

British Atlantic Slave Trade and East Indian Textiles, 1650s-1808

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Introduction

In this paper I try to answer the question of why Britain was able to purchase more than three millions slaves before abolishing the slave trade in 1807. During the period the British engaged in the trade in the Atlantic Ocean they also traded with other areas such as Continental Europe, the Baltic Sea regions, Asia and others. Britain imported grains, raw materials, colonial goods, and luxury goods from these areas. Some were re-exported to fulfill the demand of buyers and to promote other trades.

There are many studies that discuss factors of the expansion of British overseas trade. Some suggest that consumption-oriented change led to the growth of workforce demand in colonial America and the Caribbean Islands.¹ Others argue that the credit systems in West Africa contributed to the dominant position of Britain among its European competitors in the eighteenth century.²

It is certain that demand for labor was a sine qua non for continuing the slave trade in that period. But this statement only explains the motivation for the trade. Also, the financial institutions in West Africa probably promoted the trade. However this argument seems only to explore the aspect of efficiency. Therefore, if we want to answer the question I posed at the beginning, other perspectives will be required.

Thus I try to shed light on the commodities exported or re-exported from British ports from the perspective of international trade. In order to complete this task, I use not only the official records of British external trade, the well-known Customs 3 and 17, but also two

¹ J. M. Price, 'What Did Merchants Do? Reflection on British Overseas Trade, 1660-1790', *Economic History Review*, 2nd Ser., 68-2, 1989, pp. 267-284; D. Richardson, 'The Slave Trade, Sugar, and British Economic Growth, 1748-1776', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 17-4, 1987, pp. 739-769. See also R. Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery: An Economic History of the British West Indies 1623-1775*, Baltimore, 1974.

² P. E. Lovejoy and D. Richardson, 'Trust, Pawnship, and Atlantic History: The Institutional Foundations of the Old Calabar Slave Trade', *American Historical Review*, 104-2, 1999, pp. 333-355; P. E. Lovejoy and D. Richardson, "'This Horrid Hole": Royal Authority, Commerce and Credit at Bonny, 1690-1840', *Journal of African History*, 45-3, 2004, pp. 363-392.

merchants sources to compensate for the deficit in those records.³ These sources are not only helpful in exploring the value and volume of the trade, but also in finding out the trading routes.

Ch. 1 British Commercial Expansion in the Early Modern Period

1. British Commercial Sphere: the Age of ‘Commercial Revolution’

According to Ralph Davis, England underwent a major change in its trading trend from the second half of the seventeenth century. Up to the middle of that century, woolen textiles produced in England had been the leading product for external trade. However, as trade with East India and the Atlantic world grew, the proportion of woolen textiles diminished. Instead, re-exported commodities produced in both areas reached about 30 percent of the total value of exports in the late 17th century. This phenomenon, called the ‘Commercial Revolution’, meant a growth in the significance of trade with non-European regions.⁴

As to the background that caused this change Jacob Price points out three factors of demand: (1) the increase of demand in England for ‘exotic’ goods from the Atlantic and Asian worlds and raw materials from Continental Europe; (2) the increase of demand in north-west European countries for goods of the Asian and Atlantic worlds that were re-exported from England; (3) the increase of demand in the Atlantic world for English products and goods from Asia and Europe.⁵ The increasing dependence on non-European goods stimulated the shipping industry in England. Moreover, the demand for raw materials such as wood and iron for that industry and the navy led to an expansion of trade with the Baltic Sea regions.⁶ These trends continued even into the 18th century.

There is no doubt that London was the most important port in England during this period, even though it had some structural problems. According to trade statistics, although its position relatively declined as the share of outports rose after the 1740s, the pace was slow. Rather, London still maintained about 70% of the total value of imports and more than 65% of

³ Regarding the statistical records of the British trade, I rely on the following works. E. B. Schumpeter, *English Overseas Trade Statistics 1697-1808*, Oxford, 1960; M. Johnson, *Anglo-African Trade in the Eighteenth Century: English Statistics on African Trade 1699-1808*, J. T. Lindblad and R. Ross (eds.), Leiden, 1990.

⁴ R. Davis, ‘English Foreign Trade, 1660-1700’, *Economic History Review*, 2nd Ser., 7-2, 1954, pp. 150-166; R. Davis, ‘English Foreign Trade, 1700-74’, *Economic History Review*, 2nd Ser., 15-2, 1962-63, pp. 285-303; R. Davis, *A Commercial Revolution*, London, 1967.

⁵ Price, ‘What Did Merchants Do?’.

⁶ D. Farnie, ‘The Commercial Empire of the Atlantic, 1607-1783’, *Economic History Review*, 2nd Ser., 15-2, 1962-3, pp. 205-218.

the total value of exports (including re-exports) by the 1770s, and overwhelmed the total value of all other ports in trade with every area (except for Ireland).⁷

There are many factors that sustained the leading position of London in this period. For example, the increase of population (from 575,000 in 1700 to 959,000 in 1801) and the development of industry boosted the demand for provisions and raw materials. Also, many chartered companies, such as the East India Company (EIC), placed their headquarters in London. In addition, there were many important commercial and financial institutions like the Bank of England, the Lombard and West End Banks, and the Royal Exchange. Furthermore, the geographical location, in that the Thames was not so far from the high seas, was also suitable to trade.⁸

It was merchants who played a key role in the period of the 'Commercial Revolution'. In 1771 there were more than 230 companies in just four streets of the City, and the number increased during the eighteenth century.⁹ However their activities were inseparable from the state, especially the Royal Navy. In wartime, they needed protection from the navy. On the other hand, they supplied wood products and naval goods imported from the Baltic Sea areas and North America. Thus there was a mutual relationship between merchants and the Royal Navy in the 17th and 18th centuries.¹⁰

What is more, the regulation system that the Navigation Acts represented protected British interests in its colonial trade. Under this system all colonial trade had to be carried in British or colonial ships. This meant the exclusion of Dutch shipping so that the First Anglo-Dutch War took place soon after the establishment of the Act of 1651. The Acts were changed and revised again and again until the repeal of 1849.¹¹

2. British International Trade in the Eighteenth Century

⁷ C. J. French, "'Crowded with traders and a great commerce': London's Domination of English Overseas Trade, 1700-1775", *London Journal*, 17-1, pp. 27-33; H. G. Roseveare, 'The eighteenth-century port of London reconsidered', in A. Guimera, D. Romero (eds.), *Puertos y Sistemas Portuarios (Siglos 16-20): Actas del Coloquio Internacional El Sistema Portuario Español*, Madrid, 1996, pp. 37-52.

⁸ French, 'London's Domination', pp. 29-30; K. Morgan, *Slavery, Atlantic Trade and the British Economy, 1660-1800*, Cambridge, 2000, pp. 91-93; C. Gill, *Merchants and Mariners of the 18th Century*, London, 1961, pp. 9-11.

⁹ Gill, *Merchants and Mariners*, p. 10.

¹⁰ J. M. Price, 'The Imperial Economy', in P. J. Marshall (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Eighteenth Century*, Oxford, 1998, p. 79. It can be said that merchants also contributed more or less to the establishment of the so-called 'Fiscal Military State' of the eighteenth century. P. K. O'Brien, 'Inseparable Connections: Trade, Economy, Fiscal State, and the Expansion of Empire, 1699-1815', in Marshall, *The eighteenth century*, pp. 53-77.

¹¹ P. J. Marshall, 'Britain without America-A Second Empire?' in Marshall, *The eighteenth century*, pp. 576, 585-586; Davis, 'English Foreign Trade, 1660-1700', p. 153.

As mentioned above, the value of re-exports began to increase from the late seventeenth century, and marked its ‘Golden Age’¹² in the 1770s. In this section, we set out to comprehend more concrete features of British trade in the eighteenth Century based on statistical records.

Imports

In the 18th century the total value of British imports expanded about five times. As Table 1 shows, the annual average of British imports grew from about £ 4,790,000 (1701-1705) to about £ 23,960,000 (1796-1800). Although the years 1796-1800 saw the start of the Napoleonic wars, the statistical records still show an increasing tendency.

Table 1 The Total Value of British Imports and Exports, 1701-1800 (Unit: £ 1,000)		
	Imports	Exports (incl. Re-exports)
1701-1705	29,332	23,971
1721-1725	38,945	33,281
1746-1750	57,062	37,149
1771-1775	79,163	64,422
1796-1800	163,700	119,780

Source: Schumpeter, Trade Statistics, pp. 15-16.
 Note: Specie is excluded from these values.

During this period the greatest trade was with the British West Indies. While its value (£ 610,000) was smaller than that of Germany (£ 660,000) in 1701-1705, rapid growth followed, especially in the second half of the century, and it became the most valuable region where Britain traded (£ 590,000, 1796-1800). In addition to that, Colonial America, later the United States, Canada and Newfoundland also played similar roles to the British West Indies. These places provided Britain and other European countries with sugar, tobacco, dyestuffs, rice and raw materials like wood and cotton. Most of them were produced in slave plantations¹³

¹² Toru Matsui, *Sekai Shijo no Keisei* [The Making of a World Market], Tokyo, 1991, p. 198.
¹³ Schumpeter, Trade Statistics, p. 18.

Table 2 The Volume and Value of Textiles Imported by EIC, 1701-1810

	Volume of Textiles (Unit: piece)	Value of Textiles (Unit: £)	Total Value of Import (Unit: £)
1701-1710	2,774,811	1,665,815	2,700,860
1711-1720	5,521,034	3,490,957	4,783,805
1721-1730	7,826,955	4,150,928	6,332,930
1731-1740	7,652,189	4,286,018	6,558,927
1741-1750	7,717,935	5,224,402	7,779,032
1751-1760	5,274,696	4,185,138	7,786,580
1761-1770	6,669,230	5,402,703	10,967,768
1771-1780	8,871,203	7,809,414	15,705,052
1781-1790	7,644,347	7,612,661	22,529,948
1791-1800	13,421,526	10,632,461	29,760,737
1801-1810	21,101,976	7,662,976	28,932,323

Source: K. N. Chaudhuri, *The trading world of Asia and the English East India Company, 1660-1760*, Cambridge, 1978, Appendix 5; H. V. Bowen, *The East India Company: trade and domestic financial statistics, 1755-1838*, UK Data Archive, Study No. 5690, 2007 (<http://www.data-archive.ac.uk/findingData/snDescription.asp?sn=5690>, accessed on 3rd December 2008).

The East Indies that India represented also became one of the most important regions for British international commerce. As is well-known, East Indian textiles such as calico and muslin were sought-after items in the world. They made up more than 50% of the total imports from East India during most of the eighteenth century, as Table 2 suggests. Mass flooding of the market with cotton textiles imported by the EIC led to opposition campaigns by domestic manufacturers of woollens and silks that caused prohibitive measures to be enacted in the early stages of the eighteenth century. However, there were loopholes that allowed some kinds of cotton textiles to be imported from India or to be re-exported to other countries/regions.¹⁴

¹⁴ D. Ormrod, 'English re-export and the Dutch staple market in the eighteenth century', in D. C. Coleman and P. Mathias (eds.), *Enterprise and History: essays in honour of Charles Wilson*, Cambridge, 1984, pp. 89-115. In this article Ormrod argues that more than two thirds of the East India textiles imported were re-exported to Amsterdam until the 1740s.

Therefore, in spite of such a ban, the value and volume of imported cotton textiles from India grew almost 10 times throughout the eighteenth century.

As already mentioned, imports from the Baltic Sea regions that followed the Atlantic regions and the East Indies in terms of volume played a key role in promoting the English ‘Commercial Revolution’ at the time. In particular, Maria Bogucka calls the latter-half of the eighteenth century the ‘raw material stage’, when a wide range of raw materials such as wood (oak, inside panels, and masts), iron, flax and hemp, and some provisions were imported through the Sound.¹⁵

As to goods from Continental Europe, linens from Germany should be noted. As E. K. Newman underscores, German linens contributed to the English ‘Commercial Revolution’ in the eighteenth century, especially in its first half.¹⁶ These textiles were also re-exported to Africa to exchange for slaves and African goods.

Exports

The total value of British exports also jumped more than five times. According to Table 1, the annual average value of British exports increased from £ 5,870,000 (1701-1705) to £ 32,740,000 (1795-1800).

In the eighteenth century the importance of Germany, especially Hamburg, as a ‘Gateway’ rose rapidly. While the value of exports to Germany was smaller than that to the Netherlands which was the main destination for British exports at the beginning of the century, Germany replaced the Netherlands as a center for commodity distribution after the 1780s. In the years 1781-1785 the value of exports to Germany reached about £ 1,280,000, more than £ 500,000 greater than the value of exports to the Netherlands. This rise of Germany was due to the policy of neutrality of Hamburg from the third Anglo-Dutch War to the Napoleonic War.¹⁷

More importantly, exports to the Atlantic world increased dramatically in the eighteenth

¹⁵ M. Bogucka, ‘The Role of Baltic Trade in European Development from the XVIIth to the XVIIIth centuries’, *Journal of European History*, 9-1, 1980, p. 11; Toshiaki Tamaki, *Hoppou Yoroppa no Shogyo to Keizai, 1550-1815nen* [Commerce and Economy in Northern Europe, 1550-1815], Tokyo, 2008, Ch. 5.

¹⁶ E. K. Newman, *Anglo-Hamburg Trade in the Late Seventeenth Century and Early Eighteenth Century*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1979.

¹⁷ Schumpeter, *Trade Statistics*, p. 17; Tamaki, *Hoppou Yoroppa*, p. 300. The reasons for the growth of Hamburg are analyzed in detail in the following article: M. North, ‘Hamburg: “The Continent’s Most English City”’, in M. North, *From the North Sea to the Baltic: Essays in Commercial, Monetary and Agrarian History, 1500-1800*, Aldershot and Hampshire, 1996, Ch. 6.

century.¹⁸ Their value grew from only £ 850,000 (including the value of re-exports, £ 320,000) to £ 13,900,000 (re-exports £ 1,290,000). A large amount of textiles such as English woolens and East India cottons were exported or re-exported from British ports. English woolen textiles shared about 30% of the total export value to British North America in 1772. On the other hand, German linens and East India cottons were popular in tropical areas like Africa and the Caribbean islands.¹⁹ This point will be analyzed in the next chapter.

Also, British trade with Asia underwent expansion of exports as well as imports during the first half of the eighteenth century. The value of exports to Asia increased from £ 750,000 in 1701 to £ 1,300,000 in 1750. The main export was bullion, especially silver, which made up from 70% to 90%.²⁰

At that time, the EIC as well as other European East India Companies carried vast amounts of bullion to Asia to exchange for Asian goods like tea, pepper, spices and textiles. According to calculations by Jan de Vries, the value of bullion re-exported to Asia was 16% (£ 6,200,000) of the total imports into Europe in 1676-1700, which grew to 25% (£ 156,000,000) in 1776-95. After peaking in 1726-50 (32%: £ 122,500,000), the value gradually decreased. This downward movement was related to the British acquisition of power to levy taxes in Bengal and Surat in the 1760s. After that the British did not need to bring bullion to Asia any longer.²¹

Connection Atlantic and Asia

As noted above, the period of 'Commercial revolution' saw remarkable expansion of the volume and value of trade with the Atlantic world and Asia. American bullion flowed into Asia via the route of the Cape of Good Hope, that of Manila-Acapulco, and that of the Baltic Sea and the Levant. In turn, spices and pepper, cotton textiles, and tea were imported from Asia and had a profound impact on European lifestyles.

Comparing their proportions of total imports in English international commerce in the first half of the 1770s, the Atlantic took c. 40% and Asia 15%. This indicates that the importance of the Atlantic trade was significantly large.²² As already mentioned, this was

¹⁸ The Atlantic world comprises the Americas, the British Caribbean islands, and Africa.

¹⁹ Price, 'The Imperial Economy', pp. 87-88; Davis, 'English Foreign Trade, 1700-74', p. 303; R. Davis, *The Industrial Revolution and British Overseas Trade*, Leicester, 1979, pp. 95, 103.

²⁰ Chaudhuri, *The trading world of Asia*, pp. 507, 517.

²¹ J. de Vries, 'Connection Europe and Asia: A Quantitative Analysis of the Cape-route Trade, 1497-1795', in D. Flynn, et al. (eds.), *Global Connections and Monetary History, 1470-1800*, Aldershot, 2003, pp. 78-79.

²² Schumpeter, *Trade Statistics*, p. 18. The same trend is found in French international trade. The value of imports from the Atlantic accounted for 40% of total imports, but Asia only 5%. This small proportion was

mainly due to the plantation based economy of the Caribbean islands and the Americas. It is well-known that this economy was sustained by the tireless transmission of slaves from the African coasts for more than three centuries. Thus the Atlantic slave trade was the crucial factor in maintaining staple production in the early modern period: indeed Malachy Postlethwayt called it ‘the Great Pillar’.²³ However, as I mentioned in Table 2, both the volume and value of imports from Asia increased throughout the eighteenth century. In particular, textiles of which Indian cotton goods made up the majority accounted for 60-70% of the total in the first half of the century and 30-50% in the second.

As Beverly Lemire argues, the interaction between India and Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was inseparably linked to the shaping of fashion and the advent of consumer markets for the early modern industrial ages, and Indian cottons played an incomparably important role in providing European consumers with new tastes. Indian cottons were consumed as clothing like gowns, waistcoats, and kerchiefs round the neck as well as interior decoration such as cushions, coverlets, and drapes. These Asian goods attracted not only the upper social class but the lower classes.²⁴ A review of the French trade says ‘it is not cheap [...] it is fashion, and it is a certain vanity that makes the women of the lower classes so curious about calicoes. Dressed in light or printed cottons, they think themselves no longer at the same level of women of their social station [...] they think themselves superior to their social condition because ladies of quality too wear calicoes’.²⁵

In the early modern age, Indian cottons captured the world market from regions in the Indian Ocean to Europe and the Americas, and their quality was regarded as the global standard. Prior to the fifteenth century, Indian cottons acquired markets in East Asia, the Western Pacific, and the China Seas, and maintained commercial routes via East Africa, Central Asia, Persia, the Middle East, and the Mediterranean. For instance, they were exchanged for pepper in Southeast Asia. On the other hand, they also played an important role in the purchase of African slaves on the West African coasts in European commerce after the

due to defeat in Asian competition with Britain in the mid-eighteenth century. Nevertheless this trend shows that the Atlantic trade was important for both Britain and France. de Vries, ‘Connection Europe and Asia’, p. 93.

²³ M. Postlethwayt, *The African Trade, the Great Pillar and Support of the British Plantation Trade in North America*, London, 1745.

²⁴ B. Lemire, ‘Revising the Historical Narrative: India, Europe, and the Cotton Trade, c. 1300-1800’, in P. Parthasarathi and G. Riello (eds.), *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200-1850*, Oxford, 2009, pp.214-225.

²⁵ Cited in G. Riello, ‘The Globalization of Cotton Textiles: Indian Cottons, Europe, and the Atlantic World, 1600-1850’, in Parthasarathi and Riello, *The Spinning World*, pp. 266-267. Another good example can be found in *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (1670) by Molière. In this play the bourgeois Monsieur Jourdain, eager to be a gentleman, shows off his calico in front of his teachers.

fifteenth century. Thus, prior to the eighteenth century, Indian textiles were sought-after around the world, and were also without doubt ‘the first global commodity’ in terms of production, consumption, and exchange, and prepared the way for the ‘global consumer markets for the modern industrial age’.²⁶

Also, East Indian textiles were closely related to the British Industrial Revolution. The origin of the industrial revolution has been a controversial topic. For example, Joseph Inikori explains it in terms of ‘Import Substitution Industrialization’ and stresses the role of West Africa in encouraging the international competitiveness of British textiles as compared with East India cottons in the process.²⁷ However, Maxine Berg focuses more upon social aspects in her recent works. In early modern Europe, the import of Asian goods shaped a new consumer society in which people pursued ‘luxury’. This drove Europeans to augment their knowledge of consumer markets and to begin to ‘imitate’ Asian commodities. Moreover British manufacturers could utilize the resources and markets of the British Empire and create their own luxuries. This led to the industrial revolution in England.²⁸ In either case it is clear that the impact of Asian trade on the early modern European, especially British, economies should not be neglected.

Ch. 2 Significance of East Indian Cottons in the Atlantic Slave Trade

1. Anglo-African Trade and East Indian Cottons, 1699-1808

The recent project of compiling a database of the Atlantic slave trade under the leadership of David Eltis and David Richardson has shown that about 12.5 million slaves were shipped from Africa in the years 1501-1867.²⁹ The British share was approximately 25% over the whole

²⁶ Lemire, ‘Revising the Historical Narrative’, p. 226; P. Parthasarati and G. Riello, ‘Introduction: Cotton Textiles and Global History’, in *The Spinning World*, p. 2.

²⁷ J. E. Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England: A Study in International Trade and Economic Development*, Cambridge, 2002. Similar arguments may also be found in studies by Japanese economic historians, for example, H. Kawakatsu, ‘Momen no Seihou Denpa: Aajianai Boueki kara Taiseiyou Keizaiken e [Cotton Diffusion to the West: from Intra-Asian Trade to the Atlantic Economy]’, *The Waseda journal of political science and economics*, 270-2, 1982, pp. 100-135; M. Kawakita, *Kogyoka no Rekishiteki Zentei* [Historical Conditions of British Industrialization: Empire and Gentlemen], Tokyo, 1983.

²⁸ M. Berg, ‘In Pursuit of Luxury: Global History and British Consumer Goods in the Eighteenth Century’, *Past and Present*, 182, 2004, pp. 85-142.

²⁹ The database is open to the public on the website. D. Eltis et al. (eds.), *Voyages: the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database* (hereafter TSTD), 2008 (<http://www.slavevoyages.org/> accessed on 1st April 2009). See also modified numbers, D. Eltis and D. Richardson, ‘A New Assessment of the Transatlantic Slave Trade’, in D. Eltis and D. Richardson (eds.), *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*, Yale, 2008, pp. 6-7.

period, though its shipments of slaves were almost equal to those of Brazil/Portugal, the largest participant, in the eighteenth century. In the middle of the seventeenth century Britain transported c. 30,000 slaves from Africa, and then underwent three major expansion phases (1650s-1680s; c.1710-c.1730; 1740s-c.1770),³⁰ which were related to changes of trade organizations like the Royal African Company and to the emergence of new trading ports such as Bristol and Liverpool. In the final decade of the eighteenth century British shipments of African slaves grew to nearly 400,000.

No other European country experienced such an expansion in the Atlantic slave trade during the period that Britain engaged in it. The Dutch carried about 30,000 slaves in the early decades of the eighteenth century and marked 60,000 slaves at the peak of their trade (1760s). The French slave trade also shipped under 30,000 slaves in the first decade of the eighteenth century, but expanded this to nearly 300,000 slaves in the 1780s. However the French trade dropped sharply to just over 70,000 in the next decade. Even the Portuguese did not maintain their volume throughout the eighteenth century.³¹ Now we can ask the question once again. Why did Britain grow so rapidly during that period? Why could the British purchase such vast numbers of slaves in West Africa?

To answer this question, it is necessary to investigate the goods which were exported/re-exported from British ports. In order to ascertain this, it is indispensable to survey trade statistics such as Customs 3/17. Marion Johnson compiled the value of Anglo-African trade from 1699 to 1808 based on Customs 3/17 per year/decade.³² According to Figure 1, total imports from Africa remained at approximately the same level throughout the period,³³ while total exports (including re-exports) made a great leap, especially from the mid-eighteenth century. The value of total exports grew from around £ 900,000 at the beginning of the eighteenth century to more than £ 10 million at the end of the century. This trend coincided with the growth of the slave trade. Although the final decade saw a rise of prices due to the French Revolution and the Napoleonic War, it is fair to state that British exports continued to rise throughout the eighteenth century.³⁴

³⁰ D. Richardson, 'The British empire and the Atlantic slave trade 1660-1807', in Marshall, *The eighteenth century*, p. 443.

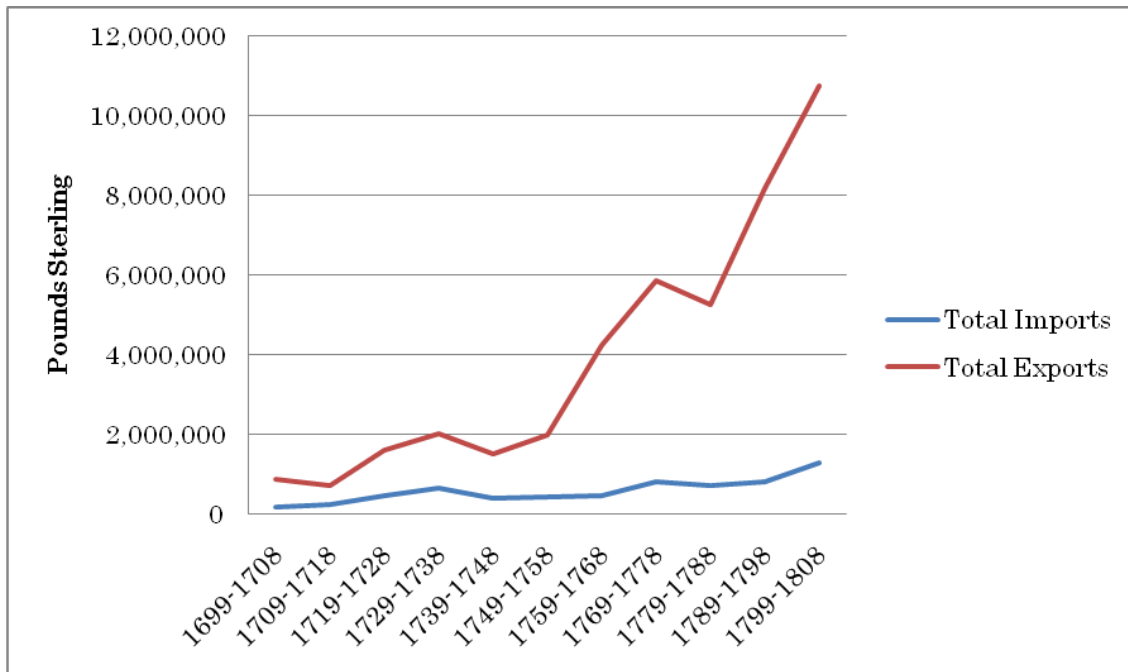
³¹ Eltis and Richardson, 'A New Assessment', pp. 6-7.

³² Johnson, *Anglo-African Trade in the Eighteenth Century*. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Ryuto Shimada for bringing a copy of the dataset from Leiden University.

³³ The blue line of total imports in Figure 1 includes the value of ivory, gums, dyestuffs, foodstuffs, oils, and so on.

³⁴ Matsui, *Sekai Shijo*, p. 295.

Figure 1 Total British Exports to and Imports from Africa, 1699-1808

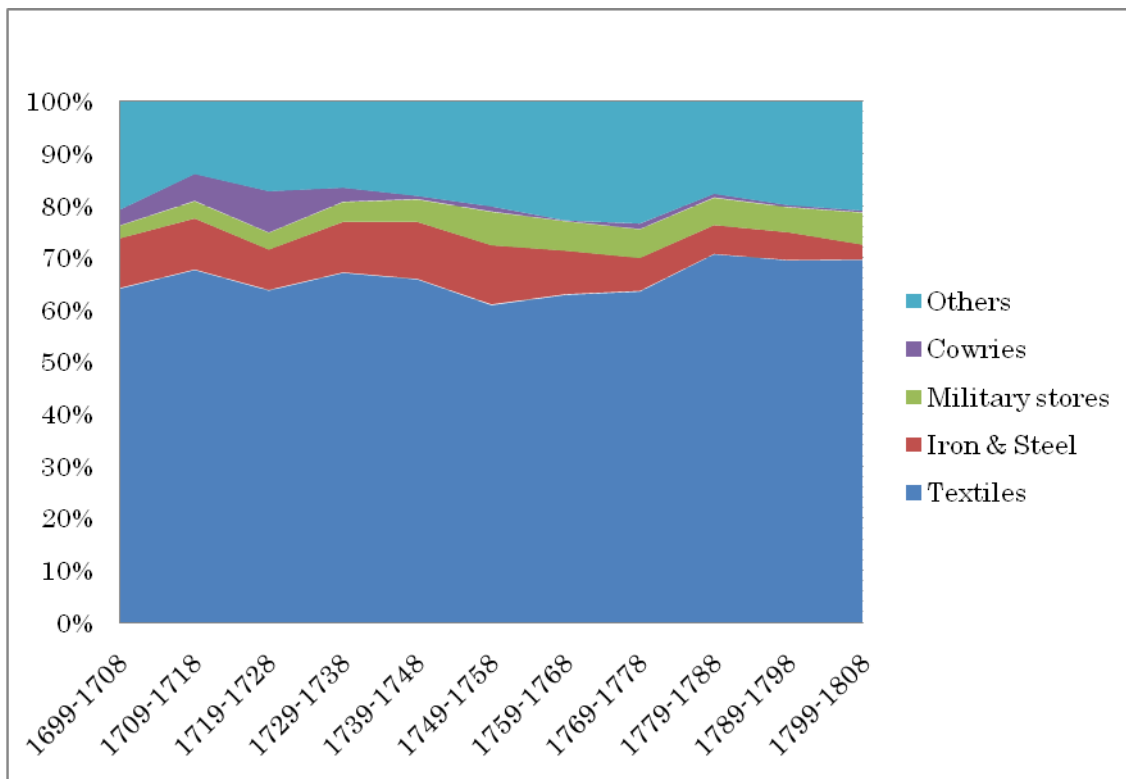


Source: Calculated from L. J. Touwen and P. K. Doom ‘Statistics on Anglo-African Trade, 1699-1808’, in Johnson, *Anglo-African Trade in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 53.

Figure 2 illustrates the composition of commodities exported from Britain between 1699 and 1808. It is clear that textiles retained the largest proportion among articles for export. Their value increased more than thirteen times from c. 570,000 pounds in 1699-1708 to c. 7.5 million pounds in 1799-1808. Apart from textiles, military goods, iron and steel, cowries, and beads were exported to Africa as well.³⁵ The figure shows that military goods, iron and steel, and cowry shells shared about 20% of exports during that period, and that these values also grew near ten times throughout the eighteenth century.

³⁵ Beads were perhaps collected on the Mediterranean Sea. For example, William Davenport, a Liverpool merchant, imported beads from Livorno, and re-exported them to Cameroon. See B. L. Anderson, ‘The Lancashire bill system and its Liverpool practitioners: the case of a slave merchant’, in W. H. Chaloner and B. M. Ratcliffe (eds.), *Trade and transport: essays in economic history in honour of T. M. Willan*, Manchester, 1977, pp. 59-97. Cowries were used as currency in West Africa. See J. Hogendorn and M. Johnson, *The Shell Money of the Slave Trade*, Cambridge, 1986.

Figure 2 Composition of Exports from Britain to Africa, 1699-1808



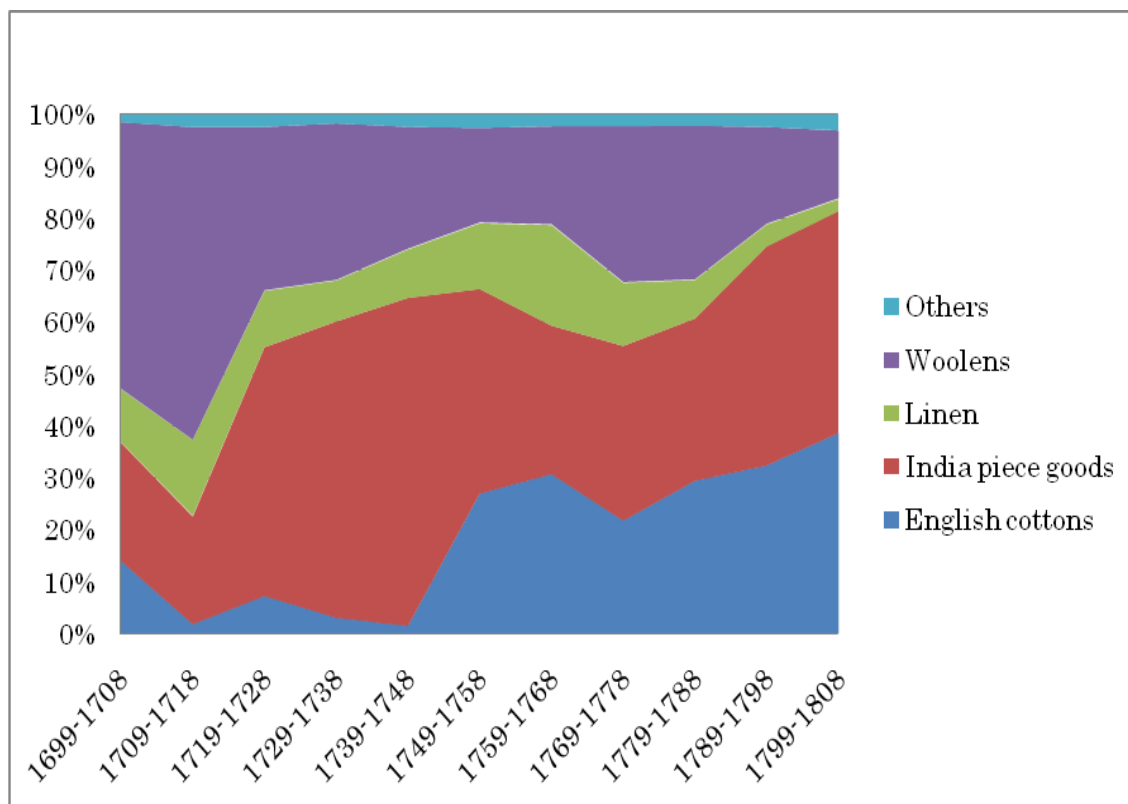
Source: Calculated from Touwen and Doom ‘Statistics on Anglo-African Trade’, pp. 52-60.

As Figure 3 shows, there were several characteristics of textile exports to Africa. First, woolens shared the largest ratio at the beginning of the eighteenth century, but this ratio was reduced to 20-30% after the 1720s. Second, British cottons made an appearance from the middle of the century. This sudden emergence is related to the beginning of the industrial revolution in Britain. Third and most important, East Indian textiles maintained their hold of 30-60% of exports throughout the 18th century. At their peak, Indian cotton piece goods comprised c. 30% of total British exports to Africa. Their value grew more than 20 times from £ 130,000 to more than £ 3,200,000 during the century.³⁶ Even in the final phase of the British slave trade the value of East Indian textiles exceeded that of English cottons. Indian textiles were also the leading product in the French-African trade, and they shared about 40% of the total exports to Africa in the late eighteenth century.³⁷

³⁶ L. J. Touwen and P. K. Doom, ‘Statistics on Anglo-African Trade 1699-1808’, in Johnson, *Anglo-African Trade*, pp. 54-55.

³⁷ J. Tarrade, *Le commerce colonial de la France à la fin de l’ancien régime: l’évolution du régime de «l’Exclusif» de 1763 à 1789*, Tome 1, Paris, 1972, p. 125.

Figure 3 Composition of Textiles from Britain to Africa, 1699-1808



Source: Calculated from Touwen and Doom ‘Statistics on Anglo-African Trade’, pp. 54-55.

However, Customs has some drawbacks. The volume and value calculated from it do not represent the cases in which ships called at other ports before arriving at their final destinations. Thus we have to state that the volume and value calculated from Customs should be modified. In the early modern period, there were many ships which called at Dutch ports to purchase goods subsequent destinations. Also, we can find evidence of voyages that passed by the Canaries and Madeira on their way to Africa.³⁸ Again, Customs does not show the regional differences of the African coasts. For example, although textiles were not so important in order to exchange for peppers, dyestuffs, and ivory on the Grain Coast or Sierra Leone, they were indispensable for purchasing African slaves and gold on the Gold Coast and in the Bight of Benin.³⁹ Hence the figures derived from Customs should be carefully treated

³⁸ Richardson calculated the number of ships that reached Africa via Madeira and Cape Verde, and modified the data of Johnson upward. D. Richardson, ‘Cape Verde, Madeira and Britain’s Trade to Africa, 1698-1740’, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 22-1, 1994, pp. 1-15.

³⁹ C. E. Kriger, ‘“Guinea Cloth” Production and Consumption of Cotton Textiles in West Africa before and during the Atlantic Slave Trade’, in Parthasarati and Riello, *The Spinning World*, p. 124. See also, P. D. Curtin, *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa: Senegambia in the Era of the Slave Trade*, Madison, 1975; D. Richardson, ‘West African Consumption Patterns and Their Influence on the Eighteenth-Century English Slave Trade’, in H. A. Gemery and J. S. Hogendorn, *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic*

and need to be more or less upwardly adjusted.

Nevertheless, even if the volume of Indian cotton textiles appearing in the records of Customs were upwardly revised, the fact that Indian cottons shared a leading role throughout the eighteenth century would not change. Now we should pause and ask what kinds of Indian cottons were imported into Africa. East Indian textiles comprised diverse fabrics: Calicoes, Chintz, Guinea Stuffs, Nicanees, Photaes, Tapseils and others.⁴⁰ These cloths were consumed for protection of the body, but also for decoration and demonstration of prestige in West Africa. In particular, unusual colors and designs were in demand.⁴¹ Moreover, there were local cotton industries in West Africa. Recent anthropological studies show the possibility that East Indian cottons complemented the local production of textiles in West Africa and that they also might have stimulated new varieties of textile production.⁴²

2. Activities of English Merchants

Existing studies of the Atlantic slave trade and global history have pointed out the importance of East Indian cottons in that trade. Kenneth Pomeranz points out the importance of the East Indian cottons in the British Atlantic slave trade by relying on the work of H. S. Klein.⁴³ However, the detailed routes of commerce between Asia and Africa via Britain have yet to be explored. In order to demonstrate the connections, I use here some sources of two British merchants who engaged in the slave trade for part of their lives: Thomas Hall and Thomas Lumley.⁴⁴ By so doing, we can come to know the activity of the merchants and the detailed linkage between commodities at that time. This will be helpful in deepening our understanding of the intricate networks of early modern international trade.

Thomas Hall & Co.

Thomas Hall (1692-1748) was a merchant who worked in Ostend and London in the early

History of the Atlantic Slave Trade, New York and London, 1979, pp. 303-330.

⁴⁰ S. B. Alpern, 'What Africans got for their slaves: a master list of European trade goods', *History in Africa*, 2, 1995, pp. 6-11.

⁴¹ J. Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800*, Cambridge, 1998, p. 50.

⁴² Kriger, "'Guinea Cloth'".

⁴³ See, K. Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern Economy*, Princeton, 2000, p. 271; H. S. Klein, 'Economic aspects of the eighteenth-century Atlantic slave trade', in J. Tracy (ed.), *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-Distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350-1750*, Cambridge, 1993, pp. 290-293. I should mention that Klein's argument on East India textiles in African trade was also based on the statistics calculated by Johnson.

⁴⁴ I owe this information to Prof. David Richardson.

eighteenth century. He was a captain, shipowner, commercial agent, and financier, and traded with Continental Europe, China, and Latin America. Also, he was an influential person as a contractor of shipping. In his old age, he had a country house and invested his money in agricultural land like many other successful merchants. He continued to work hard until he passed away in mid-century. His activities were typical of the merchants of the day in many points.⁴⁵

The conditions of his childhood are unknown. According to Conrad Gill, who wrote a biography of Hall, the first record of him states that he was a purser on the *Essex*, permitted by the EIC in 1716 and setting out on a voyage to Guangdong. This status was given by his friends and the famous captain Richard Pinnel.⁴⁶

After this voyage he experienced a turning point in his life. At that time the War of the Spanish Succession ended and peace came to the Netherlands. There were attempts to promote economic integration in the Low Countries through overseas trade. In particular, the Asian trade attracted attention and there were increased ambitions to import spice, silks, tea, and coffee. Under these circumstances, Hall was asked to engage in the trade with China in Ostend. He went on board the *Maison d'Autriche*, whose captain was James Naish, and went to Guangdong in early 1719. Next year he came back to Ostend with Chinese goods and gold. In 1723 he again sailed to Guangdong as captain of the *Marquis de Prié*, and around the same time as Senior Captain he commanded the voyage of the ship *St. Joseph*. However, this was the last time trade took place on the basis of private partnerships.⁴⁷

In 1725 Hall decided to go back to London and work as a merchant and shipowner, not as captain. At that time, he used bills of exchange for his transactions. Most of these bills were drawn either on Antwerp or on London. Jacques de Pret in Antwerp and Pinnel in London received Hall's bills and might probably have disposed of them to one of the financial houses. Hall expected the success of his business in his mother country. So he bought stock in the Bank of England and the South Sea Company and invested in some English vessels. His stock in the Bank of England reached £ 10,000 at the end of 1725 and he purchased a further £ 2,000 worth again ten months later.⁴⁸

In the beginning of his commercial activities in London, he was condemned by the EIC and the government for his engagement in trade in Ostend, and had to pay them fines of £ 1,400 and £ 700 respectively. Through this procedure, Hall settled with them, and was able

⁴⁵ Gill, *Merchants and Mariners*, p. 11.

⁴⁶ Gill, *Merchants and Mariners*, pp. 12-13.

⁴⁷ In the same year the Ostend East India Company was founded. It was aimed to trade with Asia and Africa on the basis of Antwerp capitals. The company was the bearer of Asian trade until its dissolution in 1731.

⁴⁸ Gill, *Merchants and Mariners*, pp. 41-42.

to launch his business in England. Also, at about the same time, he became engaged to and married Mary Hallet, whose father was a Member of Parliament, and rented a large house in Great Ormond Street in the west of the City.⁴⁹

In England, Hall was involved with two businesses: shipping and the tea trade. As a ship's husband, he organized the associates who provided the necessary capital to build ships. He also made arrangements for ship building, then appointed captains, officers and crew. In addition, he paid wages, and arranged insurance. Furthermore, his engagement with the tea trade in Europe was based on a network of merchants. When he was in Ostend, he associated with Jacob Senserf in Rotterdam, and J. Anthony Crop, Dieterick Smith, and Van Berchem in Amsterdam. In addition to these merchants in the Netherlands, Lastrop Pietersoon was also a partner of Hall in Hamburg. Smith was an especially important person for Hall. Hall imported Dutch linens from Smith⁵⁰ and sold him coffee from Java and other places.⁵¹ Some of them were re-exported to Wichman Lastrope in Hamburg via Smith.⁵² Hall kept in touch with Smith at 7- to 10-day intervals. Since Smith had some friends who were leading officials of the Dutch East India Company (VOC), he could collect and supply inside information of great value in forecasting prices.⁵³

China (the Qing dynasty) traded with European countries. The concern of the European countries was Chinese tea. Tea producers in China increased production to keep up with European demand. As a result, more tea was imported into European markets, and provided benefits for stockholders of companies, wholesalers and retailers. However the Netherlands was an exception, because Dutch merchants fell behind those of other countries in the Hamburg market, and had few markets except their own domestic ones. In the face of this situation, Hall and many other merchants gave up dealing in tea.⁵⁴

While Hall was engaged in the tea trade, he also launched an Atlantic trade. Like his East India trade, this had a lot to do with Pinnel. The character of the Atlantic trade at that period was that ships called at the Dutch ports of Rotterdam or Amsterdam in order to purchase cargoes for African trade. For example, the Court of Directors of the South Sea Company records that sending 'the ships Mermaid and Essex designed for Angola & Buenos Ayres [...] to Holland to take in the goods wanting to compleat their Cargoes'.⁵⁵ The reason for calling at

⁴⁹ Gill, *Merchants and Mariners*, pp. 42-45.

⁵⁰ C 103/131: Invoice of Thomas Hall, 20th Sep. 1729, The National Archives of the UK (hereinafter TNA).

⁵¹ C 103/131: Invoice of Thomas Hall, 30th Jun. 1732, TNA; C 103/131: Account of Thomas Hall, 19th Feb. 1732, TNA; C 103/131: Invoice of Thomas Hall, 4th Aug. 1733, TNA.

⁵² C 103/133: Account of Wichman Lastrope in Hamburg, 4th Apr. 1730, TNA.

⁵³ Gill, *Merchants and Mariners*, pp. 52-55.

⁵⁴ Gill, *Merchants and Mariners*, pp. 56-59.

⁵⁵ Add. Mss. 25503, 21st Feb. 1729, p. 385, The British Library.

Holland was that ‘Indian cottons were cheaper there than they were in England; Linens from Germany were readily available; and there were large stocks of firearms of the types most favoured in Africa’.⁵⁶ Although the origin of this style of trade remains unknown, similar information can be found in documents of the late 1710s.⁵⁷

Table 3 List of Goods Purchased by the Mermaid (in Rotterdam, 13th May 1732)

Sletias	46 Cases	6,478 (2,300 pieces)
Calico	4 Cases	1,006 (100 pieces)
Sletias	34 Cases	5,021 (1,700 pieces)
Britannia (Long)	1 Case	235 (55 pieces)
Britannia (Short)	4 Cases	436 (218 pieces)
Linen (Stripe)	5 Cases	1,000 (100 pieces)
Britannia (Long)	6 Cases	1,757 (601 pieces)
Britannia (Short)	20 Cases	3,690 (1,591 pieces)
Cambric	14 Cases	2,080 (517 pieces)
Linen	2 Packs	1,038 (14 pieces)
Totals (including others and charges)		23,335

Source: C 103/130: Invoice of Thomas Hall from Senserf & Co. , Rotterdam, 13th May, 1732, TNA.

Table 3 illustrates the kind of goods Hall bought in Rotterdam. The Mermaid, whose captain was John Butler, set off from London at the end of March 1732. The table shows that Hall purchased various textiles, especially linen textiles called Sletias.⁵⁸ We can see that linens, probably made in Continental Europe, took up the largest part of the products purchased in Rotterdam. In terms of quantity the total volume of linens reached 4,000 pieces and its value was more than ten times as much as the East Indian pieces. This evidence may suggest that the British Atlantic trade more or less depended upon the commercial relationship

⁵⁶ Gill, *Merchants and Mariners*, p. 77.

⁵⁷ Letter from Richard Harris to the Secretary of the Board of Trade (?), London, 21st Sep. 1719, in E. Donnan (ed.), *Documents illustrative of the history of the slave trade to America*, vol. 2 (the eighteenth century), Washington D. C., 1931, pp. 241-242.

⁵⁸ Sletias was linen originally produced in Silesia. In 1593-1607, the Dutch shipped about 30 million yards of Sletias to the Gold Coast and it was viewed as “the most popular cloth”. Alpern, ‘What Africans got for their slaves’, p. 9.

with Continental Europe in those days.⁵⁹ During the period Hall engaged in the Atlantic trade, Northwest Europe was going through a relatively stable phase, so that British merchants might easily trade with their counterparts in Continental Europe.

Thomas Lumley & Co.

Thomas Lumley was also a merchant in London from the late eighteenth century to the nineteenth century. As far as I can ascertain from his documents in the National Archives, UK, his birth and infancy remain obscure. However, the *London Directory* shows us that he was working as a Warehouseman in Gutter Lane in the City of London around 1800.⁶⁰ He bought East India cottons directly from the EIC regularly⁶¹ and sold them on to merchants in London, Liverpool, Dover, Guernsey and other places. Most of those merchants were engaged in the slave trade, and Lumley also invested in the trade eight times in 1803-1808.⁶² Hence, by following his activities, we can unravel the detailed routes of cotton goods from India to Africa.

The Appendix is based on his Journal and TSTD. Although this chart could no doubt be improved by using other sources, we can obtain a lot of information about his daily transactions and each merchant's trade. We also can notice that some merchants in Liverpool bought East Indian goods from Lumley and shipped them to West Africa to exchange for African slaves. Jonathan Ratcliff, George Case, James Brown, Thomas Huson, Charles Fairclough, John and James Aspinall, Thomas and Samuel Hinde, and John Bolton, who were all merchants in Liverpool, bought far more Indian textiles than other merchants.⁶³

From the table of the Appendix, we can infer that Lumley played an important role in supporting Liverpool's slave trade at that time.⁶⁴ Lumley was requested to sell East Indian cottons by these merchants. For example, a letter written by Fairclough says that Lumley supplied the Polly, in which Fairclough invested, with Indian goods on 25th November and 4th

⁵⁹ Newman, *Anglo-Hamburg Trade*, p. 292.

⁶⁰ cf. *London Directory* (Kent's Directory, 1801-1808).

⁶¹ C 114/155: Cash Book, Jan. 1801-Mar. 1803, TNA.

⁶² According to TSTD, Lumley invested in the Bedford (three times), the Betsey, the Frederick (twice), and the Harriott (twice).

⁶³ The names of ships owned by Liverpool merchants are written in his Journal, so we can connect this information with TSTD.

⁶⁴ Liverpool merchants also often called at the Isle of Man which was known as a tax-free haven for goods until the mid-eighteenth century. They purchased East Indian textiles, cowrie shells, beads, arms, iron goods, and so forth from Manx merchants who imported them from Holland. See K. Morgan, 'Liverpool's Dominance in the British Slave Trade, 1740-1807', in D. Richardson, S. Schwarz, and A. Tibbeles (eds.), *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery*, Liverpool, pp. 21-22.

December 1799.⁶⁵ In the early 1800s Lumley was involved with about 30 percent of voyages from Liverpool to Bonny in the Bight of Biafra, which was the largest trading port for the Liverpool slave trade in the second half of the eighteenth century.⁶⁶ The Appendix shows that 7 of 26 voyages (27%) which sailed from Liverpool to Bonny were indirectly sustained by Lumley in 1801; 6 of 22 voyages (27%) in 1802; and 2 of 8 voyages (25%) in 1803. Lumley supplied each ship with more 2,500 pounds of Indian textiles, and they bought around 300 slaves in West Africa. This may suggest that the growth of the Liverpool slave trade was dependent upon commercial networks with London, not only financial ones.⁶⁷

Now let us examine a detailed example of Lumley's slave trade. As far as I know, the reason why he began to invest in the slave trade is unclear, but probably he stored information through his transactions with other merchants. The first voyage in which he invested was that of the *Bedford* in 1803-1804. During all his voyages he, as a vessel owner, remained in London, and consigned the shipping of goods to captains.⁶⁸ Captains were notified of the basic details of their voyages in advance by "Instructions", and there was a postal network through which they could receive new Instructions in the West Indies. In Lumley's case, the tonnages of the ships were from 200 to 280, the crews were from London, other areas in England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Germany, Sweden, Italy, United States, and Africa. They consisted of captain, first mate, second mate, third mate, surgeon, carpenter, cooper, cook, and many seamen. Wages depended on status and age.

The first voyage of the *Bedford* was aimed at purchasing goods and gold dust at Accra on the Gold Coast, and 225 African slaves and African products at the River Congo on the coast of Angola. The merchandise shipped to Africa chiefly comprised East Indian goods and British goods such as muskets, and was consigned to Captain William B. Lane from Ireland. The total value of the merchandise loaded in London reached about £ 5,500 (except for charges), and the goods were insured. They were separately packed in puncheons, bales, or cases. Most of

⁶⁵ C 114/2: Letter from Charles Fairclough to Thomas Lumley, London, 7th Mar. 1801. The Indian goods sold by Lumley were probably shipped from Liverpool to Africa, and then the *Polly* sailed to Kingston with 295 slaves, Redwood, and ivory. The ship was loaded with many cargoes such as 9 hogsheads of sugar, 95 tons bar wood, and 779 bags of cottons, and departed from Jamaica on 27th January 1801. BT 6/235: Trade Statistics, Jamaica, 1799-1801, TNA; TSTD, Voyage 83137.

⁶⁶ See Lovejoy and Richardson, "This Horrid Hole".

⁶⁷ B. L. Anderson, 'The Lancashire bill system and its Liverpool practitioners: the case of a slave merchant', in W. H. Chaloner and B. M. Ratcliffe (eds.), *Trade and transport: essays in economic history in honour of T. M. Willan*, Manchester, 1977, pp. 59-97. Regarding the financial network, Mina Ishizu explores the linkage between local banks and the Liverpool Atlantic trade. See M. Ishizu, 'Local finance and overseas trade during the Industrial Revolution: an examination of the financial arrangements of a Liverpool merchant', paper for the Economic History Society Annual Conference, University of Reading, March 2006.

⁶⁸ This kind of trading can be considered common among merchants of the day. Price, 'What did Merchants do?'.

them were intended to buy slaves and African produce. Also, there were some bags of East Indian rice and beans for slave provisions. The invoice shows that East Indian cottons made up the overwhelming majority of consigned goods (c. 80%: 3,484 pieces, £ 3,887) in this case. In particular, Bejutapauts (692 pieces, £ 605), Chintz (573 pieces, £ 817), Bafts (456 pieces, £ 912), and Nicanees (400 pieces, £ 265) were the main products, followed by alcoholic drinks like brandy and wine, and muskets.⁶⁹

The Bedford set off from London on this first voyage on 4th May 1803. After the purchase of 246 slaves and some ivories in Africa, the ship sailed to and arrived in Kingston on 28th November. While slaves were sold there, 48 tons of logwoods and fustick, 46 planks of mahogany, 13,654 pounds of coffee, 15 tons of Nicaragua wood, and 2 casks of copper were loaded on the ship. It left for London on 30th March 1804.⁷⁰ A similar style of trade can be found in the second and third voyages of the Bedford.⁷¹

I speculate that since the period when Lumley was trading saw the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars in Europe, it might have been difficult for him to trade with merchants in Continental Europe, unlike in the earlier time of Hall. Because French privateers seized enemy ships in the English Channel in wartime, there was a greater risk in visiting ports in Continental Europe. In addition, Dutch imports of East Indian textiles probably stopped at the end of 1799 when the VOC went into liquidation.⁷² Thus the importance of British ships calling at Continental Europe before sailing to Africa might have decreased during that period, and British merchants might have been more or less compelled to collect goods for themselves. That point should be explored in more detail.

Conclusion

To wind up this paper, I summarize the result of the discussion once again. In order to understand the growth of the British Atlantic slave trade, I first located it in the context of

⁶⁹ C 114/158: Invoice of Thomas Lumley & John Ramsden, London, 5th Mar. 1803, TNA.

⁷⁰ When the Bedford arrived in Kingston, the trade statistics of Jamaica counted 221 slaves and 13 ivories. CO 142/21: Shipping Returns, Jamaica, 1801-1804, pp. 100, 146, TNA; TSTD, Voyage id=80455, Bedford (1803).

⁷¹ Regarding the second voyage of the Bedford, see C 114/158: Invoice of Thomas Lumley & Co., London, 1st Aug. 1804, TNA; C 114/158: Manifest of Bedford 2nd Voyage, TNA; CO 142/42: Shipping Returns, Jamaica, 1804-1807, p. 34, TNA; TSTD, Voyage id=80456, Bedford (1805). See also for the third voyage of the Bedford, C 114/158: Invoice of Thomas Lumley & Co., London, 1st Jul. 1806, TNA; C 114/158: Account of Thomas Lumley & Co., London, 1806-1807, TNA; C 114/158: Sales Records of Thomas Lumley & Co., London, 1807, TNA; C 114/158: Manifest of Bedford 3rd Voyage, TNA; CO 142/24: Shipping Returns, Jamaica, 1804-1807, p. 141; TSTD, Voyage id=80457, Bedford (1807).

⁷² Riello, 'The Globalization of Cotton Textiles', p. 265.

early modern international trade and pointed out that the slave trade expanded in parallel with other trade of the day. Then I focused on East Indian cottons, the most important goods in promoting the Atlantic slave trade, and tried to depict some trading routes based on original sources of English merchants. As a result, I reach the conclusion that the growth of the British Atlantic slave trade should be considered from a global perspective, especially in its linkage with Asia.⁷³ Such a perspective would contribute to deepening our understanding of the integration of eighteenth-century global connections via money, goods, and migrations.

⁷³ In the context of British imperial history, Peter Marshall has proposed such a wider perspective to figure out the “British Empires” during the transition period. See P. J. Marshall, ‘The First and Second British Empires: A Question of Demarcation’, *History*, 29, 1964, pp. 13-23; P. J. Marshall, *The Making and Unmaking of the Empires: Britain, India, and America c. 1750-1783*, Oxford, 2005.

Appendix Sales Records of East Indian goods of Thomas Lumley & Co., 1801-1803

1801	Date of Sale	Customer(s)	City	Name of Vessel	Value of Sals(£s.d.)	Date Voyage began	Principal Place of Slave Purchase	Total Slaves embarked	Principal Place of Slave Landing	Others (TSTD id. etc.)
	Feb. 10	Jonathan Ratcliff & Co.	Liverpool		2,562.19.					
	23	William Slack & Co.			122.17.					
	24	Joseph Poria & Co.			414.18.					
	27	Joseph Cohen & Co.			16.8.					
	Mar. 9	Hymen Cohen & Co.			641.5.6					
		Joseph Cohen & Co.			6.9.					
	10	Railton & Rankings			20.2.6					
	12	Railton & Rankings			10.10.					
	16	A & P Cohen			26.10.					
	Apr. 18	George Case & Co.	Liverpool	Active	2,578.14.6	May. 21	unknown	308	Bahamas	id: 80025
		George Case & Co.	Liverpool	Victory	344.4.	May. 15	Congo River	310	Demerara	id: 83968
	May. 7	Brown Huson & Co.	Liverpool	Princess Amelia	2,651. .	May. 20	Bonny	310	St. Vincent	id: 83217
		Hart Daniels			33.10.					
		Joseph Cohen & Co.			47.10.					
	14	John Bolton	Liverpool		251.17.6					
	25	Goldsmid Son & Co.			179.11.					
		Moses Samuels			2.10.					
	26	Lewis Perigal			107.10.					
		Sargent Chambers & Co.			60.0.8					
	28	Hymen Cohen & Co.			223.13.					
		Joseph Cohen & Co.			6.12.					
	29	Joseph Cohen & Co.			80. .					
		John Ramsden			166.13.6					
	30	George Case & Co.	Liverpool	Molly	3,036.9.6	Jul. 2	Bonny	310	Kingston	id: 82780
		A. Cottons & Co.			102.19.					
	Jun. 2	J. De Prade			70.17.6					
	6	Charles Farclough	Liverpool	Polly	2,968.5.	Jul. 5	West Central Africa	349	Kingston	id: 83138
	7	Brown Huson & Co.	Liverpool		38.14.					
	9	John & James Asphall	Liverpool	Thomas	3,427.14.	Jul. 1	Bonny	310	Suriname(Dutch)	id: 83764
	10	Charlotte Se Serre	Cuernsey		447.4.4					
	13	William & Thomas Pary			9.7.					
		John Bolton	Liverpool		55.2.					
		Thomas Gould			2. .					
	18	George Case & Co.	Liverpool	Arthur Howe	1,785.6.6	Jul. 19	Cameroon	220	Trinidad	id: 80364
	19	Charles & John Wheeler & Co.			18.18.					
	23	Charles & John Wheeler & Co.			32.16.					
	30	Thomas Hinde	Liverpool	Diligent	2,308.15.	Jul. 25	Bonny	310	St. Vincent	id: 81039
	Jul. 2	Brown Huson & Co.	Liverpool	Friendship	1312.2.	Aug. 6	unknown	310	unknown	id: 81533
	8	Charles & John Wheeler & Co.			82.9.6					
		Sargent Chambers & Co.			97.4.					
	10	Charles & John Wheeler & Co.			120. .					
		William & Thomas Pary			207.16.6					
		Thomas Hinde	Liverpool	Diligent	677.13.6					cf. transaction on June 30
	11	Charles & John Wheeler & Co.			66. .					
	14	Charles & John Wheeler & Co.			31.9.6					
		Charles & John Wheeler & Co.			31.10.					
	15	Charles & John Wheeler & Co.			16.10.					
	16	John Bolton	Liverpool	Christopher	1,501.16.6	Sep. 3	Gallinhas (SL)	301	Trinidad	id: 80839
		Bainbridge Ansley & Co.			69.15.6					
	20	Sargent Chambers & Co.			40.8.6					
		William & Thomas Pary			52.10.					
	21	Brown Rogers & Browns			330. .					
		Sargent Chambers & Co.			18.1.6					
		P. W. Brancier	Liverpool	Friendship	507.4.					(Alexander. id: 80161 ?)
		Brown Huson & Co.	Liverpool		711.19.6					cf. transaction on July 2

