Hall, 1755-1756' in Eyres (ed.), *The Blackamoor*, pp. 97-111.

629 Eyres (ed.), *The Blackamoor*; 'Political gardening at Wentworth Castle Gardens', The National Trust, at <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/wentworth-castle-gardens/features/political-gardening-at-wentworth-castle-gardens>

630 LBS entry for 'Richard Watt I, of Jamaica and Oak Hill (1724-1796)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146635641>; Bryn Jones, 'Francis Watt', Bishop Burton, at http://bishopburton.org.uk/s1/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1061:francis-watt&catid=401&Itemid=146. We are grateful to Audrey Dewjee for this information.

631 'William Wilberforce, Slavery and the East Riding' (2007) at East Riding Treasure House, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/524>; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1346387>

Wentworth House in Aldbrough was purchased and remodelled c. 1750 by returned Jamaican planter James Bean. Bean established a charity for the poor, commemorated in the village church. The house is now a hotel.⁶³²

West Yorkshire

Dobroyd Castle in Todmorden was built 1866-1869 for John Fielden, part of a dynasty of cotton manufacturers based in Todmorden. The series of four Caen stone-carved decorative tympana on the house represent the process and history of cotton production, including an illustration of an enslaver with a whip. The depiction of slavery as a necessary part of cotton manufacture addressed a debate taking place in the industry for much of the nineteenth century. John Fielden, brought up as a Quaker, spent much of his political life working to improve the hours worked by children in factories; as MP for Oldham he also campaigned against the payment of compensation to slave owners. The house is now a Buddhist Centre.⁶³³

Harewood House was built by Edwin Lascelles in 1759. The Lascelles family had interests in the Caribbean from 1648 until 1975, when the family sold its last plantation. Edwin's father Henry Lascelles was a merchant, banker and sugar importer who bought land in Yorkshire with the fortune he amassed with his brothers investing in sugar, trading between England and Barbados, and becoming slave owners in Barbados, Jamaica, Grenada and Tobago. The family fortune was also made in loaning money to sugar planters, many of whom defaulted on a mortgage.⁶³⁴ Edwin, Baron Harewood (from 1712-1795), employed the finest (and most fashionable) craftsmen of the time to build his new grand stately home: architect John Carr, interior designer Robert Adam, furniture maker Thomas Chippendale and landscape gardener Lancelot 'Capability' Brown.

Harewood House is still home to Lord Harewood (whose family name is Lascelles) and his family. The family have acknowledged and shared this history.⁶³⁵ In 2007 several interrelated projects highlighted Harewood's roots in money made in the sugar trade and enslavement. Examinations of this legacy included a large-scale production of Geraldine Connor's *Carnival Messiah* in the house grounds. The *Lascelles Slavery Archive* project with Borthwick Institute of Archives (University of York) conserved and made available documents relating to the Lascelles family's relationship with the Caribbean.⁶³⁶ The on-site art gallery, 'Harewood

632 'History', Wentworth House Hotel, at <http://www.wentworthhousehotel.co.uk/history.html>

633 'Dobroyd Castle, Todmorden and Walsden', West Yorkshire Archaeology Advisory Service, available at https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=12686&resourceID=105; Verguson, 'An "avowedly repugnant" trade!'

634 Smith, *Slavery, Family*; Kirsten McKenzie, *A Swindler's Progress: Nobles and Convicts in the Age of Liberty* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2010)

635 Most recently in the statement 'Harewood stands in solidarity' (2020), at <https://harewood.org/about/harewood-stands-in-solidarity/>

636 <https://www.york.ac.uk/projects/harewoodslavery/about.html>

Contemporary’, has hosted exhibitions by Sonya Boyce, Sokari Douglas and Frank Walter.⁶³⁷ The Earl of Harewood also appeared in the BBC’s *Britain’s Forgotten Slave Owners* in 2016.⁶³⁸

Oakwell Hall in Birstall was built by John Batt in 1583. In the late 1630s several members of the Batt family went to seek their fortunes in Virginia, some becoming plantation – and slave – owners.⁶³⁹

North Yorkshire

Ellerton Priory in Swaledale came under the ownership of the wealthy plantation owner James Drax in the mid-seventeenth century. Ellerton Abbey is a Regency villa, built around 1830 for the Erle-Drax family as a shooting lodge.⁶⁴⁰

Grenada House/Hall in Askrigg was purchased by Matthew Terry in 1781 and apparently named after where he made his fortune.⁶⁴¹

Lt Col. Thomas Browne lived for a time at **Newton House** near Falling Foss. Browne was an American loyalist, granted land that became the Grand Sable estate on St Vincent, to which he moved over 600 enslaved people from the Bahamas. There is evidence he brought African-Caribbean servants from St Vincent with him to live at Newton House.⁶⁴²

Nunnington Hall was bought in 1839 as a shooting lodge by William Rutson, grandson of the cotton merchant and slave trader William Rutson of Liverpool. In the village he built a school, refurbished the church and rebuilt houses.⁶⁴³

637 <https://30years.harewood.org/>

638 <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b063db18>

639 ‘The Abolition of the Slave Trade’ (2007) by Kirklees Council, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/498>; ‘About Oakwell Hall’, Friends of Oakwell Hall & Country Park, at <https://friendsofoakwellhall.org.uk/hall/about-oakwell>

640 Parker, *Sugar Barons*, p. 116; ‘Ellerton Abbey’, *Out of Oblivion: A Landscape Through Time*, at <http://www.outofoblivion.org.uk/record.asp?id=217>

641 ‘Hidden History’, Yorkshire Dales National Park, at <https://yorkshiredalesnationalpark.blogspot.com/2012/10/hidden-history.html>; NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1318433>

642 LBS entry for ‘Lt Col. Thomas Browne’ at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146644399> We are grateful to Audrew Dewjee for this information.

643 LBS entry for ‘William Rutson’ (1791-1867) at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146644615>. We are grateful to Audrey Dewjee for this information.

Sneaton Castle near Whitby was bought in 1820 by James Wilson, a retired planter whose fortune came in part from a sugar plantation in St Vincent. In Whitby he set out to be a pillar of the community, and in 1823 rebuilt the church of **St Hilda** in Sneaton. Between 1826 and 1830 he was MP for York; in his first Parliamentary speech he opposed the immediate emancipation of slaves.⁶⁴⁴

Kirby Sigston was home to the Lascelles family, who resided at **Stank Hall** from the late sixteenth century. The family owned land in the Northallerton area since at least the twelfth century. Francis (1612-1667) was the first Lascelles of five generations of MPs representing the area. He was also the first to invest in a sugar plantation in Barbados. He is buried in Kirby Sigston church.⁶⁴⁵

The Haynes family lived at **Thimbleby Lodge** for most of the nineteenth century. Robert Haynes was born and owned plantations in Barbados in the 1830s, and was also sometimes speaker of the House of Assembly there. He returned to Britain by 1841 where he resided at Thimbleby Lodge. Further research is required to ascertain if his wealth had an impact on the local area, as suggested by the 'Haynes Arms' pub in **Kirby Sigston**.⁶⁴⁶

Durham / Tyne & Wear / Northumberland

Belsay Castle (EH) was inherited in 1795 by Sir Charles Monck (formerly Middleton, he took his maternal grandfather's surname) having been home to the Middleton family for centuries. **Belsay Hall** was built close by, completed in 1817, and designed by Sir Charles Monck. The vast gardens were also largely Sir Charles's work in the early nineteenth century. The Monck family made fortunes from plantations in North America; further research is required to ascertain if Sir Charles Monck directly benefitted from this wealth.⁶⁴⁷

Brinkburn Priory (EH) is an Augustinian Priory founded c. 1135, with a manor house added by the Fenwick family in the seventeenth century. One branch of the family had emigrated to Maryland to become tobacco planters and merchants; another planted rice near Charleston. In 1825 the estate was sold to Ward Cadogan, whose assets included 'Pickering's' plantation in Barbados. He brought one slave, named Barrington, to England and in 1825 granted him his freedom. Cadogan's son-in-law and grandson carried out a large restoration project on the Priory with

644 'From Africa – Baht'at'; Smith, 'Slavery's Heritage Footprint', p. 61.

645 'Parishes: Kirkby Sigston', *Victoria County History - British History Online* at <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/yorks/north/vol1/pp405-409>; Chris Lloyd, 'The five Northallerton MPs from the same family who amassed a huge fortune in the slave trade', *The Northern Echo*, at <https://www.thenorthernecho.co.uk/history/18556251.five-northallerton-mps-family-amassed-huge-fortune-slave-trade/>

646 LBS entry for 'Robert Haynes junior (1795-1873)' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/6635>

647 Charlton *Hidden Chains*, Chapters 11 and 12; *North-East Slavery & Abolition Group ENewsletter*, No. 5 (February 2009), available at <http://www.tyneandweararchives.org.uk/pdf/NESAG-Newsletter-5.pdf>

the Newcastle architect, John Dobson. It is likely that Barbados sugar money provided the funds, as profits from sugar were still figuring in the family accounts in the 1850s.⁶⁴⁸

Chillingham was owned by Charles Bennet, Earl of Tankerville, owner of the 'Orchard Estate' in Jamaica and shares in his deceased brother's Virginia and possibly Maryland plantations. Some of these resources may have been used on the extensive Chillingham estates in north Northumberland.⁶⁴⁹ Bennet also resided at **Mount Felix** in Surrey (now demolished), a house with many connections to slavery.⁶⁵⁰

The Hylton/Hilton family of **Hylton Castle** in Sunderland had various connections to the Caribbean. Sir John Hylton made major alterations to the house in the 1700s, redesigning the interior and adding large Italianate windows. The Hylton Castle Project is a community-led project to re-open the Castle to the public.⁶⁵¹

Captain Thomas King, with many ties to the Atlantic slave economy, played an influential role in the life of the Jacksons, yeomen and landowners in **Lackenby** in Cleveland.⁶⁵²

The **Matfen Estate** near Ryal is associated with the Blackett family and with Benjamin Stead, who married Patience Wise Blackett, daughter of John Erasmus Blackett. His father left him extensive rice and sugar plantations in South Carolina and Georgia.⁶⁵³

Rock Hall was brought into the Bosanquet family by marriage of Charlotte Holford to the West India merchant Charles Bosanquet. The house was badly damaged by fire in 1752 but was restored around 1820 by Bosanquet when architect John Dobson created a new south front.⁶⁵⁴

648 Charlton, *Hidden Chains*, p. 136; <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/brinkburn-priory/>

649 Charlton, *Hidden Chains*, p. 136; 'The Greys and the Bennets', The Chillingham Wild Cattle Association, <https://chillinghamwildcattle.com/history/greys/>

650 *Lost Heritage: England's lost country houses* entry for 'Mount Felix' at http://www.lostheritage.org.uk/houses/lh_surrey_mountfelix.html

651 Tamsin Lilley, 'Remembering Slavery: Sunderland's links to the trans-Atlantic slave trade' (2008), available at http://collectionsprojects.org.uk/slavery/_files/research-zone/Sunderland_slinkstothe-trans-atlanticslavetrade.pdf; <https://hyltoncastle.org.uk/visit/history>

652 Alice Barrigan, 'John Jackson and his uncle, Captain Thomas King (1748-1824)', *North Yorkshire History*, at <https://northyorkshirehistory.blogspot.com/2013/02/john-jackson-and-his-uncle-captain.html>

653 Charlton, *Hidden Chains*, Chapter 12; 'Blackett Family History', Matfen Estates, at <https://www.matfenestates.com/history/>

654 LBS entry for 'Charles Bosanquet' at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146630296>

Rokeby Park in Teesdale, County Durham was constructed between 1725 and 1730 by Sir Thomas Robinson. In the 1740s he was Governor of Barbados.⁶⁵⁵

Wallington Hall (NT) has connections to the West (and East) Indies through the Blackett and Trevelyan families. The Hall was home to the Blackett family from the late seventeenth century, with a family fortune made from Jamaican rum. It was later home to the Trevelyan family. In 1757 John, 4th Bart., married Luisa Simond (the daughter of Peter Simond, a Grenada sugar plantation owner) whilst his sister wed a Barbados planter. By 1820 the Trevelyan family were partners in seven Grenada plantations. In the large entrance hall of Wallington Hall are cabinets which contain a collection of ceramics, most brought to Wallington in 1791 as part of the dowry of Maria Wilson, daughter of a London banker and East India trader, who married Sir John Trevelyan, 5th Bart.⁶⁵⁶

Yorkshire and the North-East: the historic Black presence

The historic Black presence in Yorkshire and the North-East has been investigated by several archival research projects.⁶⁵⁷

A gravestone to Fisher Murray (d. 1821) in Elvington Churchyard near York commemorates Fisher, originally from Madeira, a servant in the family of Thomas Cheap for 60 years until his death in 1821.⁶⁵⁸

In **Leeds**, Joe Williams of Heritage Corner runs an African history trail around the central campus site of Leeds University.⁶⁵⁹ **Pablo Fanque** (born William Darby) (1810 – 1871) was a circus performer and the first Black English circus owner. He became famous in Victorian Britain for his extraordinary shows, primarily in Yorkshire and Lancashire, but the circus also travelled to Scotland, Ireland and other parts of England. His funeral in Leeds was a spectacular occasion and he is buried with a memorial stone in Woodhouse Cemetery at St George's field, now within the campus of Leeds University. Fanque was born in Norwich, where his life

655 *North-East Slavery & Abolition Group ENewsletter*, No. 7 (September 2009), available at <http://www.tyneandweararchives.org.uk/pdf/NESAG-Newsletter-7.pdf>; 'History', Rokeby Park, <http://www.rokebypark.com/history/>

656 Charlton, *Hidden Chains*, Chapter 15

657 'Hidden History'; 'The Abolition of the Slave Trade'; 'William Wilberforce, Slavery and the East Riding'; 'From Africa – Baht'at'

658 'William Wilberforce, Slavery and the East Riding'

659 <https://heritagecornerleeds.wixsite.com/heritage-corner/about>

is celebrated in a huge poetry wall in the style of a Victorian circus poster, created in university student accommodation called Pablo Fanque House by the poet Ira Lightman. A plaque was erected to him by Discover Norwich.⁶⁶⁰

In 2009, the Black British artist Simeon Barclay created a performance piece based on Henry 'Box' Brown's abolitionist activity in the 1850s. Barclay re-enacted Brown's Leeds performance where he emerged from a box and made an anti-slavery speech, as a way to reinsert Brown into the region's historical memory.⁶⁶¹

In **Yorkshire**, the lives of Black men and women who lived in or visited Yorkshire were explored by the Diasporian Stories Research Group in the publication *From Africa - Baht 'at: African Heritage in Yorkshire* (2007).⁶⁶² The *Hidden History of the Dales* (2007) was a collaboration between the Dales Countryside Museum and North Yorkshire Record Office, researching people and places of the Yorkshire Dales connected with Africa, the Caribbean and India. For example, William Place of Spennithorne was a planter in Jamaica. His son was born in 1823 to an enslaved mother on his Greencastle Estate. He was freed and came to England in 1835, inheriting his father's property in 1844.⁶⁶³

The study of people of African descent in Yorkshire has continued since 2013 with the research project *African Stories in Hull & East Yorkshire*. Their exhibition *Our Histories Revealed* toured East Yorkshire in 2017.⁶⁶⁴ Three Black servants lived and worked in Boynton during the eighteenth century, including Peter Horsfield, a footman to Sir George Stickland.⁶⁶⁵

660 'Black and Asian Performers in Britain 1800-1899', Victoria & Albert Museum, at <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/b/black-and-asian-performance-in-britain-1800-1899/>; Dan Grimmer, 'New city poetry wall celebrates the Norwich circus owner who inspired The Beatles', *Eastern Daily Press*, at <https://www.edp24.co.uk/edp-property/poetry-wall-celebrates-pablo-fanque-norwich-circus-owner-who-inspired-the-beatles-1-5697483>

661 Alan Rice, 'Henry Box Brown, African Atlantic Artists and Radical Interventions' in Bernier and Durkin (eds), *Visualising Slavery*, pp. 104-118.

662 <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/996>

663 'Hidden History of the Dales' (2007) by Dales Countryside Museum, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/495>. See also Audrey Dewjee, 'The Real Black Heathcliffs – and Heathers', *Black and Asian Studies Newsletter* #62 (March 2012), available at <http://www.blackandasianstudies.org/newsletter/basa62.pdf>

664 <https://www.africansinyorkshireproject.com/>. The site includes a table of servants present in country houses in the East Yorkshire and Hull areas, taken from English census data (<https://www.africansinyorkshireproject.com/black-servants.html>)

665 Adrian Green, Richard Marriott & Tim Schadla-Hall, *The Social and Archaeological History of a Yorkshire Country House: Boynton Hall, East Riding* (forthcoming)

People of African descent examined by the North-East Slavery and Abolition group included Black boxers in the North-East, and an investigation into a bust of a Black man carved by Francis Harwood and owned for a time by the Dukes of Northumberland, perhaps representing Psyche, their Black servant.⁶⁶⁶

666 *North-East Slavery & Abolition Group ENewsletter*, No. 4 (November 2008), available at <http://www.tyneandweararchives.org.uk/pdf/NESAG-Newsletter-4.pdf> and No. 6 (July 2009) available at <http://www.tyneandweararchives.org.uk/pdf/NESAG-Newsletter-6.pdf>; Cyra Levenson and Chi-ming Yang, 'Haptic Blackness: The Double Life of an 18th-century Bust', *British Art Studies*, at <https://www.britishartstudies.ac.uk/issues/issue-index/issue-1/bust-of-a-man>

6 UNIVERSITIES AND CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS: ADDRESSING PHILANTHROPIC LEGACIES

Debates about the impact of Atlantic slavery on British society – and as a consequence, the built environment – have broadened out to consider how slave-derived wealth has fed into educational and cultural institutions. A recognition of endowment from the profits of the Atlantic slave economy has emerged from some UK universities and other institutions, a reminder of the uncomfortable historical connections between philanthropy and wealth associated with slavery. A number of English universities have recently been addressing the most appropriate ways to acknowledge, in Nick Draper’s words, ‘histories of entanglement with British colonial slavery’.⁶⁶⁷ This includes not only an investigation of founders and benefactors but also universities and their students as slave owners.

For example, **King’s College London**, founded in 1828 as an Anglican response to the ‘godless London University’ (now University College London) has links to slavery in the list of donors and subscribers, including John Gladstone (a major slave-owner in British Guiana), John Bolton (the Liverpool slave-owner and slave-trader), and the alderman and MP John Atkins (slave-owner in Jamaica).⁶⁶⁸ There are linkages to slavery in the early building of the **University of Liverpool** through, amongst others, S. A. Thompson Yates and his family connections to slave-ownership and a banking business founded on financing transatlantic slavery.⁶⁶⁹

Universities are seeking ways to acknowledge this significance through research, interpretation and debate, including around the issue of reparations. The chair of governors of the University of East London, Geoff Thompson, has said that universities in the UK which benefitted in previous centuries from transatlantic slavery should contribute to a £100 million fund to support BAME students.⁶⁷⁰

In 2019 the **University of Bristol** appointed Professor Olivette Otele as the first professor of the history of slavery, working with academics, students and communities in Bristol in a citywide effort to help the university and city learn more about its connections with slavery. This includes looking at the money trail of the university, and how some founder members had families that made their fortunes through the transatlantic slave economy.⁶⁷¹

667 Draper, ‘British universities’. This is part of a movement which includes many North American universities, and the University of Glasgow, which announced in 2019 that it benefitted from donations amounting to the equivalent of tens of millions of pounds from individuals whose wealth was generated by slavery.

668 Draper, ‘British universities’, pp. 95-97; see talk by Professor Richard Drayton, ‘King’s College London and Reparations for Slavery’, at <https://www.kcl.ac.uk/events/kings-college-london-and-reparations-for-slavery>

669 Draper, ‘British universities’, pp. 97-99

670 Sean Coughlan, ‘London university calls for £100m slavery reparation’ (2018), *BBC News*, at <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-45979234>

671 ‘Making History: Interview with Professor Olivette Otele’ (2020), *The Bristol Magazine*, <https://thebristolmag.co.uk/making-history-interview-with-lecturer-olivette-otele/>

The **University of Cambridge** Advisory Group on Legacies of Enslavement published its interim report in early 2020, with a starting point that Cambridge benefitted directly and indirectly from enslavement, the slave trade and imperialism more broadly. Colleges such as Jesus College, King's and Saint Catharine's have carried out student-led research into connections.⁶⁷² The Demerara Bell at St Catharine's College was removed over its likely connections to slavery.⁶⁷³

The **University of Nottingham** and **Nottingham Trent University** are collaborating on a research project exploring their historical connections with transatlantic slavery, and how the universities benefitted from British colonial slavery.⁶⁷⁴

Oxford has an active research community dedicated to exploring the university's connections with colonial history including the Rhodes Must Fall campaigns to remove the statue of colonialist Cecil Rhodes. 'Uncomfortable Oxford' and 'Common Ground' also address these colonial histories.⁶⁷⁵ One of the university's clearest connections to the Atlantic slave economy is the Codrington Library at All Souls College, named after Christopher Codrington. Born in Barbados in 1668, his father was captain-general of the Leeward Islands and one of the wealthiest planters in Barbados. Codrington was educated at Christ Church College before becoming a Fellow of All Souls. He embarked on a military career in Europe before replacing his father in the Caribbean as governor-general. When he died he bequeathed his book collection (12,000 volumes) to the college and a legacy of £10,000 to be spent on a library.⁶⁷⁶ A plaque outside the library remembers 'those who worked in slavery on the Codrington Plantations in the West Indies'.

The LBS project has identified almost 400 slave-owners matriculating at Oxford or Cambridge in the period 1763-1834: more research is required as to their contributions to the fees of their college and any other endowments.⁶⁷⁷

Addressing these difficult legacies also applies to museum collections where patrons have associations with the transatlantic slavery economy.⁶⁷⁸

672 University of Cambridge Advisory Group on Legacies of Enslavement initial report, available at <https://www.v-c.admin.cam.ac.uk/projects/legacies-of-enslavement/initial-report>

673 'Cambridge University college bell removed over slavery link', *BBC News*, at <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-cambridgeshire-48202399>

674 <https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/isos/news/new-study-universities-transatlantic-slavery-connection.aspx>

675 <https://rmfoxford.wordpress.com/about/>; <https://www.uncomfortableoxford.co.uk/>; <https://commonground-oxford.com/>

676 'The Codrington Library: Library Architecture', All Souls College, at <https://www.asc.ox.ac.uk/library-architecture>

677 Draper, 'British universities', p. 105.

678 See LBS, 'Cultural Legacies', at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/cultural/>. More broadly this also speaks to calls for the decolonisation of museums as spaces of interest and employment. See, for example, the work of the *Museum Detox* network: <https://www.museumdetox.org/>

The **Natural History Museum** has explored how it was founded within the context of empire, colonisation and exploration, and the connections between the transatlantic slave trade and its history.⁶⁷⁹ This has involved excavating the stories of unknown people of colour whose important contributions to natural history and science have been neglected or overwritten.⁶⁸⁰

In 2019 **Tate Galleries** took steps to acknowledge the industrialist and philanthropist Henry Tate's associations with slavery, in collaboration with the LBS project. While neither Henry Tate nor Abram Lyle were owners of sugar plantations the two firms founded by them (which later combined as Tate & Lyle) do connect to slavery in less direct ways. After the end of Britain's own slave-economy, Britain's sugar continued to come mainly from the Caribbean and South America, estates established under slavery and perhaps worked by indentured labour. Furthermore, Tate's collection includes items given by or associated with individuals who were slave owners or whose wealth came from slavery – for example, Sir Joshua Reynolds's *The Banished Lord* was presented by Rev. William Long.⁶⁸¹

In 2007, a group of young men from the ORIGIN Rites of Passage Programme in Brixton produced the documentary *In Search of Henry Tate* about Tate's legacy (including his physical legacy in a bronze bust in Windrush Square, Brixton) and the tensions inherent in his acts of generosity being funded by wealth derived from sugar production.⁶⁸²

In 2020 the **National Portrait Gallery** advertised for a doctoral researcher to investigate the links with historical transatlantic slavery, and in particular, the impact of wealth derived from slavery on its founders, donors and sitters represented in its portraits.⁶⁸³

The V&A commissioned *A Series of Unfortunate Inheritances* in 2018, five short films by V&A Research Institute Artist in Residence Victoria Adukwei Bulley who, supported by the research of Dr Hannah Young of the LBS project, explored the links

679 'Slavery and the Natural World' (2007) highlighted the connections between the museum's history and collections and the transatlantic slave trade, see <https://www.nhm.ac.uk/discover/slavery-and-the-natural-world.html>

680 S. Das and M. Lowe, 'Nature Read in Black and White: decolonial approaches to interpreting natural history collections', *Journal of Natural Science Collections*, Volume 6, (2018), pp. 4-14, available at <https://www.natsca.org/article/2509>

681 'The Tate Galleries and Slavery' (2019), at <https://www.tate.org.uk/about-us/history-tate/tate-galleries-and-slavery>

682 'In Search of Henry Tate' (2007) by ORIGIN Rites of Passage, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/543>

683 <https://www.npg.org.uk/about/jobs/ahrc-collaborative-doctoral-studentship>. Follows on from the *Portraits, People & Abolition* project in 2007: <https://www.npg.org.uk/learning/digital/history/abolition-of-slavery/>

between British slave-ownership and the development of the V&A.⁶⁸⁴ In 2007, the museum's *Uncomfortable Truths* project commissioned new works and explored the permanent collections through themes such as the consumption of slave-produced goods and Black servants in British homes.⁶⁸⁵

684 See <https://www.vam.ac.uk/event/9aBBkyad/ldf-2018-a-series-of-unfortunate-inheritances> and 'Unfortunate Inheritances: On Getting Started, by VARI Artist-in-Residence Victoria Adukwei Bulley' (2018), at <https://www.vam.ac.uk/blog/projects/unfortunate-inheritances-on-getting-started-by-vari-artist-in-residence-victoria-adukwei-bulley>

685 'Uncomfortable Truths' (2007) by the Victoria & Albert Museum, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/770>

7 ABOLITIONISM AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

While there are many buildings associated with the anti-slavery movement, these were not built specifically for abolitionists, nor used by them exclusively. For example, Exeter Hall was for several decades the primary London venue for abolitionist meetings. Demolished in 1907, the Strand Palace Hotel now stands on the site.

Some country houses had links to abolition via their use as informal meeting places for abolitionists. For example, Rothley Temple in Leicestershire, home of Thomas Babington, was regularly used as a meeting place for William Wilberforce and other members of the London Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. This link was marked by a project by the local history society in 2007.⁶⁸⁶ The 'Wilberforce Oak' is in the gardens of Holwood House in Keston, under which a conversation between William Pitt and William Wilberforce took place in 1787 to set in motion the abolitionist campaign in parliament.⁶⁸⁷

In memorials, abolitionists leave a much richer legacy on the built environment. The impact of Black anti-slavery activists on the built environment has been noted in earlier sections. The commemoration of the campaign against first, the slave trade, and then slavery has found expression in a number of permanent structures. Several were erected by subscription, to commemorate abolitionists in the towns with which they were associated. The following list groups these memorials and sites regionally, but with some crossover.⁶⁸⁸

London and the South-East

In London, the most prominent evangelical Christian anti-slave-trade group lived around **Clapham Common**. The 'Clapham Sect' had among its membership William Wilberforce, Henry Thornton, Zachary Macaulay and the Rev. John Venn. Through their connections to the Sierra Leone Company in the late eighteenth century this group was central to the establishment of the British colony of Sierra Leone in West Africa in 1808.

Members of the Clapham Sect worshipped at **Holy Trinity Church** where a Greater London Council plaque commemorates their work against slavery. The interior of the church features stained glass windows depicting members of the

686 'Rothley and the Abolition of the Slave Trade' by Rothley History Society, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/558>

687 'Bromley's Hidden History' by London Borough of Bromley, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/37>

688 Many of these memorials are detailed in 'Sites of Memory', and on the Historic England 'The Slave Trade and Abolition' web pages at <https://historicengland.org.uk/research/inclusive-heritage/the-slave-trade-and-abolition/sites-of-memory/ending-slavery/>

Clapham Sect interacting with saints. Thornton and Venn family memorials are also located about the building. Wilberforce lived in Broomfield House on the west side of Clapham Common (a Blue Plaque marks the site).⁶⁸⁹

Zachary Macaulay is buried at **St George's Gardens** in Camden. His home at No.5 The Pavement is marked by a Blue Plaque. Abolitionist and author Granville Sharp has a memorial in the churchyard at **All Saints Church**, Fulham, where he is buried. Sharp helped bring the case of James Somerset before Lord Mansfield in 1772 and many former slaves appealed to Sharp for legal support.⁶⁹⁰ There are monuments to abolitionists in **Westminster Abbey**, including Thomas Fowell Buxton, Granville Sharp and William Wilberforce.

Thomas Fowell Buxton founded, with Wilberforce, the Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery in 1823. In 1839 he established the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and the Civilisation of Africa. The **Buxton Memorial Fountain** in London's Victoria Gardens was erected in 1865-6 to mark the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833. A plaque on the Friends' Meeting House in **Norwich** commemorates his life.⁶⁹¹

A bronze **statue of Charles James Fox**, dating from 1814, stands at the north end of **Bloomsbury Square** in Camden. Fox played an important role in securing the passage of the 1807 Act abolishing the slave trade.

Quaker meeting houses throughout the country were frequently used as organisational centres for abolitionists; the Society of Friends has extensive records detailing their involvement.⁶⁹² The founder of the Quakers, George Fox, often visited Richard Chare of **Winchmore Hill** in Enfield, where he attended meetings and stayed with Edward and Elizabeth Mann at nearby Fords Grove. Meetings were held in a barn known as Thacker's Yard off Winchmore Hill Green. Meeting houses were constructed there in 1688 and 1790. Amongst those buried at the Burial ground at Winchmore Hill who were involved in the abolition of the slave trade are Samuel Hoare Jnr, Joseph Woods, David Barclay and John Fothergill.⁶⁹³

The Cowper and Newton Museum in Olney (Buckinghamshire) was once home to the poet William Cowper. The Reverend John Newton (d. 1807) was Cowper's great friend and he is buried in Olney. In his youth Newton worked on and commanded merchant ships including those carrying enslaved people. He became a convert to evangelical Christianity and was ordained as a minister of the Church

689 Martin, 'Clapham'

690 'Remembering Slavery in Hammersmith and Fulham'

691 'Restoration of the Buxton Memorial Fountain' (2007) by The Royal Parks, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/560>

692 'Quakers and the path to abolition in Britain and the colonies' (2007) by Quakers in Britain, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/398>

693 'Enfield and the Transatlantic Slave Trade'; 'Winchmore Hill Quakers' at <http://www.winchmorehillquakers.org.uk/>

of England. In later life he was an active abolitionist, famous for writing the hymn *Amazing Grace*. The museum's exhibition *From Slave Trade to Fair Trade* involved a reinterpretation of its collections relating to slavery and abolition. A wall tablet at **St Mary Woolnoth** in the City of London commemorates Newton.⁶⁹⁴

Memorials to naval officers involved in the suppression of the transatlantic slave trade in the nineteenth century have been erected in churches across the country.⁶⁹⁵ For example, a memorial on the sea front at Southsea in **Portsmouth** commemorates the officers and men of HMS *Trident* who died of yellow fever at Sierra Leone in 1859. A wall tablet at St Ann's Church in the Naval Dockyard, Portsmouth commemorates casualties from the Royal Navy and Royal Marines sustained during the British bombardment of Lagos in 1851, undertaken as part of the naval suppression campaign.⁶⁹⁶

The South-West

A number of Methodist sites across the country are connected to abolition, such as **John Wesley's Chapel and New Room Museum** in **Bristol**, housed in the rooms originally constructed in 1748 to accommodate the Wesleys and early Methodist preachers. **John Wesley's house** in London was built by Wesley in 1799.⁶⁹⁷

Britain's oldest anti-slavery memorial is a triumphal classical archway at the entrance to the carriage drive of a private house on the Paganhill estate in **Stroud**. The archway was built in 1834 by the anti-slavery campaigner Henry Wyatt at the entrance of his home to celebrate the passing of the Emancipation Act of 1833.⁶⁹⁸

Midlands and East of England

Thomas Clarkson was a leading abolitionist who wrote many books and pamphlets about the transatlantic slave trade, and travelled the country investigating the conditions on slave ships in the main trading ports of England. Clarkson has memorials in Wisbech (Cambridgeshire), where he was born, and Playford (Suffolk), where he died. The neo-Gothic monument in central **Wisbech** erected in 1880 commemorates Clarkson, whose standing figure is joined by portraits of William

694 Leanne Munroe, 'Making Museum Narratives of Slavery and Anti-Slavery in Olney' in Donington, Hanley and Moody (eds), *Britain's History and Memory*; 'John Newton – Early Life & the Slave Trade', Cowper & Newton Museum, <https://cowperandnewtonmuseum.org.uk/john-newton-room/>; *Maritime Memorials*, <https://memorials.rmg.co.uk/m5693-2/>

695 Many memorials commemorating individuals involved in the Royal Navy's suppression campaign feature on the *Maritime Memorials* database under the category 'Slavery'.

696 <https://memorials.rmg.co.uk/m6355/>; <https://memorials.rmg.co.uk/m5011/>

697 <https://www.newroombristol.org.uk/>; <https://www.wesleysheritage.org.uk/john-wesleys-house/>

698 'Anti-Slavery Arch' (2007) by Stroud Preservation Trust, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/502>

Wilberforce and Granville Sharp. The cost of the memorial was met by subscriptions from residents of Wisbech, with other contributions. **Peckover House** in Wisbech was home to the Quakers Jonathan and Susanna Peckover. They were close friends with Clarkson and founded the Wisbech and Fenland Museum, which has in recent years hosted several exhibitions and initiatives focusing on the abolitionist.⁶⁹⁹

The monument to Clarkson at the **Church of St Mary** in **Playford** is a granite obelisk of 1857 designed by George Biddell Airy, Astronomer Royal.⁷⁰⁰ There is also a roadside obelisk at **High Cross Hill** in Thunbridge (Hertfordshire), erected in 1879 to mark where his lifelong commitment to the cause began.⁷⁰¹ A Bristol Radical History Group commemorative plaque at the **Seven Stars pub** in Redcliffe, Bristol commemorates Thomas Clarkson and the Bristol sailors who provided him with evidence of the horrors of the slave trade in 1787.⁷⁰²

Joseph Sturge was influential in the campaign against the apprenticeship system post-1833 after travelling the West Indies gathering evidence of how the system was little different from slavery. In 1840 he organised the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London. A statue of Sturge was erected in 1862 in **Birmingham** in front of Tube Investment House at Five Ways. On the statue, a figure of Charity kneels at Sturge's feet comforting an African child.⁷⁰³

The Baptist minister and social reformer, **Reverend Thomas Swan** (1795-1857) is remembered by a Birmingham Civic Society plaque. Swan arrived in **Birmingham** in 1828 and was a vocal member of the Birmingham Anti-Slavery Society.⁷⁰⁴

Part of **Kettering's** coat of arms features a Black man with a broken chain dangling from his wrist, symbolising the work of the **Reverend William Knibb**, who campaigned against slavery in Jamaica. A plaque to Knibb has been erected by Kettering Civic Society.⁷⁰⁵

699 Thomas Clarkson was remembered in 'A Giant with One Idea' exhibition at Wisbech and Fenland Museum in 2007 (see <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/574>) and in further initiatives at the museum: <https://www.wisbechmuseum.org.uk/clarkson/index.php>; 'The Peckovers of Wisbech', The National Trust, at <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/peckover-house-and-garden/features/the-peckovers-of-wisbech>

700 NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1030509>

701 'Hertfordshire's Hidden Histories'

702 Designed by Mike Baker of the local history group Living Easton (see <https://www.brh.org.uk/site/event-series/the-seven-stars-plaque-project/>); Mark Steeds, *Cry Freedom, Cry Seven Stars: Thomas Clarkson in Bristol, 1787* (Bristol Radical Pamphleteer #1, 2010)

703 NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1076324>

704 The Birmingham Civic Society, 'Reverend Thomas Swan (1795-1857), Baptist Minister and Social Reformer', at <https://www.birminghamcivicsociety.org.uk/reverend-thomas-swam-1795-1857-baptist-minister-and-social-reformer/>

705 '1807-2007: End of Slavery?' (2007) at Manor House Museum, Kettering, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/2004>

North-West

William Roscoe (1753-1831) was MP for Liverpool in 1806-7. He founded the Liverpool branch of the Anti-Slavery Society and campaigned in parliament to ban the slave trade. A statue to him stands in St George's Hall in **Liverpool** and there is also a memorial to him in the Roscoe Memorial Gardens.⁷⁰⁶

In **Manchester**, the **Abraham Lincoln statue** raised in 1919 commemorates the transatlantic struggle against slavery. The statue has built into it writing that describes the sacrifices made by the Lancashire cotton workers during the cotton famine to help the struggle of the Union against the Confederacy during the American Civil War (1861-65).⁷⁰⁷

Yorkshire and the North-East

The leader of the parliamentary campaign to abolish the slave trade, William Wilberforce, is remembered in Hull (where he was born) with a statue in front of **Wilberforce House Museum** (his former home). **Wilberforce Monument** in the city centre, an early use of the commemorative column in England, was erected by public subscription in 1834-5.⁷⁰⁸ Wilberforce and his family have a rich history in the East Riding of Yorkshire, which was commemorated in 2007. Wilberforce attended **Pocklington School**, where there is a statue of him as a school boy.⁷⁰⁹ In **Burton Agnes church** there is a carving of Wilberforce placed there by his second son Robert Isaac Wilberforce who was vicar of Burton Agnes, 1840-54, and Archdeacon of the East Riding.⁷¹⁰ Wilberforce also has a heritage plaque dedicated to him in Great Pulteney Street in **Bath**, where he and his family were frequent visitors.⁷¹¹

A statue of **James Montgomery** stands in **Sheffield**. Montgomery was a journalist and poet who wrote the abolitionist poem *The West Indies* in 1809.⁷¹²

706 Westgaph, *Read the Signs*

707 'Abraham Lincoln', *Revealing Histories: Remembering Slavery*, at <http://www.revealinghistories.org.uk/the-american-civil-war-and-the-lancashire-cotton-famine/objects/abraham-lincoln.html>

708 Oldfield, *Chords of Freedom*

709 'Wilberforce 2007' by Hull City Council, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/523>; 'William Wilberforce Memorial 2007' at Pocklington School, available at R1807, <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/538>

710 'William Wilberforce, Slavery and the East Riding'

711 'William Wilberforce: married in Bath and a frequent visitor to the city' (2016), *Bath and the Slave Trade*, <https://slaverybathhistory.wordpress.com/2016/02/22/william-wilberforce-married-in-bath-and-a-frequent-visitor-to-the-city/>

712 'James Montgomery and "The West Indies"', at http://www.bbc.co.uk/southyorkshire/content/articles/2007/02/14/abolition_james_montgomery__feature.shtml

The Leeds-born businessman **Richard Oastler** is remembered in a statue outside **Bradford**'s Oastler Centre. Oastler was an abolitionist and a leading figure in the nineteenth-century campaign to end child slavery in the factories and mills of Yorkshire.⁷¹³

Travelling Quaker speaker **John Woolman** came to England from New Jersey in 1772 to gain support from English Quakers. A memorial plaque on Littlegarth in **York** marks where he stayed and later died.⁷¹⁴

A statue of **Joseph Pease** was erected in 1875 in High Row, **Darlington**, to commemorate Pease as a railway promoter, the first Quaker MP, and as an anti-slavery advocate. The relief panels illustrate aspects of Pease's public life: one represents slaves celebrating their emancipation.⁷¹⁵

James Field Stanfield was the first ordinary seaman involved in the slave trade to write about its horrors in *Observations on a Guinea Voyage* (1788). He wrote other abolitionist poems and observations. During his time living in **Sunderland**, he was the principal founder of the town's Subscription Library in 1795, which was also to house the Sunderland Subscription Museum from 1810. A plaque was erected in 2008 on Boddlewell House in Sunderland on the site of his house to commemorate his life.⁷¹⁶

A memorial to **Charles Grey**, Earl Grey (1764-1845) was erected in the centre of **Newcastle** on Grey Street in 1838. Grey was responsible for seeing the Abolition Act of 1807 through Parliament. In 1833, as Prime Minister, Earl Grey led the government in enacting the law to abolish slavery in the Caribbean. A plaque in **Nelson Street** records the visit to Newcastle of the founder of the American Anti-Slavery Society, William Lloyd Garrison.⁷¹⁷

713 John A. Hargreaves and E.A. Hilary Haigh (eds), *Slavery in Yorkshire: Richard Oastler and the campaign against child labour in the Industrial Revolution* (University of Huddersfield, 2012)

714 'Sites of Memory'

715 NHLE entry at <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1322930>

716 Lilley, 'Sunderland'. In 2007 historian Neil Sinclair gave a guided walk of Sunderland to highlight the buildings Stanfield had connections with.

717 'The Roots Initiative'

8 SUMMARY AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The scholarship, public history and creative projects of the last three decades noted in this summary and the accompanying bibliography reveal how the Atlantic slave economy has left an indelible impact on England's built environment. The array of associations and connections that have been identified support the conclusion that wealth generated by the business of slavery inhabits buildings, industrial heritage, landscapes and public spaces across England. There is so much more to be unearthed. Many of the links identified in the research listed here have only scratched the surface, and for each connection flagged there are many more still to be discovered. Some specific suggestions for areas of future research are noted below.

Very broadly, while the built environment is inherently tangible, slavery connections can be elusive. Relatively few individuals generated wealth solely through trading in enslaved people or plantation-owning, or other direct associations with the Atlantic slave economy. The construction of public buildings or grand residences was funded by individuals who invariably had a multifarious range of business and economic interests. Furthermore, as noted by Madge Dresser, the complexities of inheritance and marriage in English society in this period ensures 'a genealogical maze of bewildering complexity' for researchers attempting to illuminate this history to navigate.⁷¹⁸

Going forward, a joined-up approach between professional and independent historians is key to connecting different spaces within this story. While excellent scholarship has hugely advanced our understanding of this history, there is much research done at a local level that is not distributed more widely. This applies to genealogy, house history, garden history, local and industrial history and community investigations into the historic local Black presence. The 'unpicking' of the bundle of connections - between different industries and local economies, between the coming together of families, between urban and rural spaces - requires different areas of historical research working alongside each other.

This report has shown that specialist community and local knowledge is incredibly valuable to unlocking parts of the puzzle, offering different expertise to illuminate connections that may have eluded academics. For example, this is particularly the case with local archive collections, where the cataloguing of the collection may offer no indication of the nuggets of information held within. The wealth of information unearthed (often by volunteers) in archival projects in 2007 is testament to this. At the same time, academic scholarship can set local material in a broader national and global context. Inclusivity and collaborative working are therefore essential, to ensure that academics and those working outside the academy can ask different questions and learn from one another, bringing together material in new ways that challenge accepted narratives.

718 Dresser, 'Slavery', p. 29

A systematic effort to preserve past and current research efforts around the impact of the Atlantic slave economy on England's built environment is key. The work to archive the commemorative projects of 2007 revealed how much of the research in this area is in danger of being lost, as the work of smaller heritage or community projects can often be ephemeral in nature such as 'pop-up' exhibitions or one-off performances.⁷¹⁹ Many heritage projects have a website or digital resource as an output, but maintenance of such sites after funding has ended and project teams have disbanded is a big issue in preserving work and materials for the future. Furthermore, many heritage organisations either move or archive relevant pages in the reorganisation of their online presence, meaning that links referenced in other works are no longer active and accessible.

While preservation is important, so too is how we remember this history and communicate different threads of understanding to a wider public in the future. This includes engagement with established researchers, but also local communities and new audiences. The public memory of transatlantic slavery and interpretation of this history in heritage sites is at the centre of this effort. As some excellent case studies in this report have shown, explorations of how these histories have been remembered (and misremembered) by individuals and institutions over time in the built environment can help with the process of reparative history – and inform the way properties and other heritage sites interpret these histories as responsive to the needs of diverse audiences.

As far as possible, past and future research needs to be open and accessible to all. The development of datasets and mapping of archives, images and activities has opened up countless new avenues for research. The LBS project is ground-breaking in this regard. The way that researchers use this data is also changing. As this summary has shown, to write a blog or online post sharing specialist knowledge has become a commonplace way of opening up this history. Academic publishing too is becoming more accessible. Future projects must consider access for all, especially in approaches to issues like copyright and open licensing.

Some suggestions for future research:

- Focusing on a particular property, place or family and establishing the development of slavery associations through time can provide inroads to discovery of hidden histories connecting various sites and Atlantic slavery.⁷²⁰
- That said, rather than viewing a property or building in isolation, an investigation into the broader social and political networks of family and business connections, colonial investments and government appointments in which the acquisition, renovation or construction of properties are embedded will help with identifying regional and nationwide patterns to connections

719 John Oldfield and Mary Wills, 'Remembering 1807: Lessons from the Archives', *History Workshop Journal* (Forthcoming 2020)

720 See, for example, the recent episode of *A House through Time* (2020) focusing on Guinea Street in Bristol.

with Atlantic slavery in built heritage. This is particularly the case when an individual or family have a number of different interests and properties in different regions.

- The LBS project has provided an invaluable dataset of individuals with slavery-related wealth, and the building blocks for research to connect these individuals to England's built heritage. Identifying earlier slavery connections in the built heritage from the 1600s onwards requires, as many researchers have already begun, investigations of other groupings of individuals with slavery associations. For example: shareholders and investors in the Royal Africa Company, the South Sea Company or the Virginia Company in the seventeenth century, or individuals who sat on the Committee of West India Merchants in the eighteenth century.⁷²¹ As family networks are so important, collections in the US and the Caribbean are also useful for assessing family trees and correspondence linking the colonies to English-based families with slaving connections.⁷²²
- Further investigations are needed into house owners who made their monies in earlier centuries and then sold off their holdings or who made their monies without being plantation owners, for example, aristocratic families embedded in the military and administrative life of the slave colonies. For example, James Drax bought up land and properties in England in the mid-seventeenth century, including in Lincolnshire, Coventry, Kent and Yorkshire – the impact of his enormous wealth on these areas is not yet fully researched.⁷²³
- This report has flagged ongoing research into connections between transatlantic slavery and the built environment of the ports of London, Bristol, Liverpool and Lancaster, and also other English cities such as Manchester and Newcastle. Connections in smaller towns appear more piecemeal. As this report has revealed, the impact of the business of slavery was felt across all English regions, so more research would be welcome on tracing this impact on other urban centres.
- Identifying the money trail in local development is key: how the wealth of a family with connections to the transatlantic slavery economy was invested in the built environment of the local area in housing, civic society organisations, churches, village halls, farms, shooting lodges, hotels etc. Many English churches are the burial sites of local families with slavery connections. What donations did they receive? This local focus should also include research into the input of slaving money into local communication and transport routes.

721 For example, Ewen, 'Women Investors'

722 *Virginia Heritage: Guides to Manuscript & Archival Collections in Virginia*, at <http://ead.lib.virginia.edu/vivaxtf/search?smode=simple>; *Jamaican Family Search* at <http://www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/>

723 Parker, *Sugar Barons*, p. 116.

- How much slavery wealth was invested locally, and how much was invested elsewhere?
- On a national scale, the connections between Atlantic slavery and the transportation infrastructure, which spanned turnpikes, canals, ports and docks and railways. As Nick Draper writes, as local elites with funds to spend, slave-owners undoubtedly played a role as investors and managers.⁷²⁴
- Research into other regional industries with connections to the transatlantic slave economy. Salt, for example, for export, or imported from the Bermudan saltpans worked by enslaved people.⁷²⁵ Other metals have connections, such as lead, providing shot for muskets and pistols. Besides mahogany, what other woods and building products were imported from the West Indies or Africa? What other luxury goods were destined for West Indian plantation houses?
- More research is required into endowments from slave-related wealth found in schools and universities, museums, theatres and other public buildings built during the time of transatlantic slavery. This is particularly the case with public schools where ‘West Indian’ families sent their children and may have also contributed financial and cultural resources.
- The links between tourism and the wealth of the elite with slavery associations. Are there associations in other Georgian spa towns, such as Harrogate, Tunbridge Wells, Cheltenham Spa or Buxton?
- How far slavery connections are obscured in the 300 registered historic public parks on the National Heritage List for England, via philanthropy or positioning on land formerly owned by individuals with slavery associations.⁷²⁶
- Further research into the interconnections between the Livery Companies in the City of London and the business of slavery.

724 Draper, ‘Slavery and Britain’s infrastructure’

725 ‘Turk Islands Salt’, Turks and Caicos Museum, at <https://www.tcmuseum.org/culture-history/slavery/bermudans-the-salt-industry/the-salt-industry-begins/>

726 Katy Layton-Jones, ‘The Enduring Benefit of a Victorian Legacy’, at <https://historicengland.org.uk/whats-new/debate/recent/public-parks/the-victorian-legacy/>



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