

4. Compensation for Slave-ownership

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The Slavery Abolition Act (1833) made provision for £20 million to be paid in compensation to the owners of 'slave property'. This was equivalent to approximately 40 per cent of the government's total annual expenditure at the time, which, if applied today, would equate to well over £100 billion.¹ Over 45,000 claims for compensation were made, relating to 800,000 enslaved people. No compensation was paid to the enslaved. Due to the way it was financed, the loan needed to fund this Act was only fully repaid in 2015. A total of 80 claims made by individuals historically associated with the families of 29 places in England and Wales (none in Northern Ireland) owned by the National Trust have currently been identified in the database of claims created by the University College London's (UCL) *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* project.

Abolition and Compensation

The need for the compensation scheme was discussed in Parliament for many years before the abolition of slavery was accepted. Merchants, investors and trustees of plantations and absentee plantation owners (some of whom were Members of Parliament), as well as many others within Britain, **were financially dependent on the proceeds from colonial slavery**. Speeches, pamphlets and letters during the time of abolition capture varying concerns about the **loss of 'property'** in the form of enslaved labourers in the colonies, and concerns for the ruin of commercial centres of trade in people and goods, such as Liverpool. After the passing of the Slave Trade Act (1807), it became clear that the next step would be the full emancipation of the enslaved labourers on plantations in the British Empire. MPs became more vocal about the need to compensate British losses to the business of slavery, while supporters of abolition were divided, torn between moral objection to payment and acknowledgement that it could achieve the emancipation of enslaved people.

One of the earliest advocates of the compensation scheme was merchant George Hibbert (1757–1837), who came from a family of plantation owners. As early as 1790, he argued that West India interests would be ruined without support from the government.² Hibbert relentlessly petitioned in favour of a compensation scheme, serving as an MP in support of West India interests from 1806 until 1812. In 1807, Hibbert likened compensation for abolition to the need for government support if it were to close a large factory in a northern county. Critically, his analogy was that even if factory conditions were adverse and detrimental to the labourers, the

loss of a businessman's livelihood demanded compensation because their estates 'will be either considerably depreciated, or of no value at all'.³

The value of the loss of slavery to individuals in Britain would become imminently clear, as the Hibbert family received compensation for numerous estates in Jamaica totalling over £100,000. George Hibbert together with his brother William Hibbert (1759–1844) and their cousin, Robert Hibbert (1769–1849), were linked through business as partners in a West India merchant house. William purchased Hare Hill as his country home in 1798, passing it on to his son, William Tetlow Hibbert (1792–1881), and the gardens are now cared for by the National Trust. Both William and his son were the claimants or beneficiaries of 13 separate claims for 2,654 enslaved people. One of William's claims was unsuccessful, but his immediate family received a total of £48,115 in compensation.⁴ William's nephew, George Hibbert Oates (1791–1837), was a planter in Jamaica, who received £353 16s. 11d. for 19 enslaved people as the owner of Morven Estate in Hanover, Jamaica. Oates also acted as attorney, agent and receiver in 12 additional claims, and presumably received compensation for his role. His daughter, Mary Sarah Hibbert Oates (1834–1925), who was 'formerly a slave on Georgia estate',⁵ was sent to England, where she eventually became the lady of Dyrham Park in Gloucestershire, as the wife of Rev. Wynter Thomas Blathwayt (1825–1909).

UCL's *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* project has identified all the individuals who received awards listed in the slave-compensation records of the 1830s. These beneficiaries were distributed throughout the UK: 1,879 from England, 394 from Scotland, nearly 100 either born or based in Ireland and 36 from Wales.⁶ Research reveals that payments extended beyond plantation owners and the merchant class centred around the ports of London, Liverpool and Bristol associated with slavery and the importing of goods from the West Indies.⁷ Among the beneficiaries were absentee slave-owners who were financially dependent on slavery but had never seen a plantation, including the descendants of slave-traders and merchants who had used family wealth to buy substantial property in the country, or families who had acquired an interest through marriage. Compensation records indicate that 5–10 per cent of national elites in British society can be connected to slavery, and the same percentage can be linked to the built heritage of country houses.⁸

The politics of compensation

The real cost of slavery rested in the human lives that were exploited and lost in pursuit of material and financial wealth, as well as their continued indentured servitude in the British Empire.⁹ The compensation scheme devised monetary formulas for human life under the guise of losses to property, and a bureaucratic process was established so that slaveholders could apply for remuneration for their loss of enslaved people. The Commission of Arbitration (the Commission) was set up by the Slavery Abolition Act (1833) and had professional staff and offices that processed the claims for 800,000 enslaved people.¹⁰ The work of Nick Draper¹¹ and

the wider UCL *Legacies of Slave-ownership* project has examined the Commission's papers in the National Archives and illuminated differing monetary values that were assigned to individuals based on their age, skill, productivity, gender and where they were enslaved.¹² The names of slaveholders were committed to the records of the Commission, while the names of the enslaved are absent; their individuality reduced to aspects of property capital.

Some individuals in British society recognised the conundrum of paying slaveholders for their losses in 'slave property' as an idea that inherently undermined the arguments of abolition. Before the Slave Trade Act (1807) ended the slave trade, a group of merchants and planters presented a petition to the House of Lords arguing against its cessation and requesting compensation. Thomas Clarkson (1760–1846), an early abolition supporter, responded in several letters in which he explored the exploitation of Africa by Great Britain, describing it as a 'scene of blood and desolation'. Clarkson continued to relate that providing compensation for the loss of enslaved labourers would be 'a violation both of morals and of all the principles of jurisprudence'.¹³

The payment of compensation was contested in parliamentary debates between abolitionists and those campaigning for West India interests in the 1820s. As slave-owners and merchants had made their fortunes, **they returned to Britain to take up positions in society that would give them political influence**, such as becoming a Member of Parliament (MP) or marrying into an elite family. In 1831, nearly 50 serving MPs had a personal connection to the slave trade and therefore an interest in gaining substantive compensation following the dismantling of the slavery system.¹⁴ Following abolition, more than 100 MPs, both pro- and anti-abolitionist, received compensation.

In 1821, Mary Anne Boode (1799–1882), the daughter of a powerful Dutch slave-holding family in British Guiana, married Edward Cust (1794–1878),¹⁵ brother of Sir John Cust, 1st Earl Brownlow (1779–1853) of Belton (NT). Following military retirement, Edward Cust served as an MP and a standing member of The London Society of West India Planters and Merchants from 1818 until 1832, voting in their interests and against emancipation during the 1820s and 1830s. The brothers became joint trustees and executors (together with Wilbraham Egerton MP (1832–1909)) of the Greenwich Park plantation in British Guiana owned by Margaret Boode (Mary's mother) and were beneficiaries of compensation of £5,029 7s. 8d. paid for 185 enslaved people. After visiting his plantations in 1838, Edward later reflected that the process of abolishing slavery should have begun immediately after the 1823 parliamentary resolutions.¹⁶

Officials were appointed to act on behalf of the government to oversee the process of abolition in the West Indies. Felix Bedingfeld (1808–84), son of Sir Richard Bedingfeld, 5th Baronet (1767–1829) of Oxburgh Hall (NT), trained as a barrister and served for much of his career as a British government colonial official. In 1833, he became legal advisor to Monserrat to oversee the implementation of abolition.¹⁷ Bedingfeld recorded his experiences in a diary in which he details his dealings with the six plantations on the island. He also took the opportunity

to purchase the Amersham Estate in Monserrat the same year, later receiving compensation of £1,024 4s. 2d. for the 61 enslaved people who worked there.¹⁸ He continued in colonial office and his obituary in the *Law Magazine and Legal Review* records his service as Crown Commissioner of the Turks Islands (1842–9), Master of the Supreme Court of Trinidad (1849–54) and Colonial Secretary of Mauritius 1860–68.¹⁹

Inheritance and marriage

By the 1830s, slave-ownership in Britain had become commodified through a complex network of mortgages, contracts and other financial arrangements. The identities of enslaved individuals are occasionally revealed through the indentures and warrants attached to financial transactions, such as marriage settlements for women, which were written within an understanding of property transference and annuities reserved for minors and widows in Britain.²⁰ When Elizabeth Hervey (1780–1803) of Ickworth (NT) in Suffolk married the Jamaican plantation owner Charles Rose Ellis, Lord Seaford (1771–1845), in 1798 (the same year he purchased Claremont (NT) in Surrey), a list of 349 named enslaved men, women and children were included in the warrant attached to her marriage settlement, along with a sugar works on the Montpelier Estate (New Works).²¹ This document makes individual lives visible but at the same time is dehumanising, as an enslaved person lost their given, likely African, birth name and found it replaced by ‘Eve’, ‘Apollo’, ‘Beauty’ or ‘Liverpool’. Their names reference ports, slaveholders’ family estates, figures from mythology or are a form of sexualised denigration. Ellis was a descendent of Colonel John Ellis, who had established the family fortune by settling in Jamaica in 1665 and inherited from his father his plantation of 404 acres ‘planted in sugar canes’ worked by 349 enslaved people.²² He was the Chairman of the Standing Committee of The London Society of West India Planters and Merchants and a leading promoter of the West Indian interest in Parliament and resisted abolition continuously, receiving compensation of more than £18,000 for 1,018 enslaved people.²³

Anna Eliza Elletson (1735–1813) had inherited the wealth and holdings of her first husband, Roger Hope Elletson (1723–75), a Jamaican-born slave-owner and former lieutenant-governor of the island, whose property included the Hope Plantation.²⁴ Anna Eliza took on the role of absentee manager of Hope Estate, with 385 enslaved men, women and children, through detailed correspondence between herself and her attorneys in the Caribbean. In 1776, she wrote to her attorneys requesting that the enslaved people on the plantation were ‘well taken care of in sickness or health, and their [...] situations rendered as comfortable as possible’. She continued to express more commercial sentiments over the loss of ‘Bacchus’, as his work was essential to the Still House, and hoped ‘that the loss is not irreplaceable’.²⁵ In 1777, Anna Eliza married James Brydges (1731–89), and on her death, she bequeathed Hope Estate to her daughter Anne Elizabeth (1779–1836). Anne Elizabeth married Richard Grenville, 1st Duke of Buckingham and Chandos (1776–1839) of Stowe (NT), Buckinghamshire. Grenville consistently opposed abolition

and made three unsuccessful claims for compensation in 1836 for Hope Estate, Middleton and Hampstead Park, Jamaica St Andrew.²⁶ A compensation award equalling £6,630 5s. 6d. for the enslaved people of Hope Estate was eventually distributed to Richard and Anne's son, Richard Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville (1797–1861), Hon. George Neville (1789–1854) and John Campbell (1796–1862) of Glastonbury Tor (NT) in Somerset.²⁷

Unsuccessful claims

Although compensation enabled the end of the slavery system, the large amounts of money on offer caused 'a feeding frenzy' among certain sections of elite society.²⁸ The government commission set up to manage the huge number of claims also had to establish the legality of claims in situations in which there were multiple claimants or complex mortgage and annuity arrangements. Long association with a plantation did not guarantee success. The experience of the Stapletons at Greys Court (NT) provides a good example of this. Sir William Stapleton (d.1686) was Governor of the Leeward Islands and a substantial plantation owner on all four islands. Managed by later generations of largely absentee owners who also married into other plantation owning families from the West Indies, by the early nineteenth century their landownership had become commodified parts of financial arrangements such as entailments and mortgagees. While Ann Byam Stapleton (née Kerby) (1796–1842) received compensation as tenant-in-tail of estates in Antigua, the Hon and Rev. Sir Francis Jarvis Stapleton's (1806–74) compensation claim Nevis 16 (Mont Pelier), made in his role as executor of his father Sir Thomas Stapleton, 6th Baronet (1766–1831), was unsuccessful and £666 15s. 4d. for 32 enslaved people was awarded instead to Walter Williamson, Receiver.²⁹

Edward Gregory Morant Gale (1773–1855)³⁰ is associated with Upton House (NT) in Warwickshire, as well as being a descendent of Edward Pennant (1672–1736), Governor of Jamaica and great-grandfather of the builder of Penrhyn Castle (NT). Gale made unsuccessful claims for four estates in Jamaica, totalling approximately £9,800, and the successful counterclaim, for £12,000, came from his nephews John and George Morant, and Robert Lambert.³¹

Caribbean plantations

Following abolition, plantations continued to exist in the Caribbean, and their liberated labourers were transformed by the law into 'apprentices'. Apprentices were forced to work for their former slavers for between four and six years, and children under the age of six were emancipated. Apprentices worked without pay in return for food and shelter.³² Plantation owners in Bermuda and Antigua opted to pay a daily wage to their liberated labourers, finding it cheaper than feeding and housing them.³³ For all intents and purposes, labourers experienced the same hardships in the apprenticeship scheme as they did during slavery. In James Williams's (c.1819–?) account of being an 18-year-old apprentice in Jamaica, *A narrative of events since the 1st*

of August, 1834 (1838), he described gruelling labour and receiving cruel punishments. This report, along with widespread refusal by apprentices to work and evidence collected by the Colonial Office, brought apprenticeships to an end by 1838 and heralded a new system of indentured servitude. Between 1838 and 1917, Indian indentured servants were shipped to locations within the British Empire to replace former enslaved labourers.³⁴

The bureaucratic process of compensation in the Caribbean aligned with land-ownership and property transference in Britain but did not discriminate by ethnicity. Some descendants of enslaved Africans also received wealth from the enduring sugar and cotton plantations. Charles Paget Wade (1883–1956), who owned Snowhill Manor (NT), inherited a share of the family import business, Sendall and Wade, from his father in 1911. Charles was an architect, illustrator and plantation owner. His father, Paget Augustus Wade (1849–1911), was of mixed heritage and the son of Solomon Abraham Wade (1806–81) and Mary Jones (sometimes recorded as James) (1817–1914), (born in St Kitts in 1817), a black woman thought to be his housekeeper, but recorded as a ‘huckster’ or someone who sells items door to door. Paget received £16,000 from his father to purchase Woodleys Estate in St Kitts. The Wades made several small, successful claims, totalling £283 for 18 enslaved people,³⁵ and successive generations continued to profit from the sugar plantation in St Kitts. Charles Paget Wade’s inheritance enabled him to buy Snowhill Manor.

Some individuals connected to National Trust places also moved back to the Caribbean during emancipation. One example is John Rock Grosett (c.1784–1866), anti-abolitionist and MP for Chippenham.³⁶ Through his father, mother and wife, Grosett received a combined inheritance of at least three Jamaican estates: Chepstow Pen and Spring Gardens Estate in St George and Petersfield in St Thomas-in-the-East. In 1822, he joined the Standing Committee of The London Society of West India Planters and Merchants and supported planters’ interests in Parliament.³⁷ Grosett was a tenant who rented Lacock Abbey (NT) in Wiltshire for 17 years before moving to Jamaica in 1830. Grosett listed his formal address as ‘of Lacock Abbey’ for his compensation claims, instead of Jamaica, where he was resident.³⁸ Grosett and his lawyer successfully claimed compensation for 916 enslaved people totalling £16,143 1s. 9d.³⁹

The success of the Greg family of Quarry Bank Mill (NT) in the cotton trade was bolstered by the involvement of several generations in slavery in the Caribbean and the trade connections they made through marriage to other families connected to business in the West Indies.⁴⁰ John Greg (1716–95), the uncle of Samuel Greg (1758–1834), owned two estates in Dominica – Hertford and Hillsborough – and also inherited Cane Garden in St Vincent from his wife, Catharine. John sold Hertford, but Hillsborough and Cane Garden passed on to his nephews – Samuel and his brother Thomas (1752–1832).⁴¹ Thomas married Margaret Hibbert (1749–1818), the sister of West India merchant William Hibbert of Hare Hill (NT), and provided insurance for his brother-in-law’s transatlantic trade as a member of Lloyd’s.⁴² Samuel’s son, Thomas (d.1839), inherited the estates and claimed for the loss of 210 enslaved people across St Vincent and

Dominica, receiving approximately £5,080 in compensation.⁴³ Hillsborough finally passed on to Thomas's brother, Robert Hyde Greg (1795–1875), in 1839 and the family continued to benefit from sugar production at the estate as it passed down the family line until Robert Philips Greg (1826–1906) sold his interest in Hillsborough to his nephew, John Tylston Greg (1871–1961), in 1894. John Tylston decided to move to Dominica to supervise the sugar plantation directly until 1928, before returning to Oxford to live in a house named Hillsborough. The estate was sold to a Dominican family named Rolle after the Greg family was persuaded that it was acceptable to sell Hillsborough to a 'coloured family'.⁴⁴

Hidden Histories – Legacy

It is inevitable that such a considerable and precipitous transfer of money from the Treasury into private hands will have manifested itself in various forms of reinvestment and spending, thereby concealing the source of this wealth and the history of slavery embedded in our cultural, political, social and material heritage. These legacies are still writ large on the British landscape. Civic and private building investment; towns and cities whose streets bear the names of beneficiaries; private country houses and public monuments; charitable institutions, churches and schools.

Property

William Hudson Heaven (1800–83) of Bristol, a merchant and plantation owner, purchased Lundy Island (NT) in the Bristol Channel in 1834 for 9,400 guineas and in 1836 constructed Millcombe Villa on the island.⁴⁵ In 1835, he had received £11,739 in compensation, awarded in six tranches against four estates (Ramble Pen, Silver Grove, Golden Grove and Bean's) in Hanover, Jamaica, as owner-in-fee. At this time, he is shown as 'of Penridge House, Somerset and Bean's Jamaica'.

In 1825, William Rutson (1791–1867) married Charlotte Mary Ewart (c.1803–81). Their fathers, William Calton Rutson (d.1817) and Charlotte's father, William Ewart (1763–1823) were Liverpool-based merchants and partners in Ewart Rutson & Co. (later Ewart Myers & Co.), which traded in goods produced by enslaved labour, particularly sugar and cotton. In October 1835, Ewart Myers & Co. were mortgagees-in-trust at Long Lane Delp's sugar plantation in Antigua, receiving £2,790 8s. 8d. as compensation for the land and 213 enslaved people. William purchased Nunnington Hall (NT) in North Yorkshire in 1839, settling his family's wealth in a respectable property which the family used as a sporting lodge. Nunnington Hall was bequeathed to the National Trust by Margaret Rutson, William's great-niece, in 1952.

Commercial enterprise

The building and acquisition of property, furnishings and art are obvious ways in which compensation wealth can be demonstrated. However, many of the beneficiaries were

businessmen first and foremost, and reinvested their gains in new and existing enterprise. In the case of George Hay Dawkins-Pennant (1764–1840), he completed the construction of Penrhyn Castle (NT) and transformed the north Wales slate industry from a local, family-based enterprise into an industrial-scale operation, exporting slate around the world.

In 1835, Dawkins-Pennant had received £14,683 in compensation for 764 enslaved people across four sugar plantations in Clarendon, Jamaica: Pennants, Denbigh, Cotes and Kupuis. Pennant was the MP for New Romney, Kent, from 1820 to 1830 and was a vigorous anti-abolitionist and opposed the emancipation of slaves within the British Empire. From about 1820, he had begun the construction of his great country house, Penrhyn Castle (NT), on the historic family estate, near Bangor. It would be completed in the early 1830s and it can be no coincidence that he then set about furnishing the castle extravagantly. On his death in 1840, his elder daughter, Juliana Isabella (1808–42), inherited. Juliana and her husband Colonel Edward Gordon Douglas (1800–86), who then took the name Pennant and later, in 1866, the title First Baron Penrhyn of Llandygai, were tasked with acquiring a grand collection of suitable pictures: Dutch landscapes and portraits, including Rembrandt's *Catherina Hoogshaet*, Italian and Spanish classical and religious works, and a considerable number of Canaletto and Belotto landscapes, many of which remain in the castle today.

Through the 1840s, Colonel Douglas-Pennant instituted large-scale improvement across the 41,000-acre estate, investing in farmhouses and agricultural buildings under the management of James Wyatt, who wrote in 1841 that 'Colonel Douglas -Pennant's wish is to see his property improved and under a better system of husbandry, a thriving and improved class of farmers'.⁴⁶

At the start of the nineteenth century, Penrhyn slate quarry was already growing, producing 40,000 tons of slate in 1820, with a workforce of 1,000 men. By 1859, that had grown to 120,000 tons, drawing an income of £100,000 and employing 2,500. The purpose-built Port Penrhyn was extended and deepened in 1855 to take even larger ships.

Connoisseurship: art and culture

The role of British plantation owners and West Indian merchants **as connoisseurs and collectors, as philanthropists and as founders or participants in new cultural and social institutions is considerable.** Not only are our public and national collections endowed with the benefits of compensation money, but private collecting also responded to the influx of wealth in the 1830s. Richard Grenville, 2nd Duke of Buckingham and Chandos (1797–1861), was ultimately the beneficiary of compensation from his mother's Hope Estate in Jamaica (discussed above). By 1847–8, he was bankrupt. He had inherited a heavily encumbered estate from his father, but added to it, and by 1847 had debts of £1.5 million with £66,000-plus annual interest and an income of no more than £61,000.

Hence, over 40 days in August and September 1848, the ‘great Stowe sale’ took place and the entire contents of the house auctioned. *The Times* (14 August 1848) wrote that Grenville had ‘flung all away by extravagance and folly, and reduced his honours to the tinsel of a pauper and the bauble of a fool’.⁴⁷ His financial life was peppered with good and bad fortune (much of his own making). He was an extravagant collector of prints, books and manuscripts, and his lifestyle led to divorce. He died bankrupt, but the fruits of his investment can still be seen in the British Museum⁴⁸ and British Library collections.⁴⁹

Philanthropy

Some of the less tangible manifestations of compensation can be seen in **community investment and philanthropy**. Richard Watt III (d.1855) of Speke (NT) and Low Hall was a Lieutenant in the second battalion of the East Riding Local Militia in 1809 and served as High Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1811. Following receipt in 1835 of £4,485 in compensation for 256 enslaved people on St George’s Plain Estate in Westmoreland, Jamaica, he took to providing an ox for the villagers in Bishop Burton as ‘Christmas bounty’ and organised entertainments to celebrate the coronation of Queen Victoria in 1837 and the birth of her first child in 1840. On the latter occasion the local paper commented that ‘The tables groaned under the weight of the feast.’⁵⁰

Empire

Concurrent with changes to the economies of the West Indian plantations, was the emergence of a wider British Empire, attracting investors and settlers to areas such as the Indian subcontinent, far beyond the former colonial territories and West Indian plantations founded on slavery of the Americas. The descendants of families who had made their fortunes in the West Indies and moved their wealth and influence back to Britain began to take up colonial positions in India.

Reverend John Trevelyan, 4th Baronet of Nettlecombe (1735–1828), owner of Wallington (NT) in Northumberland, inherited seven sugar plantations in Grenada, via his wife, Luisa Marianne Simond (1734–72). His children and grandchildren were considerable beneficiaries of compensation, sharing a total sum of £27,000 for 1,004 enslaved people, and many of them went on to hold administrative office in India. One of those grandchildren, Sir Charles Edward Trevelyan, 1st Baronet (1807–86), son of Reverend George Trevelyan (1764–1827), worked for the East India Company and served in India as the Governor of Madras (1859) and Finance Minister (1862–5).⁵¹

The legacies of wealth connected to slavery and the compensation scheme became integrated into the society we know today. By examining the great variety of commercial, cultural, political and physical impacts connected to the compensation scheme we can create greater understanding about this entangled period of history and remember the human lives behind the prosperity seen in Great Britain today.

¹ Draper, Nicholas, ‘Possessing Slaves’: Ownership, Compensation and Metropolitan Society in Britain at the time of Emancipation 1834–40’, *History Workshop Journal*, no. 64, 2007, pp.74–102. On page 79, Draper estimated that 40 per cent of the expenditure of the British government in 2007, the year that marked the bicentenary of abolition, to be £100 billion pounds. See also HM Treasury response to a related Freedom of Information request, accessed here: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/680456/FOI2018-00186_-_Slavery_Abolition_Act_1833_-_pdf_for_disclosure_log_003_.pdf

² *The History of Parliament* website, entry on George Hibbert: https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/hibbert-george-1757-1837#footnote2_8xtiaaz. See also UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entry for George Hibbert: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/16791>

³ Hibbert, George, *The substance of three speeches in parliament on the Bill for the abolition of the slave trade, and on the petition respecting the state of the West-India trade*, vol. 2 (Lane, Darling & Co., London, 1807).

⁴ UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entries for William Hibbert: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/42210> and William Tetlow Hibbert: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/45849>

⁵ UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entry for George Hibbert Oates: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/19116>

⁶ Hogan, Liam, ‘Opinion: Following the money – Irish slave-owners in the time of abolition’, *TheJournal.ie*, 27 July 2014: <https://www.thejournal.ie/readme/irish-slaveowners-compensation-1587899-Jul2014/>

⁷ Draper, 2007, op. cit., p.77.

⁸ Ibid., pp.20–1.

⁹ Madden, Richard Robert, ‘First Proclamation of his Excellency the Governor to the Negroes’ in *A Twelvemonth’s Residence in the West Indies, during the transition from slavery to apprenticeship, with incidental notices of the state of society, prospects, and natural resources of Jamaica and other islands* (J. Cochrane and Co., London, 1835).

¹⁰ Draper, 2007, op. cit., p.79.

¹¹ Draper, Nicholas, ‘Slave ownership and the British country house: the records of the Slave Compensation Commission as evidence’, in Dresser, Madge and Hann, Andrew, eds, *Slavery and the British Country House* (English Heritage, Swindon, 2013), pp.17–28

¹² UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/project/context/>

¹³ Clarkson, Thomas, *Three letters (one of which has appeared before) to the planters and slave-merchants principally on the subject of compensation* (Phillips and Fardon, London, 1807).

¹⁴ Draper, 2007, op. cit., p.90.

¹⁵ Anon., revised by Lunt, James, entry for Sir Edward Cust, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (ODNB) online, 2015: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6973>

¹⁶ Hall-Jones, Asha, *Legacies of Slavery: Belton House* (University of Birmingham, unpublished, 2018) and Tiana, Kelly, *Links to Colonialism: Belton* (University of Birmingham, unpublished, 2018)

¹⁷ Caroe Architecture, Oxburgh Conservation Management Plan (Unpublished, 2019).

¹⁸ UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entry for Felix Bedingfeld: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/25004>

¹⁹ Boase, Frederic, *Modern English Biography* (Netherton and Worth, Truro, 1892).

²⁰ Zahedieh, Nuala, ‘An open elite? Colonial commerce, the country house and the case of Sir Gilbert Heathcote and Normanton Hall’ in Dresser, Madge and Hann, Andrew, eds, *Slavery and the British Country House* (English Heritage, Swindon, 2013), p.72.

²¹ Suffolk Records Office HA507/4/26, quoted on *The Abolition Project* website: http://abolition.e2bn.org/source_25.html

²² UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entry for Charles Rose Ellis: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/13399>

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Young, Hannah, entry for Anna Eliza Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville, *ODNB* online, 2016: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/109598>

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- ²⁵ Letter from Anna Elletson to Ballard, 13 January 1776 (NLJMS29A), quoted in Young, Hannah, 'Forgotten Woman: Anna Eliza Elletson and Absentee Slave Ownership' in Donington, Katie, Hanley, Ryan and Moody, Jessica, eds, *Britain's History and Memory of Transatlantic Slavery: Local Nuances of a 'National Sin'* (Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 2016), pp.83–101.
- ²⁶ UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entry for Richard Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146638733>
- ²⁷ UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entry for Hope Estate: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/19451>
- ²⁸ Draper, 2007, op. cit., p.78.
- ²⁹ UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entry for Sir Francis Jarvis Stapleton: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146630475> and claim: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/25291>
- ³⁰ UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entry for Edward Gregory Morant Gale: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/1269273545>
- ³¹ UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, counterclaim detail: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/14848>
- ³² Latimer, James 'The Apprenticeship System in the British West Indies', *The Journal of Negro Education* 33, no. 1, 1964, pp.52–7.
- ³³ Smith, S.D., *Slavery, Family and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles, 1648–1834* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006), p.255.
- ³⁴ See Hansard Parliamentary Papers 128 (1834), 697 (1837), 238 (1841), 525 (1843), 14 (1844), London, House of Commons, as referenced in Major, Andrea, *Slavery, Abolitionism and Empire in India, 1772–1843* (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 2012).
- ³⁵ UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entries for Solomon Abraham Wade: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/26074> and Frances Wade (née Paget) <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/26072>
- ³⁶ Draper, 2013, op. cit., p.23.
- ³⁷ 'Grosset, John Rock (?1784–1866), of Lacock Abbey, nr. Chippenham, Wilts.; Spring Garden and Petersfield, Jamaica' in Fisher, D.R., ed., *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1820–1832* (Cambridge University Press, 2009). *The History of Parliament* website, entry for John Rock Grossett: <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/grossett-john-1784-1866>
- ³⁸ Draper, 2013, op. cit., p.23.
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- ⁴⁰ Samuel Greg built Quarry Bank Mill (NT) in 1783.
- ⁴¹ UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* website, entry for Thomas Greg: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/10314>
- ⁴² Donington, Katie, 'Transforming capital: slavery, family, commerce and the making of the Hibbert family, in hall, Katherine, Draper, Nichola, McClelland, Keith, Donington, Katie and Lang, Rachel, eds, *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership: Colonial Slavery and the formation of Victorian Britain* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. 2014), pp.203–49.
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- ⁴⁶ Anon., *Penrhyn Castle, Gwynedd*, National Trust Guidebook (National Trust, London, 1991).
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- ⁴⁸ British Museum website, entry for Richard Grenville: <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG70727>
- ⁴⁹ British Library website, detailed record for Stowe: <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=965&CollID=21&NStart=67>
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- ⁵¹ Archives Hub website, entry on Charles Edward Trevelyan: <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/archives/5b9f8f57-5ae8-3a27-8f6f-cbae0d1fdf67>