

TYNESIDE, THE NORTH EAST AND SLAVERY AND ABOLITION

Preface

Because of the Tyne's position on the east coast Newcastle's wealth and growth were not built on the profits of the slave trade as were those of London, Liverpool, Bristol and Whitehaven. Nevertheless the 'Black Indies' as the North East was known, was integrally involved in the complex British economic system at the heart of which was slave trading until abolition in 1807 and slavery up to final emancipation in the West Indies in 1838. Many of the North East's landed gentry and business families were involved in slave ownership and general trade with the Americas (the American Colonies/United States and the West Indies). A wide range of individuals emigrated and travelled there, or served as merchant seamen or in the armed forces. Many landowners continued to own plantations in the West Indies after 1838. They grappled with the problems of growing sugar with free labour at a time when Britain was moving towards a policy of free trade which allowed cheap sugar from other slavery based economies to pour into Britain. Slavery continued in those parts of India controlled by the East India Company. Those trading with the United States, Cuba and Brazil were involved in slave based economies until 1865, 1886 and 1888 respectively. This overview provides an introduction to these North-East involvements.

Introduction

Having already been involved in founding colonies in the Americas, it is particularly after the conquest of Jamaica in 1655, that North East landed gentry and businessmen developed complex economic involvements in land, trade and industry, exploiting new opportunities as they arose, including land and slave ownership in, and trading in slave produce with, the Colonies. The North East's built environment, landed gentry estates, and industries were partly shaped by the profits derived from these involvements. The coal owners were indirectly among the largest beneficiaries. London as the capital city and hub of the British economic system, with wealth pouring in from the Colonies, would not have been able to expand as it did without North East coal. Coal was also vital for the development of British industry which grew to meet the needs of the slave trade and the demand for goods in the colonies. While there is evidence of direct shipment of coal to the West Indies, there is little detailed research on how coal and other manufactures from the North East which were sent to London, were then shipped out of London to the West Indies, the Americas and Africa.

Because the involvement in slavery was not so obvious as in the major slave and colonial trading ports, and because the involvement in the slave economy was less publicly obvious, it was easy for a strong abolition movement to develop in the North East, with the first provincial anti-slavery society being established in Newcastle 1791. This abolition movement was particularly rooted in the Non-Conformist religious groups, the Quakers, and then the Methodists and the Baptists, through their organisational structures and family connections. Many supporters of anti-slavery also campaigned for other key reforms, including the extension of the vote and the reform of Parliament, and the ending of restrictions and penalties on non-Anglican Christians. Although Charles, Earl Grey is particularly associated with abolition, the North East had hundreds of leading activists and thousands of supporters. Women were particularly prominent, especially in keeping the anti-slavery campaign going in relation to the United States after 1838.

The plantations were an important part of the complex interaction of economic, political, and military strategy to exploit the North American colonies, West Indian islands, and India. Slave trading and slavery in the British colonies was supported by Parliamentary legislation, while the military rivalry with Spain and France was fought out across different parts of the world, including attempts by each side to protect their own West Indian colonies and take control of those of their rivals. The mercantile and trade policies pursued by the English and then British Crown and its Governments created many tensions, including triggering the breakaway of the American colonies. North Easterners played a

vital role within the commercial, colonisation and military activities in the West Indies and the American Colonies, and the way in which the British economy developed as a consequence.

The end of slavery in the British colonies in 1838 did not see the end of the abolition movement. Campaigners turned their attention to emancipation in the United States and elsewhere. It is particularly in this period that the North East became a welcome place for American black abolitionists to visit and speak.

The Berwick Example

It was not long before the news of their master's murder during the Fedon Rebellion of free people of colour and slaves on Grenada in 1795 reached Ninian Home's servants at Paxton House on the north side of the Tweed close to Berwick. In charge of the British forces putting down the revolt was Berwick's Governor and MP Sir John Vaughan (1780-95). (1)(2) The revolt had been inspired by the ideas of the French Revolution. Home had bought Paxton as his British home, ordered materials for furnishing it from Berwick traders, rented a pew in the parish Church, and may have shipped coal and other items out to Grenada through Berwick. He was a friend of Cuthbert Collingwood. He had purchased the Paraclete and Waltham plantations on Grenada in 1764, and had been made the island's Lieutenant-Governor in 1793. In a letter from Paxton House he berated his overseer for not looking after the welfare of his slaves properly. His estates were inherited by George Home who was to complain: "I never knew what the want of money was until I had a West Indian concern". (3)

Berwick had a mixed relationship with slavery and abolition. The merchant Ralph Forster, had an African 'servant' George Sylla. (4) Vaughan, as Lieutenant Colonel and Commander-in-Chief in the Leeward Islands from 1779, was involved in the capture of the island of St Eustatius in 1781, which was systematically stripped of its wealth. (1) As Commissary General to the forces in the West Indies, Berwick's Matthew Forster was given an estate on the island. (5) John Hussey Delaval of the powerful Northumberland family, with plantation interests in East Florida from the 1760s, was local MP from 1754 to 1761, 1765 to 1774 and 1780 to 1786. (1) (6) From 1765 the Governor was Robert Monkton who had fought in the Americas in the Seven Years War, and captured Martinique in 1762. (2) (7) Elected in 1826 the town's MP after Vaughan was John Gladstone, the father of the future Prime Minister William Gladstone. A Liverpool trader, he inherited plantations in the West Indies, and engaged in polemical debate against abolition. (8) The local opposition made much of his involvement with slavery and got his election overturned in 1827. (9) Berwick's Governor from 1808 to 1833) was Banastre Tarleton, a member of a slave trading family, dubbed 'the butcher of South Carolina' during the American War of Independence, and as Liverpool's MP a vocal anti-abolitionist. (2) (10) Many Berwick citizens were supporters of abolition. A petition was presented in the House of Lords in 1830. (11) In September 1834 there was a procession round the town to honour Earl Grey with at least 10,000 people taking part or watching. In a welcome address Rev. Joseph Banks referred to his achievement in emancipating the slaves. (12) However, another Mathew Forster, who had West Indian trading interests, used his position as local MP (1841-53) to attack the anti-slave trade actions of the British Government, and is believed to have traded with those involved in the on-going slave trade to Brazil and Cuba. In the pre-trial Commons hearing in 1843 into the allegations of involvement in slave trading made against Pedro De Zulueta Forster took his side. (1) (13) An edition of the narrative of the escaped American slave Moses Roper was published in Berwick in 1846. (14)

So in one town we have some of the key elements of the North East's slavery and abolition links: slave plantation ownership, which involved purchasing Africans from slave traders, trading links with the West Indies, the role of the armed forces in the colonies, the abolition movement, and slave revolt and resistance without which the abolition movement would probably not have been successful.

Colonisation

Individuals and families from or with North East connections were involved in early colonisation, in becoming land and slave owners, and in trade with America and the West Indies. Sir John Malory, of Washington Manor, and George Percy, the brother of the Duke of Northumberland, helped develop Virginia, and John Davenport, a former preacher at Hylton Castle, the New Haven colony. (15) Hyltons were involved very early on in colonising America after the Mayflower went over in 1620. William Hylton is said to be the founder of New Hampshire. Anthony and John Hylton from South Shields were involved on Nevis, St Kitts and Tortuga. Later on there were Hyltons in Jamaica as well. (16) By the late 1640s England had a substantial colonial presence in the Caribbean, and it attracted emigrants from England.

The English Revolution and the Stuart Restoration sparked further colonial emigration, first by Royalists and then Parliamentarians. Having failed to capture the Spanish island of Hispaniola Cromwell's forces took Jamaica instead in 1655. One of the two civilian Commissioners who was to be responsible for colonisation was Gregory Butler, whose widowed mother married the Newcastle merchant Ambrose Barnes. His sister visited the West Indies and her daughter married a Jamaican planter. (17) Some like Lieutenant Hercie Barrett stayed and built a slave owning plantation dynasty that was to have close links with Newcastle and Northumberland in the late 18th and early 19th Centuries. (18) Nehemiah Blakiston, son of Newcastle's John Blakiston, one of those who signed Charles I's death warrant, went to Maryland in about 1668 and was involved in colonial governance until his death in 1693. His nephew Nathaniel was the colony's Governor from 1699 to 1702 when he returned to England and became agent for the Colony and Virginia in London. (19) Sir Edward Chamberlayne on Barbados wrote his will in 1673. (20) John Ogle of Eglington became a significant tobacco grower in Maryland before his death in 1683/4. His son Samuel was Governor of Maryland several times between 1731 and 1752. In that capacity he was involved in the shaping the laws relating to slaves and in decisions about whether to execute slaves for crimes and a white man for the brutal murder of a slave. (21) Major John Fenwick of Stanton Moor helped found Salem County colony in America in 1675. (22) Francis Richardson, a sailor from South Shields, settled and became a merchant in New York in 1681. (23)

In 1693 Sir William Bowes of Streatlam Castle supported George and Thomas Bowes of Toft Hill, to travel to New England in connection with recovering estates, including slaves, inherited from their uncle Henry Watts. They later sold them on to Denis Byron of London in 1701/2. (24) The papers of the Middleton's at Belsay, contain the will of Sir Thomas Monck, who settled in South Carolina, in which he leaves his plantation and slaves to his wife. Other members of the family remained there until at least the end of the 1760s. (25) By 1731 John, of the Newcastle merchant Colville family, had settled in Virginia where he was a plantation owner, merchant, land speculator, and major tobacco grower. His brother Thomas was a friend of George Washington. John left most of his property and land to his relative Charles Bennet, 2nd Earl of Tankerville. (26) The Bennett family papers include a 1755 conveyance of Jamaican estates involving Anthony Llangley Swymmer, George Bennett and others. (27) The Devalals appear to have had interests in America because their family papers contain documents relating to the governance of New York and North Carolina in the 1730s and 1740s. (28)

Throughout the 18th Century there were wars with France and Spain for control of parts of the colonies in the Americas. North Easterners served in the British Army and Navy there, like Robert, the nephew of Henry Ellison who was in the Army in America from 1746, and Henry's grandson Robert Carr who was killed on the Tyne built HMS Argus fighting the French in the West Indies. Henry was in partnership with a banker called Walpole, which lasted until the French captured Tobago and other islands in the West Indies where Walpole's was heavily involved. General John took a major role in the capture of Guadelupe in 1759. (29) George Ormsby was in Jamaica in 1761 writing to his brother

Henry, a Darlington lawyer. (30) When East Florida was captured from the Spanish in 1762 there was a wave of immigration from Britain and the setting up of mills and plantations. Investors in sugar plantations there from 1776 to at least 1771 included the Delaval family. (31)

While the importation of African slaves into the American and West Indian colonies grew, England began to dominate the transatlantic slave trade during the 18th Century. In the Utrecht Peace Treaty of 1713 the Spanish Crown granted England the Assiento contract to supply slaves to its American colonies. Running the contract was given to the South Sea Company established in 1711. A founding Director was the Winlaton and London ironmaster Ambrose Crowley. After his death in 1713 the business was then run by his son John. Under both of them agricultural implements, shackles and neck collars were shipped for use on the plantations in Americas. Others Directors of the Company were members of the Board of the Sword Blade Company. (32) George Caswell of the Sword Blade was involved in land transactions in County Durham, and also in fees and profits from the office of the Chief Clerk of the Supreme court in Jamaica. (33) The Company employed sword makers at Shotley Bridge under the management of their agent, the Gateshead merchant William Cotesworth. He also brought coffee, tobacco, and Jamaican rum and indigo, into Tyneside, and exported grindstones and whetstones for use on the plantations. (34) In 1751 Richard Driver was convicted of stealing iron intended to make gudgeons for the West Indies, from the Crowleys' London warehouse, showing that the family continued to supply the West Indies at least until the mid-18th Century. (35)

Continual warfare between Britian and Spain interrupted the workings of the contract. Readers of Newcastle's 'The Universal Spectator and Weekly Journal' were informed that a slave trade ship with 254 slaves from Guinea had been captured by a Spanish Privateer, and the British naval ship sent from Jamaica to get her back was rebuffed by the local Spanish Governor. (36) William Richardson wrote to Matthew White in Newcastle about his involvement in the capture of Porto Bello in Panama in 1739/40. (37) The Assiento contract was terminated in 1750 with £100,000 compensation paid by the Spanish crown to the Company. It seems to have continued in business as an investment company. (38) Holders of its stock included the Ridley family in the 1760s, and Newcastle's composer Charles Avison. (39) Another company involved in the African trade was the Royal African Company, which lobbied Government and Parliament. (40)

Enslaved Africans were increasingly transported to the colonies instead of indentured labourers and convicts from Britain. In his memoirs, William Moraley, one of the indentured labourers from Newcastle to North America in the 1720s, compares the lot of indentured servants with those of negro slaves. (41) The Tyne seems to have been a stop off point for ships taking immigrants to America from Europe, like the Palantines in 1711. (42) The Sunderland ship, the 'John and William', took some from Rotterdam to America in 1732. (43) Among those in Jamaica with North East connections was William Appleby, a tavern keeper, who left his belongings to his Darlington and Newcastle based widow and sisters, when he died in 1733/4. (44) Convicts were transported from Britian to the North American colonies, including the group convicted at Newcastle in 1772 sent to Virginia. (45)

Others were developing colonial trade. Ralph Carr exported coal and a wide range of other goods made on the Tyne to the American and Caribbean colonies from the 1720s to the 1770s, including coal for fuelling the sugar pans and boilers. He brought back pitch and tar, vital ingredients in ship building and maintenance. He regularly imported Jamaican rum via London for Christopher Blackett in the 1780s. His correspondents included Thomas Hutchinson, a future Governor of Massachusetts and British Loyalist during the Revolution. (46) In 1752 'The Experiment' was launched from Headlam's built for Newcastle merchants for the West India trade. It sailed for Jamaica in October with Newcastle made goods, and returned in June 1753 with sugar, rum, pimento, coffee, cotton, mahogany and lignum vitae. (47)

By marrying in 1757 Louisa Marianne, the daughter the West India merchant Peter Simond, Sir John Trevleyan of Wallington became involved in plantation ownership on Grenada. (48) Edward, of the Cook family of Togston near Alnwick, and William Ottley went in 1760 to set up as traders in Baltimore. Their letters home detail the risks involved in trading down into the West Indies as a result of privateers and record that negroes could be purchased for £40-£60. (49) The Beilby Goblet made in Newcastle by William Beilby in 1763 to commemorate the launch of the slave ship 'King George', had engraved on it "Success to the African Trade of Whitehaven". (50) In 1773 a Thomas Trotter, whose brother Rev. Robert lived in Morpeth, was sailing on a ship to Africa from Holland with the intention of slave trading. (51) Many Newcastle merchants, like the Carrs, had close links with Holland, and therefore it may be that some goods going to Holland from the Tyne were then re-shipped from there to Africa and to Dutch Colonies in the Caribbean and at Cape Colony in Southern Africa.

The presence of black slaves/servants in the area indicates the involvement by their owners in the colonies. As early as the mid-1650s Sir William Cavendish, Earl of Newcastle, who owned land in Northumberland had a black servant. (52) Thomas Gateshead was baptised in St Nicholas in 1762 having been brought from Malabar in India in Admiral Pocock's fleet. (53) The 8 year old John London was baptised at Norham in 1763. One of his godfathers was Samuel Samson, Mr Craster's black servant. (54) The 16 year old James Crow was baptised at Chatton in 1768. (55) 15 year old Charles Reed, who came back with Charles Ogle, a soldier serving in America, was baptised in 1778 at Eglington. (56) A black resident of Seaton Burn was a bare knuckle boxer known as the 'Black Diamond'. (57)

The growing coal trade to London must have meant that large numbers of Tyne keelmen were mixing in the multi-racial environment of London's portside. Going to London gave opportunities for some to sign up on ships going across the Atlantic. Newcastle's William Cramlington and Jonathan Blagdon were involved in transporting prisoners from the Tyne to Virginia. (58) The last group of indentured servants to go out to America as the War of Independence was breaking out in 1775. Of the 100 people on the Georgia Pacquet led by William Manson, 39 had been born in the North East and many of the rest had moved there from Scotland. (59)

By now sugar refining was well established in Newcastle. Newcastle sugar refiners and bakers in the period from 1775 to 1811 included Joseph Forster and his partners Rankin and Atkinson; Doubleday and Easterby; Rudman, Clarke and Carr; and Thomas Attley. (60) Joseph Dibble Bowman, a sugar refiner in Middlesex, owned land and mills in Newcastle. (61) There was also a sugar baker in Stockton. (62) Newcastle businessman and Jamaican plantation owner, John Graham-Clarke, shipped raw sugar from the West Indies to be refined in Newcastle. (63) The Newcastle silversmiths Langlands & Robertson and Thomas Watson made silver sugar tongs. (64)

American Revolution

The period leading up to and during the American War of Independence saw the publication between 1776 and 1780 in Newcastle of pamphlets and books on the disputes, including one by T Saint who outlined a plan to emancipate the slaves. (65) An edition of Newcastle's Rev. James Murray's history of the war in America was published in 1780. (66)

Having already served in the West Indies, Newcastle born naval officer (and later Admiral) Cuthbert Collingwood found himself in Boston as hostilities broke out there. He was then involved again in the West Indies. (67) The 5th Northumberland Fusiliers took part in battles at Lexington, Bunker's Hill, Long Island, White Plains, and Fort Washington. (68) Hugh Percy, the son of the Duke of Northumberland, was a senior British officer in America involved in the battle for New York. He wrote letters back to Britain from New York about the events. (69) Newcastle's Matthew White Ridley's son, a Captain with the 26th Regiment of Foot, died during the War. (70) At the end of the War the naval officer Sir John Orde of

Nunnywick was made Governor of Dominica, where he clashed with the House of Assembly. (71)

During the war naval contracts were awarded to the shipbuilders of Newcastle, Sunderland and Stockton. (72) The American naval captain John Paul Jones, and former mate on the Whitehaven slave trader 'King George', conducted raids against the British coast including shelling Alnmouth in 1779. (73) When Percy returned from America he brought with him as his servant Bill Richmond, who became a pugilist and trainer and then a tavern keeper with his English wife. (74)

The British had to defend their colonies in the West Indies from attacks by American privateers, and later from the French and the Spanish. During the War Anthony Morris Storer (1746-1799), a Jamaican plantation owner, and spokesmen for the West India lobby, was put in as MP for Carlisle and then Morpeth (1780-1784). His nephew Anthony Gilbert Storer inherited his plantation estates of Belleisle and Frome, and by 1816 also owned Fontabelle and Ormiston with a total of 746 slaves. (75)

Readers of the 'The Newcastle Chronicle' were able to keep up with the news from the Americas. For example its January and February 1782 issues reported the capture of St. Eustasius, carried an advertisement for the sale of Virginia tobacco at Whitehaven, and news from America and the West Indies. (76)

After Independence Horatio Nelson and Cuthbert Collingwood policed the illegal trade between the British West Indies and the United States. (77) The new country modelled its flag on the family coat of arms of George Washington who was descended from the medieval Lords of the Manor of Washington in County Durham. Although it had gained its independence there had remained considerable links between the United States and Britain. Charles Pinckney, one of the signatories of the Declaration of Independence, retained his friendship with Northumberland's Matthew White Ridley. (78) Pinckney gave help to Benjamin Stead, the son-in-law of John Erasmus Blackett, in his successful attempt to retrieve his late father's confiscated estates. (79) It appears that the son of Edward Cook was planning to go to the States in 1787-8 to find out what had happened to his family's confiscated land. (80) Emigration from Britain continued, including Anthony and Hannah Shafto from Newcastle in 1791. (81)

Connections also continued between the North East and the West Indies. The merchant Lawrence Marshall in Jamaica inherited in 1786. part of the Darlington estate of his uncle Lawrence Tipson, a Stockton, merchant. (82)

The Wars with France

Following the French Revolution, the West Indies became a war zone between Britain and Republican and then Napoleonic France. There were several slave rebellions, including the successful creation of the free black republic and then kingdom of Haiti. (83) It was during these Wars that Britain abolished its involvement in the slave trade in 1807 and began to regulate slavery. This applied not just in the West Indies but also in the new acquired Cape Colony in Southern Africa where Dutch and some English settlers owned African and East Indian slaves. After taking over the administration of the Colony on behalf of the Prince of Orange in 1795, the British forcibly took control in 1806. (84)

The involvement of North Easterners in the Navy and Army in the plantation zone is illustrated in 1790 by the marriage of William Hedley of Rothbury, a member of the 10th Regiment, to Jane Keelly from South Carolina, (85) and 19 years later by a letter from Lieutenant Charleton to J Airey in Newcastle. (86) Newcastle born Sir George Airey served in the West Indies in the 91st Foot. (87) The 1793/4 campaign in the West Indies was led by General Charles Grey, the father of the future Earl Grey. He was subsequently attacked for alienating the anti-Republican French colonists. (88)

The 68th (Durham) Regiment was stationed in the West Indies from 1794 to 1796 and from 1801-1806. It lost four times its original strength to disease, while scarcely seeing a Frenchman. It fought the slave rebellions in St. Lucia and Grenada in 1795. (89) Major John Werge, of Horton Castle, was involved in putting down the Jamaican Maroons in the Second Maroon War in 1795-6. (90) The French expedition to try and re-take St. Domingo was seen by the abolitionist James Stephens as very dangerous and urged the British to recruit black troops and ally with San Domingo. (91) One of the 68th's tasks was to suppress the revolt of the black soldiers of the 8th British West India Regiment in 1806. (89) Christopher, a member of the Askew family of Pallinsburn, served with Nelson in the West Indies in 1805, and went out there again as a Commander in 1811. (92) The French and English colonists on Trinidad which had been captured by the British in 1797 petitioned in 1805 for redress to their concerns about the way the Island had been run. (93)

One of the Taylors of Shields was serving on a ship carrying cotton, cocoa, sugar, indigo, molasses and wine in 1797 from Trinidad to Cadiz, and from Cadiz to Havana. (94)

Perhaps the revolts in the West Indies stimulated the publication of Stedman's account of the revolt in the Dutch colony of Surinam in the 1770s, which included engravings by William Blake, including ones showing the punishments of slaves. (95)

1799 issues of 'The Newcastle Chronicle' include reports about the West Indies, ships arriving in Britain from the West Indies, and the capture by a Newcastle privateer of Spanish ship laden with sugar, coffee, logwood, and hard dollars bound from Havana to Cadiz. (96) Property in Boldon and Whitburn was owned by William Hall of Jamaica and his daughter Elizabeth, Countess of Harrington. (97)

The Wars and the slave rebellions disrupted the running of the plantations. In his correspondence from Jamaica to John Bell in Hexham, Jacob Glenwright reports on the revolt of the Maroons and the action taken against them. (98)

From 1812-1814 Britain was also at War with the United States. During it the HMS Shannon, commanded by Philip Bowes Vere Broke, captured the USS Chesapeake of Boston in just fifteen minutes. When Broke died in 1841 Newcastle born maritime painter John Wilson Carmichael (1800-68) painted 'The Shannon and the Chesapeake'. (99)

John Graham-Clarke and the Barretts (100)

In 1792 the six children of the slave woman Elissa Peters and one of the Jamaican plantation owning Barretts were sent from Jamaica to Newcastle to be looked after by John Graham-Clarke, the Newcastle based Jamaican plantation owner. Graham-Clarke owned several ships involved in the West Indies trade. Two going to Jamaica were subject to advertisements in the February 1794 issues of 'The Newcastle Chronicle'. (101) In 1805 his daughter Mary married Edward Moulton Barrett in Gosforth in 1805. Edward's guardian in England had been Scarlett, himself born in Jamaica, and descended from a member of the force that captured the Island in 1655. When Scarlett came to England in 1785 he too had been looked after by Graham-Clarke. While Edward and Mary lived in Coxhoe Hall in Durham their daughter Elizabeth (the poet best known as Elizabeth Barrett Browning and future wife of Robert Browning) was born in 1806. (102) Mary Trepsack, her parents' freed black servant became Elizabeth's friend. (103) Samuel, one of Edward's relatives, married Margaret Storey of Arcot Hall, at Cramlington.

Graham-Clarke purchased the Beans Plantation and the shares in the Bamboo Plantation owned by people living in Yorkshire. He may also have taken over a debt in relation to the Durham Plantation involving Robert Thomas, a Sunderland shipowner. (104) One of his daughters married Thomas Butler, the son of an Irish baron who was related to Pierce Butler, a supporter of the American Revolution and pro-slaver. (105) His son John Altham married the daughter of Leonard Parkinson, a planter in Jamaica.

In 1808 Benjamin Sorsbie, Newcastle-upon-Tyne's Mayor, witnessed a document selling slaves to Jacob Graham, Graham-Clarke's uncle. (106) This was only a few months after the passing of the Act of Parliament abolishing Britain's official involvement in the slave trade. When Jacob died in 1816 Jacob left Graham-Clarke his estates, as well as small plots of land and houses to his six mixed-race children. (106) At his death in 1818 Graham-Clarke had interests in at least 13 Jamaican plantations. A lengthy legal family battle over inheritance followed. Part of the dispute related to an 1817 codicil to his will. James Losh, a close friend and abolitionist, gave testimony that Graham-Clarke was mentally sound to have understood what he was doing. (107) Another son, John, took on the running of the Newcastle and West Indian trading businesses.

Links with the Americas 1815-1838

Following his death in the City In 1817 a flagstone was laid in the floor of Durham Cathedral to Dr Henry Evans Holder 'of Barbado'. He had sold the family plantation at Joe's River. His father, a clergyman, of the same name had been an apologist for slavery. (108) Ward Cadogan, owner of the Brinkburn Priory Estate, drew up an inventory of the 'Negroes, horses and cattle' on his Pickering Plantation on Barbados. (109) George, one of the brothers of Gateshead's William Henry Brockett, died in Havana in Cuba on 7 May 1818 from 'a malignant fever'. (110) Royal Navy Lieutenant John Prince, born in Jamaica in 1784 of the banana plantation owning family, married in 1821 and began to construct Shincliffe Hall near Durham. (111) The local press regularly reported items with West Indian connections, like the receipt of money to Newcastle General Hospital from a Dr Robson of Demerara. (112) The Newcastle coach making business of Caleb Angas and his sons shipped supplies of mahogany and dyewoods from British Honduras. George took over the running of the business after Caleb's death in 1831, and successfully campaigned for emancipation of the British Honduran indigenous Indians. (113) Other ships went to the West Indies like the two advertised in 1826. (114) Trading in African produce had been going on from the Tyne for decades. In 1837 the list of duties to be paid on goods being imported from foreign countries and the colonies specified African Oak and other timber from Africa. (115)

Surviving documents about business transactions and consumption of goods such as sugar, tobacco, and furniture made with mahogany, show how produce and materials produced by slave labour affected many ordinary people's lives, but particularly those with a disposable income enabling them to buy luxury goods. Gateshead was the leading centre for clay pipe making. (116) The papers of the Singers family of Gateshead contain information about trading in sugar and rum in the period 1820-22. (117) Coffee houses were important meeting places to conduct business. There were several coffee shops over the years, including the Jerusalem in North Shields (1823), while W Cail sold coffee in Newcastle (1827). (118) Of particular interest is the snuff box comprising a silver mounted cowrie sea shell depicting the arms of the Newcastle Upholder Company over a scroll inscribed 'Upholsterers (sic) Arms' made by Thomas Watson of Newcastle, and engraved 'Gift of John Bilton to Francis Ellis, 5th November 1822'. (119) Cowrie shells were a form of exchange used in slave trading in Africa. This suggests that John Bilton may have been involved in the slave trade in the past, or in African trading, or that cowrie shells had been coming into Newcastle as part of other people's involvements.

In 1829 the merchant Edward Hedley died in Jamaica bequeathing £10 annually to the poor of his birthplace Elsdon. Other Hedleys had been involved in plantations previously, including his brother John, and another relative James, a tenant partner in three plantations. Between 1793 and 1796 James had four illegitimate mixed race children, and made provision for them and their mother Mary in his will of 1820. One of Edward's executors was Samuel Hedley of Newcastle. Another Hedley, Anthony Duncan, was born in Jamaica c. 1814, and at some stage came to live in Heworth. (85) The British armed forces continued to be on duty in the West Indies including the 68th (Durham) Regiment of Foot between 1830 and 1832. (120)

Abolition Activities to 1807

While those investing and active in the slave trade and development of colonial slave economies were profiting and their wealth was transforming British cities and towns, country estates and funding luxury consumption, the number of people arguing against the slave trade and slavery and/or for improved welfare and education for slaves grew. Thomas Bray, the founder the Societies for Promoting Christian Knowledge and for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, was active in promoting the welfare of enslaved people, although he did not advocate their emancipation. (121) The latter Society had been bequeathed the Codrington slave plantation on Barbados. This compromised the Anglican Church, including the Bishops of Durham who served on the Society Committee.

In his memoirs published in Newcastle in 1747 T. Story hinted that if slaves were baptised they could not be continue to be treated as such. (122) In 1755 'The Newcastle General Magazine' published the views of Benjamin Franklin about the adverse costs and other effects of slavery. (123) Although his book 'The Chains of Slavery' written in 1774 was not about African slavery, Jean Paul Marat's wide circulation of it in Newcastle, at a time of radical political debate may have helped people make a link between the slavery exercised by Princes and of Africans. (124) Three years later T Saint's 'Essays commercial and political' published in Newcastle included an Appendix 'on the means of emancipating slaves, without loss to their proprietors'. (65)

Durham born Granville Sharp took a prominent role in defending slaves in Britain taking legal action against owners. At the request of the former slave Olaudah Equiano Sharp took up the case of the Zong ship in which the captain threw more than 130 slaves overboard in order to collect the insurance (1781), an episode later to be painted by Turner when his patron was Duke of Northumberland. (125) Sharp's landmark case was over James Somerset in which Lord Mansfield ruled that slave masters could not forcibly remove their slaves from England (1772). (126) In 1782 Ignatius Sancho, the former African slave, had his letters published in which he argued against slavery. Subscribers included the Duke of Northumberland and Earl Percy. (127)

Sharp was also involved in settling in West Africa's Sierra Leone area volunteers from London's black poor including black American Loyalists, and then black Loyalists from Nova Scotia. Thomas Winterbottom of South Shields went there as a doctor and wrote a book on Africa. (128) The original subscribers to the Sierra Leone Company established in 1791 included: Granville Sharp, Thomas Adams of Alnwick, Rev. Thomas Burgess of Durham, Richard Fishwick of Newcastle, Mic Longridge of Sunderland and Thomas Pickering of Darlington.

The Quakers were one of the earliest groups to begin to question the involvement of their members in slavery. There was regular communication between Quakers on both sides of the Atlantic through the London Yearly Meeting attended by delegates from around the country including Newcastle, and epistles and advice about slavery went out from at least 1737 to the local Quaker meetings. (129) They set up their own abolition committee in 1783 using their national network to galvanise support. With Thomas Clarkson and Sharp they set up the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade in 1787. Among the subscriptions it received was one from Sharp's father, a Prebendary at Durham Cathedral. (130) In 1788 Peter Marsden published in Newcastle his account of Jamaica and his reflections on the slaves. (131)

Moving into Northumberland in the early period of the abolition movement from 1788 were two men who were to make important contributions to the abolition movement: Thomas Trotter and James Field-Stanfield. Trotter had been a surgeon in the Royal Navy and then the African slave trading ship the Brookes in 1783. Back in Britain in 1785 he settled in Northumberland. He gave evidence to the House of Commons Committee of Inquiry in 1790/91. After serving a further period in the Navy including as surgeon on the flagship of Northumberland's Admiral Roddam, he practiced medicine in Newcastle until his death in 1832. (132) Stanfield moved to Sunderland in 1787 and the National Committee published his book about his experiences of the slave trade 'Observations on a Guinea Voyage' based on letters to Thomas Clarkson. The following year he published his abolitionist poem 'The Guinea Voyage'. He called his son 'Clarkson' after the campaigner. (133)

In 1788 the London Society wrote to Mayors all around the country appealing for petitions. Newcastle's Common Council drew up a petition. (134) This was taken to London by John Erasmus Blackett, who had served his apprenticeship with the slave trading Liverpool Cunliffes before arriving in Newcastle in 1760. (135) His daughter Sarah was to marry Cuthbert Collingwood in 1791. (136) In May 1789 Wilberforce introduced his first resolution to abolish the trade. (137) Parliamentary Inquiries were set up. Wilberforce's first bill in 1791 was defeated. The first local abolition society was established in Newcastle. (138) The Portsmouth Society used as publicity about the way in which slaves were packed below decks, a drawing of the slave ship the Brookes, probably based on the information provided by Dr Trotter. (139) Clarkson visited Newcastle in 1791 and met some of the local abolitionists, including Thomas Allason, Vicar of Heddon-on-the-Wall, William Turner, minister of the Hanover Square Unitarian Church, and William Baston, a corn merchant. (140)

Clarkson's summary of the massive report of the 1790/91 House of Commons Inquiry into the slave trade was printed as a pamphlet. (141) The Newcastle Society published 2,000 copies of its own version with details of the resolutions of its December 1791 meeting, and an engraving by Thomas Bewick adapting Josiah Wedgwood's campaign logo of the chained kneeling slave 'Am I not a Man and a Brother?'. The pamphlet was circulated around the North East urging petitioning. (142) A public meeting was held backed by the Incorporated Companies of Newcastle. Money was collected, including from the engravers Ralph Beilby and Thomas Bewick. (143) By the end of February 3,160 signatures had been collected. (144)

1791 saw the start of the revolt against the French on Saint Dominique. When Wilberforce unsuccessfully proposed in the Commons in 1792 to bring in an abolition bill, he was supported by Sir Ralph Milbanke, one of the County Durham MPs, and Lord Percy who proposed 'the liberation of' the slaves. (145) That year the petitions from all over the country included from Darlington, organised by the Quaker John Dodgson, Durham, Wooler, Alnwick, Belford, and both Shields, (146) and from the emerging political reform working class organisations like the London Corresponding Society, of which Equiano was a member. Thomas Gisborne, a Prebendary at Durham Cathedral, published his thoughts on the Commons debate. (147)

Equiano visited Newcastle in September to lecture and sell his 'Interesting Narrative' about his boyhood in Africa, capture and experiences as a slave. (148) The book could already be borrowed by subscribers to R. Fisher's Circulating Library. (149) Equiano advertised in 'The Newcastle Chronicle' on 15 September and visited a coal mine. (150) He then went on to Durham and Stockton. (151) Over the eight editions in his life time there were subscribers from the North East. The 1789 edition was subscribed to by Granville Sharp, and by John Wesley, the anti-slavery Methodist leader with a large following in the North East. (152)

In Durham in 1791, Dorothy, a member of the Durham Backhouse family, writes to a relative about abolition in 1791, and Thomas Burgess, arrives as chaplain to the newly appointed Bishop of Durham Shute Barrington. In 1789 Burgess had published his

'Considerations on the Abolition of Slavery', in which he advocated the principle of gradual emancipation. (153) Clarkson was in correspondence over abolition in 1793 with Matthew Montagu (4th Baron Rokeby), the nephew of the author and socialite Elizabeth Montagu. After the death of her husband Edward she had taken over the running of his Northumberland coal mining business, based at Denham Hall. She was a friend of Wilberforce and a supporter of the cause. (154) William Turner was so busy with anti-slavery activity that he had to apologise to his congregation for neglecting his work with them. (155) His reply to 'an anonymous article justifying the slave trade' was published in 'The Newcastle Courant'. (156)

With the Government backlash against radical ideas and organisation following the French Revolution and the popularity of Tom Paine's political pamphlet 'Rights of Man', the abolition movement split between conservatives like Wilberforce and liberals like Northumberland's Charles Grey. With the cessation in meetings of the London Committee co-ordinated campaigning round the country ceased. The Newcastle Society seems to have held its last meeting in March 1792. (157) While condemning the British supporters of the Revolution in his 1794 tract. Rev John Hampson, the Rector of Sunderland, argued the case for abolition of the slave trade. (158) The campaign continued in Parliament. For example Charles Grey spoke in the 1796 debate, and in his farewell speech following his defeat as Durham City MP in 1802 Michael Angelo Taylor said that he had been "an uniform and steady opposer of the slave trade." (159) 1805 and 1806 sees what would seem to have been two influential books on the San Domingo/Haiti revolt and revolution by Marcus Rainsford (160), the other being Dr George Pinckard's 'Notes on the West Indies. (161)

Finally the breakthrough came in 1806 with the passing of the Foreign Slave Trade Act, which prohibited Britons from transporting slaves to non-British territory. In an abolition debate in the Commons on 10 June 1806 Durham's MP Sir Ralph Milbanke seconded the resolution. (162) The passage of the Act made the case for the abolition of involvement by Britons in transatlantic slave trading easier to achieve through the 1807 Act. Local campaigning had recommenced. Henry Taylor and James Proctor were in touch with Charles Grey on behalf of the North Shields Quakers, and Durham Corporation's Town Clerk wrote asking one of the local MPs to vote for the bill. (163) Grey played an important role in the 1807 Bill debate, tackling head on the opponents' argument that it would be economically damaging, and arguing that justice for the slave owners was not justice when it was at the expensive of the oppression of the slaves. (164)

One of those who did not support abolition was W H C Cavendish-Scott-Bentinck, Marquess of Titchfield, later 4th Duke of Portland, whose grandfather had inherited estates and coal mines in Northumberland in 1755. Titchfield had refused to join the Ministry in 1806 because he did not support its views on the abolition of slave trade and other matters. In 1804 he had sold his Hepple Estates to Sir John Buchanan Riddell, whose father Sir John Riddell, 6th Baronet of Riddell (d. 1768), had been sent out as a boy to an uncle in America, and became a merchant on the Dutch island of Curacao off Venezuela with connections with Philadelphia. (165) Sir John's wife was the daughter of James Buchannan a leading merchant trading with America, and the West Indies, who had been an executor for William Bredie of Barbados in the mid 1740s, and involved in the inheritance of the Waggaman estate in Virginia in 1751. (166)

Throughout the campaigning the national and local Societies published a wide range of tracts, and there were also several published from an anti-abolition perspective. North-East abolition supporters could buy them. Members of the Lit & Phil could read those purchased by or donated to the Society. These included tracts by William Wilberforce, Thomas Clarkson, Zachary Macaulay and James Stephen.

Abolition campaigning 1807-1824

With abolition of the British involvement in the slave trade, followed by similar abolition by the United States in 1808, popular campaigning wound down again. When he published

the combined edition of his 'Guinea Voyage' works in 1807 to mark the passing of the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act, Stanfield dedicated it to Sir Ralph Milbanke. (167) When Forster Charlton was committed for his abolition activities in Morpeth, Milbanke's daughter Anne (the future Lady Byron) was asked to get Wilberforce to take up the case. (168) A request was made for charity for William Johnson, the negro servant of the Earl of Strathmore in 1810. (169) The African Institution had local supporters, including Earl Grey and the Lord Bishop of Durham as Vice-Presidents and subscribers, other supporters being John Atkinson, G L Hollingsworth, and Messrs Janson & Sons and R W Johnstone of Darlington. (170) Campaigning across the country was re-kindled by agreement in the European peace negotiations in 1814 to the French demand to resume for five years the slave trade to their West Indian colonies. The organisers of the London protest meeting, at which Charles Grey spoke, sent copies of the resolutions around the country. A Newcastle meeting adopted the London resolutions, and set up a committee which included activists from the early 1790s like William Turner, and newer ones like James Losh, the Newcastle lawyer. Meetings were also held in Gateshead, Sunderland, Durham and Darlington. (171) Under pressure from the British and the Russian Tsar the French waived their right to resume the trade.

The end of the Wars led to a period of economic problems, popular unrest and growing demands for political reform. Grey was at the centre of the moderate wing on these issues, but a firm defender of civil rights especially after the Parliamentary report alleging a widespread revolutionary conspiracy by followers of the Newcastle born Thomas Spence. Grey was among those who condemned the Peterloo Massacre in 1819. A more militant response came from some of Spence's followers, including the black activist William Davidson, who were convicted of the Cato St Conspiracy to assassinate the Cabinet in 1820. (172) Slaves continued their acts of revolt including Bussa's rebellion in Barbados in 1816. In 1817 Lord Eldon's brother William Scott, Lord Stowell, the Newcastle born lawyer, passed a judgement on a ship involved in slave trading, in which he said 'if it is a sin, it is a sin in which the Country has had its full share of guilt.' (173)

A new strand to the way many people thought about slavery was support for missionary work at home and abroad, including the provision of education to slaves. From its 1811 formation the Newcastle Auxiliary Bible Society took an interest in such work. It published a bible in Arabic, a copy of which was to be owned by Omar, a Moslem African slave in the United States. (174) The Methodist Missionary Society for the Newcastle upon Tyne District was instituted in April 1814, setting up five circuit committees based on Newcastle, Sunderland, Durham, North Shields, and Hexham. It's first report summarises the development of missionary work including to America. (175) Members of such societies affiliated nationally were able to read about the activities of the Bible and missionary societies in the colonies and elsewhere, including information in the journal of the British and Foreign Bible Society about Simeon Wilhelm, an African who died in London in 1817. (176) Local newspapers continued to carry news, like the death of John Redder, the Jamaican Maroon leader in 1816. (177) A leading Newcastle radical Eneas Mackenzie published a book on the United States and Canada in 1820. (178) In 1821 Snowball Havers 'a negro boy about 16 years old) was baptised in Woodhurn Parish Church. (179)

A new National Anti-Slavery Society was launched in 1823 with 250 local societies being established and a massive pamphlet publishing programme. Not long after Losh spoke at a meeting to petition Parliament, the Newcastle Society for Promoting the Gradual Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Dominions was set up in May, to which the Common Council subscribed. (180) The Society published a pamphlet about its objects written by W Mitchell. (181) When the national Society published 'The Substance of the Debate' on an abolition motion in the House of Commons on 15 May, 1823, it listed 228 petitions that had been sent in. These included from Alnwick, Barnard Castle, Blyth, Darlington, Durham, Gateshead, Hexham, Newcastle, S, Shields, Stockton, Sunderland, Tynemouth, Yarrow, Chester-le-Street and Staindrop. (182)

Losh was again addressing a pro-petition meeting on 31 March 1824. (183) In 1824 Thomas W B Hendy published his tract on establishing the civil rights of 'free people of colour' as a preliminary step to emancipation. (184) In the Parliamentary session 1823-4 at least 560 abolition petitions were sent to Parliament, and only 3 against. The 39 pro-abolition petitions from the North East's towns and villages, included ones from Ovingham, Aycliffe, Ferry Hill, Hurworth upon Tees, Monkwearmouth and Sedgefield. (185) 1824 saw activity about the case of the Baptist Minister John Smith, including in Newcastle. (186)

Abolition of Slavery Campaigning 1825-1832

Information about abolition and slavery sometimes appears in letters and diaries. In 1826 writing from Mexico to Sir John Swinburne, J Brand discussed the politics there and alluded to Wilberforce, abolition and free labour. (187) Abolition was one of the issues debated in the Parliamentary election of 1826, along with political reform. Candidates for the two Counties and Newcastle, like H T Liddell, Thomas Wentworth Beaumont, Powlett and Bell all made their opposition to slavery clear, though they differed in how abolition should be achieved. Josephine Butler's father John Grey of Millfield, near Wooler, was criticised for his treatment of 'his own white slaves at home'. (188) In 1826 John Fenwick's letter on West Indian slavery published in 'The Tyne Mercury' was reprinted as a pamphlet. (189) The Sunderland Anti-Slavery Association was particularly active in the years 1827 to 1829. (190) The Newcastle Quakers continued their activities with special attention to slavery in the United States. (191) In 1827 the local Methodists were able to read in their national magazine about the American Anti-Slavery Convention held in Baltimore, varieties of the American Race, the American Negro and his Master, and Negro Slavery. (192) Ira Aldridge, the American black actor who played Othello, performed in Newcastle and Sunderland in 1827. (193)

Among the many abolition petitions in 1830 to the House of Lords were 35 signed by the general public and from religious groups, especially the Methodists, including from Houghton-Le-Spring, Colliery Row, Hetton, Shiney Row, Easington, Whitburn, Deptford (Durham), and West Boldon, both Shields, Barnard Castle, Sunderland, Newcastle, Byker, Fawdon, and High Felling. (194) Few of these petitions have survived because they were destroyed in a fire at Parliament. Copies of the Morpeth, list of signatures and campaigning letters were kept by William Woodman of the Morpeth Anti-Slavery Society. (194) Some petitions were preceded by public meetings, like the one in Durham addressed by T. C. Granger. (195) The Newcastle Ladies Anti-Slavery Association published 'A Concise View on Colonial Slavery'. (196) John Fenwick published a broadsheet of the London Society's Address and resolutions of April 1831. Further petitions from the North East were presented in 1831: Hetton, Monkwearmouth, Houghton Le Spring and Newbottle, East Boldon, and Wolsingham. (197) During the last phase of campaigning the Mayor of Durham wrote to Lord Durham requesting him to present a petition by the local inhabitants. (198) Yet during 1831 the black seaman Africanus Maxwell was murdered by 'shipmates' in Shields. (199)

Abolition was an issue in the 1830, 1831 and 1832 Parliamentary elections. Sir Matthew White Ridley was attacked for not having voted in the Commons in support of the persecuted Jamaica based Baptist missionary William Knibb who campaigned on behalf of the slaves. Hodgson declared himself a moderate reformer. (200) The 1830 radical candidate Charles Attwood, owner of the Weardale Iron and Coal Co., was a staunch abolitionist. His nephew Matthias was a Tory and stood against Howick in Sunderland. A handbill eulogising Howick was issued in the election. (201) James Mather campaigned for abolition and parliamentary representation for South Shields, 'despite being married to a wealthy woman whose family had made its fortune in slaves'. (202) At meetings leading up to the election at the end of 1832 candidates like Cuthbert Rippon, John Bell, Heyworth Lambton and Sir Hedworth Williamson supported abolition. However, there were concerns about Bell's views, including by Losh after Bell's election. (203)

Following the Jamaican slave Baptist War uprising in 1831, Baptist Minister William Knibb came to Britain to campaign. (204) He had preached to the slaves on the Barretts's Oxford and Cambridge estates and Edward Moulton-Barrett and John Barrett had exonerated him from any involvement in encouraging the uprising. 1832 saw the publication of Harriett Martineau's anti-slavery short story 'Demerara'. (205) Her grandparents lived in Newcastle and she was a frequent visitor to the area, including living there 1827-1831. (206) She became a leading abolition campaigner. 1832 also saw the baptism in the North Shields Baptist Church of Mary Ann Macham, an escaped slave from the United State. She was supported the Spence Watson family. (207)

In May 1832 a Select Committee of the Commons was set up to investigate emancipation. Howick and William Ord, one of the area's MPs, were members. Howick argued that that the whole system of slavery was one of such deep oppression, iniquity and cruelty that, if it could be satisfied it was safe to emancipate the slave then, he would say do so and do it at once. (208)

Abolition Campaigning 1833-1838

With Earl Grey as Prime Minister the campaign to achieve abolition continued. Rev George Mortimer, the Head Master of Newcastle Grammar School, published his ideas for abolition of slavery on behalf of the Newcastle Anti-Slavery Society. (209) Two pro abolition pamphlets by Rev John Jackson of Hebdon Bridge and L Hindmarth were published. (210) James Losh and William Knibb both spoke in Newcastle advocating immediate emancipation. (211) The Newcastle Ladies organisation organised a petition. (212) Letters sent to Earl Grey included one from H.P. Simmons, a plantation owner in Barbados, who said that 'the negro is not in a fit state to receive his freedom' and referred to the abolitionists as 'interested bigots, furious partisans, and mistaken philanthropists.' (213) As Under-Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs, Grey's son Howick worked on a scheme for emancipation, but resigned in early 1833 before he finished it. (214) His speech in the Parliamentary debate in May was published. (215) Supporters could keep up-to-date with news and analysis of the issues by reading the monthly issues of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, and the continuing stream of pro- and anti-abolition pamphlets. (216) Authors of the former included: Thomas Fowell Buxton, Clarkson, Cartwright, William Wilberforce, the African Institution, the London Society, Henry Brougham, James Stephen, William Roscoe, Zacahary Macauley, Lord Grenville, Samuel Romilly, Rev. Bickell, and the Society of Friends. The opponents of abolition included authors like Gibert Francklyn and Joseph Marryatt.

When the Act was finally passed in 1833 providing for a transitional period of apprenticeship, the campaigning organisations began to wind down. The Common Council ended its subscription to the Newcastle Society. (217) When James Losh died, the Society Committee published a notice to commemorate him. (218) The Act came into force on 1 August 1834 and a celebratory poem, possibly by Joseph Watson of Newcastle, 'The day of jubilee is come' was published. (219) There were a number of events in the two Counties that summer to honour Earl Grey's achievements including the emancipation of the slaves. (10)

The slave owners had been given £20m compensation. Fowell Buxton, the new Parliamentary leader of the abolitionists, moved in June 1834 for an enquiry into whether the conditions of compensation had been complied with. Given the positive response of Charles Grey's son George, Viscount Howitt, as Under Secretary for the Colonies, Buxton contentedly withdrew his motion. (220) The Newcastle Quakers and the Northern Baptists turned their attention particularly to abolition of slavery in the United States. (221) Howick became Secretary of War in Melbourne's Government of 1835, but resigned after a reshuffle following the loss of a Commons vote to suspend the constitution of Jamaica. (222) That year Charles Edward Trevelyan married Hannah, the daughter of the abolitionist Zacahary Macauley. (223) The Newcastle Abolition Society's Committee had a wide range of people who had been involved in various ways over the years like William Turner,

Thomas Winterbottom, and members of the Quaker Richardson family. In 1836 it changed its name to the Society for Abolishing Slavery All Over the World. (224) As the evidence of abuses of the apprenticeship system in the West Indies grew, the level of campaigning increased. In 1836 Samuel Broadbent (1794-1867), a Wesleyan missionary in Southern Africa 1820-1826, who had welcomed emancipation there, became a minister in Newcastle until 1839, and later was a minister in Darlington in 1859. (225) Gilmour's anti-planters and slavery comments were greeted with applause at the Great Trade Union meeting held in 1836 to protest at the treatment of the Dorchester Labourers (Tolpuddle Martyrs). (226) In Alnwick William Davison published William Henry Brown's 'Journal of a Voyage from London to Barbadoes'. (227)

Led by Elizabeth Pease, the Darlington Ladies Society for the Universal Abolition of Slavery was active from 1836. (228) She was also a supporter of the British India Society through its Durham branch. The Newcastle Ladies Society was also concerned about slavery in India and agreed to print 100 copies of Extracts from Howitt's "Colonization & Christianity". (229) George Thompson, one of the new younger generation of abolitionists, spoke at a number of meetings around the North East between 1836 and 1838, including one in Newcastle which agreed his proposal for a petition for immediate and unconditional emancipation because of the failure of apprenticeship. (230) The 1837 election saw the issue of emancipation being raised in March by Granger, in Durham, but he was not elected. (231) Newcastle's Joseph Foster corresponded with his friend Clarkson, about the campaign. (232) A speaker in the town on slavery was James Everett. (233) Parliament finally decided to abolish apprenticeship and grant full emancipation with effect from 1 August 1838. Howitt spoke in March in support. (234) By now the Newcastle Ladies' Negro Friends & Emancipation Society had been established, and they were asked to organise a commemorative tea-party for 2 August. (235) Sarah Foster, constrained by limits on Quaker speaking in public, had resigned in 1835 from the Newcastle Quakers to hold meetings with the Methodists and Independents, and was active in this Society. (236) The South Shields based painter Robinson Elliott painted an allegorical piece commemorating the abolition of slavery. (237)

Women's involvement in anti-slavery radicalised many of them. When the Female Political Union of Newcastle issued their address to the nation's women in February 1839, they stated that while campaigning for the end to negro slavery they had learned that slavery was 'not confined to colour or clime, and even in England cruel oppression reigns - and we are compelled by our love of God and hatred of wrong to join our countrywomen in their demand for liberty and justice.' (238)

A boost to local political reform radicalism came in 1838 with the Newcastle Workingmen's Association inviting Augustus Beaumont to stand for Parliament. He had been a slave owner and member of the Jamaica Assembly. He had argued for improved treatment for slaves and wanted the Assembly to abolish slavery. He had had a tract published in 1831 arguing that Jamaica should be free from British Parliamentary control. A recipient of emancipation compensation, and with the sale of his Jamaican newspapers, he had enough money to start 'The Radical' newspaper, which he turned into the 'The Northern Liberator.' (239) His supporter and purchaser of 'The Liberator' in 1838 Robert Blakey had an uncle based in Glasgow who was a merchant in the West India trade importing sugar and rum. (240)

The strength of support on Tyneside for Chartist political reform led to the stationing of the 98th Regiment troops under the command of Colin Campbell (later Lord Clyde, 1792-1863) to quell any disorder. Campbell had been with the 21st Fusiliers in Barbados from 1819, in Demerara from 1821 to 1826, where he had suppressed the 1823 revolt, and then in Cape Colony until 1837. (241)

Emancipation from 1838

The Newcastle Quakers, Baptists and Methodists had always had an interest in slave issues in the United States. After emancipation in 1838 the mainstream of the abolition movement turned to these issues and the continuing fight against the slave trade operated by other countries. Growing up as a child in this movement Robert Spence Watson was used to meeting black American abolitionists like Charles Lennox Remond, Frederick Douglass, William Wells-Brown and the Crafts at the family supper table. (242) Douglass and others also stayed with other Tyneside abolitionists.

The Newcastle Ladies Negro Friends & Emancipation Society gave donations to national abolition organisations. In 1839 speakers at its meetings included George Thompson, and William Dawes who spoke about the work of the Oberlin College in America which taught negroes. One of the ways some abolitionists sought to support emancipated slaves was to help buy land for them. Darlington's Edward Pease declined to subscribe to one scheme in March 1839 because he did not have confidence in the method being adopted. (243)

Emancipation in the West Indies caused all sorts of problems for the planters in dealing with their now free labourers. From 1839 to 1841 William Henderson, and then J R Brown/Bowen, wrote from Jamaica's Orchard Estate to William Johnson in Felton. (244) Such problems continued into the early 1850s. John Hamilton's letters discuss the running of his family's Pemberton Estate in Jamaica in 1850/51. (245) Charles Trevelyan contemplated breaking the family Grenada estates into plots for the free negroes living and working on them. (246) One of Earl Grey's sons, Charles Edward, was appointed Governor of Barbados and the Windward Islands in 1841, and then Governor of Jamaica from 1846 to 1853. In 1849 Arthur Hart's published an attack on the Grey family's role arguing that the then desperate situation of the colonies was a result of their policies and actions in various official positions. (247) In 1852 the planters sent over a delegation to Britain to put their economic problems. (248) However, there was still sufficient profits to be made from importing sugar that the Thompson Yard was commissioned to build two ships for the trade. There was also British involvement in mines in Jamaica. (249)

From 1839/40 to 1845 Harriet Martineau lived in Tynemouth. (250) Her grandfather had been a Newcastle sugar refiner. Her 1837 book 'Society in America' had been bitterly attacked by the American slave lobby. (251) Her article 'The Martyr Age of the United States of America' was published as a pamphlet by the Newcastle Emancipation and Aborigines Protection Society in 1840 along with an appeal for the Oberlin Institute. Subscribers to the appeal including leading national abolitionists, the Newcastle Ladies Anti-Slavery Society, Elizabeth Pease, and George Fife Angas. (252) Her influential book 'The Hour and The Man' about St Domingo's Touissant L'Ouverture was published in 1841. (253)

One of the members of The British & Foreign Anti-Slavery Society formed in 1839 was Newcastle-born Congregationalist Minister Thomas Binney. (254) He was present at the 1840 Anti-Slavery Convention in London when the American women delegates were excluded. Also present were, as were Tynesiders George Fife Angas, William Beaumont, James Finlay, Jonathan Priestman, George Richardson, William Maude and Michael Longridge, Professor Johnstone representing the University of Durham, Elizabeth and Joseph Pease and Ann (nee Milbanke), Lady Byron. (255)

In 1840 the Ladies Society heard about negro education from Rev John Clark, a missionary from Jamaica. They sent an address to American women, and were in touch with the Ladies Anti-Slavery Society in Boston. Black American abolitionist Charles L Remond spoke to them in 1841. From 1842 they took up the issue of slavery in British India, and heard from Clark and Philip Saffrey about their African visit. Donations to national organisations continued. In 1845 they were in correspondence with the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society and sent money to the Thompson Normal School in Jamaica.

The Newcastle based newspaper 'The Northern Star' published a series of 'Political Letters and Conversations on Religion and Civilization' by Frances Wright D'Arusmont discussing

the emancipation lessons of the West Indies, and her experiment in freeing slaves in the United States. These were then printed in pamphlet form in 1844. (256)

There was heated polemical debate in the 1840s about the Scottish Free Church's acceptance of money from Southern slave owners. (257) This developed into an attack on the militant white American abolitionist William Garrison and his British supporters like George Thompson, there already being divisions in the British abolition movement over the Garrisonian analysis and strategy. (258)

An unsuccessful Parliamentary candidate for Sunderland in 1845 was the anti-slavery supporter Thomas Perronet Thompson who had been Governor of Sierra Leone from 1808 to 1810. (259) Elizabeth Pease discussed the tensions in the British abolition movement in a letter to James Fuller, who was involved in the Underground Railway helping escaped slaves to Canada. (260) The importation of slave produced goods had been causing concern. At some stage in a letter Edward Pease commented on 'a great deal of' iron ore has been brought to South Wales for smelting from Cuba 'where we may fear it is obtained at the frightful cost of human misery, from the slaves imported into that extensive Island.' (261)

While staying in Newcastle in December 1846 Frederick Douglass met Julia Griffiths, who later went to the States and helped on his paper 'The North Star'. (262) Newcastle's Quaker women, led by Anna Richardson, raised the money that purchased his freedom. (263) Jane Richardson, Robert Spence Watson's mother-in-law, was a member of the Ladies Emancipation Society and responsible for collecting and shipping contributions to the 14th Annual Anti-Slavery Bazaar in Boston in 1847. The account of the discriminatory and violent treatment in the States of free black American Sherry Williams was published in Newcastle in 1847. (264) The annual Baptist Association meeting held in May 1847 at Shotley Bridge, heard a report on the visit by Revd J Angus and C M Bimell to the West Indies on behalf of the Baptist Mission. It appears that the Newcastle and North of England Unitarian Christian Tract and Missionary Society got into a dispute with William Garrison over the views of its Secretary Rev. George Harris which had been published in religious papers in Boston in 1848. (265)

In 1841 Gateshead had elected William Hutt as its MP (until 1874). He took a very different attitude to slavery and the trade, being concerned about the economic implications of abolition. He believed that the free market would end slavery and the slave trade. He challenged the cost of policing the slave trade, and unsuccessfully tried to get the Commons to end the work of the African Squadron. A meeting 'The Slave Trade and the African Squadron' to thank him for 'his services in connection with the final extinction of the Slave Trade' was held on 5 November 1849 in Newcastle's Guildhall. (266)

After a three year gap the Ladies Society met in February 1850 to discuss Emancipation and Free Labour Produce, and reorganised themselves to campaign for it. The national network of 26 branches, 10 in the North East, was co-ordinated by Anna Henry Richardson who also jointly published the journal 'The Slave: His Wrongs and their Remedy' in Newcastle between 1851 and 1856. (267) In 1850 the Ladies held a tea-party and a public meeting for the black abolitionist Rev. John Pennington. In September they paid the expenses for Rev Henry Highland Garnett, another black American abolitionist, to come to Britain and then his family. They appointed him their travelling agent. Donations continued to US abolition and education causes. In 1854 they appointed George Wilson McCrea of Bedlington as their delegate to the Anti-Slavery Society Conference in London.

Anna Henry Richardson collected funds to pay for the printing in Newcastle of a pamphlet aimed at children 'Little Laura, the Kentucky Abolitionist', appealing for donations towards abolition work in Kentucky. (268) The publication was probably connected with the peace organisations that many absolutists were members of, promoted by Elihu Burritt, a frequent visitor to Britain from the 1840s to the 1870s. Black abolitionist William Wells

Brown lectured in North Shields in 1850. Local Quaker women bought his freedom in 1854. He was highly complimentary about the reception he received in Newcastle. (269)

About 1855 the Durham printer George Walker published the song 'The Slave Chase'. (270) In 1858 James Lewick of Philadelphia wrote to Henry Fee and Edwin Pease about his view that the settlement of free and rescued slaves in Liberia was a temporary expedient. (271) Among the Chartists who had fled to the United States in 1840 was Newcastle's Thomas Devyr. He became an active abolitionist, and in 1858 sent an analysis predicting the Civil War to W E Adams, who was to become editor of 'The Newcastle Weekly Chronicle'. (272) Support continued for the Anti-Slavery Bazaars held in the States, with contributions from Newcastle, John Mawson and Joseph Cowen, and a tapestry from Harriet Martineau. (273)

The American Civil War and Emancipation

Opinion in Britain was split on whether to support the North or the South. There was pressure from both sides for the Government to take sides. During the War the arrival in Sunderland in 1861 and West Hartlepool in 1862 of HMS Trincomalee seems symbolic of the complexity of Britain's role in the Americas. It had been based in the West Indies from 1847 and was involved in quelling a revolt in Haiti and stopping a threatened invasion of Cuba. (274) In June 1861 a group of people in Sunderland petitioned against the deportation of the fugitive slave John Anderson from Canada back to the United States. (275) Local audiences could support the shows by black entertainers in the North East in the early years of the early 1860s, who included the Female Christie Minstrels, the Original African Opera Troupe, who raised funds for Newcastle's Infirmary, and the Real Black concert party performing on the Town Moor. (276)

Sunderland's MP W. S. Lindsay argued for the recognition of the South. Earl Russell, the Foreign Secretary, used a meeting in Newcastle in October 1861 to attack the North. In 1862 James Watkins, a fugitive slave spoke in Newcastle, Blaydon, Wallsend and North Shields, and had a letter published in the 'Newcastle Daily Chronicle' rebutting Lincoln's suggestion that black Americans might be persuaded to emigrate to Central America and Africa. A few months later William Gladstone's description of the South as a 'nation' was loudly applauded by its Newcastle audience. (277) This galvanised local radicals like Joseph Cowen, who had been critical of the North for not having emancipation as an aim. After organising a mass meeting in the Nelson St Music Hall to welcome Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of 1 January 1863, Cowen joined the Union & Emancipation Society, whose members were also to include Rev. Marmaduke Miller of Darlington and Rev. G. T. Fox of Durham. (278) Another supporter the Liberal MP William Forster had learnt the textiles business with the abolitionist Peases in Darlington. (279) The Society published a number of tracts, including 'The Slaveholder's War' by W E Adams who Cowen invited to edit his 'Newcastle Weekly Chronicle'. (280) Other organisations issuing pamphlets supporting the North were the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and the Quakers Committee for the Relief of the Emancipated Slaves of the United States. (281) The Ladies Emancipation Society, of whose Committee Harriett Martineau was a member, also published. (282) Black abolitionist William Craft attacked racism at the British Association for the Advancement of Science Conference in Newcastle in 1863. (283) Another active pro-Northern activist John Bright, who had been Durham's MP 1843-57, was married to Elizabeth, one of the Newcastle Priestman family. (284) Financial and other support was given from Tyneside to the Lancashire cotton workers impoverished by the dearth of cotton imports due to the Civil War. (285)

Colonialism, Imperialism and Black Rights 1865 onwards

The end of the American Civil War in 1865 with its emancipation of the slaves did not end concern among many Britons about the continuing problems of slavery and slave trade elsewhere in the world, about the way in which the British West Indies were governed, or the way in which Africans were treated in the colonial struggles between the European countries in the following decades, especially in the scramble to control parts of Africa.

Meetings were held in Newcastle, both the Shields and Durham in December 1865 against Governor Eyre's brutal repression of the Morant Bay Revolt in Jamaica. (286) People from all parts of the Empire came to Britain to visit, to study, to work and to settle: Arab seamen settling in South Shields. (287) In 1871 those attending the first Durham Miners Gala heard a song by a miner arguing that God made all men free and equal, and that 'man made the slave'. (288) In the 1870s Disraeli had to drop the plan to require captains in the waters of slave countries to hand back escaped slaves who had sought refuge on British ships. Robert Spence Watson threatened to take legal action against captains and Disraeli under the Kidnapping Act. (289)

In 1877 the Governor of British South Africa partly justified his announcement of annexation of the Transvaal Republic on the grounds that the Boers were keeping slaves. Robert Spence Watson was a strong North East voice campaigning and writing against the action, and defending the Zulu Chief Cetewayo in the subsequent Zulu Wars. (290) David Livingstone's 'Life and exploration' were published in London and Newcastle in 1878. (291). Watson was also a leading member of the Tyneside opponents of the Boer War in South Africa (1899-1902). (292)

Black people continued to visit and settle in the North East, including Celestine Edwards in Sunderland in the 1880s campaigning for the brotherhood of man and the rights of Africans. (293), and Arthur Wharton, the first black English professional footballer, in Darlington. (294) The period 1902-1908 saw the visit by the Ugandans Ham Mukasa and Apolo Kagwa, the child duo Irving Williams and Fernandes Jones, the Pete and Juno duo, Juno marrying and settling in Newcastle, the American 'In Dahomey' show, and the multi-racial West Indian cricket team. A young West African was on the Tyne hoping to get work in the shipyards. James Durham of the Durham Light Infantry married Jane Green of Darlington. In 1912 the black seaman James Ramsey was sent to South Shields because he had a claim on the poor rates there. Dr Ismael Cummings from Sierra Leone worked at Newcastle's Royal Victoria Infirmary in 1913, his son Ivor being born in West Hartlepool. The African C E Reindorf graduated as a doctor at Durham University. (295)

The continued existence of slavery in parts of Africa and elsewhere in the world meant that the anti-slavery movement continued in existence in various organisational forms. As a member of The Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, Wallington's Charles Philips Trevelyan was involved in 1917 in discussing how Africans could help the war effort against the Germans. (296) However despite the contributions of Arabs, West Indians, Africans and Asians in the First World War, South Shields was the scene of one of several race riots around the country in 1919, foreshadowing the problems of racism in the 20th Century. (297)

Sean Creighton
Project Officer
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sean.creighton@btinternet.com
www.seancreighton.co.uk