

## THE STORY OF DAVID BARCLAY OF WALTHAMSTOW AND YOUNGSBURY AND OCTOBER, OF UNITY VALLEY PEN, JAMAICA

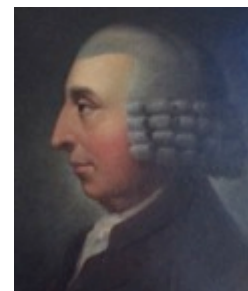
Humphrey Barclay December 12<sup>th</sup> 2019

© Humphrey Barclay and Keith W. Stokes 2016

---

### SUMMARY

In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century David Barclay, one of the founders of Barclays Bank, acquired as a result of a debt a small pen in Jamaica, and, being a Quaker philanthropist, set about liberating the 28 slaves who lived there. In 1795 they were freed, given the surname Barclay, and taken to Philadelphia where they were cared for, taught trades, and eventually set up in lives of their own. One of them was an eight-year-old boy called October.



Humphrey Barclay, TV producer and current Chief of the House of Barclay of Mathers and Urie, whose work includes the West Indian barbershop TV comedy *Desmond's* and also being a Chief in Ghana, has long wondered what became of the people whom his great-great-great-great-great-uncle transplanted into a new life.

Recently, Humphrey met October's great-great grandson, Keith William Stokes, a historian living in Newport, Rhode Island in the US.

This is the story of how their families encountered each other with life-changing effect.

---

### THE STORY

In 1784, a prosperous London merchant named David Barclay of Walthamstow and Youngsbury, grandson of the Scottish Robert Barclay who wrote the seminal Quaker work 'The Apology' (see Appendix 2), acquired with his older brother John, as a consequence of a debt due to them, a property in Jamaica. This was Unity Valley Pen: on it were 32 slaves, and David and John, being of Quaker conscience, resolved to 'manumit' or free them.

This was not the first Caribbean acquisition to come their way. Four years earlier, as active linen merchants, they had become mortgagees of a larger plantation in Barbados called Vaucluse, which they held until 1785. For both brothers, these unsought additions to their assets were disturbing.

[There is an unproved theory that a slave imported to Vaucluse during their ownership, and therefore given the name Barclay, was the great-grandfather of Arthur Barclay, the black President of Liberia 1904-1912].

John Barclay, of Cambridge Heath Hackney and Lombard Street, was one of the first founders of Barclays Bank, and a contemporary document describes him as 'that philanthropic, steady and persevering Friend [Quaker] to the cause of distressed human nature the Negro Slaves of America'. His younger brother David, who became a partner of the bank in 1776 and was stated to be one of the most influential men in the City, was also a most generous man: 'Charitable and philanthropic objects had in him a munificent benefactor', wrote his biographer in the Morning Chronicle on his death in 1809, 'and honest

desert a helpful friend.' He was 'a man for whom', according to another contemporary description, 'the integrity of his heart, soundness of his understanding and general philanthropy of his breast had few equals.'

To both of them slavery was abhorrent. Indeed, throughout his adult life, David, as a prominent Quaker supporter of contemporaries such as William Wilberforce, defied current business persuasions and was a vigorous campaigner for the abolition of what he called 'that horrid traffick, the Slave Trade'. In daily life both brothers would have made use of a seal designed by Josiah Wedgwood for the Anti-Slavery Society, which depicts an African kneeling in chains, surrounded by the legend 'Am I not a man and a brother?', an example of which is still in the family's possession.

Their moral convictions therefore made their trading acquisitions uncomfortable, and when in 1784 John and David came into possession of a second West Indian property, succeeding a certain William Harvie as owners of Unity Valley Pen, they decided they had an opportunity to take reformatory action. They instructed their attorney and agent in Jamaica, Alexander Macleod, to free their slaves and give them paid employment on the land.



Macleod applauded the principle, but declined the execution of it, on grounds of its certainly disruptive unpopularity in the island. As a half-measure, he did agree to emancipate two of them, whom he thought most likely to provide for themselves if put into paid employment on the pen, and he agreed that their salaries should be £17 each per year. These were Hamlet and Prudence, a man and a woman around 30 years old. Within a year, however, both of them were found to have become so 'relaxed in their labour' that Macleod thought their example would be disadvantageous to the owners and their good intentions. He therefore discharged them from Unity Valley Pen, settling on them an emolument of £5 per year for life. Hamlet set up as a horse-breaker, and Prudence as a laundress, in which occupations they subsequently 'maintained themselves with good reputation'.

This experiment may have cemented John Barclay's regretful opposition to immediate emancipation, but he died in 1787, and the property devolved upon David, who in due course, perhaps in honour of his brother, renewed his determination to liberate the slaves, and this time with a new and notable plan.

David's own subsequent Account, written in 1801, opens with the words:

**H**AVING been a Slave Owner, and much dissatisfied in being so, I determined to try the experiment of liberating my Slaves; firmly convinced, that the retaining my fellow creatures in bondage was not only irreconcilable with the precepts of Christianity, but subversive of the rights of human nature; and having now, after an experience of five years, had satisfactory proofs of its good effects, I am induced, for the information and encouragement of others, who may be in similar circumstances, to publish the annexed account.

The new plan was to emancipate them, but, instead of putting them in paid employment on the Pen, to remove them to Philadelphia, with the aim of 'the heart-felt satisfaction of restoring human beings to their natural rights, as well as adding to society many useful members.'

The Barclay family had first set foot in America with the emigration of the Apologist's younger brother John (who became known as John Barclay of Perth Amboy) in 1684, following the Quaker trail blazed by William Penn to the province of New Jersey, of which Penn and King James II had made the Apologist part owner and Governor. Subsequently the Apologist's grandson (and David's half-brother) Alexander had resided in Philadelphia from c. 1730 until his death in 1771. Through these connections and through his friendship with Benjamin Franklin, with whom he had striven hard to prevent the approaching war with America, David knew that there existed in Philadelphia 'The Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery and for the relief of Free Negroes unlawfully held in Bondage and for improving the condition of the African Race'. In fact in 1790 David Barclay became a member of the Society, and in 1791 fell in with the suggestion of John Ashley, his agent in Philadelphia, that bringing the freed people to Philadelphia and putting them into the care of this Society could be the way to go forward.



The planned nurture, education, craft-training, and financial support for the Jamaicans which was offered by the Society was the reason why the liberated slaves were not to be repatriated to Africa, sent to England or even transported to a more southerly and congenial climate.

In 1795 David engaged as his agent, a man called William Holden, to go to Jamaica and make the arrangements.

William, later describing the mission as 'pleasant', set off from Portsmouth to Jamaica (a journey of virtually two months) in pursuit of his task. He first arrived in March 1795, and at once set to work with the amenable Alexander Macleod to implement David's new plan. Macleod took him to the hilly, green and pleasant Unity Valley Pen (a cattle ranch, not a crops plantation) and assembled the slaves for his inspection. Two of them were seen to be too infirm and diseased to travel, but with the assistance of Macleod, Holden then endeavoured to explain to the other sixteen adult slaves and twelve children the new owner's intention to make them free, and take them into paid employment in America. They unanimously accepted the offer.

They were recorded as:

Eleven women,  
'several of whom are  
Africans'  
Sabina, 40  
Bathsheba, 35  
Clarissa, 35  
Mintas, 34  
Patience, 32  
Amelia, 28  
Nancy, 26  
Nanny, 24  
Dido, 24

Phillis, 22  
Juba, 14  
Two girls  
Charlotte, 5  
Sukey, 4  
Five men, 'native  
Africans'  
John, 32  
Bacchus, 28  
London, 42  
Simon, 25  
Kingston, 28

Ten boys, 'natives  
of Jamaica'  
Charles, 14  
Prince, 14  
Yawo, 14  
Toby, 12  
Wiltshire, 11  
Sancho, 10  
Mingo, 10  
October, 8  
Quashie, 7  
Caesar, 6

Most of the names give little clue to the origins of these people, except that Yawo and Quashie are recognizably Ghanaian, meaning respectively born on Thursday and Sunday: and it is possible that October is a version of Ottobah, a name from the north of the Ashanti Region.

On June 15th 1795, according to plan and after much preparation, these 28 left the pen and their lives of enslavement, and were taken 45 km south to Kingston where a ship (the brig 'West Indian') waited to transport them to Philadelphia. But when they were assembled at the quayside a last-minute dramatic event occurred: the 28 unanimously refused to board the ship. They said they had been informed that 'they were to be sold to the Spaniards'.

William Holden was thrown at that point into a terrible 'state of embarrassment': he 'knew not how to act', and for two hours he 'never experienced such agitation of mind'. In the end he took John aside ('the most sensible and intelligent' of the group), and eventually, to his relief, 'having taken much pains', was told by John: "You are our massa, and have the right to do with us what you please. I will therefore go with you, and will endeavor to prevail on the rest to go with you also."

There is some poignancy in this submissive declaration, since it was the last speech John would ever make to a white man as a slave. The others all agreeing, they were 'liberated, enfranchised, manumitted and for ever set free' and went on board the ship, having also been offered the surname Barclay to add to their single slave names. In the course of the voyage, which was 'short' (only 6½ weeks) 'and pleasant', Holden paid 'proper attention to them', and obtained their entire confidence, with the result that the ship arrived in Philadelphia on July 22<sup>nd</sup> with everyone in high spirits. That evening Holden delivered them to James Pemberton, President of the Pennsylvania Society, and Dr. Thomas Parke, one of its members. They were received by the Committee and conveyed to the African Methodist Meeting House, which was to be their temporary residence.

Over the next few days, the Committee of the Society, keeping careful records, began to make arrangements for the welfare, housing, training, and employment of the new arrivals, the delivery to them of their papers proving their emancipation, and the implementation of undertakings that the children would be put into school-learning and taught mechanic trades 'in preference to any other business'.

Without delay over the ensuing days, the Committee visited the migrants (as we might now say) to consult with them what business would be most agreeable to them, and to consider what they were fit for. The resulting proposals were matched with suggestions and undertakings from various members of the Committee, and terms of engagement agreed. Among the arrangements made was a system whereby the fees received from those taking on apprentices were put into a fund for the relief of the elder blacks in case such relief might become necessary. Placing all the newcomers took the Committee 21 sittings altogether.

When the Committee had completed its arrangements for the 'binding' of the black people to local Philadelphians, the following details were recorded:

"A general View of the Appropriation of the Blacks, August 1795"

Men:

London, 42, for 2 yrs .....  
 Bacchus, 23, for 2 yrs .....  
 Simon, 25, for 2 yrs .....  
 Kingston, 25, for 2 yrs .....  
 John, 32, for 2 yrs .....

Bound to:

John Wall  
 Lydia Gilpin  
 Betton and Harrison  
 Ellis Yarnall  
 George Latimer

Women:

Sabina, 40, for 2 yrs .....	Silas Englass
Clarissa, 35, for 2 yrs .....	Thomas Annesley
Bathsheba, 35, for 2 yrs .....	Samuel Richards, Jr.
Mintas, 34 not yet bound but placed with .....	S.R.Fisher
Patience, 32 not bound	
Amelia, 26, for 2 yrs .....	Mary Ritchie
Nanny, 24, for 2 yrs .....	Samuel Richards Jr.
Dido, 24, for 2 yrs .....	Catherine Parker
Phillis, 22, in the Pennsylvania Hospital	

Boys:

Prince, 14, for 7 yrs to be taught to read and write .....	John Ashley
Charles, 14, for 7 yrs to be apprenticed as a nailer .....	William Clifton
Yaw (David Barclay), 14, for 7 yrs to be apprenticed as a carpenter ..	James Widdifield
Toby, 12, for 9 yrs, to be apprenticed as a hatter .....	Benjamin Cresson
Wiltshire, 11, in the Pennsylvania Hospital	
Mingo, 10, for 7 years, to be apprenticed as a nailer .....	William Clifton
Sancho, 10, for 11 yrs, to be apprenticed as a hatter .....	Isaac Parish
October (Robert Barclay), 8, to be app'd as a Windsor Chair maker	John Chapman
Quashie (George Barclay), 7, for 14 yrs, to be taught to read and write	Samuel Bett

Girls:

Juba, 14, d. of Clarissa, for 4 yrs, to be taught to read and write ....	Jeremiah Paul
Charlotte, 5, for 13 yrs, to be taught housewifery and to read and write	Cpt. Matthew Strong
Sukey (Susanna), 4, for 14 yrs, to be taught to read and write .....	James M'Glathery

Died:

Nancy, 26	
Caesar, 6, bound to .....	Richard Robinett

When all was done, Holden, carrying all the eventual details and himself highly commended by the Committee for his 'unremitted care and assistance', left for Portsmouth on September 16<sup>th</sup>, 'after taking leave of my newly acquired friends of colour' (it's interesting to note this 18<sup>th</sup> Century use of the term) 'and having seen them settled to their satisfaction'.

In November of the following year 1796 Alexander Macleod wrote to David Barclay to say that he had met several of the black Jamaicans now in Philadelphia, and found them very comfortably settled and highly satisfied with their condition. Several of them had called on him and expressed their gratitude to David for the benevolent part he had acted.

In 1797, Macleod was again in Philadelphia, where he found several of his 'old Unity Valley acquaintance', who looked decent, well-dressed, said they lived well and happy, but complained of the cold climate. 'I attended divine service at the African church, and had much pleasure to see them there, apparently impressed with a proper notion of morality and religion, and as far as I could see or learn, practising its precepts and commands'.

In 1799, Dr. Parke wrote to David to say that the business was finally concluded, with several of the Committee having made financial contributions (totaling £139.19.21½) for the welfare and upkeep of the less able of the blacks, among whom were Sabina, Clarissa and her

daughter Juba, 'who seem incapable of maintaining themselves: our severe weather in the winter almost disqualifies them for labour'.

This was his summarising account:

'List of Blacks liberated by David Barclay in Jamaica, and placed out in Philadelphia by the Committee of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, and visited by Dr. Thomas Parke'.

Men:

London Barclay, 46, living with John .....	<u>Bound to:</u> J.Wall
John, 36, married to Amelia, conducts himself well .....	G.Latimer
Simon, 30, married to Mintas, conducts himself prudently .....	Betton and Co.
Kingston, 28, a free servant, industrious and sober .....	E.Yarnall
Charles, 18, an apprentice nailer .....	J.Ashley
Yaw, 18, also known as David, an apprentice carpenter.....	W.Clifton

*[Bacchus had died]*

*[What happened to Prince, contemporary of Charles and Yawo, is not recorded]*

Boys:

Toby, 16, an apprentice hatter .....	B.Cresson
Sancho, 14, an apprentice hatter .....	J.Parish
Mingo, 14, an apprentice nailer .....	W.Clifton
October, 12, (Robert), an apprentice Windsor Chair maker .....	J.Chapman
Quashie, 11, (George), an indented servant .....	S.Betton

*[The other two boys, Wiltshire and Caesar, had died]*

Women:

Sabina, 44, out of her time.....	S.Engles
Bathsheba, 39, out of her time .....	S.Richards
Clarissa, 39, out of her time .....	T.Annesley
Mintas, 38, married to Simon, conducts herself respectably .....	S.R.Fisher
Amelia, 32, married to John .....	M.Ritch
Nanny, 28, died, but gave great satisfaction to her employers when living	S.Richards Jr.
Juba, 18, her term of servitude being expired she lives with her mother	Clarissa
	J.Paul

Girls:

Charlotte, 9, still in her place .....	M.Strong
Suki (Susanna), 8, still in her place .....	H.M'Glathery

Died:

Bacchus 1798 .....	Lydia Gilpin
Dido 1798 .....	C.Parker
Phillis, June 25 <sup>th</sup> 1798, perverse disposition and very troublesome, boarded in the Alms House	
Patience, June 1798, perverse disposition and very troublesome, boarded in the Alms House.	

'Several of them', he wrote to David, 'requested me to express their gratitude to thee for thy kindness, and promise by their behaviour to afford good examples to their brethren.'



A further report appears in a letter from James Pemberton to William Dillwyn of Walthamstow, Essex, dated Philadelphia November 29<sup>th</sup> 1800:

'I request thee to present to our mutual friend, David Barclay, my kindest respects, and inform him that I have the satisfaction to find that his humane views towards the blacks from Jamaica, to whom he had manifested such unprecedented benevolence and liberality, are so far realized that these objects of his concern enjoy their freedom with comfort to themselves and are respectable in their characters; keeping up a friendly intercourse with each other, avoiding to intermix with the common blacks of the city, being sober in their conduct and industrious in their business.'

In March 1801, after two more visits, William Holden wrote a closing account of his mission to David Barclay, in which he had the great pleasure of reporting that he had 'executed my mission to the satisfaction of yourself, to the family of your late brother Mr. John Barclay, and very much so to my own.'

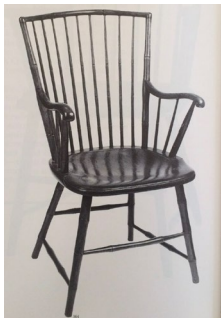
At this point of conclusion, David Barclay decided to write an account of the enterprise, and published in 1801 "An Account of the Emancipation of the Slaves of Unity Valley Pen in Jamaica". The cover bears a quotation from the poet Cowper:

*"I would not have a slave to till my ground,  
"To carry me, to fan me while I sleep,  
"And tremble when I wake, for all the wealth  
"That sinews bought and sold have ever earn'd."*

It must have been some consolation and reward when in his seventy-ninth year, two years before he died, the ground-breaking campaigner and philanthropist saw the passing of the 1807 Act of Abolition of the Slave Trade. It is also possible to imagine that, having no male issue, David might at least fancifully think of his freed male slaves such as October as in some way his heirs, in whom he could be well pleased. At any rate, in a codicil to his will added two months before he died, he bequeathed the sum of 10 dollars each to 'the Black Barclays, Philadelphia'. It is not known how many of the freed Unity Valley people had kept the name Barclay, but Philadelphia records show that three who did were Yaw David Barclay (perhaps after David himself?), Quashie George Barclay and October Robert Barclay (perhaps after the Apologist). These were three of the original children identified in William Holden's original 'inventory' aged 14, 7 and 8 respectively, and include the two (or three) with Ghanaian (Gold Coast) names. In Ghana it is quite customary to name a child in honour of someone the parent admires.

---

## OCTOBER, HIS SUBSEQUENT HISTORY, AND HIS DESCENDANTS



The story of the life of one of the transported people is known. Upon arrival in Philadelphia the eight-year-old 'October', re-named by his own choice Robert Barclay (was 'Robert' a gesture in honour of David's grandfather Robert the Quaker Apologist?), was bound to John Chapman, a Windsor Chair maker, for 13 years, to learn Windsor Chair making and to read and write. On completion of his training and care in 1808 he emerged aged 21 as a free citizen, and in 1820 he married Elizabeth ('Eliza Ann') Depee, a free Haitian. He went on to live his life as a cabinet-maker, a cord winder and subsequently a painter, and the

This Windsor Chair (above) now housed at Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia, was made by John Chapman between 1800 and 1820 and possibly therefore was handled by October.

couple had four children. The Barclay and Depee family of 19<sup>th</sup> century Philadelphia were founders of the Prince Hall Mason Lodge and also leaders in the famous 'Underground Railroad' movement. He died in 1861 aged 73, and his grave, marking the resting place of 'October Robert Barclay, born enslaved in Jamaica', exists to this day in Eden Cemetery in Philadelphia, the oldest black-owned cemetery in America.

One of October's four children was a boy called George Thomas Barclay, born in 1832. He studied accountancy and barbering (going on later to own a string of barbershops), and in 1862 he married Frances Morris Thorn. A year after his marriage he relocated to Bridgeport Connecticut, where the Barclay family was a part of the "Little Liberia" community, one of the earliest free black communities in America. George would also be a founder of the first Price Hall Mason Lodge Connecticut in 1872. He died in 1901.

One of Frances and George Barclay's children born in Bridgeport in 1875 was George Nicholas Barclay. He relocated in 1899 to Newport, Rhode Island, joining his Aunt Mary from Philadelphia, where he married Bessie Belle Forrester and produced eleven children, the ninth of whom was a daughter Ruth.

In 1941 Ruth Barclay married Archie William Stokes, and had a son, Keith William Stokes. Keith, Robert 'October' Barclay's great-great grandson, lives in Newport, Rhode Island, with his wife Theresa Guzman Stokes, whom he married in 1985. They have four children and they are both historians of the African Diaspora.

On September 30<sup>th</sup> 2015 Humphrey Barclay, Chief of the House of Barclay of Mathers and Urie, read an article in London's 'The Guardian' by Verene Shepherd, Professor of Social History at the University of the West Indies, in which she paid tribute to David Barclay and mentioned, to his astonishment, her acquaintance with one of the Unity Valley descendants. A week later, on October 6<sup>th</sup> 2015, Humphrey greeted Keith William Stokes by email, and eleven days after that they spoke live together on Professor Shepherd's Jamaica Radio programme 'Talking History'.

On June 22<sup>nd</sup> 2016 they met for the first time, at Unity Valley Pen in Jamaica.

The meeting was recorded on video by the generous contribution of Hat Trick Productions, London.



Keith Stokes shares with Humphrey Barclay an intense interest in the circumstances which brought their respective ancestors to have so much influence on each other's lives.



© Humphrey Barclay and Keith William Stokes  
October 2016

---



## APPENDIX 1

### Family photos of October's descendants

Below: Grandson: George Nicholas Barclay c. 1915



Right: Great Grandson:  
George Forrester Barclay  
c. 1905



Below right: Great-grandchildren, the first five  
children of George Nicholas Barclay c. 1913



Below: October's great grandson, United States Tuskegee  
Air Corp Cadet – Alfred Steward Barclay c. 1944



Right: Great-great-grandson  
Keith William Stokes  
b. 1958



© Keith William Stokes  
January 2016

## APPENDIX 2

## DAVID BARCLAY OF WALTHAMSTOW AND YOUNGSBURY: FAMILY HISTORY

For 800 years until the mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century, the Barclays were landowners, or Lairds, in Scotland. The first to arrive was John de Berchelai, who was either a Saxon, or a Norman whose father had come to England with William the Conqueror. He was sent in 1069 to accompany Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling (William's rival for the English throne) to be married in Hungary: but fate and stormy seas conspired to divert her ship to Scotland, and in due course she married the Scottish King Malcolm (son of Duncan, as told in Shakespeare's 'Macbeth'). John was subsequently rewarded by the grateful King Malcolm with the lands of Towie. Over the next five centuries the Barclay clan was a substantial presence in the eastern parts of Scotland, owning the estates of Towie, Gartley, Mathers, and eventually Urie (or Ury), near Stonehaven, a harbour village south of Aberdeen.

The first Laird of Urie was Col. David Barclay (1610-1686), a military man who, having distinguished himself throughout the turbulent period which saw the execution of Charles I, the government of Cromwell, and subsequently the restoration of the monarchy, found himself in his later years drawn to the controversial (and proscribed) Quaker Faith.



His son Robert (1648-1690) followed his father's inclinations and at the age of 27 became author of the seminal work of the Quaker faith 'The Apology' (the term means explanation or exposition, rather than contrition: the title in full was 'An Apology for the true Christian Divinity as the same is held forth and preached by the people called in scorn Quakers'). Robert 'The Apologist' had two sons: the first stayed to inherit and run Urie, and the second David (who would become known as David Barclay of Cheapside) moved to London, where he became apprenticed to businessman James Taylor.

This David created a new, parallel, and eventually highly successful character for the family as London businessmen. He married James Taylor's daughter Anne in 1709, and through connection with her family became a wealthy merchant.

In 1723, three years after the death of his first wife Anne, David married Priscilla Freame, who was to become the heiress of a banking business in Lombard Street, later to be known as Barclays Bank. By his two marriages therefore, David Barclay, second son of the Scottish Laird and Quaker Robert Barclay 'the Apologist', established himself as a man of very considerable wealth and influence in the City of London. In 1733 he took a lease of one of the finest houses in London in a street called Cheapside, where he was visited by the young King George III and his new bride Queen Charlotte.

This was the prosperous but still devotedly Quaker family into which, in 1729, the second son of his second marriage David (later identified as 'David Barclay of Walthamstow and Youngsbury') was born. Apart from consolidating the Bank business, one of his ventures was the purchase of the Anchor Brewery in Southwark (on the original site of Shakespeare's Globe Theatre), which led to the establishment of Barclay Perkins, a brewery which the great literary contemporary (and executor for the purchase) Dr. Samuel Johnson declared would make money 'beyond the dreams of avarice', and which remained the business of the Bury Hill branch of the Barclay family until the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century.

## APPENDIX 3

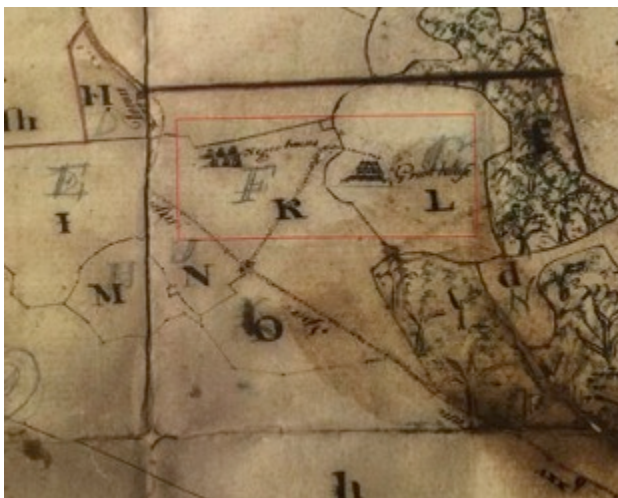
### Description of Unity Pen (from David Barclay's account in 1801)

'Unity Valley Pen is on the NE part of the island of Jamaica, in the parish of St. Anns, about 14 miles from the sea, and 40 miles from Kingston. It consists of about 2,000 acres, on two-thirds of which are very lofty trees, viz. mahogany, cedar, fustick etc, which afford much shade. The value of the timber, were it practicable to convey it to Britain, would be incalculable; but the access to the sea is mountainous, and too difficult.

'The labour on the Pen is much lighter than on a sugar plantation, the employment of the former being only to look after cattle, horses, mules etc, and to attend to them in the same manner as is practised by graziers in England, in order to sell them when fat or improved in age, to remove them from pasture to pasture, and to water, there being on the Pen about 430 acres of Guinea grass – "a fine long grass remarkable for the fattening of cattle" – in eleven enclosures; 75 acres of common pasture; and 12 acres of ground for raising yams, potatoes, garden stuff etc for the overseer and the negroes, the former residing in a comfortable house, and the latter in cottages near thereto \*. They are also employed in weeding the pastures, keeping up the fences etc, and when not otherwise occupied, they clear more land by cutting down and burning the fine trees, stocking their roots, and spreading the ashes on the land.'

Soon after the slaves had left, the Pen and its cattle were sold. Fully manned it could have fetched about £8,000, but with the slaves gone it realised £5,500, and an agreement was made with the buyer to treat kindly the survivor of the two negroes who had been too infirm and diseased to travel, and to continue for life the annual £5 payments to Hamlet and Prudence, who having established themselves in their own free businesses did not go with the others to Philadelphia.

The expense of removing the slaves to Philadelphia and seeing them properly settled was about £500, on top of which William Holden had also to be paid. 'But the satisfaction which resulted to the minds of David Barclay and his family', the seventy-two year-old David himself wrote in 1801, 'fully compensated the trouble, expense and anxiety experienced during the accomplishment of the undertaking.'



\* In this detail from a contemporary map of Unity Valley Pen it is just possible to see, above the letters R and L, the sketched locations of 'Negroes Houses' and the 'Great House'.

The site of the former is overgrown but still exists, while the latter was recently demolished by the construction of a highway.

## APPENDIX 4

### THE STORY OF OCTOBER ROBERT BARCLAY AND HIS PLACE IN THE HISTORY OF ATLANTIC SLAVERY

Keith W. Stokes, great-great grandson of the one-time slave October Robert Barclay, and historian of Newport, Rhode Island, writes to Humphrey Barclay:



My life and interest in African heritage and history has been largely shaped by the words of my Barclay grandmother who would remind me as a boy that "slavery is how we got here, but it tells you little of who we are as a people." To reconnect the lives and humanity of those who are a part of the African Diaspora in the Atlantic World has become a lifelong passion. I have also been very fortunate to have both maternal and paternal ancestors of color that I can trace back to at least the earliest settlement of the Americas.

For right or wrong, the institution of slavery has dominated the history of Africans in the Atlantic World. The emphasis on the horrors of the slave trade and the intended and unintended institutional racism that still exists today dominates nearly all facets of most conversations on race and history. Far too many historical presentations and interpretations of African enslavement have overshadowed the stories of the African heritage persons as a people, rendering their past lives and their very humanity nearly invisible to present-day audiences.

From all of my work, the tale of David Barclay and October is very special. I have researched and lectured on the history of African enslavement in Bahamas, Barbados, Dominican Republic and across the US, and the common theme I hear from participants is the need to speak to the humanity of the Africans rather than the continual focus on the slave institution. Young October and his historical link to David Barclay can and should speak to the humanity of both men -- young and old, black and white, and slave and master -- who sought to make their world a more just place. Just maybe their story has the power to heal and promote reconciliation.

My wife Theresa Guzman Stokes and I are working with several historical institutions here in America to complete the critical research on Barclay lives in early Philadelphia, Bridgeport and Newport. In each of these communities the family was involved in many historic events including first black schools, places of worship, civic and political organizations. Following the Barclay story is a pathway to the history of African heritage people in America, not as slaves, but as free persons.

We are developing a Fellowship proposal tentatively entitled, "**Legacies of Slavery & Freedom: A Family Journey Through The Atlantic World**", to present the story of slavery and freedom through the eyes and experiences of an actual African heritage family, the Barclays. [Please know, incidentally, that our Barclay name has never been seen as anything less than a proud mark of being part of the "creative survival" experience of the African heritage family. Our generations of success is due to the benevolence and opportunity your ancestor David Barclay provided for a little Jamaican boy over 200 years ago.]

This is a story and history that means a great deal to me and I feel I have an obligation to both our ancestors to present the story both factually and with great humanity.

The intent of a Fellowship approach is to enable us to work more closely with scholars such as Professor Verene Shepherd of the University of Jamaica and her counterparts in all of the Atlantic World locations that are connected by the Barclay journey. This would include Newport, Rhode Island, Bridgeport, Connecticut, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Unity Pen, Jamaica, London, England and Ghana – possibly at Anomabo, one of the slave forts from which the ships set out with their dreadful human cargoes. To date, we have actively engaged scholars in nearly all locations including receiving a letter of interest from the Anomabo Tribal Council.

The final piece is to reconnect Robert Barclay to his parents and possibly back to West Africa. As you might know, British ship logs, manifest and tax records from the time are mostly located in the archives in London. At some point, I will have to identify an English scholar who might assist to identify records of interest. The search itself would probably make an interesting documentary that tells not only the story of slavery, but the more interesting story of the people, black and white, all connected through the Atlantic World.

Such a Fellowship approach would also enable us to develop several platforms for public presentation and education including an educational web site, public exhibit and possible lecture series. My wife and I have taken this approach many times before and it has reaped great benefits, particularly when building pride and identity in persons of African heritage whose histories have been for far too long seen as less relevant compared to European history.

With the support of African Alliance of Rhode Island (see below) we have applied to Rhode Island Council for the Humanities, who have indicated their interest in furthering our research. They are very interested in funding a near-term research grant to enable my wife and me to travel to Jamaica in early 2016 to visit Unity Pen and meet with Professor Shepherd to learn about the Jamaican slave and Pen system during the time of October and his emancipation.

They are particularly interested in my personal/historic connections between myself and Humphrey, and feel that it would make an interesting documentary.

Keith William Stokes

Newport 2015

© Keith William Stokes  
January 2016



## APPENDIX 5

OBITUARY OF DAVID BARCLAY  
OF WALTHAMSTOW AND YOUNGSBURY  
FROM THE 'MORNING CHRONICLE' JUNE 5<sup>TH</sup> 1809  
REPRINTED IN  
'CHAMBERS EDINBURGH JOURNAL' OCTOBER 6<sup>TH</sup> 1849

A BRITISH MERCHANT OF THE LAST  
GENERATION

*[This piece is taken from the 'Morning Chronicle' of June 5<sup>th</sup> 1809, and we trust will be reprinted, from time to time, for centuries to come.]*



The late David Barclay, who died the 30<sup>th</sup> ult. in his eighty-first year, at Walthamstow, was the only surviving grandson of Robert Barclay of Urie, author of the celebrated 'Apology for the Quakers'. He was bred to business in the city of London, and was long at the head of a most extensive house in Cheapside, chiefly engaged in the American trade, and the affairs of which he closed at the commencement of the Revolution. He was at that time as much distinguished by his talents, knowledge, integrity and power as a merchant, as he has ever since, in his retirement, by his patriotism, philanthropy and munificence. We cannot form to ourselves, even in imagination, the idea of a character more perfect than that of David Barclay. Graced by nature with a most noble form, all the qualities of his mind and heart corresponded with the grandeur of his exterior; the superiority of his understanding confirmed the impression which the dignity of his demeanour made on all; and though, by the tenets of his religious faith, he abstained from all the honours of public trust, to which he was frequently invited by his fellow-citizens, yet his influence was justly great on all the public questions of the day. His examination at the bar of the House of Commons, and his advice on the subject of the American dispute, were so clear, so intelligent and so wise, that, though not followed, Lord North publicly acknowledged that he had derived more information from him than from all others on the east of Temple-Bar.

It was the American Revolution that determined him to wind up his extensive concerns, and to retire, but not as busy men generally retire – to the indulgence of mere personal luxury. His benevolent heart continued active in his retreat; he distributed his ample fortune in the most sublime ways; instead of making all those persons whom he loved dependent on his future bounty, as expectants at his death, he became himself the executor of his own will, and by the most magnificent aid to all his relatives, he not only laid the foundation, but lived to see the maturity, of all those establishments which now give such importance to his family. Nor was it merely to his relations that this seasonable friendship was given, but to the young men whom he had bred in his mercantile house, and of whose virtuous dispositions he approved. Some of the most eminent merchants in the city of London are proud to acknowledge the gratitude they owe to David Barclay for the means of their first introduction into life, and for the benefits of his counsel and countenance in their early stages of it. It is a proof of the sagacity of his patronage, that he had very few occasions to repent of the protection he had conferred; and the uninterrupted happiness he enjoyed for many years in the midst of the numerous



connections he had reared, hold out a lively example, and a lesson to others, of the value of an just and well-directed beneficence.

His virtue was not limited to his relatives, to his friends, to his sect, to his country, or to the colour of his species. He was a man of the warmest affections, and therefore loved his family and friends; he was a patriot and therefore preferred his country to all others; but he was a Christian, and felt for the human race. No man, therefore, was ever more active than David Barclay in promoting whatever might meliorate the condition of man. Largely endowed by Providence with the means, he felt it to be his duty to set great examples; and when an argument was set up against the emancipation of the negroes from slavery, 'that they were too ignorant, and too barbarous for freedom,' he resolved, at his own expense, to demonstrate the fallacy of the imputation. Having had an estate in Jamaica fall to him, he determined, at the expense of £10,000, to emancipate the whole gang (as they are termed) of slaves. He did this with his usual prudence as well as generosity; he sent out an agent to Jamaica, and made him hire a vessel, in which they were all transported to America, where the little community was established in various handicraft trades. The members of it prospered under the blessing of his care, and lived to show that the black skin enclosed hearts as full of gratitude, and minds as capable of improvement, as that of the proudest white. Such was the conduct of this English merchant!

During all this course of well-doing his own manners were simple, his hospitality large, and his charities universal. He founded a House of Industry near his own residence, on such solid principles, that though it cost him £1500 for several years, he succeeded in his object of making it a source of comfort, and even of independence, to all the well-disposed families of the poor around. We could fill a column with a recital of individual acts of his benevolence, which, though indiscriminate, were never degraded by the narrowness of religious distinction.

Mr. David Barclay was married twice. He had but one daughter by his first marriage, who was married to Richard Gurney, Esq. of Norwich. She was a most beautiful and benevolent woman, everyway worthy of such a father. She died some years ago, leaving issue Hudson Gurney, Esq., and the wife of Samson Hanbury, Esq.

We have thought it right to give this sketch of a most honourable citizen, though he himself was no friend to posthumous blazonry; and we learn that the simple notice of his death, first inserted in the 'Morning Chronicle', was directed, if not actually dictated, by himself before his departure. Nothing could surpass the tranquility of his last moments; he was composed, cheerful, and resigned; he had not to struggle with life; he rather ceased to live, than felt the pang of death.

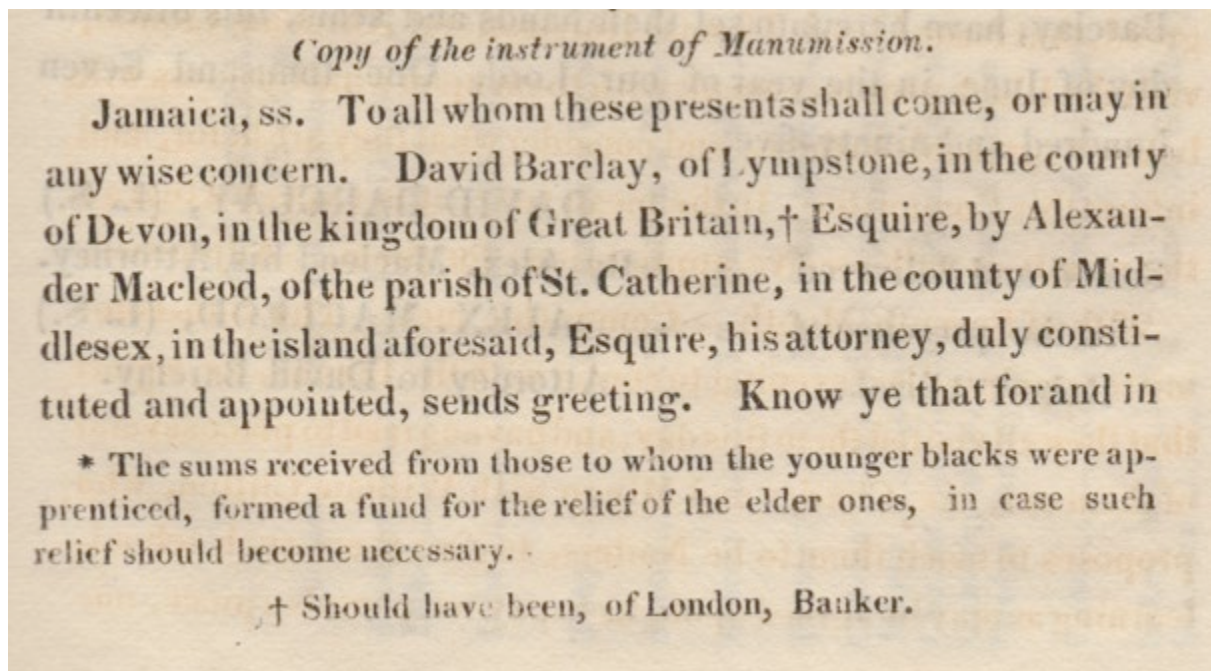
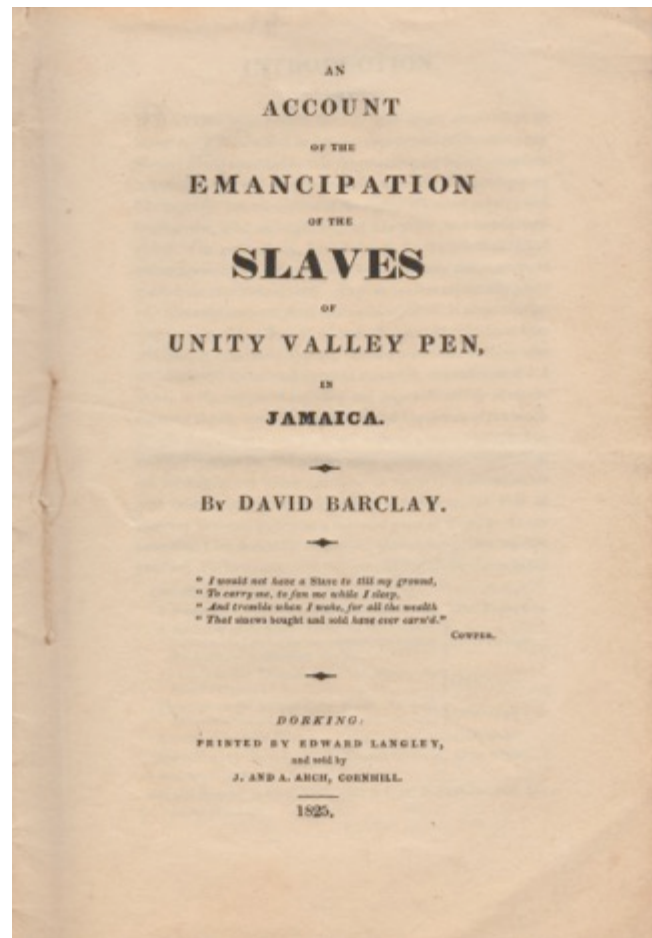
The Quaker-style headstone on the grave of David Barclay in the garden of Winchmore Hill Meeting House, North London, where he lies near his father and elder brother John.

FRONTING THIS DOCUMENT IS A  
PORTRAIT OF DAVID BARCLAY IN AN  
ENGRAVING BY EARLOM FROM THE  
PORTRAIT ASCRIBED TO ZOFFANY,  
WHICH IS IN THE POSSESSION OF  
HUMPHREY BARCLAY



## APPENDIX 6

David's 'Account' (front page) and from it a copy of the Instrument of Manumission (written in 1801, this copy published in 1825)



Continued over



consideration of the sum of ten shillings, current money of Jamaica to him in hand well and truly paid, by William Holden, of the parish of Kingston, in the county of Surrey and island aforesaid, Esquire, at or before the execution hereof, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged; he, the said David Barclay, by his attorney aforesaid, hath liberated, enfranchised, manumitted, and for ever set free, all those Negro male and female slaves, named, London, Bacchus, Simon, John, Kingston, Charles, Mintas, Nanny, Dido, Bathsheba, Patience, Amelia, Clarissa, Nancy, Sabina, Juba, Phillis, Prince, Yawo, Toby, Wiltshire, Sancho, Mingo, October, Quashie, Cæsar, Charlotte, and Sukey, with the future increase and issue of the females of the said slaves, being now wholly the property of the said David Barclay, from all manner of servitude and slavery whatever; to hold the said liberty and freedom hereby granted unto them the said London, Bacchus, Simon, John, Kingston, Charles, Mintas, Nanny, Dido, Bathsheba, Patience, Amelia, Clarissa, Nancy, Sabina, Juba, Phillis, Prince, Yawo, Toby, Wiltshire, Sancho, Mingo, October, Quashie, Cæsar, Charlotte, and Sukey, with the future issue and increase of the females of the said slaves, from henceforth and for evermore; in witness whereof the said David Barclay, by the said Alexander Macleod, his attorney, and the said Alexander Macleod, as attorney to the said David Barclay, have hereunto set their hands and seals, this fifteenth day of June, in the year of our Lord, One thousand Seven hundred and ninety-five.

DAVID BARCLAY, (L. S.)

Sealed and delivered  
in the presence of  
Robert Allison.

By Alex. Macleod his Attorney.

ALEX. MACLEOD, (L. S.)

Attorney to David Barclay.



## APPENDIX 7

David's certificate of membership of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society 1790, and a detail of the Society's seal, showing the progression in intention from the earlier and well known Anti-Slave Trade seal designed by Josiah Wedgwood.

