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Please note some of the content of this report contains offensive language and may cause distress

Front cover:

John Julius Angerstein by Sir Thomas Lawrence, oil on canvas, 1816, Lloyd's Collection, © Lloyd's



Crayon drawing of John Julius Angerstein, attributed to Sir Thomas Lawrence, Lloyd's Collection, © Lloyd's

Introduction

John Julius Angerstein (1732-1823) was a successful businessman, who primarily worked in the marine insurance business, as both a broker and underwriter. He was also a financier, shipowner, art collector and philanthropist. Angerstein was reputed to be one of the founding subscribers of New Lloyd's Coffee House in 1771.

He served on Lloyd's Committee from 1786-1796 and is seen as a key figure in the development of the Lloyd's insurance market. Policies led by Angerstein were known as 'Julians' and were widely respected in the market.

Towards the latter part of the 19th century, Angerstein was heralded as 'The Father of Lloyd's' and came to symbolise what was viewed as 'the golden age of marine insurance' of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Much later, he was depicted as the hero of a 1936 Twentieth Century Fox movie made about Lloyd's. His prominence in the history of Lloyd's has led us to examine the ways in which he was involved in the transatlantic slave trade.

We are now beginning to understand how the City of London provided the complex and sophisticated financial and mercantile networks that facilitated - and in turn drew strength from - the slave trade and the slave economy. The business of slavery was not just located in slave owners and slave traders but was far wider, entwined in everyday economic infrastructures and networks. Lloyd's, as the global centre for insuring shipping, played an integral role. During this time many of those involved with Lloyd's amassed their fortunes in line with the extractive economics of empire.

Angerstein was one of those and a key member of the City of London's economic and mercantile networks. Although conclusive evidence does not survive, it is clear the foundation of his wealth was in underwriting and brokerage in marine insurance and that part of his wealth was derived from the slave economy. This allowed him to act as a significant philanthropist. He was Chairman of various committees set up to support the wounded and widowed of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars which brought him into direct contact with Admiral Lord Nelson. He later chaired Lloyd's Patriotic Fund, which still exists today working with armed forces charities to help individuals and their families in need of support. He supported numerous other charities and was instrumental in establishing the Lloyd's Lifeboat Fund. He was also an important collector of fine art. After his death, 38 paintings from Angerstein's collection formed the basis of the National Gallery.

Through our research we have explored the collective role Angerstein and others played in setting up New Lloyd's Coffee House, as well as established his involvement in the slave economy. As a result, we have concluded his title, 'The Father of Lloyd's' is no longer appropriate or relevant and through the discussions with our Black and Minority Ethnic colleagues we recognise slavery's ongoing legacy which is still evident in the racial inequalities that persist today. We are deeply sorry for the Lloyd's market's participation in the transatlantic slave trade. It is part of our shared history that caused enormous suffering.

¹ Lecture by Sidney Boulton, Chairman of Lloyds, 1920-1921, quoted in 'John Julius Angerstein', Lloyd's List, 9 May 1922

Introduction

At Lloyd's, we want to operate a market in which everyone can fully participate and thrive. We have committed to:

- Diversifying our workforce with an ambition of a third of all new hires coming from ethnic minority backgrounds.
- Continuing to invest in programmes to attract, retain and develop Black and Minority Ethnic talent in our market.
- Making financial contributions to charities that promote racial justice, inclusion and opportunity for Black and Minority Ethnic people in the UK.
- Developing our long-term culture strategy to create an inclusive culture.
- Ensuring an honest account about our role in the slave trade is part of the story we tell about Lloyd's.

We approach this work with profound humility, a spirit of openness and real enthusiasm for change. We will continue to listen to and be guided by our Black and Minority Ethnic colleagues, we will be transparent and we will be accountable for the progress we make. Further information about our Equality Commitments can be found here. This report gives an outline of Angerstein's life and resituates his position as 'a member of commercial networks for whom slavery was part of the fabric of the financial and mercantile worlds in which jointly he and they operated.'2

² Nicholas Draper, 'Angerstein, Marine Insurance, the Slave Trade and Slavery', 2021-2022 <u>angersteinmarine.pdf</u> (ucl.ac.uk) [accessed 15/07/2022]



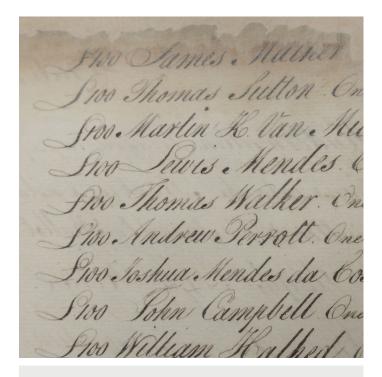
Lithograph of Edward Lloyd's Coffee House published by William Holland, 1798, Lloyd's Collection, © Lloyd's

Angerstein was born in Russia, probably to German parents and emigrated to London around 1749. He served his apprenticeship in the counting house of Andrew Thomson, an Anglo-Russian merchant and possibly his father.³ He would have been introduced to Lloyd's in the mid-1750s.⁴

In 1769 a group of merchants, brokers and underwriters moved their business from Lloyd's Coffee House in Lombard Street to 'New' Lloyd's Coffee House' at 5 Pope's Head Alley. This was to distinguish themselves from the 'shameful practices ... such as Speculative Insurances on the Lives of Persons and Government Securities... it is notorious they are calculated for the purposes of Stock-jobbing, and tend to weaken Public Credit.'5

On 13 December 1771, 77 of these men subscribed £100 each for the 'Building of A New Lloyd's Coffee House'. This signalled the change from a loosely connected set of people related to marine insurance meeting in a coffee house to a system of membership through subscription.

New Lloyd's Coffee House was run by a 'Committee for the Management of the Affaires of this House'. There are no records of an official election of a Chairman but a Committee member was 'in the Chair' for every General Meeting of Subscribers. Angerstein was 'in the Chair' on 1 March 1786, 11 June 1795 and 17 August 1796 and served on the Committee 1786-1796.



In the original list of founders to New Lloyd's Coffee House in Lloyd's minute books, 13 December 1771, Angerstein does not appear. This image shows the second page, where James Mather is just decipherable at the top. Frederick Martin, who wrote a history of Lloyd's in 1876, asserts that Angerstein's name appears before James Mather but no evidence of this survives. Fire damage is evident at the edge of the folio, probably from the 1838 fire at the Royal Exchange, where Lloyd's and its archive were then based. In early 1772, Angerstein was at the second General Meeting of Subscribers who elected a Committee of nine by ballot. This did not include Angerstein, who joined the Committee 15 years after its foundation.

Lloyd's Minute/Subscriber's Book, Ms 31571-1, Lloyd's Collection held at Guildhall Library, © Lloyd's

³ Anthony Twist, A Life of John Julius Angerstein, 1735-1823: Widening Circles in Finance, Philanthropy and the Arts in Eighteenth Century London, 2006, pp.13-14

⁴ Report from the Select Committee on Marine Insurance, 1810, pp.57-61. On 12 March 1810, Angerstein gave evidence and stated he had been in the business for 'about 54 years'. We do not have an exact date for when he would have started using Lloyd's but by 1756 he had a business on his own account, with his friend William Lock providing the surety.

⁵ Part of the resolutions passed by New Lloyd's in March 1774, Lloyd's Minute/Subscriber's Book, Ms 31571-1, Guildhall Library

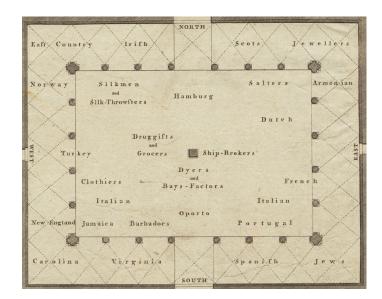
Angerstein appears again in the minutes in 1773 and in a history of Lloyd's, written in 1876, Frederick Martin credits him with single-handedly taking charge and managing the negotiations for the lease of rooms, over the north-west side in the Royal Exchange for £180 a year. 6 In the Gresham Committee of the Mercers' Company a lease was granted to J J Angerstein, John Ewer, John Wilkinson and Joshua Readshaw for 'part of the north inner pawne' [colonnade] and two rooms in the 'west inner pawne' for £160 for 21 years from Christmas 1773. The other three parties to the lease were all Committee members. Lloyd's moved to the Royal Exchange on 7 March 1774 and, apart from a brief interval following the 1838 fire which destroyed the second Royal Exchange, would remain there until 1928.



Elevation and Plan of the Second Royal Exchange, [c.1761], showing the zones of commercial trading in the space. Lloyd's Collection, © Lloyd's

When Angerstein was elected to the Committee in 1786 the subscribers approved the motion for the Committee to increase from nine to ten members. In this instance - and at a later one in 1791 - Angerstein was identified as the person who could negotiate more accommodation for Lloyd's as it continued to expand.

Angerstein regularly attended Committee meetings but Lloyd's minutes do not account for his increasing status. There is mention that he was appointed to a special committee to confer with the Royal Exchange and London Assurance companies on the question of liability of underwriters to pay for losses incurred by illegal trade.8 Other evidence points to his growing importance in the networks of the City and government. In 1793 he was one of the delegates who met with Lord Grenville, then Foreign Secretary, about British vessels that had been condemned after capture by the French and in 1796 he chaired a meeting of insurers and others which resolved to appoint a committee to examine the provisions of a recent Act that imposed a new duty on marine insurance.9 When Lloyd's petitioned the Government in favour of the improvement of the Port of London and the creation of a wet dock, Angerstein's signature was first on the list.10



- 6 Frederick Martin, *The History of Lloyd's*, 1876, London, Macmillan & Co. pp.153-155
- 7 Quoted in Anthony Twist, 2006, pp.64-65
- 8 Anthony Twist, 2006, p.164
- 9 Anthony Twist, 2006, p.164, quoting from The Times, 27 January 1796
- 10 Lloyd's Minute/Subscriber's Book, Ms 31571-1, Guildhall Library, 20 Feb 1796

After he left Lloyd's Committee in 1796, the minutes show his continued involvement as a member with experience and standing. In 1800 he was one of a group to submit a motion to restrict subscribers to merchants, underwriters and brokers.11 A Special Committee, of which Angerstein was not a member, was formed in 1803 to address questions on an increase in fraudulent averages. They proposed new clauses to be added to all policies. In his 1817 An Essay in Average, Robert Stevens refers to one that was known as 'Mr Angerstein's clause', which specified a Certificate of Survey by two British Merchants in case of claims for partial loss by sea damage arising at foreign ports.¹² In 1804, Angerstein met with Mr Hammond at the Secretary of State department over fraudulent dealings relating to a ship called Brutus.13 Angerstein also represented Lloyd's at an 1810 Parliamentary Inquiry on marine insurance in which his testimony was twice the length of any others. He testified to the enormous variety of global risks underwritten at Lloyd's owing to the competitive lower premiums offered, the flexibility of credit and the market's ability to promptly discharge even enormous financial losses. Angerstein stressed that:

'I do not know the names of half of [the underwriters at Lloyd's]. My knowledge only consists of what I do myself; I have so much to do when I am there that I do not concern myself with anything that others do'. ¹⁴

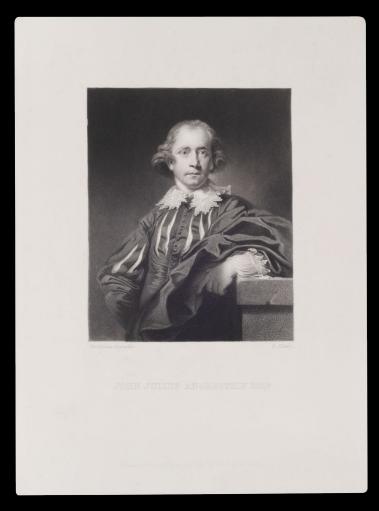
¹¹ Lloyd's Minute/Subscriber's Books, f.104r, Ms 31571-1, Guildhall Library

¹² Robert Stevens, An Essay in Average, 1817, p.95n

¹³ Lloyd's Minute/Subscriber's Books, f.173, Ms 31571-1, Guildhall Library

¹⁴ Report, 1810, p.67. In 1806 the Globe Insurance Company unsuccessfully petitioned for a charter of incorporation for a fire, life and marine business. A subscription list was opened in 1809 for a company with five million capital, which would rival Lloyd's dominance in marine insurance. Angerstein and eleven other subscribers called a General Meeting in January 1810, chaired by James Vaux. A Special Committee of fourteen members headed by Angerstein was formed to oppose any application to Parliament or the Privy Council on behalf of the new company which was deemed 'Highly detrimental to the interests of the subscribers.' On 14 Feb 1810 William Manning, MP, moved for leave to bring a Bill to set up a new marine insurance company. Manning had been an MP since 1794, Director of the Bank of England since 1790 and a Subscriber to Lloyd's since 1806. Joseph Marryat, MP, and member of Lloyd's, spoke against Manning but lost the vote 20 to 7 to set up a Select Committee. Manning was appointed Chair and other members were Marryat, Pascoe Grenfell, a director of the Royal Assurance Company, and Alexander Baring, who was a partner with Angerstein in loan contracting but his opponent in this matter as Baring favoured the new company. The only two existing Corporations, the London Assurance Company and the Royal Exchange Assurance Company, were so small that Lloyd's was being put under scrutiny for the ability of the market to take on large risks and the promptness of payments of losses. See Anthony Twist, 2006, pp.328-334

Angerstein, marine insurance and slavery



Engraving after a 1765 painting of John Julius Angerstein in 17th century, Van Dyck dress by Joshua Reynolds, 1864, Lloyd's Collection, © Lloyd's

Angerstein and marine insurance

An article in 'Public Characters of 1803-1804' states that Angerstein 'soon became eminent as a broker and underwriter' and that his reputation in the insurance market increased daily. ¹⁵ Policies underwritten by Angerstein, as the 'lead' or primary underwriter, were so popular they were known as 'Julians'.

Angerstein was reputed to have established the system of 'lead and follow', where a specialist 'lead' underwriter, would underwrite a policy and the risk would be shared by 'following' underwriters. As such, he is credited with being responsible for the underwriting and broking practices of today, although there is no evidence to support his role in this.

Little is known of Angerstein's practice as a marine underwriter. He does make a reference to insuring the property of the *Lutine*, which was lost in 1799¹⁶ but more evidence of his brokerage business survives. Angerstein entered into a number of partnerships. His first was with Alexander Dick, as Dick & Angerstein, 1757-1768. He then acted alone until 1778 when he appeared as Angerstein & Lewis, and then in 1783 as Angerstein, Crokatt and Lewis. Angerstein then partnered with Peter Warren and Charles Lock and continued as Angerstein and Warren, 1797-1799. His final partnership was with Vincent Francis Rivaz, as Angerstein & Rivaz, until his retirement 1811.

Several underwriter's risk books feature Angerstein as a broker, including those of William Braund, (late 1750s to early 1760s); John Janson (1804-1815); and Horatio Clagett (1807).¹⁷ In 1810, Angerstein stated he had about 200 accounts with Lloyd's underwriters,¹⁸ therefore the extant risk books only represent a tiny proportion of his brokerage business. In the 1810 Select Committee, Angerstein recounts his brokerage of the *Diana* in 1807, which according to Twist 'was a frigate and thus Angerstein was acting as a broker to the British Government.' ¹⁹



John Janson's Risk Book, 1804-1805, showing Angerstein's brokerage of the bilateral trade from Demerara to London, but also other trading routes including Liverpool to Amsterdam and Stockholm to Dublin, Lloyd's Collection, © Lloyd's

¹⁵ Public Characters of 1804-1804, Printed for Richard Phillips, London, 1804, p.387

¹⁶ Report from the Select Committee on Marine Insurance, 1810, p.64

¹⁷ Braund's risk books are at Essex Record Office, D/DRU B7-B8; John Janson's risk books are at the British Library, Vol. I-Vol. VIII, Add Ms 34669-34676, except for the 1804-05 book which is in Lloyd's Collection, L0419; as is the risk book of Horatio Clagett, L1465. For a detailed analysis of the risk books see Nicholas Draper, 'Angerstein, Marine Insurance, the Slave Trade and Slavery', 2021-2022 angersteinmarine.pdf (ucl.ac.uk) [accessed 15/07/2022]

¹⁸ Report from the Select Committee on Marine Insurance, 1810, p.58

¹⁹ Anthony Twist, 2006, p.330

Angerstein's connections to slavery

There is no evidence that Angerstein was a slave trader and there is no record of Angerstein's views on slavery. Any definitive conclusion about his position in relation to slavery is not possible because of a lack of surviving evidence.

Records that do survive only provide a snapshot. However, as a successful businessman, Angerstein was a beneficiary of slavery because he was entwined in the slave economy, which was embedded in the sophisticated financial and mercantile networks of the City of London. This complex picture has been made clearer by recent research of University College London's Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery (undertaken for the National Gallery) which has defined Angerstein's relationship to the slave economy in two areas: firstly in marine insurance by Nicholas Draper and secondly through slave ownership by Rachel Lang. The reports can be found here and the following summary heavily relies on their research.



Nicholas Draper has identified evidence that Angerstein acted as a broker of slave-ships returning from the West Indies, after they disembarked the enslaved Africans, in at least three cases. The image shown is one of these from John Janson's Risk Book in Lloyd's Collection, which was the return leg of the *Thames* from Suriname to London, 7 September 1804, identified on the Slave Voyages database as voyage number 83742 where 244 out the 271 enslaved disembarked. The *Thames* belonged to the London slavetrader Archibald Dalziel, Lloyd's Collection, © Lloyd's

Angerstein marine insurance and slavery

Nicholas Draper summarises how Angerstein's business interests in marine insurance were related to slavery:

Angerstein's fortune was drawn from a range of business activities, including ship-owning and loan-contracting, but these broader activities came later in his life, while the foundation of his wealth was in underwriting and brokerage in marine insurance, with the former (underwriting) probably more important than the latter (brokerage).

His underwriting and brokerage activities took place in a marine insurance industry within which a significant proportion of the business was represented by the slave trade and the 'West India' trade of shipping sugar from the Caribbean to Europe. Of these the latter, the bilateral West India trade, was more important than the 'African' trade - the trade in captive Africans - but was not separable from it.

There is no evidence that Angerstein was a slave trader and there is evidence that he partnered with a slave trader James Mather in other shipping partnerships and given that these latter partnerships are not fully evidenced in the Register of Ships it cannot be excluded that Angerstein held interests in the slave voyages shown from the same sources to have been undertaken by James Mather alone.

Angerstein's marine insurance and slavery

There is conclusive evidence of Angerstein's participation in the insurance of the West India trade sectors but in the limited surviving sources no evidence has been found that he insured slave ships on the voyages to Africa or in the Middle Passage. There is evidence as a broker he placed insurance of at least three slaving vessels on their return voyages from the Americas in the period of 1804-1808, in the very last years of the slave trade. The owners of these vessels, and by inference Angerstein's clients, included Thomas King and Archibald Dalziel, both prominent London slave traders.

The fragments that survive suggest that Angerstein's participation early in his career in the West India trade (i.e. the bilateral trade between Europe and the slave-colonies of the Americas) was in line with the proportion of this business within marine insurance overall, at around one-third measured by premium income. In two different snapshots from late in his career, in 1804 and 1805, some 40% and 60% respectively of the premia for the insurance Angerstein placed with the same broker, John Janson, arose from the underwriting of ships on voyages in both directions between Europe and the transatlantic slave colonies.

Angerstein was therefore a beneficiary of slavery in the marine insurance business on which he founded his career and fortune, and a member of commercial networks for whom slavery was part of the fabric of the financial and mercantile worlds in which jointly he and they operated.²⁰

Angerstein and slave ownership

Although Angerstein was not a slave owner, his connections to slave ownership have been established by Rachel Lang in three main ways:

The Lucas family holdings

Angerstein married Eliza Lucas nee Payne (1748/9-1800) in 1785. Her former husband was Thomas Lucas (d.1784), a London-based sugar factor, MP for Grampound 1780-1784 and President of Guy's Hospital 1775-1784. He left Eliza, £6000 in South Sea stock, £500 cash and, in trust, an annuity of £500 per annum secured against his unnamed plantation and its enslaved people on St Kitts. This was probably the estate known as Lucas's in St George Bassterre and Eliza was one of the trustees.²¹ Rachel Lang has written it is likely that through this marriage Angerstein acquired the capital originally accumulated by Thomas Lucas from the slave economy and slave ownership as well as a share of the legal responsibility to manage and administer Lucas's estate in St Kitt's.'22 In 1789 the Lucas Trust for the St Kitt's estate was dismantled and Anthony Twist claims that this ended Eliza's interest in the plantation, but Rachel Lang maintains the 'implications for Eliza's annuity are unclear'. 23 Eliza also inherited for life Lucas's houses in Albermarle Street and his country house, later known as Manor House, in Lee which he had built in 1771 and the contents of both houses outright. The residuary heir for his property was Lucas's nephew Thomas Lucas Wheeler, who died in 1792 and in a codicil to his will of 1789 left his interest to Joseph Paice, who sold Manor House to Sir Francis Baring in in 1797-1798.²⁴ Rachel Lang concludes that 'Angerstein benefitted from his wife's English property'.25

²⁰ Nicholas Draper's conclusion from 'Angerstein, Marine Insurance, the Slave Trade and Slavery', 2021-2022 angersteinmarine.pdf (ucl.ac.uk) [accessed 15/07/2022]

²¹ The National Archives, Ref: PROB 11/1122/322

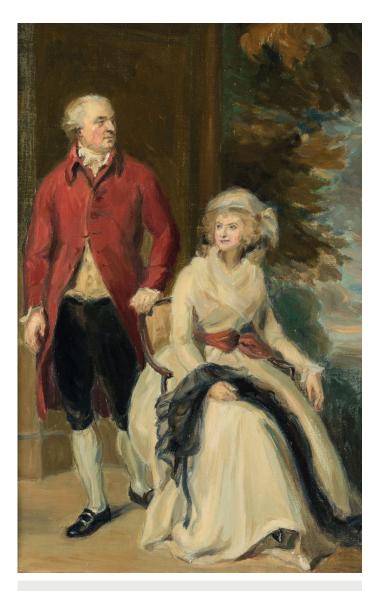
²² Rachel Lang, 'John Julius Angerstein and slave-ownership' Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery, UCL, 2021, p.3, angersteinownership.pdf (ucl.ac.uk) [accessed 20/06/2022]

²³ Anthony Twist, 2006, p.68 and Rachel Lang, 2021, p.3

²⁴ Barings Archive, Ref: NP/1/B4/10. Three receipts from Joseph Paice to Sir Francis Baring for the latter's purchase of the reversion of the Manor of Lee, 1797-1798, mentioning the life interest of Elizabeth Angerstein. Thanks to Clara Harrow for bringing these documents to my attention.

²⁵ Rachel Lang, 2021, p.8

The Lucas family holdings



In this double portrait, Angerstein and Eliza are depicted in a neo-classical building with a landscape behind them. They are portrayed as landed gentry. This is an oil sketch made by Madame Ruelle, c.1920, after Sir Thomas Lawrence's 1791 painting, now in the Louvre, Paris. It was commissioned to fill one of eight panels in the Royal Exchange as part of a scheme by the Gresham Committee to commemorate significant individuals in 1922. In the original Lawrence portrait, he hints that Angerstein's wealth was based on marine interests, rather than representing the couple as purely aristocratic, through a tiny ship painted in the background, Lloyd's Collection, © Lloyd's

The de Ponthieu Trust, Granada

In 1767 the de Ponthieus conveyed their estates in Granada in trust to Angerstein, Edward Payne and John Wilkinson to administer for the benefit of all creditors. Angerstein was himself a creditor of the de Ponthieus for commissions on premia of insurance of £6621 16s 5d. As a trustee, Angerstein stood to benefit to the extent of his share of the recovery of assets (but in principle no further) and was legally responsible for the management of the de Ponthieus' plantations on Granada which included several hundred enslaved people. He retained this responsibility for the remaining 56 years of his life, acting as sole trustee from 1794.

The extent of the de Ponthieu properties in Grenada are outlined in auction pamphlet of 1775.26 They included two sugar plantations: the Beaulieu estate of 255 acres which boasted 'a large mansion house and offices, most delightfully situated with a good garden', 250 enslaved people living in 'thirty-three negroe houses' and Thuilleries estate of 140 acres and other grounds with 120 enslaved and 24 'negro houses'. This was alongside two coffee plantations, known as Mondesir, consisting of 45.5 acres planted with 36,000 coffee trees, 35 enslaved and 'eighteen negro houses' and Capitole of 139 acres. There were two further tracts of woodlands of 288 and 240 acres. The Beaulieu estate remained unsold and became increasingly unprofitable with a mounting number of creditors, who by 1819 resorted to legal action against Angerstein and attacked the sugar and rum crops. 27

²⁶ Angerstein Papers, London Metropolitan Archives, City of London, LMA/F/ANG/104

²⁷ Extract from Mr Munro's letter to Messrs Davidsons Barkley & Co. Granada, 27 March 1819, LMA/F/ANG/104

Late Messrs. DE PONTHIEU's. Which will be Sold by Auction, by Mr. SKINNER,

On Wednesday the 28th of June, 1775. Letter John At Garraway's Coffee-house, 'Change Alley, Cornbill, London, Neuro 27th At Twelve o'Clock, in Six Lots. LOT I.

A SUGAR PLANTATION, called Braulieu, in the Quarter of St. George, in the Island of Grenada, within two Miles of St. George; constitue, of three hundred and eighty-one with a good Garden.

An Hospital, Manager's House, Boiling House, Curing House, Still House, Mill House, Stills, Worms, thirty-three Negroe Houses, and every other requisite and convenient Office.

An excellent Water Mill, plentifully supplied. 1.3 and 1.4 and 1.5 and 1

Two hundred and fifty-five Acres in Canes.

Fifty-eight Acres in Brush, about eleven Acres of which in Precipices and Gullys.

Forty-two Acres in Pasture.

Twenty-six Acres in Provision Ground.

Negroe and other Slaves, Stock and Utenfils, by the last Accounts.

Two hundred and fifty Negroe and other Slaves. One Camel. Thirty-fix Mules. Two Cows, two Calves and one Heifer. Eleven working Bulls. Eight Horfes. Four Stills, 500, 300, 250, and 150 Gallons each, with Worms, Worm Cliferns and Apparatus. Eight 500 Gallon Rum Buts. Thirty-three Liquor Vats in Diffelling House, with Waggons, Carts, and other Stores and Utenfils.

There is an exceeding good Cart Road to the Plantation from St. George, and another all round and crofs the Eflate, made at a very great Expense.

Provifions and Necessaries for the Plantation may be bought at St. George's.

Let I. fulped to an Annuity of 28,000 Livers of France, for the joint Lives of a Gentleman, aged 77 and a Lady aged 69, but apon the Death of either, the Annuity is reduced to 21,000 Livers for the Life of the Survives, payable at Midjammer and Christman ar Party and apon the Death of both, it is Annuity capital.

LOT II.

A SUGAR PLANTATION, called THULLERES, in the Quarter of St. Andrew, in the Illand of Grenada, at a convenient Diffance from St. Andrew, in the lecond Town in the Illand; confifting of four hundred and two Acres of Land, of which, 287 Acres have been furveyed as under, and the Refidue not furveyed; a new Dwelling House, another Dwelling House, intended for an Hospital, a Still House, a Curing House, a Soliting House, from Boilers in Hospital, Shed House, Trash House, Kitchen and Oven, a Cooper's Shop, 24 Negro Houses, and every other requisite and convenient Office; a Warehouse at the Bay.

The surveyed Lands confist of One Hundred and forty Acres in Canes.

Eighty Acres in Wood.

Sixty-feven Acres in Patture and Provision Ground.

Negroe and other Slaves, Stock and Utenfils, by the last Accounts.

One Hundred and Twenty Negroe and other Slaves. Nineteen Mules. Fifteen horned Cattle. A Worm Ciltern for two Worms of new Mafons Work. Two 300 Gallon Stills with their Worms and Furnace Doors. Four spare Iron Boilers, of different Sizes. A Plantation Bill mounted, with other Stores and Utensils.

There is an exceeding good Cart Road from the Plantation to the Town of St. Andrew, where Lumber and Provisions are bought reasonable, and the Rum and Ground Provision are fold at a good Price.

LOT III.

A COFFEE PLANTATION called Mondesia, at a small Distance from the Thuilbrier, and the Hand of Granada, consisting of Fifty Acres of exceeding fine Land, Forty-five full Bearing; the Remainder in Provisions and Savannah. A Dwelling House and Bocan under one Root; a Mill and Mill House, a Bakehouse, a Stable, a Pigeon House, a Canoe, a Peron, Eighteen Negro Houses, and every requisite and convenient Office: The Whole of this Plantation requires no further Expense in Cultivation. Also 35 Negroe and other Slaves, as by the last Account.

The Situation of this Plantation is beautiful beyond Description, commanding a Prospect of the great River Marquis, the Sea, and many fine Edates in the Neighbourhood; it lies upon a continued Flat, and may be worked at a very little Expense.

It is a very desirable Spot for a Gentleman who chules to reside in the West Indies, on his own Estate; the River affords Plenty of Fish, and the Neighbourhood is genteed and fociable.

L O T

ONE HUNDRED and THIRTY-NINE ACRES of LAND, the remaining Part of a Coffee Plantation, called Capitole, in the Quarter of St. Andrew, alorefaid, formerly planted with Coffee, Provisions, &c.

LOT

A TRACT of WOODLAND, called CHOISI, in the Quarter of St. Anarew, containing about 288 Acres, adjoining to the Thuilleries Plantauon.

L O T VI.

A TRACT of WOODLAND, containing about TWO HUNDRED and FORTY ACRES, fituate about two Miles from the Beaulius Plantation, between that and the great Lake, to which there is a new Road now making.

Plans of the Effates may be feen at Meffrs. Wyatt and Acton's, Attornies, Swithin's Lane, of whom printed Particulars may be had; also at the Place of Sale, and of Mr. SKINNER, Alderfgate Street.

CONDITIONS of SALE.

- CONDITIONS of SALE.

 I. THE highest Bidder to be the Purchaser, and if any Dispute should arise between two or more Bidders, the Lot to be put up again.

 II. No Advance less than one hundred Pounds at each Bidding, unless on a Lot under five thousand Pounds in Value, then ten Pounds at a Bidding.

 III. The Purchasers of the two first Lots to pay Ten per Cent, down; Ten per Cent, more on or before the 18 of August next; Five per Cent, more on or before the 18 of August next; Five per Cent, more on or before the 18 of August next; Five per Cent, more on or before the 18 of August next; Five per Cent, more on or before the 18 of September next; Five per Cent, more on or before the 18 of August next; Five per Cent, more on or before the 18 of September next; and upon complexing the last mentioned Payment, a proper Title and Conveyance shall be made to the Purchaser of each Lot, at his own Expence, in such Manner that the Promition's Notes of the Purchaser, respectively as follows, vis. One Third Part with Interest from the 18 of November, 1775, another Third Part with the like Interest, payable in like Manner, on the 18 of November 1778.

 IV. The Purchasers of Lots 3, 4, 5 and 6, to pay down immediately a Deposite of Twenty per Cent, within fix Months from the Day of Sale: On the 1st Payment being made, a proper Tule and Conveyance shall be made of each Lot, to the different Purchasers, at their Expense.

 V. The Purchasers of Lots 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6, to be put in Possession of their respective Lots, on the

- In the made of each Lot, to the different Purchafers, at their Expense.

 V. The Purchafers of Lots 1, 2, 4, 5 and 6, to be put in Possession of their respective Lots, on the 1st of September, 1775; the Purchafer of Lot 3, on the 1st of January, 1776, or as soon afterwards as is possible, in the State and Condition the fame that then be in.

 VI. That the Purchafer canh Lot receive all Proits arising from the Estate, &c. respectively from the 1st of September, 1775, and the 1st of January, 1776, to which Time every thing shall be made clear to each Purchaser.
- VII. The Purchasers to be at Liberty to pay down the Whole Purchase Money, or a greater Part thereof than is before stipulated, if they choose.
- Laftly. If the faid Purchafers should neglect or fail to comply with the Conditions before mentioned, the Deposite Money shall be forfeited, the Proprietor shall be at fail Liberty to re-sell the Premises, and the Deficiency, if any there should be by such second Sale, together with the Charges attending the same, shall be made good by the Defaulter at this present Sale.

Advertisement for the auction of the de Ponthieu's estates in Granada, at Garraway's Coffee House, 28 June 1775. This details the extent of the estates in the early part of Angerstein's trusteeship. London Metropolitan Archives, City of London, LMA/F/ANG/104

The de Ponthieu Trust, Granada





In some of Angerstein's rough accounts for 1769 there are payments to 'Calvert' for 'negroes', who is likely to be the slave-trader Anthony Calvert (1735?-1809), a ship's captain and owner. He became the partner of Thomas King (d.1824) also a former slave-ship captain and they went on to form the firm Camden, Calvert & King who were key slave traders. Their business extended to insurance and finance. King became a subscriber to Lloyd's in 1798, although he was underwriting slave ships at Lloyd's from at least 1794²⁸ and Calvert became a subscriber in 1800, London Metropolitan Archives, City of London, LMA/F/ANG/103

In 1769-1772 some rough accounts show nearly £7000 was invested in buying enslaved people to work on the plantations. ²⁹ However, later records indicate the numbers of enslaved had decreased, in other words deaths had exceeded live births by a large number, illustrating the demographic disaster of slavery for the enslaved people. George Gun Munro, who acted as attorney for Beaulieu and many other plantations in Grenada, reported in 1816 that 'The Gang are now 137. In 1809 they were 167. I think, the decrease has been chiefly superannuates and in proportion to their numbers they are now more effective than they were at that time but there are still many of them who are more a tax than a benefit.' In Munro's opinion the only way to make the estate profitable was 'a very heavy expense in Slaves to be purchased.'30 The slavers fear of emancipation and black people's determination to gain their freedom is evident in a letter Munro wrote to Daniel Giles, a mortgagee of the Beaulieu estate. On 8 May 1816 Munro writes about the slave rebellion in Barbados, which had started on 14 April 1816, as a 'strong shock' and 'no one can say if or when the ideas connected with it can be obliterated from the minds of the negroes.'31

²⁸ King underwrote the slave-ship Guipuzcoa, Lloyd's Collection, L462

²⁹ LMA/F/ANG/103

³⁰ Extract from a letter from George Gun Munro to Kaye, Freshfields & Kaye (who acted on behalf of Angerstein) 6 January 1816, LMA/F/ANG/104

³¹ LMA/F/ANG/104

The de Ponthieu Trust, Granada

A list of the 137 enslaved forms part of the 1816 valuation of Beaulieu and it represents the stark reality of how the enslaved were commodified. 32 They are divided up into men (45), women (62), 'Grass Gang', who are mainly children (10) and children (20). Their names are given but we are unable to tell if these are the names they were born with. The valuation then includes a brief description, largely signifying the role of the enslaved person on the estate but also indicating aspects of their character, dis/ability, and age. The enslaved are itemised according to whether they were viewed as 'good' or 'ill disposed'; 'weak' or 'strong'; old or 'invalid' and this directly related to their 'value'. Hanibal is described as 'Decrepid [sic] but well dispos'd' and valued at £20 whereas Octavio is 'Invalid useless' and is deemed to have no monetary value, as were others. Particular attention is given to whether the enslaved suffered from 'sores', pointing to the brutality of the conditions of plantation life and references to 'maldestomach' indicate the practice of 'dirt-eating' by the enslaved which 'has been plausibly interpreted as a result of malnutrition... according to some authors dirt-eating was a principal cause of death, particularly among recently imported Africans and on sugar plantations. Dirt-eating came to be seen as a result of demoralization and harsh treatment.'33 There are references to acts of resistance, where 'runaways' those who sought their freedom from enslavement are identified and described as 'reformed' after their recapture. The entire inventory is reproduced here to honour and remember the enslaved of Beaulieu alongside the transcription of the valuation. It should be noted that the names recorded for the enslaved people appear very largely to be those given in captivity by their captors, and the loss of the natal names is acknowledged here.

³² LMA/F/ANG/102

³³ J R Ward, British West Indian Slavery 1750-1854: The Process of Amelioration, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1988, Demographic Results 153

	260 7
	Slaves B. form? 4740
John H	ead Driver able good Character 170
Bonadoenlu	u 2° 50 & Boiler S 150
Trank	Frank his off it
	Head Boiler old Watchman out a 50
John Baptist	Jeaderman Ruphured indeferent a 90
Clement	a Black mith smile of
chodest	a Blacksmith & Mule Doctor 160
Sulean	a Do Do Do rolles Superior 180
Selige	d De young stadesman good that 140
hojah - Harry -	a chason old but Gedlent 30 90 -
Adonis _	Tield subject to Loves 60
Antoini -	Hatchman Some arm old . 30
August	Blind ,
Andrew	Pasture boy Legalles Khild fine boy DO
Benoit	Suld, alderly 30
Biogue	Tomestic Tall Lad
Biogue	Waterman of Bay Decreps 5
Balharjan	Invalid , Blind
- Charles	Fueld well Disposed & strong - 110 " "
Cock	Watchman & German Weakley 60
Duncan	Treeted well disposed 100
Darnes	Sobber Weak & Old 50
Desonshire	Detto - ill Disposed 30 ".
David _	Field Reformed Eunaway _ 100 -
The second second	bar for £ 2080 - 9300

Valuation of the enslaved people on Beaulieu, Granada in 1816, from 'Abstract of the title of John Julius Angerstein Esq surviving trustee of the Estate of Messrs De Ponthieu to the Beaulieu Estate in the Island of Grenada', London Metropolitan Archives, City of London, LMA/F/ANG/102

The de Ponthieu Trust, Granada

Transcription of the valuation of enslaved people on Beaulieu in 1816 (from 'Abstract of the title of John Julius Angerstein Esq surviving trustee of the Estate of Messrs De Ponthieu to the Beaulieu Estate in the Island of Grenada'. Transcription by Rachel Lang, Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery, University College London.

Name	Description	Valuation (£)
John	Head Driver able good Character	170
Bonadventure	2nd Driver + Boiler good Character	150
Frank	Head Boiler old Watchman out of Crop a Carpenter Ruptured indifferent	50
John Baptisto	Tradesman	90
Clement	a Blacksmith + Mule Doctor	160
Modest	a Cooper good Tradesman	160
Julian	a Cooper good Tradesman rather Superior	180
Felix	a Cooper young Tradesman good Char.	140
Mojah	a Mason Old but Excellent Char.	90
Harry	Mule driver + field	100
Adonis	Field subject to sores	60
Antoini	Watchman Sore arm old	30
August	Blind	
Andrew	Pasture boy Lizette's Child fine boy	80
Ben	Field, elderly	30
Benoit	Domestic Tall Lad	110
Brogue	Watchman at Bay decripid	5
Brogue	Watchman at Bay	5
Balthazar	Invalid, Blind	
Charles	Field well disposed + strong	110
Cock	Watchman + fireman weakley	60
Chance	Field well disposed	100
Duncan	Jobber Weak + Old	50
Dawes	Watchman very old	20
Devonshire	Watchman - ill disposed	30
David	Field - reformed runaway	100

But I T
Bro forw " 2000 - 9300
Ellie Tueld formerly Theory (tunavay)
but leformed
Francois - Head Jasture Mon well Tisposed 110
Freeman in Jown
Good luck Watchman, Old Mon leg & thigh jod 30
84 1 1 0 X
Standal Decrepsed, but well Disposed 20
John La Bow Carter rather Careles 110
John Butlit E. In he is I will
John Babliste Frield, Bland of an lye, not - 300 -
John Diene Stable B. & 11
Som Since Stable Boy Inewrable sore . 50
Sem Congo Treld 100
Joseph Do formerly Friend but Teduced 100
Sole Lavis 80
John Louis 90
Som Trancois Domestic young Bay . 00 -
Lewis Charles Sishorman incurable Jours
Lewis Charles Fisherman incurable Sais 357 -
Sourcent & Pastuce, young 80
Shaximin Brothers
stelled had a broken Leg Shone 110
Nichola Tobber vory old 30
Romes - Prefere B. L. L.
Stephney Jobber old prieably.
Tom Watchman to
Stephney Jobber old a Weakly . 5. Som watchman to
Alexandrine Field has one Shild good Woman 90
Alexandrine Tield has one shild good Woman 90 Angelique 1 30 and Orignont Sulkey 100
Angelique 2 3: and Ougnant Sulkey . 100 -
mute gal
Betty Field feeble 50
Bridgette Do fine young Woman . 110 -
Bebean Invalid
biede Trield 3 Chil n well richard - 120
Constance to old & Blind
Constance & Flospital Nurse Gellent nurse 100
Lar for 2 4345 - 9300

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Name	Description	Valuation (£)
Ellic	Field formerly Driver (runaway) but reformed	110
Francois	Head Pasture Man well disposed	110
	in Town	120
Goodluck	Watchman, Old Man leg + thigh for. broke	30
	Decrepid, but well dispos'd	20
John La Bow	Carter rather Careless	110
John Baptiste	Field, Blind of an Eye, not well disposed	80
John Pierre	Stable Boy Incurable sore	50
Jem Congo	Field	100
Joseph	Field formerly Driver but reduced	100
John Louis	Field	110
John Francois	Domestic young Boy	80
Lewis Charles	Fisherman incurable sores but well inclined	50
Laurent	Pasture, young [brother of Maximin]	80
Maximin	Field had a broken Leg Strong [brother of Laurent]	110
Nickola	Jobber very old	30
Romeo	Pasture Boy bad feet	50
Stephney	Jobber Old + Weakly	5
Tom	Watchman Old + Weakly	80
Women		
Alexandrine	Field has one child good woman	90
Angelique 1	Field has one child	100
Angelique 2	Field and Pregnant Sulkey	100
Angelique 3	Mule girl	70
Adelaide	Field elderley	50
Betsey	Domestic Mulatto	50
Betty	Field feeble	50
Bridgette	Field fine young woman	110
Bebian	Invalid	
Cicile	Field 3 Childn. well dispos'd	120
Constance	Field Old + Blind	
Constance d.	Hospital Nurse Excellent nurse	100

Cookberne invaled very old
bolised Sobber old 30 Byabeth Incld
Colored Sobber old 30 Sugabeth Ineld 40 Lloised Jo 2 Children good Pharader 120 Janny 1 wt Mr Rose Aulatto 90 Janny 2 Just very ill w Maldistomac 30 Janchine Fredd good Character 100 Jelicity Trans Daington young leads a Mule 60 Stehe Invalid useless Plarritte Ineld I Chil n Excellent Pha 120 Jean Rose Invalid cannot move Jannet Jobber 4 Chil n Now Ley 70 Jacqueline Jula & Cugnant State To Harrier 110 Jean Treeld & Chil n Now Ley 70
Solver Sobber old 30 Rejabeth Incled 40 Llorised So 2 Children good Pharader 120 Janny 1 w. Mr. Rose Andalis 20 Janny 2 Such very cet w. Maddestomac 30 Janchine Freid good Character 100 Jedicity Jans Dangton young leads a Made 60 Stehe Invaled useless Harritte Incled 3 Chil n Exclint Pha 120 Jean Rose Invaled cannot move Jannet Jobber 4 Chil n Souler 10 Marries 110 Jacqueline Jula & Cugnant Solve 10 Marries 110 Jean Tield , Edderly 40
Source of the sold 100 100 100 100 100 100 100 100 100 10
Elorisce To 2 Children good Pharader 120 Sanny 1 wo Mr Rose children 30 Tanny 2 Such very cet w Malder Somac 30 Tanchine Field good Character 100 Schooly Jans Dairy Hor Joung leads a Mule 60 Stehe Invalid useless Mule 60 Stehe Invalid useless Mule 60 Sean Rose Invalid cannot move Jannet Jobber 4 Chil n Soule 10 Harrier 110 Sacqueline Juled & Ougnant State 10 Harrier 110 Sean Treeld, Elderly 40
Sanny 1 w Mr Rose chalades . 20 Sanny 2 Such very cet w Maldes Somace 30 Sanchine Field good Character 100 Schooly Jans Dairy Hor Joung leads a Mule 60 Stehe Sweeted 3 Chief Gentlem Gha " 120 Sean Rose Sweeted a Cannot move Sannet Sobber 4 Chief n South 10 Harrier 110 Sacqueline Field & Pegnant States 10 Harrier 110 Sean Treeld, Elderly 40
Sanny 1 w Mr Rose chalades . 20 Sanny 2 Such very cet w Maldes Somace 30 Sanchine Field good Character 100 Schooly Jans Dairy Hor Joung leads a Mule 60 Stehe Sweeted 3 Chief Gentlem Gha " 120 Sean Rose Sweeted a Cannot move Sannet Sobber 4 Chief n South 10 Harrier 110 Sacqueline Field & Pegnant States 10 Harrier 110 Sean Treeld, Elderly 40
Janny 2 Such very cet w Maddes Somac 30 Fanchine Freid good Character 100 School Jans Daing Hor young leads a Mule 60 Stehe Invaled useless Slavritte Incid I Chil n Excellent Cha no 120 Jean Rose Invaled cannot move Jannet Jobber 4 Chil n Sou Ley 70 Suggestine Incid & Cugnant States To Harrier 110 Sean Treeld, Elderly 40
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Fanchine Field good Character 100 Selectly from Dang How young leads a Mule 60 Slobe Invalid useless Starritte Fredd 3 Chil n Excellent Sha " 120 fean Rose Invalid cannot move Jannet Jobber 4 Chil n Now Ley 70 Sacqueline Field & Begnant States to Hower 110 Sean Fredd , Elderly 40
Selectly from Daing Hor young leads a Mule 60. Stebe Invaled useless Starriette Freeled 3 Chief or Excellent Sha " 120 Jean Rose Invaled cannot move Jannet Jobber 4 Chief or Sou Lev 70. Jacqueline Juled & Ougnant Sister To Having 110. Sean Treeled & Ougnant Sister To Having 110.
State Invaled useless State 60 State Invaled useless State of 120 Sean Rose Invaled cannot move Jament Jobber 4 Chief n Sou Leg 70 Suggestine Teeled & Pregnant States to Hower 110 Sean Trield, Elderly 40
Starritte Tried I bell n Gullent Chan 120 Jean Rose Snowled cannot move Jannet Jobber 4 Chil n Sou Ley 70 Suggedine Tried & Organit State To Harries 110 Jean Tried, Elderly
Starriette Freed 3 Chie n Excellent Pha " 120 fean Rose Smoothed cannot move Jannet Sobber 4 Chief n Sou Lev 70 Jacqueline Field & Organit Sister To Having 110 Sean Trield, Elderly
Jean Rose Snowled cannot move Sannot Jobber 4 Chil n Sou Ley 70 Suggestine Trieta & Begnant States To Houses 110 Sean Trieta, Elderly 40
Samet Sobber 4 Chil in Nove Leg 70 Suggestine Treta & Pregnant States To Harrier 110
Secure Seeled & begrant States To Harrest 110 -
Secure Seeled & begrant States To Harrest 110 -
Sean Trield , Elderly 40 -
Sudeth so Shone 100 -
Sulvenne D. 2 Children Waldestomac 10
Louisa Shephord Old a Weak . 30
Lettice lother I gell 3 as
I'm seemans morney over 20
outer of Maldertomace 60
Mary Madelaine So Starrich thild good the? 80
Lizette Do 4 Children yo
In the second second
Masty Sobber Mother of Family w. Jones 20
Granth 30 obstruction & Maddistomac - 30
4. 100 m
asimo raso. Ul -
Margaretta Domestie angelique I Phild - 9 60
Margaret Rose Field chary Francois full
young.
Mary Mose Invaled useless
4
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mary peuce held, brooker dear in 11
Mary Trancois Washerwoman & Shidren on the 3100
Estate good Character
£ 6165 9300

Valuation of the enslaved people on Beaulieu, Granada in 1816, from 'Abstract of the title of John Julius Angerstein Esq surviving trustee of the Estate of Messrs De Ponthieu to the Beaulieu Estate in the Island of Grenada', London Metropolitan Archives, City of London, LMA/F/ANG/102

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Name	Description	Valuation (£)
Catherine	Invalid very old	
Celest	Jobber old	30
Elizabeth	Field	40
Eloisa	Field 2 Children good Character	120
Fanny 1	wt. Mr Rose Mulatto	90
Fanny 2	Sick very ill wt. Maldestomac	30
Fanchine	Field good Character	100
Felicity	Jeans Daughter young leads a Mule	60
Hebe	Invalid useless	
Harriette	Field 3 Childn. Excellent Char.	120
Jean Rose	Invalid cannot move	
Jannet	Jobber 4 Childn. Sore Leg	70
Jacqueline	Field + Pregnant Sister to Harriet	110
Jean	Field, elderly	40
Judith	Field, Strong	100
Julienne	Field 2 Children Maldestomac	10
Jullie	Field Weak Eyes	90
Louisa	Shepherd Old + Weak	30
Lettice	Jobber Freemans Mother very old	20
Libertine	Field touch of Maldestomac	60
Mary Madelaine	Field Harriets Child good Char.	80
Lizette	Field 4 Children good Char.	80
Matty	Jobber Mother of Family wt. Sores	20
Marth	Jobber Obstruction + Mald'estomac	30
Marriette	Field 3 Childn good Char.	100
Madelaine	Midwife Nurses Blind Husbd.	30
Margaretta	Domestic Angelique 2d Child Mulatto	60
Margaret Rose	Field Mary Francois's Child young	80
Mary Rose	Invalid useless	
Mary Ann	Domestic Mulatto Piccard's Child	70
Mary Cecile	Field, Crooked Legs Weakley	50
Mary Francois	Washerwoman 6 Children on the Estate good Character	100

	4470411
chary blaze	The form 2 6165 9300
chary Field	Lobber Bebearnes Dawe Ineux Lous 40
Octavio	rollandes Dawe young Gul 90
O 1	Hobelaides Dawe young Jul 90
Palashee	Freed Victorio bleld fine an
Peckeen	Freed Vectories Cheld fine 380 -
Rose	Do bhild thin but well disposed 100
Rosalie	Do Do James II Land
Ruphine	Do Do Incurable Sous weak 50
Rosette	F. Orphan lives with Josef Gat Mule 70
	Do Samethe Phild 80 -
Sally	book bad hand old a Week 40
Spring	Grap Timer Good bla? 40 -
Scraphine	
Supette	Jobber young Maldestomac 3 10
Silvia	To vory old
	young Insermans Lister Thong 80 -
Therese	Child good Character 90
Vectorie	Bonadventures Mother Do - 40 -
Zabette	Tobber & Pregnant young Hood 100
Leberry	To very old
	Grafs Gang
4	
John Potes	bacles go
John Mullatre	Caules 80
John Baptiste	Roses 60
William	1
	Lezettes so 40
adelaide	dezettes so 40
Baby	Samuells yo 60
Elsey	yo
mary douise	Seans Child 50
Rosine	Sulicine Child Inch motorstomac 40 -
idthar ma	Mary Francois Child - 00
	ldren
7. 6	Theresa Child 20
2110	lar for L 7705 - 9300
The second secon	the state of the s

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The de Ponthieu Trust, Granada

Mary Clare Jobber Beblannes Daur. Incur. Sores 40 Mary Field Adelaides Daur. young Girl 90 Octavio Invalid - useless old Iame Palashie Field Victoris Child fine mule Girl 80 Pichien Field Stout 100 Rose Field Child thin but well disposed 100 Rosale Field Child Incurable Sores weak 50 Rosale Field Child Incurable Sores weak 50 Rosalte Field Child Incurable Sores weak 40 Saily Cook bad hand Old + Weak 40 Spring Grass Driver Good Char. 40 Seraphine Jobber young Maldestomac sores 10 Sussatte Jobber very old 10 Silvia young Freemans Sister Strong 80 Therese Child good Character 90 Victoire Bonadventures Mother good Character 40 Zabette Jobber + Pregnant young + Good 100 Zebery Jobber very old 10 Grass Gang John Mullatre Ceciles Child 40 Adelaide Lizettes Child 40 Adelaide Lizettes Child 40 Baby Jannetts Child 60 Elsey Jannetts Child 60 Rosine Juliennes Child Incl. Maldestomac 40 Catharina Mary Francois Child 80 Mary Louise Jenschild 50 Rosine Juliennes Child Incl. Maldestomac 40 Catharina Mary Francois Child 80 Children Alken Theresa Child 20 Frank Harrietta Son 30	Name	Description	Valuation (£)
Octavio Invalid - useless old lame Patashie Field Victoris Child fine mule Girl 80 Pichien Field Stout 100 Rose Field Child thin but well disposed 100 Rosale Field Child Incurable Sores weak 50 Ruphine Child Orphan lives with Josef leads Mule 70 Rosette Field Jannetts Child 80 Sally Cook bad hand Old + Weak 40 Spring Grass Driver Good Char. 40 Spring Grass Driver Good Char. 40 Sussette Jobber young Maldestomac sores 10 Silvia young Freemans Sister Strong 80 Therese Child good Character 90 Victoire Bonadventures Mother good Character 40 Zabette Jobber + Pregnant young + Good 100 Zebery Jobber very old 10 Grass Gang 10 John Peter Harriets Child 40 John Baptiste Roses 60 William Mary Francois Child	Mary Clare	Jobber Bebiannes Daur. Incur. Sores	40
Palashie Field Victoris Child fine mule Girl 80 Pichlen Field Stout 100 Rose Field Child thin but well disposed 100 Rosalle Field Child Incurable Sores weak 50 Ruphine Child Orphan lives with Josef leads Mule 70 Rosette Field Jannetts Child 80 Sally Cook bad hand Old + Weak 40 Spring Grass Driver Good Char. 40 Seraphine Jobber young Maldestomac sores 10 Sussette Jobber young Maldestomac sores 10 Silvia young Freemans Sister Strong 80 Therese Child good Character 90 Victoire Bonadventures Mother good Character 40 Zabette Jobber + Pregnant young + Good 100 Zebery Jobber very old 10 Grass Gang John Mullatre Ceciles Child 70 John Pater Harriets Child 70 John Baptiste Roses 60 William Mary Francois Child 40<	Mary	Field Adelaides Daur. young Girl	90
Pichien Field Stout 100 Rose Field Child thin but well disposed 100 Rosalie Field Child Incurable Sores weak 50 Ruphine Child Orphan lives with Josef leads Mule 70 Rosette Field Jannetts Child 80 Sally Cook bad hand Old + Weak 40 Spring Grass Driver Good Char. 40 Seraphine Jobber young Maldestomac sores 10 Sussette Jobber very old 10 Silvia young Freeman Sister Strong 80 Therese Child good Character 90 Victoire Bonadventures Mother good Character 40 Zabette Jobber + Pregnant young + Good 100 Zeberry Jobber very old 10 Grass Gang John Mullatre 70 John Mullatre Ceciles Child 40 John Baptiste Roses 60 William Mary Francois Child 40 Baby Jannetts Child 40 Baby Jannetts Ch	Octavio	Invalid - useless old lame	
Rose Field Child thin but well disposed 100 Rosalle Field Child Incurable Sores weak 50 Ruphine Child Orphan lives with Josef leads Mule 70 Rosette Field Jannetts Child 80 Sally Cook bad hand Old + Weak 40 Spring Grass Driver Good Char. 40 Seraphine Jobber young Maldestomac sores 10 Sussette Jobber very old 10 Silvia young Freemans Sister Strong 80 Therese Child good Character 90 Victoire Bonadventures Mother good Character 40 Zabette Jobber + Pregnant young + Good 100 Zebery Jobber very old 10 Grass Gang John Mullatre 70 John Mullatre Ceciles Child 40 John Baptiste Roses 60 William Mary Francois Child 40 Baby Jannetts Child 40 Baby Jannetts Child 40 Besey Jannetts Ch	Palashie	Field Victoris Child fine mule Girl	80
Rosalie Field Child Incurable Sores weak 50 Ruphine Child Orphan lives with Josef leads Mule 70 Rosette Field Jannetts Child 80 Sally Cook bad hand Old + Weak 40 Spring Grass Driver Good Char. 40 Seraphine Jobber young Maldestomac sores 10 Sussette Jobber very old 10 Silvia young Freemans Sister Strong 80 Therese Child good Character 90 Victoire Bonadventures Mother good Character 40 Zabette Jobber + Pregnant young + Good 100 Zebery Jobber very old 10 Grass Gang John Peter Harriets Child 70 John Mullatre Ceciles Child 40 John Baptiste Roses 60 William Mary Francois Child 40 Baby Jannetts Child 40 Baby Jannetts Child 40 Elsey Jannetts Child 50 Rosine J	Pichien	Field Stout	100
Ruphine Child Orphan lives with Josef leads Mule 70 Rosette Field Jannetts Child 80 Sally Cook bad hand Old + Weak 40 Spring Grass Driver Good Char. 40 Seraphine Jobber young Maldestomac sores 10 Sussette Jobber very old 10 Silvia young Freemans Sister Strong 80 Therese Child good Character 90 Victoire Bonadventures Mother good Character 40 Zabette Jobber + Pregnant young + Good 100 Zebery Jobber very old 10 Grass Gang John Peter Harriets Child 70 John Peter Harriets Child 40 John Baptiste Roses 60 William Mary Francois Child 40 Baby Jannetts Child 40 Baby Jannetts Child 50 Rosine Juliennes Child Incl. Maldestomac 40 Catharina Mary Francois Child 80 Children	Rose	Field Child thin but well disposed	100
Rosette Field Jannetts Child 80 Sally Cook bad hand Old + Weak 40 Spring Grass Driver Good Char. 40 Seraphine Jobber young Maldestomac sores 10 Sussette Jobber very old 10 Silvia young Freemans Sister Strong 80 Therese Child good Character 90 Victoire Bonadventures Mother good Character 40 Zabette Jobber + Pregnant young + Good 100 Zebery Jobber very old 10 Grass Gang John Peter Harriets Child 70 John Mullatre Ceciles Child 40 John Baptiste Roses 60 William Mary Francois Child 60 Adelaide Lizettes Child 40 Baby Jannetts Child 40 Baby Jannetts Child 50 Rosine Juliennes Child Incl. Maldestomac 40 Catharina Mary Francois Child 80 Children	Rosalie	Field Child Incurable Sores weak	50
Sally Cook bad hand Old + Weak 40 Spring Grass Driver Good Char. 40 Seraphine Jobber young Maldestomac sores 10 Sussette Jobber very old 10 Silvia young Freemans Sister Strong 80 Therese Child good Character 90 Victoire Bonadventures Mother good Character 40 Zabette Jobber + Pregnant young + Good 100 Zebery Jobber very old 10 Grass Gang John Peter Harriets Child 70 John Peter Harriets Child 40 John Baptiste Roses 60 William Mary Francois Child 40 Adelaide Lizettes Child 40 Baby Jannetts Child 40 Belsey Jannetts Child 50 Rosine Juliennes Child Incl. Maldestomac 40 Catharina Mary Francois Child 80 Children Theresa Child 20	Ruphine	Child Orphan lives with Josef leads Mule	70
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Valuation of the enslaved people on Beaulieu, Granada in 1816, from 'Abstract of the title of John Julius Angerstein Esq surviving trustee of the Estate of Messrs De Ponthieu to the Beaulieu Estate in the Island of Grenada', London Metropolitan Archives, City of London, LMA/F/ANG/102

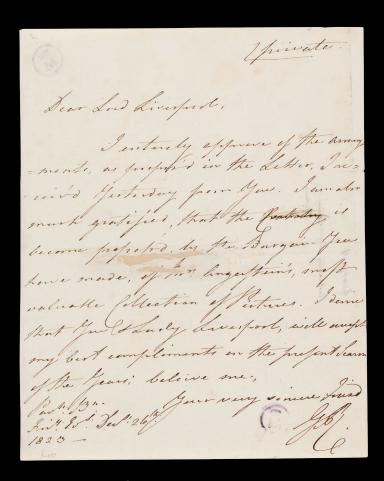
The de Ponthieu Trust, Granada

Name	Description	Valuation (£)
John Charles	Ceciles Child	35
Jemmy	Jannetts Child	40
William Pt.		20
Hugh	Fannys Child	50
Bonadventure	Rosales Child by Bonadventure	20
Jacob	Ceciles Child	20
Nathaniel	Mary Ceciles Child	5
Agnes	Marrietts Child	20
Beck	Lizettes Child	15
Bebian	Eloisas Child	20
Euphrasine	Mary Francois Child by John	40
Monique	Juliennes Child	25
Angello	Lizettes Child	20
Eleanor	Mary Francois Child by John	20
Jeanny	Marriettes Child	30
Susan	Eloisas Child	30
Auguste	Alexandrines Child weakly	5
Jeanne Clare	Marriettes Child	5

The marriage settlement of Mary Johnson

Angerstein was the partner of the financier, Godschall Johnson (1745-1800) in loan contracting for the government. Johnson's family were long-standing West Indian plantation owners and governors, and he owned the Folly and Savanna estates on Antigua. In 1837 there were 267 enslaved people on the estates. In 1792 Johnson married his second wife, Mary Francis (1770-1842) and secured an annuity for her, of £600 per annum, on his Antiguan estates after his death as part of their marriage settlement. Angerstein was a trustee of the marriage settlement up until his death but there are no records that indicate he played any part in managing the Antiguan property.

Angerstein's other business interests and wealth



Letter from King George IV to Lord Liverpool, Prime Minister, approving the purchase of Angerstein's paintings for the nation, 26th December 1823, Lloyd's Collection, © Lloyd's

Angerstein's other business interests and wealth

Angerstein's former partner, Peter Warren, told the 1810 Select Committee that Angerstein's fortune was not derived from his commissions as a broker but 'in a great measure arises from a long continued attention as an Underwriter, and a very successful one, with many other circumstances that have assisted in raising his fortune.' 34

Those 'other circumstances' refer to Angerstein's diversification of his business interests, based on his networks in marine insurance. He became a shipowner between 1778-1787 35 and was a listed as a committee member of the Society for the Registry of Shipping (Lloyd's Register), from 1798. Lloyd's Register regulated the condition of ships, which was critical in assessing the risk of any given ship. By 1789 Angerstein had established himself as a loan contractor for the government. After the American Wars, 1775-1784, the government looked to decreasing the National Debt, that stood at £250 million, and raise funds for the war with France by tendering out long-term loans raised through public subscription. The market in public loans was at the heart of the financial development of the City of London and brought Angerstein into direct contact with the Prime Minister, William Pitt, and the Bank of England. He partnered with Godschall Johnson, William Devaynes and later with Alexander Baring, with whom he contracted over £130 million pounds.36 Angerstein's loan subscription list of 1812-13 survives. The historian, Adrian Leonard, has shown how just under two thirds of the individuals or partnerships who subscribed had direct connections with Llovd's. 37 This underlines the deep financial association between Lloyd's and the state.

It also highlights Angerstein's enormous personal wealth. At his death his personal estate was valued at £500,000, exclusive of his real estate in Lincolnshire. Norfolk and Suffolk, which he had started to acquire in the 1790s.38 At the same time Angerstein became a serious collector of art, specialising in 16th and 17th century paintings including works by Titian, Raphael, Rembrandt and Rubens and a range of 18th century British artists. Angerstein had friends who were artists and took advice on his collection from three of the Presidents of the Royal Academy, especially Sir Thomas Lawrence. The paintings considered the most important were hung at his London town house, 100 Pall Mall; the rest were at Woodlands in Blackheath. After his death in 1824, 38 of his paintings were sold to the government for £57,000 39 and this became the founding collection of the National Gallery London and Angerstein's Pall Mall property, its first home.

³⁴ Report from the Select Committee on Marine Insurance, 1810, p.110

³⁵ See Appendix II, Nicholas Draper, 'Angerstein, Marine Insurance, the Slave Trade and Slavery', 2021-2022 angersteinmarine.pdf (ucl.ac.uk) [accessed 15/07/2022] which gives a full listing of ships owned by Angerstein

³⁶ Anthony Twist, 2006, p.372

³⁷ Angerstein's subscription book is at London Metropolitan Archives, Ref: F/ANG/110, A B Leonard, London Marine Insurance 1438-1824, The Boydell Press, Suffolk, 2022, pp.207-208

³⁸ Angerstein's will, The National Archives, PRO, PROB 11/1666/51

³⁹ The relative value of £57,000 in 1824 can be measured in 2020, by the real commodity price of £5,128,000.00. In a letter from George IV to Lord Liverpool, the Prime Minister - who had been instrumental in the purchase of Angerstein's collection for the nation - the King referred to the purchase as a 'Bargain', 26 December 1823, Lloyd's Collection, L0775

Angerstein and Philanthropy



Two handled cup, presented to Captain Henry d'Esterre Darby, Commander of Bellerophon, wounded at the Battle of the Nile, 1798, by the Committee at Lloyds Coffee House, John Julius Angerstein, Chairman, July 1800, Lloyd's Collection, © Lloyd's

Angerstein and Philanthropy at Lloyd's

Angerstein's wealth also enabled him to become a major philanthropist and he used his influence to develop charitable ventures at Lloyd's, which in turn enhanced Lloyd's reputation. From the early 1800s, Angerstein increasingly appeared in Lloyd's minutes in relation to charitable deeds.

Angerstein chaired various subscription committees at Lloyd's for the relief of the wounded and widowed in the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, which brought him into direct contact with Admiral Lord Nelson. In a letter of 1801, Nelson remarks that Angerstein's work for this cause:

'stamps your character as one of the very best men of the age we live in'

In 1802, Angerstein made a proposal to Lloyd's for the introduction of a subscription fund for lifeboats on various parts of the coast and for rewards for the inventors of the best lifeboats, to which £2000 was given. 40 In 1803 a Patriotic Fund was established at Lloyd's, which spawned a national fund to support victims of war that continues today. Angerstein was a key leader in the motion for supporting the wounded and their families and became a Trustee of the Patriotic Fund, alongside Francis Baring and Thomson Bonar, who administered the initial funds of £20,000 raised by Lloyd's. Angerstein went on to be the third Chair of Lloyd's Patriotic Fund, 1810-1823.



A Patriotic Fund Certificate awarded to James Hewitt signed by John Julius Angerstein, Lloyd's Collection, © Lloyd's

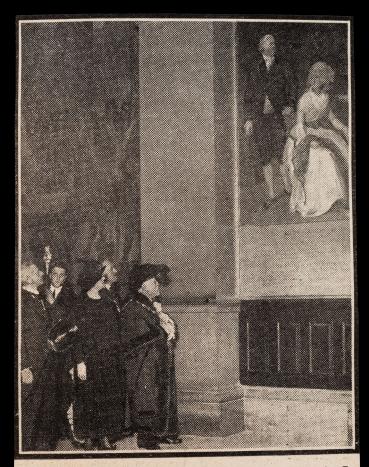
Further Philanthropy

Alongside his strong commitment to charitable works at Lloyd's, Angerstein was involved with innumerable further philanthropic bodies. Much of this was by subscription but in others he played leading roles, such as for the 'Society for the Encouragement of Good Servants' where he became Vice-President, serving on the committee with William Wilberforce. Angerstein also sat on Wilberforce's 'Bettering Society [for the Poor]', 'Infant Asylum for Preserving the Lives of Children of Hired Wet Nurses' and the 'Relief of Suffering People in Russia'. Angerstein's philanthropic work brought him into contact with another prominent abolitionist, Jonas Hanway and he served on Hanway's committees. He was a founder member of the British Institution. In 1792 he became a Governor of Christ's Hospital and in 1802 chaired the Royal Jennerian Society, set up to eradicate smallpox through vaccinations, in support of the work of Edward Jenner.

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Letter from Admiral Lord Nelson to John Julius Angerstein, 9 March 1801, Lloyd's Collection, © Lloyd's

Angerstein's Reputation



The Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress and Mr. A. L. Sturge, chairman of Lloyd's, looking at the picture of "The Father of Lloyd's" after the unveiling.

Photograph of the unveiling ceremony of Angerstein's portrait at the Royal Exchange from Lloyd's List and Shipping Gazette, 9 May 1922

Angerstein's Reputation

Just over 50 years after his death, Angerstein was being characterised as the leader and 'principal founder' of New Lloyd's Coffee House by Frederick Martin in *The History of Lloyd's*.

'The author and leading spirit [of New Lloyd's Coffee House] ... which had far-reaching consequences for the commerce, not only of England, but for that of the world... [was] Mr John Julius Angerstein [who was] looked upon as one of its most respectable members, distinguished as much for the sagacious and far-seeing method shown in all his enterprises, as for his high integrity... Mr Angerstein came to the front as a leader.' 41

Angerstein's reputation was still strong in 1921, when Sidney Boulton, Chairman of Lloyd's (1920-1921) spoke of how Lloyd's experienced the height of prosperity between 1775-1824 and that it represented:

'the Golden Age of Marine Insurance, or as I prefer to call it, the Angerstein age' 42

Subsequently, in 1922, a copy of Sir Thomas Lawrence's double portrait with Eliza was commissioned by the Committee of Lloyd's, as the first of eight panels of famous citizens for the Royal Exchange. In his speech at the unveiling, Arthur Lloyd Sturge, Chairman of Lloyd's, said Angerstein was:

'one of the merchant princes who did so much, perhaps unconsciously, in laying the foundations of the future British Empire... Angerstein infused a new life into... [Lloyd's]. He and his friends established a standard and tradition which although dating back one hundred years, has been maintained to this day.' 43

The inscription under the painting of Angerstein at the Royal Exchange, reads: 'He was known as 'The Father of Lloyd's' making him the symbolic figurehead of Lloyd's. The first reference to him as 'The Father of Lloyd's' is by Frederick Martin, again, in 1876: 44

'Mr John Julius Angerstein who had now reached the age of seventy-five and was generally known as "The Father of Lloyd's."

There is no evidence that Angerstein was given this epithet in his lifetime. Angerstein was probably the wealthiest and best-known Lloyd's member, both for his philanthropic work and for the cultural legacy of his art collection in the National Gallery. He also fitted the model of 'gentlemanly capitalism' where the high incomes generated by the commercial activities of the City were invested in a lifestyle akin to the landed gentry, the most respectable and prestigious form of which was the purchase of country estates. The gentlemanly ideal, increasingly aspired to towards the end of the nineteenth century, was also bound up with models of moral behaviour based on integrity, trustworthiness and respectability. Angerstein stated that he only had accounts with 'those that I know are very respectable' 45 In the most comprehensive history of Lloyd's by Charles Wright and C Ernest Fayle of 1928,46 Angerstein's contribution is summarised in the following way:

'Perhaps the greatest service he rendered to Lloyd's was the example he gave, throughout his long career, of enterprise, judgement, and integrity in the business of an underwriter and broker.'

⁴¹ Frederick Martin, The History of Lloyd's, 1876, London, Macmillan & Co. pp. 145-6 &178

⁴² Lloyd's List and Shipping Gazette, 9 May 1922

⁴³ Lloyd's List and Shipping Gazette, 9 May 1922

⁴⁴ Martin, 1876, p.241

⁴⁵ Report from the Select Committee on Marine Insurance, 1810, p.64

⁴⁶ Charles Wright and C Ernest Fayle, A History of Lloyd's: From the Founding of Lloyd's Coffee House to the Present Day, MacMillan & Co., 1928, p.201

Angerstein's Reputation

Frederick Martin might well be responsible for inventing the tradition or myth of Angerstein as 'The Father of Lloyd's', where the values of Lloyd's found a location in the figure of Angerstein and this continued throughout the 20th century. In the 1936 Hollywood film 'Lloyd's of London', Sir Guy Standing plays Angerstein as a kindly, morally-upstanding gentleman who officiated at Lloyd's and ensured good practice. In the film he speaks of how 'Lloyd's was founded on two great pillars: news and honest dealings.



Publicity brochure for the film 'Lloyd's of London', 1936, Lloyd's Collection, © Lloyd's

The construction of Angerstein as Lloyd's hero continued. D E W Gibb, another historian of Lloyd's, wrote in 1957:

None claims our hero-worship until John Julius Angerstein... Of his ability, of his services to Lloyd's, of the underwriting tradition that he started there is no doubt; and whether or not he deserves the title Father of Lloyd's... he must certainly have a place in our hagiography.' ⁴⁷ Anthony Twist, in his 2006 biography of Angerstein, suggests that this title:

'should rest at least as much from the lead he gave in supporting good causes as in his exceptional skills as a broker and an underwriter... he made Lloyd's the subject of much favourable comment and the subscribers proud of their institution.'48

Lloyd's Collection has two paintings of Angerstein. One is a copy of the 1816 portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence, gifted in 1928, which now hangs in the Old Library. Lloyd's later acquired the 1816 original portrait, depicting Angerstein at age 84. It was gifted by the Lloyd's Insurance Brokers' Association on 1 October 1952 to commemorate the new Lloyd's building that opened in 1958, that also had a bar called the 'Angerstein'. The Chairman of Lloyd's, Sir Matthew Watt Drysdale, wrote:

'it is most gratifying to know that the original Lawrence portrait of the man we call "the Father of Lloyd's" will now be hung in a position of honour here as a permanent tribute to his memory.' ⁵⁰

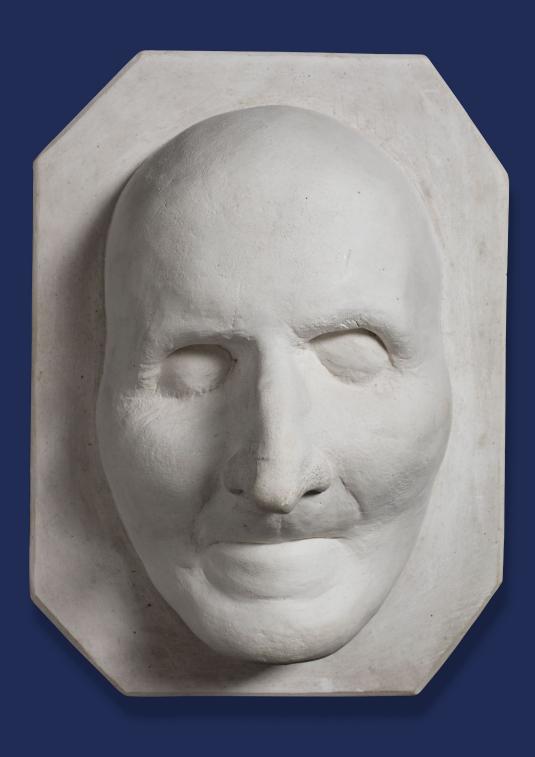
However, by 1962 the painting was in the Chairman's office and Lloyd's members lobbied the Council for the portrait to be moved to the more accessible Nelson Room, opposite the Nelson portrait. Thomas Heysham, the architect of the 1958 building, was commissioned to make drawings for its new installation, which happened in March 1963.

⁴⁷ DEW Gibb Lloyd's of London, London, 1957, p.364

⁴⁸ Anthony Twist, 2006, p.500

⁴⁹ Thanks to Linda Randall for providing this information

⁵⁰ Letter from Drysdale, Chairman to John Smythies, 11 August 1952, Lloyd's Collection, Angerstein provenance file



Conclusion

Angerstein accrued the foundations of his wealth from marine insurance. It was from here he became an integral part of the economic and mercantile networks of the City of London and the government.

In turn, this led to him playing an important role at Lloyd's and increasing his fortune further. His enormous wealth allowed him to become a significant philanthropist, both at Lloyd's and in the wider community, and enabled him to make a significant collection of art from which he gained prestige. Later in the 19th century, he became heralded as 'The Father of Lloyd's' but we are now beginning to understand how his connections to the complex and sophisticated financial and mercantile networks facilitated the slave trade - and in turn drew strength from - and allowed him to financially benefit from the slave economy.

Through our research we have explored the collective role he and others played in setting up New Lloyd's Coffee House as well as established his involvement in the slave economy. As a result, we have concluded his title, 'The Father of Lloyd's' is no longer appropriate or relevant.

Ongoing research

Like many organisations, Lloyd's is on a journey of research and reflection as we seek to understand our historical connections to slavery.

In March 2022, we announced a collaboration with researchers from **Black Beyond Data**, based at Johns Hopkins University, to examine our collection and historical links to the transatlantic slave trade. The collaboration will produce a digital humanities platform with educational resources, to be published in Spring 2023, which will set the artefacts in their wider historical context.

The findings of this research will be made publicly available to ensure an honest, informed and inclusive account of our role in the slave trade becomes a part of our story at Lloyd's. As we continue to examine Lloyd's connections to slavery we have been greatly assisted by the generosity of the many colleagues in the business archive sector who are also undertaking this important work and the invaluable Slavery and the City Network, organised by Dr Hannah Murphy, Director of the Centre for Early Modern Studies, at King's College. We are grateful to David Olusoga who speaking to Lloyd's colleagues in October 2021 referred to the importance of 'sombre moments of reflection.' Special thanks go to Dr Nicholas Draper who has generously shared his expertise and been a constant support. We have also been guided by The Museums Association's Supporting Decolonisation in Museums and Georgie Salzedo, Vicky Iglikowski-Broad and Rachael Minott at The National Archives.

We engaged additional expertise in the form of a **Working Party** and we would like to thank the members for all the support they have given to this project. The members are:

Rob Anarfi: Chief Risk Officer, Beazley group and executive sponsor for Beazley RACE

Susanna Avery-Quash: Senior Research Curator in the history of collecting, The National Gallery London

Karen Bigwood: Head of Brand & Marketing, Lloyd's

Anjali Christopher: Internal and Market Communications Senior Manager, Lloyd's

Nicholas Draper: Former Director, Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slave-ownership, University College London

Junior Garba: Co-Founder & CEO, African Caribbean Insurance Network (ACIN)

Liberty Paterson: PhD Researcher, National Portrait Gallery and Birkbeck, University of London

Neil Roberts: Lloyd's Market Association

We would also like to thank all the participants of our **Focus Groups** of our Black and Minority Ethnic colleagues in the Corporation and market, who have supported this research with their invaluable reflections. Twitter @LloydsofLondon LinkedIn Iloyds.com/linkedin Facebook Iloyds.com/facebook

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