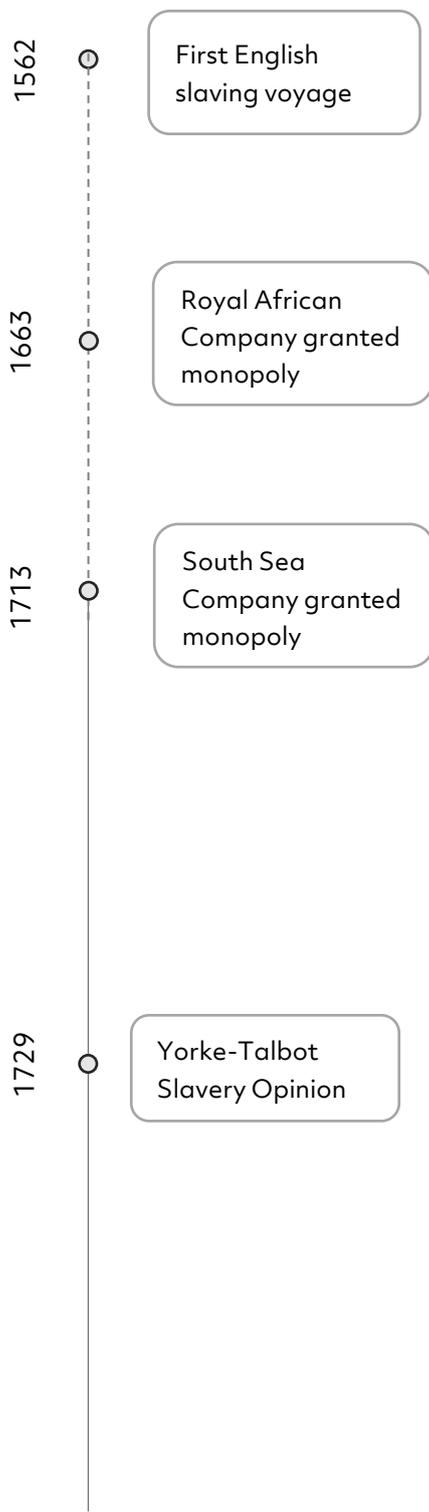


Barnwood's Historical Links with Slavery

A Focus on our Original Subscribers

1. Historical Context: Britain, Slavery, and Barnwood's subscribers



The late 18th century, when Barnwood House Hospital was first conceived, saw the beginning of the end for Britain's centuries-long involvement in the transatlantic slave trade. It had been a trade which had brought about the brutalising enslavement and deaths of millions of people, and the extraordinary enrichment of a small number of British families.

Britain and the slave trade

In 1562, John Hawkins set sail for Sierra Leone, on what would be the first English slaving voyage. Between 1562 and 1569, Hawkins enslaved around 1,200 Sierra Leoneans, likely killing at least three times that many people in the process.¹ While this was the earliest foray for a British ship into the realms of slavery, Britain's involvement in the slave trade began to grow in earnest from the mid-17th century. By the 18th century, Britain was the dominant slave-trading nation in the North Atlantic: half of all Africans transported into slavery over the 18th century were in British ships.² In total, it is estimated that Britain transported 3.1 million Africans, of whom 2.7 million survived the journey, to the colonies in the West Indies and Americas.³

Two particularly notable companies involved in the transportation of enslaved people included the Royal African Company and the South Sea Company (for more details on these companies, see the section '*National Institutions Linked to Slavery*'). **Barnwood's subscribers include descendants of directors of the Royal African Company, descendants of directors of the South Sea Company, and descendants of directors of banks which invested in and financed their operations.**

The plantations in the Caribbean were important sources of wealth for Britain, meeting the increasing demands for sugar to sweeten tea and coffee, as well as to make rum. Labour was provided primarily by forcibly enslaved and transported Africans, for whom conditions were brutal, and the death rate high.⁴ **Barnwood's subscribers include some people who owned**

plantations and enslaved people, and others who inherited family wealth derived from plantations and slavery.

Slavery was never explicitly made legal under positive law in Britain, but an important opinion drafted by the then Attorney General Philip Yorke and the then Solicitor General Charles Talbot in 1729 was effectively treated as having established its legality under the common law.⁵ The opinion was not successfully challenged in the courts until 1772. **Descendants of both Yorke and Talbot are amongst Barnwood's subscribers.**

Britain and abolition

Seeds of a British abolition movement can be found in earlier years, but the movement became widespread in the later decades of the 18th century. Growing from roots in minority religious movements – notably the Quakers – as well as from the enlightenment thinkers behind the French and American revolutions, the cause grew into a massive popular movement.

The earliest important legal victory was the 1772 case of *Somerset v Stewart*, in which Lord Mansfield ruled that an enslaved man, James Somerset, who had escaped his 'master' whilst in England, could not lawfully be recaptured and transported to Jamaica for sale.⁶ The ruling was limited in legal terms (if radical for its effective dismissal of the 1729 Yorke-Talbot opinion), but it proved galvanising to the abolitionist cause. **One of the primary backers of this important case was abolitionist Granville Sharp, whose descendant – themselves an abolitionist – married one of our subscribers.**

By 1787 a formal society was established to seek the abolition of the slave trade, intended as a first step towards the wholesale abolition of slavery.⁷ Activists gave talks at which they demonstrated to shocked crowds the shackles used to hold enslaved people, alongside illustrations of large numbers of people packed into the holds of ships. Pamphlets were published on a mass scale, lectures were given, politicians lobbied, sugar boycotted; and between 1787 and 1792, 1.5 million of the 12 million people in Britain had signed petitions against the slave trade.⁸ **Some of Barnwood's subscribers were active participants in the abolitionist movement.**

Abolition was not solely a cause exercised by white Britons. In Britain, formerly enslaved people were crucial parts of the movement.⁹ On the Caribbean plantations, rebellions and uprisings by enslaved people played vital roles, and had the

1772

Somerset v Stewart

1787

Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade est.

1791

Revolution in St Domingue (Haiti)

1793

Earliest donations to Barnwood

1807

Slave Trade Act 1807

effect of galvanising both sides in Britain: plantation owners horrified by the success of the revolution in Haiti in 1791 doubled down in their fight against abolition; and the British public were so shocked by the brutality of the suppression of the 1831 rebellion in Jamaica that support for full abolition rapidly gained ground.¹⁰

In 1791, William Wilberforce brought the first of several successive bills to Parliament seeking to abolish the slave trade. It took until 1807 for the passage of The Slave Trade Act, which finally prohibited the slave trade in most of the British Empire (with some named exceptions, including some territories controlled by the East India Company). It did not, however, prohibit the continued enslavement of people in the British colonies, notably on the plantations in the West Indies.

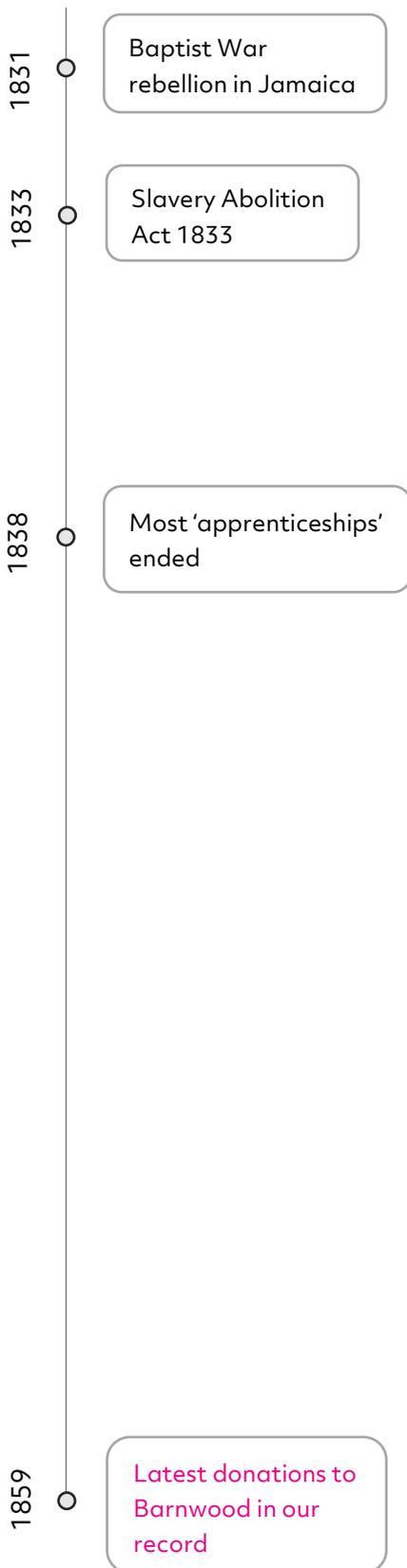
It took another twenty-six years for the purchase or ownership of enslaved people to be prohibited across the British Empire, and even then only with the enforcement of fixed-term forced 'apprenticeships' for those who were enslaved (these were eventually ended, earlier than planned, in 1838, thanks to widespread activism at home and on the plantations).

The Slavery Abolition Act also provided for the payment of a staggering £20 million in compensation – the equivalent of about £17 billion today, and, until the 2008 banking bailout, the largest government payout in British history. British taxpayers only finished paying off loans to finance this compensation package in 2015. The compensation money was paid, under 46,000 claims, to slaveowners who had lost out financially through the enforced emancipation of the 800,000 people they had held in slavery. **Barnwood's subscribers include people who received some of this compensation, as well as their descendants and relatives.**

Barnwood House Hospital

In September 1793, a meeting of the Gloucester Infirmary resolved to establish a "General Hospital of Insane Persons" in Gloucester, with finances for the purchase of land and the building of this hospital to be raised from private donations. Over the next few decades, the plans developed, overcoming setbacks and adjusting to changing circumstances, until in January 1860, Barnwood House Hospital was finally opened.

Between 1793 and 1859, 238 people agreed to become subscribers to what became Barnwood House Hospital Trust.



We believe we have positively identified about three-quarters of these people. The subscribers we have identified represented a range of professions – clothiers, bankers, politicians, the landed gentry, bishops, even royalty – but most were, as we might expect, amongst the wealthier of Gloucestershire’s inhabitants. Many were members of the peerage, but even those of self-made means were generally very successful businessmen.

Perhaps the most comprehensive study of the links between Britain’s wealthy families and the slave trade has been the work carried out by University College London’s Legacies of British Slavery (‘LBS’) project, which examined the government’s meticulous records of the recipients of compensation after 1833. An important finding of theirs was that ownership of plantations and enslaved people was not limited to the very wealthiest families: even middle-class individuals, including the clergy, might have investments which included plantations or enslaved people. The authors of the LBS study estimate that *“somewhere between 10-20% of Britain’s wealthy can be identified as having had significant links to slavery”*.¹¹

Given the time period in which Barnwood was established, the status and wealth of the people who provided the finances to establish it, and the pervasive nature of the slavery-related economy in Britain, perhaps the most surprising result from this study would have been to have found no links at all between Barnwood’s earliest funders and slavery. That is not what we have found. Barnwood’s subscribers include a small number of people with direct, personal involvement in slavery; as well as a small number of people with direct, personal involvement in abolition. They also include a much larger number of people with connections to slavery and its adjacent industries which are less direct, most notably through family connections. One of the more striking features of this work has been noticing how many of our subscribers are linked to one another through marriage or other family relation; and it is likely that this high degree of overlap between families has meant that there is a higher likelihood that any given individual has a relation somewhere in their family tree with a link.

A summary of the connections we have established is given below.

2. Headline findings

Between 1793 and 1859, **238 people** donated a total of **£14,356, 15 shillings** to Barnwood Trust; the equivalent today of about **£1,665,163**.

We believe **we can identify with reasonable confidence over three-quarters of these people (188 people)**. (In a small number of these cases, we have been able to identify the family with confidence, but not the specific individual. In those cases we have traced any associated links of the wider family, but not made any claims about the individual's direct links.)

2.1 Headline findings relating to people

We have categorised involvement or association with slavery and its adjacent industries on a broad scale, ranging from the most significant involvement (e.g. direct ownership of enslaved people, or personal enrichment from an adjacent industry), to much more distant associations (e.g. a family or professional connection with a person who was involved in colonial activities).

Counting everyone who has at least one connection, from the most direct to the most tangential, we have identified **134 people** with at least one link, **just over half of the total 238 subscribers** (or **nearly three-quarters of those who we have been able to identify**). Of these:

- **58 people were likely to have personally financially benefitted from slavery or its adjacent industries.** This included people who themselves personally benefitted (9 people), people who we can evidence inheritance lines from ancestors who personally benefitted (18 people), and people who were likely to have broadly benefitted from family wealth which was derived at least in part from slavery or its adjacent industries (34 people).
- **91 people were associated with someone else who was more directly involved in slavery or its adjacent industries.** This included family members from whom the person was unlikely to have benefitted financially; professional or social connections; and associations with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.
- Beyond any personal involvement with slavery, 3 people actively **campaigning, wrote, or voted against abolition**, and a further 13 were connected with somebody else who was anti-abolition.
- 46 people had a connection (9 personal; 40 through an association with someone else) with the East India Company or similar organisations, or with colonial endeavours more broadly.

We have also identified **45 people who were connected to abolitionist activities** or views, either through their own activities (7 people), or through the activities of someone they were connected to (38 people).

There was quite a bit of overlap: **it was not uncommon for people to fall into more than one category**. Strikingly, 2 of the 7 people who personally promoted abolition were also likely to

have broadly financially benefitted from their family's involvement in slavery or its adjacent industries.

There were a further **48 people** whose identity we were reasonably confident about, and for whom we found **no link to slavery or its adjacent industries**. It is worth noting, however, that this is not a guarantee that there was no link at all; it is entirely possible that we simply were not able to identify any links based on freely available information.

The remaining 50 people were people who we were not able to identify with confidence.

2.2 Headline findings related to money

We have calculated how much money each person gave in total at the time of their donation, and worked out a rough modern equivalent using the Bank of England's online Inflation Calculator.

While it is important that we are aware of the financial element of Barnwood's historic links to slavery, there are a few things to be mindful of.

We will likely never be able to give with confidence a precise figure for how much of Barnwood's funds has come directly from money generated through slavery:

- Even in the cases where the link between the subscriber and slavery is the most obvious and most direct, the people in question generally had multiple sources of income, and it would be near impossible to separate out which of that income found its way to Barnwood.
- In addition, there are likely to be more links than those that we have found here, reliant as we have been so far on information freely available online. In a few cases, some significant links were established not from compensation records, but from the work of other historians who have made their work public. As more work of this nature is undertaken, it is likely that more links will be established.

That noted, from the available information, here's what we know:

- Counting all of the 134 people who have **any type of connection to slavery**, its adjacent industries, or colonial activities, including the most direct and the most tangential links, a total of **£5,091** and 10s was given, the modern equivalent of about **£599,429**.
- The 58 people who we think it is likely **personally benefitted financially from slavery** or its adjacent industries gave a total of **£2,468**, the modern equivalent of about **£296,618**.
- The 7 people who personally **promoted abolition** gave a total of **£326** and 10s, the modern equivalent of about **£35,305**. (*Two of these people are also counted among the 58 who personally benefitted from slavery, both from family wealth.*)
- The 48 people who we have positively identified but for whom we have found **no links to slavery** on available evidence gave a total of **£4,925** and 15s, the modern equivalent of about **£569,375**.

Detailed findings

Category Group	Category Code	Category Description	Number*	% total	£ donated**	£: 2020 eq.***
'Direct link' Categories	Direct link	Direct, personal involvement in slavery or adjacent industries. Ownership of enslaved persons; receipt of compensation for the liberation of enslaved persons; holders of mortgages over enslaved people or estates; personal enrichment through the slave trade and adjacent industries. Includes spouses of anyone in this category.	9	4%	£352.00	£40,743.56
	D: Inheritance / Marriage	Inherited wealth derived at least in part from any of the activities listed under 'Direct'. Inheritance via relative, marriage into family with slavery-derived wealth, or testamentary bequest from a non-relative. <i>Inheritance of enslaved persons or plantations falls under 'D'.</i>	18	8%	£827.25	£101,330.44
	D: Benefitted	Benefitted broadly from family wealth derived at least in part from any of the activities listed under 'D'. May not have been a direct inheritor of the bulk of the family wealth, e.g. a younger sibling or daughter, but would nonetheless have benefitted from the family's wealth more broadly. This includes spouses of anyone falling into this category. <i>This category has also been used when we can't evidence a direct line of inheritance, but consider it likely, based on the proximity of the family relationships, that the person broadly benefitted financially from their family's wealth.</i>	34	14%	£1,449.75	£170,049.41
	<i>Total people with at least one 'Direct' link</i>		58	24%	£2,468.00	£296,617.73
'Association' Categories	As: Sibling / Cousin	People whose siblings or cousins fall into any of the 'Direct' or 'Association' categories, including by marriage. Includes half-siblings and siblings / cousins of spouses. <i>Where there is evidence that the person inherited wealth from their sibling / cousin, this would also fall under the 'D: Inh / M' category.</i>	15	6%	£765.50	£89,377.26
	As: Non-inheritance / distant family	People whose ancestors or relatives who are not in their inheritance line fall into any of the 'Direct' or 'Association' categories. This includes, for example, parents' cousins, descendants of another branch of the family, or ancestors who are sufficiently removed that we cannot be reasonably confident that the person broadly benefitted financially (a maternal great-great-uncle, for example). This includes spouses of anyone falling into this category. <i>Where possible, we have traced and described the exact family links for each person.</i>	43	18%	£1,185.25	£142,983.98
	As: Descendant	People whose descendants fall into any of the 'Direct' or 'Association' categories. This includes children, nieces, nephews, and descendants of any of those.	29	12%	£1,280.50	£154,587.58
	As: Professional / social	Professional or social connection with anyone falling into any of the 'Direct' or 'Association' categories. This includes people who are executors or trustees of wills for anyone in the 'D' or 'As' categories; or people whose executors themselves fall into the 'D' or 'As' categories - unless we have additional evidence that the executor or trustee themselves benefitted financially from the will, in which case this would fall under 'D: Inh / M'	12	5%	£615.25	£73,960.75
	As: SPG	Association with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts: Membership, giving speeches, participation in management as part of clerical role.	11	5%	£412.00	£49,914.92
	<i>Total people with at least one 'Association' link</i>		91	38%	£3,450.00	£409,873.01
'Anti-abolition' Categories	Anti-abolitionist	Anti-Abolitionist. People for whom we have found evidence, beyond their involvement or association with slavery-related activities, that they actively campaigned, wrote about, or voted against abolition.	3	1%	£171.00	£17,755.64
	As w/ Anti-ab	Association with an 'Anti-Abolitionist', through family connection, social connection, or business connection.	13	5%	£732.00	£96,611.53
	<i>Total people with at least one 'Anti-abolition' link</i>		16	7%	£903.00	£114,367.17
'East India Company / The colonial endeavours' Categories****	EIC / Colonial	Personal or direct involvement in the East India Company or similar organisations, or participation in colonial endeavours.	9	4%	£185.25	£21,492.37
	As w/ EIC / Colonial	Association with someone who is personally or directly involved in the East India Company or colonial endeavours, through family connection, social connection, or business connection.	40	17%	£1,924.50	£227,673.91
	<i>Total people with at least one colonial / East India Company link</i>		46	19%	£2,041.50	£242,214.39
Total people with at least one link to any of the above categories			134	56%	£5,091.50	£599,428.62
'Abolitionist' Categories	Abolitionist	Abolitionist: People for whom we have found evidence that they actively campaigned, wrote in favour of, or voted for, the abolition of slavery. This includes MPs who presented anti-slavery petitions, but only if they are noted to have endorsed the petition.	7	3%	£326.50	£35,305.41
	As w/Ab	Association with an 'Abolitionist', through family connection, social connection, or business connection.	38	16%	£1,553.75	£181,249.29
	<i>Total people with at least one 'Abolitionist' link</i>		45	19%	£1,880.25	£216,554.70
'Unknown' categories	Unknown	Unknown / no connection established	98	41%	£9,129.25	£1,048,239.60
	<i>Of these: Number of people whose identity is uncertain (a less than 50% confidence)</i>		50	21%	£4,203.50	£478,864.26
	<i>Of these: Number of people whose identity is more certain (a more than 50% confidence)</i>		48	20%	£4,925.75	£569,375.34
Overall totals			238		£14,356.75	£1,665,163.07

*** Numbers & totals:**

- It is important to note that many people fell into multiple categories, so the numbers in the individual categories add up to more than the totals provided. These totals refer to people who have *at least one* connection in the category group. In a few cases, money was given by people who had links both to slavery and to abolitionists.
- Proportions have been calculated with reference to the overall total of 238 people. We have identified with reasonable confidence the identities of 188 people, and the proportions in relation to that figure will be considerably higher. For example, 56% of all 238 people have at least one link to slavery or its adjacent industries, or 71% of the 188 we have identified.

**** Amount donated:**

- This has been calculated from the total amount given by a particular individual. Some donations were the first of an annual donation for five years, and on the assumption that these later donations were paid, these donations were multiplied by five. Some people had multiple entries; these have been added together. So a person who gave a one-off £10 donation and then an annual donation of £1 for five years will have been recorded as having donated £15 in total.
- For ease of calculation, monetary amounts are given in modern currency format, so what looks like a donation of £1.50 would actually have been a donation of £1 10s (20s to £1; 10s = 0.5 of £1). Shilling amounts have been rounded to the nearest quarter of a pound (i.e. £1 1s = £1; £2 4s = £2.25).

***** 2020 equivalent:**

- 2020 equivalent value calculated using the Bank of England's online Inflation Calculator, based on the recorded year of donation.
- Where people gave donations in multiple years, each year has been calculated separately and added together. Five-year annual donations have been calculated by the first year of donation only.

****** East India Company / Colonial Endeavours:**

- The East India Company, like the Royal African Company and the South Sea Company, did participate in the trafficking of enslaved people. We have, however, treated people with links to the EIC differently to those with links to the RAC and the SSC. This is because the EIC was such a vast entity, with so many branches and such variety in its commercial activities, that it is less straightforward to assume, as we have with people with links to the RAC & SSC during the periods that they were engaged in the slave trade, that people who were employed by or investors in the EIC were likely to have profited from activities directly related to the slave trade. We thought it important to record, but have treated them separately.
- We have also included in this category people who had involvement in colonial activities, in recognition that many colonial activities involved the sustained oppression of peoples and the extraction of wealth, often underpinned by racist ideologies. While these connections have, again, been treated differently to connections to slavery and the slave trade, we nonetheless thought them relevant and important to record.

3. Institutions with which some subscribers were linked

3.1 National institutions linked to slavery

One of the national institutions linked to slavery identified as being connected to several subscribers was the **Royal African Company**. The Royal African Company was founded in 1633 by royal charter and came to hold the monopoly for supplying Africans to British Colonies. By 1697, they had transported 120,000 Africans across the Atlantic.¹² Barnwood's subscribers include descendants and relatives of directors, investors, and supporters of the RAC.

A second institution with subscriber links is the **South Sea Company**. The South Sea Company was granted a monopoly from Spain in 1713 to transport African slaves to Spanish America, with an estimated total of 34,000 individuals being transported.¹³ Barnwood's subscribers include descendants and relatives of directors and investors of the SSC.

A third institution with subscriber links is the **East India Company**. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the company relied on slave labour and trafficked slaves from Africa (particularly Mozambique and Madagascar) to India, Indonesia, and St Helena¹⁴¹⁵. It should be noted, however, that due to the vast international remit of the East India Company, individuals with links to this organisation have not been assumed to have been connected to the transatlantic slave trade and so have been categorised separately for analysis purposes. Subscribers with links include people who were themselves, or who were related to, investors, directors, governors, chairmen, military leaders, and merchants with the EIC.

A final, more obscure institution is **The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts**. The SPG was established in 1701, arising out of concern about the fragility of the Anglican church in the North American colonies, and with the twin aims of ministering to British Christians abroad, and converting non-Christian foreigners.¹⁶ In 1710 the SPG received as a donation two plantations in Barbados, complete with 315 enslaved people.¹⁷ These plantations became nominally managed by the Church of England, via a committee of trustees made up of Bishops and headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Conditions on the plantations were harsh; four out of every 10 enslaved people bought by the plantation in 1740 died within three years, due to disease or mistreatment. As early as 1783, unease was expressed within the Church about its holding these plantations: the abolitionist Bishop Beilby Porteus gave a sermon to the Society calling for the Church to relinquish the estates and distance themselves from slavery.¹⁸ Nonetheless, the Church of England did not divest itself of the people it owned on the plantations until forced to do so by the passage of the Slavery Abolition Act fifty years later, in 1833. There have since been public apologies issued by the Church of England for its role in slavery, particularly related to its ownership of these plantations.¹⁹ Several of our subscribers were linked to the SPG, through links to the original owners of the donated plantations, or through their roles in the Church of England.

3.2 Local institutions linked to slavery

In addition to national organisations, links were also identified between subscribers and local institutions connected the slave trade.

One example of this is the **Gloucestershire Banking Company**. The company was established in 1831 and in 1836 the director became Samuel Baker, a merchant who received compensation for a mortgage held on a plantation after the abolition of slavery²⁰. One local historian notes that "Baker made his mark equally positively in the growing business of the Gloucestershire Banking Company. Mercantile initiative and wealth had a large part in founding this, the first joint stock bank in Gloucester and in the area."²¹ The individual listed as Trust Treasurer (as well as a subscriber) in the archival source which this research is based on is noted as being of Gloucestershire Banking Company, also raising the possibility that the Trust's funds may have been invested in the company.

Another example concerns the **cloth trade**, specifically the production of **stripe cloth** which was produced for the East India Company. Other sources also suggest that a type of cloth manufactured in the areas known as **Stroud Scarlet** may also have been traded with merchants in Bristol and London, ports which had a key role in the slave trade²². Several subscribers were clothiers and mill owners in Stroud, or descendants of families who made their wealth in these mills. Unless there was clear evidence of links with slavery or with the EIC, however, we have not recorded people in these professions as having had links with either.

4. Methodology

A list of the names of donors and subscribers which formed the basis for this research was sourced from documents which are part of the Barnwood House Hospital archives (D3725) kept at Gloucestershire Records Office. Local historian Richard Auckland, who with his colleague is conducting in-depth historical research into Barnwood House Hospital, had obtained electronic copies of this document. In the initial stages of this work, Mr Auckland kindly shared them with Trust researchers. The document is believed to date from 1859 and the names listed appear under the following heading:

FORMER BENEFACTORS to the GLOUCESTER LUNATIC ASYLUM whose Names appear in the List preserved [by] the Institution. This List may be imperfect, and does not include the smaller contributions.

The list notes each individual's name (in some cases only surname and title), the year they gave funds (spanning 1793-1859), and the year each individual gave amount given (as £ s. d.). In some cases an address is also provided.

This information was inputted into an Excel spreadsheet, following which extensive online searches were undertaken to gather information from a variety of online sources (see 'Sources' section below). Where possible, information was cross-referenced on multiple sites.

For each individual, the following information was sought:

- Source of wealth (including profession and any inheritance)
- Political leaning (including views on or involvement in the abolitionist movement)
- Details of their parents, spouse, and children (to establish any links to slavery or colonial activities they may have had)

In searching for this information, we also noted any details found of associations between subscribers; geographic links to places and buildings in Gloucestershire; and any personal or professional links to mental health that were identified.

Gathering this information enabled relevant categories for analysis to then be developed. The categories outline both the nature of, and how direct, any links are between individuals and the slave trade. Checks took place to ensure consistency in how the categories were applied, with further refinement of categories where needed.

The original source gives varying levels of information about each individual. In some cases, we can be almost certain of their identity, particularly where a hereditary title is included. For each subscriber, a percentage of confidence was included in the spreadsheet about how certain it was felt that we had correctly identified the individual listed. This is referenced in the findings table above.

Sources

Source	Notes
<p>University College London's 'Legacies of British Slave-Ownership' project and database</p> <p>www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs</p>	<p>This database is the result of a project which ran from 2009-2012, investigating the individuals who had received compensation for enslaved people after the emancipation enforced by the abolition of slavery in 1833. The database includes brief biographies of individuals who received compensation, were executors or trustees of compensation claims, or who were recorded as owners of plantations. It also records how much money was given in compensation, and the number of enslaved people who were recorded on each plantation.</p> <p>This was our most important source for identifying links to slave-ownership. We checked every name on our subscriber list against this database.</p>
<p>The Peerage: A genealogical survey of the peerage of Britain</p> <p>thepeerage.com</p>	<p>The result of 17 years – and counting – of work by one man named Darryl in New Zealand with a collection of contemporary peerage records, this freely available interactive family tree charts the family relationships of thousands of members of the peerage.</p> <p>This was our primary resource for tracing family relationships between our subscribers and people who we know from other sources are connected to slavery or adjacent industries. It has also been useful for charting our subscribers' links to one another, which are myriad.</p>
<p>Ancestry.co.uk</p>	<p>Another online family tree service with a significant amount of free content, although less user-friendly than thepeerage.</p> <p>We sometimes used Ancestry.co.uk as a back-up to thepeerage, to confirm or investigate family links.</p>

	<p>Ancestry.co.uk was also more likely to have records of people who were not members of the peerage, as well as unmarried daughters of peers, who were sometimes not included in contemporary records.</p>
<p>Burke's Peerage</p>	<p>Burke's Peerage has provided authoritative genealogical records of the families of the peerage and the landed gentry since 1826.</p> <p>Occasionally, scanned versions of relevant out-of-copyright editions were freely available on Google Books. These could be particularly useful if the family were not included on thepeerage, or to substantiate less reliable sources.</p>
<p>British History Online www.british-history.ac.uk</p>	<p>A not-for-profit digital library based at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, bringing together material from collections of libraries, archives, museums and academics.</p> <p>This was a particularly useful resource for place-based history; profiles of estates or businesses often included a detailed history of the transfer of ownership, which could provide useful evidence of family relationships and inheritance lines. It could also be a helpful resource for information about individuals' financial circumstances and engagements.</p>
<p>The History of Parliament Online historyofparliamentonline.org</p>	<p>An online version of a long-term history project, funded by the Houses of Parliament, which includes closely researched accounts of the lives of everyone who has been elected to Parliament.</p> <p>A significant number of our subscribers had served in Parliament, or had relatives who had done so. The profiles compiled by these professional historians were a very useful record, both of the voting practices and political activities of the people in question, but also of their immediate family relationships, and sometimes their professional roles – sometimes this is where we discovered, for example, that a direct ancestor had served as a director of an organisation such as the South Sea Company during the period when it was involved in the slave trade.</p>
<p>Wikipedia en.wikipedia.org</p>	<p>Collaborative online encyclopaedia project.</p> <p>A valuable resource. We used Wikipedia for biographies of individuals and families; profiles of institutions and organisations; background to historical events; and details of legal innovation. We did cross-reference sources where at all possible, but in nearly all cases we found the information on Wikipedia to have been accurate, if not always complete.</p>

<p>Websites for individual properties of note</p>	<p>Sometimes useful information about family history could be found on websites for the property at which they lived, if the property remains of public interest. These included properties which are now National Trust or English Heritage properties, hotels, private residences, or rehab centres.</p>
<p>Amateur family history sites</p>	<p>Occasionally, a descendant of a family we were looking into had already traced their family tree, and published their findings on a personal website online. These could be valuable resources if we were struggling to find freely available information elsewhere, although we did try to verify their sources where possible.</p>
<p>Local amateur historians</p>	<p>Occasionally, a local resident had researched and written an account of, for example, the mills of Eastington, and published their accounts online. Provided they were reasonably well-sourced – and many were – these could be useful resources for us.</p>
<p>'Slavery and the British Country House' – Madge Dresser and Andrew Hann (Eds.), English Heritage, 2013</p> <p>historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/slavery-and-british-country-house/slavery-british-country-house-web</p>	<p>Chapter 2 of this report focuses on 'Slavery and West Country Houses' and includes detailed descriptions of Gloucestershire properties and their owners.</p>
<p>'Interim Report on the Connections between Colonialism and Properties now in the Care of the National Trust, Including Links with Historic Slavery' - Dr Sally-Anne Huxtable, Dr Corinne Fowler, Dr Christos Kefalas, Emma Slocombe (Eds.) – National Trust, 2020</p> <p>nt.global.ssl.fastly.net/documents/colonialism-and-historic-slavery-report.pdf</p>	<p>This report includes details of properties in South West England (including in Gloucestershire) with links to the slave trade. It also provided useful information about industries with a central role in the trade.</p>
<p>National Archives/Gloucestershire</p>	<p>This outline of the collections held at Gloucestershire Archives was a useful stepping stone, helping confirm individuals' identities, dates of birth and death, provide</p>

<p>Archives- Collections Information</p> <p>https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/A13532926</p>	<p>names of family members, indicate professions held, and places of residence.</p>
<p>The London Gazette</p> <p>https://www.thegazette.co.uk/ and via Googlebooks</p>	<p>Provided relevant information about subscribers' involvement in public life, as well as confirming identities of individuals and providing information about professional activities and connections.</p>

¹ Profile of John Hawkins by Royal Museums Greenwich

<https://www.rmg.co.uk/discover/explore/sir-john-hawkins>

² Olusoga, David (2017) *Black and British: A Forgotten History* Pan Macmillan

³ The National Archives: 'Britain and the Slave Trade'

<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/slavery/pdf/britain-and-the-trade.pdf>

⁴ Some sources put the life expectancy for newly arrived enslaved people as low as 7-9 years; with a third of people dying in the first three years; a death rate so high that the system relied on renewed intakes of forcibly transported people from West Africa about every decade. See, among others:

<https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/archaeologyofslavery/slavery-caribbean>

<http://revealinghistories.org.uk/africa-the-arrival-of-europeans-and-the-transatlantic-slave-trade/articles/life-on-plantations.html>

http://abolition.e2bn.org/slavery_69.html

<https://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/guides/zjyqtfr/revision/3>

⁵ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yorke%E2%80%93Talbot_slavery_opinion

⁶ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Somerset_v_Stewart

⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Society_for_Effecting_the_Abolition_of_the_Slave_Trade

⁸ Olusoga, David (*Supra*, n.2)

⁹ Key people included Olaudah Equiano, Ottobah Cugoana, Phillis Wheatley, James Gronniosaw, Ignatius Sancho, and Mary Prince. See Olusoga, David (*Supra*, n.2)

¹⁰ Olusoga, David (*Supra*, n.2)

¹¹ <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/project/context/>

¹² <https://nt.global.ssl.fastly.net/documents/colonialism-and-historic-slavery-report.pdf>

¹³ https://www.southampton.ac.uk/assets/imported/transforms/content-block/UsefulDownloads_Download/326F907A8F434B05B2199578407AA4B6/0924.pdf

¹⁴ <https://www.britannica.com/story/5-fast-facts-about-the-east-india-company>

¹⁵ <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/slavery/pdf/britain-and-the-trade.pdf>

¹⁶ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Society_Partners_in_the_Gospel

¹⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Codrington_Plantations

¹⁸ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beilby_Porteus

¹⁹ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/4694896.stm> ;

²⁰ <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/20517/#commercial-summary>

²¹ <https://gloshistory.org.uk/reprints/gh199110.pdf>

²² <http://radicalstroud.co.uk/stroud-and-a-hidden-colonial-landscape-number-5/>