

**CELEBRATING  
CITY** **WOMEN**

**BLACK AND ASIAN WOMEN  
IN THE CITY OF LONDON  
1600-1860**

RESEARCH PAPER

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## I FOREWORD

This timely and fascinating report is part of a series of actions and activities currently being undertaken by the City of London Corporation to combat racism, and similar prejudices, and to advance the widest possible participation in the City Corporation's many spheres of activity and influence.

All of the City Corporation's many endeavours, including its own staffing, its schools, the City of London Police, and its cultural programmes, as well as its role as a flag bearer for UK commerce, are being scrutinised to ensure that the fine promises of the City Corporation's diversity and inclusion strategy are made real, lasting and effective.

The Tackling Racism Taskforce, of which I am co-Chair, has been set up to do much of this work. *The Celebrating City Women* research initiative, led for the City Corporation by Wendy Hyde CC, has made similar efforts and this paper is one of the results.

It might seem strange to include historical research in this project, when the needs of the present are so urgent. In fact, it is vital. Recent controversies over discrimination and contested heritage show that our assumptions about the past shape our beliefs about the present, often to divisive effect. Erasmus said that "a society without history is like a man without a memory", and this is precisely the right time to uncover and discuss the unknown or forgotten history of BAME people in Britain.

The City of London is also the right place to do it. Perhaps nowhere else in Britain has history held such relevance and prominence, from the continuity of its ancient institutions to its wealth of celebrated traditions. And certainly, nowhere else in Britain has had so much active involvement in the establishment of the trans-Atlantic slave trade and the exploitation of the colonies.

The author of this report is a pathfinder, combing the often tantalisingly brief records about people of colour and the lives they led for clues that we hope others will follow, as we strive to develop a fuller understanding of this part of our history. Sometimes, the information she has compiled leaps out with a shocking impact despite its age, as when the author refers to a list of slaves at Cape Coast (the town where I spent my early childhood) in 1771, featuring Ghanaian names familiar to me.

It is not an unremittingly tragic picture, by any means. In other references, some sense of defiance seeps through, as when the author quotes a certain Philip Thicknesse, writing in 1788, who complains that 'London abounds with an incredible number of these black men... in almost every village are to be seen a little race of mulattoes, mischievous as monkeys and infinitely more dangerous.' His bigotry is evident, but I cheered my fellow mulattoes for being mischievous and dangerous all the same.

I hope that you find this paper as enjoyable as I did. I hope it spurs you to discover more, and think deeply, about our shared history, however uncomfortable. For as Mary J. Blige once sang, *"If you don't know where you're coming from, where will you go?"*



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## I INTRODUCTION

The studies of women are a niche topic among the broad categories of English history. This may be due to limited primary resources such as personal records and correspondence, but also possibly due to a lack of general interest in recognising women's achievements. The situation is slowly changing. Indeed, historians are eager to learn more about the missing perspective from women and their extraordinary lives. Many gender historians such as Vickery and Orlin attempt to give voice to women by presenting particular individuals with an array of historical evidence.<sup>1</sup> By carefully going through various diaries, letters and household accounts, they delve into the inner thoughts of women behind the veil of a daughter, a wife and a mother.

If the voice of women was neglected in the past, then the voice of black and Asian women was almost unheard of. Just like women in the past, ethnic minorities (specifically BAME) were largely ignored in political debates and literature. Language barriers, cultural differences and the lack of legal protection all contributed to the disappearance of the black and Asian community in general English history. Who were these people and what did they do? Why did they come to this country? There are endless questions to be answered. Early scholarly works pay less attention to finding individuals but instead concentrate on the slave trade as a general topic. To evaluate the economic impact on both sides of Atlantic, Curtin uses a quantitative method to survey the Atlantic slave trade.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, Fryer's *Staying Power* aims to give a comprehensive introduction to the historical background.<sup>3</sup> Both approaches inspire Inikori and Engerman to further their studies on the economic incentive behind the condemned history.<sup>4</sup> These are just one of a few. Published literature concerning chattel slavery is abundant.

At the same time, museums and archives begin to explore their collections related to the BAME community in the UK. To educate a wider audience, the National Archives organised an online exhibition entitled *Black Presence: Asian and Black History in Britain, 1500-1850*. The exhibition uses visual images to illustrate a comprehensive history of black and Asian minorities before the twentieth century, while London Metropolitan Archives systematically searches for black and Asian individuals in parish records. *Black and Asian Londoners: Presence and Background 1536-1840* has found more than 2,000 entries in the London area. Building on this, Habib extends his research to encompass all of England including state papers and personal correspondence. By doing so, he documents 448 black people between 1500 and 1677, suggesting that black and Asian people had been slowly forming a community since the Tudor and Stuart period.<sup>5</sup>

A similar point is made in Kaufmann's recent book *Black Tudors*.<sup>6</sup> Looking into the life of ten black individuals, she discovers that many of them were living a normal life without racial prejudice. This image is different from what we expect today. As a contemporary reader, we often associate the early black presence with the slave trade. This perhaps has much to do with the notorious triangular trade which will be discussed in a later chapter. Early immigrants may well originate from trade with Spain or North Africa, hence the term 'moor' or 'blackmore' was often ascribed to them. Many of them performed

1 Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003) and Lorna Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Tudor London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

2 Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969)

3 Peter Fryer, *Staying power: The history of black people in Britain* (London: Pluto Press, 1984)

4 Joseph E. Inikori and Stanley L. Engerman eds. *The Atlantic Slave Trade. Effects on Economies, Societies and People in Africa, the Americas and Europe* (London: Duke University Press, 1992)

5 Imtiaz Habib, *Black Lives in the English Archives, 1500-1677. Imprints of the Invisible* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2008)

6 Miranda Kaufmann, *Black Tudors: The Untold Stories* (London: Oneworld Publications, 2017)

services for the royal family or aristocracy while some of them worked as ordinary tradesmen. Likewise, Chater came to a similar view from studying a large collection of public records about black people in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>7</sup> She argues that, while the population of this ethnic community was still relatively small, there is no decisive evidence to suggest that they were largely enslaved in England at this point. While racial naming may contain a negative connotation, words such as 'black', 'blackmore' or 'negro' were mostly used to describe their distinctive appearance.

In this context, one should therefore ask why the image of a black slave is so ubiquitous in literature. The brutality of the triangular trade certainly is one of the main reasons. It is estimated that over 3.1 million Africans were taken by the British to the Caribbean islands and North and South America through London, Liverpool and Bristol between 1640 and 1807. While there were few slaves working in England, there is no denying that black Africans suffered extreme physical abuse and were deprived of basic protections in all of the British colonies. Imperial supremacy was taken for granted in political ideology and practice so eventually the image of black and Asian people deteriorated in the late eighteenth century. Meanwhile, the anti-slavery movement was led by famous black people in England such as Ignatius Sancho, Olaudah Equiano and Ottobah Cugoano. English political reformers like Granville Sharp, Thomas Clarkson and George Fox were also the main forces in Parliament. Women were not left behind. To name a few, Mary Clarkson, Thomas Clarkson's wife, Hannah More and Mary Wollstonecraft were among the dedicated female thinkers in their own campaigns. Midgley thus argues that, women did not just help organise side-lined events, they actively raised funds and campaigned for social reform on their own terms. Their direct involvement 'is not simply an example of female participation in public life, but more specifically of women's involvement in one of the key mass movements for political reform of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.'<sup>8</sup>

But what does this have to do with the City of London? This history dates back to two companies that directly or indirectly caused the involuntary diaspora between West Africa, India and the British Colonies. The East India Company and the Royal African Company were chartered companies set up by City merchants and investors. While the East India Company exploited the cheap labour of their Indian servants at home or abroad, the Royal African Company directly transported Africans to various destinations, most notoriously to Caribbean sugar plantations. Large investments were consequently made in overseas trade and to forge a connection with Parliament; hence it seems appropriate to say that the City was the financial machine behind this massive forced migration throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Later, as increasing numbers of Indian workers arrived in Victorian England, it becomes clearer that well-to-do English families heavily relied on their colonial servants to run their daily errands. Female domestic workers were particularly indispensable to those who had just returned from India.<sup>9</sup>

Covering a long period between 1600 and 1860, this report will not attempt to give a detailed account of what happened in the slave trade or discuss the changing political and economic status of ethnic minorities in general. Instead, it intends to present current findings related to black and Asian women in the vicinity of the City of London. This period is chosen for two reasons. 1600 is the year in which the East India Company was granted a monopoly while the period of 1830 to 1860 saw the founding of several ladies' associations to end the practice of slavery. The report will investigate relevant literature with an aim to provide more information for future researchers.

7 Kaythleen Chater, *Untold Histories* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011)

8 Clare Midgley, *Women Against Slavery. The British Campaigns, 1780-1870* (London: Routledge, 1992), 5

9 Rozian Visram, *Ayahs, Lascars and Princes: Indians in Britain 1700-1947* (Michigan: Pluto, 1986)

## I A BRIEF HISTORY: THE EAST AND WEST INDIA TRADE

Finding BAME women in the City of London is an arduous task as there are hardly any official records documenting their arrival, age or profession. A census was introduced in the early nineteenth century, but before this, it becomes almost impossible to know who they were apart from a few names occasionally appearing in parish records etc. While it is difficult to locate a specific person, it seems relatively easy to determine how City merchants contributed to the mass migration movement across the British colonies. Contemporary studies of East and West trade further suggest that the increasing volume of global trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries motivated the exchange of goods as well as labour between Europe, Asia and America. The slave trade is the most notorious example that demonstrates the expanding economic system under the rise of Imperialism.<sup>10</sup> This section hopes to provide some information about few involved trading companies, plantation owners and individual merchants that may become useful to find a specific BAME woman in the future.

In the seventeenth century, large trading companies in Europe were established to explore the unknown territories. The British East India Company (EIC) was formed by a group of London merchants in 1600. As a joint-stock company, the EIC mainly raised funds from the City, and interestingly, by the mid eighteenth century, over one fifth of the EIC shareholders were women.<sup>11</sup> The company soon held several key strategic points in Batavia, Madras and Calcutta. After the Battle of Plassey in 1757, the EIC began its rule in India. Although the EIC did not transport Asian immigrants to England en masse, their business did involve employing local servants, many of whom came to England in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. This had a profound effect on how BAME immigrants were received in British society.

Initially, the EIC mainly concerned itself with exotic goods. This trade covered nearly all key Asian commodities such as spice, silk, cotton, porcelain and tea until the company's dissolution in 1874. Tea became one of the most popular items, and the volume of import increased over twenty-fold during the first half of the eighteenth century.<sup>12</sup> Stimulated by the demand for tea, sugar consumption rose nearly four times per head in the eighteenth century.<sup>13</sup> Sugar plantations required intensive labour supplied by enslaved African men. Risk-taking entrepreneurs joined the West India trade, hoping to make their wealth abroad. They remained closely connected with the City for finance and political influence. For instance, William Beckford Senior was described as the 'uncrowned king of Jamaica' who gathered an overwhelming fortune of over 20,000 acres of plantations. He was twice Lord Mayor of London, as well as MP for the City of London.<sup>14</sup>

10 For example: Inikori, and Engerman eds., *The Atlantic Slave Trade and David Hancocks, Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community 1735-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)

11 Amy M. Froide, *Silent Partners: Women as Public Investors During Britain's Financial Revolution 1690-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 9

12 Ho-fung Hung, 'Imperial China and Capitalist Europe in the Eighteenth-Century Global Economy,' *Review 24* (2001): 473-513

13 David Richardson, 'The Slave Trade, Sugar, and British Economic Growth, 1748-1776,' *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History 17* (1987), 747

14 David Beck Ryden, *West Indian Slavery and British Abolition, 1783-1807* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 70



One potential platform to trace early plantation owners and African immigrants is via the records of the Royal African Company (RAC). Originally known as the Company of Royal Adventurers Trading to Africa, the company monopolised English trade with Africa between 1660 and 1730. RAC ships primarily sailed between Bristol, Liverpool and London to the West African coast. The main research materials for the RAC's slave accounts are in the Public Record Office, National Archives but some papers are in the Bodleian Library, Oxford and private collections.<sup>15</sup> From such accounts, the name and condition of individual slaves (men, women and children) were occasionally registered. One intriguing document listed a group of enslaved Africans at Cape Coast Castle in 1771.<sup>16</sup> Approximately 40 women were recorded, ranging in age from 5 years to 80 years. Most of them were given jobs such as to clean and wash. Exactly how many in this list were transported abroad is indeterminate, but it is unlikely that any of them would come to England as the majority of women here were over 40 years old.<sup>17</sup> Shepherd also points out that, after 1801, women formed 53.5 per cent of the enslaved population in Barbados.<sup>18</sup> Elsewhere in the British territories, there was also a high concentration of female slaves in St Kitts, St Nevis and St Vincent.

Most slaves, whether men or women, had to endure the harsh journey of the 'triangular trade'. The route was divided into three parts: the first part saw the European ships depart for West Africa where manufactured goods were exchanged for African labour. The second journey, known as the middle passage, brought slaves from the coast of West Africa to the Caribbean Islands and North America. The final part was to bring back raw material from America to Europe. The notorious middle passage suffered a high mortality rate, estimated to be between 12 per cent and 25 per cent, depending on the year and ship.<sup>19</sup> The majority of slaves were men but, as time went by, more women were transported to help with field labour as well as domestic work. The collection of 'slavery and the British transatlantic slave trade' includes records from the Colonial Office, Board of Trade, Chancery, Admiralty records and Treasury records. It illustrates the social and political background of such immigration. Outside this collection, records can be found in the Maritime Archives and Library of National Museums Liverpool and the Bristol City Record Office.<sup>20</sup>

While London seems to shy away from major slave trading activities in the late eighteenth century, one place confirms the City's involvement in slave trade. The West India Docks project was funded by a group of West India merchants such as William Vaughan, Robert Milligan and George Hibbert. They were concerned over the congestion and delays associated with the slave trade coming to the River Thames, which had an estimated value between £250,000 and £500,000 per annum.<sup>21</sup> Again, it is interesting to note that female investors made up slightly less than 2% of the total capital. In some instances, women invested with their husbands or families, but some were also

15 Robin Law, 'The Royal African Company of England's West African Correspondence, 1681-1699,' *History in Africa* 20 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 173-4

16 [https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/blackhistory/africa\\_caribbean/caribbean\\_trade.htm](https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/blackhistory/africa_caribbean/caribbean_trade.htm) (access 27th March, 2020)

17 [https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/blackhistory/africa\\_caribbean/docs/slave\\_list.htm](https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/blackhistory/africa_caribbean/docs/slave_list.htm) (access 27th March, 2020)

18 Verene, Shepherd, *Women in Caribbean History: The British-Colonised Territories* (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 1999), 40

19 Raymond L. Cohn, 'Deaths of Slaves in the Middle Passage,' *The Journal of Economic History* 45 (1985), 685-692

20 Please see <https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/transatlantic-slave-trade> and [www.archives.bristol.gov.uk](http://www.archives.bristol.gov.uk)

21 P.D. Sena, 'Perquisites and Casual Labour on the London Wharveside in the Eighteenth Century', *London Journal* 14, 1989, 130-47.

sole investors.<sup>22</sup> Emancipation came soon after and the British Government raised a large sum of £20 million to compensate these slave owners. A list of compensated slave owners was published by the Slave Compensation Commission, a broad search can be conducted via the database of *Legacies of British Slave-ownership*. This list may be useful to search further on individual slaves imported to England.

Last but not the least are the Indian indentured workers in the Caribbean Islands. One major impact of the abolition of slavery was the immediate labour shortage in sugar plantations. However, this was quickly filled by the indentured labour recruited from India. Tempted by the advertised working conditions, approximately 450,000 Indian workers were transported to the British Caribbean colonies between 1845 and 1917. The majority were going to British Guiana, Trinidad and Jamaica.<sup>23</sup> Statistical data compiled from emigration records suggests that most of the migrating women did not come with a male relative. This points to a possibility that they were either kidnapped, seduced, widows escaping from horrific conditions at home, prostitutes, or simply traveling out of financial need.<sup>24</sup> This is an important social factor to consider when the advertised working conditions are compared to their own country. Information about Indian indentured workers can be found through the Colonial and Foreign Office correspondence, held in the National Archives.

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22 Nicholas Draper, 'The City of London and Slavery: Evidence from the First Dock Companies, 1795-1800,' *The Economic History Review* 61 (2008), 437

23 Madavi Kale, 'Capital Spectacles in British Frames: Capital, Empire and Indian Indentured Migration to the British Caribbean,' *International Review of Social History* 41 (1996): 121

24 *Ibid*, 130



## I SERVICING THE CITY: BLACK AND ASIAN WOMEN

From the Black and Caribbean Community Archive, the British Newspaper Archive, the Old Bailey Online and several secondary literature resources, this report has found 160 entries of BAME women who once resided or worked in the vicinity of the City of London between late sixteenth and mid-nineteenth century ( see Appendix). This information is mainly extracted from local parish records of baptisms, marriages and burials, newspaper advertisements and crime proceedings.

As mentioned before, the lack of official records in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries presents the greatest obstacle to locating the BAME community in Britain. Only by 1841 did the British census begin to ask people to state their country of birth and nationality;<sup>25</sup> prior to the census parish records, legal documents, plantation inventories and slave lists are the main sources for genealogy research. However, even from this huge amount of historical evidence, it is difficult to locate an individual due to the imprecision of recording foreign names and the high mortality rate during importation. It is even more difficult to identify a slave woman, as she may have been transported namelessly in the earlier history. It is speculated that the refusal of company workers or individual slave owners to refer to their slaves by their African names may be due to their inability to pronounce foreign names. The English officials may have arbitrarily assumed an English-sounding equivalent when, for example, Phibba or Fiba was recorded as Phoebe or Quaco was listed as Jack.<sup>26</sup> At some point, enslaved women were made to change their names into popular English ones such as Elizabeth, Mary and Ann. Their last names were often derived from their place of origin or after their master. Sometimes, they were simply named as Blackmore or Black to reflect their ethnicity. The only African name found in this report is Beneba, a common female name referring to the date of birth in the Coromantee community in the Gold Coast of Africa (today Ghana). The name means Tuesday. Other common names include Phibbah, Juba, Mimbah, Cubah and Auba with variant spellings.<sup>27</sup>

The baptismal registrar witnessed the transformation of names. While young children were baptised according to their parents' wishes, it is not clear why adult immigrants wanted to be converted to Christianity. Perhaps they were seeking social recognition or relief provided by churches as many poor would have done. Mary Fillis, a Moroccan seamstress, changed her religion from being Muslim to Christian in 1597.<sup>28</sup> It is suggested that she did so to fit in to English society. In such a case, the ceremonial purpose of baptism is significant in terms of re-branding one's identity on foreign soil. Mary's extraordinary life is told through direct evidence and some secondary comments. Other later examples do not always have such detail. Julyane was baptised when she was 22 and became Mary and Quedia was baptised to become Elizabeth. It is not clear these women were baptised according to their will. For instance, Mary McArthur, 'a negro woman', requested to be baptised at 26 years old in 1784. The rare comment of 'at her request' indicates that many cases may have been otherwise. Another intriguing case is Mary Blakce who was baptised in 1682. The event was sponsored by Mr. James Lambert,

25 K. Sillitoe and P. H. White, 'Ethnic Group and the British Census: The Search for a Question,' *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 155 (1992), 141-163

26 Jerome S. Handler and Joann Jacoby, 'Slave Names and Naming in Barbados, 1650-1830,' *The William and Mary Quarterly* 53 (1996), 700

27 Ibid

28 Kaufmann, *Black Tudors*, 155

Mr. John Boweton, Mrs. Anne Beavis and Mrs. Elizabeth Shoply. It is likely that one of them is Mary's employer and it was their wish to hold such ceremony. Without Mary's personal account, one can only speculate.

On the contrary, marriage registrars are lesser in number. This indicates either an imbalance in the population of men and women in the BAME community or a lesser number of them attending church. In this report, BAME couples were usually married by licence and later registered in the parish. There is no record of inter-racial marriage here, but several mixed-heritage children are found in the registrar of baptism, suggesting that it was not totally forbidden by society. Again, baptism of some mixed-heritage children seems to be arranged by their employers rather than their birth parents. This is not a surprising result as many of them would have been abandoned by their parents. In 1788, Philip Thicknesse described that 'London abounds with an incredible number of these black men... in almost every village are to be seen a little race of mulattoes, mischievous as monkeys and infinitely more dangerous.' It indicates a common attitude people had towards a mix-raced person.

One famous example is Elizabeth Dido Belle, whose father was Sir John Lindsay and mother a West Indian slave. Although Belle was born into slavery, she was brought to England to receive formal education. She lived with Lord Mansfield, who judged the famous Somerset case in 1772. Belle's unusual situation attracted great attention from high society. Thomas Hutchinson, a former governor of Massachusetts, made a remark on her appearance and background:

A Black came in after dinner and sat with the ladies, and after coffee, walked with the company in the gardens, one of the young ladies having her arm within the other. She had a very high cap, and her wool was much frizzled in her neck, but not enough to answer the large curls now in fashion. I knew her history before, but my Lord mentioned it again. Sir Lindsay, having taken her mother prisoner in a Spanish vessel, brought her to England, where she delivered of this girl, of which she was then with child, and which was taken care of by Lord M., and has been educated by his family. He calls her Dido, which I suppose is all the name she has. He knows he has been reproached for shewing a fondness for her. I dare say not criminal.<sup>29</sup>

His comment reveals a deep-rooted racial division in eighteenth-century England, further indicating a potentially degrading social situation for Belle. Although treated well throughout her life, Belle was not a free person until 1793.

Indeed, during this period, women were often at the receiving end of family support. They were usually involved with their fathers' or husbands' business. If they did not have family resource, they often turned to domestic service or prostitution. In this report, the majority of BAME women were documented without a profession, but some appeared to be domestic servants. It is extremely difficult to know what services they would have performed. J. Jean Hecht mentioned that, in an upper-class household, a lady's maid was usually filled by someone from a respectable family but had suffered a hard time such as a poor relation or a widow.<sup>30</sup> It is unlikely that BAME female servants would have been appointed to such a role. It is likely that most of them would have worked in a kitchen or laundry room, where lower status servants normally belong. Interestingly, black boys in this period seem to be appointed to more public-facing roles such as waiter or a

29 Peter Orlando Hutchinson ed., *The diary and letters of His Excellency Thomas Hutchinson: Captain-general and Governor-in-chief of His late Majesty's province of Massachusetts Bay in North America*. Boston: Cornell University Library, 1884

30 Visram, *Ayahs, Lascars and Princes*, 224

footman. Unlike women, they were exhibited as exotic pets rather than an actual work force.<sup>31</sup>

In that regard, life could be quite harsh for female servants; perhaps that is why there are ample newspaper advertisements looking for runaway maids. Some listings gave a vivid description of the servant's look and dress. For instance, a black maid called Betty ran away in 1727. She was '17 years old, she is flat nosed, very thick lips, wore a red stuffed gown faced and lined with green, a blue quilted chintz petticoat'.<sup>32</sup> Such a description was common for black women although sometimes they were also accused of stealing their lady's apparels. The advertisement came with a reward or a warning. In Betty's case, 'whoever gives info so that she may be had again shall receive a Guinea reward. N.B. whoever entertain her shall be prosecuted according to law'. This incident happened before the Somerset case in 1772 which detected that 'no master ever was allowed here to take a slave by force to be sold abroad because he deserted from his service, or for any other reason whatever, therefore the man must be discharged'.<sup>33</sup> Although BAME servants were not slaves, runaway servants were often sold to the West Indies. After the Somerset case, human trading activity in Britain was finally illegal, but in reality, chattel slavery continued until the abolition of slavery.

Eventually, some women fell into prostitution. One early example is Anne Cobbie, a 'tawny Moor' who worked at the St. Clement Danes's bawdy house of John and Jane Bankes around 1620s. The term 'tawny' usually refers to lighter-skinned North Africans from Morocco, Algeria or Tunisia. Anne's skin colour seems to be the main sexual appeal which links the appraisal of beauty directly with an exoticism long associated with Cleopatra.<sup>34</sup> It is claimed that men 'had rather give her a piece to lie with her than another five shillings because of her soft skin'.<sup>35</sup> A century later, *Harris's List of Covent Garden Ladies* described mixed-heritage women's physical appearance and services. For instance, 'Eliza is of a dark complexion, being a downright mulatto, and intimates by the thickness of her hair and her eyebrows, that she is well-furred below.... She tells a good story and can produce an excellent tale, which she charges little more for than it is well worth considering the scarcity of its complexion in this country, being but very lately imported from the West Indies. She is tall and genteel, about eighteen years of age, and is said to be in keeping by an American'.<sup>36</sup> Lower-end prostitutes were less noticeable but were occasionally recorded in court cases. Esther Allingham, a black prostitute, was accused of stealing money from John Baptista. Esther described how she was harassed by this penniless white customer by saying: 'what he offered to me, was what is not fit: he is a man neither fit for God nor the devil; he is neither fit for a black woman, nor a white woman'.<sup>37</sup> Esther's statement suggests that there was a potential community of black prostitutes.

Occasionally, BAME women were involved with petty theft and felony. For example, Mary Harris was a black servant who was accused of stealing goods from her master. Since 'she had little to say for herself',<sup>38</sup> Mary was found guilty and whipped. The most notorious case was in relation to an Ann Blackmore. The same name appears three times

31 Ibid

32 Daily Post, 1727, Thursday, Jan 26

33 James Walvin, *Black and White: The Negro and English Society 1555-1945* (London: Penguin, 1973), 13

34 Ibid, 231

35 Kaufmann, *Black Tudors*, 226-227

36 Hallie Rubenhold, *The Covent Garden Ladies: The Extraordinary Story of the Harris's List* (London: Penguin, 2012)

37 *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* ([www.oldbaileyonline.org](http://www.oldbaileyonline.org), version 8.0, 15 March 2020), May 1782, trial of ESTHER ALLINGHAM (t17820515-27)

38 *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* ([www.oldbaileyonline.org](http://www.oldbaileyonline.org), version 8.0, 15 March 2020), January 1702, trial of Mary Harris (t17020114-18)

in the Old Bailey between 1800 and 1847. On the first occasion, Ann stole butter and was found guilty.<sup>39</sup> The second time, she broke into the house of Lewis Pesman and stole more household goods.<sup>40</sup> In the final entry, she was indicted for manslaughter, a much more serious crime that was rarely committed by women.<sup>41</sup> The first two cases were argued strongly by Ann, for the final case less so where she appeared to be in great distress and mentally unwell. Ann offered little defence for herself. It is uncertain whether all these cases were committed by the same Ann, but if they were, it would seem that her situation was deteriorating drastically.

One must not neglect the female Indian workers employed by the EIC merchants. They performed a similar function to the West Indians in domestic work. It is difficult to ascertain how many Indian servants came to England during the long eighteenth century, but EIC records suggests a potentially large number outside the customs records of imported goods. In merely two months between April and May in 1771, 18 applications were submitted to return servants to India, fifteen were men and three were women.<sup>42</sup> Returned nabobs were known to take their servants with them back to England. For example, Warren Hastings, the Governor-General of India, imported four maids and two Indian boys aged between 13 and 14 years. Apparently, the servants had 'longish faces, beautiful black eyes, fine eyebrows, sleek black hair, thin lips, fine teeth, a brownish complexion and kindly intelligent faces.'<sup>43</sup> They were considered an exotic accessory to their master and hence needed to be in good appearance. Other comments were less accepting. Mrs. Lock observed Indian servants who arrived in Surrey in 1789. She found that they had 'inhuman voices and barbarous chattering,' however, she felt sorry for the 'poor negro women' who were taken away from their country.<sup>44</sup>

Many Indian women were employed as nurses and nannies by British families overseas in the nineteenth century. Ayahs, for example, were hired to look after children during the long sea voyages from India to Britain. Mostly, they were seasonal workers travelling between continents rather than permanent staff. Job advertisements were often posted in newspapers to meet such demand. An advertisement in 1775 said:

Any lady going to the East Indies, having occasion for a maid servant may be advantageously supplied with one who is lately come from hence; she is a Slave Girl, and the mistress who brought her over having no occasion for her will give her over to any Lady to attend her in the passage to India and to serve her for three years after the arrival there without wages, providing the lady engages at expiration of the Term to give her freedom. She is a good servant, perfectly good natured, and talks English well.<sup>45</sup>

This advertisement leaves no doubt as to the status of this ayah. It also suggests that some Indian domestic workers were slaves and they could be randomly deserted at any time. The terrible situation of abandoned servants exposed the problem of foreign arrivals without visa and contract. The widespread poverty of imported workers further encouraged the establishment of Ayahs' Home in Aldgate and later where it moved to Hackney. Such charity offered shelter to unemployed women and helped them find

39 *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* ([www.oldbaileyonline.org](http://www.oldbaileyonline.org), version 8.0, 15 March 2020), February 1800, trial of ANN BLACKMORE (†18000219-31)

40 *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* ([www.oldbaileyonline.org](http://www.oldbaileyonline.org), version 8.0, 15 March 2020), September 1828, trial of ANN BLACKMORE (†18280911-91)

41 *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* ([www.oldbaileyonline.org](http://www.oldbaileyonline.org), version 8.0, 15 March 2020), August 1847, trial of ANN BLACKMORE (†18470816-1990)

42 Rozina Visram, *Asians In Britain: 400 Years of History* (Michigan: Pluto Press, 2002), 9

43 Joseph Salter, *The East in the West: Or Work Among the Asiatics and Africans in London* (London: S.W. Partridge & Co., 1895), 11

44 *Ibid*, 12

45 Visram, *Ayahs, Lascars and Princes*, 14

another employer to sponsor a return ticket back to India. *The Ayahs' Home Project*, is a continuous research project by the Hackney Museum, London, while related research is conducted by the East End Women's Museum at Barking, which will open in 2021.

Unavoidably, this report returns to the subject of slavery. After witnessing the misery of black slaves in Britain and the British colonies, a group of women ran a separate campaign outside the main anti-slavery campaign initiated in the late eighteenth century. It is estimated that more than 40,000 women signed the petitions in 1833, representing the first ever large-scale intervention by women in parliamentary politics.<sup>46</sup> Leading figures in the early movement included Lucy Townsend, Elizabeth Heyrick, Mary Lloyd and Ann Taylor Gillbert. Their ladies' associations not only successfully raised funds to support the campaign but also boycotted sugar sales, which was the primary cause of slavery in the West Indies. Although most activists did not live or work in London, they helped generate a profound awareness of the situation many BAME women found themselves in, and this eventually led to a nationwide campaign for equal rights for women. Midgley's PhD thesis details participating members of several ladies' associations. Her work remains the most available resource to learn about women's involvement in the anti-slavery campaign. It highlights the growing sympathy towards enslaved persons and marks the beginning of the universal awareness of women's status in society.

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<sup>46</sup> Midgley, *Women Against Slavery*, 12



## I CONCLUSION

This report hopes to present a comprehensive introduction to BAME women in the City of London. While the population of this community remains difficult to estimate, a thorough background investigation is provided to find alternative perspectives. Most importantly, the City's role helps explain the macro-socioeconomic environment for the above-mentioned ethnic minorities and further illustrates the status of the BAME community in Britain. Despite the fact that first-person narratives are sparse, secondary mediums such as plantation inventories, business accounts, household budgets and personal correspondence are abundant. For example, a household budget spending on servants or the purchase history in sugar plantations might record more working women with or without names. These are potential research materials for further identifying the untold story of BAME women working behind the scenes. Further research is recommended to focus on particular City merchants who were involved in East or West India trade or are known to have had servants abroad. Their surviving accounts may reveal more BAME individuals that were not recorded in traditional materials of genealogy research. For more information about the identified individuals, please see the Appendix and the Bibliography below.

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# APPENDIX I

## 1576 - 1626

| YEAR      | NAME            | LOCATION  | DOC TYPE             | OCCUPATION | ETHNICITY                      |
|-----------|-----------------|---|----------------------|------------|--------------------------------|
| Unknown   | Leying Moues    | St. Olave Hart Stret                                    | Secondary literature | servant    | blackmore                      |
| unknown   | Julyane Bayning |   | Secondary literature | servant    | blackamore                     |
| 1576-1590 | Elizabeth Nunes | Mark Lane   | Secondary literature | servant    | African                        |
| 1576-1590 | Grace Nunes     | Mark Lane   | Secondary literature | servant    | African                        |
| 1576-1590 | Mary Nunes      | Mark Lane   | Secondary literature | servant    | African                        |
| 1586      | Elizabeth       | St. Botolph Bishopsgate                                 | Baptism              |            | born white, but mother a negro |
| 1587      | Ruthe Antony    | St. Botolph Bishopsgate                                 | Burial               |            | blackamore                     |
| 1588      | Isabell         | St Olave Hart Street                                    | Burial               |            | blackamore                     |
| 1589      | Sebrina         | St Andrew Holborn                                       | Burial               |            | blackamore                     |
| 1590      | Grace           | St Olave Hart Street                                    | Burial               |            | nigro                          |
| 1593      | Suzanna Peavis  | St. Botolph Aldgate                                     | Burial               | servant    | blackamore                     |
| 1594      | Katherin        | St Stephen Coleman Street                               | Burial               |            | negar                          |
| 1597      | Mary Phillis    | St Botolph Aldgate                                      | Baptism              |            | Morocco                        |
| 1597      | Rebecca Walter  | St Botolph Bishopsgate                                  | Burial               |            | blackamore                     |
| 1598      | Madelen         | St Olave Hart Street                                    | Baptism              |            | blackeamore                    |
| 1598      | Constantia      | St Olave Hart Street                                    | Marriage             |            | negrea                         |
| 1601      | No name         | St. Dunstand and All Saints, Stephney Tower Hamlet      | Baptism              |            | Ethiopia                       |
| 1601      | Julyane         | St Mary Bothaw  | Baptism              | servant    | blackamore                     |
| 1603      | Charity Lucanea | St Dunstan and All Saints, Stephney Tower Hamlet        | Baptism              |            | blackmore                      |
| 1605      | Constantyn      | St. Olave, Tooley Street                                | Burial               |            | caliban?                       |
| 1606      | Margaret Morin  | All Hallows   | Marriage             |            |                                |
| 1610      | No name         | St. Olave, Hart Street                                  | Burial               |            | blackmore                      |
| 1613      | Joan Mure       | St. Botolph without Bishopgate                          | Marriage             |            |                                |
| 1616      | Isabell         | St. Botolph without Aldgate                             | Burial               |            | blackemore                     |
| 1621      | Maria           | St. Martin in the Fields                                | Secondary literature |            | valade nigra (very black)      |
| 1626      | Anne Cobbie     | St. Clement Danes's bawdy house of John and Jane Bankes | Secondary literature | prostitute | tawny moor                     |

|  | DESCRIPTION   | MASTER         | REFERENCE  |
|--|---|----------------|--|
|  |   | John Barker    | From Chapter 6, Black Tudors (2017), please see Bibliography |
|  |   | Bayning        | From Chapter 6, Black Tudors (2017), please see Bibliography |
|  |   | Nunes          | From Chapter 6, Black Tudors (2017), please see Bibliography |
|  |   | Nunes          | From Chapter 6, Black Tudors (2017), please see Bibliography |
|  |   | Nunes          | From Chapter 6, Black Tudors (2017), please see Bibliography |
|  | child   |                | P69/BOT4/A/001/MS04515/1                                     |
|  |   |                | P69/BOT4/A/001/MS4515/a f.57r                                |
|  |   |                | GL Ms 28867  |
|  | wench   |                | P82/MIC1/A/003/MS6673/1                                      |
|  | oute of Dr Hector's   |                | P69/OLA1/A/001/MS28867                                       |
|  |   | John Deppinois | P69/BOT2/A/015/MS9222/1 p.223                                |
|  | dwelling with the prince of Portingall  |                | P69/STE1/A/001/MS04448                                       |
|  | about 20 years of age and dwelling with Millicen Porter semoster  |                | P69/BOT2/A/001/MS9220 f.90r                                  |
|  |   |                | P69/BOT4/A/001/MS4515/1 ff.90r                               |
|  | oute of Bernade's house   |                | P69/OLA1/A/001/MS28867                                       |
|  | married to John Cathman by licence, Ancilla, Parish   |                | P69/OLA1/A/001/MS28867 p.162                                 |
|  | Christian Ethiopia borne of a Blackmore baptised the xviii day  |                | P93/DUN/255  |
|  | age of 22, baptised and named Mary  | Bayning        | P69/MRY6/A/001/MS4310  |
|  | Charity Lucanea a blackmore baptised the xxix day from Rateclif   |                | P93/DUN/255  |
|  | Constantyn, a negar oute of ye pilrime at portsmouth  |                | X097/233   |
|  | John Faggot with Margaret Morin   |                | Boyd's Marriage Index  |
|  | the blackamore gerle from Mr. Pintoe's  |                | Registers of St. Olave Hart Street, p. 143                   |
|  | Philip Upton with Joan Mure   |                | Boyd's Marriage Index  |
|  | Isabell, a blackmoore lodgyng in blew Anchor Alley was buried the xxvi day of September, Anno Dom 1616. In our new churchyard |                | Registers of St. Botolph without Aldgate, GL9223             |
|  |   |                | From Chapter 6, Black Tudors (2017), please see Bibliography |
|  |   |                | From Chapter 6, Black Tudors (2017), please see Bibliography |

# APPENDIX I

## 1672 - 1701

| YEAR | NAME               | LOCATION                    | DOC TYPE | OCCUPATION | ETHNICITY    |
|------|--------------------|-----------------------------|----------|------------|--------------|
| 1672 | Mary Blacke        | St Bride Fleet Street       | Baptism  |            | black        |
| 1677 | Hannah Blackmore   | St Botolph Aldgate          | Burial   |            | blackmore    |
| 1677 | Elizabeth Ligat    | All Hallows Staining        | Baptism  |            | blackamore   |
| 1679 | Mary Rosie         | St Andrew Undershaff        | Burial   | servant    | blackmore    |
| 1680 | Elizabeth Jennings | St Stephen Coleman Street   | Baptism  |            | negar        |
| 1681 | Loreto             | St Olave Hart Street        | Burial   |            | Indian       |
| 1683 | Marea              | St Olave Hart Street        | Burial   |            | neager       |
| 1684 | Elizabeth Picket   | St Swithin London Stone     | Burial   | servant    | black        |
| 1684 | No name            | St Benet Fink               | Burial   | servant    | negroe       |
| 1686 | No name            | St Botolph Aldgate          | Burial   |            | moore        |
| 1687 | Ann Obbadya        | St Mary Aldermary           | Baptism  |            | black        |
| 1687 | Louisa             | St Botolph Aldgate          | Burial   |            | black        |
| 1687 | Katharine Anker    | St Katharine by the Tower   | Baptism  |            | black        |
| 1688 | Mary               | St Dunstan in the West      | Baptism  |            | black        |
| 1688 | Grace Man          | St Andrew Undershaff        | Baptism  |            | blackmore    |
| 1688 | Ann                | St Peter Cornhill           | Baptism  |            | black        |
| 1688 | Elizabeth Dido     | Holy Trinity Minories       | Baptism  |            |              |
| 1688 | Katharine          | St Dunstan in the West      | Baptism  |            | black        |
| 1688 | Annamathe          | St Andrew Undershaff        | Burial   | servant    |              |
| 1688 | Mary Alphabet      | All Hallows Barking         | Baptism  | servant    | Indian black |
| 1689 | Elizabeth Quedia   | Holy Trinity Minories       | Baptism  |            |              |
| 1691 | Dorothy            | Holy Trinity Minories       | Baptism  |            |              |
| 1692 | Ann                | St Mary Woolnoth            | Burial   | servant    | blackamoor   |
| 1693 | Jane               | Holy Trinity Minories       | Baptism  |            | moor         |
| 1694 | Isabella Boccocke  | Holy Trinity Minories       | Marriage | spinster   | black        |
| 1694 | Roseanna Johnson   | St Peter Cornhill           | Baptism  |            | negro        |
| 1695 | Elizabeth Almeda   | Holy Trinity Minories       | Marriage | widow      | black        |
| 1697 | Mary Sanders       | Holy Trinity Minories       | Marriage | widow      | moores       |
| 1697 | Sarah Bamoo        | St Augustine Watling Street | Baptism  |            | black Indian |
| 1698 | Mary Williams      | St Giles Cripplegate        | Baptism  |            | black        |
| 1701 | Maria              | St Peter Cornhill           | Baptism  |            | black        |



| DESCRIPTION   | MASTER                         | REFERENCE                         |
|---|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Sponsors: Mr. James Lambert, Mr. John Boweton, Mrs. Anne Beavis and Mrs. Elizabeth Shoply |                                | P69/BRI/A/005/MS06540/001 ff.93v  |
| a child from Allhallows the wall  |                                | P69/BOT2/A/016/MS09232/001 p.63   |
|   |                                | P69/ALH6/A/001/MS17824            |
|   | Domingo Rodrigus Francie       | P69/AND4/A/001/MS04107/002 f.276r |
|   |                                | P69/OLA1/A/002/MS04449/002 f.31v  |
| buried in the new church yard in seething lane from Mr. Pewseyes                          |                                | P69/OLA1/A/002/MS28869 p.101      |
| buried in the new church yard in seething lane from Mr. Pewseyes                          |                                | P69/OLA1/A/002/MS28869 p.107      |
| buried in St. Swithins church yard  | Mr. Chaplin                    | P69/SWI/A/008/MS04314             |
| sarvtmaid of Col. Bucklys, Barbadoes Mcht lodging at Mr. Beadles, Scrivener               |                                | P69/BEN1/A/010/MS04098            |
| child, Mouse Alley East Smithfield  |                                | P69/BOT2/016/MS09232/001 p.241    |
|   |                                | P69/MRY3/A/001/MS08990/002        |
| bastard Hounslich   |                                | P69/BOT2/A/016/MS09232/001 p.262  |
|   |                                | CLC/199/TC/004/MS09661 p.25       |
| age 14  |                                | P69/DUN2/A/006/MS10348            |
| daughter pf Peter Man and Mary  |                                | P69/AND4/A/001/MS04107/002 f.136v |
| age 20  |                                | P69/PET1/A/001/MS08820            |
| formerly called Dido  |                                | P69/TRI2/A/001/MS09238            |
|   |                                | P69/DUN2/A/001/MS09238            |
|   | Mrs. Walles in St Hellens      | P69/AND4/A/001/MS04107/002 p.290  |
|   | Mrs. Richardson of this parish | CLC/478/MS03713/002A              |
| formerly called Quedia  |                                | P69/TRI2/A/001/MS09238            |
| formerly called Hagar, Tomhas Pettey and Mary Hobart her sureties                         |                                | P69/TRI2/001/MS09238              |
|   | Mr. Pollington                 | P69/MRY15/A/002/MS07636 p.25      |
| baptised to call Martha   |                                | P69/TRI2/A/001/MS09238            |
| married to Thomas Lambert, widdower, marriner, both St. Mary Whitechapell                 |                                | P69/TRI2/010/MS09245 p.37         |
|   |                                | P69/PET1/A/001/MS08820            |
| married to Peter Daniel, both Stepney   |                                | P69/TRI2/A/010/MS09245 p.53       |
| married to William Munday, by licence   |                                | P69/TRI2/A/008/MS09243 p.357      |
| 20 years of age   |                                | P69/AUG/1/001/MS08872/002         |
| 23 years old  |                                | P69/GIS/A/002/MS06419/012         |
| 32 years old  |                                | P69/PET1/A/001/MS17824            |

# APPENDIX I

## 1702 - 1723

| YEAR | NAME             | LOCATION   | DOC TYPE                | OCCUPATION | ETHNICITY                   |
|------|------------------|--|-------------------------|------------|-----------------------------|
| 1702 | Mary Harris      | St. Giles in the Fields                              | Crime                   | servant    | black                       |
| 1702 | No name          | if found bring her to Coffee house on Lombard Street | Newspaper advertisement | maid       | negro                       |
| 1705 | Mary             | St Peter le Poer                                     | Baptism                 |            | black                       |
| 1705 | Mary             | St Alban Wood Street                                 | Baptism                 | maid       | Indian                      |
| 1705 | Anne             | St Alban Wood Street                                 | Baptism                 | maid       | black                       |
| 1705 | Martha Lewis     | St Bride Fleet Street                                | Baptism                 |            | native Bengall, East Indies |
| 1707 | Jane Coyer       | St Augustine Watling Street                          | Baptism                 |            | negro                       |
| 1708 | Beneba           | Broad street or to Royal exchane , Cornhill          | Newspaper advertisement | servant    | negro maid                  |
| 1708 | Rousanna Rose    | St Mary le Bow                                       | Baptism                 | servant    | Jamaica, negro              |
| 1711 | Grace Somes      | St Alban Wood Street                                 | Burial                  |            | Indian                      |
| 1713 | Elinor Howardall | Holy Trinity Minories                                | Baptism                 |            | blackmore                   |
| 1714 | Margaret Gay     | St Andrew Undershaft                                 | Baptism                 | servant    | negro                       |
| 1714 | Rebecca Roase    | St Alban Wood Street                                 | Burial                  |            | Indian                      |
| 1717 | Catherine Silver | St Dionis Backchurch                                 | Burial                  | servant    | negro                       |
| 1718 | Mary Wright      | St Botolph Aldgate                                   | Baptism                 |            | black                       |
| 1719 | Catherine        | St Helen Bishopgates                                 | Baptism                 |            | black                       |
| 1721 | Ann Moore        | Leadenhall street                                    | Newspaper advertisement | servant    | Negro                       |
| 1722 | Mary             | St Botolph Aldgate                                   | Burial                  |            | black                       |
| 1722 | Kitty            | Arundel Street                                       | Newspaper advertisement | maid       | negro                       |
| 1722 | Mary Augthewood  | St Benet Gracechurch                                 | Baptism                 |            | a milotta                   |
| 1722 | Hannah Blackmoor | St. Martin in the Fields                             | Crime                   | spinster   | blackmore                   |
| 1723 | Mary Shirby      | St Giles Cripplegate                                 | Marriage                |            | black                       |

| DESCRIPTION   | MASTER                        | REFERENCE  |
|---|-------------------------------|--|
| theft, guilty, whipping   |                               | Old Bailey Proceedings Online, January 1702, trial of Mary Harris (t17020114-18).  |
| 16 years old, face much pitted with small box, speaks english well, missing part of her ear do to dog bite, she wore strip stuff waistcoat and petticoat, absented herself from her master Cpt. On Tuesday the eighth instant at night. If one brings her to Mr. lloyds coffee house in Lombardstreet, reward of 1 Guinea and reasonable charges offered. | Capt. Benjamin Qnelch         | The flying post, december 10-12, 1702, 1186, London, GALE/Z2001376705  |
| at Mr. Yates  |                               | P69/PET2/A/001/MS04093/001   |
| 16 years old, witnessed and baptiesd by Dr. Adams, rector   |                               | P69/ALB/A/001/MS06527  |
| 18 years old, witnessed and baptiesd by Dr. Adams, rector   |                               | P69/ALB/A/001/MS06527  |
|   |                               | P69/BRI/A/005/MS06540/003  |
| 10 years old  |                               | P69/AUG/A/001/MS08872/003  |
| 23 years old, robbed and run away. pretty slim, pretty much pork-fretten. Whoever shall return her shall have a Guinea reward and reasonable charges  | Ann Ely                       | Postman and the Historical account, London, Tuesday, April 6, 1708   |
|   |                               | P69/MRY7/A/003/MS04998   |
| from Bell Inn   |                               | P69/ALB/A/001/MS06527  |
| daughter of Blackmore Howardall and of Rebecca his wife   |                               | P69/TRI2/A/002/MS09239 p.10  |
| adult   | Mrs. Mendoz, a Jew            | P69/AND4/A/001/MS04107/003   |
| from widow Worleys  |                               | P69/ALB/A/001/MS06527  |
|   | Mr. Thomas Mitchell, merchant | P69/DIO/A/001/MS17602  |
| duaghter of John and Elizabeth, age 20  |                               | P69/BOT2/A/008/MS09225/003 p.5   |
|   |                               | P69HEL/A/002/MS06831/003 p.23  |
| To the person who returned Ann moore to his master, he must contact him by leaving a note for John Perry at the African House leadenhall street to receive the remainder of his award as promised in the advert and also a further award.   | Lieutenant Colnel John Perry  | Daily post, Sat, Feb 25, 1721, GALE/Z2000263871  |
| Houndsdithc   |                               | P69/BOT2/A/016/MS09232/001 p.565   |
| 12 or 22 years old, reward given for finding her  | Mrs Cole                      | Daily Corant, Jan 6, 1722  |
| 23 years old  |                               | P69/BEN2/A/001/MS05671   |
| sexual offence, bigamy, not guilty  |                               | Old Bailey Proceedings Online, April 1722, trial of Hannah Blackmoor , alias Blackamore, Spinster , alias Barnard (t17220404-26) |
| married to John Chapell, licence  |                               | P69/GIS/A/002/MS06419/015  |

# APPENDIX I

## 1724 - 1761

| YEAR | NAME               | LOCATION                             | DOC TYPE                | OCCUPATION                | ETHNICITY                 |
|------|--------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1724 | Mary Richards      | St Andrew Undershaft                 | Baptism                 |                           | negroe                    |
| 1725 | No name            | St Dionis Backchurch                 | Burial                  |                           | negroe                    |
| 1726 | Sarah Glover       | St Katharine by the Tower            | Baptism                 |                           | black                     |
| 1727 | Betty              | Suffolk Street                       | Newspaper advertisement | servant                   | negro                     |
| 1727 | Mary Percivale     | St Peter le Poer                     | Baptism                 |                           | black                     |
| 1729 | Belender           | St Olave Hart Street                 | Burial                  |                           | black                     |
| 1731 | Billow             | London Dolphin Court in Tower street | Newspaper advertisement | Prob.servant no specified | negro                     |
| 1735 | Susannah Roberts   | St Botolph Aldgate                   | Burial                  |                           | black                     |
| 1735 | Elizabeth Pinnock  | St Olave Hart Street                 | Baptism                 |                           | black                     |
| 1737 | Ann                | St Olave Hart Street                 | Burial                  |                           | black                     |
| 1740 | Amealia Fell       | St Botolph Aldgate                   | Baptism                 |                           | black                     |
| 1740 | Jane Doraxa        | St Alban Wood Street                 | Baptism                 |                           | Indian                    |
| 1742 | Lucy Marshall      | St Lawrence Jewry                    | Baptism                 |                           | negro                     |
| 1745 | Elizabeth Carter   | St Andrew Undershaft                 | Burial                  |                           | black                     |
| 1746 | Ann Tartary        | St Helen Bishopgates                 | Baptism                 | servant                   |                           |
| 1746 | No name            | St Gabriel Fenchurch                 | Burial                  |                           | negro                     |
| 1748 | Margaret           | All Hallows London Wall              | Baptism                 |                           | black                     |
| 1749 | Lucy Camfill       | St Mary Abchurch                     | Baptism                 |                           | Indian                    |
| 1749 | Maria Williams     | St Bride Fleet Street                | Baptism                 |                           | black native of Barbadoes |
| 1750 | Elizabeth Savannah | St Peter Cornhill                    | Baptism                 |                           | black                     |
| 1750 | Hannah Long        | St Katharine by the Tower            | Baptism                 |                           | black                     |
| 1750 | Elizabeth True     | All Hallows London Wall              | Baptism                 | servant                   | black                     |
| 1751 | Hannah Long        | St Katharine by the Tower            | Burial                  |                           | black                     |
| 1752 | Lear               | St Andrew Undershaft                 | Baptism                 |                           | black                     |
| 1760 | Ann Burdetta       | St Alban Wood Street                 | Baptism                 |                           | black                     |
| 1761 | Mary-Allen         | St Dunstan in the West               | Baptism                 |                           | black                     |
| 1761 | Mary Thomas        | St Peter Cornhill                    | Baptism                 |                           | black                     |

| DESCRIPTION   | MASTER              | REFERENCE   |
|---|---------------------|---|
| adult   |                     | P69/AND\$/001/MS04107/003 p.35                    |
| a child from Mr. William Gerrish, merchant  |                     | P69/DIO/A/001/MS17602                             |
| wife of George Glover   |                     | CLC/199/TC/006/MS09663 p.111                      |
| 17 years old, she is flat noised, very thick lips, wore a red stuffed gown faced and lined with green, a blue quilted chintz petticoat. Whoever gives info so that she may be had again shall receive a Guinea reward. N.B. whoever entertain her shall be prosecuted according to law. | Mrs Mary Paterson?  | Daily Post, 1727, Thursday, Jan 26                |
|   |                     | P69/PET2/A/001/MS04093/002                        |
| from Mr. Newport, new yard  |                     | P69/OLA1/A/010/MS28870 p.88                       |
| She had on a blue stuff gown, and took with her another two gowns, one olive colour faced with blue the other a strpped cotton, and a bed and a pair of blankets. Whoever findsher return to address of Healy in tower street. Reward of two guineas.                                   | Capt. Healey        | Daily Journal, Sat, Jan 2, 1731, GALE/Z2000249589 |
| Gravel Lane   |                     | P69/BOT2/A/016/MS09232/002 p.111                  |
|   |                     | P69/OLA1/A/003/MS17818 p.5                        |
| New yard  |                     | P69/OLA1/A/010/MS28870 p.102                      |
| daughter of Thomas and Mary   |                     | P69/BOT2/A/008/MS09225/003 p.428                  |
|   |                     | P69/ALB/A/001/MS06527                             |
| 18 years old  |                     | P69/LAW1/A/003/MS06976                            |
| from a work house   |                     | P69/AND4/A/001/MS04107/003 p.179                  |
| by Rev. Mr. Wilmot  | Mr. Charles Dingley | P69/HEL/A/002/MS06831/003 p.66                    |
| belonging to James Douglas Esq  | James Douglas Esq   | P69/GAB/A/003/MS05294                             |
|   |                     | P69/ALH/A/005/MS05088 p.33                        |
|   |                     | P69/MRY1/A/002/MS07667                            |
| 16 years old  |                     | P69/BRI/A/007/MS07220/001                         |
| 17 years old  |                     | P69/PET1/A/001/MS08220                            |
|   |                     | CLC/199/TC/003/MS09660 f.42v                      |
|   | Mr. Wagstaffe       | P69/ALH6/A/004/MS17826/001                        |
|   |                     | CLC/199/TC/003/MS09660 f.89v                      |
| baptised to Elizabeth, of White Chapple parish  |                     | P69/AND4/A/004/MS04114 p.30                       |
| 30 years old  |                     | P69/ALB/001/MS06527                               |
| 7 years old, Clifford's Inn Lane  |                     | P69/DUN2/A/010/MS10351                            |
| age 30  |                     | P69/PET1/A/001/MS08820                            |

# APPENDIX I

## 1761 - 1789

| YEAR | NAME                  | LOCATION                  | DOC TYPE                | OCCUPATION | ETHNICITY                                 |
|------|-----------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|------------|---|
| 1761 | No name               |                           | Newspaper advertisement | servant    | negro                                     |
| 1762 | Catherine Wigginton   | All Hallows Staining      | Baptism                 |            | black                                     |
| 1762 | Sarah Ridgley         | St Dunstan in the West    | Baptism                 |            | negro                                     |
| 1762 | No name               | St Botolph Aldgate        | Burial                  |            | negroe                                    |
| 1763 | Ann Thomas            | St Botolph Aldgate        | Baptism                 |            | negro                                     |
| 1764 | Pathena Rowland       | St Andrew Undershaff      | Burial                  |            | black                                     |
| 1765 | Catherine Moss        | St Peter Cornhill         | Baptism                 |            | Jamaica black                             |
| 1766 | Ann Seaton            | St Andrew Undershaff      | Baptism                 |            | black                                     |
| 1766 | Sarah Cottle          | St Andrew Holborn         | Baptism                 |            | black, native of Island of St Christopher |
| 1768 | Patience              | St Dunstan in the West    | Baptism                 |            | black                                     |
| 1770 | Elizabeth Baldwin     | St Katharine by the Tower | Baptism                 |            | black                                     |
| 1770 | Ann Grun              | All Hallows Staining      | Baptism                 |            | black                                     |
| 1771 | No name               | St Sepulchre Holborn      | Burial                  |            | black                                     |
| 1771 | Elizabeth Blyden      | St Mary Aldermary         | Baptism                 |            | negro                                     |
| 1772 | Amie                  | St Stephen Walbrook       | Baptism                 |            | mulatto                                   |
| 1772 | Ann Woolery Stone     | All Hallows Staining      | Baptism                 |            | black                                     |
| 1772 | Rose                  | Holy Trinity Minories     | Burial                  |            | black                                     |
| 1773 | Susanna               | St Andrew Undershaff      | Baptism                 | servant    | negro                                     |
| 1778 | Mary Ann Meadows      | St Margaret Patterns      | Baptism                 |            | black, Barbadoes                          |
| 1780 | Ann Frances           | St Olave Hart Street      | Burial                  |            | black                                     |
| 1782 | Esther Allingham      | Gloucester-court          | Crime                   | prostitute | black                                     |
| 1783 | Rachel Coventry       | St Bride Fleet Street     | Baptism                 |            | negro                                     |
| 1783 | Ann Coventry          | St Bride Fleet Street     | Baptism                 |            | negro                                     |
| 1783 | Ann Katherine Lewis   | St Katharine by the Tower | Baptism                 |            | black                                     |
| 1784 | Mary McArthur         | St Gregory by St Paul     | Baptism                 |            | negro                                     |
| 1784 | Elizabeth Felix Comba | St Mary Abchurch          | Baptism                 |            | native Africa                             |
| 1784 | Mary de Cruz          | St Sepulchre Holborn      | Baptism                 |            | Indian, Bencooling, East Indies           |
| 1785 | Luisa Stewart Oglevey | St Botolph Aldgate        | Baptism                 |            | Tawney                                    |
| 1785 | Mary                  | St Dunstan in the East    | Baptism                 |            | Balasore of Bengal                        |
| 1789 | Elizabeth Shervington | St Katharine by the Tower | Baptism                 |            | black                                     |

| DESCRIPTION   | MASTER     | REFERENCE   |
|---|------------|---|
| She works well with her needle, washes well, does housework |            | Daily Ledger, 31st December 1761  |
| from Mr. Curries in Billiter Square                         |            | P69/ALH6/A/004/MS17826/001  |
|   |            | P69/DUN2/A.010/MS10351  |
| Castle yard, buried in Houndsditch                          |            | P69/bOT2/A/016/MS09232/002  |
| 28 years old  |            | P69/BOT4/A/003/MS04517/002  |
|   |            | CLC/199/TC/003/MS09660 f.73r  |
| 45 years old  |            | P69/PET1/A/001/MS08820  |
| age 55  |            | P69/AND4/A/001/MS04107/003 p.71   |
| 22 years old, adult   |            | P82/AND/A/001/MS06667/011   |
| 20 years old, Gloucester Street, Red Lyon Square            |            | P69/DUN2/A/010/MS10351  |
| 40 years old  |            | CLC/199/TC/009/MS09668  |
| 24 years old  |            | P69/ALH6/A/004/MS17826/001  |
| Chick Lane, 31 years old                                    |            | P69/SEP/A/006/MS07223/002   |
| daughter of William Blyden and Mary, a negro                |            | P69/MRY2/A/001  |
| belonging to Mrs. Warford at Mr. Baxter's in Bond Court     |            | P69/STE2/A/001/MS08319/002  |
| aged 28   |            | P69/ALH6/A/004/MS17826/001  |
| buried in the south church yard                             |            | P69/TRI2/A/014/MS09242 p.51   |
|   | Mr. Spence | P69/AND4/A/002/MS04108 p.5  |
| age 24  |            | P69/MGT4/A/001/MS05287/002  |
| wife to a black servant of Mr. Heymans                      |            | P69/OLA1/A/010/MS28870 p.158  |
| Not guilty  |            | Old Bailey Proceedings Online, May 1782, trial of ESTHER ALLINGHAM (†17820515-27) |
| 30 years old  |            | P69/BRI/A/007/MS06541/001   |
| 23 years old  |            | P69/BRI/A/007/MS06541/001   |
| 49 years old  |            | CLC/199/TC/009/MS09668  |
| 26 years old, at her request to baptise                     |            | P69/GRE/A/007/MS18935   |
|   |            | P69/MRY1/A/002/MS07667  |
|   |            | P69/SEP/A/003/MS07221/001   |
| daughter of Richard and Fillida, age 10, No. 8 Minories     |            | P69/BOT2/A/008/MS09225/004 p.515  |
| daughter of John de Croz and Mannuk his wife, an adult 26   |            | P69/DUN1/A/002/MS07858/001  |
| 28 years old  |            | CLC/199/TC/009/MS09668  |

# APPENDIX I

## 1789 - 1850

| YEAR | NAME                 | LOCATION               | DOC TYPE | OCCUPATION  | ETHNICITY                        |
|------|----------------------|------------------------|----------|-------------|----------------------------------|
| 1789 | Celia Brown          | St Dunstan in the East | Baptism  |             | native Bengal in the east indies |
| 1791 | Mary Ann Olave       | St Olave Hart Street   | Baptism  |             | negro                            |
| 1795 | Eliza Dunbar         | St Botolph Aldgate     | Baptism  |             | Jamaica                          |
| 1795 | Susannah             |                        | Crime    | servant     | negro                            |
| 1796 | Mary Daussy Lucas    | St Bride Fleet Street  | Baptism  |             | native of Madras                 |
| 1796 | Martha               | St Sepulchre Holborn   | Baptism  |             | negro from south carolina        |
| 1796 | Maria Butcher        | St Olave Hart Street   | Baptism  |             | Malotta (mulatto?)               |
| 1796 | Jane Butcher         | St Olave Hart Street   | Baptism  |             | Malotta (mulatto?)               |
| 1799 | Eliza Woodbine       | St Margaret Patterns   | Baptism  |             | negro                            |
| 1800 | Frances Laing        | St Olave Hart Street   | Baptism  |             | black                            |
| 1800 | Ann Blackmore        |                        | Crime    |             | blackmore?                       |
| 1800 | Flora Jones          | St Martin Outwich      | Baptism  |             | native east indies               |
| 1801 | Maria Barrell        |                        | Crime    | flowe maker | west Indian by birth             |
| 1803 | Sarah Underwood      | St Bride Fleet Street  | Baptism  |             | negro, Demerara                  |
| 1805 | Catherine Steel      | St Botolph Aldgate     | Baptism  |             | black, Jamaica                   |
| 1807 | Elizabeth Purves     | St Giles Cripplegate   | Baptism  |             | native Hindostan                 |
| 1812 | Ann                  | St James Duke Place    | Baptism  |             | native Africa                    |
| 1812 | Mary Easson          | St Bride Fleet Street  | Baptism  |             | black                            |
| 1815 | Rosetta Sarah Weston | St Sepulchre Holborn   | Baptism  | servant     | African parents                  |
| 1816 | Rebecca Hudder       | St Botolph Aldgate     | Baptism  |             | black or mix?                    |
| 1828 | Ann Blackmore        |                        | Crime    |             | blackmore                        |
| 1830 | Sarah                | St Dunstan in the East | Burial   |             | black                            |
| 1847 | Ann Blackmore        |                        | Crime    |             | blackmore                        |
| 1850 | Caroline Periera     |                        | Crime    |             | Indian                           |



| DESCRIPTION  | MASTER | REFERENCE   |
|--|--------|---|
| 20 years old   |        | P69/DUN1/A/002/MS07858/001  |
| adult, witnessed by James Berry, Mary-Ann Gooden, Mary Huxstable             |        | P69/OLA1/A/003/MS17818 p.123  |
| age 25, at Mr Daws, No 86 Little Tower Hill                                  |        | P69/BOT2/A/008/MS09225/004  |
| age 15, theft, guilty, transportation  |        | Old Bailey Proceedings Online, September 1795, trial of SUSANNAH (t17950916-2).               |
| age 15, from Mr. Hill's St Bride workhouse                                   |        | P69/BRI/A/007/MS06541/001   |
| 26 years old   |        | P69/SEP/A/003/MS07221/002 p.165   |
| witnessed by Elizabeth Butcher, Jane Prisetly, Thomas Alsop                  |        | P69/OLA1/A/003/MS17818 p.120  |
| witnessed by Elizabeth Butcher, Jane Prisetly, Thomas Alsop                  |        | P69/OLA1/A/003/MS17818 p.120  |
|  |        | P69/MGT4/001/MS05287/002  |
| illgitimate child, daughter of Samuel Laing and Eleanor Allen a black        |        | P69/OLA1/A/003/MS17818 p.138  |
| Stealing butter, guilty  |        | Old Bailey Proceedings Online, February 1800, trial of ANN BLACKMORE (t18000219-31)           |
| age 18, living with John Jones esq of the Bengal warehouse, East India House |        | P69/MTN3/A/002/MS06838/001  |
| coining offence, guilty, imprisonment  |        | Old Bailey Proceedings Online, May 1801, trial of MARIA BARRELL , alias ADAIR (t18010520-90)  |
| age 16, residing No. 1 Dove Court, New Street Hill                           |        | P69/BRI/A/007/MS06541/001   |
| age 20   |        | P69/BOT2/A/008/MS09225/005 p.137  |
| daughter of Richardson Purves, merchant and Rajoo                            |        | P69/GIS/A/003/MS06240/003 p.461   |
| adult  |        | P69/JS1/A/001/MS07893/002 p.6   |
| parents unknown, 13 Surry Street, Strand, age 40                             |        | P69/BRI/A/007/MS06541/001   |
| Smithfield Barrs   |        | P69/SEP/A/003/MS07221/004   |
| daughter of William Hudder and Catherine a black woman                       |        | P69/BOT2/A/009/MS09231/002 p.34   |
| lesser offence, guilty, transport  |        | Old Bailey Proceedings Online, September 1828, trial of ANN BLACKMORE (t18280911-91).         |
| from Tower Street, age 16 in New Yard  |        | P69/DUN1/A/014/MS07860/002  |
| Killing a child, not guilty  |        | Old Bailey Proceedings Online, August 1847, trial of ANN BLACKMORE (t18470816-1990)           |
| mentioned in the proceeding, ayah to Dr. Darwood's family                    |        | Old Bailey Proceedings Online, June 1850, trial of PATRICK SMITH SARAH SMITH (t18500610-1040) |

## I NOTES



