

Underwriting Souls: Ethics and Methods¹

Alexandre White, Pyar Seth, and Eliza Bright Zimmerman
Johns Hopkins University and School of Medicine



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Executive Summary:

In June of 2020, The Lloyd's Insurance Market formally apologized for its role in the transatlantic slave trade. In 2021, Lloyd's hired Victoria Lane, an archivist, to explore the Lloyd's archives and its artifacts to better understand their links to the trans-Atlantic slave trade with the aim of addressing past harms. While the materials in the collection were in the process of being fully evaluated, after discussion between Lane and Alexandre White, it was suggested that the Mellon funded project, Black Beyond Data based at Johns Hopkins University write a preliminary proposal for an educational digital humanities platform to present the artifacts related to slavery within the proper context of their production. In March of 2022 Lloyd's and Johns Hopkins University entered into a collaboration agreement that protected academic freedom and integrity as central to this project. With funds from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, we have digitized the materials within the Lloyd's Collection pertaining to the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade as well as produced a database of the key actors linked to the slave trade through these materials. As part of this agreement Lloyd's bears no editorial right over the final language, form, or presentation of the digital products produced. As a university, Johns Hopkins has a legal responsibility to maintain academic freedom and integrity, and Johns Hopkins and Lloyd's have agreed and are committed to this principle.

This memorandum details the ethical approaches and historical methods we employed to assess the materials within the Lloyd's archives to understand their connections to the trans-Atlantic slave trade. These activities were necessary to produce the exhibits, the research structures necessary for them, and the digital storage and display of these objects.

While materials in the digitized collection stretch across the 18th and 19th century, they primarily provide key insight into the financial dynamics of the last two decades of the legal slave trade in the British Empire, from the 1790's to the 1807. In conducting the necessary background research to adequately present these materials through a digital archive and online exhibits, we have concluded that the subscribers to Lloyd's including members of the governing body of the market, the Lloyd's Committee had significant connections to the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, and the economies produced from the trafficking and enslaving of people in the 18th and 19th century. In order to build out the exhibits, the metadata, and the database for underwritingsouls.org, we reconstructed networks of business relations, underwriting practices, and familial networks that operated within and through Lloyd's, the City of London, and beyond. Far from solely operating as underwriters, we are able to show that numerous members of Lloyd's maintained business ties with the largest slave ship owners in Liverpool, actively protested and appealed the abolition of the slave trade and slavery in the British Empire, maintained, owned, and operated plantations and African slaving ports, and heavily invested in the first London dock companies that would be responsible for expanding the trade in goods produced from the labor and lives of enslaved people and those across the empire more broadly.

Introduction:

In June of 2020, The Lloyd's Insurance Market formally apologized for its role in the transatlantic slave trade. The insurance of ships, cargo, and captured persons, as well as the development of complex chains of credit facilitated the growth of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, and especially Britain's role in it in the 18th and early 19th century.² The profits of slavery not only allowed for the growth of commodity markets for goods like sugar and cotton but also for enslaved people themselves. During the period of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, between ten and twenty million people are estimated to have been forcibly captured and enslaved from Africa and brought to foreign shores to be sold. The scale of this slave trade was vast and profitable not only for the colonies of the British Empire but also for the British Isles themselves. The wealth from the profits of slavery and the goods produced from enslaved labor grew the cities of London, Liverpool and Bristol while also leading to significant developments of financial markets, networks, and products.³ These histories, too often difficult to access or underappreciated, have shaped the lives of Britons of all identities and remain central to our understanding of the modern world.

In 2021, Lloyd's hired Victoria Lane, an archivist, to explore the Lloyd's archives and its artifacts to better understand their links to the transatlantic slave trade with the aim of addressing past harms. While the materials in the collection were in the process of being fully evaluated, after discussion between Ms. Lane and Alexandre White, it was suggested that the Mellon funded project, Black Beyond Data based at Johns Hopkins University write a preliminary proposal for an educational digital humanities platform to present the artifacts related to slavery within the proper context of their production. In March of 2022 Lloyd's and Johns Hopkins University entered into a collaboration agreement that protected academic freedom and integrity as central to this project. As part of this agreement Lloyd's bears no editorial right over the final language, form, or presentation of the digital products produced. As a university, Johns Hopkins has a legal responsibility to maintain academic freedom and integrity, and Johns Hopkins and Lloyd's have agreed and are committed to this principle. Through access to the Lloyd's Archives, this project has produced digital exhibits and digital resources for research.

After the signing of the collaboration agreement in March of 2022, Alexandre White travelled to London to examine the materials in the Lloyd's Collection. With the full support of Victoria Lane, the archivist at Lloyd's, had full access to the materials in the Lloyd's collection to review for its links to the slave trade. Lane compiled a list of potential materials from which White drew for analysis and then sought further materials. Through the examination of many documents and objects over the course of two weeks, White isolated several objects and documents that would become central points of analysis as well as further materials to provide contextual understanding of the role of Lloyd's in the slave trade.

The materials that exist within Lloyd's collection provide a complex picture but primarily detail a small period of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, from 1794 leading up to the abolition of the British slave trade in 1807. These materials provide key insights into the practices of the Lloyd's market and the process of insuring slaving voyages. Because such records are scant and limited, these materials shed important light

² J. E. Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England: A Study in International Trade and Economic Development* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Robin Pearson and David Richardson, "Insuring the Transatlantic Slave Trade," *The Journal of Economic History* 79, no. 2 (June 2019): 417–46, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022050719000068>; Robin Pearson and David Richardson, "Social Capital, Institutional Innovation and Atlantic Trade before 1800," *Business History* 50, no. 6 (November 2008): 765–80, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00076790802420336>; Kenneth Morgan, "Remittance Procedures in the Eighteenth-Century British Slave Trade," *Business History Review* 79, no. 4 (2005): 715–49, <https://doi.org/10.2307/25097112>.

³ Nicholas Radburn, "Keeping 'the Wheel in Motion': Trans-Atlantic Credit Terms, Slave Prices, and the Geography of Slavery in the British Americas, 1755–1807," *The Journal of Economic History* 75, no. 3 (September 2015): 660–89, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022050715001084>.

on the history of the slave trade and the City of London. These are not only substantive documents and examples of the relationship between slavery and insurance but to our knowledge, are likely the only materials of their kind. To better understand these materials and effectively outline the role that Lloyd's, the City of London, and the British Empire more broadly, played in the transatlantic slave trade, certain methodological decisions had to be made to understand to develop a path towards these exhibits.

Very few records of the trans-Atlantic slave trade remain considering its importance to the development of the modern world. Very few ship plans exist that depict the on-board experience of enslavement and the *middle passage* - the transit across the Atlantic from Africa to the Americas. The materials that we do have are usually ship logs, accounting documents, plantation records and materials written by slavers and those personally responsible for the violence of slavery. So many of the material artifacts of slavery used to tell its history are the shackles, the chains, and other physical instruments used for confinement and control, where we tend to neglect the sites that are not immediate enmeshed in direct chattel slavery and plantation systems. These collections at Lloyd's, likely the only of their kind in the world, shed light on the wider economy of slavery, its importance to British society and the British Empire. This project explores and presents these materials within that wider context.

This memo provides an overview of the project and the ethical and methodological steps that have been taken to effectively examine these materials and understand their wider relationship to the transatlantic slave trade. We have intended our approach to be transparent, reproducible, and academically robust. The final sections also provide some findings relating to the involvement of the Lloyd's Market in the slave trade. While the exhibits are the product of roughly 16 months of research further work will continue and we anticipate updating these materials as they develop and expand. Scholarly research in the form of papers and books will also be written by the researchers involved with this project based on these materials.

This project hopes to engage viewers to critically think about the materials they are presented with, the objects they see, and the logics by which insurance for people-seen-as-commodities operated in the 18th and early 19th century. So often when we think of the violent histories of slavery, we quickly turn our attention to those sites of constant, unceasing, spectacular violence - the slave castle, the ship, the plantation - and not to the sites of finance and exchange that allowed these violences to perpetuate. The materials explored through our collaboration, corroborated with material sources from archives around Britain, demonstrate that not only did underwriters at Lloyd's have deep and intimate knowledge of the slave trade they materially benefited from but also were engaged in it on a number of levels. Indeed, when we think of the perpetrators and beneficiaries of slavery, we tend to first look toward the slave holders, the slave ship captains, the plantation foremen and forget the financiers, the underwriters, and the investors that made the trade and traffic in people across the Atlantic for centuries possible. At the same time, as archives such as Lloyd's and others in the City of London⁴ open their doors for investigations into the role of the financial world in the making and maintenance of slavery, this project seeks to serve as a critical site to consider how to read and witness historical objects produced in the service of slavery in ways that complicate the narratives put forward by their creators. In doing so, these digital exhibits and online materials serve to consider and complicate how insurance agreements pertaining to slavery as well as books containing references to dozens of insured slaving voyages invoke logics that dehumanize those quantified and numbered on their pages. We hope to enliven debate and turn a critical eye to the lessons we might draw from these objects.

⁴ Often referred to also as the "Square Mile" the City of London denotes the square mile area in central/east London that has historically been the center of commerce and financial business in the city and occupies a semi-autonomous governing structure managed by the Corporation of London.

While the methods and findings discussed in this memorandum have been reviewed, new material and new data can and will come to light that shift our understandings. These findings represent a major analysis of the materials in the Lloyd's collection pertaining to slavery, but this research will continue, especially pertaining to the activities of subscribers to the Lloyd's market and their involvement in slaving and the slave economy. While we can confirm the accuracy of the findings in this memo which have been through several rounds of peer review, further research is ongoing, and we continue to come across materials that provide an even deeper understanding of the knowledge we can gain from this collection and its historical artifacts.

A Note on Language

In this memo, we employ the term trans-Atlantic slave trade, or slave trade to describe the capture, forced migration and trafficking of African peoples that took place between the 16th and 19th centuries. There are, however - like all terms that attempt to describe expansive violence, horror, and dehumanization - limitations to employing them. These terms oftentimes still fail to capture the complexity of both the slave trade itself and its many changes, its industrialization, the increasing sophistication of systems of violence and containment, and its shift in scale over four centuries. It also can invite us to easily adopt Eurocentric perspectives that prioritize the Atlantic as the primary site of rupture and of traffic. Gregory O'Malley in his book *Final Passages: The Intercolonial Slave Trade of British America 1619-1807* notes that by focusing upon the Atlantic component of the slave trade or even by employing the much used and cited term 'the middle passage' we privilege a reading of the slave trade from the perspective of the slavers themselves.⁵ The middle passage or the voyage between the coast of Africa and the Americas is the *middle* because it recognizes the second leg of a three-leg voyage that would have begun in Europe (for our purposes Britain) and ended with a voyage back to Britain from the West Indies or North or South America. For the enslaved, however, their experience of the slave trade would have begun much earlier - captured in their homelands and trafficked across lands, coastal slave forts, and disembarkation points of no return where they may have been held for months of confinement either confined within the fort or in the bowels of the ship awaiting sail across the ocean. Indeed, the use of the term Trans-Atlantic slave trade also tends to erase the inter-colonial trade of people that occurred throughout the Caribbean and up and down the western Atlantic coasts. While we employ some of these terms, we recognize their limitations and encourage reflection on the power and complexities of this language.

Who We Are: Black Beyond Data

Black Beyond Data is funded by the Mellon Foundation based at Johns Hopkins University, Brown University, and the Saint Francis Neighborhood center in Baltimore. Black Beyond Data's ultimate goals are to become a resource for Black digital humanities scholars, artists and community organizers focused on computational humanities and social justice. Our long-term vision is for Black Beyond Data to support a global shift in public knowledge about the ethics, methodologies, theories, and composition of Black data, and recenter Black communities in the stewardship of their past, present, and future data, broadly conceived. Our theory and praxis are guided by a small Black data paradigm, which Gallon theorizes as the collection, manipulation, and visualization of data on Black life that moves beyond, big data, algorithmic tools, and technologies, and are specific to historical and contemporary Black experiences.

⁵ Gregory E. O'Malley, *Final Passages : The Intercolonial Slave Trade of British America, 1619-1807* (Chapel Hill, UNITED STATES: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/jhu/detail.action?docID=4322206>.

Funding Disclosures

All funding from this project is derived from the Mellon Foundation and Johns Hopkins University. Any collaboration between a research institution and Lloyd's may invite skepticism regarding the accurate portrayal of Lloyd's relationship to slavery and the trans-Atlantic slave trade given any potential reputational ramifications. In order for there to be zero financial conflict, Black Beyond Data has not sought nor will it accept any funding from Lloyd's for this work. While Lloyd's has provided access to their archives and work on any final materials will be produced in collaboration between Lloyd's, Victoria Lane, Alexandre White and Black Beyond Data, no financial relationship for the research or production of materials will be provided from Lloyd's.

Project Ethics

The primary objective of this project is to serve public interest by producing a series of analytically rigorous, peer-reviewed, digital humanities products that seek to contextualize the materials in the Lloyd's Collections linked to slavery. We define collective social benefit as any work that ethically, and without causing harm educates the public, raises the tenor of social discourse, and contributes to mutual understanding. This collaboration aims to work towards the collective benefit of both the public, contribute to civic life through the practice of historical inquiry and knowledge dissemination, and for the benefit of those historically harmed by the trans-Atlantic slave trade. General benefits may include educational tools and platforms, virtual exhibits, lectures, and other forms of public engagement. This project recognizes that accounts of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, slavery, forced labor, and violence will take an emotional toll on us. These are hard, difficult histories to learn about and learn from - especially for those whose ancestors were enslaved. It is also a painful history for those whose ancestors were involved in and benefitted from slavery. History should rarely make us comfortable and it is our ethical responsibility to minimize harm to those affected by these histories. Drawing on existing principles for responsible research in these fields⁶ we aim to minimize harm by seeking oversight from an Advisory Board who continue to assess our work and consider its potential harm as well as benefits. This will be discussed in greater detail in the following section.

In preparing to conduct this delicate and important work, the researchers involved in this process considered prior practices of confronting these issues in archival production and research.⁷ The proposed model here is informed by both the earlier referenced materials and upon the [CARE principles for Indigenous Data Governance](#) (CARE principles).⁸ The Care Principles for Indigenous Data Governance were developed out of the need to recognize the ways that data and digital historical materials, especially those relating to colonialism, historical violences and slavery can do violence to those communities who have

⁶ For a more complete accounting of these sources kindly see: Stephanie Russo Carroll et al., "The CARE Principles for Indigenous Data Governance," *Data Science Journal* 19 (November 4, 2020): 43, <https://doi.org/10.5334/dsj-2020-043>; Catherine Hall, "Doing Reparatory History: Bringing 'Race' and Slavery Home," *Race & Class* 60, no. 1 (July 2018): 3-21, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0306396818769791>; Jessica Marie Johnson, "Markup Bodies," *Social Text* 36, no. 4 (December 1, 2018): 57-79, <https://doi.org/10.1215/01642472-7145658>.

⁷ Daniela Agostinho, "Archival Encounters: Rethinking Access and Care in Digital Colonial Archives," *Archival Science* 19, no. 2 (June 1, 2019): 141-65, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10502-019-09312-0>; Ann Laura Stoler, "Archival Dis-Ease: Thinking through Colonial Ontologies," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 7, no. 2 (June 2010): 215-19, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14791421003775741>; Carroll et al., "The CARE Principles for Indigenous Data Governance"; Johnson, "Markup Bodies"; Hall, "Doing Reparatory History"; Marisa Joanna Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive*, 1st ed, Early American Studies (Philadelphia (Pa.): PENN University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

⁸ Carroll et al., "The CARE Principles for Indigenous Data Governance."

been affected by these histories. This is especially the case when those communities are not included in data management access and dissemination. The CARE principles seek to shift Indigenous communities from outsiders in the data collection, archiving and disseminating process to “vibrant contributors to data policies, practices, ethics, and innovation”.⁹ The aim of the CARE principles is to “reposition Indigenous Peoples, nations, and communities from being subjects of data that perpetuate unequal power distributions to self-determining users of data for development and wellbeing.”¹⁰ These principles are already being employed by the Smithsonian Institution, The Research Data Alliance, and the Open Data Charter.¹¹

While we did not intend to adopt all of the practices laid out in the CARE principles,¹² we employ their principles of **Minimizing Harm** and **conducting Digital Humanities Work for Collective Benefit**. To aid in this work we included those affected by the legacies of slavery in decision-making processes through the formulation of an **Advisory Board** made up of representatives from Lloyd’s, the research community and community organizations. Though the management of data, either of certain populations or other sensitive personal material is not a stated element of this project, the inclusion of aspects of the CARE principles allows for collective benefit to be gained from this work and responsible methods to be practiced. Our ethical obligations are outlined below.

Archives, however, present, and leave us with many questions. These materials tell us little about the people who were captured and enslaved under the practices facilitated by the Lloyd’s market. These documents tell us little about the conditions by which thousands would have been forced to sit, cramped and confined, shackled and in dim light in the belly of a ship as the hull grew full with more people purchased as human property before setting sail. We do not know what sort of lives these individuals made for themselves. Did they find love? Did they raise children? Did they form family ties amid these systems that actively sought to destroy and profit from familial relations? From historical scholarship, we know that enslaved people constantly resisted dehumanization and commodification at every turn. In response to the violent nature of these objects and materials, we partnered with Spread the Word and *Ink Sweat & Tears* - a London writer development organization and publisher, which helps London’s writers make their mark on the page, the screen, and in the world. We are most grateful for the editorial work of Gboyega Odubanjo, Ruth Harrison, Tom MacAndrew, Kate Birch and the brilliant artistic and poetic works of Courtney Conrad, Remi Graves, Keith Jarrett, Levi Naidu-Mitchell, Jess Nash and malakai sergeant. You can read a digital version of this volume on our site and we have provided links to where you can purchase a physical copy.

Minimizing Harm

The well-being, rights, and concerns of those affected by slavery must be a consistent consideration of this project.

Digital Humanities for Collective Benefit

This project has aimed to, as both an objective and in daily practice, facilitate collective benefit in any way it can for those who have been historically harmed by the legacies of the transatlantic slave trade. Further actions which can be taken could involve investing in digital capacity development, increasing community data

⁹ Carroll et al., 2.

¹⁰ Carroll et al., 2.

¹¹ Carroll et al., 6.

¹² Elements of the CARE Principles pertaining to intellectual property rights and open access especially may or may not be employed by this collaboration. As the CARE principles pertain primarily to forms of demographic data, life histories and ethnographic materials, some elements of the CARE principles may not apply to this project.

capabilities, and translating the outcomes from this collaboration within the many languages and cultures of the African Diaspora as possible.¹³

Formulation of an Advisory Board

In order to facilitate our ethical obligations to providing collective benefit while minimizing harm we formulated an advisory board to oversee this research and collaboration is pursued in the most responsible manner. As such we invited an advisory board made up of representatives from Lloyd's, Black British community organizations, historians, archivists, artists, and scholars who will assist, challenge, and aid the collaborative to uphold the principles. We feel that this is an important opportunity and one that Black Beyond Data is happy to co-facilitate in partnership with Lloyd's. In doing so, the goal is to also establish a sense of trust between Lloyd's and the general public. Beyond ethical oversight, the advisory board will also lend credibility, visibility, and important new ideas and approaches to our project.

Peer Review of All Content Produced

In order to further offset risks of conflict, and in a commitment to transparent research methods and ethics, the materials produced as part of this collaboration including this document have been reviewed by a separate group of subject matter experts for historical accuracy and validity and any digital humanities platform will be assessed by the advisory board to assess harms, benefits as well as further uses.¹⁴

Data Sharing, Web Hosting and Server Support

Johns Hopkins University will shoulder the financial costs and burdens of web hosting and server support forever should Lloyd's request it. All digitized historical materials provided on this site and accompanying sites are licensed from Lloyd's unless expressly indicated and are available under a creative commons license.

Methods

State of Knowledge on Lloyd's and its ties to Slavery

It was estimated by those within the Lloyd's market, that in the late 18th and early 19th century - before its monopoly over maritime insurance was broken in the 1820s - that the Lloyd's market accounted for a majority of the marine insurance market. This conclusion is drawn primarily from testimony given by senior members of the Lloyd's Market to Parliament in 1810.¹⁵ Research by Joseph Inikori and others have suggested that the Lloyd's Market made up anything from 75-90% of marine insurance.¹⁶ However, more research has complicated this claim. The Bubble Act of 1720 incorporated the London Assurance Company

¹³ Statement paraphrased and derived from Carroll et al., "The CARE Principles for Indigenous Data Governance," 6.

¹⁴ Carroll et al., 6.

¹⁵ Select Committee of the House of Commons, *The Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, Appointed To Consider of the Act of the Sixth of George the First, and of the State and Means of Effecting Marine Insurances. Laid before the House of the 18th of April 1810. To Which Are Added, the Minutes of Evidence with an Appendix of Accounts.* (London: Special Committee at Lloyd's, 1810).

¹⁶ Christopher Kingston, "Marine Insurance in Britain and America, 1720-1844: A Comparative Institutional Analysis," *The Journal of Economic History* 67, no. 2 (2007): 379-409; Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England*.

and the Royal Exchange Assurance Company while forbidding the further incorporation of other insurance companies. The act subsequently allowed Lloyd's which emerged as a coffee house and site for underwriting voyages in the late 17th century, to become a center of private underwriting which was still legal under the act.¹⁷ Estimating the size and scale of maritime insurance in the 18th and 19th century is difficult and fraught with incomplete archives and accounting challenges. Lloyd's role as a market, as will be further discussed, rather than a company means that its archival holdings document little of the total underwriting practice of the market. This is further complicated when attempting to account for the fluctuations in the scale of marine insurance coverage over time between the Royal Exchange, London Assurance Company, Lloyd's, and other private underwriters. Accounting for what percentage of these insured voyages were slaving voyages is also complicated. The most comprehensive analysis of the scale of the maritime insurance trade in the 18th and 19th century has been done most recently by historians Pearson and Richardson. Their estimates of the scale of the marine insurance trade are lower than those conducted earlier by Joseph Inikori though still very significant. Their assessment of the scale of the insurance trade also focuses primarily on the last two decades of the legal British slave trade.

"Our new estimates suggest that 7 percent of British marine insurance in the 1790s was accounted for by slaving voyages alone, while the slave and West India trades combined accounted for 41 percent, well below Inikori's figure of 63 percent for 1793–1807. Nevertheless, if not accounting for the great majority of the British marine insurance industry as Inikori claimed, the "Atlantic slave economy" still represented a sizeable portion by the end of the eighteenth century. Moreover, comparing our figure of 41 percent with Draper's estimate of 33 percent in 1769/1770 suggests that the transatlantic slave trade and its related commodity trades may have increased somewhat in importance to British marine insurance during the final three decades of the eighteenth century, though this was probably not a linear trend as high wartime premiums were offset by reduced volumes of traffic".¹⁸

There is strong reason to believe also based upon their evidence that Lloyd's and private underwriting during the latter half of the 18th and early 19th century would have made up a greater share of slaving voyage and trans-Atlantic underwriting in general. The period between 1770 and 1807 were marked by the American Revolution (1775-1783), the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804) and the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815). Pearson and Richardson, in the footnotes to the above estimates write that they assume that in the period of 1760-1800 that while the joint stock companies kept pace with Lloyd's through to 1790, their market share was reduced during wartime "due to more conservative underwriting, their refusal to insure cross-risks, their higher rates, stricter policy conditions, and the accelerated growth of Lloyds after 1793".¹⁹ Indeed if this refusal to insure cross-risks during periods of accelerated Atlantic military action, especially when concentrations of French warships would have been stationed in the West Indies and along the African coast, then Lloyd's would have almost certainly taken a larger share of the underwriting of slaving voyages relative to the two chartered companies. The testimony of George Shedden, a very active merchant and underwriter in slavery and West India trading, notes the significant activity of Lloyd's underwriters in insuring African and Atlantic crossings in the last decade of the 18th century in the 1810 Report of the Select Committee on Marine Insurance. In answering questions from the Committee he remarks that underwriters at Lloyd's sustained heavy losses in the 1790's in the course of war time, that underwriters suffered from "several sweeps of the African Coast"²⁰ by French

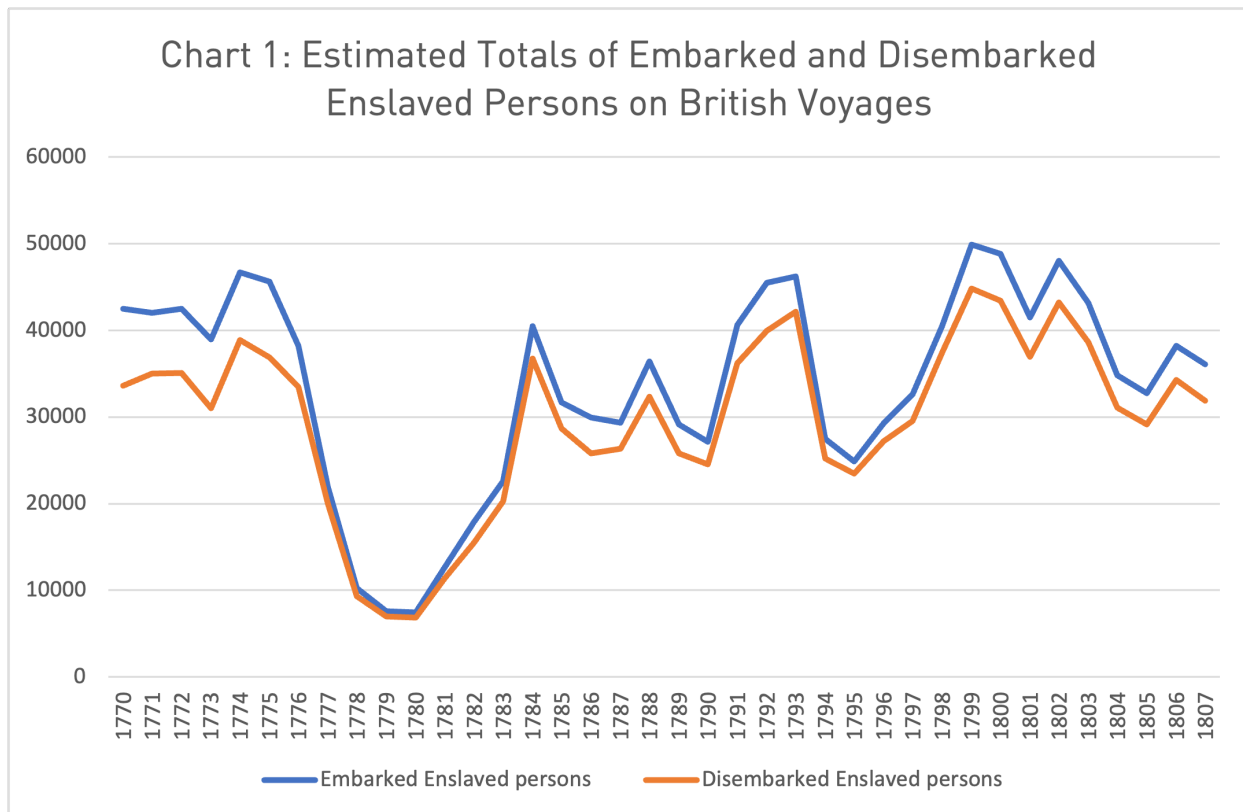
¹⁷ Christopher Kingston, "Marine Insurance in Britain and America, 1720-1844: A Comparative Institutional Analysis."

¹⁸ Pearson and Richardson, "Insuring the Transatlantic Slave Trade," 431.

¹⁹ Pearson and Richardson, 430.

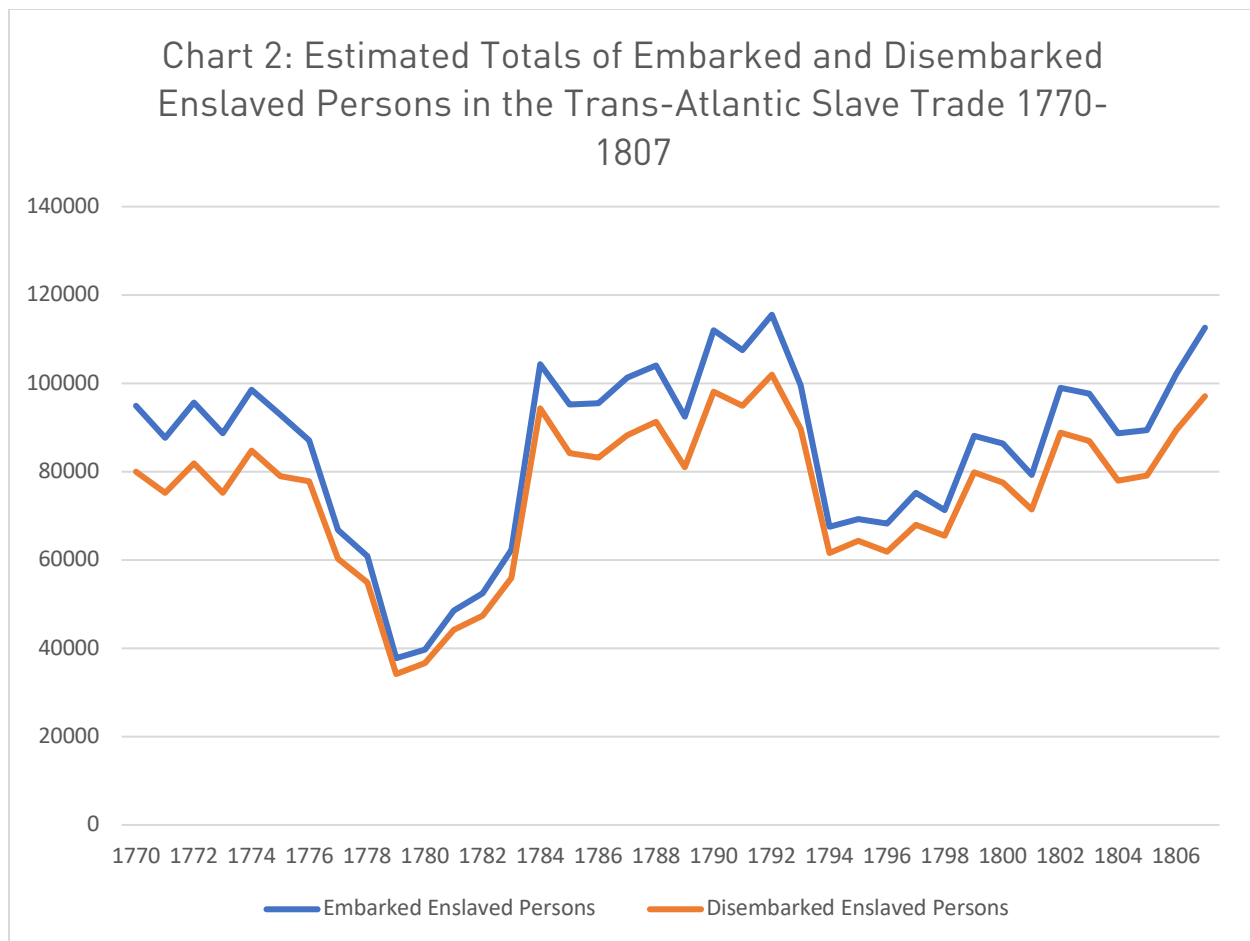
²⁰ "Testimony of George Shedden Esq.," in *The Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, Appointed To Consider of the Act of the Sixth of George the First, and of the State and Means of Effecting Marine Insurances. Laid before the House of the 18th of April 1810. To Which Are Added, the Minutes of Evidence with an Appendix of Accounts.* [London: Special Committee at Lloyd's, 1810], 214.

squadrons, and “During the last war, from the year 1792 to 1802, we had occasion to insure a great number of vessels on cross voyages, from the British provinces to the West Indies, to Jamaica, and vice versa and from America to St. Domingo”.²¹ This period is also co-terminus with a marked rise in the annual number of people trafficked across the Atlantic by the British Empire and in the slave trade more broadly after a general drop in the 1770’s and early 1780’s.



All data collected from the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database: Eltis David Martin Halbert Emory University W.E.B. Du Bois Institute for Afro-American Research and National Endowment for the Humanities. n.d. Voyages : The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database. Emory University. Accessed March 9, 2023. <http://www.slavevoyages.org>.

²¹ “Testimony of George Shedden Esq.,” 214.



All data collected from the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database: Eltis David Martin Halbert Emory University W.E.B. Du Bois Institute for Afro-American Research and National Endowment for the Humanities. n.d. *Voyages : The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*. Emory University. Accessed March 9, 2023. <http://www.slavevoyages.org>.

Based on these findings and research (as well as the material to be discussed in greater detail from Lloyd's below) we have no reason to reject the assessments of Pearson and Richardson regarding the scale of marine insurance and insurance of slaving voyages in the late 18th and early 19th century. Further, it is likely, though we may not be able to ever authoritatively confirm that given the increase in the volume of trafficked people from the late 1770's until 1807 that because of the hesitations and refusal of the London Assurance Company and the Royal Exchange Assurance Company to cover cross risks during war, that Lloyd's may have taken on more of a share in underwriting slaving voyages as well as Atlantic voyages that brought goods produced by enslaved labor.

Charles Wright and C. Earnest Fayle have documented in their history of Lloyd's, the market did, in fact, engage in the insuring of slaving ships and captured and enslaved humans.²² In their text, Wright and Fayle briefly discuss some of the chief documents that has been digitized for this project - two of the agreements for the insurance of the ship and enslaved people aboard the Liverpool based ship, the Guipuzcoa as well as the tea set given to Captain Robert Hall for defending the slaving vessel the Fame from attack during the middle passage in 1804. It was these excerpts, as well as descriptions of the scale of the Lloyd's market

²²Charles Wright and Charles Ernest Fayle, *A History of Lloyd's from the Founding of Lloyd's Coffee House to the Present Day* (Corporation of Lloyd's, 1928).

itself, that lead both Eric Williams²³ and Joseph Inikori²⁴ to conclude that Lloyd’s was deeply involved and likely insured much of the slave trade. Commentary from sources of the period such as R.R. Madden’s *A Twelvemonth’s Residence in the West Indies, during the Transition from Slavery to Apprenticeship* (1835) references Lloyd’s during the period of plantation slavery in the West Indies and the British transatlantic slave trade that “At that period, the West India merchants were the leading underwriters at Lloyd’s,”²⁵ suggesting that those involved in the triangular trade had significant power at the market. Some, like Pearson and Richardson, have argued that major slaving ports of Bristol, London, and the largest, Liverpool, all had regional underwriting practices that would have limited the role of Lloyd’s in the underwriting of slaving voyages. Our evidence drawn from the two risk books, the Hugh Crow cup and cover, and the Guipúzcoa agreements demonstrates clear and significant underwriting and business relationships between Lloyd’s and Liverpool slavers.²⁶ Draper, Sheridan, and others have shown that London was the financial and banking center for British holdings in the West Indies.²⁷ Our analysis demonstrates that the networks of merchants, underwriters, and brokers of Lloyd’s in the latter half of the 18th and early 19th century also facilitated the slave trade more broadly beyond the underwriting of voyages.

Nicholas Draper, and the University College of London Legacies of British Slavery Database have confirmed links to slavery of nine Founding Members of New Lloyd’s in 1771.

Table 1: Founding Subscribers of Lloyd's with ties to Slavery, According to UCL Legacies of British Slavery

John Ewer 1 st
Thomas Thoresby
Henry Wildman
Simon Fraser of Ness Castle
James Bourdieu
Samuel Chollet I
Robert Bogle Sr.
John Whitmore of Old Jewry
Gregory Olive

All data from *The University College of London Legacies of British Slavery Database* - <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/firm/view/2144928668>

²³ Eric Eustace Williams, *Capitalism & Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994).

²⁴ Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England*.

²⁵ Richard Robert Madden, *A Twelve Month’s Residence in the West Indies, during the Transition from Slavery to Apprenticeship: With Incidental Notices of the State of Society, Prospects, and Natural Resources of Jamaica and Other Islands, Vol. 1*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea and Blanchard, 1835), 156, <http://www.slavery.amdigital.co.uk.proxy1.library.jhu.edu/Contents/DocumentDetailsSearch.aspx?documentid=9894&prevPos=9894&previous=0&vpath=searchresults&searchmode=true&pi=1>.

²⁶ Insurance through the underwriters of the Lloyd’s market did not preclude ship owners and investors from seeking further insurance coverage from underwriters beyond Lloyd’s as well.

²⁷ N. Draper, “‘Possessing Slaves’: Ownership, Compensation and Metropolitan Society in Britain at the Time of Emancipation 1834-40,” *History Workshop Journal* 64, no. 1 (January 1, 2007): 74–102, <https://doi.org/10.1093/hwj/dbm030>; N. Draper, “The City of London and Slavery: Evidence from the First Dock Companies, 1795-1800,” *The Economic History Review* 61, no. 2 (2008): 432–66; Richard B Sheridan, “The Commercial and Financial Organization of the British Slave Trade, 1750-1807,” *The Economic History Review* 11, no. 2 (1958): 249–63; Catherine Hall et al., *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership: Colonial Slavery and the Formation of Victorian Britain* (Cambridge University Press, 2014).

However, like for so much of the history of slavery and the slave trade, we will always have an incomplete picture. Archives no matter how large are never authoritative - voices are lost, experiences are erased, and crimes go undiscovered, undocumented, and unpunished.

If one were to look at the existing materials from Lloyd's in the archives at the Guildhall, namely the minute books of the committee members of Lloyd's, you would not find an explicit reference to slavery. Rather, these documents tend to outline the day-to-day practices and operations of the market. Similarly, while the Lloyds list, a critical and crucial tool in maritime intelligence, wrote often of slaving voyages and particularly insurrections by enslaved people aboard ships, it does not mention whether those ships were, in fact, insured through the market. At the same time, as Lloyd's has always been a market and not an insurance company as some falsely assume, its records are not those of all the business dealings done within it. The operations of the market as the space in which underwriting and brokering was done is fundamentally different than the accounts of the business conducted within it. We can surmise that many of the critical sources that would provide us a more complete understanding of the insurance practices relating to slavery in the 18th and 19th century were kept with the individual underwriters, their partnerships, and the brokers of agreements. We are thus left with materials gifted to Lloyd's and the market's holdings but nevertheless, the materials that are within Lloyd's collection pertaining to slavery and the transatlantic slave trade are still quite significant.

As already discussed in part, the fractured nature of the archive means that a systematic accounting of all business operations of Lloyd's through the 17th to early 19th century that encompasses all the periods in which Lloyd's was in operation during the slave trade would be impossible. The materials available to the researchers were not sufficient to build such a study, nor was it our primary intention from the outset. Given the subject matter and the deeply violent nature of these documents and objects, we remained conscious of the need to refuse methods and analyses that reproduce the logics of enslavement, means that dehumanized and quantified people into chattel-property to be commoditized, traded, and parsed as units of capital and labor. Several documents in the collections speak to the insurance valuation of enslaved Africans in monetary terms along with the attendant quantification of risks associated with their demise from certain causes while aboard a slaving ship. Some materials, such as the 1738 Bill of Lading for the Sa Clara, while bearing no explicit connection to the Lloyd's market, is a vital historical source that depicts violent acts of branding enslaved peoples aboard ships during the period in which the British held the Asiento from the Spanish to traffic people to Spanish ports in the Americas. The document also provides key details of accounting practices, gender ratios of the captured Africans aboard the ship and the name of captains and agents operating during the period of the slave trade between Jamaica and Havana.

Jessica Marie Johnson has written on the challenges of presenting units of measurement, ship ledgers, and numbers of people trafficked during the transatlantic slave trade without considering how these practices themselves participate in a certain abstraction of human life.

"In slaving conventions along the African coast, in slave traders' desire to transform women and youth into units of measurement, in the symbolic and reproductive labor enslaved African women would be forced to perform, compilers of slave ship manifests participated in the transmutation of black flesh into integers and fractions. This alchemy, powerful in and of itself, meant displaying data alone could not and did not offer the atonement descendants of slaves sought or capture the inhumanity of this archive's formation. Culling the lives of women and children from the data set required approaching the data with intention. It required a methodology attuned to black life and to dismantling the methods used to create the manifests in the first place, then designing and

launching an interface responsive to the desire of descendants of slaves for reparation and redress."²⁸

As will be discussed in the latter sections of this document, some of the most significant conclusions that can be drawn from these materials and these exhibits outlines how this process of *transmutation of Black flesh into integers* occurred and the sorts of knowledges, financial instruments, business and familial networks, and practices that were necessary for it to happen. We will never know the full number of slaving vessels, enslaved peoples or voyages insured by Lloyd's (though from the evidence we do have, we have no reason to refute the assertion that the Lloyd's market was a central site for insuring slaving voyages in the British empire), these materials are essential to understanding the process of underwriting the slave trade and the key figures involved in this process. In both our research and in the production of exhibit materials, rather than focus solely on how these materials can attest to the scale of the slave trade through the repetition or transcription of the measurement, we contend that engagement with these archives shed light on the knowledge and networks needed to participate and profit from trafficking hundreds of thousands of people, and the financial structures that made these systems possible.

To make connections between fractured histories, we have actively worked across many archives in both London and Liverpool and continue to work in Maryland and Virginia USA, Trinidad, Spain, and elsewhere, to further connect these materials from Lloyd's to the wider transatlantic slave trade. We are most grateful and indebted to the work of Kate Donington, Nicholas Draper, and Catherine Hall at UCL and the Legacies of British Slave-ownership project as well as existing scholarship on insurance and the British merchants engaged in the slave trade by Anita Rupprecht, David Richardson, Robert Pearson, Nicholas Radburn and others. Our work is also deeply motivated by the questions and interrogations of thinkers who have sought to directly recenter the experiences, thoughts, and perspectives of the enslaved in the histories of slavery - thinkers like Jennifer Morgan, Marisa Fuentes, Jessica Marie Johnson, Rebecca Hall, and Stephanie Smallwood.

Sources and Data

As mentioned, Lloyd's being an insurance *market* rather than an insurance *company* produces some challenges but also creates new opportunities for research. In the absence of a more complete corporate archive, we found it important to consider the structure of the Lloyd's market at the time and the sets of relations that many of these business and familial networks within this unique market produced in the City of London and beyond.

Among the contents of the Lloyd's Collection that have been digitized are contextual materials like maps and illustrations of the Royal Exchange, where the market was based through much of the late 18th and early 19th century, subscriber's tokens, candle holders used in ship auctions and other ephemera. Other materials such as a 1738 Bill of Lading for the Sa Clara and a 19th century insurance agreement from the United States Life insurance Company for the life of Alfred an enslaved person in Kentucky bear no apparent relationship to Lloyd's though exist within their archives. These materials, while of significant historical value, are not seemingly associated with the business practices of the market or Lloyd's members in slavery, the slave trade, or aspects of it.

Our key sources for establishing the relationships between underwriters and members of Lloyd's to the slave trade are two insurance agreements underwritten at Lloyd's for the slaving ship - *the Guipuzcoa*, the risk books of two underwriters in 1804-1805 and 1807, and a silver cup and cover that is approximately two

²⁸ Johnson, "Markup Bodies," 65.

feet tall bequeathed to the infamous ship captain, Hugh Crow, for fighting off a French vessel while engaged in a slaving voyage insured through the Lloyd's market in 1800. From each of these materials, we find the names of actors that link the business of underwriting to the practices of slavery. Not only do these materials speak to the centrality that senior members at Lloyd's played in these acts, but perhaps more surprisingly, these materials position the Lloyd's market as a major source of insurance coverage for the voyages from the much larger slaving port of Liverpool.

Economist Oscar Hobson has called the merchant banks in the City of London "among the more mysterious phenomena of the City [...] The names of some of them are household words, synonymous with great wealth. But what they actually do, and how they make their money, is a sealed book to most people outside the City and many people in it."²⁹ In many ways this quotation could be extended to the activities of some of the wealthiest businesspeople in the City in the 18th and 19th century who ran the counting houses, underwrote insurance and often ran their own merchant enterprises. It can be difficult to determine the nature of these affairs with precision. Letters discussing the comings and goings of ships, the fulfillment of contracts, the honoring of requests, and the like may be documented but stripped of context with little on the nature of their relationship and the tensions that existed between partners. Their names appear in government records, custom books, and ledgers but these documents are scant and sometimes uninformative.

As David Hancock argues, due to the nature of these archives, the history of trade and trading has generally taken one of two forms — statistical analysis or biographical narrative.³⁰ Each form has its strengths and weaknesses. The statistical approach grapples with the question of scale and economic force to define markets, movement, and historical periods with greater precision. At times, this method strips research of the logics and forces that made certain actions and visions of the world possible. On the other hand, the biographical approach attends to individual lives, drawing on some of the unseen motives of social life that actors engaged in while being fully immersed in structures of power. These profiles can be equally frustrating as they can feel like exceptions to the rule, one-off references and occurrences that do not lend themselves to any specific patterns of thought, generalizability, or transferability.

We mediate these two approaches by merging public and private details with explanatory economic and social forces. All the actors we have identified have an immediate connection to transatlantic slavery, whether it be underwriting slaving voyages or owning a slaving factory off the coast of present-day Sierra Leone. For these individuals, the business of slavery organized their familial and everyday lives. Hundreds of voyages. Thousands of captives. Unending racial violence. These are their legacies.

Drawing from the objects and documents within Lloyd's collections, we have attempted to understand the identities, business connections, and mercantile activities of the underwriters, brokers, and ship owners mentioned in these materials. To do so, we have drawn on existing databases, in particular the Legacies of British Slavery Database and the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database from slaveoyages.org. In addition, we have drawn on ancestry.com for genealogical information on key actors. To understand the roles of these Lloyd's members, we cross-referenced names and activities against the minute books of Lloyd's held at the Guildhall. In addition, we have relied heavily on the Roll of Lloyd's, a reference book compiled by the Honorary Librarian for the Corporation of Lloyd's Warren R. Dawson in 1931. This work has allowed us to verify if certain actors were or were not subscribers to the Lloyd's Market. We have also relied on many primary source materials from online archives. Secondary research on the City of London by Nicholas

²⁹ Hobson, quoted in Joseph Wechsberg, *The Merchant Bankers* (New York: Pocket Books, 1966), 5, <http://archive.org/details/merchantbankers00wech>.

³⁰ David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Draper and others have demonstrated the multifaceted role that businesspeople in the city of London played in the early 19th and late 18th century.³¹

To uncover more on the business and personal relationships of Lloyd's members and their wider business networks, we have explored the records of the West India Dock Company and London Dock Company, which both counted numerous Lloyd's subscribers on their boards. In addition, we have referred to the 1810 "The Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, Appointed To consider of the Act of the Sixth of George the First, and of the state and Means of effecting Marine Insurances" as a key source for more information both on the quotidian practices of the Lloyd's Market but also as a key source of information on key actors involved in the slave trade such as George Shedden and James Barnes. Research conducted at the National Archives at Kew provided insight not only into underwriting practices for slaving voyages beyond London in the James Rogers Collections but also information on the business affairs of members such as John and Alexander Anderson beyond Lloyd's involving the slave trade. Further primary research was also conducted in Liverpool to examine the links and histories of slavers in the city in relation to Lloyd's. Materials in the Liverpool Maritime Museum archive provided key information on how slave ship owners linked to Lloyd's outfitted and organized their slaving voyages. For historical background on Lloyd's itself and the maritime insurance market we relied heavily on Wright and Fayle's *A History of Lloyd's from the Founding of Lloyd's Coffee House to the Present Day*³² as well as various accounts and treatises on insurance such as Weskett's *A Complete Digest Of The Theory, Laws, And Practice Of Insurance: Compiled From The Best Authorities In Different Languages*³³ and James Allen Park's *A System of the Law of Marine Insurances. With Three Chapters on Bottomry; on Insurances on Lives; and on Insurances against Fire.*³⁴

Drawing upon these sources among others³⁵ we were able to reconstruct networks of business relations, underwriting practices and familial networks that operated within and through Lloyd's and the City of London and beyond. Far from solely operating as underwriters, we are able to show that numerous members of Lloyd's maintained business ties with the largest slave ship owners in Liverpool, actively protested and appealed against the abolition of the slave trade and slavery in the British Empire and maintained, owned or operated plantations, African slaving ports and invested in the London docks that would be responsible for expanding the trade in goods produced from the labor and lives of enslaved people and those across the empire broadly.

Methodological Approaches to the Risk Books

Our aims in examining the risk books are to both understand some of the practices of the marine insurance of slavery, and understand the wider underwriter, broker, and ship owner relations through the connections between the risk books and existing databases of the transatlantic slave trade that detail vessel ownership and captaincy. The two risk books provide details on the voyages underwritten in slightly different ways.

³¹ Draper, "'Possessing Slaves'"; Draper, "The City of London and Slavery: Evidence from the First Dock Companies, 1795-1800," 2008.

³² Wright and Fayle, *A History of Lloyd's from the Founding of Lloyd's Coffee House to the Present Day*.

³³ John Weskett, *A Complete Digest Of The Theory, Laws, And Practice Of Insurance: Compiled From The Best Authorities In Different Languages, ... By John Weskett*, (Forgotten Books, 2018).

³⁴ James Allan Park, *A System of the Law of Marine Insurances. With Three Chapters on Bottomry; on Insurances on Lives; and on Insurances against Fire.*, xlviii, 464, [51] p. (London: Printed by his Majesty's Law Printers for T. Whieldon, 1790), [//catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/102432817](https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/102432817).

³⁵ For a complete list of sources drawn from see Appendix.

One of the greatest difficulties was establishing provenance. For the risk book belonging to Horatio Clagett this was quite simple as the first page clearly established provenance.

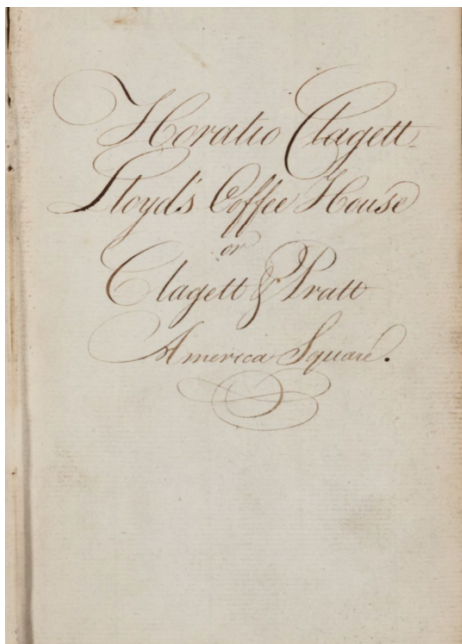


Figure 1 Opening Page of the 1807 Risk Book of Horatio Clagett. Reference Number: L1465

The second risk book in the Lloyd's collection detailing slaving voyages has been more difficult to prove provenance. It was accompanied with ephemera relating to the Underwriters Association of Liverpool. Upon research into the archives at the Merseyside Maritime Museum and those of the Liverpool Underwriters association, we believe the risk book to be that of Solomon D'Aguilar who was secretary of the Liverpool Underwriters Association for a time. Similarities between handwriting would suggest this probability however further research is needed to confirm. For this reason we are referring to the risk book as 'probably belonging to Solomon D'Aguilar' or the 'Liverpool risk book'.

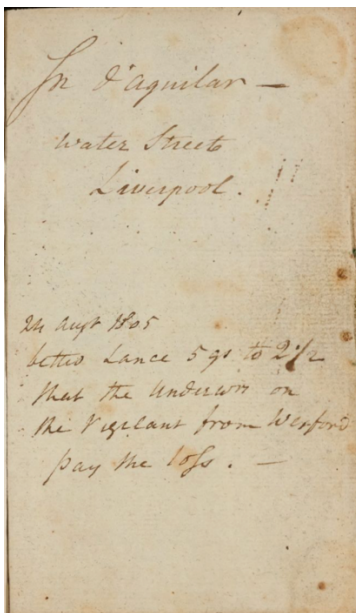


Figure 2 First page of a Risk Book probably belonging to Solomon D'Aguilar

The Clagett risk book provides, in columns from left to right across both pages: the date of underwriting, outcome of voyage, point of departure, point of arrival, final destination, amount covered in pounds sterling, premium charged in percent, whether the risk to ship or goods (or both) are covered in the agreement, and the broker of the agreement.

Date	Ship	Point of Departure	Point of Arrival	Final Destination	Amount Covered (£)	Premium (%)	Risk Type	Broker
1 Jan	Alexander	Calcutta	Buenos Ayres	London	250	9 1/2	G	Bruce & Co
"	Adelphi	Buenos Ayres	London	London	500	20	.	The Merchants
"	Adventure	Madagascar	W Indies	Madagascar	150	7 1/2	.	Robt Jones & Co
"	Adelphi	Calcutta	London	London	200	7 1/2	.	Wm Carter
3 Jan	Africaine	Calcutta	London	London	200	15	.	Swanson & Co
5 Jan	Asia	Calcutta	London	London	150	7 1/2	.	Wm Carter

Figure 3 Page 1 of the Horatio Clagett risk book detailing the underwriting of £200.00 of coverage at a 15% premium for the ship "The Africaine" brokered by Swanson and Co. The "A" on the left indicates that the voyage successfully arrived without a claim being required

The second risk book probably belonging to D'Aguilar provides different details. From left to right across both pages it presents: the date the agreement was underwritten, the name of the ship and captain, the voyage point of departure and destination, the ship or goods being insured, offices, the sum insured, the premium charged in percent, the amount of premium in pounds, and the outcome of the voyage.

Date	Ship	Ship Name	Point of Departure	Point of Arrival	Final Destination	Sum Insured (£)	Premium (%)	Risk Type	Offices	Amount (£)	Outcome
4 Jan	Ann	Vaughan	Bristol	Liv	Grain	100	1 1/2	Ra	1.11	6	A
7	Adventure	Plaskes	Liv	Barba	Ship	100	6.3	Ra	6	6	A
13	Alexander	Grammoch	Liv	Apru	Goods	100	10.3	Ca	10	10	A
16	Ann	Howell	Bristol	Liv	Wheat	100	1 1/4	Ra	1	6.3	A
23	Ann	Mullen	London	Liv	Gr	100	2	Ma	2	2	A
26	Argo	Smith	Liv	New York	Gr	100	3	Ra	3	3	A
4 Feb	Alexander	Thompson	round		Gr	200	15	Ra	31	10	A

Figure 4 Page 1 of the Liverpool Risk Book detailing the underwriting of £200.00 of coverage at a 15% premium for the ship "The Alexander" captained by Thompson. The "A" on the left indicates that the voyage successfully arrived without a claim being required.

Given the importance of these risk books and private accounting nature of their use there is no reason to believe that they are intentionally inaccurate, or factually inaccurate in any way. While the departure and destination points in the risk books not pertaining to the slave trade are listed by city, port or island (in the case of ships travelling to the West Indies), slaving voyages are generally described as arriving or departing to or from "Africa", and when a destination is not given as a particular West Indian island, the final point of the sale of trafficked humans is listed as "a market". This is also due to the fact that slaving voyages would often travel to several ports selling the enslaved people aboard the ship.³⁶

³⁶ Ian Baucom, *Specters of the Atlantic: Finance Capital, Slavery, and the Philosophy of History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); Stephen D. Behrendt, "Markets, Transaction Cycles, and Profits: Merchant Decision Making in the British Slave Trade," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (January 2001): 171, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2674423>; Simon J. Hogerzeil and David



Figure 5 A note from page 19 of the Horatio Clagett Risk Book for the underwriting of £300 of risk to the enslaved people aboard the ship at 18% for the voyage "The Bacchus" for the voyage from Liverpool to Africa to a Market.

The risk books are critical sources for understanding business relations in the latter years of the transatlantic Slave trade, including in the last year that trafficking of people across the Atlantic was legal in the British Empire (1807). To confirm likely slaving voyages we employed the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database (TASTD) to isolate the ships listed in the risk books to the corresponding ship and voyage in the database.

When engaging with the history of the transatlantic slave trade, an industry built on and through the capture and selling of millions of human beings across the Atlantic world and Indian ocean, defining accuracy and the validity of this research is necessary. For our work, our primary sources of direct analysis were these risk books supplemented by the data from the TASTD. The TASTD is by far the most comprehensive database of slaving voyages between 1514 and 1866.³⁷ The database comprises more than 36,000 voyages over this span and claims to represent two-thirds of all slaving voyages. Due to the complexity of collecting data on voyages travelling across thousands of miles as well as across various different port and national bureaucracies and government systems and languages, internal consistency cannot be expected for every voyage. Data on the number of the captured people on each voyage, the dates of departure and arrival at various ports tend to vary across sources. Given the robustness of maritime intelligence in the British Empire through the Lloyd's List, Lloyd's Register and other sources, the data regarding late 18th and early 19th century British voyages is quite robust, but like any data collected from the 17th, 18th or 19th century, the cleanliness of the data can never be assumed.

Linking Voyages in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database to those in the Risk Books

The two risk books comprising dozens³⁸ of slaving voyages are incredibly important for understanding slave ship underwriting practices, business relations between underwriters, brokers and slave ship owners and for examining business networks in Britain and the Atlantic in the early 19th century. It has been assumed that underwriting relationships for slaving voyages in the 18th and early 19th century were highly regionalized. Pearson and Richardson who have to this point provided the most detailed analysis of marine insurance of the slave trade have explored materials attesting to both Bristol and Liverpool underwriting practices in the 18th century. They concluded that local networks of underwriters in London, Liverpool and Bristol respectively were responsible for underwriting voyages leaving from their respective ports. The Memoires of Hugh Crow, a noted slaving ship captain and friend of significant slaver James Aspinall highlights through his regular engagements with Lloyd's as well as Lloyd's commendation for his service as a slaving captain demonstrates that connections between Lloyd's and Liverpool did exist, however nascent.

Richardson, "Slave Purchasing Strategies and Shipboard Mortality: Day-to-Day Evidence from the Dutch African Trade, 1751–1797," *The Journal of Economic History* 67, no. 1 (2007): 160–90, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S002205070700006X>.

³⁷ David Eltis, "Methodology|The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade-Understanding the Database" (Slavevoyages.org, 2018), <https://slavevoyages.org/voyage/about#methodology/introduction/0/en/>.

³⁸ The Clagett and probably D'Aguilar risk books details the underwriting of approximately 50 slaving voyage agreements each.

“The underwriters of Lloyd’s Coffee-house also presented me with a sum of money, and an elegant silver cup, for my successful exertions in beating off the French brig. This handsome piece of plate was valued at no less than £200, and bore the following inscription:

PRESENTED BY
THE UNDERWRITERS OF LLOYD’S COFFEE-HOUSE,
TO CAPTAIN HUGH CROW,
FOR HIS GALLANT CONDUCT
IN DEFENDING THE SHIP WILL AGAINST A FRENCH PRIVATEER, ON HIS VOYAGE FROM AFRICA
TO THE WEST INDIES,
21st FEB. 1800.”³⁹

However, from confronting the two risk books in the Lloyd’s collection it becomes clear rather quickly that the Lloyd’s market insured numerous slaving voyages beginning and terminating in Liverpool, the largest slaving port in Britain at the time. In both risk books, the majority of the slaving voyages begin in Liverpool and are owned by Liverpool slaving merchants. Over 80% of the slaving voyages in the Clagett risk book and over 90% in the risk book probably belonging to D’Aguilar begin in Liverpool. Furthermore, looking into the business relationships of underwriters, brokers, and ship owners demonstrates clear links to Liverpool slavers. We found these connections by correlating the records of voyages insured in these risk books at Lloyd’s to data on slaving voyages detailed in the TASTD.

To identify potential slaving voyages, we examined each risk book for the underwriting of voyages along the triangle trade with a particular focus on ships travelling from ports in Britain, to Africa and onwards to the Americas. We were careful to recognize that not all (but most) voyages to or from Africa were going to be slaving voyages and for this reason it was particularly important to cross reference against the TASTD’s accounts of known slaving voyages. It is important to note that both underwriters did not always insure the full round trip of a vessel and the human beings or non-human cargo aboard. Many references in the Clagett risk book refer to voyages from *Africa to a Market* and some refer to two or three legs of the voyages such as *Liverpool to Africa to a Market* such as the below excerpt of the slave ship the *Backhouse*.

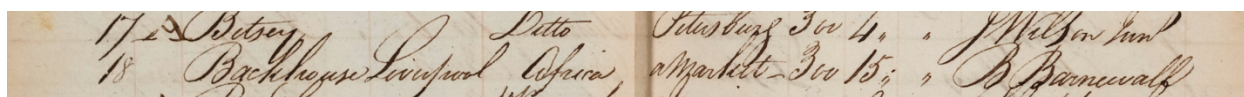


Figure 6 A note from page 20 of the Clagett Risk book underwriting £300 of risk to the enslaved people aboard the ship at 15% for the voyage “The Backhouse” for the voyage from Liverpool to Africa to a Market.

This particular agreement underwrites both the voyage to Africa and the middle passage. This is distinct from the below example of the agreement made on the voyage of the *Africaine*.

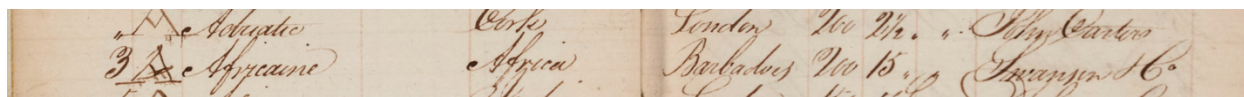


Figure 7 A note from page 1 of the Clagett Risk book underwriting coverage of £200 of risk to the enslaved people aboard the ship at 15% for the voyage “The Africaine” for the voyage from Africa to Barbadoes.

Similarly, in the risk book probably belonging to Solomon D’Aguilar, we find the same distinctions made. In Figure eight we can find in the first full row the covering of £200 of the risk of loss of life under certain

³⁹ Hugh Crow, *Memoirs of the Late Captain Hugh Crow of Liverpool: Comprising a Narrative of His Life Together with Descriptive Sketches of the Western Coast of Africa, Particularly of Bonny, the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants, the Production of the Soil and the Trade of the Country to Which Are Added Anecdotes and Observations Illustrative of the Negro Character*, Cass Library of African Studies. Travels and Narratives, no. 60 (London: Routledge, 1830), 76.

conditions of the enslaved people as well as non-human cargo and the roundtrip voyage of the Alexander captained by Thompson at 15%. Similarly in the last row we also see the underwriting of another “round” voyage of the Annabella. However, just above the Annabella, we also see a record for the Apollo which covers risk over the middle passage from Africa to the West Indies.

4	Feb 4	Alexander, Thompson round	gs	Ra	100 3	3 3	-	A
10		America, Watson Savannah Liv	gs	Ca	100 2 1/2	2 12	6	A
11		Angola, Boyd round	gs	La	200 15 3	25	4	L
14		Alexander, McIntosh Gh-town Liv	gs	Ca Ra	200 2 1/2	5	5 0	A
15		America Watson Savannah Liv	gs	La	200 2 1/2	5	5	A
16		Apollo, Cummings Africa W I	gs	Ra La	200 10	21		A
17		Annabella, Eurlis round	gs	Ra	100 15	15	15	Aa

Figure 8 Excerpt of page 5 of the Liverpool risk book detailing the underwriting of 7 voyages, three of them slaving voyages.

While insurance agreements were almost certainly underwritten for voyages departing British ports prior to departure, historians of maritime insurance and the risk books themselves reflect that underwriters at Lloyd’s regularly insured vessels at foreign, or overseas ports.⁴⁰ Economic Historian Christopher Kingston notes that the three primary concerns of marine underwriters were:⁴¹

1. The probability of a ship or cargo being lost or destroyed.
2. Moral Hazard-the risk of insurance fraud, the intentional sinking of insured vessels or the seeking of insurance for a ship already lost.
3. The financial stability of underwriters.

While official agents working on and appointed by the Lloyd’s committee were not formally appointed until 1811, informal business ties and networks at various ports around the world would have allowed for the remote assessment of underwriters interests in ships and cargo.⁴² Underwriters granted power of attorney to local agents for the management of overseas and at foreign ports at times to recover interests or insured property.⁴³ Letters from foreign ship owners to brokers and underwriters in London would at times also request insurance coverage on behalf of voyages already at sea evidenced by a 1749 letter to Robert Shaw and future subscriber to the Lloyd’s market William Snell:

“I am Concerned in a fine Brigantine aprim[e] Sailors Sailed 2 Days ago for the Coast of Africa with a fair wind the Captain Extreemly well acquainted have bin several Voiages there. Hes a sober honist and Industerious man the vessel mounts 6 carriage guns 4 pounder 8 Sweivell and Small etc. In proportion Suitable She is also now New Seaded has 4 anchors and all her Cables new, so that on the Whole she is well found is to bring back if the Can 60 80 or 100 Small slaves and not to go up the bites a slaving to riske the Sailors health. Is first to touch at Gambia or Surloon and so to touch all the Coast a long down as far to Leward as anamaboe his order is to returne from the coast so as to make [sure] that he gits hear before Cold wether Setts in next fall. The Reason of me being so particular is to Prevent Any Disputes arising In case of Loss Misfortune and at the Same

⁴⁰ Christopher Kingston, “Marine Insurance in Britain and America, 1720-1844: A Comparative Institutional Analysis.”

⁴¹ Christopher Kingston, 382.

⁴² Lee Coppack and Lucy Jolin, *Merchants, Mariners and Mavericks: Lloyds Agents, the First 200 Years* (Times Group, 2012), 10.

⁴³ Coppack and Jolin, 10.

time am in hopes of the Vessell is so good and well found etc. that it may Save me one or two per Cent on the Premium. Now the Insurance I request youl make for my account."⁴⁴

While this account is roughly 60 years prior to the voyages accounted for in these risk books, it exhibits the practice of insuring voyages remotely and for legs of voyages after ships have left their original point of origin. We can assume that given the prevalence of agreements noted in the two risk books that cover risks to either the middle passage or the Americas-to-Britain leg of what was originally a slaving voyage that underwriters relied upon their experience and business networks to be assured of the risks and quality of vessels sailing from foreign ports.⁴⁵ Underwriters and brokers would regularly conduct repeat business, broker or underwrite multiple voyages with the same ship owners and maintain these relationships in order to establish trusted relations with merchants on one side and be able to secure lower premiums on the other.⁴⁶ Underwriters needed to convince merchants that they would pay out any legitimate claims made and merchants and brokers needed to earn the trust of underwriters making these business networks mutually beneficial. In addition, it is also clear from these risk books that these underwriters would also insure further legs of the voyage of the same ship later in the process of the voyage.⁴⁷

Confirming Voyages in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database

In order to confirm that an underwritten voyage was in fact one involved directly in the trafficking of people we cross-referenced the details in the risk books with those in the TASTD. The TASTD provides dozens of variables on each voyage when available outlined into eight different categories:

"(1) year range; (2) vessel characteristics (name, tonnage, rig, guns, place and year of construction, owners); (3) the itinerary of the voyage; (4) the numbers, age/sex and mortality of enslaved people; (5) dates at which the vessel left and arrived; (6) the captain and crew of the vessel; (7) the outcome of the voyage; and (8) the sources for the record."⁴⁸

In our aim to confirm a particular voyage detailed in one of the risk books to those listed in the database, we compared the variables listed in the risk books. For the Liverpool risk book the variables we could draw from were date of underwriting, ship name, ship captain name, point of departure and points of landing and whether the voyage was successful (listed in the risk book as A for arrival, L for loss and C for captured). For the Clagett risk books, the variables we can employ are date of underwriting, ship name, point of departure and points of landing and whether the voyage was *successful* (listed in the risk book as A for arrival, L for loss and C for captured). It is important to recognize that despite the seemingly bloodless accounting practice of noting an 'A', an 'L' or a 'C' in ones ledger, these symbols reflect with chilling clarity

⁴⁴ Philip L. White, James Beekman, and Gerard G. Beekman, "To Robert Shaw and William Snell, Jan. 20, 1749 By Antilope Captain Emory," in *The Beekman Mercantile Papers, 1746-1799, Transcribed and Edited*, 3 v. (vii, 1485 p.) (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1956), 73-74, //catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001122800.

⁴⁵ "Testimony of John Julius Angerstein," in *The Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, Appointed To Consider of the Act of the Sixth of George the First, and of the State and MEans of Effecting Marine Insurances. Laid before the House of the 18th of April 1810. To Which Are Added, the Minutes of Evidence with an Appendix of Accounts*. (London: Special Committee at Lloyd's, 1810); Morgan, "Remittance Procedures in the Eighteenth-Century British Slave Trade"; Katie McDade, "Liverpool Slave Merchant Entrepreneurial Networks, 1725-1807," *Business History* 53, no. 7 (2011): 1092-1109.

⁴⁶ "Testimony of John Julius Angerstein"; "Testimony of George Shedden Esq.," in *The Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, Appointed To Consider of the Act of the Sixth of George the First, and of the State and Means of Effecting Marine Insurances. Laid before the House of the 18th of April 1810. To Which Are Added, the Minutes of Evidence with an Appendix of Accounts*. (London: Special Committee at Lloyd's, 1810); Christopher Kingston, "Marine Insurance in Britain and America, 1720-1844: A Comparative Institutional Analysis."

⁴⁷ See the two records of agreements for the Trafalgar in Horatio Clagett, *Risk Book of Horatio Clagett, Lloyd's Coffee House or Clagett & Pratt, America Square*, 1807, 191,192.

⁴⁸ Eltis, "Methodology|The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade-Understanding the Database."

either the sale of countless people into slavery in the case of an ‘A’, the loss of countless lives either at sea in the case of an ‘L’ and often an unknown but rarely happy fate of capture in the case of a ‘C’. These simple symbols continue to reflect the horror of this traffic in human lives.

The online database provides clear column headings of “year arrived with slaves,” a unique voyage ID, “Vessel Name,” Place where vessel’s voyage began,” “Principle place where captives were purchased”, “Principal place where captives were landed”, “Linked voyages”, “captives arrived at 1st port”, and “Captain’s name”.

Showing 1 to 15 of 36,071 entries Configure columns · Show 15 rows · Download

Year arrived with slaves	Voyage ID	Vessel name	Place where vessel's voyage began	Principal place where captives were purchased	Principal place where captives were landed	Linked voyages	Captives arrived at 1st port	Captain's name
1817	1	Pastora de Lima	Rio de Janeiro	Mozambique	Bahia, place unspecified		290	Dias, Manoel José
1817	2	Tibério	Bahia, place unspecified	Mozambique	Bahia, place unspecified		223	Mata, José Maria da
1817	3	Paquete Real	Bahia, place unspecified	Cabinda	Bahia, place unspecified		350	Ferreira, José dos Santos
1817	4	Bom Caminho	Bahia, place unspecified	Quilimane	Bahia, place unspecified		342	Dias, Domingos Francisco
1817	5	Benigretta	Bahia, place unspecified	Cabinda	Bahia, place unspecified		516	
1817	6	Voador	Bahia, place unspecified	Mozambique	Bahia, place unspecified		515	
1817	7	Formiga	Bahia, place unspecified	Malembo	Bahia, place unspecified		204	Viana, Isidoro Antônio
1817	8	Vigilante Africano	Pernambuco, place unspecified	Luanda	Bahia, place unspecified		374	Amorim, José Gomes de
1817	9	Constante	Bahia, place unspecified	Cabinda	Bahia, place unspecified		345	Narciso, Antônio
1817	10	Comerciante	Bahia, place unspecified	Cabinda	Bahia, place unspecified		478	Braga, Isidoro Martins
1817	11	Diligente	Bahia, place unspecified	Cabinda	Bahia, place unspecified		180	
1817	12	Bonfim	Bahia, place unspecified	Cabinda	Bahia, place unspecified		542	Coelho, João Batista
1817	13	Triunfo	Bahia, place unspecified	Luanda	Bahia, place unspecified		503	
1817	14	S Lourenço	Bahia, place unspecified	Cabinda	Bahia, place unspecified		471	Vilasboas, João da Silveira
1817	15	Paquete da Bahia	Bahia, place unspecified	Cabinda	Bahia, place unspecified		478	Almeida, Manoel Joaquim de

Previous 1 2 3 4 5 ... 2405 Next

Figure 9 Sample image of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database user interface. www.slavevoyages.org

In the image above you will notice the tag “IMP” under several of the column headings. This stands for imputed and suggests that where there is conflicting or unclear information and these data need to be imputed by algorithm. For the voyages underwritten and described in the Liverpool risk book we cross referenced the year (in this case 1804 and 1805), the name of the ship and the captain’s name in order to find and confirm the slaving voyage. While it became clear in this step that there were often multiple ships per year with the same name, it was never the case that there were two ships in the TASTD with the same ship name and captain. As a result, we are confident in the Liverpool risk book results. While there were certain instances of multiple captains or the changing of captains, in almost every case in the Liverpool risk book there was a voyage in the database that either reflected the only instance of a ship bearing the name listed sailing that year to and from those destinations, or a corresponding voyage and captain that matched those written in the risk book. The only cases when this was not the case was for a voyage between Tortola and Havana where the underwriter explicitly writes that he is insuring “slaves” that is not in either the Trans-Atlantic or Inter-American Slave Trade Databases. We could garner with relative certainty given the accuracy of ownership details in the database, the owners of the vessel at the time as well as further details of the voyage that the database has been able to resolve from other sources.

For slaving voyages that the owner of the Liverpool risk book ensured on the return voyage to Britain or ‘third’ leg of the triangle trade, we used the date of underwriting, ship name, ship captain name, point of landing, and whether the voyage was successful to confirm their status. Of the 36 third-leg voyages linked to voyages in the TASTD, 13 of them had matching captains, departure points (arrival points in the Liverpool book), and ship names. These were confirmed as ships underwritten during the third leg of a slaving voyage. For the other potential ships from the West Indies/Americas, oftentimes the captain was not written, so matching timelines (these ships were typically insured immediately preceding or during their third leg), departure points, and names were used to conclude with high confidence that they matched ships in the TASTD. In other cases, the arrival/departure points were different, or were imputed by the algorithm, or the ship was captured and never reached its final destination; at these points, captains’ names, aligning dates, and arrival status combined were used to confirm their status. If there was no matching captain or

arrival/departure point, the ship was discarded entirely, and confirming these cases always came with matching other data (dates, arrival status), in addition to either the captain or the departure spot.

Confirming Voyages and Ship Ownership for the Clagett Risk Book

For the Clagett risk book, without the names of ship captains, confirming voyages was slightly more difficult. While the Clagett risk book does not identify ship captains, it does identify the broker's names. This led to a challenge when there were multiple voyages in the same year with multiple ships with the same name. If there were multiple voyages in the TASTD with the same ship name and year, we would next look to confirm the voyage by looking at the outcome in the database and risk book. If a ship for instance was shipwrecked in the database and appears as a loss in the risk book, and the other voyages bearing the same ship name sail without incident then it is likely the same voyage. While the issue of multiple ships with the same name presented a concern for confirming which specific voyage was being detailed in the risk book, the presence of the broker names provided significant clarity on the broker/slaver relations. In reviewing the risk book against the voyages in the TASTD, it became clear that the brokers would regularly bring to the Lloyd's market multiple ships from the same owners or groups of owners. Given the importance of repeat business, and prolonged relationships between underwriters, brokers and merchants to the viability of the Lloyd's market model more broadly, we assumed that in the case that there are multiple voyages in the TASTD that bear the same ship name and year as that in the risk book when voyages are brokered by the same broker, a ship owned by an already known ownership interest with brokers, operating on behalf of ship owners. In analyzing the risk books, and after confirming them with the TASTD, it also became evident that certain standard practices emerged in the underwriting of slaving voyages for both Clagett and probably D'Aguilar.

Assembling Biographical Details on Ship Owners, Underwriters, and Brokers

TASTD has a category of vessel owner. After running each voyage through TASTD, we created a running list of these owners and sought to build out short biographies on these individuals, their wider slaving activities, and their connections across the Atlantic. These sets of relations help contextualize how the goods produced from enslaved labor were transmitted to metropolitan Britain and the tangled webs of relation that reshaped the Atlantic world. Many of these individuals can be found in the Legacies of British Slavery database. We were able to confirm these actors were, in fact, the same individuals based on overlapping years of activity, preexisting scholarly research on family histories, the uniqueness of their name, or the singularity in which they appear in databases, government records, custom books, and ledgers.

However, some of these individuals are not found in the Legacies of British Slavery and in those instances, we conducted further research. From this, we found that many these names appear in academic articles, dissertations on the business of slavery, and digital archives. For some ship owners, we came across a wealth of information on their slaving activities, political careers, writings, communication, and more. For example, after we cross-referenced names with an article written by Nicholas Draper, "The City of London and Slavery: Evidence from the First Dock Companies, 1795–1800," and determined that several individuals affiliated with the Lloyd's market were also early investors in first dock companies in London. We have included tags on their relationships and affiliations throughout the exhibit.

For others, we were unable to find much information. Fortunately, TASTD also has an enslaver database with estimates on the number of voyages enslavers completed as well as estimates on the number of enslaved people they trafficked across the Atlantic. Some ship owners had no identifying information beyond these voyage and captive counts. We have included these counts into our biographies in our

database. Some underwriters and brokers also appear in the TASTD enslaver database and we include this information into their biographies when possible. This work broadly will be continued.

Brokering Slaving Voyages

In the risk book of Horatio Clagett he lists the brokers involved in the making of the agreements that he underwrites. The following list highlights the 13 unique brokers associated with the slaving voyages in the Clagett Risk Book:

Table 2: Brokers listed in the Clagett Risk Book associated with Slaving Voyages

Bartholomew Barnewall
Buttler
D. Caruthers
H. Woodman and Co.
J & A Anderson
James Barnes
John Oliver
Robert Dewar
Roberts and Johnston
Simon Cock
Swanson
Swanzy and Co.
Youngstown

All Data compiled from the Risk Book of Horatio Clagett (1807). Slaving voyages confirmed through the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database.

While we are continuing to research the identities of these individuals and agents, we can provide some information on several. James Swanzy of Swanzy and Co. served as a surgeon and later in command of several Forts owned and operated by the African Company of Merchants in the Gold Coast between 1789 and 1799.⁴⁹ He was in command of Winnebah, Appolonia, Dixcove and Succondee where he both oversaw slaving operations and actively purchased and traded enslaved people for the Company and for his own profit claiming that 9/10ths of all branches of trade during that time were devoted to slavery.⁵⁰ He was later appointed to the Committee of the African Company, overseeing its operations from London. Simon Cock of Simon Cock and Co. would become Secretary to the Committee of the African Company of Merchants.⁵¹ In testimony given to Parliament, Cock reflects that he had never travelled to Africa but was involved in underwriting voyages on behalf of the African Company. While we at present do not have information pertaining to his underwriting of voyages explicitly on behalf of the African Company later testimony from 1816 demonstrates that as Secretary, he solicits insurance on their behalf at Lloyd's.

“The Secretary also laid before the Committee the invoice and bill of lading of the cargo of the store-ship; and it appearing by the former, that, to cover the expenses incident to a loss, will require that the sum of £20,000 should be effected; and the sum of £10,000 having been assured at the Royal Exchange and £8,000 at the London-Resolved unanimously, that the further sum of

⁴⁹ Great Britain., *Report from the Select Committee on Papers Relating to the African Forts.*, 219 p. [[London: House of Commons, 1816], 24, //catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100654895.

⁵⁰ Great Britain., 24.

⁵¹ Great Britain., *Report from the Select Committee on Papers Relating to the African Forts.*

£2,000 be effected at Lloyd's, and the Secretary was desired to effect the same accordingly, which, when done, the Treasurers were requested to draw for the cost thereof."⁵²

James Barnes brokers many slaving voyages in the Clagett Risk Book and provides key testimony on behalf of Lloyd's in 1810 to protect their monopoly over private underwriting.⁵³ Wright and Fayle suggest that Barnes is a close ally of Joseph Marryat and was a member of the Lloyd's Committee in the 1820's.⁵⁴

John and Alexander Anderson of J&A Anderson are brokers of a voyage in the Clagett risk book as well as owners of one ship. Alexander is also a signatory to the Guipuzcoa slaving voyage agreement. Alexander was a subscriber to Lloyd's and both were the nephews of Richard Oswald who operated a Counting House on Philpot Lane. In the late 1740's Oswald, as part of a partnership Grant, Oswald and Co. purchased Bance (or Bunce) Island, a "slave factory" once owned but left in disrepair by the Royal Africa Company.⁵⁵ Bance Island was a key site along the Sierra Leone River for imprisoning and loading captured Africans onto slaving ships. Oswald and his partners were responsible for investing heavily in Bance Island's defensive capacities, purchasing many guns as well as shackles and technologies of imprisonment, while expanding the holding spaces for enslaved people as well as European factors and agents who managed the operations of the factory. It is estimated that Grant, Oswald and Co. trafficked over 12,000 people from Bunce Island on their ships and others between 1748 and 1784.⁵⁶ In addition Oswald also owned a 20,000-acre plantation in Florida south of St. Augustine which he significantly populated by enslaved people trafficked through Bunce Island.⁵⁷

The trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database notes 40 slaving voyages where Bance Island was the port where captives were purchased between 1784 when the Anderson brothers took ownership of the fort and 1807. They also note that John and Alexander Anderson owned 5 slaving vessels which made 20 voyages between 1787 and 1808. Horatio Clagett underwrites a voyage of the ship Anderson(s) on page 2 of his risk book, brokered by J&A Anderson sailing from London to Africa. This is most likely the last slaving voyage that the Andersons conducted which left London in February 1807 and disembarked enslaved captives in Kingston Jamaica in May 1808.

Lloyd's Subscribers, Anti-Abolition, and Activities After the 1807 Abolition of the Slave Trade

While the research on the risk books and the underwriting practices of Lloyd's based on these materials is largely complete, we are committed to ongoing research relating to the activities of Lloyd's subscribers connected to wider activities pertaining to slavery, plantation owning and the trade in slavery produced goods. This work will be added to *Underwriting Souls* and completed over time.

⁵² Great Britain., 76.

⁵³ "Testimony of James Barnes," in *The Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, Appointed To Consider of the Act of the Sixth of George the First, and of the State and MEans of Effecting Marine Insurances. Laid before the House of the 18th of April 1810. To Which Are Added, the Minutes of Evidence with an Appendix of Accounts.* (London: Special Committee at Lloyd's, 1810).

⁵⁴ Wright and Fayle, *A History of Lloyd's from the Founding of Lloyd's Coffee House to the Present Day*, 309.

⁵⁵ Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, 184–86.

⁵⁶ Hancock, 205.

⁵⁷ Daniel L. Schafer, "'A Swamp of an Investment'? Richard Oswald's British East Florida Experiment," in *Colonial Plantations and Economy in Florida*, ed. Jane Landers (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000).

Though the slave trade was abolished in Britain in 1807, according to Nicholas Draper, roughly one-third of the early investors in the first dock companies in London were active in slave-trading, slave-ownership, or the shipping, trading, finance, and the insurance of goods associated with enslaved labor.⁵⁸ Both facilities held statutory monopolies on the handling of products from enslaved labor, most notably sugar and rum. Even after slavers and merchants ceased travel to the African coast, the financial networks across Britain continued to revolve around enslavement. Individuals like Thomas Hughan and Joseph Marryat — both subscribers to the Lloyd’s market, former slave ship owners, and early investors in the London Docks and the West India Docks — serve as examples of the fact that slavery continued to be a principal driver of commercial and financial structure of the City of London and the British Empire writ large.

Table 3: Lloyd’s Subscribers’ Dock Company Associations

London Docks	West India Docks
Robert Bent	Robert Bent
Alexander Caldeclaugh	George Hibbert
Anthony Calvert	William Lushington
Thomas Hughan	Joseph Marryatt
Thomas King	John Nesbit *
Joseph Marryatt	Thomas Plummer
John Nesbit *	Robert Taylor *
John Shoolbred	Joseph Timperon
Robert Taylor *	

*Table of earliest investors in the London Docks and West India Docks with confirmed ties to Lloyd’s, Cross referenced with, Draper, N. (2008). “The City of London and Slavery: Evidence from the First Dock Companies, 1795–1800. The Economic History Review. 61(2): 432-466. (NOTE: * indicates that the person is likely a subscriber to Lloyd’s though further confirmation is needed)*

London Society of West Indian Planters and Merchants

Numerous subscribers to Lloyd’s were also active and regular members at the London Society of West Indian Planters and Merchants (the Society). According to historian David Beck Ryden, the society’s primary aims were to “(1) to promote a favorable tax regime for tropical imports into Britain; (2) to gain easy access to North American provision markets; (3) to encourage social stability and military protection in the Caribbean; and (4) to prevent the abolition of the slave trade.”⁵⁹ The Standing Committee of the Society coordinated pro-slavery lobbying activities, hosted meetings while also funding propaganda in support of their causes. Members of Parliament associated with the Society also presented petitions before Parliament against the abolition of slavery. The figure below highlights a portion of the relationship between Lloyd’s Subscribers and the Society. Drawing on the work of Ryden (2012) who explored the attendance counts of the most frequently appearing individuals at meetings we cross listed these names with the Roll of Lloyd’s Subscribers.

⁵⁸ N. Draper, “The City of London and Slavery: Evidence from the First Dock Companies, 1795–1800,” *The Economic History Review* 61, no. 2 (2008): 432–66.

⁵⁹ David Beck Ryden, “Sugar, Spirits, and Fodder: The London West India Interest and the Glut of 1807–15,” *Atlantic Studies* 9, no. 1 (March 2012): 42, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14788810.2012.636995>.

Table 4: Members of Lloyd's involved in the Society of West Indian Planters and Merchants by frequency of meeting attendance, 1807-1815

Lloyd's Subscribers in the Society	Number of Meetings attended
George Hibbert MP	37-46
Joseph Marryat MP	38
William Lushington	23-5
Samuel Turner Jr.*	24-41
Thomas Hughan MP	23
Andrew Wedderburn*	3
David Wedderburn*	8
David Lyon	12
William Mitchell*	28
William Vaughan*	14-21
John Anthony Rucker*	14-21
John Defell	15
William Peatt Litt	13
John Fuller*	
Charles Bosanquet	13
William Manning	13
Joseph Proctor Anderdon	9
Robert Lang	9
Thomas Plummer	9

Data on attendance at meetings drawn from David Beck Ryden, "Sugar, Spirits, and Fodder: The London West India Interest and the Glut of 1807-15," *Atlantic Studies* 9, no. 1 (March 2012): 42, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14788810.2012.636995>. *indicates that the subscriber listed in the Roll of Lloyd's is the same person as those comprised by Ryden. For all other persons, multiple points of biographical connection were available to confirm the identity of the individual to be in both Lloyd's and the Society.

Drawing on the Roll of Lloyd's through which we were able to confirm the identities of most of the subscribers as being associated with the Society at a significant level (for exceptions see caption to table). For the confirmed names we had multiple points of biographical information such as addresses, ministerial seats in Parliament and/or business activities that confirmed identity. Several names in this table, such as William Peatt Litt and Thomas Hughan also appear in the Liverpool and Clagett Risk Books as ship owners. Joseph Marryat becomes the Chairman of Lloyd's in 1811 and writes several petitions and essays endorsing the continuance of slavery and the slave trade. Marryat along with Lloyd's subscriber and slaver, Alexander Anderson and his brother John Anderson (themselves co-owners of a slave castle on Bance Island in Sierra Leone) wrote petitions against the abolition of the slave trade which were read before parliament in 1807.⁶⁰ William Lushington, prior to becoming a Subscriber to Lloyd's in 1809 but while MP for London petitioned against the abolition of the slave trade in march of 1796 and proceeded to vote against acts in support of abolition twice in the same year.⁶¹ George Hibbert, Subscriber to Lloyd's as of 1800, acting as MP for

⁶⁰ "A Petition of Joseph Marryat, Esq. Agent for the Island of Trinidad: Petition Against the Slave Trade Abolition Bill" (House of Commons Sitting of 17 February 1807, 1807); "A Petition of Joseph Marryat, Esq. Agent for the Island of Trinidad: Petition Against the Slave Trade Abolition Bill."

⁶¹ "LUSHINGTON, William (1747-1823), of Marks Hall, Essex and Mount Pleasant, Tunbridge Wells, Kent. | History of Parliament Online," accessed March 8, 2023, <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/lushington-william-1747-1823>.

Seaford led discussion of a West India Planters' Petition in the House of Commons on the 12th of March 1807 against the abolition of the slave trade claiming that its abolition would fundamentally weaken the power of the British Empire entire.⁶²

Ongoing work will continue to explore the Roll of Lloyd's, linking further subscribers to slavery, the slave trade and the broader slaving economy. Table 4 below demonstrates the current known relationships of Lloyd's subscribers to claims made under the 1837 Slavery Compensation Act which indemnified Slave holders for their loss of the financial value of enslaved people with public funds. These names and individuals were cross-referenced between the Roll of Lloyd's, associated primary and secondary research⁶³ relating to these individuals and the University College London Legacies of British Slavery Database which has collated all claims pertaining to the 1837 Act.

Table 5: Lloyd's Subscribers with Estates associated with Claims under the 1837 Slavery Compensation Act

Subscriber to Lloyd's	Estates	Claims	Awardee	Source
John Proctor Anderdon	6	1	1	'John Proctor Anderdon', Legacies of British Slavery database, http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/926 [accessed 8th March 2023].
Charles Bosanquet	2	3	3	'Charles Bosanquet', Legacies of British Slavery database, http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146630296 [accessed 8th March 2023].
George Hibbert	11	20	19	'George Hibbert', Legacies of British Slavery database, http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/16791 [accessed 8th March 2023].
Thomas King	2	0	0	Thomas King of Stamford Hill', Legacies of British Slavery database, http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146638587 [accessed 8th March 2023].
Robert Lang	8	1	0	'Robert Lang', Legacies of British Slavery database, http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/44526 [accessed 9th March 2023].
William Peatt Litt	6	1	0	'William Peatt Litt', Legacies of British Slavery database, http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/730472069 [accessed 9th March 2023].
William Lushington	9	0	0	William Lushington senior', Legacies of British Slavery database, http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/730472069 [accessed 9th March 2023].

⁶² "WEST INDIA PLANTERS' PETITION. (12 March 1807)," 1807,

<https://api.parliament.uk/historichansard/commons/1807/mar/12/west-india-planters-petition>.

⁶³ "Testimony of George Shedden Esq.," Joseph Jackson Howard, ed., "Shedden of Spring Hill, Isle of Wight, and of Paulers Pury Park, Co. Northampton.," in *Visitation of England and Wales. 1893-1906*, vol. Vol. 11 [Privately printed, n.d.], <https://www.ancestry.co.uk/search/collections/6632/>; "Testimony of John Julius Angerstein"; Nicholas Draper, "Angerstein, Marine Insurance, the Slave Trade And Slavery" (Legacies of British Slave-ownership, University College London, 2022), <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/media-new/pdfs/angersteinmarine.pdf>; N. Draper, "The City of London and Slavery: Evidence from the First Dock Companies, 1795-1800," *The Economic History Review* 61, no. 2 (2008): 432-66.

				live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146640467 [accessed 9th March 2023].
William Manning	23	1	0	'William Manning', Legacies of British Slavery database, http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/-430637747 [accessed 9th March 2023].
Thomas Plummer	4	0	0	Thomas Plummer', Legacies of British Slavery database, http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146637244 [accessed 9th March 2023].
George Shedden	3	2	2	'George Shedden', Legacies of British Slavery database, http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/24025 [accessed 9th March 2023].
John Julius Angerstein	4	0	0	John Julius Angerstein', Legacies of British Slavery database, http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146631640 [accessed 9th March 2023].

Names were also cross referenced with Beck Ryden, 42. * For all persons, multiple points of biographical connection were available to confirm the identity of the individual to be in both Lloyd's and the UCL Legacies of British Slavery database.

Lloyd's Leadership and Connections to Slavery

From this research we have determined that underwriters directly involved in underwriting slaving voyages or enslavers themselves were deeply involved in the governance of the Lloyd's Market. Many of them ascended to membership on the Lloyd's Committee, its governing board. George Curling served on the Lloyd's Committee from 1786 until at least 1808 when he became Chairman of Lloyd's for 1808-1809. He was also the lead underwriter of one of the Guipuzcoa agreements marking his likely expertise in slaving voyage insurance. The Trust Deed of 1811 which ushers in the Chairmanship of Joseph Marryat also inaugurates several senior slaving underwriters and subscribers with significant ties to slavery to the New Committee for managing the general affairs of Lloyd's, namely Horatio Clagett, Robert Shedden, Marryat himself and James Swanzy. Robert Shedden was the father of George Shedden, signatory to one of the Guipuzcoa agreements and noted slaver by all accounts. James Swanzy has been already discussed as being formerly a commander of several slaving forts on behalf of the African Company of Merchants, the company of free trading merchants replacing the Royal African Company.

Robert Shedden owned wharves in Southeast Virginia able to accommodate "the largest Merchant Ship".⁶⁴ Robert Shedden married into the Nansemond plantation one of the largest in Virginia and would have owned many enslaved people while residing there with his family. For supporting the loyalist cause Shedden was stripped of his property and holdings in the United States after the American Revolutionary war and moved to Bermuda in 1776 then New York then ultimately London in 1783.⁶⁵ Robert Shedden would go on to found Robert Shedden and Sons of which George Shedden, his son was his partner. The Roll of Lloyd's notes that George Shedden is first noted as a member of Lloyd's in 1794. In the Parliamentary Select Committee on Marine Insurance (1810) George Shedden states that he has served as an underwriter for himself for 13 years as of 1810 and served as an underwriter for his father for 7 to 8 years prior

⁶⁴ George M Curtis, "The Goodrich Family and the Revolution in Virginia, 1774-1776," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 84, no. 1 (1976): 51.

⁶⁵ W. D. Rubinstein, *Who Were the Rich? A Biographical Directory of British Wealth-Holders* (London: Social Affairs Unit, 2009), 253.

suggesting he may have first been underwriting at Lloyd’s as early as 1789.⁶⁶ Robert Shedden serves on the Lloyd’s Committee from 1811-1815. George Shedden underwrites the Guipuzcoa voyage of 1794 covering £300.00 of risk to the ship and the enslaved people aboard. George Shedden would go on to receive £3132 9s 5d in compensation for a joint petition split between his brothers for 288 people enslaved at the Stewart Castle Estate (of which he was a joint owner, inherited from his father) under the Slavery Compensation act of 1837. According to the Trust Deed of 1811, Horatio Clagett, Robert Shedden and Marryat were named to the Committee of Treasury and as Trustees to the Subscribers of Lloyd’s and authority over the Lloyd’s financial accounts were turned over to them.⁶⁷

Estimating Lloyd's Involvement with Slavery Through Underwriting Activities

There are methodological problems inherent to the quantification of records around slavery. Much of the recorded data are so incomplete that researchers could not possibly generate any new claims or insights. At times, there also seems to be a belief that quantitative projections alone can resolve the violences that occurred and the legacies we live and experience thereafter. They cannot. As Jennifer Morgan says, arguments about the demographic scale and scope of slavery appear to be rooted in a “perverse arithmetic”⁶⁸ omitted from the categories of subject and citizen. It is crucial that we recognize the important efforts of TASTD and the researchers who have so tirelessly worked to locate data not only quantitatively significant but qualitatively complicated. The difficulties in compiling data in this register suggests that these records were likely never meant for researchers. In the hands of scholars, we must always remain attentive to the structural forces that made the very notion of humans-as-commodities possible.

While data has its gaps and it cannot provide a comprehensive account of all of the Lloyd’s market activities relating to slavery, it does illuminate patterns that highlight the ongoing presence and force of Lloyd’s during the eighteenth and nineteenth century. For example, three ships owned by one of the most prominent Liverpool slavers, Thomas Leyland, can be found in the 1807 Clagett risk book (Ship Names: Ellen, Enterprize, and the Fortune). According to TASTD, these were the only three voyages that Leyland embarked on in 1807, likely meaning the Clagett underwrote for all of Leyland’s voyages that year.

Year arrived with slaves	Voyage ID	Vessel name	Place where vessel's voyage began	Principal place where captives were purchased	Principal place where captives were landed
1807	81246	Ellen	Liverpool	Gold Coast, port unspecified	Montego Bay
1807	81305	Enterprize	Liverpool	Bonny	Montego Bay
1807	81498	Fortune	Liverpool	Bonny	Kingston

Figure 10 The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database depicting the three ships and voyages owned by Thomas Leyland in 1807

⁶⁶ Select Committee of the House of Commons, *The Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, Appointed To Consider of the Act of the Sixth of George the First, and of the State and Means of Effecting Marine Insurances. Laid before the House of the 18th of April 1810. To Which Are Added, the Minutes of Evidence with an Appendix of Accounts.*, 212.

⁶⁷ Wright and Fayle, *A History of Lloyd’s from the Founding of Lloyd’s Coffee House to the Present Day*, Appendix 2.

⁶⁸ Jennifer L Morgan, “Accounting for ‘The Most Excruciating Torment’: Gender, Slavery, and Trans-Atlantic Passages,” *History of the Present* 6, no. 2 (2016): 188.

TASTD also includes additional identifying information, most notably whether the voyage was “successful” and estimates of the number of enslaved people that disembarked the ship. According to TASTD, all three of these voyages were *successful* and estimates the total number of enslaved people that embarked these vessels to be 297 (Ellen), 291 (Enterprize), and 382 (Fortune). Underwriting for Thomas Leyland for just a single year connects Horatio Clagett to ships that trafficked approximately 970 African people.

Outcome	
Particular outcome of voyage	Voyage completed as intended
Outcome of voyage for captives	Slaves disembarked in Americas
Outcome of voyage if ship captured	Not captured
Outcome of voyage for owner	Delivered slaves for original owners
Resistance	

Figure 11 an excerpt of the outcomes of the 1807 voyage of the Ellen from TASTD

Slave	
Total embarked IMP	297
Total disembarked	
Total disembarked IMP	267
Captives intended to be purchased at 1st place	268
Captives carried from 1st port	
Captives carried from 2nd port	
Captives carried from 3rd port	
Captives arrived at 1st port	267

Figure 12 Excerpt from the 1807 voyage of the Ellen from TASTD depicting the embarkations and disembarkations of captives during the voyage.

Horatio Clagett did business with one of the most prominent Liverpool slavers of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. TASTD connects Thomas Leyland to 72 voyages and estimates his total number of captives trafficked to be 24,303 (38th within a record of 54,099 total slavers). Between 1784-1807, 16 voyages — all under the name Enterprize, all owned by Leyland — set sail for the Caribbean. We do not know if Thomas Leyland had all his vessels underwritten at Lloyd’s. Still, in the immediate purview of the 1807 Clagett risk book, the Enterprize appears three times in TASTD (once in 1806; twice in 1804).

81300	Leyland, Thomas	1801	Jamaica, place unspecified	West Central Africa and St. Helena, port unspecified	Owner	Enterprize	310
81301	Leyland, Thomas	1802	Havana	New Calabar	Owner	Enterprize	250
81302	Leyland, Thomas	1804	Havana	Bonny	Owner	Enterprize	458
81303	Leyland, Thomas	1804	Kingston	Bonny	Owner	Enterprize	430
81304	Leyland, Thomas	1806	Montego Bay	Africa, port unspecified	Owner	Enterprize	432
81305	Leyland, Thomas	1807	Montego Bay	Bonny	Owner	Enterprize	291

Figure 13 Voyages of the Leyland-owned vessel Enterprize between 1801 and 1807 on TASTD

The estimated number of enslaved captives for these voyages are 432, 430, and 458. If Clagett is known to have partaken in underwriting part of all of Leyland’s voyages within a single year, then it is quite possible that Clagett underwrote parts of several other Leyland-led voyages through the Lloyds market, especially leading up to the abolition of the British slave trade. If we speculate and assume that Clagett underwrote for Leyland in the years leading up to the abolition of the British slave trade — years in which Clagett was surely an active underwriter for slaving ships — in just three years, Clagett, through Lloyd’s, could have underwritten six Leyland-led vessels that trafficked approximately 2,290 African people.

Of the slaving voyages in the Clagett risk book, it covers his underwriting of voyages departing in 1807 and disembarking enslaved people either in 1807 or 1808. The TASTD has records of 158 vessels leaving

Liverpool, London and Bristol during the underwriting period covered in the Clagett risk book. Based on this information, it is reasonable to assume that the various legs of the approximately 50 different voyages that Clagett underwrites through the Lloyd's market covers roughly 33% of all known slaving voyages leaving Britain at that time. This can lead us to conclude that at least one third of all slaving voyages leaving Britain at this time came before the Lloyd's market for the underwriting of particular legs or whole voyages. Applying the same approach, the risk book probably belonging to D'Aguilar notes the participation in the underwriting of roughly 15% of the known 413 slaving voyages beginning in Liverpool, London, and Bristol disembarking enslaved peoples between 1804 and 1806. However, this number is likely conservative as the TASTD includes voyages that would have landed at the beginning of 1804 that may or may not have been underwritten by D'Aguilar previously as well as numerous voyages that embarked in 1806 and concluded their voyages in the same year and may have either not been underwritten by D'Aguilar or in a later risk book. We can be more confident of our estimation of the Clagett risk book as vessels were not legally allowed to sale from British ports on slaving voyages after July of 1807 and thus the age range does not account for voyages beginning after July 1807, or ships sailing in 1808 and landing in the same year.⁶⁹ As the Clagett is the only risk book in the Lloyd's collection from this period detailing slaving voyages we do not know if these voyages represent all slaving voyages brought before the market for underwriting or a sample solely of those that these this underwriter chose to take part in covering. It is more likely that it is the latter.

The probably D'Aguilar (1804-1805) and Clagett (1807) risk books only cover 2-3 years of the British slave trade. Several ship owners such as Moses Benson, Peter Whitfield Brancker, and George Case appear in both the probably D'Aguilar and Clagett risk books. TASTD connects Moses Benson to 83 voyages and estimates his total number of enslaved captives to be 25,939 (31st within a record of 54,099 total slavers). TASTD connects Peter Whitfield Brancker to 44 voyages and estimates his total number of enslaved captives to be 15,427 (108th within a record of 54,099 total slavers). Finally, TASTD connects George Case to 109 voyages and estimates his total number of enslaved captives to be 49,585 (8th within a record of 54,099 total slavers).

Irrespective of these ship owners, we have evidence to suggest the following: 1) at least from 1807, the same ship owners returned to certain Lloyd's underwriters to have the risks associated with trafficking enslaved people across the Atlantic covered; 2) underwriters at Lloyd's underwrote numerous voyages for the leading slavers of the era. During their years of activity, Moses Benson, Peter Whitfield Brancker, George Case, and Thomas Leyland alone trafficked approximately 115,254 African peoples. Additionally, based on the evidence from the Clagett risk book, underwriters at Lloyd's could have underwritten more than 40 voyages in any given year, resulting in approximately 10,000 African peoples being stolen from their homelands and sold in the Americas depending on the size of the vessels. Again, we do not know the exact number of voyages underwritten at Lloyd's, but if we consider the estimates provided by TASTD as well as the years in which these underwriters were active members of Lloyd's market (for Clagett at least from 1794 to the dates of his risk book), it is likely that Lloyd's underwriters can be connected to the trafficking of thousands of African peoples, if not hundreds of thousands over decades of involvement.

Beyond their direct dealings with the transatlantic slave trade as underwriters, or brokers, subscribers to Lloyd's, including, senior members of the House Committee of Lloyd's were also plantation and slave ship owners as was the case of George and Robert Shedden in the former and John and Alexander Anderson in the latter as well as petitioners against the abolition of the slave trade. Others like Horatio Clagett made significant wealth from underwriting and as a tobacco merchant, trading tobacco produced and procured by enslaved labor. Subscribers to Lloyd's had significant business and personal experience with slavery,

⁶⁹ This does not discount the illegal underwriting or sailing of slaving voyages after abolition in 1807 though the risk book does not reflect this.

the slave trade, and the direct subjugation and enslaving of people - either personally or in their youth (as is certainly the case with Robert Shedden, George Shedden and Horatio Clagett). These actors, however, only make up a fraction of those engaged in the underwriting of the slave trade at Lloyd's. The Guipuzcoa agreements list over 20 underwriters of which we only have the risk books of two, from different years. If each voyage listed in these risk books reflected larger agreements of a comparable size, then it is likely that many more subscribers would be conducting similar business relations around the systematic trafficking of human lives.

Bios

Primary Collaborator(s)

Alexandre White, Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology and the Department of the History of Medicine, Johns Hopkins University and School of Medicine

In addition to his role as faculty he is also the Associate Director for the Center for Medical Humanities and Social Medicine. His research foci, at the intersections of the sociology of race and ethnicity, history of medicine, and global historical sociology, critically investigates global racial formations and how racial forms of governance, rooted primarily in imperial projects, have produced contemporary social phenomena. White has published extensively in social science journals on the topics of racism, slavery and medicine including in the journals, *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, *Theory and Society* and *Social Science History*. He is the editor of the Volume *Global Historical Sociology of Race and Racism* and has published in top medical journals such as the *British Medical Journal*, the *New England Journal of Medicine* and the *Lancet*. White's first book *Epidemic Orientalism* was published by Stanford University Press. This book explores how epidemic threats become the focus of international management, regulation and control, as well as the political, economic and racial ideologies that have shaped international coordination to stop pandemic spread.

Since the emergence of COVID-19 he has produced a further line of research to address the challenges of this continuing pandemic. Supported by grants from the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development through the Hopkins Population Center (HPC) he has worked to develop a COVID-19 social science "data hub". This data hub collects and manages county-level data on sociodemographic and health factors that influence the spread of COVID-19. In addition, he has helped to draft recommendations for safe, informed, effective, and collaborative vaccine delivery to minority populations in the United States. This report was published by the Johns Hopkins Center for Health Security and in the *Journal of Health Security*, and was profiled in the *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, and others. As an expert in epidemic responses, he has briefed Congress on COVID-19 responses and has written for or been interviewed for roughly 30 print, online, and television news reports by outlets including CNN, the *Washington Post*, the *Wall St. Journal*, *New York Times*, *National Public Radio*, *Der Spiegel* and others.

Pyar Seth, PhD Candidate, Alexander Grass Humanities Institute, Interdisciplinary Humanistic Studies Program (Anthropology and Political Science), Johns Hopkins University

Pyar Seth is an interdisciplinary scholar working at the nexus of Black Studies, historical and medical anthropology, and postcolonial theory. He focuses primarily on the history of Black thought, sociopolitical life and death, policing and medicalization, subject formation, and the epistemic organization of health, disease, and risk. At the core of his research, one could also say a foundational question is the following:

Given the pervasiveness of anti-Black violence, for Black people, what does it mean to rest? In addition to serving as a research associate to Black Beyond Data, Pyar is a research associate to the Paul Robeson Research Center, a graduate fellow at the Center for Medical Humanities and Social Medicine, and a Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Research Scholar. His research has also received support from the National Science Foundation and the Ford Foundation and can be found in the *Journal of Hip Hop Studies*, *Religions*, *Frontiers*, *Public Books*, etc.

Co-Collaborators

Jessica Marie Johnson, Associate Professor, Department of History, Johns Hopkins University, Director of LifexCode: Digital Humanities Against Enclosure

Jessica Marie Johnson is a historian of Atlantic slavery and the Atlantic African diaspora. She is the author of *Wicked Flesh: Black Women, Intimacy, and Freedom in the Atlantic World* (University of Pennsylvania Press, August 2020). She is co-editor with Lauren Tilton and David Mmimo of *Debates in the Digital Humanities: Computational Humanities*. She is guest editor of *Slavery in the Machine*, a special issue of *archipelagos journal* (2019) and co-editor with Dr. Mark Anthony Neal (Duke University) of *Black Code: A Special Issue of the Black Scholar* (2017). Her work has appeared in *Slavery & Abolition*, *The Black Scholar*, *Meridians: Feminism, Race and Transnationalism*, *American Quarterly*, *Social Text*, *The Journal of African American History*, *the William & Mary Quarterly*, *Debates in the Digital Humanities*, *Forum Journal*, *Bitch Magazine*, *Black Perspectives* (AAIHS), *Somatosphere* and *Post-Colonial Digital Humanities* (DHPoco) and her book chapters have appeared in multiple edited collections. She is currently a fellow at the Hutchins Center for African and African American Studies at Harvard University. Johnson will work alongside Gallon and White to on curriculum and programming related to creating and interpreting the proposed datasets and translating computational humanities to grassroots and community organizations.

Kim Gallon, Associate Professor of Africana Studies, Brown University

Gallon is an Associate Professor of Africana Studies at Brown University, and an expert on the history of the Black Press. Her work investigates the cultural dimensions of the Black newspapers in the early twentieth century. She is the author of many articles and essays as well as the book, [*Pleasure in the News: African American Readership and Sexuality in the Black Press*](#) (University of Illinois Press, 2020). Gallon is currently at work on two new book projects—*Technologies of Recovery: Black DH, Theory and Praxis* (University of Illinois Press), a book about the black digital humanities as a site of resistance and liberation and a book titled, *Fiction for the Harassed and Frustrated*, which examines the role and significance of popular literary expression in the Black Press in the early twentieth century (Johns Hopkins University Press). She currently serves as the inaugural editor for the Black Press in America book series at Johns Hopkins University Press. As a digital humanist, Gallon is the author of the field defining article, [“Making a Case for the Black Digital Humanities”](#) and the founder and director of two black digital humanities projects: [The Black Press Research Collective](#) and [COVID Black](#). She also serves on a number of digital advisory boards for digital humanities projects and grant program.

Gallon holds a MS in Learning and Design Technology and works in instructional and eLearning design to develop culturally based curricula for secondary, higher education, and adult learners. Her most recent work in this area includes developing eLearning modules on racism in medicine for the American Medical Association and working with the [Colored Conventions Project](#) to develop a curriculum on the history of the Colored Conventions for the Philadelphia school district. Gallon is the recipient of numerous fellowships and grants including from the American Council of Learned Societies, National Endowment for

the Humanities and the Spencer Foundation for her work in the black digital humanities and spatial humanities and adult education in Ghana.

Jeremy Greene, MD, PhD, Director of the Institute of the History of Medicine and the Center for Medical Humanities and Social Medicine at Johns Hopkins University and Chair of the Program in Medicine, Science, and Humanities in the Krieger School of Arts and Sciences.

In all of these efforts, and in his role supporting the Hard Histories at Johns Hopkins Project addressing institutional legacies of race and racism, Greene has been committed to using digital modalities to bridge the health science and arts and sciences campuses in urgent engagements at the intersection of health and structural racism. Greene's efforts here have extended from research projects and publications in clinical as well as scholarly journals, to co-authoring the AAMC's *Fundamental Role of Arts and Humanities in Medical Education*, to pedagogical interventions stretching from undergraduate students, MA and doctoral students, medical and public health trainees, and public outreach. An award-winning historian whose two monographs and three edited volumes focus on the intersection of technology and health, Greene frequently publishes for popular audiences in sites like *The Atlantic Monthly*, *The Washington Post*, *Forbes*, *The Boston Review*, and is committed to reaching the broadest possible range of audiences.

Appendix:

Digital Databases employed for this research:

The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database. 2019. *SlaveVoyages*. <https://www.slavevoyages.org>

Legacies of British Slavery database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/>

Ancestry Library, <https://www.ancestrylibrary.com>

Ancestry, <https://www.ancestry.co.uk>

Digital Archives employed for this research:

Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov>

Internet Archive, <https://archive.org/about/>

Hathi Trust Digital Library, <https://www.hathitrust.org>

Slavery, Abolition and Social Justice, Adam Matthews Digital:

<http://www.slavery.amdigital.co.uk/Default.aspx>

UK Parliamentary Papers,

<https://parlipapers.proquest.com/parlipapers/result/pqpdocumentview?accountid=11752&groupid=1418269&pgld=eb90ec19-bd71-4b93-b30c-1efa6bb2d3b5&rsId=1858DB38499>

Lloyd's List Collection at Hathi Trust, <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000549597>

Lloyd's Register of Ships Online, <https://hec.lrfoundation.org.uk/archive-library/lloyds-register-of-ships-online>

Slavery, Abolition and Social Justice: Adam Matthews, <https://www.amdigital.co.uk/collection/slavery-abolition-and-social-justice>

Physical Archives employed for this research.

The National Archives at Kew

The London Metropolitan Archives at the Guildhall Library

The London Metropolitan Archives

Archives and Library of the London Maritime Museum, Greenwich

The Cheshire Archives & Local Studies

Maritime Archives and Library, Merseyside Liverpool Museum

Liverpool Records Office

University of Liverpool Archives

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