

John Julius Angerstein and slave-ownership

Rachel Lang

Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery, UCL

This report reviews the available evidence for John Julius Angerstein's involvement in the ownership and management of plantations worked by enslaved people in the British Caribbean.¹ It is a companion piece to the work by Nicholas Draper on Angerstein's connections through his insurance business with the slave trade and slavery.

This report is divided into five sections: Principal archival sources; Angerstein and the Lucas family holdings; Angerstein and the de Ponthieu Trust; Angerstein and Mary Johnson's annuity; and Conclusions.

Principal archival sources

The Angerstein Family Papers are held at the London Metropolitan Archives (LMA), span the period 1692-1944 and consist of 6.4 linear metres of records.² The LMA's description of the scope and content of the archive makes no mention of John Julius Angerstein's connections to the slave economy:

Records of the Angerstein family of Woodlands, Blackheath, and some papers of the Nettleship family (Mary Ann Nettleship was married to William Angerstein). The personal section consists mainly of settlement deeds and appointments, and other probate and trust matters. There is also some business correspondence, and a few birth, marriage and burial certificates and family pedigrees. In the estate section, the records are divided into three subjects. These are deeds; sale and purchase papers; and management or administration of the estates. The premises are located in Kent, Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Somerset, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, and Middlesex.

However, four boxes of these records are catalogued as concerned with Angerstein's role as trustee of property in Grenada:

F/ANG/101 John Julius Angerstein: deeds and correspondence concerning the de Ponthieu Trust Estates in Grenada, West Indies 1768?-1870

F/ANG/102 John Julius Angerstein: properties in Grenada, West Indies, part of the de Ponthieu Trust, abstracts of title and correspondence 1768-1870

F/ANG/103 John Julius Angerstein: correspondence and accounts relating to the de Ponthieu Trust, Grenada, West Indies 1769-1790?

¹ Thanks to Dr Nicholas Draper for his suggestions and guidance in the preparation of this report.

² LMA, F/ANG, Angerstein Family, 1692-1944.

F/ANG/104 John Julius Angerstein: correspondence concerning the de Ponthieu Trust's Beaulieu Estate, Grenada, with valuation including cane and slaves 1806-1822

No account has been found within the Angerstein Family Papers of the marriage settlement of Angerstein and his second wife Eliza Lucas née Payne which leaves an unfortunate blank in the record. Deeds held at Yale Archives pertaining to the sale or restructuring of Eliza Lucas's annuity give only a partial picture of the workings of the Lucas Trust.³

The other principal sources consulted are probated wills: of John Julius Angerstein himself; of his second wife's first husband Thomas Lucas; of Thomas Lucas's residuary legatee Thomas Lucas Wheeler; of Angerstein's business associate John de Ponthieu; of Daniel Richard and Daniel Giles, two mortgagors of properties in the de Ponthieu Trust; of James Hay, purchaser of Beaulieu estate; of Colonel Edward Warner, part-owner of Folly and Savanna estate in Antigua; and of Warner's grandson Godschall Johnson.⁴

The *London Gazette*⁵ contains notices relevant to the de Ponthieus' business dealings.

The Slave Registers⁶ provide lists of enslaved people in the British Caribbean c. 1813-1834 and include references to registrations of enslaved people made on behalf of John Julius Angerstein.

Angerstein and the Lucas family holdings

Angerstein married his second wife Eliza Lucas née Payne in London in 1785.⁷ She was born in 1749, the daughter of Rev. Joseph Payne (c. 1721-1786)⁸ and her connection, if any, to the Payne families of St Kitts, Jamaica and Barbados is not known. Her previous husband Thomas Lucas was a London-based sugar factor and sometime MP; at the time of his death

³ Yale Archives, GEN MSS 1412: 'Letter of Appointment of Joseph Paice as trustee of lands under the will of Thomas Lucas, deceased, with the consent of John J. and Elizabeth Angerstein, John Beach, and William Withers, 1789 March 11'; 'Lease between Elizabeth Angerstein, Joseph Paice, and John Beach and William Withers, all of London, 1789 March 12'; 'Release of plantations of the late Thomas Lucas to John J. and Elizabeth Angerstein, Joseph Paice, John Beach, and William Withers and Oliver Cromwell, all of London, 1789 March 13.'

⁴ The will of John Julius Angerstein of Woodlands proved February 1823, PROB 10/7409/10; will of Thomas Lucas of Lee, Kent proved 16 October 1784, PROB 11/1122/322; will of Thomas Lucas's residuary legatee Thomas Lucas Wheeler, PROB 11/1221/261; will of John de Ponthieu of the Island of Grenada, proved December 1773, PROB 11/993/29; will of David Richard of Croydon, proved December 1793, PROB 11/1239/391; will of Daniel Giles of Youngsbury, Hertfordshire, proved July 1800, PROB 11/1345/117; the will of James Hay of Sloane Street, proved November 1819, PROB 11/1622/35; will of Edward Warner of Eltham Kent, proved February 1733, PROB 11/657/168; will of Godschall Johnson of Putney Hill, Surrey, proved June 1800, PROB 11/1343/263.

⁵ <https://www.thegazette.co.uk>.

⁶ Slave registers, The National Archives (TNA) T71/1-T71/365.

⁷ Ancestry.com, *London and Surrey, England, Marriage Bonds and Allegations, 1597-1921*; Pallot's Marriage Index, 1780-1837.

⁸ Family memorial inscription with dates and relationships at St Alfege's Church, Greenwich. Photograph available at <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/36235777>.

in 1784 he owned a sugar estate in St Kitts, almost certainly the property known as Lucas's in the parish of St George Basseterre.⁹ There were 168 enslaved people settled on Lucas's estate in 1817; the number of enslaved people attached to the estate in the 1780s is not known but Thomas Lucas's importance in the development of the property is clear in the continued references to the estate in the slave registers in the 1820s and early 1830s as "late the property of Thomas Lucas."¹⁰

Eliza inherited £6,000 "South Sea stock" and a further £500 cash from Thomas Lucas and an annuity of £500 per annum secured against his St Kitts estate. She was also named as a trustee of the St Kitts property, against which further annuities of £280 per annum were secured for other individuals. Eliza Lucas inherited Lucas's house in Albermarle Street and his country house in Lee for life, and the contents of both houses absolutely. Lucas's residuary legatee was Thomas Lucas Wheeler.¹¹

Eliza Lucas married Angerstein the year after the death of her first husband. Although their marriage settlement has not been found, it is likely that through this marriage Angerstein acquired capital originally accumulated by Thomas Lucas from the slave economy and slave-ownership as well as a share of the legal responsibility to manage and administer Lucas's estate in St Kitts. The will of Thomas Lucas Wheeler made in 1786 refers to the annuities secured on the St Kitts's estate and enslaved people under Thomas Lucas' will and implies that they were then current, given that he left further annuities secured in the same manner. However, it has not been confirmed from the Angerstein Family Papers whether or not Eliza's annuity was regularly paid. On 12 March 1789 the Lucas trustees – including Angerstein and Eliza – signed an indenture selling the Lucas properties in St Kitts to William Withers for 5 shillings for the term of one year including payment of one peppercorn in rent (William Withers had been made a trustee the day before). On 13 March 1789 the same properties were sold to Oliver Cromwell for the sum of 10 shillings.¹² Clearly the purpose of the indentures was to dismantle the Lucas Trust but the implications for Eliza's annuity are unclear.¹³ The timing of the deeds in March 1789 suggests that they were made in

⁹ Thomas Lucas in the LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146634490>.

¹⁰ Lucas's estate in the LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/3406>. Slave Registers: T71/253 7-11; T71/255 50; T71/256 195-196; T71/259 69-70.

¹¹ Thomas Lucas in the LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146634490>. Will of Thomas Lucas of Lee, Kent, PROB 11/1122/322.

¹² 'Lease between Elizabeth Angerstein, Joseph Paice, and John Beach and William Withers, all of London, 1789 March 12'; 'Release of plantations of the late Thomas Lucas to John J. and Elizabeth Angerstein, Joseph Paice, John Beach, and William Withers and Oliver Cromwell, all of London, 1789 March 13'; Yale Archives, GEN MSS 1412: 'Letter of Appointment of Joseph Paice as trustee of lands under the will of Thomas Lucas, deceased, with the consent of John J. and Elizabeth Angerstein, John Beach, and William Withers, 1789 March 11'; Yale Archives, GEN MSS 1412: 'Letter of Appointment of Joseph Paice as trustee of lands under the will of Thomas Lucas, deceased, with the consent of John J. and Elizabeth Angerstein, John Beach, and William Withers, 1789 March 11.' Oliver Cromwell was a London solicitor and Clerk of St Thomas's Hospital who appeared alongside Joseph Paice in another context, as executor with Joseph Paice of the will of Thomas Hunt of Ewell proved in 1785, LMA O/302/001 and PROB 11/1127/131.

¹³ Anthony Twist, in his PhD thesis 'Widening circles in finance, philanthropy and the arts: a study of the life of John Julius Angerstein, 1735-1823' (University of Amsterdam, 2002), states that on 13 March 1789, Eliza and two other trustees "... signed a deed which was a 'release of plantations etc of the late Mr Lucas and assignment of Mr Lucas's personal estate from the same to Oliver Cromwell Esq in trust.' By these transactions the Angersteins had, it appears, disposed of Eliza's life interest in her late husband's plantations" (p. 46). Eliza

conjunction with a codicil to the will of Thomas Lucas Wheeler, made a few days earlier. In this codicil Thomas Lucas Wheeler revoked his earlier bequests to most of Thomas Lucas's kin, including the bequest to Eliza of Thomas Lucas's residuary English estate. Eliza died in 1800 at which point the requirement to pay any remaining annuity would have ceased.¹⁴

Angerstein and the de Ponthieu Trust

John de Ponthieu (1732-1773) was a second-generation Huguenot merchant of London and owner of several sugar estates in Grenada, in partnership with his sons Henry and Josias. In the early 1760s he faced financial difficulties, in particular following the bankruptcy of Lewis Larnac of Martinique of whom he was a major creditor.¹⁵ Angerstein as broker had arranged insurance for the de Ponthieus and apparently advanced them credit for the cost of the cover: he was one of the de Ponthieus' creditors with a peak of £6,621 16s 5d owed to him in March 1764 for premia of insurance. Angerstein received a dividend of £1,282 8s 7d on this debt in October 1764 and a further £712 9s 3d in March 1765.¹⁶

A tripartite indenture of 20 March 1764 between John, Henry and Josias de Ponthieu on the first part, Edward Payne, John Julius Angerstein, John Wilkinson, Roger Hamner and Walter Sharpe on the second part, and Christopher Langleis of London, merchant, and all other creditors of the de Ponthieus on the third part, granted the de Ponthieus 18 months to collect and dispose of their estates and effects. An indenture of 28 September 1765 granted the de Ponthieus a further 24 months to do the same. At a meeting of his creditors on 3 November 1767 John de Ponthieu stated that he had not been able to raise the sum of money he expected. It was therefore agreed that the de Ponthieus would execute a conveyance of their estates and effects both real and personal to John Julius Angerstein, Edward Payne and John Wilkinson in trust to administer for the benefit of all the creditors. This was the origin of the de Ponthieu Trust that Angerstein retained the legal responsibility to administer for the remaining 56 years of his life.¹⁷

The de Ponthieus' properties included a 320 acre sugar estate called Beaulieu and an 80 acre coffee plantation called Morne Verdu, both in the parish of St George, Grenada. Several smaller plantations, woodlands and a town lot were included. 99 enslaved men and

had in fact inherited a life interest in Lucas's English property only; the annuity was secured on the St Kitts estate: see the will of Thomas Lucas of Lee, Kent, PROB 11/1122/322.

¹⁴ Eliza was buried in a family vault in St Alfege, Greenwich, where the remains of Angerstein, his first wife Anne Muilman and two of his grandsons are also interred: see <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/36235777/eliza-angerstein> [accessed 04/01/2021].

¹⁵ John de Ponthieu in the LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146649733>; Letter to Angerstein from De Ponthieu, Paris the 25 N or M? 1768, LMA F/ANG 103; Copy of a letter from Josias De Ponthieu at Paris, to Henry De Ponthieu, 11/09/1766, LMA, F/ANG 103. See also entry for his nephew John De Ponthieu in History of Parliament Online, <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/de-ponthieu-john-1765-1813>.

¹⁶ Undated set of legal opinions by "Mr J. Dunning, Temple" relating to the manner of recording debts owed to "A.", LMA, F/ANG 103.

¹⁷ Indentures of lease and release dated 27 and 28 January 1768, LMA F/ANG 102 rehearsing the earlier indentures.

87 enslaved women were also listed, presumably mostly settled on the two main estates.¹⁸ Plans were made to sell some of the properties and to mortgage others. The debts involved were substantial, with the aim of raising up to £26,000 by mortgage alone.

A set of scribbled accounts between May 1769 and December 1773 lists numerous unspecified expenses incurred by the Grenadian properties and includes payments of £1,500 and £75 on 26 May 1769 to “Calvert” for “Negroes”.¹⁹ Anthony Calvert (1735?-1809) was a ship’s captain and slave trader active in the trans-Atlantic slave trade in the late-1760s and 1770s.²⁰ The trustees appear to have been buying newly trafficked enslaved people to work on the estate. A further payment of £144 was made to Calvert on 30 October 1769. Payments of £1,461 12s and £812 were made on 7 November 1770 to “Petrie”²¹ for “Negroes” and seven further payments totalling £2,978 on 4 July 1772 are listed as “J de P to H de P Negroes”.²²

In 1771 the trustees raised a further £9,000 from Daniel Giles of London, merchant, and £3,000 from Daniel Richard of London, broker, secured on Beaulieu estate and other unnamed Grenadian properties.²³ The estates “late of Messrs Deponthieu” were advertised to be sold at auction on 28 July 1775 and identified as the Beaulieu and Tuilleries sugar estates, a coffee plantation called Mon Desir, part of a coffee plantation called Capitole and two tracts of woodland, one called Choisi near Tuilleries and another near Beaulieu, and several houses and tracts of land in St George’s “with the Negroes etc.”²⁴ Beaulieu however remained unsold and continued to accumulate debts.

Edward Payne died in 1794²⁵; the death of John Wilkinson has not been found but no references to him appear in documents after the 1770s so it can be assumed that Angerstein was the sole surviving trustee. The amount of correspondence concerning the trust in the Angerstein Family Papers picks up in the 1810s when Joseph Kaye of the legal firm Kaye, Freshfields took responsibility for communicating with Angerstein’s Grenadian agent about the management of the estate. Joseph Kaye then relayed accounts and developments in letters to Angerstein. Beaulieu estate with its enslaved people and crops were appraised at £22,815 in 1809 but by 1816 were “expected to fall far short of this.”²⁶ A new appraisal that year valued the land at £4,560, buildings at £4,740, the value of enslaved people at £8,205 and stock at £1,095, a total of £18,600.²⁷ By 1816 the original debt of

¹⁸ Indentures of lease and release dated 27 and 28 January 1768, LMA F/ANG 102 rehearsing the earlier indentures.

¹⁹ Accounts, A. Smith and R. Payne with Ed. P., J.A.A. and J. W., LMA F/ANG 103.

²⁰ Kenneth James Cozens, ‘Politics, Patronage and Profit: A Case Study of Three 18th Century London Merchants’, University of Greenwich MA thesis (2005) available at <https://web.archive.org/web/20180330084152/http://www.merchantnetworks.com.au/guides/cozensthesis.pdf> [accessed 04/01/2021]. See also Calvert as a ship’s captain and co-owner in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Database, <https://slavevoyages.org/voyage/database>.

²¹ Possibly Gilbert Petrie (1720-1807), see the LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146633620>.

²² Accounts, A. Smith and R. Payne with Ed. P., J.A.A. and J. W., LMA F/ANG 103.

²³ Indentures dated 19 and 20 June 1771, LMA F/ANG 102.

²⁴ *London Gazette* 11548 28/03/1775 p. 3.

²⁵ Will of Edward Payne of Kings Arms Yard, proved November 1794, PROB 11/1251/48.

²⁶ Letter, Joseph Kaye to Angerstein, 27 February 1816 LMA F/ANG 104.

²⁷ Valuation of Beaulieu, 12 Feb 1816, LMA F/ANG 104.

£9,000 to Daniel Giles had increased with unpaid interest to £12,800. In addition the trust owed nearly £6,000 plus interest to George Gun Munro, the Grenadian agent charged with managing the property.²⁸ By 1819, local creditors in Grenada had lodged legal actions and taken matters into their own hands in an unusual and extreme manner: "Some of the Beaulieu Creditors have entered actions in the Supreme Court against Mr Angerstein and as he is virtually in possession of the estate they have attacked all the sugar and rum crops..."²⁹ Repeated mentions of attempts to sell the estate came to nothing.³⁰

George Gun Munro attributed much of the estate's lack of profitability to a shortage of enslaved people and a lack of investment in purchasing more. Daniel Giles died in 1800 but Munro later wrote to Giles's residuary legatee Daniel Giles junior stating that the number of enslaved people on Beaulieu had fallen from 167 in 1809 to 137 in 1816. High death rates and low birth rates were a reflection of the harsh conditions in which enslaved people lived across the British Caribbean as a whole.³¹ Munro added that under his management in 1816 the enslaved people "in proportion to their numbers... are now more effective" than they had been previously, although "there are still many of them who are more a tax than a benefit."³² Five months later, Munro described the effects of Parliamentary discussions about a Slave Registry Bill and a slave rebellion in Barbados as fuelling dangerous "ideas of liberty" amongst enslaved people and "no one can say if or when the ideas connected with it can be obliterated from the minds of the negroes." Munro erroneously claimed the aims of the Barbadian rebels were firstly "an indiscriminate massacre of the male whites" and secondly "converting the white women into their wives + the free population into their slaves..."³³ Despite this, Munro assured Giles the following year that "in regard to the health + Comforts of the Slaves [on Beaulieu estate] ... I can state with satisfaction they are as much attended to + as happy as any negroes in the whole colony..."³⁴

In the first Grenadian Slave Register, recorded in 1817, 133 enslaved people were listed on Beaulieu, "belonging to or in the lawful possession of George Gun Munro, Attorney of John Julius Angerstein." The Register contains a column headed "Marks" with numerous descriptions of injuries and disfigurements and the entries make for difficult reading, in particular for Jane Rose, age 58, described by Munro as "Her arms twistd and sore legs a perfect object."³⁵

Angerstein's role as trustee did not make him a direct financial beneficiary. His legal obligation was to protect the capital investment and administer the property to sustainably maximise profits regardless of whether or not the capital consisted of human 'property'. It's not clear that Angerstein took his financial responsibilities seriously. The Angerstein Family Papers referring to the trust consist mostly of letters written to Angerstein and not his replies, but there are signs of frustration about his lack of action in some of the letters

²⁸ Joseph Kaye to Angerstein, 11 April 1816 LMA F/ANG 104.

²⁹ Joseph Kaye to Angerstein, 15 May 1819 LMA F/ANG 104.

³⁰ For example: John Denison to Angerstein, 31 August 1811; Andrew Smith to Angerstein, 17 April 1816, LMA F/ANG 104.

³¹ B. W. Higman, *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean 1807-1834* (1984) pp. 303-378.

³² George Gun Munro to Joseph Kaye 6 January 1816, LMA F/ANG 104.

³³ George Gun Munro to Daniel Giles junior 8 May 1816, LMA F/ANG 104.

³⁴ George Gun Munro to Daniel Giles junior 14 July 1817.

³⁵ TNA T71/265 154-156. See Appendix 2 for a transcription of the Slave Register entries.

Angerstein received. Repeated claims were made on the estate for debts owed to the local Grenadian manager, George Gun Munro, and Munro's position in Grenada allowed him to withhold crops until his claims for payment were met. Daniel Giles junior summed up the situation when he wrote to Angerstein: "[I am] convinced that no one derives any advantage from the estate but Mr Munro... all other parties concerned are prejudiced by the property remaining as it is."³⁶ Munro himself wrote, when submitting accounts to Daniel Giles junior, "I must admit [the accounts] also shew clearly that the Plantation is expensive and unfortunate to a degree that is seldom equalled."³⁷

Beaulieu was sold to James Hay in 1818. Hay had been in charge of managing the estate prior to 1806 and had also become a creditor of the estate during the time it was under his management; a "large balance" was "awarded to him" to clear the debt in 1811.³⁸ Presumably Munro was in a position to inform Hay about ways of turning the estate around: Munro had lived in Hay's house for six years between 1800 and 1806 and had been "entirely under his tuition."³⁹ James Hay died shortly after purchasing Beaulieu and the estate was inherited by Hay's natural son – and presumably George Gun Munro's namesake – George Gun Hay.⁴⁰

The remaining Grenadian land in the de Ponthieu Trust (without mention of enslaved people) was sold in the early 1820s⁴¹ though the trust continued to function with other investments until at least the 1860s.⁴²

Angerstein and Mary Johnson's annuity

Godschall Johnson (1745-1800) was a London financier and partner of Angerstein in loan contracting in the 1790s.⁴³ His mother Elizabeth Anne née Warner had inherited a one-third share in Folly and Savanna estates in Antigua from her father Colonel Edward Warner in 1733; Johnson purchased his sister's share of this one-third in 1768 and a further moiety of the estates in 1780.⁴⁴

³⁶ Daniel Giles junior to Angerstein, 20 July 1817, LMA F/ANG 104.

³⁷ George Gun Munro to Daniel Giles junior, 14 July 1817, LMA F/ANG 104.

³⁸ For references to debts due to James Hay see for example John Denison to Angerstein 16 October 1811.

³⁹ Henry Davidson to Angerstein, 5 November 1806.

⁴⁰ James Hay in the LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146633165>; George Gun Hay in the LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/10928>.

⁴¹ Joseph Kaye to Angerstein, 16 August 1820; George Gun Munro [to Angerstein? Or Kay?], not addressed] 30 May 1822.

⁴² Stock account, de Ponthieu's trust, Grenada. Income and capital in stocks from 12 April 1853 to 6 November 1867, F/ANG 101.

⁴³ Anthony Twist, 'Widening circles in finance, philanthropy and the arts: a study of the life of John Julius Angerstein, 1735-1823' (Phd Thesis, University of Amsterdam, 2002), pp. 59-68.

⁴⁴ Will of Edward Warner of Eltham Kent, PROB 11/657/168; Vere Langford Oliver, *History of the island of Antigua, one of the Leeward Caribees in the West Indies, from the First Settlement in 1635 to the Present Time* (London, 1894-6) vol. 1 p. 61, vol. 2 pp. 112-113; Folly & Savanna estates in the LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/308>.

Johnson married Mary Francis (1770-1842) as his second wife in Westminster in 1792. Angerstein was one of the trustees of their marriage settlement dated that same year which secured to Mary an annuity of £600 per annum after the death of Johnson, secured on the Antiguan estates. Angerstein was also reportedly godfather to the two children of this marriage (Mary Elizabeth and Catherine, both baptised in Putney in 1796 and 1798 respectively).⁴⁵

Johnson died in 1800. He bequeathed his Antiguan property to his eldest son, also named Godschall (1780-1857).⁴⁶ Surprisingly, Angerstein was not named as a trustee, executor, guardian or beneficiary in Johnson's will. Angerstein does not appear to have played a part in managing the Antiguan property although he was still a trustee to the marriage settlement on his death in 1823 and was named as a party to the original settlement in arbitration for the disbursement of £3461 17s 6d for the ownership of 264 enslaved people on Folly and Savanna estates in Antigua in 1837.⁴⁷ Mary Johnson was awarded £665 of the total slave compensation on the basis of arrears from this annuity. After payment of £346 3s 9d to three merchant brothers, Edward, John Vincent and Thomas Purrier, the remaining balance of £2450 13s 9d was paid to trustees for meeting further payments due to Mary.⁴⁸

Conclusions

Angerstein's connections to slave-ownership have been established through his second wife's inheritance from her former husband 1785-1800 and his role as trustee of the de Ponthieu Trust 1768-1823. His connection as a trustee of the marriage settlement of Godschall Johnson and Mary Francis in 1792 appears to have been more limited. In each case, a lack of available documentation has hindered LBS's ability to draw firm conclusions about the extent to which Angerstein profited financially from these connections and the degree to which he paid attention to the management of these affairs.

Angerstein benefitted from his wife's English property and from her annuity secured on an estate in St Kitts, at least until the likely sale or restructuring of the annuity in 1789. He received dividends as a creditor in their bankruptcy on a debt from the de Ponthieus in the late 1760s but very likely did not receive repayment of the full amount owed. As sole surviving trustee of the de Ponthieu Trust, Angerstein was legally responsible over many decades for the management of property in Grenada which included several hundred enslaved people. There are signs that the Grenadian property was mismanaged. There is no available evidence in the archives consulted that Angerstein considered the lives of the enslaved people in the Trust to be different to any other property investment or their welfare to be worthy of any attention.

⁴⁵ Ancestry.com, *Westminster, London, England, Church of England Marriages and Banns, 1754-1935* [database online]; Ancestry.com, *London, England, Church of England Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, 1538-1799* [database online]; the marriage settlement has not been viewed but Johnson's will states its broad provisions (PROB 11/1343/263).

⁴⁶ Will of Godschall Johnson, PROB 11/1343/263.

⁴⁷ LMA F/ANG 105 – Marriage settlement, Johnson and Bowles: appointment of new trustees after the death of John Julius Angerstein; TNA T/71/1622 Antigua claim no. 387.

⁴⁸ TNA T/71/1622 Antigua claim no. 387.

Appendix 1.

Transcription of the valuation of enslaved people on Beaulieu in 1816 (from 'Abstract of the title of John Julius Angerstein Esq surviving trustee of the Estate of Messrs De Ponthieu to the Beaulieu Estate in the Island of Grenada', LMA F/ANG 102).

[Name]	[Description]	[Valuation (£)]
John	Head Driver able good Character	170
Bonadventure	2nd Driver + Boiler good Character	150
Frank	Head Boiler old Watchman out of Crop a Carpenter Ruptured indifferent	50
John Baptisto	Tradesman	90
Clement	a Blacksmith + Mule Doctor	160
Modest	a Cooper good Tradesman	160
Julian	a Cooper good Tradesman rather Superior	180
Felix	a Cooper young Tradesman good Char.	140
Mojah	a Mason Old but Excellent Char.	90
Harry	Mule driver + field	100
Adonis	Field subject to sores	60
Antoini	Watchman Sore arm old	30
August	Blind	
Andrew	Pasture boy Lizette's Child fine boy	80
Ben	Field, elderly	30
Benoit	Domestic Tall Lad	110
Brogue	Watchman at Bay decrepid	5
Brogue	Watchman at Bay	5
Balthazar	Invalid, Blind	
Charles	Field well disposed + strong	110
Cock	Watchman + fireman weakley	60
Chance	Field well disposed	100
Duncan	Jobber Weak + Old	50
Dawes	Watchman very old	20
Devonshire	Watchman - ill disposed	30
David	Field - reformed runaway Field formerly Driver (runaway) but reformed	100
Ellic		110
Francois	Head Pasture Man well disposed	110
Freeman	in Town	120
Goodluck	Watchman, Old Man leg + thigh for. broke	30
Hanibal	Decrepid, but well dispos'd	20
John La Bow	Carter rather Careless	110

John Baptiste	Field, Blind of an Eye, not well disposed	80
John Pierre	Stable Boy Incurable sore	50
Jem Congo	Field	100
Joseph	Field formerly Driver but reduced	100
John Louis	Field	110
John Francois	Domestic young Boy	80
Lewis Charles	Fisherman incurable sores but well inclined	50
Laurent	Pasture, young [brother of Maximin]	80
Maximin	Field had a broken Leg Strong [brother of Laurent]	110
Nickola	Jobber very old	30
Romeo	Pasture Boy bad feet	50
Stephney	Jobber Old + Weakly	5
Tom	Watchman Old + Weakly	80
<u>Women</u>		
Alexandrine	Field has one child good woman	90
Angelique 1	Field has one child	100
Angelique 2	Field and Pregnant Sulkey	100
Angelique 3	Mule girl	70
Adelaide	Field elderly	50
Betsey	Domestic Mulatto	50
Betty	Field feeble	50
Bridgette	Field fine young woman	110
Bebian	Invalid	
Cicile	Field 3 Childn. well dispos'd	120
Constance	Field Old + Blind	
Constance d.	Hospital Nurse Excellent nurse	100
Catherine	Invalid very old	
Celest	Jobber old	30
Elizabeth	Field	40
Eloisa	Field 2 Children good Character	120
Fanny 1	wt. Mr Rose Mulatto	90
Fanny 2	Sick very ill wt. Maldestomac	30
Fanchine	Field good Character	100
Felicity	Jeans Daughter young leads a Mule	60
Hebe	Invalid useless	
Harriette	Field 3 Childn. Excellent Char.	120
Jean Rose	Invalid cannot move	
Jannet	Jobber 4 Childn. Sore Leg	70
Jacqueline	Field + Pregnant Sister to Harriet	110
Jean	Field, elderly	40

Judith	Field, Strong	100
Julienne	Field 2 Children Maldestomac	10
Jullie	Field Weak Eyes	90
Louisa	Shepherd Old + Weak	30
Lettice	Jobber Freemans Mother very old	20
Libertine	Field touch of Maldestomac	60
Mary Madelaine	Field Harriets Child good Char.	80
Lizette	Field 4 Children good Char.	80
Matty	Jobber Mother of Family wt. Sores	20
Marth	Jobber Obstruction + Mald'estomac	30
Marriette	Field 3 Childn good Char.	100
Madelaine	Midwife Nurses Blind Husbd.	30
Margaretta	Domestic Angelique 2d Child Mulatto	60
Margaret Rose	Field Mary Francois's Child young	80
Mary Rose	Invalid useless	
Mary Ann	Domestic Mulatto Piccard's Child	70
Mary Cecile	Field, Crooked Legs Weakley	50
	Washerwoman 6 Children on the Estate	
Mary Francois	good Character	100
Mary Clare	Jobber Bebiannes Daur. Incur. Sores	40
Mary	Field Adelaides Daur. young Girl	90
Octavio	Invalid - useless old lame	
Palashie	Field Victoris Child fine mule Girl	80
Pichien	Field Stout	100
Rose	Field Child thin but well disposed	100
Rosalie	Field Child Incurable Sores weak	50
Ruphine	Child Orphan lives with Josef leads Mule	70
Rosette	Field Jannetts Child	80
Sally	Cook bad hand Old + Weak	40
Spring	Grass Driver Good Char.	40
Seraphine	Jobber young Maldestomac sores	10
Sussette	Jobber very old	10
Silvia	young Freemans Sister Strong	80
Therese	Child good Character	90
Victoire	Bonadventures Mother good Character	40
Zabette	Jobber + Pregnant young + Good	100
Zebery	Jobber very old	10
<u>Grass Gang</u>		
John Peter	Harriets Child	70
John Mullatre	Ceciles Child	40
John Baptiste	Roses	60

William	Mary Francois Child	60
Adelaide	Lizettes Child	40
Baby	Jannetts Child	60
Eley	Jannetts Child	40
Mary Louise	Jeans Child	50
Rosine	Juliennes Child Incl. Maldestomac	40
Catharina	Mary Francois Child	80
<u>Children</u>		
Aiken	Theresa Child	20
Frank	Harrietta Son	30
John Charles	Ceciles Child	35
Jemmy	Jannetts Child	40
William Pt.		20
Hugh	Fannys Child	50
Bonadventure	Rosales Child by Bonadventure	20
Jacob	Ceciles Child	20
Nathaniel	Mary Ceciles Child	5
Agnes	Marrietts Child	20
Beck	Lizettes Child	15
Bebian	Eloisas Child	20
Euphrasine	Mary Francois Child by John	40
Monique	Juliennes Child	25
Angello	Lizettes Child	20
Eleanor	Mary Francois Child by John	20
Jeanny	Marriettes Child	30
Susan	Eloisas Child	30
Auguste	Alexandrines Child weakly	5
Jeanne Clare	Marriettes Child	5

Appendix 2.

Transcription of the slave register entry for Beaulieu estate in 1817 (TNA T71/265 pp. 154-156)

A list of slaves belonging to or in the lawful possession of George Gun Munro, Attorney of John Julius Angerstein and worked upon Beaulieu Estate in the parish of St George.

Name	Colour	Country	Supposed Age	Marks
Adonis	Black	African	39	No mark
Andrew	Black	Creole	14	No mark
August	Black	Creole	50	Blind
Baptiste	Black	Creole	50	None
Ben	Black	African	50	None
Benoit	Black	Creole	20	In Knees[?]
Bonaventure	Black	Creole	27	None
Balthager	Black	African	60	Blind
Brouge	Black	African	60	Has his country marks on his face, sore on his left leg
Chance	Black	African	29	Sweltd jaw bone, owing to fracture
Charles	Black	Creole	27	None
Clement	Black	Creole	35	None
Cock	Black	African	58	None
David	Black	African	18	None
Devonshire	Black	African	56	Marks on the cheek bone
Duncan	Black	African	50	Slight sores on the right leg
Ellis	Black	Creole	30	None
Frank	Black	African	60	None
Francois	Black	Creole	25	None
Felix	Black	Creole	20	None
Goodluck	Black	African	64	Left leg bent outwards, no marks
Jemmy	Black	African	22	Defect in the left eye
John	Black	Creole	35	None
John Laboe	Black	Creole	25	None
John Baptiste	Black	Creole	28	Lost the left eye
John Pierre	Black	Creole	27	Right leg swelled and sore
John Louis	Black	Creole	20	None
John Francois	Black	Creole	14	None
Joseph	Black	African	36	Violent scorbutic eruption, feared to be leprosy
Julien	Black	Creole	27	None

Harry	Black	African	22	None
Laurent	Black	Creole	13	None
Louis Charles	Black	Creole	27	Left leg sweled and bad sore
Maximan	Black	Creole	19	No mark but of a sore on the left leg
Majah	Black	African	60	None
Modest	Black	Creole	35	None
Nicholas	Black	African	60	None
Stepheny	Black	African	65	None
Tom	Black	African	50	Mark of a cut over the nose
Romeo	Black	Creole	13	None
Freeman	Black	Creole	19	None
John Peter	Black	Creole	11	None
John Mulatto	Mulatto	Creole	10	None
John Babtist	Black	Creole	11	None
William 1st	Black	Creole	11	None
William 2nd	Black	Creole	6	No marks looks sickly
Hugh	Mestoire	Creole	5	None
St Etien	Black	Creole	5	None
Frantz	Black	Creole	5	None
John Charles	Black	Creole	7	None
Jemmy	Black	Creole	7	None
Bonadventure	Black	Creole	5	None
Jacob	Black	Creole	4	None
August	Black	Creole	1	None
Pierre	Mulatto	Creole	1	None
Mark Antoinio	Black	Creole	1	None

Women

Adelaide	Black	Creole	45	No mark
Alexandrine	Black	Creole	30	Mark of a cut on the left arm
Angelique 1	Black	Creole	33	Runaway
Angelique 2	Black	Creole	30	None
Angelique 3	Black	Creole	15	None
Betty	Black	Creole	45	None
Bridget	Black	Creole	23	None
Betsey	Mulatress	Creole	14	None
Bibianne	Black	Creole	65	None weakly
Cecil	Black	Creole	27	None
Constance	Black	African	84	Has her country marks on her face
Constance 2	Black	Creole	45	No mark
Catherine 1	Black	Creole	65	No mark
Catherine 2	Black	Creole	9	No mark

Celeste	Black	African	58	No mark
Elouisa	Black	African	25	No mark
Fanny 1st	Mulatress	Creole	24	No mark
Fanny 2nd	Black	Creole	12	No mark
Fanchine	Black	Creole	23	No mark
Felicity	Black	Creole	16	No mark
Harriette	Black	Creole	28	No mark
Jaqueline	Black	Creole	26	No mark
Jane	Black	Creole	55	Rather bandy leggd
Jane Rose	Black	Creole	58	Her arms twistd and sore legs a perfect object
Jannette	Black	Creole	42	None
Judick	Black	Creole	28	None sickly
Julie	Black	Creole	35	None
Julienne	Black	Creole	44	Sickly sore on left leg
Lettice	Black	African	58	None
Libertine	Black	Creole	23	[None] but on inside of left leg
Lizette	Black	Creole	45	None
Louise	Black	African	64	None
Matty	Black	African	63	None
Marthe	Black	Creole	30	Swelled face
Marriette	Black	Creole	26	None
Margaret	Mulatress	Creole	16	None
Margaret Rose	Black	Creole	14	None
Mary	Black	Creole	21	None
Mary Anne	Mulatress	Creole	17	None
Mary Rose	Black	Creole	69	None feeble
Mary Urcile	Black	Creole	28	Crookd legs bent inwards
Mary Francoise	Black	Creole	44	None
Mary Clair	Black	Creole	28	Sore on left leg
Mary Madline	Black	Creole	16	None
Madlaine	Black	Creole	70	None
Octavia	Black	Creole	75	Left leg much swelld and sore
Pelagie	Black	Creole	17	None
Pickeon	Black	Creole	28	None
Rose	Black	Creole	28	None
Rosally	Black	Creole	30	Bad sores on left leg
Roselle	Black	Creole	17	Lost the left arm by an accident
Ruphen	Black	Creole	17	None
Sally	Black	African	70	None
Seraphon	Black	Creole	30	Bad sores on left leg, swelld appearance
Silvey	Black	Creole	17	None
Spring	Black	African	65	None

Suzette	Black	African	74	Blind and feeble
Therese	Black	Creole	42	No marks
Victore	Black	African	70	No marks
Zabette	Black	African	28	Marks on the shoulders
Zebery	Black	African	63	Right foot club and sore and leg sore also
Adelaide	Black	Creole	7	Squints with her right eye
Baby	Black	Creole	8	None
Elize	Black	Creole	7	None
Jenny	Mulatress	Creole	7	None
Mary Louise	Black	Creole	7	None
Rosey	Black	Creole	6	None
Agnes	Black	Creole	5	None
Bick	Black	Creole	5	None rather dwarfish
Bibianne	Black	Creole	6	None
Euphrosine	Black	Creole	6	None
Monique	Black	Creole	7	Sore feet and yawed
Susan	Black	Creole	6	None
Eleaner	Black	Creole	4	None
Angel	Black	Creole	5	None
Jane Clare	Black	Creole	2	None
Petroline	Black	Creole	4 months	None