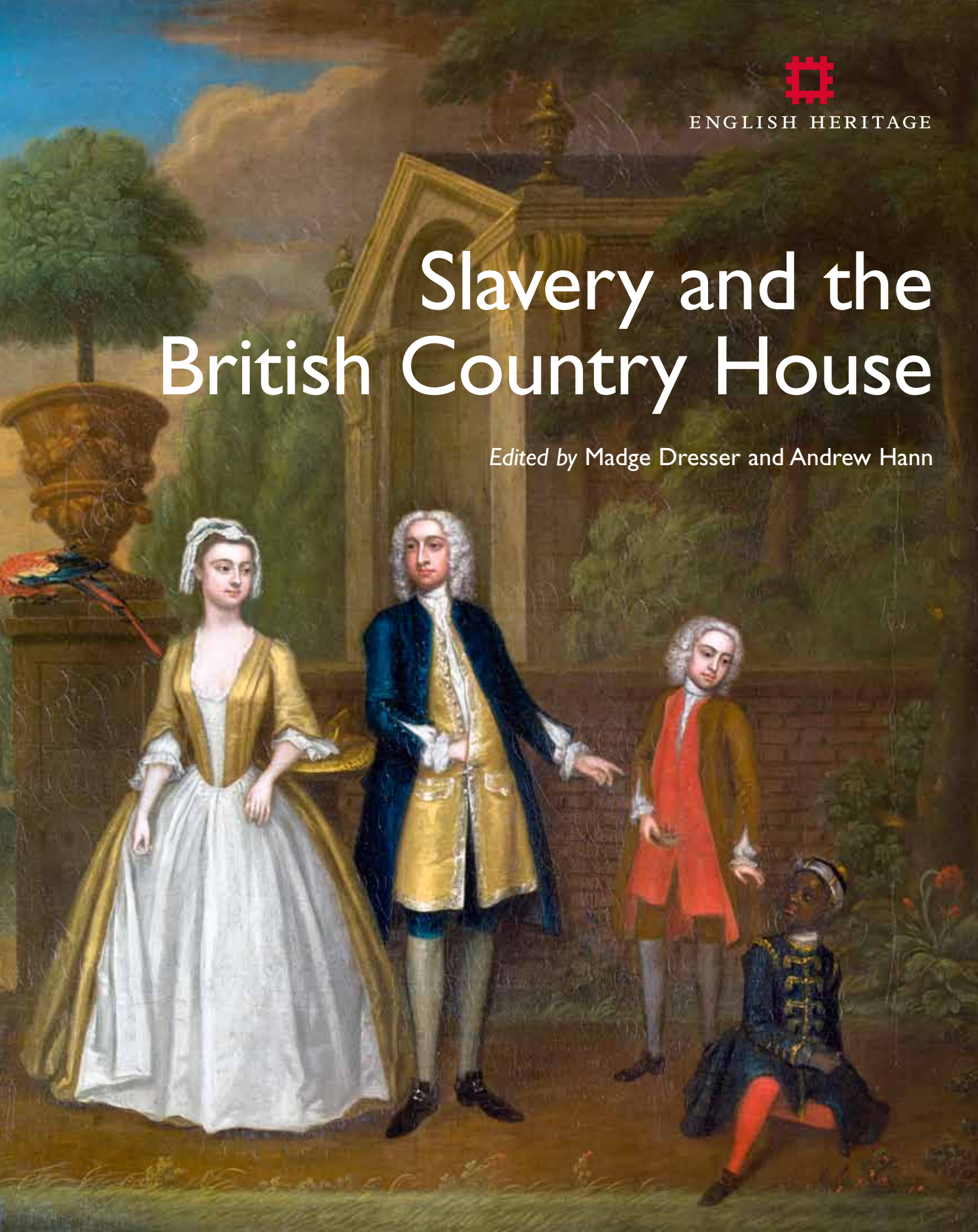

ENGLISH HERITAGE

Slavery and the British Country House

Edited by Madge Dresser and Andrew Hann

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Contents

Foreword

There are few things more emblematic of England's heritage than the great country houses which grace our landscape. However, such properties are not to be viewed simply as objects of architectural and curatorial or artistic interest. They are also expressions of wealth, power and privilege, and as new questions are being asked of England's historic role in the Atlantic world, and in particular about slavery, new connections are being unearthed between the nation's great houses and its colonial past.

In 2007 English Heritage commissioned initial research by Miranda Kaufmann into links with transatlantic slavery or its abolition among families who owned properties now in its care. This was part of the commitment by English Heritage to commemorate the bicentenary of the abolition of the British transatlantic slave trade with work that would make a real difference to our understanding of the historic environment in the longer term. This scoping report surveyed 33 properties and found 26 which had some connection to slavery or abolition, and so stimulated many interesting questions for further research. As a result, more detailed surveys of four sites (Bolsover Castle [Derbyshire], Brodsworth Hall [South Yorkshire], Marble Hill [Twickenham, London] and Northington Grange [Hampshire]) were commissioned in 2008.

Their findings and those of other scholars and heritage practitioners were presented at the 'Slavery and the British Country House' conference at the London School of Ecomonics in 2009, which English Heritage co-organised with the University of the West of England and the National Trust. This conference brought together academics, heritage professionals, country house owners and community researchers from across Britain to explore how country houses might be reconsidered in the light of their slavery linkages and how such links have been and might be presented to visitors.

Since then the conference papers have been updated and reworked into a cutting-edge volume which represents the most current and comprehensive consideration of slavery and the British country house as yet undertaken. English Heritage is proud to be publishing work on which historians, educators and heritage professionals can all build to develop new understandings of this challenging and important part of our national story.

Baroness Andrews
Chair, English Heritage

List of Contributors

Caroline Bressey graduated from the University of Cambridge with BA Honours in Geography in 1997. In 1998 she joined the University College London Geography department as postgraduate student and was awarded her PhD 'Forgotten Geographies: Historical Geographies of Black Women in Victorian and Edwardian London' in 2003. For the following four years she researched the Black Presence in Victorian Britain and the role of the anti-racist community as an Economic and Social Research Council postdoctoral student and research fellow. In 2007 she became a lecturer in human geography and founded the Equiano Centre to support research into the Black Presence in Britain. For the bicentenary she contributed to the new gallery 'London, Sugar and Slavery' at the Museum of London Docklands and also wrote the gallery trail 'Portraits, People and Abolition' for the National Portrait Gallery, London.

Laurence Brown is Lecturer in Migration History at the University of Manchester. Having completed his doctorate at the University of York in 1999, he has taught at the University of the West Indies (Barbados), the American University of Paris and the Australian National University. He has written widely on the history of the Eastern Caribbean, particularly on migration and collective memory. He is currently finishing two projects exploring migrations in the Caribbean during slavery and freedom, and post-1940 Caribbean immigration to Manchester.

Nick Draper is a member of the team of historians at University College London (UCL) working on the Structure and Significance of British Slave-ownership 1763–1833 project, and was a Research Associate in the Legacies of British Slave-ownership project, also at UCL. His publications include 'The rise of a new planter class? Some countercurrents from British Guiana and Trinidad 1807–33' (*Atlantic Studies* 2012), *The Price of Emancipation* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), '"Possessing slaves": ownership, compensation and metropolitan society in Britain at the time of Emancipation, 1834–1840' (*History Workshop Journal* 2007) and 'The City of London and slavery: evidence from the first docks companies' (*Economic History Review* 2008). He acted as consultant to the Museum of London Docklands' Slavers of Harley Street exhibition in 2008–9. Prior to academia, he worked for 25 years in the City.

Madge Dresser is Associate Professor of History at the University of the West of England in Bristol. Her published works include her monograph *Slavery Obscured*, a *Social History of the Slave Trade in Bristol* (Continuum, 2001 reprinted Redcliffe Press, 2007), 'Statues and Slavery in London' in *History Workshop Journal* (2007) and 'Slavery and popular memory in Bristol' in the journal *Slavery and Abolition* (2009). She has also acted as historical consultant and advisor to slavery exhibitions at the British Empire & Commonwealth Museum and the Bristol Museum Service, the Economic and Social Research Council Legacies of British Slave-ownership project at UCL and numerous slavery websites and public history projects. She is currently writing a book on links between slave-owning families in Britain and Colonial America for the History Press.

Sheryllynne Haggerty is Associate Professor in Early Modern History in the Department of History, University of Nottingham and received her PhD in 2002 from the University of Liverpool. Her research interests include the business culture and trading communities of the British Atlantic in the 18th century, including the role of women. Her first monograph, *The British-Atlantic Trading Community 1760–1810: Men, Women, and the Distribution of Goods* (Brill Press, 2006) explored the relationship between the trading communities of Liverpool and Philadelphia. Her second, *'Merely for Money'? Business Culture in the British Atlantic 1750–1815* (Liverpool University Press, 2012) is an interdisciplinary study looking at the importance of business culture to Britain's economic success

in the Atlantic world. She has been published in *Business History, Explorations in Economic History, International Journal of Maritime History and Enterprise & Society*. Sheryllynne is also a Council Member of the Association of Business Historians, and of the British Commission for Maritime History, and is on the editorial board of *Essays in Economic and Business History*.

Andrew Hann is Properties Historians' Team Leader at English Heritage with particular responsibility for researching and writing about the country houses in their care. Before joining English Heritage in 2007 he worked for a number of years as an academic. His research interests centre on the history of retailing, consumption and material culture.

Roger H Leech is a graduate of the Universities of Cambridge and of Bristol. He was the first Director of the Cumbria and Lancashire Archaeological Unit in the University of Lancaster (1979–84), moving then to the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (now merged with English Heritage), first as Head of the former Ordnance Survey Archaeology Division and then as Head of Archaeology. He has been President of both the Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology and the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, and is now Visiting Professor of Archaeology in the University of Southampton. His work on Bristol includes the first two volumes of an intended series on the topography of the city published by the Bristol Record Society and a study of Bristol town houses to be published by English Heritage in association with the City of Bristol. His work in the Eastern Caribbean has been linked to the University of Southampton's Nevis Heritage Project, funded in part by the British Academy, and also to the St Kitts and Nevis Digital Archaeology Initiative undertaken in collaboration with the Digital Archaeological Archive for Comparative Slavery at Monticello and the University of Virginia funded by JISC and the National Endowment for the Humanities, with publications to date in the monograph series of the Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology, *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* and the *Barbados Museum and History Journal*.

Jane Longmore is Professor of Urban History and Deputy Vice-Chancellor of Southampton Solent University. Her research interests focus mainly on north-west England in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Her recent publications include 'Civic Liverpool: 1680–1800' in J Belchem (ed.) *Liverpool 800* (Liverpool University Press, 2006) and 'Cemented by the blood of a negro'? The impact of the slave trade on eighteenth-century Liverpool' in D Richardson, A Tibbles and S Schwarz (eds) *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery* (Liverpool University Press, 2007). She has a longstanding interest in the teaching of history in universities and currently chairs the national History Forum of the Higher Education Academy.

Rob Mitchell, a founding member of Firstborn Creatives in Bristol, is a Creative Media Producer who works across print, audio-visual and digital media in the television, community, arts and public sectors. He has produced programmes for ITV, BBC and Channel 4, and was Creative Director for the 'me deya' exhibition at the British Empire & Commonwealth Museum in 2007. His body of work shows a particular interest in learning, community creativity and personal development. He was the first Chair of the Bristol Black Archives Partnership (BBAP) and former Chair of Black Pyramid Film & Video project, Rob Mitchell is also a poet and media consultant.

Cliff Pereira is a widely published writer, historical geographer, curator and community facilitator. One of two world authorities on the Bombay Africans, a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society (with Institute of British Geographers [IBG]), former chair of the Black and Asian Studies Association (BASA) and long time member of the Anglo-Portuguese Society. He has been a consultant to the Mayors Commission on African and Asian Heritage and the Heritage Lottery Fund. His publications include *The View from Shooters Hill – the Hidden Black and Asian History of Bexley* (BACCA, 2008), 'Nineteenth century European references to the African Diaspora in the Arabian Peninsula' in

Uncovering the History of Africans in Asia (Brill Press, 2008), 'The Bombay Africans and the Freretown Settlement' in *TADIA The African Diaspora in Asia* (2008), 'Les Africains de Bombay et la colonie de Freretown' (*Cahiers des Anneaux de la Memoire*, 2006) and 'Black Liberators: The Role of Africans and Arabs sailors in the Royal Navy within the Indian Ocean 1841–1941' (UNESCO, 2007).

Victoria Perry is an architect and historian. She is Senior Historic Building Advisor at the conservation practice Donald Insall Associates, London, and a teaching fellow at the Bartlett School of Architecture, University College London. Her PhD dissertation 'Slavery, sugar and the sublime: the Atlantic World and British architecture, art and landscape 1740–1840' won the Royal Institute of British Architects President's award for outstanding research in 2010. She contributed to the *Oxford Companion to Black British History* (Oxford University Press, 2007) and is a member of the Association for Studies in the Conservation of Historic Buildings (ASCHB) where she was on the organising committee for the 2013 conference Conservation and (Post) Colonialism. In 1995 she wrote *Built for a Better Future* (White Cockade Publishers) a monograph about the Brynmawr Rubber factory (an icon of post-war government funded regeneration in South Wales – listed Grade II* but subsequently demolished.) She has also taught at the University of Kingston and co-written and presented television programmes on architecture and history for BBC Wales.

Susanne Seymour, whose doctorate is from the University of Nottingham, is a cultural and historical geographer with interests in 18th-century landscapes and landed society in the Atlantic world. Her work involves the study of symbolic and material aspects of landed estates and plantations in England and the Caribbean. Key areas of focus are the study of parkland design and management in relation to colonial expansion and service (*see* Seymour and Calvocoressi, 2007 'Landscape parks and the memorialisation of empire', *Rural History*) and practices of Atlantic landscape 'improvement' and representation (*see* Seymour, Daniels and Watkins, 1998 'Estate and empire: Sir George Cornewall's management of Moccas, Herefordshire and La Taste, Grenada, 1771–1819', *Journal of Historical Geography*). Her current work focuses on networks of slavery in English landed society and the understanding of legacies of slavery and colonialism in rural Britain (funded by the Arts & Humanities Research Council's Connected Communities programme). She is Associate Professor in the School of Geography, University of Nottingham, UK.

Simon D Smith is Senior Tutor at Brasenose College Oxford. He is also the author of *Slavery, Family and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: the World of the Lascelles*, 1648–1834 (Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Shawn Sobers is a senior lecturer in Photography and Media at the University of the West of England. He is a filmmaker, writer, photographer and facilitator of community media and arts. His PhD explored the motivations, impacts and cultural sustainability of stakeholders' involvement in community media education, using ethnographic methodologies. In 1999 he co-founded Firstborn Creatives media production company with Rob Mitchell, and has directed documentaries for ITV, BBC and Channel 4, including two documentaries on the slave trade ('Under the Bridge', 2000, and 'Unfinished Business', 2007), 'Footsteps of the Emperor' (1999 – exploring Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie I's five-year stay in the city of Bath) and 'No Change?', 1998, which explored the problem of youth homelessness. Shawn's academic writing has included the pedagogic qualities of community media, and the use of online social networks in emergency situations.

Natalie Zacek received her PhD in 2000 from Johns Hopkins University, and is a lecturer in American Studies at the University of Manchester. Her monograph, *Settler Society in the English Leewards Islands*, 1670–1776 (Cambridge University Press, 2010) won the Royal Historical Society's Gladstone Prize, and she has published articles in journals such as *Slavery and Abolition*, the *Journal of Peasant Studies*, *Wadabagei* and *History Compass*, as well as in a number of edited collections. She is currently engaged in research on a new monograph on the social and cultural history of horse-racing in 19th-century America.

Nuala Zahedieh was educated at the London School of Economics, where she received her PhD in Economic History, and has taught Economic and Social History at the University of Edinburgh since 1989. Her research has focused on the British Atlantic economy in the 17th and 18th centuries with a particular interest in the impact of colonial expansion on British development. Her publications include *The Capital and the Colonies. London and the Atlantic Economy, 1660–1700* (Cambridge University Press, 2010) and numerous articles on Jamaica and the British Atlantic economy. She is currently working on an economic history of early English Jamaica.

Acknowledgements

1 Slave ownership and the British country house

Nicholas Draper

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2 Slavery and West Country houses

Madge Dresser

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3 Rural retreats

Jane Longmore

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4 Lodges, garden houses and villas

Roger H Leech

Much of the data utilised in this chapter has resulted from the Nevis Heritage Project, for which the author would again thank for support the British Academy, JISC, the University of Southampton, the Bristol Record Office, the Nevis Courthouse archives, the Nevis Historical and Conservation Society and the St Christopher National Trust. Individuals whom I would particularly like to thank for contributing to this chapter are Vince Hubbard for much support, Vicky O'Flaherty of the St Christopher Archives for much useful advice, Lorraine Lechner the owner of Olivees, James Milnes-Gaskell the owner of Wards, Bill Pinney the owner of Mountravers, Penny Copeland for the line drawings, and Pamela Leech for helping with some of the survey and commenting on the text in draft. Most of the surveys were undertaken as part of the Nevis Heritage Project: the help of Elaine Morris, Rob Philpott and students too numerous to name individually is gratefully acknowledged.

5 Slavery's heritage footprint

Simon D Smith

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6 An open elite?

Nuala Zahedieh

This paper was presented at a conference at the University of Glasgow and a seminar at Columbia University, New York, as well as the *Slavery and the Country House* conference from which this volume arose. I would like to thank the participants in these events for useful comments and suggestions. I would also like to thank the staff in the Lincolnshire Record Office for their help and the provision of a supportive research environment. Finally, I am grateful to English Heritage for help with the pictures and the editors of the volume for their valuable input.

7 Property, power and authority

Sheryllynne Haggerty and Susanne Seymour

We would like to acknowledge English Heritage for commissioning and funding the majority of the archival work on which this chapter draws and the School of Geography, University of Nottingham for support for archival and field research undertaken in Grenada. We would also like to thank staff at the following collections for their assistance in accessing archive material: the British Library; Grenada Land Registry, St George's, Grenada; Herefordshire County Record Office; Liverpool Record Office; the London Family History Centre; Manuscripts and Special Collections, University of Nottingham; the Merseyside Maritime Museum; Island Record Office, Kingston, Jamaica; the National Maritime Museum; Nottinghamshire Archives; the Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich; The National Archives; and the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Leeds. Our thanks are also due to Nick Draper for responding quickly and in full to queries relating to slave compensation claims from the University College London Encyclopaedia of British Slave-Owners database, to Caroline Carr-Whitworth for access to materials at Brodsworth Hall, to Andrew Hann for the supply of documents and to him and other English Heritage staff for helpful feedback on the commissioned reports. Finally, we are grateful to the editors for their constructive comments on the chapter.

8 Atlantic slavery and classical culture at Marble Hill and Northington Grange

Laurence Brown

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9 Slavery and the sublime

Victoria Perry

The ideas in this chapter were distilled during the completion of a PhD at the Bartlett School of Architecture, University College London and I would like to thank, in particular, Professor Adrian Forty, Professor Miles Ogborn and Dr Barbara Penner for their support and advice. A grant from the Royal Institute of British Architects helped to fund travels to visit buildings, landscapes and archives in Britain, while awards from the Bartlett and University College London enabled me to visit the West Indies and speak at a conference run by the University of Portsmouth and the Institute of Post-Mediaeval Archaeology. The University of Notre Dame, Indiana, USA and the University of Plymouth also funded conference presentations, while members of the Friends of the Society of Georgian Jamaica provided useful Caribbean contacts. In the UK, staff at the British Library were particularly helpful and enthusiastic – as too were the staff at the Museum of London Docklands, Lancaster Maritime Museum and Chepstow Museum. Finally, I would like to thank Madge Dresser, Melinda Elder, Paul Farrelly, Mark Fisher, Jonathan Gray, Douglas Hamilton, David Mackay, Andrew Mackillop, Eamonn O Ciardha and Paul Strathern for their help and advice.

10 West Indian echoes

Natalie Zacek

I would like to thank Madge Dresser and Andrew Hann for all of their work on this project.

11 Contesting the political legacy of slavery in England's country houses

Caroline Bressey

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12 Representing the East and West India links to the British country house

Cliff Pereira

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13 Re:Interpretation

Rob Mitchell and Shawn Sobers

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Notes on Measurements

Imperial measurements are used throughout the text; please *see* the conversion table below for details of metric equivalents.

1ft = 304.8mm
1 yard = 0.914m
1 mile = 1.6km
1 acre = 0.4 hectares

Introduction

The British country house, that symbol of refinement, connoisseurship and civility, has long been regarded not only as the jewel in the nation's heritage crown, but as an iconic signifier of national identity.

It seems, then, at first sight tendentious to link such houses and the rural idyll they represent with the subject of slavery. Until recently, most studies of such properties took a 'connoisseurship' approach, focusing on their architectural features, the glories of their collections and the genealogies of the families who owned them. And while an increasing number of historians were interested in the wider significance of country houses, either with reference to the continuing influence of the landed elite in mainland Britain or its internal social history, it is only in the last 20 years that the relationship between landed wealth, British properties and enslaved African labour began to emerge.

Alaistair Hennesey's short piece on Penrhyn Castle, and James Walvin and Simon Smith's more substantive research project on Harewood House paved the way for further academic work in this field. Academic research takes time to feed through into the public domain, where such links had so often been either studiously ignored or actively repressed. When they were acknowledged at all in the heritage sector, it was usually done in a sanitised manner that rendered the connection a historical curiosity of little significance.

We could characterise these various responses as symptomatic of what might be termed the 'Mansfield Park complex'.[1] But such one which became increasingly untenable as the political and social landscape changed. Heritage policy from the 1980s was becoming more cognisant of the need to involve the British tax-paying public in the way heritage was defined and funded. That public was itself becoming more socially and ethnically diverse and began to include the descendants of those who had been colonised and enslaved. As the internet revolutionised historical research, old boundaries between the local and the global and the academic and the popular become increasingly blurred and pressures mounted in some quarters to reinterrogate old narratives. The bicentenary of the formal ending of the British slave trade in 2007 excited public debate on the legacy of Atlantic slavery and encouraged heritage bodies, especially those in receipt of public funding, to look anew at the history of the properties in their care.

This book grew out of a conference on 'Slavery and the British Country House: mapping the current research' which was held in November 2009 and organised by English Heritage in partnership with the University of the West of England and the National Trust (with assistance from the Economic History Society). The conference proved popular, immediately attracting a large and diverse audience of academics, heritage professionals, country house owners, community activists and independent researchers. It built on the efforts English Heritage had been making since 2007 to reconsider the ways in which its properties might be researched and represented.

This book, comprised of updated versions of the conference proceedings, asks two main questions. The first is: what links might be established between the wealth derived from slavery and the British country house? The second is: what implications should such links have for the way such properties are represented to the public today?

The contributions include two studies specially commissioned by English Heritage and one sponsored by the National Trust. The rest are by independent researchers including academic historians and geographers.

Four themes emerge from the papers contributed. The first is that wealth deriving from the trade in and labour of enslaved Africans did affect the erection, renovation and occupation of a significant number of Britain's stately homes between the 1660s and the 1820s, but that there is also a web of wider, more indirect slavery associations with such properties that also merit consideration.

The second theme is that both the merchants and the members of Britain's landed elite who were involved in the proliferation of country houses from the late 17th century (the latter to consolidate their status and the former to gain entry into that elite) increasingly utilised notions of gentility, sensibility and cultural refinement in part to distance themselves from their actual connections to the Atlantic slave economy.

A third theme is that the very aesthetics of the country house in the period covered here, as manifested in the classical motifs of their lavish interiors, the romantic styles of their landscaping and their amassing of erudite collections of art and furniture, though so often represented as being a world away from slavery interests, were in fact related and need to be understood as such.

The final theme explored has to do with how these links are variously presented to and interpreted by the different constituencies that make up the British public today. When considering the stories of those people associated with a particular property, curators make a judgement about whose stories are sufficiently significant to merit recounting and how they might best be told. It is one thing to make a reference to the fact that money financing a property was made from, say, a slave plantation, but a more individualised treatment of the evidence might convey a very different message. The identification of particular individuals of colour associated with that property might well have a particular resonance for those members of the public for whom a visit to an historic property might afford not merely a day out but an encounter with heartfelt questions of family history, identity and belonging. And that personalised connection has an impact beyond those who count themselves among the descendants of the enslaved and the colonised to reach into our very notions of who 'belongs' to Britain.

The methods and approaches of the contributors to this volume vary in scope as well as content. Nick Draper's chapter on 'Slave ownership and the British country house: the records of the Slave Compensation Commission as evidence' discusses a new database whose preliminary findings afford us a national overview of the proportion of slave owners who owned country houses on the British mainland in 1834. It thereby sets the scene for the subsequent chapters, which go on to address issues outside the database's chronological and thematic reach.

For example, the two regional studies of slavery-related country houses that follow deal with properties which, for reasons of chronology, might not necessarily be traceable through the above-mentioned database. Jane Longmore's 'Rural retreats: Liverpool slave traders and their country houses' identifies over 20 such houses in the Liverpool area that had been built by slave traders, plantation managers or merchants involved in slave-produced goods. The fact that most of these houses have since been demolished reminds us how easy it is to forget the impact that slavery originally had on a region's architectural heritage.

Madge Dresser's study of slavery and country houses in the West Country builds on her earlier study of Bristol to consider slavery-related properties in parts of Gloucestershire and Somerset. It argues that an eclectic study, based on place as well as family or individual buildings can help to establish the multi-layered connections between local merchant and gentry families and the profits and administration of the colonial slave economy.

Roger Leech's chapter 'Lodges, garden houses and villas: the urban periphery in the early modern Atlantic world' compares the second residences and villas of merchant and gentry owners in Bristol on the British mainland with some merchant and planter houses in the British Caribbean, most notably on Nevis and St Kitts. Utilising archaeological evidence on both sides of the Atlantic he considers the links 'between the housing cultures of British merchants and their Caribbean planter counterparts', their relationship to the profits derived from slavery and the 'Georgianisation' of selected planter houses.

It is no accident that the opening up of Britain's involvement in the Caribbean coincides with a particularly intensive phase of country house building. Nuala Zahedieh's chapter 'An open elite? Colonial commerce, the country house and the case of Sir Gilbert Heathcote and Normanton Hall' documents the history of that Rutland country house, arguing that a significant sample of those who made their fortunes out of the slave-based plantation system in the late 17th and early 18th centuries 'were active and enthusiastic purchasers, and even builders of country houses'.

Simon Smith's chapter adopts a Caribbean starting point to establish that over one-third of slave plantations on the island of St Vincent were at one point connected to 26 country houses on the British mainland. He goes on to query the significance of this relationship in his chapter 'Slavery's heritage footprint: links between British country houses and St Vincent plantations, 1814–34'.

The two specially commissioned studies funded by English Heritage for this volume focus on specific case studies of selected properties on the British mainland. 'Property, power and authority: the implicit and explicit slavery connections of Bolsover Castle and Brodsworth Hall in the 18th century' by Sheryllynne Haggerty and Susanne Seymour investigates the different ways in which the two properties named in the title relate to slavery. South Yorkshire's Brodsworth Hall exemplifies a straightforward instance of slavery's explicit connections with a British prestige property, although not a slave trader himself, Peter Thellusson invested in wide varieties of slavery-related commodities and land. By contrast, Bolsover Castle in Derbyshire, owned by the third Duke of Portland between 1762 and 1819, seems at first glance unrelated to slavery until one considers the longstanding and various roles the Duke played as Prime Minister, Secretary of Home Affairs, and more generally as a member of the landed elite in the protection and maintenance of Caribbean slave regimes.

Slavery and country house aesthetics may seem poles apart, but two of our contributors make the case that the two are intimately intertwined. Laurence Brown points out that the classical slavery-related motifs employed in the lavish interiors of Marble Hill in Twickenham and Northington Grange in Hampshire were not unrelated to the fact that both properties had financial ties to Atlantic slavery. Using the example of Piercefield estate on the banks of the River Wye near Chepstow, Victoria Perry's chapter considers how slavery wealth underpinned the aesthetics of romantic landscaping and 'scenic tourism' in late 18th-century Britain.

The final section of the book explores the links between history and heritage. Dodington house in Gloucestershire (now famously owned by James Dyson) was for centuries the home of the Codrington family, whose Caribbean sugar interests helped to consolidate their fortunes. After considering the career of Christopher Codrington (1668–1710) Natalie Zacek offers a critical look at the way in which Dodington House has 'in recent decades, emerged as an important site of popular memory for issues of slavery and its abolition within the British empire'.

Caroline Bressey's chapter contests the political legacy of slavery in England's country houses through a close examination of the way Kenwood in north London and Osborne House on the Isle of Wight have informed their visitors about their respective links to slavery and empire. Cliff Pereira's piece considers the impact community activism has made on the way the London Borough of

Bexley has presented the historic properties within its borders and the extent to which it has acknowledged its West Indian and East Indian links.

The volatile link between history and memory is considered by Shawn Sobers and Rob Mitchell in their record of a multimedia consultation exercise they undertook at the behest of the National Trust. It breaks new ground in its examination of how various marginalised community groups, including those of African-Caribbean origin, perceived Dyrham Park (Gloucestershire), Clevedon Court and Tyntesfield (both North Somerset). It considers, too, the ways in which those responsible for these properties have approached and might in future address the subject of slavery.

This volume, like the conference, is a work in progress. Its intention is to map current research, provoke debate and stimulate new approaches to the understanding and representation of our built heritage.

Madge Dresser and Andrew Hann
June 2013

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Slave ownership and the British country house: the records of the Slave Compensation Commission as evidence

Nicholas Draper

Introduction

Among the key challenges in tracing slavery's physical and cultural imprint on the British country house is the establishment of a systematic approach to screening the thousands of potentially relevant properties in order to identify priorities for further study. This chapter introduces one important source that offers the possibility of such an approach: the census of British colonial slave ownership embodied in the records of the Slave Compensation Commission.[1] Under the Slavery Abolition Act 1833 emancipating the enslaved in most of Britain's colonies, the British state agreed to pay £20 million compensation to slave owners and other beneficiaries of slavery such as mortgagees and annuitants who had financial claims secured on the enslaved.[2] The administrative process established to distribute this money provides a unique opportunity to identify every owner in Britain holding 'slave property' in the colonies at the time the slave system ended. There are at least three applications for the resulting data. First, known owners or occupiers of country houses can be matched with known slave owners at the time of emancipation. Second, the Slave Compensation Records themselves provide information on the addresses in Britain of some (although by no means all) of the absentee slave owners, among them numbers of country house owners. Finally, the records capture those in Britain receiving large sums of compensation money in the 1830s, raising the possibility of identifying cases in which this influx of liquidity may have funded or partly funded the building of new country houses or the rebuilding of old.

In addition to outlining the source and its potential uses, illustrated by examples from owners of the enslaved on Antigua, this chapter highlights limitations to the compensation data of which users will need to be aware. It ends by discussing some conceptual and methodological challenges which face historians collectively in tackling the legacies of slavery as these are specifically expressed in the British country house.

The full records of the Slave Compensation Commission significantly extend the data previously available in the Parliamentary return made in response to Daniel O'Connell's request for details of those receiving slave compensation and published in the 1837–8 Parliamentary Papers.[3] That list, organised by colony and for Jamaica by parish, includes the date of the award, the unique number of the claim by colony or parish, the name of the recipient, the amount of compensation and the number of enslaved for which the award was made; it also distinguishes between uncontested awards, contested awards (where two or more rival individuals laid claim to the compensation) and awards which were paid into existing lawsuits in the Court of Chancery in Britain or in the colonial courts.

The Parliamentary Papers list, however, omits three pieces of information that are critical to an analysis of how slave ownership permeated metropolitan Britain. First, it does not include the name of the estate for which the award was made – a critical part of relating knowledge about ownership to knowledge about the enslaved and often, of course, highly suggestive of linkages between places

in Britain and the slave economy. For example, the Meldrum and Craigston estates on Carriacou, one of the Grenadines, had been bought in the 1770s and renamed by two branches of the Urquhart family of Meldrum and Craigston in north-east Scotland. It was the Urquharts who received slave compensation for the Carriacou estates in the 1830s. Craigston Castle, outside Turriff in Aberdeenshire, is still owned by the family.[4]

Second, the Parliamentary Papers list itself carries no indication of whether the recipient of an award was resident in the colonies or an absentee resident in Britain: the Urquharts appear alongside Creole slave owners in the Grenadines who never set foot in Britain. Finally, the list does not record the capacity in which the recipient was awarded compensation. This is a critical omission. 'Slave property' was subject to the same techniques of transmission that characterised landed property in Britain – entail, marriage settlements, annuities – as well as to a range of financing instruments such as mortgages. As a result the Parliamentary Papers list contains an undifferentiated mass of trustees, executors and creditors, as well as owners themselves, each in a different relationship to the enslaved (and hence to the slave compensation) underpinning the whole structure (Fig 1.1).

Two of these missing pieces of information – the estate and the capacity of the awardee – have now been incorporated into the database from the underlying records of the Slave Compensation Commission, which include correspondence between the Commission and claimants, the background to contested claims, the names of unsuccessful claimants and (in the Registers of Claims) most of the names of estates tied to awards of compensation. The third missing piece, residence (and hence identity) has been pieced together for the awards over £500 from some limited indications in the Commission records supplemented by extensive work on secondary and genealogical sources.[5] In addition, although the list in the Parliamentary Papers captures more than 90 per cent of all the awards eventually made, it does not by definition include the thousand or so awards (including some of the larger and more complex awards) made later in the compensation process, after the Parliamentary Papers list was compiled in early 1838.

The full compensation database therefore now includes both information and individuals not present in the Parliamentary Papers. For example, Edward Gregory Morant Gale, whose family name is embedded in the history of Jamaica and the wider history of colonial slavery at Morant Bay, whose own name is engraved also on the Chapel of the University of West Indies at Mona, and who was associated with at least three British country houses (the National Trust's Upton House near Edge Hill, Warwickshire, Upham House in Upham, Hampshire, and Brockenhurst House in West Lyndhurst, Hampshire) does not appear in the Parliamentary Papers, although he was certainly a slave owner.[6] The underlying records show that he in fact claimed the compensation for 732 enslaved on the Mount Hindmost, Gale's Valley, York and Crawle estates and the St Jago and Paisley pens in Jamaica, but in each case lost out to other members of the family who held a mortgage or other prior claim over the estates.[7] Again, the slave-owning family of the Earl of Dudley, for whom Witley Court (now an English Heritage site) was purchased in 1837, does not appear in the Parliamentary Papers: instead, the underlying records demonstrate that a group led by the Bishop of Exeter, shown in the Parliamentary Papers to have been awarded the compensation for 665 enslaved in Jamaica, were in fact trustees of the Earl of Dudley.[8]

Some limitations of the Slave Compensation records

Rich as the Slave Compensation Commission records are, they have two important limitations as a basis for comprehensive mapping of slavery on to the British country house. First, the records are about slave ownership and other financial claims to 'slave property' and therefore cannot provide more than a partial account of linkages to slavery. English Heritage has deployed a 12-point

programme of sites' linkages to slavery or abolition (developed with Madge Dresser) designed to capture the concentric circles of involvement in the slave economy, from slave ownership and the presence of servants of African descent at the centre, to links with holders of colonial office and with abolitionists.[9] Of these 12, the slave ownership records capture comprehensively only two (being a colonial proprietor and marrying an heiress to a slave estate if she brought the estate into the marriage with or without a marriage settlement); they identify systematically a third (investing in slave-produced goods) only where the merchant had a credit relationship with the slave owners secured on the estate and the enslaved people upon it.[10] But the records can offer no help on the other linkages defined by English Heritage: on holders of colonial office, for example, unless they were slave owners too (as many became, of course, until the metropolitan authorities discouraged them from the mid-1820s onwards); or on investors in slave ships, unless again these investors or their descendants became slave owners. The compensation records only very rarely provide clues to the presence of African servants, and they are colour-blind as to slave owners who were themselves descendants of white slave owners and women of African origin. Nathaniel Wells, perhaps the best-known such case, appears in the records as the recipient of slave compensation on the Fahies and Astons estates on St Kitts, but is not identified in the records as a man of colour. Wells was the son of the St Kitts slave owner William Wells and an enslaved African woman known as Juggy. Nathaniel Wells came to England, married the daughter of King George II's chaplain and bought Piercefield estate in Monmouthshire in 1802 for £90,000. He was Sheriff of Monmouthshire in 1818 and subsequently served as deputy lieutenant of the county.[11] It is not possible from the records to establish whether he was unique or representative of a broader group of absentee slave owners of such heritage.

The second limitation flows from the periodisation of the compensation records. These capture slave owners and other beneficiaries only at one point in time, at the end of slavery. It is striking how longstanding the rhythms of slave ownership often were: the records pick up many families that first established ownership in the early 18th century or even the late 17th century. But there is of course a dark figure, of families who shifted wealth out of the slave economy entirely by the 1830s. The Heathcotes of Normanton Hall, Rutland (whom Nuala Zahedieh discusses in her chapter in this volume) are one example of such a family, as are the Thellussons of Brodsworth, South Yorkshire (whom Susanne Seymour and Sheryllynne Haggerty discuss in their chapter). There are people in the Slave Compensation Records connected (if remotely) to both of them. The slave owner Langford Lovell, who received compensation in Antigua, married the daughter of Sir William Heathcote, the third baronet in the other Heathcote baronetcy descended from the same brothers as the Heathcotes of Normanton. Lovell was living in the 1830s at the home of his wife's family, Hursley House in Hampshire, which the first baronet had built. Arthur Thellusson, the son of Lord Rendlesham and grandson of Peter Thellusson who had bought the original Brodsworth Hall estate in 1790, married the daughter of another Antigua slave owner, Sir Christopher Bethell-Codrington. But the Heathcotes and the Thellussons themselves do not appear in the records directly. In the case of the Heathcotes, whose merchant fortune was accumulated in the early 18th century, their absence might be expected, but the Thellussons had been slave owners in Grenada and Montserrat as late as 1820.

National elites in the Slave Compensation records

With these two limitations acknowledged, some preliminary results of the analysis of this corpus of material on slave owners can be tabled. The analysis suggests that 5 to 10 per cent of the national elites in Britain were close enough to slavery to appear in the Slave Compensation records. This proportion is fairly constant across the peerage, the baronetcy, sheriffs and MPs in the Commons between 1820 and 1833. For example, of the 616 members of the English, Scottish and Irish

peerages, 37 (or 6 per cent) were involved in the compensation process, 25 beneficially and the rest as trustees or executors to family and friends. Again, of 904 active baronetcies, 73 individual title-holders appear in the Slave Compensation Records, of whom 54 were beneficially interested, representing 6 and 8 per cent of the universe, respectively.[12]

These numbers are national totals within which there were significant local and regional concentrations. Although merchants with slave-owning interests were by 1833 a small minority in London (some 150 individuals or firms from the many thousands of merchants active in the City) they were disproportionately wealthy and therefore influential. One-quarter of the directors of the Bank of England in the years before emancipation appear in the Slave Compensation Records.[13] Liverpool's local oligarchy predictably also shows a concentration of slave owners. Over one-quarter (some 11 of 41) of the members of Common Council in 1833 received slave compensation.[14] Work on the geographical analysis of the rentier slave owners is still underway but preliminary results indicate that the south-eastern, southern and south-western counties of England are over-represented, as is the North-West. Scotland as a whole is very significantly over-represented among the slave owners, while the West and East Midlands, Wales and the North-East are under-represented and East Anglia appears to be in line with national averages.

Hence across Britain as a whole, the slave-compensation data suggest that in the 1830s 5 to 10 per cent of all British country houses would be expected to have been occupied by slave owners and that in some localities and even some regions the figure would be much higher. What is not yet available is a dynamic picture, one that captures movement of people both within a generation and across generations: not every family resembled the Harewoods of Harewood House, West Yorkshire, as a single-site family. In order to identify both specific linkages with slave ownership and patterns of movement of such linkages over time, there are two approaches to bringing the slave ownership data together with the country house. One is to start with the properties and work forwards, as the initial study by English Heritage did. The second is to start with the slave owners and work backwards (as Simon Smith does in his chapter about the St Vincent absentees, in this volume). The two approaches are complementary, and combining the two could greatly accelerate our collective cataloguing of the legacies of slavery in the built heritage.

The Slave Compensation records and the country house: a case study from Antigua

As an example of how the Slave Compensation Records can feed into the study of the country house, the slave compensation data for Antigua have been combined with a desk-top review of country houses associated with individuals appearing in the Register of Claims for Antigua. There were 1,027 awards in total for the island, of which 151 were for £500 or more; 120 of these were to absentees in Britain. As noted above, the Slave Compensation Commission records do not consistently give addresses for awardees of compensation. In general, there is at most a designation of 'England' or 'Great Britain' for absentee owners, but if there is either correspondence with the Commissioners by a slave owner or a contested claim (ie a formal dispute about who should receive the compensation) then an address may well appear in the records. In the case of Antigua, some three dozen country houses are readily identifiable with slave owners or other beneficiaries of slave compensation (*see* the Appendix). The list includes well-known sites of slave ownership such as Dodington Park in Gloucestershire, the family home of the Codringtons (discussed by Natalie Zacek in her chapter in this volume) as well as major houses such as the National Trust's property at Greys' Court in Oxfordshire belonging to the family of the Stapleton baronets of the Leeward Islands, and Brentry House in Gloucestershire, built by Humphrey Repton in 1802 and owned by John Cave in the 1830s. But interrogating the database in this way also throws up further sites for investigation,

such as Farley Hall in Berkshire, the current home of Viscount Bearsted but in the 1830s occupied by John Proctor Anderdon, a connoisseur, collector and recipient of slave compensation; another example is Stocks in Hertfordshire, one of several houses owned by James Adam Gordon and the famously louche site of part of the Playboy organisation in the 1970s. There is a clear preponderance of southern English addresses in the sample, reflecting what we believe to be the wider pattern of rentier ownership by absentee owners with no direct involvement in the mercantile aspects of trade in tropical produce, but also perhaps reflecting regional networks in Britain specific to what Sheridan called the 'rise of a colonial gentry' in Antigua.[15]

Methodological issues

Thus the compensation material can efficiently identify for further investigation sites that are by definition linked to slavery. The records cannot define the whole terrain, for the reasons given above on periodisation, but can map out a very substantial landscape within it. What the records do not do, of course, is analyse those links, and the remaining part of this chapter raises a number of conceptual and methodological issues in framing the analysis of the sites once identified. These issues certainly bear on the work of the Legacies of British Slave-ownership project but are also relevant to the wider collective endeavour on slavery and the British country house.

The first question is a simple one of scope: does the phrase 'the British country house' include Irish country houses too? There are no papers in this volume dealing with Irish houses. But the Irish elites were part of the numerator and denominator in the figures provided earlier, of the 5 to 10 per cent rule of thumb for the elites. A few hundred of the successful or unsuccessful claimants across the colonies as a whole were resident in Ireland, where a number had landed estates. Sir Harcourt Lees, for example, the Protestant Ascendancy pamphleteer of Black Rock House Co Dublin, wrote to the Commissioners to intercede on behalf of the family of his younger brother William Eden Lees, who was absent from Ireland but had a claim on Heldens in St Kitts.[16] Andrew Henry Lynch, the Irish Catholic MP with family estates at Galway including Lynch's Castle and Lydican (or Lydacan) was a mortgagee on the Pembroke estate in Tobago.[17] Edward Hoare (later fourth Baronet of Annabella, Cork) claimed compensation for the enslaved on three estates having married Harriet Barrit of a slave-owning family in Jamaica.[18] Hyacinth George Burke of Killimor Castle, Loughrea, wrote to the Commissioners in March 1834 under the impression that the compensation had been distributed, and again in December 1836, when he confirmed that he had received what he thought was the first instalment of his compensation from the £15 million loan floated by Rothschilds and wanted to know when to expect the second instalment.[19] He owned 43 enslaved on the Retreat estate in St Thomas-in-the-East. Charles McGarel, a native of Larne in County Antrim, left his slave-derived fortune to his brother-in-law James MacNaughten Hogg in 1876 on condition that Hogg changed his name (which he duly did): one of James MacNaughten McGarel Hogg's first acts after Charles McGarel's death was to build a new house, Magheramorne House, on the estate he inherited near Larne and which had been bought by McGarel in 1842.

Nevertheless, despite these and other examples, given the size of the Irish population (it was one-quarter of the combined total for the United Kingdom in 1841), and the size of the Irish elites, the proportion of slave owners appears lower than that of England and certainly lower than in Scotland. The Legacies of British Slave-ownership project intends to complete its work on the Irish slave owners, but will have to be realistic about its ability to trace their impact on the development of modern Ireland in the same way as the project aspires to do for the impact of British slave owners on the formation of modern Britain.

A second issue embedded in the notion of 'the British country house' is of course the question as to what constitutes a country house. Should the category include, for example, The Cedars, the house built in Wells by the Tudway family, long-term slave owners in Antigua that is now part of Wells Cathedral School? Despite the suburban connotations of its name, the house stood in extensive grounds and gardens: however it was built within the boundaries of a town and did not represent an estate. Again, Gunnersbury Lodge in West London, extensively remodelled by the London West Indian merchant Thomas Boddington after he bought it in the 1840s, did not fit the mould of a country estate, but nor was it a townhouse.[20] Clarifying the criteria would allow the establishment of boundaries for projects devoted to the linkages of such houses with slavery.

Beyond questions of geographic scope and category boundaries, there are other more far-reaching issues faced by all scholars working in this area. The compensation records can help to identify linkages between slavery and specific people, and hence between slavery and specific sites. But what is the significance of those linkages? In other chapters in this volume, this question of significance has been worked through in the course of assessment of specific sites. But, even working together, the historical community does not have the resources to build case studies on every slave owner or every country house: it is impossible. So it is necessary to get beyond what Christopher Leslie Brown called the game of 'gotcha', of simply establishing a slave linkage, to providing a framework for evaluating that linkage sufficiently to determine whether more resources should be invested in investigating it further. Sometimes that decision is made for the historian: the owners or trustees mobilise resources as with English Heritage or the Harewood House Trust. But scholars cannot depend on that mechanism and those resources for thousands of people and thousands of properties.

There is a second reason for poring over this issue of significance: the risk of tarring a property with the 'slave taint' if we treat all connections as equivalent. Simon Smith and James Walvin have made an evidence-based case for Harewood House as the expression of the slave economy, but this will not be true of many sites that we can link in some way with slave ownership. Linkages may be only tenuous, and even those members of British elites who appear in the Slave Compensation Records were not necessarily uniformly steeped in slave ownership. Unless academic historians and independent scholars can differentiate between different levels of intimacy of specific houses with slavery, and are willing to do so, it is not legitimate to expect the wider audience to do our work for us.

Accordingly, there are several dimensions (perhaps obvious) of these linkages between slavery and the British country house which, if applied, would allow the creation of a hierarchy and the setting of priorities.

Incidental versus substantive slave ownership

Money is fungible, and one of the challenges of Legacies of British Slave-ownership that the project is still coming to terms with is to isolate wealth flowing from slavery from other sources of wealth. This is a complex task made the more difficult when wealth originated in slavery and was then transformed into other types of wealth over two or three generations. With mercantile wealth, there is sometimes a self-definition: a 'West India' merchant, a 'Russia merchant', and so on, which gives the dominant trade. But in many cases a merchant is simply recorded in directories and probate records as a merchant. Occasionally, we have balance sheets that classify the various assets of family or firm, but often only when a merchant has been bankrupted. Papers and account books have survived only for a small minority of merchant firms and slave-owning families, some of which have formed the basis for invaluable secondary studies.

While the true source of wealth in many cases may therefore be indeterminate, in specific instances we can be confident that slavery was the source of wealth. The evidence appears overwhelming, for example, that Charles McGarel, the Anglo-Irish merchant cited above, became rich from slavery: he arrived in the late 1790s in the Dutch territories, which became British Guiana, as an economic refugee from Larne, returned to London in 1818 with capital sufficient to establish a West Indian mercantile partnership, collected almost £100,000 in compensation in the 1830s, dissolved his firm around 1840 (his partner died in 1844 leaving £200,000 in personalty), diversified his interests and left £500,000 in personalty in 1876 after substantial *in vivo* philanthropic donations and the purchase of land in County Antrim.

However, sometimes it may be that slave ownership was incidental. This does not mean that it was accidental. James Walvin's aphorism that people were not rich because they owned slaves, but owned slaves because they were rich appears to obscure the fact that where wealth preceded slave owning, generally only people who had become rich through other involvements in the slave economy came to own slaves. This was certainly the case with the Harewoods. There is very little evidence of 'portfolio' investment in slave ownership in the colonies by wealthy Britons, partly because there were few collective vehicles for such investment. Rich people came to slave ownership by affinity. But slave wealth could be incidental in the sense that other sources of wealth appear to dwarf it in the composition of an individual's overall net worth. For the Duke of Cleveland, for example, bequeathing personalty of over £1 million when he died in 1842, his ownership of Lowthers estate in Barbados appears incidental to his wealth, which was derived primarily from the accumulated profits of landownership in England. It has to be recognised that both the mother and wife of the Duke of Cleveland were members of the Lowther family and brought a currently unknown amount of slave wealth into the family of the Duke, but it is not plausible to see slave ownership as the primary source of wealth. The Duke's estates in Durham and Shropshire alone were said to be worth £50,000 per annum, 10 times the level of his slave compensation.[21] This is not to minimise, but only to place in context as a source of wealth, his ownership of enslaved men, women and children.

Rental versus ownership

The identification of individual slave owners with specific sites based on addresses may elide potentially important differences in the relationship between slave owner and house. The Slave Compensation Records and other sources of the 1820s and 1830s show the Antiguan slave owner Langford Lovell as of Hursley, near Winchester.[22] As noted above, this was in fact the house of his wife's family, the Heathcotes: Lovell himself had a house at Wendover Dean in Buckinghamshire, but his contemporary identification was with Hursley, where presumably he was a long-term guest or tenant. Again, another slave owner at the time of slave compensation was John Rock Grosett, who sat as MP for Chippenham between 1826 and 1830; he was also an anti-abolitionist pamphleteer, who later went to Jamaica at the time of emancipation. He is identified in Judd's *Members of Parliament 1734–1832* as 'of Lacock Abbey' and himself gave his address as Lacock Abbey in formal contexts, but Lacock Abbey has been in the hands of the Talbot family for centuries. Grosett was in fact a tenant: he rented the house and estate, apparently for 17 years, until his departure in June 1827.[23] His 'slave-linkage' to the house seems not trivial, but to be of a different order than an owner-occupier: hence we need to record and analyse it differently.

Buy versus build

The most dramatic linkage is the building of a house with wealth demonstrably derived from slavery. Harewood House is one example. In many cases, of course, slavery-related wealth bought its way

into landed society through the purchase of an existing house. Then did the owner rebuild, as with the Codringtons' Dodington between 1796 and 1817, or not? Was the house transformed or significantly modified with major works or landscaping? Spending could also encompass minor works (redecoration, the laying out of gardens, the building of estate cottages, the addition of land) that cumulatively transformed slave wealth into the fabric of the British estate. There appears again to be a hierarchy here, at least as far as the physical legacies are concerned, in terms of the extent to which slave owners repositioned or redefined each site rather than simply occupying it. Simple occupation may not preclude profound political, social and cultural influence and impact on the part of the slave owner (through electoral activity, conspicuous consumption, local philanthropy, the employment of large staffs of servants) but these need to be demonstrated by different forms of evidence. In the context of physical legacies, one of our own tasks at Legacies of British Slave-ownership is to try to identify major deployments of the compensation money itself. Direct links with compensation are of course also difficult to establish. There is the clue of sequencing, however. William Hudson Heaven, for example, bought the island of Lundy in the Bristol Channel in 1834 for 9,600 guineas, and began to build on it in 1836; he had received £11,700 in compensation for 636 slaves in Hanover in Jamaica in 1835. Again, John Tollemache built the faux-medieval Peckforton Castle in Cheshire between 1842 and 1851; he had received £12,667 for 822 slaves on Antigua in 1839.[24] But he is reported to have spent £60,000 on Peckforton and his compensation awards appear to have been shared in an unknown proportion with the holders of a debt secured on the estate. His father, Vice Admiral John Richard Delap Tollemache, had himself built Tilstone Lodge, also in Cheshire, around 1832. The Vice Admiral had taken his mother's name, and the family represented the union between slave wealth from the Delap Halliday family of Antigua and the landed English wealth of the Tollemaches. In cases such as these, we have to find ways to look at the totality of wealth or of spending to contextualise the compensation: wills are the obvious places to start, and we are benefiting from the generosity of Bill Rubinstein in sharing with us his unpublished data on British wealth-holders based on decades of work on probate records.

Extant versus demolished

It is tempting to focus in the context of the British country house, or indeed of the built environment more generally, on the legacies of slavery expressed in houses still standing, still visible and still visitable. In setting priorities for work, especially involving heritage bodies, we need to continue to find room for those houses that are gone. From the Antigua sample, for instance, William Alexander Mackinnon's Portswood House near Southampton was demolished in 1852, as was the Molineux-Montgomerie's Garboldisham in Norfolk in 1955; the Brooke family's Mere New Hall, Cheshire (built in 1834) burnt down in 1975; and Justinian Casamajor's Potterells in Hertfordshire collapsed in the 1980s. The slavery heritage no longer has an intact physical site, but in terms of the social, cultural and economic transmission of slavery into England there is no reason to see these properties as less significant for the hundreds of years they stood than those that are still extant.

Cultural accumulation

The last question that we recognise we have to tackle in looking at physical legacies of slave owners in the context of the British country house is that of the contents of the house. Was there cultural accumulation and was that funded in part with 'slave money'? As with the house itself, the question must be raised as to the significance of slavery in the provenance of items in the collections of slave owners. Items of colonial or Caribbean provenance or the manifestations of a slavery-related aesthetic occupy one tier. Among European objects and paintings, there appears to be a worthwhile distinction between an item first brought to Britain by a slave owner from Europe, and one acquired by a slave owner from an extant collection in Britain. Equally, there appears to be a distinction

between an intact collection formed by a slave owner and one that has been dispersed, as was the case with John Proctor Anderdon, cited above in connection with Farley Hall, whose pictures were auctioned by Christies in 1847 and 1851. It is possible to track some individual items from dispersed collections (Anderdon's Andrea del Sarto painting *La Carita* is in America, at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, for example) but it would be impossible to trace all such items. Nevertheless, the analysis of cultural accumulation appears an integral part of the study of the country house in the context of slavery, and part of the Legacies of British Slave-ownership project is the recording of the major collections amassed by the slave owners: in many cases these collections are associated, of course, with country houses.

Conclusion

As far as the wider remit of this volume is concerned, which is taken to be a comprehensive mapping of the legacies of slavery on to the British country house, then the umbrella of Legacies of British Slave-ownership offers an opportunity to start a complete inventory of the connections between slavery and the country house. 'Comprehensive' and 'complete' are charged concepts, and rightly so; but unless there is a striving towards a systematic empirical base, then the opportunity will be lost to provide an adequate framework for all the excellent case studies that are being produced on individual properties, and ultimately there will be no basis for a judgement as to how significant slavery really was to the British country house.

The Legacies of British Slave-ownership database can thus become a repository for data collected from many sources, repackaged and made available to users both inside and outside the academy, and this database would be a major resource for almost everybody interested in the British country house and slavery. This kind of cataloguing is not a substitute for analysis nor provides a proxy for assessing the legacies of slavery (not only physical but also social, cultural, political and commercial) as expressed in the British country house. It is also worth reiterating that slave ownership, where the Legacies of British Slave-ownership project is focused, is only part of the process of transmission of slavery into the British country house. The issues of the heritage and legacies of slavery in the country house are far too complex to be reduced to grids of data. But the dataset described here can not only help accelerate individual pieces of work, but can also contextualise the analysis, provide a sense of the scope of what is being done and help identify priorities. It will only reach its potential as a collective tool, however, if users are persuaded of the value of contributing data, as well as drawing information from it. This chapter was intended to help begin that process.

Appendix: Co-ordinates of British country houses associated with awards of slave compensation in Antigua

Individual	*House*	*Owned?*	*Built [B] or Remodelled [R] with slave-wealth [N] Neither*	*Extant?*	*Co-ordinates (Using Google Earth [WGS84 coordinates])*
William Shand	Springwood, Allerton, Liverpool	Y	B	Y	53°21'49.61"N, 2°53'4.90"W
John Proctor Anderdon	Farley Hall, Berkshire	Y	N	Y	51°22'32.45"N, 0°55'25.04"W
	Beech House, Bransgore, Hampshire	Y	R	*N*	50°46'36.40"N, 1°42'51.13"W
	Henlade House, Somerset	*N*	*B*	*Y*	51° 0'8.90"N, 3° 2'15.83"W
Sir Henry W Martin	Lockinge Park/House, Wantage, Berkshire	*N*	N	N	51°34'56.93"N, 1°23'0.48"W
Gen Sir John Gustavus Crosbie	Watergate House, nr Petersfield	Y	N	*Y*	50°54'5.25"N, 0°53'14.27"W
	Barnham Court, Barnham, Sussex	Y	N	Y	50°49'25.63"N, 0°38'39.87"W
Peter Langford Brooke	Mere Old Hall, Cheshire	Y	R	Y	53°19'49.53"N, 2°24'57.19"W
	Mere New Hall, Cheshire	Y	B	N	53°19'55.83"N, 2°24'23.22"W
Jonas Langford	Theobalds Park, Hertfordshire	*N*	N	N	51°41'18.33"N, 0° 3'23.44"W
William Alex Mackinnon	Portswood house, nr Southampton	*Y*	N	N	50°55'14.90"N, 1°23'37.31"W
	Newtown-park, nr Lymington	N	N	Y	50°46'15.88"N, 1°30'49.80"W
John Cave	Brentry House, Gloucestershire	Y	R	Y	51°30'19.43"N, 2°36'45.47"W
John Tollemache	Helmingham, Suffolk	Y	N	Y	52°10'25.73”N, 1°11'48.12”E
	Peckforton Castle, Cheshire	Y	B	Y	53° 7'3.51"N, 2°41'54.01"W
	Tilston[e] Lodge, Cheshire	Y	B	Y	53° 3'15.51"N, 2°48'11.55"W
Bethell Walrond	Dulford House, Devonshire	Y	Y	N	50°51'22.13"N, 3°19'17.89"W
Edward Codrington	Dodington Park, Gloucestershire			Y	51°30'17.90"N, 2°21'1.37"W
Thomas Boddington	Gunnersbury Lodge, London	Y	R	N	51°30'8.44"N, 0°16'58.96"W
Langford Lovell	Hursley [House], nr Winchester	N	N	Y	51° 1'36.07"N, 1°23'55.97"W

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continued

Individual	*House*	*Owned?*	*Built [B] or Remodelled [R] with slave-wealth [N] Neither*	*Extant?*	*Co-ordinates (Using Google Earth [WGS84 coordinates])*
Thomas Molineux Montgomerie	Garboldisham Hall, Norfolk	Y	N	N	52°24'4.86"N, 0°56'45.37"E
	Garboldisham Manor, Norfolk	Y	B	N	52°24'16.05"N, 0°56'52.17"E
Rowland E Williams	Newlands, Weston Grove, Surrey	Y	N	Y	51°23'5.47"N, 0°20'38.19"W
James Adams Gordon	Naish House, Portbury, Somerset	Y	R	Y	51°27'26.03"N, 2°45'5.81"W
	Stock-house, Hertfordshire	Y	N	Y	51°48'34.50"N, 0°36'7.48"W
	Knockespoch and Terpersie, Aberdeenshire	Y	N	Y	57°18'15.14"N, 2°45'27.86"W 57°16'9.20"N, 2°44'15.75"W
Sir William Abdy	Chobham Place, Surrey	Y	N	Y	51°21'52.47"N, 0°36'56.35"W
Hardman Earle	Allerton Tower, nr Liverpool	Y	B	N	53°22'21.25"N, 2°53'14.33"W
John Lyons	St Austins, Boldre, Lymington, Hants	Y	B	*Y*	50°46'49.06"N, 1°33'37.67"W
Thomas Daniel	Stoodleigh, Devon	*Y*	B	Y	50°57'26.74"N, 3°32'34.15"W
George Lodowick Wilder	Purley Hall, Berkshire	Y	N	Y	51°28'38.18"N, 1° 4'15.57"W
Justinian Casamajor	Potterells, Hertfordshire	Y	B	N	51°43'37.06"N, 0°12'46.96"W
Inigo Thomas	Yapton Place, Sussex	Y	R	N	50°49'24.50"N, 0°36'29.19"W
Freeman Thomas	Ratton, Sussex	Y	R	N	50°47'27.98"N, 0°15'6.90"E
Alexander Millar	Dalnair, County of Stirling				56° 2'39.23"N, 4°25'3.72"W
	Earnock, Lanarkshire	Y	N	N	55°46'13.33"N, 4° 4'5.44"W
Clement T Swanston	Holly-house, Twickenham, Surrey	Y	*N*	N	51°26'51.73"N, 0°19'56.31"W
Sir Thomas Stapleton 6th Baronet of the Leeward Islands, and 16th Baron Le Despencer	Grey's Court, Oxfordshire	Y	N	Y	51°32'41.50"N, 0°57'22.20"W
Hon Anne Byam Stapleton, the awardee	Mereworth Castle, Kent	Y	N	Y	51°15'13.64"N, 0°23'24.69"E

continued ▸

continued

Individual	*House*	*Owned?*	*Built [B] or Remodelled [R] with slave-wealth [N] Neither*	*Extant?*	*Co-ordinates (Using Google Earth [WGS84 coordinates])*
Revd Horace George Cholmondley, annuitant	Kingston House, Dorset	N	N	Y	50°43'5.64"N, 2°24'17.20"W
William Maxwell	Carriden, Linlithgow	Y	N	Y	56° 0'37.52"N, 3°33'54.70"W
Sir Christopher Bethell Codrington	Dodington Park, Gloucestershire	Y	B	Y	*See* Edward Codrington entry

Note: Entries in italics are *tentative*

2

Slavery and West Country houses

Madge Dresser

This chapter examines the links between selected historic houses in England's West Country and the Atlantic slave economy. It grew out of research originally undertaken about the city of Bristol and the slave trade. *Slavery Obscured*,[1] published in 2001, first charted the unexpectedly close relationship between Bristol's urban renaissance of the early 18th century and the slaving interests of its mercantile elite.

What also emerged from this work was the way slave-related wealth seemed to have stimulated the building and renovation of many of the surrounding area's country houses. Not only did Bristol's merchants begin to move out of the city itself into grander and more rural residences as the century progressed, but more established gentry families in the area also seemed to have benefited from slavery, either as colonial office holders or plantation owners, sometimes renovating or purchasing properties as a result.[2] Using Benjamin Donn's[3] 1769 'map of the country 11 miles around the city of Bristol', which claimed to list all seats and houses of note in the area, no fewer than 42 such properties whose listed owners had West Indian or African associations were identified (Fig 2.1).

Intrigued by this, I have continued to investigate the provenance of these houses, along with a selection of those further afield in the adjoining counties of Somerset, Gloucestershire and elsewhere in England's West Country. Country houses or 'prestige residences' are defined for our purposes as those surviving buildings which have Grade I or II listings from English Heritage and those demolished buildings which were identified by contemporaries as country seats or were otherwise noted for their architectural and decorative merit.[4]

The criteria I originally established to judge whether or not a property could be said to be linked to the Atlantic slave system, and which has since been refined by researchers at English Heritage and University College London, is provided as follows.[5]

A owner is assumed to be linked to slaving interests:

1. by directly investing in slave ships or insuring them;
2. by indirectly investing in slave trading by buying shares in the Royal African Company or the South Seas Company;
3. by the providing trade goods to Africa or the slave plantations or dealing in slave-produced goods from the plantations;
4. by plantation ownership directly purchased or inherited, or obtained through marriage or even by lending money to a defaulting planter;
5. by holding colonial office or otherwise being involved in the administration of slave colonies;
6. by 'employing' enslaved people either at home or in the colonies.

Using this typology, I have here distinguished more broadly between 'slavery-based' properties and those with more general 'slavery associations'. The first category comprises those houses whose erection or renovation was based in significant measure on wealth derived from slavery. The second category includes those properties linked to slavery in a wider variety of ways, including those whose

owners were involved in the administration of, advocacy of or opposition to slavery and those whose households included people of African descent.

The Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) Legacy of British Slave-ownership project discussed earlier by Nick Draper, focusing as it does on the wealth derived from slave ownership, has established that the proportion of British country houses in 1830 owned by slave-holders averaged between 5 and 10 per cent. The project has also concluded that south-west England was one of the regions where that national average was exceeded. My own findings (based on the wider criteria of slave-derived wealth and slavery association) so far seem to confirm this.

A systematic survey of all the region's historic country houses is well beyond the brief of this chapter, which focuses on selected properties in the counties of Somerset and Gloucestershire and specifically excludes two Gloucestershire houses (Tutshill and Dodington) discussed elsewhere in this volume.[6] However, though partial in scope, its eclectic and regional approach has the advantage of being able to delve into the period preceding the Slavery Compensation Act 1833 and thereby pick up links with slavery that might otherwise have vanished from view. Moreover, it considers demolished as well as surviving properties. Its starting points are various, sometimes beginning with the investigation of individual houses and sometimes individual owners. In one instance, it proceeds by researching the provenance of all the major houses in a single parish to determine which, if any, had links with slavery.

Such a flexible but spatially concentrated strategy can identify new types of associations not always discerned elsewhere. It allows us to consider how the slavery links of these houses differed over time and variously involved a shifting alliance of families. It also enables us to identify the existence of clusters of such properties in particular areas. The very existence of such clusters is significant in itself, for it indicates that both categories of houses (ie the 'slavery-based' and the merely 'slavery-associated') were related through those 'gentry capitalist networks of kinship and regional affiliation, matrimonial alliance, mercantile expertise and public service' which Simon Smith has shown to be so central to the development of the British colonial economy in this period.[7] What seems to be emerging from my investigation is the existence of a very pervasive and multi-layered pattern of involvement of country house proprietors in Atlantic slavery interests. It is evident, too, that some of these landed families lost or diversified their slavery-derived wealth by the time of emancipation and that the changing political climate had made others more reticent about owning up to their slavery interests. This subsequently led to an implicit consensus that slavery was of little relevance to understanding the evolution of the country house in this region.

It is difficult to challenge this consensus and convey the complexity of such slavery associations without lapsing into a descriptive list of individual properties. The task is made more difficult by the lack of a definitive list of historic houses that would take account of all those built or renovated during the slavery era. For Gloucestershire I have depended heavily on the research of Nicholas Kingsley, whose voluminous and scholarly study of Gloucestershire country houses devotes an entire volume to those built between 1660 and 1830.[8] Yet although Kingsley's survey contains invaluable contextual historical material for each house, any connections with slavery-related wealth remained to all intents and purposes outside his brief. Moreover, there is no such survey of comparable quality for Somerset, so my account for that county is more partial still, depending on contemporary accounts and references, and on modern architectural surveys such as Pevsner's and Cooke's.[9] The accompanying map of country houses for these two counties (Fig 2.2) is derived from these sources and the houses discussed here are highlighted therein.

The first part of this chapter takes a topographical approach to consider four neighbouring North Somerset houses nearest to Bristol (Ashton Court, Leigh Court, Ham Green and Clevedon Court). It does so in order to illustrate how longstanding and intricately connected were the slavery links of landed and mercantile families in a particular area. Two of the owners of these properties do not feature at all in the Slavery Compensation Records, which shows that as valuable as these records are, they do not chart the full extent of slavery associations with country houses. Leaving the immediate Bristol area, there follows a speculative investigation of notable houses in a single North Somerset parish, that of Wraxall, which uncovers a web of previously undocumented slavery associations.

Still in Somerset, the chapter goes on to consider how tracing a particular family not included in the Slave Compensation Records – in this case, the Brickdales – can yield results which an exclusively topographical or property-oriented approach might miss. Our investigation of Somerset concludes with a discussion of five other properties in the county – King Weston House near Somerton, Coker Court, The Cedars in Wells, Hadspen House and Earnshill – four of which have Bristol connections, to illustrate the point that mercantile wealth fanned out from the port to the depths of the countryside. Thus the link between slavery-derived wealth and gracious country living became increasingly invisible by the early 19th century.

Part two of the chapter turns its attentions to Gloucestershire, and again illustrates, this time through the case study of Kingsweston House near Bristol, how slavery associations reach further both backwards and forwards in time than has been previously recognised, and encompass both economic and political linkages. It goes on to discuss how the presence of a black servant at one property (Oldbury Court, a demolished property, also near Bristol) signalled further slavery connections with a property elsewhere in the county.

The slavery links considered in the ensuing section on Gloucestershire are arguably more disparate and complex than those described earlier for the Somerset properties. Slavery associations, including those of a more political kind, are pointed to in our consideration of selected major Gloucestershire properties (Dyrham Park, Cirencester Park, Lydney Park, Badminton House, Barrington Park, Lypiatt Park and Frampton Court), all but the first of which are now in private hands. It seems clear that the commercialisation of these and more minor properties such as Tracey Park and Badgeworth Court, has generally discouraged any nuanced representation of these properties' histories, let alone their links with slavery. Significantly, as we shall see, it was left to a voluntary community group to resurrect the slavery-related history of one now-demolished Gloucestershire house, Farmhill Park.

The systematic excavation of indirect slavery associations may seem tendentious at times, but such an exercise is a bit like the aerial mapping of archaeological sites where the penumbra of vanished structures become newly visible. In other words, such associations alert the investigator to the possibility of deeper linkages. In the case of Badminton House, for example, the discovery of the Beaufort family's involvement in the proprietorship of slave colonies led to the investigation of how slave-derived wealth accrued to that property through marriage. Even where such direct linkages cannot be established, the indirect associations are often still worth articulating, for they stimulate new questions about the role and function of the country house in the wider world.

Despite its limitations, then, it is hoped that this work in progress stimulates other researchers to look anew at surviving and demolished properties in this region with a view to documenting the role that Atlantic slavery played both in their construction and their subsequent use.

Revisting the properties near Bristol

Benjamin Donn's map (*see* Fig 2.1) enabled the identification of individual property owners with slavery interests at a particular moment in the late 18th century, which complements the later picture afforded to us by the Slave Compensation Records. For Donn provides his readers not only with an overview of notable houses but of the owners who subscribed to have their houses included in his map. While not necessarily comprehensive, the sheer number of names listed suggests that Donn, who had an intimate knowledge of the local elite, was well placed to provide a reasonably accurate record.[10] However, we should be mindful that such a map can only provide us with a snapshot of properties' slavery links at one moment in time and does not capture the links that such properties might have had to slavery before or after this point.

North Somerset properties

The renovation of Ashton Court near Bristol (Fig 2.3) came after the marriage in 1757 of John Hugh Smyth to the Jamaican heiress Rebecca Woolnough. The marriage settlement of £40,000 comprised properties in England and Jamaica (including the Spring plantation in Jamaica) and substantially improved the fortunes of the Smyth estate. Indeed it was estimated by one local historian that the profits made by Sir John Hugh Smyth from the Spring plantation and the sale of its sugar amounted to some £17,000 over the period 1762–1802.[11] However, subsequent research suggests that the family's association with the Atlantic slave economy pre-dates this marriage, as Sir Hugh Smyth's father, Jarrit Smith, a Bristol solicitor, was also a member of the Bristol Society of Merchant Venturers – the elite body which actively lobbied on behalf of Bristol participants in the African, American and West Indian trades.

The recent purchase by the city's Museum Service of a portrait, which originally belonged to the Smyths, suggests that Ashton Court's slavery links might go back even further (Fig 2.4). The portrait in question, that of a young aristocratic girl and her equally young African servant, had been previously assumed to be that of the early 18th-century heiress, Arabella Astry (connected through her sister to the Smyth estate) and herself the heiress of nearby Henbury Great House in Gloucestershire.[12]

However, when the portrait was acquired by the city in 2008 (less than a year after the bicentennial commemorations of the ending of the British slave trade), its provenance was reassessed.[13] It now seems that the girl depicted with her African servant was most probably one Florence Smyth (1634–92), the second daughter of Thomas Smyth of Ashton Court and his wife Florence, née Poulett. If true, the presence of the young African servant strongly indicates that the connection between the Smyths, a family long noted for their mercantile interests, and the African trade might stretch as far back as the 1630s, well before Bristol's formal entry into the slave trade in 1698. This supposition ties in well with the Astry family's own associations with the Caribbean from the early 17th century.[14]

Investigation shows that a cluster of notable houses in that part of Somerset neighbouring Ashton Court are similarly associated (Fig 2.5). For example, in the adjoining parish of Abbots Leigh is Leigh Court, a Palladian style mansion built in 1814 by Philip John Miles and subsequently noted for containing an extensive art collection personally amassed by its owner. Now a private conference centre, Leigh Court's website detailing the history of this Grade II listed building makes no mention of the source of Miles's wealth.[15] Yet Miles built on his father William's success as a planter and trader, to become Bristol's first sugar millionaire and its largest West India merchant. Family business papers contain mortgages dating from the 1760s and 1770s for the Vallay, Rhodes Hall and other

Jamaican plantations containing hundreds of enslaved Africans.[16] By the 1830s John Philip Miles appears as a major claimant in the Slave Compensation Records, seeking over £36,000 for over 1,700 enslaved Africans at plantations in Jamaica and Trinidad.[17]

Nearby Ham Green House (now the Penny Brohn Cancer Care centre) 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.[18] His son Richard Bright (1754–1840) merchant and amateur scientist, made Ham Green his chief residence and continued his father's commercial interests in the Caribbean, owning three extensive Jamaican plantations (Meylersfield, Beeston Spring and Garredu). These were transferred on his retirement in 1818 to his younger son Robert Bright, who received substantial monies in slave compensation. The house, now most associated with Robert's elder brother Richard Bright (who discovered Bright's disease) still has a mooring for the Bright ships that voyaged regularly to the West Indies.[19]

Further south is Clevedon Court, now a National Trust property still inhabited by the Elton family with whom it has been associated for over three centuries. Though its slaving associations were mentioned in passing in the National Trust's short guide published in the 1980s, all such references were avoided in the 2003 guide, co-written by Julia Elton. Nor was this silence redressed when the guide was revised in 2007, the bicentennial year of the abolition of the British slave trade.[20] Yet the evidence that slave-related wealth was central to the history of Clevedon Court is overwhelming. It was partly documented in the early 1990s by Margaret Elton who penned an authoritative history of the Elton family, and has since been implicitly recognised by the National Trust itself, as discussed by Rob Mitchell and Shawn Sobers in Chapter 13.

Clevedon Court was purchased by Sir Abraham Elton I (1654–1727) in 1709, and its restoration under his watch was 'the first major reconstruction since that of Sir John Wade in the 1560s'. His involvement as Master of Bristol's Merchant Venturers, as Mayor and as MP, along with his investment in the brass industry, links him to the Guinea trade. So too does the production of salt on his Clevedon estate, which Elton and Company apparently used 'to barter with African chiefs for slaves'.[21] One Abraham Elton is listed as directly investing in the slave ship the *Jason Galley* in 1711, but this may have been Abraham Elton's son, Abraham Elton II (1679–1742) who, with his brothers Isaac and Jacob invested directly in slave ships. All three brothers petitioned Parliament as both South Carolina and West India traders against proposed slave duties in 1731 and 1738, respectively. The Eltons reportedly had estates in Jamaica which they held throughout the 18th century and were involved in the Bristol sugar refining industry. By the late 18th century, the Eltons were still receiving monies from plantations and sugar refining of slave-produced sugar, but must have diversified their wealth by the time of emancipation as they are not listed in the Slave Compensation Records for either Bristol or Somerset.[22] Readers of the official guide are certainly told more about the sixth Baronet, Sir Charles Elton's (1778–1853) involvement in romantic culture than the economic activities of his forbears, and so the history of Clevedon Court is further disassociated from the slave-derived wealth which helped to establish it.[23] By the mid-19th century, the process continues as the Elton name is associated with James Frederick Elton (1840–77) who is primarily celebrated for his efforts to eliminate slave traders from Zanzibar and Mozambique.[24]

Wraxall: a case study of the main houses in a North Somerset parish

A few miles away from Clevedon Court, in the parish of Wraxall (whose manor was in the possession of the Smyths) was the house of the West Indian proprietor James Gordon (1758–1822). Naish House (now demolished) was described in 1829 as 'a substantial mansion delightfully situated', commanding 'extensive views of the surrounding country' and containing 'some good paintings particularly some portraits by the Stuarts' and a 'handsome mahogany staircase'. By this time, the house was in the possession of James's son James Adam Gordon (1797–1854) who is featured as

a prominent claimant in the Slave Compensation Records for several thousands of pounds for plantations in Antigua and St Vincent. (James Gordon himself had been involved in the slave trade.)[25]

Along with Naish House, Wraxall House, Wraxall Lodge, Charlton House, Tyntesfield and Belmont are also cited in a late Victorian gazetteer as the parish's chief residences (Fig 2.6).[26] All of these seem to have some associations with families involved in one way or another with the Atlantic slave economy. We do know that Wraxall House was the seat of the Gorges family and so by 1568 probably the birthplace of Ferdinando Gorges, the then Lord Edward's second son.[27] Ferdinando Gorges (1568–1647) best known for his pioneering work in the early colonisation of Maine, was also involved in the slave colonies of Virginia and Bermuda and was a member of the Guinea Company, an early precursor to the Royal African Company. In 1629 he married his fourth wife, Elizabeth Smyth, the widow of Hugh Smyth of Ashton Court. Though it could not be said that Wraxall House directly benefited from slave-related wealth, 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 with Bristol connections. By the 1660s he was an active lobbyist for free trade in African slaves, and built a fine house in Eye in Herefordshire from the proceeds of his slave trading and plantation.[28]

Wraxall Court, also in the possession of the Gorges family, was rebuilt in 1720 by John Codrington who married Samuel Gorges's granddaughter. This branch of the Codringtons had had close connections with Barbados since the early 17th century, but the extent to which slavery wealth was responsible for the rebuilding of Wraxall Court is unclear.[29]

Nearby Charlton House was listed as the residence in 1827 of Thomas Kington (1771–1827), Philip John Miles's nephew, business associate and co-claimant of slavery compensation monies.[30] Charlton House originally belonged to the Spanish merchant Antony Gibbs (1756–1815), the father of William Gibbs (1789–1875) himself the owner of Tyntesfield House, the Grade I Victorian pile acquired by the National Trust in 2002. Though the National Trust characterises Tyntesfield as being built more or less entirely on the sale of bird guano,[31] recent research has clearly established how this business grew directly out of the social networks and business dealings the family had with the West India and African trades. William's paternal uncle George helped his brother and nephew in their business dealings and briefly employed the young William as a clerk in his firm Gibbs, Bright and Gibbs, which was a West Indian trading house. George Gibbs, married to the daughter of Richard Farr a leading slave trader, was a member of the Bristol Merchant Venturers and had extensive investments in sugar and plantations as well as partnerships with other Bristol and Liverpool West India merchants. These included such Bristol West India merchants as Samuel Munckley and Richard Bright. (Both Munckley and Robert Bright received substantial slave compensation monies for plantations in Barbados and Jamaica in the 1830s.) The close connection between George Gibbs and his Bristol associates and Antony and William is indicated by the fact that in 1881 Antony Gibbs and Company merged with 'two associated business houses, which had previously been separate firms: a company in Bristol originating in an 18th century partnership and trading from 1801 as Munckley, Gibbs and Richards, from 1802 as Gibbs, Richards and Gibbs, from 1808 as George Gibbs and Son, and from 1818 as Gibbs, Son and Bright.'[32] Clearly, the source of the Gibbs's family wealth is not quite so disconnected from slavery as has been represented.

Renowned for its beautifully landscaped setting, Belmont House, the last property in our case study of Wraxall parish, was improved by 1778 by its then owner William Turner (born in 1715). A merchant noted for his cultivated tastes,[33] Turner's precise connections, if any, with the Atlantic slave economy remain unknown, but it is worth noting that he was Hannah More's notorious suitor, who having famously delayed marrying her, settled an annuity on her for life. This annuity allowed Britain's most celebrated female abolitionist the financial wherewithal to pursue her career as a writer and religious

campaigner. Belmont subsequently was the residence of George Gibbs of Belmont (1779–1863), Antony Gibbs's nephew and a business associate of Richard Bright who bequeathed him part interest in the Meylersfield, Beeston Spring and Garredu planations in Jamaica on his death in 1835.[34]

The Brickdales of Bristol, Somerset and Devon
The case of the Brickdales illustrates the importance of tracing slavery-related wealth through families as well as through properties. The Donn map indicated notable residences under the Brickdale name closer to Bristol in 1769, but records held elsewhere confirm that they moved further and further out into the county and beyond as the century and their genteel aspirations progressed.

The Reverend John Collinson in his 1791 *The History and Antiquities of the County of Somerset* describes the Court House in West Monkton (Fig 2.7), Somerset as an 'elegant building' built on the site of an older mansion of the Marquis of Winchester, 'but which is now the seat of Matthew Brickdale Esq one of the representatives of the city of Bristol in the three last Parliaments'.[35] Brickdale, who is listed as a woollen draper and undertaker, is reported to have inherited £100,000 from his father John, who is himself variously listed as a Bristol merchant or woollen draper. His involvement in foreign trade is documented from 1708, where John Brickdale and Company is recorded in the port books importing Spanish raisins on 31 December 1708.[36]

John Brickdale's associations with Bristol's slave economy are manifold. In 1714 he married the daughter of Philip Freke (a slave trader and one-time Sheriff of Bristol). By the 1730s Brickdale acted as executor to Philip's son Thomas. Thomas Freke, by then one of the city's leading slave merchants, was part owner of a Bristol sugar house. During the ensuing decade John Brickdale and Co owned *Withers Galley*, which by 1732 had delivered slaves to Jamaica and Guinea grains back to Bristol, and also made a similar voyage delivering to Virginia in 1735. John Brickdale was also listed as co-owner of the *Phoenix* in 1736 and the *Marlborough* bound for Calabar and Virginia in 1740.[37] A member of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa in 1759, Brickdale was also a member of the Society of Merchant Venturers in Bristol, both of which groups regularly lobbied for Bristol's share of the slave trade.

The family's ambitions to some sort of gentility are clear. But while his father's death in 1765 meant that Matthew Brickdale was wealthy enough to retire from his woollen goods and undertaking shop and become an MP, he still maintained business interests linking him to the slave economy.

Best known for losing to Edmund Burke in the 1774 Parliamentary election, Matthew Brickdale purchased the Court House in 1775.[38] We know he was listed that same year as a co-partner in the John Freeman and Copper Company – a company the other partners of which consisted largely of African and West India traders and whose production of copper goods was at least in part geared to the Guinea trade via the export of manilas and guinea pots to Africa and the sheathing of slave ships.

On his return to Parliament Brickdale was noted for his assiduous pursuit of his city's commercial interests, and was second in opposing the motion in 1788 for the regulation of the slave trade. By 1792 we know he had a second country house in Stoodleigh in Devon (now demolished) which, along with Court House, he intended to bequeath to his son John.[39]

However, Matthew's expenditure on elections reportedly left him in financial straits by the early 1790s when he left politics. Between 1797 and 1807 he mortgaged the estate to a succession of Bristol merchants – the Pinneys, the Baillees and James Gordon – all of whom had longstanding investments in slavery.[40] By this time Stoodleigh estate in Devon seems to have been acquired

by the Bristol sugar refiner Thomas Daniel, who later features as one of the most substantial Bristol claimants in the Slave Compensation Commission records.

However, the Brickdales do not feature at all in these records since both father and son faced bankruptcy in 1819 and Matthew died in 1831, well before the Emancipation Act, after a long career as Bristol councillor, MP and county magistrate. Yet as the family papers show, their wealth had derived from slavery, not only from their father's inheritance or from their investments in the brass industry, but also from plantation ownership.

Particulars to the sale of the Court House in the Brickdale bankruptcy records held at the Somerset Record Office contain references to their Caribbean plantation holdings from which they had been receiving annuities since 1774. They had plantations on the Isle of Nevis and Jamaica.[41] There is documentation regarding the estates and slaves held on the Hampstead and Retreat estates in Jamaica[42] and there is also a reference to 'the 90 negroes at St Andrew on Isle of St Vincent'.[43]

A brief examination of five other Somerset properties will serve to illustrate the pervasiveness of the links in that county between slavery-related wealth and country house building: namely that of King Weston House near Somerton (not to be confused with Kingsweston House in Gloucestershire), Coker Court, The Cedars in Wells, Hadspen House and Earnshill.

Though technically not a country house, being within the precinct of Wells, the Cedars merits inclusion in our discussion as it was built in 1759 by the Tudway family, whose extensive interests in slave plantations in Antigua are evidenced by their claim for some £9,000 in the Slave Compensation Records.[44] The fact that it was designed by William Paty, the craftsman associated with many of the properties of slaving merchants in Bristol, also reminds us of the continuing role of the Tudways in the Bristol sugar trade in this period.[45] The links between Coker Court, near Yeovil – owned by the Helyar family – and the Caribbean, which go back to the 17th century, have been extensively documented by various scholars.[46]

Henry Hobhouse, who acquired Hadspen House near Castle Cary, Somerset, in 1785 illustrates yet again the way in which Bristol mercantile wealth transmuted itself over the generations into a more genteel version of itself. The house (built by William Player in the 17th century) itself had longstanding associations with both Bristol and slavery, being purchased some time before 1747 by Vickris Dickinson (a West India trader engaged in the Bristol sugar trade) and probably remodelled in 1750.[47] Hobhouse came from a family involved for three generations in the Bristol slave trade and slave-related trades and industries.[48]

The Dickinson family is also associated with another Somerset house, King Weston, now incorporated as part of a campus of Millfield School. It was Caleb Dickinson, Vickris's brother, a Quaker merchant trading in Bristol, who purchased King Weston near Somerton in 1740.[49] His son, William, became a MP, rebuilding King Weston House, and according to one source, acted 'with the arrogance of power that characterised the nobility and gentry of England at the time, by diverting roads and removing a village in order to create a park'.[50] The Dickinsons were involved in the Bristol brass trade (which was in part devoted to producing Guinea trade goods and sheathings for slave ships) as well as the sugar trade, and had inherited plantations in Jamaica.[51]

Earnshill, a Palladian mansion, is on the Somerset Levels. It was built just before 1720 when its owner, Francis Eyles, MP for Devizes was prosecuted as a director of the South Sea Company after its bubble so famously burst. The South Sea Company, in which his extended family was all too heavily invested, was of course a company devoted to the supply of slaves to Latin America. The property was eventually sold by Francis's son to Richard Combe (1728–80) the son of the 12th

richest merchant in Bristol, Henry Combe (1658–1752). The Combes were deeply involved in the slave plantation economy: Henry Combe had a slave plantation in Nevis and invested in slave ships, while his wife was a wealthy heiress whose father had been a Bristol Virginia merchant. Richard himself was a merchant venturer and an African trader.[52]

Country houses in Gloucestershire

Nicolas Kingsley's work on country houses in Gloucestershire identifies 17 surviving houses in the immediate Bristol vicinity of the county built between 1660 and 1830. Of these, at least 10 have links to slave-generated wealth. Kingsweston estate, for example, belonged to Sir Humphrey Hooke (1629–77). Hooke was a merchant and MP, a man with ties to Barbados and Virginia whose widow Florence was none other than the sister of Sir Hugh Smyth of Ashton Court. This was the same Florence whose probable portrait showing her in the company of a black servant is discussed above.[53] Robert Southwell, the Bristol MP, purchased Kingsweston in 1679 and his son Edward commissioned Sir John Vanbrugh to build the present house by 1708. Both Robert and Edward Southwell were involved as government officials in the administration of West Indian affairs[54] and Edward's son, Edward Southwell (1705–55) was Tory MP for Bristol from 1739 to 1754, during which time he directly promoted the interests of Bristol's Africa, Carolina and West India merchants. To this end he was in frequent contact with his fellow MP Sir Abraham Elton of Clevedon Court, and with such slave traders as John Brickdale and James LaRoche.[55] It was his son, a third Edward, who became Lord de Clifford, who developed so much of Kingsweston's striking interior. By the 19th century, Kingsweston was purchased as the second residence of Philip John Miles, whose slavery interests we have already outlined in connection with Leigh Court in Somerset.[56]

Kingsweston's longstanding associations with slavery were further evidenced in 2002. In that year, an exhibition at Bath's Holbourne Museum[57] displayed private collections from some of the West Country's stately homes. One of the more striking portraits then briefly put on public view was by an early 18th-century artist Charles Philips (1708–47) (Fig 2.8). Described in the catalogue as portraying Edward Southwell (1705–55), his wife, a female friend and his son Edward (later Lord de Clifford), they appear to be standing in front of what looks like a naive depiction of Kingsweston House. Unmentioned is the fact that they are shown with a black male servant in attendance.

There were other such servants at stately homes elsewhere in Gloucestershire, servants whose slave status was never properly overturned even after the Somerset judgement of 1772. One such servant, 'Jasper', lived at the Oldbury Court estate, in the parish of Stapleton, near Bristol in the 1750s. The more one looked into this property, the more its slavery associations came into view. In a parish fraught with West Indian connections[58] Oldbury Court (of which only the extensive Park now remains) was owned in the early 17th century by a member of the Whitson sugar refining family in Bristol, and the house was purchased in 1667 by Robert Winstone, a Bristol glover in trade with Barbados (there are Winstones in Barbados).[59] Winstone proceeded to extend the Oldbury Court estate but lived and worked in Bristol. His son Thomas (to whom Abraham Elton was apprenticed) continued to prosper through the Atlantic trade, and his own son, also Thomas, moved to reside as a gentleman at Oldbury Court. Jasper was 'the black servant' of Thomas Winstone II's wife, Albinia Hayward.[60]

Albinia Hayward, who married Winstone in 1723, came from Quedgeley near Gloucester.[61] She brought a handsome settlement with her, which seems to have derived at least in part from slave plantations. Albinia Hayward was the daughter or granddaughter of William Hayward who built Quedgeley House in 1672.[62] Deeds from the Quedgeley estate dated from 1690 include papers concerning a 200-acre slave plantation called Brewer's Bay in Tortola, and records showing that

Albinia had a fortune of at least £30,000. When she died in 1760 she left Jasper £5 'out of regard for his faithful service' and left instructions that 'in case he shall live to be old and incapable of service he shall not be deserted or exposed to poverty and want'. Moving as this sentiment was, it is notable that her other servants were awarded larger bequests of between £10 and £50 while her friends received diamonds, gold snuff boxes and the like.[63] By the 1790s Albinia Winstone's nephew and heir, the extravagant William Hayward Winstone, fell into debt and leased Oldbury Court to the sugar baron Thomas Graeme who purchased it in 1799. The following year, Graeme, the son of a Barbadian sugar planter who had inherited slave estates in Grenada and Barbados,[64] called in Humphrey Repton to landscape the gardens.[65]

Slavery associations of a somewhat different kind obtain at Dyrham Park, now a National Trust property. Its 18th-century owner was William Blathwayt, a great friend of Robert Southwell of Kingsweston house. Perhaps better known as Secretary of State for both James II and William III and as MP for Bath until 1710, Blathwayt is described on the National Trust website as a 'hard working civil servant' who owned a beautiful baroque building.[66]

Blathwayt certainly was hardworking, but it is pertinent too that he was an energetic advocate of the slave trade and took a personal interest in the Caribbean through his posts as Clerk and later Head of the Plantation Office, Secretary to the Lords of Trade and Surveyor and Auditor General of the Royal Revenue in Virginia, Jamaica, Barbados, the Leeward Islands and other colonies. His position as a 'central figure in the plantation office' reportedly made him well placed and willing to take bribes from those merchants and planters who wished him to use his influence on behalf of their slaving interests. He inherited Dyrham Park in 1686 (which he proceeded to renovate in 1691) through his marriage to Mary Wynter, daughter of William Wynter (whose West Indian connections go right back to the 16th century).[67] This tendency to play down such colonial connections at Dyrham and its implications for the way the property is read by contemporary visitors is discussed by Rob Mitchell and Shawn Sobers in Chapter 13.

Commercial considerations as well as political ones may have reinforced the tendencies of private proprietors of stately homes to offer the public an even more deracialised version of their past history, when that history is offered at all. Take, for example, a grand country house belonging to the Bathurst family and one associated now more with horses than slavery. Yet the Bathurst family involvement in the world of Atlantic slavery is both longstanding and politically diverse. The father of the first Earl of Bathurst, Benjamin Bathurst (died 1704), whose seat was Cirencester Park, purchased the estate in 1700. Benjamin Bathurst was Deputy Governor of the Leeward Islands in the late 17th century and a high-ranking official and shareholder in the Royal African Company.[68] The house was built between 1714 and 1718 for his son Alan, the first Earl, and the grounds designed with the help of Alexander Pope. The family were related through marriage to the Byams of Antigua.[69]

Cirencester Park's association with the West Indies and Africa continued – the third Earl Henry Bathurst was MP for Cirencester until he became earl in 1783 and then was Secretary of State for War and the Colonies from 1812 to 1827. The third Earl was at first friendly to the anti-slavery cause – but covertly so, for by the 1820s his brief was to convince the increasingly fearful and intransigent Caribbean planters to countenance some idea of the eventual end of slavery. The capital of Gambia (now Banjul) was actually called Bathurst in his honour after abolition – it had long been a slaving port and there are many Bathurst place names throughout the Empire, especially in Jamaica.

A collateral branch of the Bathursts took over Lydney Park from the Winters in 1723,[70] a family whose links with slave-related wealth have been mentioned earlier. The original Lydney Park was first built in the 1670s by one Charles Winter, but a century before that in the 1570s his ancestor William

Winter of Lydney who had bought the two Lydney manors built a house there. This William Winter had been a partner and later rival to James Hawkins and both were involved in slaving voyages between Guinea and the new world, thus linking (as noted earlier) Lydney to Dyrham Park.[71]

The Bathurst who purchased Lydney Park (Fig 2.9) was another Benjamin Bathurst, the son of Sir Benjamin Bathurst of Cirencester.[72] He was MP for Cirencester, Gloucester, and Monmouth (1713–67) and as such a supporter of the slave trade. It was Charles Bragge Bathurst (the owner of the now demolished Cleeve Hill House in what is now South Gloucestershire) who took over and refurbished Lydney Park in 1833. As I have shown elsewhere, the history of Cleeve Hill House was itself steeped in slavery associations.[73] The estate papers of Lydney Park at the Gloucestershire Record Office contain accounts for Barbados, Tobago and Antigua sugar sold in Bristol at the beginning of the 19th century.[74]

Badminton House, now best known for its horse trials, is associated with the Beaufort family. Henry Somerset, later the first Duke of Beaufort refashioned Badminton House, according to Nicholas Kingsley, between 1664 and 1691, finishing the grand interior by the late 1680s. It seems significant that in 1682, the first Duke had married Rebecca Child, the daughter of the London merchant Josiah Child, whose marriage portion was estimated at £25,000. Her father, best known as the director of the East India Company, was involved in the Caribbean slave trade before going on to become a founder member, director and major shareholder of the Royal African Company.[75] Their son, Henry Somerset, Duke of Beaufort (1684–1714), who may have completed the House's western front, and who reportedly commissioned £20,000 of furniture to make the interior of Badminton 'very fine', was one of the six Lord Proprietors of the Bahamas.[76] He was also one of the Lords Proprietors of Carolina, and the city and county of Beaufort, South Carolina are named in his honour.[77] A slave colony from the beginning, Carolina's profitability took some time to establish and the proprietorship was sold after his death. But other sources confirm that Henry Somerset the fifth Duke of Beaufort (1744–1803) was the executor and heir of Norborne Berkeley (1718–70), Lord Botetourt who was the penultimate colonial Governor of Virginia. On Botetourt's death in 1770, Beaufort was in close correspondence with the leading planter families of Williamsburg over the contents of the Governor's Palace there, arranging to send some of its contents back to Badminton via leading Bristol tobacco merchants. Badminton's gardens were also noted along with those of Dyrham and Kingsweston for their outstanding array of Virginia plants.[78] The very multiplicity of such linkages establish the significance of both slavery-derived wealth and slavery associations for Badminton House.[79]

Slavery associations of a more exclusively political nature are evident at Barrington Park, a Grade I listed property to the south-east of Cirencester near the Oxfordshire border. Charles Talbot purchased the estate in 1734, a year after he was elevated to the peerage and became Lord Chancellor. The house itself, built in the Palladian style, was completed in 1738. What his entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* omits to say is that, as Attorney General, he had been the joint author of the influential judgement on the status of slaves in England, the so-called York/Talbot judgement of 1729. Their opinion, given to a deputation of West India planters, was that a slave in England was not automatically free, could be forced to return to the colonies from England and that Christian baptism did not confer freedom to a slave.[80] This judgement, though almost casually given, deeply influenced legal opinion up until Lord Mansfield's judgement of 1772.

Lypiatt Park near Stroud (cited in Kingsley's list) was not built out of slavery wealth, but is associated with slavery through the person of Samuel Baker and his son. A wealthy ship-owner, slave plantation owner and West India merchant with both London and Bristol connections, Samuel Baker purchased Lypiatt Park in 1838. Baker, who was in Jamaica in 1831 and testified as an expert witness to the 1832 Select Committee on Slavery was awarded (along with his associate Thomas Phillpotts) over £8,000 for 410 enslaved Africans on the Bogue and Twickenham Park Estates in

Jamaica around the time he moved to Lypiatt Park. Instrumental in the development of 'Bakers Quay' in the Gloucestershire Docks, he was the first chairman of the Gloucester Chamber of Commerce in 1839.

After emancipation 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, who travelled with a redoubtable Hungarian (later to become his second wife) whom he had famously purchased from a Bulgarian slave market. He was knighted in 1866, one year after his triumphant return to Britain. Hailed at the time as an opponent of the African slave trade, he went in 1869 to Egypt to work for its suppression. In 1874 he purchased Sandford Orleigh, Highweek, a Grade II 40-room mansion near Newton Abbot in south Devon, noted for its picturesque gothic style. The source of his family's wealth and the deeply racist views he held about non-European peoples do not affect his popular image on local websites as an explorer, big-game hunter, and *abolitionist*. The case of the Bakers again exemplifies the way in which the slavery-derived wealth underpinning many such country houses became increasingly invisible after emancipation.[81]

The associations of Frampton Court with slavery are harder to determine with precision but were almost certainly connected to Bristol. A major country house built in 1730 on the site of 'the antient family mansion of the Cliffords' (Fig 2.10), it was described by Samuel Rudder in 1779 as 'an elegant free stone house with large offices and gardens, suitable to the fortunate dignity of a nobleman'. The new mansion had in fact been built by Richard Clutterbuck, who made his fortune as the Bristol Controller of Customs and whose father seems to have served in the more lowly office of customs server before him. Given his role of regulating the merchandise going in and out of the port at the height of Bristol's involvement in the African trade, it is virtually certain that Richard Clutterbuck profited from it, either directly or covertly through loans, bribes or emoluments. Other Bristol Clutterbucks appear in Bristol records as tobacco and sugar merchants and the unusual nature of the name suggests a family linkage.[82] By the 1820s Frampton Court was owned by Henry Clifford, and it is interesting that among the estate papers in the Gloucestershire Record Office are papers relating to a share of the estate of William Austin in Demarara and Essequibo.[83]

Properties elsewhere in Gloucestershire remain to be researched. Certainly more than one Bristol merchant relocated deep into the countryside to play or to ensure his heirs could play the role of squire. Tracey Park (Fig 2.11) a Grade II listed building located in Wick in South Gloucestershire, is now a hotel and golf club, and again little seems to have been written about its history for the wider public. Robert Bush, the Bristol pewterer, brasier and brass founder purchased the estate in the later part of the 18th century. He was an active figure in Bristol's political scene and his shop in the high street supplied goods for the Virginia trade. He was also involved in supplying trade goods to slave ships. A member of the West India Association, in 1789 he publicly opposed abolition, and in 1791 Robert Bush and Co is listed as supplying the Bristol slave trader James Rogers with £101 worth of copper manilas or currency bracelets used in West Africa for the slave ship the *Sarah*.[84] It seems to have been his son Robert Bush Jr who was responsible for the enlargement and improvement in 1808 'at very considerable expense' of the existing 'Well House' which was subsequently renamed Tracey Park House.[85]

Other properties have more tenuous but still suggestive associations with Bristol merchants. Badgeworth Court Care Centre, a home for elderly people near Cheltenham, originally known as Badgeworth Court, was built in the late 1820s by Joseph Ellis-Viner. Its gabled facade has a neo-Gothic feel and there is little on the surface to associate it with slavery. Some of the family records have since been permanently withdrawn in January 2008, including the will of W Viner Ellis, 1888; but in a separate cache of records (deposited by a firm of Bristol solicitors) we find a mortgage

associated with Badgeworth Court for the Rose Hill plantation, complete with a list of slaves. This may have post-dated the Viner's involvement, as the estate was in 1867 purchased by the Russell family, who were connected by marriage to the Paynes, prominent West India merchants from Bristol. This is an example of how 'slavery associations' may or may not indicate the estate's deeper connections to slavery.[86]

Other names recall those of Bristol merchants but more research needs to be done to establish the connections. For example, Frampton Court aside, other Clutterbucks are associated with Newark Park and Ozleworth Park. Sarah Clutterbuck, the wife of Rev Lewis Clutterbuck of Newark Park, features as a minor claimant to the Slave Compensation Records, claiming 12 slaves. The fact that she is a Clutterbuck by marriage neither precludes nor proves the family's involvement with plantation investments.[87] Just to the north of Gloucester stands Wallsworth Hall, the residence of Samuel Hayward of Gloucestershire, who remodelled the Tudor building in 1740 and who has been identified as a merchant with slavery interests.

Demolished houses are of less interest to bodies like English Heritage whose focus is understandably on surviving properties, but they are important to chart if we wish to understand the reach and depth of slavery's legacy on the shaping of the British landscape.

The anti-slavery arch at Paganhill near Stroud is a case in point. It was originally the entrance to Farmhill Park (now demolished) (Fig 2.12). The arch has only recently been refurbished by a new generation of grassroots campaigners, having languished, un-provenanced and virtually forgotten on what is now the grounds of Stroud's Archway school.

Erected by anti-slavery campaigner Henry Wyatt, Farmhill Park's new owner, to celebrate the Slave Emancipation Act of 1833, the arch was reportedly the only emancipation monument of this size in Britain. Allowed to fall into decay by subsequent owners, it is ironic that the original wrought-iron gates that first graced it now hang at Dodington House, whose slavery associations are detailed by Natalie Zacek elsewhere in this volume. Its recent refurbishment attests to a changing political climate further encouraged by the anti-slavery commemorations of 2007.

Conclusion

The profits made from slave plantations, the slave trade and the trade with slave colonies enabled to varying extents these West Country proprietors of stately homes to play increasingly genteel roles as magistrates, MPs and patrons of the arts. The wealth of some Bristol slave traders and planters found its way into properties beyond the adjoining counties of Somerset and Gloucestershire, as in the case of Edward Colston whose final resting place was at Mortlake in Surrey and whose heirs resided in Oxford. The Pinney family of Bristol and Nevis went on to build Bettiscombe Manor and Racedown House in Dorset. The former famously housed a 'screaming skull' which legend ascribed to that of a former black servant.

Within the counties under consideration in this chapter we noted the close connections between many families with interests in slavery and saw how, for example, the Gorges, the Smyths and the Codringtons were interrelated through marriage, as were the Wynters and the Blathwaytes. Both families and properties were closely associated. John Philip Miles lived at Naish House while he was building Leigh Court[88] and it was Miles who bought Kingsweston House from the Southwells in 1832. The Brickdales and the Eltons were Merchants Venturers together, and John Brickdale and Abraham Elton II were political associates of Edward Southwell MP, who proclaimed himself a 'slave' to his demanding Bristol constituents. The Gibbs and the Brights were business associates. Patrons

employed the same artists to improve their properties. Thus did the Smyths, Winstones and Miles's all commission Humphrey Repton to landscape their gardens as did other West Country estate owners with slavery links. The Miles and the Eltons encouraged artists and writers.

But precisely how important was the wealth derived from the labour or indeed the sale of enslaved Africans to the construction, renovation or landscaping of these beautiful properties? Funded as they were by a multifarious range of economic interests, interests embedded in a genealogical maze of bewildering complexity, it is more often than not impossible to gauge the specific contribution that slavery-related wealth made to a particular property. But even when we can ascertain only less quantifiable 'slavery associations', the very fact that such connections existed and did so in such profusion is significant in itself.

Unearthing these 'slavery associations' property by property, establishing the development of such associations through time and noting the way regional proximity to slaving ports relates to the pattern of country house building and renovation adds an additional dimension to the more synchronic picture afforded to us by the Slave Compensation Act database. But to do so in a comprehensive way is a gargantuan task which needs the joint efforts of both amateur and professional historians. Incorporating the findings into the way such properties are publicly represented and responsive to the sensibilities of a diverse public is the next task and one equally worth doing. To do so will enrich our understanding not only of England's architectural heritage but also of our own place in history.

3

Rural retreats: Liverpool slave traders and their country houses

Jane Longmore

Introduction

Liverpool has wrestled with its uncomfortable past more than any other British port involved in the slave trade. Approximately 1.17 million Africans were transported into slavery in ships belonging to the port. No wonder it was dubbed 'the metropolis of slavery' in 1806.[1] The location of the International Slavery Museum in Liverpool, part of the 'maritimisation' of British transatlantic slavery, is also tacit recognition of the city's sense of shame.[2] This discomfort was already evident within a half-century of the abolition of the British slave trade: a local antiquarian writing in 1853 noted the biblical condemnation of slavery, then added consolingly:

> It is a remarkable fact, that of the large number of Liverpool persons who made fortunes in the African slave trade, and some of them acquired by that odious traffic considerable wealth, it only remained, in very few instances, in their families, until the third generation, and in many cases it was dispersed or disappeared in the first generation, after the death of the persons acquiring it.[3]

The apparent transience of wealth derived from the slave trade prompted this study. Although the immediate profitability of the trade has received much attention from historians, it has been more difficult to trace the long-term investment of these profits. Madge Dresser offered a pioneering study of the re-investment of funds generated by the slave trade in urban development and the construction of country houses in and around Bristol,[4] but surprisingly little similar research has been undertaken for Liverpool, Britain's premier slaving port. Did Liverpool's merchants also spend the profits of slavery on rural retreats?

Liverpool's role in the slave trade may be notorious but remarkably little has been known about its slave-trading community until recently. This has been partly redressed by David Pope's preliminary examination of the social mobility of Liverpool's late 18th-century slave merchants.[5] Pope examines the extent to which the social aspirations of the leading Liverpool slave traders were fulfilled through entry into a higher social class by marriage, by the promotion of their children's education, marriages and careers and by the purchase of landed property. He suggests that few of Liverpool's leading slave merchants left great wealth, with approximately three-quarters of his sample leaving personal estates and effects valued at under £10,000 for probate purposes and more than one-half leaving under £5,000. Significant slave-generated wealth appeared to be concentrated among a minority of Liverpool merchants, although Pope acknowledges that this might be questionable, as probate records of this period are silent on the value of landed possessions. Using the Land Tax Assessments of 1798 for Liverpool and the surrounding townships he pinpoints a number of houses and other types of property owned by slave merchants, casting further doubt on conclusions based on probate records alone.

This study approaches the issue from a different angle by examining the country houses built in the 18th and early 19th centuries outside Liverpool in an attempt to determine the extent to which the profits of slave trading underpinned their construction. It will examine the individual histories of the builders of a number of these houses in order to explore the relationship between the slave trade

and the construction (or reconstruction) of the country house. The main emphasis is on those who were involved directly in the slave trade, although it is clearly recognised that a number of Liverpool mercantile families also built fortunes from involvement in slavery through plantation ownership or management.

Whether these homes were occasional rural retreats from business or country seats for subsequent generations, there is insufficient evidence to pinpoint the exact relationship between their construction and the profits of slavery. There is, however, ample evidence of the scale and type of participation in the slave trade by Liverpool merchants and this makes it possible to move towards a more sophisticated understanding of the relationship between these activities and the construction of country houses. Three different types of involvement have been identified in order to offer more precise categorisation of the links with investment in property:

1. those who were specialists in the slave trade;
2. those who engaged in the trade as an extension of other activities directly related to slavery, such as plantation management;
3. those who traded in slaves as an adjunct to their other commercial ventures, which were either indirectly related or unrelated to slavery.

A key methodological challenge is immediately apparent: many of the houses have disappeared without trace under the suburban sprawl which surrounds the modern city. In his original 1950s survey of South Lancashire, Nikolaus Pevsner noted that it was 'the most difficult area I have had to describe' with heavy urbanisation and rapid redevelopment leading to significant architectural losses.[6] This view was echoed in a guide to the country houses of the North West, published in the 1990s: 'more fine old houses have been demolished in south Lancashire than in any other part of England in the 20th century'.[7] Liverpool had a particularly poor record for preserving the houses constructed by the 18th- and 19th-century mercantile and industrial magnates.

This was not, however, a simple act of cultural vandalism. The City of Liverpool's Information Officer, describing a number of these mansions in 1957, remarked crisply:

> Of these houses … it is too easy to wax sentimental over their passing, but it must be remembered that a surfeit of such properties is indeed an embarrassment to any authority. What are vast houses by any modern standards, built only for the specific purpose of displaying Victorian families to the best advantage, can seldom be adapted to any other purpose, and the care and maintenance of such establishments must inevitably become an insupportable burden to any community. Where no useful purpose can be served by their continued existence these houses are far better demolished and forgotten rather than they should be left to stumble into a degrading and pitiable decay.[8]

Although it is tempting to link the disappearance of so many houses with mounting guilt about Liverpool's slave-trading past, this statement suggests a more straightforward reason: the problem of maintaining the former homes of the wealthy seemed utterly irrelevant in a city desperately awaiting the massive slum clearance programme of the 1960s.

Given the extent of these losses, historical maps are invaluable for the historian trying to reconstruct the relationship between the profits of the slave trade and the construction of mansions in the countryside around Liverpool. Yates and Perry's map of 1768, for example, shows country seats within a 6-mile (10km) radius of the town.[9] When compared with Bennison's large-scale map of Liverpool and its environs in 1835 it is possible to reconstruct the scale of construction during the period of Liverpool's predominance in the slave trade.[10] Several dozen country houses surrounded by a mixture of parkland and formal gardens can be identified within a 6-mile radius of Liverpool; the detail from Bennison's map in Figure 3.1 shows three such houses in close proximity.

Pope's study identifies 201 Liverpool slave merchants in the period 1750–99 but he lists only 16 with country homes at a distance from Liverpool and a further 23 with large homes in the countryside surrounding Liverpool.[11] Furthermore, he does not distinguish between construction and ownership. While it is recognised that the profits of the slave trade might have been invested in renting or buying a country home, this study focuses mainly on the heavier investment involved in building or reconstructing significant houses close to Liverpool. Only 14 of the 23 houses around Liverpool listed by Pope can be identified as having been built or rebuilt by a slave trader. A further 10 homes built by slave traders are not included in Pope's list but have been identified from local studies. This gives a total of 24 country homes built or rebuilt by slave traders within a 6-mile radius of Liverpool, 10 of which were constructed in the 1770s. More details of these 24 houses are provided in the Appendix, although the residential patterns of their owners remain under-researched. They may have been 'rural retreats', similar to the weekend or summer residences maintained by London merchants in the 18th century.[12]

Of course, not all of the rural retreats near Liverpool in this period were constructed by slave traders, offering a cautionary perspective on the argument of Eric Williams that Liverpool owed its growth and prosperity to the slave trade.[13] A number of country properties were the seats of long-established noble and gentry families, such as Croxteth Hall (the Earls of Sefton), Knowsley Hall (the Earls of Derby) and Speke Hall (the Norris family). These ancient estates fared better than the rural retreats built by the slave traders: of the 24 country homes of slave traders identified from local studies and Pope's analysis, only four remain standing (Fig 3.2).

Fortunately, the photographic passion of a Victorian warehouseman, James Alfred Waite, ensured that there is at least a visual record of some of the lost mansions. Waite was head of the warehousing department of Lamport and Holt Ltd in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In his spare time he travelled around Lancashire taking photographs of 'architectural antiquities' and compiled 10 volumes of (undated) images between 1888 and 1921.[14] Waite's photographs are occasionally annotated by a later hand which provides a melancholy record of the dates of demolition 'in the public interest'. Finch House, Finch Lane, West Derby is a good example of one of the lost houses photographed by Waite: a four-storey late-Georgian house which reputedly took seven years to build using bricks 'of superior quality' (Fig 3.3). This was the property of the Gildart family whose patriarch, Richard Gildart, had interests in salt and slaves. The family had pretensions: Gildart had been the subject of a magnificent portrait by Joseph Wright in 1769. The earlier Finch House with 41 acres of adjoining land was purchased by Gildart from the Earl of Derby in the early 18th century. It was rebuilt in the 1770s by Gildart's son, Francis, who had been the town clerk of Liverpool since 1742 and had a town house in Church Street.[15] Finch House offers an example of one of the rare occasions when J A Waite gained entry to photograph an interior[16] (Fig 3.4). The house was known to have fine mahogany doors and walnut shelves and drawers; this view of the dining room fireplace shows an elaborately carved overmantle. Waite's photographs were to record almost 30 similar houses within a five-mile radius of the centre of Liverpool, the majority of which had links with slavery.

It is impossible to determine how far the construction of the Gildarts' extravagant rural retreat was funded from the profits of slavery rather than from their other commercial ventures but there is no doubt that the house had longstanding connections with slavery. Francis' brother, James, had been a captain in the slave trade and subsequently became a merchant with slave-trading interests; Finch House was his country residence until his death in 1790. The house was then occupied by William James, who was one of the leading slave traders in Liverpool, with at least 139 known voyages between 1758 and 1778. After he died in 1798, John Tarleton, member of a family with extensive interests in the slave trade, lived at Finch House before retiring to a fashionable London address.[17] The house was demolished in March 1912.

The scale of investment in such construction can be deduced from the building history of another of the lost houses. Lee Hall in Little Woolton was subsequently to be recognised as an architectural gem. Its story sheds valuable light on the business practices and dynastic ambitions of the mercantile elite of 18th-century Liverpool. This elegant house was built in the early 1770s by John Okill, a Liverpool timber merchant, shipbuilder and occasional slave trader. Waite provides an interesting view of the front elevation, which was possibly designed by Thomas Lightoler (Fig 3.5). More detailed scale drawings of this magnificent elevation survive at the Liverpool Record Office, drawn by an architectural student just prior to the demolition of the house in 1956 (Fig 3.6).

Born in about 1687, John Okill had been drawn to Liverpool from Burtonwood, near Warrington. He became a very successful timber merchant and shipbuilder, as well as being mentioned in the Company of Merchants trading to Africa in 1750.[18] It is difficult to establish the balance of his business interests, although he is mentioned in five slave-trading partnerships in the late 1740s, carrying over 1,500 slaves to the West Indies.[19] At the same time, Okill had a number of lucrative contracts for building naval vessels; these continued into the 1750s.[20] Remaining close to his business concerns, he lived in Park Lane, Liverpool, with his housekeeper, Elizabeth Richardson and had no children. Two years before his death at the age of 86 in August 1773, however, he began to build 'a large capital mansion house' in Little Woolton 'on which he had expended about £2,500'. A private Act of Parliament relating to Okill's will indicates that his principal beneficiary, his nephew James Okill, had then spent a further £420 on completing the house, 'making the same fit for the reception of his family'. The house and adjoining 123 acres had a yearly value of £364 10s (£364.50); in contrast, Okill's personal estate and effects totalled only £214 18s 6d (£214.93), incidentally reinforcing the fragility of estimating wealth on the basis of contemporary wills. Despite spending approximately £3,000 on the construction of Lee Hall (approximately £190,000 in current values), in addition to the cost of the land, it is clear that, at 84-years-old, Okill was not building for himself and was probably attempting to establish a country seat for his dynasty. If so, his efforts were unsuccessful: James had been married since 1777 but no children were born alive in the following seven years and Lee Hall eventually passed out of the hands of the family.[21]

It would appear that 18th-century Liverpool merchants, such as Okill, remained preoccupied with business rather than rushing to embrace the life of a country gentleman. Their rural retreats were still on the fringes of the town and construction was often delayed until they had retired from business. Even when they invested in country property at an earlier age, their residential patterns are difficult to establish, as already indicated. Jonathan Blundell, for example, who was involved in at least 56 slave voyages between 1751 and 1780, built a pretty stone mansion called Larkhill just over three miles from the centre of Liverpool in 1770 (Fig 3.7). Yet Blundell is listed in the Liverpool street directories throughout the 1770s and 1780s at his home in Water Street, while the family's business interests were increasingly turning in the direction of the lucrative Wigan coalfield. Blundell finally moved to Blackley Hurst House, near Billinge in 1796. The lithograph may carry a clue regarding the predominantly recreational purpose of Larkhill, portraying the house as the backdrop for two gentlemen with guns and accompanying hunting dogs.

Similarly, Thomas Staniforth, one of the 73 leading slave merchants of late 18th-century Liverpool identified by Pope,[22] built Broad Green Hall in Childwall in 1786 but preferred to live in the mansion built by his father-in-law in Ranelagh Street in the heart of Liverpool. Staniforth had interests in whaling and rope-making and was a partner in a liquor business. He was active in municipal politics, being elected to the immensely powerful closed Corporation of Liverpool in 1781 and becoming Mayor in 1797. Is it entirely surprising that he was inclined to spend only occasional time at Broad Green, four miles from the heart of his daily concerns?

In fact, there is clear evidence in surviving business papers that Liverpool merchants were reluctant to abandon the excitement of commerce. John Sparling was in partnership with William Bolden in the Virginia trade from the 1750s, importing turpentine, tar and tobacco and exporting salt, hardware and woollen goods.[23] Sparling also had interests in at least 29 slaving voyages between 1767 and 1793, although it is impossible to identify the value of the separate elements of his business, as there is virtually no reference to his slave-trading activities in the surviving letter-book.[24] Further complexity is generated by Sparling's leap into speculation in building land in the difficult trading conditions of the early 1770s. Property speculation tied up cash and was generally the preserve of non-mercantile investors[25] but, with war looming and trade stagnant, Messrs Sparling and Company purchased 4.68 acres of a former market garden from Thomas Critchlow in about 1770. By 1772 they had laid out and paved Sparling Street.[26] Together they may have received a net return of 150 per cent over approximately 15 years on this investment. Sparling's venture into property speculation paid handsome dividends on another front. He appears to have purchased land further south and to have paid for its embankment out into the River Mersey. This was sold to the Corporation in 1774/5 as the site of the intended Queen's Dock for £6,700, a phenomenal price, even taking into account the costs of embankment (£1,450). It is tempting to conclude that Sparling's election to the Common Council in 1768 and mayoralty in 1770 were significant in giving him preferential knowledge of the Corporation's plans for dock construction.[27] This windfall may have helped to fuel Sparling and Company's investment in privateering in the late 1770s, with at least five large vessels owned by the partnership during the American Revolutionary War.[28]

Thus, during the 1770s and 1780s Sparling had interests in the Virginia trade, slaving, privateering and land speculation. Much of the risk (and hence, the profit) was shared with his long-term business partner, William Bolden, so that the extent of Sparling's personal profits will probably never be known. Nonetheless, his career does shed further light on the mentality of the mercantile community and their attitude to wealth and status. It has long been assumed, for example, that social status was keenly sought alongside commercial success and that the profits of the trade, including slaving, were invested in country estates for this purpose. Yet for most of his 40 years in business Sparling resided in a large house in Duke Street, with his counting house to the rear in Henry Street. His partners, Bolden and, in the 1770s, the timber merchants, Edward Mason and Cornelius Bourne, all lived in the same fashionable area of south Liverpool. During this period, he also served as High Sheriff of Lancashire (1785) and Mayor of Liverpool (1770 and 1790).

Sparling's interest in country property would therefore appear to have been only part of a complex web of investments in the early 1770s rather than a major quest for gentrification. He purchased the St Domingo estate, two miles from Liverpool in the village of Everton for £3,470 in 1773. The price included the curious mansion erected by George Campbell who had named the estate after the capture of several rich prizes off St Domingo in the West Indies in the 1750s. It was not until 1793 that Sparling began to completely remodel the house into an imposing classical mansion (Fig 3.8), simultaneously indulging his passion for beautiful trees. With meticulous attention to the after-life, Sparling also purchased a handsome vault in Walton churchyard visible from the windows of his mansion. Despite this lavish expenditure, two surviving letters from the late 1790s confirm that St Domingo had been used only occasionally until Sparling finally retired from business in 1799:

> I observe by the newspapers you have advertised your house etc in Liverpool for sale, from which I conclude you are altogether retired from business and that you mean to make St Domingo *your constant residence*. Knowing your aversion to an indolent life I am not surprised at this step provided that you were determined to give up the bustle of commerce.[29]

Perhaps even more intriguingly Sparling had purchased an estate at Petton in Shropshire in about 1786 but does not appear to have resided there either. The 'indolent' life of a country gentleman

may have been unappealing to a man steeped in 'the bustle of commerce'. By contrast, his son, William, was to show no apparent difficulty in distancing himself from trade, helped by his education at Eton and the purchase of a commission in an exclusive army regiment, the 10th Hussars. William Sparling moved permanently to the Shropshire estate in 1804 and appears to have cut all ties with Liverpool. The early 18th-century church of Petton was to become a virtual mausoleum for his descendants, who also rebuilt Petton Hall in 1892 after the union of the Sparlings with another former Liverpool slave-trading family, the Cunliffes. This opulent neo-Elizabethan mansion with oak panelling and staircases, plasterwork ceilings and huge stone chimneypieces remains a clear embodiment of the longevity of wealth generated from the trade (Fig 3.9).

The specialist slave traders

Few Liverpool merchants specialised solely in the slave trade and the surviving accounts and letter-books from the period generally cover a range of commodities. This makes the letter-books of Robert Bostock, 1779–92, particularly valuable as he appears to have operated mainly in the slave trade.[30] Born in Cheshire in 1743, he had been apprenticed to his uncle in Liverpool and was operating as a slave captain by 1769. Success in a privateering venture in 1779 may have provided some of the capital for his transition to merchant by 1786. He appears to have limited himself to the slave trade and associated African produce which, as Stephen Behrendt has suggested, was the norm for former slave captains who became merchants.[31] It is clear from his letters that he had insufficient capital to move his business on to a more profitable footing. His vessels were generally small (between 50 and 100 tons) and the surviving accounts for one of his voyages indicate an investment of £1,865 13s 2d, not including the cost of the vessel or advances in wages for the crew.[32] He was operating on a relatively small scale and appears to have made only modest profits, leaving him vulnerable to cash flow problems. In June 1790, for example, he wrote to his agent on the West African coast requesting settlement of a debt and commenting that:

> 'it lays very hard upon me to have so much money locked up at Africa … I hope you will take it into consideration and consider my situation,[5] small children and another a coming and release me from these difficulties … you know I have no partners, … it would not be so heavy if there was three or four, but it lies a heavy burthen upon one.'[33]

Bostock died intestate three years later leaving his wife and six children in a house in Union Street, off the 'narrow and very dirty' Old Hall Street[34] (Fig 3.10). His widow Elizabeth probably had little choice but to pursue a trade: she is listed as a 'liquor merchant' in the 1796 street directory.[35]

Bostock's career suggests that former slave captains who became merchants specialising in the slave trade were unlikely to see profits on the same scale as those with more diverse trading interests. Although he was recorded as having property in Kirkdale and Bootle in the Land Tax Assessment of 1798, his main residence was clearly his house in Union Street. Interestingly, Bostock and Sparling had almost the same scale of involvement in the slave trade but lack of other trading outlets made Bostock more vulnerable to cash flow problems and, ultimately, less successful.

Similarly, William Boats, the son of a Liverpool barber, was a sole trader who invested in at least 145 slave voyages between 1752 and his death in 1794 (Fig 3.11). In spite of the massive scale of his activities, there is no record of Boats owning a country residence, prompting questions about the long-term stability of fortunes derived solely from the slave trade. It is probably safe to conclude that the slave trade alone was insufficient to generate solid wealth unless the investment was fuelled by other commercial ventures. Focusing on one trade led to vulnerability: in the 1770s, for example, the Liverpool Town Books refer to 'the low ebb of the Africa trade during the Revolt of America'.[36] For

sole traders, therefore, it is a fairly straightforward matter to establish the relationship between the slave trade and investment in landed property. These were not generally the owners of the 'lost houses' of Liverpool.

From agents and plantation managers to slave traders

Those who had made a fortune through other aspects of slavery and then re-invested their gains in the slave trade appeared to be able to fund more substantial investment in real estate. Money accumulated from a successful period as a trusted agent in the West Indies could also launch a mercantile career. Moses Benson, the son of an Ulverston salt-dealer, moved from captaincy in the West India trade to acting as an agent in Jamaica for his employer, the Lancaster merchant Abraham Rawlinson. Benson built a considerable fortune before returning home and establishing himself as a merchant in Liverpool in the late 1770s. With a good knowledge of all aspects of trade with the West Indies it was almost inevitable that he would deal in slaves as well, investing in at least 67 voyages before his death in 1806. Although he continued to reside in a large house in Kent Street, Liverpool until his death and was buried in St James' Church, Toxteth Park, Benson had purchased a large estate in Shropshire, Lutwyche Hall, near Wenlock in the 1780s. This late 16th-century brick mansion had been remodelled in the mid-18th century (and further remodelled in neo-Jacobean style in the Victorian period) and boasted good plasterwork and an impressive staircase.[37] Once again, the 'bustle of business' and the sociability of the late 18th-century town appeared more attractive than life in the countryside. It was left to Benson's son, Ralph, to pursue the existence of a Shropshire landed gentleman.

A similar trajectory was followed by Richard Watt who had come to Liverpool in about 1740 from Standish, near Wigan and subsequently made a fortune as a merchant and plantation manager in Jamaica. His surviving accounts reveal that he was already a multi-millionaire in modern terms with a fortune of about £97,000 when he finally left Jamaica in 1782.[38] He established the firm of Messrs Watt and Walker in Liverpool and also built the mansion of Oak Hill, Old Swan in 1783. In the same year he purchased the Bishop Barton Estate in Yorkshire. When Richard Watt died in 1796 he left almost £500,000 to his nephews, Richard Watt and Richard Walker, who resided in Duke Street, one of the favoured localities for Liverpool merchants in this period. Just prior to his death Watt had bought the manor of Speke, including the magnificent, timber-framed Tudor mansion, Speke Hall (Fig 3.12). Neither uncle nor nephew may ever have lived there: when the heavy neo-Tudor furniture was auctioned in 1812, it was described as 'quite new and but just finished in great taste, and has never been used'.[39] Watt's fortune may have been used to purchase the oak dining tables and chairs, 'Gothic' lamps and candelabra, heavy crimson curtains, Turkish carpets, four-poster beds and a dog-grate 'to suit the antique costume of true baronial magnificence'. There was an obvious emphasis on using the mansion for entertaining, with card tables in the drawing room and a lead-lined sarcophagus wine cooler with large brass handles in the great hall. Despite this sale, Speke Hall's association with the West Indian wealth of the Watt family was long-running: Adelaide Watt, the last private owner of Speke Hall, remained there until her death in 1921. The Speke estate was sold to the Corporation for the construction of a vast housing estate between 1938 and the early 1950s. The house passed to the National Trust in 1943 and now stands rather forlornly adjacent to the runways of John Lennon Airport.

Slave trading as part of a mixed commercial portfolio

The third category, those who aligned slave trading with their other commercial interests, appear to have been the most likely to be able to invest significantly in landed property. Shipbuilders, such as John Okill, and those trading in other commodities, such as the salt and tobacco merchant, Richard Gildart and the Virginia trader John Sparling, have already been mentioned. They worked steadily over several decades, building their fortunes and spreading their risks carefully. Of course, there were some who were prepared to take higher risks in their combination of commercial interests: periodic outbreaks of hostility afforded opportunities to boost mercantile profits through privateering. Captain John Dawson, for example, who captured the immensely valuable French East Indiaman, the *Carnatic* in October 1778, carrying spices and diamonds, was to marry the daughter of his employer, the shipbuilder Peter Baker and to become a partner in the firm of Baker and Dawson.[40] The mansion built by Peter Baker at Mossley Hill, 3 miles south of Liverpool, was clearly linked to the captured prize, bearing the name 'Carnatic Hall' (Fig 3.13). The partners then began to invest more heavily in the slave trade and had completed over 100 voyages by the early 1790s. This made them one of the biggest slave-trading partnerships in late 18th-century Liverpool. Success was not guaranteed, however. In 1786 Baker and Dawson had signed a contract with the Spanish government to supply slaves to Spanish America.[41] Despite delivering more than 11,000 slaves with an estimated value in excess of £350,000, they over-reached themselves: Dawson was declared bankrupt with estimated debts of £500,000 during the credit crisis of 1793.[42] Such eye-watering losses dwarfed the activities of minor players in the slave trade and demonstrated the risks of focusing too heavily on the slave trade alone.

More sustained profits were made when the risk was managed and more diverse business interests were combined with high levels of investment in the slave trade. In the final decade of the 18th century, a number of established Liverpool merchants sensed a crucial opportunity to profit from the impending abolition of the slave trade and demonstrated a clear appetite for risk. With demand remaining high, these merchants increased their level of investment in the trade. Consequently, the 1790s saw a huge total tonnage of slave ships leaving Liverpool, the highest of the entire century. A number of spectacular gains were made in this decade, leading to the investment of these profits in country houses of a different order from those of the 1770s and 1780s.

Thomas Leyland provides a prime example of the phenomenal profits to be made in this decade. Previously Leyland had been involved in the European and Irish trades; his surviving letter-books from the 1780s reveal very little mention of the slave trade.[43] His existing profits probably generated the funds needed for heavy investment in the trade, just as others were beginning to withdraw in the face of an increasingly vocal abolition lobby and the heavy risks of wartime. By the 1790s Leyland and Co were making a substantial investment in the trade and generating considerable profits. For example, they invested £5,451 in cargo alone and another £4,700 for building and fitting out the slave ship, the *Earl of Liverpool*, in April 1797. Wages for the crew totalled over £1,100 leaving an approximate profit of £10,500 after the sale of 337 enslaved Africans in Kingston, Jamaica.[44] Leyland and Co's vessel, the *Lottery*, netted a profit of £12,091 from a voyage in 1798 and a staggering £19,021 from a voyage in 1802. On occasion, Leyland would have more than one vessel involved in slaving voyages. Very few merchants had the capacity to tie up so much capital for the best part of 18 months and, in this sense, Leyland and Co were at the opposite end of the mercantile spectrum from Bostock and the hundreds of small investors in Liverpool slave ships in this period. Leyland's profits were sufficiently extensive to allow him to enter banking and to achieve one of his lifelong ambitions by buying a landed estate at Walton Hall in 1804 (Fig 3.14). He died worth at least £600,000 although, given the lack of surviving business records, it is still impossible to separate the various strands comprising his wealth.

Leyland's partner, Thomas Molyneux, was also willing to invest in the slave trade in this decade and may have used the profits to buy the large Fairfield estate and build Newsham House, 2 miles from the centre of Liverpool. Even more spectacularly, John Bolton invested the profits which he had derived from his decade as an agent in the West Indies and from 30 slave voyages between 1787 and 1799 in a 1,000-acre estate and Storrs Hall on the eastern bank of Lake Windermere.[45] Yet, despite the magnificence of this house with its own pier leading to a gazebo called the 'Temple of the Heroes', it was not easy for a merchant to be absorbed into the gentry of his native county. After Bolton had entertained Canning, Wordsworth and Sir Walter Scott at Storrs Hall in August 1825, Scott's biographer remarked rather acidly: 'It has not, I suppose, often happened to a plain English merchant, wholly the architect of his own fortune, to entertain at one time a party embracing so many illustrious names.'[46] Despite a distance of 74 miles by road, Bolton continued to maintain a house in Duke Street, Liverpool and died there at the age of 80 in 1837. Even in this case, the country house was no more than his occasional summer residence, although Mrs Bolton appears to have lived there permanently, perhaps preferring to be close to her childhood home in Whitehaven.

While these three categories are not exhaustive, they highlight the considerable differences between the properties secured by investors in the slave trade. Huge profits and country homes were the preserve of the minority, possibly between 10 and 20 per cent of those involved and usually those with multiple business interests. The multiplicity of these commercial interests make it impossible to identify the exact contribution of slave-generated wealth to the construction of these rural retreats but, whether used as places of recreation or built to serve dynastic ambitions, they offered a channel for investing profits from the trade.

The subsequent fate of the residences located on the outskirts of Liverpool provides an ironic postscript to this unhappy phase of the city's history. One by one the mansions disappeared as the expanding city engulfed them and made them less desirable. Newsham House was purchased by Liverpool Corporation in 1846 after the bankruptcy of Molyneux's grandson. Thomas Leyland's grand dynastic vision was never realised. After his death in 1827 his childless widow remained at Walton Hall until 1839 when the estate passed to her nephew Richard. Walton Hall was demolished in 1900 and the 120-acre estate was purchased by the Corporation of Liverpool. Both purchases were part of a long-running civic initiative to tackle one of the most notorious sanitary problems of 19th-century Liverpool: the lack of open spaces. In 1868, a sizeable section of the former Newsham Estate was officially opened as a public park, the first of the projected 'ribbon of parks' around the city, complete with large lake and adjacent boating pond. War and economic depression delayed progress but, in 1934, Walton Hall Park also opened for public enjoyment (Fig 3.15). Of course, it could be argued these sales brought further profits to the descendants of the slave traders but the people of Liverpool were also beneficiaries as the city gradually acquired one of the most extensive areas of urban parkland in 20th-century Britain (Fig 3.16). A recent study of Liverpool's historic parks and gardens noted that 'few British cities incorporate so extensive and varied a resource of public green spaces'.[47] As Councillor Bowring stated when he officially donated Roby Hall and its grounds to the City in 1907, 'he believed the Corporation were prepared to make it a place which would add to the happiness, culture and pleasure of the citizens of this great city'.[48] Understandably, his speech did not mention that the mansion had been rebuilt in the 1760s by the slave trader, John Williamson. Similarly, the parks at Walton Hall, Larkhill and Newsham and a number of other similar public spaces had all been the former estates of slave traders purchased at the expense of the 'happiness, culture and pleasure' of thousands of Africans traded into slavery in Liverpool ships.

Appendix: Country houses constructed by Liverpool merchants with slave trading interests, 1699–1807[49]

1. Allerton: a grand residence built by Jacob and Caleb Fletcher, sons of a wealthy Liverpool privateer, in the early 1800s. The Fletchers were involved in two large slave voyages in 1802 and 1806. The house was burnt down soon after completion and rebuilt in 1815. Liverpool Corporation bought the estate in 1921; the house was gutted by fire in 1944.
2. Allerton Hall: home of the Lathom family, 1659, sold to the Hardmans in 1736 for £7,700 and rebuilt in the Palladian style. The Hardmans were involved in *c* 46 slave voyages between 1729 and 1761. The house was given to the Corporation in 1923.
3. Ashfield: built by James Clemens, Mayor in 1776 who was involved in at least 35 slave voyages, 1753–85. The house had lovely gardens. It was then occupied by John Clarke (1769–1829), a minor slave trader. After later rebuilding it was renamed Thingwall House but was demolished after a fire in 2004.
4. Broad Green Hall, Childwall: built 1786 by Thomas Staniforth as his country home although he did not spend much time there, preferring his town house in Ranelagh Street. Staniforth was involved in at least 71 slave voyages, 1757–98. Demolished 1951.
5. Carnatic Hall, Mossley Hill: built by Peter Baker (1731–96) who was involved in at least 53 slave voyages, 1767–88. The house was burnt down in 1890, rebuilt but finally demolished in 1964.
6. Deysbrook (formerly Summer Vale): built in the 18th century with extensive grounds and an 11-acre lawn. It had been leased by the Townsend family from Lord Molyneux and was purchased by the Blundells in 1776. The Blundell family was responsible for over 100 slave voyages in the second half of the 18th century.[50] Demolished mid-1950s.
7. Elm House: built *c* 1770 by John Parr, a Liverpool merchant whose family was involved in 72 slave voyages, 1727–1804. Demolished.
8. Fairfield Hall: built 1775 by Edward Falkner, a Liverpool merchant who was involved in eight slave voyages, 1784–1808. Demolished in 1927.
9. Finch House: rebuilt *c* 1775 as a four-storey brick mansion by Francis Gildart, town clerk of Liverpool, 1742–89. Part (41 acres) of the Moore estates sold by the Earl of Derby to Francis' father, Richard Gildart, Virginia merchant and slave trader (1671–1770) in the early 18th century. Also the residence of James Gildart (1711–90). The Gildarts were involved in 55 slave voyages, 1735–75. Finch House was later the residence of William James (1734–98) and John Tarleton (1755–1841) who were also involved in the slave trade. Demolished in March 1912.
10. Firgrove House: built *c* 1770 by Joseph Jackson, junior, a Liverpool merchant who was involved in three slave voyages in the mid-1750s.[51] Demolished *c* 1930.
11. Highfield House: built *c* 1750 by Thomas Wakefield, a Liverpool sugar baker and partner of Thomas Seel.[52] Seel was a partner or sole owner in 30 slave voyages which carried 6,699 slaves between 1736 and 1758. Highfield House was later the residence of Thomas Parke (1729/30–1819) who was involved in at least 72 slave voyages between 1755 and 1792. Demolished *c* 1920.
12. Larkhill: a stone-faced mansion built by Jonathan Blundell in 1770. He was involved in at least 56 slave voyages between 1751 and 1780. The house was demolished in 1962 after the discovery of dry rot and the grounds became Larkhill Park.
13. Lee Hall: possibly designed by Lightoler and built in 1773 for John Okill as part of his 123-acre estate. Okill was involved in 12 slave voyages between 1747 and 1759 carrying 3,773 slaves. Lee Hall was demolished in 1956.

14. May Place: built pre-1769 by William Williamson. He was involved in about 20 slave voyages between 1742 and 1771. A rare survival.
15. Moss House: rebuilt as a brick mansion in 1776 by Peter and Mary Rigby on the site of an older stone house dating from 1600. Rigby was an ironmonger and merchant of Pool Lane and Mayor of Liverpool in 1774. He was involved in at least 35 slave voyages between 1760 and 1795. The house remained in the Rigby family until 1904 and was demolished in 1914.
16. Newsham House, Fairfield: a large red-brick house built at the end of the 18th century by Thomas Molyneux (1753–1835) who was involved in 39 known slave voyages, 1784–99. The house was settled on his son, Anthony Molyneux (died 1838). It was purchased by the Corporation in the 1840s for £80,000 after the bankruptcy of his eldest son, Thomas Blayds Molyneux, merchant of Liverpool, 4 September 1841.
17. Norris Green: built pre-1774 by William Goodwin, Mayor of Liverpool, 1757. He was involved in three slave trading partnerships between 1754 and 1756. The house was rebuilt in 1830 by Arthur Heywood II, banker. The Heywood family had been involved in over 100 slave voyages in the 18th century. Demolished.
18. Oak Hill: built 1783 by Richard Watt, West India planter. He had shares in two slave voyages in 1761 and 1767, carrying a total of 366 slaves.[53] Demolished.
19. Roby Hall: rebuilt mid-18th century by John Williamson, Mayor of Liverpool, 1761, 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.[54] It was renamed Bowring Park and opened in 1907, 'for the use of the inhabitants of Liverpool for all time'. The house was demolished post-1945.
20. Spekelands: built by Thomas Earle. The Earle family was very heavily involved in the slave trade in the 18th century with 174 confirmed voyages between 1699 and 1804, carrying 48,528 slaves. Demolished 1882.
21. St Domingo House, Everton: built in 1750s by George Campbell (died 1769) who was involved in 25 known slave voyages between 1750 and 1765. It was rebuilt in 1793 by John Sparling (1731–1800), a Virginia merchant who was involved in 29 known slave voyages between 1767 and 1793. Demolished in 1930s.
22. Summer Hill (shown on Yates' map of 1768), now Thingwall Hall, Knotty Ash: owned (built?) by Hugh Pringle (1720/1–84) who was involved in 32 known slave voyages 1753–78 and Joseph Ward (1742–1812), also involved in 50 known slave voyages 1777–99. The house was remodelled by Harvey Lonsdale Elmes *c* 1846–7 and purchased by the Brothers of Charity in 1903. They sold 47 acres of the estate to Redrow in 2000; the subsequent planning application to build 528 homes became Britain's longest-running planning dispute.
23. Walton Hall: built on the remains of a 14th-century hall which had been purchased by John Atherton of Hanover Street in 1746. Atherton was involved in 18 slave voyages, 1737–57. Walton Hall was sold by his son, John Joseph Atherton, with 300 acres in 1802 to Thomas Leyland. He lived there until 1827; his widow remained until 1839. Leyland was involved in 54 known slave voyages between 1782 and 1799. The property passed to his nephew, Richard. Demolished *c* 1900 and 120 acres acquired by the Corporation in 1907 and 1913.
24. Walton Priory: owned by George Case who was involved in 101 known slave voyages between 1769 and 1799. Demolished.

4

Lodges, garden houses and villas: the urban periphery in the early modern Atlantic world

Roger H Leech

Introduction

In a volume devoted to slavery and the British country house it may be useful to focus briefly on the country house in the islands where slavery produced the wealth that underpinned so much country house construction and modification in England. The profits of slavery supported not only the British country house, but also the merchant and planter houses of the British Caribbean. My research, part of the Nevis Heritage Project of the Department of Archaeology in the University of Southampton, has been directed at some of the British islands of the Eastern Caribbean, notably Nevis and St Kitts, but also Barbados. Preparing at the same time a study for English Heritage of the town house in medieval and early modern Bristol, a city much involved in the Atlantic trades, I have been particularly concerned with looking at the links between the housing cultures of British merchants and their Caribbean planter counterparts, and thus to observe to what extent the changes in society evident in the transformation of the British city are apparent in the wider Atlantic world.[1]

In looking at housing culture in late medieval and early modern Bristol it is possible to see several transformations. First there is the continued use and eventual demise of the medieval open hall;[2] second, the principal focus of my paper, there is the use of the lodge or garden house as a second residence by the city's wealthy elite, as a precursor to the emergence of a community with a distinct residential zoning based on wealth; third and linked to the above is the process identified by North American scholars as 'Georgianisation', in which symmetry and order came to dominate the design of houses, as part of a wider change in society: Glassie's study, followed by Deetz and others, concluded that 'houses help us to locate an important point in the evolution of the western mind. It is the point at which face-to-face community dies'.[3] Nicholas Cooper has reached a similar conclusion looking at the evolution of the English gentry house.[4] Leone has explored the process further, arguing that the changes identified by Glassie were ideological, masking and naturalising hierarchy and inequality[5].

Nevis and St Kitts afford the opportunity to review what constituted the planter's house. Despite the fact that as in England, such houses varied in form and plan through the centuries, there is a popular conception, engendered to some extent by *Gone with the Wind*, that every plantation had a 'great house'.[6] This has fed through to the hotel industry with sufficient force to ensure that the 'plantation inn' of Montpelier on Nevis, the boiling house of the plantation, a place where slaves sweated over boiling sugar, is now presented to guests as 'the great room'; where slaves once toiled, their descendants working for the tourist industry now serve drinks and canapés to the island's holiday guests. But, as in England, houses varied in form and plan through several centuries.

Second residences

The remaining part of this chapter deals with the phenomenon of the second residence which formed part of merchant and urban culture in the early modern Atlantic world. Cities such as London, Bristol and Philadelphia were in the 18th century encircled by the second residences of

prosperous citizens – a mode of living then supported by the Atlantic trade, which can be traced back through the use of architectural and documentary evidence to the late medieval period in England. Such houses have sometimes been mistakenly identified as country houses, the residences of successful urban merchants moving to the country – for instance, the second residences of Bristol merchants such as Sir Robert Cann and Joseph Beck. On the other side of the Atlantic similar identifications can now be made. Bacon's Castle close to Jamestown in Virginia and the Spencer-Pierce-Little house to the south of Newburyport in Massachusetts have both been proposed as merchant's second residences.[7] From the mid-17th century such residences were to be found on both sides of the Atlantic, in part characterised by building in the 'artisan mannerist' style,[8] and in part by the plethora of gardens and villas surrounding the principal towns of at least two of the slavery-based sugar producing islands of the West Indies. The second residences of planters differed from those of their urban cousins, however, in being primarily garden houses or villas set at some distance from the main plantation house.

London and Bristol were in the 16th and 17th centuries increasingly ringed by lodges, garden houses or villas, the second residences of the cities' elites. These were places of retreat from the bustle of the city, houses for a summer's evening or a Sunday, for contemplation, music, entertainment and entertaining, and for the pleasure of a garden, sometimes for home grown produce or even a smallholding with cattle. The Bristol merchant George Lane held a lodge in Cantocks Close, now Park Row, in 1613, supplementing his principal residence in the city. His second residence, identified by the appraisers as 'the house att the hill', was where he died. The list of Lane's possessions shows that the house and adjoining 24 acres were both a farm and a place of retreat. To the former belonged three bee hives, tools for hay making and cheese making, 18 milk pans, a bull, 11 cows, 5 pigs and 28 sheep. To the latter belonged pictures, Venetian drinking glasses, a lute with its case, a drawing box, hamper and an undisclosed number of books.[9] In Bristol such houses often stood at one side or in a corner of the garden, often with a fairly unassuming facade to a back lane, but with an imposing elevation to the garden, very often with a good view over the city: to live in a garden house was to see and be seen, as at the vintner Ralph Oliffe's house in Upper Maudlin Lane, the northwards continuation of Park Row (Fig 4.1).

On Nevis, encountering in the process of archaeological survey gardens and garden houses now enveloped by tropical vegetation has been something of a surprise (Fig 4.2). High above Charlestown at an altitude of about 1,000ft above sea level was the plantation known as Ward's. Documentary research in the Nevis Courthouse has enabled identification of the 18th-century owners of the plantation. By 1759 it belonged to one John Ward esq, hence its name, but earlier in the century had belonged to Ralph Payne, later governor of the Leeward Islands.

A preliminary visit revealed that many ruined buildings and walls were scattered through the forest, but only as the plan from the archaeological survey began to take shape did it become evident that these were of an extensive garden laid out on a regular geometric plan (Fig 4.3). A series of garden terraces, at least one of which is now planted with cannabis, rise up above what is possibly the foundation for a long rectangular timber-framed house. Its centre is intersected by the line of a flight of entrance steps to the west and a long series of steps ascending through the garden terraces to a plantation road running above the garden. Scattered through the gardens are three or more pavilions, some now known to slave descendants as 'dungeons', one with a view out over the ravine to the north (Fig 4.4). The house and the terrace in front of it had a prospect over the hillside down towards Charlestown, but in the foreground were the sugar mill and boiling house. Payne, his family and guests could have sat here and watched the slaves of the plantation hard at work. The pavilions and the juxtaposition of leisure with industry would have found echoes in a Bristol glassworks at the end of the 18th century. The glassworks at Red Lane close to the great church of St Mary Redcliffe lay within an elaborate geometrically laid out garden complete with canal and pavilions (Fig 4.5).

In Payne's garden the regular rectangular terraces disposed across the hillside could be similarly compared with other elite gardens on the hillsides above the city of Bristol, such as the Red Lodge, and above it Lunsford House, a garden villa built for J P Furh, a merchant trading with Jamaica. Payne's garden also echoes the extensive gardens of Goldney House in Clifton, liberally scattered with summer houses or pavilions (Fig 4.6). The setting out of these elite falling gardens can be seen as forming part of the process termed 'Georgianisation', in this instance the 'ideology of naturalising the hierarchical conditions of social life through landscape architecture'.[10]

At least two further gardens were still known as such by the early 20th century. A plan of the former Pinney family's Mountravers estate in 1905 shows both 'Paris's Garden' and 'Mountravers Mansion and Garden'.[11] Paris's Garden, like that at Wards, contained both a house and a series of garden terraces, again all now enveloped in tropical vegetation (Figs 4.7 and 4.8). But unlike Ward's this complex contained no sugar mill and boiling house. Iles's map of Nevis made in 1871 provides the explanation. Paris's Works was closer to Charlestown and the sea (Fig 4.9). As around the cities of the Atlantic littoral, Paris's Garden was clearly a second residence, a place of retreat from the sugar processing works.

Mountravers garden lay on the uphill or east side of the house, again consisting of a series of garden terraces with a central path leading up the hill from the centre of the house. Features within the garden included a drip house, the Caribbean substitute for an ice house, and possibly a summerhouse tower. The latter is the 'dungeon' investigated by the television archaeology programme *Time Team*. With the subsequent discovery of the garden earthworks this feature is now best interpreted as a garden building. At Mountravers too there is little evidence for any sugar processing works; Mountravers Garden was possibly the result of the Pinney family moving their residence from the plantation at the foot of the hill appropriately named by the late 18th century as Pinney's Yard.

Summerhouse towers, similar in plan to the building at Mountravers previously identified as a dungeon, formed part of the design of two gardens to the north of Mountravers: one at Belmont, within a plantation earlier known as Wansey's, named after William Wansey, its merchant owner from Bristol; the other, possibly its predecessor, a garden immediately adjacent to the yard of Wansey's Plantation.

At Wansey's Plantation the ruins of a cattle mill, boiling house and curing house are clearly visible, together with the remains of a steam engine denoting the later conversion of the works to steam power. Overlooking the works are the ruins of a house at least 65ft in length, fronting on to a walled garden extending downhill some 55ft with towers each about 10sq ft at the corners away from the house (Fig 4.10).

To the west of the plantation is the second garden, on an eminence looking west towards the sea and possibly giving the name Belmont to the plantation formerly known as Wansey's. This garden too is now enveloped in tropical vegetation, but sufficiently clear for archaeological survey to record its overall extent: 250ft east to west in length and 150ft north to south in breadth. The interior of this garden is largely level ground, with no terracing.The only features are a building platform and adjacent cistern in the centre at the west end, overlooking the sea, and towers built in stone at three of the four corners (Figs 4.11 and 4.12). Two of the towers were 25ft east to west in length and 15ft north to south – one tenth of the dimensions of the garden; the tower at the south-west corner was smaller, only 10sq ft.

From the presence of these two gardens on the same plantation, it could be conjectured that one succeeded the other; that William Wansey, or one of his successors, built a new garden further away

from the smell and noise of the plantation yard, making use of a site which afforded views to the sea and the island of St Kitts to the north. The idea of building garden towers could certainly have been brought from Bristol, where similar towers existed within the garden of the house that the merchant Paul Fisher bought to demolish and rebuild as Clifton Hill House (Figs 4.13 and 4.14).

Villas

From lodges and garden houses I move to a consideration of what we might call 'villas': houses close to a town standing in their own grounds, and distinguished here from lodges or garden houses through not being second residences. In Bristol, Paul Fisher's first house at Clifton Hill was possibly a residence secondary to his house in High Street; the house that he built to replace it had all the appearances of being a permanent residence (Fig 4.15). Such houses were being built close to Basseterre on St Kitts and Charlestown on Nevis by the mid-18th century. These were plantation houses built in the style of English villas, close to the principal towns of the two islands, but were not second residences, at least not so far as we know from current research.

One of the best documented such houses, and one with a connection to Paul Fisher's house, is Olivees on St Kitts, on the hillside to the north of Basseterre. This was the house visited by Janet Schaw, named by the editor or publishers of her diary as 'a lady of quality'. She described the house as being on a well raised stone terrace, paved with marble, with spacious open galleries and verandahs. The 'great hall' was a large, finely proportioned room, which ran the entire length of the front, with a handsome deep cornice and ample doors, both of dark mahogany, and a panelling of the same wood. It constituted the great reception and dining room, the scene of lavish entertainment and hospitality. In addition the house had a drawing room and bedchambers finished and furnished in English style.[12]

This house, too, survives today only as a roofless ruin. A drawing of 1970 (Fig 4.16) shows the house as roofed but evidently abandoned. Prominent but not notably visible on this are the stairs forming the exterior entrance. Survey of the ruin is more informative (Fig 4.17). The stairs rise in two flights on each side, originally with a metal balustrade, the sockets for which still remain. The colonnade along the front of the house was paved in white marble, as described by Miss Schaw, and probably from the Mediterranean. A separate entrance hall to the rear was paved with limestone slabs similar to Portland stone, but shown from petrological analysis to be from the Poole Harbour region of Dorset.

The mahogany panelled hall described by Janet Schaw must have been placed over what is now a cellar open to the roof. One might have interpreted this house as being of two rooms in width, but for her assertion that the principal room extended the full width of the house.

The documentation for this house extends beyond Miss Schaw's visit to reveal first that the house was probably owned by a member of the Mills family, wealthy London merchants and plantation owners, though leased at the time of Miss Schaw's visit to her hosts Lady Isabella Erskine and William Leslie Hamilton. A second strand to the documentation is the existence of the plan of a very similar house built in England. This is Isaac Ware's depiction in 1758 of Clifton Hill House (Fig 4.18), now a hall of residence for Bristol University – the house he had recently designed for Paul Fisher, the Bristol merchant. The similarities between Olivees and Clifton Hill House are several: most notably the design of the stairs, the arrangement of the four flights of steps and the arched entrance to the basement, but also the dimensions of the ground floor and the provision of a hipped roof. The frontage of Olivees was clearly finished in shingles, perhaps a substitute for rusticated stonework.

Other such houses were the outcome of even more architecturally ambitious building projects, particularly as the 18th century progressed. At Stony Grove, close to Charlestown on Nevis, James Webbe Tobin, active in the moves to abolish slavery and who moved to Nevis in 1809,[13] must have been responsible for the construction of the grand Palladian stone-walled house that survives today as a ruin (Fig 4.19). At Mountravers, a new residential wing with a ballroom on the first floor (Fig 4.20) was added to a house dating from the 17th century, possibly by the Pinneys, or more probably by Edward Huggins to whom the property was sold in 1808.

Conclusion

In concluding we can see that second residences and villas on the urban periphery, part of merchant and urban culture in the early modern Atlantic world, were certainly present in the landscape of the sugar producing islands of the Caribbean. The profits of slavery supported not only the British country house, but also the merchant and planter houses of the British Caribbean. As in any re-examination of the country house in England, any future review of the British country house in the Caribbean will need to distinguish between the principal and second residences of the planter elite.

Houses such as Olivees, Stony Grove and Mountravers, and the baroque gardens of these and other houses, can all be seen as part of the process of ‘Georgianisation’. Symmetrical houses of classical form replaced earlier plantation houses with open halls, of which on Nevis and St Kitts the Hermitage on Nevis is the only recorded example.[14] Houses such as the Hermitage were built in an era when planters were still dependent on indentured servants for their workforce. The process of Georgianisation progressed alongside the emergence of a workforce drawn entirely from enslaved Africans. Baroque gardens conveyed the idea that society was naturally unequal.

5

Slavery's heritage footprint: links between British country houses and St Vincent plantations, 1814–34

Simon D Smith

Introduction

Slavery's contribution to British social and economic development remains a controversial topic, not least because of the continuing political debate surrounding reparations.[1] Eric Williams's pioneering investigations argued that resources drained from the Caribbean provided a significant fund of capital accumulation, boosting early industrialisation. While the argument that Britain grew rich from slavery still attracts supporters, critics object that its core methodology is flawed since Williams marshalled evidence in support of his hypothesis instead of assessing how well it withstood attempts at falsification. Revisionist estimates indicate that the flow of profits from slaving and slave-related business, while non-trivial, accounted for only a small proportion of British domestic capital formation between the mid-18th and mid-19th centuries. If this is the case, the link between past injustices and the origins of present-day wealth is weakened.[2] Approaches to understanding the relationship between slavery and the British country house continue to be influenced by the 'Williams debate'. During commemoration of abolition's bicentenary (1807–2007) Steve Martin suggested that few places in Britain are located far from prestige buildings commissioned by individuals whose fortunes were derived from slave-related business.[3] Supposing this proposition is true, what does it reveal about slavery's impact on 18th- and 19th-century Britain?

Considering country houses as self-contained entities, these structures represent luxury expenditure on the part of their owners. The economic stimulus provided by country house building was small and short-lived relative to investment in commerce or industry. Preservation of elite dwellings is more likely than in the case of non-elite buildings, with perhaps 60 per cent of prestige residencies surviving in a recognisable form.[4] In consequence, it could be argued that while proximity to a heritage site provides a convenient reminder of Britain's past involvement in slavery, the prevalence of such buildings is consistent with slavery's limited impact on development since it illustrates the widespread dissipation of profits on conspicuous consumption by a wealthy minority.[5] Shifting perspective, however, from the houses themselves to their occupiers might result in a different conclusion if owners achieved distinction in fields other than West India commerce and architectural patronage. If prestige dwellings are symptomatic of wider success, slavery's physical imprint on the built environment may provide a more accurate guide to the institution's aggregate impact on British society.

This chapter investigates slavery's heritage footprint in Britain by means of a case study of St Vincent and the Grenadines. Three principal research questions are addressed.

1. How common was ownership of prestige residencies in Britain among St Vincent's plantocracy?
2. Is there evidence to support the conjecture that prestige ownership was funded by profits earned from sugar estates, burdening these plantations with debt?
3. Beyond ownership of prestige buildings, did planters acquire other badges of success and distinction?

In addition, the extent to which country houses owned by absentee planters included former slaves in their retinues is assessed by means of a fourth research question.

4. Is there evidence of a significant African presence in British prestige residencies with links to plantations in St Vincent?

Prestige residencies are defined as (a) surviving structures awarded Grade I or II listed status (Grade B or A in Scotland) and (b) comparable buildings, now demolished or in ruins, recognised by contemporaries as noted examples of architectural design, decoration and craftsmanship. The principal methodology employed to address the research questions consists of structured biographies of planters whose names are recorded in the colony's crop and slave registry returns between 1814 and 1834. These sources provide a census of plantation ownership on St Vincent during the last two decades of legal enslavement prior to passage of the Emancipation Act 1833.[6]

Context

Growth of slavery on St Vincent, 1763–1808

St Vincent provides an example of a mature slave colony during the selected study period. In 1763 the island was formally ceded to Britain by France under the terms of the Treaty of Paris. Transition to British sovereignty was accompanied by economic transformation as sugar became the dominant export staple. Initially, plots previously occupied by French settlers and their slaves along the Leeward side were sold to British investors and consolidated into sugar estates – a process leading to the forced introduction of over 12,000 Africans from 1771 to 1775 (Fig 5.1). This initial boom was ended by the American Revolutionary War (1776–83) as French forces, assisted by the Black Caribs or Kalinago, re-occupied the island from 1779. The Treaty of Paris (1783), however, returned St Vincent to Britain, presaging a second investment boom. Just under 28,000 African captives were transported to the island from 1786 to 1795 as sugar planting was extended to all cultivatable regions, with the exception of reserved Carib lands on the Windward side.[7] Contestation of this territory contributed to the outbreak of the 'War of the Brigands' (1795–6): a conflict resulting in the death or forced deportation of most of the Kalinago. A third investment stage occurred between the ending of the war and abolition of the transatlantic slave trade in 1807, during which 17,500 Africans arrived on slave ships. By the early 19th century, the colony's planters ranked second (after Jamaica) among sugar producers in the British West Indies, producing on average 7.8 per cent of total output from 1805 to 1829.[8]

Absentee landlordism

A majority of large-scale estate proprietors on St Vincent and the Grenadines were absentee landlords during the study period. In this analysis, residency is defined as estates whose owners submitted the registry returns of slave population. Non-residency is defined as estates where managers or attorneys submitted these returns. The registry data indicate that between 1817 and 1827 the proportion of estates owned by non-residents rose from approximately 58 to 74 per cent (Fig 5.2). On St Vincent, absenteeism increased from around 67 to 78 per cent and on the Grenadines from 39 to 62 per cent.[9] A large pool of plantation owners, therefore, lived in Britain, from which potential owners of prestige buildings could be drawn. Further evidence of slave ownership's rentier nature is provided by a sample of planters' ages. At each of three selected dates, the mean and median age of proprietors lies above 50 (Table 5.1). St Vincent's early 19th-century planters were thus predominantly mature individuals, holding West India property comparatively late in life. The dominant modes of estate acquisition were probably familial (marriage or inheritance) or

commercial (re-investment of profits earned in Atlantic trade or foreclosure of mortgage debts secured by plantations).

Table 5.1 Ages of St Vincent's estate proprietors

	1814	*1824*	*1834*
Number	32	34	30
Mean age	53.6	54.0	52.5
Standard deviation	14.4	15.9	16.9
Median age	53.5	52.5	51

Source: author's database of estate proprietors.

Results of structured biographical analysis

Ownership of prestige residencies

During the survey period 26 prestige British residencies can be matched with plantations in St Vincent and the Grenadines. The list of dwellings consists of 17 country houses, five villas and four town houses (Table 5.2). Regionally, six properties were located in Scotland and the rest distributed across England and Wales.[10] Approximately one in three of the colony's plantations were linked to these prestige residencies through their owners. A majority of the corresponding British buildings were inherited or purchased but 10 were commissioned or remodelled by planters, including six country houses. Of these, four houses were built for proprietors of Scots-Irish origin and two of English origin. Four houses represent new wealth, while two arose from older fortunes.

Profiles of six country house owners

The best known proprietor is Samuel Greg, owner of Quarry Bank (Cheshire, National Trust). This house formed part of the pioneering cotton mill complex established at Styal during the industrial revolution. The Greg family-owned Cane Garden estate on St Vincent (a relatively small plantation of under 100 slaves) and a larger plantation on Dominica called Hillsborough.[11] Samuel Greg acquired both estates by inheritance around the time of Quarry Bank's construction in 1796–7. Greg's initial capital was accumulated through profits in transatlantic trade, which his father and uncle prosecuted successfully from Belfast in partnership with the Cunninghams (who also owned a slave plantation on St Vincent).[12] Consequently, although Greg did not rely on Caribbean estate earnings to finance entry into cotton spinning, his interest in plantations formed part of a wider family engagement in Atlantic commerce that included significant slave-related business.

Storrs Hall on the banks of Lake Windermere (Cumbria, a private hotel) was originally a classical villa constructed during the 1790s for Sir John Legard. In 1808–9 the house was substantially remodelled and enlarged by Joseph Gandy for the Liverpool merchant and slave trader John Bolton. Born in Ulverston (the son of an apothecary), Bolton's fortune originated from slave-related business. Apprenticed to the Liverpool West India partnership of Rawlinson and Chorley, in 1773 he was sent out to St Vincent as a teenager to work as an agent of the firm. Returning in 1786, Bolton established his own counting house and engaged in slaving and trade in West India produce. Bolton acquired Bostock Park between 1815 and 1817. This St Vincent sugar estate is probably named after the Cheshire township (there may plausibly be a connection with the slave trade captain Robert Bostock) and in 1814 was owned by the Liverpool merchant John Cropper.[13]

Table 5.2 Prestige residencies in Britain owned by St Vincent's estate proprietors, 1814–34

Property	*Location*	*Constructed*	*Property type*
Alstone	Kent		Country house
Ardeer	Ayrshire	Late 18th century	Country house
Belle Vue	Hastings		Villa
Berrymead Priory	Middlesex	17th century, remodelled 1802	Country house
Bracknell Lodge	Berkshire		Villa
BUCKLAND	Devon	1810	Country house
Douglas Park [Orbiston]	Glasgow	Early 19th century	Country house
Fleetwood	Stoke Newington	1634, remodelled 1766	Town house
GEORGIAN HOUSE	Bristol	1788–91 (William Paty)	Town house
Keithock	Angus		Country house
Landford Lodge	Hampshire	1776	Country house
Langley Park	Angus	*c* 1780s	Country house
Leweston	Dorset	1774	Country house
MONTGREENAN	Ayrshire	*c* 1810–1817	Country house
Newton	Yorkshire	*c* 1774–80	Country house
Oxnop	Yorkshire	1685	Country house
QUARRY BANK	Manchester	1796	Villa
Rushford Lodge	Suffolk	Early 18th century farm house with coach house	Villa
SNEATON CASTLE	Yorkshire	Remodelled 1823	Country house
Stocks	Hertfordshire	1773	Country house
STORRS	Westmorland	Mid-1790s, remodelled 1808–9 (Joseph Gandy)	Enlarged villa
STRACATHRO	Angus	1824–7 (Archibald Simpson)	Country house
TREVANION HOUSE	Dover		Town house
Tutshill	Gloucestershire	Rebuilt after 1747 and early 19th century additions	Country house
WESTHILL	Wandsworth (London)	Remodelled *c* 1790 (Sir John Soane)	Villa
YORK TERRACE	Regent's Park (London)	1824–7 (John Nash)	Town house

Source: author's database of estate proprietors.
Note: properties in capitals were constructed or remodelled under planter ownership. Details of links with plantations on St Vincent and the Grenadines are available from the author on request.

Montgreenan (Ayrshire, a private hotel) was built for Sir Robert Glasgow *c* 1810–17 on the site of a castle demolished to make way for the new edifice. On St Vincent, Glasgow owned two plantations, one of which (Mount Grenan) he named after either the castle or mansion. Glasgow's origins were comparatively modest, his father being Chamberlain to Viscount Garnock. With the assistance of finance obtained from the Scots merchants Houstoun & Co, he accumulated a fortune from the West Indies and drew on this wealth to buy the Ayrshire estate in 1802.[14]

Sneaton Castle (Yorkshire, home of the Sisters of the Holy Paraclete) was remodelled in 1823 by James Wilson in the Gothic style. St Hilda's church at Sneaton (also reconstructed by Wilson in

1825) contains a memorial recording that Wilson was born in Annderdale (Dumfries) where he endowed a school charity. Further to this, his social origins are obscure. The memorial (probably composed by Wilson himself for posthumous display) proclaims 'HE RAISED HIMSELF TO WEALTH, RANK, AND INFLUENCE.' Be that as it may, earnings derived from the West Indies certainly formed the basis of the fortune he used to purchase the Manor of Sneaton *c* 1818–19.[15] On St Vincent, Wilson acquired Cane Grove from Warner Ottley in 1807. Prior to the plantation changing hands, Ottley agreed to the sale of a two-year-old child called Ashton Warner and his mother to the infant's aunt, a woman called Daphne Crosbie. Unfortunately, details of the transaction failed to specify the island's customary practice that a child sold as one with its mother did not become chattel property until attaining the age of five or six. Disregarding convention, Wilson claimed possession of the boy when he was 10-years-old and forced him back to the estate. After enduring approximately 14 years of slave labour, Ashton Warner ran away from Cane Grove, hoping to prove his claim to freedom and thereby liberate his wife and child. Escaping to England, his autobiography was published in 1831 shortly after Ashton's death at the age of only 24.[16]

Buckland-Fillegh and Spridlestone comprised the county seat of the Fortescue family. In 1790, John Inglett-Fortescue inherited this English estate from his father and in the same year the ancestral home was destroyed by fire. Inglett-Fortescue's interest in Hope estate on St Vincent arose through marriage with the Brickdales – a family whose social ascent began with Matthew Brickdale (woollen draper and Bristol MP) (*see* Chapter 2). In 1810, a new prestige dwelling named Buckland House (Devon, private hotel) was constructed on the site of the ruined Georgian mansion.[17]

Stracathro (Angus, privately owned) was built for Alexander Cruikshank 1824–7 by Aberdeen architect Archibald Simpson in the Palladian style. The Cruikshanks claimed descent from no fewer than three ancient and inter-related Scottish families and were major investors in St Vincent. A total of nine sugar estates were owned by family members during the years from 1814 to 1834, including Langley Park and Montrose, both of which take their names from the Angus region.

In order to qualify for inclusion in the survey, proprietors must have owned slave plantations on St Vincent during the study period (1814–34). Three notable properties with slavery links – Delaford Park (Bucks), Piercefield (Chepstow) and Danson (Bexleyheath) – are thereby excluded. These houses are, nevertheless, of interest because they demonstrate that capital did not always flow in one direction from sugar estates to elite British properties. Sir William Young was an important figure in the early decades of British imperial rule in St Vincent and owned two estates (Pembroke and Calliaqua) on the main island. In 1767 Young purchased Delafield, just prior to the colony's first investment boom. Although the family still owned Calliaqua and Pembroke in 1808, returns from these plantations did not finance purchase of a country estate. Indeed, in 1774–5, to satisfy creditors, Young sold 540 acres of Delafield and mortgaged his Caribbean property.[18]

Piercefield (Chepstow) was owned by the Morris family from 1740 to 1784. After inheriting the estate in 1753, Valentine Morris commissioned Robert Owen Cambridge to landscape its grounds in the picturesque style. Although this improvement was very likely financed by the family's Antiguan sugar estates it pre-dates involvement in St Vincent. By the time Valentine went out to the colony as governor in 1772, his finances (like Young's) were in irretrievable decline. Piercefield house (designed by Sir John Soane) was built between 1785 and 1793 during a brief interval when the estate was not owned by a planter. In 1802, however, its West Indian connection was renewed when Nathaniel Wells – the mixed-race son of a merchant planter of St Kitts – purchased the estate.

Danson (designed by Robert Taylor) was commissioned by Sir John Boyd, first Baronet, in the mid-1760s and decorated with an extensive art collection assembled during a series of grand tours conducted in the 1770s. The Boyds were Northern Ireland merchants who prospered from

transatlantic trade and planting. However, Danson's foundation precedes the rise of sugar on St Vincent. Sir John died in 1800, heavily indebted. Both house and collection had, therefore, been sold by the time his son and heir, Sir John Boyd, second Baronet, acquired Camden Park sugar estate.[19]

West India estate indebtedness

Absenteeism has been linked by some scholars to the siphoning of capital from the British West Indies to support luxury spending in Britain. Marshall, for example, argues that estates owned by non-residents in the Windward islands were heavily indebted owing to profligate consumption in Britain.[20] Information about indebtedness is available at the end of the period of slavery in the form of counter-claims for compensation submitted by creditors in Britain and the West Indies to the committee created to oversee awards. A total of 173 claims were registered against St Vincent's estates, amounting to more than £1.1 million. The majority (86 per cent) arose as a result of loans to planters secured by bond, judgment or mortgage against estates. A further 3 per cent of claims consist of outstanding instalment payments owing by planters who had acquired slave property on extended purchase schemes.[21] Comparative debt levels may be reckoned by examining: (1) the average value of counter-claims recorded against each estate; (2) the average value of claims for properties where claims exceed zero; and (3) debt as a multiple of gross estate income from 1827 to 1829 (the latest years for which earnings are available).

Regardless of the measure employed, absentee-owned estates supported a lighter debt burden than resident-owned properties. Absentees were also less likely to be subject to counter-claims and owed less than their resident counterparts both in absolute terms and in relation to gross earnings. Estates linked by their proprietors to prestige residencies in Britain were more likely to be indebted and carried a higher amount of debt than other absentee-owned properties. Their debt levels, however, primarily reflect higher estate earnings since the earnings-to-debt ratio is similar for both groups of owners. Estates linked to prestige residencies in Britain, in common with other plantations on St Vincent, were leveraged to approximately three times gross annual earnings from forced slave labour (Table 5.3).

Table 5.3 Indebtedness on absentee and resident owned estates, 1834

	All estates	*Absentee*	*Resident*	*Prestige link*[a]	*Non-prestige link*
All estates(number)	110	75	35	35	75
Mean debt (£)	10 315	8 034	15 204	13 511	8 824
Estates with debt >0 (number)	70	41	29	22	48
Mean debt (£)	16 209	14 696	18 349	21 495	13 787
Estates with earnings data (number)	69	40	29	22	47
Mean debt (£)	16 381	14 954	18 349	21 495	13 986
Average gross earnings, 1827–9 (£)	4 941	4 715	5 092	6 966	3 910
Debt to earnings ratio	3.3	3.2	3.6	3.1	3.6
Interest charge as % earnings[b]	19.9	19.3	21.6	18.5	21.5

Source: The National Archives: Public Record Office, T71/892; Shephard, C 1831 *An Historical Account of the Island of St Vincent*. London, appendix vi
[a] North and South Union estates are combined while no information is available for Mesipotamia, reducing the estates total from 37 to 35.
[b] Interest rate of 6 per cent.

Planters' regional associations

Regional affiliations among St Vincent's planters were investigated by examining their family origins. Of the 104 slave estates for which this information is available, more than four-fifths of owners originated from England and Wales, Scotland, or the West Indies.[22] The remainder consisted of French or Irish planter-families (Table 5.4). Although classifying regional ties in this way is informative, the approach has limitations. Studies of Scots transatlantic migration, for example, reveal the complexity with which social and cultural identity was constructed, imagined and negotiated. Moreover, marriage and business relationships often cut across regional categories.[23] It is interesting to compare trends suggested by family origins with an analysis of names given to sugar estates (toponymy). Although less frequent than English geographical affiliations, toponymy still indicates a high relative Scots participation rate. More than one-third of names, however, carried French or Carib associations, illustrating the persistence of place names chosen early in St Vincent's settlement history (*see* Table 5.4).

Regional ties were further investigated by examining the first or given names of 21,623 enslaved individuals attached to estates and listed in the 1817 registry return for St Vincent. A total of 737 persons are described using place names and of these a majority (52 per cent) have English affiliations. Scots associations, however, are again over-represented while the Irish share of place names is higher than suggested by either prosopography or toponymy (*see* Table 5.4). These results reflect the frequent use of five major ports as slave names: Glasgow (63 occurrences), Dublin (55), London (48), Bristol (37) and Liverpool (35). Between them, these port cities account for nearly one-third of slaves identified using place names.

Taken together, the three techniques suggest that Scots accounted for between 22 and 34 per cent of planters during the study period. These findings are consistent with Hamilton's estimates that one-third of Leeward plots were allocated to Scottish investors after St Vincent was ceded to Britain and that 23 per cent of assembly and 32 per cent of council members are identifiable as Scots during the years from 1766 to 1796.[24] Scottish ownership, in consequence, appears as significant as in Jamaica – a colony closely associated with Scots settlement, trade and investment. For Jamaica, Karras estimates that 29 per cent of inventoried wealth recorded in 1796 belonged to deceased

Table 5.4 Regional affiliations, 1814–34

	Family origins[a] *(%)*	*Estate toponymy*[b] *(%)*	*Slave names (1817)*[c] *(%)*
Scotland	33.7	23.5	22.3
England and Wales	32.7	37.3	51.7
Ireland	8.7	0.0	12.9
Colonial	18.3	2.0	4.2
European or French Antilles	6.7	17.6	3.1
Native St Vincent	–	17.6	3.4
Africa or Asia	–	2.0	2.4
	100.1	100.0	100.0
Sample size	84	51	737

Source: author's database of estate proprietors; The National Archives: Public Record Office, T71/493.
[a] Prosopography of estate owners listed in crop and registry returns from 1814–1834. Details available for 84 of 116 estates (estates may have more than one owner during this period).
[b] Names of estates linked to regional place names (51 of 116 estates).
[c] First or given names of enslaved individuals listed in the 1817 census. African names are place names only.

Scots. A report produced for the Scottish Executive by R R Donnelley in 2007 similarly claimed (on the basis of evidence derived from Edward Long's contemporary history) that approximately one-third of Jamaican plantations were owned by Scots during the early 19th century.[25] While the claim that St Vincent and other ceded Islands were 'largely settled by Scotsmen' is an exaggeration, there is strong evidence of significant investment by Scots in the colony. A continuing regional connection is also suggested by the existence of clubs such as the Scottish Missionary Society on the island and reporting of the colony's affairs in *The Scots Magazine*.[26]

Other badges of distinction

Prestige dwellings are unusually visible and long-lasting indicators of esteem. Consequently, if planters laid few claims to distinction beyond ostentatious architecture, the built environment may misrepresent their collective social and cultural impact. This section, therefore, considers the extent to which planters held alternative badges of distinction.

St Vincent's planters consisted overwhelmingly of untitled males. In 1817–18, for example, only seven of the 116 estates were owned wholly or partly by women and only four individuals are described using elite titles. Lady Bolton, relict of Sir George Bolton of Tutshill House, West Gloucestershire, was proprietor of Upper Diamond estate.[27] The impecunious Sir John Boyd (second baronet) owned Camden Park, while Sir Robert Glasgow was in possession of two estates: Mount Grenan and Sans Souci. The fourth titled planter, Sir William John Struth, owned Prospect estate. Struth was mayor of Bristol in 1814 and 1815 but held no other significant offices in England and by 1827 was resident on St Vincent, where he established Fancy estate and served as Deputy Governor from 1829 to 1831.[28]

Proprietors of plantations on St Vincent identified during the study period held only four of the 658 seats in the unreformed House of Commons. Matthew Brickdale (Hope plantation) sat as MP for Bristol during the years 1768–74 and 1781–90. John Inglett-Fortescue (also Hope) represented the rotten Cornish borough of Callington from 1801 to 1803. Similarly, Josias Jackson (Rutland Vale) was member for Southampton from 1807 to 1812. A memorial recalls that:

> During the period he sat in Parliament, though unaccustomed to speak in the House, when some West India regulations were in agitation, he made a clear and comprehensive speech on the state of affairs in those islands; in which he took occasion to explain the general benevolent treatment of slaves there, and evinced with great perspicuity, how humanely, kindly, and even liberally, they were supported by a large portion of their masters.[29]

At his death in 1819, however, Jackson resided on St Vincent and was a member of the colony's Council. The only planter to sit in the Commons during the survey period itself (when amelioration and emancipation formed subjects of parliamentary debate) was James Wilson, owner of Cane Grove estate. Wilson represented York from 1826 until his death in 1830. In addition to this trio, two further MPs held interests in sugar estates by virtue of close family ties. George Sinclair (MP for Caithness 1811–12, 1818–20 and 1831–41) pursued compensation claims against Argyle and Calder estates in 1834 through kinship with the MacDonalds and Campbells. Likewise, Sir William Lawrence Young pursued (unsuccessful) claims relating to estates owned by his ancestor Sir William Young.[30] In addition to these British parliamentarians, the interest of French political exile Auguste Prince de Polignac can be noted. Through marriage into the Campbell family, Prince de Polignac (eighth Prime Minister of France) acquired a share in three estates: Argyle, Calder and Calder Ridge.

The majority of St Vincent's estate owners led unexceptional lives. More affluent proprietors (among them eldest sons and heirs to fortunes) generally lived quietly off the proceeds of plantations and

other investments; lesser proprietors (including younger sons) tended to pursue careers in the military and the Church. Only a small number of individuals gained wealth or distinction in industry, banking, science, or the arts. Aside from Samuel Greg, the only noted industrialist is Webster Flockton, chemist and tar distiller of Bermondsey. Flockton's commercial success led to marriage to Maria Isabella Cruikshank and an interest in Coumactabou estate through his wife's family. Although merchants Pinney and Ames (co-owners of Richland Park) were drawn from banking dynasties, their partnership (established 1811) post-dates the Bristol banking house of Ames, Cave, Harford, Daubeny and Bright created in 1786.[31] The only other eminent merchant banker is Evan Baillie (MP and founder of West India House) who married Mary, daughter of Peter Gurley (owner of Peter's Hope). Gurley's proprietorship, however, falls outside the study period.[32]

St Vincent's planters engaged little in social reform. The most conspicuous examples are Thomas Phillips (proprietor of Camden Park) and William Pulteney Alison (owner of Belle Vue). Phillips championed Welsh language preservation: he was a major benefactor of St David's College (Lampeter) and founded Llandovery College in 1847. Alison, along with Flockton, shares the distinction of being one of only two planter-scientists. A professor of forensic medicine at Edinburgh, he authored two tracts advocating the relief of Scotland's rural communities: Observations on the management of the poor in Scotland (1840) and Observations on the Famine of 1846–47 in the Highlands of Scotland and in Ireland (1847). Extending analysis beyond the study period, the interests of planter-scientist Langford Millington (proprietor of Millington's) can also be noted. Millington was a Fellow of the Royal Society and the Royal Institution. His interests included experiments into food (potato) preservation and social reform.[33] In the Arts, the most significant figure is Scottish poet John Sterling (owner of Colquhoun's Vale). In his lifetime, however, Sterling enjoyed only limited success and his literary reputation rests substantially on Thomas Carlyle's *The Life of John Sterling*. Brief mention can also be made of the minor artist and poet, James Adam Gordon (owner of Brebner-Fairhall).[34] In the sporting arena, Henry Lindow Lindow (proprietor of Fountain and Kearton's) was a renowned shot and friend of the prince regent.

Judged in terms of personal achievement, comparatively few planters achieved distinction in recognisable fields. In consequence, their social and economic influence was largely exerted indirectly through passive investment or artistic and political patronage. An outstanding example of the latter is provided by John Bolton (owner of Bostock Park). Politically, Bolton supported the Tory cause and used his wealth and leading position within the Liverpool Association of West India Merchants to provide a platform for George Canning and William Husskisson. His social circle included literary critic and Professor of Moral Philosophy, John Wilson (aka Christopher North) and poet William Wordsworth.[35]

Evidence for an African presence in British prestige residencies

One of the best known examples of 18th-century art featuring a young black servant is Johan Zoffany's portrait of Sir William Young's family (Fig 5.3).[36] Almost certainly the youth appearing in this picture originated from one of Young's Antiguan plantations. It is possible, however, that Vincentian slaves were subsequently brought to Delaford Park. There are two principal routes by which enslaved individuals might have come to reside in elite households: as servants of their masters and mistresses or as children of mixed-race unions sent to live in Britain. A rare insight into the former group is contained in St Vincent's registry return for 1834.[37]

On 1 August 1834, slavery in the West Indies was ended by the Emancipation Act of the previous year. After this date, most adults attached to plantations entered into a six-year apprenticeship period. Former slaves resident in Britain, however, were enabled by the legislation to claim freedom

prior to August. Information about 49 such individuals is preserved in a full census of St Vincent dated 31 May 1834. The prospect of receiving compensation money provided owners with incentives to register Africans regardless of their status within the household. Nevertheless, an entry in a Gloucestershire parish register (dated 24 November 1805) indicates that some individuals were regarded as more than servants by their masters. The register recorded the burial of 'Dido, a female negro belonging to Sir George Bolton'. Very probably Dido accompanied Sir George and his wife when they fled Upper Diamond estate in 1795 during the Second Carib War and returned to Tutshill house.[38] Mary Prince's autobiography, referring to events in 1828, similarly illustrates the restraints some owners sought to place on their former domestic slaves after removing them from the Caribbean to Britain.[39]

Although the sample is unlikely to include all former enslaved inhabitants of St Vincent living in Britain, the group's characteristics may be indicative of the wider population. By linking entries in the 1834 registry with the earlier return of 27 March 1817, additional information was obtained about these 49 persons (Table 5.5). The freed slaves consisted predominantly of black adult females, born in St Vincent, and aged between 16 and 50. Over one-half the persons whose occupation was stated in the registries were described as a household servant in at least one of the returns. However, a significant minority of slaves were male (38 per cent), aged over 50 (25 per cent) and were not recorded as working as servants (47 per cent). The 49 former slaves are drawn widely from 31 estates on St Vincent (27 per cent of large plantations). Only eight owners of these properties, however, can be linked to prestige residencies; a further two owners belonged to the junior branch of landed families in possession of such dwellings. Consequently, it is conceivable that 16 of the 49 individuals may have formed part of the entourages of elite households.[40] Confining attention to the six planters who constructed country houses during the study period, four owned slaves claiming freedom: Cruikshank of Stracathro (four former slaves), Wilson of Sneaton Castle (two), Inglett-Fortescue of Buckland (one) and Glasgow of Montgreenan (one).

While resident on St Vincent's Mousebank estate during the early 1820s, Alison Carmichael ventured the following observations about the colony's mixed race population. She stated that many of the free people of colour and some of the enslaved people of colour working as domestics had spent time in Britain. In cases where the father owned the estate, Carmichael noted that the children of

Table 5.5 Descriptive statistics of 49 slaves claiming freedom before 1 August 1834 on grounds of residence in Britain

Category	*Number*
Male	18
Female	30
Unknown	1
Aged 0–14	1
Aged 15–30	16
Aged 31–50	19
Aged 50+	12
Unknown	1
African	7
Creole	33
Unknown	9
Black	32
Mixed race	8
Unknown	9
Servant 1817 or 1834	23
Non-servant	20
Unknown	6

Source: The National Archives: Public Record Office, T71/493, T71/500.

mixed-race unions were generally freed. 'When they are not so', she noted, 'the father is most justly detested, and held up as a character anything but respectable.' Such children, Carmichael continued, were commonly 'freed at birth and some sent to England to receive an education'. She added that 'the relationship to all the branches of a white family, although illegal, is kept up upon by both sides; and there is much kindly feeling maintained by both parties'.[41] Carmichael's account of the convention by which mixed-race children of planters were sent to live in Britain (either permanently or temporarily) is confirmed by other visitors to the Caribbean.[42] Despite this, evidence linking children of colour to prestige residencies is limited. Eight of the 49 slaves recorded as living in Britain in 1834 are of mixed race: a higher proportion than the share of persons of colour in the general enslaved population.[43] Of these, however, the only subjects linked to country house proprietors are Boyd and Maria Brown, who were formerly enslaved on James Wilson's Cane Grove estate. Wilson's will of 1830 also included a bequest of £150 currency to a namesake (and presumed illegitimate son) James Wilson, described as 'a Mulatto now in the West Indies a son of Isabella Douglas'.[44]

While a more extensive search may uncover further examples of mixed-race children fathered by prestige property owners, the numbers of such individuals crossing the Atlantic appear smaller than suggested by Carmichael. In the four years 1821–4, only 391 manumissions are recorded on St Vincent: a number equivalent to just 0.4 per cent of the black population. In addition, over the same period, 131 'individual' slave sales are recorded (distinguished from large-scale transfers of slaves from one estate to another).[45] These sales undoubtedly included 'informal' manumissions by white fathers and the 'acquisition' of relatives living on sugar estates by former enslaved persons. Rising numbers of free blacks and persons of colour in St Vincent further suggests that migration of mixed-race persons to Britain did not intensify over time.[46]

Estimating household numbers forms only one approach to identifying an African Caribbean presence in country houses, albeit a significant one. Three complementary lines of investigation, each lying beyond the scope of the present chapter, would certainly be worth pursuing: first, the extent to which symbols and images of slavery formed part of the decor of prestige residencies; second, the impact of the Caribbean on diet (for example, consumption of citron water, rum punch and turtle soup), materials (mahogany furniture and other tropical hard woods) and trees and fauna (landscaping and garden design); and third, local association of properties and their owners (in print or in oral traditions) with slave possession.

Conclusion

Returning to the research questions, 26 prestige residencies were found to be linked to plantations in St Vincent during the study period (1814–34). A large minority (approximately one-third) of slave estates were associated with country houses in Britain. While elite dwellings were scattered across Britain, proprietors included a disproportionate number of Scots. In most cases, ownership of a prestige residence constituted a planter's chief badge of social status since evidence of distinction in other measurable areas of prestige is limited. Profiles of individual planters feature instances of houses purchased or constructed using new wealth accumulated in the Caribbean. There are counter-examples, however, of dwellings acquired prior to involvement in slavery and also of country estates being sold or mortgaged to fund investment in the West Indies. Data on compensation counter-claims lodged at the time of emancipation reveals that plantations linked to prestige residencies carried more debt than properties lacking such links. In both cases, however, the level of indebtedness bore a similar proportion to annual income. Consequently, the chief difference between sugar estates associated with country houses and other plantations lies in their output of sugar and rum, rather than in the amount they were leveraged. Some country estate households included small

numbers of African servants in their entourages. The extent to which their treatment differed from persons of non-African origin is unclear and more research is needed in this area. Mixed-race children of planters may also have been brought to Britain, but their numbers appear smaller than implied by contemporary commentators such as Carmichael.

In the case of St Vincent, although slavery has left a discernable heritage footprint in the form of prestige buildings, the built environment is a problematic indicator of the institution's social and economic impact. Affluent planters owning country houses, such as John Bolton, were in a position to wield political and cultural patronage. Judging from the esteem indicators examined, however, proprietors made little impression in other areas in their own right, suggesting they were no more influential than other wealthy individuals. It should be emphasised that this is a single case study, situated late in the history of West Indian slavery. Comparative research into different colonies in earlier periods may generate alternative results. Even if St Vincent proves a representative guide, the country house is likely to remain at the foreground of debates over restorative justice and the commemoration of slavery. As Martin argues, this is partly due to the educative potential of visible surviving structures associated with conspicuous consumption and display, particularly those owned and managed by organisations such as English Heritage and the National Trust. The importance of rediscovering links between Europe and the Caribbean was emphasised in a speech delivered during the bicentenary of 1807 by St Vincent's Prime Minister, Dr Ralph Gonsalves:

This occasion of the 200th Anniversary of the Abolition of the Slave Trade in the British West Indies also presents many opportunities. It is a time to teach the younger generation of the region, the history, the lessons and the effects, and to ensure that we never again experience this tragedy in old or new forms. It is an opportunity to bring about reconciliation and healing for ourselves and for all the parties in Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, Africa, South America and the Indian Ocean, among others, who share this experience. But the healing can only come after remembering and acknowledging our respective roles and our collective responsibility for the betrayal, for the atrocities and for the suffering that resulted from African genocide and enslavement. We will not forget.[47]

6

An open elite? Colonial commerce, the country house and the case of Sir Gilbert Heathcote and Normanton Hall

Nuala Zahedieh

Introduction

In the century after the Restoration, England's rising wealth, strength and status in Europe derived from the rapid expansion of its overseas trade. The brightest jewel in its commercial crown was the plantation trade which rested on the successful appropriation of abundant American land and its cultivation with African slave labour. It was a contemporary commonplace that capital accumulated in trade was used to purchase land, a country house and access to the social and political elite.[1] Most historians have agreed and argued that it was the openness of the elite, and its capacity to absorb new men and money, which allowed it to survive and strengthen its grip on economic, social and political power.[2] In 1984, however, the Stones poured scorn on this 'hoary myth' of upward mobility. Using the country house as a proxy for elite status, they claimed that while the patriciate of London, the largest concentration of wealth holders in the country, might have 'aped the manners and lifestyle of gentlemen, [they] showed little desire to join the ranks of the landed classes'.[3] This chapter tests the hypothesis by looking at a sample of late 17th-century colonial merchants who enriched themselves in the slave-based Atlantic trading system; it shows that those patricians who accumulated sufficient wealth displayed an almost universal desire to align their families with the landed estates. The chapter then focuses on Sir Gilbert Heathcote, builder of Normanton Hall in Rutland. He provides a good illustration of merchant progress from counting house to country house, and the contribution of commercial wealth to maintaining the economic, social and political strength of the landed classes as displayed in England's architectural heritage.

Heathcote was active in colonial trade from the 1680s until his death in 1733. The period is renowned as one of intense country house building activity.[4] John Vanbrugh's famous exclamation that 'all the world are mad about building as far as they can reach' has been confirmed by the work of later historians including John Summerson, Michael Flinn and Heather Clemenson.[5] The 'world' that Vanbrugh refers to was, of course, confined to that of the small elite of 2,000 or so who dominated the nation's social and political life and who were defined by the Stones as 'those members of the aristocracy, baronetage, knightage, and squirearchy whose main territorial base took the form of at least one country house and a substantial landed estate'.[6] They defined a country seat as a house providing at least 5,000 square feet of living space, and Gregory King's figures suggest that there was probably a stock of around 2,000 such places in the 1690s.[7] Acording to Summerson, there were around 300 new-builds between 1680 and 1730 although the difficulty in establishing general definitions of what was new or mere remodelling, and the disappearance of many of the houses, precludes rigid quantification.

Finances

Building on such a scale cost a lot of money.[8] According to Gregory King, in 1688 the average income of England's 160 temporal lords was £2,800, and that of the 800 baronets was £880,

but the shell of a small country seat, such as Lyndon Hall in Rutland, cost almost £2,000 and he reckoned that a nobleman's seat cost above £6,000.[9] This was conservative. Full accounts are rare but surviving examples suggest that a major country house cost well over £10,000. Gilbert Heathcote's nephew, William, spent £18,000 on a new house at Hursley in Hampshire and Gilbert's neighbour, Daniel Finch, Earl of Nottingham, spent over £30,000 on building Burley House in Rutland. The most famous houses illustrated in Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* cost massive amounts: Castle Howard cost the Earl of Carlisle £78,000; Moor Park cost the Duke of Monmouth £84,000 in the 1680s and its remodelling in the 1720s cost the South Sea merchant, Benjamin Haskell Styles, £150,000; Blenheim cost the nation £300,000.[10] Even in good times it was not possible to embark on such enterprises on the basis of agricultural income alone and, in fact, the building boom coincided with difficult times for landowners with falling agricultural prices and rents, rising taxes and, according to John Habakkuk, rising land sales.[11]

While in the period between 1680 and 1730 agriculture was flagging and landlords were ailing, commerce was booming, with a very rapid expansion of overseas trade and above all the Atlantic sector which grew three times as fast as trade overall.[12] The trade was heavily concentrated in London and attracted large numbers of participants. High risks and strong competition meant that many failed. Even those who survived seldom made much more than the £400 which King reckoned was a typical annual income for an overseas merchant, or the £500 to £1,000 which Richard Grassby deemed as 'comfortable'.[13] Many might have been able to rent or purchase one of the scores of suburban villas which circled London and provided business families with good air and some escape from the noise and dirt of the city.[14] As Roger North explained these were 'quasy a lodge, for the sake of a garden, to retire to enjoy and sleep without pretence of entertainment of many persons' and did not compare in scale or cost with what he called the 'country model' used by the Stones to define membership of the political elite.[15] Unlike the 'suburb villas' these houses 'partook of the nature of a court as the Lord of the Manor doth of regality and should like the court have great rooms to contain numbers with fires suitable and other conveniences according to his conclusion'. They remained out of reach of most merchants.

A small number of merchants were, however, able to exploit the commercial networks that they developed in the slave-based Atlantic trading system to spectacular advantage. They diversified beyond the core trade in plantation commodities into slave-trading, ship-owning, naval contracting, government credit and a range of rent-seeking enterprises which generated large profits especially in times of war. Among the 59 colonial merchants who dominated London's colonial trade in 1686 at least nine left fortunes above £30,000, as did at least 12 of the top 20 colonial importers of 1696, and at least 15 of the top 20 colonial importers of 1719.[16] Contrary to the Stones' assertions most of these merchants not only 'aped the manners and lifestyle of gentlemen' but they also showed an almost universal desire 'to join the landed classes'.[17] Between them and their heirs they purchased at least 35 country seats.[18]

A close look at the nine colonial merchants in the 1686 sample shows that none invested in land in the plantations – all were well aware that absentee investment in an overseas business was precarious – but in common with most even moderately successful businessmen all purchased either urban or rural property at home. Until the late 17th century land offered the only safe form of passive investment and small parcels were used to provide for widows and minors, to satisfy marriage settlements, to provide daughters with marriage portions, and to provide collateral for borrowing in time of need. Although in the 1690s various financial innovations created the framework for the evolution of the long-term debt which offered merchants a high and fairly safe return, it remained sensible to maintain a balanced portfolio and spread risk with leasable land. More surprising in terms of business strategy was the decision of all the merchants, apart from the Jewish Henriques brothers, to purchase a country seat which was both expensive to buy and to maintain

and did not offer a direct economic return. In fact, King reckoned that the houses lost value as soon as they were completed.

Among the seven merchants in the 1686 sample who founded a landed family, only two purchased at an age when they could enjoy the change in lifestyle: John Eyles, who bought Southbroom house, a small country house on the outskirts of Devizes, his native town, in 1680;[19] and John Taylor, who purchased Bifrons in Kent (a large house built in 1634 by John Bargrave) in 1694, which he used to support his political ambitions.[20] Another two of the seven merchants purchased at the end of a long life and allowed their sons to join the landed elite in style. William Gore purchased Tring Park (designed by Christopher Wren for Henry Guy) two years before his death in 1705 and it acted as the seat of his son, also a merchant who married Lady Mary Compton, the daughter of the fourth Earl of Northampton.[21] Gilbert Heathcote purchased Normanton Hall in 1729 at the age of 79. The remaining three merchants in the sample left money for their heirs to purchase and between them they bought five seats. Francis Eyles's eldest son, John, bought Gidea Hall in Essex and rebuilt it in 1725. His son, in turn, inherited Moor Park in Hertfordshire from his uncle, the merchant Benjamin Haskell Styles (who had married Sarah Eyles), who had bought and extensively remodelled Monmouth's house in grand Palladian style. Francis's younger son also acquired Essex estates.[22] John Jeffreys left a fortune estimated as worth £300,000 and bought considerable land both in Wales and England. This was divided between his nephews, including the merchants Jeffrey and John, who continued to be active in Atlantic trade.[23] Jeffrey Jeffreys' share allowed him to purchase Brecon Priory, which conveyed a dominant interest in the parliamentary borough, as well as Roehampton House in Putney, a former mansion of the Devonshires. His brother, John, bought property in Monmouthshire, Surrey and Wiltshire.[24] Among other bequests in his will, Joseph Martin left £30,000 in trust to be laid out in land for his grandson, Coulsen Fellowes, and estates were purchased.[25] The samples drawn from the importers of 1696 and 1719 display a similar pattern of late purchases.

The timing of the purchases at a stage when they could not be long enjoyed by the founder, if at all, suggests that dynastic considerations were paramount. Contrary to the Stones' assertions, the colonial merchants who could afford to do so demonstrated an almost universal desire to immobilise a large part of their wealth in an inalienable landed estate. This was driven by the desire to preserve the fruits of their labours and provide future generations with economic, social and political status which would perpetuate the family name.

Heathcote

Gilbert Heathcote, the most successful merchant in the sample, provides especially solid evidence that the mythical figure proclaimed dead by the Stones was, in fact, alive and well and that the upwardly mobile merchant's assimilation into the landed classes was very real (Fig 6.1). Heathcote's career illustrates how with hard work, good luck and good health, a colonial merchant could use commodity trade to build up a broadly based fortune which could be used to leave a lasting legacy and secure future generations in wealth, leisure and power. Heathcote came from what Stone describes as parish gentry, the eldest of seven sons of a Chesterfield ironmonger and grazier whose family had lost money in speculative projects in the early 17th century.[26] The father could give his sons little beyond an education and an apprenticeship premium. Gilbert was bound to an Eastland merchant in London at the age of 15 and spent some time as a factor in Stockholm where he accumulated the capital which enabled him to trade on his own account when he returned to London around 1680.[27] Whilst he maintained his Baltic interests, they soon became secondary to his Atlantic trade which involved him in the Newfoundland fisheries, trade with Bilbao, trade with New York (where he had one brother) and, above all, trade with Jamaica where he had three brothers from the 1680s and which became the main focus of his activity.[28]

By the 1690s, Heathcote was London's leading importer from Jamaica and was also heavily involved in both the private slave trade and the very profitable business of re-exporting slaves to the Spanish colonies (known as the Asiento trade).[29] He served as island agent from 1689 and used the position to advance his own interests alongside his involvement in City political institutions as a Common Councillor from 1689 and a MP from 1701.[30] A big political player, he played a prominent part in the Whig campaign to prevent the Royal African Company securing a statute monopoly of the slave trade after 1689 and provided very active support for the wars fought to prevent the amalgamation of the French and Spanish crowns, which would have damaged his own trade with Spanish America.[31] War not only defended his existing interests but provided an opportunity to use his commercial and political networks to spectacular advantage with contracts to supply the navy. In 1695 he provided the men-of-war in Jamaica with credit of almost £6,000, and between 1701 and 1706 he remitted an annual average of £12,000 for use of the island's stationed naval forces: a trade which offered very high returns and fairly low risks.[32] Not surprisingly he was very hostile to the Tory's 'rotten peace' of 1713 which gave the Asiento business, in which he was involved, to the Tory South Sea Company.[33]

As a major government lender, he had a close interest in ensuring that government credit was sound and was among a number of major contractors in the Whig inner group who took steps to secure government debt through the chartering and floating of the Bank of England in 1694.[34] He took a close interest in the management of the Bank, serving as a member of the Court of Directors almost continuously from 1694 until his death in 1733, with two periods as governor (1709–11 and 1723–5) and made vast sums from his Bank investments. By his death in 1733, Heathcote was reputed to be worth £750,000.[35]

Normanton Hall

In 1702 Gilbert followed the common practice of acquiring a suburban villa, Forest House, at Low Leyton in Essex which was renowned as an area inhabited by City businessmen.[36] The house offered his mother and family a retreat from the worst dirt and overcrowding of the City, but family papers show that Gilbert, who remained active in business and politics until his death in 1733, continued to spend much of his time at his house in St Swithins Lane, near the Royal Exchange, where he died. Despite the opportunities arising from his trade with Jamaica he did not accumulate land in the colonies, and to underline the awareness that such investments were risky it is noteworthy that his brothers sold their holdings in Jamaica when they returned home from the island. As Gilbert accumulated capital he did, however, begin to acquire agricultural land in the grazing counties of Lincolnshire and Rutland – the county next to that of his birth – from at least 1702 when he bought the manor of Kelthorp from the Hotten family.[37] Land offered low but safe returns which balanced the risks of commercial investment, and the grazing counties were popular with London merchants as it was easy to remit rents through cattle sales at Smithfield.[38] The rents could walk to market. Only in 1729, at the age of 79, did he buy a country seat. The financial difficulties of the Mackworths allowed him to buy the manors of Empingham and Normanton in Rutland and other estates which had been in the same family since the Norman Conquest.[39] At this stage in his career he cannot have seen the purchase of a landed estate as a necessary part of obtaining wealth, political power or social status as he possessed all three in good measure; nor could he have expected to benefit from the leisure opportunities that the estate offered. No doubt he did see it as a sensible strategy for preserving his achievements for the benefit of future generations. The decision to demolish the perfectly comfortable, but slightly outmoded house at Normanton and rebuild on a grand Palladian style in the latest fashion, to sell Forest House at Low Leyton and move the family tombs to Rutland, underlines a desire to leave a lasting monument to his success. All was

consolidated by his elevation from a knighthood, bequeathed in 1702, to a baronetcy in 1732 just before he died.[40]

Gilbert was almost certainly influenced by his son John who worked alongside him in the family business and in Parliament as member for Grantham (1715–22) and then Bodmin (1722–41). Aged 40, when his father purchased Normanton Hall, and happily married with a large and growing family, he seems to have decided that he wanted to imitate his cousin William, who, soon after his father's death, and an inheritance of £80,000, resolved to 'leave off trade and be content with his present estate'.[41] In 1718, William purchased Hursley House in Hampshire, which he rebuilt in grand style, and settled into the leisured life of the county elite.

In rebuilding at Normanton, Heathcote's massive wealth meant that he did not need to flinch at major expense. He employed Henry Joynes, a well-known architect who was Vanbrugh's clerk of works at Blenheim but had embraced Palladianism in his later career as clerk of the king's works.[42] Joynes's house, built at a cost of over £20,000, did not match the princely splendour of Nottingham's neighbouring house at Burley but was described by John Harris as 'a creditable Palladian house with lively if somewhat impure details' (Fig 6.2).[43] He noted that Joynes 'abjures Palladian good manners' but believed that this lack of discipline made his houses more interesting. An early 19th-century visitor described it as 'an elegant modern edifice of white stone with a centre of fine elevation and two wings; both fronts being in a style of great architectural beauty and the interior presenting a rich sense of modern elegance throughout'.[44] It was a classic double pile in the style revered by the second generation of Whigs, among whom Heathcote was prominent, and it amply advertised his family's political loyalties: patriotic in its austere simplicity and attention to Palladian rules and eschewing any baroque influences which could be linked to the decadence of continental absolutism or the Roman Catholic Church.[45] In fact, it was so austere that a Heathcote descendant writing in the very different world of the late 19th century dismissed it as 'a house of considerable size but without any pretensions to architectural beauty or decoration'.[46]

Although the house was demolished in 1925, the surviving ground plans and visitors' descriptions suggest a very successful blend of the country house imperatives (Fig 6.3). It achieved the 'nature of a court' deemed by Roger North as necessary to distinguish it from a villa, 'with great rooms in large numbers' designed for grand entertainment and very conspicuous display which advertised the family's wealth, status and taste. The state bedroom was in a style of 'simple magnificence' with a bed of white and gold and furniture and ornaments to match; the dining room was 'a very superb apartment with a vaulted and stuccoed ceiling in compartments'; the drawing room was 'a most brilliant apartment fitted up with gold embossed paper with gilt borders and mouldings … light blue satin chairs and the whole [was] extremely light and elegant without being gaudy'. Yet the visitor noted that the light, airy living quarters also accommodated the family in luxury and comfort. Each suite of apartments on both floors had doors which threw open a vista from side to side and 'as there [were] large plate glass windows at each end the reduplicated effect [was] extremely fine'. There was no hint of gaudiness to betray the nouveau riche origins of the family who had clearly conformed to the prevailing aesthetic norms of the established elite; and, while the visitor was aware of the merchant ancestor, there were no snobbish or derogatory remarks and he applauded the house as providing a 'handsome specimen of modern taste'.[47]

The house was surrounded by a park consisting of around 400 acres. It was smaller than those at neighbouring Burley (600 acres) and Exton (a massive 1,500 acres) but nonetheless over three times the size of the average tenant farm in England or twice as large as a sizeable sugar plantation (Fig 6.4). The capacity to set aside such a large tract for simple amenity underlined the wealth of the family.[48] The park was well planted with 2,000 traditional English timber trees whose shade and foliage were said to have had a 'very fine effect' but like the house bore no trace of the exotic.[49] In

1764, the third baronet followed the fashion for creating an appropriate vista and, in a display of the power of the 18th-century landlord, he ordered the village of Normanton which had stood in front of the house to be razed to the ground.[50] The tourist, who had admired the house, could only deplore 'the false taste which in order to form a smooth lawn will drive away the simple villagers to level their humble cottages with the ground where their simple ancestors repose'. Only the church, containing the family tombs, remained with its 'little gothic turret peeping out of the shrubbery' (Fig 6.5). A picture of the picturesque, but although the displaced villagers were rehoused in model dwellings in Empingham, the writer did add that the impression presented by an isolated church was of that 'sombre kind to excite a tear of sympathy and the sigh of regret for miseries perhaps imaginery'.[51] He might have added further tears for the misery of the thousands of slaves upon whose intense labour the wealth of this and many other landed families was founded. Nothing in the description of the house or its contents links the residents with a commercial or colonial past; and in removing from view – quite literally in the case of the village – all evidence of the labour on which their luxury depended, the residents of this carefully constructed rural paradise remained apparently independent of the material world outside. It is not surprising that modern visitors to surviving houses should be slow to see links between commerce and the country house.

Nonetheless, Heathcote, and the wider sample of colonial merchants looked at here, show that upward mobility was far from 'hoary myth' and that those who made their fortunes out of the slave-based plantation system were active and enthusiastic purchasers, and even builders, of country houses. A man like Gilbert Heathcote could and did establish a dynasty which through rapid acculturation was quickly absorbed into the local gentry and, in fact, the other two landowners in Rutland, the Earls of Nottingham and Gainsborough, were also relative newcomers. Nottingham had made his money through office and colonial war and purchased Burley in 1692.[52] Gainsborough was descended from a London merchant and contractor for Crown lands who purchased Exton in 1613.[53] While bringing new money and business practices into estate management, and investing in modernising practices such as the major drainage projects in Lincolnshire, the Heathcotes assumed the prevailing social mores of the local gentry. They quickly became involved in local government, took the seat for Rutland in Parliament, and married into local elite families.

Yet although Sir John, Gilbert's son, bought a country seat for his younger son at Coningsby Castle in Huntingdon and subsequent generations of younger sons went into the church or armed forces rather than the City, the family did not in any sense go rustic.[54] As true gentlemanly capitalists they retained large sums in 'the funds' and a strong metropolitan presence with a large house in Grosvenor Square in London's fashionable West End.[55] After Gilbert's death, every subsequent generation of Heathcotes served in the House of Commons until 1951 when the third Earl of Ancaster left to take his seat in the Lords. The fifth baronet had been elevated to the peerage as Lord Aveland in 1856. Later, the sixth baronet was created Earl of Ancaster in 1893 after inheriting the lands of the Duke of Ancaster through his mother, Baroness Willoughby d'Eresby, and becoming one of a tiny group of British landowners with over 100,000 acres in the 1890s and a massive rent roll.[56] His great-granddaughter remains a major landowner and holds substantial financial investments in a lasting legacy to Gilbert Heathcote.[57]

The legacy did in fact outlive the house at Normanton. The family, which by the1890s bore the name Heathcote-Drummond-Willoughby, had accumulated a number of seats, and while retaining Grimsthorpe Castle in nearby Lincolnshire, they put Normanton Park up for sale in 1925.[58] This was the beginning of a period of decline for the country house and, after failing to make the reserve, the estate was split up into 93 lots and the house was demolished – only the stable block survives as a hotel – and so was among the first of a long period of demolitions before the Second World War.[59] In the 1970s, the valley was flooded to create a reservoir, Rutland Water, and only the church is left in memory of the Heathcote family, although the slaves on whose labour so much of their wealth

was founded might flinch at this last surviving reference to Gilbert Heathcote as ‘a zealous friend to the rights and liberties of mankind’.

Conclusion

Far from supporting the thesis that upward mobility was ‘hoary myth’, Gilbert Heathcote and the other 34 colonial merchants considered here showed an almost universal desire to use their wealth to secure the leisure and power of future generations. If one adds merchants in other years, provincial merchants, merchants and planters returning from the colonies, government, army and navy officers who served in the empire, and industrialists who catered for colonial markets it would be possible to double the number of purchasers who owed their wealth to colonial expansion. Over a 30-year period, which saw the sale of between five and 10 estates a year, and the completion of around 300 new houses, it could be shown that well over 70 businessmen and others with colonial interests invested in country estates. This alone suggests that the profits of the slave based Atlantic trading system made a substantial contribution to maintaining the power and strength of the landed classes. As Eric Williams noted, some of the profits of the slave based colonial trades went to finance the Industrial Revolution but much was siphoned off into country house building and this was not mere wasteful consumption.[60] As noted by James Steuart in 1767 the ‘moneyed interest’ was converted into a ‘land interest’. This fusion, or ‘coalition’, was able to pursue an expensive foreign policy in defence of a commercial empire which supported a leisured lifestyle, without experiencing a rift between the state and its major creditors: an alliance to which England’s surviving country houses bear visual testimony.

7

Property, power and authority: the implicit and explicit slavery connections of Bolsover Castle and Brodsworth Hall in the 18th century

Sheryllynne Haggerty and Susanne Seymour

Introduction

This chapter draws on research commissioned by English Heritage to undertake an in-depth investigation of the different ways in which two properties and their owners were linked to slavery and the slave trade: Bolsover Castle in Derbyshire and Brodsworth Hall in South Yorkshire.[1] The research built on an earlier overview survey of English Heritage properties which identified clear though diverse linkages at both properties.[2] Brodsworth was known to have very explicit links to slavery and the slave trade, most notably through the merchant activities of Peter Thellusson and plantation ownership in the Caribbean. By contrast Bolsover's links were found to be more diffuse and mainly related to political office and investment. In this chapter we focus on two key figures in the slave-related history of these country houses and estates. The third Duke of Portland held Bolsover Castle between 1762 and 1809, while Peter Thellusson owned the former Brodsworth Hall between 1791 and 1797, and one of the two eventual heirs to his fortune built the existing Hall in the 1860s. In particular, we use the concept of property to investigate the links between these country estates, their owners and slavery. It will be demonstrated that during this period the concept of property was inherently bound with issues of status, power and authority. Because the slave trade and slavery were such a pervasive part of the British economy, attitudes towards property both informed, and were shaped by, perceptions of enslaved Africans.

Portland and Thellusson represent two different sections of the British elite and two different ways in which British country estates might be linked to Atlantic slavery. The study of Thellusson reveals strong explicit connections between the Brodsworth estate and slavery, while that of Portland outlines less well-known but arguably more prevalent implicit linkages between British landed elites and slavery-based systems. Portland is illustrative of the 1.2–1.4 per cent of landed families who occupied the highest rank of society, owning between 20 and 25 per cent of the land.[3] As a member of the aristocracy he served in government as Secretary of State for Home Affairs in the 1790s and as Prime Minister in 1783 and from 1807 to 1809.[4] Peter Thellusson is illustrative of the Huguenot business community in London – the largest group of foreign merchants based there for much of the 18th century. Such leading merchants formed part of the elite sector of the trading community in the 18th century.[5] Thellusson was one of a number of immigrant merchants who acted as 'cultural brokers', whose networks of ties knitted together the international merchant community.[6] Interestingly, the stories of these two men come together briefly by way of the Caribbean island of Grenada where Thellusson had considerable investments and Portland had political involvement, notably during the aftermath of Fedon's Rebellion (1795–6).

These two men are also interesting case studies because of the interdependent relationship between government and elite merchants in this period, between those championing empire and those funding it. There is an ongoing historiographical debate as to how 'open' the landed elite was; while the commercial elite was more accepted than the industrial elite, tensions remained, and the landed elite protected their status by bringing in a land qualification for MPs in 1711.[7] Those with

transferable wealth such as trade profits were viewed with suspicion and were considered unreliable by the more landed 'stakeholders' in society; while in turn there was 'residual contempt for aristocratic degeneracy'.[8] However, the rise of the commercial elite was not easy to control, and overseas trade was an important route into the landed elite and positions of authority.[9] By 1790 around one-sixth of all MPs were from the business community, and many of these were from the influential 'West India Interest'.[10] These two elite groups also needed each other. As Bowen notes: 'Within metropolitan society, a political elite dominated by the landowning classes defined the features of state development and plotted the general course of commercial activity … and a financial elite provided much of the capital and resources to support the state and private enterprise at home and abroad.'[11]

In this way, for example, merchants often provided finance for wars through institutions such as the East India Company or the Bank of England, and in return they expected the state to provide convoys to protect their shipping in wartime. During the abolition debates, the anti-abolitionists used this close relationship with the state to defend their interests, and it is arguable to what extent wars were fought over political or economic policy.[12]

Attitudes to property and authority in an era of slavery

In the 18th century enslaved persons were property – chattels transferable at the owner's will; in Jamaica they were even used as a form of cash to pay small debts.[13] As 'all forms of power and authority in 18th-century Britain were based upon, and determined by, property and property rights', the slave trade and slavery inevitably came to be incorporated into discourses about property.[14] For the landed elite such as Portland, property, power and authority were inextricably linked. Bolsover Castle was only a secondary property for the third Duke of Portland, close to his main residence in the region, Welbeck Abbey. However, the fact that the Castle was built soon after the Norman Conquest and had been enhanced by his maternal ancestors, the Cavendishes in the 17th century, may have led Portland to value Bolsover for its medieval and dynastic associations (Fig 7.1).[15] Indeed, only those with a stake in society through such land ownership were considered responsible enough to be the overseers of the country. Furthermore, there was a strict hierarchy, stretching from the monarch, through the landed aristocracy, squires, parsons and employers to fathers. This patriarchal society was justified by divine ordination – 'God had granted all power on earth to Kings' – and indefeasible hereditary succession.[16] Non-resistance and passive obedience of subjects was expected, and even if the stress subtly moved from loyalty to the king to loyalty to the whole legislature following the Glorious Revolution, the basic tenets remained the same.[17] While the Glorious Revolution may have challenged absolute monarchy, it served to strengthen the position of the aristocracy.[18] Certainly the idea that power should come through land ownership was not challenged.[19] Those in authority held that the legislature's most important duty was the protection of property, so that everyone could enjoy that property in peace and security. The landed elite therefore believed in life, liberty and property – but not that it was everyone's inalienable right to have these. Holders of landed property positioned themselves as natural social and political leaders and drew their justification for executing power from land ownership.[20] Land not only conferred the right to govern – contemporaries considered that it was 'the basis on which every other species of material property rests; on it alone, mankind can be said to live, to move, and to have their being'.[21]

The mercantile elite was also concerned with property and authority, albeit in different ways. Merchants were often involved in a wide range of activities besides dealing in commodities, including insurance, ship-owning, investment in government funds and land purchase. This meant that even if they did not own a vast amount of real property they had a large interest in moveable property. Most importantly, credit was at the heart of mercantile dealings and so claims on debts as property were

very important.[22] A number of cultural and legal changes took place in the 18th century which secured these interests. For example, during the early modern period attitudes towards usury changed, which encouraged investment at interest.[23] There were also changes in bankruptcy and insolvency laws which helped merchants, and a rise in the use of Courts of Requests and Courts of Conscience for small debts claims.[24] The Colonial Debts Act 1732, which made land, houses and chattels (including enslaved persons) liable to satisfy debts, was important in encouraging colonial trade, and there was a rise in the use of bonded debts (especially in the slave trade) which secured creditors' rights in property more firmly. Mortgages were also used to secure debts, famously those of West India planters, although many merchants saw foreclosure as a desperate rather than a positive step.[25]

Members of the mercantile elite were also interested in power and status. Not only were they becoming members of the House of Commons, but they were also key players in other forms of political activity. This included town councils, where in port cities they dominated from the late 17th century.[26] They also joined trade associations, such as the Society of West India Planters and Merchants in London, and in places such as Liverpool, the Company of Merchants trading to Africa.[27] The town councils and trade associations lobbied the government over issues such as the corn laws, taxation and especially, abolition.[28] While many traders in any port city would have an interest in these issues, it tended to be the elite merchants trading at an international level that were dominant. For example, the Society of West India Planters and Merchants was dominated by elites from Jamaican society.[29] Once successful, many merchants joined literary or philosophical societies in order to enhance their status as good citizens; purchased government securities (a patriotic cause); or moved into other less risky, but also more status-driven investments such as land.[30] The purchase of Brodsworth Hall and estate by Peter Thellusson was such an investment, especially as he meant it to be an avenue for political advancement for his sons. Therefore, respectable elite overseas merchants were at the top of the status tree and they guarded their reputation with extreme care. Both the landed and mercantile elites were thus very interested in property, and in the status and power that both came with, and in turn, protected that property.

Although Portland and Thellusson both had interests in power, status and authority through land, the way in which they gained that land was very different. This, and their varying fortunes, affected the sources available for studying their relationship with the slave trade and slavery. As we shall see, Portland's financial difficulties and his involvement in politics seriously affected his ability to invest in Bolsover during his tenure and thus the house itself has few overt associations with slavery. Yet, as an elite political figure he was constantly brought into contact with issues concerning the slave trade and slavery. Records from when he served as Home Secretary from 1794 to 1801 provide evidence of this, and indeed his attitudes towards enslaved Africans as property.[31] In particular, his correspondence following the rebellion of 1795–6 of free French people of colour in Grenada provides a window through which to investigate these issues.[32] Therefore, connections between Bolsover Castle and slavery via Portland are pervasive, but implicit. In contrast, as a merchant, Peter Thellusson was involved in the slave trade and slavery in a far more explicit way. While no set of mercantile records survive for him as such, a trawl through the records of other planters and merchants connected with him and the Grenada Land Registry archives reveal that he was involved in financing slave-related production and in purchasing goods for the barter of slaves on the African coast. Profits from these activities helped him to purchase Brodsworth Hall and demonstrate a far more obvious link between the slave trade and that property.

Bolsover Castle and the third Duke of Portland: implicit connections

The future third Duke of Portland was born on 14 April 1738, the eldest son of William Bentinck (1709–62), second Duke of Portland, a courtier and landowner, and his wife, Lady Margaret Cavendish Harley (1715–85). Coming from the aristocracy, and having had a suitable education, including Westminster School and the 'grand tour', he was destined for a political career, which began when he succeeded to the dukedom in May 1762, aged only 24.[33] However, the family had become increasingly impoverished over the course of the 18th century. This arguably stemmed from the first Duke of Portland's disastrous involvement in the South Sea scheme. The South Sea Company had gained the Asiento (contract for supplying the Spanish colonies with slaves) under the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.[34] However, during 1720 the shares of the company were bought and sold in such a speculative manner as to eventually cause a financial crash.[35] As the first Duke of Portland was heavily involved in this scheme, the family was almost bankrupted.[36] Ironically, therefore, Portland's financial problems were at least in part due to slave trade-related activity, which no doubt made him sensitive to issues regarding property, over and above the notions he held as an elite member of landed society.[37] It also meant that he had little money for investment in altering or improving Bolsover Castle (Fig 7.2).

Portland was a prominent figure in the Whig party, a position confirmed by his marriage to Lady Dorothy Cavendish, the only daughter of William Cavendish, fourth Duke of Devonshire, in 1766. However, even with her dowry, Portland seemed unable to restore the family's finances. Moreover, Portland was also involved in two costly disputes over his claim to former Crown lands, one in relation to property in Sherwood Forest, and the more famous case in Cumberland and Westmoreland with Sir James Lowther. The latter dispute in the late 1760s became much more than a private squabble between two landowners.[38] Portland was a rising Rockinghamite Whig and Lowther, the Tory son-in-law of Lord Bute, a close advisor to George III. Both were keen to secure political influence in the run-up to the 1768 elections. When Lowther's legal advisers discovered a 'technical flaw' in the original grants made by the Crown to Portland's family and the Treasury subsequently granted Lowther lease of these lands, the case became a touchstone for the Whig party in debates over the influence of the Crown and the sanctity of private property. Portland's Whig party supporters, reflecting back on the events of 1688, celebrated him as a revolutionary hero, just as they did his ancestor the first Earl of Portland, a supporter of William III. Conversely Lowther, Bute and George III were cast as representatives of excessive royal influence.[39] Portland spent at least £20,000 on disputing the election and the long legal battle to reclaim his lands (and defend his principles over property) which lasted nearly 10 years. This was so costly to him in his already precarious financial state that he had to sell off his estates in the North West and undertake serious cutbacks in his expenditure at Bolsover Castle and Welbeck Abbey, his principal residence in the Midlands.[40] Furthermore, Portland's political career kept him in London, and at his Bulstrode estate later in life, for much of the time. This meant that Bolsover Castle was more of a retreat for Portland than a permanent home. He mainly used it for entertaining visitors on daily excursions from Welbeck and as a hunting lodge, as payments from him for horses and haymaking there during the 1770s attest.[41] While he secured its upkeep, no major investment was made by Portland at Bolsover.[42] Indeed the castle was only lightly furnished as Portland's maternal grandmother, Henrietta, Countess of Oxford, had removed lead and other items from the property in the early 18th century for use at Welbeck rendering parts of the house uninhabitable. However, in the 1750s several pieces of furniture made of mahogany were purchased for Bolsover. These included dumb waiters, chairs and a close stool, which were still in the castle during the third duke's tenure.[43] Mahogany was produced with enslaved labour, first in the West Indies, and then in the Bay of Honduras and the Mosquito Coast.[44] These appear to be the only slavery-related items in the house.[45]

This is not to say however, that the third Duke of Portland had no links with the slave trade and slavery. His position as Prime Minister in 1783 and as Secretary of State for Home Affairs in the 1790s meant that he was involved in them on a daily basis, albeit in a more implicit manner. Powell's portrait of Portland from 1796 shows him exactly as this working politician (Fig 7.3). Indeed, the language in his correspondence demonstrates clearly that for him, enslaved persons were property and therefore linked to power and authority. These implicit links are highlighted in the correspondence concerning the Grenadian rebellion of 1795 and its aftermath.[46] The rebellion has been described as 'the most serious threat posed to British control anywhere in the Antilles' and the island was devastated in a particularly bloody coup with colonial authority paralysed for around two years.[47] The Speaker of the Grenadian Assembly wrote that the 'Rebellion was unprecedented in its Nature, unexampled by its atrocious Cruelties … attended with an eventual revolt among the Slaves … aided and abetted by many disaffected White French Inhabitants.'[48] Around 100 plantations were burned and about 7,000 enslaved Africans, over one-quarter of the island's total, were either killed in the insurrection, condemned to death as rebel insurgents, or deported for their involvement.[49] Perhaps more unusual was the execution in April 1795 of 41 white British hostages, including the governor Ninian Home and leading planters, who had been captured by Fedon, the French planter of colour who led the uprising.[50] The economic losses were also staggering. Crops were lost for the years 1794–6 on the plantations which were burned, with the overall economic cost of the rebellion calculated at £2.5 million for 1795–8 and £4.5 million in total by one anonymous commentator.[51] One merchant planter, John Harvey, commented from the safety of London in September 1796 that 'I see little prospect of the once flourishing Island of Grenada being of much benefit to its Owners or the Revenue of this Country'.[52]

As Secretary of State for Home Affairs, Portland became involved in the difficult situation in the West Indies. The rebellion and the ongoing French Wars had left the islands feeling insecure and Portland wrote in summer 1795 that troops were on their way to help defend Grenada.[53] However, Portland's reactions to the aftermath of the uprising tell us much about his attitudes to enslaved persons as property as well as land and authority. He was highly alarmed by the response of the British in Grenada to the executions led by Fedon, even in a context recognised by modern commentators as one of extreme resentment towards both the French and African populations.[54] He wrote that the 'extraordinary and unparalleled proceedings of the Court appointed to try the Rebels' had much impaired the restoration of tranquillity in Grenada by further inflaming passions.[55] For Portland, honour, authority and national pride were at stake. He allowed that the severity of the situation might have provoked acts of retribution, but clearly felt that the British planters had not acted with honour. He continued:

> But when the Enemy was Subdued, when the Traitors were disarmed, and in our power, and subject to the Justice of the Country, I should never have thought it possible that the spirit of Revenge could have possessed itself of British minds … A sense of Duty, a jealous attachment to the National Character, would I should have thought, preserved them in particular from so gross a violation of both.[56]

Furthermore, and importantly, in overstepping the boundaries of justice, Portland declared the Council and planters had also over-reached their authority in terms of status. 'I am really at a loss for terms to express my indignation and astonishment', wrote Portland, that men he looked to with respect and confidence could go 'beyond the bounds of Duty to Sovereign'.[57] He continued, 'the rights of the Crown have been attacked in its most precious and darling Prerogative. The King's Representative is to be prevented from exercising any portion of the Mercy with which he is intrusted [sic] … such are not the King's Ideas of Mercy.'[58] The court had exceeded its authority, and in doing so had denied the King and his representative the final say. Both the King's status and Portland's landed authority were over and above that of the Grenadian Council.

Once the rebellion was quelled, Portland had to deal with the issue of forfeited estates, and especially the sale of property thereon, including enslaved persons. Commissioners had been appointed in Grenada to manage these sales.[59] However, there was a lengthy petition from the merchants of Liverpool, who were unhappy with the way the affair was being handled. They complained that many of the commissioners did not have a 'stake' in the debts owed by the previous owners of the plantations; that is, as they were not owed money, the Liverpool merchants argued that the commissioners had no interest in gaining the highest possible price for the sales of enslaved Africans. They thus had no authority to act in the business. It is possible that there was some truth in the accusation that the commissioners were complicit in selling slaves at low prices, because other planters may have been keen to buy enslaved persons cheaply for their own estates following the losses on the island. Prices for imported slaves would easily have been pushed up by the increased demand. Whatever the truth about these allegations, the sales outraged the merchants in Britain who were owed money by the formerFrench owners, and therefore had a stake in that property.[60] The Liverpool and London merchants complained that the commissioners 'had already withdrawn from the different Properties under their Direction of nine Hundred Slaves which they had advertised for Sale'.[61] It is unlikely, given the huge losses of enslaved people on the island, that this would have driven down the prices of the labour force, but it did reduce the value of the land itself; 'no Person will give anything for Land without Negroes' they argued.[62] John Tarleton, a leading Liverpool merchant, had sent Portland a copy of this complaint, and Governor Green inturn wanted to give a full report of the case. Predictably, the commissioners defended themselves concerning the 'injurious representation' of the Liverpool merchants.[63] However, they misunderstood the merchants' claims, believing that they wanted to claim the real estate for themselves, a reflection on the type of property the commissioners deemed the most important (the land). In fact, the merchants only wanted the value of the estates upheld in order to have a chance of being paid for trade debts in the future.[64] Portland's response was not particularly quick, but a year later he was liaising with the Treasury to appoint a 'proper person to wind up the business'.[65] The important point is the claim to property; the merchants understood that the way to get Portland on their side was to stress their 'stake' or interest in the estates. In doing so they were playing on Portland's ideologies regarding the importance of property as representing a stake in society and the authority this inferred – in Portland's case his right to rule through parliament.

Ironically, much of the early debate over abolition was also concerned with rights in property.[66] The West India Interest saw abolition not only as an attack on the general colonial system, but also on property and authority. Indeed, planters, slave traders and manufacturers played on both this and the interdependence of the state and elite merchants. They argued that abolition would 'help to dampen the man of enterprise, [and] considerably diminish public revenue' – it would hurt the imperial enterprise.[67] The most famous example of the link between slavery and property is the case of the slave ship *Zong*.[68] Horrific as the incident was, we only know about it because of an insurance claim over the loss of the property in the enslaved persons thrown overboard. The court deemed that the underwriters were not liable to pay out because throwing the Africans overboard had not been necessary to preserve the rest of the crew and the vessel.[69] The captain and crew had therefore destroyed their employers' property (the enslaved Africans) unnecessarily.[70] During his short tenure as Prime Minister in 1783, Portland was petitioned by Granville Sharp over the *Zong* case and the slave trade and slavery more generally, but he made no response. Portland may have felt that it was not his place to comment or perhaps it is, as Wilkinson suggests, part of his lack of general comment on the subject.[71]

Conversely, he may not have had strong views regarding the slave trade per se, because in 1799 Portland wrote to Lord Liverpool that 'I beg to know whether it is your intention to attend to the Report of the Slave Carrying Bill, as my determination in that respect will be entirely governed by Yours'.[72] It could also be that his ideas were so well-known with regard to property that it was not

worth commenting. However, the text of Sharp's petition is of interest because it touches on questions of property and empire and their relationship with slavery. Sharp highlighted the corruption and 'monstrous injustice & abandoned Wickedness' of the trade and suggested that the suffering of those in the West Indies from 'Tempests and Hurricanes', and the loss of the 13 continental colonies was God's vengeance for being involved in slavery –fostered as it was by 'parliamentary Authority'. He also warned ominously that delay in stopping involvement in such a trade 'must necessarily endanger a Man's eternal Welfare, be he ever so great in temporal dignity or Office'.[73] Sharp was intentionally touching a nerve here by referring to the fragility of Portland's personal authority – knowing that his administration was constantly under threat, as indeed were his personal finances.[74]

The letter to Portland was sent with a copy of Sharp's correspondence to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty over the *Zong*, probably in the hope that Portland would encourage a favourable response from them. Again Sharp raised the issues of rights in property, status and empire, and therefore the legitimacy of the wider elite. The murders of the Africans were 'to the disgrace of the English Name', a stain on the British Empire. He added that it was incomprehensible to argue that because enslaved Africans were treated as property, third persons could not intervene: 'the supposed Property in their Persons … is after all a very limited sort of Property'. Surely the 'property of these poor injured Negroes in their own Lives … was infinitely superior … than the … Slaveholder's or Slave-dealers iniquitous claim of Property in their Persons'. This argument did not appear to stir Portland into any comment, let alone support for abolition. However, it is noteworthy that Sharp thought that concern over property rights was the way to approach Portland regarding this subject. For Portland, enslaved people were first and foremost property, and therefore his attitudes towards them were subsumed within the discourse of landed power and authority.

Brodsworth Hall and Peter Thellusson (1735–97): explicit connections

Peter Thellusson was one of a number of European merchants with international connections – the so-called 'protestant international'.[75] From a well-established Huguenot banking family, Thellusson came to London in 1760 with £12,000 worth of capital, equivalent to £1,760,000 in present retail price index terms.[76] In late 1760 he became naturalised as a British citizen and in early 1761 he married Ann Woodford from an established English family. These are clear signs that Thellusson actively and rapidly sought to establish himself in British society, although he remained barred under the Act of Settlement from holding public office or acting as a MP.[77] Indeed, his later portrait shows him very much as the respectable gentleman (Fig 7.4).

Thellusson was able to draw on strong and powerful family connections in Paris, Geneva and London, together with Huguenot networks in London and the Caribbean, to develop his London-based business. His brother, George Tobie Thellusson, was in a highly successful banking firm in Paris from 1756 with Jacques Necker, which lent funds to Thellusson. His sister, Ann, was already established in London with her husband, Pierre Naville, a Huguenot merchant from Geneva, and Thellusson quickly nurtured other connections with the London Huguenot business community.[78] From the early 1760s he worked with the Fonblanque family, from 1763–6 in partnership with Anthony and the widow of his brother John, with each partner contributing £5,000 to the business. When Anthony died in late 1766, Thellusson operated independently for a while before establishing a new and long-lasting partnership with John Cossart, the former chief clerk at Fonblanque and Thellusson, in which he was the dominant partner with a large majority share of 15/16ths of the business.[79] In his early years it seems to have been Thellusson's French connections that helped him most in London mercantile circles, but he soon extended his business activities to range from the East to the West Indies, North America and various parts of Europe.[80]

As a merchant and banker Thellusson developed a wide range of business interests in a variety of property. These varied from loans and share dealing, marine insurance and annuities, ships and land to trading in enslaved people (by default), beads, shells and plantation crops, such as coffee and sugar. He also invested in sugar refineries, a common vertical integration strategy for sugar importers. This mix was typical of international merchants of his day.[81] Thellusson was therefore heavily entangled in trade and systems of production based on enslaved Africans and their labour. His first independent trading premises, at 15 Philpot Lane in the City of London (Fig 7.5), were adjacent to that of merchant, slave trader and plantation owner, Richard Oswald.[82] Thellusson also had strong early links with Liverpool slave traders, including George Campbell junior, Stephen Hayes, Peter Holme, Thomas Hodgson and William Davenport.[83] Davenport was unusual among merchants in his strong concentration on the slave trade. He invested in 160 slave trade voyages to Africa between 1748 and 1792 and as well as being a leading slave trader he was a major supplier of trading goods to others involved in the slave trade.[84] In 1768 Thellusson approached Davenport, requesting to act as his 'agent in this city [London] to transact Your Business with regard to Beads' – a commodity commonly used as currency in slave trading and one in which Davenport was a leading supplier, providing £39,000 worth of beads to slave traders between 1766 and 1770.[85] It is apparent from the correspondence that Thellusson was already well established as a bead and shell trader, drawing on connections in both the British and French East India Companies and with bead manufacturers in Europe.[86] He bragged about his success at acquiring low-priced cowries for Davenport 'owing towards my coolness towards the Sellers', and was able to secure him a cheap source of pressed crystal beads produced in Prague through a connection in Nuremberg.[87] He clearly had authority within the mercantile community.

Thellusson's known dealings with George Campbell junior and Stephen Hayes were on less balanced terms. In 1768 Thellusson called in a 'large' debt owing to him from Campbell and Hayes, both co-investors with George Campbell senior (an active slave trader and mayor of Liverpool in 1763) in 12 slaving voyages between 1758 and 1766.[88] Repayment was made in the form of seven ships, the cargoes of three then at sea, and two marine insurance policies. At least three of these vessels had connections with the slave trade and two were carrying cargoes of enslaved Africans at the time of the agreement.[89] Thellusson benefited financially from trade in these enslaved people, requesting the sale of one of the ships, the *Success*, and its human cargo, upon arrival at Grenada, for the 'best price and prices and most money that can or may be had or gotten'.[90] He, nonetheless, does not seem to have developed a sustained interest in slave trading. Thellusson never appears in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database as an investor in slave trade vessels, and put his newly acquired slave-trading vessel, *Success*, up for sale as soon as her voyage was completed. He therefore engaged in slave trading by default, as a short-term by-product of his lending activities, avoiding this practice in the main.

It is clear, however, that Thellusson developed extensive networks of credit to both planters and merchants in the British Caribbean, particularly in the islands of Grenada, Martinique, Montserrat and St Domingo (perhaps facilitated by his Huguenot business links). A case study of Grenada reveals that this lending was particularly important in the 1760s and 1770s when the island underwent an economic boom, with sugar exports trebling in the decade following British accession in 1763.[91] Various forms of security were central to these loans, including land (the plantations themselves), insurance, future crops and enslaved Africans on the properties. For example, the loan conditions for the Fournilliers, owners of the Bacolet plantation in Grenada in 1772, included: the shipping and consignment of the estate produce (a common practice among merchants); insurance of the produce and estate; and the establishment on the premises of 'One hundred and forty Able Bodied working and well seasoned Negroe Slaves.' The loan terms also included a list, by name, of 101 of the existing enslaved workforce.[92] As would be noted by the Liverpool merchants in 1797, enslaved Africans were a vital component of plantation property, without whom output would be compromised

and Thellusson's loans threatened. Thellusson took such precautions because property in enslaved Africans was vulnerable. Owing to a complex mix of factors, death rates were high and reproduction rates low in the Caribbean.[93]

There are three known instances where Thellusson's lending activities led him to acquire an interest in landed property in the Caribbean. However, there is no evidence that he actively designed to build up ownership of land there. Indeed, West Indian plantation ownership was often seen as problematic by merchants in England, and many were cautious over becoming involved in this as part of vertical integration.[94] Furthermore, possession of Caribbean plantations carried little sense of prestige in the way that English landed estates did. The first case relates to Conference, a sugar plantation of around 330 acres in St Andrews, Grenada, with a workforce of 155 enslaved people. This was acquired by Thellusson and other merchant creditors, appointed as assignees by the commissioners for the estate of bankrupt London merchant, John Hix in 1768. The group pledged to sell the property 'with all convenient speed … and for the best Price', in order to recompense the creditors in proportion to their debts.[95] The second and third cases involved Thellusson and his partner, John Cossart, acquiring interests in two further Caribbean plantations, although they did not own them outright. These were the 580-acre Windmill Hill estate on Montserrat, in the Leeward Islands, and the 384-acre Bacolet estate on Grenada (Fig 7.6). Associations with both properties began in 1772 with the issuing of loans. The interest in Windmill Hill was retained until 1796 and that in Bacolet until 1820. However, both resulted in considerable losses to Thellusson or his family, demonstrating the problematic nature of such property.[96]

Thellusson's connection with Bacolet began with a substantial loan of £12,855 to Peter and Marie Fournillier in 1772, involving 16 individuals and 19 annuity bonds coordinated by Thellusson and Cossart. The Fournilliers were keen to develop the estate, claiming that they had 'lately made great Improvements … in clearing a substantial part … planting the same with Sugar Canes … erected several Dwelling houses and other buildings … for the making of Sugar thereon and placed upon the said Plantation One hundred and one Negroe Slaves … together with Sundry Cattle and other Stock'. The 'improved' estate had been valued by fellow Grenadian planters at £29,071 5s and Fournillier had subsequently purchased a further 20 enslaved workers.[97] Despite the good prospects and complex lending conditions this loan was badly affected by adverse circumstances which commonly plagued such Caribbean properties. In July 1779 Grenada was retaken by the French and remained a French colony for four years, during which time all debts to British merchants were suspended and enslaved workers on British-owned plantations claimed as war prizes.[98] Personal tragedy also struck, with Peter Fournillier dead by 1785, leaving his widow Marie to manage the property. Unsurprisingly the debt owing to Thellusson and Cossart had risen to £17,451 4s 4d by 1785. However the prospect of further repayments was seriously undermined by the reduction in the enslaved workforce to only 33, one-quarter of the 1772 total. These events led Marie Fournillier to make a new agreement with Thellusson and Cossart in 1787, under even more stringent conditions. She was prevented from buying supplies on the security of her main plantation output and only the rum was reserved for her use, 'for the necessary Purposes of the said Plantation and the Support of herself and Family', until the debts were 'fully paid and satisfied'. In contrast, as long as Thellusson and Cossart deemed necessary, she was bound to purchase annually, 'Eight good and able Negro Slaves And subscribe on Demand an Indorsement of the Names of the same to be made upon the … Mortgage.'[99] Despite these arrangements Marie Fournillier was unable to pay back the loan during a period of renewed prosperity that followed. Only 21 additional workers had been purchased for Bacolet by 1791, even though over 17,000 enslaved Africans were imported to Grenada between 1785 and 1807.[100] The fate of the plantation during Fedon's Rebellion is unknown, but as discussed above, there was widespread destruction. The debt grew and at his death Thellusson held an interest in the land by default, literally loan default, as he had never set out to own plantation land.

By 1816 the debt on Bacolet had risen to an estimated £83,286 but the estate was sold for just £3,000 in 1820.[101]

By contrast, Thellusson actively sought to develop real estate property in England. In the late 1770s he followed the lead of other London merchants looking for family gentility and status and built a country villa at Plaistow, near Bromley in north-west Kent (Fig 7.7). Designed by Thomas Leverton in the style of Robert Adam, the villa was impressive and was described in a popular guide of 1792 as 'fitted up in a style of expensive elegance, scarcely to be equalled in the kingdom'.[102] While the property was modest in terms of extent, with only 96 acres of grounds, these included a range of large hothouses and it appears that Thellusson developed a passion for producing exotic fruits, a clear sign of elitist aspirations. A Swiss visitor in 1790, Henry Meister, claims he 'never saw finer fruit than was brought in with the desert [sic]; pine apples, peaches and grapes' and reported that 'the hothouses of Mr. The- are spoken of as the finest in the Kingdom'.[103] While such claims were likely exaggerated, an interest in the raising of tender, 'exotic' plants does associate Thellusson with a popular pastime in elite landed society, namely gardening. Elite gardening was practised by others with West Indian mercantile interests and landed aspirations as well as aristocrats, including Portland whose gardener at Welbeck, William Speechly, was a renowned expert on pineapple cultivation and hothouse design. Only the richest in society could afford to build and run expensive hothouses and grow such tender fruits.[104]

By the late 1780s Thellusson was actively seeking to take a further step on the landowning ladder and buy sizeable estate property for himself and his sons, and in 1791 he agreed the purchase of Brodsworth in Yorkshire, including its Old Hall (Fig 7.8).[105] Here again he was following the lead of other mercantile families who purchased substantial landed estates at least in part to establish themselves more firmly in respectable circles, although the extent of this activity remains disputed.[106] Further small land purchases were made by Thellusson around Brodsworth before his death in 1797, making an estate of 4,320 acres, but the scheme did not end there.[107] Thellusson's notorious will delayed inheritance of the bulk of his £700,000 fortune to the third generation and set out an ambitious scheme to found a landed dynasty through land purchase, drawing on the money he had accumulated from merchant banking.[108] While Thellusson's direct involvement in estate improvement is not clear he was careful in his will to limit the future purchase of copyhold land and sought to build up an estate in England specifically (not Britain more widely). Adding such conditions implies he was looking, with the eye of a practised investor, for the most secure and profitable forms of tenure and, with the eye of an aspirant insider, for the most socially prestigious and politically influential land.[109] However, the highest social prestige was difficult to come by. While Thellusson's eldest son, Peter Issac, was successful in his petition to Pitt for ennoblement, he had to settle for a lesser title in the Irish peerage, becoming Baron Rendlesham in 1806.[110] Nonetheless, Thellusson's involvement with the slave trade and slavery helped him fulfil his and his family's aspirations not only to power and authority in the mercantile community, but also within the landed elite.[111]

Beyond Peter Thellusson's lifetime, one of the two main heirs of his fortune used part of it to build the current Brodsworth Hall and remodel the core of the estate in the early 1860s. Charles Sabine Augustus Thellusson (1822–85) inherited the Brodsworth estate, its income of just under £17,000 per annum, and around £17,500 from accumulated West India Funds in 1859.[112] The new Hall was constructed to the designs of a British architect, Philip Wilkinson, and lavishly decorated with statuary by the Italian sculptor, Chevalier Casentini.[113] Completed by 1863, the house and furnishings cost around £30,000 (Fig 7.9). New stables, gardens and other outbuildings were added for around £9,000 and a further £11,000 was spent on remodelling and extending the 'Park, Plantations &c' to create a modern country residence.[114] However, there is no explicit evidence of Charles Thellusson's links to slavery, beyond the extensive use of mahogany, in the fabric and contents of the current Brodsworth Hall.

Conclusion

Slavery and the slave trade were inherent parts of the British Empire in the late 18th century. It is therefore not surprising to find representatives of two sections of elite society in Britain involved in it, either implicitly or explicitly. The fact that the stories of both men were affected by the fortunes of Grenada is a testament to this. The third Duke of Portland was involved in slavery through his political career and Peter Thellusson through his business operations. Both men regarded enslaved Africans as an important form of property, vital to their authority and ability to hold landed wealth. For Portland, discourse regarding enslaved Africans was subsumed within that on property rights, in which slavery was defended against both unfair trading and alternative discourses of human rights. If such property rights were overturned, those rights more central to his own position as a landowner and political leader might also be questioned. For Thellusson enslaved persons were a commodity in which one had ownership and a key plantation asset vital to production and the servicing of loans. They were also a means of accumulating funds to invest in English land and houses which brought social status, political influence and a steady income. Interestingly, both men were affected by Fedon's Rebellion, albeit under different circumstances, but the Liverpool merchants' complaints to Portland only served to highlight the centrality of enslaved persons to the value of land in the Caribbean, as was clear from Thellusson's conditions for his loans.

It is impossible to assess exactly the extent to which involvement in the slave trade and slavery helped the two men financially, precisely because slavery was such an inherent part of the British economy. Thellusson earned a great fortune from property in a variety of guises, including activities related to the slave trade, leaving around £700,000 by his will.[115] This allowed him to purchase Brodsworth Hall and estate and develop his status and the political future of his family. In contrast, Portland arguably lost a fortune defending his rights to property and through his political office and ducal lifestyle, dying heavily in debt (owing over £520,000).[116] This meant that although Portland was involved in issues related to the slave trade and slavery, this was not reflected in specific investment in Bolsover Castle. Clearly, however, while involvement in the slave trade and slavery was not a route to instant wealth, it was central to ideas of property, status and authority in 18th-century Britain.

8

Atlantic slavery and classical culture at Marble Hill and Northington Grange

Laurence Brown

My House was built but for a Show,
My lady's empty Pockets know:
And now she will not have a Shilling
To Raise the Stairs or build the Ceiling
Some South-Sea Broker from the City,
Will purchase me, the more's the Pity,
Lay all my fine Plantations waste,
To fit them to his vulgar Taste[1]

Introduction

Observing the construction of Marble Hill House in Twickenham, Jonathan Swift in June 1727 juxtaposed the classical refinement of its owner Henrietta Howard with the empty materialism of London's investors in the South Sea Company. Yet Howard's elegant neo-Palladian villa had been partially financed by her investment in the South Sea Company's engagement in the transatlantic slave trade. Although its architecture and landscaping evoked an Arcadian utopia, core elements of the interior at Marble Hill House were linked to Atlantic slavery. Slavery-based wealth was also central to the transformation in the early 1800s of Northington Grange, near Alresford in Hampshire, into one of the leading expressions of Greek Revival architecture in Britain. With its eastern facade dominated by enormous Doric and Ionic columns, Northington Grange was rebuilt by the Drummond and Baring banking families to resemble a transplanted temple from ancient Greece. While its owners were active in the economics and politics of Atlantic slavery, the iconography and products of enslavement were also visible through the Grange during the 19th century.

Speculating in slavery: the origins of Marble Hill House

Marble Hill House was one of a series of country villas that were constructed along the Thames between Hampton Court and Richmond during the first half of the 18th century (Fig 8.1). Completed in 1729, it was one of the leading examples of the neo-Palladian revival which sought to emulate the country houses designed by Italian Andrea Palladio for the ruling merchant elites of Venice.[2] Constructed by Henry Herbert and Roger Morris, Marble Hill House had three storeys which were stucco-faced with stone dressings. Facing south, the house looked down to the Thames across a great terrace and gardens that had been designed in 1724 by the royal gardener Charles Bridgeman and the poet Alexander Pope (Fig 8.2). The open lawn, small wilderness areas and woodland contrasted with the geometry of formal French gardens.[3] The symmetry and balance of the mansion's facade were paralleled by its entrance hall whose square arrangement of columns was intended to evoke the central court of a Roman villa.[4] The focus of the interior was the cubic great room which was richly decorated with ornate gilded carvings; however the financial pressures faced by Marble Hill's owner Henrietta Howard resulted in the absence of an exterior staircase which had been part of the design for the villa published in 1725 by Colen Campbell.[5]

Facing an abusive marriage and with her fragile position in the royal court as mistress of the Prince of Wales, Henrietta Howard had sought greater security through the building of Marble Hill House (Fig 8.3). During the decade before the villa's construction, she actively invested in joint-stock companies in France and Britain that were directly engaged in slave trading in the New World. In the autumn of 1719, Archibald Campbell, the Earl of Ilay wrote to Henrietta Howard from Paris that 'I have laid out the money you bid me' in the stock issued by the newly created Compagnie des Indes (or what became known in England as the Mississippi Company) (Fig 8.4).[6] Ilay invested 5,000 livres for Howard after meeting the company's initiator, the Scottish director of the Banque Royale, John Law. Ilay wrote: 'The subscription was full, but Mr Law was so kind as to allow it me: some of the subscribers have already sold their subscriptions for 230, that is, their own money back again, and 130 per cent profit.'[7] The spectacular profits in the first month of trading and his close relationship to Law encouraged Ilay to not only recommend the stock to Howard but to personally invest in it himself.[8]

In France, Law's financial projects were welcomed by a regency bankrupt by two decades of war and lacking the political power to increase its revenues. Law proposed to convert the large French public debt into shares in a monopoly company that would fuel the spread of paper money in France, thereby enabling the government to build up large stores of gold and silver.[9] The twin pillars of Law's 'system' were the creation in 1717 and 1718 of a Banque Royale and the Compagnie d'Occident as a means of managing the state's debt and generating revenue through share issues and a 25-year monopoly on trade with French Louisiana. At the time, Louisiana's 'imaginary' future trade was envisaged as stretching from the tropical staples of tobacco and rice to silkworm breeding.[10] Favoured by his royal benefactors, Law was able to lobby to have France's other colonial trading monopolies absorbed within his new financial Leviathan, from the slave trade to tax collection. In May 1719 the Compagnie des Indes Orientales, the Compagnie de la Chine and the Compagnie de Sénégal were all taken over by Law creating a new Compagnie des Indes.[11]

During initial French projects of colonisation on the Mississippi it had been claimed that the transportation of 'whores and rogues' from Europe would provide labour for new settlement.[12] Between 1717 and 1721 over 1,000 convicts and contract labourers were sent to Louisiana; however by the end of 1721 only 178 of these *engagés* remained.[13] From the summer of 1719, an estimated 2,000 enslaved Africans were introduced to the colony, of whom only one-third remained alive by the census of November 1721.[14] The enslaved Africans cleared the land along the Mississippi River, enabling French settlement to move inland from the gulf coast, resulting in the establishment of tobacco, indigo and rice plantations between New Orleans and Natchez.[15] As the new colony became increasingly dependent on slave labour, in September 1720 the Compagnie des Indes received a royal monopoly on trade with West Africa, including the slave trade to the Caribbean and Louisiana for which it received a subsidy of 30 livres per head from the Royal Treasury for each slave imported to the Americas.[16]

The shares in the Compagnie des Indes that Ilay purchased for Henrietta Howard in September 1719 would have nearly doubled their value two months later as the speculative trading produced a new peak in the French slave trade during the early 1720s.[17] In mid-January 1720, the Earl of Ilay wrote again to Howard from Paris noting that 'your money matters go very well despite the recent falls in stock prices'.

Rejecting the rumours in England of the imminent collapse of the Mississippi Company, Ilay praised Law for his financial acumen.[18] Within four months, the financial bubble of share trading that was fuelling the Compagnie des Indes had burst, although given the amicable tone of Henrietta Howard's later correspondence with Law, it suggests that she had not suffered a significant financial loss. Another possibility was that Lady Howard had transferred her funds to Britain to participate in the frenzied stock-trading of the South Sea Company.[19]

By April 1720 Henrietta Howard had invested in stocks in the South Sea Company.[20] Whereas her connections to the Earl of Ilay had meant that she had invested in the Compagnie des Indes before her lover the Prince of Wales, the Prince had been the Governor of the South Sea Company from 1715 until he was replaced by his father three years later. By February 1720, the Prince of Wales had purchased £20,000 worth of South Sea Company stock while his wife held another £10,000 worth.[21] The Prince's court and Henrietta Howard appear to have benefited from the rising stock which tripled its value during the spring of 1720.[22] The bubble of speculative stock-trading burst in August and September 1720 as share prices fell by 90 per cent. The following month, Lady Landsdowne wrote to Lady Howard from Paris: 'We are told here you are all together by the ears and that there are terrible commotions in Exchange Alley.'[23] At what point Howard sold her shares is unclear from her surviving correspondence – but her willingness to invest her precarious wealth in the Compagnie des Indes and the South Sea Company is striking, because for both companies, the transatlantic slave trade lay at the heart of their trading projects which were expected to be so lucrative that they could deliver outrageous profits and fund the national debt.

Under the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) the South Sea Company was granted the *Asiento* to provide 144,000 adult slaves for Spain's American colonies over a 30-year period. As well as the contract's formal terms, access to Spanish American ports made possible a significant contraband trade with the booming Iberian colonies.[24] Initially, the South Sea Company negotiated with the Royal African Company to supply slaves to the former's ships; however the latter had difficulties meeting the annual quota of slaves set by Spain. Between 1715 and 1720, the slaves imported by the South Sea Company represented only half of its quota set under the Asiento. Therefore after 1721 the South Sea Company tended to use private contractors or its own agents, while also purchasing more and more slaves within the British colonies of the Caribbean for re-export to Spanish territories.[25]

In March 1722 the new monarch George II provided a financial settlement for his former mistress Henrietta Howard that would support her independence when she left the royal court.[26] Owing to concern about her husband's attempts to claim both his wife and her wealth, the settlement was to be administered by three trustees led by the Earl of Ilay. The settlement included diamond, pearl and ruby jewellery worth over £700 as well as fine porcelain and furniture from her rooms with the royal family at Richmond Lodge and at Leicester House. More substantively it also provided for £11,500 of stock, which included £8,000 capital stock of the South Sea Company. How much of this stock was directly used to fund the construction of Marble Hill is uncertain, but it was this trust of March 1722 that provided the financial security for Mrs Howard to purchase 11.5 acres of land at Marble Hill through the Earl of Ilay.[27]

Given the Earl of Ilay's combined role as trustee and patron of construction of Marble Hill, it seems highly probable that it was the King's settlement that provided the bulk of the funding for the project. Howard received her stock in the South Sea Company after the crashes of autumn 1720 and spring 1721, and at a time when the company was increasing its participation in the transatlantic slave trade. Recent research by Helen Paul emphasises the significance of the South Sea Company's slaving activities in the wake of the financial crisis caused by the Bubble in 1720.[28] From their creation, South Sea Company annuities had been valued as a secure source of regular income; however after the Bubble they were changed to a variable rate of interest that declined from 5 per cent to 3 per cent per annum.[29] Post-Bubble returns were to be paid based on trading dividends, which makes the peak in slave trading by the Company during the mid-1720s even more significant. Not only was the South Sea Company escalating its involvement in the transatlantic slave trade during the construction of Marble Hill, but the dividends it paid to stockholders were more dependent on profits from the slave trade.

At the end of 1723, the Earl of Ilay began acquiring land in Richmond on behalf of Henrietta Howard: he purchased 7.5 acres from the merchant and politician Thomas Vernon, which represented almost three-quarters of the initial plot for Marble Hill House.[30] Vernon was a former Director of the South Sea Company and had been expelled from Parliament in 1721 for attempting to influence the trial of his brother-in-law John Aislabie, who as Chancellor of the Exchequer had been blamed for the financial crisis caused by the collapse of South Sea stock.[31] Within a year of having sold Marble Hill to the Earl of Ilay, Vernon persistently blocked attempts by Lady Howard to extend the property towards the Thames and to the north.[32] Would the land forming Marble Hill have been available for purchase by Ilay and Lady Howard without the South Sea crisis? Given the protracted struggle between Howard and the Vernons over land acquisition, the initial sale of land by the latter seems unlikely without the Vernons' deep political, familial and economic entanglements with the South Sea Bubble. The Bubble took a heavy toll on the Directors of the South Sea Company, such as Theodore Janssen, whose neo-Palladian villa in Wimbledon designed by Colen Campbell was abandoned as an empty shell.[33] Many of the accounts of Marble Hill focus on Howard's and Ilay's motives in selecting the site – close to the Royal household in Richmond and overlapping with Ilay's own development at Whitton – but Vernon's decision to sell appears to have been shaped by the financial crisis of the early 1720s.

Built between 1724 and 1729, the classical references in its interior and exterior were clearly appreciated by visitors to Marble Hill House, including Alexander Pope who praised its Roman atrium.[34] Crowning the gilded decoration of the Great Room at Marble Hill (Fig 8.5) were a series of Roman landscapes by Italian artist Giovanni Paolo Panini, including the *Landscape with the Arch of Constantine*. Poet Percy Shelley described the Arch in Rome as 'loaded with reliefs of captives in every attitude of humiliation and slavery'.[35] Clearly visible in Panini's painting are the 'colossal images of the Dacian captives' that towered over the Arch and the pedestal reliefs of kneeling prisoners and enslaved families at its base that so alienated Shelley. Paralleling the invocation of ancient Rome through the image of enslavement, the pervasive use of mahogany in the Great Room was a direct product of the Atlantic slave economy.

For contemporaries, one of the striking elements of Marble Hill was the early employment of mahogany as part of the structural design of the house.[36] With its high price, polished surface and physical weight, the wood signified refined consumption and elite status.[37] From the carved grand staircase and the long floorboards of the great room, it was mahogany that gave the house's interior its 'delicate, costly and ornamental style'.[38] As James Brewer wrote in 1816:

> It is traditionally asserted that the mahogany of which the staircase and floors are constructed was nearly proving the cause of some important and disastrous political events. George II, it is said, directed one of his captains, whose course lay near the Bay of Honduras, to land and cut for him a few of the finest trees.[39]

Ten years before construction was to begin at Marble Hill in 1724, British merchants were taking African slaves and indentured white servants from Jamaica to harvest wood from the Bay of Campeache on Mexico's east coast.[40] By the early 1720s there was a permanent British settlement at the Bay of Honduras (now Belize) of about 300 whites and their slaves cutting mahogany and logwood.[41] Given the amount of travelling through forests necessary to harvest high quality mahogany, it is unlikely that such timber could have been obtained by the speculative opportunism suggested by Brewer. More likely, the long boards in the Great Room were obtained through the expertise and labour of enslaved workers.

Banking and the economy of Atlantic slavery: Northington Grange

In mid-January 1823, architect C R Cockerell visited Northington Grange to advise its new owner Alexander Baring on how to make the house more comfortable for his family. The brick mansion built at the Grange in the mid-17th century had been transformed in 1804 into a Grecian temple, when it was encased in Roman cement and decorated with a large Doric portico by William Wilkins. Cockerell was full of praise for the building's bold design, but also had a long list of criticisms of what he perceived to be Wilkins's incorrect use of classical motifs, noting that:

> 'Mr B[aring] wants persuading of its [the Grange] charms, if it were his own child he would feel them more – these works will render it more so and will attach him to it. There is nothing like it on this side of Arcadia, yet full of defects and ill contrivance' (Fig 8.6).[42]

Baring declined the construction of a second great portico proposed by Cockerell, opting instead for a more practical extension with a dining room, conservatory and additional bedrooms. With limited scope for external embellishment (apart from the conservatory's more modest Ionic portico) Cockerell devoted much of his energy to the interior of the Grange.

At the heart of Cockerell's renovations to the Grange was the design of the dining room, which the architect committed enormous energy to as his tour de force.[43] Cockerell identified his aims as 'to make this room as pure in architecture as poss[ibl]e as classical by figures recalling such associations, drove at novelty, to avoid common place'.[44] At the centre of the dining room was a fireplace, whose frieze depicting a banquet in ancient Greece was designed by Cockerell. Carved by sculptor John Flaxman in 1824, the frieze depicted four women serving and entertaining a group of five seated figures. The dress, cropped hair and activities of the standing women suggest their servitude.[45] Given their role in providing entertainment, these women were probably *hetairai* (companions/elite prostitutes) who were most probably enslaved or foreigners.[46] The image drew on James Millingen's recently published *Engravings of Painted Greek Vases* (1822) and tracings that Cockerell had completed in Italy during his own extensive travels studying Greek and Roman architecture, participating in archaeological excavations and sourcing classical artifacts for Britain.[47] Such research made the dining room design, in the words of historian David Watkin, '… one of the most elegant and scholarly rooms of the whole Greek Revival. Based ultimately on the cella of the temple at Bassae, it achieved that jeweled, casket-like quality which we know Cockerell felt was characteristic of Greek design'.[48] The fireplace frieze evoking slavery was therefore as central to the authentication of Cockerell's interior remodelling as column design had been for the exterior transformation of the Grange two decades earlier by Wilkins (Fig 8.7).

Like Cockerell, William Wilkins also saw his architectural project at Northington Grange as based on rigorous research, combining technical and historical knowledge to evoke the Theseion and the Choragic Monument of Thrasyllus in Athens.[49] The extensive redesign of the house between 1804 and 1809 was intended by Wilkins to exactly measure and replicate key elements of ancient Greek architecture. Wilkins recognised that slavery was a core element of the classical society which he sought to recreate. The architect wrote of the Peloponnesian wars in Sicily as being marked by the coexistence of liberty and oppression, and a range of forms of vassalage and slavery. However, he miscast the nature of classical slavery, for he believed that it directly paralleled that of the contemporary Atlantic with the enslaved treated as if they were private property.[50] In contrast, Cockerell's vision of classical slavery was more benevolent. The fireplace frieze in the Grange's dining room reveals how slavery and servitude were accepted in Britain at the time as a central element of the classical landscape, but were constructed as urban, paternal and un-racialised.[51]

Cockerell's depiction of classical slavery is particularly striking given that Northington Grange was owned by the Drummond and Baring banking dynasties which both had strong connections to the slave economy of the Atlantic. In 1787 the 3,066 acres of the Grange were bought by Scottish banker Henry Drummond. The estate was estimated as having an annual income of £1,251, and its purchase symbolised Drummond's rise to join the ranks of Britain's landed elite.[52] His career in finance had begun at the age of 19 in his uncle's London bank in 1749, and within two and a half decades he had become a partner in the family firm while also serving as a contractor to the Treasury as Paymaster to His Majesty's Forces in North America. Drummond was responsible for transferring specie across the Atlantic, on which he could profit from commission and charges. His profits during the increasing military expenditure caused by the American Revolution led one of his contemporaries to label this as 'one of the best contracts that man ever had'.[53] Although in 1778 Henry Drummond was threatened by the Treasury with the removal of the contract, through political patronage it was subsequently extended to 1783, covering the British army on the American mainland and in the West Indies.[54] The monies remitted by the Drummonds to the Americas came at a time when the army both provided a route to freedom for some slaves in Britain's war-torn North American colonies and had a significant role in policing slave society in the West Indies.

Henry Drummond's experience of the high profitability of supplying financial services to the British military at times of war was paralleled by the fortune built by merchant Henry Lascelles. As a plantation owner, slave-holder and slave trader, Lascelles claimed that the basis for his wealth had been his contracts for providing victuals to the Royal Navy in Barbados, the Leeward Islands and the Bahamas during the 1730s and 1740s.[55] Lascelles held an account with Drummonds Bank, as did several other West India planters.[56] In 2006 the Royal Bank of Scotland commissioned an investigation to explore links between slavery and its predecessor institutions including the Drummonds bank. They found that the Drummonds neither owned slaves, nor invested in the slave trade or slave plantations in the Americas.[57] Yet, in arranging finance for the British army, Henry Drummond directly profited from its role as the defender of slave society in the British Caribbean. This wealth funded not only purchase of the Grange but also Henry Drummond's political career, beginning in 1774 when he bought the seat of Wendover in Buckinghamshire.

When Drummond died in 1795, Northington Grange was leased out to cover the family's debts.[58] The estate passed to his grandson, Henry Drummond, who took full possession of the Grange in 1804 at the age of 18. He commissioned Wilkins to recreate the Grange as a Grecian monument at a cost of £30,000.[59] Disillusioned with such heavy expenditure and having resigned his seat in Parliament on health grounds, Drummond sold the Grange in 1817 and travelled to Switzerland where he became a leading supporter of the Catholic Apostolic church. In 1847, Henry Drummond was re-elected as an MP and spoke in the 1848 debate over sugar duties where he criticised both planters and abolitionists in calling for free labour and free trade.[60] Such sentiments were shared by the Grange's new owner, Alexander Baring, who was to emerge as one of the leading figures in international banking during the mid-19th century.

In 1795, 22-year-old Alexander Baring crossed the Atlantic as he tried to carve out his own career within his family's bank. His first focus was on the acquisition of over a million acres of land in Maine, which he purchased from Philadelphia merchant and Senator William Bingham. On 23 August 1798, he married Bingham's daughter, Ann Louisa, connecting him to one of the wealthiest families in the United States and resulting in a marriage settlement of £20,000. Following the senator's death six years later, Alexander and his wife received almost one-third of the income from her father's US$3 million estate.[61] Bingham's fortune therefore significantly accelerated Alexander's own financial rise at a time when the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars resulted in a period of exceptionally high profits for the House of Baring (Fig 8.8).

The foundation for William Bingham's wealth was the four years he spent in the French Caribbean colony of Martinique during the American War of Independence as an agent for the Continental Congress. At the start of July 1773, Bingham had travelled to Martinique to receive armaments shipments from France and to organise privateering attacks against British shipping in the Caribbean. Bingham's family had been trading in the Caribbean before the war, and he used these networks to develop an extremely profitable trade in exporting American tobacco and importing Caribbean molasses.[62] Both these commodities were produced by slave labour, and Bingham also profited directly from the sale of the human cargoes of British slave ships taken to Martinique by American privateers. After one successful raid captured two Guinea ships, Bingham became part owner of 498 African slaves. Another capture of a British merchant ship leaving Saint Domingue resulted in Bingham receiving £4,600 for part of its cargo of coffee, sugar and rum.[63] The fortune acquired by Bingham during his time in the Caribbean was fundamental to his later investments in land and in the Bank of North America. Given that Alexander Baring did not become a partner in Baring Brothers until 1804, the financial resources he gained through marriage to Ann Louisa Bingham were particularly timely.[64] In 1817 Baring acquired the Grange for £136,000. The Caribbean origins of Ann Bingham's wealth meant that the family's acquisition of Northington Grange was at least partly funded with slave-derived income.

During the revolutionary wars of the 1790s, the House of Baring was able to weather the uncertainties and losses experienced by global trade, by expanding its commercial activities into state finance which increased its profits significantly during this period.[65] Before Alexander Baring became a partner in the bank, it had shared in government contracts to supply the large military expedition sent by Henry Dundas to the revolutionary Caribbean in 1793.[66] Funding the invading British army in Saint Domingue included supplying 'the pay of the Colonial Corps for the purchase of provisions, stores, negroes, horses'.[67] As British forces were increasingly strained by both the extreme mortality caused by yellow fever in the Caribbean and the unremitting nature of black military resistance in both French and British colonies, so Dundas's expedition increasingly relied on the purchase of slaves to serve as front-line soldiers and supporting auxiliaries. In fighting to defend slavery in the Caribbean, the British army itself became more dependent on slavery.[68]

In 1803 Alexander Baring took the lead role in Paris and North America in organising the finance for the American acquisition of French Louisiana. The 'Louisiana Purchase' of one million square miles dramatically expanded the geography of slavery on the North American mainland. The transaction revolutionised the slave society of Louisiana from a marginal French colony on the fringes of the transatlantic slave trade to an intensive sugar economy receiving an estimated 280,000 slaves through the 'internal' slave trade between 1810 and 1860.[69] Arranging the US$15 million purchase, Baring Brothers probably received more than US$1 million in commissions.[70] As a partner in Barings, Alexander received one quarter of the profits, while by the 1820s, as the bank invested heavily in developing the commercial infrastructure of Louisiana's slave-based economy, this proportion had risen to two-thirds.[71] Between 1805 and 1817 Alexander Baring served as a director of the Bank of England and was prominent in arranging finance for Britain's war effort and France's reparations, which resulted in enormous profits for Baring Brothers estimated at over £700,000. At a time when the Haitian Revolution led many contemporaries to see slavery as a system in decline, Alexander Baring found his personal wealth dramatically increased by the expansion of slavery in Louisiana.

The year before the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade in 1807, Baring entered the House of Commons, where he served until 1835. He was a strong advocate of free trade and a vocal opponent of abolitionist campaigns in Parliament for full emancipation. In 1823, Baring attacked both Wilberforce and Buxton for lacking experience or interest in the colonies and exaggerating the atrocities of British slave owners and the 'physical sufferings of the Negro' in the British Caribbean. Instead he argued, 'the name of slave is a harsh one; but their real condition is undoubtedly, in many

respects, superior to that of most of the peasantry of Europe'. They were well clothed and well fed, and he believed, generally treated with justice and kindness.[72] He warned that 'if the Negroes in the West Indies were liberated, either immediately or remotely, or in any way whatever, those colonies would be of no further value to Great Britain'.[73]

Criticising the constant petitioning of Parliament by abolitionists as deluded, Baring positioned himself as a disinterested yet experienced commentator. He argued:

> I am not myself a West India proprietor, but I have seen cultivation carried on by Slaves in some of the American States, in Georgia and Carolina; and I must say, that from all I saw there, and from every information I have received from our own colonies, I do not believe, on looking about the world and considering the general lot of mankind, that if I was called upon to say what part of the globe most particularly excited my sympathy and commiseration, I do not believe that I should fix upon the Negroes of the West Indies, as far as regards their food and clothing, and the whole of their treatment.[74]

During these 1820s debates over the amelioration of slavery, the House of Baring was seeking to withdraw from ownership of West Indian properties in Jamaica, Trinidad and Martinique.[75] This contrasted with many British merchants such as the Gladstone or Barkly families who increased their holdings of Caribbean property during this period through acquiring bankrupt estates. The Barings' effort to detach themselves from plantation ownership was probably motivated more by concerns about the financial crises in London during the mid-1820s than by abolitionist scruples. By the mid-1820s Alexander Baring was no longer involved in the daily management of the bank and he officially retired in 1830.

At the same time as Alexander Baring was withdrawing from active leadership of the House of Baring, the bank acquired control of several plantations in the Danish Caribbean colony of Saint Croix. While the bank disposed of its holdings in the British Caribbean it was to maintain ownership of these estates for over 50 years. During this period, these properties were run on slave labour until 1848, after which authorities in Saint Croix enacted a coercive system of apprenticeship that sought to restrict the formerly enslaved to labouring on the plantations for the next 15 years. In 1831, as Alexander Baring publicly identified himself as not a 'West India proprietor', Baring Brothers owned 500 slaves in Danish Saint Croix who would not be freed for a full decade after the enactment of emancipation in the British Empire in 1838.[76]

In April 1831 Alexander Baring was still a committed opponent of emancipation on economic grounds, arguing that 'notwithstanding that it is the fashion to undervalue these possessions, I feel a conviction that their destruction would reduce us from the rank of a first-rate commercial country, to a state of comparative destitution'.[77] He claimed that the West Indies were 'real and material sources of wealth and power' for Britain and that immediate emancipation threatened the 'destruction of all the capital now employed in that branch of commerce'.[78] Again he rejected abolitionist propaganda, claiming that 'I have known much of the state of slaves in our colonies and in America, and I think I am warranted in saying, that the accounts which have reached us in various publications of the condition of negro slaves are essentially false ….'[79] He went on to state that 'the deception would consist, as it does in the case of the West Indies, in representing casual enormities and crimes as the daily and ordinary occurrences of life'.[80] Recognising the momentum of the abolitionist campaign he called for the mitigation of slave conditions, with reforms being enacted through local legislatures in the Caribbean.

As Alexander Baring stepped down from active management of Baring Brothers bank, American-born Joshua Bates was appointed as a partner in the firm in 1828. At the time the business traded across a range of commodities in tea, sugar, coffee, indigo, cotton, rum, spices, tobacco, flour, wool, copper and iron. Stanley Chapman argues that Bates deliberately removed the bank from

areas such as Mauritius which were marked by the declining profitability of slave production.[81] It was probably with the same motives that the House of Baring sought to divest itself of similar sugar plantations in the Caribbean. Yet despite this withdrawal, in mid-1830 Barings still had £250,000 invested in mortgages on West Indian estates, which represented a sum equivalent to one half of the bank's capital.[82]

During the early 1830s, Barings opened an office in Liverpool to profit from the port's emergence as the main gateway of North American trade, particularly slave-produced cotton. The commercial activities of Baring Brothers were little affected by the British abolition of the transatlantic slave trade in 1807 or Britain's abolition of slavery in 1833. Thus in some ways they exemplify Inikori's argument on the significance of slave-produced commodities in shaping Atlantic commerce and British economic growth. It is striking that British abolition in 1833 was paralleled by Baring Brothers aggressively investing in slave-produced American cotton so that in the same year it represented one quarter of the bank's total revenues.[83] Baring also acted as a 'banker's bank' for new American banks, including selling over £1 million worth of stock for the Union Bank of Louisiana in 1832 and advancing £6,500 to the Planters' Association Bank of Louisiana in 1834.[84] During the 1830s Louisiana received over 67,000 slaves from other US states, and these import levels were maintained during the 1840s and 1850s.[85] In the House of Commons Alexander Baring argued that emancipation would result in the restarting of the transatlantic slave trade due to the global demand for slave-produced sugar from Cuba and Brazil. At the same time, it was British demand for slave-produced cotton that pushed Baring's annual profits over £100,000 in the mid-1830s.[86]

Conclusion

The relationship between classical slavery and Atlantic slavery has long been a focus for intellectual historians, who have stressed how often visions of one form of slavery were shaped by understandings of the other.[87] Marble Hill House and Northington Grange suggest such connections could also impact on the material construction of classicism in Britain through architecture and art. Both houses exemplify the argument by Philip Ayres that classical culture was claimed in the 18th century by an elite keen to imagine itself as embodying an oligarchy of 'civic virtue' to parallel those of ancient Rome or Greece.[88] Neo-Palladian and Greek Revival architecture therefore gave historical roots and civic legitimacy to those of uncertain fortune like Lady Howard or to those of recent wealth such as the Drummond and Baring families. Within these properties the visual invocation of classical slavery served to legitimate their success and authenticity in embodying the architectural forms of antiquity. However, it was Atlantic slavery which had directly financed the construction of these Arcadian worlds through speculation in the slave trade, state finance supporting slavery in the Caribbean and North America, and through trade in slave-produced commodities. Although difficult to quantify exactly, the timing and size of these investments were so central to the development of Marble Hill House and Northington Grange that both properties would be unimaginable without their transatlantic connections.

9

Slavery and the sublime: the Atlantic trade, landscape aesthetics and tourism

Victoria Perry

Introduction

My PhD thesis, 'Slavery, sugar and the Sublime: the Atlantic world and British architecture, art and landscapes, 1740–1840' (Bartlett School of Architecture, University College London, 2010) examines the relationship between British visual culture in the 18th and early 19th centuries and the wealth created from slave trading, Caribbean sugar plantations and the colonial transatlantic trade. It concludes that the connections between Britain and its American colonies were not just apparent in the design of individual country houses or landscape gardens. The growing prosperity of provincial 'Atlantic' ports such as Bristol, Liverpool, Lancaster, Whitehaven and Glasgow had a profound effect on what might best be called Britain's 'cultural geography': a shift towards the Atlantic west that was manifest in a new aesthetic attitude towards wild, uncultivated landscapes. This chapter focuses on the patronage of an absentee Antiguan planter on his country estate on the borders of South Wales, and shows how it played an instrumental role in establishing 'scenic' landscape tourism as a fashionable cultural activity both in 18th-century Britain and its colonies.

A 'wild and whimsical adventure'

Early one morning in July 1760, a coach left the spa resort of Bath destined for Hotwells, Bristol's own spa located in the hillside suburb of Clifton. On board was 'Miss M' who, a few days later, described her 'agreeable jaunt' in a letter to a friend.[1] However, it is clear that Hotwells was merely a stop for breakfast and to pick up two more passengers: the true purpose of the expedition was to view the new gardens at Persfield created by a young Antiguan absentee planter named Valentine Morris.

Persfield (known today as Piercefield) is situated on the banks of the River Wye near Chepstow, an 18th-century shipbuilding town on the Welsh side of the treacherous Severn Estuary. Following their breakfast, Miss M and her companions left Hotwells for the ferry at 'Aust … the old passage over to Wales' around 10 miles to the north.[2] From the perspective of a wealthy woman, whose daily activities in Bath would have been confined to assemblies, teas and balls, this was a 'wild and whimsical' adventure 'abroad'.[3]

Morris – born in the Caribbean and heir to several sugar plantations – had spent the previous eight years 'landscaping' the 400-acre estate that his father had purchased two decades earlier. Indeed, the parkland that Morris created is an early example of the 'natural style' of landscape garden frequently associated with designer Lancelot 'Capability' Brown.[4] However, though Miss M admired the vast new 'waving lawns' on the approach to his house, it was not the garden itself, but the 'prospects' from it that most interested the visitors. To the rear of the house the rolling contours abruptly became a 400ft-high cliff, through which Morris had cut numerous walks and pathways to take advantage of the views (Fig 9.1). In Miss M's words: 'The Gardens are situated on the *Rocks*, I cannot call them *Banks* of the River *Wye* and cut into Walks, in themselves are excessively beautiful, but the superior beauty of the views they command, so entirely engrosses the eye,

that they can be very little heeded.'[5] Several of the views were towards the cliffs themselves, as they curved around in a vast natural amphitheatre. Other vantage points provided bucolic panoramas: of livestock 'grazing on sweet pastures' in the farms that lay below, the nearby ruins of Chepstow Castle and a distant view of 'the two passages over the Severn from England to Wales.'[6] Altogether, Morris had fashioned 23 different rural 'scenes' for visitors to admire. 'Such a place for the Variety and Beauty of its Prospects I never saw',[7] Miss M exclaimed.

The next day the party continued their excursion, this time by boat down the winding lower reaches of the Wye. Here the river runs along the north-western edge of the Forest of Dean. During the 18th century the forest was a major source, both of mature oak for shipbuilding and small trees to make charcoal for iron-making. After visiting the remains of a former monastery, Tintern Abbey, 'the most curious piece of ruins I ever beheld',[8] Miss M and her companions stopped at the nearby ironworks. There they saw 'the manner of making bar iron and the drawing of wire', before the oarsman rowed them back down the Wye to Piercefield where they 'had the pleasure of looking up to those beautiful Rocks we had looked down from in Mr. Morris' ground'.[9]

Miss M's enthusiasm for the sights of the lower Wye Valley is so infectious that it feels as if her trip were made only a few weeks ago. But she was just one of many hundreds, if not thousands, of people who visited Piercefield and Tintern during the late 18th and early 19th centuries (Fig 9.2). Indeed, the views from the cliffside walks were described and analysed by some of the period's most respected writers on landscape aesthetics: from theorists such as Thomas Whately in his influential *Observations on Modern Gardening*[10] and William Gilpin in his popular treatise on 'picturesque' aesthetics, *Observations on the River Wye*, to poets such as William Wordsworth in 'Lines composed a few miles above Tintern Abbey'.[11] Charles Heath, a printer from the nearby town of Monmouth and author of a 1793 guidebook to Piercefield – 'sold by him in the market place and at all the inns in the county' – was not exaggerating when he claimed that:

> The scenes at Persfield have been examined by men of such distinguished taste, and the various beauties with which the place is surrounded, pointed out by them with such ability, that in their description the Stranger will find every feature noticed deserving of attention. No part of the kingdom has been more the object of general curiosity, nor seen with greater pleasure.[12]

Today the walks at Piercefield Park are registered as Grade I in the Register of Parks and Gardens, the highest form of statutory protection afforded by national legislation in Britain, as an 'early and outstanding example of a sublime landscape'.[13] However, despite the extent of Piercefield's influence during the 18th century, it is little known today outside a small circle of landscape and garden historians. The estate is, however, crossed by public footpaths and, with a little persistence and some imagination, it is possible to recreate the route taken by 18th-century visitors (Fig 9.3).

The 'slopes and waving lawns' now form part of Chepstow's well-known racecourse and a little way from the stands and car parks is a footpath leading beyond the racetrack to the handsome facade of the house to the point where parkland and wooded cliffs meet. The 'prospect' from this spot has evidently hardly changed in the last 250 years. There is, first, the wonderful contrast of walking from sun-lit open parkland into the leafy gloom of the wooded cliff face. Then there is the sudden appearance of a vast landscape panorama: indeed, the terrifying realisation that you are standing on the edge of a drop of more than a hundred metres makes the view of the river and the farm below quite extraordinary.

After the initial excitement of this spectacle, however, trying to recapture the experience of 18th-century visitors becomes more difficult. Indeed, rather than part of a once-famous landscape garden, Piercefield Park nowadays seems little different from the woods and paths that line the cliffs and yellow-arrowed footpaths of the officially designated 'Wye Valley Walk' (Figs 9.4 and 9.5).

However, it is then you realise that this is exactly the point. In 21st-century Britain, and indeed many other Western cultures, following a footpath to admire the 'natural scenery' of a renowned beauty spot is regarded as a completely normal activity. Large areas of upland in England, Wales and Scotland are designated National Parks or, like the Wye Valley near Piercefield, Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty. In one of the most highly urbanised and densely populated countries in the world, the aesthetic contemplation of large tracts of nature is seen as an individual's right and is protected by law. But, before the early 1750s or 1760s, few British people would have chosen to walk along a wooded cliff face simply as a leisure activity. As clergyman John Wesley reflected in his diary following his visit to Piercefield in 1769, Morris's woods would have instead been valued very differently:

> Through these woods an abundance of serpentine walks are cut, wherein many seats and alcoves are placed; most of which command a surprising prospect of rocks and fields on the other side of the river. And must all these be burned up? What will become of us then, if we set our hearts on them?[14]

The cliffside woods had once, like most of the valley, been a commercial crop used to make charcoal to fuel the ironworks. Now, however, they were living picture frames for carefully selected 'scenes' of rural life. 'Nature so cultivated surrounded by nature so wild, compose a lovely landskip together',[15] mused Thomas Whately, while another visitor compared the views from Piercefield's cliffs to the work of fashionable Italianate landscape painters: 'the united talents of a Claude, a Poussin, a Vernet and a Smith would scarcely be able to sketch'.[16] Woods that had once been an income-generating part of the Piercefield estate had become a public gallery. The ordinary had been transformed into art (Fig 9.6).

Piercefield and the 'picturesque' landscape tour

Miss M's trip from Bath to visit Piercefield's 'prospects' and 'scenes' was an early example of 'picturesque landscape tourism' – a way of appreciating the rural environment according to an ideal found in 17th-century Italianate landscape paintings. It was an ideal that was to have a profound effect on late 18th- and 19th-century Britain. Not only did the ideals of 'the picturesque' contribute towards the growth of tourism in the Wye Valley but they also transformed attitudes to the uplands of West Cumberland, Scotland and North Wales in particular.[17] By the latter part of the 18th century, indeed, these once poor and remote areas had also become fashionable tourist destinations: the Lakes, Snowdonia and the Highlands. British land was beginning to be valued not only for the profits that could be derived from it, but for the way it looked. It was the origin of the modern concept of 'natural scenery'.

The pioneering account of the early growth and influence of the picturesque aesthetic is Christopher Hussey's *The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View* (1927) and, despite its age, it remains a definitive survey. According to Hussey, it is the paintings by artists such as Nicholas Poussin, Salvador Rosa or Claude Lorrain which British grand tourists bought as souvenirs of their trips to Rome that first awoke the interest in indigenous British natural scenery,[18] an opinion shared by other, later, writers on the subject.

It is, therefore, worth looking briefly at one of these paintings to understand the ideals to which Piercefield's 'prospects' were being compared. Claude Lorrain's *Landscape with Ascanius Shooting the Stag of Sylvia* (1682) hangs in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (Fig 9.7). The main subject of the painting is not the actual shooting of the stag; instead the focus is the physical topography: a rocky, heavily wooded bay scattered with classical ruins looking out to sea with a mountainous

island in the distance. Each side of the painting is formed from a series of overlapping elements: a ruin, a group of trees, a tower-topped, rocky promontory. These elements are known as 'coulisses' – a term derived from the French name for the scenery wings found either side of a stage. This 'pictoral depth' created by the composition is aided by the careful use of colour: strong earthy tones in the bottom and sides of the painting, making it seem closer to the viewer, while the sea and mountain beyond are in pale tints, helping them recede into the background.

Like many of Claude Lorrain's paintings this neo-classical landscape has a haunting, dreamlike, quality. Indeed, his paintings, like those of Poussin and Rosa, were of imaginary landscapes: a potent mix of illustrations of classical myths and topological studies carefully composed in the calm of a studio. Creating the clifftop 'scenes' at Piercefield, however, would have been a very different matter. True, the wooded cliffs near the ironworks were already covered with small footpaths formed by charcoal burners as they went about their toil. But Morris's wide, stone-paved 'walks' were entirely different.[19] While one visitor could regard them 'merely as an assistance to view the beauties of nature', forming paved paths along the sides of the wooded precipice would have been a demanding feat: according to Charles Heath, Morris had employed a huge team of 'upwards of one hundred men'[20] to construct them. Not only had it required a sophisticated aesthetic sense to reveal the wonders of Piercefield's 'natural' views to visitors, but it had also necessitated a substantial financial outlay.

Indeed, the comment of Miss M's friend William Shenstone – 'I could not help reflecting on the singular happiness of Mr Morris to be possessed at once of a large fortune and one of the finest situations in England'[21] – illuminates two factors omitted by Hussey's analysis: the roles of geography and capital in the growth of picturesque landscape tourism as a 'polite' cultural activity. For it is clear that changing taste was only one aspect of the late 18th-century British vogue for the 'natural' landscape and the growth of the Wye Valley, the Lakes, Snowdonia and the Highlands as fashionable tourist destinations.[22] Wealthy British travellers had, after all, been visiting Rome and purchasing neo-classical landscape art since the latter part of the 17th century: Rosa, Poussin and Claude were all long dead by the time that Miss M visited Piercefield and the Wye Valley. However, in the 70-year period between Claude's painting and the construction of Piercefield's walks, there had been a profound structural change in Britain's economic geography.

The Atlantic trade and Britain's shifting geographies

Lying just off the north-western extremity of the continental European landmass, Britain has a complex geological makeup and a climate heavily influenced by oceanic weather systems. Low-lying, easily cultivated land is found mainly in the Midlands, south and east of the island while much of the north and west of the country comprises rugged, rain-swept uplands. At the beginning of the 18th century, therefore, agriculture, manufacturing, international trade and urban settlement were concentrated in the Midlands and the sea-ports of the south and east coasts.[23]

However, as the century progressed, the increasing success of Britain's slave-plantation economy in the Americas began to change this pattern. It was westerly Atlantic-facing ports that expanded at the expense of those in the east which traded mostly with continental Europe. By the 1740s, in population terms, Bristol had eclipsed Norwich as England's second city and Lancaster and Whitehaven had developed into thriving Atlantic ports. A decade later these harbours in turn had been overtaken by ports along the Mersey and the Clyde. Liverpool was second only to London in the extent of its international transatlantic trade, Glasgow was a prominent tobacco entrepôt and Greenock was developing into a major sugar refining centre, while small ports on the Clyde Estuary and the islands and inlets to the north-west supplied goods such as salted fish and linen to Glasgow

for shipping to the plantation colonies.[24] As the Glasgow-based economist Adam Smith observed in 1776, in the preceding half century British overseas trade had undergone a 'total change in its direction' towards the Atlantic.[25]

The growth and rapid expansion of these western ports had a dramatic effect on their hinterlands, attracting trade, wealth and investment to areas that had – in many cases – been economic and cultural backwaters. The western part of north Wales, for example, was transformed by the investments of Jamaican estate owners and Liverpool West India merchants into agricultural land, and new coastal and mountain roads were built near Penrhyn. In West Cumberland successful Whitehaven tobacco and sugar merchants invested heavily in coastal estates and the construction of turnpike roads through the remote hills. Further north, wealthy Atlantic merchants invested in the purchase of landed estates – and road construction – near Glasgow, while further north again, plantation and trading profits were used to finance substantial estate acquisition and improvement in the western Highlands of Scotland.[26]

Moreover, as David Hancock shows in *Citizens of the World*, the intertwining commercial interests and family connections between colonial planters and merchants formed a far flung transatlantic American-British 'community' that linked London, the American colonies and provincial western British ports in a complex network of trade not only of goods but information, news and ideas.[27] And it is these intimate links between the material and the cultural, the domestic and the global that engendered what can perhaps best be described as a shift in the 'cultural geography' of the British Isles towards the Atlantic West. In the remaining part of the chapter, I will attempt to summarise how the aesthetic 'appreciation' of 'natural landscapes' came to be an integral part of this Atlantic culture and demonstrate how Valentine Morris's patronage at Piercefield played a critical role in popularising the idea. First, though, a brief detour to Bath – the 'cultural capital' of the Atlantic West.

Bath, Atlantic trade and British 'cultural geography'

The first decades of the 18th century not only saw the expansion of Bristol as a sugar, slaving and tobacco port but also the development of the nearby spa at Bath to become Britain's most fashionable town. Like Tunbridge Wells, Buxton and Harrogate, 18th-century Bath was a spa and health resort with an economy that was almost entirely devoted to the leisure activities of a 'genteel' elite.[28] Bath, however, was the only spa where the shops were 'richer and more extravagant in their show' than those in London[29] and neither Harrogate nor Buxton could boast of a charitable hospital hung with works by Britain's most fashionable artists.[30] Bath in the 18th Century was not just a larger version of a resort, such as Tunbridge, or even a 'polite' provincial centre, such as York, but a town intimately linked with the fortunes of Britain's transatlantic trade.[31]

The first decades of the 18th century had seen property developers (led by James Brydges, Duke of Chandos, one of the largest shareholders in early British colonial development) attempt to capitalise on Bath's Roman origins, growing medical reputation, and the town's proximity to Bristol's transatlantic business opportunities. By the second half of the century, indeed, several major new developments were either underwritten by plantation collateral or funded directly by the plantation owners and West India merchants who were partners in Bristol and Bath Old Banks (Fig 9.8).[32] Moreover, the resort's ability to attract both Britain's landed elite and the country's colonial adventurers and investors (Valentine Morris, for instance, had spent most of his early adulthood in the town) made it more than just Britain's pre-eminent urban playground. Bath was also a formidable cultural power base with a global reach: 'the nearest resemblance to Old Rome that this country can afford'.[33] As one contemporary writer astutely observed, the purpose of 18th century Bath was to 'refine the world'.[34]

The establishment of the sophisticated West Country resort with its concentration of the wealthy and fashionable had a notable effect on perceptions of the surrounding area.[35] If Bath's hills and golden limestone terraces recalled for some visitors, at least, the architecture of ancient Rome, so too the quarries, cliffs and woods of the locality evoked fashionable Mediterranean landscapes. One of the earliest advocates of 'landscape gardening', Alexander Pope, for example, was a frequent visitor to Bath, Bristol and the West in the early decades of the 18th century and his influential poem on 'taste', 'Epistle to Lord Bathurst' (1731) celebrated the clifftop 'prospect' at Ross, a small town 30 miles or so further up the Wye from Piercefield.[36] And in 1742 a Gloucestershire clergyman had written a poem describing his 'voyage' to Tintern Abbey where he had viewed the 'pleasurable sadness of its ruins and follies'. Morris's patronage, therefore, was part of a wider change in attitudes to the lower Wye Valley during the middle part of the 18th century. While the river remained an important transport route for goods destined for the Severn Estuary, the port of Bristol and beyond, the fields, woods and cliffs that lined its banks were also becoming the objects of a connoisseur's gaze.

As Miss M's visit demonstrates, one of the reasons for Piercefield's growing popularity was that it was easy to get to from Bath. Not only were visitors able to use a long established ferry crossing, they could also ride comfortably in coaches along the network of good turnpike roads that Morris had been instrumental in building.[37] Nor was he unusual: as David Hancock demonstrates, Atlantic merchants and absentee planters were enthusiastic organisers of – and investors in – the construction of roads near ports and in the vicinity of their country estates. Indeed, investment in roads played a critical part in the growing popularity of landscape tourism in remote parts of western Britain during the latter part of the 18th century.[38]

It would, of course, be too simplistic to argue that the contribution of plantation profits to turnpike road construction was the only factor encouraging landscape tourism as a polite cultural activity in 18th-century Britain. As we have seen, changing ideas and perceptions of 'landscape' were also important. However, here too, Piercefield and the business and family networks of the Atlantic merchant/colonial planter community played a crucial role in disseminating ideas about the aesthetic 'appreciation' of 'natural landscapes'.

Piercefield, Atlantic trade and western landscapes

In 1759 London-based publisher Robert Dodsley (a former footman to Robert Lowther, Governor of Barbados) travelled 'with a polite Party of Gentlemen and Ladies'[39] from Bath to Piercefield. Like Miss M, he described his visit in some detail in a letter to a friend, concluding that 'the place is certainly of the great and sublime kind'.[40] Dodsley's choice of the word 'sublime' to describe the experience of viewing Piercefield's cliffs is notable as one of the earliest recorded uses of the term to describe the aesthetic qualities of a British landscape: moreover, it hints at another reason why Piercefield was to become such an influential destination.

Two years prior to his trip Dodsley had published two books by a young Irish émigré writer named Edmund Burke. One, *An Enquiry into the Origin of our ideas of the Sublime and The Beautiful* was a philosophical treastise on the nature of aesthetics. The other, *An Account of the European Settlements in the Americas* was both a history of colonial development in the Americas and a reflection on the opportunities and risks of the transatlantic plantation economy.

Burke had been living in Bath and had connections with the Atlantic trade through his younger brother Richard, a successful merchant and Caribbean land speculator.[41] A practical guide to British

colonial matters, would, therefore, have seemed a far better commercial prospect than an abstract thesis. Nevertheless, the influence of *An Enquiry* was profound: indeed, it was to become one of the most influential treatises on aesthetics in the English speaking world.

Burke's originality lay in the importance he placed on the subject's response, rather than the object itself. Beauty was not an innate quality; instead, in Burke's view, it occurred in the eyes and brain of the beholder. Moreover, the aesthetic of the natural environment surpassed that of the man-made. The delight inspired by the sight of the great architectural monuments of ancient Greece and Rome, for example, was more than rivalled by the awe inspired by viewing a majestic mountain – or the thrilling, but uncomfortable, sensation of standing at the top of Piercefield's cliffs.

It is not recorded if Burke ever visited Piercefield himself. Nevertheless, as Dodsley's comments reveal, the dramatic cliffs of the lower Wye Valley were considered a physical exemplar of Burke's ideals. Indeed, an aesthetic that celebrated direct physical engagement and privileged 'the natural' above the man-made would have been an intriguing concept for Bath's aspiring Atlantic adventurers – and the audience for *An Account of the European Settlements in the Americas*. While Britain's plantation colonies had few magnificent buildings and little fine art to match the riches of European civilisation, they could boast of rivers, cliffs, waterfalls and mountains as 'sublime' or 'beautiful' as any in Europe.

Indeed, the combination of Burke's ideas, Morris's prominent colonial contacts (he was to become governor of St Vincent) and the proximity of the sites of the lower Wye Valley to the cultural centre of Bath, proved inspirational to patrons, writers and artists with interests in the colonies. Joseph Banks, for instance, made a detour from Bristol to visit Piercefield and dine with Morris a few months before his departure on the colonial prospecting voyage onboard the *Endeavour* in 1768. Indeed, Banks' personal journal – an engaging combination of botanical analysis and a connoisseur's delight in 'natural scenery' – reveals how enthralled he was with Piercefield and the Wye Valley.[42]

William Gilpin, scion of a family of prominent Whitehaven tobacco, sugar and rum traders (and Jamaican plantation owners)[43] was, however, less impressed with the views from Piercefield. Nevertheless, the experience of his tour to the Wye Valley in 1770 became the basis for his highly successful book *Observations on the River Wye and several parts of South Wales* (1782), a text that was to promote the idea of 'natural scenery' to the British population at large.

By the time of *Observations'* publication transatlantic shipping between Britain and its 26 American colonies was severely interrupted by the American Revolutionary War. Indeed, hostilities between Britain and France – which had sided with the 'rebels' – encouraged landscape tourism in Britain as an alternative to continental tours. However, it is clear that the concept of regarding topography as art had already arrived on the western shores of the Atlantic. A decade earlier, for example, in 1772 Jamaican sugar planter William Beckford had commissioned artist George Robertson to paint watercolour scenes of Jamaica that were subsequently exhibited in London and, in 1778, engraved as a set of prints (Fig 9.9).

In 1781, moreover, in his seminal essay 'Notes on the State of Virginia', tobacco planter – and future President – Thomas Jefferson had described a view of the passage of the Potomac River through the Blue Ridge mountains near his own Virginian estate. The contrast of the 'wild and tremendous' view of the river in the foreground with the 'placid and delightful' distant views of the sky and plain beyond had formed, he concluded, 'one of the most stupendous scenes in nature'. It was, Jefferson mused, 'a scene worth a voyage across the Atlantic'.[44]

Conclusion

Although ‘scenic’ tours became fashionable in late 18th-century colonial Jamaica, it was to be another generation before landscape tourism grew to be a popular cultural activity in the newly independent United States. Nevertheless, like the 18th-century British fashion for ‘natural scenery’, the growth of landscape tourism in the United States was intimately connected with transatlantic trading networks. William Gilpin’s nephew, Henry Dilworth Gilpin, for instance, was to write one of the first ‘scenic’ guides to American landscapes.[45]

Indeed, it is clear that the origins of the ‘landscape tour’ were entwined with the British plantation economy in the Americas. Sugar estate profits had allowed Valentine Morris to create an original and influential landscape garden within easy reach of Bath and Bristol, while connections between merchants and planters provided a means of disseminating ideas about the aesthetic ‘appreciation’ of rugged topography as a polite cultural activity.

The popularisation of the concept of ‘natural scenery’ – coupled with the investments made by merchants and absentee planters in the construction of new roads through the hinterlands of Atlantic ports – transformed attitudes to remote areas of western Britain. By the latter part of the 18th century, West Cumbria, North Wales and western Scotland were no longer considered poor and barren: instead ‘The Lakes, Snowdonia and the Scottish Highlands’ were regions where discerning ‘gentlemen’ or ‘ladies of taste’ might choose to visit or, indeed, live.

The concept of ‘natural scenery’, moreover, was not confined to Britain. Transatlantic links between planters and merchants encouraged the rapid dissemination of these ideas to plantation colonies in the Caribbean and the American mainland, and the celebration of topography as ‘natural’ art was to become a notable feature of the newly independent United States.

10

West Indian echoes: Dodington House, the Codrington family and the Caribbean heritage

Natalie Zacek

Introduction

This chapter focuses on Dodington House, located on the Dodington Park estate, just outside the village of Chipping Sodbury in south Gloucestershire. For at least five centuries this property was the home of the Codrington family, whose fortune was founded on the Caribbean sugar-planting endeavours of two Christopher Codringtons, father and son, in 17th- and early 18th-century Barbados, Antigua and Barbuda. The first section of the chapter will centre on the illustrious younger Christopher Codrington (1668–1710), a West Indian colonial governor, military hero, member of the most stellar intellectual circles of late Stuart Oxford and London, and famous benefactor both of All Souls College, Oxford, and Codrington College, Bridgetown, Barbados (Fig 10.1). It will then turn to an analysis of the ways in which Dodington House has, in recent decades, emerged as an important site of popular memory for issues of slavery and its abolition within the British Empire.

Today, Dodington House is widely understood as a structure which epitomises the ways in which Britain, and in particular certain members of the nation's landed aristocracy, profiteered from the exploitation over centuries of vast numbers of African and Afro-Caribbean slaves on West Indian plantations. The great majority of both popular and scholarly accounts represent this imposing neo-classical mansion, surrounded by elaborately landscaped gardens, as having been built from the profits of sugar and slavery.[1] As this chapter will demonstrate, however, a closer look at the house and its construction complicates this picture, and makes it more of a challenge to draw a straight line from the cane-fields to the classical portico. The building itself is not that which existed in Christopher Codrington's lifetime, but rather was constructed over the late 18th and early 19th centuries, at the behest of a Codrington descendant who was never directly involved with the West Indian plantations. Nevertheless, as I will show, Dodington House is certainly imbricated within the discourse and practice of slavery, and also of abolition, and events in the more recent past have actually served to create newer and more powerful links between the house and the slave-holding past. As Thomas F Gieryn has observed, buildings 'are forever objects of (re)interpretation, narration and representation – and meanings or stories are sometimes more pliable than the walls and floors they depict … Buildings sit somewhere between agency and structure'.[2] This chapter will explore the factors that have caused this particular stately home to come to embody the ongoing controversies regarding Britain's involvement in the slave trade and plantation slavery, and what it means for an individual building to become a symbol of this type.

Christopher Codrington, an 'object of admiration and delight'

The enduring image of the West Indian planter as a boorish brute, amiable dullard or extravagant fop has been significantly revised within recent scholarship; nonetheless it is accurate to conclude that the great majority of planters, however attentive at least some of them may have been to their responsibilities to their families, estates and local communities, were unlikely to have aroused particular admiration within the more sophisticated intellectual and literary circles of London or Oxford.[3] Yet it was by virtue of his intellect and wit, as much as his vast wealth or military or

government service, that the younger Christopher Codrington gained and retained his renown. In the words of Reverend William Betham, author of *The Baronetage of England*, he was 'a gentleman of great parts, of a quick and piercing comprehension, a strong, solid, and distinguishing judgment, a retentive memory, a warm imagination, a sublime way of thinking, a methodical way of reasoning … [while at Oxford he] soon acquired the deserved character of an accomplished well-bred gentleman, and universal scholar'. When serving in the Army, his 'merit and impregnable courage soon recommended him to his prince's favour'; in relation to his intensive study of patristic texts 'he was esteemed the greatest master in the world' and, had he survived his final illness and returned to Oxford, he would have 'been as much the object of their admiration as he deserved to be the object of their delight'.[4]

Codrington was born in 1668 on the Barbadian estate of his namesake father, one of the island's leading planters, and the man generally considered to have introduced large-scale and profitable sugar-planting to the island of Antigua. Sent first to England at the age of 12, Codrington enrolled at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1685. Even as a new arrival he soon became a leading member of the 'Christ Church wits', his friends including Joseph Addison, later co-founder of the *Spectator*, and Charles Boyle, who would make distinguished contributions to both classical scholarship and experimental science.[5] Codrington remained at Oxford for nearly a decade, having in 1689 been elected a fellow of All Souls College, and he was notable even in this distinguished company for the breadth of his academic and non-academic interests; as his eulogist, the Barbadian clergyman William Gordon, would later note, his achievements in the fields of 'Logick, History, the Learned and Modern Languages, Poetry, Physick, and Divinity' were worthy of the highest respect.[6] He returned briefly to Barbados in 1693, as a volunteer in an expedition against a French naval attack, and went back to Oxford the following year to take his master's degree. Choosing to join the army in the Flanders campaign of the Nine Years' War, Codrington distinguished himself in the field, and gained the approbation of William III, who appointed him captain of a regiment of Foot Guards. In this capacity, he spent the years from 1694 to 1700 primarily in London, serving in the army but also participating extensively in the most self-consciously sophisticated literary circles, in which endeavours the playwright and future Poet Laureate Colley Cibber praised him as 'a gentleman of the first rank of wits'.[7] In 1700 the king named him as his father's replacement as governor-general and commander-in-chief of the Leeward Islands. Although, for reasons which lie beyond the scope of this chapter, Codrington was not particularly effective or popular as a governor, he nonetheless impressed many, mostly in England, with his 'metaphysical learning', particularly through his erudite translations of, and commentaries on, the writings of the Church Fathers.[8]

Upon his death in 1710 Codrington's will made great benefactions both in England and in Barbados. To his intellectual home, All Souls College, he left £10,000, as well as his personal collection of books and manuscripts, valued at that time at a further £6,000 (Fig 10.2). The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), which sent Anglican clergy to Britain's American colonies in order to minister to the settlers and missionise the enslaved and Native American populations, inherited his Consetts and Codrington estates on Barbados, valued at £30,000, and generating an annual profit of a further £2,000. In so doing, Codrington's aim was the creation of a theological institution in which would be…

> maintained a convenient number of professors and scholars who should be under the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, and be obliged to study and practise physick and chirurgery as well as Divinity, that by the apparent usefulness of the former to all men they might both endear themselves to the people and have the better opportunities of doing good to men's souls whilst taking care of their bodies.[9]

The remainder of his estate, including Dodington House, was left to his 'cousin-german' William Codrington, the son of his paternal uncle.[10]

Dodington House: 'steeped in slavery'?

The Codringtons had been a family of some note within England since the Hundred Years' War, in the course of which an ancestor, John Codrington, had distinguished himself as a standard-bearer to Henry V at the battle of Agincourt. The family is reported to have settled in Gloucestershire perhaps as far back as the era of the Norman Conquest, and by the 1560s the Codringtons established the family seat at Dodington, at which they inhabited a gabled H-plan house erected by the previous owner, Thomas Weekes.[11] It was this estate which the younger Christopher Codrington purchased in 1700 from his cousin Samuel, although no evidence exists to suggest that the former ever resided there for any significant period of time. He may have bought the property with the intention of leaving it to any children he might have hoped to father, or perhaps because he desired a property which was within relatively easy reach of his friends and former tutors at Oxford. In any case, the structure we now know as Dodington House is not that which existed at the time of his acquisition of the property, but was entirely rebuilt a century later by Christopher Bethell-Codrington (1764–1843), MP for Tewkesbury and great-grand-nephew to Christopher Codrington's heir William.[12] Bethell-Codrington, who inherited Dodington in 1792, was a close friend of the leading architect James Wyatt. The latter had gained considerable popular admiration for his design of the celebrated London entertainment venue, the Pantheon on Oxford Street, as well as for such notable country houses as Heaton Hall, on the outskirts of Manchester, and Castle Coole, in County Fermanagh, Northern Ireland. Bethell-Codrington commissioned Wyatt to completely redesign the old Tudor house in the fashionable neo-classical style of which Wyatt was a master. Between 1796 and 1805, the old house was demolished in stages, while its replacement was built around it, bringing the building into harmony with the grounds, which had been redeveloped in the 1760s by Lancelot 'Capability' Brown. The exterior was finally completed in 1814, and the interior in 1827.[13]

Caribbean connections?

Three issues are worth raising in relation to Dodington House and its connections, past and present, to West Indian plantation slavery: the house itself as an enduring symbol of what James Walvin has termed the 'colonial origins of English wealth', particularly that generated by the profits of slavery; the fact that, throughout the 2007 commemorations of the bicentenary of the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade, Dodington was repeatedly invoked as the point of connection between the Church of England and Caribbean slavery; and the controversies surrounding the sale of the Codrington family papers and the attempts of the Antiguan government to acquire these documents as crucial sources of the history of the Antiguan people.[14]

As mentioned above, no Codrington family member who was directly involved in the management of the family plantations resided for any length of time at Dodington House. William Codrington and his descendants were absentees, quite detached from the day-to-day affairs of the Antiguan and Barbudan estates, and primarily involved with the management of their Gloucestershire properties. Yet, although the current house came into being a century after Christopher Codrington's death, the estate has nonetheless been identified in both academic and popular discourse as the product of slave-generated wealth. In the South Gloucestershire volume of *The Buildings of England*, David Verey and Alan Brooks refer to Christopher Bethell-Codrington as 'having made a fortune from his sugar estates in the West Indies', despite the fact that that fortune had been founded nearly a century earlier. Moreover, they identify elements of the house's interior and exterior design as bearing a West Indian influence, claiming that the first-floor balcony on the west portico is 'most unusually placed' and is 'perhaps a reflection of the West Indian origin of Codrington's fortune'. However, it is difficult to evaluate the accuracy of this statement in the absence of comparisons with particular buildings in the Caribbean, and also noting that the ironwork ornamenting the house's famously

grand central staircase was taken from Fonthill Splendens (Fig 10.3), the notoriously lavish home of another West Indian absentee planter, William Beckford.[15]

The early stages of Bethell-Codrington's rebuilding project were underwritten, directly or indirectly, by the revenues of the family's Antiguan and Barbudan plantations, and, as Madge Dresser has noted, 'his family's involvement in Antigua continued well into the next [ie the 19th] century'. However, it is important to note that the latter stages, including the proportionately greater costs associated with the lavish decoration of the interior, were supported almost entirely by the profits generated by the Codrington family's Gloucestershire estates. From 1796 to 1816, Bethell-Codrington was drawing between £3,000 and £7,000 from his bankers each year, primarily out of the West Indian plantations' revenue, but these amounts declined precipitously after 1818, and by the mid-1820s had dropped to nothing. In these latter years, the income from the Dodington estate and its farms was soaring, and as a result, the later segment of Bethell-Codrington's exorbitantly expensive programme of rebuilding appears to have been financed entirely by the profits of the domestic properties.[16] Nonetheless, in March 2007 a piece on the BBC website asserted baldly that 'the plantations made the Codrington family very rich and paid for the construction of the mansion Dodington House', and a booklet issued recently by the Yate Heritage Centre, on 'The History of Anti-Slavery in South Gloucestershire', identifies the Codringtons of Dodington House as 'a family steeped in slavery'.[17]

Much the same conclusion was drawn by the popular historian and broadcaster Michael Wood, whose 1999 work, *In Search of England*, includes a lengthy description not only of the West Indian origins of the Codrington fortune, but of the link with the Windrush generation of Caribbean migrants to Britain, including Barbudan descendants of the Codrington family's slaves. These immigrants and their children and grandchildren, led by the teacher Hilbourne Frank, created the Barbudan Association, a mutual aid and cultural heritage group whose activities included coach trips to Dodington, where 'they have picnicked in the gardens designed by Capability Brown: paid for by the sweat of their ancestors, though they would be far too polite to say so'.[18] Wood's claim is somewhat hyperbolic, yet it hints at the slippage between historical realities and popular perceptions. As has been discussed, the Wyatt mansion, and the Brown gardens which surround it, were largely financed from the profits of the Codringtons' domestic economic endeavours. However, it is extremely difficult to decouple the family's English investments from the earlier streams of capital generated by their West Indian estates; while the labours of the ancestors of Barbudan Association members may not have directly subsidised the construction of the current house and its park, Wood's statement may reflect a poetic rather than a literal truth.

The Codringtons, the Church and slavery

Dodington's perceived links to plantation slavery were not limited to the estates from which the Codringtons actually continued to profit in the 18th and 19th centuries. Indeed, most notably in the course of the bicentenary commemorations of the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade, they included the properties which Christopher Codrington had deeded, via the SPG, to the Church of England. The devoutly religious Codrington's intention through this bequest was that Codrington College would flourish as an institution which provided education and medical care, which were so lacking in Barbados at the beginning of the 18th century (Fig 10.4). At the same time he envisaged that, although its endeavours would be supported directly by the labours of its slaves and the sugar they produced, its practice of enslavement would be ameliorative. The slaves were to be treated in an entirely humane manner, in accordance with the loftiest Christian principles, and they would receive extensive religious instruction from the College's scholars. However, as the American clergyman and geographer Jedidiah Morse wrote in 1798, the College 'is the only institution of its kind in the West Indies, but it has not answered the intention of the founder'.[19] Although Codrington's heartfelt piety,

deep scriptural knowledge and tremendous generosity to the Church were greatly admired by those metropolitan and colonial clergy who had personally known him, within a few decades of his death the profit motive had clearly triumphed over that of philanthropy. Officials at the College had relinquished the aim of making the plantation an 'exemplar of Christian servitude, although the SPG continued to urge the work on while promising little that would ensure its success'. Individual chaplains attached to the College were troubled by the fact that, 'rather than making slaves Christians on their Barbados plantations, the SPG had slaves make sugar, and in sufficient quantities to yield a substantial profit'.[20] They argued that it would be impossible to convert the enslaved and inculcate them with the principles of Christian morality while they continued to live and labour under conditions which were not notably better than those of bondspeople on privately owned plantations in Barbados and the other English islands: they were in desperate need of 'the Regulations, and Advantages of civil Life' and 'the Principles of civil Government and social Life'. These critiques were posed by metropolitan as well as by Barbadian clergy. In 1785, for example, when a donor presented Beilby Porteus, the Bishop of Chester, with the sum of £82 earmarked for use in Barbados, Porteus opted to send the funds not to the SPG, but to the Associates of Dr Bray (founder of the SPG), who used it to help establish a free school for black Barbadian children the following year.[21]

As popular and parliamentary opposition to the Atlantic slave trade, and then the continued existence of the institution of slavery itself, grew within Britain, the Church of England came under increasing scrutiny, and criticism, for the fact that it owned the two Barbadian plantations outright, and that it profited directly from the labours of the estates' slaves. To the abolitionists, the perceived inhumanity and hypocrisy of the Church's conduct was epitomised by the widely reported practice by which all of the Codrington plantation slaves were branded on their chests with the word 'SOCIETY', referring to the SPG. These criticisms were not entirely assuaged by the emancipation of all slaves in the British colonies in 1834, as public opinion execrated the Church for seeming to profit yet again from its ownership of unfree labourers. Like many former slave owners in the British colonies, Church officials received financial compensation from the state for the loss of their bondspeople; the Archbishop of Canterbury, for example, received an award of just under £9,000 (equivalent to approximately £500,000 in modern currency) in recompense for 411 slaves, and the Bishop of Exeter fared still better: along with three colleagues, he gained nearly £13,000 with respect to 665 slaves.[22]

As the 2007 bicentenary approached, the largely unacknowledged history of the Church's relationship with slavery attracted significant public attention, and controversy, eventually forcing the clergy to acknowledge the institution's complicity with enslavement, and to make a series of public statements on the subject. In February 2006, the General Synod, supported by Rowan Williams, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and John Sentamu, the Ugandan-born Archbishop of York, voted unanimously to issue an official apology to descendants of the victims of the Atlantic slave trade. The Reverend Simon Blessant of Blackburn stated that 'we [the Church] were at the heart of it [the slave trade]. We were directly responsible for what happened. In the sense of inheriting our history, we can say we owned slaves, we branded slaves, that is why I believe we must actually recognise our history and offer an apology.'[23]

Despite the fact that the Codrington family played no further role in the management of the Barbadian plantations after Christopher Codrington gave them to the SPG in 1710, the Codrington name was invoked repeatedly in relation to the Church's decision to issue an apology for slavery, and to the ongoing public observance of the 2007 bicentenary. For example, when the Right Reverend Tom Butler, Bishop of Southwark, addressed the Synod he stated that 'the profits of the slave trade were part of the bedrock of our country's industrial development; no one who was involved in running the business, financing it or benefiting from its products can say that they had clean hands'.

He also emphasised not only that 'bishops in the House of Lords with biblical authority voted against the abolition of the slave trade', but that 'we know that the church owned sugar plantations on the Codrington estates'.[24] Three hundred years after the Barbadian plantations passed into the control of the SPG, it appears that nearly every scholarly or popular mention of Dodington House comments upon the links between the house, the Church and slavery.[25]

The Codrington Papers controversy

It would be easy to argue that, in the two instances described above, the links between Dodington House and the history and memory of slavery are fairly tangential, and are based more on popular memory than on historical fact. However, the same cannot be said of the controversy surrounding the sale of the Codrington archive of family papers in 1980, in which Dodington was not merely the location but the justification for this highly contentious struggle over public and private claims to the stewardship of crucial historical resources.

In 1980 Sir Simon Codrington, the third Baronet Codrington and owner of Dodington House, decided to put up for sale through Sotheby's a collection of documents which were widely referred to as the Codrington Papers. The public sale of these documents, which spanned several centuries and were considered 'one of the most important archives on the history of slavery in the West Indies in general and Antigua in particular', was justified by Sir Simon on the grounds that he and his family were in desperate need of significant funds in order to continue to maintain the house and grounds, not merely for their own use, but for the enjoyment of visitors. At this time, both the house and the park were open to paying visitors, and throughout the 1970s Dodington attracted on average 150,000 people each year; according to the *Observer*, the patrons enjoyed not only the neo-classical splendours of the Wyatt-designed house and the 'Capability' Brown park, but also attractions such as 'the re-enactment of famous battles by costumed enthusiasts, and cellar discos', as well as an adventure playground, a miniature railway, a children's farm and a number of shops.[26]

For generations, the Codringtons had kept the papers on site at Dodington, but in 1959, while retaining a small selection as one of the attractions of the house, they placed the majority of them at the Gloucestershire Record Office, in Gloucester, where the archives staff catalogued and maintained them.[27] The fact that the documents had for two decades been available for consultation by visitors to the Record Office, and that public funds had been employed in order to catalogue and preserve them, was one source of public outcry in the face of the impending sale. David Lowenthal, professor of geography at University College London and a leading scholar of the Caribbean, and Richard Hoggart, a seminal figure in the discipline of cultural studies and the author of *The Uses of Literacy*, argued that the papers should not be sold to the highest bidder in order to generate cash for the Codrington family. In their words, 'a collection handsomely organised and maintained at public expense should yield public benefits in return for its disposition for public profit'.[28]

Particular controversy resulted from the fact that the Codrington Papers were not simply being removed from the public facility which had done so much to care for them, but that they would almost certainly be bought by whichever bidder had the deepest pockets, regardless of his or her intentions regarding the documents. The government of the newly independent state of Antigua and Barbuda was especially concerned about the situation, as both politicians and members of the general public in these islands felt that the papers represented a crucial source of the history, not only of the Codrington family, but of 'the roots and origins of their slave forebears'. In its announcement of the sale Sotheby's concurred, opining that they 'constitute one of the most important and comprehensive archives relating to the history of slavery and of the West Indies over a period of some 300 years'. The new nation's financial resources were very limited, and although

it bid to acquire the collection, it could not come close to matching the successful bid, by an anonymous buyer, of over £115,000.[29] A government spokesman registered the nation's bitterness regarding this turn of events when he stated that 'we find it difficult to understand that, having paid for their home off the backs of our ancestors, they now want us to pay again so they can continue to live there' – thus identifying Dodington House as both the historical symbol and the ongoing source of the exploitation of black Barbudans and Antiguans by the Codrington family.[30] Critique occurred closer to home as well; in an editorial, the *Guardian* opined that 'it is a pity that a family which has profited so handsomely from the island in the past, has not been more accommodating to present needs', and called upon the state to regulate more stringently the sale of private collections of historical records.[31] Sir Simon's wife, Lady Sarah Codrington, defended her husband's decision by arguing that 'every generation of Codringtons since the 16th century has fought tooth and nail to keep up the estate. If we hadn't gone to the efforts we have gone to and made personal sacrifices it would have been a housing estate by now', positioning Dodington, rather than the papers, as the crucial historical resource to be preserved at any cost.[32]

The subsequent history of both Dodington House and the papers illustrate the cliché that turnabout is fair play. Despite the fact that the documents sold for more than three times Sotheby's initial estimate of £30,000, less than two years later Sir Simon opted to make the entire staff of Dodington redundant, and the house and grounds were closed to the public. In 1981 sections of the parkland were sold,and in 1984 the house, gardens and remaining sections of the park followed suit, ending more than 300 years of continuous occupation by the Codrington family.[33] And, while the Antiguans and Barbudans had been greatly dismayed by the fact that the papers had sold for a vast sum to an initially unidentified purchaser, they were subsequently delighted to find that that buyer was Bruce Rappaport. He was an Israeli-born, Swiss-based financier who frequently referred to himself as a 'friend of Antigua', was a close associate of the island's leading political family, the Birds, and served as the Antiguan and Barbudan ambassador to Russia and to Israel. Rappaport, who died early in 2010, gave the papers to the Antiguan government, and provided the funds for a National Archives building in St John's, the capital of Antigua, in which to house them, and in which they remain today.[34]

Conclusion

This chapter has endeavoured to explore the several ways in which the physical structure of Dodington House has, over centuries and to the present moment, continued to exist not simply as a highly visible symbol of the wealth generated by West Indian plantation slavery. The house has also been a focal point for a series of individual but interconnected discourses and controversies regarding the historical memory of British colonial slavery, and its effects both on the enslaved and on their present-day descendants. The house itself is currently closed to the public. Although the current owner, Sir James Dyson, has spoken publicly both of visiting the house as a tourist in his childhood and of bringing his own children there in the same capacity, he has chosen not to re-open either the building or the park to visitors.[35] It is rather tempting to paraphrase Matthew Arnold's 'Dover Beach' by wondering if the 'long withdrawing roar of empire', epitomised by the sale of historic properties such as Dodington, may have been supplanted by the quiet whoosh of a bagless vacuum cleaner.

Although Dodington House has disappeared from public view, it continues, even after the spotlight beneath which it was placed at the 2007 bicentenary of the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade, to be appropriated by various groups and individuals as a multivalent symbol. Responding to a pro-British National Party blogger's post in August 2008, a commentator invoked Dodington House as an echo of slavery – not that of black labourers on sugar plantations in the West Indies, but that

which he asserted existed in 18th- and 19th-century England, and was endured by working-class whites. The original post called upon visitors to recall that 'These Great Stately Homes and estates were build [sic] on the backs of down trodden True British Workers … slaving in cotton mills … They died in darkness for the rich owners to live in their grand estates … It was our [white] ancestors who were the real slaves'.[36] While it seems unlikely that many people will interpret Dodington House and other British country houses as epitomising the forced servitude of white Britons, rather than of Africans and Afro-Caribbeans, it seems probable that Dodington and the other properties discussed elsewhere in this volume will continue to function as repositories of memory and debate for the foreseeable future.

11

Contesting the political legacy of slavery in England's country houses: a case study of Kenwood House and Osborne House

Caroline Bressey

Nothing ever stands still. We must add to our heritage or lose it.[1] George Orwell

Introduction

The 1807/2007 commemorations drew attention to the diverse historical geographies contained within traditional spaces of Englishness, including country houses. The presence of black men and women who lived and worked as free and enslaved servants on these estates is an aspect of British history that is often hidden from the main narrative told at heritage sites. Their presence was brought into focus during the 1807/2007 commemorations. As English Heritage's 'Sites of Memory' illustrated, the locations of such usually hidden histories included some of the grandest of England's country houses such as Kenwood House, London, and Althorp House and Boughton House near Kettering, both Northamptonshire.[2] But the highlighting of these histories emphasised their absence from the usual stories told at heritage sites. Despite the challenges posed by more diverse historical narratives in 1807/2007, the relationship between whiteness, British greatness and great estates remains largely unchallenged by major heritage institutions. This contributes to an idealisation of a certain understanding of our past; assumptions still prevail that black people do not belong in the history of country houses and did not contribute to their creation, maintenance or preservation. These ideas of 'old England' have been and continue to be exploited by a number of political groups including the British National Party.

This chapter focuses on two former country houses, Kenwood House in London and Osborne House on the Isle of Wight. Kenwood has a far more obvious direct link to the British involvement in the slave trade, but both could reflect diverse histories of Britain. The chapter outlines some of the alternative ways in which these two sites could be 'read', and suggests that these are two English Heritage sites where a broader and more integrated understanding of the historical geographies of the black presence in Britain would challenge traditional accounts of British history. This chapter describes the experience I had at Kenwood House and Osborne House. At both sites I came to the house as an 'ordinary visitor', a visitor who did not take advantage of guided tours or much interaction with the volunteer guides. These personal tours were an attempt to view the legacy of the 1807/2007 commemorations at English Heritage sites, as well as consider how diverse histories more broadly are incorporated into the narratives of these two sites.

The politics of heritage

On 12 August 2010, David Cameron, Prime Minister of the new coalition government, gave a speech at the Serpentine Gallery in London, in which he declared that selling our heritage was one way that Britain could improve its tourism industry. The speech was widely reported by the press, including the BBC, the *Daily Mail*, the *Guardian* and the *Jamaica Observer*.[3] In the speech Cameron

was critical of the previous Labour government, arguing that they had underplayed tourism because 'they just didn't get our heritage because it didn't go with their image of "cool Britannia"'.[4] In its report on the speech the BBC defined 'cool Britannia' as a label given to Britpop music, art and fashion seen in the mid to late 1990s. Whether or not Cameron would agree with this definition, despite his argument that people should not characterise British culture as a choice between old and new he made clear that there are only some sites where real heritage is maintained:

> I love our varied seaside towns, from Oban to Llandudno, from Torquay to Deal. I love our historic monuments, our castles, country houses, churches, theatres and festivals, our beautiful beaches. … I love our national parks, our hundreds of historic gardens and national network of waterways, and our museums. … People sometimes characterise culture as a choice between old and new; between classical or pop, great heritage or modern art. But in Britain it's not one or the other, it's both. It's Glyndebourne and Glastonbury; the Bristol Old Vic and the Edinburgh Fringe; the Bodleian Library and the Hay literary festival; Ascot and the Millennium Stadium; Nelson's Column and the Olympic Park's Orbit.
>
> We have so much to be proud of, so much to share with each other and so much to show off to the rest of the world.
>
> …
> The truth is we've just not been working hard enough to celebrate our country at home and sell our country abroad.[5]

What kind of heritage is to be sold and what kind of histories of Britain are thought to be the real histories that should be told to guests? Cameron's use of 'us' and 'them' certainly implies that he only sees a certain kind of narrative to be representative of a genuine national heritage. To what extent does Cameron's vision of country houses and landscapes seek to sell a vision of an 'old (white) England'? As Roshi Naidoo has argued, symbolic spaces, including stately homes, are seen as places of tradition that are transcendent, intact and white.[6] Cameron seems to seek to maintain and reinforce an historical narrative which fails to include the diverse histories of Britain during the era of the transatlantic slave trade that continue to be uncovered by historians such as Kathleen Chater or community research associations such as the Black and Asian Studies Association (BASA) and the Northamptonshire Black History Association.[7]

The failure to incorporate these dynamic histories of the black presence into everyday understandings of the British landscape contributes to its popular image as a space of whiteness, one which insists that black people did not contribute to the making of historical, particularly rural, landscapes in England. The assumption that rural spaces can only become more multicultural has also contributed to their targeting by far right organisations such as the British National Party.[8] Research undertaken by Robinson and Gardner highlighted a number of white English people moving to Wales in order to get away from a perceived urban experience of multiculturalism.[9] The pair's research focused on Powys, 'the paradise of Wales'. A largely upland and rural county, Powys covers 2,000sq miles of mid-Wales and is one of the most sparsely populated local authority areas in England and Wales. Of the English residents interviewed by Robinson and Gardner 33 per cent stated that they had decided to relocate to a rural setting because fewer people from ethnic minorities lived there. A further 20 per cent admitted that although the absence of ethnic minority people had not framed their original decision for moving, they had come to see it as an advantage of their new life.[10]

Such attitudes find support in the mainstream British press. In an article for *The Telegraph* in January 2008, Jan Moir argued that it was quite understandable that…

> certain sectors of the middle class are fleeing from inner London like pashmina-wrapped lemmings, desperate to escape the creeping spread of urban decay. Last year, nearly a quarter of a million decent, law-abiding citizens packed their bags and left the capital for good, seeking what they hope will be a better life elsewhere. They moved

> to outer boroughs, other city suburbs, rural areas, abroad, the back end of beyond, anywhere but here. While their fairytale, roses-around-the-door belief in the safety of the countryside and the romantic ideal of a thatched cottage for two is touching, it does point to an underlying urban unease.[11]

The urban decay they had left behind included 'a great termite nest of law-breaking and corruption … nourished by immigrants, some of them illegal, from Algeria, Nigeria, Jamaica and Pakistan, among others'.[12] Highly problematic ideas of race and its place in the urban imagination are contained within such statements. Rod Liddle's claim in a column for the *Spectator* that the 'overwhelming majority' of violent crime in London was carried out by young African-Caribbean men (later censured by the Press Complaints Commission) is a more recent example.[13] The oppositional imaginaries of the rural to the urban upon which such arguments often rely can be exploited by a racist political agenda because these spaces have been disconnected from their historical legacies. The commemorative events of 1807/2007 have done little to bridge this divide or to undermine narratives that are largely a celebration of an imperial past. What, then, is the 1807/2007 legacy for English Heritage sites and sites of English heritage more generally?

Kenwood House

Kenwood House had a relatively high profile during the 1807/2007 commemorations of the abolition of the British slave trade, thanks in part to the beautiful portrait, by an unknown artist (believed to have been produced in the late 1770s) of Dido Elizabeth Belle and her cousin Lady Elizabeth Murray (later Finch-Hatton), both of whom lived in the villa with their great-uncle Lord Mansfield (Fig 11.1). In 2007 Kenwood hosted an exhibition 'Dido, Slavery and Justice', which was well received by many.[14] The exhibition included the well-known portrait of the two elegant cousins and highlighted the presence of Dido at Kenwood and the impact this may or may not have had on the legal judgements Lord Mansfield made on cases related to enslavement. However, two years later when I visited the site, like many of the exhibitions that were held by major institutions to mark the bicentenary, few of the disruptions it created had been incorporated into the overarching narrative of the estate.

Kenwood House is set in landscaped parkland in the midst of Hampstead Heath, North London, described on the English Heritage website as 'one of the most magnificent visitor attractions in London' (Fig 11.2).[15] In assessing whether diverse histories are being represented at Kenwood, three 'narratives' of the house should be considered. There are the tales of the lives of those who lived in the house including Dido and Mansfield (Fig 11.3). There is the material culture of the house, remodelled by Robert Adam in the 18th century, with an interior that includes a chimneypiece carved in 1773 which incorporates Chinese painted marble tiles. Additionally, there is the art collection. Established with a legacy from the first Earl of Iveagh, who bequeathed Kenwood estate to the nation when he died in 1927, the collection includes paintings by Rembrandt, Vermeer, Turner and Gainsborough. Kenwood is not only a house and park, but also an art gallery, and thus it has two, perhaps conflicting functions to fulfil.

Kenwood House: a personal tour

When visiting Kenwood now, the most obvious difference from 2007 is the absence of the portrait of the cousins. The picture is not part of the collection of objects usually held at Kenwood and was on loan for the bicentenary commemorations. The lack of this image may be a disappointment to many visitors, or perhaps only a few. It is only if you expect to see the painting that you will be disappointed. However, while the picture of Dido and her cousin does not permanently hang in the gallery, there is still a black presence within the art collection. A large portrait of a black boy can be

found on the ground floor of the house in the dining room which contains the finest 17th-century Dutch and Flemish paintings in Iveagh's collection.[16] But like many representations of the black presence in historical paintings, he is unnamed and probably untraceable. He is a prop in a large portrait of Princess Henrietta of Lorraine. In the portrait, painted by Van Dyck in 1634, the boy holds a tray of pink roses and looks up, admiringly – perhaps mournfully – towards his white mistress (Fig 11.4). The painting is entitled '*Princess Henrietta of Lorraine attended by a page*' but there is no further mention in the supporting material of the boy's presence or of the diverse and complex histories of Europe that he represents, for the painting was produced in Brussels.[17]

Moving through the house into the breakfast room, information can be found on Dido and Mansfield. On a small round table in the centre of the room are leaflets on Dido and Kenwood and two ring binder folders of additional information, one relating to Mansfield and one on Dido. They are interesting and informative, but sit awkwardly within the room that contains them, and they are only present in that one room. The complex histories of race, slavery, injustice and identity are not woven into the narrative of the house as you journey through. Of course, you are only aware of this absence if you know of the story of Dido before you arrive, or you spend time reading the additional material. What of the many visitors, including most of those on my visit, who do not stop and look? What of visitors who are unaware or uninterested in Dido? Will they make connections between the presence of Dido at Kenwood and the 'Am I Not a Man and a Brother' medallion that is held within a cabinet of Mansfield family miniatures? Those who take up the opportunity of having a guided tour will have this connection made for them, as will those who purchase the illustrated guide to the house. In addition, in September 2010 English Heritage commissioned a short film, 'Kenwood Connections', which provides an additional resource for drawing out these connections on the internet. But those who do not make use of these additional resources are not challenged by the possible alternative readings of the space and thus will remain untouched by them.[18]

Osborne House

It is important to remember that the black presence in Britain did not begin or end with the period that represents the (legal) British involvement in the transatlantic slave trade. A failure to do so obscures the history of the black presence in Britain. Black people continued to live and work in country houses after abolition. As Dido's experience shows, black men and women occupied more privileged positions within households and they also visited England's great estates as guests. A case in point is Osborne House, located near East Cowes on the Isle of Wight, which served as a retreat for Queen Victoria, Prince Albert and their family (Fig 11.5). The couple purchased the 342-acre estate in 1845 and rebuilt the house in the style of an Italian palazzo, with two belvedere towers which dominate the surrounding landscape.[19] The grounds include terraced gardens, a Swiss cottage where the royal children learnt about household management and the walled garden which has a number of hothouses containing 'exotic plants which were very fashionable at the time of Queen Victoria'.[20] The interior of the house displays opulence and wealth and parts have a strong connection with India. The Durbar corridor acts as a gallery for a number of portraits of Indian 'types' and some of the Queen's Indian servants including her Indian Secretary, Abdul Karim. The Durbar room, constructed between 1890 and 1891, served as a banqueting hall with ornately embellished walls decorated with symbols from India. The intricate mouldings were designed and realised by Bhai Ram Singh from the Lahore School of Art (Fig 11.6). These aspects of Osborne House are rightly highlighted as important aspects of the residence's history. Yet, among these officially emphasised objects there are many unacknowledged items that speak to a more complex cultural fabric of life at Osborne.

Osborne House: a personal tour

On the trail around the house there are a number of objects that speak to black historical geographies and the complexities of British imperialism. For example, in the upstairs rooms of Osborne visitors view the more personal areas of the royal residence, passing through bedrooms, bathrooms, dressing rooms and the nursery. Coming out of the nursery bedroom on the second floor landing there is, between rooms 144 and 145, a portrait of a white boy being held in the tightly encircled arms of an Indian servant dressed in a uniform and turban. The child in his arms wears a white gown, with a scarlet red scarf tied around his waist, blue eyes bright and alert. The oil portrait's background is dark, making it harder to pick out the features of the Indian servant. There are still pencil marks visible on the child's fingers suggesting that it is not a professional portrait. Perhaps it is a portrait by one of the royal family, possibly by Queen Victoria herself? Who was this trusted servant? Who is the child? Did they sleep in one of the beds the visitor has just seen?[21]

Moving into Queen Victoria's dressing room, visitors will see a row of photographs running down the side of a large mirror. They depict a number of servants. Three have been given a coloured tint and have been framed together as a set. They include a picture of John Brown taken in 1867, an undated image of Ahmed Husain, and one of Abdul Karim and Mohammed Bukhsh from 1887.[22] Abdul Karim, 24 years' old when he joined the royal household, was promoted in 1890 to the position of munshi and Queen Victoria began learning Hindustani under his instruction (Fig 11.7). In 1894 he was promoted again, this time to the role of Indian Secretary. A luxurious portrait of Karim in a white, gold and red uniform was completed by Rudolf Swoboda in 1888 and hung in the Durbar corridor on its completion in 1894.[23] As Rozina Visram has noted, Karim's elevated position rocked the social hierarchy of the royal household; at first he was socially snubbed but later there were co-ordinated attempts to discredit him. Victoria supported Karim throughout, but following her death in 1901, Edward VII ordered his papers to be burnt and Karim returned to India.[24]

Along with the portrait of Karim, the Durbar corridor also contains a number of hand-tinted portraits. Not all sitters are given names or contextual biographical details and I overhear one man thinking aloud: 'I wonder who they are.' The named sitters include Sir Patab Singh and Princess Gouramma. Perhaps the best known is the Maharajah Duleep Singh, fifth King of Lahore (1838–93). Painted as a 15-year-old in a full length portrait by Franz Winterhalter during the summer of 1854, the portrait tells us little of the invasion of his home by British armies that led to his relocation to Britain (Fig 11.8). As a result of the second Anglo-Sikh war in 1848, Singh had been forced to resign 'for himself, his heirs, his successors, all right, title and claim to the sovereignty of the Punjab or to any sovereign power whatsoever, the confiscation of all state property, and the surrender of the Koh-i-Noor diamond'.[25] In return he was to be given a pension and granted the respect and honour the title Maharajah Duleep Singh Bahador commanded. At the time of signing the papers that sacrificed his kingdom Singh was 10 years old.

The deposed boy-king was sent to England and first met Queen Victoria at Buckingham Palace in 1854. The Queen was drawn to Singh's amiable character and he became close to Victoria and other members of the royal family. In August 1854 the Queen recorded a day they had spent together in the Isle of Wight: 'Osborne 22 August: A most beautiful morning. We breakfasted in the Alcove with the truly amicable young Maharajah, who is so kind to the children, playing so nicely with them'.[26] The Queen hoped that Singh would marry her goddaughter Princess Gouramma, but although he liked the princess, Singh saw her as a friend.[27] Following the end of his education Singh settled into life as a country gentleman, maintaining one of the finest shooting estates in the country, but he would often clash with the British state over his financial compensation. For many years he 'played the role of a country squire effortlessly and felt "at home" in England', but he grew disillusioned with Britain, especially when his attempts to regain the Koh-i-Noor diamond were

rebuffed.[28] More serious were his changing political loyalties as he developed a desire to retake his homeland. He rejected any loyalty to the British Crown, and following his arrest during a trip to India in 1886 settled in exile in France. Paris became a base for his journeys across Europe to Russia in the search for allies, his progress closely followed by British government spies.[29] The caption in Osborne House avoids discussing the reason for his exile, explaining that: '… a deep rift gradually developed between him and Queen Victoria however, forcing him into political exile in Paris. They were reconciled late in his life …' The caption does little to suggest the challenge to Empire that Singh's campaign represented.

The presence of another of Osborne's interesting guests, Victoria Randle, is entirely absent. Born in Lagos, Victoria Randle was the eldest daughter of Sarah Davies, a goddaughter of Queen Victoria. Sarah had been brought to England by Captain Frederick Forbes of HMS *Bonetta* following a visit to the Kingdom of Dahomey. Forbes acted as an envoy attempting to persuade African leaders to end their involvement in the slave trade. As part of this campaign he visited the Kingdom of Dahomey on two occasions. During his second unsuccessful visit he was given a number of gifts, among them a young enslaved girl. Forbes named the young orphan Sarah and on her arrival in England she became one of Queen Victoria's godchildren. Following her marriage to the Sierra Leone-born James Davies in Brighton in 1862 she settled in Lagos where she brought up her family. Her eldest child was called Victoria, named after the Queen who was also her godmother. Davies was a successful merchant when he married Sarah, but by the mid-1870s the family was facing financial crisis. Davies's business was failing, and he faced bankruptcy hearings in London and Lagos. A case brought against him by Manchester merchants would drag on for over four years and the proceedings seriously affected Sarah's health. In mid-1880 she travelled to Madeira, hoping that a change of air would help, but on 15 August 1880 she died. Sarah, in debt to the hotel where she had been staying, was buried in an unmarked grave on Madeira.[30]

Victoria was in England when her mother died, and she heard the news while on her way to visit her godmother at Osborne House. She saw the Queen after lunch that day, and the elder Victoria found her goddaughter dreadfully upset and distressed. The Queen had been fully informed about the details of James Davies's failed business, the bankruptcy and the trial for fraud that she believed had aggravated Sarah's illness. The Queen realised that Victoria was financially vulnerable and decided that she would give her goddaughter an annuity. It is not clear how long Victoria stayed at Osborne on this visit. The Queen and Princess Beatrice left for Balmoral not long after her arrival. But perhaps, as the Queen had taken refuge there after the death of Albert, Victoria also found some comfort in the ornate Italian gardens that formed part of the acres of grounds around the villa.[31]

Osborne's connection to the African diaspora is rarely emphasised, and where it does exist explanations for its presence are limited. In the first corridor that visitors walk through, the Equerries' corridor, there is a painting called *The Embarkation* which includes a 'black boy', an 'Arab man' and a naked, brown skinned 'servant'.[32] Further along there is a pale marble statue of 'An ancient Egyptian': the description is mine because no title is given.[33] Opposite the Durbar room, the small Durbar entrance hall contains a number of paintings. One side is dominated by three large gold frames surrounding three portraits. Two of them depict Indian servants in Queen Victoria's livery and turbans. Between them are three 'Indian children' whose three portraits have been placed together. Facing these from the opposite wall is the portrait of a black boy. He is young and his face looks down on you from his vantage point high above the door. He wears a uniform, perhaps a blue footman's uniform. His coat has a white collar and is trimmed with silver. Inside he wears a red waistcoat with silver buttons. Was he also a member of the royal household? Was he a local model? Did he live on or visit the Isle of Wight? If any information about him is recorded on the frame it is placed too high up to be read.[34]

Two other paintings present the visitor with a connection to the black presence. A portrait of a dark skinned 'African man' depicts him in a blue cloak (perhaps a Kaftan) with orange and green hues and gold buttons. He wears a red turban.[35] On the other side of the room there is a picture of 'A Nubian' who wears red and white robes. This portrait comes with some detail. A mounted plate states that it was painted by the Crown Prince – I think, for the rest of the detail is faded and I cannot read it in full.[36] In addition there is a bust of a 'black man'.[37] There is no information about who he is, or what he is meant to represent. A member of the party I was with asked if the bust depicted anyone in particular and we were told that it was probably a local model. While examining the picture of the young boy I overheard two women who were struck by the bust behind me. They were discussing who they thought the man was. One woman confidently proclaimed that he was 'a North African man'.

> 'How can you tell?' asked her companion.
>
> 'From the shape of his features.'
>
> 'Oh.' Her friend did not seem entirely convinced but let the matter drop.[38]

Without some guidance people fill in historical gaps with their own assumptions and imaginations. If these two women had asked a guide they would have been provided with an alternative perspective, but not all visitors will want or feel able to engage with these men and women. As a result, as is the case in Kenwood House, a traditional narrative of empire is left unchallenged. The absence of explanations, a lack of narrative, the presence of 'Indian types' as an uncomplicated part of colonialism and servitude and the absence of diverse acquaintances such as Victoria Davies, who visited the royal family as guests (rather than workers), means that the narratives of Osborne miss an opportunity to challenge traditional ideas of whiteness associated with Britain's grandest houses and palaces.

At the end of the tours: in the shop

The narrative of a heritage site starts from the moment a visitor enters the gate, to the moment they leave, and includes all the areas, from the car park to the shop inbetween. Many heritage sites rely on visitors ending their tour with a visit to the shop and purchasing items related to the collections for additional income. The representation of heritage in these shops is also important. Both Kenwood and Osborne House have shops, although Kenwood's is smaller than Osborne's. Among the items for sale at Kenwood House was a postcard of the Van Dyck image of Princess Henrietta of Lorraine with her young servant. I was pleased to be able to purchase one of these postcards, but on the back the erasure of the black presence continues. Although on the front of the postcard there are clearly two people depicted in the portrait, only one is acknowledged in the description on the back. The black child is clearly visible but not seen. Although unnamed and probably unknowable, perhaps even unreal, his presence should be acknowledged. It would be possible to do this through a simple extension to the description. For example, a caption which read 'Princess Henrietta of Lorraine with an unknown servant' would at least recognise that two people are present in the portrait.

The shop at Osborne House is more extensive, selling a variety of products, such as parasols and crockery that are not directly linked to the collections on display in the house (Fig 11.9). A portrait of Duleep Singh is available as a postcard, as well as a handsomely illustrated and produced hardback publication *Sovereign, Squire and Rebel: Maharajah Duleep Singh and the Heirs of a Lost Kingdom* which also tells the story of his daughters' lives in Britain including their involvement in the suffragette movement.[39] Aside from a portrait of John Brown with Queen Victoria on a Horse at Osborne (also seen in the horn room) there are no images of servants of any kind reproduced in the shop. Visitors

wishing to take away memories of their visit are forced to purchase images of the royal family. The fabulous regal portrait of Duleep Singh does little to interrupt this interpretation of Osborne House as a home only for royalty.

There would be no African presence in the shop at Osborne if not for a postcard available of *The Secret of England's Greatness*. This large oil canvas painted in 1861 is on display at the National Portrait Gallery, London and depicts an 'African dignitary' kneeling to receive a copy of The Bible from Queen Victoria while Prince Albert stands by her side. The image is not the only illustration of an anecdote about Queen Victoria's meeting with an African ambassador. It is an image which celebrates imperial power, which is, as the art historian Jan Marsh notes, both a patriotic and religious 'tribute to Victoria's known piety, combined with her role as monarch in a period when British relations with Africa were evolving'.[40] Although in 1886 the Queen's private secretary declared there was no foundation to the story, it was utilised by various groups from abolitionists to Protestants in Ireland. Why it is for sale in the shop at Osborne is unclear, and there is no explanation of what it depicts. As such it simplistically emphasises the imperial grandeur of Queen Victoria.

Reassessing collections

Challenging the whiteness of British country houses requires a reconfiguration of British history. This does not mean British history should be reinvented, but that its dominant discourses should recognise the complexities and legacies of slavery, colonial expansion and empire, not only abroad (such as a collection of 'Indian types' or the enslaved on plantations in the Caribbean), but at home. The unsettling of these traditional narratives is not an easy task. The failure to integrate the exploitative histories of slavery and empire into core narratives at sites of English heritage (not just English Heritage sites) is a reflection of this. Recovering the stories that can be highlighted is not always easy. The traces people leave appear and disappear depending upon how they are researched, cared for or illuminated within sites of memory. There is a need for heritage institutions to commit to a process of reassessing collections as part of their core work. This is a programme of work that will require long-term dedication to auditing entire collections, and often the engagement of outside researchers to undertake this work. Once the research is underway, collections will need to be re-hung, relabelled and perhaps entirely reconfigured in order to reflect the results of this new research. A long-term vision for development therefore needs to be in place, acknowledging that as the study of history in Britain evolves, collections which support and reflect these histories also need to evolve.

There are, particularly in the context of the current budget reductions underway as this chapter is written, real concerns about the costs such research projects will incur and the re-organisation of space and collections such reassessments require. A change to the English Heritage Acquisition Policy for historic objects has created a more inclusive brief. This allowed Kenwood to purchase a marble bust of Sir John Lindsay, Mansfield's nephew, in March 2010 (Fig 11.10). Believed to be the father of Dido Belle, the bust creates an additional point of departure for a discussion of Dido within the home. A number of heritage institutions are using the internet in order to expand the narratives of their galleries and maintain projects that were established for or inspired by the 1807/2007 commemorations.[41] English Heritage has also taken advantage of the flexible spaces of the internet. Sites of Memory remains accessible through the Slave Trade and Abolition section of the English Heritage website. In addition, an online version of the Kenwood House exhibition interpretation brochure and a short film on Dido Elizabeth Belle, 'Kenwood Connections', are available. The film, topped and tailed by the thoughts of young women from Hampstead School, outlines Dido's story and how she came to find herself at Kenwood.

My concern with the use of cyberspace as overflow capacity is that it can allow the traditional core narrative of heritage sites such as Kenwood House to remain intact. Kenwood House and the interpretation of its content are largely undisturbed by the alternative readings provided 'off site' on the internet. It is not yet clear how these two spaces, the physical space of heritage sites and cyberspace, will come together in the retelling of heritage narratives. There is a danger that in the interpretations of heritage sites the internet will become a space for 'the other' while the 'real' spaces of heritage, both physical spaces and the narratives alluded to by Mr Cameron in his speech, do not have to be altered or changed. Yet Dido Elizabeth Belle, Victoria Randle and Duleep Singh are figures that are relatively easy to elaborate upon and include within the narratives of the great estates they visited or inhabited. Their place within the English upper classes does not greatly disturb the accounts of wealth and privilege that form the foundation stories of Kenwood and Osborne House.

Following from this there is an argument to be made for interventions that highlight and represent the many people who will, despite the reinvestigation of collections and archives, remain unknown, be it enslaved Africans in the 1600s, colonial servants of the 1700s or quarrymen and women of the 1800s. How do we represent those who cannot be written about but whom we know were present? How is their absence to be included, not only as an acknowledgement of their presence, but to ensure that their absence in space is not assumed to be a non-existence in place? There should be space to represent those who never learned to read but who delivered the letters that make up treasured archives, the men and women who never had their own portraits painted but polished many others' gold frames, those who never had their actions recorded but whose labour maintained these houses through centuries. Although we may never know them, we should find room for them in our nation's country houses.

12

Representing the East and West India links to the British country house: the London Borough of Bexley and the wider heritage picture

Cliff Pereira

Introduction

Stately homes are often viewed as quintessentially British. In recent years the definition of Britishness itself has been debated, analysed, deconstructed and reconstructed with a broader definition that reflects the diverse class, race, religious and gender representation of 21st-century Britain. The heritage sector, from archives to museums and galleries, has striven to be at the helm of this trend and has reaped a harvest of new audiences including people who may never have considered stepping into Jacobean, Victorian and Georgian buildings bulging with artworks.

Sadly the heritage sector has been slow to recognise the historical links between the East Indian and the West Indian or slave trades and the 'British country house'. This chapter draws on the London Borough of Bexley as a case study. It was only in 2007 that Bexley fully realised the potential of exploring and publicising the overseas connections of its great estates.

This is a case study on the representation of the relationship between the East and West India trades and the British country house. By definition this is a culturally sensitive and difficult narrative. The lecturer Rhiannon Mason stated that 'every aspect of a museum, gallery, or heritage site communicates'.[1] The important factor here is what is being communicated and the demography of the audience. This is where Bexley comes into its own. Over the past 20 years the voice of local communities in Bexley has been similar to that of England as a whole yet atypical of a major urban area such as London. The demographic profile of the London Borough of Bexley is similar to that of England, in terms of age structure, percentage of married and single people, people widowed, households with or without cars, or indeed households with two cars!

Significantly for the purposes of this chapter, the demographic similarity of Bexley Borough to England as a nation, rather than to metropolitan multicultural London extends to the realms of ethnicity and ethnic identity (Table 12.1). This makes Bexley a microcosm of England and thus perhaps an example of how similar culturally sensitive narratives could be addressed in other parts of the country.

There are several sites that have long been viewed as part of the borough's heritage highlights. They include the ruins of Lessnes Abbey (Abbeywood), the Jacobean manor of Hall Place and its gardens (Bexley Village), the Georgian mansion that is Danson House and its surrounding parkland, and Red House designed in 1859 by William Morris with architect Philip Webb (Bexleyheath). There is also the listed Lamorbey House (Sidcup). Additionally there are some medieval churches such as St Michael's Church (Welling) and St Paulinus Church (Crayford) and industrial sites such as the fantastic Victorian Crossness Pumping Station at Thamesmead. Finally there are numerous open spaces, meadows and woods.

Table 12.1 Breakdown of the population in London, Bexley and England as a whole

	London (%)	*Bexley (%)*	*England (%)*
People born in England	69.8	89.8	87.4
People born in non-EU countries	21.8	6.2	6.9
White: British	59.8	87.8	86.9
Asian or British Asian: Indian	6.1	2.5	2.1
Black or black British: Caribbean	4.8	1.0	1.1
Black or black British: African	5.3	1.9	1.0
Mixed race: composite	3.16	1.3	1.3

Source: 2001 UK Census, Office for National Statistics

For the mosaic of ethnic minorities living in Bexley the historic aspects of the borough's heritage, apart from the parks, were not talked about and rarely visited throughout the 20th century. This was because much of this heritage was inaccessible. Lessness Abbey was an uninspiring ruin and the nearby fossil grounds were a more inviting site for local schoolboys with aspirations of becoming geologists. Danson House was a structure encased in scaffolding for decades. Red House and Lamorbey House were in private hands. The great houses of Bexley were disconnected from the general public. They were also disconnected from the local educational structure. In 2007 one Bexley resident commented: 'my own introduction to Bexley's great estates and houses came while I worked in Saudi Arabia. One evening in 1984 while watching Bahraini television there was a documentary on Red House and what was shocking is that I had lived for 12 years barely 50 metres from the house and knew absolutely nothing about it.'[2]

The experience of physical accessibility to Red House by the Bexley resident in 1984 can be compared with a 2007 visit to Sudbury Hall in Ashbourne on the edge of the Peak District, where there was a fantastic painting of Anne Howard with a 'page' clearly of African descent in one room and an image of a battle in the West Indies in the hallway. There was no visible mention of the origin of the funds for such an admirable grand estate and house. Neither the volunteers nor the literature in the shops offered any explanation. Clearly here the issue that needed addressing was access to the historical narratives of the house and its connection to slavery and the West Indies. Perhaps what was most insensitive to any member of Britain's ethnic minority was that the plea for support for the funding of the proposed (and now complete) childhood museum featured glossy images of black and Asian children. It seems ironic that where there was a structure with a potentially strong connection to black and Asian people this connection was not made explicit, yet striking images were used to suggest that somehow the childhood museum would be the focus of black and Asian audiences. This suggested that all black and Asian people were only interested in the childhood museum. The omission of this history within the house itself disenfranchised black and Asian audiences, including children, from the heritage represented by the house as a space. This is all the more important given the location of this grand house near urban centres with large black and Asian communities, where far-right political groups were active.

The inclusion of black and Asian history at heritage sites within the London Borough of Bexley is an evolving narrative that has three important elements. First, this movement has been generated by the grassroots public and collective pressure of ethnic minorities of the borough in response to hostile socio-political movements. These groups have effectively utilised Black History Month, local history fairs and specific national celebrations to highlight their roles in British history at local and national level. Second, the changes in the heritage sector over the last 10 years could not have been

achieved without the support of museum directors, heads of local studies, even the Mayor of Bexley, Councillor Nick O'Hare, who saw within these previously hidden histories parallels with his own working class Greek-Irish family history. The third factor in Bexley has been the inclusion of community specialists from the communities themselves at all stages of the process.

In 1995 English Heritage identified Danson House as 'the most significant building at risk in London' and began 10 years of restoration work (Fig 12.1). As the restoration was underway archivist Oliver Wooller at Bexley Local Studies researched the great estates of Bexley. The aim of this research was to outline the depth of the archives especially with regard to the former great estates. His findings on four former estates in Bexley were turned into an exhibition in 1998 and published in 2000. The resultant book, *The Great Estates*, looked at the owners of six estates in the borough, of which the grand houses of only three – Hall Place, Danson and Lamorbey[3] – survived. Drawing on his skills and knowledge of Indian and American history Oliver Wooller exposed the connections between Bexley's former landed inhabitants and the East Indian and West Indian trades. According to Wooller the initial purchase of the land that became the Danson Estate by the Stylemans is to be attributed to the profits of the East India Company. In fact John Styleman became Mayor of Madras in 1692.[4] Though the great estates may not have been on the same scale as some of the manor houses, palaces and grand houses of England, in the context of London and its subsequent outer city boroughs these houses had the same socio-economic impact and similar if not identical sources of capital. As with all good books *The Great Estates* raised many questions. Where did the capital come from for these estates and houses? Where else did it go? What was the nature of the owners' involvement in the overseas textile trade and the slave trade? What were the connections with the City of London, national government, the Church, the abolition of slavery, African Repatriation, and so on?

The launch of the book coincided with major structural changes in the heritage sector in Bexley. Bexley's archives, museums and grand houses had been under the local Directorate of Education within the Libraries and Museums Department. In 2000 Bexley Heritage Trust (BHT) was established as a non-profit organisation to manage Hall Place and be a focus for heritage in Bexley. This inaugurated a transformation of the heritage sector. In 2004 BHT took over management of Danson House and in 2005 Danson House was opened by Queen Elizabeth II (Fig 12.2). Headed by BHT the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) supported the restoration of Danson Park in 2006, and in 2007 the restoration of Hall Place began with the support of HLF and other funders.

Probably as a result of the publicity gained by *The Great Estates*, from 2000 BHT regarded its role in the development of the heritage sector as a serious public responsibility. The book had outlined a broad narrative inclusive of colonisation, empire and decolonisation, but there were other more serious reasons to engage with these narratives.

From 1972 the industrial areas of Bexley, particularly along the Thames waterfront, started to decline.[5] The small black and Asian communities of Bexley had been experiencing increasing racism into the late 1960s, and finally during the 1970s there was a huge growth in activity by the far right in the borough and throughout south-east London. Minority ethnic communities reacted to this by establishing associations and entering local politics. In 1989 the British National Party opened its 'bookshop' in Welling and led an attack on a community meeting where 17 people were gathered.

Through the 1990s a spate of racially motivated attacks on African Caribbean and Asian people resulted in two deaths in the south-east London area – the most publicised one of which was that of Stephen Lawrence. Bexley's communities continued to form ethnically based associations in an effort to form self-support mechanisms. It was with this background that BHT teamed up with Bexley Archives and Local Studies and the Bexley Commission for Racial Equality to produce the

Connections 2001 exhibition. Community cohesion through education was raised to the top of the agenda of the borough's cultural sector. Dealing with communities and taking on the challenge of discussing difficult and highly sensitive issues in an inclusive manner is not an easy task. However the stakes were high for Bexley. In achievable steps BHT developed two exhibitions: Connections 2001 and Connections 2002.

Local black and Asian councillors such as Manny Blake[6] and Harbhajan Singh[7] were instrumental in lobbying for an inclusive cultural sector, and the Connections 2001 exhibition was ground-breaking in that for the first time local ethnic minority communities (Romany, Vietnamese, Sikh and Somali) were brought into Hall Place (Fig 12.3). The venue itself had been perceived as a 'white British only' space by most of Bexley's non-white population. The exhibition therefore addressed the notion of a shared public space.

Bexley's heritage sector had been relatively stagnant. The main borough museum was housed at Hall Place within damp and high risk conditions where cataloguing was either inadequate or non-existent. A smaller local museum managed by the council was housed above a 1906 Carnegie library in Erith, where the collection of industrial and Second World War artefacts was unattractive and where the enthusiastic ageing volunteers were disappointed by the lack of interest from ethnic minority communities and young people. The historic narrative here started with the nearby fossil beds, leapt to the Tudors and then jumped to the 19th-century Industrial Revolution. This was in line with research carried out as far back as the 1970s when the local historian John Prichard produced his trilogy on the Thameside port of Erith. Owing to a lack of time and resources the second book included less than five pages of coverage on 17th- and 18th-century Erith.[8]

In order to improve the heritage sector BHT needed funding. This also meant identifying needs and taking more responsibility for engaging with the public, thereby returning ownership of local heritage to the community. It was mainly through the efforts of Bexley Borough Archive and Records Manager Stuart Bligh that Local Studies took the initiative to involve local communities in the Bexley heritage sector. This involvement took the form of supporting local researchers, consultants and community leaders as the catalyst initiating dialogue between local communities, the heritage sector, local government and national institutions or organisations.

The Connections 2002 exhibition sought to identify 20 ethnic communities and looked at the historical links between these communities and the borough, covering key historical events such as the Industrial Revolution, the two World Wars, the Atlantic slave trade and the East India Company.[9] A mobile version of this exhibition toured the borough, visiting shopping centres, churches, the Sikh Gurdwara and schools.[10] This exhibition was produced with community input by way of oral and family history and assembled with loaned objects and images from the community. The two exhibitions were supported by the Commission for Racial Equality and Bexley Local Studies and their aim was to produce historical connection between local communities.

Realising that Local Studies had not adequately addressed communities that had been resident in the borough for over half a century, Bexley Local Studies commissioned the Bexley Sikh Oral History Project between 2004 and 2005. Meanwhile a voluntary approach was made by a local Asian historian to the small museum at Erith with the offer of a new and very different exhibition. On a shoestring two volunteers mounted an exhibition on Erith and the East India Company.[11] The simple and fresh exhibit doubled museum numbers and brought in new audiences daily. Black and Asian people who had never bothered with the museum were visiting and bringing their children along.[12] BHT observed the importance of all-inclusive narratives, and so the first talk in 2007 at the newly renovated Danson House was on its strong links with the Atlantic slave trade (Fig 12.4). The BHT has arranged induction sessions for its volunteers on Danson and its slavery connections. Within

Danson House the West Indian plantation is evoked in the internal wall coverings with tropical fruit (including cocoa pods) and exotic Caribbean birds, and the hilltop location of the house overseeing the estate grounds that now form Danson Park, with its folly of a Gothic chapel in the distance.[13] The house may not be in Boyd's Town, St Kitts but the connection of the former owners, the Boyds, with the Caribbean sugar industry and its dependence on enslaved Africans is easily brought to the notice of visitors.[14] The history of a black presence in Bexley is highlighted by an 18th-century oil painting in one of the rooms, depicting a local public house in Welling beside which stands a black man in the doorway of a barber's shop.

In 2009 BHT hosted the Boyd Symposium at Danson House which was sponsored by the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland and the Huguenot Society of South Carolina. Seventy people attended the event which featured seven international scholars. The event focused on the Boyd family and its properties and global empire and included wine tasting with wines from the Boydestate near Bordeaux. BHT has not shied away from its connections with the Atlantic slave trade and in May 2010 Daniel McGill of the Ballycastle Historical Research Group (Northern Ireland) provided a lunchtime lecture at the house entitled 'Bordeaux to Bexley' which outlined the transatlantic slave system and the role of the Boyd family. Though no representatives of the West Indian connection or their Bexley descendants were present at the Boyd Symposium, there has been some recent interest in Danson House fromthe St Kitts Tourism Authority.

While Hall Place was undergoing renovation BHT commissioned further and wider research on Bexley and the Atlantic slave trade. Apart from Danson House, where an entrance charge is levied, there was no other venue for a proposed exhibition so it was turned into a mobile exhibition that was targeted at community venues (Fig 12.5). At the same time an amalgam of community groups representing people of African and Asian origin commissioned a book to be produced on 2,000 years of black and Asian history in Bexley. This book, entitled *The View From Shooters Hill*, brought together all of the previous ethnic minority primary historical research by Oliver Wooller and Cliff Pereira as well as new oral history research in the Bexley African-Caribbean and African communities.

Apart from the six estates and houses previously identified in *The Great Estates* another seven properties were looked at in *The View from Shooters Hill*. The African and Asian presence in the borough was identified at several places going back to the medieval period and covering the realms of trade, religion and industry. The role of Bexley's residents in the East and West India trades included that of a president of Fort St George, Madras; a governor of Bengal; a governor of Jamaica and Santo Domingo;[15] and three major traders with the London slave trading firm of Grant Oswald and Company.[16] Other residents included a director of the South Sea Company which held the monopoly of trade to South America (including that of enslaved Africans),[17] an 18th-century sugar importer[18] and several stockholders of the East India Company. It must be noted that one existing property on the border of Bexley and Bromley also has strong connections with Australia. Frognal House was the home of Thomas Townsend, First Viscount Sydney, who devised the plan to send convicts to Australia and who gave his name to Sydney, Australia and Sydney, Nova Scotia. Research has also uncovered the role of men and women in Bexley who championed the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade. In one case the same family that had been involved in the slave trade later produced an abolitionist. Bexley's most prominent abolitionist was Lord Castlereagh, while another abolitionist, Nicholas Vansittart Lord Bexley, gave his name to the town of Bexley in Liberia (Fig 12.6).

The View from Shooters Hill produced by the community was distributed freely to 28 schools and all of the libraries in the borough, and this community-inspired project was delivered alongside the exhibition and with the support of BHT. The mobile exhibition entitled 'Bexley: The Slavery Connection' toured the community over a period of 15 months. Within the exhibition all of the three existing grand houses were covered, as well as numerous other properties.

When BHT opened its doors once again at Hall Place, the exhibition panels for 'Bexley: The Slavery Connection' were placed within the entrance to the building, where they are also used for school visits when reproduction objects are provided for a hands-on approach. Initial feedback suggests that all audiences appear to engage with the panels more in their new setting than in shopping centres or libraries, but that further community events are required to bring in new audiences (Figs 12.7 and 12.8). One of the people who lived in Hall Place when it was a school in the 19th century was the Nigerian Prince, George Orugbiji Pepple, whose father King William Dappa had been exiled to Britain in 1854 for his resistance to the Royal Navy in its attempt to end the Atlantic slave trade.[19] This story will be included in a project headed by historian Jeffrey Green on Africans in 19th-century Britain.

BHT realised that there was a fear of alienating some sections of society by focusing solely on Atlantic slavery or any other specific narrative, and sought to incorporate more inclusive historical narratives. Given that Bexley's Asian population exceeds the African Caribbean population and that there is a large low-income, working-class population in some parts of the borough, objects from the BHT's vast collection are specifically chosen to demonstrate a wider picture. Roman objects unearthed show the links with the Middle East in the settlers gallery. A tobacco pipe found at Erith demonstrates links with Africa and America. Similarly, posters on the war effort in Australia, India and Africa sit alongside local narratives of the Blitz in the Second World War gallery. In the temporary exhibition gallery an industrial exhibition includes the fine local David Evans silk printing works collection, and this too can be developed to look specifically at the overseas capital, raw materials (eg indigo) and patterns (eg Paisley pattern) that made this company a major London textile firm.

Conclusion

Clearly Bexley's heritage sector has come a long way in 10 years. The sector has encompassed principles of inclusiveness in narration and community engagement at all possible stages, and has taken its responsibilities to the public and its role in community cohesion very seriously despite attempts in some political quarters to 'hijack' this narrative.[20] However, with the best of intentions very little of this could be accomplished without funding, especially from the HLF. There remain some specific areas where further improvements can be made.

Presently BHT has two properties: Danson House and the borough museum within Hall Place. Danson House is a paid venue that perhaps attracts more adult and senior visitors, while the surrounding grounds are a free park with excellent family and watersport facilities. Hall Place is more of a family orientated property that is a free museum and a venue for conferences and weddings.[21] Presently the National Trust has just one property in Bexley – Red House. The National Trust has produced no literature on Red House recognising the cultures of Turkey, India, Japan and China in the development of William Morris's contribution to the Arts & Crafts movement.[22] William Morris and the Arts & Crafts movement were directly inspired by the exhibitions of art and objects from Asia in London in the 19th century.[23] The increasing number of visitors from Japan is a testimony to these connections with Japan, while the link with India[24] is gaining recognition following the July 2005 Arts & Crafts Exhibition by the Victoria & Albert Museum. The heritage sector led by BHT has sought, through its mobile exhibitions, to take the British country house and its inclusive narrative to the communities in order to attract new visitors to its properties, encourage communal harmony and preserve its heritage. The focus on education is a particular strength of the BHT, which holds over 100 events each year and has won the prestigious Sandford Award for Excellence in Heritage Education on two consecutive occasions. The educational sector of the BHT is fundamental to its research, events, income and direction. Being a trust ensures more funding than a council department, but funding bodies also demand more than basic tick-box requirements. Additionally

the events are themselves a significant generator of income.[25] The success of the BHT allows for further funding to unlock more of its archives and continue to develop the documentation of its collection. Through the community links forged by previous initiatives and those with Bexley Archives, research and development are well supported and this feeds into the funding application success.

It should be noted that the local council and politicians from across the spectrum have been reluctant to support the heritage sector adequately, with the exception of Danson Park for which the council received an award from the HLF Public Parks Initiative in 2004. Changes in the school curriculum require the teaching of slavery, yet the borough council has not provided any directive or funding assistance for the production of literature, exhibitions or websites to this end. This chapter has demonstrated how the pressure and commitment of community groups and the BHT has helped to deal with this vacuum.

The local council provides poor signposting to the properties for those visiting by public transport. Borough-wide maps at bus stops and bus audio-visual electronic announcements don't indicate bus stops for Danson House, Red House or Hall Place. Despite the fact that that there is no public parking at Red House and the borough attempts to promote itself as being environmentally friendly, the assumption seems to be that everyone has a car with satellite navigation. There is a weakness in the borough's heritage structure in that the borough fails to comprehend the connection between tourism (local, national and international) and heritage. There are plans for private sponsorship of signage in Bexley.

The identified role of Bexley's residents in the East and West India trades means that nine of the grand houses and estates that existed by 1800, or between 20 per cent and 30 per cent of the borough area, benefited directly from the trades. Given that almost half of the borough was covered in woods, heath or marshes at this time, this is quite considerable. Capital from the East and West Indian trades led to the construction of local almshouses and schools,[26] the upkeep of churches and the development of local industries such as armaments and textiles. Most of this original research has been published within the book *The View from Shooters Hill*.[27] The East and West Indian trades were linked on many levels – personal, business and by commodities and the trade routes themselves. To separate these trades is to divide their legacy and to stereotype the historical narrative, which in a classroom setting is socially divisive. Clearly these trading networks have had a direct impact on communities in the borough of Bexley. The challenge has been in making this factual narrative and attached cultural sensitivities accessible to all communities in the borough.

Partnerships between the heritage sector, community groups and local historians have changed the way in which all communities visualise and comprehend local landscape. The historical research suggests that the open spaces and parklands of Bexley were formerly part of the grand estates and therefore represent public spaces created by connected world history. The surviving grand houses represent the riches and profits of trade as well as the negative reality that those trades were based on human suffering overseas. Adequate coverage of British Black and Asian narratives within historic buildings in Britain has many parallels with the inclusion of Aboriginal Australian narratives in colonial structures in Australia. In both cases there are challenges in balancing oral and written histories.[28] Eurocentric approaches to the narrative have long been the norm and research into the 'other' hidden history is in its infancy. The questions posed by this new research are related not only to the architecture, the owners and builders of the structures, but also to where the funds came from, how the funding was acquired, who worked within the properties, what was their social status, and how they were treated. The aim is to combine the intangible with the tangible narratives.

The path taken in Bexley is similar to that taken by the Historic Houses Trust in New South Wales, Australia, whereby structures are enhanced by artwork and narratives that bring out the Australian Aboriginal relationship to the land on which the colonial and modern structures stand and which relate to the combined history of Aboriginal and settler communities. After all, decisions made at Government House, Sydney were instrumental to the lives of Aboriginals, convicts and free settlers alike. However, I note that even here many of the buildings have architectural elements borrowed from British India, and in fact the names – veranda, bungalow, and so forth, are themselves of Indian origin. The intangible sits beside the tangible with equal status. There is of course still some way to go with this agenda in Australia. Few Australians are aware that early convict ships included Africans and Asians and that ships called at Calcutta on the way to Australia.[29] This Asian element in Australian culture is totally absent in today's narrative and yet this is a vital narrative in a city such as Sydney with a substantial Asian population and a country with a growing African population.

Perhaps one of the important outcomes of research in Bexley is that there were identified African and Asian residents in the Bexley area before 1900. Given that discovering black and Asian British presence prior to this period in Britain is something of a hit-and-miss process, this is surprising. The proximity of this black and Asian presence to the grand estates and in three cases actually within the great estates and their houses raises the point that black and Asian history is not a tenuous link for the sake of increasing visitor numbers or appearing to be inclusive. Rather this is a historical reality that needs to be documented and brought into the public realm, alongside 'working class' and domestic servant narratives. After reading *The View from Shooters Hill*, one African-Caribbean resident of Bexley commented: 'when I walk through the park now, I think of my ancestors who made it for me; when I walk past a building I recall the black person who lived there centuries ago, I feel I belong here.'

The process of mapping the impact of the East Indian and West Indian trades in Bexley could not have been accomplished without the inclusion of all parties (local heritage structure, community and local government) (Fig 12.9). This is particularly important in the wake of reduced or restricted funding opportunities from council sources. Important lessons have been learnt that connect the heritage sector to social inclusion and education, both formal and informal. Of particular importance to Bexley, the manner in which the borough has dealt with slavery and the wider concept of a shared global history within its great estates, has challenged the far right political agenda of claiming an exclusive right to English heritage epitomised by the grand estates.

This chapter demonstrates that the impact of the East Indian and West Indian trades is interlinked and that the Atlantic slave trade had an impact on the British landscape that extended beyond the country house or manor house and estate. The impact is on many levels – economic, cultural, political and perhaps most important of all, in the peopling of Britain. The last point is a very important factor within the positioning of the British country house in the socio-historical landscape.

The overall message of Bexley's heritage sector is that it recognises the role of all migrant peoples within the development of modern Bexley. Given that the fastest growing ethnic community in the borough, as in many parts of England, is that of 'mixed heritage', BHT is stressing this mixing or hybrid nature of historical heritage both positive and negative. It acknowledges that it is far better to recognise the sensitive and sometimes negative joint heritage than to ignore it and therefore allow for the construction of historical and cultural stereotypes that are prone to political gain. The success of Bexley's heritage sector owes much to unrecognised independent community brokers who have acted as 'hubs' in bringing together community, council by way of Archives and Libraries, and the Heritage Trust.

There remains a lack of Asian or African faces on the boards of directors and trustees in Bexley to ensure that this inclusive heritage focus is continued. Also the few community specialists who have proved their worth have not become part of the core or mainstream heritage teams. Rather they remain somewhat ‘boxed’ as specialist consultants who are utilised often for very short periods and on specific separately funded projects. In fact from this perspective Bexley is no different from many parts of Britain, where ethnic minorities are underrepresented at senior levels across the heritage sector.

13

Re:Interpretation: the representation of perspectives on slave trade history using creative media

Rob Mitchell and Shawn Sobers

The year 2007 saw Bristol awash with a huge range of events related to the city's connection with the transatlantic slave trade: poetry events, film screenings, city tours, public debates, museum exhibitions, theatre productions, television documentaries and much more, all in recognition of the 200th anniversary of the 1807 act for the abolition of the slave trade.

While this was a national commemoration, the situation in Bristol was particularly poignant. Just seven years before, the city had officially acknowledged its role in the transatlantic slave trade for the first time, by staging an exhibition at the city's Museum and Art Gallery[1] and by naming a new bridge in the city centre 'Pero's Bridge', after an enslaved African who is known to have lived in what is now known as The Georgian House as the house servant to his 'master' John Pinney. Prior to this, Bristol was thought to be a city 'built on slavery', but the general understanding about what this meant was based on a mix of unsubstantiated feelings and centuries of folklore.

As a Bristol-based production company, Firstborn Creatives has been working with local communities since 1999, documenting events and producing work related to Bristol and the slave trade. We were therefore in a good position to work with the National Trust when they approached us in early 2007 with the speculative idea of working with community groups to explore the South-West's connection to this aspect of history, through the re-interpretation of three of their properties in the area: Tyntesfield House and Clevedon Court, both North Somerset, and Dyrham Park, South Gloucestershire.

Our proposal, titled Re:Interpretation was turned into an application to the Heritage Lottery Fund, and funding was secured by Easter that same year. The central idea was to work with four groups to explore the properties and their histories, and to produce creative responses to their findings. The overall output of the project was to be a portable interactive exhibit that toured the properties, showcasing video, animation, audio, photography, writing and other material generated throughout the process.

The four groups with which we worked on this project were:

1. St Paul's Study Centre – A homework and after-school club situated in St Paul's, Bristol. The group is predominantly made up of African Caribbean, Asian, Somali and multiple-heritage young people, between the ages of 11 and 16. Young people from the study centre visited Clevedon Court, Bristol Record Office and the British Empire & Commonwealth Museum.[2] The group was invited to join the project partly because of its cultural make-up, but also because it was based in a central urban location, with little opportunity to visit rural locations (Fig 13.1).
2. Somerset Racial Inclusion Project (SRIP) – SRIP works across the rural area of Somerset. It provides advice and support to children and families from black and minority ethnic (BME) backgrounds, who have been subjected to racial harassment in schools or the local community. SRIP worked over an extended period of time at Tyntesfield House. This group was invited due to its previous connection with Tyntesfield House through archaeological research on the presence of black American GIs. Our project was an opportunity to further explore the notion

of black identity and British culture, which was pertinent for SRIP's role in working with BME families based in rural settings.

3. Bath Ethnic Minority Senior Citizens Association (BEMSCA) – BEMSCA consists of elders from the African Caribbean, Chinese and Asian communities, who meet at Fairfield House in Bath for luncheon club, social functions and lifelong learning activities. Members of BEMSCA visited Dyrham Park and brought to the project the perspective of older generations who have had complex experiences of the reality of British Empire, from the places of their birth to their adopted homeland.
4. Bristol residents – This was a group of invited people who came together to discuss some of the issues arising from looking at historic houses in relation to the transatlantic slave trade. People in the group came from a wide range of backgrounds, including white British, African American and Caribbean. These were people who might well have visited Tyntesfield House or other National Trust properties in their leisure time. Two were in fact National Trust members, but they might not have been looking at the property through the lens of connections to transatlantic slavery.

In addition to these groups we also worked closely with freelance researcher Dr Katherine Hann and Georgiana Hockin of the National Trust to design the project, coordinate the activities with staff and volunteers at the properties, and also to provide evidence-based historical information and contextual references. In addition to a number of videographers and other artists, important creative input came from Barney Menage, who programmed the exhibit and realised the graphic interface inspired by the creative idea of 'an investigation'.

Each group went through a process of first being introduced to the project and the rationale for their involvement; second visiting their assigned property for research and information gathering; and third producing a 'creative response' to their findings. This chapter will now tell the story of these groups' experiences through photographs taken during the process, clips from the interactive exhibit and written commentary of the debates that emerged from the overall process.[3]

The property visits

Each of the approximately 30 young people visiting Clevedon Court had their own interests in the house, and became inspired by the paintings, sculptures and stories they were told by the tour guides (Fig 13.2). For most of them this was the first time they had visited such a property, and regardless of any possible connections with the slave trade, they were interested in the house in its own right. For the majority of them who were born in England, Clevedon Court and other properties like it also form a part of their histories as British citizens. As facilitators of this project we were mindful of this sensitive dynamic throughout the process, and therefore did not attempt to highlight the slave trade at every opportunity or put too many thoughts into the young people's minds, even though the property's connection with the slave trade is arguably the most overt of all the houses explored in this project (Fig 13.3). Furthermore, it was impossible to remove them from the context of the 2007 commemorations and, after the preparations and logistical set-up for each group, from the true underlying motivations for the trip.

Rather than introduce too much information at the start of the tour, we left slavery as an unspoken underlying theme throughout the visits to see where it may or may not have arisen of its own accord. This debate, on what information should be provided to property visitors in advance of a visit, and the influence of their motivation, identity and purpose on the interpretation of the house, was picked up by Makeeba Browne (Fig 13.4), an African American living in Bristol who participated in the project as part of the Bristol Residents group, and visited Dyrham Park:

> My first question, trying to be objective touring the house, was 'what purpose does this place serve?' A lot of it had to do with the wealth that existed in British history and the privilege. As a white (English) middle class person coming to this house with their family, and asking what purpose that would serve, I would leave with a sense of pride, like 'wow, look at what we did, look at the grounds.' But for me, the only place that felt real to me was the kitchen, as it was freezing, and it was the only place where people actually did work. At this moment you start to realise this place was real and the work and labour that took place. Do you want to smack people in the face with that history when they visit, knowing what purpose this place serves? I would personally say yes.[4]

Makeeba acknowledges that this aspect of history would be uncomfortable for many, and goes on to compare this invisible counter-idyllic aspect of British history with the slave trade. She suggests that some people might tolerate the subject being discussed in the year of the anniversary, but then they might say when 2007 is over, that history has been done now, so it should not be discussed any more. In the interactive exhibit the written note that accompanies Makeeba's video presents an open question for the audience, which is a theme adopted throughout, to encourage visitors to challenge their own assumptions and to formulate opinions.

The connection with Dyrham Park and the slave trade[5] was researched and documented in the interactive exhibit using the two clickable 'Research' sections of the exhibit, such as that adopted for Clevedon Court, and seen in Figure 13.3. As with all three of the properties, any connection with the slave trade was not made explicit for visitors; however, it is Dyrham Park that provides the starkest visual evidence of a possible connection with slavery. This is in the form of two sculpted figures in the shape of enslaved Africans with chains around their ankles and necks, holding bowls above their heads in a position of subjugation (Fig 13.5). Although the tour guides did not use these sculptures to make any explicit connection between the house and the slave trade, for visitors with any sensitivity towards that aspect of history, the assumption of the link is impossible to ignore. When asked specifically about them, the tour guide said these figures were listed in the inventory as 'torchieres' and are recorded from 1742, although it was not known how they arrived in the house. One theory is that they were a gift from the governor of Jamaica at the time – one of the islands with whom the house owners had business dealings.

The most significant gap in the interpretation by staff, volunteers and visitors, though, is the fact that Blathwayt (one of the owners of Dyrham Park) had responsibility for British plantations in his governmental position. This is a direct connection to the transatlantic economy of which slavery was, for a long time, an integral part. The connection here is very direct, yet for many, the idea of a connection to slavery begins and ends with whether a person 'owned' or traded enslaved people directly. For Blathwayt his job as a civil servant involved overseeing the whole imperial system, but with no obvious direct evidence of slave trading or slave-owning, Blathwayt and Dyrham Park are seen by staff and volunteers therefore to be unconnected to transatlantic slavery. So the 'torchieres' become the only visible connection to Africans, whose representation in 2007 provoked questions that were difficult to answer.

The effects of silence

This is not to suggest that the property tour guides were hiding anything, as they were ready to offer any information known to them when asked directly about an issue. There is, however, a certain layer of information they can readily provide their usual visitors, and a less rehearsed layer of historical references they can draw upon when directly asked, which is the same as one would find in any museum or cultural heritage organisation. As custodians of the houses, the vast majority of whom work as volunteers, they are understandably protective of the reputation of their properties and families. Arguably, they cater mostly for visitors who have little or no interest in the slave trade,

especially when visiting a stately home for a leisurely day out to enjoy the spectacles of the nation's cultural achievement.

Contrary to the commonly held adage that people do not know what they are missing if they are never faced with it, mass silences in relation to any aspect of history (and science) have been shown time and time again to result in people creating other content to fill those gaps. Historians and anthropologists have studied extensively how early societies created legends and myths to explain certain natural phenomena we now take for granted, such as why and how the sun rises in the daytime and the moon by night. Theorists have also deconstructed stories from the sacred books of the world's main religions as a further explanation of how the origins of religious thought might have been based upon gaps in scientific knowledge. The effects of apparent silences, and also undocumented and/or unresearched aspects of Bristol's history, have created over the years a plethora of contested 'facts'. For example, there are many Bristol residents who believe enslaved Africans were kept in Redcliffe Caves and chained in the tunnels underneath St Mary Redcliffe church, and in the underground network that spreads across the city, and also that 'slave markets' were held on Corn Street. Such views are rejected by academic historians who assert that large numbers of enslaved Africans never came to Bristol – instead the vast majority of them were sent to plantations in the Caribbean and North America. They do acknowledge that goods involved in the slave trade, such as tobacco and sugar, were sometimes stored in Bristol's caves by merchants and smugglers. This proves that the city was connected to and benefited economically from African slavery, though not in a way that involved the 'physical presence' of large numbers of Africans being brought to the city – as is the popular belief about Bristol's connection to slavery. This academic assessment is sometimes viewed as a conspiracy in the popular imagination, which holds on to the view that the truth will never be fully told, because it's too painful and shameful, and that the history is therefore watered down and sanitised accordingly.

This project showed in a very direct way how silence among figures in authority can breed replacement myths among the people, especially the young. As mentioned previously, the St Paul's Study Centre's visit to Clevedon Court was enjoyed by most of the children, with evidence of them having been inspired by the house and its artefacts in their own right. On the return journey back to Bristol on the coach, they were asked to reflect on what they had found out and what they would like to know more about. Table 13.1 shows some of the feedback.

There is an obvious element in relation to these responses that cannot be ignored – namely that the children knew the project (and therefore the trip to the house) was related to the slave trade. They were personally motivated then to look for answers and evidence of the slave trade, even with the slimmest hunch and assumption to base their beliefs upon, as seen in statement number four. What this does highlight, however, is how people see things in relation to their own identity. A person's own cultural sympathies or queries will invariably be projected on to the space they inhabit, especially when that space is obviously culturally loaded in its own right and representative of the dominant culture.

There is also a more subtle and penetrating dynamic at play, namely the need of those visitors of African descent to be able to identify and relate to what is being represented. We need, in other words, to be able to relate to the information we are faced with and to process it on our own terms in order to make sense of our own individual identity in relation to the wider world. By looking at the faces and scenes of the historical painting, and not seeing any representations that look like us, one of the valid questions to ask is, 'what would I have been doing at this time?' Add to that dynamic the power dimension of cultural and class hegemony, and the next pertinent question to ask is, 'where have they hidden me?' which is the theme taken up by questions three and four.

Searching for self in alien spaces

The elders from the BEMSCA group represented a generation of people whose presence in England was the direct legacy of the British Empire. Former slave colonies turned colonial interests turned commonwealth partners were the lands of most of these elders' births. Their enticement to move to England in the post-Second World War era (labelled the Windrush Generation) has been well documented. For this group England was the Mother Country to which the lands of their birth used to aspire.

In conversations during their tour of Dyrham Park they resisted the tendency to be dependent on the property to validate their sense of identity, unlike their young counterparts from the St Paul's Study Centre (*see* Table 13.1), which is understandable given their differences in age. The BEMSCA group largely assumed the property had a connection with the slave trade without finding much need to explore or question it further. The subject proved to be of less interest to them than objects in the house that reminded them of their own past. The elders, who were mostly women, pro-actively 'found' their reflections and representations in Dyrham Park, though not by looking at the paintings or speculating about the house's connection with slavery, but by using objects and scenes in the house to trigger their own memories. For example, members of the group became inspired by the kitchens and the utensils that were similar to those they had used when back in the homelands. The Dutch Pot particularly (Fig 13.6) was seen as an object that had travelled through the slavery and colonial eras, firstly with the Dutch Empire builders and subsequently being adopted across the Caribbean and the Americas (and also in Britain via the colonies) as an effective method of slow cooking. The Dutch Pot not only survives as a central part of Caribbean cookery but also features in wider Caribbean popular culture as the reggae song 'Pass the Dutchie' attests. A note acknowledging the symbolic importance of the Dutch Pot was thus included in the interactive exhibit produced as part of the project.

The food and connections to the cooking utensils inspired Dr Katherine Hann to further explore the connections between food, cooking and where ingredients come from. This formed the central theme of the content featuring the BEMSCA elders and their creative responses to the house.

Other aspects of Dyrham Park had resonance with the elders. For example, the mere fact that the Wynter and Blathwayt families who owned the property were able to document their family lineage from 1571 was significant for one of the BEMSCA elders called Daisy (Fig 13.7), who has been trying to trace her family history. She had to give up when she realised that the enslaved Africans who were sent to the Caribbean were not documented as well as those who arrived in the Americas. In her words: 'we don't know who we belong to [back in Africa]. It's like we are non-entities, we are nothing, we don't count for anything.'[6]

Table 13.1 Children's questions

1	'How come there was no black people there? You could never see no black people in the pictures. There were no black people at that time.'
2	'We wanted them to take us down to where they took the slaves. We wanted to go down to the dungeon.'
3	'Remember they didn't take us anywhere, they only took us to some of the rooms where white people owned. Basically it's all about the rich people. They didn't take us down to where they used to have the poor people.'
4	'They didn't say anything about slavery or anything, they were just talking about the house and the people who lived there. Nothing about slavery ever came into it. But you [remember] that little stairway thing …I think that's where the slaves used to go up, but they aren't going to say, 'yeah that's where the slaves used to go up and down', they just ain't going say that.'

Creative responses

After visiting each property and conducting further research, the groups then came back together to produce a creative response to what they found out.[7] Eleven members of SRIP visited Tyntesfield House and were involved in a related archaeology activity on the site. They produced a series of animations inspired directly by what they found out about the house, and also about other related stories concerning race that they unearthed during the process.

As facilitators we felt it necessary and ethical to include even the more tangential ideas that the groups wanted to produce, as they were all valid results of the processes we asked them to go through. Throughout the development and facilitation of creative responses there was a delicate balancing act in not forcing a particular issue artificially yet still trying to elicit a response. A similar balancing act was required when each group visited the properties: we did not want to force the issue of slavery, while everyone knew that was part of the reason we were there.

The result in the final interactive exhibit is one of a diversity of ideas with a central thread of experiencing the research and interpretation through the eyes of the respective groups. For the project managers to force research outcomes on the group negates the very reason for engaging in a participatory project – namely for those involved to find an aspect of the process that inspired them, without restriction. The interactive, multi-layered and non-linear structure of the exhibit allowed for such diversity to be accommodated while avoiding confusion about the overall work. This would not have been possible in a production that was linear, such as a documentary film on the subject of the properties.

However, a totally free rein was not entirely possible as one of the factors that had to be balanced was the responsibility that the National Trust has to its visitors. Georgiana Hockin, a member of the organisation's staff, was rightly keen to ensure that information was contextualised.

One of the animations produced by SRIP that addressed the history directly was titled 'Trade and the Gibbs'. This uses a narrator to tell the story of Williams Gibbs, who bought the house in 1842 using money from his sales of guano to the former Spanish plantations and colonies in South America (Fig 13.8).

Tyntesfield House is the property with the least direct connection to the slave trade, though the guano sales business set up by Gibbs was built upon sales that maintained the farming capabilities of the former plantations. There is also evidence which shows that members of the wider Gibbs family were directly involved in the transatlantic slave trade, which is documented in the interactive exhibit.

Some additional research was carried out with the authors of this piece to ensure that the timeline was correct and the right generation of this wealthy family was being represented. There was no desire to stop the young artists making the piece, inspired by their trip to the house – we simply wanted to ensure that their information was factually correct and therefore fitting with the National Trust's responsibility to provide accurate historical information to its visitors.

Other animations made by SRIP include the story of a vicar's wife in Somerset who wrote a pamphlet in 1942 warning local women how to behave if they met an African American GI to ensure their own safety, which she circulated to her close circle of friends. A local newspaper *The Sunday Pictorial* came across the story and on 6 September 1942 printed a front page exposé and apology on behalf of local residents to allied troops, saying they should 'rest assured that there was no colour bar here'. A very different animation explored the story of a huge spider found in the Tyntesfield grounds while the young people were engaged in archaeology activities, which scared one of them.

Working with the theme of African American GIs in the South West was a continuation of the work being done with Tyntesfield house and the SRIP group. The multi-layered and multi-faceted nature of the interactive piece, accommodating various strands and threads, once again allowed for the continuities between transatlantic slavery and the construction of African American and African Caribbean identities to be explored and even discovered through the process of making and experiencing the work.

The St Paul's Study Centre group also produced a series of six animated films (Fig 13.9). One of these looked at the issue of press-ganging, and how poor Bristolian men were also exploited, being kidnapped to work on the slave ships. Another told the story of Harriet Tubman, the abolitionist who freed herself from slavery and then succeeded in rescuing many others. One of the other animations, produced by a young woman of Somali heritage, was not at all related to transatlantic slavery, but inspired by a trip to the Bristol Record Office. It tells the true story of a book held in the archives that is made out of human skin.

The BEMSCA group of elders continued the theme of being inspired by the kitchen utensils and their travels through colonial history, and chose to do a group activity based on the origins and histories of traditional Caribbean food, with a workshop led by Dr Katherine Hann. In the session they explored how certain foods had been brought to the Caribbean deliberately from Africa by the plantation owners to provide cheap food for the enslaved Africans. One example is Ackee, which is now mostly associated with Jamaica.

Beyond the project

The National Trust commissioned a special 'jukebox' style unit in which to house the interactive work, with a user-friendly track-ball system. After an initial launch at Dyrham Park, which also saw the exhibit accessible via a room full of laptops, the unit then went on a tour between June and December 2008, visiting each of the three properties involved in the project, as well as the Guildhall, Bath, the Bath Assembly Rooms, and the National Trust headquarters in Heelis, Swindon. The work has also been spoken about at various events and conferences (Fig 13.10).

We believe there is still much work we could do with the National Trust to increase the impact of this project, and use the unit as a tool to generate debate, especially in educational settings. One of the significant differences when working in participatory community based settings, as opposed to working in television broadcast, is that relationships are built up with the co-producers of the work (in this case the young people, elders and residents) and also with the audiences. Rather than a project ending at the point of screening, the audience is considered and a structure is put in place for the conversations and hence the (two-way/participatory) learning to continue.

The participatory nature of this work is also a significant departure from more traditional academic approaches to the subject of slavery. It was not only libraries and archives that acted as sources for our research, but we also had to search into the minds of the participants involved, as their opinions and imaginations are also valid, and fuel the role of arts and culture in the production of knowledge. This has been one of the prime functions of the arts since the beginning of recorded history. As described above, the slave trade is an emotive subject that can trigger unexpected feelings in those who engage with it. A creative media approach to researching, exploring and capturing history can be an effective means by which to work with the feelings of reflexive co-researchers, rather than focusing too soon on 'facts', when the answer some may be seeking is an emotional response, not a scientific one. This interplay between emotional story and scientific facts is one of the obvious tensions between traditional academic and participatory media approaches to research tasks.

Added to this is a related tension between emotional expression and triangulated truth. In this context, participatory media adopts the role in culture similar to that played by impressionist artists, painting a feeling of a phenomenon worthy of attention and further discussion, as opposed to a pin-sharp photographic representation that answers all of the questions with no agency of the audience involved.

An age-old dichotomy between academic study and media is one of pace versus depth. Academic researchers rightly pride themselves on the depth of their studies, whereas media producers, particularly those working in television, maintain a mantra to 'keep it simple' and an instinct to keep the pace moving so audiences do not lose interest and switch over. We feel by employing this interactive multi-layered, multimedia approach the issue of depth has been addressed to some extent, though the level of detail in an academic essay is not the same as in a media production, which is more about using enough information to trigger the appropriate emotional response in the viewer to keep their attention. At the same time, the nature of this interactive exhibit is such that its depth would require several 'trips' through the material. The interface is based on a researcher's or investigator's desk, and one of the explicit aims of the work identified by its team of makers, is the desire for it to be a tool that might trigger further academic research.

Both academia and creative media consider their audiences, albeit at times targeting very different demographics. As described above with the example of the young people from St Paul's Study Centre, audiences often look for themselves in the work with which they are engaged. Participatory media therefore offers the opportunity to work more with the world of academia to fuse both ways of working, to blur the distinction between the researcher (investigator), the researched (site of investigation) and the audience (receiver of the findings of the investigation). Participatory methods of working on emotive subjects such as the slave trade have shown us that when those lines of division and power can begin to be eroded, the idea of collective ownership of knowledge becomes more of an attainable reality.

Notes

List of abbreviations

BGAS	*Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, Transactions of*
BL	British Library
BRO	Bristol Record Office
DRO	Devon Record Office
GLR	Grenada Land Registry
GRLR	Grenada Register of Land Records
GRO	Gloucestershire Record Office
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
LFHC	London Family History Centre
LivRO	Liverpool Record Office
MMMA	Merseyside Maritime Museum Archives
MSCUN	Manuscripts and Special Collections University of Nottingham
NA	Nottinghamshire Archives
PP	Parliamentary Papers
SRO	Somerset Record Office
SROI	Suffolk Record Office Ipswich
TASTD	Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database
TNA	The National Archives
YAS	Yorkshire Archaeological Society

Introduction

1 Fanny Price, the heroine of Jane Austen's novel *Mansfield Park* meets a stoney silence when she asks her wealthy relatives the Bertrams about their connection with Antigua. Yet as the novel implies, the wealth underpinning their genteel English estate was based in part on the exploited labour of enslaved Africans, This link generally went un-acknowledged by both critics and readers of the novel until the 1990s. *See* Wilton, J 2003 'Decolonizing *Mansfield Park*'. *Essays in Criticism*, LIII, 4, 303

Chapter 1

1 TNA, T71/672-T71/1631. Records created and inherited by HM Treasury: Office of Registry of Colonial Slavery and Slave Compensation Records. The database derived from these records is housed at the Legacies of British Slave-ownership project at University College London, http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs (accessed 13 November 2012).

2 An Act for the abolition of slavery throughout the British colonies for promoting the industry of the manumitted slaves, and for compensating the persons hitherto entitled to the services of such slaves, 28 August 1833 (3 & 4 Wm IV cap. 73).

3 House of Commons PP 1837–8 Slavery Abolition Act: an account of all sums of money awarded by the Commissioners of Slavery Compensation, **48**, 215.

4 TNA, T71/880 Grenada Nos 990 and 994; Gordon Slade, H 1984 'Craigston and Meldrum estates, Carriacou 1769–1841'. *Proceedings of Society of Antiquarians of Scotland* **114**, 481–537.

5 For a summary, *see* Draper, N 2010 *The Price of Emancipation: Slave-ownership, Compensation and British Society at the end of Slavery*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

6 For the background to the slave ownership of the Morant and Gale families, *see* Sheridan, R B 1977 *The Gale Morant Papers 1731–1925 in the University of Exeter Library*. Wakefield: Microform Academic Publishers. For his ties with (confusingly) both Upton House in Warwickshire and Upham House in Hampshire, *see*, respectively, Moule T 1837 *The English Counties delineated*, Vol 2. London: George Virtue, 260; *TNA Catalogue: Hampshire Record Office* 6M80/E/T260 'Morant of Brockenhurst', 17 September 1823. For the ties with Brockenhurst House, where Edward Morant Gale was born, *see*, for example, the notice of his marriage to the niece of the Earl of Plymouth, *Gentleman's Magazine* **83** (1798): 575. For the Chapel at UWI Mona, *see* the University of the West Indies, 'UWI's Royal Connections', *Alumni Online* (2009) http://www.alumnionline.uwi.edu/s/1058/index.aspx?sid=1058&gid=1&pgid=334 (accessed 13 November 2012).

7 TNA, T71/915 p 73 and T71/859 Clarendon No 15 (Mount Hindmost); T71/859 Clarendon No 338 (St Jago and Paisley Pens); T71/874 Trelawny No 411 (York) and No 412 (Gale's Valley); T71/855 St Thomas-in-the-Vale No 297 (Crawle).

8 PP 1837–8 48, 215, 22 shows Rt Hon Rev H. Philpotts Bishop of Exeter, The Lord Hatherton, Francis Downing, John Benbow as the awardees of Clarendon Nos 284 and 320, and Vere No 70. TNA T71/859 Clarendon No 320 shows 'heirs of the Earl of Dudley' and T71/858 Vere No 70 shows 'The heirs of Earl of Dudley as owners'. T71/962 letter to the Commissioners of Slave Compensation from Alban & Benbow (solicitors) dated 14 September 1835 encloses an extract from the will and makes clear that the claimants are the executors and trustees not the heirs themselves.

9 Kaufman, M 2007 'English Heritage properties 1600–1830 and slavery connections: a report undertaken to mark the bicentenary of the British Atlantic slave trade, Vol. I: report and appendix I'. Unpublished report, English Heritage, 6.

10 Almost all leading 'West India' merchants appear in fact to have had such secured credit relationships: for example, of 47 leading London West India merchants signing an anti-abolition petition to Lord Goderich in 1832, 46 are in the Slave Compensation Records: Draper, N 2010 *The Price of Emancipation: Slave-ownership, Compensation and British Society at the end of Slavery*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 242. Nevertheless, some known West India merchants are not traceable in the Slave Compensation Records, including Micholls & Lucas.

11 TNA, T71/879 St Kitts No 685; Evans, J A H 2004 'Wells, Nathaniel (1779–1852)' *in* Goldman, L (ed) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
12 Draper, N 2010 *The Price of Emancipation: Slave-ownership, Compensation and British Society at the end of Slavery*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 156–7, 168–78.
13 Ibid, 249. In addition, of the 32 Governors of the Bank in Queen Victoria's reign, 10 were either themselves recipients of slave compensation or direct descendants of such recipients.
14 Ibid, 253.
15 Sheridan, R B 1961 'The rise of a colonial gentry: a case study of Antigua'. *Economic History Review NS* 13, 3, 342–57.
16 TNA, T71/1609, Sir Harcourt Lees to Commissioners, 21 November 1835.
17 TNA, T71/891 Tobago No. 55; National University of Ireland, Galway, 'Family: Lynch (Lydican)', *Landed Estates Database*, http://www.landedestates.ie/Landed Estates/jsp/family-show.jsp?id=1022 (accessed 13 November 2012).
18 TNA, T71/858 Vere No 77 (Paradise); T71/867 St Thomas-in-the-East No 464 (Garbrand and Mullet Hall); T71/860 Manchester 338 (Mile Gully). In all three cases, Edward Hoare claimed with Eleanor Barrit (presumably his sister in-law or mother-in-law) but lost the compensation to the mortgagees of the estates, Reid, Irving & Co.
19 TNA, T71/1592 H G Burke to Commissioners, 18 March 1834; T71/1602 H G Burke to Commissioners, 4 December 1836; T71/867 St Thomas-in-the-East No 296. Burke was right that the initial loan only met part of the total compensation; the loan had been set at £15 million because the government did not need the £5 million balance until the Cape of Good Hope and Mauritius awards had been arbitrated on a timetable lagging that of the Caribbean colonies. In the event, the government did not go back to the market for a new loan for the remaining tranche but instead paid compensation by issuing government stock directly to the slave owners.
20 Allen, C 2008 'Gunnersbury Lodge: "Pres de la capitale, en prodiges feconde", the lost house and gardens of Gunnersbury'. *Acton Historian* **46** (November). Updated in 2009 *Acton Historian* **48** (November).
21 Rubinstein, W D forthcoming *Who were the rich? A biographical dictionary of British wealth-holders Volume Two* 1842/26. I am grateful to Professor Rubinstein for his kindness in sharing a draft of this volume ahead of publication.
22 TNA, T71/877Antigua No 108 shows the counterclaim to the compensation for 175 enslaved on Otto's estate from Langford Lovell of Hursley near Winchester, Southampton; when he subscribed to the 'Friends of Moral Reformation' in 1820, Lovell gave his address as 'Nursery' [sic = Hursley] nr Winchester Hampshire, *The Times*, 19 June 1820, 2.
23 Judd, G P IV 1955 *Members of Parliament 1734–1832*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press; De Montfort University, 'Talbot's correspondents', *The Correspondence of William Henry Fox Talbot*, http://foxtalbot.dmu.ac.uk/letters/correspondents.php (accessed 13 November 2012).
24 TNA, T71/877 Antigua Nos 39, 40, 58, 82, 83 and 123.

Chapter 2

1 Dresser, M 2001 *Slavery Obscured: the Social History of the Slave Trade in an English Provincial Port*. London: Continuum.
2 Mason, K 1993 'The world an absentee planter and his slaves made: Sir William Stapleton and his Nevis sugar estate, 1722–1740'. *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* **75**, 103–31.
3 Baigent, E 2004 'Donn, Benjamin (1729–1798)' *in* Goldman, L (ed) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7815 (accessed 13 November 2012).
4 I have adapted Simon Smith's definition put forward in Chapter 5 in this volume.
5 Kaufman, M 2007 'English Heritage properties 1600–1830 and slavery connections: a report undertaken to mark the bicentenary of the British Atlantic slave trade, Vol. I: report and appendix I'. Unpublished report, English Heritage, 6, cited in Chapter 1, this volume.
6 For Dodington, *see* Chapter 10; for Tutshill *see* Chapter 5; *see also* Chapter 13, all in this volume.
7 Smith, S D 2006 *Slavery, Family and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles*, 1648–1834. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1.
8 Kingsley, N W 1992 *The Country Houses of Gloucestershire, Vol 2, 1660–1830*. Chichester: Phillimore. I am grateful to Nicholas Kingsley for sharing with me unpublished material on this subject.
9 Pevsner, N 2002 *North Somerset and Bristol*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press; Pevsner, N 1958 *South and West Somerset*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
10 Hapgood, K 2011 *The Friends to Literature: Bristol Library Society 1772–1894*. Bristol: Avon Local History & Archaeology, 3–4.
11 BRO, The Miles Family Papers, 12151/148, Marriage settlement of John Hugh Smyth and Elizabeth Woolnough: conveyance by Rebecca Woolnough, widow, to trustees: lands in Shirehampton, Holwell and Jamaica, 28 May 1757; Dresser, M 2001 *Slavery Obscured: the Social History of the Slave Trade in an English Provincial Port*. London: Continuum, 110; Bantock, A 1984 *The Later Smyths of Ashton Court*. Bristol: The Malago Society, 196.
12 Arabella is popularly associated with a young African servant (one Scipio Africanus, died 1719) employed by her husband the seventh Earl of Suffolk. Scipio Africanus's tombstone still survives in Henbury churchyard, and though the girl portrayed is clearly too young to have been married, this association may have influenced the original attribution.
13 Gilbert Jackson(?), Portrait of Florence Smith [later Florence Smyth] the daughter of Thomas Smith and Florence née Poulet Smith, *c* 1640, purchased with the assistance of the MLA/V&A Purchase Grant Fund, The Art Fund, Friends of Bristol Art Gallery, Peter John Blyth Art Fund and the Friends of Bristol's Museums, Galleries & Archives, 2008. I am grateful to Sheena Stoddard, Fine Arts Curator of the Bristol Museum and Archives Service for informing me about this acquisition and its provenance.
14 James Astry (probably an uncle of Sir Samuel Astry) was in 1624 one of the original claimants to the island of St Christopher, and a plantation in St Christopher was in the 1630 will of John Astry: *see* Sainsbury, W N (ed) 1860 'America and West Indies: August 1660' *in Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies, Volume 1: 1574–1660, 486–9*. Available online: University of London and History of Parliament Trust, British History Online, http://www.british-history.ac uk/report.aspx?compid=69348andstrquery=astry (accessed 13 November 2012); and Walters, R E C 1881 *Genealogical Memoirs of the families of Chester … And Also of the Families of Astry* … London: Reeves and Turner, 83–4. There is a reference to Bristol property dealings Sir Samuel Astry had with a Virginian resident in 1686 in BRO, AC/AS/35/5 and AC/AS/35/6, Astry Papers, Smyth Family of Ashton Court Papers, 'Bargain and Sale between … Thomas B. of Wickacomaco in Virginia gent. [and] Sir Samuel Astry of Henry, Ashton, 3 February 1684'.

15 Leigh Court Events, 'The history of Leigh Court', http://www.leighcourt.co.uk/pdf/Leigh%20Court%20History.pdf (accessed 13 November 2012); Legacies of British Slave-ownership database, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs (accessed 13 November 2012), 'Philip John Miles'; *The Times*, 7 February 1847, 8. I am grateful to Nick Draper for pre-publication access to the database; Evans, W 1997 'Leigh Court, Thomas Hopper and Pythouse'. *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History* **141**, 115–22; Leighton, H G M 2005 'Country houses acquired with Bristol wealth'. *BGAS* **123**, 13.

16 BRO, 12151/41, Plantation called Success and Long Bay Penn, mortgaged to Miles. Copy of affidavit & certificate re deed of trust, 6/7 April 1785; BRO, 12151/47, Mortgage (lease & release) from William Rhodes James to Beeston Long & George Drake, merchants: Rhodes Hall & Abingdon plantations, Hanover, Jamaica, with all messuages, lands, slaves, stock etc … deeds, 4–5 November 1766; BRO, Records of the Miles Family, 12151/48, Copy of letter from W S to his brother, asking him to draw up a list of slaves and stock, 5 November 1760.

17 Legacies of British Slave-ownership preliminary database, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs (accessed 13 November 2012), 'Philip John Miles'.

18 Russell, J 2000 '*Mr Bright's Pleasure Ground at Hung Road': the Gardens of Ham Green House, Easton-in-Gordano, Preliminary Report on Excavations and Field work 1999 by Avon Gardens Trust and Bristol and Avon Archaeological Society*. Bristol: J. Russell 3; BRO, Records of the Bright Family, 11168/73, Papers of Henry Bright re[garding] Slavery in the West Indies, *c* 1830–3; Morgan, K 1993 'Bristol West India merchants in the eighteenth century'. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (ser 6), **3**, 185–208; Morgan, K 1997 'The Bright family papers'. Archives **22**, 96, 119–29.

19 Neil, E 2008 *Fragile Fortunes: The Origins of a Great British Merchant Family*. Wellington: Ryelands, 381. For more evidence of Richard's continuing investments in Jamaica *see*, for example, BRO, Documents relating to Slade Baker family, 8015/1, Accounts containing statement of charges and receipts regarding the effects outstanding in Jamaica of the late partnership of Lowbridge and Richard Bright Date 1820–1831. The still extant moorings at Ham Green House are referred to in Russell, J 2000 '*Mr Bright's Pleasure Ground at Hung Road': The Gardens of Ham Green House, Easton-in-Gordano, Preliminary Report on Excavations and Field work 1999 by Avon Gardens Trust and Bristol and Avon Archaeological Society*. Bristol: J. Russell, 7; Legacies of British Slave-ownership preliminary database, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs (accessed 13 November 2012), TNA T71/80 Jamaica No 272, T91/898 Barbados No 3130.

20 National Trust 1983 *Clevedon Court, Avon*, 8th edn. London: National Trust, 12; Elton, J and Yarrow, A 2002 *Clevedon Court* (rev edn 2007). Swindon: National Trust.

21 Elton, M 1994 *Annals of the Elton Family: Bristol Merchants & Somerset Landowners*. Stroud: A. Sutton, 35.

22 'Notice of Sale of Plantation by Protheroe and Elton, Bristol [Serge Island Jamaica]' *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal*, 11 August 1787; Dresser, M 2001 *Slavery Obscured: the Social History of the Slave Trade in an English Provincial Port*. London: Continuum, 106–7, 115, 127n; English Heritage, National Monuments Record, 'Clevedon Court', PastScape, http://www.pastscape.org/hob.aspx?hob_id=195562 (accessed 13 November 2012); *see* search results for 'Elton' in Eltis, D, Halbert, M et al, Voyages Database 2009, TASTD, http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces (accessed 13 November 2012); 33–43. Regarding the Eltons' sugar refining, *see* Bryan Mawer, *Sugar Refiners and Sugarbakers Database*, http://home.clara.net/mawer/directory.html#bris (accessed 13 November 2012); for the Eltons' petitioning activities as South Carolina and as West Indies merchants *see* Davies, K G (ed) 1969 'America and West Indies: February 1738' *in Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies*, vol. 44 (1738), 33–43, available online: University of London and History of Parliament Trust, British History Online, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=72981&strquery=elton (accessed 13 November 2012). *Petition of several merchants and others of the City of Bristol trading to S. Carolina to the King. By an act of S. Carolina, Aug. 20th, 1731, exorbitant duty of £10 pr. head is imposed and continued on all negroes imported by your Majesty's subjects into the said Province to the very great discouragement of the trade and exportation of the manufactures of Great Britain. … etc Signed, Jacob Elton, Mayor and 41 others.' in* Headlam, C and Newton, A P (eds) 1939, 'America and West Indies: December 1733, 1–15'. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies* **40**, 1733, 243–62, available online: University of London and History of Parliament Trust, British History Online, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=79280&strquery=elton (accessed 13 November 2012); BRO, 13325/55, 'Title Assignment by Philip Freke, Christopher Shuter, William Freke, William Wilcox to Samuel Hunt, Jacob Elton, Edward Garlick and William Salmon: sugar house in Old Market', 10 May 1715; Headlam, C and Newton, A P (eds) 1939, 'America and West Indies: December 1733, 1–15'. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies* **40** (1733), 243–62, available online: University of London and History of Parliament Trust, British History Online, http://193.39.212.226/report.aspx?compid=79280&strquery=elton (accessed 13 November 2012).

23 Elton, J and Yarrow, A 2002 *Clevedon Court* (rev edn 2007). Swindon: National Trust, 15.

24 Elton, M 1994 *Annals of the Elton Family: Bristol Merchants & Somerset Landowners*. Stroud: A. Sutton, 224; thanks to William Evans for bringing this point to my attention.

25 Rutter, J 1829 *Delineations of the North Western Division of the County of Somerset* … Shaftesbury: J Rutter; London: Longman and Co, 229; Cooke, R 1957 *West Country Houses: an Illustrated Account of some Country Houses and their Owners in the Counties of Bristol, Gloucester, Somerset and Wiltshire* … Clifton: privately published, 110; Legacies of British Slave-ownership preliminary database, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs (accessed 13 November 2012), 'James Adam Gordon'. For James Gordon's direct involvement as a part owner of a slaving vessel *see* Eltis, D, Halbert, M, et al Voyages Database 2009, TASTD, Voyage number 17948 (*Alexander*, 1785), http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces (accessed 13 November 2012); the reference to the mahogany staircase is in Master, Rev G S 1900 *Collections for a Parochial History of Wraxall*. Bristol: J W Arrowsmith, 43.

26 University of Portsmouth, 'John Marius Wilson's *Imperial Gazetteer of England and Wales (1870–1872)'. A Vision of Britain Through Time*, 2009. http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/place/place_page.jsp?p_id=13431 (accessed 13 November 2012).

27 Master, Rev G S 1900 *Collections for a Parochial History of Wraxall*. Bristol: J W Arrowsmith.

28 For Ferdinando's involvement in slave trading *see* Sir Paul Painter, Ferdinando Gorges *et al* 'An answer of the Company of Royal Adventurers of England Trading to Africa to the petition and papers of … [the] House of Commons' *in* Hogg, P C 1973 *The African Slave Trade and its Suppression: A Classified and Annotated Bibliography*. London: Frank Cass, 80; Evered, R J 2002 'Charlton House'. *Bristol and Avon Family History Society Journal. See* The Bristol and Avon Family History Society website, http://www.bafhs.org.uk/parishes/wraxall/wraxall.htm (accessed 13 November 2012) In 1673 Ferdinando Gorges, known as 'King of the Black Market', purchased Eye Manor in the north-west of the county, *see* Pevsner, N 1963 *The Buildings of England, Herefordshire*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 130. The family seat of the Gorges family, originally of Norman origin, was at Wraxall near Bristol; they also owned a house in Chelsea, London. Ferdinando had started his career in Barbados, working for one of the earliest planters of sugar cane, Colonel William Hilliard. He subsequently married Hilliard's daughter Meliora and proceeded to make a fortune as a slave trader and sugar plantation owner. Rebuilding Eye Manor was his retirement project. *See* Forsyth-Moser, T 2004 'Eye Manor: a beautiful country property built with the proceeds of slavery'. Herefordshire Council, 'Herefordshire Through Time', http://www.herefordshire.gov.uk/htt/764.aspx (accessed 13 November 2012).

29 Cook, R 1957 *West Country Houses: an Illustrated Account of Some Country Houses and their Owners in the Counties of Bristol, Gloucestershire, Somersetshire and Wiltshire*. Clifton: privately published, 151.

30 Thanks to Nick Draper, pers. comm. 2 February 2011.

31 Kilburn, M 2009 'Gibbs, William (1790–1875)' in Goldman, L (ed) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; National Trust, 'Tyntesfield: The Gibbs family', http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/main/w-vh/w-visits/w-findaplace/w-tyntesfield/w-tyntesfield-history/w-tyntesfield-gibbs.htm, (accessed 13 November 2012).

32 Neil, E 2008 *Fragile Fortunes: The Origins of a Great British Merchant Family*. Wellington, Somerset: Ryelands, 63–73, 84–5, 347–8, 351. *See*, for example, BRO, SMV/8/3/3/1/24, *George Gibbs re duties on sugar*, 21 June 1830. For his involvement with the Brights *see* BRO, 11168/72, *Mortgage: George Gibbs, esq. and merchant, Henry Bright of the Temple, London, esq., and barrister-at-law, and Robert Bright, esq. and merchant, surviving trustees under the will of Richard Bright, deed*, 16 November 1844; Morgan, K 1993 'Bristol West India merchants in the eighteenth century'. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (ser 6), **3**, 185–208. The quotation relating to the 1881 merger is from 'Antony Gibbs and Sons Ltd', *Aim 25: Archives in London and the M25 area* (2010/11) http://www.aim25.ac.uk/cgi-bin/vcdf/detail?coll_id=16744&inst_id=118&nv1=browse&nv2=sub. *See also* London Metropolitan Archives, Records of Antony Gibbs and Sons Ltd, CLC/B/012/MS11069A, *Bristol house: daybook of sales of West Indian produce, mainly sugar …* (accessed 13 November 2012).

33 Thoms, R, 'Interim Archaeological report for Belmont House, Wraxall', North Somerset Council website (5 July 2003) http://wam.n-somerset.gov.uk/MULTIWAM/doc/Application per cent20Support per cent20Info-1764640.pdf?extension=.pdfandid=1764640andlocation=Volume2andcontentType=application/pdfandpageCount=8 (accessed 13 November 2012).

34 Neil, E 2008 *Fragile Fortunes: The Origins of a Great British Merchant Family*. Wellington: Ryelands, 381–2.

35 Collinson, J 1791 *The History and Antiquities of the County of Somerset* … Bath: R. Cruttwell. Thanks to Martin Bodman for drawing my attention to the Brickdale papers in the DRO.

36 TNA, E190/1165/1, John Brickdale and Co. listed as importing 13cwt 3qr 10lb raisons sol in specimen entry, cited in Minchinton, W E 1957 *The Trade of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century*. Bristol: Bristol Record Society, vol XX, 8, note 2, where he notes Philip Freke was sheriff 1708, member of the Bristol Society of Merchant Venturers (SMV) 1713, Parliamentary Candidate 1715 and died 10 December 1729, aged 68. See search term 'Freke', in Beaven, Rev A B 1899 *Bristol Lists, Municipal and Miscellaneous*. Available online at: http://archive.org/stream/bristollistsmuni00beav/bristollistsmuni00beav_djvu.tx (accessed 13 November 2012). Latimer, J 1893, *Annals of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century*. Frome: Latimer, 108–9; Williams, W R 1898 *The Parliamentary History of the County of Gloucestershire including the Cities of Bristol and Gloucester … From the Earliest Times to the Present day*, 1213–1898. Hereford: privately printed by Jakeman and Carver for the author, 128.

37 Eltis, D, Halbert, M, et al, Voyages Database 2009, TASTD, [Search term 'Brickdale'], http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces (accessed 13 November 2012).

38 SRO, DD\DP/7/5, Misc Brickdale documents, 1750–1855, incl. correspondence of Abel Jenkins of Taunton re purchase of Court House estate, West Monkton, by Matthew Brickdale from Sir Gilbert Elliot. Bt, 1775–6. Parish Chest, http://www.parishchest.com/index.php?cmd=viewproduct&cat=&id=P90740&pageOffset=0 date accessed (2 December 2012), Copper Company Shares Assignment, ref. FDS GL175T, search term 'Brickdale'.

39 Parish Chest, http://www.parishchest.com/index.php?cmd=viewproduct&cat=&id=P90740&pageOffset=0 date accessed (2 December 2012), Copper Company Shares Assignment, ref. FDS GL175T, search term 'Brickdale', http://www.parishchest.com/index.php?cmd=viewproduct&cat=&id=P90740&pageOffset=0 (accessed 2 December 2012); for Brickdale's will *see* Rhagorol On-line Catalogue, Cyngor Gwynedd Council Website, X/POOLE/3278, 1789, http://www.gwynedd.gov.uk/DATRhagorolNET/Default.aspx?iaith=en (accessed 13 November 2012) (search term 'Brickdale').

40 DRO, Guide to Brickdale papers compiled by M Bodman, 5331 in binders 5251–400; Williams, W R 1898 *The Parliamentary History of the County of Gloucestershire including the Cities of Bristol and Gloucester … From the Earliest Times to the Present day, 1213–1898*. Hereford: privately printed by Jakeman and Carver for the author, 128.

41 SRO, DD\DP/7/5, Misc Brickdale Documents 1750–1855, 'Schedule of Brickdale deeds incl. annuities from plantations on Isle of Nevis and Jamaica, 1774–1827'.

42 SRO, DD\DP/7/3, Misc Brickdale copies and drafts 1815–1820, 'Rob McGhie of Upcott House, Bishops Hull, esq., to John Brickdale of Stoodleigh, Dev. esq.', 1810.

43 SRO, DD\DP/6/26, Misc Draft and Copy Deeds of Brickdale Estate 1820–1853, 'Conveyance by Commissioners to assignees of [Court House] estate, West Monkton, Hope estate and 90 negroes at St. Andrew on Isle of St. Vincent', 1827.

44 TNA, T71/877 Antigua Nos 327, 328 and 330. In all three cases, John Paine Tudway registered the claims, while the compensation (for 557 enslaved people on Parham Lodge and Parham Old and New Works) was paid to Robert Charles Tudway after the death of the former. I am grateful to Nick Draper for this reference.

45 Tudway and Smith is listed as a leading sugar importer in 1754–1763 in Morgan, K 1993 *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade in the Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 195–6.

46 Bennett, J H 1964 'Cary Helyar, merchant and planter of seventeenth-century Jamaica'. *The William and Mary Quarterly* **21**, ser 3, 53–76; Amussen, S D 2007 *Caribbean Exchanges: Slavery and the Transformation of English Society, 1640–1700*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 5–6, 14, 72; Dresser, M 2001 *Slavery Obscured: The Social History of the Slave Trade in an English Provincial Port*. London: Continuum, 17–18, 58.

47 Vickris and Caleb Dickinson were later slave plantation owners and their business interests can be discerned from their correspondence held at SRO, Dickinson Correspondence DD/DN.

48 Currie, C R J and Dunning, R W (eds) 1999 'Pitcombe', in *A History of the County of Somerset: Volume 7: Bruton, Horethorne and Norton Ferris Hundreds*. London: Victoria County History, 50–9. See University of London and History of Parliament Trust, British History Online, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=18735&strquery=haspend (accessed 13 November 2012). The firm of Bloom, Banister, Hobhouse and Co. (1757–1775) is listed in Bryan Mawer, 'The Sugar Refiners & Sugarbakers … Database', http://home.clara.net/mawer/directory.html#bris (accessed 13 November 2012).

49 SRO, DD\DN/201, 'Insurance of ship carrying negroes to America from Africa, August, statement of accounts for purchase of Kingweston estate …', Dickinson Letters, 1744–5.

50 Minchinton, W E 1978 *Jamaica Plantation Records from the Dickinson Papers 1675–1849 in Somerset Record Office and Wiltshire & Swindon Record Office: Introduction to the Microfilm Collection*. Wakefield: Microform Academic Publishers. Available online at: http://www.microform.co.uk/guides/R96977.pdf (accessed 13 November 2012). Quotation is from Lewis, B R 'Narrative History of the County of Somerset'. *Britannia: Your Tour and Travel Guide to the British Isles* (1999) http://www.britannia.com/history/somerset/somhist8.html (accessed 13 November 2012).

51 SRO, DD\DN/271, Dickinson Papers, William Dickinson letters, etc 1780–1783.

52 Dresser, M 2001 *Slavery Obscured: The Social History of the Slave Trade in an English Provincial Port*. London: Continuum, 103; Leighton, H G M 2005 'Country houses acquired with Bristol wealth'. BGAS 123, 11; BRO, SMV/2/4/2/22/21, Merchant Venturer Records, 'Title From Richard Combe re Irish trade and establishment of joint stock to carry on African trade', 26 April 1779.

53 BRO, AC/C/78/1–3, 'Sir Hugh Smyth from his sister Florence, widow of Sir Humphrey Hooke and copy of one letter from Sir Hugh to her re. sale of Kingsweston', March 1679 (postmarks); GRO, D2957/160/244, 'Release From Thomas Earle of Bristol, merchant, to Sir Hugh Smith of Long Ashton, Somerset, William Cooke of Kingham Esq.; Christopher Cole of Charleton, Henbury, Esq.; John Clement of Alveston, gent (Trustees of Sir Humphrey Hooke late of Kingsweston House, 1678–1679)'.D2957/160/244. The 'property' list of Humphrey Hooke (1667) lists the black man, Titus Blackmore, as one of Hooke's possessions: *see* Dresser, M 2001 *Slavery Obscured: The Social History of the Slave Trade in an English Provincial Port*. London: Continuum, 11. For Humphrey Hooke's links with Barbados *see* Sacks, D 1993 *The Widening Gate: Bristol and the Atlantic Economy 1450–1700*. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 298.

54 Sir Robert Southwell's involvement in West Indies mentioned in 14 November 1880. Barbadoes. 826 *in* Sainsbury, W N and J.W. Fortescue, J W (eds) 1896 'America and West Indies: November 1678'. *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies* **10** (1677–80), 281–6, 303–06. Available online: University of London and History of Parliament Trust, British History Online, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=69979 (accessed 13 November 2012) and http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=69982 (accessed 13 November 2012); Thornton, A P 1955 'The organization of the slave trade in the English West Indies, 1660–1685'. *The William and Mary Quarterly* **12**, ser 3, 399n.

55 Numerous instances of Edward Southwell's (1705–55) correspondence with Bristol merchants, including a number of slave traders lobbying for concessions regarding taxes on slave-produced rice and herring – a staple food for Caribbean slaves – as well as concerns about the insuring of merchant (including slave) ships, can be found in Bristol Central Reference Library, Southwell papers, B11156, B11158 and B11159.

56 Kingsley, N 1992 *The Country Houses of Gloucestershire, Vol. 2 (1660–1830)*. Chichester: Phillimore, 167–70; Dresser, M 2001 *Slavery Obscured: The Social History of the Slave Trade in an English Provincial Port*. London: Continuum, 24; Williams, B 1989 'Recent archaeological work at Kingsweston House, Bristol'. *BGAS* **107**, 228–32.

57 Holbourne Museum 2002 'In the public eye: treasures from the West of England', 17–18. The exhibition which took place at the Holbourne Museum in Bath from 15 October to 8 December 2002 was organised by Sothebys in liaison with the Historic Houses Association and was attended by the author. The catalogue did not contain a facsimile image of the painting.

58 Sir John Russell, an early governor of the Leeward Islands, lived in Stapleton as did other families with Caribbean connections.

59 BRO, 16163/8, 'Bond of Thomas Eston and James Eston of Bristol, merchants, to pay Robert Winstone of Bristol, glover, £26 upon the safe return from Barbados and Leeward Is. of *The Great Charles*', 2 January 1661; John Winstone pers comm 22 January 2011 regarding Winstones in Barbados.

60 BRO, Modern Records Division, 2408/17, Will of Albinia Winstone, 11 October 1760? I am indebted to Anthony Nott for bringing this will to my attention; *see* Nott, A 2010 *Oldbury Court: the Place and the People*. Bristol: Fishponds Local History Society, 20.

61 'Marriages at Quedgeley' *in* Phillimore, W P W (ed) 1896 *Transcripts Taken From Gloucestershire Parish Registers, Vol. 1, Marriages*. London: Phillimore, available online http://www.glosgen.co.uk/records/quedgeley.htm (accessed 13 November 2012).

62 For the subsequent history of the house *see* 'Quedgeley: Manors and other estates' in Elrington, C R, Herbert, N M and Pugh, R B (eds) 1972 *A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 10: Westbury and Whitstone Hundreds*. London: Victoria County History, 217–220. *See* University of London and History of Parliament Trust, British History Online, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=15846&strquery=hayward (accessed 13 November 2012).

63 BRO, 2408/17, Will of Albinia Winstone, 1766; GRO, D123/T25, Release of Tortola plantation, no date

64 Nott, A 2010 *Oldbury Court: The Place and the People*. Bristol: Fishponds Local History Society, 25.

65 Conan, M (ed) 2002 *Bourgeois and Aristocratic Cultural Encounters in Garden Art, 1550–1850*. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, available online at: http://www.doaks.org/resources/publications/doaks-online-publications/garden-and-landscape-studies/bourgeois/bourgch5.pdf accessed (2 December 2012).

66 www.trust.org.uk/dyrham-park/history/For a copy of Kip's engraving of Dyrham Park 1712 *see* Bath and North East Somerset Council, *Bath in Time*, http://www.bathintime.co.uk/image/436726/dyrham-the-seat-of-william-blathwayt-esq-by-johannes-kip-1712 (accessed 13 November 2012).

67 Dresser, M 2001 *Slavery Obscured: The Social History of the Slave Trade in an English Provincial Port*. London: Continuum, 127, notes 112 and 113; Murison, B C 2004 'Blathwayt, William (*bap*. 1650, d. 1717)' *in* Matthew, H C G and Harrison, B (eds) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Root, W T 1917 'The Lords of trade and plantations, 1675–1696'. *American Historical Review* **23**, 20–41; GRO, D1799/X5, Correspondence of William Blathwayt as Secretary of Plantations relating to New Hampshire, Maryland, Virginia, Pennsylvania … 1674–1705; GRO, D26/59/2, correspondence regarding Barbados, D 1799/E268, correspondence regarding West Indies; quotation from Dunn, R S 1998 'The glorious revolution and America' in Canny, N (ed) *The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 461.

68 Thompson, N 2004 'Bathurst, Benjamin (1784–1809)' *in* Matthew, H C G and Harrison, B (eds) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

69 *See* the Byam portrait, Holburne Art Museum, Bath, Collections, http://www.holburne.org/muse/search/item.cfm?MuseumNumber=L2001.1 (accessed 13 November).

70 Described as 'an ancient seat of the Bathursts' in Mavor, W F 1798–1800 *The British Tourists; or Traveller's Pocket Companion, Through England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland*, vol 4. London: Richard Phillips, 249.

71 'Lydney', *in* Currie, C R J and Herbert, N M (eds) 1996 *A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 5: Bledisloe Hundred, St Briavels Hundred, The Forest of Dean.* London: Victoria County History. *See* University of London and History of Parliament Trust, British History Online, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=23251 (accessed 13 November 2012) which links Sir John Winter to William Winter. *See also* Loades, D 2004 'Winter, Sir William (c 1525–1589)' *in* Matthew, H C G and Harrison (eds) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press;; Byrnes, D 2010 *The English Business of Slavery* http://www.danbyrnes.com.au/business/business3.html (accessed 13 November).

72 Sir Charles Winter completed a new manor house known as Lydney Park in 1692, described as 'a tall, plain house on an L plan, having three storeys and attics and a front of seven bays to the south-east'. Reference is also made to the improvements that Benjamin Bathurst made to it in the late 1720s which 'may have included the seven-bay orangery that later adjoined the north-

east corner' and to later improvements by the early 1770s. By 1830 or so 'the orangery was remodelled and a floor of service rooms added above it'. *See* 'Lydney', *in* Currie, C R J and Herbert, N M (eds) 1996 *A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 5: Bledisloe Hundred, St. Briavels Hundred, The Forest of Dean*. London: Victoria County History, 46–84; *see* University of London and History of Parliament Trust, British History Online, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=23251&strquery="lydney+park" (accessed 13 November 2012). Verey, D and Brooks, A 1970 *The Buildings of England: Gloucestershire 2: The Vale and The Forest of Dean*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 585–6; they report the house to have been demolished in 1887, though the Lydney Park Estate website puts the date at 1876, http://www.lydneyparkestate.co.uk/ (accessed 13 November 2012).

73 Cleve Hill House, rebuilt by Thomas Player, was inherited in 1736 by Charles Bragge. Bragge married into the Bathurst family, whose members had long been involved in both African and West Indian affairs. (Charles Bragge's son took the name Bathurst and served as Tory MP for Bristol 1796–1807 before becoming Treasurer of the Navy. He kept the rights to the manor but sold the house to the slave merchant John Gordon in 1790, who had a part interest in the 1785 slaving voyage of *The Alexander*.) In 1804 both the manor and the house were purchased by Stephen Cave, esq. The Cave family had investments in banking, the glass industry and Caribbean plantations and Stephen's second son married into the Cumberbatch family of Barbados. John Cave the Bristol banker appears to have purchased Brentry House in Westbury on Trym in 1820 from another West India merchant, William Payne, who had the house rebuilt in 1802 with a landscaped garden by Humphrey Repton. Cave was also associated with Broadwell manor, which was refurbished the same year as he purchased Brentry House.

74 GRO, D421 X12/1–5, Lydney Park Estate Papers, Accounts of Sugar for Barbados, Tobago and Antigua Sold in Bristol … 1802–1803.

75 Grassby, R 2004 'Child, Sir Josiah, first baronet (bap. 1631, *d*. 1699)' *in* Matthew, H C G and Harrison, B (eds) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

76 GRO, D2700/QO1/1, Bahamas, Correspondence, Correspondence and memoranda about the sale of the Bahamas to the Crown [Box 0/67; National Library of Wales 12875].

77 Beaufort, the second oldest town in South Carolina, was founded in 1711. Both Beaufort County and its county seat of Beaufort were named for Henry Somerset, Duke of Beaufort (1684–1714), one of the Lords Proprietors of Carolina. Enslaved Africans were brought into the colony in large numbers to provide labour for the rice plantations by the 1730s. Lawrence, S R and Alexander, M 1996 *The History of Beaufort County, South Carolina*, vol 1, 1514–1861. Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 92, 1808; 'Beaufort County: History', South Carolina State Library website, http://www.statelibrary.sc.gov/beaufort-county (accessed 13 November 2012) and 'Beaufort, South Carolina history' , http://www.beaufort-sc.com/history/bs-his03.htm (accessed 13 November 2012).

78 The fifth Duke of Badminton was the executor and partial heir of his uncle Lord Botetourt, the penultimate colonial governor of Virginia: *see* GRO, D2700/QA3/1, Berkeley family of Stoke Gifford, Probate of the will and codicil of Lord Botetourt (dated 1766) 1771/2. According to a calendar of the letters held at the O A Hawkins Collection of Virginia 1770–1870 at the Library of Virginia, http://ead.lib.virginia.edu/vivaead/published/lva/vi00745.component (accessed 13 November 2012). Henry Somerset the Duke of Beaufort was in close correspondence with the leading planter families of Williamsburg and arranged to have certain objects formerly at Botetourt's residence, the Governor's Palace, sent to Badminton via leading Bristol tobacco merchants. See, for example, Letter, 30 October 1770, William Nelson, John Randolph, Robert Carter Nicholas, George Wythe, and John Blair [Williamsburg], Virginia, to Henry Somerset, Duke of Beaufort, informing him of the death of Lord Botetourt, Governor of Virginia, and his funeral. Also comments on the management of his estate and requests instructions. The Hawkins Collection also includes an inventory of the Governor's Palace and outbuildings, catalogue of the library, and inventory of standing furniture.
Letter, nd, [James] Horrocks, [London], to Robert Carter Nicholas [Williamsburg], directing Nicholas to pay the balance of Lord Botetourt's subscription for the workhouse to [John] Saunders. Box: 1 Folder: a-3 1 leaf, ALS.
Letter, 2 January 1771, [Duke of] Beaufort, Badminton, [England], to William Nelson, et al, [Williamsburg], stating he had received their letter of 30 October and sending thanks for services and funeral. Comments on monument for Botetourt, gives directions for settlement of estate, and requests account of the estate. Provides a list of things to be sent to England. Box: 1 Folder: a-4 5 p., and 1 leaf, ALS. Typed copy of the list of things to be sent to England.
Letter, 27 May 1771, [Robert Carter Nicholas, et al], [Williamsburg], Virginia, to [the Duke of Beaufort], informing him that expenses have been paid and goods are packed, but no shipping is available. Also state that other property nearly sold. Credit has been extended and they accept the gift of portraits and carriage; Letter, 8 June 1771, [Robert Carter Nicholas, et al], [Williamsburg], Virginia, to [the Duke of Beaufort] stating that passage for goods has been found on Captain John Cawsey's ship 'Planter', owned by Bristol tobacco merchants Farel and Jones of Bristol, [England].
Badminton, Kingsweston and Dyrham were reputed for their fine collection of Virginia flora. Martin, P 2001 *The Pleasure Gardens of Virginia: From Jamestown to Jefferson*. Charlottesville: Unversity of Virginia Press, 19.

79 GRO, D2700/QA3/1, copy will of Rebecca, Lady Granville, dated 1711 [which] Includes … bequest to her son, the Duke of Beaufort, of her proprietorship and interest in Carolina [inherited from her husband, Lord Granville (d 1707)] and the Bahamas, …; *see also* D2700/P10/1 her interest in the South Sea trade (1711) and D2700/PA3/8, Papers of the Beaufort Family of Badminton; Berkeley family of Stoke Gifford. Edward A Chappell notes the influence of Badminton House and other great houses on colonial architecture in his 1985 'Reconsidered Splendor: The Palace Addition of 1751 Architectural Report Block 20 Building 3', September, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library Research Report Series – 0149. Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library.

80 Thomas, H 1997 *The Slave Trade: The History of the Atlantic Slave Trade 1440–1870*. London: Picador, 472.

81 Ofcansky, T P 2004 'Baker, Sir Samuel White (1821–1893)', *in* Matthew, H C G and Harrison, B (eds) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. For West India company partnership, *see London Gazette*, 3 July 1844, available online at www.london-gazette.co.uk/issues/20363/pages/2431/page.pdf (accessed 13 November 2012); 'Gloucester, 1835–1985: economic development to 1914', *in* Herbert, N M (ed) 1988 *A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 4: The City of Gloucester*. London: Victoria County History, 170–83. Available online at http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=42297&strqery=baker accessed (2 December 2012). Thanks to Stephanie Barczewski for first mentioning Lypiatt Park's connections to Baker; *see also* Conway-Jones, H 2007 'How Gloucester benefitted from slavery', *Gloucester Docks and the Sharpness Canal Past, Present and Future*, http://www.gloucesterdocks.me.uk/studies/slavery.htm (accessed 13 November 2012); *see also* 'Sir Samuel White Baker, Newton Abbot', http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Newton_Abbot (accessed 13 November 2012).

82 BRO, 1703/1, Lease: Sir Abraham Elton, Mayor of Bristol, John Becher, James Donning, Joseph Jefferis, Arthur Taylor, Jacob Elton, John Rich, Lionel Lyde, John Blackwell, Nathaniel Day, William Jefferis and Stephen Clutterbuck, Aldermen of said City, nd; Latimer, J 1983 *Annals of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century*. Bristol: J. Latimer, 535; BRO, P.St T/D/113, release pertaining to sugar house formerly belonging to Clutterbuck, 1800–23.
83 GRO, D2957/127/116, Frampton-on-Severn Conveyance, 1831.
84 TNA, C/106/6, James Rogers Papers, Cargo for Sarah, February 1791; Latimer, J 1983 *Annals of Bristol in the Eighteenth Century*. Bristol: J. Latimer, 477; Marsden, A and Marsden, M 2001 'Burgun and Catcott, Pewterers of Bristol'. *Journal of the Pewter Society* **16**, 27.
85 GRO, D6623/7, Tracey Park Estate Papers, Deeds of Tracy Park Farm, 1808.
86 GRO, D1421/18, Osborne, Ward, Vassall, Abbott and Co of Bristol, Mortgage of Rose Hill plantation and slaves, Jamaica, with detailed schedule of slaves and stock, 1826. The catalogue description of Deeds etc of Badgeworth etc (Viner, Ellis and Russell) states that John Selwyn Payne (1822–80) married Ellen Harriet, daughter of John Russell of Badgeworth Court. And that the same J. Selwyn Payne was sixth son of Charles Payne, whose father, Charles, of Savanna La Mar, Jamaica, died at Clifton in 1821. The second Charles Payne was Mayor of Bristol, and according to Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 'all records of this family' were destroyed in a hurricane in 1780. *See* TNA, *Access to Archives*, Gloucestershire Archives, http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/A2A/recordsaspx?cat=040-d1421&cid=-1#-1 (accessed 13 November 2012).
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Chapter 3

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3 Brooke, R 1853 *Liverpool as it was During the Last Quarter of the Eighteenth Century, 1775–1800*. Liverpool: J Mawdsley and Son, 235–6.
4 Dresser, M 2001 *Slavery Obscured: The Social History of the Slave Trade in an English Provincial Port*. London and New York: Continuum, 101–16.
5 Pope, D 2007 'The wealth and social aspirations of Liverpool's slave merchants of the second half of the eighteenth century', in Richardson, D, Schwarz, S and Tibbles, A (eds) 2007 *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 164–226.
6 Pevsner, N, Pollard, R and Sharples, J 2006 *Lancashire: Liverpool and the South-West*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, xvi.
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10 LivRO, Hf912/ 1835, *Map of the Town and Port of Liverpool, with their environs from an actual survey by Jonathan Bennison*. Liverpool.
11 Calculated from 'Appendix 4: Ninety-three individuals identified as having possessed property outside the Borough of Liverpool' *in* Richardson, D, Schwarz, S and Tibbles, A (eds) 2007 *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 219–22.
12 *See*, for example, the reference to the country estate at Stoke Newington owned by the wealthy West India merchant, Edward Lascelles, in the early eighteenth century in Smith, S D 2006 *Slavery, Family and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles, 1648–1834*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 12. *See also* Peter Thellusson's country villa at Plaistow, Kent discussed in Chapter 7.
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14 LivRO, Hq 942.7213 WAI, Historic houses, churches and other architectural antiquities of the County of Lancaster, photographed by James A. Waite, 10 vols, 1888–1921.
15 Cooper, J and Power, D 1982 *A History of West Derby*. Ormskirk: Causeway Books, 255.
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17 Details of slave voyages taken from 'Appendix 1, Liverpool's leading slave merchants, 1750–99' in Richardson, D, Schwarz, S and Tibbles, A (eds) 2007 *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 194–207. Tarleton moved to Grove Terrace, Lisson Grove, Middlesex.
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27 LivRO, 352 MIN/COU 1/1/ 12, Liverpool Town Books, Vol. XI, fol 672, 5 October 1774. William Bolden was paid £4,000 for similar ground required for dock-building in May 1787: Merseyside Maritime Museum, Liverpool, MDHB/ MP/ 1/ 1, Dock Committee minutes, Vol. 1, 19 November 1781–28 September 1792.
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29 LivRO, 920 MD/455/2, Letter from Joseph Sherlock of Baltimore to John Sparling of Liverpool, 8 June 1799. I owe this reference to Joseph Sharples. My italics.
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31 Behrendt, S 1990 'The captains in the British slave trade from 1785 to 1807'. *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* **140**, 79–140.
32 LivRO, 387 MD 54, fols 22–27. Jones, D 2006 'The business organisation and practice of the Liverpool slave trade in the late eighteenth century: a case study of Robert Bostock'. Unpublished MA dissertation, University of Liverpool, provides a more detailed analysis of Bostock's career.
33 Ibid, 91–2.
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35 Birrell, T 1993 *Mariners, Merchants … then Pioneers*. Queensland: privately published.
36 LivRO, 352 MIN/COU 1/1/ 12, Liverpool Town Books, Vol XII, fol 91, 3 December 1777.
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38 LivRO, 920 WAT, The Watt Family Papers, 1/2/1, Letter and Account Book of Richard Watt, Kingston, December 1782.
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41 Morgan, K 2007 'Liverpool's dominance in the British slave trade, 1740–1807' in Richardson, D, Schwarz, S and Tibbles, A (eds) 2007 *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 32.
42 Presnell, L S 1956 *Country Banking in the Industrial Revolution*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 546–7.
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44 University of Liverpool, Special Collections, Dumbell papers, GB 141 MS/10/50 (i), 'Abstract for 353 Negroes at Bonny and ship "Earl of Liverpool", Captain George Bernard, sailed from Liverpool, 9 April 1797'.
45 LivRO, Hq 920 BOL, John Bolton of Storrs Hall and Liverpool (prepared in the Library 1943).
46 Lockhart, J G 1837 *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott*, vol vi. Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 62.
47 Layton-Jones, K and Lee, R 2008 *Places of Health and Amusement: Liverpool's historic parks and gardens*. Swindon: English Heritage, 1.
48 LivRO, Hq 942.753 HIS, Wilson, A 1994 *The History of Bowring Park*. Liverpool: Privately published by The Friends of Bowring Park, 11. Roby Hall had been rebuilt in the mid-18th century by John Williamson, Mayor of Liverpool, who had been involved in at least 16 slaving voyages in the 1750s. Despite Bowring's laudable intention, the park was bisected by the M62 motoway in 1975.
49 The information in this appendix is drawn from Radcliffe, R D 1918 *Notes on the Township of West Derby*. Liverpool: J Donald; Cooper, J and Power, D 1982 *A History of West Derby*. Ormskirk: Causeway Books; Hoult, J 1913 *West Derby, Old Swan and Wavertree*. Liverpool: C Tinling and Co; LivRO, Hf912/ 1768, William Yates and George Perry, *Map of the Environs of Liverpool drawn from an actual survey taken in the year 1768*. 2 inches to a mile; 13 inches by 18 inches; LivRO, Hf912/ 1835, *Map of the Town and Port of Liverpool, with their environs from an actual survey by Jonathan Bennison*. Liverpool; Eltis, D, Behrendt, S D, Richardson, D and Klein, H S 1999 *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
50 Excellent plan in 1817 in Cooper, J and Power, D 1982 *A History of West Derby*. Ormskirk: Causeway Books, 258; photograph in Hoult, J 1913 *West Derby, Old Swan and Wavertree*. Liverpool: C Tinling and Co, opp 7
51 Photograph in Cooper, J and Power, D 1982 *A History of West Derby*. Ormskirk: Causeway Books, 268 and Hoult, J 1913 *West Derby, Old Swan and Wavertree*. Liverpool: C Tinling and Co, opp 6.
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Chapter 4

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11 For the Pinney family as planters and merchants on Nevis and in England *see* Pares, R 1950 *A West-India Fortune*. London: Longmans. The map of the Mountravers estate in 1879 is now in private possession – copy given to the author by Mr David Small.
12 Andrews, E W (ed.) 1921 *Journal of a Lady of Quality: being the Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina and Portugal in the Years 1774–1776*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 107.
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Chapter 5

1 For a survey of moral and legal issues surrounding reparations, *see* Posner, E A and Vermeule, A 2003 'Reparations for slavery and other historical injustices'. *Columbia Law Review* **103**, 689–748.
2 Williams, E 1944 *Capitalism and Slavery*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 126–68. Historians broadly in sympathy with Williams include Inikori, J E 2002 *Africa and the Industrial Revolution: A Study in International Trade and Economic Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Critics include Engerman, S L 1972 'The slave trade and British capital formation in the eighteenth century: a comment on the Williams thesis'. *Business History* **46**, 430–43; O'Brien, P 1982 'European economic development: the contribution of the periphery'. *Economic History Review* **35**, 1–18. An alternative approach, linking European economic growth to institutional change and participation in Atlantic trade, lies beyond the scope of this discussion: *see* Acemoglu, D and Johnson, S 2005 'The rise of Europe: Atlantic trade, institutional change and growth'. *American Economic Review* **95**, 546–79.
3 Casciani, D 'The Legacy of Slavery', *BBC News UK* (20 March 2007) http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/6456765.stm (accessed 13 November 2012). S.I. (Steve) Martin is a noted journalist, author and historian. Three of his best-known works are the novel 1996 *Incomparable World*.London: Quartet, the historical study 1999 *Britain's Slave Trade*. London: 4 Books, and the children's book 2007 *Jupiter Williams*. London: Hodder Children's.
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7 Figure 5.1 records gross disembarkments and does not take into account re-shipment of slaves from St Vincent.
8 Watts, D 1987 *The West Indies: Patterns of Development, Culture and Environmental Change Since 1492*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 286; Higman, B W 1995 *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, 1807–1834*, 2 edn. Barbados and Jamaica: UWI Press, 50–64.
9 TNA T71/493 (1817), 495 (1821), 497–500 (1824, 1827, 1830, 1834). In comparison, Draper reports that 61 per cent of the beneficiaries of parliamentary compensation were non-resident by number and 80 per cent by value of the award at the time of emancipation, *c* 1833–4: Draper, N 2010 *The Price of Emancipation: Slave-Ownership, Compensation and British Society at the End of Slavery*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 152. No contemporary enumeration of non-residency exists during the period of slavery but in 1848 approximately 88 per cent of estates were reportedly in the hands of attorneys acting for non-residents: Davy, J 1854 *The West Indies Before and Since Slave Emancipation*. London: W and F G Cash, 184.

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11 Bodleian Library, Rhodes House, Oxford, MS W. Ind. t.2, Greg Family Papers, Folders 1 (1764–94) and 2 (1795–1834).
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13 Mathews, G W 1941 'John Bolton, a Liverpool merchant, 1756–1837'. *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* **93**, 98–115; Goodge, M 'Storrs Hall, Windermere Town', British Listed Buildings Online http://www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/en-351696-storrs-hall-windermere-town (accessed 13 November 2012).
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16 Strickland, S (ed) 1831 *Negro Slavery Described by a Negro: Being the Narrative of Ashton Warner, a Native of St. Vincent's*. London: Samuel Maunder, 11–15, 18–19, 21, 57–62, 65.
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20 Marshall, B 2007 *Slavery, Law and Society in the British Windward Islands, 1763–1823: A Comparative Study*. Kingston, Jamaica: Arawak Publications, 95–7.
21 TNA, T71/892.
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24 Hamilton, D J 2005 *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 63, 145.
25 Karras, A L 1992 *Sojourners in the Sun: Scottish Migrants in Jamaica and the Cheseapeake, 1740–1800*. Cornell, NY: Ithaca Press, 176; Donnelley, R R 2007 *Scotland and the Slave Trade: 2007 Bicentenary of the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive,10; Sheridan, R B 1977 'The role of the Scots in the economy and society of the West Indies'. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* **292**, 99.
26 Sheridan, R B 1977 'The role of the Scots in the economy and society of the West Indies'. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* **292**, 98; National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh, GD103/2/4/42/1, '[Plan] For settling a Scotts Colony in the Cariby Islands', nd but *c* 1660s; Hamilton, D J 2005 *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2; TNA, CO264/1, *The St Vincent Gazette*, 12 February 1835.
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Chapter 6

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11 Habakkuk used the records of Acts empowering landowners to sell to settle debts to show that whereas there were about three sales per annum in the period before the Restoration this rose to five per annum in the period 1660–1685; peaked at 10.5 per annum in the period 1689–1714; and five per annum between 1715 and 1740. Habakkuk, H J 1940 'English landownership, 1680–1740'. Economic History Review 10, 1939–40. Although parts of Habakkuk's work on the land market are debated there is general agreement that this was a period of high sales. Beckett, J V 1977 'English landownership in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: the debate and the problems'. *Economic History Review* **30**, 574.
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14 In 1683 the merchant Claypoole advertised such a house in Kingston: 'There is at Kingston, 12 miles from hence, to be sold a freehold estate with about 28 acres of land which lets for, with a barn, £28 a year, a large house, coach house, stable, brew house, etc, a brave orchard and garden walled about, excellent well situate for good air and gravel ground, and not far from the Thames, may be worth very well £40 a year. They ask £900 for it and possibly £800 may buy it. The dwelling is fit for a London

alderman or knight or gentleman of £1,000 per annum.' Balderston, M (ed.) 1967 *James Claypoole's Letterbook, London and Philadelphia, 1681–84*. San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 112.

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17 Stone, L and Stone, J C F 1986 *An Open Elite? England 1540–1880*. Oxford: Clarendon Press (abridged version), 285.

18 The list includes Henry Ashurst who bought Waterstock in Oxfordshire in 1691; Benjamin Bathurst, governor of the Royal African Company in the 1680s, who died in 1704 and left a fortune sufficient to endow all three of his sons with landed estates; Josiah Child who as well as being prominent in the East India trade was a naval contractor with heavy involvement in Atlantic trade and purchased Wanstead for £11,500.

19 The house was replaced in 1773 by a house which survives today and, in an interesting twist, descended to Gilbert Heathcote's great nephew, Josiah Eyles Heathcote, but passed out of his family on his death in 1811. Heathcote, E D 1899 *An Account of Some of the Families Bearing the Name of Heathcote*. Winchester: Warren & Son, 72–3; Downes, J 1980 *The History of Southbroom House, 1501–1980*. Devizes.

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21 After various sales the house ended up in the hands of the Roschchilds in the 1870s, after which it was greatly enlarged and now survives as the Arts Educational School. Colvin, H and Newman, J (eds) 1981 *Of Building: Roger North's Writings on Architecture*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 63, 73–4; Cruickshanks, E, Handley, S and Hayton, D W (eds) 2002 *The House of Commons, 1690–1715*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, IV, 46–7.

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23 Jones, T 1909–30 *A History of the County of Brecknock*, 4 vols. Brecknock: Blissett, Davies & Co; Price, J M 2004 'John Jeffreys'. *New Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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32 TNA, CO 138/7, fol 359, 'Letters of credit to Jamaica for subsistence of the regiment', 17 January 1695; Sperling, J 1962 'The international payments mechanism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries'. *Economic History Review* **14**, 446–68.

33 Sir Gilbert is quoted as saying 'I call anything a rotten peace, unless we have Spain, for without it we can have no safety, and now we have them down, let us keep them so', Heathcote, E D 1899 *An Account of Some of the Families Bearing the Name of Heathcote*. Winchester: Warren & Son, 84.

34 Archives of the Bank of England, MS G 4/1 'Minute Book of the Court of directors', 1694

35 *Gentleman's Magazine* **III**, January 1733, 47.

36 Lyons, D 1796 *The Environs of London*. London; Powell, W R (ed.) The Victoria *History of the County of Essex*, Vol VI. London: Institute of Historical Research/Oxford University Press, 184–97.

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38 Holderness notes that Heathcote was one of 18 known London merchants who bought fee simple of Lincolnshire property between 1700 and 1730. He also notes that Lincolnshire, with its abundant grasslands, had a high proportion of absentee landowners as 'the rent of the countrey being general made by beef and mutton sold in Smithfield and extraordinarily easily paid for those landlords that live in or about London'. Holderness, B A 1974 'The English land market in the eighteenth century: the case of Lincolnshire'. *Economic History Review* **27**, 562–3.

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40 Lincolnshire County Record Office, Ancaster 4/2. Bundle includes the faculty to remove the family tombs from Low Leyton to Essex in 1734.

41 William was quickly absorbed into the county elite, serving as deputy lieutenant from 1723. A Parliamentary seat in Buckingham from 1722 and Southampton from 1729 also ensured that he maintained his metropolitan connections. He built another grand house in St James's Square (designed by Flitcroft and at a cost of £5,700) in 1734 shortly after his elevation to a baronetcy in 1732, Heathcote, E D 1899 *An Account of Some of the Families Bearing the Name of Heathcote*. Winchester: Warren & Son, 115–20.

42 Colvin, H M 1954 *Biographical Dictionary of English Architects, 1660–1840*. London: John Murray.

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48 About 52 per cent of the land in Rutland was in the hands of these three 'great landowners' with over 10,000 acres each. Clemenson, H A 1982 *English Country Houses and Landed Estates*. London: Croom Helm, 21.
49 Ibid, 121–2.
50 Ibid, 79–85.
51 Laird, F 1818 *A Topographical and Historical Description of the County of Rutland*. London, 121–2.
52 Horwitz, H 1968 *Revolution Politicks: the Career of Daniel Finch, Second Earl of Nottingham, 1647–1730*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
53 Page, W (ed) 1935 *Victoria History of the County of Rutland*, Vol II. London: Institute of Historical Research/Oxford University Press.
54 Heathcote, E D 1899 *An Account of Some of the Families Bearing the Name of Heathcote*. Winchester: Warren & Son, 84.
55 Gilbert Heathcote, John's son, purchased a house in Grosvenor Square from the Earl of Hardwicke, his father-in-law, where the family spent a large proportion of its time. Lincolnshire County Archives, 1-ANC/2/B/19/I, 1725-98.
56 According to Bateman's *Great Landowners* in 1893 only 28 noblemen possessed over 100,000 acres. In 1883, the Heathcote estates belonging to Lord Aveland totalled 31,275 acres (17,637 acres in Lincolnshire, 13,633 in Rutland and 5 in the counties of Derby and Huntingdon) worth £46,894 a year. Those belonging to the Baroness Willoughby de Eresby totalled 132,230 acres (in Lincolnshire, Caernarvonshire, Denbigh and Perth) worth £74,006 a year. After 1888 the estates were united, making 163,505 acres worth £120,900 a year. Cokayne, G E, with Gibbs, V, Doubleday, H A, White, G H, Warrand, D and Lord Howard de Walden (eds) 1910–59 *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct or Dormant*, new edn, 13 vols, in 14. London. (Reprinted in 6 vols, Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 2000), vol I, 130–31, 713.
57 On the death of the third Earl of Ancaster in 1983 the earldom and barony became extinct, and the Heathcote baronetcy passed to a distant relative, Brigadier Sir Gilbert Simon Heathcote (nineth Baronet). However the earl's daughter, Jane Heathcote-Drummond-Willoughby, a direct descendant of the first Sir Gilbert Heathcote, succeeded in the ancient barony of Willoughby de Eresby. She inherited 75,000 acres in Lincolnshire and Perthshire, including Drummond and Grimsthorpe Castles, and was listed in the *Sunday Times Rich List* of 2008 with a wealth of £48 million in financial investments.
58 Principal seats were Grimsthorpe Castle, Normanton Park, Gwydyr and Drummond Castle. Gwyndyr was sold in or about 1895, Cokayne, G E, with Gibbs, V, Doubleday, H A, White, G H, Warrand, D and Lord Howard de Walden (eds) 1910–59 *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct or Dormant*, new edn, 13 vols, in 14. London. (Reprinted in 6 vols, Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 2000), vol. I, 130–1.
59 Between 1920 and 1955 the loss of houses (except during the Second World War) averaged 13 a year: 'A smash up comparable to the Reformation.' Strong, R, Binney, M and Harris, J (eds) 1974 *The Destruction of the Country House, 1875–1975*. London: Thames and Hudson, 16, 98.
60 Williams, E 1944 *Capitalism and Slavery*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 86.

Chapter 7

1 For a more detailed review of the slavery connections of these properties *see* Seymour, S and Haggerty, S 2010 'Slavery connections of Bolsover Castle 1600-c 1830'. Unpublished report, English Heritage; and Seymour, S and Haggerty, S 2010 'Slavery Connections of Brodsworth Hall 1600-c 1830'. Unpublished report, English Heritage.
2 Kaufmann, M 2007 'English Heritage properties 1600–1830 and slavery connections'. Unpublished report, English Heritage.
3 Bowen, H 1996 *Elites, Enterprise and the Making of the British Overseas Empire, 1688–1775*. Basingstoke and London: MacMillan Press, 50. Many new peerages were created in the 16th and 17th centuries, but admission was tightly controlled by the Stuarts. After 1780 the policy changed once again. Beckett, J V 1986 *The Aristocracy in England 1660–1914*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 27–32.
4 Wilkinson, D 2003 *The Duke of Portland: Politics and Party in the Age of George III*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
5 Huguenots comprised 102 out of 542 names on a merchant petition in 1744 and around 30 per cent of all merchants in 1760 were of foreign extraction. Chapman, S 1992 *Merchant Enterprise in Britain From the Industrial Revolution to World War I*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 28, 30; Haggerty, S 2006 *The British-Atlantic Trading Community 1760–1810: Men, Women, and the Distribution of Goods*. Leiden: Brill Press, chapters 2 and 3.
6 Curtin, P D 1984 *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2.
7 Manufacturers, except beer brewers, were not full and accepted participants in elite society, even in the 19th century. Stone, L and Stone, J C F 1986 *An Open Elite? England 1540–1880*, abridged edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 127. *See also* Beckett, J V 1986 *The Aristocracy in England 1660–1914*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 66–70. The qualification to be an MP was raised to £600 for a county seat and £300 for a borough. Dickinson, H T 1977 *Liberty and Property: Political Ideology in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 52.
8 Bowen, H 1996 *Elites, Enterprise and the Making of the British Overseas Empire, 1688–1775*. Basingstoke: MacMillan Press, 50, 65.
9 Between 1760 and 1819 at least 11 members of the East India Company bought seats in Hertfordshire alone. Stone, L and Stone, J C F 1986 *An Open Elite? England 1540–1880*, abridged edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 122–3.
10 Bowen, H 1996 *Elites, Enterprise and the Making of the British Overseas Empire, 1688–1775*. Basingstoke: MacMillan Press, 51; Stephen Fuller thought that there were 49 'colony' members in 1781, though this has been disputed by historians, McDonald, R A (ed) 1996 *West Indies accounts: essays on the history of the British Caribbean and the Atlantic economy in honour of Richard Sheridan*. Barbados: The Press, University of the West Indies, 137. O'Shaughnessy, A 1997 'The formation of a commercial lobby: the West India Interest, British colonial policy and the American Revolution'. *Historical Journal* **40**, 71–95, 73; for a good overview of the West India Interest *see* Ryden, D B 2009 *West Indian Slavery and British Abolition, 1783–1807*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, chapter 3.
11 Bowen, H 1996 *Elites, Enterprise and the Making of the British Overseas Empire, 1688–1775*. Basingstoke: MacMillan Press, 47.
12 Haggerty, S 2010 'Commerce and crisis: the Liverpool slave traders and abolition' in Libby, D C (ed.) *Cortes, Cidades, Mémorias: Trânsitose Transformações na Modernidade [Courts, Cities and Memories: Transitions and Transformations in the Modern World]*. Belo Horizonte, Brazil: Centro de Estudos Mineiros, available online at http://www.fafich.ufmg.br/cem (accessed 13 November 2012). For an old but illuminating discussion of the policy behind 18th-century wars *see* Pares, R 1936 'American versus continental warfare 1739–1763'. *English Historical Review* **51**, 429–65.

13 *See* Kingston Levy Books, Island Record Office, Jamaica, 1A/5/1/38.
14 Bowen, H 1996 *Elites, Enterprise and the Making of the British Overseas Empire, 1688–1775*. Basingstoke: MacMillan Press, 49.
15 Riden, P and Fowkes, D 2008 *Bolsover: Castle, Town and Colliery*. Chichester: Phillimore, 11–18; Worsley, L 2005 'The "artisan mannerist" style in British sculpture: a bawdy fountain at Bolsover Castle'. *Renaissance Studies* **19**, 83–108; Turberville, A S 1938 *A History of Welbeck Abbey and its Owners. I: 1539–1755*. London: Faber & Faber, 40, 41.
16 Gunn, J A W 1983 *Beyond Liberty and Property: The Process of Self-Recognition in Eighteenth-Century Political Thought*. Kingston: McGill Queen's University Press, 166; Dickinson, H T 1977 *Liberty and Property: Political Ideology in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 15.
17 Dickinson, H T 1977 *Liberty and Property: Political Ideology in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, chapter 1.
18 Beckett, J V 1986 *The Aristocracy in England 1660–1914*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 12.
19 Dickinson argues that while the Glorious Revolution dealt absolutism a severe blow, many ideas were adapted to the new situation and incorrectly labelled as 'Whig' ideologies. Dickinson, H T 1977 *Liberty and Property: Political Ideology in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 13. Gunn appears to agree, noting that following the French Revolution, High-Toryism all but disappeared as a separate cause within the increasingly conservative mood of the country. Gunn, J A W 1983 *Beyond Liberty and Property: The Process of Self-Recognition in Eighteenth-Century Political Thought*. Kingston: McGill Queen's University Press, 190–1.
20 Dickinson, H T 1977 *Liberty and Property: Political Ideology in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 280, 309.
21 William Marshall (1804) cited in Beckett, J V 1986 *The Aristocracy in England 1660–1914*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 43.
22 Hoppit, J 1990 'Attitudes to credit in Britain, 1680–1790'. *Historical Journal* **33**, 305–22, 306.
23 For the rise of credit and changing status of usury *see* Kerridge, E 1988 *Trade and Banking in Early Modern England*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, chapter 3.
24 Hoppit, J 1987 *Risk and Failure in English Business 1700–1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, chapter 3; Finn, M C 2003 *The Character of Credit: Personal Debt in English Culture, 1740–1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, chapters 5 and 6.
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28 *See* letters from merchants in London, Liverpool and Bristol to Lord Liverpool – for example, BL, Liverpool Papers, Vol CCXXVII, papers relating to the Slave Trade 1787–1823.
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33 Wilkinson, D 2004 'Bentinck, William Henry Cavendish Cavendish – third Duke of Portland (1738–1809), prime minister', *in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
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35 On the South Sea 'bubble' *see* Hoppit, J 2002 'The myths of the south sea bubble'. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* **12**, 141–65.
36 MSCUN Pl F2/6/178, Series of Accounts etc, Relating to Purchases and Sales of South Sea Stock by the Duke of Portland 1720–1721; Carswell, J 1960 *The South Sea Bubble*. London: The History Press Ltd, 104.
37 *See* Seymour, S and Haggerty, S 2010 'Slavery connections of Bolsover Castle 1600-c 1830'. Unpublished report, English Heritage, 27–30.
38 House of Commons 1793 'The Fourteenth Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the State and Condition of the Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues of the Crown, and to Sell or Alienate Fee Farm and other Unimproveable Rents'. *House of Commons Journal* **48**, 467–56; Bonsall, B 1960 *Sir James Lowther and Cumberland and Westmorland Elections*, 1754–1775. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 85.
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47 Craton, M 1982 *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 165 (quotation); Lambert, D 2008 'The "Glasgow King of Billingsgate": James MacQueen and an Atlantic proslavery network'. *Slavery & Abolition* **29**, 389–413.

48 TNA, CO 101/34, fol 84, Wilson to MacKenzie, nd.

49 Cox, E L 1982 'Fedon's Rebellion: causes and consequences'. *Journal of Negro History* **67**, 7–19; for population figures for Grenada *see* Curtin, P D 1969 *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 54, 66.

50 Hamilton, D J 2005 *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World 1750–1820*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 38.

51 Brizan, G 1998 *Grenada Island of Conflict*. London: Macmillan, 59–81; Hamilton, D J 2005 *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World 1750–1820*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 38–9.

52 Herefordshire County Record Office, AF57/8b/3/161, Letter from John Harvey, London, to Sir George Cornewall, 12 September 1796.

53 TNA, CO 101/34, fol 111, Portland to MacKenzie, [?] July 1795.

54 Craton, M 1982 *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 208; Lambert, D 2008 'The "Glasgow King of Billingsgate": James MacQueen and an Atlantic proslavery network'. *Slavery & Abolition* **29**, 394; Hamilton, D J 2005 *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World 1750–1820*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 164.

55 TNA, CO 101/34, fol 238, Portland to Lt. Governor Houston, [?]August 1796.

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58 TNA, CO 101/34, fol 239, Portland to Lt. Governor Houston, [?]August 1796.

59 The commissioners were A Chas Adye, A Scott, James Hay, Alexander Fraser and John Hay. TNA, CO 101/35, fol 116, Green to Commissioners, 12 October 1797.

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61 TNA, CO 101/35, fol 116, Green to Commissioners, 12 October 1797.

62 Ibid.

63 TNA, CO 101/35, fol 254, Tarleton to Portland, 12 July 1797; TNA, CO 101/35, fol 118, Commissioners of Forfeited Estates to Governor Green, 20 October 1797.

64 TNA, CO 101/35, fol 118, Commissioners of Forfeited Estates to Governor Green, 20 October 1797.

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67 William Beckford, cited in Ryden, D B 2009 *West Indian Slavery and British Abolition, 1783–1807*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 195, 188.

68 *The Zong* was a Liverpool slave ship. In late November 1781 Collingwood, the captain, threw 133 slaves overboard towards the end of the middle passage, ostensibly because water was running low. However, the fact that many of these were women and children made it likely that it was to save costs feeding enslaved persons who would fetch only low prices in the West Indies. He hoped his owners would be able to claim £30 insurance on each of the persons thrown overboard. On the *Zong see* Rupprecht, A 2007 'Excessive memories: slavery, insurance and resistance'. *History Workshop Journal* **64**, 6–28; Krikler, J 2007 'The *Zong* and the Lord Chief Justice'. *History Workshop Journal* **64**, 29–47. More recently James Walvin has argued that the Zong was a tipping point towards popular support for abolition. Walvin, J 2011 *The* Zong; *A Massacre, the Law and the End of Slavery*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

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72 BL, Liverpool Papers, Vol II, fol 244, Portland to Liverpool, 21 June 1799.

73 All the quotations from Sharp in this paragraph are from National Maritime Museum, REC/19. Documents relating to the case of the ship *Zong*, Sharp to Portland, 18 July 1783, all emphases in original.

74 Wilkinson, D 2003 *The Duke of Portland: Politics and Party in the Age of George III*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 55, 60–61.
75 Ormrod, D J 1993 'The Atlantic economy and the Protestant capitalist international, 1651–1775'. *Historical Research* **66**, 197–208.
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78 Ibid, 27, 44; Crouzet, F 1991 'The Huguenots and the English financial revolution' *in* Higonnet, P L R, Landes, D S and Rosovsky, H (eds) *Favorites of Fortune: Technology, Growth and Economic Development since the Industrial Revolution*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 221–66.
79 Polden, P 2002 *Peter Thellusson's Will of 1797 and its Consequences on Chancery Law*. Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 41, 42, 44, 47–48, 63; Thorne, R G (ed.) 1986 *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1790–1820, Vol 5 Members Q Y*. London: Secker & Warburg, 362.
80 Seymour, S and Haggerty, S 2010 'Slavery connections of Brodsworth Hall 1600 *c* 1830'. Unpublished report, English Heritage, especially 19–58; Polden, P 2002 *Peter Thellusson's Will of 1797 and its Consequences on Chancery Law*. Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 43.
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84 Richardson, D 1976 'Profits in the Liverpool slave trade: the accounts of William Davenport, 1757–1784' *in* Anstey, R and Hair, P E H (eds) *Liverpool, the African Slave Trade, and Abolition*. Widnes: Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 60–90.
85 Richardson, D 2004 'Davenport, William (1725–1797)' *in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; MMMA, D/DAV/6/6 (1), Peter Thellusson to William Davenport, 26 March 1768; MMMA, D/DAV/6/6 (3), Peter Thellusson to William Davenport, 25 May 1788.
86 MMMA, D/DAV/6/6 (1–9), Peter Thellusson to William Davenport, 1768.
87 MMMA, D/DAV/6/6 (2), Peter Thellusson to William Davenport, 1 April 1768 (quotation); MMMA, D/DAV/6/6 (5), Peter Thellusson to William Davenport, 19 July 1768.
88 LFHC, GRLR, 1768–70 (v.L1-X1, ser 2), Film 1563342: N1 358–67, Indenture between George Campbell and Stephen Hayes and Peter Thellusson, 19 September 1768, 358 (quotation); Eltis, D, Halbert, M et al, Voyages Database 2009, TASTD, Voyage numbers, 90751–54, 90779–80, 90845–46, 91001–2, 91047, 91190, http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces (accessed 13 November 2012).
89 The ships in question were the *Liberty, Penelope and Success*. Thellusson received only a three-eighths share in the *Liberty*, one of the ships with enslaved Africans on board, as Campbell and Hayes were among six co-owners of this vessel. Eltis, D, Halbert, M et al, Voyages Database 2009, TASTD , Voyage numbers 91407 (*Liberty*), 91190 (Penelope), http://www.slavevoyages.org (accessed 13 November 2012).
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98 Brizan, G 1998 *Grenada Island of Conflict*. London: Macmillan, 50–1.
99 GLR, O3, 310–19, Agreement between Marie Fourniller and Peter Thellusson and John Cossart, 25 May 1787, 317.
100 GLR, B4 223–41, Indenture between Marie Fourniller and Peter Thellusson and John Cossart, 8/9 April 1791; Lambert, D 2008 'The "Glasgow King of Billingsgate": James MacQueen and an Atlantic proslavery network'. *Slavery & Abolition* **29**, 392.
101 SROI, HB416/A2/6, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 9 July 1819, 55; SROI, HB416/D1/3/1, Letter from Thos Wm Budd to Messrs Benbow Tucker and Saltwell, concerning annuities charged on Thellusson estates, and mentioning the Bacolet estate in particular, 23 November 1859.

102 Beckett, J V 1986 *The Aristocracy in England 1660–1914*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 71–72; Polden, P 2002 *Peter Thellusson's Will of 1797 and its Consequences on Chancery Law*. Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 64; Anon 1792 Ambulator, or a Pocket Companion in a Tour round London, 4 edn. London: J. Bew, G. and T. Wilkie and Scatchard and Whitaker, 184 (quotation).
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Chapter 8

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Chapter 9

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Chapter 10

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15 Fonthill Splendens, built between 1757 and 1770, was located in Wiltshire, and was demolished in 1808 by Beckford's son, the younger William, who commissioned its successor, Fonthill Abbey, from Wyatt. *See* Verey, D and Brooks, A 2002 *The Buildings of England: Gloucestershire 1: The Cotswolds*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 316–18.

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17 BBC Home, 'Codrington to Codrington', *Where I Live: Bristol*, March 2007, http://www.bbc.co.uk/bristol/content/articles/2007/03/16/io_codrington_feature.shtml (accessed 13 November 2012); Yate and District Heritage Centre, 'Yate Heritage Newsletter, winter 2008–2009', http://www.myyate.co.uk/obj/winter2008–9newsletter.pdf (accessed 13 November 2012).

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19 Morse, J 1798 *An Abridgment of the American Gazetteer*. Boston, MA: Thomas and Andrews, 35.

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21 Codrington College chaplain John Hodgson, quoted in Brown, C L 2006 *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 73. The Associates carried on the work of the clergyman Thomas Bray (1656–1730), a founding member of the SPG, who was particularly interested in the foundation of parochial libraries and the education of slaves, free people of colour, and Native Americans throughout the British American colonies.

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24 Bates, S 2006 'Church apologises for benefiting from slave trade'. *Guardian*, 9 February 2006.

25 Google search conducted on 30 September 2010.

26 Deeley, P 1980 'New riches from slave-owning past'. *Observer*, 14 December 1980. *See also* Lowenthal, D 1980 'West Indian archives for sale'. *The Times*, 29 November 1980; 'Sale of Codrington West Indies Archive'. *The Times*, 13 December 1980; 'Codrington Papers sold at Sotheby's'. *Financial Times*, 16 December 1980; Samuel, M 1980 'Codrington archive sale'. *The Times*, 24 December 1980; Plavcha, R J 1981 'The international scene'. *American Archivist* **44**, 265.

27 The 1963 official guide to Dodington describes the house's 'Exhibition Room' as containing 'selected items from the Codrington papers', including materials relating to the Codringtons' West Indian plantations, pro-slavery posters from the 1830s, and letters from the Duke of Wellington. *See* Kenworthy-Browne, J A 1963 *Dodington: An Illustrated Survey and Guide*. Derby: English Life Publications, 19.

28 Deeley, P 1980 'New riches from slave-owning past'. *Observer*, 14 December 1980.

29 Wintersgill, D 1980 'Antigua outbid for slice of its slave heritage'. *Guardian*, 16 December 1980.

30 Ibid.

31 'Plug the archive drain'. *Guardian*, 3 December 1980.

32 'Stately home sackings'. *Guardian*, 2 November 1982.

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by the industrialist Sir James Dyson, its current owner. South Gloucestershire Council 2003 'Dodington House National Registered Garden', http://xapp.southglos.gov.uk/NR/rdonlyres/538DC91C-9805-49C6-994F-49D2FD03C600/0/PTE070537.pdf (accessed 17 December 2012)

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Chapter 11

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3 BBC News, 'Tourism must move away from Cool Britannia – Cameron', 12 August 2010, http://www.bbc co.uk/news/uk-politics-10950167 (accessed 13 November 2012); Smith, O 2010 'Flight tax undermines David Cameron's commitment to tourism'. *Daily Telegraph*, 12 August 2010, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/travelnews/7941222/Flight-tax-undermines-David-Camerons-commitment-to-tourism.html (accessed 13 November 2012); Owen, P 2010 'David Cameron urges Britons to help rebuild economy with UK holidays'. *Guardian*, 12 August 2010, http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2010/aug/12/david-cameron-economy-tourism-holidays (accessed 13 November 2012); 'A lesson in tourism from Britain'. *Jamaica Observer*, 17 August 2010 www.jamaicaobserver.com/editorial/A-lesson-in-tourism-from-Britain_7883036 (accessed 13 November 2012).

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12 Ibid.

13 *See* Plunkett, J 2010 'Rod Liddle censured by the PCC'. *Guardian* 29 March.

14 For example, *see* review by Kim Sherwood, Slavery And Justice: Lord Mansfield and Dido Belle at Kenwood, 29 May 2007, on Culture24 online – http://www.culture24.org.uk/history+%26+heritage/work+%26+daily+life/race+and+identity/art47633 (accessed 13 November 2012).

15 I would like to thank the staff I met during my visits to Kenwood and Osborne House. They were always polite and helpful with any questions that I had. http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/daysout/properties/kenwood-house/ (accessed 13 November 2012).

16 English Heritage 2001 *Kenwood: The Iveagh Bequest*. London: English Heritage, 11.

17 None of the portraits come with substantial labels. Additional information is held on cards which may be picked up near the entrance to rooms.

18 *See* English Heritage 2001 *Kenwood: The Iveagh Bequest*. London: English Heritage, 28–9.

19 For further details *see* Turner, M 2007 *Osborne House*. London: English Heritage.

20 Ibid. Highlighting of 'exotic plants' mentioned in English Heritage, 'Gardens of the Isle of Wight', News, 15 January 2010, http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/about/news/gardens-isle-of-wight/ (accessed 13 November 2012).

21 Additional information provided by Michael Hunter, Curator at English Heritage, tells us that the portrait shows Muhammed Bukhsh and Prince Alexander of Battenberg (1886–1950) the eldest of Princess Beatrice's children. Bukhsh was one of the first Indian attendants to enter Queen Victoria's service in 1887, and he received the Victoria Faithful Service Medal in 1889.

22 John Brown, inscribed John Brown 1867. Abdul Karim and Mohammed Bukhsh, coloured photograph on porcelain, 1887. Abdul Karim shared with Mohammed Bukhsh the distinction of being the first Indian attendants to enter the Queen's service in 1887. Bukhsh left Victoria's service in 1895, but Karim outlived her by 8 years. Additional information provided by Michael Hunter, English Heritage.

23 Turner, M 2007 *Osborne House*. London: English Heritage.

24 Visram, R 2002 *Asians in Britain: 400 Years of History*. London: Pluto Press, esp 45–9.

25 Quoted in Campbell, C 2001 *The Maharajah's Box: An Imperial Story of Conspiracy, Love and a Guru's Prophecy*. London: Harper Collins, 39.

26 Ibid, 65.

27 Ibid.

28 Visram, R 2002 *Asians in Britain: 400 Years of History*. London: Pluto Press, 100.

29 Campbell, C 2001 *The Maharajah's Box: An Imperial Story of Conspiracy, Love and a Guru's Prophecy*. London: Harper Collins.

30 Bressey, C 2005 'Of Africa's brightest ornaments: a short biography of Sarah Forbes Bonetta'. *Social and Cultural Geography* **6**, 253–66.
31 Ibid.
32 *The Embarkation*, Johann Herman Kretschmer (1811–1890), oil on canvas, purchased by Queen Victoria at the 1853 Dublin Exhibition. Additional information provided by Michael Hunter, English Heritage.
33 *The Egyptian Antinous*, 19th-century copy, sculptor unknown, bought in 1850 by Queen Victoria at the sale of Northwood Park, Isle of Wight. Additional information provided by Michael Hunter, English Heritage.
34 However, something is known about this young boy, and his presence speaks to the black historical geographies of Europe that are being uncovered. The portrait depicts Willem Jeroe Koetjie (1850–67) and was painted by August Noack in 1867. Oil on canvas, the portrait was given to Queen Victoria by her daughter, Princess Alice. Koetie was the son of an African father and Javanese mother and was brought from Java to Germany, where he became a page boy to Princess Alice who lived in Darmstadt. Additional information provided by Michael Hunter, English Heritage. Like the portrait of a young servant boy made in Brussels, this portrait prompts a number of questions and has an important contribution to make to the history of Black Europeans.
35 *A Soudanese from Kordofan*, Rudolf Swoboda (1858–1914), oil on wood, painted for Queen Victoria. Additional information provided by Michael Hunter, English Heritage.
36 In fact the painting was painted by Victoria, the Princess Royal and given to Queen Victoria on her birthday in 1877. Additional information provided by Michael Hunter, English Heritage.
37 *Bust of an African Man*, Charles Henry Joseph Cordier (1827–1905) given by Queen Victoria to Prince Albert in 1852. Charles Cordier was a sculptor of the French school. In 1848 he travelled to Africa, after which he made several busts of African people. Additional information provided by Michael Hunter, English Heritage.
38 I overheard this conversation during my first visit to Osborne House in September 2009. I returned for a follow-up visit in August 2010.
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41 For example, the National Portrait Gallery, London 'Portraits, People and Abolition' trail remains available online and the Victoria & Albert Museum, 'Hidden Histories: Africa' research project undertaken between 2006 and 2008 is largely presented online.

Chapter 12

1 Mason, R 2005 'Museums, galleries and heritage: sites of meaning-making and communication' *in* Corsane, G (ed) *Heritage, Museums and Galleries: An Introductory Reader*. Abingdon: Routledge, 222.
2 Comment during talk to Bexley African Caribbean Community association by Cliff Pereira in 2007, 'Uncovering Black Bexley'.
3 *See* Wooller, O 2000 *The Great Estates: Six Country Houses in Bexley*. London: Bexley Local Studies and Archive Centre, 4–21, 54–71, 90–105.
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5 McKeon, S 2010 Untitled manuscript, Bexley Archives, September.
6 *Kent Messenger Bexley Extra*, 15 October 2004, 15.
7 Bexley Local Studies, Bexley Sikh Oral History Project, 2004.
8 Prichard, J A 1977 *A History of Erith: Part Two 1485–1837*. Bexley: London Borough of Bexley, Libraries Dept, 10–16.
9 *Bexleyheath & Welling News Shopper*, 16 October 2002, 32.
10 *Bexleyheath & Welling News Shopper*. 27 November 2002, 7.
11 *Bexleyheath & Welling News Shopper*, 14 October 2005.
12 Alan Boakes, Chairman of the Erith Museum Group (in conversation), December 2007.
13 Hutcherson, R 1996 *The History of Danson*. Bexley: Bexley Libraries and Museums Department, 21, 18.
14 Wooller, O 2000 *The Great Estates: Six Country Houses in Bexley*. London: Bexley Local Studies and Archive Centre, 60–6.
15 Pereira, C 2008 *The View From Shooters Hill: The Hidden Black and Asian History of Bexley*. Bexley: BACCA, 24, 25, 41.
16 Ibid, 28–32.
17 Mayo, R 2002 *Blendon: From the Earliest Times*. Bexley: Bexley Council, Directorate of Education and Leisure Services, 23.
18 Ibid, 35.
19 *The Times*, 4 October 1856, 9.
20 *Bexleyheath & Welling News Shopper*, 23 October 2002, 1.
21 Sarah Fosker, Marketing and Events, Bexley Heritage Trust (in conversation), September 2010.
22 MacCarthy, F 1994 *William Morris: A Life for Our Time*. London: Faber & Faber, 167.
23 Ibid, 179.
24 Parry, L 1983 *William Morris Textiles*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 46–7.
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26 Hutcherson, R 1996 *The History of Danson*. Bexley: Bexley Libraries and Museums Department, 8.
27 Pereira, C 2008 *The View From Shooters Hill: The Hidden Black and Asian History of Bexley*. Bexley: BACCA.
28 Flood, J 2006 *The Original Australians: Story of the Aboriginal People*. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 114.
29 Ibid, 35.

Chapter 13

1 The exhibition recorded the highest visitor numbers in the museum's history, only recently superseded by graffiti artist Banksy's 'Exit Through the Gift Shop' exhibition in 2009.
2 The Empire and Commonwealth Museum has since closed and its collections are now in the possession of Bristol City Council's Museum Service.
3 An interactive educational dvd containing this material was produced under the title *Re:interpretation* and was produced by the National Trust, Firstborn Creatives and Micro-film in 2008 for the National Trust.
4 Makeeba Brown interviewed in *Re:interpretation*: an educational dvd produced by the National Trust,Firstborn Creatives and Micro-film in 2008
5 The Wynters bought Dyrham Park in 1571. George Wynter was involved in the first English slave trading expedition of Sir John Hawkins in 1562, and went to sea with him in 1565. George and his brother William also invested £7,600 in a voyage to Guinea, West Africa, in 1565.
6 Interview with 'Daisy' in *Re:Interpretation* (2008)
7 The exception to this was the Bristol residents group, whose response was a debate straight after their tour of Dyrham Park.