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The Taylor Report

December 11, 2020

THE TAYLOR REPORT

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The *Manchester Guardian* office on Market Street, Manchester
<https://spartacus-educational.com/PRguardian.htm>

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INTRODUCTION

Social & Political Background

Amidst a global pandemic and the Black Lives Matter movement, the *Guardian* and *Observer* emerged as champions for the cause of racial equality. Following the toppling of the Edward Colston statue in Bristol, the *Guardian* itself “examined many organisations’ histories and called them to account for their connections to slavery and other past injustices”.¹ This inevitably led to questions, from both internal and external observers, concerning the history of the *Guardian* (formerly *Manchester Guardian*) and its founder. Keenly aware of its privileged position and power as a voice capable of helping to change the traditionally whitewashed narrative of British history and slavery, chairman of the Scott Trust, Alex Graham, indicated that

“all organisations must understand and discuss their histories, and it is particularly incumbent on media organisations to do so, reflecting on their past and current positions with openness, highlighting mistakes, and facing the future with humility.” He noted that “it is right, therefore, that we look at our own, too.”²

Therefore, in July 2020 the Scott Trust commissioned the Institute for the Study of Slavery at the University of Nottingham to undertake independent research to investigate any links of the founder of the *Manchester Guardian*, John Edward Taylor and his associates with historical transatlantic slavery.

Academic historical research has long charted Britain’s more obvious links with historical slavery and Britain’s Industrial Revolution. This has included important links to Manchester’s cotton trade and with sugar, the primary crop of the West Indies.³ Recent research has also shown that many of these links were less obvious, and embedded throughout British society.⁴ Indeed, a number of universities in the UK and several town councils have started investigating their own links with historical slavery.⁵ However, privately commissioned studies in the UK

¹ Ben Quinn, “Scott Trust Commissions Research into Guardian Founder’s Possible Links to Slave Trade”, *The Guardian*, 17 July 2020, www.theguardian.com/media/2020/jul/17/scott-trust-commissions-research-into-guardian-founders-possible-links-to-slave-trade, accessed 26 Oct, 2020.

² Quinn, “Scott Trust Commissions Research into Guardian Founder’s Possible Links to Slave Trade”.

³ Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*, Penguin Books, 1986; Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*. 1st ed., University of North Carolina Press, 1944; Joseph Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England: A Study in International Trade and Economic Development*, Cambridge University Press, 2002; Katie Donington, *The Bonds of Family: Slavery, Commerce and Culture in the British Atlantic World* (Studies in Imperialism). 1st ed., (Manchester University Press, 2019); Simon S. Smith, *Slavery, Family, and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles, 1648–1834*. 1st ed., Cambridge University Press, 2010.

⁴ LBS Centre, “Legacies of British Slave-ownership project (2009-2012)”, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/>, accessed 20 Oct. 2020; Catherine Hall, et al. *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership: Colonial Slavery and the Formation of Victorian Britain*, Cambridge University Press, 2014.

⁵ “University of Glasgow Publishes Report into Historical Slavery”, *University of Glasgow*, 16 Sep. 2018, https://www.gla.ac.uk/news/archiveofnews/2018/september/headline_607154_en.html, accessed 20 Oct. 2020; “Cambridge University Launches Inquiry into Historical Links to Slavery”, *University of Cambridge*, 30 Apr. 2019, www.cam.ac.uk/news/cambridge-university-launches-inquiry-into-historical-links-to-slavery, accessed 30 Oct 2020; ISOS, “New Study into the Connections between Nottingham Universities and Transatlantic Slavery”, 9 Dec. 2019, <https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/isos/news/new-study-universities-transatlantic-slavery-connection.aspx>, accessed 02 Nov 2020; Mark Drakeford MS, First Minister, “Written Statement: Audit of public monuments, street and building names

which have sought to investigate prominent figures and their connections to slavery are rare.⁶ This study is therefore pioneering in that respect and aspires to promote the conceptualisation of further works focused on investigating other prominent figures in British history. The project formally started on 1st October 2020 and is to run until 31st December 2020.

Aim of Study

The aim of this project was to investigate any links of John Edward Taylor (founder of the *Manchester Guardian* newspaper in 1821), his associates, and his or their business activities with historical slavery.

associated with the history of black communities in Wales”, <https://gov.wales/written-statement-audit-public-monuments-street-and-building-names-associated-history-black>, accessed 02 Nov. 2020.

⁶ Exceptions are Philip Georgiadis, “Lloyd’s and Greene King apologise for their roles in the slave trade”, *Financial Times*, <https://www.ft.com/content/c5a4939e-f34c-430f-81b4-745125ceecaf>, accessed 02 Nov 2020; Kevin Rawlinson, “Lloyd’s of London and Greene King to Make Slave Trade Reparations”, *The Guardian*, 18 June 2020, www.theguardian.com/world/2020/jun/18/lloyds-of-london-and-greene-king-to-make-slave-trade-reparations, accessed 02 Nov 2020.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

“Cotton’s global threads interwove the histories and peoples of Manchester, Africa, the Americas and the Caribbean, creating a legacy that stretches to the present day”.⁷ In fact, cotton was imported from various areas in the ‘New World’ but also from the East Indies (including India), Mauritius, Turkey and Egypt.⁸ Indeed, Manchester’s nickname ‘Cottonopolis’, illustrates the ingrained nature of the city’s identity with its trademark commodity.⁹ Joseph Inikori notes that while the cotton industry was apparent in one form or the other in seventeenth-century England, “the development of the industry was an eighteenth-century phenomenon”.¹⁰ The evolution of the cotton trade in Manchester has often been attributed to the innovation and mechanisation which heralded the capitalistic propulsion of cotton on the world market. Inventions such as John Kay’s ‘flying shuttle’ in 1733, ‘Hargreaves spinning jenny’ in 1767, ‘Richard Arkwright’s water frame’ in 1769 and ‘Samuel Crompton’s spinning mule’ in 1779, no doubt facilitated the rise of Manchester as the hub of cotton manufacturing.¹¹ However, its importance as a locale which provided “warehousing and marketing facilities for linens and woollens since at least the early seventeenth century” also served to secured its place as a centre for brokers and merchants in the cotton trade.¹² Also important was the Greater Manchester region’s access to water power, coal and iron, which provided the essential backdrop to manufactured goods derived from raw cotton.¹³ In addition, its physical proximity to Liverpool, ‘canal communication’ and later, rail, set the scene for Manchester’s rise as the world’s first industrial city.¹⁴ Arguably even more important, was Manchester’s good access to raw cotton supplies, shipped through Liverpool, but sourced from around the world, and increasingly from slave societies in the Americas.¹⁵

John Edward Taylor’s links with the cotton industry spanned the years 1805 to 1823. Statistics relevant to the time period of this report and Taylor’s early commercial activities, illustrate that from 1806 to 1810, a total of 202,290 bales of raw cotton arrived in Britain. 107,500 (53.14%) from the United States, 32,830 (16.23%) from the British West Indies, 32,500 (16.07%) from

⁷ Katie Donington, *The Bonds of Family: Slavery, Commerce and Culture in the British Atlantic World*, Manchester University Press, 2020, p. 29.

⁸ Edward Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain*, London: Fisher, Firsher and Jackson, 1835, pp. 85-6; Giorgio Riello, *Cotton: The Fabric That Made the Modern World*, Cambridge University Press, 2013.

⁹ Barbara Hahn, “Cottonopolis”, *Cambridge Core*, January 2020, <https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/technology-in-the-industrial-revolution/cottonopolis/9A1A96604401A4E1228C98CBFD0F051C>, accessed 10 Nov 2020.

¹⁰ Joseph E. Inikori, “Slavery and the Revolution in Cotton Textile Production in England”, *Social Science History*, vol. 13, no. 4, 1989, p. 349.

¹¹ Michael M. Edwards, *The Growth of the British Cotton Trade: 1780-1815*, Manchester University Press, 1967, p. 4; S. D. Chapman, *The Cotton Industry in the Industrial Revolution*, Macmillan Education, 1987; Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History*, Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2014, pp. 65-7; Barbara Hahn, “Cottonopolis”, *Technology in the Industrial Revolution*, New Approaches to the History of Science and Medicine, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020, p. 90.

¹² Sydney J. Chapman, *Lancashire Cotton Industry*, University of Manchester, 1904; Alfred P. Wadsworth and Julia De Lacy Mann, *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, 1600–1780*, Manchester University Press, 1965; Edwards, *The Growth of the British Cotton Trade*, p. 172; *Reinventing the Economic History of Industrialisation*, edited by Kristine Bruland, et al., McGill-Queen's University Press, 2020.

¹³ Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture*, pp. 85-6; Peter Maw, *Transport and the Industrial City: Manchester and the Canal Age, 1750-1850*, Manchester University Press, 2013.

¹⁴ Baines, *History of Cotton Manufacture*, pp. 87-8; “The World’s First Industrial City”, *Science and Industry Museum*, <https://www.scienceandindustrymuseum.org.uk/objects-and-stories/worlds-first-industrial-city>, accessed 10 Nov 2020;

Kenneth Morgan, *Slavery, Atlantic Trade and the British Economy: 1660-1800*, Cambridge University Press, 2006, p. 89.

¹⁵ Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy*, Princeton and Oxford, 2000.

Brazil, 25, 870 (12.79%) from the East Indies [including India] and 2,590 (1.28%) from the Mediterranean.¹⁶ “In 1811, the United States sold 43.9 thousand tons of cotton to England, 56 per cent of all cotton used by British mills”.¹⁷ By 1821, the year the *Manchester Guardian* was formed, the total amount of UK cotton imports amounted to 133,000,000 lbs., with 93,000,000 lbs. (69%) coming from the United States.¹⁸ This trend continued despite the price of Brazilian cotton falling in the 1820s and favourable trade treaties of 1810 and 1827.¹⁹ Data for the years of John Edward Taylor’s later commercial activities as a cotton merchant shows that between 1820 to 1824, 103,844, 292 lbs. (68%) of cotton came from the United States, 24,360,668 (15%) from Brazil, 13,553,256 (9%) from the British East Indies, 7,515,002 (5%) from the British West Indies and British Guiana, 2,463,078 (2%) from the Mediterranean and 1,829,610 (1%) from other parts.²⁰ Furthermore, raw cotton supplies arrived into Manchester primarily through Liverpool which was by 1795, “the leading importer of cotton in Britain”.²¹ The population of Manchester, Salford and the suburbs also grew exponentially from 16,000 in 1757 to 180,948 in 1821, with most of the population becoming “directly or indirectly” connected to cotton through the manufacture and purchase of garments made from this crop.²² By 1825, there were approximately “one hundred textile mills and over 1,100 cotton merchants, manufacturers, and calico printers” in Manchester.²³ “Manchester’s expanding manufacturing sector was [thus] enmeshed in world trade”.²⁴

Also important to the economic and cultural development of Britain was sugar. This became increasingly important to Britain’s wealth, and especially so after the so-called ‘sugar revolution’.²⁵ Sugar refining is not normally associated with Manchester because it was not deemed a lucrative business due to the costliness of transporting semi-processed sugar through the Manchester Shipping Canal.²⁶ However, sugar refining did exist to a small extent in mid nineteenth-century Manchester, having been introduced by Christopher Shapland in 1846.²⁷ There were two refineries; “The Manchester Sugar Refining Company, Limited” which closed in 1886 and “Messrs. Sharp & Galloway” which ceased operations in 1897.²⁸ More important however, were Manchester’s links with the sugar trade and plantations. Prominent Manchester families such as the Hibberts, Philips and Greys were involved in the West India trade of sugar, resulting in the procurement of inter-generational wealth and political power.²⁹ These links

¹⁶ Thomas Ellison, *The Cotton Trade of Great Britain: Including a History of the Liverpool Cotton Market and of the Liverpool Cotton Brokers' Association Front Cover*, E. Wilson, 1886, p. 86.

¹⁷ Riello, *Cotton*, p. 203.

¹⁸ B. R. Mitchell and Phyllis Deane, *An Abstract of British Historical Statistics*, Cambridge University Press, 1971, pp. 179-181.

¹⁹ Leslie Bethell (ed.), *Brazil: Empire and Republic, 1822-1930*, Cambridge University Press, 1989, p.55.

²⁰ James A. Mann, *The Cotton Trade of Great Britain: Its Rise, Progress, and Present Extent*, Simpkin, Marshall, 1860, pp. 42-3.

²¹ Sheryllyne Haggerty, “What’s in a Price? The American Raw Cotton Market in Liverpool and the Anglo-American War”, *Business History*, 61(2), 2019, pp. 946-47.

²² Mann, *The Cotton Trade of Great Britain*, p. 34; Morgan, *Slavery, Atlantic Trade and the British Economy*, p. 88.

²³ Robin Pearson, “Collective Diversification: Manchester Cotton Merchants and the Insurance Business in the Early Nineteenth Century”, *Business History Review*, vol. 65, no. 2, 1991, p. 391.

²⁴ Hahn, *Technology in the Industrial Revolution*, p. 90.

²⁵ Richard B. Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery an Economic History of the British West Indies; 1623 – 1775*, Johns Hopkins Univ. Pr., 1974; Mintz, *Sweetness and Power*; B. W. Higman, “The Sugar Revolution”, *Economic History Review*, 53:2, 2000, 213-36.

²⁶ Bosdin Leech, *History of the Manchester Ship Canal from Its Inception to Its Completion: with Personal Reminiscences*, Cambridge University Press, 2014, p. 262.

²⁷ John M. Hutcheson, *Notes on the Sugar Industry of the United Kingdom*, James M’Kelvie, 1901, pp. 26-7; Leech, *History of the Manchester Ship Canal*, p. 262.

²⁸ Hutcheson, *Notes on the Sugar Industry*, p. 27.

²⁹ Donington, *The Bonds of Family*; UCL, “Legacies of British Slave-Ownership Manchester and Slavery”, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs//media-new/pdfs/lbsmanchester1.pdf>, accessed 13 Nov 2020.

came in the form of extensions of trade credit as well as mortgages to planters, land ownership, inheritance, annuities, insurance provision and elite plantocracy correspondents.³⁰

The understudied aspect of narratives focused on the labour source of this cotton and sugar is glaringly apparent in an examination of antiquarian as well as contemporary literature on Manchester's history.³¹ However, as Donington argues, "from early beginnings in the rural cottage industry, to the large-scale factories and mills, the industrialisation of cotton relied on the production of raw materials by enslaved workers across the New World".³² This cotton was also reexported as finished cloth to Africa where it was traded for enslaved people and used to clothe the enslaved in the Americas.³³ Manchester, therefore, "received a double stimulus from the colonial trade".³⁴ In this way slavery essentially ensured the high demand for cotton while also preserving its cheap supply.³⁵ Catherine Hall *et al.* corroborate: "Manchester had a key role to play in the maintenance of the slave-economy".³⁶ Importantly, this slavery economy included not only cotton, but sugar produced by enslaved people. It is with this historic context in mind that this report seeks to explore John Edward Taylor and his associates' connections to historical slavery.

³⁰ Donington, *The Bonds of Family*.

³¹ Sami Pinarbasi, "Manchester and West Indian Slavery 1700-1838", unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Manchester, 2018.

³² Donington, *The Bonds of Family*, p. 29.

³³ Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, p. 71; Donald Read, *Peterloo The 'Massacre' and its Background*, Manchester University Press, 1958, p. 5; Catherine Hall, et al. *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership*, p. 206.

³⁴ Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, p. 71.

³⁵ Robert B. Marks, *The Origins of the Modern World: Fate and Fortune in the Rise of the West*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2007.

³⁶ Hall, et al., *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership*, p. 206.

KEY FINDINGS

- Nine of Taylor's eleven associates were found to have links to transatlantic slavery; eight with indirect links and one with both direct and indirect links.
- John Edward Taylor was found to have indirect links to transatlantic slavery through his partnerships in the cotton manufacturing firm Oakden & Taylor, and the cotton merchant company, Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co.
- Two partners in the firm Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. Robert Philips and George William Wood, were founding members of the *Manchester Guardian*. These partners, and one other associate, Sir George Philips, had extensive connections to the prominent Philips and Hibbert families of Manchester.
- The other business ventures of Robert Philips and George William Wood involved the export trade to the Americas and raw cotton imported from Brazil.
- Sir George Philips was also a West India merchant and enslaver of people in the Caribbean.
- Most of the associates were elite members of Manchester society, with several being involved in key networks of the economy, social, cultural and political arenas of nineteenth-century Manchester.
- Both pro- and anti-slavery stances were found to exist amongst the families and business networks of the founders of the *Manchester Guardian*.

METHODOLOGY

Starting Point

This project sought to investigate any links of John Edward Taylor (founder and first editor of the *Manchester Guardian*), his associates', and his, or their investments and/or business activities, with historical slavery. The main subjects of the research were derived from the 'Agreement between J.E. Taylor and a group of Manchester merchants and gentlemen for financing the launch of the newspaper in 1821'.³⁷

This agreement provided the names and financial contributions of Taylor's eleven associates who helped found the *Manchester Guardian*: George William Wood, Edward Baxter, George Philips, T. B. W. Sanderson, Robert Philips, Thomas Potter, William Duckworth, Thomas Wilkins, Richard Potter, Samuel Pullein and Thomas Johnson. Taylor and these eleven associates comprised the focus of this study.

Five Step Methodological Process

For a visual representation of this process please see Appendix A.

Step One

This project was guided by a five-step process. The first step sought to identify the central figures of this study through an analysis of Taylor's family tree dating back to the 1700s. This tree encompassed the Scott, Jevons, Allen and Boyce branches of Taylor's family. The 'Agreement', Ancestry UK, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)*, contracts, ledgers and cash books all served to facilitate this initial step. Relevant individuals with possible connections to transatlantic slavery were then identified and isolated for step two.

Step Two

The second step of the methodology entailed following the financial capital of the central figures isolated in step one. This involved identification of potential profits from the Transatlantic Trade of Enslaved Africans (TTEA) and slavery, tracking profit and loss accounts and a brief search of cash books and ledgers. Source material for this step included cash books, account ledgers, personal diaries and letters, biographical data, the Legacies of British Slave-ownership (LBS) database, the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, trade directories, newspapers and partnership agreements.³⁸

Step Three

This part of the methodology comprised codifying Taylor and his associates' links to slavery, particularly through the commodities in which they were involved in producing or trading.

³⁷ 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", GDN Archives, John Rylands Library, Manchester.

³⁸ LBS Centre, "Legacies of British Slave-ownership project (2009-2012)", <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/>, accessed 1 Oct. 2020; Slave Voyages, "Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database", <https://www.slavevoyages.org/voyage/database>, accessed 1 Oct. 2020.

For the purpose of this study:

- Direct link refers to the immediate involvement in the slave economy by way of trading or owning enslaved Africans
- Indirect link refers to an involvement with the supply or manufacture of goods produced by enslaved people of African descent
- Link unlikely/no link refers to the high possibility of no involvement with goods or commodities produced by enslaved people
- Link unknown refers to instances where it has proven difficult to ascertain an individual's commercial activity or trade due to time constraints and lack of archive accessibility

In addition to the sources used in Step Two, a third step involved the identification of holdings of enslaved people, TTEA investments, warehouses, banking transactions, commercial listings, business partnerships, shipping records and goods produced by enslaved people, such as sugar and cotton. Trade directories, *London Gazette* records, newspaper classified ads, personal letters, memoirs and biographical texts proved particularly useful in this stage of the research process.

The codification of Taylor and his associates is shown at Figure 1 below.³⁹

Steps Four & Five

Step four of the methodology relates to the investigation of other relevant individuals, organisations and firms with potentially strong connections to slavery. This essentially relates to persons of interest uncovered during research steps one to three. These could not be adequately investigated due to time constraints.

Step five of the process aimed to identify wider networks involving social capital such as cultural, social and political affiliations with slavery, philanthropy, donations and building holdings. It also includes an itemisation of figures whose links to slavery could not be established. This section of the methodological process was limited by a lack of information, time constraints, and inaccessibility to archives due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Due to time and logistical constraints, steps two, three and four of this study were only semi-completed while step five is one of the recommendations for further work.

It was possible to conduct some research under step 4 for a limited number of case studies which highlights the potential of this methodology. Please see Case Studies below.

Time Period

A thorough background search was conducted on Taylor and the eleven associates within the time period of 1750 to 1860. This time parameter was primarily selected due to:

- The birth/death dates of the figures in question

³⁹ See below, page 29.

- Its representativeness as an era of Manchester's cotton industry's primary intertwinement with slavery
- Its inclusion of the Slave Compensation Commission records regarding the Slave Compensation Act of 1833

Data Analysis

This study traced John Edward Taylor's lineage back to the 1700s using Ancestry UK and antiquarian sources. This allowed for the emergence of a clearer picture on Taylor's economic and social background. Alongside this genealogical search, thorough searches were conducted of the National Archives catalogue, historical newspaper archives and secondary resources which found Taylor's will, obituary, business transactions, partnerships, editorials, libel action lawsuit and reformist activities. Once the names of Taylor's business and his partners were obtained, these were crosschecked against 1821-1829 online trade directories relevant to the locales of this study. The *London Gazette* records also provided essential information on Taylor's partners, the nature of his business and the year of its dissolution. The Guardian Archive 1821-1970s, held at the John Rylands Library, University of Manchester, also proved useful in identifying Taylor's trade associates, cash transactions, ship names, banking information, family correspondence, business agreements, contracts, memoirs and biographical information. These searches led to the unearthing of Taylor's business association with stalwarts of the cotton industry in England, the Strutts, which illustrated that the source of his raw cotton included the West Indies, Brazil and the southern states of the United States.⁴⁰ The source of this cotton then facilitated the application of the relevant slavery link codification to Taylor.

Time constraints and lack of access to archives prevented an in-depth investigation of all eleven associates. However, antiquarian resources, journal articles, the LBS database, Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, the National Archives and historical newspapers were utilised to gain a preliminary understanding of the social, economic and political background of all eleven associates. Their genealogy, marriages, businesses and partnerships were then ascertained and crosschecked against trade directories, *Gazette* records and relevant texts. This informed the codification of their relevant links to slavery. In addition, two of Taylor's associates were selected for extensive review. These three case studies are presented in Findings, below.

Contemporary Financial Values

Estimates of income derived from commercial activities and the £1100 loan which helped to found the *Manchester Guardian* were calculated using the Relative Price Worth (RPW) index. This aligns with the University of Glasgow's approach. This study utilised this index calculated through 'Measuring Worth', an on-line calculator regarded as "the most trusted and most regularly utilized resource of this type used in academic research".⁴¹ Other indexes that provide contemporary equivalencies for historical prices include the Relative Wage of Income Growth (WIG) and Relative Output Worth (ROW). All three provide strikingly different modern-day values with the WIG and ROW computations, in particular, offering significantly inflated

⁴⁰ Pigot & Dean's *New Directory of Manchester and Salford, 1821-22*, <http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/digital/collection/p16445coll4/id/167165>, accessed 2 Nov 2020; 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. 161.

⁴¹ Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2018, p. 13; James Dawkins, *Historical Price Conversion Methodology*, Unpublished Paper, University of Nottingham, 2020, p. 3.

present-day values, and so we have chosen to quote the RPW, which generates the most conservative estimate.⁴²

Presentation of Findings

Biographies

Following the analysis, three biographies were constructed to demonstrate the intricate links between the individuals and transatlantic slavery. As this study's focus is the *Manchester Guardian* and its founder, the first biography presents a detailed examination of Taylor's involvement in the cotton industry and his link to slavery. The following biographies detail findings on two of the eleven associates who helped found the *Manchester Guardian*; Sir George Philips and George William Wood. Philips was selected as his biography was unique in its direct link to slavery and connections to both sugar and cotton. His biography was also depicted as it encompassed another associate of Taylor, Robert Philips, who was a relative of George Philips. The third biography on Wood represents a connection with both Philips and Taylor's commercial activities as well as an indirect link to slavery. These secondary biographies also highlight the possibilities of Steps Four and Five by highlighting the importance of social, cultural and political capital.

The codification of all the associates can be found at Figure 1 below.

Limitations

Time Constraints

The momentum generated from the Black Lives Matter movement in 2020 catalysed an emphasis on the understudied narratives of British colonialism, transatlantic slavery and race in contemporary society. This study was borne out of this impetus for a counternarrative of acknowledgement of the nation's past. As such, a comprehensive but swift review was conducted involving stakeholder liaising, internal virtual meetings, archive visits and online research. The time constraints of this study meant that the scope of the project prioritised Taylor and three of his associates (George Philips, Robert Philips and George William Wood) for in-depth research, with only preliminary research possible for the nine other associates and Taylor's family. This time limit also prevented the following up of significant leads relating to Taylor's business dealings, such as his relationship with cotton giants, W.G. and J. Strutt. The scope of this project was also limited to commercial activities and its connection to transatlantic slavery. However, preliminary research found that several associates were involved in social, political and cultural capital networks that bore connections to slavery such as Thomas Potter, George William Wood, Robert Philips and Sir George Philips. These areas require further research as they are equally important in understanding the historical connections between Manchester's economy and slavery.

⁴² "RPW is an index number that represents the 'average price' of all goods/services purchased by a typical household or consumer in the base year, and then calculates the cost of those same goods and services in 2016 (allowing for inflation) There are two scales 'Retail Price Index' and 'GDP Deflator'. This study utilizes the Retail Price Index comparator. WIG calculates average earnings for all workers in the base year, and then calculates the average earnings for all workers [in 2019] (allowing for inflation). It then calculates what proportion of annual wages (across the population) £x represented in [1821], and then applies that proportion to annual wages [in 2019], thus arriving at a modern equivalent. ROW is the most comprehensive comparison method. This calculates what percentage of national GDP an amount in the base year represented, and then applies that percentage to national GDP [in 2019]". Stephen Mullen and Simon Newman, *Slavery, Abolition and the University of Glasgow*, Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2018, p. 13; James Dawkins, *Historical Price Conversion Methodology*, Unpublished Paper, University of Nottingham, 2020, p. 3.

Public Engagement

Another significant omission of this project was public engagement. The short time span of this study prevented any public engagement with black and minority ethnic communities in the UK. Consequently, feedback from non-academic audiences on public interest, potential impact of this research endeavour, perceptions on the *Guardian* and the ‘what-next’ step, is noticeably absent from this report. However, it should be noted that the Research Associate working on this project is a scholar of Indo-Caribbean heritage and one of the expert advisers of this study is a scholar of African-Caribbean heritage. Their experience and background facilitated an inclusion of diverse perspectives on the archival investigation undertaken in this project. For further details on the issue of public engagement, please see the recommendations sections of this report.

Access to Archives

COVID restrictions also fundamentally curtailed the research activities of this project. The lengthy process of obtaining various permissions for domestic travel to archives and the November 2020 national lockdown in England resulted in limited accessibility to archival resources.⁴³ As such, only two archive visits to the John Rylands Library, University of Manchester and the Guardian Foundation, London were possible during the course of this project. COVID controls also resulted in the reduced operating hours of institutions thus further impacting the amount of archival material gathered at sites and access to national libraries. Nonetheless, these archival visits yielded detailed enriched information and provided bridges to some of the gaps in information obtained from online primary sources. Conducting research amidst a global pandemic has increased the need for versatility and reliance on digital resources. The lack of accessibility to archives was therefore counteracted through an increase in subscriptions to historical newspaper archives, reputable genealogy databases, Liverpool shipping records and thorough searches of trade directories, *Gazette* records and antiquarian literature.

Persons of Interest

The prioritised scope of this study and tangled web of relations often involved in this type of historical research, inevitably resulted in insufficient time to follow up on noteworthy preliminary findings. For example, Taylor’s business partners John Shuttleworth, Benjamin Oakden and North American associate John Chessborough Dyer were persons of interest uncovered during the research process. These individuals, who were all involved in the cotton industry of Manchester, exemplify the urgent need for further research to fully understand Taylor’s link to historical slavery. Points to note from the Guardian Archive material, the aforementioned individuals along with the eleven associates and their potential social, political and cultural capital with possible links to slavery, were included in the appendix as recommendations for further works. Please see Appendix B for further details.

⁴³ Cabinet Office, “New National Restrictions from 5 November”, <https://www.gov.uk/guidance/new-national-restrictions-from-5-november>, accessed 18 Nov. 2020.

FINDINGS: CASE STUDIES

The findings of this report detail three case studies on John Edward Taylor (founder of the *Manchester Guardian*) and two of his associates George Philips and George William Wood. An infographic depicting Taylor and his associates' links to transatlantic slavery is also included on page 29.

JOHN EDWARD TAYLOR (1791-1844)

Slavery Link: Yes

Link Type: Indirect

Nature of Link: Cotton manufacturer &
Cotton merchant

BACKGROUND

John Edward Taylor, “founder of the *Manchester Guardian*, was born at Ilminster, Somerset, on 11 Sept. 1791”.⁴⁴ He was the second son of Reverend John Taylor (1753–1817) and Mary Scott (1751-1793). His father, who was originally from Stand, Greater Manchester, was a Unitarian minister who eventually became a Quaker.⁴⁵ Taylor married Mary Scott in 1788; she was from Milborne Port, Dorsetshire and was the daughter of a clergyman who was involved in “linen manufacture”.⁴⁶ However, she died on 4 June 1793, when John Edward was not yet two”.⁴⁷ John Edward Taylor then married his first cousin and the daughter of Rev. Russell Scott, Sophia Russell, in 1824. Following her death in 1832, he married Harriet Acland, the daughter of Edward Boyce, in 1836.⁴⁸

FOUNDING OF THE *MANCHESTER GUARDIAN*

A combination of the tragedy of the ‘Peterloo Massacre’, Taylor’s victory in a libel trial at Lancaster, literary wit and reformist aspirations inspired Taylor to form the *Manchester Guardian*.⁴⁹ Taylor and eleven associates founded the *Manchester Guardian* in 1821, with a loan to Taylor of £1100 (RPW: £94,500) “by eleven equal parts shares and proportions”.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ Adolphus William Ward, “Taylor, John Edward”, *Dictionary of National Biography, 1885-1900, Volume 55*, p. 448. .

⁴⁵ William Haslam Mills, *The Manchester Guardian A Century Of History*, Chatto and Windus, 1921, p. 6.

⁴⁶ “A Brief Memoir of Mr. John Edward Taylor”, 1844, reprinted from the *Christian Reformer*, vol 1, p. 158.

⁴⁷ Geoffrey Taylor, “Taylor, John Edward”, *ODNB*

<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-27062?rskey=dzAQas&result=2>, accessed 20 Nov 2020.

⁴⁸ “A Brief Memoir of Mr. John Edward Taylor”, 1844, reprinted from the *Christian Reformer*, vol 1, p. 158.

⁴⁹ “A full and accurate report of the trial of Mr John Edward Taylor of Manchester for an alleged libel on Mr John Greenwood of the same place at Lancaster on Monday, March 29, 1819”, *Special Collections*, The University of Manchester Library, W. Cowdroy, Deansgate, 1819; Mills, *The Manchester Guardian*; Taylor, “Taylor, John Edward”, *ODNB*.

⁵⁰ 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”, *GDN Archives*, John Rylands Library, Manchester. The modern-day equivalencies for historical prices if calculated by WIG is £964,000 and by ROW is £5,950,000. These figures are based on 2019 calculations.

The names of these eleven associates were: “George William Wood, Edward Baxter, George Philips, T. B. W. Sanderson, Robert Philips, Thomas Potter, William Duckworth, Thomas Wilkins, Richard Potter, Samuel Pullein and Thomas Johnson”.⁵¹

PARTNERSHIPS & BUSINESSES

Oakden and Taylor

John Edward Taylor attended his father’s school until the age of fourteen. loan to Taylor of £1100 (RPW: £94,500) “by eleven equal parts shares and proportions”.⁵² At this time, Taylor was apprenticed to an Oldham cotton manufacturer, Benjamin Oakden.⁵³ He quickly rose from the position of apprentice to partner before the age of twenty-one.⁵⁴ His duties in the cotton business in 1812 were described as that of a “chapman” [dealer].⁵⁵ John Edward Taylor and Benjamin Oakden were listed as “Cotton-Manufacturers and Dealers in Cotton Goods, under the firm Oakden and Taylor” but their partnership was dissolved in December 1815.⁵⁶ However, their former partnership was still noteworthy in 1952.⁵⁷

It can be inferred from data relating to cotton imports for the period of Taylor’s involvement in the cotton manufacturing business, 1805 to 1815 (see Historical Context, pages 6-7), that Taylor and Oakden’s raw cotton was almost certainly sourced from the United States, Brazil and/or the British West Indies. It would therefore have been produced by enslaved labour. He may also have exported his finished textiles to slave societies in the Americas.

Notice is hereby given, that the Partnership heretofore subsisting between Benjamin Oakden, of Myth in the County of Gloucester, and John Edward Taylor, Manchester, in the County of Lancaster, carrying on business at Manchester aforesaid, as Cotton-Manufacturers and Dealers in Cotton Goods, under the firm of Oakden and Taylor, was dissolved by mutual consent on the 15th day of November last.—All debts due to or by the said concern will be received and paid by the said John Edward Taylor.—Witness our hands the 26th day of December 1815.

Benj. Oakden.
John Edward Taylor

Dissolution of Taylor & Oakden’s partnership
The London Gazette, 1815.

Green House Farm
Colton
near Wharfedale
Lancashire
Nov 11. 1852

Editor
Manchester Guardian
3 Cross St
Manchester

Dear Sir

I send you a copy of a letter written by Benjamin Oakden in 1824. I thought it may interest some one in your office who may know that he was in partnership with John Edward Taylor a Fustian Merchant in Manchester. when his business ceased B. O. went to live at Torkensbury John E. Taylor founded the Guardian. B. O. went to live near Woodbridge, Suffolk his niece Sarah briefly married my great grandfather James Brown of Woodbridge. He died at Hamerton near Gloucester 1st of 1st mo 1844 aged 71.

Yours faithfully
Wm. Hubbard Abraham

GDN/260/16, “Letter about Spanish stocks from Benjamin Oakden, partner of J. E. Taylor in a fustian business, to Ardoni Hubbard & Co., 11 March, 1824 With related correspondence, 1952” *GDN Archives*, John Rylands Library, Manchester (The Author’s Own Image).

⁵¹“Agreement between J.E. Taylor and a group of Manchester merchants and gentlemen”.

⁵² 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”, *GDN Archives*, John Rylands Library, Manchester; David Ayerst, *Guardian; Biography of a Newspaper*, Collins, 1971, p. 17.

⁵³ Ayerst, *Guardian*, p. 17; Michael Dennis McKeown, *The Principles and Politics of the Manchester Guardian Under C.P. Scott*, PhD Thesis, Case Western Reserve University, 1972, p. 9.

⁵⁴ Mills, *The Manchester Guardian* p. 7; Taylor, “Taylor, John Edward”, *ODNB*.

⁵⁵ “A Brief Memoir of Mr. John Edward Taylor”, *Christian Reformer*; Mills, *The Manchester Guardian*, p. 9; Ayerst, *Guardian*.

⁵⁶ *The London Gazette*, Part 2, Great Britain, T. Neuman, 1815.

⁵⁷ GDN/260/16, “Letter about Spanish stocks from Benjamin Oakden, partner of J. E. Taylor in a fustian business, to Ardoni Hubbard & Co., 11 March, 1824 With related correspondence, 1952”, *GDN Archives*, John Rylands Library, Manchester.

Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co

After leaving cotton manufacturing, Taylor became a cotton merchant in partnership with John Shuttleworth (1786-1864), under the firm Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co.⁵⁸ This partnership consisted of Taylor, John Shuttleworth and two of the eleven associates, Robert Philips and George William Wood.⁵⁹ When the *Manchester Guardian* was established in 1821, Taylor was also engaged in commercial activities as a cotton twister. Numerous sources attest to the firm's involvement in the cotton industry.⁶⁰ For example, an 1821 auction classified advertisement in the *Manchester Guardian*, mentions the firm's occupation of two lots containing warehouses suitable for the cotton business.⁶¹ In addition, the 1822 *History, Directory & Gazetteer of Yorkshire* lists Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. as "Cotton Dealers" and "Cotton Twist and Weft Dealers".⁶² The *London Gazette* of 1823 also identifies "John Shuttleworth, John Edwd. Taylor, Robert Philips, Geo. Wm. Wood" as "Cotton-Merchants, at Manchester" and registered this partnership's dissolution on 25 March 1823.⁶³

Lots 2 and 3. All those two spacious and most substantially built FIRE-PROOF WAREHOUSES, situate in Pool Fold, in Manchester, formerly in the occupation of Robinsons and Hancock, and now of Shuttleworth, Taylor and Co. and Mr. Moul. These premises are most conveniently situated for business, being very near the Exchange, and possess every accommodation for the cotton business, or any other business where much room is required. Besides the cellars, which are lofty, measuring between 12 and 13 feet in height, there are four stories above ground, the lowest of which is nearly 12 feet high. The premises are freehold of inheritance. Lot 2, which is occupied by Shuttleworth, Taylor, and Co. is subject to a yearly chief rent of £109 6s. 3d. This Lot has the

"Classified Ad 3 -- no Title" *Manchester Guardian* (1821-1825), May 12, 1821. Newspaper image © The British Library Board. All rights reserved. With thanks to The British Newspaper Archive (www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk).

Cotton and Twist Merchants: Taylor, Philips & Wood

The firm Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. also comprised two founding members of the *Manchester Guardian*, Robert Philips and George William Wood. They have both been codified in this report as having indirect links to slavery (see Figure 1 and the other case studies below).

Agents for the Strutts

Even more interesting is Taylor's business association with cotton thread manufacturers, W.G. and J. Strutt. Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co.,

NOTICE is hereby given, that the partnership heretofore carried on by us the undersigned, as Cotton Merchants, at Manchester, under the firm of "Shuttleworth, Taylor and Co." was this day dissolved by effluxion of time: as witness our hands this twenty-fifth day of March, 1823.

JOHN SHUTTLEWORTH,
JOHN EDWARD TAYLOR,
ROBERT PHILIPS,
GEORGE WILLIAM WOOD.

Witness *F. R. Atkinson*, solicitor, Manchester.

Dissolution of Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. Partnership, *Manchester Mercury*, 01 April 1823. Newspaper image © The British Library Board. All rights reserved. With thanks to The British Newspaper Archive (www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk).

⁵⁸ Ayerst, *Guardian* p. 17; *Pigot & Dean's New Directory of Manchester and Salford for 1821-22*, <http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/digital/collection/p16445coll4/id/167165/>, accessed 2 Nov 2020.

⁵⁹ The *London Gazette*, 1823; Ayerst, *Guardian*, p. 23

⁶⁰ "A full and accurate report of the trial of Mr John Edward Taylor"; *Pigot & Dean's New Directory; History, Directory & Gazetteer of Yorkshire, Vol. I: West Riding, 1822*, <http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/digital/collection/p16445coll4/id/112402/> accessed 20 Oct 2020; The *London Gazette*, 1823; Ayerst, *Guardian*, p. 23.

⁶¹ "Classified Ad 3 -- no Title.", *The Manchester Guardian* (1821-1825), May 12, 1821, ProQuest, <http://ezproxy.nottingham.ac.uk/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/docview/473898866?accountid=8018>.

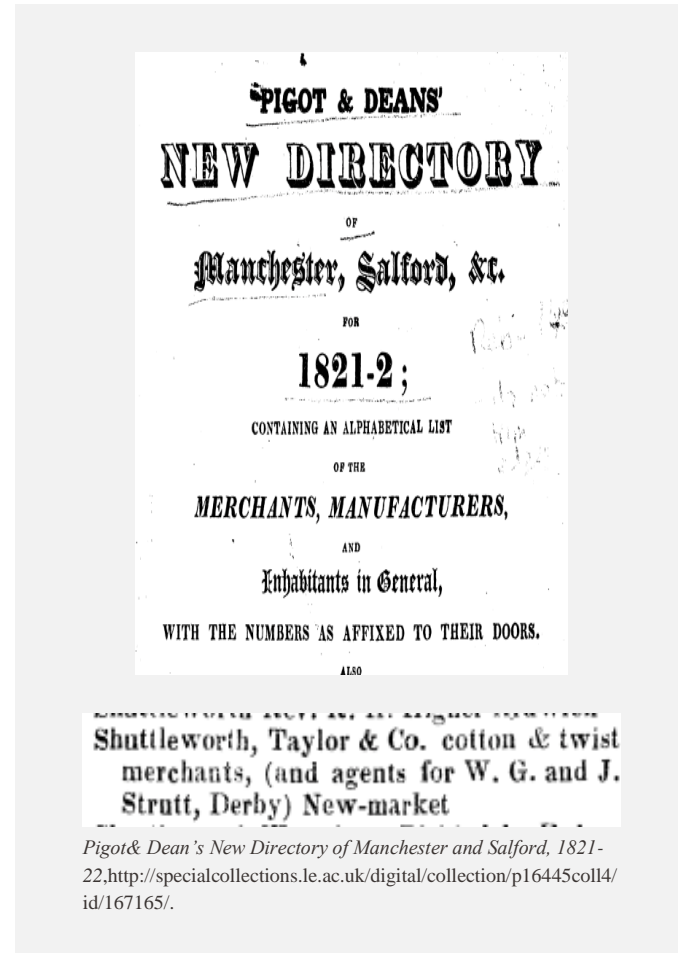
⁶² *History, Directory & Gazetteer of Yorkshire, Vol. I: West Riding, 1822*.

⁶³ The *London Gazette*, 1823.

noted themselves as “cotton & twist merchants and agents for W.G. and J. Strutt, Derby”.⁶⁴

W.G. and J. Strutt “was founded by Jedediah Strutt [1726–1797], who, with his brother-in-law, William Woollatt, and with John Bloodworth and Thomas Stamford entered the hosiery business in Derby in 1758”.⁶⁵ Strutt is credited with the invention of the Derby Rib Machine, a machine that helped create ribbed stockings.⁶⁶ The success of the Derby Rib Machine allowed Jedediah Strutt and another business partner, Samuel Need, to financially assist Richard Arkwright (“whose spinning machines revolutionised the manufacture of cotton”⁶⁷) in the business of cotton spinning under the Arkwright, Need & Strutt Partnership in 1768.⁶⁸ It was through this partnership, that the world's first successful water-powered cotton mill was established at Cromford, Derbyshire. “The Derby Rib patent expired in 1773, by which time Strutt had amassed a considerable fortune”.⁶⁹ “He left this partnership in 1782 shortly after the first mill at Belper had been completed and developed his family cotton empire at Belper, Milford and Derby”.⁷⁰ After Jedediah’s death in 1797, “his three sons carried on the family business in the name of W.G. & J Strutt”.⁷¹

Susanne Seymour, Lowri Jones and Julia Feuer-Cotter have demonstrated that “while the Strutts were not slave traders or plantation owners, in the early years of operation their Derbyshire mills relied heavily on raw cotton produced by enslaved people in the Americas”.⁷² Between 1794 and 1817, Brazil was “the leading source of raw cotton for the Strutts, (46%). Just under a fifth (19%) came from the West Indies, with a similar amount (17%) from the area of modern Guyana and Suriname. The southern states of the United States accounted for just over a tenth (11%) of bags supplied”.⁷³ Brazil may have been preferred due to “favourable trading terms between Britain and Portugal” in this period.⁷⁴ However, as the



⁶⁴ *Pigot & Dean's New Directory of Manchester and Salford for 1821-22.*

⁶⁵ 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, p. 53.

⁶⁶ Derbyshire Record Office, “Derby Rib Machine patent”, https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/derby-rib-machine-patent-jedediah-strutt/pgEMljG_ci6jCw?hl=en, accessed 22 Nov 2020.

⁶⁷ R. S. Fitton, *The Arkwrights: Spinners of Fortune*, Manchester University Press, 1989, p. 1.

⁶⁸ Fitton, “Overseas Trade during the Napoleonic Wars”, p. 53; “W.G. and J.Strutt Ltd.”, *The National Archives*, accessed 22 Nov 2020; “Derby Rib Machine patent”, https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/derby-rib-machine-patent-jedediah-strutt/pgEMljG_ci6jCw?hl=en, accessed 22 Nov 2020.

⁶⁹ “W.G. and J .Strutt Ltd.”, *The National Archives*, accessed 22 Nov 2020.

⁷⁰ 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, 2015, p. 156.

⁷¹ “W.G. and J.Strutt Ltd.”, *The National Archives*, accessed 22 Nov 2020.

⁷² Seymour et al., “The Global Connections of Cotton”, p. 156.

⁷³ Seymour et al., “The Global Connections of Cotton”, p. 157.

⁷⁴ Seymour et al., “The Global Connections of Cotton”, p. 160; and see above, pp. 6-8.

United States became more well known for its cotton, there is “evidence of the Strutts buying cotton from the southern states of America, the Indian subcontinent and Egypt”.⁷⁵ Much of this would have been shipped via Liverpool, and in the 1820s they used the Liverpool cotton broker George Holt and Co.⁷⁶ Indeed, the Strutts had commercial dealings with major Liverpool slave traders such as the Boltons, the Earles and the Tarletons.⁷⁷ One example of these connections is the ship *Tacitus*, which was listed in John Edward Taylor’s financial records for the early 1830s under the header “Johnson Gore & Son, Liverpool”.⁷⁸ This ship was traced to J. Hobson & Sons of Liverpool and came from New Orleans.⁷⁹ Furthermore, in 1819 the Strutts were also “taking cotton from J.S. Hobson of Philadelphia, and G. Hobson, New Orleans, consigned through S. J. Hobson and Son of Liverpool”.⁸⁰ Further research is required to uncover Taylor’s connection to these figures and New Orleans and Philadelphia.

Taylor’s role as an agent for the Strutts, who imported vast amounts of raw cotton produced by enslaved Africans in the West Indies, Brazil, Guyana, Suriname and the southern states of the United States demonstrates that John Edward Taylor had multiple indirect links to transatlantic slavery.

Other Connections To Slavery

The Strutts were also heavily linked to the TTEA through marriage. Jedediah Strutt's youngest son, Joseph Strutt (1765–1844), married Isabella (1769–1802), the daughter of Archibald Douglas (1726-1796) of Sandybrook, Derbyshire.⁸¹ Isabella's brother, William Archibald Douglas (d.1799) worked in West Africa from 1792-1799 as a writer for the Company of Merchants Trading to Africa. He had links with Archibald Dalzel (1740–1818).⁸² Dalzel was a slave trader and Governor of Cape Coast Castle on the Gold Coast of West Africa (present-day Ghana), from 1791 until 1802.⁸³ Furthermore, Joseph and Isabella’s daughter married John Howard Galton (1794-1862) in 1819, whose family was “probably the largest Birmingham gunmaking firm specializing in the African trade in the eighteenth century, and was the main supplier of arms to the Committee of the Company of Merchants Trading to Africa in the 1750”.⁸⁴

⁷⁵ Seymour et al., “The Global Connections of Cotton”, p. 161.

⁷⁶ Haggerty, “What’s in a Price?”; 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. 271.

⁷⁷ Seymour et al., “The Global Connections of Cotton”, p. 163. John Bolton, and several of the Earle and Tarleton family were members of the African Committee of Merchants Trading to Liverpool, Committee Books of the African Company of Merchants Trading From Liverpool, 1750-1820, 380 MD1, Liverpool Record Office. See also Susanne Seymour, Global Cotton Connections Archival Research Project Report (unpublished) to The Arkwright Society, 2018.

⁷⁸ GDN/266 “Cash book 1830-2”, *GDN Archives*, John Rylands Library, Manchester; GDN/270 “Ledger account book 1828-34”, *GDN Archives*, John Rylands Library, Manchester.

⁷⁹ Liverpool Shipping Records: Imports and Exports, 1820-1900, <https://microform-digital.ezproxy.nottingham.ac.uk/boa/documents/5113/bills-of-entry-for-the-year-1832>, accessed 20 Oct 2020.

⁸⁰ Fitton and Wadsworth, *The Strutts and the Arkwrights*, p. 286.

⁸¹ The British Museum, “Joseph Strutt”, <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG229390>, accessed 10 Dec 2020.

⁸² “Letters from William Archibald Douglas (her brother)”, *Galton Papers*, MS3101/C/E/4/3, Birmingham: Archives, Heritage and Photography Service, <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/browse/r/h/16552509-6985-4bf2-89f4-f3fa29f73e77>, accessed 22 Nov 2020. Thanks to Susanne Seymour for interpretation of materials on Joseph Strutt's links with the Douglas family.

⁸³ I. A. Akinjobin, “Archibald Dalzel: Slave Trader and Historian of Dahomey”, *The Journal of African History*, vol. 7, no. 1, 1966, p. 74; James A. Rawley “Dalzel [formerly Dalziel], Archibald”, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-47570>, accessed 21 Nov 2020.

⁸⁴ R. H. Vetch, revised by David F. Channell, “Galton, Sir Douglas Strutt”, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10317>, accessed 21 Nov 2020; Sally Anne Holloway, “Romantic Love in Words and Objects during Courtship and Adultery c. 1730 to 1830”, PhD Thesis, Royal Holloway,

Interestingly, although the Strutts were very much engaged in importing raw cotton from regions using enslaved labour and were connected to various aspects of the TTEA through marriage and business associates, “they were also supporters of abolition of both the slave trade and slavery itself”.⁸⁵ Such seemingly odd contradictions are not unusual.⁸⁶

University of London, 2013, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/28903653.pdf>, accessed 20 Nov 2020; A. Richards, “The Import of Firearms into West Africa in the Eighteenth Century”, *The Journal of African History*, vol. 21, no. 1, 1980, p. 43.

⁸⁵ Seymour et al., “The Global Connections of Cottons”, p. 164.

⁸⁶ Sheryllyne Haggerty and Susanne Seymour, “Imperial Careering and Enslavement in the Long Eighteenth Century: The Bentinck Family, 1710-1830s”, *Slavery & Abolition*, vol. 39 no. 4, 2018, pp. 642-662. These links are yet to be researched further. Please see recommendations below.

SIR GEORGE PHILIPS (1766–1847)

Slavery Link: Yes

Link Type: Direct & indirect

Nature of Link: Cotton industrialist & West India merchant

Sir George Philips, son of Thomas Philips (1728–1811), was a wealthy textile industrialist, politician, West India merchant and enslaver.⁸⁷ “Philips's father was a partner in the pioneering firm of J. and N. Philips, the largest tape manufacturers in Europe, but was also involved in a hatting business with a growing American market in the late 1780s”.⁸⁸ The firm of J. and N. Philips epitomised Manchester's commerce. It traded in “silk, smallwares, fustians, checks, cotton dealing, hatting; later in West India merchanting, cotton spinning, power-loom weaving; and ... general Manchester and London warehousemen”.⁸⁹ The wealth that George Philips inherited was therefore derived from trade in enslaved-produced products including cotton and sugar.

PHILIPS' BUSINESSES

Philips “inherited two partnerships in the textile industry and had access to large amounts of capital”.⁹⁰ In 1792, he partnered with George Augustus Lee (1761–1826), a “cotton spinner and mill manager”.⁹¹ The firm, which came to be known as Philips and Lee from 1807, “became one of the most prominent in the cotton trade, being the third largest in the Manchester area by 1816”.⁹² Philips & Lee was “said in 1813 to be the largest cotton firm in the land” and was still listed in *Pigot & Dean's New Directory 1821-2* as “cotton spinners”.⁹³

From 1793, George “broadened his [North] American interests by an agreement with a Philadelphia merchant called Cramond to engage in transatlantic trade in general goods” under the partnership of Philips, Cramond & Co.⁹⁴ The family firm, T. Philips & Co. also provided considerable wealth to Philips via its properties in Manchester and the United States.⁹⁵ He therefore earned further profits from exporting cloth produced from cotton grown by enslaved people, a process highlighted by Eric Williams.⁹⁶ Indeed, George Philips withdrew profits of

⁸⁷ A. C. Howe, “Philips, Sir George, first baronet (1766–1847), textile industrialist and politician.”, *ODNB*, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/display/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-38689>, accessed 2 Nov 2020; UCL Legacies of British Slave-ownership, “Sir George Philips”, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/1844309632>, accessed 01 Oct 2020.

⁸⁸ Howe, “Philips, Sir George”, *ODNB*.

⁸⁹ Wadsworth and Mann, *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, 1600–1780*, p. 289.

⁹⁰ David Brown, “From ‘Cotton Lord’ to Landed Aristocrat: The Rise of Sir George Philips Bart., 1766–1847”, *Historical Research*, vol. 69, no. 168, 1996, p. 64.

⁹¹ J. J. Mason, Lee, “George Augustus (1761–1826)”, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-16285>, *ODNB*, accessed 25 Nov 2020.

⁹² Clive Howard Lee, *A Cotton Enterprise, 1795-1840: A History of M'Connel & Kennedy Fine Cotton*, Manchester University Press, 1972, p. 14.

⁹³ Pearson, “Collective Diversification”, p. 385; *Pigot & Dean's New Directory of Manchester and Salford for 1821-22*, p. 125.

⁹⁴ Brown, “From ‘Cotton Lord’”, p. 68; Stanley D. Chapman, *Merchant Enterprise in Britain: from the Industrial Revolution to World War I*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 2003, p. 65. Cramond was lambasted for being too sympathetic to the British in debates surrounding the Jay Treaty of 1794. Haggerty, “Merely for Money”, p. 115.

⁹⁵ Howe, “Philips, Sir George”.

⁹⁶ Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, chapter 3, “British Commerce and The Triangular Trade”.

“over £250,000 [RPW: £22,900,000] between 1807 and 1831” from J. and N. Philip’s mills in Staffordshire and Lancashire.⁹⁷

From about 1805, George Philips was also a partner in Boddington, Sharp and Philips, “a firm of West India merchants, with lucrative trading operations in sugar and other goods”.⁹⁸ The firm which was first established as Maitland and Boddingtons in 1763, was part of the Boddington family empire which spanned almost two centuries of operation as West India merchants. Philip’s partner in this firm, Samuel Boddington, was “one of the top thirty mercantile awardees of slave compensation”.⁹⁹ Furthermore, the firm itself, Boddington, Sharp and Philips, “was a major recipient of slave compensation and Philips himself appears in the compensation records counterclaiming ... for an estate in Hanover, Jamaica”.¹⁰⁰ The possible name of this Hanover estate was “Success” where sugar was noted as the crop since 1799.¹⁰¹ In 1821, the year Philips loaned £100 to Taylor for the formation of the *Manchester Guardian*, the estate was registered to Boddington, Philips & Co. with a total of 122 enslaved people.¹⁰² Samuel Boddington is registered as the awardee of a 16 November 1835 compensation claim for 108 enslaved persons on this estate. He was awarded £1904 19s 10d (RPW: £189,000) while Sir George Philips is registered as an unsuccessful claimant.¹⁰³ It is very likely therefore, that the £100 (RPW: £8,590) loaned to Taylor in 1821 was derived directly from sugar grown by enslaved people.

MARRIAGE & THE HIBBERTS

Sir George Philips and Robert Philips (another founding member of the *Manchester Guardian*) who were cousins, were related to the Hibbert family.¹⁰⁴ Robert’s mother was Elizabeth Hibbert, who married Nathaniel Philips in 1757. Inter-marriage between successful merchant families represented a means to enhance one’s network and promote commercial alliances.¹⁰⁵ Donington notes that “the Hibberts, Touchets, Diggles, Bayleys, Philips, Jolleys, Heywoods and Robinsons were all ... families engaged in local manufactures and colonial trade, and all of them were intermarried”.¹⁰⁶ In addition, the Hibbert and Philips family were connected to the Gregs through marriage, another prominent British family with both direct and indirect connections to slavery.¹⁰⁷

⁹⁷ Howe, “Philips, Sir George”; Hall, et al., *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership*, p. 90.

⁹⁸ Howe, “Philips, Sir George”; Nicholas Draper, “Boddington, Samuel (1766–1843)”, *ODNB*, 6 October 2016, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-107427?rskey=t4zgnw&result=1>, accessed 25 Nov 2020; LBS, “Sir George Philips”, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/1844309632>, accessed 01 Oct 2020.

⁹⁹ Draper, “Boddington, Samuel (1766–1843)”, *ODNB*, 6 October 2016; LBS, “Samuel Boddington”, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/772>, accessed 25 Nov 2020.

¹⁰⁰ Hall, et al., *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership*, p. 90; T71/872 Hanover no.66.

¹⁰¹ LBS, “Success Jamaica Hanover”, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/7446>, accessed 23 Nov 2020.

¹⁰² Jamaican Family Search Genealogy Research Library, “1821 Jamaica Almanac Returns Of Givings-In For The March Quarter, 1820 County Of Cornwall Parish Of Hanover”, http://www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Members/al1821_11.htm, accessed 25 Nov 2020; LBS, “Success Jamaica Hanover”, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/7446>, accessed 23 Nov 2020.

¹⁰³ LBS, “Jamaica Hanover 66”, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/14920>, accessed 03 Oct 2020.

¹⁰⁴ Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, p. 156; UCL Legacies of British Slave-ownership, “Sir George Philips - Relationship Detail”, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/relationship/view/2058769067/1844309632>, accessed 01 Oct, 2020; Donington, *The Bonds of Family*, p. 252.

¹⁰⁵ Hall, et al., *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership*, p. 211; Donington, *The Bonds of Family*, p. 32. Robert Philips was a partner in the cotton merchant firm Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. See the biography of Taylor above.

¹⁰⁶ Donington, *The Bonds of Family*, p. 32.

¹⁰⁷ LBS, “Thomas Greg”, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/10314>, accessed 25 Nov 2020; Donington, *The Bonds of Family*, p. 42.

The Hibberts were originally involved in the cotton business but rose to prominence through the West India trade.¹⁰⁸ George Hibbert (1757–1837), was a staunch supporter of slavery and “leading member of the proslavery lobby”.¹⁰⁹ In several speeches to Parliament in 1807, he sought to justify slavery by questioning its inhumanity and citing the existence of the TTEA in the Old Testament.¹¹⁰ However, Mark Philips, the son of Robert Philips and grandson of Nathaniel and Elizabeth Philips (*nee* Hibbert) opposed slavery.¹¹¹ Furthermore, Sir George Philips, despite having an interest in West India commerce, “spoke for ending colonial slavery ... and voted in condemnation of the Jamaican slave trials, 2 Mar. 1826”.¹¹² This did not stop him applying for compensation in 1833 however, as noted above.

Philips’ case is representative of an owner of enslaved people who diversified his interests and commercial activities using wealth derived from his family businesses and the cotton industry. Hall *et al.* explain that “slave-owning in his case was not the source of capital for cotton-manufacturing but the result of him participating in parallel streams of business activity, *all* of which were based ultimately on slavery [emphasis added]”.¹¹³

¹⁰⁸ Hall, et al., *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership*, p. 215; Donington, *The Bonds of Family*, p. 29

¹⁰⁹ LBS, “George Hibbert”, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/16791>, accessed 01 Oct 2020.

¹¹⁰ George Hibbert, *The substance of three speeches in Parliament: on the bill for the abolition of the slave trade and on the petition respecting the state of the West-India trade in February and March, 1807*, W.J. & J. Richardson, 1807, p. 12.

¹¹¹ Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, p. 156.

¹¹² “PHILIPS, George (1766-1847)”, ed. D.R. Fisher, 2009, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1820-1832*, https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/philips-george-1766-1847#footnoteref25_muf73mh, accessed 01 Oct 2020. As noted above such differences of opinion within families and indeed on related issues by an individual was not uncommon. Haggerty and Seymour, ‘Imperial Careerism’.

¹¹³ Hall, et al., *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership*, p. 90.

GEORGE WILLIAM WOOD (1781-1843)

Slavery Link: Yes

Link Type: Indirect

Nature of Link: Hat manufacturer & cotton merchant

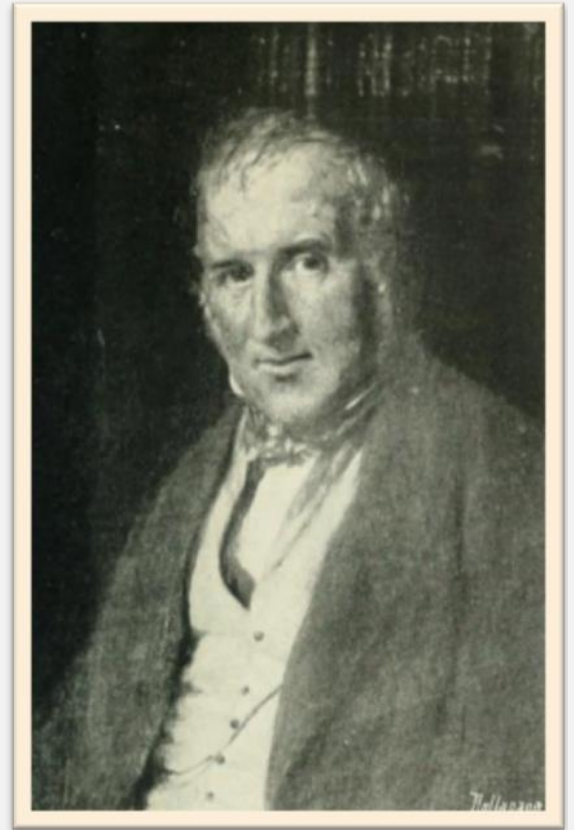
Commercial Activities

Early Life

George William Wood was born on July 21, 1781 and was the son of Reverend William Wood of Leeds. At a young age he became engaged in commercial life under the firm Philips, Oates, and Co.¹¹⁴ The *London Gazette* lists the partners in this firm in 1800 as consisting of several members of the Philips family; John Philips, Nathaniel Philips, Thomas Philips, John Philips junior, Robert Philips and George Philips (see previous case study).¹¹⁵ The members of the firm were classified as “woollen manufacturers and merchants” and the partnership was dissolved on 12 December 1800.¹¹⁶ This firm engaged in trade to the United States as evidenced in its 1801 court case in the state of Maryland relating to its selling and delivery of “goods, wares & c.”¹¹⁷ Wood was also a part of “Oates, Wood, and Smithson, cloth merchants of Leeds”.¹¹⁸

The Hatting Business

Wood was then introduced to Thomas Philips & Co. through his relative, Sir George Philips and remained in this firm until 1809.¹¹⁹ Thomas Philips (father of George Philips), “was already worth over £21,000 [RPW: £2,840,000] in 1779” and by 1807 his firm “was selling



George William Wood, *Chapters in the history of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce*, London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., Ltd., 1902.

¹¹⁴ “Memoir of the Late George William Wood, Esq. M.P. for Kendal, F.L.S., &c.”, *Kendal Mercury*, 14 October 1843, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000430/18431014/016/0003>, accessed 28 November 2020.

¹¹⁵ *The London Gazette*, 2 February 1802 <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/15450/page/120>, accessed 28 November 2020.

¹¹⁶ “Advertisements and Notices.”, *Courier*, 22 Dec. 1800, <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/Z2001362424/BBCN?u=univnott&sid=BBN&xid=7401ddad>, accessed 27 Nov 2020.

¹¹⁷ “PHILIPS ET AL. vs M’CURDY”, in *Reports of Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Court of Appeals of Maryland and in the High Court of Chancery of Maryland, from First Harris & McHenry’s Reports to First Maryland Reports [1658-1851]*, M. Curlander, 1883, p. 124.

¹¹⁸ H. R. Fox Bourne, *English Merchants, Memoirs in Illustration of the Progress of British Commerce*, Chatto and Windus, 1886, p. 386.

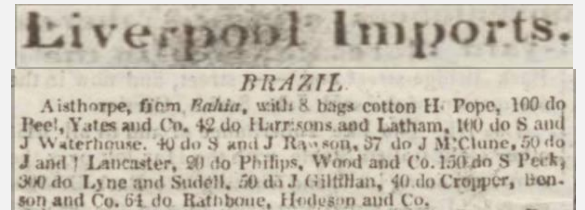
¹¹⁹ “Memoir of the Late George William Wood”, *Kendal Mercury*, 14 October 1843.

hats worth £20,000 [RPW: £1,600,000] a year to America".¹²⁰ Thomas Philips & Co. was eventually divided into two parts with Wood becoming a partner in Philips, Wood and Co.¹²¹ This firm, which consisted of Robert Philips, George William Wood, Mark Philips and Wood's son, William Rayner Wood, is listed as "hat manufacturers and merchants" in commercial trade directories.¹²² This partnership was dissolved on 8 August 1844.¹²³

At a domestic level, Philips, Wood and Co. was considered by 1822, to be one of "the most notable firms" when the hatting trade was still regarded as a major part of Manchester's commerce, rivalled only by cotton manufacture.¹²⁴ However, the hatting business also has significant links to slavery. As Patricia Hunt-Hurst explains: "all slave men, regardless of their position on the plantation, would have worn hats, either as protection from the sun or for warmth in cold weather".¹²⁵ Hats and caps comprised an essential commodity purchased annually by plantation owners for both themselves and the enslaved population in the British West Indies and the Americas.¹²⁶

Philips, Wood and Co. & Brazil

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, which was likely grown by enslaved Africans.¹²⁷ The firm was also closely aligned with J. and N. Philips and Co. as illustrated in their "jointly occupied" warehouse in Somerset-street in 1830, owned by



Liverpool Imports.
BRAZIL.
 Aisthorpe, from Bahia, with 8 bags cotton H. Pope, 100 do
 Peel, Yates and Co. 42 do Harrison and Latham, 100 do S and
 J Waterhouse. 40 do S and J Rayson, 37 do J M'Clune, 50 do
 J and J Lancaster, 50 do Philips, Wood and Co. 150 do S Peck,
 300 do Lyne and Sudell, 50 do J Giltillan, 40 do Cropper, Ben-
 son and Co. 64 do Rathbone, Hodgeson and Co.

Manchester Mercury, 13 January 1818. Newspaper image © The British Library Board. All rights reserved. With thanks to The British Newspaper Archive (www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk).



LIVERPOOL IMPORTS.
 and co.—Providence Success, from Pernambuco,
 with cotton J Robinson & co; do Green & Hartley;
 do Philips, Wood and co; do J Hancock and co;
 do Beck and Buchanan; do G Goring; do Hol-

Manchester Mercury, 06 September 1814. Newspaper image © The British Library Board. All rights reserved. With thanks to The British Newspaper Archive (www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk).

¹²⁰ Brown, "From 'Cotton Lord'", p. 64.

¹²¹ "Memoir of the Late George William Wood", *Kendal Mercury*, 14 October 1843.

¹²² *Pigot & Dean's New Directory of Manchester and Salford for 1821-22*; "The New Parliament", *Caledonian Mercury* - Monday 16 August 1841, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000045/18410816/002/0001>, accessed 27 Nov 2020; *The London Gazette*, 23 August 1844, <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/20376/page/2957>, accessed 27 November 2020; Herbert McLachlan, "Cross Street Chapel in the Life of Manchester", in *Essays and Addresses*, Manchester University Press, 1950.

¹²³ *The London Gazette*, 23 August 1844, <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/20376/page/2957>, accessed 27 November 2020; "Partnerships Dissolved", *York Herald*, 31 August 1844, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000498/18440831/047/0007>, accessed 27 November 2020; *Shipping and Mercantile Gazette*, 24 August 1844, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0001702/18440824/044/0004>, accessed 26 Nov 2020.

¹²⁴ "The Hatting Trade in South Lancashire", *The Ashton Weekly Reporter, and Stalybridge and Dukinfield Chronicle*, 20 April 1861, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000967/18610420/039/0004>, accessed 27 November 2020.

¹²⁵ Patricia Hunt-Hurst, "Round Homespun Coat & Pantaloons of the Same"; Slave Clothing as Reflected in Fugitive Slave Advertisements in Antebellum Georgia", *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 83, no. 4, 1999, p. 737.

¹²⁶ BBC, "Hatting in Atherstone",

http://www.bbc.co.uk/coventry/content/articles/2007/02/16/atherstone_hatting_feature.shtml, accessed 30 Nov 2020; Beverly Lemire, *Global Trade and the Transformation of Consumer Cultures: the Material World Remade, C.1500-1820*, Cambridge University Press, 2018, p. 50; Roderick McDonald, *The Economy and Material Culture of Slaves: Goods and Chattels on the Sugar Plantations of Jamaica and Louisiana*, Louisiana State University Press, 1992, p. 112.

¹²⁷ "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.

Nathaniel Philips and Co.¹²⁸ Mark Philips and George William Wood are also recorded discussing the topic of the “Trade with The Brazils” in the House of Commons on 6 March 1833. Both Wood and Philips supported a petition from the merchants of Liverpool regarding the “excessive duties on the sugars imported into this country from Brazil” as well as on coffee, cocoa, and rum. Philips noted “the extreme degree of hardship which arose from ships being deprived of return-cargoes from the Brazils”.¹²⁹ Presumably Wood and Philips were exporting manufactured textiles to Brazil, and wanted to import these goods in return as payment. Wood was therefore not only importing commodities grown by enslaved Africans, but re-exporting commodities which supported slave societies.¹³⁰

Social & Political Background

Wood is representative of men involved in various aspects of Manchester society. He was considered “a leading merchant” in Manchester, was twice President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce (1829-1832 and 1836-1838), MP for Lancashire Southern (1832-1835) and Kendal (1837-1843) as well as director of the Manchester Gas Works and the Manchester Fire and Life Assurance Company (MFLAC).¹³¹ He is credited with helping to form the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society (of which he was also a Vice President), the Savings Bank (presumably the Manchester & Salford Savings Bank) and the Royal Institution, now the Manchester Art Gallery.¹³² Additionally, Wood was the Treasurer of Manchester College York (1808-1843) and Vice-chairman of the Cheshire Whig Club.¹³³ The *Kendal Mercury* reported in his memoir that, “Mr Wood took a very active and prominent part in the



Cross Street Chapel, Manchester,
https://www.grosvenorprints.com/stock_detail.php?ref=36776.

¹²⁸ “Street Robbery”, *Manchester Mercury*, 12 January 1830,

<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000240/18300112/025/0004>, accessed 27 November 2020; “Revising Barristers’ Courts”, *Manchester Times*, 26 September 1840,

<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000083/18400926/013/0003>, accessed 26 November 2020.

¹²⁹ “Trade with the Brazils”, HC Deb 06 March 1833 vol 16, https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1833/mar/06/trade-with-the-brazils#S3V0016P0_18330306_HOC_8, accessed 28 Nov 2020 .

¹³⁰ It should be noted that a George William Wood does appear on the LBS database as a claimant for compensation in 1835 for twenty-eight enslaved persons associated with the Caymanas Estate, Jamaica. It was an uncontested claim that resulted in Wood receiving £495 9s 8d (RPW: £49,200). Further verification is needed to confirm whether this is the same Wood in question. However, given the time period, his close relationship with the Philips family and George Philips, who was engaged in West India trade and slave ownership in Jamaica, it is highly possible that this is the same George William Wood. (LBS, “George William Wood”, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/9515>, accessed 12 Oct 2020). For updated findings and clarifications on this point, please see Report 3, Sea Islands and Jamaica: Tracing the Enslaved People, pp. 5, 63-6

¹³¹ Bourne, *English Merchants*, p. 386; Elijah Helm, *Chapters in the History of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce*, Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., Ltd., 1902, p. vii; McLachlan, *Essays and Addresses*, p. 105; Pearson, “Collective Diversification”, p. 387; HANSARD 1803–2005, “Mr George Wood”, <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/people/mr-george-wood/index.html>, accessed 28 Nov 2020.

¹³² “Death of Mr George William Wood M.P.”, *Kentish Gazette*, 10 October 1843,

<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000235/18431010/040/0004>, accessed 28 November 2020; “Memoir of the Late George William Wood”, *Kendal Mercury*, 14 October 1843; Bourne, *English Merchants*, p. 386; McLachlan, *Essays and Addresses*, p. 105.

¹³³ “Cheshire Whig Club”, *Staffordshire Advertiser*, 17 October 1829, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000252/18291017/038/0002>; V. D. Davis, *A History of Manchester College: From its Foundation in Manchester to its Establishment in Oxford*, Routledge, 2016.

public affairs of the town of Manchester; and there were few of its institutions ... of which he was not concerned”.¹³⁴

Wood’s case is emblematic of the interconnectedness between Manchester cotton merchants and the city’s elite social, political and cultural community. John Edward Taylor himself was part of numerous connected societies such as the ‘Little Circle’ and the Cross Street Chapel.¹³⁵ The Cross Street Chapel in particular, where Wood was also a member, was a space “in which those with slaving interests and their abolitionist opponents coexisted”.¹³⁶ The social networks and institutions to which figures such as Taylor, Wood and Philips belonged are intrinsic to gaining a holistic understanding of Manchester cotton merchants and their varied connections to slavery.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ “Memoir of the Late George William Wood”, *Kendal Mercury*, 14 October 1843.

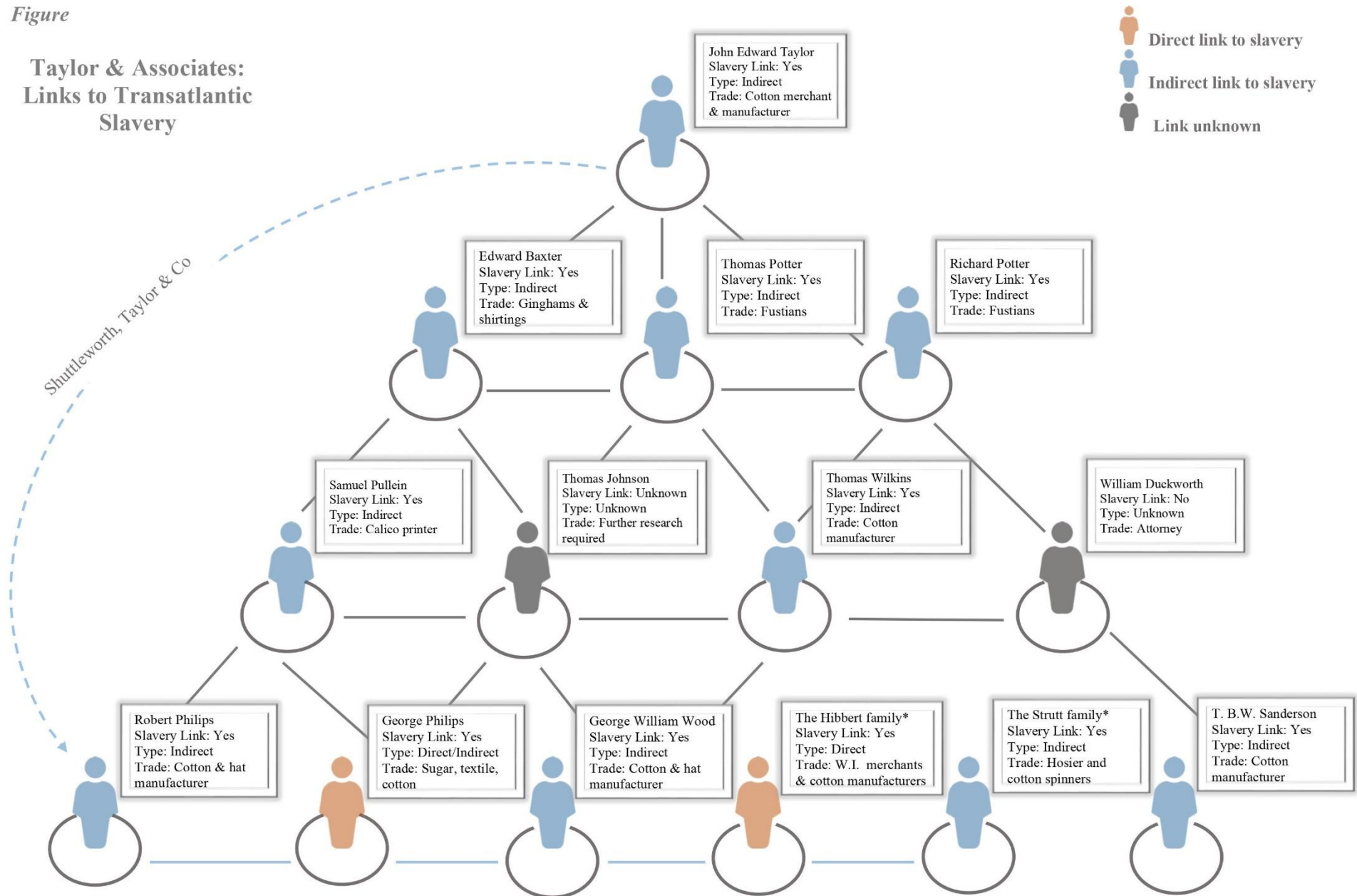
¹³⁵ Archibald Prentice, *Historical Sketches and Personal Recollections of Manchester: Intended to Illustrate the Progress of Public Opinion from 1792 to 1832*, C. Gilpin, 1802, p. 73; Mills, *The Manchester Guardian*, p. 58; McLachlan, *Essays and Addresses*, p. 90; David J. Knott, *The Little Circle and Manchester Politics, 1812-46*, PhD Thesis, University of Manchester, 2018, p. 8.

¹³⁶ Donington, *The Bonds of Family*, p. 32.

¹³⁷ For more details on relevant places of interest please see Appendix B.

Figure

Taylor & Associates: Links to Transatlantic Slavery



*The Strutts and Hibberts were not members of eleven associates who helped found the *Manchester Guardian*. The Strutts were included in this pyramid as they were key associates in Taylor's cotton business, while the Hibberts were included due to their connections with Taylor's business partner (in Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co.) and founding members of the newspaper, Robert Philips and George Philips.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Archival Research

1. Follow up further on John Edward Taylor and all his associates in terms of business, social, political and cultural activities.
2. 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.
3. Investigate sources including, but not limited to, probate inventories and Slave Registers for information on the enslaved living and working on plantations linked to Taylor, his associates and their families.

Both 1 and 2 may include pro-slavers and abolitionists, and all may include research going backwards and forwards in time around the period covered in the scoping report.

Physical Environment Research

4. 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

5. In the light of the findings of the scoping report, conduct a wide range of consultations and public engagement activities with relevant stakeholders to assess what type of reparative actions might be taken.
6. The recommendations at 1-4 above should be conducted, where appropriate, in a spirit of co-production with those stakeholders, in order to further shape any reparative actions discussed at 5 above to promote public 'ownership' of these histories and initiate public debate over this contested history.

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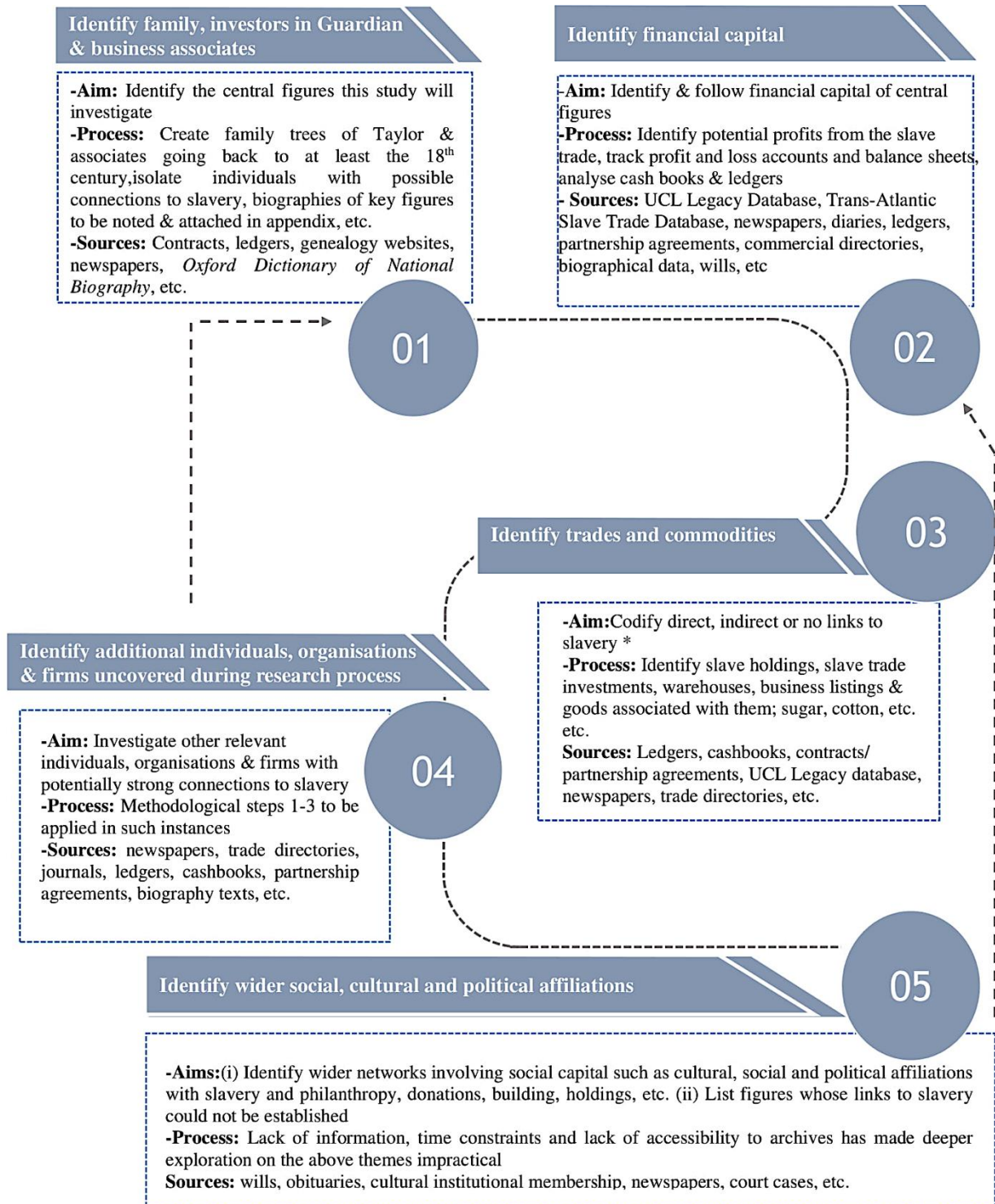
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APPENDIX A-FIVE STEP METHODOLOGY PROCESS

- The following is the 5 step methodology process that will be utilised to identify the central figures of the study, track their business finances and investigate the trade or commodities in which they were involved.
- Due to time and logistical constraints, steps 2, 3 & 4 of this study will only be semi-completed while step 5 will be included as recommendations for further work.
- * Direct links refer to direct involvement in the slave trade or slave holdings. Indirect links refer to involvement with slave produced goods or commodities.



APPENDIX B

INDIVIDUALS, COMPANIES AND INSTITUTIONS OF INTEREST

This list includes individuals, companies and institutions of interest uncovered during the research process. Due to time and logistical constraints their connections with (i) John Edward Taylor & associates and (ii) transatlantic slavery could not be explored in detail.

Persons of Interest

- Mathew Needham- Robert Philips brother in law, who married the daughter and heiress of William Lee of Wilford, a wealthy hosier.
- John Collinson- mentioned as a hat manufacturer and possible partner of Robert Philips, George William Wood and Mark Philips
- Richard Vaughan Yates- Partner of William Jevons (the Jevons were related to Taylor through marriage) and was possibly a slave owner in Trinidad
- Benjamin Oakden- apprenticed Taylor in cotton manufacturing business, partner in Taylor & Oakden cotton firm in Manchester & fustian merchant. A Benjamin Oakden, listed as a tailor on 79 Market Street, Manchester was also cited as signing the anti-slavery petition in 1806.¹³⁸
- John Shuttleworth: member of the ‘Little Circle’, cotton merchant and partner in Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. Also of interest is GDN archive item “260/16 Letter about Spanish stocks from Benjamin Oakden, partner of J. E. Taylor in a fustian business, to Ardoni Hubbard & Co., 11 March 1824. With related correspondence, 1952”.
- Reverend John Taylor- Father of John Edward Taylor who was a Quaker. He was somewhat financially involved in Oakden’s cotton manufacturing business, assisting him when he encountered financial difficulties in 1811.
- Jeremiah Garnett- who was a junior partner when the *Manchester Guardian* was formed, facilitated Taylor’s continuance in the cotton business after 1821.¹³⁹
- William Archibald Douglas- brother in law of Joseph Strutt *with connections* to slave trader Archibald Dalzel (1740–1818).
- Isabella Strutt- daughter of Joseph and Isabella Strutt who married John Howard Galton (1794-1862) in 1819.
- Elizabeth Strutt (née Woollat)- wife of Jedediah Strutt
- William Woollatt- brother-in-law of Jedediah Strutt
- Archibald Douglas of Swaybrook, Derbyshire- father of Isabella Douglas who married Joseph Strutt (1765-1844).
- Joseph Brotherton
- Robert Hyde Greg
- Thomas Johnson
- Edward Baxter
- George Philips
- T. B. W. Sanderson
- Robert Philips
- Thomas Potter

¹³⁸ Sami Pinarbasi, “Manchester antislavery, 1792–1807”, *Slavery & Abolition*, 2020, 41:2, p. 366.

¹³⁹ Mills, *The Manchester Guardian A Century Of History*, pp. 54-5.

- William Duckworth
- Thomas Wilkins
- Richard Potter
- Samuel Pullein
- George William Wood
- George William Wood's mother whose family was connected to Philips, Oates, and Co.¹⁴⁰
- Sarah Georgiana- the daughter of Lord Waterpark and Sir George Philips' daughter-in-law
- Mark Philips- son of Robert Philips, partner in Philips, Wood, & Co. and "one of Manchester's first members in the reformed House of 1832".¹⁴¹
- John Chessborough Dyer (1780-1871)- an abolitionist and associate of Taylor with several links in the northern United States.
- William Tudor & the *North American Review*- connected to the *Manchester Guardian* through Taylor's associate John Chessborough Dyer, with commercial links to the Caribbean.¹⁴²

Companies of Interest

- *Philips, Wood and Wilkinson*- Ads in *the Manchester Mercury* depicting "American Pearl & Pot Ashes just imported also a quantity of Hambro and Ermland Yarn" and "American Patent Shmuck".¹⁴³ Possible relation to Philips and Wood.
- Charles Wood & Co.
- McNiven & Philips
- Philips, Oates & Co. of Leeds
- Philips, Wood & Co.
- Wood G. & W. – calico printers & manufacturers. Possible link to George William Wood who was also identified as a calico printer.
- Philips, Cramond, & Co.
- Samuel Philips & Co.
- Philips & Lee
- Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co.
- Boddington, Sharp and Philips
- Samuel Boddington
- Mark Philips
- J. and N. Philips
- Thomas Philips & Co.
- Oates, Wood, and Smithson
- Philips, Oates, and Co.
- W.G. and J. Strutt Ltd.
- J. Hobson & Sons

¹⁴⁰ "Memoir of the Late George William Wood, Esq, M.P. for Kendal, F.L.S., &c.", *Kendal Mercury*, 14 October 1843, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000430/18431014/016/0003>, accessed 28 November 2020.

¹⁴¹ Alfred P. Wadsworth and Julia De Lacy Mann, *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, 1600– 1780*, Manchester University Press, 1965, p. 289; *Pigot & Dean's New Directory of Manchester and Salford for 1821-22*; "The New Parliament", *Caledonian Mercury* - Monday 16 August 1841, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000045/18410816/002/0001>, accessed 27 Nov 2020.

¹⁴² "William Tudor personal archive", *Harvard University Archives*, <https://hollisarchives.lib.harvard.edu/repositories/4/resources/4089>, accessed 2 Dec 2020.

¹⁴³ *Manchester Mercury*, Tuesday 24 February 1789 <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000239/17890224/019/0003>, accessed 20 Nov 2020; *Manchester Mercury*, Tuesday 01 September 1795 <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000239/17950901/014/0003>, accessed 29 Nov 2020.

Institutions & Societies of Interest

- Manchester Chamber of Commerce
- Manchester Fire and Life Assurance Company (MFLAC)
- Royal Institution, now the Manchester Art Gallery
- Manchester & Salford Savings Bank
- Manchester College, York
- African Committee of Merchants Trading to Africa from Liverpool
- Liverpool Cotton Association
- Cheshire Whig Club
- Little Circle- several of the eleven founding members of the *Manchester Guardian* were part of this society; Richard Potter (1772-1848), John Edward Taylor (1791-1844), Thomas Potter (1773-1845) and Edward Baxter (1779-1856). Taylor's business partner, John Shuttleworth was also a member of the Little Circle.
- 'The Towers', Didsbury & The Shirley Institute - "The Shirley Institute was established in 1922 by the British Cotton Industry Research Association. The land at 'The Towers', Didsbury, was bought from William Greenwood M.P., in 1920, and the property was renamed after his daughter Shirley. 'The Towers' had been built for John Edward Taylor, the younger, the proprietor and editor of the *Manchester Guardian*. It was bought in 1874 by Daniel Adamson, the engineer. On 27 Jun 1882, at a meeting which took place at 'The Towers', the decision was made to construct the Manchester Ship Canal".¹⁴⁴ The *Manchester Courier* and *Lancashire General Advertiser* reported in the Obituary of John Edward Taylor that "he built The Towers at Didsbury" but never lived there.¹⁴⁵
- Press Association- John Edward Taylor (son of the founder of the *Manchester Guardian*) was a founder of the Association in 1865
- Cross street Chapel- an important establishment where prominent cotton and West India merchants with direct and indirect links to slavery gathered alongside abolitionist figures. Important institution for analysing social and commercial networking amongst the elite Manchester community in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. John Edward Taylor, George William Wood, the Philips and the Hibberts were all members of the Chapel
- British and Foreign Bible Society, London Temperance Board, Buenos Ayres Great Southern Railway- John Edward Taylor, the younger, was connected to these institutions in various ways
- J.M.W. Turner paintings and drawings- Taylor, the younger, "presented a complete set of Turner's 'Liber Studiorum' to the British Museum" and his art collection fetched high prices at an auction branded by *the Manchester Guardian* as "The John Edward Taylor Sale".¹⁴⁶ As Taylor was identified as an avid art collector who presented the Whitworth Gallery with "several gifts" and "was a liberal lender to the Manchester Royal Jubilee Exhibition of 1887"¹⁴⁷, his commercial as well as cultural legacy and their possible connections to slavery should be further explored.
- Portico Library
- Mechanics' Institute, Manchester
- Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society

¹⁴⁴ GB127.M801, "The Cotton Silk and Man-made Fibres Research Association (Shirley Institute), Didsbury, Manchester", *Manchester Libraries, Information and Archives* [http://www.gmlives.org.uk/results.html#imu\[rid=ecatalogue.331951\]](http://www.gmlives.org.uk/results.html#imu[rid=ecatalogue.331951]), accessed 2 Oct 2020.

¹⁴⁵ "Obituary Mr. John Edward Taylor", *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* - Friday 06 October 1905, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000206/19051006/085/0007>, accessed 1 Oct 2020.

¹⁴⁶ "The John Edward Taylor Sale", *The Manchester Guardian* (1901-1959); Jul 6, 1912, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Guardian and The Observer, pg. 10.

¹⁴⁷ "Obituary. Mr. John Edward Taylor", *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* - Friday 06 October 1905.

Taylor's Family

- William Jevons (1760-1852) & the Jevons family-related to Taylor through marriage
- Harriet (1802-1845), née Boyce-the second wife of John Edward Taylor and mother of Harriet, Sara, and Mary Ann Jevons (née Taylor)
- The Boyce family- related to Taylor through marriage
- Russell Scott (1760-1834)
- Sophia Russell Taylor (1826-1868)
- Sophia Russell Scott (1793-1832)
- Peter Allen (1815-1892)- manager and partner, *Manchester Guardian*
- Russell Scott Taylor (1825-1848)- elder son of John Edward Taylor
- Charles Prestwich Scott- cousin of John Edward Taylor jnr., became editor of the *Manchester Guardian* in 1872
- Mary Ann Taylor- sister of John Edward Taylor
- Catherine and Isabella Scott
- Isabella Prestwich (1813-1894)- married to Russell Scott (1801-1880)
- Samuel Scott

Highlights in Taylor's cashbooks & ledgers (GDN Archives, John Rylands Library)

- Ship 'Francis Peabody'
- Ship *Tacitus* - traced to New Orleans and J Hobson & Sons¹⁴⁸
- Ship 'Gt. Britain (Party?)'
- Barclay & Sons
- Johnson Gore & Sons
- James Fishwick
- Henry Barlow
- Duckworth & Denison
- Heywood & Bros bank

¹⁴⁸ Liverpool Shipping Records: Imports and Exports, 1820-1900, <https://microform-digital.ezproxy.nottingham.ac.uk/boa/documents/5113/bills-of-entry-for-the-year-1832>, accessed 20 Oct 2020.