



UNIVERSITY
OF HULL

WILBERFORCE
INSTITUTE

Sea Islands & Jamaica: Tracing the Enslaved People

30 May 2022

32 Jamaica SS

A Return of Slaves in the Parish of Hanover in the Possession of Wm. Stanford Gignoux as Attorney to Boddington, Phillips & Sharpe & Co. on the 25th day of June in the Year of our Lord 1823.

Males by last return — None
 Females — None
 Totals by last return — None

Names	Colour	Age	African or Creole	Remarks	Increase and cause thereof	Decrease and cause thereof
Males						
Toby	Negro	34	African	Registered in St. Anne's in 1817 by Wm. Allen as Attorney of Nicholas Dawes. and in 1821 by Edw. Evans as Exor of Joseph Dawes	By purchase	
Robert	Negro	34	Creole		By purchase	
Harry alias Henry Colman	Negro	36	African	The whole of these were registered in 1817 by John Cramer as Attorney of Cornelius Colman and in 1820 by William Allen & Hyacinth Cuniffe as Exors of Cornelius Colman	By purchase	
Hamlet alias John Colman	Negro	28	African		By purchase	
Bunce alias Tom Smith	Negro	41	African		By purchase	
Wilson alias Cornelius Colman	Negro	28	African		By purchase	
Archy alias Archibald Langford	Negro	29	African		By purchase	
London alias William Cox	Negro	28	African		By purchase	
MacKival alias Michael Colman	Negro	56	African		By purchase	
...	Negro	36	African		By purchase	
...	Negro	28	African		By purchase	
...	Negro	24	African		By purchase	
...	Negro	26	African	By purchase		
...	Negro	26	African	By purchase		
...	Creole	...	Tiggy alias Susan Colman	By purchase		
...	Tiggy alias Susan Colman	By purchase		
...	Tiggy alias Susan Colman	By purchase		
...	By purchase		

SEA ISLANDS & JAMAICA: TRACING THE ENSLAVED PEOPLE

30 MAY 2022

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SUBMISSION DATE
 30 May 2022

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INTRODUCTION

Reports 1 and 2, the Taylor Report and the Scott Trust Legacies of Enslavement Report, shed light on an underexposed theme of research in Britain's imperial past, the enslaved people of Jamaica and the Sea Islands and their descendants, the Gullah Geechee people. It was revealed in Part Two of the report that John Edward Taylor, through his firm, Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co., imported 214 bags of raw cotton from Sea Island planters between 14 August 1822 and 24 April 1823. Equally important is Sir George Philips' role as an enslaver in Jamaica and the enslaved Africans who laboured on Success estate in Hanover, Jamaica. The purpose of this research is to then highlight who were the enslaved Africans who forcibly toiled on these estates and trace their descendants.

This step is aligned with the recommendations of the Report and a core tenet of phases one and two of the research process, placing the enslaved people at the forefront of this research. Tracing the enslaved people and underscoring their names are intrinsic to respectfully highlighting the stories of the enslaved and ensuring that the perspectives of the enslaved are at the centre of the narrative on Britain's legacy of slavery.

The historically white-washed narrative of Britain's legacy of slavery and colonialism tended to treat with the enslaved as a distant, abstract construct or statistic in a distant land, far removed from the eyes of the reader. In highlighting the names and/or identifying details of the enslaved people we are bringing the focus to where it belongs, the enslaved people who were the actual source of the slavery-derived wealth accumulated by the enslavers. In depicting the names and details of the enslaved people connected to Philips' plantation and Taylor's cotton firm, this report attempts to tell part of their story.

This report is the culmination of approximately one month of research.

KEY FINDINGS

- The names and/or details of 250 persons who were enslaved by W.E. Baynard, his father, uncle and his heirs were unearthed through ‘Contrabands’ list, will and probate inventories and the 1850 and 1860 ‘U.S. Federal Census Slave Schedules’.
- The names and/or details of persons enslaved by Bailey and his sons, were uncovered through 1850 and 1860 ‘U.S. Federal Census Slave Schedules’, wills and probates, Heritage Library Foundation and U.S., Freedmen's Bureau Records.
- The names and/or details of over 200 persons enslaved by W.O. Prentiss were located utilising the 1850 U.S. Federal Census - Slave Schedules’ as well as ‘Bill of sales of Negro slaves, 1799-1872, Charleston District, South Carolina’.
- The Funder of the *Manchester Guardian* and partner in Philips, Wood & Co, George William Wood, is not the George William Wood listed as an enslaver on the *Legacies of British Slavery Database*.
- The names and details of over 100 persons who were enslaved by Sir George Philips through his firm Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co on Success estate, Hanover, Jamaica, were identified using the ‘Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834’.
- The names of four enslaved persons connected to Success estate were found using *Royal Gazette of Jamaica* ‘Apprehended Deserters’ adverts.
- The name of at least one enslaved person from Success estate was found in both the ‘Apprehender Deserter’ section of the *Royal Gazette of Jamaica* and the “Return of Slaves” for the estate.
- One enslaved man uncovered in relation to Success estate was involved in the Baptist War or Christmas Uprising (1831-32). He was also a member of a Baptist church in Hanover, Jamaica which is still in existence today.

METHODOLOGY

Tracing the descendants of the enslaved is an increasingly complicated endeavour. In the specific case of the US, while the ‘United States Census (Slave Schedule), 1850 and 1860’ are important to identifying an enslaver and how many enslaved people over whom they claimed ownership, it does not provide their names or identifying details past “age, sex, colour” and disability.¹ Furthermore, although there are various genealogical databases, estate inventories, military and antebellum church records which hold valuable information relating to the enslaved people of the Sea Islands, “fewer than 20% of freed families in the Lowcountry adopted the name of the final slaveholder”.² In general, “only about 15% of formerly enslaved people took the slave owner's surname”.³ As such, it is challenging to locate records relating to the descendants of the enslaved past the 1870 US Census which was the first of its kind to list freed African Americans by their name. This is termed by genealogists as “the so-called 1870 Brick Wall” where persons tracing their ancestry are generally unable to locate records past 1870.⁴

As a result of the ‘Brick Wall’ and time constraints, tracing the descendants of the enslaved post 1870 proved to be difficult. This is a task that would require much longer than one month of research. However, this report has endeavoured to highlight the names and/or details of the enslaved people and their descendants connected to Baynard, Bailey and Prentiss enslaver families. ‘United States Census (Slave Schedule), 1850 and 1860’, ‘Slave Registers’, ‘Bill of sales of Negro slaves, 1799-1872, Charleston District, South Carolina’ and ‘Contraband’ lists proved to be particularly useful at this stage. In terms of Jamaica, the names of over 100 persons enslaved by Philips’ firm, Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co. were located in ‘Slave Registers’, ‘Runaway’ and ‘Apprehended Deserters’ ads, trial accounts and genealogical databases.

Step 1

Identification of Enslavers & Plantations

The first step of the methodology entailed identifying the enslavers and plantations that would be the starting point of this genealogical journey.

¹ The National Archive in Washington DC; Washington, DC; NARA Microform Publication: M432; Title: *Seventh Census Of The United States, 1850*; Record Group: *Records of the Bureau of the Census*; Record Group Number: 29; The International African American Museum, Center for Family history, ‘United States 1860 Census Slave Schedules’, <https://cfh.iaamuseum.org/united-states-1860-census-slave-schedules/>, accessed 16 April 2022.

² Lowcountry Africana, ‘The 1870 Brick Wall’, <https://lowcountryafricana.com/the-1870-brick-wall/>, accessed 9 May 2022.

³ Ancestry Support, ‘Researching African American Ancestors’, https://support.ancestry.com/s/article/Researching-African-American-Ancestors?language=en_US, accessed 10 May 2022.

⁴ Family Search, ‘African Americans, Identifying the Final Slave Owner (National Institute)’, [https://www.familysearch.org/en/wiki/African_Americans._Identifying_the_Final_Slave_Owner_\(National_Institute\)](https://www.familysearch.org/en/wiki/African_Americans._Identifying_the_Final_Slave_Owner_(National_Institute)), accessed 27 May 2022; Lowcountry Africana, ‘The 1870 Brick Wall’; Rachel Jones, ‘Race in America’, *National Geographic*, <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/culture/article/new-tool-hopes-uncover-lost-ancestry-enslaved-african-americans>, accessed 9 May 2022.

Sea Islands

In the case of the Sea Islands, the section in the Scott Trust Legacies of Enslavement Report titled ‘Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co’s Connection with Enslavers from the Sea Islands’ (see page 54 of report), formed the baseline for this step. The Baynard, Bailey and Prentiss families were then selected as the main Sea Island enslavers of focus for this report as:

- There was more certainty regarding the identity of the enslavers cited in the W.G. and J. Strutt Invoice Book, 1822-1825 as it pertains to W.E Baynard, C. Bailey and Prentiss as opposed to other enslavers such as J.F O’hear and Turnbull.
- Time constraints precluded an extensive search of all enslavers and islands mentioned in the Scott Trust Legacies of Enslavement Report. As such the Baynard, Bailey and Prentiss families were prioritised.
- Given their prominence as enslavers in South Carolina, a wider availability of resources such as estate inventories, documented enslaved persons and ‘contraband’ lists exists for the aforementioned enslavers.

Jamaica

George William Wood and Sir George Philips were selected as points of focus for this report based on information contained in the Taylor Report and Scott Trust Legacies of Enslavement Report. Initial research operated on the likelihood that the George William Wood on the *Legacies of British Slavery Database* who received £495 9s 8d (RPW:£49,900) for 28 persons in Caymanas, Jamaica was likely the same Wood who was a Funder of the *Manchester Guardian* and partner in the firm Philips, Wood & Co. (See pages 24 to 27 of the Taylor Report and pages 30 to 35 of the Scott Trust Legacies of Enslavement Report for detailed information on George William Wood). Research was thus conducted to locate the names of enslaved people associated with Wood and his compensation claim for enslaved people on Caymanas, Jamaica.

Sir George Philips was selected as an enslaver of focus for this report as he was a Funder of the *Manchester Guardian* with direct links to historical slavery. As an enslaver of over 100 persons on Success plantation in Hanover, Jamaica through the firm Boddington, Philips, Sharp & Co, the enslaved people who were forced to work on Philips’ sugar plantation formed a central part of this report.

Step Two

This step involved conducting research on the enslavers of the Sea Islands identified in step one and identifying who were the enslaved people associated with them and their plantations. The following primary and secondary sources and databases proved particularly useful at this stage:

- South Carolina Estate Inventories and Bills of Sale, 1732-1872
- U.S. Colored Troops Military Service Records

- Civil War Pension Index
- Freedman's Bank Records
- 'Bill of sales of Negro slaves, 1799-1872, Charleston District, South Carolina'
- South Carolina, Secretary of State. Records Of Charleston District, Court of Ordinary, Inventories, Appraisements, And Sales Books
- South Carolina Plantations
- The International African American Museum, Center for Family history
- Affidavits made by owners bringing slaves into the state, 1818-1847
- Census of Slave Owners and Slaves, Mortality Records, and Agricultural Census, 1850, 1860
- "'Other Free' Heads of Household in the 1790 South Carolina Census, by County"
- Heritage Library, History & Ancestry Research Center
- Documented Slaves of the Lowcountry Heritage Library Foundation, 2022
- Charleston County, South Carolina inventories, appraisements & sales, ca. 1834-1867
- South Carolina, Charleston District, Estate inventories, 1732-1844
- Land Certificates Sold to Heads of Families of the African Race, 1865-1872
- Index to Land Certificates Sold to Heads of Families of the African Race, 1863-1872
- Index to Hilton Head Island Deeds, 1863 – 1899
- Lowcountry Africana African American Genealogy in SC, GA and FL
- Federal Writers' Project: Slave Narrative Project, Administrative Files
- The Freedmen's Bureau Online
- 'The Negroes at Port Royal: Report of E. L. Pierce, Government Agent, to the Hon. Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury'
- Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers
- Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834
- FamilySearch.org, Ancestry.co.uk, Jamaican Family Search
- *LBS* database
- *Jamaica Gleaner*

Step 3

Locating the enslaved people of George Philips' Jamaica estate, Success, formed the basis of this methodological step. 'Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834', *Royal Gazette of Jamaica* 'Runaway' and 'Apprehended Deserter' ads and accounts connected to the 1831-32 'Christmas Uprising' in Jamaica were valuable sources in identifying the names of enslaved persons on Success estate.

Step 4

This stage of the methodology involved the compilation of the names and details of the enslaved persons connected to the relevant enslavers. It was then presented in table formats and in some cases, alongside original archival material, for ease of reading and accessibility.

Step 5

This step related to tracing the descendants of the enslaved people identified in steps two to four of the methodology. However, no tangible results emerged mainly due to the time constraints of the project and lack of preliminary information.

Limitations

The main limitations of this project revolved on its timeline of one month and lack of access to physical archives in the US. Efforts were made to mitigate these limitations through prioritizing of steps one to four of the research process and capitalisation of the online databases and ancestry records as detailed in steps two and three of the methodology.

THE SEA ISLANDS

William Eddings Baynard

As cited in the Scott Trust Legacies of Enslavement Report, a W.E. Baynard is listed in the W.G. and J. Strutt invoice book on 16 April 1823 as supplying 12 bags of cotton to Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. (see page 54 of report). W.E. Baynard was likely William Eddings Baynard (1800-1849) who came from a family of wealthy plantation owners and enslavers on Edisto Island, Hilton Head Island, Bluffton and Savannah. Recounting the details presented in the aforementioned report:

“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”.⁵

Efforts were thus made to locate the names of enslaved persons connected with Baynard and these plantations.

Spanish Wells Plantation

Research into the Baynard family revealed the names of some of the enslaved people on the Spanish Wells Plantation, Hilton Head Island. Baynard’s father, Thomas Baynard (1763-1805), purchased this estate from John David Mongin at around 1790.⁶

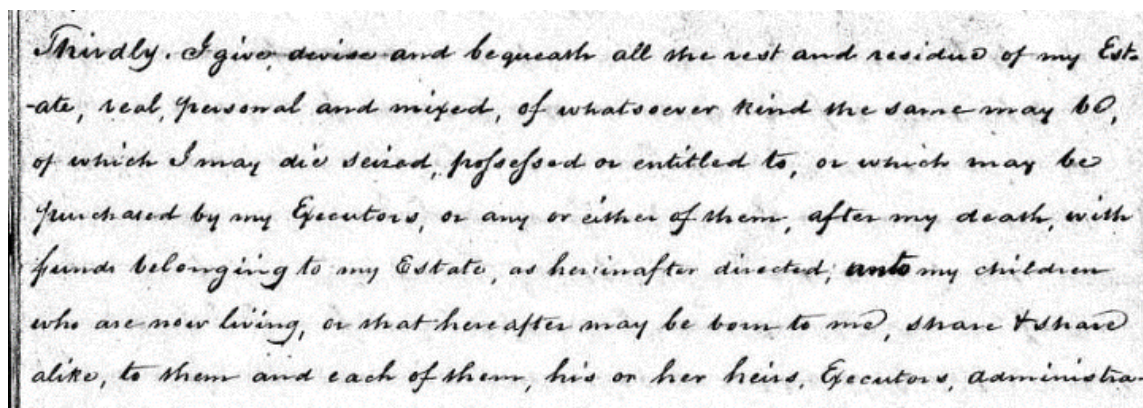
This plantation was inherited by W.E. Baynard and later bequeathed to his children on his death, in 1849.⁷ An 1862 report by Captain J.D. Campbell of the Union Forces which listed ‘contraband’ on the Spanish Wells Plantation, indicated that the plantation belonged to “to four

⁵ Cassandra Gooptar and Trevor Burnard, *The Scott Trust Legacies of Enslavement Report*, p. 55.

⁶ 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/Peeples%2C+Robert+E.H.-An+Index+to+Hilton+Head+Island+Names.pdf>, accessed 21 May 2022; Lou Benfante, “William Eddings Baynard”, <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5802c4d9414fb5e45ce4dc44/t/5998b38c15d5db7a7d559603/1503179665638/Baynard%2C+William+Eddings.pdf>, accessed 25 May 2022; Forgotten History, “Spanish Wells”, <https://www.forgottenhistory.us/index.php/node/1379>, accessed 13 May 2022.

⁷ Georgia, U.S., Wills and Probate Records, 1742-1992 for William E Baynard, Estate Records, Wills, Estates, Administrations and Bonds, Alphabetically Arranged, 1777-1852; Author: Georgia. Court of Ordinary (Chatham County); Probate Place: Chatham, Georgia; International African American Museum (IAAM), ‘Contrabands at Spanish Wells Plantation, Hilton Head Island, SC, March 14, 1862’, <https://cfh.iaamuseum.org/contrabands-at-spanish-wells-plantation-hilton-head-island-sc-march-14-1862/>, accessed 13 May 2022.

Young ladies, heiresses of the late William Baynard".⁸ This would have likely been four of W.E. Baynard's daughters. He had eight children with his wife, Catherine Adelaide Scott (1812-1856), five of whom were daughters; Catherine Anna Mary Baynard (1831 – 1893), Josephine Amanda Baynard (1840 – 1899), Sarah Calder Baynard (1837 – 1916), Anna Pope Baynard (b. 1849), Adelaide Scott Baynard (1845-1925).⁹



Thirdly. I give, devise and bequeath all the rest and residue of my Estate, real, personal and mixed, of whatsoever kind the same may be, of which I may die seized, possessed or entitled to, or which may be purchased by my Executors, or any or either of them, after my death, with funds belonging to my Estate, as hereinafter directed; unto my children who are now living, or that hereafter may be born to me, share & share alike, to them and each of them, his or her heirs, Executors, administra-

Excerpt from the will of W.E. Baynard where he bequeaths his estate to his children.

Georgia, U.S., Wills and Probate Records, 1742-1992 for William E Baynard, Estate Records, Wills, Estates, Administrations and Bonds, Alphabetically Arranged, 1777-1852; Author: Georgia. Court of Ordinary (Chatham County); Probate Place: Chatham, Georgia.

'Contraband'

This 1862 report made by Captain Campbell was "in response to an order by Major J.M. Kilbourn of the 45th Pennsylvania Regiment, United States Army" and is increasingly important in our search for enslaved persons connected to plantations which exported Sea Island cotton.¹⁰ Listed as 'contrabands', 60 formerly enslaved persons from Spanish Wells plantation were recorded on 13 March 1862. Before listing these names, a brief context of the Sea Islands and the US Civil War in the early 1860s will be given to better understand this period of US history and the term 'contraband'.

The Sea Islands were seized by federal troops led by Commodore S.F. Du Pont on 7 November 1861. "Upon landing his troops, Du Pont found only abandoned plantations and thousands of abandoned slaves".¹¹ From the very beginning of the Civil War, the enslaved people from Southern plantations attempted to cross over to Union lines in a bid for protection, freedom or to fight for the Union army. These enslaved persons comprised two main groups, 'runaways' and 'contraband'. In the case of the latter, the emergence of this term within the context of enslaved persons began with General Benjamin F. Butler, on 23 May 1861. Following the capture of Fort Monroe, Butler declared three enslaved persons "property of the enemy and as such, subject to

⁸ IAAM, 'Contrabands at Spanish Wells Plantation'.

⁹ Ancestry, 'William Eddings Baynard (1800 - 1849)', <https://www.ancestry.com/genealogy/records/william-eddings-baynard-24-117rhjf>, accessed 23 May 2022; Lou Benfante, "William Eddings Baynard".

¹⁰ IAAM, 'Contrabands at Spanish Wells Plantation'.

¹¹ Michelle Wartman, "Contraband, Runaways, Freeman: New Definitions of Reconstruction Created By The Civil War", *International Social Science Review*, vol. 76, no. 3/4, 2001, p. 122.

confiscation”.¹² Secretary of War, Simon Cameron, acknowledged this move and sanctioned the use of the formerly enslaved “in service and labor”. The term ‘contraband’ was formally adopted by Congress on 6 July 1861.¹³

This then places Captain J.D. Campbell’s list of ‘contrabands’ into clearer perspective. His record, lists as ‘contraband’, the enslaved persons of Spanish Wells plantation following its seizure. Campbell also reported that some of the formerly enslaved people were already employed and that “all express a desire to engage in the Cultivation of the land as free labourers”.¹⁴

Interestingly, Campbell asserted that the formerly enslaved persons on Spanish Wells identified their enslavers:

“The Negroes represent themselves as belonging (prior to the bombardment of the late rebel Forts in the vicinity of Port Royal), to four Young ladies, heiresses’s of the late “William Baynard” dec’d”, the proper. being now in the hands of his executor, Ephraim Baynard”.¹⁵

The following 1862 list of names show some of the enslaved people who were forced to work on the Spanish Wells Plantation once owned by W.E. Baynard. Given the age range, it can be concluded that some of those listed would have been enslaved on the plantation in 1823, when Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. imported Sea Island cotton from Baynard. Additionally, some of the younger persons listed would have been descendants of the enslaved persons who worked on Spanish Wells in the 1820s. As such, the following names of formerly enslaved Africans are very much linked to Taylor and his firm:

Table 1: “List of Names of Contrabands Within the Limits of Captain J.D. Campbell’s Command, Spanish Wells, S.C”¹⁶

Names of Males	Age	Names of Females	Age
Toby	90	Clarinda	50
Billy	36	Nancy	7
January	26	Dinah	28
Steven	40	Sylvia	40

¹² Wartman, “Contraband, Runaways, Freeman”, pp. 123-4.

¹³ Wartman, “Contraband, Runaways, Freeman”, p. 124.

¹⁴ IAAM, ‘Contrabands at Spanish Wells Plantation’. Letter from Capt. J.D. Campbell To Maj. J.M. Kilbourn Grahams, Spanish Wells, March 13, 1862.

¹⁵ Letter from Capt. J.D. Campbell To Maj. J.M. Kilbourn Grahams, Spanish Wells, March 13, 1862.

¹⁶ IAAM, ‘Contrabands at Spanish Wells Plantation’.

Cuffy	23	Peggy	26
Bob	26	Bess	20
Abram	23	Julia	3
Billy	1	Dinah	2
Isaac	2	Molsie	22
Cuffie	70	Caroline	30
Will xx	19	Rosanna	20
Robert	30	Kate	15
February	25	Sophy	18
John	32	Filice	6
Andrew	[Illegible]	Bettie	30
George	35	Jennie	42
George	2	Pleasant	40
Sire	4	Lucy	7
Morice	14	Sue	6
Steven	45	Sarah	44
Sano xx	19	Harriet	3
Profit	30	Menda	21
Napoleon	5	Dianna	2
Titus	26	Jennie	
Monday	5	Cinda	
Jack	65	Grace	3
Felix	22	Clara	60
Rufus	17	Violat	
Steven	13	Antonia	30

June	6	Sarah	22
Mike	15	Hagar	60
Frank	25	Hettie	33
Frank	26	Judy	
Thomas	3	Nellie	5
James	2	Dires	85
Ned	28	Doll	33
Brutus	18	Sarah	5
Solomon	12	Jane	3
Ben	6	Lucy	38
Wallee	39	Nancy	26
Philip	12	Sarah	32
Henry	1	Sophia	40
Tom	88	Hester	37
Andrew	55	Nancy	60
Peter	12	Sylvia	16
John	30	Judy	7
Natt	9	Minda	1
Glasgow	30		
Tony	12		
Folly	3		
Carolina	40		
Paddy	36		
June	60		
Prince	64		

William	39		
May	22		
Jack	13		
Rinda	12		
Cyrus	10		
Pompey	8		

Efforts were made to trace the descendants of some of the individuals listed, however, given the commonality of the names, time constraints of the project and general limitations of this type of genealogical research post 1870, no tangible leads were found.

W.E. Baynard's Estate Inventory

As a result of a fire in 1865, probate records relating to Beaufort, South Carolina do not exist.¹⁷ Therefore, the inventory and appraisal of the estate of William E. Baynard relates to Savannah, Georgia and not his South Carolina enslaver holdings.

This inventory includes the names of six enslaved persons. Although not directly associated with Hilton Head Island plantations that exported cotton to Taylor's firms, the enslaved persons listed below were part of Baynard's enslaver holdings and contributed to his overall wealth.

1 Kitchen Ware \$5-	10 Bellows & 6 Bolters \$15-	20 -
Negroes Pompey aged about 48 years \$500-	Cyrus aged about 24 years \$650-	1150 -
Elzey " " 38 " \$550-	Elzey " " 28 " 550-	1100 -
Ellen " " 24 " \$550-	Nancy " " 50 " 300-	850 -
1 Carriage & Harness \$125-	2 Horses for d. (one of them weeloff) \$75-	200 -
75 Shares Planters Bank stock value per		\$ 4702.50
55 " State Bank stock do.		

The names of 6 enslaved persons listed in W.E. Baynard's inventory.

"Georgia Probate Records, 1742-1990," database with images, FamilySearch, Chatham, Inventories and appraisements 1850-1861, image 30 of 384; citing Houston County Probate Court Judge, Georgia.

¹⁷ Bryan F., McKown, and Michael E. Stauffer. "Destroyed County Records in South Carolina, 1785-1872." *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, vol. 97, no. 2, 1996, pp. 149-58; IAAM, 'Contrabands at Spanish Wells Plantation'.

5			
	<i>Name</i>	<i>By whom returned</i>	<i>Description of Property</i>
N ^o 2	<i>Baynard William E</i>	<i>Wm E Baynard</i>	<i>6 Slaves, 1 Pack, 1-4 Wheel Carriage for 1 horse import an City Lot N^o 13 Columbus Ward 1 Saddle horse Mush^{ts}</i>
	<i>Bezzo Mrs J. J.</i>	<i>J. A. Patot</i>	

Land Tax and Property Records of W.E. Baynard showing ‘ownership’ of 6 enslaved persons (named below). ‘Savannah, Georgia, U.S., Land Tax and Property Records, 1809-1938 for William E Baynard’, Research Library and Municipal Archives; Savannah, Georgia; Film Number: 194061; Title: Tax Digests, 1839-1843, p. 5.

Table 2: Names of Enslaved Persons in Baynard’s Savannah, Georgia Estate. Based on Information in the Estate Inventory of William E. Baynard, “Georgia Probate Records, 1742-1990,” Chatham, Inventories and appraisements 1850-1861.¹⁸

Name of Enslaved Person	Approximate Age	‘Value’
Pompey	45	\$500
Cyprus	24	\$650
Elsy	38	\$550
Silvy	28	\$550
Ellen	24	\$550
Nancy	50	\$300

Despite the destruction of Beaufort probate inventories, other sources such as antebellum church records may help unearth other enslaved people and their descendants who were connected to Baynard’s enslaver holdings.¹⁹

Muddy Creek Plantation

Muddy Creek and Buckingham Plantations were also owned by Baynard at the time Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co imported Sea Island cotton from him in the 1820s (see page 55 of the Scott Trust Legacies of Enslavement Report). These plantations were also located on Hilton Head Island. According to the ‘Abstract of Property in the State of South Carolina Lost by the Citizens thereof from the War’, Baynard’s estate when Hilton Head was seized by Union troops in 1861 “claimed losses of \$112,850, including 129 slaves valued at \$91,000, 150 bales of cotton valued at \$15,000” and other crops, livestock, boats and furniture.²⁰

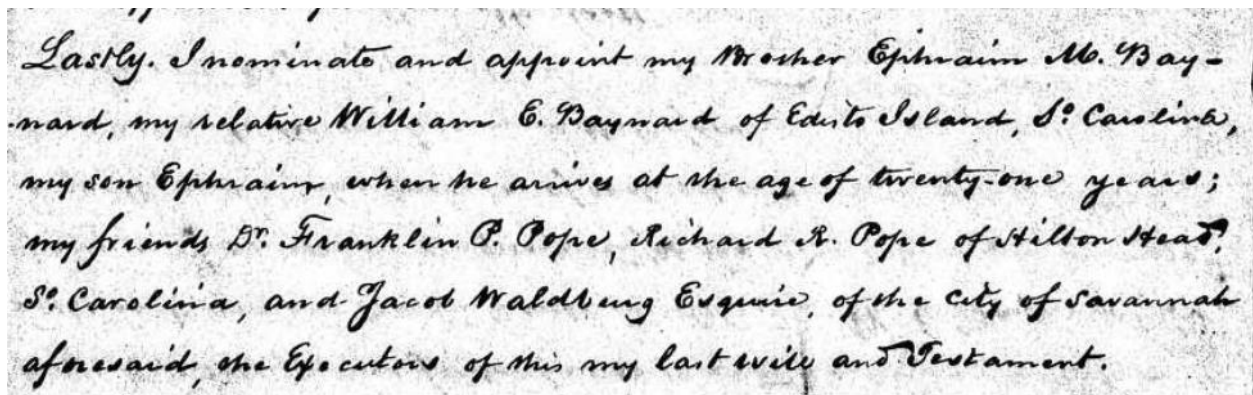
¹⁸ Georgia, U.S., Wills and Probate Records, 1742-1992 for William E Baynard.

¹⁹ IAAM, ‘Contrabands at Spanish Wells Plantation’.

²⁰ Michael Trinkley, “Preliminary Historical Research on the Baynard Plantation, Hilton Head Island, Beaufort County, South Carolina”, Chicora Foundation Research Series 24, 1991, p 15, <https://www.chicora.org/pdfs/RS%2024%20-%20Baynard%20History.pdf>, accessed 20 May 2022.

265 acres of No. 12, that is Muddy Creek Plantation, was purchased by W.E. Baynard's uncle, William Baynard from Benjamin Bayley and Daniel Savage "sometime in the 1780s".²¹ W.E. Baynard then inherited the plantation which eventually passed to his sons. It was reported that "the Baynard holdings were inherited by William's son, Ephraim (1830-1875), who retained and managed them until 1861".²²

Ephraim Baynard



Lastly, I nominate and appoint my Brother Ephraim M. Baynard, my relative William E. Baynard of Edisto Island, S^c. Carolina, my son Ephraim, when he arrives at the age of twenty-one years; my friends Dr. Franklin P. Pope, Richard N. Pope of Hilton Head, S^c. Carolina, and Jacob Waldberg Esquire, of the City of Savannah aforesaid, the Executors of this my last will and Testament.

Ephraim Baynard, the son of W.E. Baynard, named as an executor of his estate.

Georgia, U.S., Wills and Probate Records, 1742-1992 for William E Baynard, Estate Records, Wills, Estates, Administrations and Bonds, Alphabetically Arranged, 1777-1852; Author: Georgia. Court of Ordinary (Chatham County); Probate Place: Chatham, Georgia.

Ephraim Baynard owned four plantations on the island, including one that was "800 acres very close to that traditionally known as Muddy Creek Plantation". Cotton was the primary crop grown on the plantation.²³ Following the fall of Hilton Head Island to Union troops in 1861, Ephraim left the island and "the estate of William Baynard claimed losses of \$112,850, including 129 slaves valued at \$91,000".²⁴

According to the 1790 US Census, there were 20 enslaved persons on Muddy Creek estate at that time.²⁵ Ephraim Baynard was listed in the 1860 US Census as a planter with real estate and a personal estate valued at \$18,000 and \$57,000 respectively.²⁶

²¹ Virginia C., Holmgren, *Hilton Head, A Sea Island Chronicle*, p. 60; <https://heritagelib.org/muddy-creek-savages-plantation-place>, accessed 20 May 2022.

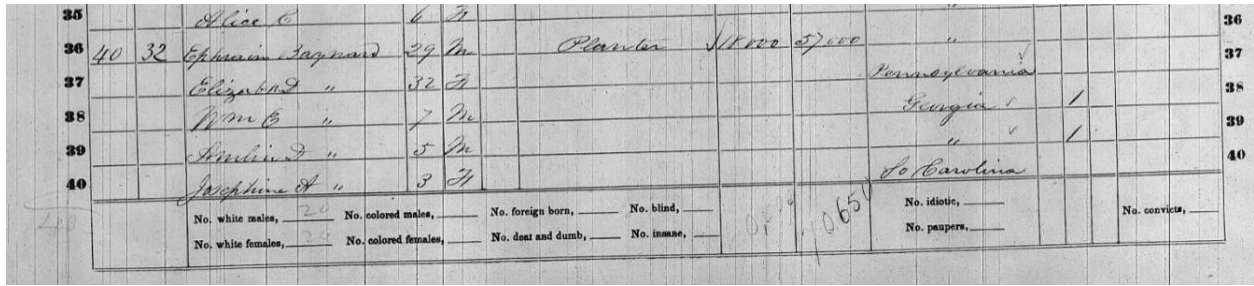
²² 'Ephraim Mikell Baynard', <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/181041815/ephraim-mikell-baynard>, accessed 10 May 2022.

²³ The Heritage Library Foundation, "Muddy Creek (Savage's) Plantation (Place)", Hilton Head Plantations, <https://heritagelib.org/muddy-creek-savages-plantation-place>, accessed 20 May 2022; Trinkley, Chicora Research Contribution 78, *Archaeological Survey of a Portion of Indigo Run Plantation, Hilton Head Island, Beaufort County, South Carolina*.

²⁴ Trinkley, "Preliminary Historical Research on the Baynard Plantation", p. 15.

²⁵ The Heritage Library Foundation, "Muddy Creek (Savage's) Plantation (Place)".

²⁶ "United States Census, 1860," database with images, FamilySearch, South Carolina > Beaufort > St Lukes Parish Beaufort > image 4 of 47; from "1860 U.S. Federal Census - Population," database, Fold3.com (<http://www.fold3.com> : n.d.); citing NARA microfilm publication M653 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.).



Ephraim Baynard listed in the 1860 US Census as a planter with real estate worth \$18,000 and a personal estate valued at \$7,000.

"United States Census, 1860," database with images, FamilySearch, South Carolina > Beaufort > St Lukes Parish Beaufort > image 4 of 47; from "1860 U.S. Federal Census - Population," database, Fold3.com citing NARA microfilm publication M653 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.).

No slave schedule related to a W. E. Baynard was located. This could be because of his death in 1849, before the 1850 Census. Therefore, we must look at the ‘Slave Schedules’ related to his heirs to get an idea of how many people he and his family enslaved in the Sea Islands.

Both 1850 and 1860 ‘U.S. Federal Census Slave Schedules’ show the number of people enslaved by an Ephraim Baynard. As mentioned in the Methodology section, the names of the enslaved persons are not included in these ‘slave schedules’. The 1850 ‘slave schedule’ shows that Ephraim was the enslaver of 33 persons and the 1860 slave schedule shows that he enslaved 120 persons. In the latter case, E. Baynard enslaved persons “in trust for 4 minors”.²⁷ As Ephraim Baynard was one of the executors of his father’s last will and testament, the minors in question may have been his siblings, three of whom were born in 1840 and three others in 1843, 1845 and 1849.²⁸ There is also a possibility that this E. Baynard in question may have been W. E. Baynard’s brother, also a prominent enslaver on the Sea Islands (see page 57 of the Scott Trust Legacies of Enslavement Report). He was also named as an executor of Baynard’s estate. As such, he may have been the E. Baynard referred to in the 1850 and 1860 ‘Slave Schedules’, holding the latter in trust for his nieces and nephews.

Table 3: Details of Persons Enslaved by E. Baynard, 1850 U.S. Federal Census - Slave Schedules.²⁹

Age	Gender	Race	Name of Enslaver	Residence Place
33	Male	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish,

²⁷ 1860 U.S. Federal Census - Slave Schedules for Ephraim Baynard, The National Archives in Washington DC; Washington DC, USA; Eighth Census of the United States 1860; Series Number: M653; Record Group: Records of the Bureau of the Census; Record Group Number: 29.

²⁸ Ancestry, Catherine Anna Mary Baynard, <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/45990492/person/6465180513/facts>, accessed 20 April 2022; Georgia, U.S., Wills and Probate Records, 1742-1992 for William E Baynard.

²⁹ 1850 U.S. Federal Census - Slave Schedules, The National Archive in Washington DC; Washington, DC; NARA Microform Publication: M432; Title: Seventh Census Of The United States, 1850; Record Group: Records of the Bureau of the Census; Record Group Number: 29.

				Colleton, South Carolina
40	Male	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
50	Female	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
35	Male	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
2	Male	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
4	Female	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
14	Female	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
20	Female	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
16	Female	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
26	Female	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
25	Female	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
16	Male	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
20	Male	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
40	Female	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
37	Female	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
40	Female	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
12	Male	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
10/12	Male	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
37	Female	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
16	Female	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
14	Male	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
20	Male	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
19	Male	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
16	Female	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish,

				Colleton, South Carolina
6/12	Female	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
20	Female	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
36	Male	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
30	Male	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
28	Male	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
14	Male	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
15	Male	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
4/12	Male	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
20	Female	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
16	Male	Black	Ephraim M Baynard	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina

Table 4: Details of Persons Enslaved by E. Baynard, 1860 U.S. Federal Census - Slave Schedules.³⁰

Age	Gender	Race	Name of Enslaver	Residence Place
65	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
25	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
10	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
8	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
4	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
14	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
40	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort,

³⁰ 1860 U.S. Federal Census - Slave Schedules, The National Archives in Washington DC; Washington DC, USA; Eighth Census of the United States 1860; Series Number: M653; Record Group: Records of the Bureau of the Census; Record Group Number: 29.

				South Carolina
31	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
6/12	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
31	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
26	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
6	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
4	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
2	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
51	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
38	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
20	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
22	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
17	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
15	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
48	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
40	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
21	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
19	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
17	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
15	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
13	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
31	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
26	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
4	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort,

				South Carolina
22	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
17	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
41	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
10	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
8	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
6	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
31	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
28	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
12	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
10	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
8	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
6	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
4	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
70	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
61	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
45	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
18	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
25	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
7/12	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
45	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
61	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
14	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
10	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort,

				South Carolina
8	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
19	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
15	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
55	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
3/12	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
4/12	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
6	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
31	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
30	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
6	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
4	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
2	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
25	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
20	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
2	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
1	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
60	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
25	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
11	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
7	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
2	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
25	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
30	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort,

				South Carolina
15	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
12	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
12	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
8	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
7	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
1	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
1	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
75	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
10	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
25	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
22	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
20	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
30	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
30	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
30	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
3	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
2	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
30	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
25	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
3	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
1	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
22	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
10	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort,

				South Carolina
3	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
2	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
1	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
40	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
35	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
12	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
10	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
4	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
3	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
1	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
23	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
20	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
42	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
20	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
25	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
55	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
12	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
11	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
45	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
40	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
18	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
15	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
13	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort,

				South Carolina
12	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
35	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
37	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
6	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
4	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
2	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
30	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
29	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
24	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
20	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
4	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
1	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
22	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
23	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
1	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
7	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
2	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
55	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
40	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
16	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
7	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
4	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
60	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort,

				South Carolina
39	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
30	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
13	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
12	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
4	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
2	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
25	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
24	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
12	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
4	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
50	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
50	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
8	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
20	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
3	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
19	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
16	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
12	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
6	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
25	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
30	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
2	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
85	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort,

				South Carolina
21	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
20	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
25	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
40	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
29	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
24	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
40	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
13	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
12	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
20	Male	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina
20	Female	Black	Ephraim Baynard	St Lukes Parish, Beaufort, South Carolina

Buckingham Plantation

According to Hilton Head Island historian, Lou Benfante, Baynard acquired Buckingham Plantation in the 1820s.³¹ Found in the collections of Robert Peeples, a letter between Richard A. Ellis to B.E. Willingham stated that, “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”.³²

The Heritage Library Foundation, using various sources such as SC Historical Society, Charleston, SC; South Carolina Estate Inventories and Bills of Sale, 1732-1872 - Inventories Of Estates, 1772-1785 › & (1772-1776); Soldiers of the USCT; Compiled records from US Govt Pension files and probates and wills amongst other references, published ‘Documented Slaves of the Lowcountry’ in 2022.³³ Based on information contained in this resource, the following table provides the names of enslaved people on the Buckingham Plantation owned by W.E. Baynard:

³¹ Lou Benfante, “William Eddings Baynard”.

³² Trinkley, “Preliminary Historical Research on the Baynard Plantation”.

³³ ‘Documented Slaves of the Lowcountry Heritage Library Foundation, 2022’, <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5802c4d9414fb5e45ce4dc44/t/620be87bb0b3a02cdbfe889e/1644947580707/Index+of+Kno wn+Slaves+of+the+Lowcountry.pdf> , accessed 23 April 2022.

Table 5: Enslaved People of Buckingham Plantation
Based on information from ‘Documented Slaves of the Lowcountry’, Heritage Library
Foundation, 2022 ³⁴

Name of Enslaved Person/Soldier	Plantation/Enslaver	‘Value’
Amantta	William E Baynard/ Buckingham Plantation	\$400
Anneta	William E Baynard/ Buckingham Plantation	\$300
Affey	William E Baynard/ Buckingham Plantation	\$600
Ben	William E Baynard/ Buckingham Plantation	\$100
Brown, Cando	William Baynard	
Brown, Mary Baynard	William Baynard	
Brown, Prince	William Baynard	
Daniel	William E Baynard/ Buckingham Plantation	\$500
Flora	William E Baynard/ Buckingham Plantation	\$50
Harriet	William E Baynard/ Buckingham Plantation	\$400
Judge	William E Baynard/ Buckingham Plantation	\$200
Judy	William E Baynard/ Buckingham Plantation	\$200
Julianna	William E Baynard/ Buckingham Plantation	
June	William E Baynard/ Buckingham Plantation	\$600
Lydia	William E Baynard/ Buckingham Plantation	\$200
Lydia	William E Baynard/ Buckingham Plantation	\$600
Mary	William E Baynard/ Buckingham Plantation	\$300
Middleton	William E Baynard/ Buckingham Plantation	\$100

³⁴ ‘Documented Slaves of the Lowcountry Heritage Library Foundation, 2022’.

Molly	William E Baynard/ Buckingham Plantation	\$400
Nelson	William E Baynard/ Buckingham Plantation	\$800
Robert	William E Baynard/ Buckingham Plantation	\$150

Thomas & William Baynard's Inheritance

W.E. Baynard's father and uncle, Thomas Baynard and William Baynard (who purchased Muddy Creek between 1790-1792)³⁵ inherited several named enslaved persons and their "future issue" from their father William Baynard (1730-1773).³⁶ The following table gives the names of these enslaved persons as stated in William Baynard's will in 1772:

Table 6: Names of Enslaved Persons as stated in the 1772 Will of William Baynard³⁷

Name of Enslaved Person	Enslaver
Chole	Thomas Baynard
Dilla	Thomas Baynard
Sampson	Thomas Baynard
James	Thomas Baynard
Mayg?	Thomas Baynard
Moll	William Baynard
Bob	William Baynard
Hannah	William Baynard
Phillis	William Baynard
Toney	William Baynard
Catarina	Elizabeth Baynard (Wife of William Baynard Snr)
Hannah	Elizabeth Baynard
Titus	Elizabeth Baynard

³⁵ 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.

³⁶ 'William Baynard in the South Carolina, U.S., Wills and Probate Records, 1670-1980', Wills and Miscellaneous Probate Records, 1671-1868; *Author*: Charleston County (South Carolina). Probate Judge; *Probate Place*: South Carolina. p 399.

³⁷ 'William Baynard in the South Carolina, U.S., Wills and Probate Records, 1670-1980'.

Affey	Elizabeth Baynard
Betty	Elizabeth Baynard

The will of William Baynard specifically stated,

“I Give and Bequeath to my beloved Son Thomas Baynard five negroes...with all their future Issue and increase to him and his heirs forever”.

The same is stated in relation to his other son, William Baynard.³⁸

Therefore, the names of the above captioned enslaved persons as well as their descendants would have been enslaved by Thomas, William and their heirs on multiple estates, including Spanish Wells, Buckingham and Muddy Creek plantation.

C. Bailey

Taylor’s firm received 46 bags of Sea Island cotton from a C. Bailey in October 1822 (see Scott Trust Legacies of Enslavement Report, page 58). Given the time period, the C. Bailey referred to in the invoice was likely Charles Ernest Bailey (1792- 1836).³⁹ The Baileys were a prominent enslaver family that owned numerous intergenerational plantations on Edisto and the other Sea Islands.

C. E. Bailey’s will in 1836, lists the name of one enslaved person “Lavinia” who he bequeathed to his wife, Sarah Grimbald Bailey (1796-1847) and upon her death, to his son, Ephraim Clark Bailey (b. 1832).⁴⁰

house and lot at Edensville, the plantation on which I reside with all the stock and horses on the same, my carriages, household & kitchen furniture, the negro woman Lavinia and an equal share with my children of my personal property or that part of it not otherwise disposed of as will be hereinafter mentioned. At her death, I give and bequeath to my

The name of an enslaved woman “Lavinia” can be seen in Bailey’s will.

Charles Bailey in the South Carolina, U.S., Wills and Probate Records, 1670-1980, South Carolina Wills and Related Probate Matters, land and Property Records, public Records, Some marriage Contracts, 1671, 1692-1868; Author: South Carolina. Probate Court (Charleston County); Probate Place: Charleston, South Carolina.

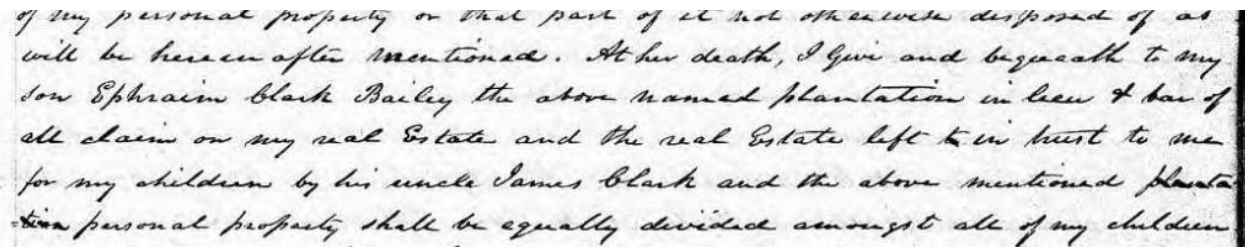
³⁸ ‘William Baynard in the South Carolina, U.S., Wills and Probate Records, 1670-1980’. P. 399.

³⁹ Find a Grave, “Charles Ernest Bailey”, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/34159542/charles-ernest-bailey>, accessed 29 July 2021; Ancestry, ‘Ralph Bailey’, https://www.ancestry.com/mediaui-viewer/tree/157761356/person/402073743831/media/36c32a39-613f-4480-9310-cf76be483179?_phsrc=Oix260&_phstart=successSource, accessed 20 April 2022.

⁴⁰ Charles Bailey in the South Carolina, U.S., Wills and Probate Records, 1670-1980, South Carolina Wills and Related Probate Matters, land and Property Records, public Records, Some marriage Contracts, 1671, 1692-1868; Author: South Carolina. Probate Court (Charleston County); Probate Place: Charleston, South Carolina.

Ephraim Clark Bailey

As Ephraim Clark Bailey inherited part of his father's estate, his ownership of enslaved persons through 'Slave Schedules' and Freedmen's Bureau sheds light on the enslaved people who toiled on Charles Bailey's plantations.



of my personal property or that part of it not otherwise disposed of as will be hereinafter mentioned. At her death, I give and bequeath to my son Ephraim Clark Bailey the above named plantation in lieu & bar of all claim on my real Estate and the real Estate left to in trust to me for my children by his uncle James Clark and the above mentioned plantation personal property shall be equally divided amongst all of my children

Ephraim Clark Bailey inherited his father's plantations upon the death of his mother. Charles Bailey in the South Carolina, U.S., Wills and Probate Records, 1670-1980, South Carolina Wills and Related Probate Matters, land and Property Records, public Records, Some marriage Contracts, 1671, 1692-1868; Author: South Carolina. Probate Court (Charleston County); Probate Place: Charleston, South Carolina.

The following are the '1860 U.S. Federal Census - Slave Schedules' linked to E.C. Bailey. They show that in 1860 he enslaved 102 persons in Edisto Island plantations ⁴¹:

Table 7: Details of Persons Enslaved by E.C Bailey, '1860 U.S. Federal Census - Slave Schedules'.⁴²

Age	Gender	Race	Name of Enslaver	Residence Place
70	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
60	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
60	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
55	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
55	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
50	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South

⁴¹ 1860 U.S. Federal Census - Slave Schedules, The National Archives in Washington DC; Washington DC, USA; Eighth Census of the United States 1860; Series Number: M653; Record Group: Records of the Bureau of the Census; Record Group Number: 29; 'Colleton County, South Carolina Largest Slaveholders From 1860 Slave Census Schedules And Surname Matches For African Americans On 1870 Census' Transcribed By Tom Blake, August 2001, <https://sites.rootsweb.com/~ajac/sccolleton.htm>, accessed 11 May 2022.

⁴² '1860 U.S. Federal Census - Slave Schedules', The National Archives in Washington DC; Washington DC, USA; Eighth Census of the United States 1860; Series Number: M653; Record Group: Records of the Bureau of the Census; Record Group Number: 29.

				Carolina
50	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
48	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
45	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
45	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
45	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
45	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
45	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
40	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
38	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
38	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
35	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
34	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
30	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
30	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
30	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
30	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
30	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
28	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
28	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
28	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
28	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
25	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
25	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina

				Carolina
25	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
25	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
24	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
24	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
24	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
24	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
24	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
24	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
24	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
24	Male	Mulatto	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
20	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
20	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
20	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
20	Female	Mulatto	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
20	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
20	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
18	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
16	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
16	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
16	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
16	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
15	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
15	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina

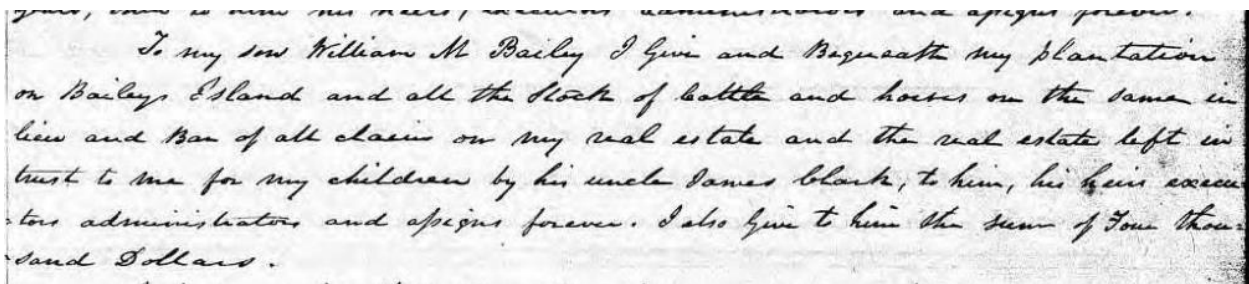
				Carolina
14	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
14	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
12	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
12	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
12	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
12	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
12	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
12	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
12	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
12	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
12	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
10	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
10	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
10	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
10	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
9	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
9	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
9	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
9	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
8	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
8	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
8	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina

				Carolina
7	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
7	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
7	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
6	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
5	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
5	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
5	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
4	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
4	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
4	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
4	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
3	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
3	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
3	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
3	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
3	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
2	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
2	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
2	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
2	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
1	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
1	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
1	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina

				Carolina
1	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
2/12	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
6/12	Female	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina
2/12	Male	Black	E C Bailey	Edisto Island, Colleton, South Carolina

William M. Bailey

Charles Bailey’s son William M. Bailey was also mentioned in his will. He inherited his father’s “plantation on Baileys Island” as well as “the real estate left in trust” and \$4000.⁴³



William M. Bailey inherited his father, C. Bailey’s plantation on Baileys Island. Charles Bailey in the South Carolina, U.S., Wills and Probate Records, 1670-1980, South Carolina Wills and Related Probate Matters, land and Property Records, public Records, Some marriage Contracts, 1671, 1692-1868; Author: South Carolina. Probate Court (Charleston County); Probate Place: Charleston, South Carolina.

Enslaved persons linked to William Bailey thus offers insight to the enslaved persons and their descendants associated with Charles Bailey’s estates. William M. Bailey was one of the largest enslavers in Colleton County, South Carolina as listed in the 1860 slave schedules.⁴⁴ The following shows details about the persons who were enslaved by William M. Bailey in 1850:

Table 8: Details of Persons Enslaved by William M Bailey, ‘1850 U.S. Federal Census - Slave Schedules’.⁴⁵

Age	Gender	Race	Name of Slave Owner	Residence Place
5	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina

⁴³ Charles Bailey in the South Carolina, U.S., Wills and Probate Records, 1670-1980.

⁴⁴ ‘Colleton County, South Carolina Largest Slaveholders’.

⁴⁵ 1850 U.S. Federal Census - Slave Schedules, The National Archive in Washington DC; Washington, DC; NARA Microform Publication: M432; Title: Seventh Census of The United States, 1850; Record Group: Records of the Bureau of the Census; Record Group Number: 29.

5	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
3	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
3	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
2	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
2	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
1	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
1	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
6/12	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
1	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
50	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
48	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
46	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
44	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
41	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
42	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina

38	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
36	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
35	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
37	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
34	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
40	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
40	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
40	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
37	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
36	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
36	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
35	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
39	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
38	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
76	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina

1/12	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
1	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
70	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
65	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
60	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
60	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
58	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
50	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
54	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
48	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
45	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
45	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
45	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
45	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
45	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina

45	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
45	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
45	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
45	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
45	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
43	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
40	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
40	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
39	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
38	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
37	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
35	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
30	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
34	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
33	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina

32	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
31	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
30	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
28	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
28	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
28	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
28	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
28	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
20	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
25	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
24	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
25	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
24	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
26	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
25	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina

25	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
20	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
20	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
23	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
24	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
19	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
17	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
16	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
18	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
17	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
15	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
17	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
16	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
18	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
15	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina

17	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
15	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
14	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
13	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
13	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
12	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
12	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
11	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
11	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
15	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
15	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
14	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
14	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
10	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
9	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina

8	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
7	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
6	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
5	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
6	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
5	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
5	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
8	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
7	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
8	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
8	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
8	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
7	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
7	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
5	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina

4	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
2	Male	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
2	Female	Black	William M Bailey	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina

The following are the names of two persons who were enslaved by William M. Bailey:

Table 9: Names of Persons Enslaved by William M. Bailey
Based on information from ‘Documented Slaves of the Lowcountry’, Heritage Library Foundation, 2022 ⁴⁶

Enslaved Person	Parent	Enslaver	Sources
Brown/Seabrook, James	Sandy Migot	Doctor Bailey	Soldiers of the USCT; Compiled records from US Govt Pension files; Heritage Library; 21st Infantry
Seabrook, James		Dr Bailey	Soldiers of the USCT; Compiled records from US Govt Pension files; Heritage Library; 21st Infantry

‘40 Acres & a Mule’

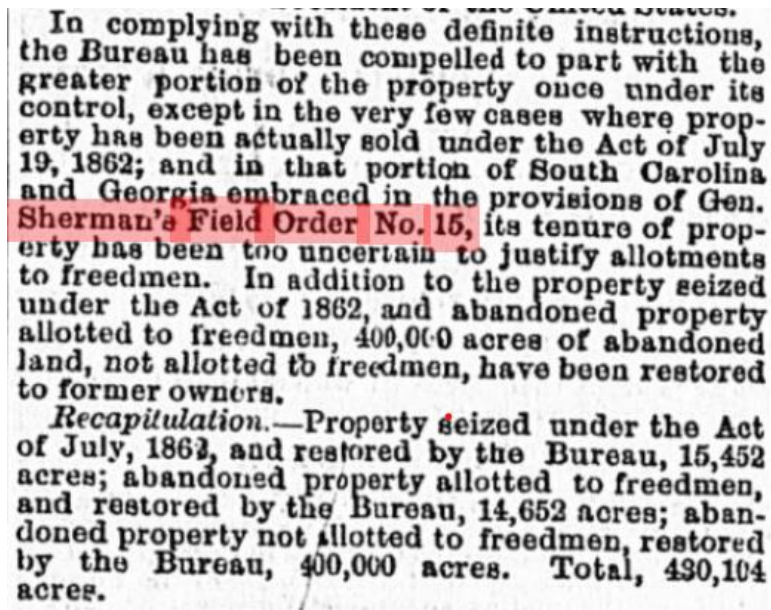
The Freedmen’s Bureau was helpful in locating the names of formerly enslaved persons likely associated with Bailey’s plantations. However, a brief historical account on the origins of the Bureau and the political climate at the time, will firstly be given.

The old saying ‘40 acres & a mule’ has its origins in Union general William T. Sherman Special Field Order No. 15 which declared on 16 January 1865, “that the Sea Islands on the coast of South Carolina and Georgia would be reserved for Freedmen”.⁴⁷ This issue meant that 400,000 acres of land owned by enslavers, would be redistributed to freedmen and their families of the Sea Islands, more specifically, 40 acres and later a mule. This proposal, which was supposed to be one of the first reparative acts of the US government, was arrived at following a meeting with

⁴⁶ ‘Documented Slaves of the Lowcountry Heritage Library Foundation, 2022’.

⁴⁷ M. O’Malley & F. L. Carr, ‘Who Owns This Land Sherman’s Redistribution Policy’, GMU’s History 122 (Spring 1999), https://chnm.gmu.edu/exploring/19thcentury/whoownsthisland/pop_seaislands.html, accessed 20 April 2022.

“twenty Black leaders of the Savannah community, mostly Baptist and Methodist ministers”.⁴⁸ It represented a historic and brief moment in US history where the opinion of formerly enslaved Africans and Black leaders resulted in a radical policy initiative. However, in a move to appease the Confederacy and wealthy Southern landowners after the Civil War ended, US President Andrew Johnson overturned Sherman’s Order in the fall of 1865 and returned most of the land to the planters and enslavers who formerly owned it.⁴⁹



In complying with these definite instructions, the Bureau has been compelled to part with the greater portion of the property once under its control, except in the very few cases where property has been actually sold under the Act of July 19, 1862; and in that portion of South Carolina and Georgia embraced in the provisions of Gen. Sherman's Field Order No. 15, its tenure of property has been too uncertain to justify allotments to freedmen. In addition to the property seized under the Act of 1862, and abandoned property allotted to freedmen, 400,000 acres of abandoned land, not allotted to freedmen, have been restored to former owners.

Recapitulation.—Property seized under the Act of July, 1862, and restored by the Bureau, 15,452 acres; abandoned property allotted to freedmen, and restored by the Bureau, 14,652 acres; abandoned property not allotted to freedmen, restored by the Bureau, 400,000 acres. Total, 430,104 acres.

The Charleston daily news. [volume] (Charleston, S.C.), 08 May 1866. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers.* Lib. of Congress.

The Freedmen’s Bureau

The US Congress passed an act on 3 March 1865, to temporarily establish ‘the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands’, also known as the ‘Freedmen’s Bureau’⁵⁰ following Sherman’s Field Order No. 15. The Freedmen’s Bureau in South Carolina, headed by Bvt. Maj. Gen. Rufus Saxton in 1865, conducted a myriad of activities pertaining to abandoned plantations and the relief of freedmen. The Bureau:

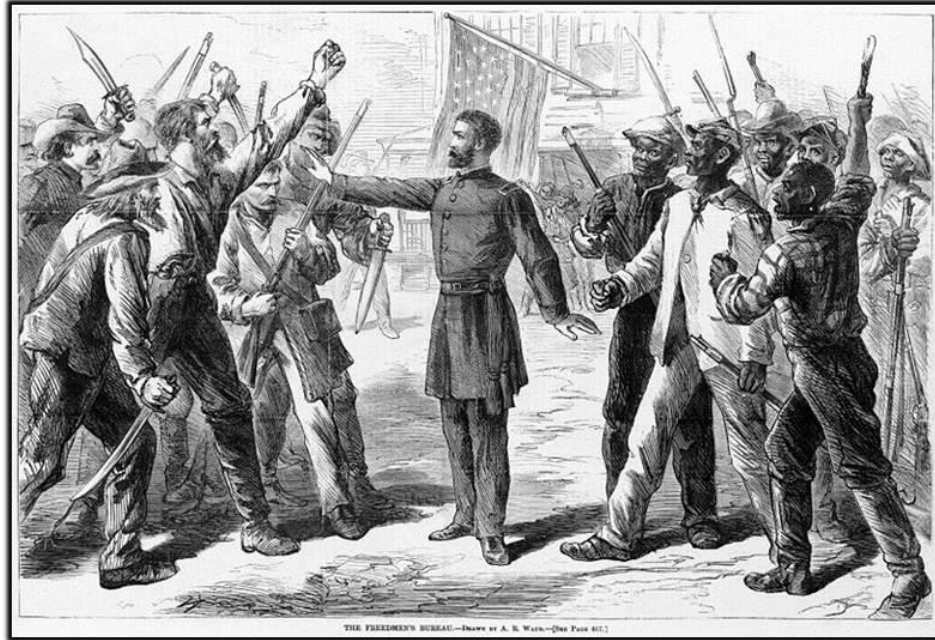
“issued rations and provided medical relief to both freemen and white refugees, supervised labor contracts between planters and freedmen,

⁴⁸ Barton Myers, “Sherman’s Field Order No. 15.” *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, last modified Sep 30, 2020. <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/shermans-field-order-no-15/>, accessed 25 April 2022; O’Malley & Carr, ‘Who Owns This Land’; Henry Louis Gates, Jr., ‘The Truth Behind ‘40 Acres and a Mule’, <https://www.pbs.org/wnet/african-americans-many-rivers-to-cross/history/the-truth-behind-40-acres-and-a-mule/>, accessed 16 May 2022.

⁴⁹ Myers, “Sherman’s Field Order No. 15.”

⁵⁰ National Archives and Records Administration Washington, DC, ‘Records Of The Field Offices for the State of South Carolina, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, And Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872’, <https://www.archives.gov/files/research/microfilm/m1910.pdf>, accessed 23 May 2022.

administered justice, and worked with benevolent societies in the establishment of schools”.⁵¹



The Freedmen’s Bureau, by Alfred R. Waud. Source: Library of Congress
<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3c05555>.

In terms of the labour contracts between planters and the formerly enslaved, there was a reluctance by freedmen to sign such contracts. However, pressure from the Bureau and the threat of losing the land that they lived on, saw that “8,000 contracts were signed, and nearly 130,000 freedmen worked under labor contracts between the years 1865 and 1866”.⁵²

These labour contracts between planters and freedmen represent a rich source of information as it predates the 1870 census and recorded formerly enslaved persons “with newly-chosen surnames”.⁵³ For those tracing their ancestry, Freedmen’s Bureau records can offer insight to where formerly enslaved persons were located before 1870 and “can often provide clues for discovering an ancestor’s final slaveholder”.⁵⁴

⁵¹ National Archives, ‘Records Of The Field Offices’.

⁵² National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). 2005 Records of the Field Offices for the State of South Carolina, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1872. Micropublication M1910, Reel Guide, Introduction. Washington, D.C.: NARA.”

⁵³ Lowcountry Africana, ‘Berkeley County, SC Freedmen’s Labor Contracts, Slaveholder Surnames Beginning with “S” ’, <https://lowcountryafricana.com/berkeley-county-sc-freedmens-labor-contracts-slaveholder-surnames-beginning-s/>, accessed 09 May 2022.

⁵⁴ Lowcountry Africana, ‘Freedmen’s Bureau Records’, <https://lowcountryafricana.com/freedmens-bureau-records/>, accessed 09 May 2022.

In relation to the plantation William M. Bailey inherited from his father, the following list provides the names of freed persons who held labour contracts with a J.H. Barrett on Bailey Island plantations. It is possible that some of the freedmen listed below were formerly enslaved Africans or their descendants who were enslaved by the Bailey family on the Bailey's Island plantation:

Date of entry	Monthly wage	Signature	Witness
1867			
Feb 5	\$ 10	Wm Williams	
5	5	David "	
5	4	Louisa "	
8	10	Bob Seabrook	
8	8	Nannie "	(Signed) Chas Banks
8	4	Jane Peters	
	12	Jos. Lambert	
10	10	Daniel Turner	
10	16	John W. Hall	
5	10	Simon Williams	
	5	Frank Hayward	(Signed) Wm Barrett
	5	Di. "	" "
24	12	Joe Holmes	
24	12	Scipio "	
24	12	Jos. Prater	
24	12	Frank Johnson	
24	12	Gabe Murrel	(Signed) Chas Banks
24	12	Paul Blunt	
24 (1/2)	6	Munday McKee	
24	6	Cyrus Allston	
24	6	Hammond Small	
24	6	Dick Richards	
24		Sam Gardner	
24	6	Sam Green	
24	8	Martin Greenhill	(Signed) Wm Barrett
26	8	Richard Darby	(Signed) Ford Shaffer
	10	Sam Camel	

TITLE OF CONTRACT: J.H. Barrett with Freed people

DATE OF CONTRACT: March 22, 1867

Bailey's Island Plantation

NAMES OF FREEDPERSONS

Wm. Williams
 David Williams
 Louisa Williams
 Bob Seabrook
 Nannie Seabrook
 Jane Peters
 Jos. Lambert
 Daniel Turner
 John W. Hall
 Simon Williams
 Frank Hayward
 Di Hayward
 Joe Holmes
 Scipio Holmes
 Jos. Prater
 Frank Johnson
 Gabe Murrel
 Paul Blunt
 Munday McKee
 Cyrus Allston
 Hammond Small
 Dick Richards
 Sam Gardner
 Sam Green
 Martin Greenhill
 Richard Darby
 Sam Camel

U.S., Freedmen's Bureau Records, 1865-1878, Ancestry.com. U.S., Freedmen's Bureau Records, 1865-1878 [database on-line]. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2021; Freedmen's Labor Contract Berkeley County, SC, 1867, Records of the Field Offices for the State of South Carolina, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1872, NARA Record

Group 105, MC 1910, Reel 62, Target 4, <https://lowcountryafricana.com/berkeley-county-freedmens-labor-contract-slaveholder-surnames-beginning-b/> accessed 5 May 2022.

The following names are some of formerly enslaved persons who claimed land at William Bailey’s plantations and Riverside Plantation (once owned by C. E Bailey):

Table 10: “Freedmen's Land Certificates Issued from Edisto Island, South Carolina by Mr. Alden, Agt. of Bureau”⁵⁵

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

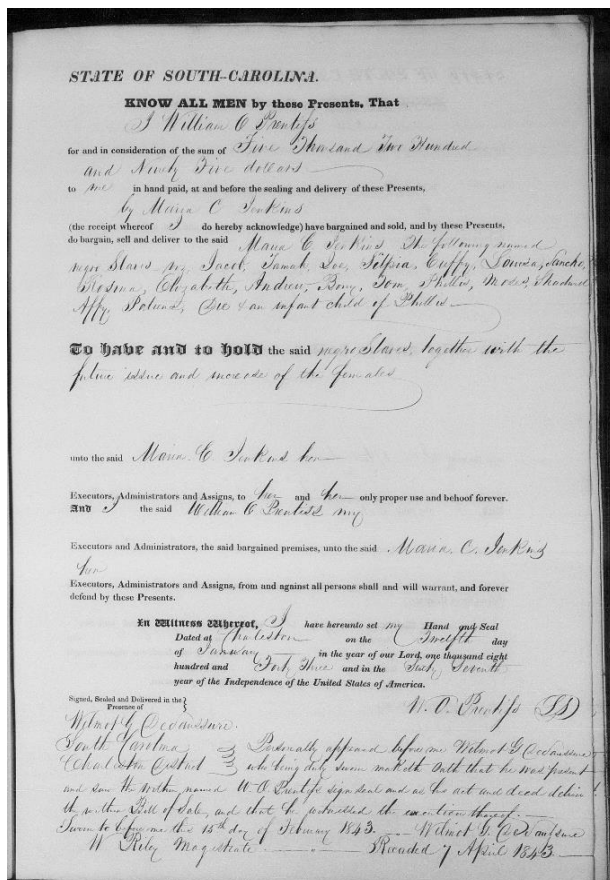
⁵⁵ Freedmen's Land Certificates Issued from Edisto Island, South Carolina by Mr. Alden, Agt. of Bureau, <http://freedmensbureau.com/georgia/landtitles/landregister2d.htm>, accessed 21 May 2022. Also included on page 59 of the Scott Trust Legacies of Enslavement Report.

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 (See page 60 of the Scott Trust Legacies of Enslavement Report). The Prentiss family were a prominent enslaver family who owned plantations in Colleton County, Fripp Island and St Helena Island. The names of several enslaved persons connected to the son of Jeffrey Otis Prentiss and Sarah Harriet Reynolds, Rev. William Otis Prentiss (1814-1897), were located through 'Bill of sales of Negro slaves, 1799-1872, Charleston District, South Carolina'.

An 1843 'Bill of sales of Negro slaves, 1799-1872, Charleston District, South Carolina' (image below) shows that William O. Prentiss sold the following 19 enslaved persons to Maria? C. Jenkins for \$5295 ⁵⁶ :

Table 11: Names of the Enslaved Persons from an 1843 'Bill of sales of Negro slaves, 1799-1872, Charleston District, South Carolina' from W.O. Prentiss to Maria? C. Jenkins. ⁵⁷



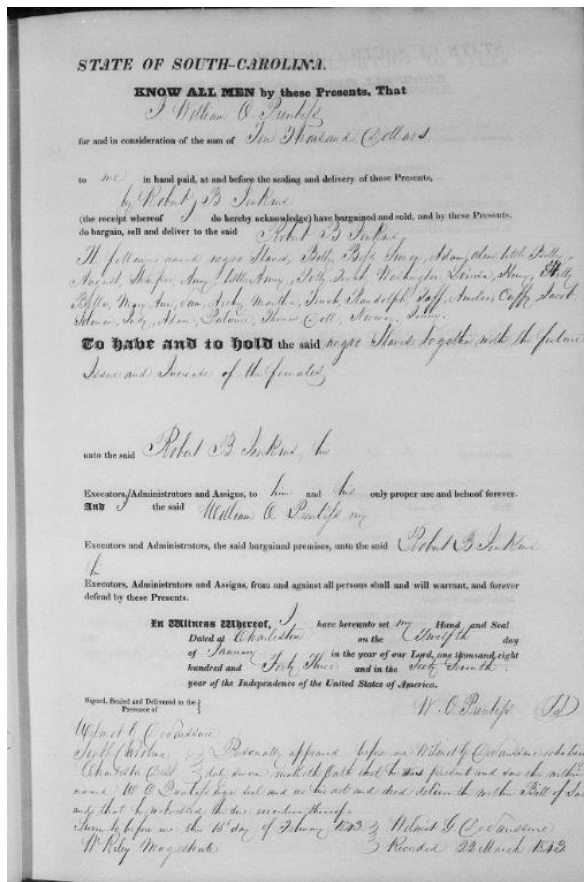
Names of Enslaved Persons
Jacob
Jamah?
Joe
Selpia
Cuffy
Louisa
Sancho
Rosina
Elisabeth
Andrew
Bony
Tom
Phillis
Moses
Shadwell?
Affy
Patience
Dee?
"An infant child of Phillis"

⁵⁶ "South Carolina, Charleston District, Bill of sales of Negro slaves, 1774-1872," database, FamilySearch (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CSK7-1S86-R?cc=3463015>), > image 1 of 1; South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.

⁵⁷ "South Carolina, Charleston District, Bill of sales of Negro slaves, 1774-1872," database, FamilySearch (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CSK7-1S86-R?cc=3463015>), > image 1 of 1; South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.

In 'Bill of sales of Negro slaves, 1799-1872' such as this, it was stated that the buyer would receive: "To have and to hold the said negro Slaves together with the future Issue and Increase of the females".⁵⁸ Another such 'Bill of sale' (see image below) on 12 January 1843 in Charleston, South Carolina lists the names of 33 enslaved persons who were sold by Prentiss to Robert B. Jenkins for \$10,000. Just as stated above, this 'Bill of sale' also included future offsprings and "increase of the females"⁵⁹ :

Table 12: Names of the Enslaved Persons from an 1843 'Bill of sales of Negro slaves, 1799-1872, Charleston District, South Carolina' W.O. Prentiss to Robert B. Jenkins.⁶⁰



Names of Enslaved Persons
Billy
Befs?
Simon
Adam (alias little Billy)
August
Sharper?
Amy
Little Amy
Polly
Jenah
Washington
Linda
Henry
Betty
Bella
Mary Ann
Sam
Archy
Martha
Jenah
Randolph
Baff?
Amelia
Cuffy
Jacob
Solomon
Judy
Adam
Patience
Thomas
Doll
Norway
Jenny

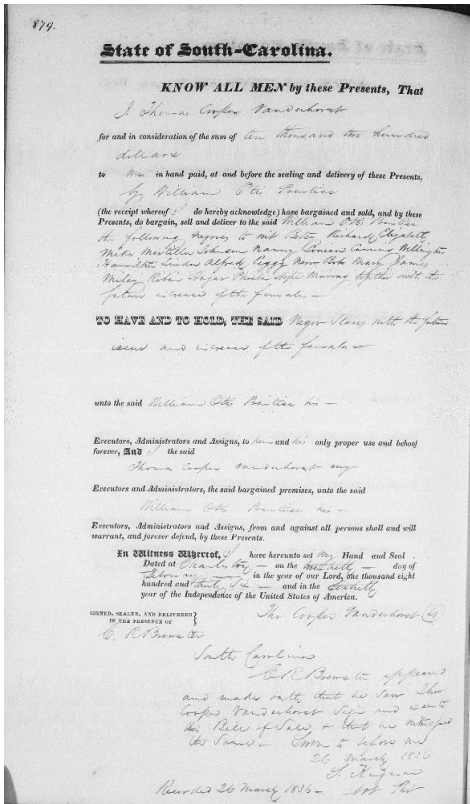
⁵⁸ "South Carolina, Charleston District, Bill of sales of Negro slaves, 1774-1872," database, FamilySearch (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CSK7-1S86-R?cc=3463015>; 5 November 2019), > image 1 of 1; South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.

⁵⁹ "South Carolina, Charleston District, Bill of sales of Negro slaves, 1774-1872," database, FamilySearch (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CSK7-1S8X-H?cc=3463015>; 5 November 2019), > image 1 of 1; South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.

⁶⁰ "South Carolina, Charleston District, Bill of sales of Negro slaves, 1774-1872," database, FamilySearch (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CSK7-1S8X-H?cc=3463015>).

The next 'Bill of sale' is slightly different as William O. Prentiss is the buyer of enslaved persons in this record. The following list depicts the names of 24 enslaved persons purchased by Prentiss from J. Thomas Vanderhorst for \$10,200 in 1836 in Charleston, South Carolina ⁶¹:

Table 13: Names of the Enslaved Persons from an 1836 'Bill of sales of Negro slaves, 1799-1872, Charleston District, South Carolina' from J. Thomas Vanderhorst to W.O. Prentiss⁶²



Names of Enslaved Persons
Betsy
Richard
Elizabeth
Mike
Mirtillu?
Johnsen
Nanny
Louisa
Canning?
Wellington
Hamilton
Linda
Alfred
Peggy
Merv?
Bob
Mary
James
Miley
Robin
Hagar
Phoebe
Hope
Murray

⁶¹"South Carolina, Charleston District, Bill of sales of Negro slaves, 1774-1872," database, FamilySearch (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-N3ZY-QSBY?cc=3463015>; 5 November 2019), > image 1 of 1; South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.

⁶² South Carolina, Charleston District, Bill of sales of Negro slaves, 1774-1872," database, FamilySearch (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QHV-N3ZY-QSBY?cc=3463015>).

Buzzard’s Roost Plantation

Rev. William Otis Prentiss owned Buzzard’s Roost Plantation in St. Bartholomew's Parish, Colleton District, South Carolina, where he enslaved 172 persons.⁶³ The following ‘1850 U.S. Federal Census - Slave Schedule’ provide details on some of the persons enslaved by Prentiss in Colleton County:

Table 14: Details on Persons Enslaved by W.O Prentiss. ‘1850 U.S. Federal Census - Slave Schedules’.⁶⁴

34	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
16	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
16	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
12	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
33	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
23	Male	Mulatto	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
22	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
32	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
22	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
4	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
20	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
1	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
12	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
1	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
50	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton,

⁶³ “Rev. William Otis Prentiss”, <http://freepages.rootsweb.com/~wooddreams/genealogy/GCW-p/p50.htm>, accessed 6 August 2021; Geni, “Rev. William Otis Prentiss”, <https://www.geni.com/people/Rev-William-Otis-Prentiss/6000000013493476124>, accessed 12 May 2022 ; The Historiographer of the National Episcopal Historians and Archivists and the Historical Society of the Episcopal Church and the Episcopal Women’s History Project, p. 8, [https://hsec.us/resources/Documents/The%20Historiographer/Historiographer%202021%20\(2\)%20Spring.pdf](https://hsec.us/resources/Documents/The%20Historiographer/Historiographer%202021%20(2)%20Spring.pdf), accessed 12 May 2022.

⁶⁴ National Archive in Washington DC; Washington, DC; NARA Microform Publication: M432; Title: Seventh Census Of The United States, 1850; Record Group: Records of the Bureau of the Census; Record Group Number: 29.

				South Carolina
45	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
15	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
90	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
24	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
22	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
18	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
14	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
14	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
17	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
6	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
3	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
2	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
6/12	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
90	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
80	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
50	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
54	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
80	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
50	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
54	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
30	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
35	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
33	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton,

				South Carolina
28	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
19	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
5	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
3	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
5	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
70	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
50	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
50	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
30	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
10	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
8	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
6	Female	Mulatto	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
1	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
25	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
22	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
18	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
12	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
6	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
7	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
17	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
12	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
21	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
34	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton,

				South Carolina
36	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
8	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
66	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
50	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
25	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
22	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
10	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
60	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
77	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
40	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
36	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
25	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
20	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
16	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
28	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
60	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
16	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
3	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
2	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
10	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
50	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
14	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
13	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton,

				South Carolina
40	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
12	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
8	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
4	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
3	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
18	Male	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
10	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina
60	Female	Black	W O Prentiss	St Bartholomews Parish, Colleton, South Carolina

The following are details on persons enslaved by a William Prentiss, likely the same W. O. Prentiss, in St Johns Colleton Parish in Charleston, South Carolina:

Table 15: Details on Persons Enslaved by William Prentiss, ‘1850 U.S. Federal Census - Slave Schedules’⁶⁵

21	Male	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
25	Male	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
17	Male	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
23	Male	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
35	Male	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
25	Male	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
30	Male	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
22	Male	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
40	Male	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina

⁶⁵ The National Archive in Washington DC; Washington, DC; NARA Microform Publication: M432; Title: Seventh Census of The United States, 1850; Record Group: Records of the Bureau of the Census; Record Group Number: 29.

35	Male	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
27	Male	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
38	Male	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
18	Male	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
18	Male	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
20	Male	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
15	Male	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
10	Male	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
8	Male	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
9	Male	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
5	Male	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
5	Male	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
2	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
50	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
50	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
35	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
20	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
28	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
54	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
25	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
35	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
34	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
50	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina

37	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
24	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
20	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
35	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
50	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
35	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
25	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
20	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South
10	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
52	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
15	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
7	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
10	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
6	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
3	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
1	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
1	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
3	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
2	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
1	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
3	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
2	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
1	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina

3	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
1	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
1	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
2	Female	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
55	Male	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
26	Male	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
31	Male	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
33	Male	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
24	Male	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
60	Male	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
40	Male	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
35	Male	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina
55	Male	Black	William Prentiss	St Johns Colleton Parish, Charleston, South Carolina

JAMAICA

George William Wood & Caymanas, Jamaica

During the course of the research process, searches were conducted in the ‘Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834’ of Jamaica for persons who were enslaved by George William Wood. The names, age and occupation (field or domestic) of 28 enslaved persons were uncovered in a “Return of Slaves in the Island of Grand Caymans, in the possession of George Wm Wood as owner” on 2nd April 1834.⁶⁶ However, two questions arose from this record in relation to the *Manchester Guardian*- (i) Was this George William Wood the same Wood who was a Funder of the *Manchester Guardian* and partner in textile firm Philips, Wood & Co? (ii) Was this ‘Slave Register’ pertaining to George William Wood of Cayman Islands the same record listed in the *LBS* database under the “George William Wood” who was compensated £495 9s 8d for 28 enslaved people on Caymanas, Jamaica?

These questions mainly arose as genealogical records illustrate that a George William Wood (1773–1834) was a resident enslaver on the Cayman Islands. As such, if this was the person who was in fact listed on the *LBS* database, this would effectively mean that the George William Wood who was a Funder of the *Manchester Guardian* was not an enslaver, at least as far as the ‘Slave Compensation’ records are concerned. Also, a matter of confusion was the fact that Cayman Islands was part of Jamaica at the time of compensation and Caymanas is also a parish in St Catherine parish, Jamaica.

Preliminary research was conducted on George William Wood (1773–1834). Ancestry records show that:

- He was born in Sligo, Ireland
- He married Elizabeth Rebecca Bodden (1790-1823) on 28 October 1823 and then Susanna Dorothy Morton (1808–1898) following the death of his first wife.
- He had four children; John Jarrett Wood (1823–1885), William Waide Wood (1826–1892), Mary Ann Wood (1828–1905), Catherine Wood (1830–1854)⁶⁷

This George William Wood was also a representative of Bodden Town, Cayman Islands and was part of ‘the First Cayman Islands Legislative Assembly of Vestry and Justices’ in December 1831. As shown in the picture below, his name was included as a representative for Bodden

⁶⁶ ‘Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834’, The National Archives of the UK; Kew, Surrey, England; Office of Registry of Colonial Slaves and Slave Compensation Commission: Records; Class: T 71; Piece Number: 243.

⁶⁷ Ancestry, ‘George William Wood’, https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/155832722/person/222285413109/facts?_phsrc=Qix399&_phstart=successSource; accessed 12 May 2022; Geni, ‘Elizabeth Rebecca Wood (Bodden)’, <https://www.geni.com/people/Elizabeth-Wood/6000000090321529024>, accessed 18 May 2022.

Town, in a “Tribute to the Founding Fathers of Democracy and Justice” at Pedro St. James, Cayman Islands.⁶⁸



P. Ann van B. Stafford, 'Historic Cayman', <https://caymannature.wordpress.com/cultural/historis-cayman/>.

In addition to genealogical and secondary research, clarification on this point was sought directly from the *LBS* team. Keith McClelland at the Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery, University College London, confirmed that the George William Wood listed on their database in connection to Caymanas, Jamaica was indeed the same George William Wood listed in the 'Slave Register' as an enslaver of 28 persons on the Cayman Islands. He stated:

“They are the same person. The source of possible confusion is that in the Slave Registers the place is referred to as the Caymans (or Cayman Islands or, as in the register entry you have sent, the 'Island of Grand Caymans'). On the other hand, the Parliamentary Paper which printed the list of claims and claimants, the area is known as the Caymanas. See the attached screenshot of

⁶⁸ P. Ann van B. Stafford, 'Historic Cayman', <https://caymannature.wordpress.com/cultural/historis-cayman/>, accessed 20 May 2022.

the relevant page. ‘Caymanas’ is the term we use as the original listing in our database was a transcription of the PP list”.⁶⁹

From: PP1837-38 (215) *Accounts of slave compensation claims*, p. 79.

MARTIN ANN MORTON

CAYMANAS.

-	-	11	217	9	1	10 Oct. 1835	21	Richard James Bodden	-	8	167	13	2
-	-	7	119	8	8	-	22	Elizabeth M. Bodden	-	8	138	5	8
on	-	4	103	1	3	-	23	John Tharp Jackson	-	2	48	13	11
rson	-	3	82	7	7	-	24	William Thomas Bodden	-	6	85	6	2
sons	-	3	62	10	0	-	25	William Watler	-	18	406	12	2
Parsons	-	2	60	2	3	-	26	William Eden, sen.	-	23	411	19	3
er	-	5	104	13	10	-	27	George E. Merren	-	17	312	10	11
Watler	-	17	305	8	4	-	28	Thomas K. Eden, jun.	-	1	19	10	10
r	-	9	221	15	2	-	29	Mary Bodden	-	45	843	12	-
en,	-	6	143	12	10	-	30	Susanna Watler	-	7	128	10	3
Nutler	-	4	81	7	0	-	31	James Hunter Wood	-	29	529	5	3
i Eden, sen.	-	15	279	18	4	-	32	Nathaniel U. B. Glover	-	34	624	7	8
ison	-	12	215	15	-	-	33	Joseph Bodden, sen.	-	27	462	2	3
a	-	10	200	4	1	-	34	John Michael Webster	-	39	750	18	11
Bodden	-	16	287	12	5	-	35	William Bodden, jun.	-	13	239	6	8
n	-	1	12	10	2	-	36	Waldo Watler Bodden	-	23	479	-	2
-	-	33	580	3	7	-	37	George William Wood	-	28	495	9	8
-	-	7	123	15	4	18 Mar. 1837	38	Waldo Watler Bodden & -	-	16	181	19	7
Jackson	-	6	107	14	1	19 Oct. 1835	39	Susanna Ann Morton	-	1	84	11	0
, sen.	-	11	193	4	5			Ann Greenwood	-	5			

(continued)

It is therefore safe to conclude that the George William Wood listed on the *LBS* database was not George William Wood (1781-1843), Funder of the *Manchester Guardian* and associate of John Edward Taylor but instead, George William Wood (1773–1834), a resident enslaver on the Cayman Islands who was memorialised as one of the “Founding Fathers of Democracy and Justice” on the island.

⁶⁹ Keith McClelland, ‘Re: George William Wood’, Received by Cassandra Gooptar, 18-19 May 2022.

Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica

As highlighted in the Taylor Report, Sir George Philips had both indirect and direct links with slavery. This section is concerned with his direct links and role as an enslaver in Hanover, Jamaica. George Philips was a partner in Boddington, Sharp and Philips, “a firm of West India merchants, with lucrative trading operations in sugar and other goods”,⁷⁰ that was itself a major recipient of compensation for enslaved persons.⁷¹ Philip’s partner in this firm, Samuel Boddington, was “one of the top thirty mercantile awardees of slave compensation”.⁷² Success was the name of the Hanover, Jamaica estate registered to Boddington, Philips & Co and where Philips enslaved over 100 enslaved persons.⁷³

Sir George Philips is registered as an unsuccessful claimant of £1904 19s 10d (RPW: £189,000) for 108 enslaved persons on Success estate.⁷⁴ See pages 21 to 23 of the Taylor Report for the full case study on Sir George Philips.

Utilising ‘Slave Registers’, ‘Runaway’ Ads and trial accounts on ‘rebellions’, the names of over 100 enslaved persons on Success estate were unearthed. The tables below depict the names of the enslaved persons who were forced to work on Success plantation, growing and harvesting sugar for the profit of Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co. from the years 1817-1829.

The following names were found in the ‘Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834’ for Jamaica, Hanover. Importantly, it notes the names of 105 persons (52 males and 53 females) who were enslaved on Success estate in 28th June 1817. At the time, the estate was in the “possession of William Stanford Grignon as attorney of Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co mortgagees in possession of Success Estate”.⁷⁵ It offers a wealth of information and a glimpse as to who were the enslaved people who paid the price for Philips’ West Indian sugar interests and profits.

⁷⁰ A. C. Howe, "Philips, Sir George, first baronet (1766–1847), textile industrialist and politician." *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/38689>, accessed 12 May 2022; 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.

⁷¹ Catherine Hall, et al. *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership: Colonial Slavery and the Formation of Victorian Britain*, Cambridge University Press, 2014, p. 90; T71/872 Hanover no.66.

⁷² 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.

⁷³ 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.

⁷⁴ LBS, “Jamaica Hanover 66”, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/14920>, accessed 03 Oct 2020.

⁷⁵ Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834, Ancestry.com. *Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2007; Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834, The National Archives of the UK; Kew, Surrey, England; Office of Registry of Colonial Slaves and Slave Compensation Commission: Records; Class: T 71; Piece Number: 190.

The ‘Return of Slaves’ depicted below provide identifying details such as names, birth date/age and additional remarks which include disabilities, whether they were ‘runaways’ and the names of their parents.

**Table 16: Names and other Details of Enslaved Males on Success Estate on 28 June 1817
Based on Data obtained from Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834 ⁷⁶**

Names	Birth Date	Age	Year	Estate	Enslaver	Additional Details: listed as “Remarks”, “Increase” & “Decrease”
Andrew	abt 1793	24	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Adam	abt 1752	45	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Runaway
Robert Reed	abt 1762	55	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Archy Gordon	abt 1767	50	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Blind
Bacchus	abt 1808	9	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Son of Francis
Boatswain	abt 1813	4	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Son of Sucals Minba?
Ben	abt 1809	5	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Son of Pluttles?

⁷⁶ Ancestry.com. Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834 [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2007. Original data: Office of Registry of Colonial Slaves and Slave Compensation Commission: Records; (The National Archives Microfilm Publication T71).

Cairo	abt 1773	44	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Cato	abt 1777	40	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
William Shruves	abt 1777	40	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Cupid	abt 1813	40	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Cuffie	abt 1777	40	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Cyrus	abt 1781	36	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Cudjoe	abt 1794	23	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Cromwell	abt 1796	21	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Son of Calypso Cortaby?
Charles	abt 1811	6	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Son of Piggy
Dryden	abt 1765	52	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Essex	abt 1801	16	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Son of Rose

George	abt 1785	32	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Garrick	abt 1752	65	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Harry	abt 1777	40	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Son of Lucy
Hampshire	abt 1808	9	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Son of Flavia
Hannibal	abt 1816	6 months	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Son of Phillis
James Maxfield	abt 1792	25	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Son of Ann Mowatt
Julius	abt 1765	52	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Isaac	abt 1757	60	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Joe	abt 1760	57	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Jupiter	abt 1793	24	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
John	abt 1816	1 month	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Son of Rory

Lewis	abt 1775	42	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Son of ?
Liberty	abt 1808	9	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Mercury	abt 1777	40	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Mungo	abt 1779	38	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Nero	abt 1816	8 months	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Son of Deborah
Primus	abt 1789	28	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Son of Lucy
Providence	abt 1779	38	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Philander	abt 1793	24	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Son of Lucy
Purcy	abt 1801	16	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Son of Bella
Rodney	abt 1785	32	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Son of Mary Ann
Richard Curtis	abt 1769	48	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Son of Old Cilia?

Richard	abt 1794	23	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Son of Bella
Robert	abt 1799	18	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Son of Diana
Roger	abt 1782	35	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Robert	abt 1801	16	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Son of Rosey?
Stephen	abt 1757	60	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Solomon	abt 1762	55	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Sam	abt 1797	20	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Titus	abt 1780	37	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Thomas	abt 1807	10	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Son of Rosey?
Titus	abt 1809	8	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Sone of Leah?
William Mowatt	abt 1779	38	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Son of Celia

York	abt 1775	42	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
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**Table 17: Names and other Details of Enslaved Females on Success Estate on 28 June 1817
Based on Data obtained from Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834 ⁷⁷**

Names	Birth Date	Age	Year	Estate	Enslaver	Additional Details: listed as “Remarks”, “Increase” & “Decrease”
Amey	abt 1777	40	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Amelia	abt 1789	28	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Almyda	abt 1772	45	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Basheba	abt 1780	37	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Bella	abt 1773	44	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Celia	abt 1777	40	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Chloe	abt 1789	28	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Christmas	abt 1801	16	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Daughter of Hoggy?
Cynthia	abt 1784	33	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	

⁷⁷ Ancestry.com. Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834 [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2007. Original data: Office of Registry of Colonial Slaves and Slave Compensation Commission: Records; (The National Archives Microfilm Publication T71)boyd.

Clara	abt 1785	32	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Celia	abt 1775	42	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Calypso	abt 1775	42	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Cuba	abt 1787	30	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Charlotte	abt 1807	10	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Diana	abt 1784	33	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Deborah	abt 1785	32	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Dinah	abt 1810	7	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Daughter of Maggy?
Eliza	abt 1808	7	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Daughter of Bella
Little Ellen	abt 1805	12	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Daughter of Polly
Fanny	abt 1787	30	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Flavia	abt 1775	43	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Frances	abt 1777	40	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Hannah	abt 1781	36	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Hannah	abt 1806	11	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Daughter of ?

Hester?	abt 1781	36	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Jacintha	abt 1781	26	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Daughter of Mary Ann
Juba	abt 1781	36	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Daughter of June
Juno	abt 1752	65	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Kitty	abt 1809	8	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Daughter of Rosey
Leah	abt 1787	30	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Lilly	abt 1780	37	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Old Lucy	abt 1752	65	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Old Lavina	abt 1757	60	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Ann Mowatt	abt 1757	60	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Mary Ann	abt 1765	52	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Myra	abt 1783	34	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Moggy	abt 1780	37	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Daughter of Lucy
Kecass Memba?	abt 1787	30	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Farm Mimba	abt 1793	24	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	

Mary	abt 1802	15	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Daughter of Hesther
Polly	abt 1792	25	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Daughter of Ann Mowatt
Prudence	abt 1777	40	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Phillis	abt 1781	36	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Daughter of Old Cilia
Pastera	abt 1804	13	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Daughter of Lilly
Prudence	abt 1805	12	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Daughter of Moggy
Phibba	abt 1807	10	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Daughter of Rose
Phoebe	abt 1806	11	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Daughter of Ann Mowat
Rosy	abt 1782	35	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Daughter of Ann Mowat
Rose	abt 1772	45	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Sabina	abt 1785	32	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Stella	abt 1775	42	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Susan	abt 1813	4	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Daughter of Cleo?
Tard	abt 1799	18	1817	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Daughter of Cuba?

The following table shows the names and details of the enslaved people on Success estate in 28th June 1820. This “Return of Slaves” stated that the “Number of Slaves on the 28th day of June

1820” was 100, with their being 4 “Births since last return” and 9 “Deaths since last return” or as it was generically recorded, “Increase Four” and “Decrease Nine”. As such, some of the names from the 1817 list of enslaved persons may be repeated in the below 1820 ‘Slave Register’. This Return also refers to Philips’ firm as mortgagees in possession:

“I William Stanford Grignon do swear that the above list and return is a true perfect and complete list and return to the best of my knowledge and belief in every particulars therein mentioned of all and every slave and slaves possessed by me as Attorney to Boddington Philips Sharp & Co. Mortgagees in possession of Success Estate considered as most permanently settled worked on and employed in the parish of Hanover on the 18th day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred twentey without fraud deceit or evasion so help me God”.⁷⁸

**Table 18: Names and other Details of Enslaved Males on Success Estate on 28 June 1820
Based on Data obtained from Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834 ⁷⁹**

Names	Birth Date	Age	Year	Estate	Enslaver	Additional Details: listed as “Remarks”, “Increase”, “Decrease”
Cato	abt 1780	40	1820	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Death
Cuffee	abt 1780	40	1820	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Death
Garrick	abt 1755	65	1820	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Death
Mungo	abt 1782	38	1820	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Death
Martin	abt 1818	2	1820	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Son of ?
July	abt 1819	1	1820	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Son of Phibba?

⁷⁸ Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834, The National Archives of the UK; Kew, Surrey, England; Office of Registry of Colonial Slaves and Slave Compensation Commission: Records; Class: T 71; Piece Number: 191.

⁷⁹ Former British Colonial Dependencies, The National Archives of the UK, Piece Number: 191.

**Table 19: Names and other Details of Enslaved Females on Success Estate on 28 June 1820
Based on Data obtained from Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834 ⁸⁰**

Names	Birth Date	Age	Year	Estate	Enslaver	Additional Details: listed as “Remarks”, “Increase”, “Decrease”
Celia	abt 1760	60	1820	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Death
Old Lavina	abt 1760	60	1820	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Death
Mary Ann	abt 1768	52	1820	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Death
Stella	abt 1778	42	1820	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Death
Susan	abt 1816	4	1820	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Daughter of Clara-- Death
Sarah	abt 1819	6 months	1820	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Daughter of Rosey
Abba	abt 1819	6 months	1820	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Daughter of Phillis

The names depicted thus far represent the people who were enslaved by Philips and who contributed to his wealth at the time the *Manchester Guardian* was founded in 1821, with the help of Philips as a Funder.

The following lists give the names of enslaved persons on Success estate on 28 June 1823, when they were still “in the possession of William Stanford Grignorn as attorney to Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co”.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Former British Colonial Dependencies, The National Archives of the UK, Piece Number: 191.

**Table 20: Names and other Details of Enslaved Males on Success Estate on 28 June 1823
Based on Data obtained from Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834 ⁸²**

Names	Birth Date	Age	Year	Estate	Enslaver
Toby	abt 1789	34	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co
Robert	abt 1789	34	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co
Harry alias Henry Colman	abt 1787	36	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co
Hamlet alias John Colman	abt 1795	28	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co
Duncan alias Tom Smith	abt 1782	41	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co
Wilson alias Cornelius Colman	abt 1795	28	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co
Archy alias Archibald Campbell	abt 1794	29	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co
London alias William Kerr	abt 1795	28	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co
Mackivalius? Alias Michael Colman	abt 1767	56	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co
Ned	abt 1787	36	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co
Mark alias Dugald Campbell	abt 1795	28	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co
Primus alias Augustus Colman	abt 1799	24	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co
Justice? Alias Henry Ellard	abt 1797	26	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co
Caesar	abt	26	1823	Success Estate, Hanover,	Boddington, Philips,

⁸¹ Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834, The National Archives of the UK; Kew, Surrey, England; Office of Registry of Colonial Slaves and Slave Compensation Commission: Records; Class: T 71; Piece Number: 192.

⁸² Former British Colonial Dependencies, The National Archives of the UK, Piece Number: 192.

	1797			Jamaica	Sharpe & Co
Sam alias Samuel Kerr	abt 1807	16	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co
Bob alias Alexr Mckenzie	abt 1809	14	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co
Charly alias Charles Cross?	abt 1812	11	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co
Edward alias Edwd Vernon	abt 1815	8	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co
William Cornelius Colman	abt 1819	4	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co

**Table 21: Names and other Details of Enslaved Females on Success Estate on 28 June 1823
Based on Data obtained from Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834 ⁸³**

Names	Birth Date	Age	Year	Estate	Enslaver
Flavia	abt 1791	32	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co
Molly alias Catherine Colman	abt 1767	56	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co
Daphne alias Elizabeth Campbell	abt 1787	36	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co
Peggy alias Susan Colman	abt 1789	34	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co
Nanny alias Eliza Davison	abt 1798	25	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co
Nelly alias Eleanor Wallace	abt 1806	17	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co

According to this 1823 ‘Slave Register’, there was an “increase” of 25 enslaved persons and “decrease” of one enslaved person.

⁸³ Former British Colonial Dependencies, The National Archives of the UK, Piece Number: 192.

Another “Return of Slaves” for the same date, 28th June 1823 exists where the following names and details were given. Interestingly the Christened names of some of the enslaved women on the plantation can be seen:

**Table 22: Names and other Details of Enslaved Males on Success Estate on 28 June 1823
Based on Data obtained from Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834 ⁸⁴**

Names	Birth Date	Age	Year	Estate	Enslaver	Additional Details: listed as “Remarks”, “Increase”, “Decrease”
Joe alias Joseph Gordon	abt 1761	62	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Death
Jupiter	abt 1795	28	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Death
Stephen	abt 1759	64	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Death

**Table 23: Names and other Details of Enslaved Females on Success Estate on 28 June 1823
Based on Data obtained from Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834 ⁸⁵**

Names	Birth Date	Age	Year	Estate	Enslaver	Additional Details: listed as “Remarks”, “Increase”, “Decrease”
Charlotte	abt 1808	15	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Daughter of Hester/Death
Fanny	abt 1787	36	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Death
Old Lucy	abt 1753	70	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Death
Mিনny alias Ann Mowatt	abt 1758	65	1823	Success Estate,	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe	Death

⁸⁴ Former British Colonial Dependencies, The National Archives of the UK, Piece Number: 192.

⁸⁵ Former British Colonial Dependencies, The National Archives of the UK, Piece Number: 192.

				Hanover, Jamaica	& Co	
Prudence	abt 1806	17	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Daughter of Moggy/Death
Mary Ewbank	abt 1822	1	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	(Daughter of) Success? Mimba now Christened Polly Anglia Scarlett
Ellen Lawrence Scarlett	abt 1822	1	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	(Daughter of) Mary now Becky Lawrence Scarlett
Ann Mowatt Hill	abt 1822	1	1823	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	(Daughter of) Rosey now Smart Mowatt Maxwell

According to this ‘Return of Slaves’, the number of “Males by last return” was 50, the number of “Females by last return” was 50 and the “Total by last return” was 100. It further details that the:

“Number of Slaves on the Twenty Eight day of June 1823. Ninety Five.
Births since last Return-Three
Deaths since last Return-Eight ”. ⁸⁶

The following “Return of Slaves” highlights the names of enslaved persons on Success estate on the 28th June 1829. At this time the plantation and the enslaved people were still “in the possession of William Stanford Grignon as attorney of Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co”.⁸⁷

**Table 24: Names and other Details of Enslaved Males on Success Estate on 28 June 1829
Based on Data obtained from Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834 ⁸⁸**

Names	Birth Date	Age	Year	Estate	Enslaver	Additional Details: listed as “Remarks”, “Increase”, “Decrease”
Roger?	abt 1783	46	1829	Success Estate, Hanover,	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Death

⁸⁶ Former British Colonial Dependencies, The National Archives of the UK, Piece Number: 192.

⁸⁷ Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834, The National Archives of the UK; Kew, Surrey, England; Office of Registry of Colonial Slaves and Slave Compensation Commission: Records; Class: T 71; Piece Number: 194.

⁸⁸ Former British Colonial Dependencies, The National Archives of the UK, Piece Number: 194.

				Jamaica		
Seton	abt 1782	47	1829	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Death
William Coleman	abt 1828	1	1829	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
Archy Gordon	abt 1826	3	1829	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
William Lawrence Scarlett	abt 1827	2 ½	1829	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	
James Maxwell Hill	abt 1828	1	1829	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	

**Table 25: Names and other Details of Enslaved Females on Success Estate on 28 June 1823
Based on Data obtained from Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834 ⁸⁹**

Names	Birth Date	Age	Year	Estate	Enslaver	Additional Details: listed as “Remarks”, “Increase”, “Decrease”
Diana	abt 1784	45	1829	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	Death
Eve	abt 1827	2	1829	Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica	Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co	

This Register states that the “Males by last return” was 47 and the “Females” were 48, with a “Total by last return” of 95 enslaved persons. The “Births since last return” were 5 and “Deaths since last return” were three. As of 28th June 1829, the number of enslaved persons recorded on Success plantation were 97. ⁹⁰

Following 1829, later “Return of Slaves”, likely for the same estate (given that some of the names of the enslaved persons are the same) lists “William Reynolds as attorney to Messrs Boddington + Davis” on 28th June 1832. ⁹¹ No records of Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co in the ‘Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834’ pertaining to Hanover, Jamaica were found post 1829. This indicates that Philips’ last known association with Success

⁸⁹ Former British Colonial Dependencies, The National Archives of the UK, Piece Number: 194.

⁹⁰ Former British Colonial Dependencies, The National Archives of the UK, Piece Number: 194.

⁹¹ Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834, The National Archives of the UK; Kew, Surrey, England; Office of Registry of Colonial Slaves and Slave Compensation Commission: Records; Class: T 71; Piece Number: 198.

estate was in 1829, after which the plantation was registered to Boddington & Co. and Boddington & Davis.⁹² Therefore, the names of the enslaved persons depicted above spanned from the known years of Sir George Philips' known association as mortgagee-in-possession of the enslaved people on Success estate, Hanove, Jamaica, 1817 to 1829.

'Runaway' & 'Apprehended Deserters' Ads

The names of enslaved persons associated with Success estate were also found in 'runaway' *Royal Gazette of Jamaica* newspaper ads. The following ads are illustrative of 'apprehended deserters' who were 'runaways' from Success estate.

These ads underscore a disturbing reality of enslavement in the West Indies; workhouses. 'Runaways', when they were 're-captured', were deemed 'apprehended deserters' and held in workhouses until they were "claimed" and taken back to the estates.⁹³

Additionally, the ads below highlight the years 1815 and 1825 to 1827. As such, two of the names highlighted below correspond with names found in the above captioned 'Return of Slaves' lists.

In Westmorland Workhouse, Sept. 26, 1815.		
John Donald, an Eboe, no mark, to Miss Maria Daly, Kingston; says his mistress is gone to England	June 26	
Maria, a creole, no mark, to Miss Williams, St. Elizabeth's	July 28	
Betsy, an Eboe, mark not plain on both shoulders, to Miss Molly, a black woman, White-Mill settlement, St. Elizabeth's	Aug. 17	
Diana, a creole, no mark, to Mr. George Grant, Retirement Pen, Hanover	—	
Bristol, a creole boy, no mark, to Mr. Gayner, Ramble Pen, Trelaway	28	
Aysidah, a Corgo, no mark, to Miss Edwards, Black-River	Sept. 3	
Prince, a creole, no mark, to Prospect estate, Hanover	20	
Teresa, a creole, no mark, to same owner	—	
Aurelia , a Chunba, mark not plain on left shoulder, to Mr. Gordon, Success estate, Hanover	21	

Royal Gazette of Jamaica - Saturday 07 October 1815.

⁹² 'Success [Jamaica | Hanover]', *Legacies of British Slavery database*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/7446>, accessed 26 May 2022; 'Boddington & Co.', *Legacies of British Slavery database* <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/firm/view/-1616666440>, accessed 26 May 2022; 'Sir George Philips', *Legacies of British Slavery database*, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/1844309632>, accessed 26 May 2022.

⁹³ Iain Whyte, *Zachary Macaulay 1768-1838: The Steadfast Scot in the British Anti-Slavery Movement*, Volume 5 of Liverpool Studies in International Slavery, Liverpool University Press, 2011, p. 187.

The ad above illustrates the name of an enslaved person, **Aurelia**, who was described as a “runaway”. The name of his enslaver “Mr Gordon” and plantation, “Success estate, Hanover” is also listed in the ad. William Gordon and his heirs were the owners of Success estate from 1815 to 1817.⁹⁴ The ad also contains ‘identifying markers’ such as a scar; “a mark not plain on left shoulder” and Aurelia’s ethnicity “Chamba”.⁹⁵

The ads below show that Aurelia was seemingly still in the Westmoreland Workhouse on 5 October 1815 but was moved to a Hanover Workhouse by 24 October 1815.⁹⁶

T. Rendon, Sup.

In Westmoreland Workhouse, Oct. 5, 1815.

John Donald, an Eboe, no mark, to Miss Maria Daly, Kingston; says his mistress is gone to England June 26

Maria, a creole, no mark, to Miss Williams, St. Elizabeth's July 28

Betsey, an Eboe, mark not plain on both shoulders, to Miss Molly, a black woman, White-Hill settlement, St. Elizabeth's Aug. 17

Digna, a creole, no mark, to Mr. George Grant, Retirement Pen, Hanover

Alvidal, a Congo, no mark, to Miss Edwards, Black-River Sept. 5

Aurelia, a Chamba, mark not plain on left shoulder, to Mr. Gordon, Success estate, Hanover 21

Jamaica, ss.—The above is just and true, to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Jacob Pessoa, Sup.

Royal Gazette of Jamaica - Saturday 14 October.

In Hanover Workhouse, Oct. 24, 1815.

Robert, a creole, 5 feet 6 inches, marked CRH on left shoulder, and has a sore hand, to Mr David Archer, St. Ann's Aug. 11

Peter, a Congo, 5 feet, to Blackness estate, Westmorland Oct. 18

Flavia, a Congo, 5 feet, to Susanna Johnston, Montego-Bay

Hannah, a Congo, 5 feet 1½ inch, to Mr. Hick, Masemuir, Westmorland 21

Aurelia, to Success estate, Hanover

John, a Congo, 5 feet, to Mr. Falconer, Mergan's Bridge 26

Jamaica, ss.—The above is a just and true list, to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Robert Ruxza, Sup.

Royal Gazette of Jamaica - Saturday 04 November 1815.

Another advert in the *Royal Gazette of Jamaica* shows an enslaved woman, **Nanny Grignon**, also described as a “Chamba”. Another marker cited in the ad was Nanny’s “large scar on right shoulder”. Grignon, who was the attorney for Boddington, Philips, Sharpe & Co of Success estate was also named in the “Apprehended Deserters” ad.⁹⁷ An enslaved woman named Nanny alias Eliza Davison (b. 1798) was depicted above in Table 21, on the 28 June 1823 ‘Slave Register’ for Success Estate.

⁹⁴ Success [Jamaica | Hanover], LBS.

⁹⁵ Royal Gazette of Jamaica - Saturday 08 July 1815.

⁹⁶ Royal Gazette of Jamaica - Saturday 14 October 1815; Royal Gazette of Jamaica - Saturday 04 November 1815.

⁹⁷ Royal Gazette of Jamaica - Saturday 10 February 1827.

In Hanover Workhouse, Jan. 20, 1827.

Nanny Grignon, a Chamba, 5 feet 2 inches, mark.
CV or GN on left, and a large scar on right
shoulder, to Mr. Grignon, or Success estate 17

Royal Gazette of Jamaica - Saturday 10 February 1827.

‘Runaway’ ads included descriptions on physical features such as scars, clothes but also language and ethnicity. Analysis of a sample of 1,145 enslaved persons whose African ethnicity was named in the “Royal Gazette (Kingston) Jan. 1791–Feb. 1792, and Cornwall Chronicle (Montego-Bay) Jan.–Dec. 1814”, ‘runaway’ and ‘apprehended deserters’ ads, revealed that “only nine major groupings account for 94 per cent of all Africans with a named ethnicity”. These ethnic groups included “Mandingo, Coromantee, Chamba, Papa, Nago, Eboe, Moko, Mungola, Congo”.⁹⁸ Though ascriptive in nature and representative of a colonialist means to group enslaved Africans into ‘types’, Aurelia and Nanny’s stated ethnicity does provide some insight to his African ancestry. Contemporary definitions of the Chamba state that:

“The Chamba are an ethnic group composed of speakers of two quite different languages belonging to the Niger-Congo family. In ethnographic literature, these languages are traditionally called Daka and Leko ... [and] speakers of many dialects of both of these languages identify themselves as members of the Chamba ethnic group ... Chambaland, i.e. the central Chamba area, where the majority of the Chamba live, straddles the present border between Nigeria and Cameroon”.⁹⁹

The following advert depicts an enslaved woman named **Nancy**, “a creole, 5 feet, to Success estate, Hannover”. ‘Creole’ “in the British Caribbean this term was used to describe anyone born or raised in the region”.¹⁰⁰ This term is used differently today in local Caribbean colloquial

⁹⁸ Douglas B. Chambers (comp. and ed.), ‘Abstracts of Jamaican Fugitive Slave Advertisements, ca.1791–1814: A Compilation from Original Sources’ (TMs, Special Collections, Campus Library, University of the West Indies [Mona], Kingston, Jamaica, 1999), passim”; Long, pp.376, 379, 403–4, 427; D.B. Chambers (2001) Ethnicity in the Diaspora: The Slave-Trade and the Creation of African ‘Nations’ in the Americas, *Slavery and Abolition*, 22:3, pp. 28, 37.

⁹⁹ Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, *Ghana: Chamba (Tchamba) ethnic group; whether there has been a chieftancy dispute in since 1994*, 21 October 2002, GHA40267.E, <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3f7d4d9923.html>, accessed 27 May 2022; Raymond Boyd, 1994. *Historical Perspectives on Chamba Daka*. Edited by Jungraithmayr, Herrmann and Cyffer, Norbert.

¹⁰⁰ The National Archives, ‘Glossary’, <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/slavery/pdf/glossary.pdf>, accessed 17 May 2022.

dialect, however, in the past and in 'Slave Registers' such as in the case of Success estate, the enslaved people were labelled as either 'Creole' or 'African'.

In Westmorland Workhouse, Feb. 13, 1827.
Robert, a creole, 5 feet 5 inches, marked GGS, to
Mount-Pleasant, St. Elizabeth's Jan. 5
John Onslow, a Papa, 5 feet 6 inches, to Whitehall
estate, St. Thomas' in the East, belonging to
Lord Onslow 5
Nancy, a creole, 5 feet, to Success estate, Hanno-
ver Feb. 9
Jamaica, ss.—The above is just and true, to the
best of my knowledge and belief.
ARCH. WEIR, Sup.

Royal Gazette of Jamaica - Saturday 24 February 1827.

Sam Kerr was another enslaved person associated with Success estate and recorded as an 'apprehended deserter' in an 1826 *Royal Gazette of Jamaica* ad. He was described as a "creole boy, 5 feet 3 inches". This was likely the same Sam Kerr who is listed in the 28 June 1823 'Slave Register' depicted above in Table 20. He would have been about 19 years old.

In Hanover Workhouse, April 4, 1826.
William Lawrence, a creole, 5 feet 6 inches, coal
black, to a black man named John Trent Phil-
lips, Clarendon April 3
Sam Kerr, a creole boy, 5 feet 3 inches, to Success
estate
Jamaica, ss.—I do swear that the above is the
only apprehended deserter in this Workhouse, to the
best of my knowledge and belief.
Wm. Kinnross, Sup.
Sworn before me, this 4th April, 1826.
Alex. Campbell.

*Royal Gazette of Jamaica - Saturday 29 April 1826; Royal
Gazette of Jamaica - Saturday 15 April 1826.*

The following ads name an enslaved man, **Phoenix**, from Success estate, and provides details on his physical features and scarification; “a creole, 5 feet 4 inches, marked AI on left and R on right shoulder” held in a Hanover Workhouse in September and October 1825.

In Hanover Workhouse, Oct. 4, 1825.

James Lawson, a creole, 5 feet 7½ inches, no mark, to Welcome estate Sept. 15

Phoenix, a creole, 5 feet 4 inches, marked AI on left and R on right shoulder, to Success estate 20

Jamaica, ss—I do swear that the above is the only apprehended deserter in this Workhouse, to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Wm. KINROSS, Sup.

Sworn before me, this 4th October, 1825.

A. Campell.

Royal Gazette of Jamaica - Saturday 15 October 1825.

In Hanover Workhouse, Sept. 20, 1825.

Sam, a Moco, 5 feet 7 inches, marked DM on left shoulder, to Pell-River estate Aug. 20

James Lawson, a creole, 5 feet 7½ inches, no mark, to Welcome estate Sept. 15

Fortune, a creole, 5 feet, marked DI, diamond on top, on left shoulder, to Mr. Hayle 4

Phoenix, a creole, 5 feet 4 inches, marked AI on left and R on right shoulder, to Success estate 20

Jamaica, ss—I do swear that the above is the only apprehended deserter in this Workhouse, to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Wm. KINROSS, Sup.

Royal Gazette of Jamaica - Saturday 08 October 1825.

There is also a tale of an uprising linked to the Success estate. The name of an enslaved man, **Granville**, was unearthed in the *Narrative of certain events connected with the late disturbances in Jamaica, and the charges preferred against the Baptist Missionaries in that Island: being the substance of a letter, etc.*¹⁰¹ The ‘disturbances’ referred to being The Baptist War (1831-1832), also known as the ‘Christmas Rebellion’. Led by Samuel Sharpe and considered one of the largest uprisings in the British West Indies, it involved 60,000 to 300,000 enslaved people. It was labelled the Baptist War since many of the enslaved freedom fighters were Baptist.¹⁰² Granville, who was termed a “prisoner” for his role in the uprising, was a member of a church, the Gurney’s Mount Church.¹⁰³ A Gurney’s Mt. Baptist Church, likely the same Church to which Granville was a member, still exists today in Gurney’s Mount, Great Valley, Hanover, Jamaica. It

¹⁰¹ Thomas F. Abbott (Missionary.), *Narrative of certain events connected with the late disturbances in Jamaica, and the charges preferred against the Baptist Missionaries in that Island: being the substance of a letter, etc.*, Holdsworth & Ball, 1832, p. 33.

¹⁰² Mary Turner, *Slaves and Missionaries: The Disintegration of Jamaican Slave Society, 1787–1834*, University of Illinois Press, 1982; Michael Craton, *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies*, Cornell University Press, 1983; Barry W. Higman, “Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, 1807–1834”, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Autumn, 1985), pp. 365–67; Michael Taylor, *The Interest: How the British Establishment Resisted the Abolition of Slavery*, Random House, 2020; Tom Zoellner, *Island on Fire: The Revolt That Ended Slavery in the British Empire*, Harvard University Press, 2020; BLACKPAST, ‘The Baptist War (1831-1832)’, <https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/baptist-war-1831-1832/>, accessed 19 May 2022; *The Gazette*, ‘This month in history: Samuel Sharpe and the Christmas Rebellion’, <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/all-notices/content/103864>, accessed 19 May 2022.

¹⁰³ Abbott, *Narrative of certain events connected with the late disturbances in Jamaica*, p. 33.

was established in 1830.¹⁰⁴ It is likely that other enslaved persons from Success estate would have been members of its congregation.



Gurney's Mt. Baptist Church, Hanover, Jamaica. Photo courtesy Gurney's Mt. Baptist Church.

Seemingly a Baptist himself, Granville was questioned in around 1832, on whether his ministers encouraged him to “rebel”. He stated that “his ministers, Mr. Burchell and Mr. Abbott, never told him to rebel; on the contrary, they told him to do good”.¹⁰⁵ The Christmas Uprising and the brutality of the plantocracy retaliation is said to have accelerated emancipation.¹⁰⁶ Granville’s story is representative of an important time in Caribbean and British history. It is not known what happened to Granville after he was questioned. Like many other enslaved people, his story and who he was, has been lost.

Exploring who were the enslaved people and attempting to trace their descendants is an ambitious but necessary task, one that is increasingly important in producing a more holistic narrative of Britain’s legacy of slavery and colonialism. It is hoped that the names of the enslaved people highlighted in this report can underscore the perspectives and stories of the enslaved people and allow us to see them; the real people who bore the brunt of Britain’s capitalism and enslavement.

¹⁰⁴ Gurney's Mt. Baptist Church, <https://www.facebook.com/Gurneys-Mt-Baptist-Church-103660211573729/> accessed 24 May 2022; Caribbean Business Directory, ‘Gurney's Mt. Baptist Church’, <https://caribfind.tel/listing/gurney-s-mount-baptist-church.html>, accessed 24 May 2022.

¹⁰⁵ Abbott, *Narrative of certain events connected with the late disturbances in Jamaica*, pp. 32, 33.

¹⁰⁶ Zoellner, *Island on Fire: The Revolt That Ended Slavery in the British Empire*, Harvard University Press, 2020; Claudius K. Fergus, *Revolutionary Emancipation: Slavery and Abolitionism in the British West Indies*, LSU Press, 2013; BLACKPAST, ‘The Baptist War (1831-1832)’, <https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/baptist-war-1831-1832/>, accessed 19 May 2022.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Additional Research

1. As it pertains to the Sea Islands and Taylor's firm, conduct follow-up research on:
 - i. Sea Island enslavers to pinpoint who exactly were the enslavers cited as "J.O Prentiss", "J.F. O'hear", "PP Turnbull C" in the W.G. and J. Strutt Invoice Book, 1822-1825.
 - ii. Identifying what were the plantations and who were the enslavers who supplied Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co with Sea Island cotton from Hutchinson Island and St Simons Island.
 - iii. Uncovering who were the enslaved people associated with these identified enslavers and their Sea Island plantations.
 - iv. Gurney's Mt. Baptist Church, Hanover, Jamaica- contacting the Church, looking at the history of the church, whether other enslaved people from Success estate were members of its congregation, tracing descendants of the enslaved through their church records & oral history.

2. Committing more time and resources to:
 - i. Tracing the descendants of the enslaved people of the Sea Islands who were connected to plantations which supplied Shuttleworth, Taylor & Co. with cotton.
 - ii. Continue research on identifying who were the enslaved people on Success Estate, Hanover, Jamaica and trace their descendants.

This step would partly entail archival research in South Carolina and Jamaica.

Updates to the Taylor Report

3. Amend the Taylor Report and the Scott Trust Legacies of Enslavement Report to reflect updated and new findings, namely on:
 - i. George William Wood
 - ii. The names of the enslaved people of the Sea Islands and Jamaica connected to Taylor's firm and George Philips

These updates should be made by the original authors of the reports.

Public Engagement & Consultation

4. Consult with the descendant communities in Jamaica and the Sea Islands to co-produce outcomes and ascertain how best to remember and acknowledge the role of the enslaved men, women and children who were forced to toil in the name of profits, sugar and cotton.
5. Given the finding on Granville, an enslaved man on Success estate who was connected to the Gurney's Mount Church, efforts should be made to contact Gurney's Mt. Baptist Church, Hanover, Jamaica to discuss possible reparative options.

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