

**SLAVERY CONNECTIONS OF BRODSWORTH HALL
(1600-*c.*1830)**

FINAL REPORT for ENGLISH HERITAGE

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List of Abbreviations

a	acre(s)
CT	Charles Thellusson
CSAT	Charles Sabine Augustus Thellusson
DA	Doncaster Archives
GWT	George Woodford Thellusson
GLR	Grenada Land Registry
hhd(s)	hogshead(s)
HCRO	Herefordshire County Record Office
JC	John Cossart
LFHC	London Family History Centre
LivRO	Liverpool Record Office
MSCUN	Manuscripts and Special Collections, University of Nottingham
MMMA	Merseyside Maritime Museum Archives
p	perche(s)
PT	Peter Thellusson
PIT	Peter Isaac Thellusson
r	rood(s)
SROI	Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich
TNA	The National Archives
YAS	Yorkshire Archaeological Society

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1) Introduction

This report was commissioned by English Heritage in November 2008 and research was carried out from December 2008 to October 2009 with a budget of £5000. The following six objectives were addressed in the research:

1) to establish the slavery and colonial connections of the case study property and its owners, including their wider families;

2) to assess the relative importance of slave-generated wealth to the owners and how this changed over time;

3) to establish how slave-generated wealth was used in relation to the property and within the wider British economy and to establish if/how the wealth of the property in Britain contributed in turn to the development of slavery-based investments in the colonial and slavery environment;

4) to identify and evaluate any evidence of slavery-related designs at the property;

5) to assess any evidence of a black presence within the household;

6) to assess any responses to abolition from owners of the property, their families and any other figures associated with them.

While we have attempted to give an overview of the slavery and colonial connections of Brodsworth Hall, the availability of extant material (particularly the lack of business records for Peter Thellusson (PT) and his sons), accessibility (particularly for Caribbean properties) and funding constraints have meant that we have had to focus on certain key periods, issues and individuals connected with the property. This has facilitated focussed and meaningful/cost-effective research which also fits with current historiographical debates. The key areas of focus are:

i) the sources of Peter Thellusson's (1735-1797) merchant wealth, with a case study of his money lending in Grenada;

ii) Peter Thellusson (1735-1797), and the managers of his will (1797-1859), as landowners in Grenada and England;

iii) Charles Sabine Augustus Thellusson (1822-1885) and the spending of his inheritance at Brodsworth, including the building of Brodsworth Hall.

2) Overview of owners, their use of Brodsworth and their slavery and colonial connections

A local Yorkshire family, the Dawnays (or Dawneys), may have held Brodsworth at the beginning of the 17th century. The family, who inherited the property from the Darrells by marriage, was based at Cowick, ten miles to the north of Brodsworth.¹ However, there is some evidence that the manors of Brodsworth and Cowick were conveyed to Francis earl of Shrewsbury, John Newell, Lord Latimer and others by Sir John Dawnay (d.1553) on the marriage of his son Thomas to Edith Darcy.² It was then acquired by the Wentworth family of North Elmsall, possibly Sir Thomas Wentworth, in the early 17th century. The first of the Wentworths known to have lived at Brodsworth was Thomas's second son, Darcy Wentworth (1592-1667), who is claimed to have founded Brodsworth School. There is a 1624 line engraving of him by Willem van de Passe in the National Portrait Gallery Collection and he was active in the Civil War on the Parliamentary side. His successors were his nephew's son, Henry, and Henry's son, Sir John Wentworth.³ No evidence has been found from secondary sources of any connections of the Dawnays or Wentworth families with slavery during their periods of ownership of Brodsworth.

Sir John Wentworth sold the manor house and estate at Brodsworth to George Hay (1689-1758), then viscount Dupplin and later 8th earl of Kinnoull, in 1713.⁴ Following a short period of incarceration as a suspected Jacobite sympathiser, he returned to Brodsworth in 1716 and probably undertook significant estate 'improvements', including rebuilding of the house, laying out of the gardens and park and extension of his agricultural lands. A son-in-law of the first earl of

¹ Caroline Carr-Whitworth, *Brodsworth Hall and Gardens* (English Heritage, London, 2009), 37.

² Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Yorkshire Star Chamber Proceedings, *Record Series*, 41 (1908), 54n.

³ Carr-Whitworth, *Brodsworth Hall*, 37-38; Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of England*, vol. 1 (London, 1831), 249 (though the date of the school foundation is cited as 1696 which is beyond the lifetime of Darcy Wentworth); National Portrait Gallery, <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/largerimage.php?LinkID=mp67938&rNo=5&role=sit> [accessed 13 Nov 2009].

⁴ Carr-Whitworth, *Brodsworth Hall*, 37-8; Phillip Carter, 'Hay, George, eighth earl of Kinnoull (1689–1758)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12718> [accessed 12 Nov 2009]; Camilla Beresford, *Brodsworth Hall* (Historical Report for English Heritage, London, 1991).

Oxford, Hay was involved in trading in South Sea Company stock and lost heavily in the 1720 'crash'.⁵ Soon after he took up the post of ambassador to the Ottoman empire (1729-36), perhaps in an attempt to restore his family's fortunes. This connection with the South Sea Company may be worth exploring in future research but it has not been possible to do this under the financial and time restrictions of this work.

Thomas Hay (1710-1787), 9th earl of Kinnoull, was mainly resident in Scotland where he actively improved his estates, particularly through tree planting.⁶ It was his younger brother, Robert Hay (1711-76) (from 1739 Hay-Drummond, to recognise an inheritance from his Scottish paternal ancestor), who took up residence at Brodsworth. He lived there from 1761 when he became archbishop of York, dividing his time between Brodsworth and the archbishop's palace at Bishopthorpe, just south of York. Hay-Drummond carried out large-scale 'improvements' at both sites, and Brodsworth Hall was substantially remodelled in the 1770s perhaps to designs by Robert Adam.⁷ In 1749 Hay-Drummond had married Henrietta Auriol, daughter of Peter Auriol a London merchant, and it may be worth examining his wife's dowry and inheritance for links with the slave trade and slavery.⁸ Hay-Drummond was also closely associated with leading Whig politicians of the time, notably Lord Rockingham and the third duke of Portland who were both regular visitors to Brodsworth. In 1764, he produced two reports sent to government which illustrate the colonial scope of his vision. The first, *Thoughts upon the Ecclesiastical Establishment in Canada*, was produced by request to address issues of denominational adherence at the end

⁵ Carr-Whitworth, *Brodsworth Hall*, 38; Anon, *Brodsworth Hall Conservation Plan* (English Heritage, London, n.d.); Richard Sharp, 'Drummond, Robert Hay (1711–1776)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8081> [accessed 23 Mar 2009]. On the South Sea 'Bubble' see John Carswell, *The South Sea Bubble* (London, 1960). On financial speculations more generally see Peter M. Garber, *Famous First Bubbles: The Fundamentals of Early Manias* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000).

⁶ David Allan, 'Hay, Thomas, ninth earl of Kinnoull (1710–1787)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12737> [accessed 12 Nov 2009]; Patrick Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will of 1797 and its Consequences on Chancery Law* (Lampeter, Wales, 2002), 109.

⁷ Carr-Whitworth, *Brodsworth Hall*, 38; Beresford, *Brodsworth Hall*; Anon, *Brodsworth Hall*.

⁸ Whilst as with other ports, the slave trade did not dominate London's trade, it was an integral part of it and many London merchants were involved in financing slave voyages from other ports. See N. Draper, 'The City of London and Slavery: Evidence from the First Dock Companies, 1795-1800', *Economic History Review*, 61:2 (2008), 432-66.

of the Seven Years' War. The second, in collaboration with the archbishop of Canterbury, *Thoughts upon the Present State of the Church of England in America*, proposed the establishment of a 'colonial episcopate' with four suffragan bishops based in New Jersey, Virginia, South Carolina, and Bermuda.⁹

Following Robert Hay-Drummond's death in 1777, Brodsworth was neglected, his brother still preferring to live in Scotland. Robert Hay-Drummond's eldest son, Robert Auriol Hay Drummond (1777-1866), became 10th earl of Kinnoull in 1787 and sold the Brodsworth estate to Peter Thellusson in 1791. It is not clear why the sale was made, although there is evidence of attempts to sell the property from the mid-1780s.¹⁰

Peter Thellusson (PT) (1735-97) purchased the former Brodsworth Hall in 1791, drawing on funds accumulated from his merchant and banking activities.

Thellusson, from a Huguenot banking family, was a Swiss national from Geneva who came to London in 1760 (see Figure 1a). He is acknowledged as a member of the 'Protestant International' – 'the great network of Protestant firms located in the big commercial cities of Paris, Lyons, Geneva, Amsterdam and London' who readily accepted one another's bills and exchanged information rapidly and confidentially.¹¹ Yet PT remains an elusive figure, leaving few known letters and no business records. There is just one portrait of him in middle age and a 23-page will, though the substantial legal proceedings in the Chancery Court associated with this controversial will do throw some light on his activities.

Although PT was naturalised by act of Parliament as a British citizen on 23rd December 1760, and was married to Ann Woodford from an established English family in early 1761 (see Figure 1b), he was still barred under the Act of Settlement from holding public office or acting as an MP.¹²

PT's interests were wide-ranging and global in scope. They included considerable investments in slave-based properties in the Caribbean, mainly through loans,

⁹ Sharp, 'Drummond, Robert Hay' (quotation); Carr-Whitworth, *Brodsworth Hall*, 38.

¹⁰ Carr-Whitworth, *Brodsworth Hall*, 38; Beresford, *Brodsworth Hall*.

¹¹ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 11 (quotation); D. J. Ormrod, 'The Atlantic Economy and the Protestant Capitalist International, 1651-1775', *Historical Research* 66 (1993), 197-208.

¹² Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 35, 37, 61.

and in the trade in goods connected with slave-based production and the slave trade, with a limited involvement in slave trading itself. He and his family had a number of known associations with networks involved in trade based on slavery, including Liverpool slave traders such as William Davenport, George Campbell junior and Stephen Hayes, and the London-based groupings of Camden, Calvert and King and possibly Richard Oswald. The precise nature of these investments and connections is discussed in Section 3. PT reportedly had £12,000 and family connections to start him off in business in London in 1760. The latter included his brother, George Tobie Thellusson, who was in a highly successful banking firm in Paris from 1756 with Jacques Necker, and his brother-in-law Pierre Naville, a London-based merchant from Geneva who had married PT's sister, Ann (see Figure 1a). The Thellusson and Necker bank provided capital for PT and he still owed his brother £6,000 when George died in 1776.¹³

PT's famous will made in April 1796 gives some idea of his wealth late in life as do the trustees' records of money coming in during the first few years following his death and various other documents drawn up as part of the case in Chancery over his will. Polden reports the disclosure by his family of PT's nominal wealth at death as nearly £1m, with £627,088 in stocks and shares, around £175,000 in property, and £105,000 owed to him in debts. However, he believes this was an overestimation due to property overvaluations, dips in stock values and some bad debt. A figure of £700,000 is seen as more realistic.¹⁴ Nonetheless when PT died the Thellusson firm was 'very highly esteemed'. Polden cites Lord Kenyon's view that the holder of a bill of exchange "'seeing the name of Messrs Thellusson on it'" would regard it as "'equal to the Bank of England, as they were Gentleman of the first Character and Reputation'".¹⁵

While it is clear that PT built up a huge fortune over about 35 years of his working life, the extent to which he made changes to Brodsworth Hall and estate

¹³ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 39, 43, 44, 57; Francois Cruzet, 'The Huguenots and the English Financial Revolution', in Patrice L. R. Higonnet, David S. Landes and Henry Rosovsky (eds) *Favorites of Fortune: Technology, Growth and Economic Development since the Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), 221-66, 257.

¹⁴ Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich (SROI) HB416/A2/7, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 1799-1813; Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 257-262; Carr-Whitworth, *Brodsworth Hall*, 40.

¹⁵ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 221 (including cited quotations).

during his lifetime, drawing on these sources of wealth, is less certain. At his death the Brodsworth estate comprised the house, gardens, offices, etc and farm lands totalling around 4,320 acres.¹⁶ PT also owned 'A Freehold House and Warehouses in Philpot Lane in the City of London' (the Thellusson business premises) a villa and small estate at Plaistow in Kent and rights as mortgagee over the Bacolet plantation in Grenada at the time of his death.¹⁷ However, through his will PT had a considerable impact on Brodsworth beyond his lifetime, particularly through its direction to accumulate further estate lands (see below Section 5) and in relation to the neglect of the house under the provisions of the will during the period of trusteeship.

In his unusual will, PT left the bulk of his wealth to the unborn male heirs of his sons, rather than to his six sons and daughters directly. Instead he left relatively small legacies to his wife Ann (the right to live at Plaistow, income from £22,000 Bank stock and £600 of long annuities, totalling £2,140 per annum), his three daughters (£12,000 each, if they made suitable marriages, plus income from £1,500 Bank stock and £200 long annuities, together totalling £312 10s per annum) and three sons (£23,000 each). Unsurprisingly PT's children contested his will, albeit unsuccessfully.¹⁸

All three of PT's sons had entered his merchant house before his death although when they did so is unclear. Peter Isaac Thellusson (PIT) and George Woodford Thellusson (GWT) may have joined immediately after leaving Harrow in 1776, at the respective ages of 15 and 12, and Charles Thellusson (CT) in 1786, aged 16, again after leaving Harrow. Polden states there is no evidence of any of the sons being sent abroad to learn aspects of the business with relatives.¹⁹ However, CT may have entered the partnership later as the Master in Chancery report of 1819 claims that when PT retired from the business in 1791, he 'placed his Son the said Charles Thellusson in the said partnership which was afterwards carried on

¹⁶ SROI HB416/A2/7, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 1799-1813, 324-25.

¹⁷ SROI, HB416/A2/7, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 1799-1813, 325; SROI HB416/D1/3/2, Letter to Messrs Benbow Tucker and Saltwell, headed 'The Granada Account' and concerning annuities, 23 Jan 1860.

¹⁸ The National Archives (TNA) PROB 11/1294, f.574, 'The Will of Peter Thellusson dated 2nd Day of April 1796'; Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 135-38.

¹⁹ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 66.

under the firm of Thellusson Brothers & Co'.²⁰ Due to the terms of PT's will none of his sons were direct owners of Brodsworth Hall and its surrounding estate, although Charles did live there for restricted periods allowed under the terms of the will. Each son, nonetheless, qualified for an equal share of Philpot Lane if they remained in the family business for at least six years after PT's death. Nominally at least all did so.²¹ The partnership of Thellusson Brothers continued to the end of 1798 and was then renewed with the addition of William Mitchell as a partner, probably brought in initially as chief clerk. However, PIT and CT took a lesser role from this time and GWT and Mitchell together seem to have driven the business. Sometime later, according to Chancery records in late 1808, CT left the firm altogether and PIT's second son George replaced him, creating the new firm of 'Thellusson Nephew & Co.'.²²

The Thellusson firm seems to have been in trouble by 1803 when Joseph Farington commented in his diary, that 'The Thellusson's [sic] might have been of more consideration, but they have been losers by speculation & have not conducted themselves as to be esteemed: Their Bond is looked upon to be of more value than their Word'.²³ A well-publicised dispute with the Manchester manufacturers, Thomas and Richard Walker, from 1793 to 1796, may have been the prompt for Farington's comment. Thellusson Brothers had sought business with the Walkers in 1792, offering them contracts with their European network of correspondents and banking services. However, financial pressures and some accounting confusion seem to have led them to dishonour a number of the Walkers' drafts in late 1793 and an open dispute ensued.²⁴ By 1805 when their mother Ann died, Polden believes the firm 'was going downhill fast'. This is unsurprising since their trade would have been seriously affected by the war, losses and insurrections in the Caribbean and the loss of French trade. This may

²⁰ SROI HB 416/A2/6, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 9 Jul 1819, 76.

²¹ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 138.

²² Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 221-23, 229; SROI HB416/A2/6, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 9 Jul 1819, 88; SROI HB416/D1/3/1, Letter from Thos Wm Budd to Messrs Benbow Tucker and Saltwell, concerning annuities charged on Thellusson estates, and mentioning the Bacolet estate in particular, 23 Nov 1859, 130.

²³ Kenneth Garlick and Angus MacIntyre (eds), *The Diary of Joseph Farington Volume VI April 1803 – December 1804* (New Haven and London, 1979), 19 Jun 1803, 2060.

²⁴ Anon, *Facts relative to a Banking Connexion between Thellusson Brothers & Co of London, and Thomas and Richard Walker, of Manchester* (Manchester?, c.1796).

well have prompted them to move further into the speculative bill and bond market and to suffer when the widespread belief in the City that the 1801 peace would be long-term, failed to materialise. While the firm did not experience the failures of Walter Boyd or the Goldsmids 'their fall from grace was rapid' in Polden's view.²⁵ The Thellussons seem to have generally withdrawn from a prominent role in loans after the failure of Boyd in 1800 although they did bid (unsuccessfully) with members of his former group for the 1798 loan at the time when it was clear Boyd was in trouble, and they were participants in a loan engagement for £20m in 1806, led by Sir Francis Baring.²⁶ The firm's reputation was further damaged by association with Emperor Woodford (see below) and by its promotion of government support for the Liverpool brokers, Lowndes and Bateson in 1810, when William Mitchell was accused of misleading the Bank of England over the firm's solvency. Lowndes and Bateson failed and the Thellussons' reputation dipped.²⁷ The early death of PIT's son George, involved in the firm of Thellusson Nephew & Co (see above), may well have contributed to the decline of the Thellusson business. George served as a Lieutenant in the 11th Light Dragoons and was killed in action at the battle of Vitoria (1813) during the Peninsular Wars.²⁸

There is little doubt, however, that the Thellussons continued to be involved in the West Indian trade, particularly through marine insurance. Polden cites a range of evidence from legal proceedings to substantiate this. For example in 1801, GWT was accused of perjury in a case brought by Copinger, a ship owner. It appears Thellusson Brothers had issued a mortgage to the Copinger brothers for the ship, *The Guardian*, but they had fallen into arrears 'thereby vesting the ship in the lenders'. GWT was accused of falsely claiming ownership of the vessel but was vindicated, countersuing and winning £1,000 in damages. Another law suit of 1806, Thellusson v. Shedden, involved a ship insurance claim in which the *Mary*, travelling from Jamaica to London, was captured then recaptured and its cargo sold by the Admiralty Court to cover salvage and expenses. However, the

²⁵ *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 221 (first quotation), 222, 223 (second quotation).

²⁶ S. R. Cope, *Walter Boyd. A Merchant Banker in the Age of Napoleon* (Gloucester, 1983), 154, 161; Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 222, 249.

²⁷ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 241, 254.

²⁸ Napoleonic Guide, British Army Officer Casualties 1808-1814, http://www.napoleonguide.com/medical_ukofficers5.htm [accessed 13 Sep 2010].

Thellussons were not asked to appear before the Commons committee which heard evidence on the fate of West Indians, probably due to their minimal involvement in land ownership.²⁹

PT's eldest son, Peter Isaac Thellusson (PIT) (1761-1808) (see Figure 1a) was brought into the family merchant house, probably at the early age of 15 and was a known associate of Camden, Calvert and King, slavers and global traders.³⁰ In 1783 he married Elizabeth Eleanor Cornwall, from a merchant family, originally of Hull, who had links with the Thorntons (another prominent banking family). The Cornwalls dealt mostly in the Russian trade.³¹ John Cornwall, Elizabeth's father, was a director of the Bank of England from 1761 and it could have been through his influence that PIT also became a director of the Bank in 1787 at the early age of 26, a position he retained until 1806.³² He clearly used his family connections to their full advantage.

PIT also began building up a landed base while he was still actively in business. In 1796, at the age of 35, he purchased the Rendlesham estate in Suffolk of Sir George Wombwell, himself from a London mercantile family, for £51,400. The sale included 1,146a 2r 26p in and around Rendlesham, including Naunton Hall.³³ PT's will suggests he had already lent PIT money and, following his father's death, PIT in 1799 borrowed a further £50,000 on mortgage at 5 per cent interest from the trustees, presumably to help develop these estates. PIT certainly commissioned Humphry Repton to produce designs for Rendlesham Hall during the 1790s.³⁴ In 1814 this debt stood at £78,927 1s 8d but was reduced by the sale of the three properties PIT inherited which stood outside the terms of PT's will as they had been contracted for, but not purchased, at the

²⁹ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 222, 223 (quotation), 249.

³⁰ Museum in Docklands,

<http://www.museumindocklands.org.uk/English/EventsExhibitions/Special/LSS/Map/Enslavement/People/33.htm> [Accessed 5 Nov 2009].

³¹ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 68-9.

³² R. G. Thorne, (ed.) *The House of Commons, 1790-1820, Vol.5 Members Q-Y* (London, 1986), 362.

³³ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 125 (although he claims the sale was made in 1786); SROI HB 416/A2/1, Part of bundle, Manors in Rendlesham and sundry premises c.1703-1800, 6/7 Jun 1796 [catalogue description].

³⁴ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 231, 262; Stephen Daniels, *Humphry Repton. Landscape Gardening and the Geography of Georgian England* (New Haven and London, 1999), 266.

time of his death.³⁵ Following PT's death, his sons also acted as rent collectors on the trust lands for which role they received 5 per cent of the gross rentals. However, it would appear that PIT's lack of farming and land management experience worked against him and his attempts to extract very high rents at Newton Hazard in County Durham, against his surveyors' advice, had bad results.³⁶

PIT also sought to become actively involved in politics and became an MP, purchasing his first seat in Midhurst, Sussex (a rotten or 'pocket' borough) from the earl of Egremont for an undisclosed sum. Following this he bought another rotten seat in the 1796 election, for Malmesbury in Wiltshire.³⁷ In the Commons he actively defended his mercantile interests in the Caribbean. He spoke on the issue of war prizes in relation to Martinique which had been captured by the British in 1794, arguing for moderation here and perhaps fearful of similar French excess if British islands were captured. The Thellussons very likely continued to have business loans in the Caribbean and PIT defended his brother George's advocacy on behalf of Martinique merchants and tried to ensure an affidavit by the French merchant Malespine was placed before the Commons in time for the Martinique debate. The vote nonetheless was lost 57 to 19. In the 1802 election PIT stood unsuccessfully with George at Okehampton in Devon, but then 'bought' a seat at Castle Rising in Norfolk for around £5,000 and later represented Bossiney, in Cornwall, in 1807.³⁸

In a more forceful attempt to advance the family interests, PIT petitioned and bargained with Pitt (via William Windham, Secretary at War and a friend of his mother's family, the Woodfords) for a peerage, using the electoral dispute between his brother George and the radical Tierney as leverage (see below). In his letter he describes electioneering as "'this troubled Ocean'" and argues that before re-entering, "'it behoves our family well to consider its own private situation, its public duty and those future prospects of honor [sic] and

³⁵ SROI HB416/A2/6, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 9 Jul 1819, 98-106.

³⁶ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 292.

³⁷ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 111. It was possible to purchase such seats until Curwen's Act of 1809.

³⁸ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 112-13, 228; Thorne, *The House of Commons, Vol. 5*, 362-64.

advancement which are laudable objects in us all, and which by blending the general good with the individual interest gives to the one dignity and to the other zeal".³⁹ PIT made it clear that his family would not continue to oppose Tierney in Southwark without some sort of assurance on a title. He further supported his case by claiming that such a move would "not be an unpopular measure" in the City and referring to his family's noble roots, his father's fortune and both PT's and his own establishment in landed society:

"Since the year 'ninety he [PT] has completely left trade and resides the greatest part of the year on his Estate in the country. My continuing in business is uncertain. I am daily investing my fortune in land and certainly my eldest son will not be brought up to trade."⁴⁰

By this time PIT was 'a well known figure in society' with a rented house in Dover Street, 'the very heart of the fashionable quarter' where he gave 'splendid entertainments', perhaps most notably a masque in 1804 attended by the Prince of Wales and around 800 other guests, including further royals and peers.⁴¹

PIT's lobbying paid off and on 1 February 1806 he became Baron Rendlesham in the county of Suffolk in the Irish peerage, under one of Pitt's last acts of patronage. He quickly decamped to the country, relinquishing his town house, and spent most of his time developing his Suffolk estates, particularly in terms of their game potential. He did not have long to enjoy his title, dying on 16 September 1808, out shooting, aged 46. He left a considerable fortune and his grandson, Frederick, fourth Lord Rendlesham, was one of the two final heirs of PT's fortune, inheriting the Suffolk estates built up under the terms of PT's will.⁴²

PT's second son, George Woodford Thellusson (GWT) (1764-1811) (see Figure 1a) also entered the family merchant house at an early age and appears to have been the most business-oriented of the three brothers, carrying on longer in

³⁹ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 116-17 (citing TNA 30/8/182 f.174 ff PIT to Windham [for Pitt], 12 Nov 1796).

⁴⁰ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 116-18 (citing TNA 30/8/182 f.174 ff PIT to Windham [for Pitt], 12 Nov 1796).

⁴¹ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 251, 227 (quotations).

⁴² Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 229-31.

trade and perhaps developing a specialism in the West India business after the death of his father (see Section 3). Through his marriage to Mary Ann Fonnereau, the youngest daughter and co-heiress of Philip Fonnereau, GWT entered another family of Huguenot merchants. As Mary Ann's older sister, Elizabeth Mary, had married George Hibbert (1757-1837) in 1784 he also developed an important link to another powerful Caribbean planter and mercantile family.⁴³ The Hibberts were considered amongst the most considerable African factors in Jamaica, and had a commission house in London as well as a cloth manufactory in Manchester.⁴⁴

GWT also attempted to enter parliament but had a much more difficult experience than PIT. In 1796 he stood as a ministry-backed candidate for Southwark (which had one of largest borough electorates in country) alongside Henry Thornton, and in opposition to George Tierney. Tierney was a radical advocating peace and reform, supported by the London Corresponding Society, and was actually the brother of Charles Thellusson's mother-in-law. While Thornton and GWT were initially elected, Tierney successfully contested GWT's election on the grounds of unlawful treating, leading to another contest which Tierney won, leaving GWT 'heavily out of pocket', probably to tune of around £10,000. He stood unsuccessfully at Okehampton in 1802 but did eventually secure a seat at Tregony in Cornwall in the 1804 election and in 1807 he was elected for Barnstaple in Devon.⁴⁵

GWT was also active politically in mercantile circles. In January 1795 he chaired 'a meeting of Merchants and others, commission'd to act on behalf of the Claimants of property confiscated in the Island of Martinique', held at the London Tavern. It is possible that GWT was one of the merchants who had business dealings with French planters on Martinique, as this would fit with known patterns of Thellusson business (see Section 3). He followed this by petitioning the third duke of Portland (in his role as Secretary of State for the Home

⁴³ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 69-70; David Hancock, 'Hibbert, George (1757-1837)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, Sep 2004; online ed., Jan 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13194> [accessed 5 Nov 2009].

⁴⁴ Richard B. Sheridan, 'The Commercial and Financial Organisation of the British Slave Trade, 1750-1807', *Economic History Review*, 11 (1958-9), 249-63, 254-55.

⁴⁵ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 114-16 (quotation 116), 124, 228; Thorne, *The House of Commons*, Vol.5, 361-62.

Department) on behalf of the group and presenting him with their set of resolutions. In these the Memorialists protested against the behaviour of the British commanders, General Grey and Admiral Jervis, who the Martinique planters had accused of unwarranted property seizure against the peace terms issued, and requested a 'Conference' with Portland following a special meeting of the West India Planters and Merchants called to address the issue.⁴⁶ The behaviour of Grey and Jervis over war prizes in Martinique was certainly controversial, particularly as neutral American ships and their cargoes had also been seized. While Grey specifically criticised GWT in the ensuing parliamentary enquiry, stating "who that Mr. Thellusson is he did not know, but his memorandum breathed nothing but direct and positive falsehood", and the West Indians were defeated in the Commons vote on the issue (see above), Jervis and Grey were deemed irresponsible in their actions towards the Americans who received substantial compensation under the Jay Treaty.⁴⁷ Such criticisms of the British military, however, did not seriously question GWT's position as an establishment loyalist and he acted as a major in the second regiment of the Royal East-India volunteers during the Revolutionary Wars.⁴⁸

GWT was also a director of the East India Company from 1796 but was disqualified in 1807 following Emperor Woodford's unscrupulous exploitation of GWT's position there. Through GWT, Emperor Woodford, a nephew of PT and one of his trustees (see Figure 1b), sought to secure positions in the East India Company for his contacts. This was a common practice. However, it subsequently emerged that Woodford had sold these positions for £3,000 each, completely humiliating GWT and precipitating his loss of director status. When Woodford fled from the country in May 1809 in the face of accounting

⁴⁶ Manuscripts and Special Collections University of Nottingham (MSCUN) PwF 8680, Letter from G W Thellusson, London, to third duke of Portland, 30 Jan 1795 (second quotation), in which are enclosed, PwF 8681, Resolutions of a meeting re Martinique, 30 Jan 1795, London Tavern (first quotation); and PwF 8682, Memorial 'of the Agents in behalf of the principal inhabitants and Proprietors in the Island of Martinique' to third duke of Portland, n.d. [c. Jan 1795].

⁴⁷ Joseph M. Fewster, 'The Jay Treaty and British ship seizures: the Martinique cases', *The William and Mary Quarterly Third Series*, 45:3 (1988), 426-52; Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 112 (cited quotation).

⁴⁸ Anon, *Loyal Volunteers of London & Environs, Infantry & Cavalry, in their Respective Uniforms ...Designed & Etch'd by T. Rowlandson* (London, 1798) No. XXIV.

irregularities, his association with the Thellussons probably also contributed to the firm's decline.⁴⁹

GWT had no male heirs. After his brothers withdrew from the merchant house he went into business with his nephew George, PIT's second son, and William Mitchell of Serjeant's Inn under the name of 'Thellusson, Nephew & Co'. This new partnership had moved from 34 Little Cheapside to 24 Old Jewry by 1811 and then to the Meeting House Court the following year, after GWT's death on 30 December 1811. In his will of 21 January 1811 GWT released his partner Mitchell from a personal debt but also reflected back on the debts of previous partnerships, urging him "most earnestly ... to recover as speedily as possible the considerable debts owing to my several partnerships ... [and to] give every assistance in his power to the executors of my late brother Lord Rendlesham for the like purpose".⁵⁰ GWT knew his business was in trouble. For those with West Indian interests this was a very precarious time and he was far from alone.⁵¹

In common with his older brother GWT also bought a substantial estate in an attempt to establish himself in landed society. His was at Wall Hall near Watford in Hertfordshire, purchased for £24,000 in 1799 using funds borrowed from the trustees of his marriage settlement. He also borrowed £6,000 from the trustees of his father's will on a 5 per cent mortgage, though this was quickly repaid. GWT immediately proceeded to 'improve' the property. Sir John Soane produced architectural designs for additions in 1800 and the hall was converted into a gothic abbey. GWT also instigated the enclosure of the nearby Aldenham common and Repton was called in from 1802 and produced a Red Book of designs.⁵² However, GWT's financial problems were so great by 1804 that he

⁴⁹ Patrick J. N. Tuck and Cyril Henry Philips, *The East India Company, 1784-1834* (Manchester, 1961) 335, 337, note that Directors normally stood for four years before being eligible again in the following year; Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 237-41. Robert Dundas, President of the Board of Control, however, reported his view in 1809 that George Thellusson had been "most unjustly" forced out of his directorship "from the mere effect of popular clamour", cited in H. V. Bowen, *The Business of Empire: The East India Company and Imperial Britain, 1756-1833* (Cambridge, 2006), 121.

⁵⁰ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 70, 223; Thorne, *The House of Commons, Vol.5*, 362 (cited quotation).

⁵¹ The seminal work on the post-abolition period and the West Indian economy is still Seymour Drescher, *Econocide: British Slavery in the Age of Abolition* (Pittsburgh, 1977).

⁵² William Page (ed.), *A History of the County of Hertford: volume 2* (London, 1908), 149-61, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=43264&strquery>

sold most of the Wall Hall estate (totalling 920 acres) for £72,395 in 1805, keeping only the house and seven acres of adjacent grounds. His position as rent receiver for the trust's Hertfordshire property also did not go well as he spent 'extravagantly' on buildings and estate repairs.⁵³

GWT died out shooting on 30 December 1811 at Rendlesham (again at an early age - 47), and was buried there. His fortune was much lessened by outstanding debts to him in the firm and his personal property amounted to less than £15,000. Indeed Chancery held his property until the claims of the Thellusson trust 'over his receivership, the West India estates and the old partnership' and any counterclaims were settled.⁵⁴

PT's youngest son, Charles Thellusson (CT) (1770-1815) (see Figure 1a) also went into the family business early in life, at least by the age of 21. Through his 1795 marriage to Sabine Robarts, he entered another elite mercantile family. Sabine's father was Abraham Robarts II (1745-1816) who by 1781 was a director of the Royal Exchange Insurance Company. In 1786 he also became a director of the East India Company 'in the City interest' and continued until disqualified in 1815.⁵⁵ Robarts became MP for Worcester in 1796, a position he held for 20 years until his death, and was generally a silent supporter of Pitt. Robarts shared many business interests with the Thellussons, including loan dealing and trading in the West Indies. In 1792 he was one of the partners who formed the influential banking firm of Robarts, Curtis, Were, Hornyold and Berwick, making him one of the city elite. However, Sabine's mother was from the Irish Tierney family which had radical sympathies (see above) and Robarts himself was counted as a friend of abolition of the slave trade by the early 19th century.⁵⁶ Perhaps through his father-in-law's interest CT became MP for

=Aldenham, [accessed 18 Dec 2009]; Sir John Soane's Museum, Concise catalogue of drawings, Drawer 4, Set 4, 9-11, Wall Hall Hertfordshire, Designs for additions for G W Thellusson, <http://www.soane.org/drawings/index.cfm?startrow=50> [accessed 18 Dec 2009]; Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 241-43, 262-63; Daniels, *Humphry Repton*, 261.

⁵³ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 262, 292 (quotation).

⁵⁴ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 242 (quotation), 243.

⁵⁵ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 70, 71 (quotation), 75; Thorne, *The House of Commons, Vol.5*, 23; Tuck and Philips, *The East India Company*, 337.

⁵⁶ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 71; Thorne, *The House of Commons, Vol.5*, 23.

Evesham, though this was a contested seat and involved considerable election costs.⁵⁷

CT also attempted to build up a landed estate. He owned a 'modest property' in Kent in the 1790s and borrowed £21,000 on mortgage at 5 per cent from the trustees of his father's will to buy the Bengeworth estate near Evesham in Worcestershire in the early 1800s. He paid £31,000 for this from the Rushouts in June 1802 but quickly repaid his loan. In 1804 the property was sold in lots, perhaps due to the downturn in trade. He does not seem to have tried to buy an estate elsewhere and spent much of his later life at Brodsworth. He was appointed receiver of the Yorkshire estate rentals by the Court of Chancery from July 1805. He died at Brodsworth on 2nd November 1815 aged just 45. His personal estate at death was less than £16,000.⁵⁸ CT's grandson, Charles Sabine Augustus Thellusson (CSAT) (1822-1885) was one of the two heirs of the bulk of PT's fortune.

The current Brodsworth Hall was constructed in the early 1860s, after the period of British slavery ended but drawing on part of PT's previously accumulated wealth. It was built by one of the two main heirs of Peter Thellusson, Charles Sabine Augustus Thellusson (CSAT) (1822-1885) (see Figure 1a), drawing on his portion of Peter Thellusson's inheritance settled on him in 1859. This comprised the Brodsworth estates, enhanced during the period of the trusteeship (see below Section 5b), the hall and gardens, which yielded an income of between £16,000 and £17,000 per annum. It also included his share of what had been accumulated in the West India Funds. Perhaps surprisingly, considering the trading problems in the early 19th century, his share came to the not unsubstancial sum of £16,119 3d Consols and £1,368 17s 11d cash, £691 19s 8d of which was realised by the death of the annuitant, Ichabod Wright. Furthermore, £300 13s 4d Consols and £258 16s 2d were also paid to CSAT from the Long Annuity Account, set up by PT to service his annuity payments on the Bacolet and Windmill Hill plantations. Less promising was the pledge of 'Cossart's share of West India Fund, receivable if no claim be made', with a note

⁵⁷ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 113-14, 228.

⁵⁸ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 244 (quotation), 245, 262-63; SROI HB416/A2/6, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 9 Jul 1819, 152.

stating 'Nothing expected from this' (see Section 3b).⁵⁹ In 1861 £155 4s 2d was paid as succession duty 'On West India Fund'.⁶⁰ CSAT also paid off his father's debts of nearly £60,000, almost £30,000 of which were owed to Robarts & Co.⁶¹ CSAT continued to invest in colonial stocks, including those of the Hudson Bay and East India companies and to use Robarts & Co. as his bankers and stockbrokers.⁶²

The new Hall was constructed to the designs of a British architect, Philip Wilkinson, and decorated with statuary by the Italian sculptor, Chevalier Casentini, who came from Lucca.⁶³ The new house and furnishings, completed by 1763, cost around £30,000 with an additional expenditure of just over £9,000 on the construction of new roads, greenhouses, gardeners' cottages, stables (£1,194 19s) and outbuildings (laundry and brewhouse - £983). Substantial additional amounts (totalling just over £11,000) were spent on the 'Park, Plantations &c' at this time (1861-1864). This included payments in relation to the extension of the park, with 'Payments made for Tenant right on the Land given up for the Park amounting to £1971.10.11'.⁶⁴ By 1870 CSAT's landed property yielded a total rental of £16,110 4d, £11,086 14s of which came from the Brodsworth estates. However, his land also carried a mortgage debt of £50,124, with a yearly interest payment of £2,251.⁶⁵

⁵⁹ Yorkshire Archaeological Society (YAS) DD168/7/2/6, Funds received under the Decrees in the Suits, 1865.

⁶⁰ YAS DD 168/7/2//3, Succession duties, 1859-1863.

⁶¹ YAS DD 168/7/2/7, 'Debts of the late Mr Charles Thellusson – paid', 1865.

⁶² YAS DD168/7/2/6, Funds received under the Decrees in the Suits, 1865; DA BROD/3/84, Stock receipts etc, 1859-1929.

⁶³ Carr-Whitworth, *Brodsworth Hall*, 41; Beresford, *Brodsworth Hall*.

⁶⁴ YAS DD168/3, Analysis of costs for the Hall, Park, Plantations etc, 1865.

⁶⁵ YAS DD168/7/2/9, Minute of rentals, 1870.

3) The slavery and colonial connections of owners of Brodsworth Hall, and their wider families

a) The sources of Peter Thellusson's wealth

Establishing precisely PT's business dealings, the sources of his wealth and the relative importance of the different sources is problematic as there are no extant business records or books of accounts for PT and the partnerships in which he was involved. That they did exist is indicated by William Mitchell's claim in 1816 that he had in his possession books relating to a range of partnerships in which the Thellussons were involved, including that of PT with PIT, GWT and John Cossart, 'under the firm of Thellusson Sons and Cossart' which ended on 31st December 1791.⁶⁶ Instead, use has been made of a number of documents drawn up as part of the Chancery case in relation to PT's will, material from lawsuits, insurance house records, private correspondence and land registry information from Grenada.⁶⁷

PT seems to have been part of just two main business partnership groupings although there is also evidence of him working alone in the early years of his loan contracting in Grenada and of him and his firm working alongside others in relation to government loan contracting, the supply of slave trade goods and sugar refining (see below). The first partnership in which PT was involved was with the Huguenot family of Fonblanque and lasted from the early 1760s to around 1767. The association may have begun by PT acting as a clerk to John De Grenier Fonblanque, Thomas Grenville in 1805 referring to PT as "'a Swiss and a banker's clerk'". PT was soon in partnership with the next generation, Anthony (previously Antoine) Fonblanque and the widow of his brother John, and the three partners had equal shares in the business, each contributing £5,000. This firm operated out of Water Lane, Tower Street and Lime Street in London and was listed in directories from 1763-68 as 'John and Anthony Fonblanque and

⁶⁶ SROI HB416/A2/6, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 9 Jul 1819, 48-49.

⁶⁷ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 35. Polden's book is an important source for the legal materials.

Thellusson'.⁶⁸ PT's 'particular contribution to the partnership was to bring agency work for the French houses, especially his brother's', whilst it appears that the Fonblanques had numerous Caribbean connections, though the firm seems to have taken on 'anything that seemed likely to be profitable'.⁶⁹ PT probably lived above the premises at this time. When this partnership broke up due to Anthony Fonblanque's sudden death in November 1766, there were debts and repayments due in a wide range of places: Bordeaux, Bremen, Calais, Dunkirk, Florida, Hamburg, London, Madrid, Paris, Uddenville, Waterford, and sites in the Caribbean, including the Grenadines, Guadeloupe, and Martinique.⁷⁰ The business involvement of the partnership in the West Indies trade 'was obviously substantial' and the large assets held there led to delay in winding up the business, the three part division taking six years before it was 'largely completed'.⁷¹ Evidence from Grenada suggests that PT operated independently there in the later 1760s and into the early 1770s, in the wake of this partnership breaking up.⁷²

In around 1768 PT entered a second much longer association with the former chief clerk at Fonblanque and Thellusson, John Cossart. This lasted 23 years. PT was the dominant partner with a large majority share of 15/16ths, which may be a reflection of the percentage of capital he contributed, and it would appear he and Cossart took the books from the former Fonblanque partnership with them to start their new business.⁷³ John Cossart was obviously only a minor partner in

⁶⁸ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 41, 44, 63; Thorne, *The House of Commons, Vol.5*, 362 (both quotations).

⁶⁹ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 43 (first quotation), 44 (second quotation). Merchants did not like money to lay idle. It was also usual for merchants to come together in a wide variety of 'associations' beyond their regular partnerships in order to bring capital, skills and knowledge together. See David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735–1785* (Cambridge, 1995), 104-14.

⁷⁰ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 42 citing a 1770s Chancery suit, 47.

⁷¹ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 42 (first quotation), 44 (second quotation).

⁷² See for example, London Family History Centre (LFHC), Grenada Register of [Land] Records, 1768-70 (v.L1-X1, 2nd series), Film 1563342: N1 358-67, Indenture between George Campbell and Stephen Hayes and PT, 19 Sep 1768; O1 54-66, Mortgage between Louis Francois DeGannes and Jeanne Monique Papin his wife and PT, 29 Mar 1769; Grenada Land Registry (GLR) E2 177-96. Mortgage between Walter Flyn and PT, 8 May 1772; GLR H2 1-13, Mortgage between Peter Pegus and James Samuel Tequier[?] and PT, 27 Jul 1772.

⁷³ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 44, 48, citing TNA C 33/449(2), f.671. Order of 7 Mar, 1778.

the firm and he is an elusive figure. Some have claimed that he was from an old Amsterdam house with strong West Indian links but this would not fit with the unequal partnership arrangements with PT and Cossart's long 12 year service as a clerk to the Fonblanques. Indeed, one reason for his small share in the business may be that he did not have the requisite capital for a larger investment. Polden believes he was born in England where such a surname was not uncommon, and sees him as 'just the partner for Thellusson, hardworking, tractable and essentially subordinate'. Cossart died sometime between the end of the partnership with PT in December 1791 and the making of PT's will in April 1796.⁷⁴

A third party, John Aubert, seems to have either joined or worked with the PT and Cossart partnership from around 1776 to 1786. The three men are listed as 'Merchants and Copartners' in a Grenadian mortgage agreement of April 1776 and Aubert was listed as co-lender in a number of other property-related cases there up to around 1786. Likewise, Polden reports on court cases related to mouldy ginseng and cotton sales in which Aubert was involved with PT and JC in 1776 and 1782.⁷⁵

The first listing of PT as a merchant in his own right appears in directories for 1770 when he had premises at 15 Philpot Lane. Directory evidence reveals the business became 'Peter Thellusson & Co' in 1772, 'Thellusson Cossant [sic] & Co' in 1780 and 'Peter Thellusson, Sons & Co' in 1791.⁷⁶ Sometime between 1760 and the establishment of the partnership with Cossart, PT bought or leased a counting house at Philpot Lane, 'in the heart of the City, just off Fenchurch Street and barely 100 yards long', near the Bank, Stock Exchange and Custom House but also close to the 'unembanked, unhealthy river'. This was where PT's new partnership was based and he lived there above the premises during the

⁷⁴ Polden cites Luthy, *Banque Protestante*, vol. II, 237 as suggesting Cossart had Amsterdam connections; Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 48 (quotation).

⁷⁵ GLR Z2 434-45, Mortgage between Walter Flyn and PT, JC and John Aubert, 2 Apl 1776, 434 (quotation); GLR P3 146-60, Mortgage redemption between Charles Dauvergne and PT, JC and John Aubert, 6/7 Feb 1786; GLR A4 52-76, Mortgage settlement between Marianne Dejean and Marianne de Cologne and PT and JC, 16 Mar 1790 (which reports on 1779 and c.1786 agreements); Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 49.

⁷⁶ Thorne, *The House of Commons*, Vol.5, 362.

early years of his marriage.⁷⁷ Thellusson counted amongst his apprentices the young George Greive (1748-1809), the political reformer and Jacobin 'persecutor of Madame du Barry' (probably in the 1760s), and John Barker (1771-1849), later a renowned diplomat, East India Company agent and horticulturalist, who joined the firm in 1789 and reportedly became 'confidential clerk and cashier'.⁷⁸

Later reports made to the Trustees, such as that by Mitchell a partner of PT's sons, in 1816, suggest that PIT and GWT joined their father's partnership with Cossart at some point 'under the firm of Thellusson Sons and Cossart', with PT giving over more of his share to GWT at the end of 1790, and that this partnership ended on 31st December 1791.⁷⁹ PT's will also suggests that by April 1796, when it was drawn up, he had already transferred £15,400 to each of his sons (£46,200 in total). This comprised a large part of their eventual £23,000 cash legacy set out in the will and was probably transferred as an interest in the merchant house as the will notes in relation to PIT's advance 'what I have given to him as it stands in my Books'.⁸⁰ Mitchell states that the Thellusson Sons and Cossart partnership was followed by another involving PIT, GWT, CT and John Cossart under firm of 'Thellusson Brothers and Co.' which became 'Thellusson Brothers' only after the death of John Cossart and expired on 31st December 1798. Mitchell then went into business with the three brothers.⁸¹

PT officially retired from the business in 1791 but from Mitchell's account it appears he left some money in the new business on which he was being paid 5 per cent interest. It also seems that some debts owing to the earlier partnership were rolled over to the new ones in which PT was not involved and that PT was credited 'with the whole of the Capital to which he would have been entitled as a

⁷⁷ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 44, 63 (quotations). Living above the property was a normal occurrence. See Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, 90-104.

⁷⁸ Thomas R. Knox, 'Greive, George (1748–1809)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11578> [accessed 5 Nov 2009]; Arthur H. Grant, 'Barker, John (1771–1849)', rev. Lynn Milne, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1405> [accessed 5 Nov 2009].

⁷⁹ SROI HB416/A2/6, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 9 Jul 1819, 48, 49 (quotation), 53.

⁸⁰ TNA PROB 11/1294, f.574, 'The Will of Peter Thellusson dated 2nd Day of April 1796', 3-4.

⁸¹ SROI HB416/A2/6, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 9 Jul 1819, 48-50, 49 (quotations).

Partner' in Thellusson Sons and Cossart 'in case the whole of the said debts or balances had actually been recovered and received'. Furthermore, Mitchell reported that 'some of the said debts or balances ... shortly afterwards turned out bad' and were either given up on or sold on. Mitchell's schedule suggested a relatively modest sum of £3,983 10s 1d, plus interest at 5 per cent per year was owing in total. Those debts which were on the books of Thellusson Sons and Cossart on 31st December 1790 were 'of long standing and except a few of trifling amount are all due from persons resident in foreign countries'.⁸²

PT also undertook some dealings in his own name, even in the 1790s, notably in loan contracting and sugar refining (see below). In the 1790s PT and his family's business 'suffered badly' during the Terror in France both due to the loss of a large part of their network of 'contacts, correspondents and connections on which their international dealings depended' and from the end of direct trade between England and France. The ensuing Revolutionary Wars also severely disrupted their Caribbean trade. Nonetheless Farington reported being told that PT made a not unsubstantial profit of £83,000 in 1795.⁸³

The sources of PT's wealth which have been identified are discussed below under a series of headings, with an attempt made to identify the relative importance of these sources to PT at different times. Polden reports a steady growth in PT's personal holdings over his working life but it would appear that there were significant shifts in his different business interests from trade towards bonds, stocks and shares as he got older. This may have been due to diversification as part of a risk strategy, the lack of alternative investment options at particular points in his career and/or a move towards less risky investments as he got older.⁸⁴

⁸² SROI HB416/A2/6, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 9 Jul 1819, 50-55 (including quotations); Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 100, 107.

⁸³ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 94 (quotation); Kathryn Cave (ed.), *The Diary of Joseph Farington, Volume VIII July 1806 – December 1807* (New Haven and London, 1982), 7 Jul 1807, 3082.

⁸⁴ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 52. On mercantile investments in stocks and bonds see D. Hancock, "'Domestic Bubbling": Eighteenth Century London Merchants and Individual Investment in the Funds', *Economic History Review*, 2nd Ser., 47:4 (1994), 679-702.

i) *Money lending in the Caribbean colonies*

There is substantial evidence that PT undertook widespread lending of money in the Caribbean through mortgages and bonds. There are confirmed associations with the Grenadines, Guadeloupe and Martinique when PT was in partnership with Fonblanque as indicated by debts and repayments made at the end of their partnership. These included a repayment in full of £1,488 2s 11d from the Chevalier Desure and Lyaune Dufasa of the Grenadines, £451 12s 9d due from Jean Testas of Guadeloupe and £528 16s 10d due from Louis Lermac of Martinique.⁸⁵ These were likely all French protestant borrowers though none have been traced specifically.⁸⁶ Connections of the PT and Cossart partnership with Grenada and Montserrat are confirmed by the legal proceedings over Bacolet and Windmill Hill plantations (see Section 3b) and a case study of PT's lending in Grenada (see below Section 3d). This suggests substantial mortgage loans were made to Grenadian planters but that this activity was mixed in success. It has not been possible to confirm potential associations with St Vincent and Trinidad.⁸⁷ It is likely that the bulk of lending in the West Indies was initiated in the 1760s and 1770s when the new Ceded Islands of Dominica, Grenada, St Vincent and Tobago were being developed, and therefore the money could have been used to purchase land, equipment or enslaved people.

All of the Caribbean properties in which PT acquired an interest came to him as a result of borrowers defaulting on loans made by PT alone or through his partnership with Cossart (see Section 3b). Furthermore, claims made in the court case following the dissolving of the Fonblanque and Thellusson partnership suggest that PT and Cossart had a Caribbean clientele strongly drawn from Fonblanque connections and that in order not to offend these people they failed to pressurise customers to repay their debts:

⁸⁵ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 42 citing a 1770s Chancery suit, 47.

⁸⁶ A search on the web was undertaken for these people. Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 47 cites TNA C12/83/13 which may throw further light on these French debtors.

⁸⁷ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 42, 49; Ali, *Brodsworth Hall*. All the names associated with Thellusson were checked against the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database at <http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/index.faces> but very few connections were made. However, the Database only lists investors in slave ships, rather than the slave trade *per se*, therefore the bonds here could be for either true loans, or slave sales. Slave sales were increasingly secured by bond over the eighteenth century. Kenneth Morgan, 'Remittance Procedures in the Eighteenth-Century British Slave Trade', *Business History Review*, 79:4 (2005), 1-35.

“the said Peter Thellusson and John Cossart in order to enlarge and preserve their engagement in trade have permitted large sums of money to remain abroad or at home in the hands of persons who had corresponded with them and who had formerly dealt with [Fonblanque and Thellusson]”.⁸⁸

Contrary evidence from Grenada suggests that PT was attempting to call in his loans in 1771. Early that year he appointed ‘Mr John Stevens of London Mariner now bound to the Island of Grenada’ as his attorney, directing him ‘to ask demand sue for and by all lawful Ways and means whatsoever recover ... all such Sum and Sums of Money Goods Wares Merchandizes Debts & Effects Whatsoever as now is due’ to him in Grenada.⁸⁹

ii) Money lending in Britain

There is also some evidence that PT lent money in Britain, to individuals, such as the Wiltshire clothier John Ainslie of Devizes who borrowed at least £13,000 from PT, and to the government. The latter lending seems to have been especially important and substantial in the 1790s and coincides with a time when loans on Caribbean property were much more risky and business with French banks and merchants had dried up. Also PT had built up a large fortune and secure reputation by this time, which may have made him more risk-averse.⁹⁰ Polden reports the Thellussons led the only group prepared to offer Pitt the £4.5 million loan he sought at the start of the Revolutionary Wars with France. This may have been because PT wanted to demonstrate his loyalty to his adopted country. Certainly investments in government bonds or chartered companies were seen as a patriotic duty during this period.⁹¹ The Thellussons also entered (with others) a series of loan agreements with the banker, Walter Boyd, who first operated in Paris in 1785 as Boyd, Ker et Cie and in London from 1793 as Boyd, Benfield & Co. PT lost out in the 1794 loan to the Austrian government, selling

⁸⁸ Cited in Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 44-47 (quotation 47) from a bill filed in Chancery in 1773.

⁸⁹ LFHC Grenada Register of [Land] Records, 1764-73 (v.A1-11, 1st series), Film 1563254 G1 252, Appointment of John Stevens as attorney for PT in Grenada, 7 Jan 1771.

⁹⁰ Naomi L. Lamoreaux, ‘Reframing the Past: Thoughts about Business Leadership and Decision Making under Uncertainty’, *Enterprise and Society*, 2:4 (Dec 2001), 632-69.

⁹¹ Hancock, “Domestic Bubbling”.

his interest at four per cent discount. However, he did much better from his involvement in Pitt's 1796 loan award. Under the terms of this the Thellusson group guaranteed £1,141,000 of the overall £15,542,000 loan, of which £430,000 was in PT's name and a further £445,000 in the names of GWT and CT (most of the sons' input made via the firm), leaving only 23 per cent of the total for others in the group to supply. PT's participation in the 1797 loan, which involved an entitlement to subscribe to another Austrian loan, was less lucrative and prompted him to write (without success) to Pitt about an alteration in its terms following Austria's withdrawal from the war. This scale of loan contracting activity contributed to the Thellussons' reputation as a leading City bank. Despite retiring from the partnership PT remained active in this aspect of business after his purchase of the Brodsworth estate.⁹²

iii) *Agency/broker work*

From the start of his career in London, PT was involved in agency work (which yielded a percentage for the agent) for French and Genevan bankers. His most important client was the large Paris firm, Thellusson and Necker, which became Germany, Girardot et Cie in the early 1770s, in which his brother was a partner and major shareholder respectively. However PT's business with this bank continued beyond his brother's lifetime and agency work was still undertaken in the 1790s when it traded as Greffulhe, Montz et Cie. This was one of the largest banks in France and PT's business with it from the 1760s to the early 1790s 'must have contributed handsomely to his accumulation of portable property'. Commission work was also undertaken for overseas merchants, including French merchants in the West Indian trade, and Irish-based firms. However, when the Terror began in France, the French agency work dried up as bankers of the old order were targeted and imprisoned.⁹³ This may have led to an expansion of agency work in Ireland in the 1790s when Peter Thellusson, Sons and Company was one of two London discount houses working for the Waterford provision merchants Courtenay & Ridgeway. When in 1792 the substantial Dublin-based

⁹² Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 96 citing reference to a 1792 law suit, *Hanson and others v. Thellusson* (1793), TNA C 12/957/31, 97-101; S. R. Cope, *Walter Boyd. A Merchant Banker in the Age of Napoleon* (Gloucester, 1983), vii. 51, 139-40.

⁹³ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 43, 50, 51 (quotation), 84, 93-96.

merchants Joshua and Joseph Pim discounted almost £43,000 for Courtenay and Ridgeway, they drew on or remitted from the Thellussons.⁹⁴

Conversely the Terror in France may have brought substantial profits for PT and his sons through their extensive involvement in the management of the deposits of French emigres following the French Revolution. As many emigres were guillotined their agents may well have benefitted from retaining any money they held for their clients. It is not known how much money was involved but it is clear from a clause in PT's will that he held such deposits and despite adverts asking for relatives to come forward there is no evidence that any money was reclaimed. This hints as to his integrity, such traits being essential to the reputation of merchants and bankers.⁹⁵

iv) Trading and investing in annuities and funds

There is substantial evidence that PT dealt extensively in shares and annuities and that he secured loans through annuities. Early evidence of this trading comes through PT's involvement in the Irish tontine, designed and raised by the Irish parliament to help service public debt in the 1770s. Tontines were a type of life annuity product in which survivors accumulate further benefits by the deaths of other scheme participants. They were also regarded as a more risky investment than other life-based annuities. Nonetheless the Irish tontine has been judged as a high-returning product compared to other British tontines of the period.⁹⁶ PT acted as the agent for the bankers of 100 Genevans who subscribed £100,000 to the Irish tontine of 1779. His will also indicates that he bought at least one annuity for his son, Charles, in the Irish tontine for 1777.⁹⁷

Polden suggests that PT's balances in Bank of England stock indicate 'substantial dealings' in shares from around 1780, following the most profitable years for investment in Caribbean business. There is clear evidence from PT holding larger

⁹⁴ L. M. Cullen, 'The Exchange Business of the Irish Banks in the Eighteenth Century', *Economica New Series*, 25: 1000 (1958), 337. For the rise of banks in England more generally see Eric Kerridge, *Trade and Banking in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 1988).

⁹⁵ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 88-93.

⁹⁶ David R. Weir, 'Tontines, Public Finance and Revolution in France and England, 1688-1789', *The Journal of Economic History*, 49:1 (Mar 1989), 104, 96, 111, 113.

⁹⁷ TNA PROB 11/1294, f.574, 'The Will of Peter Thellusson dated 2nd Day of April 1796', 4; Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 84.

Bank balances during the later years of the American War of Independence than in its aftermath in the late 1780s, that his investment and trading in stock was enhanced by lulls in viable trading opportunities. As merchants did not usually earn interest on bank deposits, it was common to invest spare capital in other investments.⁹⁸ PT's dealings on the French stock market also took off in the 1780s when he collaborated with 'some of the biggest players on the Paris exchange'. While the size of PT's personal investment and of his profits is unknown, he is judged to have been a figure of some importance and his activity in French markets perhaps exceeded that in Britain. The Thellussons also acted as the principal London correspondent of the Paris-based Genevan banker J L Grenus, and engaged with him in currency speculation in a falling French market involving, as Polden puts it, at least one 'bear' operation. This was, perhaps, in conjunction with Boyd who collaborated with Jean Louis Grenus et Cie in the early 1790s over currency trading between sterling and livres as the French currency declined.⁹⁹ PT also dealt in East India Company stock. Again his early career involvement in this area was small, reported by Polden as 'very modest' in the 1760s. However, it rose substantially in the 1780s with his investments totalling £15,755 in 1787.¹⁰⁰ As already mentioned, this could have been a risk-sharing strategy, a risk-aversion approach by a wealthy established figure, or it could reflect a desire on PT's part for recognition or social legitimacy in England.

PT also actively invested in *rentes viageres* (annuities sold for a capital sum and payable during the span of one or more lives) in France. Such life-based products were particularly popular in the servicing of French national debt and Necker (previously PT's brother's partner) was a key player in their promotion. Indeed, by the late 1780s these were a 'major component' of French national debt, with life-based loans more broadly comprising 46 per cent by 1788.¹⁰¹ PT, however, disposed of most of his French *rentes* to the speculator Eugene Delassert in 1790 as the French financial markets began to weaken following the

⁹⁸ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 52, citing evidence from Bank of England Stock Ledgers, AC 470-502.

⁹⁹ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 86 (quotation); Cope, *Walter Boyd*, 23.

¹⁰⁰ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 52 (quotation), 53, citing evidence from East India Company Stock Ledgers, L/AG 14/5/13-27.

¹⁰¹ Weir, 'Tontines, Public Finance and Revolution', 97 (quotation), 100.

Revolution.¹⁰² Annuities also seem to have been PT's preferred method of financing for Caribbean loans (see above). By his death, the vast majority of PT's wealth (over two-thirds) was held in stocks and shares (see above).

v) Trading in goods used in the slave trade

When PT occupied his counting house at 15, Philpot Lane in the 1760s he would have numbered amongst his nearest of neighbours, the slave trader and Atlantic merchant, Richard Oswald. Oswald had leased a three-storey counting house at 17, Philpot Lane in 1746 and initially focused on shipping and tobacco. However, in 1748 he entered a partnership with Augustus and John Boyd, Alexander Grant, John Mill and John Sargeant and between them they purchased the infamous Bance Island slave fort and factory. Richard Oswald was one of Hancock's associates, who were also mostly 'outsiders' (Richard Oswald was Scottish and Presbyterian and from poor origins).¹⁰³ Following the Seven Years' War Oswald increased his involvement in the shipping of West Indian produce and actively invested in American and Caribbean properties. By the mid-1760s he had accumulated four Caribbean plantations though he was most active in his ultimately unsuccessful attempts to develop estates in Florida.¹⁰⁴ Oswald's associates, Boyd and Scott, acquired plantations in Grenada, John Boyd borrowing extensively from Oswald to do so in 1771, and the group regularly shipped slaves there.¹⁰⁵

Further evidence of PT's involvement early in his career with slave trading interests comes from a debt repayment relating to ships used in the slave trade by George Campbell junior and Stephen Hayes, Liverpool merchants (see below x) and in Section 3d) and from a series of letters to William Davenport, a major

¹⁰² Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 81, 87.

¹⁰³ Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, especially 60-61. Bance Island was situated at the mouth of the Sierra Leone river on the Windward Coast of Africa, one of the most popular areas for British slave traders. Six of Hancock's 'associates' purchased the island in 1748, after which they exported a high number of slaves from the fort, built there previously by the Royal African Company, 172-220.

¹⁰⁴ Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, 144, 153-171; Museum in Docklands <http://www.museumindocklands.org.uk/English/EventsExhibitions/Special/LSS/Map/Enslavement/People/34.htm> [accessed on 5 Nov 2009]

¹⁰⁵ Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, 146, 254.

player in the Liverpool slave trade.¹⁰⁶ While the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database provides no evidence that PT was involved in the slave trade *per se*, he did acquire slave ships through the debt repayment from Campbell and Hayes. In addition it is clear that he provided Davenport with both money and goods for barter and that he profited from Bills of Exchange garnered from the slave trade. PT also reported amongst his friends, Peter Holme and Thomas Hodgson, leading Liverpool merchants involved in the slave trade.¹⁰⁷ This involvement is discussed below in Section 3d.

vi) Direct trading in colonial goods

PT and his partners were clearly involved in selling a variety of colonial products on commission and it is thought that most of this trade was with the Caribbean colonies.¹⁰⁸ These goods included slave-produced sugar and coffee shipped in association with loans to planters as well as sugar cargoes shipped between sites within Europe.¹⁰⁹ Examples from Grenada include the regular consignment of sugar from the Fournilliers of Bacolet plantation from 1772 (see below Section 3b), consignment of 'All the Coffee and other produce' of Charles Mandilthon's Grenada property for at least four years (1772-76) in light of a £1,500 debt and consignment of 'All the Sugar Coffee Cocoa [?] Cotton and other Produce' of Walter Flyn's St Mark's plantation, from 1772-1780, to service a debt which stood at £6,155 7s 6d in 1776.¹¹⁰ Other products which PT dealt in were ginseng (origin unknown), cotton (origin unknown), and tobacco from North American colonies/states. For example, in 1775 he is listed as an importer of 303

¹⁰⁶ LFHC, Grenada Register of [Land] Records, 1768-70 (v.L1-X1, 2nd series), Film 1563342: N1 358-67, Indenture between George Campbell and Stephen Hayes and PT, 19 Sep 1768. Davenport was unusual in that he concentrated on the slave trade as opposed to having a more varied business portfolio. David Richardson, 'Profits in the Liverpool Slave Trade: the Accounts of William Davenport, 1757-1784', in Roger Anstey and P. E. H. Hair (eds), *Liverpool, the African Slave Trade, and Abolition* (Bristol, 1976), 60-90.

¹⁰⁷ Thomas Hodgson was on the Committee of the African Company of Merchants Trading to Africa from Liverpool, Liverpool Record Office (LivRO) 253 MD 1.

¹⁰⁸ Miranda Kaufmann, *English Heritage Properties 1600-1830 and Slavery Connections* (London, 2007); Linda Ali, *Brodsworth Hall near Doncaster, West Yorkshire: The Thellusson Family West Indian Operations* (Report for English Heritage, London, 2006).

¹⁰⁹ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 49, 85.

¹¹⁰ GLR F2, 411-45, Mortgage and bonds between Peter and Marie Fournillier and PT and JC, 11/12 Feb 1772, 433; GLR G2 322-25, Deed of covenant between Charles Mandilthon and PT, 27 Oct 1772, 322 (first quotation); GLR E2 177-96, Mortgage between Walter Flyn and PT, 8 May 1772, 190 (second quotation); GLR Z2 434-445, Mortgage between Walter Flyn and PT, JC and John Aubert, 2 Apl 1776, 437.

hogsheads of tobacco into London. However, it may be inferred from the partnership's absence from the settlement of outstanding accounts under the Jay Treaty of 1794 that 'America was probably only a sideline for them'.¹¹¹ There is also evidence that PT supplied goods to the Royal Navy and industries in Britain, suggesting further influential ties in London. While PT's unsuccessful speculation in alum trading in north east England in 1769 suggests his desire to develop trade in British produced goods, little evidence of this type of involvement has been found beyond his interest in sugar refining (see below).¹¹²

vii) Sugar refining

Evidence from the Sun Fire Office insurance company records and PT's will suggests that he was in the sugar refining business from 1785 to 1796. As a consignee such vertical integration would have been a logical development to enhance the value of his returns from sugar importation by moving into sugar refining. It was also a good time to do so as the industry emerged from the post-American war collapse and demand was high in the markets.¹¹³ It is likely that PT's involvement was mainly in terms of capital provision, earning interest on his investment, as was the case for Glasgow merchants, with a secondary concern to take advantage of cheap and regular supplies of sugar.¹¹⁴ London was an important location for both sugar importation and refining. The first sugar refinery in Britain was located there in 1554 and by the 1750s of the 120 refining houses in England and Scotland around 80 were in London, while Bristol had about 20.¹¹⁵ PT's first partners were John Camden and J Lear who operated

¹¹¹ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 49 (quotation); Jacob M. Price (ed.), *Joshua Johnson's Letterbook 1771-1774: Letters from a Merchant in London to his Partners in Maryland* (London Record Society, 1979), 159, which suggests that PT's 303 hogsheads of tobacco were only a tiny proportion (0.69 per cent) of the total of 43,953 imported into London in 1775.

¹¹² Kaufman, *English Heritage Properties; Ali, Brodsworth Hall; Polden, Peter Thellusson's Will*, 52.

¹¹³ Steve Davies, 'Vertical Integration', in Roger Clarke and Tony McGuinness (eds.), *The Economics of the Firm* (New York and London, 1987), 83-106; Derek Morris and Ken Cozens, *Wapping 1600-1800. A Social History of an Early Modern London Maritime Suburb* (The East London History Society, 2009), 134.

¹¹⁴ T. M. Devine, *The Tobacco Lords: A Study of the Tobacco Merchants of Glasgow and their Trading Activities c.1740-90* (Edinburgh, 1975), 35-37.

¹¹⁵ Richard B. Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery: An Economic History of the British West Indies, 1623-1775* (Kingston, Jamaica, 1974), 29-30; see also D. W. Thoms, 'The Mills family: London Sugar Merchants of the 18th century', *Business History*, 11 (1969) 3-10, an in-depth case study of a London sugar merchant family although it contains no mention of PT or any of his partners.

out of Brewhouse Lane in Wapping, both from well-established refining families. Camden was an important Wapping merchant. His brother was part of the Camden, Calvert and King network into which the Thellussons were integrated. In 1785 their sugarhouse was insured by the Sun Fire Office for £9,000. Sugar refineries were distinctive buildings, with 'eighty-foot high towers and tall brick chimneys'. A typical sugarhouse complex included a seven-storey sugarhouse, sometimes accompanied by a brick boiling house, stoves, a two-storey mill house, warehousing and a yard.¹¹⁶ Three years later PT's partners had shifted to George Lear and William Handasyde, sugar refiners of Whitechapel and Wapping. From 1788 to 1791 the partners insured a warehouse in Brewhouse Lane for £1,000, whilst one or more sugarhouses probably located in Wapping New Stairs, Wapping, were insured from 1791 to 1793 for £9,800, £15,000 and £14,000 respectively. PT and George Lear then appear to have entered business again with John Camden as in 1794 they are listed as the insurance holders of one or more sugarhouses insured for £9,500 in Old Gravel Lane and Meeting House Lane, Wapping. The connection with Handasyde continued as records for the same year indicate that he, Lear and PT insured a warehouse in Brewhouse Lane for £1,000.¹¹⁷ PT's will, made in April 1796, left George Lear and William Handasyde 25 guineas each for a ring 'if they shall still be in partnership with me at the time of my death'. It appears the partnership broke up shortly afterwards as a bond for £49,000, probably his share of the profits, was given to PT in December 1796.¹¹⁸ This was paid off (with interest) in instalments over six years, the first probably before PT's death, the remainder carefully recorded by the executors: the second of £9,985 15s 2d on 21st May 1798, the third of £9,568 4s 8d on 2nd May 1799, the fourth of £9,200 on 5th June 1800, the fifth of £8,822 17s 11d on 19th June 1801, and the sixth and final payments in two parts, £4,400 on 31st May 1802 and £4,200 on 31st May 1803, when the

¹¹⁶ Morris and Cozens, *Wapping 1600-1800*, 17, 53, 135 (quotation).

¹¹⁷ Sugar Refiners and Sugarbakers Database, <http://home.clara.net/mawer/sugarll.html> [accessed 5 Nov 2009]; Bryan Mawer, *Data from the Sun Fire Office* <http://home.clara.net/mawer/sun.html> [accessed 5 Nov 2009].

¹¹⁸ TNA PROB 11/1294, f.574, 'The Will of Peter Thellusson dated 2nd Day of April 1796' (quotation); Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 107-108.

executors 'Received of Messieurs Lear and Handyside the remaining Moiety of the last Instalment due on their Bond with interest'.¹¹⁹

viii) Marine Insurance

Even in his early partnership with Fonblanque PT was actively investing in marine insurance and he is described by Polden as 'one of the major players' in this area, working with Cossart as both underwriter and broker in the East and West Indies trade.¹²⁰ Again, insurance is yet another way in which merchants invested spare capital or diversified their portfolio.¹²¹ As no systematic accounts have survived it is difficult to give more than an indication of the range of PT's interests in marine insurance in terms of voyage routes and cargoes. One early example, which has come to light through a legal case, involved insurance of a cargo of indigo from the French Caribbean island of St Domingo to France in 1763, during the Seven Years' War. PT was at this time in a business partnership with Fonblanque though they acted separately in this venture as underwriters in marine insurance were not then permitted to form partnerships. PT put up £165 and Fonblanque £135, yet they refused to pay up to their French client when the ship was taken as a wartime prize.¹²² A later case dating from 1780, during the American War of Independence, involved a dispute between Thellusson as insurer and the insured, Fergusson. This also involved a claim for a French ship, *L'Aimable Gertrude*, sailing from Guadeloupe to Le Havre, captured by the British during wartime. Thellusson claimed the insurance was invalidated by a change in sailing date and destination but the case was lost. An earlier case between the same parties over the *Hero*, sailing from Grenada, also seems to have been lost on similar grounds.¹²³ A still later legal case, this time between Thellusson and

¹¹⁹ SROI HB416/A2/7 Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 1799-1813, Vol.2 1st schedule, 215, 222, 231, 241, 248-49, 253 (quotation).

¹²⁰ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 51 (quotation), 49, 44; E. I. Carlyle, 'Thellusson, Peter (1737-1797)', rev. François Crouzet, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27164> [accessed 1 Apr 2009].

¹²¹ Insurance is one of the four areas Westerfield lists as a normal part of a merchant's activities. R. B. Westerfield, *Middlemen in English Business: Particularly between 1660 and 1760* (New Haven, Conn., 1915), 332.

¹²² Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 44 citing the legal case of *Villion v Thellusson* (1770), TNA C12/891/13.

¹²³ Sylvester Douglas, *Reports of cases argued and determined in the Court of King's Bench, in the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first years of the reign of George III*. Vol. 1, 3rd ed. (London, 1790), 361-70.

Bewick in 1792, shows the firm's involvement in the insurance of sugar cargoes in Europe. The plaintiffs had insured 94 casks of sugar on the ship *Ami*, which foundered between Havre and Ostend. They subsequently queried the sum paid out due to the fall in value of the French currency which underwrote the insurance between the time it was taken out in September 1791 and the payment in January 1792.¹²⁴ In association with this marine insurance business, PT also had shares in a number of ships though the insurance business was of greater importance (see below).

ix) Ownership of land

Land ownership was not an active business strategy for PT until the 1790s and arguably his acquisition of estate lands in England at this time was as much related to social ambition as income generation. This strategy is discussed in Section 5. His ownership of plantation property in the Caribbean appears to have been unintended, occurring as a result of loan default and only three examples have been substantiated, one in Montserrat, the other two in Grenada. In the case of Conference, a sugar plantation in Grenada, PT and others acquired and sold the plantation quickly on behalf of the creditors of the bankrupt owner in the late 1760s.¹²⁵ In the two other cases outright ownership of the properties was not secured during PT's lifetime, though he did sell his interest in the Montserrat property in 1796. Absolute title to the Bacolet plantation was never secured and this affected its final sale value (see Section 3b). At least two of the three cases of plantation 'ownership' thus led to financial losses rather than gains for PT. This aspect is discussed in more detail in Section 3b below.

x) Ownership of ships

The precise extent of PT's investment in ship ownership is unclear. There is evidence that he owned shares in some of the ships in which he transported his goods but this was probably a small-scale concern compared to his involvement in marine insurance and colonial commodity trading. Taking a year at random

¹²⁴ Isaac Espinasse, *Cases argued and ruled at nisi prius, in the Courts of King's Bench, and Common Pleas, from Easter Term 33 George III. --to Hilary Term 34 George III with some additional cases of an earlier period*. 1st American ed. (Baltimore, 1795), 77-78.

¹²⁵ LFHC, Grenada Register of [Land] Records, 1768-70 (v.L1-X1, 2nd series), Film 1563342: N1 277-289, Bargain and sale between commissioners of bankruptcy, John Hix and PT, John Henry Cazenove, Lewis Tessier and John Bereins, 12 Oct 1768.

(1787) Polden indicates that PT held a share in *The Bordeaux Packet* and *The London Packet*.¹²⁶ However, a transaction of 1768, recorded in the Grenadian archives, suggests PT was prepared to invest in ships if a good deal could be secured. In this case, PT called in an extensive debt owed to him by George Campbell junior and Stephen Hayes, both Liverpool merchants, who agreed to the transfer of interest in seven ships, the cargoes of those three still at sea and two marine insurance policies in lieu of the debt.¹²⁷ While the merchant interests of Campbell and Hayes were wide-ranging, both had a considerable involvement in slave trading ventures, mainly in partnership with Campbell's father, George Campbell senior, who was mayor of Liverpool in 1763. Campbell senior was involved in at least 36 slaving ventures between 1748 and 1767, 12 of which were joint ventures with his son and Hayes between 1758 and 1766. While Campbell senior engaged in slave trading to Virginia and North Carolina his main ventures brought slaves to the Caribbean, most notably Barbados. The joint ventures were solely to the Caribbean but had more mixed destinations, including Antigua, Barbados, Cuba, Guadeloupe, Jamaica, Martinique and St Kitts.¹²⁸ It is unclear how long Campbell and Hayes had been borrowing from PT, but the debt was 'large' and their finances were certainly dented by the loss of ships on two slaving ventures in 1761 and 1764.¹²⁹

The debt repayment involved the transfer to PT of ownership of five ships and part ownership of a further two. PT took full possession of the *Campbell* and the

¹²⁶ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 51.

¹²⁷ LFHC, Grenada Register of [Land] Records, 1768-70 (v.L1-X1, 2nd series), Film 1563342: N1 358-67, Indenture between George Campbell and Stephen Hayes and PT, 19 Sep 1768. George Campbell (junior) was listed at Duke Street as a merchant in the 1774 Liverpool directory as was Stephen Hayes (51 Duke Street). Hayes is also listed in Gore's Directory in 1766 in partnership with Campbell (unclear whether junior or senior), also at Duke Street. Hayes was not a member of the Town Council, African Committee or Lyceum in Liverpool, but was a member of the drinking club 'Mock Corporation of Sephton' - but only listed as present in 1761. See J. Gore, *Liverpool Trade Directory for 1774* (Liverpool: Printed for John Gore, 1774).

¹²⁸ See Eltis *et al.*, *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*, Voyage numbers, 90050, 90233, 90268-70, 90273-74, 90312, 90351-52, 90359, 90368-70, 90501-2, 90525-28, 90637-38, 90719 (for George Campbell senior); and Voyage numbers, 90751-54, 90779-80, 90845-46, 91001-2, 91047, 91190 (for George Campbell senior and junior and Stephen Hayes); LivRO 352 MIN COU I, Liverpool Town Books.

¹²⁹ LFHC, Grenada Register of [Land] Records, 1768-70 (v.L1-X1, 2nd series), Film 1563342: N1 358-67, Indenture between George Campbell and Stephen Hayes and PT, 19 Sep 1768, 358 quotation; Eltis *et al.* *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*, Voyage numbers, 90846 (shipwreck of the *Wolfe*, a brigantine of 164 standardised tonnes) and 91002 (shipwreck of the *George*, 182 standardised tonnage brigantine).

Gloucester, both in Liverpool 'lately arrived from America', the *Charming Polly*, also moored at Liverpool, the *Penelope*, travelling from North Carolina, and *Success*, then 'in a Voyage from the Islands of Barbadoes and Grenada'. In addition he took over Campbell and Hayes' 'three eighth Parts or Shares' of the *Liberty*, which was *en route* 'from the Coast of Africa to the West Indies', and 'their Moiety [?] or half Part' of the *Perseverance*, in Liverpool dock.¹³⁰ PT was also to have all 'all and every the several Cargoes of Negros & Slaves [or Stores?] Goods Wares & Merchandize' of those ships in passage (the *Liberty* (three-eighths share), the *Penelope* and *Success*) or the proceeds of any cargoes already sold. In addition he took the insurance policies for the *Liberty* 'and her Cargo' and that for the Brig *Content* 'lost on a Voyage from Carolina to Liverpool aforesaid and all Monies to be recovered or received by Virtue of the said Policy of Insurance or either of Them'.¹³¹ This transaction therefore engaged PT in slave trading, albeit by default, which is discussed in Section 3c below.

PT's own conclusion on his accumulated wealth, cited in his will of 1796, was that he had 'earned the Fortune which I now possess with Industry and Honesty'.¹³²

b) Plantation ownership

i) Peter Thellusson (1737-1797)

There are three known instances where PT's lending activities led him to acquire an interest in property in the Caribbean by default. There is no evidence that he actively designed to build up property there. Indeed, West Indian plantation ownership was often seen as problematic by merchants in England, and many were cautious over becoming involved in them as part of vertical integration.¹³³

¹³⁰ LFHC, Grenada Register of [Land] Records, 1768-70 (v.L1-X1, 2nd series), Film 1563342: N1 358-67, Indenture between George Campbell and Stephen Hayes and PT, 19 Sep 1768, 359-361 (quotations 360).

¹³¹ LFHC, Grenada Register of [Land] Records, 1768-70 (v.L1-X1, 2nd series), Film 1563342: N1 358-67, Indenture between George Campbell and Stephen Hayes and Peter Thellusson, 19 Sep 1768, 361 (first quotation), 360 (other quotations).

¹³² TNA PROB 11/1294, f.574, 'The Will of Peter Thellusson dated 2nd Day of April 1796', 17.

¹³³ Smith argues that many merchants were wary of becoming involved in West Indian mortgages, but often had to in order to secure their claim for debts. Simon D. Smith,

An important caveat, however, is that these acquisitions have only come to light either due to legal cases surrounding them or to detailed scrutiny of the Grenada Land Registry records and PT may have temporarily accumulated further property for which there are no extant records or in archives which have not been accessed (such as those for Martinique, Montserrat and St Domingo where PT was known to have had trading links).

The first case, about which little is known, relates to Conference, a sugar plantation of around 330 acres in St Andrews, Grenada in the Windward Islands (see Figure 2). This property, located on the east coast of the island just below the River Antoine, had been owned by John Hix, a London merchant, who had acquired it from John Aitcheson of London and Grenada and Alexander Campbell of Grenada in 1766. However, Hix had fallen into debt, with PT being the main creditor. In September 1768 he was declared bankrupt in London and his affairs put into the hands of commissioners of bankruptcy led by Thomas Hotchkin, John Vernon and Robert Austin. PT and fellow London merchants, John Henry Cazenove, Lewis Tessier and John Bereins [?], were appointed assignees representing Hix's debtors following a meeting 'advertised in the London Gazette for that purpose'. In October 1768 PT and his fellow assignees acquired Conference and its workforce of 155 enslaved people, carefully named in the agreement, with a pledge to sell the property 'with all convenient speed ... and for the best Price', in order to recompense the creditors in proportion to their debts. It is likely therefore that PT only held an interest in this property for a very short time.¹³⁴

The second and third cases, about which more is known, involved PT acquiring interests in two further slave plantations in the Caribbean with his partner John Cossart, although he did not own them outright. These were the 580 acre Windmill Hill estate on Montserrat, in the Leeward Islands, and the 384 acre Bacolet estate on Grenada. Associations with both properties began in 1772 with

Slavery, Family and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles, 1648-1834 (Cambridge, 2006), chapter seven.

¹³⁴ LFHC, Grenada Register of [Land] Records, 1768-70 (v.L1-X1, 2nd series), Film 1563342: N1 277-289, Bargain and sale between commissioners of bankruptcy, John Hix and PT, John Henry Cazenove, Lewis Tessier and John Bereins, 12 Oct 1768 (first quotation 277, second quotation 285).

the issuing of loans, further suggesting that PT's loans were for land rather than enslaved persons. The interest in Windmill Hill was retained until 1796 and that in Bacolet until 1820.¹³⁵

a) Windmill Hill, Montserrat

In 1772, PT and John Cossart lent £7,180 to Mr Anthony Lynch Tully, the owner of a half share of Windmill Hill, a 580 acre plantation in St Anthony in Montserrat. The property is described as covering 'Windmill Hill Cork Hill and Barnard Fence' and has been located in the centre of western Montserrat, close to the River Belham and just north of Plymouth. It is now in the exclusion zone following the 1995 volcanic eruption. Windmill Hill had only a very small workforce of 19 enslaved Africans in 1772, although Tully owned outright a further 68 and the right to their issue. The loan was raised through bond-secured annuities on 12 lives and was secured on the Windmill Hill estate.¹³⁶ It has not been possible to access the original agreements made or to trace further details of the nature of Windmill Hill estate or the position of Mr Tully.¹³⁷ However, the island was captured briefly by the French during the American Wars of Independence and it is likely that Windmill Hill suffered during this time. By the date of PT's will in April 1796, he and Cossart were reportedly 'in possession as Mortgagee[s]', the implication being that Tully had defaulted on his earlier loan. However, later in July of that year, PT and Cossart sold their interest in Windmill Hill for £5,700 to a Mr Thomas Harcum (variously spelt as Harcam or Harmin), a resident of Montserrat. In doing so they lost out considerably as £17,000 had reportedly been advanced to Tully since 1772 and PT and Cossart remained liable for the remaining annuities totalling £550 a year at the time of sale. PT received £2,139 of the purchase price and the remainder was secured by a Bond of David Milligan and Grant Allen to be paid in seven instalments, one of which PT received before his death. The remaining instalments were paid to GWT and the executors of PT's will (£585 in September

¹³⁵ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 48. Such a pattern fits with the findings of Smith, *Family and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic*.

¹³⁶ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 48; TNA C33/608 ff.746-48, Order of Monday 25 Apl 1814; TNA C33/610 ff.1289-91, Order of 5 Jul 1814 (quotation); SROI HB416/D1/3/1, Letter from Thos Wm Budd to Messrs Benbow Tucker and Saltwell, concerning annuities charged on Thellusson estates, and mentioning the Bacolet estate in particular, 23 Nov 1859.

¹³⁷ Extensive checks have been made in relevant literature and on the web.

1797; £1,102 10s 7d in October 1799; £967 10s in August 1803).¹³⁸ PT reported in his will that he had purchased £250 long annuities to cover the Windmill Hill and Bacolet annuity payments and hoped that the return from these and the plantation produce itself would cover the outpayments. By 1814 it would appear they did not cover the annuity payments for Windmill Hill.¹³⁹ These still amounted to £300 a year in 1814 and 1819, and the Chancery directed that these be 'paid out of the rents and profits of the Estates in the County of York devised by the Will of the said Testator'. This implies a *reverse flow* of capital from the estates PT purchased in Yorkshire to help pay for the unsuccessful loan in Montserrat. One annuity on Windmill Hill was still being paid in 1859, almost 90 years after the original loan was made on the estate.¹⁴⁰ However, PT's eventual heirs did benefit, albeit modestly, from the accumulated reserves of the Long Annuity Account (see Section 2).

b) Bacolet, Grenada

It has been possible to build up a much richer picture of the Bacolet plantation in which PT and Cossart developed an interest following an initial loan in 1772 of £12,855 to its owners the Fournilliers. This was just one of around 24 loans made by PT working alone or in partnership with Fonblanque and later Cossart in Grenada between 1767 and 1791 (see Section 3d).

Grenada was one of the Ceded Islands which came officially into British hands at the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763. The Ceded Islands were particularly 'attractive to lenders because of their virgin soils, more diversified economies and freedom from a duty on Caribbean produce shipped to England'. Grenada developed strongly during the credit boom of 1763-72. When a credit crisis hit Britain in the second half of 1772, the Ceded Islands were especially affected

¹³⁸ SROI HB416/D1/3/1, Letter from Thos Wm Budd to Messrs Benbow Tucker and Saltwell, concerning annuities charged on Thellusson estates, and mentioning the Bacolet estate in particular, 23 Nov 1859 (quotation); Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 268 (Polden gives the name as Harman); TNA C33/608 ff.746-48, Order of Monday 25 Apl 1814; SROI HB416/A2/7, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 1799-1813, 202, 227, 254.

¹³⁹ TNA C33/608 ff.746-48, Order of Monday 25 Apl 1814.

¹⁴⁰ SROI HB416/A2/6, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 9 Jul 1819, 119-22, 122 (quotation), 143; SROI HB416/D1/3/1, Letter from Thos Wm Budd to Messrs Benbow Tucker and Saltwell, concerning annuities charged on Thellusson estates, and mentioning the Bacolet estate in particular, 23 Nov 1859.

though when credit scarcity came 'all restraints on interest rates were lifted in 1774' to meet demand for capital investment.¹⁴¹ Unsurprisingly sugar exports from Grenada trebled in the first decade of British rule, peaking in 1774. But these islands were very dependent on the North American colonies for staple goods and were badly affected by the American War of Independence. The Prohibitory Act of 1776 virtually closed the trade.¹⁴² The war with the French which followed led to soaring shipping rates and reduced continental demand. Grenada was particularly badly affected due to its large coffee sector and a recession in the German economy. Then it was hit by a plague of ants followed by a hurricane. The French landed in 1779 and when they left following the Peace of Versailles (1783) 'Grenada was ruined and lenders found their loans hard to recover'. Prosperity returned in the late 1780s and even the French Revolution and its early associated slave rebellions offered opportunities for British planters to expand production in the wake of the disruption caused to the French sugar trade.¹⁴³ However, the outbreak of the Revolutionary Wars with France disrupted trade to Grenada and in 1795 sparked Fedon's rebellion, described as 'the most serious threat posed to British control anywhere in the Antilles', with the island devastated in a particularly bloody coup in which colonial authority was paralysed for around two years.¹⁴⁴ Around a hundred plantations were burnt and about 7,000 enslaved Africans, over a quarter of the island's estimated total of 25,000, were either killed in the insurrection, condemned to death as rebel insurgents or deported for their involvement.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴¹ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 48 (both quotations); Richard B. Sheridan, 'The British Credit Crisis of 1772 and the American colonies', *The Journal of Economic History*, 20:2 (Jun 1960), 165, 172-73.

¹⁴² Intensive lobbying from planters in the West Indies and merchants in Britain meant that during times of extreme stress in the British West Indies, these were often lifted. As there were so many hurricanes and periods of war, this in fact was quite often. Alice B. Keith, 'Relaxations in the British Restrictions of the American Trade with the British West Indies, 1783-1802', *Journal of Modern History*, 20:1 (Mar 1948), 1-18.

¹⁴³ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 48, 49 (quotation); Mark Quintanilla, 'The World of Alexander Campbell: An Eighteenth-Century Grenadian planter', *Albion*, 35:2 (Summer 2003), 229-56, 247.

¹⁴⁴ Michael Craton, *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies* (Ithaca, 1982), 165 (quotation), 183; David Lambert, 'The 'Glasgow King of Billingsgate': James MacQueen and an Atlantic Proslavery Network', *Slavery & Abolition*, 29:3 (2008), 392, citing Philip Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*, 70 for the slave population figures.

¹⁴⁵ E. L. Cox, 'Fidon's Rebellion 1795-96: Causes and Consequences', *Journal of Negro History*, 67 (1982), 7-19; Lambert, 'The "Glasgow King of Billingsgate"', 392, citing Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*.

Perhaps more unusual was the execution of 41 white British hostages, including the governor Ninian Home and leading planters, who had been captured by Fedon, the French planter of colour who led the uprising.¹⁴⁶ The economic losses were also staggering. Crops were lost for the years 1794-96 at least, on the plantations which were burned, with the overall economic cost of the rebellion calculated at £2.5m for 1795-98 and £4.5m in total by one anonymous commentator.¹⁴⁷ One planter, John Harvey, commented from the safety of London in September 1796 that 'I see little prospect of the once flourishing Island of Grenada being of much benefit to its Owners or the Revenue of this Country'.¹⁴⁸ This is the context for PT's involvement with the Bacolet plantation.

A strong picture can be built up of the Bacolet estate, its workers and operations from a variety of sources. The estate was located in the parish of St Andrews on the coast in the vicinity of Point Menere and the Bacolet River (see Figures 2 and 3a and b). In 1780 Paterson describes St Andrews, situated on the south-eastern side of the island as 'the most considerable District, as well for Extend, as for the Number and Importance of its Plantations' extending from 'Riviere du Crochu to the Riviere Antoine'. Bacolet is clearly marked on Paterson's 1780 map (as unit No.82, St Andrews) and is described in his accompanying *Topographical Description* as a 'sucrerie', with the extent recorded as 359 acres. Fournillier is described as the proprietor in both 1763 and 1780 which positions him as one of the French planters who continued as plantation owners after the ceding of Grenada to Britain.¹⁴⁹ A later 1814 Chancery report described Bacolet as 'of excellt [sic] quality & admirably calculd [sic] for the Cultivn [sic] of Cane'.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ Douglas J. Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World 1750-1820* (Manchester, 2005), 38.

¹⁴⁷ Lambert, 'The "Glasgow King of Billingsgate"', 392-93; George Brizan, *Grenada Island of Conflict* (London, 1998), 59-81; Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean*, 38-39; Anon, *Brief Enquiry*, cited in Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean*, 39.

¹⁴⁸ Herefordshire County Record Office (HCRO) AF57/8b/3/161, Letter from John Harvey, London, to Sir George Cornwall, 12 Sep 1796.

¹⁴⁹ Daniel Paterson, *A Topographical Description of the Island of Grenada; Surveyed by Monsieur Pinel in 1763 by Order of Government with the Addition of English Names, Alterations of Property, and other Improvements to the Present Time* (London, 1780), 2, 8. In contrast to the other Ceded Islands, French settlers in Grenada were allowed to retain their property rights under the agreements made between the French and British in 1762 and 1763. See D. H. Murdoch, 'Land Policy in the Eighteenth-Century British Empire: The Sale of Crown Lands in the Ceded Islands, 1763-1783', *The Historical Journal* 27: 3 (1984), 549-74.

¹⁵⁰ TNA C33/608 ff746-748, Order of Monday 25 Apl 1814.

PT's first connection with the Bacolet estate seems to be via an indenture lease and release and mortgage bonds of February 1772 between PT and JC and Peter Fournillier and his wife Marie. Fournillier is described as 'of the District and Parish of Grenada but now residing in London Esquire' and this suggests he may have been of French Huguenot extraction.¹⁵¹ The Fournilliers agreed the following terms:

'[to] bargain and sell to the said Peter Thellusson and John Cossart All that Plantation or track or parcel of Land heretofore commonly called or known by the name of Menere otherwise Manere and now commonly called or known by the name of Bacolet ... lying and being in the Parish or District of Saint Andrew in the said Island of Grenada containing by estimation one hundred and twenty five Squares or four hundred Acres of Lands on English Admeasurement be the same more or less ... Together with all Sugar Works Sugar houses Distilling Houses Mills Erections Buildings Dwellings Messuages or Tenements thereon erected or about or hereafter to be erected built or made in and upon the said plantation Lands and premises or in or upon any part or parcel thereof. And also all Timber and other Trees Woods and underwoods and the Ground and Soil thereof Ways Waters water-courses hedges Ditches Fences Boundaries Rents Issues profits produce Commodities Emoluments Advantages Lighter Easements heredites and appurtenances whatsoever to the said plantation ... Also with all Mines and Minerales whatsoever being in or upon or within the said plantation Lands ...'.¹⁵²

It should be noted that, as was typical with early colonial property, there was some doubt over the precise area of the plantation and several names were recited to ensure the document was more legally secure (probably the names of the plantation under French rule and that used during British rule). The scope of the property is widely drawn to avoid any feature being claimed as excluded if the property was foreclosed upon, including future buildings. Alongside the built aspects of the estate the indenture also includes reference to vegetation, notably trees, soils, water and minerals.

¹⁵¹ GLR F2 411-45, Mortgage and bonds between Peter and Marie Fournillier and PT and JC, 11/12 Feb 1772, 411 (quotation).

¹⁵² GLR F2 411-45, Mortgage and bonds between Peter and Marie Fournillier and PT and JC, 11/12 Feb 1772, 411-12.

At this point the indenture turns to outline in some detail the enslaved Africans who were also considered to be part of the property. One hundred and twenty one enslaved people were resident on Bacolet at this time. Of these 101 were named in the indenture and the implication is that the others would have been if they had not been so recently purchased:

'And also All those one hundred and one Negroe Slaves now being in and upon the said Plantation Tract or parcel of Land and herein after particularly named/ that is to say/ Joseph Daupher Cupide Gilbert Celestin William Comina Madress Theodore Amine Brutus Pollux Narcis Stephon Gras Pigris Braman Mathias francis qui hily Alexis Boby Thomas Thope Accommin Eustache Bagoi Dominic Sans Martier Manuel Hilarins Anthony Simeon Roc Lazarus Thimoty Philip Honore Bourrique Fazon Darins La Doucier Augustus Germain Leon Gregory L. Evietter Jupiter Peter Mullattoe Annibal Missa Bonvary Guiga Alexander James Acra Cesar old Michel Tonant Attapa Baltazar Ausilin Coffee Mentor Pierre Liverpool Little James Vincent queder being all Male Slaves Avelina Helen Susannah Margarit Suzon Victoire Jeannette felicite Veronique Magdalen Mary Melaine Little Magdelein Coussey Christine Sabine Sinque Siquento Anglelique Great Marianna Michand Old Thonett Therese Charlotta old Magdalon Cabia Little Mary Little Jane Roze Adelaide Rosette Celeste being Female Slaves And all those twenty other Negroe Slaves lately introduced in and upon the said plantation Lands and premises by the said Peter Fournieiller whose names cannot now be Particularly ascertained and described.'¹⁵³

As was common, enslaved Africans were known only by their first names.¹⁵⁴ The listing is not alphabetical and there may be some other logic to it. Such listings in estate documents frequently included at the beginning 'the strongest and most productive' from the planter's viewpoint, including positions of responsibility, such as the drivers, and skilled tradesmen, such as carpenters.

¹⁵³ GLR F2 411-45, Mortgage and bonds between Peter and Marie Fournillier and PT and JC, 11/12 Feb 1772, 412-13.

¹⁵⁴ E. V. da Costa, *Crowns of Glory, Tears of Blood: the Demerara Slave Rebellion of 1823* (New York, 1997 ed.), 235-36. See also Jerome S. Handler and JoAnn Jacoby, 'Slave Names and Naming in Barbados, 1650-1830', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 53:4 (1996), 685-728.

The field gangs would then be listed, together with children and finally those considered by planters to be 'weak and useless', the old and infirm.¹⁵⁵ This listing implies some of the enslaved Africans were children (Little James, Little Magdelein, Little Mary, Little Jane) and that some were older (old Michel, Old Thonett, old Magdalon). It is also apparent that some of those listed had been named by French owners (around 27 males and 17 females) with a minority (around 16 males and 9 females) with strongly British or classical names. This is to be expected on an island such as Grenada which had only recently (1763) been transferred from the French to the British and on a property owned by a family of French descent.

After the listing of enslaved Africans on Bacolet, the indenture continues to consider non-human animal assets of the property and to link these with the enslaved African workers:

'And also all Mules Steers horned and other Cattle now upon or belonging to the said Plantation Lands hereditis and premises or any part thereof or at any time hereafter to belong or to be introduced into or upon the same or any part thereof together with the issue progeny and Increase of the said female Slaves And also all other Negroes and Slaves and all Cattle Works Utensils and Implements whatsoever for Making of Sugar or otherwise working the said Plantation'.¹⁵⁶

As was typical in such planter documents, enslaved Africans were grouped alongside reference to working animals, with the planter view of female enslaved people as 'breeding stock' emphasised.¹⁵⁷

A further listing in an attached schedule includes the details of 16 more enslaved Africans. Men and women were listed separately and named: the men are named as Billy, Ebo, Ben, John Louis, Boy, Edmond, Carriacou, Wright; and the

¹⁵⁵ B. W. Higman, *Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica, 1807-1834* (Cambridge, 1976), 1.

¹⁵⁶ GLR F2 411-45, Mortgage and bonds between Peter and Marie Fournillier and PT and JC, 11/12 Feb 1772, 413.

¹⁵⁷ Susanne Seymour, Stephen Daniels and Charles Watkins, 'Estate and Empire: Sir George Cornwall's Management of Moccas, Herefordshire and La Taste, Grenada, 1771-1819', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 24:3 (1998), 337-41.

women as Tonnette, Jeanvieve, Zabeth, Madelaine, Neget, Regina, Leily, Nancy.¹⁵⁸

The Fournilliers were keen to borrow money to finance 'improvements' to the estate which was (together with its enslaved workforce) put up as surety against the loan. Fournillier claimed to have 'lately made great Improvements upon the said plantation in clearing a substantial part thereof and planting the same with Sugar Canes and hath also erected several Dwelling houses and other buildings Mills Boeleres and other necessary utensils for the making of Sugar thereon and placed upon the said Plantation One hundred and one Negroe Slaves ... together with Sundry Cattle and other Stock for the purpose of working the said Plantation Lands and premises'.¹⁵⁹

Bacolet had been 'lately' valued by fellow Grenadian planters (John Nelson, Pierre Grillot, De Poilly and Demonchy) at £29,071 5s sterling. Since this late valuation Fournillier stated he had placed upon Bacolet 'Twenty other Negroe Slaves' worth £1,500 sterling.¹⁶⁰ He explained that those 20 'lately introduced' 'cannot now be Particularly ascertained and described' by name, probably due to the very recent nature of the purchase and the Fournilliers' residence in London. Fournillier was 'desirous' to raise £12, 855 'by Granting Annual Sums or yearly Rent Charges' payable out of the plantation.¹⁶¹

The indenture and mortgage bonds of 11-12 February 1772 reveal complex loan arrangements with a five party release involving a total of 24 participants. It also suggests that the loan bonds secured at this stage reached around £25,760, a much higher level than that suggested by Peter Fournillier. PT and JC, at Peter Fournillier's request, arranged and acted as security for a whole series of small bond loans, involving 16 individuals and 19 bonds, which required annual (or

¹⁵⁸ GLR F2 411-45, Mortgage and bonds between Peter and Marie Fournillier and PT and JC, 11/12 Feb 1772, Schedule of the Names of the Slaves referred to by the written Indenture, 445.

¹⁵⁹ GLR F2 411-45, Mortgage and bonds between Peter and Marie Fournillier and PT and JC, 11/12 Feb 1772, 415.

¹⁶⁰ GLR F2 411-45, Mortgage and bonds between Peter and Marie Fournillier and PT and JC, 11/12 Feb 1772, 415 (first quotation), 416 (second quotation).

¹⁶¹ GLR F2 411-45, Mortgage and bonds between Peter and Marie Fournillier and PT and JC, 11/12 Feb 1772, 413 (first and second quotations), 416 (third and fourth quotations).

more frequent) interest payments. The agreement stressed the special arrangements for this loan, with PT and JC entering into the bonds 'at the special Instance and request of the said Peter Fournillier and as a Surety for him'. In consideration of the loan Fournillier was to pay out £1,393 annually. If the sum borrowed was only £12,855 this amounts to a very high interest rate of around 10.8%. However, this may have been appropriate due to the special nature of the arrangements made and the agreement that Peter Fournillier was 'held and firmly bound' to PT and JC for £25,710 sterling, double the loan amount.¹⁶²

The 16 individuals involved and the bond amounts due to each are identified in Table 1. They included at least seven London merchants, three of whom are known to be Huguenots (Cazenove, Giles and Mesman). At least two were men of considerable importance in London mercantile circles (Cazenove and Giles) and the banker Boldero was part of Boyd's 1794 government loan consortium.¹⁶³ The range of contributors suggests the level and breadth of PT's contacts at this time (1772). All names have been checked in the Eltis *et al.* Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database and through a search for records in archives nationally and published literature and none has yielded any firm connection with the slave trade itself. However, three have further connections with the West Indies or colonial trade (Cazenove, Giles and Shellard). Daniel Giles had connections with other West Indian property in Dominica and St Kitts and seems to have been the most important figure involved. He was a second generation London Huguenot merchant with very good networks. Giles was a director of the Bank of England from 1774 and governor from 1795 to 1797. He pledged £20,000 to the government loan of 1797. He married Lucy Mesman and their son became an MP. In 1795 Giles bought the Youngsbury estate in Hertfordshire for £30,000.¹⁶⁴ Whilst limited data has been found for other investors in this network in archives

¹⁶² GLR F2 411-45, Mortgage and bonds between Peter and Marie Fournillier and PT and JC, 11/12 Feb 1772, 417-426, 427 (first quotation), 438 (second quotation), 439. There is also evidence in the Grenada records that the Fournilliers held an earlier 1767 mortgage with another London merchant, Andre Antoine, the debt from which may have been incorporated into the loan from PT and JC. LFHC Grenada Register of [Land] Records, Index, 1764-1871 (Vols. A-Z1-A-E6), Film 1563217, H1 139ff, Indenture between Peter and Marie Fournillier and Andre Antoine, 1767.

¹⁶³ Cope, *Walter Boyd*, 58.

¹⁶⁴ R. G. Thorne, *The House of Commons, 1790-1820, Vol.4, Members G-P* (London, 1986), 23. There are records of some of Giles' dealings at the London Metropolitan Archives and the Hertfordshire Archives but it was not possible to research these within the confines of this project.

around Britain, there are no others which show promising signs of being linked to the slave trade and slavery.

Detailed terms and conditions were set out for the loan. These included the arrangements to be followed if the Fournilliers should default on the bonds and 'become indebted' to PT and JC, with any money lent to Thomas Fournillier (possibly the couple's son) to come under the same borrowing arrangements of interest at 5 per cent.¹⁶⁵ PT and JC also secured many conditions from the Fournilliers under the bond agreement terms, 'so long as the said several Annuities or any of them or any part thereof shall continue payable or any Arrears thereof shall remain unpaid'. The first was the right to act as consignees. The agreement stated that Fournillier and his heirs were bound to 'Ship and Consign' to PT and Cossart in London 'all such Sugar Rum Coffee and other produce' made at the estate, except that 'as shall be necessary' for the use of the Fournilliers, their servants and enslaved Africans on the estate. PT and JC were also to receive commission and allowance for tax and assessment payments. The minimum amount of sugar to be shipped each year was also prescribed, with the volume set at a high level compared to the output of Bacolet in the 1810s (see below):

'that the Sugars to be Shipped and Consigned to them ... Amount in quantity to seven hundred and fifty Hogsheads of Sugar at the least each Hogshead to Contain Twelve hundred hundred Weight of Sugar at the least'.¹⁶⁶

PT and JC also secured legal right to 'insure or cause to be insured' the produce which the Fournilliers would ship to them and the plantation itself 'against fire and War' for the sum of £17,000. The Fournilliers were to bear the costs of the insurance premiums. The final operating condition during the loan period was for Fournillier to 'put and keep upon the said Plantation Lands and Premises One hundred and forty Able Bodied working and well seasoned Negroe Slaves',

¹⁶⁵ GLR F2 411-45, Mortgage and bonds between Peter and Marie Fournillier and PT and JC, 11/12 Feb 1772, 431 (quotation), 432.

¹⁶⁶ GLR F2 411-45, Mortgage and bonds between Peter and Marie Fournillier and PT and JC, 11/12 Feb 1772, 433 (quotations).

regarded as vital to the successful operation of the estate.¹⁶⁷ The Fournilliers also had to prove their right to the land and that there were no other loans charged upon it. If the conditions were not met the Fournilliers agreed to allow PT and JC to take possession of the plantation, its workforce and working capital and to allow them the 'Rents Issues and Profits thereof', with the Fournilliers liable for payment for any further legal measures.¹⁶⁸

In July 1779 Grenada was retaken by the French and remained a French colony until September 1783. During these four years, the French governor "'absolved the inhabitants of Grenada from payment of all mortgages and pledges of every kind contracted between them in the London market and in other places of commerce without any exception'", and reserved the right to determine the legitimacy of such claims to the French Court. This effectively suspended all loan repayments and produce shipments.¹⁶⁹

Peter Fournillier was dead by 1785 and the debt had increased to £17,451 4s 4d. Perhaps more significant was the reduction by this time of the enslaved African workforce to only 33 (about a quarter of numbers in 1772), a likely effect of the French occupation. The remaining enslaved Africans were listed in a schedule attached to the new articles of agreement in relation to Bacolet, between PT and Cossart and Marie Fournillier, 'widow' in May 1787.¹⁷⁰ They were Gilbert, Narcisse, Arthur*, Bobby, Thomas, Cominan [?] Jean Marie*, Bagdy, Antoine*, Rock, Lazare, Phillippe, Honnore, L'Amoure*, L'Adorneur* [?], Andre*, L'Cueille* [?], Cesar, Balthazard [?] Boscan*, Vincent, Heliene, Victoire, Agua*, Bessy*, Sinque, Angelique, Thereze, Charlotte, Vieille Madelaine Petite Catherine* Petite Jeanne Rose, Adelaide. Those 11 marked with a * were not

¹⁶⁷ GLR F2 411-45, Mortgage and bonds between Peter and Marie Fournillier and PT and JC, 11/12 Feb 1772, 434. Such arrangements were normal under the old commission system. See Richard B. Sheridan, 'The Commercial and Financial Organisation of the British Slave Trade, 1750-1807', *Economic History Review*, 11 (1958-9), 249-63.

Gradually over the second half of the eighteenth century, guarantees were used more and more to secure debts in the slave trade. See Morgan, 'Remittance Procedures'.

¹⁶⁸ GLR F2 411-45, Mortgage and bonds between Peter and Marie Fournillier and PT and JC, 11/12 Feb 1772, 435 (quotation), 436.

¹⁶⁹ Brizan, *Grenada*, 50-51.

¹⁷⁰ GLR O3 310-19, Articles of Agreement between Marie Fournillier and PT and JC, 25 May 1787, 310 (quotation).

included in the 1772 listings, suggesting these people were subsequent purchases or children of other enslaved Africans already on the property.

Under the new articles of agreement PT and Cossart were given the option to buy the estate, its enslaved workforce and animals and implements for £17,451 4s 4d, with an option for Marie Fournillier to buy it back within the year at the same price, plus 6 per cent interest. PT and JC were, however, still prepared to lend additional money 'for the payment of the Price of Slaves to be purchased' by Marie Fournillier or her heirs at an interest rate of 6 per cent.¹⁷¹ While a time-limited mortgage was held against the property, PT and JC were prepared to be flexible with repayments. The new agreement states Marie Fournillier's pledge to 'remit and consign' to PT and JC (then operating as 'Peter Thellusson and Company'),

'all the Revenue and Produce of the said Plantation called Bacolet Slaves and other the Premises aforesaid (Excepting the Rum) and without any Bill or Bills of Exchange or other Order tacked to or accompanying [sic] the Bills of Lading touching the Application of the Proceeds to arise by Sale of the same to be by them applied in Payment and Satisfaction of the said Mortgage Sum and Interest and Interest and such other Debts as now are or hereafter may be due'.¹⁷²

So Marie Fournillier was not able to buy supplies on the security of her main plantation output and had only the rum reserved for her, 'for the necessary Purposes of the said Plantation and the Support of herself and Family'. This arrangement was to continue until the debts were 'fully paid and satisfied', including payments on annuities actively purchased by PT and JC at an interest rate of 6 per cent.¹⁷³ While PT and JC placed a strict prohibition on Marie Fournillier charging any bills against the plantation produce sent to them, they were more flexible and even insistent that money should be invested in the purchase of further enslaved Africans, directing that Marie and her heirs,

¹⁷¹ GLR O3 310-19, Articles of Agreement between Marie Fournillier and PT and JC, 25 May 1787, 313 (quotation).

¹⁷² GLR O3 310-19, Articles of Agreement between Marie Fournillier and PT and JC, 25 May 1787, 314 (quotation).

¹⁷³ GLR O3 310-19, Articles of Agreement between Marie Fournillier and PT and JC, 25 May 1787, 317 (first quotation), 314 (second quotation), 315.

'shall and will yearly and every Year while any Debt shall be due ... and as long as [they] ... shall think it necessary for the Purpose of properly cultivating or improving the said Plantation and Premises purchase and place upon the said Plantation called Bacolet ... Eight good and able Negro Slaves And subscribe on Demand an Indorsement of the Names of the same to be made upon the hereinbefore [sic] in Part recited Mortgage ... as a Part of the mortgaged Property therein mentioned. And that such Negro Slaves so to be bought placed and endorsed shall be subject to and affected by the same Mortgage and the Provisos Clauses and Covenants therein contained in the same Manner as the other mortgaged Property therein specified.'

Any enslaved Africans purchased in this manner were to be paid for by the Fournilliers drawing 'Bills of Exchange' on PT and JC 'under the Firm of Peter Thellusson and Company'. The monies laid out in this way were to be added to the overall mortgage and charged at 6 per cent interest.¹⁷⁴

It appears that by this time there was another outstanding mortgage on the property, issued to Catherine Francoise Casse Gabriel, a widow of Grenada. PT and JC agreed to discharge this debt for £1,957 8s of Grenadian currency and to add this sum to the mortgage at 6 per cent charge. They also required Marie Fournillier to rid the plantation (mortgaged to PT and JC) of any further debts and claims, particularly from her own children and those of Henry Robert Casse.¹⁷⁵ In addition to her mortgage commitments, Marie Fournillier had lately lost 25 hogsheads of sugar shipped on the sloop, the *Stag*, yet another drain on her stretched resources. However, the cargo was insured and PT and JC pledged to credit her with the amount paid out once the sum insured for could be ascertained.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ GLR O3 310-19, Articles of Agreement between Marie Fournillier and PT and JC, 25 May 1787, 315 (quotations).

¹⁷⁵ GLR O3 310-19, Articles of Agreement between Marie Fournillier and PT and JC, 25 May 1787, 316.

¹⁷⁶ GLR O3 310-19, Articles of Agreement between Marie Fournillier and PT and JC, 25 May 1787, 317.

At this stage in 1787, PT and JC also agreed not to foreclose on the mortgage as long as Marie Fournillier made annual consignments of the returns and produce of Bacolet as set out in the agreements.¹⁷⁷

Just four years later, in 1791, another set of agreements was made between PT and Cossart and Marie Fournillier, indicating that the debts had still not been paid off. These reveal that Marie had purchased a further eight 'Negro Slaves' whose names had been recorded on the mortgage. An additional 13 enslaved Africans had been purchased at a cost of £601 1s sterling borrowed from PT and Cossart but their names had not been entered on the 1787 mortgage as it had been 'sent to Europe to the said Peter Thellusson and John Cossart by their Constituted Attorney at their own particular request'. This may have been due to concerns over the mortgage arrears or perhaps was part of the arrangements for agreeing the terms under which PT was to leave the business partnership. The 13 enslaved Africans were, however, listed in the 1791 agreement as Paris, Lubin, Daphonis, Edouard, Francois, Bernard, Jean, Petit Edouard, Jean Louis and Jean Charles (males) and Rozette, Reine, Jememe (females). It is unclear what the level of debt was at this stage.¹⁷⁸

It is likely that the Bacolet debt rose even further after the devastating Grenadian insurrection of 1795 to 1796 in which large numbers of slaves were killed, the majority of plantations burnt and plantation production halted for several years. However, surprisingly no correspondence has been found in relation to Bacolet during the rebellion. This contrasts strongly with the situation of another merchant absentee owner of a Grenadian plantation, Sir George Cornwall, who was sent numerous reports by correspondents of the situation during and immediately after the rebellion and the fate of his property La Taste.¹⁷⁹ At the time of PT's death £398 a year were due in annuities on the Bacolet estate.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷ GLR O3 310-19, Articles of Agreement between Marie Fournillier and PT and JC, 25 May 1787, 316-17.

¹⁷⁸ GLR B4 223-41, Indenture between Marie Fournillier and PT and JC, 8/9 Apl 1791, 232 (first quotation), 233 (second quotation), 234 (list).

¹⁷⁹ Lambert, 'The "Glasgow King of Billingsgate"', 392; Seymour *et al.*, 'Estate and Empire'.

¹⁸⁰ SROI HB416/A2/6, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 9 Jul 1819, 125.

ii) George Woodford Thellusson (GWT) (1768-1811), the Trustees (1797-1804) and Chancery (1805-1859)

PT died at a bad time in terms of turning around the fortunes of his interest in the Bacolet plantation. Bacolet was likely damaged by the 1795-96 rebellion and he was not on hand to attempt to restore its fortunes. Instead, following PT's death, GWT took over responsibility for managing the Bacolet investment until his own demise in 1811. Two payments by the trustees in late 1799, of £5,787 17s 6d to 'Messieurs Thellusson Brothers and Company the balance of their account Current with the Testator' and £68 18s 10d 'Paid ditto on account of the West India Estates' may relate to outgoings for Bacolet, particularly if it had been damaged by the rebellion.¹⁸¹ Certainly it was reported that ten enslaved Africans had been bought in 1797 in the wake of the troubles.¹⁸²

However, little is known of the precise state of affairs on Bacolet in the early 19th century. When PT's property went into Chancery in 1805, for over ten years the Courts seemed to have had only a poor knowledge of the state of the Bacolet finances.¹⁸³ Nonetheless an 1859 report noted that 'the Consignments for the Estate (his Representatives being in possession as Mortgagees) were made to Mr George Thellusson'.¹⁸⁴ William Mitchell was also involved as he had to be paid £40 cash in January 1813 to meet 'a demand made by him without payment of which he would not deliver up the Bills of Lading of produce received from Bacolet'.¹⁸⁵ GWT submitted annual 'Accounts relating to the said West Indian Estates' up to the end of 1808 'in the name and firm of Thellusson Brothers & Co' and subsequently from 31 December 1808, around the time when the firm was said to have been dissolved, GWT 'began a new account as such

¹⁸¹ SROI HB416/A2/7, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 1799-1813, 283-85.

¹⁸² TNA C33/608 ff746-48, Order of 25 Apl 1814.

¹⁸³ SROI HB416/A2/6, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 9 Jul 1819, 193-94.

¹⁸⁴ SROI HB416/D1/3/1, Letter from Thos Wm Budd to Messrs Benbow Tucker and Saltwell, concerning annuities charged on Thellusson estates, and mentioning the Bacolet estate in particular, 23 Nov 1859.

¹⁸⁵ SROI HB416/D1/1, 'Thellusson v Woodford (Consignee's account [for Bacolet]) Masters Book', Aug 1812-Apl 1813.

Consigne [sic] in the name of Thellusson Nephew & Co.'. ¹⁸⁶ An 1814 review of these accounts argued they showed that expenditure on Bacolet 'exhausted its produce' and that the debt had not been reduced. ¹⁸⁷ It is therefore unsurprising that the Chancery report of 1819 noted that GWT kept all the rents and profits of Bacolet during his tenure as consignee. ¹⁸⁸

In 1806, the Master in Chancery directed an account be taken of the 'rents and profits' of PT's 'real Estates in England and of the rents profits and produce of his Plantations or Estates in the West Indies accrued since his decease' and paid to trustees or any others. Any profits were directed to be paid into the bank into two separate accounts, the English estate profits to the 'Account of the clear residue' and the Grenada and Montserrat profits 'should be in like manner paid into the Bank to the separate accounts of the produce of the said Testators real Estates in the said Islands respectively'. Even by 1814, however, there still seemed to be some confusion over PT's property interests in Montserrat and Grenada and who was in charge of them. ¹⁸⁹

In addition to GWT's yearly accounts for Bacolet, the records include reference to a sum of £8,000 belonging to PT's personal estate, 'lent and advanced to the said firm of Thellusson Brothers & Co' on 18 April 1801 at an interest rate of 5 per cent by the trustees, 'to cover the balance then due to the said Firm and to enable them to carry on the said Account'. ¹⁹⁰ It appears that new money was needed to sustain Bacolet, and perhaps the whole firm, at this point. The Master found that the amount remaining due to the trustees on 1 December 1810 from Thellusson Brothers & Co was £4,120 11s, and on 31 December 1811 (the day of GWT's death) from Thellusson Nephew & Co, £1,832 13s 8d. The latter sum was paid on 10th August 1816 by George Hibbert and William Mitchell, executors

¹⁸⁶ SROI HB416/A2/6, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 9 Jul 1819, 129-31. These accounts have not been uncovered though they were reportedly included as a schedule to the Master's original report of 19 Aug 1817 which is probably in TNA.

¹⁸⁷ TNA C33/608 ff746-48, Order of Monday 25 Apl 1814.

¹⁸⁸ SROI HB416/A2/6, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 9 Jul 1819, 126.

¹⁸⁹ SROI HB416/A2/6, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 9 Jul 1819, 114-15 (quotations), 116.

¹⁹⁰ SROI HB416/A2/6, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 9 Jul 1819, 129-31.

of GWT 'to the account of rents profits and produce of the Plantation or Estate in the Island of Grenada'. The former sum (£4,120 11s) was charged to CT as the remaining partner in Thellusson Brothers but was written off in exchange for a claim made by him for a similar amount 'in respect of certain partnership transactions' between PT and his sons.¹⁹¹

The trustees had appointed James Mays as the manager of Bacolet in July 1797, under the condition that he consign the estate produce to GWT under the firm of Thellusson Brothers & Company, but the venture did not go well and there were claims that Mays owed the firm money.¹⁹² When Mays died he was succeeded by his executor, Mr Dent, who was manager at Bacolet from at least 1812-16.¹⁹³ Following GWT's death in 1811, 'a Consignee appointed by the Court', Mr Ambrose Humphrys, took on this role and submitted detailed accounts to the Court of Chancery. Humphrys, described as a 'Gentleman' was based at 'Harpur Street, Red Lion Square in the County of Middlesex'. At the start of his employment in 1812 he estimated that the 382 acres of Bacolet comprised 100 acres of cane land and 20 acres of enslaved African provision grounds with the remaining 262 acres, roughly two-thirds of the property left uncultivated.¹⁹⁴

In 1814 the report which described Bacolet as 'of excellt quality & admirably calculd for the Cultivn of Cane' noted 'but that great pt of it is l yg waste there not being sufft Stock to Cultivate the same'. Here again we see replicated the planter view of enslaved Africans as 'stock'. Their crucial role in plantation profitability is also made clear as a lack of enslaved labour was identified as key to undermining the output of an otherwise excellent sugar plantation. Numbers of enslaved Africans had fallen to just 42 by the end of 1812, 'many of whom from Infy [infirmity] Age or Sickness were Incapable of Work', despite the

¹⁹¹ SROI HB416/A2/6, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 9 Jul 1819, 131-32, 133 (first quotation), 135 (second quotation)

¹⁹² TNA C33/610 ff1289-91, Order of 5 Jul 1814; TNA C33/608 ff746-48, Order of 25 Apl 1814.

¹⁹³ TNA C33/610 ff.1289-91, Order of 5 Jul 1814; SROI HB416/D1/1, 'Thellusson v Woodford (Consignee's account [for Bacolet]) Masters Book', 1812-16.

¹⁹⁴ SROI HB416/D1/3/1, Letter from Thos Wm Budd to Messrs Benbow Tucker and Saltwell, concerning annuities charged on Thellusson estates, and mentioning the Bacolet estate in particular, 23 Nov 1859; SROI HB416/D1/1, 'Thellusson v Woodford (Consignee's account [for Bacolet]) Masters Book', Aug 1812-Apr 1813 (second quotation); TNA C33/610 ff.1289-91, Order of 5 Jul 1814.

importation of over 17,000 enslaved Africans to Grenada between 1785 and 1807, and the purchases made by Marie Fournillier and of 1797 outlined above. There were also nine mules on the property. The 1814 report, made at a time when the market was in an 'advanced favourable state ... for all Colonial produce', concluded that Bacolet 'might be cultivated to considerable [considerable] advantage & ... might be made to yield a considerable excess beyond its annual expenditure to go in liquidation of the said Mortgage debt provided the Number of Slaves & Cattle were Increased', the works repaired and new buildings added. It would appear that the plantation had not only lost most of its workforce but had also fallen into disrepair due to uncertainty over its ownership.¹⁹⁵ Expert views were sought in relation to the plantation and these confirmed that the decline was mainly due to lack of enslaved labour. They also provided estimates for reconstitution of the plantation, calculating around £6,000 was required for purchases of additional enslaved Africans and about £1,000 for repairs.¹⁹⁶ The Trustees were certainly minded to foreclose on the Bacolet mortgage and to lay out 'a sum of money in purchasing Slaves and Cattle and in repairing the said Estate and making additional works thereon'. The Master thought this would be appropriate 'but no sufficient Evidence had been laid before me as to the extent or particular of such repairs or new works or the number of additional Negroes and Cattle as might be necessary for the purposes aforesaid'. An order of 5 Aug 1814 requested 'further Evidence as to what sum or sums of money should be expended in the purchase of Negroes and Cattle for the said Estate and in the repairs of the buildings thereon and in erecting new buildings thereon for the better cultivation and improvement thereof'.¹⁹⁷

A run of accounts from 1812 to 1821 suggests regular sugar production and net yearly profits from Bacolet during most of this period (see Table 2). Operating profits were often substantial for the years to 1819 after which there were two years of deficit due to large-scale investment in the plantation and lower sugar

¹⁹⁵ TNA C33/608 ff.746-48, Order of Monday 25 Apr 1814 (quotations); Lambert, 'The "Glasgow King of Billingsgate"', 392. The poor state of the buildings may also have been due to the widespread burning of plantations during Fedon's rebellion.

¹⁹⁶ TNA C33/610 ff.1289-91, Order of 5 Jul 1814; TNA C33/652 ff.1665-68, Order of 25 Jul 1818.

¹⁹⁷ SROI HB416/A2/6, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 9 Jul 1819, 126-27 (first quotation), 127 (second quotation), 128 (third quotation).

prices. However, it is clear that sugar output at this time was far below the 750 hogsheads minimum set out in the original 1772 agreement with the Fournilliers, reaching only an average of 68.7 hhds and with large fluctuations between years (with a low in 1813-14 of 30 hhds and a high in 1818-19 of 98). This is hardly surprising with the reduced labour force and the limited area of sugar cultivation. Sugar prices gained were high in the early years of 1812-18, peaking at 104s/hogshead in late 1814, but fell thereafter to a low of 57s/hogshead in early 1820 suggesting the optimism of 1814 for high prices was not sustained. The highest annual profits were made in the years before 1819 and tended to coincide with high levels of output and higher prices. Rising levels of investment in the plantation from 1818 onwards help account for the bulk of profit reduction and deficits in the last two years of ownership. It is probable that the new investment was undertaken in order to facilitate the sale of the estate.

A new manager, George Gunn Munro, was appointed in 1816/1817 and he seems to have instigated further refurbishment of the estate, including some mechanisation. In 1818 he was sent supplies of paint and paving tiles, as well as new clothes, equipment (knives, sugar strainers and skimmers) and food ('Biscuit' and 'Pearl barley') for the workforce. In addition he received '1 large Machine with 2 knives for Cutting Cane tops with 2 spare knives & complete' costing £16 10s and '8 Chaldron of Coals' costing £18 8s, perhaps to drive the machine. The introduction of steam power to Caribbean plantations was not common even by 1818, though Boulton and Watt supplied nearly 200 steam engines to the Caribbean between 1778 and 1825 and the sugar price rises of 1814 led at least one other Grenadian merchant planter to invest in this technology.¹⁹⁸ Other items of supplies sent to Bacolet from Britain included regular shipments of cloth, rope and oil, and specific items such as jackets and hats for the men, women and children costing just under £10 (1812); 'A new Sugar Cart complete with Wheels Iron [?] Axle tree [?] Hoop tyre & Painting do 3 times', costing £40 (1813); an iron roller costing £16 10s (1813); and six 'Cask Iron Boilers' costing around £80 (1813). From 1818-20 Munro had accounts with Ganoways and Co. (regular, £1,000), James Young, captain of the *Sarah Christiana*, the vessel regularly used to ship Bacolet estate produce and

¹⁹⁸ Seymour *et al.*, 'Estate and Empire', 334-36.

supplies (regular, £550), Geve and Brown (1818, £300), George Lindsay (1820, £150), Evan Kennedy (1820, £100), James McNine (1820, £100) and J Hoyes and Co. (1820, £80).¹⁹⁹

However, despite this period of relative prosperity for Bacolet, when the Chancery Court found in February 1816 that £83,286 was owed on the property, no further investment in Bacolet was recommended. It is likely that the large increase in debt occurred in the 1790s and early 1800s. The decision was made sometime between 1816 and 1818 to sell Bacolet to the highest bidder. Sale proceedings were held up as 'a particular of the said Plantation or Estate and of the Negroes and Cattle thereon hath not yet been received from the person employed in the management thereof'.²⁰⁰ Returns made under the 1817 Slave Registration Act indicate that the enslaved African workforce at Bacolet had declined further since 1812. Thirty-five enslaved people were listed by George Gunn Munro as a 'True Return' on 15th July 1817 and a further two died in 1818, leaving just 34 in total in December 1819. The 1817 list sets out details of gender, names, 'Colour', 'Country', 'supposed Age' and 'Marks', beginning with males followed by females (see Table 3). It reveals a majority of females, with 11 women, four of whom were 60 or over, and four girls and ten men and five boys. Country is interpreted merely as an indication of whether the enslaved person was born in the Caribbean or not, with no detail on place of origin beyond the Caribbean and Africa. Creoles, those born in the Caribbean dominated, with only five enslaved Africans described as 'African', all of whom were 45 or over, reflecting the termination of the British slave trade in 1807. The description of marks was a typical planter strategy to help identify enslaved people, with the aim of securing property rights and deterring resistance.²⁰¹

An interest in Bacolet was retained until 1820 when it was sold to William Le Blanc for just £3,000. The low price reflects the Thellussons' inability to produce good legal title to the land and the sale funds had to be kept for some time in

¹⁹⁹ SROI HB416/D1/1, 'Thellusson v Woodford (Consignee's account [for Bacolet]) Masters Book', Aug 1812-Apr 1813.

²⁰⁰ SROI HB416/A2/6, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 9 Jul 1819, 55, 138-39, 140-41 (quotation).

²⁰¹ TNA T71/267,272, 'A List of Slaves belonging to or in the Lawful Possession of George Gun Munro Agent for the Representatives of Peter Thellusson deceased and worked upon Fournilliers Estate in the Parish of St Andrew April 30th 1817'.

the account of 'Rents profits & Produce', any payments from which were to be reported to William Le Blanc in case the title was challenged.²⁰² This money was used to purchase 'Bank three per Cent Annuities' and by 8 June 1819 there was just over £9,628 in these funds.²⁰³ George Gunn Munro appears to have been retained as manager of Bacolet at least until 1821. An 1824 plan of Grenada reports he was proprietor of the sugar plantations Great Bacolet (606 acres, no.79) and Minere (384 acres, no.88) and 164 acres of bush in St Andrews (nos 84 and 85). It is possible that Minere was Bacolet as its old name was Menere and the reported extent of the property is similar to that of Bacolet.²⁰⁴

Concerns were also voiced over how the annuities still due on Bacolet would be paid after the sale. Regular payments were made to Ann Hickey (£90 a year), Harriet Pyke (£45 a year) and Edward Gale Boldero (£27 a year) from 1812-15, rising to £100, £50 and £30 respectively from 1816. That to Boldero was still being paid at an annual rate of £30 in 1847. However, the rents, produce and sale fund was estimated at £26,165 16s Consols in 1844, an ample amount to cover these payments.²⁰⁵ No evidence exists of slave compensation payments to the Thellussons for Bacolet or any other plantation.²⁰⁶

²⁰² SROI HB416/D1/1, 'Thellusson v Woodford (Consignee's account [for Bacolet]) Masters Book', 1812-21; SROI HB416/D1/3/1, Letter from Thos Wm Budd to Messrs Benbow Tucker and Saltwell, concerning annuities charged on Thellusson estates, and mentioning the Bacolet estate in particular, 23 Nov 1859 (quotation).

²⁰³ SROI HB416/A2/6, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 9 Jul 1819, 140 (quotation), 142.

²⁰⁴ SROI HB416/D1/1, 'Thellusson v Woodford (Consignee's account [for Bacolet]) Masters Book', 1821; Gavin Smith, *Reference to the Plan of Grenada by Gavin Smith* (London, 1824), 9.

²⁰⁵ SROI HB416/D1/1, 'Thellusson v Woodford (Consignee's account [for Bacolet]) Masters Book', 1812-21; SROI HB416/D1/3/2, Letter to Messrs Benbow Tucker and Saltwell, headed 'The Granada Account' and concerning annuities, 23 Jan 1860; Letter from Budd and Hayes of Bedford Row, dated 7 Mar 1844 and sent to Edward Simeon Esq [?] enclosed in SROI HB416/A2/6, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 9 Jul 1819, between 78 and 79.

²⁰⁶ Personal communication from Nick Draper.

c) Slave trading

i) PT and the slave trade

As indicated above PT was on good terms with a number of slave traders and was involved in wider slave trade related activities, with a minor and temporary involvement in vessel ownership.²⁰⁷

PT's involvement in slave trading ventures seems to have resulted from the opportunistic recovery of a large debt, making this similar to his typical involvement in plantation ownership (see above Section 3b). However, unlike his ownership of Bacolet, PT's ownership of ships involved in the slave trade appears to have been minor and short-term. He is never listed as an investor in slave voyages in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade database. However, at least three of the vessels he acquired through his debt repayment from George Campbell junior and Stephen Hayes, had connections with the slave trade.

The rather ironically named *Liberty*, in which PT secured a three-eighths share, was a slave ship of 218 standardised tonnes. At the time of the debt recovery, the *Liberty* was en route from Africa. The voyage had begun on 9th September 1767 and a cargo of 227 enslaved Africans had been gathered from West Central Africa and St Helena. The ship arrived in Barbados on 11th February 1769, landing 185 enslaved people. Presumably PT took his three-eighths share, the proceeds from the sale of around 69 people.²⁰⁸ The *Penelope* had also been involved in a slave voyage to Jamaica in 1766, prior to PT's ownership, with Stephen Hayes and George Campbell senior and junior listed as owners. However, no further slave voyages are recorded for this vessel.²⁰⁹

Finally, while the *Success* does not appear in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database as a vessel of Campbell and Hayes, it seems to have been used within the Caribbean to transport enslaved people between the islands. Such transfer of

²⁰⁷ LFHC, Grenada Register of [Land] Records, 1768-70 (v.L1-X1, 2nd series), Film 1563342: N1 358-67, Indenture between George Campbell and Stephen Hayes and Peter Thellusson, 19 Sep 1768. However, PT is not recorded as a vessel owner in David Eltis *et al.* (eds.), <http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces> [accessed Mar 2009 and Aug 2010].

²⁰⁸ Eltis *et al.*, *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*, Voyage number 91407.

²⁰⁹ Eltis *et al.*, *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*, Voyage number 91190.

enslaved people between the islands in the Caribbean was normal in order to deal with changing demand and supply in the region.²¹⁰ In a document of 14th December 1768, PT transferred his power of attorney to John Stevens of London, a ship's captain, 'now bound on her Voyage to the said Island of Grenada' in relation to the *Success*, itself 'arrived or shortly intended or expected to arrive at the Island of Grenada or some other Port, Island or Place near adjoining or belonging thereunto in the West Indies'. Stevens was to manage the arrival of the *Success* and its cargo which the document elaborates as a 'Cargo of Slaves Negroes Goods, Wares & Merchandise whatsoever on Board'. He was 'to sell and Dispose of the said Brigantine Ship or Vessel called the *Success* and her said Cargoe by Private Sale or by Public Caist [?] or Auction as he shall be advised or think fit to such Person or Persons as shall be willing desirous of Buying or Becoming a Purchaser or Purchasers of the same for the best price and prices and most money that can or may be had or gotten therefore'. PT therefore seemed keen to realise both the value of the *Success*' cargo and the ship itself. Stevens was also instructed to collect debts due to Campbell and Hayes on PT's behalf, the document noting that 'Messrs Lamdie [?] and Lamarque of the Island of Grenada Merchants and several other Persons now stand indebted unto the said Messrs Campbell and Haynes in divers large and considerable Sums of money upon Ballance of Account for Goods seldom delivered'. These would appear to be debts created through produce consignment arrangements under which credit for plantation supplies was commonly given.²¹¹

PT's acquisition of these ships with slave trading connections does not, therefore, appear to have been part of a strategy to develop investment interests in slave trading vessels.

In contrast, a series of nine letters to the Liverpool slave trader, William Davenport, reveals details of PT's involvement in the supply of goods for trading

²¹⁰ Trevor Burnard and Kenneth Morgan, 'The Dynamics of the Slave Market and Slave Purchasing Patterns in Jamaica', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 58:1 (2001), 205-28.

²¹¹ Eltis *et al.* *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*; LFHC, Grenada Register of [Land] Records, 1768-70 (v.L1-X1, 2nd series), Film 1563342: N1 367-71, Power of Attorney between PT and John Stevens, 14 Dec 1768 (quotations 368-69); Morgan, 'Remittance Procedures'.

in exchange for enslaved Africans. Davenport invested in 160 slave trade voyages to Africa between 1748 and 1792 and as well as being a leading slave trader he was also a major supplier of trading goods to others involved in the slave trade. PT introduced himself in a letter of March 1768 in which he refers Davenport to his 'friends' Peter Holme and Thomas Hodgson, themselves leading Liverpool merchants involved in the slave trade, for recommendation. Hodgson, to whom PT seems to have been particularly close, was involved in over 50 slaving ventures between 1771 and 1796. It is likely that PT also engaged in business related to the slave trade with these men but no records confirming this have as yet been found.²¹² PT was keen to act as Davenport's 'agent in this city [London] to transact Your Business with regard to Beads', a commodity commonly used as currency in slave trading and one in which Davenport was a leading supplier, providing £39,000 of beads to slave traders between 1766 and 1770. From the correspondence PT also seems to have traded more widely in beads and cowries.²¹³ PT succeeded in securing the position as Davenport's London agent and by April 1768 was able to report his purchase of '7 lots of cowries' on Davenport's account, cowries being mollusc shells used as currency in Africa and so useful for the slave trade.²¹⁴ PT was keen to impress his new client with his trading skills, describing the purchase as 'much cheaper than I mentioned & I can say it is owing towards my coolness towards the Sellers. I hope you'll be pleased & that I may always succeed as well'.²¹⁵ Later correspondence over cowries and pearls reveals how PT drew on links in both the French and British East India Companies to facilitate his trading in this area, the major supply of such shells coming from India and south east Asia. In July

²¹² There are no extant manuscript materials for Thomas Hodgson and Peter Holme, although they do turn up in the manuscripts of others. Peter Holme was a correspondent of William Pollard of Philadelphia for example, see Historical Society of Pennsylvania, William Pollard Letterbook, William Pollard to Peter Holme, 16 May 1772. David Richardson, 'Davenport, William (1725–1797)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/55685> [accessed 17 Nov 2009]; Merseyside Maritime Museum Archives (MMMA) D/DAV/6/6 (1), PT, London, to William Davenport, Liverpool, 26 Mar 1768 (quotation); Melinda Elder, 'The Liverpool Slave Trade, Lancaster and its Environs', in David Richardson, Suzanne Schwartz and Anthony Tibbles (eds) *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery* (Liverpool, 2007), 122.

²¹³ Richardson, 'Davenport, William'; MMMA D/DAV/6/6 (1), PT, London, to William Davenport, Liverpool, 26 Mar 1768 (quotation); MMMA D/DAV/6/6 (3), PT, London, to William Davenport, Liverpool, 25 May 1788 [this date is probably an error and the year has been interpreted as 1768].

²¹⁴ Marion Johnson, 'The Atlantic Slave Trade and the Economy of West Africa', in Anstey and Hair, *Liverpool, the African Slave Trade and Abolition*, 14-38.

²¹⁵ MMMA D/DAV/6/6 (2), PT, London, to William Davenport, Liverpool, 1 Apr 1768.

1768 PT reported he had been making enquiries about cowries and 'do not find one cask to be disposed of'. Davenport was also seeking pearls and PT stated he would 'enquire if any is bought this year from the east Indies'.²¹⁶ In November, PT wrote informing Davenport that 'the French E.I. comp^y will sell the 24th of next Months 596990 lb [sic lb] cowries' which were to be marketed at Port L'Orient, the base of the French East India fleet in Brittany. PT speculated that 'as the quality is undesirable, think the price will be reasonable'. A note at the bottom of the letter suggests a price of £8,500 for the total amount marketed and Thellusson reassured Davenport that 'should you intend to give any order I will take care of it with pleasure'. When Davenport mistakenly thought the sale was to be by the British East India Company, PT corrected him adding 'our EI comp^y would not allow one to take such a sample'.²¹⁷ When Davenport himself came to London and made a direct deal for small cowries with a Mr Mativiers, PT was understandably concerned, perhaps as much due to his potential loss of commission as for Davenport himself. Thellusson was worried that Davenport had been duped, and he tried to ascertain whether there were any witnesses to the deal who might be able to keep Mativiers to his bargain. His fears were well-founded as it later emerged that the shells had been sold to someone else.²¹⁸

PT seems to have had more highly developed business links in relation to beads, a key product for Davenport, both in London and abroad. He was able to offer Davenport 'two lots of arranye [arranga?] Beads' immediately, 'one weighs 352 lb[?] & is to be sold for 13/9 the other weighs 372 & the price is 13/1 With the dis^t.'. PT implied he could secure them at cost price but needed a quick response.²¹⁹ Drawing on a connection in Nuremberg who had links to bead manufacturers in Prague, PT also arranged for a pattern Davenport had supplied to be made up as an order. However, the manufacturer could not supply the amount Davenport desired as he had requested cut white crystal beads which were both time-consuming and costly to produce:

²¹⁶ MMMA D/DAV/6/6 (4), PT, London, to William Davenport, Liverpool, 2 Jul 1768.

²¹⁷ MMMA D/DAV/6/6 (7), PT, London, to William Davenport, Liverpool, 23 Nov 1768; MMMA D/DAV/6/6 (8), PT, London, to William Davenport, Liverpool, 30 Nov? 1768.

²¹⁸ MMMA D/DAV/6/6 (5), PT, London, to William Davenport, Liverpool, 19 Jul 1768;

MMMA D/DAV/6/6 (6), PT, London, to William Davenport, Liverpool, 29 Jul 1768.

²¹⁹ MMMA D/DAV/6/6 (2), PT, London, to William Davenport, Liverpool, 1 Apl 1768.

'My friend at Neuremberg [sic] says you must give your orders one year before hand, as it takes a very considerable time to get im ['em' as in 'them'] ready. he says with regard to christal [sic] beads he has only the 1000. – on acct of the high price, and as he would not have scheduled your order for 200/000 this year, this sort of beads taking a very long time a making.'

Instead the Nuremberg manufacturer recommended that the pattern in future be 'pressed as the winon[?] beads are, (& not cut) it will be much cheaper & sooner done'.²²⁰ When the sample of beads arrived from Nuremberg in July 1768 Thellusson sent them 'by the coach' and reported they were 'well Numbered' but unpriced. He had already written to ascertain the price and also to clarify exchange rates and weights.²²¹ PT also managed the transport for Davenport of '7 Casks & 2 Chests of great Bugle [glass beads]' due to arrive in London from Rotterdam aboard the *Prince of Wales* and the *Duke of York*, which he promised to send to him 'by first opportunity, and give you the Account of charges on them'. In the same letter he informed Davenport of a sale in the following January (1769) of '641362 Arrangoes' [large beads] 'by Our E. I. comp^y'.²²²

Unfortunately at the time of this report no further correspondence beyond 1768 has been located and it is unclear whether Thellusson continued to act for Davenport.²²³ However, the connection may have benefitted PT's business interests in other ways too. A 'high proportion' of Davenport's slaving ventures delivered enslaved Africans to Dominica and Grenada, which were under rapid development at this time, and it is possible that Thellusson drew on his links with Davenport to help secure slaves for Grenadian planters to whom he lent money. As London was a favourite place to gain guarantees for debts in the slave trade, and PT acted as a banker, this is quite likely.²²⁴

²²⁰ MMMA D/DAV/6/6 (5), PT, London, to William Davenport, Liverpool, 19 Jul 1768.

²²¹ MMMA D/DAV/6/6 (6), PT, London, to William Davenport, Liverpool, 29 Jul 1768.

²²² MMMA D/DAV/6/6 (9), PT, London, to William Davenport, Liverpool, 5 Dec 1768.

²²³ We have been given a lead that there is correspondence between Peter Thellusson and William Davenport in his letter books, but we were not able to follow this up in time for the report.

²²⁴ Richardson, 'Davenport, William' (quotation); Richardson, 'Profits in the Liverpool slave trade'; Morgan, 'Remittance Procedures'.

d) Trading in colonial products

This section reports on a preliminary assessment of PT's money lending in the Caribbean using Grenada as a case study. Research undertaken on the Grenada Land Registry records held in St George's, Grenada and the London Family History Centre, revealed a considerable volume of lending and other financial transactions by Peter Thellusson in the period 1767-1791 (based on searches of index volumes covering 1764-1871). Those involved in transactions with Thellusson are listed in Table 4.²²⁵

Grenada officially entered into British hands in 1763 (following its capture in 1762). However, the first evidence of lending activity there by PT is in 1767, although he may have been one of the partners in a mortgage lent by John Fonblanque senior '& others' to Peter Castaings in 1765.²²⁶ PT could have been lending in Grenada under French rule but of course that would not be apparent

²²⁵ Grenada Register of [Land] Records, 2nd series: GLR H1 372-75, Mortgage between Charles Mandilthon and PT, 1767; GLR H1 375-83, Mortgage between Jeanne Manige Papin Destandette and PT, 14 Sep 1767; LFHC N1 277-89, Bargain and Sale between Commissioners of Bankruptcy, John Hix and PT, John Henry Cazenove, Lewis Tessier and John Bereins, 12 Oct 1768; LFHC N1 358-67, Indenture between George Campbell and Stephen Hayes and PT, 19 Sep 1768; LFHC O1 54-66, Mortgage between Louis Francis DeGannes and Jeanne Monique Papin (his wife) and PT, 29 Mar 1769; GLR R1 99-106, Mortgage between Henry Demargue and Charles Mandilthon Labastide and PT, 1769; GLR X1 138ff*, Indenture Lease and Release between Pierre Simond and PT and another, 1770; GLR E2 177-96, Mortgage between Walter Flyn and PT, 8 May 1772; GLR F2 411-45, Mortgage and bonds between Peter and Marie Fournillier and PT and JC, 11/12 Feb 1772; GLR G2 322-25, Mortgage between Charles Mandilthon and Anne Fawre (his wife) and PT, 27 Oct 1772; GLR H2 1-13, Mortgage between Peter Pegus and James Samuel Tequier[?] and PT, 27 Jul 1772; GLR H2 13-19, Mortgage between John Sabazan and PT, 1772; GLR H2 113-22, Mortgage between Jean Duruty and his wife Marie Therese Borde Duruty and PT, 17 Jul 1772; GLR L2 249-55, Mortgage between Jean Baptiste Dejean and Charles de Cologne and PT, 9 Feb 1773; GLR P2 280-87, Mortgage between Charles Mandilthon and PT, 28 Apl 1772; GLR V2 88-109, Mortgage and bonds between Jean Philip Boutillier and John Baptiste D'Argente and PT, 5/6 June 1775; GLR V2 278-90, Mortgage between Louis Francois Simon DeGannes and PT and JC, 24 Jul 1775; Z2 434-45, Mortgage between Walter Flyn and PT, JC and John Aubert, 2 Apl 1776; GLR D3 485ff*, Mortgage surrender between John Sabazan and PT, 1778. GLR O3 310-19, Articles of Agreement between Marie Fournillier and PT and JC, 25 May 1787; GLR P3 146-60, Mortgage redemption between Charles Dauvergne and PT, JC and John Aubert, 6/7 Feb 1786; GLR O3 101-106, Mortgage redemption between Philibert Faucher and Jean Pierre Saulger and PT, 12 Nov 1787; GLR A4 52-76, Mortgage settlement between Marianne Dejean and Marianne de Cologne and PT, 16 Mar 1790; GLR B4 223-225, Indenture between Marie Fournillier and PT and JC, 8/9 Apl 1791; GLR M5 531ff*, Reconveyance between Peter and John Pegus and PT, 1787. [* index entry only available in Grenada].

²²⁶ GLR C1 79ff, Mortgage between John Fonblanque Senior '& others' and Peter Castaings, 1765 [index entry only available in Grenada].

in the British records consulted and it would have been very early in his merchant career and during the Seven Years' War and so is unlikely. PT was most active in lending money in Grenada from 1767 to 1775, coinciding with the most lucrative period of the colony under British rule (from 1763 to 1775). During this time he completed around 24 transactions with about 16 families or groups of borrowers, all but two of which involved, or were related to, mortgages on land with planter families. Overall 13 mortgage loans were instigated by PT between 1767 and 1791, involving an initial outlay of at least £41,285. Lending to planters was particularly intense in 1772 and 1773, with seven deals completed involving loans of £26,855, all of which appear to relate to new mortgages. Nine transactions were found after 1775 but these are all linked to earlier land mortgages, with four relating to re-mortgages (involving further loans of over £12,000) and five to mortgage surrender. PT seems to have lent almost exclusively to planter families of French origin, possibly a reflection of his early Fonblanque networks (see Table 4).

In the early years (1767-72) PT entered these transactions mainly as a sole party, although in one 1767 case he was acting on behalf of his former partnership with John and Anthony Fonblanque.²²⁷ From 1772 to 1791 he often, though not always, operated in partnership with John Cossart, with John Aubert also a partner with PT and JC on some loans from 1776 to 1786. The number of transactions in Grenada suggests that PT was not reluctant to lend money to plantation owners, particularly in the period before the American War of Independence.²²⁸

The outcome of the loans needs further investigation but the preliminary survey suggests a mixed pattern of success. The outcome of eight original transactions is unknown but it seems likely that capital was repaid in at least seven of these cases, yielding £20,330 (without interest) (see Table 4). A further loan of £2,000 made to the Duruty family in 1772 was repaid in full in 1787 by Philibert Faucher and Jean Pierre Saulger, both described as Grenadian planters and 'Free Mulatto'

²²⁷ GLR H1 375-83, Mortgage between Jeanne Manige Papin Destandette and PT, 14 Sep 1767.

²²⁸ Smith, *Family and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic*; Williams, Eric E., *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1944; London, 1964).

men.²²⁹ However, four other loans were less successful, incurring greater or lesser losses on the sums lent, amounting to capital losses estimated at over £25,000 in 1791. These ranged from losses on an original loan of £4,000 made to Jean Baptiste Dejean and Charles de Cologne in 1773, which yielded a repayment of only £2,674 3s 1d in 1790, to the large debt of £83,286 built up from the original loan of £12,855 made to the Fournilliers of Bacolet in 1772.²³⁰ The loan to the British planter, Walter Flynn, which grew from £4,000 in 1772 to £6,155 7s 6d by 1776, remained unpaid until 1786 when the new owner, Charles Dauvergne, was only willing to pay out £825 Grenadian currency to release the mortgage claim on his property due to its degraded state.²³¹ PT's will also indicates that a debt was still outstanding from the 'Heirs Boutillier', probably as a consequence of the 1775 mortgage bonds.²³² Thus, while an estimated £53,436 was loaned by PT in Grenada from 1767 to 1791, analysis to date suggests that only around £28,254 of the capital was repaid and over £25,000 was lost. The effects of the American War of Independence and the French recolonisation of Grenada from 1779 to 1783 were likely key influences here. However, at least six of the loans involved sugar or other produce consignment agreements which would have added to PT's business as a consignee and enhanced returns from the lump sums laid out (see Table 4).

The names arising from the Grenada loans have been cross referenced with the Eltis *et al.* Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database and with a search for records in archives nationally and published literature. Of these only one group has yielded any firm slave trade connection, the Liverpool merchants George Campbell

²²⁹ GLR Q3 101-106, Mortgage redemption between Philibert Faucher and Jean Pierre Saulger and PT, 12 Nov 1787, 101 (quotation).

²³⁰ GLR L2 249-55, Mortgage between Jean Baptiste Dejean and Charles de Cologne and PT, 9 Feb 1773; GLR A4 52-76, Mortgage settlement between Marianne Dejean and Marianne de Cologne and PT, 16 Mar 1790; GLR F2 411-45, Mortgage and bonds between Peter and Marie Fournillier and PT and JC, 11/12 Feb 1772; SROI HB416/A2/6, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 9 Jul 1819, 138.

²³¹ GLR E2 177-96, Mortgage between Walter Flyn and PT, 8 May 1772; Z2 434-45, Mortgage between Walter Flyn and PT, JC and John Aubert, 2 Apl 1776; GLR P3 146-60, Mortgage redemption between Charles Dauvergne and PT, JC and John Aubert, 6/7 Feb 1786.

²³² TNA PROB 11/1294, f.574, 'The Will of Peter Thellusson dated 2nd Day of April 1796', 9; GLR V2 88-109, Mortgage and bonds between Jean Philip Boutillier and PT, 1775.

junior and Stephen Haynes whose slave trading activities are discussed in Section 3a.

e) Colonial service

Sir Ralph James Woodford (1784-1828), nephew of PT and a trustee of his will after the death of his uncle Matthew Woodford, served as governor of Trinidad from 1813 to 1828 (see Figure 1b). He has been described as 'a man of refined and elegant tastes' with 'the liveliest interest in the improvement and embellishment of Port-of-Spain'. As part of this interest Woodford introduced paving and oversaw the botanist, David Lockhart's development of the Colonial Gardens in Trinidad from 1818.²³³ It is clear, nonetheless, that he was also a strong apologist for the retention of slave labour, making contributions to the debate which were severely criticised by the Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery Throughout the British Dominions.²³⁴

²³³ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 264, 265; Lionel Mordaunt Fraser, *History of Trinidad*, Vol.1 (1971), 40 (quotations); B. D. Jackson, 'Lockhart, David (d. 1845)', rev. Giles Hudson, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16899> [accessed 5 Nov 2009].

²³⁴ Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery Throughout the British Dominions, *Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter*, Vol.2 30:6 (Nov 1827), 125-33.

4) The relative importance of slave-generated wealth to the owners and how this changed over time

The relative importance of slave generated wealth to Peter Thellusson is difficult to establish as there are no existing account books or balance sheets for his businesses. This makes it extremely difficult to calculate the proportions of overall income supplied from different sources of activity.²³⁵ From the preceding analysis of PT's merchant activities (see Section 3a and 3d) it is unclear how profitable his operations in the Caribbean were. Certainly a considerable proportion of the money lent on mortgages in Grenada appears not to have been recovered, with the American War of Independence and the French recolonisation of the island suggested key factors contributing to these losses. However, returns may have been better on consignment trading and Polden claims that 'most of their [PT and Cossart's] Caribbean enterprises were probably profitable'.²³⁶

It is likely that the importance of slave-related wealth to PT was broadly as follows. From 1760 to the mid-1770s Caribbean loans, produce consigning and insurance appear to have been of significant importance to PT's business enterprises, though the loan data is based solely on the Grenada example. This period also included PT's involvement in the supply of slave trade goods. During the 1780s PT made fewer Caribbean loans and his involvement in consigning stabilized, perhaps due to the effects of the American War of Independence. However, the 1780s also witnessed the development of PT's interest in marine

²³⁵ Historians have often attempted to quantify levels of income from the slave trade *vis a vis* other trading concerns, and also investment into manufacturing and land from slave trade investments. However, the lack of extant sources do not allow for such an analysis. Neither Eric Williams in *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944), nor Joseph Inikori in *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England: A Study in International Trade and Economic Development* (Cambridge, 2002), were able to prove a flow of capital from slave trade and slaving concerns into the wider economy. Richardson in 'Profits in the Liverpool Slave Trade' did manage to calculate profits from slave trade 'adventures' but not to estimate the relative income with regards to other trading activities. Sheryllyne Haggerty found that for one eighteenth-century Jamaican house, profits from the slave trade made up about 58 per cent of total trading income, but was still unable to trace investment via other investments or trading concerns. See Sheryllyne Haggerty, 'Liverpool, the slave trade and the British-Atlantic Empire, c. 1750-1775', in Sheryllyne Haggerty, Anthony Webster and Nicholas J. White (eds.), *The Empire in one City? Liverpool's Inconvenient Imperial Past* (Manchester, 2008), 27.

²³⁶ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 49.

insurance and sugar refining. In the 1790s even fewer Caribbean loans were issued by PT and his associates. Marine insurance and trade continued though these were disrupted by the Revolutionary Wars and Caribbean insurrections. Losses were experienced after 1793 from plantation property accumulated through default. PT's interest in sugar refining, nonetheless continued to the mid-1790s.

During the period of trusteeship following PT's death, GWT appears to have taken the lead in managing the West Indian trade. However, it would seem that the partnership suffered considerably from losses in the West Indian trade in the later 1790s and early 1800s, with both GWT and CT selling land in England in the early 19th century purchased when business was flourishing. Trading conditions seem to have remained unsettled though marine insurance continued. The debt on Bacolet likely increased fourfold during the later 1790s and early 1800s though it began to make operating profits after this. Its sale in 1820 at a large loss suggests a further drain on the wider English estates from Caribbean property management. The Thellussons do not seem to have received any slavery compensation payments.

5) How slave-generated wealth was used in relation to Brodsworth and within the wider British economy and to establish if/how the wealth of the owners' properties in Britain contributed in turn to the development of slavery-based investments in the colonial and slavery environment

a) Peter Thellusson and property accumulation by design

From the 1790s onwards PT actively sought during his lifetime and, via the provisions of his will, well into the early 19th century, to build up a large volume of estate land in England. This aspiration to establish his family in landed society probably developed earlier as PT sent all three of his sons to Harrow, for a gentleman's education and there is no evidence that any of them were sent to learn the business with associates or relatives in other places.²³⁷

When PT entered the partnership with Fonblanque in around 1760 he probably lived above the premises at Tower Street or Lime Street. Sometime between 1760 and the establishment of the partnership with Cossart in 1767 he bought or leased a counting house at Philpot Lane, 'in the heart of the City, just off Fenchurch Street and barely 100 yards long', close to the Bank, Stock Exchange and Custom House but also close to the 'unembanked, unhealthy river'. He lived at this address above the premises during the early years of his marriage.²³⁸ The property was still held at PT's death, and was described as 'A Freehold House and Warehouses in Philpot Lane in the City of London'. It was sold on 21st January 1808 to John Robins, auctioneer, for £3,000, a much smaller sum than the £10,000 valuation placed on the premises in proceedings over PT's will. This decline in value of the business premises probably reflects the decline in trade at this time.²³⁹

²³⁷ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 66.

²³⁸ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 44, 63 (quotations).

²³⁹ SROI HB416/A2/7, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 1799-1813, 325 (quotation); SROI HB416/A2/6, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 9 Jul 1819, 88; Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 257, 267.

In 1778 PT sought to follow the trend of several other London merchants (and those around other major centres, such as Bristol) by taking up residence in a country villa close to the city. PT chose to develop a property for himself and bought a large plot of land at Plaistow, a village just north of Bromley, in north west Kent. While the site was accessible from Philpot Lane via London Bridge, Polden has judged it to have been 'too far from the City for convenient commuting on horseback' due to the poor state of the roads and the dangers of robbery.²⁴⁰ PT commissioned Thomas Leverton, a well known architect of his day in the Adam style, and thought to be the designer of Bedford Square which was being laid out at this time. The resulting house was described in a popular guide of 1792 as 'the fine seat of Peter Thellusson, Esq. which is fitted up in a style of expensive elegance, scarcely to be equalled in the kingdom'.²⁴¹ Plaistow House had 96 acres of grounds, including a range of large hothouses and it appears that PT developed a passion for producing exotic fruits, a true sign of elitist aspirations. An account of a visit in 1790 by the Swiss traveller, Henry Meister, as part of a discussion of the great displays of wealth made by the English in their country houses, notes a well-developed property:

'It was early in the month of August [1790] that I went to dine with *Mr. The*** at his country house nine miles from London. I never saw finer fruit than was brought in with the desert [sic]; pine apples, peaches and grapes, the most delicious that can be imagined ... I can assure you I never tasted finer fruit at Paris. It is true than the hothouses of Mr. The- are spoken of as the finest in the Kingdom.'²⁴²

Perhaps Meister's view was misjudged as PT's hothouses do not gain a mention in the later editions of works by William Speechly, gardener to the third duke of Portland, who was particularly renowned for his production of pineapples and hothouse design, or in the Board of Agriculture report for Kent. However, an interest in the raising of tender, 'exotic' plants does associate PT with a popular

²⁴⁰ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 64.

²⁴¹ Anon, *Ambulator, or a Pocket Companion in a Tour round London* (London, 1792), 184.

²⁴² Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 64; Jacques-Henri Meister, *Letters Written During a Residence in England. Translated from the French of Henry Meister* (London, 1799), 51-52.

pastime in elite landed society, gardening, and one engaged in by others with West Indian mercantile interests and landed aspirations.²⁴³ Only the richest in society could afford to build and run expensive hothouses and grow such tender fruits. While Polden suggests that PT seems to have had 'no ambition to go into society, apparently no interest in sport or the fine arts, no desire to figure strongly in politics or church affairs' this interest in hothouse gardening may have been a key way for him to engage with the culture of landed elite society.²⁴⁴

Others with houses in the vicinity of Bromley included the Bishop of Rochester, who had just rebuilt his episcopal palace there, Thomas Raikes, a deputy governor of the Bank of England at Freeland, and William Pitt the younger at Hollwood House.²⁴⁵ Plaistow was left for his wife's use after PT's death and she extended it to around 100 acres and lived there until her death in early 1805. When the deeds to the property could not be found a sale was delayed and the property was let to a Thomas Maltby for five years at £400/year, under the conditions that he spent £500 on necessary repairs and cultivated it "according to the best and most approved method of husbandry of the neighbourhood". The house with its 'Lands Gardens Plantations and premises' was then sold for £15,800 to the 'the Honorable [sic] Hugh Lindsay' in 1811. This was significantly below the family's £25,000 valuation made following PT's death, partly because the title deeds could not be found. They were soon after discovered to have been with the solicitors Gregg and Corfield all along! Walter Boyd, whose fortunes had revived, bought Plaistow a few years later in around 1823 for only £17,000.²⁴⁶

Sometime after setting himself up at Plaistow House, PT pursued a sustained strategy of estate purchase for himself and his sons, reportedly attempting to find places to suit each son's interests. He made an unsuccessful attempt to buy a house near Bath for £29,000 in 1789 and made another offer for Thornville

²⁴³ William Speechly, *A Treatise on the Culture of the Pine Apple and the Management of the Hot-house*. 2nd edn (York, 1796); John Boys, *A General View of the Agriculture of the County of Kent* (London, 1796); Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, 375-81, who reports the claim that Richard Oswald had the "finest Garden & most elegant Glass House and Hot House" in Scotland, 380.

²⁴⁴ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 108.

²⁴⁵ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 65.

²⁴⁶ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 73, 135, 220, 267 (quotations) 268; Cope, *Walter Boyd*, 171.

Royal, the mansion of the duke of York near Knaresborough in Yorkshire for a reputed £105,000. He was also unsuccessful in the attempted purchase of another property, Park Place, Henley in 1795, a failure welcomed by Horace Walpole who thought PT was merely looking for a lucrative investment opportunity. PT was not alone in such an approach to land purchase. The cotton baron Richard Arkwright junior established his five sons in landed society through the purchase of estates and other merchants sought to enter landed society although the extent of this activity remains disputed.²⁴⁷

The purchase of the Brodsworth estate can be seen as part of this strategy. It was intended for PT's eldest son and heir, even though by the time Brodsworth was bought in 1791 PIT had already purchased an estate in Suffolk. The purchase, however, also coincided with PT's 'retirement' from the merchant house and there is evidence that he lived at Brodsworth himself at least part of the time from 1791 to his death in 1797. He also requested to be buried at Brodsworth, indicating a degree of personal attachment to the place and a sense of creating a new family dynasty there (although his wife seems to have favoured Plaistow). The claimed amounts PT paid for Brodsworth vary from £40,000 to £140,000 with a mid-estimate favoured by Polden of £92,000, plus £20,000 for improvements and additions. This implies that during the few years he owned Brodsworth, PT undertook some changes to the property, although no records have been discovered in relation to these 'improvements', beyond those relating to land purchases and attempts to purchase more land in the vicinity of Brodsworth as noted in his will and in subsequent legal documents. In his will PT asserts he had 'lately purchased' freehold land from William Crowther, Thomas Bradford and Widow Duckett in Hampole, Adwick Thorpe and Owston near Doncaster. The 'outstanding agreement' for some land at Thorpe-in-Balne near Brodsworth at the time of his will was likely enacted before his death, whilst three others had not been finalised at that time. These constituted a £21,000

²⁴⁷ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 108, 109, 110; E. L. Jones, *Agriculture and the Industrial Revolution* (Oxford, 1974) ch.7 'Industrial Capital and Landed Investment: the Arkwrights in Herefordshire', 165; C. G. A. Clay, 'Henry Hoare, Banker, his Family and the Stourhead Estate', in Thompson, F. M. L. (ed.) *Landowners, Capitalists, and Entrepreneurs. Essays for Sir John Habakkuk* (Oxford, 1994), 113-38; F. M. L. Thompson, 'Business and Landed Elites in the Nineteenth Century', in Thompson, F. M. L. (ed.) *Landowners, Capitalists, and Entrepreneurs. Essays for Sir John Habakkuk* (Oxford, 1994), 139-70.

deal for 770 acres at Amotherby near Brodsworth; the purchase of the 60 acre Yellots Farm in Brodsworth for £1,050; and £9,600 expended on 802 acres of land at Newton Hazard in Durham, the latter regarded as something of a bargain. There is some evidence of correspondence over these contracts by PT but it was not possible to consult these documents under the financial and time restrictions of this grant. PT's will nonetheless specified that such agreements should be fulfilled by his trustees.²⁴⁸ In addition, in the Brodsworth conveyance agreement, PT was careful to ensure all mortgage claims on the property were identified, which in 1791 totalled £10,852 10s owed to 'Joshua Crompton of the City of York Esquire' and Timothy Mortimer. He also negotiated retention of 'Timber and other Trees standing' (which Kinnoull, the previous owner, reportedly wished to fell), for an additional £1,000. At the time of purchase, the in-hand land in the vicinity of Brodsworth Hall comprised 22a 3r 20p around the house, including the 'Site of the Mansion and Offices Pleasure Grounds and the Grove exclusive of the Church Yard' (16a 33p) and 'The Garden House and Garden' (3a 3r 26p), 127 acres of arable and grassland closes, and almost 200 acres of woodland in the Park, notably Pegdale Wood (8a 2r 23p) and 'Brodsworth Great Wood in the Park' (191a).²⁴⁹

b) Land accumulation and management under the terms of Peter Thellusson's will

PT's will set out an even more ambitious scheme of landed property development in accordance with which several estates were purchased by the trustees. It directed the trustees to 'lay out and invest the same [PT's wealth] ... in the purchase of Freehold Lands Tenements or Hereditaments of inheritance in Fee Simple or of Copyhold Estates of inheritance of that part of Great Britain called England (so that such Copyhold estates do not exceed one Fourth in

²⁴⁸ TNA PROB 11/1294, f.574, 'The Will of Peter Thellusson dated 2nd Day of April 1796', 11 (first quotation); Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 109-10, 134, 225 (second quotation), 122, citing the favoured estimate from *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 67 (1797), 708; 249-250, citing the Master Cox's report of 14 May 1812, TNA C38/1055, and 20 May 1806, TNA C38/958, which incorporates correspondence by PT over the land contracts.

²⁴⁹ YAS DD132 Box 7/125, Conveyance of Brodsworth from Robert Auriel Hay-Drummond to Peter Thellusson, Jun 1791, Schedule 1 (first quotation), Schedule 6 (second).

proportion of the whole of the premises'. PT was careful to limit the purchase of copyhold land, a form of tenure associated with the manorial system under which tenants secured more rights than on freehold land and where rent levels were fixed for lives. For a landlord such as PT, this meant the lands had less potential for 'agricultural improvement' and rental increases. He also specified the purchase of estate lands in England specifically (not Britain more widely), showing an outsider's awareness of the cultural cachet of English over other British lands. PT was looking for the most socially prestigious and politically influential land from which his family could expect to extract good investment returns.²⁵⁰

Details of the estates 'purchased pursuant to the directions of the said Testator's Will' up to 1818 are outlined in Table 5, and Polden includes details of purchases made by the trustees up to 1834 'when the management of the trust was effectively removed from them'. In the period up to 1818 around 12,744 acres in six counties were purchased at an overall cost of £488,088 11s 6d, the majority in Suffolk (around 6,232a), Yorkshire (around 2,496a) and (Hertfordshire (around 2,227a). An average of just over £38 an acre was given for the land, although prices paid varied considerably. The highest rates per acre were paid in Hertfordshire (c.£63 14s) where some urban land was purchased and the lowest in Suffolk (c.£24 16s) where a considerable proportion of the land was under copyhold tenure. However, rates paid in Yorkshire were also high (c.£51), supporting Polden's view that higher than average prices were paid to consolidate and expand existing holdings. This practice, however, operated in other contexts too when the land up for sale was key to the improvement of an established estate.²⁵¹

In total 22,500 acres were purchased for £734,000 by the trustees in the years up to 1834, at an average price of £33 an acre. This land was spread over seven counties, with over 9,100 acres in Suffolk, 4,100 in the home counties, 6,000 in

²⁵⁰ TNA PROB 11/1294, f.574, 'The Will of Peter Thellusson dated 2nd Day of April 1796', 12 (quotations); J. V. Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England, 1660-1914* (Oxford, 1986), 183-84.

²⁵¹ SROI HB416/A2/7, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 1799-1813, 326 (first quotation) 326-29; Seymour *et al.*, 'Estate and Empire', 321-22.

Yorkshire, 2,500 in Midlands and 800 in Durham. Land was acquired by regular small purchases of farms rather than estates – over 70 in all. Polden deems these to have been ‘rational’ purchases in that they sought to create more viable farms (compact, with a good mix of land types and enclosed), despite his view that higher than average prices were being paid.²⁵²

PT seems to have issued few specific instructions for estate management of purchased lands. However, his will did specify that timber ‘as shall be fit to be cut down’ should ‘from time to time’ be felled and sold, with the money generated to be added to the land purchase fund. Otherwise he left the letting of the estates to the discretion of the trustees beyond the direction that ‘the Testators Mansion House Gardens Pleasure Grounds Stables and Outbuildings thereto belonging situate at Brodsworth aforesaid ... [were] by his said Will directed to be kept up and preserved’.²⁵³ Polden has categorised estate management under the trust as ‘improvisatory ... lacking in coherence and continuity, and certainly not comparable to the most advanced estates’. The trustees did not appear interested in agriculture and PT’s sons lacked farming knowledge. John Shaw, a London based surveyor who acted as a land agent for the trust, commissioned a meticulously detailed set of estate plans in 1814 which he argued was vital to facilitate efficient management but which took 15 years to complete and cost over £2,000. Polden judges this scheme as ‘extravagant’ though similar cartographic exercises were quite common. The only enclosure which the trustees undertook was at Brodsworth. The parish contained 1,962 acres of fields of which 394 were still open in 1815, plus a common of 380 acres. The trust held two-thirds of the land and the common rights and there were no other large lay landowners involved, allowing the trustees to negotiate a further land purchase at Pigburn.²⁵⁴

Disputes also went on between the trustees, CT and the Court of Chancery over the sums to be allowed for the upkeep of Brodsworth. In a report of 1st August 1805 the trustees, Matthew and Emperor Woodford, claimed that the house was

²⁵² Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 272-78, 273 (first quotation), 275 (second quotation).

²⁵³ TNA PROB 11/1294, f.574, ‘The Will of Peter Thellusson dated 2nd Day of April 1796’, 12, 13 (first quotation); SROI HB416/A2/6, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 9 Jul 1819, 68 (second quotation).

²⁵⁴ Polden, *Peter Thellusson's Will*, 289-95, 294 (first quotation), 293 (second quotation).

'very large ... [with] a great number of Apartments that the gardens and pleasure grounds occupied a great space and that the Manors were of considerable extent'. They proposed that in order to keep up this house, gardens, pleasure grounds and for 'protecting the Game on the said Manors', they would require several servants, namely a House Steward (wages £65); Housekeeper (£45 16s); Cook (£36 16s); Housemaid (£28 14s); Gardener (£41 12s); Under Gardener (£28 12s); and Game Keeper (£40), with a total wage bill of £286 10s. The Master approved these and monthly household expenses of £15 a week, for a period of residence not to exceed three months 'to answer the purposes of the said Testator's Will'. However, CT petitioned for further living and refurbishment expenses and in November 1810 more generous terms were granted with a new staff list of: House steward, House keeper, cook, three housemaids, a man to carry coals etc, Gardener and under gardener, 'two Women or Boys to be employed in the Garden', 'a Man to be employed in keeping the pleasure Grounds Woods and Groves in order', and a Gamekeeper. The Master also approved the sum of £4,697 17s 'to furnish the said Mansion House at Brodsworth with the several Articles of furniture plate linen china and other things necessary for the use and accommodation of the Trustees and Sons'.²⁵⁵

Returns from the English estates between PT's death and July 1819 totalled £37,274.10.11 in terms of 'rents and profits of the said Testators real Estates in England'. Outgoings were high, however, and included 'taxes, repairs for the keeping up the said Mansion House at Brodsworth', costs 'in the management of a farm and lands in hand' and other estate costs totalling £23,747.2.1½. This left a profit of £13,527.8.9½. Profits were to be invested from time to time in Bank three per cent annuities.²⁵⁶

Peter Thellusson did not rise from obscurity. He belonged to a well-established European family which had moved between merchant banking and refined retirement a number of times during its history. So perhaps his aim to establish

²⁵⁵ SROI HB416/A2/6, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 9 Jul 1819, 161-78, 161 (first quotation), 161-62 (second quotation), 165 (third quotation), 171 (fourth and fifth quotations), 175 (sixth quotation).

²⁵⁶ SROI HB416/A2/6, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 9 Jul 1819, 146-48 (quotations), 150.

a land base in this way was not so unexpected. His great wealth had certainly been significantly augmented by his involvement in slave-related trades but his decision to invest in a substantial landed estate seems more related to his time of life (he was 56 when he purchased Brodsworth) and his at least partial retirement from merchant trading (in 1791) than it was to any peaks or troughs in slave-related trading. Nonetheless if he had waited just a few years longer, his wealth would probably have been significantly diminished by the decline in West Indian trade brought about by the Revolutionary Wars and associated insurrections amongst enslaved peoples.

6) Evidence of slavery-related designs at Brodsworth Hall

The architect Wilkinson's design of the new Brodsworth Hall in the Italianate style contains no obvious design references to slavery either classical or modern. The sculptures commissioned from Casentini which were a prominent feature of the Hall also make no allusion to slavery and there is no reference to any slavery associations in the correspondence over these.²⁵⁷

There are some linkages, however, between the materials used in the building of the new Brodsworth Hall and slave-based production, notably through the use of mahogany for furniture, fixtures and fittings. Furniture and fittings made from mahogany became fashionable in Europe from the 1720s and were particularly popular between 1725 and 1825. Before 1760 supplies were still forthcoming from the West Indian islands but as trees were cut and land cleared for sugar plantations in particular a shift occurred to sourcing wood from the Bay of Honduras and Mosquito Coast controlled by Spain. Mahogany extraction required more labour than other woods as the trees were large and mahogany had to be transported to market intact to realise a reasonable return. The workforce was usually enslaved Africans.²⁵⁸

The builders made considerable use of materials from the old house, which included older mahogany, while additional new supplies were deployed for key fittings. In the main the reused mahogany was utilised in the servants' quarters and less public parts of the house. Wilkinson made the following pledge in relation to the use of newly purchased mahogany:

²⁵⁷ Evidence from site visit; YAS DD168/7/1/15-16, Letters from Casentini to CSA Thellusson, 12 Jan 1866 and 23 Jan 1866; YAS DD168/7/1/17, Letter from CSA Thellusson to Casentini, 26 Sep 1865; YAS DD168/7/1/18, Letter from Dublin Exhibition Palace and Winter Garden Company to CSA Thellusson, 20 Apr 1866; YAS DD168/7/1/19, List of statuary and prices paid in the hand of CSA Thellusson, c.1866.

²⁵⁸ Michael A. Camille, 'Historical Geography of the Belizean Logwood Trade', *Conference of Latin Americanist Geographers*, 22 (1996), 77-85. Accessed via <http://sites.maxwell.syr.edu/clag/yearbook1996/camille.htm> [Oct 2009]; Jennifer L. Anderson, 'Nature's Currency, The Atlantic Mahogany Trade and the Commodification of Nature in the Eighteenth Century', *Early American Studies* (Spring 2004), 47-80.

'The Mahogany to be of the best close grained Honduras and veneered with Spanish except the Staircase rails which are to be solid Spanish Mahogany'.²⁵⁹

Mahogany was seen as central to the whole fabric of the building. The Entrance Hall was to have 'molded [sic] mahogany sashes' and shutters with 'ebony knob to each shutter front'. All other windows on the ground floor were to have 'molded [sic] mahogany casements' and shutters. Doors and stair rails were to be of mahogany and even the bath was to have a mahogany moulded framing. The handrail of the principal staircase was to be 'Mahogany molded [sic] sunk and shaped to pattern 5' x 4 inch with a handsome carved Scroll Ornament on Newel with Ebony eye in centre', while the secondary staircase was also to have a moulded mahogany handrail, 'with handsome Scroll Ornament'. All the mahogany was to be French polished.²⁶⁰

It is also clear that significant amounts of mahogany in the old Hall were reused in the new building. Fifteen mahogany doors were to be taken down and re-hung 'to the principal rooms on the Ground Floor and 4 mahogany doors with face on one side only for sham doors'. The old mahogany water closet fittings from the former Hall were to be reused in the Nursery closet, School room closet and Servants closets. By contrast new mahogany seats were planned for the other water closets used by family and guests. The mahogany handrail from the back staircase of the old house was reused on the servants' staircase.²⁶¹

However, although attempts were made to reuse materials from the old Brodsworth Hall, deficiencies were found with these materials and extra expenses amounted to £2,903 10d. While the costs principally related to the inability to reuse as much stone as expected from the old house, there was also a shortfall of timber and wood fittings. New mahogany was used in some cases to remedy the situation. For example, a 'Mahogany door' was fitted to the 'East Entrance in lieu of deal', 'Mahogany framing & Lobby' was added to the 'Dining room Entrance' and 'Mahogany shutters &c' were fixed to the 'School room

²⁵⁹ YAS DD168/2, Brodsworth Hall specification by Philip Wilkinson, 1861, 3.

²⁶⁰ YAS DD168/2, Brodsworth Hall specification by Philip Wilkinson, 1861, 21 (first quotation), 22 (second quotation), 39 (third and fourth quotations).

²⁶¹ YAS DD168/2, Brodsworth Hall specification by Philip Wilkinson, 1861, 25 (quotation), 27, 39.

windows in lieu of deal'. In addition 'Mahogany balusters' were added to the 'principal staircase' and 'Mahogany Architraves' used on the ground floor.²⁶²

The house was also furnished by new supplies and items from CSAT's Brighton house and mahogany items also figured strongly here. Fittings in mahogany included curtain poles (many in Spanish mahogany) and frames, cornice poles, toilet fittings, wash stands, including '2 Spanish Mahogany Wash Stands with 4.6 x 2.3 Marble Tops' costing £30, and towel rails. Mahogany furniture included bedsteads (at least four in Spanish mahogany), wardrobes, tables, including 'A Superior Set of Mahogany Dining Tables' (£47) and chairs, including two extra large easy chairs with 'Spanish Mahogany Grecian carved legs' (£25 4s) and '18 Spanish Mahogany reeded [?] leg Dining Room Chairs stuffed backs [?] in Super Marine [?] Morocco Leather' costing £117.0.0 for Room No.3. A very specialist item was a '4.0 Spanish Mahogany Dinner Wagon' costing £9 10s. Spanish mahogany seems to have been deployed more in the main public and family rooms with standard mahogany (referred to just as 'mahogany') used in the rooms of the more senior servants and less public areas of the house. For example, the Housekeeper's room contained 'A 3.6 Mahogany Loo [?] Table' costing £4 10s, and a '4.0 Mahogany Wash Stand' costing £5. In total £7,282 7s 11d was spent on carpets, curtains and furniture at the new house.²⁶³

The site visit and archive searches revealed no evidence of heirlooms associated with slavery. However, it is worth noting that the new paintings bought by CSAT for the new Brodsworth Hall included several by Dutch artists (see Table 6), a collecting practice identified with elite merchant families who entered landed society in the eighteenth century. Collecting such art was highly respectable yet it also served as a reminder to themselves and others of their mercantile roots.²⁶⁴

²⁶² YAS DD168/7/1/6, Thomas Parkes, surveyor. Account of extra and omitted works at Brodsworth Hall, Jun 1863.

²⁶³ YAS DD168/7/1/4, Messrs Lapworth, Carpet Manufacturers, 22 Old Bond Street London to Capt Thellusson. Account for supply and fitting of carpets, curtains and furniture at Brodsworth, 1863.

²⁶⁴ YAS DD168/7/1/20, Heather & Son. List of Pictures the property of CSA Thellusson Esq, n.d.; YAS DD168/7/1/21, CSA Thellusson memo, 'Pictures what I gave for them', n.d.; Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, 357.

7) Evidence of a black presence within the household at Brodsworth Hall

No evidence has been found to date of a black presence at Brodsworth Hall. This is perhaps unsurprising due to the owners' lack of direct and active ownership of plantation property. Checks were made at Doncaster Archives and no special publications found on black presence in the county. Parish records for Brodsworth were not checked, however, and this may be a worthwhile exercise for the years from 1791 to 1820, during which time Windmill Hill and/or Bacolet plantations were actively managed by the Thellussons or PT's trustees.

8) An assessment of responses to abolition from owners of the properties, their families and any other figures associated with them

PT seems to have been an advocate of slavery though there is little evidence of his specific opinions. He was not an MP and so did not vote on these matters and no evidence has been found in Hansard of his sons' voting patterns in relation to the slave trade.²⁶⁵

CT's connection through marriage with the Robarts family reveals an interesting diversity in the wider Thellusson networks. His father-in-law, Abraham Robarts (1745-1816) seems to have had a complex position in relation to issues of slavery and slave-based production. Robarts was well established in colonial trade and banking in the late eighteenth century. He was a regular East India Company director from 1788-1807, a director of the Royal Exchange Assurance from 1781 and a leading London banker by the mid 1790s, entering the 1794 government loan contract as a leading supporter of Boyd. He also had firm links with the slave-based colonies as a 'West India factor', and an advocate in parliament for the assembly in Dominica, a connection reportedly established through trade links with a Mr Gillan, himself once a member of the Council of Dominica. His biographer claims he was 'uncompromising in his attitude towards business'.²⁶⁶ However, by the early nineteenth century Robarts was reportedly against the slave trade as Thorne refers to him as a "'staunch friend"' of abolition of the slave trade, though he does not appear to have spoken in parliament on this issue.²⁶⁷ This position may have been influenced by Robarts' marriage into the Tierney family, and in particular his connections with his radical brother-in-law, George Tierney and the reforming wing of the Whig party. His connection with Tierney was not, however, straightforward as Robarts is said to have been only 'lukewarm' in his political support for him though he did vote in favour of parliamentary reform.²⁶⁸ Robarts' eldest son, Abraham Wildey

²⁶⁵ For Hansard see <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/> [accessed 12 Nov 2009].

²⁶⁶ Thorne, *The House of Commons, Vol.5*, 23 (first quotation); Peter M. Claus, 'Robarts family (*per. c.1780–1914*)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/48044> [accessed 17 Sep 2009] (second quotation); Cope, *Walter Boyd*, 57-59.

²⁶⁷ Claus, 'Robarts family'; Thorne, *The House of Commons, Vol.5*, 23 (quotation); Hansard, see <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/>

²⁶⁸ Claus, 'Robarts family' (quotation).

Robarts (1779-1858) while a staunch Whig and supporter of Tierney, received £1,517 9s 10d in 1836 as mortgagee of over half the slaves on an estate in Dominica.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁹ T71/881 Dominica # 320A, cited in Kaufmann, *English Heritage Properties*, n.p.

9) Conclusions and potential for future additional lines of research

A huge fortune was amassed by PT, a substantial part of which was linked to trading in goods and money related to the slave trade and slave-based production systems. There is a strong link with sugar produced on plantations worked by enslaved Africans, in terms of financing, shipping, consignment, insurance and refining. There is a lesser connection with the direct management of plantation property which was acquired by default rather than design, with most direct management strategies undertaken during the period of trusteeship.

PT followed a common pattern of families who made money in trade and finance investing in land in Britain (in this case in England specifically) probably mainly for reasons of social prestige.

As highlighted in the Introduction, it has not been possible to examine in detail all aspects of slavery connections in the course of this project. Below we highlight areas which may merit further consideration:

i) The South Sea Company connection, merchant wealth and the improvement of Brodsworth Hall

The changes made to Brodsworth under the ownership of Robert Hay Drummond (1711-76), drawing on estate archives, and his associations with merchant wealth through his marriage to Henrietta Auriol, daughter of Peter Auriol a London merchant, may be worth further exploration. The influence of the family connection - via Robert's father the 8th earl of Kinnoull, George Hay (1689-1758) - with the first earl of Oxford and the South Sea Bubble would be of interest here.

ii) Peter Thellusson

Further material identified in Chancery records of TNA by Polden would be worth following up. The connection with the slave trader Davenport could also be fruitfully pursued through consultation of Davenport archives held at Keele University. A similar investigation to that undertaken on lending in Grenada could be pursued in relation to other Caribbean colonies with which PT had an established lending connection, notably Montserrat, Martinique and St Vincent.

The lending records for Grenada could also be further examined and connections with specific borrowers and co-lenders, such as John Aubert, followed up.

iii) The Robarts family

Further investigation of the Robarts family connections with West Indian trade would be useful.

iv) Evidence of black presence at Brodsworth

It may be worthwhile checking for any evidence of 'black presence' in the parish records for Brodsworth for the years from 1791 to 1820, during which time Windmill Hill and/or Bacolet plantations were actively managed by the Thellussons or PT's trustees.

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DD168/7/1/16. Letter from Casentini to CSA Thellusson, 23 Jan 1866.

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DD168/7/1/21. CSA Thellusson memo, 'Pictures what I gave for them', n.d.

DD168/7/2/3. Succession duties, 1859-1863.

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Grenada Register of [Land] Records, 2nd series

C1, 79ff*. Mortgage between John Fonblanque Senior '& others' and Peter Castaings, 1765.

H1 372-75. Mortgage between Charles Mandilthon Labastide and Henry Demargue and Peter Thellusson, 1767.

H1 375-83. Mortgage between Jeanne Manige Papin Destandette and Peter Thellusson, 14 Sep 1767.

R1 99-106. Mortgage between Henry Demargue and Charles Mandilthon Labastide and Peter Thellusson, 1769.

X1 138ff*. Indenture, Lease and Release between Pierre Simond and Peter Thellusson and another, 1770.

E2 177-96. Mortgage between Walter Flyn and Peter Thellusson, 8 May 1772.

F2 411-45. Mortgage and bonds between Peter and Marie Fournillier and Peter Thellusson and John Cossart, 11/12 Feb 1772.

G2 322-25. Mortgage between Charles Mandilthon and Anne Fawre (his wife) and Peter Thellusson, 27 Oct 1772.

H2 1-13. Mortgage between Peter Pegus and James Samuel Tequier[?] and Peter Thellusson, 27 Jul 1772.

H2 13-19. Mortgage between John Sabazan and Peter Thellusson, 1772.

H2 113-22. Mortgage between Jean Duruty and Marie Therese Borde Duruty and Peter Thellusson, 17 Jul 1772.

L2 249-55. Mortgage between Jean Baptiste Dejean and Charles de Cologne and Peter Thellusson, 9 Feb 1773.

P2 280-87. Mortgage between Charles Mandilthon and Peter Thellusson, 28 Apl 1772.

V2 88-109. Mortgage and bonds between Jean Philip Boutillier and John Baptiste D'Argente and Peter Thellusson, 5/6 June, 1775.

V2 278-90. Mortgage between Louis Francois Simon DeGannes and Peter Thellusson and John Cossart, 24 Jul 1775.

Z2 434-45. Mortgage between Walter Flyn and Peter Thellusson, John Cossart and John Aubert, 2 Apl 1776.

D3 485ff*. Mortgage surrender between John Sabazan and Peter Thellusson, 1778.

O3 310-19. Articles of Agreement between Marie Fournillier and Peter Thellusson and John Cossart, 25 May 1787.

P3 146-60. Mortgage redemption between Charles Dauvergne and Peter Thellusson, John Cossart and John Aubert, 6/7 Feb 1786.

Q3 101-106. Mortgage redemption between Philibert Faucher and Jean Pierre Saulger and Peter Thellusson, 12 Nov 1787.

A4 52-76. Mortgage settlement between Marianne Dejean and Marianne de Cologne and Peter Thellusson and John Cossart, 16 Mar 1790.

B4 223-41. Indenture between Marie Fourniller and Peter Thellusson and John Cossart, 8/9 Apl 1791.

M5 531ff*. Reconveyance between Peter and John Pegus and Peter Thellusson, 1787.

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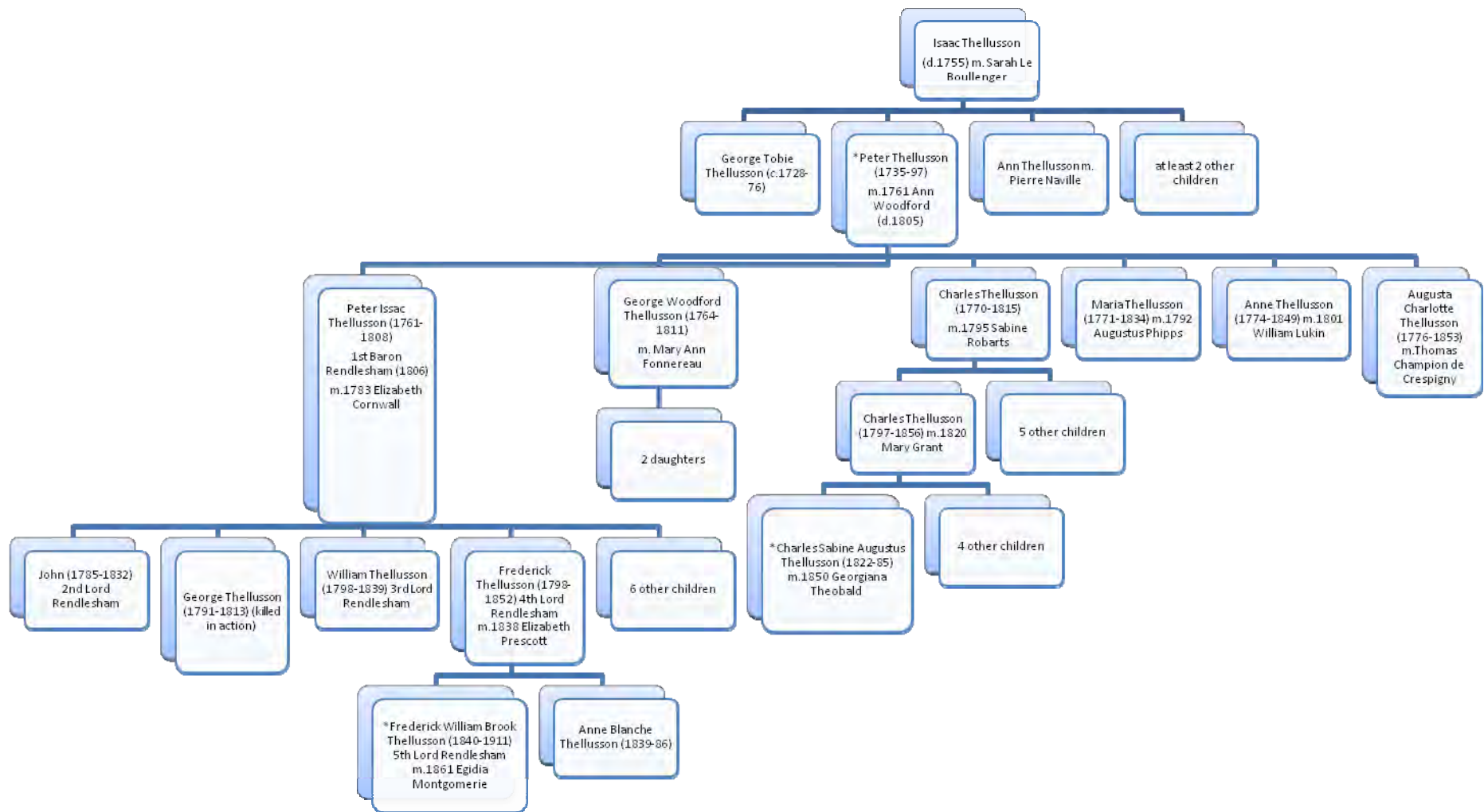


Figure 1a: Thellusson family tree

(* owners of Brodsworth Hall)

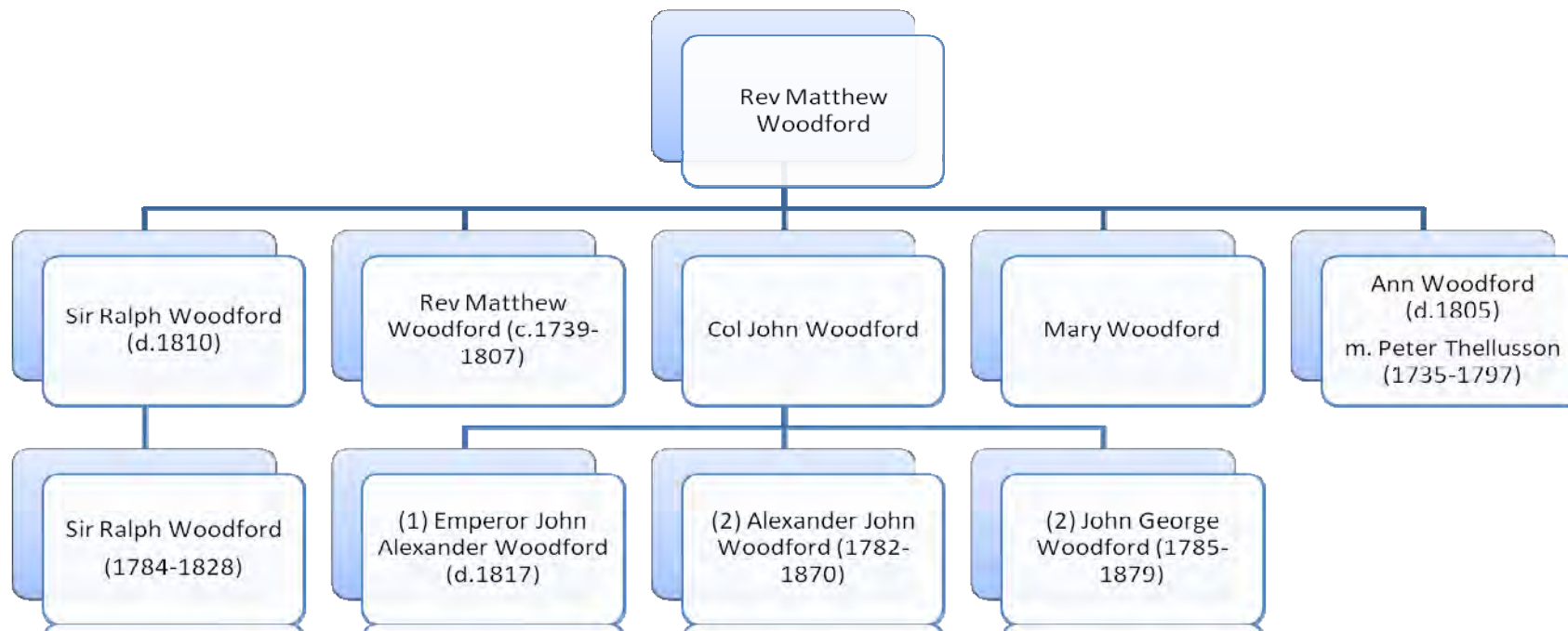


Figure 1b: Woodford family tree

(1 = child from first marriage; 2 = child from second marriage)

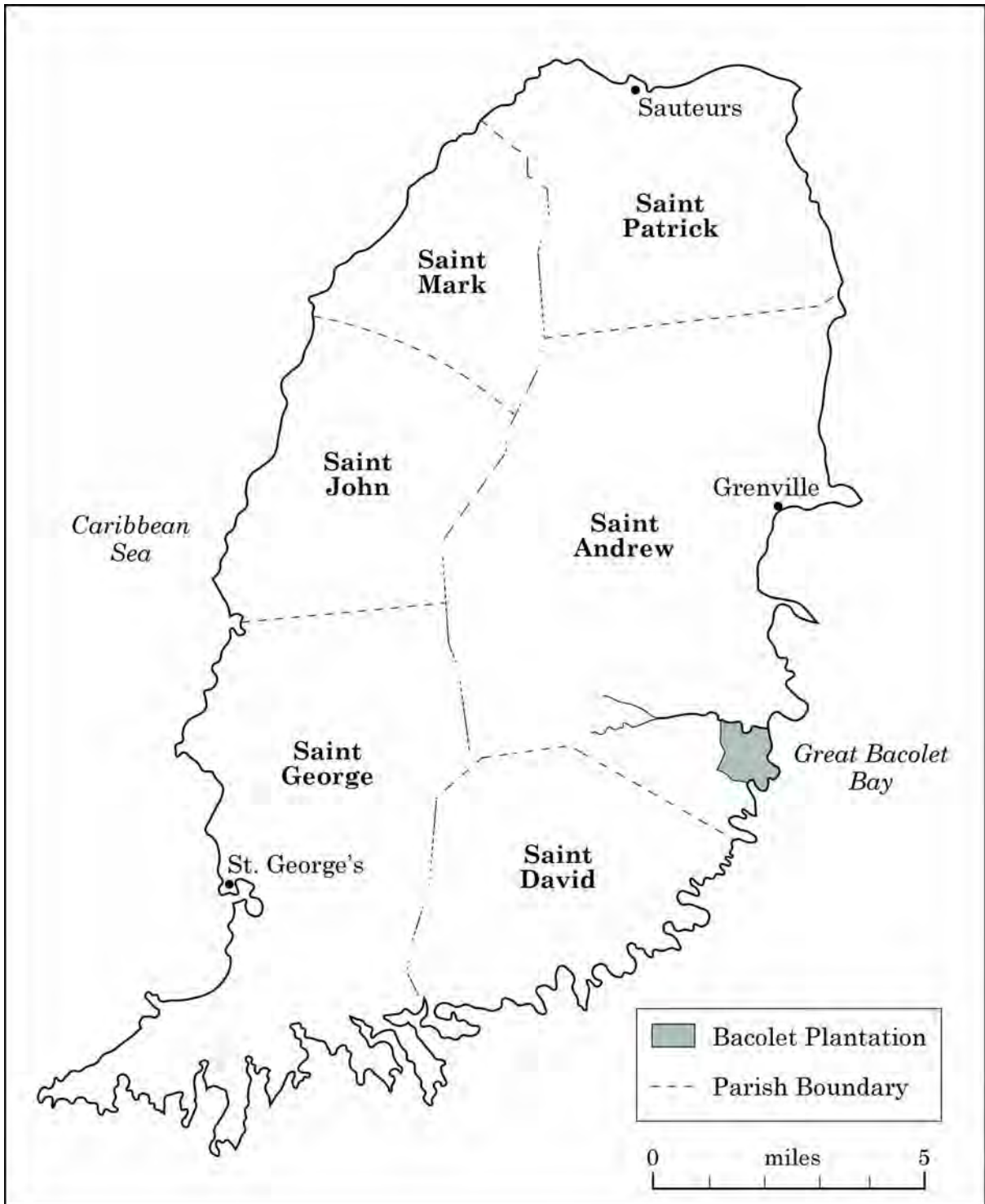


Figure 2: The situation of Bacolet Plantation in Grenada



Figure 3a: Remains of works at Bacolet Plantation, Grenada (2009) EH copyright



Figure 3b: Remains of house at Bacolet Plantation, Grenada (2009) EH copyright.

Name	Occupation	Location	Amount	Annual payment
John Henry Cazenave [Cazenove]	Merchant (Huguenot director of East India Company)	City of London	£1,400	£63
John Bowdler [or Bowden]	Esquire (other mortgage loans)	Inner Temple London	£2,200	£250
Robert Forster	Gentleman (properties in Tower St and Walworth)	Cooke's Court Cary Street Middlesex	£2,250	£100
Daniel Giles	Esquire (Huguenot merchant; Director and Governor Bank of England; Youngsbury estate)	City of London	£1,100	£50
Daniel Mesman	Merchant (Huguenot silk weaving family; business and marriage connections to Giles)	Spital Square Middlesex	£1,100	£50
James Roberts	Coal Lighterman	Newington Green St Mary Islington, Middlesex	£1,100	£50

Table 1: Details of 16 individuals supplying bonds for the Bacolet loan, 1772 (part a)

Name	Occupation	Location	Amount	Annual payment
Joseph Secker	Merchant	Wardrobe Court Commoner City of London	£1,100	£50
Henry Boldero [Bolden, Boulderer]	Banker	City of London	£660	£30
Reverend Thomas Shellard	Clerk (held annuities on Bacolet and Antigua)	Rendcomb Gloucestershire	£2,200	£100
Joseph Hickey	Esquire (lawyer)	St Albans St Middlesex	£2,200	£100
Francis Bonham	Esquire	Millbank Westminster Middlesex	£1,900	£100
Henry Cranke	Merchant	Bishops Gate St, City of London	£950	£50
Robert Bird [or Baird]	Esquire	Vauxhall Surrey	£1,900	£100
Richard Garrard	Esquire (land holder)	Carshalton Surrey	£1,900	£100
James Barbull [or Barbutt]	Esquire	Battle Sussex	£1,900	£100
Richard Holford	Esquire (Secretary to the New River Company)	New River Office, Dorset Garden nr Salisbury Court London	£1,900	£100

Table 1: Details of 16 individuals supplying bonds for the Bacolet loan, 1772 (part b)

Source: GLR F2 411-45, Indenture and mortgage bond between Peter and Marie Fournillier and Peter Thellusson and John Cossart, 11/12 Feb 1772.

Date	Sugar sold (hhds)	Sugar price (s per hhd)	Expenses (£ s d)	Receipts (£ s d)	Balance (£ s d)
1812-13	80	40 @ 70 40 @ 81	668.14.01	1593.17.04	+925.03.03
1813-14	30	10 @ 83 20 @ 80	647.02.05	748.12.04	+101.09.11
1814-15	97	17 @ 95 20 @ 90 20 @ 99 15 @ 104 20 @ 103 5 @ 85	1345.01.05 (some 1813 bills)	2819.16.00	+1474.14.07
1815-16	91	20 @ 73 20 @ 72 20 @ 75 31 @ 72	766.15.03?	1499.07.08	+732.12.05
1816-17	80	30 @ 71 10 @ 68 10 @ 66 30 @ 68	605.09.07	1186.04.11	+580.15.04
1817-18	41	10 @ 71 19 @ 74 12 @ 80/6	706.18.10	816.11.11	+109.16.01
1818-19	98	21 @ 81 20 @ 75 11 @ 77 46 @ 68	1390.09.02 (1100 GGM)	1601.12.01	+211.02.11
1819-20	62	10 @ 65 10 @ 59 10 @ 58 15 @ 57 17 @ 58	1289.07.09 (c.1020 GGM)	787.17.06	-501.10.03
1820-21	c.40	15 casks @ 60 9 & 6 trs @ 60 16 @ 58	2115.13.05 (c.700 GGM)	1497.7.0 (includes 16.08.03 interest)	-c.618.17.1 (without previous debt and its interest)
Total 1812-21	619	N/A	9,535.14.06	12,551.06.09	+3,015.12.07
Average over 9 yrs	68.7	N/A	c.1,060	c.1,394.10.0	c.+335

Table 2: Accounts for Bacolet Plantation, Grenada 1812-1821

Source: SROI HB416/D1/1, 'Thellusson v Woodford (Consignee's account [for Bacolet]) Masters Book', 1812-21. [GGM = George Gunn Munro]

Gender	Name	'Colour'	'Country'	'supposed Age'	'Marks'
Males					
	Nicholas	Black (B)	African (A)	45	No marks
	Louis	B	Creole (C)	30	Do
	Joseph	B	C	32	Do
	Thonne	Mulatto (M)	C	50	Do
	Madress [?]	B	C	18	Do
	Gideon [?]	B	C	32	'Bad feet'
	Lazarie [?]	B	A	55	'Marks on Temples'
	Cooke	B	A	60	'Right arm deformed & Knotted at Elbow'
	Michell	B	C	18	No marks
	George	B	C	14	Do
	Zachariah	M	C	18	'Has a Tropical appearance'
	Francis	B	C	10	No marks
	Farneque [?]	B	C	8	Do
	Charles	B	C	8	Do
	Joacinth [?]	B	C	8	Do
Females					
	Genevieve	B	C	60	'No marks left by symptoms of Elephantensis'
	Tholiste [?]	B	C	38	No marks
	Margaret	B	C	37	Do
	Anne Mary	B	C	36	Do
	Mary Clare	B	C	30	Do

Table 3: List of enslaved Africans on Bacolet plantation, Grenada, 1817 (part a)

Gender	Name	'Colour'	'Country'	'supposed Age'	'Marks'
Females (cont)	Catherine	B	C	20	'Scar on left Jaw'
	Diane	B	A	60	'Country marks on face'
	Emmie	B	C	38	'right hand smaller than left and coust bent increia' [?]
	Francette	B	C	37	No marks
	Labia [?]	B	A	60	'Scar on forehead'
	Mary Luick [?]	B	C	19	No marks
	Julie [?]	B	C	22	'Right hand rather smaller than left'
	Jean Rose	M	C	35	No marks
	Rosette	B	C	70	Do
	Mary	M	C	10	Do
	Josephine	B	C	30	Do
	Emilie	B	C	18	Do
	Riene [?]	B	C	10	Do
	Saraphine	B	C	4	Do
	Mary Ann	Calress [?]	C	1	Do

Table 3: List of enslaved Africans on Bacolet plantation, Grenada, 1817 (part b)

Source: TNA T71/267, 'A List of Slaves belonging to or in the Lawful Possession of George Gun Munro Agent for the Representatives of Peter Thellusson deceased and worked upon Fournilliers Estate in the Parish of St Andrew April 30th 1817'.

Name	Ethnicity and Status	Transaction type	Date	With	Terms	Outcome	Ref
Jeanne Manige Papin Destandette (widow)	French Planter, St Davids	Mortgage of £2,070 on Mont Delice 252a coffee and cocoa plantation with 83 enslaved people	1767 (Sep)	PT acting as surviving member of Fonblanque firm	Crop consignment until debt repaid	Unknown (probably repaid)	GLR H1 375-83
Charles Mandilthon Labastide and Henry Demargue	French Planters, St Johns	Mortgage of £3,000 Mortgages of £1,760 (PT) and £8,000 (others) on Halifax, 256a sugar plantation with 75 enslaved people	1767 1769	PT PT (other parties Bosenquet and Fahrs, London merchants)	Repay by May 1767 or another £3,000 due Not known	Unknown (probably repaid) Unknown (probably repaid)	GLR H1 372-75 GLR R1 99-106
George Campbell [junior] and Stephen Hayes	British, Liverpool merchants	Indenture in relation to 'a large sum of money'	1768 (Sep)	PT	Not known	Reclaimed in ships, cargoes and insurance policies	LFHC N1 358-67
Thomas Hotchkin, John Vernon and Robert Austin and John Hix	British Commissioners of Bankruptcy; British, London merchant and absentee planter, St Andrews (Hix)	Purchase of Conference c.330a sugar plantation with 155 enslaved people	1768 (Oct)	PT, John Henry Cazenove, Lewis Tessier and John Bereins (assignees)	For resale to repay Hix's creditors (of whom PT was largest)	Unknown (probably sold quickly)	LFHC N1 277-89

Table 4: Peter Thellusson's property-related transactions in Grenada, 1763-1797 (part a)

Name	Ethnicity and Status	Transaction type	Date	With	Terms	Outcome	Ref
Louis Francois de Gannes and Jeanne Monique Papin (wife); Louis Francois de Gannes	French Planters, St Davids	Mortgage of £4,600 on c.358a coffee plantation with 132 enslaved people	1769 (Mar)	PT	Unknown	Unknown	LFHC O1 54-66
		Mortgage of £10,000 on plantation with 150 enslaved people	1775 (Jul)	PT and JC	All debts to be repaid by 24 Jul 1789	Unknown	GLR V2 278-90
Pierre Simond	unknown	Indenture, Lease and Release	1770	PT and another	Unknown	Unknown	GLR X1 138ff*
Peter and Marie Fournillier	French (though living in London in 1772)	Mortgage of £12,855 on Bacolet, 359a sugar plantation with 121 enslaved people	1772 (Feb)	PT and JC	Produce consignment; Annual repayments of £1,393	Covered by 1787 mortgage	GLR F2 411-45
Marie Fournillier	Planters, St Andrews	Re-mortgage of £17, 451 4s 4d on Bacolet and its 33 enslaved workers	1787 (May)	PT and JC	Produce consignment Buy 8 'good and able Negro Slaves' a yr	Debt growing	GLR O3 310-19
		Re-mortgage (debt unclear) on Bacolet and c.54 enslaved workers	1791 (Apr)	PT and JC	Produce consignment	Large debt of £83,286 by 1816	GLR B4 223-41

Table 4: Peter Thellusson's property-related transactions in Grenada, 1763-1797 (part b)

[* Index entry only available for access]

Name	Ethnicity and Status	Transaction type	Date	With	Terms	Outcome	Ref
Charles Mandilthon; Charles Mandilthon & Anne Fawre (wife)	French Planter, St Johns	Mortgage of £1,500 on coffee plantation in St Johns Mortgage (as above)	1772 (Apl) 1772 (Oct)	PT PT	Crop consignment for 4 years or until debt repaid; keep at least 55 'good Negroes' (as above)	Unknown (probably repaid) (as above)	GLR P2,280-87 GLR G2 322-25
Walter Flynn(n) Walter Flynn Charles Dauvergne	British, Planter, St Marks Esquire of Grenada, now owner of Flynn's plantation in St Marks	Mortgage of £4,000 on 96a coffee and cocoa plantation with c.65 enslaved people Special agreement for £6,155 7s 6d (77 enslaved) Redemption of rights (plantation and c.66 enslaved workers)	1772 (May) 1776 (Apl) 1786 (Feb)	PT PT, JC and John Aubert 'Copartners' PT, JC and John Aubert	Discharge other debt; produce consignment; repay in 3 parts (1777-79) Produce consignment; repay in 4 parts (1777-80) Discharge of mortgage claims	Incorporated in 1776 agreement Unpaid (partly covered by 1786 agreement) Paid £825 (Grenadian)	GLR E2 177-96 GLR Z2 434-45 GLR P3 146-60
Jean Duruty and Marie Therese Borde Duruty (wife); Philibert Faucher and Jean Pierre Saulger	French Planters, St Davids Both 'Free Mulatto' Planters, St Davids	Mortgage of £2,000 on Boccage, 98a coffee plantation with 35 enslaved people Redemption of Boccage mortgage	1772 (Jul) 1787 (Nov)	PT PT	Unknown n/a	Unpaid by Durutys Durutys' debt paid in full	GLR H2 113-22 GLR Q3 101-106

Table 4: Peter Thellusson's property-related transactions in Grenada, 1763-1797 (part c)

Name	Ethnicity and Status	Transaction type	Date	With	Terms	Outcome	Ref
Peter Pegus and James Samuel Tequieri [?]; Peter and John Pegus	French Planters, St Davids and Carriacou; merchants St Georges	Mortgage of £2,000 on 160a plantation in St Davids & 96a cotton plantation on Carriacou with 24 enslaved workers Reconveyance	1772 (Jul) 1787	PT PT	Repayment due 1 May 1774 Unknown	Unknown (probably related to 1787 reconveyance) Unknown	GLR, H2 1-13 GLR M5 531ff*
John or Jean Sabazan	French Planter, Carriacou	Mortgage of £500 on 72a cotton plantation Carriacou Mortgage surrender	1772 1778	PT PT	Unknown Unknown	Probably repaid in 1778 Unknown	GLR H2 13-22 GLR D3 485ff*
Jean Baptist Dejean and Charles de Cologne; Marianne Dejean and de Cologne; Marianne Dejean and Marianne de Cologne	French Planters, St Georges French Planters, St Georges	Mortgage of £4,000 on Le Mont D'or sugar plantation with 92 enslaved workers Remortgage on above terms Case in Court of Chancery, Grenada Mortgage surrender	1773 (Feb) 1779 (Feb) c.1786 1790 (Mar)	PT (bought 1769 mortgage of Claremont & Linwood, London merchants) PT, JC and John Aubert PT, JC and John Aubert PT and JC	Sugar consignment for 4 years or until debt repaid Penal sum of £8,000 Final settlement	Unpaid by Dejean and de Cologne Unpaid (see below) Chancery ruled debt at £2,274 3s 1d (unpaid) Repayment of £2,674 3s 1d	GLR L2 249-55 GLR A4 52-76
Jean Philip Boutillier and Joseph Baptiste D'Argente	Planters, St Johns	Mortgage of £3,000 on 2/3rds of L'ance Noire sugar plantation with 176 enslaved workers	1775	PT and JC	Sugar consignment Repay £1,000 in 1778 & rest in 1781	PT's will suggests some debt remained in 1796	GLR V2 88-109

Table 4: Peter Thellusson's property-related transactions in Grenada, 1763-1797 (part d)

[* Index entry only available for access]

County	Area (a r p)	Land type	Cost (£ s d)	Cost per acre (£)	Dates
Durham	700	Rural	20,000	c.28.57	1812
Hertfordshire	2,226.2.8	Rural and urban	141,807.2.0	c.63.69	1805- 1818
Northamptonshire	178.2.37	Rural	7,926.12	c.44.36	1818
Suffolk	6,231.2.39	Rural with some copyhold	154,496.10	c.24.79	1804- 1816
Warwickshire	911.1.4	Rural	36,700	c.40.27	1809, 1813
Yorkshire (- Brodsworth)	2,495.2.21 58.2.4)	Rural	127,158.7.6	c.50.95	1806- 1818
TOTAL	12,743.3.29	Mainly rural freehold		c.38.30	

Table 5: Trustees' land purchases under the terms of PT's will, 1804-1818

Source: SROI HB416/A2/7, Office copy report of Master in Chancery on personal estates of Peter Thellusson, 1799-1813, 326-29

Painting	Artist	Valuation (£ s d)	Price paid (guineas)
'A Dutch Fleet getting under weigh'	Backhuysen	682.10	650
'A View on the Shore at Scheveling'	Backhuysen	118.13.0	113
'A Music Party'	De Hooghe	115.10.0	110
'The Sick Lady'	J. Steen	58.16.0	56
'A Canal in a Dutch Town'	Van Der Neer	288.15.0	275
'A Landscape with a Hawking Party proceeding from a Chateau'	Wymants and Wouvermans	136.10.0	130

Table 6: List and Valuation of CSA Thelluson's pictures

Source: YAS DD168/7/1/20, Heather & Son List of Pictures the Property of CSA Thelluson Esq, n.d.; YAS DD168/7/1/21, CSAT memo 'Pictures what I gave for them', n.d.

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