THE SLAVE TRADE FROM LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE PORTS OUTSIDE LIVERPOOL

c. 1750–*c.* 1790

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I STATISTICS OF THE TRADE AND THEIR SOURCES

THE dominance of London, Bristol and Liverpool in the slave trade of the 18th century has obscured the fact that other small ports had a share in the trade. Published accounts of the slave trade rarely mention the small ports, partly because much of the detailed information comes from the period of the controversy about abolition, when most of the small ports had given up the struggle to compete with the three great ports. But in the middle of the eighteenth century, Liverpool men were well aware of the efforts of nearby ports to take a share in the slave trade as well as other colonial trades. For example, in the early months of publication of Liverpool's first successful newspaper, *Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser*, there is evidence of three Lancashire and Cheshire ports competing with Liverpool's slave trade. On 25 June 1756 there was advertised for sale at Preston

> The good snow or vessel called the *Blossom*, Samuel Gawith commander, burthen 100 tons more or less, built at Preston, and has been one voyage only (on the coast of Africa), a very strong and tight vessel of proper dimensions and every way compleat for the Slave Trade.... The vessel and her materials may be viewed . . . at Lytham in the River Ribble where she now lies.

On 13 August there was advertised for sale at Chester two vessels at once

> The snow *St. George*, built at Chester, burthen 150 tons more or less, with all her Guinea materials.
>
> The snow *Black Prince*, three years old, plantation built, burthen 160 tons more or less, being a prime sailor, and has made but one voyage to Africa, with all her Guinea materials. Inventories . . . may be seen on applying to Mr John Bagnall in Chester.

On 27 August there was advertised for sale at Lancaster

> The brigantine *Swallow*, burthen about 70 tons, with all her materials, as lately arrived from Africa and Barbados. She was built at Lancaster in the year 1751, is well found and of proper dimensions for the slave trade. For particulars apply to Messrs Satterthwaite and Inman in Lancaster.

In the shipping news of *Williamson's* and after 1763 in *Gore's Liverpool Advertiser*, there are some references to the colonial and slave trade of Chester, Preston, and Poulton-le-Fylde, and frequent mention of that of Lancaster; these papers circulated throughout Lancashire and Cheshire in strong competition with the Chester and Manchester publications which usually had to copy the Liverpool shipping items.

To give such references a proper statistical background, a number of official documents have been consulted. The most useful source has been the Mediterranean passes, issued throughout the eighteenth century by the Admiralty to protect British and colonial vessels against capture or plunder by the Barbary pirates operating off the Atlantic as well as the Mediterranean coast of North West Africa. The ledgers, extant from 1730 except for 1761–3, give the name and master of the vessel, its tonnage, its home port and the place where it was 'lying' on the date when the pass was applied for, and a brief description of the voyage intended to be followed. Among other details is given the date when the pass was returned to be cancelled, which is a useful indication of the date of the vessel's next colonial voyage. Occasionally this column gives a reason why the pass was not returned, for example the loss of the vessel at sea or when 'cut off' by local Africans on the Guinea coast, or in war time, capture by the enemy. It is clear that not all slavers took out a pass, particularly the smallest vessels acting as 'tenders' to big ones; but most owners took out passes for slaving and colonial voyages.[1]

When a vessel reached a colonial port, its master had to report to the 'colonial naval officer', a customs officer whose duty it was to satisfy himself that the master and owners, and vessel and cargo, were legally qualified under the numerous regulations of the Navigation Laws for trade with the colonies. The naval officer made returns of vessels entering and leaving his area, usually quoting as well as voyage and cargo details, the ship's register, which gave details of the vessel and its owners. The description of the vessel can usually be matched with that in the Mediterranean pass lists, but the list of owners is unfortunately often a summary, especially where the master was himself a partowner. These returns are however extremely valuable in that for most ports they provide the only evidence of ownership of vessels in the

colonial trade, before the beginning of statutory registration of all merchant ships in 1786. The only alternative sources are the brief references to owners given by newspaper advertisements of vessels for sale, and by *Lloyds Registers of Shipping*, extant for 1764, 1768 (for M to Z only) and from 1776 onwards. Unfortunately the colonial naval officers' returns for many colonies are missing, particularly for the small West Indian islands; but there are many extant for Barbados, Jamaica and Virginia, all important markets for slaves.[2]

Another official source for at least some of the slaving voyages are the records of the collection of Seaman's Sixpences for the support of merchant sailors unable to continue at sea because of illness or age, or for their dependents when they died in service. The payments were supposed to be made at the vessel's home port, but when a vessel carried a freight from a colony back to London instead of to its home port, payment of Seaman's Sixpences was made at London. In the ledgers of payments at London are recorded the name of the vessel and its master, its tonnage and home port, and the number of crew, together with the date of the last payment of Sixpences, the date of the beginning of the voyage, and the port from which the vessel sailed to London. For most ports outside London the records of Seaman's Sixpences have not survived; but a volume for payments made at Lancaster by Lancaster vessels between 1747 and 1851 has recently been discovered in private hands, though this has less detail than the London ledgers.[3]

The details of voyages recorded in such official documents can often be supplemented from *Lloyds List*, a newspaper devoted to shipping intelligence, issued from Lloyds Coffee House and extant from 1741. Sometimes it is clear that news items in *Lloyds List* were first printed in the Liverpool newspapers, but there are many items about Lancashire and Cheshire vessels obtained from other sources, though often without any clear attribution of a vessel to its home port. Local newspapers usually give more details when a vessel was lost or captured, and often record the death of a master during a voyage, with the name of his replacement.

From such sources, the following Table has been compiled. The figures are for vessels known to have planned or followed the full round of the triangular voyage, and do not include any vessels which only carried slaves, usually small in number, from one colony to another, probably in addition to other cargo. There may be included in some of the Lancaster voyages some which were only to and from Africa, without the usual middle passage to the Americas; but it seems likely that these were few, since

most of the vessels have sufficient documentation to indicate a triangular voyage.

TABLE 1: *Slave trading ventures from Lancashire and Cheshire ports*

Voyages	*Vessels Registered*	*Masters*	*Owners known*	*Years of operation*
1. Chester				
6	3	4	5	1750–57
3	2	2	1	1773–77
2. Preston and Poulton, both in the customs port of Poulton				
5	3	4	3	1753–57
3. Lancaster				
160	80	77	46	1736–76
20	10	16	10	1781–94

These sailings are small in number compared with those from Liverpool; according to the Mediterranean pass lists, which do not include all African voyages from Liverpool, Liverpool averaged 48 sailings a year between 1750 and 1759, and 83 a year between 1764 and 1773. But it is surprising to find any slavers at all from the port of Poulton, which had no great volume of overseas trade in the eighteenth century, or from Chester, which had ceased to compete with Liverpool in most fields of overseas trade. Until the Napoleonic Wars at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Lancaster had a considerable trade with the West Indies, but it is surprising to find from a government return for slavers cleared from British ports between 1757 and 1776 that Lancaster was the port most involved in the slave trade after Liverpool, Bristol and London, both in numbers of vessels and regularity of sailings. Against 1,540 vessels cleared from Liverpool, 691 from London, and 457 from Bristol, during the period 1757 to 1776 inclusive, Lancaster numbered 86. The next highest totals were for Whitehaven with 46 vessels cleared between 1758 and 1769, and Portsmouth with 31 between 1758 and 1774.

This government return is entitled *An Account of the Tonnage of the several Ships cleared from Great Britain to Africa from the 1st January 1757 to the 1st January 1777 with the names of the said ships* . . . and was signed by 'J. Dally for the Register General of Shipping'. Since each year the names of ships are given under the headings of the various ports, it is possible from the tonnage figures to identify the various vessels referred to in other sources. For Lancaster, the *Account of Tonnage* added very few new names to those already discovered in other documents. The Port of Poulton does not appear, which was to be expected

in view of other evidence as to the limited period during which local merchants were involved in the colonial trade. But the port of Chester also was not included in the *Account of Tonnage*, though the Mediterranean passes clearly indicate that the snows *Juno* and *True Blue* were lying at Chester when their owners applied for passes to Africa, in 1773, and similarly *Juno* was at Chester in 1775 when a pass was applied for. The omission is explained by another government return entitled *Port of Liverpool: A list of vessels that have sailed from this Port for Africa from the year 1750 to the year 1776* and was signed by 'Henry Hardwar, Collector' at Liverpool. This return lists the names of vessels and their masters, the part of Africa for which the vessel was bound, and the number of slaves or other type of cargo expected to be loaded there. From 1757 to 1776 the *Port of Liverpool* entries match almost completely those of the *Account of Tonnage*, and also the Mediterranean passes and Liverpool Plantation Register entries. Thus it is clear that the Chester slavers *Juno* and *True Blue* cleared to Africa by Liverpool and not Chester, customs authorities.[4]

The *Port of Liverpool* list shows that a number of Lancaster vessels also cleared to Africa from Liverpool. Some of these voyages were already known to begin at Liverpool from the evidence of the Mediterranean passes, but not all of them; some vessels given in the *Account of Tonnage* list as clearing to Africa from Lancaster are also given in the *Port of Liverpool* and *Account of Tonnage* lists as clearing from Liverpool, thus throwing doubt on the precision of statistics to be drawn from the lists, if not altering conclusions about the general trends in the slave trade during this period. In the statistics given in Table 1 all slavers known to belong to the three Lancashire and Cheshire ports outside Liverpool are included, whether they cleared to Africa from the home port or otherwise.

II REASONS FOR THE ENTRY OF SMALL NORTHWESTERN PORTS INTO THE SLAVE TRADE

Though Liverpool early in the eighteenth century began to challenge London and Bristol in the slave trade, other Lancashire and Cheshire ports were slow to follow. This is shown by Table 2.

All these figures for Lancaster, Preston, Poulton and Chester can be confirmed from the passes except for the 1746 vessels, though one of them is probably that which sailed from the Thames in 1744. The vessel from Preston in 1750 was not a slaver, since the pass on 8 December for the *Clifton* is marked for a voyage to the

TABLE 2: *Number of ships and their tonnage cleared to Africa 1734–1754*

	Lancaster		*Preston*		*Poulton*		*Chester*		*Liverpool*	
	Ships	*Tons*	*Ships*	*Tons*	*Ships*	*Tons*	*Ships*	*Tons*	*Ships*	*Tons*
1736	1*	100							24	1660
1738	1	30							35	2670
1744	1*	130							33	2623
1746	2	230							33	3015
1748	1	40							48	4666
1749	1	40							47	5118
1750	2	95	1	100			1	90	43	4075
1751	4	200							50	5194
1752	3	105					1	90	52	4821
1753	7	360	1	60	2	120	1	90	64	6517
1754	9*	395							61	5523

SOURCES: A government return Treasury 64/276A/273, containing other ports in Great Britain and covering each year from 1734–1754. The Lancaster figures marked with an asterisk are from the Mediterranean passes, in 1736 and 1744 marked as ships of Lancaster lying in the Thames.

Isle of May and Barbados; the Isle of May in the Cape Verde Islands was a place where salt could be procured cheaply for sale in the West Indies or America.[5]

Regular trade from Lancaster thus began only in 1748, from Chester in 1750 (and also from Whitehaven), and from Preston and Poulton in 1753. The attraction to the trade for new entrants must obviously have been the prospect of imitating the success of the Liverpool merchants. In spite of the check to trade caused by the War of Jenkins' Ear in 1739, and by the entry of France into the war in 1744, the slave trade from Liverpool rose steadily. According to the T.64 return, Liverpool tonnage rose from the low point of the war in 1740, 25 vessels of 821 tons, to 4666 tons in 1748 when peace came, and 5523 tons by 1754. Obviously there were profitable markets for slaves in the West Indies and the Southern American colonies, though during the war vessels loaded with slaves were particularly vulnerable to attack, and particularly valuable prizes for Spanish and French privateers in the West Indies. After the war, not only were there the British colonies to be supplied with slaves, but also, by a renewal of the Asiento Treaty with Spain, the Spanish colonies.

The merchants of the small Lancashire and Cheshire ports were as capable of appreciating the post-war demand as were the merchants of Liverpool. All had some experience of normal colonial trade to the West Indies and the American colonies. Lancaster at the end of the seventeenth century had begun a tobacco trade with Virginia, followed by trade with the West Indies. When the Virginia trade fell into the hands of Liverpool, Whitehaven and Glasgow, there was still a good trade in the

West India staples of sugar, rum, coffee and later raw cotton, both for use in Lancashire and for export to Ireland and elsewhere. Chester, however, seems not to have made as much effort as Lancaster to compete with Liverpool in the colonial trade. The Mediterranean passes show only two voyages in 1734 and 1738 by vessels of Chester to the West Indies, and four in the 1740's, two of which sailed from Liverpool, and another of which was a Bristol vessel sailing from Chester in 1745. In 1740 a Chester vessel sailed to South Carolina, a connexion which was to flourish after 1753. But the movements of coasters from Liverpool to Chester with colonial goods is amply documented in the Chester newspaper *Adams Weekly Courant*, which reported the movements of Liverpool overseas shipping and the arrival of cargoes at Liverpool.

The port of Poulton, with the two estuaries of the Ribble and the Wyre both difficult to enter and navigate, seems at first sight a doubtful prospect for colonial trade. But the important market town of Preston and the lesser township of Kirkham, lying between the two rivers, were developing an important linen industry, and behind Preston was the important East Lancashire textile area, with its linens, and linen-woollen and linen-cotton mixture cloths. The growing population could offer profitable trade in colonial goods, and with experience in handling Baltic shipping bringing flax and hemp, timber and iron, in the 1740's Preston and Poulton merchants began to send their own ships to the colonies instead of importing such goods through Liverpool or Lancaster.[6]

Merchants and ship's captains dealing with colonial markets could appreciate the demand for slaves, when so many colonial products depended on slave labour. Added to this was the debate among merchant groups in the 1740's about the organisation of the slave trade and the future of the Royal African Company. Originally a chartered company with a monopoly of the slave trade, its privileges were gradually whittled away as Parliament yielded to the demand for free enterprise made by Bristol, Liverpool and London merchants. Finally, as Adam Smith wrote about the Company 'In 1732, after having been for many years losers by the trade of carrying negroes to the West Indies, they at last resolved to give it up altogether . . . to the private traders.' But the Company was still responsible for forts and trading stations on the coast of Africa, and unable to maintain them in spite of a state subsidy. From the discussion on how the forts and stations should be maintained emerged in 1750 a new African Company, membership of which was open to all British subjects on payment of a low fee of £2. A committee of nine was to manage the

company's affairs, which were mainly the upkeep of the forts and trading stations, since the export of African goods to Britain or negroes from Africa was forbidden to the company and its agents. This committee was to be elected by the fee-paying 'freemen' of the company, who were organised in three groups meeting at London, Bristol and Liverpool, each group electing three members of the committee.[7]

But the new committee in no way controlled the slave traders, and anyone contemplating becoming a slaver trader did not have to join the freemen of the company. The freemen were entitled to trade from the company's harbours and forts, but it is clear from letters from the company's officials to the committee during the 1750's and 60's that there was no distinction between the vessels of freemen and those of non-freemen, and that ship's captains often behaved in a cavalier fashion in dealing with officials and natives alike, but turned to the officials immediately when in trouble. Thomas Melvill wrote from Cape Coast Castle to the committee on 26 August 1751 that he was not resentful that a Liverpool captain had not approached the Castle authorities during his stay at Cape Coast:

> The Captains of all ships shall ever meet with every assistance in my power, let their behaviour be ever so slighting. That is a duty my station demands and I ask no thanks for it.

A practical example of help given to the vessel of a non-freeman, is given in a letter from James Fort on the River Gambia dated 28 December 1761:

> The ship *Mary* of Lancaster commanded by Captain Sandys was cut off by the slaves and most of the people murdered. The obstinacy of the mate who succeeded on Captain Sandys' death in the command greatly contributed to it; for notwithstanding our repeated messages to come under the protection of the Fort's guns, he kept close to the continent out of their reach – a situation always dangerous to slave vessels so that it rendered us incapable of being of any assistance. We had before prevented an insurrection on board her, when she lay nigher the Fort. The King of Barrati we prevailed on to deliver up the hull, which indeed is in a manner useless, as all her sails and rigging were destroyed and nothing left in her but her masts. We have hired her out for the proprietor's benefit till they send some orders about her . . .[8]

It is clear that the *Mary* was not owned by a freeman of the African Company, in spite of the fact that there is no surviving ship's register; this is because the Committee Book of the Liverpool group of freemen has survived, and the list of freemen is almost entirely of Liverpool men.[9] Henry White was admitted freeman in 1750 among the first to be enrolled, marked as of Lancaster; but he was only made a freeman of Lancaster in the mayoral year of 1749–50, and when he married at Lancaster

in 1749, both his marriage bond and the parish register entry describe him as of Liverpool. His name does not appear among the known Lancaster ship's captains and merchants, but the Mediterranean passes show him as master of two Liverpool slavers between 1735 and 1743 and in the Liverpool Plantation Registers he is shown as partowner of 12 vessels between 1744 and 1756, all except two being slavers.[10] The only other Lancaster men entered as freemen at Liverpool were Miles Barber senior, Miles Barber junior and Robert McMillan, all entered in 1769, by which date all had left Lancaster and were living in Liverpool.[11] No Chester, no Preston and no Poulton men (no Whitehaven slavers either) appear among the freemen, except for a late entry in 1786 of John Langton of Kirkham near Poulton le Fylde. But his family by that time were only directly involved in shipping from the Baltic in the import of flax and hemp. His entry as freeman seems a belated result of his family being partowners in Liverpool slavers managed by the Liverpool firm of Sparling and Bolden in the late 1760's and early 1770's.[12] Clearly, it was not necessary for slave traders from the small ports to join the Liverpool group of freemen of the African Company. Obviously they felt no need to take part in electing committee men to sit in London to direct the affairs of the company for their benefit. Their vessels could use the facilities of the company in Africa equally with those of freemen and there were many places on the slave coasts where the company had no stations and little influence unless supported by a Royal Naval ship to overawe the natives.

One reason for the entry of the small north western ports into the slave trade in the 1750's was that their ventures were cheaper than their rivals. This emerged in hearings before the Board of Trade and Plantations in 1750 of representations from those who wanted to influence the shape of the new African Company on which Parliament was to decide. John Hardman, a prominent Liverpool merchant and later M.P. for the borough, put forward the views of Liverpool men in favour of full freedom of trade. In two sessions he claimed firstly that the outports, meaning ports other than London, could carry on the slave trade ten per cent more cheaply than a company, and secondly that it was a misrepresentation to assert that only Bristol and Liverpool were concerned, since Chester, Lancaster, Glasgow and other ports could engage in the trade five per cent more cheaply than either Bristol or Liverpool. Hardman presented figures of the current state of the trade, claiming Liverpool had 74 vessels, Bristol 47, London 6, and Chester, Lancaster, Glasgow and Plymouth 6 between them.[13]

The basis of this claim of cheaper trading was not expounded

by Hardman, but one element in cheaper costs was the provision and outfitting of vessels. Shipbuilding on the north west coast was reckoned to be cheap, and Chester, Liverpool and Lancaster built ships during the eighteenth century for ports elsewhere, including London. There were local timber supplies in the hills and poor lowlands of Wales, Cheshire, Lancashire and Cumberland, supplemented by Baltic and American imports. This timber supply had in the late seventeenth century attracted some of the midlands iron industry running short of charcoal timber, and allowed the development of the Furness iron ore deposits. Thus iron fastenings used in some parts of the ships, iron fittings for masts and rigging, and anchors and chain cables, were easily available. A local linen industry flourished, so that for example, the Kirkham merchants could send sailcloth to London for the use of the navy as well as supply local markets for canvas and other linens. The long coastlines of the northern parts of the Irish Sea had few good harbours or prosperous hinterlands. Agriculture was limited by hills and poor land, and large-scale industry was developed sparsely. Consequently there was a good supply of cheap labour available for these industries as well as providing seamen. In addition to the low cost of outfitting for sea, Lancashire and Cheshire had increasing advantages in preparing cargoes for the slave coast. One of the most important of the trade goods required for the purchase of slaves was cotton cloth of various types in bright colours and patterns. Wadsworth and Mann have claimed that a shortage of Indian-made cotton fabrics originally in demand in Africa allowed Lancashire manufacturers who imitated East Indian goods to expand and seize part of the African market. One of the advantages of the London slave traders, easy access to East India goods landed from India only in the Thames, was thus weakened. For iron goods, also in demand in slave trading, local production was easily supplemented from Yorkshire, the midlands or from the Baltic, and local manufacturers were well established. Some parts of the African coast demanded copper and brass as well as iron, and this industry was also well established in the early eighteenth century at Warrington and at Cheadle in North Staffordshire, both known to have produced articles for the slave trade. Later in the century a large copper works was established on the St Helens coalfield, and another works was set up at Macclesfield in Cheshire. The flow of these manufactured goods to the ports was facilitated and accelerated as the century went on, by improved roads, the river navigations, and the new canals which supplemented the traditional cheap coastal shipping.[14]

Thus the merchants of Lancashire and Cheshire small ports

had an incentive to compete with Liverpool in the slave trade. They were close enough to Liverpool to appreciate the profits being made in the colonial and the slave trade, and they were close enough to the centres of supply of exports which Liverpool merchants used. They also had connexions in the colonies, and markets for the return cargoes in the newly expanding industrial areas of central and south Lancashire and the midlands, in Ireland, and even in continental markets.

III THE SLAVE TRADE FROM CHESTER

The involvement of Chester merchants in the slave trade consisted of two short-lived periods of operation, widely separated in time. So little impression did these make on public opinion, then and later, that a recent writer on Chester could state that 'Chester never soiled its hands with slavery'. But the existence of Chester slave trading was previously described by R. Craig in these Transactions in an account of Chester's overseas trade in the eighteenth century, and much of the material which follows is based on his researches.

TABLE 3: *Slaving voyages from Chester 1750–1756 and 1775–1777* [15]

Pass date	*Name*	*Tons*	*Master*	*Slaves bought*	*Slaves sold*	*Return to*
1750 May 17	*St. George*	90	Joseph Seaman	Bonney	Jamaica	Chester
1752 Feb. 13				Bonney	Barbados	Chester
1753 Sept. 8			Henry Bennett	Bonney	? Barbados	—
Sale notices: 1756 Aug. 13 at Chester; with Guinea materials. 1757 April 1 at Chester; 'made only three voyages to Africa'.						
1754 Feb. 28	*Duke*	120	Ambrose Lace	Old Calabar*	Jamaica	—
Lost 1755 in Carnarvon Bay, from Jamaica to Chester. Reported Oct. 31.						
1754 July 12	*Black Prince*	110	William Creevey	Angola	Jamaica	—
Sale notice: 1756 Aug. 13 at Chester; with Guinea materials.						
[? 1756]				Angola	—	—
Lost: 1757 Mar. 27 at Angola after an attack by French frigates.						
1773 Mar. 24	*True Blue*	90	Thomas Pountney	Sierra leone*	Jamaica	Chester
[? becomes *Bee* of Liverpool, pass 19 Sept. 1775 to Africa.]						
1775 Oct. 6	*Juno*	120	Thomas Eagles	Anamabo*	Jamaica	Liverpool, then Chester
1775 July 25				Anamabo*	Jamaica	—
[Untraced after arrival at Jamaica.]						

SOURCES: Mediterranean passes, *Lloyds List*, *Williamsons Liverpool Advertiser*. African destinations marked with an asterisk are from BT. 6/3, Port of Liverpool.

A total of nine voyages, with two vessels lost and not replaced, and two advertised for sale, does not suggest great commercial success or incentive to continue the trade.

Little is known of the ownership of these vessels. One vessel, the *Duke*, was registered at Liverpool on 28 February 1754 and sailed to Africa from Liverpool instead of from Chester; she was owned by John Bagnall, John Hincks, Robert Barnston, Henry Perkins and Charles Goodwin, all of Chester though not described as such in the register entry. From the register, and from the sale advertisements of 1756 and 1757, it would appear that John Bagnall was the leading partowner in these slave trading ventures, though he was not a freeman of Chester, and not a partowner in any of the other thirteen Chester vessels whose registers are in the Liverpool Plantation Registers between 1744 and 1773. Three other partowners in the *Duke* were similarly not involved in the thirteen Chester vessels, and the only one with any interest in other colonial shipping ventures was Charles Goodwin, freeman of Chester in 1747 described as an ironmonger. He was a partowner in eight Chester vessels given in the Liverpool Plantation Registers, two in the Newfoundland trade, and six in trade with South Carolina; the South Carolina colonial naval officers' lists record him as partowner in two other vessels trading there. But this connexion did not lead to any voyages by Chester slavers to deliver slaves to South Carolina.[16]

Only one reference has been traced for the owners of the slavers of the 1770's; the application to the Privy Council for permission to ship military stores on board the *Juno* in 1775 was made by Thomas Cotgreave and Co. of Chester, merchants. He was a freeman of Chester in 1743 as a linendraper, and became Mayor in 1758.[17]

None of the masters of the Chester slavers was a freeman of Chester, and present evidence suggests more links with Liverpool than with Chester trade. Nothing has been found about Joseph Seaman and Henry Bennett of the *St. George*, but Ambrose Lace of the *Duke* and William Creevey of the *Black Prince* were later well known in the Liverpool slave trade. Thomas Pountney of the *True Blue* was master of the slaver *Industry* from Liverpool between 1770 and 1772, a vessel owned by Hugh Pringle who also employed William Creevey for most of his Liverpool voyages. Thomas Eagles of the *Juno* was master of three Liverpool slavers between 1765 and 1771, partowner of two Liverpool privateers in 1779 and 1781, and master of two more slavers from Liverpool between 1783 and 1786.[18]

Other facts about the Chester slave trade also suggest a borrowing of expertise from Liverpool. The places where slaves were

to be bought were those where large cargoes were the rule, except possibly the voyage of the *True Blue* to Sierraleone, where many small vessels traded. The *True Blue* was expected to load 200 slaves, the *Juno* in the same period 300 slaves. In the earlier period there are no figures yet found for the voyages of the *St. George*, of the same tonnage as the *True Blue*, but the *Black Prince* is reported to have arrived at Barbados for Jamaica with 270 slaves, and the *Duke* was expected to take on 400 slaves.[19]

It would seem that Chester was too close to Liverpool to be a successful competitor in the colonial and slave trades. The Mediterranean passes show that the chief overseas trade interests of the Chester merchants and vessels were in the trade to Portugal, Spain and the Mediterranean, and even the trade to South Carolina may have been closely connected with this. A strong element in the exports from South Carolina was rice to Portugal, and also to other parts of Europe, as is shown by the Laurens Papers. For example, the *Fair American*, regularly trading from Chester and Liverpool to South Carolina between 1762 and 1773, cleared on the return voyage three times to Lisbon, and twice to Cowes, a regular calling place for orders to proceed to Continental ports such as Rotterdam and Hamburgh. This seems to indicate that the Chester partowners of the *Fair American*, Charles Goodwin and Walter Thomas, and the South Carolina partowner, John Edwards, were not expecting to distribute their colonial goods from Chester. By this period, the development of roads, river navigations and canals from Liverpool to the large population centres of Lancashire, the midlands and Yorkshire, had given Liverpool merchants great advantages over those of Chester.[20]

The same considerations must have prevented the increase of any strong connexions between the West Indies and Chester, despite the experience of some voyages before 1750, and the return cargoes of the Chester slavers between 1750 and 1757. A Chester vessel, the *Mary*, was registered at Liverpool on 30 March 1764 and sailed to Barbados, but was sold to Liverpool owners in 1765. Thereafter there were no passes for West Indian voyages from Chester until 1778 when the *Mentor* of Liverpool sailed from Chester because built there. Lacking any trade with the West Indian and Virginian slave owning colonies, the Chester merchants lacked also a strong incentive to pursue the slave trade. If Cheshire men thought they could make money out of the African trade, they could go to Liverpool. Thomas Clarkson the abolitionist visited Chester in 1787 and met the editor, Mr Cowdroy, of 'the Chester paper' on whom he commented:

'Living at so short a distance from Liverpool, and in a county from which so many persons were constantly going to Africa, he was by no means ignorant, as some were, of the nature of this cruel traffic.'[21]

IV THE SLAVE TRADE FROM PRESTON AND POULTON

The coastline between the customs areas of the port of Liverpool and the port of Lancaster was in the early eighteenth century called the port of Poulton, from the name of the small market town of Poulton-le-Fylde where the custom house was situated, close to the river Wyre. At nearby Kirkham and at Preston, the linen industry attracted British and European shipping from the Baltic, and there was also the not uncommon overseas trade of many small ports, a trade in wine and other European luxury goods from the ports of Spain and Portugal. Another Preston shipping interest developed when the Douglas Navigation was finally completed in the 1740's and opened up a much increased export of Wigan coal to the English and Irish coasts nearby. Probably as a result of this increased trade on the river Ribble, and of the growth of the textile manufacturing area of East Lancashire favouring Preston rather than Poulton, the customs area was renamed in 1760 the port of Preston.[22]

The growing population's demands for tobacco, sugar, rum, dye-stuffs and other colonial goods prompted local merchants in Poulton to build in 1741 a warehouse at Skippool on the river Wyre specifically for goods from Barbados, and from 1742 vessels, mostly owned by the merchants of Kirkham and Preston, began to trade from Poulton and Preston to the West Indies, with Baltic voyages to bring in flax and hemp. Thus the local merchants would save costs of using the port of Liverpool, which included 'town dues' payable to the corporation of Liverpool on all goods handled in the port which did not belong to a freeman of Liverpool. After 1750, as far as present evidence indicates, sailings to the colonies from Preston began, but arrivals at Preston and Poulton are often difficult to identify from *Lloyds List* and from newspapers, to whom such a small trading area was unimportant compared with Lancaster and Liverpool. Preston and Poulton vessels sometimes arrived at these ports perhaps because both towns had sugar refineries which supplied the retail trade of the Preston area, or because Preston and Poulton vessels might be landing goods for merchants at Liverpool or Lancaster taken as freight, before returning to their home port with the cargo consigned to the vessel's owners.[23] There is certainly a stronger connexion with the West Indies from Preston and Poulton than there was from Chester, on which to base ventures into the slave trade.

TABLE 4: *Slaving voyages from Preston and Poulton 1753–1757*

Pass date	*Name*	*Tons*	*Master*	*Slaves bought*	*Slaves sold*	*Return to*
OF AND FROM PRESTON						
1753 Aug. 17	*Blossom*	60	Samuel Gawith	Windward and Gold Coast	Barbados	—
Sale notice: 1756 June 25 at Preston; one voyage to Africa.						
OF AND FROM POULTON						
1753 Sept. 17	*Betty and Martha*	50	Thomas Dickson	Sierra-leone	Barbados	Lancaster
1755 Sept. 10			John Bradley	?	—	—
[Taken 1758, from the river Wyre to Jamaica; reported April 18.]						
1753 Sept. 19	*Hothersall*	70	John Barrow	?	Jamaica	Cleared to Liverpool; arrived Lancaster
1755 Sept. 10				?	Jamaica	Cleared to Poulton
[Taken 1759, from Lancaster and Cork to Antigua; retaken and sold at Liverpool, advertised April 20.]						

SOURCES: Mediterranean Passes, *Lloyds List*, *Williamsons Liverpool Advertiser*, Colonial naval officers' lists for Jamaica.

The owners of the *Blossom* are not known, but the *Hothersall* is described in the Jamaica colonial naval officers' lists as owned by John Birley and Co. There were two Poulton vessels named *Betty and Martha*, and the first one was described in the Barbados naval officers' lists as owned by Langton, Shepherd and Co. and it seems likely the second one was similarly owned. Though not amalgamated in one partnership as linen manufacturers until 1766, the two Kirkham firms were co-owners of three Poulton vessels after 1747, so the summary descriptions in the naval officers' lists may well conceal similar co-ownership in the *Hothersall* and the *Betty and Martha* as slavers. Certainly this seems to be suggested by the applications for passes for the two vessels almost simultaneously on 17 and 19 December 1753, and simultaneously on 10 September 1755.[24]

There is no evidence to connect the masters of these slaving voyages with either Liverpool or Lancaster mariners, except possibly for Samuel Gawith. A master of that name was engaged between St Kitts and London in a Lancaster vessel named the *Touchet*, between 1749 and 1751. A Samuel Gawith was master of three Liverpool slavers between September 1756, soon after the sale of the *Blossom*, and 1770. He made three voyages under two different groups of Liverpool owners, and then five more under Benson and Postlethwaite, common names in the Furness district of Lancashire. Gawith was also a common name in

Furness and several men of that name are to be found in the shipping records of Lancaster and Liverpool; it may be that the two references cannot be attributed to the master of the *Blossom.*[25]

In comparison with the Chester slavers, the number of slaves carried by Preston and Poulton vessels was not large. The *Betty and Martha* on her first voyage is reported in *Lloyds List* on 4 July 1755 to have landed at Barbados only 65 slaves, a figure so small as to appear a misprint. The *Blossom* is reported in the same issue of *Lloyds List* as landing 131 slaves at Barbados, whilst the *Hothersall* is recorded in the Jamaica colonial naval officers' lists as landing 150 in 1755 and 135 in 1756, figures which are more likely to be accurate than those in *Lloyds List.* It is difficult on so small an amount of evidence to deduce anything about the profitability of these voyages, but in view of the small number of slaves carried, the time spent on the voyages, all over 20 months, seems too long. By comparison the *Thetis* of Lancaster of 40 tons, smaller than any of the Poulton and Preston vessels, had a pass application on 23 February 1759, landed 212 slaves at South Carolina in September, and had a second pass application on 18 December 1759. The slaves were bought on the Windward and Grain coast, the same area in which the *Betty and Martha* (and presumably the *Hothersall*), and the *Blossom* bought their slaves. What is clear is that the Poulton and Preston merchants did not persevere with the trade. The fate of the *Blossom* after the sale advertisement was published is unknown, but both the *Betty and Martha* and the *Hothersall* were employed on direct voyages to the West Indies, in which the first *Betty and Martha* and the *Hothersall* had been engaged previous to the venture into slave trading. Other Poulton and Preston vessels continued in the West India trade until the mid 1760's.[26]

Though there were no more slavers from Poulton and Preston, the interest of the Kirkham linen manufacturers in the slave trade did not cease. Langton and Shepherd were partowners between 1767 and 1771 in five slavers from Liverpool under the management of Sparling and Bolden, Liverpool merchants. In three of these vessels John Birley was also a partowner. *Lloyds Registers* after 1776 contain other slavers with Sparling and Bolden as owners, but there are no registers for this period at Liverpool to show whether the Kirkham men were still partowners; they do not appear as partowners of slavers when the Liverpool Plantation Registers are available between 1779 and 1784, nor after 1786 in the new Statutory Registers. By 1780 the colonial trade from Preston and Poulton had ceased, and the local merchants were partowners of small coastal vessels, and of larger vessels concerned

with the Baltic trade in flax and hemp; most of these larger vessels were in the registers of Liverpool and Lancaster, not of Preston. Perhaps the entry of the name of John Langton of Kirkham among the freemen of the African Company at Liverpool expressed the faint possibility that his family and friends might once again take a financial part in the slave trade with their Liverpool connexions.[27]

V THE SLAVE TRADE FROM LANCASTER 1736 TO 1776

Unlike most of the small ports with some connexion with the slave trade, Lancaster has usually appeared briefly in the general histories of the trade, partly because it is included in the two most widely quoted sets of figures which distinguish the contribution of different ports. In 1753 Liverpool is quoted as having 64 slavers, Bristol 27, London 13 and Lancaster seven; in 1771 Liverpool had 107, London 58, Bristol 23 and Lancaster four. Another reason for a mention of Lancaster is that Thomas Clarkson the abolitionist visited Lancaster, alone among the small ports involved in slaving, in search of material to support his case. But such meagre references conceal a long, and therefore apparently successful, involvement in slave trading, as is shown by Tables 2 and 5.[28]

The beginnings of Lancaster's involvement between 1736 and 1748 are obscure. Nothing has yet been found to provide a background for the Mediterranean passes of 13 January 1736 for the *Prince Frederick* of Lancaster, to sail from London to Guinea and to the West Indies, and of 26 May 1738 for the *Royal Ann* of and from Lancaster, to sail to Africa and Barbardos. The two masters, James Eeles and David Wemys respectively, are entered as of Lancaster, mariners, but neither they nor their vessels have been found among Lancaster or Liverpool records. For the voyage of the *Expedition* of and from London in 1744 and a second voyage from Lancaster in 1746, there is further detail. The pass for 11 January 1744 described the master as James Strangeways of Lancaster, mariner, and the entry for 31 March 1747 of the *Expedition* at Jamaica on her second voyage quotes her register as taken out in London on 7 January 1743/4, and her owners as Thomas Butterfield and Co., a name well known among Lancaster merchants of the period. Thomas Butterfield died in 1747 aged 43, but his brother William was involved in Lancaster's slave trading until the 1770's. James Strangeways became a freeman of Lancaster in 1747/8, and when he died in Lancaster in 1770, he was described in his will as of Lancaster, merchant. As well as his voyages in the *Expedition*, he was master

of the *Juba* of Lancaster on a slaving voyage in 1766. Between 1748 and 1756, however, he was master and partowner of three slavers from Liverpool, with Liverpool not Lancaster owners.[29]

Regular and continuous slave trading from Lancaster began on 6 September 1748, when a pass application was entered for the *Jolly Batchelor*, Thomas Hinde master, the first of four voyages under Hinde, and two more under other masters, between 1748 and 1754. From 1750 numbers of vessels from Lancaster slowly increased until in 1754 there were nine vessels of 395 tons taking out passes for African voyages, a figure surprisingly not included in government return of vessels clearing for Africa between 1735 and 1754, in Table 2.[30]

TABLE 5: *A list of ships in the African trade 1756*[31]

Ships	*Masters*	*Whither bound*	*Owners*	*Numbers of Slaves*	*Tons*
Castleton	Lindow	Gambia	W. Butterfield	180	70
Lowther	Housman	Windward	W. Butterfield	180	50
Duke of Cumberland	Sandys	Gambia	Hindle and Co.	140	35
Prince George	Late Giles	Gambia	Hindle and Co.	60	35
Lancaster	Paley	Gambia	Hindle and Co.	140	80
Concord	Simondson	Windward	Thompson and Co.	100	40
Gambia	Dodson	Gambia	Satterthwaite and Co.	180	70
Swallow	Ord	Windward	Thompson and Co.	100	40
Antelope	Alman	Gambia	Alman and Co.	80	25
Anson	Holden	Gambia	Helme and Co.	180	50
Barlbrough	Tallon	Windward	Foster and Co.	150	40
Bold	Millerson	Windward	Foster and Co.	150	70

SOURCES: *Gross Fleury's Journal*, Tons from Mediterranean passes.

These details illustrate an important fact which emerges from the study of Lancaster slaving masters and owners between 1744 and 1776, that they are all Lancaster men, with no apparent connexion with Liverpool. The masters and owners were Lancaster residents, and mostly freemen of Lancaster. A few masters, like Strangeways, appear in Liverpool shipping records, but because they moved to Liverpool from Lancaster; the same applies to a lesser number of Lancaster owners. Lancaster's slave traders remained independent of Liverpool in spite of the sailing of many Lancaster slavers from Liverpool as is shown in Table 6. Although Lancaster lacks the wealth of information about ship ownership provided by the Liverpool Plantation Registers, there is some indication of ownership for 55 out of 80 Lancaster slavers between 1735 and 1776. Some of the names which continuously recur are

in Table 5, Hinde, Housman, Tallon, Dodson, Millerson, as experienced masters becoming owners as the first generation of owners, Thompson, Helme, Satterthwaite and Foster dropped out. Other Lancaster masters similarly joined the ranks of Lancaster owners in the 1760's and 1770's. The one factor which might throw doubt on the independence of Lancaster slavers from Liverpool recruits is that some of the masters might have shipped in Liverpool slavers as junior officers or apprentices to learn the trade, and been given their chance to be master at Lancaster when promotion in Liverpool was less likely. But much detailed research remains to be done to examine this possibility thoroughly.

TABLE 6: *Slaving voyages by Lancaster vessels 1755 to 1776, with comparable figures for Liverpool*[32]

	LANCASTER								*LIVERPOOL*	
	from Lancaster only		*from Lancaster and Liverpool*		*from Liverpool only*		*TOTAL*			
	Ships	*Tons*	*Ships*	*Tons*	*Ships*	*Tons*	*Ships*	*Tons*	*Ships*	*Tons*
1755	11	575					11	575	39	3565
1756	9	403†					9	403†	55	4835
1757	2	140					2	140	39	4130
1758	1	50					1	50	48	5160
1759	5	380	1	70*			6	450	51	5505
1760	6	590	1	200*			7	790	46	7785
1761	7	475			2	400**	9	875	none available	
1762	1	90			2	300**	3	390		
1763	8	403			1	100	9	503		
1764	7	435			1	200	8	635	75	7478
1765	8	515			3	330	11	845	71	7474
1766	4	216			2	110*	6	326	65	7246
1767	2	120	1	70	1	40	4	230	82	8200
1768	4	220					4	220	77	7858
1769	2	180	1	80			3	260	86	9806
1770	—	—	5	360			5	360	87	9231
1771	1	35	5	400	1	40	7	475	102	10458
1772	3	220	2	170	3	260***	8	650	91	9545
1773	5	325					5	325	95	10267
1774	4	215			1	80*	5	295	87	9168
1775	1	70			1	80	2	150	72	7752
1776	2	240	1	80			3	220	54	6840

† Indicates a vessel, *Gambia's Tender*, with no tonnage figure available.
* Each asterisk indicates a vessel whose register was made or entered at Liverpool in that year.
SOURCES: Lancaster: Mediterranean Passes, Board of Trade 6/3.
Liverpool: Mediterranean passes.

The clearance of some Lancaster slavers from Liverpool can be explained by two considerations. The first is that Liverpool was an important market for the sale of vessels of all varieties. Table 6

shows that ten Lancaster vessels were registered there, most of which can be shown to have been bought there; others bought there sailed to Lancaster before clearance to Africa. Secondly Liverpool naturally became an important depot for the supply of goods needed for slave trading, and clearly it might well pay a Lancaster merchant group to buy part or the whole of an African cargo in Liverpool to be loaded there, so that the vessel cleared from Liverpool. Mr D. Richardson has found, in William Davenport's Bead Book, accounts of sales to Lancaster merchants; some of the vessels for which the beads were supplied sailed to Africa direct from Liverpool.[33] This seems to be the reason behind the complications of the clearance figures from Lancaster, from Liverpool or from both, in the period from 1769 to 1776. There seems to be no pattern detectable in the clearances; no particular owner regularly cleared his vessels from Liverpool for Africa, nor any particular master, except for James Sawrey, master of the *Sarah* in 1772 and the *Sally* in 1774, 1775 and 1776. He was probably a partowner, and after 1781 his vessels again frequently cleared from Liverpool.[34]

The clearances from Liverpool between 1759 and 1765, and of a single 40 ton vessel in 1766, 1767 and 1771, have however one common factor, that Miles Barber of Lancaster and then of Liverpool was a partowner in each one. From a family well established in Lancaster, he was before 1759 a partowner in two slavers. Thereafter he was partowner in eight slaving vessels registered between 1759 and 1765 all marked as 'of Lancaster', though only three of them were registered there, and the rest at Liverpool. He bought the freedom of Liverpool in 1765, and by 1766, according to *Gore's Liverpool Directory*, he was resident there, though he was described as of Lancaster when in 1769 he became a freeman of the African Company at Liverpool.[35] Whereas the first two vessels registered at Liverpool in 1759 and 1760, the *Juba* and the *Rainbow*, both sailed to Africa from Lancaster, as did the *Juba* on a second voyage in the beginning of 1761, all but one of the remaining voyages of Barber's vessels were from Liverpool up to 1765. The exception was the 40-ton *Dove*, registered at, and sailing from Lancaster in 1764 because she was built there in 1764. But the remaining voyages of the *Dove* between 1766 and 1771 were all from Liverpool, and the Mediterranean passes for these voyages describe the vessel as 'of Liverpool'. The same description was given to two other Barber vessels clearing from Liverpool in 1763, 1764 and 1765, the *Hamilton* and the *Jupiter*, though both were described as 'of Lancaster' when registered at Liverpool in 1762.[36] It is a moot point therefore, whether these voyages between 1761 and 1765

and the voyages of the *Dove*, should be counted as Lancaster slaving voyages, but they have been counted as such because they are all marked clearly as of Lancaster, and because the part-owners with Barber bear the familiar Lancaster names such as Hinde, Millerson, Housman and Watson. Moreover, from 1763 to 1773, Barber was partowner, mainly with Samuel Kilner, of at least 20 slavers which sailed from Liverpool and were described in the Liverpool Plantation Registers as of Liverpool. Kilner was probably the master of the *Gambia* of Lancaster on a voyage direct to Jamaica in 1757, partowner with Barber in two Lancaster slavers registered at Liverpool in 1762, and described in *Gore's Liverpool Directory* for 1769 as a merchant.[37]

The operations of Barber illustrate another marked feature of the Lancaster slave trade activity. The figures of Lancaster and Liverpool slavers in Tables 2 and 6 show that on average Lancaster slavers were generally small vessels compared with those of Liverpool. Before the Seven Years War, as Table 5 makes clear, the common size of Lancaster slavers was between 40 and 80 tons, with some smaller ones, which possibly were used as 'tenders' to the larger ones. There were many Liverpool slavers of these sizes, but also many larger ones to raise the average tonnage above that of Lancaster vessels. The first Lancaster slaver of 100 tons was the *Reynolds*, registered at Lancaster on 6 January 1755 for a single African voyage but employed before and after that in the trade direct to the West Indies. The next such vessel the *Cato* was in 1757, with Barber as a partowner, but between 1759 and 1765 the registrations with Barber as partowner, show only the *Juba* of 70 tons and the *Dove* of 40 tons of the usual Lancaster size. Two were of 100 tons or over, and four were of 200 tons and over. Registered by other Lancaster owners in the same period were six vessels between 100 and 150 tons. The voyages do not seem to have been very successful. Of the 12 vessels of 100 tons and over, six with Barber as partowner, three were taken in war, one was lost, and one 'cut off by the natives' on the coast of Africa, the *Mary* of Lancaster, Samuel Sandys master. Eight made only one voyage, one made two, two made three, and the *Norfolk* made four voyages between 1763 and 1770 as well as a voyage direct to and from South Carolina.[38] By comparison, there were 15 vessels registered at Lancaster in the same period 1759 to 1765 below 100 tons, the smallest being 15 tons and the largest 90 tons. Of these one was taken in war, and four were lost. Six made only one voyage, six made two, and one made three. One vessel, the *Antelope* of 40 tons made five voyages, and one, the *Marquis of Granby* of 90 tons, was wrecked on its sixth voyage.[39]

After 1765, the only other Lancaster vessel of 100 tons or over, apart from the *Norfolk* was the *True Blue*, with register and pass at Liverpool on 19 October 1772 and clearing to Africa from Liverpool. After one slaving voyage she was employed in the West India trade from Lancaster. Barber's vessels registered at Liverpool after 1765 included five of this size and one of 180 tons, one of 100 tons, and only four below 100 tons.[40]

There were good reasons for the use of small vessels by the Lancaster merchants for most of the period 1736–1776. The limited capital cost of a small vessel and its outfit, would be matched by the economy of a small crew in a trade where larger than normal crews to control the slaves were necessary. The limited outlay on a small cargo for buying slaves was important in a business where the investor would not see a return on his money for at least a year, and perhaps much longer if the voyage went badly. A smaller number of slaves to be bought on the coast reduced the length of stay on the coast of Africa where disease might strike crew and slaves, and lessened the risks of disease or food and water shortages on the middle passage to the Americas. Finally, a large number of slaves, such as the 473 landed at Jamaica in the 200 ton *Rumbold* in 1763 (one of Barber's vessels), might flood the market in some parts of the slave-owning colonies, particularly if other slavers arrived about the same time.

The Lancaster slave traders using vessels of 40–50 tons in the early period, and 70–80 tons after the Seven Years War, seem to have directed their ventures at a particular part of the African coast when buying slaves, and at particular markets in the Americas. Some shipping details point to specific African markets. The name of *Gambia* was chosen for a Lancaster vessel registered in 1755 and for her second voyage a protection was taken out for the crew of *Gambia's Tender*. On 15 December 1758 a 30 ton schooner, the *Britannia*, 'just launched at Lancaster for the Gambia trade' was advertised for sale at Liverpool. Another Liverpool advertisement on 20 May 1767 was for salvaged goods from the *Marquis of Granby*, lost near Workington in 1767 outward bound: her cargo was 'a compleat assortment for the Isle de Los' near Sierraleone.[41] An analysis of references to Lancaster slavers on the African coast shows that for 100 out of 160 voyages, an intended or actual place for purchase of slaves can be identified. The largest numbers of voyages were concerned with the river Gambia, 27 voyages between 1751 and 1766, and with Sierraleone, 45 voyages between 1752 and 1776. Another ten voyages have the general label of the Windward Coast, two of which were called the Windward and Grain Coast, and one the Windward and Rice Coast; most of these were in the 1750's. Eight

voyages were to the Isle de Los, just north of Sierra Leone, mostly in the 1760's and 1770's. These, with two other places with four voyages, make 94 out of the 100 locations identified on the African coast, and can be generally described as on the Windward Coast, usually counted as reaching from the river Gambia, southwards to Cape Palmas, where the coastline turns eastwards towards the Gulf of Guinea.

Outside the Windward Coast, Lancaster slaving voyages were one to Senegal, north of the Gambia, in 1760, two to Angola, from Lancaster in 1750 and from Liverpool in 1761, one to the Grain and Gold Coast in 1752, and two to Cape Coast Castle on the Gold Coast in 1776.[42] Yet it was in the Gulf of Guinea that many slavers picked up their cargoes, at centres such as Cape Coast Castle, Anamabo, Bonney, Benin and Calabar. In 1753 *Williamson's Liverpool Memorandum Book* published a list of 88 Liverpool slavers for 1752, with 31 trading in the Gulf of Guinea, 11 to Angola, and 8 to Gambia. Another three were described as trading to 'Windward Coast etc', and 32 to the 'Windward and Gold Coast', that is beginning to trade when first reaching the slave trading areas, and relying on the Gold Coast stations where large numbers of slaves were usually available, to complete their cargoes if necessary. Apart from the one voyage in 1752 to the Grain and Gold Coast, there seems no evidence that Lancaster vessels followed the Liverpool practice. Their area of trade seems highly specialised. But their type of trade suited the size of Lancaster vessels in the slave trade. The river Gambia was suitable only for small, shallow draught vessels, and the coast southwards had shallow river estuaries and roadsteads, where large vessels could not easily find safe anchorages or large numbers of slaves. It was common for slavers to anchor at a number of such places and send out the ship's boats, or special accompanying tenders, to trade with European traders or with native chiefs for a few slaves at a time. To collect a large number of slaves by such methods took much time and risked attacks of disease; small cargoes were more successful as the authorities at James Fort, Gambia, wrote to the African Company in London on 20 August 1761:

> The Galam trade was more considerable this year than was ever known, and the shipping would have made good voyages had there not been too many, and those of large ships that fitted out for nigh 300 slaves each, which is a wrong notion in owners, 100 and 50 to 70 slaves being a sufficient number for Gambia and generally successful. The struggle for slaves was so great that Captain Watts of Pool acknowledged he gave £15 per head and Captain Dodson of Lancaster [of the *Marquis of Granby* 90 tons] £14 which is very dear if we consider their cargoes laid in nigh thirty per cent cheaper than those from London and Bristol.

An example of sickness in the river Gambia is given in a letter dated Virginia on 31 July 1752 from Thomas Harrison, aboard the *Elizabeth*, 70 tons, William Hayes master, described in *Williamson's Liverpool Memorandum Book* as capable of carrying 200 slaves, but arriving with only 130:

> 'I thank God for it I have had my health very well. I cannot give the River of Gambia a bad character as to health though very few on board of our snow can say the same. We buried four of our people [the crew] there, and both we and all the ships in the River was very sickly this year and had great mortality on board of them. . . . We left there the *Castleton* Captain Tindall from Lancaster. He could not sail when we did; he had buried four hands and all the rest was in a very bad state of health.'[43]

The *Castleton* of 70 tons, given in Table 5 as capable of carrying 180 slaves also arrived in Virginia in August, carrying only 70 slaves.

Apart from Captain Tindall's voyage, Virginia was not a regular market for Lancaster slave cargoes, only two other voyages being known. The *Lowther* of 50 tons, supposed in 1756 to carry 180 slaves, arrived there in 1759 with an unknown number, and the *Juba* of 70 tons, expected to carry 150, arrived in 1760 with 225 slaves.[44] Out of 160 voyages, seven ended in loss or capture before reaching a market for their slaves, and 124 have been identified as arriving in the Americas. Some of the evidence refers to the arrivals in the Americas from Africa; other references are only to the place from which a vessel sailed back to Lancaster. Where there is evidence of both landing of slaves, and the port of departure for Lancaster, these almost always coincide, so that Lancaster slavers do not appear to have loaded a return cargo at ports where they did not land slaves. For 14 voyages, out of the 28 for which there is no evidence of landing of slaves in the Americas, the records only give a return from 'Africa'. It is doubtful that this implies direct trade between Africa and Lancaster in the usual goods for that trade, gum, dyewoods, ivory, etc.[45]

From the earliest reference to the return of a Lancaster slaver from the Americas, the *Expedition* in 1747, to the outbreak of the Seven Years War, the markets for slaves were predictably those in the West Indies, to which Lancaster merchants were already engaged in direct trade. There were 11 voyages to Barbados, six to Jamaica, and in the middle 50's eight to the Leeward Islands of St Kitts and Antigua. There were only five voyages to the mainland of America, four to South Carolina between 1753 and 1756, and the *Castleton* to Virginia in 1752. During the Seven Years War and the boom year of 1764 when peace came, there

were fluctuations of trade; the voyages to Barbados ceased, and those to Jamaica increased to 12. There were only four voyages to St Kitts and Antigua, but six to the conquered islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique nearby. The market in South Carolina continued to attract Lancaster slavers, with 11 voyages between 1753 and 1765.

From 1765 until 1777 when the War of American Independence interrupted slaving from Lancaster until 1781, the same markets continued, with one new one. There were nine voyages to Jamaica at irregular intervals, and three to Barbados between 1770 and 1772. To South Carolina there were five voyages in 1765 and 10 between 1769 and 1774. Between 1766 and 1768 there were four voyages to Georgia by the *Dove*, the *Antelope* and the *Prince George*, the last two vessels having previously landed their slaves in South Carolina.[46] Only four vessels went to the Leeward Islands, but a new market was opened in the Windward Islands. In 1764 a single vessel of 70 tons, the *Molly*, landed its slaves at Grenada, one of the Islands previously neutral in the Anglo-French struggles, and in 1763 ceded to Great Britain, together with the small Grenadines and the larger St Vincent. These islands became producers of large quantities of sugar, and Lancaster merchants took a considerable part in this trade, and some investment in plantations there. From 1767 there was at least one slaving voyage a year to Grenada and St Vincent until 1777, with as many as five slavers landing their cargoes in 1775. From 1764 to 1777 there were altogether 25 slavers serving this market.

The continuity of voyages to the Windward Islands and to South Carolina indicates that the Lancaster slavers were satisfying the demands of these markets. The reasons for this must be complex: the nature of the market on the coast of Africa and in the Americas, competition from other slaving ports, the business connexions of Lancaster merchants and the possibility of return cargoes for slavers, all of which need further research. What is clear is that the cargoes of slaves which Lancaster vessels could offer was never numerous, except in the early 1760's when Miles Barber seems to have led other Lancaster men to experiment in large vessels of upwards of 100 tons. Then the number of slaves in a cargo was large, such as the 473 landed in Jamaica from the *Rumbold*. Even the 100-ton vessels part owned by Barber could carry large numbers, such as the *Cato* in 1758 landing 288 in South Carolina, or the *Hamilton* in 1763 landing 264 in Jamaica. But the numbers landed in South Carolina between 1765 and 1774 were almost all between 80 and 180 slaves per voyage, carried in vessels of 70 and 80 tons. The evidence for voyages to

Grenada and St Vincent is mainly all from newspapers, and the only adequately documented figure of slaves landed is for the 70 ton *Bassa* of Ulverston, part of the customs port of Lancaster, which in 1767 landed 118 slaves at Grenada. This is the lowest figure yet found, perhaps accounting for the sale of the vessel when it returned to Liverpool. The highest figure was in 1775 when the 70 ton *Nelly* landed 250. There were eight slavers making 15 voyages to Grenada of between 70 and 80 tons, like those arriving at South Carolina; but there were also eight voyages by seven smaller vessels between 35 and 50 tons, and only one figure for number of slaves has been found, when the *Antelope* of 40 tons was reported as slaving on the Windward Coast in 1771 with 100 slaves. The *Antelope* had carried 150 to South Carolina in 1765 and 87 to Georgia in 1766.[47] Grenada, like South Carolina, was obviously a suitable market for the numbers and type of slaves carried by Lancaster slavers.

VI THE SLAVE TRADE FROM LANCASTER 1781 TO 1792

The American War of Independence interrupted the slave trade generally and probably helped to kill that of Lancaster. The War removed the South Carolina market, and although two Lancaster slavers sold their slaves there in 1784,[48] there were no more voyages there by Lancaster slavers. There were however, other factors in the decline of the trade. A generation of Lancaster slave ship owners died out during the war. The last voyage of a known Butterfield slaving ship, the *Norfolk*, ended in 1771 at Liverpool. Thomas Woodburn, its master and a partowner, continued as an owner of slavers until 1777, when he was replaced by James Sawrey, as owner of the *Sally*. In 1777 Richard Millerson died after a long career as master and owner of Lancaster slavers since 1752. Advertisements for the sale of two of his vessels in 1777 carried the names of John Addison, and Robert Dodson; Dodson, master and owner of Lancaster slavers since 1755, was also dead by 1779 when his will was proved. When the war was over, the chief slave ship owners in Lancaster were Addison and Sawrey, and Thomas Hinde and William and John Watson who had additional wide interests in direct trade to the West Indies and Thomas Housman who seems to be less involved in the trade than the others.[49]

Thomas Clarkson's account of Lancaster's involvement in slave trading in 1787 was based, he wrote, on information from a Quaker abolitionist, William Jepson. He was a sailcloth manufacturer who died in 1816 at the age of 80. Clarkson wrote:

> I found from him that though there were slave-merchants at Lancaster, they made their outfits at Liverpool, as a more convenient port. I learnt too from others, that the captain of the last vessel which had sailed out of Lancaster to the coast of Africa for slaves, had taken off so many of the natives treacherously, that any other vessel known to come from it would be cut off. There were now only one or two superannuated captains living in the place.

Clarkson's story about kidnapping slaves has some support from 'Recollections of Lancaster' collected from the people of Lancaster in 1825 by another Quaker, Jonathan Binns. He wrote that Thomas Townson, a plumber, remembered that a Captain Marshall had stolen a Guinea King's daughter. There was no Captain Marshall sailing in slave vessels from Lancaster, but James Maychell or Machell was master of the *Pearl* clearing for Africa four times between 1768 and 1772. His last voyage was in the *Nelly* clearing in 1774, which does not fit Clarkson's 'last vessel which had sailed out of Lancaster'. Townson's other remarks about slavers were equally vague: 'Captain Hinde and others had Guinea vessels; there were about 14 vessels from Lancaster'.[50]

Clarkson was however more accurate in claiming that Lancaster vessels 'made their outfits from Liverpool' as the following table shows:

TABLE 7: *Slaving voyages by Lancaster vessels 1781 to 1792*[51]

	Vessels of Lancaster from Lancaster		*Vessels of Lancaster from Liverpool*		*Vessels of Liverpool from Liverpool, with Lancaster owners*	
	Ships	*Tons*	*Ships*	*Tons*	*Ships*	*Tons*
1781	1	80	1†	80*		
1782			1	100*		
1783			3	270***	1	100*
1784	1	90	1	20*	1	100*
1785	2	165	2†	165	1	100
	2	170				
1786			1	100	2	326**
1787					1	377*
1788	2	271	2†	271	1	126
1789	1	114	1†	114		
1790	1	163			2	509**
1791	1	163	1†	163		
			1	130		
1792	2	306	2†	306*	3	549*

* Each asterisk indicates a vessel whose register was made or entered at Liverpool in that year.

† Vessels clearing to Africa from Lancaster, and then clearing also from Liverpool.

SOURCES: Mediterranean passes, Parliamentary Accounts and Papers.

The picture is confusing, with vessels of Lancaster registered at Liverpool and clearing from Liverpool, as in the 1770's, and Lancaster vessels clearing from Lancaster and then from Liverpool for Africa. An additional complication not present in the 1770's is that Lancaster owners were combined with Liverpool owners in some vessels described in their registers as of Liverpool. Apart from the single voyage of the *Garnet* in 1783, when James Garnet of Liverpool was partowner with Thomas Housman, John Watson and James Moore of Lancaster,[52] these vessels represent a decision of Thomas Hinde, master and owner of Lancaster slavers since 1748, to operate his slavers from Liverpool. The registration at Liverpool of four Lancaster vessels in 1782 and 1783 can be explained by the fact that all were prizes of war bought at Liverpool, and the single registration of 1784 at Liverpool was a vessel built at Liverpool. But the *Hinde*, described in the register of 1782 as of Lancaster, was on re-registration in 1784 and 1786, described as of Liverpool. The re-registration of 1784 was caused by the inclusion of Hinde's eldest son, Thomas, as partowner and he was described as of Liverpool. From 1782 to 1792, Hinde senior of Lancaster was partowner in three more slavers sailing from Liverpool, described as of Liverpool; other partowners as in the *Hinde* in 1784 were his son Thomas, one of his masters William Jackson, and a Lancaster merchant, Samuel Simpson, partowner of a Lancaster slaver in 1765. In two of these vessels, and in one re-registration, three Liverpool merchants were also partowners. The Hindes had an interest in two further vessels, not included in Table 7 among those sailing from Liverpool. In one, *Golden Age*, Thomas senior, was partowner with eight Liverpool merchants, and in another, the *Alice*, Thomas junior was partowner with four Liverpool merchants. After 1792 until Thomas senior died in 1798 aged 80, the two Hindes registered 12 vessels at Liverpool, with William Jackson, and another master, Thomas Kirkby partowners in some of them.[53]

The ownership of the Lancaster vessels clearing from Lancaster and Liverpool between 1781 and 1792, apart from the *Hinde* in 1782, and another Hinde vessel in 1783, the *Africa*, was centred on James Sawrey, master and owner of Lancaster slavers since 1771. He was partowner in seven vessels, and there is no registration detail for the one vessel with which his name is not connected as yet. Until his death in 1788, John Addison, master and owner of Lancaster slavers since 1763, was the only co-owner with Sawrey in four vessels, and may have been so in a fifth. The two men do not seem to have made any decision to use Liverpool permanently, nor did Sawrey with new partowners after

Addison's death make such a decision. Of 17 voyages begun between 1781 and 1792, in which Sawrey was concerned, four went to Africa from Lancaster, eight went from Lancaster to Liverpool and then cleared to Africa, and five cleared from Liverpool only. On the return to Britain, six voyages ended at Lancaster, and five at Liverpool, one vessel was taken by the French in 1782, another was sold and another condemned in the West Indies; there is as yet no evidence for the remaining three. Taking 1781 to 1787 only, to test the accuracy of Clarkson's information from William Jepson, there were nine Sawrey voyages, of which three were from Lancaster, two from Lancaster and then from Liverpool, and four from Liverpool; three of the four from Liverpool were first voyages after the vessel had been purchased and registered there.[54]

It is difficult also to make sense out of the statement that the captain of 'the last vessel which sailed out of Lancaster to the coast of Africa' had spoiled the market there for any later Lancaster slavers. The 'last' one clearing from Lancaster before 1787 was the *Good Intent* with a pass application dated on 25 November 1785, but no information is yet available about her voyage. The *Fenton* and the *Old England* sailed on their last voyages from Lancaster earlier in 1785 but it is not clear what happened to them after their arrival at Jamaica. The *Molly* also cleared in early 1785 from Lancaster, and thereafter in 1786 and 1791 from Liverpool, and in 1788, 1789 and 1791 from Lancaster and then from Liverpool. Another Sawrey vessel, the *Hope*, cleared in 1788 and 1791 from Lancaster and then from Liverpool, but in 1790 direct from Lancaster. William Jepson's information was no doubt as accurate as he could make it, but the figures do not show him to be correct.[55]

It seems more likely that the competition of Liverpool slavers and the advantages of using a large port were sufficient explanation of the decline of Lancaster slave trade. On 14 April 1794 the *Molly* was advertised for sale in Liverpool, and James Sawrey and John Watson of Lancaster remained owners with four Liverpool merchants until the vessel was captured on her next voyage. This suggests that no Lancaster men were forthcoming to take on management of slavers when Sawrey and Watson were retiring. Like John Addison, Sawrey's co-owner's between 1781 and 1792 were almost all elderly men at the end of their careers. William Watson died in 1793, John Watson in 1794, Thomas Willock in 1790; Robert Worswick, the youngest of the partowners, was made freeman of Lancaster in 1787/8, described as a banker, and had interests with his brother Thomas in seven West India vessels from Lancaster between 1786 and 1794. It is perhaps

significant that the owners of the last Sawrey slaver registered at Lancaster on 24 February 1792, the *Tom*, included not only William Watson and Robert Worswick, but also Trotter Tatham of Liverpool. A Liverpool man like Tatham would be needed to deal with business there when such Lancaster slavers cleared from that port, and to supply essential commercial information no longer available in Lancaster now that its slavers were so few.[56]

Viewed in business terms, there was ample opportunity for Lancaster merchants in the 1780's for investment in shipping without going into the slave trade. The West India trade had flourished in Lancaster in spite of losses during the American War, and continued to do so until the early 1800's, in spite of the French Revolutionary Wars. The port served central and north Lancashire, the central part of the Lake District and parts of Yorkshire at the head of the Lune valley, areas difficult for Liverpool and Whitehaven, Lancaster's competitors. In addition to the West India trade, the demand for timber, flax, hemp and iron from the Baltic gave employment to Lancaster shipping. Such West Indian and Baltic voyages offered quicker returns on investment than the slaving voyages. With the loss of the American mainland slave markets, the West India markets were more likely to fluctuations especially as the size of Liverpool vessels increased. The Lancaster slavers between 1781 and 1794 attempted to resume the chief markets of the pre-war period, with two voyages to South Carolina and five to Grenada and St Vincent. A greater proportion of voyages however, went to Jamaica (eight voyages) and Barbados (two voyages) and one voyage to the Leeward Isles; these were the markets to which Hinde, working from Liverpool with somewhat larger ships and numbers of slaves, directed his slavers. There is some evidence also that the Windward Coast as a source of slaves was not so profitable for Lancaster slavers as it had been before the American War. Of 20 voyages by Lancaster vessels (between 1781 and 1789) eight were to the Windward Coast and only one to the Gold Coast. But in 1791 and 1792, two voyages of the *Molly*, went to Calabar, and in 1792 and 1793 two voyages by the *Hope* and the *Tom* went to the Cameroons, an area not previously visited by Lancaster slavers.[57] The master for both voyages was Tobias Collins, and his instructions from Sawrey and Co., dated Liverpool 26 September 1791, stated

> We all so particularly desire you to purchase all the ivory and dead cargo you possibly can. The article of ivory induced us to send you to the Cameroons in preference to any other part of Africa.[58]

The eleven voyages by Hinde's vessels were similarly away from the Windward Coast; only two voyages in 1785 and 1786 were

sent there, but five were to Bonney, Anamabo and Whydah in the Gulf of Guinea, with four unknown. Yet it was to these areas south of the Windward Coast to which many of the Liverpool slavers had sailed for many years, gaining an expertise in the choice of goods to exchange for slaves, and in dealings with the native rulers, which Lancaster slavers would have to acquire. It is perhaps to be expected then, that most of the masters of Lancaster slavers, and of Hinde's vessels from Liverpool, have no previous record in Lancaster shipping and did not become freemen of Lancaster. Lancaster's independence of Liverpool seems to have disappeared.

Three late examples of Lancaster vessels sailing to Africa have emerged from the Lancaster volume of Seaman's Sixpence payments. An Act of Parliament of 1799 allowed clearances of slave traders only from Liverpool, Bristol and London, so that though all three vessels were registered at Lancaster, they were bound to sail to Liverpool and then to Africa, and probably, as in the 1780's and 1790's outfitted there also. The *Angola* was registered on 21 June 1799 by a firm new to the West India trade from Lancaster as well as to slaving, and they went bankrupt in 1801 and the vessel was sold to Liverpool. *La Fraternité*, a prize brought to Lancaster from the West Indies, was registered on 23 November 1799 by two experienced ships masters, and John Cumpsty, apparently a mercer; two voyages were made and the vessel was sold to Liverpool and registered there in April 1801. This may have been because the firm had bought a new vessel the *Johns*, built at Lancaster in 1800 and registered there on 4 November. After voyages to Martinique and Curacao, she made voyages to Africa and Trinidad until she was sold to Liverpool in 1809. Two of the owners of 1799 and 1800 had died by this time, leaving only John Cumpsty. The reasons for this late spurt of activity are obscure, particularly since after the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 there was no such trade, as from Liverpool to West Africa, for native goods such as ivory and dyewoods.[59]

VII GENERAL CONCLUSION

For lack of business documents, many of the conclusions drawn in this study of the slave trade of three small ports must be tentative. Details of many voyages and vessels and their owners are still missing, so that some of the statistics and the analyses based on them could be misleading. Particularly unfortunate is the lack of detail about the ownership of the slavers, in that more connexions with Liverpool merchants might be revealed. Very little has been found about the business connexions of Chester, Preston

and Poulton merchants with the colonies and though more is known of Lancaster men residing in the West Indies, it has been difficult to relate this to the sale of slaves there, obviously an important part of the making of profits in the trade. Such colonial connexions were extremely important in providing return cargoes after the slaves were sold, avoiding the return of a vessel in ballast, as happened to the *Bassa* of Ulverston in 1767 when cleared from Grenada on 17 January. Perhaps because of this, the vessel was advertised for sale at Liverpool on 27 March, immediately after her return.[60]

In spite of the patchy nature of available information, some general conclusions may be attempted. It is clear that some trading connexion with the slave-owning colonies was needed before a British merchant community would attempt to satisfy their demand for slaves. The closer this connexion was, the more likely were the British merchants able to assess their chances of profit in supplying slaves, and in finding return cargoes to increase that profit. Chester merchants had a limited colonial trade, and its markets for colonial goods were easily supplied by Liverpool. Preston and Poulton had a short period of ventures into colonial trade between 1740 and 1760, but markets in central Lancashire were easily supplied by either Lancaster or Liverpool. With a small merchant community, local investment was as likely to go to the textile industry as to colonial shipping, particularly when such shipping was badly hit by losses in the Seven Years War. Such investment in shipping as was made after the War seems to have gone into the Baltic trade, or been fed by Kirkham merchants into Liverpool, for example by using the expertise of the firm of Sparling and Bolden.

Lancaster as well as being the fourth largest slaving port in the middle of the eighteenth century, behind Liverpool, London and Bristol, was also the fourth largest West India port.[61] Connexions with the American mainland were less strong, but Virginia and South Carolina voyages to Lancaster continued at intervals even when Liverpool dominated the tobacco trade. Lancaster merchants were therefore well informed on colonial markets, and as well as exploiting the colonial demand for British and European goods in direct trade, could also see the possibilities of profit in supplying slaves. Whilst slaving vessels were small, and the colonial markets welcomed small cargoes of slaves, Lancaster men seem to have flourished in the trade. As the demand in the colonies brought larger numbers of slaves in larger vessels, and lead to the exploitation of the Gulf of Guinea, Angola and the Cameroons as providers of such large quantities of slaves, the Lancaster merchants seem to have fallen behind. There was never

a large community of slave traders among the merchants of the port, and the American War of Independence seems to have come at a turning point in the trade. New capital and new managing owners were needed, but the war diverted both away from the slave trade. Instead most Lancaster merchants seem to have put their money into the West India trade, arming their vessels as letters of marque, and outfitting a few privateers. These activities had their risks, as had the direct trade to the West Indies after the war, but they seem to have been more appealing than the slave trade.

The competition of Liverpool must be reckoned as a continuously limiting factor of the prosperity of the small ports. Only Lancaster could challenge Liverpool's success by sending out such numbers of vessels as would allow the losses of one voyage to be compensated by the profits of the others. But the small numbers of Lancaster's slavers, particularly in the 1770's and 1780's, suggest that this was not then possible. In a large merchant community such as Liverpool could sustain, a spreading of risks over a number of vessels and a number of merchants was possible, and the outfitting of a vessel for the various African slave markets became easy and cheap to manage. It seems possible that when in the early 1770's Lancaster vessels began frequently to clear from Liverpool, this was the beginning of the end for Lancaster's slave trade.

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Permission to quote from records in the care of the Public Record Office and of the Board of Customs and Excise is gratefully acknowledged. I am very grateful to the Collectors of the Custom Houses at Heysham, Preston and Liverpool for providing facilities to consult the registers in their care.

NOTES

REFERENCES TO DETAILS OF VESSELS

Mediterranean passes are identified by the date of application for the pass. Where a full date is not given there are contemporary index volumes which are useful particularly after 1765.

The Liverpool Plantation Registers 1744–1773 and 1789–1784, in the

Custom House, Liverpool, are referred to as Plantation Registers, and entries identified by date. The registers contain vessels registered at Liverpool, and also copies of registers made elsewhere. The registrations at Liverpool are clearly dated but the copies usually have only the date of the original not the date when the copy was made. To identify the place where such a copy can be found, it is dated by reference to the precisely dated Liverpool register which precedes the copy, and such a date is followed by a dash: for example '*Hero* 8 May 1771—'.

The Statutory Registers are those made as a result of the Act of 1786 which provided for the registration of all British merchant ships over 15 tons. The Statutory Registers at Liverpool, Preston and Lancaster have been used.

Because there are frequent repetitions of names of vessels, different Lancaster slavers are referred to where necessary by Roman numerals, for example "*Prince George I* and *Prince George II*". These numerals refer to my complete list of Lancaster slavers.

1 PRO Admiralty 7/77–110, 1730 to 1792 have been checked.

2 PRO Colonial Office papers, listed under the names of the various colonies, and usually described under the heading 'Shipping Lists'. References are made to CO 5 for Virginia and S. Carolina, CO 33 for Barbados, CO 106 for Grenada, and CO 142 for Jamaica. CO Jamaica references are to Kingston or Jamaica unless otherwise noted. Dates are given for 'entry' or 'clearance'.

3 PRO Admiralty 68/194–205, 1725 to 1786 have been checked. The Lancaster Seamans Sixpence volume, 1747–1851, is in private hands, but a photocopy is in Lancaster Museum, and I am grateful to the Curator for permission to use it. I am most indebted to Mr Derek C. Janes for drawing my attention to this valuable document.

4 PRO Board of Trade 6/3 ff 89–130 referred to as Port of Liverpool, and ff 150–189 referred to as Account of Tonnage. I am most indebted to Mr David Richardson for drawing my attention to this valuable document and allowing me to use his notes until I had the opportunity to examine the originals. The two lists are dated 4 March and 8 April 1777 respectively.

5 PRO Treasury 64/276A/273 was kindly supplied by Mr Richardson. The figures appear to be clearances from the various ports, whereas the passes indicate an intention to sail as soon as loading and customs clearances were complete. The omission of the 1754 voyages from Lancaster is inexplicable. The pass dates are as follows: *Castleton* 1 Feb, *Swallow* 5 April, *Success* 10 May, *Charming Jenny* 14 May, *Lowther* 4 July, *Hope I* 5 July, *Stanley I* 5 July, *Grocer* 10 Dec, *Africa I* 20 Dec. In a list of clearances, the last two might be included in 1755, but the others would sail in 1754.

6 On the colonial trade of Lancaster, see 'The Trade of Lancaster in William Stout's Time', by R. Craig and M. M. Schofield, in *The Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster 1665–1752*, ed. J. D. Marshall (1967), pp. 23–63. On the colonial trade of Chester, see R. Craig, Shipping and Shipbuilding in the Port of Chester in the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries, *T.H.S.L.C.* 116(1964) 39–51. Passes for vessels from Chester to the West Indies are dated 4 Oct 1734, 18 Sep 1738, 16 Jan 1741, 5 Feb 1742, 13 Sep 1745, 2 Jan 1746 giving the vessel as of Liverpool when in the Plantation Register 14 Dec 1745— it is of Chester; to S. Carolina pass 21 Oct 1740. On the colonial trade of Poulton and Preston, see below Section IV and the article by F. J.

Singleton in these *Transactions.* I hope to detail the evidence for the overseas trade from Preston and Poulton in a future article.

7 See Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (Everyman edition 1910) II, pp. 225–30 on the African companies, and p. 230 for the quotation.

8 PRO Treasury 70/29–33. In Letters to the African Company 1751–1798, mostly from Cape Coast Castle, and Fort James on the river Gambia. The quotations are from T.70/29 and 30. Two examples of cavalier behaviour by Lancaster ships' masters are at T.70/30 16 Sep 1756 and 1 Feb 1757, both letters from James Fort.

9 Liverpool Record Office, MS volume, Committee Book of the African Company of Merchants trading from Liverpool 1750–1820.

10 See *Rolls of the Freeman of the Borough of Lancaster, Part II*, (Lancs. Ches. Rec. Soc. 90 (1938); *Lancaster Marriage Bonds, Part VII 1746–1755, Ibid.*, 15 (1975); *Registers of the Priory Church of Lancaster*, vol. III, Lancashire Parish Register Society, 88 (1948). White was master of *Foster*, passes 1735, 1736 and 1737 to Africa, and of *New Foster*, passes 1738, 1741, 1742 and 1743 to Africa.

11 *Lancaster Freemen Rolls Part I*, Lancs. Ches. Rec. Soc. 87 (1935), has the entries of two Miles Barbers as freemen during the mayoral year 1755/6, both of Lancaster, and sons of two different Miles Barbers also freemen. Miles of Lancaster merchant, son of Miles of Skerton, was the elder of the two new freemen, and has been taken from other evidence to be the Miles Barber most important in Lancaster and Liverpool slave-trading. Robert McMillan entered as freeman in 1749/50 *ibid.*, Part II. A printed Poll Book for the Lancaster election of 1768, *The Names of the Mayor . . . and Free Burgesses of the Borough of Lancaster*, in Lancaster Public Library, gives all three men as resident in Liverpool.

12 On John Langton, see Singleton in these *Transactions.* On the family connexions with Sparling and Bolden, see M. M. Schofield, The Virginia Trade of . . . Sparling and Bolden 1788–1799. *T.H.S.L.C.* 116 (1964) p. 121.

13 See *The Journal of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations*, vol 9 (1932) pp. 15–25.

14 For cheap shipbuilding see R. Craig, *op. cit.* p. 55; R. Stewart-Brown, *Liverpool Ships in the Eighteenth Century* (1932); and the MSS day books and shipbuilding contracts of John Brockbank, shipbuilder of Lancaster, preserved in Lancaster Library. On the iron industry, see B. G. Awty, The Charcoal Ironmasters of Cheshire and Lancashire 1660–1785, *T.H.S.L.C.* 109 (1957) and J. D. Marshall, *Furness and the Industrial Revolution* (1958), chapter 2. On the linen and sailcloth industry, for Kirkham see Singleton in these *Transactions*; for Warrington, see J. Aikin, *A Description of the Country from 30 to 40 Miles around Manchester*, (1795), p. 302; for Lancaster, see M. M. Schofield, *Outlines of an Economic History of Lancaster Part I 1680–1800* (1946), p. 40. On textiles in general and particularly for those used in the African trade, see A. P. Wadsworth and J. de L. Mann, *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire 1600–1780* (1931). On the copper and brass industry see T. C. Barker and J. R. Harris, *A Merseyside Town in the Industrial Revolution: St. Helens 1750–1900* (1954) chapter 7.

15 See H. Hughes, *Chronicle of Chester 1775–1795* (1975) p. 144, and R. Craig, *op. cit.* On the Table, the last voyage of *St. George* is marked '? Barbados' because it is not clear whether the slaves were sold there, since Barbados was a convenient landfall from which a slaver might go elsewhere: see *Lloyds List* 28 June and 23 July 1751 when *St. George*

was reported as arriving at Barbados and then going to Jamaica. '*? Bee*' is inferred from *Lloyds Register* 1776, where *Bee* is marked as formerly *True Blue*, built at Chester in 1762. A reference quoted by Craig *op. cit.* p. 46 note 28, to a sailing of *Juno* for Africa in 1769, has not been included in the Table, since I have not been able to verify the original entry; no other evidence available to me supports the voyage.

16 See *Rolls of the Freemen of the City of Chester, Part II 1700–1805*, Lancs. Ches. Rec. Soc. 55(1908). Craig *op. cit.* p. 52 gives the registers of Goodwin's vessels in the S. Carolina trade, *Goodwin*, *Peggy* and *Fair American*, from CO 5/510. The Plantation Registers add *Nancy*, 13 Feb 1758—, *Polly* 13 June 1769, *William* 22 July 1769, all of Chester; and also a new register for *Fair American* 19 Nov 1770—, another *Polly* 27 April 1773—, and a new name for *Fair American* as *American* 2 Dec 1773, all of Charleston, S. Carolina. For the Newfoundland trade, the Plantation Registers add *Hero* 8 May 1771— and *Chester* 15 June 1773.

17 See Craig, *op. cit.* p. 46 note 28, and Chester Freeman Rolls *op. cit.*

18 On Lace and Creevey, see Plantation Registers and Gomer Williams, *History of the Liverpool Privateers . . . with an Account of the Liverpool Slave Trade* (1897) *passim*. On Pountney, see Plantation Registers 20 April 1770 and passes 19 April 1770, 7 Jan 1771, and 27 April 1772. On Eagles, see passes for *Ingram* 29 Jan 1765, *Richard* 1 Mar 1768, and *Hannah* 1 Dec 1769; G. Williams *op. cit.* p. 19 and Plantation Registers *Loyalty* 31 Jan 1781 and pass 29 Dec 1780 for 'a cruise'; and passes for *Brilliant* 13 Sep 1783 and *Dove* 9 May 1786.

19 Figures of slaves 'expected' are from BT6/3 Port of Liverpool, not always the same as those 'reported' in newspapers, or given in colonial naval officers lists. For *Black Prince* see *Lloyds List*, 7 Nov 1755.

20 See *The Papers of Henry Laurens*, University of S. Carolina Press, in progress (1968–), *passim*. The voyages of *Fair American* have not yet been fully established; some detail is given in Craig, *op. cit.* p. 48 from CO 5/510, and there is more to be found in CO 5/511 1764–7, including a voyage from Falmouth to S. Carolina, entry 26 May 1767.

21 For *Mary*, see Plantation Registers and pass 31 Mar 1764, and new register under Liverpool owners 30 Mar 1765. For *Mentor* see pass 20 Aug 1778, and Chester register of 1778 copied at Liverpool 1 Oct 1779—. No further passes from Chester for the West Indies have been found between 1778 and 1792. On Clarkson see his *History of the Rise and Progress . . . of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade . . .* (1808), I, p. 370.

22 The trade to Southern Europe is documented in the passes and in scattered newspaper entries. On the Douglas Navigation see Wadsworth and Mann *op. cit.* p. 214 and D. Anderson, *The Orrell Coalfield, Lancashire 1740–1850* (1975) pp. 27–39. The change from Poulton to Preston as the name of the customs port area is briefly recorded in the Musgrave MSS in the Library of the Board of Customs and Excise, Customs 29/3 10 Aug 1760; the original minute books were lost by fire in 1814.

23 On the Skippool warehouse see Lancashire Record Office, Bateson MSS, DDX 245. On the problem of Liverpool Town Dues to Lancaster merchants, and the share of Luke Astley, a Preston merchant, in a Lancaster sugar refinery, see *William Stout*, *op. cit.* p. 26 note 2 and p. 54.

24 For *Hothersall* see CO 142/16 entry 4 Jan 1755, entry 5 Oct 1756; for *Betty and Martha I* see CO 33/16 Part II entry 1 June 1747. *Betty and*

Martha II is documented only by passes, as in Table 4, and one to Barbados 23 June 1757. For the co-ownership of the Langtons, Shepherd and Birley, see *Catherine* CO 33/16 Part II entry 29 Jan 1753; for their linen manufacturing partnership, see Singleton in these *Transactions.*

25 On Samuel Gawith see Adm. 68/198 and 199 payments at London for *Touchet* of Lancaster 3 July 1749 and 24 Sep 1751, and *Lloyds List* 16 April 1751 under St. Kitts, whence *Touchet* sailed to N. Carolina and thence to London. On the Liverpool slavers see Plantation Registers and passes for *Perfect*, 11 Sep 1756, and second register 25 and pass 24 Oct 1757, *Marquis of Granby* 2 Oct 1759, *Portland* register 3 June 1762 and BT 6/3 Port of Liverpool 28 June 1762 and 8 Sep 1763, second register 12 and pass 10 June 1765 and pass 12 May 1767.

26 For *Thetis I* see CO 5/510 entry 6 Sep 1759 and E. Donnan, *Documents Illustrative of the Slave Trade to America*, IV (1935) p. 372 for sale advertisement giving origin of the slaves. In addition to the voyages on which they were taken by the enemy, *Betty and Martha* and *Hothersall* had passes for voyages to the West Indies dated 23 June and 23 December 1757 respectively. The last Preston and Poulton vessel with a pass for the West Indies was *Bella and Betty* of Poulton, 16 Aug 1765, but sailing from Lancaster.

27 See M. M. Schofield, Sparling and Bolden, *T.H.S.L.C.* 116 (1964) p. 121 for the Kirkham merchants' partownerships before 1773. The four vessels in note 6, and *Fanny* in the text of p. 121, were all slavers, with Langton, Shepherd, and in and after 1771, Birley as partowners. *Juba* had two voyages, passes 17 June 1771 and 27 Jan 1773, the rest only one each. Slavers after 1773 were *Success*, pass 26 July 1774, formerly *Marcia* registered by Sparling and Bolden 1773, *Brilliant* passes 21 Dec 1780, 26 Feb 1782, 13 Sep 1783 with master Thomas Eagles, and *Mermaid*, passes 26 Sep 1778, 26 May 1780 and 20 Sep 1781, all in *Lloyds Registers* as owned by Sparling. For the Liverpool Statutory Register, see R. Craig and R. Jarvis, *Liverpool Registry of Merchant Ships*, Chetham Society, 3rd Ser. 15 (1967) which prints in full the registers 1786 to 1788 inclusive. On ownership of vessels by Kirkham men after 1786, see Statutory Register volumes at Preston Custom House, *Henry* 27 Oct 1786; at Heysham Custom House for Lancaster volumes, *Britannia*, of Lancaster 9 Jan 1787 and *Young William* of Ulverston 6 Feb 1787; at Liverpool Custom House, *Orb* 15 Nov 1792 and *Uxbridge* 6 Mar 1793. In all of these there were other partowners, but not Sparling and Bolden.

28 See Donnan, *op. cit.* II (1931) p. 507 and 547 for the figures for 1753 and 1771 and their sources.

29 For the register of *Expedition*, see CO 142/15, which gives the bond for the landing of colonial goods in British territory as taken out at Lancaster 27 Dec 1745, clearly not the same voyage as that begun by the pass. On Thomas Butterfield see *Registers of, . . . Lancaster, Vol II*, Lancs. Parish Reg. Soc. 57 (1920). See *Lancaster Freeman Rolls, op. cit.* for Thomas and William Butterfield and James Strangeways. William Butterfield was partowner of at least five slavers making 20 voyages between 1751 and 1773: *Castleton* 70 tons, *Lowther* 50, *Molly II* 70, *Norfolk* 100, *Reynolds II* 100. Strangeways' will is indexed in *List of Lancashire Wills . . . preserved . . . at Lancaster 1748–92*, Lancs. Ches. Rec. Soc. 23 (1891). His slaving voyages from Liverpool were as master of *Priscilla*, register and pass 20 May 1748, *Allen* register and pass 17 April 1752, and *Liberty* pass 28 Sep and register 4 Oct 1754. The pass

for *Juba II* of Lancaster was 19 Dec 1766 and no register has been traced.

30 The passes for *Jolly Batchelor* in 1748 and 3 Nov 1749 have no destination in the pass ledgers, but in both *Lloyds List* and the Lancaster Seamans Sixpence payments are entries showing arrival at Barbados and Lancaster from Africa. The Lancaster Port Commission Records 13 Dec 1750 give a change of name to *Africa I*, for which there are passes 19 July 1751, 13 Sep 1752, 13 Nov 1753, and 20 Dec 1754, a long history for a Lancaster slaver. *Africa I* was taken and retaken on passage from Antigua, a direct voyage, and advertised for sale at Lancaster in *Williamsons Liverpool Advertiser* (hereafter *Williamsons.*), 19 Aug 1757 with Guinea materials.

31 *Cross Fleury's Journal* was a local magazine published in Preston 1896–1910 by R. E. K. Rigbye; Lancaster Library has his copies in seven bound volumes with his revisions in manuscript. Unfortunately most of his contributions on local history are undocumented. One, published in the number for April 1902, p 16 is described as contributed by 'Historicus' and by comparison with passes and other evidence, seems to be authentic, either as an eighteenth century document or as a late nineteenth century compilation from eighteenth century sources. The numbers of slaves to be carried has not been found elsewhere. I date the information as about July 1756. MSS additions to the printed text are the names of the masters Housman and Paley, and the owners Satterthwaite and Co. 'Hindle' should be Hinde; perhaps 'late Giles' should be late Eccles, the master given in the pass for *Prince George I* 21 Jan 1755.

32 For *Gambia's Tender* see below note 41. One vessel clearing from Liverpool, the *Jupiter* 200 tons, was registered at Liverpool 21 Oct 1762 and entered at Jamaica from Liverpool and Cork 8 March 1763, CO 142/18. Included in the Table are two later voyages of *Jupiter* from Liverpool to Africa, passes 5 Mar 1764 and 29 Oct 1765.

33 See R. Anstey and P. E. H. Hair, *Liverpool, the African Slave Trade, and abolition*, Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire Occasional Ser. No. 2 (1976) p. 63 for the Davenport Bead Book. Mr Richardson's extracts for Lancaster merchants run from 1767 to 1770 covering nine voyages which seem to fit six different vessels.

34 *Sarah* was registered at Liverpool 14 Oct 1772, pass 13 Oct. *Lloyds List* 3 Dec 1773 reported *Sarah* as condemned in the Grenades. *Sally III* was at Liverpool when three pass applications were made, 5 May 1774, 6 June 1775 and 10 Aug 1776, confirmed by entries in BT 6/3 Port of Liverpool. Sawrey was partowner in *Sarah*; for *Sally III* there is no clear evidence, but he succeeded T. Woodburn as owner in *Lloyds Register* 1778.

35 Before 1759, Barber was partowner in *Cato*, registered Bristol 24 Dec 1757, possibly because bought there as a prize of war, and in *Thetis I*, registered at Lancaster 2 June 1758: see CO 5/510 entries 6 Sep 1758, 6 Sep 1759 respectively. His vessels after 1759 registered at Lancaster were *Dove* 21 Mar 1764, CO 142/18 entry at Savannah, Jamaica 15 Dec 1764; *Thetis II* 28 Aug 1761 and *Hamilton* 25 May 1762, both copied in Plantation Registers 6 Sep 1761— and 25 May 1762—. The Plantation Registers show registrations at Liverpool for *Juba I* 16 May 1759, *Rainbow* 11 April 1760, *Rumbold* and *Jupiter* both 21 Oct 1762. Registered at London 21 Jan 1761 was *Lion*, copied at Liverpool 7 May 1761—. Barber paid £52 10s. to be admitted freeman of Liverpool: see Liverpool Record Office, MS. volume Fines for . . . admitting freemen 1746–1796, 8 July 1765.

36 Sailings from Lancaster and Liverpool are identified from the evidence of passes, and from BT 6/3 Account of Tonnage and Port of Liverpool lists. *Juba I* cleared from Liverpool BT 6/3 23 May 1759, with pass at Lancaster 28 Aug 1759 and entry in Account of Tonnage at Lancaster 1759. The second voyage is in Account of Tonnage 1761, and Lancaster Seamans Sixpence payments give 11 May 1761 as the beginning of the voyage. *Rainbow* cleared from Liverpool BT 6/3 24 April 1760, with pass at Lancaster 6 June 1760 and entry in Account of Tonnage 1760. *Dove* has passes 18 Mar 1764 at Lancaster, and 17 April 1765, 8 Oct 1766, 23 Dec 1767, and 21 Feb 1771, all from Liverpool with matching entries in BT 6/3. *Hamilton* is entered in BT 6/3 at Liverpool 28 June 1762, 27 Aug 1763, and 8 Feb 1765, with pass 19 Jan 1765 from Liverpool. *Jupiter* has BT 6/3 entries to match the passes quoted in note 32.

37 Barber's slavers are calculated from the Plantation Registers and passes. On *Gambia* see note 41. On Kilner's partownerships in 1762 and afterwards, see Plantation Registers for *Rumbold* and *Jupiter*, and the registers for Barber from 1763. Strangely, Kilner was not a freeman of Liverpool nor of the African Company at Liverpool.

38 For *Reynolds II* see register at Lancaster 6 Jan 1755 and pass 7 Jan, CO 5/1447 entry at Hampton, Virginia on a later voyage direct to Virginia. Like *Reynolds II*, *Norfolk* was owned by William Butterfield, and cleared to Africa first in 1763: see CO 142/18 entry 10 Oct 1764 giving register as London [sic] 3 Sep 1763, clearance from Savannah, Jamaica 23 Jan 1765 giving register as Lancaster 3 Sep 1763. Succeeding voyages have passes 3 Dec 1765, 3 July 1769, and 27 Aug 1770, all from Lancaster, and on the last voyage also clearing from Liverpool, BT 6/3 Account of Tonnage and Port of Liverpool. The pass for S. Carolina was 22 Sep 1767.

39 *Antelope II* was registered at Lancaster 28 Oct 1763: see Donnan, *op. cit.* IV p. 620 entry at Georgia 31 July 1766. There are passes dated 28 Sep 1764, 19 Sep 1765, 8 July 1768, and 4 May 1770, all from Lancaster; BT 6/3 gives the last voyage as also clearing from Liverpool. *Marquis of Granby* was registered at Lancaster 25 Feb 1762, CO 142/17 entry of 18 Jan 1766, but it is more likely that it should be 1761, when Lancaster Seamans Sixpence payments show the voyage beginning 11 March 1761, whereas the 1762 voyage is given as beginning 11 Feb. The voyage of 1763 began on 26 Mar, and thereafter there are passes 13 Mar 1764, 15 Mar 1765 and 4 Dec 1766.

40 *True Blue* was owned by four men not otherwise known as Lancaster slavers, Edward and Richard Salisbury, Richard Beans (or Baines?) and Edward Whiteside. But the master and a partowner was Richard Kendall, an experienced master of slavers with three voyages in *Agnes I* and *II* 1767–70, one in *Molly III* 1771–2, and later another in *Alethea* 1774–6, given in *Lloyds Register* 1776 as owned by the captain.

41 For the slaves in *Rumbold*, see reference in note 47. *Gambia* was registered at Lancaster on 3 April 1755, CO 142/16 entry 4 Mar 1757. Passes for her two voyages are dated 1 April 1755 and 14 May 1756; she was lost on a voyage for which the pass 9 Sep 1757 and protection 12 Sep 1757 in Ad 7/372 give as to Jamaica, whereas the report of her loss in *Williamsons*. 18 Nov 1757 gives her voyage as Lancaster to Gambia: this voyage has been taken as being to Jamaica. *Gambia's Tender* is only known from the protection for her crew of four, Ad 7/371 17 June 1756. The sale advertisements are from *Williamsons*.

42 The voyage to Senegal was by *Dudley*, John White master, passes 31

Aug 1759 and 23 June 1760 to Africa. *Lloyds List* reported her arrival at Lancaster 15 April 1760 as from Teneriffe, and 21 April 1761 as from Lisbon, master Younghusband. Lancaster Seamans Sixpence payments give the end of her voyages as from Senegal 11 April 1760, and from Africa 15 April 1761. Other voyages of *Dudley* were from Oporto between 1758 and 1761, and a pass to Jamaica 20 Sep 1758 began a voyage which ended according to Seamans Sixpence payments as from Gibraltar. The African voyages may well be to and from Lancaster, but there is no evidence as yet beyond the shortness of the voyages. The voyages to Angola were by *Fortune*, pass 9 Nov 1750 to Africa, arrival at Lancaster reported in *Lloyds List* 16 July 1751 as from Angola; and by *Lion*, cleared to Angola for 250 slaves in BT 6/3 30 May 1761 Port of Liverpool. The voyage to the Grain and Gold Coast was by *Africa I*; see Donnan, *op. cit.* IV p. 310 advertisement of sale of slaves 9 Aug 1753 giving the origin of the slaves (the master is given as John instead of Thomas Hinde). The voyages to Cape Coast are by *Stanley II*, pass 5 Feb 1776 with master John Abson, located at Cape Coast in Donnan, *op. cit.* III p. 318 note, quoting a letter from an American captain 21 May 1776 reporting that 'captain Absome' had just arrived from Lancaster; and by *Nelly*, pass 29 March 1776 to Barbados [sic], master Thomas Weeton, located at Cape Coast in T.70/32 letter 20 May 1777 from Cape Coast Castle to the African Company, reporting that the '*Nelly*, Whettle, of Lancaster sailed last night with 180 slaves'.

43 See T.70/30 for the Galam trade, and Lancs. R. O. Clarke, Oglethorpe MSS. DDO 11/57, with which can be read letters from James Fort 28 Feb and 16 June 1752 in T.70/29. *Elizabeth* is not included in Donnan, *op. cit.* IV quoting arrivals of slavers in Virginia.

44 For *Lowther*, see CO 5/1448 clearance from Hampton, Virginia 2 Oct 1759 and Lancaster Seamans Sixpence payments, voyage ending 26 Nov 1759 from Africa. For *Juba I* see CO 5/1448 entry at Upper James River 29 May 1760, and notes 35 and 36.

45 The most important source for return to Lancaster from Africa is the Lancaster Seamans Sixpence payments, with some extra information in the Lancaster Port Commission records and *Lloyds List*. In voyages where there is additional information to supplement the Seamans Sixpence entries of return from Africa, this is clearly return via the Americas.

46 *Dove*'s voyages were to Jamaica, CO 142/18 entry at Savannah 15 Dec 1764; to Georgia, Donnan, *op. cit.* IV pp. 620, 623, 27 June 1766 and 1 Oct 1767; to Grenada *Williamsons*. 16 Nov 1770, section Goods Imported, though the sale advertisement for the vessel in the same issue says from Jamaica; and from St Vincents, *Gores Liverpool Advertiser* 29 May 1772 entered as 'Doree'. *Antelope II* has voyages to S. Carolina, *Lloyds List* 19 June 1764 and Donnan, *op. cit.* IV p. 412 7 May 1765 sale advertisement; to Georgia, *ibid.* p. 620 entry 31 July 1766; to St Kitts and Grenades, *Lloyds List* 12 Sep 1769 and 26 July 1771. The register of *Antelope II*, copied at Georgia, shows almost the same owners as *Prince George II* and *III* in 1764 and 1766. There were four vessels of this name. *Prince George I* is in Table 5 and made only one voyage. *Prince George II* went to S. Carolina, Donnan, *op. cit.* IV p. 413 sale advertisement 3 Sep 1765 and CO 5/511 entry 3 Sep 1765. *Prince George III* went to Georgia, Donnan, *op. cit.* IV p. 623 entry 14 Sep 1767; to 'Carolina', *Lloyds List* 18 July 1769 arrival at Lancaster; and to S. Carolina, *Gores Liverpool Advertiser* 9 Nov 1770,

news of loss of vessel homeward bound. *Prince George IV* went twice to S. Carolina in 1772 and 1773, Donnan, *op. cit.* IV pp. 442, 454.

47 For numbers of slaves in *Rumbold*, see CO 142/18 entry 14 July 1763; for *Hamilton*, *ibid.* entry 15 Jan 1763; for *Cato* CO 5/510 entry 6 Sep 1758. For *Bassa* of Ulverston, see CO 106/1 entry 12 Nov 1766, and *Williamsons.* 27 March 1767 for sale advertisement. For *Nelly* see *Lloyds List* 7 July 1775. For *Antelope II*, *ibid.* 28 May 1771, and Donnan, *loc. cit.* in note 46 above.

48 See Donnan, *op. cit.* IV p. 475 sale advertisements for slaves from *Old England* and *Molly IV* 15 July and 14 Oct 1784.

49 See on *Norfolk*, *Gores Liverpool Advertiser* 19 July 1771 section Goods Imported, and Plantation Registers 6 July 1771— for copy of Lancaster register of 20 June 1769. Such a copy of a register at the end of a voyage at Liverpool is usually a prelude to the sale of the vessel, but no such transfer has been traced. On Thomas Woodburne as part-owner, see references to *Sarah* and *Sally III* above note 34. Millerson's burial was on 13 July 1777, in Lancaster Parish Register, *op. cit.* Sale advertisements for his vessels are in the *Cumberland Pacquet* 6 Mar 1777 for *Jenny* and *Warren*, and 11 Nov 1777 for *Stanley II* and *Warren*. His first vessel was *Barlborough*, of which he was master and owner, CO 142/15 entry 24 July 1753. For Dodson's will see *List of Lancashire Wills*, *op. cit.*

50 See Clarkson, *op. cit.* I p. 410. William Jepson's death, age and occupation are in the Quaker records of the Friends Meeting House at Lancaster. I have been unable to trace the originals of Dr Binn's Recollections, but extracts were published in the Lancaster newspapers. I have used the text, printed by W. Hewitson, preserved in two volumes in Lancaster Library, of his *Memoranda relating to Lancaster*, I f. 384. James Machell was master of *Pearl I*, 50 tons, in two voyages, passes 8 Dec 1768 and 5 April 1770; then of *Pearl II* of 100 then 80 tons, passes 27 June 1771 and 4 July 1772. The last three voyages cleared from Lancaster and then from Liverpool in the BT 6/3 lists. *Nelly*, pass 18 April 1774, cleared from Lancaster onlv.

51 The *Accounts and Papers* used are Sessional Papers, New Series, 1789 xxiv 629 and 631, xxxv 768, on which see F. E. Sanderson, Bibliographical Essay: Liverpool and the Slave Trade, *T.H.S.L.C.* 124 (1973).

52 On *Garnet* of Liverpool, see Plantation Registers 7 Aug and pass 8 Aug 1783. The vessel was sold on her return, advertised *Williamsons.* 30 Dec 1784.

53 The history of ship registration and ship tonnage in this period is complicated by the necessity of new registration in 1786 or 1787 under the new Act of 1786. The five vessels of Lancaster in the Plantation Registers are *Hinde* 4 Oct 1782; *Old England* 7 July, *Africa II* 9 July, *Molly IV* 15 Sep all in 1783; and *Mungo* 22 June 1784. *Africa II* was owned by Thomas Hinde; *Hinde* by Hinde, Samuel Simpson and William Jackson the master, all of Lancaster; the rest were owned by Sawrey and Addison. The re-registrations of *Hinde* are in the Plantation Registers 24 April 1784, and Craig and Jarvis *Liverpool Registry*, *op. cit.* 13 Oct 1786. The other three slavers were *Golden Age*, register in Craig and Jarvis, 6 June 1787. *King of Dahomey* and *Tammagan*, registers in Liverpool Statutory Registers 17 Aug 1790 and 21 May 1792 respectively. The two Liverpool slavers not included in the Table are the first registration of *Golden Age*, Plantation Register 24 Sep 1783, and *Alice*, Statutory Register 25 Feb 1789 recording a sale of

5/12ths of the vessel to Thomas Hinde junior of Lancaster, and new registration 25 Feb 1791. *Golden Age* was advertised for sale in *Williamsons*. 21 April 1785 and 6 Feb 1786, and according to *Accounts and Papers, op. cit.* 1789 xxiv 629, re-registered on 27 April 1786. No owners are quoted, and it has been taken that in view of the sale notice, the owners were Thomas Hinde and Co. since at the end of the voyage the cargo was for them, as given in *Williamsons*. 5 Mar 1787 section Goods Imported. When the vessel was re-registered 6 June 1787 to comply with the new Act, the owners were the two Hindes and the master William Jackson. Jackson's early career was in Hinde's West India traders from Lancaster, but after 1782 he is described as of Liverpool. Thomas Hinde junior is described in three registers as of Liverpool, and in five as of Lancaster, between 1784 and 1792. From 1793 he is described as of Liverpool, and he became a freeman of the borough 7 Sep 1795, Freeman Register Book 1733–1812 in Liverpool Record Office, and of the African Company in Liverpool on 29 June 1798, Committee Book *op. cit.* Samuel Simpson of Lancaster was partowner in *Pitt*, CO 5/511 entry 26 Nov 1765, and married a daughter of Thomas Butterfield, *Williamsons*. 13 Sep 1765. His chief interest before 1782 seems to have been in direct trade from Lancaster to the West Indies, first as master then as merchant and shipowner.

54 Sawrey's vessels were *Old England*, *Molly IV* and *Mungo*, see note 53, and *Sally III* see note 34. *Sally III* was re-registered, Plantation Registers 13 Jan 1781, but was captured on passage from Africa for St. Kitts, *Lloyds List* 9 April 1792. Other Sawrey vessels were *Fenton*, registered at Lancaster 19 Mar 1784, CO 142/19 entry 25 Nov 1784 as *Tartar* owned by James Savage and Co. [sic]; *Hope II*, probably sold to Sawrey and Co when the vessel's first pass for Africa was applied for 7 April 1788, since an undated sale of the vessel is recorded in the Lancaster Statutory Register 12 Nov 1787; and *Tom*, Lancaster Statutory Register 24 Feb 1792. The *Good Intent*, pass 25 Nov 1785, master George Garner, see *Lloyds Registers* 1786 and 1787, giving 'Gardner' as the owner, and *Accounts and Papers*, 1789, xxiv 631, clearance to Africa from Liverpool, date 24 Dec 1785, registered at London no date. John Addison died 9 Feb 1788 aged 48, inscription in Lancaster Priory Church, *Materials for the History of the Church of Lancaster vol IV*, Chetham Society, New Series 59 (1906) p. 704. He was master of *Britannia* registered at Lancaster 13 July 1763, CO 142/18 entry 15 Mar 1764. He was partowner after 1781 with Sawrey in *Sally III*, *Old England*, *Molly IV* and *Mungo*, and may have been partowner in *Fenton*. For new partowners with Sawrey, see below note 56. *Sally III* was taken, *Hope II* was sold 1793 as endorsed on her register, and *Tom* was condemned at Barbados 1794, according to documents detailing the sale of the ship and cargo, in Lancaster Library.

55 Arrivals at Jamaica are in *Gores Liverpool Advertiser* 2 Feb 1786 for both *Fenton* and *Old England*. Sailings from Lancaster and Liverpool are from the passes, *Accounts and Papers, op. cit.* and for 1788 and 1789 from T.64/276A/284. Clearances from Great Britain to Africa, giving tonnages which can be matched to *Hope II* in 1788 and *Molly IV* in 1789.

56 The sale of *Molly IV* is in *Billinges Liverpool Advertiser*, and the new register is in Liverpool Statutory Registers 16 June 1794, endorsed as taken by the French in 1794. For the deaths of the Watsons, see *Gores Liverpool Advertiser* 5 Sep 1793 and 30 Jan 1794, for Willock,

Williamsons. 12 July 1790. For the Worswick banking family see M. M. Schofield *Economic History of Lancaster*, Part I p. 52 and Part II (1951) p. 123. Robert Worswick died in 1799, *Williamsons.* 19 Aug.

57 For *Molly IV* at Calabar see *Williamsons.* 19 Dec 1791 and 28 Jan 1793; for *Hope II*, see in Lancaster Library Ship Hope's Package Book, account book for outfitting the vessel for the Cameroons, with detailed instructions for the approach to the coast and the places to anchor, and for trade for slaves and ivory; for *Tom*, see *Billinges Liverpool Advertiser* 10 Feb 1794.

58 From Ship Hope's Package Book.

59 All three vessels are in the Lancaster Statutory Register, and *Johns* was re-registered there 19 Nov 1804, after the death of an owner John Lowther, given in an inscription in St John's Church, Lancaster, as occurring 27 June 1804 at the age of 39 at the Isle of St Thomas. The registers of all vessels include the date of transfer to Liverpool. Mr Richardson informs me that *Angola* and *La Fraternité* are listed in sailings from Liverpool in 1799 given in the Peet Papers, Sidney Jones Library, the University of Liverpool. *Cross Fleury's Journal* April 1902 p. 16 quotes copies of letters in the hands of 'Historicus'; these were dated 1806–1808 from the King of Calabar to Captain Nunns and Mr Cumpsty of Lancaster offering slaves. Nunns was partowner with Lowther and Cumpsty, and died at sea 4 Oct 1807 aged 42, and was buried at Trinidad, St John's Church inscription, and *Liverpool Chronicle* 30 Dec 1807. On the bankruptcy of Ireland and Calvert, owners of *Angola*, see M. M. Schofield, *Economic History of Lancaster* Part II p. 20. The voyages of these vessels have not been investigated in detail.

60 See CO 106/1 clearance to Lancaster 17 Jan 1767, and *Williamsons.* 2 Mar 1767 for the sale advertisement.

61 Lancaster was the fourth largest West India port in 1787: see figures in H. Smithers, *Liverpool, its Commerce, Statistics and Institutions* (1825) p. 101.