

EDWARD IND (1751-1808): BREWER, POET, ABOLITIONIST

MATTHEW ABEL

Edward Ind (1779-1848) is a familiar name in the annals of brewing history. He is traditionally - though inaccurately¹ - credited with establishing the former Romford Brewery in Essex in 1799 and, in 1845, he became a founding partner in Ind, Coope & Company, one of Britain's foremost brewing firms of the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Less well-known, however, is his paternal uncle of the same name. Also a brewer, albeit on a smaller scale than his nephew, Edward Ind (1751-1808) was a partner in the Cambridge firm of Hide and Ind. He held influence in his community as a town alderman and even achieved local renown for writing poetry. Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of his life, however, was his friendship with the pioneering black writer and abolitionist Olaudah Equiano (c.1745-1797), of whose will he was co-executor. This article will outline the elder Edward Ind's background and brewing career before examining how he became involved in the British anti-slavery movement and later befriended one of its most influential figures. Using a range of contemporary sources to reconstruct Ind's social network, it also will consider the extent to which he was active in the wider political reform movement in late 18th century Cambridge, and whether his progressive views were inherited by his more famous nephew.

A first-generation brewer

There has been some uncertainty in previous accounts over the Ind family's origins and the length of their roots in the brewing industry. Norman Graham wrote in 1990 that 'very little is known about this family prior to 1778, even though at this time they were leading members of the *Beerage*'. He conjectured that the Inds were originally farmers who began by brewing their own beer on the farm and selling it locally.² It has also been suggested that the family originated in Cambridge.³ In fact, the Cambridge Inds of the late 18th century were the first generation of the family to settle there; hitherto, they had lived at St Ives in Huntingdonshire (now part of Cambridgeshire). Furthermore, far from being

'leading members of the *Beerage*', the forbears of the Cambridge Inds worked in the wool trade, and it was Edward and his siblings who first established the family name in brewing.

Edward Ind's grandfather, Robert Ind (d. 1757), lived in St. Neots at the time of his marriage to Mary Harkness in 1726, but settled in his wife's parish of St. Ives.⁴ Robert was a wool stapler - a middleman who bought wool from sheep farmers and graded it according to quality before selling it on to cloth manufacturers. Close to the Great North Road and large towns like Cambridge and Bury St Edmunds, and with an inland port on the Great Ouse, St. Ives had been an important market for wool, hides and cloth since the 13th century.⁵ Robert and Mary had at least four children but, as they attended the Independent (formerly Presbyterian) church, whose registers only survive from 1742, baptism records can only be traced for the final two: Elizabeth (b. 1743) and Harkness (b. 1747).⁶ Their eldest child was another Robert Ind (c.1727-1768), who married Ann Ralph at Wyton in 1749.⁷ Robert junior and Ann had nine children, some of whom were baptised at the Independent church and others at the parish church. Edward, their second child, was born on 4 August 1751 and baptised at the parish church on 4 September.⁸ Robert junior took on his father's trade and lived and worked at Needingworth, just outside St. Ives, and in the town itself. However, none of his own children would follow in his stead.

By Robert Ind junior's day, the wool trade in St. Ives was not as important as it had once been. Although the national wool industry remained healthy throughout the eighteenth century and did not face serious competition from cotton until after 1770,¹⁰ the market in St. Ives was moving away from wool and cloth towards livestock.¹¹ Perhaps because of this, Robert junior tried to diversify his income; on his son's baptism record in 1756, he was described as a 'Grocer and Woolcomber' and a small amount of home brewing may have been a side-line of this grocery business. Robert jun-

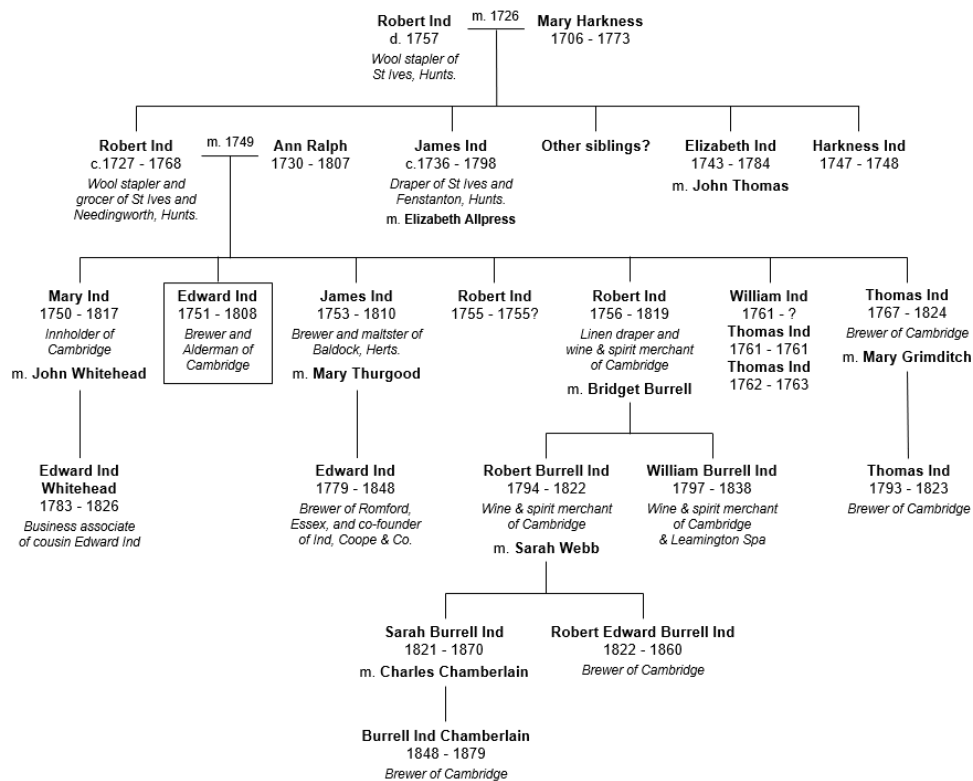


Figure 1. Simplified family tree of the Inds of St Ives and Cambridge.

ior's father died a year later but left his entire estate to his younger son James.¹² With a declining business and no patrimony to pass onto his children, Robert junior seems to have encouraged them to leave St Ives and pursue alternative careers.

Consequently, all five of the surviving Ind siblings ended up earning all or part of their living from brewing or related trades. James (1753-1810) – father of the Romford Edward – moved to Baldock in Hertfordshire, where he established himself as a farmer, maltster and brewer; his career has already been discussed elsewhere.¹³ Robert (1756-1819) went to Cambridge and set up as a linen draper, but also ran a wine and spirit business with his sons, which they inherited after his death;¹⁴ his grandson and great-grandson also became brewers.¹⁵ The youngest brother, Thomas (1767-1824), was apprenticed to his brother Edward in 1782 and took over the latter's share in Hide and Ind after his death.¹⁶ Even Mary (1750-1817), the only Ind sister, entered the trade when her soldier husband, John Whitehead, turned innkeeper in Cambridge;¹⁷ their son, Edward Ind Whitehead (1783-1826), also appears in certain property deeds in con-

nection with his Romford cousin's brewery and may have been an early partner of his.¹⁸ While not quite 'Beerage' material yet, by the nineteenth century, the Ind family was comfortably established within the East Anglian brewing industry.

Early career

Edward Ind, the eldest brother, was the first to fly the nest and make his fortune. We know this thanks to a brief 'biographical sketch' contained in an anthology of Ind's poetry, published posthumously in 1822 by Thomas Mott (1773-1826).¹⁹ Mott was a Cambridge solicitor who also published two volumes of his own poetry, the second at the same time as Ind's work. Mott wrote his biography fourteen years after Ind's death and, while he clearly knew his subject in life, he obtained most of his information second-hand from 'one of [Ind's] most intimate and early friends', who remains unnamed. Nevertheless, many of Mott's claims can be corroborated against other sources and his account provides a helpful outline of Ind's life. Using Mott as our start-

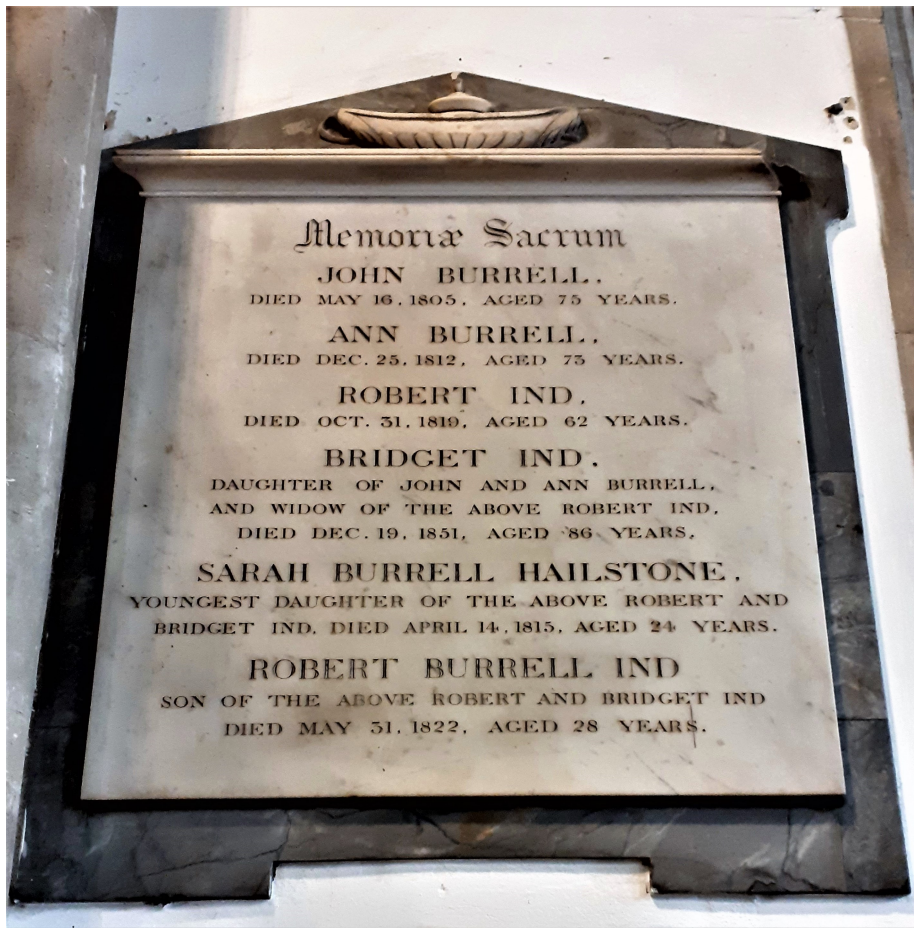


Figure 2. Memorial to Edward Ind's brother Robert and his family at Great St. Mary's Church, Cambridge. Author's collection.

ing point, therefore, we can piece together a picture of Ind's brewing career in Cambridge.

Ind began his working life aged 15 (c.1766) in the counting house of the Cambridge merchant Richard Foster (c.1733-1790), with whom he stayed for 'some years'.²⁰ Foster's business activities were varied but at some stage he moved into brewing; in his will of 1790, he refers to his brewery in St. Botolph's parish, Cambridge, 'which I purchased of Messrs Purchas and Son heretofore Stevens's' as well as a malting at Hitchin.²¹ Alderman John Purchas (1738-1787) and his son John Purchas junior (1761-1833) were also brewers; when John senior died in 1787, he instructed John junior (who had his own brewery) to sell his estate, which may have been when Foster acquired the above premises in St. Botolph's.²² In the same year, John Purchas junior took a John Stevens as his apprentice.²³ This was long after Ind had ceased to work for Foster but he was also familiar with the

Purchases; in 1784, he had been involved, with John junior, in the winding up of John senior's then business partnership.²⁴ John Purchas junior's brewery in Thompson's Lane was later taken over by Foster's son Richard Foster junior (c.1759-1842).²⁵

After leaving Foster's service, Ind 'was immediately engaged by Mr. Thomas Hyde[sic] the brewer as his clerk ... and in a few years, he obtained a share in the concern'.²⁶ While Thomas Hide (1741-1777) did make Ind his brewing partner, his business, like Foster's, was multi-faceted. In his will, Hide described himself as a merchant and alderman - not a brewer - and he was primarily concerned with ensuring the continuation of 'the Mercantile Trade and Business in which I am engaged with Mr Richard Comings'. Only later did he come to his brewery, bequeathing 'to my Clerk Peter Wedd and to Edward Ind my partner in the Brewing Business fifty pounds apiece.' As Hide had other demands on his

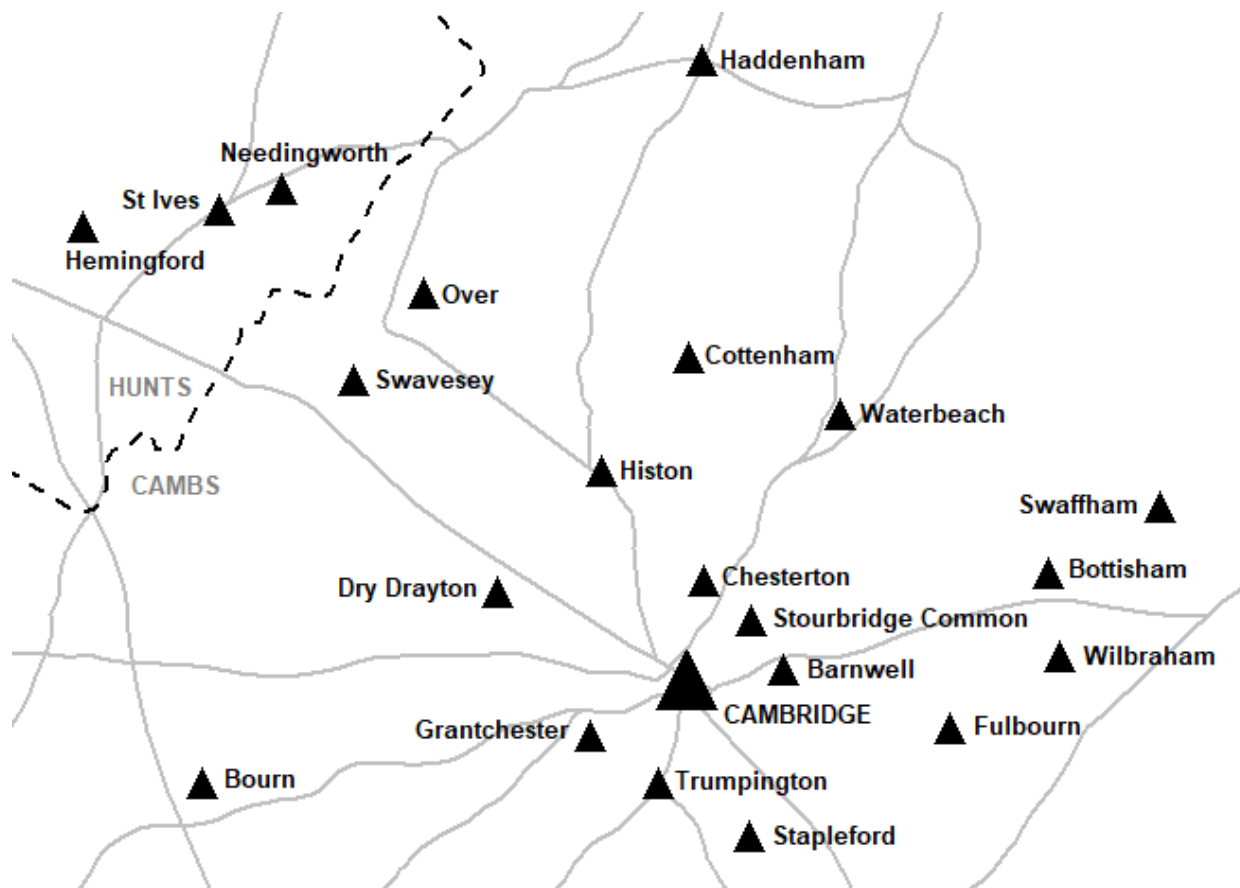


Figure 3. Distribution of Hide and Ind estates in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire. Road layout based on Ebdon's New Map of Cambridgeshire, 1825.

time, it is likely that Ind took the greater managerial role in the brewery. Upon his premature death in 1777, Hide left all his business shares to his executors, Richard Comings and James Burleigh, in trust for his seven-year-old son Thomas Seymour Hide (1770-1845), which can only have enhanced Ind's precedence further.²⁷

As Ind approached his 30th birthday, he followed the path of many up-and-coming businessmen of the time and bought his way into politics. On 22 March 1781, he purchased the freedom of the Borough of Cambridge for £100, which gave him an exemption from corporation tolls and the right to vote in local elections. When he took his oath of freedom on 1 May, he was also elected a common councilman, appointed an auditor of the corporation accounts and put on a committee planning the building of a new town hall. 18 months later, on 29 September 1782, he achieved the same rank as his late partner when he was elected as an alderman.²⁸ Political careers can move fast with the right connections

and Ind's swift progress may have been facilitated by James Burleigh, one of Hide's executors, or John Purchas senior, both alderman themselves. Ind's position benefited both him and his family; his brother James was made a freeman of Cambridge in 1785, despite living twenty miles away in Baldock.²⁹ His youngest brother Thomas also claimed and received his freedom on completion of his apprenticeship with Ind in 1789 and was elected a common councilman two years later.³⁰

Municipal politics during Ind's lifetime would be dominated by a man who was elected to the aldermen's bench just a few months before him. John Mortlock (1755-1816) was a woollen draper from a prosperous family who, within a decade of buying his freedom in 1778, effectively assumed autocratic control over the borough. Having opened Cambridge's first bank in 1780, he became banker to the University and secured support through loans to influential figures in town and county, including his fellow aldermen.

He also had a powerful patron in the Duke of Rutland, who helped him to a seat in Parliament, and although both men were initially advocates of parliamentary reform, Mortlock would go on to preside over one of the most corrupt municipal regimes in the age of the 'pocket borough'. He was mayor of Cambridge thirteen times (once while still an MP), having changed the corporation's election rules to increase the mayor's power and make it easier for him to appoint his cronies to office. He also misappropriated public funds to enrich his family and friends and granted corporation properties to his supporters on long leases at low rents.³¹ Mortlock's opponents challenged his actions in a series of legal proceedings but Ind knew which side his bread was buttered and testified in Mortlock's favour when the complaints were referred to Chancery.³² Ind's loyalty paid off, as he was able to renew his lease of the Fountain public house in 1791 for 999 years at the tiny rent of £4 5s.³³

In the same year, Ind's partner Thomas Seymour Hide turned 21 and came into his estate. He took out a policy with the Sun Insurance Office which gives us an insight into the extent of Hide and Ind's business. Among the properties that Hide insured were malting and brewing offices in St. Clement's parish, a new two-storey storage and stable block in St. Michael's parish, six public houses in town and eight others in Trumpington, Barnwell, Grantchester, Cottenham, Dry Drayton, Bottisham, Over and Stourbridge Common respectively.³⁴ A policy taken out by Ind the previous year (with Hide's then-guardian Richard Comings) shows that they also ran the Bleeding Heart at Chesterton with its adjacent malting and another malting nearby called Sparrows.³⁵ Ind leased further Cambridge houses under his own name, including the Fountain and the Bushel & Strike.³⁶ A later list of the firm's estates from 1809-10 includes properties as far afield as Haddenham and Ind's native St. Ives, as well as a 'College Brewhouse' and its plant.³⁷ Cambridge's colleges had their own brewhouses which produced the 'audit ales' served at the feasts following their accounts audits.³⁸ If Hide and Ind owned or leased such a brewhouse, they may have been contracted to supply that college's audit ale.

Thanks to his success with Hide, Ind had the time and means to devote to his real passion: poetry. Mott described Ind as 'an innate poetic genius', who had a studious temperament and a passion for poetry from a young age. Ind apparently wrote some 'minor pieces' at the age of 18 while working for Foster, but his salary increased when he went to work for Hide, enabling him to buy more books and improve his writing.³⁹ Ind's work demonstrates his admiration for contemporary writers such as Charlotte Smith (1749-1806), Edmund Rack (c.1735-1787), William Shenstone (1714-1763) and the actor/playwright David Garrick (1717-1779). Local authors also appealed: he references the poems of

fellow St. Ivisians Samuel Jackson Pratt (1749-1814) and Rowland Rugeley (1738-1776), and once sent his brother Robert a copy of the works of Thomas Gray (1716-1771), who spent much of his life in Cambridge.⁴⁰ By 1784, Ind's personal library was of sufficient size to merit its own line on the home insurance policy he took out that year, when it was valued at £70; by comparison, his clothes were only valued at £50.⁴¹

It may well have been during a visit to his local bookseller that Ind picked up his first antislavery pamphlet. But to fully understand how Ind became an abolitionist, we must examine the other environmental factors that may have shaped his humanitarian views, including the important role that Cambridge itself played in the early years of the abolition movement.

Ind and abolitionism in Cambridge

Although some isolated voices had spoken out against slavery beforehand, the British abolition movement officially began in London on 22 May 1787, with the formation of the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade (SEAST). Its chairman was Granville Sharp (1735-1813), an inveterate reformer who already had twenty years of anti-slavery campaigning under his belt. The most active member of the committee, however, was the young clergyman Thomas Clarkson (1760-1846). Clarkson spent years travelling the length and breadth of the country on SEAST business, collecting evidence against the slave trade, distributing abolitionist literature, giving lectures and signing up new subscribers. His efforts helped launch a wave of grassroots activism across Britain as supporters of abolition set up their own local committees and organised petitions to Parliament. By the end of its 1788 session, the House of Commons had received 103 petitions against the slave trade – more than it had ever received on any subject – containing between 60,000 and 100,000 signatures.⁴² While the campaign had supporters nationwide, a handful of towns demonstrated particularly strong abolitionist credentials, one of which was Cambridge.

Thomas Clarkson was born at Wisbech in Cambridgeshire and his views on the slave trade developed during his student days at the University of Cambridge. In 1785, he wrote a prize-winning Latin essay in response to the senior exam question *Anne Liceat Invitos in Servitutum Dare?* ('Is it lawful to make slaves of others against their will?'). The man who set the question was Peter Peckard (1717-1797), the recently appointed vice-chancellor of the University and one of the earliest outspoken opponents of the slave trade. Although two of Peckard's colleagues, John Hinchcliffe

(1731-1794) and Richard Watson (1737-1816), had corresponded with Granville Sharp over abolition in 1780-1, it was under Peckard's leadership that the University became a hub of abolitionist activism. The Senate voted a petition against the slave trade on 26 January 1788, which was presented to Parliament on 8 February. The SEAST received dozens of subscriptions from various constituent colleges and their members in its first year – there were so many that the University had its own section in the list of subscribers. As the abolitionists' voice in Parliament, Clarkson enlisted fellow Cambridge alumnus William Wilberforce MP (1759-1833), who also had the ear of another sympathetic Cantabrigian: William Pitt the Younger (1759-1806), the serving Prime Minister and one of Cambridge University's two MPs.⁴³

Although Mott tells us that Ind had intellectual abilities 'far superior to what might have been expected from one who was not gifted with a scholastic education',⁴⁴ he was not 'a Cambridge man'. However, abolitionism in Cambridge was not confined to the University; supporters could also be found in both the town and county. In July 1787, the SEAST central committee wrote to interested friends across the country who could act as local organisers in their respective counties; their contacts in Cambridgeshire were Jonathan Peckover of Wisbech (a friend of Clarkson's) and J.S. Mackenzie of Cambridge.⁴⁵ The latter may have been James Stuart Mackenzie (c.1763-1811), recently admitted to Emmanuel College and later perpetual curate of Thetford in Norfolk.⁴⁶ Mackenzie wrote back from Cambridge on 16 November, 'desiring to forward the object of the institution there' but,⁴⁷ oddly, appears no more in the minutes nor in the list of subscribers published the following year. Nevertheless, there were four other non-academic subscribers from Cambridge on the list, as well as seven in Ind's hometown of St Ives and another three in neighbouring Fenstanton, where his uncle James lived.⁴⁸

The SEAST's local organisers were tasked with writing letters, sharing news and distributing publications from the central committee to existing and prospective subscribers. Late-eighteenth-century Britain was an increasingly literate society and antislavery pamphlets, articles and verses were vital tools for spreading the abolitionists' message. Every name on the county list in July 1787 received a copy of Clarkson's *Summary View of the Slave Trade* (1787), which laid out the campaign's key arguments. In August 1788, 40 copies of the London committee's latest report were sent to the Rev. J. Hammond at Fenstanton for distribution, and another 100 to the Rev. William Frend (1757-1841) of Jesus College.⁴⁹ Frend was a particularly active SEAST member and reformer, who published two of his own radical pamphlets at the press in St. Ives.⁵⁰ The *Cambridge Chronicle* also carried reports from the SEAST's London and Man-

chester committees and adverts for antislavery publications available from the town's booksellers. It is difficult to see how a keen reader like Ind could not have consumed at least some of this literature. Moreover, at least two of the authors Ind references in his own poetry are known to have held antislavery sympathies. Samuel Jackson Pratt published a poem called *Humanity, or the Rights of Nature* (1788), which condemned slavery in all forms, just as the abolition campaign began.⁵¹ Charlotte Smith, to whom Ind dedicated two of his own sonnets, also criticised slavery in her novels (while, at the same time, helping to administer her father-in-law's plantations in Barbados).⁵²

Ind's support for abolition may also have been influenced by his parish priest. By the late 18th century, the Church of England was firmly part of the political establishment and with its precedence enshrined in law, many of its clergy had grown lazy and corrupt, no longer bothering to practice what they preached. But the growing Evangelical movement within the Church advocated a return to the 'purer' Christianity of the past, free from the vices of the modern Church and society at large. Charles Simeon (1759-1836), the minister at Ind's parish church of Holy Trinity for over half a century, was a committed Evangelical. After assuming the post in 1783, his pious attitude initially drew opposition from his congregation, but he gradually won them round and became an influential figure in the religious life of Cambridge.⁵³ Significantly, Simeon was also one of the Clapham Sect, a group of Evangelical social reformers who saw slavery as incompatible with Christian doctrine and were closely associated with the abolition campaign (Granville Sharp and William Wilberforce were also Claphamites).⁵⁴ Ind was an active member of Simeon's congregation, attending vestry meetings and serving as a churchwarden several times,⁵⁵ so he clearly supported Simeon's ministry and shared his Evangelical beliefs.

As well as Evangelical Anglicans like Simeon and Ind, the abolition movement had significant support from dissenters who had broken from the Church of England. Nine of the original twelve SEAST members were Quakers - the Society of Friends having been the first religious denomination to officially denounce slavery. Many other abolitionists belonged to Baptist, Methodist or Independent churches, who were generally more inclined towards progressive politics than their Anglican counterparts. Ind may have been an Anglican but many of those closest to him throughout his life were dissenters, with whom he would have had more in common as an Evangelical than with his more worldly fellow churchmen. His own parents and grandparents had been Independents, as was one of his oldest friends, John Audley (1750-1827), later co-executor of Equiano's will and probably the 'intimate and early friend' who furnished Mott with



Figure 4. Silhouette of Charles Simeon preaching, one of a series by Augustin Edouart, 1828. © National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG D386).

information for his biography of Ind. Like his friend, Audley was born in St Ives where his father was a wool stapler but, as his family moved to Cambridge soon after his birth, he probably didn't meet Ind until the latter moved there in his teens. Audley was a lay preacher at various Independent and Baptist congregations but also attended vestry meetings at Holy Trinity alongside Ind.⁵⁶

Both the Independents and Baptists were enjoying a revival in Cambridge; by 1774, their combined congregations accounted for about one in seven of the town's population. One of the driving forces behind this revival was another of Ind's friends: Robert Robinson (1735-1790), the passionate and dedicated minister of St Andrew's Street Baptist Church.⁵⁷ By the 1780s, Robinson's congregation was known for its political activism and for supporting parliamentary reform and the abolition of the slave trade; one of its trustees, Charles Finch, was one of the four original Cambridge subscribers to the SEAST.⁵⁸ In February 1788,

Robinson preached a sermon on the inconsistency of slavery with Christianity and, a few weeks later, he wrote an abolition petition which was submitted to Parliament for the county of Cambridgeshire.⁵⁹ Ind's first employer in Cambridge, Richard Foster, was a deacon at St. Andrew's Street,⁶⁰ so it was probably through him that he met Robinson. Ind knew Robinson well enough to provide information about him to his biographer, the poet George Dyer (1755-1841), and he also subscribed to Robinson's *Ecclesiastical Researches* (1792), which were published posthumously by William Frend.⁶¹

There were, therefore, several avenues by which Ind could have been exposed to the emerging abolition movement in the late 1780s, and it was not long before he became involved. No less than three petitions against the slave trade were sent to Parliament from Cambridge in early 1788. The first was from the Mayor, Bailiffs and Burgesses of the Borough and, as an alderman, Ind took the lead in its creation.

At a council meeting on 17 January 1788, it was 'ordered that the present Auditors be a Committee to consider of a Petition to Parliament relative to the Slave Trade and that they make their Report at the next adjourned Common Day.' The auditors, who had been appointed two months earlier, were Ind, three of his fellow aldermen and four common councilmen. The auditors drafted their petition within days and, on 21 January (five days before the University Senate passed its petition), 'Mr Alderman Ind made a motion that Mr Mayor be requested to present the petition for the Abolition of the Slave Trade this day Sealed to the House of Commons'.⁶² The Borough petition was presented on 14 February. Robert Robinson's petition, on behalf of the 'gentry, clergy, freeholders and others of the county of Cambridge', was approved at a public meeting at the Shire Hall on 1 March and presented on 12 March.⁶³ It was the evident strength of support for abolition in Cambridge that would, in time, draw Olaudah Equiano to the town and into Ind's acquaintance.

Ind and Equiano

Olaudah Equiano was one of the most significant figures in the British abolition movement. According to his own testimony, he was born in what is now Nigeria, enslaved as a boy and transported to the West Indies, thence to a plantation in Virginia. After a few weeks, he became the personal slave of a Royal Navy officer, Michael Pascal, who first brought him to Britain and gave him the name that he used for most of his life: Gustavus Vassa. Equiano was a natural entrepreneur and worked hard to improve, and ultimately escape, his cruel situation. He befriended Pascal's family and friends, who helped him learn to read and write, and when Pascal sold him to the Montserrat merchant Robert King in 1762, Equiano exploited his position as a crewman in King's Caribbean fleet to buy and sell goods on his own account until he had earned enough money to buy his freedom in 1766. He later moved back to London, where he spent the next two decades working a range of jobs in between voyages on various naval and merchant ships, during which he travelled everywhere from South America to the Arctic Circle and came close to death and re-enslavement several times.⁶⁴

While living in London, Equiano became involved in the abolition campaign, befriending Granville Sharp and Thomas Clarkson and co-founding a group of black abolitionists called the Sons of Africa. He decided to commit his own experiences of slavery to paper in support of the cause and, on 24 March 1789, he published the first edition of his autobiography, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African*. Although it was

not the first antislavery work by a black author published in Britain, it did break new ground by giving the public an insight into the experience of slavery from the viewpoint of an enslaved person. Equiano published his book by the then popular method of subscription – inviting a large number of interested individuals to order copies in advance, thereby covering the printing costs. He toured extensively to sell his *Narrative*, using letters of introduction from friends to meet potential subscribers, who would then introduce him to interested friends of theirs, and so on.⁶⁵ Naturally, those towns and cities where support for abolition was known to be particularly strong would be fertile ground for new subscribers, so it is not surprising that Cambridge was one of the first places that Equiano visited on his tour.

Various SEAST members seem to have had a hand in bringing Equiano to Cambridge. Sharp drew on his connections to Hinchcliffe and Watson, Peter Peckard wrote to Equiano himself to request a meeting, and Clarkson wrote to Rev. Thomas Jones of Trinity College (a SEAST correspondent) asking him to receive Equiano and help him sell copies of his *Narrative*.⁶⁶ With his introductions in place, Equiano visited Cambridge sometime in July 1789 and met with local abolitionists from both the academic and civic spheres. In a letter of thanks published in the *Cambridge Chronicle* after his visit, Equiano wrote that he had received 'particular acts of kindness from the Gentlemen of the University and the inhabitants of this town' [author's italics].⁶⁷ Alderman Edward Ind, the man who had instigated the Borough's petition against the slave trade in January 1788, was among the latter.

On 24 December 1789, Equiano published a second edition of his *Narrative*, with an updated list of subscribers featuring several of the people he had met in Cambridge – including Edward Ind and his brother Robert. Peter Peckard was also on the list though Clarkson's friend Thomas Jones was not. Two other new names were 'Mr Audley' and 'Mr Harris, Bottisham'.⁶⁸ The former was undoubtedly Ind's friend John Audley, while the latter was probably James Harris, who, in 1792, was named alongside Ind and his brother Thomas in the deeds of a property named Tinker's Ground in Bottisham.⁶⁹ It was probably also at Cambridge that Equiano met his future wife, Susanna Cullen. They married in her home parish of Soham on 7 April 1792 and had two daughters, Ann Mary (or Anna Maria), born 16 October 1793, and Joanna, born 11 April 1795. While his family remained in Cambridgeshire, Equiano continued to tour the country selling his *Narrative*; in total, he published nine editions during his lifetime.⁷⁰

Just days before his wedding in 1792, Equiano was in the public gallery of the House of Commons watching the debate on Wilberforce's latest abolition bill. His first bill had

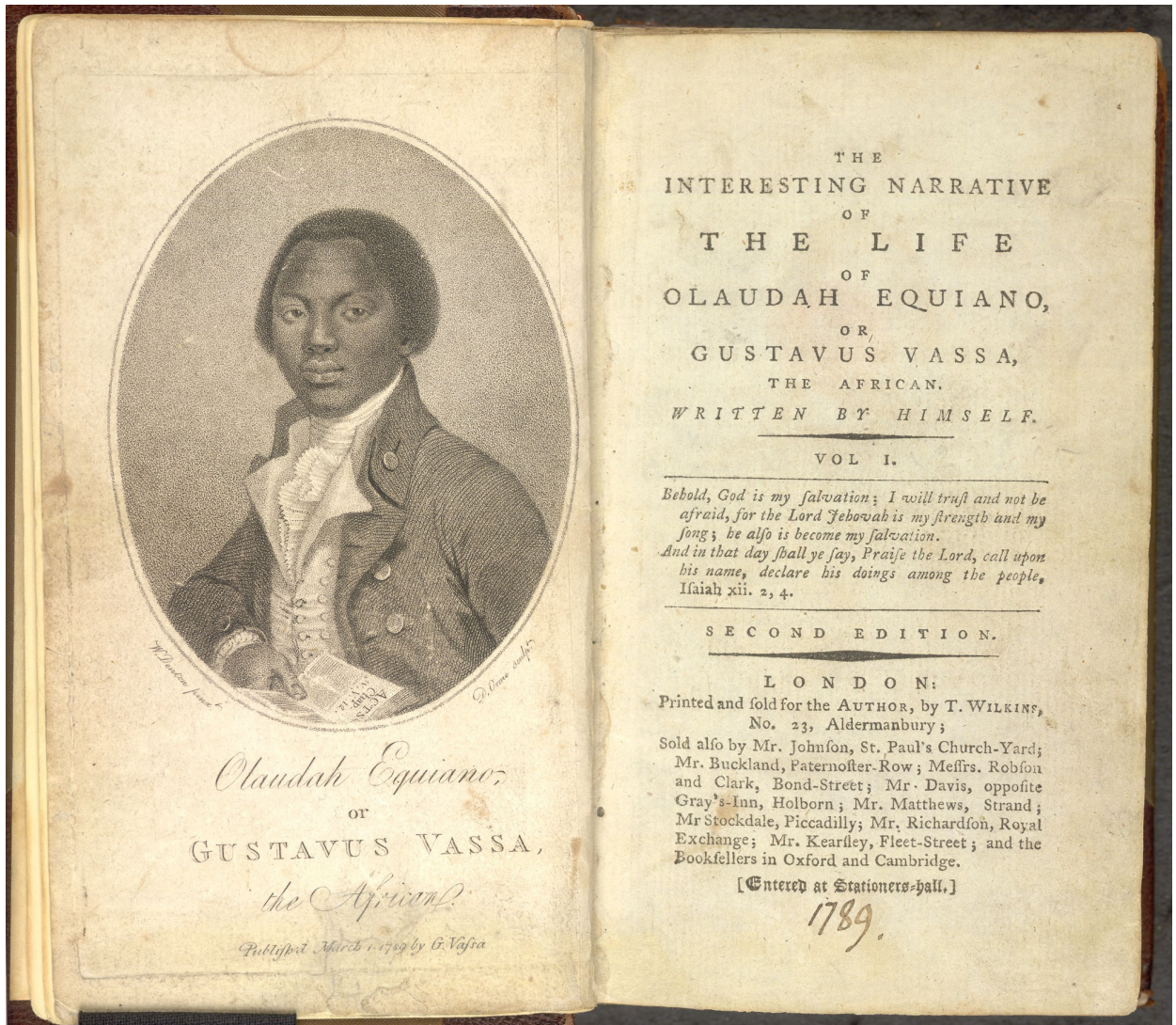


Figure 5. Title page and frontispiece of the second edition of Equiano's *Interesting Narrative*, featuring a portrait of the author, 1789. © British Library Board, 1489.g.50.

been defeated in 1791 but the abolitionists had since redoubled their efforts and tried again. Parliament was inundated with 519 new petitions containing 390,000 signatures, around five times the number presented in 1788.⁷¹ Once again, Cambridge joined the throng and, once again, Ind and his friends played their part. At a public meeting at the town hall on 10 February, Alderman Newling proposed a petition on behalf of the inhabitants of the town, which was seconded by a friend of Ind's, Peete Musgrave (1756-1817). William Hollick (1752-1817), a member of St. Andrew's Street Baptist Church and lord of the manor of Hinxton, then proposed resolutions including votes of thanks to Wilberforce, Sharp and Clarkson, which were seconded by Ind himself.⁷²

Musgrave immediately forwarded a copy of the new petition and resolutions to the SEAST central committee in London.⁷³

Evidently, the support for abolition which had grown up at Cambridge in the 1780s had not abated by 1792. Unfortunately, the campaigners were to be disappointed again. Amid the turmoil of the French Revolution and a recent slave uprising in France's colony of Saint Domingue (Haiti), Britain's slave traders were picking up the slack from their French rivals and enjoying their most lucrative year ever. The drop in sugar production caused by the uprising had also pushed up prices, so the planters' lobby now had even more to lose than ever. In the run up to the debate, they

launched their own propaganda campaign, publishing pamphlets and articles and arranging for copies of a proslavery book to be distributed nationwide, 'particularly at Cambridge'. Wilberforce's bill was passed, but only after Home Secretary Henry Dundas added his infamous amendment to make abolition 'gradual'. The watered-down bill was then delayed indefinitely in the House of Lords and, for the time being, the campaign lost its momentum.⁷⁴

A 'gentle' reformer

Although the fight for abolition had stalled by mid-1792, Ind continued to move in circles with individuals who were interested not only in abolition but also wider political reform. One of them was Robert Hall (1764-1831), the new Baptist minister at St. Andrew's Street, who shared the radical views of his late predecessor Robert Robinson. Hall had been studying in Bristol, one of Britain's main slave ports, during Thomas Clarkson's visits there in the summer of 1787, and wrote two letters to the *Bristol Gazette* in support of abolition in February 1788.⁷⁵ During his time at Cambridge, Hall would establish a reputation as both a powerful and tolerant preacher and an outspoken supporter of political dissent.⁷⁶

Hall and Ind attended a book club whose membership was largely drawn from the congregations of St Andrew's Street and Holy Trinity; indeed, their friend Olinthus Gregory wrote that the group was 'usually denominated *Alderman Ind's Club*, that distinguished ornament of Mr. Simeon's congregation being the treasurer'.⁷⁷ The book club was clearly political in nature. Its members were friends of Peete Musgrave (who had worked on the last abolition petition) and were outraged when a mob shouting 'God Save the King' attacked Musgrave's house in December 1792 after he had allegedly spoken 'seditious words'.⁷⁸ When the book club met the day after the incident, they agreed that somebody among them should publish in support of free speech. Everybody present encouraged Hall to take up his pen, though such passion was somewhat out of character for Ind, as Hall later recalled:

Alderman Ind, you know, Sir, was an excellent man, pure as a seraph, and gentle as a lamb. I thought that if *he* felt roused, if *he* could join with the rest in urging me, I might bring all hesitation to a truce; and so, in an evil hour, I yielded to their entreaties.

Hall immediately went home and began writing a pamphlet which was published in early 1793 as *An Apology for the Freedom of the Press, and for General Liberty*.⁷⁹

Ind extended his literary circle later that year when he befriended Benjamin Flower (1755-1829), the founding editor

of the new and influential radical newspaper, *The Cambridge Intelligencer*. Also a dissenter, Flower became a friend of Robert Hall and a member of his congregation at St. Andrew's Street after moving to Cambridge in 1793. Flower was a passionate supporter of both abolition and a free press, using his editorials in the *Intelligencer* to attack the slave trade, endorse the boycott of West Indian sugar and even criticise Wilberforce for not pursuing the cause more aggressively in Parliament. As a liberal Whig, he also supported other progressive reforms including greater tolerance for dissenters and wider popular representation in Parliament. He admired the French Revolutionary constitution and fiercely defended what he believed to be the British people's own constitutional rights and liberties. As such, he was a member of the Society for Constitutional Information, whose Cambridge chapter had been established by Ind's friends John Audley and Robert Robinson.⁸⁰

Ind's association with such prominent political reformers seems rather at odds with his position in the highly corrupt administration of John Mortlock. While Ind clearly had progressive views, it may be that he was not as radical – or, at least, not as *outspokenly* radical – in his beliefs as some of his friends. Ind no doubt felt it impolitic to be too vocal in his support for reform at the risk of alienating Mortlock and his colleagues, which could have had a detrimental impact on his business. Moreover, Hall's remark that Ind was 'pure as a seraph, gentle as a lamb', while connoting the Evangelical piety that underpinned Ind's political views, hardly paints him as a radical political activist. Nevertheless, the fact that Ind was seen as the leader of the book club suggests that he was still a respected member of the reformers' circle, whose contribution may have been more in the way of a facilitator and organiser than a front-line agitator.

Ind may also have sensed that speaking publicly in favour of reform was becoming increasingly dangerous. Since the French Revolution began in 1789, the government had been wary of French spies inciting British activists to similar uprisings at home. The execution of King Louis XVI in January 1793 was the final straw; Britain declared war on France within a fortnight and any suggestion of political reform was equated with the enemy doctrines of republicanism and Jacobinism. The government launched a crackdown on 'seditious' activity, suppressing democratic organisations such as the Society for Constitutional Information and trying prominent reformers with treason or conspiracy. The only public groups now encouraged by the government were patriotic associations which claimed to uphold the values of King and Country, typically by attacking reformers.⁸¹ Two days after the royalist mob attacked Peete Musgrave's house in December 1792 (and the day after Ind's book club had rallied to his defence), John Mortlock called a town meeting

at which 'an Association for preserving liberty and property against Republicans and Levellers' was formed, effectively legitimising the very same mob.⁸² This must have been incredibly awkward for Ind, who now faced a growing conflict of interests between his personal and professional lives.

Equiano's executor

In this hostile climate, Equiano also seems to have felt it wise to keep a low profile. He was friends with many prominent reformers including Thomas Hardy (1752-1832), founder of the London Corresponding Society, who was arrested for high treason in May 1794; a letter that Equiano had written to Hardy was among the items seized in the raid. Fortunately, by the end of 1794, Equiano had earned enough money from book sales to stop touring and settle down with his young family. His domestic happiness would be short-lived, however, as his wife Susanna died on 16 February 1796 after a long illness. Shortly afterwards, Equiano moved back to London, where he drew up his own will. With his daughters still in Cambridgeshire, he knew he needed trustworthy locals to carry out his wishes, so he appointed 'my Friends John Audley and Edward Ind both of Cambridge Esquires' as his executors.⁸³ Clearly Equiano had stayed in touch with Audley and Ind since their first meeting seven years earlier and he probably visited them during his periodic returns to Cambridgeshire. He may also have known that both men had been executors for a local apothecary, John Cotton, three years earlier, so were familiar with the process.⁸⁴ Equiano bequeathed his entire estate to Audley and Ind in trust for his daughters until they came of age, and charged his executors with Ann and Joanna's care and education. It would not be long before they were called upon to act, as Equiano died just ten months later, on 31 March 1797.⁸⁵

Barely four months after his own death, Equiano's youngest daughter Ann Mary also died, aged four years old, probably from measles which was prevalent in the local area at the time. No record of her burial has been found but a contemporary memorial plaque on the wall of St. Andrew's Church in Chesterton states that she was buried there.⁸⁶ The plaque includes the following poetic epitaph:

Should simple village rhymes attract thine eye,
Stranger, as thoughtfully thou passest by,
Know that there lies beside this humble stone
A child of colour haply not thine own.
Her father born of Afric's sun-burnt race,
Torn from his native field, ah foul disgrace:
Through various toils, at length to Britain came
Espoused, so Heaven ordain'd, an English dame,
And follow'd Christ; their hope two infants dear.

But one, a hapless orphan, slumbers here.
To bury her the village children came.
And dropp'd choice flowers, and lisp'd her early fame;
And some that lov'd her most, as if unblest,
Bedew'd with tears the white wreath on their breast;
But she is gone and dwells in that abode,
Where some of every clime shall joy in God.

This verse was previously attributed to Martha Peckard, the vice-chancellor's widow, who is known to have written similar epitaphs to her late husband and a friend.⁸⁷ But it was in fact Edward Ind who composed this poem in memory of his late friend's daughter; the *Scots Magazine* printed a copy in 1809 credited to 'the late Alderman Ind of Cambridge' and Mott included it in his 1822 anthology of Ind's poetry.⁸⁸ It is unclear who took care of Equiano's surviving daughter, two-year-old Joanna, thereafter. She may have lived with her late mother's family while Audley and Ind supervised her education and looked after her estate. Alternatively, as Ann was apparently buried in Chesterton, the former vicar of St. Andrew's, Nick Moir, has speculated that Ind may have lodged both girls in the village with his brother Thomas and his wife Mary, who had two boys of the same age.⁸⁹

Final years

Following the government crackdown in the mid-1790s, Ind focused his energies on charitable causes in which he could still do good without the whiff of reform attaching to him. The privations of wartime were exacerbated by food shortages caused by several poor harvests and, in January 1795, Ind and several of his circle subscribed to a relief fund for the poor of the villages around Cambridge, while his brother Thomas distributed coals in his parish of Chesterton.⁹⁰ From 1801, Ind served as the first treasurer of the Cambridge Benevolent Society, founded by Benjamin Flower's wife Eliza (1770-1810) to raise funds for the local poor.⁹¹ The Society proved such an asset to the town that it was supported by dissenters of all types as well as Anglicans; in the words of Robert Hall, 'in a Society like the present, all distinctions of sects and parties are lost in the one general design of doing good'. The Society's rules specified that 'the sick and aged be esteemed the only objects of the compassion of this Society' but, as treasurer, Ind pushed them to be more ambitious. At a meeting held at his house on 3 May 1802, he proposed that when the funds reached a certain level, they should extend the relief 'to other distressed objects besides the sick and aged'.⁹² Ind's generosity was also evident the following year when, with the resumption of war with France, he made one of the largest individual donations (£105) to a fund to equip the newly-recruited volunteer infantry and support the families they were leaving behind.⁹³

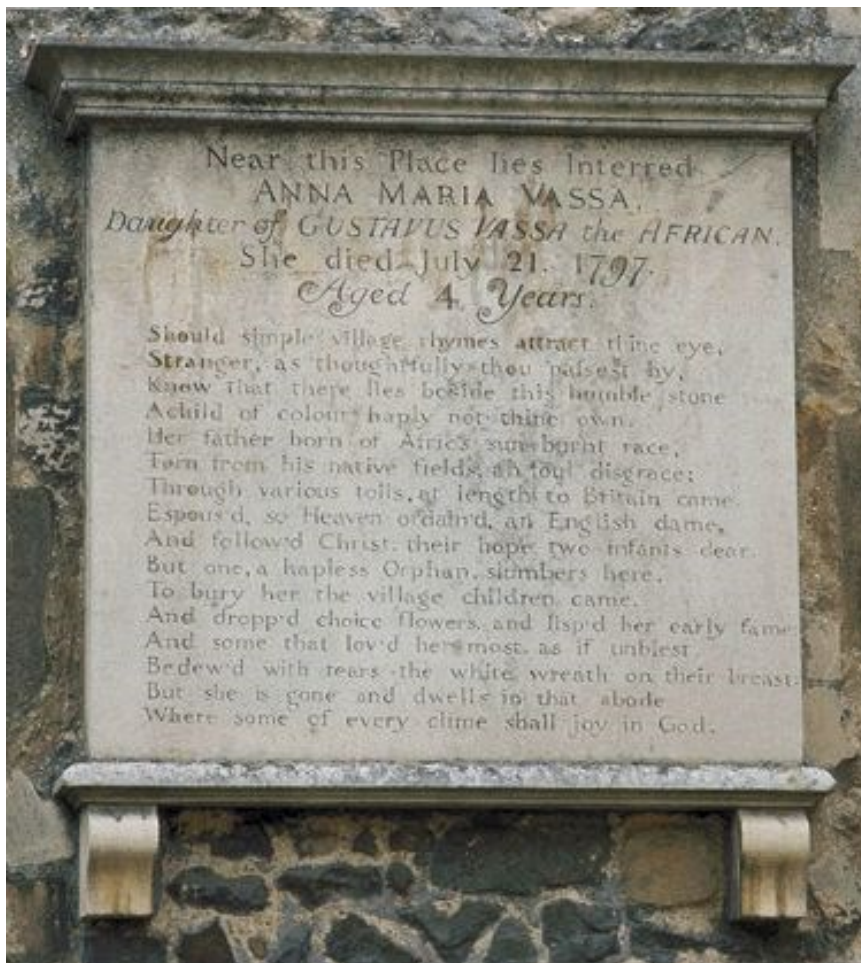


Figure 6. Memorial to Anna Maria (Ann Mary) Vassa at St. Andrew's Church, Chesterton, featuring an epitaph written by Edward Ind. Image courtesy of St. Andrew's Church.

In the 1802 county elections, Ind was once again torn between his personal and professional lives. As well as the hardening of Whig and Tory party lines, Cambridgeshire politics at the time was defined by tensions between the county and Cambridge borough, Anglicans and dissenters, and the two leading landowners, the Earl of Hardwicke and the Duke of Rutland. For most of the 1780s, the two county MPs had been Hardwicke's heir, Philip Yorke, and Sir Henry Peyton, a 'moderate Tory' who had reluctantly submitted to the dissenters' demands to support parliamentary reform. However, Peyton's death in 1789 and Philip Yorke's accession to the earldom in 1790 brought in two less sympathetic members: James Adeane, and the new earl's half-brother, Charles Yorke. Adeane's death in 1802 triggered a by-election which was contested by Peyton's son, whom the dissenters favoured, but his opponent was Rutland's brother, Lord Charles Manners, who had the support of the borough

under Rutland's man, John Mortlock. Ind's political career therefore depended on his vote for Manners, although many of his friends no doubt favoured Peyton. Although Peyton won the by-election, he did not contest the general election a few months later, so the radical dissenter faction led by Benjamin Flower put up Thomas Brand, who had spoken against the government's sedition laws in 1795, against Manners and Yorke. Ind now had the chance to appease both camps, giving his first vote to Manners and the second to Brand, but it was in vain as Brand soon realised that he had insufficient support and conceded to Yorke.⁹⁴

In the last few years of Ind's life, his friendship network splintered. Brand's defeat in the county election and the resumption of war with France in 1803 left Benjamin and Eliza Flower despairing that reform could ever be achieved and they departed Cambridge in 1804. Benjamin Flower had

also fallen out with Robert Hall who, like many reformers, had moderated his views in light of the political situation. Hall himself had a long feud with Charles Simeon, although Ind's intervention later brought about a reconciliation. Nevertheless, Hall's mental health was fragile by the early 1800s and he moved to Leicester in 1806 after suffering two breakdowns. His friend Olinthus Gregory, who ran a bookshop which Ind would doubtless have frequented, had also left in 1803.⁹⁵ Ironically, it was around this time that the abolition campaign reignited, particularly after the unexpected passing of the Foreign Slave Trade Act 1806, which effectively cut off two-thirds of Britain's slave trade without officially abolishing it. An abolition bill followed soon afterwards and the long-awaited Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade finally became law on 25 March 1807.⁹⁶ Ind was therefore one of the last of his abolitionist circle left at Cambridge when their shared aim was realised. It must have been bitter-sweet for him on that day to remember the friends he had lost, particularly Equiano who had died almost ten years earlier.

Later that year, Ind lost two other people dear to him. In August 1807, he said goodbye to his young apprentice, William Headdey, who had been offered a position at Cobb's brewery in Margate, Kent. Ind had no children of his own and he treated Headdey like a son. In what may be his only surviving letter, Ind told Messrs Cobb that Headdey 'has liv'd with me as one of my Family seven years and a half' and gave him a glowing reference:

The youth now with me has been employ'd in my Countinghouse, but agreeable to my wishes has attain'd a Considerable Knowledge of the Brewery. My Two Brewers assure me of this: I shall therefore send him to you with Confidence & hope. This I can say that a more honest & upright young man cannot exist. To shew my good opinion of him I have pleasure in saying that I am given to understand that he has form'd an attachment to a favorite Niece of mine, & that during my late journey to town he has been appointed a Lieutenant in the Fencibles in this town. I mention these things only to let you into the Character of the young person with whom for a time at least you seem likely to be connected.⁹⁷

Then, in December, Ind lost the woman to whom he had been devoted his whole life. He never married, although his poem *Absence: a love elegy* hints at an unfulfilled love for 'my Laura gone'. But when his mother Ann came to live with him in Cambridge sometime after she was widowed, she became his closest companion. In his poem *Ode to the genius of solitude*, Ind expressed his grief at losing his father ('For Oh! thou dear, and much lamented shade! / Shalt thou remain forgotten in the grave?') but consoled himself that he still had his mother ('Though of my parent—and my friend bereft / Yet one to bless my days, indulgent heav'n hath

left').⁹⁸ Ind nursed his mother through her long final illness and she died at his home in Cambridge on 11 December 1807.⁹⁹

Ind's care for his mother during her illness is especially touching as Mott indicates that he himself may have been terminally ill at the time: 'He lingered for some time under a wasting illness, and when the "appointed time" arrived, the termination of his earthly career was so easy, that he expired without a struggle, or a groan'.¹⁰⁰ Edward Ind died three months after his mother, on 7 March 1808, and was buried with her in Holy Trinity Church.¹⁰¹ A marble memorial high on the west wall of the south aisle commemorates them. By this time, Ind had been absent from council duties for ten months, but he does not seem to have been missed; Mortlock and his colleagues were so occupied with enclosure business and granting themselves leases and that they did not even acknowledge the vacancy on the aldermen's bench until five months after Ind's death.¹⁰²

In his will dated 7 February 1808, Ind bequeathed his share of Hide and Ind's stock in trade to his brother Thomas Ind for the remainder of the partnership term (14 years from 11 October 1805), after which he could pass it to his son Thomas Ind junior (1793-1823) 'if my said nephew proves to be a steady deserving man'.¹⁰³ His real estate was also left to Thomas for life, then in trust to his friend Thomas Vipan (1777-1835) - a Thetford brewer and friend of its abolitionist curate James Stuart Mackenzie¹⁰⁴ - who was to allow any properties currently used for partnership business to continue so until the end of the term, after which they would pass to Thomas junior. The inheritance was a poisoned chalice for Thomas, as he soon got into a dispute with Hide over money, apparently caused by uncertainty over which estates and assets belonged to the partnership and which to each partner alone. The dispute went to arbitration in April 1810 with John Mortlock as one of the panel.¹⁰⁵ Thomas also faced a legal action from John Audley over £500 owing to Equiano's estate by his late brother in his capacity as co-executor.¹⁰⁶ Following what appears to have been a second round of arbitration in 1815, this time with Ind's friend Peete Musgrave and two of his staff on the panel, the partnership was dissolved on 11 March 1815.¹⁰⁷

Even before their partnership ended, both Hide and Thomas Ind had started to dispose of the various leases they held from the Corporation. One of Ind's properties, a slaughterhouse in Corn Exchange Street which he appears to have used as a stable, was assigned to the brewer Samuel Well-don, who was married to Ind's niece Elizabeth.¹⁰⁸ Hide also seems to have offloaded several of the pubs listed in his insurance policy of 1791 to the brewers Seward & Cotton of Trumpington Street; they appear in an auction catalogue of

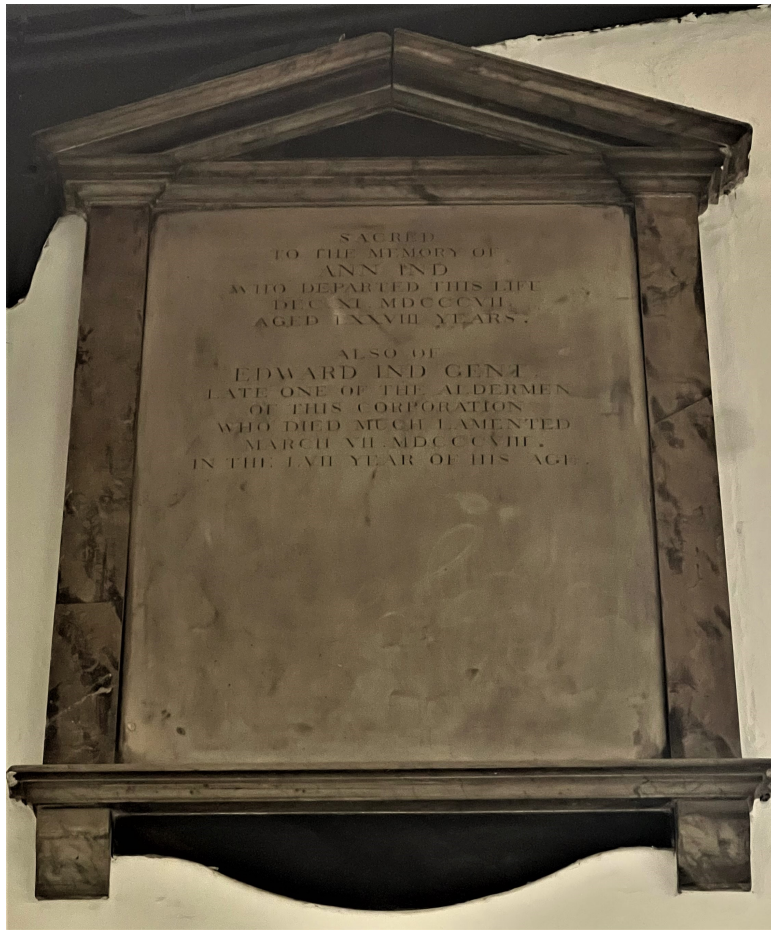


Figure 7. Memorial to Edward Ind and his mother Ann in Holy Trinity Church, Cambridge. Image courtesy of Holy Trinity Church.

their estate in 1837.¹⁰⁹ Thomas Ind died on 16 January 1824, less than a year after the son who was supposed to have succeeded him.¹¹⁰ He did not leave a will and it took eight years for his widow to gain administration of his estate, which was then valued at under £20.¹¹¹ Hide fared considerably better; he had been a militiaman for some years and seems to have fallen back on his military connections after leaving brewing.¹¹² Remarkably, in 1817, he became a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to the ailing King George III and, in 1825, he was appointed Assistant Master and Marshal of Ceremonies to King George IV, a position he held until his death under Queen Victoria in 1845.¹¹³

Legacy

It is interesting to speculate whether Edward Ind's antislavery views rubbed off on his more famous nephew, but the

evidence is inconclusive. Young Edward left no journals, letters or other evidence of his political opinions as a young man, but uncle and nephew both subscribed to a volume of poetry published by a fellow of Trinity College in 1800, suggesting that they were in contact and had shared literary interests.¹¹⁴ While young Edward was a committed Tory by the 1830s, he once admitted at a campaign dinner that 'he could not say that he was nurtured in Conservative principles, because his father – who was one of the best men that ever lived – was a Whig'.¹¹⁵ Growing up in Baldock, he would also have known John Pryor (1741-1819), a fellow brewer to whose family he later sold his father's estate; a Quaker by birth, Pryor was a SEAST subscriber and one of their county contacts for Hertfordshire in July 1787.¹¹⁶ Young Edward also had links with some of his uncle's circle: his fourth son was named Edmund Vipan Ind (1809-1871) after his uncle's executor Thomas Vipan and married a daughter of Frederick John Nash (1776-1854), who had

been a friend of Benjamin Flower and came from a prominent family of dissenting reformers in Cambridge and Bishop's Stortford.¹¹⁷

While young Edward may, therefore, have shared his uncle's antislavery views, it is important to note that his business later benefited from the proceeds of slavery. The firm of Ind Coope and Company was formed at Romford Brewery on 5 April 1845, when Edward and Edmund Vipan Ind went into partnership with brothers Octavius and George Coope.¹¹⁸ For a hundred years, the Coope family had earned their living by refining sugar produced by enslaved labour in Britain's West Indian colonies.¹¹⁹ Although the family do not appear to have owned slaves themselves, they nevertheless owed at least part of their considerable fortune to the lucrative trade in slave-produced sugar. When John Coope died in March 1845, he bequeathed his sons Octavius and George sums of £5,000 and £8,000 respectively, which helped them to buy into the Ind Coope partnership a few weeks later.¹²⁰ It may seem ironic that the nephew of an abolitionist should ally himself with a family who made their money in sugar, but as slavery was once so integral to the British economy and its beneficiaries so numerous, such contradictory situations were not uncommon. It is no secret that Benjamin Greene of Greene King - recently in the media spotlight for his plantation ownership and support of slavery - was originally apprenticed to the abolitionist brewers Samuel Whitbread I and his son Samuel II.¹²¹ The Whitbreads' daughter/sister Harriot Gordon also benefited from plantation estates owned by her husband and son.¹²²

While the names of Ind Coope and its founder have lived on, however, that of the elder Edward Ind - the first member of that brewing family to enter the trade - has been largely forgotten. There is indeed little in Ind's professional life to distinguish him from any of the other moderately successful common brewers who flourished in towns across southern and eastern England in the late eighteenth century. Yet his unremarkable career belies a fascinating personal life. By reconstructing Ind's social network, we discover that this provincial brewer who had little formal education was moving in circles with abolitionists, writers and political reformers in the university town of Cambridge at the peak of the Enlightenment. While Ind never achieved the same prominence in the abolition movement as the Whitbreads or fellow brewer Thomas Fowell Buxton, his contribution to the cause and his friendship with Olaudah Equiano deserve to be remembered, as does he. We therefore return to Thomas Mott for his epitaph of Edward Ind:

The tender care which he took of his widowed mother, when she was thrown by fate upon his filial benevolence, will ever establish his reputation as a dutiful, and an affectionate son. To his brothers,

and sister, he was a father, and sincere protector. His friendship was constant, and unalterable. To the poor, he was always a willing, and steady benefactor; and, to the last hour of his existence, he remained a faithful and devout supporter, and servant, of his religion and his God.¹²³

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102. Borough of Cambridge, Common Day Book, 7 May 1807, 8 August 1808 (CA, City/PB Volume 16).
103. Will of Edward Ind of Cambridge, Cambridgeshire, 26 August 1808 (TNA, PROB 11/1484/251).
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over two existing sugarhouses between Angel Alley and Osborn Street (then called Dirty Lane) in Whitechapel in 1740. By 1829, John Coope (1766-1845) had opened a new refinery in Betts Street near Ratcliff Highway but retained the Osborn Street site, where production continued until 1838. The new site also closed in 1840.

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