

# SUGAR

PLANTATIONS COMMERCE BOYCOTTS





Above: item 16, [STRUTH]; *View of the Prospect Plantation ...* [Detail]

Cover: item 22, [FEMALE SOCIETY FOR BIRMINGHAM]; *[Transferware Sugar Bowl ...]*

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# SUGAR

## PLANTATIONS, COMMERCE



## BOYCOTTS

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THE  
C A S E  
OF THE  
BRITISH Sugar-Colonies.

OUR Plantations must always be considered as deserving Encouragement, in Proportion to the Advantage *Great Britain* receives from them.

THAT our Sugar-Plantations have proved the most beneficial to us must be generally allowed, not only by furnishing us with Sugar, and other Commodities, which we did formerly, and must otherwise, buy of other Nations with ready Money; but by enabling us to supply Foreign Markets with the Surplus of the Plantation Product not consumed at Home.

THE greatest Part of the Produce of these Commodities sold here and abroad, is returned to the Sugar-Plantations in our Woollen and other Manufactures, Wearing Apparel, Household-Goods, and Plantation-Utensils, ready made and wrought up in this Kingdom.

THEY contribute also to the great Consumption of *British* Manufactures and Malt-Spirits, which are sent to *Guinea* to purchase Negroes for the Use of the Plantations.

IN the Course of this Trade, Multitudes of *British* Seamen are maintained, and a great Number of Ships *British* built are employed; the Profit of which centers all in *Great Britain*.

AND as the Interest of the Sugar-Colonies is closely united with that of *Great Britain*, they must always be dependant on it, and be supplied from hence, because they have no Trade or Manufactures which can interfere with those of *Great Britain*.

AS this is so beneficial a Branch of Trade to *Great Britain*, it seems but reasonable that it should meet with all due Encouragement.

AT least that nothing should be done to it's Prejudice, or to the Encouragement of the *French* (our greatest Rivals in the Sugar Trade) to destroy so valuable a Part of our Commerce.

BUT

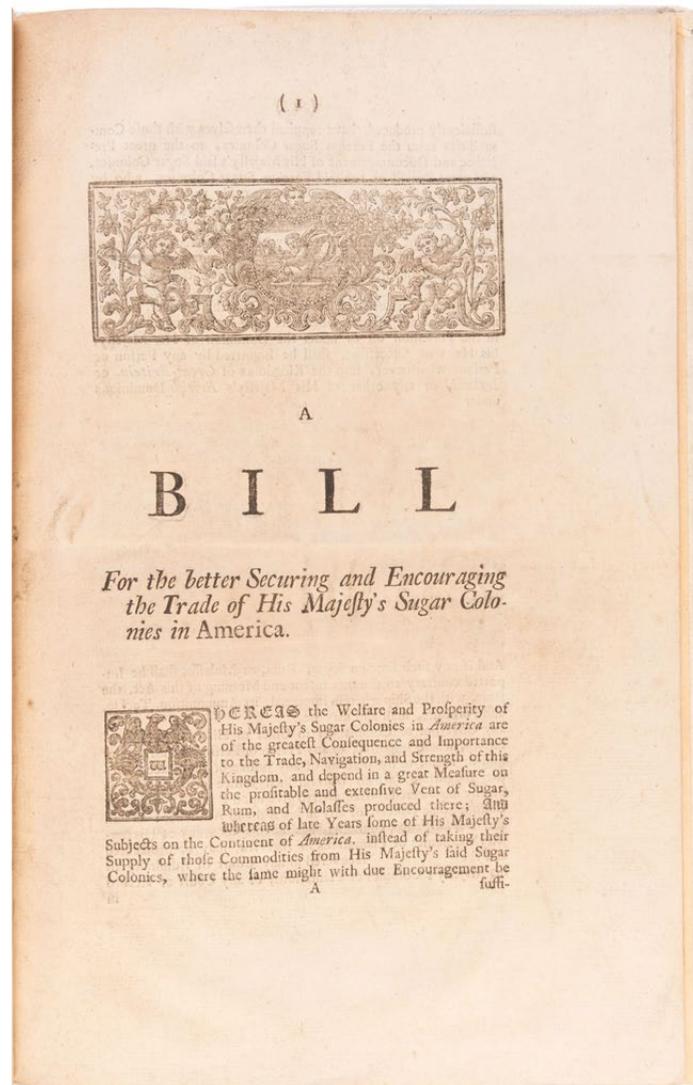
## Balancing the Interests of New England against Jamaica

### 1 [THE MOLASSES ACT.]

#### The Case of the British Sugar-Colonies

First edition. Woodcut vignette. Folio. Old folds but very good. 3, [docket-title] pp. [London, 1731.] [Bound with:] [ANON.] **A Bill for Better Securing and Encouraging the Trade of His Majesty's Sugar Colonies in America.** Folio. Text a little toned but very good in modern boards. 7, [1]pp. [London, 1732.]

£3,000



Two scarce, anonymous works published in the lead up to the passing of the 1733 Molasses Act: the first is a strident defence of the British Sugar Trade, the second is a bill which seeks to legislate some of these protectionist measures.

In a bid to deter American consumption of sugar from non-British colonies, the Act levied a charge of sixpence per gallon on molasses imported from French, Spanish, Portuguese, or Dutch holdings. Though in practice this was often ignored, and indeed replaced in 1764 by the Sugar Act, **it's worth noting that the cost of sugar from British plantations was far higher than that from the French, and that this act would have a substantial impact on the colony of New England.** British Prime Minister, Robert Walpole, had the difficult task of trying to balance the interests of two of his most important colonial groups.

Published at a time when the plantation economies in the Americas were becoming increasingly profitable, *The Case of the British Sugar-Colonies*, argues that support for them should be proportionate to the advantages Great Britain receives. The first page lists the benefits of the trade, namely, prosperity through the sale of sugar surplus to British requirements. The author notes that this is allowed for the purchase of "Woollen and other Manufactures, Wearing Apparel, Household-Goods" made in Britain herself and supports multitudes of British sailors and her ship building industry. It concludes by saying: "And as the Interest of the Sugar-Colonies is closely united with that of Great Britain, they must always be *dependant* on it, and be supplied from hence, because they have *no Trade of Manufactures* which can *interfere* with those of Great Britain."

This is followed by a list of all the detriments to Great Britain when "the People of New-England and other Parts of the Continent, have supplied the French Sugar-colonies with Provisions, and Necessities of all kinds for their Plantations, and have taken from them Sugars, and great Quantities of Rum, which the French have never made before (as interfering with French Brandy) till they found a Vent for it by this Trade." The increased prosperity of French colonies, and thus an increased number of plantations, had an obvious knock-on threat to British markets in Germany, Holland, Spain and the Levant.

The piece argues further that "tho' the Northern Colonies may be Gainers upon the whole by this Trade; yet the French Sugar-Colonies receive much more Advantage thereby than the Northern Colonies do, Rum and Molasses being clear Profit to the French; and the Cattle and Lumber they receive, absolutely necessary for them, and which they could not have from any other Place."

In conclusion, the author finds that "If this Trade to the Foreign Sugar-Colonies be not speedily and effectually prevented, the British Sugar-Colonies will be in Danger of being ruined", to the additional detriment of both the British maritime industry and "the African Trade."

The second work in this volume, *A Bill for Better Securing and Encouraging the Trade of His Majesty's Sugar Colonies in America*, was preparatory for the Molasses Act which was passed the following year. **The Bill was extremely aggressive in seeking to ban all such consumption of foreign-grown sugar outright.** While the Act of the following year was more moderate, this Bill is evidence of both the high stakes and high feelings in Britain at that time.

These two documents together are of real interest demonstrating the pressure placed on Walpole to shore up the interests of the Sugar lobby. Ultimately, Walpole found a way to appease both groups. "By passing the act, he legally appeased the British West Indian planters. By doing little or nothing to enforce it, he appeased the New England rum merchants" (Draper).

**Case [1731]:** ESTC T20672; Hanson 4222. **Bill [1732]:** ESTC N59019; ESTC: "Perhaps the work entered in the records of William Bowyer as 'Bill for ye sugar colonies'; another edition appears not to be his. His records show 1000 copies printed for Williamson" (Bowyer Ledgers, no. 1759); not in Hanson. Draper, T., *A Struggle for Power: The American Revolution* (New York, 1996), p.96.

### *The Legal & Political Framework of the Plantation Economy*

## 2 [JAMAICA.]

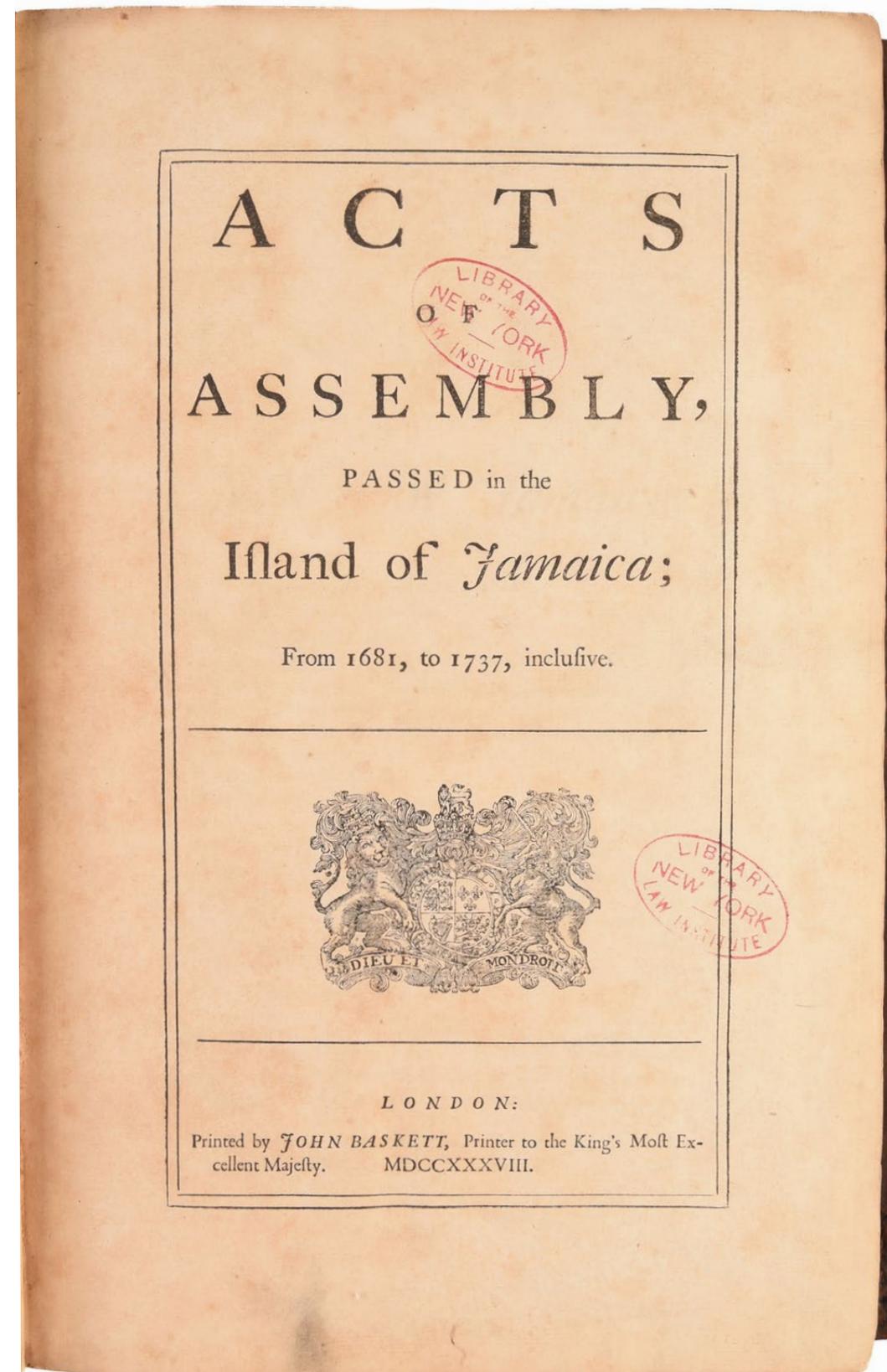
### **Acts of Assembly, passed in the Island of Jamaica; from 1681 to 1737.**

First edition. Full-page engraved map. Folio. A very good copy in contemporary panelled calf, expertly rebacked, library stamps to title-page and ms. "Whitehall" to verso of title-page. xxii, 387, [errata]pp. London, John Baskett, 1738. **£4,500**

**A vital digest of laws governing Jamaica over fifty years: the most important British colony in the Caribbean. This copy is complete with the engraved plan of the harbour at Port Royal.**

**While none of the acts explicitly mention sugar, they are all in service to it, the major crop on this island: roads connecting plantations, establishing wharves and ports, duties (including on rum and estates), settling new parts of the islands and, of course, labour.**

After the arrival of Christopher Columbus in 1494, Jamaica remained a Spanish colony until it was captured by the English in 1655. Thirty years prior, Barbados was claimed for England with the first settlers arriving in 1627. It quickly adopted a plantation economy and enslaved workforce and as such became a model for what followed in Jamaica.



1681. II. PROVIDED always, That every Person elected shall be a Freeholder in this Island; and that none have Right to vote in any Election, but those that are Freeholders in the same Parish where the Election is to be made.



2. An Act for regulating Servants.

BE it enacted and ordained by the Governor, Council, and Assembly, and it is hereby enacted and ordained by the Authority of the same, That all and every Master or Mistress of Slaves, for the first Five Working Slaves, shall be obliged to keep One White Man-Servant, Overseer, or hired Man for Three Months at least; and if the Number increase to Ten, Two; and for every Ten after the first, One, to be Resident in the Plantation where the Negroes are employed; and if any shall be wanting, for the Space of Six Months, of the Proportion aforesaid, he, she, or they, for every Servant so wanting, shall forfeit Five Pounds to the Use of the Parish where such Default shall be made; to be recovered by the Church-Wardens by Action of Debt in any Court of Record in this Island.

The Number of White Men to be kept in Proportion to the Working Slaves.

II. AND it is further enacted and ordained by the Authority aforesaid, That all Masters, Mistresses, or Overseers of Slaves, who shall not truly inform the Constable or Constables within their several Precincts, when thereunto required, of all such hired Men, or Servants, and Working Slaves as shall justly and truly belong unto them, or under their Care, shall forfeit the Sum of Twenty Pounds; to be recovered by Bill, Plaint, or Information in any Court of Record within this Island, where no Essoign, Protection, or Wager of Law shall be allowed; one Third of which Penalty shall be to our Sovereign Lord the King, his Heirs, and Successors, for and towards the Support of the Government of this Island, and the Contingent Charges thereof; one Third to the Church-Wardens of the Parish where the Offence shall be committed, for the Use of the said Parish; and the other Third to the Informer, or he that shall sue for the same.

Owners of Slaves to inform the Constable how many Slaves belong to them, &c.

III. AND whatever Constable or Constables shall neglect his or their Duty herein, by not demanding an Account every Six Months, and returning the same unto the Justices sitting at the next Quarter-Sessions of that Precinct, which they are hereby required to do, shall, for every such Default, forfeit the like Sum of Twenty Pounds; to be recovered and applied in Manner and Form aforesaid.

Penalty on Constable neglecting his Duty.

IV. THAT all Servants shall serve according to their Contract and Indenture; and where there is no Contract or Indenture, Servants under Eighteen Years of Age, at their Arrival in this Island, shall serve Seven Years; and above Eighteen Years of Age, shall serve Four Years: And all convicted Felons, for the Time of their Banishment, and at the Expiration of the Times aforesaid, shall receive from their late Master, Mistress, or Employer Forty Shillings, and a Certificate of their Freedom upon Demand; and whosoever shall refuse, without just Cause, to give such Certificate to any Servant, Artificer, or Labourer, whose Time is expired, or Contract performed, shall forfeit Forty Shillings for every such Refusal.

The Terms of Servitude.

V. AND whosoever shall employ any Free Person without a Certificate from the last Employer, of the Performance of his or their last Bargain or Contract, shall forfeit Ten Pounds.

Penalty on employing unlicensed Persons.

VI. THAT

1681. VI. THAT no Person or Persons presume to trade with any Servant or Slave without the Master or Mistress's Consent, on Penalty of forfeiting to the Master or Mistress of such Servant or Slave treble the Value of the Things traded for, bought, or sold, and also Ten Pounds Current Money of this Island; to be recovered by such Master or Mistress by Action of Debt in any Court of Record; and all Contracts made with Servants or Slaves to be utterly void.

1681. Penalty on trading with Slaves without Consent of their Owners.

VII. THAT if any Servant or hired Labourer shall lay violent Hands upon his or her Employer, Overseer, or other Person put in Authority over him or her, such Servant or Labourer shall, for such Offence, serve his or her Employer without any Wages Twelve Months, by Order of any Justice of the Peace on Conviction.

Punishment of Slaves for laying violent Hands on their Owners.

VIII. THAT by the like Order and Conviction, any Overseer or Artificer, hired Labourer, or Servant that shall embezzel, purloin, make away, or waste any of his or her Employer's Money, Goods, or Chattels, not exceeding the Value of Forty Shillings, shall serve or make Satisfaction according to the Discretion of any one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace; and if above the Value of Forty Shillings, to serve Two Years by the like Order without any Wages, and be further liable, in Case that Time will not satisfy; and if any such Person as aforesaid shall embezzel, purloin, or make away any Money, Goods, or Chattels of any others than their Masters, Mistresses, or Employers, they shall incur the same Penalty, and serve the Party injured as aforesaid, after their Time expired with their Masters or Mistresses.

Overseer, or Artificer, hired Labourer, or Servant that shall embezzel, purloin, or make away, or waste any of his or her Employer's Money, Goods, or Chattels, not exceeding the Value of Forty Shillings, shall serve or make Satisfaction according to the Discretion of a Justice.

IX. AND be it further enacted by Authority aforesaid, That if any Freeman of this Island shall at any Time hereafter beget a Woman Servant with Child, he shall (upon due Proof thereof made, which Proof shall be by the Oath of the said Woman, as in other Cases of Bastardy) give good Security to save the Parish harmless; and as a further Punishment for his Offence, and for and towards Satisfaction of the Master or Mistress of such Servant, shall forfeit and pay unto the said Master or Mistress the full Sum of Twenty Pounds Current Money of this Island; and shall likewise provide for the Maintenance of the said Servant and Child; and in Case of Failure herein, shall serve the Master or Mistress of such Servant double the Time that she had to serve at the Time of the Offence committed, or shall procure one in his or their stead that shall be obliged so to do; and in Case one Servant shall beget another with Child, then the Man Servant shall, after the Expiration of his Term, serve the Master or Mistress of the Woman Servant double the Time she had to serve at the Time of the Offence committed.

Penalty on the Fathers and Mothers of Bastard Children.

X. THAT any Man Servant marrying without the Master's or Mistress's Consent, shall serve Two Years for such Offence; but if any Freeman shall marry a Servant, he shall be liable to pay the Master or Mistress Twenty Pounds, and she shall be free.

Penalty on Man Servants marrying without Owner's Consent.

XI. THAT all Suits between Servants and their Masters or Mistresses, relating to their Freedom, shall be heard and determined by any Two Justices of the Peace, without any Appeal; and if any Servants absent themselves from their Master's or Mistress's Service, without Leave, or a Ticket from their Master, Mistress, or Overseer, shall, for every such Day's Absence, serve one Week, and so in Proportion for a longer or shorter Time; the whole Punishment not to exceed Three Years.

Suits between Slaves and their Owners to be determined by Two Justices.

XII. THAT if any Person shall turn away any sick or infirm Servant under Pretence of Freedom or otherwise, and such Servant shall die for want of Relief, or become chargeable to any Parish, the Offender shall forfeit Twenty Pounds of Current Money of this Island, to the Use of the Parish where such Death or Charge shall happen, to be recovered by the Church-Wardens by Action of Debt in any Court of Record, unless the Party

Penalty on Owners turning away their Slaves when sick.

## A Cargo of Sugar from the French Caribbean

In his article on slave codes, Edward Rugemer writes that by “the early seventeenth century, when the English began to plant settlements in the Americas, African slavery had been a fixture in the Iberian Atlantic for more than a generation. The English did not have to invent slavery out of whole cloth but, in a similar manner to their French counterparts at the same time, they had to construct the legal and political structures to govern this labor institution, which for them was quite new” (Rugemer, 432). This volume is an ample demonstration of Rugemer’s observation.

Indeed, the first English civil government in Jamaica was established in 1661 and promptly adopted—with only a few revisions—the 1661 Barbados Slave Act. This underwent further revisions—in 1684 after an uprising—and is present here in its 1696 iteration.

There are numerous acts included here governing Jamaica’s enslaved population, including: “An Act for the more effectual raising Parties to pursue and destroy rebellious and runaway Slaves.” This act was updated frequently and had variations facilitating the raising of money towards, the further encouragement of, and a mechanism for the recompense of Officers and Soldiers who were directly involved in such. In 1730 an act was passed “for the better regulating Slaves, and rendering free Negroes and Mulattoes more useful.” In the same year, “An Act to prevent the selling of Powder to rebellious, or any other Negroes whatsoever” was passed. Some acts were specific to certain parishes, such as “An Act to prevent the landing or keeping of Negroes infected with the Smallpox, in and of the Three Towns of St Catherine, Port-Royal, and Kingston” (1732) as well as one “to suppress the rebellious Negroes in the Windward Parts of this Island” (1730). Furthermore, there is “An Act to prevent the malicious burning of Houses and Plantations” and “An Act for the Manumission of the Wife and Children of a free Negro-man, Sambo, and of other Negroes; and for recompensing their respective Owners.”

The wider concerns of the colony are also evident, such as in the “Act for the Restraining and Punishing Privateers and Pirates”; “Act for preventing Damages in Plantations, preserving Cattle, and regulating Hunting”; “An Act for Settling the Militia”; “An Act for Encouraging the Settling of this Island”; “Act for quartering Officers and Soldiers”; “An Act to encourage the Importation of white Men”; “An Act for imposing a Duty on all Rum, and other Spirits or Strong-Waters retailed in this Island ...”

Scarce in the trade with just a handful of copies recorded at auction between 1871 and 2015.

Sabin, 35614; Rugemer, E.B., “The Development of Mastery and Race in the Comprehensive Slave Codes of the Greater Caribbean during the Seventeenth Century” in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 70, No. 3 (July, 2013) pp.429–458.

### 3 [MARTINIQUE.]

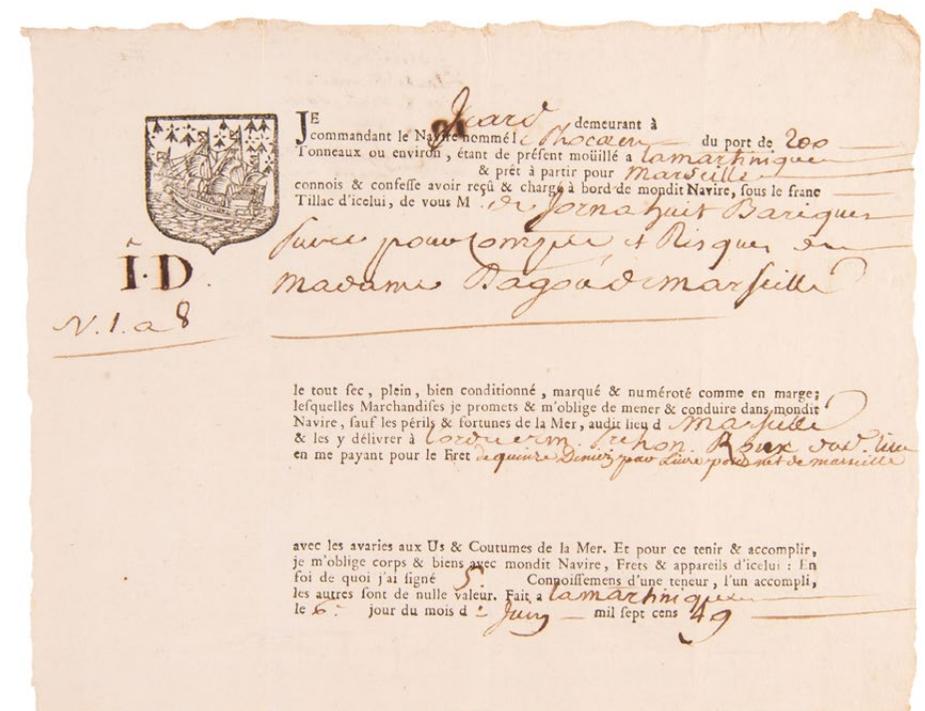
#### [Bill of lading for a cargo of sugar and coinage bound from Martinique to Marseille.]

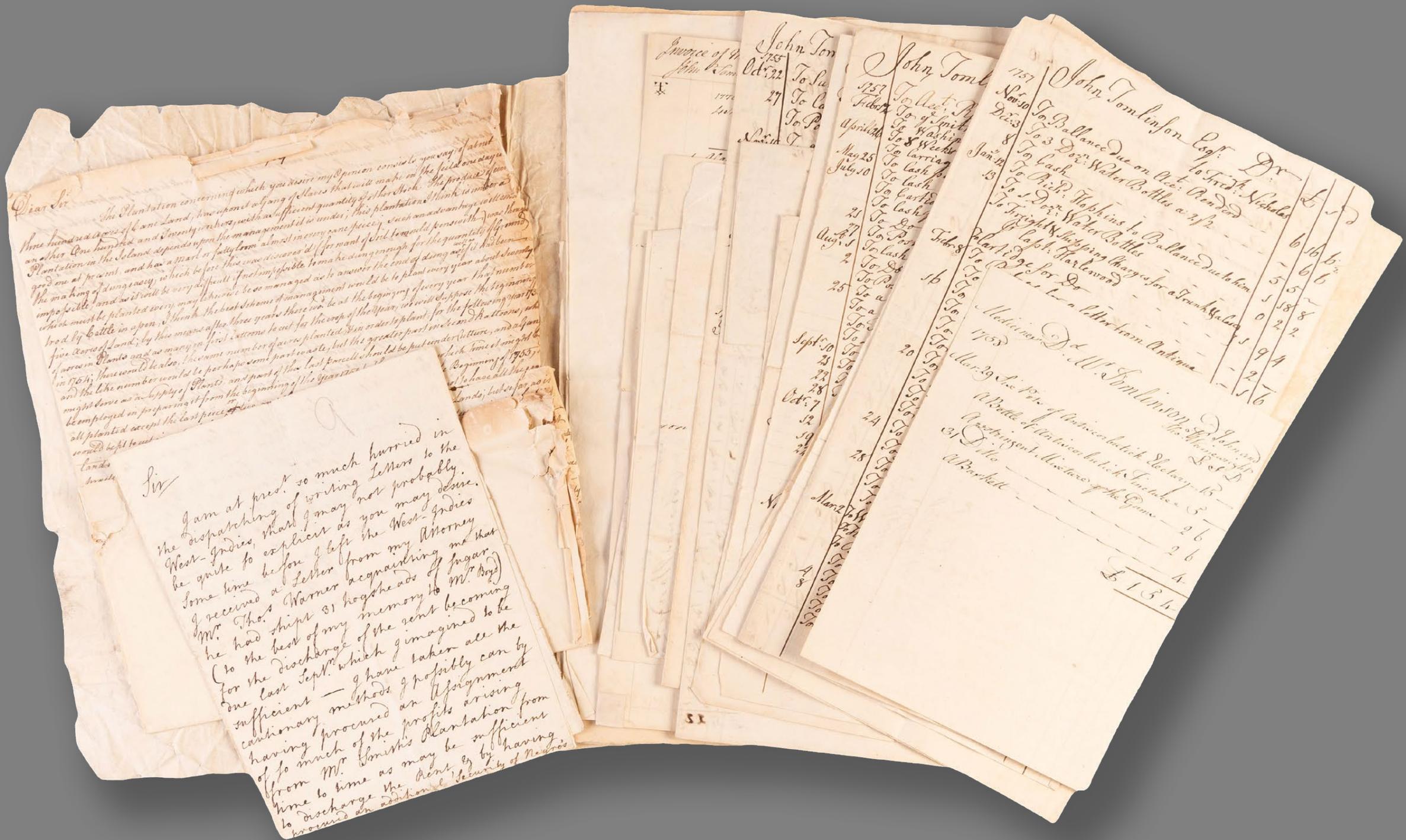
Bill of lading measuring 175 by 225mm. Woodcut of a ship, ink manuscript completions in French, edges uncut, old folds, very good. Martinique, 6 June, 1749.

£1,250

A French bill of lading records the shipping of plantation sugar, “huit barriques sucre brut” on the account and at the risk of “Madame Dagoud,” from the French Caribbean island colony of Martinique to the southern French port of Marseille. Dated 6 June 1749, the cargo was to be delivered at Marseille to the prominent mercantile company Roux et C[ompagn]ie.

Martinique was a cornerstone of French sugar production in the eighteenth-century, and thereby hugely important to the French economy. This is borne out by its strategic significance in the Seven Years War, when it was invaded and captured by the British in 1759. Indeed, in negotiating the Treaty of Paris which would end the war in 1763, France opted to regain Martinique and Guadeloupe, and to surrender Canada permanently to the British. Between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, 156,572 enslaved people were trafficked to Martinique, and slavery would not be abolished in the French Caribbean until 1848.





**A Detailed Insight into  
The Finances and Mechanisms of an Antigua Plantation**

**4 TOMLINSON (John).**  
[Collection of Letters, Manuscript Bills, and Other Documents Related to the Eighteenth-Century Business of a Major Antigua Sugar Planter.]

24 manuscript documents in ink, ranging from 1–3pp each (further details below). Ranging in size between 8vo and foolscap. Most very good with occasional toning and or splitting at folds, with the exception of the Stephen Blizard ALS, which has considerable wear at folds and chipping to edges with some loss of characters. The documents are loosely enclosed in a contemporary paper folder with ms title “Papers belonging to the late John Tomlinson Esq”. Antigua & London, 1749–1761.

**£6,750\***

Account of Sundry Parcels of Sugar  
 belonging to Sir Tomlinson Esq; their respective  
 Prices, & Nett Proceeds, for which he has received Adv.  
 of Sales

£	10	Hds	of	Gladman	Sold	at	31/6	Nett	£	111	6	7	
£	20	D		Robinson	D		37/			326	19	6	
£	10	D		Barratt	D		30/			111	9	9	
£	10	D		German	D		31/6			139	2	8	
£	10	D		Davis	D		31/6			266	18	3	
	10	D		D	D		35/						
£	10	D		Lefley	D		36/			116	7	3	
£	10	D		Hooper	D		32/			121	18	6	
£	10	D		Barton	D		31/			130	11	11	
£	10	D		Darroch	D		36/6			113	3	3	
£	10	D		Hays	D		39/6			168	18	8	
£	10	D		Doyle	D		32/6			125	11	9	
£	10	D		Coutler	D		36/			151	6	10	
£	10	D		D	D		31/			112	18	8	
£	20	D		Leaby	D		36/6			321	12	11	
£	10	D		Brown	D		35/			156	11	8	
£	10	D		Clark	D		37/			152	13	1	
£	10	D		the Virchid Clark			31/6			119	10	1	
£	10	D		Coit	D		35/			157	12	11	
£	10	D		D	D		30/			126	10	10	
£	10	D		Bruce	D		32/			113	15	11	
£	10	D		Ochterlony	D		31/			132	9	3	
£	20	D		Lefley	D		33/			279	16	9	
£	5	D		Hutton	D		34/			73	11	2	
£	5	D		D	D		31/			73	17	1	
£	10	D		Warner	D		33/			112	2	11	
£	22	D		Gladman	D		32/			113	9	9	
£	8	D		Gladman	D		32/			113	9	9	
310 Hds m at 31s. 7. 0/2 of Adv. is										£	1111	6	11

Accounts of Sugar sold, but the Taxes not  
 yet settled

£	20	Hds	of	Robinson	Sold	at	32/
£	10	D		Sollit	D	at	32/
£	10	D		Comrin	D	at	32/3
<hr/>							
110 Hds							

A small but detailed archive of papers relating to the management of sugar estates in Antigua, under the ownership of John Tomlinson Esq (d.1760). Son and grandson of two other British planters in Antigua of the same name, the bulk of these papers date between 1756 and 1760, when the youngest Tomlinson took over the plantation from his father, who died in 1753.

Major John Tomlinson (d. 1739) was granted an estate of 264 acres and 16 enslaved people in around 1709, after he married Elizabeth, widow of another planter Walter Philips, and upon the death of her children from her first marriage. His eldest son, also John, inherited the estate and “became one of the island’s leading plantocrats and part of Antigua’s colonial elite: appointed to the island’s Royal Council in 1745 and its president in 1752–53. By then he owned some 600 acres worked by around 180 slaves” (Berman, 1).

Many of the documents in this archive are statements of account between John Tomlinson and Frederick Nicholas, his agent in London, as well as other peripheral agents and planter associates. Nicholas was a named beneficiary in Tomlinson’s will, dated 17th Dec. 1760, receiving a bequest of £100. He is described therein as a “sugar baker.” These bills cover the period immediately following Tomlinson’s death and suggest that Nicholas was involved in the settlement of his affairs. Steven Blizard, a fellow Antigua planter, and executor of the estate, is to receive a 20s ring, presumably a mourning ring. The third John Tomlinson died a bachelor, having relocated to Bath, and his primary beneficiary was an illegitimate child: “To Mary dau. of Henry & Eliz. Stokes of Ravenshull, near Betley, co. Stafford, £50 a year, & to her son John which she had by me £50 a year for life & £1000 at 21. Ex’ors to use £300 of it for his advancement after the age of 12” (Oliver, 139). There is a notarised copy of the will included in the archive.

These documents offer remarkably detailed insight into both the economics and mechanisms of running a sugar plantation in the West Indies in the eighteenth century. The lists of goods travelling from the UK to Antigua, levelled against the value and quantities of sugar travelling in the opposite direction highlight the infrastructure which supported this plantation monoculture. That this means of production was only made possible through the labour of enslaved people is implicit.

The documents are as follows:

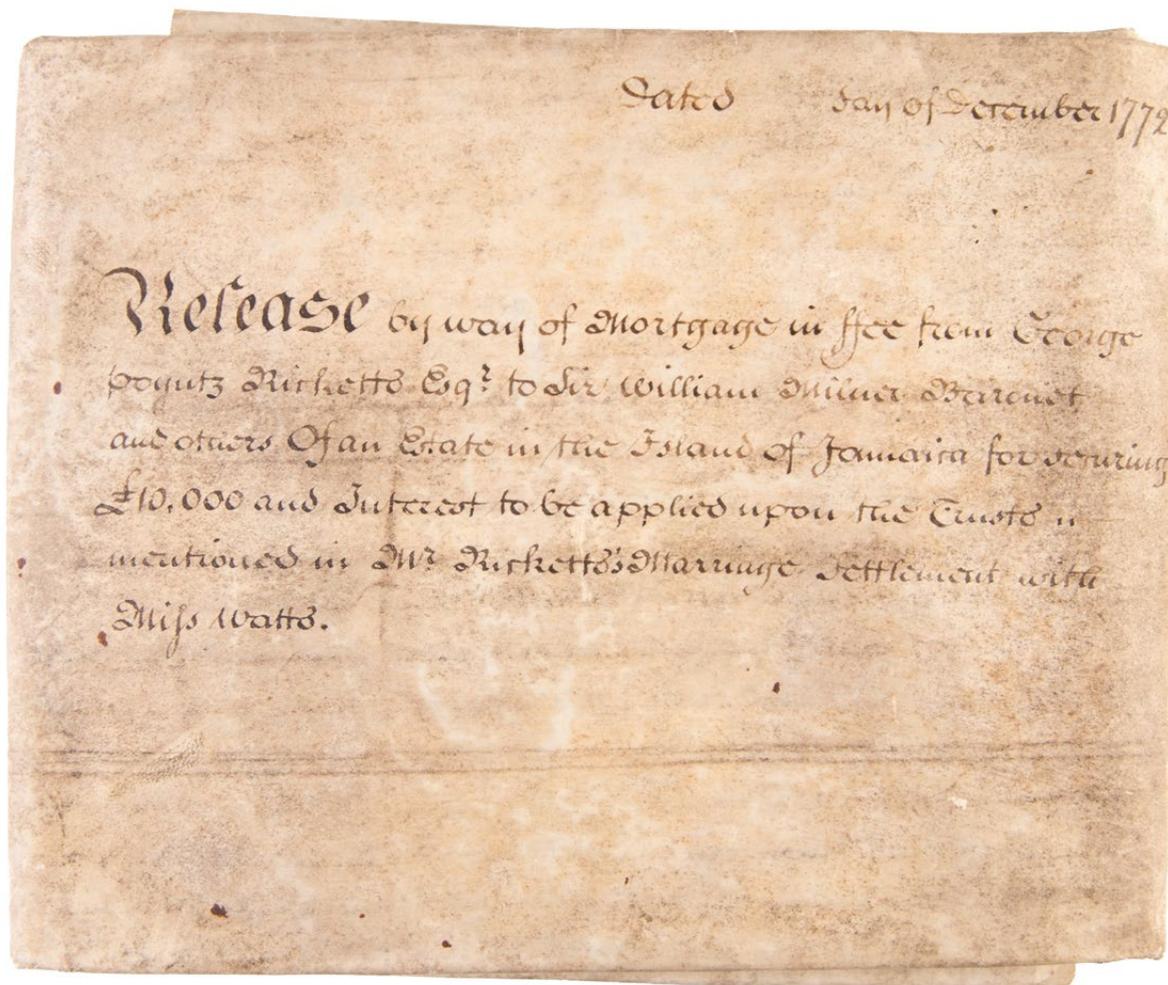
1. Blizard (Stephen). ALS to John Tomlinson Esq. 2pp in ink on foolscap bifolium, browned and chipped with some losses at edges, small crude tape repairs. March 16th 1754. A densely written and detailed report concerning a 300 acre potential sugar plantation venture from Antigua resident planter Stephen

Blizard to his employer John Tomlinson. The letter gives advice on crop rotation, labour saving techniques for distributing dung and marl fertiliser through the plantation, weather and soil conditions, as well as predicted productivity and profit potential: “by such sort of management I think one hundred & fifty hhd of sugar rather less than more, may be expected from the plantation one year with another that is a hhd and a half per acre for plants and half a hhd for rattoons.” Blizard speaks of the cost of clothing and feeding the enslaved workforce, all well as the going rate for sugar and rum.

2. Dunbar (Stapleton). ALS “Dear Sir”, presumably to John Tomlinson. 2pp. bifolium, old folds and tape repair, top quarter of blank conjoined leaf torn away. N.p. Jan 26th 1757. The letter concerns the dispatch of a shipment of 31 hogsheads of sugar from the West Indies in payment for rent. It also describes using enslaved labourers as a security against debt.
3. Wainewright (John and Tho.). Apothecary bill for medicine delivered to Mr. Tomlinson. 1p. on a single leaf, docketed on verso. March 29–31 1758. The medicines are “six pots of antiscorbutick electctary ... a bottle of antiscorbutick tincture ... Astrigent Mixture of the Gume.” The total comes to £1, 5s, 4d.
4. Nicholas (Fred’k). John Tomlinson Esq’r statement of account. 3pp. foolscap bifolium. Nov 10 1757–March 31 1758. An extensive itinerary of goods purchased and payments made against Tomlinson’s account. These include freight and postage between the West Indies and UK, sundry commodities like linen, cutlery, “1000 needles,” baskets, beer and tea, cheese, china and earthenware, and various payments to the accounts of Lydia, Betsy, Alice and Jane Tomlinson. Many suppliers are named. The closing balance is £400, 0s, 3d.
5. Nicholas (Fred’k). “Acct of Sundrys Shipped by Fred’k Nicholas on Acct of John Tomlinson Esq’r in Antigua. Planter Capt Gladman.” 1p. on single leaf. Dec 20 1758. An itemised bill including clothing, wages, “2 Indian corn mills”, tea, 127 sugar moulds, straining baskets and barrels. The balance is £93, 13s, 9d. There is a note to say that shipping and customs charges are not included.
6. Nicholas (Fred’k). The estate of John Tomlinson Esq. dec’d to Fred’k Nicholas. 2pp., bifolium, March 1760–December 1761. Itemised account of purchases drawn against the estate, including “3 scum baggs”, straining cloth and a “pann shovell”, scaleboard, freight, postage, lodging and portage. The closing balance is £140, 8s, 6 1/2d.

7. Nicholas (Fred’k). John Tomlinson Esq’r, statement of account. 1p., single leaf. Feb–Nov 1757. Itemised list of expenditures. Closing balance £276, 16s. 6 1/2d.
8. Acc’t of Postage. 1p. Jan 9th–May 13th 1761. List of postage costs, both domestic and “from Antigua by pacquette.”
9. John Tomlinson Esq. to Fred Nicholas. 1p. Dec 1756–Feb 1757. Itemised bill for board and lodgings, totalling £11, 19s, 0d.
10. John Tomlinson Esq. to Fred Nicholas. 2pp. bifolium, lower blank corner torn away. March–June 1756. Itemised expenditure on goods including beer and claret, as well as insurance and bills of lading etc. Closing balance £190, 25s, 7d.
11. John Tomlinson Esq. to Fred Nicholas. 2pp. bifolium, with docketed wrapper titled “Sundry bills for Capt. Tomlinson.” An extensive list of expenses, including several items to do with the clothing, washing and schooling of “Boys.” Closing balance £62, 6s. 4d.
12. John Tomlinson Esq. to Fred Nicholas. 4pp. Bifolium docketed on final leaf. Oct 1755–Nov 1756. Featuring a pair of earrings, barley sugar, various paper, a pair of buff satin shoes, and payments to the five Miss Tomlinsons’ accounts.
13. Warner, Thomas. ALS to Tomlinson, 1p. small loss at seal. Docketed to verso: Mr. Tho’s Warner’s letter relating to Byam’s bill in Chancery July 7th 1759. Concerning a matter pertaining to a dispute over Tomlinson’s father’s estate.
14. John Tomlinson Esq. to Fred Nicholas. 2pp. Bifolium. Nov 23 1749–March 31 1758. Witnessed and signed by Nicholas. This statement of account aggregates other itemised bills in two tables of Drawn and Contra. The amount totals £376, 12s, 8d.
15. The Est’a of John Tomlinson Esq dec’d in acco’ current w’th Rich’d Oliver. 2pp. bifolium. Signed by Richard Oliver. Feb 1753–Dec 1754. A revealing insight into the execution and running of the Tomlinson estate. On the credit side of the table there is a list of large sums of money paid for quantities of sugar, with the surname of the buyer listed in each instance. Closing balance £1712, 7s, 9d.
16. Small bill for cloth made out to Capt Tomlinson. Oct 15 1755. 1p. £6, 8s, 3d.





***“All those Negroes and other Slaves”***

**5 RICKETTS (George Poyntz).**

**Deed of release of a sugar plantation in Jamaica— including a list of enslaved people—pursuant to the marriage of George Poyntz Ricketts (1749–1800), of the parish of St Swithin near Winchester, Hampshire, and Sophia Watts (1753–1830), of Winchester, at St Michael’s Church, Winchester on 13 December 1772.**

Five large vellum membranes measuring 730 by 570mm. Ruled in red ink and decorated with calligraphic initials. Two red wax seals at the foot of the sheets. A little grubby in places but otherwise fine, neatly folded. Jamaica, 1772.

**£15,000\***

A stark document settling the pre-nuptial financial affairs of George Poyntz Ricketts (1749–1800) and his soon to be wife Sophia (nee Watts, 1752–1830). The marriage brought great wealth, social prestige and political power to Poyntz Ricketts who was a white Jamaican-born plantation owner. Poyntz Ricketts’ wealth rested largely on the family slave-run sugar plantations in Jamaica.

The five sheets that make up this document provide a brutally clear picture of the often hidden relationship between the horrors of the slave trade and the genteel comfort of English upper-class life: the marriage between George and Sophia is here literally underpinned by the lands in Jamaica being transacted along with the lives of hundreds of black slaves, their children and their future children.

Added to this, is the harrowing reality that George Poyntz Ricketts had half-siblings who were the result of his father’s abuse of his female workers. In Jacob Rickett’s will (George’s father) he left money for a “free mulatto” named James to be educated and placed in trade with a sum of £300 set aside for him, he also provided for “the child my Negro Aurilla is now big with” to be maintained and given “£100 or three Negroes” at the age of 21.

The Ricketts family had been established in Jamaica since the arrival of Captain William Ricards, afterwards, Ricketts (c.1633–1700), with the parliamentary army which captured the island in 1655 as the commander of Bluefields Fort in Westmoreland Parish, Cornwall County, in the south-west of the island (principal town Savanna-la-Mar).

Captain William Ricketts’s 4th son George (c.1684–1760) established a plantation at Canaan, was *Custos Rotulorum* of Westmoreland Parish, and a Major-General of the Militia. He is said to have had 27 children born living by his wife Sarah Wayte or Waite (c.1688–1759). His son Jacob (c.1719–56) predeceased him. Jacob had married Hannah Poyntz and established a plantation named Midgham, after his wife’s family home in Berkshire, which adjoined the Canaan Plantation. Their son was George Poyntz Ricketts (1749–1800). As Jacob Ricketts’s will (PROB 11/826/325) suggests, George Poyntz Ricketts had at least one mixed-race brother, James, with another mixed-race sibling expected at the time of his father’s death:

**“It is my will and desire that the free mulatto James be maintained and educated at School in Writing Writing [sic] and Accounts until the Age of fifteen and then put to some handicraft trade and when out of his time to be paid £300 currency to set himself up. Item it is my will and desire that the Child my Negroe named Aurilla is now big with if a Mulatto shall be manumitted enfranchised and set free and shall have at the Age of twenty one years £100 or three Negroes.”**



Edward Long gave an account of Westmoreland Parish in *The History of Jamaica* (1774), Vol. II, p. 191ff. In 1768, there were 15186 “Negroes” 13750 cattle, 96 plantations producing 8000 hogsheads of sugar, and 96 other settlements.

George Poyntz Ricketts [GPR] was 22 at the time of his marriage to Sophia Watts while she was an “infant” (i.e. under 21). Her father William Watts (c.1722–64), a fabulously wealthy East India Company official, of South Hill Park, Bracknell, Berkshire and Hanover Square, London, was dead, and her mother Frances, née Croke (1725/8–1812) had returned to India where she married a clergyman and become known as ‘Begum Johnson’. Sophia’s brother was also under-age. Consequently the couple’s financial affairs were placed in the hands of four trustees, two for each party: Sir William Milner, 2nd Baronet, of Nun Appleton Hall, Yorkshire (a friend of the groom’s father and one his guardians when a minor), William Poyntz (1734–1809), of Midgham, Berkshire (a relative of the groom’s mother), Charles Jenkinson (1729–1808), of Parliament Street, Westminster (brother-in-law of the bride; he had married her elder sister Amelia but she had died aged 19 in 1770 soon after the birth of their first child; later 1st Earl of Liverpool), and Charles Wolfram Cornwall (1735–89), of Golden Square, Westminster (cousin and brother-in-law of Charles Jenkinson; later Speaker of the House of Commons) [hereafter Sir WM, WP, CJ and CWC]. They negotiated a very complicated pre-nuptial financial settlement for the young couple that involved matching her cash and money investments with his property and other assets in Jamaica.

Sophia was wealthier than her fiancé and her wealth was in money whereas his was tied-up in land in Jamaica. She had £9174/8/- in 3% Bank Annuities, £1870 in cash and debts, and £4222/2/6 “in reversion” (i.e., due at an unspecified date, perhaps on her mother’s death or remarriage). Under the agreement GPR was to pay her £525 for “present necessary occasions” prior to their marriage. In turn she was to pay him £4000 immediately after their marriage while he was to vest properties in Jamaica in their trustees for the benefit of any future children to the value of £1200 per annum to secure a mortgage of £10,000 with interest at 5% *per annum*.

It is not clear whether the Midgham Estate plantation was sold at this time to satisfy the mortgage or whether it was retained until his death. In a codicil to his lengthy Will dated 31 January 1793 (PROB 11/1342/48), GPR directed that “**all and singular my Messuages Lands tenements Hereditaments and real Estate whatsoever situate lying and being in the said Island of Jamaica together with all and singular the Buildings Negro and other Slaves Cattle Coppers Mills Utensils and Appurtenances thereunto belonging and all my Estate and Interest therein**” should be held in trust by a cousin, George Crawford Ricketts

(1750–1811), of Spanish Town, Jamaica, to be sold as soon as possible with the balance after the payment of any debts to be applied to the residue of his estate. William Stone Woollery (1774–1805), proprietor of the Midgham and Long Pond estates in Westmoreland, Jamaica, died at sea on a voyage to England on 9 June 1805. He was the son of Robert Dunstan / Dunston Woollery (c. 1750–92), of Westmoreland Parish, Jamaica.

The newly-married couple lived at Grove Place, Nursling, Hampshire, and later at Lower Seymour Street, Portman Square, Marylebone, London. They had six children: George Poyntz Ricketts II (1774–1815), Bengal Civil Service; Charles Milner Ricketts (1776–1867), Bengal Civil Service, MP for Hereford 1871–74; Isabella (Ricketts) Batson (1782–1845); Mordaunt Ricketts (1786–1862), Bengal Civil Service, sometime Resident at the court of Lucknow, Oudh; his portrait painted as a boy in 1793 by William Owen is at the Huntington; Rev. Frederick Ricketts, DD (1788–1843), rector of Eckington, Derbyshire, domestic chaplain to the 2nd Earl of Liverpool and HRH Princess Charlotte; Edward Jenkinson Ricketts (1793; died aged 3 weeks).

**GPR was appointed Governor of Tobago in 1793 and then in 1794, on the recommendation of Charles Jenkinson, now Baron Hawkesbury and President of the Board of Trade and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Governor of Barbados.** He resigned as governor in 1800 due to ill-health and died at Liverpool soon after his return to England aged 50 and was buried at St George’s Church there on 4 April.

**This Indenture of Release was the second part of a two-stage property transfer. The first part was the “Lease” of the property/ies under consideration to the control of the trustees for one whole year for a nominal amount (here ten shillings) while the second part “Granted bargained sold Aliened and Released” the freeholds to them for the same nominal amount.**

It was issued on 11 September 1772 under the authority of Thomas Lane (1699–1773), Master in the High Court of Chancery, as attested by him in the margin of the first sheet. The wording closely follows the templates for “Plantations” in Gilbert Horsman’s *Precedents for Conveyancing Settled and Approved by Gilbert Horsman, late of Lincoln’s Inn, Esq; and other eminent counsel*, Vol. III (1744). It is between George Poyntz Ricketts, of Winchester, on the one part and the four trustees on the other part.

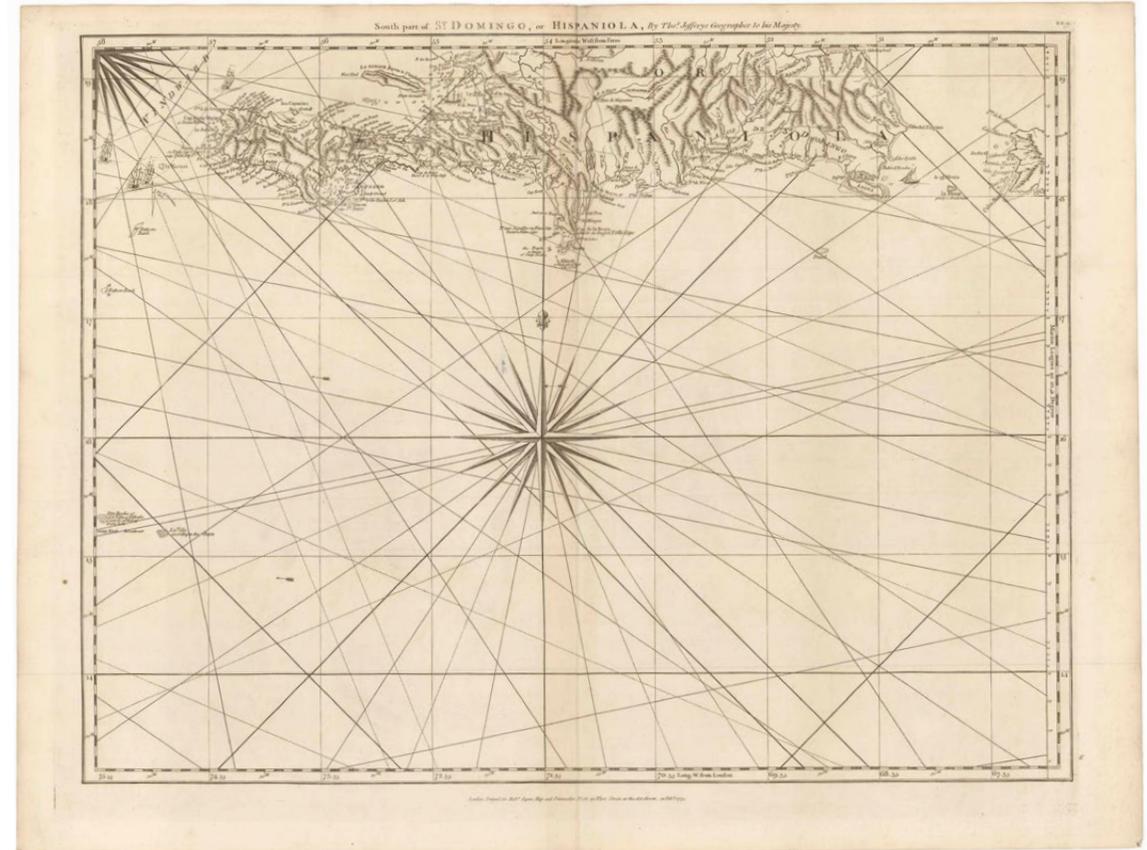
**The most important feature of this deed is the list of some 180 named enslaved people found on the third page.** It was standard practice to include such an inventory in the deeds of plantation sales in the West Indies. Usually attached to the deed as an appendix, it is here it is embedded in the text.

**While the majority of the enslaved people listed here have imposed**

western names a number have retained their African names and this reveals that most were of the Akan or Twi-Fante speaking peoples of West Africa, principally found in Ghana (then known as the Gold Coast) while a few are of the Igbo/Ibo-speaking peoples of south-eastern Nigeria. The rise and expansion of the Asante/Ashanti Empire in Ghana led to large numbers of war captives being sold into the Transatlantic slave trade (see Kwasi Konadu, *The Akan Diaspora in the America*, Oxford University Press, 2010). Most of the names conform to the West-African system of naming babies with male/female versions after the week-day of their birth that is long obsolete in Jamaica; see, David DeCamp, "African Day-Names in Jamaica", in *Language*, Vol. 43/1 (March 1967, pp. 139-49).

**Identifiable names: Men:** Quashy [= Kwasi, Ghanaian (Akan) for born on Sunday], Endjoe [= Eneji, Nigerian (Igbo) for Warrior]. Cuffee [= Kofi, Ghanaian (Akan) for born on Friday], Hany [= Hani, Arabic for Happy, Content], Cudjoe [= Koji, Ghanaian (Akan) for born on Monday; cf. Captain Cudjoe (d. 1764), leader of the Leeward Maroon community on Jamaica], Trikey [= Chikey, Nigerian (Igbo) for God's Strength], Quaw [Quao, Ghanaian (Akan) for born on Thursday], Quarroo [= Quarco, Ghanaian (Akan) for Born on Wednesday], Appeah [= Appiah, Ghanaian (Akan) for First-born of Twins], Quamin [= Kwame / Kwami, Ghanaian (Akan) for Born on Saturday]. **Women:** Ebo Judy [= Igbo Judy], Juba Pung, Creole Juba [Juba = Ghanaian (Ashanti), for born on Monday], Tabrita Quashuba [= Quasheba, African-American variant of Akosua, Ghanaian (Akan) for a girl born on Sunday; cf. Quashy / Kwasi for boys], Little Aubali [a rare surname found today in Nigeria], Juba, ?Camimba [= Kwamimba Saturday]. Fibba [Phibba, Ghanaian (Akan) for born on Friday], Old Aggibby and Agibby [= Akachi, Nigerian (Igbo) for Hand of God].

**This brutal list of names starkly highlights how slaves were de-humanised and reduced to the same status as animals and agricultural machinery whilst tragically being the only record of so many lives which would otherwise be unknown and enabling future researchers to give names to the nameless.**



### Mapping the Sugar Works

#### 6 JEFFERYS (Thomas sr.)

##### South Part of St. Domingo, or Hispaniola, ...

Copperplate engraving, 495 by 625mm, with title. This is a fine example, on good paper, with wide margins and a dark impression, with light show-through of glue from the guard. London, Robert Sayer, 20 Feby, 1775. **£500**

The southern coast of Hispaniola / San Domingo.

Although complete in itself, this map is one sheet from Thomas Jefferys's sixteen sheet and included in his projected *West India Atlas*, published posthumously by Sayer and Bennett in 1775, which was the standard atlas of the region throughout the American Revolutionary War.

Notably, there are several spots labelled "Sugar Works" along the Haina River in the Dominican Republic (Santo Domingo). This was one of the key sites of the Dominican sugar industry.





LES INDIES OCCIDENTALES



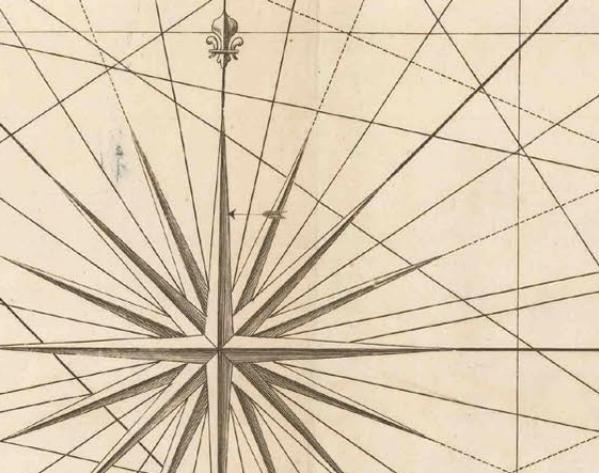
5 Fathom Bank

Des Roches de l'Isle de Cuba  
L'Isle de Cuba  
L'Isle de Cuba  
L'Isle de Cuba

Cap Barre Marie  
les Caymites  
Montagnes de la Hotte  
Cape de la Navasa  
Cape de la Pointe  
Cape de la Pointe  
Cape de la Pointe

LA GONAVE Bayre & Unabach  
Pique Gonave  
Cape de la Pointe  
Cape de la Pointe  
Cape de la Pointe

Cape de la Pointe  
Cape de la Pointe  
Cape de la Pointe  
Cape de la Pointe



Des Roches de l'Isle de Cuba  
L'Isle de Cuba  
L'Isle de Cuba  
L'Isle de Cuba

# The Schedule

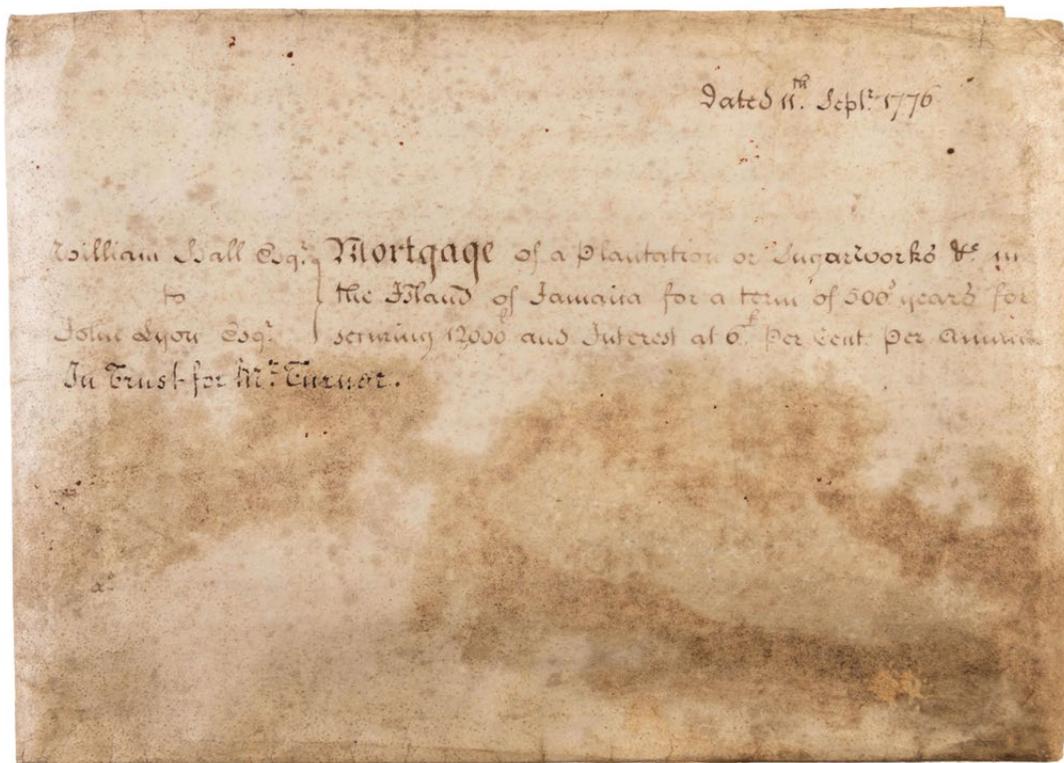
to contain the within written Indenture referd

Field Men	Field Women	House	Children Boys	Girls
Augustine Driver	45 Dink	80 Mary	100 Kingwood	Quinn
Abraham	Fortune	85 Mary	Quashley nuna	Quamin
Anthony	Gertrude	90 Peggy	Romeo	175 Sam
Argus	Jenny	95 Phillis	Santo	Staub
5 Edmund	Leto	100 Paddy	Warry	Smart
Billy	50 Jane Cooper at Roundhill	105 Princeps	135 Rintoo	Stotland
Bute	David	110 Phibba	Oldman	Tim
Boatman	Jam	115 Rose	poet	130 Cooroolet
10 Bamba	Tom. Lawet	120 Sabina	pope	Roberts
Cato	Will	125 Silvia	San	
Colin		130 Stella	140 Druhd	Abba
Endoe		135 Sibby	Abel	Ann
15 Dundee	55 Amy	140 Tinebe	Jupita	Bridget
Doby	Agnes	100 Tamer	Jaul	185 B. B. B.
Frank	Billy	105 Tamer	Windsor	B. B. B.
Febuary	Brecheba	110 Jenny	145 Skytilla	Eve
Hamilton	Brecheba	115 Paddy	Solly	Jenny
20 Hottare	Christina	120 Maria	Joan	Stare
Wandel	Celia	105 Sarah	Marion	190 Eustia
Wenny	Circe	110 Silvia	Charles	Juliet
25 Joe	Eloupa	Queen. M. Dorse	100 Cromwell	Sury
Jamary	Charity	Fortuna. Dorse	Susie	Acouora
Jane	65 Charlotte	110 Cirilla	Cuffin	Marion
John	Delia	115 Dora	Captain	195 Margaret
Levid	Diana	120 Dora	Spice	Stilly
20 Maran	Dutheps	125 Julia	105 Dundee	Stany
Maribrown	Floca	Milysed. Stable	David	Stilly
Stall	70 Hannu	Adam. Cook	Luke	Stany
Stello	Dejar	115 Dido	George	200 Patrick
Pomd	Bannan	120 Maria	100 Cromwell	Queen
35 Potupay	Jamet	125 Dora	Susie	Sarah
Princ	75 Juliet	130 Dora	Cuffin	Sally
Paul	Juba	135 Dora	Captain	Sally
Psalo	Jeanu	140 Dora	Spice	Sue
40 Sandy	Kate	145 Dora	105 Dundee	Stall
Tiberius	Lady	150 Dora	David	206
Walker	30 Lidia	155 Dora	George	Stilly
Will	85 Strongy	160 Dora	100 Cromwell	Stilly
	Stania	165 Dora	Jenny	Stilly
	Stolly	170 Dora	Stilly	Stilly
	Stary	175 Dora	Stilly	Stilly
	85 Stimba	180 Dora	Stilly	Stilly
	Stilly	185 Dora	Stilly	Stilly

These eleven were bought from the King in September 1774

## House





### *With an Enslaved Workforce of 206*

#### **7 [JAMAICA], LYON (John).**

##### **Mortgage of a Plantation or Sugarworks &c. in the Island of Jamaica for a term of 500 years.**

Manuscript in ink. Large vellum sheet measuring 865 by 710mm, plus a smaller sheet 780 by 620mm. A very good copy with old folds and some toning, original red wax seal intact, signed by both John Lyon and William Hall. 11 September, 1776. **£5,000\***

**A large and handsome mortgage against the Worcester Estate for £12,000 at an interest rate of £6 per annum.**

After a somewhat dissolute career at Eton, William Hall purchased the land that became Worcester estate to demonstrate a new seriousness to his father. Worcester was in the Parish of St James, roughly between Falmouth and Montego Bay. The Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery state that the plantation was purchased in 1774 and remained in Hall's name until roughly 1820.

The document sets out not only the terms under which the mortgage was made but includes a full schedule of the property which includes a workforce of 206 enslaved labourers, each of whom are divided by gender, age and occupation—all of whom are named. For example, the list records field men, house servants, cooks, carpenters, stablemen, coopers, cattle and hog boys, as well as invalids. A note running down the side of one column states that eleven of the boys were bought from Mr Young in September 1774. As part of the property, livestock is listed on the same sheet: mules, steers, bulls, cows and calves.

It was an important time in the region, not just due to the Declaration of Independence issued that July, but 1776 also represents roughly the peak of the slave trade in the Americas. This mortgage demonstrates the entangled nature of the British and American economies with enslaved labour and its plantation products.

A substantial archive of Hall Family Papers and Sugar Plantation Records is held at UC San Diego.

### *A Major Plantation Owner Receives News from his Bristol Agent*

#### **8 PROTHEROE (Philip) & DAVIS (Mark).**

##### **Two ALS from Davis & Co. to William Perrin**

Autograph letters signed. Small 4to. Old folds, small losses where seals have been removed. Both docketed to verso. 2, 2pp. Bristol, 14th June, 1774 & 27 November, 1779. **£950\***

In the first letter Mark Davis Esq. of Davis & Co., an established Bristol-based sugar merchant, presents to Mr. Perrin reports from the captains of various vessels, which will carry his Grange Hill Sugars to Bristol, and with news of a Mr. Laing, on whom their captains had been instructed to wait upon their arrival in Jamaica. The letter continues with details of provisions arriving to the West Indies from America: "Capt. Thomas Crooker in our [ship?] the Nancey arrived at Morant Bay from Philladelphia with a cargo of staves."

1774 was a volatile year in American revolutionary politics, with a boycott of British goods implemented by the Continental Congress that December. On the same paper, dated 17th March 1774, there are the details of a £1500 insurance policy made on 100 hogsheads of sugar being shipped from Jamaica to Bristol. It names each of the ten owners across whom the risk is spread, with a total premium of £63 3s.

Bristol 14<sup>th</sup> June 1774

Sir

We are favor'd with your kind letter of the 9<sup>th</sup> Inst. which we are greatly oblig'd to you for, and will endeavor to send a vessel next year, to man Richardson Bay for your 50 hhd. of Grange Hill Sugars, which you shall be advis'd of in time.

Our Capt both last year & this, had all dividings to wait on Mr Laming on their arrival in Jamaica. Capt Thomas Crooker in our Ship the Nancy arriv'd at Morant Bay from Philadelphia with a Largon of Slaves heading on, writes us of the 19<sup>th</sup> February (viz) Mr Laming was the first Gentleman I apply'd to in Kingston, he did not want any, but he sold his Slaves at £29 & £10 per man.

Cap Joseph Holbrook four Ships the 26 March. = "we are to have one divided hhd. of Mr Perrin's Sugars but do not know how many to each Ship as yet, but I find we are not to have any till every Leaden Ship is served, some of them came here since the 13<sup>th</sup> April he says = I cannot learn yet what Mr Laming intends shipping thro. of Mr King for Blue Mountain = is an Attorney with Mr King for Blue Mountain =

Cyrus writes us the 19<sup>th</sup> February = I saw Mr Laming in Kingston and he told me he could not tell the quantity of Sugars he could ship in your Ships until he came up to windward, which I believe will be soon = This is to inform you that to us dated the 14<sup>th</sup> April he says = and in his second letter I am now near the same situation as when I wrote you before. = Cap John Coplestone in our Ship the adm<sup>r</sup> Keppell arriv'd at Morant the 6<sup>th</sup> April & we dare believe wait'd in Mr Laming soon after, we expect the Nancy Crooker to arrive here in all this month or Early in the next

Bristol 27<sup>th</sup> November 1779

Your kind Favor of the 24<sup>th</sup> we receiv'd in course and have conformable to your direction put your Sugars into the Market but have not sold them; we have been selling at 57 to 58 Sugars 2 to 3 of George Thoms Sugars for which we have been selling at 59 but cannot obtain more if we can get 59 I shall let them go. Yours of the 26<sup>th</sup> which having been directed to Fairleigh you had not receiv'd I performed for that Capt. Arelp's Dutch cargo to be directed to your warehouse over Buley has been sent to Mr. Williams a hop on that Ship I am in. I thought with another Ship of ours for Jan<sup>y</sup> at 19 hhd. the 3<sup>d</sup> of October when they with me nearly the 3<sup>d</sup> of October where they with your Amacca, which we hope was not since necessary your letter we not about the Subscription we have thro. of my different Colicid determining this mode of defending

The second letter informs Perrin that “conformable to his directions” his Sugars have been put into the market at 60/. but have not yet sold and if they can get 59/. they will let them go, along with news of the ships in their fleet. It also mentions widespread condemnation in London of “this mode of defending the islands,” which likely refers to the West India lobby’s action in British Parliament, which increased considerably in influence during the period of the American Revolution. They then disparagingly remark: “we see clearly that little if anything can be done in this City.”

William Perrin was a major plantation owner in Jamaica, inheriting five estates in 1769, with 135 enslaved people. By his death in 1820, this number had increased to 950.

The Huntington Library holds a collection of fifteen letters between Protheroe & Claxton sugar merchants, and William P. Perrin Esq, dating between 1796–1803. St Johns College Cambridge hold further papers relating to the Perrin estate, as part of their Slavery Abolition Movement Collection.

O’Shaughnessy, A.J., “The Formation of a Commercial Lobby: The West India Interest, British Colonial Policy and the American Revolution” in *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (March, 1997) pp.71–95.

***“Let sugar never be brought into your presence!  
Let it be proscribed in your household, till its connection  
with fraud, robbery, and murder, be entirely broken!”***

## 9 [ABOLITION.]

### **An Address to Her Royal Highness the Dutchess of York, against the Use of Sugar.**

First edition. 8vo. Disbound pamphlet, half-title, with an additional attached leaf being the half-title of another work. 22, [2]pp. [London], 1792. **£750**

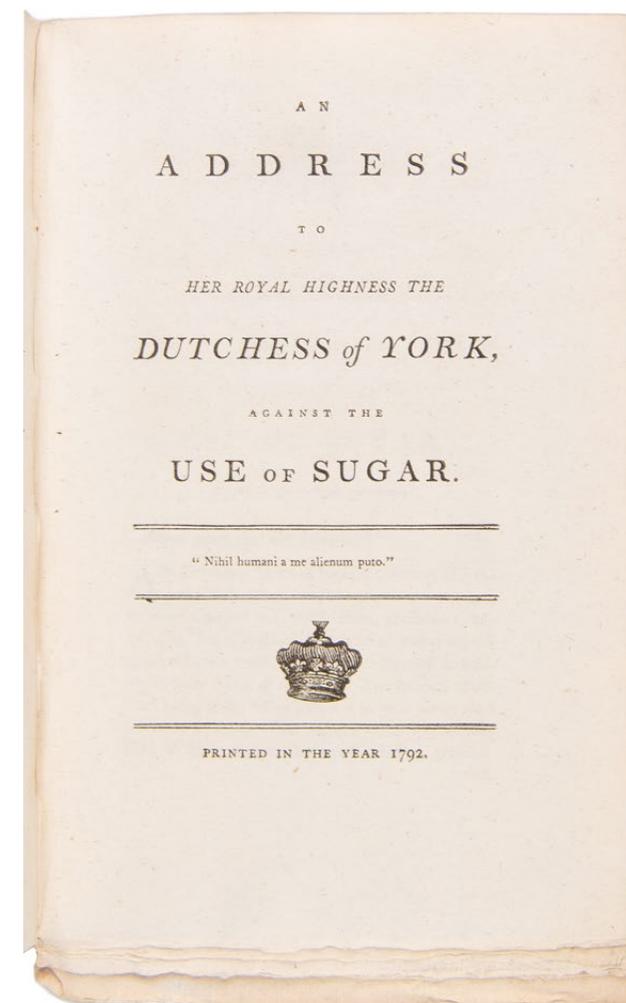
A scarce entreaty addressed to the Duchess of York, Princess Frederike Charlotte Ulrike of Prussia. This pamphlet builds on William Fox’s wildly successful *An Address to the People of Great Britain on the utility of refraining from the use of West-India Sugar and Rum*, published in the previous year, by asking one of the most famous women in the country to join the movement in boycotting goods produced by enslaved labour.

“It is then the buyer and consumer [of sugar] who form the first spring which sets in action the several engines of injustice and oppression, which

annually destroy several hundred thousands of our fellow-creatures.[...] In this manner it is, that we, unthinkingly, sacrifice whole crowds of human beings every year to a paltry gratification. When we consider the matter in this light, your Royal Highness will not wonder, that most of us resolve no longer to be partakers of this drug” (p.13).

The mobilisation of domestic activism was a key tactic of the anti-slavery movement. By appealing to the feminine coded attributes of compassion and sympathy, abolitionists were able to engineer widely successful boycotts of West Indian sugar. The acknowledgement of moral influence within the home, as well as understanding that the commodity products of enslaved labour were largely purchased at the discretion of female heads of household, meant that addressing abolitionist rhetoric to female readers had real impact on the ground, alongside the painstakingly slow legis-

lation moving through the Houses of Parliament. ESTC: T6243; Sussman, C. “Women and the Politics of Sugar, 1792.” in *Representations*, N. 48. University of California Press, Autumn 1994.



# ANTI-SACCHARRITES, - or - JOHN BULL and his Family leaving off the use of SUGAR.

To the Masters & Mistresses of Families in Great Britain, this Noble Example of *ECONOMY*, is respectfully submitted.

O my dear Creatures, do but Taste it! You can't think how nice it is without Sugar, and then consider how much Work you'll save the poor Blackemoors by leaving off the use of it! and above all remember how much expence it will save your poor Papa! - O its charming cooling Drink.

O delicious! delicious!



Pub March 27<sup>th</sup> 1792 by H. Humphrey. N. 18. Old Bond Street

## *If we Purchase the Commodity we Participate in the Crime*

### **10 GILLRAY (James). Anti-saccharrites, - or - John Bull and his Family leaving off the use of Sugar.**

Hand-coloured etching measuring 315 by 400mm. Trimmed just within the plate mark, residual mounting adhesive to verso, two small paper patches reinforcing closed tears from lower edge. A very good copy. London, H. Humphrey, March 27th, 1792. **£2,500\***

**An excellent copy of Gillray's satire lampooning the miserliness of King George III and Queen Charlotte in the context of the boycott on Caribbean rum and sugar.**

The British Museum describes the print as follows: "The King, Queen, and six Princesses, three quarter length, are seated round a frugal tea-table. The King, in profile to the right, faces his daughters, holding his cup and saucer to his lips, and saying, with a staring eye, "delicious! Delicious". The Queen sits in the centre behind the small tea-pot, holding her cup and saucer in bony fingers, and looking with a wide and cunning smile towards the Princesses, saying, "O my dear Creatures, do but Taste it! You can't think how nice it is without Sugar: - and then consider how much Work you'll save the poor Blackeemoors by leaving off the use of it! - and above all, remember how much expence it will save your poor Papa! - O its charming cooling Drink!" The Princess Royal sits at the end of the row, on the extreme right, with four sisters diminishing in age on her right, a sixth just indicated behind the Queen. They hold, but do



not drink, cups of tea, with expressions varying from sulky discontent to defiant surprise. Below the title is etched: "To the Masters & Mistresses of Families in Great Britain, this Noble Example of Economy, is respectfully submitted."

Cruikshank similarly poked fun at the royal family with his *The Gradual Abolition of the Slave Trade. Or leaving of Sugar by Degrees*, which was published a few weeks later.

The anti-saccharine campaign was ignited by the radical abolitionist, William Fox whose *An Address to the People of Great Britain on the Propriety of Abstaining from West India Sugar and Rum* (London, 1791) sought to damage plantation economies by abstaining from their products. The pamphlet proved hugely popular, going through at least six editions in its first year. Fox summarises his position in the pithy epigram "**if we purchase the commodity we participate in the crime.**"

Of course, the anti-saccharites were themselves critiqued and satirised on the basis that they only boycotted one product of the plantation economy. While sugar was a valuable sweetener in gastronomy and the key ingredient in rum, plantations also produced tobacco (another wonderful pleasure), coffee, and cotton which was vital for clothing, linens, bandages, and more. In addition to the BM copy, OCLC locates others at Yale, the Morgan, Harvard, Louisiana State.

BM Satires, 8074; Fox, W., *An Address to the People of Great Britain on the Propriety of Abstaining from West India Sugar and Rum* (London, 1791), p.2.

## *Plantations in Martinique*

### **11 JEFFERYS (Thomas sr.) Martinico from Actual Surveys and Observations made by English Engineers whilst the Island was in their Possession, ...**

Copperplate engraving measuring 460 by 615 mm, in fine original wash colour. A little offsetting of the colour. London, Laurie & Whittle, 12th May, 1794. **£750**

Prepared for Jefferys' *West India Atlas*, first published by Sayer and Bennett in 1775.

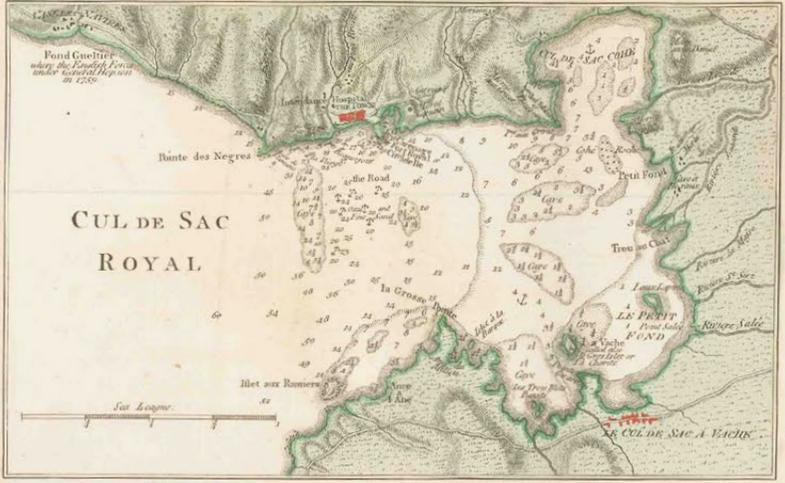
So central were plantations to the economy of Martinique, Jeffreys notes four things in the key, half of which concern plantations (water mill, cattle mill), the other half anchorages.

MARTINICO,  
 Done  
 from ACTUAL SURVEYS and OBSERVATIONS,  
 made by ENGLISH ENGINEERS  
 whilst the Island was in their Possession.  
 BY  
 THOMAS JEFFERYS  
 Geographer to the KING.

Published & Map sold by LAURIE & WHITTLE, No. 31 Fleet Street, London.

Sugar Works {  
 1/2 Cattle Mill  
 1/2 Water Mill  
 1/2 Anchorage for large Vessels  
 1/2 Anchorage for Barks & small Vessels

Sea Leagues 20 in a Degree



Item 11, JEFFERYS; Martinico from Actual Surveys ...

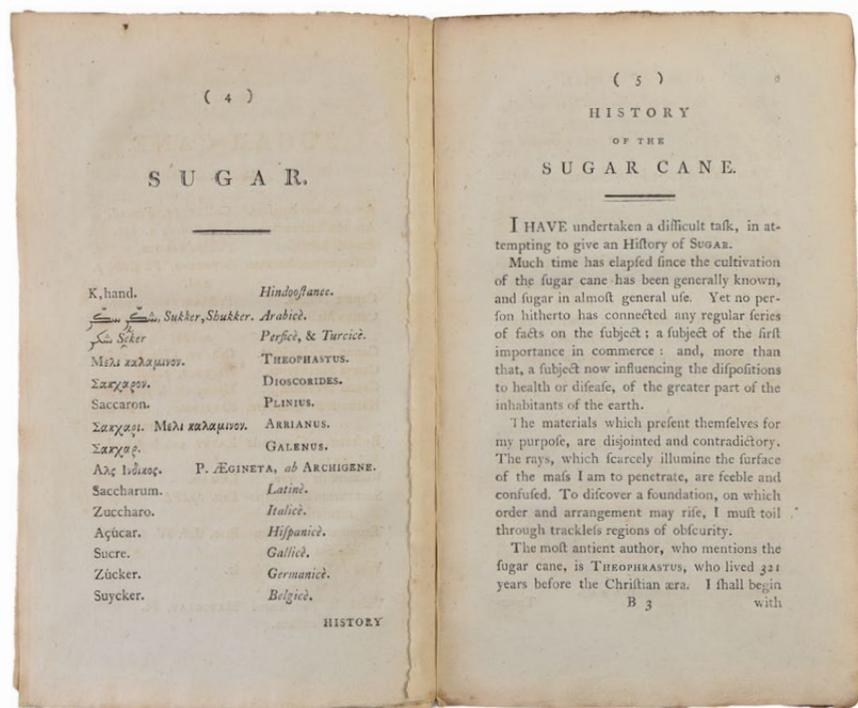
## A Treatise on Sugar by a Physician in Jamaica

### 12 MOSELEY (Benjamin).

- Medical Tracts.** 1. **On Sugar.** 2. **On the Cow-Pox.**  
3. **On the Yaws.** 4. **On Obi; or African Witchcraft.**  
5. **On the Plague and Yellow Fever of America.**  
6. **On Hospitals.** 7. **On Bronchocele.** 8. **On Prison.**

Third edition (stated second) with considerable additions. 8vo. Original paper boards, blind embossed patterned paper backstrip, soiled and chafed, with title label illegible. Interior very good. Uncut. With the armorial bookplate of Arthur William English. [ii], iv, 276pp. London, T. N. Longman & O. Rees, 1804. £450

The first edition from which this extended work derived was titled *A Treatise on Sugar*, and published in 1799. It comprised 191pp, and was significantly enlarged for the second edition of 1800. This third edition is the sheets of the second edition with a cancel title-page, tipped onto the stub of the original. **The title of the work was changed perhaps to promote the breadth of medical content beyond sugar.** In particular it may have been altered to capitalise on Benjamin Moseley's growing fame as an anti-vaccination advocate. In 1802 he spoke before parliament against the cow-pox inoculation.



Benjamin Moseley (1742–1819) attended medical school in London and Paris before moving to Jamaica, where he remained between 1768–1784. He practiced in Kingston as a physician and apothecary, and held the post of surgeon-general to the British colonial administration on the island.

Upon his return, he began publishing works on his findings about tropical commodities, the most famous being his 1785 *A Treatise Concerning the Properties and Effects of Coffee*. His treatise on sugar perhaps sought to replicate that success, beginning with a glossary of words for sugar in different languages and from different classical sources. There follows a history of sugar cultivation and usage, including various theories of its medical properties, and statistics about its consumption. The appendix comprises a table of British plantation sugar annually imported and exported between 1764–1790, with the duties paid. There is also a comparative table giving the products of the French colony of St. Domingue for comparison. This includes data on coffee, cotton and indigo.

The “medical observations” which follow include a description of the religious practice amongst enslaved Jamaicans of Obeah, which Moseley calls “Obi”. He also gives an account of Jack Mansong, “Three-Fingered Jack”, who escaped slavery on the island and became a notorious Maroon leader and outlaw. OCLC finds copies of this edition at New York Academy of Medicine, Stanford Medical Library, LOC, National Library of Medicine, U. Mississippi Medical Center only.

## News from a Sugar Plantation in Tobago

### 13 [TOBAGO], CROOKS (James).

**ALS to his sister discussing the fate of the colony.**

Manuscript in ink. 4to. Poorly opened, some minor loss to text, repaired with archival tape infill. 4pp. Tobago, 21 July, 1814. £500\*

James Crooks writes to his sister of his fortunes on his sugar plantation, Belmont, in Tobago. He states: “When I wrote last we had reason to look for a speedy peace, but it was with a considerable degree of dread and anxiety lest the Colony should be again bartered away to the French.”

The letter gives an overview of the finances and infrastructure involved in running a plantation in the Caribbean, as well as the reliance on enslaved labour: “When I commenced the settlement of Belmont then all a Forest of

Tobago 21 July 1814

My dear Sister

I wrote to you in May and informed you of my intention of sending you a Bill for £100. - Shilling which you now have enclosed and which I have little fear will be punctually paid. When I wrote last we had reason to look for a speedy peace, but it was with a considerable degree of dread and anxiety that the Colony should be again carried away to the Prince, thank be Heaven our fears on that head are <sup>gone</sup> removed. All gaiety of joy and only wait for the ratification of the Treaty to testify it, by a solemn thanksgiving and festival, which it is intended shall be on a grand scale, not only our feelings as British Subjects but our Interest & prosperity would deeply be involved in this happy event, which is the more gratifying as we had scarcely room to expect it, having been on two former occasions disappointed. - I much about the same time

immense trees, I was possessed of property in Negroes, Stock &c. worth of £10,000 sterling. I paid £3,000 Strg for the land in wood, and had a mill, works and a number of other buildings to erect which were heavy expences and untill the present time swallowed up the whole of my crops, and obliged me to get in debt to Messrs Rucker. I owe them now by their last Acct Currt £2,300 Strg, but two tolerable crops will pay off, and I shall then consider Belmont worth £20,000 Strg and will produce me an annual income of £1200 to £1500 Strg. This is what I have labouring after the last seven years ...”

He also emphasises the importance of a high price for sugar and expresses a hope that it continues for years to come. This was not to be. The market for sugar in 1814 was strong, with the price given in the 1831 Parliamentary Sugar Refining Bill at 3l. per cwt. The same bill describes its subsequent fall to 32s. in 1826 and 22s by 1831. These low prices reflected a market flooded with product, both from the plantations of the Caribbean, the Americas, and also increasingly South East Asia. The impact of abolitionist sugar boycotts would also have

been felt, with households encouraged only to buy from countries which did not use enslaved labour.

The Belmont estate was in the parish of St. George and not to be confused with the other in St. John. In 1819 it held an enslaved workforce of roughly 85 men and women, which rose to 113 by 1825. Crooks died in Tobago in 1826. According to the Legacies of British Slavery records, the settlement for his estate of £2251 4s 9d was paid out in 1836, in part to his son William Crooks, described as a man of colour.

### An Exception of Taxation for Sugar Farmers

#### 14 DE SOUZA FRÂNÇA (Manoel José).

**Eu o principe regente Faço saber aos que este Alvará virem: Que sendo-Me presentes em [...] o qual concedendo aos Lavradores de canas o Privilegio de não serem executados nos bens das suas fabricas, &c.**

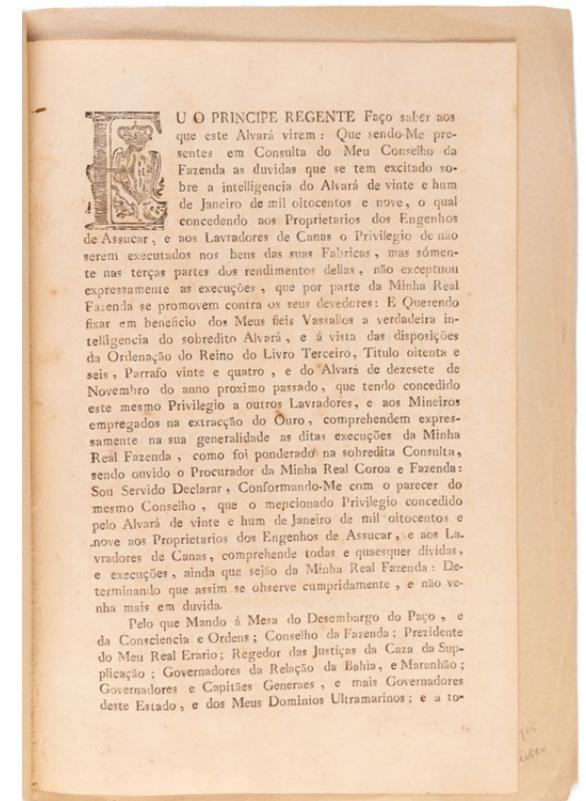
Folio. Sewn with later brown paper wrappers. Browened with a little spotting, discreet wormhole to inner margin, sheet reinforced at fold. [3], [1blank]pp. [Rio de Janeiro], Na Impressão Regia, May 5th 1814.

£650

An exception on the payment of taxes for owners of sugar mills and for gold miners in Brazil, clarifying a legal order that had been issued in 1803.

No copies found on WorldCat, not in Sabin. Not in JCB.

Camargo-Moraes. *Bib. da Impressão Régia do Rio de Janeiro*, 2, 266. Not in Palau.



## Tax on Sugar Exports

### 15 FIGUEIREDO (Manoel Moreira de).

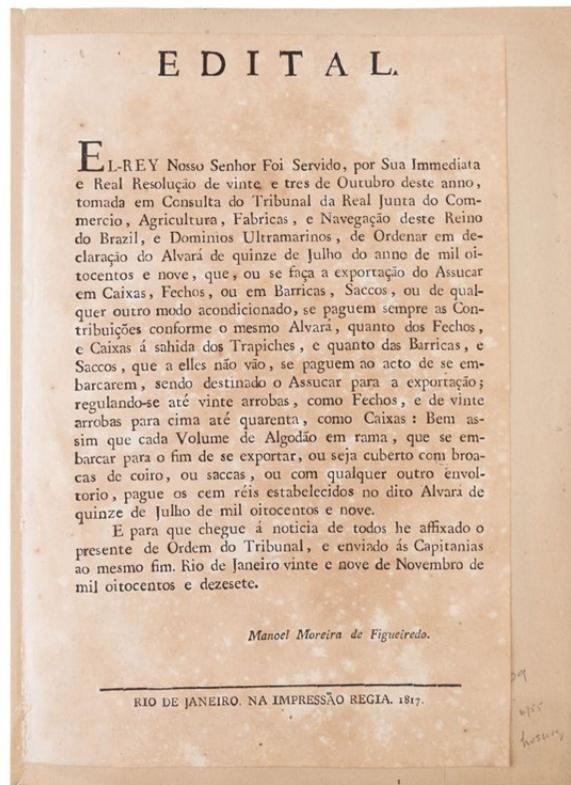
**Edital. El-Rey Nosso Senhor Foi Servido, por Sua Immediata e Real Resolução de vinte e tres de Outubro deste anno, tomada em Consulta do Tribunal da Real Junta do Commercio, Agricultura, Fabricas, e Navegação deste Reino do Brazil ...**

Small folio. Single sheet tipped into recent paper wrapper. Browned, with a few small defunct wormholes. Rio de Janeiro, Na Impressão Regia, November 29th 1817. **£500**

This notice deals with the payment of tax on the export of sugar and cotton. It was transcribed in the *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*, 21 Jan 1818.

No copies traceable through OCLC.

Camargo, A.M. de A. *Bibliografia da Impressão Régia do Rio de Janeiro, 1808–1822*, 2, 345.



## Rare View of a Plantation during the Last Great Sugar Boom

### 16 [STRUTH (Sir William).]

**View of the Prospect Plantation, the property of Sir William Struth ...**

Brown ink on wove paper measuring 200 by 260mm. Removed from an album with a few remnants to the verso. St Vincent, 25 July, 1821. **£3,000\***

Inscribed “To Sir William from an old friend in S.V. 25 July 1821.”

**This beautifully rendered original pen and ink drawing depicts Prospect Plantation, one of St. Vincent’s prime estates, as it appeared in 1821, during the island’s last great sugar boom. The property was owned by Sir William Struth, the former mayor of Bristol and the future Acting Governor of St. Vincent.** The anonymous artist, who dedicated the work to Struth in the lower register, was clearly not a professional draftsman, yet has created a highly attractive work, in the style of a line engraving. Sir William would certainly have treasured this gift from “an old friend.”

Struth was a wealthy Tory politician, landowner and merchant. He had a history of owning property in the Caribbean. In 1802, he purchased the Clifton Hill and Endeavour plantations in Trinidad, both of which he sold shortly thereafter at a profit. He was elected to Bristol City Council in 1812, served as mayor from 1814–15, and was knighted in 1815. Struth owned Prospect as early as 1817 and it was his primary residence in the years 1817–33. It was one of three plantations Struth owned on the small but fertile island: the other two being Fancy and Richmond Hill. This image captures the plantation during the last great sugar boom, just prior to the 1833 complete abolition act, which would have an enormous impact on the fortunes of plantation owners in the Caribbean. In fact, Struth submitted a compensation claim for Prospect Plantation, dated February 22, 1836, in which he claimed that the estate employed 315 slaves, setting his compensation at £8,513 18s 10d, then a very large sum. In spite of Struth’s political connections, his claim was rejected and the Struth family never received so much as farthing in emancipation compensation.

The view is taken from a perspective looking southwest, from a height above the plantation, which is located on the southernmost tip of St. Vincent. Prospect’s Great House, a windmill (for grinding cane) and supply buildings occupy the top of a rise, surrounded by palms, while the cane fields cover the slopes below. The sea beyond features several sailing vessels, while Bequia, the



*View of the Prospect Plantation. The property of Sir William Sturth S. Vincent MC 1021  
View to Sir William from an elevated pt. S.V. 25 July 1821*

northernmost of the Grenadines, about ten kilometres distant, appears in the background. Prospect's original wooden plantation buildings, as depicted on the present view, do not survive, having perished during the later nineteenth century. However, the Prospect name lives on to this day as one of St. Vincent's prime residential and vacation areas, only a few kilometres from the island's capital, Kingstown.

**Original manuscript drawings of West Indian plantations from the slavery era are rare, and this one is particularly desirable as it records an important property owned by an eminent presence on the island.** Its survival can be attributed to having been pasted into an album.

### *A Former Colonial Governor Defends the Colonies*

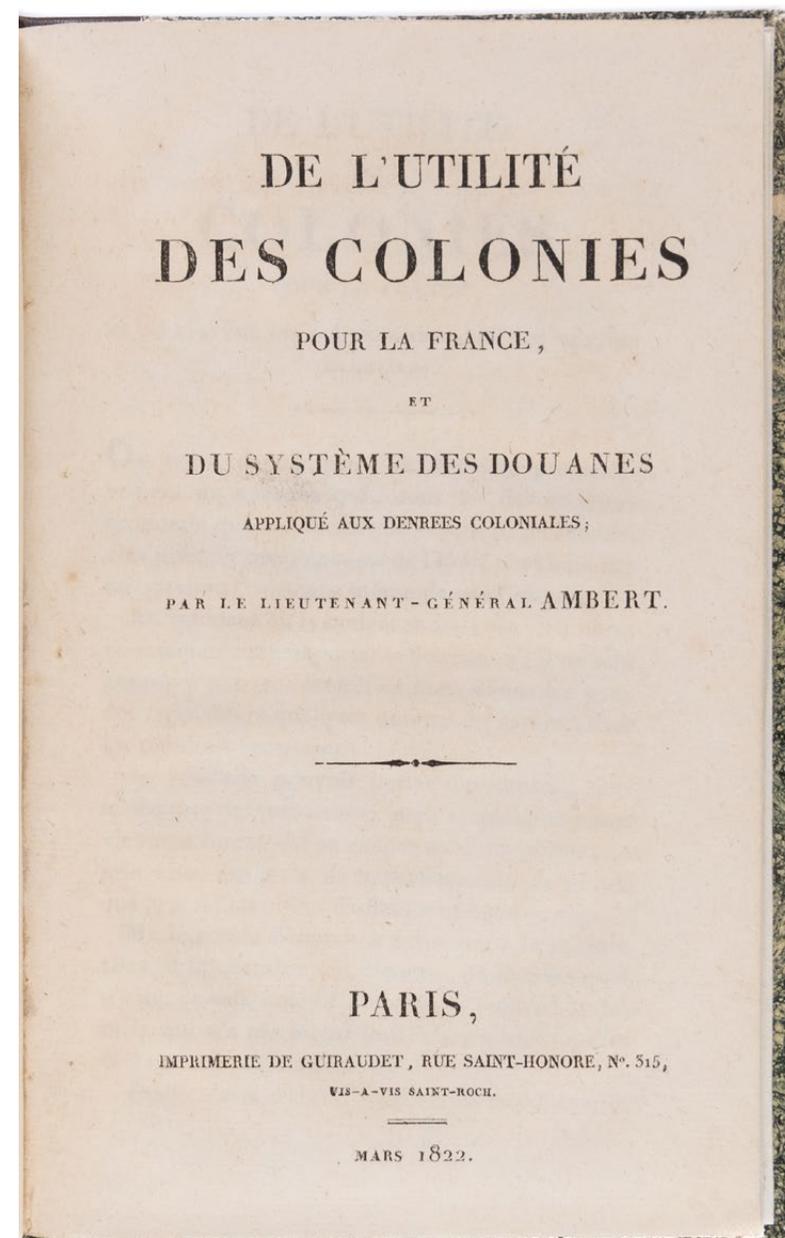
#### **17 AMBERT (Lieutenant-General Jean-Jacques). De l'Utilité des Colonies pour la France, et du système des douanes appliqué aux denrées coloniales.**

First edition. 8vo. Recent quarter morocco over marbled boards, spine gilt, errata slip laid down on last page. 58pp. Paris, Imprimerie de Guiraudet, 1822. **£750**

A very good copy of this scarce work by Jean-Jacques Ambert (1765–1851), a French naval officer who saw action in both the American and French Revolutionary wars. He later served as military governor of Guadeloupe, though was recalled in 1808 after an outbreak of civil unrest. He remained active and interested in the island, and in this 1822 pamphlet, he responds to a speech given in 1821 by Jacques Claude Beugnot, which he considers detrimental to the interests of the colonies.

**As ever, the work focuses on the sugar industry and Ambert cites relevant import and export figures in Havana and Brazil by way of comparison with Martinique and Guadeloupe.** He broadens the remit of the discussion and complains of the dominance of the English empire with its colonies in New South Wales, New Zealand, Hawaii, Tahiti and the Cape of Good Hope. He also takes aim at Spain's colonial outposts in Peru and Chile. **The work provides much insight into the competing factions and debates in France, which mirrors the similar struggle that English abolitionists faced with their own colonies in the West Indies.**

In 1847 Ambert was appointed president of Guadeloupe's Colonial Council, whose purpose he declared "should be a double action of enlightening the



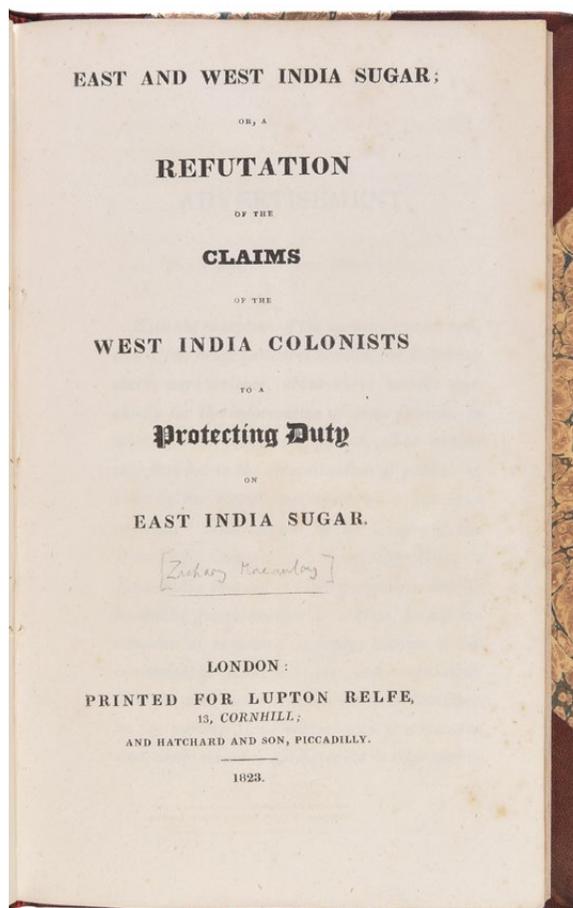
authorities and directing public opinion." On July 10 the same year, he reported to the King that Guadeloupe was "prepared to advance with France 'down the path of emancipation' if this were accompanied by association to guarantee the maintenance of work" (Jennings).

Jennings, L, *French Anti-Slavery: The Movement for the Abolition of Slavery in France, 1802–1848*. Cambridge, 2006, p.78, 251.

**18** [MACAULAY (Zachary).]  
**East and West India Sugar: or, a Refutation  
of the Claims of the West India Colonists to  
a Protecting Duty on West India Sugar.**

First edition. 8vo. Recent half calf over marbled paper covered boards, with half title bearing Holland House Library bookplate. Internally clean. viii, 128pp. London, Lupton Relfe & Hatchard, 1823. **£750**

This work was published in the same year that Macaulay and T. F. Buxton formed the Anti-Slavery Society. It is considered one “**of the best presentations of the East Indian case in the equalization controversy. The West Indian claims and allegations are considered one by one**” (Ragatz).



This copy has excellent provenance, formerly belonging to Holland House which was essentially the headquarters for nineteenth-century whigs.

Ragatz, p.309; Sabin, 42951.

**“Sugar cannot properly be called the staple of a country,  
which can only afford to produce and sell it  
under the artificial aid of bounties and protecting duties.”**

**19** [TAX AND TARIFFS.]  
**West-Indian Sugar Duties.  
Arguments for their continuance answered.**

First edition. 4to. Old fold, lightly toned with creases at extremities, very good. 4pp. London, Ellerton and Henderson Printers, n.d., [c.1824]. **£2,000**

**A seemingly unrecorded retort to the proposed protections for West-Indian vs. East-Indian sugar, in light of the Corn Laws, American trade restrictions, and other arguments related to taxation and tariffs.** The printer, Ellerton and Henderson, also put their name to Granville Sharp’s 1820 *Memoirs*, Wilberforce’s 1823 *Appeal*, various reports of the Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery Throughout the British Dominions, as well as numerous other abolitionist texts.

The arguments were likely posed in response to the 1823 discussions in parliament over the re-evaluation of duties applied to East and West India sugar. Sugar from the British Caribbean had benefitted significantly from favourable taxation policy negotiations and protected by the powerful West India Lobby. This advantaged the British plantocracy and served to support this sector of British trade that relied so heavily enslaved labour. As the rhetoric of the anti-slavery movement encouraged consumers to forego the purchase of West India sugar, the same commodity produced in the East Indies was offered as an alternative. The easing of import duties for this and other products of the Indian subcontinent are posited in terms of an advantageous free-market as opposed to the monopoly which served to support the struggling plantations.

The tract is divided into two halves, with the first addressing ten numbered arguments against the continued protection of West-Indian imports. These touch on interesting questions including the vulnerability of monoculture farming in the context of American trade hostility to the West-Indies, and the economic folly of subsidising absentee landlords. The second part is headed “The following observations on the Trade to the East Indies have lately appeared at Manchester”. The statistics outline the unbalanced nature of the tariffs applied to East vs. West Indian commodities, including coffee, cocoa, turmeric, rum, cotton, dye wood etc. There is also a table outlining the value of the Indian market as an importer of British cotton, and the true cost of

## WEST-INDIAN SUGAR DUTIES.

### ARGUMENTS FOR THEIR CONTINUANCE ANSWERED.

I. *The new Corn-protecting Duties are a precedent for the Protecting Duties on West-Indian Produce; and this Protection is still more necessary when the Americans refuse to permit the West-Indian Islands to be supplied with provisions direct from that country, and subject the Colonists to the heavy additional expense of obtaining supplies from more distant places, or by a circuitous route.*

Although all monopolies are liable to objection on principle, there is still a wide difference between those monopolies which are intended to uphold an useful and influential class of men in their proper station, and those monopolies which raise individuals above their natural condition, and remove them from their true sphere of usefulness. The new corn-protecting duties are intended to prevent the English land-owner, who can grow nothing else but produce for home consumption, from being crushed by competition with foreigners in the production for his own home market of the universal food of the people. These duties are intended, also, by encouraging the home cultivation, to prevent England from being too much at the mercy of foreigners, especially in the event of a war; and to retain upon their estate (by enabling them to live at home) those country gentlemen, whose absence abroad, from motives of economy, would be a public calamity. Whether the corn-protecting duties be right or wrong, it is clear that the sugar-protecting duties differ fundamentally from them, in all these respects:—The intention of the corn-protecting duties is to encourage the home growth by protecting the English corn-grower against the foreign corn-grower in the home market. The sugar-protecting duties, by encouraging an exclusive eagerness for sugar cultivation, prevent the West-Indian land-owners from growing the proper food of the inhabitants, and place those islands at the mercy of foreigners; especially in the event of a war. The cultivation of provisions for home consumption, and the transfer of the sugar cultivation would enable the Colonial Proprietors, generally, to live as the inhabitants of the Bahamas or the Canadas live, in a moderate manner, conformably to their true condition as land-owners in countries purely agricultural; and would place them, according to the different circumstances of the respective localities, on the same relative footing with resident English land-owners subsisting on the produce of their own estates. By the inducements which the sugar-protecting duties hold out to neglect the cultivation of the necessaries of life, for the sake of the sugar-monopoly profits, the West-Indian Islands are left at the discretion of the Americans, to starve or to supply them, as may best suit American policy; and this great political error is committed, in order that a few individuals, in and out of Parliament, may, at the expense of the mother country, be encouraged in the almost exclusive cultivation of an article for foreign exportation, and enjoy the profits of a monopoly, which cost the consumers in Great Britain, in the extra price of sugars, from one to two millions annually. This false and extravagant policy, instead of operating like the corn-protecting duties, and inducing West-Indian land-owners to reside upon their estates, and promote the happiness of those who depend on them, has the reverse effect, of enabling many of them to live at the distance of thousands of miles from their property; to cultivate their lands by means of an expensive agency; to eclipse even in England, the English land-owner, possessing a similar number of acres, in this great commercial, manufacturing, and rich country, and to become members of the House of Commons, instead of occupying their proper places in the colonial assemblies, where their duty lies. Already the Americans boast, that they have the West-Indians in their power, and consequently under their influence, because the improvident and rapacious colonists cannot afford the expense of procuring the necessaries of life from Europe, and are induced not to raise them at home by the folly of England, in granting the bounties and protecting duties on their export produce. The Americans will only supply these colonies on condition of their being placed in the colonial ports, on the same footing as English traders: in other words, on condition of the islands becoming American colonies, for all purposes, excepting the expense of keeping them, which they willingly leave to England. These are the fruits of the protecting duties and bounties in favour of West-Indian produce.

II. *The Proprietors could no longer afford to purchase food for their Slaves if they were deprived of the monopolies: and they would be obliged to throw their lands out of cultivation, as they only get a bare subsistence with the aid of the monopoly.*

The Negroes do not starve in the Bahamas, from whence no sugar is exported: they do not starve in Hayti, which enjoys no such protecting duties. On the contrary, those are precisely the islands, where the Negroes prosper and increase. The owners of lands do not throw them up in Hayti or in the Bahamas, but live upon them as other land-owners, in countries non-exporting and purely agricultural. They do not pretend to live in England, or to enjoy luxuries, which belong only to land-owners in great commercial and manufacturing countries.

protecting sugar imports from the West Indies: “we are now paying £3 per ton in the Drawback allowed on Refined Sugar exported. To take off this bounty would be some saving to the Treasury, and a large saving to the people. It is not only a clear loss to the Nation of £3 per ton upon the Sugar exported, but [...] is a Tax on the Nation paid to the Sugar Growers, of not less than six hundred thousand pounds per annum.”

Unlike the moral arguments that dominated much of the public abolitionist discourse of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this tract takes a dispassionately economic approach. By demonstrating that a freer market would benefit consumers, the author avoids the human impact of enslaved labour almost entirely, whilst still effectively attacking the West India Lobby's influence over trade policy. This was a key strategy in the gradual passage of the Abolition Acts through British Parliament, whilst also indicating the increased importance of the Indian subcontinent in the British Empire of the nineteenth century.

No copies found through OCLC or other internet searches. The second section headed “The following observations” appears reprinted in a 14th August 1828 issue of the *Singapore Chronicle and Commercial Register*.

### *Details of the Sugar Harvest on the Plantation where Ashton Warner was Enslaved*

#### **20** McFEE (John). **ALS to Hon. James Wilson regarding his plantation Cane Grove on St Vincent.**

Autograph manuscript in ink, signed. Small 4to. A small repair from being poorly opened, about 10 words of text supplied over this repair in pencil facsimile. 4pp. St Vincent, 27 April, 1828. **£950\***

An interesting letter from John McFee, manager of James Wilson's estate, Cane Grove, on St Vincent. The letter gives insight into some of the planter class's concerns in the West Indies in the early nineteenth century, five years before the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833. At this time, though the transatlantic slave trade had been outlawed, the plantations continued to operate using the forced labour of enslaved workers.

McFee begins by listing the goods sent back to England on the Brig *Janet* and encourages Wilson to consolidate his sugar shipments on the regular

ship coming out to the bay. There were instances of “plunderage” on the local droghers (coasting vessels) and McFee outlines a recent instance when he discovered 220 pounds of Wilson’s sugar concealed on the sloop *Triangle* and the subsequent measure of sending “a trustworthy person” to accompany the sugar.

The calculated deployment of the year’s sugar crop is at the forefront of McFee’s mind: “Permit me to suggest to you, to dispose of your early sugars (particularly what goes home in the *Appolo & Janet*) as soon as possible, our early canes at the beginning of the crop, was not by any means ripe. Therefore I fear much of the sugar will be soft and loose considerably by keeping it in warehouses in England; I mention this as a necessary hint. You can act as you think most advantageous your own interest; with the assistance of kind providence; we expect to make a large crop, which will harass the negroes greatly in taking it off; as well as neglecting the ensuing one.” He goes on to inform him that they “have put up twenty puncheons of high proof rum & high coloured Rum” and suggests they use it to clear their island account instead of shipping it back to England.

Finally, there is mention of a woman, Mrs Becket, who is to be sent home with the *Janet*. On this topic McFee makes one additional plea: “permit me to request of you never to send out any more families to the Estate. The trouble & inconvenience is much more than you are aware of.”

Unusually, there is an extant account of life on this plantation from the perspective of an enslaved worker with which to contextualise this letter. The 1831 publication *Negro Slavery described by a Negro: Being the Narrative of Ashton Warner, a Native of St. Vincent* was dictated by Warner to abolitionist Susanna Strickland. Warner contested the legality of his bondage on James Wilson’s plantation, claiming that his freedom was purchased by a relative when in his infancy, from the estate of the Cane Grove’s previous owner. According to Warner’s account, Wilson captured him at ten years old and forced him to leave his family and return to the plantation. Strickland’s introduction to his narrative suggests that his escape to England was in part to escalate his claim of lawful manumission in the British courts, however he died before having the opportunity to initiate proceedings, and indeed before the publication of this book. Warner’s description of Wilson is far from favourable. He states that he was “considered one of the severest masters in the whole island” (Strickland, 26), and carried bitter resentment for the way in which Wilson cheated him of his freedom. Warner also describes the transition from Wilson’s previous overseer to John McFee: “[a]nother manager came in his place, called Mr. John M’Fie, who was a very severe task-master, and worked the slaves much harder.

1828 Estate April 27<sup>th</sup> 1828  
the Hon. James Wilson Esq  
Sir The King Janet leaves here tomorrow  
we have shipped on board of her, seventy five bushels  
& three barrels sugar; six bags tamarinds one tierce of  
yams four jars sweet meats and also Cocoa nuts, which  
I hope you will receive safe and in good order.  
I permit me to suggest to you, to dispose of your  
early sugars (particularly what goes home in the *Appolo  
& Janet*) as soon as possible, our early canes at the  
beginning of crop, was not by any means ripe; therefore  
I fear much of the sugar will be soft and loose considerably  
by keeping it in warehouses in England; I mention this  
as a necessary hint. You can act as you think most  
advantageous to your own interest; with the  
assistance of kind providence; we expect to make  
a large crop, which will harass the negroes greatly in  
taking it off; as well as neglecting the ensuing one.  
I would much you should put the delivery of  
produce upon the old plan, say Rum & Molasses to  
be gauged and delivered at the Bay as formerly -  
Believe me Sir, this would be greatly in your favour

Under him my condition became considerably worse. One day he sent and called me to his house, and said that, as there was not sufficient job-work for me about the homestall, I must take a hoe and join the field gang. If the sentence of death had been passed upon me, I could not have felt more stunned” (*ibid*, 32). Warner’s account also includes a detailed description of the brutal work required to process the sugar harvest on Cane Grove—a chilling expansion on what McFee alludes to when he mentions in his letter that the “large crop ... will harass the negroes greatly.”

James Wilson (1772–1830) served as MP for York from 1826 until his death. It is no great surprise that he opposed abolition bills in the House, advocating instead for property owners in the West Indies. He lived at Sneaton Castle in

Whitby. In 1827 the Cane Grove estate, in the St. Andrew parish, had an enslaved population of 231. Following the 1833 Slavery Abolition Act, a claim for £5933 0s 5d was made on 26th Feb 1836 against the 206 enslaved persons lost by the Cane Grove estate through emancipation. The claim mentions that the register was completed by John McFee on behalf of his deceased employer in 1834. Strickland, Susanna ed. *Negro Slavery described by a Negro: Being the Narrative of Ashton Warner, a Native of St. Vincent*. London, S. Maunder, 1831; Centre For the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery “St Vincent 568 (Cane Grove)” <<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/25762>> (Accessed 5 March 2024); History of Parliament Online “WILSON, James (d.1830)” <<https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/wilson-james-1830>> (Accessed 5 March 2024).

### **Arguments for Discriminating Duties on West Indies Sugar By a Slavery Apologist**

**21 MACDONNELL (Alexander).**  
**Colonial Commerce; comprising an Inquiry  
into the Principles upon which Discriminating  
Duties Should be Levied on Sugar, the growth  
respectively of the West India British Possessions  
of the East Indies, and of Foreign Countries.**

First edition. 8vo. Contemporary half calf over marbled paper covered boards, recased with original spine laid down. xx, 302pp. London, John Murray, 1828.

**£1,500**

Alexander MacDonnell (1798–1835) was born in Belfast to a physician father of the same name. He trained as a merchant, focussing his trade on the products of enslaved labour being produced in Demerara-Essequibo, a historic colonial region on the northern coast of South America later known as British Guiana, now the independent nation of Guyana. A “vigorous propagandist for the slave-owning sugar planters in the West Indies”, upon his return from South America he assumed the role of secretary for the West India Committee of Merchants (ODNB). He published ten works against abolition and “was regarded as the most sophisticated apologist for slave ownership” (*ibid*).

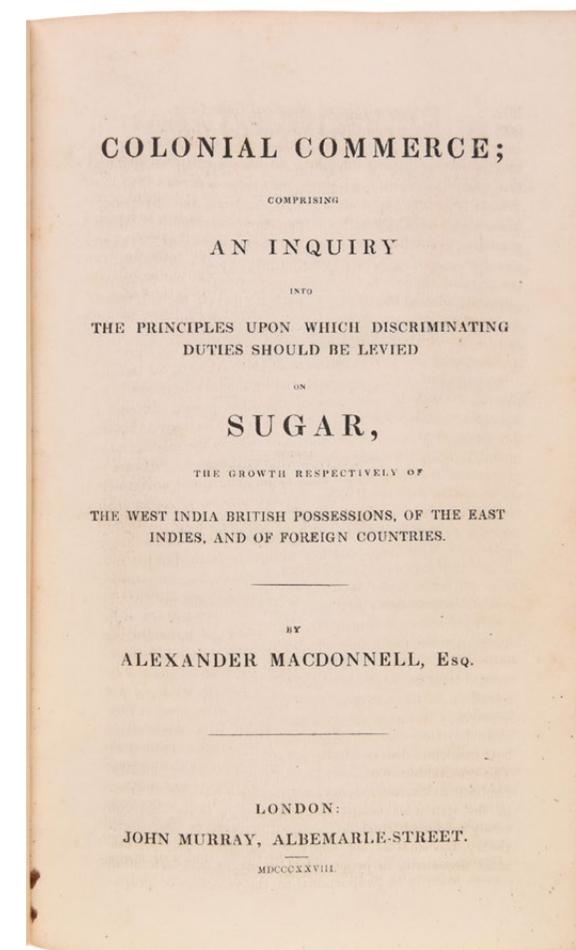
In spite of MacDonnell and the West India Lobby’s active role campaigning against any parliamentary bills that might affect the prosperity of the British

planter class, in 1833 the Abolition Act did finally pass through the house. This piece of legislation emancipated all enslaved people in the British colonies, and offered generous reparations to slave owners. Indeed, the negotiation of these terms was heavily influenced by the dogged action of the West India Lobby.

MacDonnell himself was a claimant. He jointly owned enslaved people in St Kitts and Trinidad with journalist James Macqueen, and registered nearly £8000 worth of claims. None of these were settled before his death in 1835. Macdonnell is widely remembered as a chess master, probably the best English player of his generation.

**The present work essentially builds an argument for a protecting duty to be levied on sugar produced in the British West Indies. Using figures which tacitly outline the impact of the Slave Trade Act of 1807 on the British place in the competitive international sugar market, it is a stark reminder of the conflicting interests of global capitalism and the abolitionist cause in the nineteenth century.** Early chapters extol the commercial advantages of various British colonies, with details given of not just the West Indies, but also the Americas, the East Indies, and even New South Wales.

OCLC finds copies at the BL, NLS, U Oxford, U Aberdeen, American Philosophical Society, Queens University Library Ontario only. The last copy in Rare Book Hub Sotheby’s 1974. Alexander MacDonnell [MacDonnell] in *Centre for the Study of Legacies of British Slavery* <<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146630299>> (Accessed 17 June 2024).





### *Ethics of Diet: Female Abolitionists and the Sugar Boycott*

## **22 [FEMALE SOCIETY FOR BIRMINGHAM.]** **[Transferware sugar bowl** **with abolitionist vignettes.]**

Bone china sucrier with two handles and a circular lid. Four transfer-printed illustrations in black, one with text beneath. Height c.100mm, diameter c.145mm, lid diameter 80mm. No maker's mark, very good condition. [?Staffordshire, ?Herbert Minton, c.1828]. **£5,250\***

**A powerful example of abolitionist imagery, printed onto a receptacle designed to hold sugar: the most profitable commodity produced by enslaved labour in the British-owned Caribbean plantations.**

The 1807 Abolition Act outlawed the capture of and trade in enslaved Africans in the British colonies. However, the institution of slavery, and the plantation economy, remained an ever-present part of British society. Despite continuous grass-roots campaigning against the use of enslaved labour, there was little traction for a total abolition bill in Parliament whilst powerful political organisations like the West India Lobby sought to protect the lucrative

Caribbean sugar industry. As a result, the critique of slavery during the second wave of abolition was once again championed by religious radicals and women, whilst Parliament dragged its feet on taking legislative action.

The present piece of pottery is almost certainly associated with the Female Society for Birmingham, West Bromwich, Wednesbury, Walsall, and their Respective Neighbourhoods, for the Relief of British Negro Slaves. Founded in 1825, this group held meetings, lectures, anti-slavery fairs, and fundraised through the sale of abolitionist handicrafts, pottery, publications, and composite albums. **Examples of the images used on this transferware sucrier can be found in such albums, including one held at the New York Public Library (ID: b11668324), and another presented to King George IV, in the Royal Collections Trust (RCIN 1125994) [see below for more details].**

The Society counted amongst their founding members Sarah Wedgwood (1734–1856), wife of pottery magnate Josiah Wedgwood, whose workshops produced the first iteration of the “Am I Not a Man and Brother” motif referenced in female counterpart on the lid of this receptacle. This influential logo, originally designed in 1787 for the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, was reproduced as jewellery, on the title-pages of books and pamphlets, and on ceramics and other household wares. The kneeling, chained, supplicant, enslaved African figure became synonymous with the British abolitionist movement, and has been much interpreted in the context of its white saviour overtones.

**The Female Society for Birmingham also promoted a hugely successful sugar boycott.** Following in the footsteps of the 1791–92 Anti-Saccharine Campaign, the women of the Female Society disseminated information about the horrors of the sugar industry to encourage British consumers to eschew the products of enslaved labour. In some instances, this meant buying “East India” sugar (produced in South East Asia) instead, or it could mean a total refusal. **As household provisioning was usually the domain of women, such a boycott was a way in which those who had little direct political power could influence this polarising issue.** Interior design and tableware were also considered to be feminine, domestic concerns. The choice to serve tea and sugar from a set of china bearing expressly abolitionist sentiments was a provocative political statement within the confines of genteel society.

Such boycotts could have a real and measurable impact upon the fortunes of Caribbean sugar merchants. In his 1791 publication *An Address to the People of Great Britain, on the Utility of Refraining from West India Sugar or Rum*, William Fox quantified the literal human cost of each pound of sugar produced by enslaved labour, at two ounces of flesh. This, alongside other harrowing

exposés of the conditions on sugar plantations, resulted in what is thought to have been as many as 25,000 families abstaining from the consumption of West India sugar. These statistics come from the papers of Josiah Wedgwood, and as such it's no wonder that his wife would be instrumental in reinitiating the boycott several decades later.

**Staffordshire pottery had a long and intimate association with the Abolitionist cause.** Amongst the most powerful pottery magnates, there were prominent Anti-Slavery campaigners in the Wedgwood, Spode, Minton, Davenport and Ridgeway families, actively campaigning towards the 1807 Act, and again in the 1820s and 1830s (Jones). The production of abolitionist ceramic wares began with the Wedgwood medallions, but was carried forward and particularly enhanced by the advances in transferware techniques, which hit their stride in the 1820s. This method of printing an engraved illustration from a copper plate to a piece of china via a paper transfer made it possible to reproduce text and illustration on ceramics without the labour-intensive process or hand copying, sgraffito or delicate glazing.

There is a good chance that this piece was made in Herbert Minton's workshop. In *The Fifth Report of the Female Society ...* (Birmingham, 1830) there is a notice advertising to members that: "Anti-Slavery China may be purchased at prime cost, of Sarah Bedford and Son, China Rooms, New Street, Birmingham;



and Associations and District Treasurers can have any quantity by writing to Herbert Minton, China Manufacturer, Potteries, Staffordshire" (p.69). In the same report, amongst the societies resolutions, the terms and aims of the sugar boycott are clearly stated: "That this Society, convinced that abstinence from the use of Slave cultivated Sugar is one of the best modes to which recourse can be had to express its abhorrence of the system of Colonial Slavery; and that the exclusive consumption of the produce of free labour is the most effectual means of annihilating the existence of that scourge of humanity [...] earnestly desires, that its Members will endeavour by their influence, as well as by their example, to promote the exclusive use of the productions of free labour in the neighbourhoods in which they reside" (p.46).

The four transfer-printed illustrations on the bowl are as follows: an enslaved woman kneels before broken chains, a copy of the Holy Bible held to her chest. Beneath her the legend "This Book tells Man not to be cruel. Oh that Massa would read this Book." The image and caption are probably sourced from a **broadside abridgement of Hannah More's poem "The Sorrows of Yamba or the Negro Woman's Lamentation"**, first published in the 1790s and much reproduced in abolitionist tracts and chapbooks thereafter. There

is a copy of this broadside at Royal Museums Greenwich (ID: ZBA2552), which is titled “The Negro Woman’s Lamentation,” and given a date of c.1805. A version of the same image and caption is then used again for the frontispiece of Mary Dudley’s 1828 pamphlet *Scripture evidence of the sinfulness of injustice and oppression: respectfully submitted to professing Christians, in order to call forth their sympathy and exertions, on behalf of the much-injured Africans*. The image on the other side of the bowl shows an enslaved woman mourning a dead child in her lap. This transfer closely matches an untitled print included in an album held at the New York Public Library compiled by the Female Society for the Relief of Negro Slaves (ID: b11668324). The two repeating transfers on the lid of the bowl derive from the original Wedgwood logo for the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, here rendered as a female rather than male figure. Versions of this adapted image were used by many women’s anti-slavery societies, and it is repeated in both the Female Society album at NYPL, and delicately engraved onto a song-sheet titled “Negro Woman Dost Thou Hide Us?” in the album in the Royal Collections Trust (RCIN 1125994). A later notable iteration of the motif was engraved in 1835 by Patrick Henry Reason “A Coloured Young Man of the City of New York” (caption) (Mass Hist: <https://www.masshist.org/database/1681>).

Jones, Mark. “The mobilisation of public opinion against the slave trade and slavery: Popular abolitionism in national and regional politics, 1787–1838.” PhD Dissertation, University of York, 1999. Accessed online 12 Sept 2023: <https://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/14169/1/286110.pdf>.

### **An Unrecorded Satire concerning Coffee, Chicory and Sugar**

**23** [EAST (Sir Edward Hyde).]

**GET OUT OF THE WAY. As the new Premier--has now nail'd the old Premier (up out of the way)--to the mast : and fastened the hatches down--upon the un-COMMON vagabonds--below in the hold ...**

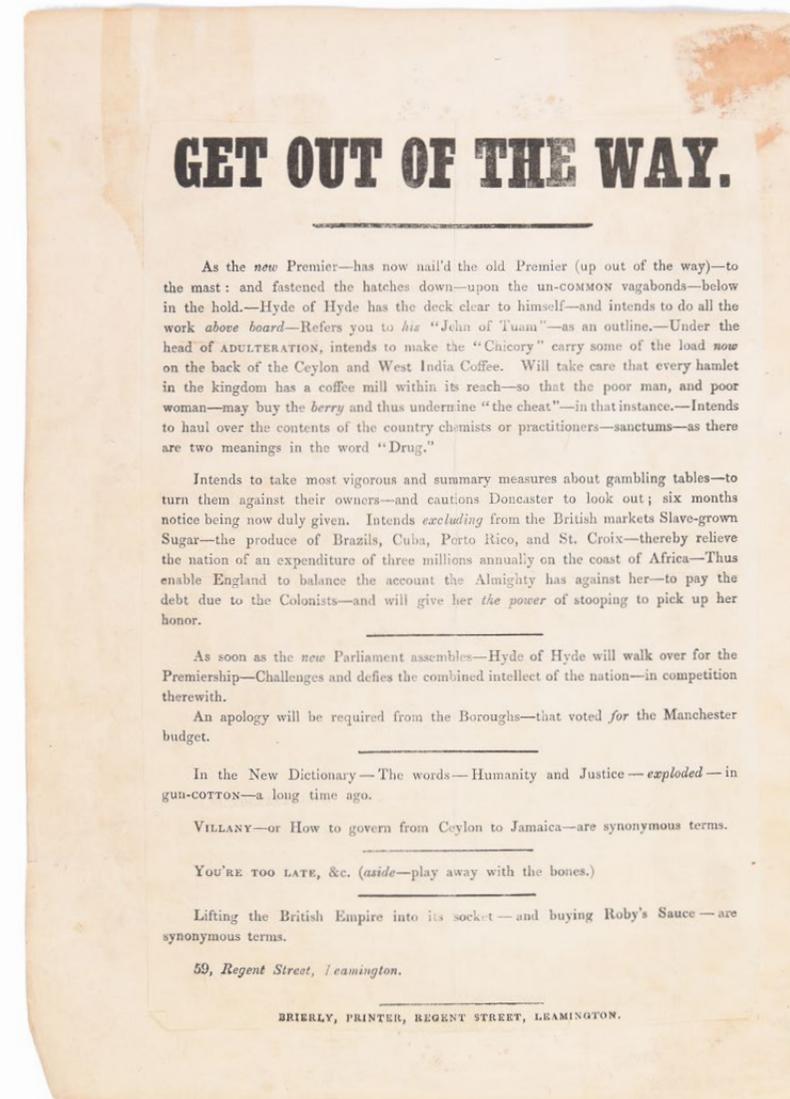
Letterpress handbill measuring 215 by 145mm. Unevenly trimmed and laid down on an album leaf (255 by 185mm). Old vertical hold. Leamington, Brierly, [c.1835].

**£750**

A curious and unrecorded political broadside, seemingly satirising the policies of Sir Edward Hyde East (1764–1847), MP for Winchester, 1823–31. Born in

Jamaica and embedded in the planter aristocracy of the nineteenth century, the content touches on his activities across the British Empire as well as domestically, and includes references to the commodity products of slavery, including coffee and sugar.

Parodied with the pseudonym “Hyde of Hyde”, the text refers to his pro-Catholic stance in relation to “John of Tuam” (Irish Roman Catholic Archbishop John McHale), and possibly makes an arch allusion to a scandal concerning his son-in-law James William Croft. In March 1819 whilst East was stationed in Bengal as a colonial judge, Croft was found guilty by the Calcutta supreme court of the seduction (and impregnation) of the daughter of a family friend.



This incident appears to be jabbed at in the following: “Under the head of ADULTERATION, intends to make the “Chicory” carry some of the load *now* on the back of the Ceylon and West India Coffee.” The double meaning here is that roasted chicory root had long been added to added to bulk up or “adulterate” coffee when actual beans were not available.

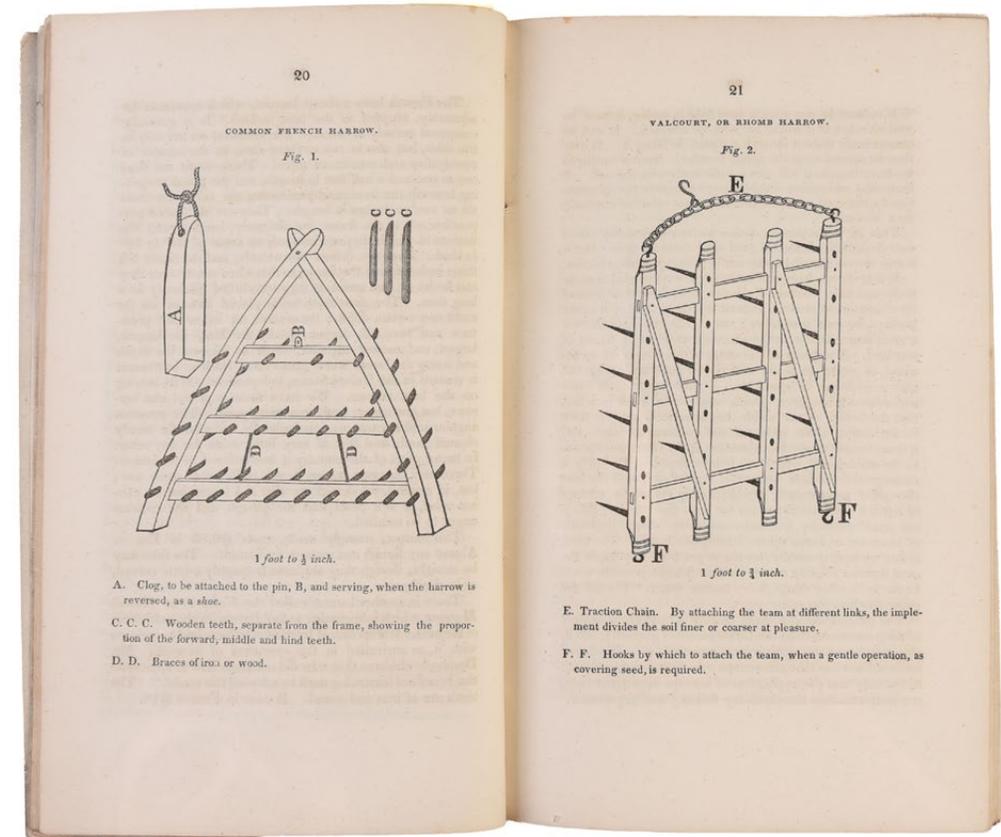
This is then extrapolated into what maybe a comment on East’s continued troubles in Jamaica in the aftermath of the 1833 Emancipation Act. The legal framework devised to transition planters away from enslaved labour bound their formerly enslaved workers into a mandatory five-year period of “Apprenticeship”. Unsurprisingly, the Black residents of the island were reluctant participants in this scheme, and letters from Alexander Barclay and Hinton East, Hyde East’s joint attorneys for his coffee and sugar estates in Jamaica, attest to the difficulties their overseers had in harvesting the crops (see the 1839 Jamaica Parliamentary Papers).

A further barb of the missive may contain the key to its perspective: “[Hyde] Intends to haul over the contents of the country chemists or practitioners --sanctums--as there are two meanings in the word ‘Drug’.” The John Johnson collection of ephemera at the Bodleian contains 26 items pertaining to J.W. Brierly of Leamington, 22 Regent Street, all of which are the labels or brochures for a pharmacy. The Brierly who printed this handbill, addressed 59 Regent Street, therefore may have been an earlier iteration of the family business, or another family member. Clearly the political actions surrounding the abolition of slavery and the export of commodities from the British colonies was having an impact on the livelihood of regional pharmacists, who stocked such goods.

The text also touches on the economic cost of the 1833 Emancipation Act: “Intends *excluding* from the British markets Slave-grown Sugar--the produce of Brazil, Cuba, Porto Rico, and St. Croix--thereby relieve the nation of an expenditure of three million annually on the coast of Africa--Thus enable England to balance the account the Almighty has against her--to pay the debt due to the Colonists--and will give her *the power* of stooping to pick up her honour.” The “debt due to the Colonists” surely refers to the near £20 million paid out to enslavers for their loss of property through abolition. Indeed, according to the UCL Legacies of British Slavery, Sir Edward Hyde East received over £21,000 compensation between eight individual claims.

It’s hard to entirely ascertain the tone or perspective of this piece, however it does demonstrate the far reaching impact of slavery, abolition, and the associated commodities of enslaved labour, on every strata of nineteenth-century British life and economy.

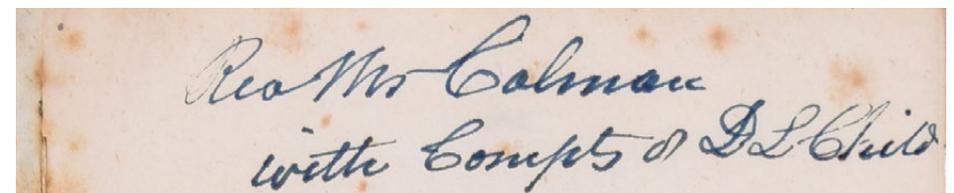
No copies located through OCLC, LibraryHub or internet searches as of August 2023.



**An Alternative to Sugar Cane  
Proposed by a Staunch Abolitionist**

**24 CHILD (David Lee).  
The Culture of the Beet, and  
Manufacture of Beet Sugar.**

First edition. 8vo. Original green printed wrappers. Illustrations and tables in text. Inscribed and signed by the author in ink to head of ffep. A few spots to prelims else a near fine copy. 156pp. Boston, Weeks, Jordan & Co.; Northampton, J.H. Butler, 1840. **£1,500**



The introduction of sugar beets to America—a scarce treatise outlining the culture, manufacture and business history and prospects of this alternative crop to sugar cane. Inscribed by the author with compliments to a Rev. Mr. Colman.

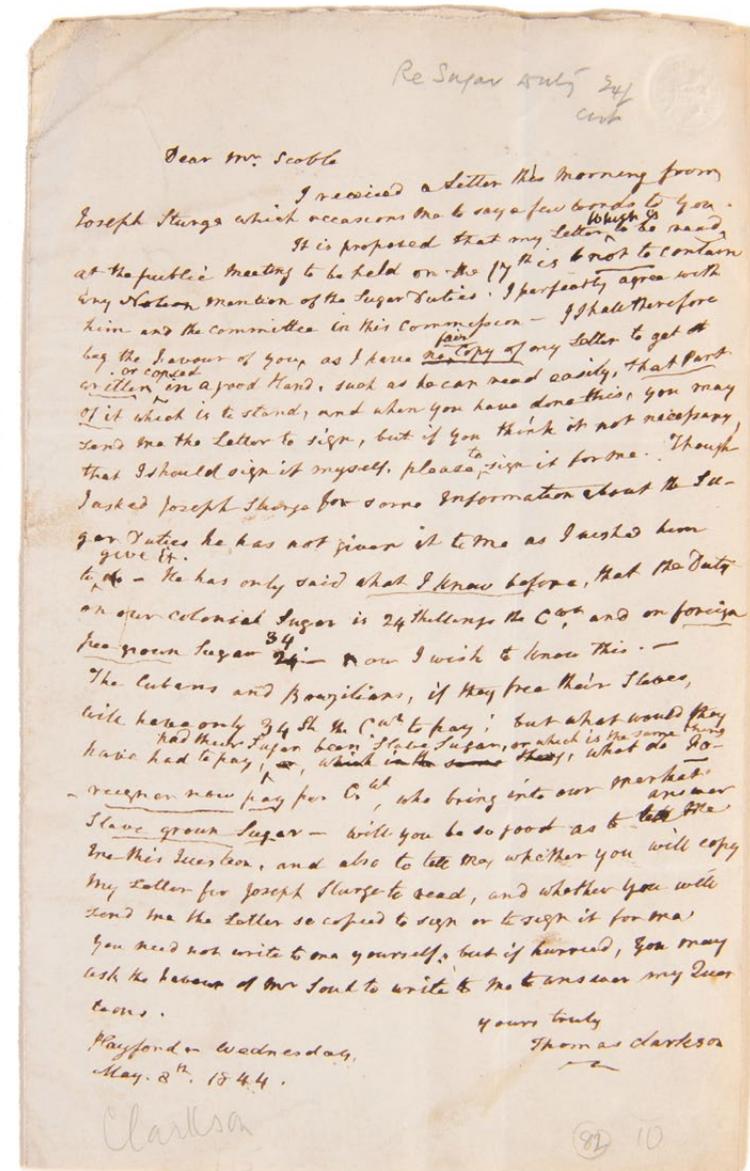
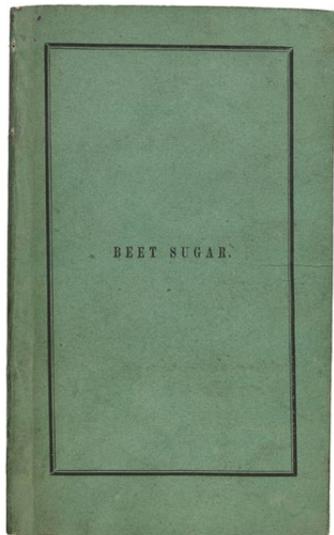
David Lee Child (1794–1874) graduated Harvard in 1817, after which he served a stint as secretary to the United States Legation in Portugal. In 1828 he married Lydia Maria Child (née Francis) (1802–1880), noted writer, activist and abolitionist. He learned the beet process in Belgium in 1836, and following a trial crop in Northampton Massachusetts, the present publication is his attempt to influence American agriculturalists to invest in this product.

The book offers insight into the varieties and virtues of different beets, as well as the method of cultivation and necessary equipment for growing and

processing into loaf sugar. Other advantages include the value of both beets and trimmings as animal feed, as well as a plethora of other uses: “The beet, besides furnishing sugar, is also used for making coffee, beer, brandy, spirits of wine, potash and paper [...] recently it has been reported that the French are making wine of the beet-juice” (p.8).

David and Lydia Maria Childs were joint editors of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* newspaper, and were highly active participants in the movement for total abolition in the United States. Though there is no overt diatribe against the practice of farming by enslaved labour in this pamphlet (slavery is not included in the index for

example), there is a tacit critique running through the business prospects section in particular. Using the attractive proposition of untaxed domestic rather than imported product as an incentive, he also notes that “[t]he production of sugar is said to be increasing rapidly in British India and Java; and the British government, in opening the English market to Bengal sugar, have shown a wise forecast in respect to the possible reduction of the cane products in the West Indies. It is not probably that the freedmen of the British West Indies, any more than of St. Domingo, will all pursue the species of labor, which is marked by the memories of their severest hardships and deprivations” (p.141). There are also statistical critiques of the viability of enslaved labour practices on sugar cane plantations in the southern United States. Amongst the letters of endorsement at the end of the book, there is one from a confectioner who had been employed to make beet sugar sweets for a Ladies’ Anti-Slavery Fair. Rare in commerce—no copy listed on Rare Book Hub since 1975.



### The Sugar Problem

## 25 CLARKSON (Thomas). ALS to fellow Abolitionist John Scoble, Regarding Duties Levied on “Slave Grown Sugar.”

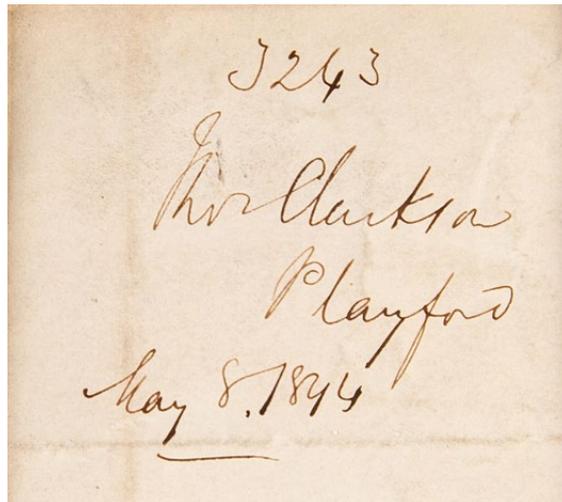
Holograph ms. in ink. 12mo. Single sheet, docketed on the verso, old folds, a little toned. Playford, 8th May, 1844. £3,500\*

Written towards the end of his life, this is a short, but potent letter from Thomas Clarkson (1760–1846) to Congregational minister, and fellow abolitionist, John Scoble (1799–1877).

It commences in satisfying style, bringing yet another abolitionist, Joseph Sturge (1793–1859), into the frame. “It is proposed that my letter to him is to be read at the public meeting to be held on the 17th is not to contain any note or mention of the sugar duties.” Clarkson then asks if Scoble might be so good as to produce a clear copy of it in “a good hand, such as he can read easily.”

Clarkson reports that he had asked Sturge another question regarding the cost of sugar which had gone unanswered. He outlines the question and then passes it on to Scoble:

**“The Cubans and Brazilians, if they free their slaves, will have only 34 sh[illings] the Cwt [hundredweight] to pay but what would they have had to pay had their sugar been Slave Sugar, or which is the same thing, what do foreigners now pay for Cwt, who bring into our market Slave grown sugar—will you be so good as to look into this question ...”**



3243  
Mr Clarkson  
Playford  
May 8. 1844