English Heritage properties and the slave trade[1]

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Abstract

This article reveals and explores for the first time the myriad connections found between twenty six English Heritage properties and the history of slavery and abolition. Using the data gathered for an initial survey of all thirty three properties cared for by English Heritage that were built or occupied between c.1640-1840, Kaufmann adumbrates nine categories of potential connections between historic homes and slavery and then summarises the links found for each property, dividing them by strength of connection. It is argued that the links are more varied and complex than traditionally assumed, and that the initial survey suggests that further research into individual properties would prove fruitful in deepening our understanding both of the debt of England's built heritage to slave-generated wealth and the pervasive links to slavery amongst England's landed elite.

The English Heritage website asserts: 'Many country estates and stately homes that were built or extended in the 18th century would have probably been financed, at least in part, by money made from the slave trade.'[2] This idea has been echoed in the media. Actor

[1] This article is based on M Kaufmann, 'English Heritage Properties 1600–1830 and Slavery Connections: A Report Undertaken to Mark the Bicentenary of the Abolition of the British Atlantic Slave Trade' (unpublished report for English Heritage, 2007).
[2] http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/education/resources/slave-trade/country-estates/ , accessed 23 Sept 2012.

Kevin Whately was 'quietly relieved not to have inherited a stately home purchased with the proceeds of the slave trade' after appearing on *Who Do You Think You Are?* in 2009;[3] last year a Gloucestershire woman wrote a poem ending : 'Human life paid the bills for your inherited home/The lucrative transportation of African skin and bone';[4] while a recent comment on the *Guardian* website suggested: 'Maybe Jamaicans can all come here and live in the stately homes the sale of their relatives paid for.'[5]

It is a generalization that requires further investigation, if only in the interest of accurate historical characterization. But, in the interest of contemporary politics, it is even more important that the truth be ascertained, to remove the suspicion of a hidden history, disavowed either by conservative pragmatism or liberal delicacy. In his recent book, Alan Rice cites the example of the Wye plantation house in Maryland near Baltimore, which was the birthplace of abolitionist and author Frederick Douglass. He accused the tour guide of concentrating on 'fixtures and fittings', never mentioning Douglass by name and instead engaging 'in the work of social forgetting', complicit in the 'symbolic annihilation of the black presence in both public and private museum sites throughout North America'. He concludes that 'it is incumbent on heritage sites to include the perspectives of African people in the diaspora when interpreting and memorialising the

[3] http://www.whodoyouthinkyouaremagazine.com/episode/kevin-whately, accessed 23 Sept 2012; http://www.suttonguardian.co.uk/news/4170713.Slave_trade_cash_built_Nonsuch_Mansion/, accessed 23 Sept 2012.
[4] *blackangelwings*, 'Slave trade to Stately Home... A Political Poem', posted 29 May 2011, http://writing.wikinut.com/Slave-trade-to-Stately-Home.....A-Political-Poem/1zqewibx/, accessed 23 Sept 2012.
[5] http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2012/mar/09/jamaicans-love-britain-island-reject-independence, accessed 23 Sept 2012.

past.'[6] Caroline Bressey had a similarly dispiriting experience when visiting Kenwood in 2009, leading her to identify a 'failure to incorporate these dynamic histories of the black presence into everyday understandings of the British landscape.'[7] However, the first step is to research and identify exactly what links each property may have had to the slave trade. Only then can these fascinating histories be properly interpreted and displayed.

Some houses are certainly known to have been built or significantly improved on the proceeds of slavery. David Hancock has shown that those who profited from the trade, such as John Boyd of Danson Park, Bexleyheath, Kent, sought to acquire traditional attributes of gentility to cement their economic and social position.[8] Houses built by slave traders and plantation owners, such as Richard Oswald's Auchincruive in Ayrshire and Henry Lascelles's Harewood House in Yorkshire, both designed by Robert Adam, are prime examples.[9] S D Smith's book on Harewood demonstrated how archives 'neglected for centuries in the confines of a country house' can reveal a forgotten history of colonial

[6] A Rice, *Creating Memorials, Building Identities: The Politics of Memory in the Black Atlantic*, 2010, 10- 14; *Narrative of the life of Frederick Douglass: an American slave*, ed. D E Mcdowell, Oxford, 1999.
[7] C. Bressey, 'Contesting the political legacy of slavery in England's country houses: a case study of Kenwood House and Osborne House' in M Dresser and A Hann, eds., *Slavery and the English Country House*, English Heritage, 2013, 354. Kenwood House will be re-interpreted as a result of the current refurbishment works.
[8] D Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735–1785*, Cambridge, 1995, 292; see also C Pereira, 'Representing the East and West India links to the British country house: the London Borough of Bexley and the wider heritage picture' in Dresser and Hann, op. cit., 380-408.
[9] David Hancock, 'Oswald, Richard (1705?–1784)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004 [hereafter *Oxford DNB*], http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20924, accessed 24 Oct 2008.

connections.[10] Madge Dresser concluded that 30 houses within 5 miles (8km) of Bristol 'can confidently be linked to wealth derived from the African and West Indian trades or to the ownership of slave plantations'.[11] Nick Draper has identified 44 houses linked to families who received compensation for slave property lost in 1834.[12] Simon Smith has found 26 British prestige residences linked to plantations in St Vincent from 1814 to 1834.[13] But 389 new country houses or villas were built in England between 1660 and 1760, and many others were extended or improved.[14] How many more properties have similar connections?

The 2007 bicentenary of the abolition of the British slave trade provided an impetus for many institutions to begin asking these questions. Exhibitions such as 'Harewood 1807', 'Bexley: The Slavery Connection' at Danson House and additional panels on slavery and the black presence at the Georgian House Museum in Bristol began to provide answers.[15]

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[10] S D Smith, *Slavery, Family, and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles, 1648–1834*, Cambridge, 2006, 350.
[11] M Dresser, *Slavery Obscured: The Social History of the Slave Trade in an English Provincial Port*, London and New York, 2001, 113.
[12] N Draper, 'Slave ownership and the British country house: the records of the Slave Compensation Commission as evidence', in Dresser and Hann, op. cit., 37-71.
[13] S D Smith, Slavery's heritage footprint: British prestige residencies with links to plantations in St Vincent, 1814-1834', in Dresser and Hann, op.cit., 200.
[14] Hancock, *Citizens*, cit., 320.
[15] Harewood: http://www.harewood.org/learn/harewood_1807, accessed 19 Sept 2012; Danson: http://www.newsshopper.co.uk/search/3784515.Danson_House_exhibition_details_Bexley_borough___s_links_with_slave_trade_/, accessed 19 Sept 2012; Georgian House Museum (home of the Pinney family): http://www.bristol.gov.uk/node/2916, accessed 19 Sept 2012.

English Heritage staged an exhibition at Kenwood on 'Dido, Slavery and Justice' and created a 'Sites of Memory' trail to show known links throughout England.[16] They also decided to commission a preliminary research project to determine whether links existed between the thirty three properties in its care which were occupied or built during the main period of English slave trading (*c*.1640–1807) and slaving or abolition-related activities.[17] This article is largely based on that research.

Since 2007, further in-depth reports have been commissioned on four English Heritage properties identified as being worthy of further investigation.[18] English Heritage also hosted a conference in 2009 entitled 'Slavery and the British Country House' in conjunction with the National Trust and the University of the West of England.[19] Further research into the subject is ongoing as part of the Legacies of British Slave Ownership

[16] Bressey, op. cit.; 'Dido, Slavery and Justice': http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/discover/people-and-places/the-slave-trade-and-abolition/slavery-and-justice-exhibition-at-kenwood-house/, accessed 24 Sept 2012; Sites of Memory: http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/discover/people-and-places/the-slave-trade-and-abolition/sites-of-memory/, accessed 24 Sept 2012.

[17] Although the British Slave Trade was abolished in 1807, slavery was not abolished in the British Empire until 1834. Thus, connections continued well into the 19th century.

[18] Dr Susanne Seymour and Dr Sheryllynne Haggerty of the University of Nottingham researched Brodsworth Hall and Bolsover Castle; Dr Laurence Brown of the University of Manchester looked at Marble Hill and Northington Grange: http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/discover/people-and-places/the-slave-trade-and-abolition/slavery-and-the-british-country-house/, accessed 24 Sept 2012.

[19] http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/about/multimedia-library/people-and-places/; https://info.uwe.ac.uk/news/uwenews/news.aspx?id=1633, accessed 23 Sept 2012. The Conference proceedings are to be published as M Dresser and A Hann, eds., *Slavery and the English Country House* by English Heritage in 2013.

project at UCL, which lists amongst its interests: 'Physical legacies, cataloguing and assessing the built environment associated with slave-owners, including residential and commercial buildings, public monuments and public spaces.'[20] However, the results of the initial survey of links between English Heritage properties and the history of slavery and abolition have not as yet been published. This is a vital part of the process, as Nick Draper has observed, the 'act of disclosure by an institution of its prior linkages to slavery has itself become the event.'[21] This article then, serves as the first act of disclosure, and attempts to lay out what is currently known as a prompt both to further research by those interested in a particular property and to greater efforts to display this history to the public, so as to remove the label of 'hidden history' forever.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The nature of English Heritage's portfolio means that the thirty three properties investigated form a random sample of English houses, which is not necessarily representative. It excluded crown, military and institutional properties, so the involvement of the monarchy, the armed forces, the church, universities and chartered

[20] UCL Legacies of British Slaveowning project: http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/project, accessed 19 Sept 2012. Further work on such connections is forthcoming in Stephanie Barczewski, *British Country Houses and Empire, 1700-1945 (MUP, 2014)* and Margot Finn et. al. *The East India Company at Home project*: http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/history/ghcc/research/eicah, accessed 24 Sept 2012.
[21] N Draper, *The Price of Emancipation: Slave-Ownership, Compensation and British Society at the End of Slavery,* Cambridge, 2009, 13.

corporations in both slavery and its abolition remain uninvestigated. By definition the sample does not include the houses of Scotland, Wales or Ireland.[22] The absence of properties near Bristol or Liverpool may appear to make the sample less likely to yield strong evidence of direct involvement in the slave trade.[23] However, Nigel Tattersfield has chronicled the slave trade from England's minor ports, and the net of this investigation has been spread widely, to capture more indirect links to slavery than ownership of slaving ships or slave plantations. [24]

The project was based on documented family history, and did not use the contents of houses as evidence, although sometimes these make links more immediately obvious. Thus the visitor to Woburn Abbey immediately notices the black servant depicted in the background of the portrait of Lady Anne and Lady Diana Russell (*c.*1655–6), but the desktop researcher, looking at Houghton House, Bedfordshire, also owned by the Russell family, cannot see that evidence. [25] The clock made by James Wilson of Askrigg, North Yorkshire, about 1760, incorporating an 'automaton figure of a black woman smoking a

[22] For Ireland, see Draper, op. cit., 51-53.
[23] Many country houses that might have had a slavery link have been destroyed. See J. Longmore, 'Rural Retreats: Liverpool merchants and the British Country House', in Dresser and Hann op. cit., for a study of houses in the vicinity of Liverpool.
[24] N Tattersfield, *The Forgotten Trade: Comprising the Log of the Daniel and Henry of 1700 and Accounts of the Slave Trade from the Minor Ports of England, 1698–1725*, London, 1991.
[25] Margaret Toynbee and Gyles Isham, 'Joan Carlile (1606?–1679) – an identification', *Burlington Magazine*, 96, 618 (1954), 277.

pipe', whose head moves from side to side as the clock ticks, suggests that the families which commissioned such items might have some link to slavery: in this case the pipe suggests a tobacco connection.[26] Once again, the desktop researcher is left in the dark. Thus the findings discussed here are not exhaustive, but rather provide a starting point for more in-depth studies of individual properties.[27]

TYPES OF LINKS TO SLAVERY

This initial research has revealed that the tentacles of slavery reached far into the British economy, and affected all sectors during this period. Of the thirty three properties, twenty six were found to have links of varying degrees.[28] Twelve types of potential involvement with slavery or abolition have been identified.[29] Of these, the following nine types of links were found to English Heritage properties: being a colonial proprietor; holding an official post in the administration of the colonies; membership of a company trading in slaves or slave-produced goods; investing in slave-produced goods, either through

[26] *Time and Place: English country clocks 1600–1840; an exhibition by the Antiquarian Horological Society at the Museum of Science, University of Oxford, 25 November 2006–15 April 2007*, Oxford, 2006, 172. The curators of the museum were unable to tell me the provenance of this item.

[27] The in-depth reports that have since been commissioned by English Heritage show how much more there is to be discovered: http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/discover/people-and-places/the-slave-trade-and-abolition/slavery-and-the-british-country-house/, accessed 24 Sept 2012.

[28] With the addition of Rufford Abbey's link, there are now twenty seven. See n.173, below.

[29] With the help of Madge Dresser, University of the West of England. Kaufmann, op. cit., 5-6.

importing or manufacturing them; banking; making a legal judgment in a case relating to slavery; taking political action either for or against abolition; marrying an heiress of a colonial property; and having black servants.[30]

This typology is first explored here in greater depth, using examples from the dataset to illuminate the character of each type of connection. The twenty-six properties that were found to have links of some sort will then be surveyed in turn. The links are not always as direct as those found at Harewood. Sometimes the property in question was not the family's primary seat, and suffered neglect in the period, rather than investment. Sometimes the link is at one remove, via an heiress or other relative, who may never have lived in the property. Even the most slender links have been included, however, as the cumulative picture shows that landed society was riddled with connections to slave-produced wealth, even where individual houses may not have directly benefited. To assess the extent to which slavery affected each property, we must consider whether it had a significant impact on a family's fortunes, and, if so, whether it directly benefited their property, either in the form of rebuilding, redecoration, or refurnishing. However, there are other forms of link beyond that of wealth accrued from slave-related activities. Some of the inhabitants of or visitors to these houses had a role to play in the history of

[30] There were no direct links found in the following categories: investing in slave ships; patronage. The manufacturing of and investing in slave-produced goods were originally separate categories, but I have amalgamated them here for ease of analysis.

the abolition movement, arguing for or against it in parliament, or making key legal judgements affecting the legal status of Africans. Some of the inhabitants or visitors may have been of African origin themselves. In a heritage culture which often devotes whole rooms to commemorating a one-off visit from a monarch, these personal links must also be worthy of consideration.

Colonial proprietors

The most direct way in which individuals benefited financially from slavery was through the ownership of estates that relied on slave labour. These links are usually quite visible in the secondary literature, although assertions of ownership are not always reliable.[31]

[31] Thus William Murray, Earl of Mansfield (1705–92), who lived at Kenwood, is described as a colonial proprietor in the secondary literature. Simon Schama asks: 'Did not Mansfield himself own a property in Virginia, where doubtless the negroes were treated with more tenderness than if left to their own devices in the brutish wilds of Africa?' [S Schama, *Rough Crossings: Britain, the Slaves and the American Revolution*, London, 2005, 40]. His source for the proprietorial assertion (though not for the even more dubious sentiment of the rest of the sentence, which owes more to 19th-century imperial apologists), is Robin Blackburn, who wrote: 'Lord Mansfield ... was again put in a most awkward situation when called upon to adjudicate the Somerset case. Quite apart from the fact that he owned property himself in Virginia …' [R Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery 1776–1848*, 1998, 99]. This assertion does not seem to be based on solid evidence. James Oldham (author of the entry on Mansfield in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004), *The Mansfield Manuscripts and the growth of English common law in the 18th century* (University of North Carolina Press, 1992) and *English common law in the Age of Mansfield* (University of North Carolina Press, 2004) responded to my email enquiry on this subject as follows: 'In all of my (extensive) researches on Mansfield, I have never encountered anything to suggest that he owned Virginia property' [private correspondence]. Blackburn was perhaps misled by Folarin Shyllon's oblique comment: 'There is a copy of Lord Mansfield's Will in the probate Records section of the Public Record Office, which shows that the man canonized for emancipating black slaves in England in 1772, was a slave-owner himself until his death twenty-one years later' [F O Shyllon, *Black Slaves in Britain*, London, 1972, 234].

However, reliable evidence of plantation ownership can be found in the data Nick Draper has extracted from the records of the Office of Registry of Colonial Slaves and Slave Compensation Commission (1812–51), which identifies those compensated for their loss of property at abolition in 1833. By 1838 40,000 awards had been made, totalling £20 million.[32] Names in the Draper database are not necessarily those of proprietors. Claims were based on slave ownership, and claimants included female annuitants and merchants who had foreclosed on bad debt where slaves had been offered as security on credit. Some claims were made on behalf of others or were unsuccessful. Thus the fourth Viscount Grimston (1775–1845), who inherited Old Gorhambury House, Hertfordshire, in 1809, received compensation as a trustee on two Jamaican estates belonging to the Forster family.[33] Lord William Henry Cavendish-Bentinck (1774–1839), second son of the third duke of Portland, who owned Bolsover Castle, Derbyshire, made an unsuccessful counterclaim for compensation for slaves on an estate in Trinidad.[34] As non-beneficiary trustees and unsuccessful claimants, neither of these men nor their houses

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Shyllon seems to draw this conclusion from the references in the will to Mansfield's great-niece Dido Elizabeth Belle, who lived at Kenwood. However, the will reads: 'I confirm to Dido Elizabeth Belle her freedom', and thus there is no evidence she was ever held as a slave: the will confirms her freedom, rather than granting it [The National Archives, PROB 11/1230]. Thus the secondary literature cannot always be trusted to identify proprietors correctly.

[32] Draper, *The Price of Emancipation*, op. cit., 4; These are held at The National Archives [hereafter TNA], T71 series. For more information, see http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/catalogue/RdLeaflet.asp?sLeafletID=408&j=1, accessed 13 Feb 2008.

[33] N Draper, 'Unpublished research by Nick Draper of UCL based on Treasury Papers T71 series' [hereafter Draper database]: St Elizabeth claims #345 and #346.

[34] Draper database: T71/894, Trinidad #1684.

benefited from these transactions. However the presence of their names in the records is testament to how pervasive the links to slavery were, even at one remove.

Of the twenty six properties with links to slavery, nine are founded on proprietorship of varying strength and character.[35] Brodsworth Hall, Yorkshire, has the strongest link of this kind, as Peter Thellusson, who bought it in 1790, owned sugar plantations in Montserrat and Grenada.[36] Of a weaker character are links such as that of Houghton House, which was the childhood home of Philip Herbert (1584-1650), first earl of Montgomery and fourth earl of Pembroke, who received a grant of the islands of Trinidad, Tobago, Barbados and Fonseca from the Crown in February 1628, but sold it within ten years.[37]

Official posts

[35] These were: Audley End, Battle Abbey, Bayham Old Abbey, Brodsworth Hall, Houghton House, Marble Hill House, Old Gorhambury House, Stokesay Castle and Witley Court.

[36] Linda Ali, 'Brodsworth Hall, nr Doncaster, West Yorkshire: the Thellusson Family West Indian Operations' (unpublished English Heritage report, 2006) also listed Martinique, St Vincent and Trinidad but Susanne Seymour and Sheryllynne Haggerty were only able to verify the links to Montserrat and Grenada: S Seymour and S Haggerty, 'The Slavery Connections of Brodsworth Hall (1600-c.1830)', Report for English Heritage, October 2010, 24, 36-58; E I Carlyle, 'Thellusson, Peter (1737–1797)', rev. François Crouzet, *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27164, accessed 28 Jan 2008.

[37] Philip was the son of Mary Herbert, née Sidney (1561-1621), countess of Pembroke, who built Houghton: David L Smith, 'Herbert, Philip, first earl of Montgomery and fourth earl of Pembroke (1584–1650)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13042, accessed 8 March 2007.

Twelve men, linked to ten properties, held posts that benefited from the wealth generated by the slave-dependent colonies.[38] Colonial governors and lesser officials received their salaries from the colonies' budgets. Richard Aldworth Nevile (1750–1825), who succeeded as second Lord Braybrooke and owner of Audley End, Essex, in 1797, had held the sinecure office of Provost-Marshal of Jamaica since 1762. It was said that this post brought him about £120,000.[39] The most senior of the posts linked with slave-trading were the presidents or members of the Board of Trade and Plantations, which existed from 1696 to promote trade and administer the colonies.[40] All government posts benefited indirectly from colonial revenue, the highest ones most of all, if only for the patronage opportunities they provided. At cabinet level, the Secretary of State disposed of colonial governorships. John Stuart, third earl of Bute, for instance, who owned Kenwood from 1746 to 1754, was Secretary of State for the Northern Department from 1761 to 1762, and First Lord of the Treasury from 1762 to 1763. In the former year, the islands of Dominica, Grenada, St Vincent and Tobago were ceded to Britain, along with East and

[38] These were: Audley End, Appuldurcombe House, Apsley House, Bolsover Castle, Bayham Old Abbey, Kenwood, Marble Hill House, Northington Grange, Old Gorhambury House and Whitby Abbey.
[39] 'Colonial administrators and post-independence leaders in Jamaica', *Oxford DNB*, online edn, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/theme/93242, accessed 8 March 2007; Roland Thorne, 'Griffin, Richard, second Baron Braybrooke (1750–1825)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19957, accessed 7 March 2007.
[40] 'Presidents of the Board of Trade and successor offices (1696–2004)', *Oxford DNB*, online edn, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/theme/93040, accessed 7 March 2007.

West Florida and Quebec, thus increasing his scope for patronage.[41]

Transatlantic trade

None of the owners of the thirty three properties were owners or captains of vessels.[42] However, 18 were members of or investors in companies that traded in slaves or slave-produced goods, potentially benefiting 12 properties.[43] Some owners were investors in the South Sea Company, which took over Spanish trade to South America, including the Spanish slave trade, under the terms of the Asiento treaty, signed in Utrecht in 1713. The Company thus acquired a contract to supply 4,800 enslaved Africans a year to the Spanish colonies for a period of 30 years.[44] For example, Henry Grey, duke of Kent (*d.* 1740), owner of Wrest Park, Bedfordshire, invested in the South Sea Company, and lost much of his investment when the South Sea Bubble burst in 1720, which prevented him from rebuilding the house as he had planned to a design by Leoni, although not before he

[41] D Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World*, Manchester, 2005, 170. See also Karl Wolfgang Schweizer, 'Stuart, John, third earl of Bute (1713–1792)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26716, accessed 8 March 2007.
[42] D Eltis, *The Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-Rom*, Cambridge, 1999, now available at www.slavevoyages.com. This research was undertaken before the latest online version became available; further searches of the new database may therefore provide new evidence.
[43] These were: Audley End, Apsley House, Battle Abbey, Burton Agnes Manor House, Bolsover Castle, Bayham Old Abbey, Brodsworth Hall, Houghton House, Northington Grange, Stokesay Castle, Whitby Abbey and Witley Court.
[44] See J Carswell, *The South Sea Bubble*, London, 1960, 55; V Cowles, *The Great Swindle: The Story of the South Sea Bubb*le, London, 1960; M Balen, *A Very English Deceit: The Secret History of the South Sea Bubble and the First Financial Scandal*, London, 2002.

had spent heavily on his garden.[45]

Six properties were linked to the Royal Adventurers of England Trading to Africa, founded in 1660, and its successor the Royal African Company (1672–1731).[46] Edward Foley (1676-1747), for example, who was born at Witley Court, was an Assistant of the Royal African Company (RAC) in 1704–5.[47] These companies were responsible for the transportation of thousands of enslaved Africans across the Atlantic: between 1672 and 1689, the RAC is thought to have transported 90,000–100,000 Africans. The Company lost its monopoly in 1698, but continued to trade in human cargo until 1731, when it shifted its focus to ivory and gold dust. [48]

Investing in slave-produced goods

Slave-produced goods such as coffee, cotton, tobacco and sugar became a staple part of the British Atlantic economy and many British fortunes were founded on them. Eric

[45] T Friedman, 'Lord Harrold in Italy, 1715–16: four frustrated commissions to Leoni, Juvarra, Chiari and Soldani', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXX, no. 1028, 1988, 836–45. See also L C Halpen, 'Wrest Park 1686–1730s: exploring Dutch influence', *Garden History*, XXX, no. 2: Dutch Influences (Winter 2002), 131–52.
[46] These were: Apsley House, Bayham Old Abbey, Houghton House, Northington Grange, Sutton Scarsdale Hall and Witley Court.
[47] D W Hayton, ed., *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1690–1715*, 5 vols, Cambridge, 2002, III, 1055.
[48] K G Davies, *The Royal African Company*, London, [1957] 1999 edn, 65, n. 4. For an examination of the 18th century, post-RAC history of the trade, see W A Pettigrew, 'Free to enslave: politics and the escalation of Britain's transatlantic slave trade, 1688–1714', *William and Mary Quarterly*, LXIV, no. 1, 3–38.

Williams, James Walvin and Joseph Inikori, among others, have argued persuasively that the industrial revolution in Britain was powered by the expansion of markets, profits and produce of the Atlantic economy.[49] Fifty per cent of cotton manufactured in Britain was sold to the colonies in 1760, rising to 62 per cent in 1801. Cotton goods were also traded for slaves on the African coast.[50] Thus Richard Arkwright, a cotton manufacturer, profited from slavery to some extent, since cotton was supplied to his mills from slave-worked plantations in the Americas. He bought Sutton Scarsdale Hall, Derbyshire, in 1824.[51] On the eve of slave emancipation, 14 per cent of Jamaica's slaves, 50 per cent of Dominica's and 20 per cent of the slaves in St Lucia worked on coffee plantations.[52] There was a succession of coffee-houses at Nos 41 and 44 Sandhill (Bessie Surtees' House), Newcastle upon Tyne, between 1740 and 1801, selling a slave-produced commodity.[53] The Lowther family, who were linked to Marble Hill House, Twickenham, established the town of Whitehaven, Cumberland, which became a key entrepôt for the tobacco trade, especially in the 1740s.[54]

[49] J Walvin, *Fruits of Empire: Exotic Produce and British Taste, 1660–1800*, Basingstoke, 1997; J Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England: A Study in International Trade and Economic Development*, Cambridge, 2002.
[50] K Morgan, *Slavery, Atlantic Trade and the British Economy, 1660–1800*, Cambridge, 2000, 69.
[51] E E Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, Chapel Hill, NC, 1944, 23; J. Inikori, op. cit., 376–7.
[52] Walvin, op. cit., 5.
[53] D Heslop, G McCombie and G Thompson, *Bessie Surtees' House: Two Merchant Houses in Sandhill, Newcastle upon Tyne*, Newcastle, 1995.
[54] Tattersfield, op. cit., 326–7, 339; Walvin, op. cit., 80.

Banking

The credit demands of the transatlantic trade were a major factor in the emergence and development of the English banking system. In fact, some former slave traders went on to become bankers, such as the Heywoods of Liverpool.[55] Five English Heritage properties were lived in by bankers: Battle Abbey, Bessie Surtees' House, Brodsworth Hall, Kenwood, and The Grange. The Grange, at Northington, Hampshire, was home to two famous banking families. Henry Drummond (*c.*1730–1795), nephew and successor of Andrew Drummond, founder of Drummond's Bank, bought The Grange in 1787, and it was sold to Alexander Baring, of Barings' Bank, in 1817.[56] Two men were involved in the Bank of England, which provided capital available to finance slave voyages from its inception in 1694. Godfrey Webster (1648–1720), whose son Sir Thomas Webster (1676–1751) bought Battle Abbey in Sussex in 1721, was a governor of the Bank of England from 1710;[57] and Peter Isaac Thellusson (1761–1808), owner of Brodsworth Hall from 1797 to 1808, was a director of the Bank from 1787 to 1806.[58]

[55] Morgan, *Slavery*, cit., 74–9; Inikori, op. cit., 314–38.
[56] Philip Winterbottom, 'Drummond, Henry (*c.*1730–1795)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/48025, accessed 9 March 2007; John Orbell, 'Baring, Alexander, first Baron Ashburton (1773–1848)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1380, accessed 11 March 2007.
[57] Christopher Whittick, 'Webster family (*per. c.*1650–1836)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/74132, accessed 4 March 2007.
[58] R G Thorne, ed., *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1790–1820*, 5 vols., London, 1986, V, 362.

Legal judgments

There are four links between English Heritage properties and the legal history of slave status in Britain.[59] The Mansfield decision in the *Somersett* case of 1772 is well known, as is Lord Mansfield's residence at Kenwood, but its antecedents and the role played in them by men linked to English Heritage properties are not.[60] The best example is from The Grange. Robert Henley, first earl of Northington, who inherited The Grange in 1748, declared in 1762 in the case of *Shanley v. Harvey* that 'as soon as a man sets foot on English ground he is free … A negro may maintain an action against his master for ill-usage, and may have a Habeus Corpus if restrained of his liberty.' However, these comments were *obiter dicta*, said in passing, and not a binding precedent.[61]

Political action

Seven properties were lived in or otherwise connected with men who were involved in the political process of abolition, on both sides of the argument.[62] Thus, Charles James

[59] Two at Northington Grange, one at Kenwood and one at Wrest Park.
[60] *James Oldham, 'Murray, William, first earl of Mansfield (1705–1793)',* Oxford DNB, *http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19655, accessed 8 March 2007*.M Kaufmann, 'Somerset Case', in *Encyclopaedia of Blacks in European History and Culture*, ed. E Martone (2008)**,** II, 504-505, available online: http://www.mirandakaufmann.com/somerset.html.

[61] P Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain*, London, 1984, 115; J Walvin, *England, Slaves and Freedom, 1776–1838*, Basingstoke, 1986, 34; George Van Cleve, 'Somerset's case and its antecedents in Imperial perspective', *Law and History Review*, XXIV, no. 3, 2006.
[62] They were: Apsley House, Bolsover Castle, Bayham Old Abbey, Bessie Surtees House, Chiswick House, Northington Grange and Old Gorhambury House.

Fox (1749–1806), a mainstay of the abolitionist cause in Parliament, died at Chiswick House in 1806, while in the same year Lord Eldon (1751–1838), who in 1772 had eloped with the 16-year-old Bessie Surtees of the eponymous Newcastle merchant's house, argued against abolition on the grounds that it would merely be continued by foreign merchants, further maintaining that slavery could not be 'contrary to the genius of the British constitution' in view of the RAC statutes.[63] After the abolition of the British slave trade, the campaign for the improvement of slave conditions continued, and other powers were lobbied to follow Britain's lead. The duke of Wellington, owner of Apsley House from 1817, took a lead as Allied commander in Paris in 1814 in persuading the French to end the slave trade.[64]

Heiresses

Thirteen properties benefited from the marriages of their owners to daughters of men who were connected to slavery in one of the ways outlined above.[65] Some properties so benefited in more than one generation, making a total of 18 heiresses linking English

[63] R.Anstey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition* (1975), 343n. and 373; W M Wiecek, 'Somerset: Lord Mansfield and the legitimacy of slavery in the Anglo-American world', *University of Chicago Law Review*, XLII, 1974, 110.
[64] Norman Gash, 'Wellesley, Arthur, first duke of Wellington (1769–1852)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29001, accessed 7 March 2007; G Le G Norgate, rev. John K Severn, 'Wellesley , Henry, first Baron Cowley (1773–1847)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29004, accessed 7 March 2007.
[65] These were: Audley End, Appuldurcombe House, Battle Abbey, Bayham Old Abbey, Brodsworth Castle, Wrest Park, Houghton House, Marble Hill House, Northington Grange, Old Gorhambury House, Old Wardour Castle, Roche Abbey, and Sutton Scarsdale Hall.

Heritage properties to slavery. Eight of these were from plantation-owning families. The most prominent was Elizabeth Vassall (1771?–1845), who married Sir Godfrey Webster (1749–1800) of Battle Abbey in 1786. She was the only child of Richard Vassall (1732–95), and thus heiress to three Jamaican sugar plantations. A further ten heiresses were from families with other links to slavery. Although none of these was due to inherit substantial property, these brides would nonetheless have had dowries which can be linked to slave-related wealth. One example of this is Sabine, the daughter of Abraham Robarts (1745–1816), a West India factor and banker, who in 1795 married Charles Thellusson, owner of Brodsworth Hall. [66]

Black presence

Some properties had black people living in them. The status of these residents, and the circumstances in which they came to be in England, is sometimes unclear, and requires research beyond the limits of this initial survey. Seven properties belonged to families who are known to have had black servants, though not all of these lived in the property under examination.[67] What little we do know of these individuals does not make the issue of their status much clearer. The best-known example, Dido Elizabeth Belle (1761?–

[66] Thorne, *Commons, 1790–1820*, cit., Vol.5, 23; see also Peter M Claus, 'Robarts family *(per. c.*1780–1914)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/48044, accessed 8 March 2007. See also Draper database: T71/881 Dominica # 320A.
[67] These were: Audley End, Chiswick House, Hardwick Old Hall, Houghton House, Kenwood House, Kirby Hall and Ranger's House.

1804), who lived at Kenwood with her great-uncle Lord Mansfield, seems to have been treated no worse than the average dependent relation, a type familiar from the novels of the day. Hers was a special case, however, as most of the black servants working in country houses were not related to their masters. Their presence is a human embodiment of the relationship these places had with the slave trade.

THE STRENGTH OF THE LINKS TO SLAVERY AND ABOLITION

Four English Heritage properties stood out as having the strongest links, which would benefit from further investigation: Brodsworth Hall, Battle Abbey, The Grange and Witley Court. Let us call these the premier league. In the first division, we find seven properties with between four and seven separate links to slavery, albeit slightly weaker: Apsley House, Audley End House, Marble Hill House, Kenwood, Bayham Old Abbey, Bolsover Castle and Houghton House. [68] In the second division, with two or three such links, are a further seven properties: Bessie Surtees' House, Chiswick House,

[68] Brodsworth Hall and The Grange have now been the subject of further research and analysis, along with Marble Hill and Bolsover Castle: S Haggerty and S Seymour, 'Property, power and authority: the implicit and explicit slavery connections of Bolsover Castle and Brodsworth Hall in the 18th century' and L Brown, 'Atlantic slavery and classical culture at Marble Hill and Northington Grange' in Dresser and Hann, op. cit.; English Heritage reports online: S Seymour and S Haggerty, 'The Slavery Connections of Brodsworth Hall (1600-c.1830)', Report for English Heritage, October 2010 and 'The Slavery Connections of Bolsover Castle (1600-c.1830)', Report for English Heritage, July 2010, L Brown, 'The Slavery Connections of Marble Hill House', Report for English Heritage, June 2010 and 'The Slavery Connections of Northington Grange', Report for English Heritage, July 2010: http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/discover/people-and-places/the-slave-trade-and-abolition/slavery-and-the-british-country-house/, accessed 24 Sept 2012.

Appuldurcombe House, Ranger's House, Wrest Park, Roche Abbey and Sutton Scarsdale Hall. The third division consists of a final seven houses with only one discovered connection, some relatively lightweight: Old Wardour Castle, Whitby Abbey, Burton Agnes Manor House, Hardwick Old Hall, Old Gorhambury Hall, Kirby Hall and Stokesay Castle. Let us review them in turn, starting with the strongest claims.

Brodsworth Hall, which was rebuilt c.1861-3 by Charles Augustus Sabine Thellusson (1822-1885), has the strongest links of any English Heritage property. The career of Peter Thellusson (1737–1797), who bought the West Riding estate in 1791 for £92,000, encapsulates the manifold ways in which a property could benefit financially from slavery: he traded extensively with the West Indies, dealing with commodities including coffee, sugar and tobacco; he was a merchant banker, serving the banking needs of planters and insuring shipping; and, as a consequence, he came to own five slave ships and three sugar plantations, one in Montserrat and two in Grenada, when his debtors could not repay their loans. The great wealth he amassed was the subject of Chancery proceedings so complex that they may have inspired the case of *Jarndyce and Jarndyce* in Charles Dickens's *Bleak House* (1853).[69]

[69] Thellusson owned Conference, Grenada (330 acres) in1768, Windmill Hill, Montserrat (580 acres) 1772-1796, and Bacolet, Grenada (384 acres) 1772-1820. The five ships were the Campbell, Gloucester, Charming Polly, Success, Penelope. He also acquired shares in the Liberty and the Perserverance. S Seymour and S Haggerty, 'The Slavery Connections of Brodsworth Hall (1600-c.1830)', Report for English Heritage, October 2010, 19-68; Ali, op. cit.; P Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will of 1797 and its*

The family's links did not die with Peter Thellusson in 1797. His eldest son, Peter Isaac Thellusson (1761–1808), took over his father's banking and insurance business as Thellusson Brothers in 1790, and thus was to profit from the same colonial sources. The family continued to benefit from slavery-derived wealth well into the 19th century, as in 1795 Charles Thellusson (1770–1815) married Sabine Robarts (1775–1814), the daughter of a West India factor and banker. Though Abraham Robarts was described as 'a staunch friend of the abolition of the slave trade', his son Abraham Wildey Robarts received £1517 9*s* 10*d* in 1836 in compensation as a mortgagee over half the slaves on an estate in Dominica. This payment demonstrates how banks like Robarts and Curtis were embroiled with slave-produced wealth. This wealth was no doubt one of Sabine's attractions as a bride for Charles.[70] It was their grandson, Charles Augustus Sabine Thellusson (1822-1885), who inherited his great-grandfather Peter Thellusson's fortune in 1859 and rebuilt Brodsworth Hall in 1861-3, at a cost of over £30,000, an expenditure he was able to afford thanks, in part, to the slavery-derived wealth accrued by his ancestors.[71]

Consequences on Chancery Law, Lampeter, 2002; His marriage to Ann Woodford (1784-1828) linked him to another colonial family: Ann's nephew Ralph James Woodford was appointed Governor of Trinidad 1813-28. Seymour and Haggerty, op. cit., 67.

[70] Charles's nephew, Arthur Thellusson (1801-1858), the son of Peter Isaac Thelluson and thus grandson to Peter Thellusson (1737-1797), married Caroline Anna Maria Codrington (1798-1877) in 1826, daughter of Antigua slave owner, Sir Christopher Bethell-Codrington (1764-1843).

[71] C. Carr-Whitworth, *Brodsworth Hall and Gardens*, London, 2009, 41; Seymour and Haggerty, op. cit., 17-18.

Battle Abbey is a country house formed from the remains of the monastic buildings established on the site of the battle of Hastings. In 1721 Sir Thomas Webster (1676–1751) bought the property for £56,000. [72] His family had grown wealthy through colonial trade. His father Sir Godfrey Webster (1648–1720) had been a tobacco trader, and was also Governor of the Bank of England from 1710. In 1786 the fourth baronet Sir Godfrey Webster (1749–1800) married Elizabeth Vassall (*c*.1771–1845) (Fig. XX?), only child of Richard Vassall (1732–95), and heiress to three Jamaican sugar plantations, Sweet River Pen, Friendship and Greenwich. Sir Godfrey took the additional name of Vassall on marriage, which indicates the importance of the Vassall inheritance. When the couple divorced in 1797 Webster discarded the surname, but retained for life his former wife's Jamaican income of £7,000 per annum, even though she went on to marry Lord Holland, brother of the abolitionist Charles James Fox.[73] As Sir Godfrey committed suicide three years later, however, he did not have much time to enjoy it. Their son, Sir Godfrey Vassall Webster (1789–1836), who reinstated his mother's surname, undertook extensive restoration and renovation of Battle Abbey. However the Jamaican income reverted to the Hollands on his father's death, and the combined costs of the building works, constant

[72] J Coad, *Battle Abbey and Battlefield*, London, 2007, 42.
[73] C J Wright, 'Fox, Elizabeth Vassall, Lady Holland (1771?–1845)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10028, accessed 4 March 2007; See also V.E. Chancellor, 'Slave owner and anti-slaver: Henry Richard Vassall Fox, 3rd Lord Holland 1800-1840', *Slavery and Abolition*, 1.3, December 1980, 263-75.

gambling and election expenses left Sir Godfrey in debt. In 1820 he resigned from parliament and fled to France.[74] In 1835 he resorted to selling the Battle Abbey muniments for £300, and at his death was found to have sold all his personal property, and exchanged his life interest in the estate for an annuity that died with him. He also counterclaimed against the Hollands for his share of slave compensation on his mother's Jamaican properties, which led to £5,000 being paid out to his son's trustees in December 1836.

The son and heir, Sir Godfrey Vassall Webster (1815–1853), a naval officer, followed the family tradition and married another Jamaican heiress, Sarah Joanna Ashburnham, *neé* Murray (1807–89). Her creole father, William Murray, had lived on his own sugar plantation in St James, Jamaica, for almost 20 years (between 1795 and 1815), and also held 'considerable property in right of his wife, in the parishes of Clarendon and Vere, and the management of several estates belonging to his friends in England'. In 1835 he was awarded £6,612 10*s* 5*d* compensation for 373 slaves on Latium, £916 3*s* 11*d* for 50 slaves on Purling Stream estate and £565 9*s* 11*d* for 26 slaves on Garland Grove Pen. He was also awarded £2,010 13*s* 10*d* for 115 slaves on Hope, in Manchester, Jamaica.[75] Thus the deceptively medieval-looking Battle Abbey had in fact benefited from slavery-

[74] Coad, op. cit, 44-46.
[75] Draper database: St James claims #191, 192 and 194; Manchester #112. [*Journals of Assembly of Jamaica*, 12, 1808–15, 814.]; B.W. Higman, *Plantation Jamaica, 1750-1850: Capital and Control in a Colonial Economy* (Kingston, 2005), 73.

derived wealth for six generations.

The Grange was home to a succession of bankers and has some interesting links with the history of legal judgments made on the status of slaves in Britain. It was built for Sir Robert Henley (1624–92) by William Samwell between 1664 and 1673. His grandson, Robert Henley, first earl of Northington (*c.*1708–1772), as we have already seen, ruled in the case of *Shanley v. Harvey* in 1762.[76] Henry Drummond (*c.*1730–1795) bought The Grange in 1787, following the death of the second Lord Northington the previous year. From 1772 Henry was a partner in Drummonds' Bank, which had plantation-owning clients, and he was paymaster to the army in the West Indies from 1777 to 1783.[77] The third Henry Drummond (1786–1860) to own The Grange had the house rebuilt by William Wilkins (1778-1839) between 1804 and 1809 (Fig. XX?), but sold it in 1817.[78] The necessary funds for his building works were in some part derived from slavery. In 1836 he signed to collect the compensation on two estates in Jamaica: in both cases, the compensation was awarded to three 'executors of Caleb Dickenson'.[79]

It was through the Drummonds that The Grange had a strong link with Henry Dundas

[76] Fryer, op. cit., 115; Walvin, *England, Slaves and Freedom*, cit., 34; Van Cleve, op. cit; Brown, op.cit., 20-23.
[77] Philip Winterbottom, 'Drummond, Henry', cit.
[78] Brown, 'The Slavery Connections of Northington Grange', op. cit, 6-7, 46-48.
[79] Draper database: St Elizabeth claims # 394 and 554.

(1742–1811), a fascinating figure who was linked to slavery in three ways. Dundas was a close friend of the first Henry Drummond; his daughter Anne (*d*. 1852) married the second Henry Drummond (1762–94); and Dundas became guardian of the third Henry Drummond when Anne remarried and went to India in 1802. In 1776, as Lord Advocate for Scotland, he had defended Joseph Knight, an African slave, in *Knight v. Wedderburn* in Edinburgh. He admitted to 'very great improprieties and even villanies' in the African slave trade, and claimed that 'there was not now a slave in Britain, nor could possibly be from its constitution'.[80] Dundas was Home Secretary from 1791 to 1794, which, according to Douglas Hamilton: 'gave him control over the colonies, and … great leverage in the West Indies … More than any other political figure of the century, Dundas represented the connections between Scotland, Britain and the empire … he attracted requests for patronage for offices at all levels of colonial government.'[81] Ultimately his motion in 1792 to add the word 'gradually' to Wilberforce's motion helped to delay abolition for over a decade.[82] Though Dundas never lived at The Grange, he must have been a visitor to his son-in-law's house, especially when in loco parentis to

[80] I Whyte, *Scotland and the Abolition of Black Slavery, 1756–1838*, Edinburgh, 2006, 31–3. This speech was reported in the *Caledonian Mercury*, 21 Feb 1776. For more on the case see Fryer, op. cit., 126–7; Hamilton, op. cit., 189; John W Cairns, 'Knight, Joseph (*b. c.*1753)', *Oxford DNB*, online edn only, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/93749, accessed 13 March 2007.
[81] Michael Fry, 'Dundas, Henry, first Viscount Melville (1742–1811)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8250, accessed 9 March 2007; Hamilton, op. cit., 170–73.
[82] Whyte, op. cit., 73; R Anstey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition*, London, 1975, 309, 314; H Thomas, *The Slave Trade*, London, 1993, 527, 538.

his grandson, Henry Drummond (1786-1860), after his father died in 1794 and his mother emigrated to India in 1802.

The Grange then came to be owned by a second banking dynasty: the Barings. Francis Baring (1740–1810) had established the London merchant house of Barings in 1762.[83] He was a member of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa,[84] and had been trained by Samuel Touchet (*c*.1705–1773), a merchant trading in raw cotton from the West Indies, who invested in the sugar and slave trades and owned part of Dukinfield Hall plantation in Jamaica.[85] According to Peter Fryer, Baring 'made his first profit from the slave trade aged 16'.[86] In 1817 his son Alexander Baring (1773–1848) bought The Grange from Henry Drummond (1786–1860) for £136,000. He then commissioned Sir Robert Smirke to alter it in about 1818 and C R Cockerell to enlarge it in 1823–5.[87] His marriage to Anne Bingham of Philadelphia in 1798 brought a £20,000 dowry and later inheritance from a family whose wealth originated in Martinique.[88] Alexander worked with his father

[83] John Orbell, 'Baring, Sir Francis, first baronet (1740–1810)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1382, accessed 11 March 2007.
[84] Inikori, op. cit., 360, 401.
[85] Touchet had an interest in 20 ships sailing to the West Indies in 1751: Brown, op. cit., 49.
[86] Fryer, op. cit., 46, 489 n.18. Brown, op. cit., 48-50 argues that Fryer exaggerates the extent of Baring's involvement at this stage. For more on Touchet, see Alan J Kidd, 'Touchet, Samuel (*c*.1705–1773)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/57578, accessed 11 March 2007.
[87] Pevsner and Lloyd, op. cit., 258; Brown,op. cit., 7-8.
[88] Brown, op. cit., 51-53.

from the 1790s and became a partner in Barings in 1804.[89] The bank had help to fund the Louisiana purchase between 1802 and 1804, which created thirteen new slave states in the American south, resulting in $1 million in commissions, and a substantial personal windfall for Alexander Baring.[90] We can see from the Draper database that Baring Brothers counterclaimed as mortgagees on a number of estates owned by Wolfert Katz in British Guiana. The mortgage was for £81,717 19*s* 0*d* and was executed on 30 August 1824. Katz denied the legal execution of the mortgage, and the compensation was awarded to his executors. Francis, Thomas and John Baring also counterclaimed on the Spring Garden estate of Charles Benjamin, apparently unsuccessfully.[91] For over half a century from the mid 1820s, Baring Brothers held several plantations in St. Croix, a Danish colony which ran on slave labour until 1848.[92] Banking was not Alexander Baring's only connection to the history of slavery. He opposed abolitionists in Parliament, speaking against a bill to proscribe the slave trade as an investment for British capital in 1815, attacking Wilberforce and Buxton in 1823, and opposing emancipation in 1831. He was also President of the Board of Trade in 1834–5. In 1841 he concluded the important anti-slaving Webster-Ashburton treaty with the United States,

[89] John Orbell, 'Baring, Alexander', cit.
[90] Brown, op. cit., 13, 55-56; http://www.baringarchive.org.uk/features_exhibitions/louisiana_purchase/, accessed 24 Sept 2012.
[91] Draper database: British Guiana claims # 21, 89, 250, 363, 424 and 479; British Guiana claim # 2282.
[92] Brown, op. cit., 65-73.

which shows that these properties could also reflect the other side of the coin.[93]

Witley Court belonged to the Foleys from 1655 until 1837, when the fourth Lord Foley sold it to the trustees of the 11th Lord Ward. The Foleys had made their fortune in iron, but Edward Foley (1676-1747), younger brother of the first Lord Foley (1673–1733), was an Assistant of the RAC in 1704–5. He also acted as a Commissioner, taking subscriptions to the South Sea Company. Lord Foley himself, who inherited Witley Court in 1701, invested and lost heavily when the South Sea Bubble burst; nonetheless he enlarged the house considerably and extended the grounds before his death in 1733, and his plans for the rebuilding of Witley church were realised by his widow and son by 1735.[94]

Witley Court's strongest tie to slavery, however, is of a later date. In 1837, the Foleys sold the property to the trustees of Lord Ward (1817–85), one of the heirs of John William Ward, first earl of Dudley (1781–1833), who had served as Secretary of State for

[93] Presidents of the Board of Trade and successor offices (1696–2003)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2007, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/theme/93040, accessed 11 March 2007; Thomas, op. cit., 589, 670-1; E. Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, 1944, 171; Brown, op. cit., 57-8, 62-63. Brown has also pointed out that Thomas Carlyle published his caustic 'Occassional Discourse on the Negro Question' (1849, 1853), at a time when he was a regular visitor to his friends William Bingham Baring (1799-1864) and his wife Harriet (1805-1857) at Northington Grange.

[94] R White, *Witley Court*, 2008, 27, 29.

foreign affairs in 1827–8. Lord Ward, who was himself created earl of Dudley in 1860, benefited from compensation paid for three estates in Jamaica in 1835. As he was underage, the compensation was awarded to his trustees, who were awarded £5,480 13*s* 1*d* for 304 slaves on the Whitney estate (Fig. XX), £2,412 6*s* 8*d* for 125 slaves on Rymesbury and £4,386 4*s* 7*d* for 236 slaves on the New Yarmouth estate in Vere. These same trustees bought Witley Court from the Foley family in 1837, presumably using the funds they had just received from the compensation payment.[95] Lord Ward only came into his full inheritance in 1845, aged 28, and between 1854 and 1860 he transformed Witley Court into a 'palace of regal grandeur' to the designs of S W Daukes, with new terraces and gardens laid out by W A Nesfield, and a fountain statue depicting Perseus and Andromeda by James Forsyth (Fig. XX). We can safely say that this splendour was funded by the fortune Ward had inherited from slave-worked estates in Jamaica.[96]

Audley End House, Essex, has seven separate links to the history of slavery and abolition, though none are as strong as for the preceding four houses. The second earl of

[95] I have Nick Draper to thank for drawing my attention to this connection. Draper database: T71/915, 58; Whitney estate, Clarendon #284; Rymesbury estate, T71/859, Clarendon # 320; New Yarmouth estate, T71/858 Vere #70. The General Synod of the Church of England was erroneously informed in its discussion of the slave trade in February 2006 that the bishop of Exeter and his 'business associates' were beneficial owners of these slaves. The abolitionists Sturge and Harvey visited the Whitney estate 'belonging to Lord Ward' on their tour of the West Indies during Apprenticeship: J. Sturge & T.Harvey, *The West Indies in 1837: Being the Journal of a Visit to Antigua*, London, 1838, 269–70; *The Times*, 7 March 1833, 7; 11 March 1845, 6.
[96] N Pevsner, *Worcestershire*, rev. A Brooks, New Haven and London, 2007, 323–9.

Suffolk (1584–1640) inherited Audley End in 1626. Although he was a member of the council of the Virginia Company, an early colonial adventure, it did not make him a wealthy man, and he eventually had to sell £36,000 worth of land to avoid bankruptcy.[97] His son, the third earl (1619–1689), married Lady Susanna Rich (1627–1649) in 1640, the year he inherited Audley End. Her father, the first earl of Holland (1590–1649), was governor of the Providence Island Company, which colonized several islands off the Mosquito Coast of Central America as bases for trade and privateering. Although inactive in the company's business affairs, Lord Holland used his influence at court to obtain a charter and other legal privileges for it.[98] Providence Island was the first British colony where blacks outnumbered whites. In 1641, when the island was taken by the Spanish, they found 381 Africans and 350 English settlers there.[99] Despite his new wife's wealth, the third earl's marriage did little to resurrect his family's fortunes. In 1666 he sold Audley End to Charles II for £50,000, while retaining the bulk of the estate. He continued to live there, however, as he was appointed keeper of the house the following year.[100] The sixth earl (1670–1718) was the first Commissioner of Trade and Plantations from 1715 until his death.[101] Between 1708 and 1718 he made alterations to Audley End, initially

[97] Victor Stater, 'Howard, Theophilus, second earl of Suffolk (1584–1640)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13938, accessed 7 March 2007.
[98] R Malcolm Smuts, 'Rich, Henry, first earl of Holland (*bap*. 1590, *d*. 1649)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23484, accessed 7 March 2007.
[99] K O Kupperman, *Providence Island: The Other Puritan Colony 1630–1641*, Cambridge, 1993, 172.
[100] K Jeffrey, ed., *Audley End*, London, 1997; P Drury, *Audley End*, London, 2011, 43.
[101] 'Presidents of the Board of Trade and successor offices (1696–2004)', op. cit.

employing the architect John Vanbrugh; they included a stone screen and an imposing stone staircase.[102] His son, the seventh earl (1693–1722), had a black servant named Scipio Africanus who died in 1719. While he seems to have lived in Gloucestershire, he may well have visited Audley End with his master. His elaborate gravestone at St Mary's, Henbury, Gloucestershire, reads:

> I who was Born a PAGAN and a SLAVE
> Now sweetly sleep a CHRISTIAN in my Grave
> What tho' my hue was dark my SAVIOR'S sight
> Shall Change this darkness into radiant Light
> Such grace to me my Lord on earth has given
> To recommend me to my Lord in heaven
> Whose glorious second coming here I wait
> With saints and Angels him to celebrate.[103]

The second Lord Braybrooke (1750–1825), who inherited Audley End in 1797, had been Provost-Marshal of Jamaica since 1762. This lucrative sinecure was said to have brought him about £120,000 over his lifetime.[104] He expanded the estate, and his eldest son Richard made considerable changes to the house. In 1780 the second Lord Braybrooke had married Catherine Grenville (1761–96), and their younger son, the Revd George Neville-Grenville (1789–1854), inherited estates at Middleton and Hope in Jamaica in

[102] N Pevsner, J Bettley et al., *Essex*, New Haven and London, 2007, 95–106; Colvin, op. cit., 1072; Drury, op. cit., 45.
[103] Dresser, op. cit., 114.
[104] 'Colonial administrators and post-independence leaders in Jamaica', op. cit.; see also Thomas, op. cit., 241; Thorne, 'Griffin, Richard', cit.; The grant of this office by letters patent: TNA, PRO30/50/61.

1825.[105] These two estates had been the property of Roger Hope Elletson, Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, who died in 1775, when they were inherited by his wife, who married the third duke of Chandos in 1777. [106] In 1813 the property was inherited by her daughter with the duke of Chandos, Lady Anna Elizabeth Brydges, who had married the first duke of Buckingham (1776–1839) in 1796, and it passed to the second duke of Buckingham (1797–1861) on her death in 1836. George Neville-Grenville was a trustee of the marriage settlement of the second duke of Buckingham, made in 1819, and, with his fellow trustee, was awarded £6,630 5*s* 6*d* compensation for 379 slaves on the Hope estate.[107] As a trustee, Neville-Grenville did not have access to these funds, and as a younger son, he would not have spent them on Audley End anyway. Nevertheless, these links provide an interesting example of how a wealthy family might use slavery-related activity to supplement their land-based income.

Apsley House, London, was built for Henry Bathurst, Lord Apsley (1714–94), the Lord Chancellor (who succeeded as second Earl Bathurst in 1775), between 1771 and 1778. Both his parents were the grandchildren of Sir Allen Apsley, who had founded his family

[105] Catherine was the daughter of George Grenville (1712–70), and the sister of Sir George Nugent-Temple Grenville, first marquess of Buckingham and Stowe (1753–1815). J V Beckett and Peter D G Thomas, 'Grenville, George (1712–1770)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11489, accessed 20 Feb 2008. See National Record of Archives, ref GB/NNAF/F4494, for Jamaican estates.
[106] BW Higman, *Jamaica Surveyed: Plantation Maps and Plans of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, Barbados, 2001, 123.
[107] Draper database: St Andrew claim # 114.

fortune on slave-trading as an Assistant of the Royal Adventurers into African in 1665–6 and 1668–70.[108] Lord Bathurst's own grandfather, Sir Benjamin Bathurst (1638–1704), had profited in the same trade, rising from Assistant to Deputy Governor, then to Sub-Governor of the RAC between 1677 and 1700.[109] Sir Benjamin's son, the first Lord Bathurst (1684–1775), had been a commissioner taking subscriptions to the South Sea Company in 1711.[110] With a legacy such as this it is unsurprising to find Lord Chancellor Bathurst aligned with the anti-abolitionists in July 1788.[111] His son, the third earl, however, as the next generation often does, appeared to have a different attitude. As President of the Board of Trade and Plantations from 1807 to 1812, and Secretary of State for the Colonies from 1812 to 1827, he pressed colonial legislatures to improve conditions and gradually emancipate the slaves. However, despite his best efforts, the colonial governors and West Indies legislatures refused to adopt a programme of this kind. Bathurst 'was concerned with religious instruction to prepare for freedom and, although no evangelical himself, favoured such ministers in all colonies. In an age of military governors he upheld the authority of the Crown and its agents but privately urged

[108] B D Henning, ed., *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1660–1690*, 3 vols., London, 1983, I, 541–2. See also Donnan, op. cit., I, 170.

[109] R Sedgwick, ed., *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1715–1754*, 2 vols., London, 1970, II, 151. See also Donnan, op. cit., I, 307–8, and IV, 10–12, for RAC papers mentioning Sir Benjamin.

[110] Sedgwick, op. cit., I, 149.

[111] Anstey, op. cit., 289.

governors to use their powers with restraint.' [112]

Marquess Wellesley (1760–1842), who bought Apsley House in 1805, was a lifelong friend of William Wilberforce, and supported his opposition to the slave trade, which he regarded as a 'disgrace to Great Britain'.[113] His brother, the duke of Wellington (1769–1852), who bought Apsley House from him in 1817, tried to persuade the French to end the slave trade, when in Paris in August 1814, a task described by Norman Gash as 'almost as unpromising as persuading the Spanish king to embrace liberalism'.[114] With rather more success, their brother Henry, first Baron Cowley (1773–1847), negotiated a treaty in Spain in 1817 abolishing the slave trade.[115] Thus Apsley House was built by a family that had inherited slavery-derived wealth on both sides, but later housed some staunch abolitionists.

Marble Hill House, Twickenham, had a variety of links with slavery, which, though all relatively insignificant, when put together form an interesting picture. Laurence Brown

[112] 'Presidents of the Board of Trade and successor offices (1696–2004)', op. cit.; Secretaries of state for the colonies (1801–1966)', *Oxford DNB*, online edn, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/theme/92817, accessed 7 March 2007; Neville Thompson, 'Bathurst, Henry, third Earl Bathurst (1762–1834)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1696, accessed 7 March 2007.
[113] Marquess Wellesley (1760–1842) also rented Marble Hill House between about 1820 and 1824.
[114] Gash, op. cit.
[115] C A Bayly, 'Wellesley, Richard, Marquess Wellesley (1760–1842)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29008, accessed 7 March 2007; Norgate, op. cit.

has shown this neo-Palladian villa was partly financed by profits that Henrietta Howard had made from shares in the South Sea Company.[116] John Hobart, second earl of Buckinghamshire (1723–93), who lived at Marble Hill from 1769, had a stepmother named Elizabeth Bristow. She was the daughter of Robert Bristow, who had been heir to estates in Virginia. Katharine, Duchess of Bolton (*d*. 1809) briefly rented Marble Hill from Henrietta Hotham in the 1790s. Her father, Robert Lowther (1681–1745), was Governor of Barbados from 1711 to 1720, where he owned a plantation named Christ Church from 1713 until about 1731, which he had obtained through his marriage to Joan Frere in 1704. He also owned a share of the *Calabar Merchant*, a slave ship.[117] This all made him a very wealthy man. His salary as Governor was £2,000 p.a, and the Christ Church plantation brought in another £3,000.[118] He is said to have extorted some £28,000 from the colony.[119] His daughter must have benefited from this, and also from the wider Lowther profits from establishing the port of Whitehaven in Cumberland, which became a major entrepôt for the tobacco trade.[120] Charles Augustus Tulk (1786–1849), who rented Marble Hill from 1812 to 1817, married Susanna Hart in 1807, who is likely to have been a member of the family of Jewish rabbis and bankers with a Jamaican

[116] Brown, 'The Slavery Connections of Marble Hill House', op. cit., 10, 28-31.
[117] Brown, op. cit., 9, 49-52; Voyages Database. 2009. *Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*, Voyage no. 21258 (1702): http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces?yearFrom=1702&yearTo=1702&voyageid=21258, accessed 24 Sept 2012.
[118] Hayton, op. cit., IV, 704.
[119] S D Smith, op. cit., 62.
[120] Tattersfield, op. cit., 326–7, 339; Walvin, *Fruits*, cit., 80.

connection.[121] George Robert Hobart (1789–1849), fifth earl of Buckinghamshire, who owned Marble Hill from 1816 to 1824, married Anne Glover (*d*. 1878), of Keppel Street, Middlesex, in 1819.[122] She was the illegitimate daughter of Sir Arthur Pigott (1749–1819), who was born in Barbados, and became attorney-general of Grenada in 1780. He acted as Counsel for the West Indians during the 1790 parliamentary committee into the slave trade and he continued to represent the West Indian view, acting as agent for Tobago until his death. He was averse to the abolition of the slave trade. [123] None of these links is likely to have contributed to the fabric of Marble Hill House, but when added together, they show the myriad strands that could connect one property to the story of British slavery.

Kenwood's connections with the history of slavery are well known. The first earl of

[121] Alexander Gordon, rev. Timothy C F Stunt, 'Tulk, Charles Augustus (1786–1849)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27811, accessed 9 March 2007; Andrew Colin Gow, 'Hart, Aaron (1670–1756)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12467, accessed 9 March 2007], and private correspondence with Gow. Also see Draper database: an Aaron Hart collected slave compensation in St James's in the 1830s.

[122] From 1820-24 he rented the property to Marquess Wellesley (1760–1842), see n.78.

[123] R A Melikan, 'Pigott, Sir Arthur Leary (1749–1819)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22249, accessed 9 March 2007; Thorne, *Commons, 1790–1820*, cit., Vol. 4, 802; Draper database. As agent for Tobago, Pigott was a paid representative of the island's interests in London [*The Times*, 20 Jan 1820, 2, reporting that Pigott was to be succeeded by Charles A Francklyn]. Draper believes Pigott was related to Elphinstone Pigott, the chief justice of Tobago: Deborah Pigott, executrix and devisee of E Pigott and tenant in common of a moiety, claimed for 310 slaves on Lowlands estate in Tobago. The compensation was awarded in 1836 to the London/Bristol merchant firm of Thomas & John Daniel as mortgagees [T71/891, Tobago claim #10]. Deborah Pigott was, however, awarded £562 17*s* 5*d* for 25 slaves in the town of Scarbro in 1836 [T71/891, Tobago claim #130.

Mansfield (1705–93), Lord Chief Justice of King's Bench from 1756 to 1788, gave judgment in the vital *Somersett* case, in which he ruled that 'Slavery is of such a nature as not to be introduced by inference from principles either natural or political', that 'it must be from positive law', and that it 'is so odious that it must be construed strictly'.[124] He also heard the infamous case concerning the massacre of slaves on the *Zong* slave ship at its second hearing in 1783.[125]

More pertinently, Mansfield was the great-uncle of Dido Elizabeth Belle (1761?–1804), daughter of his nephew Sir John Lindsay (1737–1788) and Maria Bell, an enslaved African woman. In his obituary, she was described as his 'natural daughter, a Mulatto, who has been brought up in Lord Mansfield's family almost from her infancy'.[126] Dido was baptized, aged five, on 20 November 1766 at St George's, Bloomsbury, London, and lived with the Murray family at their house in Bloomsbury Square until 1780, and then at Kenwood House until Mansfield's death in 1793. As noted above, her status was that of a dependent relation, somewhere in the grey area between daughter and servant. She was provided with an education, an allowance, and gifts, and served as a companion to her

[124] J Oldham, *The Mansfield Manuscripts and the Growth of English Law in the Eighteenth Century*, 2 vols., Chapel Hill, NC, II, 1230.
[125] For a recent analysis of Mansfield's role in the *Zong* case, see J Krikler, 'The *Zong* and the Lord Chief Justice', *History Workshop Journal*, LXIV, 1, 2007, 29–47. See also A Ruprecht, 'Excessive memories: slavery, insurance and resistance', *History Workshop Journal*, 64, 1, 2007, 6-28.
[126] F. Shyllon, *Black people in Britain, 1555–1833* (1977), 40–41.

cousin, Lady Elizabeth Murray (*c.*1763–1825), with whom she is depicted in Zoffany's famous portrait (Fig. XX), as a lady of great beauty and high status.[127] She was also a responsible member of the household administrative staff, in charge of the dairy and poultry yard. When the American visitor Thomas Hutchinson attended a family dinner in 1779, he recounted that:

> A Black came in after dinner and sat with the ladies and after coffee, walked with the company in the gardens, one of the young ladies having her arm within the other. She has a very high cap, and her wool was much frizzled in her neck, but not enough to answer … the large curls now in fashion. She is neither handsome nor genteel – pert enough.[128]

Lord Mansfield obviously cared for her, as in his will, he expressed the desire that the portrait of him painted by Van Loo should hang in Dido's bedroom after his death, 'to put her in mind of one she knew from her infancy & always honoured with uninterrupted confidence and friendship'.[129] He also bequeathed her £500, plus an annuity of £100 thereafter. Lady Margery Murray also left her £100.

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[127] J Zoffany, *Dido and Lady Elizabeth Murray* (c.1799), Collection of the Earl of Mansfield, Scone Palace. Elizabeth Murray (d.1825) later married George Finch-Hatton (1747-1823) of Kirby Hall.
[128] Reyahn King, 'Belle, Dido Elizabeth (1761?–1804)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/73352, accessed 17 Sept 2008; G Adams, 'Dido Elizabeth Belle. A Black Girl at Kenwood', *Camden History Review*, 12 (1984), 10-14.
[129] TNA, PROB/11/1230.

Recent research by Sarah Minney has provided further details of Dido Belle's later life.[130] On 5 December 1793 she married John Davinier at St George's, Hanover Square, London; both were resident in the parish. The couple had at least three sons (the twins Charles and John, and William Thomas), who were also baptized at St George's on 8 May 1795 and 26 January 1802 respectively. Dido Belle died in 1804 and was buried in July that year at St George's Fields, a burial-ground for St George's, Hanover Square, near the modern Bayswater Road; her grave was moved in the 1970s during development of the site. She was survived by her husband, who later remarried and had two more children.[131] The more we learn of her life, the less similarity it bears to the traditional stereotype of black slavery.

Other Kenwood connections occur earlier in its history. George Middleton (1692–1747), who rented Kenwood from 1725 until his death,[132] worked as a banker in the Strand, London, from 1703. His bank, which later became Coutts & Co., was badly hit when the South Sea Bubble burst.[133] As already mentioned above, the third earl of Bute (1713–92), who had owned Kenwood, wielded great power over the colonies in his role as Secretary

[130] S. Minney, 'The search for Dido', *History Today*, 55/10 (Oct 2005), 2–3.
[131] King, op. cit.; J Walvin, *Black Ivory: Slavery and the British Empire*, 2nd edn, Oxford, 2001, 10–11.
[132] J Bryant, *Kenwood: The Iveagh Bequest*, London, 2001, 22.
[133] Edna Healey, 'Middleton, George (1692–1747)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/49134, accessed 26 Oct 2008.

of State in the eventful year of 1761–2.[134] Thus Kenwood was linked in a variety of ways from the personal to the political.

The Pratt family of **Bayham Old Abbey** in Kent married into the Jeffreys family of Brecknock Priory in successive generations, and eventually inherited their entire estates, and took the Jeffreys name. The Jeffreys' money came from Sir Jeffrey Jeffreys (*c.*1652–1709), who was a proprietor of Fisher's Pond, St Michael, Barbados, and a tobacco and slave trader.[135] He was Assistant to the RAC in the years 1684–6 and 1692–8, and a 'separate trader' from 1702 to 1709.[136] The Pratt papers include 'Papers concerning ½ plantation called Fishers Pond, ½ buildings and ½ negroes handed over as security for a bond for 500,000 lbs of marketable 'muscavado' sugar'.[137] Although the family proprietorship ended with this deal (made before 1692), the colonial connection continued: the first Marquess Camden (1759–1840), who inherited Bayham Old Abbey from his uncle Thomas Pratt in 1805, had been a member of the Board of Trade and

[134] Hamilton, op. cit., 170. See also Schweizer, op. cit.
[135] 'On the death without male issue of both sons, Edward (1680–1740) and Nicholas (1683–1747), Jeffreys's real estate passed to Nicholas's daughter and heir, Elizabeth, who in 1749 was to marry the rising lawyer, Charles Pratt, later lord chancellor and first Earl Camden. On the Kentish Town demesne lands their son, the first Marquess Camden, developed the neighbourhood known as Camden Town, where Jeffreys Street and Brecknock Road recall the former owner.' Jacob M Price, 'Jeffreys, Sir Jeffrey (*c.*1652–1709)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/49858, accessed 7 March 2007.
[136] Price, op. cit.; Davies, op. cit., 295, 372; Donnan, op. cit., I, 120–21, 392–3; IV, 10–12, 88–90.
[137] NRA8410 Pratt: Barbados 1668–92; Centre for Kentish Studies, U840/T223 (4 docs. Creation dates: 1668–1692).

Plantations from 1793, and was Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1804–5.[138] By this time he was a staunch abolitionist, however, so the connection had come full circle.[139] What part of the wealth he inherited from slave-worked property was spent on the construction of Bayham Abbey to the design of David Brandon in 1870–72 is not known.

Bolsover Castle, Derbyshire may have been home to the black grooms employed by William Cavendish, first duke of Newcastle (1593-1676), who were depicted in three 17th century paintings: two by Abraham Van Diepenbeeck and one by A Sijmons.[140] The Castle can next be linked to the history of the slave trade by the marriage of Lady Henrietta Cavendish-Holles (1694–1755) to Edward, Lord Harley (1689–1741), son of Robert Harley, first earl of Oxford and Mortimer, the prime minister who had launched the South Sea Company in 1711. She inherited Bolsover from her maternal ancestors in 1719, after successfully contesting her father's will. Her daughter, Margaret, married William Bentinck, second duke of Portland, in 1734, bringing the house into the Bentinck family. The first duke of Portland had been Governor of Jamaica from 1722 to 1726.[141]

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[138] S M Farrell, 'Pratt, John Jeffreys, first Marquess Camden (1759–1840)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22705, accessed 24 Jan 2008.
[139] 'Presidents of the Board of Trade and successor offices (1696–2004)', op. cit.
[140] Seymour and Haggerty, The Slavery Connections of Bolsover Castle (1600-c.1830), op. cit., 39-42.
[141] 'Colonial administrators and post-independence leaders in Jamaica', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn, Oxford University Press, Oct 2005; online edn, Jan 2007, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/theme/93242, accessed 8 March 2007; See also Thomas, op. cit., 241.

He bought a plantation on his arrival and created Portland parish.[142] The third duke (1739–1809), prime minister in 1783 and 1807, opposed abolition, and refused to act when Granville Sharp sent him a transcript of the *Zong* massacre case.[143] His second son, Lord William Henry Cavendish-Bentinck (1774–1839), made an unsuccessful counterclaim, with Fulke Grenville Howard and John Dalton of Peckham, for compensation for 46 slaves on the L'Amitié estate in Trinidad in the 1830s.[144] None of this money seems to have materially benefited Bolsover, which had its last makeover in the 1660s by the first duke of Newcastle.[145]

Houghton House, Bedfordshire, had a variety of links in the early period. Owner William Herbert, the third earl of Pembroke (1580–1630), invested in the Virginia Company, Guiana Company, Somers Island Company and the East India Company.[146]

[142] Seymour and Haggerty, op. cit., 14, 31. He had also lost money in the South Sea bubble.
[143] G Gerzina, *Black England: Life before Emancipation*, London, 1995, 179. See Seymour and Haggerty, op. cit., 44-45 for copy of the letter.
[144] Draper database: T71/894, Trinidad # 1684. The Portland family also owned the Portland estate in London, developed by the Adams brothers and a hub of the London West India interest, many of whom lived on Portland Place and Portland Square.
[145] Colvin, op. cit., 678.
[146] Victor Stater, 'Herbert, William, third earl of Pembroke (1580–1630)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13058, accessed 8 March 2007. His grandfather, the first earl of Pembroke had invested in John Hawkins's second slaving voyage in 1564–5, which according to Guzman de Silva, the Spanish ambassador, made a profit of 60 per cent. Narasingha P. Sil, 'Herbert, William, first earl of Pembroke (1506/7–1570)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, May 2007 [http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/13055, accessed 27 Oct 2008]; E. Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, 4 vols, Washington DC, 1930–35, I, 47, 59; Basil Morgan, 'Hawkins, Sir John (1532–1595)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12672, accessed 26 Jan

His younger brother, Philip Herbert (1584–1650), was a member of the council of the Virginia Company from 1612, a member of the East India Company from 1614, and incorporator of the Guiana Company in 1626.[147] As previously stated, he also held a grant of the islands of Trinidad, Tobago, Barbados and Fonseca from the Crown for ten years from February 1628.[148] His wife, Lady Anne Clifford (1590–1676), had previously kept black servants with her former husband, the earl of Dorset, at Knole. 'John Morockoe, a Blackamoor' appears under the heading 'Kitchen and Scullery' and 'Grace Robinson, a blackamoor', under 'Laundry maids' in a list of the Earl of Dorset's household and family between 1613 and 1624.[149] However, by the time of her marriage to Philip Herbert in 1630, Houghton House had reverted to the king. Philip Herbert's second son, also named Philip (1621–69), was a Member of the Royal Adventurers of England trading to Africa in 1660 and 1663.[150] Again, there is no evidence that Houghton House materially benefited from these links.

Leading the second division, we find **Appuldurcombe House**, on the Isle of Wight. Sir Robert Worsley, baronet (1669–1747), who built the present Appuldurcombe House between about 1701 and 1713, was married in 1690 to Frances Thynne (*d*. 1750),

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2008. Houghton was built in 1615 by Mary Herbert, née Sidney, dowager countess of Pembroke (1561-1621).

[147] D L Smith, op. cit.

[148] Idem.

[149] *The Diary of the Lady Anne Clifford*, ed. V Sackville-West, London, 1923, lxi.

[150] Davies, op. cit., 64; Donnan, op. cit., I, 169n.

daughter of the first Viscount Weymouth (1640–1714), who was President of the Board of Trade and Plantations from 1702 to 1707.[151] Sir Robert's younger brother, Henry (*c*.1670–1740), was Governor of Barbados from 1722 to 1727.[152] It is unclear whether any of his earnings would have directly benefited Appuldurcombe. But it benefited from the wealth amassed by George Aufrère (1715–1801), a merchant who traded arms to the African forts. His only daughter and heiress, Sophia (*d*. 1786), married Charles Anderson-Pelham, first Baron Yarborough (1749–1823), and their son, the first earl of Yarborough (1781–1846), married Henrietta Anna Maria Charlotte Simpson (1788–1813), who inherited Appuldurcombe in 1805 from her uncle Sir Richard Worsley.[153] The first earl was the beneficiary of his grandfather's estate, held in trust, but it is not clear whether he spent any of this on improvements at Appuldurcombe.[154]

Chiswick House had a similar number of links, but of a different kind. Chiswick was home to various black servants, in the time of Richard Boyle, third earl of Burlington (1694-1753) (Fig. XX). Amongst these were Joseph Caesar, baptised at Chiswick church

[151] 'Presidents of the Board of Trade and successor offices (1696–2004)', op. cit.
[152] L O J Boynton, *Appuldurcombe House*, London, 1986, 13; 'Colonial administrators and post-independence leaders in Barbados', *Oxford DNB*, online edn, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/theme/93228, accessed 7 March 2007.
[153] Nigel Aston, 'Worsley, Sir Richard, seventh baronet (1751–1805)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29986, accessed 12 Oct 2007.
[154] David Hancock, 'Aufrère, George René (1715–1801)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/49743, accessed 7 March 2007, and *Citizens*, cit., esp. 355–9, for a portrait of Mrs Sophia Pelham by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

in 1725 and James Cambridge, a footman. [155] This type of connection continued in around 1790, when Georgiana, duchess of Devonshire (1757–1806), who was mistress of Hardwick Old Hall and Chiswick House, was sent an 11-year-old black boy by George Hanger (1751–1824), army officer, writer and a notorious dandy.[156] She wrote to her mother:

> Dear Mama, George Hanger has sent me a Black boy, eleven years old and very honest, but the duke don't like me having a black, and yet I cannot bear the poor wretch being ill-used; if you like him instead of Michel I will send him, he will be a cheap servant and you will make a Christian of him and a good boy; if you don't like him they say Lady Rockingham wants one.[157]

The house was also linked to the history of abolition, as Charles James Fox died there in 1806. In 1791 Fox had called on the House of Commons to 'mark to all mankind their abhorrence of a practice so enormous, so savage, and so repugnant to all laws human and divine'. On 19 September 1806 Wilberforce wrote to Sidmouth: 'so poor Fox is gone at

[155] R Hewlings, 'Blacks in the household of Lord Burlington', *Country Life*, CXCVIII, 8 Jan 2004, 64–5, and later correspondence from Jane Clark (who countered that blackness was symbolic, not actual) on 15 Jan 2004, 40, and 29 Jan 2004, 50.
[156] Stuart Reid, 'Hanger, George, fourth Baron Coleraine (1751–1824)', *Oxford DNB*, http://ezproxy.ouls.ox.ac.uk:2117/view/article/12195, accessed 17 Sept 2008]
[157] Gerzina, op. cit., 53; see also V Sackville-West, *Knole and the Sackvilles*, London, 1922, 185.

last. I am more affected by it than I thought I should be.'[158] Thus Chiswick House's connection is more limited, as there is no evidence of slavery-derived wealth being used to build or improve it.

In Newcastle the property known as **Bessie Surtees' House** after its most famous resident actually comprises two buildings, Nos 41 and 44 Sandhill. Bessie Surtees, who lived in No. 41, eloped in 1772, aged 16, with a local merchant's son, John Scott (1751–1838), who four years later was called to the bar and, as first earl of Eldon, was the longest-serving Lord Chancellor of England, from 1801 to 1827. Her father, Aubone Surtees (1711–1800), was a wealthy banker, but his business does not seem to have been directly related to slavery. Her brother, also Aubone (1752–1827), followed his father into the banking world, but was not successful, as the Newcastle bank in which he was a partner with Rowland Burdon failed in 1803. He did, however, own stocks and interests in South Sea Annuities. As we have already learnt, as Lord Chancellor, Lord Eldon argued against abolition in 1806.[159] Meanwhile, both Nos 41 and 44 Sandhill were home to a succession of coffee houses and one tobacconist between 1740 and 1801. Robert Carrick, who bought No. 44 from Utrick Whitfield (*d*. 1747) in 1741, and refronted the house in brick, ran the premises as a coffee house until at least 1757. By the time the

[158] Thomas, op. cit., 524; Anstey, op. cit., 391, also 364–5 and elsewhere in Chapter 15; Gerzina, op. cit., 200; L G Mitchell, 'Fox, Charles James (1749–1806)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10024, accessed 8 March 2007.
[159] Anstey, 343n. and 373; Wiecek, op. cit., 110.

property had passed into the hands of James Wilson (who owned it from around 1784 to 1798) it was listed in *Whitehead's Directory* as a tobacconist. Wilson had plans to include a factory in the rear wing. No. 41 was leased to a succession of tenants by the Clayton family, who owned the building until 1848. Eleanor Waterwood ran the place as Nellie's Coffee House from 1774 to 1781. Isabell Webb succeeded her, trading as Bella's Coffee House from 1781 to 1794. By 1801 the coffee shop at No. 41 was presided over by one Isabella Wilson.[160] These businesses would not have existed without slave labour, but neither of these two merchant's houses was built on slave-related profits.

Ranger's House, in Greenwich, was built for Francis Hosier (1673–1727) about 1700.[161] He was a naval officer, whose career took him more than once to the West Indies, where he eventually died, in Jamaica, on 25 August 1727.[162] A fascinating episode in his career occurred the year before his death, when as vice-admiral of the fleet he sailed past the port of Havana, inspiring enslaved Africans on the south-western Cuban sugar plantations to rebel and proclaim their freedom.[163] The fourth earl of Chesterfield, who inherited the lease of the house from his brother John in 1748, had two black servants: one a 'Black-a-

[160] Heslop, McCombie and Thompson, op. cit.
[161] J K Laughton, rev. J D Davies, 'Hosier, Francis (*bap*. 1673, *d*. 1727)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13833, accessed 20 Feb 2008; A French, *Ranger's House*, London, 1992, 19.
[162] 'Presidents of the Board of Trade and successor offices (1696–2004)', op. cit.
[163] J L Franco, 'Maroons and slave rebellions in the Spanish territories', in R Price, ed., *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas*, 3rd edn, Baltimore, MD and London, 1996, 41.

Moor boy instructed in the Christian faith',[164] and another, named Cato, reputed to 'blow the best French horn and Trumpet' in England, whom he gave as a present to the prince and princess of Wales in 1738.[165] Although Cato could not have lived at Ranger's House, the other servant may have done.

Two marriages link **Wrest Park** and the **De Grey Mausoleum**, Flitwick, both in Bedfordshire, to slavery. In October 1641 Mary Courten (1609–44) married Henry Grey, tenth earl of Kent (1594–1651), owner of Wrest Park. Her father William was a merchant and financier who had interests in the Dutch tobacco colony in Guiana and undertook much of the cost of the first settlement of Barbados in 1628. He left her £2,000 when he died in 1636.[166] However, this windfall was not directly converted into any major expenditure on the building. Further research might reveal how this money was spent, but given the date of the marriage, it was just as likely to have gone towards equipping a militia regiment in the Civil War than towards beautifying Wrest Park.[167]

[164] While ambassador to The Hague (either in 1727 or 1744), Chesterfield had this boy instructed by his chaplain, personally catechized him, and then had him christened. Fryer, op. cit., 74.
[165] Ibid., 80–81.
[166] John C Appleby, 'Courten, Sir William (*c*.1568–1636)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6445, accessed 8 March 2007; A Hann and S Garland, *Wrest Park*, 2011, 39.
[167] Grey was a staunch Parliamentarian and speaker of the House of Lords 1645-1649: A Hann and S Garland, *Wrest Park*, London, 2011, 39.

A century later, in May 1740, Jemima, Marchioness Grey (1722–97), then heiress to Wrest Park, married the Hon. Philip Yorke (1720–90).[168] He was the son of the first earl of Hardwicke (1690–1764), Lord Chancellor, who in 1729 as attorney-general gave, with Charles Talbot, the solicitor-general, 'on the earnest solicitation of many merchants' and 'British planters', the opinion that:

> a slave by coming from the West Indies, either with or without his master, to Great Britain or Ireland, doth not become free; and that his master's property or right in him is not thereby determined or varied; and baptism doth not bestow freedom upon him, nor make any alteration in his temporal condition in these kingdoms.

Finally, they added that they believed 'that his master may legally compel him to return to the plantations'. This decision was given after a dinner in Lincoln's Inn, and so did not have the same legal status as a court judgment. Nonetheless, it was treated as such by the plantocracy, who heralded it as a great victory, and in 1749 Lord Hardwicke reaffirmed it as Lord Chancellor, making *trover* available for a slave in the case of *Pearne v. Lisle*.[169] However, this case was not reported until 1790, and thus exerted little or no power as a

[168] Ibid, 41.
[169] *trover* is a 'common-law action to recover the value of personal property that has been wrongfully disposed of by another person.' The significance being that applying it to a man reduced him to mere property, i.e. a 'slave'. "trover", Oxford Dictionaries. April 2010. Oxford University Press. http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/trover, accessed September 24, 2012.

precedent for the next 40 years.[170] After his son's marriage, the Lord Chancellor helped him run the estate at Wrest.[171] During this time the family employed Capability Brown to transform the gardens. [172]Neither of the marriages then directly led to building at Wrest being financed by slave-wealth, but they show that even families not directly involved in the slave trade remained connected at one remove.

At **Roche Abbey**, South Yorkshire, we find evidence of financial loss from slavery: Thomas Lumley-Saunderson (1691–1752), who inherited the ruinous monastic buildings at Roche as part of the Sandbeck estate when he succeeded his brother as (third) earl of Scarbrough in 1739, had lost money in the South Sea Bubble.[173] However, in 1785, the fourth earl's fourth son, the Revd John Lumley-Savile (1761–1835), married Anna Maria Herring (*d*. 1850).[174] Her father, Julines Herring of Heybridge, Essex, also had an estate on Paul Island, Jamaica, for which his family was compensated in 1836. His son and daughter-in-law, Oliver and Mary Herring, were awarded £103 14*s* 2*d*, John and

[170] Fryer, op. cit., 114–15; J Oldham, *English Common Law in the Age of Mansfield*, Chapel Hill, NC and London, 2004, 310.
[171] Hann and Garland, op.cit., 43.
[172] N Pevsner, *Bedfordshire and the County of Huntingdon and Peterborough*, Harmondsworth, 1968, 173.
[173] E H Chalus, 'Saunderson, Frances Lumley-, countess of Scarbrough (*c*.1700–1772)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/68364, accessed 13 March 2007.
[174] Since the time of writing, it has been pointed out to me that the Lumley-Saviles of Sandbeck and Roche also owned Rufford Abbey, now cared for by English Heritage, from 1784 until 1938. See P. Smith, 'Rufford Abbey and its Gardens in the 17th and 18th Centuries', *English Heritage Historical Review*, IV, 2009, 122-53.

Catherine Gordon £650 12*s* 8*d*, and Sir John Peniston Milbanke £325 6*s* 5*d* for their respective shares in 61 slaves. Catherine Gordon was Julines Hering's daughter, who had married John Gordon of Stapleton Grove, Bristol, the collector of customs, in 1787. Sir John Peniston Milbanke of Halnaby, Yorkshire, was another son-in-law, who had married Hering's daughter Elena in 1799. A further £1,865 15*s* 8*d* was awarded to James Campbell of London for 95 slaves as mortgagee of the estate.[175] The Revd Lumley-Savile inherited the Sandbeck estate as seventh earl of Scarbrough in 1832, but none of the compensation money was awarded to him or his wife, although her dowry wealth was derived from the family's Jamaican plantation.

Sutton Scarsdale Hall, Derbyshire, was rebuilt by the fourth earl of Scarsdale (1682–1736) to the design of Francis Smith of Warwick in 1724. He was the grandson of Frances, daughter of Robert Rich, earl of Warwick, who had married Nicholas Leeke (1612–81), the second Lord Scarsdale, in 1650. Warwick was a founding member of the Guinea and Amazon River Companies and the Company of Adventurers trading into Africa in 1618, and in 1619 he joined the council of the Virginia Company. He sponsored various privateering ships, which captured cargoes of slaves from the Spanish and Portuguese in the Caribbean, including the *Treasurer*, which took the first Africans to Virginia in 1619 in convoy with a Dutch ship, and then went on to take the remainder to

[175] Draper database: Westmoreland #223 and #223A.

Bermuda. In 1638, he purchased the fourth earl of Pembroke's patent for the islands of Trinidad and Tobago.[176] But making Sutton Scarsdale Hall into what Pevsner described as 'easily the grandest mansion of its date in the county' in fact ruined the fourth earl of Scarsdale, and his executors were forced to sell the estate on his death.[177]

As noted above, Sutton Scarsdale was bought by the cotton manufacturer Richard Arkwright (1755–1843) in 1824. He was the only son and heir of Sir Richard Arkwright (1732–92), a key figure in the Industrial Revolution, who invented and pioneered new cotton spinning technologies in his factories, experimenting with roller spinning and eventually hitting on the water frame which ran on water power, and transformed the industry.[178] The cotton supplied to his mills at Rocester, Staffordshire, and Bakewell, Cromford and Masson in Derbyshire would have originated from slave-worked cotton plantations in the Americas.[179] In this way the Arkwright fortune was based on slave labour.

[176] Sean Kelsey, 'Rich, Robert, second earl of Warwick (1587–1658)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23494, accessed 12 March 2007; Donnan, op. cit., I, 78. Pembroke's mother had built Houghton House, see above.
[177] N Pevsner, *Derbyshire*, rev. E Williamson, Harmondsworth, 1978, 335; Colvin, op. cit., 940.
[178] J J Mason, 'Arkwright, Sir Richard (1732–1792)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/645, accessed 12 March 2007; Anita McConnell, 'Arkwright, Richard (1755–1843)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/646, accessed 12 March 2007.
[179] Williams, op. cit., 23; Inikori, op. cit., 376–7.

In the third division, we find a final seven properties with only one link each, of varying strength and interest. The slavery link of **Hardwick Old Hall** in Derbyshire, built by Bess of Hardwick (1527?–1608), is tentative at best. Finished in 1591, it was swiftly superseded by the adjacent New Hall; both became part of the Devonshire estate. The dukes of Devonshire, as we have already seen, also owned Chiswick House. The 11-year-old black boy whom Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire (1757–1806), was sent by George Hanger is as likely to have visited Hardwick as Chiswick, but as the Old Hall was ruinous at the time, the black presence would not have been closer than the near surroundings.[180]

Thanks to the research of Imtiaz Habib, we know a lot more about the black presence at **Kirby Hall** in Northamptonshire. It seems that Kirby was home to a black servant named James Chappell in the 1670s. Chappell was servant to Christopher Hatton, first Viscount Hatton (1632–1706). He was taken into service in 1663, aged 15. In 1672 he saved his master's life and the lives of his three small daughters when lightning set fire to the powder magazine at Castle Cornet, in Guernsey, causing a huge explosion. It was after this disaster, which killed both his wife and mother, that Hatton moved his household (and thus James Chappell) back to Kirby Hall. Chappell married twice, first to a woman named Elizabeth in London in 1672, with whom he had a daughter, also named

[180] Gerzina, op. cit., 53; see also Sackville-West, *Knole,* cit., 185.

Elizabeth; and secondly to Mercy Peach in 1705. They had a daughter, Amey. Mercy's brother or father, Thomas Peach, was the licensee of the Hatton Arms in Gretton in this period, which gives some credence to the local legend that Chappell himself eventually became landlord there. More certain is that he received an 'annuity of £20 a year during the term of his life' in Hatton's will of 1695.[181] This fascinating life story, though patchy, is much fuller than many accounts of black lives from this period. When viewed alongside stories such as that of Dido Elizabeth Belle, it may cause us to re-examine our preconceptions about the position of black residents in the British country house.

A trading link was found at **Stokesay Castle** in Shropshire, owned by William, first earl of Craven (1608–97), who had inherited it from his mother, Dame Elizabeth Craven; she had bought it in 1620 from the Mainwaring family.[182] Craven was a scion of the London mercantile elite: his father, Sir William Craven (*c.*1545–1618), was alderman and lord mayor of London, and his maternal grandfather was Sir William Whitmore, another London alderman. He himself was involved in the African trade, heading the committee of the Royal Adventurers of England trading to Africa in 1660 and continuing to

[181] L Worsley, *Kirby Hall*, London, 2000, 30; I H Habib, *Black Lives in the English Archives, 1500–1677: Imprints of the Invisible*, Aldershot, 2008, 225–7, 358; TNA, PROB 11/492/396; *Correspondence of the family of Hatton, being chiefly letters addressed to Christopher, first Viscount Hatton, A.D. 1601-1704*, ed. E Maunde Thompson, 2 vols. (22,23), Camden Society (1878),I, ii,104.
[182] H Summerson, *Stokesay Castle*, London, 2009, 31.

subscribe in 1667.[183] He was an Assistant of the Royal African Company from 1687 to 1689, having been a subscriber since 1671.[184] He was named a proprietor of Carolina in 1663.[185] Thus he was a key figure in the early history of the trade. He was often abroad, but visited Stokesay in 1633 and 1640-1, when he built a new ornamental gatehouse there, which cost him about £500. However, after Craven leased the property to the Baldwyn family from 1647 he had little personal connection to the property. [186]

Old Gorhambury Hall in Hertfordshire is linked to the history of slavery and abolition through the marriage in 1807 of the Hon. James Walter Grimston (1775–1845), who inherited the Gorhambury estate in 1809 (and was created first earl of Verulam in 1815), to Lady Charlotte Jenkinson (1783–1863). Her father, Charles Jenkinson, first earl of Liverpool (1729–1808), was President of the Board of Trade and Plantations from 1786 until 1804.[187] He was such a strong advocate of the 'West Indian' (planters') cause that he gained the freedom of the city of Liverpool in recognition of his services. On 20 June 1788, the council of Liverpool:

> ordered that the Freedom of this borough be presented to the Right Hon. Charles Lord Hawkesbury [as he then was] in consideration of the important advantages

[183] Thomas, op. cit., 198. Also Donnan, op. cit., I, 169–70.
[184] W Pettigrew, unpublished database on the Royal African Company, compiled as part of his Oxford DPhil thesis, 2007; Davies, op. cit., 62, 65, 163; Thomas, op. cit., 198.
[185] Smuts, op. cit.
[186] Summerson, op.cit, 32, 34.
[187] 'Presidents of the Board of Trade and successor offices (1696–2004)', op. cit.

> resulting to the nation at large from his Lordship's great attention to its commercial interests, and more particularly in gratitude for the essential services rendered to the town of Liverpool by his Lordship's later exertion in Parliament in support of the African Slave Trade and that the Mayor be requested to communicate the same by letter to Lord Hawkesbury.

When he was created earl of Liverpool in May 1796 the corporation invited him to quarter the arms of Liverpool with his own.[188] What direct financial benefit Gorhambury might have derived from this remains unclear, but Liverpool's grandson, another James Walter Grimston, Viscount Grimston, together with the earl of Thanet, and George and John Frederick Forster, were jointly awarded £2474 15*s* 8*d* for part of 167 slaves on the Lancaster estate in St Elizabeth Jamaica (in 1837); and Lord Grimston, with the earl of Thanet alone, was awarded £4232 15*s* 3*d* for 209 slaves on Two Mile Wood estate in St Elizabeth in 1836. These two estates, together with Bogue and Elim estates, had belonged to the Forster family. Lords Thanet and Grimston were most likely trustees on two claims which were disputed within the Forster family.[189] It is fairly plausible that Grimston became part of the network that saw him becoming a trustee for a planter family through his grandfather's contacts. However, unless he was a highly unscrupulous trustee, he was

[188] Donnan, op. cit., II, 589; also see 575. Hugh Thomas suggests that Liverpool was also a 'West India proprietor', but no corroborating evidence for this has been found. It may be that the strength of his advocacy of the West Indian interest gave the impression he was a proprietor himself. Thomas, op. cit., 503.
[189] Draper database: St Elizabeth claims #345 and #346.

merely acting as guardian for the compensation funds, which would in due course revert to the Forster family, and so the funds would have had little direct impact on Gorhambury, still less on the ruins of Old Gorhambury Hall, which had been allowed to fall into disrepair in the mid 18th century.

Three final properties in this one-connection division were linked to slavery through marriage. On 7 March 1637 the Hon. Constance Fiennes (*d*. 1692) married Sir Francis Boynton (*c.*1618–1695), second baronet, of **Burton Agnes Manor House**, Yorkshire. Her father, William Fiennes, first Viscount Saye and Sele (1582–1662), held plantations in Connecticut (1632–44) and New Hampshire (1633–41).[190] In August 1774 Ann-Jessie Smelt (*b*. 1748), married Nathaniel Cholmley (1721–91) of **Whitby Abbey**, also in Yorkshire. She was the granddaughter of William Smelt (1691–1755), who was 'receiver of His Majesty's casual revenue on the island of Barbados'.[191] When James Everard Arundell (1785–1834), tenth Lord Arundell of Wardour, owner of **Old Wardour Castle**, Wiltshire, married Lady Mary Anne Nugent-Temple-Grenville (1787–1845) in 1811, he was marrying into the same Grenville family as Richard Aldworth Nevile of Audley End had in 1780. As we have already seen, they held two plantations at Middleton and Hope in Jamaica from 1777. Lady Mary Anne was the daughter of Sir George Nugent-Temple-

[190] David L Smith, 'Fiennes, William, first Viscount Saye and Sele (1582–1662)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9415, accessed 8 March 2007.
[191] S Hots, 'Smelt, Leonard (*bap*. 1725, *d*. 1800)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25754, accessed 12 March 2007.

Grenville (1753–1815), first marquess of Buckingham, and Lady Mary Elizabeth Nugent, Baroness Nugent of Carlanstown in her own right.[192] However, it was her nephew, Richard, second duke of Buckingham and Chandos, who was to inherit the Jamaican property at his marriage in 1819, and so Mary Anne was unlikely to have profited directly and Old Wardour Castle, already uninhabited, still less. None of these marriages can be said to have materially benefited the properties in question in any way.

Of the thirty three properties investigated, seven were found to have no clearly demonstrable links to slavery or abolition: these were Belsay Hall, Derwentcote Steel Furnace, Hill House, Lulworth Castle, Great Yarmouth Row Houses, Rufford Abbey and Wingfield Manor.[193]

Conclusion

This highly random sample of properties captures a selection of landed estates and their owners. The extent of slave-related wealth catalogued here is a powerful demonstration

[192] R W Davis, 'Grenville, George Nugent-Temple-, first marquess of Buckingham (1753–1813)', *Oxford DNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11490, accessed 20 Feb 2008. For the family's claims in the 1830s, see Draper database: St Andrew claim # 114; T71/865, St Andrew claim #390.

[193] Since the time of writing, a link has been found for Rufford Abbey. See n.173, above.

of the inescapable socio-economic significance of the British Atlantic slave trade. It should be remembered that most of the family wealth in these cases was based on British land (with the exception of the banking families) and its rental income. Thus there is no example of a house being built directly from slave-derived profits, as was the case with Harewood House, Yorkshire.[194] However, the vast majority of those surveyed here had at least one discernable connection, often over many generations and there are four with exceptionally strong links: Brodsworth Hall, The Grange, Battle Abbey and Witley Court. A further seven had fairly strong links, and two of these, Marble Hill and Bolsover Castle, have already yielded further connections upon deeper investigation.

The straightforward connection of a house being built on profits derived directly from ownership of slave plantations or direct involvement in the slave trade is shown not to apply to any of these houses. They were more likely to have indirect links, such as company shares or advantageous marriages. These connections were not all financial. These houses were home to men and women who played various roles in the history of the abolition movement, both legal and political, and in some cases to black people themselves. When links from all nine categories are put together, they begin to show a web that has greater significance when viewed as a whole. Using country houses and the

[194] Although Brown has discovered that Marble Hill House was partly financed by South Sea Company shares.

families that inhabited them as a prism, we can begin to see the extent to which links to slavery pervaded English society during this period.

In 2006, when English Heritage commissioned this research, it was with the expectation that the results would be made public.[195] In a speech to the House of Lords in 2007, The Right Rev John Packer, Bishop of Ripon and Leeds said: 'We should recognise the extent to which our cultural heritage is based around the profits of slavery and the Department of Culture, Media and Sport should take more seriously its obligations to remind us of that.'[196] However, besides these obligations, disclosing and displaying these histories provides an opportunity to engage new audiences as visitors to England's built heritage. Those people who feel that these stories are being hidden from the public would surely be interested to see new interpretations, if these were publicised in the right way. Budget constraints and logistical realities may impede this process, but it must be attempted if we do not want to be accused of 'official amnesia'.[197] Indeed, as Anita Rupprecht put it: 'the act of disclosure is seen to outweigh the content of the findings.'[198] Thus, English

[195] Read more: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-412575/English-Heritage-accused-politically-correct-hand-wringing-slavery-project.html#ixzz27IZHY0lA ; http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2006/oct/25/britishidentity.immigrationpolicy

[196] http://www.yorkshireeveningpost.co.uk/news/latest-news/top-stories/don-t-ignore-slave-roots-of-stately-homes-1-2098557

[197] Rice, 11.

[198] Rupprecht, op. cit, 11; Draper, *The Price of Emancipation*, op. cit., 13.

Heritage must begin by sharing the information gathered here as widely as possible, in guidebooks, online and on site.

However, this survey has at best scratched the surface and has often had to rely on secondary literature, which does not always lend itself to asking or answering the questions pursued here. Further research is required to fully uncover the extent of the connections between these properties and slavery. Besides the four properties that were investigated further in 2009, Battle Abbey and Witley Court are highlighted here as having the strongest links and so would benefit from closer scrutiny. Most of the families mentioned here have archives that would be worth searching. The findings of Brown, Seymour and Haggerty show that even the 'fixtures and fittings' that Rice dismissed at the Wye plantation, can tell part of the story. Items such as the mahogany furniture at Brodsworth, or the paintings of black grooms at Bolsover can reveal colonial links. Exploring these could be particularly useful with a view to interpretation, as a mahogany chair or other exotic item could be a starting point for incorporating the story of slavery connections into the presentation of a house.

Even more vivid are the stories of the black presence in these houses. Seymour, Haggerty and Brown recommend checking the parish registers at Brodsworth (particularly 1741-1820), Bolsover and Welbeck, and Northington Grange during the period it was leased by

the future George IV (1795-1800). Parish registers have proved a fruitful source for such discoveries. The Black and Asian Londoners Project, which ran from 2001 at the London Metropolitan Archives, found over 2,000 references to Black or Asians in the London baptism registers 1597-1856.[199] A black presence has already been discovered in some houses in this way. In Watford, local parish registers have revealed a black presence in the 18th century household of the Earls of Essex at Cassiobury Park. [200] A Gloucestershire parish register (dated 24 November 1805) records the burial of 'Dido, a female negro belonging to Sir George Bolton,' who lived at nearby Tutshill house, as well as being proprietor of the Upper Diamond estate in St. Vincent.[201] Discovering a black presence in the history of a house could lend itself to imaginative re-interpretations, such as historical characters dressing up to take alternative tours of the house, such as the tour organised for International Slavery Remembrance Day at the Georgian House in Bristol where you can: 'Meet Pero, the house owner's enslaved valet, and talk with him about his life and times.'[202]

Without such work, some visitors will continue to feel alienated, and many more will never even consider visiting. As the poem by *blackangelwings* put it:

Admit the obvious to the paying visitors face
These breathtaking Mansions are an inherited disgrace
Your ancestors made a pact with the devil
Yet with your titled position you still profit and revel.

[199] http://www.learningzone.cityoflondon.gov.uk/dataonline/lz_baproject.asp, accessed 12 January 2012; See also City of London parish registers here:
[200] http://www.watfordjunction.org.uk/category_id__16.aspx, accessed 24 Sept 2012.
[201] Draper, in Dresser and Hann, op. cit., 190,196.
[202] http://www.bristol.gov.uk/node/2916, accessed 24 Sept 2012.

When I visit, your guides proudly show 'The Estate'
Boast about your history so proud to relate
Impressive notices and facts freely displayed
It's only the truth that has been conveniently mislaid.

Put up information and admit the whole truth
The slave trade rewarded ancestors in Sistine ceilings and roof
Human life paid the bills for your inherited home
The lucrative transportation of African skin and bone.

The poem may not be a great work of literature, but its meaning is clear. English Heritage, the National Trust and other heritage bodies must not only ‘admit the truth’ but work harder to discover all the facts and educate the public about the wide variety of potential links to slavery and abolition identified here. This initial survey shows that further research, into family archives, house contents and properties held beyond the remit of English Heritage is likely to be fruitful, besides being fascinating and long overdue. This research must be undertaken so that in 2033, English Heritage properties are able to commemorate the bicentenary of the abolition of slavery in the British Empire with far more knowledge and understanding than they have today.