

Bishop Phillpotts and slavery

Peter Wingfield-Digby

Henry Phillpotts was Bishop of Exeter from 1830 to 1869. Several authors have claimed that he owned slaves and that he benefited from a compensation payment when slavery was abolished. The bishop did not own any slaves, and no evidence has been found that he benefited from a compensation payment. His name does appear in the compensation records but that was because he was one of the four executors and trustees for the will of someone who did own slaves. However, in contrast, we have identified that he had a brother Thomas who was a slave-owner for many years in Jamaica and who went on to become a West India merchant in London. Thomas received substantial compensation when slavery was finally abolished in 1833.

INTRODUCTION

Henry Phillpotts, who was Bishop of Exeter from 1830 to 1869, was probably the most well-known and controversial bishop of his day. The purpose of this paper is not to discuss his life in great detail but to examine the claim that he was a slave-owner and that he received compensation money when slavery was abolished. The opportunity will also be taken to examine whether any other close relatives were slave-owners, and to try to discover what the bishop's attitude was towards slavery.

First, we need to say something about the Phillpotts family. Details of the family origins and the early life of the bishop can be obtained from two biographies. The first one was by the Rev. Reginald Shutte. This publication was intended to be in two volumes, and Volume I, covering the period up to 1832, was published in 1863, while the bishop was still alive. The second volume was never published, because the bishop was dissatisfied with the contents of Volume I, and (in typical Phillpotts style) took out a court injunction, restraining Shutte from publishing further selections from the bishop's correspondence. The only complete biography of Bishop Phillpotts is the one published by G.C.B. Davies in 1954, but it focuses mainly on his clerical and political life, and provides very few details about his family.

The ancestors of Bishop Phillpotts had been living at Sonke (later called Llangarron Court) in Herefordshire for at least 200 years. The bishop's father John was baptised at Llangarron on 15 September 1743. The bishop's grandfather (also called John) died at Llangarron on 27 August 1769, and in 1770 the son John moved to Somerset. On 30 July 1770 he got married at Sedgemoor to Elizabeth, the daughter of John Everard of Spaxton Court, but sadly she died barely a year later - on 20 September 1771 – without issue. John had bought a pottery and brick factory at Bridgwater. On 5 October 1773 John remarried, this time at St Mary's, Bridgwater, to Sibella Glover. She was the daughter of Samuel Glover, who himself appears to have owned a brick factory, since he is known to have exported bricks to a coalmine near Kidwelly, Carmarthenshire. Sibella's mother was Anne Coles, the daughter of Rev. John Coles, the vicar of St Mary's, who officiated at the marriage ceremony.

John and Sibella continued living at Bridgwater until 1782, when they moved up to Gloucester. There John became landlord of the Bell Inn in Southgate Street. Only the frontage of the annex of the Old Bell Inn now remains; the rest was demolished to make way for the Eastgate Shopping Centre. Only Freemen were allowed to keep inns, so before he took over the inn he was admitted as a Freeman of the city.¹

In 1791 John gave up running the inn, and in the same year the family estate at Llangarron was sold. He then became an auctioneer and timber surveyor. In 1799 he was appointed as land agent to the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester Cathedral. He died on 22 February 1814.

Henry Phillpotts, later Bishop of Exeter, was born while his parents were still living in Bridgwater.

THE CLAIM

Several authors have suggested that Henry Phillpotts was a slave-owner. This claim has a long pedigree. It was first made by Eric Williams in his landmark book *Capitalism and Slavery* (Williams, 1944, p. 43). In discussing the development of the slave trade, he wrote:

*To the very end the Bishop of Exeter retained his 655 slaves,
for whom he received over £12,700 compensation in 1833.*

The claim was repeated by Lucy MacKeith in her booklet *Local Black History: A Beginning in Devon* (MacKeith, 2003, p. 21), and by Todd Gray in his book *Devon and the Slave Trade* (Gray, 2007, pp. 199—200).

On 8 February 2006 there was a debate in the General Synod of the Church of England on the subject of slavery. During the debate, Rev. Simon Bessant referred to the compensation payment made to the Bishop of Exeter and three others. At the end of the debate a motion was passed, supported by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, acknowledging the 'dehumanising and shameful' consequences of slavery.²

Soon afterwards, during oral questions in the House of Commons on 6 March 2006, Chris Bryant, the MP for Rhondda, repeated the claim about the bishop being a slave-owner and receiving compensation.³

BACKGROUND

When the Government of the day introduced and successfully passed a bill in Parliament in 1833 to abolish slave-ownership in most of the British colonies, it included in the Act a provision – under pressure from the powerful West India merchant lobby - that those British people registered as slave-owners would be compensated for the loss of their slaves as ‘business assets’. An amount of 20 million pounds was set aside for this purpose (equivalent to perhaps 2 billion pounds in cash terms today).⁴ Since the amount set aside for compensation was equivalent to about 40 percent of the Treasury’s annual income, the Government was forced to borrow 15 million pounds from Rothschilds. Amazingly, this amount was not repaid in full until February 2015.⁵ While British slave-owners received compensation, nothing was paid to those who were enslaved.

The study of British slave-ownership has benefited greatly from a research project carried out recently by a team at University College London. They have studied all the claims made for compensation, whether successful or not. The records of these claims are stored at the National Archives. All these details have now been incorporated into an Encyclopaedia of British Slave-owners, which is available online at www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs.

According to this database, there were three people listed with the surname of Phillpotts. One of these persons was Henry Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter. But interestingly, there were two other people in the database also called Phillpotts: Thomas and Susan. In 2015, when the author’s research into this topic began, there was no suggestion that these other two people were related in any way to the bishop.

BISHOP HENRY PHILLPOTTS

The name of Henry Phillpotts does appear in the compensation records for 1835, as already noted, but not because he was a slave owner.⁶ It appears because he, along with three others (Edward Littleton, 1st Baron Hatherton; Francis Downing; and John Benbow), was an executor and trustee for the will of someone who was a slave-owner, who had died two years earlier. That person was John William Ward, 1st Earl of Dudley, who owned large industrial enterprises in the Midlands, as well

as three plantations in Jamaica. He had had a short spell as Foreign Secretary in 1827.

Through his will dated 26 July 1831 the Earl set up a comprehensive trusteeship to look after his extensive estate, since he was unmarried and without children. Extracts from the will are shown in his entry on the UCL/LBS database. The language used in the will makes it difficult to understand exactly what is intended, but it seems to indicate that an annuity of £6,000 was to be given to his second cousin, the Rev. William Humble Ward, who also inherited his title, becoming 10th Baron Ward. The trustees were to hold the rest of the Earl's estate in trust, and to provide sums for the maintenance and education of the children of the Rev. Ward. The bulk of the estate was to pass to the clergyman's eldest son, William Ward, once he attained the age of 25.

The UCL website quotes a piece from the Times of London of 11 March 1845: "The trustees of the Earl of Dudley closed their accounts yesterday, allowing 21 days until 27 March, Lord Ward's birthday, for the final adjustments.....From 6 March all coal, stone or any other material will be sold by Lord Ward. This is in accord with the late Earl's will, so, in point of fact, Lord Ward is now in possession of his vast estates." ⁷

Lord Ward (the clergyman) died on 6 Dec 1835, and his son William, still in his teens, became the 11th Baron Ward. He was later to be made 1st Earl of Dudley (second creation). He was a great benefactor of Worcester Cathedral, paying for the entire refacing and restoration of that cathedral, and there is a monument to him there. He was scheduled to be buried in that Cathedral, but he died suddenly in 1885. His tomb was not ready, so instead he was buried in the crypt at Great Witley Church near Worcester. It was not until 1953 that his coffin was exhumed and reburied in the Lady Chapel of Worcester Cathedral.

If the Bishop of Exeter had been a slave-owner, his name would have appeared in the special slave registers that were kept during the period from 1817 to 1832, recording the details of all enslaved persons and their 'owners'. These slave registers are available for examination at the National Archives in Kew, but they can also be found online at www.ancestry.co.uk.⁸ The bishop's name does not appear in the slave registers, and there is no evidence elsewhere that the bishop was ever

a slave-owner.⁹ Also, as indicated above, it is most unlikely that the four trustees benefited at all financially from the will.

THE SIBLINGS OF BISHOP PHILLPOTTS

Having dispelled the idea that Bishop Phillpotts was a slave owner or that he benefited from compensation payments, we need to address the question of who were these two other people (Thomas and Susan) with the name Phillpotts. Our focus is on Thomas in particular, since he received more than £12,000 in compensation, whereas Susan's compensation was less than £100. An immediate thought is that either or both of these people might have been close relatives of the Bishop, so a special effort was made to track down all of the Bishop's siblings.

Using ancestry.co.uk and other sources, it was eventually possible to identify all the siblings. A major problem in searching is that there is very little standardization in the spelling of names; for instance, the name Phillpotts is sometimes written with one 'l' or one 't', or with no 's', so all spelling combinations must be checked. According to the entry for Bishop Phillpotts in the 2004 edition of the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, the bishop was reported to be one of some 24 children, but the correct figure is likely to be 15.

The table below shows the dates of birth and death for all the siblings, as well as their dates and places of baptism and burial. Two particular features stand out. First, a surprisingly large number of children died in infancy; nine of the 15 children did not reach adulthood, with most of them dying in the first year of life. Secondly, where some children died (Ann in 1777, George in 1784, Sybella in 1787 and Elizabeth in 1792), their first names were reused for other children born later.

Insert Table here.

The six children who reached adulthood were John, Henry, Susannah, Thomas, Sibella, and George. Not much is known about the two women, except that they did not marry. Sibella was known as 'The Angel of the Prisons' because of her voluntary work.

John, the eldest son, was very active in Gloucester. On 23 September 1805, at the age of 30, he was made a Freeman of the City; this appointment was 'by gift'

because his father was a Freeman. He was a barrister on the Oxford circuit and at the Gloucester sessions. He was also active in civic and public affairs. Between 1818 and 1823 he was one of the 12 Aldermen of the city, and he served as Mayor in 1819-20. He also did three spells as one of the MPs for Gloucester between 1830 and 1847. John built himself a lovely house in Spa Road, Gloucester; it is now called Judges Lodgings, because for some time after his death it was used as lodgings for assize court judges. He died suddenly in London in 1849 while travelling on a London omnibus.¹⁰

Henry Phillpotts, later Bishop of Exeter, was the second surviving son.

George Phillpotts, the youngest son, entered service with the Royal Engineers in 1811, and spent many years in Canada. In 1818 he surveyed York, now part of Toronto, and in 1823 he drew the resulting map of Toronto. In 1827 he was involved in land disputes concerning the Niagara Falls, and in 1839 he produced a report on the Canadian canals for the Governor General Lord Durham. Later he commanded the Royal Engineers in China. At the time of his death in 1853 from yellow fever, he was stationed in Bermuda where he had been acting Lieutenant-Governor for a few months.

THOMAS PHILLPOTTS

Thomas Phillpotts, the third of the four surviving sons, was born in Gloucester on 26 March 1785. After leaving school, he emigrated to Jamaica, where he remained for 24 years. In the 1805 and 1808 Jamaica Almanacs he is listed as the Secretary to the Close Harbour Company at Montego Bay, which had been formed in 1759.¹¹ This was the first company formed in the West Indies for the execution of any public undertaking. It was set up with the purpose of building a breakwater, to try to prevent ships being washed ashore by strong incoming winds. The Close Harbour could hold up to 30 ships (Hakewill, 1825, p. 85).¹²

In 1810 Thomas is mentioned by name in a Jamaican Act of Parliament: Public Act No. 10, 1810: *An Act for Making a Carriage-Road from Marlborough Mount to Alligator Pond, by a Toll on Coffee* (Jamaica, 1817, Vol. 6, pp. 41—46).¹³ He was appointed as one of the trustees for this work, as from 1 January 1811. Alligator Pond is on the south coast of Jamaica, and the road, when completed, would have

been used for bringing produce from the hinterland down to the coast for onward shipment.

In 1815 Thomas got married in the parish of St Mary, Jamaica, to Mary Field Hodgson, the eldest daughter of the Hon. Abraham Hodgson who owned a large number of plantations on the island.

From 1816 onwards up until 1828, the name of Thomas Phillpotts appears almost every year in the official slave registers for Jamaica. In the early years he is shown as owning more than 160 slaves, which seems to suggest that he owned a plantation at that time, but in later years the number of slaves he owned was usually less than 20. It seems probable that in his later years in Jamaica he acted as a merchant, shipping goods in and out, and providing financial support to plantation owners where needed. In 1817 he was appointed an assistant judge and magistrate, and as a result his name often appears in the slave registers, witnessing the ownership of slaves by other people.

In 1821, during a visit to England, he was made a Freeman of the city of Gloucester, by virtue of the fact that his father had been a Freeman. That same year his name appears in the register of the ship *Nestor* which sailed from Liverpool to New York, arriving there on 6 July 1821. He is shown as being bound for Jamaica.

A particularly interesting case is shown in the Jamaica slave register of 1826, where Thomas is shown witnessing the ownership of a slave by someone called Susan (Susanna) Phillpotts.¹⁴ It seems possible that this person is his sister Susanna; if so, she was presumably staying out in Jamaica for a while, or perhaps she was an absentee slave owner in England. Significantly, the enslaved person was originally named Venus by her previous owner, and was shown as such in the 1823 register, but by the time of the 1826 registration she had been christened Mary Phillpotts, which happened to be the name of Thomas's wife. Also in 1826, Thomas is named on the List of Agents for Lloyd's of London; he was representing Montego Bay.

There is also an interesting entry in the slave registers for St James in 1829. Eliza T. Phillpotts (whose identity is unclear) and Susan Phillpotts have declared their joint ownership of four enslaved persons, two male and two female. There is a note alongside that all four were 'purchased of Thomas Phillpotts'. And then in the 1832

register one of these females is shown as being just in the 'possession' of Susan. We cannot be certain that this refers to Thomas's sister, but it might do so.

In 1829 Thomas returned to England, and very soon set up business as a West India merchant, in partnership with Samuel Baker. They were based in London, but both of them were particularly active in Gloucester. They were the leading figures behind the development of Bakers Quay in Gloucester, and they started importing sugar and other produce from the West Indies direct to Gloucester. They also bought up land and sold off plots to local merchants, especially in the area that was known as High Orchard, and which today is called Gloucester Quays.¹⁵

At the end of 1831 there was a slave revolt in Jamaica, involving perhaps 60,000 of the 300,000 enslaved persons on the island. As a result, parliament set up a 'Committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the causes and remedy of West India Distress beginning 24th of January 1832', and Thomas was one of those who gave evidence to that committee.

Also in 1832, Baker and Phillpotts joined a group of 47 West India merchants in a protest against the Government. They transmitted their protest letter to Viscount Goderich, the Colonial Secretary, and it was subsequently published in the Times.¹⁶ They protested in particular against the 'arbitrary interference with the rights of private property, without first providing a Parliamentary fund for compensation'.

Later on, Thomas was in partnership with his son Abraham Hodgson Phillpotts, but that partnership was dissolved in 1844, and the business was then carried on by Abraham on his own account. In the Gloucester docks one of the warehouses that is still standing is named Phillpotts Warehouse; it is named after Abraham, and was built in 1846 for the corn trade. Thomas died at Clevedon, Somerset, in 1862.

Samuel Baker, who was Thomas's business partner, had a son Samuel who became famous as Sir Samuel White Baker. He was especially well-known because of his adventures as an explorer. He financed his own expeditions to Africa, involving large numbers of baggage bearers, and is particularly remembered for his 'discovery' of Lake Albert and the Murchison Falls. Later, he and his wife purchased a country house, Sandford Orleigh, near Newton Abbot.

Thomas Phillpotts had several children, some born in Jamaica and some in London. One son, Henry, was born in London in 1829. At the age of 19 he signed up with the Bengal Infantry, and in 1860 he joined the Bengal Staff Corps as a

Captain, performing the role of political agent to the Governor of Rajputana. In 1862 he got married in England while on leave, and he and his wife (Adelaide Waters) had three sons in quick succession, all born in India. Unfortunately, he died in 1865 aged only 35, and his widow returned to England with the three youngsters. The boys attended Mannamead College, now part of Plymouth College.

The eldest of the three boys was Eden Phillpotts. The family moved to west London in 1879, when Eden was 16. Leaving school, he worked as an insurance clerk for ten years, before deciding to take up writing full-time. In 1891 he received a legacy from his uncle Abraham, and soon after got married. In 1899 he moved back to Devon with his young family, and settled in Torquay, living there for 30 years until the death of his wife. Soon after that he married a second time, and moved to Broadclyst near Exeter, where he lived for another 30 years until his death.

Eden Phillpotts was a prolific author, with some 250 books, plays and collections of poetry to his name. He is probably best known for his Dartmoor Cycle of 18 novels, each one set in a different village on the edge of Dartmoor.

THE BISHOP'S ATTITUDE TO SLAVERY

Given the fact that his brother Thomas was a slave-owner in Jamaica for about 25 years, it is worthwhile trying to investigate what the attitude of Henry Phillpotts himself was towards slavery. Was he pro-slavery, or did he support the abolitionists? Although he was outspoken on many issues of his day, he does not appear to have spoken or written about slavery when he was a bishop. The Library Archives at Exeter Cathedral contain extensive correspondence of Bishop Phillpotts, but there is no mention of slavery.

This is surprising, because around the time of his appointment as Bishop of Exeter (late 1830) slavery was very much a topic of public discussion. Petitions for its abolition were being presented to the House of Commons and the House of Lords almost daily. Surprisingly, there is no mention at all of slavery in either of the two biographies of the bishop, Shutte (1863) and Davies (1954).

The only time that Phillpotts did write about slavery was in an exchange of views, written a long time before he became a bishop. On 15 May 1823 Thomas Fowell Buxton, MP for Weymouth, who had taken over from William Wilberforce as leader of the anti-slavery movement in Parliament, introduced his famous bill condemning

the state of slavery as 'repugnant to the principles of the British Constitution and of the Christian religion'. There was an extensive debate, at the end of which Buxton withdrew his motion.

At that time Henry Phillpotts was Rector of Stanhope near Durham. The Anti-Slavery Society had been organising petitions to Parliament from communities around the country. Following a meeting of the local Anti-Slavery Society in Darlington on 29 January 1824, members of the local Committee (which included the famous Quaker anti-slavery campaigner Joseph Pease) wrote to the rector, asking for his support in promoting a petition to Parliament from the people of Stanhope. This request drew a scathing reply from the future bishop, in which he attempted to argue that both the Bible and the British Constitution justified the use of slavery. The exchange of correspondence was published in a local newspaper, *The Newcastle Courant*.¹⁷

Part of the final paragraph of Phillpotts's first response to the Committee shows his attitude to the anti-slavery campaign, and also gives one a flavour of his style of writing:

For these reasons, then, I must altogether decline making myself a party in the proceedings to which you invite me. I must do more; as a minister of the gospel of peace, I must respectfully but earnestly implore you to weigh well the hazards to the public tranquillity which those proceedings necessarily involve. I must deprecate every attempt to excite the popular feeling "throughout this county," united, as you tell me, with other similar attempts "in various parts of the Kingdom," on an occasion when that feeling can do so very little good, and may, I had almost said must, cause so very much of evil.

The future Bishop's writing style is convoluted, but his message is fairly clear. He thought that his initial reply would not be made public, but it was. This happened because he asked a printer to make additional copies of his reply, so that he could distribute them to his friends. Obviously, someone at the printers thought his reply was scandalous, and they leaked it to the local newspaper. In the later exchanges with the Anti-Slavery Society, Phillpotts toned down his comments, presumably because he realised that they would see the light of day.

The attitude of the Church of England at the time to slavery was unacceptable. That is why the General Synod felt it necessary in 2006, as the country approached

the bicentenary of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, to issue an apology to the victims of the slave trade. The apology was supported by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. The example of the Codrington Plantation in Barbados, owned by an Anglican missionary organisation – the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) – was cited in the General Synod debate. Also cited (incorrectly) was the Bishop of Exeter. But the bishop, by his silence, was complicit in the Church's acceptance of slavery. We can now see the probable reason why he chose to remain silent: his own brother Thomas was a slave-owner.

CONCLUSIONS

It is evident that Bishop Phillpotts himself had no direct connection with slavery. However, his younger brother Thomas lived in Jamaica for about 25 years, was a slave-owner, became a West India merchant on his return to England in 1829, and received compensation when slavery was abolished. This is probably the reason why the bishop failed to speak out or write on the subject of slavery during his time as Bishop of Exeter.

Dates of birth, baptism, death and burial of Henry Phillpotts and his siblings

	<i>Name</i>	<i>Date of birth</i>	<i>Date and place of baptism</i>	<i>Date of death</i>	<i>Date and place of burial</i>	<i>Age at death</i>
1	Sybella	13 Jun 1774	15 Jun 1774 SM, Bridgwater	25 Jul 1787	27 Jul 1787 SMC, Gloucester	13
2	John	Jul 1775	22 Aug 1775, SM, Bridgwater	30 Jun 1849	4 Jul 1849, All Souls Cemetery, Kensal Green	73
3	Ann	27 Oct 1776	8 Dec 1776, SM, Bridgwater	28 May 1777	31 May 1777 SM, Bridgwater	0
4	Henry	6 May 1778	16 May 1778, SM, Bridgwater	18 Sep 1869	24 Sep 1869, St Marychurch, Devon	91
5	Susannah	11 Dec 1779	16 Feb 1780 SM, Bridgwater	Q4 1837	17 Nov 1837 SMC, Gloucester	57
6	Elizabeth	30 Jul 1781	6 Aug 1781 SM, Bridgwater	22 Jun 1783	25 Jun 1783 SMC Gloucester	1
7	George	21 Apr 1783	?	21 Mar 1784	24 Mar 1784 SMC, Gloucester	0
8	Thomas	26 Mar 1785	19 Apr 1785 SMC, Gloucester	2 Nov 1862	23 Dec 1862 Clevedon, Somerset	77
9	Elizabeth	12 Jun 1786	20 Dec 1786 SMC, Gloucester	8 May 1787	11 May 1787 SMC, Gloucester	0
10	Charles	6 Dec 1787	7 Feb 1788 SMC, Gloucester	6 Aug 1788	10 Sep 1788 SMC, Gloucester	0
11	Sibella	22 Dec 1790	15 Mar 1791 SMC, Gloucester	?	4 Jun 1825 SMC, Gloucester	34
12	Elizabeth	3 Jun 1792	20 Aug 1792 SMic, Gloucester	12 Sep 1792	15 Sep 1792 SMC, Gloucester	0
13	George	6 Feb 1794	6 May 1794 SMic, Gloucester	18 Sep 1853 Bermuda	?	59
14	William	2 Nov 1795	31 Dec 1795 SMic, Gloucester	26 Jun 1800	28 Jun 1800 SMC, Gloucester	4
15	Ann	29 Jul 1798	4 Jul 1799 SMic, Gloucester	26 Jun 1800	28 Jun 1800 SMC, Gloucester	1

SM = St Mary's Church, Bridgwater. Details of the Bridgwater baptisms and burial were originally obtained from the transcribed records shown at www.paulhyb.homecall.co.uk (accessed in 2016, but no longer available online). They can now (March 2019) be found online via www.freereg.org.uk.

SMC = St Mary de Crypt, Gloucester. Located at www.ancestry.co.uk Accessed on various dates during 2016 and 2017.

SMic = St Michael's Church, Gloucester. As for SMC above.

The family papers of Bishop Phillpotts, held at the Cathedral Archives, Exeter, provided many of the dates of birth and death.

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NOTES

¹ Jurica (1991), p.160: '28 September 1782, John Philpotts, merchant, of Bridgwater, Som., by fine'.

² The report on this debate cannot be found online. However, a BBC news report can be found by Googling the expression 'BBC 4694896'.

³ Hansard, House of Commons, 6 March 2006, Oral answers to questions: Culture, Media and Sport. Topic: Church Commissioners – Slave Trade Abolition (Commemoration). Vol. 443, Part No. 118, Col. 600.

⁴ Attempting to express money values of the 1830s in terms of modern currency values is very challenging. If we are interested solely in the cash value, we should probably use a multiple of about 100. If, however, we are interested in the labour value (which is exactly what the Compensation payments were intended to be), we should probably use a multiple of about 800. (see for instance www.measuringworth.com). That would give a value of about 17 billion pounds.

⁵ Tweet from the Treasury on 9 February 2018, but subsequently deleted. See David Olusoga's Opinion piece in the Guardian on 12 February 2018 entitled '*The Treasury's tweet shows slavery is still misunderstood*'.

⁶ <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/1283343189>. Retrieved 17 January 2020.

⁷ The Times of London, 11 March 1845, p. 6.

⁸ To find the slave registers, go to www.ancestry.co.uk, click on Card Catalogue in Record Collections, then enter 'slave registers' as title or keyword. This will bring up the link 'Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813–34'. This link can be searched either by entering the details of a particular enslaved person, or by browsing through the register for a particular colony and a particular year. To access the slave registers free of charge, one will be asked to register one's name and email address.

⁹ In the case of Jamaica, another very useful source of information is the Jamaica Almanacs for various years, which can be accessed through www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com. Those almanacs list slave owners in Jamaica by parish for various years between 1811 and 1833, giving the name of the slave-owner and the number of enslaved people and taxable livestock.

¹⁰ A letter from the bishop to his daughter Elizabeth on 1 July 1849 makes clear that John's sudden death was to be expected: "He died suddenly in the street on Friday night – of that malady which he has long known could scarcely fail to close his life at no distant period – a malady of the heart. On Wednesday last, he called on us in town, wishing us to accompany him on that day to Greenwich. His spirits were not good but calm. He told us of the frequency of his late attacks – and of his being well aware that his death would be sudden, and probably not remote." (Exeter Cathedral Archives, ED 11/50/9)

¹¹ www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Samples/Almanacs.htm See Civil Lists for 1805 (Surrey and Cornwall and Public Officers) and 1808 Part 2. Accessed 31 March 2019

¹² Hakewill (1825), p.91. <https://archive.org/details/picturesquetouro00hake/page/n91>
Accessed 31 March 2019.

¹³ Jamaica (1817). The Act of interest was Cap X of 11 December 1810, which is available online on page 41 of: <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008600052> Accessed 31 March 2019.

¹⁴ This entry can be found on page 203 of a document in the National Archives entitled 'Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834. Jamaica/St James/1823 Part 4 and 1826 Parts 1-2'. It can also be accessed via ancestry.com (see note 7 above).

¹⁵ See www.gloucesterdocks.me.uk/studies/studies.htm and in particular 'How Gloucester Benefited from Slavery' and 'High Orchard'. (Accessed 3 April 2019)

¹⁶ Article headed 'West Indies' on page 3 of The Times, 9 April 1832.

¹⁷ The Newcastle Courant, Saturday May 15, 1824, Issue 7701, p. 2.