

# *Gentlemen Slavers*



*Sutton's connections with  
the transatlantic slave trade*

*by  
Sue Barnard*

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Throughout this book you will find words in **bold**. All these words plus a few more can be found in the Glossary on page 35.

### *Acknowledgements*

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Cover image: Carshalton Park House, 1817, Sutton Local Studies Centre

## Introduction

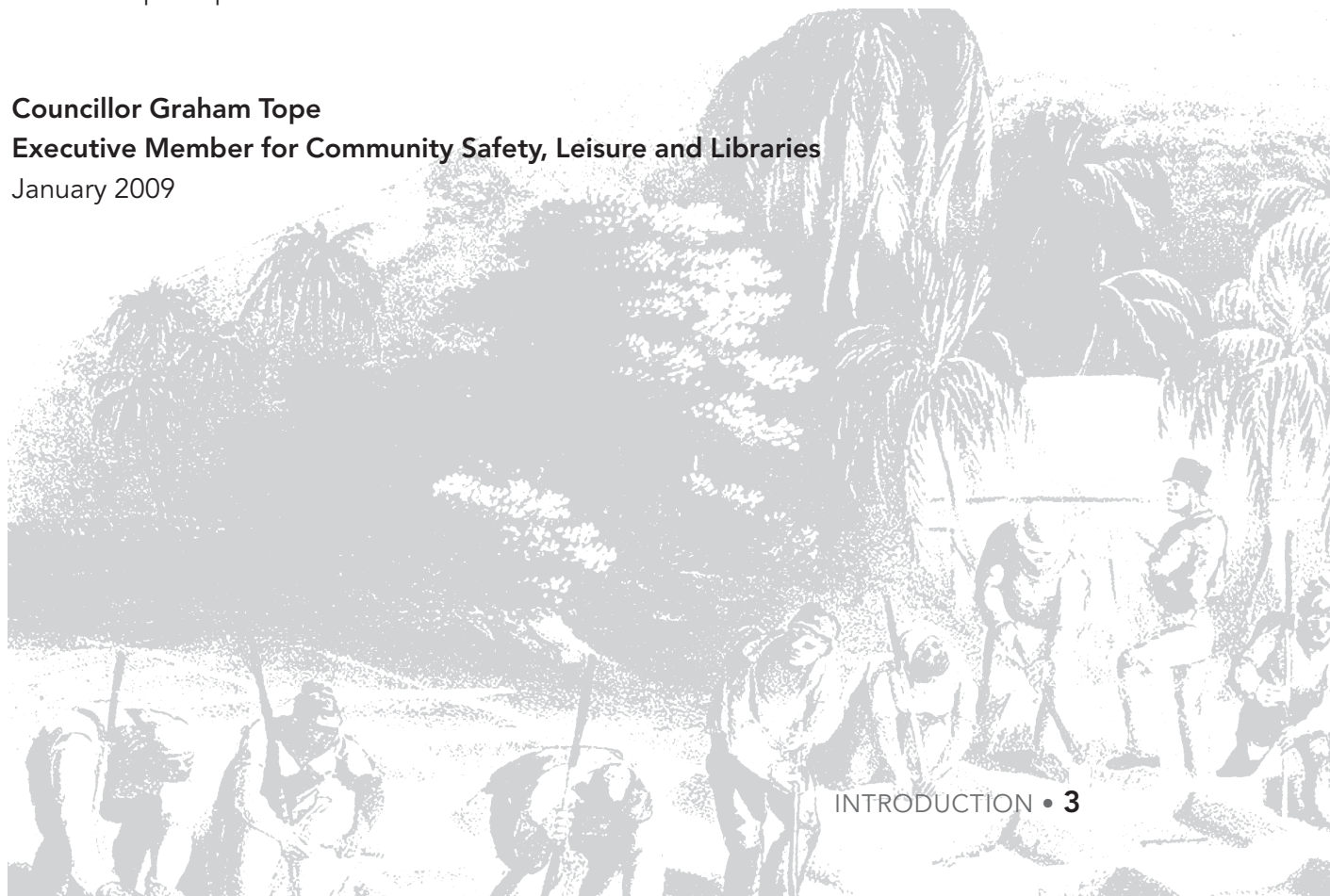
This book is one of the results of a Heritage Lottery Funded project to look at the impact of the slave trade on the local area through the activities of one family – the Taylors of St Kitts – one of whom bought the Carshalton Park estate in the 1780s and also of their black servant Samuel Mudian. This is one aspect of an important and neglected area of local history.

The project has uncovered one part of a larger picture and we hope that the publication of this booklet will encourage further work and perhaps uncover more about the ill-recorded lives of the black people who were brought or came into the local area in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century.

The slave trade was a brutal episode in the complex process which transformed Western Europe and to a large extent created the modern world in the five hundred years or so that separate us from the middle ages. For much of that period the labour of black slaves working on colonial plantations, made a large contribution to the process and it deserves to be remembered.

Life in the past was often very hard but victims of the transatlantic slave trade had the worst of all the deals, torn from their roots and taken in foul ships to a foreign country with no hope of ever returning to their family or homeland. Conditions on the ships were so dreadful that many of them did not make it across the Atlantic and those that did were often worked to death. Our modern lives were built on a great deal of past suffering and we should perhaps remember that.

**Councillor Graham Tope**  
**Executive Member for Community Safety, Leisure and Libraries**  
January 2009

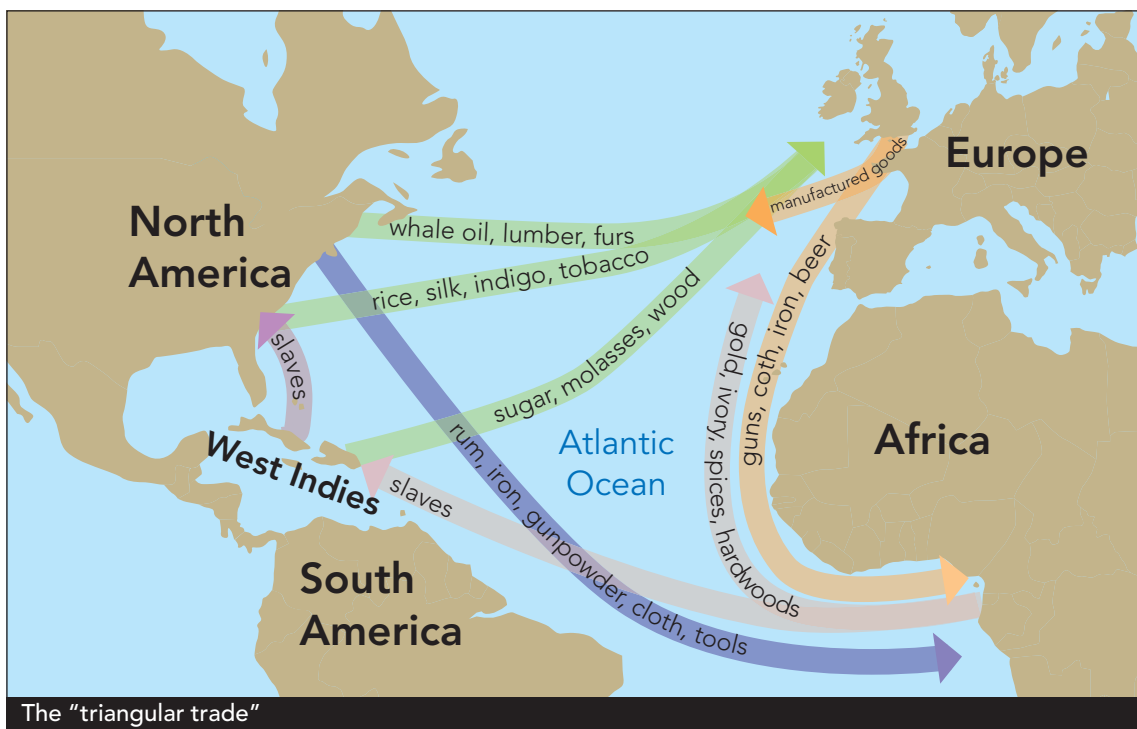


## The national perspective

In 1807 the Abolition of the British Slave Trade Act was passed, banning the transportation and trade in enslaved people between the west coast of Africa and the Americas. Portugal had begun the trade and transportation of Africans in the mid-15th century, initially to provide labour on plantations on Atlantic islands such as Madeira. Other European powers including the Spanish, Dutch, British (English) and French soon became involved as they sought to establish their colonies overseas. By the time the Act was passed Britain had shipped over three million Africans across the Atlantic Ocean.

### The “triangular trade”

The trade linking the continents of Europe, Africa and the Americas came to be known as the “triangular trade”. It allowed Europeans to maximise economic opportunities. On the first part of the triangle European ships travelled to Africa. There they traded with local people, exchanging items such as guns, metal goods and cloth for enslaved people.



The second part of the journey, between Africa and the Americas, was known as the “middle passage”. The voyage took between six and eight weeks during which enslaved Africans were kept in cramped and unsanitary conditions. Space was limited, forcing them to lie on their sides, not their backs. For most of the time they were kept chained below deck, and allowed outside for a short period just once a day. Many died on the voyage from **dysentery** and other diseases. Those that survived were sold to plantation owners in the **West Indies** and America. The money from these sales was used to buy goods such as tobacco and sugar that were produced on the plantations. The final

leg of the triangle was the return journey from the Americas to Europe with these products.

## *Resistance and abolition*

Africans had opposed their enslavement from the beginning. In Africa they resisted capture, on board ship they rebelled or fasted, on the plantations they organised uprisings or attempted to escape. It was not until the end of the 18th century that a real challenge to slavery within different sections of British society occurred. In the 1760s Granville Sharp, an **abolitionist**, challenged the legality of slavery, supporting a number of cases in which enslaved people were threatened with forced return to the colonies.

The **Quakers** played an important role as on both sides of the Atlantic they were the first religious group to campaign against slavery. Their first petition was presented to parliament in 1783. Crucial to the abolitionists' success was the public campaign, led by Thomas Clarkson, another abolitionist. Clarkson travelled across Britain, interviewing seaman about conditions on the ships and collecting other evidence to be presented to parliament. Olaudah Equiano, who had bought his freedom, had one of the highest profiles of former enslaved people. He joined the abolitionist lobby and his autobiography<sup>1</sup> of 1789, describing his capture in Africa and journey across the Atlantic, provided a first hand account of the suffering. In 1787 Sharp and Clarkson formed the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. As a member of parliament William Wilberforce provided a voice in the House of Commons, becoming the official spokesman for the Society in 1791.

The tools adopted by the abolitionists were broad, including petitions, printed material, merchandise and awareness raising activities. Petitions to parliament were important in convincing MPs that the general public supported abolition and several were presented during the 1780s. The abolitionists faced powerful opposition in the West India lobby, the group of planters, merchants and others with interests in the continuation of the trade. In 1788 the first nationwide campaign against slavery involved the presentation of over one hundred petitions in just three months. In the same year the Prime Minister, William Pitt, commissioned an enquiry into the slave trade, with both abolitionists and anti-abolitionists presenting evidence to a **Privy Council** committee. The results were presented to the House of Commons in 1789 and one month later Wilberforce introduced a parliamentary debate on the committee's findings. In spite of the increased momentum of the abolitionists' campaign, Wilberforce's first motion to prohibit the slave trade in 1791 was defeated. It wasn't until January 1807 that the Prime Minister, Lord Grenville, introduced the Slave Trade Abolition Bill in the House of Lords. It then transferred to the House of Commons where on 23 February the bill was passed by 283 votes to 16, and on 25 March it received Royal Assent.

## *References*

1. Equiano, Olaudah, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa, the African*, London, 1789

## *Slavery in the local area*

**I**n the 1720s Daniel Defoe wrote a book<sup>1</sup> in which he described the villages around London. He expressed amazement at the recent rapid growth of London and the wealth that had spilled into the villages in the surrounding countryside. Carshalton was one such village which must have shown many signs of prosperity. Two old houses had been rebuilt around 1700. One was Carshalton House which still stands as part of St Philomena's School and the other was Stone Court which stood in what is now Grove Park. The village seems also to have expanded around this time and the number of mills along the Wandle increased rapidly from about 1650.

Where did all this wealth come from? Defoe would probably have said trade. English trade and business expanded enormously in the course of the 17th century. This was partly from local initiative, partly from new skills brought by immigrants such as the Huguenots (French Protestants who fled to England to escape religious persecution) and partly from the growth of colonies. The latter – particularly the importation of sugar and tobacco – were particularly profitable. The production of sugar and tobacco ultimately rested on the ruthless exploitation of Black Africans who were captured, transported across the Atlantic and sold into slavery to work on the plantations in the **West Indies** and North America.

A good deal of the money that went into building the grand local houses came directly from this trade. Edward Carlton who built Carshalton House (now St Philomena's School) was a London tobacco merchant. After he went bankrupt it came into the hands of Sir John Fellowes who was the sub-governor (in modern terms managing director) of the **South Sea Company**. The business of this company was slave trading. The Spanish crown controlled the right, known as the Asiento, to import slaves into their colonies in the Caribbean and South America. The English acquired this right in 1713 as part of the treaty ending the War of the Spanish Succession. The South Sea Company is best known for creating new investment schemes that lead up to the disastrous **South Sea Bubble** so its role in the slave trade tends to be forgotten.

Financial involvement in the slave trade was not confined to London Merchants. The Carews of Beddington could trace their ancestry back to the Norman conquest and by the 18th century they had been major landowners in the local area for 350 years. Nicholas Carew (1687–1727) was a shareholder in the **Royal African Company** and probably also the South Sea Company. His son who was also called Nicholas (1720–1762) was even more directly involved as he owned part of an iron works at Principio in Maryland, USA that was almost certainly worked with slave labour.

Apart from the Taylors who are the main subject of this book we know little about local involvement in the slave trade in the later 18th and early 19th century. This is almost certainly due to lack of research rather than lack of involvement. The West Indian and

American trades continued to be important to London merchants and financiers throughout the period and the local area was home to many of these people.

The impact of the slave trade went deeper than the wealthy. Some of the mills, which developed along the Wandle in the 17th and 18th centuries, were directly involved in processing materials that had originated in slave-worked plantations. The snuff mills are the most obvious example. They ground tobacco down into a fine powder so that it could be sniffed – a fashionable activity in the 18th century. One of the mills near to Butter Hill Bridge in Carshalton produced snuff from the late 18th century until well into the 19th century. The nearby Grove Mill and Beddington Mill were also used for snuff making.

In the 18th century the River Wandle was lined with bleach fields where cotton and linen were laid in the sun to whiten. Much of the cotton would have been grown in slave-worked plantations in the southern states of America.

The effect of the slave trade, however, went beyond importing goods from the West Indian colonies. The products of other mills must have been destined for the trade. In the late 17th century there were gunpowder mills on the River Wandle. Some of the powder was sold to the navy but merchant ships operating in the lawless waters of the Caribbean needed gunpowder.

In the early 18th century some mills were converted to the production of copper pots and pans. Many of these were no doubt sold in England but there was a steady demand for the export of these kinds of goods to the plantations of the Caribbean, or to Africa where they could be exchanged for slaves. The tentacles of the slave trade were long and varied and reached deep into even this Borough.

## *References*

- 1 Defoe, Daniel, *Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, London, 1724–1727

## English settlement on the Island of St Christopher

The first English settlement in the **West Indies** was on the Island of St Christopher, established in 1623–24. French settlers followed shortly after, settling on the island in 1625. St Christopher is situated towards the north of what are known as the **Leeward Islands**, a group that also includes Nevis, Montserrat and Antigua. These islands offered a safer location than those that are further south which were more susceptible to attacks from Spain with its colonies on the South American mainland and in the West Indies. In order to protect themselves against Spanish aggression and from attacks by native **Caribs**, English and French settlers collaborated on St Christopher. They divided the island between them: the ends of the island became French quarters and the central area English.



Planting the sugar cane (© National Maritime Museum, London)

Before the large-scale transportation of enslaved Africans, settlers were dependant on the labour of **bonded** whites to provide the bulk of the labour force. During the 1650s, after Oliver Cromwell's invasion of Ireland, it is thought that as many as 100,000 Irish men, women and children were forcibly transported to the **West Indies** as bonded servants. Bonded servants were not slaves, but were subjected to harsh work and many may well have died before their contract ended.

In the early years of settlement on the Leeward Islands, tobacco was the staple crop. Other crops grown by early planters included cotton and **indigo**. Many of these settlers had little money, continuing to rely on white contracted servants for labour. Some planters were former servants, establishing themselves as small subsistence farmers often with no





more than ten acres to cultivate. Unlike their wealthier neighbours on Barbados who started growing sugarcane in the 1640s, Leeward Island planters could not get credit to purchase the enslaved Africans essential for production. It soon became obvious that the profits sugar offered far exceeded that of other produce and Leeward Island planters turned seriously to sugar in the 1660s.

A comparison of the first **census** taken on St Christopher in 1678 with the second of 1708 show how the population of the island changed in order to make this happen.<sup>1</sup>

<b>Census years</b>	<b>1678</b>	<b>1708</b>
White settlers	1879	1670
Enslaved people	1436	3294

### *Transition to sugar*

The production of sugarcane was **labour intensive**, with around thirty slaves needed to plant two acres of cane a day. It took between 14 to 18 months from planting to harvest. Larger plantations were often divided into 10 acre strips, with planting staggered so that the cane ripened at different times, making efficient use of the labour force. An acre of cane could produce one ton of sugar.

Sugar production was demanding and dangerous. The crop was harvested by hand with curved knives known as bills. The stalks were then taken to a mill, through which they were fed backwards and forwards to produce a brown juice. The juice from the cane then flowed to a **cistern** in a nearby boiling house where it was ladled into a copper kettle and the impurities skimmed off the top. The process was repeated in a series of copper kettles,



each smaller and hotter, until the juice began to thicken and darken. This was the most dangerous job, as it involved working in intense heat when ladling the syrup into a cooling cistern. The skill was in recognising when the syrup was about to crystallize.

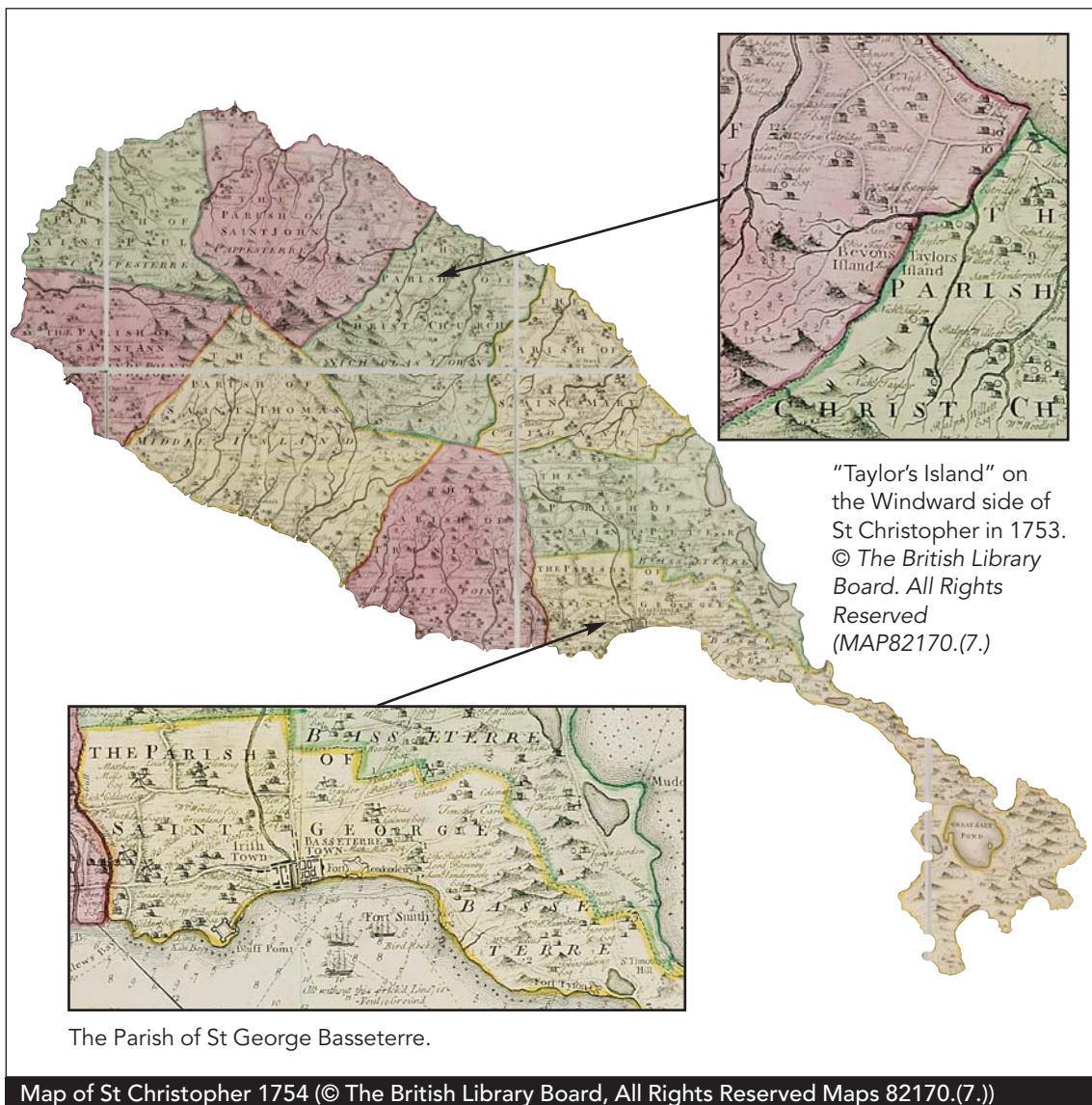
Most of the English planters produced golden brown muscovado sugar. After the sugar had granulated and cooled for about 12 hours it was put into earthenware pots and placed on cooling pans called "drips". The holes in the bottom of the pots allowed the molasses to drain from the sugar. After about a month the hardened sugar was taken out of the pots.

### *References*

- 1 Richard S Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves; The Rise of the Planter Class in the West Indies, 1624–1713*, 1972, p40

# Early settlers on St Christopher with the surname Taylor and the development of their estates

Were Oliver makes reference to a Captain Nicholas Taylor's presence on St Christopher in the early years of the settlement. Here Taylor's name is included in a list entitled "Accounts relating to Aliens Property in **Leeward Islands**, confiscated between 1651 and 1654", the original handwritten source of which is held in the British Library.<sup>1</sup> The aliens to whom the document refers were Dutch merchants on the island and the **confiscations** a result of trade protection measures taken by the English government. Later Oliver Cromwell appointed Prize Commissioners, whose role was to seize the possessions of Dutch settlers on St Christopher. Nicholas Taylor is thought to have been one of these commissioners.



Two other Taylor men, George and Thomas, are also included in this list and ten years later a Nicholas and George Taylor are signatories to a petition asking the governor of the Leeward Islands to appeal to the King on their behalf. The petitioners wanted the same free trade arrangements as the French settlers, who had been increasing in strength.<sup>2</sup> When the first **census** of St Christopher inhabitants was taken in 1678, of the three Taylor men only Nicholas remained.

### *The fortunes of Captain Nicholas Taylor*

In 1666 war broke out between English and French settlers on St Christopher. According to Colonial Office papers in the UK National Archives, Nicholas Taylor was one of the commanders whose "cowardice and treachery" led to the death of Governor Watts during that war and the subsequent defeat of the English.<sup>3</sup> This event took place on 11 June 1666. Three months later, on 3 September, reference is made in Colonial Office papers to land owned by Nicholas Taylor on the neighbouring island of Barbuda. An order was issued that this estate be seized in the name of the King.<sup>4</sup> Occurring as it did just three months after the episode in the Anglo-French war, this confiscation of land could have been a response to Nicholas Taylor's action.

It seems that Nicholas Taylor redeemed himself as in 1684 he is a representative on the Assembly of St Christopher.<sup>5</sup> By holding such office and voting on trade issues he must have been in possession of land. A map produced around 1700 makes reference to particular land, Nicolas Island, on the **windward** (east) side of the island in the parish of Christ Church Nicola Town.<sup>6</sup>

### *Development of the Taylor family estates*

Records suggest the divergence of two different lines of the Taylor family on the island from the beginning of the 18th century. The Taylor family entry in **Memorial Inscriptions** in the **West Indies** records the existence of a John and a Joseph Taylor in 1699. These are listed as the children of Elizabeth, formerly Elizabeth Estridge, from her first marriage to a Taylor. Unfortunately the first name of her husband is not included, presumably because it was illegible on the stone. The Estridge family also owned land in Christ Church Nicola Town, close to Taylor's Island.

The census of 1707–08 records the number of white men, women, children and enslaved people on St Christopher's. The entries are listed by a single name, probably the head of household. Elizabeth Taylor is not included; she may have died or was living in another household. Her sons, John and Joseph, are not listed either. They were probably still too young at this time. Reference to two men by the names of John and Joseph Taylor is made in a legal document dated 1725. They are tenants in possession of land in St John Cappesterre, the parish bordering Christ Church Nicola Town.<sup>8</sup> This places one line of the family in the windward (east) side of the island.

It is in the first decades of the eighteenth century that there is evidence of another branch of the Taylor family acquiring land on the **leeward** (west) side of the island, in the parish

of St George Basseterre. This was as a result of French land gained by the English after the third Anglo-French war on the island in 1702–13. Records in the UK The National Archives relate to losses entailed by English settlers as a result of this war and land that they later acquired. In 1715 a George and a Margaret Taylor were temporarily granted land in St George Basseterre and in 1716 they made a claim for compensation. The claim is made on behalf of their deceased mother, Catherine. The record confirms that they were her only children, and George is described as a planter.<sup>9</sup> In 1721, after land allocation has been confirmed, George Taylor possessed 109 acres of land in St George Basseterre.<sup>10</sup>

Is this the George Taylor mentioned by Oliver who died in 1728 leaving his estate in St George Basseterre to Benjamin Markham in trust? The will is in the UK National Archives of St Kitts and Nevis but is so damaged that it has not been possible to establish if George Taylor had any children. Although Oliver does suggest a relationship between this earlier George Taylor and Nicholas Taylor, the father of the George of Carshalton, the connection is not proven. What is known is that in 1751, when Nicholas, the father of George Taylor of Carshalton died, he was living in the parish of St George Basseterre.<sup>11</sup> This suggests that George Taylor of Carshalton inherited land in the parish of St George Basseterre on the leeward (west) side of the island, rather than in Christ Church Nicola Town on the windward (east).

## *References*

- 1 Egerton MS 2395, published in Oliver, V L, *Caribbeana*, vol 2, p224–227, London, 1900–09
- 2 TNA: CO 1/18 f248
- 3 TNA: CO 1/42 f195-200, published in Oliver, V L, *Caribbeana*, vol 2, p69, London, 1900–09
- 4 Calander of State Papers Colonial, p388
- 5 CSPC p633
- 6 CSPC p581
- 7 TNA - map CO700/St Christopher and Nevis, c1700, includes "N Taylor's island".
- 8 TNA: CO 152/20 f308-310
- 9 TNA: CO 243/5 f464-465
- 10 TNA: CO 152/13 f253-256
- 11 British Library, Add. Ms 36,217 f103

## George Taylor, St Christopher and Carshalton

**G**eorge Taylor of Carshalton (1736–1814) was born on the island of St Christopher, into a family whose wealth was built on sugar plantations and the slave trade. George was the eldest son of Nicholas Taylor (d1751) and Elizabeth Fenton (1717–1759), who had four other children Elizabeth, William (1745–1823), Samuel James (1748– date of death unknown) and John (1750–1832).

When Nicholas Taylor died he left property valued at £16,000 and £18–20,000 in cash. This is equivalent to £1.4 million and £1.7 million in today's money. Initially he was thought to have died without making a will, but the discovery of two wills led to a court case between family members. Guardians acting on behalf of the Taylor children argued that the second will of 1748 be supported. In 1753 a Court in St Christopher decided in favour of the Guardians. George's mother Elizabeth, and William Wells, to whom she was later married, appealed to the Government in London against this judgement, leading to the reversal of the decision. In 1757 it was finally decided that Nicholas Taylor had died without a will and as eldest son, George Taylor of Carshalton inherited his father's property.

From 1754 George studied at Brasenose College, Oxford, was awarded an MA (Master of Arts) in 1757 and a DCL (Doctor of Civil Law) in 1773. After inheriting the family plantations he, like other planters with estates in the **West Indies**, seems to have spent time in England, leaving his business in the hands of managers and lawyers. Documents in the



Carshalton Park House, 1817 (Sutton Local Studies Centre)

National Archives of St Kitts and Nevis record a George Taylor appointing Richard Wilson and William Wharton as lawyers in 1759. These were the same two men who acted as guardians to the Taylor children over the issue of their father's will. There are references to George Taylor's presence in England shortly after that, made in the diary of John Baker, the **Solicitor-General** of the **Leeward Islands**. Baker records what appears to be his first meeting with George Taylor in England in 1762. The reference is made in the context of a trip to Southampton, recording a dinner at the home of Mrs Bourryau, where the guests included George Taylor, "never here before".<sup>1</sup>

According to two different sources George Taylor was in St Christopher in 1766. Baker records dining with George, his sister Elizabeth Douglas and her husband Alexander. Colonial Office papers in the UK National Archives confirm that George was in St Christopher at that time, recording his election to the island's Assembly as a representative for the parish of St Peter's Basseterre. John Baker, Alexander Douglas, William Wells and William Wharton were also elected as Council or Assembly members that year.

What is interesting is that two other Taylor men, Nicholas Charles and Rowland, are elected to the Assembly for the parish of Christ Church Nicola Town which is on the **windward** or east side of St Christopher – ie the opposite side of the island to the parish for which George Taylor was elected. No evidence has been found so far to link them to George Taylor.

George Taylor was still on the island in January 1767, as Baker records a meeting with him, William Wells and Alexander Douglas, at which they discussed financial matters in respect of payments to George's younger brothers, Samuel James and John.

Like any plantation owner, George Taylor was involved in the slave trade as a means to ensure he had a labour force to work his land. Whether he or his ancestors were actually involved in the business of transporting enslaved Africans across the Atlantic, as a 19th century myth suggests, is not known. The National Archives of St Kitts & Nevis has two **Bills of Sale** dated 1764 in his name. The largest, detailing the sale of 53 "negroe slaves, men, women, boys and girls" was for the sum of £2,500, equating to more than £212,000 today. Fifty-three individual names are listed, including Little Johnny, Lucy, Congo Charles and Old Sue. One name, Nevis-Jemmy, suggest that these people may have spent time on the island of Nevis. Both Bills of Sale were purchased from William Wells, his stepfather.

In the same diary John Baker records visiting George Taylor at a house in Clarges Street, off Piccadilly in 1775.<sup>2</sup> George Taylor may also have owned or rented a property in Cheshire. When his youngest brother, John Taylor, visited from Nevis in 1778 he is said to have stayed with a brother [George] at "Gayton Hall, near Parkgate, Chester".<sup>3</sup>

In 1782 George Taylor purchased Carshalton Park for £14,000 from the **trustees** of James Scawen. Here is another example of the circles that connected these people. In his diary John Baker mentions meeting James Scawen's cousin, John, and uncle, William

socially.<sup>4</sup> When George Taylor took possession of the land in Carshalton no house is believed to have been standing. In 1782 he was paying land tax with a rental value of £50 and may have been living elsewhere in the area. By 1785 he was paying tax on both a newly built house and the park.

The house was sufficiently grand for George Taylor to enjoy the lifestyle of a wealthy retired gentleman. With the purchase of the Scawen land he became Lord of the Manor, entertained his friends and enjoyed the study of the classics. It was fashionable in the 18th century for wealthy families to have Black footmen or boys in their households as status symbols and he was no exception. His butler, Samuel Mudian, had been a slave in the **West Indies**. George Taylor extended his hospitality to villagers also, allowing them to walk in the park for example. A myth has been passed down that local people believed the family's wealth would only last three generations because of its involvement in the slave trade.

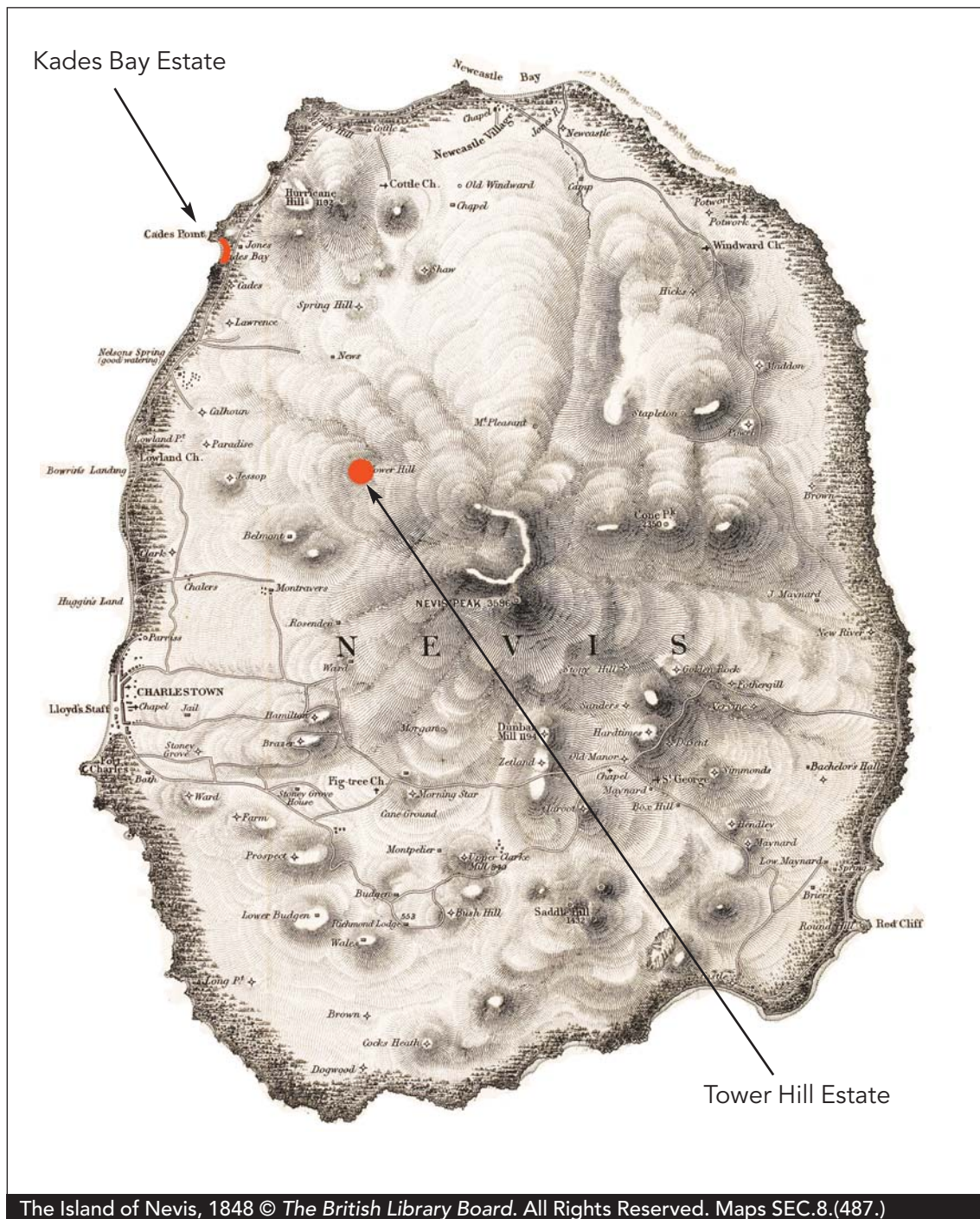
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- 1 York, P C, (ed) The Diary of John Baker, London, 1931 (hereafter known as Baker), page163
- 2 Baker, page 306
- 3 Stapleton Cotton MSS: 9 1 Sept 1778, courtesy Christine Eickelmann and David Small
- 4 Baker, page 240, 322



## John Taylor (1750–1832)

John, the youngest brother of George Taylor of Carshalton, was aged one when their father died. It seems probable that John spent his childhood with his mother and her new husband, William Wells. Wells left John Taylor £5,000 in his will, proved in 1784 and refers to John as his “son in law”, using the term instead of stepson. John Taylor also studied at Oxford, attending Brasenose College in 1767.



*News*

An Alphabetical list and Return of all the negro and other Slaves now resident on the Estate called **Tower Hill** and belonging to or in the lawful possession of John Taylor Given in by me this tenth day of July one thousand eight hundred and seventeen -

Samuel Sturge

No	Names	Sex	Country	Color	Age	Years
1	Amba	Female	African	Black	55	
2	Ameese	do	Creole	do	40	do
3	Abba Margaret	do	do	do	3	
4	Ann	do	do	Mulatto	1	
5	Adgarcon	do	do	Black	1	
6	Abdoun	Male	do	do	25	
7	Augusta	do	do	do	21	
8	Andrew	do	do	do	15	
9	Aron	do	do	do	14	
10	Abraham	do	do	do	14	
11	Betsy Taylor	Female	do	do	54	
12	Petty Meica	do	American	do	52	
13	Barbara	do	Creole	do	31	
14	Betsy hope	do	do	do	18	
15	Bell	do	do	do	11	
16	Betty Gunde	do	do	do	2	
17	Brown	Male	do	do	11	
18	Ben	do	do	do	10	
19	Bonaparte	do	do	do	8	
20	Billy	do	do	do	1	
21	Beam	do	African	do	65	
22	Buffe	do	do	do	55	
23	Charles England	do	do	do	54	
24	Blake	do	Creole	do	18	
25	Charles	do	do	do	6	
26	Clara	Female	do	do	76	
27	Cubba	do	do	do	46	
28	Clara	do	do	do	44	
29	Chloe	do	African	do	35	
30	Cotto	do	Creole	do	38	
31	City	do	do	do	34	
32	Cotton	do	do	do	33	
33	Charlotte	do	do	do	30	
34	Glory	do	do	do	13	
35	Charity	do	do	do	12	
36	Cotten	do	do	do	10	
37	Caroline	do	do	do	8	
38	Cecily	do	do	do	9	
39	Charlotte Cole	do	do	do	7	
40	Candish	do	do	do	2	
41	Charlotte Taylor	do	do	do	5	Months
42	Diana	do	African	do	60	Years
43	Domingo	do	Creole	do	1	
44	Dominica	Male	African	do	40	
45	Delon	do	do	do	36	
46	Danill	do	do	do	35	
47	Duncan	do	Creole	do	19	

The first page of 'An alphabetical list and return of all the negro and other slaves now resident on the estate called Tower Hill and belonging to or in the lawful possession of John Taylor', 1817 (The National Archives T71/364 pp18)

John married Eleanor Warren who, from a previous marriage to Francis Warren, had a daughter, Wilhelmina, christened in Swanage, Dorset, in 1769. Although the date of John and Eleanor's marriage is not known, it seems that they were married shortly after the birth of Wilhelmina. In his diary John Baker writes that on 7 December 1770 he took leave of John Taylor and his wife in Portsmouth.

By April 1772 John and Eleanor were in St Christopher where their son, George, was born. Their second child, Ann, was born around 1776 followed by another daughter, Mary. As a young man, George spent time in England, attending Westminster School. It seems that George may have died young as unlike his two sisters, he is not mentioned in his father's will.

John Taylor lived for a number of years on the island of Nevis, where he owned a plantation called the Tower Hill Estate. He played an active part in planter society from his early days on the island, forming strong friendships and business relationships. He was elected to the Council of Nevis in 1775. At times he also managed other plantations, including the estates of the Stapleton and the Nisbet families. He had connections with the Pinney family, who held large plantations on Nevis. On occasions, John Taylor and John Pinney acted as lawyers for each other. In 1782–83 John Pinney acted in this capacity, paying the tax on John Taylor's 188 enslaved people.<sup>1</sup>

Letters between John Taylor and John Pinney during the 1780s and 1790s place Taylor in Nevis for a great deal of the time. These letters also illustrate the links between the acquaintances shared in England and the **West Indies**. For example a list dated 1769 includes details of eight enslaved people bought by John Pinney from William Wharton and Alexander Douglas in St Christopher.<sup>2</sup> Another entry involves a **bill of exchange** payable to John Pinney, drawn by John Taylor on a certain William Manning in London.<sup>3</sup>

Although the letters between John Pinney and John Taylor usually cover business matters, they also reveal a friendship. In some of these letters, reference to John Taylor's family is made. John Pinney writes of being "favoured with the company of your son [George] two or three times lately". The young man is, he continues "all that a father could wish".<sup>4</sup> In a letter of 1794 John Pinney confirms that he will meet one of John Taylor's daughters when she arrives in Bristol from the West Indies and that she shall stay at his house.<sup>5</sup>

There are references to John Taylor returning to England at various times. In 1798 he is recorded in a **deed** as resident in Dorset. In this document John Taylor of Swanage, Dorset and Jeddiah Kerie of St Christopher purchased land on that island in the parishes of Trinity Palimeto Point and St George Basseterre, from John and Sarah Goldfrap, residents of Bridlington, Somerset.<sup>6</sup>

John Taylor returned to England permanently in 1799, when he was described as "lately returning from Nevis after a residency of many years". He was described as "a Gentleman of great respectability" and his departure "a great loss to the Island".<sup>7</sup>



St Kitts, 1783 © The British Library Board. All Rights Reserved. Kings Topographical Collection CXXIII folios 80a & 80b

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- 1 Pinney Papers, DM 1173 Nevis Journal 1780–1790 13 May 1782
- 2 Pinney Papers, Letter Book 1, 1 January 1769
- 3 Pinney Papers, Letter Book 5, 29 July 1780
- 4 Pinney Papers, Letter Book 11, 29 November 1793
- 5 Pinney Papers, Letter Book 11, 31 July 1794
- 6 The National Archives, C54/7398 membrane 10
- 7 Aberystwyth Bodrhyddan, MSS: 2 Richard & Thomas Neave to Reverend Shipley, 11 Sept 1799, courtesy of Christine Eickelmann, David Small and Brian Littlewood.



## Other Taylor siblings

### *Elizabeth Douglas, nee Taylor*

George Taylor's sister Elizabeth married Alexander Douglas in 1760.<sup>1</sup> The couple had three children: George (b.1766), Isabella (b.1767) and Robert (b.1770). Douglas, also a planter on St Christopher, was the son of Reverend Alexander Douglas and Isabel Houston, and nephew of Colonel Walter Douglas, Governor of the **Leeward Islands** from 1722–1716. Alexander Douglas lived in St Christopher from 1749 to 1771, during which time he spent just a few months in England. When he died in 1797 he was considered to be worth £200,000.<sup>2</sup>

He left his wife Elizabeth 100 **guineas**, plantations on the islands of Grenada and Tobago to his eldest son George, and plantations on Tobago and St Christopher to his son Robert. George and Robert died without children. Elizabeth and George's daughter Isabella married Robert Houston Rae, whose father Alexander Houston was founder of the Glasgow firm of Alexander Houston & Co, tobacco merchants who were heavily involved with slave-worked plantations in the West Indies. The company collapsed in 1795. Robert and Isabella had a son, also Robert.

### *William Taylor (1745–1823)*

George's brother William spent a period in the army. According to the Fulham Papers – the archives of the Bishop of London – he was "bred at Westminster", suggesting he spent part of his childhood in England.<sup>3</sup> The Fulham Papers indicate that William served in the 33rd regiment and at some point was stationed in Minorca, where he is said to have been married.<sup>4</sup>

By 1769 William had contracted an illness that caused lameness, ending his military career. In December 1769 he was **ordained** into the Church of England, and licensed to work in the **West Indies**.<sup>5</sup> In one of the testimonies recommending William for the Church, the rectors of Compton Valance, Studland and Wareham in Purbeck refer to him as being of Wareham in the County of Dorset and **Diocese** of Bristol. William's connection with that county is reinforced through letters between his younger brother, John, and John Pinney. In letters written to John Taylor during the 1780s John Pinney refers to William Taylor's presence in Dorset.<sup>6</sup> An entry in the Diary of John Baker dated 1775 mentions William and his wife bringing a young woman from St Christopher to Corfe in Dorset.<sup>7</sup> The woman, almost certainly an enslaved person, had been treated badly by another planter, Patrick Blake. William's action can perhaps be interpreted as an attempt to rescue her.

In 1801 William married Sarah Stevens in Swanage, Dorset, which was presumably his second marriage. William and Sarah had three children: John (b.1803), George (b.1808) and Marianne (b.1810). There is a monumental inscription to William Taylor in the parish church in Swanage. It describes William as a native of St Christopher who spent many years

as rector of the parish church of St Anthony in Montserrat. He died in Dorset in 1823. His son, John, would succeed William's brothers at Carshalton. His younger son, George, became Curate at Langton Matravers in Dorset, dying in 1834.

### *Samuel James Taylor*

Little is known of George's brother Samuel James, except that he was still alive, and probably living on St Christopher, in 1766. In that year John Baker records a meeting on St Christopher between himself, George and William Taylor, and Alexander Douglas. The purpose of the gathering was to make financial arrangements for the two younger Taylor brothers, Samuel James and John.

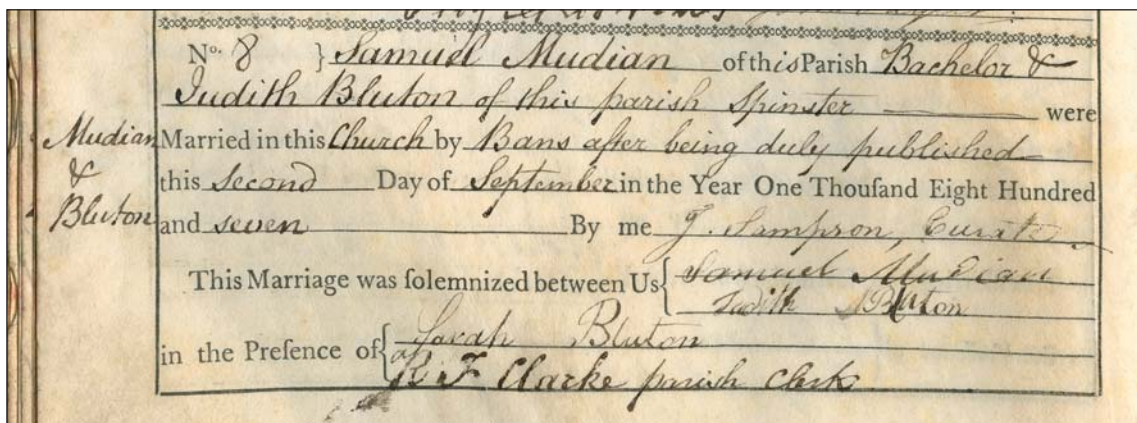
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- 2 Oliver, V L, *Caribbeana*, vol 3, London, 1909–10
- 3 Fulham Papers, volume 30, 26 July 1769
- 4 Fulham Papers, volume 30, 31 October 1769
- 5 Fulham Papers, vol 38, Lists of Ordinands and Licensees, "A List of Persons Licensed to the Plantations by the Bishop of London from the year 1745 inclusive", entry for 24 December, 1769
- 6 Pinney Papers, Box K2, Letter Box 5, 9 December 1838
- 7 Baker, page 305

## Samuel Mudian (c1770–1841)

Samuel Mudian worked as the butler for George Taylor at Carshalton Park House. His tombstone in the churchyard at All Saints in Carshalton described him as “a native of **St Kitts**” and George Taylor specified in his will that should Samuel return to St Christopher he would grant him his freedom. Samuel Mudian may have previously been called Samuel the Bermudian, indicating the island he was born on, or the name may have derived from a French **patois** word, a connection with St Christopher’s other colonial settlers. When George Taylor took up residence in Carshalton in the 1780s Samuel Mudian would have been a young man, still only in his teens. Could he have been George Taylor’s son? Unfortunately there is no evidence available to prove this theory.

Like some other Black servants, Samuel Mudian may have enjoyed a relatively comfortable lifestyle. The practice of bringing enslaved people to England to work in this way was criticised in some circles as creating a challenge to society as it was then organised. In *Gentleman’s Magazine* in 1764 a writer suggested that once away from the colonies Black servants would assume that they were free people, sometimes becoming unwilling to serve others.



The entry for the marriage of Samuel Mudian and Judith Bluton in St Michael Cornhill parish register (Guildhall Library Ms 4066/2)

In 1807 Samuel Mudian married Judith Bluton, a young white woman from Carshalton at St Michael Cornhill in the City of London. Why they chose to marry in London is not known. Black and white partners did marry at the time but it is possible that attitudes may have been more liberal in London. Was George Taylor aware of the marriage? He left Samuel Mudian £50 in his will on the condition that Samuel was living with him at the time of his death and had not given or received notice to leave. It was only in 1815, one year after George Taylor’s death, that the first mention of Samuel in official documents for the local area has been found. The reference is in land tax records held at Sutton Local Studies Centre, where he is listed as renting a property in Wallington from 1815–30, just a few doors away from his mother-in-law, Mrs Judith Bluton. Whether Samuel Mudian remained in the service of the Taylor family is not known, although at the time of his death



D <sup>e</sup>	D <sup>e</sup>	Tenant	8	8	8	
D <sup>e</sup>	D <sup>e</sup>	Bethell	8	8	8	
D <sup>e</sup>	D <sup>e</sup>	Moody	8	8	8	
D <sup>e</sup>	D <sup>e</sup>	W. Thome	8	8	8	
D <sup>e</sup>	D <sup>e</sup>	Knowlden	8	8	8	
D <sup>e</sup>	M <sup>rs</sup> Bluton	Self	6	6	6	
D <sup>e</sup>	M <sup>rs</sup> Allen	Humphreys	8	8	8	

The entry for Samuel "Moody" and Mrs Bluton in the Wallington Land Tax records for 1821 (Reproduced by permission of Surrey History Centre. © SHC)

in 1841 he was still a butler. He wrote a will, leaving his estate to his wife. They had no children.

The first **census** to contain personal names was taken shortly after Samuel Mudian's death in 1841. In it Judith Mudian is listed as living with her sister, Maria Morley, also a widow, in Wrythe Lane, West Side, Carshalton. She was working as a laundress. Ten years later she had moved to Hastings where she was running a lodging house at 3 Spring Terrace, St Mary in the Castle. In the 1851 Census she still lived and ran a lodging house there. She did not remarry and lived there with her sister, Maria Morley, also a widow.

In the 1871 Census a George Bluton, born in Wallington, is recorded as running a guesthouse at 4 Denmark Place, St Mary in the Castle, in Hastings. We believe this to be her brother. Interestingly there is an Emily Estridge lodging at the same address. Her date and place of birth is listed in that census as 1837, Windlesham, Surrey. She is the daughter of Henry T Estridge, born in Carshalton, the son of Joseph and Ann Estridge. His mother Ann was John Taylor's daughter. Therefore Emily is the great great niece of George Taylor of Carshalton Park and great granddaughter of his brother John Taylor. Is this simply a coincidence or a sign of a much closer tie between the Taylor, Bluton and Mudian families?

PLACE	HOUSES		NAMES of each Person who abode therein the preceding Night.	AGE and SEX		PROFESSION, TRADE, EMPLOYMENT, or of INDEPENDENT MEANS.	Where Born	
	Uninhabited or Ruined	Inhabited		Males	Females		Whether Born in same County	Whether Born in Scotland, Ireland, or Foreign Parts.
Wrythe Lane West			John Edmunds	20				
			Judith Mudian	50		Laundress		
			Maria Morley	53				

This is part of the 1841 Census Return for the west side of Wrythe Lane, Carshalton. The Census took place less than two months after Samuel had died. (The National Archives HO107/1079 f54)

## *The Taylor family and abolition*

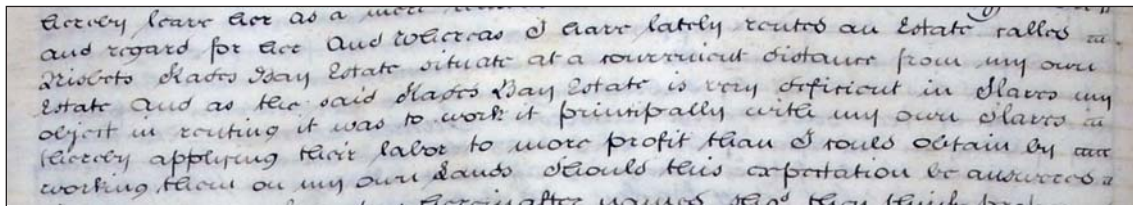
**N**o evidence of George Taylor's active involvement in the debate over the slave trade has been found, although he did mix with people who publicly supported it. Giving evidence to the enquiry into the slave trade instituted by Parliament in 1790 his brother-in-law, Alexander Douglas stated that he believed it would be impossible to maintain the numbers necessary to cultivate the estates without continuing the slave trade with Africa.

As a member of the Assembly in Nevis, John Taylor was involved in debate about the slave trade. In March 1798 a General Council meeting was convened in Nevis to take into consideration the best way of putting into effect the objectives contained in a Resolution passed in the House of Commons, 6 April 1797. The resolution, which was in the interests of planters, recommended that the colonies introduce measures to prepare for the abolition of the slave trade. This may seem progressive but among its tasks, the Council was asked to consider ways of increasing the number of enslaved people on the island by breeding, in order that the need for the transatlantic trade would naturally decline.

John Taylor did second a motion proposing a third reading of "An Act more effectually to provide for the Support, and to extend certain Regulations for the Protection of Slaves, to promote and encourage their Increase, and generally **ameliorate** their conditions".<sup>1</sup> He also seconded a proposal rejecting a decrease in the provision of rice from seven to six pints.<sup>2</sup> While too much should probably not be read into these actions, John Taylor might possibly have taken a more positive stance on the improvement of slave conditions than some of the other Assembly members.

George and John were living permanently in England at the time of the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act in 1807. They still owned plantations on St Christopher and Nevis, employing managers on the islands to deal with their estates. Although the transatlantic trade was prohibited under the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act from 1807, slavery still continued in the British **West Indies**. In order to assist in the control of the trade, the public registration of enslaved people was introduced. Records show that the enslaved populations on the Taylor estates on both islands decreased only gradually until the abolition of slavery in 1834. In the first registration in Nevis in 1817 the entry for Tower Hill Estate lists 171 people as being "in the lawful possession of John Taylor".<sup>3</sup> In the final register of 1834 there were still 156 enslaved people recorded there.<sup>4</sup>

In his will, dated 1826, John Taylor acknowledges the economic importance of slavery. Commenting on his recent decision to work the Nisbet's Kades Bay Estate on the island of Nevis with his own slaves, he gives the **executors** of his will the option to continue doing so, should they consider it profitable. He made a similar proposal in relation to the Taylor plantation in Basseterre on St Christopher, offering his nephew the opportunity to



#### TRANSCRIPT:

“And whereas I have lately rented an estate called Nisbets Kades Bay Estate situate at a convenient distance from my own estate and as the said Kades Bay Estate is very deficient in slaves my object in renting it was to work it principally with my own slaves thereby applying their labor to more profit than I could obtain by working them on my own lands...”

Part of the last page of John Taylor’s Will, written 10th May 1833  
(The National Archives PROB 11/1816 f279v)

continue the lease of the neighbouring Admiral Losack’s estate for £200 because it had proved “particularly valuable to the proprietor”.

After the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833 plantation owners were compensated for the enslaved people freed. John Plummer, the husband of John Taylor’s daughter Mary, was one of the **trustees** and **executors** of the wills of both George and John Taylor. John Plummer applied for compensation for the family’s plantations on both islands. The sum of £2,756 was awarded to him for the estate on St Christopher, which has an equivalent value of around £136,394 today.<sup>5</sup> The sale of the Tower Hill Estate on Nevis had actually been completed by the time that compensation was awarded. The new owner, Walter Maynard Pemberton, received £2,807, the equivalent of £140,000 today.<sup>6</sup>

### References

- 1 Correspondence with British West India Colonies on Slave Trade, 1797–1800, House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online, Image 266
- 2 *ibid*, image 265
- 3 TNA T71/365
- 4 TNA T71/369
- 5 TNA T71/879
- 6 TNA T71/882

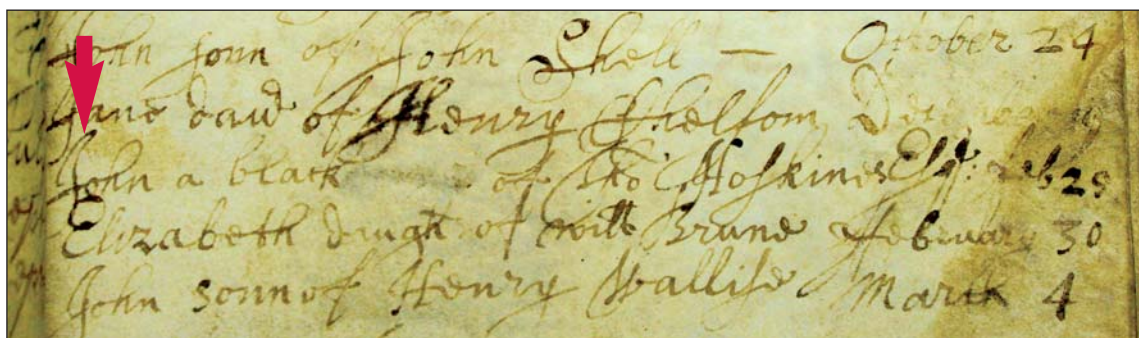
## Other residents with black servants in the London Borough of Sutton

George Taylor was one of a number of wealthy local residents who had Black staff working in their houses. Sir John Fellowes, the **sub-governor** of the **South Sea Company**, had acquired Carshalton House – now St Philomena’s School – after the bankruptcy of its owner, Edward Carlton, a tobacco merchant. In 1713 the English Government had granted the South Sea Company the right to transport enslaved people from Africa to the Spanish colonies in the Americas. Speculation in its shares led to the “**South Sea Bubble**” and the company’s subsequent crash in 1720. An entry in the Carshalton parish register of 1721 records the baptism of Charles Caesar “a black servant of Sir John Fellowes”. Details in Sir John Fellowes will are slightly different. He states:

“I give to Charles Caesar my Indian boy who may be destitute when I’m gone one hundred pounds to place him out in the world and I also give him five pounds annuity annually whilst he continues with my relations.”

The Scawen family, **Lords of the Manor** of Carshalton and once owners of the land on which George Taylor built Carshalton Park House, also built their wealth through connections to the slave trade. Prior to purchasing the land in Carshalton in 1721, Sir William Scawen had been governor of the Bank of England from 1697–99. Established in 1694, the Bank of England provided the foundation of the systems of credit essential to the slave trade. Dying without children, his nephew Thomas Scawen and his son, James, inherited this land. The Carshalton Parish Registers for 1728 records a Thomas “a black of Mr Lewis Scawen” (Thomas Scawen’s second son).

Other references to people with Black servants found in parish registers include William Johnson, servant to Admiral John Leake, baptised 27 June 1714 in St Mary’s Beddington, Samuel Linley, who belonged to Mrs Smith, baptised 5 September 1734 in St Nicholas, Sutton and John, said to have belonged to Thomas Hoskins, baptised in 1669 in Carshalton.



Baptismal entry for 'John a black of Tho Hoskins Esq' in the All Saints Carshalton parish register 29 February 1669/70 (Sutton Archives P32/1/1)

## Appendix 1: *Untangling the Taylor pedigree*

In about 1894 John Frederick William Blake Taylor (b1867) recorded a **pedigree** for the Taylor family at the **College of Arms**. The pedigree shows six generations of the Taylor family of Carshalton, headed by Nicholas Taylor of St Christopher. In the same year an entry for the Taylor family of Carshalton was placed in Burke's Landed Gentry.<sup>1</sup> In it the claim that the family descended from the Taylor family of Ditton, Cambridgeshire and Battersea, Surrey is made. The entry claims that the Taylor family having used the same **coat of arms** for a number of generations supports this line of descent.

Two examples of a coat of arms used in connection with the Taylor family have been found, both on **monumental inscriptions**. The monuments are described in published sources as being in poor condition, and it seems likely that both were intended to show the same arms. Oliver notes their use in the cemetery at St George Basseterre on St Christopher. The arms are used to mark the tomb of a George Taylor, who died in 1728.

This entry makes connections between various men named Taylor living on St Christopher between the 1650s and 1750s. Captain Nicholas Taylor is the earliest resident in this entry, however it is not possible to assume definitive connections between the people. Nevertheless the entry for the George Taylor to whom this monumental inscription is dedicated is followed by the name of Nicholas Taylor, the father of Carshalton's George Taylor. A similar coat of arms is used on the memorial inscription of George Taylor of Carshalton, in All Saints Church, Carshalton.

While there is no record at the College of Arms of any coat of arms granted to the Taylor family of the **West Indies** and Carshalton Park, entitlement to the use of these arms could have been through inheritance. The coat of arms mentioned above are in fact similar to those first recorded by a John Taylor of Gloucestershire in 1569.<sup>2</sup> In 1660 the same coat of arms were confirmed to a Thomas Taylor "now" of Battersea, Surrey.<sup>3</sup> In 1684 the same arms and crest were recorded in Cambridgeshire. The accompanying pedigree to these arms and crest was headed by a Thomas Taylor of Battersea. His great grandson, also Thomas, married Faith Reynolds, an heiress of Ditton, Cambridgeshire. In 1684 they had one son, Reynolds Taylor. No further pedigrees are recorded for this family and no direct line of male descent to George Taylor of Carshalton has been made. If the Taylor family of Carshalton had been officially entitled to the use of these arms and crest, it would have had to have descended from this family. However it was not uncommon for families to use arms unofficially and this practice cannot be ruled out in this instance.

### *The Taylor and Fenton marriage*

Nicholas Taylor (father of George Taylor of Carshalton) married Elizabeth Fenton (1717–1759), on 22 October 1734 in the parish of St Peter Basseterre, St Christopher.<sup>4</sup>

Elizabeth Fenton was from a family that had probably been in the West Indies since the mid-17th century. It seems likely that the family first lived on the neighbouring island of Nevis as in 1662 a Thomas Fenton of Nevis is recorded as the **executor** of a will written there.<sup>5</sup> In 1717, as a result of the Anglo-French war on St Christopher, a “Mr Fenton of Nevis” is recorded as purchasing land in the French quarter of Cappesterre.<sup>6</sup> The same record lists a William Fenton as owning a house in the town of Basseterre, previously in the French area.<sup>7</sup> In 1753 he still owns one plantation on St Christopher in the parish of St Paul’s Cappesterre.

The relationship between Elizabeth Taylor (nee Fenton) and William Fenton is unknown. They may have been **siblings** as he died in 1754. He was not her father as in his will he leaves all his estate to his only daughter, Jane. It seems almost certain that they were of the same Fenton family, as the Taylor family of Carshalton used elements of the same Fenton coat of arms to represent their mother. The coat of arms dedicated to George Taylor in All Saints, Carshalton, includes designs that are on the monumental inscription to William Fenton in Bath Abbey.<sup>8</sup> It seems that Elizabeth Fenton may have been wealthy in her own right, as Oliver describes her as an “heiress”.<sup>9</sup>

The name Nicholas Taylor appears on a number of occasions in papers in the National Archives of St Kitts and Nevis, however it seems that there was more than one man of that name. A document dated 1750 in the National Archives of St Kitts and Nevis records a Nicholas Taylor **manumitting** three enslaved people. It is unclear whether these people bought or were granted their freedom. This may have been George Taylor’s father, Nicholas.

When Nicholas Taylor died in 1751 Elizabeth remarried William Wells who was thirteen years her junior. Wells was one of the bigger planters on St Christopher and may have started out in the slave trade.<sup>10</sup>

## References

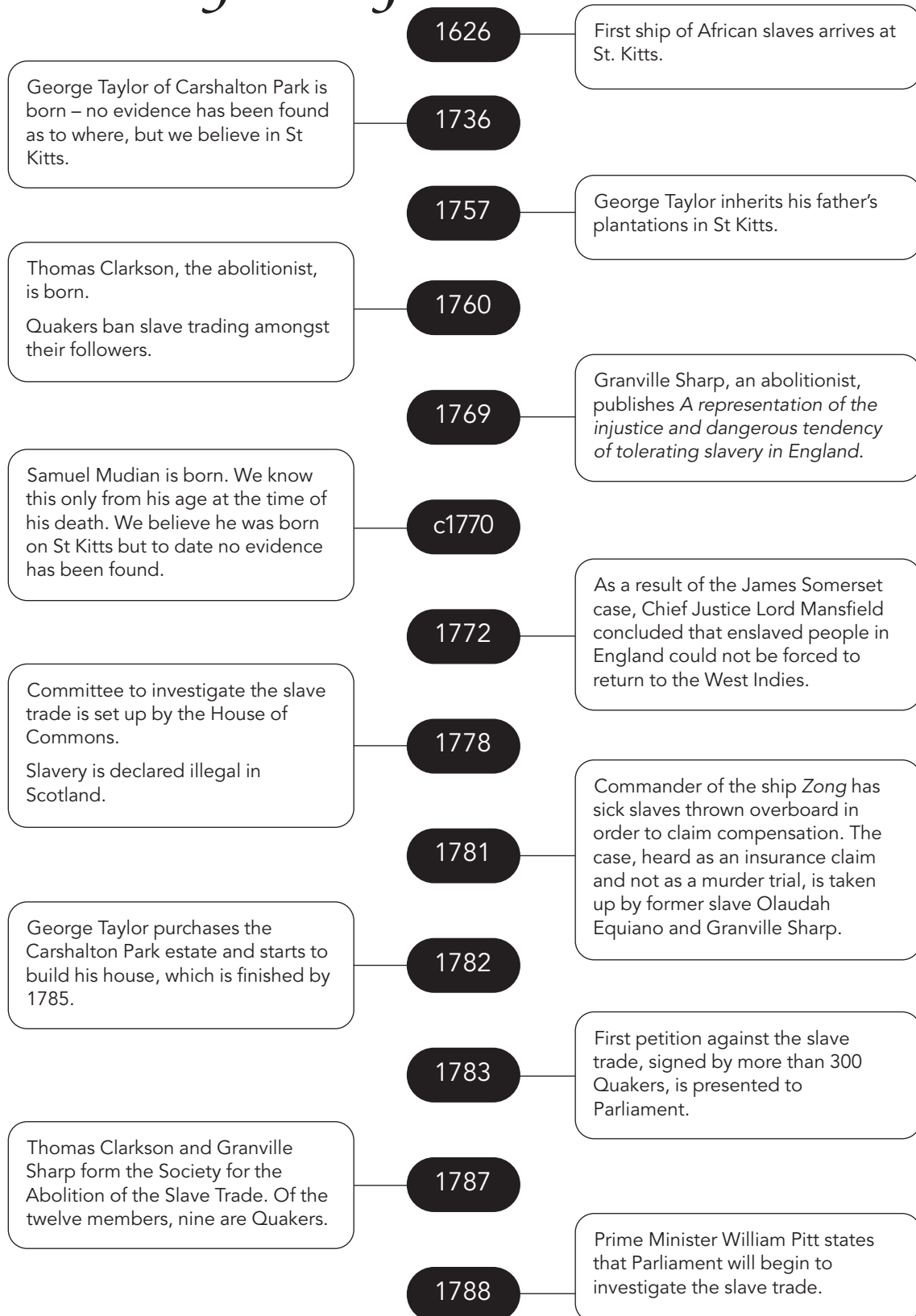
- 1 Burke’s Landed Gentry, 8th edition, 1894
- 2 College of Arms ms D.12,121v
- 3 College of Arms ms Grants 2,632
- 4 Caribbeana, volume 1, p79
- 5 Carribeana vol 5 p108
- 6 TNA: CO152/13f256
- 7 TNA: CO152/12/1 f18 and f36
- 8 Caribbeana vol 1, p79
- 9 MI of BWI p129
- 10 Information from staff at the National Archives of St Kitt’s and Nevis



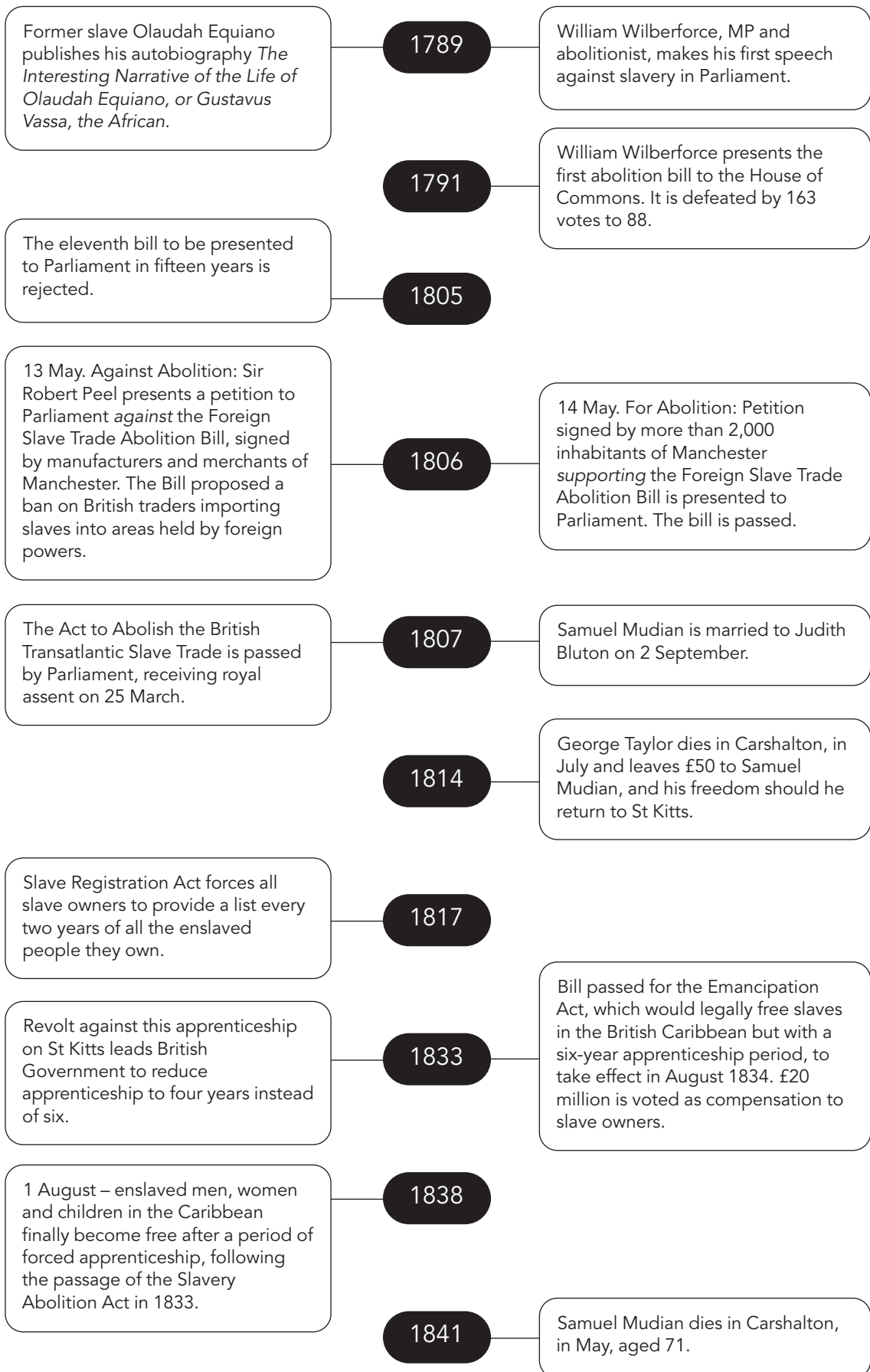




## Appendix 3: Timeline for the abolition of slavery



continues....



## Glossary

- Abolitionist** A person who supported the abolition of the slave trade and slavery.
- Abolition of the Slave Trade** In 1807 Britain passed the *Abolition of the Slave Trade Act*, officially ending British involvement in the transatlantic slave trade. The trade still continued illegally with fines levied on British ships caught transporting slaves.
- Abolition of Slavery** In 1833 the *Abolition of Slavery Act* was passed, abolishing slavery in all British colonies.
- Ameliorate** To improve or make better.
- Bill of Exchange** A bill of exchange is an old-fashioned term relating to a written order by one person to another to pay a specified sum to a specified third person on a particular date. Bills of exchange are similar to cheques.
- Bill of Sale** A bill of sale is a legal document made by a 'seller' to a purchaser, reporting that on a specific date, at a specific locality, and for a particular sum of money or other "value received", the seller sold to the purchaser a specific item of personal, or parcel of real, property of which he had lawful possession – in this case slaves.
- Bonded labour** or **debt bondage**, **debt slavery** are all terms used to describe a system where work is exchanged for the paying off of loans instead of being compensated with currency or goods.
- Carib** Indigenous people who inhabited the islands in the Caribbean.
- Census** A census is a system for regularly counting the population and recording information about their lives – in this case how many slaves they owned. In the UK a census has been taken every 10 years since 1801 (except during WWII).
- Cistern** A cistern is a receptacle for holding liquids.
- College of Arms** The College of Arms is the official repository of the coats of arms and pedigrees of English, Welsh, Northern Irish and Commonwealth families and their descendants.
- Coat of Arms or Arms for short** A design for example on a shield used by a particular family to show ancestry and distinctions. *See also* College of Arms.
- Confiscations** To seize something, in this case land, from someone else.
- Diocese** A diocese is an administrative area overseen by a Bishop.
- Dysentery** Dysentery is a disorder of the digestive system that results in severe diarrhea.
- Deed** a signed and usually sealed document containing some legal transfer or contract.
- Executors** An executor, in the broadest sense, is someone who carries out a task – in this case the executors would have been responsible for making sure the instructions in the wills were carried out.

**Guinea** an old British coin with a value of one pound and one shilling (there were 20 shillings to the pound and twelve pence to a shilling).

**Indigo** A low growing plant or shrub from which the blue dye “indigo” is extracted.

**Labour intensive** A business – in this case producing sugar from sugar cane – that involves a lot of labour which is the main cost of the process. If the planters could produce sugar more cheaply but sell it at the same price their profits would be greater.

**Leeward** The west coast of the island of St Christopher.

**Leeward Islands** The Northern end of a set of islands in the West Indies, located where the Caribbean Sea meets the western Atlantic Ocean. The southern end of the islands are known as the Windward Islands.

**Lord of the Manor** Dating from medieval times the Lord of the Manor was the owner of an estate. He would have exercised jurisdiction over his tenants who held land in the manor.

**Manumitting/Manumission** To release from slavery.

**Memorial inscription** The information written about a person on a grave stone in a churchyard or memorial stone inside a church.

**Middle Passage** One part of the triangular trade (see below) referring to the voyage between the west coast of Africa and the West Indies.

**Ordained** To be installed as a priest.

**Patois** Patois is any language that is considered nonstandard. In this case “French Patois” would be a dialect of French used locally on the islands by the local native peoples.

**Pedigree** Also called a “family tree”, a pedigree shows one’s ancestors.

**Plantation system** Estates on which crops such as sugar cane, tobacco and cotton were grown, that were worked by enslaved people who were recognised as the legal property of the plantation owners.

**Privy Council** A body of advisors to the King or Queen. Its members are largely senior politicians, who were or are members of either the House of Commons of the United Kingdom or House of Lords.

**Quakers** Also known as the Religious Society of Friends, Quakers were founded in the 17th century in Britain. Members, known as Friends for short, take a strong stand in favour of peace and against military action. They were prominent in the abolition movement.

**Resistance** Resistance by enslaved Africans took many forms, including physical rebellion, refusal to eat and rejection of attempts to influence religious beliefs and culture.

**Royal African Company** The Royal African Company was a slaving company set up by the Stuart family and London merchants once the former retook the English throne in the Restoration of 1660. It was granted a monopoly over the English slave trade and with the help of the army and navy established trading posts on the west coast of Africa. In the 1680s it was transporting 5000 slaves per year. Many were branded with the letters 'DY', after its chief, the Duke of York, who succeeded his brother on the throne in 1685, becoming James II. Other slaves were branded with the company's initials, RAC, on their chests. Its profits made a major contribution to the increase in the financial power of those who controlled London.

**St Kitts** The Island of St Christopher is known today as St Kitts.

**Siblings** Your brothers and sisters.

**Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade** Established in 1787, this was the first organisation to campaign for the abolition of the slave trade. It was set up by Grenville Sharpe and Thomas Clarkson.

**Solicitor General of the Leeward Islands** This was the senior legal post in the government of the Leeward Islands.

**South Sea Bubble** – see South Sea Company

**South Sea Company** The South Sea Company was a British company that traded in South America during the 18th century. Founded in 1711 the company was granted a monopoly to trade in South America as part of a treaty during the War of Spanish Succession. Speculation in the company's stock led to a huge economic crash known as the "South Sea Bubble" in 1720. Many people's lives were ruined by this financial crash.

**Sub-Governor** In modern terms a managing director.

**Transatlantic Slave Trade** The enforced transportation and trade in enslaved people from Africa to the Americas.

**Triangular Trade** The route between three trading points: Europe, Africa and the Caribbean.

**Trustees** Trustee is a legal term that refers to a person or persons appointed to take care of the affairs of another person, often someone who is underage. See also Executor.

**West Indies** A term used to refer to all the islands located in the Caribbean Sea and land along its coast. The region is located southeast of the Gulf of Mexico and North America, east of Central America, and to the north of South America.

**Windward** The east coast of the island of St Christopher, facing the Atlantic Ocean.

## Sources for research

### *London Borough of Sutton*

The local record office was the starting point for research. The *Peatling Papers*, volumes of private papers of a doctor living in Carshalton in the early 20th century, are held there. So is George B Brightling's *Some particulars relating to the Histories and Antiquities of Carshalton* (1872), which is probably the first published reference to the Taylor family and Samuel Mudian. Two further publications with references to George Taylor by writers with a local interest followed; A E Jones's *From Medieval Manor to London Suburb An Obituary of Carshalton* (1970) and *The Book of Carshalton At the Source of the Wandle* (2002) edited by Stella Wilks and Gordon Rookledge.

The above texts use the following among their sources, all of which can be accessed in the Sutton Local Studies Centre:

#### **Parish registers**

These provide details of baptisms, marriages and burials in a parish, which are particularly useful when dealing with events prior to the introduction of Civil Registration in 1837.

#### **Land tax records**

These provide information on ownership of land, with or without a property and tenants occupying it.

#### **Rate books**

These provide details of a property, its rateable value and details of owners and occupiers.

### *The National Archives (UK)*

In researching the Taylor family in Britain, this was another valuable resource. Of particular relevance were:

#### **Wills before 1858**

Wills proved at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury are held at The National Archives. These are also available to download in digital form from its website, Documents Online. As well as giving details of inheritance and relationships, they provided an insight into the Taylor family's attitudes and opinions.

#### **Chancery Close Rolls**

Before the Land Registry was set up in 1862, private deeds relating to the exchange of land were often recorded in the Close Rolls.

The National Archives was also a key source for documents relating to the West Indies.

#### **Colonial Office papers**

Colonial Office papers were useful in finding information about the Taylor family in St Christopher. Searching was a time consuming process as it was necessary to go methodically through files just in case the name Taylor cropped up as there are no indexes. Correspondence between the government and the colonies included minutes of

local council meetings which did include references to the Taylor family. The occasional document relating to land was found although papers of this more private nature only tend to appear in the context of a dispute.

### ***Treasury papers***

One outcome of the Abolition of the British Slave Trade Act (1807) was a system of slave registration. These registers include details of numbers of slaves, changes in these numbers due to births, deaths, sales or purchases. They also provide details of compensation claims by slave owners after the Abolition of Slavery Act in 1833.

### ***Lambeth Palace Library***

The Fulham Papers hold records of ordinations of people licensed to West Indian colonies by the Bishop of London. As well as providing details of William Taylor's ordination, the references made in his support included other information about his life.

### ***Other local record offices***

Occasionally national records can provide local leads. In this instance a deed in the Close Rolls at The UK National Archives showed that John Taylor was living in Dorset at the time when he was purchasing land in St Christopher. Contact with Dorset History Centre revealed the connections of William Taylor and that county.

Searching the online catalogues of various local record offices through Access to Archives helped locate the private papers of the Estridge family in the Berkshire Record Office. The two families had personal and business relationships from the 17th century onwards.

### ***Reference publications***

***Caribbeana: being miscellaneous papers relating to the history, genealogy, topography and antiquities of the British West Indies*** edited by Vere Langford Oliver. Available at the British Library or Guildhall Library.

Published in six volumes, this is a valuable publication for researching British people resident in the West Indies during the 17th and 18th centuries. It records parish register entries for some of the islands, includes details of wills of wealthy planters and some government documents. There were a number of references to the Taylor family which often pointed to further sources. It included transcripts of private documents, such as the lists of early settlers on St Christopher, and public documents, such as the first census of the island.

### ***Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations***

Journals covering the years 1704–1782 are bound in volumes and indexed. Available at the UK National Archives Library, some years kept at the British Library and Guildhall Library. The journals cover aspects of official business, for example the election of John Taylor as a member of the council of Nevis. The earlier journals dating from 1675–1704 are included in the Calendar of State Papers, Colonial. Available at the British Library.



### **Calendar of State Papers, Colonial**

This series includes details of state papers from 1574–1738, relating to America and the West Indies. Available at the UK National Archives, British Library and Guildhall Library. The text is also available on CD-ROM as *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, North America and West Indies 1574–1739* (Routledge, 2000).

### **Online resources**

#### **Access to Archives (A2A)**

Online database with access to the catalogues of many local record offices in England and Wales. [www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/a2a](http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/a2a)

#### **Ancestry**

Online subscription based database with access to Birth, Marriage and Death Indexes, census records and other records. Newly added in 2008 are indexes to the Slave Registers held at The UK National Archives. *Ancestry* is free to use in Sutton Libraries.

#### **Family Search**

Online database with access to Baptisms, Marriages and census records, but offers more in an international context. [www.familysearch.com](http://www.familysearch.com)

#### **House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online**

Includes correspondence with British West Indian colonies regarding the slave trade. Minutes of Nevis council meetings had references to John Taylor's participation in the abolition debate. Free to use at the British Library and the UK National Archives.

### **Bibliography**

George B Brightling, *Some particulars relating to the Histories and Antiquities of Carshalton*, London, 1872

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Higham, C S S, *The Development of the Leeward Islands under the Restoration, 1660–1688. A study of the foundations of the old Colonial system*, Cambridge, 1921

Jones, A E, *From Medieval Manor to London Suburb, An Obituary of Carshalton*, Carshalton, 1970

Merriman, N, (ed), *The Peopling of London: five hundred years of settlement from overseas*, London, 1993

Wilks, S and Rookledge, G (eds), *The Book of Carshalton At the Source of the Wandle*, privately published 2002.

York, P C, (ed) *The Diary of John Baker*, London, 1931

This edited version of the diary of John Baker, solicitor general of the Leeward Islands, was extremely useful. It had many references of meetings between Baker and his associates in England and the West Indies, including George Taylor.