

# **The slavery connections of Northington Grange**

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*"A real and material source of wealth and power"*  
Alexander Baring on Britain's slave colonies  
in the Caribbean (1831)

This report was commissioned in November 2008 as part of a project to explore the slavery connections of four historic properties in the stewardship of English Heritage. Archival research was carried out on Bolsover Castle, Brodsworth Hall, Marble Hill House, and Northington Grange to examine the impact of slavery-generated wealth on the development of these properties.

The research follows the 2007 survey by Miranda Kaufmann on the family history of 33 English Heritage properties and their slavery connections. Using databases on slave voyages and slave compensation, Kaufmann's study focused on those who owned property in slave colonies, held government office in such colonies, invested in slaving or traded in slave produced goods, were engaged in abolitionist debates or legal decisions on slavery, or who owned black servants.

The aims of this report are to provide more detailed information on the economic, social, and cultural connections that linked Northington Grange to Atlantic slavery. The report examines the relative importance of slave-generated wealth in the fortunes of Northington Grange's occupants and how these changed over time. It then details the extent to which wealth from slavery shaped the physical development of the estate and its aesthetic design.

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## 1) Executive summary

Northington Grange near Alresford in Hampshire is one of Britain's most striking country houses with its eastern façade dominated by enormous Doric and Ionic columns that give it the appearance of a transplanted temple from ancient Greece. The Grange was originally part of the demesne lands of Hyde Abbey in Winchester which were seized by the crown in 1538. In 1662, the estate was purchased by Sir Robert Henley (c.1624–1692) who replaced its modest country house with what contemporaries described as a “considerable mansion” designed by William Samwell (1628-1676). Built between 1664 and 1673, the house drew such praise for its “noble and regular structure”, internal proportions and great staircase that it was often attributed to the celebrated British architect Inigo Jones (1573–1652).<sup>1</sup>

The Henley family owned the Grange from 1662 to 1787 during which period the surrounding park was extensively landscaped, including the creation of an ornamental lake and large vegetable and fruit gardens in the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Banker Henry Drummond (c.1730–1795) purchased the Grange in 1787 and it was his grandson who transformed the seventeenth century mansion into one of the leading expressions of Greek Revival architecture in Britain. From 1804 to 1809, Samwell's square brick house was encased in Roman cement and

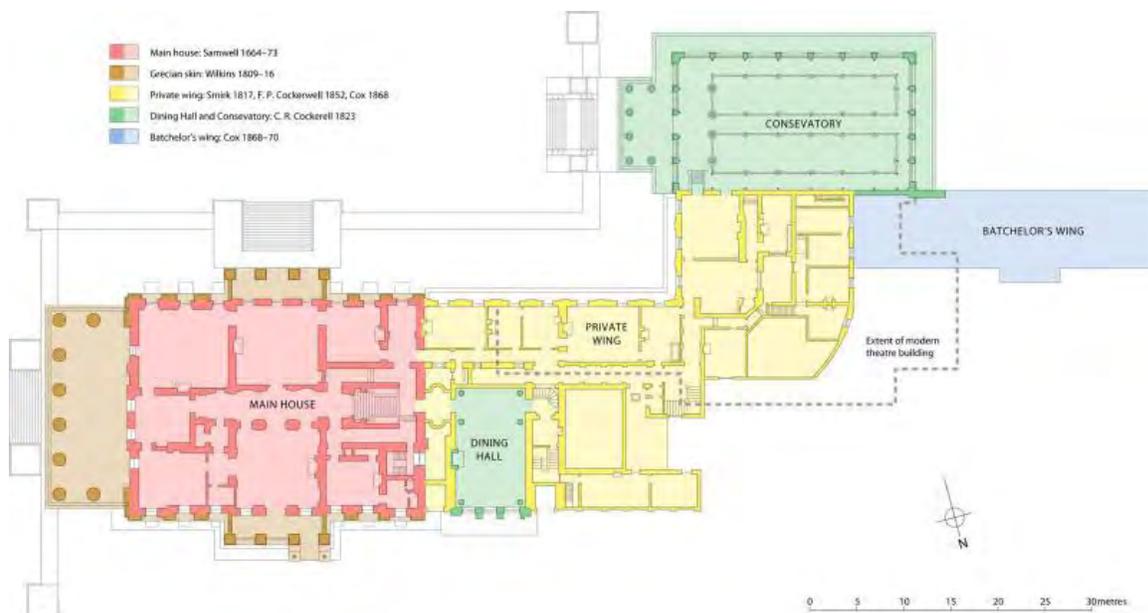
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<sup>1</sup> Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, Winchester, 44 M 69/E22/1/1/1, 1787 Particulars of the Grange Estates

<sup>2</sup> Jane Geddes, “The Grange, Northington”, *Architectural History*, 26 (1983), p. 42.

decorated with a large Doric portico and friezes designed by William Wilkins (1778–1839).

In 1817 Northington Grange was acquired by another banking dynasty, the Baring family who employed a series of architects to remodel the living accommodation of the house which had been compromised by Wilkins' dramatic exterior façade. Sir Robert Smirke constructed a western extension for the house in 1817, which was followed in the mid-1820s by the additions of a dining hall and conservatory designed by Charles Cockerell (1788–1863). In 1868, architect John Cox was commissioned to conduct an extensive internal re-design of the house to allow more light and space for its occupants.



Plan of the Grange

Paralleling the remodelling of the Grange's interior, Alexander Baring (1773–1848) also sought to extend and improve the estate's park and gardens. A formal Italian terraced garden was added to the south of the house in 1826 by Cockerell, while the property's kitchen gardens were extended from two to six acres. Under Baring there was extensive planting of ornamental trees, such as cedars, and further water-features were added to the park.

Alexander Baring was succeeded at the Grange by his son Bingham Baring (1799–1864), second Baron Ashburton. An MP from 1826 and a peer after 1848, he was also a Fellow of the Royal Society and president of the Royal Geographical Society in the early 1860s. The estate was passed onto Alexander Hugh Baring (1835–1889), fourth Baron Ashburton, who extended the house and added new plantings to the park. In 1889, the property was inherited by Francis Denzil Edward Baring (1866-1938), fifth Baron Ashburton who converted the conservatory into a picture gallery. The Grange was sold by the Barings in 1933 and owned between 1934 and 1964 by industrialist Lewis Wallach who intended to use it to display his extensive art collection (much of which was subsequently destroyed in World War Two).

With Wallach's death, the deteriorating estate was purchased by the Baring family. In the early 1970s, the fittings of the house were auctioned off, its roof removed and the western extension demolished including the dining room designed by Cockerell. This revealed part of the façade of Samwell's original

brick mansion. As a result of the threatened destruction of the house, the Grange was taken into guardianship in 1975 first by the Department of Environment and then by English Heritage.

### **1.1) Slavery connections of the families living at Northington Grange**

Three political dynasties lived in Northington Grange from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries – the Henley, Drummond and Baring families. Their prominence in Parliament as well as their activities in law and banking resulted in significant social and economic connections to Atlantic slavery.

As Lord Chancellor, Robert Henley (1708-1772) held in the case of *Shanley v. Harvey* (1762) that “As soon as a man sets foot on English ground he is free”. Henley was also a patron of naturalist John Ellis (c.1710–1776) who strongly advocated the use of economic botany to expand Britain’s slave colonies in the Americas.

The Drummond family purchased the Grange in 1787, and were connected by marriage to Henry Dundas (1742–1811) who a decade earlier had argued before the Scottish courts that slavery was incompatible with Scottish law. However in 1792, Dundas’s intervention in Parliament was significant in delaying abolitionist legislation for another decade and a half, resulting in Wilberforce seeing him as a key opponent of the abolitionist agenda. As secretary of state for

war from 1794, Dundas was also engaged in organizing substantial military campaigns to defend and expand Britain's slave colonies in the revolutionary Caribbean during the 1790s.

The Grange was sold in 1817 to Alexander Baring (1773–1848) who in Parliament was a prominent defender of free trade in slave-produced commodities such as cotton and sugar, while also opposing the immediate abolition of slavery in the British empire during the 1820s. In 1842, Baring negotiated the Webster-Ashburton treaty at a time when relations between Britain and America were strained because the British colony of the Bahamas had provided sanctuary to a group of slaves who had mutinied and seized the ship that was transporting them along the American coast.

Archival research in the surviving records of the Drummond and Baring families and a survey of eighteenth and nineteenth century newspapers did not provide any reference to a black presence at the house. From 1795 to 1800 Northington Grange was leased to George, Prince of Wales (1762-1830), as a hunting lodge. The future King George IV did have close contact with black servants and musicians around the time when he was visiting the Grange, although the extent to which they may have accompanied the Prince requires further research.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, the Grange was also briefly leased by James Lowther, Earl of Lonsdale (1736-1802) whose extensive landholdings had been significantly funded by his father's position as Governor of Barbados during the 1720s and their ownership of a sugar plantation on the island.<sup>3</sup> Lowther himself inherited slaves after his father's death in 1745. For further discussion of the Lowther's engagement with Caribbean slavery see the English Heritage report on "The slavery connections of Marble Hill House".

In the 1850s, the Grange was the focus of a literary salon centred around Harriet Mary Baring (1805–1857) and her husband (William) Bingham Baring (1799–1864), who held the titles of Lady Ashburton and second Baron Ashburton. Amongst the regular guests to the Grange were the writer Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881) and his wife Jane Carlyle (1801–1866) with whom the Barings shared a close friendship from 1839. Carlyle published and republished his caustic "Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question" (1849 and 1853), at a time when he was visiting the Grange several times a year.<sup>4</sup> The "Occasional Discourse" critiqued the empty philanthropy of abolitionists and the failure of emancipation in 1834, with the image of the ex-slave Quashee gorging himself on pumpkins and refusing plantation labour.<sup>5</sup> Such a vision was a gross distortion of the conflicts and harsh material conditions that marked emancipation

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<sup>3</sup> J.V. Beckett, "Inheritance and fortune in the eighteenth century: the rise of Sir James Lowther, Earl of Lonsdale", *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, 87 (1987), p. 177

<sup>4</sup> <http://carlyleletters.dukejournals.org/>

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Carlyle, "Occasional discourse on the Negro question", *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country* 40 (1849), pp. 670-679; Thomas Carlyle, "Occasional discourse on the Nigger question" (London: Bosworth, 1853)

in the British West Indies in which some planters attempted to starve their former slaves into submission while others evicted them or their families from plantation land for refusing to follow the work regimes that replicated those of slavery.<sup>6</sup>

Another frequent guest at the Grange during the mid-nineteenth century was writer James Froude (1818–1894) who later visited the Caribbean in 1887 where he blamed the limited economic development in Britain's colonies in the region on the racial failings of their Creole populations.<sup>7</sup>

## **1.2) An assessment of the slave-generated wealth of the families at Northington Grange**

In 2006 the Royal Bank of Scotland commissioned an investigation to explore links between slavery and its predecessor institutions including the Drummonds bank. They found that the Drummonds neither directly owned slaves, nor invested in the slave trade or slave plantations in the Americas.<sup>8</sup> Equally Alexander Baring in 1823 identified himself before Parliament as a disinterested commentator on abolition, who neither owned slaves nor invested in

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<sup>6</sup> Laurence Brown and Tara Inniss. "Slave Women, Family Strategies and the Transition to Freedom in Barbados, 1834-1841" in Gwyn Campbell, Suzanne Miers and Joseph Miller, eds., *Women in Slavery*, (Columbus: Ohio University Press, 2007), pp. 172-185; For a study of Carlyle's engagement in debates generated by the Morant Bay uprising in Jamaica in 1865 see Catherine Hall, "The Economy of Intellectual Prestige: Thomas Carlyle, John Stuart Mill, and the Case of Governor Eyre", *Cultural Critique*, 12 (1989), pp. 167-196.

<sup>7</sup> James Anthony Froude, *The English in the West Indies; or, The bow of Ulysses* (London: Longmans Green and Co., 1888); For a critique of Froude by a Trinidadian intellectual see J. J. Thomas, *Froudacity: West Indian Fables by James Anthony Froude* (London: T. F. Unwin, 1889)

<sup>8</sup> "Historical Research Report: Predecessor Institutions Research Regarding Slavery and Slave Trade", Citizens Financial Group and Royal Bank of Scotland Group, May 2006.

the slave trade.<sup>9</sup> However, both Drummonds and Barings did derive substantial economic benefits from the slave societies of the Caribbean and North America through providing financial services both to private slave owners and the colonial state.

Drummonds bank held accounts for Caribbean planters, while Henry Drummond (c.1730–1795) drew a considerable part of his personal wealth from his contract as Paymaster to His Majesty's Forces in North America and the Caribbean. During this period, the army both provided a route to freedom for some slaves in Britain's war-torn mainland colonies and had a significant role in policing slave society in the West Indies.

Alexander Baring's initial fortune was substantially derived from his marriage into the Bingham family of Philadelphia whose wealth had partly originated in trade and privateering from the French Caribbean colony of Martinique during the American War of Independence. As a partner in Baring Brothers bank, Alexander also profited from the trade in and the insurance of slave-produced commodities (particularly cotton), and from providing banking facilities to slave owners in the Caribbean islands and the American mainland. Most dramatically, in funding the Louisiana Purchase in 1802, Baring drew a substantial personal windfall from the massive expansion of slavery across the American South.

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<sup>9</sup> *Substance of the Debate in the House of Commons, on the 15<sup>th</sup> May, 1823, on a Motion for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Dominions*, (London: Ellerton and Henderson, 1823), p. 97.

### **1.3) Property development and slave-generated wealth**

It is difficult to provide an exact balance sheet of the proportion of slave-generated wealth of the Grange's owners, however the timing of property development at the Grange often corresponded with slavery-related profits. The purchases of the Grange estate in 1787 and 1817 appear to have drawn heavily on sources of income in the Americas, particularly the Drummonds' paymaster's contract and Alexander Baring's marriage to Anne Bingham.

The £30,000 transformation of the Grange by William Wilkins between 1805 and 1809 does not appear to have been directly funded from colonial sources.

Alexander Baring financed significant landscaping at the Grange in 1819 and 1839 twice extending the park with new planting and expanding its water features. Between 1823 and 1826 Charles Cockerell was commissioned to add a Corinthian portico, large conservatory and dining room to the main house. Such developments were certainly facilitated by the substantial profits enjoyed by Baring from the Louisiana Purchase and the aggressive investment by Baring Brothers in slave-produced cotton in the 1820s.

#### **1.4) Slavery-related symbolism and design at Northington Grange**

The landscaping of the Grange had little in common with the spatial structures of export-orientated slave plantations in the Caribbean.<sup>10</sup> The presence of John Ellis at the Grange in the mid-eighteenth century raises the possibility that there may have been some tropical influence in planting at the Grange during this period. Baring's conservatory in the mid-1820s did include some plants from the Americas but this was not the focus of its collection.

Both Wilkins and Cockerell in seeking to authenticate their construction of the Greek Revival exterior of the Grange used interior friezes that invoked the classical world. Wilkins recognized that slavery and servitude were central to the social structure of ancient Greece and so where slavery-related symbolism appears in the Grange it references the classical form rather the Atlantic world.

## **2) The Henley family and the construction of Northington Grange**

In 1662, the Grange Estate in Hampshire was purchased by Sir Robert Henley (c1624-1692). Three years earlier Henley had funded the construction of

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<sup>10</sup> Barry Higman, "The Spatial Economy of Jamaican Sugar Plantations: Cartographic Evidence from the Eighteenth & Nineteenth Centuries", *Journal of Historical Geography*, 13 (1987), pp. 17-39; Theresa A. Singleton, "Slavery and Spatial Dialectics on Cuban Coffee Plantations", *World Archaeology*, 33: 1 (2001), pp. 98-114.

several houses on the south side of Lincoln's Inn Field in London.<sup>11</sup> These urban and rural properties symbolized Henley's position as country gentleman and successful lawyer. He had inherited substantial wealth and property with the death of his father Robert Henley (1591-1656) who had been Master of the King's Bench and had owned the Jacobean mansion of Bramshill, Hampshire.<sup>12</sup>



Bramshill House, Bramshill, Hampshire (1928)

Source: English Heritage.NMR (Ref: CC000294)

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<sup>11</sup> W. Edward Riley and Sir Laurence Gomme, eds., *Survey of London, Vol 3: St Giles-in-the-Fields, pt I: Lincoln's Inn Fields*, (1912), p. 35.

<sup>12</sup> Nicholas Ferrer, Cheney Culpeper, David R. Ransome, Michael J. Braddick, *Seventeenth-Century Political and Financial Papers*, Vol 33, (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996), p. 456 f27.

In the same year as purchasing the Grange, Henley was appointed Prothonotary of the King's Bench and in 1663 was knighted. Between 1665 and 1673, a new house was built by Henley at the Grange, designed by fellow lawyer William Samwell. Built of red brick with five floors, Samwell's design was marked by a double-heightened entrance hall and a great staircase made of oak.<sup>13</sup>

In 1679 Henley was elected to Parliament as MP for Andover where he was a prominent speaker in legislation on deer stealing and criticised the East India Company. In December 1691, Henley spoke against a bill to register servants travelling to Britain's colonies in the Americas, arguing that "this bill presents to prevent kidnapping, but if this passes into a law it will establish kidnapping by a law".<sup>14</sup> In the same month, he was part of a committee that heard the protest of Caribbean merchants and planters seeking a reduction in the import duty on rum.<sup>15</sup>

Despite his extensive landholdings, Sir Robert Henley's will of 1692 makes no mention of property ownership in Britain's slave colonies nor of investments in slave trading.<sup>16</sup> Therefore it seems unlikely that slave-related income played a significant role in the early development of the Grange by the Henley family.

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<sup>13</sup> John Redmill, "A House Ahead of its Time: The Grange, Hampshire", *Country Life*, 8 May 1975, pp.1166-1168.

<sup>14</sup> Henley, Robert, *A Memoir of the Life of Robert Henley, Earl of Northington* (London: John Murray, 1831), p. 6.

<sup>15</sup> *First Parliament of William III and Mary II: third session (22 October 1691 - 24 February 1692)*, 17 December 1691, p. 592

<sup>16</sup> National Archives, PROB 11/413 Will of Sir Robert Henley of Northington, Hampshire

After Sir Robert's death in 1692, the Grange passed to his son Anthony Henley (dc.1711) who from 1698 was MP for Andover, and then for Weymouth and Melcombe Regis. Two of Anthony's sons also followed him into Parliament, Anthony Henley (dc.1745) and Robert Henley (c.1708–1772). The latter succeeded his brother at the Grange around the same time that he became MP for Bath (1747-1757). From 1757 to 1762 Robert Henley served as Attorney General in the Pitt and Bute governments. This was during the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) where military victories against France laid the foundations for a new phase of colonial expansion by Britain in the Americas and South Asia.<sup>17</sup>

Pitt's government targeted the island colonies of the French Caribbean as a way of directly undermining France's economy through disrupting her trade.<sup>18</sup> By the end of the Seven Years' War Britain occupied the French islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe which together contained approximately 140,000 slaves of African descent.<sup>19</sup> There was considerable public debate at the end of the conflict over whether given the profits of slavery these Caribbean territories should be retained by Britain in exchange for territories in Canada being offered to France. While these islands were ultimately returned to France, the Treaty of Paris in 1763 not only extended the borders of British settlements on the

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<sup>17</sup> Vincent T. Harlow, *The Founding of the Second British Empire, 1763-1793* (London: Longmans, Green, 1952); , C. A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780-1830* (London: Longman, London: 1989)

<sup>18</sup> Richard Middleton. *The Bells of Victory: The Pitt-Newcastle Ministry and Conduct of the Seven Years' War 1757-1762* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 211.

<sup>19</sup> David Watts, *The West Indies: Patterns of Development, Culture and Environmental Change since 1492* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 320.

American mainland, but Britain secured her sovereignty over the emerging slave colonies of Grenada, Saint Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago. These new territories of the Ceded Islands became the focus for the intensifying trans-Atlantic slave trade as their relatively uncultivated lands were claimed for plantation production.

The social and economic transformation caused by the British conquest of the Ceded Islands is reflected in the significant changes to the ratio of free and enslaved people in their populations. Grenada which had the most developed plantation system of these territories had a population of 13,426 in 1753, of whom there were 9.5 slaves for every white inhabitant. By 1771 the number of slaves on the island had more than doubled, resulting in 15 slaves per white inhabitant. In Dominica in 1763 it was estimated that there were under 6,000 slaves, however by 1773 this had tripled to 18,700. Similarly in St Vincent, the number of slaves tripled from 3,400 in 1763 to 11,853 in 1787.<sup>20</sup> Henley therefore served in governments which radically extended the geography of African slavery within the British Americas.

**Table 1: Slave imports to British Caribbean, 1751-1800**

	Ceded Islands	Leeward Islands	Barbados	Jamaica
1751-1775	118,470	98,783	75,338	204,788
1776-1800	189,099	126,105	107,518	260,260

Source: "The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database", [www.slavevoyages.org](http://www.slavevoyages.org)

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<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, p. 316.

Knighthood in 1756, Robert Henley became Lord Henley in 1760 so that he could preside at the murder trial of Lord Ferrers (in which the defendant was sentenced to execution).<sup>21</sup> With the accession of George III, Henley was granted the position of Lord Chancellor in 1761 and in 1764 became the Earl of Northampton.<sup>22</sup>

### 3) *Shanley v. Harvey*

As Lord Chancellor, Henley presided over the case of *Shanley v. Harvey* in mid-March 1762. Edward Shanley was an Irish merchant who around 1750 had presented an eight year old black boy as a gift to his niece Margaret Hamilton. The boy was purchased by Shanley as a slave in the North African port of Algiers and was named as Joseph Harvey. On her deathbed in early July 1759, Margaret informally manumitted Harvey telling him,

Here, take this, there is £700 or £800 in bank notes, and some more in money, but I cannot directly tell what, but it is all for you, to make you happy: make haste, put it in your pocket, tell nobody, and pay the butcher's bill.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> In 1765 Henley also presided at the murder trial of Lord Byron.

<sup>22</sup> Robert Henley, *A Memoir of the Life of Robert Henley, Earl of Northampton, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain* (London: J. Murray, 1831)

<sup>23</sup> National Archives, C12/1853/23, *Shanley v. Harvey*

The passage is striking for simultaneously containing both the master's gift of freedom and a menial errand. As the administrator of Hamilton's estate which was estimated at £3,000, Shanley sued Harvey to recover the monies given at manumission and sought a determination of the effects of the estate (which could have potentially included Harvey). The case reveals much about the nature of slavery in Georgian England, as Harvey was threatened with re-enslavement not based on his personal relationship to his former owner (Shanley) but rather on whether he could be included as part of the construction of property in Hamilton's estate.

In countering Shanley's claims, Harvey identified himself as "a Negro" who "was a slave". He remembered little of his arrival in England in 1750. Two years after Hamilton had received him as her slave, she had Harvey baptised as a Christian. Harvey described how Hamilton,

chose to be attended by him than any of her other Servants so that he for several years before her death was almost in constant attendance on her person.<sup>24</sup>

Jacob Gofsett, who acted as a trustee for Harvey described him as "being well respected in the Neighbourhood of Paddington for being a very sober, civil man".<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*

Henley dismissed Shanley's claims which had been supported by the Attorney-General. In his judgment in favour of Harvey, the Lord Chancellor stated that,

As soon as a man sets foot on English ground he is free: a negro may maintain an action against his master for ill usage, and may have a Habeas Corpus if restrained of his liberty.<sup>26</sup>

Henley's ruling implied a clear geographical division between the legal regime of Britain and the laws regulating slavery in its colonies of the New World. Such a judgment should have been strongly opposed by the West India interest of absentee planters and merchants in London, however it appears that this Court of Chancery case was relatively unknown either by the colonial lobby or fellow jurists.<sup>27</sup>

In 1772, in the case of *Somerset v. Stewart*, Lord Mansfield granted a writ of habeas corpus to James Somerset, an African-born former slave who was about to be transported to Jamaica to be returned slavery. Rather than follow the precedent of the decade old *Shanley v. Harvey*, Mansfield justified his decision based on natural law. Mansfield and Henley had been schooled at Westminster together and were contemporaries at the bar.<sup>28</sup> Despite such connections, Mansfield seems to have ignored Henley's judgment, arguing that "the case of Somerset is the only one on this subject", that his ruling only applied to the

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<sup>26</sup> English Report N<sup>o</sup> 39 - *Shanley v Harvey* (1762) 2 Eden 126.

<sup>27</sup> William M. Wiecek, "Somerset: Lord Mansfield and the Legitimacy of Slavery in the Anglo-American World", *University of Chicago Law Review* 42:1 (1974), p. 95; Henley, *A memoir of the life of Robert Henley*, p. 55.

<sup>28</sup> Henley, *A Memoir of the Life of Robert Henley*, pp. 10-11.

forcible removal of a slave overseas from Britain and that it did not affect the relationship between master and slave.<sup>29</sup> In contrast, Henley's judgment in *Shanley v. Harvey* was far more expansive implying that it was the slave's arrival in Britain rather than their departure which provided grounds for manumission, and that the law could directly intervene in the economic relationship of master-slave. Yet despite Mansfield's efforts to avoid a broad judgment during the *Somerset* case, and his efforts to limit its implications afterwards, the increasing strength of the abolitionist movement in the 1770s meant that it was his more conservative judgment that came to be seen as defining African slavery as antithetical to English liberty.

#### 4) John Ellis and colonial botany

Robert Henley's accession to the position of Lord Chancellor in 1761 paralleled a significant period for the planting and landscaping of the Grange. Isaac Taylor, *A Map of Hampshire* (1759) reveals the lime avenue that led to the entrance of the house built by Samwell. In 1764, Henley transformed the estate, designing "a naturalistic landscape, complete with sinuous lake and ruined folly".<sup>30</sup> After the damming of the River Candover to create the ornamental lake, a visitor to the Grange in 1788 wrote that "the water below the house on the right,

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<sup>29</sup> Wiecek, "Somerset", p. 109.

<sup>30</sup> J. Mordaunt Crook, "Grange Park Transformed" in Howard Colvin and John Harris, eds., *The Country Seat: Studies in the History of the British Court House* (London: Allen Lane, 1970), p. 220.

which runs entirely through the grounds, is eminently beautiful”.<sup>31</sup> They also noted that the grounds “which are beautifully laid out, and are not deficient in wood, though it seems principally of modern growth”.<sup>32</sup>

Henley’s strong botanical interests brought him into contact with John Ellis, a London-based merchant in the Irish linen trade. Ellis was a prolific author and seen by Swedish ecologist Carl Linnaneus (1707-1788) as one of England’s leading botanists. In 1754, Ellis was elected as a fellow of the Royal Society, and maintained an energetic correspondence over tropical produce with naturalists in Britain’s colonies in the Caribbean and North America.

Lord Northington has been seen as the key patron who sponsored the appointment of Ellis as the colonial agent for the British colonies of West Florida in April 1764 and for Dominica in 1773.<sup>33</sup> In late 1764, Ellis wrote of his relationship with Northington,

I spend a good deal of my time with him in the Country and am often a visitor of his plantations there by his order when he himself is employed in the publick Service in London.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>“The Grange: Summary of the Historical Review of the Gardens and Parks” (London: Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission, 1987), p. 1; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 58:4 (1788), p.872.

<sup>32</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, 58:4 (1788), p.872.

<sup>33</sup> Roy A. Rauschenberg, “John Ellis, FRS: Eighteenth-century naturalist and royal agent to West Florida”, *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 32: 2 (1978), p 161.

<sup>34</sup> Julius Groner and Robert R. Rea, “John Ellis, King’s agent and West Florida”, *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 66: 4 (1988), p. 388.

The passage suggests that Ellis regularly assisted in the agricultural management of the Grange in Northington's absence. Ellis was also credited with aiding in the construction of a conservatory at the Grange.<sup>35</sup> The conservatory or extensive kitchen gardens may have held some exotic plants, but it seems unlikely that the park was directly shaped by Ellis's interests in the agriculture of the New World. Both the 1788 entry in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the 1795 inventory of the estate suggest that its plantings and design differed little from others in Hampshire.<sup>36</sup>

John Ellis was a strong advocate of developing colonial economies through the transplanting of different exotic crops across empire. In 1760 Ellis sent samples of tea seed to the Governor of Jamaica and to Carl Linnaneus in Sweden, although his shipment did not reach the Caribbean colony.<sup>37</sup> In seeking to promote the tropical exports of West Florida when he was serving as agent for the colony, Ellis published a paper comparing Asian and American varieties of star anise which described the discovery of the latter by a slave owned by William Clifton, the colony's Chief Justice.<sup>38</sup>

In 1772, Ellis published *The Historical Account of Coffee* to lobby for reduction of the import tariff on coffee as a means of stimulating economic development in Dominica. The enslaved are barely visible in Ellis's account

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<sup>35</sup> Roy A. Rauschenberg, "John Ellis, royal agent for West Florida", *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 62: 1 (1983), p. 3.

<sup>36</sup> Geddes, "The Grange, Northington", p. 42.

<sup>37</sup> Rauschenberg, "John Ellis, royal agent for West Florida", p. 15.

<sup>38</sup> Rauschenberg, "John Ellis, FRS", pp. 158-159

which was intended to encourage British consumption of coffee and consisted of correspondence addressed to him from the colony and extracts from other publications on the superiority of Caribbean coffee to Chinese tea. The descriptions of how coffee was grown do not mention slave labour. It is only in the final section of the book that seeks to show how plantation expansion in Dominica will benefit manufacturers in Britain, does Ellis mention the following in a long list of essential imports for the colony:

An immense Quality of Printed Cottons and Callicoes, and Linen, for Gowns, Night-Gowns, and Petticoats for House Negroes, and White People; Handkerchiefs, of which a great deal for Negroe Women's heads...

Checks, for clothing the field Negroes,

Jackets for the Men )

Petticoats for the Women ) in coarse Woollen

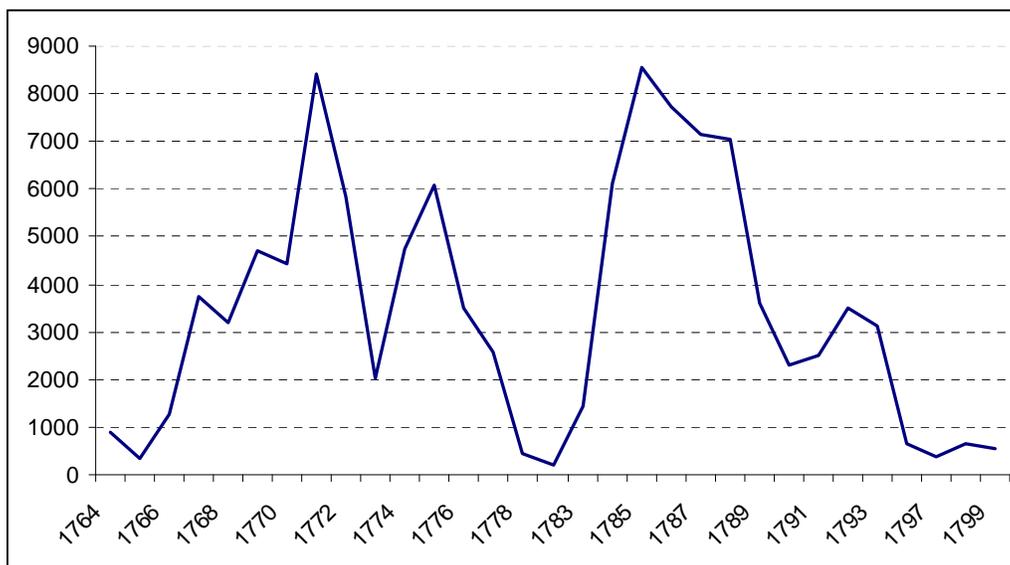
In great quantities.<sup>39</sup>

Such commodities were in great demand as imports of enslaved Africans to the island peaked in the mid-1770s. Ellis's appointment as lobbyist for the colony was therefore profoundly marked by Dominica's intensifying slave economy.

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<sup>39</sup> John Ellis, *An Historical Account of Coffee* (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1774), p. 63.

**Figure 1: Annual Slave Imports to Dominica, 1764-1799**



Source: [www.slavevoyages.org](http://www.slavevoyages.org)

Also during this period, Ellis published *A description of the mangostan and the bread-fruit* (1775) addressed to the Earl of Sandwich as Lord of the Admiralty and describing the means to transplant the mangosteen and breadfruit to the Caribbean. Ellis wrote that,

The Bread-fruit affords a most necessary and pleasant article of subsistence to many. This, likewise, might be easily cultivated in our West India islands, and made to supply an important article of food to all ranks of their inhabitants, especially to the Negroes.<sup>40</sup>

Ellis was writing before the subsistence crises of the late 1770s that spread across the British Caribbean during the American Revolution. In Jamaica in 1776,

<sup>40</sup> John Ellis, *A Description of the Mangostan and the Bread-fruit: The First, Esteemed one of the most Delicious; the other, the most Useful of all the Fruits* (London, 1775), p.

the food shortages were so intense they were described by contemporaries as a “famine” and blamed for an attempted insurrection by slaves in July 1776.<sup>41</sup>

To combat malnutrition, the ackee tree was introduced in the British Caribbean from West Africa in 1778, the mango in 1782 and the breadfruit in 1793 (after William Bligh’s first attempt in 1787 on the *Bounty* had resulted in the mutiny of his crew).<sup>42</sup> Initially, slaves resisted eating breadfruit which they saw as pig food, but during the decades that preceded emancipation in 1834, the provision grounds on which the enslaved grew these crops to feed themselves became an important arena of autonomy within the constraints of slavery. Ellis’s vision of the global transfer of plants to support plantation projects in the Americas eventually resulted in a “proto-peasantry” who despite the constraints of slavery were able to sell their produce in markets across the islands, pioneering the marketing systems that have remained so visible in Caribbean life.<sup>43</sup>

## 5) Provisioning empire: The Drummond family

In 1787, the 3,066 acres of the Grange were bought by Henry Drummond (c.1730–1795). The estate was estimated as having an annual income of £1251,

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<sup>41</sup> Richard B. Sheridan, “The Crisis of Slave Subsistence in the British West Indies during and after the American Revolution”, *William and Mary Quarterly* 33: 4 (1976), p 622.

<sup>42</sup> Sheridan, “The Crisis of Slave Subsistence”, p. 634; John H. Parry, “Plantation and Provision Ground: An Historical Sketch of the Introduction of Food Crops into Jamaica”, *Revista de Historia de América*, 39 (1955), pp. 17-18.

<sup>43</sup> Mary Turner, *From Chattel Slaves to Wage Slaves: The Dynamics of Labour Bargaining in the Americas* (Kingston: Ian Randle, 1995)

and the main house was described as having a “noble and regular structure”.<sup>44</sup> The purchase of the Grange symbolized Henry Drummond’s rise to become part of Britain’s landed elite. His career in finance had begun at the age of nineteen in his uncle’s London bank in 1749, which was three years after his father’s death leading Jacobite forces at the battle of Culloden. During the Seven Years’ War Henry found it profitable to work as an agent for various British regiments, culminating in 1770 when he replaced his cousin John Drummond as the holder of the contract to pay British Forces in North America.

In 1772, Henry Drummond became a partner in the family’s banking business while also serving as a contractor to the Treasury as Paymaster to His Majesty’s Forces in North America. He was responsible for transferring specie across the Atlantic, on which he could profit from commission and charges. Drummond’s profits during the increasing military expenditure of the American Revolution led one of his contemporaries to label this as “one of the best contracts that man ever had”.<sup>45</sup> Although in 1778, Henry was threatened by the Treasury with the removal of the contract, through political patronage it was subsequently extended to 1783 covering the British army on the American mainland and in the West Indies. The monies remitted by the Drummonds to the Americas came at a time when the British army were directly engaging with slavery as both a strategic military resource and a potential danger to the colonial order.

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<sup>44</sup> 44 M 69/E22/1/1/1, 1787 Particulars of the Grange Estates

<sup>45</sup> Hector Bolitho and Derek Peel, *The Drummonds of Charing Cross* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1967), p. 59.

As Governor of Virginia in 1775, the Earl of Dunmore had offered American slaves freedom to fight for the British army. However, this policy was an ambivalent and qualified emancipation for the same army also sought to protect the enslaved property of Britain's Loyalist supporters on the American mainland and in the Caribbean. The precarious status of those who claimed their freedom during the chaotic events of the American Revolution is perhaps best revealed by the life history of George Liele. Born in Virginia, Liele had been a slave for over forty years, when his Loyalist owner was killed during the war. Following the British army through Georgia, Liele continued the Baptist preaching and petty trading he had engaged in as a slave.<sup>46</sup> When he was threatened with re-enslavement, Liele was protected by white patrons who he then followed to Jamaica in 1783, indenturing himself as a servant to bring his wife and four children to the island.

In Jamaica, Liele and another black refugee from America, Moses Baker, were able to successfully establish black Baptist churches with the support of several white Loyalists. Baptist preaching was driven underground in Jamaica during the revolutionary 1790s when both Liele and Baker were arrested. While repression intensified African and Creole influences in Baptist religious practices, they were also affected by the arrival of British missionaries in Jamaica from

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<sup>46</sup> Thomas J. Little, "George Liele and the Rise of the Independent Black Baptist Churches in the Lower South and Jamaica", *Slavery and Abolition*, 16: 2 (1995), pp. 188-204.

1814.<sup>47</sup> This creolized religious vision played a profound role in shaping the leadership and organization of the 1831-32 slave uprising in western Jamaica which was also known as the Baptist war.

Elsewhere the British army assisted in the removal of thousands of slaves at the end of the American Revolution as both soldiers and civilians sought to profit from their movable capital. Alongside these large consignments of slaves there were also smaller groups of free blacks who travelled to the Bahamas and Britain in an effort to maintain their free status.

Most strikingly on the island of Abaco in the Bahamas, the free status of almost a hundred newly-arrived black refugees became imperiled in 1784 when 650 plantation slaves were transferred from East Florida, although these were eventually relocated to establish cotton estates on the largely uninhabited southern islands of the Bahamas. The Earl of Dunmore who a decade earlier had endorsed emancipation as a military measure, now sought to limit such claims to freedom as Governor of the Bahamas. This triggered an armed revolt by black Loyalists on Abaco, many of whom were then re-enslaved.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Kamau Brathwaite, *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770-1820* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

<sup>48</sup> Michael Craton and Gail Saunders, *Islanders in the Stream*, Vol 1 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999), pp. 182-187; Michael Craton, "Loyalists Mainly to Themselves: the 'Black Loyalist' diaspora to the Bahamas, 1783-c.1820" in Verene A. Shepherd, ed., *Working Slavery, Pricing Freedom: Perspectives from the Caribbean, Africa and the African Diaspora* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 46-49.

**Table 2: Destinations of Loyalist Refugees from East Florida, 1785**

<b>Destination</b>	<b>White Refugees</b>	<b>Black Refugees</b>	<b>Ratio of Black to White Refugees</b>
Jamaica/Honduras	196	714	3.64
Dominica	225	444	1.97
Bahamas	1,033	2,214	2.14
US	462	2,561	5.54
Nova Scotia	725	155	0.21
Europe	246	35	0.14
Other Destinations	61	217	3.56
Remained in Florida	450	200	0.44
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,398</b>	<b>6,540</b>	<b>1.92</b>

Source: Carole Watterson Troxler, "Loyalist Refugees and the British Evacuation of East Florida, 1783-1785" (1981), p. 21.

At the same time as the American Revolution brought high profits to Henry Drummond's military contracting, so the British army became more significant in the Caribbean in suppressing slave dissent.<sup>49</sup> While the same army provided small bands of former slaves with a route to freedom, overall it was committed to maintaining the existing structure of empire, which also entailed enforcing slavery.

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<sup>49</sup> Sheridan, "The Crisis of Slave Subsistence", pp. 615-641.

During this period Drummonds' bank increasingly provided loans to George III and his supporters.<sup>50</sup> This wealth funded not only purchase of the Grange but also Henry Drummond's political career beginning in 1774 when he became a Member of Parliament through purchasing the seat of Wendover in Buckinghamshire.

Henry Drummond's experience of the high profitability of supplying services to the British military at times of war was paralleled by the fortune built by merchant Henry Lascelles (1690-1753), whose family constructed Harewood House in West Yorkshire six years after his death. Lascelles claimed that the basis for his wealth had been his contracts for providing victuals to the Royal Navy in Barbados, the Leeward Islands and the Bahamas during the 1730s and 1740s. Lascelles's ships carried not only provisions to support the navy, but also enslaved Africans to the Caribbean and slave-produced commodities to the metropole. Over time, the profits from these activities were invested in land in Britain and plantation ownership in the Caribbean.<sup>51</sup> Lascelles held an account with Drummonds Bank, as did several other West Indian planters.<sup>52</sup>

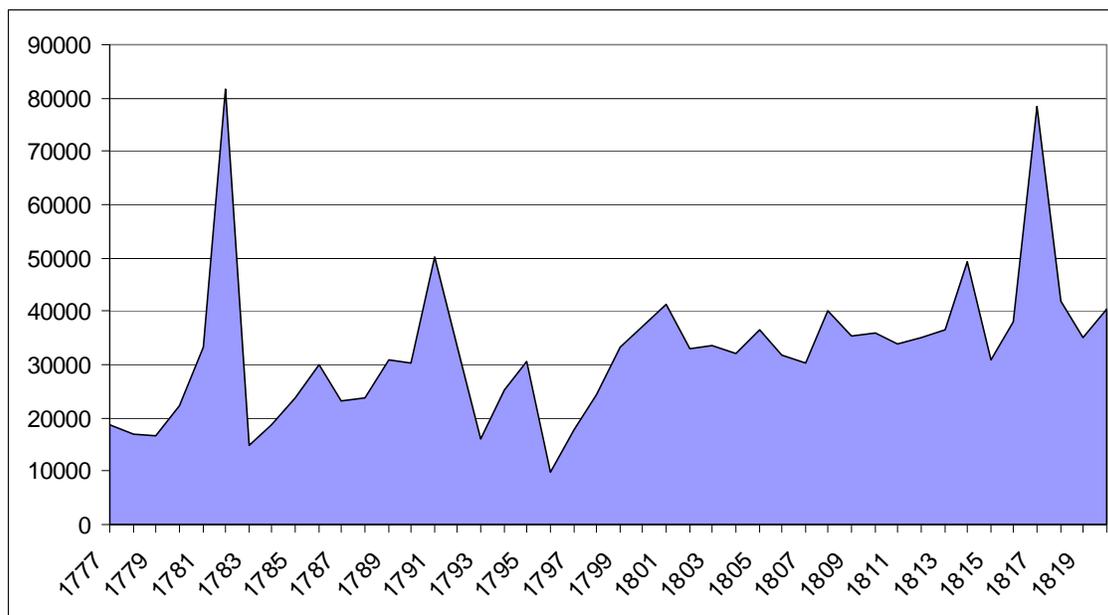
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<sup>50</sup> Ian R. Christie, "George III and the Debt on Lord North's Election Account, 1780-1784", *English Historical Review*, 78: 309 (1963), pp. 715-724

<sup>51</sup> Simon Smith, *Slavery, Family and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles, 1648-1834* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 73-74  
Douglas Hamilton, "Private enterprise and public service: naval contracting in the Caribbean, 1720-50", *Journal for Maritime Research* (April 2004)

<sup>52</sup> Smith, *Slavery, Family and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic*, p. 446

**Figure 2: Distributed Profits of Messrs Drummond, 1777-1820**



Source: Hector Bolitho and Derek Peel, *The Drummonds of Charing Cross* (1967), pp. 212-213

As shown in the above figure, Henry Drummond purchased the Grange in 1787 in the wake of the extreme profits of the American Revolution. The 1790s were marked by declining returns for the banks' partners and with Henry Drummond's death in 1795 the Grange was leased to cover the family's debts.<sup>53</sup>

## 6) The Prince of Wales at the Grange

Between 1795 and 1800 the Grange was rented by the Prince of Wales (1762–1830), the future George IV. The Prince had been painted accompanied by a black servant in 1786 by Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792), and the portrait

<sup>53</sup> Bolitho and Peel, *The Drummonds of Charing Cross*, p. 132.

had been prominently displayed at the Royal Academy exhibition of 1787. Some observers argued that the black figure symbolised the Prince's precarious finances, expressing how in London at this time black refugees from the American Revolution had generated intensifying concerns about the black poor.<sup>54</sup> Whether this unnamed servant was still in the Prince's service a decade later and followed him to Northington Grange requires further research. He may be listed in either the 1795 household accounts held by the Royal Archives or the 1795 establishment book held by the British Library.

**Table 3: Portraits with black servants by Joshua Reynolds**

	<b>Pages</b>	<b>Grooms</b>	<b>Domestics</b>
1740s	Paul Henry Ourry (c.1748)		
1750s			
1760s		John Manners (c.1763)  Frederick, Count of Schaumburg –Lippe (c.1764)	Elizabeth Keppel (1761)
1770s			
1780s	George Grenville (1780)  Charles Stanhope (1782)  Prince George (1786)		

<sup>54</sup> Mary Beth Norton, "The Fate of Some Black Loyalists of the American Revolution", *Journal of Negro History*, 58: 4 (1973), pp. 406-407.

Reynolds painted at least a half a dozen other paintings that included black servants, from young child pages to teenage male grooms attending to their master's horses, a female domestic and perhaps most strikingly the portrait of Francis Barber (c.1735–1801), the Jamaican-born adult servant of Samuel Johnson.

The Prince of Wales also collected several paintings that featured servants of African descent. Between 1802 and 1806, he acquired “A groom assisting a riding master at the Manège” (c.1686-7) painted by the Dutch artist Melchior de Hondecoeter (1636-95) where the central foreground of the work focused on a teenage black groom leading a white Spanish horse as it is being trained.<sup>55</sup> In 1814, Prince George obtained the “The Neglected Lute” (c.1708) by Willem van Mieris (1662-1747) depicting a domestic scene of seduction with a black servant serving oysters in the background.<sup>56</sup>

The Prince was also close to the English miniaturist Richard Cosway (1742–1821), who he appointed as his official painter in 1785. The year before, the Cosways had employed Quobna Ottobah Cugoano (b.c.1757) as servant. Cugoano was born in Ghana as a member of the Fanti nation. Aged thirteen he was enslaved and sent to Grenada where he stayed for nine months before being taken to England. He became a prominent anti-slavery campaigner,

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<sup>55</sup> RCIN 405957 at <http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/>

<sup>56</sup> RCIN 405543 at <http://www.royalcollection.org.uk/>

collaborating with Olaudah Equiano, and in 1787 printed an account of his enslavement to support the abolitionist cause.<sup>57</sup> Cugoano's text was initially published by Thomas Becket, "bookseller to Prince of Wales", and the Prince headed the list of subscribers to *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano* published in 1789<sup>58</sup>

In the same year that the Prince of Wales began leasing Northington Grange, a sixteen year old mixed-race musician became the principal violinist in the Prince's chamber orchestra. George Bridgetower (1779-1860) was born in Poland, and made his professional debut at the age of ten with public concerts in Paris and Bath. Bridgetower's father, Friedrich Augustus served as a personal page to Prince Nicholas Esterházy in eastern Austria during the 1780s where he was identified as a Moor or African prince. However the elder Bridetower seems to have deliberately chosen his surname to express his Caribbean origin, for in his own words he was a "Bridgetower of Bridgetown, from the English colony of Barbados".<sup>59</sup> That such a surname isn't recorded in Barbados suggests that Friedrich Bridgetower had created a new identity in crossing the Atlantic, leaving an island where he had either been enslaved or because of his mixed African-European ancestry a free person of colour.

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<sup>57</sup> Ottobah Cugoano, *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil and Wicked Traffic of the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species* (London: 1787)

<sup>58</sup> Vincent Carretta, "Property of Author': Olaudah Equiano's Place in the History of the Book" in Vincent Carretta and Philip Gould, eds., *Genius in Bondage: Literature of the early Black Atlantic* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001), n3, p. 145.

<sup>59</sup> Josephine Wright, "George Polgreen Bridgetower: An African Prodigy in England 1789–99", *Musical Quarterly*, 66 (1980), p. 69.

Prince George had been an early supporter of the teen virtuoso and in 1791 became more than a patron to George Bridgetower when the twelve year old broke from his father and ran away to the Prince's Carlton House. With the Prince sponsoring his education, Bridgetower enjoyed an extremely distinguished musical career, performing with Haydn and Beethoven. The latter initially dedicated his Sonata for Violin and Piano No. 9 in A Minor, Op. 47 to Bridgetower, although it is now known as the Kreutzer Sonata.

## **6) Defending slavery: Henry Dundas**

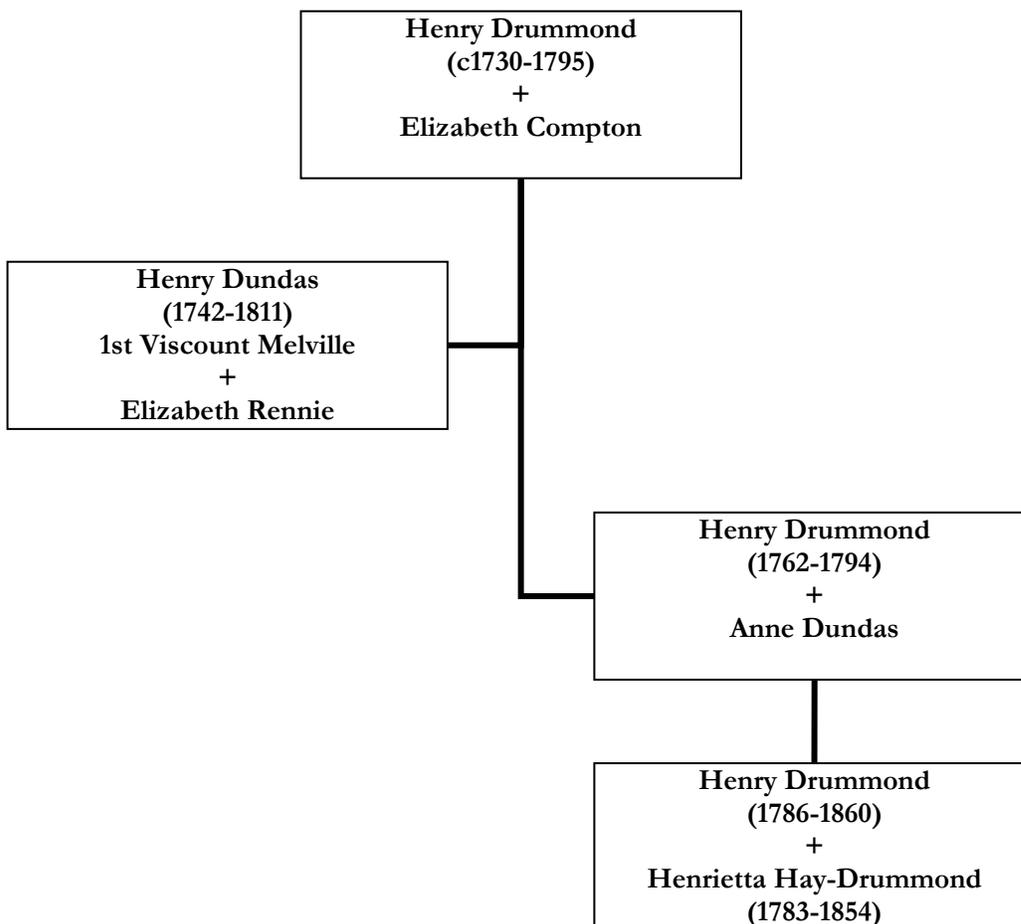
When Henry Drummond died in 1795, Northington Grange passed to his grandson, Henry Drummond (1786-1860) as his oldest son had died the previous year. Neither the will of the grandfather nor that of the father, Henry Drummond (1762–1794), mentioned slavery-related property.<sup>60</sup> With the estate leased out until he came of age, Henry Drummond came under the care of his grandfather, Henry Dundas, as his mother Anne remarried and emigrated to India in 1802.<sup>61</sup> During this period, Drummond attended Harrow School while Dundas was a leading figure in the Cabinet throughout the 1790s.

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<sup>60</sup> National Archives, PROB 11/1263 Will of Henry Drummond of Saint James Westminster, Middlesex; National Archives, PROB 11/1248 Will of Henry Drummond of Saint Martin in the Fields, Middlesex

<sup>61</sup> Bolitho and Peel, *The Drummonds of Charing Cross*, p.135, Jane Geddes, "The Prince of Wales at the Grange, Northington: An inventory of 1795", *Furniture History*, 22 (1986), p. 177.

**Figure 3: Genealogy of the Drummond Family**



Born into one of Scotland's leading legal families, Henry Dundas dominated British politics and patronage at the end of the eighteenth century. At the age of twenty-four in 1766, Dundas was appointed solicitor-general for Scotland and by the age of thirty-two had been elected to the House of Commons. He served in Parliament for thirty-one years before being forced to resign in 1805 on charges of mismanagement of public funds. During his career, Dundas intervened as a lawyer, a politician and a minister in debates over slavery although over time his stance shifted from an opponent to a defender of pro-slavery interests.

Joseph Knight had been born in Africa around 1750 and at the age of ten had been enslaved, carried across the Atlantic where he was sold in Jamaica to John Wedderburn, a Jacobite exile from the repression that followed the battle of Culloden. In 1768 Wedderburn returned to Scotland and was accompanied by Knight as his personal servant. They settled in Ballendean on the eastern coast of Scotland, halfway between Perth and Dundee where Knight was baptized and married a fellow servant. When his wife and child were faced with moving away from Ballendean, Knight sought to join them but was prevented by Wedderburn who obtained a warrant for his detention from the local justices of peace. Knight appealed to the sheriff of Perthshire who in 1774 found,

That the state of slavery is not recognized by the laws of this kingdom, and is inconsistent with the principles thereof; that the regulations in Jamaica, concerning slaves, do not extend to this kingdom; and repelled the defender's claim to a perpetual service.<sup>62</sup>

The case of *Knight v Wedderburn* (1778) was taken to the Court of Sessions, where Dundas strongly argued that that slavery was incompatible with Scottish law. James Boswell also participated in the defense of Knight's right to freedom, remembering

... I cannot too highly praise the speech which Mr. Henry Dundas generously contributed to the cause of the sooty stranger. Mr. Dundas's

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<sup>62</sup> <http://www.nas.gov.uk/about/071022.asp>  
[http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/blackhistory/rights/transcripts/somerset\\_case.htm](http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/blackhistory/rights/transcripts/somerset_case.htm)

Scottish accent, which has been so often in vain obtruded as an objection to his powerful abilities in parliament, was no disadvantage to him in his own country. And I do declare, that upon this memorable question he impressed me, and I believe all his audience, with such feelings as were produced by some of the most eminent orations of antiquity. This testimony I liberally give to the excellence of an old friend, with whom it has been my lot to differ very widely upon many political topicks; yet I persuade myself without malice.<sup>63</sup>

With the majority of the Court of Sessions following Mansfield's judgment in *Somerset, Knight's* case represented a striking opportunity for the ambitious Dundas to build his public reputation.

For the distinguished historian of British abolition, Roger Anstey, the period 1787 to 1796 was marked by intensifying mobilization of popular petitioning and the organization of a core group of abolitionist MPs in the House of Commons. Against this momentum, Anstey writes that

Abolitionists were right to acknowledge Dundas, as in effect they did, as the most important cause of the failure of immediate abolition in the Commons in the period up to 1796.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> James Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, ed. R. W. Chapman's (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1904) p. 886

<sup>64</sup> Roger Anstey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition, 1760-1810* (London: Macmillan, 1975), p. 315.

At a time of war, Dundas argued that immediate abolition of the slave trade would undermine the national interest and threatened the collapse of Britain's colonies.<sup>65</sup>

Such opposition was difficult for abolitionists to counter, given that in speaking against Wilberforce's motion for an immediate abolition of the trans-Atlantic slave trade at the start of April 1792, Dundas described himself as personally committed to abolition but differing with Wilberforce over the means by which it was to be achieved.<sup>66</sup> He stated before Parliament that he was agreed with Wilberforce,

that the African trade was not founded in policy; that the continuation of it was not essential to the preservation and continuation of our trade with the West India islands.<sup>67</sup>

However, immediate abolition would result in disorder and potentially a revolution as had occurred with the slave insurrection in French Saint Domingue during August 1791. Instead Dundas argued that the abolition of slavery was best achieved over a prolonged period of time through colonial legislatures enacting local regulations to encourage the natural increase and education of their slave populations.

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<sup>65</sup> *Ibid*, p. 312 and 314

<sup>66</sup> *Seventeenth Parliament of Great Britain: Second Session (31 January 1792 - 15 June 1792)* 2 April 1792, p. 222

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid*, p. 223

It was not only the oratory of Dundas that made his intervention so significant in April 1792, but he also exercised powerful patronage over a large number of Scottish Members of Parliament. His motion “That the slave trade ought to be gradually abolished” was carried 230 votes to 85 against. Significantly, the delaying of abolitionist projects had little appeal for some pro-slavery lobbyists such as Stephen Fuller, who as Agent for Jamaica believed that Wilberforce’s 1792 motion would have been easily defeated. To Fuller, Dundas’s gradualist motion perpetuated the debate over slavery when those who supported the West India lobby of planters and merchants had the opportunity to close off such discussions through a clear vote rejecting abolition.<sup>68</sup>

In mid-June 1804 as William Wilberforce was preparing to introduce another motion for the immediate abolition of the slave trade he wrote to Dundas seeking his support. Wilberforce wrote that

Having from almost the commencement of my public life, been honoured in your friendly regard, having felt for you some corresponding sensations, it has long been a matter of great pain to me that in the grand object of Parliamentary Existence, you should have been the person to oppose and defeat my wishes.<sup>69</sup>

He offered to meet with Dundas to discuss the bill for abolition at any convenient time. Most strikingly, Wilberforce also used the pragmatic arguments that Dundas had employed in his gradualist opposition to abolition. Wilberforce

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<sup>68</sup> Anstey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition*, pp. 430-431

<sup>69</sup> National Archives of Scotland, GD 51/1/435 Wilberforce to Dundas, 13/6/1804

wrote that Britain's Caribbean islands were now saturated with slaves while the acquisition of new slave colonies during wars of the late 1790s and early 1800s represented a real threat to Britain's old established colonies.<sup>70</sup> Dundas's gradualist obstruction to abolitionist campaigning therefore helped to reshape abolitionist discourse, in which the end of slavery was recast as serving the national interest.

From 1794 to 1801 Dundas was secretary of state for war during which time he supported the large-scale invasion of the Caribbean to claim France's slave colonies of Saint Domingue, Martinique and Guadeloupe. Before the uprising of August 1791 by slaves in Saint Domingue, the colony had been one of the most profitable in the world. In 1790 alone over 40,000 African slaves were brought to the colony and it was estimated that there were half a million slaves working within its borders.<sup>71</sup> Lobbied to intervene in Saint Domingue by French planters exiled by the revolutions in both the Caribbean and Paris, Dundas and Pitt committed to a large scale invasion of the Caribbean by British forces. The decision to intervene in the Caribbean, seems to have been motivated as much for financial gain as it was for strategic advantage.

During the second half of 1793, Dundas was the lead figure in organizing what became one of Britain's largest military expedition sent overseas. Thirty thousand men and two hundred vessels were dispatched across the Atlantic,

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<sup>70</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>71</sup> <http://www.slavevoyages.org>

initially to conquer and secure the smaller islands of the Eastern Caribbean, however after delays in their passage the focus shifted to invading French Saint Domingue. As David Geggus argues,

To depict Pitt and Dundas as engaged in a headlong, purposeful pursuit of Caribbean spoils and *la perle des Antilles* in particular, is a little misleading. Although within a deeply divided Cabinet, proponents of an aggressive West India policy predominated, primacy was always accorded to the war in Europe.<sup>72</sup>

Dundas was extremely pragmatic in responding to the opportunities of war, and initially the policy seemed justified as within eight months of the invasion British forces occupied a third of Saint Domingue.

June 1794 represented the high water mark of British occupation. Soon British forces in Saint Domingue were decimated by yellow fever resulting in an estimated 9,000 deaths. Such heavy mortality forced Britain to increasingly use enslaved Africans as soldiers, despite the strong fears from white colonial elites across the Caribbean. As the new nation of Haiti moved towards independence in 1804, the surviving British forces claimed new colonies in Spanish Trinidad and Dutch Demerera and Berbice to expand Britain's empire and escalate the British slave trade.

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<sup>72</sup>David Geggus, *Slavery, War and Revolution: The British Occupation of Saint Domingue 1793-1798* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 86.

## 7) William Wilkins and the classical transformation of the Grange

After studying at Oxford for two years, Henry Drummond took possession of the Grange in 1804 at the age of eighteen. Having toured Europe, he entered parliament in 1810 only to resign two years later on health grounds. In 1817, Drummond sold the Grange and travelled to Switzerland where he became a leading supporter of the Catholic Apostolic church. In 1847, Drummond returned to parliament and spoke in the 1848 debate over sugar duties where he criticized both planters and abolitionists, in calling for free labour and free trade.<sup>73</sup>

Upon reaching his maturity, Drummond commissioned architect William Wilkins to transform the Grange into a monument to the Greek Revival. At a cost of £30,000, the house was redesigned between 1804 and 1809 “incorporating echoes of the Teseion and of the Choragic Monument of Thrasyllus in Athens”.<sup>74</sup>

David Watkin describes how

Wilkins clearly valued rigour of research, exactitude in its manipulation and the moderation of symbolism through function.<sup>75</sup>

This combination of technical and historical knowledge resulted in Wilkins seeking to exactly measure and replicate the key elements of ancient Greek architecture.

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<sup>73</sup> Henry Drummond, *Speeches in Parliament and some Miscellaneous Pamphlets of the late Henry Drummond, Vol. 1*, ed. Lord Lovaine (London: Bosworth and Harrison, 1860), pp. 52-57.

<sup>74</sup> David Watkin, “William Wilkins and the Architecture of Improvement” in *The Age of Wilkins: The Architecture of Improvement* (Cambridge : Fitzwilliam Museum, 2000), p. 22

<sup>75</sup> Rhodri Windsor Liscombe, “Deconstructing William Wilkins” in *The Age of Wilkins: The Architecture of Improvement* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 2000), p. 35

Wilkins recognized that slavery was a core element of the classical society which he sought to recreate. He wrote of the Peloponnesian wars in Sicily that they were marked by the coexistence of liberty and oppression, and a range of forms of vassalage and slavery. However, Wilkins miscast the nature of classical slavery for he believed that it directly paralleled that of the contemporary Atlantic with the enslaved treated as if they were private property.<sup>76</sup>

Significantly around the same time Wilkins was completing the Grange, he had also worked on Argyll House in London. Here he constructed a saloon dominated by Ionic columns with a frieze by Jean-Jacques Boileau. As Rhodri Liscombe writes of Boileau's design,

Here was one of the first instances of the imitation of the Parthenon Marbles, and, at this time, Wilkins may also have persuaded another friend, Samuel Rogers, to install a copy of part of the frieze on the staircase of his house in St James"<sup>77</sup>

Just as the detail of the exterior at the Grange sought to legitimize it as an authentic classical structure, so Wilkins also sought to use interior design to authenticate their classical façades. Photographs at the end of the nineteenth century show that ancient friezes proliferated in the Grange. As discussed later, some of these images constructed by the architects who succeed Wilkins

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<sup>76</sup> William Wilkins, *The antiquities of Magna Graecia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1807), p. 7.

<sup>77</sup> Rhodri Windsor Liscombe, *William Wilkins 1778-1839* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 71.

referenced Greek and Roman slavery, although it is unclear whether these were part of the original design in 1809.

## 8) The Baring family and the trans-Atlantic slave trade

In 1984, Barings Bank aggressively expanded into Asian securities markets resulting within a decade in record profits of £100 million and then the collapse of the bank shortly afterwards.<sup>78</sup> Also in 1984, Peter Fryer argued that the foundations of the booming firm had been significantly shaped by the trans-Atlantic slave trade. In Fryer's words, Sir Francis Baring,

seems to have made his first money out of dealing in slaves when he was only 16. It evidently gave him an excellent start in life for this 'prince of merchants' earned nearly £7,000,000 over 30 years... and left property worth £1,000,000.<sup>79</sup>

Such a claim implies that the Baring's family fortune had been decisively shaped by the profits of slave trading.

Between 1755 and the end of 1762, Francis Baring had served a seven-year apprenticeship with leading cotton merchant and manufacturer Samuel Touchet (c.1705–1773). Although it was rare for Manchester cotton makers to

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<sup>78</sup> Peter E. Austin, *Baring Brothers and the Birth of Modern Finance* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2007), pp. 193-199.

<sup>79</sup> Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (London: Pluto, 1984), p. 46.

invest directly in the trade with Britain's Caribbean colonies, Touchet was an exception and in 1751 claimed that he had an interest in twenty ships sailing to the West Indies.<sup>80</sup> Touchet's father had been exporting cotton goods to the Caribbean from 1714, and the family imported cotton produced by slaves on the British islands as well as investing in the trans-Atlantic slave trade.<sup>81</sup> Such commercial connections resulted in Touchet becoming part owner of the Dukinfield Hall plantation in Jamaica.<sup>82</sup>

By 1747, Touchet controlled a fifth of the raw cotton imported into England, leading to fears in the early 1750s that he was attempting to create a monopoly in the supply of the commodity.<sup>83</sup> These fears re-emerged during the Seven Years' War, when Francis Baring was serving as a clerk in the firm, and Touchet provided £10,223 to privately sponsor the invasion of the French colony of Senegal in May 1758. In that year, at least twenty slaving vessels travelled to the Senegambia, embarking 3,313 enslaved Africans, of whom almost 500 would not survive the Middle Passage across the Atlantic.<sup>84</sup> As well as its slaves, ivory and gold, Touchet sought to control the export commerce from Senegal because it was the main source of gum needed for cotton printing in England. His attempts to secure a seven year trading charter for Senegal were denied in 1764 and the

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<sup>80</sup> Alfred P. Wadsworth and Julia de Lacy Mann, *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire 1600-1780* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1931), p. 231

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 244

<sup>82</sup> London Metropolitan Archives, Acc/0775/805-806, Agreement between Samuel Dukinfield and Samuel Touchet, 6/12/1756

<sup>83</sup> Wadsworth and Mann, *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire 1600-1780*, pp. 156 & 233.

<sup>84</sup> [www.slavevoyages.org](http://www.slavevoyages.org)

colony was vested in the Royal African Company, with Touchet's firm collapsing into bankruptcy the year after Baring finished his apprenticeship.<sup>85</sup>

During Baring's time as a clerk to Touchet, the latter directly invested in two slave vessels carrying Africans to the Caribbean. One of these ships was the *Lydia* which was owned by Touchet and six other partners.<sup>86</sup> Leaving Liverpool in late September 1756, the *Lydia* sailed to Fort William (Anomabu, Ghana) which was a focus for British slave trading on the Gold Coast. Three hundred and forty enslaved Africans were loaded onto the vessel, although fifty of them did not survive the crossing to Jamaica. This is most probably the voyage invoked by Fryer, but it is unclear to what extent Francis Baring had any direct financial interest in the *Lydia* and given his position within the firm as an apprenticed clerk it is extremely unlikely that he had invested in it.

As Francis Baring launched his own career as a merchant and banker in his family's firm, he followed Touchet's example as a financier who was both a member of Parliament and actively engaged in government contracts and loans.<sup>87</sup> Baring's name is absent from records on ownership of slaving vessels collected by David Eltis in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, so it seems that Fryer's attack is in some ways misdirected. As will be shown, Baring and his

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<sup>85</sup> Wadsworth and Mann, *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire 1600-1780*, pp. 245-247.

<sup>86</sup> [www.slavevoyages.org](http://www.slavevoyages.org) - voyage 90647.

<sup>87</sup> Alan J. Kidd, "Samuel Touchet" *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008

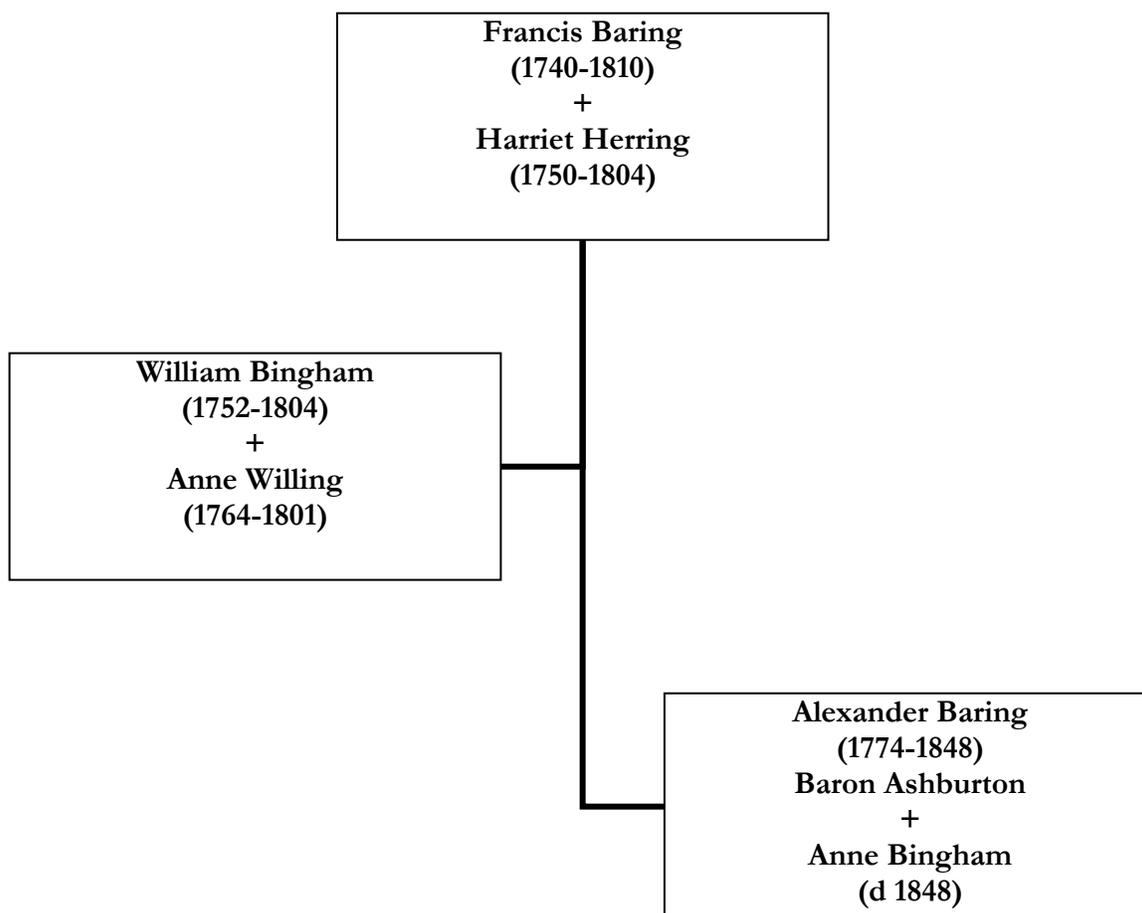
family did derive substantial wealth from Atlantic slavery, but it was not through slave trading.

### **9) The Bingham connection: Privateering in Martinique**

In 1795, twenty-two year old Alexander Baring crossed the Atlantic as he tried to carve out his own career within the family bank. His first focus was on the acquisition of over a million acres of land in Maine, which he purchased from Philadelphia merchant and Senator William Bingham (1752–1804). On 23 August 1798 he married Bingham's daughter, Ann Louisa, connecting him to one of the wealthiest families in the United States and resulting in a marriage settlement of £20,000. Following the senator's death six years later, Alexander and his wife received almost a third of the income from her father's \$3 million estate.<sup>88</sup> Bingham's fortune therefore significantly accelerated Alexander's own financial rise at a time when the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars resulted in a period of exceptionally high profits for the House of Baring.

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<sup>88</sup> John Orbell, 'Baring, Alexander, first Baron Ashburton (1773–1848)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008

**Figure 4: Genealogy of the Baring Family**

The foundation for William Bingham's wealth was the four years he spent in the French Caribbean colony of Martinique during the American War of Independence as an agent for the Continental Congress. At the start of July 1773, Bingham had travelled to Martinique to receive armaments shipments from France and to organise privateering attacks against British shipping in the Caribbean. Bingham's family had been trading in the Caribbean before the war, and he used these networks to develop an extremely profitable trade in American tobacco and Caribbean molasses.<sup>89</sup> Both these commodities were produced by

<sup>89</sup> Margret L. Brown, "William Bingham, Agent of the Continental Congress in Martinique", *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 61:1 (1937), pp. 54-87;

slave labour, and Bingham also profited directly from the sale of the human cargoes of British slave ships taken to Martinique by American privateers. After one successful raid captured two Guinea ships, Bingham became part owner of 498 African slaves. Another capture of a British merchant ship leaving Saint Domingue resulted in Bingham receiving £4600 for part of its cargo of coffee, sugar, and rum.<sup>90</sup> The fortune acquired by Bingham during his time in the Caribbean was fundamental to his later investments in land and in the Bank of North America.

Given that Alexander Baring did not become a partner in Baring Brothers until 1804, the financial resources he gained through marriage to Ann Louisa Bingham were particularly timely.<sup>91</sup> In 1817 Alexander Baring acquired the Grange for £136,000. The Caribbean origins of Ann Bingham's wealth meant that the family's acquisition of Northington Grange was at least partly funded with slave-based income.

## **10) State finance from Saint Domingue to the Louisiana Purchase**

During the revolutionary wars of the 1790s, the House of Baring was able to weather the uncertainties and losses experienced by global trade, by

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Selwyn H.H. Carrington, *The British West Indies during the American Revolution* (Dordrecht: Foris Publications, 1988), pp. 85-87.

<sup>90</sup> Robert C. Alberts, *The Golden Voyage: The Life and Times of William Bingham 1752-1804* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1969), p. 52.

<sup>91</sup> Ralph W. Hidy, *The House of Baring in American trade and finance: English merchant bankers at work, 1763-1861* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1949), p. 38.

expanding its commercial activities into state finance which increased its profits significantly during this period.<sup>92</sup> Before Alexander Baring became a partner in the bank, it had shared in government contracts to supply the large military expedition sent by Dundas to the Caribbean in 1793.<sup>93</sup> Funding the invading British army in Saint Domingue included supplying “the pay of the Colonial Corps for the purchase of provisions, stores, negroes, horses”.<sup>94</sup> As British forces were increasingly strained by both the extreme mortality caused by yellow fever in the Caribbean and the unremitting nature of black military resistance in both French and British colonies, so Dundas’s expedition increasingly relied on the purchase of slaves to serve as front-line soldiers and supporting auxiliaries. In fighting to defend slavery in the Caribbean, the British army itself became more dependent on slavery.<sup>95</sup>

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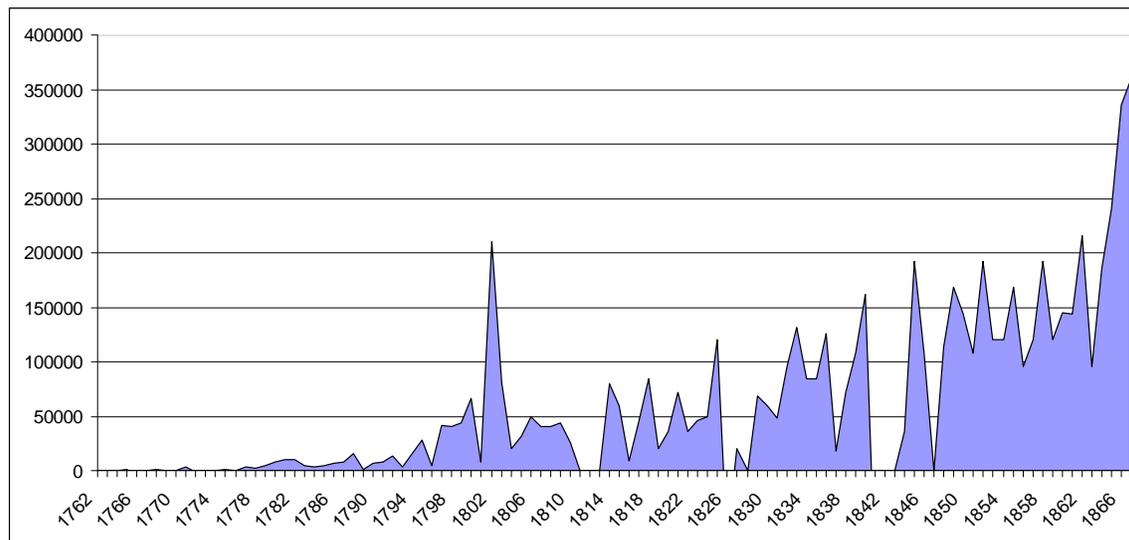
<sup>92</sup> Philip Ziegler, *The Sixth Great Power: Barings, 1762-1929* (London: Collins, 1988) , pp. 43-60.

<sup>93</sup> Austin, *Baring Brothers and the Birth of Modern Finance*, p. 12

<sup>94</sup> Baring Archive, NP 1A.2.1, John Wigglesworth, Roll of Foreign Accounts, 1814

<sup>95</sup> Roger Norman Buckley, *The British Army in the West Indies: Society and the Military in the Revolutionary Age* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998)

**Figure 5: Distributed Profits of Baring Brothers & Co, 1762-1867 (£)**



Source: Philip Ziegler, *The sixth great power: Barings 1762-1929* (1988)

In 1803, Alexander Baring took the lead role in Paris and North America in organizing the finance for the American acquisition of French Louisiana. The ‘Louisiana Purchase’ of one million square miles dramatically expanded the geography of slavery on the North American mainland. The transaction revolutionized the slave society of Louisiana from a marginal French colony on the fringes of the trans-Atlantic slave trade to an intensive sugar economy receiving an estimated 280,000 slaves through the “internal” slave trade between 1810 and 1860.<sup>96</sup> Arranging the \$15 million purchase, Baring Brothers probably received more than \$1 million in commissions.<sup>97</sup> As shown by the spike in profits in the early 1800s in Figure 5, Barings therefore significantly profited from the

<sup>96</sup> Michael Tadman, “The Interregional Slave Trade in the History and Myth-Making of the US South” in Walter Johnson, ed., *The Chattel Principle: Internal Slave Trades in the Americas* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 120.

<sup>97</sup> [http://www.baringarchive.org.uk/features\\_exhibitions/louisiana\\_purchase/6](http://www.baringarchive.org.uk/features_exhibitions/louisiana_purchase/6); Hidy, *The House of Baring in American trade and finance*, p. 34

expansion of slavery in North America, and in the 1820s and 1830s invested heavily in developing the commercial infrastructure of Louisiana's slave-based economy.

Between 1805 and 1817, Alexander Baring served as a director of the Bank of England and was prominent in arranging finance for Britain's war effort and France's reparations which resulted in enormous profits for Baring Brothers estimated at over £700,000. After Alexander became a partner in Barings in 1804,

Initially he received a quarter of the profits; this rose to five-eighths between 1810 and 1815, and then to two-thirds between 1816 and 1823; it then fell back to a quarter towards the end of his leadership.<sup>98</sup>

At a time when the Haitian Revolution led many contemporaries to see slavery as a system in decline, Alexander Baring found his personal wealth dramatically increased enabling the purchase of Northington Grange. Contemporaries were struck by Barings' acquisition of estates across southern England, and it was claimed that he had spent one million pounds on land by his death in 1848.

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<sup>98</sup> Orbell, "Baring, Alexander, first Baron Ashburton (1773–1848)" 2004.

## 11) Free trade's champions, abolition's opponents

The year before the abolition of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, Baring entered the House of Commons, where he served until 1835. He was a strong advocate of free trade following his father, Francis Baring, who in mid 1799 had planned a large scale speculation in the West Indies, particularly Dutch Surinam made possible by the low prices of staple exports from the region caused by wartime conditions. Alexander Baring was also a visible opponent of abolitionist campaigns in Parliament for full emancipation. In 1823, Baring attacked both Wilberforce and Buxton for lacking experience or interest in the colonies and exaggerating the atrocities of British slave owners and the “physical sufferings of the Negro” in the British Caribbean. Instead he argued,

The name of slave is a harsh one; but their real condition is undoubtedly, in many respects, superior to that of most of the peasantry of Europe.

They were well clothed and well fed, and he believed, generally treated with justice and kindness.<sup>99</sup>

He warned that

if the Negroes in the West Indies were liberated, either immediately or remotely, or in any way whatever, those colonies would be of no further value to Great Britain.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> *Mr Alexander Baring's Speech in the House of Commons on the 15 day of May, 1823 on Mr Buxton's Motion for a Resolution Declaratory of Slavery in the British Colonies being contrary to the English Constitution and to Christianity* (London: Marchant 1823), p. 6.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.* p.7

Criticizing the constant petitioning of Parliament by abolitionists as deluded, Baring positioned himself as a disinterested yet experienced commentator. He argued

I am not myself a West India proprietor, but I have seen cultivation carried on by Slaves in some of the American States, in Georgia and Carolina; and I must say, that from all I saw there, and from every information I have received from our own colonies, I do not believe, on looking about the world and considering the general lot of mankind, that if I was called upon to say what part of the globe most particularly excited my sympathy and commiseration, I do not believe that I should fix upon the Negroes of the West Indies, as far as regards their food and clothing, and the whole of their treatment.<sup>101</sup>

In April 1831, Alexander Baring was still a committed opponent of emancipation on economic grounds, arguing that,

notwithstanding that it is the fashion to undervalue these possessions, I feel a conviction that their destruction would reduce us from the rank of a first-rate commercial country, to a state of comparative destitution.<sup>102</sup>

He claimed that the West Indies were “real and material sources of wealth and power” for Britain, and that immediate emancipation threatened the “destruction

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<sup>101</sup> *Report of the Debate in the House of Commons on Friday, the 15th of April, 1831; on Mr Powell Buxton's Motion to Consider and Adopt the Best Means for Effecting the Abolition of Colonial Slavery* (London: Mirror of Parliament, 1831), p. 97.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid*, p 95.

of all the capital now employed in that branch of commerce".<sup>103</sup> Again he rejected abolitionist propaganda, claiming that,

"I have known much of the state of slaves in our colonies and in America, and I think I am warranted in saying, that the accounts which have reached us in various publications of the condition of negro slaves are essentially false..."<sup>104</sup>

He went on to argue that,

"The deception would consist, as it does in the case of the West Indies, in representing casual enormities and crimes as the daily and ordinary occurrences of life".<sup>105</sup>

Recognising the momentum of the abolitionist campaign he called for the mitigation of slave conditions, with reforms being enacted through local legislatures in the Caribbean.

## **11) Slaves as commodities, slaves as commodity producers**

During the 1820s debates over the amelioration of slavery, the House of Baring was seeking to withdraw from ownership of West Indian properties in Jamaica, Trinidad and Martinique.<sup>106</sup> This contrasted to many British merchants such as the Gladstone or Barkly families who increased their holdings of

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<sup>103</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 95 and 97.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 99-100

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid*, p. 99

<sup>106</sup> Baring Archive, HC5, 5.3.1, 5.4.1 and 5.6.1

Caribbean property during this period through acquiring bankrupt estates. The Barings effort to detach themselves from plantation ownership was probably motivated more by concerns about the financial crises in London during the mid-1820s than by abolitionist scruples. By the mid-1820s Alexander Baring was no longer involved in the daily management of the bank and he officially retired in 1830.

As Alexander Baring stepped down from active management of the bank, American-born Joshua Bates was appointed as a partner in Baring Brothers in 1828. At the time the firm traded across a range of commodities in tea, sugar, coffee, indigo, cotton, rum, spices, tobacco, flour, wool, cooper and iron. Stanley Chapman argues that,

Bates excised a large part of the traditional business in... Mauritius when he found that the planters did not cover their bills by the crop for that season.<sup>107</sup>

It was probably with same motives that the House of Baring sought to divest itself from similar sugar plantations in the Caribbean. Yet despite this withdrawal, in mid-1830 Barings still had £250,000 invested in mortgages on West Indian estates which represented a sum equivalent to half of the bank's capital.<sup>108</sup>

During the early 1830s, Barings opened an office in Liverpool to profit from the port's emergence as the main gateway of American trade, particularly slave-

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<sup>107</sup> Stanley Chapman, *The Rise of Merchant Banking* (London: George Allen & Unwin 1984), p. 26.

<sup>108</sup> Hidy, *The House of Baring in American trade and finance*, p. 129.

produced cotton. Joseph Inikori's *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England* (2002) emphasizes the significance of slave-produced commodities in shaping Atlantic commerce and British economic growth. This nuances our understandings of slavery's connections to Britain from the work of Eric Williams in *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944) which focused on the direct profits of slave trading and slave ownership. The commercial activities of Baring Brothers were little affected by the British abolition of the trans-Atlantic slave trade in 1807 or Britain's abolition of slavery in 1833 because in some ways they exemplify Inikori's argument. It is striking that British abolition in 1833 was paralleled by Baring Brothers aggressively investing in slave-produced American cotton so that in the same year it represented a quarter of the bank's total revenues.<sup>109</sup>

Baring also acted as a "banker's bank" for new American banks, including selling over one million pounds worth of stock for the Union Bank of Louisiana in 1832 and in advancing £6500 to the Planers' Association Bank of Louisiana in 1834.<sup>110</sup> During the 1830s Louisiana received over 67,000 slaves from other US states, and these import levels were maintained during the 1840s and 1850s.<sup>111</sup> In the House of Commons Alexander Baring argued that emancipation would result in the restarting of the trans-Atlantic slave trade due to the global demand for slave-produced sugar from Cuba and Brazil. At the same time, it was British

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<sup>109</sup> Austin, *Baring Brothers and the Birth of Modern Finance*, p. 63.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28

<sup>111</sup> Michael Tadman, "The interregional slave trade in the history and myth-making of the US South" in Walter Johnson, ed., *The Chattel Principle: Internal slave trades in the Americas* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), p 120.

demand for slave-produced cotton that pushed the Baring's annual profits over £100 million in the mid 1830s.<sup>112</sup>

### **13) The Webster-Ashburton Treaty**

In 1835 Alexander Baring received the title of Lord Ashburton, following twenty-nine years of service in the House of Commons culminating in 1834 with the presidency of the Board of Trade. After a series of crises in the late 1830s over the border between Britain's colonies in Canada and the American states of Maine and New York, Ashburton was rushed across the Atlantic as a Special Minister to negotiate a settlement with American Secretary of State Daniel Webster (1782–1852). Ashburton's previous investments in Maine, his family ties and business connections to the US made him a valuable mediator at a time when tensions over the north-east American border and Britain's policing of the trans-Atlantic slave trade threatened to erupt into open warfare between Britain and America. Ashburton was focused on securing agreement on the demarcation of the border so as to mark a new period of collaboration in Anglo-American relations, however it was the issue of the slave trading which most threatened to destabilize treaty negotiations.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Austin, *Baring Brothers and the Birth of Modern Finance*, p. 86.

<sup>113</sup> Howard Jones and Donald Allen Rakestraw, *Prologue to Manifest Destiny: Anglo-American Relations in the 1840s* (Wilmington: SR Books, 1997)

Just after midnight on the 8 November 1841, the enslaved cargo of the ship the *Creole* seized control of the vessel midway on its journey from Virginia to New Orleans. Of the 135 slaves on board, nineteen rebels left the hold killing one of the slave traders on board. Having disarmed the white crew, they altered course to the British colony of the Bahamas and reached its capital Nassau on the following day. British authorities in Nassau arrested the nineteen rebels for murder, while the local American consul organized an armed attempt to seize the *Creole* and smuggle its remaining cargo back to the US. Three years after emancipation in the British empire, large crowds of black Bahamians quickly appeared around the port to prevent the removal of the ship, leading British authorities to free all the slaves remaining on the vessel.<sup>114</sup>

For Lord Ashburton, the tensions between the American and British governments over the *Creole* directly endangered the treaty he was formulating during the summer of 1842 with Daniel Webster. American President John Tyler (1790-1862) of the slave state of Virginia was so concerned about the *Creole* case that he delayed the negotiations while he sought a British commitment that runaway slaves would be returned, but this was strongly resisted in London. Ultimately, an extradition treaty was included as part of the Anglo-American agreement covering murder (such as in the *Creole* case) but not mutiny by slaves or marronage. Formally the Webster-Ashburton Treaty provided a joint protest by America and Britain to Brazil and Spain over their continued slave trading. It also

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<sup>114</sup> Walter Johnson, "White lies: Human property and domestic slavery aboard the slave ship *Creole*", *Atlantic Studies*, 5: 2 (2008), pp. 237-263.

contained a bilateral agreement to provide anti-slavery squadrons in West Africa, although this was intended by the Americans as a measure to limit British interference with commercial shipping off the American coast (including vessels carrying slaves between US states).<sup>115</sup> The full abolition of the trans-Atlantic slave trade was seen by Tyler and others American leaders as completely separate from their own thriving “internal” slave trade.

An image that emerged just prior to these debates over the slave trades of the early 1840s is Joseph Turner’s *The Slave Ship: Slavers throwing overboard the dead and dying, typhoon coming on* (1840). Marcus Wood has provided a detailed history of the painting’s reception by both the public and critics who were largely alienated by its style or content. Turner’s art evoked the *Zong* case of 1781 in which several hundred slaves were drowned at sea as it was more profitable to claim insurance money for the loss of cargo than sell them in poor health in Jamaica. The hostility to Turner’s work was also partly because it broke with the abolitionist canon of iconography of sexual exploitation, dependence and gratitude.<sup>116</sup>

Despite abolitionist celebrations of full emancipation in the British Empire in 1838, this was still a period which historian Dale Tomich has labeled “the second slavery” when cotton, coffee and sugar resulted in the massive expansion

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<sup>115</sup> Wilbur Devereux Jones, “The Influence of Slavery on the Webster-Ashburton Negotiations”, *Journal of Southern History*, 22: 1 (1956), pp. 48-58

<sup>116</sup> Marcus Wood, *Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America 1780-1865* (New York: Routledge 2000), pp. 41-68.

of slave economies in the USA, Brazil and Cuba.<sup>117</sup> As the case of the *Creole* symbolized, Turner's *The Slave Ship* was a painting about the present as much as the past. The anti-slavery measures of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty focused on the trans-Atlantic slave trade which had become increasingly marginal to American economic development by the nineteenth century. The treaty remained silent about the massive redistribution of the enslaved population from the southern states of the Atlantic seaboard to the emerging cotton and sugar plantations of the Mississippi Delta.

#### **14) Baring Brothers in Saint Croix**

In the mid-1820s, as Alexander Baring was withdrawing from active leadership of the House of Baring, the bank acquired control of several plantations in the Danish Caribbean colony of Saint Croix. While the bank disposed of its holdings in the British Caribbean it was to maintain ownership of these estates for over fifty years. During this time period, these properties were run on slave labour until 1848, after which authorities in Saint Croix enacted a coercive system of apprenticeship that sought to restrict the formerly enslaved to labouring on the plantations for the next 15 years. In 1831 as Alexander Baring publicly identified himself as not a "West India proprietor", Baring Brothers owned slaves in Danish Saint Croix who would not be freed for another seventeen

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<sup>117</sup> Dale Tomich, "The Wealth of Empire: Francisco Arrango y Parreno, Political Economy, and the Second Slavery in Cuba." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. 45: 1 (2003), pp. 4-28.

years, a full decade after the enactment of full emancipation in the British Empire in 1838.<sup>118</sup>

Carved out of centre of Saint Croix during the mid-eighteenth century, the Bethlehem estates were two of the largest plantations on the Danish island colony. Their name may have been inspired by the Moravian missionaries who had recently arrived in the region. Upper Bethlehem and Lower Bethlehem were owned by the Heyliger family from nearby Saint Eustatius, where Johannes Heyliger was Governor of the Dutch island between 1743 and 1752. His daughter Elizabeth Heyliger (1750 – 1779) inherited both Bethlehem estates, and by the time of her death the Great House at Upper Bethlehem was located next to a formal French styled flowerbed.

Together, the two Bethlehem estates comprised 1,125 acres of which 60% were growing sugar and had an enslaved population of 356 in 1779. In 1824 the family sold Upper Bethlehem whereupon it passed to the Barings.<sup>119</sup> As one visitor to Saint Croix in the 1820s noted,

A large proportion of the plantations are the property of Englishmen or of their descendants, and nearly all of them are mortgaged to the government, or to English and American merchants, but chiefly to those of

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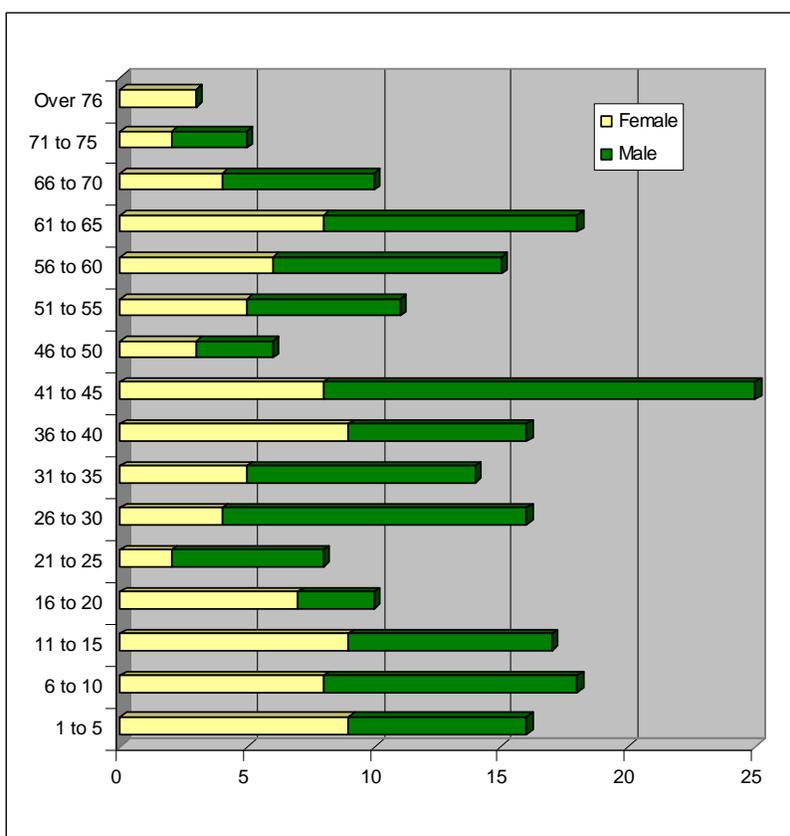
<sup>118</sup> *Report of the Debate in the House of Commons on Friday, the 15th of April, 1831*, p. 97.

<sup>119</sup> Inge Mejer Antonsen, "Bethlehem Plantation: A history", *The Virgin Islands Daily News*, 1 August 1975, p. 44 and 46; Brady, *Observations upon the State of Negro Slavery in the Island of Santa Cruz* (London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1829), p. 8; Neville A.T. Hall, *Slave Society in the Danish West Indies* (Mona: University of the West Indies Press, 1992), p. 76.

the former nation; and many of them to such a large amount as to render the liquidation of their incumbrances an almost hopeless event.<sup>120</sup>

The Barings joined the large number of British slaveholders in the Danish colony as debates about the full emancipation of slaves within the British empire was intensifying.

**Figure 6: Enslaved population on Upper Bethlehem estate by age and gender, 1841**

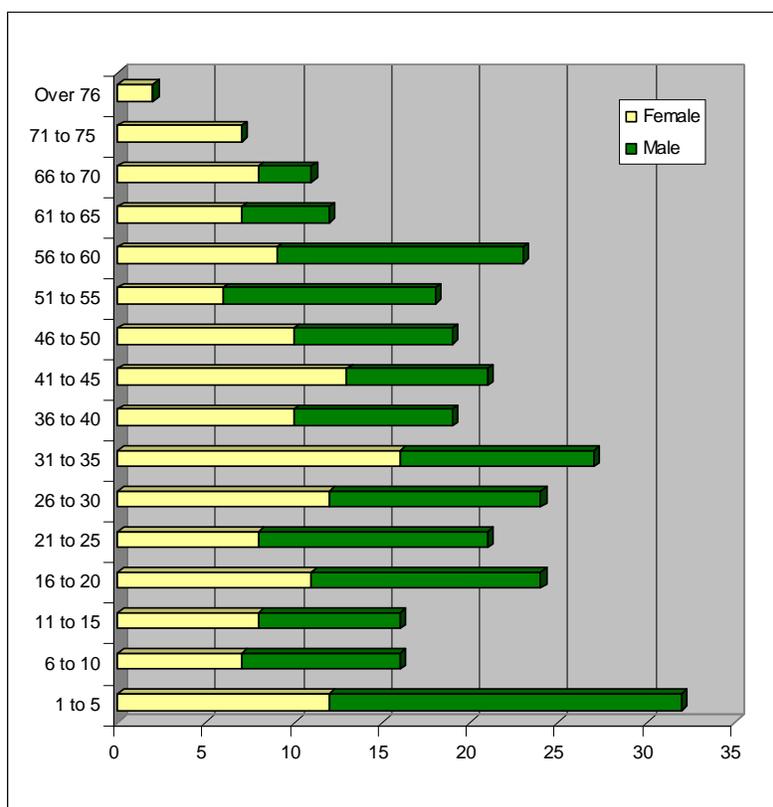


Source: Saint Croix Census of 1841

<sup>120</sup> Brady, *Observations upon the State of Negro Slavery in the Island of Santa Cruz*, p. 98

The Saint Croix Census of 1841 provides a detailed vision of the enslaved labour force who worked on the Baring estates of Upper Bethlehem and Fredensborg.<sup>121</sup> Producing sugar and rum, the estate at Upper Bethlehem had around two hundred slaves while that at Fredensborg had just under three hundred slaves. The greater unevenness in age and gender distributions at Upper Bethlehem is perhaps because its earlier connection to the Lower Bethlehem estate had enabled considerable internal transfers of slaves.

**Figure 7: Enslaved population on Fredensborg estate by age and gender, 1841**



Source: Saint Croix Census of 1841

<sup>121</sup> St. Croix Population Database 1734–1917, Virgin Islands Social History Associates.

On both estates, the enslaved were organised into gangs to work in the cane fields, with able-bodied adult men and women making up the “big gang”. These usually performed the hardest plantation tasks such as cane-holing (digging the holes to plant the cane) and cutting the sugar-cane at harvest. As soon as children were deemed able to work (at age six), they entered the “little gang” with the elderly. Denmark had legislated against the trans-Atlantic slave trade in 1802, however four decades after abolition Africans still made up a fifth of the enslaved labour force in the “Big Gang” at Upper Bethlehem.

**Table 3: Place of birth of slaves on the “Big Gang” at Upper Bethlehem estate, 1841**

	<b>St Croix</b>	<b>Africa</b>	<b>St Johns</b>	<b>Guadeloupe</b>	<b>Total</b>
Male	33	15	3	0	51
Female	32	3	1	2	38
<b>Total</b>	65	18	4	2	89

Source: Saint Croix Census of 1841

The occupational hierarchy at Upper Bethlehem and Fredensborg replicated other sugar plantations across the Caribbean with a male elite of skilled slaves at its summit. House servants were predominantly female, and the much larger group of servants at Fredensborg was probably due to the continued residence there of seven members of the Heyliger family who had originally owned the estate. On both plantations, eighty per cent of the enslaved were

defined as workers, showing how only the very young or incapacitated were not mobilized for labour.

**Table 4: Occupations of the enslaved at Upper Bethlehem estate by age and gender, 1841**

	Male			Female		
	Number	Average Age	Age Range	Number	Average Age	Age Range
Carpenter	5	52.6	36-66			
Cooper	4	39.8	36 - 43			
Mason	4	30.5	20 - 43			
House servant	2	25.5	23 - 28	5	50.2	36 – 51
Huckster				1	64	16 – 64
Big gang	51	41.2	16 - 64	38	33.9	62
Small gang	23	21.8	6 - 65	25	27.4	7 – 67
Incapable of working (child)	8	3.25	1 - 7	10	3.3	1 – 6
Incapable of working (adult)	10	65.6	43 - 74	14	69	55– 91
<b>Total</b>	<b>107</b>			<b>93</b>		

Source: Saint Croix Census of 1841

**Table 5: Occupations of the enslaved at Fredensborg estate by age and gender, 1841**

	Male			Female		
	Number	Average Age	Age Range	Number	Average Age	Age Range
Stillman	1	52	52			
Blacksmith	4	41	28 - 57			
Carpenter	4	29.5	20 - 35			
Cooper	10	43.7	22 - 56			
Mason	5	46.2	34 - 57			
House servant	4	46.25	21 - 57	21	44.9	10 - 71
Big gang	63	33.6	16 - 62	67	32.9	13 - 51
Small gang	25	23.32	7 - 67	26	34.7	7 - 71
Incapable of working (child)	20	2.65	1 - 5	14	2.9	1 - 6
Incapable of working (adult)	10	56.7	43 - 67	18	66.9	41 - 80
Total	146			146		

Source: Saint Croix Census of 1841

The spatial organisation of Upper Bethlehem and Fredensborg parallel those of other sugar plantations across the Caribbean. Barry Higman has emphasized how the physical properties of sugar cane (the need to extract juice as soon as possible from the cane after it has been cut) resulted in the

processing works lying at the centre of most sugar estates. The Danish Royal Library's map of Fredensborg also shows how slave villages were at times arranged in linear rows to facilitate surveillance and control from the overseer's quarters. However, elsewhere in the Caribbean archeological evidence has shown that even where such structures were imposed, the enslaved would use the spaces between or behind houses to live beyond the vision of the overseer.

The ING Archives holds a rich correspondence between Baring Brothers and their agents in Saint Croix over the management of bank's plantations. Key events that are discussed include the slave uprising of early July 1848 that resulted in emancipation being proclaimed in the island and debates around the amount of financial compensation paid to slave owners in 1853. In late 1848, after the death of Alexander Baring, the bank received a report from its attorney in Saint Croix that Danish authorities were seeking to compel the slaves to remain on the estates after emancipation,

I am pretty confident that the people would not quietly submit to it – they are now looking forward to the 3 of October, as the time when they shall be free from such compulsory residence, asserting that they will only then consider themselves as free. Still I cannot find that any intend to leave... they say they will continue to live there and work, but I could not get them to agree on what terms or what wages; what I offered they did not refuse but said it was soon enough to make agreement when time come.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Baring Archives, HC5, 5.5.1, 26 September 1848, W. Beech to Baring Brothers

Between 1849 and the Fireburn Rebellion of 1878, the formerly enslaved in Saint Croix were forced to remain working on the plantations they served during slavery through mandatory year-long contracts and aggressive vagrancy laws.

In economic terms, the Baring estates in Saint Croix did not directly contribute to the development of Northington Grange. The bank acquired them as Alexander Baring was withdrawing from its financial operations, and their revenues were significantly surpassed by the bank's other streams of income. However, the estates exemplify British involvement in slave economies after abolition in the British empire in 1838, and the intense conflicts across the Caribbean over the extent to which emancipation would change the economic and social order of European colonies. Early in 1859 Barings rejected the introduction of indentured African labour (usually slaves who had been purchased on the West African coast) on their St Croix estates.<sup>123</sup> Almost two decades after formal emancipation in Saint Croix, the Fireburn insurrection expressed the frustrations of the formerly enslaved against the efforts to restrict their own visions of freedom.<sup>124</sup>

### **15) Slavery-related symbolism and design at Northington Grange**

The inventory of 1795 completed for the Prince of Wales before he took occupation of Northington Grange provides one of the best guides to the contents and design of the Samwell house.

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<sup>123</sup> Baring Archives, HC5, 5.5.1, 28 April 1859, W. Beech to Baring Brothers

<sup>124</sup> Clifton E. Marsh, "A socio-historical analysis of the Labor Revolt of 1878 in the Danish West Indies", *Phylon* 42: 4 (1981), pp. 335-345

The entrance hall on the North side of the Samwell House had little reference to the Americas, although it expressed global consumption through an Indian mat and Turkish carpet on the floor and bamboo chairs with a large painting of bear hunting and classical marble cisterns. In the eating parlour, mahogany was the dominant material for furnishings from pier tables, a sideboard table, pedestal plate warmers, twenty foot long dining tables, dumb waiters, painting frames, a dozen chairs with satin seats, and on the doors and shutters. To the west, the sitting room was also filled with mahogany furniture, from a tea caddy to French chairs, to ten splay back chairs, a round dining table, backgammon board, horseshoe table, and fire screen.<sup>125</sup> Although mahogany furniture could be found throughout the living quarters of the house its pervasiveness across the eating parlour and the sitting room is particularly striking. It is possible that some of this mahogany may have been harvested by enslaved workers either in Jamaica or Central America. Although Jamaican supplies of mahogany were declining at the end of the eighteenth century driving up prices, in British Honduras (Belize) production expanded dramatically after 1786, as small gangs of slaves were sent into the forests to extract the timber.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Jane Geddes, "The Prince of Wales at the Grange, Northington: An inventory of 1795", *Furniture History*, 22 (1986), pp. 190-192.

<sup>126</sup> O. Nigel Bolland, *Colonialism and Resistance in Belize: Essays in Historical Sociology* (Jamaica: ISER, 1988), pp. 44-52.

For many in England, mahogany's high price, polished surface and physical weight signified refined consumption and elite status.<sup>127</sup>

In the west of the house was an imperial staircase that contained compartments which were painted with historical scenes, probably overwhelmingly of classical antiquity based on the comments of Horace Walpole.<sup>128</sup> The house was filled with paintings of classical and religious subjects or portraits of leading statesmen. From the 1795 inventory there appears to be little direct representation of Atlantic slavery in the design or contents of the house. During his period leasing the Grange, the Prince of Wales commissioned statues of “four boys 4ft high holding lamps in imitation [sic] of bronze, made on purpose for the gallery”.<sup>129</sup> Given the classical motifs elsewhere in the house, these dark figures were most probably intended to evoke the ancient world rather than Africa.

After the Grange was transformed by Wilkins, perhaps the best source for the nineteenth century interior of the house are the photographic collections held by the Hampshire Archives and English Heritage. Most strikingly, these photographs reveal a frieze on the fireplace in the dining room which depicts a banquet in ancient Greece in which four women are serving and entertaining a

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<sup>127</sup> Jennifer L. Anderson, “Nature’s currency: The Atlantic mahogany trade and the commodification of nature in the eighteenth century”, *Early American Studies*, 2:1 (2004) pp. 48-80

<sup>128</sup> Redmill, “A House Ahead of its Time”, p. 1167, Geddes, “The Prince of Wales at the Grange, Northington”, p. 187.

<sup>129</sup> Geddes, “The Prince of Wales at the Grange, Northington”, p. 177.

group of five seated figures. The dress, cropped hair and activities of the standing women suggest their servitude.<sup>130</sup> Given their role in providing entertainment, these women were probably *hetairai* (companions / elite prostitutes) who were either enslaved, free or foreigners.<sup>131</sup> Jenifer Neils argues of the *hetairai* that “as flute girls, dancers, fellow kottabos players, drinkers, and ultimately sex partners, they are ubiquitous in Attic vase painting”.<sup>132</sup>



Fireplace in the dining room

Source: English Heritage (Ref:CC56/14)

The frieze was designed by architect C.R. Cockerell and commissioned in 1824 from the sculptor John Flaxman (1755–1826). Cockerell claimed that he intended for the chimney-piece that,

<sup>130</sup> John H. Oakley, “Some ‘Other’ Members of the Athenian Household: Maids and their mistresses in fifth-century Athenian Art” in Beth Cohen, ed., *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*, (Leiden: Brill, 2000), p. 232-246

<sup>131</sup> Yvon Garlan, *Slavery in Ancient Greece*, trans Janet Lloyd, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), p. 146.

<sup>132</sup> Jenifer Neils, “Others within the Other: An Intimate Look at Hetairai and Maenads” in Beth Cohen, ed., *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*, (Leiden: Brill, 2000), p. 208.

the sculpture (the main object) may be made more principal... I have attempted (though very lamely) a sketch of a groupe from Millingen's vases and some tracings of mine in Italy.<sup>133</sup>

Between 1810 and 1817 Cockerell had travelled the Mediterranean, studying Greek and Roman architecture, participating in archaeological excavations and the acquisition of classical artifacts for Britain while painting and sketching extensively. Flaxman has also spent seven years in Italy at the end of the eighteenth century studying ancient sculpture. Therefore the commitments of both architect and artist were to produce as authentic a representation of Greek art as possible, drawing on the authority of James Millingen's recently published *Engravings of Painted Greek Vases* (1822).

Cockerell was strongly critical of other architects such as Wilkins who sought to replicate Greek architecture rather than appropriating and transforming it for contemporaries.<sup>134</sup> After visiting the Grange in mid January 1823, he was full of praise for its bold design, but also had a long list of criticisms of what he perceived to be Wilkins's incorrect use of classical motifs. Alexander Baring had less intellectual concerns about the design details at the Grange, and was focused on how to make the house comfortable for his family, with Cockerell noting

Mr B[aring] wants persuading of its [the Grange] charms, if it were his own child he would feel them more – these works will render it more so and will

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<sup>133</sup> David Watkin, *The Life and Work of C.R. Cockerell, R.A.* (London: A. Zwemmer, 1974), p. 172.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 66-69.

attach him to it. There is nothing like it on this side of Arcadia, yet full of defects and ill contrivance.<sup>135</sup>

Baring declined the construction of a second great portico proposed by Cockerell, opting instead for a more practical extension with a dining-room, conservatory and additional bedrooms. With limited scope for external embellishment (apart from the conservatory's modest Ionic portico), Cockerell devoted much of his energy on the interior of the Grange.



Fireplace in the dining room

Source: English Heritage (Ref:AA64/219)

David Watkin's biography of Cockerell emphasizes how focused the architect was on the design of the dining-room. Watkin's argues

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<sup>135</sup> *Ibid*, p. 71.

It is clear from the diary that he was obsessed by a desire to make of this room a *tour de force*, a composition matching in distinction and originality the architecture of the house itself.<sup>136</sup>

Cockerell identified his aims as “to make this room as pure in architecture as poss[ibl]e as classical by figures recalling such associations, drove at novelty, to avoid common place”.<sup>137</sup>

After contacting James Millingen for advice and extensive scholarly research, Cockerell was able to move forward with the dining room design, which Watkins argues is

...one of the most elegant and scholarly rooms of the whole Greek Revival. Based ultimately on the cella of the temple at Bassae, it achieved that jeweled, casket-like quality which we know Cockerell felt was characteristic of Greek design.<sup>138</sup>

The fireplace frieze was therefore as central to the authentication of Cockerell’s interior remodeling as column design had been for Wilkins’s exterior transformation.

The dining room fireplace frieze from Northington Grange reveals how slavery and servitude were accepted as a central element of the classical landscape, but were constructed as urban, paternal and un-racialised. Such images shaped eighteenth century understanding of Atlantic slavery, from the

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<sup>136</sup> *Ibid*, p. 171.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, 172.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*

writings of Adam Smith to Thomas Clarkson's *Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species* published in 1786. It's important to emphasize that these classical motifs do not appear to be deliberate efforts to efface connections to the modern Atlantic economy. Rather they were intended to "authenticate" these sites revealing the scholarly erudition of their hosts.



H. Bedford Lemere, Interior of the dining room (1888)

Source: English Heritage (Ref: BL08705)

## 16) Tropical planting at the Grange

The conservatory designed by Cockerell was marked not only for its pioneering use of prefabricated iron and glass, but also for the broad range of plants it housed. The majority of the collection seems to have come from Asia (Azaleas) and Australia (Acaias and Baksias). The conservatory did contain *Lantana mista* from the Caribbean and pine trees from southern Brazil (*Araucaria Braziliensis*) however it seems to have been dominated by specimens that originated in Asia and the Pacific rather than the Atlantic.<sup>139</sup>



H. Bedford Lemere, Conservatory (1888)

Source: English Heritage (Ref: BL08704)

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<sup>139</sup> *The Gardener's Magazine* (London: Longman, 1826), pp. 110-111.

## 17) Recommendations for further research

Further possibilities for research are the substantial art collection built up by Alexander Baring that was on display at the Grange during the nineteenth century. This collection ultimately passed on to Louisa Baring (1827 – 1903), although no inventory appears to have survived of her holdings.<sup>140</sup> In 1814, Baring purchased a series of marble reliefs by Pierre Julien titled “Episodes of Farm Work” which had been owned by the Empress Joséphine and displayed at her residence at Malmaison.<sup>141</sup> Before becoming wife of Napoleon I, Joséphine de Beauharnais (1763 – 1814) had lived in Martinique where she belonged to one of the island’s leading planter families, and she died owning slaves at the family sugar estate of the La Pagerie. Whether these reliefs were displayed at the Grange or at the Baring’s residence in London would require further enquiry.

The Lilly Library at Indiana University holds the papers of William Bingham, with accounts and correspondence from his time in Martinique. It also holds original correspondence on the Webster-Ashburton Treaty. Another source for archival records on Bingham’s activities in Martinique would be the Archives Nationales d’Outre-mer at Aix-en-Provence in France.

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<sup>140</sup> Virginia Surtees, “Baring, Louisa Caroline, Lady Ashburton (1827–1903)”, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004

<sup>141</sup> Michael Benisovitch, “Pierre Julien at Rambouillet”, *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 79:461 (1941), pp. 43-45.

More details of the Baring estates in St Croix could be obtained through the microfilm series M1883 from the National Archives and Records Administration in Washington and the Danish National Archives in Copenhagen.

Alnwick Castle holds a large collection of correspondence and papers of Henry Drummond (1786-1860), some of which would cover his period of ownership of Northington Grange.

### **17.1) Recommended readings for understanding slavery at Northington Grange**

David Patrick Geggus, *Slavery, War and Revolution: The British Occupation of Saint Domingue, 1793-1798* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982)

*Provides a detailed study of British engagement in the Haitian Revolution, including the involvement of Henry Dundas and Baring Brothers.*

Neville A.T. Hall, *Slave Society in the Danish West Indies* (Mona: University of the West Indies Press, 1992),

*Comprehensive account of slavery and emancipation in Saint Croix*

Joseph E. Inikori. *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England: A Study in International Trade and Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)

*Strongly argued study that explores the significance of slave-produced cotton in British industrialization.*

Walter Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery, Capitalism, and Imperialism in the Mississippi Valley* (Harvard University Press, forthcoming)

*Analyses the significance of the Louisiana Purchase in transforming slavery in Mississippi delta.*

Enrico Dal Lago and Constantina Katsari, eds., *Slave Systems: Ancient and Modern* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge 2008)

*An edited collection of leading historians making connections and comparisons between slavery in classical Greece and Rome, and slavery in the modern Atlantic world.*

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PROB Probate records

Manuscript Collections, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh

Henry Dundas, correspondence and papers

The Royal Bank of Scotland Archives, Edinburgh

GB 1502 DR - Records of Messrs Drummond

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