

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

LIVERPOOL AND THE SLAVE TRADE:
A GUIDE TO SOURCES

BY F. E. SANDERSON, M.A.

INTRODUCTION

NO full-scale study of Liverpool and the slave trade has yet been published. Averil Mackenzie-Grieve drew considerably on local sources for her *The last years of the English slave trade* (1941), which is primarily concerned with the progress of the abolitionist movement in the country as a whole. A popular local history, Gomer Williams, *A history of Liverpool privateers, with an account of the Liverpool African slave trade* (1897), is important because he uses private papers which have since been dispersed or lost. Unfortunately, Williams does not give a scholarly account of his sources, though he obviously found in Liverpool newspapers a rich vein of information. Apart from these, published work has been confined to particular aspects of the African trade: finance and profitability, individual merchants and their slaving ventures, and studies of the Liverpool abolitionists (see List E).

This guide to source materials attempts to provide teachers with a more effective measure of the scope of the subject. A number of topics are suggested, with a brief summary of some of the conclusions and problems that might emerge from a study of the sources. The references given in the text and in the appendices are by no means comprehensive, but they do offer an indication of the range and variety of documentary evidence available in Liverpool and elsewhere.

LIVERPOOL'S AFRICAN TRADE

The first recorded slaving voyage from Liverpool is apparently that of the *Blessing*, bound for Guinea on the 16 October 1700 (Norris Papers: 920 NOR 2/179, Liverpool Central

Libraries). Until 1730, when fifteen ships sailed for Africa, Liverpool's role in the slave trade was too meagre to deserve much notice. Thereafter, it increased rapidly at the expense of London and Bristol until by 1795 one contemporary asserted that one quarter of all the ships belonging to Liverpool were engaged in the African trade and the port controlled five-eighths of the whole African trade of Britain or three-sevenths of that of Europe (J. Wallace, *A general and descriptive history . . . of Liverpool*, 1797, pp. 238-9). We may doubt the accuracy of this claim, for the extent of the European slave trade was very imperfectly known; but certainly this was the one trade in which Liverpool merchants surpassed those of any other port in the kingdom or elsewhere. By the end of the century the contribution of London and Bristol had so diminished, that of the 133 ships clearing for Africa for slaves in 1800 Liverpool accounted for 120 of them, with a capacity for 31,844 slaves (Parliamentary Papers, *Accounts & Papers*, 1806, XIII, 797, p. 23, inspector general's Report).

During the first half of the century the African trade was under the control of the Royal African Company, which administered the British forts and trading settlements along the West Coast. But the trade did not prove susceptible to close supervision; interlopers in small, fast ships competed successfully with the larger vessels of the company, and the monopoly collapsed. In 1750 it was replaced by the Company of Merchants trading to Africa (usually referred to as the African Company), which took charge of the west African forts in return for an annual subsidy from parliament but did not attempt to trade on its own account. African merchants in each of the three main ports could become freemen of the company by paying a fee of £2; they elected three commissioners from each port to serve on the committee of nine which administered the company's facilities.

The records of the African Company—minutes, letter-books, accounts and detached papers—provide an excellent and detailed picture of methods of trading, relations with west African states and correspondence with the board of trade and other government departments. These are preserved in the Public Record Office, catalogued under T/70. Further, though more scattered, information is to be found in the correspondence of the board of trade, catalogued at the P.R.O. under 'African Questions', and in the Liverpool Papers at the British Museum (Charles Jenkinson (Lord Hawkesbury), president of the board of trade and chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, 1786-1801, took the title of the 1st earl of Liverpool in 1796

and quartered his arms with those of the corporation). Liverpool Central Libraries hold a complete set of the minutes of the meetings of the local freemen of the African Company: Committee Book of the African Company of Merchants trading from Liverpool, 1750-1820 (352 MD 1). This is essential for identifying the leading African merchants of the town and their delegates, but is otherwise not very informative.

STATISTICS

From 1787 to 1807 the slave trade was a matter of public and parliamentary debate and controversy, so there is no dearth of information from official sources. The parliamentary enquiry began in February 1788, at first before the privy council and later before the bar of the Commons and the Lords. It continued until 1792. Because of the French Wars interest waned for some years thereafter, but parliament frequently called for accounts of the trade or published correspondence between the West Indies and the colonial office on the subject.

The Parliamentary Papers (see List A) contain most of the official statistics on shipping, exports to Africa, slave returns and imports from America. They may be consulted on micro-card at Liverpool Central Libraries (photostat copies can be obtained quite cheaply). For more detailed information on Liverpool shipping it is necessary to view the Liverpool Plantation Registers for 1743-84 (4 volumes) and the Liverpool Register Books for 1786-1823 (12 volumes). The latter are complete and furnish details of the construction and rigging of ships, where and when built, the names, occupations and residences of the owners, the names of the masters. The registers are kept at the Custom House, Liverpool; permission to view is required from the Secretary, H.M.'s Customs & Excise Library, King's Beam House, Mark Lane, London E.C.3. Liverpool possesses the best shipping records for the eighteenth century of any port in Britain, including London.

Those requiring a brief summary of the extent of the Liverpool slave trade could consult the following contemporary accounts whose statistics are apparently derived from the inspector general's reports: W. Enfield, *An essay towards the history of Liverpool* (1774); T. Troughton, *The history of Liverpool* (Liverpool, 1810); R. Brooke, *Liverpool as it was during the last quarter of the 19th Century* (Liverpool 1853). A later well-known history, recently reprinted, *Liverpool and slavery: an historical account of the Liverpool-African slave trade by a genuine 'Dicky-Sam'* (Liverpool 1884), claims to use

official sources. It should be treated with some discretion: Henry Peet, the Liverpool historian, suggests that the author used copies of manuscripts for his sources and transcribed them inaccurately (comment in the Peet Papers, Harold Cohen Library, Liverpool University).

THE AFRICAN MERCHANTS

It has been suggested by some local historians that relatively few Liverpool merchants were engaged in the slave trade and that they were not highly regarded by their fellow merchants. This proposition may be stood on its head: most of the prosperous merchants of the later eighteenth century were involved in the slave trade at some time in their careers and generally they were the most influential people in the town. The main qualification is that specialists in the trade are hard to find. Either they dropped out after a few years or, prospering, they soon branched into other trades. When the African Company was formed in 1750 one hundred Liverpool merchants paid the entrance fee; many more joined later though not all the slave traders bothered to become members. Amongst the freemen of the Company were the Cunliffes, Crosbies, Heywoods, Backhouses, Blundells, Earles, Gregsons, Traffords and others who dominated Liverpool's social, political and economic life for half a century or more. Nevertheless, only part of their business activity, and not necessarily the major part, concerned the slave trade.

One may identify the African merchants by the somewhat laborious process of listing them in the minutes of the Liverpool African Committee, supplemented by the shipping registers and the occasional lists of slave-ship owners in the Parliamentary Papers. For some, we can gain an insight into their characters and methods by studying the accounts, letter-books, ships' instructions, etc., in the papers that have survived. In the manuscript section of Liverpool Central Libraries are the papers of Robert Bostock, Thomas Leyland, the Tarleton family, David Tuohy, and many accounts of individual voyages (see list C). In Liverpool Public Museum there are accounts of voyages made in 1757-61, 1771-3 and 1804-8. The Harold Cohen Library contains similar material in the Dumbell Papers, copies of contemporary manuscripts in the Peet Papers, and a microfilm copy of the Davis-Davenport Papers.

Through the trade directories, poll books, the columns of the local newspapers and the memoirs of local worthies further information is revealed. For example, it is quite clear that the

merchants were surprised and shocked by allegations that they pursued an unjust and inhumane traffic in human flesh. Owners' instructions to masters of slave ships constantly emphasised the need for adequate food, light, and exercise for the slaves. 'You'll not fail to point out to your Officers how necessary it is to be kind to the slaves, to endeavour to cheer their spirits and give them all comfort consistent with safety', wrote the owners of the brig *Madampookata* to Captain Charles Wilson in 1783 (Dumbell Papers). It is not certain whether the abolitionist controversy in itself induced them to reduce their commitments in the African trade, but by 1800 most of the ships sailing from Liverpool represented different owners and some partnerships seem to have been registered for the purpose of making one voyage only.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

'Interest is so much blended with Humanity in this Business, that... every Attention is generally paid to the Lives and Health of the Slaves (James Penny, Liverpool delegate).

'... the Slave Trade destroys more Seamen in One Year, than all the other Trades of Great Britain, when put together, destroy in Two' (Thomas Clarkson). Evidence before the privy council: *Accounts & Papers*, 1789, XXVI, 646, part I.

The evidence before the privy council and at the bar of the Commons and Lords, 1788-92, is the richest source of information on the slave trade. It is also a mass of contradictory, partial and inaccurate testimony from both sides. Generally the abolitionist case is preferred as being the more reliable, but it is not difficult to pick holes in it. Thomas Clarkson and the London Committee for the Abolition were naturally inclined to emphasise the sensational, whilst their opponents tried to glamorise the characteristic side of the trade. Certainly, judgment should not be made on the basis of the parliamentary evidence alone, even less from Clarkson's *Abstract of the evidence...* (1791), which selects the parts least favourable to the Liverpool interest. The British in the eighteenth century were not particularly squeamish in their treatment of Scottish rebels or Irish catholics or soldiers and seamen or the urban poor, so atrocities in the slave trade are not difficult to find. A more balanced picture might emerge from a reading of the evidence in conjunction with the correspondence of individual merchants and the memoirs of slavers, e.g. John Newton, David Tuohy, Robert Bostock, Captain Crow (see Lists C and D), and contemporary pamphlets for and against the trade.

It is sometimes forgotten that the evidence on the treatment of seamen created as much a sensation as that of slaves. On the basis of figures culled from the Liverpool muster rolls by William Rathbone, the quaker timber merchant, Clarkson presented formidable statistics of mortality, disease and desertion that shocked the lords of committee of council. Even the advocates of the trade were forced to admit that because of conditions of service recruitment of seamen was much more difficult than in other trades. David Henderson, a Liverpool seaman, said that recruits were 'procured mostly in Liverpool by fraudulent Means; Crimps and landlords are constantly looking out for strange Seamen, whom they invite to their Houses, and when they have run them sufficiently into Debt, send them to Goal in Water Street, where they remain till a Guineaman wants Hands' (*Accounts & Papers*, 1789, XXVI, 646, part I). Captain Crow (*op. cit.* p. 169) described Liverpool seamen as 'the very dregs of the community'. Thus captains' instructions almost inevitably emphasised the need for good discipline of the crew as a pre-requisite for considerate treatment of the slaves.

PROFITABILITY

The profits of the slave trade have been variously put at between 10 per cent and 30 per cent or more of the original investment. The lower estimates derive mainly from the anti-abolitionist witnesses before parliament, but recently some scholars have tended to support them. They show that profits varied considerably from time to time, generally less in the later eighteenth century than in mid-century and most variable in times of war. Although on the whole the evidence is too thin to come to firm conclusions, one should read the articles by Dumbell, Hyde, Parkinson, Merritt and Anstey (List E) before considering the estimates of contemporaries. Of the latter, the best statements from Liverpool witnesses are in *Accounts & Papers*, 1789, XXIV, 633, pp. 21-7, 46-50; Evidence taken at the bar upon the second reading of the African slave trade regulation bill (House of Lords Record Office); the Liverpool Papers, BM Add. MSS. 38416, ff. 35-7, 103, which includes a statement by Edgar Corrie, the Liverpool corn merchant who wrote to the board of trade in opposition to the slave trade, that the profits were not commensurate with the risks. Surviving accounts show that merchants were not too particular about the accuracy of their paperwork. As they were usually owners or part-owners of the slaveships and themselves supplied much of the cargo and outfit, actual costs are impossible

to compute. Contemporaries described the slave trade as a lottery, capable of producing a bonanza or ruinous losses. Had it been a reliable source of profit, entrepreneurs would not have been so reluctant to engage the major part of the capital in slaving enterprises.

By the end of the third quarter of the century the sugar and cotton trades had become so specialised that the old concept of a Triangular Trade needs considerable qualification. Comparatively few slave-ships returned to Liverpool fully laden with West India goods. Profits were made on quick runs, not in hanging about in search of cargo. Thus the slave-ships returned with bills of exchange drawn on the London commission houses who dealt in West India produce, plus some special orders. Francis Ingram told Captain Moore of the *Blayds* he wanted short-term bills: 'We had rather you came home half full on freight, than bring Produce on our Account' (Tuohy Papers, 4/9, 25.7.1782). Robert Bostock instructed Captain Doyle to take his slaves to Grenada and bring back bills of exchange of 12, 15 and 18 months' sight and if he could to pick up 30 puncheons of rum in his own puncheons (Bostock Letter Book II, 4,5,1789). William Aspinall was delighted when Captain Crow returned from Jamaica in 1798 with £1,200 worth of goods; it was an unusually large cargo (Crow, *op. cit.* p. 67). The main exception to this tendency to return home partly in ballast is that during the French Wars many ships sailed from the West Indies in convoy. As they waited for the convoys to form, they seem to have availed themselves of the longer stay in the Caribbean to obtain a higher proportion of the receipts from the sale of slaves in goods rather than bills of exchange.

THE LIVERPOOL ABOLITIONISTS

William Roscoe, William Rathbone, James Currie and other nonconformists and reformers of the town associated with the abolitionist movement have deservedly attracted the attention of local historians (see Lists D and E). They were men of considerable intellectual stature, sensitive to the currents of liberal opinion in Britain and the West, who had the courage to speak out in support of unpopular causes. Wilberforce, John Barton and other members of the London Committee cultivated their friendship; it was essential that they had dedicated and reliable abolitionists in the leading slaving port in the country. Thus there is an excellent record of their activities. The Roscoe Papers contain some thousands of letters, essays, poems, pamphlets on this and a wide variety of subjects; the Currie and

Rathbone Papers, though less extensive, provide further insight into the work of the reformers and the political and cultural life of the town in the late-eighteenth century. There are also many references to them in Thomas Clarkson, *History of the . . . abolition of the slave trade*, 2 vols, (1808); Proceedings of the Committee for Abolition, BM Add. MSS. 21254-5; R. I. & S. Wilberforce, *The Life of William Wilberforce*, 6 vols. (1838), and their edited *Correspondence of William Wilberforce*, 2 vols. (1840).

But it is necessary to put the abolitionists into perspective. They were very much minority opinion in the town. Their influence was at its peak in the years 1787 to 1792, a period of political upheaval in Liverpool for reasons only partly concerned with the slave trade. When the reaction against the French Revolution gathered force, and particularly after the outbreak of war in 1793, the Liverpool abolitionists laid low. They used pseudonyms when they attacked the slave trade in print. (Of course, so did others; but generally abolitionists outside Liverpool did not feel the need to be so circumspect). They requested Wilberforce and others to send them letters unfranked through unsuspected intermediaries; they frequently warned of the need for secrecy and, not wholly without cause, of their fears of personal abuse and physical attack. Edgar Corrie wrote to Lord Hawkesbury that he would be ruined if his criticisms of the trade ever became known in the town (BM Add. MSS. 38416, ff. 35, 37). Nor did Liverpool, unlike other towns with strong slaving interests (Manchester, Bristol and London), ever manage to raise a petition in favour of abolition. The abolitionists knew they could not get sufficient support. Probably for this reason the London Committee for Abolition sent out far fewer propaganda leaflets to Liverpool than to the other major ports and manufacturing centres.

THE LIVERPOOL ANTI-ABOLITIONISTS

Although not all the African merchants of the town were registered as freemen of the African Company, between 1788 and 1807 it is possible to identify some 200 merchants and traders who had considerable investments in the trade as owners and suppliers of cargo and equipment. The African Committee represented their interests before the board of trade and the African Company in London. It co-ordinated with the Liverpool common council in sending petitions and resolutions to parliament and the government and sent instructions to the

Liverpool delegates at Westminster. Unfortunately, the African Committee left little account of its proceedings. Letters and memoranda from its secretary, Samuel Green, and the Liverpool delegates appear in the minutes and letter-books of the African company (PRO, T/70) and in the Liverpool Papers (BM Add. MSS. 38223, 38225, 38310 and 38416). There are occasional references in the minutes of the common council and in the local press.

The common council, which was virtually a self-perpetuating body of 41 councilmen, always contained a majority of members who were engaged in the African and West Indian trades. When the African Company was formed in 1750 well over half the council subscribed to it. In 1787 at least 30 of the 41 councilmen were slaveship owners or major investors in the trade; and in 1797 at least 31 of the 38 (there were 3 vacancies at the time). The same bias is shown in the commercial interests of successive mayors and bailiffs who, unlike the councilmen, were subject to popular election. Of the 20 mayors elected between 1788 and 1807 only one (Pudsey Dawson in 1799/1800) was not at some time a slaveship owner or major investor in the trade. Thus Liverpool Corporation was heavily committed against the abolition. It contributed towards the expenses of delegations to parliament, gave annuities and gifts to the delegates and their dependants, offered the freedom of the town to supporters of the 'Liverpool interest' (such as Lord Hawkesbury and the duke of Clarence), and sponsored pamphlets and petitions. Wilberforce claimed that in four years the town spent over £10,000 towards its anti-abolitionist campaign (*Life of Wilberforce*, I, *op. cit.* p. 345 and note).

THE PARLIAMENTARY CAMPAIGN

The dates of the crucial parliamentary debates may be checked in the *Commons Journal*, vols. 43-7, and the *Lords Journal*, vols. 38-9 (the Harold Cohen Library contains copies), and used as a guide to the relevant issues of *Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser* and *Gore's General Advertiser*. The two Liverpool newspapers contain many letters and articles on the subject and give summaries of the speeches in parliament. As they offered little space for the abolitionist viewpoint, it is useful to compare them with the *Manchester Mercury*, particularly during 1788-9 when the debate in the town was at its hottest. For a full account of the debates it is necessary to refer to *Cobbett's Parliamentary History*, and *Debrett's Parliamentary Register*, which are by no means identical in their

coverage of the proceedings. *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* starts in 1804. A fairly detailed but partial account is given in Clarkson's History, *op. cit.* and the *Life of Wilberforce, op. cit.*

The dates and form of the Liverpool petitions against the abolition are given in the Commons and Lords journals, though they do not always show from whom they originated or who presented them. During 1788 to 1807 the corporation sent at least 12 petitions and the Liverpool merchants were responsible for 52, plus two sent in conjunction with London merchants. Some local merchants were also associated with petitions sent in by the West India interest. The fire of 1834 destroyed the originals of the Commons petitions, but the Lords petitions are available for study in the House of Lords Record Office. Liverpool Central Libraries possess two originals of petitions drawn up in 1796 and not presented (900 MD 2 and 3).

PAMPHLETEERING

Pamphlets seem to have rolled out of eighteenth-century presses at the least provocation. Those on the slave trade are not very useful as sources of information on Liverpool except in demonstrating the tactics of the two protagonists. For example, as the campaign wore on the abolitionists concerned themselves less with the inhumanity and injustice of the trade and sought to present a convincing economic case against it. The change in emphasis is also reflected in the parliamentary debates of the 1790s. Perhaps the most interesting anti-abolitionist pamphlet was that produced by a renegade Spanish Jesuit who lived in Liverpool under the adopted name of Raymond Harris. His justification of the slave trade, based on an appeal to the Scriptures, created a furore when it appeared early in 1788. It was distributed widely in Liverpool and London, where Lord Hawkesbury himself acted as sponsor, and is referred to in some detail in the papers of Currie, Roscoe, Hawkesbury, Wilberforce, in the minutes of the London Committee for Abolition, Clarkson's History, the Liverpool newspapers and the minutes of the common council. The London Committee sponsored pamphlets in reply by James Ramsay, William Roscoe, the Rev. Henry Dannett (of Liverpool) and others. In gratitude, Liverpool Corporation gave Harris a vote of thanks and a gift of £100.

Contemporary writers on the subject sometimes sent a series of letters to the press which were later published in book form. Both the main Liverpool newspapers contain examples of such

letters, written under pseudonyms like 'Mercator', 'A Friend of Old England', 'Vindex', 'Take Time' or 'Philo-Africanus'. Collections of pamphlets can be seen in Liverpool Central Libraries, the Harold Cohen Library, the Athenaeum Library (Liverpool), the John Rylands Library and Manchester Central Libraries.

THE LIVERPOOL DELEGATES AGAINST THE ABOLITION

The Liverpool delegates appointed in February and March 1788 to attend parliament and give evidence were headed by John Tarleton, a partner in the firm of Tarleton & Backhouse. With him were Robert Norris, James Penny, John Matthews and Archibald Dalzel. They were assisted by John Barnes, the senior Liverpool commissioner of the African Company; Richard Miles, a London merchant with close slave trading links with the town; and William Devaynes, M.P., a former Liverpool commissioner and a director of the East India Company. Between them they dominated the anti-abolitionist side of the parliamentary investigations. The minutes of evidence, the records of the African Company, the Liverpool Papers and Clarkson's *History* provide details of the men and their methods. Some left their own record. The Tarleton Papers in Liverpool Central Libraries contain abundant references to the political and mercantile activities of John Tarleton, his brothers—Banastre, M.P. for Liverpool 1790–1806, 1807–12, and a general during the French Wars; Clayton, mayor of Liverpool 1792/3, bailiff 1787/8 and 1790/1; Thomas, sugar refiner, cotton merchant and African trader—and their redoubtable parents. Robert Norris, former slave-ship captain and employee of the African Company, wrote *A short account of the African slave trade* (1787) and *Memoirs of the reign of Bossa Ahadee, king of Dahomy* (1788). John Matthews, a naval lieutenant, published his *Voyage to the river Sierra Leone* in March 1788, apparently a short time after his appointment as delegate. Archibald Dalzel, a former slaver and close friend of Norris, wrote *A history of Dahomey* (1793). Dalzel's letters to his brother at Edinburgh University Library refer to his business transactions and his later career as governor-in-chief at Cape Coast Castle.

Robert Norris provides a fascinating footnote to a study of the abolition. In Clarkson's *History*, *op. cit.* vol. I, there is a description of his early association with the abolitionists before he was induced by the Liverpool merchants to appear on their behalf. His alleged defection made him a marked man. Wilber-

force and his allies sought to demolish his character before parliament, which led to an accusation that, by hounding him, they contributed to his early death. *Accounts & Papers*, 1790, XXX, 699, pp. 50–80, provides a record of the confrontation between Norris and Clarkson on this issue. The minutes of Liverpool common council for the 5 December 1792 include a long tribute to Norris (and to Samuel Green and James Penny). Many of his letters are to be found in the Liverpool Papers and the records of the African Company in which he describes himself as the commercial agent for Liverpool.

THE LIVERPOOL M.P.S

The slave trade was never a serious issue in Liverpool elections except, perhaps, in 1807, when it was already a lost cause. Between 1788 and 1806 no candidate presented himself as an advocate against the trade. If the matter of abolition was raised it was usually by one party trying to outsell the other in its support of the trade. Richard Pennant, Lord Penrhyn (M.P. 1767–80, 1784–90), Bamber Gascoyne (1780–96), his brother Isaac, later General Gascoyne (1796–1832) and Banastre Tarleton (1790–1806, 1807–12) all spoke forcibly in the Commons against regulation and abolition. The solitary exception amongst Liverpool M.P.s is William Roscoe (1806–7). Yet even he took care to avoid making the slave trade an issue in the 1806 election, and his opponents failed to take advantage of his known position. Roscoe won this election by dint of prodigious bribery and because of the controversy surrounding Tarleton's desertion of the Whigs. Roscoe failed in the 1807 election for a complex of reasons, amongst which his alleged failure to honour his promise to support abolition by gradual stages and with full compensation was an important factor. Worse, he had spoken in favour of catholic emancipation. Tarleton successfully campaigned against him under the slogan, 'The Church and the Slave Trade for ever!'

The excellent Liverpool poll books contain many references to the slave trade for each of the five parliamentary elections between 1790 and 1807. See also the local press; the Currie, Rathbone and Roscoe Papers; the Tarleton Papers, especially 920 TAR 4; the Mayer Papers, especially volume 2; Richard Brooke, *op. cit.*; and Rev. J. Aspinall, *Liverpool a few years since*, by 'an old stager' (Liverpool 1852).

THE WEST INDIA INTEREST

If parliament had been content simply to regulate the slave trade so as to prevent the arbitrary ill-treatment and overcrowding of slaves on the Middle Passage, the powerful group of West Indian planters, merchants and mortgagees would not have been too concerned. But the West Indians soon recognised that Sir William Dolben's Bill of 1788 was only the first step; the abolitionists, failing to meet their immediate objective, hoped that regulation might prove a back-door method of abolition. Consequently, the West India Committee mobilised in support of the African merchants early in the campaign. In any case, many African merchants were also planters or importers of sugar and cotton and some of them feared that regulation would make our colonies less competitive with those of France and Spain.

The Standing Committee of the West India Planters and Merchants was responsible for co-ordinating the activities of the West India interest. Its chairman during most of the campaign was Lord Penrhyn. Its minutes and those of its sub-committee set up to organise opposition to the abolition are preserved in the Library of the West India Committee, 18 Grosvenor Street, London W.1. Meetings of the West India merchants are frequently reported in the Liverpool press. Cobbett, Debrett and Hansard record the speeches of their representatives, including those of George Hibbert, the Liverpool merchant and planter, who as M.P. for Seaford was a prominent spokesman of the West India interest during the debates of 1806-7. For further information consult the Parliamentary Papers on the slave trade; the Liverpool Papers (especially BM Add. MSS. 38227-8 and 38416); the Long Papers (especially BM Add. MSS. 12431-3 and 18272). In the PRO the Chatham Papers, particularly nos. 348-52, contain resolutions and correspondence from West Indians, as do certain colonial office records, particularly C.O. 137, 185 and 261.

THE FRENCH WARS

'Harper's Nelly, and the Everton are both taken, for which you will be extremely sorry. Clark's Ann, Joynson, is taken on the Middle Passage. The Mayor's Diana came in dismasted yesterday . . . Your Venus was at Cabenda the 1st December having left cargo; Prices were so high, and the River sickly,

the Captain is dead.' (Clayton Tarleton to Thomas Tarleton, 7.3.1795. Liverpool Central Libraries, 920 TAR 4/77).

Liverpool losses were heavy during the early years of the war. *Gore's Advertiser* and *Billinge's Advertiser* between them record dozens of incidents involving ships belonging to the port. Liverpool Corporation and merchants sent deputations to Pitt and the Admiralty to seek better protection for the African traders. Convoys were arranged from Liverpool and on the homeward run. Meanwhile, the slave traders obtained letters of marque and went into the privateering business to recoup their losses. Merchants' records are full of the hazards of war; note also Gomer Williams, *op. cit.* Crow, *op. cit.* and the minutes of the common council, especially for 1793-4.

The war affected attitudes to the West Indies. Not all the West Indians were confirmed anti-abolitionists. In the older and less fertile colonies some believed that abolition would enhance the value of their property by inhibiting the development of new plantations and encouraging the breeding of negroes. Others wanted the sale of slaves to foreigners stopped: since about two-thirds of the British slave trade went to foreign plantations in the 1790s, this was a potent argument in wartime. All the planters were alarmed by French naval activity in the Caribbean and the encouragement given by the French (and, it was said, by the abolitionists) to slave revolts in the colonies.

Nevertheless, the African interest was able to resist further restrictions on the slave trade for some time. The government was naturally reluctant to consider major changes in commercial policy when the nation faced grave threats to its security; but perhaps the main factor was the great slave revolt in St Domingo in 1791 which transformed the sugar market. The loss to the French of the richest sugar colony in the West Indies greatly enhanced the price of sugar in Europe and stimulated the demand for British sugar. Obviously, this affected the demand for slaves, and Liverpool, in spite of a brief setback in 1793, experienced a boom in the African trade.

THE SUGAR QUESTION

For Eric Williams the root cause of abolition in 1807 was over-production of sugar. Abolition bills failed in 1792 and 1796 because of the demand for sugar following the collapse of St Domingo. Abolition succeeded in 1806-7 because by then the situation had become more settled and the consequences of the over-exploitation of the old British sugar colonies were starkly revealed. The price of sugar dropped so low that it

hardly paid the West Indians to export it. This analysis has been seriously challenged by some historians. For further examination read Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944) in conjunction with R. G. Anstey, 'Capitalism and Slavery: a Critique', *Economic History Review*, XXI, 2, 1968, and the articles by Anstey, Sheridan and Thomas in List E. The public debate in the 1790s and early 1800s may be followed in the Parliamentary Papers (*Accounts & Papers*, 1789, XXVI, 646, Part V; 1803/4, VII, 359, and VIII, 523; 1806, XII, 259 and 315; 1807, III, 65); Hansard, *op. cit.* 1807, VI, p. lxxxii; the Chatham Papers, 8/334 and 348-52; the colonial office papers, C.O. 137 and 318; minutes of the West Indian Committee, and the numerous contemporary pamphlets on the subject.

In Liverpool an important side-effect of the debate on sugar was the local campaign against the East India Company monopoly in 1792 and 1807. It was argued that sugar (and cotton) could be imported more cheaply by opening up trade with the East. The agitation was partly from political motives in that it enabled the reformers to embarrass the government without the imputation of disloyalty; but it was an issue which united a large number of merchants, including many African traders. See J. Aikin, *A description of the country from thirty to forty miles round Manchester* (1795), pp. 808-15; Rathbone Papers, II, i, 60 and 61; E. Rathbone, *William Rathbone* (Liverpool 1905), p. 31; the Tarleton Papers, 4/16, 43 and 44; the Liverpool Papers, BM Add. MSS. 38227, f. 219, and 38228, f. 149.

ABOLITION AND ITS EFFECTS ON LIVERPOOL

Pitt's dilatoriness towards abolition, which caused Wilberforce and his allies so much disquiet, can be explained in terms of his preoccupation with the war and his need to preserve the unity of his cabinet, which included some notable anti-abolitionists. He also had to contend with the known prejudice of the king and other members of the royal family in favour of the West Indians. Nevertheless, as the war progressed and the country became confident of survival, Pitt was able to obtain substantial concessions, of which the most important was the order-in-council of 1805 which forbade the supply of slaves to conquered territories. When Pitt died in 1806 it was clear that the end of the slave trade was merely a matter of time. The succeeding administration of Fox and Grenville was totally committed to an immediate abolition and in the following session manoeuvred the requisite legislation through both Houses, with massive majorities.

In the meantime Liverpool slave traders were not inactive. Between 1805-7 there was an expansion of business as traders sought to make a final killing before the export of slaves became illegal. According to Captain Crow, *op. cit.* pp. 132-42, 157-8, over-eagerness led to the hasty fitting out of ships at the port, overcrowding and high mortality on the Middle Passage, and a glut of slaves in the West Indies. Note the papers of the *Kitty's Amelia*, reputedly the last slave ship to leave Britain, which are kept at Liverpool Public Museums. In parliament, Liverpool Corporation and merchants petitioned vigorously. The merchants' petition to the Lords in May 1806, signed first by the mayor, Henry Clay, contained over one thousand signatures. In the Commons, Generals Tarleton and Gascoyne spoke up as strongly as before. When Roscoe replaced Tarleton in November 1806 the merchants lost their main spokesman but gained another of finer calibre when George Hibbert was returned for Seaford. Hibbert's maiden speech was in defence of their interest. See Hansard, 1806-7, vols. VI-IX; *Commons Journal*, vols. 61-2; *Lords Journal*, vols. 45-6.

Yet this final upsurge of protest disguised the fact that the African trade was no longer of great importance to Liverpool commerce. Some undoubtedly believed that the port would be hard hit; but claims of probable losses made at the time when merchants were pressing for a compensation clause as part of the Abolition Bill are not convincing. One estimate in the Holt and Gregson Papers (Liverpool Central Libraries, 942 HOL 10, p. 373) forecast the ruin of dozens of merchant houses and a loss to the town of £7,627,196. General Gascoyne in the Commons in February 1807 said that 40,000 tons of shipping, employment for 4,000 mariners and £2 millions of investment were at stake. On the other side, Lord Howick claimed that the African trade had sunk to a mere 2 *per cent* or less of the export tonnage of Britain and that the only loss Liverpool would sustain was £5,000 worth of dock duties (Hansard, 1807, VI, pp. 946-8 and 958).

That losses were not as large as feared is shown by the speed with which Liverpool buried the slave trade. There was some considerable short-term unemployment of seamen (who made their presence felt in the election of 1807) and there was some clandestine fitting out of slaveships for foreigners. Generally, the diversification and expansion of Liverpool commerce in the late-eighteenth century made for a quick recovery. In 1814 Liverpool, for the first time in its history, petitioned in favour of abolition (as a part of the European peace settlement). The

Duke of Gloucester wrote to William Roscoe, '... I am certain that every warm Friend to the great Work in which we are engaged must rejoice at the Solemn pledge given by the Town of Liverpool to make every exertion towards the Abolition of this most detestable Traffic, which determination does much honour to Liverpool, and cannot fail of being attended with the most beneficial Consequences' (Roscoe Papers, 920 ROS 1789). By a curious irony, the mayor of Liverpool elected that year was Thomas Leyland, formerly one of the most prominent slave traders in the town and an erstwhile business associate of Roscoe himself.

LIST A

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS

(Copies in the Micro-film Unit, fourth floor, Liverpool Central Libraries)

1731-1800 (2nd Series) Accounts & Papers

Sessional Papers (New Series)

- | | | |
|--------|--------|--|
| 1788 | XXII | 565. Dimensions of slaveships. |
| | XXIII | 587-91. Accounts, slaveship sailings and arrivals in the West Indies, 1785-8. |
| 1789 | XXIV | 622-5. Negroes imported into Jamaica, etc., 1773-87. |
| | | 626. Statement of circumstances relating to the slave trade. |
| | | 629-30. Ships arriving at British West Indies from Africa, 1785-8. |
| | | 631. Ships clearing from Liverpool and Bristol for Africa, 1785-8. |
| | | 632. Extracts from the journals of surgeons. |
| | | 633. Minutes of evidence taken before the house of commons on Sir William Dolben's Bill, 1788. |
| | | 634. Slave regulations of various West Indian colonies. |
| | XXV | 635-45. Minutes of evidence before the house of commons on the slave trade, June 1789. |
| | XXVI | 646. Sundry papers on the slave trade, including the report of the Lords of Committee of Council for 1788. |
| 1790 | XXIX | 698. Minutes of evidence before a select committee of the house of commons, appointed 29.1.1790. |
| | XXX | 699. Above minutes continued. |
| | XXXI | 705. Accounts of trade to Africa and the West Indies, 1787-9. |
| 1790/1 | XXXIV | 745-8. Minutes of evidence on the slave trade, continued. February to March 1791. |
| 1792 | XXXV | 766-9. Accounts, ships clearing from Britain to Africa and from Africa to the West Indies, 1789-92. |
| 1795/6 | XLII | 849. Slave imports into British West Indies, 1789-94. |
| 1797/8 | XLV | 931-2. Correspondence between the secretary of state and the governors of the West Indies. |
| 1798/9 | XLVIII | 964. Accounts of ships arriving from Africa to the West Indies, 1795-7. |
| | | 965. Minutes of evidence before the house of commons on the Slave Trade Limiting Bill, March 1799. |
| | | 966. Minutes on the Slave Carrying Bill. |
| | | 967. Further correspondence with governors of the West Indies. |
| | | 970. Accounts, imports and exports of sugar and rum. |

- 1801/2 II 339. Report from the committee on the petition of the court of directors, Sierra Leone Co. 1802.
IV 423. Papers respecting cultivation in Trinidad.
429. Ships clearing from Liverpool for Africa since 1796.
453. Account of ships arriving British West Indies from Africa.
- 1803/4 X 1. Correspondence, etc. from British West Indies, 1804.
1804 V 81. Report from the committee on the petition of the Sierra Leone Co. Feb. 1804.
VII 359. Account of sugar imports, 1801-4.
VIII 523. Account of West India produce imported, 1801-4.
- 1805 IX 19. Account of ships to and from the West Indies, 1803-4.
X 623. Papers presented to the Commons respecting the slave trade; mainly correspondence from the West Indies.
- 1806 XIII 777-804. Accounts presented to the Commons on the extent of the slave trade, 1795-1804.
- 1806/7 II 61. Report from the committee... on the Sierra Leone Co. 1807.
- 1807 III 65. Report from the committee on the commercial state of the West India colonies, 1807.

LIST B

PRIMARY SOURCES OUTSIDE LIVERPOOL BUT RELEVANT TO LIVERPOOL AND THE SLAVE TRADE

i *Public Record Office*

- T/64 286 List of ships engaged in the slave trade which left and arrived back at the port of Liverpool during the years 1789 to 1795.
- T/70 Papers of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa:
29-35 Inward letter books, 1751-1813.
39 Concerning the state of trade in Africa in 1771.
69-72 Outward letter books, 1764-1808.
145-149 Minutes, African Company, 1780-1813.
177 Returns from the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations... relating to the general state of the trade to Africa, 1777.
1551-1586 Detached papers, 1784-1807.
- BT Board of Trade:
BT 6/7-12 Correspondence on the slave trade, 1788-93.
BT African Questions, 1771-93, 12 vols.
BT 6/188 Shipping and trade returns from consuls and naval officers in America and the West Indies, 1784-1801.
BT Misc. 26 Intercourse between the West India islands and North America, 1804-7.
(There are 357 volumes in in-letters for 1791-1839 and 28 volumes of out-letters for 1786-1839 which contain scattered references to Liverpool)
- CO Colonial Office:
CO 137/87-100 Correspondence from Jamaica, etc., 1788-1800.
CO 142/13-25 Imports into Jamaica, etc. 1786-1807.
CO 261/9 Letter Book of Sir William Young, 1794-1802.
CO 318/1-2 Correspondence with the board of trade, 1624-1808, including papers on the slave trade and sugar question.
- Chatham Papers:
30 8/334 Miscellaneous papers on France and the West Indies, 1784-95.
348-51 Papers relating to the West Indies, 1774-1804.
352 Resolutions, etc. of the West India planters and merchants, 1783-1800.
- Customs 17/10-30 Number of ships and tonnage built each year at each port in Britain, 1787-1806.

ii *The British Museum*

Additional MSS. Liverpool Papers: correspondence of the committee of council or trade and plantations. Especially 38310 and 38416.

Proceedings of the committee for the abolition of the slave trade, 1787-1819: 41262-7.

Long Papers: correspondence relating to the West Indies. Especially 12431-5 and 18272.

Slave Trader's account book, of Mango George of Liverpool, 1785-7: 43841.

(The Dropmore Papers, containing the correspondence of William Wilberforce and Lord Grenville, have not yet been catalogued).

iii *House of Lords Records Office*

Liverpool petitions against the regulation and abolition of the slave trade, 1788-1807.

Evidence taken at the bar of the House on the slave trade, 1788/9.

Papers on the Slave Trade, Order numbers dated: 13 May 1793, 24 May 1794, 28 June 1799, 1 July 1799, and 28 July 1800.

(See *Calendar of Lords MSS.* for records of the Commons. The Commons' own records were destroyed in the fire of 1834).

iv *Library of the West India Committee, 18 Grosvenor St, W.I.*

Minutes of the society of West India merchants, 1769-1843.

Minutes of the standing committee of West India planters and merchants, 1785-1850, including minutes of the sub-committee set up to organise opposition to the abolitionist movement.

(Note—a charge of £5 per student is required to view these records).

v *Birmingham Central Libraries*

The Galton family papers, which include letters from West Africa, contain the accounts of the ship *Perseverance* of Liverpool on a slaving voyage, 1800 (no. 564).

vi *Bristol Central Libraries*

Archives of the society of merchant venturers (Bundle D, Box V, African trade).

Jeffries MSS. Letters and documents relating to the slave trade in the 18th and 19th Centuries.

(The Pinney family papers, which contain a few references to Liverpool, are held by Bristol University Library. See R. Pares, *A West India Fortune: trading records of the House of Pinney*, 1950).

vii *Edinburgh University Library*

Letters of Archibald Dalziel, 1762-1807 (Dk 7/52. 103 items).

Letters concerning the slave trade, 1788, 1794, 1799 (La II, 648/322 and La III. 379 (193-4)).

viii *Keele University Library*

Davis-Davenport Papers: letter-books, cash books, ledgers, 1748-97. 16 vols. (This important collection is now on microfilm at the Harold Cohen Library).

ix *Manchester Central Libraries*

Archives of the Manchester chamber of commerce, from 1794 (M 8. Written permission of the secretary is required for viewing).

Manchester Mercury from 1788-90 contains letters and articles on the slave trade with reference to Liverpool.

x *Wilberforce Museum, High Street, Hull*

1. 117 Letters to and from William Wilberforce, 1792-1831.

3. Box of letters, papers on the West Indies.

5. Collection of papers relating to Thomas Clarkson.

LIST C

PRIMARY SOURCES IN LIVERPOOL

(Except where stated, all items are located in the Local History Library, fifth floor of Liverpool Central Libraries, William Brown St.)

- The ship *African*: two accounts of sales of slaves, 1764 (MD 103. Copies).
- Bickerton Papers: cuttings, notes, etc., concerning surgeons on slaveships (924 BIC 1).
- Binns Collection: a few items, including a bill of lading of the *Bryan*, 1803 (26:85b).
- Letter-books of Robert Bostock: 1) 1779-90, 2) 1789-92 (387 MD 54-5).
- Case & Southworth: merchants in Jamaica, sales accounts books, 1754-60 and 1763-69 (380 MD 33-36).
- Currie Papers: including letters on the slave trade (920 CUR 46-54, 106-113).
- Dumbell Papers: log-books and other ships' papers concerning 8 slaving voyages from Liverpool, 1782-1807 (Harold Cohen Library).
- Account book of the ship *Enterprise* of 3 privateering voyages, 1779-80 (387 MD 45).
- Gregson Papers: 920 2/17 41-3 contain correspondence on the slave trade; and 5/1-5 brief information on Liverpool merchants.
- Holt & Gregson Papers: mainly in 942 HOL 10, but scattered items elsewhere.
- R. Hormasa (or Harris): *Scriptural Researches on the licitness of the Slave Trade*, 1788. There is also a collection of pamphlets in reply by Henry Dannett, James Ramsay and William Roscoe.
- Account of the *Kitty's Amelia*, 1807-8, and other slaving papers for 1757-61 1771-3 and 1804-8 (in the Liverpool Public Museum, William Brown St).
- Papers of Thomas Leyland: 5 vols., 1793-1811 (387 MD 40-44).
- Liverpool African Company of merchants: committee book, 1750-1820 (352 MD 1).
- Liverpool Directories*: 1766, 1767, 1769, 1774, 1777, 1781, 1790, 1796, 1800, 1803, 1805, 1807 (H 942.7215. *Bailey's Directory* for 1783 also contains some detail on the town).
- Liverpool Memorandum Book for 1753, by R. Williamson, 1753 (H 3660).
- Minutes of the Liverpool Common Council (353 MIN/COU).
- Liverpool Newspapers: *Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser*, succeeded by *Billinge's Liverpool Advertiser* in 1794, has an almost complete run for the latter half of the century. *Gore's General Advertiser* has less copies surviving but is good from 1787. The *Liverpool Chronicle* has copies from 1767-8 and 1804-11 (Hf 072).
- Petitions of Liverpool corporation and merchants to the house of lords, 1796 (900 MD 2-3).
- Liverpool plantation registers, 1743-84. 4 vols. (Liverpool Custom House).
- Liverpool poll books and addresses: for 1790, 1796, 1802, 1806, 1807 (H 324.242 PAR).
- Liverpool register books, 1786-1823. 12 vols. (Liverpool Custom House).
- Mayer papers: not yet catalogued but volume 2 contains a collection of pamphlets on Liverpool elections and there is a minute book of the Liverpool Fireside, of informal meetings of mariners.
- The Merchants' Guide, 1774: H 337.5 LOW.
- William Moss: *The Liverpool Guide* (editions for 1796, 1797, 1799 and 1800. Includes comment on the slave trade).
- John Newton: Journal, 1750-54 (H 326.1 NEW); Letters to his wife and Dr Jennings (920 MD 409 and H 920 NEW). See also Richard Cecil, *The Works of the Rev. John Newton* (Edinburgh, 1827).
- Norris Papers: Instructions for the *Blessing* bound for Guinea for slaves, 16th Oct. 1700 (920 NOR 2/179).

- Parker Papers: shipment of goods, slaves, etc., to Demerara, 1803/4 (920 PAR IV, 1/1-2, 3/2).
- Peet Papers: copies of returns of slaveships, 1771-4, 1799-1803, from MSS. left by Benjamin Heywood (d. 1828) of Liverpool (Cohen Library).
- Log of the brig *Ranger* on a slaving voyage from Liverpool, 1788-90 (387 MD 56).
- Rathbone Papers: concerning William Rathbone III (d. 1789) and his son, William IV (d. 1809). Direct references to the slave trade are sparse, but interesting miscellanea on Liverpool politics (Cohen Library).
- Roscoe Papers: letters, papers, pamphlets on the slave trade and Roscoe's literary and political activities. Roscoe was in touch with all the prominent abolitionists of the period (920 ROS. See catalogue in the Local History Library).
- Savannah slave auction of slaves from the brig *Mars* of Liverpool, 1804 (MD 97).
- Tarleton Papers: letters and papers, mercantile and political (920 TAR 2, 4, 5 and 10. See the catalogue: Liverpool Central Libraries hold an important collection in MSS. and have other items on photostat and microfilm).
- John Tomlinson in account with John Knight, for voyages to Africa and the West Indies, 1757-9 (380 MD 127).
- Tuohy Papers: accounts, letters, etc., concerning voyages to Africa, West Indies, Ireland, etc., between 1753-83 (380 TUO).
- H. Wilckens: letters concerning the slave trade, Liverpool 1793 (H 326.1 WIL).

LIST D

SECONDARY SOURCES ON LIVERPOOL, BY CONTEMPORARIES OR
NEAR-CONTEMPORARIES

- (There are numerous family histories and other references to Liverpool merchants in Liverpool Central Libraries which are not mentioned below. For these one should check the names of prominent merchants against the catalogue in the Local History Library. Obituaries in the local press are an additional source of information).
- Rev. J. Aspinall, *Liverpool a few years since, by 'an old stager'* (1852).
- E. Baines, *History, directory and gazeteer of the county palatine of Lancaster* (1824).
- T. Baines, *History of the Commerce of the Town of Liverpool* (1852).
- R. Brooke, *Liverpool as it was during the last quarter of the eighteenth century* (1853).
- Thomas Clarkson: *Essay on the impolicy of the African slave trade* (1788).
Abstract of the evidence . . . on the slave trade (1791).
History of . . . the abolition of the slave trade (1808) 2 vols.
- Thomas Cooper, *Letters on the African slave trade* (1787).
- Bryan Edwards, *A history of the British West Indies* (1793) 3 vols.
- W. W. Currie, *Memoirs of the life of James Currie* (1831).
- Archibald Dalzel, *The history of Dahomey* (1793).
- Bryan Edwards, *A history of the British West Indies* (1793) 3 vols.
- W. Enfield, *An essay towards the history of Liverpool* (1774).
- Alexander Falconbridge, *An account of the slave trade on the coast of Africa* (1788).
- M. X. Golberry, *Travels in Africa during the years 1785, 1786 and 1787 . . .* (1802).
- Prince Hoare, *Memoirs of Granville Sharp* (1820).
- Edward Long, *The history of Jamaica* (1776) 3 vols.
- John Matthews, *A voyage to the River Sierra Leone* (1788).
- John Newton, *Thoughts upon the African slave trade* (1788).

- Robert Norris, *A short account of the African slave trade* (1787).
Memoirs of the reign of Bossa Ahadee, king of Dahomey (1788).
 Abbé Raynal, *History of the settlement and trade of Europeans in the East and West Indies* (1788), 8 vols.
 H. Roscoe, *Life of William Roscoe* (1833).
 W. Shepherd, *Life of Edward Rushton* (1824).
 H. Smithers, *Liverpool, its commerce, statistics and institutions* (1825).
 J. Stonehouse, *Recollections of old Liverpool, by a nonegenarian* (1863).
 T. Troughton, *The history of Liverpool* (1810).
 C. B. Wadstrom, *An essay on colonisation* (1794).
 J. Wallace, *A general and descriptive history of ... Liverpool ... with a circumstantial account of the true cause of its extensive African trade* (1795).
 R. I. & S. Wilberforce, *The Life of William Wilberforce* (1838) 5 vols.
The correspondence of William Wilberforce (1840) 2 vols.
 Sir William Young, *West India common-place Book; showing the interest of Great Britain in its sugar colonies* (1807).

LIST E

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS OF MORE RECENT DATE

- R. G. Anstey, 'Capitalism and slavery: a critique', *Econ. Hist. Review*, XXI, 2, 1968.
 'A re-interpretation of the abolition of the British slave trade, 1806-7', *English Historical Review*, LXXXVII, 1972.
 T. S. Ashton ed., *Letters of a West African trader* (1950).
 H. C. Bell, 'British Commercial Policy in the West Indies, 1785-93', *English Hist. Review*, XXXI, 1916.
 T. H. Bickerton, *A medical history of Liverpool*, (1896).
 E. N. Chamberlain, *The influence of the slave trade on Liverpool Medicine* (1954).
 G. Chandler, *William Roscoe of Liverpool* (1953).
 S. G. Checkland, 'Economic Attitudes in Liverpool, 1793-1807', *Econ. Hist. Rev.* V, 1, 1952.
 'Finance for the West Indies, 1780-1815', *Econ. Hist. Rev.* X, 3, 1958.
 R. Coupland, *Wilberforce, a narrative* (1923).
The British anti-slavery movement (1933).
 R. Craig and R. Jarvis, *The Liverpool registry of merchant ships* (1967).
 P. D. Curtin, *The Atlantic slave trade, A census* (1969).
 K. G. Davies, *The Royal African Company* (1957).
 R. Davis, *The Rise of the English shipping industry in the 17th and 18th centuries* (1962).
 N. Deerr, *The history of sugar* (1949-50) 2 vols.
 S. Dumbell, *Profits of the Guinea Trade*, (*Economic Journal*, II, 1931. History Supplement).
 H. R. Fox Bourne, *English merchants, memoirs in illustration of the progress of British commerce* (1866).
 C. R. Hand, 'The Kitty's *Amelia*: the last Liverpool Slaver', *THSLC*, 82, 1930.
 J. M. Hodson, 'The Letter Book of Robert Bostock', *Liverpool Bulletin*, III, 1953.
 J. Hughes, *Liverpool banks and bankers, 1760-1817* (1906).
 F. E. Hyde, *Liverpool and the Mersey* (1971).
 F. E. Hyde, B. B. Parkinson and S. Marriner, 'The nature and profitability of the Liverpool slave trade', *Econ. Hist. Rev.* V, 1953.
 F. J. Klingberg, *The anti-slavery movement in England* (1926).
 A. Mackenzie-Grieve, *The last years of the English slave trade* (1941).
 B. Martin and M. Spurrel eds., *John Newton, Journal of a Slave Trader, 1750-54* (1962).
 G. W. Matthews, 'John Bolton, a Liverpool Merchant', *THSLC*, 94, 1942.

- J. E. Merritt, 'The Triangular Trade', *Business History*, III, 1, 1960.
- W. E. Minchington, *The growth of English overseas trade in the 17th and 18th centuries* (1969).
- R. Muir, *A history of Liverpool* (1907).
- R. Muir and E. Platt, *A history of municipal government in Liverpool... to 1835* (1906).
- R. Pares, *Merchants and planters* (1960).
- B. B. Parkinson, 'A Slaver's Accounts: the *Plumper*', *Accounting Research*, II, 1951.
- C. N. Parkinson, *Trade Winds* (1948).
- The rise of the port of Liverpool* (1952).
- Lilian Penson, *The colonial agents of the British West Indies* (1924).
- L. J. Ragatz, *Absentee landlordism in the British Caribbean, 1750-1833* (n.d.).
- The fall of the planter class in the British Caribbean* (1928).
- E. Rathbone, *William Rathbone* (1905).
- Records of the Rathbones of Liverpool* (1912).
- M. M. Schofield, 'The Virginia Trade of the Firm of Sparling and Bolden', *THSLC* 116, 1964.
- I. Sellers, 'William Roscoe, the Roscoe circle and radical politics in Liverpool, 1787-1807', *THSLC*, 120, 1968.
- R. B. Sheridan, 'The commercial and financial organisation of the British slave trade, 1750-1807', *Econ. Hist. Rev.* XI, 2, 1958.
- 'The Wealth of Jamaica in the 18th Century: a rejoinder', *Econ. Hist. Rev.* XXI, 1, 1968.
- R. Stewart-Brown, *Liverpool ships in the eighteenth century* (1932).
- R. P. Thomas, 'The sugar colonies of the old empire: profit or loss for Great Britain?', *Econ. Hist. Rev.* XXI, 1, 1968.
- J. Touzeau, *The rise and progress of Liverpool from 1551-1835* (1910) 2 vols.
- Jean Trepp, 'The Liverpool movement for abolition', *Journal of Negro History*, XIII, 1928.
- A. P. Wadsworth and J. L. Mann, *The cotton trade and industrial Lancashire* (1931).
- R. Weisbord, 'The case of the Slave-Ship *Zong*, 1783', *History Today*, XIX, 8, 1969.
- Eric Williams, *Capitalism and slavery* (1944).
- Gomer Williams, *History of Liverpool privateers, with an account of the Liverpool slave trade* (1897).

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- E. Donnan ed., *Documents illustrative of the history of the slave trade to America* (1930-35) 4 vols, does not fit easily into the above category but is worth special mention. This excellent collection contains documents not available on this side of the Atlantic.