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The Scott Trust Legacies of Enslavement Report

9 September 2021

The Scott Trust Legacies of Enslavement Report

Invoice *Shuttleworth Taylor & Co* *To* *13* *3* *0* *1* *3* *0* *9*
Apr 16 *12 Bags* **WE. BAYNARD** *To* *14* *3* *0* *17* *3* *0* *18*
A *15* *3* *0* *21* *3* *0* *23*
To *16* *3* *1* *16* *3* *1* *18*
A *17* *3* *0* *15* *3* *0* *17*
To *18* *2* *2* *1* *2* *2* *3*
A *19* *3* *0* *18* *3* *0* *20*
A *20* *3* *0* *4* *3* *0* *6*
To *21* *2* *3* *21* *2* *3* *23*
A *22* *3* *1* *17* *3* *1* *19*
A *23* *3* *0* *12* *3* *0* *14*
A *24* *2* *3* *22* *2* *3* *25*

Invoice *Shuttleworth Taylor & Co* *To* *1* *2* *3* *27* *3* *0* *1*
Apr 24 *19 Bags* **TURNBULL** *A* *2* *3* *0* *2* *3* *0* *3*
C *A* *3* *2* *3* *22* *2* *3* *24*
To *4* *2* *3* *11* *2* *3* *13*
A *5* *3* *0* *6* *3* *0* *8*
A *6* *3* *0* *4* *3* *0* *6*
A *7* *2* *1* *27* *2* *1* *—*
A *8* *2* *3* *13* *2* *3* *15*

D6948/2/18, "Invoices Jul 1822-Nov 1825", W.G. and J. Strutt Ltd, Derbyshire Record Office.

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INTRODUCTION: THE SCOTT TRUST LEGACIES OF ENSLAVEMENT REPORT

This report builds on research conducted in phase one of this study (October to December 2021) and should be read in conjunction with Report 1, the Taylor Report. This second phase of the project commenced on 24 May 2021 and is to run until 24 September 2021. It involved online research of contemporary as well as antiquarian sources, secondary literature and archival visits to the John Rylands Library, University of Manchester, Manchester Archives and Local Studies, Derbyshire Record Office and the London School of Economics and Political Science Archives. For further details on the methodological process of this study, please see the Methodology section of the Taylor Report.

This report can be read in three parts. The first section of this report presents six case studies on John Edward Taylor's associates: Richard Potter, Thomas Potter, Edward Baxter, Thomas Bromiley William Sanderson, William Duckworth and Samuel Pullein. Two case studies relating to the Scott and Jevons branch of Taylor's family tree are also presented in this section.¹

The second section follows up on the firm of Philips, Wood & Co. and two associates whose case studies were covered in part one of this report, Robert Philips and George William Wood.

The third part of this report explores Taylor's links to the Sea Islands. It depicts the source of some of Taylor's wealth, derived from the cotton industry, between the period 1816 to 1824. It also analyses Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co's raw cotton supply from the Sea Islands between 1821 to 1823 and includes case studies on the slave-owners who supplied the Strutts and Taylor's firm with Sea Island cotton.

¹ Due to the limited time frame of this project and commonality of the names of two of Taylor's associates; Thomas Johnson and Thomas Wilkins, it was not possible to conduct in depth research on these associates at this stage.

KEY FINDINGS

- All six Funders of the *Manchester Guardian* detailed in this report were found to have indirect connections to transatlantic slavery.
- Russell Scott amassed his fortune from the coal industry and railway investments. He was also Director of Varteg Iron Works, a firm with ties to William Fawcett of the historic Fawcett, Preston Engineering Co.
- The Jevons family was connected to raw cotton imports from the United States, the East India Company, iron shipments to the United States and were makers of steam engine boilers and sugar pans. William Jevons was also financially connected to the slave-owning Yates family.
- Robert Philips, through the marriage of his son, Robert Needham Philips, became in-laws with Joseph Brook Yates and John Ashton Yates.
- George William Wood was related to the Philips and Hibbert families through his mother, Louisa Ann Oates.
- The firm of Philips, Wood & Co. had a branch establishment in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.
- The Commission Account of Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. for the Strutts, shows that between the years 1817 to 1824, Taylor's firm received £2300 1s 4d (RPW: £207,000)² from the Strutts.
- This Commission Account also suggests that Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. were likely cotton brokers for the Strutts.
- A W.G. and J. Strutt invoice book depicts Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. as receiving raw cotton from the Sea Islands between 14 August 1822 and 24 April 1823.
- The Strutt invoice book also includes the names of the plantation owners and enslavers who supplied Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. with raw cotton.
- Through Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co's connections with the Strutts and receipt of raw cotton supplies from plantations of the Sea Islands, John Edward Taylor, Robert Philips and George William Wood have become linked to the enslaved people of the Sea Islands and their descendants, the Gullah Geechee people.

² The modern-day equivalencies for historical prices if calculated by WIG is £2,150,000 and by ROW is £11,100,000. These figures are based on 2020 calculations. Please see the Methodology section of Report 1, The Taylor Report, pp. 12-13 for more on contemporary equivalencies used for the Reports 1, 2 and 3.

CASE STUDIES OF THE ASSOCIATES

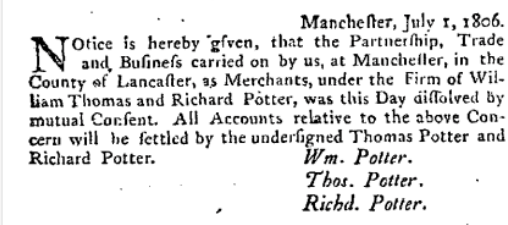
The following six case studies focus on Taylor's associates, the Funders of the *Manchester Guardian*, and their links to transatlantic slavery.

The Potter Brothers

Richard Potter (1778-1842) & Sir Thomas Potter (1773-1845)
Slavery Link: Yes
Link Type: Indirect
Nature of Link: Manufacturers of and dealers in cotton goods, owners of a reputable Manchester textile warehouse.

The Potter brothers were both influential figures in Manchester. Thomas Potter was the first mayor of Manchester, serving from 1838 to 1840 and Richard Potter, nicknamed Radical Dick, was M.P. for Wigan from 10th December 1832-1839.³

Sir Thomas Potter and Richard Potter were the sons of farmer and draper, John Potter (1728-1802) of Tadcaster, North Yorkshire. Their father inherited a small draper's shop in Tadcaster, and owned two farms, Wighill and Wingate Hill.⁴ In early 1802, using capital acquired from their father in the amount of £14000 (RPW: £1,280,000), William (their elder brother) and Richard Potter, opened a warehouse in Manchester.⁵ In 1803, the firm William, Thomas and Richard Potter was established and it "became exceedingly well known to all buyers frequenting the Manchester market".⁶ Richard Potter's granddaughter, Georgina Meinertzhagen, wrote in *A Short Memoir of the Potters of Tadcaster*, that by the end of 1805, W.T. & R. Potter was



Manchester, July 1, 1806.
Notice is hereby given, that the Partnership, Trade and Business carried on by us, at Manchester, in the County of Lancaster, as Merchants, under the Firm of William Thomas and Richard Potter, was this Day dissolved by mutual Consent. All Accounts relative to the above Concern will be settled by the undersigned Thomas Potter and Richard Potter.
Wm. Potter.
Thos. Potter.
Richd. Potter.

The London Gazette, 5 July 1806, p. 851.

³ *The Annals of Manchester: A Chronological Record from the Earliest Times to the End of 1885*, edited by William E. A. Axon, United Kingdom, J. Heywood, Deansgate and Ridgefield, 1886, p. xii; "BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF SIR THOMAS POTTER." *Manchester Times*, 22 Feb. 1851. *British Library Newspapers*; "Richard Potter (1778-1842)", <https://tadhistory.org.uk/public/potter/PotterCorrection.pdf>, accessed 25 May 2021; "Description of Potter, Richard, 1778-1833, politician", *LSE Library Archives and Special Collections*, GB 97 COLL MISC 0146, <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb97-collmisc0146>, accessed 25 May 2021; HANSARD, "Mr Richard Potter", <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/people/mr-richard-potter/index.html>, accessed 26 May 2021.

⁴ *Manchester Times* - Saturday 22 March 1845; Georgina Meinertzhagen, *From Ploughshare to Parliament: A Short Memoir of the Potters of Tadcaster*, United Kingdom, Privately printed at the Chiswick Press, 1896, p. 5-6; H. R. Fox Bourne, *English Merchants, Memoirs in Illustration of the Progress of British Commerce*, Chatto and Windus, 1886, p. 266.

⁵ Bourne, *English Merchants*, p. 267; *Manchester Times* - Saturday 22 March 1845. It should be noted that in contrast to the amount stated in the aforementioned sources, A.C. Howe states that the Potters set up their warehouse "with capital of some £7000". A. C. Howe, "Potter, Thomas Bayley (1817-1898)", *ODNB*, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-22621>, accessed 26 May 2021.

⁶ "THE PRINCE OF OUDE." *Sheffield Independent*, 8 Sept. 1838; Meinertzhagen, *From Ploughshare to Parliament*, p. 40; Bourne, *English Merchants*, p. 266-8; Eliza Orme, "POTTER, THOMAS BAYLEY (1817-1898)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/odnb/9780192683120.001.0001/odnb-9780192683120-e-22621>, accessed 26 May 2021; A. C. Howe, "Potter, Thomas Bayley (1817-1898)", *ODNB*.

“finding their business in Manchester rapidly increasing.”⁷ In 1806, William who was seemingly afflicted by alcoholism, left the firm “and started alone, as he could not get on with his brothers”.⁸ The partnership then consisted of Thomas and Richard Potter, with Thomas being more involved in the business affairs on account of his brother’s immersion in political life.⁹ Their wholesale house which eventually came to be known as ‘Potter’s’, “became by repute Manchester’s largest mercantile business by the early 1840s, dominating the home trade and gradually moving into the foreign trade”.¹⁰

Goods Stored & Sold by the Potter Brothers

The Potter brothers’ business mainly involved acquiring “grey, white and dyed calicoes, linens, flannels, fustians, counterpanes, and the like” from manufacturers and selling it to wholesale dealers in London, Bristol, Exeter and Norwich.¹¹ Swindling and theft cases reported by local newspapers provide insight to some of the goods stored at the Potters warehouse. An 1837 theft case involving an employee stealing from Potters and Norris (partnership at the time consisting of the Thomas Potter, Richard Potter and S.H. Norris)¹² highlight that goods such as paper, silks, velvets and ribbons were stored at the warehouse.¹³ Another theft case in 1838 shows that calico was also stored at the Potter and Norris warehouse.¹⁴ A swindling case reported by the *Morning Post* in 1838 also indicates that the Potters traded in “Black bombazine” and “India printed bandanas”.¹⁵

Online trade directories provide details on the commercial pursuits of the Potters. Thomas and Richard Potter are listed as “merchts. and importers of Irish linens”, “Manufacturers and Dealers in Flannel and Baize”, “Manufacturers of and Dealers in Cotton Goods” and “Merchants” operating at 44 Cannon Street, Manchester.¹⁶ The business moved to George

IMPUDENT ROBBERY.—On Tuesday afternoon a man named Robert Jones entered the warehouse of Messrs. Potter and Norris, near the Infirmary, under pretence of wanting to see one of their workmen, and presently afterwards was seen carrying off, from the “entering” room, a piece of calico. He was noticed by persons in the warehouse, who waited till he had carried his load out of doors, and then gave him in custody to Wovenden and Howarth, policemen. He was brought to the New Bailey on Wednesday, and committed for trial at the sessions.

“Local Intelligence”, *Manchester Times*, 7 July 1838. Newspaper image © The British Library Board. All rights reserved. With thanks to The British Newspaper Archive (www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk).

Having expressed a desire to see a Manchester house, the Prince was then taken to the Messrs. Potters and Norris, George-street, where he was shown all the departments, and was conveyed in the hoists from floor to floor. Having to pass a weighing machine, and learn its use, his highness expressed a wish to know his weight in English measures. His wish

“The Prince of Oude”, *Sheffield Independent*, 8 Sept. 1838. Newspaper image © The British Library Board. All rights reserved. With thanks to The British Newspaper Archive (www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk).

⁷ Meinertzhagen, *From Ploughshare to Parliament*, p. 40.

⁸ Meinertzhagen, *From Ploughshare to Parliament*, pp. 12, 40-1.

⁹ *The London Gazette*, 5 July 1806, p. 851; BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF SIR THOMAS POTTER. “*Manchester Times*, 22 Feb. 1851; Meinertzhagen, *From Ploughshare to Parliament*, p. 64; Howe, “Potter, Thomas Bayley (1817–1898)”, *ODNB*.

¹⁰ George Unwin, et al., *Samuel Oldknow and the Arkwrights: The Industrial Revolution at Stockport and Marple*, United Kingdom, A. M. Kelley, 1968, p. 4; David J. Knott, *The Little Circle and Manchester Politics, 1812-46*, PhD Thesis, University of Manchester, 2018, p. 44-5; Howe, ‘Potter, Thomas Bayley (1817–1898)’, *ODNB*; “Description of Potter, Richard, 1778-1833, politician”.

¹¹ Bourne, *English Merchants*, p. 267-8.

¹² “Advertisements & Notices”, *Manchester Times*, 15 Mar. 1834.

¹³ “Local Intelligence”, *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 9 Dec. 1837.

¹⁴ “Local Intelligence”, *Manchester Times*, 7 July 1838.

¹⁵ “AN ACCOMPLISHED SWINDLER”, *Morning Post*, 24 Aug. 1838.

¹⁶ Edward Baines and William Parson, *History, Directory, and Gazetteer, of the County Palatine of Lancaster: With a Variety of Commercial & Statistical Information ... Illustrated by Maps and Plans*, United Kingdom, W. Wales & Company, 1825, p. 250; *Pigot & Dean’s New Directory of Manchester and Salford*, 1821-22, p. 128; p. 128, p. 253, p. 256, <http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/digital/collection/p16445coll4/id/213521>, accessed 17 August 2021; Edward Baines, *History, Directory & Gazetteer of Yorkshire, Vol. I: West Riding*, 1822, p. cxii, cxxi, cxxvi, <http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/digital/collection/p16445coll4/id/112402/>, accessed 17 August 2021; *Pigot and co.’s national commercial directory for 1828-9, comprising a directory of the merchants, bankers, professional gentleman [&c.] in the counties of Cheshire, Cumberland [&c.]*. United Kingdom, n.p, 1828. p. 381.

Street in 1836, by which time it was known as Potters and Norris.¹⁷ Archibald Prentice in his *Historical Sketches and Personal Recollections of Manchester*, also refers to the Potters as sellers of fustians; “Shuttleworth and Taylor could sell their cotton to men who could not buy it cheaper elsewhere. In like manner, Thomas and Richard Potter could sell their fustians...”¹⁸

West Indies, India & Ireland

Thomas Potter was a member of the “Cotton and Linen Committee” of a wider Committee formed in 1774, “for the protection and encouragement of Trade” in Manchester. As a result of a petition from this Committee to the Privy Council, “the importation of Cotton Wool from the West India Islands was facilitated and increased”.¹⁹ Therefore, although the source of the Potters’ raw cotton supply is unclear, Thomas Potter’s involvement in this petition indicates that the brothers perhaps had commercial cotton interests in this region.

It is also evident from a 1848 *Glasgow Herald* article, that the Potters had cotton connections with India. According to the article, “Potter’s, of Manchester” was one of four firms that participated in a competition held by the “Agri-horticultural Society of India” in Calcutta, to determine who could produce “the best exhibited specimen of an improved Churka [Indian roller cotton gin]”.²⁰

Apart from being manufacturers and dealers in cotton goods, the Potters were also merchants and importers of Irish linen.²¹ Additionally, they were invested in the Birmingham linen trade as evidenced by their defense of a Birmingham linen draper named “Cotterell”, as his creditors.²² Thomas and Richard Potter also seemed to be associated with the firm Poole and Hadley who worked in the “trade of Linen and Woolen Drapery, Harbedashery, Mercery, & c.” in Birmingham.²³ As it pertains to Irish linen and links to slavery, “the balance of Irish exports to the colonies was largely made up of linen”.²⁴ Although Irish linen could be directly legally exported to the colonies after 1705, “the vast bulk of linen (perhaps 90 per cent) destined for North America went through England”.²⁵ By 1775, “linen reexports amounted to over 2.5 million yards per

THE CULTIVATION OF COTTON IN INDIA. (From the Daily News.)

After the attainment of this result the matter appears to have been allowed to rest for a short time. But in the course of the summer the “Agri-horticultural Society of India” at Calcutta announced that in the month of September last a prize would be awarded by them to the best exhibited specimen of an improved Churka. For this prize four competitors entered the lists, viz., Houldsworth’s machine, of Glasgow; Potter’s, of Manchester; Burn’s, of Edinburgh; and Mather’s, of Calcutta.

The experimental trial took place on the 23d Sept., in the presence of a very distinguished circle of the official scientific portion of the people of Calcutta; and, although the “THE CULTIVATION OF COTTON IN INDIA”, *Glasgow Herald*, 27 Nov. 1848. Newspaper image © The British Library Board. All rights reserved. With thanks to The British Newspaper Archive (www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk).

¹⁷ “LOCAL INTELLIGENCE”, *Manchester Times*, 1 June 1833; “Advertisements & Notices”, *Manchester Times*, 15 Mar. 1834; “Accidents and Offences”, *Hull Packet*, 31 Aug. 1838; *Pigot, James. Pigot and co.’s national commercial directory of ... Scotland, and of the isle of Man*, United Kingdom, n.p., 1837, p. 110; “The Prince of Oude”, *Sheffield Independent*, 8 Sept. 1838; “Advertisement and Notices”, *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 14 Dec. 1844; *Liverpool Mercury* - Tuesday 03 April 1860, Orme, “POTTER, THOMAS BAYLEY (1817–1898)”, *ODNB*.

¹⁸ Archibald Prentice, *Historical Sketches and Personal Recollections of Manchester: Intended to Illustrate the Progress of Public Opinion from 1792 to 1832*, C. Gilpin, 1802, p. 113.

¹⁹ *Manchester Mercury* - Tuesday 31 December 1782.

²⁰ “THE CULTIVATION OF COTTON IN INDIA”, *Glasgow Herald*, 27 Nov. 1848.

²¹ *Pigot & Dean’s New Directory of Manchester and Salford*, 1821–22, p. 128; *Pigot and co.’s national commercial directory for 1828–9*, p. 381.

²² *Bristol Mercury* - Monday 09 January 1826.

²³ *Aris’s Birmingham Gazette* - Monday 27 June 1831.

²⁴ *Volume II of the Oxford History of the British Empire The Eighteenth Century*, edited by Alaine Low, Peter James Marshall, United Kingdom, Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 256.

²⁵ Earl of Sheffield, John Holroyd, *Observations on the Commerce of the American States*, Ireland, Luke White, 1784; William Fordyce Mavor, *A General Collection of Voyages and Travels from the Discovery of America to Commencement of the Nineteenth Century*, United Kingdom, R. Phillips & Company, 1809; Francis G. James, “Irish Colonial Trade in the Eighteenth Century”, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 20, no. 4, 1963, pp. 574–584; Conrad Gill, *The Rise of the Irish Linen*

year, worth about £125,000 and thus composing the most important, if indirect, Irish trade with North America”.²⁶ The British reexport trade in Irish linens peaked in the mid-1790s but decreased in the late 1790s due to problems in the Irish industry. However, with modern advancements in steam power and other factors in the 1820s, “linen exports regained some of their former momentum.”²⁷

Irish linen was used as clothing for the enslaved people and planters in the Americas and British West Indies.²⁸ Alfred P. Wadsworth and Julia De Lacy Mann also indicate that “Scotch and Irish linen must have been printed for the Plantations” and cite a useful 1723 example where, “Liverpool men consigned tobacco, Irish linen and other goods to be sold in the West Indies and goods ‘of that country’ returned”.²⁹ Given that the Potters were engaged in foreign trade, it is likely that they re-exported Irish linen for use on plantations in the BWI and Americas.

Sir Thomas Potter

Sir Thomas Potter married firstly, Elizabeth Palmer (*d.* 1810), daughter of John Westorby Palmer, on 8 January 1808.³⁰ They had two daughters, Elizabeth Potter (1808-1870) and Anne Potter (1809-1884).³¹ One of Potter’s indirect connection to transatlantic slavery stems from his second marriage. He married Esther Bayley, daughter of Thomas Bayley and Mary Kennedy, on 24 September 1812.³² Thomas and Esther who met through their connection with the Cross Street Chapel, Manchester, had four children.³³ Esther Bayley’s grandfather, Samuel Bayley, married into the Diggles and Hibbert families. He married firstly, Esther Diggles, daughter of James Diggles in 1741 and secondly, Esther Hibbert, daughter of Robert, in 1761. (For a brief overview on the Hibberts and their links to slavery, see Taylor Report, pages 22-3).³⁴



Sir Thomas Potter by Samuel William Reynolds Jr, published 24 February 1844 NPG D40394 © National Portrait Gallery, London.

Industry, United Kingdom, Clarendon Press, 1964; Richard B. Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery: An Economic History of the British West Indies, 1623-1775*, Barbados, Canoe Press, 1994; *Volume II of the Oxford History of the British*, p. 256; Kevin Kenny, *Ireland and the British Empire*, United Kingdom, OUP Oxford, 2004, p. 65; Thomas M. Truxes, *Irish-American Trade, 1660-1783*, United Kingdom, Cambridge University Press, 2004; James Frances Godwin, *Ireland in the Empire, 1688-1770: A History of Ireland from the Williamite Wars to the Eve of the American Revolution*, N.p., Harvard University Press, 2013; Nini Rodgers, Ireland, slavery, antislavery, post-slavery and empire: an historiographical survey, *Slavery & Abolition*, vol. 37, no. 3, 2016, pp. 489-504.

²⁶ R. C. Nash, “Irish Atlantic Trade in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries”, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 42, no. 3, 1985, p. 338.

²⁷ Nash, “Irish Atlantic Trade in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” pp. 340-1.

²⁸ James Fleming, *A Collection of All the Irish and English Statutes Now in Force and Use, Relating to His Majesty's Revenue of Ireland...*, p. 169; Alfred P. Wadsworth and Julia De Lacy Mann, *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, 1600–1780*, Manchester University Press, 1965, pp. 144, 148, 226; Edith M. Ziegler, *Harlots, Hussies, and Poor Unfortunate Women: Crime, Transportation, and the Servitude of Female Convicts, 1718-1783*, United States, University of Alabama Press, 2014, p. 113.

²⁹ Wadsworth and Mann, *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, 1600–1780*, pp. 144, 226.

³⁰ “Sir Thomas Potter”, <http://www.thepeerage.com/p19265.htm#i192650>, accessed 2 April 2021.

³¹ “Elizabeth Palmer”, <http://www.thepeerage.com/p19314.htm#i193134>, accessed 2 April 2021.

³² “Sir Thomas Potter”.

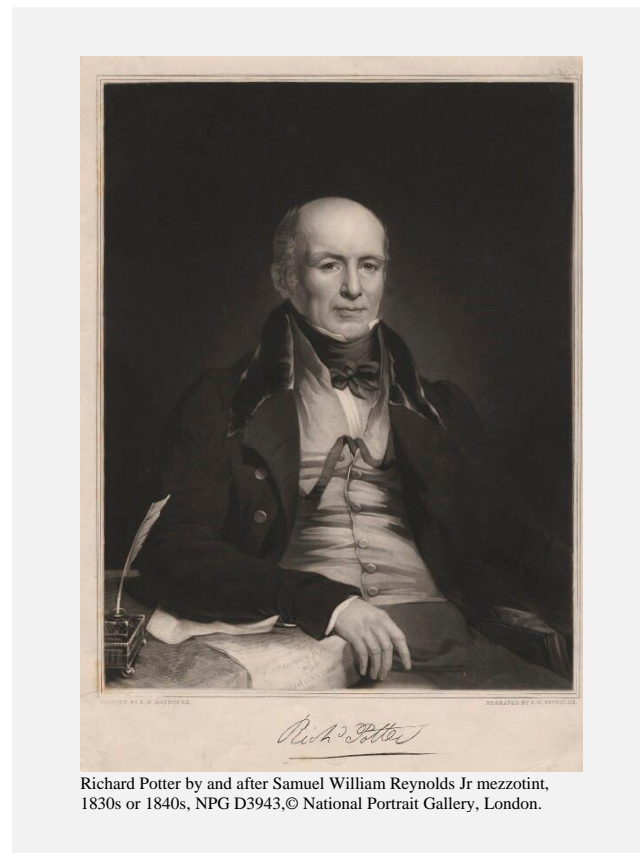
³³ Knott, *The Little Circle and Manchester Politics, 1812-46*, p. 58.

³⁴ “Samuel Bayley”, <http://www.thepeerage.com/p26987.htm#i269870>, accessed 3 April 2021.

Potter's father-in-law, Thomas Bayley, was heir-at law to his uncle John Diggles.³⁵ Eric Williams refers to the Diggles family in *Capitalism and Slavery*, stating that "Robert Diggles, African slave trader of Liverpool, was the son of a Manchester linen draper and brother of another".³⁶ Furthermore, according to Katie Donington, "the Diggles, like the Hibberts, were involved in various aspects of the slave economy and were also trustees of the Cross Street Chapel".³⁷ Therefore, Potter's in-laws, the Bayleys, constituted a family in company with the Hibberts, Touchets, Diggles, Philips, Jolleys, Heywoods and Robinsons. These were all families who were deeply "engaged in local manufactures and colonial trade, and all of them were intermarried".³⁸

Indeed, several of Thomas Potter's brothers-in-law, William Kennedy Bayley (1778-1806), Robert Riddell Bayley (1791-1852), John Diggles Bayley (1781-1848), and Samuel Bayley (1774-1854) were enslavers associated with estates in Jamaica. In 1803, William Kennedy Bayley married Isabel Russell, daughter of John Russell, an enslaver who died in Jamaica in 1806.³⁹ Robert Riddell Bayley, John Diggles Bayley, Samuel Bayley, William Kennedy Bayley junior (1805-1863) and a James Redmayne, received in 1835, £2429 18s 10d (RPW: £245,000) in compensation for 120 enslaved persons on Ashley Estate, Clarendon, Jamaica.⁴⁰ Further research is needed to determine whether Thomas Potter had a financial relationship with his in-laws.

Thomas Potter's son, Thomas Bayley Potter (1817-1898), was President of the Union and Emancipation Society, Manchester, during the US Civil War.⁴¹ The Society was formed on 31 December 1863 to spread information on the "origin and causes" of the Civil War, to support US abolitionist efforts and to "to ensure a practical neutrality on the part of England".⁴² In 1863, T.B. Potter submitted a petition on behalf of the Society, to the House of Commons on the issue of Britain's part in shipbuilding for the confederate states. The petition urged the British government to "stop the sailing of any more war ships intended for the 'so-styled' Confederate Government".⁴³



³⁵ "Samuel Bayley", *Legacies of British Slavery database*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/42187>, accessed 3 April 2021.

³⁶ Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, 1st ed., University of North Carolina Press, 1944, p. 71.

³⁷ Katie Donington, *The Bonds of Family: Slavery, Commerce and Culture in the British Atlantic World*, Manchester University Press, 2020, p. 37.

³⁸ Donington, *The Bonds of Family*, p. 32.

³⁹ "William Kennedy Bayley", <http://www.thepeerage.com/p26989.htm#i269887>, accessed 4 April 2021; "William Kennedy Bayley", *LBS*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/42186>, accessed 4 April 2021; "John Russell", *LBS*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146633624>, accessed 4 April.

⁴⁰ "Jamaica Clarendon 210A B & C (Ashley Estate)", *LBS*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/14116>, accessed 5 April 2021.

⁴¹ *The Anti-slavery Reporter*, United Kingdom, The Society, 1865, p. 9, 118; *Debrett's House of Commons and the Judicial Bench*, United Kingdom, Dean and Son, 1882, p.184.

⁴² *Liverpool Mercury* - Friday 27 March 1863.

⁴³ *Liverpool Mercury* - Friday 27 March 1863.

Richard Potter

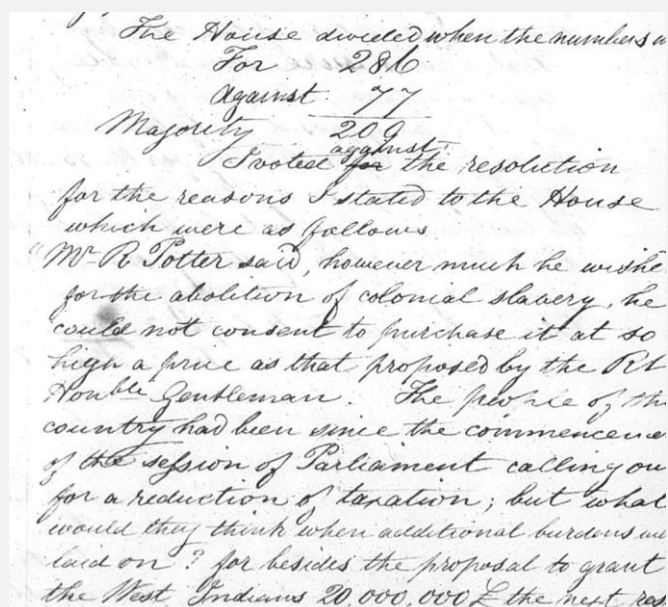
Richard Potter married Mary Seddon (1793-1874), daughter of William Seddon, on 25 September 1815.⁴⁴ They had four children who eventually became linked to influential families with varying connection to transatlantic slavery. Richard Potter's daughter, Mary Potter, married Charles Zachary Macaulay in 1841 (see below, pages 29-30).⁴⁵ On 29 April 1871, their daughter, Mary Catherine Macaulay, married the Rt. Hon. Charles Booth, son of Charles Booth and Emily Fletcher.⁴⁶ According to the Legacies of British Slave-ownership (LBS) database, the "Fletcher-Booth line was tied in to the Potter family (including Beatrice Potter, later Beatrice Webb [1858-1943])".⁴⁷ The Fletchers were connected to Joseph Brooks Yates (see below, pages 27-9) through the firm Fletcher, Yates & Co., West India and General Merchants. Interestingly, the National Archives includes a reference to the "Account of Fletcher, Yates and co. with Ashley Estate" 1807-1829, under items related to James Redmayne.⁴⁸ This is the same aforementioned estate for which Thomas Potter's in-laws received compensation. Richard Potter junior was also an influential figure invested in various infrastructural projects as President of the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada and Chairman of the Great Western Railway (1817-1892).⁴⁹ Further information on the connections of infrastructural development and the transatlantic slave economy will be discussed below in the case study of Russell Scott.

Richard Potter's Views on Slavery

Richard Potter's Parliamentary diary, 1833-1835, provides some insight to his views on the abolition of slavery, apprenticeship and compensation for slave-owners. This useful diary contains Potter's votes and occasionally his reasoning on resolutions related to "Colonial Slavery".

Apprenticeship

Regarding a 10 June 1833 resolution, on whether "all persons now slaves be entitled to be registered as apprenticed labourers, and to acquire thereby all the rights and



The House divided when the numbers a
For 286
Against 77
Majority 209
I voted against the resolution
for the reasons I stated to the House
which were as follows
"Mr. R. Potter said, however much he wished
for the abolition of colonial slavery, he
could not consent to purchase it at so
high a price as that proposed by the Rt.
Honble Gentleman. The price of the
country had been since the commencement
of the session of Parliament calling on
for a reduction of taxation; but what
would they think when additional burdens are
laid on? for besides the proposal to grant
the West Indians 20,000,000 £ the next res

Richard Potter's Parliamentary Diary, "Volume 9 Parliamentary diary, 1833-1835", GB 97
COLL MISC 0146, LSE Library, p. 55.

⁴⁴ Meinertzhagen, *From Ploughshare to Parliament*, p.55; "Richard Potter (1778-1842)", Howe, 'Potter, Thomas Bayley (1817-1898)', ODNB; "Charles Sievelyan Macaulay", <http://www.thepeerage.com/p20334.htm#c203333.1>, accessed 5 April 2021.

⁴⁵ "Charles Sievelyan Macaulay".

⁴⁶ "Mary Catherine Macaulay", <http://www.thepeerage.com/p2770.htm#i27696>, accessed 5 April 2021;

"Thomas Fletcher", LBS, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/43542>, accessed 21 August 2021.

⁴⁷ "Thomas Fletcher", LBS; "Who was Charles Booth?", <https://booth.lse.ac.uk/learn-more/who-was-charles-booth>, accessed 21 August 2021.

⁴⁸ "Thomas Fletcher", LBS; "France, Fletcher & Co.", LBS, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/firm/view/-1915911825>, accessed 21 August 2021; The National Archives, "Account of Fletcher, Yates and co. with Ashley Estate", M920 JRE/f10, <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/7ee78892-6874-4a2b-b998-cb0500662078>, accessed 21 August 2021.

⁴⁹ "Description of Potter, Richard, 1778-1833, politician".

privileges of freemen", Potter voted 'for' the resolution.⁵⁰

Another resolution on 25 July 1833 attempted to reduce the apprenticeship period from seven to two years. Potter opposed the resolution, writing, "this I thought too short and if agreed too (sic) would have prevented any part of the twenty millions from being reduced".⁵¹

Potter voted for a 11 June 1833 amendment regarding compensation, "that one half of the said grant shall not be paid until the period of apprenticeships shall be expired".⁵² He again supported this amendment on 31 July 1833, stating that this "would be a check upon the planters & ensure the complete emancipations of the slaves".⁵³ He also voted for a motion on 29 July 1833 "that no apprenticed labourer should be able to be flogged unless convicted of conspiracy & mutiny".⁵⁴

Slave Compensation & Abolition of Slavery

An 11 June 1833 amendment shows that Potter voted against a resolution to increase compensation from £15,000,000 to £20,000,000, stating that:

"...however much he wished for the abolition of colonial slavery, he could not consent to purchase it at so high a price as that proposed by the Rt Honorable Gentleman. The people of this country had been since the commencement of the session of Parliament calling out for a reduction of taxation; but what would they think when additional burdens were laid on?"⁵⁵

56
1833 June 12 Colonial Slavery con P
such expense as he may incur in
providing religious & moral education
for the Negroes". The interest of the
20,000,000 £, and the establishments
would incur an expense of considerably
upwards of 1,000,000 £ to be added to the
annual expenditure of the country.
That, he was ~~sure~~, would create great
dissatisfaction, and in his opinion
ought to be opposed. If the planters
could find proper security for the 15,000,000 £
originally proposed by the Rt Honorable Gentleman,
let them have it; if not, he would prefer
that the abolition of slavery should be
effected by an act declaring all children
born after a period to be fixed, free.
Tom's June 12

Richard Potter's Parliamentary Diary, "Volume 9 Parliamentary diary, 1833-1835", GB 97
COLL MISC 0146, LSE Library, p. 56.

Potter further stated that increasing compensation to £20,000,000 would incur an expense of over £1,000,000 to the country's annual expenditure. "That, he was sure, would create great dissatisfaction, and in his opinion ought to be opposed".⁵⁶ The following statements that quote Richard Potter on June 12, illustrates that Potter's views on the abolition of slavery, like many men in his time, was very much influenced by monetary values as opposed to humanitarianism:

"If the planters could find proper security for the £15,000,000 originally proposed by the Rt Honorable Gentleman, let them have it; if not, he would prefer that the abolition of slavery should be effected by an act declaring all children born after a period to be fixed, free" (see above image).⁵⁷

⁵⁰ GB 97 COLL MISC 0146, "Volume 9 Parliamentary diary, 1833-1835", LSE Library Archives and Special Collections, p. 53.

⁵¹ "Volume 9 Parliamentary diary, 1833-1835", p. 85.

⁵² "Volume 9 Parliamentary diary, 1833-1835", p. 54.

⁵³ "Volume 9 Parliamentary diary, 1833-1835", p. 88.

⁵⁴ "Volume 9 Parliamentary diary, 1833-1835", p. 87.

⁵⁵ "Volume 9 Parliamentary diary, 1833-1835", p. 55.

⁵⁶ "Volume 9 Parliamentary diary, 1833-1835", p. 56.

⁵⁷ "Volume 9 Parliamentary diary, 1833-1835", p. 56.

Edward Baxter

Edward Baxter (1779-1856)

Slavery Link: Yes

Link Type: Indirect

Nature of Link: Cotton merchant, cotton manufacturer, calico printer, muslin manufacturer, Funder and director of Bank of Manchester.

Involvement in the Cotton Industry

Edward Baxter was a wealthy Unitarian cotton merchant and cotton manufacturer in Manchester.⁵⁸ He was in partnership with William Croft and John Robinson, of Manchester, under the firm “Baxter, Croft and Company”. This partnership was dissolved on 3 January 1810.⁵⁹ Baxter and Croft warehouse, located at 35 Cannon Street, Manchester and “was rated at £120 in 1815, ranking 30th in rateable value among the 110 warehouse firms participating in the opposition to the proposed export duty on cotton goods”.⁶⁰ Baxter also seemingly possessed a manufacturing house on 45 Mosley Street.⁶¹ Baxter was also in partnership with Archibald Prentice⁶² and is listed as Baxter and Prentice, “Manufacturers of and Dealers in Cotton Goods” in the 1822 *History, Directory & Gazetteer, of the County of York*.⁶³ Baxter is also listed under the firm “Baxter Edw. and Co.” as “Manufacturers of, and Dealers in Cotton Goods”.⁶⁴ The firm Edward Baxter and Co. consisted of Prentice and Baxter. This partnership was dissolved in March 1824.⁶⁵ Prentice provides further details on Baxter’s cotton commerce in his *Historical*

Notice is hereby given, that the Copartnership Trade and Business heretofore carried on by Edward Baxter, William Croft, and John Robinson, all of Manchester, in the County of Lancaster, Manufacturers, under the Firm of Baxter, Croft, and Company, expired upon the 24th Day of December last. All Debts due or owing by or to the said late Copartnership Trade will be received and paid by the said Edward Baxter and William Croft.—Dated this 3d Day of January 1810.

Edwd. Baxter.
Wm. Croft.
John Robinson.

The London Gazette, 6 January 1810, p. 47

Notice is hereby given, that the Partnership subsisting between us the undersigned, at Manchester, under the firm of Edward Baxter and Co. was dissolved by mutual consent on the 1st day of January 1824; and all accounts connected with the same are settled, received and paid by the said Edward Baxter: As witness our hands this 16th day of March 1824.

Edward Baxter.
Archibald Prentice.

The London Gazette, 30 March 1824, p.52.

⁵⁸ Donald Read, *Peterloo The 'Massacre' and its Background*, Manchester University Press, 1973, p. 57; Michael J. Turner, *Reform and Respectability: The Making of a Middle-class Liberalism in Early Nineteenth-century Manchester*, United Kingdom, Chetham Society, 1995, p. 22.

⁵⁹ *The London Gazette*, 6 January 1810, p. 47.

⁶⁰ Michael J. Turner, *The Making of a Middle Class Liberalism on Manchester, c.1815-32: A Study in Politics and the Press*, PhD Thesis, University of Oxford, 1991, p. 22; Lloyd-Jones & Lewis, 219-21.

⁶¹ Prentice, *Historical Sketches and Personal Recollections of Manchester*, p. 159; Pigot & Dean's *New Directory of Manchester and Salford*, 1821-22, p. 12.

⁶² Once a close friend of John Edward Taylor, Prentice was seen as an alternative to Taylor by discontent founders of the Manchester Guardian, Potters and Baxter. In 1824, Prentice bought the Cowdroy's Gazette, David Ayerst, *Guardian: Biography of a Newspaper*, Collins, 1971, p. 53-4.

⁶³ *History, Directory & Gazetteer of Yorkshire, Vol. I: West Riding, 1822*, p. cxix, <http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/digital/collection/p16445coll4/id/139885>, accessed 17 August 2021.

⁶⁴ Pigot & Dean's *New Directory of Manchester and Salford*, 1821-22, p. 12, 251; *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* - Saturday 15 April 1826.

⁶⁵ *The London Gazette*, 30 March 1824, p. 52.

Sketches and Personal Recollections of Manchester, by commending his skills in selling “ginghams and shirtings”.⁶⁶ Baxter was also listed under the trades “calico printers & print warehouses” and “manufacturers of muslin, & c.”.⁶⁷ Interestingly, in addition to being involved in the cotton industry, Edward Baxter also owned a Scotch warehouse. As it was also registered at 35 Cannon-street, this Scotch whisky warehouse was likely part of the same warehouse used to store Baxter’s cotton goods.⁶⁸ Baxter retired from business around 1834.⁶⁹

Social, Political & Economic Affairs

Baxter was increasingly involved in Manchester’s social, economic and politic affairs. He was one of “the founders and directors of the new Manchester Savings Bank established in December 1828.”⁷⁰ Eric Williams examined the Liverpool and Manchester banking sector in *Capitalism and Slavery*, stating that “many of the eighteenth century banks established in Liverpool and Manchester, the slaving metropolis and the cotton capital respectively, were directly associated with the triangular trade”.⁷¹ Manchester merchants who were directly and indirectly connected to transatlantic slavery, such as Baxter, often invested in the banking sector.⁷² Williams further explains that this movement from merchant to banker was not uncommon; “typical of the eighteenth century banker is the transition from tradesman to merchant and then the further progression from merchant to banker”. The establishing of joint stock banks in Manchester in the 1820s further boosted the


260

COMME

Scotch Warehouses.

Amies and Robinson, 4 Church-street
Amies and Thorley, 2 Bridgewater-buildings
Barr J. and J. 19 Cannon-st. and Glasgow
Baxter Edw. and Co. 35 Cannon-st.
Blackburn George, 22 High-street

Pigot & Dean's New Directory of Manchester and Salford, 1821-22, p. 260.



BANK OF MANCHESTER.

CAPITAL, TWO MILLIONS STERLING.

DIRECTORS.

JOHN BARLOW, Esq.	J. H. HERON, Esq.
JOHN BROWN, Esq.	ALEXR. HENRY, Esq.
JAMES BURT, Esq.	JAS. OUGHTON, Esq.
EDWD. BAXTER, Esq.	THOS. POTTER, Esq.
EML. CANTRELL, Esq.	SAMUEL SMITH, Esq.
J. C. DYER, Esq.	JOHN SMITH, Esq.

Solicitor.—Mr. ALEXANDER KAY.

AT a GENERAL MEETING of the SHAREHOLDERS, held on the first day of December, 1828, at the Manor Court Room, in Brown-street :

JAMES OUGHTON, Esq. in the Chair ;

The Solicitor having read the Report of the provisional committee, v.z.

TO THE SHAREHOLDERS OF THE “ BANK OF MANCHESTER ;”

Manchester Times - Friday 05 December 1828. Newspaper image © The British Library Board. All rights reserved. With thanks to The British Newspaper Archive (www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk).

⁶⁶ Prentice, *Historical Sketches and Personal Recollections of Manchester*, p. 113.

⁶⁷ Baines and Parson, *History, Directory, and Gazetteer, of the County Palatine of Lancaster*, p. 166; Pigot and Co., *National Commercial Directory for 1828-9; comprising ... Cheshire, Cumberland, Derbyshire, Durham, Lancashire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Northumberland, Nottinghamshire, Rutlandshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Westmoreland, Worcestershire, Yorkshire ... North Wales ... [Part 1: Ches - Northumb]*, p. 346, 371, 386 <http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/digital/collection/p16445coll4/id/218261/>, accessed 17 August 2021.

⁶⁸ *Pigot & Dean's New Directory of Manchester and Salford, 1821-22*, p. 12, 260; Baines and Parson, *History, Directory, and Gazetteer, of the County Palatine of Lancaster*, p. 166.

⁶⁹ Frederic Boase, *Modern English Biography: A-H*, United Kingdom, Netherton and Worth, 1892, p. 197.

⁷⁰ *Manchester Times* - Friday 05 December 1828; Michael J. Turner, “Before the Manchester School: Economic Theory in Early Nineteenth-Century Manchester”, *History*, vol. 79, no. 256, 1994, p. 226.

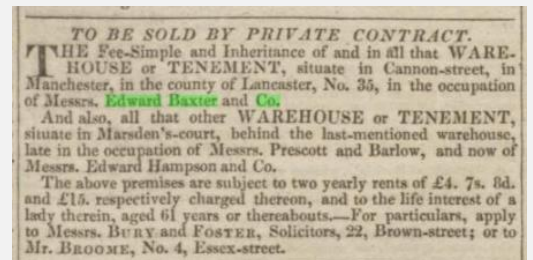
⁷¹ Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, p. 98-9.

⁷² Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, p. 99; R. B. Sheridan, “The Commercial and Financial Organization of the British Slave Trade, 1750-1807”, *The Economic History Review*, vol. 11, no. 2, 1958, pp. 249-263; N. Draper, “The City of London and Slavery: Evidence from the First Dock Companies, 1795-1800”, *The Economic History Review*, vol. 61, no. 2, 2008, pp. 432-466; Jasper Jolly, “Barclays, HSBC and Lloyds among UK banks that had links to slavery”, *The Guardian*, <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2020/jun/18/barclays-hsbc-and-lloyds-among-uk-banks-that-had-links-to-slavery>, accessed 17 August 2021; James Walvin, “Slavery and the Building of Britain”, BBC, http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/abolition/building_britain_gallery_02.shtml, accessed 17 August 2021; Revealing Histories Remembering Slavery, “Manchester & Salford Bank, Mosley Street, Manchester”, <http://revealinghistories.org.uk/how-did-money-from-slavery-help-develop-greater-manchester/places/manchester-salford-bank-mosley-street-manchester.html>, accessed 17 August 2021.

city's status as a financial epicentre.⁷³ Baxter's direct connection to the Bank of Manchester, the first joint stock bank in Manchester,⁷⁴ is therefore another illustration of his indirect connections to transatlantic slavery.

Baxter, along with Taylor and Shuttleworth, were also members of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce in the 1820s, 1830s and 1840s.⁷⁵ In 1815, these men as well as the Potters, joined Manchester merchants in campaigns "against a proposed tax on the rents and windows of factories and commercial premises and against the introduction of new duties on cotton wool imports".⁷⁶ Baxter was very successful in his economic pursuits and according to Michael Turner, he "achieved the same kind of wealth and status as the Potters".⁷⁷ This wealth and status ensured that he held a 'respectable' place in Manchester's elite society. This is evidenced by the fact that he was "offered the first seat in parliament for the new borough of Manchester".⁷⁸ He declined this offer and instead nominated Mark Philips (see Taylor Report, pages 25-6).

Unlike many of Taylor's associates who frequented the Cross Street Chapel in Manchester (see Taylor Report, page 27), Baxter worshipped at the Mosley Street Chapel.⁷⁹ He was also considered to be "a generous subscriber to relief funds and other worthy causes" and used some of his wealth to purchase a "a large collection of artwork which he offered for sale by public auction in 1829".⁸⁰



Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser - Saturday 15 April 1826.

⁷³ Revealing Histories Remembering Slavery, "Bank of England, King Street, Manchester", <http://revealinghistories.org.uk/how-did-money-from-slavery-help-develop-greater-manchester/places/bank-of-england-king-street-manchester.html>, accessed 17 August 2021.

⁷⁴ NatWest Group, "Bank of Manchester Ltd", <https://www.natwestgroup.com/heritage/companies/bank-of-manchester-ltd.html>, accessed 17 August 2021.

⁷⁵ Turner, "Before the Manchester School, p. 239.

⁷⁶ Turner, "Before the Manchester School, p. 220.

⁷⁷ Turner, *The Making of a Middle Class Liberalism on Manchester, c.1815-32*, p. 23.

⁷⁸ *Manchester Times* - Saturday 26 July 1856; Boase, *Modern English Biography: A-H*, p. 197.

⁷⁹ Knott, *The Little Circle and Manchester Politics, 1812-46*, p. 51.

⁸⁰ Turner, *The Making of a Middle Class Liberalism on Manchester, c.1815-32*, p. 23.

Thomas Bromiley William Sanderson

Thomas Bromiley William Sanderson (d. 1854)

Slavery Link: Yes

Link Type: Indirect

Nature of Link: Cotton spinner, cotton manufacturer, worsted spinner and dealer, merchant and manufacturer.

Thomas Bromiley William Sanderson (d. 1854) was “descended from an ancient Puritan family of some consideration” in the county of Lancashire.⁸¹ He was part of a firm named Sanderson T.B.W. & Co. located on Sussex Street in Manchester. Online trade directories classify the firm as cotton spinners, cotton manufacturers, worsted spinners and dealers, merchants and manufacturers of and dealers in cotton goods.⁸² He was also in partnership with Richard Hatton Rothwell of Manchester as a cotton manufacturer, which ended in bankruptcy in May 1824.⁸³ Sanderson himself is listed as a merchant whose residence was in Bolton-road, Chowbent.

T.B.W. Sanderson provided witness testimony in *The King v Hunt and others*, following the Peterloo Massacre. Sanderson & Co is referenced in this case as well as Sanderson’s ordinary business habits. It was stated that “his private residence was twelve miles distant from the town [and] he generally came into Manchester once or twice a week in his own carriage”.⁸⁴

Sanderson’s interest in the import export business is depicted in his subscription to *The Merchant, Ship-Owner, and Ship-Master's Custom and Excise Guide*, of which Taylor was also a subscriber.⁸⁵

Thomas Sanderson was a well-connected and elite member of Manchester society. His daughter Mary Jane, married cotton merchant and mayor of Manchester for the years 1843 to 1845, Alexander Kay (1791-1863), on 8 December 1831.⁸⁶ Sanderson was also a donor to the Manchester Institution and a magistrate for the county of Lancaster.⁸⁷

YORK ASSIZES, MARCH 24.
EIGHTH DAY.—(BY EXPRESS.)
THE KING V. HUNT AND OTHERS.
Thomas William Sanderson said, he was a merchant in the firm of Sanderson and Co. at Manchester. Their house of business was at Manchester, but his private residence was twelve miles distant from the town. He generally came into Manchester once or twice a week in his own carriage. He was there on the 16th August, and saw the meeting assembled. He transacted his ordinary business during the whole of the day.—He went to St. Peter's-field about twelve o'clock—he went there out of curiosity, and most certainly not as a Radical Reformer. He went to get an affidavit which it was necessary should be sworn before a Magistrate. For that purpose he went to Mr. Buxton's house. He saw nobody that day in apparent alarm, in consequence of that meeting, until its dispersion took place by the military.

Morning Chronicle, “York Assizes, March 24”, 27 Mar. 1820.

⁸¹ *Leigh Chronicle and Weekly District Advertiser* - Saturday 23 June 1860.

⁸² Prentice, *Historical Sketches and Personal Recollections of Manchester*, p. 189; *Morning Chronicle*, “York Assizes, March 24”, 27 Mar. 1820; *Star (London)* - Monday 27 March 1820; Pigot & Dean's *New Directory of Manchester and Salford*, 1821-22, p. 140, 244, 267, 307; Baines and Parson, *History, Directory, and Gazetteer, of the County Palatine of Lancaster*, p. 310, 348; *The Commercial Directory for 1818-19-20 ...: With a List of the London, Country & Irish Bankers*, United Kingdom, J. Pigot, 1818, p. 317; Pigot & Co.'s *new commercial directory of Scotland for 1825-6... together with the most extensive directory of London*, p. 203.

⁸³ *The Law Advertiser*, United Kingdom, W.J. Paget, 1824, p. 165.

⁸⁴ *Morning Chronicle*, “YORK ASSIZES, MARCH 24”; *Star (London)* - Monday 27 March 1820.

⁸⁵ Charles Pope, *The Merchant, Ship-Owner, and Ship-Master's Custom and Excise Guide*, Eighth edition, United Kingdom, 1831, p. xlvii.

⁸⁶ Joseph Thompson, *The Owens College, Its Foundation and Growth: And Its Connection with the Victoria University*, Manchester, United Kingdom, J. E. Cornish, 1886, p. 85; *The Annals of Manchester*, p. xii, 290.

⁸⁷ *Manchester Guardian* - Saturday 21 February 1824; *Leigh Chronicle and Weekly District Advertiser* - Saturday 23 June 1860; *Sun (London)* - Monday 31 December 1838; Thompson, *The Owens College*, p. 85.

William Duckworth

William Duckworth (1795-1876)

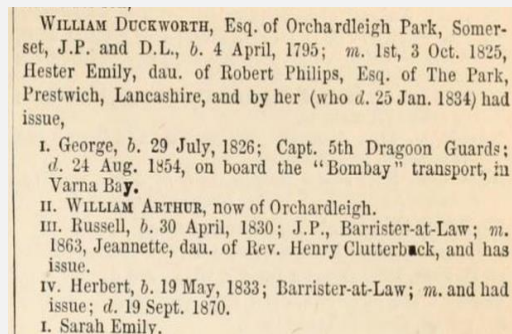
Slavery Link: Yes

Link Type: Indirect

Nature of Link: related to Philips family through marriage, property holdings in Lancashire, Orchardleigh estate and in support of “meliorating the condition of the slave population of the colonies”.

William Duckworth was a Unitarian attorney and the son-in-law of Robert Philips, another Funder of the *Manchester Guardian* and Taylor’s business partner in Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. (see case study on the Philips family, Taylor Report, pages 22-3).⁸⁸ Duckworth was the son of George Duckworth, Esq. who “was of the family of Duckworth of Musbury, in Rossendale Forest”.⁸⁹ On 3 October 1825, Duckworth married firstly, Hester-Emily (*d.* 1834), daughter of Robert Philips and they had five children.⁹⁰ He then married Margaret Elizabeth, daughter of “Samuel Yate Benyon, Esq., K.C., and Vice-Chancellor of the country palatine of Lancaster”.⁹¹

Apart from being an attorney, Duckworth increased his wealth by inheriting property from his family. The Duckworths had “for several centuries held lands in Lancashire”.⁹² The ‘Duckworth or Orchardleigh Manuscripts’ housed at the Somerset Heritage Centre, demonstrate that William Duckworth owned multiple properties in Lancashire, including the Manor of Over Darwen



WILLIAM DUCKWORTH, Esq. of Orchardleigh Park, Somerset, J.P. and D.L., *b.* 4 April, 1795; *m.* 1st, 3 Oct. 1825, Hester Emily, dau. of Robert Philips, Esq. of The Park, Prestwich, Lancashire, and by her (who *d.* 25 Jan. 1834) had issue,

- i. George, *b.* 29 July, 1826; Capt. 5th Dragoon Guards; *d.* 24 Aug. 1854, on board the “Bombay” transport, in Varna Bay.
- ii. WILLIAM ARTHUR, now of Orchardleigh.
- iii. Russell, *b.* 30 April, 1830; J.P., Barrister-at-Law; *m.* 1863, Jeannette, dau. of Rev. Henry Clutterbuck, and has issue.
- iv. Herbert, *b.* 19 May, 1833; Barrister-at-Law; *m.* and had issue; *d.* 19 Sept. 1870.
- i. Sarah Emily.

William Duckworth Esq. A genealogical and heraldic history of the landed gentry of Great Britain & Ireland by Burke, Bernard, Sir, 1814-1892, p. 485.

⁸⁸ Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland*, United Kingdom, Harrison, 1862, p.397; Read, *Peterloo The ‘Massacre’ and its Background*, p. 81; W. A. Abram, “Parish of Blackburn, county of Lancaster. A history of Blackburn, town and parish online”, <https://www.ebooksread.com/authors-eng/w-a-william-alexander-abram/parish-of-blackburn-county-of-lancaster-a-history-of-blackburn-town-and-paris-hci/page-65-parish-of-blackburn-county-of-lancaster-a-history-of-blackburn-town-and-paris-hci.shtml>, accessed 19 August 2021; “William Duckworth Esq.”, <https://www.geni.com/people/William-Duckworth-Esq/6000000010355758469>, accessed 19 August 2021.

⁸⁹ W. A. Abram, “Parish of Blackburn, county of Lancaster”.

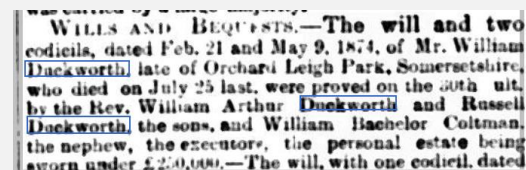
⁹⁰ Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland*, p.397; Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain & Ireland*, United Kingdom, Harrison, 1871, p. 1088; Somerset Archive Catalogue, “Hester Duckworth née Philips (*d.* 1834). 1828-1832”, <https://somerset-cat.swheritage.org.uk/records/DD/DU/175>, accessed 19 August 2021; Somerset Archive Catalogue, “Phillips family. 1842-1875”, <https://somerset-cat.swheritage.org.uk/records/DD/DU/168>, accessed 19 August 2021; W. A. Abram, “Parish of Blackburn, county of Lancaster”; “William Duckworth Esq.”, https://www.geni.com/photo/view/6000000010355758469?album_type=photos_of_me&photo_id=6000000061290366852, accessed 19 August 2021.

⁹¹ Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland*, p.397; The *Publications of the Harleian Society*, United Kingdom, The Society, 1894, p. 414; W. A. Abram, “Parish of Blackburn, county of Lancaster”.

⁹² Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 397; Somerset Archive Catalogue, “Duckworth Of Orchardleigh, Deeds, Etc. 17th; cent - 20th; cent”, <https://somerset-cat.swheritage.org.uk/records/DD/DU>, accessed 19 August 2021.

which passed to him in 1847,⁹³ “copy hold admissions” regarding the Manor of Accrington,⁹⁴ the Trough estate inherited by George Duckworth through his aunt Jane Pilkington,⁹⁵ and several Chorlton Row properties.⁹⁶ His properties in Chorlton Row, 1793-1853, are considered to be “extremely useful in documenting the development of that part of Manchester”.⁹⁷ Duckworth also owned Bradford Street Mill in 1826 where the sale of a cotton mill was recorded on this site in 1838.⁹⁸ Trust deeds for the years 1826 to 1854 relating to “Chorlton and Pendlebury lands” were also registered to Duckworth and “Needham”.⁹⁹ This Needham was possibly Robert Needham Philips, the son of Robert Philips (see below, page 29). Given the investment of Lancashire in the cotton industry (see Historical Context, Taylor Report, pages 6-8) Duckworth would have directly benefitted from the cotton trade through his family’s multiple real estate holdings. Additionally, it is possible that given his familial relationship with the Philips, Duckworth may have conducted related business in his capacity as an attorney for this family.

Duckworth was also depicted as “Esq. of Pendleton, Manchester”.¹⁰⁰ A partnership subsisting of a Matthew Brown, “James Duckworth (executors of last will and testament of William Duckworth, deceased)” Robert Duckworth and Thomas Duckworth all of Pendleton as “Manufacturing Chemists and Soap Boilers, under the style or firm of William Duckworth and Company” is listed in the London Gazette in 1876.¹⁰¹ Given the location of the firm, the year of the partnership dissolution and mention of the death of a William Duckworth in 1876, this is likely the same Duckworth in question.¹⁰² At the time of his death,



Daily Telegraph & Courier (London) - Friday 15 September 1876.
Newspaper image © The British Library Board. All rights reserved. With thanks to The British Newspaper Archive (www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk).

⁹³ *A History of the County of Lancaster: Volume 6*, ed. William Farrer and J Brownbill, London, 1911, *British History Online*, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/lancs/vol6/pp269-275>, accessed 20 August 2021; National Archives, “Over Darwen Manor”, <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/c/F244050>, accessed 19 August 2021; Somerset Archive Catalogue, “Over Darwen [Lancashire], 1817”, <https://somerset-cat.swheritage.org.uk/records/DD/DU/90>, accessed 19 August 2021.

⁹⁴ National Archives, “Manor Of Accrington, Lancashire”, <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/05412d2b-c5e8-40f1-ab22-b7a41ffc70c>, accessed 19 August 2021; Somerset Archive Catalogue, “Musberry [Lancashire]. 1538-1886”, <https://somerset-cat.swheritage.org.uk/records/DD/DU/88>, accessed 18 August 2021.

⁹⁵ Somerset Archive Catalogue, “Trough [Lancashire], etc. 1605-1864”, <https://somerset-cat.swheritage.org.uk/records/DD/DU/89>, accessed 14 July 2021.

⁹⁶ Somerset Archive Catalogue, “Title deeds to Chorlton Row plots. With abstract of title reciting from 1722 and plans on 1793 deeds”, DD/DU/103- DD/DU/115, <https://somerset-cat.swheritage.org.uk/records/DD/DU>, accessed 18 August 2021.

⁹⁷ Somerset Archive Catalogue, “Title deeds to Chorlton Row plots. With abstract of title reciting from 1722 and plans on 1793 deeds”.

⁹⁸ Somerset Archive Catalogue, “Manchester [Lancashire]. [1695]-1873”, <https://somerset-cat.swheritage.org.uk/records/DD/DU/116>, accessed 15 July 2021.

⁹⁹ Somerset Archive Catalogue, “Manchester [Lancashire]. 1826-1854”, <https://somerset-cat.swheritage.org.uk/records/DD/DU/99>, accessed 15 July 2021.

¹⁰⁰ Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain & Ireland*, p. 1088.

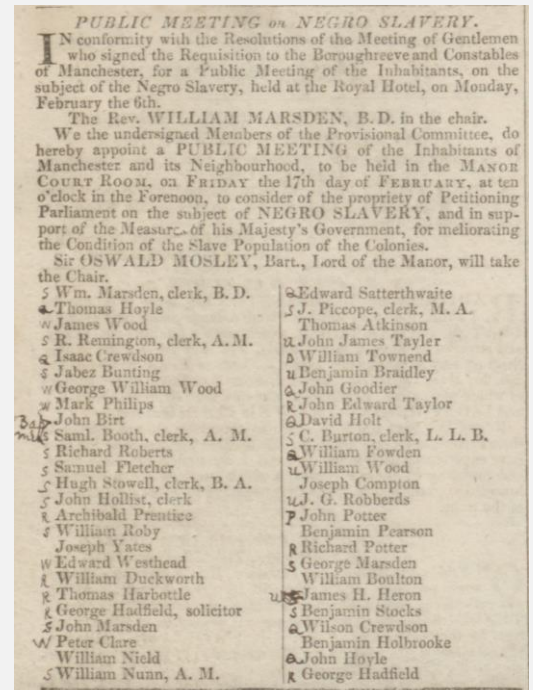
¹⁰¹ *The London Gazette*, 8 February 1876, p. 554.

¹⁰² Another partnership consisting of a John Crawshaw, Robert Duckworth, William Duckworth and Thomas Duckworth as “Manufacturing Chemists, at Pendleton” was dissolved in 1860, with the business to continue in the name of the said Duckworths as W., R., and T., Duckworth. A William Duckworth of Manchester (perhaps the son of Duckworth, William Arthur Duckworth) is listed in the US Commissioner of Patents for the year 1895, in reference to a “preparation used in making beverages and aerated drinks”. Further research is needed to verify if the William Duckworth associated with these firms is the same Duckworth in question. This is a relevant line of enquiry as the reference of a William Duckworth in US records points to the likelihood of trade with the US in the 1800s. *The London Gazette*, 12 October 1860, p. 3700; *The London Gazette*, 26 March 1858, p. 1598; *Index of Patents Issued from the United States Patent Office*, United States, U.S. Government Printing Office, p. 824; *Official Gazette of the United States Patent Office*, United States, U.S. Patent Office, 1895. p. 1765.

recorded on 25 July 1876, his personal estate was worth £250,000 (RPW: £24,000,000).¹⁰³

William Duckworth was first of Beechwood Forest, co. Hants and later Orchardleigh estate, Somerset. This estate has indirect connections to slavery, having been owned by the Champneys for centuries.¹⁰⁴ Sir Thomas Champneys (1745 – 1821) was an enslaver who owned two plantations in Jamaica; Mount Alto Plantation and Nutt's River Plantation.¹⁰⁵ In 1761, the crops registered to the Mount Alto Plantation were sugar and rum, while the crops associated with Nutt's River in 1741 were “sugar, rum and molasses”.¹⁰⁶ Mismanagement led to the Champneys loss of their family fortune and in 1856, they sold their Orchardleigh estate to Duckworth.¹⁰⁷ Orchardleigh house was built by Duckworth in 1856.¹⁰⁸

A notice in the *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* titled “public meeting on negro slavery” is illustrative of Duckworth’s view on slavery. He along with John Edward Taylor and George William Wood (see Taylor Report, pages 24-7) supported the calling of a public meeting in Manchester “to consider of the propriety of Petitioning Parliament on the subject of NEGRO SLAVERY, and in support of the Measure of his Majesty’s Government, for meliorating the Condition of the Slave Population of the Colonies”.¹⁰⁹ Interestingly, this 1826 notice dealt with improving the conditions of the enslaved population as opposed to the abolition of slavery.



Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser, “Advertisement and Notices”, 11 Feb. 1826.

¹⁰³ *Daily Telegraph & Courier (London)* - Friday 15 September 1876; *Alcester Chronicle* - Saturday 23 September 1876; *Bury and Norwich Post* - Tuesday 19 September 1876.

¹⁰⁴ Mary Wills and Madge Dresser, *The Transatlantic Slave Economy and England's Built Environment: A Research Audit*, Portsmouth: Historic England, 2020, p. 78-9; “Sir Thomas Champneys”, *LBS*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146648603>, accessed 21 August 2021; “Sir Thomas Swymmer Champneys later Mostyn-Champneys”, *LBS*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146648607>, accessed 15 August 2021.

¹⁰⁵ “Sir Thomas Champneys”, *LBS*.

¹⁰⁶ “Mount Alta [Jamaica | St Thomas-in-the-East, Surrey]”, *LBS*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/17383>, accessed 15 August 2021; “Nutt's River [Jamaica | St Thomas-in-the-East, Surrey]”, *LBS*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/1986>, accessed 21st August 2021.

¹⁰⁷ Wills and Dresser, *The Transatlantic Slave Economy and England's Built Environment: A Research Audit*, p. 79.

¹⁰⁸ “Orchardleigh Estate”, <https://www.orchardleigh.net/about/history>, accessed 20 July 2021.

¹⁰⁹ *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, “Advertisement and Notices”, 11 Feb. 1826.

Samuel Pullein

Slavery Link: Yes

Link Type: Indirect

Nature of Link: Calico printer and Director of Manchester Fire and Life Assurance Company.

Samuel Pullein was listed under the heading calico printers and print warehouses in online trade directories.¹¹⁰ He is also listed as a stock and exchange broker at Old Broad-street.¹¹¹ Pullein was likely and elite and influential member of the mercantile Manchester community in the 1800s. He was a director and trustee of the Manchester Fire and Life Assurance Company (MFLAC) for many years.¹¹² According to Robin Pearson, “nineteen cotton merchants and manufacturers, three calico printers, a grocer, and a banker composed the original MFLAC directors in 1824”.¹¹³ The directors and trustees of MFLAC were engaged in cotton mercantile interests with “fifteen of the first thirty- eight directors” rated as “the wealthiest 8 percent” of Manchester’s mercantile community. The wealthy, George Richard Philips, son of George Philips, who had shares in the massive Philips & Lee firm, (see Taylor Report, pages 21-2) was a trustee of MFLAC. George William Wood was also a director of the company.

Insurance companies such as MFLAC became high in demand as exports in cotton goods rose. This led to an increase in distribution facilities, such as warehouses and mills, requesting insurance to protect their interests. As part of the highest echelons in MFLAC, Pullein would have likely utilised his first-hand expertise in “cotton risk” to boost business and been in regular contact with Liverpool and Manchester brokers as well as selling agents in Liverpool, Manchester, Nottingham, Belfast and Glasgow.¹¹⁴

Pullein would have also benefitted financially from his role as director in MFLAC, gaining further connections invested in the cotton industry in various places across Britain. Proprietors of MFLAC consisted of cotton brokers and merchants in Glasgow and Liverpool as well as hosiery and lace manufacturers in Leicester and Nottingham.¹¹⁵ Within nine months of forming, “MFLAC was advertising more local agents than any of its rivals”.¹¹⁶ At the time of its establishment in 1824, it advertised its capital as “one million sterling”.¹¹⁷



¹¹⁰ *The Commercial Directory for 1818-19-20 ...: With a List of the London, Country & Irish Bankers* United Kingdom, J. Pigot, 1818, p. 303; *Pigot & Dean's New Directory of Manchester and Salford*, 1821-22, p. 130, 241; Read, *Peterloo The 'Massacre' and its Background*, p. 81.

¹¹¹ “From the LONDON GAZETTE of Saturday, Jan. 10” *Morning Chronicle* [1801], 12 Jan. 1824.

¹¹² *Newry Telegraph* - Thursday 26 June 1845; *Staffordshire Advertiser* - Saturday 03 July 1852.

¹¹³ Robin Pearson, “Collective Diversification : Manchester Cotton Merchants and the Insurance Business in the Early Nineteenth Century”, *The Business History Review*, vol. 65, no. 2, 1991, p. 384.

¹¹⁴ Pearson, “Collective Diversification”, pp. 399-404.

¹¹⁵ Pearson, “Collective Diversification”, p. 403.

¹¹⁶ Pearson, “Collective Diversification”, p. 404.

¹¹⁷ *Staffordshire Advertiser* - Saturday 03 July 1852; Pearson, “Collective Diversification”, p. 404.

TAYLOR'S FAMILY & THEIR LINKS TO SLAVERY

The following case studies depict two branches of John Edward Taylor's family tree and their links to transatlantic slavery; the Scott family through Russell Scott and the Jevons family.

Russell Scott

Russell Scott (1801-1880)

Slavery Link: Yes

Link Type: Indirect

Nature of Link: Coal merchant, Railway Investments and Director of Varteg Iron works.

The case study of Russell Scott is important as he was connected to both Taylor and the *Manchester Guardian*. Russell Scott was the son of Rev. Russell Scott of Portsmouth. Mary Scott, who married Taylor's father, John Taylor in 1788, was the sister of Rev. Scott.¹¹⁸ Furthermore, Russell Scott's sister, Sophia Russell Scott (*d.* 1832), was the first wife of John Edward Taylor (see Taylor Report, page 15). Apart from Scott being Taylor's brother-in-law and his cousin, Scott's connection to slavery is important as there was also a transfer of money between the two men. Scott's links are also relevant to the *Manchester Guardian* as he was the father of the longest-serving editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, C.P. Scott.¹¹⁹

John Scott (1721-74), the maternal grandfather of John Edward Taylor, was a linen-weaver who owned a small linen factory at Milborne Port.¹²⁰ At the age of twenty-nine, he married "Mary Russell of Bradford Abbas, near Sherborne Dorset, in 1750". It was Mary "who brought the name 'Russell' into the family" and it is said that the Russells of Bradford Abbas were linked to the Dukes of Bedford.¹²¹ John Scott's son, Rev. Russell Scott (1760-1834), was the father of Russell Scott and Taylor's uncle. On 4 May 1790, he married

April 29, at Broughton, near Manchester, in the 39th year of her age, Sophia Russell, wife of Mr. J. E. Taylor, and only daughter of the Rev. Russell Scott, of Portsmouth.

Saint James's Chronicle - Tuesday 08 May 1832.

April 24, at Portsmouth, aged 67, Sophia, wife of the Rev. Russell Scott, of that place, and eldest daughter of the late Dr. Hawes, one of the founders of the Royal Humane Society.

Baldwin's London Weekly Journal - Saturday 03 May 1828.

¹¹⁸ *Baldwin's London Weekly Journal* - Saturday 03 May 1828. "Nonconformist & Dissenting Women Writers, 1650-1850", <https://sites.google.com/a/georgiasouthern.edu/nonconformist-women-writers-1650-1850/nonconformist-women-writers-biographical-notice/scott-mary>, accessed 12 May 2021.

¹¹⁹ "The Guardian honours its Manchester roots as it turns 200 with a commemorative plaque at the site of its former offices on Cross Street", *The Guardian*, <https://www.theguardian.com/gnm-press-office/2021/may/11/the-guardian-honours-its-manchester-roots-as-it-turns-200-with-a-commemorative-plaque-at-the-site-of-its-former-offices-on-cross-street>, accessed 12 May 2021.

¹²⁰ Isabella Scott and Catherine Scott, *A Family Biography, 1662 to 1908: Drawn Chiefly from Old Letters*, United Kingdom, J. Nisbet, 1908, p. 32; Timothy Whelan, *Other British Voices: Women, Poetry, and Religion, 1766-1840*, United Kingdom, Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

¹²¹ I. Scott and C. Scott, *A Family Biography, 1662 to 1908*, p. 33, 34.

Sophia Hawes (b. 1761), the daughter of Dr William Hawes, who founded the Royal Humane Society in 1774.¹²² Dr Hawes' brother-in-law was William Fox, a Quaker and abolitionist, whose famous works included *An Address to the People of Great Britain, on the Propriety of Refraining from the Use of West India Sugar and Rum*.¹²³

Prestwich & Wine Business

Russell Scott married Isabella Prestwich, "eldest daughter of Joseph Prestwich, Esq., of the Lawn, South Lambeth" on 12 September 1832.¹²⁴ Joseph Prestwich and his son, were "wine and spirit merchants" in Mark Lane, London, operating under the firm "Josh. Prestiwhch and Son". The partnership dissolved in 1844. It is unclear whether the Prestwich family exported their wine and spirits to the colonies, however it appears that the firm also operated in Epernay, France until 1851. Russell Scott Jr. eventually became a partner in the business until 31 December 1871.

Russell Scott was financially involved in this business as he "gave most generous help, putting so large a sum into the business that his own expenditure had to be considerably reduced".¹²⁵ Further research is needed to explore whether this Prestwich family business had links to transatlantic slavery.

Coal Fortune

Russell Scott built his fortune in the coal business and through railway investments.¹²⁶ He worked in the firm of William Cory & Co from January 1818 doing stock-taking and working at the counting-house,

At the LONDON COMMERCIAL SALE-ROOMS
On WEDNESDAY, April 30, at Twelve for One
 precisely,
WITHOUT RESERVE,
CHAMPAGNE, 2000 Dozen Sparkling, of high quality,
and just imported, being one-half
of the Stock of Messrs. Joseph
Prestwich and Son, and sold in
consequence of their closing their
establishment at Epernay, France.
Catalogues and particulars of
JOHN WILD, Martin's-lane, Cannon-street ;
And MATTHEW CLARK and SONS,
72, Great Tower-street, Brokers.

Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser - Monday 21 April 1851. Newspaper image © The British Library Board. All rights reserved. With thanks to The British Newspaper Archive (www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk).

London, June 24, 1822.
Notice is hereby given, that the Partnership between the undersigned, carrying on trade as Coal-Merchants, at New Barge-House-Wharf, Commercial-Road, Lambeth, under the firm of William Cory and Co. has been dissolved; and that all debts due to and from the said firm will be received and liquidated by the undersigned William Cory and by Russell Scott, who will continue the trade on their own account, under the firm of Cory and Scott.
Wm Cory.
Benjn. Hawes.
Thos. Hawes.
Russell Scott.

The London Gazette, 29 June 1822, p. 1081.

¹²² I. Scott and C. Scott, *A Family Biography, 1662 to 1908*, p 81; Scott JR., "Dr William Hawes, MD (1736–1808)", *Journal of Medical Biography*, vol. 14, no. 3, 2006, pp. 150-154.

¹²³ "The Complete Writings of William Fox", edited by John Barrell and Timothy Whelan, https://www.ntu.ac.uk/data/assets/pdf_file/0031/1132879/The-Political-Writings-of-William-Fox.pdf, accessed 21 August 2021; Whelan, Timothy (11 July 2008), "William Fox (fl. 1791-94)", Brycchan Carey, <https://brycchancarey.com/abolition/williamfox.htm>, accessed 21 August 2021.

¹²⁴ "Marriages", *Times*, 14 Sept. 1832, p. 4; *Sherborne Mercury* - Monday 17 September 1832; "Obituary", *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* - Monday 01 June 1908; *West Sussex Gazette* - Thursday 23 June 1932.

¹²⁵ I. Scott and C. Scott, *A Family Biography, 1662 to 1908*, p. 324.

¹²⁶ *Globe* - Wednesday 20 December 1820; *Morning Advertiser* - Saturday 27 November 1824; *London Evening Standard* - Thursday 11 November 1830; *Perry's Bankrupt Gazette* - Saturday 14 July 1838; *Globe* - Wednesday 04 July 1838; *The Era* - Sunday 30 August 1840; *The London Gazette*, United Kingdom, T. Neuman, 1851, p. 529; *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian, Glamorgan, Monmouth, and Brecon Gazette* - Saturday 14 March 1868; *Accounts and Papers of the House of Commons*, United Kingdom, 1846, p. 71; Ernest Newman and Alexander Howard, *British Enterprise*, United Kingdom, Lincolns-Prager, 1952, p. 93; Ronald S. Brown, *Digging for History in the Coal Merchants' Archives: The History of the Society of Coal Merchants*, United Kingdom, The Society, 1988, p. 68; Malcolm Falkus, *The Blue Funnel Legend: A History of the Ocean Steam Ship Company, 1865–1973*, United Kingdom, Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2016, p. 371; "William Cory and Son", https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/William_Cory_and_Son, accessed 5 July 2021.

eventually becoming a partner in 1822.¹²⁷ His uncles, Thomas and Benjamin Hawes (1770-1829) acted as sleeping partners in this business until Scott came of age and was able to pay off his uncles' capital in the firm. This arrangement existed mainly for the benefit of Scott, whose parents had previously loaned the Hawes brothers capital in amount of £3000 (RPW: £302,000).¹²⁸ It should be noted that the Hawes brothers owned Hawes Soap Works, which in its time was one of the largest soap makers in London, likely exporting their goods to the colonies.¹²⁹

William Cory & Co. was one of the largest firms involved in the coal trade in the 19th and 20th century.¹³⁰ "By the early 1830s the partnership of Cory and Scott owned 23 barges and handled perhaps 5 percent of the huge volume of North East coal which came to London each year".¹³¹

The coal industry was intertwined with the Atlantic slavery economy in its fuelling of sugar refineries in the Caribbean and British cities such as Bristol and London. As Wills and Dresser explain,

"The Atlantic slavery economy was interlinked with the eighteenth-century prosperity and growth of the North-East region, built on a booming coal trade... Coal from local pits was shipped out to the Caribbean to heat the pans and boilers used in the processing of raw sugar".¹³²

Tamsin Lilley further details that, "the north east supplied coal to the Caribbean (via London) for use on slave plantations".¹³³ Williams also asserted the importance of the coal industry in relation to Bristol's ability to produce cheaper and superior quality sugar compared to London, partly due to "its proximity to the coal supplies for fuel".¹³⁴

Scott also appeared to have connections in the US as indicated in a letter to his sister, dated 4 February 1831 where he discussed new terms of partnership with Cory, stating "I have claimed & intend to insist upon an extra month for a trip to America".¹³⁵ This points to the notion that



William Cory. Photo credit: The Wrecksite.
<https://www.wrecksite.eu/ownerBuilderView.aspx?4310>

¹²⁷ I. Scott and C. Scott, *A Family Biography, 1662 to 1908*, p. 155, 249.

¹²⁸ I. Scott and C. Scott, *A Family Biography, 1662 to 1908*, p. 88.

¹²⁹ Geoff Marshall (31 March 2013), *London's Industrial Heritage*, History Press. p. 102; "Hawes Soap Factory", https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Hawes_Soap_Factory, accessed 5 July 2021.

¹³⁰ *Belfast News-Letter* - Friday 03 January 1896, I. Scott and C. Scott, *A Family Biography, 1662 to 1908*, p. 154; *The Atlas* - Saturday 07 August 1841; *Morning Advertiser* - Wednesday 12 February 1862; *Cardiff Times* - Friday 22 June 1866; *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian, Glamorgan, Monmouth, and Brecon Gazette* - Saturday 14 March 1868; *Londonderry Sentinel* - Thursday 25 April 1929; "Cory", <https://www.corygroup.co.uk/about-us/our-history/>, accessed 16 July 2021; "History of OCEAN GROUP PLC", <https://www.referenceforbusiness.com/history2/20/OCEAN-GROUP-PLC.html#ixzz6ybdJ9wt6>, accessed 19 July 2021; "Cory Colliers Ltd. (Wm. Cory & Son)", <https://www.wrecksite.eu/ownerBuilderView.aspx?4310>, accessed 19 July 2021; "William Cory and Son", https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/William_Cory_and_Son, accessed 19 July 2021.

¹³¹ Falkus, *The Blue Funnel Legend*, p. 371.

¹³² Wills and Madge Dresser, *The Transatlantic Slave Economy and England's Built Environment: A Research Audit*, p. 134.

¹³³ Tamsin Lilley, "Remembering Slavery: South Shields' links to the trans-Atlantic slave Trade", June 2008, p.5, https://collectionsprojects.org.uk/slavery/files/research-zone/South_Shields_and_the_Slave_Trade.pdf, accessed 19 July 2021.

¹³⁴ Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, p. 74.

¹³⁵ I. Scott and C. Scott, *A Family Biography, 1662 to 1908*, p. 240.

Scott had US commercial interests in the 1830s as a partner in the firm of William Cory & Co. Scott's letter also mentions his earnings as a partner, from 1831, for a term of three years. It included £20,000 (RPW: £1,860,000) and an additional £8000 (RPW: £743,000), seemingly for his father.¹³⁶

Railway Investments

Scott retired in 1838 and the firm of William Cory and Son was formed.¹³⁷ At that time his property amounted to £40,000 (RPW: £3,680,000). According to his daughter Isabella Scott, "his investments were very largely in railway stocks" as he believed that he could increase his fortune through "judicious investments".¹³⁸ Isabella asserts that "this proved to be the case", stating that "all the principal railways in England were built in his lifetime, and he shared in their growing prosperity".¹³⁹ Nick Draper highlights that findings from the Legacies of British Slave-ownership research indicate that "direct financing by slave-owners constitutes perhaps the most immediate type of legacy in infrastructure".¹⁴⁰ Wills and Dresser also corroborate this point, stating that "as wealthy local elites, slaveowners undoubtedly played a role as investors and managers in the developing transportation infrastructure, including railways in the nineteenth century".¹⁴¹ For example, the Great Western Railway benefitted from the Bristol West India interest¹⁴² and railway companies such as Edinburgh & Northern, benefitted from slavery- derived wealth in that "40% of the initial subscriptions were from slave-owners and their families".¹⁴³ While Scott himself did not appear to have wealth derived directly from slavery, his railway investments and increasing resultant wealth shows that he benefitted from an industry with tangible links to the Atlantic slavery economy. Further research is needed on this point to better understand the links between Scott, his railway investments and its intertwinement with transatlantic slavery.

Varteg Iron Works

Russell Scott and Mark Philips were directors of an iron works company called Varteg Iron Company.¹⁴⁴ By 1819 this company was owned by Fawcett, Whitehouse and Co. who were recorded as "Iron-Masters, Coal-Masters, and Iron-Manufacturers".¹⁴⁵ This partnership was dissolved in 1822. Mark Philips was also partner along with William Needham under the firm of Varteg Iron Company, until the partnership's dissolution in 1843.¹⁴⁶

¹³⁶ I. Scott and C. Scott, *A Family Biography, 1662 to 1908*, p. 240.

¹³⁷ *Lloyd's List* - Saturday 29 April 1882; A. R. Griffin, *The British Coalmining Industry*, Buxton, 1977, p.153; Falkus, *The Blue Funnel Legend*, p. 371; James Allan Christopher, "Coal as a Freight, Coal as a Fuel: A Study of the British Coal Trade: 1850 – 1913", Master's Thesis, University of Durham, 2020, p. 79, http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/13752/1/Coal_as_a_Freight_-_Coal_as_a_Fuel_-_AllanC2020.pdf?DDD17, accessed 2 August 2021.

¹³⁸ I. Scott and C. Scott, *A Family Biography, 1662 to 1908*, p. 307.

¹³⁹ I. Scott and C. Scott, *A Family Biography, 1662 to 1908*, p. 307.

¹⁴⁰ M. C., Reed, *Investment in railways in Britain, 1820–1844, a study in the development of the capital market*, Oxford, 1975; Nicholas Draper, 'The City of London and slavery: evidence from the early dock companies 1795-1800', *Economic History Review*, vol. 61, no. 2, 2008, pp. 432-66; Dan Bogart, 'The transport revolution in industrialising Britain', in R. Floud, J. Humphries and P. Johnson (eds.), *Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain Vol. 1 1700-1870*, Cambridge, 2016, p. 369; Nick Draper, "Slavery and Britain's infrastructure", <https://lbsatucl.wordpress.com/2019/05/13/slavery-and-britains-infrastructure/>, accessed 20 August 2021.

¹⁴¹ Wills and Madge Dresser, *The Transatlantic Slave Economy and England's Built Environment: A Research Audit*, p. 12.

¹⁴² Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, p. 105.

¹⁴³ Draper, "Slavery and Britain's infrastructure".

¹⁴⁴ *Times*, 18 Aug. 1836, p. 2.

¹⁴⁵ "Fawcett, Whitehouse, Hunt and Co.", https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Fawcett,_Whitehouse,_Hunt_and_Co, accessed 1 July 2021.

¹⁴⁶ "Fawcett, Whitehouse, Hunt and Co.".

William Fawcett (1763-1844) was a partner in the historic Fawcett, Preston Engineering Co. that was founded in 1758.¹⁴⁷ This firm “became an independent Liverpool company and built up an international reputation, particularly for sugar machinery”.¹⁴⁸ Fawcett “supplied steam machinery for four sugar plantations in Cuba”¹⁴⁹ and supplied sugar mills and steam engines to sugar plantations in New Orleans, Louisiana, Savannah, Georgia and Mississippi.¹⁵⁰ According to the US Department of Treasury in 1838, a sugar mill bought from Fawcett & Co., Liverpool was “very old, being about the first in Louisiana”. The Treasury Department also specified that “the engines are generally worked by slaves”.¹⁵¹ Fawcett, Preston and Co. was also a “a

noted supplier of guns” and supplied the confederacy with engines, ammunition, arms and ships, including the ‘Oreto’ (renamed ‘CSS Florida’), that was purchased by the confederacy.¹⁵² Furthermore, iron works firms had other links to slavery. For example, Crowley ironworks supplied tools such as axes and hoes that “were shipped out to America and used by enslaved workers in the backbreaking work converting marshes into rice fields in South Carolina.”¹⁵³

Russell Scott and Mark Philips position as Directors of the Varteg Iron Company, which was once in the hands of Fawcett, means that they likely benefitted from trade in iron based products and were involved in the Atlantic slavery economy, exporting their products to plantations using enslaved labour.

Taylor & Scott

Taylor was involved in Scott’s commercial endeavours and in 1829 helped sustain his partnership with William Cory. A letter from Scott’s business partner William Cory shows that

R 3.

The following return does not include all the steam-engines in use in the State of Louisiana; for they are scattered over such an extent of territory, that to collect them would be impracticable in the time limited in the instructions. From the most accurate information that could be obtained, there are, in addition to those given below, about 175 used for sugar-mills, saw-mills, and cotton-gins. They are nearly all made at the same factories as those reported, and are of about the same average power. The sugar-mills and cotton-gins are used but a few months in a year, with scarcely ever an accident, and the engines are generally worked by slaves. Nearly all use cylinder boilers, and employ, on an average, 30 pounds pressure of steam to the square inch.

Return of steam-engines in use in the district of Mississippi, exclusive of those used in steamboats and on railroads; prepared in pursuance of instructions from the Secretary of the Treasury, to enable him to comply with a resolution of the House of Representatives of June 29, 1838.

Place.	Names of owners.	Diameter of cylinder.	Length of stroke.	Power of engine, in horses.	For what purpose used.	Pressure.	When constructed.	Where or by whom constructed.	How long used.	Remarks.
Jefferson parish	Bu the	1 4	5	25	Saw-mill	High	1832	West Point	6 years	
Do.	Fluret	1 1	4	30	Do.	Do.	Do.	Unknown	-	Date could not be ascertained.
Do.	M. Gordon, jr.	1 2	4	31	Do.	Do.	1831	J. Leeds	7 do.	
Do.	Welsh & Co.	1 3	4	31	Do.	Do.	1832	Cincinnati	12 do.	
Do.	P. & P. L. Labasse	9	4	28	Sugar-mill	Do.	1831	Gordon, Postall, & Co.	6 do.	
Do.	G. S. Dufosse	9	3 6	26	Do.	Do.	1830	Unknown	8 do.	
Do.	Sové	11	3 6	28	Do.	Do.	1830	W. Tift, Cincinnati	7 do.	
Do.	Do.	-	-	20	Do.	Low	-	Fawcett & Co., Liverpool.	-	Very old, being about the first in Louisiana.
Do.	Mrs. Holliday	11	3 6	28	Do.	High	1828	West Point	10 do.	
Do.	Minor Kemner	1	8 8	30	Do.	Do.	1832	W. Tift	6 do.	

Table describing Fawcett & Co. steam engine as “very old, being about the first in Louisiana”. The text also denotes that “the engines are generally worked by slaves”.
United States. Dept. of the Treasury, *Steam Engines: Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, Transmitting, in Obedience to a Resolution of the House, of the 29th of June Last, Information in Relation to Steam Engines, &c. United States*, Thomas Allen, print., 1838, p. 305.

¹⁴⁷ National Archives, “Fawcett, Preston Engineering Co., Ltd”, B/FP, <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/63cf02c5-36af-4556-a937-034ff51842c7>, accessed 1 July 2021.

¹⁴⁸ National Archives, “Fawcett, Preston Engineering Co., Ltd”.

¹⁴⁹ Manuel M. Friginals, *Sugarmill*, United Kingdom, Monthly Review Press, 1976, p. 102; “Fawcett, Preston and Co”, https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Fawcett_Preston_and_Co, accessed 2 July 2021.

¹⁵⁰ United States. Dept. of the Treasury, *Steam Engines: Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, Transmitting, in Obedience to a Resolution of the House, of the 29th of June Last, Information in Relation to Steam Engines, &c. United States*, Thomas Allen, print., 1838, pp. 267, 275, 305-6, 308; “William Fawcett”, https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/William_Fawcett, accessed 2 July 2021.

¹⁵¹ *Steam Engines: Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury*, p. 305.

¹⁵² National Archives, “Fawcett, Preston Engineering Co., Ltd”; Douglas M. Maynard, *The Escape of the Florida*, 1953, p. 185.

¹⁵³ Lilley, “Remembering Slavery”, p. 10.

Taylor was Scott's executor, a fact that comforted Cory who was worried about Benjamin Hawes interfering in their affairs. Cory affirmed that Taylor as executor, "satisfies me that I should still be safe, & therefore I am willing to consider the matter disposed of".¹⁵⁴ Furthermore, an 1825 letter indicates that Scott loaned Taylor £600 (RPW:£50,400) in December of that year.¹⁵⁵ John Edward Taylor also stated in a letter to Scott on 28 July 1835, of his plan to bequeath the copyright of the *Guardian* to him as trustee for his children.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ I. Scott and C. Scott, *A Family Biography, 1662 to 1908*, p. 231.

¹⁵⁵ "J.E. Taylor to his Brother-in-Law", Manchester, Dec. 18, 1825 in I. Scott and C. Scott, *A Family Biography, 1662 to 1908*, p. 209.

¹⁵⁶ "J.E. Taylor to Russell Scott" Manchester, July 28, 1835, in I. Scott and C. Scott, *A Family Biography, 1662 to 1908*, p. 297.

The Jevons Family

The Jevons

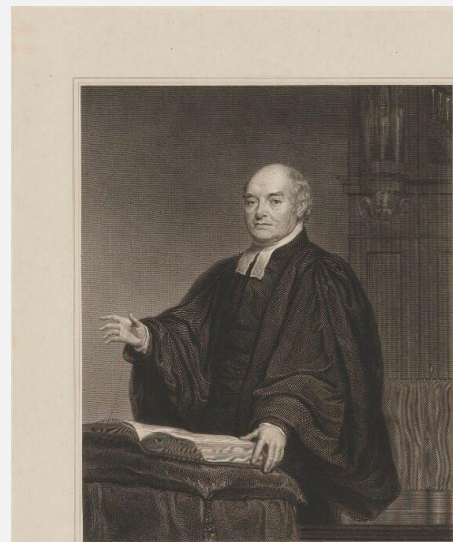
Slavery Link: Yes

Link Type: Indirect

Nature of Link: Iron merchants

The Jevons family is connected to the Taylor family through marriage. John Edward Taylor's daughters, Harriet, Sara, and Mary Ann all married into the Jevons family. Harriet Ann Jevons née Taylor was married to William Stanley Jevons (1835-1882), the son of Thomas Jevons (1791-1855). Her sisters, Sarah Acland Jevons née Taylor (1837-1894) and Mary Ann Jevons née Taylor (1840-1910) married Frederick Jevons (1834-1916) and William Edgar Jevons (1836-1888), the fourth and fifth sons of Timothy Jevons (1798-1874).¹⁵⁷ Both Timothy and Thomas Jevons were partners in their father, William Jevons' (1760-1852), iron merchant business, Jevons, Sons & Co. A firm which was connected to raw cotton imports from the United States, the East India Company and iron shipments to the United States. Additionally, William Jevons was financially linked to the Yates family, who was associated with several compensation claims for enslaved people.

Richard Vaughan Yates was in partnership with William Jevons (1760-1852) under the firm Jevons and Yates as iron merchants and nail manufacturers until 1811.¹⁵⁸ Richard and his partners in the firm Yates, Brothers and Co. are listed as claimants of £263 7s 8d (RPW: £24,500) in 1837, for seven enslaved persons on an estate in Trinidad. His brother, John Ashton Yates, was awarded the compensation sum.¹⁵⁹ Furthermore, Richard was the brother of Joseph Brook Yates, a West India merchant and enslaver, who received "more than £43,000 [RPW: £3,990,000] in compensation" for enslaved Africans on eighteen estates in Jamaica.¹⁶⁰



Reverend John Yates (1755-1826), by Francis Engleheart, after Alexander Mosses engraving, 1825, NPG D36241© National Portrait Gallery, London.

Liverpool, January 18, 1812.
THE Partnership heretofore subsisting between us the undersigned as Iron-Merchants, carried on in Liverpool aforesaid, under the Firm of Jevons and Yates, was dissolved on the 1st of January instant, by mutual consent.
Wm. Jevons.
Richard Vaughan Yates.

The London Gazette, 22 June 1830, p. 1292.

¹⁵⁷ "John Edward Taylor senior, 1844-1921", GB 133 JA/25, *Jevons Family Papers*, University of Manchester Library, <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb133-ja/ja/25>, accessed 28 May 2021; "Sarah Acland Jevons, 1872-1874" GB 133 JA/23, *Jevons Family Papers*, University of Manchester Library, <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb133-ja/ja/23>, accessed 28 May 2021; "Mary Ann Jevons, 1865-1874", GB 133 JA/24/*Jevons Family Papers*, University of Manchester Library, <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb133-ja/ja/24>, accessed 28 May 2021.

¹⁵⁸ *The London Gazette*, 21 January 1812, p. 149; National Archives, "Records of Yates, Cox And Company, Iron Merchants And Nail Manufacturer, of Liverpool", <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/db25dfba-f0e0-4390-a6b1-f09b6405648c#0/>, accessed 29 May 2021.

¹⁵⁹ "Trinidad 1893", *LBS*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/28722>, accessed 28 May 2021.

¹⁶⁰ "Joseph Brooks Yates", *LBS*, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/21522>, accessed 28 May 2021; "The Yates Family", <https://lbhrg.com/yates-family/>, accessed 28 May 2021.

William Jevons who was originally from Staffordshire, was initially an agent for the sale of iron and nails when he moved to Liverpool in 1798. His iron merchant firm was started with the help of “capital lent” by , Reverend John Yates (1755–1826), the father of Richard Vaughan and Joseph Brook Yates. The Reverend was the minister at Jevons’ chapel and also “shared in the profits of the firm”.¹⁶¹ John Yates acted as a sleeping partner in the business until his son, Richard Vaughan Yates, joined the firm. Following the dissolution of the partnership in 1811, Yates and Jevons formed their own businesses.¹⁶² William Jevons and his sons, Thomas and Timothy, were partners in the iron merchants firm, Jevons, Sons and Co.¹⁶³ This firm “designed a range of innovative iron products including boats”, imported raw cotton from the United States and “were large shippers of iron to the United States”. Shipping intelligence records for 1838, show Jevons, Sons & Co. importing bales of cotton from New Orleans and New York.¹⁶⁴



“Thomas Jevons, 1807-1855”, GB 133 JA/3, *Jevons Family Papers*, University of Manchester Library. Courtesy of The University of Manchester. (The Author’s Own Image).

Statira, (281) J M Montgomery, from New Orleans, 498 bales cotton, W and J Brown and co—106 do, Finlay and Alston—325 do, Jevons, Sons and co—P D
 Hebrew, (407) L J Carr, from New Orleans, 1623 bales cotton, Jevons, Sons and co—P D
Liverpool Standard And General Commercial Advertiser - Friday 13 April 1838.

The *Jevons Family Papers* also reveal that in 1822 the Jevons, under the firm Jevons, Horton & Co. were “makers of steam engine boilers, sugar pans, vats, cisterns, reservoirs, ships water tanks” and other wrought iron products that would have been used on plantations and for sugar refining.¹⁶⁵

Furthermore, an 1841 advertisement, with the firm listed as a contact for applications, suggests its connection to imperialism and the East India Company. The ad’s headlines which read “Indian Iron to Engineers, Mechanists, and Others” involved “Iron made from the Magnetic Ores of India, as well as of the Steel manufactured from it by the natives”. The Indian Iron Company mentioned in the ad “obtained from the Honourable East India Company’s Madras Government exclusive privileges of mining, and cutting fuel”.¹⁶⁶ The firm Jevons, Sons & Co. was regarded as a firm “of old standing” and its bankruptcy in 1848 took “all persons by surprise”.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶¹ Rosamond Konekamp and William Stanley Jevons, *Papers and Correspondence of William Stanley Jevons: Volume 1: Biography and Personal Journal*, United Kingdom, Palgrave Macmillan UK, 1972, pp. 2 -3.

¹⁶² National Archives, “Records of Yates, Cox And Company, Iron Merchants And Nail Manufacturer, of Liverpool”.

¹⁶³ Konekamp and Jevons, *Papers and Correspondence of William Stanley Jevons*, p. 3; “Thomas Jevons, 1807-1855”, GB 133, JA/3, *Jevons Family Papers*, University of Manchester Library, <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb133-ja/ja/3>, accessed 22 July 2021.

¹⁶⁴ *Liverpool Standard and General Commercial Advertiser* - Friday 13 April 1838; *Liverpool Standard and General Commercial Advertiser* - Tuesday 29 May 1838; *Liverpool Standard and General Commercial Advertiser* - Tuesday 06 March 1838; *Liverpool Standard and General Commercial Advertiser* - Tuesday 10 April 1838; *Liverpool Standard and General Commercial Advertiser* - Friday 26 January 1838; “Thomas Jevons, 1807-1855”, GB 133 JA/3, *Jevons Family Papers*, University of Manchester Library.

¹⁶⁵ “Thomas Jevons, 1807-1855”, GB 133 JA/3, *Jevons Family Papers*, University of Manchester Library.

¹⁶⁶ *Sun (London)* - Wednesday 03 February 1841.

¹⁶⁷ *Leeds Times* - Saturday 05 February 1848; *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette* - Thursday 10 February 1848; *Sun (London)* - Saturday 05 February 1848; “Thomas Jevons, 1807-1855”, GB 133, JA/3, *Jevons Family Papers*.

ROBERT PHILIPS, GEORGE WILLIAM WOOD & PHILIPS, WOOD & CO.

This section of the report is a continuation of case studies presented on the Philips family and George William Wood in the Taylor Report.

Robert Philips

Needham & Yates

Robert Philips married Anne Needham, granddaughter of “William Lee, inventor of the stocking frame” and sister of Matthew Needham, esq. of Lenton, Nottingham a “master hosier”.¹⁶⁸ Lenton House, located on the University of Nottingham campus, “was built for Matthew Needham”.¹⁶⁹

The son of Robert Philips, Robert Needham Philips, married firstly, Anna Maria Yates in 1845. She was the daughter of prominent enslaver, Joseph Brook Yates (see above, pages 27-8). Secondly, he married Mary Ellen, the daughter of John Ashton Yates.¹⁷⁰ John Ashton Yates was the brother of Joseph Brook Yates and was also an enslaver. In 1837, he received £2214 2d (RPW: £206,000) compensation for 46 enslaved persons on three estates in Trinidad.¹⁷¹ Robert Philips and Yates in-law relation is representative of yet another connection of the Philips family to transatlantic slavery. Further research is needed to uncover whether Robert and George Philips were financially connected to their in laws, the Yates.

Trevelyan & Macaulays

In 1869, Caroline Philips, granddaughter of Robert Philips, married George Otto Trevelyan, son of Sir Charles Edward Trevelyan, first baronet (1807–1886) and Hannah More (1810–1873), daughter of Zachary Macaulay (1768–1838) and sister of Thomas Babington Macaulay, Lord Macaulay.¹⁷² George Trevelyan’s grandmother Harriet Trevelyan née Neave, daughter of Sir Richard Neave, baronet, “was among five Trevelyan family members who received nearly £27,000 in compensation for enslaved people on their Grenada estates after slave emancipation”.¹⁷³ She was awarded compensation for six claims regarding estates in Grenada.¹⁷⁴ Harriet also received monetary legacies from her father “including adding £2000

¹⁶⁸ Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland, United Kingdom*, Harrison, 1868, p.1069; University of Nottingham, “The historic houses of University Park”, p. 20, <https://www.lakesidearts.org.uk/SiteData/Root/File/Visit%20us/heritageguide.pdf>, accessed 11 July 2021; “The Needham family”, https://www.binghamheritage.org.uk/built_heritage/development_of_bingham/bingham_dev_needham.php, accessed 15 July 2021.

¹⁶⁹ “The historic houses of University Park”, p. 20.

¹⁷⁰ Ian Pringle, “The Philips Family of The Park, Prestwich”, p. 9, <https://www.pilkingtons-lancastrian.co.uk/Animals/Philips%20Park.pdf>, accessed 5 August 2021.

¹⁷¹ “John Ashton Yates”, *LBS*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/28769>, accessed 24th August 2021.

¹⁷² G. C. Boase, revised by David Washbrook, “Trevelyan, Sir Charles Edward, first baronet (1807–1886)”, *ODNB*, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-27716?rskey=SqrTzI&result=8>, accessed 24th August 2021; Pringle, “The Philips Family of The Park, Prestwich”. Thomas Babington Macaulay pro-slavery speech was specifically mentioned by Eric Williams as “the greatest single speech ever made on the slavery”. William, *Capitalism and Slavery*, pp. 193-4.

¹⁷³ Boase, revised by Washbrook, “Trevelyan, Sir Charles Edward, first baronet (1807–1886)”, *ODNB*.

¹⁷⁴ “Harriet Trevelyan widow (née Neave)”, *LBS*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/45679> accessed 24th August 2021.

to the £6000 already committed under the marriage settlement of his daughter”.¹⁷⁵ Her father, Sir Richard Neave, first Bart., founded the firm of R. & T. Neave that is illustrative of an slave-owning firm that retained its “significant forces in British business post-Emancipation”.¹⁷⁶ Interestingly, George Otto Trevelyan’s maternal grandfather Zachary Macaulay was representative of a vastly different side of the coin. Macaulay, who was once “a bookkeeper on a sugar plantation in Jamaica”, became governor of Sierra Leone in 1794 and was an elected member of the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. He was also “honorary secretary of the African Institution” and was instrumental in forming the Anti-Slavery Society in 1823.¹⁷⁷

George William Wood

Wood & the Hibberts

George William Wood was born on 21 July 1781 and was the son of Reverend William Wood of Leeds. Wood was related to the Philips and Hibberts through his mother, Louisa Ann Oates. She was the daughter of George Oates, esq. of Newton Hall and Sarah Jolley, heir of Joseph Jolley, a Manchester merchant who was a descendant of John Jolley, of Leek.¹⁷⁸ The brother of Louisa Ann, George William Oates, married the daughter of Robert Hibbert (1717–84) and Abigail Scholey (1721–93), Mary Hibbert, in 1788.¹⁷⁹ She was the sister of George Hibbert (1757–1837) and her three sons, who would have been Wood’s cousins, were all involved “in the slavery business: George Hibbert Oates and Hibbert Oates were both plantations owners and attorneys, their brother Robert Oates was captain of the West India ship *Wellington*”.¹⁸⁰ Wood’s aunt, Mary Hibbert, was also the niece of Elizabeth Hibbert (who married Nathaniel Philips) and the cousin of Robert Philips. Furthermore, Louisa Ann’s sister, Sophia Caroline Oates (1760–1825), married Thomas Robinson (c. 1751–1831), the grandson of Robert Hibbert (1684–1762) and Margaret Tellow (1689–1759).¹⁸¹

It should be noted that a George William Wood does appear on the *LBS* database as a claimant for compensation in 1835 for 28 enslaved persons associated with the Caymanas Estate, Jamaica. It was an uncontested claim that resulted in Wood receiving £495 9s 8d (RPW: £49,900).¹⁸² It is unclear whether this is the same Wood in question, however given the time period, his close relationship with the Philips and Hibbert family who were engaged in West India trade and enslaving in Jamaica, it is likely that this is the same George William Wood.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁵ “Sir Richard Neave 1st Bart.”, *LBS*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146638551>, accessed 24th August 2021.

¹⁷⁶ Catherine Hall, et al. *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership: Colonial Slavery and the Formation of Victorian Britain*, Cambridge University Press, 2014. p. 85.

¹⁷⁷ J. R. Oldfield “Macaulay, Zachary (1768–1838)”, *ODNB*, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-17350#odnb-9780198614128-e-17350>, accessed 5 August 2021.

¹⁷⁸ John Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland, Enjoying Territorial Possessions Or High Official Rank: But Uninvested with Heritable Honours*, United Kingdom, H. Colburn, 1836, p. 138; *The Annals of Manchester*, p. 223.

¹⁷⁹ *The Publications of the Harleian Society*, United Kingdom, The Society, 1894, p. 267; Donington, *The Bonds of Family* 35.

¹⁸⁰ Donington, *The Bonds of Family*, p. 35; Joseph Foster, *Pedigree of the county families of Yorkshire*, vol. II, London: W. Wilfred Head, 1874.

¹⁸¹ Donington, *The Bonds of Family*, p. 26, 35.

¹⁸² “George William Wood”, *LBS*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/9515>, accessed 25th August 2021.

¹⁸³ For updated findings and clarifications on this point, please see Report 3, Sea Islands and Jamaica: Tracing the Enslaved People, pp. 5, 63–6.

Philips, Wood and Co. & Brazil

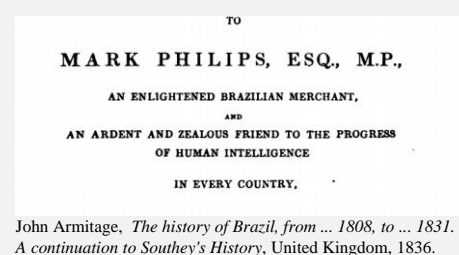
Branch Establishment in Rio

The firm Philips, Wood & Co. consisted of Robert Philips, George William Wood, Mark Philips and Wood's son, William Rayner Wood (see Taylor Report, pages 25-7). In relation to the merchant side of the business, Philips, Wood and Co. is listed in the 1814 and 1818 "Liverpool Imports" section of the *Manchester Mercury* as receiving cotton from Bahia and Pernambuco, Brazil.¹⁸⁴ The extent of Philips, Wood & Co. involvement in trade with Brazil is unknown, however, the company did have a branch establishment in Rio de Janeiro. John Armitage (1807-1856), son of Cyrus Armitage, worked at this branch in Rio, where he wrote two volumes entitled the *History of Brazil from 1808 to 1831*.¹⁸⁵ He dedicated volume one to "Mark Philips, esq., M.P., an enlightened Brazilian Merchant and an ardent and zealous friend to the progress of human intelligence in every country".¹⁸⁶

Philips, Wood & Co. and William Lupton & Co.

Philips, Wood & Co. became agents for William Lupton & Co. in December 1834. There may have been a pre-existing relationship between the two firms, however, a letter dated 27 December 1834, shows Philips, Wood & Co. requesting confirmation from William Lupton & Co. on the proposed terms of their business relationship. The letter includes some of the terms such as "commission for sale seven and a half per cent with a return of two and a half per cent" and "Guarantee of Sales and Remittances three percent".¹⁸⁷ Based on numerous letters dated 1835 to 1839 from Philips, Wood & Co. to William Lupton & Co., it is evident that Philips, Wood & Co. were commissions agents for William Lupton & Co. in Brazil. The latter, would consign goods to the branch house of Philips, Wood & Co. in Rio de Janeiro, who would then sell the goods in Brazil and remit payments to William Lupton & Co. A letter dated 26 October 1835 from Philips, Wood & Co. to William Lupton & Co. surmises part of their business arrangement:

"Gentlemen on the other side you have credit note for £315 9s 4d? [RPW: £31,800] cash December 25 which we will thank you to confirm as remittance for sales at Rio de Janeiro in July. Enclosed we send you a bill for four hundred pounds cash November 17 for which we debit you and



¹⁸⁴ "Liverpool Imports", *Manchester Mercury*, 06 September 1814, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000239/18140906/%20001/0002>, accessed 27 November 2020; "Liverpool Imports", *Manchester Mercury*, 13 January 1818, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000239/18180113/007/0002>, accessed 27 November 2020.

¹⁸⁵ *The Annals of Manchester*, p. 269.

¹⁸⁶ John Armitage, *The history of Brazil, from ... 1808, to ... 1831. A continuation to Southey's History*, United Kingdom, 1836.

¹⁸⁷ BUS/LUPTON/115, "Manchester Dec. 27 1834", *Papers and account relating to Philips, Wood & Co, Manchester, 1835 -1839*, Special Collections, University of Leeds.

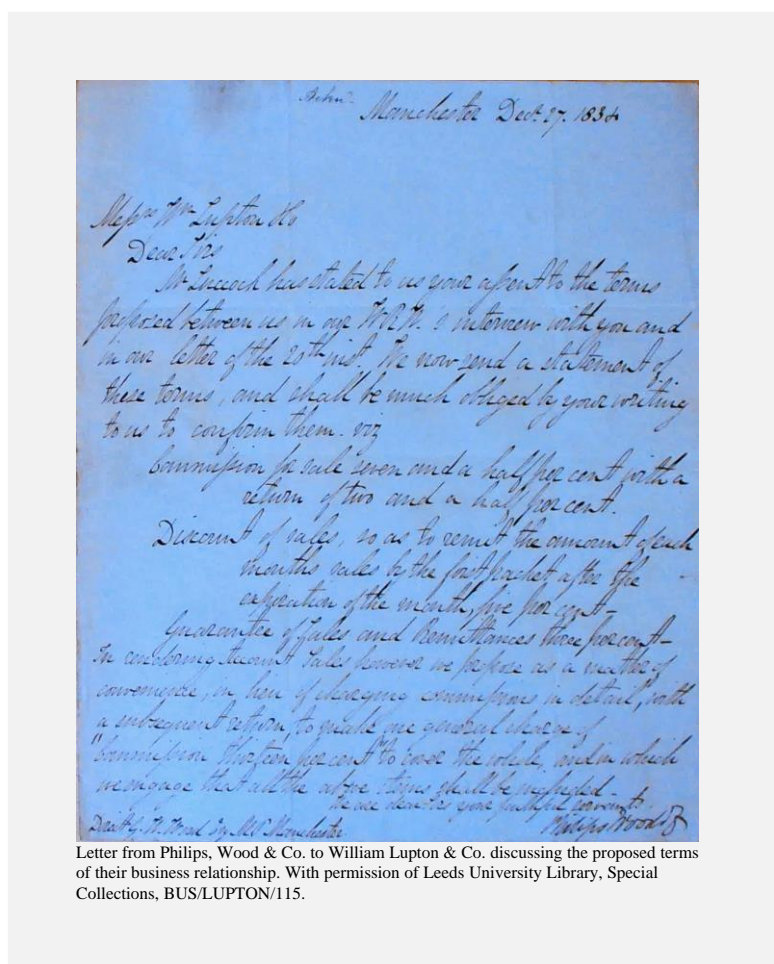
shall be obliged by your acknowledging the receipt. This will keep the account at four percent as you proposed".¹⁸⁸

Another letter dated 26 December 1835 from Philips, Wood & Co. notes William Lupton & Co's satisfaction regarding the sale of goods; "we are very glad to hear that the sales made at Rio are, under the circumstances satisfactory to you and we trust that the business will by degree become established on a footing to yield you favourable results".¹⁸⁹ According to various letters from Philip, Wood & Co's to William Lupton & Co., some of the consigned goods included "Woollen Goods", "Baizes" and "Flannels".¹⁹⁰ In addition to sending bills as payment for the sale of consigned goods, Philips, Wood & Co. also likely used some of the proceeds from such sales to procure return cargos consisting of colonial produce for William Lupton & Co. (for more details on this triangular trade see below, page 48).

Patterns from Rio

One of the functions of Philips, Wood & Co. as agents for William Lupton & Co. in Rio, was to send sample collections of garments that were in high demand in Brazil. The aforementioned 26 December 1835 letter reveals the existence of this relationship; "the patterns of cloths from Rio are sent by a London vessel, not yet arrived. As soon as they come to hand we will forward them to you".¹⁹¹ Another letter sent on 4 February 1836 states, "our present object is to hand you the patterns which our house advised you some time ago they were sending through us...".¹⁹²

Other prominent British mercantile firms operating in in the Southern Cone (southern South America), such as Gibbs & Sons, conducted similar practices. A memo regarding the duties of Gibbs & Sons' agents in the region indicated, "that one of the main duties of its agents was to



Letter from Philips, Wood & Co. to William Lupton & Co. discussing the proposed terms of their business relationship. With permission of Leeds University Library, Special Collections, BUS/LUPTON/115.

¹⁸⁸ BUS/LUPTON/115, "Manchester May 2 1835" and "Manchester October 26 1835", *Papers and account relating to Philips, Wood & Co, Manchester, 1835 -1839*, Special Collections, University of Leeds.

¹⁸⁹ BUS/LUPTON/115, "Manchester Dec. 26 1835", *Papers and account relating to Philips, Wood & Co, Manchester, 1835 -1839*, Special Collections, University of Leeds.

¹⁹⁰ BUS/LUPTON/115, "Manchester April 30 1836", "Manchester June 7 1836", "Manchester June 9 1836", "Manchester August 17 1836", *Papers and account relating to Philips, Wood & Co, Manchester, 1835 -1839*, Special Collections, University of Leeds.

¹⁹¹ BUS/LUPTON/115, "Manchester Dec. 26 1835".

¹⁹² BUS/LUPTON/115, "Manchester February 4 1836", *Papers and account relating to Philips, Wood & Co, Manchester, 1835 -1839*, Special Collections, University of Leeds.

collect ‘patterns and sending home such information on the goods adapted for this market’ ”.¹⁹³ As the Southern Cone was very remote, British manufacturers tended to rely on detailed descriptions of the exact goods that were in high demand. However, detailed descriptions often led to misunderstandings by manufacturers and as such, “every opportunity was taken to send samples to Britain” with some firms such as Gibbs & Sons going so far as to “send a man home every nine months with samples”.¹⁹⁴

Mercantile Houses in the Southern Cone

Manuel Llorca-Jaña describes Lupton & Co. as an interesting case as they “never opened a house in Liverpool, despite exporting to Brazil, the River Plate provinces, Peru, Chile, and Mexico”.¹⁹⁵ He also notes that it was uncommon for merchant-manufacturers to have “branch houses of their own in the Southern Cone”.¹⁹⁶ In this respect, William Lupton & Co. was somewhat unique. Nevertheless, they followed the general route of textile firms in Britain and employed the use of a middleman, in Philips, Wood & Co. and possible intermediary services of firms such as Bertram Le Breton & Co. and Delisle Janvrin & Delisle, London.

From around 1810 to the 1870s, textiles comprised the main British goods exported to the Southern Cone.¹⁹⁷ For the period relevant to the correspondence letters cited above, Spanish Latin America and Brazil’s share in “world exports from the United Kingdom” between 1830 to 1839, amounted to 12.2%.¹⁹⁸ After 1808, “British merchants – the main carriers of British exports to Latin America, opened import–export houses in South America for the first time and at a very high rate”.¹⁹⁹ This not only enhanced the value of Latin America as a market but also allowed British merchants invested in transatlantic slavery, such as Philips, Wood & Co., to establish mercantile houses in Brazil. Here, “their agents on the spot became the exporters’ eyes and ears”.²⁰⁰ As Stanley Chapman further explains on British mercantile houses in remote areas of trade, “the first half of the nineteenth century is the period of merchant activity on a small scale, with hundreds of commissions agents scattered round the world ”.²⁰¹ As agents for British textile firms and in their own capacity as merchant traders, Philips, Wood & Co. would have capitalised on the accessibility their branch house in Rio provided, in terms of assessing

¹⁹³ AGSP. MS 11033-1, Hayne to Judge, Santiago, 27 May 1826; Manuel Llorca-Jaña, “Knowing the shape of demand: Britain’s exports of ponchos to the Southern Cone, c. 1810s–70s”, *Business History*, vol. 51, no. 4, 2009, p. 612.

¹⁹⁴ AGSP, MS 19867, Moens to Gibbs & Sons (London), Manchester, 30 and 31 December 1823, and 3 January 1824; Llorca-Jaña, “Knowing the shape of demand: Britain’s exports of ponchos to the Southern Cone, c. 1810s–70s”, p. 612.

¹⁹⁵ Manuel Llorca-Jaña, *The British Textile Trade in South America in the Nineteenth Century*, United Kingdom, Cambridge University Press, 2012, p. 60.

¹⁹⁶ Llorca-Jaña, *The British Textile Trade in South America in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 59.

¹⁹⁷ Llorca-Jaña, “Knowing the shape of demand: Britain’s exports of ponchos to the Southern Cone, c. 1810s–70s”, p. 604.

¹⁹⁸ A.K. Manchester, *British pre-eminence in Brazil. Its rise and decline*, New York: Octagon Books, 1972; L.H. Guenther, *British merchants in nineteenth-century Brazil: Business, culture, and identity in Bahia, 1808–1850*, Oxford: Centre for Brazilian Studies, 2004; Llorca-Jaña, “Knowing the shape of demand: Britain’s exports of ponchos to the Southern Cone, c. 1810s–70s”, p. 603; Manuel Llorca-Jaña, “The organisation of British textile exports to the River Plate and Chile: Merchant houses in operation, c. 1810–59”, *Business History*, vol. 53, no. 6, 2011, p. 823; The National Archives, Kew, London, Ledgers of Exports under Countries (CUST/8), all volumes for 1815–59.

¹⁹⁹ Llorca-Jaña, “The organisation of British textile exports to the River Plate and Chile: Merchant houses in operation, c. 1810–59”, p. 825.

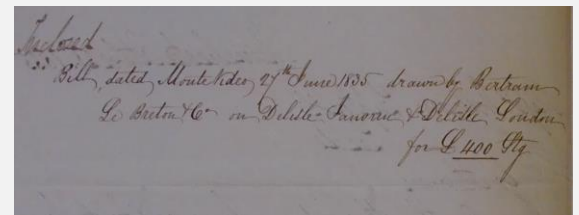
²⁰⁰ Llorca-Jaña, “Knowing the shape of demand: Britain’s exports of ponchos to the Southern Cone, c. 1810s–70s”, pp. 604, 609.

²⁰¹ S.D. Chapman, “The international houses: The continental contribution to British commerce, 1800–1860”, *Journal of European Economic History*, vol. 6, 1977; S.D. Chapman, “British marketing enterprise: The changing roles of merchants, manufacturers and financiers, 1700–1860”, *Business History Review*, vol. 53, no. 2, 1979; S.D. Chapman, *Merchant enterprise in Britain: From the Industrial Revolution to World War I*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992, p. 290; Llorca-Jaña, “The organisation of British textile exports to the River Plate and Chile: Merchant houses in operation, c. 1810–59”, p. 826; V. Bulmer-Thomas, *The economic history of Latin America since independence* (2nd ed.), Cambridge University Press, 2003.

the needs of the plantations. Equipped with this information, they would then be able to “instruct their associated head offices, partners or agents in Britain what to ship with a great deal of precision”.²⁰²

Links to Transatlantic Slavery

Philips, Wood & Co. therefore, in addition to re-exporting manufactured textiles and importing raw cotton from Brazil in their own capacity as merchant-manufacturers (see Taylor Report, pages 25-7), was also connected to the transatlantic slave economy as commissions agents for textile firms such as William Lupton & Co. Furthermore, in their role as agents who supplied patterns or samples of local garments that were in high demand, Philips, Wood & Co. assisted William Lupton & Co. in increasing their profits, adapting to the needs of the region and procuring commodities that supported slave societies. Additionally, as agents and a branch establishment of Philips, Wood & Co., this import-export house in Rio would have had extensive ties with other companies invested in transatlantic slavery. For example, a letter dated 26 October 1835 from Philip, Wood & Co to William Lupton & Co. states, “Enclosed Bills dated Montevideo 27 June 1835 drawn by Bertram Le Breton & Co. on Delisle Janvrin & Delisle London for £400 [RPW: £40,300]”.²⁰³ De Lisle, Janvrin, & Co., London was a banking and merchant firm which “was amongst the oldest and most respectable in London”.²⁰⁴ One record detailing losses of merchants due to Spanish privateering in the early 1820s, shows that De Lisle, Janvrin & De Lisle of London were “the sole owners of the *Lord Collingwood* and her cargo” which was bound for Cuba.²⁰⁵ Francis Janvrin, who was a partner in Delisle Janvrin, was granted compensation in 1835 (as an executor or executrix) in the amount of £4299 8s 6d (RPW: £433,000) for 205 enslaved persons on Steelfield Estate, Jamaica, Trelawney.²⁰⁶ Bertram, Le Breton and Co., was “a commercial house established at Buenos Ayres in South America” and based in Jersey. They also acted as agents for British firms in the region.²⁰⁷



Excerpt from an 1835 letter from Philips, Wood & Co. to William Lupton & Co. depicting “a bill for four hundred pounds cash”. With permission of Leeds University Library, Special Collections, BUS/LUPTON/11.

²⁰² Herbert S. Klein, “The Internal Slave Trade in Nineteenth-Century Brazil: A Study of Slave Importations into Rio De Janeiro in 1852.” *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. 51, no. 4, 1971; Richard Graham, “Slavery and Economic Development: Brazil and the United States South in the Nineteenth Century”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 23, no. 4, 1981; Llorca-Jaña, “Knowing the shape of demand: Britain's exports of ponchos to the Southern Cone, c. 1810s–70s”, 602; Francisco Vidal Luna and Herbert S. Klein, *Slavery in Brazil*, Netherlands, Cambridge University Press, 2010; , Nuno Palma, Andrea Papadia, Thales Pereira and Leonardo Weller, “Slavery and Development in Nineteenth Century Brazil”, *Capitalism: A Journal of History and Economics*, 2021, vol. 2 no. 2.

²⁰³ BUS/LUPTON/115, “Manchester October 26 1835”, *Papers and account relating to Philips, Wood & Co, Manchester, 1835 -1839*, Special Collections, University of Leeds.

²⁰⁴ H. Gye, *Gye's Bath directory, corrected to Jan. 1819*, United Kingdom, 1819, p. 116; *The Banking Almanac, Directory, Year Book and Diary*, United Kingdom, Groombridge & Sons, 1849, p. 135; David Morier Evans, *The History of the Commercial Crisis: 1857-58, and the Stock Exchange Panic of 1859*, United Kingdom, Groombridge, 1859, p. lxx.

²⁰⁵ Matthew McCarthy, *Privateering, Piracy and British Policy in Spanish America, 1810-1830*, United Kingdom, Boydell Press, 2013, p. 58.

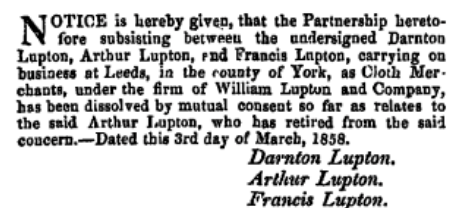
²⁰⁶ “Jamaica Trelawney 107 (Steelfield)”, *LBS*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/15119>, accessed 8th September 2021.

²⁰⁷ Edmund F. Moore, *Reports of Cases Heard and Determined by the Judicial Committee and the Lords of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council*, United Kingdom, W. T. Clarke, 1840, p. 214; *The English Reports*, United Kingdom, W. Green, 1901, p. 213.

The Luptons

Established in 1773, William Lupton and Company Limited, of Whitehall Mills, Leeds, were woollen and worsted manufacturers and traders.²⁰⁸ The Luptons “were among the best known mercantile families in the West Riding”, who mainly engaged in business with the US and Lisbon.²⁰⁹ The Luptons are indirectly linked to transatlantic slavery through their trade in woollen goods amongst other commodities. Herbert Heaton summarises some of the important details of the firm’s involvement in the transatlantic slave economy, stating that:

“For at least three quarters of a century the Luptons had been so heavily engaged in trade with Portugal that one member of the family was usually living in Lisbon. There, as in Oporto, he and his fellow British merchants or commission agents imported ‘Lead, Tin, Woollen Goods, Goods for their Plantations in the Braziles,’ and made their returns ‘in Wines, Oils, and Ready Money’ ”.²¹⁰



NOTICE is hereby given, that the Partnership heretofore subsisting between the undersigned Darnton Lupton, Arthur Lupton, and Francis Lupton, carrying on business at Leeds, in the county of York, as Cloth Merchants, under the firm of William Lupton and Company, has been dissolved by mutual consent so far as relates to the said Arthur Lupton, who has retired from the said concern.—Dated this 3rd day of March, 1858.
Darnton Lupton.
Arthur Lupton.
Francis Lupton.

The London Gazette, 5 March 1858, p. 1310.

In order to preserve business with Brazil, the subsidiary firm of Lupton & Luccock was formed in 1808. This firm, based in Rio de Janeiro, was established “to become traders from this country [Britain] to South America”.²¹¹ This business arrangement meant that “the Luptons were to manage the home end of the business” while Lupton & Luccock traded “Lupton’s cloths”, “fabrics consigned by other makers or merchants” to be sold on commission and “miscellaneous wares of almost all kinds” in Brazil.²¹² Philips, Wood & Co. likely became acquainted with William Lupton & Co. through John Luccock²¹³ or George William Wood who was originally from Leeds.

The Luptons are the paternal ancestors of the Duchess of Cambridge, Catherine Middleton. Her great-grandmother, Olive Christina Lutpon (b. 1920) was the granddaughter of Francis Lupton (b. 1813), who was a partner in the firm William Lupton & Co.

Further research on the accounts of Philips, Wood & Co. would provide more information on the firm’s slavery derived wealth as well as assist in identifying the plantations that they conducted trade with in Brazil. This, in turn, would support efforts to trace the names of the enslaved people who laboured on these plantations and their descendants.

²⁰⁸ University of Leeds, “William Lupton and Company Limited, Business Archive”, https://explore.library.leeds.ac.uk/special-collections-explore/6947/william_lupton_and_company_limited_business_archi, accessed 8 September 2021.

²⁰⁹ Herbert Heaton, “A Merchant Adventurer in Brazil 1808-1818”, *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 6, no. 1, 1946, pp. 2.

²¹⁰ Heaton, “A Merchant Adventurer in Brazil 1808-1818”, p. 3.

²¹¹ WLP, Volume 117, “Articles of partnership” Leeds, February 1808; Manuel Llorca-Jaña, *The British Textile Trade in South America in the Nineteenth Century*, United Kingdom, Cambridge University Press, 2012, p. 60.

²¹² Heaton, “A Merchant Adventurer in Brazil 1808-1818”, p. 6.

²¹³ Luccock is mentioned in the 27 December 1834 letter from Philips, Wood & Co. to William Lupton & Co. which discusses the terms of their business arrangement. BUS/LUPTON/115, “27 December 1834”, *Papers and account relating to Philips, Wood & Co, Manchester, 1835 -1839*, Special Collections, University of Leeds.

SHUTTLEWORTH, TAYLOR & CO.

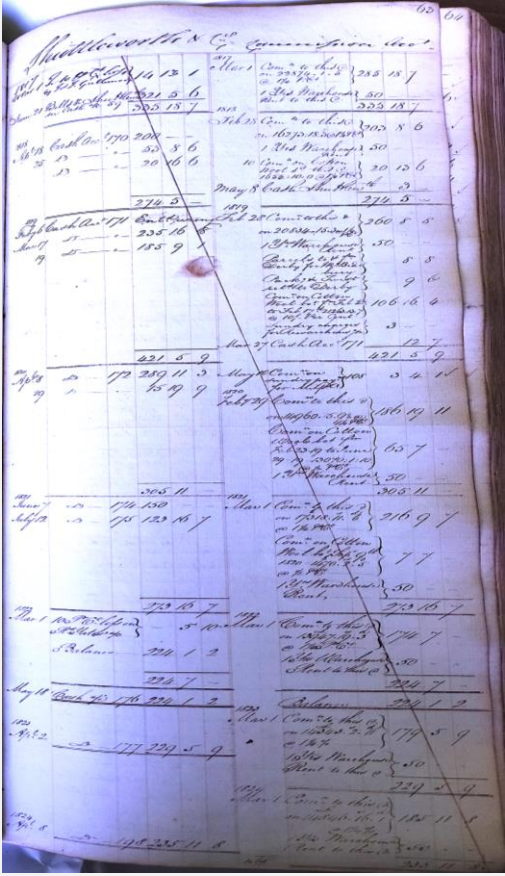
This section is a continuation of the case study presented on John Edward Taylor in the Taylor Report (see pages 15-20). This section highlights the source of some of Taylor's wealth derived from the cotton industry, between the period 1816 to 1824 and Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co's raw cotton supply from the Sea Islands between 1821 to 1823. Areas covered include Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co's Commission Account with the Strutts, the firm's connection to McConnell & Kennedy and case studies on the planters who supplied Sea Island cotton to the Strutts and Taylor.

Please refer to pages 17 to 20 of the Taylor Report for background information on W.G. & J. Strutt Ltd. and the Strutts' extensive connections to slavery.

Commission Account

One of Taylor's most definitive indirect connections to slavery lie in his firm, Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co's role as agents for the Strutts. As agents for the massive Strutt enterprise, Taylor's firm would sell goods provided by the Strutts for a commission. Agents, such as Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co., in various parts of England such as Derbyshire, Nottingham, London and Manchester "sold goods upon a commission of 1 ½ or, occasionally, 1 ¼ per cent".²¹⁴ So intricate was the business relationship between the various agents and the Strutts, that the agents bore 10% responsibility for bad debts and unpaying customers.²¹⁵ Additionally, Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co's Commission Account suggests that the firm received a raw cotton commission for buying cotton wool for the Strutts. This therefore indicates that Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. were likely cotton brokers for the Strutts and other spinners such as McConnell & Kennedy.²¹⁶

W. G. and J. Strutt Ltd.'s Manchester Spinning Ledger for the period 1813 to 1881 captures Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co's Commission Account details for the years 1817 to 1824.²¹⁷ The following table provides a summary of this account:



Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co's Commission Account details as agents of the Strutts. D6948/2/62, "Manchester Spinning Ledger Mar 1813-Mar 1881", W.G. and J. Strutt Ltd, Derbyshire Record Office, p. 63.

²¹⁴ R. S. Fitton and Alfred P. Wadsworth, *The Strutts and the Arkwrights, 1758-1830: A Study of the Early Factory System*, Manchester University Press, 1958, p. 297.

²¹⁵ Fitton and Wadsworth, *The Strutts and the Arkwrights*, p. 297.

²¹⁶ D6948/2/62, "Manchester Spinning Ledger Mar 1813-Mar 1881", W.G. and J. Strutt Ltd, Derbyshire Record Office, p. 63. Thanks to Susanne Seymour for her assistance on interpreting the material in this ledger.

²¹⁷ D6948/2/62, "Manchester Spinning Ledger Mar 1813-Mar 1881".

**Table 1: Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co's Commission Account with W.G. and J. Strutt Ltd.
(based on data from the Strutts' Manchester Spinning Ledger, March 1813-March 1818, DRO
D6948/2/62)**

Date	Commission at 1 ¼ %	Commission on Cotton Wool	Warehouse Rent	Sundry/Other	Total
1817	£285 18s 7d on £22874 1s 5d		£50		£335 18s 7d
1818	£203 8s 6d on £16273 18s 3d	£20 13s 6d on £1654 10s 0d	£50	3s to John Shuttleworth	£274 5s 0d
1819	£260 8s 8d on £20834 15s 3d	£106 6s 4d on £21263 13s 7d	£50	£3 for "Sundry charges" 8s 8d for "Parcels to + from Derby" 9s 6d "Packing" and "Twist" 12s 7d to cash account	£421 5s 9d
1820	£186 19s 11d on £14960 5s 9 ½ d	£65 7s 0d on £13070 1s 10d at ½ %	£50	£3 4s 1d commission for sundry	£305 11s 0d
1821	£216 9s 7d on £17318 11s 6d	£7 7s 0d on £1470 2s 5d at ½ %	£50		£273 16s 7d
1822	£174 7s 0d on £13947 19s 3d		£50		£224 7s 0d
1823	£179 5s 9d on £14343 2s 11d		£50		£229 5s 9d
1824	£185 11s 8d on £14846 16s 1d		£50		£235 11s 8d
1817 - 1824	£1692 9s 8d	£199 13s 10d	£400	£7 17s 10d	£2300 1s 4d

The Strutts seemingly paid Taylor's firm their annual commission in the months of February or March. This was likely because, as Fitton and Wadsworth highlight, "the year ended February 28".²¹⁸ On 1 March 1817, Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. was recorded as receiving £285 18s 7d (RPW: £21,400) in commission on their agent sales of £22874 1s 5d (RPW: £1,710,000) at 1 ¼ %. The firm also received one year's warehouse rent in the amount of £50 (RPW: £3,740).²¹⁹ This brings the total amount of money received from the Strutts, likely the annual commission for the year 1817, to £335 18s 7d (RPW: £25,100).²²⁰ It should be noted that Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. is listed in the Manchester Spinning Ledger as occupying the address of Toll Lane Buildings, Manchester in 1816.²²¹ However, by 1821, online trade

²¹⁸ Fitton and Wadsworth, *The Strutts and the Arkwrights*, p. 299

²¹⁹ D6948/2/62, "Manchester Spinning Ledger Mar 1813-Mar 1881", p. 63.

²²⁰ D6948/2/62, "Manchester Spinning Ledger Mar 1813-Mar 1881", p. 63.

²²¹ D6948/2/62, "Manchester Spinning Ledger Mar 1813-Mar 1881", p. 56.

directories list the firm's address as "New Market"²²² and later ledger entries for John Shuttleworth, list his warehouse location at "Warehouse New Market House 234 Oxford St. Manchester".²²³ Additionally, although this Commission Account for Taylor's firm is dated 1817, Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. is recorded in the Strutts' Manchester Spinning Ledger from as early as 25 March 1816.²²⁴ Therefore, it is likely that Taylor joined this partnership just after the dissolution of his partnership with Oakden in 1815 (see Taylor Report, page 16).

The next date of commission payment to Taylor's company is listed on 28 February 1818. Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. received a commission of £203 8s 6d (RPW: £15,200) on £16273 18s 3d (RPW: £1,210,000) at 1 ¼ %. Interestingly, they also received £20 13s 6d (RPW: £1,540) commission on cotton wool (raw cotton) in the amount of £1654 10s 0d (RPW: £124,000) at 1 ¼ %. One year's warehouse rent of £50 (RPW: £3,730) was also paid to Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. as well as 3s (RPW: £11.20) to John Shuttleworth on 8 May 1818. The commission for the annual agent sales along with warehouse rent, amounted to a total of £274 5s 0d (RPW: £20,500).²²⁵

A commission of £260 8s 8d (RPW: £20,200) on £20834 15s 3d (RPW: £1,620,000) at 1¼ % was paid by the Strutts on 28 February 1819. One year's warehouse rent of £50 (RPW: £3,880) along with 8s 8d (RPW: £33.60) for "Parcels to + from Derby" and 9s 6d (RPW: £36.80) for what appears to be "Packing" and "Twist" "to Derby" was also paid to Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. A commission of £106 6s 4d (RPW: £8,250) on £21263 13s 7d (RPW: £1,650,000) worth of cotton wool bought from 2 February to 17 February 1819 was paid by the Strutts. £3 (RPW: £233) was also paid for "Sundry charges" as well as 12s 7d (RPW: £48.80) to the firm's cash account on 27 March 1819. The total amount of money received by Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co from the Strutts for 1819 totalled £421 5s 9d (RPW: £32,700).²²⁶

A commission of £186 19s 11d (RPW: £15,300) was paid to Taylor's firm on 29 February 1820, for annual agent sales on goods amounting to £14960 5s 9 ½ d (RPW: £1,220,000) at 1 ¼ %. The Strutts also paid the seemingly usual amount of £50 (RPW: £4,090) in warehouse rent along with £65 7s 0d (RPW: £5,340) as commission on cotton wool worth £13070 1s 10d (RPW: £1,070,000) at ½ %, bought from 23 February 1819 to 29 June 1819. A £3 4s 1d (RPW: £262) commission for "sundry" was also paid on 10 May 1820, bringing the total for that year to £305 11s 0d (RPW: £25,000).²²⁷

In the year that the *Manchester Guardian* was formed, Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. received £216 9s 1d (RPW: £18,900) in commission at 1 ¼ % from the Strutts, for agent sales amounting to £17318 11s 6d (RPW: £1,510,000). £7 7s 0d (RPW: £641) was also paid as commission at ½ % for £1470 2s 5d (RPW: £128,000) worth of cotton wool bought on 9 September 1820. Adding the £50 (RPW: £4,360) warehouse rent brought the total amount paid to Taylor's firm in 1821 to £273 16s 7d (RPW: £23,900).²²⁸

£174 7s 0d (RPW: £16,200) was paid in commission on Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co's agent sales amounting to £13947 19s 3d (RPW: £1,300,000) at 1 ¼% on 1 March 1822. Including

²²² Pigot & Dean's New Directory of Manchester and Salford, 1821-22, <http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/digital/collect>, accessed 15 August 2021.

²²³ D6948/2/62, "Manchester Spinning Ledger Mar 1813-Mar 1881", pp. 206-8, 211-6, 218-26, 232.

²²⁴ D6948/2/62, "Manchester Spinning Ledger Mar 1813-Mar 1881", p. 56.

²²⁵ D6948/2/62, "Manchester Spinning Ledger Mar 1813-Mar 1881", p. 63.

²²⁶ D6948/2/62, "Manchester Spinning Ledger Mar 1813-Mar 1881", p. 63.

²²⁷ D6948/2/62, "Manchester Spinning Ledger Mar 1813-Mar 1881", p. 63.

²²⁸ D6948/2/62, "Manchester Spinning Ledger Mar 1813-Mar 1881", p. 63.

the £50 (RPW: £4,660) warehouse rent, the total payment for this year was £224 7s 0d (RPW: £20,900).²²⁹

Commission for the year 1823, recorded on 1 March, show that Taylor's firm received £179 5s 9d (RPW: £16,600) on £14343 2s 11d (RPW: £1,330,000) at 1 ¼ %. The £50 (RPW: £4,630) warehouse rent meant that the total rose to £229 5s 9d (RPW: £21,200).²³⁰

1 March 1824 is the last input regarding Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co's commission account in the Strutts' Manchester Spinning Ledger. They received commission in the amount of £185 11s 8d (RPW: £16,700) on £14846 16s 1d (RPW: £1,340,000) in agent sales at 1 ¼ % and payment of £50 (RPW: £4,500) for warehouse rent. The firm received a total of £235 11s 8d (RPW: £21,200) for this year.²³¹

The total paid to Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. between the years 1817 to 1824, which include agent commissions, commission on cotton wool and sundries as well as warehouse rent amounts to £2300 1s 4d (RPW: £207,000).²³²

Cross referencing Fitton and Wadsworth's depiction of the Strutts agents' sales for the period 1794-1830 and Taylor's Commission Account, reveals an interesting discovery. The figures illustrating the sales of Manchester agents for the years 1817 to 1824 (see adjacent Fitton and Wadsworth table), all coincide with the annual agent sales detailed above for Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co's Commission Account with the Strutts.²³³ Therefore, it is likely that Taylor's firm was the only agent for the Strutts during this period in Manchester. This further emphasises the depth and importance of Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co's commercial relationship with the Strutts.

The Strutts' connections to slavery has been outlined in phase one of this study. By the "early nineteenth century, the Strutts were amongst England's largest cotton thread producers" with connections to prominent traders of enslaved people and a raw cotton supply sourced from West Indies, Brazil, Guyana, Suriname and the southern states of the United States.²³⁴ As agents for the Strutts, Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. sold goods and raw cotton on behalf of the Strutts, was likely the only

Year Ended February 28	Leicester	London	London	Manchester	Nottingham
1794				6,360	
5				8,456	
6				14,929	
7				18,814	
8				22,985	
9				24,184	
1800				30,023	13,050
1	26,682				3,800
2	32,908				19,518
3	37,633				22,590
4	31,799	2,875			14,638
5	43,437	8,970			
6	27,648	11,753			
7	38,900				23,817
8	34,988				
9	33,520				23,220
10	24,225				23,872
1	25,861				26,189
2	24,996				21,548
3	26,388				25,805
4	30,076		32,396		32,822
5	24,903		26,274		14,827
6	43,799		45,692		29,081
7	24,352	15,015	52,918	22,874	17,197
8	25,461	9,594	60,305	16,274	33,381
9	8,834	8,194		20,835	33,466
20	17,224	3,417		14,960	21,240
1	20,889	1,962		17,319	6,633
2	26,050	1,263		13,948	16,408
3	28,364	981		14,343	19,786
4	26,437	1,345		14,847	17,600
5	29,606	1,305		13,597	
6	22,396	1,352		9,006	
7	28,013			10,813	
8	23,478			12,510	
9				8,104	
30				10,372	

R. S. Fitton and Alfred P. Wadsworth, *The Strutts and the Arkwrights, 1758-1830: A Study of the Early Factory System*, Manchester University Press, 1958, p. 299.

²²⁹ D6948/2/62, "Manchester Spinning Ledger Mar 1813-Mar 1881", p. 63.

²³⁰ D6948/2/62, "Manchester Spinning Ledger Mar 1813-Mar 1881", p. 63.

²³¹ D6948/2/62, "Manchester Spinning Ledger Mar 1813-Mar 1881", p. 63.

²³² D6948/2/62, "Manchester Spinning Ledger Mar 1813-Mar 1881", p. 63.

²³³ Fitton and Wadsworth, *The Strutts and the Arkwrights*, p. 299.

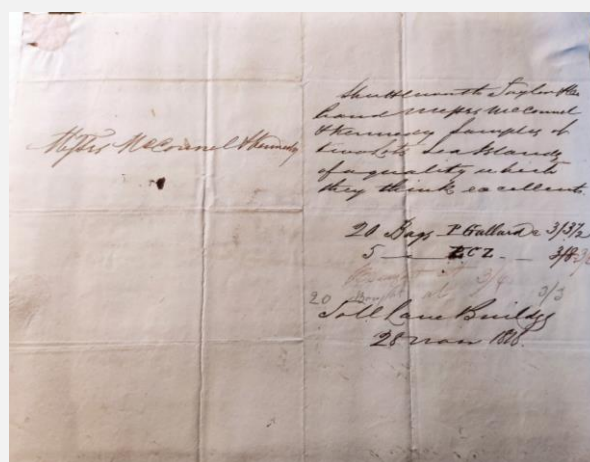
²³⁴ Fitton and Wadsworth, *The Strutts and the Arkwrights*; Susanne Seymour, Lowri Jones and Julia Feuer-Cotter, "The global connections of cotton in the Derwent Valley mills in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries" in *The Industrial Revolution: Cromford, The Derwent Valley and The Wider World*, ed. Chris Wrigley, Arkwright Society Limited, 2017, p. 156.

agent for the Strutts in the Manchester area in 1817 to 1824 and received substantial commercial as well as network benefits from this business relationship. This mutually beneficial commercial link and the notion that Taylor's firm also possibly bought raw cotton supplied by the Strutts for their own business as "Cotton Twist and Weft Dealers", "Cotton Dealers" and "Cotton Merchants", (see Taylor Report, page 17) demonstrates a definitive indirect link between John Edward Taylor and historical slavery.

McConnel & Kennedy

The Strutts and Taylor were also linked to McConnel & Kennedy (later McConnel & Co.), "one of the earliest and most important large scale cotton spinning firms in Manchester".²³⁵ A letter from Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co shows that the firm sent samples of "Sea Island of a quality which they think excellent" to McConnel & Kennedy in 1818.²³⁶ It would appear therefore that Taylor's firm, either on behalf of the Strutts or as cotton dealers sold Sea Island cotton to McConnel & Kennedy in the 1820s. Correspondence between the two firms exist for the years 1817, 1818 and 1822.²³⁷

James McConnel (1762-1831) and John Kennedy (1769-1855) were from Kirkcudbrightshire, Scotland. McConnel & Kennedy's partnership started in 1795 "and within twenty years the firm had become one of Manchester's most prominent concerns".²³⁸ The firm was extensively involved in Sea Island cotton and "from the first few years of the nineteenth century the firm used no other cotton besides Sea Island".²³⁹ This preference emerged for various reasons such as the increasing demand for Sea Island cotton in Britain and



Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. sending samples of Sea Island cotton to McConnel & Kennedy in 1818. GB 133 MCK/2/1/24, "Letters, 1818", *Papers of McConnel & Kennedy and McConnel & Co.*, University of Manchester Library. Courtesy of The University of Manchester. (The Author's Own Image).

²³⁵ Archives Hub, "Papers of McConnel & Kennedy and McConnel & Co.", <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/archives/fe2518a5-1d8e-3bc1-896c-9c3400cff832>, accessed 16 August 2021.

²³⁶ GB 133 MCK/2/1/24, "Letters, 1818", *Papers of McConnel & Kennedy and McConnel & Co.*, University of Manchester Library.

²³⁷ Archives Hub, "Papers of McConnel & Kennedy and McConnel & Co."

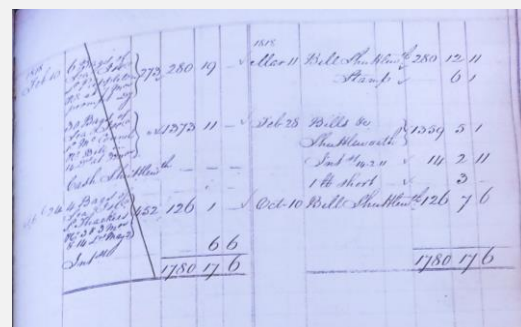
²³⁸ *A Century of Fine Cotton Spinning: McConnell & Co. Ltd., Ancoats, Manchester: 1790-1913*, United Kingdom, George Falkner & Sons, 1913; Michael M. Edwards, *The Growth of the British Cotton Trade, 1780-1815*, United Kingdom, Manchester U.P., 1967; Stanley D. Chapman and S.S. Chapman, *The Cotton Industry in the Industrial Revolution*, Netherlands, Macmillan, 1972; J. F. Wilson, *British Business History, 1720-1994*, United Kingdom, Manchester University Press, 1995; Lawrence S. Rowland, Alexander Moore, and George C., Jr. Rogers, *The History of Beaufort County, South Carolina: 1514-1861*, University of South Carolina Press, 1996, p. 290; Brian Schoen, *The Fragile Fabric of Union: Cotton, Federal Politics, and the Global Origins of the Civil War*, United States, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009; *Slavery's Capitalism: A New History of American Economic Development*, edited by Seth Rockman and Sven Beckert, University of Pennsylvania Press, Incorporated, 2016; Archives Hub, "Papers of McConnel & Kennedy and McConnel & Co."; Science Museum Group, "McConnel & Co.", <https://collection.sciencemuseumgroup.org.uk/people/ap13770/mcconnel-co>, accessed 16 August 2021.

²³⁹ C. H. Lee, *A Cotton Enterprise, 1795-1840: A History of M'Connel & Kennedy Fine Cotton Spinners*, Manchester University Press, 1972, p. 92; *Slavery's Capitalism*, p. 350; Archives Hub, "Papers of McConnel & Kennedy and McConnel & Co."

“fairly stable” supply, except for the tumultuous years (see below, page 47).²⁴⁰ Also, the unrivalled quality of Sea Island cotton meant that it was ideal for the fine spinner.²⁴¹

In the 1820s, McConnel & Kennedy purchased Sea Island cotton from brokers in Charleston and Savannah such as Thomas Hindley, Trappman Schmidt & Co. and Willian Longsdson.²⁴² A letter from John Speakman and Co. of Savannah to McConnell & Kennedy in 1819, indicates that the firm also had planter preferences when it came to Sea Island cotton.²⁴³ C. H. Lee corroborates this notion stating that “much of their purchasing seems to have been according to the plantation from which the cotton came”.²⁴⁴ The 1819 letter which thanks McConnell & Kennedy for their “list of Planters marks” which provided “a good criterion to go by”, shows that McConnell and Kennedy had a preference for planters such as Seabrooks (see below, pages 52-4), Coffins, Butler (see below, pages 65-8), Jenkins, Vanderhorst and Spalding amongst others.²⁴⁵

Many of the names cited in this 1819 letter are also planters who supplied the Strutts with Sea Island cotton. It is possible therefore, that Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. was acting on behalf of the Strutts to try and sell their Sea Island cotton to McConnell & Kennedy.²⁴⁶ This point is further evidenced by multiple appearances of McConnell & Kennedy in the Strutts' Manchester Spinning Ledger. The firm McConnell & Kennedy is cited in the ledger on 10 February 1818 under the account of John Shuttleworth in reference to "30 bags of Sea Island".²⁴⁷ This John Shuttleworth account is connected to the general firm of Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. as the same commission on cotton wool entered for the year 1818 (£1654 10s 0d [RPW: £124,000]) was cited in this account. Another reference to McConnell and Kennedy was made in May 1815 regarding "2 bags of Sea Island" under John Shuttleworth's Money Account.²⁴⁸ The Str correspondence to McConnell & Kennedy from 180 correspondence for the year 1818 shows that W.G. & items "made purposely" for the Strutts.²⁵⁰



John Shuttleworth Account dated 1818 containing references to raw Sea Island cotton. D6948/2/62, "Manchester Spinning Ledger March 1813-March 1818", Derbyshire Record Office, p. 169.

John Shuttleworth's Money Account.²⁴⁸ The Strutts themselves also sent numerous correspondence to McConnell & Kennedy from 1802 to 1813 and 1815 to 1818.²⁴⁹ Their correspondence for the year 1818 shows that W.G. & J. Strutt bought mule twist, with some items "made purposely" for the Strutts.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁰ Lee, *A Cotton Enterprise, 1795-1840*, p. 98.

²⁴¹ Lee, *A Cotton Enterprise, 1795-1840*, p. 93.

²⁴² Lee, *A Cotton Enterprise, 1795-1840*, p. 97.

²⁴³ Rowland et al., *The History of Beaufort County*, p. 290.

²⁴⁴ Lee, *A Cotton Enterprise, 1795-1840*, p. 97.

²⁴⁵ Rowland et al., *The History of Beaufort County*, p. 290.

²⁴⁶ GB 133 MCK/2/1/24, “Letters, 1818”.

²⁴⁷ D6948/2/62, "Manchester Spinning Ledger Mar 1813-Mar 1881", p. 169.

²⁴⁸ D6948/2/62, "Manchester Spinning Ledger Mar 1813-Mar 1881", p. 78.

²⁴⁹ 'Correspondence Received, 1795-1826', *Papers of McConnell & Kennedy and McConnell & Co.*, GB 133 MCK/2/1, University of Manchester Library, <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb133-mck/mck/2/1>, accessed 16 August 2021.

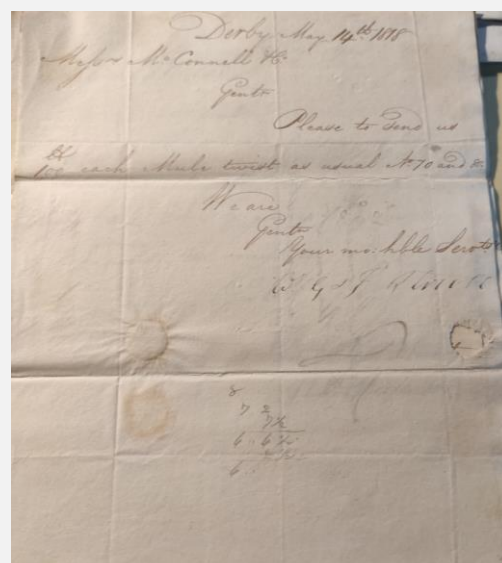
²⁵⁰ GB 133 MCK/2/1/24, “Shuttleworth & Taylor, of Manchester, Lancs Letters”, 2 March 1818, *Papers of McConnel & Kennedy and McConnel & Co.*, University of Manchester Library. Several correspondence received by McConnel & Kennedy from the Strutts in 1818 include requests for “mule twist”. The Strutts may have been requesting “mule twist” from McConnel & Kennedy as they utilised water frame technology that produced “water twist”. Thanks to Susanne Seymour for interpretation of some of the 1818 correspondence received by McConnel & Kennedy from the Strutts.

It is also possible that Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. was supplying cotton to McConnell and Kennedy in their own capacity as cotton dealers or cotton brokers. Correspondence from Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. and McConnell & Kennedy in the year 1818, demonstrate the provision of Sea Island samples as well as the firm's request for information on a Liverpool firm acquainted with McConnell and Kennedy.²⁵¹ Additionally, a letter from Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. to McConnell & Kennedy dated 23 December 1822, show two firms, Jas Hutchinson & Co. and Geo. Johnson & C., with the former seemingly defaulting on £256.10 (RPW: £23,900) that was due on 26 December. Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. also state, "you paid it to us on the 28 October".²⁵² Another letter, dated 31 July 1817, appears to be the earliest correspondence received by McConnell & Kennedy from Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. within the period 1795 to 1826.²⁵³ The letter sent from the firm's business address of Toll Lane Buildings, states

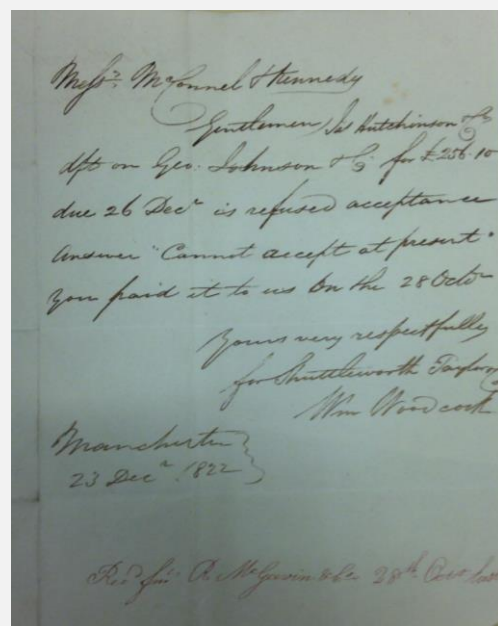
"Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. with respects to Messrs McConnell & Kennedy hand them the Balance accounts of the Bills used on Monday with Interest Statements annexed".²⁵⁴

These letters highlights the possibility that Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. may have been cotton brokers for McConnell & Kennedy, supplying them with raw cotton for their spinning business.

Further research is needed to better understand the exact business relationship between Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. and McConnell and Kennedy. However, these correspondences demonstrate that a business relationship indeed existed between Taylor's firm and one of the largest cotton spinning firms in the Manchester area that specialised in fine spinning and Sea Island cotton.²⁵⁵ Furthermore, it can definitively be stated that as agents for the Strutts,



The Strutts requesting "Mule twist as usual" from McConnell & Kennedy in 14 May 1818. GB 133 MCK/2/1/24, "Letters, 1818", *Papers of McConnell & Kennedy and McConnell & Co.*, University of Manchester Library. Courtesy of The University of Manchester. (The Author's Own Image).



GB 133 MCK/2/1/28, "Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co.", Letters, 1822, *Papers of McConnell & Kennedy and McConnell & Co.*, University of Manchester Library. Courtesy of The University of Manchester. (The Author's Own Image).

²⁵¹ GB 133 MCK/2/1/24, "Shuttleworth & Taylor, of Manchester, Lancs Letters", 13 August 1818, *Papers of McConnell & Kennedy and McConnell & Co.*, University of Manchester Library.

²⁵² "Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co.", Letters, 1822, *Papers of McConnell & Kennedy and McConnell & Co.*, GB 133 MCK/2/1/28, University of Manchester Library.

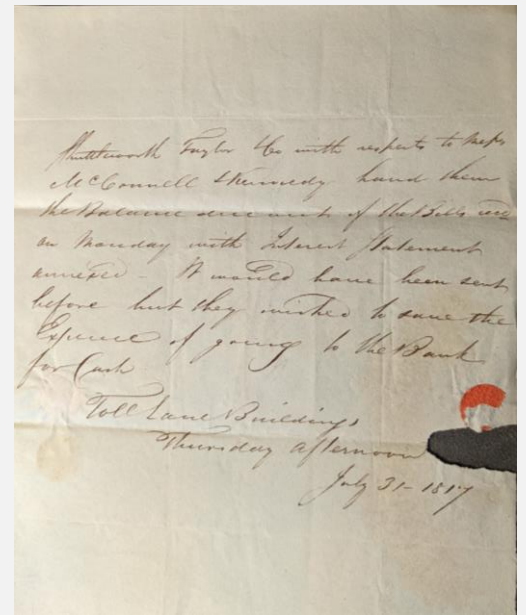
²⁵³ "Correspondence Received, 1795-1826", *Papers of McConnell & Kennedy and McConnell & Co.*

²⁵⁴ GB 133 MCK/2/1/23, "Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co.", Letters, 1817, *Papers of McConnell & Kennedy and McConnell & Co.*, University of Manchester Library.

²⁵⁵ Revealing Histories Remembering Slavery, "Cotton Mills, Ancoats, Manchester", <http://revealinghistories.org.uk/why-was-cotton-so-important-in-north-west-england/places/cotton-mills-ancoats-manchester.html>, accessed 16 August 2021; McConnell & Kennedy master cotton spinners, *Papers of McConnell & Kennedy and McConnell & Co.*, 1715-1888, GB 133 MCK, <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb133-mck>, accessed 16 August 2021.

who did have a business relationship buying mule twist from McConnell and Kennedy for many years, Taylor's firm is indirectly connected to McConnell & Kennedy.

This connection to a firm who "had extensive involvement in the trade in cotton, especially Sea Island cotton, in the early nineteenth century",²⁵⁶ further illustrates the intertwinement of Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. with the Sea Islands and more importantly the enslaved Africans of the Sea Islands and their descendants, the Gullah Geechee people.



Shuttleworth Taylor & Co. with respect to paper
McConnell Kennedy have been
the balance since much of the bills were
on Monday with Liberty Statement
annexed - It would have been sent
before but they wished to save the
expense of going to the Bank
for Cash
Toll Lane Buildings
Thursday afternoon
July 31- 1817

GB 133 MCK/2/1/23, "Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co.", Letters, 1817, *Papers of McConnell & Kennedy and McConnell & Co.*, University of Manchester Library. . Courtesy of The University of Manchester. (The Author's Own Image).

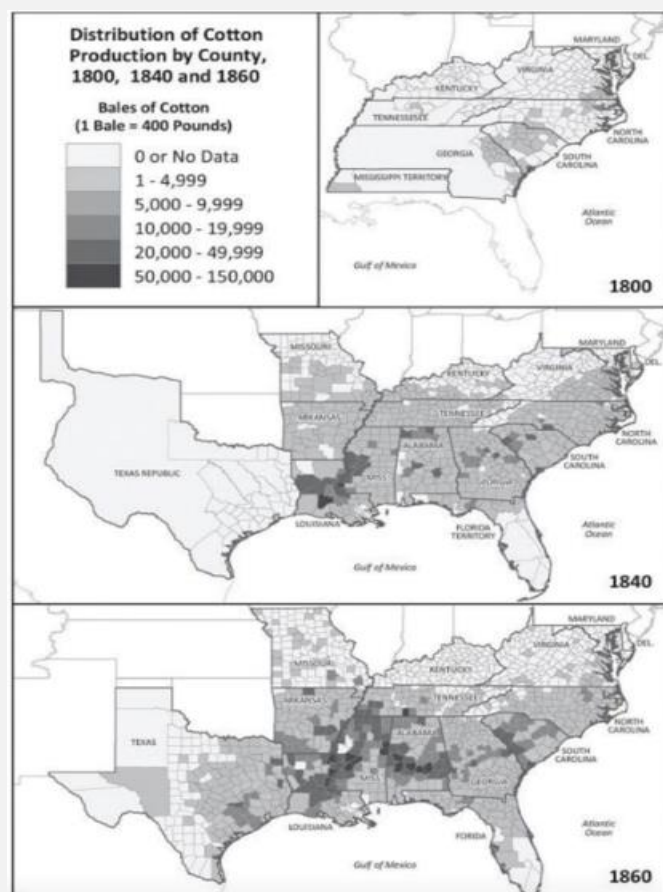
²⁵⁶ *Slavery's Capitalism*, p. 350.

Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. & the Sea Islands

A W.G. and J. Strutt's invoice book dated 1822 to 1825 and housed at the Derbyshire Record Office, depicts various firms receiving raw cotton from the Sea Islands. Amongst the multitude of names listed in this invoice book is Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co., who from 1821 until the dissolution of the partnership in April 1823, received raw cotton from plantations on the Sea Islands.²⁵⁷ However, before delving into the details of the invoice book, a brief background of cotton production in the US, Sea Island cotton and the Strutts' links with the Sea Islands will be discussed to better contextualise the weight of Taylor's connection to this region.

"King Cotton"

Cotton came to replace declining crops such as tobacco, rice and indigo after the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783). Initially taking advantage of existing infrastructure and slave-owning plantations, cotton production was revolutionised by Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin in 1793, growing markets for cotton goods and a drive for technological advancements, amongst other factors.²⁵⁸ This coupled with three ingredients, "labour, land and credit" ensured that "by the late 1850s, cotton grown in the United States accounted for 77 percent of the 800 million pounds of cotton consumed in Britain".²⁵⁹ Indeed, by the mid-19th century cotton was the US leading export, "growing three-quarters of the world's supply of cotton, most of it shipped to England or New England".²⁶⁰



US Census, 1840, 1860. L.C., Gray and Esther Catherine Thompson, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*. Washington, DC: The Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1933 (Image depicted in Edward E. Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism*, United States, Basic Books, 2016).

²⁵⁷ D6948/2/18, "Invoices Jul 1822-Nov 1825", W.G. and J. Strutt Ltd, Derbyshire Record Office.

²⁵⁸ The Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review, United States, 1861; Joyce E. Chaplin, "Creating a Cotton South in Georgia and South Carolina, 1760-1815." *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 57, no. 2, 1991; Sven Beckert, "Emancipation and empire: Reconstructing the worldwide web of cotton production in the age of the American Civil War." *American Historical Review* 109.5, 2004; William J. Phalen, *The Consequences of Cotton in Antebellum America*. United States, McFarland, Incorporated, Publishers, 2014, p. 4; Edward E. Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism*, United States, Basic Books, 2016; "Cotton is King: The Antebellum South, 1800-1860", <http://pressbooks-dev.oer.hawaii.edu/ushistory/chapter/the-economics-of-cotton/>, accessed 29 August 2021; "The Spread of Cotton and of Slavery 1790-1860", <https://mappinghistory.uoregon.edu/english/US/US18-05.html>, accessed 29 August 2021.

²⁵⁹ Sven Beckert, "Empire of Cotton", *The Atlantic*, 12 December 2014, <https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2014/12/empire-of-cotton/383660/>, accessed 29 August 2021.

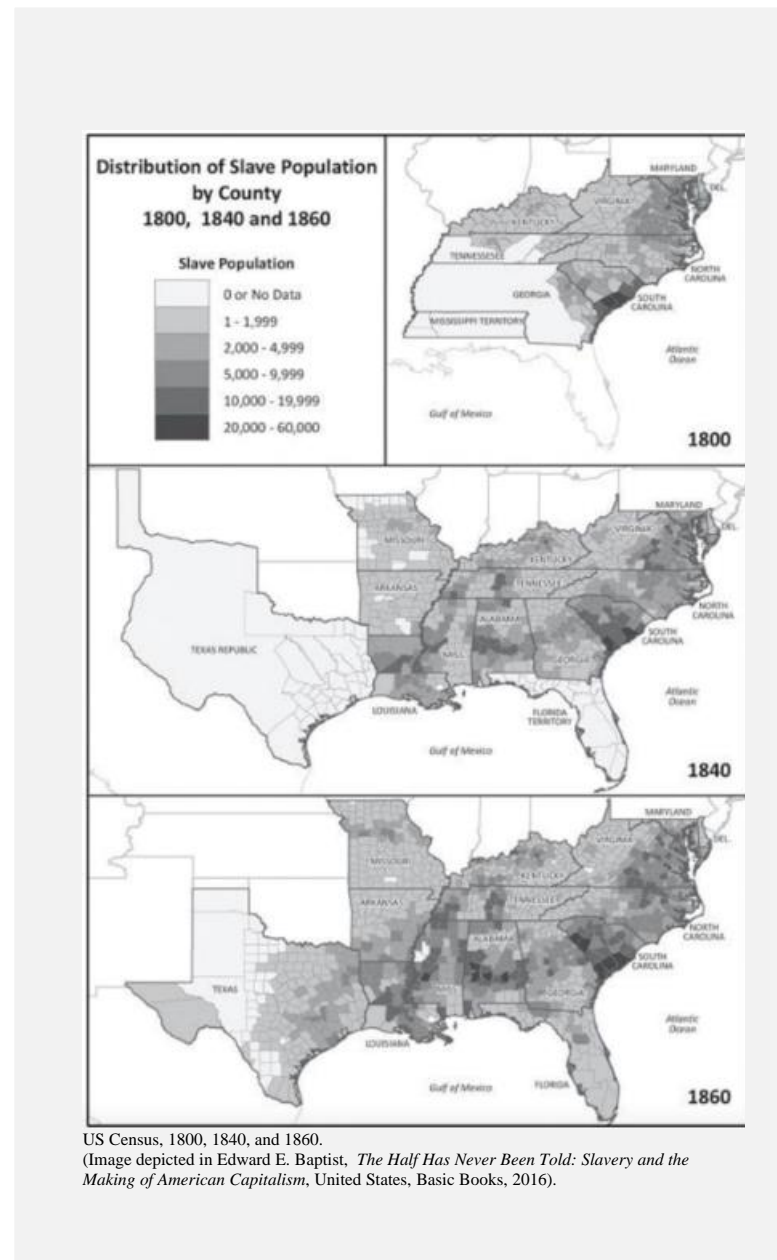
²⁶⁰ *Cotton and the growth of the American economy, 1790-1860: sources readings*, edited by Stuart Bruchey, United States, Harcourt, Brace & World, 1967; Angela Lakwete, *Inventing the Cotton Gin: Machine and Myth in Antebellum America*, United Kingdom, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005; The U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, "Eli Whitney's Patent for the Cotton Gin", <https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/cotton-gin-patent>, accessed 29 August 2021; Digital Public Library of America, "Cotton Gin and the Expansion of Slavery", <https://dp.la/primary-source-sets/cotton>

As Sven Beckert explains, “cotton exports alone put the United States on the world economic map” and by 1861, “raw cotton constituted 61 percent of the value of all U.S. products shipped abroad”.²⁶¹

At the heart of this cotton explosion was the enslaved people who were the backbone of this highly profitable and exploitative industry. As the production and demand for cotton increased so did the demand for enslaved labour. The enslaved population rose “from 700,000 in 1790 to over three million by 1850”.²⁶² Indeed, “in 1790 there were six slave states; in 1860 there were 15”.²⁶³ The images adjacent and above, depict the growth of the cotton industry and increase in the number of enslaved people in the US for the years 1800, 1840 and 1860.

Sea Island Cotton

The Sea Islands, a narrow chain of islands along the coast of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, were once home to the rarest and finest quality cotton in the world. Sea Island cotton or *Gossypium Barbadosense*, was a high priced and high quality long-stapled, silky-fibered cotton that was much sought-after by the British textile industry.²⁶⁴ This lucrative crop was exceedingly important to the US planter class as “it grew only on the Sea Islands, dominated the Sea Island economy for over a century, and provided the foundation for an aristocratic plantation way of life”.²⁶⁵



[gin-and-the-expansion-of-slavery](https://www.asme.org/topics-resources/content/how-the-cotton-gin-started-the-civil-war), accessed 29 August 2021; Robert O. Woods, “How the Cotton Gin Started the Civil War”, <https://www.asme.org/topics-resources/content/how-the-cotton-gin-started-the-civil-war>, accessed 29 August 2021.

²⁶¹ Beckert, “Empire of Cotton”; George McHenry, *The Cotton Supply of the United States of America*, United Kingdom, Spottiswoode & Company, printers, 1865; *Cotton and the growth of the American economy, 1790-1860*.

²⁶² Gene Dattel, *Cotton and Race in the Making of America: The Human Costs of Economic Power*, Ukraine, Ivan R. Dee, 2009. The U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, “Eli Whitney's Patent for the Cotton Gin”; Digital Public Library of America, “Cotton Gin and the Expansion of Slavery”.

²⁶³ The U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, “Eli Whitney's Patent for the Cotton Gin”.

²⁶⁴ Charles F. Kovacik and Robert E. Mason, “Changes in the South Carolina Sea Island Cotton Industry”, *Southeastern Geographer*, vol. 25, no. 2, 1985, pp. 81-91; Eldred E. Prince, “Reviewed Work: The Story of Sea Island Cotton by Richard Dwight Porcher, Sarah Fick”, *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, vol. 109, no. 3, 2008, p. 245; Giorgio Riello, *Cotton: The Fabric That Made the Modern World*, Cambridge University Press, 2013; Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History*, Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2014.

²⁶⁵ Kovacik and Mason, “Changes in the South Carolina Sea Island Cotton Industry”, p. 78.

The Rise & Fall of Sea Island Cotton

There are varying accounts as to the origins of Sea Island cotton. Nichol Turnbull wrote that John Earle of Skidway Island, Georgia, an overseer in East Florida, experimented with growing cotton for domestic purposes as early as 1767.²⁶⁶ Another account by Thomas Spalding, traces its introduction from the Bahamas to Georgia in 1786.²⁶⁷ According to Spalding, Alexander Bissett of St Simons Island, Georgia, produced the first bale of Sea Island cotton in 1788.²⁶⁸

Details on its origin story illustrate that “Sea Island cotton was not cultivated in South Carolina and Georgia during the colonial era but was only introduced into the region in the 1780s”.²⁶⁹ By the turn of the 18th century, indigo which was used for dying fabrics, had lost its commercial viability and status as a “significant South Carolina staple”.²⁷⁰ Advancements in agronomy and machinery stimulated production of Sea Island cotton which expanded from “9,840 pounds in 1789-1790 to 8,301,907 pounds in 1800-1801”.²⁷¹ By 1805, the US was exporting 8,787, 659 lbs of Sea Island cotton, a figure that rose to 11, 344, 066 in 1821.²⁷² In the years 1822 and 1823 when Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co purchased Sea Island cotton through the Strutts, the US exported 11, 250, 635 lbs and 12, 136, 688 lbs respectively.²⁷³

Indeed, the distinctive microclimates of the Sea Islands, cultivation techniques, demand from the British textile industry and the development of the relevant cotton gins ensured that “during the first two decades of the nineteenth century, Sea Island

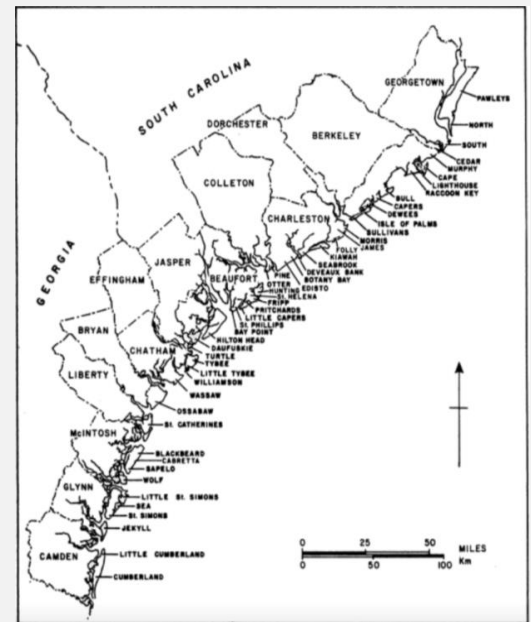


Image showing the Sea Island Coastal Region. US Department of the Interior, *Ecological Characterization of the Sea Island Coastal Region of South Carolina and Georgia*, 1980, p. 10.

Number of pounds of Sea-Island Cotton exported from the United States.

Year.	lbs.	Year.	lbs.
1805	8,787,659	1825	9,655,278
1806	6,096,032	1826	5,972,852
1807	8,926,011	1827	15,140,798
1808 (Embargo)	949,051	1828	11,268,419
1809	8,664,213	1829	12,833,307
1810	8,604,078	1830	8,147,165
1811	8,029,576	1831	8,311,762
1812	4,267,806	1832	8,743,373
1813 (War)	4,134,849	1833	11,142,987
1814	2,520,388	1834	8,085,935
1815	8,449,951	1835	7,752,736
1816	9,900,326	1836	6,114,419
1817	8,101,880	1837	5,286,971
1818	6,035,700	1838	7,286,340
1819	11,015,070	1839	5,107,404
1820	11,718,300	1840	8,779,669
1821	11,344,066	1841	6,752,130
1822	11,250,635	1842	8,016,030
1823	12,136,688		
1824	9,525,722		

Number of pounds of Sea Island cotton exported from the US 1805-1842. Whitmarsh B. Seabrook, *A memoir on the origin, cultivation and uses of cotton from the earliest ages to the present time [microform]...*, Charleston: Miller & Browne, 1844, p. 53.

²⁶⁶ Nicholas Turnbull, "The Beginning of Cotton Cultivation in Georgia," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 1, 1917, pp. 39-45; S. G. Stephens, "The Origin of Sea Island Cotton", *Agricultural History*, vol. 50, no. 2, 1976, p. 393.

²⁶⁷ Stephens, "The Origin of Sea Island Cotton", p. 393; Seymour at al., "The global connections of cotton in the Derwent Valley mills in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries" in *The Industrial Revolution: Cromford, The Derwent Valley and The Wider World*, ed. Chris Wrigley, Arkwright Society Limited, 2017, p. 162.

²⁶⁸ Junius P. Rodriguez, *Slavery in the United States: A Social, Political, and Historical Encyclopedia, Volume 1*, ABC-CLIO, 2007, p. 375; Keith Tinker, *The Bahamas in American History*, Xlibris US, 2011.

²⁶⁹ Rodriguez, *Slavery in the United States*, p. 375.

²⁷⁰ Kovacik and Mason, "Changes in the South Carolina Sea Island Cotton Industry", p. 81; Rowland et al., *The History of Beaufort County*, p. 280.

²⁷¹ Kovacik and Mason, "Changes in the South Carolina Sea Island Cotton Industry", p. 83.

²⁷² Whitmarsh B. Seabrook, *A memoir on the origin, cultivation and uses of cotton from the earliest ages to the present time [microform] : with especial reference to the Sea-Island cotton plant, including the improvements in its cultivation and the preparation of the wool, &c., in Georgia and South-Carolina*, Charleston: Miller & Browne, 1844, p. 53; Rowland et al., *The History of Beaufort County*, p. 281; Thomas E. Terrill and William J. Cooper, *The American South: A History*, United Kingdom, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2008, p.199.

²⁷³ Seabrook, *A memoir*, p. 53.

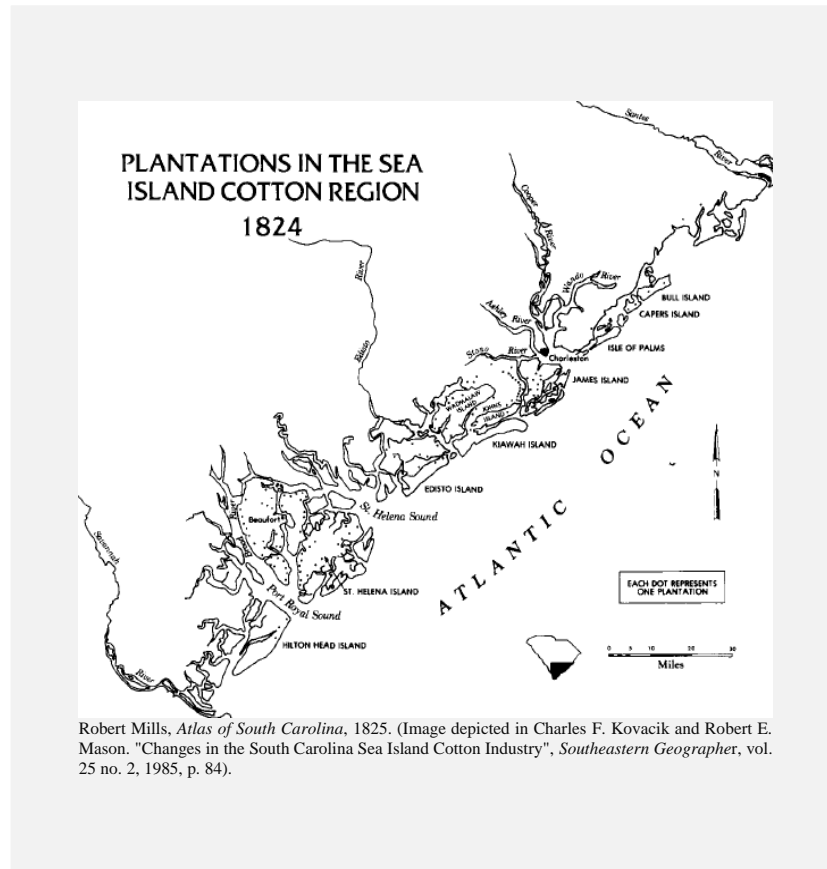
cotton became entrenched as the single important cash crop on the Sea Islands”.²⁷⁴ This in turn led to the “Golden Age” for plantation owners, expansion in cultivation by planters, development of new plantations and increased demand for enslaved labour.²⁷⁵ This “Golden Age” for planters in the Sea Islands would never have been possible without the large numbers of enslaved people who laboured on these plantations. A subsequent section of this report is specifically dedicated to the enslaved population who laboured on the Sea Island plantations.

The American Civil War, increased production of long staple cotton in Georgia and Florida, competition from Egyptian and West Indies cotton, cotton hybridisation and the invasion of the boll weevil in 1916, led to the eventual decline of Sea Island cotton.²⁷⁶

Price & Quality of Sea Island Cotton

The quality of this cotton was reflected in its price. Sea Island cotton, noted for its “several distinctions: Ordinary, Stained and Inferior, Middling, Good, Fine, Very Fine” fetched the highest price on the Liverpool cotton market. Haggerty’s analysis of American Prices Current, illustrates the fluctuations in price for Fine Sea Island cotton, which ranged from generally stable prices of “28–30d per lb” in the period 1800 to 1807, to “72d per lb in December 1814”.²⁷⁷ In 1819, Sea Island was being sold in Liverpool at 21d and by 1837, it had fallen to 16d per pound.²⁷⁸

It should be noted that despite its comparatively high price, there was a strong demand for Sea Island cotton due to its superior quality and staple length. Longer stapled cottons such as Sea Islands “was considered essential for spinning fine and strong yarns” and reduced manufacturing costs in the long run.²⁷⁹ This perhaps accounted for Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co’s possible use of Sea Island cotton in their own cotton twist business.



Robert Mills, *Atlas of South Carolina*, 1825. (Image depicted in Charles F. Kovacik and Robert E. Mason. "Changes in the South Carolina Sea Island Cotton Industry", *Southeastern Geographer*, vol. 25 no. 2, 1985, p. 84).

²⁷⁴ Kovacik and Mason, "Changes in the South Carolina Sea Island Cotton Industry", p. 83; Prince, "Reviewed Work: The Story of Sea Island", p. 245; Riello, *Cotton*; Beckert, *Empire of Cotton*.

²⁷⁵ Terrill and Cooper, *The American South*; Riello, *Cotton*; Beckert, *Empire of Cotton*; Seymour et al., "The Global Connections of Cotton", p. 162.

²⁷⁶ "Sea Island Cotton", *New York Times*, 3 April 1862, Kovacik and Mason, "Changes in the South Carolina Sea Island Cotton Industry", pp. 96-7, Paul M. Gilmer, Control of the Boll Weevil on Sea-Island Cotton, *Journal of Economic Entomology*, Volume 32, Issue 6, 1 December 1939, p. 802.

²⁷⁷ Sherrylynn Haggerty, "What's in a Price? The American Raw Cotton Market in Liverpool and the Anglo-American War", *Business History*, vol. 61, no. 6, 2019, pp. 950, 957.

²⁷⁸ Lakwete, *Inventing the Cotton Gin*, pp. 149-50.

²⁷⁹ L. D. Howell, "Quality-Price Differentials in Cotton Marketing", *Journal of Farm Economics*, vol. 23, no. 1, 1941, p. 330; Haggerty, What's in a price? p. 946.

The Strutts & Sea Island Cotton

There is evidence which illustrates the Strutts' reliance on raw cotton from the southern United States. Utilising bag data from Fitton and Wadsworth, Susanne Seymour, Lowri Jones and Julia Feuer-Cotter explain that from 1794-1817 "smaller amounts" of raw cotton was sourced by the Strutts from the southern US. Following the curtailment of raw cotton supplies from Brazil (the main source of cotton for the Strutts between 1794 and 1817) and increasing popularity of cotton from the US, data shows the Strutts sourcing cotton from the southern US in the 1820s (see Taylor Report, pages 18-19).²⁸⁰ From 1798 onwards, the types of raw cotton the Strutts imported from the southern US included, "bowed (41.7%) and Sea Island (13.5%), with upland of lesser importance (9.9%)".²⁸¹

In 1804, the Strutts bought 40 bags of Sea Island Georgia at a cost of £1354 14s 0d via Liverpool, supplied by Rathbone & Co. In 1806, Wm Gibson, JD Foderingham and R. Roberts are recorded as having supplied the Strutts with Sea Island cotton via Liverpool. In 1806, Jn Bradock also supplied the Strutts with Sea Island cotton via London, along with JJ Trueman and T Kibble in 1807.²⁸² Additionally, raw cotton purchases for the period 1804 to 1817 show the Strutts making Sea Island purchases in 1804, 1806-12 and 1815-17.²⁸³

Apart from sourcing their raw cotton supplies through Liverpool merchants and brokers, many of whom were enslavers (see Taylor Report, page 19), the Strutts also worked with agent merchants in America, such as Thomas Ogier of Charleston, South Carolina to acquire small quantities of raw cotton.²⁸⁴ According to Fitton, "between 1805 and 1811 the Strutts consigned trunks of hosiery to Thomas Ogier of Charleston, South Carolina".²⁸⁵ Ogier would then sell the consignment and pay the Strutts in cotton and bills.²⁸⁶ This commercial relationship is illustrative of Williams' analysis of the triangular trade and the triple stimulus Britain received from its colonial trade.²⁸⁷ This relationship with the cotton growing South began in August 1805 and March 1806, when the Strutts despatched their first consignments of hosiery valued at £977 7s. 7d to Charleston.²⁸⁸ In 1826, the Strutts were still receiving raw cotton supplies from the Sea Islands as evidenced in a complaint to their broker regarding the condition of their Sea Island cotton; "the following Nos. of Sea Island Cotton by F. & S. are come in so shameful a condition that we must charge somebody with the damage".²⁸⁹

²⁸⁰ Seymour et al., "The Global Connections of Cotton", pp. 156, 161.

²⁸¹ Seymour et al., "The Global Connections of Cotton", p. 162.

²⁸² D6948/2/33, "Spinning Ledger (Derby?) Sept 1802 - Feb 1807", W G and J Strutt Ltd., Derbyshire Record Office, pp. 303, 308, 306, 304. Thanks to Susanne Seymour for her original notes on the Strutts' raw cotton supplies transcribed for the years 1793-1807.

²⁸³ R. S. Fitton and Alfred P. Wadsworth, *The Strutts and the Arkwrights, 1758-1830: A Study of the Early Factory System*, Manchester University Press, 1958, p. 266-7.

²⁸⁴ R.S. Fitton, "Overseas Trade during the Napoleonic Wars, as Illustrated by the Records of W. G. & J. Strutt", *Economica*, vol. 20, no. 77, 1953, pp. 56-7; Fitton and Wadsworth, *The Strutts and the Arkwrights*, pp. 285, 312-14; Seymour et al., "The Global Connections of Cotton", p. 162-3.

²⁸⁵ Fitton, "Overseas Trade during the Napoleonic Wars, as Illustrated by the Records of W. G. & J. Strutt", p. 56.

²⁸⁶ Fitton and Wadsworth, *The Strutts and the Arkwrights, 1758-1830*, pp. 285, 312-13.

²⁸⁷ Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*. 1st ed., University of North Carolina Press, 1944, pp. 51-2, 71; Donald Read, *Peterloo The 'Massacre' and its Background*, Manchester University Press, 1958, p. 5; Robert B. Marks, *The Origins of the Modern World: Fate and Fortune in the Rise of the West*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2007; Catherine Hall, et al. *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership: Colonial Slavery and the Formation of Victorian Britain*, Cambridge University Press, 2014, p. 206.

²⁸⁸ Fitton, "Overseas Trade", p. 56; Fitton and Wadsworth, *The Strutts and the Arkwrights*, p. 312.

²⁸⁹ Fitton and Wadsworth, *The Strutts and the Arkwrights*, p. 291.

Seymour *et. al.* cite the main areas where the Strutts sourced their raw cotton in the southern US for the period 1793 to 1817, as “Georgia to where over half the bags (50.2%) were referenced and the New Orleans hinterland, the origin of over a fifth (22.7%)”.²⁹⁰

W.G. and J. Strutt Invoice Book, 1822-1825

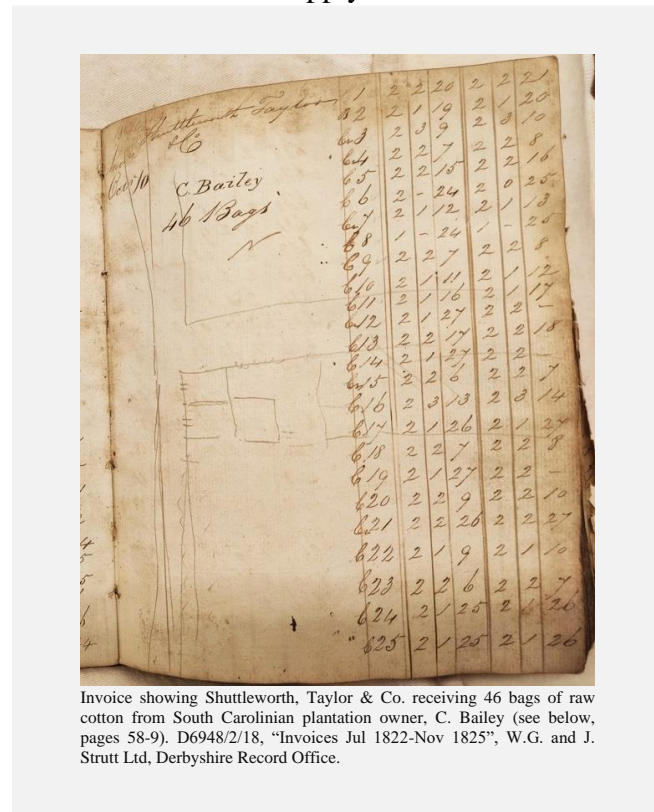
The W.G. and J. Strutt invoice book offers valuable insight to the Strutts and Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co’s links with southern US enslavers and Sea Island cotton. This invoice book allows us to trace the source of some of Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co’s raw cotton supply between 14 August 1822 and 24 April 1823. In total, Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. received 214 bags of cotton from Sea Island planters within that period.

Taylor’s firm was likely buying raw cotton from plantations in the Sea Islands for the Strutts and some of the Strutts’ clientele. This likelihood is further corroborated by records of Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. receiving commission for cotton wool in the above captioned Commission Account, for the years 1818 to 1821. It is also possible that Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. was using some of this raw cotton for their own business as cotton twist and weft dealers.

It should be mentioned that although the partnership of Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co was dissolved on 25th March 1823, there are two invoices made out to the firm on April 16 and April 24th 1823. Furthermore, the above captioned Commission Account for Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. lists moneys paid to the firm until 1 March 1824.²⁹¹ This indicates the possibility that Taylor was still commercially involved with the firm post dissolution or that this was a long-standing order being fulfilled. From July 3rd 1823, John Shuttleworth is recorded as receiving an invoice from the Strutts, minus the firm Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co.

The relevant invoices show the firm of Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co., the date the invoices were recorded, the number of raw cotton supplied and most importantly, the names of the Sea Island planters and enslavers who supplied the raw cotton to the Strutts and Taylor. As sea island cotton was hailed for its unrivalled quality and was a source of pride for the growers, the cotton became somewhat “branded”. As Rowland, Moore and Rogers explain:

“Throughout the antebellum era the sea island cotton product of specific plantations was often known by the name of the planter that produced it, much



Invoice showing Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. receiving 46 bags of raw cotton from South Carolinian plantation owner, C. Bailey (see below, pages 58-9). D6948/2/18, “Invoices Jul 1822-Nov 1825”, W.G. and J. Strutt Ltd, Derbyshire Record Office.

²⁹⁰ Seymour et al., “The Global Connections of Cotton”, p. 162.

²⁹¹ D6948/2/62, “Manchester Spinning Ledger Mar 1813-Mar 1881”, p. 63.

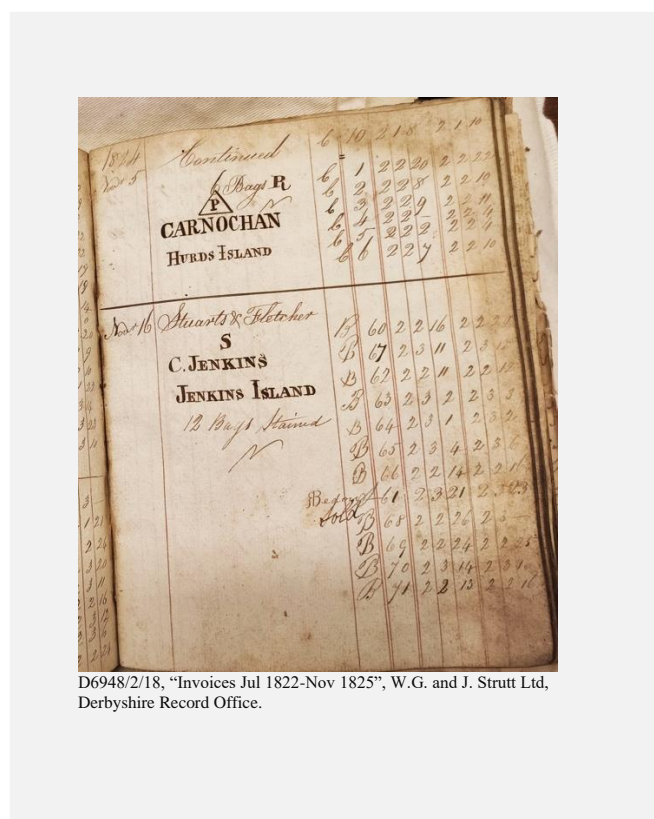
as wine has generally been known by the name of the vineyard that produced the grapes”.²⁹²

Furthermore, the US National Park Service in 1986 explained that “Edisto planters experimented with their seed, and ultimately each perfected his own jealously guarded strain, recognizable only to its owner”.²⁹³ Consequently, the names of plantation owners and their associated plantations were quite important in terms of demonstrating its value and quality to importers.

This branding helps us to not only understand the exact source of a quantity of Taylor’s raw cotton supply but is also increasingly important in attempting to identify the enslaved labourers who toiled on these plantations as well as their descendants.

The Sea Island planters benefitted immensely from the eager markets for their cotton and accumulated immense profits from the labour of the enslaved who worked on their plantations. Indeed, “the wealth amassed by the sea island cotton planters between 1790 and 1825 made them among the richest families in early America”.²⁹⁴ The wealth generated from Sea Island cotton also resulted in the old town of Beaufort County, South Carolina, becoming “one of the wealthiest towns in antebellum America”.²⁹⁵

The Strutts invoice book includes the names of prominent planters from the Sea Islands and can thus be used to illustrate the prosperity of the planter class and enslavers on these islands. For example, the invoices show that the Strutts imported cotton from wealthy enslavers such as the Stoneys, Popes, Elliotts, Barnwells, Vanderhorst, Edings and Seabrooks. Before delving into the background of the planters associated with Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co., brief details on other noteworthy planters included in the invoice book will be given to contextualise the wealth of the planter class and highlight the background of these enslavers. These details are also relevant to Taylor’s firm given its role as agents for the Strutts and accompanying commissioner benefits derived from the Strutt’s cotton enterprise.



D6948/2/18, “Invoices Jul 1822-Nov 1825”, W.G. and J. Strutt Ltd, Derbyshire Record Office.

²⁹² Rowland et al., *The History of Beaufort County*, p. 281.

²⁹³ US Department of the Interior, “Edisto Island Multiple Resource Area”, National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, 1986, p 4, <http://www.nationalregister.sc.gov/MPS/MPS012.pdf>, accessed 2 August 2021.

²⁹⁴ Rowland et al., *The History of Beaufort County*, p. 284.

²⁹⁵ Rowland et al., *The History of Beaufort County*, p. 284; Mabel L. Webber, “Records from the Elliott-Rowand Bible. Accompanied by an Account of the First Thomas Elliott and of Some of His Descendants”, *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. 11, no. 1, 1910, pp. 57–71.

Invoice Book: Case Studies of Planters

The Elliots

A W. Elliot is mentioned in the Strutts' invoice book as supplying the Strutts with 17 bags of cotton on March 11, 1823. This is likely William Elliott III (1788-1863) who owned Myrtle Bank (Elliot) Plantation on Hilton Head Island. The Elliots owned this plantation for several generations after the daughter of William and Phoebe Jenkins Waight inherited it and married William Elliott II (1761-1808) in 1787.²⁹⁶ According to Rowland et. al., Elliott II was the first planter in the Beaufort District to plant sea island cotton. It was wealth procured from sea island cotton and the exploitation of enslaved labour that laid the foundation of the Elliott families' fortunes and political clout.

Elliott III owned both rice and cotton plantations in the Beaufort and Colleton areas of South Carolina and along the Ogeechee River in Georgia.²⁹⁷ According to the Southern Historical Collection at the Louis Round Wilson Library, in addition to owning the Myrtle Bank plantation, Elliott "obtained at least five plantations in Colleton District"²⁹⁸ through marriage and was the owner of "Bee Hive and Hope tracts on the Edisto River; Ellis, Shell Point, The Grove, and Bay Point plantations in Beaufort District".²⁹⁹

The 1860 "Slave Schedule" noted that "Elliott enslaved 103 people in St. Helena parish and 114 people in St. Paul parish".³⁰⁰

The Barnwells

There are two invoices that depict a connection between the Strutts and the wealthy Barnwell family of Beaufort County. One invoice is dated 12 August 1823 for 54 bags of cotton and the other is listed as 18 October 1824 for 40 bags of cotton, both from an E. Barnwell.

Invoice No.	Date	Amount
1	21/5	2/12/7
2	22/5	2/2/6
3	22/6	2/2/8
4	22/8	2/2/10
5	21/6	2/1/8
6	21/9	2/1/11
7	22/0	2/2/1
8	22/8	2/2/10
9	22/0	2/2/1
10	21/11	2/1/8
11	21/6	2/1/8
12	21/11	2/1/10
13	12/14	1/2/10
14	21/1	2/1/2
15	22/8	2/2/4
16	22/10	2/2/11
17	21/8	2/1/10

D6948/2/18, "Invoices Jul 1822-Nov 1825", W.G. and J. Strutt Ltd, Derbyshire Record Office.

Invoice No.	Date	Amount
1	22/5	2/2/6
2	30/5	3/0/6
3	22/6	2/2/14
4	23/8	2/3/11
5	22/9	2/3/1
6	30/2	3/0/5
7	23/3	2/3/23
8	23/20	2/3/23
9	21/21	2/1/22
10	23/5	2/3/11
11	30/5	3/0/6
12	23/11	2/3/14
13	23/27	3/0/0
14	21/24	2/0/25
15	23/6	2/3/23
16	21/23	2/2/3
17	22/5	2/2/10
18	22/8	2/2/10
19	22/14	2/2/11
20	22/0	2/2/7
21	30/2	3/0/10
22	21/16	2/1/14
23	23/20	2/3/23
24	22/0	2/2/7
25	23/2	2/3/3

D6948/2/18, "Invoices Jul 1822-Nov 1825", W.G. and J. Strutt Ltd, Derbyshire Record Office.

²⁹⁶ The Heritage Library Foundation, "Myrtle Bank (Elliott) Plantation", Hilton Head Plantations, <https://heritagelib.org/myrtle-bank-elliott-plantation>, accessed 5 August 2021.

²⁹⁷ "Elliott and Gonzáles Family Papers, 1701-1898", *Southern Historical Collection*, <https://finding-aids.lib.unc.edu/01009/>, accessed 4 August 2021.

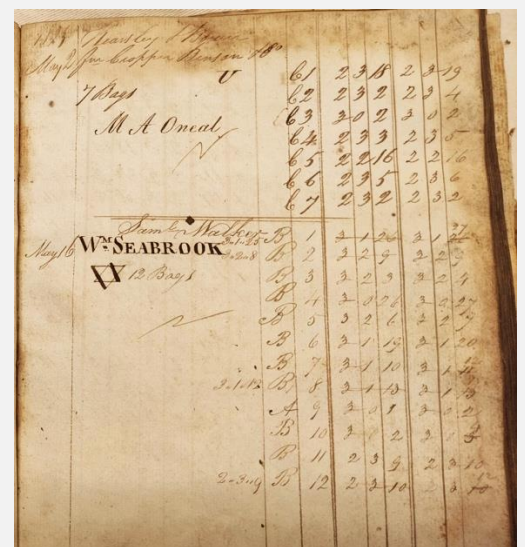
²⁹⁸ The names of the five plantations were "Balls (1,083 acres) in St. Bartholomew Parish; Social Hall, the Bluff, and Middle Place (totalling approximately 3,400 acres) near the Ashepoo River and Chehaw Creek; and Pon Pon, later called Oak Lawn (1,750 acres) on the Edisto River". "Elliott and Gonzáles Family Papers, 1701-1898", *Southern Historical Collection*.

²⁹⁹ "Elliott and Gonzáles Family Papers, 1701-1898", *Southern Historical Collection*.

³⁰⁰ "Elliott and Gonzáles Family Papers, 1701-1898", *Southern Historical Collection*.

In John Barnwell's "will of 1724, he bequeaths 4,500 acres, and two lots in Beaufort, to various children".³⁰⁴ Given the time period of the invoice book entry, the E. Barnwell depicted in the Strutts' invoice book may have been Captain Edward Barnwell (1785-1860) or Elizabeth Nathalie Barnwell (b. 1801). Edward Barnwell was the great-grandson of John Barnwell and son of Colonel Edward Barnwell (1757-1808) and Mary Bower Williamson (1761 to 1789). He died on 19 January 1860 in Prince William, Beaufort, South Carolina. Elizabeth Nathalie Barnwell (b. 1801) inherited the Barnwell Island Plantation (St. Bartholemews Parish, Beaufort Co., SC) from her father Nathaniel Barnwell (1772-1801).³⁰⁵ American diplomat, William Henry Trescot (1823-1898), eventually came to own this plantation through his marriage to Elizabeth's daughter, Eliza Natalie Cuthbert (1826-1910).³⁰⁶ An 1860 "Slave Schedule" shows that at that time, Trescott owned 131 enslaved persons on the Barnwell Island Plantation.³⁰⁷

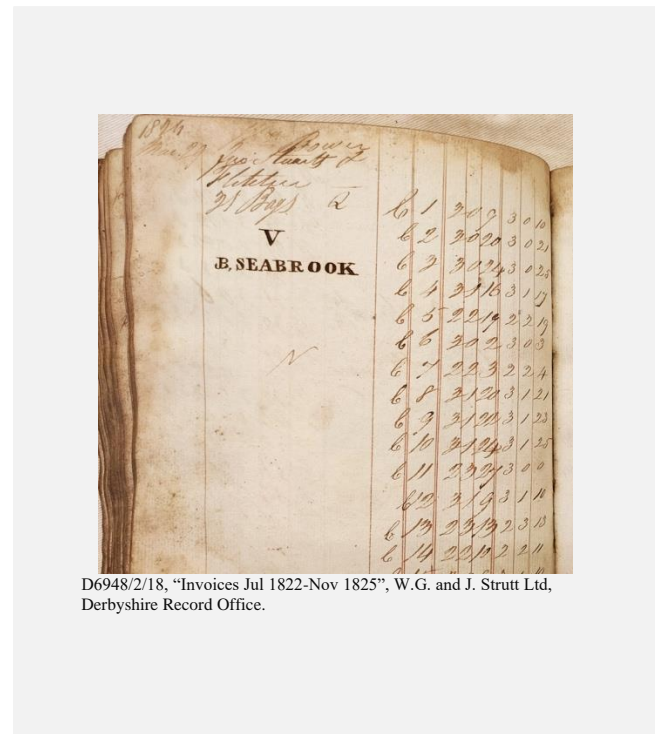
The Strutt invoice book references a Wm Seabrook on 1st December 1824 and 16 May 1823 as supplying



D6948/2/18, "Invoices Jul 1822-Nov 1825", W.G. and J. Strutt Ltd,
Derbyshire Record Office.

³⁰⁷ Sankofa's Slavery Data Collection, "Barnwell's Island Plantation", https://sites.rootsweb.com/~afamerpl/plantations_usa/SC/barnwellsisland.html, accessed 3 August 2021.

47 and 12 bags of cotton respectively. The Wm Seabrook cited was likely South Carolinian planter and enslaver William Seabrook (1773-1836). He was a descendant of an English merchant, Captain Robert Seabrook (1652-1710) and a fourth-generation South Carolinian.³⁰⁸ He married twice, into families extensively connected with other prominent enslaver families such as the Calders, Baileys, Splatts, Jenkinses and Edings. He had eleven children “and this extensive family, within two generations, bought land and planted all over Edisto Island”.³⁰⁹ Apart from his plantations on Edisto Island, William Seabrook “owned Seabrook Island and plantations on Johns, Wadmalaw and Hilton Head Islands”.³¹⁰ One such plantation was the Seabrook Plantation located at the northern end of Hilton Head Island.³¹¹ He was also “part owner of the Edisto Island Ferry” and purchased a steamboat “W. Seabrook” that was primarily used by the wealthy planters of Edisto Island to conveniently access trading ports in Charleston and Savannah.³¹² At the time of his death in 1836, William Seabrook was one of the wealthiest Sea Island cotton planters and possessed a personal estate worth \$376,916” (RPW: £7,778,808). He also bequeathed “a plantation to each of his children”.³¹³



D6948/2/18, “Invoices Jul 1822–Nov 1825”, W.G. and J. Strutt Ltd, Derbyshire Record Office.

In 1840, “the Estate of William Seabrook is also listed with one free person of color and 230 slaves”.³¹⁴ More specifically, the estate inventory for Seabrook’s Edisto Island and Johns Island plantations, filed in December of 1860, list the names of 119 and 78 enslaved ancestors respectively.³¹⁵

A B. Seabrook was also quoted in the Strutts’ invoice book as supplying 18 and 31 bags of cotton on 3 December 1822 and 29 March 1824 respectively. This was likely Benjamin Seabrook (1763-1825) of Charleston and Edisto Island.³¹⁶ He was a plantation owner and son

³⁰⁸ Mabel L. Webber, “The Early Generations of the Seabrook Family”, *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. 17, no. 1, 1916, p. 14; , Joseph LaRoche Rivers, *Seven South Carolina Low Country Families: Bailey, Clark, Grimball, Jenkins, Seabrook, Townsend and Whaley*, United States, 1997; Rowland et al., *The History of Beaufort County*, p. 133.

³¹⁰ Charles Spencer, *Edisto Island, 1663 to 1860 : Wild Eden to Cotton Aristocracy*, Arcadia Publishing Inc., 2008, p. 137; South Carolina Plantations, “Seabrook Plantation – Edisto Island – Charleston County”, <https://south-carolina-plantations.com/charleston/seabrook.html>, accessed 3 August 2021.

³¹¹ Rachel Campo, Michael Trinkley and Debi Hacker, “The Plantation Landscape: Slaves and Freedmen at Seabrook Plantation, Hilton Head Island, S.C.”, *Chicora Foundation Research Series* 34, p. 11, <https://www.chicora.org/pdfs/RS%2034.pdf>, accessed 3 August 2021.

³¹² Fanny Kemble, Frances Anne Kemble and John Anthony Scott, *Journal of a residence on a Georgian plantation in 1838-1839*, University of Georgia Press, 1984, p. 36; Charlotte Hutson Wrenn, “The William Seabrook House, Edisto Island”, <https://charlottehutson.wordpress.com/2010/10/08/the-william-seabrook-house-edisto-island/>, accessed 1 August 2021; US Department of the Interior, “William Seabrook House”, National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, <http://www.nationalregister.sc.gov/charleston/S10817710031/S10817710031.pdf>, accessed 1 August 2021.

³¹³ Webber, “The Early Generations of the Seabrook Family”, p. 14, 67; Spencer, *Edisto Island*, p. 133; South Carolina Plantations, “Seabrook Plantation”.

³¹⁴ Campo et al., “The Plantation Landscape”, p. 23

³¹⁵ Ancestry “Slaves at the Edisto Island Plantation of William Seabrook, 1860”, <https://www.fold3.com/page/111581445/slaves-in-the-estate-of-william-seabrook-edisto-island-sc-1860/stories>, accessed 29 July 2021.

³¹⁶ *Charleston Courier*, July 7, 1825; Webber, “The Early Generations of the Seabrook Family”, p. 64.

of Benjamin Seabrook (d. 1780) of Edisto Island. There is an advertisement that appeared in the S. C. Gazette August 3, 1761, where Benjamin Seabrook Senior, an enslaver, “advertises for two runaway negroes, formerly the property of Mr. Benjamin Cattell”.³¹⁷ Additionally, on 28 June 1775 he gave “to his son-in-law, Ralph Bailey, six negroes; purchased of Edward Fisher & Co. June 17, 1774”.³¹⁸ Whitmarsh Benjamin Seabrook (1793-1855), the 63rd Governor of South Carolina from 1848 to 1850 who owned numerous plantations including Gun Bluff Plantation on Edisto Island, was the son of Benjamin Seabrook.³¹⁹

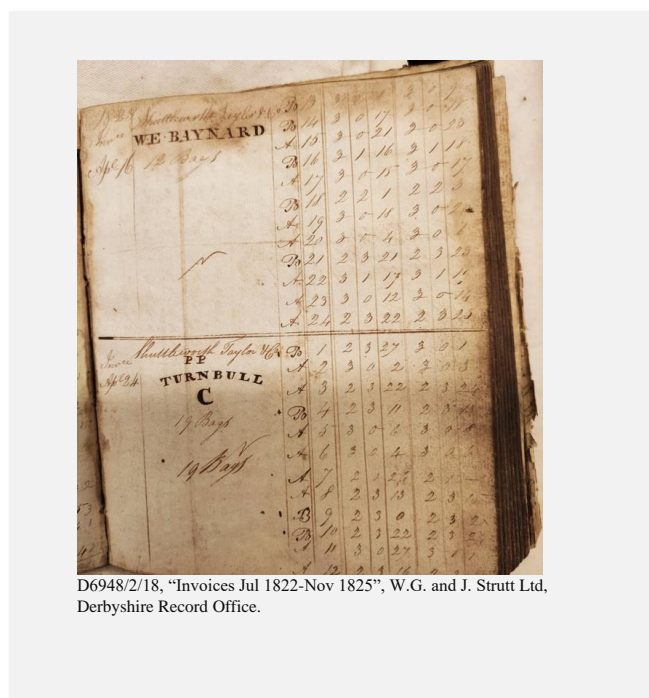
Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co’s Connection with Enslavers from the Sea Islands

William Eddings Baynard

A W.E. Baynard is listed in the Strutt invoice dated 16 April 1823 as supplying 12 bags of cotton to Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co.

The W.E. Baynard listed in the invoice book was likely William Eddings (also appears as Edings) Baynard (1800-1849), the son of Thomas Baynard (1763-1805) and Sarah Calder. The Baynards were wealthy plantation and enslavers, who owned land on Edisto Island, Hilton Head Island, Bluffton and Savannah.

Thomas Baynard, “purchased the 600 acre Spanish Wells Plantation from the Mongins [John David Mongin] around 1790” on Hilton Head Island.³²⁰ William Baynard Jr. (1772-1802), the younger brother of Thomas Baynard, purchased the 850 acre Muddy Creek Plantation between 1790-1792, also on Hilton Head Island.³²¹ William Edings Baynard himself “owned several plantations on Hilton Head Island and in Bluffton”, having inherited Spanish Wells Plantation from his father and purchasing Muddy Creek Plantation from his uncle, William Baynard Jr.’s estate.³²² A 1926 letter from Richard A. Ellis to B.E. Willingham offers further insight to Baynard’s residence and property:



D6948/2/18, “Invoices Jul 1822-Nov 1825”, W.G. and J. Strutt Ltd, Derbyshire Record Office.

³¹⁷ Webber, “The Early Generations of the Seabrook Family”, p. 59

³¹⁸ Webber, “The Early Generations of the Seabrook Family”, p. 60.

³¹⁹ Rowland et al., *The History of Beaufort County*, p. 154.

³²⁰ Rev. Robert E.H. Peeples, “An Index to Hilton Head Island Names (Before the Contemporary Development)” 1972, p. 39, <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5802c4d9414fb5e45ce4dc44/t/5cee93a8971a18082e09424d/1559139252086/Peoples%2C+Robert+E.H.-An+Index+to+Hilton+Head+Island+Names.pdf>, accessed 2 August 2021; Lou Benfante, “William Eddings Baynard”, <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5802c4d9414fb5e45ce4dc44/t/5998b38c15d5db7a7d559603/1503179665638/Baynard%2C+William+Eddings.pdf>, accessed 25 July 2021; Forgotten History, “Spanish Wells”, <https://www.forgottenhistory.us/index.php/node/1379>, accessed 3 August 2021.

³²¹ Peeples, “An Index to Hilton Head Island Names” p. 29; Benfante, “William Eddings Baynard”; South Carolina Plantations, “Muddy Creek Plantation – Hilton Head Island – Beaufort County”, <https://south-carolina-plantations.com/beaufort/muddy-creek.html>, accessed 3 August 2021.

³²² Benfante, “William Eddings Baynard”; Forgotten History, “Spanish Wells”.

“William E. Baynard lived on Edisto Island, where he had larg [sic] laned property; and he owned besides, the splendid Buckingham Plantation near Bluffton, S.C. and on Hilton Head Island”.³²³

According to Hilton Head Island historian, Lou Benfante, Baynard acquired Buckingham Plantation in the 1820s. Therefore, at the time of exporting Sea Island Cotton to the Strutts for Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co., W.E. Baynard owned Buckingham Plantation and likely the estates acquired from his family, Muddy Creek Plantation and Spanish Wells Plantation.

A 1790 census shows that 20 enslaved persons lived and worked on William E. Baynard’s Muddy Creek Plantation.³²⁴ Additionally, following the fall of Hilton Head Island to Union troops in 1861, “the estate of William Baynard claimed losses of \$112,850, including 129 slaves valued at \$91,000 ”.³²⁵

Stoney/Baynard Ruins

Baynard was a very wealthy plantation owner and enslaver, regarded as a reputedly successful planter of Sea Island Cotton. Indeed by 1850, the “Baynard family plantations were major producers of sea island cotton”.³²⁶ It was rumoured that Baynard won one of his estates, the Braddock’s Point Plantation of Hilton Head Island, in a poker game against Captain Jack Stoney.³²⁷ The Stoneys were another prominent enslaver family that also supplied the Strutts with Sea Island cotton.³²⁸ There is evidence which indicates that “as early as 1811 John Stoney, a merchant in Charleston, and James Stoney, a planter on Hilton Head Island, were purchasing large tracts of land and slaves”.³²⁹ Legal documents illustrate that these two brothers “were equal partners in the venture, with each entitled to one moiety or a half-interest in the combined property and slaves”.³³⁰ According to the Chicora Foundation:



Remains of housing used by enslaved Africans on the Baynard Plantation
<https://www.scpictureproject.org/beaufort-county/stoney-baynard-plantation.html>. Copyright © 2012 Pat French. All rights reserved.

“...it is likely that the brothers were engaging in land and slave speculation, perhaps with the ultimate goal of James

³²³ Michael Trinkley, “Preliminary Historical Research on the Baynard Plantation, Hilton Head Island, Beaufort County, South Carolina”, Chicora Foundation Research Series 24, 1991, p 12, <https://www.chicora.org/pdfs/RS%2024%20-%20Baynard%20History.pdf>, accessed 3 August 2021; Benfante, “William Eddings Baynard”.

³²⁴ The Heritage Library Foundation, “Muddy Creek (Savage's) Plantation (Place)”, Hilton Head Plantations, <https://heritagelib.org/muddy-creek-savages-plantation-place>, accessed 3 August 2021.

³²⁵ Trinkley, “Preliminary Historical Research on the Baynard Plantation”, p. 15; South Carolina Historical Society, “Abstract of Property in the State of South Carolina Lost by the Citizens thereof from the War, 34/309”.

³²⁶ Rowland et al., *The History of Beaufort County*, p. 374.

³²⁷ Trinkley, “Preliminary Historical Research on the Baynard Plantation”, p. 5; US Department of the Interior, “Stoney/Baynard Plantation”, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, <http://www.nationalregister.sc.gov/beaufort/S10817707056/S10817707056.pdf>, accessed 3 August 2021; Hilton Head, SC, “Explore the Stoney-Baynard Ruins at Sea Pines”, <https://www.hiltonhead.com/explore-the-stoney-baynard-ruins-at-sea-pines/>, accessed 3 August 2021; SC Picture Project, “Stoney-Baynard Plantation”, <https://www.scpictureproject.org/beaufort-county/stoney-baynard-plantation.html>, accessed 3 August 2021; Benfante, “William Eddings Baynard”.

³²⁸ D6948/2/18, “Invoices Jul 1822-Nov 1825”, W.G. and J. Strutt Ltd, Derbyshire Record Office.

³²⁹ Charleston RMC, DB 07, p. 71; C8, p. 365; C9, p. 179; C9, p. 185; Trinkley, “Preliminary Historical Research on the Baynard Plantation”, p. 10.

³³⁰ Charleston RMC, DB C9, p. 179; Trinkley, “Preliminary Historical Research on the Baynard Plantation”, p. 10.

Stoney operating the plantations and using his brother John to handle the factorage of the cotton”.³³¹

James Stoney died in 1827 and John Stoney’s financial empire fell in the mid-19th Century. Mounting debt led him to “mortgaged virtually all of his real and personal property to the Bank of Charleston in 1837 for the amount of \$400,000 ”.³³² The Bank of Charleston eventually sold Braddock’s Point Plantation (consisting of 1000 acres) to W.E. Baynard on 17 December 1845 for \$10,000.³³³ The Braddock’s Point Plantation House is now referred to as the Baynard Ruins or Stoney-Baynard Ruins.³³⁴ Baynard also used his wealth to purchase the historic Davenport House in Savannah.³³⁵

Baynard’s Links to other Planters

W. E. Baynard was married to Catherine Adelaide Scott (1812-1854), the daughter of Joseph Adams Scott (1781-1826), an enslaver who owned Grass Lawn Plantation.³³⁶ The Scotts acquired Grass Lawn in “1791 when William Pope Senior sold 356 acres of his Coggins Point Plantation”.³³⁷ Catherine Scott was also the niece of Squire Pope, also known as William Pope Jr. (1788–1862), another planter who the Strutts imported Sea Island cotton from in the 1820s.³³⁸ Pope was a wealthy planter and owned Coggins Point Plantation. This plantation was owned by Samuel Green, yet another planter listed in the Strutts invoice book, who in 1767, left it to his daughters Susannah Green and Sarah Green Tucker. Tucker eventually became the sole owner of the plantation following the death of her sister. In 1785, Tucker married William Pope Senior who acquired the plantation through the marriage. Their son “Squire” William Pope, inherited Coggins Point Plantation in the early 1800s”.³³⁹ He was also the owner of Cotton Hope Plantation on Hilton Head Island.³⁴⁰

³³¹ Trinkley, “Preliminary Historical Research on the Baynard Plantation”, p. 10.

³³² Trinkley, “Preliminary Historical Research on the Baynard Plantation”, p. 10; The Heritage Library Foundation, “Braddock’s Point Plantation”, Hilton Head Plantations, <https://heritagelib.org/braddocks-point-plantation>, accessed 5 August 2021.

³³³ Trinkley, “Preliminary Historical Research on the Baynard Plantation”, p. 5, 12; Dwayne W. Pickett, Captain William Hilton and the Founding of Hilton Head Island, History Press, 2019, p. 111; The Heritage Library Foundation, “Braddock’s Point Plantation”, Hilton Head Plantations; South Carolina Plantations, “Braddock’s Point Plantation – Hilton Head Island – Beaufort County”, <https://south-carolina-plantations.com/beaufort/braddocks-point.html>, accessed 5 August 2021; Benfante, “William Eddings Baynard”; David Lauderdale, “Old bones bring new life to Hilton Head’s oldest structure”, <https://www.thestate.com/latest-news/article37113726.html>, accessed 6 August 2021.

³³⁴ Benfante, “William Eddings Baynard”; Hilton Head, SC, “Explore the Stoney-Baynard Ruins at Sea Pines”.

³³⁵ C Trinkley, “Preliminary Historical Research on the Baynard Plantation”, p. 5; Gallivanter, “The Davenport House”, <https://gallivantertours.com/savannah/historic-homes/davenport-house/>, accessed 3 August 2021.

³³⁶ Benfante, “William Eddings Baynard”.

³³⁷ Grass Lawn remained in the Scott family until the confiscation during the Civil War. Writing in 1972, Robert Peeples shared that “William Wilson bought 400 acre Grass Lawn from the government for \$90 in 1876; 25 acres of it was recently sold for \$1,250,000”. Peeples, “An Index to Hilton Head Island Names”, p. 20.

³³⁸ D6948/2/18, “Invoices Jul 1822-Nov 1825”.

³³⁹ South Carolina Planters, “Coggins Point Plantation – Hilton Head Island – Beaufort County”, <https://south-carolina-plantations.com/beaufort/coggins-point.html>, accessed 6 August 2021; Dana E. Byrd and Tyler DeAngelis, “Tracing Transformations: Hilton Head Island’s Journey to Freedom, 1860–1865” <https://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/autumn15/byrd-hilton-head-island-journey-to-freedom-1860-1865>, accessed 6 August 2021; Erin Schumacher, “Memorandum Re: Squire Pope Property”, 2016, pp. 3-4.

³⁴⁰ Natalie Adams, “An Archaeological Survey of Parcels 4 And 9, Hilton Head Plantation, Hilton Head Island, Beaufort County, South Carolina”, Chicora Research Contribution 74, 1991, p. 6, https://dc.statelibrary.sc.gov/bitstream/handle/10827/33352/Chicora_Research_Contributions_074_1991-12-18.pdf?sequence=1, accessed 3 August 2021; The Heritage Library Foundation, “Cotton Hope Plantation”, Hilton Head Plantations, <https://heritagelib.org/cotton-hope-plantation>, accessed 2 August 2021.

“The estate of William Pope made a claim for a 'plantation', 201 slaves, 11 bales of cotton from the 1860 crop valued at \$1650” and various other crops, livestock as well as furniture amounting to “about \$30,000”.³⁴¹

Ephraim Baynard

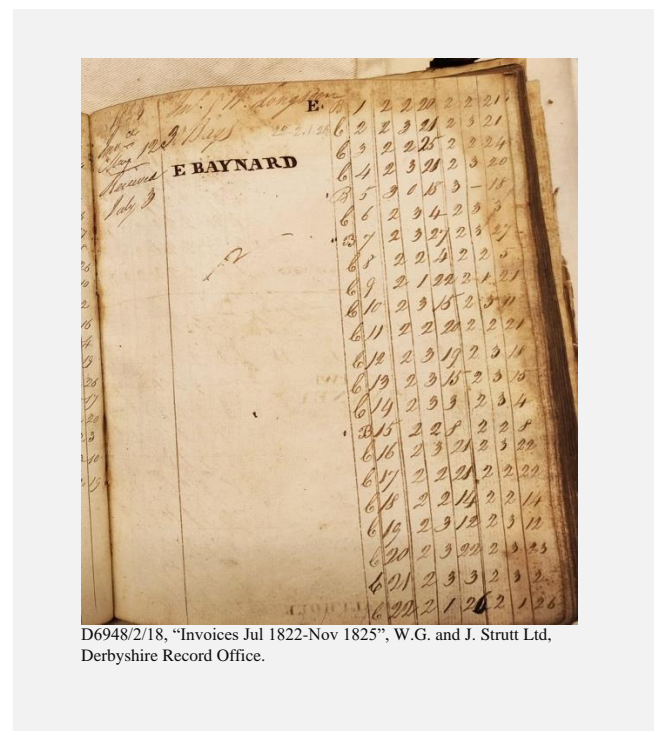
It is evident that William E. Baynard had extensive direct and indirect ties to Sea Island Cotton and slavery. However, special mention must be given to his older brother Ephraim Mikell Baynard (1796–1865). An invoice on 16 December 1824, registers John Shuttleworth receiving 28 bags of cotton from an E. Baynard.³⁴² Ephraim Baynard “considered to be the first millionaire in South Carolina” was likely the E. Baynard referred to in the Strutts invoice book. He was:

“the largest Sea Island Planter & wealthiest citizen of the St. Johns Colleton Parish...He was worth not far from two millions of Dollars”.³⁴³

Ephraim Baynard owned multiple plantations including Seaside Plantation, Rabbit Point Plantation, Shell House and Seabrook Tract as well as a large plantation located on little Edisto.³⁴⁴ “He is also reported to have given each of his 17 nieces and nephews a plantation with sufficient slaves to operate it”.³⁴⁵

The enslaved persons labouring on his plantations “feared his wrath” and called him ‘Pipe Shank Binyard’. “Sam Gadsden recalled in the 1970s that Emily Deas, whose ancestors were slaves at Rabbit Point, had told him:

They work them from seven in the morning until noon with nothing to eat...[and]...then at two o’clock [they] go back to work until seven at night...They work right through with no Sunday off...Any place where Baynard owned land, that was a rougher place than the rest...He was a man who raised up slaves to sell...He marketed them...They say all of Baynard’s people could stand more hunger than any other people, but that’s just because he didn’t feed them; they stole their rations from the other poor people...Pipe Shank Binyard, the stingiest man God ever let live”.³⁴⁶



D6948/2/18, “Invoices Jul 1822-Nov 1825”, W.G. and J. Strutt Ltd, Derbyshire Record Office.

³⁴¹ “Archaeological Testing of Six Sites on Hilton Head Island, Beaufort County, South Carolina”, Chicora Research Series 13, 1988, p. 29, <https://www.chicora.org/pdfs/RS13%20-%20Six%20Sites.pdf>, accessed 29 July 2021; “Schumacher, “Memorandum”, p. 9; The Heritage Library Foundation, “Cotton Hope Plantation.

³⁴² D6948/2/18, “Invoices Jul 1822-Nov 1825”, W.G. and J. Strutt Ltd, Derbyshire Record Office.

³⁴³ Spencer, *Edisto Island*, p. 192.

³⁴⁴ Spencer, *Edisto Island*, p. 142.

³⁴⁵ Benfante, “William Eddings Baynard”.

³⁴⁶ Spencer, *Edisto Island*, p. 142.

W.G. Baynard

A Strutt invoice also lists receipt of 59 bags of cotton from a W.G. Baynard dated 24 September 1823.³⁴⁷ This was likely William Grimball Baynard, owner of Prospect Hill Plantation on Edisto Island.³⁴⁸ In 1860 he is registered as the owner of this plantation and 220 enslaved persons. His son, William G. Baynard, inherited the property in 1861.³⁴⁹ Prospect Hill Plantation was purchased in 1999 by the Nature Conservancy of South Carolina for \$5.75 million.³⁵⁰

The Baileys

Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. are listed in an invoice dated 10 October 1822, as receiving 46 bags of cotton from a C. Bailey (see image above, page 49).

Given the time period, the C. Bailey referred to in the invoice was likely Charles Ernest Bailey (1792–1836).³⁵¹ The Baileys, like the Seabrooks and Baynards, were “among the early families who settled on Edisto Island”.³⁵² A 1732 Edisto Island tax report shows that Ralph Bailey “owned very large plantations of 1,000 acres or more on Edisto and nearby islands”.³⁵³

Online accounts of Charles Bailey’s plantation ownerships are scarce. However, the plantations acquired by his son, William Mikell Bailey (1817–1868), may help to shed light on his father’s estate.³⁵⁴ By the 1850s, Dr William Bailey was “one of Edisto’s largest landholders”, owning Meggett Place Plantation, Maxcy (Maxie) Place Plantation, Bailey’s Plantation, The Farm (later known as Salt Landing) and Old Dominion Plantation.³⁵⁵

Riverside Plantation was another plantation linked to Charles Bailey. Part of the plantation “about 300 acres, had been in the Bailey family for at least three generations, and probably much longer”.³⁵⁶ Ralph Bailey IV bequeathed Riverside to his son, Charles Bailey, which was

Wm G. Baynard		Inventory and Appraisement of the Estate of Wm G. Baynard	
1	James	25	of Edisto
2	James	25	of Edisto
3	James	25	of Edisto
4	James	25	of Edisto
5	James	25	of Edisto
6	James	25	of Edisto
7	James	25	of Edisto
8	James	25	of Edisto
9	James	25	of Edisto
10	James	25	of Edisto
11	James	25	of Edisto
12	James	25	of Edisto
13	James	25	of Edisto
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141	James	25	of Edisto
142	James	25	of Edisto
143	James	25	of Edisto
144	James	25	of Edisto
145	James	25	of Edisto
146	James	25	of Edisto
147	James	25	of Edisto

“The estate inventory of William G. Baynard of Edisto Island, SC, filed 17 January 1862, lists the names of 167 enslaved people”. South Carolina, Secretary of State. Records Of Charleston District, Court Of Ordinary, Inventories, Appraisements, And Sales Books, Series Number L10137, Book F (1860-1864), pp. 318-319, Estate Inventory of William G. Baynard, 1862.

³⁴⁷ D6948/2/18, “Invoices Jul 1822-Nov 1825”, W.G. and J. Strutt Ltd, Derbyshire Record Office.

³⁴⁸ Spencer, *Edisto Island*, p. 153; South Carolina Plantations, “Prospect Hill Plantation – Parkers Ferry – Charleston County”, <https://south-carolina-plantations.com/charleston/prospect-hill-parkers-ferry.html>, accessed 25 July 2021.

³⁴⁹ “Prospect Hill”, South Carolina Inventory Form for Historic Districts and Individual Properties in a Multiple Property Submission, <http://www.nationalregister.sc.gov/charleston/S10817710145/S10817710145.pdf>, accessed 7 August 2021.

³⁵⁰ “Conservancy Buys Edisto Plantation”, *Spartanburg Herald-Journal*, May 7, 1999, p. A13, <https://news.google.com/newspapers?id=9tMoAAAAIBAJ&sjid=ws8EAAAAIBAJ&pg=4080,3045465&dq=prospect-hill+edisto&hl=en>, accessed 25 July 2021.

³⁵¹ Find a Grave, “Charles Ernest Bailey”, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/34159542/charles-ernest-bailey>, accessed 29 July 2021.

³⁵² US Department of the Interior, “Edisto Island Multiple Resource Area”, p.2; Spencer, *Edisto Island*, p. 40.

³⁵³ Spencer, *Edisto Island*, p. 42.

³⁵⁴ Spencer, *Edisto Island*, p. 148; Find a Grave, “Dr William Mikell Bailey”, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/33538102/william-mikell-bailey:edisto>.

³⁵⁵ Spencer, *Edisto Island*, p. 148, 147.

³⁵⁶ Spencer, *Edisto Island*, p. 149.

then inherited by his son Ephraim Clark Bailey (b. 1832), in 1836.³⁵⁷ Another member of the wealthy Bailey family and nephew of Charles Bailey was Constantine (Con) Bailey (1827-1884). He owned Palmetto Plantation, “a small plantation with 206 acres” and Blue House Plantation on Edisto Island.³⁵⁸

As the name Bailey had taken root in Edisto from as early as 1715 and consistently maintained a presence on the island through the centuries, the Baileys were connected to many other plantations. One such plantation of interest is the Point of Pines Plantation.³⁵⁹ Previously owned by “the Grimball family for several generations”, by 1789 it came to be owned by Ralph Bailey. In the 1850s it was owned by Bailey’s grandson, Charles Joseph Bailey (1824-1854). A cabin likely built by enslaved carpenters in 1853, for the enslaved Africans on Point of Pines Plantation, is now displayed at the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture.³⁶⁰ The cabin was built “along with approximately nine other cabins of identical type”.³⁶¹

Records from the Freedmen's Bureau Online and ‘Freedmen's Land Certificates Issued from Edisto Island, South Carolina’ give the names of formerly enslaved workers who claimed land at the various Bailey plantations. The following names are some of the formerly enslaved workers who claimed land at Riverside Plantation, once owned by Charles Ernest Bailey and Dr William Bailey’s plantations:

Date	No.	Names of Holder	Owners	Location
30 Sept. 1865	337	Gilbert Stroman	E. Bailey	River Side
30 Sept. 1865	338	Cuffee Bailey	E. Bailey	River Side
30 Sept. 1865	339	Sam Bailey	E. Bailey	River Side
25 Sept. 1865	317	Cyrus Bailey	Wm. Bailey	Baileys Island
25 Sept. 1865	318	Quash Bailey	Wm. Bailey	Baileys Island
25 Sept. 1865	319	Simon Bailey	Dr. Bailey	Baileys Island
25 Sept. 1865	320	Loring Bailey	Dr. Wm. Bailey	Baileys Island
25 Sept. 1865	321	Billy Bailey	Dr. Wm. Bailey	Baileys Island
25 Sept. 1865	322	Bram Bailey	Dr. Wm. Bailey	Baileys Island
28 Sept. 1865	331	Longworth Wright	Dr. Bailey	Old Dominion
12 Sept. 1865	299	Chas. Bailey	Dr. Bailey	Old Dominion
15 Sept. 1865	300	Richard Bailey	Dr. Bailey	Old Dominion
26 Sept. 1865	330	James Bradley	Dr. Bailey	Old Dominion
16 Sept. 1865	301	Sam Crawford	Dr. William M. Bailey	Moxley Place
28 Sept. 1865	334	Dennis Bailey	Dr. Wm. Bailey	Moxey Place
28 Sept. 1865	335	Mike Wright	Dr. Wm. Bailey	Moxey Place

Freedmen's Land Certificates Issued from Edisto Island, South Carolina by Mr. Alden, Agt. of Bureau
<http://freedmensbureau.com/georgia/landtitles/landregister2d.htm>

³⁵⁷ Spencer, *Edisto Island*, p. 149.

³⁵⁸ Spencer, *Edisto Island*, p. 142, 127; The Freedmen's Bureau Online, “Freedmen's Land Certificates Issued from Edisto Island, South Carolina by Mr. Alden, Agt. of Bureau”, <http://freedmensbureau.com/georgia/landtitles/landregister2a.htm>, accessed 4 August 2021; Genealogie Online, “Constantine Bailey (1827-1884)”, <https://www.genealogieonline.nl/genealogy-thomas/P6927.php>, accessed 4 August 2021; Find a Grave, “Thomas Bailey”, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/33145090/thomas-bailey>, accessed 4 August 2021.

³⁵⁹ Spencer, *Edisto Island*, p. 40.

³⁶⁰ National Museum of African American History & Culture, “Cabin from Point of Pines Plantation in Charleston County, South Carolina”, Smithsonian, https://nmaahc.si.edu/object/nmaahc_2013.57, accessed 3 August 2021; Learning for Justice, “Cabin from Point of Pines Plantation in Charleston County, South Carolina”, <https://www.learningforjustice.org/classroom-resources/texts/hard-history/cabin-from-point-of-pines-plantation>, accessed 5 August 2021; The Edisto Island Historic Preservation Society, “Collection Highlights: Point of Pines Cabin”, <https://www.si.edu/newsdesk/photos/collection-highlights-point-pines-cabin>, accessed 3 August 2021.

³⁶¹ National Museum of African American History & Culture, “Cabin from Point of Pines Plantation”.

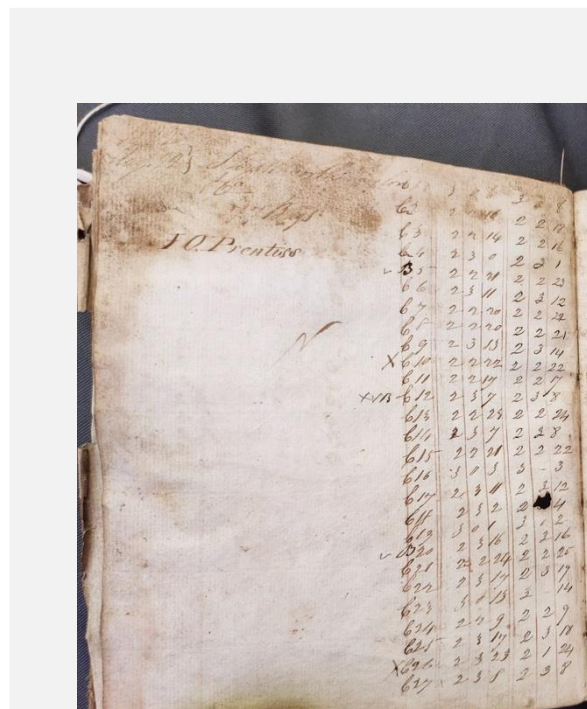
Prentiss

Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. is listed in the Strutts' invoice book as receiving 77 bags of cotton from an J.O. Prentiss on 22 August 1822.

The Prentiss family, owned plantations in Colleton County, Fripp Island and St Helena Island. The J.O. Prentiss specified in the Strutts' invoice book could not be located. However, records detailing the Prentiss family provide some insight to their plantation holdings and ownership of enslaved persons.

Whitemarsh Benjamin Seabrook in his 1844, *A Memoir on the Origin, Cultivation and Uses of Cotton...with Especial Reference to the Sea-Island Cotton Plant* wrote that in 1794, Dr James Otis Prentiss (c. 1766-1812) "planted cotton for market" in St. Matthew's Parish.³⁶² He was the son of Dr Stanton Prentice (Prentiss appears as Prentice in some records) and Rebecca Stevens of Massachusetts. James Otis Prentice moved to "South Carolina about 1785 or 1788" and in 1833, his descendants in Charleston, S.C. amounted to "18 children, 23 grandchildren and 1 great-grandchild".³⁶³ There is reference to James Otis Prentiss owning a plantation and enslaved people in family accounts:

"Elder John Prentice [b. 1761], tell of going to South Carolina to attend to some business for his brother James Otis Prentiss, and the slaves on the plantation were fond of 'Massa John' ".³⁶⁴



D6948/2/18, "Invoices Jul 1822-Nov 1825", W.G. and J. Strutt Ltd, Derbyshire Record Office.

Following this line of the Prentiss family tree, Jeffrey Otis Prentiss (1794-1818), the son of James Otis Prentiss, "resided in several places in the South, Charleston, S.C., Augusta, Ga., and Beaufort, S.C." He was a plantation owner and "overseer of the Reynold's plantation".³⁶⁵ He married Sarah Harriet Reynolds (later known as Harriet Reynolds Prentis Fripp b. circa 1797) in 1811, when she was only thirteen years. Soon after their marriage he "successfully petitioned the court to release his wife's entire inheritance to him".³⁶⁶ Sarah Harriet was the daughter of William Reynolds (1751-1798) and Anne Capers, daughter of Charles Capers, Esquire.³⁶⁷ William Reynolds owned a plantation and Reynolds Island, now known as Fripp Island.³⁶⁸ "Upon his death in 1798, his entire estate went to his daughter. Following Prentiss'

³⁶² Seabrook, *A memoir*, p. 16.

³⁶³ Charles James Fox Binney, *The History and Genealogy of the Prentice, Or Prentiss Family, in New England, Etc.*, from 1631 to 1883, Boston, 1883, p 174.

³⁶⁴ Binney, *The History and Genealogy of the Prentice*, p. 174.

³⁶⁵ Page Putnam Miller, *Fripp Island A History*, History Press, 2006.

³⁶⁶ Binney, *The History and Genealogy of the Prentice*, p. 175; Frampton Erroll Ellis, *Some Historic Families of South Carolina*, Foote & Davies Co., 1905, p. 74; Miller, *Fripp Island*.

³⁶⁷ Ellis, *Some Historic Families of South Carolina*, p. 73.

³⁶⁸ Miller, *Fripp Island*.

acquisition of his wife's inheritance, "the name of Reynolds Island then changed to Prentiss Island".³⁶⁹

According to C.J.F. Binney, Jeffrey Otis Prentiss also owned "Port Royal Island, S.C., called on old maps 'Prentiss's Island'".³⁷⁰ The island was seized in 1861 by Union forces which "caused an evacuation of Sea Island planters and left over 10,000 slaves behind on their plantations".³⁷¹ E.L. Pierce, government agent, writing to the US Secretary of the Treasury in 1862, also noted that there were 65 plantations on Port Royal at the time.³⁷² In 1870, the grandson of Jeffrey Otis Prentiss, Owen Prentiss (b. 1850), stated that "he should try to recover this property for the heirs, as it was a very valuable property".³⁷³

The son of Jeffrey Otis Prentiss and Sarah Harriet Reynolds, Rev. William Otis Prentiss (1814-1897), was also directly connected to slavery. He is registered as the owner of Buzzard's Roost Plantation and married twice into the wealthy plantation owning Jenkins family.³⁷⁴ He reportedly owned "172 slaves at Buzzard Roost plantation, St. Bartholomew's Parish, Colleton District, South Carolina".³⁷⁵

O'hear

Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. is quoted in the Strutts' invoice book as receiving 12 bags of cotton from a J.F. O'hear on 15 April 1823.

Information on the O'hear family is limited however, the J.F. O'hear cited in the Strutts' invoice book was likely Joseph F. O'hear. He was a planter, factor and Secretary of the Horticultural Society of Charleston, founded in 1830.³⁷⁶ It is argued that this Society helped shape the postbellum "truck farming" economy through "agricultural experimentation". Following the Civil War, "South Carolinians shipped significant quantities of food crops

D6948/2/18, "Invoices Jul 1822-Nov 1825", W.G. and J. Strutt Ltd, Derbyshire Record Office.

³⁶⁹ Miller, *Fripp Island*.

³⁷⁰ Binney, *The History and Genealogy of the Prentice*, p. 175.

³⁷¹ L.W. Roper, "Frederick Law Olmsted and the Port Royal Experiment", *The Journal of Southern History*, 31 (3), 1965, pp. 272-284; Dominique T. Hazzard, "The Gullah People, Justice, and the Land on Hilton Head Island: A Historical Perspective", *Wellesley College Digital Scholarship and Archive*, 2012, p. 33.

³⁷² E. L. Pierce, "The Negroes at Port Royal: Report of E. L. Pierce, Government Agent, to the Hon. Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, 1862", <https://archive.is/20130702074657/http://faculty.assumption.edu/aas/Reports/negroesatportroyal.html>, accessed 7 August 2021.

³⁷³ Binney, *The History and Genealogy of the Prentice*, p. 175.

³⁷⁴ Binney, *The History and Genealogy of the Prentice*, p. 175; Evelyn McDaniel, Frazier Bryan and William E. Frupp, "Names in Colleton County", <http://www.oldplaces.org/colleton/placenames.htm>, accessed 7 August 2021; South Carolina Plantations, "Buzzard's Roost Plantation - Colleton County", <https://south-carolina-plantations.com/colleton/buzzards-roost.html>, accessed 7 August 2021; Geni, "Rev. William Otis Prentiss", <https://www.geni.com/people/Rev-William-Otis-Prentiss/6000000013493476124>, accessed 6 August 2021.

³⁷⁵ "Rev. William Otis Prentiss", <http://freepages.rootsweb.com/~wooddreams/genealogy/GCW-p/p50.htm>, accessed 6 August 2021; Geni, "Rev. William Otis Prentiss".

³⁷⁶ *The Southern Agriculturist and Register of Rural Affairs Adapted to the Southern Section of the United States*, Volume 6, Charleston S.C., 1833, p. 445; Kelly Kean Sharp, "Sowing Diversity: The Horticultural Roots of Truck Farming in Coastal South Carolina", *Agricultural History*, vol. 94, no. 3, 2020, pp. 363, 367.

through Charleston to supply northern markets—a practice called truck farming”.³⁷⁷ There was a shift from rice and cotton to other crops such as potatoes and strawberries being grown on the former Sea Island cotton plantations.³⁷⁸ In this postbellum period, Joseph O’hear was “an unrivaled grower of Irish potatoes” and likely utilised formerly enslaved Africans to cultivate these crops.³⁷⁹ A Joseph O’hear is also listed in multiple years as a Planter in the ‘Charleston, South Carolina City Directories For the Years 1816, 1819, 1822, 1825, and 1829’³⁸⁰. There is also an excerpt from O’hear in the 1833 ‘Southern Agriculturist and Register of Rural Affairs’ regarding the use of “wooden collars for oxen, mules and horses”.³⁸¹

A James O’hear, likely related to J.F. O’hear, also owned at one point in time Starvegut Hall Plantation in Charleston County, Keithfield Plantation in Georgetown County and Strawberry Hill Plantation in Georgetown County.³⁸² However, the primary crop cultivated on these plantations was rice. 50 enslaved persons (no date specified) were attached to Starvegut Hall Plantation and 81 enslaved persons were listed in connection to Keithfield Plantation in 1860.³⁸³ James O’hear was also described as a trader of enslaved people in ‘Fugitive Slave Advertisements in The City Gazette’ where he is recorded as having advertised in 1795:

“A market woman who has never failed in the regular payment of her weekly wages, a plain cook, and occasionally employed in the field”.³⁸⁴

It was often the case that “slave traders such as James O’hear touted the economic skills of these enslaved market traders as a desirable feature”.³⁸⁵ Adverts for “fugitive slaves” provide detail enriched information on the enslaved population, the plantations and the enslavers. The adjacent advertisement mentions James O’hear’s plantation, an enslaved individual by the name of Quaminah and his skillset.

455. June 7, 1794.

RAN-AWAY from the subscriber’s service, about the 14th of April last, a negro man named *Quaminah*, about 5 feet 7 or 8 inches high, wore at the time of going a blue coattee and trowsers, but having other clothes may have changed them ; he is suspected of being about Charleston neck, or in the neighborhood of Rantole’s bridge, having been at work at Mr. James O’Hear’s plantation near there, as a bricklayer’s laborer.

Wyatt & Richardson.

June 7.

Thomas Brown and Leah Sims, *Fugitive Slave Advertisements in The City Gazette*, Charleston, South Carolina, 1787–1797, Lexington Books, 2015, p. xii.

³⁷⁷ Sharp, “Sowing Diversity”, p. 362.

³⁷⁸ Sharp, “Sowing Diversity”, p. 363.

³⁷⁹ Sharp, “Sowing Diversity”, p. 367.

³⁸⁰ James William Hagy, *Charleston, South Carolina City Directories For the Years 1816, 1819, 1822, 1825, and 1829*, 1996, p. 93, 56, 126.

³⁸¹ *The Southern Agriculturist and Register of Rural Affairs*, p. 154

³⁸² South Carolina Plantations, “Starvegut Hall Plantation – Mount Pleasant – Charleston County”, <https://south-carolina-plantations.com/charleston/starvegut-hall.html>, accessed 3 August 2021; South Carolina Plantations, “Keithfield Plantation – Georgetown – Georgetown County”, <https://south-carolina-plantations.com/georgetown/keithfield.html#3>, accessed 3 August 2021; South Carolina Plantations, “Wando Plantation – Cainhoy – Charleston County”, <https://south-carolina-plantations.com/charleston/wando.html>, accessed 4 August 2021; South Carolina Plantations, “Strawberry Hill Plantation – Georgetown – Georgetown County”, <https://south-carolina-plantations.com/georgetown/strawberry-hill.html#4>, accessed 4 August 2021.

³⁸³ South Carolina Plantations, “Keithfield Plantation; South Carolina Plantations, “Starvegut Hall Plantation”.

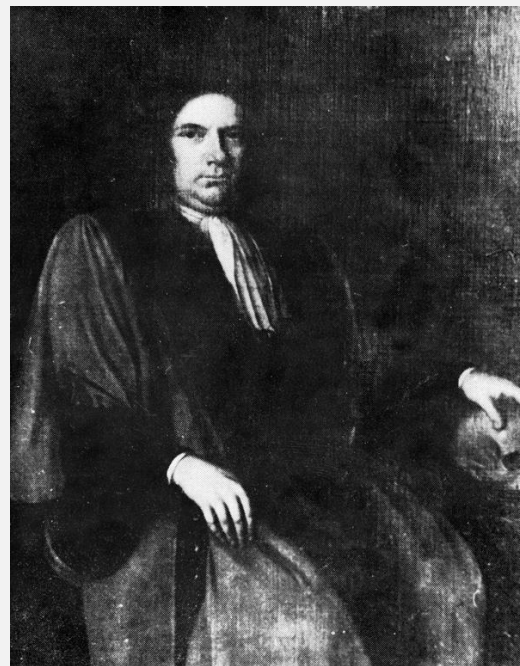
³⁸⁴ Thomas Brown and Leah Sims, *Fugitive Slave Advertisements in The City Gazette*, Charleston, South Carolina, 1787–1797, Lexington Books, 2015, p. xii.

³⁸⁵ Brown and Sims, *Fugitive Slave Advertisements*, xii.

Turnbull

On 24 April 1823, Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. is quoted as receiving 19 bags of raw cotton from Turnbull. It is difficult to ascertain who exactly is the Turnbull depicted in Strutts' invoice book due to a lack of identifying details and the fact that in 1984, "3000 households in the United States bear the name Turnbull, and over 8900 men women and children bear that name in the United States".³⁸⁶ However, the following history provides some insight to the prominence of the name Turnbull in the US plantation era.

Dr Andrew Turnbull (1720-1792), who was born in Scotland and died in Charleston, S.C., is best known for establishing the New Smyrna settlement in East Florida.³⁸⁷ He married Maria Garcia in Smyrna and had seven children. His son, Nichol Turnbull (1754-1823), moved to Savannah in 1782 and "he was among the first to produce cotton as a marketable commodity".³⁸⁸ It is said that he began planting long-staple cotton on a plantation in Georgia in 1787 and was "the first planter who cultivated upon a scale for exportation the article of cotton".³⁸⁹ Turnbull had experience with Sea Island cotton through experimentation (see above, page 46) and in 1790, he planted 40 acres of cotton on Whitmarsh Island, Chatham County, Georgia and 100 acres in 1792. He also acquired Deptford Hill Plantation in 1792.³⁹⁰ Legal documents also show that a public ferry from Nichol Turnbull's plantation, across the Savannah



Portrait of Dr. Andrew Turnbull - New Smyrna, Florida. Florida Memory State Library and Archives of Florida. Reference Collection. <https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/25824>.

TURNBULL		C		19 Bags		19 Bags	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40
41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48
49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56
57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64
65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72
73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80
81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88
89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96
97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104
105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112
113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120
121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128
129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136
137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144
145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152
153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160
161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168
169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176
177	178	179	180	181	182	183	184
185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192
193	194	195	196	197	198	199	200

D6948/2/18, "Invoices Jul 1822-Nov 1825", W.G. and J. Strutt Ltd, Derbyshire Record Office.

³⁸⁶ "Turnbolls of the United States of America", p. 35,

https://www.turnbullclan.com/tcalibrary/family_histories/turnbulls_part_2.pdf, accessed 14 August 2021; Sharon Taylor, "Complete Registry of the Turnbolls in America by ", Harbert's Inc., Bath, Ohio, 44210, in 1984.

³⁸⁷ E. P. Panagopoulos, "The Background Of The Greek Settlers In The New Smyrna Colony" in *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 35, No. 02, 1956; Carita Doggett, *Dr. Andrew Turnbull and The New Smyrna Colony of Florida*, Light Messages Publishing, 2012; Rowland et al., *The History of Beaufort County*, p. 277-8; Florida History Online, "Establishing the Smyrna Settlement; the First Thirty Months (July 15, 1768-January 9, 1771)", <https://www.unf.edu/floridahistoryonline/Turnbull/letters/5.htm>, accessed 14 August 2021; "Turnbolls of the United States of America", p. 33; "Dr. Andrew Turnbull and The New Smyrna Colony of Florida", <https://www.turnbullclan.com/publications/books/87-publications/books/300-dr-andrew-turnbull-and-the-new-smyrna-colony-of-florida>, accessed 14 August 2021; Georgia Historical Society, "Nichol Turnbull letter", <http://ghs.galileo.usg.edu/ghs/view?docId=ead/MS%200809-ead.xml>, accessed 14 August 2021.

³⁸⁸ Savannah Unit, Federal Writers' Project, Works Progress Administration of Georgia, "Causton's Bluff, Deptford, Brewton Hill Three Allied Plantations. Part I", *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, vol. 23, no. 1, 1939; Nichol Turnbull, "The Beginning Of Cotton Cultivation In Georgia", *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1917, pp. 39-40; Georgia Historical Society, "Nichol Turnbull letter"; The Georgia Historical Society, "Savannah River Plantations", p. 33, <https://www.seekingmyroots.com/members/files/H001223.pdf>, accessed 14 August 2021.

³⁸⁹ Rowland et al., *The History of Beaufort County*, p. 278; The Georgia Historical Society, "Savannah River Plantations", p. 33.

³⁹⁰ The Georgia Historical Society, "Savannah River Plantations", p. 32-3.

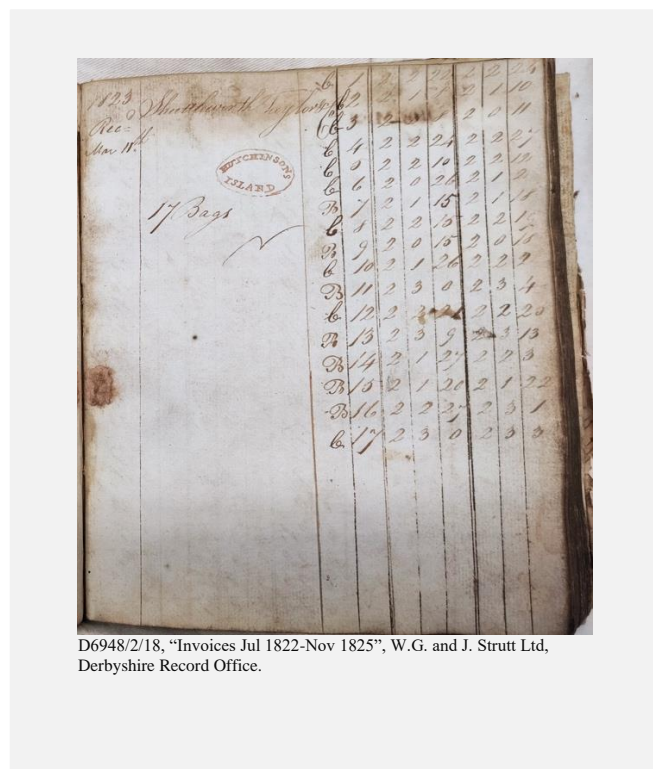
River, was enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Georgia in 1802.³⁹¹

Another Turnbull, John Turnbull (1738-1742), had extensive ties to cotton and slavery in the southern US. Possibly a relative of Andrew Turnbull, he was from Dumfries County, Scotland and settled in Louisiana in the late 1760s or early 1770s.³⁹² Turnbull-Bowman Family Papers state that “the Turnbells were slave traders who brought slaves to Louisiana from Jamaica and the West Indies”³⁹³. They also traded enslaved people along with indigo, tobacco, furs and other goods under “the firms Turnbull & Co., Turnbells & Frazer, Turnbells & Hood & Co., and Turnbull & Joyce”.³⁹⁴ His son, Daniel Turnbull (1796-1861), “became a successful planter, “primarily owning cotton plantations”.³⁹⁵ One such plantation was Rosedown Plantation which he founded in 1835. This plantation is considered to be “one of the most documented and intact plantation complexes in the South”.³⁹⁶ Enslaved labour was at the core of Daniel Turnbull’s cotton success. He owned 444 enslaved Africans with approximately 250 labouring at his Rosedown Plantation.³⁹⁷

The name Turnbull has also been associated with the following South Carolina plantations; Twickenham Plantation, Yemassee, Beaufort County (primary crop: rice, number of enslaved persons: 120 in 1820; 127 in 1860),³⁹⁸ Retreat Plantation (number of enslaved persons: 13 in 1790)³⁹⁹ and Combahee Plantation, Beaufort County (number of enslaved persons: 338).⁴⁰⁰

Hutchinson Island

The Strutts’ invoice book recorded Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. as receiving 17 bags of cotton from Hutchinson Island on 11 March 1823. While no planter is specifically named, an overview of the island and its plantations can offer insight on its connections to Sea Island cotton and transatlantic slavery.



D6948/2/18, “Invoices Jul 1822–Nov 1825”, W.G. and J. Strutt Ltd, Derbyshire Record Office.

³⁹¹ Augustin Smith Clayton, *A Compilation of the Laws of the State of Georgia*, Adams & Duyckinck, 1812, p. 55.

³⁹² “Turnbull-Bowman Family Papers”, Mss. 4452, *Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collections*, p. 4, <https://www.lib.lsu.edu/sites/default/files/sc/findaid/4452.pdf>, accessed 14 August 2021.

³⁹³ “Turnbull-Bowman Family Papers”, p. 4.

³⁹⁴ “Turnbull-Bowman Family Papers”, p. 4.

³⁹⁵ “Turnbull-Bowman Family Papers”, p.4.

³⁹⁶ Forgotten History, “Rosedown Plantation”, <https://www.forgottenhistory.us/index.php/node/511>, accessed 14 August 2021; U.S. Department of the Interior, “Rosedown Plantation”, <https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/louisiana/ros.htm>, accessed 14 August 2021.

³⁹⁷ Forgotten History, “Rosedown Plantation”.

³⁹⁸ Suzanne Cameron Linder, *Historical Atlas of the Rice Plantations of the ACE River Basin – 1860*, Columbia, SC: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1995, p. 597; South Carolina Plantations, “Twickenham Plantation – Yemassee – Beaufort County”, <https://south-carolina-plantations.com/beaufort/twickenham.html>, accessed 14 August 2021.

³⁹⁹ Michael J. Heitzler, *Goose Creek: A Definitive History - Volume One: Planters, Politicians and Patriots*, Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2005, p. 124; South Carolina Plantations, “Retreat Plantation – North Charleston – Charleston County”, <https://south-carolina-plantations.com/charleston/retreat.html>, accessed 14 August 2021.

⁴⁰⁰ South Carolina Plantations, “Combahee Plantation–Beaufort County” <https://south-carolina-plantations.com/beaufort/combahee.html>, accessed 14 August 2021.

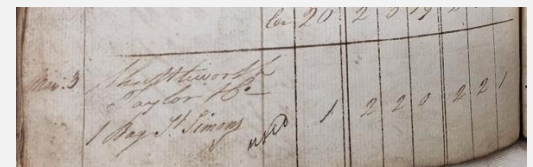
There are several Hutchinson Islands in the US, however, the one referred to in the invoice book was likely the Hutchinson Island in South Carolina located south of an area called Bennetts Point and Northeast of Ashepoo Coosaw Cutoff.⁴⁰¹ It is also “listed in the Islands Category for Colleton County in the state of South Carolina.”⁴⁰² E. L. Pierce reporting to the US Secretary of the Treasury in 1862, stated that there were six plantations on Hutchinson and the nearby Fenwick Islands.⁴⁰³

Hutchinson Island was likely home to Hutchinson’s Island Plantation registered in Colleton County. The owner of this plantation is listed as Mary Pyne Hutchinson March, the wife of Thomas Holland Hutchinson (d. 1813).⁴⁰⁴ Later estate records list Elizabeth Mary Leger Hutchinson (later Countess Tadini), the daughter of Thomas and Mary Hutchinson, as the owner of the plantation. Records held at the South Carolina Historical Society “include a letter (1888) from Countess Tadini to Charleston attorney Henry E. Young in which she describes conditions at Hutchinson Island Plantation”.⁴⁰⁵ Another plantation located on Hutchinson’s Island was the Marsh Plantation. It is stated that “a majority of the slaves on Hutchinson’s had earlier declined to move to Edisto or St. Helena, because Hutchinson’s ‘was their home’ ”.⁴⁰⁶ However, following an attack by Confederate soldiers in June 1862, “seventy people then decided to go to Hilton Head”.⁴⁰⁷

St Simons

The Strutts’ invoice book recorded Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. as receiving one bag of cotton from St Simons on 3 March 1823. There is also another listing for the Strutts receiving 5 bags of cotton from a P. Butler of St Simons island on 25 March 1823.

The island of St Simons is historically significant due to its heavy connection to Sea Island cotton, wealthy enslavers and transatlantic slavery. St Simons is the largest of four barrier islands that comprise the Golden Isles of Georgia.⁴⁰⁸ It is said that the “first exportation of Georgia Sea Island cotton, [was] made by Alexander Bissell of St. Simon’s Island”.⁴⁰⁹ The island was seen to be “ideally suited for the cultivation of sea island cotton for it possessed that saline atmosphere so necessary in the crop’s production”.⁴¹⁰ There were approximately



D6948/2/18, “Invoices Jul 1822–Nov 1825”, W.G. and J. Strutt Ltd, Derbyshire Record Office.

⁴⁰¹ Mapcarta, “Hutchinson Island”, <https://mapcarta.com/21510962>, accessed 7 August 2021.

⁴⁰² Topozone, “Hutchinson Island Topo Map in Colleton County SC”, <https://www.topozone.com/south-carolina/colleton-sc/island/hutchinson-island-4/>, accessed 7 August 2021.

⁴⁰³ Pierce, “The Negroes at Port Royal”.

⁴⁰⁴ “South Carolina Historical Society Recently Processed Manuscripts”, *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, vol. 106, no. 4, 2005, p. 285; South Carolina Plantations, “Hutchinson Island Plantation – Colleton County”, <https://south-carolina-plantations.com/colleton/hutchinson-island.html>, accessed 7 August 2021.

⁴⁰⁵ “South Carolina Historical Society Recently Processed Manuscripts”, p. 285.

⁴⁰⁶ Julie Saville, *The Work of Reconstruction: From Slave to Wage Laborer in South Carolina 1860-1870*, United Kingdom, Cambridge University Press, 1996. p. 39.

⁴⁰⁷ Samuel Francis Du Pont, *Official Dispatches and Letters of Rear Admiral Du Pont, U.S. Navy 1846-48*, Applewood Books, 1883, p. 202; Arthur Wyllie, *The Union Navy*, 2007, p. 472.

⁴⁰⁸ “St. Simons Island”, <https://www.goldenisples.com/discover/st-simons-island/>, accessed 7 August 2021;

“Discover the Golden Isles”, <https://www.goldenisples.com/discover/>, accessed 7 August 2021.

⁴⁰⁹ Ezekiel J. Donnell, *Chronological and Statistical History of Cotton*, J. Sutton & Company, 1872, p. 44.

⁴¹⁰ James E. Bagwell, *Rice Gold: James Hamilton Couper and Plantation Life on the Georgia Coast*, Mercer University Press, 2000, p.4.

fourteen cotton plantations “located in a circle around the island” ⁴¹¹. Frances Anne “Fanny” Kemble (see below, page 68) on her visit to St Simons recounts that there were four major plantations; Hamilton Plantation at Gascoigne Bluff owned by James Hamilton, Hampton Point Plantation owned by Major Butler, Cannon's Point owned by John Couper and Retreat Plantation owned by Major William Page. ⁴¹² Retreat Plantation, which was bought from Thomas Spalding (see above, page 46), was “one of the wealthiest in the South”. ⁴¹³ Some of the other plantations that existed on St Simons during the plantation era included Black Banks, Harrington, Kelvin Grove, Lawrence, Musgrove, New St. Clair, Oatlands, Orange Grove, Pike's Bluff, Retreat, Sinclair, St. Clair and West Point Plantation. ⁴¹⁴ These were owned by various planter families such as the “Hazzards, Demeres, Wyllys, Grants, Frasers, Caters, Giwens, Armstrongs, and Goulds”. ⁴¹⁵

D6948/2/18, "Invoices Jul 1822-Nov 1825", W.G. and J. Strutt Ltd, Derbyshire Record Office.

St Simons Island, Dunbar Creek, was also the site of the historically tragic Igbo landing (also known as Ebo or Ibo landing) where in 1803, a group of Igbo captives on board *The York*, committed mass suicide by drowning. The enslaved Africans, captured from present day Nigeria, were bought by John Couper and Thomas Spalding. Roswell King (1765-1844), the overseer on the Butler's Hampton Point Plantation, provided one of the only written accounts of the incident. ⁴¹⁶ “In September 2002, the St.

⁴¹¹ Bagwell, *Rice Gold*, p.4.

⁴¹² Kemble et al., *Journal of a residence on a Georgian plantation in 1838-1839*, p. xli; R. Edwin Green and Mary A. Green, “St. Simons: A Summary of its History”, http://www.glynncounty.com/History_and_Lore/Ed_Green/, accessed 7 August 2021.

⁴¹³ Patricia Morris, *St. Simons Island*, Arcadia Publishing, 2003, p. 36.

⁴¹⁴ Kemble et al., *Journal of a residence on a Georgian plantation in 1838-1839*; Bagwell, *Rice Gold*; Morris, *St. Simons Island*, “St. Simons Island Historic Sites”, https://www.explorestsimonsisland.com/St_Simons_History.html, accessed 7 August 2021; “Plantations - St. Simons Island, Georgia”, <http://www.glynncounty.com/oaktree.pl?id=00015359>, accessed 7 August 2021; Georgia Historical Society, “Hampton Plantation”, https://georgiahistory.com/ghmi_marker_updated/hampton-plantation/, accessed 7 August 2021; Debra Pamplin, “Slave Cabins Restored on St Simons Island”, <https://allongeorgia.com/glynn-lifestyle/slave-cabins-restored-on-st-simons-island/>, accessed 7 August 2021; Amy Hedrick, “Retreat Plantation”, <http://www.glynnngen.com/plantations/retreat.htm>, accessed 7 August 2021; New Georgia Encyclopedia, “St. Simons Island”, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/geography-environment/st-simons-island>, accessed 7 August 2021.

⁴¹⁵ Kemble et al., *Journal of a residence on a Georgian plantation in 1838-1839*, p. xli.

⁴¹⁶ New Georgia Encyclopedia, “Ebos Landing”, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/ebos-landing>, accessed 6 August 2021; Blackpast, “Igbo Landing Mass Suicide (1803)”, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/events-african-american-history/igbo-landing-mass-suicide-1803/>, accessed 6 August 2021; Shelbi Jeffrey, “Celebrating Black History Month: Remembering The Igbo Landing”, Savannah Tribune, February 12, 2020, <https://www.savannahtribune.com/articles/celebrating-black-history-month-remembering-the-igbo-landing/>, accessed 6 August 2021; Njideka Agbo, “A Brief History Of The Igbo Landing”, <https://guardian.ng/life/a-brief-history-of-the-igbo-landing/>, accessed 6 August 2021; Smithsonian Libraries, “The Legacy of Ibo Landing”, <https://library.si.edu/donate/adopt-a-book/legacy-ibo-landing>, accessed 6 August 2021; “Ebo Landing” <https://www.goldenisles.com/discover/golden-isles/african-american-heritage/ebo-landing/>, accessed 6 August 2021; Lorna McDaniel, “The flying Africans: extent and strength of the myth in the Americas”, https://brill.com/view/journals/nwig/64/1-2/article-p28_3.xml, accessed 6 August 2021; “How a mass suicide by slaves caused the legend of the flying African to take off”, <https://theconversation.com/how-a-mass-suicide-by-slaves-caused-the-legend-of-the-flying-african-to-take-off-153422>, accessed 6 August 2021; “Ebo Landing”, http://www.glynncounty.com/History_and_Lore/Ebo_Landing/, accessed 6 August 2021.

Simons African American community organized a two-day commemoration with events related to Igbo history and a procession to the site of the mass suicide”.⁴¹⁷

The P. Butler quoted in the Strutts’ invoice book was likely Major Pierce Butler (1744-1822) or his grandson Pierce Mease Butler (1810–1867). Major Pierce Butler was the owner of Hampton Point Plantation and was “one of the country’s largest slaveholders in his time”.⁴¹⁸ By the 1790s, Hampton Point Plantation was one of the largest plantation with a reported 1000 enslaved persons working on “the rice fields of his Butler Island plantation on the Altamaha and the cotton fields of Hampton plantation”.⁴¹⁹ Hampton Point Plantation was 1700 acres and was regarded as “a major cotton plantation in its heyday”.⁴²⁰ Writing in 1863, Fanny Kemble stated that it was this Hampton Point Plantation that “had been in Major Pierce Butler’s time the main source of the family fortunes”.⁴²¹

Major Pierce Butler was also “the author of the Fugitive Slave Clause and was instrumental in getting it included under Article Four of the Constitution”.⁴²² He was heavily involved in politics and was a signatory to the US constitution.⁴²³ He is however less remembered for this feat and more so for his involvement in slavery.

His grandsons, John and Pierce Mease Butler (1810–1867) inherited Butler Island and Hampton Point Plantation, along with more than 900 enslaved persons.⁴²⁴ Pierce M. Butler, “was responsible for the largest sale of human beings in the history of the United States”.⁴²⁵ In order to save himself from bankruptcy, Butler “sold 436 men, women and children from his Butler Island and Hampton plantations”⁴²⁶ on 2-3 March 1859. This separation of generations of families is remembered in African-American heritage as “the weeping time”.⁴²⁷



Advertisement in *Savannah Daily Morning News* depicting the largest auction on enslaved persons in US history. <https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2014/07/the-weeping-time/374159/>

⁴¹⁷ Blackpast, “Igbo Landing Mass Suicide (1803)”.

⁴¹⁸ Kat Eschner, “The Horrors of the ‘Great Slave Auction’”, *Smithsonian Magazine*, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/horrors-great-slave-auction-180962287/>, accessed 6 August 2021; Kristopher Monroe, “The Weeping Time A forgotten history of the largest slave auction ever on American soil”, *The Atlantic*, 10 July 2014, <https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2014/07/the-weeping-time/374159/>, accessed 6 August 2021.

⁴¹⁹ Bagwell, *Rice Gold*, p 4.

⁴²⁰ Anne C. Bailey, *The Weeping Time: Memory and the Largest Slave Auction in American History*, Cambridge University Press, 2017, p. 39.

⁴²¹ Kemble et al., *Journal of a residence on a Georgian plantation in 1838-1839*, p. xxxix.

⁴²² Monroe, “The Weeping Time”; “The Fugitive Slave Clause”, <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/library/document/the-fugitive-slave-clause/#footnote1>, accessed 6 August 2021; “Pierce Butler and The Fugitive Slave Clause”, <https://www.founderoftheday.com/founder-of-the-day/pierce-butler>, accessed 6 August 2021.

⁴²³ Ulmer, S. Sidney, “The Role of Pierce Butler in the Constitutional Convention”, *The Review of Politics*, vol. 22, no. 3, 1960, pp. 361–374; Bailey, *The Weeping Time*, p. 39; Monroe, “The Weeping Time”.

⁴²⁴ Mortimer Thomson, *What Became of the Slaves on a Georgia Plantation? Great Auction Sale of Slaves, at Savannah, Georgia, March 2d & 3d, 1859. A Sequel to Mrs. Kemble’s Journal*, 1863, p.3; Bailey, *The Weeping Time*, p. 39; Monroe, “The Weeping Time”.

⁴²⁵ New Georgia Encyclopedia, “St. Simons Island”; Monroe, “The Weeping Time”; Thomson, *What Became of the Slaves on a Georgia Plantation?*

⁴²⁶ Monroe, “The Weeping Time”.

⁴²⁷ Monroe, “The Weeping Time”; Sasha Turner, “Memory and the Largest Slave Auction in American History”, <https://www.aaihs.org/memory-and-the-largest-slave-auction-in-american-history/>, accessed 7 August 2021; Eschner, “The

According to Anne C. Bailey, Hampton Point Plantation on St Simon's Island was "the home of some of the slaves auctioned in 1859".⁴²⁸ British actress, writer and abolitionist, Fanny Kemble (1809-1893), who was married to Pierce M. Butler published the *Journal of a Residence on a Georgia Plantation (1838-1839)* in 1863 to highlight the evils of slavery.⁴²⁹ It was based on her diary accounts while residing on her husband's plantations on Butler Island and St Simons. "To this day it's considered one of the most detailed eyewitness accounts of slavery during that period".⁴³⁰

Given the prominence of the Butlers and that P. Butler is the only name given in the Strutts' invoice book in relation to St Simons Island, it is possible that the cotton Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. received in 1823 from St Simons, came from Butler's Hampton Point Plantation.

Horrors of the 'Great Slave Auction'; New Georgia Encyclopedia, "Butler Family", <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/butler-family>, accessed 7 August 2021.

⁴²⁸ Bailey, *The Weeping Time*, p. 39.

⁴²⁹ Kemble et al., *Journal of a residence on a Georgian plantation in 1838-1839*.

⁴³⁰ Monroe, "The Weeping Time".

THE ENSLAVED AFRICANS ON THE SEA ISLANDS

“Successful cultivation of rice and, later, cotton brought tremendous wealth to the city of Charleston and to some Lowcountry residents. Enslaved laborers, primarily African Americans, were the backbone of this system and the primary means by which this tremendous wealth was derived”.

Charleston Museum⁴³¹

Attention must be given to the vast numbers of enslaved Africans who forcibly and laboriously toiled on the cotton plantations of the Sea Islands, enduring horrendous conditions, to the benefit of the plantocracy and demanding British textile industry.

Historical Overview

Almost all the Africans in South Carolina’s early settlement came from Barbados.⁴³² Low demand for enslaved Africans before 1700, the well-established plantation system of the Caribbean which produced “seasoned” enslaved Africans and the fact that many early colonists in Carolina came from various islands of the British West Indies, meant that “the Caribbean connection was the primary source for enslaved Africans who entered the Carolina Colony during the 17th Century”.⁴³³ After 1700, there was a “rapid transition to an African American slave economy in South Carolina”, with planter preferences accounting for one of the reasons for the significant differences in the ethnic origins of the enslaved population in South Carolina compared to the Americas overall.⁴³⁴

Sea Island Cotton & Slavery

Increase in rice cultivation in the 1740s, the growth of indigo production and the economic viability of Sea Island cotton were all factors that led to an increase in the demand for enslaved labour on the Sea Islands.⁴³⁵ “The first federal census in 1790 showed that Edisto Island had a white population of 223 and a slave population of 1,692”, meaning that 88% of the island’s population was comprised of enslaved Africans.⁴³⁶ Amidst



Formerly enslaved man from coastal Georgia knitting a net, early 20th century. Georgia Historical Society. Depicted in National Park Service. *Low Country Gullah Culture Special Resource Study and Final Environmental Impact Statement*. Atlanta, GA: NPS Southeast Regional Office, 2005.

⁴³¹ Charleston Museum, <https://www.charlestonmuseum.org/exhibits/permanent/1/lowcountry-history-hall>, accessed 12 August 2021.

⁴³² Spencer, *Edisto Island*, p. 54.

⁴³³ National Park Service, “Low Country Gullah Culture: Special Resource Study and Final Environmental Impact Statement”, Atlanta, GA: NPS Southeast Regional Office, 2005, p. 18; Elizabeth Brabec and Sharon Richardson, “A Clash of Cultures: The Landscape of the Sea Island Gullah”, *Landscape Journal*, vol. 26, no. 1, 2007, p. 152; Spencer, *Edisto Island*, p. 55.

⁴³⁴ Spencer, *Edisto Island*, p. 54, 56.

⁴³⁵ Rowland et al., *The History of Beaufort County*; National Park Service, “Low Country Gullah Culture”; Brabec and Richardson, “A Clash of Cultures”, p. 152; Spencer, *Edisto Island*.

⁴³⁶ Spencer, *Edisto Island*, p. 81.

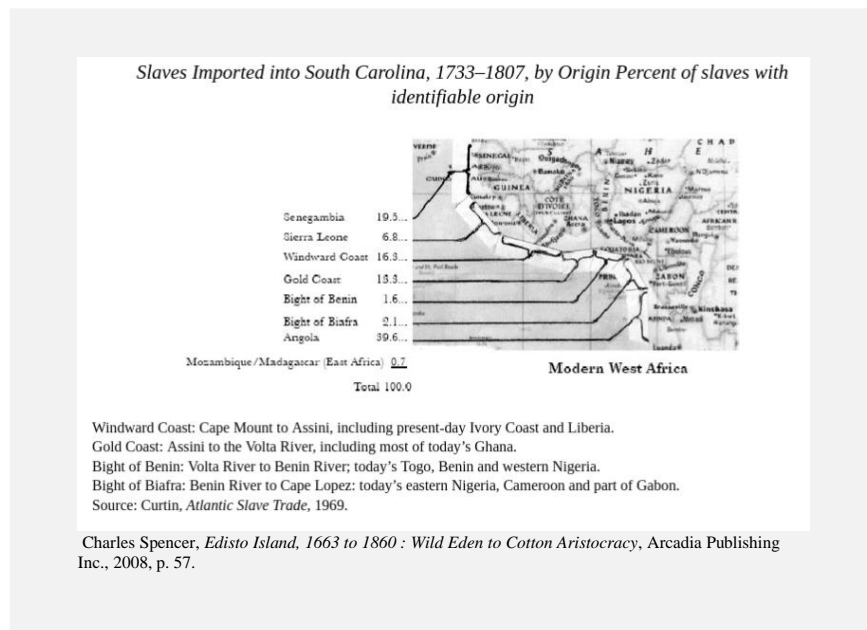
increased demands for enslaved labour, the South Carolina legislature reopened the Transatlantic Trade of Enslaved Africans (TTEA) in 1803.⁴³⁷

“From 1804 to 1808, traders flooded Charleston with 39,075 African slaves -over one tenth of the total number of slaves brought into all of British North America over the previous 200 years-probably the strongest surge in the history of the global slave trade”.⁴³⁸

Adding to this number, Rowland et al., indicate that “perhaps half that number had been illegally smuggled in between 1795 and 1804”.⁴³⁹ This almost sixty thousand increase in enslaved Africans was referred to by planters as the “new stock of imports”.⁴⁴⁰ This influx resulted in changes to the racial demographics of the Sea Islands. For example, between 1800 and 1810, there was an 86.5% increase in the population of enslaved Africans on St. Helena Island, Beaufort County.⁴⁴¹ Records specify that out of the 23,773 newly arrived enslaved Africans whose port of origin was known, “14,217 originated from ‘Angola, Congo, or ‘Congo and Angola’ ”.⁴⁴²

Gullah Geechee People

The Gullah and Geechee people are descendants of the enslaved Africans who were forcibly brought from West and Central Africa as well as the Caribbean.⁴⁴³ Some historians suggest that the term Gullah may have been derived from Angola or “N’gulla” while others have speculated that it comes from the “Gola ethnic group that lived between Sierra Leone and Liberia”. Geechee is said to be derived from an ethnic group called “ ‘Kissi’ from Sierra Leone, Guinea and Liberia”.⁴⁴⁴



⁴³⁷ Rowland et al., *The History of Beaufort County* p. 348; Jed Handelsman Shugerman, “The Louisiana Purchase and South Carolina's Reopening of the Slave Trade in 1803”, *Journal of the Early Republic*, vol. 22, no. 2, 2002, p. 264; Brabec and Richardson, “A Clash of Cultures”, p. 152.

⁴³⁸ Shugerman, “The Louisiana Purchase”, p. 264.

⁴³⁹ Rowland et al., *The History of Beaufort County* p. 348; Brabec and Richardson, “A Clash of Cultures”, p. 152.

⁴⁴⁰ Rowland et al., *The History of Beaufort County* p. 348; Brabec and Richardson, “A Clash of Cultures”, p. 152.

⁴⁴¹ Rowland et al., *The History of Beaufort County* p. 348.

⁴⁴² Rowland et al., *The History of Beaufort County* p. 349; Spencer, *Edisto Island*, p. 56.

⁴⁴³ D. C. Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity Trade in Colonial South Carolina*, Urbana, Illinois Press, 1991; W. S. Pollitzer, “The relationship of the Gullah-speaking people of coastal South Carolina and Georgia to their African ancestors” In *The Legacy of Ibo Landing: Gullah Roots of African American Culture*, ed., M.L. Goodwine. Atlanta: Clarity Press, Inc.. 1998; W.S. Pollitzer, *The Gullah People and Their African Heritage*, Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1999; National Park Service, “Low Country Gullah Culture”, p.13; Brabec and Richardson, “A Clash of Cultures”, p. 151; Library of Congress, “Gullah/Geechee History and Culture”, <https://guides.loc.gov/gullah-geechee-history> accessed 10 August 2021.

⁴⁴⁴ J. A. Opala, *The Gullah: rice, slavery, and the Sierra Leone-American connection*, USIS, 1987; Rowland et al., *The History of Beaufort County* p. 350, Sharon Y. Fuller, *Gullah Geechee Indigenous Articulation in the Americas*, PhD Thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 2015, p. 1-2; A. Sumpter, “Gullah Geechee Culture”, *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/geechee-and-gullah-culture>, accessed 10 August 2021.

Gullah people are “those located in coastal South Carolina and Geechee people are those who live along the Georgia coast and into Florida”.⁴⁴⁵ Port of Charleston, S.C. records show that the African origins of the Gullah Geechee people include; “Angola (39%) , Senegambia (20%) , the Windward Coast (17%) , the Gold Coast (13%) , Sierra Leone (6%) , and Madagascar, Mozambique, and the two Bights (5 % combined)”.⁴⁴⁶

Gullah Geechee communities have lived on the Sea Islands for over three centuries with factors such as geographic isolation, more recent arrival,⁴⁴⁷ consistent plantation owner and overseer absence, the “task system” of labour management along with “land acquisition and the Port Royal Experiment”, being attributed to the development of these communities.⁴⁴⁸

The persevering cultural retention that characterises the Gullah Geechee communities has been the subject of much academic interest over the past decades. Despite this long standing anthropological interest in the Gullah people because “the culture shows more African influences in their self-expression, behaviour, and beliefs than any other long-established large American population group”, Gullah Geechee communities and their way of life is under threat.⁴⁴⁹ A myriad of ever encroaching issues such as tourism, real estate development, legal challenges regarding land ownership, economic hardships and conservation laws have and continue to negatively impact Gullah Geechee communities.⁴⁵⁰



The Old Plantation, 1785-1790. Attributed to John Rose, Beaufort County, South Carolina. Courtesy of Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Museum, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia. “This famous painting shows Gullah slaves dancing and playing musical instruments derived from Africa”. Joseph A. Opala, *The Gullah: Rice, Slavery, and the Sierra Leone-American Connection*.

As John Edward Taylor imported and benefitted from cotton picked by the enslaved population of the Sea Islands, the founder of the *Manchester Guardian* is indelibly linked to the Gullah Geechee people.

⁴⁴⁵ National Park Service, “Low Country Gullah Culture”, p.13.

⁴⁴⁶ M.W. Creel, *“A Peculiar People”: Slave Religion and Community-Culture Among the Gullahs*, New York: University Press, 1988; P. D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry*, Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998; Pollitzer, *The Gullah People and Their African Heritage*, p. 43; National Park Service, “Low Country Gullah Culture”, p.13; Brabec and Richardson, “A Clash of Cultures”, p. 152.

⁴⁴⁷ “It may be that the majority of the slaves of the new sea island cotton plantations in the Beaufort District were first-generation Africans”. Rowland et al., *The History of Beaufort County* p. 349; Brabec and Richardson, “A Clash of Cultures”, p. 153.

⁴⁴⁸ Rowland, et al., *The History of Beaufort County*; B. A., Demerson, “Family life on Wadmalaw Island”, *In Sea Island Roots: African presence in the Carolinas and Georgia*, ed. M. A. Twining and K. E. Baird, 57-87, Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, Inc. 1991; National Park Service, “Low Country Gullah Culture”; Brabec and Richardson, “A Clash of Cultures”, pp. 152-5; Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor Commission, “The Gullah Geechee People”, <https://gullahgeecheecorridor.org/the-gullahgeechee/>, accessed 10 August 2021.

⁴⁴⁹ Brabec and Richardson, “A Clash of Cultures”, p. 151; National Park Service, “Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor”, <https://www.nps.gov/places/gullah-geechee-cultural-heritage-corridor.htm>, accessed 10 August 2021.

⁴⁵⁰ National Park Service, “Low Country Gullah Culture”, p. 14; Hazzard, “The Gullah People, Justice, and the Land on Hilton Head Island”, p. 8; Ken Otterbourg, “Being Gullah or Geechee, Once Looked Down On, Now a Treasured Heritage”, *National Geographic*, 2014, <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/science/article/141017-gullah-geechee-heritage-corridor-lowcountry-coast-sea-islands-sweetgrass>, accessed 11 August 2021; “Gullah Geechee Culture Preservation Project Report for the Town of Hilton Head Island”, <https://hiltonheadislandsc.gov/reports/GullahGeecheeCulturePreservationReport.pdf>, accessed 11 August 2021.

THE ENSLAVED AFRICANS OF THE FORMER BRITISH WEST INDIES & BRAZIL: LOOKING TOWARDS THE NEXT STEP

Links to the Enslaved Africans in the BWI & Brazil

Part one of this report highlighted Sir George Philips' direct connection to transatlantic slavery as an enslaver in Jamaica. He was a partner in the West India merchant firm of Boddington, Sharp and Philips, "a major recipient of slave compensation", and was an unsuccessful claimant of compensation (in the amount of £1,904 19s 10d [RPW: £189,000]), for 108 enslaved persons on a Jamaica Hanover Estate named, Success.⁴⁵¹ This establishes a definitive link between Philips and the enslaved people of Jamaica and their descendants (see Taylor Report, pages 22-3). Furthermore, Jevons and Robert Philips' connection to the Yates, George William Wood's likely ownership of a Caymanas, Jamaica plantation and the indirect connections of the other Funders to plantations in the former BWI and Americas, further solidifies this link between the wealth of the associates and the enslaved Africans of these regions. In specific relation to Brazil, both the Strutts and Philips, Wood & Co. imported raw cotton from Brazil. Newspaper adverts specify that Philips, Woods & Co. received cotton from Bahia and Pernambuco. They were also heavily engaged in trade with Brazil as evidenced by the existence of their branch office in Rio de Janeiro. Additionally, Bahia and Pernambuco have been the subject of several Manchester Chamber of Commerce resolutions, further promulgating a link between the enslaved Africans of Brazil and Manchester's cotton industry. For example, the topics of "British goods imported into Brazil" via Pernambuco, "piracies on the coast of Brazil" and "indemnity for the losses which have been inflicted on British subjects at Bahia" in 1838, (likely a reference to the Bahian Sabinada revolt of 1837-1838) were discussed by the Chamber in relation to the interests of Manchester's cotton elite.⁴⁵²

Enslaved People at the Core of this Research

This phase of the study focused on the codification of links of the associates with transatlantic slavery and tracing the sources of their wealth. However, it must be remembered that the focus of this study, the core of this research, is the enslaved Africans who toiled on these plantations and forcibly contributed to the businesses and wealth of Taylor and his associates. "By 1700 over 310,000 Africans had been imported to the British West Indies" and by 1807, at the end of the British TTEA, the number of enslaved Africans brought to the shores of BWI amounted to about 2.3 million.⁴⁵³ In the case of Brazil, "years before the North American slave trade got under way, more slaves had been brought to Brazil than would ever reach British North America".⁴⁵⁴ The enslaved populations of the BWI and Brazil were confronted with inhumane conditions, brutal punishments, high mortality rates, division of families and cultural annihilation amongst other oppressive strategies. Mahommah Gardo Baquaqua, an enslaved

⁴⁵¹ Hall, et al., *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership*, p. 90; T71/872 Hanover no.66; "Jamaica Hanover 66", *LBS*, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/14920>, accessed 31 August 2021.

⁴⁵² M8/2/2, "Proceedings of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce 1827-1833", *Manchester Archives and Local History*, 27 May 1829, p. 155 and 3 September 1828, p. 112; M8/2/3, "Proceedings of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce 1833-1839", *Manchester Archives and Local History*, 13 June 1838, p. 569.

⁴⁵³ Richard S. Dunn, *A Tale of Two Plantations: Slave Life and Labor in Jamaica and Virginia*, United Kingdom: Harvard University Press, 2014, p. 3.

⁴⁵⁴ Robert Conrad, *Children of God's Fire*, University Park, Pa.: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1984; Brown University Library, "Brazil: Five Centuries of Change" <https://library.brown.edu/create/fivecenturiesofchange/chapters/chapter-2/african-slavery/>, accessed 31 August 2021, web companion of Thomas E. Skidmore, *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change*, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2010; "Assessing the Slave Trade: Estimates", *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia.

African captured from the Niger Delta and brought to Pernambuco in the 1840s, provides one of the few accounts on life as an enslaved labourer in Brazil from the perspective of the enslaved. Baquaqua wrote of his experience on the slave ship in the following excerpt:

“Its horrors, ah! who can describe. None can so truly depict its horrors as the poor unfortunate, miserable wretch that has been confined within its portals! ... We were thrust into the hold of the vessel in a state of nudity, the males being crammed on one side, and the females on the other; the hold was so low that we could not stand up, but were obliged to crouch upon the floor or sit down; day and night were the same to us, sleep being denied us from the confined position of our bodies, and we became desperate through suffering and fatigue”.⁴⁵⁵

Placing the enslaved people and their descendants at the forefront of research such as this, is tantamount to threading a path to reparative justice and promoting a holistic, more contextualised narrative of Britain’s imperial past. Further research must therefore, be dedicated to tracing the enslaved Africans who laboured on Philips’ Hanover estate, some of the other estates cited in this report and the Brazilian plantations of Philips, Wood & Co. Slave registers, archives, church records, the *LBS* database, ancestry databases and the Jamaican Family Search Genealogy Research Library are some of the sources that offer a wealth of information on this topic. This significant strand of research would not only allow for the possible identification of descendants of the enslaved but would also stimulate further engagement with the African Caribbean and African Brazilian community in the UK, West Indies and Brazil. Research such as this would also be a valuable addition to scholarly literature and build on very important works, such as the Legacies of British Slave-ownership project. Furthermore, referring to the pioneering aspect of this study (see Taylor Report, pages 4-5), expanding research along this line would also act as a leading example for other organisations seeking to explore their links to historical slavery.

This study would also benefit from further investigation into the views of Taylor and the associates on historical slavery. Part one of this research highlighted the abolitionist views of the Strutts, Sir George Philips and Mark Philips despite them having substantial interests in transatlantic slavery. Furthermore, a *Manchester Guardian* article in 1827, highlights Taylor’s views on slavery and the removal of the “West India monopoly,- more odious than other burthens, because the sole effect of it is to keep up the present horrible system of slavery in the colonies”.⁴⁵⁶ Later articles on the US Civil War illustrate that the *Manchester Guardian* held a more conservative viewpoint in their criticism of Lincoln and cynicism regarding Emancipation.⁴⁵⁷ Richard Potter, William Duckworth and George William Wood’s views on slavery have also been briefly captured in this report. However, these unearthed findings merely skim the surface of this complicated issue. Further exploration is thus necessary to better understand Taylor and his associates’ views on slavery and the enslaved peoples of the former British West Indies and the Americas.

Memorialisation, Engagement & Reparative Actions

The concepts of collective memory, public memory and memorialisation are intertwined with identity. As such, memory as a nation, becomes ever more tangled and complex in multi-ethnic

⁴⁵⁵ Brown University Library, “Brazil: Five Centuries of Change”.

⁴⁵⁶ *Manchester Guardian* - Saturday 25 August 1827.

⁴⁵⁷ *Manchester Guardian* 10 October 1862, 22 February 1865, 27 April 1865; Robert Allen Schellenberg, *The Manchester Guardian and the American Civil War (1962)*, Master’s Thesis, University of Omaha, 1962, p. 49.

societies. Juxtaposing memory and the legacy of slavery onto contemporary British society reveals underlying resentment and pervading racial divisions. Writing about slavery and its depiction, Alan Rice posits that “as it burrows away, this moral failing and the memory of slavery that accompanies it becomes responsible for traumatic hangovers that are with us to this day”.⁴⁵⁸ The UK is a multicultural society, partly comprised of descendants of the enslaved and ethnic communities who hail from former British colonies. The alienation and underlying discontent felt by these communities towards Britain’s portrayal of its role in slavery is not new. However, as Ana Lucia Araujo underscores, “the past of Atlantic slavery, propelled by the rise of social media, reached the public sphere and the public space in unprecedented ways”.⁴⁵⁹ The advent of social media and connectedness on a global scale has facilitated a momentum in the form of Black Lives Matter protests, ‘guerrilla memorialisation’, rebranding of ubiquitous products, removal of controversial monuments and a drive for further research. Now more than ever, there is a palpable impetus for the role and perspectives of the enslaved to be at the forefront of the narrative on Britain’s legacy of slavery. In this spirit of uncensored engagement and reconciliation with the past, the themes of remembrance, acknowledgement and solidarity have been infused in this report from the outset and will continue to permeate throughout the reparative strand of this research.

⁴⁵⁸ Alan Rice, *Creating Memorials, Building Identities: The Politics of Memory in the Black Atlantic*, United Kingdom, Liverpool University Press, 2011, p. 56.

⁴⁵⁹ Ana Lucia Araujo, *Slavery in the Age of Memory: Engaging the Past*, United Kingdom, Bloomsbury Publishing, 2020.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Archival Research

1. Conduct more in-depth research on the planters listed in the Strutts' invoice book specifically relating to Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co., in order to pinpoint the exact plantations and enslavers who supplied raw cotton to John Edward Taylor.
2. Investigate sources including, but not limited to, probate inventories and Slave Registers for information on the enslaved population who lived and worked on the Sea Island plantations that supplied raw cotton to Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. and Sir George Philips' Hanover estate in Jamaica. This would also include efforts to trace the descendants of the enslaved persons associated with these estates.
3. Conduct further research on John Edward Taylor's firm Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. and involvement in the cotton industry such as his commercial relationship with McConnel & Kennedy, dealings in Liverpool if any, other possible sources of raw cotton and his cotton clientele.
4. This study would benefit from further research into the *Manchester Guardian's* links to the cotton industry and slavery through analysis of its opinion pieces, cotton ads, subscribers, trade reports and commercial connections.
5. Follow up on John Edward Taylor's family and those of his associates, with a view to discovering wider networks of financial, social, human and cultural capital with links to historical slavery.

Physical Environment Research

6. Conduct searches into the physical environment of Manchester with links to Taylor and his associates such as: donations to various institutions, naming of built environment including, but not limited to: private houses, schools, libraries and other public buildings, business premises such as warehouses, cultural institutions, names of streets, statues, and plaques.

Public Engagement

7. In light of the indirect and direct connections to transatlantic slavery of the Funders of the *Manchester Guardian*, consult with the African-Caribbean community in Manchester to discuss possible reparative options.
8. Given Sir George Philip's codification as having direct connections to slavery as an owner of enslaved people in Jamaica, commit to a joint effort with the University of the West Indies, Mona Campus, to identify the best reparative course of action.

9. Given John Edward Taylor's indirect connection to the Gullah Geechee people and the current threats to this population, develop a possible Heritage Project in collaboration with groups such as the Gullah Geechee Sea Island Coalition, South Carolina Historical Society and the Chicora Foundation.
10. Efforts should also be made to engage with African-American descendants of the enslaved in a spirit of co-production to further shape any reparative actions, promote public 'ownership' of these histories and initiate public debate over this contested history.

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APPENDIX

This appendix depicts a summary report which explored the existence of shareholders of the *Manchester Guardian* and possible connections between Samuel Greg and the *Manchester Guardian*.

Samuel Greg & Shareholders: Summary Report 19 September 2022

The purpose of this report is to share findings related to the exploration of the following topics:

- The existence of shareholders of the *Manchester Guardian*
- Connections between Samuel Greg and the *Manchester Guardian*

For the specified aims, two and a half days of archival work was conducted at the John Rylands Library, University of Manchester and Manchester Archives and Local Studies, Manchester Central Library. Secondary research which largely utilised the British Newspaper Archive database and antiquarian texts, was also conducted to uncover information on the possible existence of early shareholders of the *Manchester Guardian* and Greg's possible links.

Findings are illustrated in two parts which focus on:

- (i) The personal ledger of Samuel Greg
- (ii) Financial records of John Edward Taylor

Additional broader items of interest relating to Taylor and his commercial activities, uncovered on this archival visit, were also highlighted in the latter parts of this report.

Manchester Archives and Local Studies

David Sekers, *A Lady of Cotton: Hannah Greg, Mistress of Quarry Bank Mill*, was one of the reasons why research into this specific area was commissioned on a small scale. In his book, Sekers mentions that Samuel Greg owned shares in the *Manchester Guardian* in 1823:

“Although later in life Samuel became more conservative, he was a critic of the coverup of the Peterloo massacre. He was among the earliest backers of the *Manchester Guardian* - he owned shares in 1823 and was also one of the very few radicals of his generation who was active after Waterloo in the campaigns to liberalise trade and to reform political representation”.⁴⁶⁰

Efforts were thus made to look at John Edward Taylor's accounts as well as those of Samuel Greg. The following archival images form part of the Greg Papers: Manchester Central Library

⁴⁶⁰ David Sekers, *A Lady of Cotton: Hannah Greg, Mistress of Quarry Bank Mill*, United Kingdom, History Press, 2013.

GB127.C5/1/1/1, Personal Ledger of Samuel Greg. It holds valuable information on Greg's "stock at Manchester".⁴⁶¹

The stocks and shares found in Samuel Greg's ledger for 1823, the same year that David Sekers *Lady of Cotton* mentions Greg's shares in *Manchester Guardian*, do not include references to the *Manchester Guardian*. However, the Guardian Fire Office is included in his list of stocks for the years 1822 to 1824.⁴⁶²

Item	Value
Rochdale Estates	30000
Chief Rent in Manchr	1000
House Warehouse	11600
Immunised do	1000
Rat in St Peter's Church (given to Robt)	40
Vault in St John's Church	50
Honorary Assembly Rooms (given to Robt)	100
Exchange	11400
do in Manchester water works	800
Rochdale Canal Shares	900
Union do	525
Guardian Fire Office & Ins	6760
New York Lands (given to Tom & Robt)	7430
Oak Estate	1000
Stock on do	200
New Road to Hyde (another promise)	
Mr John Fletcher	
Mr Armstrong 1750 (given to Tom)	
John Lincolnsay 5200 (given to Robt)	
J.W. Dawson 1000	1000
Mary Grogg Legacy	
Millat Quarry Bank including Gibbs	250000
Dwelling House from Mr Faulkner's Farm	
Esquebeck House & Furniture	5600
Land adjoining Lytham	2000
Moor Land	13000
Gable Mill	600
Willow & Mill	
Total	£1382 37 11

Manchester Archives Local Studies, Manchester Central Library, GB127. C5/1/1/1, Personal Ledger of Samuel Greg.

⁴⁶¹ Manchester Archives Local Studies, Manchester Central Library, GB127. C5/1/1/1, <http://manchester.gov.uk/theseearchroom>, accessed 3 September 2022.

⁴⁶² Manchester Archives Local Studies, Manchester Central Library, GB127. C5/1/1/1, Personal Ledger of Samuel Greg.

In the year 1823, Greg owned 50 shares in the Guardian Fire Office as well as shares in the Manchester Water Works and Rochdale Canal among other ventures. There is also mention of his West Indies estate in the years 1823 to 1824.⁴⁶³

6 th Sept 1823 West India Estates			
Rochdale Estates			
Chief Rent in Manch ^r	30.000		
House & Warehouse	2000		
Furniture in do	3000		
Waultham St Johns	1000		
Share in y ^e Exchange Rooms	100		
Dale Estate	7000		
Stock on do	1800		
Escombe Beck	3200		
Lands adjoining Tythe	1000		
Moor Land & Cottages	1000		
Willow Mill & Paddock	1100		
Rochdale Canal 20 shares	1600		
Leicester Union 20 "	2000		
Guardian Fire Office 50 shares	500		
Manchester Water Works	1100		
Quarry Bank Mill House &c (1823)	30.000		
Gibbs & Fawkners Farms	700		
Caton Mill	13000		
Pott Dale Cottages	250		
Lancaster Mill			
Hyde & Gorton Turnpike	200		
<hr/>			
305.8	3 ^d 6 th Consols Mt ^d 1/2	£13167.15.8	94 ^{rs} 9607 14
556.10.0	Do Do	£19.900	" 18900
175.10.0	3 ^d 6 th Reduced	£6000	94 5640
52.10.0	Russian Bonds		2100
52.10.0			£138637 14

Manchester Archives Local Studies, Manchester Central Library, GB127. C5/1/1/1, Personal Ledger of Samuel Greg.

⁴⁶³ Manchester Archives Local Studies, Manchester Central Library, GB127. C5/1/1/1, Personal Ledger of Samuel Greg.

In the year 1824, Greg's ledger again denotes the Guardian Fire Office but there is no mention of the *Manchester Guardian*. Directly below the reference to the Guardian Fire Office, the name "Manchester do" is recorded, likely meaning Manchester Fire Office.⁴⁶⁴

Item	Amount
6 th Sept 1824	
West India Estate	
Receivable	30,000
House & Warehouse in King St	5000
Furniture in do	
Wardrobe & Bed Room	100
Exchange Rooms	100
Oak Estate	9000
Stock in do	1000
Essexbeck	3200
Lands adjoining Moor Tythes & Collages	2000
Valuable Houses	275
Cotton Mill	13000
Quarry Bank Mill & House	30000
Lancaster Mill	6700
Gibbs & Fawcetts Farm	700
Ryde & Gorton Turnpike	200
Willow Mill & Paddock	1100
Rochdale Canal 25 Shares	2400
Leicester Union 26 do	2600
Guardian Fire Office 50 do	1000
Manchester do 10 do	100
Lancaster Canal 3 1/2 do	140
Manchester & Liverpool Railway 13 1/2	500
Macclesfield Canal 20 Shares	20
Reversionary Society 15 do	320
Manchester Water Works 100 do	4500
Galt Shares United Comp 140 do	215
3 of 6 Consols 100 of 101 1/2 16-8	
do 100 of 101 1/2 16-8	15500
do Reduced 100 of 101 1/2 16-8	16000
	94 1/2 23311 5 -
	137721 5 -

Manchester Archives Local Studies, Manchester Central Library, GB127. C5/1/1/1, Personal Ledger of Samuel Greg.

⁴⁶⁴ Manchester Archives Local Studies, Manchester Central Library, GB127. C5/1/1/1, Personal Ledger of Samuel Greg.

Clarification sought from David Sekers on his reference to Samuel Greg's shares in the *Manchester Guardian* noted that the information was derived from an 1822 letter from Robert Greg to his brother Thomas. **It is possible, that the Guardian shares cited in Robert Greg's letter may have been a reference to shares in the Guardian Fire Office, as depicted in Samuel Greg's personal ledger.**

The history or origin of the Guardian Fire Office is not immediately clear. However, in the early 1800s, there were several newspaper ads which highlight a Guardian Fire Office or Guardian Insurance shares in Leeds, Nottingham and Yorkshire to name a few.

ON SALE,
HUDDERSFIELD AND LANCASTER CANAL
SHARES.
BRADFORD, BARNSELY, LEEDS (Oil), and
WAKEFIELD GAS SHARES.
LONDON COMMERCIAL DOCK SHARES.
GUARDIAN, SHEFFIELD, & MANCHESTER
INSURANCE SHARES.
J. H. RIDSDALE, Broker.
Albion-Street, Leeds, July 14, 1824.

Leeds Intelligencer - Thursday 15 July 1824

WANTED, for a small investment, a few SHARES in
the COUNTY or GUARDIAN FIRE OFFICE.
Address (Post paid) to A. B. Post Office, Nottingham.

Nottingham Journal - Saturday 15 December 1832

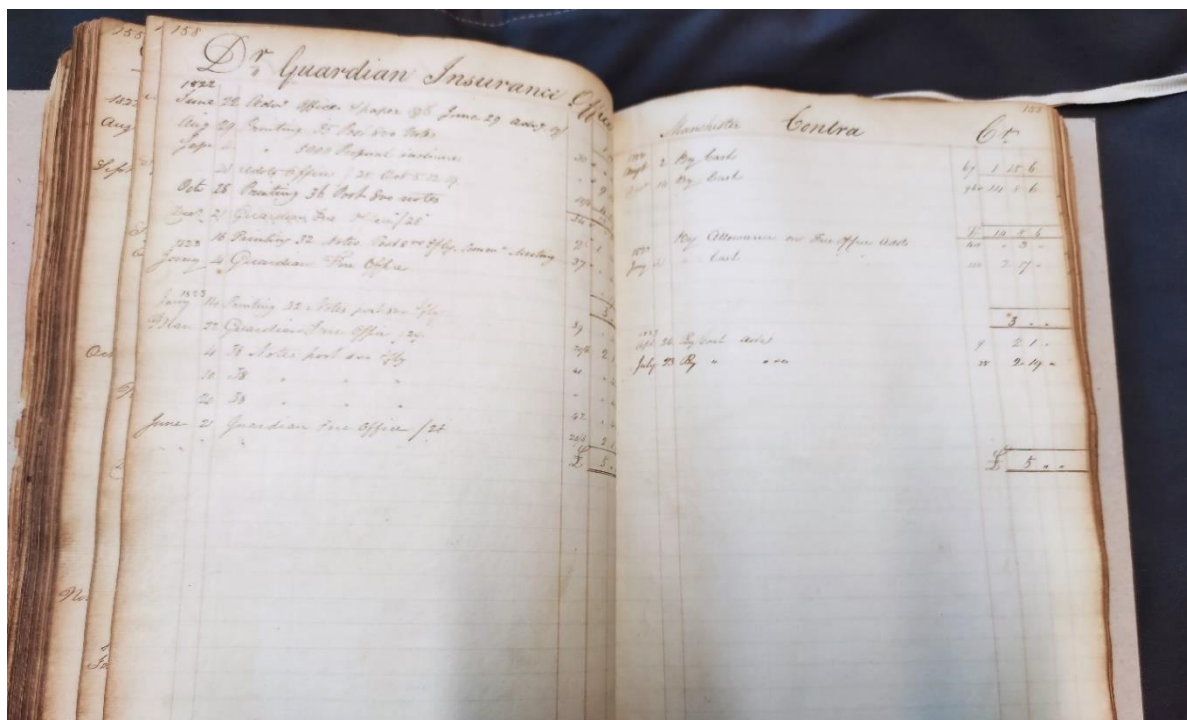
Fire Office. The loss by the buildings, which belong to Mr. Holdforth, is estimated at about 3,300*l.* which is insured in the Guardian Fire Office. Mr. Hammond has had the misfortune to have had his premises on fire several times before, and this is the second time that both the mill and the warehouse have been burnt down since the autumn of 1825.—*Leeds Mercury.*

Public Ledger and Daily Advertiser - Tuesday 19 February 1828

first explosion. A fireman of the name of Walker, belonging to the Guardian fire office, had a most narrow escape on the reitor house exploding, having been thrown a considerable distance into the reservoir of the works: he was severely hurt and all his

Yorkshire Gazette - Saturday 04 March 1826

As depicted in the image below, Taylor himself also had a connection to an insurance company called Guardian Insurance Office, Manchester.



GDN Archives, John Rylands Library, Manchester, GDN/269 Ledger account book 1821-3. Courtesy of The University of Manchester. (The Author's Own Image).

Will of Samuel Greg

Samuel Greg's will was also examined for evidence of an investment in the *Guardian*. However, there is no mention of shares in the *Manchester Guardian*.⁴⁶⁵ Further research can be conducted to uncover an inventory list of Greg's stocks and investments at the time of his death in 1834.

Samuel Greg Esquire

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Extracted from the Public Episcopal Registry of Chester

I Samuel Greg of Quarry Bank in Shropshire in the County of Chester Esquire do make this my last Will and Testament in manner following that is to say I give devise and bequeath unto my Eldest Son Thomas Greg his Executors Administrators and Assigns absolutely All and every my Plantations Sugar Works Estates Buildings Lands and Creditments situate in the West Indies with the Slaves live stock which shall be thereupon or belong thereto at the time of my decease And all other the stock in the West Indies which I shall be possessed of or entitled unto at the time of my decease with all debts owing to me in the West Indies but subject to the payment of all debts which shall be by me at the time of my decease.

The National Archives, 'Will of Samuel Greg of Styal', Cheshire, PROB 11/1837/136.

As iterated above, given the number of Guardian titled companies and the apparent absence of the *Manchester Guardian* in Samuel Greg's personal ledger in 1823 and will, it is possible that the Guardian shares referred to in Robert Greg's letter was that of the insurance company Guardian Fire Office.

Due to the short time frame of this research endeavour, a visit to the Quarry Bank Mill archives was not possible. At the time of submission of this report, the author is awaiting response from the Quarry Bank archive regarding the provision of a digitised copy of the 4 Dec 1822 letter from Robert Greg to Thomas Greg (ref: GLB.1273). This research would benefit from a more in-depth look at Robert and Thomas as well as other Greg family members' correspondence held at Quarry Bank Mill archives as well as the 'Personal ledger of Samuel Greg'⁴⁶⁶ and 'Half yearly stock in trade accounts, etc' housed at Manchester Central Library.⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶⁵ The National Archives, Will of Samuel Greg of Styal, Cheshire, PROB 11/1837/136.

⁴⁶⁶ Manchester Libraries, Information and Archives, GB127.C5/1/1/1, 'Personal ledger of Samuel Greg, 1794-1824, Stock at Manchester; sundry debts; debts to factory; stock at factory, Sept. 1794, Profit and loss accounts, 1807 – 1814, etc.'

⁴⁶⁷ Manchester Libraries, Information and Archives, GB127.C5/1/1/2, 'Half yearly stock in trade accounts etc, March 1814-March, 1816'.

John Rylands Library

The following items, all relating to the financial records of Taylor and the *Guardian* between 1821 and 1888, were examined to uncover details relating to Samuel Greg and the existence of possible early shareholders of the *Manchester Guardian*:

- Gen/266 Cash book 1830-2.
- GDN/267 Cash book 1838-41
- GDN/270 Ledger account book 1828-34
- GDN/274 Accounts ledger - Profit and loss account 1888-1897. 'With a summary of important events' in the history of the Manchester Guardian, 1892-7
- GDN/265 Cash book 1827-8.
- GDN/269 Ledger account book 1821-3
- GDN 260/42: Agreement between J.E. Taylor and a group of Manchester merchants and gentlemen for financing the launch of the newspaper in 1821.
- 271 Ledger account book 1839-56

“Samuel Greg & Co, Chancery Lane”, was found in GDN/269 Ledger account book 1821-3 under a listing for ‘4000 invoices’, likely payment for printing.

241. 242. G

D^r

Sundries

1821	Decr	1	Garnett (and) Horsfall	Clitheroe
May	4	Golland Thomas	100 Market Street	Liverpool
June	15	Gore Johnson		
	4	Gordon. Paris & Co.		
Aug	3	Gaskell H.	Wigan	
Sep	14	Golland Thomas	Market St.	
Oct	5	Carlway Mr	Edinburgh	
Nov	2	Gordon Mr	Wigan (transferred from at Northdale)	
		Gordon Mr	Brunswick St. Salford	
Decr	14	Johnson Gore	Spool	
May	15	Grundy (and) Beirde	Piccadilly	
Oct	5	Gregory J.	Chancery Lane	
	8	Greg John & Co		
June	7	Green & Co	15, High St.	
	21	Gardiner & Co	141, Fleet Street London	
		Gye and Co		
July	12	Ginnett W. (and) Co	Kuddersfield	

Contra

242. Cr

Quaker for wanted	6 ¹ / ₂	6	1821	Mar 15	133	6
Makins Apportionment	8 ¹ / ₂	8	1821	May 4	50	8
St. Patrick's Steam Packet	9 ¹ / ₂	9	1821	May 23	79	9
3000 Bids Heads Post & Co	21	8	1821	Oct 3	81	8
Harwick Bank Works (in part) 10/7	24 ¹ / ₂	3 18 6	1821	Mar 25	140	3 18 6
1000 Notes removed	31	1 3	1821	July 26	120	1 3
Apportionment of 1821	7 ¹ / ₂	7	1821	July 26	181	6 6
Portage of 1821	24	7	1821	Nov 25	581	1 5 6
Per 1821 for 1821	9 ¹ / ₂	1 5 6	1821	Nov 25	581	1 5 6
Astronomical Lecture (and) Copying	14 ¹ / ₂	7 2	1821	Nov 25	145	17 2
Situation wanted	6 ¹ / ₂	6 6	1821	Aug 18	44	6 6
Providence bills	33	6	1821	July 30	120	6
Nicaragua Wood & Postage	7	1 1	1821	July 30	175	17 1
Lisbon Packets	11	11	1821	April 23	9	11
Updellery	14	10 6	1821	July 30	38	10 6
4000 Invoices	23	3 10	1821	May 5	12	3 10
Address	23	1 2	1821	July 30	23	1 2
Ref. on 1821	1 2 7	7 1 3 2	1821	July 30	37	1 3 2
London & Wigan	1 1 7	1 1 7	1821	June 23	233	1 1 7
Ref. on 1821	1 1 6	1 1 6	1821	July 30	1	1 1 6

GDN Archives, John Rylands Library, Manchester, GDN/269 Ledger account book 1821-3. Courtesy of The University of Manchester. (The Author's Own Image).

“Samuel Greg Esq Chancery Lane” was also listed in another item of Taylor’s financial records, GDN/265 Cash book 1827-8. Unlike in the above ledger, where Greg’s firm is listed, this record only mentions Samuel Greg, individually. A reference, G 99, can also be seen next to his name. According to the Cash Book, Greg appears to receive 16s from Taylor on 12 January 1828.

Name	Amount	Date
Greg Esq Chancery Lane	283	26
Phillips Esq	212	16
W. Phillips	212	16
Hewett King	552	16
Boatman	19	14
W. Humphreys	admg	6
Rutledge	504	11
Close Bent Lodge	8342	10
Cockton	50	16
James Gregory	sc	11
Leys John	sc	7
H. Lacy	168	16
B. Smith	admg 382	6
Hous Cotton Ct.	262	16
Mr Wright	306	16
Humphreys	585	6
J. Travis	107	16
Palmer St	500	8
G. Gibson	580	18
Sun Entry	204	16
A. Armstrong	917	16
Market St	575	13
Nicholson	203	9
Walker	498	16
D. Fee	448	8
W. Lockitt	13	12
Fennel St	12	9
Richmond Hill	4	4
W. Tuttle	12	9
J. W. Thomas	12	9
Old Church St	12	9
Mrs. Fennell	12	9
Fennel St	12	9
Long & Plattford	12	9
Papers of 12 Lang	12	9
Goldsmiths	12	9
Subscribers	12	9
Paymen	12	9
Delivery	12	9
Bent	12	9

GDN Archives, John Rylands Library, Manchester, GDN/265 Cash book 1827-8. Courtesy of The University of Manchester. (The Author’s Own Image).

A later listing of Greg can also be found in Gen/266 Cash book 1830-2. Again, he is listed with the stamp G99 next to his name, appearing to receive 16s from Taylor on 19 January 1831.

1831

Date	Description	Amount
Jan 19	W. Hammer Water Street	114 10 3
"	James Street 2nd 3 Lines	2 2 4
"	James Dickford	10 10
"	John & Harris Mathew	8 14 9
"	Will Jackson	2 10
"	Mr Lindsay	2 10
"	School of Music Anatomy Mount St. Martin	2 10
"	Mr. L. Jordan	2 10
"	Doak Smith Horse Banked	2 10
"	Clay & Thompson	2 10
"	Edw. Sadgton 4 Lines St.	2 10
"	St Phillips East Chancery Lane	2 10
"	St. Herbert	2 10
"	St. Gregory Chancery Lane	2 10
"	St. John	2 10
"	St. Oswald	2 10
"	St. W. Thorne	2 10
"	St. W. Kersfall	2 10
"	St. Hughes	2 10
"	Mr. Gibb. Crescent	2 10
"	St. Russell Newton St.	2 10
"	St. Blacklock Grey St. Clarendon	2 10
20	Mr. Tho. Morris Wagon	2 10
"	Mr. Nield	2 10
"	Kirkham News Room	2 10
"	St. Rose St.	2 10
"	St. Lancashire, Brookville, Rockdale	2 10
"	St. Slater Churchgate	2 10
"	St. Grundy for CK Infants School	2 10
"	Sold a fr of 30 Act. 1830	2 10

GDN Archives, John Rylands Library, Manchester, Gen/266 Cash book 1830-2. Courtesy of The University of Manchester. (The Author's Own Image).

This is indeed the Greg in question as the firm of Samuel Greg & Co was addressed at Chancery Lane in online trade directories. A search of the *London Gazette* also shows that the partners of the firm comprised of Samuel Greg and several of his family members, Robert Hyde Greg, John Greg, Samuel Greg Junior, and William Greg. The firm was listed as “Cotton Spinners and “Manufacturers”⁴⁶⁸.

Greg Samuel & Co. cotton spinners and shirting mfrs. (power) 2, Chancery lane, Pall Mall

Parson, William, and Baines, Edward. *History, Directory, and Gazetteer, of the County Palatine of Lancaster: With a Variety of Commercial & Statistical Information ...* Illustrated by Maps and Plans. United Kingdom, W. Wales & Company, 1825, p. 204.

THE Partnership heretofore subsisting between the undersigned, Samuel Greg the elder, Robert Hyde Greg, John Greg, Samuel Greg the younger, William Greg, and Andrew Melly, as Cotton-Spinners and Manufacturers, carried on at Bury, in the County of Lancaster, under the firm of Samuel Greg and Co. was dissolved on the 1st day of September 1833, as to the said Samuel Greg the elder, who has retired from the said concern.—Dated the 22d day of October 1833.

Saml. Greg.
Robert Hyde Greg.
John Greg.
Saml. Greg, jun.
William Greg.
Andrew Melly.

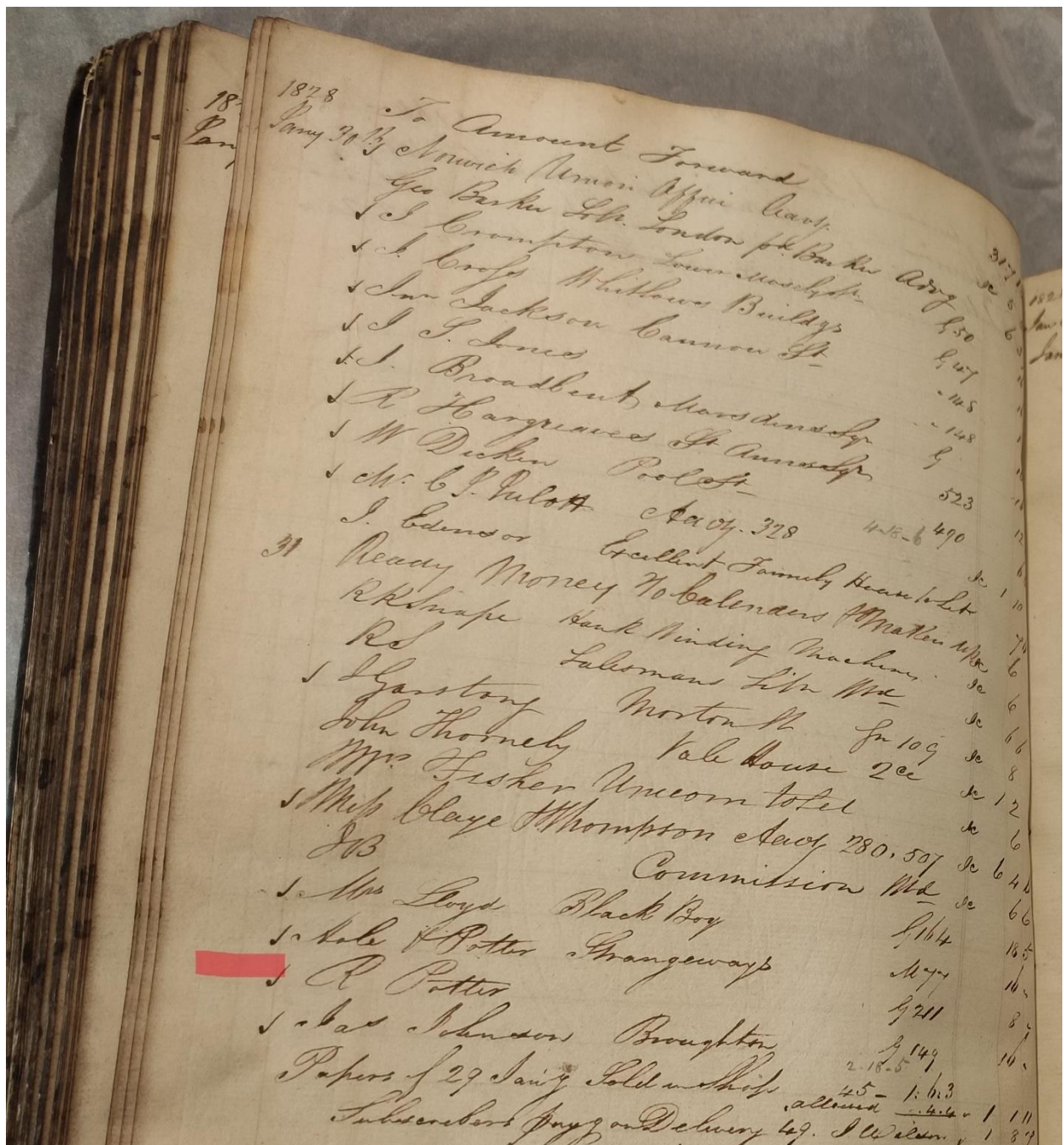
THE Partnership heretofore subsisting between the undersigned, Samuel Greg the elder, Robert Hyde Greg, John Greg, Samuel Greg the younger, and William Greg, as Cotton-Spinners and Manufacturers, carried on at Caton, and at Lancaster, in the County of Lancaster, and at Manchester, in the said County, under the firm of Samuel Greg and Co. was dissolved on the 1st day of September 1833, as to the said Samuel Greg the elder, who has retired from the said concerns; and the Partnership heretofore subsisting between the same parties, as Cotton-Spinners, carried on under the same firm, at Quarry-Bank, in the County of Chester, was also dissolved on the same day, that concern being now carried on by the said Samuel Greg the elder alone.—Dated the 22d day of October 1833.

Saml. Greg.
Robert Hyde Greg.
John Greg.
Saml. Greg, jun.
William Greg.

The London Gazette, 22 November 1833, 19104, p. 2172.

⁴⁶⁸ *The London Gazette*, 22 November 1833, 19104, p. 2172.

Other Funders such as Richard Potter, Robert Philips and George William Wood appear in Taylor's financial records, with the recurring written stamp 'G' and a number following their names. As depicted below, Richard Potter's stamp was G 211.



GDN Archives, John Rylands Library, Manchester, GDN/265 Cash book 1827-8. Courtesy of The University of Manchester. (The Author's Own Image).

Dr Cash			
1827	To Balance cash on hand		
115	Mr Bould, Swan Coast	Gr. or	197
	Mr Townsend Bognor	adv	16
	Mr Ormrod Emph, Mils Gr	207	88
	Wm. Barker Notice		76
	Mr Hickman. Hole & Milkensons. Adv		6
2 L	To the Faculty (twice)		6
	Sold a paper of 8th Sept		12
	Mr Gray Ridgefield	adv	7
	Fairbairn & Lilly Canal St	adv	96
	Do		16
	Mr Chew Swan St	519	7
	Do		1
12	John Hargreaves Cations to be sold	adv	6
	John Hampshire 16. Cations		6
	Mr Rother on acct	of 158	6
	Hole & Patter Strangers	M 77	16
	Richard Potter	of 211	16
	John Wakefield Duns Gate		16
	Mr. Kilditch Longmillgate Gr 131		16
	Five Sovereigns Reward to Parish Clerk & others		7
	Copies of Mr. G. Sold in Shop 8d. 2. 8. 5		2 2 10
	Subscribers paying on Delay 49 J. Wilson		1 8 7
	John Murphy	2 - 1. 0	
	John Garrett	14 - 7	
	James Preston	4 - 2. 0	
	W. W. W. W.	4 - 2. 2	
	John Pickering	2 - 1. 0	
	J. Forrest	10 - 5. 5	
	J. Pratt	8 - 4. 4	
	J. Rye	11 - 5. 5	
	Chas	8 - 4. 4	
	Conrad	8 - 4. 4	1 17

GDN Archives, John Rylands Library, Manchester, GDN/265 Cash book 1827-8. Courtesy of The University of Manchester. (The Author's Own Image).

Funders, George William Wood and an R. Philips, likely Robert Philips, also appear in Taylor's cash books, with the latter preceding the stamp G 211 in 1831. It is possible, that by this time Taylor and Potter had become distant given their tumultuous friendship in their later years and Philips had come to claim the stamp G 211. Wood does not appear to have G before his number, 295.

1831		
July 26	To Amount Forward	
✓	Mr. Moffatt Railway office	3,13-7/415 58
✓	Mr. Taylor	831
✓	Mr. Gattland Water St.	£286 71
✓	Do	£101 118
✓	Do	771 16
✓	R. Philips Esq. Summer St.	£211 6
✓	W. Wood	295 11
✓	Edgeward Hotel	£126 16
✓	Do	785 6
27	Chapman Pickford St. Acctg.	8-12-11 857 6
✓	Curriers of Broughton	471 3 1
"	J. P. Swinwick Esq. Business	301/2 1 1
"	J. H. Situation locc	28 6
"	Mr. Philips Esq. Heath House	219/2 16
"	Mr. Andrew 33 Cannon St. Acctg.	699/2 12 6
"	Rev. E. Hawkes Chorley Street	784/2 17
"	Mr. Stannell Esq. East Anstey St.	269/2 16
"	J. B. Wood 30 Laford Rd.	316 8
"	Do	15
"	Do	6
"	Do	6
"	Do	6

GDN Archives, John Rylands Library, Manchester, Gen/266 Cash book 1830-2. Courtesy of The University of Manchester. (The Author's Own Image).

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

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The 'G' & Greg

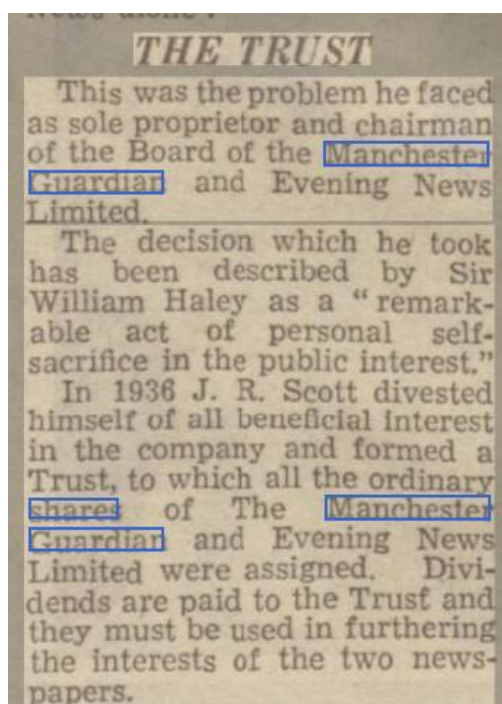
It is possible that the stamps represent shareholders or subscribers of the *Manchester Guardian*. However, it was not possible to find a definitive explanation of what exactly the 'G' represents in these accounts.

Alternatively, given that the word 'Adving' (advertising) can be seen in the same column as 'G' and 'Gn', it should also be considered whether such stamps may represent a codification for the provision of a service by Taylor or the *Guardian*.

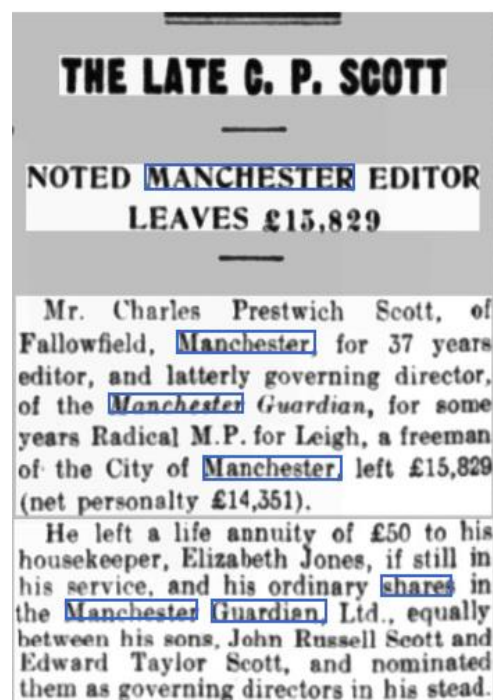
It can be said that there was indeed a financial relationship between Taylor and/or the *Guardian* and Samuel Greg, given the appearance of his name and firm, Samuel Greg & Co, in Taylor's financial accounts. However, given the short time frame of this research endeavour, it was not possible to say with certainty what exactly this relationship entailed and whether Greg was in fact a shareholder of the *Manchester Guardian*.

Later Shareholders

The existence of later shareholders of the *Manchester Guardian* is well documented, as illustrated in the following 1930s and 1940s newspaper notices.



Manchester Evening News - Tuesday 05 April 1949



Liverpool Echo - Friday 19 February 1932

However, a search of Taylor's financial records, secondary literature and correspondence letters from John Edward Taylor to Russell Scott between 1820 and 1845 ⁴⁶⁹ yielded no visible evidence of the existence of early *Manchester Guardian* shareholders.

⁴⁶⁹ Isabella Scott and Catherine Scott, *A Family Biography, 1662 to 1908: Drawn Chiefly from Old Letters*, United Kingdom, J. Nisbet, 1908.

Taylor & Areas of Interest

At the John Rylands Library, a few items of interest relating to Taylor and his finances came into focus.

The following item shows a snippet of where Taylor's money went in terms of Manchester's cultural society. In this case the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society (of which George William Wood was a Vice President) and the Mechanics Institute. Information such as this would be useful for exploring step five of the methodological process of the Guardian project and understanding broader areas of Manchester society and its connections with prominent individuals with links to historical slavery.

134	J. Wootley	10	12	0
134	M ^r J. House	10	0	0
135	Cash, Self	5	0	0
137	G. Donastone, Butch. Shop	12	1	0
137	Cash, Self	5	0	0
137	M ^r J. House	10	0	0
138	D ^r D ^r	30	0	0
139	R. Collins & Co.	5	2	0
139	Sub to Mechanics Inst	1	1	0
140	Cash, Self	2	0	0
140	Sub to Exchange	2	2	0
140	Schofield for Coal	2	10	0
142	Thos. Hamilton, Hotel	12	0	0
142	M ^r J. House	10	0	0
142	Union Plate Glass Co. 4th Bill	7	5	0
142	G. W. Carter, Fishmonger	7	17	6
143	John Welch	3	3	11
143	M ^r J. House	5	0	0
143	Cash, Self	2	0	0
143	Premium on Norwich Life Assn.	10	3	10
143	Sub to Lit. & Phil. Soc.	11	6	0
	Total	10	4	0

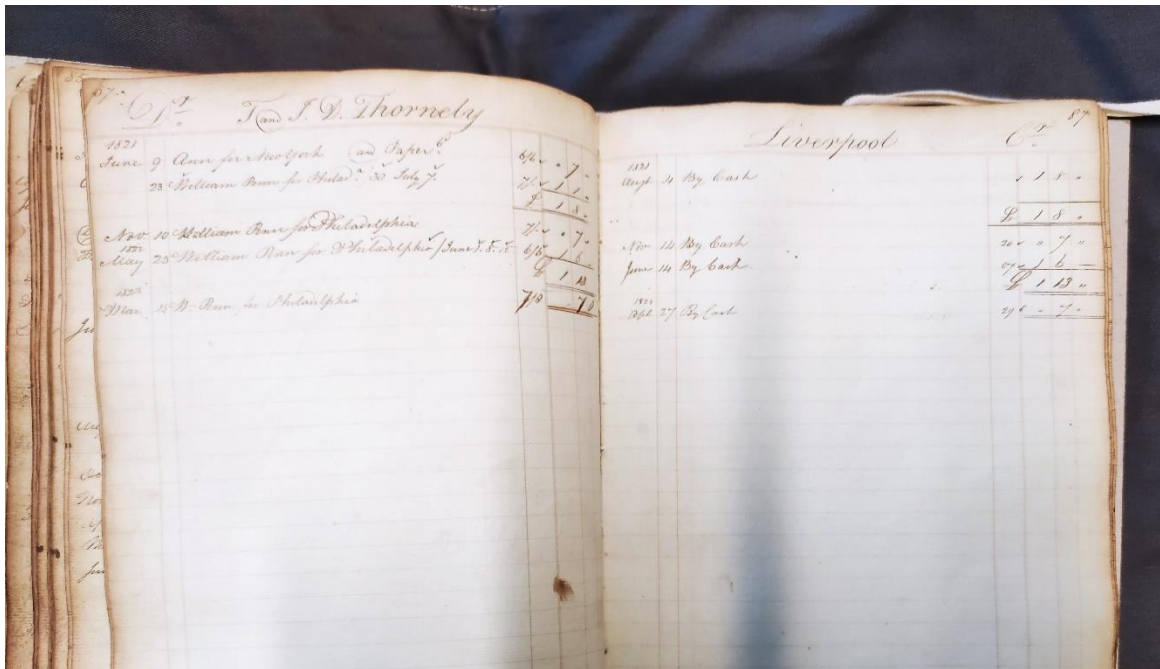
£ 110 15 ..

GDN Archives, John Rylands Library, Manchester, 271 Ledger account book 1839-56, Courtesy of The University of Manchester. (The Author's Own Image).

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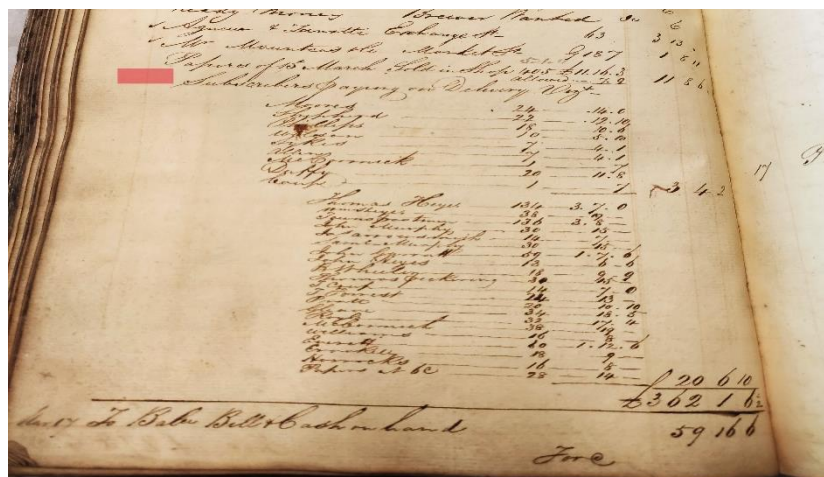
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Taylor's cash books also contain information relating to Liverpool, likely denoting a cotton connection and places in the US. In the item below, records relating to Philadelphia can be seen. Liverpool is also featured several times in Taylor's accounts. Further exploration of these specific listings may be beneficial to further understanding Taylor's cotton source and clientele.



GDN Archives, John Rylands Library, Manchester, GDN/269 Ledger account book 1821-3, Courtesy of The University of Manchester. (The Author's Own Image).

The cash books also contain consistent information on the names of subscribers, payments and frequency of payments.



GDN Archives, John Rylands Library, Manchester, GDN/265 Cash book 1827-8, Courtesy of The University of Manchester. (The Author's Own Image).

Many of the *Manchester Guardian's* subscribers would have been invested or linked with cotton given the locale and newspaper's place as a trader's manual and source of information for cotton stocks. As such, information on subscribers may be useful for wider research on the links of the *Guardian* and Manchester with slavery.

Manchester Guardian 3 Jan 1824
COTTON.

Particulars of the STOCK of COTTON in the Port of Liverpool, on the 31st December, 1822 and 1823; and in the Port of Glasgow on the latter of those dates.

Descriptions.	Liverpool.				Glasgow, 1823.
	1823.	1822.	Incrs.	Deers.	
Sea Island	13700	10500	3200	...	1252
Stained ditto	1800	900	400	...	357
Upland	125500	54000	71500	...	5944
Tennessee & Alabama	21100	9500	11600	...	311
New Orleans	24600	11500	13100	...	2650
Pernambuco	19500	14700	4800	...	384
Maranhao	21200	17600	3600	...	188
Bahia	9800	7300	2500	...	...
Para	550	500	50	...	137
Mina	2050	2400	...	350	60
Demerara & Berbice	650	2500	...	1850	964
West India	5250	3000	2250	...	558
Bourbon	80	100	...	20	...
Smirna	150	100	50	...	...
Surat	7100	8000	...	900	1272
Bengal	7250	1000	...	2750	908
Madras	700	400	300	...	...
Peru	50	...	50	...	...
Egyptian	470	...	470	...	...
	261000	153000	113870	5870	13070

RECAPITULATION.

General Stock, 1st Jan. 1823— Liverpool 153,000
London ... 120,800
Glasgow ... 12,576
286,376

Imports in 1823..... Liverpool 578,309
London ... 55,875
Glasgow ... 36,046
670,230

Total Supply 958,606

Stocks, 1st Jan. 1824 Liverpool 261,000
London ... 107,760
Glasgow ... 13,070
381,830

Delivery from ports in 1823 (10,979 bags pr week) 572,776
Exports, (equal to 741 per week) off 37,357

Leaves for delivery for home consumption 534,419
10,238 per week.....

Total Imports in 1823 670,230
Do..... 1822 533,537
136,693 Increase.

Total Stocks, 1st January 1824... 381,830
Do..... 1st January 1823... 286,376
97,454 Increase.

Total Exports in 1823 37,357
Do..... 1822 58,618
20,261 Decrease.

We intend next week to publish some remarks on
"The state and prospects of the Cotton Market,"
which will embrace a notice of the contrast presented
ed, in the above statements, to the views and calculations
of the Liverpool circulars, which occasioned
the late most pernicious speculations.—To these
remarks we invite the attention of our readers.

Manchester Archives Local Studies, Manchester Central Library, *Manchester Guardian*, 3 January 1824.

Recommendations

The following recommendations should be considered if follow up research on Greg's connection with the *Manchester Guardian* and existence of early shareholders is to be conducted:

1. Archival research at the:
 - i. Quarry Bank Mill which houses the Quarry Bank Collection and correspondence letters between family members of the Greg family
 - ii. Manchester Archives and Local Studies which houses the Greg Papers and personal ledger of Samuel Greg
 - iii. John Rylands Library- conduct an extensive deep dive into the Guardian archives, letters, and correspondence pertaining to Taylor as well as secondary literature including antiquarian and biographical sources.
2. Experts on the financial background of the *Guardian* and its history (apart from its slavery links) should be consulted to better understand how the *Manchester Guardian* sustained itself financially, for example in terms of advertising, subscribers, shareholders in the 19th Century.
3. Aligned with the point above, expert economic historians or accountants should also be consulted to help provide a possible explanation on the meaning of the 'G', 'Gn', 'M' stamps in Taylor's records. The archivist at the John Rylands Library, Janette Martin, could also be consulted on this point and on Taylor's cash books and ledgers housed at the Rylands Library.
4. Conduct further research on the *Guardian's* wider links with slavery through exploration of its subscribers in the mid to late 19th Century.

References

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- GDN Archives, John Rylands Library, Manchester, GDN/265 Cash book 1827-8.
- GDN Archives, John Rylands Library, Manchester, GDN/269 Ledger account book 1821-3.
- GDN Archives, John Rylands Library, Manchester, GDN/269 Ledger account book 1821-3.
- GDN Archives, John Rylands Library, Manchester, GDN/269 Ledger account book 1821-3.
- GDN Archives, John Rylands Library, Manchester, Gen/266 Cash book 1830-2.
- Leeds Intelligencer* - Thursday 15 July 1824.
- Liverpool Echo* - Friday 19 February 1932.
- Manchester Archives Local Studies, Manchester Central Library, *Manchester Guardian*, 3 January 1824.
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- The London Gazette*, 22 November 1833.
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- Yorkshire Gazette* - Saturday 04 March 1826.