

Gloucester City Council

Gloucester City Monuments Review draft

Review of all monuments, statues and plaques within the City
connected with the Trans-Atlantic trafficking of enslaved Africans

Andrew Armstrong (Ed)

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Acknowledgements

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The project was coordinated by Andrew Armstrong, who also edited the report, and is responsible for any errors.

1. Introduction

1.1. On Thursday 9th July 2020 the following motion was passed at a meeting of the Council:

'Council is appalled by and condemns the recent killing of George Floyd in Minneapolis, USA.

Council recognises and supports the 'Black Lives Matter' efforts to raise awareness of racial inequality and institutionalised racism within the United Kingdom, however deplores any violence and damage in the name of the campaign.

Council notes that black people in the United Kingdom are:

- *8 x more likely to be stopped as part of 'stop and search laws' than white people*
- *More likely to be in low paid jobs or unemployed*
- *More likely to live in poor housing conditions*
- *Less likely to have good educational opportunities*
- *More likely to die from the COVID-19 pandemic*

Council recognises that whilst we have generally good community relations in the City, and these are reinforced by our cross party equalities working group we remain committed to tackling racial discrimination and working with our BAME community to address issues of racial discrimination.

Council resolves to:

- *Write to the American Ambassador on behalf of the City setting out our deep concerns and condemnation at the killing of George Floyd.*
- *Set up a Commission with partner organisations in the City including the Police & Crime Commissioner, County Council, NHS, the Civic Trust and representatives of BAME community to review race relations in Gloucester with a view to producing recommendations to improve the lives of and enhance opportunities for BAME communities within the City.*
- *Undertake a review of all monuments, statues and plaques including Bakers Quay within the City connected with the slave trade/ plantation ownership and for Cabinet and Scrutiny to consider its recommendations, taking advice from the Commission, and further resolves to review the way in which the contribution of minority communities is presented as part of the City's history, including at the Museum of Gloucester.'*

1.2. This report seeks to address the third of the above actions – and is specifically concerned with the results of a review of all monuments, statues and plaques within the City connected with the Trans-Atlantic trafficking of enslaved Africans.

2. Aims

- 2.1. This report consists of a list of identified monuments, statues, plaques and street names (hereafter 'heritage assets') identified during the monuments review project. It discusses individuals linked to the Trans-Atlantic trafficking of enslaved Africans in alphabetical order. These are either national figures who are in some way memorialised in Gloucester, or local figures who are likewise linked.
- 2.2. This report discusses each individual in turn and includes a summary of that individual's links to the slavery economy. With regard to each heritage asset related to that individual the following is outlined:
 - The location of the heritage asset;
 - A description;
 - A summary discussion of the asset; and
 - Recommendations for the council to consider.
- 2.3. Where this review has identified individuals with links both to Gloucester and the slavery economy, but no obvious heritage assets, they are also discussed as above. This has been done to avoid any doubt that the individual concerned has been noted and to inform future consideration of this topic in the city.
- 2.4. There has previously been very little research into this topic with regard to Gloucester. As a result, the compiling of this report has required a certain amount of original research. Whilst not a requirement of the motion, this detailed report includes that research to justify the inclusion of individuals or assets. Where information is unclear that has also been highlighted.
- 2.5. This report has been submitted first to the Gloucester City Commission to Review Race Relations for comment. Those recommendations endorsed by the commission are outlined in blue in the 'General Recommendations' and 'Results' sections.

3. Terms of reference

3.1. The motion in support of Black Lives Matter committed the council to a review of 'all monuments, statues and plaques including Bakers Quay within the City connected with the slave trade/ plantation ownership'. For the purposes of this project we have assumed the following:

- That monuments includes buildings, structures and public spaces;
- That plaques include educational and information plaques as well as memorials; and
- That unless there is a necessary exception¹ this project will not include funerary monuments.

3.2. For ease of reference these monuments, statues and plaques will be referred to hereafter as 'heritage assets'. The project was undertaken to identify:

- Heritage assets linked to individuals or organisations involved in, or benefiting from, the slave trade or plantation ownership; and
- Heritage assets constructed using funds from the slave trade or plantation ownership (including income from government compensation following abolition).

¹ A necessary exception in this case would be where a funerary monument promoted or commemorated the life of an individual linked to the slave trade or plantation ownership.

4. Language

- 4.1. In general this report follows the guidance for language outlined in the UK government style guide for 'writing about ethnicity' which is available here: <https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk/style-guide/writing-about-ethnicity>
- 4.2. However, given the subject matter of this report, the authors have in certain situations considered it necessary to quote directly from historic sources in order to properly articulate the role of the individual or institution concerned. Where this has been done the report does contain historic language which would today be considered offensive and includes descriptions that may be upsetting.
- 4.3. In line with current generally accepted practice this report will refer to the 'Trans-Atlantic trafficking of enslaved Africans' and the 'Transatlantic Slavery Economy'.
- 4.4. **Please note:** the subject matter of this report is at times very unpleasant, it does at times discuss topics that may be distressing.

DRAFT

5. Context

What was the Transatlantic Slavery Economy?

- 5.1. The recent Historic England study 'The Transatlantic Slave Economy and England's Built Environment: A Research Audit' (Historic England 2020) includes useful discussion of the transatlantic slavery economy which caused the trafficking of enslaved Africans across the Atlantic. That study states in part:

'England's role in the transatlantic slavery economy was part of a highly lucrative network of global commerce existing between Britain, West Africa, Virginia and other slave-holding British colonies in North America, and British territories in the Caribbean. It was a key component of Britain's transformation into a world power in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At its core was the exploitation of enslaved people of African descent to maximise profits from the plantation economies, resulting in material benefit for British colonial and metropolitan societies. English merchants were involved in the early Spanish and Portuguese slave economies initiated in the 1400s which were themselves linked to the trade in Mediterranean goods. These Mediterranean trade networks encouraged early British forays into the Atlantic slave economy in the later sixteenth century by Elizabethan buccaneers or privateers such as John Hawkins and Francis Drake. Many Englishmen began to settle in the Americas as traders, planters, farmers, soldiers and sailors. Merchant houses emerged in English ports. The first colonies of the British Empire were founded in Virginia (1607) and Barbados (1625), where the construction of the English plantation system began. Jamaica was secured in 1655 from Spain and became a powerhouse of the British Atlantic slave economy.'

Cheap labour was central to the economic prosperity of the plantations. The British government encouraged transatlantic slavery on a large scale through the provision of royal charters to trading companies. The largest was the Royal African Company (RAC), set up by the Stuart family (on the throne from 1660) and London merchants, successor to an earlier monopoly, the Company of Royal Adventurers Trading to Africa. The RAC was granted a chartered monopoly over the English slave trade by Charles II in 1672 and established trading posts on the West African coast, with the assistance of the army and navy. Until 1698 London enjoyed a monopoly over the trade by royal charter, the profits making a major contribution to the increase in the financial power of London merchants. Between 1672 and 1740 the RAC operated a monopoly over the transatlantic slave trade and shipped more African slaves (around 150,000) than any other single organisation in the history of the trade. Founded in 1711, the South Sea Company was a British company that traded in South America. It is best known for creating new investment schemes that led to the disastrous financial crash, the South Sea Bubble, in 1720, but the business of the South Sea Company was slave trading. The Spanish crown controlled the right (or Asiento) to import slaves into their colonies in the Caribbean and South America. The English acquired this right in 1713 as part of the treaty ending the War of the Spanish Succession.

Such heavy investment meant that by the eighteenth century, British slave ships and merchants dominated the Atlantic slave economy, a global business involving

a number of nations. British capital facilitated its expansion to a vast, industrial scale. London was the leading slaving port until the early/mid-eighteenth century when Bristol was briefly dominant, followed by Liverpool. The ports of Lancaster and Whitehaven were also involved, as were other smaller ports. While beyond the scope of this audit, it must be remembered that the Atlantic slave economy was a component part of a complex global economy with streams of wealth created from trade in different parts of the British Empire. The East India Company (established in 1600) was a chartered monopoly controlling trade with India, East and Southeast Asia, and was enormously influential. As shall be seen, some of the goods traded in the transatlantic slave economy came from India. Many individuals and businesses had investments in both the East and West Indies, as they were then known'

- 5.2. That study is available on the Historic England website here: <https://research.historicengland.org.uk/Report.aspx?i=16784> and is a good introduction to the topic. The UCL 'Legacies of British Slave Ownership' website also provides useful background information <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/project/context/>

The Abolition of Slavery Compensation Act and 'Intangible' Links in Gloucester

- 5.3. Considerable research has been conducted on British connections with slavery via analysis of the records of the Compensation Act. The UCL Legacies of British Slave-Ownership project has been responsible for ground-breaking research in this. It notes the ways in which the abolition of slavery in 1833 was a long drawn out process for enslaved persons that also came with compensation for slave-owners: 'in place of slavery the negotiated settlement established a system of apprenticeship, tying the newly freed men and women into another form of unfree labour for fixed terms. It granted £20 million in compensation, to be paid by British taxpayers to the former slave-owners.'² At the time this debt represented 40% of national budget at the time, making it 'the largest pay-out in British history' until 2008.³
- 5.4. 'A commissioned group of officials were appointed by Parliament to determine who should receive what and on what basis. They carefully documented all claims made and all monies disbursed. The effect of this is that there is an extraordinary set of records, held in the National Archives at Kew, of the claimants and of the men, women and children that owners claimed as their 'property' and the monetary values that were assigned to them. If the claims were validated, having been checked in the relevant colonies, the owner received compensation. The amounts were fixed according to the classification of each individual - their gender, age, type of work and level of skill - and the level of productivity, and therefore profitability, of the different islands and territories. The average value of a slave in British Guiana (now Guyana), for example, was judged to be considerably higher than that in Jamaica. The compensation records also provide us with a snapshot of slave owners in 1834, in Britain as well as the Caribbean, Mauritius and the Cape. From Nick Draper's initial research, *The Price of Emancipation* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), it is clear that approximately half of the £20 million stayed in Britain.'

² Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/project/project> [accessed 17/6/2021]

³ David Olusoga, *Black and British: A Forgotten History* (MacMillan: London, 2016), p. 230.

- 5.5. '... in addition to the many absentee planters, bankers and financiers directly concerned with the business of sugar and slavery, there were many other types of claimant: clergymen, for example, or the widows and single women, some of whom had been left property in the enslaved in trust. Slave ownership was spread across the British Isles, by no means confined to the old slaving ports, and included men and women of varied ages, ranging from the aristocracy and gentry to sections of the middle classes.'⁴
- 5.6. Gloucester represents various examples of the above. Records in the Legacies of British Slavery database show that there were 17 individuals linked with compensation claims in Gloucester and the surrounding area. While some of these individuals are listed on this report as having had prominent roles in the city with more tangible links to slavery (such as Samuel Baker and Thomas Phillpotts mentioned in the report), there were others who received varying awards, or were unsuccessful in their claims. These represent some of more intangible links with slavery in Gloucester.

The 'Black Lives Matter' (BLM) Movement

- 5.7. The original Black Lives Matter movement was founded in the US in 2013 by three Black women - Patrisse Cullors, Alicia Garza and Opal Tometi - in response to the acquittal of George Zimmerman for the killing of Black teenager Trayvon Martin in Florida in 2012. The movement was focused on challenging the disproportionate levels of police brutality towards African Americans, although it also focused on other elements of racial inequality and injustice. It grew especially on social media via the use of the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter, which became the rallying message means by which protests gathered momentum and media attention. The movement was characterized by a decentralized organisational structure, which allowed various local versions and events to take place. A number of related organizations also emerged such as the Black Lives Matter Network and the Movement for Black Lives. Some of these organisations regarded themselves as anti-capitalist as well as anti-racist.
- 5.8. The first chapter of Black Lives Matter in the UK emerged in 2015 in Nottingham, and the following year saw a number of protests where activists took part in a 'national shutdown' to bring attention to both issues of racial discrimination in Britain as well as the climate emergency. In Britain the protests were met with substantial scepticism and surprise, as many surveys indicated most people associated racial inequality as more of an American issue. However, following the murder of George Floyd in 2020, UK based activists, especially black women such as Kerry Nugent and Liza Bilal, and others that had been involved in climate-centred activism, were able to use their networks and social media platforms to initiate a number of large high-profile protests around the country. These protests also began to focus on the way the British media, the establishment and popular culture discuss and ignore many aspects of the nation's colonial and imperial history. While different parts of the movement exhibited varying responses to some of these debates, the movement in the UK fuelled a bigger debate and reconsideration of the ways British history is discussed, remembered and forgotten.

⁴ Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/project/context/> [accessed 17/6/2021]

6. Legal, Policy and Guidance Context

- 6.1. This review has been produced in the context of the Black Lives Matter motion passed in council in July 2020 (see **Section 1**). The motion requires that the review include recommendations for the council to consider. Any recommendations included in this review are given in the context of the legal, planning and guidance considerations which are outlined below.

The National Planning Policy Framework

- 6.2. At the time of writing the Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities has just adopted a revised text of the National Planning Policy Framework. This new version includes the following additional paragraph:

'In considering any applications to remove or alter a historic statue, plaque or memorial (whether listed or not), local planning authorities should have regard to the importance of retaining these heritage assets and, where appropriate, of explaining their historic and social context rather than removal.'

- 6.3. Importantly the alteration or removal of non-listed plaques and statues will now, potentially, require planning permission – where they may not have done previously. Furthermore, Local Planning Authorities would be required to have regard to the importance of retaining any such heritage assets. This would mean that the actual removal of any such asset would require greater justification and is less likely to be granted consent.

Ownership

- 6.4. The majority of the heritage assets identified during this review are not in City Council ownership. Many are in churches, or on land owned by businesses, or are privately owned. The City Council has no powers nor statutory obligations to require the owners of a heritage asset to manage or display a heritage asset in a particular way. The recommendations in this review therefore need to be adopted voluntarily by the owners of particular assets if they are to come into effect. As such the recommendations of this review cannot be implemented in a top-down manner by the City Council. A degree of consensus needs to be established between stakeholders and owners in order for any recommendations to be implemented.

Listed Buildings

- 6.5. A Listed Building is a structure deemed to be a building of 'special architectural or historic interest' If a building is considered by the Secretary of State (for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport) to be of special architectural or historic interest it will be included in a list of such buildings. The designation regime is set out in the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990. The list is maintained by Historic England and is available online through the National Heritage List for England. Applications for new entries and to remove or amend an existing entry are

made to Historic England. It will investigate the merits of the application and make a recommendation to the Secretary of State (for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport) who will make the decision. Listing marks and celebrates a building's special architectural and historic interest, and also brings it under the consideration of the planning system, so that it can be protected for future generations.

6.6. Many of the heritage assets mentioned in this report will be Listed. Listed buildings or structures are subject to particular statutory legal protection. There are categories of Listed buildings, which reflect their significance. These are:

- Grade I - of exceptional interest and significance
- Grade II* - which are particularly important
- Grade II - of special interest.

6.7. Alterations to a Listed Building will require Listed Building consent, this is separate to planning permission, which may also be required. To find out what is listed within Gloucester visit <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/> .

Conservation Areas

6.8. Large areas of the City Centre, and parts of the wider District are Conservation Areas. A conservation area is defined as “an area of special architectural or historic interest the character or appearance of which it is desirable to preserve or enhance” and are fine examples of the City's unique and varied heritage. They invariably have a concentration of historic buildings many of which are Listed Buildings and their character and attraction comprise more than buildings alone. A conservation area, therefore, protects the whole area and not just the buildings within it. Therefore these areas are important parts of the City's heritage, which the Council is committed to preserving and enhancing.

6.9. Conservation areas are designated under the provisions of Section 69 of the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990. The aim of designation is to control and manage change to conserve what is special about the area and, where possible, improve it. Change within conservation areas is controlled in order to maintain the areas' special character and appearance. Planning permission may be needed to carry out some alterations and demolition, and since January 2021 the removal of statues, plaques, memorials or monuments (mentioned above). To find out more visit <https://www.gloucester.gov.uk/planning-development/conservation-regeneration/conservation-areas/> .

Street Names

6.10. Gloucester City Council is the Street Naming and Numbering Authority for The City and is responsible for naming and numbering streets, properties and developments within its boundary. The council carries out these statutory functions under the Public Health Act 1925. The City Street Naming and Property Numbering Policy is available here <https://www.gloucester.gov.uk/media/1032/gcc-snn-policy-final-version.pdf>

6.11. With regard to the renaming of streets the policy states:

'Under Section 18 of the Public Health Act 1925, the Council can alter the name and numbers of any street without the consent of those residents affected.'

- *Renaming or renumbering streets will only be considered in the following circumstances:*
- *A minimum of two thirds of the occupants of the street or relevant part of the street submit a request for renaming/renumbering;*
- *In the interests of public or highway safety; or*
- *If there is evidence of a serious problem in accurate identification of the address due to:*
 - *the existence of similar street names elsewhere in the City; or*
 - *the location of a property within a street.*

If the residents of a street wish the name to be changed, for whatever reason, they can petition the Council who will judge the case on its merits.'

6.12. The Public Health Act 1925, in section 18, states:

'Alteration of name of street.

(1) The urban authority by order may alter the name of any street, or part of a street, or may assign a name to any street, or part of a street, to which a name has not been given.

(2) Not less than one month before making an order under this section, the urban authority shall cause notice of the intended order to be posted at each end of the street, or part of the street, or in some conspicuous position in the street or part affected.

(3) Every such notice shall contain a statement that the intended order may be made by the urban authority on or at any time after the day named in the notice, and that an appeal will lie under this Act to a petty sessional court against the intended order at the instance of any person aggrieved.

(4) Any person aggrieved by the intended order of the local authority may, within twenty-one days after the posting of the notice, appeal to a petty sessional court.⁵

6.13. Thus, the decision to alter a street name, lies with the City Council but may be open to appeal.

⁵ Quoted from the legislation.gov.uk website <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo5/15-16/71/section/18#:~:text=There%20are%20currently%20no%20known%20outstanding%20effects%20for,to%20which%20a%20name%20has%20not%20been%20given>.

Museum of Gloucester

6.14. The Museum of Gloucester is an Accredited Museum and holds extensive accessioned collections on behalf of Gloucester City Council – the curation, display, acquisition and disposal of objects are subject to the Museum’s Collections Development Policy. With regards to disposal, that policy document states:

‘Disposals will only be undertaken for legal, safety or care and conservation reasons (for example, spoliation, radiation, infestation, repatriation) or for sound curatorial reasons where the material is not relevant to the criteria in this policy.’

Disposal of objects follows a set process and certain steps must be taken to ensure that the Museum is safeguarding the collection ethically and legally. Disposals are not taken lightly. Any recommendation of objects to be considered will be undertaken by Museum Staff and following the Museum Code of Ethics and Disposal Toolkit, and any Museum specific policies.

6.15. When considering acquisition or disposal the museum will work within the parameters of the Museum Association Code of Ethics.⁶ With regard to repatriation the policy states: ‘The museum’s governing body, acting on the advice of the museum’s professional staff, if any, may take a decision to return human remains (unless covered by the ‘Guidance for the care of human remains in museums’ issued by DCMS in 2005), objects or specimens to a country or people of origin. The museum will take such decisions on a case by case basis; within its legal position and taking into account all ethical implications and available guidance.’ Within the current context, the Museum is looking at creating a policy statement regarding repatriation of objects that are not human remains. Advice and guidance is being sought in order to ensure the Museum is able to respond to any such requests.

6.16. The Museum of Gloucester is in the process of undertaking a decolonisation project. Decolonisation is a process whereby the collection held by the Museum is reconsidered in the context of Empire and colonial experience, it attempts to consider both how the collection was obtained and the assumptions behind how material is interpreted and displayed. Further information is available here <https://www.museumsassociation.org/campaigns/decolonising-museums/>. There is obviously a lot of overlap between this Monuments Review (which includes the Museum) and the decolonisation project. At the time of writing, about one third of the collection has been reviewed and staff are continuing to review the remainder of the collection. Once all objects have been identified, further research and community engagement will be undertaken to understand the next steps. Although incomplete, any objects identified have been incorporated into this review.

⁶ <https://www.museumsassociation.org/campaigns/ethics/code-of-ethics/>

The Church of England

6.17. The Church Buildings Council and the Cathedrals Fabric Commission for England have recently released a guidance document entitled 'Contested Heritage in Cathedrals and Churches' which is available here https://www.churchofengland.org/sites/default/files/2021-05/Contested_Heritage_in_Cathedrals_and_Churches.pdf the guidance sets out a framework for decision making with regard to contested heritage in Churches and Cathedrals. That framework includes the need to research contested heritage and to understand the significance of the heritage assets involved. The guidance states;

'It is important to distinguish between tombs, gravestones and other grave markers (usually on consecrated ground), which mark the resting place of a fellow human being, and celebratory monuments, dedicatory inscriptions and statuary intended to make statements of civic or community values. Occasionally an object may perform both roles.'

6.18. The framework also requires that consideration be given as to what is the need for change and what are the options for change. It highlights the following:

'For the options to be taken forward, they need to be appropriate, in the sense that they address the relevant concern, even if they cannot be said to be adequate or commensurate. It is doubtful that any of the options will serve as redress, but an acknowledgement—however small and disproportionate to the harm—may nevertheless make a powerful statement and provide an important means of balancing the narrative.'

6.19. The guidance then outlines various options which may be considered in response to contested heritage, it concludes that destruction of a heritage asset is unlikely to be condoned.

The Update to Gloucester's Cultural Vision & Strategy 2021-2026

6.20. It is suggested that any recommendations coming from this review or the commission should have regard to the recommendations and objectives outlined in the 'Update to Gloucester's Cultural Vision & Strategy 2021 – 2026' (Gloucester Culture Trust and Gloucester City Council). This is available here: [gloucester-cultural-vision-and-strategy-gct-gcc-min.pdf](#)

6.21. The vision and strategy document includes a number of objectives and actions that may be relevant to the implementation of any recommendations from this review. Two examples are given below:

'Objective 3: Broaden the Cultural Offer to Support Social and Economic Development

Proposed Action 11: Invest in Gloucester-based arts and heritage organisations to diversify and development their participation and talent development programmes.

Objective 4: *Develop a Vibrant City Centre full of Cultural Activity and things to do*

Proposed Action 13: *Work with the city's many heritage destinations and historic 'spaces' to develop a high profile, contemporary creative programme unique to Gloucester, regularly bringing together arts, heritage and local communities.'*

Gloucester Heritage Strategy 2019-29

6.22. The heritage strategy includes a number of recommendations relevant to this review (available here: <https://www.gloucester.gov.uk/media/3424/heritage-strategy-final-high-quality-version-002.pdf>). These include recommendations that touch on many parts of this review including the museum, public monuments and education/engagement.

Public art principles

6.23. The Public Art Principles for Gloucester (available here: <https://democracy.gloucester.gov.uk/documents/s52573/Public%20Art%20Principles.pdf>) are framed around five key principles, as outlined below:

1. Improve the lives of people in Gloucester
2. Be bold, distinctive and of a quality that enhances the reputation of Gloucester
3. Involve artists and local communities in decision-making
4. Be responsive to the environment and context of the location and contribute to combatting climate change.
5. Be embedded in all major developments in Gloucester, with a proportion of all development capital being ringfenced for public arts.

Guidance

6.24. At the time of writing the issue of 'contested heritage' is rapidly becoming a focus of researchers and academics, and some useful guidance is being produced.

[Contested Histories in Public Spaces Principles, Processes, Best Practices An International Bar Association Task Force Report \(January2021\)](#)

6.25. This guidance outlines the following range of remedies to contested histories in public spaces and suggests the following options with regard to how to respond to contested heritage assets:

- **Status quo:** effectively no action
- **Contextualise:** for example adding an interpretation panel to a statue
- **Resignify:** this involves redefining the contested asset for example changing a street name
- **Repurpose:** transforming an asset or area to an alternative purpose
- **Relocate:** move the contested asset
- **Remove:** remove from location and public view

6.26. In this report recommendations for each particular heritage asset will be outlined in the context of the above options.

Reviewing contested statutes memorials and place names Guidance for Public Bodies (forthcoming)

6.27. This guidance document outlines ways for public bodies to undertake reviews of contested heritage assets. It will recommend some key principles should that guide any review:

- Transparency and fairness
- Participation
- Inclusivity
- Commitment to justice; and
- Evidence

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7. General recommendations:

7.1. During the course of this project a number of issues, challenges and opportunities have been identified that warrant mention despite not being a required aim of the review. The recommendations below have been agreed in consultation with the commission.

Inclusive public participation

7.2. Any changes to the management or presentation of a heritage asset in the city may be a source of public interest and debate. The guidance mentioned in **Section 6** recommends inclusive public participation in deciding what approach to take.

General Recommendation 1: Where changes to the management or presentation of a heritage asset are being considered a programme of public consultation or engagement should be undertaken. This process should be transparent and inclusive.

7.3. Any programme of public participation and dialogue should include the whole of the community and be undertaken in a positive and inclusive manner. Any process should have respect towards every part of the community and should begin by affirming the positive distinct identities of all different parts of the community and seek to reaffirm shared values. Some models for how that participation could be undertaken are outlined in:

- Contested Histories in Public Spaces Principles, Processes, Best Practices An International Bar Association Task Force Report (January 2021);
- Reviewing contested statues, memorial and place names: Guidance for public bodies (forthcoming); and
- The Bridging Histories website: <https://www.bridginghistories.com/>

7.4. When approaching contested heritage assets in the city, it may be helpful to approach the subject as the following question:

*'How do we acknowledge this history in our built environment in a way that's uplifting and brings people together?'*⁷

7.5. As mentioned in the previous section public engagement needs to include the whole community, be transparent, fair, inclusive, evidence based and committed to justice.

⁷ We are grateful to Dr. Joanna Burch-Brown of Bristol University for this suggestion.

Colonialism

7.6. Public feedback to this project has, on a number of occasions, highlighted a desire to consider the heritage assets of the city in the wider context of the British Empire and colonialism. The trans-Atlantic trafficking of enslaved Africans took place alongside wider colonial practices that also involved injustices.

General Recommendation 2: The council should consider undertaking a broader review of Gloucester's colonial or imperial legacies and links.

Education

7.7. A very constant element of the feedback we've received during this project has been with regard to education. Currently public awareness of the facts regarding the slavery economy both locally and nationally is very poor.

General Recommendation 3: The council should pursue education or interpretation projects at a city-wide level to improve public understanding of this topic. The council should work in partnership with appropriate stakeholders to develop specific educational resources that can be used locally. This will require a budget for implementation.

7.8. This is however a subject that needs to be approached with care, especially in schools. Approached in the wrong way it could potentially cause upset and distress. School teaching needs to be informed and supported by training around how to teach this history. Resources are currently being developed at a national level and also in Bristol and London. Some examples include:

- The Black Curriculum project: <https://theblackcurriculum.com/>
- Cargo Classroom <https://cargomovement.org/classroom/>
- Facing History and Ourselves: <https://www.facinghistory.org/>

7.9. Any project regarding education in schools should be carefully considered – it may be that projects currently underway in Bristol and London could provide useful support or advice.

7.10. Guidance currently being developed suggests that prior to teaching or discussing 'contested heritage' it can be helpful to engage with the whole class or group and to celebrate every part of the community before diving into difficult subjects. A framework based on the six elements of social justice is recommended⁸.

7.11. This is, of course, not just an issue for schools, but is relevant with regard to adult education, museums, tourism and other fields. Educating in the city, on public display boards or similar is very closely linked to the idea of contextualising heritage

⁸ Stephenson, B. Gournet, M-A. and Burch-Brown, J. Forthcoming Reviewing contested statues, Memorials and place names Guidance for public bodies

assets as mentioned above. It could vary from changing historic tours or editing an information plaque through to creating new art works or a site of conscience.

- 7.12. Potential stakeholders for the production of an educational resource would include the County Council (schools, libraries and archives), the University of Gloucestershire, the National Trust, the Canal and Rivers Trust, the Civic Trust and the various local museums.

Museum exhibition on monuments and decolonization

- 7.13. As part of the wider decolonization project being undertaken by the Museum, it is felt that the Museum could be a fitting place to hold a temporary display about the Historic Monuments' Review and Gloucester's links to the Transatlantic Slave Trade. It is the Museum's intention to have permanent interpretation and redisplay sharing the history of the City and of the objects connected to the Transatlantic Slave Trade from 2023 following extensive community engagement and research. The results and recommendations from this report could form both part of the temporary exhibition but also the permanent interpretation and redisplay.

General Recommendation 4: The Museum of Gloucester should create a permanent display sharing the history of the City and of the objects connected to the Transatlantic Slave Trade from 2023, with a temporary display undertaken sooner.

New monuments and 'counter-monuments'

- 7.14. The adding of new monuments or artwork to public space to contextualise or signify that space may be an approach that allows communities to address contested history in a way that challenges and educates.

General Recommendation 5: The council should seek imaginative options to address the City's contested history in a way that both challenges and educates. This could include interpretation panels, new monuments or public art. Opportunities should also be sought to celebrate the city's multicultural community.

Street names

- 7.15. Going forward it is recommended that care is taken with new street names, place names and public monuments to avoid inadvertently commemorating or memorialising a link to the slavery economy.

General Recommendation 6: The council should in future consider the background of new street names and monuments to avoid inadvertently commemorating or memorialising a link to the slavery economy. When considering new street names, the council should look for opportunities to celebrate Gloucester's multicultural history.

Heritage Assets within Gloucester Cathedral

7.16. With regard to heritage assets within the Cathedral this review has had the following statement from the Dean and Chapter:

'The Dean and Chapter of Gloucester Cathedral welcome the work that this report represents in helping individual institutions identify assets where the contested nature of their heritage may be unknown or unrecognised. As part of the Church of England we will adopt the new national framework for considering any items with contested heritage to find the most appropriate response to each asset identified.'

General Recommendation 7: The council should encourage the Cathedral authorities to proactively identify contested heritage assets (especially celebratory monuments) within the Cathedral, and having done so, to explain, acknowledge or interpret those assets in accordance with the new national framework.

7.17. It's of note that this review has identified a number of memorials in the Cathedral with possible or confirmed links to the slavery economy, in the first instance further research could be very useful.

The Soldiers of Gloucestershire Museum

7.18. The Soldiers of Gloucestershire Museum (based in Gloucester) have undertaken a review of links between historic Gloucestershire Regiments and the slavery economy. A summary of that research is available in **Appendix A**. It includes a number of proposals about how the museum can consider and portray that element of history in its displays going forward. The proposals include the museum discussing the role Gloucestershire regiments have played with regard to the slavery economy in the British Empire and discussing situations in which the regiments themselves utilised enslaved labour. The museum is also keen to promote the contribution made by black soldiers who have served in some Gloucestershire regiments from as early as the 18th century and who included formerly enslaved individuals.

General Recommendation 8: The Council should welcome and support the plans of the Soldiers of Gloucestershire Museum to both better discuss and educate with regard to historic slavery, and to promote the historic role of Black and ethnic minority soldiers in the Gloucestershire regiments.

The Civic Trust

- 7.19. The Civic Trust in Gloucester are responsible for historic tours, heritage open days and the installation of new historic plaques in the city. They do a brilliant job and their contribution is greatly welcomed. That said, there is scope, going forward for them to better represent the contribution of ethnic minorities to the city and give a more balanced account of the city's history in certain circumstances. This doesn't necessarily mean going out of the way to discuss the city's links with slavery, but it does mean discussing those links when they occur 'naturally'. For example, when discussing the docks or George Whitefield. The Civic Trust are in a unique position to educate and inform schools, local people and tourists and help develop a general public understanding of this history.

General Recommendation 9: The council should welcome and support the ongoing work of the Civic Trust to promote and protect the city's heritage. The council should engage with the trust to help develop a more balanced presentation of the city's history (for example on line, on blue plaques and in guided tours etc) which includes consideration of any links to the slavery economy when appropriate.

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8. Methodology:

- 8.1. This has been a partnership project, undertaken with input from a wide range of partners, volunteers and stakeholders. The methodology for this project was established in October 2020. Regrettably the COVID 19 pandemic meant that much of the project research has had to be conducted online, with archives and libraries closed for much of the research period.
- 8.2. The project was managed by Gloucester City Council. The research was co-ordinated via regular meetings of a steering group which was established for the project. The steering group included local volunteers and representatives from:
- Gloucestershire Archives;
 - Gloucester Cathedral;
 - The Canal and Rivers Trust; and
 - The University of Gloucestershire.
- 8.3. Research for the project was undertaken by the steering group members, by City Council staff, by volunteers and by partner organisations.
- 8.4. The project involved a review of primary and secondary sources held by a number of different organisations including Gloucester Cathedral, the Gloucestershire Archives, the Lloyd's Bank Archive, the Bank of England archive and the National Archives.
- 8.5. Given the nature of the project it has been necessary to approach the research from two directions. The first being a review of monuments in the city, the second being the undertaking of research to identify persons or institutions of interest. This is, by necessity an evidence-led review, by this it is meant that where research has identified a person of interest heritage assets linked to that individual were then sought. It is simply not possible to check every name, on every monument in the city.
- 8.6. The project began with a review of national and regional literature on this subject and with comparisons with similar projects elsewhere. These included:
- 'The Transatlantic Slave Economy and England's Built Environment: A Research Audit' – Historic England 2020
 - 'Interim Report on the Connections between Colonialism and Properties now in the Care of the National Trust, Including Links with Historic Slavery' National Trust 2020
 - 'Canals and Transatlantic Slavery – A Preliminary Literature Review' Dr. Jodie Matthews on behalf of the Canal & River Trust 2020
 - 'The Slave Trade and the British empire – An Audit of Commemoration In Wales' - the Welsh Government 2020
 - 'Statues & Memorials' Lambeth Council
 - Bristol 1807 A sense of Place Our city in the year of abolition (Bristol City Council 2009)

Soldiers of Gloucestershire Museum Review

8.7. The Soldiers of Gloucestershire Museum has, in parallel with this project, undertaken a review of its' collection with regard to the Transatlantic Slavery Economy. This has included a programme of volunteer research. The results of that project have been incorporated into this report where appropriate and a full report is available in **Appendix A**.

Review of Gloucester's historic local banks

8.8. The University of Gloucestershire has funded a research project to examine any links between the transatlantic slavery economy and Gloucester's historic local banks. The results of that project are included as an appendix of this report and are referenced where appropriate (see **Appendix B**).

Museum of Gloucester decolonisation project

8.9. In parallel to this review, staff at the Museum of Gloucester are undertaking a project to decolonise the collections held by the museum. The decolonisation project has a wider remit than the monuments review but there is considerable overlap. Any artefacts, paintings or other curated objects linked to the transatlantic slavery economy identified by that project have been referred in this report (see **Appendix C**). At the time of writing the project is still ongoing – so further curated heritage assets may come to light later on.

The Gloucester sugar refining industry

8.10. One of the topics researched as part of this review was the sugar refining industry that developed in Gloucester in the 18th century – which appears to have been heavily linked to and promoted by Bristol based refiners and banks. A smaller local industry was present and named individuals associated with this have been identified. The results of this research are available in **Appendix D**.

The Gloucester Spa development

8.11. In an attempt to understand any links between the Gloucester Spa development and the slavery economy a separate piece of research has been undertaken on the Gloucester Spa, this is available in **Appendix E** and referenced where appropriate.

Student research

8.12. Research undertaken students at the University of Gloucestershire, entitled 'Legacies of Slave Ownership in Gloucester and Gloucestershire' is included in **Appendix F** and referenced where appropriate.

Public engagement

8.13. To date this project has included a number of elements of public engagement, these have included:

- the creation of a short film commissioned by the University of Gloucestershire about the project shown at the Gloucester History Festival and soon to be available online;
- Discussions between the City Archaeologist and a number of stakeholder groups;
- Press and radio interviews about the project; and
- The production of a series of short videos about some of the findings of the project with an invitation to comment.

8.14. However, this public engagement has really been about the historic facts rather than what to do with or about those findings. Some tentative further proposals for public engagement are outlined in the 'general recommendations' in **Section 7**.

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9. Results:

9.1. These results are structured in the following manner:

1. A brief biography of a person or institution outlining their links to the transatlantic slave trade or plantation ownership;
2. A list of references – acting as a proof of evidence for the above;
3. A list of all known heritage assets pertaining to that person or institution;
4. A description of each, to include;
 - a. a photograph if considered necessary;
 - b. a location description;
 - c. general description;
 - d. a quote of any associated text; and
 - e. background to the creation of the asset (where known).
5. Finally, there will be recommendations for the Council to consider with regard to each heritage asset.
6. Where an asset is considered to be a priority for action the Gloucester City Commission to Review Race Relations has been consulted. Those recommendations endorsed by the commission are outlined in blue below.

9.2. The results are arranged in alphabetic order (with monarchs ordered by their Christian name).

9.3. In some cases the project has identified individuals linked to Gloucester who are linked to the slavery economy, for whom no heritage assets have been identified. It has been decided to include these individuals in the detailed report in any case for the following reasons:

- To show that they have been identified during the project (and avoid any suggestion that they were missed);
- To cover the possibility that previously unidentified heritage assets may come to light in future;
- To inform any potential future plans to commemorate those individuals.

Queen Anne

- 9.4. Queen Anne, born on the 6th of February 1665 was Queen of England, Scotland and Ireland between the 8th of March 1702 and the 1st May 1707. After the Acts of Union on the 1st May 1707, Queen Anne became the monarch of a sovereign state known as Great Britain, where she ruled until her death on the 1st August 1714. During her reign, Queen Anne oversaw the creation of the United Kingdom, Britain became a major military power and the foundations were laid for the 18th century's Golden Age.⁹ Queen Anne also played a significant role in facilitating the growth of British involvement in the transatlantic slave trade.
- 9.5. A major event which enabled Queen Anne to grow British involvement in the transatlantic slave trade was the War of Spanish Succession, prompted by the death of childless Spanish King Charles II in 1700.¹⁰ Britain, the United Provinces and Austria-Hungary formed the Grand Alliance to fight the two crowns: France and Spain over the Spanish succession issue. Eventually, the war was concluded in 1713 with the Treaty of Utrecht- where Philip V (the French candidate for the Spanish throne) was installed onto the Spanish throne and concessions were made to Britain to facilitate this.
- 9.6. One of the major concessions granted to Britain through this treaty was the Spanish asiento. The asiento was *'an exclusive slaving license to import Africans in Spanish possessions, to a nation or a company, in exchange for a substantial fee.'*¹¹ *'Between 1595 and 1713, the asiento had been held by France, Portugal and a Genoese trading company, and the Dutch.'*¹² This changed with the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. The asiento meant that the British government or British companies *'would be allowed to import 48,000 slaves annually into Spanish possessions and send one ship annually to trade directly with selected Spanish ports in the Americas.'*¹³ Queen Anne, proud of her success in gaining the asiento remarked *'I have insisted and obtained that the asiento or contract for furnishing the Spanish West Indies with negroes shall be made with us for thirty years.'*¹⁴ Demonstrating that Queen Anne actively participated in strengthening Britain's role in the transatlantic slave trade.
- 9.7. The asiento was subsequently awarded to a British enterprise: the South Sea Company,¹⁵ founded in 1711 by Lord Treasurer Robert Harley and John Blunt.¹⁶ The South Sea Company were also a vested interest for Queen Anne, with the Queen being a substantive shareholder in the Company.¹⁷ The asiento transformed British involvement in the transatlantic slave trade. The asiento guaranteed that Spain and France would not form a trading block against Britain, and it offered the British a crucial opening into the Caribbean and South American markets,¹⁸ allowing for the

⁹ N. Pocock & V. Cook, [2017] *Queen Anne*. [online] British Broadcasting Corporation. Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/abolition/slavery_business_gallery_06.shtml [Accessed 01 December 2020].

¹⁰ F. Bevc, [2017] *Sons of Ardore*. Florida: Lulu, p. 54.

¹¹ W. Kauffman and H. Slettedahl. Eds. [2005] *Britain and the Americas*. Santa Barbara: ABC Clio, p. 119.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ H. Thomas, [2015] *The Slave Trade*. London: Hachette UK, p. 236.

¹⁵ W. Strahan J.F. Rivington and J. Hinton, [1774] *The Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce*. London: Malachy Postlethwayt, p. 5.

¹⁶ P.O. Adiele, [2017] *The Popes, the Catholic Church and the Transatlantic Enslavement of Black Africans 1418-1839*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, p. 96.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ W. Kauffman and H. Slettedahl. Eds. [2005] *Britain and the Americas*. Santa Barbara: ABC Clio, p. 119.

substantial growth of British involvement in the transatlantic slave trade in the 18th Century. *'The British already carried an average of 25,000 slaves a year, but the asiento transformed the British shipbuilding industry and made the country's Atlantic ports, especially Bristol and Liverpool, into slaving boom towns.'*¹⁹

9.8. Queen Anne therefore has substantive links to the slavery economy. The Queen's government negotiated for the asiento as part of the Treaty of Utrecht and in turn gave the contract to a company she had vested interests with- the South Sea Company. Queen Anne actively sought the increase in British involvement in the transatlantic slave trade and set the foundations for the 18th Century where Britain dominated the transatlantic slave trade.

Heritage Assets

Statue of Queen Anne in Spa Fields

9.9. This review has identified a single heritage asset relating to Queen Anne in Gloucester. This is a statue of Queen Anne located on the south side of Spa Fields Sports Ground. Dating from 1711-2 it was sculpted by John Ricketts in limestone and is now badly weathered. Originally erected at the north end of Southgate Street, moved to the garden of Paddock House, Pitt Street c.1780, and from there to College Green in 1839; erected on present site in 1865. The statue is Grade II Listed.



¹⁹ W. Kauffman and H. Slettedahl. Eds. [2005] *Britain and the Americas*. Santa Barbara: ABC Clio, p. 119.

Recommendations

9.10. This statue predates the securing of the asiento so is unlikely to be directly linked to the slave trade. That said, Queen Anne's involvement in expanding British involvement in the slave trade is clear. Today the statue is in very poor condition and is located in a relatively out of the way location. It is in the ownership of the City Council and is a Listed Building. This review has identified the following options for consideration:

1. **Status quo:** due to erosion the statue is now almost illegible, and it does little to commemorate Queen Anne or her reign - it may not therefore be considered a priority for action.
2. **Contextualise:** interpretation, either on-line or in the park itself (or both) could be updated to include discussion of Queen Anne's role in the slavery economy.
3. **Relocate:** this asset is in council ownership and so it could, in theory, be removed and stored in the Museum of Gloucester. This would allow the wider context of the statue to be discussed as part of a museum display. It would also help protect a Listed Building in poor condition. Listed Building Consent and planning permission would be needed for this and consent cannot be taken for granted. This is also likely to require considerable funding.
4. **Remove:** a final option is to remove the asset and put it in storage, this would certainly help protect it but would require Listed Building Consent and planning permission, such an approach is likely to be contrary to recent changes to the Nation Planning Policy Framework (see **Section 6**) so consent may be difficult to obtain. Again, this would likely require considerable funding as removal and safe storage would be required to ensure no further damage to the asset.

Queen Anne Court

9.11. There is also a Queen Anne Court in Quedgeley which is a small road on an industrial estate – this report has no recommendations with regard to that site.

Thomas Fenn Addison

9.12. Thomas Fenn Addison was a Gloucester lawyer best known for the creation of 'Addison's Folly' a Tower built to the rear of St Mary De Crypt School room apparently in memory of Robert Raikes Junior²⁰. As a lawyer Addison seems to have had some contact with the Slavery Economy. Addison certainly knew Samuel Baker and Thomas Phillpotts socially, an 1835 edition of the Gloucestershire Chronicle shows them as being amongst the first shareholders for the Gloucester Commercial Rooms²¹ (a kind of social club founded by local merchants on the site of what is now Barbican House).

9.13. Later Addison was acting as the solicitor for the Birmingham and Gloucester Railway Company in 1844²² (which was supported by the Gloucestershire Banking Company of which Samuel Baker was a director). In 1848 he was acting on behalf of the Midland Railway Company.²³ In 1846 Addison was acting as the solicitor for the Gloucester and Hereford Canal Railway Company²⁴, which according to the Legacies of Slavery website was also invested in by Baker. So, Fenn Addison, as a lawyer, was working for individuals and businesses linked to the slavery economy and is likely to have received income (how much is unknown) from the slavery economy, albeit at a remove. This is likely to have been fairly common through Britain at the time and certainly the business community in Gloucester was very small, so such links are in some respects, to be expected.

Heritage Assets

9.14. The only known heritage asset linked to Addison in the City is Addison's Folly which was built by Addison in 1864 as a memorial to Robert Raikes junior²⁵. Given that Addison had no direct links to the slavery economy and that Raikes junior was an abolitionist in later life (as discussed later in this report) this review has no recommendations to make.

²⁰ Herbert, N M. (Ed) 1988 A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 4, the City of Gloucester. Victoria County History

²¹ Gloucestershire Chronicle Saturday 13th June 1835 available on <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000393/18350613/026/0003> accessed on 20/05/2021

²² Gloucestershire Chronicle Saturday 19 October 1844 available on <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000393/18441019/024/0002> accessed on 20/05/2021

²³ Cheltenham Journal and Gloucestershire Fashionable Weekly Gazette Monday 20th March 1848 available on <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0002214/18480320/017/0002> accessed on 20/05/2021

²⁴ Gloucestershire Chronicle Saturday 1st May 1847 available on <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000393/18470501/046/0004> accessed on 20/05/2021

²⁵ Moss, P. 2005 Historic Gloucester an illustrated guide to the city & its buildings Nonsuch Publishing

Samuel Baker

9.15. Samuel Baker arrived in Gloucester in 1832 from London having accumulated his wealth through investment in colonial estates and shipping involved in Britain's West India Trade.²⁶ He partnered with Thomas Phillpotts in an endeavour to ship goods from the West Indies directly into Gloucester, though this venture was short-lived due to the abolition of slavery.²⁷ Together with Thomas Phillpotts, Baker was instrumental in the development of the area around Gloucester's docks known eponymously as Baker's Quay.²⁸ Phillpotts and Baker widened the existing canal in order to create more space in the dock to allow for more import/export of goods in and out of the city, which later allowed for the development of Baker's Quay as a place for industrial growth.²⁹ Samuel Baker was also involved in a number of other industries in Gloucester.³⁰

9.16. He was a director of the Gloucester Banking Company in 1831 and subsequently became chairman in 1843.³¹ Baker was also a key figure in the development of the railway in Gloucester; he was a director of the Great Western Railway and the South Wales Company.³² He benefitted financially from dealings in the West Indies and by extension from the transatlantic slave trade, despite not being directly involved. His partnership with Thomas Phillpotts, who did benefit financially from compensation payments in 1837, also links him to the slave trade.³³ Following abolition Baker was awarded payments for two claims – one as a creditor of the Bogue estate in Jamaica (which in 1832 recorded 177 enslaved persons) and the second as creditor and mortgagee for an estate in Jamaica at Twickenham Park³⁴.

9.17. It is also worthy of note that Baker was also a witness at the 1832 Select Committee on the Extinction of Slavery and described himself as a London merchant and whose interest in 'West Indian property' was in receiving consignments from Jamaica. Baker's comments to the Select Committee make clear his involvement in Jamaican estates and his support for the continued legalisation of slavery. He argued that the enslaved people on the estates were largely satisfied with their situation and he doubted their ability or willingness to work for wages if freed. Baker also argued in favour of the need for the whipping of enslaved people to ensure that estate work was done.³⁵

²⁶ Christmas, E. (1991), Samuel Baker and Gloucester. *Gloucestershire History*, 9. pp. 10-11

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Conway-Jones, H., (2007). *How Gloucester Benefited From Slavery*. [online] Gloucester Docks and the Sharpness Canal: Past and Present. Available at: <https://www.gloucesterdocks.me.uk/studies/slavery.htm> [Accessed 20 January 2021]

²⁹ Burgess, S., (2017). *Understanding Conservation Areas - A Case Study of Bakers Quay, Gloucester Docks Conservation Area*. 1st ed [pdf]. Bristol: UWE Bristol. Available at:

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/317552411_Understanding_Conservation_Areas_-_A_Case_Study_of_Bakers_Quay_Gloucester_Docks_Conservation_Area [Accessed 26 January 2021]

³⁰ Conway-Jones, H., (2007). *How Gloucester Benefited From Slavery*. [online] Gloucester Docks and the Sharpness Canal: Past and Present. Available at: <https://www.gloucesterdocks.me.uk/studies/slavery.htm> [Accessed 20 January 2021]

³¹ Christmas, E. (1991), Samuel Baker and Gloucester. *Gloucestershire History*, 9. pp. 10-11

³² Ibid.

³³ Conway-Jones, H., (2007). *How Gloucester Benefited From Slavery*. [online] Gloucester Docks and the Sharpness Canal: Past and Present. Available at: <https://www.gloucesterdocks.me.uk/studies/slavery.htm> [Accessed 20 January 2021]

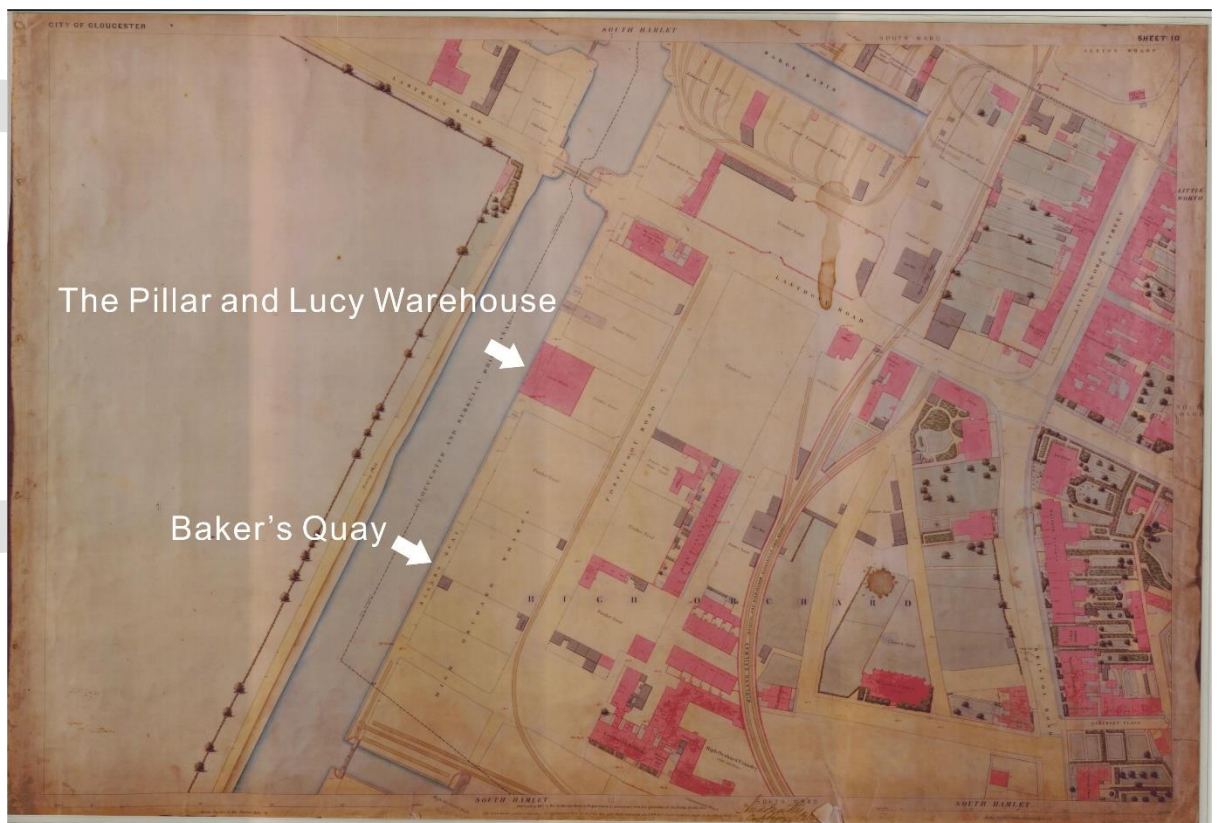
³⁴ UCL, (2021). *Samuel Baker* [online]. Legacies of British Slave Ownership. Available at: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/20517> [Accessed 26 January 2021]

³⁵ Report from the Select Committee on the Extinction of Slavery throughout the British Dominions (1833) <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433075913339&view=1up&seq=15> [Accessed 12 April 2021]

Heritage Assets

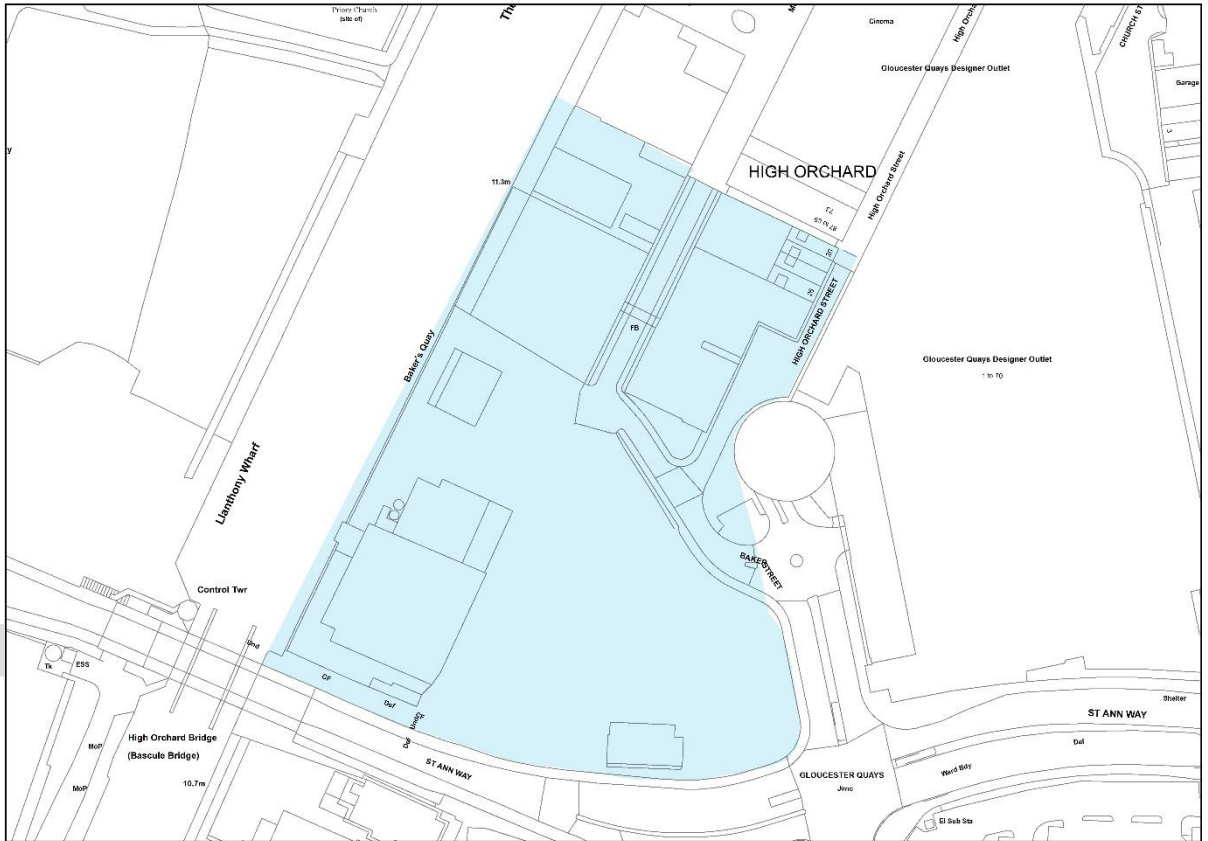
Baker's Quay

- 9.18. Samuel Baker is linked to a number of heritage assets throughout the city. The most obvious being 'Baker's Quay' which he developed in partnership with Phillpotts. The land was apparently purchased from Philo Maddy (see **Appendix E**) and was previously known as 'High Orchard' and located to the south of Llanthony Bridge. Bakers Quay was developed in the mid 1830s to ease overcrowding in the Main Basin. The work was financed by a group of local businessmen led by Baker and Phillpotts because the Canal Company was still heavily in debt and unable to finance the necessary expansion³⁶.



The 1852 Board of Health map showing the area of Baker's Quay

³⁶ Quoted in part from the Gloucestershire Historic Environment Record available here https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=51318&resourceID=108 accessed 09/11/21



The general area of 'Baker's Quay' today.

- 9.19. The area of 'Baker's Quay' today isn't really fixed but is generally the area of land between Merchant's Road and St. Ann Way. New and ongoing developments on the site have the name 'Baker's Quay' associated with them.

Recommendations

- 9.20. Baker's Quay is probably the most prominent memorial to an individual who benefited from, and advocated for, the slavery economy in Gloucester. Baker's links to and support of the slavery economy are well attested and substantial. Today Baker's Quay sits within a conservation area and includes many Listed Buildings that post-date Bakers time.
1. **Status quo:** there is an option to do nothing, there are no monuments (as in statues or plaques) in the area that reference or praise Baker.
 2. **Contextualise:** it would, in theory, be very easy to install new interpretation in this area that discussed Baker's links to the slavery economy. Likewise, the Civic Trust could be approached to ensure that this is discussed during public tours of the docks.
 3. **Resignify:** the renaming of Baker's Quay would remove the most visible memorial to Baker. It should be noted that the name 'Baker's Quay' is not an official street name – it's generally an element within addresses on the site. The use of the name therefore lies with the owners rather than the City Council. However, if the owner did wish to change the name then any such changes would need to be agreed by councillors.

4. **Repurpose:** Baker's Quay could represent a fitting location for some form of public response to the slave trade in Gloucester. Repurposing the area as a site of conscience could be one approach (please see 'guidance' **section 6** of this report and refer to 'Contested Histories in Public Spaces Principles, Processes, Best Practices' An International Bar Association Task Force Report January 2021). Another option, with a similar aim, would be to consider the installation of some form of public art in this area that could address and consider this history.

A majority of the Gloucester City Commission to Review Race Relations advised that they supported recommendations 2 and 4 and it was suggested that the repurposing of Baker's Quay could incorporate some contextualisation and educational content. The council should engage with the owners of Baker's Quay to discuss options for the 'repurposing' of that public space in a way that educates, commemorates and acknowledges Gloucester's historic links to the Transatlantic Slave Trade.

- 9.21. Whatever approach is preferred engagement and agreement with the site owners will be necessary to achieve the desired outcome.

Baker Street

- 9.22. Baker Street is a very new road leading into Baker's Quay from St Ann Way. It's named after Samuel Baker.

Recommendations

- 9.23. This is a fairly recent naming of limited historic value.

1. **Resignify:** the renaming of Baker Street could be undertaken in this case (see 'street names' in **section 6** of the report) it may be that a historically appropriate name could be found or there may be a way to redefine the space in a way that challenges or juxtaposes the nearby 'Baker's Quay'.

The Gloucester City Commission to Review Race Relations felt that no action should be taken with regard to Baker Street.

The Pillar and Lucy warehouse

- 9.24. Baker also financed the adjacent Pillar and Lucy warehouses which is today a grade II Listed building. It was developed in 1838 by S W Dawkes of Gloucester (architect). The northern of the two warehouses was developed for Baker whilst the southern was developed for J M Shipton timber merchant³⁷.



Recommendations

- 9.25. Whilst this building is directly linked to Baker it doesn't obviously memorialise or commemorate him in any way. Indeed, few people will know of the link unless they are told. The building is grade II Listed and set within a conservation area.
1. **Contextualise:** as with Baker's Quay in general it should be very easy to install new interpretation in this area that discussed Baker's links to the slavery economy. Likewise, the Civic Trust could be approached to ensure that this is discussed during public tours of the docks.

Currently unidentified sites

- 9.26. Baker was also involved in The Gloucester Banking Company, the development of the Great Western Railway and a number of smaller enterprises in the city. This review has found no further heritage assets linked to Baker, but that doesn't preclude further discoveries in future.

³⁷ Information obtained from the Listed Building Description available here https://www.heritagegateway.org.uk/Gateway/Results_Single.aspx?uid=42123&resourceID=108 accessed 09/10/21

Sir Charles Barrow

9.27. The MP for Gloucester between 1751-1789 – the son of Charles Barrow, merchant of St. Kitts and Elizabeth Barrow (nee Harris) who was the daughter of the Lt-Governor of the Leeward Islands³⁸. Thus far no evidence has been found of Barrow benefitting from the slavery economy, certainly nothing is mentioned in his will³⁹. Given his father's and mother's links to the West Indies – this is surprising. He was certainly very wealthy - owning Highgrove House in Minsterworth, he was created Baronet Barrow of Hygrove in 1784⁴⁰. His daughter married Charles Evans of Niblett's Old Bank (see **Appendix B**). On his death in 1789 Hygrove was passed on to Charles Evans and his descendants (The Barrow-Evans family)⁴¹.

9.28. Barrow was at times an ally of George Augustus Selwyn MP mentioned later in this report)⁴².

Heritage Assets

9.29. This review has, so far, identified only one object linked to Sir Charles Barrow. That is a silver George 3rd 2 handled pear shaped cup and cover with a Latin inscription by Louis Berne. It is recorded as being 'From Lord Charles Barrow Esquire in the year of our Lord, 1767'. The object is part of the Civic Silver Collection and is on display at the North Warehouse. The Civic Silver Collection is owned by Gloucester City Council but the Museum acts as its caretaker and therefore, the Civic Silver Collection is subject to the same policies and processes as other accessioned objects as identified earlier in this document.

Recommendations

9.30. Whilst Sir Charles is likely to have benefitted from the slavery economy, the relationship is not yet proven or otherwise.

1. **Status quo:** until further information is available or research has been done it seems inappropriate to take any action, especially with regard to such a small object.

³⁸ UCL 2021 Legacies of British Slave Ownership available online at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146651961> accessed on 15/09/2021

³⁹ Ibid

⁴⁰ The London Gazette available here <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/12502/page/1> accessed 09/10/21

⁴¹ Gloucestershire Archives ref: D3094 available on <https://gloucestershire.epexio.com/records/D3094> accessed on 09/10/21

⁴² The History of Parliament available online at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/barrow-charles-1707-89#offices-held> accessed on 15/09/2021

John Bovell

- 9.31. A John Bovell of Gloucester is recorded in the UCL Legacies of Slavery website receiving compensation for two enslaved people in Barbados⁴³. This is probably John William Bovell, son of Dr. John Bovell and Rebecca Braithwaite Alleyne. No further information has been found regarding this individual, nor any monuments, his connection to Gloucester may be an error (many of the records on the UCL website place individuals in 'Gloucester' when they are actually in the wider county).

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⁴³ UCL 2021 Legacies of British Slave Ownership available online at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/4129> viewed 10/10/21

Bathurst Family

9.32. One of the earliest Bathurst's – Benjamin Bathurst (1635 – 1704) was Deputy Governor of the Leeward Islands and was in that role a supporter of the slave economy. He was also an investor in the Royal African Company and the East India Company. The Bathurst family took over Lydney Park from the Winter family in 1723. The first Bathurst to own the house was another Benjamin Bathurst, who was at various times, MP for Cirencester, Gloucester and Monmouth and was in that role supporter of the slave trade⁴⁴. ~~He died in 1743.~~

9.33. His granddaughter married Charles Bragge – who changed his name to Charles Bathurst in 1804 when he inherited Lydney Park. He was MP for Bristol and a member of the Merchant Venturers and a strong supporter of the slave trade. The estate papers for Lydney Park from the Gloucestershire Archives contain accounts for Antigua, Tobago and Barbados sugar sold at Bristol in the early 19th century⁴⁵. He died in 1831.

Heritage Assets

Christ Church

9.34. Records relating to the Christ Church in Gloucester Spa record contributions from a 'Lord Lydney' who was in 1822 presumably Charles Bragge Bathurst (see **Appendix E**). This is such a small contribution in context of the church that no further action is recommended.

Bathurst Road

9.35. There is a Bathurst Road in the Podsmead area of Gloucester, probably named in honour of the Bathurst family, who were, and indeed still are, considerable landowners in Gloucestershire. In the context of the Bathurst's great estates in Lydney and elsewhere a road in Podsmead doesn't seem like a proportionate or appropriate place in which to address that family's historic links with the slavery economy. This is probably an issue, and a legacy, best addressed by a neighbouring local authority.

⁴⁴ Dresser, M. 2013 Slavery and West Country Houses in Slavery and the British Country House Historic England

⁴⁵ Ibid

Charles II

- 9.36. Charles II, born on the 29th May 1630, was the King of England, Scotland and Ireland between 1649 until his death on the 6th February 1685. The eldest surviving son of deposed King Charles I, who was executed for Treason after the end of the Second English Civil War, Charles II assumed the throne in 1660 after the English Interregnum between 1649-1660, where England was ruled without a monarch. Charles II was known as the 'Merry Monarch'⁴⁶ due to the marked difference of everyday life under his leadership compared to the English Interregnum where England was gripped by Oliver Cromwell and Puritanical rule. Charles brought back all the sports and entertainment the puritans had banned⁴⁷ and even brought back Christmas.⁴⁸
- 9.37. Juxtaposing the Merry Monarch title however, is Charles II's involvement in the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. In 1660, Charles, along with a number of London Merchants, founded the Royal African Company, originally known as the Company of Royal Adventurers Trading into Africa,⁴⁹ investing £250 in the company.⁵⁰ Initially the company was set up to exploit gold fields up the Gambian River,⁵¹ however, in 1663 Charles II issued a charter which granted the Company of Royal Adventurers a monopoly in the transportation of people from the West Coast of Africa to the English colonies in the Americas and Caribbean.⁵² The Charter specifically sanctioned the buying, selling, bartering and exchanging of slaves.⁵³ The King hoped to use the revenues from such a company to augment the glory of his restored monarchy.⁵⁴
- 9.38. In 1672, Charles II granted another royal charter to the Royal African Company, giving them a chartered monopoly over all English Trade with Africa for a thousand years.⁵⁵ It replaced the first charter to the company (then known as the Company of Royal Adventurers), granted in 1660.⁵⁶ On November 13th 1674, Charles II yet again reaffirmed the exclusive trade rights of the Royal African Company by granting them another royal charter in light of people outside the company unlawfully overstepping

⁴⁶ Ogg, D. [1955] *England in the Reigns of James II and William III*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 139.

⁴⁷ Wilkes, A. [2004] *Renaissance, Revolution and Reformation: Britain 1485-1750*, Dunstable: Folens Limited, p. 100.

⁴⁸ John, J. [2005] *A Christmas Compendium*, London: A&C Black, p. 79.

⁴⁹ Pettigrew, W.A. [2013] *Freedom's Debt*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, p. 22.

⁵⁰ Anon. [2017] *King Charles II*. [Online] National Portrait Gallery. Available at: <https://www.npg.org.uk/learning/digital/history/abolition-of-slavery/king-charles-ii#:~:text=He%20was%20succeeded%20on%20the,the%20king%2C%20invested%20%20C2%A3250>. [Accessed 12 November 2020].

⁵¹ Jesus College. (2019) *Jesus College Legacy of Slavery Working Party* [online]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 9. Available at: https://www.jesus.cam.ac.uk/sites/default/files/inline/files/legacy_slavery_working_party_interim_report_27_nov_2019%20%283%29.pdf [Accessed 17 November 2020].

⁵² Stuart, C (1663). *Royal African Company of Merchant Adventurers: Royal charter granted to, by Charles II*. [Manuscript-online] Available at: <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/charter-granted-to-the-company-of-royal-adventurers-of-england-relating-to-trade-in-africa-1663> [Accessed 12 November 2020]. Sloane MS 205

⁵³ Et. al.

⁵⁴ Pettigrew, W.A. [2013] *Freedom's Debt*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, p. 22.

⁵⁵ Pettigrew, W.A. [2013] *Freedom's Debt*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, p. 4.

⁵⁶ Stuart, C (1672). *The King Grants the Right to Trade in Africa*. [Manuscript-online] Available at: https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/blackhistory/africa_caribbean/docs/charter_royal_african.htm [Accessed 12 November 2020]. CO 268/1, ff. 8, 10

into the Company's territory.⁵⁷ Under Charles II the Royal African company ships also enjoyed protection from the Royal Navy,⁵⁸ demonstrating that Charles was actively trying to protect his vested interest.

9.39. Charles II's contribution to the Trans-Atlantic slave trade is therefore palpable and undeniable. Charles II was a founding member of the Royal African Company which transported close to 150,000 enslaved Africans, mostly to the British Caribbean.⁵⁹ Charles II also had Africans among his staff and in 1682 paid £50 for an enslaved African, whom he bought from the Marquis of Antrim.⁶⁰ Demonstrating Charles' antipathy toward the plight of Africans and his active involvement in facilitating the growth of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade both during his tenure and after his death in 1685 through his investment and interest in the Royal African Company.

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⁵⁷ Stuart, C. (1674). *By the King A Proclamation*. [Manuscript-online] Available at: <http://gallery.lib.umn.edu/files/original/725629a770510fd4d05f3918753e9af4.jpg> [Accessed 12 November 2020]. 1674 f.G.B.B.-1

⁵⁸ Mohamud, A and Whitburn, R. (2018) Britain's involvement with the New World slavery and the transatlantic slave trade. [Article] 21 June. Available at: <https://www.bl.uk/restoration-18th-century-literature/articles/britains-involvement-with-new-world-slavery-and-the-transatlantic-slave-trade> (Accessed 17 November 2020).

⁵⁹ Pettigrew, W.A. [2013] *Freedom's Debt*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, p. 11.

⁶⁰ Anon. [2017] *King Charles II*. [Online] National Portrait Gallery. Available at: <https://www.npg.org.uk/learning/digital/history/abolition-of-slavery/king-charles-ii#:~:text=He%20was%20succeeded%20on%20the,the%20king%2C%20invested%20%C2%A3250>. [Accessed 12 November 2020].

Heritage Assets

Statue of Charles II

- 9.40. A statue of Charles II can be found today off Three Cocks Lane near the Cathedral.



Recommendations

9.41. The statue is grade II Listed and dates to the 17th century, it was located in its current position in 1960. This statue is rather isolated and in fairly poor condition, it is very faded and is missing its right arm. This review has identified the following options for consideration:

1. **Status Quo:** The statue is in such poor condition and so degraded that it could be argued that it fails to memorialise or glorify Charles II. Likewise, its location is rather out of the way.
2. **Contextualise:** interpretation, either on-line or next to the statue itself (or both) could be updated to include discussion of King Charles II's role in the slavery economy.
3. **Relocate:** this asset is in council ownership and so it could, in theory, be removed and stored in the Museum of Gloucester. This would allow the wider context of the statue to be discussed as part of a museum display. It would also help protect a Listed Building in poor condition. Listed Building Consent and planning permission would be needed for this and consent cannot be taken for granted. This is also likely to require considerable funding.
4. **Remove:** a final option is to remove the asset and put it in storage, this would certainly help protect it but would require Listed Building Consent and planning permission, such an approach is likely to be contrary to recent changes to the Nation Planning Policy Framework (see **Section 6**) so consent may be difficult to obtain. Again, this would likely require considerable funding for removal and safe storage would be required to ensure no further damage to the asset.

City Museum

9.42. The Museum of Gloucester curates a knife (ref: GLRCM F01598) previously owned by Charles II. This is a minor domestic object which doesn't in any particular way memorialise Charles II, so no action is recommended.

9.43. Any further display relating to Charles II in the Museum of Gloucester could take care to consider his role in the development of the slavery economy in Britain and overseas.

Admiral Henry Christian

- 9.44. Henry Christian (1828-1916) was commissioned into the Royal Navy in 1841 at the age of 12 where he was apparently engaged in the suppression of the slave trade.⁶¹ He gained the rank of post-captain in 1863 and soon afterwards took service on a 400-ton steamer to run the US blockage of Nassau during the American Civil War. Christian's boat apparently ferried Cotton from Charleston to Nassau in the Bahamas which was then sent onto the cotton mills in Yorkshire. Since the Confederate States of America maintained legalized slavery this cotton would have been the product of enslaved plantation labour.
- 9.45. The undertaking was led by August Charles Hobart-Hampden with Christian as second in command. They ran the blockade 18 times carrying war material to the Confederate States and returning with cotton⁶² After some success blockade running Christian was finally captured by the US Navy then released and returned to England⁶³. Many of the British blockade runners were based in Liverpool, and it's interesting to note that Henry Christian had a link to that city via his father-in-law James Moore – a Liverpool merchant⁶⁴.
- 9.46. In 1865 he became the Chief Constable of the Gloucestershire Constabulary, he finally retired in 1910 at the age of 81, dying in 1916. He was a member of the Royal Victorian order and the holder of the Kings Police medal⁶⁵.
- 9.47. The strange episode as a blockade runner in Henry Christian's career sees him provide active material support for a state seeking to preserve the legal use of enslaved labour (the Confederate States), it sees him transporting and trading in the product of enslaved labour (cotton) and making a profit from both. It's all the more striking then that he was able to avoid a legal conviction or punishment from the United States and immediately obtained a job as Chief Constable of the Gloucestershire Constabulary.

Heritage Assets

Memorial in Gloucester Cathedral

- 9.48. There is a memorial to Henry Christian in Gloucester Cathedral.

⁶¹ Cheltenham Looker-on Saturday 17th June 1916 available on <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000506/19160617/004/0006> accessed on 21/05/2020

⁶² 199 Encyclopedia Britannica/Hobart Pasha available on https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/1911_Encyclop%C3%A6dia_Britannica/Hobart_Pasha accessed 10/10/21

⁶³ The Peerage A genealogical survey of the peerage of Britain as well as the royal families of Europe available on <http://www.thepeerage.com/p11899.htm> accessed on 21/05/2021.

⁶⁴ The Peerage A genealogical survey of the peerage of Britain as well as the royal families of Europe available on <http://www.thepeerage.com/p15303.htm#i153022> accessed on 10/10/21

⁶⁵ Gloucestershire Police Archives available on <https://gloucestershirepolicearchives.org.uk/content/how-it-all-began/chief-constables-3#:~:text=The%201st%20July%201865%20saw%20Admiral%20Henry%20Christian,within%20the%20Royal%20Navy%20before%20joining%20the%20Constabulary.> Accessed on 10/10/21



9.49. The memorial commemorates Henry Christian's service as Chief Constable, unsurprisingly it doesn't mention his role as a blockade runner.

Recommendations

9.50. The memorial is set within a grade I Listed building (the Cathedral) and is in the ownership of the Church of England so any actions would need to be agreed with the Cathedral authorities, who would consider their approach in the context of the new Church of England guidance (see **Section 6**). This review has identified the following options for consideration.

1. **Status Quo:** one option is to do nothing, this is one of a huge number of memorials in the Cathedral and is unlikely to generate special attention.

2. **Contextualise:** adding some context to this memorial to Henry Christian would be fairly easy, options include:
 - a. An adjacent information panel outlining his role as a blockade runner;
 - b. Cathedral guides could discuss this role during tours; and
 - c. Any recorded tours or online resources could also mention it.
3. **Remove:** the removal of the memorial is one option, but such an approach is unlikely to be agreed by the Cathedral authorities.

The Gloucester City Commission to Review Race Relations advised that contested heritage assets within the Cathedral should be considered as a group in the context of public engagement and education. See **General Recommendation 7**.

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The Clarke Family

9.51. John Altham Graham Clarke was the son of John Graham Clarke a Newcastle industrialist who had inherited a number of Jamaica estates from relatives or via marriage. He married Mary Elizabeth Parkinson the daughter of Leonard Parkinson a slave-factor in Jamaica (of Barrett & Parkinson⁶⁶). Leonard purchased the Frocester estate at some point between 1811 and 1814⁶⁷. John Altham Graham Clarke and Mary appear to have moved into Frocester Court by 1861 (probably earlier) and stayed there for some years ⁶⁸.

Heritage Assets

9.52. The Museum of Gloucester curates a pair of shoes worn by Edmund Newton Parkinson (ref GLRCM F02196) apparently resident at Frocester Court and presumably a relative of Leonard and Mary Parkinson. These seem such a minor object that no action is recommended.

9.53. To date this review has found no monuments relating to the Clarke or Parkinson families, although heavily involved in the slavery economy they do not seem to have been active in Gloucester.

⁶⁶ UCL, (2021). Legacies of British Slave Ownership available at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146651053> accessed 10/10/21

⁶⁷ Papers relating to purchase and ownership of Frocester estate by Leonard Parkinson, 1801-1814 Gloucestershire Archives Finding reference D1889/1/3/3

⁶⁸ Price, E.G. 2005 Richard Bigland of Frocester Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society vol 123, 145-147

The Codrington Family

9.54. Dodington House in South Gloucestershire was for many years the home of the Codrington Family, who owned very extensive Caribbean plantations and other sugar interests⁶⁹. The research in this monuments review has found no obvious links between the Codrington family and Gloucester.

Heritage Assets

9.55. In the 1860s the south-east ambulatory chapel in Gloucester Cathedral was restored at the expense of the friends of Sir Christopher William Codrington, who died in 1864 aged 59. This restoration included the installation of new windows and a new painted ceiling. The chapel is now known as the Thomas Chapel following another restoration in the 1990s when new Tom Denny windows and new furniture was installed. The previous windows were transferred to St Saviour's Church, Eastbourne. The only remaining part of the Codrington connected restoration is the ceiling. There is no public commemoration of the previous restoration or the dedication to Sir Christopher in the Cathedral⁷⁰.

9.56. In the absence of any other heritage assets associated with this family in Gloucester this review has no recommendations to make.

⁶⁹ Dresser, M. & Hann, A. (Eds) 2013, Slavery and the British Country House. English Heritage

⁷⁰ Information provided by the Cathedral Archivist at Gloucester Cathedral

The Collard Family

9.57. Elizabeth Collard was the daughter of Samuel Lysons. She married into the Collard family in 1799. She was, at abolition, awarded compensation (of £1,202) as an heir of J. M. Collard who had owned an estate on Stony Gutty in St Thomas-in-the-East, Jamaica⁷¹. She and her son John M. Collard are recorded as living at number 2 Clarence Street, Gloucester in 1851. Records in Gloucestershire Archives suggest that she held land in Hempsted, Tuffley and elsewhere, she died in 1857.

Heritage Assets

Number 2 Clarence Street

9.58. This is a grade II Listed Building dating to 1832-3. It's located on the corner of Eastgate Street and Clarence Street.



Number 2 Clarence Street

⁷¹ 'Elizabeth Collard (née Lysons)', Legacies of British Slavery database, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/15674> [accessed 13th October 2021]

Recommendations

9.59. This review has the following recommendations.

1. **Status quo:** The property does not obviously memorialise or celebrate the Collards, it may be that no action is needed.
2. **Contextualise:** Interpretation in the form of plaques or information panels could possibly be installed to explain the building's links to the Collards. Listed building consent is likely to be needed.

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The Cooper/Purnell family

9.60. Robert Bransby Cooper was a Member of Parliament for Gloucester between 1818 and 1830. He certainly recommended and even perhaps endorsed the deposits paid for 14 men as part of the 1820 Settlers of South Africa expedition led by Samuel Bradshaw. This group settled on a frontier area of British controlled South Africa to consolidate and defend the eastern frontier against the Xhosa and provide a boost to the English-speaking population⁷². They were also granted farms near the village of Bathurst. It is plausible they perhaps employed slave labour on these farms (as it was still legal in the British colonies up until 1834). Strangely the UCL website on legacies of British Slavery does record that a Robert Cooper received compensation for a single enslaved person at the Cape of Good hope⁷³.

9.61. Cooper's record in Parliament is strangely mixed. He presented anti-slavery petitions from Gloucester and a Gloucestershire parish but also voted against the motion condemning the trial of the Methodist missionary John Smith in Demerara⁷⁴. Smith was a famous abolitionist who was accused of promoting rebellion amongst enslaved people in Demerara, he was given the death sentence but died in prison before it could be carried out⁷⁵.

9.62. Cooper married Anne Purnell of Dursley and their son, Purnell Bransby Purnell adopted the surname Purnell by deed poll to become Purnell Bransby Purnell⁷⁶

Heritage Assets

Portrait of Robert Bransby Cooper in the Museum of Gloucester

9.63. The Museum of Gloucester acquired a painting of Robert Bransby Cooper in 2020. At the time of writing this, his links to the slavery economy and Britain's colonial past are unclear and it is recommended that further research is undertaken before the Museum can agree any approach to interpretation and display.

Portrait of Purnell Bransby Purnell in Shire Hall

9.64. Purnell Bransby Purnell was certainly wealthy, but at the time of writing any links to the slavery economy are unknown. Further research is recommended.

⁷² British 1820 settlers to south Africa online resource available at <https://www.1820settlers.com/genealogy/settlersshowparty.php?party=Bradshaw>

⁷³ UCL, (2021). Cape of Good Hope [online]. Legacies of British Slave Ownership. Available at <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/2120016493> visited on 20/08/2021

⁷⁴ The History of Parliament available online at <https://historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/cooper-robert-1762-1845> accessed on 22/09/2021

⁷⁵ The History of Parliament available online at <http://www.histparl.ac.uk/volume/1820-1832/constituencies/gloucester> visited on 10/10/21

⁷⁶ From the Listing record for Stancombe Park maintained by Historic England and available here <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1000782> accessed 22/09/2021

Oliver Cromwell

- 9.65. Oliver Cromwell, born on the 25th April 1599 was Lord Protector of the British Isles from the 16th of December 1653 until his death on the 3rd September 1658. Cromwell was famed for his role in the English Civil Wars, wars between King Charles I and Parliament emanating from distrust and of religious disputes. Cromwell spearheaded Parliament's New Model Army, a revolutionary "paid" army which eventually defeated the King in both the Civil War and the Second Civil War. After the King's defeat in the Second Civil War, Charles I was sentenced to death for Treason, condemned by Cromwell and 58 other signatories of the King's execution order.⁷⁷ After the death of Charles I, his son, Charles II, fled into exile fearing the same fate as his father, leaving a void for the immensely popular Cromwell to fill. Officially given his title in 1653, Oliver Cromwell became Lord Protector of the British Isles which effectively gave him the power of a monarch. With this power, Oliver Cromwell played an important indirect role in developing the Transatlantic slave trade.
- 9.66. A major factor of British expansion into the Transatlantic slave trade was Cromwell's Western Design. The Western Design was a plan to enlarge English holdings in the Caribbean by taking islands from Spain, one after another.⁷⁸ It was hoped that by achieving this, Britain could dislodge Spanish influence in the area and gain access to the Transatlantic slave trade. Britain's lack of influence in the Caribbean in the early-seventeenth century meant that 'most white landowners in Barbados and neighbouring islands were unable to purchase African slaves because they were English colonists.'⁷⁹ Thus, it was hoped that the Western Design could dislodge Spanish influence in the area and enable White landowners in the Caribbean access to African slaves.
- 9.67. However, 'Efforts to capture Hispaniola were repelled and the only success [of the Western Design] came when an expedition under the command of Admiral Sir William Penn and General Robert Venables was able to wrest Jamaica from the Spanish in 1655.'⁸⁰ The Western Design was consequently perceived to be a failure at the time.
- 9.68. However, although the capture of Jamaica may have seemed somewhat inconsequential at the time, the seizure of Jamaica from the Spanish, was the first deployment of the English state in the interests of transoceanic, as opposed to Irish colonization.⁸¹ And 'by the mid-1700s the Jamaican trade was the largest within the British Empire,'⁸² showing that Cromwell achieved in his goal of enabling transatlantic colonization. Illustrating Cromwell's role in the development of the Transatlantic slave trade.
- 9.69. In addition to the Western Design, Cromwell also has other indirect links to the Transatlantic slave trade with the East India Company (EIC), which by the 1650s was

⁷⁷ Klemp, P.J. [2016] *The Theatre of Death*. Newark: University of Delaware Press. P. 293.

⁷⁸ Burg, B.R. [1995] *Sodomy and the Pirate Tradition*, New York: New York University Press, p. 79.

⁷⁹ Rodriguez, J.P. [1997] *The Historical Encyclopaedia of World Slavery*. 'Volume 1; Volume 7'. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, p. 369.

⁸⁰ Burg, B.R. [1995] *Sodomy and the Pirate Tradition*, New York: New York University Press, p. 79.

⁸¹ Roscoe, A.A. [2008] *The Columbia Guide to Central African Literature in English Since 1945*, New York: Columbia University Press, p. 7.

⁸² Madrigal, L. [2006] *Human Biology of Afro-Caribbean Populations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 6.

firmly established in the slave trade.⁸³ Cromwell ensured the success of the EIC in several ways. In 1657, the EIC obtained a charter from the Lord Protector by which the Courten Association and Assada Association (competitors to the EIC) were united with the Company, and the Company's different stocks were drawn into one joint stock.⁸⁴ Additionally, in 1657, Cromwell's government received a loan of £50,000 from the EIC which ingratiated the Company with Cromwell's government.⁸⁵ Thus, Cromwell's early support to the EIC undoubtedly enabled their success, facilitating large-scale transportation of slaves from East Africa by the EIC between the 1730s and early 1750s.⁸⁶

9.70. To conclude, Cromwell has an indirect link to the Transatlantic slave trade. With the Western Plan, Cromwell sought to dislodge Spanish influence in the area and gain access to the Transatlantic slave trade. Although the Western Plan was perceived to be a failure, Cromwell captured Jamaica which played an essential role in the Transatlantic slave trade a century later. Likewise, Cromwell also enabled the development of the EIC which transported slaves from East Africa in the mid-1700s.

Heritage Assets

Cromwell Street

9.71. Cromwell Street in Gloucester may potentially be named after Oliver Cromwell. There are however other Cromwells (for example Thomas Cromwell), also Cromwell's role in the history of Britain is far wider than an involvement in the slavery economy and there is no evidence that he benefitted directly. Cromwell Street in Gloucester is infamous for other reasons and this review is uncertain how any attempt to rename the street would be viewed. It is suggested that this is not a priority.

⁸³ Rodriguez, J.P. [1997] *The Historical Encyclopaedia of World Slaver*. 'Volume 1; Volume 7'. Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, p. 232.

⁸⁴ The National Archives [2008] *Charters of the East India Company with related documents: the parchment records*. [Online] The National Archives. Available at: <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/16e42ef9-0b6c-4f6e-acb6-27cac99de0b4> [Accessed 23 November 2020].

⁸⁵ Bogart, D. [2015]. There can be no Partnership with the King, *Regulatory Commitment and the Tortured Rise of England's East Indian Merchant Empire*. [Seminar] 15 January. Available at: https://eml.berkeley.edu/~webfac/seminars/bogart_211seminar.pdf [Accessed 23 November 2020].

⁸⁶ Britannica. [2001] *East India Company*. [online] Britannica. Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/East-India-Company> [accessed 23 November 2020].

Richard Donovan

9.72. Richard Donovan was a barrister in Gloucestershire and plantation owner in Antigua. He was almost certainly (until his death in 1816) the owner of the Donovans estate on Antigua. He bought Tibberton Court (to the west of Gloucester) in 1807 and the manor in 1815. There is a memorial to him in the chancel of Tibberton church.⁸⁷ Tibberton Court is very close to Gloucester but thus far no heritage assets linked to him have been found in the city.

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⁸⁷ UCL, (2021). *Richard Donovan* [online]. Legacies of British Slave Ownership. Available at: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146630585> [Accessed 21st May 2021]

John Gladstone

- 9.73. Born in Liverpool in 1746, John Gladstone was a merchant and politician who accumulated a great deal of wealth as a result of dealings in the West Indies.⁸⁸ By 1820 Gladstone had accumulated a business fortune worth over £333,000, half of which came from his Demerara sugar plantation and West Indian loans and trading partnerships.⁸⁹
- 9.74. Gladstone's initial business successes were a result of trade in Calcutta, India.⁹⁰ He also invested in shipowning and property while still in Liverpool.⁹¹ He and his brother, Robert, first became involved in trade in the West Indies in 1803.⁹² He bought his largest estate, the Vreedenhoop estate in Demerara in 1826 for £80,000, where 430 people were enslaved.⁹³ He also became the chairman of the West Indian Association in Liverpool.⁹⁴ Gladstone's Demerara plantation is of particular note as the centre of one of the most significant rebellions, which took place there on the 18th August 1823.⁹⁵ The conflict resulted in the deaths of around 200 enslaved people; and 51 who were executed for their part in the revolt.⁹⁶ Gladstone reacted with anger; he claimed, for example, that he was "not sorry" to hear about the death of Methodist missionary, John Smith, who had been imprisoned following the rebellion.⁹⁷ The Demerara rebellion was of particular note because it was a key source of inspiration for Samuel Sharpe, who organised a revolt later that year known as the Baptist War, or Christmas Rebellion, which is considered the largest rebellion of enslaved people in the British Caribbean.⁹⁸
- 9.75. Gladstone's influence in Gloucester was mostly centred around his investment in banking. He first moved to Gloucester in order for he and his family to take advantage of the spa waters and their health benefits.⁹⁹ He saw an opportunity to 'establish for [himself] an important political interest' in Gloucester for the sake of himself or perhaps one of his sons.¹⁰⁰ In 1825 he was approached by Turner, Turner and Morris, for a £10,000 investment.¹⁰¹ Gladstone hoped that this would provide him with an opportunity to set an example for how he felt banking should be properly run, as he had been reluctant to invest in banks until this point.¹⁰²

⁸⁸ UCL, (2021). *John Gladstone* [online]. Legacies of British Slave Ownership. Available at: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/8961> [Accessed 9th February 2021]

⁸⁹ Fisher D.R. eds. (2009) *Gladstone, John* (1764-1851). The History of Parliament. Available at: <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/gladstone-john-1764-1851> [Accessed 9th February 2021]

⁹⁰ UCL, (2021). *John Gladstone* [online]. Legacies of British Slave Ownership. Available at: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/8961> [Accessed 9th February 2021]

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Quintault, R. (2009) Gladstone and Slavery. *The Historical Journal*. 52.2. pp. 363-383

⁹⁵ Sheridan R. B. (2002). The Condition of the Slaves on the Sugar Plantations of Sir John Gladstone in the Colony of Demerara, 1812-49. *NWIG: New West Indian Guide*. 76.3/4. pp. 243-269

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Fisher D.R. eds. (2009) *Gladstone, John* (1764-1851). The History of Parliament. Available at: <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/gladstone-john-1764-1851> [Accessed 9th February 2021]

⁹⁸ Momodu S. (2017) *The Baptist War (1831-1832)*. Black Past. Available at: <https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/baptist-war-1831-1832/> [Accessed 9th February 2021]

⁹⁹ Fisher D.R. eds. (2009) *Gladstone, John* (1764-1851). The History of Parliament. Available at: <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/gladstone-john-1764-1851> [Accessed 9th February 2021]

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

- 9.76. As a MP John Gladstone had the ability to influence the city economy via his membership of the foreign trade committee of the house of commons¹⁰³, covering the import and export economy. As such Gladstone was in a position of power with a vote and ability to recommend improvements and generally influence government policy impacting the city of Gloucester. During this period Gloucester experienced substantial economic growth created by the export industry and the docks¹⁰⁴. As a working member of the committee Gladstone advocated the ending of the east India company's trade privileges¹⁰⁵. During the mid-1800's the British East India Company ceased to engage in commerce and numerous studies have illustrated the benefits to the British economy created by access to Indian markets¹⁰⁶ which would have included the city of Gloucester. Gladstone as MP was an acknowledged expert on plantation conditions during parliamentary debates¹⁰⁷. Whilst a firm opponent of abolition Gladstone did express limited and qualified support for gradual reform¹⁰⁸.
- 9.77. At the time of Gladstone's residence at Gloucester Spa, its limited success had nevertheless led to substantial developments being completed¹⁰⁹. John Gladstone kept a residential address in Beaufort buildings¹¹⁰ an affluent development¹¹¹. John Gladstone had business ties to Gloucester via a bank founded as Turner, Turner and Morris. At the time of his involvement the original partnership suffered bankruptcy, due to undercapitalization¹¹².
- 9.78. John Gladstone was also a member of the committee of the Gloucester and Berkeley Canal Company when it commissioned Barton Haigh (a Liverpool architect) to design the North Warehouse¹¹³.

¹⁰³ Hansard 5 June 1820 vol.1. foreign trade. Available at [<https://hansard.parliament.uk/>] (accessed at 21.12 on 0/07/2021)

¹⁰⁴ The parliamentary Gazetteer of England and Wales (A Fullaton and co Edinburgh 1854) Pg.165 available at [https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/The_Parliamentary_Gazetteer_of_England_a/0_QMLXjF90cC?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=Gloucester+Spa&pg=PA160&printsec=frontcover] (accessed at 12.05 on 30/6/21)

¹⁰⁵ A Robbins the early life of William Ewart Gladstone (Dodd Mead and co New York NY 1894) pg.32 available at [https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/The_Early_Public_Life_of_William_Ewart_G/gSQQAAAAYAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0] (accessed at 11.28 on 05/07/2021)

¹⁰⁶ E.g. for recent postcolonial historiography refer T Roy how British rule changed India's economy (Palgrave McMillan Cham, Switzerland) A Webster the twilight of the East India Company (Boydell and Brewer Woodbridge Suffolk 2009)

¹⁰⁷ Hansard 1st June 1824 vol.11 columns 1056-1057.

¹⁰⁸ The correspondence between John Gladstone Esq and James Cropper (Liverpool West India association 1824) pg.16 available at

[https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/The_Correspondence_Between_John_Gladston/ELMNAQAQAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1] (accessed at 10.37 on 05/07/21) alias Mercator is Gladstone.

¹⁰⁹ Phyllis Hemby ed L.W Cowie and E.E Cowie A social history of British spas from 1815 to the present (Farleigh Dickinson Cranbury NJ 1997) pg.82 available at [https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/British_Spas_from_1815_to_the_Present/QvDwk4YMAR8C?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=Gloucester+Spa&printsec=frontcover] (accessed at 12.13 on 30/06/2021)

¹¹⁰ W.E Gladstone's journals vol.1-2 ed Foot MRD (Oxford University press Oxford 1969) pg.1 available at [https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/The_Gladstone_Diaries/zWSHCvG6sHsC?hl=en&gbpv=0] (accessed at 20.41 on 06/07/21)

¹¹¹ G.W Counsel The History and description of the City of Gloucester (J Bulgin London 1829) pg.188 available at [https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/The_History_and_Description_of_the_City/rYE3AAAAYAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0] (accessed at 11.03 on 07/08/2021)

¹¹² Nicholls G A History of the poor law (Lawbook Exchange Clark, NJ 2007) pg. xx available at [https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/A_History_of_the_English_Poor_Law_in_Con/fnxN8C8719MC?hl=en&gbpv=0] (accessed at 20.44 on 06/07/2021)

¹¹³ Conway-Jones, H. 1988 Gloucester Docks an Illustrated History

Heritage Assets

Beaufort Buildings

9.79. Whilst in Gloucester Gladstone and family were resident in Beaufort Buildings, which are located on Spa Road.



9.80. Beaufort Buildings are a group of Grade II Listed buildings created as part of Gloucester's failed Spa development (see **Appendix E**). this review has not been able to establish exactly which of the properties was Gladstone's.

Recommendations

9.81. This review has the following recommendations.

1. **Status quo:** The property does not obviously memorialise or celebrate John Gladstone, it may be that no action is needed.
2. **Contextualise:** Interpretation in the form of plaques or information panels could easily be installed to explain the building's links to John Gladstone. Likewise, historic tours of the area could be updated to include that information.

North Warehouse

- 9.82. Gladstone was a member of the committee of the of the Gloucester and Berkeley Canal Company when it commissioned Barton Haigh (a Liverpool architect) to design the North Warehouse in 1826.



- 9.83. North Warehouse is a grade II Listed Building.

Recommendations

- 9.84. This review has the following recommendations.

1. **Status quo:** The property does not obviously memorialise or celebrate John Gladstone, it may be that no action is needed.
2. **Contextualise:** Interpretation in the form of plaques or information panels could easily be installed to explain the building's links to John Gladstone. Likewise, historic tours of the docks area could be updated to include that information.

Gladstone Road

9.85. There is a Gladstone Road in Podsmead – but it's unclear after which Gladstone it is named – it may be William Gladstone (the son of John) whose attitude to the slavery economy was more complex than his fathers. No action is recommended.

DRAFT

Button Gwinnett

- 9.86. Button Gwinnett (1735-1777) son of Samuel and Anne Gwinnet was an American Founding Father, who, as a representative of Georgia to the Continental Congress, was one of the signatories on the United States Declaration of Independence. He was also, briefly, the provisional president of Georgia in 1777, and Gwinnett County in the United States was named after him. Peculiarly, Button Gwinnet also has ties to Gloucester. Button was born in Down Hatherly, Gloucestershire,¹¹⁴ and was apparently baptised at St Catherine Church, Gloucester on the 10th of April 1735.¹¹⁵ Although, at the time of his baptism, St Catherine Church was demolished, meaning he was most likely baptised at one of St. Mary de Lode, St. Nicholas or St. John the Baptist.¹¹⁶
- 9.87. Gwinnett's father was the Vicar of Down Hatherley church, but also, from 1735 the rector of St. Nicholas's church on Westgate Street. Perhaps because of this, he seems to have rented a house or lodging at 10 College Green in 1741¹¹⁷. Gwinnett himself attended King's School which was, at that time, located in the school room of the Cathedral¹¹⁸.
- 9.88. Gwinnett, after five years working for his uncle, moved to Wolverhampton in 1755. In 1757 he married Ann Bourne. In the same year he was admitted as a freeman of the City of Gloucester, it is unclear why. After this time Gwinnett became a transatlantic trader in Bristol but was ultimately forced into liquidation by a trade slump in 1761¹¹⁹.
- 9.89. This seems to have been the event which triggered Button Gwinnett's emigration to America. *'In 1763, Button emigrated to Charleston, South Carolina, where he became a friend of Henry Laurens, a political leader of that colony. Button Gwinnet then relocated to Savannah, Georgia in 1765, where he bought a store and established himself as a trader.'*¹²⁰ However, in 1770, Button liquidated all of his assets¹²¹ and together with £3000 he borrowed from lenders, he purchased St Catherine's Island, located off the coast of Georgia. With this, Button bought a large number of enslaved people and turned the island into a plantation.¹²² The exact number of enslaved peoples is unknown; however, it was enough to sustain the plantation for a number of years.
- 9.90. Gwinnett may have purchased the island more with a view to qualifying for election to public office (ownership of land was a requirement) and he certainly knew very little about agriculture. From 1768 Gwinnett began to enter politics gradually rising through the ranks of Georgia's political offices. By 1776 Gwinnett was attending

¹¹⁴ Anon, [1975] *The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings*, Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, p. 62.

¹¹⁵ Anon, (1735). *St Catherine's Registry*. [Manuscript] Held at: Gloucester: Gloucestershire Archives. Ref: PMF 154/7

¹¹⁶ Anon. [2015] Button Gwinnet 1735-1777. [blog post] 28 April. Available at: <http://www.gwinnett.me.uk/characters/button-gwinnett-1735-1777> [Accessed 30 January 2021]

¹¹⁷ Gwinnett Sharpe, C. 2016 *Button Gwinnett – Failed Merchant, Planation Owner, Mountebank, Opportunist Politician and Founding Father* Youcaxon Publications

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*

¹¹⁹ *Ibid*

¹²⁰ Semkiw, W. *Return of the Revolutionaries*. Newburyport: Hampton Roads Publishing, ch. 17.

¹²¹ *Ibid*.

¹²² Anon, *The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings*, p. 62.

the Continental Congress in Philadelphia as a delegate from Georgia he would go on to sign the US declaration of independence¹²³. In 1776 he was heavily involved in the writing of the state constitution of Georgia which widened the franchise whilst still excluding women and 'people of colour'¹²⁴. In 1777 he was killed in a duel with an officer of the (American) Continental Army called Lachlan McIntosh.

9.91. An inventory of the goods owned by Button Gwinnett is held by the Georgia Archives. The second page includes a list of enslaved people owned by Gwinnett at the time of his death in 1777. The list includes the name and 'value' of the enslaved person. For example:

- *'A mulatto wench named Moll £120*
- *A negro girl named Charlotte £60*
- *A negro boy named Stafford £80'*

9.92. Over 50 people are listed in the document – which otherwise lists possessions such as sheets, washstands, cattle and so on. The majority of the enslaved people 'owned' by Gwinnett appear to have been young men, potentially working on his plantation at St Catherine's or at other properties he owned later on¹²⁵. The inventory lists the name of every enslaved person 'owned' by Gwinnett at the time. It is a bleak and striking reminder of the human cost of the slavery economy.

9.93. In summary then Button Gwinnett was a confirmed owner of enslaved people, who benefitted directly from the slavery economy right up until his death.

Heritage Assets

9.94. There is a Gwinnett Drive located in Longford just outside the district boundary, which falls outside the remit of this review.

9.95. A number of local websites mention Gwinnett including:

- <https://www.gloucestercivictrust.org/american-connections/>
- <https://www.visitgloucester.co.uk/blog/read/2021/01/gloucesters-american-connections-b25>
- <https://www.thekingsschool.co.uk/king-s-community/king-s-alumni>

9.96. None of these websites really address Gwinnett's role as a slaveholder.

Buildings in Gloucester

9.97. Gwinnett would have spent much of his time in his youth in the Westgate and Cathedral Close area of Gloucester. Buildings associated with his time in the city are St. Nicholas's Church, no. 10 College Green and the Cathedral schoolroom/King's School. There are no memorials or plaques relating to Gwinnett on any of these buildings. Should there be any forthcoming attempt to highlight or commemorate

¹²³ Gwinnett Sharpe, C. 2016 Button Gwinnett – Failed Merchant, Planation Owner, Mountebank, Opportunist Politician and Founding Father Youcaxon Publications

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Georgia Archives Virtual Vault available here: <https://vault.georgiaarchives.org/digital/collection/corp/id/3679/rec/4> accessed on 02/10/201

Button Gwinnett it is recommended that his role in the slavery economy is considered and acknowledged.

DRAFT

The Hayward Family of Quedgeley

- 9.98. William Hayward built Quedgeley House (which appears to have been demolished in the 20th century) in 1672. Deeds from that estate dating to 1690 include papers relating to a plantation called Brewer's Bay in Tortola (British Virgin Islands)¹²⁶. Quedgeley House remained in the family ownership for the next three centuries being passed down through various descendants.
- 9.99. William Hayward's great granddaughter - called Albinia Hayward was recorded as having a fortune of at least £30,000¹²⁷. She married Thomas Winstone II of Bristol (himself heavily involved in the slavery economy) in 1723. They lived at Oldbury Court in Bristol. On her death she left a £5 to a 'black servant' called Jasper.
- 9.100. Another descendant (although possibly from a separate branch of the family) – Samuel Hayward has also been identified as '*a merchant with slavery interests*'¹²⁸. He remodelled Wallsworth Hall in 1740¹²⁹. Certainly, Wallsworth Hall has a central mahogany staircase installed by Hayward which would have been the product of enslaved labour.
- 9.101. The estate at Quedgeley passed from William Hayward Winstone in 1818 to his daughter Albinia Frances – who then married the Revd. John Adey Curtis. The name 'Curtis-Hayward' was then adopted by their descendants until the selling of the Quedgeley estate in 1939¹³⁰.

Heritage Assets

Quedgeley House

- 9.102. At its height this impressive complex of buildings included an area of parkland, green houses, ponds, and a sizable manor house. Demolished after 1939 the site of the manor is now the Quedgeley Local Nature Reserve off Curtis Hayward Road. It is owned and managed by Quedgeley Town Council.

Recommendations

- 9.103. This review has the following recommendations:
1. **Status quo:** The manor house is no longer there, and there is no obvious memorial to the Hayward family on the site – no action is considered necessary.
 2. **Contextualise:** One approach would be to work in partnership with the Town Council to produce some interpretation about the historic use of the site that included discussion of the links between Quedgeley house and the slavery economy.

¹²⁶ Dresser, M. & Hann, A. (Eds) 2011 Slavery and the British Country House

¹²⁷ *ibid*

¹²⁸ *ibid*

¹²⁹ *ibid*

¹³⁰ Herbert, N M. (Ed) 1988 A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 4, the City of Gloucester. Victoria County History

Curtis Hayward Road

9.104. A road in Quedgeley named after the Curtis Hayward family. It is located close to historic location of Quedgeley House.

1. **Resignify:** One approach would be to consider renaming the street see **Section 6** of this report.

Memorials in St. James's church

9.105. A number of funerary monuments have been identified in St. James – all are very descriptive and no action is recommended.

A portrait of John Curtis Hayward in Shire Hall

9.106. A portrait of John Curtis-Hayward (1804-1874) is on display in Shire Hall. Curtis Hayward is not mentioned in the UCL Legacies of slavery website, it's possible that the families interests in the slavery economy had, by this time, been sold off. That said John Curtis-Hayward was the inheritor of Quedgeley Manor and substantial land holdings which had been established and paid, at least in part, by large-scale involvement in the slavery economy in the previous generations.

Recommendations

9.107. The review has the following recommendation:

1. **Contextualise:** Interpretation in the form of information panels or perhaps QR codes could easily be added next to the portrait (and others) which could explain this individual's links to the slavery and perhaps the paintings more general history.

A memorial in the Cathedral

9.108. Gloucester Cathedral contains a memorial to Samuel Hayward and his son of the same name and his wife Catherine. It reads:

*'Sacred to the memory of Samuel Hayward Esq.
Of Wallsworth Hall near this City
many years in the Commission of the Peace for this County
In his official Department as a Magistrate he was active upright and vigilant
in private Life a tender Husband / a sincere Friend and a good Christian'*

Recommendations

9.109. Whilst this review is not generally concerned with funerary monuments it may be felt that a monument which is more commemorative and celebratory such as this this may warrant consideration. This review has the following recommendation:

1. **Status quo:** This is one of a large number of memorials and may not be considered a priority.
2. **Contextualise:** Interpretation in the form of information panels or perhaps QR codes could easily be added next to this memorial and potentially others in the Cathedral which could explain this individuals links to the slavery.
3. **Repurpose:** a temporary art installation or similar installed next to this memorial could provide an interesting juxtaposition to the text of the memorial. With further research details of Samuel Hayward's involvement in the slavery economy could be highlighted.

The Gloucester City Commission to Review Race Relations advised that contested heritage assets within the Cathedral should be considered as a group in the context of public engagement and education. See **General Recommendation 7**.

Street Names

- 9.110. There is a Curtis Hayward Drive in Quedgeley and a Hayward Close in Barnwood. No action is advised with either – links between the Curtis Haywards and the slavery economy are at a remove when compared with the original Haywards. It is uncertain if Hayward Close, being so far from Quedgeley was named for this Hayward family.

Isaac Hull

9.111. Isaac Hull (1773 – 1843) was a Commodore in the United States Navy. He played an important role in a number of conflicts. He is mentioned in this report because of his role as the Commandant of the Washington Navy Yard.

9.112. Between 1829 and 1835 Hull was the Commandant of the Washington Navy Yard which used enslaved labour. Hull's role in the Navy yard is more complex than can be given time in this report, but in essence he perpetuated the used of black labour in the yard, some of which was free but the majority of which was enslaved. The use of enslaved labour was, by that time technically forbidden¹³¹. The use of both free and enslaved black labour in the yard was a contributory factor to a strike at the yard in 1835, which led on to the Washington 'Snow Riots' which were essentially a series of attacks on Washington's black community undertaken by white naval yard workers who felt that the employment of black people (free or enslaved) in the naval yard threatened their own rights and privileges¹³². This is a complex and nuanced part of history and Hull's role in the events that took place is likewise complex.

Heritage Assets

City Museum

9.113. The Museum of Gloucester holds a powder flask made of horn with a depiction of Hull on one side (GLRCM: F00100). The flask dates from the late 19th century and was actually produced in Bewdley in Worcestershire for export to the American market.

Recommendations

9.114. This review has one recommendation:

1. **Contextualise:** Hull's role at the Washington Yard is complex and requires more discussion than can be undertaken in this report. If this object is on display there is an opportunity to discuss Hull and his role as commandant of the Washington Yard, and the awful events of the Snow Riots. Information held by the Museum, including the object history file and online via the Collections Management System will be updated to reflect this research on Hull, the Washington Yard and Snow Riots.

Please see **General Recommendation 4**

¹³¹ Hoehne, P. Rereading the Riot Acts: Race, Labor, and the Washington, D.C. Snow Riot of 1835 available on <https://www.riotacts.org/stories/snowriot.html> accessed on 12/10/21

¹³² Ibid

William Juxon

- 9.115. William Juxon held a number of ecclesiastical offices *Archbishop of Canterbury and primate of all England 1660-1663*¹³³, *Bishop of London 1633 -1660*¹³⁴, *Bishop Elect of Hereford 1633*¹³⁵, *Dean of Worcester 1627-1633*¹³⁶, *Prebendary of Marden Chichester 1622*¹³⁷ *Rector of East Marden 1622*¹³⁸ *Rector of Sommerton 1615-1620*¹³⁹ *vicar of St Giles oxford 1610-1616*¹⁴⁰
- 9.116. Major Secular offices *Lord High Treasurer 1635-1641*¹⁴¹ *Vice-chancellor of Oxford University*¹⁴², *President of St John's College Oxford 1621-33*¹⁴³ *fellow of St John's (with intermissions) from 1598*¹⁴⁴.
- 9.117. Born to a family of diocesan officials¹⁴⁵, Juxon received his education at the London merchant Taylors school¹⁴⁶. Afterwards Juxon pursued a religious vocation whilst an oxford don¹⁴⁷, then a commonplace practice. St John's college was noted for its high churchmanship¹⁴⁸ and the sustained opposition of most of the college body to radical reform¹⁴⁹. History shows Juxon held several junior ecclesiastical offices noted above. None were directly connected with the diocese of Gloucester.
- 9.118. After the collapse of King Charles personal rule Juxon left government for his diocesan duties and was not an active participant in the civil war. William Juxon administered the last rites to Charles 1st¹⁵⁰. After the restoration Juxon was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury¹⁵¹.

¹³³ W F Hook Lives of the archbishops of Canterbury vol.VI reformation period (Richard Bentley and Son London 1875) pg.424 available at:

[https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/Lives_of_the_Archbishops_of_Canterbury/_bZmAAAAcAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0] (accessed at 12.28 on 06/09/2021) hereinafter lives of the archbishops

¹³⁴ Hook Lives pp, 397, 424

¹³⁵ Hook Lives pp, 397, 424

¹³⁶ W Hennessy Marah Memoirs of Archbishop Juxon (James Parker and Co Oxford 1869) pg.18 available at

[https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/Memoirs_of_Archbishop_Juxon_and_His_Time/8IlbAAAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0] (accessed at 06/09/2021)

¹³⁷ T.S Mason Serving God and Marmon William Juxon 1582-1663 (University of Delaware Press Newark Delaware 1985) pg.32 available at: [https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/Serving_God_and_Mammon/mSjphHhHH4AC?hl=en&gbpv=0] (accessed at 11.58 on 06/09/2021) N.B Prebendary is an alternative style for a cathedral canon

¹³⁸ Mason Serving God pg.32

¹³⁹ Mason Serving God pg.29

¹⁴⁰ Mason Serving God Pp.25, 29

¹⁴¹ WF Hook Lives of the archbishops of Canterbury vol.VI reformation period (Richard Bentley and Son London 1875) pg.398-399 available at:

[https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/Lives_of_the_Archbishops_of_Canterbury/_bZmAAAAcAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0] (accessed at 12.28 on 06/09/2021) hereinafter lives of the archbishops

¹⁴² Hennessy Memoirs pg.17

¹⁴³ A Hegarty a Biographical Register of St John's College Oxford (Boydell Press Woodbridge Suffolk 2011) Pg.83 available at: [https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/A_Biographical_Register_of_St_John_s_Col/jhslycOY6N8C?hl=en&gbpv=0] (accessed at 12.08 on 06/09/2021)

¹⁴⁴ M.A Lower the Worthies of Sussex (Subscription printing George F Bacon Lewis Sussex 1865) Pg.80 available at: [https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/The_Worthies_of_Sussex/G2Y-AQAIAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0] (accessed at 12.11 on 06/09/2011)

¹⁴⁵ Lower Worthies of Sussex Pg.79

¹⁴⁶ Serving God pg.19

¹⁴⁷ Mason Serving God pg.24

¹⁴⁸ St John's college website page chapel and Choir available at: [<https://www.sjc.ox.ac.uk/discover/about-college/chapel-and-choir/>] (accessed at 12.14 on 06/09/2021)

¹⁴⁹ Mason Serving God pg.21

¹⁵⁰ Hennessy Marsh memoirs pg.58

¹⁵¹ JF Nash The sacramental church the story of Anglo-Catholicism (Wipf and Stock Eugene OR 2011) pg.49 available at: [https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/The_Sacramental_Church/TL1MAwAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0] (accessed at 12.23 on 06/09/2021)

9.119. There is no obvious evidence of Juxon being linked to the slavery economy. He is included in this review because of the painted glass window mentioned below in which Juxon's coat of arms includes 'blackamoor heads'. The symbol is often used in heraldry by families with a link to the Crusades – so there is no definite link to the slavery economy inferred. However, to quote some historic research on the topic:

'Given the date of the adoption of the Juxon family arms in the 1630s, however, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the emblem was linked to the transatlantic slave trade that was beginning to develop at that point. It is clear that members of the Juxon family were involved in this lucrative trade. Several were prominent leaders of the Merchant Taylors' Company, an organisation which had been founded in the Middle Ages for tailors but by the 17th and 18th centuries had been widened to include most branches of international trade. One of William Juxon's uncles, Thomas Juxon, was a warden of the company in 1595 and was described as a 'sugar baker and refiner'. Other members of the family had ties to the American colony of Virginia.' Evans, D. 2020 The Coat of Arms of William Juxon, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the Old Bishop's Palace at Gloucester (unpublished – kindly provided by the King's School, Gloucester).

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Heritage Assets

Painted glass window in the Bishop's Palace

- 9.120. The Old Bishop's Palace in Gloucester (now part of the King's School) was built in the mid 19th century. Many of the windows in the building contain panels of heraldic painted glass – including the coat of arms of Archbishop William Juxon. These were adopted by the Juxon family in 1633 they depict on the left *'the arms of the Archbishopric of Canterbury described in heraldic terms as follows: Azure an Archipiscopal Staff in pale Or surmounted of a Pall Argent fringed Or charged with four Crosses paty fitchy Sable. On the right of the shield are the arms of Juxon: Or a Cross Gules between four Blackamoor Heads affront coupled at the shoulders proper.'*¹⁵²



¹⁵² Evans, D. 2020 The Coat of Arms of William Juxon, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the Old Bishop's Palace at Gloucester (unpublished – kindly provided by the King's School, Gloucester).

9.121. The available evidence would seem to suggest that the Juxon coat of arms was a creation of the wider family who were heavily involved in the Merchant Taylors Company in the City of London. The coat of arms may have been granted to John Juxon (born c. 1523) and used by the wider family since then. It's still unclear why this particular design was chosen by John Juxon – or what it was intended to mean¹⁵³.

9.122. In conclusion the coat of arms of the Juxon family may have been a reference to involvement in the slavery economy – but it equally may have been chosen for another reason – certainly the coat of arms pre-dates any proven link between the family and the slavery economy. Whilst the wider family do apparently have some links to the slavery economy, potentially via the Merchant Taylors Company and sugar baking, there is no evidence to link Juxon himself to the slavery economy.

Recommendations

9.123. At the time of writing there is no solid link between this heritage assets and the slavery economy. We therefore have no recommendations to make.

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¹⁵³ 'Juxon's Arms' Note from Garter King of Arms (18 July 2020):

Increase Mather

9.124. Increase Mather was born in Massachusetts in 1639 and, after graduating from Harvard he moved to Ireland then to Gloucester in 1660 where he served, briefly as the Minister of St Mary de Lode church¹⁵⁴. He left in 1660 and returned to Massachusetts.

9.125. Research suggests that Mather did 'own' an enslaved person. Online articles from Harvard University suggest that he 'owned an enslaved person named 'Spaniard'¹⁵⁵. Mather appears to have freed 'Spaniard' in his will¹⁵⁶.

Heritage Assets

9.126. Thus far no heritage assets have been found in relation to Mather. He is occasionally flagged as an 'American link' for Gloucester. He is included in this report for future reference.

¹⁵⁴ Herbert, N M. (Ed) 1988 A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 4, the City of Gloucester. Victoria County History

¹⁵⁵ Natanson, H. 2017 The Harvard Crimson available on <https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2017/2/22/mather-house-increase-exhibit/> accessed on 02/10/21

¹⁵⁶ McDonald, C. & Aspelund, K. M. (Eds) Increase What's in a name? The man, his legacy, and the naming of Mather House available online at https://mather.harvard.edu/files/mather/files/increasemather_e-book_web.pdf accessed 02/10/21

The Maitland Family

9.127. The first reference to the Maitland family in Gloucester relates to the construction of Maitland House in the Gloucester Spa development (see **Appendix E**) by Thomas Rickman for Alexander Maitland, a 'former London merchant'¹⁵⁷. This is Alexander Maitland the younger who was a partner in Maitland, Bond & Pearse West India and general merchants of London¹⁵⁸. He appears to have been a partner until 1807 when he retired from the trade¹⁵⁹. His uncle, Ebenezer Maitland, was a founder of Maitland, Ede & Bond (later Maitland, Bond & Pearse), one-time director of the Bank of England¹⁶⁰ and married to Mary Winter. Maitland, Ede & Bond were factors for the sale of goods produce by enslaved labour from the West Indies in London¹⁶¹.

9.128. Records of the shareholders in Christ Church in the Spa from 1821 show Alexander Maitland making donations of about £60 towards the construction of the church (see **Appendix E**). They also refer to a Reverend S R Maitland. This is Samuel Roffey Maitland, the son of Alexander, who was by 1823 perpetual curate of the recently built Christ Church, at Gloucester, where he until 1827¹⁶².

9.129. Alexander Maitland certainly made some of his money in Maitland, Ede & Bond as a West India Merchant and certainly may have paid for Maitland House with those funds when he retired to the Gloucester Spa. As his son and inheritor, the Reverend Maitland may also have been the recipient of funding from enslaved labour.

¹⁵⁷ Herbert, N M. (Ed) 1988 A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 4, the City of Gloucester. Victoria County History

¹⁵⁸ UCL, (2021). Alexander Maitland the Younger [online]. Legacies of British Slave Ownership. Available at: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/commercial/view/2146007079> [Accessed 04/10/21]

¹⁵⁹ Ibid

¹⁶⁰ Ibid

¹⁶¹ Philips, U. B. 1926 An Antigua Plantation 1769-1818 in The North Carolina Historical Review

Vol. 3, No. 3 available https://www.jstor.org/stable/23517134?seq=4#metadata_info_tab_contents accessed on 04/10/21

¹⁶² Samuel Roffey Maitland Biography available on <https://www.howold.co/person/samuel-roffey-maitland/biography> accessed on 07/10/21

Heritage Assets

9.130. There are three potential heritage assets linked to the Maitland family in Gloucester.

Maitland House



9.131. Maitland House was built for Alexander Maitland by the Gloucester builder Thomas Rickman around 1820. It is today a grade II Listed Building located on Spa Road. Maitland appears to have retired to the Gloucester spa in the 1820s. It bears the name of a definite beneficiary of the slavery economy, so may be considered to memorialise that individual.

Recommendations

9.132. Some potential options are outlined below.

1. **Status Quo:** one option is to do nothing; the house is relatively modest and may not represent an especially high profile monument.
2. **Contextualise:** some form of public information or interpretation panels, perhaps referring to the wider Spa development could discuss this issue.
3. **Resignify:** one option would be to seek to rename the house (see **Section 6**).

9.133. This is a relatively new address to the rear of Maitland House.

Recommendations

9.134. Some potential options are outlined below.

1. **Status Quo:** one option is to do nothing; Maitland Mews is a modest area to the rear of the property.
2. **Contextualise:** as with the house, some form of public information or interpretation panels, perhaps referring to the wider Spa development could discuss this issue.
3. **Resignify:** one option would be to seek to rename this street.

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Christ Church



9.135. Christ Church was built around 1822-23. Research undertaken for this review has shown that Alexander Maitland and the Rev. Samuel Roffey Maitland both contributed to the creation of the church, albeit in relatively small amounts (see **Appendix E**). The Rev. Maitland then became the perpetual curate of the church when it opened. This is a fairly certain, if rather small scale, link to the slavery economy.

1. **Status Quo:** the church is not an obvious monument to the Maitland's, it may be that no action is warranted.
2. **Contextualise:** some form of public information or interpretation panels, perhaps referring to the wider Spa development could discuss this issue.

James Henry Monk

- 9.136. James Henry Monk Bishop of Gloucester 1836 to 1856. Monk is included in this review because of his patronage of George Wilson Bridges. Bridges was a rector in Jamaica who became a quite famous anti-abolitionist – writing publicly against Wilberforce (see **Appendix F**). By 1829 Bridges was becoming a target for anti-slavery journalism in Britain. Bridges as a magistrate also had a record of some violence toward enslaved people, one case drawing comment in the house of Commons. After abolition he attacked the apprenticeship system arguing against the loss of slaveholder power.
- 9.137. Bridges ultimately returned to Britain in 1842. On his return he gained the patronage of James Henry Monk who granted him the rectorship of Maisemore near Gloucester. After some time away from his post (travelling around the Mediterranean) Bridges returned to Gloucester where Monk made Bridges his secretary and granted him the living of Beachley near Chepstow¹⁶³.
- 9.138. Given that Bridges was such a public anti-abolitionist, known at a national level, the patronage of James Henry Monk feels rather telling, Monk was known to be a conservative, even reactionary figure, and his public support for such a divisive figure as Bridges seems like an endorsement.

¹⁶³ UCL George Wilson Bridges Legacies of British Slavery available on <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/11365> accessed 10/10/21

Heritage Assets

A memorial in the Cathedral

9.139. Gloucester Cathedral contains a memorial to James Henry Monk. It reads:

'The ornamental Glass of the West Window is dedicated to the honour of Almighty GOD Father Son and Holy Ghost to be a grateful memorial/of his benefits to this Diocese by raising to its Episcopate His Servant James Henry Monk D.D. enduing him with constancy of purpose and the liberal application of his means towards building Churches supplying Parsonages erecting Schools and aiding infirm incumbents by the assistance of Curates James Henry Monk born Dec 13th 1782 attained a Fellowship of Trinity College in the University of Cambridge in 1805 was unanimously elected Regius Professor of Greek in 1808 appointed Dean in Peterborough in 1822 consecrated Bishop of this Diocese in 1830 and died June 6th 1856 in steadfast reliance on the Love of GOD which is in CHRIST JESUS our Lord.'

Recommendations

9.140. Monk's patronage for George Wilson Bridges as the Bishop of Gloucester is certainly of interest, but not at this point conclusive. It is recommended that further research is undertaken into the relationship between Monk and Bridges before taking any action.

The Gloucester City Commission to Review Race Relations advised that contested heritage assets within the Cathedral should be considered as a group in the context of public engagement and education. See **General Recommendation 7**.

Thomas Picton

9.141. Military Governor of Trinidad 1791-1801 and 'owner' of enslaved people. Served in the army in the Peninsular War and was ultimately to die at the battle of Waterloo in 1815. In 1803 he was arrested for allegations of torture whilst governor of Trinidad, he was found guilty in 1806 – but obtained a special verdict at retrial and the matter was dropped¹⁶⁴.

9.142. The National Museum of Wales website states with regard to the trial:

*'In 1806, Picton was called to a trial at the King's Bench following his authoritarian and brutal rule in Trinidad. The accusation leveled against him was signing off an order for torture at the request of a highly influential planter, Begorrat, a planter also responsible for the execution of a dozen slaves at the time of the torture in question. Several things made this torture notable, not least amongst which are the following facts. It was the torture of a 14-year-old freed girl. It was the first trial for misconduct of an official in the execution duties while in service abroad. And, as William Garrow, the lead prosecutor, noted at the trial, it was the first time torture had been used officially in Trinidad.'*¹⁶⁵

9.143. The National Museum Wales collections online reads:

*'Picton, like many others, directly profited from slave trade activities. More than this, he was renowned for his ruthless treatment of slaves and others as the first British governor of Trinidad. In 1803 he was brought to trial in London for authorising the torture of Louisa Calderon, a free 14 year old described as a 'mulatto' girl, who had been accused of theft. Louisa was hung from a scaffold by her wrist for almost an hour, her entire weight being supported on an upturned wooden peg – an excruciating form of torture known as picketing. During the trial, Picton was also investigated for torturing, decapitating and burning alive slaves accused of sorcery, witchcraft and necromancy. His small military force used hangings and mutilations as a way of keeping control. He was convicted, but the verdict was later overturned, with Picton arguing that Trinidad at the time was under Spanish law, which sanctioned torture.'*¹⁶⁶

9.144. The UCL legacies web site shows Picton was a part owner of a plantation in Trinidad¹⁶⁷. Picton's later death at Waterloo has led to his largescale commemoration; paintings, statues and memorials to him are common place and currently the topic of much debate.

¹⁶⁴ Throne, R. 1986 The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1790-1820 available on

<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/picton-sir-thomas-1758-1815> accessed 13/10/21

¹⁶⁵ National Museum of Wales website available here <https://museum.wales/blog/2209/What-to-do-about-Thomas-Picton/> accessed 13/10/21

¹⁶⁶ National Museum Wales collections online available on <https://museum.wales/collections/online/object/4adfd41-6370-36bf-a907-c74f5ad7d4a5/Lieutenant-General-Sir-Thomas-Picton-1758-1815/content/> accessed 13/10/21

¹⁶⁷ Sir Thomas Picton', Legacies of British Slavery database, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146654149> [accessed 13th October 2021]

Heritage Assets

9.145. This review has identified a single heritage asset associated with Thomas Picton In Gloucester.

Picton House



9.146. Picton House is a Grade II Listed Building built around 1825. Its location off Wellington Parade is strong proof that the House is named for Thomas Picton, given his death at Waterloo.

Recommendations

9.147. Picton's links to the slavery economy and his brutality are well understood and publicly discussed, there is no particular doubt about the link.

1. **Status Quo:** Given Picton's sizable monuments elsewhere, including a stately home, renaming a small property in Gloucester may not seem very meaningful – this may be a legacy that is best addressed elsewhere.
2. **Contextualise:** Some form of explanatory interpretation may be appropriate.
3. **Resignify:** An approach could be made to the owners to consider renaming the building (see **Section 6**).

Thomas Phillpotts

- 9.148. Born in Gloucester in 1785, West India merchant Thomas Phillpotts was a leading figure in the industrial growth of the city.¹⁶⁸ In 1805 he moved to Jamaica and was Secretary to the Close Harbour Company in Montego Bay; and in 1821 he was made a Freeman of the City of Gloucester.¹⁶⁹¹⁷⁰ He was a slave-owner and, as a result of the abolition of slavery, received a compensation payment of £4283 in 1834.¹⁷¹ He also owned property in Jamaica.¹⁷² He partnered with Samuel Baker, who also had wealth accumulated as a result of owning property in the West Indies and (See: Samuel Baker). Together they invested in property in Gloucester, most notably an area known as High Orchard, now the site for the Gloucester Quays designer outlet¹⁷³¹⁷⁴.
- 9.149. Phillpotts received joint compensation with Samuel Baker of £7,990 19s 6d¹⁷⁵ for debts collateralised against 410 enslaved people. Despite residence in and investment in the Gloucester economy, Phillpotts maintained links to Jamaica. After abolition Phillpotts personally received approximately £985¹⁷⁶ and directly 'owned' 19 enslaved people in his own right¹⁷⁷.
- 9.150. Phillpotts' legacy is still visible in Gloucester's built environment; Phillpotts Warehouse for example, built in 1846 for Thomas Phillpotts' son Abraham Hodgson Phillpotts still stands and is currently grade II listed.¹⁷⁸ The impact that Phillpotts' wealth had on Gloucester's built heritage is most visible near to the docks.¹⁷⁹ The Baker's Quay area of the city was developed as a direct result of investment by Phillpotts and Baker (See: Samuel Baker). He moved back to England permanently in 1829 and in 1833 Phillpotts and Baker's ship *Isabella* was the first to import sugar and other produce direct to Gloucester from the West Indies.¹⁸⁰ Though this venture did not last long, Phillpotts' wealth funded a number of developments in Gloucester which accompanied substantial industrial and economic growth in the city.¹⁸¹
- 9.151. The majority of Philpott's post-abolition investments were outside of Gloucester in the London Joint Stock Bank and in a number of railways. He was the brother of

¹⁶⁸ UCL, (2021). *Thomas Phillpotts*. [online] Legacies of British Slave Ownership. Available at: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/14110> [Accessed 20 January 2021]

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ UCL, (2021). *Thomas Phillpotts*. [online] Legacies of British Slave Ownership. Available at: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/14110> [Accessed 20 January 2021]

¹⁷¹ Conway-Jones, H., (2007). *How Gloucester Benefited From Slavery*. [online] Gloucester Docks and the Sharpness Canal: Past and Present. Available at: <https://www.gloucesterdocks.me.uk/studies/slavery.htm> [Accessed 20 January 2021]

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Conway-Jones, H., (2008). High Orchard.[online] Gloucester Docks and the Sharpness Canal: Past and Present. Available at: <https://www.gloucesterdocks.me.uk/studies/highorchard.htm> [Accessed 26 January 2021]

¹⁷⁵ Claim No.493 St Catherine's parish Twickenham Park estate Jamaica 240 slaves £4,282 15s 2d (30/01/1836), Claim No.50 St James Parish Bouge Estate 170 slaves £3,708 4s 4d (08/02/1836) accessed via UCL legacies of Slavery database available at [<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/>] (accessed at 11.45 on 21/07/2021)

¹⁷⁶ Jamaica claims [number, parish, amount]: No.475 Hanover £142 4s 11d, No.357 St Ann £17,10s 10d, No.116 St Dorothy £66 15s 3d, No.531 St James £222 11s 2d, No.349 St Mary £467 11s 9d, No.586 Trelawny £71 6s 11d via UCL database

¹⁷⁷ Claims: No.475 Hanover Parish unknown estate 7 slaves, No.357 St Ann Parish unknown estate 3 slaves, No.531 St James Parish Unknown estate 9 Slaves via UCL database

¹⁷⁸ Historic England, (1998). *Phillpotts Warehouse*. [online] Historic England. Available at: <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1245467> [Accessed 20 January 2021]

¹⁷⁹ Conway-Jones, H., (2007). *How Gloucester Benefited From Slavery*. [online] Gloucester Docks and the Sharpness Canal: Past and Present. Available at: <https://www.gloucesterdocks.me.uk/studies/slavery.htm> [Accessed 20 January 2021]

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

the reverend Henry Phillpotts the bishop of Exeter and his brother was John Phillpotts MP for Gloucester neither of whom have proven links to the slavery economy¹⁸².

9.152. One of Thomas's sons, Abraham Hodgson Phillpotts, was also to become a successful Gloucester merchant. Phillpotts Warehouse in the docks was built by Abraham Phillpotts, they were designed in 1845 and built 1846¹⁸³. It's of note that father and son were in business together as Thomas Phillpotts and Abraham Hodgson Phillpotts of Gloucester corn and general provision merchants, a partnership which was broken up in 1844¹⁸⁴.

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¹⁸² Wingfield-Digby, P. Which Phillpotts was the Slave-owner? Available on <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/media-new/pdfs/phillpottsslaveowner.pdf> accessed 13/12/21

¹⁸³ Conway-Jones, H. 1978 The Warehouses at Gloucester Docks in Gloucestershire Society for Industrial Archaeology Journal for 1977-78 pages 13-19

¹⁸⁴ Samuel Baker commercial legacies in the UCL legacies website available on <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/commercial/view/536527221> accessed on 13/10/21

Heritage Assets

9.153. Phillpotts worked with Baker to create Baker's Quay (see **Samuel Baker**), otherwise there is only one heritage assets relating to him in the city:

Phillpotts Warehouse

9.154. The Warehouse, one of three in a row on Gloucester Docks were built by Abraham Hodgson Phillpotts in 1845 some 17 years before Thomas Philpott's death in 1862 and a year after the breakup in their partnership. It seems likely that Abraham will have benefited from abolition money whilst in business with his father, it's also possible that Thomas Phillpotts invested in the warehouse, although not proven.



Recommendations

9.155. Some potential options are outlined below with regard to Phillpotts Warehouse.

1. **Status Quo:** since the warehouse is technically named after Abraham Phillpotts, who is was at a further remove from the slavery economy it may be felt that no action is necessary.
2. **Contextualise:** some form of public information or interpretation panels could be installed near the site. Historic tours of the docks could make sure to mention the links to the slavery economy.

The Gloucester City Commission to Review Race Relations supported recommendation 2 – the contextualisation of the heritage asset via interpretation.

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Charlotte Pinnock

- 9.156. The widow of Philip Pinnock, was awarded a share of compensation at abolition for estates in Westmoreland and St Andrews in Jamaica. Was living at number 14 Hillfield Square in 1841 (although no such address has been found) before she and her family emigrated to Australia. She is also recorded living at 7 Wellington Parade.

Heritage Assets

- 9.157. The only known heritage asset relating to this individual is number 7 Wellington Parade. Which is a grade II Listed building. Given that this was only a temporary address and doesn't commemorate Mrs Pinnock, this review has no recommendations to make.

DRAFT

The Raikes Family

Robert Raikes Senior

9.158. The Raikes family became prominent in the city over the course of the 18th century. The first Raikes in Gloucester was Robert Raikes senior the founder of the Gloucester Journal newspaper. A painting, thought to be of the Raikes family, painted by Scottish artist Gawen Hamilton (1697 – 1737) shows the well to do Raikes family at home, on the left of the painting a black servant can be seen cleaning a glass or goblet, it is unclear if the individual is enslaved or not ¹⁸⁵. The painting was acquired in 1961 by the Yale Centre for British Art from its previous owner Sir Victor Raikes. Research suggests it was painted between 1730 and 1732, possibly in Ladybellegate House on Longsmith Street. It is believed to depict Robert Raikes senior with his wife Anne Monk and his daughter Sarah from his first wife ¹⁸⁶.



Group portrait, probably the Raikes family – painted between 1730 and 1732 by Gawen Hamilton (reproduced with the kind permission of the Yale Center for British Art)

9.159. The painting may be set in Ladybellegate House – certainly the date would fit. But previous investigations have not found the location of the fireplace shown in the

¹⁸⁵ Yale Center for British Art available at <https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/catalog/tms:271> accessed on 28/04/2021

¹⁸⁶ We are grateful to the Yale Center for British Art for this information.

painting. That said the panelling is very similar and building has been extensively altered¹⁸⁷.

9.160. Raikes' newspaper, the Gloucester Journal itself conveyed news of Atlantic ships and trade. It also included advertisements for black servants (most likely enslaved) who had escaped from their masters.¹⁸⁸ One example, found during this project, dates from 1730 and mentions a Thomas Price who ran from his master Thomas Evans the constable for the Town of Ross who was apparently resident in Gloucester¹⁸⁹. Later, the same paper under Raikes Junior carried many anti-slavery articles (see below).

Robert Raikes Junior

9.161. The eldest son of Robert Raikes Senior, also called Robert, continued as the editor of the Gloucester Journal on his father's death in 1757. Raikes would eventually sell the journal in 1802. Under Raikes Junior the Journal certainly carried a number of anti-slavery letters and articles. The Gloucester Journal on the 27th of March for example 1797 carried a letter condemning slavery and promoting education for enslaved people.¹⁹⁰ A report from Parliament of 1795 quoted Wilberforce in calling for the '*abolition of a traffic revolting to the feelings of mankind*'.¹⁹¹ Indeed, the Journal also regularly reported on the work of Wilberforce in Parliament with apparent approval.¹⁹²

9.162. Raikes junior was to find national and international fame as the founder of the Sunday School movement. Prompted apparently by the example of the Reverend Thomas Stock Raikes sought to establish free schools for poorer children in Gloucester. At the start Raikes himself funded the Sundays Schools sometimes writing in the Journal to drum up financial support for this and other project.¹⁹³ The method for funding many of the Sunday Schools that sprang up around England following the example of Raikes was generally via public subscription.

9.163. Raikes himself, from around 1791, took an interest in the anti-slavery movement. He argued that enslaved people should be gradually freed and that no more should be enslaved. He also supported a scheme to create a settlement on the coast of Africa to develop the local economy without recourse to slavery¹⁹⁴.

William Raikes

9.164. William Raikes, one of Robert Raikes Juniors brothers, was a director of the South Sea Company¹⁹⁵. His son Job Mathew Raikes appears to have held a mortgage over four estates in Jamaica (which he inherited from his wife's family, Charlotte

¹⁸⁷ We are grateful to the owner of the house for this information.

¹⁸⁸ Yale Center for British Art available at <https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/catalog/tms:271> accessed on 28/04/2021

¹⁸⁹ Runaway Slaves In Britain: bondage, freedom and race in the eighteenth century at <https://www.runaways.gla.ac.uk/database/table/> accessed on 14/09/2021

¹⁹⁰ The British Newspaper Archive available at <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk> (accessed online 28/04/2021)

¹⁹¹ *ibid*

¹⁹² *ibid*

¹⁹³ Cliff, P. 1986 The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement in England 1780-1980 pp 55

¹⁹⁴ Kendall, G. (1939) Robert Raikes A Critical Study pp 154

¹⁹⁵ Booth, F. (1980), Robert Raikes of Gloucester pp 38

Bayley being the daughter of Nathaniel Bayley MP).¹⁹⁶ The estates inherited from the Bayley family were all located in the parish of St Mary Jamaica and collectively contained 841 enslaved people. The compensation granted on abolition greatly exceeded £14,000.¹⁹⁷ A very considerable sum for the time. It's clear then that this branch of the Raikes family was heavily involved in the slavery economy.

Thomas Raikes

9.165. Thomas Raikes moved to London and was very successful, becoming a Governor of the Bank of England in 1797. He was apparently good friends with Wilberforce¹⁹⁸ and has no known links with the slavery economy.

Heritage Assets

9.166. This review has found no links between Raikes Junior and the slavery economy. Raikes Senior has some links as discussed above. The only other family member identified being William Raikes, who had moved to London – this review has identified no heritage assets associated with William. Below are known heritage assets associated with Raikes Senior.

Ladybellegate House

9.167. Ladybellegate House was sublet by Raikes Senior – who live there (with a short break) between 1732 until his death in 1757. Raikes Junior held the tenancy until 1772 (after which he moved to Blackfriars)¹⁹⁹. It may have been the setting for Gawen Hamilton's portrait of the Raikes family, which may depict an enslaved person.

9.168. A blue plaque on the house reads:

'Ladybellegate House was built CA. 1706 by Henry son of John Wagstaffe, twice mayor and MP for the city from 1685 to 1687. The Raikes family acquired it in 1735 and occupied it until 1772. Henry Guise was tenant for a short while and was responsible for some fine interior plasterwork.'

9.169. Which is slightly incorrect in terms of the dates mentioned.

Recommendations

9.170. Ladybellegate House is of some interest – especially as it may be the setting for the earliest depiction of an individual black person in Gloucester. Currently however so much about the painting and the site remain unconfirmed and it feels premature to recommend any particular approach. Further research into the painting, the individuals in it, and its location could be of huge benefit to our understand of both Raikes senior and the earliest black community in the city.

¹⁹⁶ UCL, (2021). Job Mathew Raikes [online]. Legacies of British Slave Ownership. Available at: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/-1055845506> (accessed online on 29/04/2021)

¹⁹⁷ *ibid*

¹⁹⁸ Booth, F. (1980), Robert Raikes of Gloucester pp 38

¹⁹⁹ Rogers, M A (1975) *Ladybellegate House, Gloucester & Robert Raikes* (Gloucestershire Archive ref GMS 166)

Memorial in St Mary de Crypt

- 9.171. There is a memorial to Raikes senior in St Mary de Crypt church. It reads in translation from Latin:

*'Sacred to the memory of Robert Raikes,
recently a printer in this city,
who died on September 7th
in the year of our salvation 1757
at the age of 68.*

*Likewise of Mary, his excellent wife,
daughter of Revd Richard Drew,
who died on October 30th
in the year of our salvation 1779
at the age of 65.'*

Recommendations

- 9.172. Given that the inscription is both in Latin and quite modest and a funerary monument it seems unlikely that it could be perceived as memorialising or glorifying Raikes Senior. This review therefore has no recommendations to make.

Blackfriars

- 9.173. Blackfriars is a surviving medieval Dominican priory located off Ladybellegate Street – it is a scheduled ancient monument and Grade I Listed Building. Part of it was, between 1743 and 1758, the offices of the Gloucester Journal. Up until 1757 it was under the editorship of Raikes senior and therefore potentially still advertising Atlantic trade and offering rewards for information on escaped servants.

Recommendations

- 9.174. The following approach is suggested with regard to this heritage asset:
1. **Contextualise:** Public interpretation at Blackfriars could include reference to the Gloucester Journal and its connections to the slavery economy.

William Read

- 9.175. Resident at Brunswick Square in 1834. Was the owner of sizable mortgages on plantations in Jamaica²⁰⁰. No further information has been identified regarding William Read.

Heritage Assets

- 9.176. It's known that Read lived in Brunswick Square, but it's not known where, there are certainly a large number of listed buildings fronting onto the square. This review has no recommendations.

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²⁰⁰ William Read', Legacies of British Slavery database, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146649287> [accessed 13th October 2021].

Sir Thomas Rich

- 9.178. The son of a Gloucester merchant Rich was born in 1601 and went to school in London. He became a successful businessman and MP for Reading and was created a baronet by Charles II²⁰¹. He was either on the committee of or an investor in the East India Company, a member of the Vintner's company and a Turkey Merchant (trading with Ottoman Empire)²⁰². He died in 1667
- 9.179. The East India Company was involved in the Transatlantic slavery economy to a limited extent during this period. For example between 1657 and 1663 the East India company held a monopoly on trade to the Cost of Guinea (mainly today's Gold Coast). Ships would bring in manufactured goods in exchange for gold, ivory or '*slaves for company use*' before continuing to Surat or Madras²⁰³. The use of enslaved Africans in East India Company factories around the Indian subcontinent was first considered by the company directors in 1637²⁰⁴. There are also definite records of the East India company transferring an unknown number of enslaved people from Guinea to Fort St. George (in India) in 1663²⁰⁵. It's clear then that, during Rich's lifetime, the East India Company was involved in the enforced trafficking of enslaved Africans. It's unclear to what extent Rich benefitted from this. Certainly, he was very wealthy by the time of his death.
- 9.180. In his will Rich left a house in Eastgate Street and £600 to establish a school in Gloucester, which still survives today (albeit on a different site) as Sir Thomas Rich's school.

²⁰¹ History of Sir Thomas Rich's school available on <https://strschool.co.uk/about/history> accessed on 12/10/21

²⁰² The History of Parliament available here: <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/rich-thomas-1601-67>

²⁰³ Makepiece, M. 1991 Trade on the Guinea Coast 1657-166: The Correspondence of the English East India Company available here: <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-african-history/article/abs/trade-on-the-guinea-coast-1657-1666-the-correspondence-of-the-english-east-india-company-edited-by-margaret-makepiece-african-primary-texts-no-4-madison-wisconsin-african-studies-program-university-of-wisconsinmadison-1991-pp-xi158-2600-paperback/FA15F7407A6937E16D78C1A6734EF776> accessed on 12/10/21

²⁰⁴ Logan, F. A. 1956 The British East India Company and African Slavery in Benkulen, Sumatra, 1687-1792 available in https://www.jstor.org/stable/2715359?seq=2#metadata_info_tab_contents accessed on 12/10/21

²⁰⁵ Ibid

Heritage Assets

A blue plaque on Eastgate Street

- 9.181. This plaque reads: *'here stood Blue Coat Hospital until 1889 founded 1668 endowed by Sir Thomas Rich'*.

Recommendations

- 9.182. Sir Thomas Rich's relationship with the East India Company may indicate a involvement in the slavery economy – and more certainly colonial activity in the Indian subcontinent. But the nature and extent of this is unknown, it is recommended that further research is undertaken.

Sir Thomas Rich's School

- 9.183. Today the school is called Sir Thomas' Rich's school and is located on a site in Longlevens.

Recommendations

- 9.184. The use of the name 'Sir Thomas Rich's School' is clearly a memorial – however, as mentioned above, it is recommended that further research is undertaken at this point.

The Selwyn Family of Matson

- 9.185. The Selwyn Family appear to have been resident in Gloucestershire from the late 16th century owning land in Stonehouse and in Matson²⁰⁶. They became the main landowners in Matson until 1791²⁰⁷. The first two Selwyn's living in Matson Jasper and William are of no particular interest to this review – the first Selwyn of relevance is William's son, also called William.

William Selwyn

- 9.186. William Selwyn (the younger) joined the army. He became Mayor of Gloucester in 1675. He inherited Matson House in Matson, Gloucester in 1679 on the death of his father. He was elected MP for Gloucester in 1698, sitting until 1701²⁰⁸. Selwyn was appointed Governor of Jamaica in January 1702, the post came with a sizable salary: £2,000 per annum - a huge amount in the 18th century. He was however to die after only there three months in post²⁰⁹. During his brief governorate he opposed impressment deemed likely to encourage rebellion by enslaved people²¹⁰. His body was transported back to England to be buried at Matson.

George Augustus Selwyn

- 9.187. Younger son of John Selwyn Snr²¹¹. He continued the family association with their constituencies as an MP²¹² and he held minor offices²¹³. Most relevant to this project is his tenure in the office of registrar of the Barbados chancery²¹⁴, which he held twice²¹⁵. He died unmarried in 1791 and was buried in the Selwyn vault at St. Katherine's church.

- 9.188. Selwyn's role as registrar of court of chancery in Barbados begin in 1753 and continued until his death in 1791²¹⁶. Later records from the Court of chancery indicate that enslaved people were purchased via the court. A court of chancery will handle funds or transactions in certain situations for example bankruptcy or where an individual was unable (for example though illness or age) to manage their affairs or finances. But this doesn't prove a link to the slavery economy for Selwyn himself.

²⁰⁶ Hayton, D. Cruickshanks, E. & Handley, S. 2002 (Eds) The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715 available on <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/selwyn-william-1658-1702> accessed on 27/08/2021

²⁰⁷ Herbert, N M. (Ed) 1988 A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 4, the City of Gloucester. Victoria County History

²⁰⁸ Ibid

²⁰⁹ Hayton, D. Cruickshanks, E & Handley, S. (eds) 2002 The history of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715 available on <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/selwyn-william-1658-1702> accessed 13/10/21

²¹⁰ C P Margra Poseidon's Curse Naval Impressment and Atlantic origins of the American Revolution (Cambridge University Press 2016) pp.61-62 available at:

[https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/Poseidon_s_Curse/N1QYDQAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0] (accessed at 13.32 on 26/08/2021)

²¹¹ C Dalton Wray's of Glentworth pg.171.

²¹² Namier House of Commons Pg.420

²¹³ Namier House of Commons Pg.420

²¹⁴ Namier House of Commons Pg.420

²¹⁵ JC Francis Notes and Queries 7S VII 9/02/1898 (? Oxford University press 1889) Pg.111 available at:

[https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/Notes_and_Queries/XGACAAAIAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0] (accessed at 12.46 on 26/08/2021)

²¹⁶ Hayton, D. Cruickshanks, E. & Handley, S. 2002 (Eds) The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1690-1715 available on <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/selwyn-william-1658-1702> accessed on 27/08/2021

Heritage Assets

9.189. There are two heritage assets noted by this review. These are Selwyn Road in Matson and a number of funerary monuments in St Katherine's Church Matson. Given that Selwyn Road may relate to any member of the family we have no recommendations to make. Likewise, it is felt that funerary monuments in the church will require no action – given how limited the families proven links are to the slavery economy.

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The Somerset Family (the Dukes of Beaufort)

9.190. Resident at Badminton House, the Dukes of Beaufort had, from the 17th century, large and wide ranging interests in the slavery economy from which they derived substantial wealth. The first Duke married Rebecca Child, the daughter of a director of the Royal African Company. Their son, Henry Somerset was a Lord Proprietor of the Bahamas and of Carolina. Later links with the tobacco trade are also known²¹⁷.

Heritage Assets

City Museum

9.191. The Museum of Gloucester curates a number of objects donated by the Duke of Beaufort in 1959. Many of these objects may have been purchased using income from the slavery economy. Some may have more direct links, many will have no direct connection.

Recommendations

9.192. This review has the following recommendations:

1. **Status quo:** There's no proven link between any of the objects held and the slavery economy – so this may not be a priority.
2. **Contextualise:** There is scope for further research into the origins of this collection of objects, perhaps as part of a wider project. An exhibition or online resource outlining the results could be very positive. Information held by the Museum, including the object history files and online via the Collections Management System will be updated to reflect this research on the Dukes of Beaufort.

Please see **General Recommendation 4**

²¹⁷ Dresser, M. and Hann, A. (Eds) 2013 Slavery and the British Country House English Heritage

George Whitefield

- 9.193. Born in the Bell Inn on Southgate Street in 1714, and educated at the Crypt School, George Whitefield was to go on to become one of the most famous of Gloucester's historic figures. Whitefield studied at Oxford where he was to become friends with John Wesley with whom he was later to begin the establishment of the Methodist movement. On returning to Gloucester he was ordained in the Cathedral in 1736. Whitefield was to become a noted public speaker and preacher giving one of his first sermons at St Mary De Crypt Church before preaching throughout England.
- 9.194. In 1738 he visited what was then the colony of Georgia in America. Which was to become a longstanding relationship with the colony in particular and America more generally. Whitefield was to become one of the most well-known evangelists of his age and was to preach to huge audiences in both Britain and America. He was one of the founders of Methodist movement and was friends with some famous figures of the time including John Wesley and Benjamin Franklin.
- 9.195. Georgia was, at that time, unusual in that it had outlawed the use of enslaved labour. Over the years he lived and preached in the colony Whitefield became more and more convinced that the legalisation of enslaved labour in Georgia was vital to the economic future of the colony. He had established an orphanage in Georgia and was struggling to finance and maintain the undertaking. His solution in 1740 was to purchase a plantation in South Carolina (where slavery was legal) and used the proceeds from this plantation to support the orphanage. Later in the same year – following charitable contributions made in Charleston he purchased another plantation and enslaved people²¹⁸.
- 9.196. With regard to the running his Bethesda orphanage Whitefield wrote in 1748 a letter from Gloucester to the trustees of the orphanage which included the assertion: *'Had Negroes been allowed (to live in Georgia) I should now have had a sufficiency to support a great many orphans without expending above half the sum that has been laid out.'*²¹⁹ Slavery was permitted in Georgia in 1751 – in part because of the lobbying of George Whitefield.
- 9.197. Whitefield died in 1770 - during his life he had on a number of occasions highlighted and campaigned against the cruel treatment of enslaved Africans in the American colonies. An example would be his 1740 published 'Letter to the Inhabitants of Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina' in which he stated 'I think God has a quarrel with you for your abuse and cruelty to the poor negroes.'²²⁰
- 9.198. Nonetheless the fact remains that George Whitefield was a plantation owner and an owner of enslaved people. He actively campaigned for, and secured, the legalisation of slavery in Georgia. An institution which lasted over a hundred years until official abolition in 1863 and which will have had profound far reaching social and economic consequences.

²¹⁸ Scotland, N. (2019), George Whitefield – the First Transatlantic Revivalist pp 224 - 228

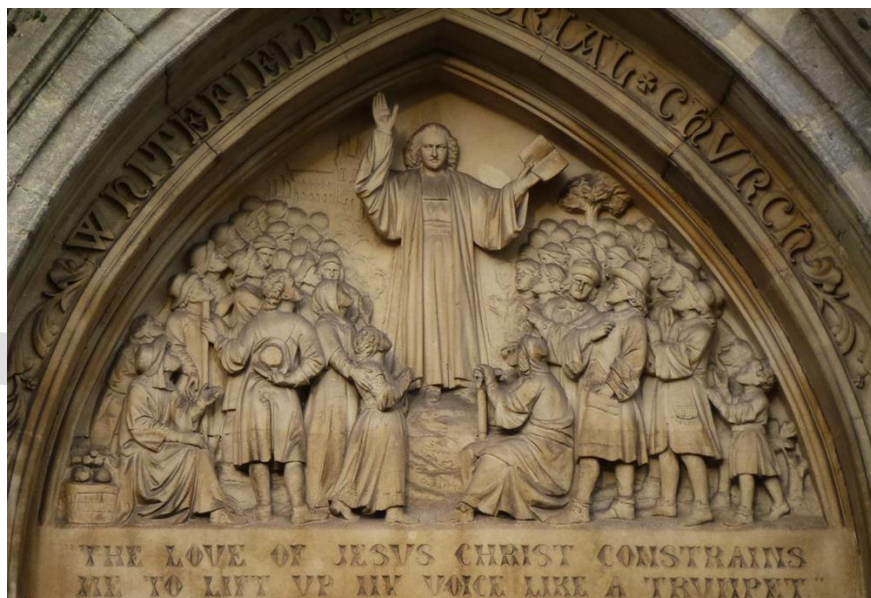
²¹⁹ Galli, M. (1993), Slaveholding Evangelist: Whitefield's Troubling Mix of Views. Christian History. No. 38 (accessed online 19/04/2021)

²²⁰ Scotland, N. (2019), George Whitefield – the First Transatlantic Revivalist pp 225

Heritage Assets

9.199. There are a number of heritage assets relating to Whitefield in Gloucester. These include:

Gloucester United Reformed Church



9.200. This memorial to Whitefield is located on the Gloucester United Reformed Church on Park Road, above the main entrance. It is inscribed with a quote from Whitefield "The love of Christ constrains me to lift up my heart like a trumpet". The United Reform Church was built in 1871 and was originally named the 'Whitefield Memorial Presbyterian Church'. The building itself is grade II Listed.

Recommendations

9.201. This memorial is part of a Listed Building and is located quite high up on the face of the building. Any alterations would require Listed Building consent and potentially planning permission (see **Section 6**). The building is also privately owned any approach would need to be agreed with the owner. The following recommendations are some options that may be considered:

1. **Contextualise:** Some form of interpretation giving wider context to Whitefield's life and ministry could potentially be installed. A point project with the nearby Spa buildings could be considered.
2. **Resignify:** It may be possible, to redefine the memorial in some way, it could perhaps be covered but preserved for example, Listed Building consent would certainly be needed.
3. **Repurpose:** Is it currently uncertain what use the building is being put to, but a way to counter and juxtapose Whitefield's legacy would be for the church to be used in a positive and community focused way.

4. **Remove:** Removal of the memorial from the building is unlikely to receive Listed Building consent or planning permission (see **Section 6**).

The Gloucester City Commission to Review Race Relations generally felt that contextualising this memorial (Recommendation 1) was the best approach. The council should consult with the owners and/or users of the building to consider realistic options for this.

Blue plaque on St Mary De Crypt School Room



- 9.202. This plaque is located on the wall of St Mary de Crypt School Room facing onto Marylone. It mentions Whitefield's many achievements and links to Gloucester, including the Bethesda Orphanage. It was put up by the Civic Trust.

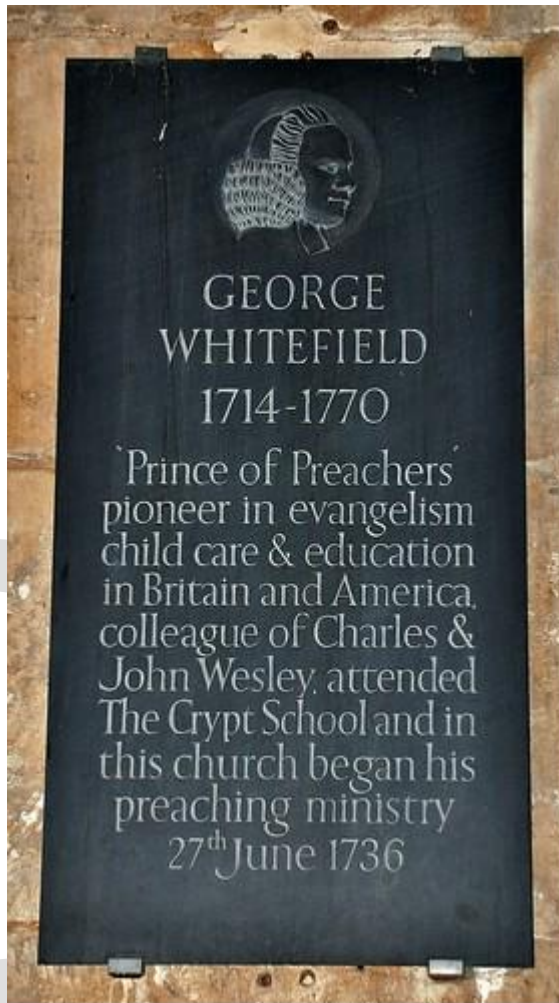
Recommendations

- 9.203. It could be suggested that the plaque, whilst accurate, ignores completely Whitefield's track records with regard to enslaved people. The following approach is suggested:

1. **Contextualise:** It should be possible to agree wording with the Civic Trust would includes discussion of Whitefield's involvement in the slavery economy. It's possible that replacing the plaque will require planning permission.

The Gloucester City Commission to Review Race Relations supported recommendation 1 – the council should encourage the Civic Trust to contextualise this plaque to reflect George Whitefield's connections with the transatlantic slavery economy.

Memorial in St Mary De Crypt



9.204. This memorial in St Mary De Crypt outlines Whitefield's many achievements but fails to provide wider context with regard to his involvement with the slavery economy. The church is in the care and management of the Discover de Crypt charity.

Recommendations

9.205. The following approach could be discussed with Discover de Crypt.

1. **Contextualise:** St Mary Decrypt already includes extensive information and interpretation about the church's history. It should be fairly easy to update that to include discussion of Whitefield's involvement in the slavery economy. This would need to be agreed with Discover De Crypt.

The Gloucester City Commission to Review Race Relations supported recommendation 1 – the contextualisation of the heritage asset. The council should engage with Discover de Crypt to produce educational resources and on-site displays that provide a full context to George Whitefield's life and works.

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Whitefield Street (city centre) and George Whitefield Close (Matson)



9.206. Whitefield Street – located off Station Road is named after George Whitefield.

9.207. There is also a George Whitefield Close in Matson.

Recommendations

9.208. The following options may be available in each case:

1. **Status Quo:** This is perhaps not that most busy or attractive street in Gloucester, so to some extent it may not be felt to be glorifying or memorialising.
2. **Resignify:** The street could potentially be renamed (see **Section 6**).

With regard to Whitefield Street the Gloucester City Commission to Review Race Relations supported recommendation 2. The council should consult with residents on the renaming of the two identified Whitefield Street names.

Whitefield House



9.209. Whitefield House is located on Whitefield Street to the rear of the Ebenezer Gospel Hall. It is in private ownership.

Recommendations

9.210. The following options may be available:

1. **Status Quo:** This is not the most impressive of buildings and it may be felt that it is not a particularly grand memorial to Whitefield and perhaps not a priority.
2. **Resignify:** The building could potentially be renamed, this would require the agreement of the owners and council approval.

The Gloucester City Commission to Review Race Relations supported recommendation 2. The council should approach the owners to discuss renaming this building.

10. Appendix A – The Soldiers of Gloucestershire Museum and its links to Historic Slavery

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The Soldiers of Gloucestershire Museum and its links to Historic Slavery

Summary

The Soldiers of Gloucestershire Museum (SOGM) welcomes Gloucester City Council's investigation of the links between the city and its institutions and historic slavery. This focus is entirely in-line with the museum's own future strategic direction which incorporates taking a 360 degree view of the military service that the soldiers of Gloucestershire have carried out over the last three hundred years. Indeed the museum's focus is wider than that of the City Council's review and we wish to include within this all-round view, all our engagements throughout the World, for example in the Indian sub-continent.

We also welcome the research undertaken recently on behalf of Gloucester City Council by David Rice and his team of volunteers. This research, which has been facilitated by the museum, has highlighted a number of subjects for further investigation which we were largely unaware of and we will list these later in this report.

Currently the museum's premises are relatively small and we have a very limited ability to tell stories other than those associated with artefacts in our various display cases - and we confirm we have no artefacts or displays directly linked to historic slavery. However in the near future we have plans to expand our museum's facilities, both for more static displays and to create the space to put on significant temporary exhibitions. This expansion would give us and others, including community organisations based in Gloucester, Gloucestershire and further afield, the ability to have their say in providing us with their views on our historic military engagements. In pursuing these plans, which will involve significant fund raising, we hope that the City Council will be able to support us in our various bids to the Heritage Lottery Fund and others.

For centuries the soldiers of Gloucestershire have served in Africa, India, the Middle East, West Indies, the Americas and elsewhere. Viewed through this lens and with improved capabilities at the museum, a window can be opened on 300 years of our history, both as a nation and as a set of communities living together in the multicultural City that is Gloucester today.

Introduction

The Soldiers of Gloucestershire Museum's remit is to record and tell the history of the various regiments associated with the county. Those regiments that are relevant to the issue of historic slavery are as set out in the Appendix. In the following sections we cover the main areas of interest with regard to historic slavery as they relate to these regiments and as have been identified by David Rice.

Regimental Involvement in the West Indies

It is a fact that the 28th (North Gloucestershire) Foot and the 61st (South Gloucestershire) Foot were frequently posted to the West Indies during the era of historic slavery in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

One point to make is that Britain's Armed Forces are under oath to the Crown to carry out whatever orders the government of the day wishes them to and this is regardless of their own personal opinions or political views. This was as true then as it is now with such recent campaigns as Iraq and Afghanistan. At that time slavery was lawful in the British sphere,

abhorrent though this is to us now and indeed it was to some then, hence the growing campaign for abolition from the mid-eighteenth century onwards.

In general terms in the West Indies, Great Britain was fighting with the French and on occasions the Spanish for possession of various islands which were then very important economically to these countries because of the sugar they produced – and the production of sugar relied totally on the institution of slavery and on slave labour. In addition, British troops were called in to attempt to suppress various guerrilla warfare campaigns on numerous islands mounted by escaped slaves who had formed themselves into armed bands. These campaigns became more widespread from February 1794 when the revolutionary National Convention of France abolished slavery throughout France and all French overseas possessions, although this was later reversed by Napoleon in 1802.

As an immediate result of the 1794 abolition, the revolutionary French government provided these bands of ex-slaves with both experienced soldiers and military supplies. As such they presented a stronger and more coordinated military threat, occasionally overrunning various of the islands. In the past British History has recorded these campaigns as the 'Brigand Wars' although in the West Indies they are often now referred to as early battles for liberation by free slaves who on certain islands also called themselves 'maroons'. One such example is the Battle of Rabot, fought on April 22nd 1795 on the island of St Lucia between former slaves and a column of British infantry including the 61st. Ultimately the column was forced to retire and subsequently evacuate the island for several months. This event and others like it have had little prominence in the UK until now.

It is felt that SOGM can and should play a role in telling the stories of these events in the round and it is the museum's intention to do so.

Former slaves who enlisted as soldiers in the Regiments

One such former slave who definitely served as a soldier with the 28th Foot is Ukawsaw Gronniosaw, also known as James Albert. Having been given his freedom in the will of his owner, he enlisted with the 28th at New York prior to the regiment's embarkation for the West Indies and was serving at the capture of Havana in 1762. What little is currently known of his military service is from his own narrative, considered to be the first published work in English by a freed slave of African descent and also from records of the activities of the regiment during the period. The detailed records of the regiment at this time are still available for research at the National Archives at Kew and his story and those of others would certainly repay more investigation.

The research conducted so far by David Rice has also revealed two other men who may have experienced slavery. These are John Cooke of the 28th and Thomas Platten of the 61st. Both were born in St Kitts and were later able to claim Chelsea Hospital pensions for good service in the Napoleonic Wars.

In the documents at Kew, African names were usually anglicised and terms such as 'black' or 'dark' were often used to describe complexion if physical descriptions were used at all. In investigating these regimental records at Kew it should also be remembered that there were not insignificant populations of persons of African descent in Britain, Ireland and North America who might also be expected to have contributed recruits.

SOGM believes that once detailed research has been carried out, a display should be mounted profiling the lives of former slaves who had enlisted in the regiments.

Slaves Used by the Regiments

Throughout the British Army at that time, the War Office encouraged the use persons of African descent in the West Indies, either as enlisted men i.e. as soldiers, as above, or hired / purchased as slaves. In particular it was believed, with some truth, that they were partially immune to the diseases prevalent in the West Indies at the time, principally yellow fever, which decimated recruits drawn straight from Britain, Ireland and North America. To provide one published statistic, of 87,000 British soldiers who served in the West Indies between 1793 and 1801, 45,000 died, principally of disease with a further 12,000 invalided out.

To give examples of the use of slaves by the regiments, the 1762 expeditionary force to Havana as previously mentioned brought with it over 1,800 enslaved men hired from Jamaican plantations and 600 especially purchased in Antigua, St Kitts and Martinique. These would have been allocated to the various regiments in the expeditionary force, no doubt including the 28th to be used as labourers, digging latrines or hauling loads etc.

As further examples one document from 1817 records 34 enslaved men who were attached to the 61st at Up Camp in Jamaica and another from 1820 records the regiment with 23 slaves. (It should be noted here that although Britain had abolished the Slave Trade in 1807, the institution of slavery was not finally abolished throughout the British Empire until 1838).

SOGM believes that, following research, an exhibition should be mounted detailing the use of slaves by the British Army.

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Appendix

The Main Regiments of Gloucestershire at the time of Historic Slavery

28th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment of Foot

This was a line infantry regiment that originated as Sir John Gibson's Regiment of Foot in 1694. Although disbanded in 1697, it was reformed five years later becoming in turn De Lalo's, Mordaunt's, Windsor's, Barrell's, Price's and then Bragg's Regiment. By 1751 units were designated by number rather than by their Colonel's name, the 28th Regiment in this case. In 1782 the regiments were affiliated with regions to aid recruitment, the 28th being officially linked to North Gloucestershire. The army was reformed in 1881, the 28th and 61st Regiments being joined together as the Gloucestershire Regiment also known as the 'Glosters'.

61st (South Gloucestershire) Regiment of Foot

This line infantry regiment began as the 2nd Battalion of the 3rd (later East Kent) Regiment in 1756. It became its own regiment in 1758 designated the 61st. When regional affiliations were given to the army in 1782, the link was made to South Gloucestershire. Under the reforms of 1881 the 28th and 61st Regiments were combined as the Gloucestershire Regiment also known as the 'Glosters'.

Gloucestershire Yeomanry Cavalry

The yeomanry were not professional soldiers but part-time volunteers for home service including resisting invasion and civil unrest. They were expected to provide their own horses and accoutrements so were mostly men of some means. Their units were raised and administered locally so documentation relating to them can be incomplete and hard to trace. There were various troops raised and disbanded at various times, the first being the Cheltenham or 1st Gloucestershire Troop in 1795. Others included the Bristol Light Horse Volunteers, the Bristol Troop, City of Gloucester Troop, Cotswold Volunteers, Doddington Volunteer Cavalry, Dursley Volunteer Cavalry, Loyal Gloucestershire Yeomanry, Henbury Troop of Gentlemen, Longtree Bisley and Whitstone Troop, Minchinampton Troop and the Wotton-under-Edge Troop. Most of these had alternative and inconsistent names adding even more difficulty to research. In 1834 the Captains of the different troops combined their commands into a single regiment: The Gloucestershire Yeomanry Cavalry. They became the Royal Gloucestershire Hussars in 1847.

11. Appendix B – Examining links between the transatlantic slavery economy and Gloucester’s historic local banks: A report

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Examining links between the transatlantic slavery economy and Gloucester's historic local banks: A report.

Emma Skeldon
April-July 2021

DRAFT

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1. Introduction

Following the murder of George Floyd and the subsequent Black Lives Matter protests of June 2020, the way in which racism is still visible in Britain has been magnified. It is important that the true nature of the extent to which the transatlantic slave trade has played a part in the development of British society is revealed, where throughout history it has been hidden. This research aims to contribute towards a better understanding of the impact of the transatlantic slave trade, where it has been previously concealed, in order to inform better decision making in the future.

Because the transatlantic slavery economy was so financially beneficial to many of the wealthiest people during the early nineteenth century, it is very possible that those people had links with local banks. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Gloucester established itself as a centre for banking development in the southwest of England, and so the history of Gloucester's banks is engrained within its local history.²²¹ A fair amount of research has been done regarding the history of banks in Gloucester, particularly due to links between Gloucester's banks and those which later absorbed them such as Lloyds Bank and the Bank of England. The purpose of this report, however, is to establish whether there are any links between Gloucester's banks in the nineteenth century and the transatlantic slave trade.

This research project has been funded by the University of Gloucestershire and written with the support of Gloucester City Council in order to explore whether there are any links between the city of Gloucester's historic banks and the transatlantic slavery economy.

The findings in this report are a summary of research conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic which has meant that what was possible in terms of the scope of research was limited. It is hoped that this report will be a starting point for continuing research into connections between Gloucester's banking history and the transatlantic slave trade.

²²¹ Herbert, N.M. eds. 'Gloucester, 1720-1835: Economic development 1792-1835', *A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 4, the City of Gloucester* (London, 1988), pp. 135-141. Available at: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/glos/vol4/pp135-141> [accessed June 2021].

2. Aims

To research archive records to establish the links, if any, between local banks in Gloucester and the transatlantic slave trade/plantation ownership. This report is intended to inform the on-going research of the Gloucester BLM Monuments Review. Specifically;

- To identify any investments by banks in the slave trade or related industries. Or any income received from such activity.
- Any 'persons of interest' to be checked when reviewing monuments;
- The locations of any surviving buildings, especially listed buildings, in the city which may once have been banks; and
- To provide further avenues for research for the BLM monuments review.

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3. Methodology

This research project is intended as a review of archive sources from the Lloyds Archive, the Bank of England Archive and the Gloucestershire Archives. These banks were chosen as they are larger, more well known banks and preliminary research suggested that they may have links to historic banks in Gloucester. It was originally intended that the researcher would attend in person, though travelling to the Lloyds Archive and the Bank of England Archive was not possible due to the COVID-19 pandemic. It was, however, possible to review a reduced number of items from both of these archives as scanned copies. The items which were able to be reviewed are listed below:

Lloyds Bank Archive:

- A/29/1/b/3 - Records of Pitt, Croome, Bowley & Brown Private Bank (1)
- A/29/1/b/4 - Records of Pitt, Croome, Bowley & Brown Private Bank (2)
- A/29/2/a/1 - Gloucester County & City Bank deed of settlement
- A/29/3/c/1 - Records of Vizard & Company, Dursley, Gloucestershire

Bank of England Archive:

F1/182 - Freshfields papers relating to bank premises: Gloucester Branch – purchase of old bank, Northgate Street Premises.

Gloucestershire Archives:

- D3398/2/4/1 - History of banking in Gloucestershire by Theodore Hannam Clark - 1774-1858
- D3549/13/1/B30 - BOWYER, Mr: Lord Hardwicke's objections to Mr Bowyer's publication concerning abolition of the slave trade – 1810
- D181/2 - Papers of Nathaniel Hartland, of Charlton Kings - 1726-1852
- D3398/2/4/17 - Agreements and accounts concerning arrangement that Samuel Niblett, Joseph Ellis, William Lane and John Niblett should bank money for Richard Colchester, Receiver General, 1768-69; Gloucester County and City Bank, analysis of deed settlement, n.d.; extract of probate of will of William Lane, 1790 with rough notes about particular bankers including Jelf Evans & Niblett; letter to Edmund from A H Phillpotts about Russell Skey's illness, 1844; Gloucestershire Banking Co's annual reports, 1846-46 - 1768-1890
- D8045/F1/1 - Abstracts, schedules etc - 1563-1821 (Specifically 11,12,13)
- D3398/2/4/18 - "Wilton, Washbourne, Russell and Skey Bank, 19th cent" - original documents and rough notes - 1795-1953
- D2025 -Ticehurst Wyatt and Co of Cheltenham, solicitors (Commercial Records - County of Gloucester Bank: business papers 1809-1846) - 1546-1945
- D7942/acc 7942/399 - Gloucester: proposed new premises of the National Provincial Bank of England Ltd., 36 Eastgate Street; site plan showing extent of new buildings & old buildings to be pulled down; plans, sections and elevations; architect unknown

In addition, the following websites were reviewed:

- With regard to sugar refineries: <http://www.mawer.clara.net/loc-glouc.html>
- Legacies of British Slave trade including the 'commercial' section on banks and bankers: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/>
- With regard to Samuel Baker: <https://gloshistory.org.uk/reprints/gh199110.pdf>
- With regard to slave owners in Gloucester and Bristol: <http://radicalstroud.co.uk/slave-owners-in-gloucestershire-and/>

This project is concerned with the transatlantic slave trade – it is therefore focused on pre 1833 records, except where later records may provide retrospective information.

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4. Findings

4.1 Overview

During the course of the project, a number of links were found between Gloucester's local banks and the transatlantic slave trade. This project has highlighted a variety of ways by which local banks can be linked to the transatlantic slavery economy. For example, as a result of investments made by those who had accumulated wealth as a result of trade in the West Indies or familial connections. Due to the varied nature of the ways in which these links have been established, there is also variation when it comes to assessing the strength of the association between the banks and the figures with whom they are associated with.

During the course of this research, the following banks were found to have connections to varying degrees to the transatlantic slave trade/plantation ownership, and will be discussed in this report;

- The Bank of England
- Gloucestershire Banking Company
- Niblett's Old Bank
- Turner, Turner and Morris Bank.

These findings are listed in alphabetical order, with a sub-section for each to explain any information found regarding physical bank locations.

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4.2 Bank of England

In the early nineteenth century, the Bank of England was undergoing a period of expansion, opening branches in numerous major cities throughout the UK.²²² The first of these branches opened in Gloucester in 1826; and although the branch was transferred to Bristol as a result of lack of profitability, it existed there for twenty three years.²²³ This research has not uncovered anything of note in relation to, for example, business conducted throughout the bank's time in operation. Though this could be an area for further research.

4.2.1 Thomas Raikes

What is of note however is the bank's connection to the Raikes family, who came from Gloucester. Thomas Raikes was Governor of the Bank of England between 1797 and 1799 and is mentioned on the Centre for the Study of the Legacy of British Slavery Database as having a familial association with Isaac Currie; executor of a number of estates in Jamaica.²²⁴ Furthermore, one of Raikes' brothers, William Raikes, was a director of the South Sea Company.²²⁵

Thomas Raikes is also the brother of Robert Raikes, founder of the Sunday School movement and owner of the Gloucester Journal.²²⁶ His is, therefore, name worthy of note in Gloucester's history; there is a statue commemorating his contribution to the movement in Gloucester Park.²²⁷

4.2.2 Location

The original Gloucester Branch of the Bank of England was situated on Northgate Street.²²⁸

²²² 1970. The Bank of England: History and Functions. [ebook] Essex, p.10. Available at: <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/-/media/boe/files/archive/publications/history-and-functions.pdf> [Accessed June 2021].

²²³ Bank of England. History. [online] Bankofengland.co.uk. Available at: <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/about/history> [Accessed July 2021].

²²⁴ UCL. Isaac Currie. [online] Legacies of British Slave Ownership. Available at: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/14445> [Accessed June 2021].

²²⁵ 1794. The British Imperial Calendar. National Library of the Netherlands, The Hague. Available at: https://www.google.com/search?q=national+library+of+the+netherlands&rlz=1C1CHBF_en-GBGB898GB898&ogq=national+library+of+the+ne&aqs=chrome.0.0i355j46i175i199j69i57j0i22i30i7.4223j0i7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8 [Accessed June 2021].

²²⁶ Gloucester Civic Trust. Robert Raikes Statue. [online] Available at: <https://www.gloucestercivictrust.org/about-gloucester-civic-trust/achievements/robert-raikes-statue/> [Accessed June 2021].

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Bank of England. History. [online] Bankofengland.co.uk. Available at: <https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/about/history> [Accessed July 2021].

4.3 Gloucestershire Banking Company

Initially known as Gloucester County and City Bank, the Gloucestershire Banking Company was formed in 1831 as a joint-stock bank.²²⁹²³⁰ During this time, when significant expansion was taking place in Gloucester, the establishment of the Gloucestershire Banking Company accompanied the city's rapid economic development.²³¹ The establishment of the bank met the city's need for a new bank, particularly for mercantile, commercial and industrial requirements.²³² During its 82 years in operation, the Bank accumulated an extensive list of associated names, however this research project's focus is on the period pre-1840, though an area for future research could be to explore possible connections subsequent to this date.

4.3.1 Samuel Baker

Samuel Baker's connections to the transatlantic slavery economy are numerous and varied. Baker was an instrumental figure in the development of the city of Gloucester- particularly an area of the Docks now known as *Baker's Quay*.²³³ When he arrived in Gloucester in 1832, he had accumulated a great deal of wealth through investment made in colonial estates and shipping for Britain's West India trade.²³⁴ A search for Baker's name in The Centre for the Study of the Legacy of British Slavery Database highlights that there are two associated claims under his name, both for estates in Jamaica and both which were successful.²³⁵ Baker also attended the Select Committee on Extinction of Slavery in 1832, during which he gave numerous statements which highlight his pro-slavery ideals.²³⁶ He makes it clear that he believes that the people who were enslaved in Jamaica were not unhappy with their situation and notes that he believed that they led "comfortable" lives.²³⁷ He also notes that he believes that enslaved people would not work for wages if emancipated.²³⁸

Samuel Baker had significant involvement with the Gloucestershire Banking Company. He was one of a group of businessmen, led by Commander James Maurice Shipton, an importer of Baltic timber.²³⁹ From 1836, Baker had become one of the two principle directors for the company, and continues to increase his involvement and responsibilities until 1840.²⁴⁰ In 1843 he became chairman.²⁴¹ A

²²⁹ 1846. Gloucestershire Banking Company. Gloucestershire Archives, Artificial collection of title deeds relating to the City of Gloucester. Gloucester.

²³⁰ Herbert, N.M. eds. 'Gloucester, 1720-1835: Economic development 1792-1835', *A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 4, the City of Gloucester* (London, 1988), pp. 135-141. Available at: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/glos/vol4/pp135-141> [accessed June 2021].

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Christmas, E. (1991), Samuel Baker and Gloucester. Gloucestershire History, 9. pp. 10-11

²³³ Conway-Jones, H., (2007). How Gloucester Benefited From Slavery. [online] Gloucester Docks and the Sharpness Canal: Past and Present. Available at: <https://www.gloucesterdocks.me.uk/studies/slavery.htm> [Accessed June 2021]

²³⁴ Christmas, E. (1991), Samuel Baker and Gloucester. Gloucestershire History, 9. pp. 10-11

²³⁵ UCL. Samuel Baker [online]. Legacies of British Slave Ownership. Available at: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/20517> [Accessed June 2020]

²³⁶ Graham, J., 1832. Report from Select Committee on the Extinction of Slavery throughout the British Dominions: with the minutes of evidence, appendix and index. [Report] House of Commons Papers, 19th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers.

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ 1846. Gloucestershire Banking Company. Gloucestershire Archives, Artificial collection of title deeds relating to the City of Gloucester. Gloucester.

²⁴⁰ Christmas, E. (1991), Samuel Baker and Gloucester. Gloucestershire History, 9. pp. 10-11

²⁴¹ Ibid.

number of items at the Gloucestershire archives were minutes from Gloucestershire Banking Company meetings which were chaired by him.²⁴²

4.3.2 Location

A document found at the Gloucestershire Archives suggests that the Gloucestershire Banking Company had branches at Berkeley Street and thirty and seventeen 'Upper East Street'- now Eastgate Street.²⁴³

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²⁴² 1846. Gloucestershire Banking Company. Gloucestershire Archives, Artificial collection of title deeds relating to the City of Gloucester. Gloucester.

²⁴³ Ibid.

4.4 Niblett's Old Bank

Founded in the 1790s, Niblett's Old Bank was a partnership between Samuel Niblett, James Jelf, William Fendall and Charles Evans.²⁴⁴ Niblett's Old bank was one of four banks of this period which represented a time of economic development within Gloucester, and where the city had been cemented as a centre for banking.²⁴⁵

4.4.1 Charles Evans

There is a familial connection between Charles Evans and the transatlantic slavery economy. Before becoming a banker, Evans had acquired land as a result of his marriage to the daughter of MP Charles Barrow.²⁴⁶ Barrow's father was a merchant at St. Kitts and his mother was the daughter of the Lieutenant General of the Leeward Islands, though there is no mention of this in Barrow's will so it is unknown yet as to whether Evans or Niblett's Old Bank would have benefitted from any of this wealth.²⁴⁷²⁴⁸

4.4.2 Sugar Refining

In the late seventeenth century a sugar refining industry was emerging in Gloucester.²⁴⁹ The sugar refining process turns imported, semi-refined sugar, or molasses, into refined sugar.²⁵⁰ Sugar houses were becoming more commonplace as more molasses became available due to the increased British expansion in the West Indies.²⁵¹ As a result of this expansion, it was possible to export sugar from cane plantations on islands such as St Kitts, Montserrat, Nevis, Antigua and Barbados; which meant that this sugar was almost exclusively a product of enslaved labour.²⁵² It is thought that there were a number of sugarhouses in Gloucester which existed throughout the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries concentrated around an area west of the city centre known as *The Island*.²⁵³

Henry Ercks' sugarhouse was established in 1799 and began refining imported sugar.²⁵⁴ The venture was short-lived as Ercks went bankrupt in 1802 as a result of the death of one of the three bankers who put up his mortgage; Samuel Niblett.²⁵⁵ A document showing Ercks' mortgage details from 1796 shows that the other two bankers were Charles Evans and William Fendall.²⁵⁶

4.4.3 Location

²⁴⁴ Jordan, C., 2017. Gloucester at Work: People and Industries Through the Years. Stroud: Amberley Publishing Limited.

²⁴⁵ Herbert, N.M. eds. 'Gloucester, 1720-1835: Economic development 1792-1835', A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 4, the City of Gloucester (London, 1988), pp. 135-141. Available at: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/glos/vol4/pp135-141> [accessed June 2021].

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Brooke, J., 1964. BARROW, Charles (1707-89), of Highgrove, Glos. | History of Parliament Online. [online] Historyofparliamentonline.org. Available at: <<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/barrow-charles-1707-89>> [Accessed June 2021].

²⁴⁸ UCL. Sir Charles Barrow [online]. Legacies of British Slave Ownership. Available at: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146651961> [Accessed June 2020]

²⁴⁹ Mawer.clara.net. 2021. Gloucester. [online] Available at: <<http://www.mawer.clara.net/loc-glouc.html>> [Accessed July 2021].

²⁵⁰ Jones, D., 1996. Bristol's sugar trade and refining industry. Bristol: Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, p.4.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ Mawer.clara.net. 2021. Gloucester. [online] Available at: <<http://www.mawer.clara.net/loc-glouc.html>> [Accessed July 2021].

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ 1796. Mortgage. 3 May 1796: Messuage in Westgate Street in the City of Gloucester. Gloucestershire Archives, Gloucester.

This research has not found any information regarding the specific location of Henry Ercks' sugarhouse, aside from it being situated at The Island.²⁵⁷

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²⁵⁷ Mawer.clara.net. 2021. Gloucester. [online] Available at: <<http://www.mawer.clara.net/loc-glouc.html>> [Accessed July 2021].

4.5 Turner, Turner and Morris Bank

Turner, Turner and Morris Bank was one of the four main banks in Gloucester during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.²⁵⁸ The bank was originally referred to as Turner and Co. Bank until Robert Morris became a partner in the early 1790s.²⁵⁹ It is also considered to be one of the oldest banks, if not the oldest bank, in Gloucester.²⁶⁰ Turner, Turner and Morris was the result of the partnership between John Turner, Thomas Tuner, Samuel Jeynes and Robert Morris, and was in operation until the 1825 financial crisis.²⁶¹

4.5.1 John Gladstone

John Gladstone, born in Liverpool in 1746, was a wealthy merchant and politician; his initial success being a result of trade in Calcutta, India.²⁶²²⁶³ He and his brother, Robert, first became involved in the West Indian trade in 1803 and by 1828 Gladstone had accumulated personal wealth of £502,550, most of which came from his Demerara sugar plantation and West Indian loans and trading partnerships.²⁶⁴ The largest estate he owned was the Vreedenhoop estate in Demerara, where 430 people were enslaved, which he bought in 1826 for £80,000.²⁶⁵ He also became the chairman of the West Indian Association in Liverpool.²⁶⁶

Gladstone and his family moved to Gloucester to take advantage of the spa waters and their health benefits.²⁶⁷ He took an interest in banking, seeing an opportunity to 'establish for [himself] an important political interest' in Gloucester, and he intended to set an example for how he felt banks should be properly run, after having previously been reluctant to invest in them.²⁶⁸²⁶⁹ He was approached by Turner, Turner and Morris, for a £100,000 investment in 1825, however the bank dissolved later that same year, after failing to "secure a supply of banknotes and sovereigns".²⁷⁰²⁷¹

4.5.2 Location

This research has not been able to identify a location for Turner, Turner and Morris Bank.

²⁵⁸ Herbert, N.M. eds. 'Gloucester, 1720-1835: Economic development 1792-1835', A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 4, the City of Gloucester (London, 1988), pp. 135-141. Available at: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/glos/vol4/pp135-141> [accessed July 2021].

²⁵⁹ Thorne, R., 1986. MORRIS, Robert. [online] Historyofparliamentonline.org. Available at: <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/morris-robert-1816> [Accessed July 2021].

²⁶⁰ Taylor, M., 2020. The Interest: How the British Establishment Resisted the Abolition of Slavery. London: Random House.

²⁶¹ Herbert, N.M. eds. 'Gloucester, 1720-1835: Economic development 1792-1835', A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 4, the City of Gloucester (London, 1988), pp. 135-141. Available at: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/glos/vol4/pp135-141> [accessed July 2021].

²⁶² UCL. John Gladstone [online]. Legacies of British Slave Ownership. Available at: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/8961> [Accessed July 2020]

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ Quintault, R. (2009) Gladstone and Slavery. *The Historical Journal*. 52.2. pp. 363-383

²⁶⁷ Fisher D.R., 2009. GLADSTONE, John. [online] Historyofparliamentonline.org. Available at: <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/gladstone-john-1764-1851> [Accessed July 2021]

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

²⁷¹ Taylor, M., 2020. The Interest: How the British Establishment Resisted the Abolition of Slavery. London: Random House.

5.0 Recommendations

There is almost certainly more which could be explored in future research with regard to the links between the transatlantic slave trade and the history of Gloucester's banks. Primarily, it would be helpful for future researchers to visit the Lloyds Archive and the Bank of England Archive in person, which was not possible during this project due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

This project also generally focussed on Gloucester's larger, more well-known banks; however, it may be worthwhile to look into smaller banks or those which were only in operation for a short amount of time. Research could also be conducted looking at constituent banks, of which there are a fair number linked to Gloucester; for example, Vizard and Co. Bank or Capital and Counties Bank.

Looking into the wider Gloucestershire area may also highlight some links back to Gloucester and its connection to the transatlantic slave trade; for example, banks such as Pitt, Croome Bowley and Brown, based in Cirencester, which this project was unable to explore further.

This research would also potentially benefit from more targeted projects. This could entail looking specifically into investors or other business partnerships, or potentially into funding provided by the banks mentioned in this report.

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12. Appendix C – Museum of Gloucester review

12.1. Where individuals have been identified in relation to an object held at the museum they are discussed in the results section of this report. More general items, or those with a less clear link to the slavery economy are discussed in this appendix. As previously stated, the Museum is undergoing a wider project to decolonize its collections. At the time of writing, around one third of the collection has been reviewed so please note the following list is as of yet incomplete. Many other objects may yet be identified as connected to the Transatlantic Slave Trade and to the individuals named in this report. Anyone interested in knowing more can contact the Museum staff.

Objects with possible links to individuals

Puzzle (ref: GLRCM F01683)

12.2. A puzzle, associated with Glentworth hall in Lincolnshire. Which was owned for a time by Thomas Lumley, 3rd Earl of Scarborough, who had links to the slavery economy, perhaps investing money from this to a rebuilding of the premises in 1753²⁷².

Pistol (ref: GLRCM F01725)

12.3. Made by Ryan Watson. William Ryan [Watson] was a Guardian of the Birmingham Proof House until c.1830, and both Ryan and Benjamin Watson II were among the original investors in the sale of the Proof House stock. The Proof House was located within Birmingham Gun Quarter where gunsmith Samuel Galton Jnr exported arms used in the Slave Trade²⁷³.

Shotgun (ref: GLRCM F01884)

12.4. Made by Westley Richards which was located within Birmingham Gun Quarter where gunsmith Samuel Galton Jnr exported arms used in the Slave Trade²⁷⁴.

Pewter plate (ref: GLRCM F01916)

12.5. Made by Joseph Spackman of London. Spackman appears to have been exporting his goods to the West Indies²⁷⁵.

²⁷² Kaufmann, M. 2007 English Heritage Properties 1600-1830 and Slavery Connections accessed online at <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/siteassets/home/learn/research/english-heritage-properties-1600-1830-and-slavery-connections.pdf> on 20/08/2021

²⁷³ Did Birmingham profit? Available on http://www.bbc.co.uk/birmingham/content/articles/2007/03/03/did_birmingham_profit_feature.shtml accessed on 20/08/2021

²⁷⁴ Ibid

²⁷⁵ Weinstein, R. 2011 The Archaeology of Pewter Vessels in England 1200-1700: A Study of Form and Usage, Durham theses, Durham University. Available at Durham E-Theses Online: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/176858.pdf>

General Object types

Ivory objects

12.6. The review has identified a sizable number of objects, curated by the museum, which are made of, or include, elephant ivory. It's possible that some of this ivory was sourced via the transatlantic 'triangular trade'. Identifying objects with a proven link is likely to be difficult or impossible.

Mahogany objects

12.7. The review has identified a considerable number of objects made of, or including, mahogany. Mahogany was sometimes felled and cut by enslaved labour and it's importation into Britain was sometimes part of the slavery economy, but not uniformly so²⁷⁶. Identifying objects with a proven link is likely to be difficult or impossible.

Bristol Glass

12.8. The museum curates a collection of Bristol blue glass which was regularly used to transport brandy and rum which was traded in West Africa in exchange for enslaved Africans²⁷⁷.

²⁷⁶ Bowett, A. 1996 The Jamaica Trade: Gillow and the use of Mahogany in the Eighteenth Century, in *Regional Furniture* Volume XII accessed online at <https://regionalfurnituresociety.files.wordpress.com/2013/03/the-jamaica-trade-gillow-and-the-use-of-mahogany-in-the-eighteenth-century-adam-bowett.pdf#:~:text=It%20is%20often%20assumed%20that%20mahogany%20was%20an,took%20part%20in%20the%20triangular%20trade%2C%20carrying%20West> on 20/08/2021

²⁷⁷ Wills M & Dresser M 2020 The Transatlantic Slavery Economy and England's Built Environment: A Research Audit Historic England Research Report Series no. 247-2020

13. Appendix D – Gloucester’s sugar refining industry

- 13.1. Sugar refining in Gloucester developed in the late 17th century and was centred on Westgate Island – presumably to provide good access for transport by river. Sugar refining, also known as sugar baking, is the process by which molasses (unprocessed sugar – usually a kind of syrup) is reduced down to dry loaves of white refined sugar. The molasses would have been sourced from the West Indies or Americas and would have been produced, overwhelmingly, by enslaved labour. There were apparently two sugar refineries in the city in the late 17th century.²⁷⁸
- 13.2. One refinery appears to have failed by 1725 and, in 1729, the last apparently local sugar refiner, John Pinfold, moved his business to Bristol. A group of Bristol refiners then apparently took over Pinfold’s Gloucester site with a view to distributing into the Midlands. The Bristol refiners were William Barnes, George Daubeney, Edward Whitchurch, John Gifford, Michael Pope and Edward Curtis.²⁷⁹
- 13.3. George Daubeney was to become a major figure in Bristol – a founding member of the bank of Ames, Cave & Co in 1786. MP for Bristol between 1781 and 1784 and was a prominent member of the Merchant Venturers.²⁸⁰ His involvement in the Slavery economy was clear and wide ranging. This review has not identified any heritage assets linked to this group in Gloucester.
- 13.4. A second refinery was started in Gloucester in 1760 initially undertaken by a Mr. Hannington and then later by Henry Ercks. The Gloucester Journal in 1760 advertised a freehold sugar house which was four stories high and was ‘capable of working 600 hogsheads of sugar every year with a warehouse adjoining. A crane for loading and unloading vessels and a large water pump from the Severn’²⁸¹ Ercks appears to have been a local sugar baker – perhaps competing with the Bristol incomers – his mortgage of the site in 1796 was supported by Niblett’s Old Bank.²⁸²
- 13.5. In 1802 the *New Gloucester Guide* reported that the sugar refining industry in Gloucester had been fairly successful until it was stopped by incoming Bristol merchants purchasing the sugar house.²⁸³ This review has not identified any heritage assets linked to either Hannington nor Ercks.

²⁷⁸ Mawer, B (2021) Sugar Refiners & Sugarbakers (online). Available at <http://www.mawer.clara.net/> (accessed online on 10/05/2021)

²⁷⁹ Hall, I.V. (1965) The Daubenys: Part I *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* vol 84 113 - 140

²⁸⁰ Cave, C. H. (1899) A History of Banking in Bristol

²⁸¹ Hall, I.V. (1965) The Daubenys: Part I *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* vol 84 113 - 140

²⁸² Mortgage. 3 May 1796: Message in Westgate Street in the City of Gloucester Gloucestershire Archives reference D3117/784

²⁸³ *ibid*

14. Appendix E – The develop of Gloucester’s Spa

The Gloucester Spa

In 1814 a spring was discovered on land in the south east of the city in the Rignal Stile area of Gloucester. The spring was on land owned by Sir James Jelf of Gloucester (also of Niblett’s Old Bank – see Appendix B). Jelf saw this as an opportunity and began to develop the idea of a Spa – actually the second one in Gloucester after a smaller initiative on Westgate Street from some years before²⁸⁴. Jelf chose a site for the pump room and began works to improve a nearby road. However, the scheme nearly failed in 1815 when Niblett’s Old Bank went bankrupt. Leaving Jelf – who also had to resign as mayor – without the funds to continue developing the scheme²⁸⁵.

Ultimately the property was purchased by John Phillpotts (the bother of Thomas Phillpotts²⁸⁶) in 1816. John Phillpotts formed a committee to run the Spa – whose first meeting was held on the 7th August 1815 and the meeting included the actual transfer of the spa land from Evans and Jelf (of Niblett’s Old Bank)²⁸⁷. By 1816 the Spa became established as a joint stock company.

The company attracted a number of investors. Prominent investors included William Hicks a builder, John Chadborn an attorney and John Phillpotts (later MP for Gloucester)²⁸⁸. The Gloucestershire archives hold a list of share certificates in the Gloucester Spa (see below).

Henry Howard Molyneux the MP variously for Arundel, Gloucester (between 1795 and 1818) and Steyning (until he died in 1824) appears to have been another prominent investor (all his investments appear to date between 1816 and 18 when he was MP). His wife Elizabeth Long was the daughter of Edward Long – a colonial administrator in Jamaica who was the owner or joint owner of Longville Park Jamaica and Lucky valley Jamaica until his death in 1813²⁸⁹. It’s unclear if any income from the slavery economy was invested by Henry Howard Molyneux – certainly this review has found no record of Elizabeth Long inheriting any part of the family estates. Robert Morris of Turner, Turner and Morris was another investor (this bank was almost rescued by John Gladstone).

²⁸⁴ Riley, E. A. 1983 Gloucester Spa: It’s history, and some possible explanations for its failure – Postgraduate Diploma in Librarianship

²⁸⁵ Herbert, N M. (Ed) 1988 A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 4, the City of Gloucester. Victoria County History

²⁸⁶ Wingfield-Digby, P. Available on <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/media-new/pdfs/phillpottsslaveowner.pdf> accessed 28/09/2021

²⁸⁷ Ibid

²⁸⁸ Ibid

²⁸⁹ Legacies of British Slave Ownership. Available at: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146633762> accessed on 26/09/2021

Shareholders

Records in the Gloucestershire Archives include a list of some of the original investors and shareholders (Gloucestershire Archives ref D3398-2-2-6) from 1816. These include:

- William Price (of Gloucester merchant – certainly a timber merchant)
- P. Maddy (probably Philo Maddy (Currier and redeveloper of Greyfriars church)
- Hugh Taylor (grocer of Gloucester)
- John Dowling (innholder of Gloucester - who was elected mayor in 1844)
- Richard Seyer (of Gloucester, maltster)
- John Phillpotts
- Robert Morris (of Barnwood Court and of Turner, Turner and Morris – bank)
- J. Morris (first name unclear – possibly Jason or Justin – otherwise unknown/related to Robert?)
- John Chadborn
- C or G Cole (no further information)
- James Buchanan (of Cox & Buchanan edge tool manufacturer)
- Daniel Perring esq (of Gloucester)
- James Massey
- P. Potter (probably) no further information
- George Hale (a gentleman of Gloucester - timber merchant – noted as being a surety for a number of coffee/ale houses licenses sometimes in partnership with a James Buchanan – also referred to as a builder)
- John Garn (of Gloucester wool-stapler)
- Thomas Jenkins esq (of Gloucester)
- Thomas Ridler (of Gloucester – soap boiler) and Edmund Boughton (of Gloucester carrier) – (assignees of the estate and effects of Charles Evans and Sir James Jelf, late of the city of Gloucester, bankers.)
- Unclear (possibly James Ashton?)
- William Holt (of Kingsholm, Gentleman)
- Thomas Quarrington (of Gloucester, wine merchant)
- William Hicks (of Kingsholm Gentleman)
- William Prosser (of Gloucester, Merchant and timber merchant)
- Ralph Fletcher (of Barton Street surgeon, also an alderman)
- William Read King (of Serjants Inn, Fleet Street, London, also involved in the Pittville development in Cheltenham)
- John Hibbard (bookkeeper of Gloucester)
- John Ashton (of Gloucester innholder)
- Rev Jacob Nash of Barrow Cottages Somerset

Annual meeting 1839

By 1839 the following changes are recorded (Gloucestershire Archives ref D3398-2-2-6)

Minutes of annual meeting 23rd January 1839

Present Proprietor	Late Proprietor
John Chadburn	Henry Howard Molyneux
ditto	Morris
ditto	James Buchanan
ditto	Jointly with William Read King
ditto	John Garn (looks like an f)
ditto	Barstow Haines?
ditto	George Hale
ditto	Late John Hibbard who sold w Chadburn v King
ditto	William Hicks
ditto	Hicks and Ashton
ditto	William Prosser
ditto	Richard Seyer
ditto	Turner and Company
ditto	Late Thomas Ridler
William Read King	Original half share and as purchased from Hibbards
John Dowling	Original share
Ralph Fletcher	Late William Fletcher
Daniel Perring	Original share
Ditto	Late John Heath
William James Holt	Late Mr. Holt
Thomas Jenkins	Original share
John Philpotts	ditto
Rev. Jacob Nash	ditto
Philip Price	Late William Price
Thomas Quarrington	Original share
Boughton (widow) first name not visible	Late Edmund Boughton
Not clear	Late Hugh Taylor

The new company took over the development and began selling off plots of land around what was to become Spa Road and surrounding area.

The Spa Hotel – later Ribston Hall was built by the Spa company in 1818 for visitors to the Spa. The archive mentions Jn. Chadborn, Mary Jones Eleanor Pengree Robertson and Edwin H. Spring as being representatives of the Gloucester Spa Co. on the deeds of the Spa Hotel²⁹⁰.

The next house along - later Maitland House - was designed by Thomas Rickman for Alexander Maitland, a former London merchant²⁹¹. This is probably Alexander Maitland the Younger recorded

²⁹⁰ Gloucestershire Archives ref GBR/9/6/1/128 available online at <https://gloucestershire.epexio.com/records/GBR/9/6/1/128> accessed on 24/09/2021

²⁹¹ Ibid

on the Legacies of British Slavery website as leaving the partnership of Bond and Pearse (West India and General Merchants) in 1807²⁹².

Further along again are Sherborne Villas (now called the Judge's Lodgings) and Beaufort buildings (John Phillpotts was an investor²⁹³ later the residence of John Gladstone). Gladstone was attracted to Gloucester Spa by Dr. John Baron's reputation for the use of iodine and anxious about the health of his daughter.

Beyond these were Spa Villas, where John Phillpotts was, by 1834, a resident²⁹⁴. Then Bellevue House built for Thomas Skipp, a Ledbury timber merchant.

Philo Maddy born in Hereford, Married in St Mary de Crypt 1788 age 21 to Betty Price Byard (spinster) also 21²⁹⁵. Carrier and licensed by the mayor as the major dealer in skins in the city working out of a market behind the Green Dragon Inn, Southgate St. He had Greyfriars developed as a sizable town house in 1810²⁹⁶. At some point in his life he purchased High Orchard or part at least. He rented it as cottage gardens and it developed as a slum. He made money off the rents and then sold it on to a group of buyers including Thomas Phillpotts and Samuel Baker (presumably the area later developed as Baker's Quay)²⁹⁷. The release documents in the archives mention a sum of £6821 – which would have been very considerable at the time. Maddy is therefore a likely recipient (albeit at a secondary remove) of funds from abolition.

²⁹² Legacies of British Slave Ownership. Available at: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146662421>

²⁹³ Gloucestershire Archives D3117/1/83/13 available on <https://gloucestershire.epexio.com/records/D3117/1/83/13> accessed on 24/09/2021

²⁹⁴ The poll at the election of a knight of the shire [rural MP] to serve in parliament for the eastern division of the county of Gloucester (Gloucester Chronical Gloucester 1834) Pg.48 available at: [https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/The_poll_at_the_election_of_a_knight_of/5QcHAAAAQAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0] (accessed at 14.17 on 31/07/2021)

²⁹⁵ Gloucestershire archives reference GDR/Q3/77/(part)

²⁹⁶ Herbert, N M. (Ed) 1988 A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 4, the City of Gloucester. Victoria County History

²⁹⁷ Gloucestershire archives reference D3117/2540 and D3117/598

Christ Church

Further north the Christ Church (also 'Holy Trinity' and the 'Spa Church') was opened in 1823. The church was funded by public subscription and by issuing shares²⁹⁸. Each £100 shareholder became a proprietor, and then five trustees were appointed from among the proprietors to manage the affairs of the church²⁹⁹.

Shareholders:

From records dating 1821 at a meeting at the office of John Chadborn (archives ref P154-3-SP-1-1)

Present at meeting:

- Samuel Jones Esq
- (Major) Thomas Newenham
- Major General Prole
- Captain Perring (Daniel Perring?)
- Ralph Fletcher Esq (unclear)
- John Mountain Esq
- Mr. Hugh Taylor
- Mr. William Hicks
- Mr. John Jones
- John Chadborn

Trustees appointed

- Samuel Jones Esq
- Major Thomas Newenham
- Mr. John Mountain
- Mr. James Flelps? (unclear)
- Mr. John Jones

Note: Major Thomas Newenham (see https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Dictionary_of_National_Biography,_1885-1900/Newenham,_Thomas) married Ann Anderson of the Parish of Meole in the County of Salop on the 3rd May 1825, 1825 (this appears to have been his second marriage and is based on <https://gloucestershire.epexio.com/records/GDR/17/2/75/118>). The name Ann Anderson occurs a lot in the legacies website.

Another document entitled 'The subscribers to the new Church at the Spa in account with Turner, Turner & Morris' lists the following individuals:

²⁹⁸ CGMS Consulting 2010 Taking Stock in Cheltenham and Gloucester' English Heritage and the Diocese of Gloucester Partnership Project Christ Church, Brunswick Road, Gloucester

²⁹⁹ Gloucestershire Archives ref P154/3/8/1 assessed online at <https://gloucestershire.epexio.com/records/P154/3/8/1> on 24/09/2021

- William Hicks
- Bishop of glous? (unclear)
- John Jones
- Dr. Baron
- John Cooke Lewis
- Hugh Taylor
- John Chadborn
- Dowling
- G. Porter? (unclear)
- Rev Mr. Church? (unclear)
- Smith
- William Price
- Alex Maitland
- Phillpotts
- Rev . S R Maitland (Samuel Roffey Maitland, son of Alex, historian and writer)
- Lord Lydney
- Thomas Fulljames (a surveyor)
- Thomas Newenham
- John Tibbitts (a tailor of St Aldate's)
- Rev J Maitland
- J Tibbitts
- J. Mountain
- Suffolk (no further information)
- Reece (Thomas Reece – ironmonger)
- J Cooke (no further information)
- Dowling
- G J and of Over (unclear)
- Bank of Glous? (unclear)
- Rev Mr. Church? (unclear)
- George Thorne? (unclear – if correct local gentleman)
- Wilson (unclear – no further information)
- William Montague (local businessman – possibly iron master)
- Wolff? (unclear – no further information)
- Grandford? (unclear)
- Hunter
- J Davis (no further information)
- General Prole
- Sir Alex Willson? (not confirmed – no further information)
- J Williams
- J Smith? (unclear)
- Rickman
- Sandford (no further information)
- Thomas Davis? (no further information)
- Turner
- Hooper (no further information)
- Jacobola? (unclear – no further information)

- G Sandiford? (no further information)
- James Fletcher

Of the people listed the following have confirmed or possible links to the slavery economy, they are listed with the accumulated contribution made to the subscription.

Alex Maitland: £60

Rev S J Maitland: £30

Lord Lydney: £30

Of the £2,500 sought by the subscription this is a quite minor contribution.

One source suggest that Rev S J Maitland was from May 1823 the perpetual curate of Christ Church³⁰⁰.

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³⁰⁰ Samuel Roffey Maitland Biography available on <https://www.howold.co/person/samuel-roffey-maitland/biography> accessed on 07/10/21

Montpellier Place – built by James Pollard (there is a James Pollard in the Legacies of Slavery website for 3 enslaved people in Barbados <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/4531>) the archives record a James Pollard of Gloucester at this time who is described as a china merchant³⁰¹. His business partner appears to have been Thomas Fletcher of Cheltenham (possibly a gunsmith) there is also a Thomas Fletcher of Liverpool on the legacies website – but this is almost certainly a different person. This research has found no confirmed link to the slavery economy. But more research may be warranted.

Further to the east was Rignum Villa (later called Rikenel) for the Merchant William Price (this is possibly William Price of Gloucester – those wife was Frances George – daughter of Philip George of Bristol). William Price was the owner of Price & Co. a major timber importer to Gloucester he died in 1838.

The area of gaudy green was developed by from 1822 (and would eventually become Brunswick Square) by Thomas Reece ironmonger (see Gloucestershire archives <https://gloucestershire.epexio.com/records/GDR/10/5/126>) no linked noted.

Of other sites within the Spa, such as Rignum Place, Waterloo Villa or the Spa and pump rooms (now demolished) this research has found no direct link to the slavery economy.

³⁰¹ Gloucestershire Archives ref D2957/1/73A/16 available on <https://gloucestershire.epexio.com/records/D2957/1/73A/16> accessed on 24/09/2021

Heritage assets

This research has noted three sites with possible links to the slavery economy.

Maitland House

Named after Alexander Maitland the younger – who had a direct interest in the slavery economy until 1807.

Beaufort buildings

For some years the residence of John Gladstone.

Christ church

A very small number of Shareholder may have links to the slavery economy.

Andrew Armstrong 07/10/21

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15. Appendix F – Legacies of Slave Ownership in Gloucester and Gloucestershire

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Legacies of Slave Ownership in Gloucester and Gloucestershire

The Black Lives Matter protests of 2020 not only highlighted the ways in which racism continues to influence the contemporary world, but also raised significant questions about the way we discuss, remember and often forget the history of the transatlantic slave trade. This project focuses on this history to see if a better understanding of the subject can help to heal social divisions. It takes a local focus by tracing the legacies of slavery evident in Gloucester and the surrounding area and it examines the compensation slave owners received when slavery was abolished.

While campaigns for abolition had existed on both sides of the Atlantic for decades, two key pieces of legislation brought the practice to an end in the British Empire:

1: 1807 Slavery Abolition Act:

Whilst not emancipating enslaved people, the act banned the transatlantic slave trade. British ships now confiscated vessels found trading human beings and imposed fines of £100 per enslaved person on board. It also granted some liberties to freed slaves, but these were limited.



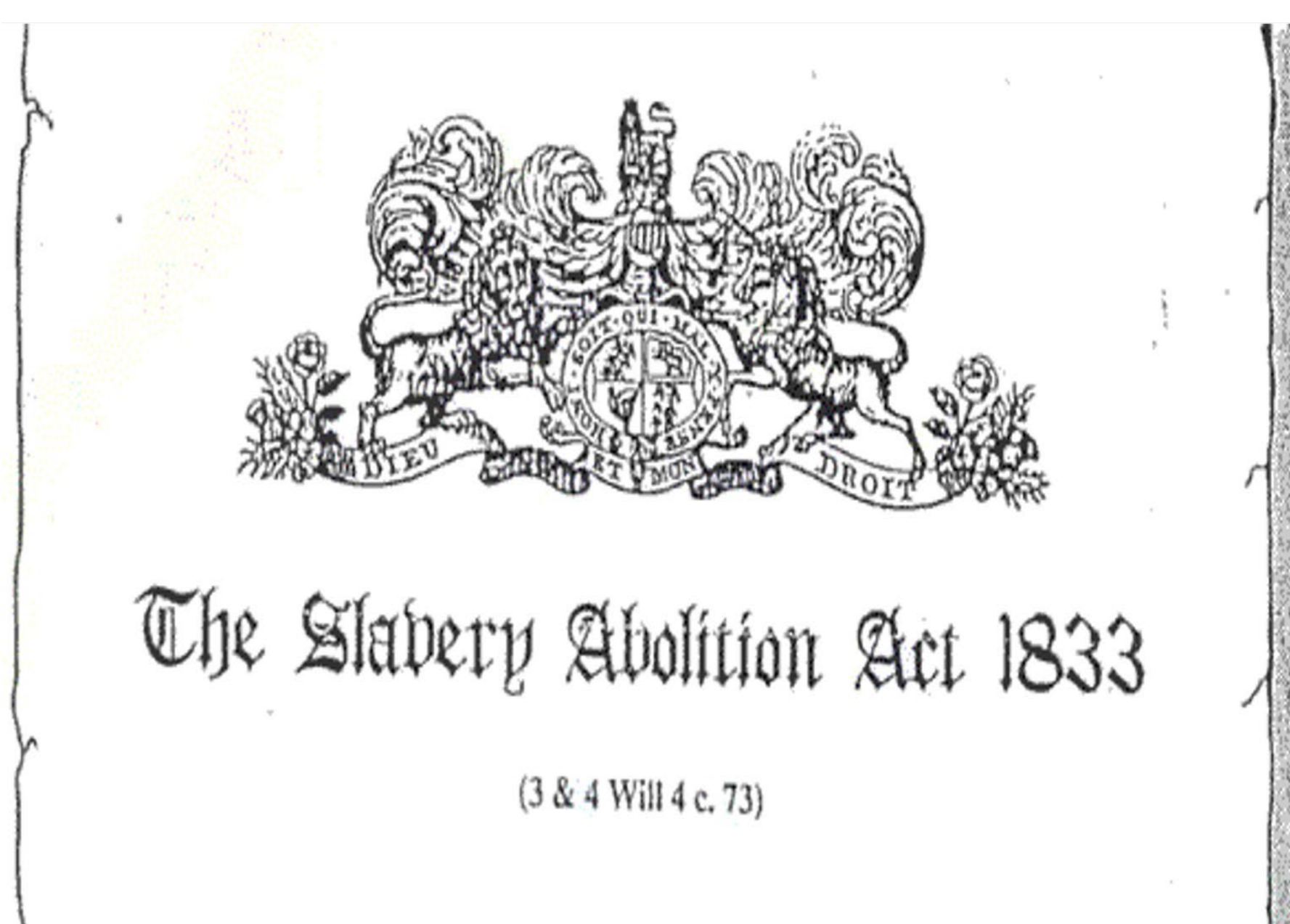
Josiah Wedgwood's image of an enslaved African, 'Am I not a man and a brother', became a symbol of the abolitionist movement of the 18th and 19th centuries. ▶

2: 1833 Abolition of the Slave Trade Act:

This act emancipated enslaved people and compensated slave-owners for their 'loss of property.' Over 3000 families received compensation for slave ownership. Many beneficiaries were absentee landlords or shareholders in plantations. In total, around £20 million (£17bn today) was spent on compensation claims, around half of which remained in Britain. This accounted for around 40% of the national budget at the time and the debt was only finally paid off in 2015.



This tweet had to be removed following negative backlash.
Did you know your taxes had been used to compensate slave owners?
Do you agree with the reaction?



Records from UCL's Legacies of British Slavery database indicate that there were approximately 400 awardees of compensation in the county. The compensation was spent in many ways and is still traceable today. The following panels provide examples of how some of those compensated locally used their funds in three main ways: 1) funding personal interests, hobbies and travel; 2) making financial investments; 3) buying and / or renovating country estates.

See <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/>

Legacy 1: Hobbies and Interests

George Wilson Bridges (1788-1863):

Bridges' connection to slavery demonstrates several important and complicated elements. Bridges was a Reverend, and served as a Vicar in two parishes in Jamaica: Manchester and St Annes. Whilst there he earned up to £2000 a year by baptizing enslaved people (£136,000 today), highlighting the complex relationship slavery had with religion. He also owned three domestic slaves for which he received £87 in compensation (£5600 today). He later served in two Gloucestershire parishes, Maisemore (1844-1846) and Beachley (1858-1863). He wrote several books in which he forcefully defended slavery and the empire.



St Marks Church, Manchester, Jamaica, where Bridges was Vicar from 1817-1823



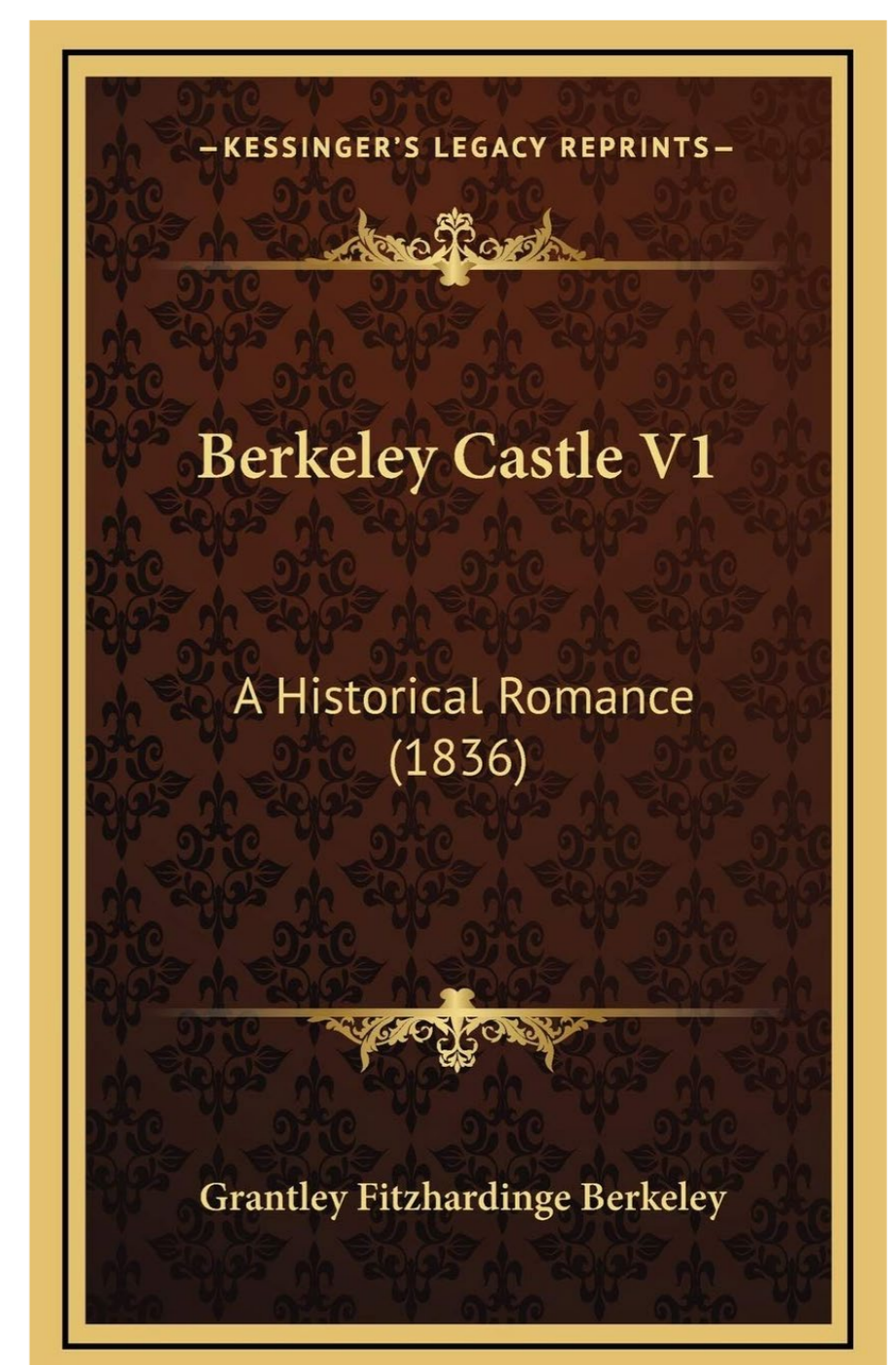
The Church in Beachley, where Bridges is buried

George Wilson Bridges (1788-1863):

Bridges' connection to slavery demonstrates several important and complicated elements. Bridges was a Reverend, and served as a Vicar in two parishes in Jamaica: Manchester and St Annes. Whilst there he earned up to £2000 a year by baptizing enslaved people (£136,000 today), highlighting the complex relationship slavery had with religion. He also owned three domestic slaves for which he received £87 in compensation (£5600 today). He later served in two Gloucestershire parishes, Maisemore (1844-1846) and Beachley (1858-1863). He wrote several books in which he forcefully defended slavery and the empire.

George Charles Grantley Fitzhardinge Berkeley (1880-81):

Berkeley served as Whig MP for Gloucestershire West from 1832 to 1852. He received £14,545, 17s, 4d in compensation for two slave plantations in British Guiana (equivalent to £878,818.38 today), he was forceful in his opposition to the abolition of slavery. His legacy includes many publications, the most famous being Berkeley Castle (1836). In total, he published 8 books and 8 pamphlets on topics including sports, politics and general life.



These are just two examples of local figures who received compensation and went on to influence public life in different ways. Many others sought to increase their wealth even further by reinvesting their compensation money into business ventures.

Legacy 2: Investments

Samuel Baker (1794-1862):

Baker is one of the more well-known figures amongst those who had a strong connection to the slave trade. Arriving from London in 1832, alongside his business partner Thomas Phillpotts he was responsible for the construction and development of 'Baker's Quay', now known as Gloucester Quays. Baker's Quay enabled the shipping of goods from the Caribbean directly into the city. Baker and Phillpotts made various adjustments to the quayside, such as widening the quay wall and building various warehouses, changes that benefited local businesses and members of the public.

Baker is associated with two compensation claims (one shared with Phillpotts) for two plantations in Jamaica totaling nearly £8000 (over £900,000 today) which covered the ownership of 410 enslaved people. He invested heavily in the railway companies around the areas of Gloucester, Worcester and the Forest of Dean. He died with a wealth of £30,000 (c.£4,000,000 today). He left his Barbadian sugar plantations to his son, Sir Samuel White Baker, who became a famous African explorer and was celebrated for his abolitionism, which often hid deeply racist views.



Baker's Quay – c.1830

Sir Samuel White Baker (1821-1893), National Portrait Gallery



Henry Sealy (d.o.b. unknown – 1864):

Sealy owned four plantations in Barbados. He received around £400 in compensation for two of these estates, and was unsuccessful in his other two claims. He invested £2500 in the York and Carlisle railways.

Additionally, Sealy's mother Sarah benefitted from these two successful claims which covered the possessions of 18 enslaved people. The family were originally from Gloucester but spent time in Barbados, where Sarah married William Sealy. The family later moved to the prosperous Clifton area of Bristol.



Phillpotts Warehouse in Gloucester Quays named after the son of Thomas Phillpotts

These are just two examples of the way in which profits directly or indirectly connected to slavery were invested in public works and infrastructure. In fact, much of the research on these legacies demonstrates that it was very common for money to be reinvested in the railways. However, as the next panel shows, some preferred to invest in property.

Legacy 3: Stately Homes in Gloucestershire

Another indicator of whether a family was involved in the slave trade was through the ownership of stately homes and country estates. As research by English Heritage and scholars such as Madge Dresser and Andrew Hann has uncovered, some of the money earned from slavery and / or compensation was reinvested in the development and renovation of stately homes. Some of these estates are highly respected today and have been granted protection by the National Trust. At the time of abolition, there were around ten key country estates located in Gloucestershire that saw money from compensation used to renovate the grounds.

Country estates with connections to money from slavery:

In 1690, the Hayward family purchased the Quedgeley estate. They also owned a 200-acre plantation, Brewer's Bay, in Tortola, British Virgin Islands.

The image on the left shows the remains of a sugar mill at Brewer's Bay, pictured on the right.



Cirencester Park, courtesy of Country Life

Cirencester Park was owned by the Bathurst family who had a long association with the slave trade. The estate was purchased in 1700 by the first Earl of Bathurst, Benjamin Bathurst. He was also a high-ranking official in the Royal African Company. Descendants of the first Earl were more sympathetic to ideas of abolition. The strong links with the slave trade are also evident in the fact that 'there are many Bathurst place names throughout the Empire, especially in Jamaica.' (Dresser & Hann, *Slavery and the British Country House*, English Heritage, 2013).

The Royal African Company (RAC)

The scale of the slave trade expanded and was encouraged in part by the granting of royal charters to private companies. Originally set up by the Stuarts, the RAC was given a chartered monopoly over the English slave trade by Charles II in 1672 and created trading posts supported by the army and navy. For nearly a century afterwards, the RAC dominated the transatlantic slave trade, and was responsible for shipping more African slaves than any other single organization in the history of the trade.



RAC coat of arms, Museum of London

Lydney Park (near Lydney) was owned by another branch of the Bathurst family (Charles Bathurst) after it was purchased from the Winters family in 1723. Both families had links to the slave trade.

Cleeve Hill House was originally owned by Charles Bragge, later known as Charles Bathurst from 1804. Charles Bathurst eventually inherited the Lydney Park Estate.



Gardens below the house, Britain Express



Barrington Park, photo courtesy of Sinclair Johnston

Barrington Park (near Burford) was purchased in 1734 by Charles Talbot, a Lord who served as Attorney General in 1729. As Attorney General, he was joint author of the infamous York / Talbot judgement of 1729:

'Their opinion... was that a slave in England was not automatically free, could be forced to return to the colonies from England and that Christian baptism did not confer freedom to a slave.'

Dresser and Hann, 2013

Lypiatt Park (near Stroud) was owned by Samuel Baker (discussed on the previous panel). As Dresser and Hann demonstrate, Baker purchased the property in 1838, after he had been compensated for the loss of over 400 enslaved persons.

This once again highlights how the wealth generated by slavery found its way onto British soil. Baker willed the property to his son, Samuel White Baker.



Lypiatt Park, photo courtesy of Country Life

Why does this history matter?

This project has enabled us to gain an insight into the deeply entrenched legacies of the slave trade, and particularly how the wealth generated by slavery and its abolition was used in different ways. Our findings challenge the idea that slavery was simply something that happened a long time ago and somewhere far away. As our examples highlight, even at a local level, it is possible to trace links to the transatlantic slave trade. This history is very much a significant part of both the British past and the present.