

THE LETTERBOOK OF RICHARD HARE

1771–1772

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THE LETTERBOOK OF
RICHARD HARE
MERCHANT OF CORK
1771–1772

edited by
James O'Shea



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PREFACE

Cork has a rich history of national and international trade, enterprise and industry spanning several centuries. Since its establishment in 1971, Cork City and County Archives has received an extensive number of collections relating to this subject, however, surviving personal manuscripts created by Cork merchants are rare, especially for the pre-1800 period. The Richard Hare letterbook (MS U259), which was donated to the Archives over 30 years ago, is therefore a remarkably valuable record of the day-to-day activities of one of Cork's merchant élite.

A tribute is due to all of those individuals and institutions, public and private, known and unknown, who have ensured that the letterbook has survived intact for over 240 years, and that it has been made available to the public. Tributes are also due to our parent bodies, Cork City Council, Cork County Council, University College Cork, and Cork Harbour Commissioners, for establishing and supporting the City and County Archives, without which many local archival collections may have been lost.

The Cork City and County Archives executive committee and staff have been delighted to facilitate James O'Shea in researching and transcribing the letterbook. We congratulate Mr O'Shea for producing such an impressive and comprehensive work of scholarship, and we thank the Irish Manuscripts Commission for preserving this source in print in accordance with their usual excellent standards.

Brian McGee
Archivist and Secretary
Cork City and County Archives

INTRODUCTION

Little original source material on mercantile activities in Cork survives for the eighteenth century. Today, businesses from multi-nationals to sole traders keep careful records of all business correspondence. Copies are held electronically or in hard copy or both. In the age of the typewriter records were in the form of carbon copies and prior to that, records had to be kept manually. A practice arose whereby copies of outgoing correspondence were painstakingly entered in ledgers, which became known as merchant 'letterbooks'. Such books have been an important primary source for local history, genealogy, biography, landed estates, social and economic history, and for students of business administration. Cork, a major mercantile centre in the eighteenth century, is fortunate to have three extant works, of which the Hare letterbook is the most comprehensive.¹ It has been located at the Cork City and County Archives and its predecessor the Cork Archives Institute since the early 1970s, but its provenance prior to that is unknown. Extracts from it have been included by historians such as Thomas Truxes, David Dickson and Kenneth Morgan.² Having had cause to study the original when working on an MA thesis in local history at UCC, and having gained some expertise in interpreting it, I thought it valuable to proceed with a full transcription, making the entire manuscript legible to all.

At the time of the letterbook Cork was relatively prosperous, although having huge discrepancies between the social classes. Successful Protestant merchants and professionals lived within the boundaries of the old walled city or the extension to it on reclaimed land to the east, while some had commenced the move to the suburbs. Catholics mainly lived in the teeming slums centred on Mallow Lane to the north of the city. Politically the city was under the firm control of a self-serving Protestant corporation. In America at this time there was growing unrest at imperial taxation policies, but the colonies in the West Indies were flourishing, providing a ready market for Cork provisions.

Richard Hare (see Appendix 1) was the third son of John Hare and Margaret Bussell. On receipt of a bequest from an uncle, John had set up as a merchant in Cork

- 1 The earliest, William Hovell letterbook of 1683–1686 (NLI, MIC P4652 and CCCA, SM771), is a substantial work. The second, Butter accounts of a Cork merchant 1748 (NLI, MS 342), contains little of interest being mainly blank. The third is the present work, Letterbook of Richard Hare (ancestor of the Earl of Listowel) (CCCA, U259). A note on the inside cover suggests it may have at some stage been in PRONI, but they have no record of it.
- 2 Thomas M. Truxes, *Irish-American trade, 1660–1783* (Cambridge, 1988); David Dickson, 'Butter comes to the market: the origins of commercial dairying in Co. Cork', in P. O'Flanagan and C. Buttimer (eds), *Cork history and society* (Dublin, 1993); David Dickson, *Old World colony: Cork and south Munster, 1630–1830* (Cork, 2005); Kenneth Morgan (ed.), *The Bright-Meyler papers: A Bristol-West India connection, 1732–1837* (Oxford, 2007).

c. 1710, building up a successful export business. His two eldest sons joined the business but both died young, leaving Richard in charge. He was to expand it so successfully that at the time of his letterbook he was probably the largest import/export merchant in Cork.

The Hare letterbook is typical of its type, comprising a single brown-skin book measuring 250mm x 377mm x 40mm in fair to good condition, although some edges are worn and the starting and finishing pages show signs of water damage. It contains 843 letters over its three hundred and forty-six pages. There are gaps when for some reason working days are skipped, perhaps because the current ledger was temporarily mislaid or instructions were given to use up other ledgers for economy reasons.

Letters commence with a few in June 1771, none from 28 June to 26 July, then a continuous stream to 12 November, another break until 30 January 1772, and then continuity to the end of May 1772. Many of the letters relate to repetitive financial transactions and reports of market prices, but fortunately amongst the mundane there are some enlightening gems, including personal reflections on the conduct of business, family matters, comments on Cork city, estate management, efforts to purchase lands, and gossip with overseas correspondents. While the handwriting varies from the neat and legible to a faint and virtually indecipherable scribble, the grammar and spelling is generally excellent, indicating the high standard of education and literacy of the scribes. Such a standard compares favourably with other letterbooks of this period, suggesting that Hare himself was a well-educated man who insisted on his own high standards being replicated by his clerks and assistants. There are at least four scribes, one being Hare himself, another with a good hand probably being a professional clerk, the others perhaps include Hare's sons William and John, his nephew Richard Jn. and clerical employees in his counting house.

The copy letters had at times to be written under some time pressure while impatient sea captains awaited the release of the originals, and considering this they are remarkably free of spelling errors or cross-outs, although there are some errors in layout and numbering, such as when nos 18 to 21 appear out of sequence on pages twenty-one and twenty-two of the manuscript, with no. 22 reverting back to the correct page five, suggesting that letters were sometimes transcribed retrospectively, possibly from rough drafts.³ In no. 600 the scribe admits to an error by adding a note to seven letters that they are 'laid 4 leaves forward by mistake'. Possibly due to the volume of outgoing correspondence two letters said to have been written in early August do not appear in the manuscript (see no. 272 and no. 284) demonstrating that although the scribes were good, they were not infallible. In another instance a note is made referring to a letter written, rather than the usual exact copy, possibly due to the original having been rushed out before the copy could be made (see no. 195). Occasionally the ship intended to carry a letter had left before receiving it, necessitating its return and

³ Other minor errors include: the page containing nos 5 to 7 is not numbered; no. 562 has a very understandable error when the first letter of 29 Feb. 1772, being a leap year, is dated 1 Mar. which is then crossed out and the correct date substituted. The manuscript page containing parts of nos 738 to 740 is incorrectly numbered 306 instead of 308. All subsequent pages are thus out by two.

Table 1. Number of letters written each day of the week and per month

Day	No.	Month	No.
Monday	76	Aug. 1771	147
Tuesday	183	September	79
Wednesday	94	October	145
Thursday	38	Feb. 1772	108
Friday	223	March	109
Saturday	212	April	80
Sunday	17	May (part)	85

Table 2. World-wide letter distribution

Location	%
Britain	65.6
Ireland (trading)	18.0
Ireland (estates)	5.6
Unidentified	5.2
West Indies	3.9
Europe	1.7

despatch by an alternative, with an opportunity to add to or modify the original (see nos 311, 321, 313 and 323). A feature of the correspondence is the evidence demonstrating how letters served multiple purposes. Rarely is just one topic covered; the state of the market, currency prices or freight opportunities are almost always added to the primary theme of a letter.

Table 1 divides the total number of letters written into the days per week and per month for each of the six months that are covered in the letterbook. Friday was the busiest day followed by Saturday, suggesting that they were preparing for the imminent departure of vessels, as shipping records show that Sunday, Monday and Tuesday were the busiest days for departures;⁴ as departure was wind-dependent this may be just coincidence. Thursday was rarely used, suggesting some type of half day may have been granted, or alternatively it may be due to the low level of ship departures on Thursdays, Fridays and Saturdays. Occasionally letters were written on Sundays for no obvious reason. August is seen to be the busiest month, due to substantial butter sales, followed by October when beef sales had commenced. The busiest single day was Friday, 4th October 1771 when twenty-eight letters were sent.

In total, Hare corresponded with 265 different correspondents, located as shown in Table 2. This clearly indicates the dominant role played by his English correspondents, although many letters to English merchants referred solely to trade in the West Indies or in mainland Europe. Figure 1 shows the distribution of correspondents throughout Britain and Ireland. London dominates, followed by Bristol and then Liverpool, which at this time was growing strongly and had just overtaken Bristol in importance as a commercial port. Elsewhere in England there were a few in the Midlands and one or two in the south-west. Somewhat surprising is the cluster of correspondents on the west coast of Scotland, who appear due to Hare's interest in the herring and rum trades. Within Ireland there are correspondents in all the main cities with the exception of Galway.

⁴ Of the 248 vessel departures listed in the *Port News* between Jan. 01 and May 27, 21% were on Sun., 19% on Mon., 20% on Tue., 14% on Wed., 8% on Thur., 6% on Fri., and 12% on Sat.

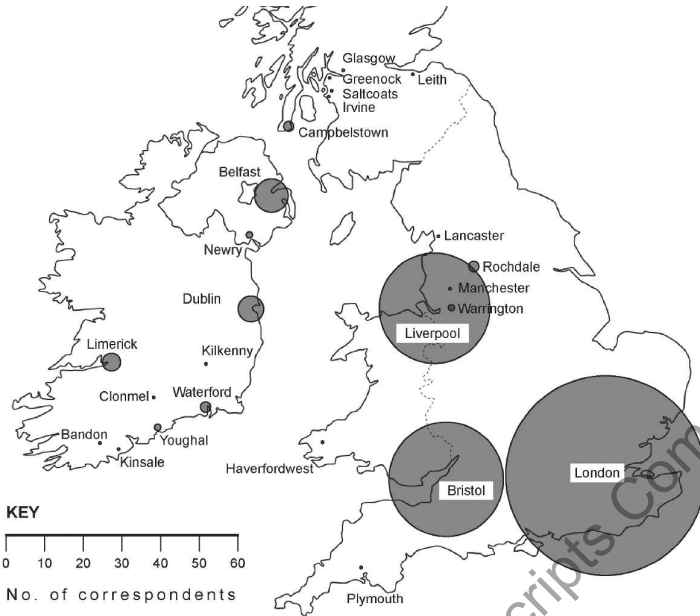


Figure 1. Distribution of letters within Britain and Ireland based on number of correspondents.

Some correspondents may only have been written to once, but the majority were in receipt of multiple letters with many receiving ten or more (Table 3). The merchants who acted as his bankers in London, Dublin and Bristol are towards the top of the list, indicating the time-consuming nature of the financial transactions he was forced to implement and document. If letter production continued at the same rate for the nineteen weeks not covered, in excess of 1,300 would have been written in the year, a substantial administrative burden and expense for the business.

Table 3. Correspondents in receipt of ten or more letters.

Correspondent & location	No of letters	Main topic(s)
Maitlands of London	36	Instructions on banking matters
Thomas Reads of Dublin	26	Instructions on banking matters
George Wilkinson of London	20	Tea and hops imports and hide exports
Robert Barnevelt of London	17	Butter exports
Stephen Ford of Liverpool	15	Grease butter and tallow exports
Samuel Munckley of Bristol	15	Instructions on banking matters
Thomas Ellis of London	14	Hops imports
Thomas & Simon Vokes of Limerick	14	Legal matters and provision of pork
John Tarleton of Liverpool	13	Butter, beef and tallow exports
Francis Woodley in Dublin	13	Legal matters
Robert Gordon of Bristol	12	Rum imports
Philip Roche (John) of Limerick	12	Rum sales
Buckland & Smith of London	10	Butter exports

EDITORIAL CONVENTIONS

The original eighteenth-century letterbook has been transcribed so as to make it as intelligible as possible to the modern reader. The following adaptations have been used.

The letterbook uses the British monetary units of pounds, shillings and pence (£.s.d), where one pound equals twenty shillings, a shilling equals twelve pence, giving 240 pence in the pound. On the rare occasions when money figures are spelled out, for brevity figures are substituted. Thus twenty-five pounds, three shillings and eleven pence in the manuscript, becomes £25.3.11. To avoid confusion zero pence is always shown such as £301.10.0 although the manuscript may have shown £301.10. The letterbook usually states whether 'Irish' or 'English' pounds are being referred to, and states the applicable conversion rate, which is seen to fluctuate around a seven per cent differential with the British unit always the more valuable. Almost every letter includes money figures. Trying to equate money values of a bygone era with today's values is a fascinating but complicated task, and remains a topic of much academic effort.⁵

In the heading for each letter an identifying number has been inserted followed by the page reference in the letterbook in italics, i.e. 1. / 1, 419. / 179, and so on. Subsequent references to a particular letter use this number. The date of the letter appears as per the original, but the day of the week has been added for this edition. Where stated, the correspondent's location is given, but if not given, where it can be identified from other sources, it is added in square brackets, with a question mark where there is any doubt. Letters in the manuscript generally had no introductory greetings although occasionally *Gentlemen* or *Sir* were used. All such greetings are omitted. Valedictions at the close of letters are terse, rarely extending to beyond *I am* with the occasional *with much esteem* etc. All such are omitted.

All items interpolated in the body of letters are within square brackets. Thus, for instance, [torn] and [obliterated] take the place of a word or words lost by mutilation, or defacement, and [blank] is used where the scribe intended to insert a word and did not. Where a word can be inferred with reasonable certainty from the context, it is printed within square brackets, but where there is some doubt a question mark is added. An illegible word or words are denoted by [...]. A strange spelling or mistake is indicated by [*sic.*].

Occasionally letters contain notes written vertically on the left hand margin detailing how the letter has been despatched. Such notes are reproduced within angle brackets at the end of the letter.

Throughout the manuscript different scribes used different spellings. For consistency spelling has been modernised; thus *vessel*, *parcel*, *balance*, *market* replace *vessell*, *parcell*, *ballance*, *markett* etc. Place names are modernised so that *BBdoes*, *Hamburgh* and *Grenadoes* become *Barbados*, *Hamburg* and *Grenada*. Correspondents names are corrected when known to be misspelled; thus *Greg & Cunningham* replaces *Gregg & Cunningham*.

5 Such as: Lawrence H. Officer, 'What were the UK earnings and prices then?' www.measuringworth.org (accessed October 2008); John J. McCusker, *Money and exchange in Europe and America 1600–1775* (North Carolina, 1978), pp 252–3.

The syntax of the manuscript is faithfully reproduced. However punctuation has been simplified consistent with modern usage, with each sentence commencing with a capital and ending with a full stop or question mark. Paragraphing generally conforms to the manuscript in which a new paragraph is indicated by indentation or by a long dash or space. Original capitalisation has not been retained, and most capital letters are lower-cased. The frequently used words *Bill*, *Invoice*, and *Bill of Lading* vary in the manuscript and for consistency have all been capitalised. Similarly, references to the most commonly recorded provisions have also been capitalised including butter, beef, pork, herrings, rum etc. Obvious errors such as the (very rare) unintentional duplication of a word have been corrected silently.

Abbreviations are silently expanded except those still used today (Messrs, inst., ult., co.), and those of months, proper names, and titles (Jan., Joe, H.R.H.). Abbreviations have been reproduced as follows: where a contraction is made up of one or more of a word's first and last letters, a full stop is not used (Mr, Dr), but when the contraction is made up of the first few letters of a word a full stop is used (Capt., Rev.). Superior letters within abbreviations are brought down to the line and missing letters are supplied, where they are in the middle of the word. Thus *w^{ch}*, *ab^t*, *oppo^r* become *which*, *about*, *opportunity*. If the superior letter is not in the middle of the word, it is brought down to the line with a full stop, but the missing letters are only added (in square brackets) if the meaning is still obscure. Thus *Cap^r* becomes Capt. and *m^o* mo[nth]. However superior letters within personal names are sometimes retained to save space such as *R^d* and *Th^o* for *Richard* and *Thomas*. Abbreviations containing an apostrophe are expanded, so *can't* and *annex'd* become *cannot* and *annexed*.

Unusual weights and measures abbreviated in the manuscript are expanded such that *hhd^s*, *firk^s* and *bar^l* become hogsheads, firkins and barrel.

The ampersand (&) is used extensively and is retained. The long tailed *s* (f) which is used throughout the manuscript is replaced by the modern lower case *s*. The runic thorn although rarely used is replaced by its modern equivalent, thus *y^e* becomes *the*.

To emphasise their significance and to distinguish them from place names, ship names are printed in italics; thus *Liverpool* is a vessel and not the town.

Footnotes identify individual persons, business contacts, places, ships etc referred to in the text at their first mention. The absence of a footnote indicates that no useful data has been found.

Letters often contain almost verbatim repetition of sections of earlier letters. For brevity such repetition is not reproduced but a note within square brackets is added, referencing the letter where the text is reproduced in full. Similarly the full name of the London bankers *Robert, Alexander & Robert Maitland*, which is always used in the manuscript, is shortened to 'Maitlands'. Also many letters between no. 520 of 20 February 1772 and no. 626 of 13 March 1772 relate to legal problems relating to the purchase of an estate. These letters are technical and add little to our knowledge of trading activities. Accordingly they are omitted and a note [Relates to the legal case; see no. 520] is substituted.

Many letters relating to trade with Europe are sent via London with a request to the recipient to 'forward to them [the European merchant] the inclosed [*sic.*], which seal after perusal as I refer you thereto'. For brevity such repetitive statements are reproduced as [Please seal and forward...]

Hopefully this work will be of interest to both general and specialist readers, and will throw some more light on these interesting times of growth and dynamism in the city of Cork. It may also rescue from obscurity not alone Richard Hare and the Hare family, but also other Cork merchants of the eighteenth century, many of whom have hitherto been relatively unknown.

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My last was the 15th March since which received none [from you]. I have drawn on you a Bill for £200 payable in London favour Allen Marlar & Co.² at 8¾% is £217.10.0 to the credit of your account. I shall draw on you as sparingly as I can.

New Butter broak 48/ to 52/ as in quality but as the buyers seem this day [to] be fully supplied I think the price will fall in 2 or 3 days. We have not much here for sale. The last best Cargo Beef sold here was at 39/ per barrel payable in Oct. Pork cannot be made up under 50/ per barrel. We have no Herrings here for sale.

I this day received your favour of the 13th. Your Bill favour Knox[?] & [...] the former Bill on D[elahoide] & Digby's³ hands since been sent back, whether the Bill on Willcocks & Co.⁴ had been paid or not although I desired them to endeavour to get

1 The correspondent's name is obliterated, but no. 53 and no. 54 show it to be Samuel Delpratt, a Bristol merchant and ship owner who traded from Kingston, Jamaica in the mid-1750s. One of the largest Bristol sugar importers, he at times worked in partnership with Edward Foord of Kingston, his father-in-law. He died at sea in 1783 on a return voyage to Bristol (Kenneth Morgan (ed.), *The Bright-Meyler papers: A Bristol-West India connection, 1732–1837* (Oxford, 2007), p. 413 (henceforth cited as Morgan, *Bright-Meyler*); Kenneth Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic trade in the eighteenth century* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 191 (henceforth cited as Morgan, *Bristol trade*).

2 See no. 53.

3 The Delahoides were Huguenot refugees who arrived in Cork after 1685. They were quickly accepted into Cork society; Rowland Delahoyde served as sheriff in 1704 and mayor in 1708. William Delahoide became a prosperous general merchant and linen manufacturer. He also conducted a profitable business in the issuing of notes. John Digby who had managed the firm, continued to trade using the Delahoide & Digby name until at least 1773, when it is listed as an exporter of butter, beef, pork, tongues, salmon and candles and an importer of staves, salt, tobacco and chairs. Thereafter he traded under his own name from premises on the South Mall, and was still active in 1790 (William O'Sullivan, *The economic history of Cork city from the earliest times to the Act of Union* (Cork, 1937); *HC*, importers/exporters; *HC*, 16 Oct. 1776, 8 Feb. 1781 and 23 Sept. 1784; R. Lucas, 'The Cork directory for the year 1787' in *JCHAS*, lxxii (1967), pp 135–59 (henceforth cited as Lucas, *Cork directory*); Síle Ní Chinnéide, 'A new view of Cork city in 1790', in *JCHAS* 1989, p. 5).

4 William Willcocks (1736–1813) of Morrison's Island, a prominent Cork merchant with a large butter export business. In 1776 his vessel the *Peter & Paul*, loaded with perishable goods for Lisbon and Gibraltar, could not sail due to contrary winds. This delay resulted in it being caught up in the embargo placed on all shipping from Cork at the onset of the American Revolution. Later in the war he took out a letter of marque as a privateer for his vessel the *Friendship* of 170 tons burthen on the Cork to Leeward Islands route. Subsequently he was declared a bankrupt in 1782 resulting in the sale of his goods. He bounced back to form a new partnership, Bryan & Willcocks, again at Morrison's Island. In 1791 he successfully defended a legal action for fraud brought by one Owen McCarthy, a butter buyer, and despite his somewhat chequered career subsequently served as mayor of Cork in 1793. He later moved to Canada where he was appointed a magistrate in York (now Toronto) and later York's first postmaster (Richard Caulfield, *The council book of the corporation of the city of Cork* (Surrey, 1876), p. 716 (henceforth cited as Caulfield, *Council book*); TNA, T 1 522 and HCA, 26/68; *HC*, importers/exporters; *HC*, 4 July 1782 and 29 Sept. 1791; Lucas, *Cork directory*; *Exact list... 13th August, 1783*; *History Ireland*, March/April 2010, pp 24–26).

paid from Mr Trant,⁵ as I know it would be more agreeable to [you]. I mentioned my not charging commission to you on Bills was because this was a particular attention to him & as I chuse to have the general part of your [...]⁶

Our produce is at present so very high that I fear it will deter your friend to favour me with an order but hope it may be otherwise [...] when I shall be glad to be favoured with his commissions, or if he thinks the high prices at present to answer his purpose, his orders shall be accepted to the best of my powers.

Best Cargo Beef sold this week a 39/ payable in Oct. Pork is a 50/ per barrel. Best Butter 48 to 52/ but expected to fall next week. Herrings none for sale.

3. / 1 FRANCIS WOODLEY ESQ., [DUBLIN]⁷ SAT. 22 JUN. 1771

I paid Mr Deane £1100 this day. He is very urgent for money. Mr Hen[essy?] thinks it best that you bring down with you a command for Sir Robert⁸ to [...] the fine etc. I apprehend the lands of Longford was a purchase by his fat[her] from the executors of Wilsons. Sir Robert has now had £4000 from me, and I hope enough remains to pay off the encumbrances.

4. / 1 JAMES BASHFORD, BELFAST⁹ SAT. 22 JUN. 1771

My last was the 1st ult. New Butter has kept up at 48 to 52/ but will fall next week. Beef and Pork keep up high. As I have not a frank I trouble you to send the enclosed to Messrs Henderson & Ewing.¹⁰

5 See no. 95.

6 This, the first page of the manuscript, is in poor condition, and this letter is virtually illegible.

7 Woodley was Hare's attorney, with offices in the South Mall in Cork and at Golden Lane off Great Georges St in Dublin. A son-in-law of George Hodder, mayor of Cork in 1754, he became a freeman in 1764. He represented Hare in a major legal case as detailed in no. 520 (Lucas, *Cork directory*; Watson, *Gentleman's... almanack for 1772*; Caulfield, *Council book*, p. 779; *Exact list... 13th August, 1783*).

8 Sir Robert Tilson Deane (1747–1820) became a freeman in 1768. He represented Co. Cork in the Irish House of Commons 1776–1783 and was admitted to the Irish Privy Council in 1777. He succeeded his father as the 6th baronet of Muskerry in 1770 and in 1781 was raised to the peerage of Ireland as Baron Muskerry. His wife Anne Fitz Maurice was a descendant of the Barons of Kerry and Lixnaw. Hare was in the process of purchasing a substantial estate from him at a cost of £19,672, and Hare's will of 1785 mentions the estate in Limerick purchased from Deane (Caulfield, *Council book*, p. 831); Registry of deeds, Dublin, Book 290, p. 18, no. 188799 of 31 Aug. 1771).

9 Bashford was known to import wheat from America (Norman E. Gamble, 'The business community and trade of Belfast 1767–1800' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Dublin, 1978), p. 301, henceforth cited as Gamble, *Belfast*).

10 John Henderson (d. 1793) was a Belfast merchant involved in both the linen and flaxseed trades with North America and the salted-provisions and rum trades with the West Indies. The firm Henderson & Ewing with Belfast ties was active in America in 1762 (Thomas M. Truxes (ed.), *Letterbook of Greg & Cunningham, 1756–57: merchants of New York and Belfast* (Oxford, 2001) (henceforth cited as Truxes, *Letterbook*), p. 116; Gamble, *Belfast*, p. 125). John Ewing was another prominent Belfast merchant. He subsequently gave up trade to form the bank of Ewing, Holmes & Co. In 1783 he is listed as an agent of the Dublin Insurance Co., and in 1785 as one of the eleven members of the Linen hall committee (Gamble, *Belfast*, p. 69).

5. / [-]¹¹ BUCKLAND & SMITH, LONDON¹² SAT. 22 JUN. 1771

I refer to my last of the 18th inst. & being since without any of your favours, the present serves to accompany the annexed Invoice & inclosed Bill of Lading for 160 fullbound & 50 coarse firkins Butter, shipped for your account on the *Susannah*¹³ of Cork, James Parker master, the amount £339.2.2 to your debit, & this day I have drawn the inclosed Bill on you to my own order for £313.19.9 str at 2 months date, which with exchange at 8% balances the same. Please to return me the Bill accepted.

Capt. Parker is cleared out & ready to sail first fair wind. He has got in all about 700 casks & firkins Butter on board, & there's another vessel likewise ready for your place with 950 more. The buyers seem now to be almost compleated therefore I expect a fall in all kinds next week, whereof you shall have advice.

Having occasion to remit Messrs Rob Alexⁿ & Rob^r Maitland,¹⁴ the above Bill is drawn to their order.

6. / [-] MARTIN & PEILE, LONDON SAT. 22 JUN. 1771

I refer to my last of the 18th inst. & being since without any of your favours the present serves to accompany the annexed Invoice and inclosed Bill of Lading for 50 fullbound and 52 coarse firkins Butter, shipped for your account on the *Susannah* of Cork, James Parker master, the amount £161.5.8 to your debit, & this day I have drawn the inclosed Bill on you to my own order for £149.6.9 str. at 2 months date, which with exchange at 8% balances the same. Please to return the Bill accepted. [Concludes with the last two paragraphs as in no. 5]

7. / [-] WHITTAKER & WHITE, LIVERPOOL SAT. 22 JUN. 1771

Inclosed is Bill of Lading for 36 casks & firkins Grease Butter shipped to your address on the *Two Sisters*, Peter Fry master, by order & for account of Messrs Geo, Ja^s, Ben & Jn^o Walmsley of Rochdale.

8. / 2 MR JOS[EPH] COOK MON. 24 JUN. 1771

The Cunninghams to whom you let part of Ballinvriskig¹⁵ called on me this morning to inform me that Mr Campion threatens to distrain them as well as the [other] tenants

11 The manuscript page containing nos 5 to 7 is not numbered.

12 A cheesemonger of 8 Lower Thames St (*London directory 1768*).

13 In 1787 Simon Lampert was the master of the *Susanna*, a trader on the Cork–Bristol route (Lucas, *Cork directory*).

14 Robert Maitland and his sons Robert Jn. and Alexander were West India merchants at 13 Kings Arms Yard, Coleman St in the city of London. They traded mainly with Jamaica where they had estates. Hare used Maitlands almost exclusively as his London banker. Hereafter they are referred to as 'Maitlands' (*London directory 1768*).

15 A townland of 689 acres near the village of Glanmire and six miles north east of Cork city, see also no. 806 (www.seanruad.com, accessed Apr. 2013).

for last Nov's rent. This would be very hard on those who owe nothing and are about rebuilding the old house and intend immediately to lime the ground. I hope you will prevent Mr Champion from disturbing them as they owe nothing.

I hope you will pay the balance of my last Nov. rent agreeable to promise, as I am to pay Sir Robert Deane in a few days for my purchase.

9. / 2 ROBERT, ALEXANDER AND ROBERT MAITLAND ESQS, LONDON

SAT. 22 JUN. 1771

My last was the 14th & advised my Bill on you for £100 at 9% your account. Above you have my Bill on Buckland & Smith £313.19.9 str. & on Martin & Peile £149.6.9 with which do the needful.

10. / 2 MR JAMES BAILLIE ESQ., GRENADA¹⁶

FRI. 21 JUN. 1771

My last was the 12 Dec. with Invoice of sundries per the *Newrys Assistance*¹⁷ for account of Alexander & James Baillie Esqs. I now inclose you for their account, Invoice and Bill of Lading for the like quantity of provisions for their account. Provisions of all kinds are very high here & scarce.

11. / [-] MESSRS WILLIAMSON & THORNTON, GRENADA¹⁸

FRI. 21 JUN. 1771

Inclosed are Invoice & Bill of Lading for 50 firkins best new Rose Butter & 88 barrels Herrings shipped on the *Success* to your address by order & for account of Tho^s Edisforth & Co. of Lancaster. I repacked the Herrings, as when shipped at Lancaster there was not sufficient salt to preserve them.

Antigua Rum 4/2, Barbados & St Kitts 4/, Grenada if good 4/.

12. / [-] MR THOMAS ELLIS, [LONDON]¹⁹

TUE. 25 JUN. 1771

My last was the 19th inst. advising that I had not done anything in your order for hops, neither could I since, as those who have any for sale hold them up at £6 & the quality no ways answerable to your directions, therefore I declined buying. Very little

¹⁶ James Baillie (d. 1793), born near Inverness in 1755, followed his brother Alexander to seek his fortune in St Kitts. Having become successful merchants, they expanded by purchasing the Hermitage estate in Grenada in 1765, resulting in James settling there as manager, while Alexander remained in St Kitts. In 1770 they were joined by a younger brother Evan and commenced trading under the name A. J. & E. Baillie of St Kitts. They were heavily involved in the slave trade; selling Africans in Grenada to the amount of £120,000 in the eighteen months to June 1772. James later moved to London to become a commodity merchant and financier. Evan also moved, but to Bristol where he was to become one of that city's leading merchants (Douglas J. Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World, 1750–1820* (Manchester, 2005), pp 84–111).

¹⁷ Invoice in amount of £94.14.4 as per no. 430; the ship's name may more correctly be *Newry Assistance*.

¹⁸ The manuscript page containing nos 11 to 13 is not numbered.

¹⁹ Hops merchant of 63, Borough (*London directory 1768*).

spirit has hitherto appeared in our buyers to purchase at advanced prices, most people being divided in opinion about the accounts lately received from your place respecting said article. Therefore under the present circumstances I do not think to refuse £6 for yours, unless I should see any further cause to the contrary.

13. / [-/]

MR GEORGE WILKINSON, [LONDON]²⁰

TUE. 25 JUN. 1771

Since my last of the 19th inst. am favoured with yours of the 11th 13th & 15th ditto & have honoured your two Bills for £328.10.0. I understand the calfskins advised to be have been bought are intended for Ostend which is a new market for such goods to be sent to. Your order for 500 doz at 4½^d or 1000 at 4½^d was noted but I cannot obtain any under 5^d and probably they may not come lower, especially as so large a quantity is going to a foreign market which otherwise must have gone to England. I sold the rest of your hops before receipt of your favour of the 15th, viz. 6 bags at £5.15.0 & 7 at £5.12.6 per cwt. and should not have been able to do better since, most people being divided in opinion about the accounts lately received from your place respecting said article, on which very little spirit has hitherto appeared in our buyers to purchase at advanced prices.

I have sold 4 bags of your Turkey cotton wool at 10½^d, 3 chests of the green Tea per the *Royal Charlotte* at 5/4 & 2 ditto at 5/3, one chest of the Bloom per the *Lancashire* at 5/10, one chest of Hyson at 9/ & 3 chests fine Bloom at [torn], but could not get more, although I stood out for 8/, the buyers think it [too] high at 7/6. A few more of the same kind would find ready [sale]. I cannot obtain 6/ for any of your remaining Teas per *Lancashire & Barmouth*. Neither have I been able to put off one chest more of the Bohea.

Annexed is Invoice and inclosed is Bill of Loading for 100 cow hydes shipped for your account on the *Susannah* of Cork, James Parker master, amounting to £54.8.2 which is to your debit. I got them at the present weight, which I take to be much more your advantage than taking them at what they weighed in the season. Said vessel is cleared out and ready to sail first fair wind. Inclosed are certificates for the Teas. Also the smalts for Mrs Kingston²¹ who refused to pay as she complains of the quality & promised to write you this night about it.

20 Wilkinson is likely the merchant of 11, Pavement, Moorfields although another of the same name is listed as a haberdasher at 81 Queen St, Cheapside (*London directory 1768*).

21 Not identified.

14. / [3] WILLIAM HUGHES, LONDON

TUE. 25 JUN. 1771

My last was the 11th inst. advising that a large quantity of calf skins had been bought up at 5^d which I understand are intended for Ostend, tis said 1400 or 2000 dozen.

I am since favoured with yours of the 13th inst. ordering 400 [doz] of 36 lbs at 4½^d which was duly noted, but I've little or no likelihood of succeeding at that price, although they might reasonably have been expected at it, if the above quantity had not been bought for a foreign market, which otherwise must have gone to England. Therefore are held up stiff at 5^d & I think the sooner you extend your limit the better.

15. / 3 LAURENCE MAHON, [LIMERICK]²²

FRI. 28 JUN. 1771

The cargo of Rum is arrived & I have picked out 5 puncheons for you. I have not got the gauge as yet from the officer.²³ The price is 4/2, 3 months or 4/1 cash.

16. / 4 MAITLAND AND BODDINGTON ESQS, [LONDON]²⁴

FRI. 28 JUN. 1771

I received your esteemed favour of the 11th, also one from Mr Wilcock. Rum will not sell here for cash except for a very low price. Its mostly sold at 3 months and if you chuse it I will remit precisely at 3 months after the sale is finished. The *James & Rebecca* arrived here the 25th. I have landed the Rum. Some of it is pretty good. I have sold part as under and hope to run off a good many of them at same price, but as many of them are low I shall be obliged to sell them in proportion lower. However much depends on the quantities that may arrive.

I this day received a letter from Messrs Wilcock and Marson, advising that they had a vessel²⁵ loading Rum at Mt Serrat²⁶ would take about 230 hogsheads on their account and desired I would keep you advised the prices here as you would order her to such port as you may best approve of. The price here will depend on the quantity that may arrive. However I hope if its good I hope the price will not be under 4/. If you send the cargo to me you shall have the remittances as above or sooner.²⁷

PS. I have shipped on the *Success* of Boston, Joseph Budd master, provisions for Messrs Alex and James Baillie's estate²⁸ to the value of £101.13.0 this currency. You'll please to observe their directions as to insurance.

Exchange to London 8¼% to ½

10 at 4/2, 11 at 4/1, 8 at 4/²⁹

22 A merchant at Main St, Englishtown in Limerick city (Ferrar, *Limerick directory*).

23 Indicating that he had not got the 'volume/quantity' from the revenue officer who kept track of all rum imports.

24 Merchants of 17 Mark Lane, in which Richard Maitland was the principal; they had estates in Antigua (*London directory 1768*).

25 The *Nancy*; see no. 61. It would appear that Wilcocks & Marson were based in St Kitts.

26 Montserrat in the Leeward Islands.

27 No. 414 shows that Hare was entrusted with this sale.

28 In Grenada; see no. 89.

29 These are the rum sales referred to in the text of the letter; meaning 10 puncheons at 4s 2d per gallon, 11 puncheons at 4s 1d etc. Such figures frequently appear unannounced at the end of letters for sales of teas and other provisions as well as rum.

17. / 4 MR THOMAS ELLIS, [LONDON]

FRI. 28 JUN. 1771

Since my last of the 25th inst. to which refer, am favoured with yours of the 19th inst. and duly note the contents. I have not been able to do anything in your order for hops for the reasons before mentioned, but as our buyers now begin to stir a little, have sold 2 bags of yours at £6.2.6 and 7 at £6.5.0 per cwt., and hope to put off the remainder on agreeable terms.

[There is a gap from 28 June to 26 July 1771.]

18.³⁰ / 21 MICHAEL MILLER & SON ESQS, BRISTOL³¹

FRI. 26 JUL. 1771

I am favoured with yours of the 4th & 16 inst. & observe the mistake in overdrawing 5/ for which you have my Bill annexed on Mr Samuel Munckley.³²

Bingham is a great villain. This day two of the men that were assisting him called on me in their way to Dublin to the commissioners, where they intend to complain of his not giving them one penny.

<per Capt. Gardner>³³

19. / 21 FARRELL VAUGHAN & CO., BRISTOL

FRI. 26 JUL. 1771

It has been an omission that I did not ere this, remit you the balance of the Bill you sent me which was paid being for £21.17.8

Cost of wafers 5 lbs at 7/ = £1.15.0

Box	1.1	– 1.16.1
-----	-----	----------

Balance		<u>20. 1.7</u>
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Above you have my Bill on Mr Munckley for £18.11.10 str. at 8% is in full for the above balance. Little if any tallow in Cork for sale. Our slaughter is expected to commence late, as we had a bad spring & dry summer, which hindered the fattening of the cattle. Best fullbound Butter 1st quality 49/, 2nd quality 46/ & third do. 44/.

<per Capt. Gardner>

³⁰ Nos 18 to 21 appear on pp 21 and 22 in the manuscript with no. 22 reverting back to the correct p. 5.

³¹ Michael Miller Snr was a shipowner and partner in Miles bank 1752–85. He was rumoured to have come to Bristol from Switzerland. They traded in sugar from Jamaica as commission agents. (Morgan, *Bright-Meyler*, p. 424; Morgan, *Bristol trade*, p.195).

³² Samuel Munckley (b. 1723 in Exeter), was apprenticed to Richard Farrell in Bristol, but quickly became one of Bristol's most influential West India merchants. In 1768 he was appointed to the prestigious position of Master of the Society of Merchant Venturers of Bristol. The following year he became a partner in the Harford Bank, and the first president of the 'West India Club' where he was generally styled 'The Chancellor'. In politics, a Whig with sympathies for the American colonies; in religion, a Presbyterian. He resided at 53 Queen Sq. (BRO, Society of Merchant Venturers records; Morgan, *Bristol trade*, pp 38, 95, 186, 191 and 194).

³³ Master of the *Pitt Yacht* which sailed to Bristol; see no. 81.

20. / 21 SAMUEL MUNCKLEY ESQ., [BRISTOL]

FRI. 26 JUL. 1771

Since my last of the 5th inst. I am not favoured with any from you. I wrote Mr George Champion in regard to his order transmitted me by Jack (who I suppose is still at Bristol).³⁴ I thank you for your kind recommendation of me to Mr Champion.³⁵ Our Rose Butter is now at 44/6 to 45/ the middle price & I doubt it will be lower this year as a great demand is made for the London market, as well as for several foreign parts. Beef is almost all gone. I sold 200 barrels Cargo the last week at 40/ cash.

I have drawn on you for £0.5.0 favour Michael Miller & Son Esqs. I have also drawn on you for £18.11.10 favour Farrell Vaughan & Co., both my account.
<per Capt. Gardner>

21. / 22 ROBERT GORDON ESQ., BRISTOL³⁶

MON. 29 JUL. 1771

My last was the 8th. Your favour by Captain Wilson came to hand the 22nd. I lost no time in landing your Rum & shipping your orders. He went down on Friday but could not sail till 28th.

Inclosed you have Bills of Lading & Invoices viz.,

MN ³⁷ amounting to	£776.17. 8
GB amounting to	21. 8. 3

I procured him 130 firkins Butter for Kingston³⁸ which was all he could take. Of your Rum I have sold as under mostly payable in 3 months. I hope to finish the sale in 2 or 3 days. You should send the stoutest as it's best liked here & sells in proportion. My son John³⁹ not yet arrived. Captain Wilson told me that the ship he was to come in, was up at the quay.

I think good Jamaica Rum will hold up to the prices yours is sold at. Inclosed is certificate for the Rum.

<per Capt. Gardner>

34 Hare's son John, who returned to Cork on the 6 Aug.; see no. 79.

35 This led to business with Champion, see no.152.

36 Apprenticed to his uncle William Gordon, Robert Gordon became a merchant and shipowner himself, becoming the third largest sugar importer in the city, a Burgess of Bristol, and mayor in 1773. Managed fourteen slave voyages between 1751 and 1767. In 1774 he owned the Windsor plantation in St James's, Jamaica (Morgan, *Bright-Meyler*, p. 356).

37 These are distinguishing marks which were carved into barrels and mentioned in Bills of Lading.

38 The main port in Jamaica, and wealthiest city in the British Caribbean before 1775 (Morgan, *Bright-Meyler*, p. 33).

39 Hare had two sons. The younger, John (Jack), was at Bristol at this time; see no. 20. The elder son William (1751–1837) became the first earl of Listowel in 1822. He also had two daughters, Mary and Margaret Ann.

22. / 5 HENRY BRIGHT ESQ., BRISTOL⁴⁰ TUE. 30 JUL. 1771

My last was the 10th. I had a letter from Mr Welsh⁴¹ requesting Invoice. Keep the Bill on hand a few days that he would send a man with the money, if he could not get a bill to discharge it.

I have drawn a bill on you favour Rob^t Powell for £98.8.9 str. at 8% is £106.6.3 being the amount of sundry shipped the 4 Dec. by order & for the use of Mr James Smith, which he ordered me to draw on you for, as I have done.

I suppose the contrary wind has occasioned Jack to be still troublesome to you.

Butter 44 to 49/ as in quality.

23. / 5 WOLFORT, VAN HEMERT & CO., LONDON⁴² TUE. 30 JUL. 1771

Since my last of the 21 Dec. I have none of your favours. This day I have drawn on you favour Maitlands or order for £137.11.7 str. to which please give due honour and charge the same to W. Hendrik Berkhoff of Amsterdam, forwarding to him the inclosed, first sealing the same after perusal, as I refer you thereto. The above £137.11.7 at 7¾% is Irish £148.4.9 & balances

for your 50 casks butter	£144. 5.2
& 3½ guineas paid to Capt. Neal	3.19.7½
	£148. 4.9½

24. / 5 STEPHEN FORD, LIVERPOOL⁴³ TUE. 30 JUL. 1771

Since my last of the 5 inst. I have none of your favours. The present serves to accompany Invoice & Bill of Lading for 18 casks & firkins Grease Butter, shipped for your account on the *James* of Cork, Tho^s Bean master, amounting to £21.10.3 to your debit. This is a full proportion of what I collected since my last. Said article has been lately advanced to 34 to 34/6 per cwt. owing to the scarcity & the orders being divided into many hands here from your parts. Scrapings are also advanced to 30/ & I doubt not will be higher. Rose Butter first quality 49/, second 46/, third 44/ per cwt. Coarse second quality 42/6, third 39/6. Large casks second quality 40/0, third 38/. There are scarce any first at all of the Coarse. Your remittance for £56 I passed at 8¼% making £60.12.5 Irish to your credit.

40 Henry Bright (1715–1777) was born in Worcestershire and apprenticed to Richard Meyler, a hooper, in Bristol. They jointly established a West India mercantile business, with Bright moving first to St Kitts in 1739 and then to Jamaica, where he built up a successful provisions and slaving trade. In 1746 during a return visit to Bristol he married Sarah, only daughter of his mentor Meyler. He managed 21 slave voyages between 1749 and 1766. Purchasing estates in Jamaica, he returned permanently to Bristol in 1751 and only retired in 1775. Like his Bristol colleague Samuel Munckley, he was a Presbyterian and active in Bristol Whig politics. He became a founding member of the Harford bank, and served as mayor in 1771/2. He lived with his black servant called Bristol at 28 Queen's Sq. On his death he is reputed to have left a fortune of £50,000. His brother William (1717–1798) set up as a merchant in Cork in 1773, but did not last long (*ODNB*; Morgan, *Bristol trade*, pp 145, 186 and 191; Morgan, *Bright-Meyler*, pp 24 and 120; *HC* importers/exporters; *HC*, 12 Apr. 1773).

41 John Welsh of St Kitts; see nos 69, 272 and 359.

42 Lukeman van Hemert and John Wolfort, merchants at 55 Old Bond St (*London directory* 1768).

43 Stephen Ford was a merchant at 3 Manesty's Lane (*Liverpool directory* 1774).

25. / 6 JOHN NORTH, LIVERPOOL⁴⁴

TUE. 30 JUL. 1771

I refer to my last of the 23 inst. since which have none of your favours. Annexed is Invoice & inclosed Bill of Lading for 3 hogsheads glew, shipped for your account on the *James* of Cork, Thomas Bean master, amounting to £87.18.6 to your debit. Said vessel is cleared out and ready to sail first fair wind. The remaining 6 hogsheads shall be sent by the two next vessels that offer. [Concludes with butter prices as in no. 24.]

26. / 6 ALEX HARPER, [KINSALE]⁴⁵

WED. 31 JUL. 1771

Agreeable to yours of the 22 ult., above you have account of 9 puncheons choice Antigua Rum laid by for you as [promised?], which I now send you.

I have yours of this date. If you chuse the puncheons Jamaica please to advise per bearer who informs me will call too morrow for the other two puncheons.

27. / 6 MR JAMES SCULLY

THU. 1 AUG. 1771

I received your favour with your opinion of the land I purchased. I shall finish the purchase in a few days the requisits being now ready for that purpose. The 10th of May I remitted your father⁴⁶ Bills to complete the £500. I should be glad you would consult with him and advise me at what price now Beef may be expected to be made up, that I may advise my friends. I shall this year be able to take all your Beef from you, which I hope will be agreeable to you. We have not much old on hands.

28. / 7 RICHARD WATT ESQ., [LIVERPOOL]⁴⁷

WED. 31 JUL. 1771

My last was the 20th. Your favour per Capt. Hindson came to hand the 22^d. I lost no time in landing the Rum and shipping the provisions. Nothing offering on freight, he sailed the 26th. I can't give you encouragement to send the *Martha* to seek freight as but little Beef remains for sale and no Herrings. New Beef will not be had before the end of September or beginning of Oct.

Inclosed you have account of Capt. Hindsons disbursements being £33.18.5 to your debit. You have also inclosed certificate for the 20 puncheons Rum of which I have sold as under and hope in two or three days to finish the sale. I am glad to hear Mrs. Savage⁴⁸ is better.

1 at 5/3, 1 at 5/1½, 9 at 5/1, 4 at 5/, 1 at 4/11½, 1 at 4/11, 2 at 4/10 & 1 at 4/9

44 John North was a merchant at 11 James St (*Liverpool directory* 1774).

45 Possibly related to John Harper, senior partner in the Cork bank Harpers & Armstead, until he retired c. 1870. The Harper family is mentioned in Cork Presbyterian records (CCCA, U87).

46 Roger Scully; see no. 87.

47 Richard Watt (c. 1724–1796) became one of Liverpool's wealthiest merchants. He made his fortune in sugar plantations. At the time of the Hare correspondence he was also a substantial shipowner. He stayed with Hare on one occasion during a stop-over in Cork (see no. 695). He settled in Bristol in 1782. On his death he left upwards of half a million pounds to two nephews (Gomer Williams, *History of the Liverpool privateers and letters of marque, with an account of the Liverpool slave trade* (Liverpool, 1897), pp 150, 296 and 297 (henceforth cited as Williams, *Liverpool privateers*; Speke Hall, en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Speke_Hall, accessed April 2013).

48 Elizabeth, the wife of another Liverpool correspondent, Richard Savage (Liverpool archives, www.liverpool.gov.uk, accessed February 2013).

29. / 7

MR JOHN BRADSHAW

WED. 31 JUL. 1771

I received your favour of the 16th and 500 tickets in your lottery.⁴⁹ I expected two persons would have taken the whole and that I could have ordered as many more, but they would take only 300 and will take more when they dispose of the 300. Indeed they tell me that Coppinger did not desire payment till after the drawing of the lottery is finished and then he took from them such prizes as they purchased in payment and I find I must do the same. As they are safe I must take my risk on myself but I expect you will not look on these as payment of your account. The other two hundred I will keep if they don't take them.

We have no alteration in the price of provisions here since my last. Good Antigua Rum sells at 4/1 to 4/2. Barbados 3/10 to 4/.

30. / 7

MR H[UGH] CONNOR

WED. 31 JUL. 1771

I received your favour of the 9th. Keating lives a few miles out of town. I sent frequently to the house he comes to when in town, and when met with, put off payment from day to day. I wrote to him that I would be obliged to trouble him for the Bill and with much difficulty at last got payment in cash. Annexed you have account balanced by my Bill on Maitlands for £15.6.5.

Beef and Pork is dearer here than with you. I have no measure of influence or commissions with the sugar houses here.

31. / 8

ALEX JOHNSTON ESQ., AND SON, [LONDON]⁵⁰

WED. 31 JUL. 1771

My last was the 18th May since which received none from you. Meeting an opportunity of shipping the 200 boxes candles to St Eustatia,⁵¹ I have shipped them on the *Hannah* as per the inclosed Invoice & Bill of Loading the amount £298.3.0 str. to your debit. She sailed the 28th. She touches at Dominica but will have no delay there. I am looking out for an opportunity to ship the 2nd order and shall embrace the first that offers.

Please to send me 10 barrels of refined saltpeter and when I know the cost will remit you for the cost.

⁴⁹ Lotteries were a popular form of gambling in Cork. Luke Shea won £20,000 c. 1800 and was known thereafter as 'Lucky Luke' (James O'Shea, 'The Sheas and the Cork catholic merchant community, 1750–1800' (Unpublished MA thesis, University College Cork, 2007), p. 48, henceforth cited as O'Shea, *Merchant community*).

⁵⁰ Alexander Johnston (c. 1698–1775) was born in Kirkcudbright, Scotland, settled in Barbados where he practiced medicine and planted sugar. In 1731 he moved to London and set up as a wholesale druggist with a shop in Magpie Alley, Fenchurch St. Johnston developed a keen interest in exporting quack medicines to America. A descendent claims the importation of 'Turkish rhubarb', an effective laxative, was particularly lucrative. He purchased an estate in Dumfries but leased it out. On his death in 1775 he was described as one of the City's oldest merchants (David Hancock, *Citizens of the world: London merchants and the integration of the British Atlantic community 1735–1785* (Cambridge, 1988), pp 52, 54, 107, 141, 142, henceforth cited as Hancock, *Citizens*).

⁵¹ A Dutch possession in the Leeward Islands.