

**UNIVERSITY OF GREENWICH  
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**Dissertation submitted towards the MA in  
Maritime History**

**Politics, Patronage and Profit: A Case Study of Three 18<sup>th</sup>  
Century London Merchants.**

**By**

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I hereby declare that this work has not been previously accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted by another candidate for any degree.

I hereby declare that this dissertation is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MA in Maritime History and it is the result of my own independent work except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by explicit references. A bibliography is appended.

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## ABSTRACT.

This is a study of the eighteenth century partnership of Camden, Calvert & King, London merchants, who were trading 1760 - 1824. The group were major London shipowners engaged in the West India trade, who had a diverse number of 'global' operations, which received patronage through many of its 'local' connections. The success of the group was based upon the efficiency of small partnership which encompassed differing elements of entrepreneurial spirit, acute business acumen, and maritime expertise, used to best effect. The study will also consider, and focus on the role, of sub-contractors, who were engaged in fulfilling important government victualling contracts both on a local and international scale, through this group's operations. It will examine the role of their patron, and his part in the development of their business, and how the group used their political and social connections to engage in various other enterprises, including the East & West Indies trade, provisioning, sugar refining, brewing, shipping, convict transportation, whaling, and later insurance and finance.

The study will further consider, and provide evidence of how the group used their 'networks' to expand and develop their operations, to improve their social position, and to operate a profitable business, at the same time as continuing to supply the state with the necessary tools with which to build a global maritime empire. The importance of the group's networks will be illustrated, and considered, as will the legacy of such group's, who used politics and patronage, to achieve profit, at the same time as providing important revenue, and economic growth for the British state to develop and build her infrastructure. This was all made possible through the superiority of a Royal Navy, which controlled international trading-routes, and supplied protection for trade, but one which relied heavily upon these eighteenth century groups to provide them with vital naval supplies.

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## **ABBREVIATIONS USED.**

**BL** = British Library.

**EICo** = East India Company.

**HA** = Hackney Archives.

**IGI** = International Genealogical Index.

**LMA** = London Metropolitan Archives

**NMM** = National Maritime Museum.

**N.O.S.L.** = Naval Office Shipping Lists.

**OEIC** = Oriental and East India Collection, British Library, London.

**Oxford DNB** = Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.

**PMO** = Principal Managing Owner.

**PROB** = Probate records, The National Archives, Kew.

**RS** = Royal Society.

**SoG** = Society of Genealogists.

**TASTD** = Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Dataset.

**TH** = Tower Hamlets.

**THLHL** = Tower Hamlets Local History Library.

**TNA** = The National Archives.

## Chapter One.

### Introduction.

Although Robert Brenner's study *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653*, (London, 2003), identified that most of the patterns of merchant 'family' networks were already well defined in Britain, and the colonies by the middle of the seventeenth century, there is still more work required on the development, and evolution of 'networks' in Britain, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. With the historiography of eighteenth century merchant networks still somewhat sparse, except for one, or two, notable exceptions, such as the comprehensive study made of the Oswald, London merchant group, by David Hancock in *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Economy 1735-1785*, Cambridge University Press (1995), and the earlier study of the East Indies merchant Thomas Hall, by Conrad Gill in *Merchants and Mariners of the 18th Century*, London, (1961). Little has been written on eighteenth century London merchants recently, apart from the historical account of Alexander Davison, Nelson's Prize Agent, and government contractor, in *Nelson's Purse*, by Martyn Downer, London, (2004), to help raise interest in the subject of London based merchant's networks.

There has been some effort to focus on the maritime dimension with the publication of several studies which consider British maritime expansion and colonialism, such as *The Global Reach of Empire*, Melbourne, (2003), by Alan Frost, or the major studies *The Wooden World: An Anatomy of the Georgian Navy*, London, (1986), and recently *The Command of the Ocean: A Naval History of Britain, 1649 - 1815*, (London, 2004), by N.A.M Rodger, which illustrate British naval administration and how British naval supremacy came into being, but these books by their very nature do not fully focus on individual merchant

groups, even though many useful references are often found. Jean Sutton's book on the East India Company, *Lords of the East: The East India Company and its Ships 1600 – 1874*, (London, (2000), is another that offers tantalizing references to important figures engaged in the East Indies trade, but again does not address the importance of merchant networks to the success of the company. To be fair, many of the books mentioned have not set out to look closely at these groups, and more often or not, they therefore only receive scant mention.

Other studies of the East India Company and the slave trade do offer many other references to merchants that information and references can be gleaned from; in respect of the former, particularly the numerous works of Huw Bowen on India and the workings of the East India Company, and the following journal articles and books, James H. Thomas, 'East India Company Agency Work in the British Isles, 1700 -1800', in *The Worlds of the East India Company*, (Eds.), H.V. Bowen, Margarette Lincoln and Nigel Rigby, Woodbridge, (2002), K. N. Chaudhuri, 'Treasure and Trade Balances: The East India Company's Export Trade, 1660-1720', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 21, No. 3. (Dec., 1968), pp. 480-502, Phillip Lawson, *The East India Company: A History*, London, (1993), as well as books and articles by Andrew Cook, Anthony Farrington, and others, which are all relevant to the dissertation subjects, Camden, Calvert & King, for the former, through their connections to the East India Company; and for the latter, the great works of Walter Minchington, and David Richardson, based on the Ports of Bristol and Liverpool, together with other important works by David Eltis, Stephen Behrendt, Herbert Klein, (compilers of the Cambridge *Transatlantic Slave Trade Dataset*), Trevor Burnard, Bernard Bailyn, and Lorena Walsh, which although offer mostly studies of the slave trade, do inevitably focus on merchant involvement, where useful references can be obtained on other individual merchants and groups for further study of the West India trade.



More recently the work of Douglas Hamilton, 'Private enterprise and public service: naval contracting in the Caribbean, 1720 - 50', *Journal for Maritime Research*, (April, 2004), and the paper given by S. Haggerty, 'Absent Kings in Kingston? Business Networks and Family Ties: The View from Eighteenth-Century Kingston, Jamaica', at the Harvard Seminar on the History of the Atlantic World, (Aug, 2003), focused on merchant networks, and can be cited, as can numerous other journal articles by many of the authors mentioned, which although are often focused on slavery studies, either through the activities of various individual merchants, or plantation owners, do greatly assist the researcher. Two works that stand out are the encyclopedic work *The Slave Trade: A History of the Atlantic Slave Trade 1440 - 1870*, New York, (1997), by Hugh Thomas, and the study of London tobacco merchants made by Jacob Price, in *Perry of London: A Family and a Firm on the Seabourne Frontier, 1615 - 1753*, Cambridge, Mass, (1992), which focused on the seventeenth century London merchant family of Perry. These two stand out, not only for the excellent overviews of their subject, but because they also provide many valuable reference sources and footnotes, for further study of the slave trade, and therefore in the authors case, groups, such as Camden, Calvert & King. The book by Price also provides an excellent understanding of how a merchants business evolved, either in response to opportunity, or through changes in political or economic circumstances.

Most useful for the author's study have been Norman Baker's, *Government and Contractors: The British Treasury and War Supplies, 1775-1783*, Athlone Press, London, (1971), and David Syrett's, *Shipping and the American War, 1775-1783: A Study of British Transport Organization*, Athlone Press, London, (1970), which are two detailed studies of those engaged in government contracts for provisioning and transportation, which relate to Camden, Calvert & King. Also David Hancock's, *Citizens of the World*, for its focus on an individual merchant group and their associates engaged in the Atlantic trade, including

Camden, Calvert & King, indirectly. Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade*, for his exhaustive references to the West India trade, Jacob Price, *Perry of London*, and Nigel Tattersfield's, *The Forgotten Trade: Comprising the Log of the Daniel and Henry of 1700 and Accounts of the Slave Trade from the Minor Ports of England, 1698 - 1725*, London, (1991), the last two for very different reasons. The former being particularly useful for considering the evolution of a family engaged in mercantile pursuits, is informative because it combines elements of family history into a study of a London based merchant, and the latter by offering much information on the role of British Ports, particularly those outside London, and the part that they played in the British slave trade. Tattersfield provides much information on merchants, albeit mostly those operating in London during the late seventeenth, or early eighteenth century, which does provide an excellent overview of merchant associations, and help's improve one's understanding of how merchants formed partnerships, and made other business connections through either, their family, or social connections.

Other authors that are worthy of mention, and whose work has proved most useful for this study predominately based upon a 'core' West India business, have been works by Richard Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624 - 1713*, Carolina, (1972 and reprints), Richard Pares, 'The London Sugar Market, 1740 - 1769', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol.9, No.2, (1956), 254-270, Richard Sheridan, 'The Commercial and Financial Organization of the British Slave Trade, 1750 - 1807', *The Economic History Review*, Vol.11, No.2, (1958), 249-263, and Bruce Mouser, (Ed.), *A Slaving Voyage to Africa and Jamaica: The Log of the Sandown, 1793 - 1794*, Indiana, (2002), the latter containing some evidence of an association between the owners of the vessel engaged in this voyage, and the firm of Camden, Calvert & King. Works by David Galenson such as *Traders, Planters, and Slaves: Market Behaviour in Early English America*, Cambridge,

(1986), greatly assist understanding of evolving market trends in respect of the slave trade, and why merchants, such as Camden, Calvert & King, moved away from shipping tobacco, preferring to ship sugar instead, particularly as the West Indies became more fully developed.

The most useful general works of history on London were found to be *The London Encyclopaedia*, London, (1993), by B. Weinreb, & C. Hibbert, (Eds.), Maureen Waller's *1700, Scenes from London Life*, London, (2000), for its background on city life, and *A History of Lloyds, From the Founding of Lloyd's Coffee House to the Present Day*, London, (1928), by C. Wright, & C. Ernest Fayle, and Barry Supple, *The Royal Exchange Assurance: A History of British Insurance 1720 -1970*, London, (1971), for coverage of these two important institutions that Camden, Calvert & King were members of and L. D. Schwarz, *London in the Age of Industrialisation: Entrepreneurs, labour force and living conditions, 1700-1850*, Cambridge University Press, (1992), for coverage of the beginnings of the industrial revolution and its financiers, which can be related in the partner's case to their later investment in London's dock infrastructure. Julia Rae's book *Captain James Cook Endeavours*, Stepney Historical Trust (1997), provides much useful information on Wapping based merchant family's, such as the timber merchants, Sheppard's, who were providing timber to the Thames based shipbuilders, who also had a connection to Camden, Calvert & King. *From Whitby To Wapping: The story of the early years of Captain James Cook*, by Julia Hunt, Stepney Historical Trust, (1991), has proved useful for references to the merchant 'networks' of Quakers, resident in East London at the same time as the partner's.

However there is still some way to go before we really appreciate how far merchant groups influenced British cultural development. For an appraisal of recently published academic research: *Spinning the Commercial Web: International Trade, Merchants, and Commercial Cities, c.1640 - 1939*, (Eds.) Margrit Schulte Beerbuhl & Jorg Vogele, Oxford, (2004) does go part of the

way, by providing an excellent overview of current research on international merchant networks, but again little is focussed on eighteenth century London groups, particularly those engaged in the West Indies trade. Considering the importance of the revenue received from sugar and rum imports into the British economy during the eighteenth century this seems anomalous. The earlier exhaustive economic study by Lowell Ragatz, *The Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean, 1763 - 1833*, New York, (1977), does give comprehensive economic and political data with which to consider many important factors further, but still does not answer many questions that a detailed study of a merchant group could address, such as how their operations utilized international networks to fulfil their contracts, and how by fulfilling these contracts other business opportunities could be obtained, or indeed how merchants used their social networks to facilitate their contracts to best advantage.

Although secondary sources are good for general understanding of the subject matter, there is no real substitute for primary documents, however fragmentary, especially when undertaking a study such as this. The study of this particular eighteenth century group offered a number of challenges, especially over the availability of documents, particularly when no family papers were available for study, either through problems of access, or limitations of geographical location. The author was fortunate enough to be able to locate some primary sources in a local London record office after coming to somewhat of a 'dead-end' in the study so to speak. They were to entirely alter the author's perception and understanding of Camden, Calvert & King's operations, and this was something of a 'breakthrough' in that it raised questions over how other similar merchant groups were also operating at this time in this area of Wapping, particularly in respect to the government provisioning contracts of the navy. After cross-referencing many entries in the *London Directories* for the period of the groups operations (1760 - 1824), it also

became apparent that a pattern of similar groups operating in Wapping at the same time also existed. This will be discussed further in respect to Camden, Calvert & King's operations later in the study.

After viewing new evidence of association, and partnership from the local angle, many of the group's global connections made much more sense, particularly after locating evidence of William Camden's partnership with Peter Thellusson and George Lear in Wapping East London. This helped the author to better understand further linkages. Documents also provided evidence of connections between Anthony Calvert and a number of other individuals residing, or operating in business in Wapping, which after further investigation, and more exhaustive searching of records, this time those of the East India Company, and of the Treasury papers, Board of Trade records, Admiralty documents, and State papers at the National Archives, Kew, helped open up a many new avenues of enquiry. Because this particular group was so hard to identify in respect to surviving evidence of family connections, further searches were made of other local record office resources, and another connection was found, this time in respect of Thomas King, at the Hackney Archives. Found here where some documents that indicated his involvement with various other city business partners, in London land and property speculation. Other important documents found contained evidence of a long-term partnership with Sir William Curtis, Bt. M.P. a government contractor, who was an integral part of the Camden, Calvert & King network. The primary source documents found explained many of the group's other connections, both here in the United Kingdom, and elsewhere, which pointed to the possibility of further international connections, and further family linkages in the West Indies. After locating certain other documents (mainly Wills) in the Jamaican Archives, this helped make much more of the group's slave trading activities. Something else that became more evident from finding many of these primary sources, was the need for historians to re-

consider the social and family connections of merchants groups such as this, so that a greater understanding can be achieved of both the 'local', and 'global' factors, which influenced merchants such as Camden, Calvert & King's trading, and how political and economic circumstances affected their operations, and decisions.

The intention of this study is to address some of the unanswered questions on the operations of a merchant group, by way of a case study of the eighteenth century London merchants, Camden, Calvert & King, which will aid our understanding of how merchant groups actually operated, and used their 'social networks' to further expand their business operations, increase their social position, and obtain wealth. It will also offer an opportunity to perhaps re-consider the importance of both the 'local', and 'global' factors, and how these were often integrated to form a profitable operation, at a time when Britain was almost constantly at war.

A merchant's knowledge of both local factors, and international markets was of paramount importance for his success. So too was the right political connections, particularly in respect of merchants engaged in government contracting. Many of whom were provided with opportunities to expand their influence internationally as Britain extended her global reach and established new colonies, quite often at the same time as fulfilling lucrative provisioning contracts to many of these colonial outposts, or as Henry Lascelles commented 'The victualling in my time was a Branch of business which through good management (I reckon) I chiefly made my fortune by'. - Henry Lascelles, 1741<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Henry Lascelles to Edward Lascelles, 20<sup>th</sup> April 1741, in *The Lascelles and Maxwell Letterbooks, 1739-69*, (S. D. Smith, (ed.), Microform Academic Publishers, (2002).

British international trade boomed following the end of the Seven Years' War as merchant ships received the protection of a superior Royal Navy<sup>2</sup>. With the world's sea-lanes being made relatively safe for a period of uninterrupted world trade, new overseas markets were sighted and developed. In this period of intense economic growth, new factors followed in the wake of Britain's prosperity, some of which affected the political and economic decisions of government.

Growing trade competition, wars, financial crises and political scandals, all occurred throughout the long eighteenth century. This together with Britain's long running differences with France constantly having to be addressed, led to political anxiety over which country would steal the lead with their imperial ambitions. The whole question of gaining economic advantage and maintaining Britain's global position was constantly at the forefront of the minds of politicians, and merchants, especially in respect to the development of potentially new overseas markets. Here it was of paramount importance for merchants and state to ensure the continual smooth running of the Royal Navy, so that both could reap the rewards from trade. Critical to this was a navy, which could respond effectively to acts of aggression, but which at the same time could maintain Britain's status as a global maritime trading power. To achieve this, most of a merchant's core business during the eighteenth century was centred on supplying the navy with its essential day-to-day supplies; food, drink, naval stores, and importantly, timber, for the building of new ships. The private sector also supplied numerous other important services, such as additional shipping when required at times of national crisis, or the provision of credit and finance, to service increased government spending. Revenue from taxation, via international trade, was another important product of mercantile endeavour.

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<sup>2</sup> See: N.A.M. Rodger, *The Command of the Ocean: A Naval History of Britain, 1649 – 1815*, (London, 2004), which comprehensively covers many aspects of British maritime history for the eighteenth century, but particularly chapter twenty-four, pp. 368-380, which discusses the importance of the private sector to the navy with respect to supplies.

Government and merchants operated in a symbiotic fashion at this time, which was beneficial for both, but one that often 'blurred' the boundaries between state and private enterprise, which some might now say, resulted in a 'conflict of interest', particularly for those merchants who were members of parliament<sup>3</sup>. Merchants were in fact facilitators of state, and it was this relationship between the private and public sectors that put Britain ahead, as it provided finance for the servicing of a growing British national debt (British debt rose from approximately £20 million at the beginning of the century, to nearly £260 million by the 1790s), but at the same time, allowed a margin of profit for those in the private sector<sup>4</sup>. On the one hand, merchants received lucrative government provisioning contracts, plus protection for their ships; in return, the government received valuable revenue in the form of taxation, which greatly contributed towards a prosperous Britain, and helped maintain long-term political stability.

In this case study of the London merchant partnership of Camden, Calvert & King, who traded between 1760 – 1824, we are provided with an opportunity to consider the operations of a firm that had a diverse range of business activities, many closely connected to the opportunities of the times. Also we are able to consider how both 'local' and 'global' factors became central to the success of their operations. Political patronage was one necessary requirement of eighteenth century merchant activity, which often supplemented existing complex social and family ties, but in this study we shall look at how this particular group utilized their many other networks to achieve their aims.

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<sup>3</sup> See: Douglas Hamilton, 'Private enterprise and public service: naval contracting in the Caribbean, 1720 – 50', *Journal for Maritime Research*, which illustrates one such 'conflict of interest' case, through the dealings of Henry Lascelles.

<sup>4</sup> See: Chapter 4, 'Money, Money, Money: The Growth in Debts and Taxes', in John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688 – 1783*, published by Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. (USA, 1988), which gives comprehensive coverage of the British fiscal situation for the eighteenth century, but particularly p.115, Figure 4.6 which cites a 'table' containing figures for the growing British National Debt for the period 1690 – 1790, taken from the original source in: B.R. Mitchell and Phyllis Deane, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge, 1962).



Chapter Two will introduce each member of the partnership, before then focusing on how the group was represented by their 'networks' in Parliament, and what effect this had on their business decisions, and strategic planning for the future. It will also consider further the symbiotic relationship that existed between government and merchants, and how this was strengthened through the group's use of their chartered company networks, as well as the use of other city institutions. The group's patron Sir William Curtis will also be discussed, and questions asked over how, and why, he provided patronage for the group, by bringing his political expertise to bear. Each partner's individual personal assets and wealth will also be estimated and considered.

Chapter Three will focus on the group's business interests, particularly their involvement in shipping and provisioning. It will also emphasise the important role that sub-contractors such as Camden, Calvert & King, played in servicing the huge government contractual requirements of the navy on the home front, mostly from their local base in Wapping, East London. But at the same time consider how merchants groups like this had to operate on an international scale to fully fulfil these contracts. Some questions will also be raised as to involvement of merchant groups in other enterprises, such as shipbuilding, ship management, the provision of storeships, and voyages of exploration, and how these factors helped the groups business evolve and develop further.

In Chapter Four we shall examine how Camden, Calvert & King responded to new challenges and business opportunities through what will be referred to as 'networks of opportunity'; a term used to denote their particular response to business ventures, and the quest for profit. Here we shall consider their involvement in other business ventures, apart from their core business of shipping/victualling, including sugar refining, the East Indies trade, convict transportation, whaling, and ultimately their move into banking and finance.

Brief comment will also be made on changing social patterns in Britain, and how merchants, in particular Camden, Calvert & King, responded to these on a more personal level.

Chapter Five will focus more closely on the group's slave trading activities, and their many connections in the East and West Indies trades. It will also consider how some of these connections may have led to other opportunities becoming available to the group.

In Chapter Six, a summary of the group's networks and operations will be given, before finally reaching a conclusion.

'Only by understanding more fully the relationship between the fiscal-military state and the tensions between the two can we begin to appreciate how critical this was for Britain's success', or has Brewer as again commented, 'understanding the relationship between these two aims lies at the heart of eighteenth-century British history'<sup>5</sup>. This particular merchant group's activity offers a unique opportunity to look more closely at a variety of historical issues, and illuminates the way in which the London shipping interests operated and conducted their business during these times. It also allows us to consider the relevance of eighteenth century merchants 'social networks', which have not been fully exploited by many maritime historians to date.

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<sup>5</sup> John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688 – 1783*, pp.250-251.

## **Chapter Two.**

### **The Partners.**

Perhaps it would be wise to firstly introduce the three main partners of the firm of Camden, Calvert & King, by focusing on what we actually know about each partner, before then attempting to estimate and consider their individual assets, and personal wealth. The group's patron Sir William Curtis, Thomas Morton, and George Lear will all be discussed, as they too played an important part in this merchant network.

#### **William Camden, (173? - 1796):**

William Camden's family owned land in Oxfordshire where they appear to have had long established family connections with the areas of Standlake and Grafton<sup>6</sup>. William's father was John Camden, a Sugar Refiner. William continued on with the family business with his brother, also named John Camden, in London throughout his life. The Camden family was involved in a number of sugar refining partnerships at various London locations from the 1730s, before finally basing their operations in Wapping, East London, where they were closely associated with many of the German Sugarbaking families' then resident there.

As a result of William Camden's connections to the London sugar refining industry, this resulted in him becoming associated with the prominent Wapping business family, founded by Joseph Curtis (1715 - 1771), a major government contractor and ships biscuit maker. The two men's social and business networks thus became entwined, resulting in their life-long association.

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<sup>6</sup> See: Wills of William and John Camden for references to family property owned in these areas: TNA: PROB: 11/1218 & PROB: 11/833.

It is unknown at present how William Camden and Anthony Calvert first met, but it seems probably that it was in London through their mutual interest in the West India trade. As we shall see later, these two men made contact in the 1760s, and soon formed a partnership in vessels trading to the West Indies<sup>7</sup>. Later they became part of the much wider and more diverse Curtis business network, engaged in a number of operations, such as provisioning, brewing, sugar refining, convict transportation and Pacific whaling, together with Thomas King. The partnership of Camden, Calvert & King later moved into finance and insurance, after the death of William Camden in 1796, although Anthony Calvert and Thomas King continued to operate under the full partnership name, until Calvert's death in 1809.

William Camden's early business life seems to have been involved with his family, and their sugar refineries, at various London locations. He is listed in the *London Directories* from 1761 – 81 jointly with his brother, and co-partner John Camden, at Brewhouse Lane, Wapping<sup>8</sup>. The Camden family had strong connections with many local groups in East London at this time, particularly the German Sugar Bakers and the French Huguenots, mainly through Camden's partnership with George Lear, and Peter Thellusson<sup>9</sup>. This factor undoubtedly greatly contributed to the success of Camden, Calvert & King.

William Camden's will confirms, that the family owned estates at Standlake, Grafton, and Clanfield, all in Oxfordshire. Some of which were in the tenure of Daniel Taylor. Among his bequests to business associates, Camden left two thousand five hundred pounds to his friend, and partner Anthony Calvert. While a sum of one thousand pounds was left to Thomas King. A Five hundred pound bequest to George Lear, Sugar Baker, plus the 'two last sugaries, as a token of friendship'. William Handasyde, Executor, and Church

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<sup>7</sup> See: Appendix for list of vessels.

<sup>8</sup> See: *London Directories* for the period.

<sup>9</sup> See: THLHL: TH 948, for proof of the partnership of George Lear, Peter Thellusson and Benjamin Cotton, Sugar Refiners.

Commissioner, and business associate of Camden and Lear, was left a sum of two hundred pounds. Among the family bequests, was Mary Richardson (Camden's niece, daughter of Mary Arrowsmith, wife of Edward) his sister's daughter, who received a sum of one thousand pounds, and his nephew John Camden, (husband of Mary Arrowsmith), who was left five hundred pounds<sup>10</sup>. Most of the estate was left to Mary Anne Camden (Granddaughter, and Daughter of Mary Arrowsmith), with some Sugar Houses left to George Lear and John Camden. This amounts to an approximate £6000 cash total, which equals £ 382,015.21 (2002 values)<sup>11</sup>.

### **Anthony Calvert, (1735? - 1809):**

Little is known of Captain Anthony Calvert's early life, but there are indications to suggest that his family were from the East Riding, Yorkshire<sup>12</sup>. What is known is that he was operating in the Tobago trade from the early 1760s. From the early shipping returns it appears that he regularly voyaged to the West Indies, via Cape Coast Castle, carrying provisions for troops based at the forts on the West African coast, or Jamaica, possibly for other government contractors, before then trading in slaves on his own account. He is recorded as being Master and Owner for the two voyages of the *Royal Charlotte* for 1766 & 1767, and then being in joint command (with Thomas King) of the voyage

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<sup>10</sup> Note that Mary Perry (Widow) is mentioned in all the partner's wills and was also left a bequest in John Camden's (Brother of William) will: 'To Mary Perry widow of William Perry £20'. Mrs Perry was possibly the wife of John Perry, the Thames Shipbuilder. Also there is a bequest 'To his daughter Mary wife of Joseph Richardson (possibly the prominent London Victualler) £2000 over and above the £2000 given her on her marriage', See: Will of John Camden, TNA, PROB 11/833, (1758).

<sup>11</sup> Data from Economic Services, (How Much is that Worth Today?): available online.

<sup>12</sup> The only recorded IGI entry for the birth of an Anthony Calvert, which appears to fit into the right 'timeframe' is dated for the 9<sup>th</sup> March 1745, Howden, Yorkshire England, which seems too late considering Calvert is listed as a Master/Owner of the *Marquis of Granby* in 1762. A local search is therefore required before this suggestion can be considered seriously. There is however another indication that this might possibly be the right family, as there is mention of a property owned by Thomas King's family in the village of Moorsom (Moorsholm), which is in the same county. Also the King is a surname well represented in the Yorkshire. This could possibly explain the long-standing and close connection between Calvert and King. Another possibility is that Calvert is in some way connected to the founders of Maryland, the Lords Baltimore, possibly an illegitimate son, although this has not been proven by the author to date. It would however explain how he became a shipowner at such a young age, Sources: IGI, Will of Thomas King (PROB 11/1681), the Calvert History website articles: *The Lords Baltimore* by John T. Marck, available online at: <http://www.marylandtheseventhstate.com/article1012.html> and N.O.S.L for Jamaica.

of the *Three Good Friends* in 1773. All of the ships had been involved in slaving ventures to the West Indies via Cape Coast Castle, West Africa. The author has also come across other evidence to suggest that Calvert had been commanding other vessels from as early as 1762, according to other shipping records<sup>13</sup>. Which points to Calvert being born possibly around 1735?

With Anthony Calvert's experience as a London based shipowner and Master, there is every possibility that he came into contact with William Camden quite early on, especially as they were both operating in Wapping from the 1760s. Camden's requirement for sugar would have been a governing factor in forming a partnership with a shipowner who had the necessary shipping experience, plus a network of trusted associates, such as Thomas King to fulfil his requirements. Calvert later became one of the Elder Brethren of Trinity House, a prestigious senior position which bought him into contact with many other prominent people, including politicians, and fellow merchants, which also may have been advantageous for the partnership. Calvert was a founding member of Lloyds from 1771<sup>14</sup>. He is also listed as a Principal Managing Owner for East India Company ships in Anthony Farrington's book.

According to Calvert's will he owned property at Broadstairs, Isle of Thanet. This is confirmed by a *Times* newspaper reference to a property auction of the Estate of the late Anthony Calvert for the Thursday, Aug 10, 1809<sup>15</sup>. Here follows a transcription of the *Times* newspaper advertisement for the sale:

Mr Shuttleworth the Auctioneer at Payton's, Rose Inn, Broadstairs, Kent described the property as: 'comprising of three spacious substantial family residences, erected within a few years in a superior style, by the late Anthony Calvert, Esq. Each containing six airy bed-chambers, a handsome drawing-room, dining and breakfast parlour, kitchen, man-servant's sleeping apartment, and other domestic offices; the whole neatly furnished, and fit in every

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<sup>13</sup> There are some early (1760s) entries for Calvert ships in the Jamaica N.O.S.L.

<sup>14</sup> See: Guildhall Library list: *Lloyd's (Firm)*. - *A list of the subscribers to Lloyd's, from the foundation in 1771, to the fi.* - London: (Lloyd's), 1810 - t3442543.

<sup>15</sup> Source: *The Times* Thursday, Aug 10, 1809; pg. 4; Issue 7745; Col. B, (Property Auction), now available online via the *Times Digital Archive 1785 - 1985*: <http://www.galegroup.com/Times>.

respect for immediate occupancy. Two desirable freehold dwelling-houses situate in Serene Place, contiguous to the above, one of them containing eight bed-rooms, dining room, breakfast parlours, kitchen, and servant's sleeping hall. The other contains six airy bed-chambers, dining and breakfast parlours, kitchen; man-servant's sleeping apartment, and numerous offices with suitable furniture and every requisite for families'. Also for sale were 'freehold pastures', a leasehold Coach-House, and three stable, with hay-lofts, coach-man's room, and harness rooms'.

The Freehold and Leasehold Estate advertised was substantial, and can be seen as a mark of Calvert's standing as a prominent merchant.

When considering the wills of the partners, and their business associates, it is clear that executors appointed were invariably close friends, or business partners. For example Anthony Calvert acted as an executor to John Curtis, the brewer's will. Curtis had been a long-standing business associate of the partnership, who Calvert valued highly<sup>16</sup>. Calvert also acted as executor for his fellow partners.

Anthony Calvert's will, like William Camden's gives us a glimpse into the eighteenth century world of patronage, and more unanswered questions on some of Calvert's circle. Anthony Calvert's Estate was divided as follows: Five thousand pounds was given to his nephew and business partner, Thomas Morton. Three thousand five hundred pounds was left to William Hutton husband of his niece, plus a release from an outstanding loan of one thousand one hundred pounds. Susanna Manley (daughter of Robert Manley, wine merchant friend and of Calvert), was left an annuity. While Sarah Cambell of Royal Hill, Greenwich, Kent, was also left an annuity, but one which would produce one hundred and fifty pounds p.a. for life. Others to receive a bequest were: Antonnetta Whitlock (daughter of George Whitlock, Calvert's Agent), who was to receive two hundred pounds p.a. up until attaining the age of twenty-one. Two hundred pounds was left to the Elder

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<sup>16</sup> New research findings by Derek Morris and the author do seem to indicate that John Curtis may have been connected to some voyages of exploration through his association with Captain James Cook (a resident and neighbour of Curtis in Mile End), James Colnett, and John Binmer, the Surveyor of the Navy, who were all connected via the Curtis network. Curtis was interested in developing Pacific Whaling.

Brethren of Trinity House for relief of the poor, plus a mourning ring for each of the Brothers. Five hundred pounds was left to Calvert's Godson Anthony Calvert King, while one hundred pounds was left to his father, Thomas King 'as a mark of esteem, him having a large fortune'. Captain Richard Owen, a trusted employee, was left a 'token' amount of twenty pounds as a mark of respect. This amounts to an approximate cash estate totalling £10620 = **£515,745.53** (2002 values)<sup>17</sup>.

**Thomas King, (1735? - 1824):**

Thomas King appears to have had family connections to the East Riding, Yorkshire, but as with Calvert, little is known of his early life. He was certainly involved with commanding vessels in the West Indies slave trade from 1760's. In the *Minutes of Evidence given before the whole House Commons in Consideration of the Slave Trade, in 1789*, transcribed below, Thomas King gives a fascinating account of his time at sea:

... 'went to Africa in 1766, Second Mate of the *Royal Charlotte*, of about 300 tons, not a regular slaver, carried out the African company's stores to Cape Coast Castle, took in 120 slaves on the Gold Coast....sailed next to Africa 1767-8, in same capacity, same ship. Took in 455 slaves from the Gold Coast to Grenada....sailed a third time to Africa from Grenada as Captain of the *Molly*, about 110 tons. Touched at America, there took in cargo with which slaves to be purchased. Proceeded to the Gold Coast, where he thinks took aboard 105 slaves. Was twelve months about the Gold Coast, and near it. The voyage was unfortunate to sailors and slaves. Of the first, six or seven died. Of the latter about one half....sailed latter end of 1770, a fourth time in the brig *Ferret*, about 70 tons....from London to the River Cameroon. Bought about 105 slaves which he carried on to Grenada....sailed a fifth time to the coast of Africa in December 1771, from London in the *Surrey*, of 189 tons. Stayed there for six months. Took in 255 slaves. Had a passage of eight weeks to Grenada. Crew and slaves in general healthy. Lost ten slaves....His sixth voyage to Africa, early in 1773, in the *Three Friends*, 70 tons, himself and crew twelve. Remained on the Gold Coast three months. Took in 144 slaves for St Vincent's. Lost two sailors on the coast, and eight slaves in all....sailed a seventh time to Africa, in 1775 from London in the *Venus* of 150 tons....took in 321 slaves for Jamaica. Lost in all one or two seamen, and ten slaves....his eighth voyage was in 1776, from London, in the *Harriet*, of 135 tons, eighteen men. Stayed on the Gold Coast between three and four months. Took in 277 slaves for Jamaica. Lost in seven slaves in all; none of the crew....Sailed for the ninth and last time in November 1780, from London in the *Camden*, of 335 tons, whole crew 65. Bought on the Gold Coast 580 slaves. Stay six months. Sailed for Jamaica. Lost four sailors, two of them by accident. Lost 50, or 51 slaves in all....has ever since been settled in London as a merchant'.

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<sup>17</sup> Data taken from: Economic History Services available online.



King may have had some early contact with Anthony Calvert, before they became life-long friends, and business partners in London. It is possible that there was an earlier family connection, but what is known is that Thomas King bought his own expertise to the partnership, and seems to have played an integral part in the partnership's business activities. He was also the most financially successful of the three partners. There is also some evidence to suggest that he was responsible for steering the partnership into insurance and finance circles, via his own personal networks, and formulating a business strategy which favoured investment in the building of London's infrastructure, particularly the London Docks, and land/property development. This was a legacy King passed onto his son William, who became a Director of the London Dock Company. Like Calvert, King was elected to the Elder Brethren of Trinity House. King was also a member of Lloyds, and appears on the 1771 list of founding subscribers, together with his fellow partner, Calvert. Sir William Curtis's name also appears on the same list.

Thomas King's name appears on the Hackney Parish Return, (Series No. 2) for 1821, where it states that: 'Thomas King, merchant of Stamford Hill, Household contains 5 males, 5 females, Total Household 10'. It appears that the King family lived in a substantial 'villa' in then fashionable suburb of Stoke Newington, North London, according to local history records.

Thomas King's will proved on the 13<sup>th</sup> February 1824, gives us some indication of the family's lifestyle from the following bequests. Numerous large capital sums were left to family and friends, including: The House, household contents, including plate, and pictures which were left to King's wife Sarah. As were the Carriage, Horses, Stables and a 'stock of hay'. One hundred pounds was left to the Master and Assistants of the Trinity House, Deptford, for relief of the 'poor', together with a 'morning ring' to the value of

'three guineas' for each of the Elder Brethren<sup>18</sup>. One hundred pound was left to the Governors of the Foundling Hospital (of which King was a Governor for 'many years') for the benefit and use of the charitable institution. But what is interesting are the sums left to King's close friends and children. Thomas Morton's three children were each left five hundred pounds. Joseph Partridge's three daughters were left one hundred pounds each. One hundred pounds was left to each of the children of Joseph Bottomley, 'late of Demerara, and Camberwell'. Five hundred pounds was paid to Sarah King for any immediate expenditure. One thousand pounds each was left to the King's two nephews, George Jackson, and Thomas Jackson, 'the son's of King's late sister Elizabeth'. What King left to his immediate family was by far the most substantial figures. Thomas Harper King and his wife Elizabeth Catharine (*nee* Hall) was left ten thousand pounds, plus an additional twenty thousand pounds in trust, with interest at five per cent p.a. payable half-yearly. To King's son Anthony Calvert King, Thomas left eighteen thousand pounds. A further eighteen thousand pounds was also left to King's other son Henry. Four thousand pounds was left to George King. Twelve thousand pounds was left in the names of Thomas Harper King and William King in 'parliamentary stocks', and eight thousand pounds was settled on the marriage of Sarah Amelia King, plus an additional seven thousand, two pounds and four shillings in consolidated 'annuities'.

There is no mention of any of King's other land holding's, such as plantations, or his investment in properties, and land in North and East London or the London Docks, which may have been dealt with through his City Counting House (which is mentioned in the will). However, these cash amounts total up to an estate in excess of some £84000 in sterling in 1824, which in today's values would amount to approximately £ 5,026,631.11 (in 2002 values), discounting house, other land holdings, or 'stock's held elsewhere.

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<sup>18</sup> There were Thirty-one Elder Brethren.

### **Sir William Curtis:**

Sir William Curtis (1752-1829), first baronet, City Alderman and M.P. of Wapping, had continued on with the successful family business founded by his father Joseph who died in 1771, aged fifty-six, centred on the manufacture and supply of 'sea-biscuits' for the navy.

Norman Gash informs us that 'Curtis's popularity in Wapping led, in 1783, to his membership of the Drapers' Company, and subsequently to his election as alderman for Tower ward'. After making some 'successful ventures in the Greenland whale fishery, he established the bank known as Robarts, Curtis, Were & Co. He served as Sheriff (1788-9) and Lord Mayor (1795-6). During the French wars he commanded the 9th regiment of London Volunteers and was later president of the Honourable Artillery Company'. Among his civic duties, he was 'Director of the West and East India Dock companies and President of Christ's Hospital'. Gash goes on to inform us that 'after 1804 he was also a conspicuous and influential figure at Ramsgate, where he built Cliff House and kept a luxurious private yacht'. 'Curtis was prominent as a supporter both of Pitt's financial, and war policies and of those of his successor, Addington, by whom he was rewarded with a baronetcy in 1802'. Importantly for Camden, Calvert & King, 'Curtis tenaciously defended the privileges of the corporation of London and the interests of the mercantile community'. Gash also comments that Curtis was 'a robust, jovial, coarse-featured, self-confident man of convivial habits and flamboyant tastes, who entertained leading cabinet ministers, was a personal friend of Lord Sidmouth, and a favourite with George IV, who became a constant target of whig and radical cartoonists'. Perhaps less well known was his love for music, and passion for collecting 'rare' musical instruments<sup>19</sup>.

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<sup>19</sup> See: The *Oxford DNB* Entry for Curtis by Norman Gash, and the website <http://www.cozio.com> which lists the collection of 'rare' musical instruments owned by: Sir William Curtis: 'Amateur cellist who in 1790 became Lord Mayor of London', which included two 'rare' Cellos dated 1564, & 1615, by Andrea Amati (1505 - 1577), and Antonio & Girolamo Amati (fl c1590 - 1630), of Cremona. A c1676, Viola by Andrea Guarneri (c1626 - 1698), a Cello c1684, by Antonio Stradivari (1644 - 1737), A Cello

### **Thellusson:**

Peter Isaac Thellusson (1761-1808), MP<sup>20</sup>, Director of the Bank of England, later to become Baron Rendelsham (a title created in the Irish Peerage on the 1<sup>st</sup> Feb 1806) was the son of Peter Thellusson (1737-1797) a merchant of Paris, the third son of Isaac de Thellusson (1690-1770) resident envoy of Geneva at the court of France. Isaac Thellusson's second son George was to establish an important banking house in Paris where the financier Jacques Necker became his junior partner<sup>21</sup>.

In 1762 Peter Thellusson, Senior, immigrated to Britain, became a naturalized subject, and established a business at 15, Philpot Lane in the City of London, where he operated as a merchant. Here he began to forge many new business contacts, particularly through his association with Sir William Curtis, and the merchant group Camden, Calvert & King, at the same time as acting as an agent for several prominent finance houses on the continent including Vandenyver et Cie of Amsterdam and Paris. He also became involved with the West Indies trade, later acquiring large estates in Jamaica, Grenada and Demerara<sup>22</sup>. Thellusson married Ann Woodford, the second daughter of Matthew Woodford of Southampton on the 6<sup>th</sup> January 1761, by whom he had three sons, and three daughters (Ann Woodford's Brother Ralph a Diplomat, was later to become Sir Ralph Woodford, Governor of Trinidad). Peter

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by Francesco Ruggieri (1620 - 1698), dated 1685. A Viola by Antonio Stradivari (1644 - 1737), of 1695, and a Violin by Antonio Stradivari (1644 - 1737), Cremona, dated 1703.

<sup>20</sup> MP for Midhurst 1790-96, for Malmesbury 1796-1802, and for Bossiney 1807-1808.

<sup>21</sup> *The Imperial Dictionary of Universal Biography on CD-ROM, circa 1870*, (2003).

<sup>22</sup> In 1765 in partnership with John & Anthony Fonblanque, Huguenot merchants of Great Tower Street, London, Thellusson invested in the slaving venture of the ship *Lottery*, William Hayman, Master, a ship bound for Grenada via the Windward Coast carrying 172 slaves; Source: *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM*, by David Eltis, Stephen D. Behrendt, David Richardson, and Herbert S. Klein, published by Cambridge University Press, (1999). Reference to the Thellusson family plantation estate interests can be found in *The Imperial Dictionary of Universal Biography*, under the entry for Thellusson. There are also some family documents deposited at the Suffolk Record Office which refer to the Thellusson interests in the West Indies; my thanks to Dr Simon Smith of York University for bringing my attention to these papers.

Thellusson is also listed as a Freeman of the City of London<sup>23</sup>. He died on the 21<sup>st</sup> July 1797 at his Plaistow parish estate in Bromley, Kent<sup>24</sup>.

Francois Crouzet informs us that:

....'He also engaged in business on his own account, trading chiefly with the West Indies, and speculated on the stock exchange. In the early years of the French Revolution, he was the chief London correspondent of Greffulhe and Montz, who had taken over the Thellusson-Necker bank. In connection with them, he speculated on specie and on assignats, and he received large sums which were exported from France by or for the émigrés. He thus amassed a considerable fortune, and, among other landed property, purchased the estate of Broadsworth in Yorkshire'....

What is not mentioned above is Thellusson and son's, substantial interest in London's sugar refineries.

### **George Lear, (1750? - 1820),**

The most significant factors to consider in respect of the Lear family's association with the group, was the business connections with the Camden family and Sir William Curtis, senior, which resulted in the marriage of Sir William Curtis, the second Baronet, (1782 - 1847), his son, to George Lear's daughter, Mary Anne Lear, on the 19<sup>th</sup> November 1803, at St Mary's, Leyton, Essex<sup>25</sup>.

The Lear sugar refining family appears to have been operating in London from the early 1760s, and played an important part of the business of Camden, Calvert & King. George Lear was the son of George Lear, Citizen &

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<sup>23</sup> See: *The Universal British Dictionary for 1790*, available on-line where Peter Thellusson Esquire is listed under Bromley Gentry.

<sup>24</sup> An image of Peter Thelluson's magnificent Palladian mansion, Plaistow Lodge estate attributed to the architect Thomas Leverton, can be viewed at the Guildhall Library, Print Department; or on-line at their *Collage* website: <http://collage.cityoflondon.gov.uk/index.htm>.

<sup>25</sup> See: IGI.

Stationer, grandson of George Lear, Citizen & Fruiterer<sup>26</sup>. The Camden and Lear families seem to have in part responsible for fuelling the demand for the importation of sugar through the partnership of Camden, Calvert & King, by meeting the increased demand from both the navy, and general consumer; with Calvert providing the shipping. Here again the Curtis family were important 'cogs' in the same wheel. Their demand to fulfil government contracts helped our group to function and expand into new areas of opportunity for investment, some of which we shall look at later on.

The connection between William Camden and George Lear is a significant one. Not only were Camden & Calvert providing sugar for their refineries, but this relationship also provided them with many valuable opportunities to make other city 'connections', through men such as Aldermen Richard Clark, Nathaniel Newnham, George Macauley, and Peter Thellusson, M.P., all of whom were very much part of the establishment<sup>27</sup>. This particular network of connections illustrates how merchants of the day spread their wings into the development of many of the city's financial institutions, a way of reducing their own direct investment 'risk' factor, by 'indirect' investment. Peter Isaac Thellusson becoming a Director of the Bank of England (elected April 9, 1788, according to *Lowndes London Directory* for the same year) provided the group with some excellent connections, plus, access to government departments, potential new contracts, and possibly, some valuable information.

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<sup>26</sup> There is also a Margaret Lear, Sugar Refiner, listed in the *London Trade Directories*, who was possibly an Aunt, or Sister of George Lear, Sources: IGI and Lear family genealogy Hannah Stobart at Genealogy.com.

<sup>27</sup> See: *London Directory* entries for details of Newnham and Thellusson in their various guises as Bank and Assurance Directors. Also note that Alderman Richard Clark was elected Lord Mayor (1784). Peter Thellusson was a Director of the Bank of England, and the New Fire Assurance. Note too that John Camden, Peter Thellusson and George Lear were all Directors of the New Fire Assurance Company, later to become the Phoenix Assurance Company. See: Phoenix Assurance Company records, Cambridge University, & THLHL references for George Lear, Peter Thellusson, and William & John Camden.

### **Thomas Morton:**

Thomas Morton was the Secretary of the East India Company, and another important link to government and city business circles for our group. He was also the nephew and partner of Anthony Calvert; as well as being listed as a Brewer, together with Calvert<sup>28</sup>. Calvert and Morton's local brewing enterprises probably helped supply Curtis, at least in part, to fulfil some of his contractual requirements for the navy. Although no documentary evidence of this has been found to exist to date, other factors do indicate that this was the case<sup>29</sup>. The author has unfortunately not been able to locate a will for Thomas Morton to date which might have given further clues to other business associates.

Anthony Calvert and Thomas Morton were also involved with the hiring of ships for the EICo, quite apart from generally being involved in the India trade on their own account<sup>30</sup>. Together they owned various business premises, again, mainly in the Wapping area, used for their contracting business, and warehousing of supplies for Camden & Co's other business ventures<sup>31</sup>.

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<sup>28</sup> See: THLHL, Document references: TH 1448, TH 1449, TH 1498, which lists Thomas Morton, Brewer, and Anthony Calvert on the same document. (Some are 'assigned documents'). Also see: OIOC, BL, H/362, p, 5-77, which is a comprehensive report on the administration of the East India Company compiled by Thomas Morton, Secretary, for the Board of Control, Source: Original reference cited by H.V. Bowen, in *The Worlds of the East India Company*, in the chapter 'No Longer Mere Traders', p. 29, n.23.

<sup>29</sup> See: THLHL, TH 1448, TH 1451, and TNA, ADM 112/165, 'Promiscuous Payments', p. 78, re: John Curtis, Brewer, supplying beer to the navy. Duncan Crewe *Yellow Jack and Worm: British Naval Administration in the West Indies, 1739-48*, Liverpool University Press, (1993), for further information on provisioning, and tables of daily food allowances for those serving in the Royal Navy. Also see: Janet Macdonald, *Feeding Nelson's Navy: The True Story of Food at Sea in the Georgian Era*, Chatham, (2004), for a study of British naval administration, and the distribution of victuals.

<sup>30</sup> TNA, J 90/416, contains a reference re: the sailing of 'armed vessels' from Ireland. Also THLHL, has a Misc. document containing an Affidavit sworn by John Burroughs (who was acting on behalf of the crew in respect to a dispute over prize money), late Lieutenant of the private ship of war *Hawke*, Captain Samuel Gribble Commander, which provides proof of Anthony Calvert's involvement in 'privateering'. TNA, C 106/192 has far more comprehensive details of the dispute, plus documents addressed to Anthony Calvert, at 12, Red Lyon Street, Wapping, London, by Joseph Banfield, Calvert's Falmouth based Agent.

<sup>31</sup> See: THLHL, document references: TH 1448, TH 1449, and TH 1498. Thomas Morton and Anthony Calvert appear to have been involved with a number of properties in and around Wapping. Also they owned commercial premise near the London Docks, used for a variety of purposes, including warehousing, a rice-mill, and a brewery. Some of the buildings may have been used for warehousing Calvert & Co's Africa trading goods.

The partner's wills verify that Thomas King was by far the most financially successful of the three partners, and it was his business acumen which played a critical part in the success of the partnership. Although not fully discussed here, the partner's wills typify eighteenth century values, with many friends and servants remembered for their services. It also comments on the friendship and bond felt between Anthony Calvert and Thomas King through the naming of King's son Anthony Calvert King, surely a sign of the high esteem in which Anthony Calvert was held by Thomas King.



## Chapter Three.

### Business Interests - Networks.

Camden, Calvert & King, merchants, business interests, particularly their involvement in shipping and provisioning, played an important role in helping service the huge government contractual requirements of the navy. This was mostly operated from their local base in Wapping, East London. Although sub-contractors such as Camden, Calvert & King, had to operate on an international scale to fully fulfil many of the contracts of the main contractor, in this case Sir William Curtis, and his close associates. They also provided other important services for him and his associates, such as shipping, shipbuilding, ship management, and the provision of storeships for voyages of exploration, which helped the group expand.

#### Shipping and Provisioning.

In respect to the shipping activities of Camden, Calvert & King, Anthony Calvert was by far the most important member of the group. It would appear that the group did have some connection to the Baltic trade, although evidence is still 'sketchy' at present, certainly until further research is undertaken<sup>32</sup>. Trade with northern European countries would have been an important requirement for any firm operating in the West Indies trade during

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<sup>32</sup> TNA, C 106/192, indicates that there is some evidence to suggest that Anthony Calvert had some dealings with Michael Henley & Son, of Wapping. There is an invoice in this bundle for services provided by the Henley's for the Calvert owned ship *John*. See: *Michael Henley & Son*, NMM, HNL/18/7, also note that the Henley's were dealing in Baltic timber, as well as transporting troops to Canada, which probably bought then into contact with Camden, Calvert & King through the wider Curtis, Wapping based victualling network. It is also worth considering how many other shipping groups like Camden, Calvert & King may have been involved with in similar groups through the 'share', or 'consortium' system of ownership which was in operation at the time, See: Gordon Boyce, '64thers, Syndicates, and Stock Promotions: Information Flows and Fund-raising Techniques of British Shipowners Before 1914', *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol.52, No.1, (1992), 181-205, which discusses this further, Jean Sutton, *Lords of the East: The East India Company and its Ships 1600 – 1874*, (London, 2000), pp. 15-36, also discusses this in respect to the ownership, and hire of EICo ships.

the eighteenth century<sup>33</sup>. The partnership's connection with the Thornton's, the prominent Baltic merchants and bankers, through the Thellusson and Cornwall family connections, would have greatly assisted in this respect<sup>34</sup>, This connection may have also been used by the group as an opportunity for them to obtain the trading goods they required for the Africa trade, at the same time as shipping government naval stores contracts, for Baltic timber for their associates<sup>35</sup>.

There is also some evidence to suggest that Anthony Calvert was involved in shipbuilding enterprises at Broadstair's on his own account, according to Anthony Farrington's findings. He did have some links to the Perry shipbuilding family of London, which still require further research. He also had some dealings with the famous Kent shipbuilding family Well's, and the Henley's of Wapping, although this may well have involved the other

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<sup>33</sup> Goods obtained from the Baltic countries, such as Iron, and Pewter was used to trade for slaves in West African countries. See: Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: A History of the Atlantic Slave Trade 1440 – 1870*, (New York, 1997), for information on merchants such as the Huguenots, Daniel & Claude Jamineau, who specialized in providing trading goods, such as cowries, for the West Africa trade, Thomas, *The Slave Trade*, p. 328.

<sup>34</sup> Godfrey Thornton was married to Jane Godin, a Huguenot on 31<sup>st</sup> Jul, 1766, at Moggerhanger House, Bedford, England. The Huguenot merchant, banking, and insurance 'circles' of the Fonblanque, Fonnereau, and Thellusson, families are significant factors in the success of our group through many of these marriages (Elizabeth Margaret Fonnereau, married Alderman George Hibbert, the prominent West India merchant, George Woodford Thellusson married Mary Anne Fonnereau, 30<sup>th</sup> Apr, 1790, at St Botolph's Bishops Gate, London, England. Also John Cornwall, Banker another associate of the group, married Susanna Godin, 27<sup>th</sup> Jun, 1754, Southgate, London, England). What is significant is how these marriages also forged further successful business partnerships, which were all associated with Camden, Calvert & King. Another example can be cited with Burrell & Fonnereau, who had the government contract for the provisioning of the Gibraltar Garrison, Sources: IGI, for details of some marriages. The Pedigree of Hibbert of Jamaica, *Caribbeana*, Volume 4, Jamaica Archives, (available online), which contains details of the George Hibbert marriage and Will. Treasury Papers at the TNA, Kew, have many references for Messrs. Fonnereau & Burrell in respect of their provisioning contracts, See: T 1/348/5, T 1/352/83, T 1/367/95, T 1/370/76, T 1/372/78, T 1/374/19, T 1/377/71, T 1/379/18, T 1/380/74, T 1/384/147, T 1/431/186, T 1/407/174-175, T 1/423/128-129, T 1/445/556-557, T 1/446/304-305, T 1/468/285-286, T 1/479/151-155, which cover many aspects of the contract. Fonnereau & Burrell are also discussed in Norman Baker's book, *Government & Contractors*, p. 233. It is also worth noting that many of this Huguenot group were associated with the Bank of England, or were Directors of the major assurance companies, See: W. Marston Acres, 'Huguenot Directors of the Bank of England', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, Vol. 15, 246, for some idea of the scale of the Huguenot penetration of this institution.

<sup>35</sup> *Hardy's List of Ships*, held in the East India Office Collection, BL, cites that Calvert was building ships at Broadstairs, although the author has not come across any documentary evidence to support this to date.

partners too<sup>36</sup>. Timothy Mangles, a friend and associate of Calvert's also owned a shipyard (used for whaling vessels) at Ipswich, sharing a partnership with John Cornwall at one stage, which might also be worth some further consideration and future investigation<sup>37</sup>.

Calvert & Co possibly operated 'country ships' from Indian ports. The firm certainly had the necessary contacts on the sub-continent<sup>38</sup>. They were already trading in China, shipping furs from Nootka to be sold on at Canton, through their contact Abraham Wildey Robarts, the son of William Curtis's partner Abraham Robarts, a 'writer' there<sup>39</sup>. Also their association with the Curtis family would have most certainly required them to ship tea on behalf of Curtis and his associates, Macauley being one of them<sup>40</sup>. Interestingly, before May 1787, Macauley had chartered the *Lady Penrhyn* from Curtis to be sent on a Nootka Sound voyage after she had first landed convicts at Port Jackson, (later to become Sydney).

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<sup>36</sup> The ship *Ranger* is listed as being built at Broadstairs by Calvert in Anthony Farrington's, *Catalogue of East India Company Ships Journals and Logs* (British Library, 1999). *Hardy's Ship List*, BL, also cites three other Calvert ships used in the partnership's slave ventures, as being built at Broadstairs (*Venus, Harriot, Juliet*) where incidentally, Calvert had a residence. The ships also feature on the *Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*. See: The Will of Anthony Calvert, TNA, PROB: 11/1489, re: property owned at Broadstairs. Another ship that Calvert may have had an interest in was the *Admiral Nelson*, which was also built at Broadstairs, and often hired by other West Indies merchants, Source: *Lloyds Register*, Guildhall Library, London.

<sup>37</sup> Elizabeth Elenora Cornwall's marriage to Peter Isaac Thelluson, on the 14<sup>th</sup> Jun, 1783 Hendon, London, England, cemented the banking world of John Cornwall (Elizabeth's father) with the Thelluson mercantile empire. See: IGI, also see: A.G.E. Jones, 'The Whaling Trade of Ipswich, 1786 - 1793', *Mariners Mirror*, Vol. 40, No. 4, 1954, for details of the Ipswich shipyard owned by the Cornwall family, which was later sold to the Mangles family of Wapping, associates of Camden, Calvert & King. Note too, that the IGI cites that a Harriet Camden married John Mangles, 25th Jan 1781, which once this information is verified, will confirm that another business partnership was created through a strategic marriage. John Cornwall, Consul of the Russia Company and a Bank of England Director, according to the *London Directories* of the time.

<sup>38</sup> In a *Times* Law Report of 1800, it is cited that Calvert & King were 'considerable shipowners who had considerable contracts with the East India Company', See: Kings Bench, Guildhall, London Law Report, re: Hill v Calvert, available online via Palmers *Times* Full Text Online.

<sup>39</sup> Abraham Robarts was the banking partner of Sir William Curtis, who had previously spent some time in India and China, See: Ian Christie, *British 'Non-Elite' MPs, 1715-1820*, Clarendon Press, Oxford (1995).

<sup>40</sup> George Macauley and Sir William Curtis were both importing Chinese tea, as was their associate Richard Cadman Etches (Etches is listed as a Tea Dealer in the *London Directories*). He was also involved in the formation of the fur-trade from Northwest Coast of America, trading furs in Canton, See: Robert Lloyd Webb, *On the Northwest: Commercial Whaling in the Pacific Northwest, 1790-1967*, (Vancouver, 1988), p. 13, 14, 303, 336, 338, 379 & 407, for information on Sir William Curtis and his fur-trading enterprises.

The use of reliable and trusted coastal agents in the UK was another important requirement for commerce in the eighteenth century. Agents such as Joseph Banfield in Plymouth, and George Whitlock of Savage Gardens, London, who incidentally is also mentioned in Calvert's Will, was another factor in Camden, Calvert & King's success<sup>41</sup>. Whitlock was an associate of Calvert's, who was later to sign the contract for the transportation of the first Irish convicts to Australia aboard the *Queen*, on behalf of the firm<sup>42</sup>. Cobb & Co at Margate was another firm which acted on behalf of the partnership. They were also coastal agents for the East India Company<sup>43</sup>.

The choice of agents by the partner's would have been influenced by their geographic locations, and would have been strategically positioned in respect to the groups other operations, and the supply of naval dockyards. The agents chosen would have been located nearby so that they could receive up-date information on vessels from around the coast, which could then be transmitted easily to London by road. Both Thomas King and William Curtis are recorded as sending provisions to Plymouth and Portsmouth on numerous occasions<sup>44</sup>. However, the group had a network of British and

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<sup>41</sup> Joseph Banfield was the Falmouth based agent for Calvert & Co. He may well have known Anthony Calvert through his earlier association with James Mather, a London merchant associated with Calvert and his slave trading enterprises. Joseph Banfield was Master of the *Hannibal* (1784), owned by James Mather, bound for Dominica via Bonny, and the *Favourite* (1788) owned by Fermin De Tastet, bound for Montevideo via Bonny. The Banfield family appear to have come from Bristol (there is some evidence of this in the *Welsh Directories*). But what is also interesting is that he may have also been used by Evan Nepean, for 'intelligence' duties, See: TNA, FO 95/3/3, for evidence of Banfield's connection (1794) to Nepean.

<sup>42</sup> Another Partner of Calvert's, Timothy Curtis (Owner of ship *Nottingham*) had a share in the convict ship *Queen*, which as previously stated was the first ship to transport convicts from Ireland, See: Bob Reece, *The Origins of Irish Convict Transportation to New South Wales*, (2001). Note too that William Curtis & Richard Cadman Etches had both owned ships in the First Fleet, Source: Roger Knight, *First Fleet*, article).

<sup>43</sup> See: James H. Thomas, 'East India Company Agency Work in the British Isles', in : H.V. Bowen, M. Lincoln, & N. Rigby, (Eds.), *The Worlds of the East India Company*, (Woodbridge, 2003), which confirms that Cobb's were coastal agents.

<sup>44</sup> See: ADM 112/171 for 1785, which lists a payment for '£974 - 3 - 8p made to Timothy and William Curtis for 1000 cwts @ 16s - 9p of Bisket'. ADM 112/176, for 1790, lists details of a supply of '6000 Bisket' which Tim Curtis and Rd Henry Clark supplied in stages, and amounted to a cost of £1794 - 19 - 4p, £2425 - 0 - 0, £2071 - 0 - 0, and was typical of the amounts that Curtis and his partners were receiving on a quarterly basis. There is however some difficulty in tracing contracts for individual merchants, or small partnerships, because of the system of sub-contracting that was practiced at this

European agents, which would have greatly facilitated their operations in respect to providing cargoes, negotiating crewing, and generally assisting promptly with any other local problems encountered, thereby reducing the possibility of costly demurrage.

Many agents were linked to merchant groups through family ties. George Whitlock's (London Agent to Camden, Calvert & King) daughter married Sarah Manley, whose father Robert was a close friend of Calvert's. John Whitlock (father of George) was also a government contractor<sup>45</sup>, who in turn was married to Dorothy Jackson, whose family had large Jamaican plantation interests. George Whitlock and the Jackson's are also mentioned in the 'partners' wills<sup>46</sup>.

A good insight into how merchants used agents can be gathered from the 1777 Court case *Burroughs v Camden*. The *Hawke*, Captain Samuel Gribble Master, was a 'privateer' jointly owned by Camden and Calvert which had managed to re-take the *John & Thomas*, a ship originally taken by the American 'privateer' *Reprisal*, which was then been taken into Falmouth to be dealt with as a prize by Calvert's local agent, Joseph Banfield<sup>47</sup>. Calvert was eventually credited with a 1/8 share amounting to £152 - 11 - 8p of total prize

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time. However it is possible to be able to gauge some idea for the more familiar names, such as Curtis, through the frequency of deliveries made to the Royal Dockyards, and the payments made. After studying the ADM 112 contract ledger series, there does seem to be a regular trading pattern for Curtis and his partners, who it seems were also provisioning British dockyards and garrisons in the south of England, such as Portsmouth, and Plymouth on a fairly regular basis. The ADM contract ledgers at Kew are difficult to handle, due to their size, weight, and condition, but do offer a unique opportunity for further studies of merchant groups to be made, once a 'network' of names have been identified.

<sup>45</sup> See: Norman Baker, *Government & Contractors*, pp. 45, 50-1, 55, 233, and TNA, PROB: 11/1489, Will of Anthony Calvert, where Whitlock's daughter is named as a beneficiary.

<sup>46</sup> See: TNA, PROB: 11/1281, Will of William Camden, PROB: 11/1489, Will of Anthony Calvert, PROB: 11/1681, Will of Thomas King. Also the Jamaican Family History website for access to transcriptions from the Jamaican Archives on plantation owners such as the Jackson's.

<sup>47</sup> One wonders if agents such as Banfield played other important roles, especially considering that there is some evidence of correspondence between Banfield and Evan Nepean, later the Home Secretary, who was at the Admiralty, who at this time was building up 'intelligence' networks, See: NMM, Ref: MSS/89/006, Secret Service Papers, and 'secret account book' kept by Charles Wright, Chief Clerk to the Admiralty, between 1795 and 1804'. NMM Ref: NEP/2 which has some 'Fifty four letters from R.C. Etches, W. Wilby, and Sir W. Sidney Smith, dealing with secret service work during the time of the French Revolutionary Wars, which also includes information about Dutch affairs, 1796-1801'. Note that Etches was an associate of Sir William Curtis, and also a part of the wider Curtis network.

money by Hankey's the London Bankers, but only, after a long drawn out legal case over the crew's share of the prize money, which had been strongly contested by the former First Lieutenant John Burroughs of the *Hawke* who was acting on behalf of himself and the crew<sup>48</sup>.

There are a number of references to other vessels (*Elizabeth*, *John Stray*, *Clark*, *Juno*, *Hawk*), in this series of documents which appear to relate to other 'prizes' claimed by Calvert that require further research. Also there is mention of Calvert's share in the ships *Industry* (half share), and *Islington* (half share) plus an interesting 'list' of crew shares in various prize ships which Camden & Calvert had taken<sup>49</sup>.

The commercial use of a 'network' of agents and family also provided access to a sophisticated system of supply, both on a local and international basis. Fresh food supplies from England and Ireland, naval stores & timber from the Baltic, sugar & rum from the West Indies, and huge high value cargoes from the East Indies, provided important revenue for the government. All came from transcontinental trade made possible through Britain's sophisticated economic system of credit and taxation.

Anthony Calvert sometimes acted as a London agent himself. A letter from Mure, Son & Atkinson (dated 31<sup>st</sup> March 1777) mentions the ship *Sea Nymph* (Capt Sevitt) 'an unarmed victualler, which attended the Lord Cornwallis expedition, discharging cargo (guns and rum) at Deptford, with Captain Calvert appointed as salvage agent'<sup>50</sup>. Calvert & Co also provided another

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<sup>48</sup> See: The sworn 'power of attorney' document of John Burroughs, (THLHL, Ref: Burroughs, TH Misc.), together with other documents related to the case Burroughs v Camden, TNA, C 106/192, which contains much detail on Calvert's 'prize' ships.

<sup>49</sup> Other documents included in TNA, C 106/192, are a number of very interesting bills from various suppliers which give clues to some of Calvert & Co London contacts, such as Eade, Wilton & Allen, Ship Chandlers of Wapping, and Wells, the shipbuilders, re: 'wet docking fees for the ship *Elizabeth*'. The correspondence address used for them is Red Lyon Street, Wapping. This address is linked to both Calvert and Curtis and also appears as an address used for the Dundee Arms Lodge No. 9, See: Lodge Membership lists available at The Library of Freemasonry, Freemasons Hall, London, also see:

*London Directories*

<sup>50</sup> TNA, 1777, State Papers, SP.78.

important service, and that was to supply extra ships whenever required. This was quite apart from the normal victualling vessels that the firm operated themselves<sup>51</sup>.

Sometimes trusted friends and associates would fulfil certain roles on behalf of Camden & Co. John St Barbe would sometimes survey, and arrange for insurance for ships on their behalf. While Alexander Davison, who freighted the ships for Vancouver's voyage to the Pacific Northwest, often provided freight for the partnerships ships<sup>52</sup>.

Anthony Calvert & Thomas Morton, East India Company Secretary, were involved in a number of local provisioning enterprises together, also brewing, possibly with John Curtis in Wapping<sup>53</sup>. Morton may well have used Calvert and Co to meet the EICo requirement for 'extra' vessels at certain times. The partnership was certainly providing vessels as 'armed escorts' for some of the EICo convoys<sup>54</sup>. Anthony Calvert, was also a Principal Managing Owner for EICo ships, or 'ship's husband', which after further research has been undertaken may prove that he may have played a far more significant role in

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<sup>51</sup> In 1779 the 'armed' victualling ships *Active*, *Carnatic*, *Tom & Castor* provided by Calvert loaded at Cork to later join the India bound HMS *Leviathan* which was leading a convoy on route to the West Indies, See: TNA, TS 11/926, re: The *La Misericordia* Prize Court case.

<sup>52</sup> For payments to John St Barbe, See: TNA, ADM 112/165, ref: 986, made in respect to the surveying of victualling ships in 1779. Also see: Martyn Downer's, *Nelson's Purse*, and the Dan Byrnes website for further comments, information, and references on Davison's involvement in Vancouver's voyage of discovery. BL Add Mss 17552: Contains Vancouver's letters relating to the voyage of the ship *Discovery* contains correspondence on the provisioning and supply of ships by Davison in England.

*The Papers of Sir Joseph Banks*, (available online) also has some correspondence relating to Vancouver's transport ship *Daedalus*. Source: Vancouver correspondence online via *Empire On-Line*.

<sup>53</sup> See: THLHL: TH 1448, TH 1451. Also: TNA, ADM 112/165, re: payment to 'John Curtis, Brewer, for £1170 – 0 – 0 for small beer, 300 or 800 @ 13 a barrel', p. 78. The TNA, ADM 112 Contract Ledgers have numerous entries for John Curtis re: brewing. Note too, that THLHL has some references to property leases for the partnership of John Curtis and Anthony Calvert, which sometimes appear together with Thomas Morton. TH 1498, lists the following names: John Curtis, John J(S)abb, Anthony Calvert and Thomas Morton, on a mortgage for leasehold premises and a Freehold Stable in Wapping, which had been 'assigned' to Anthony Calvert for the sum of £6000, by John Curtis. This document proves that Calvert and John Curtis were conducting business together. But there is other proof that Curtis was supplying victual with this reference taken from an invoice (TNA, C 106/192), where John Curtis, brewer supplied the Calvert owned ship *Juno* with '12 barr beer on October 10<sup>th</sup> 1777, to the value of £2 – 19s – 06p'.

<sup>54</sup> See: TNA, J 90/416, Court documents in respect to the 1781-82, dispute (Ball v Calvert) which contain correspondence between Captain Calvert and Captain James Ball of the ship *Active* on convoy service to India which confirm this was the case.

their operations, than is known at the present time. Calvert & Co may have also been involved in the transportation of troops to India. In 1789 Thomas Morton was writing to King George requesting the use of colonial troops in India. This almost certainly would have involved Calvert & Co in transporting troops from British garrisons, although further research is still required to fully verify this, it does appear extremely likely<sup>55</sup>.

Sir William Curtis, who was connected to the Lear family by marriage, was an important 'cog' in the wheel of the groups locally Wapping based provisioning activity<sup>56</sup>. It was his demand to fulfil government contracts which helped Camden, Calvert & King to function and expand<sup>57</sup>. Curtis owned a number of businesses here, including a Gunpowder Factory, Bakers, and a Brewery, which together with Camden & Lear's sugar refining businesses helped the group succeed<sup>58</sup>.

William Curtis and Richard Clark, another Alderman, and Member of Parliament, was a business partner of Curtis in Wapping. But sometimes they faced difficulties, which created their own problems. In a reference to the dangers of storage, which highlights some of the issues of the time, we can see why merchants like these, were anxious to obtain safe warehousing for their goods, and how 'conflicts of interest' could sometimes arise for members of

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<sup>55</sup> See: The letter Thomas Morton's letter to King George together with signature & transcript of original document TNA, CO. 77/26, ff. 104-105.

<sup>56</sup> George Lear's daughter (Mary Anne Lear) married Sir William Curtis, 2<sup>nd</sup> Baronet at St Mary's, Leyton, Essex, in 1803. John Curtis, the brewer, married Susannah Clark, a daughter of Alderman Richard Henry Clark, partner in Timothy & William Curtis, & Richard Henry Clark, Sources: IGI, and the *London Directories*.

<sup>57</sup> THLHL holds a number of property deeds in respect of the Curtis family. Some of which were leased from Anthony Calvert & Thomas Morton, who seem to have owned a considerable amount of commercial property in Wapping, some of which had been 'assigned' to them against mortgages, See: THLHL, TH 1448, TH 1449, and TH 1498.

<sup>58</sup> Sometimes this could also be a dangerous business, as indicated by this insurance reference: Guildhall MS 31688/3, fire: William and John Camden in their single refining sugar house in Brewhouse Lane, Wapping 1<sup>st</sup> Sept. 1771 an accidental fire no inventory only an affidavit loss £ 7500.



parliament such as Curtis and Clark<sup>59</sup>. Safe storage and secure warehousing was a major issue in London before the new docks were built, particularly in respect of theft. An example of how this affected the Camden, Calvert & King personally, resulted in an Old Bailey Court case<sup>60</sup>. The Calvert owned ship *Three Sisters* moored in the Thames upon her return from the West Indies, was awaiting the unloading of her cargo, became the target of theft by two corrupt customs officers, who later stood trial, were found guilty, and subsequently hanged.

Sir William Curtis and Richard Cadman Etches, another member of the Camden & Co's wider network, were the two London merchants mostly involved in the development of the Southern Whale Fishery, via the vehicle of the St Georges Sound (Hudson Bay) Company, together with Samuel Enderby, and John St Barbe, two other investors in Southern whaling. They all also had a mutual interest in the transportation of convicts to Australia. This shared interest appears to have been an important governing factor in their decision to become involved in the development of other new concerns, such as fur-trading, and whaling, although Curtis had been active in Greenland whaling much earlier. Curtis & Etches both owned ships in the First Fleet<sup>61</sup>, and may have come into contact with the Enderby's, through their connection to John St Barbe, via Camden, Calvert & King, who were all underwriter's at Lloyds, keen on developing whaling in the Pacific<sup>62</sup>. Etches had influential

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<sup>59</sup> See: *Journals of the House of Commons* (1803 reprint), for a reference to the dangers of Gunpowder being stored in Wapping, Stepney, and Aldgate warehouses, in the eighteenth century, Source: BOPCRIS, available online at: <http://www.bopcris.ac.uk/bop1688/ref871.html>.

<sup>60</sup> See: *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, (Online Trial Ref No: t17980912-71), for details of the 1798 trial for theft by: 'SAMUEL WRIGHT, WILLIAM HEWLINGS, JOSIAH OLIVER, and CHARLES BEARBLOCK, who were indicted for feloniously stealing on the 30th of August, four hundred pounds weight of raw coffee, value 80l. The property of George Lear, Anthony Calvert, and Thomas King, then being in a certain ship called the *Three Sisters*, lying upon the navigable river Thames'. Also note that two of the men on trial were Customs Officers, which highlights the problem of theft from vessels and warehouses along the Thames at this time.

<sup>61</sup> See: Roger Knight, *First Fleet*, Fig. 28.

<sup>62</sup> Both Calvert and St Barbe were members of Lloyds, See: Guildhall Library list: *Lloyd's (Firm)*. - *A list of the subscribers to Lloyd's, from the foundation in 1771, to the fi. - London: (Lloyd's), 1810 - t3442543*. Also note that St Barbe and Calvert were both involved with the East Indies trade, See: *Lloyds Register*, Guildhall Library, London.

friends in government, where he often played a diplomatic role supplying foreign intelligence in return for information with which to fuel his entrepreneurial flair<sup>63</sup>, although at times, some of his schemes were to say at the very least, somewhat over ambitious, as with the Stone-ships fiasco<sup>64</sup>.

The Curtis family owned a number of local businesses, commercial properties and warehouses some of which were leased from Anthony Calvert and his associates, mostly centred on the 'core' business of victualling the ships, and dockyards of the Royal Navy<sup>65</sup>. In some way this partly explains why Curtis had connections with our group, especially in respect of the large amounts of sugar used in the brewing and baking processes, plus the large quantities of rum required for the navy, some of which he was required to supply as a government contractor<sup>66</sup>. Sir William's brother, HEICS Captain George Curtis, was a member of Trinity House, and Captain of one of the Trinity House Volunteer Blockships, who was also known to both Anthony Calvert and Thomas King, and may have had some business connection to the group, although to date, no documentary evidence of this has been found<sup>67</sup>. It has been noted too that Sir William Curtis first baronet (1752-1829), acted as a

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<sup>63</sup> See: *Papers of Sir James Bland Burges and his family, and papers of the Head family, 1750-1892*, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, for references to Etches and his Russian intelligence work.

<sup>64</sup> See: T. H. McGuffie, 'The Stone Ships Expedition against Boulogne, 1804', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 64, No. 253. (Oct., 1949), pp. 488-502, for a full account of this 'farce'.

<sup>65</sup> See: THLHL, Document References: TH 1448, TH 1450, & TH 1451, which relate to Wapping properties leased by John Curtis.

<sup>66</sup> Note that ADM records of individual 'contracts' and 'contractors' at the TNA are sometimes 'sketchy', owing to the system of sub-contracting used by many of the major victualling contractors. This is why more work needs to be done on the merchant 'networks' of naval contractors.

<sup>67</sup> See: Richard Woodman, *Keepers of the Sea*, Lavenham, Suffolk, (1983), pp. 21-22, a general history of the Trinity House Corporation, which cites Anthony Calvert in command of the *Trinity Yacht* at the time of the Nore Mutiny in 1797, attempting to communicate with the mutineers on behalf of the British government. Also see: Woodman, R., *Keepers of the Sea*, pp.22-26, for information of the Royal Trinity House Volunteer Artillery force, a 1200 strong force which was part of larger London militia force set up as a London defence force against the threat of possible future French invasion by Napoleon. Part of the defence strategy consisted of ten 'blockships' which would be 'moored' across the mouth of the river Thames, if and when required. Dan Byrnes cites Anthony Calvert responsible for the ship *Quebec*, with Captain Thomas King, and Captain Reed, on the *Vestal*, and Captain Abel Chapman, on the *Daedalus*. Captain George Curtis, HEIC and brother of Timothy, also played a part in the Trinity House Volunteer, and was one of the Elder Brethren.

banker and financial 'fixer' for the Pitt Administration<sup>68</sup>. He was also a **Freemason**, as was his brother and business partner Timothy<sup>69</sup>. Sir William later became a confidant of George IV<sup>70</sup>.

Perhaps working on the principle of 'one good turn deserves another' this might explain why Pitt received a request from Sir William Curtis for his brother Timothy, to be made an Elder Brother of Trinity House; Pitt was Master<sup>71</sup>. What part membership of Trinity House played in influencing political decisions when so many key individuals were members, can only be a matter for conjecture until further research is undertaken. But it would be fair to say that undoubtedly it did play some part, even if only acting as a place for a discussion forum at the highest level<sup>72</sup>.

The Wapping connection is an important factor for further consideration for other reasons too. Most merchants in this area were involved one-way or another with the fulfilment of government contracts. The Curtis family, Wells

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<sup>68</sup> See: The Chatham Papers, TNA, 30/8 127/2, and Lowell Ragatz, *The Rise and Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean, 1763-1833*, (New York, 1928, Reprinted: 1971).

<sup>69</sup> See: Chatham Papers, TNA: 30/8 127/2, which contains some correspondence between William Pitt and Curtis regarding *Grenada Exchequer Loans*, where Peter Thellusson's (partner of William Camden & Co., and associate of Sir William Curtis) family had business interests (Thellusson owned plantations there), Sources: Thellusson family, Lords Rendlesham: Correspondence, papers, accounts, plans relating to Las Cuevas, Trinidad, 1898-1926 (Ipswich HB416/D2/1-3), and Financial papers, Bacolet estate, Grenada, 1812-1860 (Ipswich HB416/D1/1-3), Lowell Ragatz, *The Fall of the Planter Class in the British Caribbean, 1763-1833*, (New York, 1928, Reprinted: 1971), p.221, n.3, regarding parliamentary approval for exchequer loans to the value of £5 million for relief of British merchants and bankers who faced a 'financial crisis' over outstanding planter credit, due to the effects of 'ruined crops and war' on Grenada, and St Vincent. Also see: Dan Byrnes, article 'Freemasonry in London and Sydney, Australia, circa 1788', online (available online), which discusses some interesting points regarding merchant membership of London Freemasonry lodges. William & Timothy Curtis, (brother of Sir William) and George Lear, partner of Camden, Thellusson & Co, Sugar Refiners were all members of the Dundee Arms Lodge, Red Lion Street, Wapping. The building where the meetings were held was possibly owned by the firm Camden, Calvert & King, as they owned several other properties in the same street, deeds held at. Sources: THLHL, and The Library of Freemasonry, Freemason's Hall, London, Dundee Arms, Lodge No.9, Membership List, which shows both George Lear and William & Timothy Curtis as members. The author has been unable to ascertain if any other of the partners, or close associates of Camden, Calvert & King were also members of this lodge due to the restricted availability of the membership lists at the time of the authors study.

<sup>70</sup> See: *Oxford DNB* entry by for Sir William Curtis, Bt. By Norman Gash.

<sup>71</sup> See: Ragatz, *The Rise and Fall of the Planter Class*, and The Chatham Papers, (TNA).

<sup>72</sup> The Elder Brethren of the Trinity House Corporation was made up of thirty-one members of the most prominent politicians and merchants of the day, with Anthony Calvert and Thomas King, sitting at the same committee table as Rt. Hon. William Pitt, Henry Dundas, Treasurer of the Admiralty, Joseph Cotton, Chairman of the East India Company, to name just a few of its distinguished members.

the famous Kent shipbuilders, and numerous other local suppliers were all dependent on what nowadays, would be termed sub-contracting, and were either providers of services for Camden, Calvert & King, or customers of theirs<sup>73</sup>. The nature of the contracting business in turn helped shape the development of this local maritime enclave. An area which could might best be described as industrial centre of interrelated crafts, and small businesses mostly connected to the needs of a maritime state.

East India Co., Chairman William Devaynes, M.P. (1730-1809), given his knowledge of the African trade and the known family connection between Thomas Morton and Anthony Calvert, probably distrusted Calvert and Co., who were competitors. Devaynes, was from Huguenot stock, and a prominent city banker together with Crofts, **Robarts**, Devaynes, & Dawes, who would have been well known to the Curtis family through his connection to Abraham Robarts, and Huguenot Peter Thellusson<sup>74</sup>. From 1776-1782 he was also a large government contractor, together with John Henniker, George Wombwell and Edward Wheler, sharing victualling contracts between them for some 12-14,000 troops in America<sup>75</sup>. All except Henniker were directors of the East India Company, and friends of Warren Hastings. However Devaynes by 1777 was the only Commissioner of the Africa Committee in Parliament. As Devaynes served alongside Calvert on the Africa Committee, he would have had an opportunity to study some of Calvert & Co's sometimes 'sharp' business practices, which may have caused him some personal concern over

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<sup>73</sup> Anthony Farrington cites Calvert building ships at Broadstairs, although the author has found no evidence of this to date. However Calvert did have a connection to Well's, the Thames shipbuilders, and the Henley's of Wapping. It is also recorded that Calvert was 'repairing' ships, which looks extremely likely considering he was a major shipowner.

<sup>74</sup> Devaynes appears in *Kent's London Directory* for 1779 listed as a partner in Crofts, Devaynes, Roberts & Dawes, Bankers and Financial Brokers of 39, Pall Mall, London. Abraham Roberts (Robarts) was also a partner of Sir William Curtis.

<sup>75</sup> See: Norman Baker, *Government and Contractors*, pp.245-246.

the 'conflict of interest', and question of 'integrity' of fellow Member of Parliament, Sir Willaim Curtis's, association with Calvert & Co<sup>76</sup>.

Government provisioning contracts required an excellent 'network' of mercantile connections. Here the Curtis family excelled and was well placed to be able to meet the huge navy demands for beer and spirits with the assistance of Camden, Calvert & King, and their expertise in the West Indies trade<sup>77</sup>.

### **Convict transportation:**

Timothy Curtis of the Wapping based family, brother of Sir William, was the owner of the ship *Nottingham* and a business partner of Anthony Calvert's<sup>78</sup>. He also shared in one of Camden, Calvert & King's convict shipping ventures through his involvement with the ship *Queen*<sup>79</sup>. On the 14<sup>th</sup> December 1784 Lord Sydney had approached the African Committee concerning the carriage of convicts. The African Committee disliked the proposal, but allowed some 20 convicts to be transported to Cape Coast Castle by Calvert on the ship *Recovery*, a 250 tons ship, which was insured with Lloyd's, as a pilot scheme for a proposed convict colony<sup>80</sup>.

The first reactions to the Cabinet's later Botany Bay decision was an offer of shipping from Alderman George Macaulay and his partners Thomas Gregory and John Turnbull, made on the 21<sup>st</sup> August, before the tenders for shipping

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<sup>76</sup> See: Alan Frost, *The Global Reach of Empire*, Melbourne, (2003), pp.151-152, and N. Baker, *Government and Contractors*, pp.229-231. Guildhall Library, London. Also see: The Dan Byrnes, website for other references to Devaynes *et al* and the Africa Committee.

<sup>77</sup> See: Appendix for further details of Camden & Calvert's slaving voyages. Some indication of the amounts of sugar and rum being imported by the group, can be gauged from the lists of cargo shown in the Jamaica shipping lists, Sources: See: TNA, CO 142/13-20, & CO 5/508-511, Jamaica & South Carolina Navy Office Shipping Lists (N.O.S.L), which lists cargo information for Calvert owned ships.

<sup>78</sup> See: The 'Bill of Sale' for the ship *Nottingham*, London Metropolitan Archives, Bernard Halliday Papers, Catalogue Ref: Q/HAL, ref: Q/HAL/434 - date: 10 Mar 1787, re: Timothy Curtis and Wm. Curtis of Wapping, merchants; (2) Dorothy Turner of St. Ann's, Limehouse, widow. (Timothy was the brother of William Curtis).

<sup>79</sup> See: Bob Recce, *The Origins of Irish Convent Transportation to New South Wales: Mixture of Breeds*, Palgrave Macmillan, (2001), pp.256-266.

<sup>80</sup> Cited by Dan Byrnes on his *Blackheath Connection* website.

had actually been gone to *The Morning Herald* on the 1st September, 1786, advertising for 1,500 tons of shipping. Their offer was rejected. Note that Macauley was a friend of Sir William Curtis, and does raise questions over how privileged information reached such men's ears<sup>81</sup>.

In 1786 George Mackenzie Macaulay failed to get the contracts for the shipping of convicts for the First Fleet. But Byrnes comments 'the strange thing is why Anthony Calvert never bothered to make an offer'. It has been suggested that 'probably this was because he had broken his leg, just before he had expressed confidence in June 1786 of being able to raise enough ships in ten days to carry 1,000 people'<sup>82</sup>. The successful tender went instead to William Richards Jnr, who was another navy contractor<sup>83</sup>.

During April 1785 Evan Nepean, Secretary of State and Calvert had contact regarding this whole question of convict transportation. Calvert was also regularly in contact with Duncan Campbell, in his official capacity as Superintendent of the Thames Prison 'Hulks'<sup>84</sup>. Campbell was incidentally deeply involved with the Jamaica trade, as a merchant in his own right through his family plantation connections, plus his earlier experience of transporting convicts to the American colonies prior to the American Revolution. Anthony Calvert had another connection with Duncan Campbell

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<sup>81</sup> See: *City Biography* (1800), p. 49, BL, for a biographical entry on Alderman George Macauley.

<sup>82</sup> See: The Dan Byrnes article 'Emptying the Hulks: Duncan Campbell and the First Three Fleets to Australia', published in *The Push from the Bush*, No. 24, (1987), 2-23, but also available via his website.

<sup>83</sup> Incidentally another who had a joint share with William Richards in the slave trade venture of the ship *Sandown*, in 1793 was John St Barbe, a merchant who was to become one of the prime movers in the Southern Whale Fishery. He was also an associate of Camden, Calvert & King, and fellow member of Lloyds. See: Samuel Gamble, Bruce L. Mouser, (ed.), *A Slaving Voyage to Africa and Jamaica: The Log of the Sandown, 1793-1794*, Indiana University Press, (2002), p. 2. The original Log is held at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London, Document reference: NMM, LOG/M/21.

<sup>84</sup> Some of Duncan Campbell's correspondence can be viewed online via the Dan Byrnes website.

with his ownership of the Brig *Ceres*, which was being used as a prison hulk moored in the Thames<sup>85</sup>.

Camden, Calvert & King, were awarded the contracts for transportation of convicts to New South Wales, in the Second and Third Fleets, after their successful tenders. The Second Fleet comprised of the Calvert ships *Neptune*, *Scarborough*, and *Surprize*, and the *Lady Juliana*, a 401 ton ship, which according to Byrnes was 'a slow sailor'. Plus 'the ill-fated supply ship', HMS *Guardian*, 879 tons, hit by and iceberg, and subsequently lost.

Camden, Calvert and King, were 'awarded the contract for the Third Fleet, on the 18<sup>th</sup> November, 1789 specifying 1,820 English convicts and 200 Irish. In mid-December the Treasury informed the Navy Board that some of the ships to be sent were nearly ready to take their stores and provisions aboard', according to Byrnes. The Third Fleet of 1791, comprised of the following ships: the *Matilda*, 460 tons, *Atlantic*, 422 tons, *Salamander*, 320 tons, *William and Ann*, 370 tons, *Active*, 350 tons, *Queen*, 380-400 tons, *Albermarle*, 530 tons, *Britannia*, and *Admiral Barrington*, 527 tons, mostly contracted by Calvert & Co<sup>86</sup>.

Another important name associated with our group was Alexander Davison, a large government contractor, and a regular client of the Henley's, the well

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<sup>85</sup> Captain Hugh Crow, a Liverpool based Master who had much experience of commanding slavers, also had an association with this Calvert owned vessel. See: Appendix 5 of *Manx Slave Traders* by F. Wilkens. Also see this website: <http://www.isle-of-an.com/manxnotebook/fulltext/worthies/index.htm>, which has a transcript of *MANX WORTHIES OR BIOGRAPHIES OF NOTABLE MANX MEN AND WOMEN COMPILED BY A. W. MOORE, M.A. DOUGLAS, ISLE OF MAN S. K. BROADBENT & COMPANY, LIMITED, VICIORIA STREET, 1901*, which states: 'In 1803, he sailed in the "*Ceres*." The "*Ceres*" was well armed; and Crow by mistake nearly fought an action at sea with an English Indiaman, who had mistaken him for French. On this voyage he fell ill; and at its conclusion spent a year on shore'.

<sup>86</sup> See: Charles Bateson, *The Convict Ships*, and the Dan Byrnes website for further information on these ships and their owners. TNA, ADM 108/148, Ship Ledger, p. 330, also has an entry for the ship *Surprize*.

known Wapping based shipping family, also associated with Calvert<sup>87</sup>.

Alexander Davison was the nephew of Sir Archibald Grant, and a prize agent for Nelson, plus he was also one of the Oswald merchant 'circle', whom Camden, Calvert & King were well acquainted with through their connections with George Hibbert, the prominent West India merchant, and Fonnereau & Burrell, government contractors<sup>88</sup>.

Another member of the Curtis family, John Curtis, a Brewer, married Susannah Clark, daughter of Richard Henry Clark, Alderman, later Lord Mayor, a partner of Sir William Curtis.<sup>89</sup> Timothy Curtis (brother of Sir William) & William & Richard Henry Clark were also operating as oil merchants, which would have been a fortuitous partnership for the Mangles family, who were a part of the wider Wapping based Curtis network, who were also engaged in the whale oil business. Worth noting too is the marriage of Alderman Richard Clark's sister to Alexander Aubert, F.R.S. a Huguenot ,

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<sup>87</sup> For general discussion of Davison's business connections in Nova Scotia, see: *Nelson's Purse* by Martyn Downer. For Davison's family links to the Grant family see David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the integration of the British Atlantic community, 1735 – 1785*, (Cambridge, 1995), p. 53-56. Also see: HNL/122/11, HNL 123/1. HNL /127, The Henley Papers (NMM), which contains a few references to Davison and the Grant family's business dealings.

<sup>88</sup> See: David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the integration of the British Atlantic community, 1735 – 1785*, (Cambridge, 1995), for a comprehensive study of the Oswald group's business activities which included provisioning the British Garrison at Jamaica. Camden, Calvert & King assisted here through their shipping expertise, Source: N.O.SL., for Jamaica. Note too that Calvert had another connection to the Boyd family, through John Boyd's Trinity House election. Other evidence of the Davison/Calvert connection is a reference to the ship *John* a Calvert owned ship hired used by the Henley family. More of these references provide some link to the associations of the wider network of our group, and can be found in: HNL 18/11 (Henley Papers) which lists Bignell, St Barbe and Green c1788-90, as shipbuilders, who incidentally all connected to the EICo circle of our group. Davison and Calvert & Co had another connection with the Vancouver's exploration voyages through the freighting, provisioning and ship-hire via the Curtis victualling network. See: Robert Lloyd Webb, *On the Northwest: Commercial Whaling in the Pacific Northwest, 1790-1967*, Vancouver, 1988, pp. 13-14, where Webb comments on Curtis and his political connections in respect to the 'Butterworth Squadron', which was a whaling fleet mounted by Curtis and his partners, that intended to fish and trade for furs off the North-western American coast before sailing on to trade in China. Also see: BL Add Mss 17552, Vancouver's letters relating to the voyage of the *Discovery* which record Alexander Davison's role in the provisioning of the supply ships for Vancouver's voyage of discovery.

<sup>89</sup> John Curtis, brewer, also became a Wapping shipowner though his Quaker connections. He is listed as owning a share of the ship *Liberty*, which was a ship associated with John Walker of Whitby, the one-time employer, and life-long friend of Captain James Cook the explorer, and resident of Wapping. See: Julia Hunt, *From Whitby to Wapping: The story of the early years of Captain James Cook*, Stepney Historical Trust, (1991), and the will of John Curtis, brewer, TNA: PROB: 11/1149, where Anthony Calvert acted as executor.



who possibly provided our group with access to many of note in the scientific world. Aubert was a Director, later Governor, of the London Assurance Company.

Anthony Calvert was an Executor of the John Curtis, the Brewer's Will. This highlights another example of personal 'trust' within these merchants groups, and illustrates how strategic marriages, and family connections played their part in merchant networks<sup>90</sup>. Another useful connection for the Camden & Calvert group was by way of a Camden and Thellusson connection, this time with partnership with the Burrell family, who were part of the wider Curtis victualling network<sup>91</sup>.

Many shipping agents were linked to merchant groups through family ties. George Whitlock's (London Agent to Camden, Calvert & King) daughter married Sarah Manley, whose father Robert was a close friend of Calvert's. John Whitlock (father of George) was also a government contractor<sup>92</sup>. He in turn was married to Dorothy Jackson whose family had large Jamaican plantation interests, which would have been of interest to Camden, Calvert & King, and might partly explain why several Jackson's are mentioned in Thomas King's will. George Whitlock is also mentioned in the 'partners' wills<sup>93</sup>.

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<sup>90</sup> Some examples of this with our group and their associates, can be seen with the Curtis & Lear family's, and Duncan Campbell, who all had relatives in Jamaica and Barbados. The Oswald group also owned plantations in the West Indies, as did the Thellusson and King families. See: Barbara Bush, *Slave Women in Caribbean Society, 1650-1838*, London (1999), p. 58 & 60, for details of Thomas and William King's plantations.

<sup>91</sup> Note that Burrell W (Customs & Excise Commissioner), Adams J, (Merchant, Food/Drink) & Camden, Lear & Thalison (Sugar Refiners) were all part of a Wapping partnership, Sources: *London Directory* entries and Bryan Mawer *Sugar Refiners Database* website.

<sup>92</sup> See: Norman Baker, *Government & Contractors*, pp. 45, 50-1, 55, 233, and PROB: 11/1489, Will of Anthony Calvert, where Whitlock's daughter is named as a beneficiary.

<sup>93</sup> See: TNA, PROB: 11/1281, will of William Camden, PROB: 11/1489, will of Anthony Calvert, PROB: 11/1681, will of Thomas King. Also see: Jamaican Family History website for access to transcriptions from the Jamaican Archives for plantation owners such as the Hibbert's, and Jackson's.

The commercial use of a 'network' of agents and family correspondents also provided access to a sophisticated system of supply, both on a local and international basis. Fresh food supplies from England and Ireland, naval stores & timber from the Baltic, sugar & rum from the West Indies, and huge high value cargoes from the East Indies, importantly provided revenue for the government, and came from transcontinental trade made possible by a sophisticated network of mercantile contacts.

## **Chapter Four.**

### **Networks of Opportunity - The Quest for Profit.**

Camden, Calvert & King, were major London shipowners who took every advantage of their 'networks of opportunity', which is indicated in the following two simple diagrams. In the first we have an illustration of some of the institutions essential for an eighteenth-century government 'contractor'. The second diagram has the same basic framework but illustrates the 'simplified' membership of our group within these, and how 'access' was provided for the group by other members of the Curtis network. Of course more complex explanations are required, but the diagrams do help us understand how the group, became integrated into some of the most important institutions of the time, which will now be discussed further.

Merchant 'Networks of Opportunity'.

**Government**

**City Aldermen**

**Bank of England**

**Baltic Merchants**

**Africa Committee**

**TRINITY HOUSE**

**East India Company**

**West India Groups**

**Insurance/Banking  
&  
Finance Groups**

**Shipping Groups**

**Victualling Groups**

**Government Contracts**

Camden, Calvert & King -

Merchant 'Networks of Opportunity'.

**Government**

(Sir William Curtis, Bt., M.P. Peter Thellusson, M.P.).

**City Aldermen**

(Sir William Curtis & Richard Clark).

**Bank of England**

(Peter Thellusson, Godfrey Thornton  
& John Cornwall).

**Baltic Merchants**

(Thornton's - Camden, Calvert & King).

**Africa Committee**

(A. Calvert, T. King).

**TRINITY HOUSE**

(A. Calvert, T. King, T. Curtis & many of  
the wider Curtis family victualling network).

**East India Company**

(T. Morton - A. Calvert).

**West India Groups**

(Camden, Calvert & King).

**Insurance/Banking**

**&**

**Finance Groups**

(Sir William Curtis, Bt., Alderman Richard Clark, P. Thellusson,  
John St Barbe, Camden, Calvert & King).

**Shipping Groups**

(Camden, Calvert & King).

Mangles family.

**Victualling Groups**

(Wider Curtis Group - Camden, Calvert & King - Thornton's).

**Government Contracts**

(Fulfilment of contracts by 'Official' Government Contractors & the use of 'networks'  
of Sub- contractors).

### **Political Networks:**

The importance of political patronage to secure naval contracts was paramount during the eighteenth century. Although Camden, Calvert & King did not have a major provisioning contract themselves as such, it does appear that they had ready access to most of the major merchants who were accredited to supply these important government contracts, one which was a huge undertaking at this time of almost constant war<sup>94</sup>.

Access to Members of Parliament was a crucial factor. Here the firm Camden, Calvert & King was well placed through their business and social networks, particularly those centred on the Curtis family of Wapping. Sir William Curtis, Bt., was an Alderman, Member of Parliament and prominent city merchant who later became Lord Mayor<sup>95</sup>. His friends and partner's, such as fellow Aldermen George Mackenzie Macauley and Alderman Richard Clark, were also M.P.s.

Some of these men were involved in East Indies trade, and later became involved in the transportation of convicts to Australia, sending out ships in the First Fleet<sup>96</sup>. Some had connections with the Africa trade, like Calvert & Co., were also associated both with the East India Company, and the

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<sup>94</sup> Note that contractors such as John Durand, William Devaynes, George Wombwell, and John Henniker, all held major government victualling contracts for North America and the West Indies, and were well known to Camden, Calvert & King, either through their business associations, in the East & West Indies trade, or membership of Trinity House, see: N. Baker, *Government and Contractors*, pp. 28-31.

<sup>95</sup> Sir William Curtis was Lord Mayor for London 1795-6.

<sup>96</sup> See: Roger Knight, 'The First Fleet – Its State and Preparation, 1786 – 1787', in *Studies From Terra Australis To Australia*, (Eds.) John Hardy and Alan Frost, Australian Academy of the Humanities, (1989), Wilfred Oldham, 'The Administration of the System of Transportation, 1763-1793', (University of London PhD thesis, 1933), and Charles Bateson, *The Convict Ships, 1787-1868*, (Glasgow, 1959), for good coverage and general discussion of the system of transportation. Also note that Roger Knight's list of 'Merchant Ships of the First Fleet', Fig.28, lists Wm Curtis and Etches & Co as owners of the London (Thames built) vessels *Lady Penryhn*, and *Prince of Wales*, discussed in the context of Pacific whaling elsewhere in this study.

transportation of convicts to Australia with the Second and Third Fleets, where a common pattern seems to exist<sup>97</sup>.

The partnership was later steered into insurance and banking by Anthony Calvert and Thomas King through their associations with fellow Lloyd's members such as John St Barbe, and their other EICo associations.

John St Barbe, Baronet, and M.P., was a naval lieutenant, and reputedly an 'enterprising, adventurous merchant, involved with the development of the Southern Whale Fishery' associated with our group, mainly through his diverse shipping operations, and underwriting business at Lloyds. Through his connections with yet another Wapping family, Mangles, it gave him another good reason to be well known to the partnership of Camden, Calvert & King<sup>98</sup>.

What is clear is that apart from Enderby's and their other whaler associates, the two men who used a variety of guises and political contacts, and were acting most in harmony with the government's desire to resume convict transportation, (which agreed with the whalers' desires to expand into the Pacific), were Anthony Calvert and George Macaulay, all associated through the same Curtis merchant network.

The banking connections that the partner's gained through Peter Thellusson via George Lear and William Camden association, was another factor which contributed to their success. The group's patron Sir William Curtis was also a

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<sup>97</sup> The obvious example can be cited with the partnership, Camden, Calvert & King, but other merchants such as Richard Cadman Etches, also traded with the East Indies, and China, as well as being involved in convict transportation. N. Baker, *Government and Contractors*, cites a number of merchants who were involved in both East & West Indies trade. Also Kenneth Morgan's article: 'The Organization of the Convict Trade to Maryland: Stevenson, Randolph and Cheston, 1768-1775', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, (3rd Ser.), Vol. 42, No. 2. (Apr., 1985), pp. 201-227, which discusses British merchants and convict transportation to the American colonies prior to the American War.

<sup>98</sup> See: A.G.E. Jones, 'The Whaling Trade of Ipswich, 1786 -1793', *Mariners Mirror*, Vol. 40, No. 4, 1954, for details of the Mangles Ipswich shipyard. Also note that Calvert and St Barbe had whaling vessels in the southern oceans, and may have been providing support services for whalers, see: The 'Note' 'William Raven R.N. And His *Britannia*, 1792-95, by Thomas Dunbabin, *Mariners Mirror*, Vol. 46, No. 4, (1960) pp. 297-303, which discusses a vessel which both Calvert & St Barbe, has some association with, Other source: *Lloyds Register*.

member of Lloyds, which may have favourably influenced the opinions of some in the City that the group should be included in any potential investment opportunities of the time, such as the proposals for the building of London's new infrastructure. Banking and Insurance were viewed as good areas to move into, which would reduce risk and lessen direct involvement in trade. This was also an area where Sir William Curtis had some expertise, which probably influenced Calvert and King's decision to move in this direction, particularly when they could see that their slave trading days were coming to an end.

Camden, Calvert & King response to 'opportunity' was an evolutionary process in respect to the nature of their business ventures. They adjusted their reactions and focus as political and economic factors changed, or became controversial, such as their involvement in the slave trade, when public perception became influenced by the success of the Abolition movement<sup>99</sup>.

### **Social Networks:**

Not all profit was financial in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Social advancement was another important factor<sup>100</sup>. Here 'strategic' marriages within the group were

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<sup>99</sup> The influence of the Evangelical movement can also be viewed through 'plant hunters' such as Henry Smeathman who was investigating the commercial possibilities of 'free labour' on plantations based around his observations of termites, at the same time as evangelical 'Clapham Sect' were calling for abolition. Sir Ralph Woodford (a relative of Thellusson's) was the first one who actually implemented this in Guiana, where Thellusson owned plantations. See: Brycchan Carey, Markman Ellis and Sara Salih (Eds.), *Discourses of Slavery and Abolition: Britain and its Colonies, 1760 – 1838*, Palgrave, (2004), Part III, Chapter 9, pp. 141–157, by Deirdre Coleman for an interesting account of Henry Smeathman's work.

<sup>100</sup> Many of these organizations helped to establish, promote, and fund a movement for self-improvement through the quest for knowledge, resulting in many of their patrons becoming prominent members of 'learned' scientific societies such as the Royal Society, and the African Association, more latterly known as the Royal Geographical Society. See: Raymond Phineas Stearns, 'Colonial Fellows of the Royal Society of London, 1661-1788', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, Vol. 8, No.2, (Apr, 1951), 178-246, and Geoffrey Cantor, 'Quakers in the Royal Society, 1660-1750', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, Vol. 51, No.2, (Jul, 1997), 175-193, for two observations on how merchants, and merchant groups, penetrated the membership of the Royal Society. Also see: John H. Appleby's article 'James Spilman, F.R.S. (1680-1763), and Anglo-Russian Commerce', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, Vol. 48, No.1, (Jan, 1994), 17-29, which discusses how Spilman, a Russia merchant, played a significant political role on behalf of the British government, by opening up commercial, and scientific links with Russia.



another factor which aided its success<sup>101</sup>. Membership of charitable organizations was also socially important, particularly among some of the merchant circles patronised by the evangelical movement, such as the Thornton's and their 'Clapham Sect' friends<sup>102</sup>. However, charity donations & memberships of fashionable 'societies' required the necessary income with which to finance this 'lifestyle'. The Thellusson, Curtis, and Oswald merchant circles, plus all the other political networks that our group associated with required money to move in, and are an indication of how successful the group was. Thellusson was a prime example of the merchant financial success story<sup>103</sup>. Sir William Curtis's close connections to George Lear and Peter Thellusson also had a political significance for the group, through his political financing, of colonies such as Grenada for the Pitt administration, which was an area that the partner's had vested interest in<sup>104</sup>.

William Camden, Anthony Calvert and Thomas King, were all independently wealthy and successful eighteenth century merchants. But it was their skills at operating and exploiting each others particular expertise within the confines

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<sup>101</sup> An example of this can be provide by the connection between the Baring family (Bankers, EICo), and the Woodford's (government victuallers), who were connected to Camden & Co. The Website <http://worldroots.com> has a page (<http://worldroots.com/brigitte/famous/m/margaretbaringanc1868.htm>) listing the Ancestors of The Hon. Margaret Baring (6 generations), which cites a family connection to Matthew Woodford of Southampton, whose daughter married Peter Thellusson Senior (father of Peter Isaac Thellusson, M.P. Bank of England Director, business partner and close associate of Camden, Calvert & King). Note too that Peter Thellusson (who was a major merchant/victualler, as was Matthew Woodford) who had married Anne Woodford 6<sup>th</sup> January 1760/61, Southampton, Hampshire, England, Source: IGI, Norman Baker, *Government Contractors*, and numerous TNA entries for Matthew Woodford such as: T 1/350/78, T 1/350/79, T 1/353/44, T 1/401/144-145, T 1/450/144-145.

<sup>102</sup> Jonas Hanway (Marine Society), Thomas Coram (Foundling Hospital), and Henry Thornton and others of the 'Clapham Sect', were influential figures in 18<sup>th</sup> century fashionable 'society' circles which our group were part of. See: The partners will's for evidence of their involvement in charitable organisations. Also see newspapers of the time, for published 'subscriptions' raised in the city which the partner's often contributed towards.

<sup>103</sup> See: Herbert Barry, 'Mr. Thellusson's Will', *Virginia Law Review*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (Feb, 1936), 416-438, for comprehensive coverage of Thellusson's controversial will, where he left an estate of some £700,000 pounds. Also note that the Thellusson's owned plantations in the West Indies (Montserrat, and Grenada). The Suffolk Record Office holds the following Thellusson papers relating to plantation holdings: Thellusson family, Lords Rendlesham: Correspondence, papers, accounts, plans relating to Las Cuevas, Trinidad, 1898-1926 (Ipswich HB416/D2/1-3). Financial papers, Bacolet estate, Grenada, 1812-1860 (Ipswich HB416/D1/1-3).

<sup>104</sup> See: Ragatz, *The Rise and Fall of the Planter Class*, p. 221.

of a 'trusted' long-term partnership, greatly assisted each of them to accumulate much of their personal wealth.

### **Patronage:**

Having briefly looked at some of the politicians involved with Camden, Calvert & King, we shall now consider how these relationships resulted in other forms of patronage for the group. It was William and John Camden which provided access to the political patronage of Sir William Curtis MP via his connection with George Lear and Peter Thellusson, and their joint sugar refining interests. But it might also be worth considering how membership of the Trinity House allowed access to other important government decision makers of the time, such as Henry Dundas, Treasurer of the Admiralty<sup>105</sup>.

Membership of Trinity House should be considered as a critical factor in our group's success, simply, because this effectively gave them access to every important mercantile network of the time. If we consider who was sitting around the same committee table with Anthony Calvert and Thomas King, perhaps this will make more sense. Printed overleaf is a table (Fig. 1) which contains some of the names of the Trinity House Brethren for 1785<sup>106</sup>.

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<sup>105</sup> George Rose (1744-1818), politician and Elder Brother of Trinity House, was another who also had interests in the West Indies through his marriage to Theodora Duer, (the daughter of Major John Duer of Fulham and Antigua), where his wife's family had plantation interests (Dominica). This may well have been another reason for Camden & Co to be cast in a more favourable light than others, especially as Peter Thellusson had interests there too. See: *Oxford DNB Entry* for G. Rose, by Roland Thorne. Also see *Oxford DNB Entry* for Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville (1742-1811) by Michael Fry, who was Treasurer of the Admiralty, and another Elder Brother of Trinity House. This may have been a useful connection for our group considering their considerable shipping expertise, particularly in respect to government transports, victuallers.

<sup>106</sup> See: *The English Registry, For The Year Of Our Lord 1796, (By John Exshaw, Bookseller,) or A Collection of English Lists, Dublin, p.106, BL.*

<i>Duke of Marlborough, K.G.</i>	<i>Captain Robert Preston.</i>	<i>Captain Henry Rice.</i>	<i>Captain J. Huddart, F.R.S.</i>	<i>Captain John Fowler.</i>
<i>Captain John Travers.</i>	<i>Sir Chs. Middleton, Bt.</i>	<i>Captain John Deffel.</i>	<i>Earl of Chatham, K.G.</i>	<i>Captain John Sealey.</i>
<i>Captain George Burton.</i>	<i>Captain F. Broomfield.</i>	<i>Captain Thomas King.</i>	<i>Captain John Cotton.</i>	<i>Capt. E. Lawrence.</i>
<i>Captain Anthony Calvert.</i>	<i>Captain G. Lawf. Reed.</i>	<i>Captain Joseph Cotton.</i>	<i>Rt. Hon. Lord Grenville.</i>	<i>Rt. Hon. Earl Spencer.</i>
<i>Captain Tho. Brown.</i>	<i>Captain Hind Pelley.</i>	<i>Captain J. Strachan.</i>	<i>Rt. Hon. Henry Dundas.</i>	<i>David Court, Secr.</i>
	<i>Earl Howe.</i>	<i>Rt. Hon. Wm. Pitt.</i>	<i>Captain Abel Chapman.</i>	

**Figure 1. (Above): Trinity House Members for the year 1785.**

(Source: Information extracted from the *London Directories*, and *The English Registry, A Collection of English Lists*, published in 1796, by John Exshaw).

What is evident from the above table is just how many fellow members of the committee were potentially useful for Camden, Calvert & King's business operations. Some had close East India Company ties, such as Joseph Cotton, and Robert Preston, a Principal Managing Owner of EICo vessels, like Calvert, whilst almost every other angle of dockyard naval administration, and supply in both public, and private sectors, was represented here too, with the like's of Sir Charles Middleton, First Lord of the Admiralty representing the navy, and Joseph Huddart, the Wapping, Ropemaker at the other end of the spectrum, supplying important naval stores. The West Indies was represented by Calvert & King through their extensive mercantile networks. Being a member of such an exclusive circle provided access for merchants such as Anthony Calvert & Thomas King to untold networks of useful

business connections, plus the 'ear' of senior government. The opportunity of being part of such a respected institution as Trinity House must surely have counted in one's favour, at least from the point of view of mutual respect, if only through their professional dealings<sup>107</sup>.

In the case of Anthony Calvert and Thomas King, it certainly seems that it may have counted for more, particularly amongst the members who co-operated with them, or used their services. When one looks at the Great Court Painting now hanging in today's Trinity House building, what is immediately striking is the positioning of certain groups of figures. Anthony Calvert, Thomas King, and Timothy Mangles are all grouped standing closely together, which could be interpreted as significant.<sup>108</sup> Many of the members of the Trinity House Brethren were long-standing members who had been proposed by close friends or relatives. Captain Thomas King was in fact recommended to the Trinity House Brotherhood by Captain Mangles, a

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<sup>107</sup> Sometimes member's shared other social connections, such as membership of a Masonic lodge, or were on a governing board, or committee. Some had some connections to the 'local 'ethnic' community, such as the German Sugarbakers, or Huguenot banking, and insurance groups. Also many were connected through marriage. Trinity House member Robert Preston can be cited as one such example here. He had a marriage connection to Sir Charles Raymond, and the Burrell family, who were part of the Camden & Co and Curtis network.

<sup>108</sup> The connection between the Mangles family and Camden, Calvert & King does look significant, as the Mangles family were Wapping oil merchants, (listed in *Kent's Directory* 1794, as Mangles, John & James, Oilmen & Ship-chandlers, 272, Wapping), and Camden & Co., had interests in Pacific Whaling. Another connection was the ship *Three Sisters* which was a vessel used both by Calvert & Co and Mangles, Source: *Lloyds Register*, Guildhall Library, London. According to the IGI, a John Mangles, also married Harriet Camden 25<sup>th</sup> Jan, 1781, St James, Westminster, although this still needs further verification to ascertain if this was the daughter of one of the Camden family in our group, it does seem highly probable. The Mangles family owned a Shipyard at Ipswich which they used for whaling vessels at one stage. This was purchased from John Cornwall, a Bank of England Director, member of the Russia Company, and a partner of the Thornton's, the prominent Baltic merchants and bankers circle, who in turn were associates of Peter Thellusson, Abraham Robart's and William Curtis. See: A.G.E. Jones, 'The Whaling Trade of Ipswich, 1786 -1793', *Mariners Mirror*, Vol. 40, No. 4, 1954, for discussion of the Cornwall and Mangles Ipswich shipyard, and their Whaling enterprises. Also note, John and James Mangles were part of a consortium that invested in the two slaving voyages of the *Rio Nova* 1791, 1792, (London – Jamaica via Cape Coast Castle), which was something else they had in common with the Camden, Calvert & King group, as Calvert was a member of the Africa Committee and a regular correspondent of the Governor of Cape Coast Castle, Source: *Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*, and *London Directories*, Guildhall Library. Note too, that the *London Directories* list Mangles, Timothy, Mercht., at Tom's Coffee-house, Cornhill, and interestingly the firm, Mangles, Dutton & Co., Wharfingers, at Brewer's & Chester's Keys, Lower Thames-str. Chester Quay's, which was a wharf which the merchant firm Perry & Lane had earlier owned. It was also used by ships arriving from Broadstairs where Calvert had been building ships, See: Jacob, M. Price, *Perry of London: A Family and a Firm on the Seabourne Frontier 1615 – 1753*, (Cambridge, Mass, 1992).

Wapping shipowner. There was quite probably a business relationship between the two men.

The Mangles family did have one recorded connection to the Curtis circle through the purchase of an Ipswich shipyard originally owned by the Cornwall family. John Cornwall, in turn was connected to the Thornton's and Thelluson's, who were part of the Camden & Co network<sup>109</sup>. But the real connection between Camden & Co and the Mangles family was their shared interest in the development of the Southern Whale Fishery, and their requirement for shipping and insurance. Camden & Co provided this through their Lloyds connections, particularly their personal relationship with John St Barbe, a merchant who was instrumental in the development of the Southern Whale Fishery<sup>110</sup>.

The Mangles family were London shipowners and oil – men, of some note at this time<sup>111</sup>, who may well have had business dealings with the Curtis circle, through the navy's requirement for oil, candles and tallow, which would have been another contributory factor for their continued success. This together with Camden & Co's other business activities, and requirements, probably made them part of the larger, much wider, Curtis victualling network.

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<sup>109</sup> Note: Godfrey Thornton, Bank of England Director, married Jane Godin on 31<sup>st</sup>, Jul, 1766 at Edmonton, a Huguenot family associated with the Thellusson circle. Stephen & David Godin, London merchants, were involved in a few early slave trading ventures (5 from London, 1 from Charleston, South Carolina), Sources: IGI, *London Directories* and TNA, PROB: 11/1751, the will of Sir William Curtis, which mentions Stephen Peter Godin in respect to a land transaction with Curtis in Southgate, Edmonton.

<sup>110</sup> See: 'Outlooks for England's South Whale Fishery, 1784-1800', and "The Great Botany Bay Debate", on the Dan Byrnes website, for much information on Pacific Whaling, and Samuel Enderby's, and John St Barbe's part in this.

<sup>111</sup> See: *London Directories*, where John & James Mangles are listed in a number of merchant partnerships associated with the oil trade. Also note, that according to the South Carolina Shipping Lists, (N.O.S.L), Timothy Mangles was a Master of a ship regularly trading with South Carolina, whose owner was Wm. Mangles, which could indicate that the family had some early experience of the slave trade, or the business of 'provisioning' in the American colonies.

Anthony Calvert had also recommended two people to become sworn in to the Trinity House on the same day as Thomas King<sup>112</sup>. These were Captain's Alexander Watt (possibly a member of the Watts shipowning family of Wapping), and John Boyd (of Danson Hill), who were both friends and business partners<sup>113</sup>. Both Calvert and King are listed 'from Wapping', on the election records of the Trinity House Fraternity. They are both also listed as late Commanders of the '*Royal Charlotte*' used in the Jamaica & Tobago trade.

Trinity House also controlled movement of vessels along the Thames, and was therefore at the centre of any proposals over future re-development along its shores, a topic which was constantly occupying the thoughts of some merchants, such as George Hibbert, another associate of the group, at this time<sup>114</sup>. Although the purpose of Trinity House was not to influence the handing out of government contracts, it did allow a 'forum' for discussion where future government policy was possibly discussed, or 'inferred', which would have allowed some of the private sector membership, such as Camden, Calvert & King, to strategically plan their future business operations much more carefully, and might be a point worth some consideration.

Government and merchants operated in a symbiotic fashion at this time, which was beneficial for both, but one that often 'blurred' the boundaries between state and private enterprise. This was then the accepted norm. By creating 'face to face' networks of trusted business boards and committees,

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<sup>112</sup> Thomas King was elected a Younger Brother of the Trinity House on 7<sup>th</sup> October, 1780. He became an Elder Brother on 24<sup>th</sup> January, 1788, Source: Librarian, Trinity House Corporation Library, London.

<sup>113</sup> See: David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the integration of the British Atlantic community, 1735 – 1785*, (Cambridge, 1995), for details of the connections between the 'Oswald circle', and the Boyd and Watts families who were both associated with Calvert & Co.

<sup>114</sup> See: *A General View of the Depredations committed on the West India and Other Property in the Port of London. The Partial Remedies which have been successful applied in suppressing these evils, and The Measures Proposed for rendering them permanent and effectual*, by P. Colquhoun, LL.D., London 1799, BL. Walter M. Stearn. 'The First London Dock Boom and the Growth of the West India Dock', *Economica*, New Series, Vol. 19, No. 73, (Feb, 1952), 59-77. Also see: *A Report of the Select Committee of West India Planters and Merchants on the subject of a Bill depending in Parliament for forming Wet Docks & c. at the Port of London 1797*, BL, for coverage of the main reasons for the building of the docks, heavily supported by the mercantile lobby.

British merchants gave themselves access to intelligence with which to forecast potential trends in both government policy, and assess any new opportunities which might arise from future government decisions. This could often work in a mutually beneficial way, with government sometimes receiving valuable intelligence from overseas outposts, via mail carried by Captains of merchant vessels, or passed on by members at places such as Lloyd's of London, which was then viewed as an institution that had intelligence-gathering capabilities. Lloyd's men routinely conveyed useful maritime information to government, which was much appreciated by Evan Nepean, the then Under-Secretary at the Home Office, who was later at the Admiralty<sup>115</sup>. Camden, Calvert & King, plus many of their associates, including other fellow Trinity House members, were all members of Lloyds. Another figure worthy of some consideration at this time of almost constant war is Alexander Davison, an associate of John St Barbe, and Nelson's Prize Agent, who was a personal friend Evan Nepean, who was then establishing a 'fledgling' secret service<sup>116</sup>.

Davison had connections to convict transportation, and the India trade, through the freighting of ships. However, Davison later withdrew his interest in the new convict colony, to become a major supplier/contractor to the British Army. Byrnes informs us, 'perhaps less well known to government officials, but well known as a London merchant was Alderman, George Mackenzie Macaulay, who died in 1803, as did Duncan Campbell, the

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<sup>115</sup> See: Jane Knight, 'Nelson's 'old lady': Merchant news as a source of intelligence (June to October 1796), *Journal of Maritime Research*, (June, 2005), which discusses the correspondence of Frances Cafferena, a merchants wife, and 'intelligence' which passed on by her to the Admiralty, that was of great use to Nelson. The British Library (BL Add Mss. 37080 f. 161) also has a letter from Joseph Caffarena, as Minister of Hesse Cassel at Genoa, to R. Bosanquet 1781, which confirms a Huguenot connection via the Thellusson insurance circle. Richard Bosanquet was a Royal Exchange Assurance Director listed in *Kent's London Directory* for 1761. He is also listed as a Director of the East India Company, which confirms that he would have been known to Camden, Calvert & King, either personally or indirectly through one of their numerous business associates.

<sup>116</sup> See: Martyn Downer's book, *Nelson's Purse* (London, 2004), a recent biography of Alexander Davison for useful background information on his business activities, and some of his merchant contacts in London and Canada.

Superintendent of the Thames Hulks. Macaulay was a Lloyd's underwriting name, as was Camden, Calvert & King, where he was well situated to obtain regular contracts, Macaulay and his partners, Turnbull and Gregory, were also by 1786 supplying Loyalists and troops in Canada'. He too would have been known to Alexander Davison<sup>117</sup>. Davison was well known to many government officials, and was connected to the Curtis circle, and Camden, Calvert & King, through his extensive 'freighting' services, particularly in respect of East India vessels, and the Southern Whalers<sup>118</sup>.

Peter Isaac Thellusson was another who provided much patronage for our group. He was a Director of the Bank of England and consequently well connected to government departments, where he was in the position to receive early news of any potential new contracts. Through his Huguenot connections, Thellusson quite possibly was also involved in some of the slaving ventures of William Collow, a co-member with Calvert, of the African Committee, who operated ships out of French Ports<sup>119</sup>.

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<sup>117</sup> Alderman George M. Macaulay was Sheriff of London by 1790, Source: *Kent's London Directory*. Macaulay was a Lloyd's underwriting name (as was Camden, Calvert, & King). He was also a partner with Turnbull and Gregory, who were supplying British troops and Loyalists in Canada by 1786, See: Martyn Downer, *Nelson's Purse*.

<sup>118</sup> Dan Byrnes cites the NSW Navy Office Accounts in respect of Alexander Davison's Canada contracts. Byrnes also comments on the 'freighting' of ships on behalf of Camden, Calvert & King, in his 'Outlooks for England's South Whale Fishery, 1784-1800, and "the great Botany Bay Debate"' (available on his website: <http://www.danbyrnes.com.au/blackheath/whalers.htm>).

<sup>119</sup> See: Stephen D. Behrendt, "The Journal of an African Slaver", 1789-1792, and the Gold Coast Trade of William Collow, *History in Africa*, Vol. 22, (1995), 61-71, for information on some of his slaving ventures. Also note that some of Collow's ships out of Le Harve appear to have had some connection to Camden, Calvert & King, which requires further investigation. As Collow had French connections, it is worth also worth considering that he may have had some dealings with Anthony Calvert (who was a fellow member of the Africa Committee), or Thellusson, with his many connections to French plantation owners in the West Indies. William Collow was involved in another slaving venture with the Camden & Co., circle member John St Barbe, through the voyage of the *Sandown*, a London based slaver, Master Samuel Gamble, in 1793, Source: *Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*. Also see: Samuel Gamble, Bruce Mouser, (Ed.), *A Slaving Voyage to Africa and Jamaica: The Log of the Sandown, 1793 – 1794*, (Indiana, 2002), p.2, which gives details of the *Sandown's* ownership. There is also some reason to believe that Peter Thellusson may have been involved with the insuring of ships operating out of French ports, which may have some connection to William Collow's operations, especially as there is recorded evidence of him operating nine voyages out of Le Harve, two from the West Indies, and sixteen from London (including the four voyages of the *John*, a vessel owned by Anthony Calvert), and one other from Cowes, Sources: *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, A Database on CD-ROM*, (Eds.) David Eltis, Stephen D. Behrendt, Davis Richardson, and Herbert S. Klein, (Cambridge, 1999), for details of the Collow voyages. *Lloyds Register*, and TNA, C 106/192, re: the



Patronage was also received through many of the social and family ties of Camden, Calvert & King. Here factors such as trust, kinship, and friendship, were important for merchants. An example of this can be seen through the repeated use of certain trusted Masters, ensuring that the owner's vessels would be used to best advantage. This was how many Masters also gained a financial interest, or 'share', in a ship. Trusted Agents and Masters were sometimes also used by the owners for the hiring of vessels<sup>120</sup>.

Cobb & Co of Margate, who also had an office in Cork, (and may have had farming interests) acted as coastal 'agents' for Camden, Calvert & King<sup>121</sup>.

Cobb's had a number of other business interests apart from this role, including brewing, and banking, plus they also held continental mail

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ship *John*, and A. Calvert's ownership. See: *Oxford DNB* entry for Peter Thellusson, which comments on his insuring of French ships. Perry Viles, 'The Slaving Interest in the Atlantic Slaving Ports, 1763-1792', *French Historical Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (Autumn, 1972), 529-543, which discusses some of the individuals involved in slaving from French ports, and the article by John G. Clark, 'Marine Insurance in Eighteenth - Century La Rochelle', *French Historical Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (Autumn, 1978), 572-598, which discusses some of the merchants who were part of the Thellusson circle, such as Michel, and Dubois. Hugh Thomas also comments on the merchants who were operating from the French Atlantic ports in his book: *The Slave Trade: A History of the Atlantic Slave Trade 1440 – 1870*, (New York, 1997), but Steven S. Kaplan, 'The Famine Plot Persuasion in Eighteenth-Century France', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series, Vol.72, No. 3, (1982), 1-79, gives us a much better idea of the scale of the Thellusson family's international operations, and their role in French finance. Also see: A.H. John, 'The London Assurance Company and the Marine Insurance Market of the Eighteenth Century', *Economica*, New Series, Vol. 25, No. 98 (May, 1958), 126-141, and A.H. John, 'Insurance Investment and the London Money Market of the 18th Century', *Economica*, New Series, Vol.20, No.78, (1953), 137-158, for a better understanding of the London marine insurance market at this time, which Camden, Calvert & King, were a part of.

<sup>120</sup> See: PROB: 11/1489, the will of Anthony Calvert, for comment and appreciation of Captain Richard Owen, as one example of a 'trusted' friend. Also see evidence of how masters such as Richard Owen and agents such as George Whitlock and John St. Barbe, acted on behalf of firms such as Camden, Calvert & King, on such diverse matters as passenger cargo, and lost anchor chains (Captain Owen, See: East Kent Archives Centre: Cobb of Margate, Family and Business Papers, Ref: EK-U1453/B4 - EK-U1453/B7), surveying, and insurance (John St Barbe, See: TNA, ADM 112/165, p.986, where St Barbe is paid £2 – 2 – 0 each, £115 – 10 – 0 total, for surveying 55 victualling vessels on behalf of the Transport Board, some of which the partnership owned), and ship hire (George Whitlock signed the contract on behalf of the firm for the hire of the vessel *Queen*, which transported Irish convicts to Australia, See: Bob Recce, *The Origins of Irish Convict Transportation to New South Wales*, (2001), Appendix VI, p.292-303, which provides a transcript of the original contract (found among the papers of Captain Alexander Hood, 1758-1798, Ref: NMM, GMM MKH/9). Also see: Michael Flynn, *The Second Fleet: Britain's Grim Convict Armada of 1790*, (Sydney, NSW, 1993 and reprints), for further information on George Whitlock and Camden, Calvert & King's part in convict transportation to Australia.

<sup>121</sup> See: 'East India Company Agency Work in the British Isles, 1700 – 1800', p.41, by James H. Thomas in *The Worlds of the East India Company*, (Eds.) H.V. Bowen, Margarette Lincoln, Nigel Rigby, Boydell Press, Woodbridge (2002) for a list of East India Company Agents in Britain.

contracts<sup>122</sup>. In 1793 Camden, Calvert & King regularly corresponded with them regarding such diverse topics, as the salvage of a 'lost anchor' from one of their ships, Master Richard Owen', and 'special arrangements to be made for the loading of a passengers, personal belongings to a vessel off shore by small boat'<sup>123</sup>. Richard Owen was a 'trusted' employee of Anthony Calvert, who was later remembered in his will<sup>124</sup>.

The merchant 'trinity' of the EICo, Trinity House, and the institutional world membership, (such as Director's of the Bank of England, and Members of Lloyds) also provided our group with access to many other 'trustworthy' business associations<sup>125</sup>. John Gordon the Chairman, of the West India Merchant's (1791), was one such connection, which can be cited through his association, and involvement with Thomas King, in the slaving venture of the *Mary* in 1805<sup>126</sup>.

Thomas Morton, nephew of Anthony Calvert gave our group access to many in the EICo such as George Wombwell, a major government contractor and East India Company Chairman. Anthony Calvert and Thomas Morton, Secretary of the East India Company, were also involved in hiring ships for the EICo, as well participating in the India trade on their own account<sup>127</sup>.

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<sup>122</sup> See: The Cobb Family Papers: East Kent Archives Centre: Cobb of Margate, Family and Business Papers EK-U1453/T,F,C,E,A.

<sup>123</sup> See: East Kent Archives: Cobb of Margate, Family and Business Papers: - Ref: EK-U1453/B5/4/212, - dates: 1793, 1794, 1803, re: Camden, Calvert & King of London, which contains general shipping correspondence on such matters.

<sup>124</sup> See: TNA: Prob: 11/1489. Will of Anthony Calvert of which Captain Owen is a beneficiary.

<sup>125</sup> Note that John St Barbe was an Elder Brother of the Trinity House (Source: *Age of Nelson Dataset*), and a Member of Lloyds (Source: *'A List of Subscribers to Lloyd's from the Foundation in 1771, to the First of June, 1810'*, Guildhall Library, London).

<sup>126</sup> The voyage of the *Mary*, Master George Adams, London to Jamaica via Accra, which transported 435 slaves, on behalf of the consortium, Thomas King, John Gordon and Richard Coley, See: *Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*.

<sup>127</sup> See: TNA, TS 11/96, which relates to a legal dispute over the Spanish prize ship *La Misericordia*, between Anthony Calvert, Agent, and Claimant for the Private Ships of War, *Active*, *Carnatic*, *Tom* and *Castor*, and John Brown, Commander of the *Leviathan*, Respondent, illustrating how Calvert & Co., provided armed escort vessels for convoys bound for the East and West Indies. Also see: Anthony Calvert's Will, PROB: 11/1489, for proof of Thomas Morton family connection.

Continuing on with the 'trust' theme, on a more personal level, in 1771 Thomas King was employed as Master aboard the Calvert owned ship *Surry* where unfortunately for him, he was involved in an affray which led to him being charged for murder, later to stand trial in the year 1776, at the Old Bailey in London. Captain Calvert and Robert Manley, a city wine merchant associated with Calvert stood £500 Bail for him<sup>128</sup>, a not inconsiderable sum at this time. Here personal friendship may have eventually help save the day as Thomas King was later acquitted, and continued on to ultimately become a partner of Calvert's<sup>129</sup>. This is a clear example of how important close friendships were, and also how they were valued in the eighteenth century merchant world<sup>130</sup>.

Another important factor for consideration was business 'intelligence', which was often transmitted through family connections. Abraham Robarts, an East India Company director and partner of Curtis, who incidentally also had West India interests, can be cited as one such example. Robarts son Abraham Wildey, was an EICo 'writer' based at Canton, where he was in the position to receive, and transmit news of growing Chinese market demand, to his father and his business associates in London. This illustrates how the Curtis network had some knowledge of the Canton markets and the potentially lucrative market for North-American furs<sup>131</sup>. Curtis had previously been involved with

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<sup>128</sup> See: TNA, HCA 1/24, Thomas King Trial Documents, which contains the £500 Bail document for Thomas King, Master of the ship *Surry*, which Anthony Calvert, Merchant, and Robert Manley, Merchant, pledged on King's behalf. Incidentally George Whitlock, Calvert & Co's London agent, was married to Sarah Manley, the daughter of Robert Manley, 22nd Mar, 1788, Saint Olave Hart Street, London, England. Also Susanna Manley, Robert Manley's daughter, later received a bequest in Anthony Calvert's will, Sources: IGI, & PROB 11/ 1489.

<sup>129</sup> The first recorded *London Directory* for all three partners (Camden, Calvert & King), appears in *Lowndes's London Directory* for 1789. The address given is: 11, Crescent, Minories, London.

<sup>130</sup> See: Other documents in the Thomas King Old Bailey Trial series (TNA, HCA, 1/24), for crew references to King's character as a Master. Also see: *Abridgment Of The Minutes Of Evidence Taken Before The Whole House To Whom It Was Referred To Consider The Slave Trade, 1789*, p.66-77, which contains a transcript of evidence given by Thomas King before the House of Commons, containing invaluable detail of his career in the slave trade, as a Master.

<sup>131</sup> See: Ian R. Christie, *British 'Non-Elite' MPs, 1715-1820*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, (1995), pp. 80, 82, 160, 171, 172, 208 for information on Sir William Curtis, and pp. 80, 112, for some background on Abraham Robarts. Also note that Abraham Wildey Robarts (pp. 112, 115, 120 & 219), 'had spent

the Greenland Whale fishery, so it must have seemed like a logical progression for him to also play a part in the development of the Southern fishery, and trade in North-West American furs. Another consideration was the depleted whale stocks in the Northern hemisphere by this time<sup>132</sup>.

The development of new markets by merchants was motivated by the quest for profit. Here Camden, Calvert & King, were no exception to the rule. Their extensive and diverse operations encompassed a number of different trading activities. As previously mentioned they were heavily involved in the slave trade for over thirty years. Here 'risk' and 'profit' was inherent, but one must also take into consideration that the crops that slaves helped produce, such as sugar, cotton and rum, were often being destined to fulfil, if only in part, government provisioning contracts for the navy. The increased demand for some of these goods can be attributed in part to the rise of the fiscal-military state in Britain at a time of almost constant war<sup>133</sup>.

Sometimes government contracting could produce 'sensitive' problems for merchants. That is not to say that government contracts were not financially rewarding, but they did have some drawbacks, even though many merchants had made their fortune this way. The government was a notorious late payer, which could present a problem for some, which was another reason why only

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seven years as an East India Company writer at Canton before returning to London and joining his father in the banking business', p.113.

<sup>132</sup> See: Henry Munroe, 'Statistics of the Northern Whale Fisheries, from the Year 1772 to 1852', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vo. 17, No. 1, (Mar, 1854), 34 -42, for data. Also see: the *Letter from the Chairman to Mr Dundas, respecting the Southern Whale Fishery*, (A letter from Francis Baring, Chairman of the East India Company, to the Rt. Hon. Henry Dundas), which expresses the company's concern over the 'adventurers' in the Southern Whale Fishery, in respect to the 'protection of empire in India' and 'trade in China', and quote 'the Serpent we are nursing at Botany Bay', published in: *III, Papers Representing The Negotiation For A Renewal Of The East India Company's Exclusive Trade, Printed By The Court Of Directors For The Information Of The Proprietors*, British Library.

<sup>133</sup> See: John Brewer, *Sinew's of Power*, Chapter 2, 'Patterns of Military Effort', pp. 29-65, which discusses the rise of the British 'military state', which resulted in increased 'civil administration' and a symbiotic system of operations between private and public sectors. Daniel, A Baugh's, 'The eighteenth-century navy as a national institution, 1690 – 1815', in *Oxford Illustrated History*, 120-160, also gives a general appreciation of eighteenth century naval administration.

those who were financially sound, and had extensive resources, could deal with such large contracts<sup>134</sup>. It was possibly another reason why many merchants who were awarded them, were inclined to 'sub-contract', to try and reduce their 'risks'<sup>135</sup>.

The 'partner's' were at the centre of an 'official' victualling network which provided the navy with all its requirements, and one that allowed sub-contractors great potential too. Having an extensive network of contacts both in Britain, Europe and elsewhere around the world provided them with many opportunities for trade and potential profit<sup>136</sup>. By meeting the contractual demands of their patron which required certain routes/voyages and business activities to become common place, it allowed the group greater scope to strategically plan their business operations more carefully, and engage in the trade of other exotic goods and produce then in demand. Goods such as coffee, sugar and tea, which had all been initially expensive, were becoming more affordable, resulting in greater demand. Other goods such as porcelain from China, and silks and cottons from the East Indies were others for merchant consideration. Here Camden & Co were well placed because of their already well-established regular shipping business.

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<sup>134</sup> See: The Chatham Papers (PRO 30/8) Vol. II, p.128 for an example of merchant financial 'distress' in the case of Alexander Davison, a large government contractor, who wrote to Lord Grenville from Harper Street on March 7<sup>th</sup>, 'of his acute financial problems, owing to the delay in payment for stores bought and shipped to Portugal under government instruction'.

<sup>135</sup> See: Sheryllynne Haggerty's, 'Absent Kings in Kingston? Business Networks and Family Ties: The View from Eighteenth-Century Kingston, Jamaica', a paper given at the Harvard Seminar on the History of the Atlantic World, (Aug, 2003), which discusses how merchants tried to reduce personal direct 'risk', through use of consortiums, and 'trusted' networks.

<sup>136</sup> See: Steven S. Kaplan, 'The Famine Plot Persuasion in Eighteenth-Century France, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series, Vol.72, No. 3, (1982), 1-79, which discusses the huge Thelluson international victualling network. Peter Thellusson and Sir William Curtis also provided Camden, Calvert & King, with access to many other angles of finance, through their Huguenot networks, and institutional contacts, Also consider that Thellusson's partners in sugar refineries, such as William Camden and George Lear opened up potentially new areas of business for him and his associates, through their business associations in East London, such as the German sugar baking community, then resident in Wapping, or other groups, through their requirements for finance, and specialist insurance facilities. The New Fire Assurance Company which had originally been founded by those engaged in the sugar refining, can be cited a one such example. Not too: that many of the Curtis/Thellusson, and Camden, Calvert & King, network were Directors of the New Fire Office. See: The Bryan Mawer website: Sugar Bakers Database, which has many articles and references related to the history of sugar refining in East London, as well has other parts of the country, and Noel Deerr, *History of Sugar* (2vols), Chapman & Hall, London (1949-50).

The partnership's extensive network of business contacts provided the group with an unrivalled advantage in the competitive world of international trade. It also placed them in an excellent position to act when an opportunity presented itself. One such opportunity was convict transportation. With the groups interest in developing new markets in the Southern Hemisphere, the opportunity presented by convict transportation was one not too be ignored. Although Camden, Calvert & King were well connected to the East India Company, at this time, it still monopolized trade in the Pacific, which many merchants resented; favouring a more liberal 'free - trade', *lassiz-faire* approach instead. With news of potential whale resources reaching Britain following on from Captain Cook's voyages of discovery, merchants sought ways of penetrating these potential new markets.

The transportation of convicts to Australia opened opportunities for the group to expand, extend, and develop markets for other goods such as China Tea, Indian Cotton, and Nootka Furs, plus potentially exploit other new resources in the Pacific Southern Whale Fishery<sup>137</sup>. There was also the opportunity of establishing a more 'localized' centre for their business of supply, which would offer ship hire, and victualling in the Asia-Pacific region. However, in the quest for profit, firms such as Camden, Calvert & King did face a higher 'risk' factor, but exponentially a much greater chance of higher 'profit' too.

The development of overseas markets had much to do with the eighteenth century enlightenment vision of 'science serving man'<sup>138</sup>. A noticeable link

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<sup>137</sup> Evidence of Calvert's ships to Australia wanting to import Bombay cotton is found in TNA, T. 1/687, No. 1932; also: BT5, p. 201. Original references cited by Dan Byrnes, in 'Outlooks'.

<sup>138</sup> See: John Gascoigne, 'Joseph Banks and the Expansion of Empire', in *Science and Exploration in the Pacific*, (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 39-51. D.L. Mackay, 'Direction and Purpose in British Imperial Policy, 1783 - 1801', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 17, No. 3, (Sept, 1974), pp. 487-561. A consideration for Camden, Calvert & King, through their associations with the Thornton's, the prominent Baltic merchants would have been adequate timber supplies for shipbuilding. See: Robert. Greenhalgh Albion, *Forests and Seapower: The Timber problem of the Royal Navy 1652-1862*, (Cambridge, Mass, 1926), John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688 - 1783*, (New York, 1988), and P.K. Crimmin, 'A Great Object with Us to procure this Timber': The

between merchants and government during the eighteenth century was Sir Joseph Banks. His vision was an imperial one, and one which was seen as achievable by him through the 'pursuit of knowledge through science'. Banks' activities involved merchant networks such as Camden, Calvert & King's simply because they were able to give him reports and intelligence on the flora and fauna of countries, often allowing him access to exotic plant specimens<sup>139</sup>. His close connection to monarchy and government was greatly appreciated in mercantile circles, because this often resulted in their services being required. The economic aspects of plant cultivation, also appealed to some merchants as a way of providing potential economic benefit for Britain. Banks was one of the individuals who appreciated and used mercantile networks as a 'conduit' to the highest levels of society, even though he had his own agenda.

Towards the late eighteenth century, social change, and the call for the abolition of the slave trade, was beginning to be perceived as a potential threat to business by Camden, Calvert & King. This encouraged the partner's to explore many new avenues for future business, particularly as their operations had a heavy reliance on the West India trade. Voyages of exploration were therefore seen by merchants from a commercial perspective. Bligh's Breadfruit expedition for Banks is one that springs to mind. Others that were of great interest to the Curtis group, (including Richard Cadman Etches), was the development of fur trading on the North-West Pacific coast, which would enable furs to be sold on to the Chinese in Canton. Richard Cadman Etches, was 'key figure' in the development of this Nootka fur trade,

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Royal Navy's Search for Ship Timber in the Eastern Mediterranean and Southern Russia, 1803-15', *International Journal of Maritime History*, Vo. 4, No. 2, (1992), and H.S.K. Kent, 'The Anglo-Norwegian Timber Trade in the Eighteenth Century', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol.8, No.1, (1955), 62-74, for some consideration of the importance, and problems of British timber supply.

<sup>139</sup> Note: On the 17<sup>th</sup> July, 1791: Sir Joseph Banks is consigned various samples by Captain Donald Trail, of the *Neptune* transport, a Master closely associated with Camden, Calvert & King. Original reference by Dan Byrnes cited from Carter, Banks, 1988, pp. 563ff, Appendix XIB,

and was well-known to the Sir Ralph Woodford, brother-in-law of Peter Thellusson, a member of the Curtis circle<sup>140</sup>.

Camden, Calvert & King was in a fashion directly involved with Captain Bligh's Breadfruit voyage, as Bligh had rescued some men shipwrecked from one of Calvert's ships engaged in whaling<sup>141</sup>. Incidentally Bligh was related to Duncan Campbell the Superintendent of the Thames Prison Hulks who regularly had contact with Calvert & Co<sup>142</sup>. He had also commanded some slaving ventures, which was something that had in common with Calvert & King<sup>143</sup>.

Voyages of exploration often had to be provisioned by storeship's; again this is where our group had some involvement. The *Jackal* (c1793 Hawaiian Islands) Master, Alexander Stewart was a British schooner or cutter of London, forming part of the 'Butterworth Squadron', under Captain William Brown, she was also owned by 'a company of London merchants, the principal of which was Alderman Curtis'<sup>144</sup>.

Hydrographic surveys were another area that greatly interested London merchants, and one that they were keen to be involved with. Flinders voyage around the coast of Australia presented one such 'opportunity' for merchants with both the supply of the vessel, and the crew. Again, Trinity House

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<sup>140</sup> See: Barry Gough, 'India-Based Expeditions of Trade and Discovery in the North Pacific in the Late Eighteenth Century', *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 155, No. 2. (Jul., 1989), pp. 215-223.

<sup>141</sup> See: 'A list of Calvert's *Matilda's* crew at Tahiti rescued by Bligh's second breadfruit voyage', is given in Douglas Oliver's, *Return to Tahiti: Bligh's Second Breadfruit Voyage*. Melbourne University Press, (1988), p.241, original reference cited by Dan Byrnes, on his 'Blackheath Connection' website.

<sup>142</sup> See: Madge Darby, *Captain Bligh in Wapping*. London, History of Wapping Trust Pub, (1990).

<sup>143</sup> The *Methuen* (1751) & *Mercury* (1764), Source: *The Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*. Duncan Campbell's name also appears in the N.O.S.L Jamaica shipping lists on a number of other occasions. See: TNA, CO 142/13-20.

<sup>144</sup> See: Judge Howay's web-page: <http://web.uvic.ca/~jltz/courses/hist469/howay1.html> which gives details of the ships trading off the North-West Coast during the eighteenth century. Also see: Robert Lloyd Webb, *On the Northwest: Commercial Whaling in the Pacific Northwest, 1790-1967*, Vancouver, (1988), pp. 13-14. Webb informs us on page 13 that : 'Curtis's so-called "Butterworth Squadron," was named for the large 390-ton lead ship *Butterworth*, included the smaller *Jackall* and *Prince Lee Boo*. Their avowed mission was to establish "factories" on the Northwest Coast of America where trade might be conducted'.



members, such as Calvert, and King, were often closely connected to many of these projects, through such individuals as Alexander Dalrymple, who was the Hydrographer to the East India Company, based at the Admiralty. Some Trinity House members, such as Joseph Huddart, also had personal experience of Hydrography. The expertise that Trinity House members could offer was a major consideration for anyone proposing any scientific survey, or voyage of exploration in the eighteenth century. The advancement of science, also allowed the compilation of new, accurate charts which could identify suitable anchorage, and provide new potential for future trade, which merchants like Camden, Calvert & King, and other Trinity House members, would have been keen to support<sup>145</sup>.

Another area for potentially quick and lucrative profits in the eighteenth century was privateering, or the licensing of 'private' 'men-o-war' by the Admiralty in times of war. Here too Camden, Calvert & King were represented. Calvert was involved with various *privateering* ventures, one of which involved the 'private' ships *Active*, *Carnatic* (a French prize taken by the *Mentor*), *Castor* & *Tom*<sup>146</sup>. There is also mention of other Calvert ships capturing prizes in the Caribbean<sup>147</sup>. Although sometimes these ventures did turn sour, resulting in a Court case, often over some contested issue between

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<sup>145</sup> Sir Joseph Banks was again a 'prime mover' in the promotion of the Flinders *Investigator* voyage. See: The Flinders's Papers which can be accessed online at the NMM at: <http://www.nmm.ac.uk/flinders>. Also note that there are some references to the provisioning of 'storeships' in the Papers of Sir Joseph Banks, also available online via the Library of New South Wales, Australia: <http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/banks>.

<sup>146</sup> See: TNA, TS 11/926. Sometimes merchants could also become a victim of 'privateers', which is what happened to the Calvert ship *Apollo*, See: TNA, SP 78/302, which contains a: 'Sworn statement by Andrew Smith, master of the snow *Apollo* [see f.165] and by other members of the crew. She was coming from the Gold Coast with 296 slaves and near Barbados was taken by 2 American privateers into Port Royal, Martinique, 1777 Feb. 20 Antigua'.

<sup>147</sup> See: TNA, HCA 45/9. Also see: David J. Starkey, *British Privateering Enterprise in the Eighteenth Century*, (Exeter Maritime Studies), University of Exeter Press, (1990), p.235, and David Syrett, *Shipping and the American War, 1775-1783: A Study of British Transport Organization*, Athlone Press (London, 1970), p.71, n.33, which comments on the loss of shipping in the English Channel due to attacks by 'privateers'.

merchants<sup>148</sup>. One such case, was *Camden and Others v Ewer*, which was reported in the *Times* newspaper. This case illustrates how an everyday dispute, in this case over insurance, and a service charge associated with a transfer of cargo from a 'shipwrecked' vessel, could escalate, and end in a legal dispute.

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<sup>148</sup> Court case's (King's Bench, Westminster) reported in the *Times* such as *Camden and Others v Ewer*, and *Camden and Others v Anderson* (TNA, HCA 30/1003), gives some idea of these everyday disputes between merchants, Sources: The *Times* Newspaper Digital Archive, and TNA.

## Chapter Five.

### West India Trade - The Slave Trade.

The author will now focus more closely on the group's slave trading activities, and their many connections in the East and West Indies trades. Some consideration will also be made over how some of these connections may have led to other opportunities becoming available to the group, such as their involvement in the government contracts for provisioning the overseas garrisons based at Jamaica and Gibraltar, and how this may have led to them being considered as a suitable contractor for other government 'contracts', such as the Second and Third Fleets to New South Wales, in 1790 & 1791.

#### **Shipping:**

Trade with northern European countries would have been an important requirement for any company operating in the West Indies trade during the eighteenth century, for trading goods to exchange for slaves on the West African coast. The partnership's connection with the Thornton's the prominent Baltic merchants and bankers, through the Thellusson and Cornwall family connections, would have however greatly assisted the partnership in this respect. The partner's may have used this connection to acquire trading goods, at the same time as helping their associates fulfil some of their contracts for naval stores, such as timber<sup>149</sup>.

Camden, Calvert & King were to become the 'premier' London based firm involved in the slave trade in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and first part of the nineteenth century, although it would be fair to say that this must be viewed in the context of the times, as just part of the West Indies

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<sup>149</sup> Anthony Farrington's *East India Ships*, and *Hardy's List of Ships*, held in the East India Office Collection, BL, cite that Calvert was building ships at Broadstairs, although the author has not come across any documentary evidence to support this to date.

trade<sup>150</sup>. This involvement should also be viewed from another perspective, as in part, fulfilment of their London based 'core' shipping and provisioning operations, based in Wapping.

Although it would be impossible to estimate what profits Camden, Calvert & Co actually made from their slave trading activities at this time, due to the difficulty of predicting commodity prices, and the author's present access to overseas shipping returns. One can gauge some idea of the volume of the voyages that the group's vessels made (See: Appendix). On the basis that the profit margin on successful voyages was 10 - 15%, it seems likely that Camden, Calvert & King did well out of this branch of their business. In Thomas King's evidence before the House of Commons in 1789 he suggested that all the slave voyages that he had commanded were profitable, is also worth some consideration. This perhaps is the reason why they were at the top of Klein's 'league table' of London slavers<sup>151</sup>. When one considers that they were responsible for seventy-seven slave ship voyages, mostly between 1781 and 1808, carrying a total of in excess of 22,000 slaves from West Africa to Jamaica (65%), Guiana's (12%), plus 14% to other Caribbean parts, with the

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<sup>150</sup> See: Herbert S. Klein, 'The English Slave Trade to Jamaica, 1782-1808', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 31, No. 1, (Feb, 1978), p. 43, Table.10, which contains a list of leading London merchants, and illustrates that A. Calvert & Co., jointly shared the leading position with T. Leyland & Co, and W. Thompson & Co., having some eleven vessels engaged in the slave trade for the period 1782-1808. Authors note: The figures for Camden, Calvert & King can now be updated due to new evidence becoming available since Klein's study was completed. See: Appendix for data taken from the authors 'work in progress'.

<sup>151</sup> See: Stephen D. Behrendt, 'Markets, Transaction Cycles, and Profits: Merchant Decision Making in the British Slave Trade', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol.58, No. 1, (Jan, 2001), pp. 171- 205, which discusses factors affecting profit in the slave trade. Also see: Trevor Burnard, and Kenneth Morgan, 'The Dynamics of the Slave Market and Slave Purchasing Patterns in Jamaica, 1655-1788', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 58, No. 1, (Jan, 2001), pp.205-229, which again comments on the British slave trade, and seems to agree with the findings of the Behrendt study, that around a 10% profit margin now seems to be the an acceptable figure for academic consideration when considering merchants net profit. Also see the: *Abridgment Of The Minutes Of Evidence Taken Before The Whole House To Whom It Was Referred To Consider The Slave Trade, 1789*, British Library, pp. 66-77, in which Thomas King gives an account of his time as a Master of several slaving vessels, and where he also states that he 'believes, that the voyages in which he commanded slave ships, in 1770, 1771, 1773, 1775, 1776 and 1780, were all attended with a certain profit'.

remaining 9% disembarking elsewhere, we can begin to understand the magnitude of their operations<sup>152</sup>.

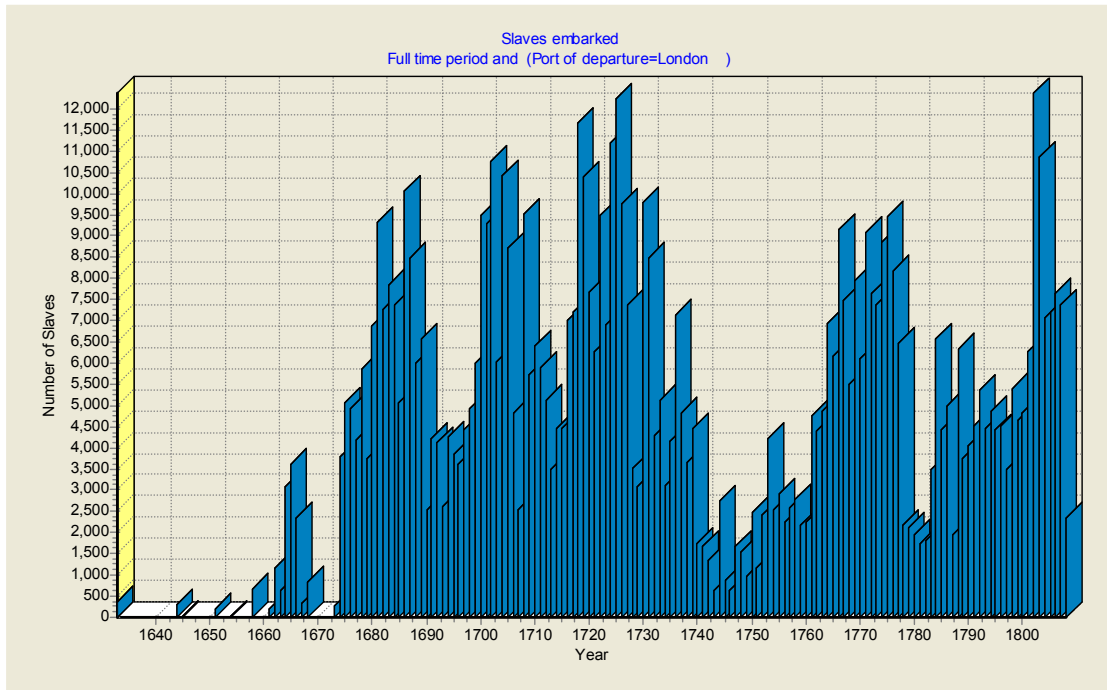
The group's slave trading profits, taken together with profits from their other diverse operations, such as victualling British dockyards, and overseas garrisons, convict transportation, whaling, and the East Indies trade, quite apart from anything else<sup>153</sup>, allows some impression of the group, and the scale of their operations, plus their potential for making money. London's part in the slave trade is still under-researched but some idea of the total volume of vessels engaged in the trade from its beginnings in the 1640s, can be gauged from table (fig.3) printed below. The following table (fig. 4), shows some of Anthony Calvert's joint ventures, which indicates that the group were consistently active over a long period of time, right up until British Abolition in 1807<sup>154</sup>.

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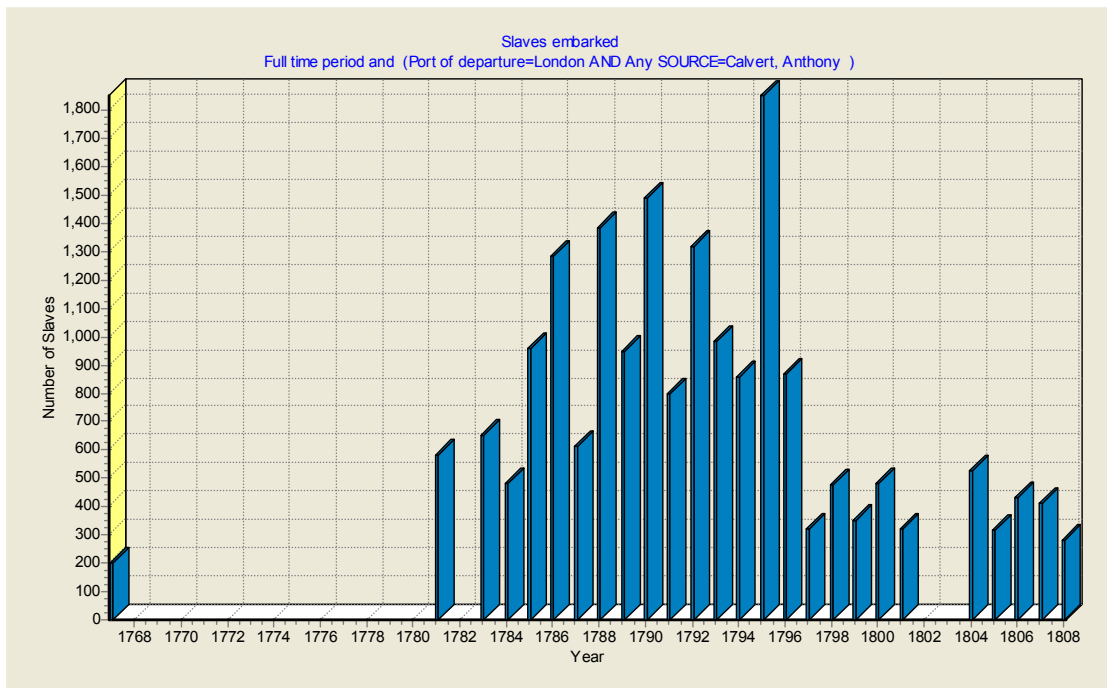
<sup>152</sup> See: *The Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*, entries for Camden, Calvert & King.

<sup>153</sup> See: ADM 112 'Contract Ledgers', and Treasury Papers, for some indication of who the major London government contractors were during the eighteenth century. These do not however account for many of the sub-contractors who were used by these major suppliers, so it does sometime help to locate records in a Local Record Office which cover a particular area of study. In the author's case, THLHL, which covers the 18<sup>th</sup> century dockland areas, such as Wapping, and Blackwall.

<sup>154</sup> The data reproduced from the Cambridge *Transatlantic Slave Trade Dataset* (TASTD), is only shown as a guide to Camden, Calvert & King's slave trading activities, and is therefore incomplete. It does not show many other vessels which have been identified since its publication in 1999, from sources such as *Lloyds Register of Shipping*, or found in other papers held at the TNA, or elsewhere. .



**Figure 2. (Above): Slaves embarked on ships operating out of the Port of London.** (Source: *Transatlantic Slave Trade Dataset*).



**Figure 3. (Above): Slaves embarked in Anthony Calvert ships operating out of the Port of London.** (Source: *Transatlantic Slave Trade Dataset*).

The slave trading operations of Camden, Calvert & King should however be viewed in context, as just being just part of the groups overall operations. Trading with northern Europe and the East Indies would have supplied them with trading goods to enter into the African trade, but this was not their sole aim. That was instead to utilize their shipping prowess to good effect. By being part of a much larger and wider, victualling network they were able to ensure full cargoes for their ships outward bound, as well as for homeward bound voyage, maximizing the potential for profit.

In his capacity as a Director of the African Committee, Calvert's employed Richard Miles as a 'writer' at Cape Coast Castle, on the West African coast. Miles was a merchant who was later became London based, and in a relatively short space of time, became very prominent in his own right, by continuing trading in slaves<sup>155</sup>. He was also a resident of a property adjoining the prestigious Crescent, in the Minories, in the City of London, where Camden, Calvert & King were based<sup>156</sup>. There may have been some ill feeling between Miles and Calvert though, as Anthony Calvert and William Collow at one time were instrumental in remonstrating, and then presenting a petition for his removal as Governor of Cape Coast Castle. The pair rather hypocritically accusing him of trading on his own account with American ships Masters<sup>157</sup>. Calvert's aim was possibly to limit agents such as Miles from the competition along the coast, and ensure that a supply of slaves was available for collection by the partner's ships when they arrived, thereby reducing undue waiting time.

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<sup>155</sup> See: The *Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* entries for Richard Miles London based ships. Richard Miles gave evidence to the House of Commons in the: *Abridgment Of The Minutes Of Evidence Taken Before The Whole House To Whom It Was Referred To Consider The Slave Trade, 1789*, British Library, which gives details of his career.

<sup>156</sup> See: Plan of the Crescent, Minories, at the Guildhall City Planning Office, (Document Ref No: 349, Comptroller's City Lands), which indicates that Richard Miles and partner Jerome Bernard Weauves, was resident in an adjacent property in America Square. Also see: *London Directory* entries for Miles and Calvert.

<sup>157</sup> TNA, BT1/1.

The Huguenot connections of Thellusson also raise some question over the possibility of his involvement in the slaving ventures of William Collow. Some Huguenot plantation owners in the French West Indies did provide Thellusson with customers for his banking business, and were also part of the group's network of associations. It is interesting to note that William Collow an Africa Committee member, who was well known to Calvert & Co, also had a connection to France<sup>158</sup>. As Collow was running some of his slaving voyages from Le Havre, it is not inconceivable to think that Thellusson may have had a hand in them through his connection to Calvert, who sat on the same committee as Collow, particularly in respect of insurance<sup>159</sup>. Thellusson was part of the wider Huguenot Diaspora, and was therefore well placed to offer a number of important services, such as finance, insurance, or shipping through his wide international network.

Connections to the main government contractors and provisioning 'networks' for the West Indies was an important factor for any West India merchant, and was made possible for Camden, Calvert & King, through their association with George Wombwell, Durand and Richardson, who were all either connected to Trinity House, or the EICo<sup>160</sup>. The victualling of 'garrisons' and colonial outposts was another part of our group's activity through their close

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<sup>158</sup> A further connection with Thellusson may be found here too after more research is undertaken. Thellusson was also trying to arrange 'secret' Government War Loans on behalf of France according to TNA, SP 78/300. Note too: The Camden memorial, (original reference cited by Dan Byrnes): TNA, BT1/1, Board of Trade In-Letters, p. 81, 1 Nov., 1791, The 'Memorial Remonstrance Of Wm Camden, Thomas King and Wm Collow of London, Merchants, to The Committee Of (Africa Merchants)', which John Shoolbred (Secretary), a copy of which was conveyed to the Board of Trade, highlights the close connection of Collow to our group. Schoolbred was another who was also involved in the slave trade on his own account. See: *Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* for further details of the twenty-four known London based slaving voyages of John Schoolbred, mostly to Jamaica.

<sup>159</sup> Calvert & Co provided other service's linked to Anthony Calvert's position on the Africa Committee, which was to provide supplies/stores, for the Garrisons based at the Forts on his vessels to the West African Coast. See: '1st Dec., 1785, To Anty Calvert Esqr for Freight of Provisions for Africa Co. in 1781 for use of troops on coast of Africa, £199'; *House of Commons Journal*, Vol. 41, 1786, p. 344, original reference cited by Dan Byrnes, which confirms evidence cited elsewhere in the study, that Calvert & Co., were supplying British garrisons. Note too, the reference to 'armed victuallers', could mean that troops may have been transported there too. Source: TNA, TS 11/296.

<sup>160</sup> See: Norman Baker's *Government Contractors*. Also note that another associate of Camden, Calvert & King was John Gordon, Chairman of the West India Merchant's, (a friend of Thomas King's, later mentioned in King's will). He also had a joint-share with Thomas King in the *Mary* slaving venture of 1805, See: *Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*.



connection with the firm Fonnereau & Burrell, the main contractors for Gibraltar, and part of the Thellusson Huguenot network<sup>161</sup>. Being connected to the Oswald group, and the Hibbert's in Jamaica, also allowed our group good access to intelligence on ship movements, plus knowledge of the availability, and prices, of local produce in this area, which was another factor which allowed the group to remain competitive<sup>162</sup>. Additionally, they were able to receive news of any potential new business, such as 'local' ship hire, or inter-island trading, which they could engage in. The Hibbert family was well represented in Jamaican plantation society, and as previously mentioned, had family connections to the Thellusson's, who had plantation interests in Tobago and Grenada. These factors ensured the group excellent local representation throughout the Caribbean.

Sir John Boyd, the son of Augustus Boyd, who had been recommended for membership to Trinity House by Anthony Calvert was another important connection for Camden, Calvert & King, and was part of the important Oswald group merchant 'network'. Boyd was later to become involved with the Foundling Hospital, as did Thomas King<sup>163</sup>. More importantly for Camden & Co, Boyd had the government contract to supply the West Indies Station. Some supplies were shipped from Ireland where his family owned

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<sup>161</sup> See: Norman Baker, *Government & Contractors*, p. 233, TNA, T 1/367/95, which provides proof that Fonnereau & Burrell were the main contractors for Gibraltar. Note: That the Thellusson and Fonnereau families were related by marriage. Also Sir William Curtis was a partner in a London Sugar Refinery business with a member of the Burrell family. Sources: Sun Fire Office Policies (Guildhall Library, London), and *London Directories* for 1785-6, which list: Burrell W, Adams J, Camden, Lear & Thalison, Meeting House Lane, Old Gravel Lane, Wapping London.

<sup>162</sup> The Hibbert family are connected to our group through the marriage of George Hibbert to Elizabeth Margaret Fonnereau, also through the Huguenot connection between the Fonnereau's and Peter Thellusson. Although the Hibbert's were a prominent Manchester merchant family, they probably had some prior connection earlier to our group, due their mutual West India interest.

<sup>163</sup> Both Thomas King and John Boyd were Governors of the Foundling Hospital, an institution founded by the seaman, Captain Thomas Coram, Source: The Will of Thomas King, TNA, PROB: 11/1681. Also see: David Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, p. 309, n. 69 for mention of John Boyd's charitable affiliations.

farms. Here Camden, Calvert & King assisted Boyd and his associates by shipping the supplies to the Jamaica garrison on their ships<sup>164</sup>.

However, it was Camden, Calvert & King's involvement in the slave trade that made the greatest demand on them for shipping. Herbert Klein identified this group as being the major London slave traders of the eighteenth century in his 1978 Study<sup>165</sup>. But according to the *Lloyds Register of Shipping*, Anthony Calvert was operating in the Slave Trade from 1762 – 1809, possibly slightly earlier. King from around the same time, even though he is only recorded as participating from 1783 – 1807, in the *Transatlantic Slave Trade Dataset*, which is now being revised. The author's research indicates that King was operating from the early 1760s, with Calvert, and possibly later with other partners in the Cuban trade, after Calvert's death. William Camden appears to have been involved in the slave trade from around 1764, again possibly slightly earlier, up until his death in 1796, although his name does appear after this in the partnerships name.

The group may have operated after British abolition in 1807, via their networks in America. Although Calvert died in 1809, King was still trading in slaves up until his death in 1824. Also the figures taken into account from data taken from the *Transatlantic Dataset*, exclude any other ships that the group may have operated in more localised trade in other geographic regions, such as the East Indies slave trade to East Africa, or the South American slave trade operating from Cuba, which continued well on after British abolition in 1807. One might also want to consider the groups involvement in the transportation of convicts to Australia, in the context of trading in human cargoes.

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<sup>164</sup> See: The N.O.S.L. for Jamaica, which records movement of ships associated with our group and the Oswald circle. These records are also useful to assess volumes of goods imported into Britain at this time, particularly Sugar and Rum.

<sup>165</sup> See: Herbert S. Klein, The English Slave Trade to Jamaica, 1782-1808, *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 31, No. 1 (Feb, 1978), 24-45, p. 43, Table 10, which has a list of London merchants which includes Calvert & Co.

According to *Lloyds Register of Shipping*, William Camden's first recorded joint slaving investment was to Martinico with the voyage of the ship *New Blessing*, in 1764, Master, Anthony Calvert, followed by the *Marquis of Granby* and the *Royal Charlotte*, both recorded as making voyages in 1764, where again Anthony Calvert is listed as Master, although this might need some further clarification as three voyages are recorded for this same year (See: Appendix for list of vessels). After this, a yearly pattern was established by the two men until Thomas King joined them in their joint ventures. This was from around the early 1770s. The first recorded voyage that King participated in was the voyage of the *Three Good Friends* in 1773, bound for St Vincent via Cape Coast Castle, but there is evidence to suggest that Thomas King acted as a Master of slave vessels for Camden & Calvert from the 1760s, before then becoming a shareholder with them. Camden was involved with the following voyages, the *Venus* (1783) to Barbados (where the Lear family owned and managed plantations), and the *Commerce* (Thomas Morton, Master, possibly a member of the Morton family that Calvert was related to) to St Vincent (1783), again the *Commerce*, this time to Carolina (1784), then the *Africa* (1799) to the Guiana's with, followed by the *Venus* (1788) to St Vincent. From 1784 a regular yearly pattern mostly to Jamaica emerges, and then the joint ventures begin in earnest. In fact Anthony Calvert is recorded as being involved in seventy-seven joint slave trading ventures, but may well have been involved in more<sup>166</sup>. He was certainly regarded as a 'substantial London shipowner' at this time<sup>167</sup>.

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<sup>166</sup> Although the *Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* does give this figure for Calvert, there is evidence to suggest that the total may have been more. This comment is based on examination of some of the N.O.S.L lists for Jamaica and South Carolina, and the *Lloyds Registers*, which do indicate that other voyages were made, many of which do not appear on the database. Other members of the wider Curtis 'victualling network', such as the Mangles, are also recorded as making voyages in some of the N.O.S.L., such as the South Carolina ones.

<sup>167</sup> Anthony Calvert and Co., were providing a number of services for the EICo, including shipping 'considerable' amounts of goods back to the Britain for them, and at times providing 'armed victuallers' and 'armed escorts' for EICo convoys, See: *The Law Report*, King's Bench, Guildhall, London Feb, 26th 1800, Sitting before Lord Kenyon and a Special Jury of Merchants, *Hill v Calvert*, which cites that 'Messrs Calvert and King were well known to every body as considerable Ship Owners, who had entered into considerable contracts with the East India Company for conveying their

The group's involvement in the slave trade still requires further detailed study but suffice to say, that Camden, Calvert & King, had great experience in the trade, commencing from the 1760s, and continuing on until Thomas King's death in 1824. What should also be seriously considered in the case of this particular group is that many of the same slaves trading vessels were also acting as victuallers, supplying British garrisons, at Jamaica, and elsewhere in the West Indies<sup>168</sup>. The amounts of sugar and rum imported by Camden, Calvert & King, according to the extant shipping returns also indicates that they were meeting a huge demand at home, which would be in keeping with their associates London based victualling contracts, and the sugar refining, and brewing activities of Sir William Curtis, Thomas Morton, William & John Camden, and George Lear, & Co<sup>169</sup>. A further appreciation of the group's slave trading activities can be gauged from the following data:

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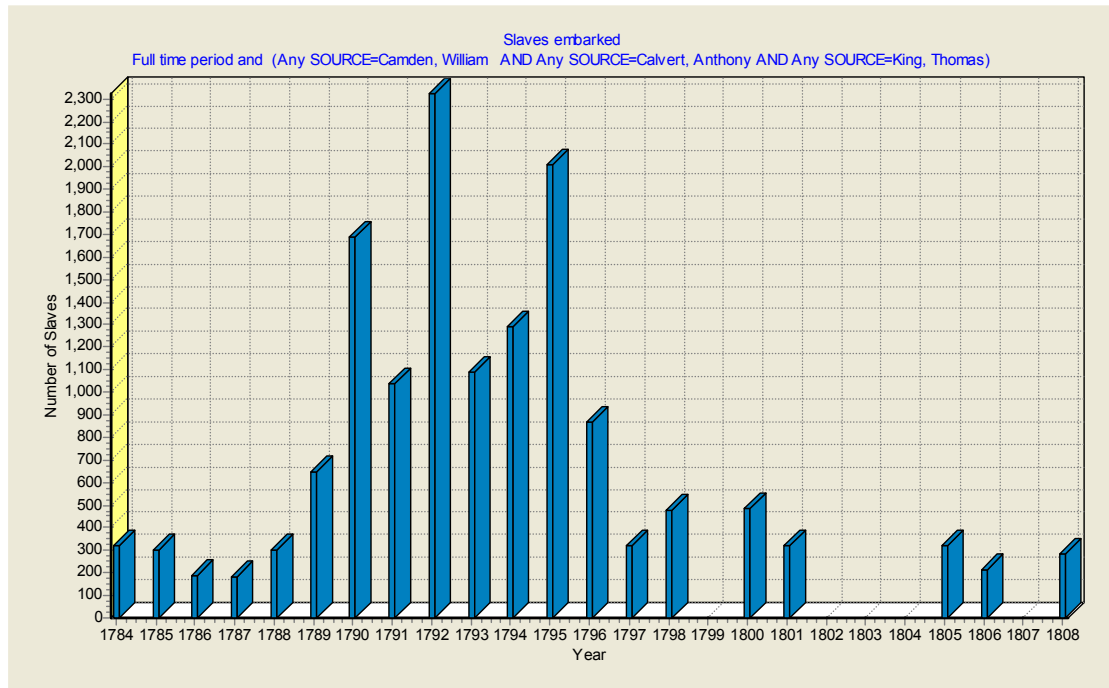
goods from their settlements in India to this country'. Source: *The Times*, (Palmer's Full Text Online). Also see: Appendix for a schedule of Calvert owned ships.

<sup>168</sup> TNA, CO 142/13-20, & CO 5/508-511, Jamaica & South Carolina Navy Office Shipping Lists (N.O.S.L).

<sup>169</sup> See: Sugar refinery map locations in Wapping illustrated on Bryan Mawer's database for Camden & Co's refineries. Also note cargo information on the N.O.S.L for Jamaica does indicate the volumes of Rum and Sugar being imported by the partnerships ships, although this does not explain how much of the cargo was actually being taken in directly by William & John Camden for refining, or required by Sir William Curtis and his network for provisioning. Suffice to say that considerable amounts were being imported. See: CO 142/13-20, & CO 5/508-511, Jamaica & South Carolina Navy Office Shipping Lists (N.O.S.L). See: Appendix for some indication of the group's involvement in shipping. It is possibly that the group also acted as agents on behalf of plantation owners such as the Hibbert's, Tharp's, or any number of Thellusson's, or King's associates, in London. There was a connection with the Partridge and Jackson Plantation families of Jamaica, (George Hibbert acted as agent for the Tharp's).

Figure 4. (Printed below):

Camden, Calvert & King Slave Trade activity (1784 - 1808).



(Source: *Transatlantic Slave Trade Dataset*).

**Total number of Slaves embarked: 14,673.**

**Total number of Slaves disembarked: 13,419.**

**Figure 5. (Below):**

**Dispersion of Slaves transported by Camden, Calvert & King by Country.**

<b>Region</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percent of Total</b>	<b>Percent less Unspecified</b>
Jamaica	9,385	69.90%	70.70%
Guianas	2,030	15.10%	15.30%
Grenada	717	5.34%	5.40%
St. Vincent	475	3.54%	3.58%
Barbados	437	3.26%	3.29%
Rio de la Plata	238	1.77%	1.79%
Not specified	137	1.02%	---

(Data extracted from the *Transatlantic Slave Trade Dataset*).

The group's interest in the West India trade was substantial, having been built upon the long experience of Anthony Calvert, and Thomas King, two seamen who knew the intricacies of the slave trade intimately, who were able to command, and supervise, a trusted team of ships Master's. By providing a reliable service for their early customers, and business associates, based on their good reputation, it enabled them to further establish their name in the London shipping world.

After Calvert became a partner of William Camden, the partnership was set to go from strength to strength, later allowing Thomas King to join them to form the full partnership of Camden, Calvert & King, in the 1780s. The stage was then set for them to further establish their combined 'local' networks in Wapping, and diversify their 'global' operations. This was greatly assisted by the patronage that the group received from the Curtis family, who were major government contractors. As the year's progressed the partner's expanded their horizons to include many diverse operations on a global scale, but essentially one which was still centred on a 'core' business of shipping, and victualling. Through the impressive connections provided to them by the

group's associates, and partner's Sir William Curtis, Peter Thellusson, George Lear, and Thomas Morton, the group became a force to be reckoned with in London merchant circles, and were by these time able to offer shipping services to both the private, and public sectors through their many close connections with the chartered companies. They were also well-placed to use their entrepreneurial skills when other opportunities were presented to them, particularly at times of national crisis, or war, when the demand for shipping and provisioning was at its greatest.

## **Chapter Six.**

### **Conclusion.**

To summarise the operations of Camden, Calvert & King, we have to consider that their 'core' business of shipping, was based around the business of victualling. Here they were fortunate to receive the patronage of the Curtis family of Wapping, who was not only well established government contractors, but a merchant's of some experience, and vision, especially in respect to the development of new markets. Sir William Curtis, the first Baronet, expanded upon his father Joseph's legacy, and further expanded the family's core operations and influence, which in turn was passed on to Sir William's son the second Baronet. The political and social influence of the Curtis family also enabled them to be at the centre of many opportunities of the time, which they used to further enhance their core business of victualling. This resulted in them requiring the assistance of sub-contractors such as Camden, Calvert & King. However, the choice of sub-contractors was of great importance to the Curtis family, and it was essential for them to have trusted business associates that would help them fulfil their contractual obligations expediently. This is why they were careful to use their intimate knowledge of reliable local groups that had the necessary network of trusted international contacts, before they made their final choice of business partner's.

The choice of Camden, Calvert & King, as sub-contractors acting for the Curtis group, may well have been influenced by the firms experience in the West India trade, plus their 'network' of local Wapping connections. The business partnership of William Camden and George Lear in a local sugar refinery was an important contributory factor here, which may have influenced the Curtis decision. Although Anthony Calvert was already a well respected, and substantial shipowner who had experience in providing



vessels to meet both private and public sector demand. This would have no doubt interested Curtis, and some of his business partners. Later, it would become extremely useful, particularly in respect of supplying the garrisons at Gibraltar, Jamaica, and elsewhere in the West Indies. It is the author's belief that the initial contact between Curtis and the 'partner's' came about through the auspices of William Camden, whose family were landowners, engaged in London sugar refining for many years. The various early business connections between William & John Camden, Sir William Curtis, George Lear and Peter Thellusson, in sugar refining, and their world's of insurance and finance, does seem to confirm that this was the case.

The Curtis family was also responsible for provisioning some naval bases in Britain, as well as being involved with other overseas government contracts. This would have been critical factor, if a ship was required to fulfil a coastal voyage at short notice. Here Calvert's many connections would have provided access to shipping if, and when, required, as was sometimes the case in an emergency.

Through Camden, Calvert & King's, involvement in the West Indies trade, a mutually beneficial arrangement was also provided to both Curtis, and the Oswald merchant group through the Huguenot connections of Peter Thellusson. Thellusson was a plantation owner, who supplied goods to the main government 'contractors', both overseas, and in Britain, so it was possible for him and his partner's to ship victuals, and obtain a cargo for the homeward bound voyage through Calvert's contacts in the West Indies. This would not disrupt any of Camden, Calvert & King's, other ships that were engaged in the more conventional 'triangular trade', but rather enhance it, as some of these ships would be in the West Indies Ports available to load with return cargoes, if and when required, due to the volume of business that the 'partner's' maintained.

The partner's East Indies involvement has not been fully researched by the author to date, but what is clearly evident is that the partners provided 'armed escorts' for East Indies convoys, in addition to shipping stores, and other trading goods, and possibly troops, to the Indian sub-continent. They also provided 'extra' ships to the EICo whenever required, as well as providing management services for ships, and freight, in London. Anthony Calvert's family and business relationship to Thomas Morton, the Secretary of the East India Company, does also suggest that there might be more to investigate, as Morton was an important man in his own right. He was also responsible for the sale of East Indiamen that had come to the end of their service with the Company, which were then 'sold off' to the West India merchants, which does raise questions over whether Morton and Calvert had any dealings in this respect. At this stage in the author's early investigations, there are indications that some of the vessels that Calvert & Co used, had originally operated in the service of the EICo, but further verification is still required before any definite pattern can be identified. Camden. Calvert & King's many other trading connections would have proved useful for the East Indies trade, firstly, in the 'local' context, by being able to sell Indian goods in London on behalf of British merchants in India, and secondly, 'globally', by exporting British goods to Asia.

The partner's involvement in the East Indies trade also allowed them to enter into more speculative ventures, such as 'privateering', or the option of operating 'country ships' from India, but this area does require further research. Certainly Asian markets interested Curtis, and the partners, and they were involved in importing tea from China, as well as trying to develop the Nootka fur-trade with the Chinese at Canton, where their 'network' had numerous contacts. Developing new markets in the Pacific was undoubtedly part of the reason for the group's participation in convict transportation.

Although Camden, Calvert & King were well connected to the East India Company, at this time, it still monopolized trade in the Pacific, which many merchants resented; favouring a more liberal *lassiz-faire* approach instead. With news of potential whale resources reaching Britain following on from Captain Cook's voyages of discovery, merchants sought ways of penetrating these potential new markets. This was why the group had an interest in the development of the Southern Whale Fishery. This was something that Sir William Curtis was certainly interested in, especially considering his early investment in Greenland Whaling. And his foray into Nootka fur-trading. The group's involvement with Convict transportation through the contracts for the Second and Third Fleets, was viewed by them as an opportunity to seek a potential market for future 'localized' victualling of whaling stations, by operating from local bases in Australia, or elsewhere in the Asia-Pacific region.

Investment in London's infrastructure, particularly the Docks, was something that Curtis, and Camden, Calvert & King, were all involved in. They also invested in numerous commercial properties, and were assigned mortgages in and around Wapping, the base of their operations. As previously mentioned Thomas King and Anthony Calvert were involved in some property and land speculation in the then developing areas of Hackney, and Edmonton, North London, as was Sir William Curtis and some of his other associates. The diversity of the partnership's business enterprises was in a way a safeguard against potential risk. In the case of profit, high capital outlay and risk was exponentially offset by potentially high returns. So financing ventures against collateral was viewed from the perspective of reducing overall risk, in return for a share of potential profits, but it was also another way in which capital assets could be accumulated, an example of this being when an assignment of a mortgage was made to the partner's in return for a loan taken against property, or when shares in ships were sold to one, or other joint-owners, or a

close associate<sup>170</sup>. Thomas King also owned a 'counting house' in the prestigious city development at the Crescent, Minories, where the partnership of Camden, Calvert & King based their operations from the 1780s.

The prime reason for the group's success was that it was at the centre of an 'official' victualling network which provided the navy with all its requirements, but one that also allowed sub-contractors great potential too. Having an extensive network of contacts both in Britain, Europe and elsewhere around the world resulted in many opportunities for trade and potential profit. By meeting the contractual demands of their patron who required certain routes/voyages and business activities to become common place, it also allowed the group greater scope for strategic planning of their business operations, and the opportunity to engage in other trade. Goods such as coffee, sugar and tea, which had been initially expensive and therefore out of reach of most people, were becoming affordable in Britain, resulting in an increased demand. Other goods, such as porcelain from China, and silks and cottons from the East Indies were another factor for merchant consideration. Here Camden & Co were well placed because of their already established, regular shipping business.

The partnership's extensive network of business contacts provided the group with an unrivalled advantage in the competitive world of international trade. It also placed them in an excellent position to act when an opportunity presented itself.

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<sup>170</sup> Timothy Curtis partner of Camden, Calvert & King in the voyage of the convict ship *Queen*, was also the owner of the ship *Nottingham*. Another associate of Calvert & Co was John Curtis, the brewer, who was a joint owner of the ship *Liberty* with the Quaker, John Walker, (first employer, and life long friend of Captain James Cook the Explorer), and James Sheppard, Timber Merchant of Wapping, Sources: Julia Rae, *Captain James Cook Endeavours*, Stepney Historical Trust (1997), p. 26, and Metropolitan Archives, Barnard Halliday, (Document references: Q/HAL & Q/HAL/434 - date: 10 Mar 1787), which is a 'Bill of sale of ship called *Nottingham*' between Timothy Curtis and Wm. Curtis of Wapping, merchants; and Dorothy Turner of St. Ann's, Limehouse, widow.

It was however the group's connection to the Woodford, Thellusson, and Curtis families vast contracting experience which was really critical to the partnerships ultimate success<sup>171</sup>. It was also the group's passport to many other well established political networks<sup>172</sup>.

Camden, Calvert & King was a firm that received political patronage through many of their close business associates, a paramount factor for success in the victualling business. Here they were well placed through their connection to the Curtis family of Wapping. Major networks were also available to this group, through the important connections provided to them by Thomas Morton, George Lear and Peter Thellusson. These men were not only gateways to further lucrative business with the East India Company, and the banking and insurance worlds, but also provided the group with access to other 'close-knit' ethnic communities, then resident in the maritime 'enclave' of Wapping. An area, which in effect existed to fulfil the provisioning, demands of the navy.

It is important for further studies to be made of merchant 'social' groups, not only for us to better understand more of the day-to-day operations of merchants, but for us to better understand what effect they had on the

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<sup>171</sup> See: TNA, T 1/401/144-145 & T 1/456/69-70, for some idea of Matthew Woodford's victualling activities in North America and Nova Scotia, but note; there are many more, confirming that he was a major contractor. Also see the important article by Steven L. Kaplan: 'The Famine Plot Persuasion in Eighteenth-Century France, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series, Vol.72, No. 3, (1982), 1-79, for some amazing facts on the Thellusson's international victualling network, and the families role in French government finance.

<sup>172</sup> Sir Ralph Woodford, Diplomat, later Governor of Trinidad, was the son of Matthew Woodford, of Southampton. Sir Ralph's sister, married Peter Thellusson Snr. Matthew Woodford a major victualler operated a huge trans-continental network of supply, as did the Thellusson's. He had gained much experience in this respect servicing contracts in France, Europe and North America, before then taking up residence in Britain. Incidentally, Sir Ralph Woodford was used by the British government for a number of 'sensitive' diplomatic missions in Spain, and the Baltic states. He possibly provided Evan Nepean with 'intelligence' for his 'fledgling' secret service too. See: NMM, NEP/2 Manuscript, Also: TNA, FO 95/7/5, Sir Ralph Woodford to Nepean, and TNA, SP 105/2, 'Out-letter book of Ralph Woodford, envoy extraordinary, Denmark, 1771 Sept-1773 May', for proof of Sir Ralph Woodford's diplomatic role. Also see: Holden Furber's article, 'An Abortive Attempt at Anglo-Spanish Commercial Cooperation in the Far East in 1793', *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 15, No. 4 (Nov, 1935), 448-463, which discusses Sir Ralph Woodford's role as British 'negotiator' in respect of the 'Nootka Convention'.

formation of many of our social institutions, as well as how this may have influenced attitudes to British culture. Areas such as Wapping in London played an immensely important role in providing the British state with all the materials it required to achieve her naval victories, expand world trade, and forge the British Empire. There is therefore a case for a more detailed study of the area to be made, which would not only further enhance our knowledge of groups such as Camden, Calvert & King, but improve our overall understanding of British maritime history and mercantile endeavour, and illustrate just how critical these merchant 'networks of opportunity' really were for the outcome of British history.

Other important lessons might also be learnt here too; on how far eighteenth century politics, patronage, and profit played a part on the production of cultural values, and social ideals in twenty-first century Britain. These could then be compared and contrasted carefully, to consider if some might still be of immeasurable value even in these modern times.

**20,000 Words.**

## Appendix:

The following list of ships is a simplified extract taken from the most up to-date information available on vessels associated with Camden, Calvert & King. Due to word limitations the data presented has had to be modified from the more comprehensive database compiled by the author which contains details of vessel type, tonnage, date of voyage, destination, ownership and reference sources.

It is the author's intention, as part of an 'on-going' project, to extract further information from the *Lloyds Register*, to enter into a comprehensive electronic database of London owned ships. This would eventually be made available to any researcher who has an interest in eighteenth century London merchant groups via the internet.

*Ships associated with Camden, Calvert & King, 1762 - 1824.*

<i>Active.</i>	<i>Camden.</i>	<i>Flying Fish.</i>	<i>Mary Ann.</i>	<i>Salamander.</i>
<i>Admiral Colpoys.</i>	<i>Castor.</i>	<i>Fox.</i>	<i>Matilda.</i>	<i>Speculation.</i>
<i>Africa.</i>	<i>Commerce.</i>	<i>Harriott.</i>	<i>Nancy.</i>	<i>Spy</i>
<i>African Pack.</i>	<i>Diligence.</i>	<i>Hunter.</i>	<i>Minerva.</i>	<i>Star.</i>
<i>African Queen.</i>	<i>Dover.</i>	<i>Jane.</i>	<i>Nelson.</i>	<i>Surprize.</i>
<i>Albermarle.</i>	<i>Duke of Bronte.</i>	<i>Jean.</i>	<i>Neptune</i>	<i>Three Good Friends.</i>
<i>Allison.</i>	<i>Elizabeth.</i>	<i>John.</i>	<i>New Blessing.</i>	<i>Tom.</i>
<i>Antonetta.</i>	<i>Experiment.</i>	<i>Juno.</i>	<i>Queen.</i>	<i>Union.</i>
<i>Apollo.</i>	<i>Fairy.</i>	<i>Lark.</i>	<i>Ranger.</i>	<i>Venus.</i>
<i>Arethusa.</i>	<i>Fame.</i>	<i>Lively.</i>	<i>Recovery.</i>	<i>Vigilant.</i>
<i>Argus.</i>	<i>Flora.</i>	<i>Marquis of Granby.</i>	<i>Reimsdyke.</i>	<i>William.</i>
<i>Baltic Merchant.</i>	<i>Fly.</i>	<i>Mary.</i>	<i>Royal Charlotte.</i>	<i>William Beckford.</i>



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