CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-14300-4 - Slavery, Family, and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles, 1648-1834
S. D. Smith
Frontmatter
More information

# Slavery, Family, and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic

From the mid-seventeenth century to the 1830s, successful gentry capitalists created an extensive business empire centred on slavery in the West Indies, but interlinked with North America, Africa, and Europe. S. D. Smith examines the formation of this British Atlantic world from the perspective of Yorkshire aristocratic families who invested in the West Indies. At the heart of the book lies a case study of the plantation-owning Lascelles and the commercial and cultural network they created with their associates. The Lascelles exhibited high levels of business innovation and were accomplished risk-takers, overcoming daunting obstacles to make fortunes out of the New World. Dr Smith shows how the family raised themselves first to super-merchant status and then to aristocratic pre-eminence. He also explores the tragic consequences for enslaved Africans with chapters devoted to the slave populations and interracial relations. This widely researched book sheds new light on the networks and the culture of imperialism.

S. D. SMITH is Senior Lecturer in History at the University of York. He has previously edited '*An Exact and Industrious Tradesman*': *The Letter Book of Joseph Symson of Kendal* (2002).

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-14300-4 - Slavery, Family, and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles, 1648-1834
S. D. Smith
Frontmatter
More information

*Cambridge Studies in Economic History*

**Editorial Board**

**Paul Johnson**
*London School of Economics and Political Science*
**Sheilagh Ogilvie**
*University of Cambridge*
**Avner Offer**
*All Souls College, Oxford*
**Gianni Toniolo**
*Università di Roma 'Tor Vergata'*
**Gavin Wright**
*Stanford University*

*Cambridge Studies in Economic History* comprises stimulating and accessible economic history which actively builds bridges to other disciplines. Books in the series will illuminate why the issues they address are important and interesting, place their findings in a comparative context, and relate their research to wider debates and controversies. The series will combine innovative and exciting new research by younger researchers with new approaches to major issues by senior scholars. It will publish distinguished work regardless of chronological period or geographical location.

Titles in the series include:

| | |
|---|---|
| Robert Millward | *Private and Public Enterprise in Europe: Energy, Telecommunications and Transport, 1830–1990* |
| S. D. Smith | *Slavery, Family, and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles, 1648–1834* |

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-14300-4 - Slavery, Family, and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles, 1648-1834
S. D. Smith
Frontmatter
More information

# Slavery, Family, and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic

*The World of the Lascelles, 1648–1834*

S. D. Smith

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-14300-4 - Slavery, Family, and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles, 1648-1834
S. D. Smith
Frontmatter
More information

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore,
São Paulo, Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo

Cambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521143004

© S. D. Smith 2006

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without the written
permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2006
This digitally printed version 2010

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library*

*Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data*
Smith, S. D. (Simon David), 1964–
Slavery, family, and gentry capitalism in the British Atlantic : the world of the Lascelles, 1648–1834 / S. D. Smith.
p. cm. – (Cambridge studies in economic history. Second Series)
Includes bibliographical references.
ISBN-13: 978-0-521-86338-4 (hardback)
ISBN-10: 0-521-86338-4 (hardback)
1. West Indies, British – Economic conditions – 17th century. 2. West Indies, British – Economic conditions – 18th century. 3. West Indies, British – Economic conditions – 19th century. 4. West Indies, British – Race relations. 5. Slavery – West Indies, British – History. 6. Lascelles family. 7. Lascelles, E. (Edward), 1740–1820. 8. Lascelles, Edward Lascelles, Viscount, 1764–1814. 9. Lascelles, Henry, 1690–1753. 10. Sugar trade – West Indies, British – History. I. Title. II. Series.
HC155.5.S64 2006
331.11´7340972909171241–dc22
2005037572

ISBN 978-0-521-86338-4 Hardback
ISBN 978-0-521-14300-4 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-14300-4 - Slavery, Family, and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles, 1648-1834
S. D. Smith
Frontmatter
More information

For he that hath, to him shall be given:
and he that hath not, from him shall be taken even that which he hath.

***

*For AS, DS, and AJS*

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-14300-4 - Slavery, Family, and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles, 1648-1834
S. D. Smith
Frontmatter
More information

# Contents

*List of Figures* *viii*
*List of Maps* *ix*
*List of Tables* *x*
*Preface* *xiii*
*List of Abbreviations* *xv*

1 Introduction: Remembering and Forgetting 1
2 Halls and Vassalls 11
3 Rise of the Lascelles 43
4 Lascelles and Maxwell 54
5 The Gedney Clarkes 91
6 Merchants and Planters 139
7 A Labyrinth of Debt 177
8 Managing a West India Interest 226
9 The Enslaved Population 260
10 Between Black and White 317
11 Epilogue 351

*Archival Sources* *359*
*Index* *367*



© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-14300-4 - Slavery, Family, and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles, 1648-1834
S. D. Smith
Frontmatter
More information

# List of Figures

4.1 Simplified pedigree of the Lascelles family 57
5.1 Simplified pedigree of the Clarke family 92
8.1 Data envelopment analysis: the efficiency frontier 245
8.2 Sugar output on two Jamaican estates, 1775–1838 246
8.3 Sugar output on three Barbadian estates, 1791–1839 247
8.4 Sugar output on two Tobagonian estates, 1794–1820 248
8.5 Monthly allowances of fish and pork on Belle and Mount estates, 1837 257
9.1 Population totals on four Barbadian estates, 1772–1835 264
9.2 Population totals on three Jamaican estates, 1767–1836 265
9.3 Probability of death ($q_x$) by age group on six estates, 1817–34 and two model life tables 284
9.4 Probability of death ($q_x$) by age group: males and females on six estates, 1817–34 288
9.5 Kaplan-Meier cumulative survival plot for six estates, 1817–34 290
9.6 Kaplan-Meier cumulative survival curves by age group, 1817–34 292
9.7 Kaplan-Meier cumulative survival plots by origin, 1817–34 294
9.8 Proportion of children on Williamsfield and Nightingale Grove matched with 'mothers', 1817 297
9.9 Cross-plot of 'mother's' age and matched child's mean age on Williamsfield and Nightingale Grove, 1817 298
9.10 Child participation rates on ten estates, 1787–1834 299
9.11 LRC generated population pyramid for six estates, 1817–34 310
10.1 Population pyramid for slaves of colour on six estates, 1817 333
10.2 *Un Anglais de la Barbade vend sa maîtresse* (1770) 346



© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-14300-4 - Slavery, Family, and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles, 1648-1834
S. D. Smith
Frontmatter
More information

# List of Maps

1 Major trade routes of the British Atlantic xvi
2 Barbadian estates owned or managed by the Lascelles 180
3 Jamaican estates owned or managed by the Lascelles 187
4 Tobagonian estates owned or managed by the Lascelles 188



© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-14300-4 - Slavery, Family, and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles, 1648-1834
S. D. Smith
Frontmatter
More information

# List of Tables

3.1 Business correspondents of Hugh Hall Jr 14
3.2 Stated destinations of persons applying for tickets to depart Barbados, 26 February–4 November 1679 20
3.3 Legislation passed by the Barbados Assembly to promote inventive activity, 1669–1737 37
3.1 St Michael's Parish levy assessments for Edward Lascelles, 1687–1706 47
5.1 Debts owed by Gedney Clarke Sr (deceased) and Jr, c. 1774 94
5.2 Real estate holdings of Gedney Clarke Sr and Jr 104
5.3 Estimated gross asset value of real estate owned by Gedney Clarke Sr and Jr c. 1755 and c. 1776 106
6.1 Chronological distribution of Henry Lascelles' lending (£ sterling) 144
6.2 Henry Lascelles' English loans by type of security 147
6.3 Short-term trade credit supplied by Lascelles & Maxwell on account current 150
6.4 Analysis of interest arrears on loans in 1753 151
6.5 Comparative rates of return earned by Henry Lascelles on loans and securities, 1732–53 153
6.6 Summary of stock market positions taken by Henry Lascelles 154
6.7 New lending compared with holdings of securities and real estate, 1735–53 154
6.8 Sugar exports and the colonial terms of trade, 1701–70 170
6.9 Alphabetical listing of the West Indian loans of Henry Lascelles, 1723–53 174
7.1 Acquisition of West Indian estates, 1773–1818 178
7.2 Capital out on loan in the West Indies, 1769–77 184
7.3 West Indian assets and liabilities of the Harvies, 1765 and 1777 200
7.4 Analysis of debts owed to Alexander Harvie (all colonies), 1765 202



© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-14300-4 - Slavery, Family, and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles, 1648-1834
S. D. Smith
Frontmatter
More information




| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 7.5 | West Indian assets and liabilities of the Blenmans, c. 1784 | 212 |
| 7.6 | Indebtedness of four major loan clients at foreclosure | 221 |
| 7.7 | Alphabetical listing of loan clients, 1777–1820 | 222 |
| 8.1 | Revenue and performance of twelve estates, 1791–6 | 230 |
| 8.2 | The evolution of 'Lascelles & Maxwell', 1732–1886 | 240 |
| 8.3 | Disinvestment of West Indian real estate, 1791–1975 | 241 |
| 8.4 | Revenue and performance of eight estates, 1805–20 | 243 |
| 8.5 | Production data for eight estates, 1805–20 | 244 |
| 8.6 | Relative efficiency levels on twelve estates, 1791–1839 | 246 |
| 8.7 | Estimated value and income of the Harewood estate and Edward Lascelles' personal estate, c. 1799–1805 | 250 |
| 8.8 | Comparative estimate of Henry and Edward Lascelles' gross wealth, c. 1753 | 251 |
| 8.9 | Compensation payments to the Earl of Harewood, 1835–6 | 252 |
| 8.10 | Annual output and gross revenue of six Barbadian and Jamaican estates, 1829–48 | 256 |
| 9.1 | Characteristics of ten estates included in the Enslaved Database | 262 |
| 9.2 | Population totals on ten estates, 1767–1835 | 263 |
| 9.3 | Gender and origin of the populations of four Barbadian estates | 266 |
| 9.4 | Gender and origin of the populations of three Jamaican estates | 269 |
| 9.5 | Summary occupational classifications for nine estates | 272 |
| 9.6 | Name changing among mothers listed on Nightingale Grove and Williamsfield estates, 1817–32 | 280 |
| 9.7 | LRC generated life table for six estates, 1817–34 | 283 |
| 9.8 | Hazard ratios for six estates (univariate analysis) | 291 |
| 9.9 | Hazard ratios for six estates (multivariate analysis) | 293 |
| 9.10 | Hazard ratios for children aged three and under | 294 |
| 9.11 | Family groupings recorded on Nightingale Grove estate, 1777 | 300 |
| 9.12 | Net-reproduction rates on six estates, 1817–34 | 301 |
| 9.13 | CWR and FMR on six estates, 1787–1834 | 302 |
| 9.14 | Consistency of age reporting: Thicket and Fortescue estates, 1787–1834 | 307 |
| 9.15 | Survivorship on Thicket and Fortescue estates, 1787–1817 | 309 |
| 10.1 | Chi-square analysis of births and deaths of coloured slaves for six Barbadian and Jamaican estates, 1817–32 | 334 |
| 10.2 | Female births on six Barbadian and Jamaican properties, distinguishing coloured children, 1817–32 | 335 |
| 11.1 | Performance of Barbadian properties, 1937–8 and 1951–2 | 354 |


© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-14300-4 - Slavery, Family, and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles, 1648-1834
S. D. Smith
Frontmatter
More information

# Preface

Fire, fire – grand copper, grand copper.
Michael Scott, *Tom Cringle's Log* (originally published 1820–33; New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1927), 374

The fieldwork for this book was undertaken at intervals over a period of seven years. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the generous assistance received from individuals located across the globe during this time. Indeed, so many people submitted information or suggestions, in response to queries, that it is quite possible a few names have been omitted inadvertently from the subsequent list. Sadly, some of the contributors did not live to see the project completed, among them Professor Richard B. Sheridan and Mr Tom Wilkinson – both of whom, in their own ways, contributed greatly to the history and cultural heritage of Barbados. Special thanks are also due to Professor James Walvin, whose constructive criticism, friendship, and deep knowledge of Caribbean history were much appreciated throughout the investigation.

I wish to thank Adrian Almond, Henrice Altink, Oswald Ames, Tim and Una Anderson, Roger Avery, Bernard Bailyn, Robert B. Barker, Paul Bassett, Edmund Berkeley, Adrian Bodkin, Eleanor Brackbill, Trevor Burnard, Ann M. Carlos, Dave Clarke, Dominik Collet, Bill Connor, Marion Diamond, Harry Duggan, David Eltis, Jane Fairfax, Sue Fitzgerald, Margaret Gardner, Eleanor Gawne, Robert Griffiths, Charles Kearney Hall III, Lord Harewood, Anstice Hughes, Ronnie Hughes, Phyllis Hunter, Lisa Jenkins, Michael Jessamy, Mary Lib Joyce, Paul Knights, David Lascelles, Karen Lynch, John J. McCusker, Rod and Michelle McDonald, Emily Mechner, John Meriton, Mary Mill, Sheila Millar, Kirstynn Monrose, Elizabeth Odell, Bill Overton, Bob Paquette, Susan Pares, Christer Petley, William Pettigrew, David Pott, Jacob M. Price, Neon Reynolds, David Richardson, Dan Richter, James Robertson, Henry Robinson, Winifred B. Rothenberg, George Russell, Carolyn Smith-Pelletier, Terry Suthers, Clare Taylor, Thomas Truxes,



© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-14300-4 - Slavery, Family, and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles, 1648-1834
S. D. Smith
Frontmatter
More information



Johan van Langen, Roderic Vassie, Michael Watson, Ernest M. Wiltshire, Pat Wood, Sheila Yeo, and Nuala Zahedieh.

Almost all of the project's funding was donated by independent charitable trusts. The two principal sponsors remained supportive of research from its inception to completion; to them is owing a particular debt of gratitude. The Harewood Trust provided access to manuscript materials and contributed financially to the initial stages of research. Without two timely grants from Leverhulme Trust (in 2000 and 2004) it is doubtful whether this work would ever have been completed. The first of these awards (F/00224A) enabled Dr Douglas Hamilton to be employed as a research assistant for two years. Douglas' collegiality and patience (when following leads, or extracting material from the national archives of Britain and Jamaica), are gratefully acknowledged. A second Leverhulme grant (RRFG/10734) provided respite from teaching and administration duties for two terms, thus enabling most of the book to be written.

The editors of *Economic History Review*, *The New England Quarterly* and Microform Ltd kindly granted permission to publish material (in Chapters 4, 5, and 6) that originally appeared elsewhere. Significant revisions and additions, however, have been made to these earlier published versions. Also deeply appreciated are the efforts of the staffs of all the archives and libraries cited in the book, especially those who found the time (out of increasingly busy schedules) to answer the more detailed written enquiries, submitted in advance of visits.

In February and March of 2005, The John Carter Brown Library awarded the author a Paul W. McQuillen Memorial Fellowship. The stimulating environment at Brown University, coupled with the sociability of the JCB fellows and Professor Roger Avery's (almost) boundless enthusiasm for the study of demography, provided an inspirational setting in which to complete the work. Two shorter visits to the McNeil Center at the University of Pennsylvania also reaped rich dividends. Mr Michael Watson, Ms Isabelle Dambricourt and Ms Monica Kendall expertly guided the book through the final stages of publication at Cambridge University Press, and Ms Chantal Hamill compiled the excellent index. Professor Trevor Burnard kindly read an earlier draft with a critical eye and offered some very useful advice. Thanks are also due to two anonymous referees and to Professor Gavin Wright (the series editor) for their valuable comments on the manuscript. Lastly, Jonathan, Sarah Beth, Rondo, and Brio helped immeasurably in conquering the many trials and tribulations confronting the travelling historian.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-14300-4 - Slavery, Family, and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles, 1648-1834
S. D. Smith
Frontmatter
More information

# List of Abbreviations

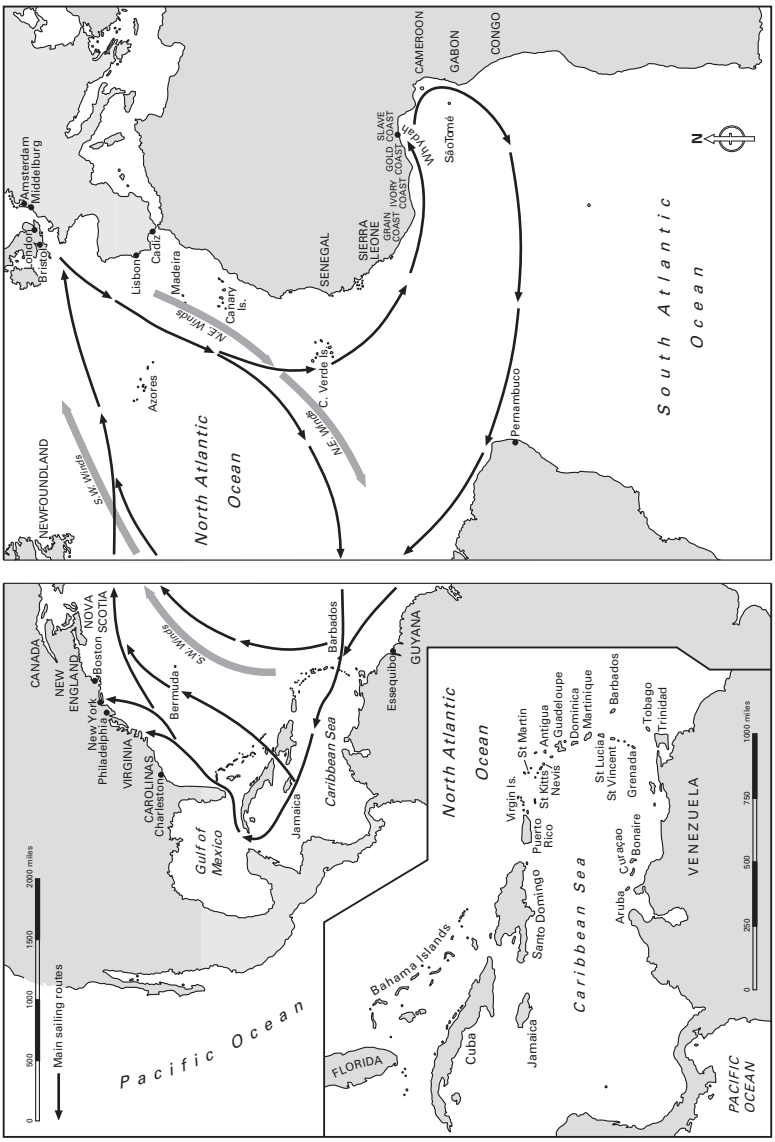
| | |
|---|---|
| BA | Barbados Archives, Cave Hill, Barbados |
| BL | British Library, London |
| BPL | Boston Public Library, Boston, Massachusetts |
| CKS | Centre for Kentish Studies, Maidstone, Kent |
| *CSPC (A&WI)* | *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies* (1860–) |
| CLRO | Corporation of London Records Office |
| CRO | Carlisle Record Office, Cumbria |
| HH:WIP | Harewood House, West Yorkshire, West India Papers |
| HSP | Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia |
| IGI | International Genealogical Index |
| JA | Jamaica Archives, Spanish Town Jamaica |
| *JBMHS* | *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society* |
| LBMH | Library of the Barbados Museum & Historical Society, Bridgetown, Barbados |
| *LMLB* | S. D. Smith ed., *The Lascelles and Maxwell Letter Books, 1739–1769* (Wakefield, 2002) |
| MCD | Corporation of London Records Office, Mayor's Court Depositions |
| MHS | Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston |
| NA:PRO | National Archives: Public Record Office, London |
| NAS | National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh |
| *NEHGR* | *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* |
| NMM | National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London |
| *ODNB* | *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) |
| PEM | Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts |
| PRONI | Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast |
| WRA | West Riding of Yorkshire Archives (WRA), Sheepscar Branch, Leeds |



© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-14300-4 - Slavery, Family, and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles, 1648-1834
S. D. Smith
Frontmatter
More information




Map 1. Major trade routes of the British Atlantic.

© in this web service Cambridge University Press www.cambridge.org