Links to slavery of the 1771 Founders of New Lloyd's Coffee House

Image of the first page of Lloyd's Minute Book, showing the list of founding subscribers

Sondon December 13 5 The Underwritten do agree to pay our Several Aubscriptions only the Bank of England in the Names of a Committee to be chosen by Ballot . for the Building . C. New Sloyds Coffee House. Fino James Bourdien One Hundred pounds Stoo Joshua Readshow One Hundred Bounds. Stoo John Wilkinson One Hundred pound. Stoo Brook Walson One Hundred founds Ploo George Curling One Rundred Sounds Plos Godhard Hagen One Randred Pounds Stoo Sames Jaird One Hundred Pounds Stoo Samuel Gest. One Rundred Pounds Stor Gregory Olive One Hundred pounds. Stoo James Syme One Hundred Pounds Sho George Hayley One Hundred Sounds Stor Robert Woodmaps One Hundred Pounds Fro Paul Amsinck One Randred founds F100 John Travers . One Hundred Pounds. 1.100 Joseph Burd One Hundred Hounds. Sino. Nicholas Sulyens One Hundred Boundes Sno. Marm: Peacocke. One Hundred Bunds. Stor Joseph Bland One Rundred Hounds. Stoo William Typell One Hundred Sounds Stor Richard Peacocke. One Hundred Pounds How Sames Black. One Hundred Hounds. Stoo Thomas Newnham One Hundred Bunds Pro Robert Hunter One Randred Brands 100 Edward Relly One Handred founds

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Introduction & acknowledgements

This research project brings together data that helps us to understand and acknowledge the role of transatlantic slavery through significant members of Lloyd's history. It traces the links to the slave trade, the wider slave economy and slave-ownership of the founding subscribers of Lloyd's New Coffee House.

This ongoing research has been facilitated by a partnership with Professor William Pettigrew, University of Lancaster, who is the Principal Investigator of the Arts and Humanities Research Council funded Legacies of the British Slave Trade: The Structures and Significance of British Investment in the Transatlantic Slave Trade. 1550-1807, whose database of British slave traders will be published as The Register of British Slave Traders, in 2024. Darcy Beckett, an MA student at University of Lancaster, provided the initial research on Lloyd's founders who appeared in The Register of British Slave Traders. Dr Nick Draper, who is working on the London slave traders for The Register of British Slave Traders has also generously provided essential further research. We are grateful to

Professor William Pettigrew, Dr Nick Draper and Darcy Beckett for their support and assistance.

New Lloyd's Coffee House

In 1769 a group of merchants, brokers and underwriters moved their business from Lloyd's Coffee House in Lombard Street to 'New' Llovd'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 Stockjobbing, and tend to weaken Public Credit.'1 On 13 December 1771, 77 of these men subscribed £100 each for the 'Building of A New Lloyd's Coffee House'. The original list of founders forms the first entry of the Minute Books, and is part of a series of records that continues through to today.

Although, Edward Lloyd set up his Coffee House in the late 1680's there is no archive which survives that provides evidence of its

activities until the foundation of New Lloyd's Coffee House. The formation of this group signalled a change from a loosely connected set of people related to marine insurance meeting and transacting business 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'. In the early minutes 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. It was not until 1811 that an annual election of a Chairman and a Committee was inaugurated.

The founding subscribers of New Lloyd's Coffee House

77 founders' names are extant in Lloyd's Minute Books. In 1876, Frederick Martin claimed in his history of Lloyd's there were 79 founders. Of Martin's two additional founders, one of these had his name 'burnt out completely' and is unknown and cites the other as John Julius Angerstein. In a note, Martin asserts that Angerstein's 'name was barely to be deciphered, standing at the top of a page burnt away at the edges in the fire of 1838.'²

The 1838 fire destroyed the Royal Exchange, where Lloyd's and its records were based at this time. Lloyd's Minutes show evidence of fire damage to the edges of some of the volumes but these survived alongside many other records and were conserved by the Guildhall

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

² Frederick Martin, *The History of Lloyd's*, 1876, London, Macmillan & Co. p.147n.

Library in the 1980s. The Minutes record the valiant attempts of Thomas Starr, a Watchman of Broad Street, who received a severe blow to the head when 'carrying the Books &c from Lloyds [sic] Rooms on the night of the fire.'³

Angerstein was at the second General Meeting of Subscribers in 1772 who elected the first Committee of nine by ballot. This did not include Angerstein, who joined the Committee 15 years after its foundation. No evidence now survives of either Angerstein or the other unknown name being founders of New Lloyd's Coffee House. Please see our research on John Julius Angerstein.

A note on terminology

UCL's Legacies of British Slavery database published in 2009 provided a dataset of British subjects who were owners of enslaved people and allowed the wider public to understand the concept and impact of British slave ownership. However, this is only one aspect of Britain's involvement with transatlantic slavery.

Although most people will understand that a slave trader was a man who profited from and traded in enslaved Africans, Lloyd's Collection and history present a more complex network of individuals who were financially enabled and profited from the slave trade and the wider slave economy. Beyond the trade in people, the goods produced by the enslaved and the goods coming from Britain to support the operations of the plantations created a wider and thriving slave economy which was central to the financial infrastructures of the City of London and growth of the British Empire. Additionally, professions were more fluid in the 17-18th centuries and networks extended across the City of London and into Parliament, to support the systems of trading as part of the slave economy.⁴

However, the lexicon does not currently exist to describe those iterative economic networks and categories of implication in both slave trading and the slave economy. Transatlantic trading was high risk and without the underwriters, brokers and merchants who took on that risk, most of it would not have happened. However, technically, the underwriters and brokers of slave voyages were not slave traders, even though some engaged in slave trading separately. This is why more encompassing terminology has been used to denote Lloyd's founders links to the slave trade or the wider slave economy.⁵

Arrangement of the research findings

The list of the 77 founders is divided into the following four sections, in alphabetical order:

- 1. Founders with links to the slave trade
- 2. Founders with links to the wider slave economy, including slave ownership
- 3. Founders with potential links to slavery but unconfirmed
- 4. Founders with no confirmed links to slavery

⁵ I am indebted to Dr Alexandre White, who has generously discussed these and other ideas with me throughout our research collaboration.

³ Lloyd's Minute Book, Ms 31571/16, Guildhall Library, p.42

⁴ Nick Draper, 'The City of London and slavery: evidence from the first dock companies, 1795-1800', *Economic History Review*, 61, 2, 2008

Sources

The sources referred to by their acronyms in the entries on the founders below are as follows:

<u>LBS - Legacies of British Slavery</u> (University College London): database which establishes the links of people and organisations to slave ownership. Where an entry on the person exists in the UCL database, a link is given via their name.

ROL –The Roll of Lloyd's, 1771-1930, compiled and annotated by Warren R Dawson, FRSE, FSA, Honorary Librarian to the Corporation of Lloyd's, 1931: only one copy was published but this has been digitised by Black Beyond Data and is accessible through their website <u>Underwriting Souls</u>. The ROL often refers to documentary evidence but does not state sources in the majority of cases.

RBST -The Register of British Slave Traders (University of Lancaster): database which

establishes British slave traders – to be published in 2024.

<u>TASTDB - Slave Voyages</u>: database of all known slave voyages.

Lloyd's Minutes: beginning in 1771, held at the Guildhall Library (Ms. 31571).

1. Founders with links to the slave trade

William Black (d.19 Nov 1780)	The <i>ROL</i> indicates Black died at New Broad Street on 19 November 1780. He left his grandson, Abraham Grimes, £5,000 in trust of stock in the South Sea Company. Black was a Director of the South Sea Company 1766-1780 and was appointed to the Treasury Committee on 6 February 1772 (British Library, Add Ms 25518-25520). He was the owner of a single slaving voyage, the <i>Poyntz</i> , to Loango and Barbados in 1736. A second voyage of the same ship the following year with the same captain has no ownership information on TASTDB but RBST notes it 'can reasonably be inferred also to have belonged to William Black. He was very probably the London Merchant and ship-owner connected with the East India Company whose will was proved in 1780.'
William Devaynes (c.1730- 29 November 1809)	Devaynes spent some of his early life in Africa and by the late 1750s was the Governor of the Whydah Fort, formerly owned by the Royal African Company and since 1750 managed by the Company of Merchants Trading to Africa. He was a Liverpool Commissioner for the Company of Merchants Trading to Africa 1770-1778, then a director at various points between 1782-1805 and was its chairman in 1780-1781, 1785-1786 and 1793-1795. Devaynes links to the slave trade are indicated in his 1775 petition to the Privy Council on behalf of Robert Grimshaw and Samuel Fluitt for permission to export military supplies to Africa on the ship <i>Active</i> . The <i>Active</i> was a slave ship and on this one of its slave voyages it trafficked 214 enslaved Africans, of which 197 survived (TASTDB Ref.: 92476). ⁶ Concurrently, he was a director for the East India Company 1770-1805, its deputy chairman at various point between 1777-1791 and chairman in 1780-178, 1785-1786, 1789-1790 and 1793-1795.
	Company was charged by the Board of Trade with having 'set up and established a private trade, directly tending to a monopoly' (Devaynes was at that time the only commissioner of the Africa Company in the House). ⁸ In his last known speech to Parliament on 30 May 1804 he spoke against the abolition of the slave trade.

⁶ 'Journal, October 1775: Volume 82', in *Journals of the Board of Trade and Plantations: Volume 13, January 1768 - December 1775*, ed. K H Ledward (London, 1937), pp. 436-443. *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/jrnl-trade-plantations/vol13/pp436-443 [accessed 10 September 2023]. ⁷ https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/devaynes-william-1730-1809

⁸ https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/devaynes-william-1730-1809

	He was a banker, of the firm Crofts, Roberts, Devaynes and Dawes, 39 Pall Mall and had become a senior partner by 1797 when the firm was known as Devaynes, Dawes, Noble & Co. and the firm invested £30,000 in the loyalty loan. Devaynes held at various times considerable sums in Government stock: in 1783, £19,000; between 1783 and 1792 his purchases and sales of Government stock exceeded £100,000. Devaynes was a director of the Globe Insurance Company (1804-death) and an Investor in the London Dock Company. In his will, proved 17 January 1810, he left an annual annuity of £200 to his 'mulatto' daughter Elizabeth Smith, commonly known as Betsy Smith. His legitimate children were left £10,000 each.
James Mather (d. 19 January 1796)	Mather was a London slave trader and ship owner, and a partner with John Julius Angerstein in supplying ships to the British government in the American Revolution. The <i>ROL</i> indicates he was a merchant of Birchin Lane, City of London and Chislehurst Lane, Kent. LBS notes 'the TASTDB appears to reflect two different men named James Mather.' The Lloyd's James Mather will was proved 8 February 1796 and he is described as a merchant of Copthall Buildings London. According to LBS he was part of 'James Mather & Co. participants in the British Southern Whale Fishery, [in 1784 Mather acquired a sub-lease of land around the docks on the Orchard House estate and established a whale blubber processing centre] with numerous voyages from c. 1777 [including West Indian voyages and the supplying of goods and cash to the Garrison at Senegal]. The business appears to have been continued by his family after his death in 1796. Six slave voyages owned by 'Mather Js' from London, all trading at Saint-Louis, are recorded between 1775 and 1777, and are associated with James Mather reportedly 'trading out of New Orleans' a partner with Patrick or Benjamin Morgan and then with Arthur Strother. The <i>Dictionary of Louisiana Biography</i> shows this James Mather as Mayor of New Orleans 1807-1812 and dying in Lousiana in 1821 [and his partner as George Morgan]. A further 8 voyages from London were recorded as owned by 'Mather, James' between 1783 and 1786, including one as owner-captain.'
John Shoolbred (30 November 1740 – 10 January 1802)	Shoolbred was a major slave-trader, underwriter, African and North American merchant and Director and then Secretary of the Committee of the Company of Merchants Trading to Africa. He was also a slave owner and an investor in the London Dock Company. At his death in 1802, he had an assurance office in co-partnership with William Williams in Mark Lane ⁹ As a major slave-trader, Shoolbred had a cluster of 25 voyages between 1766-1778, mainly as sole owner, in which 6772 enslaved people were trafficked ¹⁰ Two later voyages between 1799-1801, were possibly owned by his son, trading in a further 606 enslaved Africans. Shoolbred was on the committee, from at least 1781, and later Secretary (1787-1802). ¹¹ of the Company of Merchants Trading to Africa [CMTA]. Established by the Africa Company Act of 1750, in 1752 it became the successor to the Royal African Company [RAC]. Unlike the RAC, which was a joint-stock company, the CMTA was a regulated company. In its corporate capacity it was

 ⁹ TNA PROB 11/1369/83, Will of John Shoolbred
 ¹⁰ TASTDB: https://www.slavevoyages.org/voyages/3n0TQiUD
 ¹¹ TNA T70/144-148, Minute Books of CMTA

	 precluded from trading to and from Africa and was responsible for 'improving and extending the Trade to Africa' by managing the assets transferred by RAC, principally the nine slave factories on the Gold Coast of Africa. From the 1770s, Shoolbred was trading with the company's headquarters at Cape Coast Castle, Africa¹² His company, Messrs Shoolbred, Ross and Mills (in which Gilbert Ross sat on the Committee of CMTA and Mills was the brother of David Mills, governor of Cape Coast Castle until 1777, when he was replaced by Richard Miles) were accused in 1777 of allegedly circumventing opportunities for free traders to purchase slaves, to the benefit of CMTA committee members and staff¹³ This was by supplying spirits to be sold to Africans for gold - the main means of purchasing slaves in this period – and either using the gold to buy slaves for the CMTA's slave factory or selling at a higher price to free traders. As Secretary, Shoolbred had intimate knowledge of activities on the Gold Coast and in Africa. As well as reporting disturbances on the African coast to the Admiralty, in 1796 he was asked by Lloyd's underwriters to establish the price of enslaved people released by the French after the capture of the slave ship <i>Guipúzcoa</i>, off the coast of Angola. Additionally, he was responsible for arranging all insurance policies for CMTA¹⁴ Shoolbred also represented the Company's position to Parliament. In a letter of 1788 he reported 'it is certain that Africa has not derived advantage from this Trade in any degree equal to ours the effects of this Trade to Great Britain are beneficial to an infinite extent.¹⁵ Shoolbred held sixty enslaved people, as a security and bond on a mortgage of £3548.45 given to his eldest son James Shoolbred, in relation to his son's plantation in Charleston¹⁶ Shoolbred himself owned ten thousand acres of lands and fisheries around the Bay of Chalour in Nova Scotia. According to his will, he was a joint trustee of the John Hawkin
John Townson (c.1725-3 Mar 1797)	John Townson was a London merchant, established at least by 1755. ¹⁷ His will states he lived at Gray's Inn and had the lease of 18 Charlotte Street, Bedford Square ¹⁸ The RBST records that Townson was 'owner of three recorded voyages by the <i>Pitt</i> , the <i>Success</i> and the <i>Lucretia</i> from London to Saint Louis and then to Grenada or Charleston in 1765-1766. He was almost certainly the owner of a second voyage in 1766-1767 of the <i>Lucretia</i> to Grenada with the same captain, William Falkland, as the earlier voyage, and probably the owner of two voyages by the <i>Macleane</i> in 1768-1769, also captained by William Falkland. John

¹² T70/1480 Account Book for Cape Coast Castle 1789-1780.

¹³ See: Journals, 1777-1779, in *Journals of the Board of Trade and Plantations: Volume 14, January 1776 - May 1782*, ed. K H Ledward (London,

www.underwritingsouls.org, Underwriting Souls, Johns Hopkins University, from 8 November 2023

^{1938),.} British History Online http://www.british-history.ac.uk/jrnl-trade-plantations/vol14/pp87-92 [accessed 16 June 2023].

¹⁴ I am grateful to Dr Alexandre White for alerting me to these facts. See the *Guipúzcoa* slave ship policy from Lloyd's Collection at:

¹⁵ British Library, Add MS 38416, Liverpool Papers. Vol. CCXXVII, ff. 24 -27

¹⁶ TNA PROB 11/1369/83

¹⁷ http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/townson-john-1725-97

¹⁸ PROB 11/1288/72.

	Townson was the owner of the Lucretia with the captain William Falkland in 1760 as a privateer.
	A John Townson was active in the early years of New Lloyd's 1769-1772. The will of John Townson merchant of St Mary Axe was proved in 1773; a second John Townson, director of the East India Company, MP for Milborne Port 1780-1787, died 1797. This second man, of Gray's Inn, was connected with <i>Lauchlin, Macleane</i> and was the son of Lucretia nee Wiltshire, suggesting he was the more likely of the two to have been the slave-trader.'
	Although the ROL indicates the Lloyd's John Townson was of St Mary's Axe, it puts his date of death at 1797, not 1773. Lloyd's Minutes record Townson as serving on the Committee, 1772-1786. He was elected to the first Committee in 1772 and in 1779, £1500 in 3% Bank consolidated annuities went under his and five other Committee members' names. It is certain that the Committee member after 1772 was the MP and slave trader of the 1765-68 voyages, and likely this was the founder subscriber. However, under the will of John Townson (d. early 1773) made in 1770 and proved in 1773, two of his executors were Lloyd's founder-subscribers Thomas Thoresby (q.v.) and Thomas Weston (q.v.). This John Townson was an insurance broker active in Lancaster who had a slaving voyage from London by the <i>Chester</i> to Africa and Kingston in 1748 (for which he is given as John Toranson in the TASTDB).
. William Welbank .(c.1740 - 1791)	RBST notes: 'A William Wellbank is listed as part owner of the slave voyage on the <i>Francis and Harriot</i> , which began its journey on 3 July 1791 from London to the Gold Coast and then to Grenada (TASTDB, Ref: 81510). Welbank's will was proved on 1 December 1791 and names his partners in insurance broking as George Sharp and George Brown the Younger, both of whom are listed as part-owners in the <i>Francis and Harriot</i> .

2. Founders with links to the wider slave economy, including slave ownership

James Bourdieu (1715 – 3 November 1804)	Bourdieu was elected to the first Committee of Lloyd's in 1772. He was a London merchant, partner in Bourdieu, Chollet, Bourdieu and then James Bourdieu & Sons. LBS states: 'Owner of property in West Indies, according to his will. The firm of Bourdieu, Chollet and Bourdieu appears as the owner of two estates and enslaved people on Dominica in the 1817'. The RBST has found: 'A Peregrine Bourdieu, possibly James' son, is listed as having four of the five slave voyages of the <i>William Fell</i> in the 1790s, one of which was with Samuel Chollet.' Bourdieu was an investor in the London Dock Company.
Robert Bogle Senior (d. 1777)	The ROL indicates Bogle Senior's death date as 25 June 1772 and that he was a Virginia merchant. He was also a West India merchant and a partner with Robert Bogle junior and William Scott, whose firm failed in 1772. Recorded as a 'merchant in London', when his will was written 21 May 1774 but when proved 12 December 1777, he is described as 'late of Island of Grenada'. Bogle senior, was a joint owner of the Montreuil Estate, Grenada with John Cross, John Baird and James Oswald, 1766-1768. His nephew, William Anderson, inherited half of his estate, through his mother, Agnes Anderson, Bogle's sister and could be the William Anderson who was one of the underwriters on the <i>Guipúzcoa</i> slave ship policy, 1794. A Robert Bogle junior is listed as a part owner of the slave voyage of the <i>Hanover</i> , from Glasgow in 1720 (TASTDB Ref: 26093) and this could possibly, but by no means certainly be the Lloyd's Robert Bogle Senior.
David Chollett (d. 1781)	David Chollet or Chollett, London merchant, almost certainly the brother of Samuel Chollett (q.v.). At the time he made his will in 1781 Chollett co-owned an estate and enslaved people on St Lucia and held mortgages over plantations and enslaved people on St Kitts and Grenada.
<u>Samuel Chollet</u> (d.1802)	 London merchant of Lime street, partner with James Bourdieu and then with James Berney Bourdieu. The firm of Bourdieu, Chollet and Bourdieu appears as the owner of two estates and enslaved people on Dominica in the 1817 Slave Registers. In the will of James Berney Bourdieu, made in 1836, there is reference to estates and 'negroes' purchased by his late father James Bourdieu, Samuel Chollet deceased and myself. This is one of several Samuel Chollets. His will identifies his daughter as Sophia, wife of Firmin de Tastet, who was the broker of the slave ship, <i>Guipúzcoa</i> of 1794. Possibly the Samuel Chollet who is listed as owning the slave ship <i>William Fell</i> in two of its five slave voyages 1789-1793 or this could be his nephew, also called Samuel Chollet. The other owner was Peregrine Bourdieu, possibly James Bourdieu's son, whom it appears purchased the ship from
<u>John Ewer</u> (1720-1792)	Ewer was elected to the first Committee of Lloyd's in 1772 and was an active member, often sitting 'in the Chair' from 1786 until 1791. He was in partnership with his brother, in Walter & John Ewer, Love Lane, who owned the Bog or Bogg and Bascobell estates in Jamaica. Walter, John and Mary Ewer were co-owners of 242 enslaved people and 283 stock in St Ann, Jamaica in

	1792. In 1786 Ewer chaired the Committee of London Merchants, comprising insurers, merchants and owners of ships belonging to the Port of London which met at New Lloyd's Coffee House. He also gave evidence on several occasions due to his knowledge of underwriting, including on the West Indian trade, to the Committee of Trade in 1784 and 1786. ¹⁹
. <mark>Simon Fraser</mark> .(1727 – 19 May 1810)	Simon Fraser of Ness Castle was, according to the ROL, a broker of King's Arms Yard, Coleman Street. He was a senior partner of the West India firm Hon Wm Fraser, Alexander, Neilson & Co. According to LBS: 'It has not yet been definitively established whether the Good Hope estate in British Guiana belonged to Simon Fraser of Ness Castle or to his son Simon Fraser (1752-1793) or his grandson the Hon. Simon Fraser, but part of the compensation for the enslaved upon it was paid to trustees under the will of Simon Fraser of Ness Castle It also seems likely that he was the Simon Fraser among the second wave purchasers of land in Tobago, appearing c.1773 as the present possessor of Great River division (St Mary parish) Lots nos. 7 and 8 (100 acres each) which became the Sion Hill estate [his] legacies to William [his grandson, who joined his business as a West Indian merchant] and the grand-daughters were secured on his unnamed estates in Dominica [Castle Bruce Estate] and Tobago [Sion Hill Estate] to trustees It is clear he also held mortgages over other estates, but the will gives no specifics.' He was a director of the East India Company 1791-1806, with £4000 of its stocks at his death.'
Samuel Gist (c.1723-1815)	Gist was a wealthy plantation and slave-owner in the colony of Virginia, trading in tobacco. Born in Bristol, orphaned and then apprenticed to Alderman Lyonel Lyde as a scrivener, Gist was sent to Lyde's agent, the Virginia tobacco farmer John Smith. When Smith died in 1747, Gist married his widow, and became a large land and slave holder. He was a co-founder of the Dismal Swamp Company, which created a canal and irrigation for farmlands. In his will, written 22 June 1808, he stated the enslaved on his plantations in Virginia were to be emancipated within a year of his death, that they would be given equal shares of rents and profits, that houses should be built for them, the children educated and all should be instructed in Christian teachings. In a codicil of 4 March 1811 he said it would be 'impolitic and perhaps improper in the legislature of Virginia' to free his 274 enslaved and recanted on his proposed emancipation, instead keeping his enslaved for the benefit of his two daughters. In a further codicil of 4 February 1815, he directed further land should be purchased to house the increasing amount of enslaved people, in which over 100 were 10 years old or under. Although it is unclear when Gist returned to London, <u>a letter to George Washington</u> in 1769 places him there and in 1782, as a non-resident he vested his property in his daughter Mary (then Anderson, later Peake[?]) through the Virginia Assembly.
. William Greenwood .(d.1786)	Greenwood served on Lloyd's Committee 1785–1786. In his will, proved on 20 July 1786, Greenwood left unnamed real estate in America and all his shares of 'any lands, houses, negroes and plantations' to his sons John Beswicke Greenwood and William Greenwood, with an additional share, limited up to £14,000 to his daughter Mary from any sale of these estates. LBS states, his son <u>William Greenwood</u> was possibly the slave trader who was the 'sole owner of an 1802 slave-voyage from and to Charleston, and co-owner with Higginson, Barnard & Wheeler in a 1794 slave-voyage from London.'

¹⁹ British Library, Add MS 38388, Add MS 38346, and Add MS 38389.

William Halhed (d. 30 September 1786)	Halhed was a Director of the Bank of England from 1767. In his will, proved 11 October 1786, reference is made to annuities paid on estate in Tobago, called Little Bacolet, secured and paid by Thomas Walpole, which was in arrears.
Thomas Newnham	Newnham was an investor in the West India Docks.
Gregory Olive (d.1779)	London merchant of Garlick Hill, and partner of Sir Brook Watson (q.v.) in the North American trade. According to LBS, Olive was one of 16 annuitants, in 1775, secured on Jacob Kladen's St Vincent property, including named enslaved people, to raise £11,000. Olive purchased an annuity of £50 p.a. in common with almost all the other subscribers.
Thomas Thoresby (d. 1790)	According to UCL's Legacies of British Slavery: 'Thoresby was an annuitant for £50 p.a. for his life and the life of his son Thomas Thoresby on the estates of John Abel Ward on Nevis under indentures of 1774, one of a long list of such annuitants for different amounts on different lives, suggesting that John Abel Ward had sold annuities secured on the estate to raise capital His will referred to premises at King's Arms Yard in Coleman Street: Kent's Directory for 1777 shows him as an attorney at that address.
Sir Brook Watson (7 February 1735- 2 October 1807)	Watson was elected to the first Committee of Lloyd's in 1772 and was an active member, often sitting 'in the Chair' until 1807. Orphaned at the age of six, he was sent to his uncle in Boston, who had West Indian trading interests and started working for Andrew Huston in 1750, trading in Nova Scotia, as suppliers to the British army. In 1755 he supervised the expulsion of the Acadians from the Baie Verte area of Newfoundland and in 1759 moved to London and became a prominent merchant in the North America trade, particularly in whaling in Quebec. He became a Member of Parliament for the City of London in 1784 and in 1789 opposed the abolition of the slave trade on the basis it would destroy Newfoundland fishery interests. He told parliament:
	the fact was that the natives of Africa were taken from a worse state of slavery in their own country to one more mild. The abolition of the trade, he contended, would ruin the West Indies, destroy Newfoundland fishery, which the slaves in the West Indies supported, by consuming that part of the fish which was fit for no other consumption, and consequently, by cutting off the great source of seamen, annihilate our marine. He recommended it to the committee to soften the rigours of slavery, by wholesome regulations; but not to adopt so rash a conduct as to vote the immediate abolition of the trade ²⁰
	Watson was appointed as Lord Mayor in 1796 and served as a Director of the Bank of England from 1784, eventually as a Deputy Governor from 1806 until his death the following year. He was famed for losing part of his right leg to a shark, off the coast of Havana at the age of 14. In 1778 he commissioned John Singleton Copley to paint this scene as a history painting, 'Watson and the Shark'.

²⁰ https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/watson-brook-1735-1807

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. <mark>John Whitmore</mark> .(d.1791)	Whitmore was elected to the first Committee of Lloyd's in 1772. According to LBS, Whitmore was a 'London merchant of Old Jewry, purchaser of two annuities from Thomas Walpole likely to have been secured on slave-property but not to date traced further, and father of John Whitmore MP and Governor of the Bank of England 1808-1810.'
. <mark>Henry Wildman</mark> .(1733-1816)	The ROL indicates Wildman was a merchant of Cornhill. He was a sugar consignee ²¹ According to LBS, Wildman was a 'London merchant and slave-owner. He had been an exporter to Jamaica in the 1770s, in a partnership known as Wildman and Smith. In Kent's 1794 Directory he is listed at 6 Fen Court, Fenchurch Street as a merchant, but he was later also a shipowner in the Jamaica trade and as late as 1813 can be found in correspondence with Boulton and Watt over at least one steam engine order for Jamaica. He was an investor in the West India Docks.' He is listed as the owner of the Esther plantation, Jamaica, 1802-1816 and is possibly linked to St Faith's estate, Jamaica.

²¹ Nick Draper, 'The City of London and slavery: evidence from the first dock companies, 1795-1800', *Economic History Review*, 61, 2, 2008, p.447.

3. Founders with links to slavery but unconfirmed

Timothy Bevan (1744-1773)	Banker of Lombard Street, who entered Barclay, Bevan & Co. through his uncle, James Barclay (1707-1766) in 1767. The bank evolved into the Quaker-led Barclay's Bank, known for their abolitionist leanings, especially through David Barclay (1729-1809) who was also a subscriber to Lloyd's, but LBS notes the 'bank had close links to the West India trade and financed plantation mortgages.'
John Campbell	Possibly but by no means certainly, the same John Campbell listed on the RBST: 'Probably of Charleston. 'Campbell' appears as the owner of the <i>Minerva</i> on a voyage from London to Congo North and Charleston arriving in 1806. A ship of the same name with the same captain left Charleston for Loango and Montevideo later that same year, when the owner was shown as John Campbell in TASTBD. George Allen Aylwin of London used a John Campbell of Charleston as 'supercargo' in his slave-trading between Africa, Havana and Charleston, according to a petition of 15/03/1809, by which time Campbell was dead'.
Joshua Mendes Da Costa (d.1802)	ROL indicates he was at Devonshire Square, Bishopsgate. By 1797, when his will was written, he was living at Norfolk Street, The Strand. Likely to be part of the Mendes da Costa family who invested in the London Dock Company.
William Davis	Possibly but by no means certainly, the same William Davis listed as part owner of the slave voyage on the <i>Adventure</i> , 1798, from Liverpool to Calabar and then the Americas (TASTDB, Ref: 80061).
George Hayley (d.1781)	Hayley was active in the Committee of Lloyd's, 1778–1781 during which time he 'sat in the Chair'. He was Alderman of the City and MP for the City of London, 1774-1781, during which time 'he spoke occasionally onquestions concerning the colonies' in parliament. ²²
William James	The ROL indicates he was a merchant of Cheapside. Unlikely, to be William James the slave trader with 140 slave voyages between 1759-1777, as he was based in Liverpool but the crossover between Liverpool and London insurance markets during this period make it a possibility.
Page Keble	The ROL notes that he was descended from Page Keble a celebrated Captain in the East India Company in 1712.' Possibly but by no means certainly, the Page Keble, formerly of Calcutta, whose will, proved 19 January 1787, directs that after his decease his servants, a boy named William and two girls, Harinda and Patty, are given their freedom, and if they accompany him to England,

²² <u>https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/hayley-george-1781</u>

	their passage back to India should be paid alongside 500 rubies. In a later codicil, Keble cancelled the bequest to the 'two slave girls'.
William Kelly (d.1774)	Possibly the same William Kelly whose will was proved 25 August 1774, which puts in trust unspecified plantations and estates with enslaved peoples in North America and the Island of St Thomas [Virgin Islands] and all his other plantations and lands. The trust is to be managed by three City of London merchants and friends: Brook Watson (Lloyd's), Beeston Long (West Indian Merchant of Long, Drake & Co. and Deputy Director of the Royal Exchange Assurance Company) and Robert Rashleigh for the benefit of his two sons, William and Henry. Kelly was in partnership with Abraham Lott of Messrs. Kelly and Lott and Company, merchants of the Crescent, London. In 1773, Thomas Wooldridge entered into the company with a quarter share and Henry Kelly also had a quarter share. The company failed by 1779.
Lewis Mendes	In RBST, a Lewis Mendes/z appears in the bibliographic account of James Johnson of Spital Square as a co-investor in the <i>Scourge</i> privateering voyage 1758-9. It is unconfirmed whether this is the Lloyd's Lewis Mendes.
William Neate (d.1775)	Neate is described as an American merchant in the London Evening Post, 26-27 October 1774. His will mentions his American business and his request that his son in law, Henry Chapman and clerk, John Prothero, manage his American business after his death, although without further details, it is likely these represent colonial interests. He is listed at St Mary Hill, City of London, in Kent's Directory and owned property in Bourton, Wiltshire. He was a subscriber to the Royal Society of Arts, as well as several philanthropic causes including one for Palatine refugees.
John Nutt	In RBST, a John Nutt of Old Bethlem, London was part-owner of the <i>Cape Coast</i> slave voyage of 1757-1758 from Bristol to Africa and then Charleston (TSATDB, Ref: 17422). It is unconfirmed whether this is the Lloyd's John Nutt.
Marmaduke and Richard Peacocke	Brokers in partnership of White Hart Court, Lombard Street (c.1754-1772 Marmaduke only); 6 St Clements Lane (c.1774); 30 Cornhill (1780); 27 Exchange Alley (c.1790 Marmaduke only), 67 Lombard Street (c.1795 Marmaduke only). Broker for the sale of ships at Lloyd's Coffee House by candle in 1754 for the <i>Peggy</i> , Bermuda built and the <i>Messina Packet</i> plantation built. A 'Mr Peacock' is listed as owner for the slave voyage of <i>Meredith</i> , 1769/70 (TASTDB, Ref.: 78260).
John Read	A John Read was part-owner in three slave voyages between 1771 - 1774, all from Bristol. It is unconfirmed whether this is the Lloyd's John Read.
James Syme	A James Syme, merchant of Barge Yard, Bucklersbury, City of London is referenced in the London Evening Post, 15-18 Aug 1772. He was declared bankrupt in August 1777. One of his large debts was due from a debtor residing in the West Indies. (London Gazette, 20-24 May 1783).
John Travers (d. 25 September 1805)	Travers was a Director of the East India Company, c.1792-1807 and Elder Brethren of Trinity House. His will states he lived at Bedford Place, Russell Square.

William Ward (1750-March 1811)	The ROL states he was of Holborn Bars and died at Grove House, Tooting. In RBST, a William Ward was part-owner of the <i>Hall</i> in a 1791 slave voyage from Liverpool to Africa and then Kingston, Jamaica (TASTDB, Ref.: 81687). It is unconfirmed whether this is the Lloyd's William Ward.
Thomas Weston	A Thomas Weston was part or full owner in nine slave voyages between 1758 -1768, all from Liverpool. It is unconfirmed whether this is the Lloyd's Thomas Weston.
John Wilkinson (d.1778)	Wilkinson was elected to the first Committee of Lloyd's in 1772 and served until his death. He was a merchant of St. Mary at Hill. A John Wilkinson was co-owner with Michael James and Theophilus Daubuz of a slaving voyage by the <i>Tryal</i> from London to Gambia and Grenada in 1765. A John Wilkinson was the broker for the sale by auction at Lloyd's Coffee House of the plantation built ship <i>Woodmas,</i> as advertised in the Public Ledger, 31 July 1775. Neither of these are confirmed as the Lloyd's John Wilkinson. The owner-captain of a slave ship of 1769-70, the <i>Bee</i> from Liverpool, to West Africa, to Dominica was almost certainly a different man.

4. Founders with no confirmed links to slavery

Paul Amsinck	The ROL states that he is the son of Paul Amsinck of St Mary Axe who died on 4 April 1765. A Paul and Thomas Amsinck, were wine merchants of Size Lane and went bankrupt in c.1790. There is a Thomas and a William Amsinck who are also listed as subscribers to Lloyd's. There is a further Paul Amsinck (1733–1812), born in Oporto, who was Ambassador of the Hanseatic states to the Court of St. James's, 1771-1784. Messrs Amsinck, Bourdieu and Chollet are cited as having petitioned the Board of Trade and Plantations in 1775. It is unconfirmed which Paul Amsinck is the founder of Lloyd's New Coffee House.
Henry Appleton (1691-1780)	The ROL indicates Appleton was an Insurance broker of Throgmorton Street.
John Arnall	
John Auther (d.1827?)	ROL indicates Auther was partner in Auther & Campion, Austin Friars and worked at the Royal Exchange Assurance Company.
Thomas Bell	ROL indicates Bell was an insurance broker in Mark Lane.
Joseph Bird (d.1792)	ROL indicates Bird was a merchant of Devonshire Square, who died 5 May 1792
James Black	Black was elected to the first Committee of Lloyd's in 1772 and served until 1778.
Joseph Bland (d.1801)	Bland's will confirms his sons as Joseph Bland Jnr and James Timothy Bland, both of who were subscribers to Lloyd's.
John Brough	
Thomas Carter	ROL indicates he was a JP in Surrey and died at Millpond Bridge, Bermondsey. Unlikely to be the Thomas

.(1743 - 9 January .1808)	Carter who was part owner in eight slave voyages between 1766-1791, all from Liverpool.
Robert Cornthwaite	
George Curling (d. 1783)	According to the ROL Curling sat on Lloyd's Committee until 1784. He was elected in 1778. His will was proved 17 February 1783 and he was of Prescot Street, Goodman's Fields. Middlesex. He left his estate to his son George Curling and two daughters and to his servant, Mary Walker and the 7 children he had with her. George Curling junior was elected to Lloyd's Committee in 1786 and was an active member, sitting in the Chair at General Meetings and serving until 7 May 1809. Curling junior's will was proved 11 January 1810 and he was the lead underwriter on the <i>Guipúzcoa</i> slave ship policy, 1794.
Robert Dallas	The ROL indicates he was an insurance broker of the Royal Exchange, and In partnership with George Dallas of Black Swan Court, Bartholomew Lane.
Cornelius Donovan (1733 - 1806)	Listed in the London Directory as a merchant at New Broad Street (1780 & 1783), then 'over the Royal Exchange' (1786 & 1789). Donovan's will lists him as formerly of New Broad Street and lately of Queen Square, Bloomsbury. A Cornelius Donovan was a member of Lloyd's List in 1792 and a member of the Special Jury for the Trial of Thomas Paine at Guildhall in 1793.
Benjamin Eyre	The ROL indicates he was a merchant and banker of Princes Street, Lothbury. In Kent's Directory, Eyre's company is listed as 'warehouseman', in the 1760s and at Token house Yard in the 1770s. In Holden's Directory of 1799 a Benjamin Eyre is listed as a Factor in Bread Street Hill.
Godhard Hagen (d.24 May 1772)	The ROL indicates Hagen was a merchant of Fenchurch Street, originally from Portugal and died 24 May 1772. He petitioned the Board of Trade and Plantations on behalf of Liverpool merchants requesting that ships trading to Italy would not be quarantined in 1767. In his will, proved on 27 April 1772, he describes himself as an Insurance Broker of Pig Street, City of London, residing in Greenwich.
Thomas Harley (1730-1 December 1804)	Merchant and politician, first became a wine merchant and then traded in supplies for the militia. In 1778 he became a partner in the bank of Sir Charles Raymond, Harley, Webber & Co. of George Street, which failed in 1790. He was elected Lord Mayor in 1762, 1763, 1767 and 1768 and was elected as MP for the City of London, 1761 and 1768 and then Herefordshire 1776-1802. He was elected to the Privy Council in 1770 and became a senior Alderman in 1785. He was President of St Bartholomew's Hospital from 1769 and was an active philanthropist. By 1775, he had acquired a country estate at Berrington, Herefordshire.
Robert Hunter (d.1812)	The ROL indicates Hunter is a merchant of Lothbury. A will proved in 1812 of a Robert Hunter, 'London merchant', is possibly but by no means certainly the same person.

Edward James	The ROL indicates Edward James was a broker of Change Alley.
James Laird .(d.1799)	Probably the James Laird of Blackness, Angus, formerly of Tokenhouse Yard, London, who will was proved 30 August 1799. The ROL indicates he was a shipbuilder of Glasgow and London.
Nicholas Lutyens	The ROL indicates Lutyens was partners in Lutyens & Ouchterlong, Boar's Head Court, Gracechurch Street. There are notifications of a Nicholas Lutyens of 5 Lime Street, going bankrupt in 1772 in contemporary newspapers.
Colin Mackenzie (died c.1793)	In his will, he describes himself as a merchant and insurance broker of Sun Court, Cornhill, City of London. His partner was Kenneth Mackenzie, who was also a subscriber to Lloyd's from c.1775. He requested his trustees invest his stocks in buying land in Scotland to the value of £40,000.
Augustine Meade (d.1779)	In his will, he describes himself as a merchant, residing at New Buildings, Coleman Street, City of London. He estimated his worth to be £4000.
James Mowbray	Mowbray was appointed to a committee of 15 subscribers who applied to Parliament concerning the printed form of insurance policies in 1778-1779. ²³ Possibly the James Mowbray whose will was proved 1 September 1801, of Burley, Southampton.
Andrew Perrott (d.1793)	In his will, Perrott describes himself as a merchant and he is listed at 8, Lombard Street in the <i>Public Advertiser</i> , 14 March 1785.
Joshua Readshaw (d.1785)	Readshaw was elected to the first Committee of Lloyd's in 1772 and was 'in the chair' on various occasions. He served until his death.
Edward Reilly	Possibly the Edward Reilly of Little Tower Street, City of London, who was bankrupt by 1777.
William Smelt	
William Stead	Possibly the William Stead of Little Tower Hill, City of London, who by 1778 had been declared bankrupt and was then residing at Cavendish Square, Middlesex.

²³ Lloyd's Minute/Subscriber's Book, Ms 31571-1, Guildhall Library

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Thomas Sutton	
a William Tippell a(d. 1797)	Likely to be the William Tippell, whose will was proved 20 April 1797 of Murston, Suffolk, with various estates and with connections with the City of London and a shipbroker, John Gooch.
William Trotter	The ROL indicates that Trotter was of Frith Street, Soho. A William Trotter, whose will was proved 11 May 1805, was a broker of Tower Street, City of London and a partner of George Mackenzie.
Martin Kuyck Van Meirop .(d.1778)	Dutch merchant of new Broad Street, who frequently was 'in the chair' from New Lloyd's first meeting in 1772. Wright & Fayle suggest he 'was probably one of the leaders in the succession of 1769' and he is often cited as Lloyd's first Chairman. He was naturalised between 1737-41.
Thomas Walker	The ROL indicates he was a partner in Thomas Walker & Co., Sarge Yard, Bucklersbury, City of London.
John Wilson	The ROL indicates he was a 'Turkey merchant of Bow'.
Edward Woodmass .(d.1787)	Brother of Robert, served on Lloyd's Committee from 1786-1787. His will, proved 1 December 1787, indicates he lived in the parish of St Bartholomew's, by the Royal Exchange. His properties at 10 Angel Court, Throgmorton Street, London and the 'Parsonage House', Wansted, Essex, were auctioned according to an advert in the Gazetteer & New Daily Advertiser, 15 December 1787.
Robert Woodmass (c.1723-1799)	Brother of Edward and the ROL specifies he was born in 1723 and died 6 November 1799, at Dulwich, but a notice of his death indicates he was aged 78 (British Evening Post, 9-12 November 1799).