

Making Money from the Royal Navy in the late Eighteenth Century: Charles Kerr on Antigua 'breathing the True Spirit of a West India agent'

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Recent studies of the legacy of people enslaved in the British Caribbean have neglected how non-plantation owners in colonies such as Antigua sometimes became enormously wealthy. This article examines how the Scottish-born Antiguan merchant Charles Kerr acquired his fortune through his activities as a prize agent, especially relating to the British occupation of St Eustatius (1781) and of Guadeloupe (1794) and as a contractor/supplier to the Royal Navy and others for a variety of goods and services. Charles Kerr, and those like him, need to be added to the subjects requiring study to strengthen our understanding of the various legacies of slavery and the nature of the British Empire.

Key Words: Charles Kerr, Antigua, Royal Navy, George Rodney, Horatio Nelson, English Harbour, slavery, dockyards, prizes, fraud, Jane Davy

The Legacies of British Slave-ownership database developed by the History Department at University College London provides a detailed view of the enormous compensation paid by the UK government mostly to plantation owners following the abolition of slavery in the Caribbean sugar colonies during the 1830s.¹ The database also tracks what became of that money and the general commercial, cultural, political and other legacies in Britain stemming from the plantation system. It provides detailed data on those plantation owners who received the largest amounts of compensation but seems not to capture much information relating to those involved in other aspects of colonial infrastructure vital to its functioning: the merchants, physicians, clergy, lawyers, agents, navy and army personnel and so on, some of whom accumulated immense wealth. Nevertheless, it should always be borne in mind that the opportunities to pursue their activities would never have arisen but for the wealth produced by the sugar plantations. That wealth required the Royal Navy to protect Britain's Caribbean colonies and, when required, help suppress rebellions by enslaved people.² Earlier in the eighteenth century the Caribbean, after home waters, saw the largest deployment of Royal Navy vessels.³ In turn that required the construction of two large dockyards, one on Jamaica (in the west and by far Britain's largest colony), the other, the English Harbour, on Antigua's southern coast (nearly 1000 miles to the east).

By using the life and career of a non-plantation owner on Antigua, Charles Kerr (1748os–1795), this paper illustrates some of the problems related to managing a late eighteenth-century colony to some extent in economic decline (with wildly varying annual sugar yields),⁴ 4000 miles from London, during both war and uneasy peace. These issues included: how to deal with a colony whose small and generally closely connected elites had very different political and economic interests from those of the government in London

¹ ucl.ac.uk/lbs. The database also covers Mauritius and the Cape of Good Hope.

² McAleer and Petley, 'Introduction', 10.

³ Rodger, *The Wooden World*, 352; Williams, 'The Royal Navy and Caribbean Colonial Society', 31. See also Buchet, 'The Royal Navy and the Caribbean', 30-44.

⁴ Deerr, *The History of Sugar*, Vol. 1, 195; Dyde, *A History of Antigua*, 86-7; Berland and Endfield, 'Drought and Disaster', 209-35.

which created tensions between Royal Navy officers, the dockyard managers and the island elite;⁵ how members of that elite were entwined through kinship, marriage, friendship and mutual material interests providing further evidence, if such was needed, of the disproportionate number of Scots involved in the British Caribbean;⁶ and, finally, the problems inherent in the Royal Navy's divided administrative structure between the Admiralty and the Navy Board which made the practice of dockyard fraud and corruption relatively easy, but hard, though not impossible, to prove.

This case study also adds to current discussions about the nature of the British Empire which, as Linda Colley observed is not 'yet sufficiently understood'.⁷ Whatever it was, it was not a monolithic, centralised, political entity in the sense of the twentieth-century dictatorships, though that caricature is shared by both left and right in their current 'culture wars'. We need to know more about its operations, its forms and exercise of power, control, the divergent interests of the actors involved etc., and this paper contributes towards understanding that underlying complexity of managing the Empire. Furthermore, by studying a non-plantation owner this paper coheres well with a recent critique of using the plantation as the main unit of historical analysis when writing about the eighteenth-century Caribbean.⁸

Charles Kerr

This paper does not seek to assess whether Kerr's activities as a contractor to and prize agent for the Royal Navy were typical (or otherwise) of other Antigua-based merchants or indeed of others working in colonies elsewhere in the wider Caribbean - that would require studying other similar individuals. It should be noted, however, that he was not a merchant in the sense or scale of the transatlantic sugar houses of Houstoun & Co. or the Baillies discussed by Douglas Hamilton; but conversely those houses seem to have had little connection with the Royal Navy.⁹ Although Kerr used facilities in London provided by the Baillies, his own activities appear to have been confined to the Caribbean centred on Antigua.

While Siân Williams has studied the social relations of Royal Navy officers with plantation owners in the Caribbean and the consequent benefits and tensions,¹⁰ this article examines what were basically transactional relationships between military and civilian Royal Navy personnel and a non-plantation owner. It suggests the existence of civilian groups both within the Royal Navy and colonial society that have largely escaped historical attention. Such neglect could be attributed to those groups being socially below both naval officers and planters as well as, in Kerr's case at least, the considerable opacity due to a shortage of primary evidence about what can be found about his activities and those of other merchants. For Antigua, the lack of evidence is a general problem because of the limited survival of the island's archives compared, for example, with Jamaica where much more exists.¹¹ Furthermore, in Kerr's case specifically, he would surely not have wished to leave a

⁵ McAleer and Petley, 'Introduction', 11; Snow, 'Fugitive Harbour'.

⁶ Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic world*; Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation*, 129-30.

⁷ Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World*, 374; McAleer and Petley, 'Introduction', 3-6.

⁸ Waters, 'Indefensible Landscapes', 153-76.

⁹ Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic world*, 84-111.

¹⁰ Williams, 'The Royal Navy and Caribbean Colonial Society'.

¹¹ Neither the holdings of the National Archives of Antigua and Barbuda nor those of the English Harbour Museum library were referenced in Ingham, *Manuscript Sources for the History of the West Indies*.

paper trail due, as we shall see, to some of his activities bordering on and almost certainly crossing into illegality.

The fourth surviving son of William Kerr (1709–1785 or 6), Baillie of Kelso, and his first wife Helenor Cranstoun, Kerr came from Bloodilaws in the Church of Scotland parish of Oxnam, south of Kelso, and close to the English border. All his brothers who survived childhood pursued careers in the army with two killed in battle (Minden, 1759; and Charleston, 1780). Of the two who did not suffer that fate, James Kerr (1750s–1821) rose to be a general in the service of the Honourable East India Company, whilst the eldest brother, William Kerr (1738os–1824), practiced originally as an army doctor before settling in Northampton where he became a distinguished physician.¹²

Kerr did not share his brothers' martial tendencies, at least in the form of direct service. We do not know why, when, or how he arrived on Antigua or what he initially did. But it is highly likely, judging by the experiences of others who left Scotland at the time, that he would have had prior contact with some of the Scots on the island who formed an 'almost hegemonic' group there.¹³ The first piece of evidence found about Kerr in his late twenties recorded his acting in 1776, with someone named Ross, as the Antigua agent for selling some land on the colony of St Vincent in the Windward Islands.¹⁴ Judging by this and some of his later activities on Antigua, he may well have had some training as a lawyer.¹⁵

A glimpse as to how Kerr operated as a merchant can be seen in the November 1785 orders given by the Bristol merchants Lowbridge Bright (d.1818) and Richard Bright (1754–1840) to William Mattocks (d.1785 or 6), captain of their ship *The Sybil*. Most goods onboard were destined for Kerr on Antigua and Mattocks, who died on the voyage, was instructed to follow Kerr's orders about unloading and taking on ballast for the next leg of the voyage to Jamaica where they expected him to arrive in early February.¹⁶ Once in his warehouse(s) Kerr would then distribute the goods according to order or sell them. Though by 1792 Kerr probably owned a 44-ton schooner named after him,¹⁷ one surmises that his business mostly used contract shipping. As we will see, Kerr traded in many different commodities including guns. In early 1782, when there existed a strong possibility of a French invasion, he sold five hundred flinted weapons to the Antiguan government.¹⁸ This sale probably led later in the year to his appointment as Commissary General of the Antigua Militia, though he quickly got into trouble when he added a five per cent commission to his first account (of nearly £550). Following an enquiry, the Antigua Assembly eventually approved the charge though describing it as 'very unjustifiable', and declared that future commissions would not be paid.¹⁹

¹² This paragraph is derived from Kerr, *A History of the Family of Kerr*, 67-9; see also Anon, 'Sir Thomas Kerr', 176-7.

¹³ Zacek, *Settler Society in the English Leeward Islands*, 99-118, especially 110-12, quotation on p.110; Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic world*, 6, 60-1; Dobson, *Scottish emigration to Colonial America*, 172-80.

¹⁴ *The Antigua Gazette*, 8 May 1776.

¹⁵ Oliver, *The History of the Island of Antigua*, 1: 225, 2: 58-9, 168-9, 172, 245, 3: 114, 348, 350-1 notes him acting as a trustee or executor for a number of wills from 1787 until shortly before his own death. He also served as a Justice of the Peace, 1: cxxxix.

¹⁶ Lowbridge Bright and Richard Bright to William Mattocks, 15 November 1785, in Minchinton, *The Trade of Bristol*, 123-5.

¹⁷ Sanderson, *English Naval Strategy*, 378-9.

¹⁸ The National Archives, Kew, (hereafter TNA): CO 9/40 (unfoliated), Minutes of Antigua Council, 12 Feb. 1782.

¹⁹ TNA: CO 9/41 (unfoliated), Minutes of Antigua Assembly, 19 Sep., 2, 21 Nov. and 19 Dec. 1782,

By the late 1770s, Kerr seems to have made sufficient money to enable him to support a family and at some point he married Jane Charlecombe Tweedie (1757–1834).²⁰ The eldest child, she and all her siblings were born (or at least received Anglican baptism) in Rotherhithe to Robert Tweedie (d.1804) and Jane Chalucombe (1725–1796). Robert Tweedie also had a house in Antigua Street on the Leith side of Edinburgh.²¹ The proximity of these locations to major ports suggests the possibility that he may also have been a West India merchant of some kind. Charles and Jane Kerr's only child, a daughter, also Jane Kerr (later Apreece and then Davy) was born in the early 1780s probably in St John's, the administrative centre of Antigua on the island's northwest coast.

Kerr, probably with his wife and possibly his daughter, remained based in Antigua throughout the 1780s and early 1790s. During those years there is scattered evidence of his activities which taken together allow us to gain some understanding about how he amassed the large fortune that passed to his wife and daughter. Some of the family also paid at least two visits to Britain. The first, almost certainly in 1783, was to Kerr's father in Scotland. In a letter to Jane Apreece as she had then become, probably written in early 1806, the poet and later novelist, Walter Scott (1771–1832), a relation of the Scottish kind (i.e. a distant cousin) to Kerr, recollected last meeting her at her 'good grandfather's' house when she was of an 'age of playing at *Hide and Seek*'.²²

St Eustatius

Kerr's opportunity to acquire a substantial fortune in the early 1780s stemmed from Britain's war with France and Spain because of their support for 13 rebel British colonies on mainland North America. In March 1780, George Rodney (bp.1718os, d.1792) arrived in the Caribbean as Commander-in-Chief of the Leeward Islands station joined in January the following year by Samuel Hood (1724–1816) as second-in-command. Quite how Rodney and Kerr came to know each other is not clear, but by December 1780 Kerr was managing the bills of exchange for prizes taken by Rodney's fleet;²³ indeed Kerr asked Rodney to recommend him as agent to Hood and other flag officers which Rodney did and Hood agreed.²⁴ That month Britain declared war on the United Provinces and orders were sent to Rodney to occupy Dutch possessions, particularly St Eustatius, a small island about 80 miles northwest of Antigua.²⁵ This colony had functioned as a free port through which arms from Europe (including Britain) had passed under neutral flags to the rebels thus evading the Royal Navy's blockade.²⁶ On 27 January 1781 the order to attack and occupy Dutch territories reached Rodney. His previous prize agent had been suffering from a 'severe touch

²⁰ Tweedie's middle name (which has various spellings) has incorrectly led some to assume a second marriage to someone of that name. For instance, Oliver, *The History of the Island of Antigua*, 2: 108, albeit with a query.

²¹ *The Edinburgh Directory from July 1797 to July 1798*, 188.

²² Walter Scott to Jane Apreece, early 1806?, in Parker, 'Lady Davy in Her Letters', 79. The original of this letter has not been located. During 1783 Scott attended Kelso Grammar School which suggests this date for the Kerrs' visit to Scotland.

²³ TNA: PRO 30/20/21/8, 25-8 and 29-32, Charles Kerr to William Pagett (Rodney's secretary), 8 Dec. 1780 and 30 Dec.1780,

²⁴ TNA: PRO 30/20/21/8, 33-6, Charles Kerr to George Rodney, 24 Jan. 1781. The misdated copy of Rodney's reply, signed 'yr very sincere friend' is in TNA: PRO 30/20/22/7, 7-8. TNA: PRO 30/20/22/2, 143-50, Samuel Hood to George Rodney, 8 Apr. 1781.

²⁵ The order of 20 Dec. 1780 is in TNA: PRO 30/20/22/1, 5-8.

²⁶ Details of the general military and political situation are taken from Cock, 'Avarice and Rapacity', 265-78 and Jameson, 'St. Eustatius in the American Revolution', 683-708.

of the Gout',²⁷ which may explain why, on 1 February, Rodney warranted Kerr to be one of his prize agents despite Kerr, as he freely admitted, having never 'yet done any thing in the Agency line'.²⁸ Specifically, Kerr would be responsible for captured Dutch vessels sent by Rodney to Antigua.²⁹

On 3 February Rodney's and Hood's fleets, carrying army contingents commanded by John Vaughan (c.1731–1795), appeared off St Eustatius. Poorly defended, because news about the declaration of war had yet to arrive, after a brief symbolic resistance the governor surrendered the island. This included more than 130 ships already at anchor there, a number, which following further actions (including continuing to fly the Dutch flag over the island encouraging other enemy ships to believe it a safe anchorage), rose to more than 200.³⁰

While Rodney expected considerable prizes, nothing had prepared him for such potential wealth which would solve all his financial problems (to avoid his creditors he exiled himself to France between 1774 and 1779). He spent three months on the island making the necessary arrangements receiving much criticism, including by Hood,³¹ since he should have been pursuing the French fleet. He and Vaughan seized everything they found on St Eustatius no matter whether it belonged to enemy, neutral or British merchants (whom Rodney regarded as traitors).³² Its total value, Vaughan estimated, came to at least £3,000,000, a colossal sum.³³ Randolph Cock has calculated that only about a third of that amount was eventually realised in cash, that is a million pounds,³⁴ of which Rodney would have reasonably expected £80,000 as the commanding admiral's share. Just under £380,000 of the total came from an auction held on St Eustatius, beginning in mid-March 1781 and lasting about four months. To maximise the prices obtained, merchants from French colonies such as Martinique and Guadeloupe, under flags of truce, were invited to attend, something that attracted further criticism to Rodney.³⁵ Indeed, when, owing to ill health, he returned to England for six months from August 1781, he had to justify to Parliament (successfully) his actions on St Eustatius.³⁶ Shortly after his return to the Caribbean, in April 1782, he soundly defeated the French fleet at the Battle of the Saints for which he was ennobled and awarded a £2000 pension.

Kerr's role as Rodney's prize agent was not straightforward. For example, he claimed unhappiness with the auction which 'hath drawn all the money' from Antigua, meaning he

²⁷ TNA: PRO 30/20/21/8, 29-32, Charles Kerr to William Pagett, 30 Dec. 1780.

²⁸ TNA: PRO 30/20/21/8, 37-40, Charles Kerr to George Rodney, 12 Feb. 1781.

²⁹ The original of the warrant, George Rodney to Charles Kerr, 1 Feb. 1781, is located at the front of Kerr's account book, TNA: HCA 2/321. See also Kerr, *Before the Most Noble and Right Honourable the Lord Commissioners of Appeals in Prize Causes*, 1. Copy in TNA: HCA 42/153.

³⁰ Spinney, *Rodney*, 360-9. For Hood's detailed account see his letter of 12 Feb. 1781 in Owen, 'Letters from Samuel Hood', letter 5.

³¹ Breen, 'Sir George Rodney and St Eustatius', 201.

³² Dragoni, 'Operating Outside of Empire', 1-19. On the eve of his departure from the Caribbean, Rodney instructed Kerr and another agent (from St Christopher) to use their discretion in dealing with the goods of legitimate British merchants. Of course, this may have been written to head off any future legal action by allocating to others, in advance, any blame (see Spinney, *Rodney*, 377). George Rodney to Aretas Akers and Charles Kerr, 31 Jul. 1781 in Rodney, *Letters from Sir George Brydges now Lord Rodney*, 83-4. A copy of this letter is in TNA: PRO 30/20/22/9, 89-92.

³³ TNA: CO 5/238, 294-7, John Vaughan to Lord Germain (copy).

³⁴ Cock, 'Avarice and Rapacity', 272.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 271.

³⁶ Spinney, *Rodney*, 385-7.

could not obtain full value for the 15 large and seven small ships and cargoes Rodney had sent to Antigua for him.³⁷ The laws governing prizes drawn up just over 70 years earlier would not be revised, and then piecemeal, until the early nineteenth century. Once captured ships and goods had been condemned by a prize court, the agent's job was to sell them and distribute the proceedings. There was ample room for all kinds of frauds by prize agents and they gained 'a terrible reputation for dishonesty and sharp practice'.³⁸ They might, for example, undersell a ship to themselves or simply retain the proceeds from a sale for years (possibly for investment) in the knowledge that any legal action to obtain redress would be protracted. Whether Kerr did the former is unclear though he had the opportunity, but he certainly did the latter. Indeed, in April 1783 Rodney's secretary complained Kerr was 'breathing the True Spirit of a West India agent to keep the money they possess as long as they can'.³⁹

In this particular case there were two additional complications. First the unusual involvement of the army in also being awarded a share of the spoils and, second, aggrieved British merchants, believing that their goods had been unlawfully seized by Rodney and Vaughan, brought legal actions lasting into the 1790s.⁴⁰ This litigation and the surrounding controversy resulted in Rodney producing a pamphlet of just over a hundred pages, printing letters and orders justifying his actions on St Eustatius. Originally issued for private circulation in the mid-1780s, he published a significantly extended version in 1789.⁴¹ During this period the enormous sums involved slowly diminished so that in 1795, when the final payments were made, an army private received just seven shillings.⁴² One understands why the entire episode marred Rodney's retirement before his death in 'honourable poverty' in London in 1792.⁴³

Running throughout the 1780s, in parallel with the legal actions by the merchants against Rodney, were the legal steps taken by him against Kerr relating to the ships and cargoes he had sent to Antigua from St Eustatius. These initially came under the jurisdiction of the Vice Court of Admiralty on Antigua⁴⁴ which condemned them.⁴⁵ Kerr sold all the ships and their contents for just over £125,000, his commission and expenses coming to a little over £15,000.⁴⁶ In the standard gambit of keeping the commanding officer happy, Kerr remitted just over £16,000 to Rodney in 1781.⁴⁷ Repeated requests were made throughout

³⁷ TNA: PRO 30/20/21/8, 41-4, Charles Kerr to George Rodney, 25 Apr. 1781.

³⁸ Guttridge, 'Aspects of Naval Prize Agency', 48. See also Hill, *The Prizes of War*, 139-44.

³⁹ TNA: PRO 30/20/22/3, 143-6, William Pagett to Lord Rodney, 20 Apr. 1783.

⁴⁰ Breen, 'Sir George Rodney and St Eustatius', 199-200; Spinney, *Rodney*, 420-1. There are two large boxes containing dozens of claims in TNA: HCA 42/150.

⁴¹ Rodney, *Letters from Sir George Brydges now Lord Rodney*. The privately circulated edition (copy in TNA: PRO 30/20/25/8) was undated.

⁴² *The Times*, 19 Oct. 1795.

⁴³ Munday, *The Life and Correspondence of the late Admiral Lord Rodney*, 2: 366. Spinney, *Rodney*, 421-2.

⁴⁴ Little has been written about the many Vice Admiralty Courts in the Caribbean. But see Craton, 'The Role of the Caribbean Vice Admiralty Courts', 5-20 (republished in Craton, *Empire, Enslavement*, 104-16, 470-3), which mostly uses evidence from the Jamaica court, the archives of which exist. For their, slightly later, role in enforcing the abolition of the trade in enslaved people see Benton, 'Abolition and Imperial Law', 355-74.

⁴⁵ Unfortunately, the Court's papers seem not to have survived, but TNA: PRO 30/20/21/8, 41-4, Charles Kerr to George Rodney, 25 Apr. 1781, noted the verdict. This letter also enclosed a bill of exchange of £5000 for Rodney and a list of the ships Kerr was dealing with.

⁴⁶ Detailed in TNA: HCA 42/153.

⁴⁷ TNA: PRO 30/20/21/6, 217, Note of money deposited in Rodney's account with Drummonds in 1781, probably written in June or July 1791. TNA: PRO 30/20/22/2, 9-12, Drummonds to George Rodney, 21 Sep. 1781, noted Kerr's deposit of £4000 for Rodney.

the decade for Kerr to transfer the remaining money to the captors,⁴⁸ and in 1786 a monition was issued in an attempt to bring 'Mr. Kerr to do [sic] Justice'.⁴⁹ During this period Kerr's interests in the High Court of Admiralty were represented by his brother William Kerr and the London merchant, James Baillie. The former used delaying tactics such as asking the court for more time to receive information from Antigua.⁵⁰ Despite further representations, in 1789 Kerr was ordered, following the failure of an appeal, to pay just over £53,000 into the court.⁵¹ Kerr then claimed that he had already transferred £24,728 to Rodney as his share of the prize capture.⁵² However, this was almost double Rodney's entitlement of the admiral's one eighth share and at the end of 1790 was asked to pay that money into the court, so that the distribution could commence (presumably in a more orderly manner).⁵³ What Kerr seems to have done was to combine (deliberately?) Rodney's share of the prize with money owed to other captors. This knotty problem was addressed in a series of rough notes (in the Rodney papers made in different unidentified hands, but evidently by his agents) in June and July 1791 (now more than ten years after St Eustatius had been captured). These notes seem part of a drafting process for a legal brief (not located, assuming it was completed). Rodney claimed no knowledge of Kerr holding 'Publick Money' in his name and that 'He will most readily pay any balance that may appear due from him to the Captors'.⁵⁴

Assuming that Kerr paid the required sum into the court, that still left about £32,000 unaccounted for and in April 1793, after Rodney's death, Kerr visited London to continue contesting the claims.⁵⁵ In his sworn disposition, Kerr claimed the money shortage on Antigua at the time necessarily required him, in order to maximise the sale value, to provide post-dated bills to buyers, but, he added, due to the damage caused by a major fire in St John's in 1782, nearly £7000 worth of bills could not be redeemed from the affected purchasers.⁵⁶ He further complicated matters by discussing rates of bill discounting and what he claimed was contradictory information about how to deal with the money, attaching a 1784 letter from Philip Skene (d.1788), an army major-general, who had been given differing accounts about the distribution of the prize money.⁵⁷ Unfortunately, the High Court of Admiralty's minute book for this period no longer exists and no other record of the outcome has been found.

It seems that Kerr used the money he retained to generate further wealth by, for example, providing credit for those who needed it on the island. In 1785 to (partially) settle a debt of £6726, John Nihell transferred to Kerr, amongst other items, various properties in

⁴⁸ TNA: PRO 30/20/21/6, 195-8, Matthew Forster, Paul Maylor and George Jackson to Lord Rodney, 10 Dec. 1790.

⁴⁹ TNA: PRO 30/20/21/7, 177-80, Paul Maylor to Lord Rodney, 20 Mar. 1786.

⁵⁰ TNA: PRO 30/20/21/7, 193-6, Paul Maylor to Lord Rodney, 16 Feb. 1787.

⁵¹ TNA: PRO 30/20/21/6, 187-8, 'Appeal of Charles Kerr', 24 Nov. 1789; Cock, 'Avarice and Rapacity', 276.

⁵² TNA: PRO 30/20/21/6, 195-8, Matthew Forster, Paul Maylor and George Jackson to Lord Rodney, 10 Dec. 1790, which enclosed Kerr's statement of this remittance. Presumably he had transferred further sums after the 1781 payments. In 1784 Baillie refused to honour one of Kerr's bills (for £5629 11s 7d) because he did not hold sufficient funds; Baillie offered £3000 for the bill which illustrates the perceived risk in dealing with Kerr. TNA: PRO 30/20/22/2, 17-20, Drummonds to Lord Rodney, 4 Sep. 1784.

⁵³ TNA: PRO 30/20/21/6, 195-8, Matthew Forster, Paul Maylor and George Jackson to Lord Rodney, 10 Dec. 1790.

⁵⁴ The notes are in TNA: PRO 30/20/21/6, 203-17; quotations on pp.203 and 205 respectively.

⁵⁵ TNA: HCA 2/321, Kerr's sworn statement of 10 Apr. 1793.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ TNA: HCA 2/321, Philip Skene to Charles Kerr, 1 Jan. 1784.

St John's, 11 enslaved people and more than 500 sheep. More of Nihell's debt was repaid the following year when his brother, Lawrence Nihell (bp.1757, d.1822), transferred to Kerr the remainder of his interest in a Wapping Street property in St John's.⁵⁸ With the additional enslaved people, it is possibly not a coincidence that from 1786 until the mid-1790s Kerr leased approximately ten per year to the Royal Navy working in various occupations at the English Harbour.⁵⁹ All told Kerr's activities evince strong inter-connections between different aspects of his businesses and his wealth by the late 1780s is evinced on a 1788 map of St John's showing him controlling two quays on the harbour frontage and two other buildings in the town, one probably his home and the other his counting house or place of business.⁶⁰ He also had a business arrangement with Thomas Jarvis (1750–1805), a wealthy planter (Thibou's Estate, one of the handful on the island that received more than £4000 in compensation) who is shown on the map owning three quays.⁶¹

Horatio Nelson and the English Harbour

The various preliminaries and the final peace treaties of September 1783 between the warring parties brought an end to hostilities, with the ensuing peace lasting for nearly ten years. The treaties also recognised the independence from Britain of the 13 former North American colonies shortly to federate into the United States. The Royal Navy's principal role in the West Indies became one of enforcing the Navigation Acts, preventing trade between Britain's former and current colonies. The Acts impacted severely on Caribbean colonial economies and were widely flouted, even though Antigua had been particularly loyal during the war.⁶² At the end of July 1784, the 25-year-old Horatio Nelson (1758–1805) arrived on HMS *Boreas* in the Leeward Islands for three years as senior captain on the station under Richard Hughes (c.1723-1812), Commander-in-Chief, based in Barbados until July 1786 when Nelson became acting Commander. Nelson, though not a commodore, commanded a small squadron with Admiralty orders to enforce the Acts.⁶³ This was contrary to the wishes of the Antiguan elite and indeed of Hughes, despite, of course, being bound by the same orders as Nelson. That conflict of interest between London and the West Indian colonists quickly led to considerable tension and Nelson soon came to loath Antigua and the Antiguans, a feeling that was reciprocated.⁶⁴ In early 1785 as he told a friend in an oft-quoted passage: 'The residents of these Islands are Americans by connexion and by interest, and are inimical to Great Britain. They are as great rebels as ever were in America, had they the power to show it';⁶⁵ he seems not to have appreciated and possibly may not have known about the Antiguans previous strong loyalty.

Almost the first thing Nelson did when he arrived in 1784 was to establish an officers' mess in the English Harbour. For this, he ordered from Kerr, amongst other things,

⁵⁸ Oliver, *The History of the Island of Antigua*, 2: 304.

⁵⁹ At the end of each year from 1785 to 1824 the authorities of the English Harbour sent an 'Annual Return of Negroes' to London listing the enslaved people working in the dockyard and recording their owners. These returns are in TNA: ADM 42/2114. On this practice see Snow, 'Fugitive Harbour'.

⁶⁰ British Library Maps K. Top 123/84.

⁶¹ For the existence of this arrangement see *The Antigua Gazette*, 5 Jul. 1798.

⁶² O'Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided*, 148.

⁶³ For details see Kirby, 'Nelson and American Merchantmen', 137-47.

⁶⁴ Knight, *The Pursuit of Victory*, 91-6; Williams, 'The Royal Navy and Caribbean Colonial Society', 42-3; the letters in Rawson (ed.), *Nelson's Letters from the Leeward Islands*.

⁶⁵ Horatio Nelson to William Locker, 15 Jan. 1785, Rawson, *Nelson's Letters*, 32. See also Williams, 'The Royal Navy and Caribbean Colonial Society', 42 for similar sentiments.

a hogshead (about 300 litres) of port and one of white wine, as well as sugar, butter, salt and pepper in proportional quantities.⁶⁶ Because Nelson's order for the officers' mess occurred early during his time on the station, there appear to have been no problems with that transaction. But as time passed, Nelson formed the view that there existed significant corruption in dockyard procurement, which he sought to root out, consequently coming into serious conflict with the dockyard management.⁶⁷ The civilians responsible for the dockyard were the Naval Officer and Storekeeper on the island, from February 1779, Anthony Munton (c.1755–1814), his First Clerk (styled Deputy Naval Officer), Archibald Dow (d.1804) and the Master Shipwright, Daniel Scarville. In theory they reported to the Navy Board in London, but in practice because it took at least two months before a reply to any message sent to London could arrive, they had a wide degree of autonomy. The lack of a clear chain of command meant that relations with naval officers based on the island could be strained. Unless they held the rank of commodore or above, officers had little power over the dockyard managers.

Towards the end of his posting, Nelson had a massive row with Dow, although tensions may have been simmering from his recent support of Prince William (1765–1837, later William IV), commander of HMS *Pegasus*, in refusing on arrival in Antigua in 1786 to provide the ship's muster book to the dockyard management.⁶⁸ The dispute began on 3 February 1787 at a meeting between Nelson and Dow to discuss the payment of dockyard bills; a further meeting three days later did not improve matters with Nelson saying that had he been a commodore he would 'supercede [sic]' Dow.⁶⁹ The following day Dow and Scarville presented a request for £500 without vouchers, two of which were Kerr's for items not ordered by Nelson; he demanded that the vouchers be presented the following morning.⁷⁰ Dow responded saying that the vouchers needed to be sent to the Navy Board, that the order to Kerr was necessary and that he had behaved properly.⁷¹ Nelson lost his temper, replying that 'Your letter throughout is highly disrespectful'.⁷² Probably not coincidentally, the same day he wrote to his brother 'I fancy the King's Servants and the Officers of my little Squadron will not be sorry to part with me'.⁷³ Dow wrote to the Navy Board to complain about Nelson's behaviour towards him outlining the course of events,⁷⁴ while Nelson later wrote to Charles Middleton (1726–1813), Comptroller of the Navy and chair of the Navy Board, explicitly accusing Munton of fraud, providing some supporting evidence, and implying that the Commander-in-Chief had not done his job properly.⁷⁵ Another complaint which Nelson made in a draft note to Middleton, written in November or December 1787, shortly after his return to England, referred specifically to Kerr. Nelson

⁶⁶ Horatio Nelson to Charles Kerr, 3 Aug. 1784 in [Lanaghan], *Antigua and the Antiguan*, 1: 269.

⁶⁷ Knight, *The Pursuit of Victory*, 123-4, which does not discuss Kerr.

⁶⁸ On this apparently minor, though for a while significant, episode see Knight, 'Nelson and the Perfect Muster Book', 134-6.

⁶⁹ TNA: ADM 106/1289/17 and 23, Archibald Dow to Navy Board, 10 Feb. 1787.

⁷⁰ TNA: ADM 106/1289/21 and 20, Archibald Dow and Daniel Scarville to Horatio Nelson, 7 Feb. 1787 and Horatio Nelson to Daniel Scarville and Archibald Dow, 7 Feb. 1787. This latter was published in King-Hall, *Naval Memories and Traditions*, 69.

⁷¹ TNA: ADM 106/1289/19, Archibald Dow to Horatio Nelson, 8 Feb. 1787.

⁷² TNA: ADM 106/1289/18, Horatio Nelson to Archibald Dow, 9 Feb. 1787, published in King-Hall, *Naval Memories*, 69.

⁷³ Horatio Nelson to William Nelson, 9 February 1787 in Nicolas (ed.), *The Dispatches and Letters of Vice Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson*, 1: 213-14. See also Williams, 'The Royal Navy in the Caribbean', 104-5.

⁷⁴ TNA: ADM 106/1289/17 and 23, Archibald Dow to Navy Board, 10 Feb. 1787.

⁷⁵ Horatio Nelson to Charles Middleton, 2 May 1787, Nicolas, *Dispatches*, 1: 226-8.

noted that Kerr had advanced money and goods for the dockyard using bills having a considerable discount in Kerr's favour. Nelson wrote that he had never seen any adverts in the Antigua newspapers for competitive discount rates, and his orders that this be done in future had been ignored.⁷⁶

At stake was who had authority over the dockyard and how corruption in its procurement processes could be rooted out. Such corruption was encouraged by the system which provided the Naval Officer with a 1.25 per cent 'allowance' on contract payments which during wartime could yield enormous sums. Munton during four and half years of war against the rebel colonies had received £4214 15s 9d of allowances - his annual salary being £200.⁷⁷ This encouraged a related ploy to defraud the government whereby suppliers, in agreement with the dockyard managers, inflated their prices and shared the additional profits and 'allowances'.⁷⁸ During the 1780s, Parliament sought to reform dockyard administration, attempting to stamp out such practices;⁷⁹ indeed, in 1787 a Parliamentary Commission questioned Munton in London on 7 June, but could not prove anything against him.⁸⁰ Clearly such arrangements between the dockyard officers and the contractors required closeness and trust. That Dow named his first son Munton Dow (c.1789–1829) and his second Charles Dow⁸¹ suggests that may well have been the case on Antigua. It was presumably this kind of fraud, which was (and is) hard, though not impossible, to prove, that Nelson sought to tease out in his row with Dow.

Despite the row, dockyard procurement needed to continue, especially for the major project to improve the English Harbour and construct surrounding fortifications. Work commencing in 1785, would take nine years and by 1790 had already cost more than £100,000.⁸² Nelson, in his role as acting Commander-in-Chief, authorised issuing tenders for materials and construction for the next phase of work, advertised during March and April 1787.⁸³ Kerr's, the second cheapest at £4375, came with the rider that most of the materials needed were already in stock (a suspicious mind might wonder if he had been tipped off about what would be needed) and could procure the remainder by sending a ship to America, though not specifying precisely where.⁸⁴ The cheapest tenderer soon withdrew on the grounds that ill-health had prevented him from inspecting the site and, very apologetically, increased his tender by £1200.⁸⁵ Kerr was awarded the contract signed on 6

⁷⁶ Horatio Nelson to Charles Middleton, draft Nov. or Dec. 1787, Nicolas, *Dispatches*, 1: 264-5.

⁷⁷ Ninth Report 'of the Commissioners to enquire into the Fees, Gratuities, Perquisites, and Emoluments, which are or have been lately received in the several Public Offices', *Parliamentary Papers*, 1806 (309), 723-54, 744 and 742.

⁷⁸ Morriss, *The Royal Dockyards*, 93-4.

⁷⁹ Morriss, *The Royal Dockyards*, 6-7; Knight, *Britain against Napoleon*, 26-33.

⁸⁰ Ninth Report, 739-40. Day, 'British Admiralty Control and Naval Power', 1: 90. Whether Munton's recall to London was connected with Nelson's accusations is not clear. Munton remained as Naval Officer on Antigua until 1794, Knight, *The Pursuit of Victory*, 124.

⁸¹ Oliver, *The History of the Island of Antigua*, 1: 215. It is possible that his full name was Charles Kerr Dow (c.1791–1833) who later served as Royal Navy lieutenant as did Munton Dow.

⁸² Knight, *Britain against Napoleon*, 44. See also Jane, *Shirley Heights*, 19-22; *The Antigua Naval Dockyard and Related Archaeological Sites*, World Heritage Site Nomination Document, 2014, 80; Coad, *Support for the Fleet*, 259-62; Snow, 'Fugitive Harbour.' For the construction of Antigua's fortifications before 1785 see Waters, 'Putting Forts in their Place'.

⁸³ *The Antigua Chronicle*, 2 Mar. 1787; TNA: ADM 106/1289/44, Horatio Nelson to Archibald Dow, 14 Apr. 1787; TNA: ADM 106/1289/43, Archibald Dow and Daniel Scarville to Navy Board, 16 Apr. 1787.

⁸⁴ TNA: ADM 106/1289/57, Charles Kerr to Archibald Dow, 19 May 1787.

⁸⁵ TNA: ADM 106/1289/56, Hugh McNeil to Archibald Dow, 22 May 1787.

June by Dow, acting Navy Officer while Munton was in London.⁸⁶ Kerr continued working on the project and in 1790 charged £8428 9s 1d for 'erecting Fortifications in the island of Antigua' though not paid until March 1793.⁸⁷

Which all goes to confirm both the extent of Kerr's wealth, and that he enjoyed the confidence of the dockyard management by commanding resources and money that most others on the island did not, thus allowing such a large-scale construction project. The considerable funds at his disposal, enabling Kerr to extend large amounts of credit, for instance to the dockyard management, must have been welcomed at a time when the wealth produced in Antigua was declining due to a combination of the Navigation Acts, increasing competition in sugar production, poor weather and sugar cane pests. Indeed, in January 1792 the Council and Assembly of the island petitioned the king making most of these points with the request that 'one or two ports may be declared free'. However, Revolutionary France declaring war against Britain a year later meant that creating freeports became pointless.⁸⁸

Guadeloupe

Another lucrative opportunity for Kerr occurred the year after war against France began. Very soon after its declaration an Accord was signed at Whitehall between Britain and representatives of planters (concerned to maintain their power and property including enslaved people) from Guadeloupe, some 60 miles south of Antigua, Martinique and other French colonies. The Accord agreed to transfer temporarily these islands to British protection pending the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy, the costs being met by the colonies. For various political and strategic reasons, the British forces assigned to the West Indies for the purpose did not leave until November 1793, under the command of John Jervis (1735–1823) on the navy side and Charles Grey (1729–1807) on the army.⁸⁹ In mid-April 1794 the force captured Guadeloupe where the commanders seem to have interpreted the payment clause of the Whitehall Accord rather liberally and a £1,200,000 contribution was imposed on the island, a third to be paid immediately and the remainder by mid-1797. Although by this time Kerr (presumably) must have acquired a reputation for sharp practice, nevertheless he was employed to collect the money from Guadeloupe, doubtless the first payment of £400,000.⁹⁰ In June 1794 a Republican Jacobin-led force landed on Guadeloupe (imposing the Terror using the same methods as in France) which they recaptured completely by the year's end after only a few months of British occupation.

As with the money from St Eustatius, Kerr retained at least some of what he collected from Guadeloupe. By the beginning of 1795 Grey had returned to London and on 1 July his secretary, Gerrit Fisher (c.1742–1811), wrote to Kerr expressing dissatisfaction with the delay in remitting the Guadeloupe funds to London, pointing out that the money from Martinique had already arrived.⁹¹ Two and a half months later Kerr responded by claiming that in April he had handed the account to the newly-appointed Commissary-General, the

⁸⁶ TNA: ADM 106/1289/68.

⁸⁷ *Journals of the House of Commons*, 28 Jan. 1794, 49: 35.

⁸⁸ The original petition is in TNA: CO 7/1 (unfoliated). See Oliver, *The History of the Island of Antigua*, 1: cxxxix; Dyde, *A History of Antigua*, 100.

⁸⁹ For a detailed account of the entire campaign see Duffy, *Soldiers, Sugar, and Sea Power*, 39-156. For the background see Geggus, 'The British government and the Saint Domingue slave revolt', 285-305 and Nelson, *Sir Charles Grey*.

⁹⁰ Reported in *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 26 Mar. 1796.

⁹¹ University of Durham (hereafter UD): MS GRE/A671, Gerrit Fisher to Charles Kerr, 1 Jul. 1795 (copy).

army general Valentine Jones (c.1754–1813). Jones, Kerr reported, was now on his way back to London, and would doubtless settle the matter satisfactorily and could be contacted at the Great Marlborough Street house of the fashionable physician Walter Farquhar (1738–1819).⁹²

Thus began another long-running wrangle complicated by Kerr's death aged 46 on 11 December 1795 'of a nervous fever' as reported by *The Gentleman's Magazine* who described him as 'an eminent merchant'.⁹³ Buried the following day in the churchyard of St John's parish church, where he had occupied pew six since at least 1787,⁹⁴ a large memorial, still standing, was subsequently erected over the grave. Kerr's will, made in 1789, named four executors, three of whom were his wife, his brother William Kerr and his distant cousin Walter Scott (1729–1799) an Edinburgh lawyer and father of the poet. The fourth was Robert Farquhar (1755–1836), a very wealthy planter at Cades Bay on Antigua's southwest coast,⁹⁵ also described as an attorney, who, with Kerr, had previously jointly acted as executors.⁹⁶ Three days before dying, Kerr added a codicil appointing Dow to be an additional executor and bequeathing £500 each to his sons Munton Dow and Charles Dow,⁹⁷ further evidence illustrating the closeness of Dow and Kerr. It seems probable that Kerr's death was unexpected and while, presumably, he had a good grasp of his affairs, winding up the estate became a complex and lengthy process, even though the will was recorded in Antigua on 12 January 1796 and proved in London on 30 June.⁹⁸ Apart from minor legacies, the will was straightforward dividing Kerr's estate equally between his widow and daughter, making them both attractively wealthy. Indeed Robert Farquhar (related in the Scottish manner to Walter Farquhar) would soon marry Kerr's widow, illustrating the strong intertwined relationships of those connected with Antigua.

Winding up Kerr's businesses seems to have begun very quickly following his death. By the end of 1795 the estate had leased more than 30 of his enslaved people (presumably they had worked in St John's) to the dockyard making almost 40 in total.⁹⁹ However, and illustrating the time it took to wind the estate up, it was not until six years later in 1801 that all the enslaved people had left the possession of the estate. Some, presumably most, were sold at some point. For instance, the shipwright Jack Frazer or Frazier (b.c.1769), who had been transferred to the English Harbour immediately following Kerr's death, was sold, though by November 1798 had 'Runaway.'¹⁰⁰

A key problem in winding up the estate was that by mid-1798 all the executors, with the exception of Dow, were living in Britain (possibly explaining why Kerr appointed him). Kerr's widow and Farquhar had probably moved to London sometime before then.¹⁰¹ An

⁹² UD: MS GRE/A671, Charles Kerr to Gerrit Fisher, 16 Sep. 1795 (copy). Grey and Fisher already had their own problems with Jones over his own role relating to the money arising from the occupation of the French islands. Nelson, *Sir Charles Grey*, 179.

⁹³ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 66 (1796), 168.

⁹⁴ Oliver, *The History of the Island of Antigua*, 3: 359.

⁹⁵ Cade's Bay was the Antiguan plantation that received the largest amount of compensation in the 1830s which all went to Farquhar. For further details see Meeker with Dery, *Plantations of Antigua*, 462-7.

⁹⁶ Oliver, *The History of the Island of Antigua*, 2: 25, 3: 114.

⁹⁷ TNA: PROB 11/1276/320, Will of Charles Kerr, 5 Aug. 1789.

⁹⁸ Oliver, *The History of the Island of Antigua*, 2: 108; TNA: PROB 11/1276/320, Will of Charles Kerr, 5 Aug. 1789.

⁹⁹ TNA: ADM 42/2114, 'Return of Negroes', 31 Dec. 1795.

¹⁰⁰ *The Antigua Gazette*, 15 Nov.1798, which referred to the sale.

¹⁰¹ Jane Kerr (presumably with her daughter) was recorded as living at 13 Portland Place in Boyle's *Court Guide* for 1798, 73.

'Acting Executor' (unnamed, but probably Dow) on the island inserted adverts in *The Antigua Gazette* from at least July 1798 until August the following year noting that he had been requested 'in the most peremptory manner, by the Executrix and Executors in England' to collect all outstanding debts owed to Kerr's estate. These included those of John Nihell as well as Nicholas Taylor and those of Kerr and Jarvis (presumably now just Jarvis) that had been assigned to Kerr.¹⁰² Despite continually threatening legal action and towards the end offering a five per cent discount for payment, it is not generally known what settlements were reached.¹⁰³ In one case, however, agreement was reached with a planter, George Redhead (1737-1801), clearly in financial difficulty, that he would repay his debt to Kerr's executors in three annual £1000 instalments beginning in October 1797.¹⁰⁴

Kerr's tendency to retain large sums of money from his role as a Royal Navy prize agent caused prolonged issues for his executors. Eight months after his death Fisher informed Grey that the officers whom they had charged with sorting out the problem in the West Indies were returning to London 'which throws our affairs back again respecting Charles Kerr and his Outstanding Debts',¹⁰⁵ suggesting that Jones had not resolved the issue satisfactorily. Just over a year later in September 1797, Kerr's widow and brother informed Fisher that they would soon deposit just over £800 in the Bank of England, clearly nowhere near what Grey and Fisher thought they were owed, but 'it is better to have this small sum to begin with than none at all'.¹⁰⁶ Another year went by when Fisher suggested arbitration and raised the possibility of acquitting Kerr's debt in exchange for the executors assigning their own debts to them.¹⁰⁷ Matters reached a sort of resolution after Grey and Fisher had Jones arrested in Southampton, though when this occurred is not clear, but possibly early 1802. On the basis of Kerr's September 1795 letter they compelled Jones to pay what Kerr owed, though Jones claimed that he had never received that money. Fisher wrote to Dow, William Kerr and Robert Farquhar to try and procure evidence about whether the money had been paid to Jones and concluded that it had not – Kerr had misled him.¹⁰⁸ But since they had obtained their money, they were presumably satisfied and there is no further reference to the affair in Grey's papers. While Jones may have been right on that occasion, he had his own problems for in 1809 he was convicted for grossly defrauding the government by using inflated tenders while serving as Commissary-General. Sentenced to three years in Newgate, despite Walter Farquhar providing mitigating evidence about the state of his health, on his release the government lodged a detainer against him for £121,331 10s 1½d; he died the following year.¹⁰⁹

Conclusion

¹⁰² *The Antigua Gazette*, 5 Jul. 1798. It was clear from the advert that similar notices had been inserted previously, but unfortunately issues for this newspaper survive only for the period between Jul. 1798 and Nov. 1799. The remaining extant copies of *The Antigua Journal* cover similar dates.

¹⁰³ The date of the last insertion (*The Antigua Gazette*, 15 Aug. 1799) more than three months before the end of the surviving run, suggests that some sort of accommodation may have been reached.

¹⁰⁴ Oliver, *The History of the Island of Antigua*, 3: 42.

¹⁰⁵ UD: MS GRE/A837, Gerrit Fisher to Charles Grey, 13 Aug. 1796.

¹⁰⁶ UD: MS GRE/A1197, Gerrit Fisher to Charles Grey, 29 Sep. 1797, which contained a transcription of Jane Kerr and William Kerr to Gerrit Fisher, 26 Sep. 1797, informing him of their intended deposit.

¹⁰⁷ UD: MS GRE/A1586, Gerrit Fisher to Charles Grey, 14 Sep. 1798,

¹⁰⁸ UD: MS GRE/A2177, Gerrit Fisher to Charles Grey, 2 Oct. 1802.

¹⁰⁹ Howell (ed.), *A Complete Collection of State Trials*, 31: 251-336, 33: 1567-84. For Farquhar's mitigation, col.1574 and for the detainer, *The Monthly Magazine*, 1812, 34: 76. For further details see MacDonald, *From Boiled Beef to Chicken Tikka*, 33-8.

Kerr's story, along with Jones's, illustrates one way of making large fortunes on Antigua and in the Caribbean generally, without owning sugar plantations. Kerr's career cannot have been unique and studying, for instance, some of the other tenderers for expanding and fortifying the English Harbour might well reveal similar stories, though it is clear that the bulk of his fortune was acquired as a prize agent for the Royal Navy. In his activities as a prize agent, naval contractor or provider of credit, Kerr took advantage of the time required to communicate between Antigua and London, the slowness of any legal process, and the willingness to participate in the corruption associated with prize agents and naval dockyards which continued following the American war despite attempts at administrative reform.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, the death of Rodney in 1792 followed by his own at the end of 1795 ensured that pursuit by Kerr's creditors was difficult and although the details are far from clear, it would appear they eventually gave up.

While we don't know the precise sum that Kerr accumulated, an impression of its magnitude can be gained from the estimates of the wealth of his daughter, who received half of the estate, at the time of her second marriage to Humphry Davy (1778–1829) in 1812. There were rumours that she enjoyed an annual income of £4000 and £60,000 capital.¹¹¹ That grew to £180,000 by the time she died, childless, in 1855.¹¹² She left her fortune to a first cousin with which he purchased a large house and estate overlooking the River Severn in Gloucestershire where his descendants still live. To share in the legacy of Caribbean slavery, one's ancestors need not have owned a plantation. Charles Kerr, and those like him, need to be added to the subjects requiring study to strengthen our understanding of the various legacies of slavery and the nature of the British Empire.

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¹¹⁰ Knight, *Britain against Napoleon*, 26-33.

¹¹¹ Garlick et al. (eds), *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, 2 Mar. 1812, 11: 4088; National Library of Wales: MS 12415-E.49, Joseph Banks to John Lloyd, 31 Mar. 1812.

¹¹² Her Legacies of British Slave-ownership entry (accessed 5 Jul. 2021) records her wealth at death and provides summaries of her Oxford Dictionary of National Biography entry and her father's will though with no indication as to the source(s) of his fortune.

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