

PLANTERS AND MERCHANTS: THE OLIVER FAMILY
OF ANTIGUA AND LONDON, 1716-1784.

I

Not a few London-West India merchants in the eighteenth century came to the metropolis from the colonies and were members of established planter and mercantile families. The late Professor Richard Pares told the story of Henry Lascelles, the Barbadian merchant, customs collector, and planter who became a London sugar factor and acquired one of the great fortunes of his age.¹ Recently, Mr. D. W. Thoms has recounted the career of Thomas Mills, who lived some years in St. Kitts as a factor, plantation manager, and renter before he came to London to join the family sugar firm.²

Except possibly for Jamaica, Antigua sent more merchants to London than any other island. Antigua was not only larger than its neighbours, but it also had a more highly developed plantation economy and was the centre of trade, shipping, finance, politics, and social life of the Leeward Islands. Numerous individuals capitalised on these advantages to establish businesses in the metropolis. From 1740 to 1775 there were at least 41 of these individuals, comprising 27 London firms. There were 22 individuals with West Indian family origins, 24 who married into planter families, 25 who had been resident in Antigua, 12 who had been island merchants, and 20 who owned

plantations. Antigua planter families who were represented in London by their kinsmen were the Banisters, Christians, Codringtons, Douglass, Dunbars, Fryes, Johnsons, Kerbys, Kirwans, Lovells, Lucass, Martins, Olivers, Skerretts, Tomlinsons, Turners, Udneys, Warners, and Watkins.³

Substantial quantities of sugar were consigned to the two Richard Olivers, who came from a leading merchant-planter family of Antigua. Dr. Vere Langford Oliver, the descendant of these merchants and author of The History of the Island of Antigua, has compiled data on five Richard Olivers. The first two were brothers and partners who lived in Bristol. Richard I was a linendraper and merchant trading to Virginia and owned plantations beyond the seas. Richard II was also a linendraper and merchant as well as burgess. Richard III, his second son, was born in Bristol in 1664. He was probably the Richard Oliver who was a merchant and planter in Antigua. That he was influential in the island community is evident from his election to the General Assembly, his appointment to the Council, and his posts as Speaker, Justice of the Peace, and Major of Militia. Richard III died in 1716, leaving three sons--Richard, Rowland, and Robert; and two daughters--Jane who died young, and Elizabeth who married Thomas Turner.⁴

Richard IV, the eldest son, inherited half of his father's estate of 520 acres in Antigua. He too was active in the public life of the island, serving as Assemblyman, Counsellor, and Major of Militia.

He was reported absent in England when a list of the Council of Antigua was published in February 1744/5. It may be presumed that he had established his London commission agency by that time.⁵

In 1724, Richard Oliver IV married Mary, eldest daughter of Jonas Langford, who was a well-to-do Quaker planter of Antigua. Their children were Richard Langford who died young, Thomas, Elizabeth who died young, and Mary who married her first cousin Richard Oliver V. Samuel Langford lived at Greenwich near London where his sister and brother-in-law also lived. He provided in his will of 1747, that his mother should be his executrix, but that "if she die my brother-in-law Richard Oliver to be Executor." Jonas Langford the Younger was another kinsman. He appointed Richard and Rowland Oliver trustees of his estate in Antigua, and left instructions in his will of 1758 that "all produce of my plantations to be consigned to Rich^d. Oliver if he shall continue the business of a sugar factor."⁶

Most prominent was the fifth Richard Oliver, Alderman and Member of Parliament for the City of London. Alderman Oliver was born in Antigua in 1735, the son of Rowland and Sarah Oliver. At an early age he came to London and entered his uncle's counting house. After taking up his freedom in the Drapers' Company, he was elected Alderman of Billingsgate Ward on July 4, 1771. A few days later he was returned to the House of Commons for the City of London. Together with John Wilkes and others, he became engaged in the famous struggle between the City and the House of Commons and a leader in the Society

of the Supporters of the Bill of Rights. For his defiance of the government, he was imprisoned in the Tower with the Lord Mayor. Subsequent to his release, he, with others, separated from Wilkes and formed a new association called the Constitutional Society.⁷

Alderman Oliver and his wife are mentioned frequently in The Diary of John Baker. Baker was a London barrister who had been Solicitor General of the Leeward Islands. He was an absentee planter, a lawyer for numerous planters and London sugar merchants, and a man who led an active social life. On one occasion Baker, William Manning, a sugar factor, and the Alderman "walked through the Minories to the Tower and round about many parts of it, particularly to where Mr. Oliver lodged when sent by the H. of Commons." Baker heard on October 24, 1772, that "Messrs. Oliver, Smith and Tooke have given £29,000 for an estate at Grenada." On May 3, 1774, Baker met the Alderman at the Mansion House and talked with him about a debate on the Boston Port Bill in the House of Commons.⁸ On May 4, 1777, Baker "met Mr. Alderman Oliver, Mr. Mich. Lovell, and Mr. Boston Oliver-- was Lt. Governor (or some such thing) there, has 6 daughters and no son."⁹

II

The history of the partnership began in Antigua, where Richard IV accumulated capital and cultivated relations with planters and merchants who later became his correspondents when he moved to London. Wills and indentures indicate that his activities were widespread.

In 1725, he and his brother Rowland divided their father's estate, consisting of 520 acres and an undisclosed number of Negro slaves in St. John's Division. At the same time he sold a plantation in Virginia and houses in St. John's town on account of his father's very great debts. In 1731, he leased a large sugar plantation which he improved by building a windmill and dwelling house.¹⁰ Oliver lived at the port of St. John's and combined planting with trade. A chancery case of 1741 reveals that Charles Goare, Richard Oliver, and Michael Lovell were merchants in company in St. John's, trading as Goare and Company.¹¹ Other records show that our subject was appointed executor of seven estates in the years prior to 1745.¹²

Richard Oliver IV transacted business in London as a single proprietor from about 1744 to 1761. On April 25, 1761, he took into partnership his son-in-law and nephew and gave him a mutual interest with himself in the business of the house, which was thenceforward carried on in the name and under the firm of Richard and Richard Oliver. Richard Oliver the Elder died on June 10, 1763. But "as the house was of long standing and the business advantageous", Richard Oliver the Younger determined to continue it and took into the house as partner Thomas Oliver, his first cousin and son of Richard Oliver the Elder. The firm then became known as Richard and Thomas Oliver. When Alderman Oliver retired from the firm to devote himself to politics, Thomas Oliver in 1770 took into partnership Michael Lovell, his first cousin who had been a merchant in Antigua. The firm of

Oliver and Lovell continued in the sugar factorage business in London until about 1800.¹³

The house of Oliver nearly failed during the American War of Independence. The Bath Chronicle reported on January 9, 1777:

Another capital West-India House stopt payment last week, which makes the fourth, and 'tis imagined that others must follow. All this is the natural consequence of the American captures: upwards of 130 ships from the West India islands have been taken by their privateers in the course of the last year.¹⁴

Several weeks later the same paper took pleasure in informing its readers that the above report of the Oliver's counting house in Fenchurch Street was unfounded, and that the firm was still in business. But all was not well. Owing to the precarious state of his property in the West Indies, Richard Oliver resigned his gown as Alderman, but retained his seat in Parliament until the dissolution in 1780. The Bath Chronicle announced on September 23, 1779:

Mr Oliver, late an Alderman of the City of London, was on the island of Grenada when taken by the French. He has large possessions there, and went over on suspicion of what would happen. All sugars were sent to France and confiscated.¹⁵

Several months later he was residing at Antigua, where he owned plantations and slaves, as well as at Nevis, Montserrat, and St. Vincent. Alderman Oliver died a few years later on April 16, 1784.¹⁶

III

The London commission agent served his planter correspondents in a number of capacities. His mercantile and shipping duties consisted of receiving the planter's staples off the ship, paying customs duties, warehousing, and eventually selling the goods consigned to his care. He purchased plantation supplies and consumer goods that were ordered out of England, chartered and insured vessels and cargoes, and in time of war petitioned the Admiralty for warships to escort the fleets of merchantmen. Miscellaneous services included the recruitment of indentured servants and artisans, supervising the education of children who arrived from the West Indies, and collecting and disseminating commercial and political intelligence of concern to his correspondents.¹⁷

The London factor was not only the planter's buying and selling agent but also his banker. He extended trade-credit by sending out plantation supplies before the planter's staples were received or sold. He accepted bills of exchange which his correspondent drew on him in payment of Negro slaves and other outlays. He granted loans to his correspondent with or without such security as promissory notes, bonds, judgments, or mortgages. If the balance of the sterling running account stood on the side of the correspondent, the factor might acknowledge a request to purchase lottery tickets or invest in the public funds. Factors who operated on small capitals were bankers only in a deposit and transfer capacity. But those with funds of their own or with access to the money market (which included their own

correspondents' credit balances) might be tempted by the high interest rates in the colonies to engage in extensive credit and loan transactions. Finally, the factor and his correspondents might decide to invest their income from the plantations in English or Scottish landed estates, or mercantile, mining, and industrial establishments.

Wills and indentures indicate that the Olivers had upwards of forty planter correspondents in the period from 1744 to 1780. Antigua seems to have accounted for almost all of the correspondents until about 1763, when the business expanded to Nevis, Montserrat, St. Vincent, and Grenada. Oliver kinsmen who were loyal to the firm were the Langfords, Lovells, Turners, Smiths, Watkins, Otto-Bayers, Murrays, Royalls, and Freemans. Scots planter correspondents included the Tullidephs, Sydserfes, Hallidays, Dunbars, Jordans, and Dewars. Old Antigua families were represented in the firm's clientele by the Gilberts, Thomass, Martins, Tomlinsons, and Williams.¹⁸

Unfortunately, only two of the outgoing letters of the firm are known to have survived. Richard Oliver IV wrote from London to John Tomlinson of Antigua on October 31, 1752, informing him that twenty hogsheads of his sugar had been sold at thirty eight shillings per hundredweight and another ten at thirty nine. The market had been slow owing to a combination of sugar bakers, "but they now buy tho' with great Complaints & are scheming for Introduceing Forreign Sug^r Even upon the Double Duty."¹⁹ On October 5, 1758, Richard and Richard Oliver wrote to Dr. Walter Tullideph, an absentee living near Dundee,

Scotland. The Doctor was informed of the receipt and sale of his sugars from Antigua, the report of short crops in the West Indies, the purchase of South Sea Company Annuities in his name, and the fact that Richard Oliver Senior had been a good deal confined to the country, presumably at his estate at Layton, county Essex.²⁰

One of the Oliver's correspondents for some years was Colonel Samuel Martin, a leading planter of Antigua. We learn of Martin's connection with the Olivers from the letters he wrote to his son Samuel Martin, Junior, Member of Parliament and Secretary to the Treasury Board. Colonel Martin wrote on May 12, 1753, when he began his correspondence, that he had drawn upon the Olivers for £442 sterling for the purchase of Negroes. Martin consigned his sugars to two or more London factors. He wrote on August 28, 1755, that his crop would probably amount to 280 hogsheads, "113 of which are gone to Mr Oliver, 80 to Mr Whitaker, and 10 to Messrs Codrington & Miller. . . ." ²¹ Martin ended his correspondence in 1762. In a letter of March 20, he complained that the Olivers had treated him "with the grossest ill manners, as they pretend on account of the badness of my sugar, but in fact because I consigned most of my Crop to Mr Banister."²²

IV

The letters which Dr. Walter Tullideph wrote to the Olivers give an intimate view of relationships between a plantation in Antigua and a counting house in London. Tullideph came to Antigua from Scotland

about 1726. For some years he practised medicine and engaged in trade. By his marriage to a young widow he came into possession of a small sugar plantation. Between 1736 and 1754 he increased the size of his plantations from 127 to 571 acres and from 63 to 247 Negro slaves, together with rebuilding his sugar works.²³ Tullideph wrote more than 150 letters to the Olivers in the years from 1750 to 1765. His first letter to Richard Oliver, apparently a reply to a solicitation, said that his obligations prevented him from dividing his sugar consignments. "As soon as these Incumbrances are removed," he wrote on March 20, 1749/50, "I know of none more Capable than your self to serve me, and I ought when in my Power, to Acknowledge the favours I formerlie rec^d. from you here."²⁴

Most of Tullideph's letters concerned consignments of sugar. The correspondence began on June 27, 1750, when the Doctor wrote that he was consigning ten hogsheads of choice sugar on the ship Prince George, in which letter he enclosed the invoice and bill of lading. From time to time the Doctor expressed his satisfaction with the sales of his sugars. Yet he frequently requested the Olivers to hold his produce in anticipation of a price rise after the bulk of the crop from the West Indies had been sold. The factor's willingness to acknowledge such requests depended very largely on the size of his correspondent's debt. Tullideph owed Richard Oliver several hundred pounds on June 29, 1751, when he wrote that he was consigning thirty hogsheads of sugar. "If my affairs would permitt it," he wrote, "I am inclined to think they

would answear to be kept as last year, especially if Jamaica hath really failed but that I leave intirely to your direction & discretion."

Except in wartime, Tullideph shipped the greater part of his sugar to London and all but a fraction of it was consigned to the Olivers. From 1750 to 1757, when he retired to Scotland, Tullideph consigned a total of 731 hogsheads to the Olivers. Since each hogshead contained about fourteen hundredweights and the average London price of muscovado sugar was thirty four shillings per hundredweight, the gross returns amounted to about £17,400, of which the Oliver's commission of two-and-a-half per cent was £435. The 731 hogsheads were carried on a total of thirty three ships, usually in parcels of ten hogsheads to a ship. In peacetime Tullideph seldom insured his sugar which was carried in a number of vessels to reduce the risks. That some ships were favoured over others is suggested by the carriage of 426 hogsheads on eleven ships, while the other 305 hogsheads were transported on twenty two vessels.

The favoured ships were owned or chartered by the Olivers and their planter correspondents in the West Indies. Agents and planters exchanged current market information and crop reports and thus adjusted the timing of ship arrivals and the supply of shipping to fluctuations in annual crop yields and seasonal leads and lags in sugar harvests. Tullideph was not only a "subscriber" but he also encouraged his relatives and friends to patronize the Oliver's vessels and in other ways assisted the captains to reduce the turn-around time in port.

On February 24, 1755, he wrote to Richard Oliver that he had helped a captain secure a cargo, adding that "you need make no Apology's with me, every Vessel in your Interest shall meet with all the Assistance in my power." Despite these cooperative efforts, the Olivers were warned on October 16, 1756, that they would be sufferers in chartering a vessel since none of their friends had any sugar to ship.

Part of the Oliver's trade consisted of filling their correspondents' orders for plantation supplies and consumer goods which went out on vessels engaged in the London-West India shuttle trade. Tullideph purchased most of his iron and copper wares, groceries, and medical supplies directly from English tradesmen, but a variety of goods remained to be supplied by the Olivers who charged a commission of two-and-a-half percent of the value of the goods purchased. Among other things, the London house supplied beans and oats, cheese, wearing apparel for his family, Negro clothing, branding irons, hoes, equipment and supplies for refining sugar, coals, bricks, hoops for hogsheads, and tomb stones. On two occasions Richard Oliver was requested to send out tradesmen and indentured servants.

V

Commission agents were both merchants and bankers. Planters needed loans from time to time to purchase plantations and slaves; settle existing plantations more fully; purchase landed estates in Great Britain; and pay absentees' expenses, annuities, legacies, and marriage settlements. Planters also incurred debts when they ordered out

supplies of greater value than that of the sugar they consigned to London. Planters were reluctant to risk their credit standing by mortgaging their estates. To keep their debts below the mortgage threshold, they worked diligently to increase their remittances which consisted of both major and minor staples, bills of exchange, bullion and coin. Some remittances might reach London indirectly from the planter's consignees in North America and the English outports.²⁵

Dr. Tullideph's debt to the Olivers increased irregularly for nearly five years and then declined almost steadily during the nine years which followed. According to his first "account current" of December 31, 1750, the Doctor owed approximately £807. The debt had declined to £432 a year later and had risen to £653 at the end of 1752. The next two years saw a remarkable rise to £6,978 on September 21, 1754. The debt was reduced to £3,137 on October 20, 1756, and to £1,116 on April 23, 1759. From May 5, 1760, to August 29, 1763, the debt ranged from £1,543 to £1,095. London agents generally charged five per cent interest on their correspondents' debts. They charged commissions of one-half per cent on insurances and also on receipts and payments. Two-and-one-half per cent was charged on sugar and other colonial commodities, and the same rate on goods shipped from Great Britain to the colonies.²⁶

The Doctor had reduced the London debts on his plantations when he commenced his correspondence with Richard Oliver. Part of the money had been borrowed from planter friends and relatives in Antigua.

One of these friends--James Doeg--purchased a plantation in 1752 and asked that his loan be repaid. Tullideph responded by drawing bills of exchange on Richard Oliver which were made payable to Doeg, and by buying bills in Antigua and endorsing them to Doeg. Oliver was informed in a letter of July 7, 1752: "In the whole I have paid him [Doeg] £3000 which is nearly what I owe him. What now remains will be to you, Dr Sydserfe and about £300 to William Dunbar's Estate." Sydserfe was Tullideph's cousin and Dunbar his uncle and former London sugar factor.

Successful planters frequently achieved ambitions to marry their daughters to members of the gentry and aristocracy. Tullideph and his wife Mary had only one son who died young. The two surviving daughters made favourable matches which stretched their father's pocketbook. Charlotte Tullideph married Sir John Ogilvy, 5th Baronet, of Invercarity, county Forfar, Scotland, in June 1754. Several years later the younger daughter Mary Margaret married Lieut.-General the Hon. Alexander Leslie. Both daughters had dowries of £5,000 sterling.²⁷

Having incurred debts of nearly £7,000, the greater part of which went to discharge his eldest daughter's dowry, Tullideph was put in a bind a year later when an eligible young man sued for the hand of his younger daughter. Although this match fell through, Tullideph was prepared to mortgage one of his plantations to raise the marriage portion. From Antigua he wrote to Dr. Sydserfe in London on August 30, 1755, giving him power of attorney to mortgage New Division Estate to

raise money to pay the dowry. Tullideph said that he had "reason to hope that Mr Oliver's demand on me for Principall and Interest will be under £3000 Sterl^l so that I hope he will not refuse lending the £5000 more, as he may depend on it I will use all my endeavours to discharge it as soon as possible. . . ."

From arranging favourable marriage alliances for his daughters, Tullideph turned to the estate market in Scotland. From Edinburgh he wrote to Richard Oliver on January 31, 1758:

There is a small agreeable Estate to be sold that I have an inclination for, and if I should have occasion for £2000 or 3000 more than what I may have of my own could you assist me with it abo^t next May, if the present Crop proves favourable? I hope soon to replace it again.

Baldovan Estate which cost Tullideph about £6,000 was located near Dundee; the mansion house on the estate was appropriately named Tullideph Hall.²⁸

Not content with the estate already acquired, the Doctor launched out on the purchase of additional lands in Scotland. For a time he entertained the thought of changing sugar factors if by so doing he could borrow £6,000 or £7,000.²⁹ But he lowered his financial sights and remained with the Olivers. From Tullideph Hall he wrote to Thomas Oliver on August 29, 1763, that he might have occasion to borrow £1,000 or £1,500. "I would incline to know whether I may depend on your Assistance in the same manner as I could have done with my very worthy friend your father for whose Death I am heartily

concerned."

Heavy outlays for dowries and landed estates made extraordinary demands on Tullideph's plantation attornies, and ultimately his Negro slaves. Not only did he press for greater remittances from Antigua, but he also wrote dunning letters to his correspondents in North America, Ireland, and the English outports. During his long residence in Antigua, Tullideph consigned refined sugar, rum, molasses, and occasionally a few slaves to merchants in Virginia and North Carolina. In most cases he instructed the consignees to remit the proceeds in bills of exchange to the Olivers. Similarly, Tullideph consigned rum and sugar to merchants in Dublin, Bristol, Lancaster, and the Isle of Man, with orders to remit the proceeds to the Olivers in London. Alternative markets with price and profit advantages were thus consistent with indirect remittances and the centralization of finance in London commission houses.

The last two years of Tullideph's correspondence with the Olivers was a time of frenzied finance. At the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763, the Doctor formed a West India company at Dundee, Scotland. He and his partners purchased a sloop and a sugar-carrying ship and loaded them with merchandise to be sold in the islands. Leaving one partner in Dundee, Tullideph went to Antigua to handle mercantile affairs and oversee his plantations. Early in 1764 his business plans expanded to include a sugar factorage house in London, to be conducted under the style of Messrs. Walter and David Tullideph. The Doctor

then began to make mortgage loans to planters in order to be assured of sugar consignments for his London house. Rather paradoxically, he drew bills of exchange on the Olivers and endorsed them to his mortgagors, which in effect was using the Oliver's credit to set up a rival sugar firm. Unfortunately, David Tullideph, the Doctor's brother, refused to enter the partnership and manage the London business. In the end Dr. Tullideph found it necessary to persuade a firm of London merchants to assume the large debts he owed the Olivers. Thus, in May 1765 Tullideph's long business association with the Olivers came to an end.

VI

The Oliver case study sheds light on the rise of a London counting house during a prosperous era of the sugar industry. Physical, social, and economic circumstances were favourable to the growth of absentee proprietorship. But not all absentees were the spendthrifts and idlers whose fictional counterparts populated the stage at Drury Lane when "The West Indian" and "The School for Scandal" were played. Numbered among the absentees were doctors, lawyers, clergymen, politicians, military officers, improving landlords, iron masters, ship-owners, and merchants. The Tullideph correspondence shows how close were the personal, family, and business ties between the planter and his agent. If Antigua was typical of the sugar islands, it would appear that most of the London sugar factors had previous planting and mercantile experience in the West Indies.

One might employ conventional economic analysis to explain the Caribbean origins of the London sugar factors and miss the main point. The careers of the elder Richard Oliver and Dr. Tullideph suggest that London afforded a wider stage for the display of entrepreneurial talent that had been discovered and schooled in the merchant-planter societies in the colonies. The wider stage was both political and economic, for Alderman Oliver became a leader in the City and Parliament and a defender of the Bill of Rights which was ironic for a man who was so deeply implicated in plantation slavery. No doubt the drive for wealth and power goes far to explain the translation from colony to metropolis. Some idea of the fortune acquired by the elder Oliver can be gained from the following extract of a letter written by Colonel Samuel Martin to another London factor in 1769: "Consider this O ye rich Merch^ts, who like old Oliver who died worth a Plumb in little more than 20 years. He might have been a Planter 50 years and not worth a Pear." In the idiom of the time, the word "plumb" represented the sum of £100,000.³⁰

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FOOTNOTES

1. Richard Pares, "A London West India Merchant House 1740-69," in The Historian's Business and Other Essays, eds. R. A. and Elisabeth Humphreys (Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1961), pp. 198-226.
2. D. W. Thoms, "The Mills Family: London Sugar Merchants of the Eighteenth Century," Business History, Vol. XI, No. 1 (January 1969), pp. 3-10.
3. R. B. Sheridan, "The Rise of a Colonial Gentry: A Case Study of Antigua, 1730-1775," The Economic History Review, Vol. XIII, No. 3 (April 1961), pp. 342-57.
4. Vere Langford Oliver, The History of the Island of Antigua (3 vols., London, 1894-99), II, 318, 23, 352-67.
5. Ibid., pp. 318-36.
6. Ibid., pp. 140-50.
7. Ibid., pp. 318-36; The Dictionary of National Biography, ed. Sidney Lee (New York, Macmillan and Co., 1895), Vol. XLIII, pp. 149-50.
8. The Diary of John Baker, Barrister of the Middle Temple, Solicitor-General of the Leeward Islands, ed. Philip C. Yorke (London, Hutchinson & Co., 1931), pp. 64, 194, 208-9, 212-16, 226, 233, 236, 246, 282.
9. Ibid., pp. 283, 287, 290, 293, 370-71, 390, 392, 394-95, 415, 473.
Thomas Oliver was Lieut.-Governor of Massachusetts 1774-76. After being forced to resign his office by the rebels, he lived in England and later in Antigua. He was the son of Colonel Robert Oliver of Antigua and Massachusetts, and grandson of Richard Oliver III, who

was also grandfather of Alderman Oliver. Oliver, History of Antigua, II, 346-51; Caribbeana, Being Miscellaneous Papers Relating to the History, Genealogy, Topography, and Antiquities of the British West Indies, ed. Vere Langford Oliver (6 vols., London, 1909-19), II, 305; V, 107-11.

10. Oliver, History of Antigua, II, 333; III, 170.
11. Oliver, Caribbeana, IV, 72.
12. Oliver, History of Antigua, II, 41, 141; III, 44, 94-98, 129, 161-62, 210, 233, 254; Oliver, Caribbeana, IV, 126-27, 383; V, 318; VI, 16-17, 147.
13. Oliver, Caribbeana, IV, 33.
14. Ibid., I, 151.
15. Ibid., I, 152.
16. Idem.
17. Richard Pares, A West-India Fortune (London, Longmans, 1950), pp. 163-238.
18. Ibid., pp. 239-79; Sheridan, "Colonial Gentry," pp. 342-57.
19. Oliver, Caribbeana, III, 47.
20. Letter Books of Dr. Walter Tullideph of Antigua and Scotland. Three Vols., 1734-1767. Loose letter in Vol. II. I am indebted to the late Sir Herbert Ogilvy, Bart., for permission to quote extracts from these letters.
21. Letter Books of Colonel Samuel Martin of Antigua and England. Six Vols., 1750-1776. British Museum Add. MSS. 41,346, Vol. I, ff. 52-53, 71, 139, 194, 216.

22. Ibid., B. M. Add. MSS. 41,347, Vol. II, f. 128.
23. For Tullideph's pedigree see Oliver, History of Antigua, III, 155-61. See also Richard B. Sheridan, "Letters from a Sugar Plantation in Antigua, 1739-1758," Agricultural History, Vol. 31, No. 3 (1957), pp. 3-23; ibid., "Colonial Gentry," pp. 349-54.
24. Tullideph Letter Book, Vol. II. No further citations will be made of Tullideph's letters to Richard Oliver IV and his partners and successors since the folios are not numbered and the letters are entered chronologically. Vol. II runs from 1744 to 1758, and Vol. III from 1759 to 1767.
25. Pares, "A London West India Merchant House," pp. 219-21.
26. William Beckford, A Descriptive Account of the Island of Jamaica (2 vols., London, 1790), II, 353-54.
27. Tullideph Letter Book, Vol. II. Lre. to George Leonard in Tortola, dated Antigua, April 5, 1755: "As for my part I have dip't my self at home in Order to Marry my Daug^r. well, I gave £5000 St^g. fortune, and propose giveing Miss Polley as much whenever a good Match offers. . . ."
28. Ibid., Vol. II. Lre. to Dr. Walter Sydsferfe, dated Edinburgh, February 25, 1758; Vol. III. Lre. to Dr. James Russell, dated Tullideph Hall near Dundee, February 22, 1760.
29. Ibid., Vol. III. Lre. to Henry Hancock, dated Tullideph Hall, February 25, 1760.
30. Martin Letter Book, Vol. V, f. 101. B. M. Add. MSS. 41,350. Lre. to Christopher Baldwin in London, dated Antigua, Sept. 25, 1769.