

Research into the Black Country's links to transatlantic enslavement

By Dr Angelina Osborne MBE

produced for

Wolverhampton, Bilston and District Trades Union Council 2022 with assistance from:



Contents

Introduction p.3

Online databases, blogs and local history websites p.3

Methods and scope p.4

How transatlantic enslavement enriched Britain p.7

The Importance of the iron industry to the Atlantic economy and slavery p.9

Staffordshire, the iron industry and the American market in the 18th century p.11

The importance of the 'slave trade' to the gun industry in Birmingham and the Black Country p.13

The nail trade in the Midlands p.15

Reassessing the meaning of the Black Country flag p.17

Ironmasters and slavery: Case Studies p.19

- **The Gibbons family**
- **John 'Iron Mad Jack' Wilkinson**
- **John Shaw**
- **Thomas Pearson**
- **Edward Elwell**

Slave owning families and individuals from the Black Country p.23

- **The Newtons of Kings Bromley**
- **Charles Chetwynd Talbot, 2nd Earl Talbot**
- **William Henry Vane, 1st Duke Cleveland, Earl of Darlington**
- **John William Ward, Earl of Dudley**
- **Table of claimants for slave compensation from Staffordshire**

Conclusions and suggestions for further research p.29

Appendix Compensation Payments to Staffordshire slave owners p.31

Introduction

On 25 May 2020 George Floyd was murdered by police officer Derek Chauvin in Minneapolis. This crime provoked a surge of protest and debate in many parts of the Western world. The Wolverhampton, Bilston & District Trades Union Council was no exception. We decided to focus on two matters.

Firstly, we urged the West Midlands Police & Crime Commissioner to direct police officers to use their "body worn video cameras" at all times when out on patrol, rather than officers just switching on cameras when they felt like it.

Secondly, we commissioned initial research into the historic involvement of the Wolverhampton and Staffordshire area with the slave trade. Wolverhampton, Bilston & District Trades Union Council was assisted with this by GMB X13, UNITE WM6150, UNITE Black Country Area Activists Committee, UNISON City of Wolverhampton, UNISON Staffordshire, Dudley TUC, plus a TUC Development grant. The impressive monograph below is the result.

A comprehensive history of the Black Country's involvement in the Atlantic economy is yet to be written, one that demands a more nuanced understanding of this history, one where the links may not be as direct as slave ownership.

Online databases, blogs and local history websites

This research flags up research undertaken by local historians and researchers, which ranges from academic articles to research in local connections, to databases of industrial heritage. It includes unpublished theses and blogs, where information relating to the Black Country and slavery have been sourced. This audit has used as a key resource the Legacies of British Slave Ownership database, which has used as its starting point the Slave Compensation Committee Records and includes data on individuals and businesses who made a claim for compensation for the loss of their enslaved workers when enslavement was abolished in 1834. The database also includes information on the ownership of plantations in the British Caribbean from 1763.

It has been extremely useful in identifying individuals from the West Midlands who 'owned' enslaved people in the Caribbean. The sample taken is based on different keyword search entries has assisted in the creation of a smaller database of individuals whose slave ownership ranges from one person to hundreds of people, noting the compensation received. It is beyond the scope of this audit to ascertain whether these people invested their compensation into the local infrastructure, but it has attempted where possible to identify country estates that may still be in existence.¹

This audit will provide a bibliography of sources consulted; however, the scholarship identifying the relationship between the metal trade and transatlantic enslavement continues to emerge. The many books and articles consulted refer to these connections as part of wider studies on Bristol, Liverpool and London, and more specifically to Birmingham's links to slavery via its gun manufacturing industries.

The bicentenary of the 1807 Abolition of the Slave Trade Act encouraged many local and national heritage organisations to research historical and regional links to enslavement. The Anti-Slavery Usable Past Archive collected the visual culture and heritage and public history

¹ See Appendix for this table

projects that took place during the Bicentenary of the Act to abolish the 'slave trade' in 2007. Exhibitions such as *Sugar Coated Tears* at Wolverhampton Art Gallery (with photographer Vanley Burke and blacksmith Lofty Wright), and *Trade Links: Walsall and the Slave Trade* examined how the area's industrial legacy was entangled in empire and slavery through its gun, chain iron and tool manufacturing industries.²

Methods and scope

This research audit examines how the history of transatlantic slavery finds expression in the Black Country, in particular Wolverhampton, Bilston and southern Staffordshire, identifying complicit individuals and companies who were slave owners, and/or were involved in one of the industries integral to the Atlantic economy – iron and the items made out of it.

The history of transatlantic enslavement is indivisible from British history; in his influential study *Capitalism and Slavery*, historian Eric Williams argued that the transatlantic trade and trafficking in African people, and the development of a commerce in commodities produced by enslaved African workers generated vast fortunes, at the same time contributing to the expansion of manufacturing in Britain. It is the commodities not produced by enslaved labour; rather, those manufactured to sustain and perpetuate the system of enslavement, that necessitates closer study, and is the subject of this audit.

Forced African labour brought vast changes to the Atlantic world; plantation slavery, which formed part of the so-called triangular trade of manufactured goods from Britain, enslaved workers from the African continent and sugar from the West Indies became the basis for a thriving international economy. Ships and shipbuilding, wool and cotton manufactures, and banking and insurance are some of the economies that expanded as a consequence.³

Ironware and iron manufacture were industries which benefitted enormously from the Atlantic slave economy. Huge volumes of metal was needed for shipbuilding, fortifications, guns, and metal bars, the latter two were exchanged for captured and enslaved Africans along the coast. Further, plantations in the Americas needed metal implements like hoes, hammers, machetes and spades for the cultivation and harvesting of crops like tobacco and sugar. Processing equipment such as copper stills and rollers for crushing cane, and construction materials – nails, rivets, hinges and locks were also in huge demand. The burgeoning overseas and colonial trade had a dramatic impact on the English nail trade.⁴

Every slave ship needed a range of items produced by metal industries. Chains were used on every slave ship bound for the African coast, as well as handcuff, leg irons, thumb screws, manacles and speculums for force-feeding. Without them, no slaving ship or expedition would have been successful – as James Walvin has remarked, without chains there would be no slave trade.⁵ Chains and other metal restraints were loaded in the vessels' home port manufactured by local or regional metal industries. Between 1700 and 1800 iron exports increased exponentially, with £85,000 worth of iron being exported annually in 1700, to £1 million pounds annually in 1800.⁶ Huge volumes were shipped to Africa, the Caribbean and North America. Slavery was the key element in driving forward particular areas of domestic British growth.

2 See <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/599> and <http://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/597> I attempted on several occasions to contact the Wolverhampton Art Gallery or anyone who could tell me about these exhibitions; unfortunately no one has returned my emails to date. The web links also are broken and do not appear to have been archived.

3 Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*

4 This will be discussed more later in the report

5 James Walvin, *Slavery in Small Things*

6 James Walvin, *Slavery in Small Things: Slavery and Modern Cultural Habits* (Wiley Blackwell, 2016)

It is a fact that the Black Country iron industry, and the iron ware manufacturing trades both benefitted exponentially from the Atlantic economy by virtue of the growth in demand of iron and ironware in the Atlantic world. The challenge for this audit has been to identify and recontextualise the region's slavery past within the history of this industry, as well as identifying individuals who 'owned' enslaved workers and plantations in the Caribbean.

Consequently, this report is divided into the following themes:

- The Black Country iron trade and its importance to the 18th century Atlantic economy
- Case studies of ironmasters and merchants involved in this economy
- Black Country ties to slave ownership, with case studies of complicit individuals/families

The report will also include a database of locally relevant research materials, a spreadsheet recording details of complicit individuals and companies, and a database of research materials studied.

Identifying connections between the Black Country and the Atlantic slave economy has not been a straightforward task. While it is a fact that the iron and ironware industries were integral to that economy, documentary evidence has been, on the whole, difficult to trace and therefore confirm the individuals and companies involved in the manufacture of ironware used to restrain enslaved Africans. Further, while it has been straightforward to identify the types of ironware and tools made from iron exported to the American markets, it has been difficult to name which ironmongers and manufacturers of these items were involved in both manufacturing and exporting of these items to the Caribbean. One reason this might be the case is that the economy of edge tools – hoes, spades cutlasses etc. – is seriously under-researched.⁷ Another reason may be that chains and shackles may have been classed as 'heavy steel toys.'⁸ The term 'toy' – which can be misleading – was an economic sector that produced small goods made of metal, and other materials in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This is an area that needs further study to help broaden understanding about these indirect links to transatlantic enslavement.

That said, there is an often referenced record from *Sketchley's Wolverhampton Directory* identifying one Henry Waldram of Brick Kiln Lane who in 1770 had no problem advertising the services he provided, namely as a 'Negro collar and handcuff maker'. Similarly, Dudley ironmaster Abraham Darby (1677-1717) who first successfully smelted iron with ore, took out a patent in 1707 for the manufacture of belly pots of iron cast in sand. According to historian W.K.V. Gale, Darby developed a large trade in these pots, which became an important product of the West Midlands, with thousands of them exported to Africa, acquiring the name of 'kaffir pots.'⁹

These and other examples pointing to Black country links to slavery through its industries have been referenced, in addition to available archival records that conclusively demonstrate these links. Where possible, this evidence is also referenced. Through primarily

7 See Chris Evans, 'The Plantation Hoe: The Rise and Fall of an Atlantic Economy, 1650-1850', *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol.69, No.1 (2012) pp. 71-100

8 I am grateful to Simon Briercliffe for his thinking on this subject, and for his research on enslavement and the Black Country. <https://uptheosroad.wordpress.com/2017/09/03/slavery-and-the-black-country-collars-and-chains/>

9 W.K.V. Gale, 'Early Iron Founding in the Midlands', *Transactions of the Newcomen Society*, 28:1 (1951), pp. 226-227

secondary source research, this audit has developed a narrative that indicates the manufacture of ironware for the Atlantic economy including guns, is an industry that links the Black Country to the trade and trafficking in Africans, both directly and indirectly. It is also recommended to assist in the development of a fuller picture of these links would be a study of merchants from Bristol, Liverpool, the West Midlands and London trading to the West Indies to ascertain which were trading in iron and maintaining commercial links with ironmongers and forge owners in this region. It has been beyond the scope of this report to undertake this research, only recommending it as another avenue.

How transatlantic enslavement enriched Britain

The importance of the transatlantic trade and trafficking in African people lay not only in the wealth it created for the owners of slaving ships and 'slaveowners' and plantation owners in the Americas, but also in its contribution to the structure and development of an Atlantic economy. The 'slave trade' provided the labour by which the resources of the Americas were made available for European nations. Enslaved African labour became indispensable for the sugar plantations in the Caribbean and for the rice, cotton and tobacco plantations in the southern American colonies, and was central to these plantations' economic prosperity. From the early fifteenth century English merchants were involved in the Spanish and Portuguese slave economies which were linked to Mediterranean trade networks.

Elizabethan privateers like Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins initiated early forays into these networks, the latter involved in four slaving expeditions between 1562 and 1568, three of which were funded by Elizabeth I, who provided him with a ship, the *Jesus of Lubeck*, which had a crew of 300, and also gave him a coat of arms that featured a bound African.

In 1619 Sir Robert Rich (later the Earl of Warwick), owner of a tobacco plantation in Virginia received royal approval from James I to establish the London based Company of Adventurers to Guinea and Benin to trade with West Africa, and supply captured and enslaved Africans to the Americas.

The first Caribbean colonies were founded in Virginia (1607) St Kitts (1624) and Barbados (1625), where the construction of the English plantation system began. The campaign of 1655-56 saw Oliver Cromwell add Jamaica to the list of England's Caribbean possessions. These islands formed the backbone of England's seaborne empire and became the primary location of capital accumulation in the Americas.¹⁰

It wasn't until after the restoration in 1660 that England fully entered the transatlantic trade and trafficking in African people in an organised and structured way. Both king and parliament combined to establish England as the premier slave trading nation: policy required the mobilising of the investing public and full backing of the government, which set up the provision of royal charters to trading companies, the largest being the Royal Africa Company, set up by Charles II and his brother, the Duke of York (later James II), and London merchants. The RAC was granted a monopoly over the English trade in African people in 1672, establishing trading posts on the West African coast with the assistance of the army and navy. Between 1672 and 1740 the RAC operated a monopoly over the transatlantic trade and trafficking of African people, increasing the financial power of London merchants. The RAC shipped approximately 150,000 Africans to the Caribbean during this period, more than any other organisation in the 'trade's' history, providing gold to the English mint. Coins made from this gold was known as the guinea. Edward Colston, whose statue was thrown into Bristol Harbour in 2020 as part of the Black Lives Matter protest, was a deputy governor of this company.

The Royal Africa Company's monopoly over this human trade was broken in 1698 when free trade was imposed as a consequence of the successful lobbying of independent traders from the then provincial ports of Liverpool and Bristol, who wanted an equal opportunity to participate in this lucrative 'trade'. In 1713, the British won the right to provide Spanish ports with enslaved African men, women and children, which guaranteed a higher volume of slaving ventures than ever before. In this way, the 'trade' in enslaved African bodies was converted into England's principal international trade and became its most lucrative

¹⁰ Hilary Beckles, *Britain's Black Debt: Reparations for Caribbean Slavery and Native Genocide* (University of West Indies Press (2013), p.85

investment. It was believed this enterprise and the fortunes generated by it was critical to nation building and imperial power. To oppose the 'slave trade' was to oppose national interest.

The cities of Bristol, Liverpool, London and Glasgow were pre-eminent in prospering from the wealth generated from slavery and the 'slave trade'. Thousands of sailors found employment in the navy and on board slaving ships; banks and other financial institutions sprang up and flourished. The 'trade' in African bodies created other industries, such as ship building, sugar refineries, iron and glass works and gun manufacture. Copper and glass factories sprang up and expanded to supply ship builders, as did manufacturers of pots and pans. Bristol's ship building rose to prominence in the 18th century on the back of slave ships. These industries, along with slave trader and sugar planters from that city resident in the Caribbean created a network of wealth organised around the shipments of kidnapped and enslaved Africans. This enterprise, which Professor Hilary Beckles has called a 'commonwealth of crime' was represented and defended at all levels of political governance, by its mayors, burgesses and parliamentarians.

The Swahili term *Maafa* – which means the African Holocaust, is used to stress the moral dimension of this period of history, rather than the commercial one. From an African perspective, the term 'trade' does not reflect the reality of the process and practice of what was actually involved. *Maafa* considers the destruction of human life: the millions who were enslaved, and the millions killed. It considers the destruction of human culture: the impact of the loss of millions of African people on African cities, towns, villages, its art and literature. It considers the destruction of human possibility: of life chances, human aspiration, freedom, dignity and human solidarity. Slavery transformed people into objects and engineered their social death.

Research undertaken by the Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slave Ownership has revealed that 46,000 Britons received compensation for the loss of their enslaved workers as a consequence of the abolition of slavery in 1834. The £20 million borrowed to compensate these individuals was repaid by taxpayers – which included the descendants of enslaved Africans – in 2015.¹¹ The formerly enslaved workers in the Caribbean received nothing.

¹¹ *The Guardian* 12th February 2018, David Olusoga: 'The Treasury's tweet shows that slavery is still misunderstood,' <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/feb/12/treasury-tweet-slavery-compensate-slave-owners>

The importance of the iron industry to the Atlantic economy and slavery.

Stanley B. Alpern's research on trade between Europe and Africa from the seventeenth century notes that it was dominated by 'practical cloth and metal goods.' The transatlantic trade in African people drove West African consumerism, making the region a flourishing international marketplace for European goods. Bars of iron, known as 'voyage iron' and copper, known as 'Guinea rods' were a consistent feature of Euro-African exchange in the eighteenth century.¹²

Consignments of iron to Africa were often substantial. In 1680 one English ship carried 32,000 bars to Cape Coast Castle, one of England's slave forts on the West African coast. That same year 220 enslaved Africans were exchanged for 2,000 iron bars and other goods at New Calabar in the Niger delta.¹³ The *Africa*, a slave ship that departed from Bristol to the Bight of Biafra in 1774 had as part of its cargo 1,530 bars of iron, close to thirteen tons. Liverpool merchant William Davenport supplied voyage iron to eighteen slaving ventures to the Bight of Biafra in the 1760s; the average consignment was 11.6 tonnes.¹⁴ Chris Evans and Goran Ryden have estimated, based on Davenport's export of iron on his voyages, that of the 367 slaving voyages to the Bight between 1760 and 1769, 420 tonnes of iron would have landed annually, and argue that the importation of iron to Africa was 'substantial and significant.'¹⁵ Africa had a revered metallurgical tradition for many centuries prior to European engagement; however, slave raiding caused the erosion of West Africa's own manufacturing capabilities. European iron bars were manufactured through processes, such as water powered furnaces that African smelters were unable to match.¹⁶

Voyage iron was a low risk commodity with a high profit margin and much of it came from Sweden.¹⁷ Alpern also noted that iron bars were also made in England, Spain, France, Germany Denmark, Norway and Ireland. It has been beyond the scope of this research audit to ascertain the exact amount of voyage iron exported from Britain to Africa. Chris Evans and Goran Ryden have stated that England had a substantial iron industry during this time. The story of the British iron industry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was closely related to the development of British overseas trade and expansion. Traditional sources of iron ore were augmented by discoveries in South Wales, Lancashire, Derbyshire, Cumberland, Sheffield, and the West Midlands: Birmingham, Staffordshire, and the Black Country. Given the size of this market it seems unlikely that the British were not shipping iron directly from its own iron production in exchange for captured and enslaved African people. By the end of the eighteenth century 60% of all iron exports from Britain went to West Africa and the Americas.¹⁸

Manillas, the open ended bracelets were among the first European goods traded on the Kwaland (present day Ghana) coast in the 1470s and used as currency. Made from brass and copper and traded by the Portuguese, Dutch and British, they were imported well into the

12 Chris Evans and Goran Ryden, 'Voyage Iron: An Atlantic Slave Trade currency, its European origins and West African impact', *Past and Present* 239 (May 2018)

13 Stanley B. Alpern, 'What Africans got for their slaves: A master list of European trade goods', *History in Africa*, Vol. 22 (p.12)

14 Evans and Ryden, *Voyage Iron*, p.43

15 *Ibid*, p.45

16 *Ibid*, p. 50

17 At the beginning of the eighteenth century imported iron came almost entirely from Sweden and Spain

18 Walvin, *Slavery of small things* (electronic book, unpaginated)

nineteenth century, and the British colonial government stopped their import in 1902 in Nigeria and withdrew them from circulation as money in 1949.¹⁹

In his book *The Slavery of Small Things* historian James Walvin further examines the connections between slavery and iron ware. Chains were the most obvious of metal goods which formed an integral feature of the Atlantic slave system. They were loaded onto every slaving vessel bound for the African coast, as well as leg irons, thumb screws, handcuffs, and speculums for force feeding. These chains and other restraints were loaded in the vessels home port – manufactured by local or regional metal industries.

Plantations across the Americas needed agricultural tools made of metal, such as hoes, machetes, spades rakes and axes for planting, cultivating harvesting and processing crops. Metal rollers were needed to crush sugar cane; nails held buildings together; copper was needed for the boilers, pipes and cisterns in the factories built to process the cane juice into sugar. The demand for these items arising from the establishment of colonies in the Americas indicates that individuals and companies from iron producing regions became wealthy from these markets; the challenge has been to identify who they were.

¹⁹ Alpern, p. 13

Staffordshire, the iron industry and the American market in the 18th century

R.A. Pelham has written that from 1700 that the region with the largest output of ore deposits was the West Midlands; by the middle of the eighteenth century South Staffordshire had become the principal and almost only iron making district in the country, its supremacy due to the application of coal in lieu of charcoal for the purpose of smelting iron ore.²⁰ The Tame and Trent rivers were important to the iron industry in this region especially after the introduction of the blast furnace in the mid sixteenth century by the Paget family who built the Cannock furnace near Hednesford, and the Teddesley Furnace near Penkridge.²¹ These furnaces provided pig iron for forges and chaferies, from which bar iron was slit into rods for sale to manufacturing industries of the nearby towns. Ore was mined locally and movement from local producer to the production of the finished article took place over relatively short distances.

In the second half of the eighteenth century the Black Country iron trade expanded substantially, which continued unrivalled for the next century. The steam engine provided unlimited cheap power, enabling the blasting of air into the blast furnaces with a machine. The Black Country's first canal, from Birmingham to Autherley, near Wolverhampton was authorised by an Act of Parliament in 1767, as a consequence of the large amounts goods and minerals in constant transit; this was quickly followed by others, giving the district cheap transport for heavy goods to most parts of the country.²² These canals made an important contribution to the expansion of the iron trade, and the industry developed at a rapid rate in the ensuing years. The reason for this expansion was the establishment of American colonies and plantation economies, the trade and trafficking in Africans and the wars waged to create and also protect imperial spheres of influence.

The traffic was so great between Wednesbury and Birmingham that an Act was passed in for repairing and turnpiking the road, and by the end of the eighteenth century Wednesbury had attracted a population of 4,000, also possessing the only bank available for business in the Black Country.²³ The need for iron and items made of iron was driving the expansion of these regions.

From 1717 the furnaces within the region accounted for about 67% of the total pig iron produced in the whole country, and 69% of the bar iron.²⁴ The American plantations formed the largest market in for wrought ironware from Britain, particularly the West Midlands. Ironmongers from the Midlands were well placed to make an early entry into the export trade. As early as 1657 economic links with the New World were well established. Planter historian Richard Ligon noted that in Barbados that 'nails of all sorts with hooks, hinges and clamps of iron ore are to be had at Birmingham in Staffordshire much cheaper than in London.'²⁵

The river Severn and the port of Bristol provided ironmongers and manufacturers with ready access to the growing markets for English metal ware, namely the American colonies. The population of the plantations in America and the West Indies rose from 300,000 in 1700

20 F.W. Hackwood, *The Story of the Black Country* (Whitehead Bros 1902), p. 68

21 W.A. Smith, 'The Gibbons Family: Coal and Iron masters, 1750-1873', (unpublished PhD thesis 1979) p.1

22 WKV Gale, Notes in the Black Country Iron Trade, *Transactions of the Newcomen Society* (24:1, 1943) p.16

23 F.W. Hackwood, *Wednesbury Workshops: The Industries of a Black Country Town* (1889) p.6

24 E.W. Hulme, 'Statistical History of the Iron Trade of England and Wales', 1717-1750 *Transactions of the Newcomen Society* Volume 9 Issue 1 (1928), pp.21-3. The region covers the counties of Shropshire, Staffordshire Worcestershire, Monmouthshire, Gloucestershire, Hereford and Denbigh.

25 Richard Ligon, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes* (1657) p.110

to 3 million in 1776.²⁶ Their purchasing power increased fivefold. This market in 1700 was taking almost four fifths of the total export of nails, and about half the total of the export of wrought iron. At that time ships were leaving Bristol almost every week bound for Virginia, Barbados, or Jamaica, carrying nails, hoes, bills and scythes, and other wrought iron ware from the Midlands.²⁷

It must also be noted that gun firms like Galton and Farmer offered other manufactured metalware such as swords, bayonets, shears, gravers, files and cutlasses, establishing long standing ties to edge tool and related trades. Blades, knives, forks and harpoon lances were part of their inventory for slave ships and ships sailing for Greenland.²⁸ These items would have been ordered on commission through local suppliers - in Darlaston, Wolverhampton, Wednesbury, Bilston and West Bromwich.

26 Marie B Rowlands, *Masters and men in the West Midland metalware trades before the industrial revolution* (Manchester University Press 1975) p.127

27 Ibid

28 Priya Satia, *Empire of Guns: The Violent Making of the Industrial Revolution* (Penguin Press: New York 2018) p.74

The importance of the 'slave trade' to the gun industry in Birmingham and the Black Country

The transatlantic trade and trafficking in African people was the chief support of the gun industry in Birmingham and the Black Country. W.A. Richards' study of James Farmer and Richard Galton, the largest gunmakers in Birmingham, indicate that two of the main towns that provided them with gun barrels and gun locks were Darlaston and Wednesbury.²⁹ Other towns producing these items were Guns Village and Hill Top in West Bromwich, Smethwick and Wolverhampton. Black Country gunmakers made most of the 150,000 guns which English ships exchanged annually for captured and enslaved Africans by the mid eighteenth century, making the so called 'slave trade' the chief support of the gun industry in Wednesbury and Darlaston at that time.³⁰

W.A. Richards' study of Galton and Farmer's letter books reveal that they specialised in making guns for the slave trade and obtained most of their gunlocks and gun barrels from Black Country gun makers, which was crucial to the production of guns in Birmingham. Guns were indispensable trading goods in the trade with West Africa, and guns were essential for the exchange of captive African people, who were often prisoners of war, or captured by 'slave raiding' expeditions. Over time African leaders traded with Europeans for guns to wage war on weaker African communities in order to capture people that they exchanged for guns and other European manufactured goods.

Richards concluded that Farmer and Galton, and other Birmingham gunmakers acted as the organisers and controllers of hundreds of small specialist workshops throughout the Black Country.³¹ Black Country towns produced a basic unfinished gun which was sent to Birmingham for finishing.

Galton and Farmer's activities show the manufacture of gun parts had become the chief industry of Wednesbury and the staple industry of Darlaston. This was traced from the opening of trade to Africa to private traders in 1698, breaking the Royal Africa Company's monopoly. Gun lock forgers and filers are first recorded in the parish registers in 1705 and 1707, and by the second half of the eighteenth century the gun industry had become both towns' leading industry.³² Wrought iron gun barrel manufacture was also a well-developed industry in Smethwick, where barrels forged by steam power had been made there before the beginning of the eighteenth century.³³

There were two forges in Wednesbury by the middle of the eighteenth century producing the high grade iron suitable for gun making. One was Wood's Forge; the other was Adam's Forge. Both forges produced high grade iron suitable for gun making and high quality

29 W.A. Richards, 'Black Country Guns and the Slave Trade', *Black Countryman*, Vol 8, No.1 pp.7-13 (1975). Farmer and Galton were probably the largest Birmingham gunmaking firm and were also the main supplier of arms to the Committee of the Company of Merchants Trading to Africa in the 1750s. Also see Richards, 'The Import of Firearms into West Africa in the Eighteenth Century', *Journal of African History*, Vol. 21, Issue 1 (1980) pp. 43-59

30 Ibid. Place names like Guns Village and Guns Lane in West Bromwich are probably an indication of the importance of the gun industry to its growth. Galton Street and Galton Bridge in Smethwick are reminders of Galton's investment in the canal which reduced the cost of transport of gun parts from the Black Country to Birmingham

31 Ibid

32 W.A Richards, 'The Birmingham Gun Manufactory of Farmer and Galton and the Slave Trade in the Eighteenth Century' (1972 unpublished MA thesis), University of Birmingham, p.96

33 S.J Langley, 'The Wednesbury Tube Trade', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, Vol2, No.2, p.163

wrought iron.³⁴ William and John Wood, father and son gunlock makers, also patented a new method of producing malleable iron and were one of the first to adopt steam power. Wednesbury was producing flintlocks (the flint ignition mechanism), barrels and complete guns by the end of the eighteenth century. Wednesbury Forge at Wood Green was also used as a mill for grinding gun barrels.³⁵

By 1760 some of the gun makers were manufacturing on a considerable scale; historian J.F. Ede remarked that the wealthiest men in Wednesbury were gunlock makers, including Richard Edge and Thomas Hopkins.³⁶ When Hopkins went bankrupt in 1768, the stock he put up for sale consisted of 1,470 gun barrels, fifty pairs of brass and iron pistol barrels, 800 finished gunlocks and more than 200 partly finished gunlocks. He also had large stocks of materials including 2 tons of bar iron.³⁷

The livelihoods of many businesses and families in the Black Country were therefore rooted in the international crime of the trade and trafficking in African people.



Samuel Galton Jr. (1753-1832)

Town	Gun lock makers
Wednesbury	104 gun lock makers
Darlaston	77 gun lock makers
West Bromwich	39 gun lock and pistol makers
Wolverhampton	31 almost entirely gun lock makers

Gun lock makers in Black Country towns in the late eighteenth century. Source: DeWitt Bailey and Douglas A. Nie, *English Gunmakers: The Birmingham and Provincial Gun Trade in the 18th and 19th Century* (Arms and Armour Press 1978) p. 61

Black Country towns increased in size and prosperity in great part because of the gun industry. The demand of the transatlantic trade and trafficking in African people maintained the gun making workshops which sprang up in the Black Country; without it many of the skilled men in the gun industry would have dispersed, reliant solely on the wars which England was involved in. The boom in the gun industry in West Africa declined after the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, and the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815.

³⁴ Marie B. Rowlands, *Masters and men in the West Midland metalware trades before the industrial revolution* (Manchester University Press 1975) p.132

³⁵ Ibid

³⁶ I located a very interesting case involving the theft of gun locks in 1760. A Richard Edge is mentioned as having a pair of pistol locks being stolen from him by Richard Melvin. I believe it is the same Richard Edge <https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?div=t17600521-31>

³⁷ Marie B. Rowland, *Masters and men*, p.133

The nail trade in the Midlands

During the 18th century the nail trade was prosperous partly due to the amount sent to the American colonies. By 1810, however this trade was in decline owing to the political situation of war between the United States and Great Britain. In 1812 while giving evidence before a House of Commons select committee William Whitehouse, a West Bromwich nail-ironmonger remarked that 'any person who knew the quantity of nails required in America would be surprised, unless he saw the immense number of homes built of wood in that country.'³⁸

The increased demand for nails came from two sources, one domestic, and the other from overseas. According to Fredrik Sjogren, domestic demand stemmed from 'the great rebuilding' of rural England that took place between c.1570 and 1640. As larger and more solidly built houses were being built, with the introduction of features like staircases, floorboards and windows new methods of fixing these new building materials stimulated a demand for different types of nails.³⁹ Nail exports increased considerably from 1722 onwards, from a few hundred tons per year in the late seventeenth century to average over 1600 tons per year between 1749 and 1773. The majority of these nails went to North America and the West Indies.⁴⁰

As colonisation created a burgeoning overseas trade it is evident there was a huge demand for nails. Trade required ships, and shipbuilding required nails such as deck spikes and scupper nails. Sugar was transported in wooden casks, thus stimulating the production of cask nails; and nails were needed for the construction of forts, houses, mills, refineries, wagons and warehouses.⁴¹ Nails formed an important part of the iron goods exported to America. Production was localised in South Staffordshire and the Stour Valley, particularly around West Bromwich, Dudley and Stourbridge, with slitting mills (where bar iron from the forge was rolled into sheet iron and then cut into narrow strips or rods for the convenience of the nailer) usually established along the Upper Tame and the Stour rivers.⁴²

The nailing districts of the Black Country were usually the older towns and villages of the area, with each district making a different type of nails or spikes. Nail makers in the Dudley area made horse nails; Old Hill and Rowley Hobs made rivets and small nails; and in Halesowen the nail makers there manufactured mainly large nails and spikes.⁴³

The demand for nails at home and in the British colonies was so great that by 1800 an estimated 30,000 Black Country men women and children were employed in nail making – a figure that reached 50,000 by 1830.⁴⁴ Nailers collected bundles of nail rod from the ironmongers' warehouses to work on in their small workshops attached to their homes. Although the job of the nailer was regarded by some observers as 'the disgracefullest of trades' the handmade nail trade underpinned the industrial development of the region from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries.⁴⁵

38 Quoted in Arthur Willetts, *The Black Country Nail Trade* (Dudley Leisure Services 1987) p.4

39 Fredrik Sjogren, *The West Midlands Nail Trade* (West Midlands History)

40 Peter King, 'The Production and Consumption of Bar Iron in Early Modern England and Wales', *Economic History Review* LVIII, 58:1 (2005) p.19

41 Fredrik Guy Sjogren, 'Entrepreneurship and technological change: The Birmingham and district nail cut trade', c.1811-1913 (doctoral thesis, University of Birmingham, 2019) p. 50

42 R Pelham, 'The West Midland Iron Industry and the American Market in the 18th Century', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, Volume 2 No.1 (1950), p. 147

43 Willetts, p.13

44 Guy Sjogren, 'Hand Made Nails', in Malcolm Dick, David J Eveleigh and Janet Sullivan eds., *The Black Country: A History in 100 Objects* (Dudley, Black Country Living Museum 2019)

45 Ibid

Dudley nail makers and manufacturers:

Holly Hall Street

Church Street

Tower Street

Eve Hill

Birmingham Street

King Street

Bath Street

Withy Moor Works

Flood Street

Spring Street

New Street

Oakley Well Street

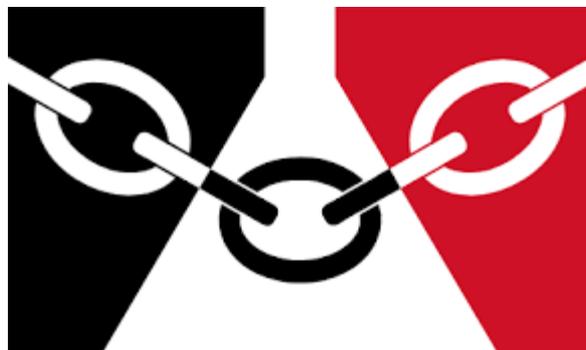
Porters Field

Netherton

Hall Street

Reassessing the meaning of the Black Country flag

The Black Country flag celebrates the two industries that represent its past manufacturing heritage and economic might - glassmaking and ironware. The flag's design, chosen as a result of a public vote organised by the Black Country Museum in 2012 features an upright triangular shape, flanked either side by red and black with interlinked black and white chains.



The use of red and black the flag were inspired from comments made by Elihu Burrit, American consul to Birmingham in 1862, who described the region as 'red by day and black by night', referencing the burning furnaces and forges in constant operation.

In 2015 Wolverhampton-born anti-racist campaigner Patrick Vernon OBE expressed deep concern about the chains displayed on the flag. For Vernon (and many other people), the chains represent a disturbing image of an industry that profited from the transatlantic trade and trafficking of African people during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Vernon said he found the logo offensive because foundries, factories and local craftsmen in the Black Country made chains, padlocks, fetters, collars and manacles that were used on British slaving vessels and on Caribbean plantations. Vernon's comments were met with defensive anger, as exemplified by the comments left on the online version of the *Express and Star*, Wolverhampton's local newspaper. These comments strongly rejected Vernon's criticisms and accused him of attempting to foment racial tensions. Other comments defended the flag as a symbol of unity, and of the area's historical commitment to hard work.⁴⁶ What could be read from the reaction to Vernon's assertions was a profound ambivalence among many Black Country residents, coupled with a disinclination to confront, or even accept the links between the manufacturing heritage of the Black Country and transatlantic enslavement.

Two years later in 2017, Eleanor Smith, then newly elected MP for Wolverhampton South-West, again raised concerns about the image of the chains on the flag in her maiden speech. Her concerns were twofold: first, the chains' 'historical association to the slave trade, and secondly, whether it should be the only brand image for the Black Country.'⁴⁷ Both Vernon and Smith were making the argument that a flag celebrating the chain industry is a bitter pill for Black Britons who reside here to swallow, given that their ancestors were enslaved and restrained by the very chains manufactured here that formed an integral feature of the Atlantic slave system and economy. As the West Midlands is one of the regions in the UK with a significant Black population, the flag and what it represents raises fundamental questions about in what manner should the industrial heritage of the Black Country be

46 *Express and Star*, July 14, 2015, 'Black Country Flag Row: Why I will never accept the chain logo' <https://www.expressandstar.com/news/2015/07/14/why-i-will-never-accept-the-black-country-flags-chain-logo/>

47 Hansard, 18th July 2017 <https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2017-07-18/debates/733C6229-49D0-4559-8F59-5F1244C2DE13/DrugsPolicy#contribution-496AB5FD-71A3-436A-84AC-C0BF69E58F66>

interpreted and remembered. Should it accept the centrality of the iron industry to slavery and the 'slave trade'? As eminent historian of transatlantic enslavement James Walvin noted, there is a complex, but revealing story to be told about the connections between slavery and ironware, and how the ironware of the slave system evokes the wider story of slavery itself.⁴⁸

48 James Walvin, *Slavery in Small Things: Slavery and Modern Cultural Habits* (Wiley Blackwell, 2016)

Ironmasters and slavery: Case studies

The Gibbons family

In the eighteenth century the Gibbons family were established at the Bilston Colliery and Ironworks in the north east, and at Brierley Hill (Level Colliery and Iron Works) in the west. Later, their enterprises were concentrated in the western sector, in particular at their Corbyns Hall Estate. WA Smith has remarked that the fortunes of the Dudley and Gibbons family were closely linked on account of the Dudleys developing a wide range of activities in the same area, including mining operations and the manufacture of pig iron and iron manufactured goods.⁴⁹ The Gibbonses, who traced their family lineage to the Manor of Sedgley in Tudor times, moved into the coal and ore industry in the 1620s, and by the early eighteenth century the family was well established in the commercial and manufacturing activities of South Staffordshire.⁵⁰ John Gibbons (1703-1778) was well established in Sedgley as a nail maker and ironmonger by 1736. The expansion of the American market persuaded Gibbons to establish himself as a forgemaster and by 1766 he was operating forges at Pitchford, and Sutton and Hyde in Staffordshire. The expansion of the American market suggests the need for iron goods used on plantations, such as tools required for the cultivation of sugar, rice and tobacco crops. The documentary evidence of the items the Gibbonses were exporting to the Americas has yet to be studied. A thesis written on the family indicates there was, without saying explicitly what was being exported, iron ware to the West Indies and North America.

By 1775 John Gibbons was regarded as a leader in the nail trade in the Midlands. John's three sons were brought into the business; Thomas (1730-1813) the eldest was first a merchant, then a banker in Wolverhampton. William (1732-1807) ran the family's merchant house in Bristol, buying pig iron for the Midland forges and overseeing the export of metal wares to the American market. William was business partners with Benjamin Bickley (d.1846) and was named alongside Bickley who made a claim for two plantations in St Vincent (Union Island) and Trinidad (Paradise and Cane Farm) on behalf of a dead claimant's estate.⁵¹ William Gibbons also gained prominence in Bristol, becoming mayor of the city in 1800-01. Gibbons' third son, Benjamin (1735-1832) was entrusted with the management of the iron business around Kingswinford, which in the 1780s comprised of forges at Hyde and Lye, and warehouses at Stourport, Lower Gornal and Hyde.⁵²

John 'Iron Mad Jack' Wilkinson (1728-1808)

John Wilkinson was born in Cumbria and had commercial interests in Shropshire, North Wales, Cornwall, Liverpool and London. His largest industrial enterprise, however, was his ironworks in Bradley, near Bilston which he built in 1766 and where he established the first blast furnace in



49 William A. Smith, *The Gibbons Family: Coal and Iron Masters 1750-1873* (unpublished PhD thesis) University of London, p.7

50 Ibid, p.25

51 Legacies of British Slave Ownership database <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/firm/view/2144928875>
<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146631094>

52 *ODNB*, *The Gibbons Family*, accessed January 2021

the district. By 1796 Wilkinson was producing an eighth of the country's pig iron via his forges and foundries.⁵³

Wilkinson's father Isaac (1695-1784) is regarded as one of the founders of the iron industry, who in the 1750s patented a grain grinding machine with fluted iron rollers, used to crush malt, oats and beans – and also used for the crushing, bruising or grinding of sugar cane.⁵⁴

The creation of this machine positions Wilkinson as involved in the development of technologies that assisted in the processing of crops cultivated by enslaved workers.

Similarly, his son was involved in satisfying the demands of colonial markets, as well as empire building. During the Seven Years' War (1756-63) Wilkinson was helping to manage the huge demand for shells guns, grenades and 4 inch calibre shells. He also sold armaments to 'private ships' in London and Liverpool, which most likely were slaving vessels.⁵⁵

In 1774 Wilkinson patented a new technique for boring cannon from one solid piece of iron, making the cannons more accurate and less likely to explode. His cannons were sold to the Royal Navy for use on their battle ships and slave ports in West Africa, which were essential for the protection and growth of the British Empire.⁵⁶ Anthony Bacon (1717-1786) opened the iron works in Cythfartha in 1766 after developing, according to Jacob Price 'a strong presence in Senegambia, and in Tobago, St Vincent, Dominica and Grenada.' He persuaded the Board of Ordnance (Department of Defence) of the superiority of this new method and secured large orders for Wilkinson.⁵⁷

John Shaw (1782-1858), founder of John Shaw and Sons Ltd. (Wolverhampton)

John Shaw ran a wholesale factoring or hardware business which was established in either 1795 or 1800. His collection of business records show that the company had strong links with a range of businesses in the West Midlands, Cheshire, Shropshire, Leeds and Liverpool. An examination of his stock books indicate he sold a wide range of hardware to his customers, including keys, locks, hinges, horsewhips, screws, nails, kettles, metal plates and many other items. As a factor, he extended lines of credit to his customers, and bought and sold consigned goods.

An examination of one of the company stock books show Shaw had some involvement in the transatlantic slave economy. Dated from 1805, two years before the 'slave trade' was abolished - the list of items on p.116 of the stock book are described thus:

Handcuffs

Leg irons at _____ per pair

Neck irons in collars with chains

African chains for the sale of _____

Bright able screw neck collars with chains and keys

53 W.K.V. Gale, 'Notes on the Black Country Iron Trade', *Transactions of the Newcomen Society*, Vol. 21 No. 4 (1943) p.15

54 Norbert C. Seldon, *John Wilkinson: English Iron master and inventor* (Studies in British History Volume 49) p.36

55 Ibid, p.47

56 John Wilkinson, 'Iron Mad Jack' <https://www.flintshireandtheslavetrade.org/iron.html>

57 ODNB, 'Anthony Bacon' (bap. 171 d.1786) Jacob Price. I have not been able to ascertain whether these cannons were manufactured in the ironworks in Bradley

Soft neck collars with gate locks
 Bright Handcuffs – soft and hard
 Hard engraved dog collars
 Bright Negro collars soft and hard
 Leg irons
 Bright screw horse bits, soft and hard⁵⁸

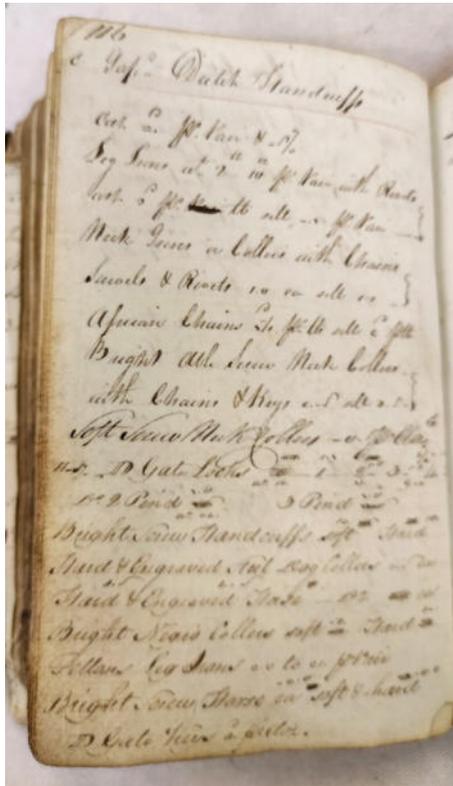


Image provided courtesy of Wolverhampton City Archives (photo taken by author)

Notably, the items of restraint and torture for enslaved Africans are listed alongside items for horses and dogs.

This is the only entry identified so far that suggests Shaw exported items used in the trade and trafficking of African people from Wolverhampton. It has not been possible to determine whether he was in business with other merchants trading to the West Indies, nor has it been possible to establish if he had links with Liverpool merchants who were involved in the 'slave trade' until its end in 1807, or whether he was exporting other items used on plantations in the West Indies. More in depth research would be required to determine if those links exist.

Shaw was a prominent member of Wolverhampton society, a member of the Congregational Church in Queen Street, and was one of the signatories on the petition for the incorporation of Wolverhampton in 1848. He was a founder of Wolverhampton Library and Tettenhall College. He died in Oxley House, Bushbury, which he had purchased from John Henry Sparrow, of the local iron making family.⁵⁹

Thomas Pearson (1732-1796)

58 Wolverhampton City Archives (DB-24/A/401) John Shaw and Shaw and Crane Stock Book (1805) p.116. Where I have drawn a line, the writing is not decipherable.

59 Oxley House and its owners <http://www.historywebsite.co.uk/articles/bushbury/families/oxleyhouse.htm>

The Pearson family made their fortune trading in iron and the goods made from it, so much so that Thomas Pearson (1732-1796) was able to build Tettenhall Towers, a building which stills stands today. One of Thomas's sons (also called Thomas) married Sarah Gibbons, whose family had links to slavery.

Henry Pearson (1745-1806), born in Wolverhampton who lived in Antigua, may have been a member of this family. In his will he left a house on Lichfield Street to his nieces, and his estates in the West Indies to his wife.

Edward Elwell

In 1817 Edward Elwell took over the Wednesbury Forge, which was one of several water-powered forges along the river Thame. According to Graces Guide the area is still known as Elwell.

EDWARD ELWELL,
MANUFACTURER OF
HEAVY EDGE TOOLS, SPADES, SHOVELS,
PLANTATION HOES, &c.,
Wednesbury Forge, near WEDNESBURY
Adjoining the Bescot Junction, London & North Western Railway,
TO WHERE ALL SMALL PARCELS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED.

From Graces Guide www.gracesguide.co.uk

Elwell quickly built a reputation for quality edge tools – hoes, bill hooks machetes and iron hoops expressly for the Caribbean market, employing 300 men. Elwell's firm has since become part of the Spear and Jackson corporation.⁶⁰

In 1869 Edward's grandson Alfred took over the business and the Elwells invested in their workforce converting old workshops into workers houses.⁶¹

60 Simon Briercliffe blog, 'Slavery and the Black Country: collars and chains', <https://uptheosroad.wordpress.com/2017/09/03/slavery-and-the-black-country-collars-and-chains/>
61 Graces Guide, Edward Elwell Ltd. [https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Edward Elwell Ltd](https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Edward_Elwell_Ltd)

Slave owning individuals and families from the Black Country

The Newton Family of Kings Bromley

Kings Bromley, a village and civil parish in Staffordshire lies in the district of Lichfield. The manor had been the property of the crown for nearly two centuries after the Norman Conquest; in 1670 the manor was sold by John Agard (whose family had owned it since 1569) to John Newton of Barbados, the son of Colonel Samuel Newton, who had settled in the colony in 1654. Kings Bromley Parish and Hall remained in the hands of the Newtons until 1794, when John Lane and his brother Thomas inherited it and sugar plantations from their distant cousin Elizabeth Newton, who was the last of the Newton line.⁶²

Colonel Samuel Newton acquired his first piece of land, on which he built Newton plantation, in Christ Church parish in southern Barbados, harvesting sugar cane, using enslaved labour to complete the annual cycle of planting, hoeing, cutting crushing, boiling and packing. Prior to the use of African enslaved labour, the planters used Amerindians and European indentured labourers, convicts and prisoners of war. As the demand for sugar grew and became England's most valuable import, and as the huge amount of labour demanded by the plantations could not be met by indigenous and European sources, the planters brought, in increasingly larger numbers, slave labour from Africa.

Until 1750, captured and enslaved African people were transported to Barbados by the Royal African Company and Dutch traders, who captured people from the Gold Coast (present day Ghana, Togo, Dahomey and Western Nigeria).⁶³

From the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries Newton Plantation was one of Barbados's major sugar plantations which also contained the Newton Burial Ground to inter its enslaved workers when they died. Historians Jerome Handler and Frederick Lange estimated that at least 1000 enslaved African workers died on Newton plantation between 1670 and 1833, and an estimated 570 people were interred at Newton Burial Ground.⁶⁴ From its establishment until emancipation, the enslaved people on the plantation numbered between 200-300.

By the time of his death in 1684 Samuel Newton was a substantial landowner and slaveowner, leaving his property in land and people to his wife and son John. John (1667-1706) had eight children, and the eldest, called Samuel (b.1695) became his sole heir.

John Newton (1717-1783)

Samuel Newton's son John was baptised at Kings Bromley, Staffordshire and was typical of the third generation planter class in that he spent a portion of his early and adult years in Barbados, where he married his first wife Elizabeth Alleyne in 1740. Elizabeth was the daughter of Reynold Alleyne of St James parish, Barbados, a planter wealthy enough to provide a dowry of £2000 toward the marriage (nearly half a million pounds in 2022). When Reynold Alleyne died in 1749, Elizabeth and her sister Judith inherited their father's property, Mount Alleyne Plantation; and when Judith died unmarried in 1763, it passed to

62 Allan Howard, 'The Character of John Lane' (Kings Bromley Historians 2020)

63 UNESCO World Heritage Tentative List Nomination for The Story of Sugar and Rum: The Industrial Heritage of Barbados

64 Jerome Handler and Frederick Lange, *Plantation Slavery in Barbados* (Harvard University Press 1978). The Newton Plantation Collection, digitised by the Barbados Museum and Historical Society is available to view online [https://lcdl.library.cofc.edu/lcdl/catalog?ffcollection_titleInfo_title_facet\[\]=Newton+Plantation+Collection](https://lcdl.library.cofc.edu/lcdl/catalog?ffcollection_titleInfo_title_facet[]=Newton+Plantation+Collection)

Newton.⁶⁵ In 1756 Newton had acquired another plantation, called Seawells.⁶⁶ Consequently, Newton was in possession, through marriage and inheritance of three sugar plantations and over 600 enslaved workers.

In 1768 Newton found himself embroiled in a legal case involving one of the enslaved people he brought to England.

Elizabeth Alleyne Newton's enslaved maid Mary accompanied her, her husband and her sister Judith Alleyne on a trip to England, along with Judith's manservant, John Hylas.⁶⁷ In 1758 Hylas and Mary received permission to marry from Newton and Alleyne; however, in 1763 Judith died and in an unspecified year, possibly the year Judith died, Hylas 'left the family,' again with Newton's consent. In 1766 Newton sent Mary, Hylas' wife back to Barbados and Hylas sued Newton for the return of his wife, who he claimed had been taken away without his consent and sought monetary damages.⁶⁸ The case was heard before the Court of Common Pleas on 3rd December 1768, where the judge ruled in favour of Hylas, and Newton was bound to bring Mary back from Barbados within six months or face a penalty.

The case caught the interest of Granville Sharp, who had three years earlier in 1765 been inspired by the plight of Jonathan Strong, a young Caribbean man who had been badly beaten by his master and left destitute on the streets of London. When the master attempted to return Strong back to the West Indies, Sharp successfully brought his case before the lord mayor. From then on Sharp devoted his time to studying the legality of slavery in England. Consequently, he attended the trial of Hylas v. Newton, and took detailed notes.

The case of Hylas v Newton was an important precedent for the celebrated *Somerset* case of 1772, in which Sharp played a key role, influenced by this earlier case which addressed the legal status of enslaved people in England.

After the death of his wife Newton returned to England permanently and purchased Spettisbury House in 1761. As a now absentee planter Newton had three plantations, and 600 enslaved workers which enabled him to purchase his own country house separate from his parents who lived in Kings Bromley Hall. His decision to settle at Spettisbury may have been influenced by the Drax family, who had substantial properties and enslaved people in Barbados and also owned land around Spettisbury and Wimborne in Dorset. John Newton was probably acquainted with the Draxes and may have wished to maintain connections with them in England; moreover, before Newton bought Spettisbury, a Mr Drax had rented it.

65 *Genealogies of Barbados Families: From Caribbeana and the Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society*, compiled by James C Brandow, (Genealogical Publishing Co. Inc Baltimore, Maryland 1983), p. 19

66 The land had been in the possession of his great grandfather Samuel, but the plantation on the land belonged to the then attorney general Richard Seawell in 1680. In 1714 part of the plantation was sold to one Edward Charnock; in 1745 the ownership of both plantations moved to the Newton Family. Legacies of British Slave Ownership, Seawells Plantation <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/599> accessed 31st December 2021

67 It isn't clear whether Elizabeth travelled to England with them, or when and where she died.

68 Katherine Paugh, *The Politics of Reproduction: Race, Medicine and Fertility in the Age of Abolition* (Oxford University Press 2017) Chapter 8

Lichfield poet Anna Seward, known as the 'Swan of Lichfield', was acquainted with the Newtons of Kings Bromley and in 1788 she wrote to her friend and abolitionist Josiah Wedgwood about the conversations she'd had with John Newton on the matter of slavery:

Let me, however, do myself justice to observe, that my heart has always recoiled with horror from the miseries which I heard were inflicted on the negro slaves; but I have had long acquaintance with a Mr. Newton of this place, who made a large fortune in the East [sic], where slavery pervades every opulent establishment. He constantly assured me that the purchase, employment, and strict discipline of the negroes were absolutely necessary to maintain our empire, and our commerce in the indies. As constantly did he affirm, that they were of a nature so sordid and insensible, as to render necessary a considerable degree of severity, and to make much lenity alike injurious to the indulger and the indulged; that the accounts of the cruelties practised upon the slaves by their masters was false, or at least infinitely exaggerated.⁶⁹

In this extract Seward appears to have been convinced and reassured by Newton's assertions that enslavement was a necessary institution for the good of the country and for the enslaved themselves.

In 1777 Newton sold Spettisbury House and moved into Kings Bromley Hall, Staffordshire after his mother's death. When Newton died in 1783, he left Mount Alleyne in trust to Sir John Gay Alleyne, and Seawells and Newton to his sisters Dame Sarah Holte and Elizabeth Newton.

In 1794 John Lane, along with his brother Thomas inherited from Elizabeth Newton, his distant cousin, most of the land in Kings Bromley parish, as well as Seawells plantation and 180 enslaved workers. Thomas Lane inherited Newtons plantation. John Lane had been working as a barrister and once he received his inheritance, he gave up his job to be part of the land owning gentry. The estates in Barbados were jointly administered by Thomas and John until 1820 when the properties were divided; John received Seawells, and Thomas received Newtons. John became part of the Staffordshire establishment, becoming Deputy Lieutenant and Sheriff of Staffordshire in 1807. A plaque in the Chancel of All Saints Kings Bromley, commemorates his life.⁷⁰

According to the LBS database Thomas's youngest son Richard made a successful claim for compensation, receiving £5538 for the enslaved workers on Newtons Plantation. John Newton Lane received £4746 for Seawells.

Charles Chetwynd-Talbot 2nd Earl Talbot (1777-1849)

Earl Talbot was awarded compensation for two plantations in Jamaica as executor and trustee of his wife's brother in law, Sir Rose Price. The Price family owned large sugar plantations in Jamaica; they descended from Francis Price (1635-1689), believed to be a junior officer during England's capture of the island from the Spanish in 1655. Francis acquired his first plantation in 1663 and acquired a further 840 acres in 1670 which he named Worthy Park. Worthy Park passed through the hands of subsequent members of the Price family; Francis Price's great-great-great grandson Rose Price (1768-1834) was

69 A Constable, *Letters of Anna Seward, 1784-1807* (Edinburgh 1811)

70 I am grateful to the research of Allan Howard on the Lane brothers. See Allen Howard, 'The Character of John Lane' (Kings Bromley Historians) <https://e-voice.org.uk/kbhistorians/assets/documents/the-character-of-john-lane> Accessed 31 Dec. 21

described as a 'dynast in in the classic West Indian mould.'⁷¹ Educated at Penzance Grammar School, Harrow and Oxford, Price was a typical example of imperial success in that he enjoyed the benefits of an English country estate, Trengwainton House in Cornwall that he bought using his inherited West Indian fortune. After a century of operation, the profits and output of Worthy Park began to deteriorate, which prompted John Price (1738-1797) to send his son Rose to Jamaica in 1791 to restore efficient management to the plantation. He made detailed records of his efforts to increase productivity, which included purchasing an additional 150 enslaved people, expanding their number to 500, which increased sugar cane production by 25%.

It was on the strength of his fortune and social position that Price married Elizabeth Lambart in 1795 on his return from Jamaica, niece of the second Lord Sherborne. Elizabeth's sister Frances subsequently married Charles Chetwynd-Talbot and the two men became close personal friends and business partners, and through this relationship Rose Price was made a baronet in 1815.⁷²

Talbot was the son of John, 1st Earl Talbot of Hensol (1750-1793) and succeeded to the peerage on the death of his father. He married Frances Thomasine, eldest daughter of Charles Lambart of County Meath, Ireland. His ancestral home, Ingestre Hall in Staffordshire is a Jacobean red brick mansion which was rebuilt in the early 19th century by John Nash. Over time, Talbot became increasingly involved in Price's finances, taking over the debt and mortgages of the heirs of several original creditors. This enabled Price to make investments into his Jamaican properties, purchasing additional pens and equipment to improve the crushing of sugar cane. He also increased the acreage of Worthy Park to over 4,000; these investments were made with the help of the Talbots, who also purchased enslaved workers. Compensation claims records show that all the enslaved on Worthy Park and Mickleton Pen were owned by the Talbots.⁷³

When Price made his will in 1831, the Earl of Talbot, his sons Viscount Ingestre and the Hon. John Talbot and Price's uncle Lord Sherborne were legatees as well as trustees.

Consequently, they were awarded the compensation for Worthy Park and Mickleton Pen in St Thomas in the Vale. This totalled £4,560, (£631,000 in today's money).⁷⁴

Chetwynd-Talbots involvement in slave ownership came through his relationship with Price, whose family had owned enslaved African workers and benefited from their labour for generations. It demonstrates another avenue into slave ownership – and what the Talbots used their compensation award for is another possibly interesting piece of research.

William Henry Vane, 1st Duke Cleveland, Earl of Darlington, Baron Raby of Raby Castle (1766-1842)

According to the Legacies of British Slave Ownership database the Earl of Darlington became a slave and plantation owner 'through complex intermarriage of the males of the family with females from the Lowther family whose wealth was founded on slavery in Barbados.'⁷⁵ His mother Margaret Lowther was the daughter of Robert Lowther (1681-1745), governor of

71 Michael Craton and James Walvin, *A Jamaican Plantation: The History of Worthy Park 1670-1970* (WH Allen, London and New York 1970) p.185

72 Ibid

73 Ibid, p.187

74 Legacies of British Slave Ownership Database <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/20032> accessed 12th November 2021

75 Legacies of British Slave Ownership database <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/4843> accessed 4th November 2021

Barbados. Lowther married Joan Frere, a much older wealthy widow and coheirress of a Barbados plantation which improved his financial circumstances. Receiving an income of £3000 per year (over £415,000 today) Lowther was able to save the family home, Maulds Meaburn in Cumbria and also realise his political ambitions.⁷⁶ Lowther was appointed governor of Barbados in 1711, where his tenure was a contentious one, marred by a litany of disagreements and falling outs with many of the colony's leading officials. Lowther's economic position was dramatically transformed by the profits of plantation ownership and government office in Barbados. Lowther's second marriage to Katherine Pennington, daughter of Sir Joseph Pennington (landowner and politician) bore five children, who also benefitted from the social and economic advantages that slave ownership brought. One daughter Margaret Lowther, who married Henry Vane, 2nd Earl of Darlington – the third earl's parents. The other Lowther siblings included in particular Sir James Lowther, Earl of Lonsdale (1736-1802) who was a wealthy landowner and politician, who inherited Lowther plantation from his father, before it passed to Vane. Vane succeeded his father's lands and estates in the north of England. The earl also inherited Lowther plantation in Christchurch, Barbados and was joint owner with Lord William Powlett from 1817 to 1834, acting as an absentee landlord, the day to day operations managed by attorneys.⁷⁷ His claim for compensation was successful, receiving £4854 (over £671,000 in today's money) for the 233 enslaved people working on the plantation.

The Earl of Darlington's links with Wolverhampton are based on the fact that Darlington Street, one of the best known principal roads in the city centre, was constructed on land that belonged to him. He sold it to the town commissioners for £350 per acre, allowing a direct route through the centre of the city. The road was named after Darlington; other streets – Vane Street, Raby Street and Cleveland Street were also named after the titles he acquired through his life, as well as Bath Road, when the landed estates of the Countess of Bath were passed on to him.⁷⁸ Darlington Street was part of a town improvement project to modernise and improve the layout of the streets.

Slave ownership history of the Earls of Dudley

John William Ward, 4th Viscount of Dudley and Ward, later 1st Earl of Dudley (1781-1833) was an MP for various constituencies from 1802 to 1823, and after becoming an earl he served as a member of the House of Lords and as foreign secretary from 1827 to 1828. In parliament he spoke against slavery abolition, instead promoting the alternative policy proposed by George Canning in 1823, to ameliorate of the conditions of the enslaved population in the British Caribbean that would, as the supporters of this policy asserted, over time prepare them for eventual emancipation.⁷⁹

76 Robert Lowther (1681-1745), History of Parliament Online <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/lowther-robert-1681-1745> accessed 5th November 2021

77 It has been beyond the scope of this report to undertake a study of the profitability of Lowther plantation when it was in the possession of the earl. Between 1714 and 1721 the Lowthers received an annual profit of over £2000

78 Express and Star, 2nd October 2021. Key Road through Wolverhampton city centre is now 200 years old <https://www.expressandstar.com/news/Features/2021/10/02/key-road-through-wolverhampton-city-centre-is-now-200-years-old/> accessed November 2021

79 D.R. Fisher, 'John William Ward, Earl of Dudley', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, accessed 13th December 2021

Ward was the only child of William Ward (1750-1823), third Viscount, from whom he inherited extensive estates in Staffordshire and Worcestershire which contained tremendous coal and mineral deposits that had been in the Dudley family for generations. The family seats were Himley Hall and Dudley Castle.

Another source of wealth came from Dudley's inherited Jamaican estates held in trust to his father by his paternal grandmother Mary, Lady Viscountess Dudley and Ward (nee Carver). Mary Carver inherited three plantations and a pen (used to rear livestock) in Clarendon parish from her father John Carver (or Carvor): Rymesbury (125 enslaved), Rymesbury Pen, Whitney (304 enslaved) and New Yarmouth (236 enslaved), in Vere parish (merged into Clarendon parish in 1866).⁸⁰ In total these properties contained 665 enslaved workers who produced sugar, rum and coffee and reared cattle. According to historian Barry Higman, Whitney produced a high ratio of sugar to its acres; requiring only 1.4 acres of cane to make one ton of sugar.⁸¹

When Ward died childless in 1833, the chief beneficiary of his will was his cousin, Rev. William Ward (1781-1835), and his estates were held in trust for Rev. William's son, also called William (1817-1885). This William received the bulk of Ward's great fortune. Four men were appointed as trustees and executors to the Earl of Dudley's estates; John Benbow, a solicitor who served as MP of Dudley (1844-1855); Francis Downing, Lord Dudley's principal mining and minerals agent and mayor of Dudley (1818-19); Edward Littleton, Baron Hatherton, who had extensive interests in Cannock and Walsall (and who also served as Lord Lieutenant of Staffordshire)⁸²; and Henry Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter. All men appear in the compensation records for these plantations because they were the trustees and executors of the will of John William Ward, earl of Dudley. For these properties, the trustees were awarded £12,728, in today's money over £1.7 million. None of these men were slaveowners prior to making their claim; however, that the compensation was awarded to them demonstrates how money generated through slave ownership was not necessarily inherited through marriage or passed down to heirs. William Ward, son of Rev William Ward expanded the family's wealth significantly through their Black Country industry, including the Round Hill ironworks, 200 mines and a private railway system.⁸³ There is no evidence to confirm these investments made in the Victorian era were used with money generated from enslavement; however, money generated in John William Wards and his father's lifetimes certainly was founded through money from their enslaved workers in the Caribbean. Witley Court, which was purchased in 1837, was very likely purchased using money created through slave ownership.

Research into the four trustees to ascertain how they spent the compensation they received for the enslaved on Wards plantations, and how they invested it, for example, would be an important contribution to the understanding of how money acquired through slave ownership, both direct and indirect, was invested into the British economy.⁸⁴

80 Legacies of British Slave Ownership Database

81 B.W. Higman, *Jamaica Surveyed: plantation maps and plans of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries* (Institute of Jamaica Publications Ltd 1988), pp.118-121.

82 The Earl was also involved in setting up of London University in 1826

83 I am grateful for the research of local historian Simon Briercliffe on slavery and the Black Country

84 Littleton made significant improvements to Teddesley Hall the Hatherton family seat. It may be that the money he received in compensation for Dudley's plantations in Jamaica funded those improvements.

Conclusions

This research audit is an attempt to identify and clarify the links between the Black Country and transatlantic enslavement, and it is clear that the links run very deep, not just through the built environment and through slave ownership, but also through the manufactured items made from iron. Without slavery, a broad range of economies would not have existed, which adds further layers to the complex nature of the history of transatlantic enslavement. The scholarship on the Black Country and slavery reveal how the Atlantic slave economy has left an indelible mark on the region that has however, been largely underexplored. Much of the scholarship points to this history in oblique ways, without explicitly stating that enslavement was responsible for the economic expansion of the region in the eighteenth century. The question whether this matters or not is not the responsibility of this audit; rather, the presentation and dissemination of this research is a way forward to encourage healthy debate among the citizens of the Black Country to decide how its history ought to be remembered, interpreted and presented.

The murder of George Floyd by the former police officer Derek Chauvin in 2020 as the world was in quarantine during the COVID pandemic, was in some ways a reckoning with racial injustice. People, unable to go on with their lives that holds a myriad of distractions were forced to consider the impact of racial discrimination on people of African heritage in a new way. One of the responses here in the UK was to pledge to undertake research of Britain's links to transatlantic enslavement, in the built environment, the law, and in individuals who invested in slave trading and plantations. 2020 also saw the removal of the statue of Edward Colston from its plinth in Bristol City centre and unceremoniously dumped into Bristol Harbour. Colston, responsible for the transportation of over 80,000 African men women and children as deputy director of the Royal African Company and regarded as one of Bristol's leading philanthropists, had long been a source of tension between the mainly African Caribbean residents and the city of Bristol administrators who were reluctant to acknowledge Colston's role in so much violence against African bodies, preferring instead to celebrate his gifts to the city.

As the commitment to tackling racial inequality and discrimination moves down the list of priorities as the world slowly returns to normal, will the work on uncovering the wealth generated by the business of slavery, as expressed in this particular case the industrial heritage, continue as a form of reparative history? This audit has shown that the connections can be elusive, as most people did not make their wealth solely through trading in enslaved people or plantation and slave ownership. The Legacies of British Slave Ownership demonstrates that slave ownership itself was extremely complex, with many people attached directly and indirectly to it through marriage, inheritance, mortgages and trusteeship. Similarly with the industrial heritage of the Black Country, or any other industrial region that benefitted from the Atlantic economy, there are trails – from ironmonger to merchant to investor, for example that may be difficult, if not impossible to trace.

Moving forward independent and academic historians need to work together to help connect to the different aspects of this history. This audit, for example has relied on both local and academic history. This means an exploration of industrial history, technical history, genealogy and the historical black presence. The unpicking of the connections between the

local industries, and families that were in control of them requires different areas of historical research.

This audit has also shown that specialist and local knowledge was essential to putting the pieces of the puzzle together. Consultation of sources on nail manufacture, individuals involved in the iron trade and ironmongery was valuable to its creation. For the most part this audit has relied on secondary source research, as primary sources have proved difficult to locate, or it has been outside its scope to consult them. It is important that researchers are afforded more time to undertake more in depth research to fully understand the depths of Black Country links to enslavement.

Suggestions for further research

- It was clear that there was a supply chain that existed between merchants supplying ironware to the West Indies, the iron furnaces that produced the iron, the individuals that made the tools and other ironware, and the middlemen who sold the iron (I realise I may not have got this in the correct order). There needs to be an unpicking of the process; an identification of merchants trading to the West Indies, what ironware they were trading, which forges in the Black Country they were working with. The letter books of Liverpool merchant William Davenport, Samuel Galton and James Farmer, or the Gibbons family may be excellent starting points for considering individual case studies that give attention to their business dealings with iron, looking at what was going to the West Indies, as what types of tools, to which plantations.
- Investigations into whether archives exist for forges like Wednesbury. These may be held privately
- Investigations into the archives for M&W Grazebrook which operated works in Netherton Dudley, since 1750 (available at Dudley Archive and Local history service); and the Horseley Iron Co., founded in 1781 and was known in 1943 as the Horseley Bridge and Thomas Piggott Ltd. (available at Staffordshire and Stoke on Trent Archive Service)
- Identifying the money trail into local infrastructure -local communication or transport. Did families with wealth from transatlantic enslavement invest in the built environment like churches, alms-houses, village halls, workers housing
- How much slavery wealth was invested locally, like improving transport links between the Black Country and Birmingham, or Bristol or Liverpool, to allow smoother transport of goods being exported to the West Indies?
- More research is needed to ascertain what endowments, if any were made to the University of Wolverhampton, art galleries, museums, town halls, theatres
- To what extent is slavery obscured in historic parks in the Black Country as philanthropic donations?

APPENDIX

NAME	PLANTATION/ENSLAVED	AMOUNT AWARDED
CHARLES ASHE A' COURT ESQ 1785-1861	Lamberts (St Kitts) 174 enslaved https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/23767 https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/46457 Shared compensation with Charles Marsham, 2nd Earl Romney and Sir Thomas Neave, 2 nd Bart (Ashe A' Court's marriage to Anna Maria Douglas (who inherited St Kitts plantations through her late father Sir James Douglas) gave him a claim to compensation; Romney had several plantations in St Kitts; the basis of Neave's claim is unclear, although his family owned several plantations. It's possible he may have held a mortgage on the property Amington Hall grounds listed in Parks and Gardens https://www.parksandgardens.org/places/amington-hall	£2944 4s 6d
CHARLES ADAMS D.1835 CHARLES HADEN ADAMS	1 enslaved person, Trinidad https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/27858 https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/27858	£74 2s 6d
SIR REYNOLD ABEL ALLEYNE 2ND BART. 1789-1870	River (Barbados), 64 Bawdens (Barbados) 188 Cabbage Tree Hall Barbados 121 https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2453 https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/media-new/pdfs/alleyneenslavedtreatment1824.pdf https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Alleyne-14 Have not been able to ascertain whether Nuttal House still stands, but some historical information on the property is available – from 1986-1992 it was a residential home called The Towers	£8370
EDWARD ANSON 1775-1837	Lear's (Barbados) 325 https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146630685 Information on Bentley Hall http://www.historywebsite.co.uk/articles/Hall/BentleyHall.htm	Unsuccessful claimant £6956 awarded to others
SIR GEORGE ANSON 1769-1849	Lear's (Barbados) 325 https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/-1678371004	Unsuccessful claimant £6956 awarded to others
MEHETABEL AUSTIN (NEE PIERCY) D.1852	Land of Plenty (British Guiana) 369 https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/41550	£19,514
JOHN COUSENS D.1799	Left his plantations in Jamaica to George and Thomas Hibbert, who may have made compensation applications https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146647103	
DR HENRY BASTON 1809-1892	Cedar Valley, Jamaica https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146654527 No other information	
JOHN HEYLIGER BURT D.1817	High Sherriff of Staffordshire; heir to slave property in St Croix https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146644481 http://coltonhouse.com/about-us/history-house/	

JOHN FLOWERS 1798-1864	Rock (Jamaica) 3 Trelawny, Jamaica 10 https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/21480	£335
REV. GEORGE GREEN D.1819	Mortgagee of enslaved people in Nevis https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146666827	
THOMAS KIRKPATRICK HALL 1776-1865	Kirkpatrick Hall Estate (Jamaica), 138 Stapleton Pen (Jamaica), 28 Irwin Estate (Jamaica) 228 Tryall (Jamaica) 232 https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/18085 High Sherriff of Staffordshire, 1817-1818 https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/9a718f90-db20-4444-9fd7-8b9d298b9d6d	£12,259
ROBERT JOHN HARPER D.1846	6 enslaved in St James Parish Jamaica Duff House (Jamaica), 47 (unsuccessful claimant) https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/18092	£116 13s 3d
RICHARD HINKLEY	New Canaan Estate (Jamaica) 174 https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/46157 Trustee of George William Ricketts (owner of the estate)	£3659 4s 4d
EDWARD JERVIS JERVIS (NE RICKETTS) 2ND VISCOUNT ST VINCENT 1767-1859	East Prospect Estate (Jamaica) 218 West Prospect Estate (Jamaica) 141 Canaan Estate (Jamaica) 200 https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/14331	£10,610
REV. JOHN PIKE JONES D.1833	Vauxhall (Jamaica) 109 Executor of estate for Mrs Elizabeth Smyth https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/1285693245	£1946 9s 10d
HENRY BOWYER LANE 1782-1837	Spring Valley (Jamaica) 210 https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/43548 Father of Henry Joseph Bowyer Lane, prominent architect in Toronto, Canada	£4044 17s 9d
JOHN NEWTON LANE 1800-1869	See case study of the Newtons of Kings Bromley Elizabeth Newton https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146650161 Dame Sarah Holte (nee Newton) https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146650159 John Newton (brother to above) https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146643091	
EDWARD LITTLETON, 1ST BARON HATHERTON 1791-1863	See case study on the Earl of Dudley – Littleton as one of the four trustees to the estate https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/43677	
THOMAS MCKENZIE D.1822 MARY MCKENZIE D.1855 THOMAS MCKENZIE JUNIOR D.1849	McKenzie a slave owner in Jamaica – relocated to Staffordshire. Mary McKenzie his daughter in law who made an unsuccessful compensation counter claim for the enslaved people on Air Mount plantation https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146653169	
SIR WILLIAM PARKER 1ST BART (1781-1866)	Canaan Estate (Jamaica) 200 awarded share of compensation as a trustee and member of the Jervis family (see Edward Jervis' entry above)	Share of £3529

SIR CHARLES OAKLEY 1ST BART 1751-1826	https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/46475 https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146650241 Through financing of his sons in law he became mortgagee in possession of two estates in Jamaica
FRANCES COCKBURN SIMS 1804-1856	Made two separate claims for enslaved at Farm Pen, Jamaica: 9 enslaved and 3 enslaved £278 https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/17638
THOMAS TABBERNOR D.1834	Owned Milk Pen in Vere Jamaica – did not make a claim
WILLIAM TABBERNOR 1798-? (BROTHER?) HANNAH TABBERNOR 1806-1838 (WIFE OF THOMAS TABBERNOR, PREVIOUS OWNER OF PLANTATIONS)	Park Hall Estate (Jamaica) 134 £3319 Milk Pen (Jamaica) 21 https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/16757 https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/43660