

The Card Family and the Mahogany Trade: From New England to the Bay of Honduras

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When Jonathan Card and his brother James Card Jr. first ventured from Rhode Island to the Bay of Honduras in the mid-eighteenth century, they landed on one of the most tumultuous frontiers of the greater Caribbean. Situated on Spanish territory along the Central American coast, this region (now Belize) boasted little more than a rudimentary woodcutting settlement surrounded by dense tropical rainforest that buffered it from adjacent Spanish enclaves. Its occupants included a motley assortment of English, Scottish, and American expatriates, as well as enslaved Africans and some Indians, who made their living harvesting tropical timbers, while resisting Spain's repeated attempts to expel them. These sojourners had long led a marginal, violence-filled existence as their logging activities repeatedly engendered interimperial conflicts. As the Cards became variously involved in harvesting and exporting mahogany from the Bay to New England, as well as transporting supplies and people, including occasional slaves, from New England to the Bay, their experiences illuminate how these two very different geographical regions were bound together by interconnected threads of kinship, trade, debt, obligation, and mutual aid.

When the Cards first ventured to the Bay of Honduras, most likely in the 1750s, it was already a regular destination for many New England ships.¹ Throughout the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, ship captains recurrently made the long journey to the Bay to secure loads of logwood, a precious dyewood much in demand by Europe's textile industry. Each year, disrupted only by wartime and hurricanes, the harbor in Belize City could be found crowded with ships from New England, Philadelphia, New York, and Charleston, as well as from Eng-

¹ The exact date of the Cards' first visit to the Bay is unknown but was most likely in the late 1750s. This article is based on the author's dissertation: Jennifer L. Anderson, "Nature's Currency: The Atlantic Mahogany Trade, 1725–1825" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 2007). It draws on extensive archival evidence, notably the Card Family Papers (MSS 1140) at the Rhode Island Historical Society (RIHS), plus materials from the Newport Historical Society (NHS), the Massachusetts Historical Society (MHS), period newspapers, and the colonial records of British Honduras (especially CO 123) at the National Archives (NA) in England and in Belize. Excerpts from the former are also published in *Archives of British Honduras*, ed. John Alder Burdon (London: Sifton, Piraed, and Company, 1931), vols. 1 and 2 (hereafter cited as *ABH*). Leading scholarship on the history of the Bay of Honduras and the mahogany trade include O. Nigel Bolland, *The Formation of a Colonial Society: Belize, from Conquest to Crown Colony* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1977), and Adam Bowett, "The English Mahogany Trade, 1700–1793: A Commercial History" (Ph.D. diss., University of Brunel, 1996). Daniel R. Finamore, "Furnishing the Craftsman: Slaves and Sailors in the Mahogany Trade" (*American Furniture*, 2008): 61–87, also discusses the Card brothers.

land, the Netherlands, and other nations. In 1726 Nathaniel Uring reported, "The inhabitants of Boston carry on extensive trade with the Carib Islands in Jamaica. They also send several ships to the Bay of Honduras to load logwood."² The following year several of the leading Anglo woodcutters—or Baymen as they were known—expressed gratitude for that attention by making a generous gift of logwood to Boston's Christ Church (now known as Old North Church). In return the church installed a special pew next to the pulpit, reserved "For the Gentlemen of the Bay of Honduras."³ While it is doubtful that the Baymen were devoted churchgoers—although some did attend when they were in Boston—their relationship of trade, patronage, and mutual regard with prominent church members served both parties well.⁴ James and Jonathan Card thus followed in the wake of a well-plied channel of exchange that set the stage for the burgeoning trade of the mid-eighteenth century.

The Cards' arrival in the Bay settlement coincided with a period of major transition there as its economy shifted from its earlier emphasis on logwood, the foundation of its existence since the seventeenth century, to mahogany. This switch, precipitated by collapsing logwood prices and growing consumer demand for Honduran mahogany, had major economic and social consequences for the Bay settlement. In particular, because the massive mahogany trees required much more labor to extract than logwood, established Baymen imported growing numbers of African slaves. With this investment in human property, a few large slaveholders (mostly white and male) expanded their mahogany production and established themselves as an elite class, wielding disproportionate power and influence over the rest of the free population. The Card brothers, like everyone who came to the Bay, were forced to deal with this self-styled oligarchy, whether engaging them in business, competing with them, or aspiring to join their number. Spain and England had concluded several treaties regulating logwood cutting in the Bay in hopes of normalizing the region's nebulous status. Since mahogany cutting was prohibited, however, the treaty restrictions now

² Nathaniel Uring, *A History of the Voyages and Travels of Capt. Nathaniel Uring* (London: Wilkins, 1726), p. 111.

³ In 1727 the vestry voted to build the pew "next to the Pulpit." In 1732 "Mr. Bond & other Gentn of the Bay" were present in church and proposed reducing the pew. "for the benefit of the Church." Removed in 1759, it is now restored and bears a plaque stating, "For the Gentlemen of the Bay of Honduras, 1727." Charles K. Bolton, *Christ Church, Salem Street, Boston* (Boston: Christ Church, 1913), pp. 42, 47.

⁴ Jennifer L. Anderson, "Nature's Currency." See also Ross Newton's dissertation-in-progress at Northeastern University, tentatively entitled "Patrons, Politics, and Pews: Boston Anglicans and their Transatlantic Connections, 1686–1783."

exacerbated geopolitical tensions as the Baymen stubbornly disregarded the ban.⁵

The Card brothers, sons of a retired ship captain and small-time merchant, hailed from North Kingstown, a farming town just a few miles from bustling Newport, Rhode Island.⁶ Like many coastal New England youths, they went to sea at an early age, learning critical navigational skills, just as Rhode Island was emerging as an important maritime center. Savvy businessmen, such as Aaron Lopez of Newport, the De Wolfs of Bristol, and the Browns of Providence, invigorated the regional economy through expanding both coastal and West Indian trading, as well as initiating transatlantic shipping and African slaving ventures. This increased business offered many promising opportunities to likely fellows with seafaring experience.

The Card brothers were apparently introduced to the Bay of Honduras during their time serving as crew members aboard vessels under the command of Capt. William Cahoone (who was also their kinsman) and Capt. Oliver Ring Warner, who were employed by some of the leading Rhode Island merchants. In the early 1750s William Cahoone traded in his sea captain's hat to become a woodcutter and shipping agent in the Bay, along with his brother Benjamin. Given that their Newport family was heavily involved in the furniture-making business—their brother Elijah Cahoone was a joiner and their nephew John Cahoone became an accomplished cabinetmaker—they likely had a ready outlet for their produce when they began harvesting mahogany.⁷

William Cahoone served as a liaison in the Bay between local woodcutters and visiting ship captains. Upon arriving in his ship *Britannia*, for example, Captain Warner sought him out to facilitate sales of incoming slaves and to purchase timber for his return cargo. Likewise, Providence merchant Obadiah Brown found Cahoone very helpful, even using him as a cover for illicit trading forays into French territories. In 1758 Brown issued false orders directing his sloop *Speedwell* to the Bay of Honduras, although it was actually bound for New Orleans.

⁵ As early as 1667 Spain and England made a treaty allowing limited logwood cutting rights to Anglo woodcutters on Spanish territory in the Bay of Honduras. The 1763 Treaty of Paris renewed the agreement, but mahogany cutting was not permitted until 1786. Jennifer L. Anderson, "Better Judges of the Situation: Environmental Realities and Problems of Imperial Authority in the Bay of Honduras," *Itinerario* 3 (2006): 55–75.

⁶ Jonathan Card (1726–ca.1779) and James Card Jr. (1728–1772) were sons of Barbara and James Card Sr. (1703–1778). Their father, a town freeman, owned sixty acres of land in North Kingstown. Charles H. Card, *Richard Card and Descendants* (Carrabelle, FL: n.p., 1996); *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 69 (October 1915): 381.

⁷ John Cahoone's only surviving account book postdates this period and thus does not mention them. But he regularly purchased Honduran mahogany to make furniture for local sale and export. John Cahoone account book, 1749–1760, NHS. Jeanne A. Vibert, "The Market Economy and the Furniture Trade of Newport, Rhode Island: The Career of John Cahoone, Cabinetmaker, 1745–1765" (master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1981), p. 26.

If the ship had been stopped and inspected by the French, they would have found the captain carried plausible instructions to meet up with Cahoon in the Bay.⁸ Both Card brothers had extensive dealings with Cahoon; James traded with him during his periodic sojourns in the Bay while Jonathan had a closer relationship, eventually serving as his sole heir and executor.⁹

For James Card the more important influence was probably Capt. Oliver Ring Warner, who later entrusted him with the command of one of his vessels. During Warner's own years as a ship captain, he forged contacts in the Bay which proved very useful when he largely retired from the sea and set himself up in business back in Rhode Island. Having established himself as a wealthy merchant and shipowner, he provided a stellar example of the money-making possibilities that the Bay settlement offered on both sides of the trade equation—importing mahogany and logwood to North America and Europe and exporting large quantities of New England foodstuffs and manufactured goods to supply the woodcutters in Central America.

From his home base in Newport, Warner also served as a factor and extended credit to people both in the Bay and the adjacent Mosquito Shore, often tiding woodcutters over between timber harvesting seasons. In one case he even took a woodcutter's young son home with him to be schooled in the "art of Navigation."¹⁰ The lad spent two years under Warner's care in Newport. Since the boy's transportation, lodging, and education were all paid in mahogany, Warner found this a lucrative arrangement and added on all manner of other expenses, including "sundrys pd the Spanish guards for permitting us to pass out of Rio Hondo."¹¹ He received 5,300 feet of mahogany in payment from the boy's family, although he later claimed he was still owed an additional £152 worth of wood. Over the years many affluent Baymen sent their sons, and occasionally their daughters, to be educated or apprenticed to such business correspondents overseas. Clearly, even after he was comfortably ensconced in Newport, Warner remained attuned not only to the potential gains of doing business in the Bay, but also to its attendant dangers and high costs, including such annoying items as bribes for Spanish guards. Men like Cahoon and Warner provided the Cards with vivid role models

⁸ James B. Hedges, *The Browns of Providence Plantation: The Colonial Years* (Providence: Brown University, 1968), pp. 8, 54–55.

⁹ 15 February 1768, William Cahoon's Last Will and Testament, Private Records, Vol. 1, p. 299, Belize National Archives.

¹⁰ "Estate of Richard Burrell Esq. deces'd in Account with Oliver Ring Warner," 1764–1766, MSS 1140, RIHS.

¹¹ List of Richard Burrell Jr.'s expenses in "The Estate of Richard Burrell," 1764–1766, MSS 1140, RIHS.

as they too sought to profit by the New England–Bay of Honduras trade connection.

Before gaining command of his own vessel, James Card Jr. advanced through the ranks of the merchant marine, serving as first mate on several ships owned by prominent Rhode Island merchants. His 1760 marriage to Sarah Rouse, the daughter of an affluent merchant family, further enhanced his social status and career prospects in the tight-knit port community of Newport.¹² Seizing his chances, he signed on to several transatlantic slave ventures to the coast of Africa, a dangerous but potentially very remunerative business. While in his early thirties, for example, James proved his mettle during a trip to Senegal in 1762, while serving aboard the schooner *Adventure*. After an attack by a French privateer off the West African coast, the vessel fled to the slaving port of Goree. With his wounded captain temporarily incapacitated, James stepped into the breach, taking command of the vessel and negotiating with local merchants to exchange the ship's cargo for "merchantable slaves."¹³ When the captain returned to the ship a month later, he challenged the trading agreements drawn up by James in his absence, going so far as to arrest him for insubordination. James defended himself by getting local Goree merchants to attest that he had "behaved like a careful, honest man."¹⁴ His demonstrated grasp of the Guinea trade soon earned him a spot as captain of his own vessel; he returned to Africa the next year at the helm of the snow *King of Bonney*.¹⁵

During these years James and Sarah established a household, purchasing such items as a mahogany desk and tea board from Edmund Townsend, a member of the city's foremost cabinetmaking family.¹⁶ With James often away at sea, Sarah seems to have managed their household largely on her own. After six years of marriage they finally celebrated the birth of a son, and two years later, a second son.¹⁷ While little is known of his life ashore, in the years following the couple's nuptials James acquired several slaves to help with household and

¹² Sarah was the daughter of Capt. Denis Rouse of Guernsey Island. Card, *Richard Card and Descendants*. Rouse Family Papers, RIHS. See also *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 69 (October 1915): 381.

¹³ James concluded an agreement with Barnaby Burnet, a Goree merchant, to take "merchantable slaves in the amount of the cargo delivered," 23 March 1763, Oversized Folder, MSS 1140, RIHS.

¹⁴ 26 March 1762, Certificate from Robert Gresley, Isle of Goree, Folder 2, MSS 1140, RIHS.

¹⁵ Receipts for cargo, crew's wages, and crew's articles of agreement for the snow *King of Bonney*, 1763, Folders 2, 3 and Oversized Folder, MSS 1140, RIHS.

¹⁶ 2 February 1761, Edmund Townsend's receipt for a mahogany desk and tea board. Folder 2, MSS 1140, RIHS.

¹⁷ Jonathan R. Card (1766–1805) became a sea captain and James Card (1768–?) settled in Norfolk, Va.

shipboard tasks.¹⁸ The female slaves probably assisted Sarah with domestic chores—cooking, cleaning, laundering, sewing, and gardening—as was typical in the northern colonies. The male slaves worked on the wharves, loaded and unloaded vessels, did ships' maintenance, or served as sailors. With his acquisition of human property, James went from hiring slaves from other masters as he had done formerly to leasing out his own slaves to others to earn extra income. Around 1763 James apparently gave up the transatlantic slave trade in favor of the coastal Caribbean trade, sailing as far south as the Mosquito Shore and the Bay of Honduras where his brother had settled a few years earlier.

James was retained by Oliver Ring Warner as a ship captain and, as was customary, assumed his employer's power of attorney and acted as his proxy in a wide range of business transactions. One of his more onerous duties was collecting overdue accounts for Warner, who liberally extended credit to the Baymen but then had to browbeat them for payment. All too often, inadequate timber harvests and disruptions such as Spanish raids and hurricanes caused the woodcutters to default on their loans. Even more challenging, when several of Warner's debtors died suddenly, James was put in the awkward position of having to dun their heirs or executors. In addition James supervised many transactions for Warner relating to the coastal slave trade.¹⁹ In 1763 James handled the sale of two slaves: "a man named Nicholaw and a negro girl named Present, from Wm Cahoon to Capt. Oliver R. Warner."²⁰ Warner also leased one of his own slaves, a young man "of the Gold Coast Country" named Newport, to William Cahoon to serve as a woodcutter.²¹

Working for other shipowners as well, James routinely traversed the coastline from Rhode Island to Central America. On a typical voyage in 1764, he served as master of the sloop *Rising Sun*, owned by Aaron Chase and Brothers of Newport. On their instructions he fetched a load of mahogany from the Bay of Honduras, delivered it to Charleston, South Carolina, and then returned to Rhode Island with a cargo of rice

¹⁸ For example, on 4 March 1758 James paid Sarah Bull for the hire of her "negro man" for ship's labor. Later receipts document expenses for his own slaves, such as shoes for his "negroes" (29 January 1760) and a coffin for his "negro girl" (1 October 1769), Folders 1 and 4, MSS 1140, RIHS.

¹⁹ Jennifer L. Anderson, "New England Merchants and the Circum-Caribbean Slave Trade," in *Paths of the Atlantic Slave Trade: Interactions, Identities, and Images*, ed. Ana Lucia Araujo (Amherst, N.Y.: Cambria Press, 2011).

²⁰ 16 October 1763, Warner's receipt for slaves named Nicholaw and Present, witnessed by James Card; also James Card's 14 October 1762 memo regarding the sale, Folders 3 and 4, MSS 1140, RIHS.

²¹ The slave Newport was described as "of the Gold Coast Country Aged twenty-five years or there about," 24 April 1764, William Cahoon to Oliver Ring Warner; 21 April 1764 receipt, Folder 4, MSS 1140, RIHS.

and "Indian corn."²² At other times he delivered mahogany directly to Rhode Island for sale or transshipment to England. While his employers' instructions for the *Rising Sun*'s trip were clear and succinct, on other occasions he received only vague directives. In those cases he generally shuttled around Jamaica to nearby islands, the Bay of Honduras, and the Mosquito Shore, gathering a variety of cargo before returning home. Particularly during the winter months his ship could be found tramping about throughout the Greater Caribbean.

As James's letters to his various employers reveal, successful involvement in the mahogany trade required strategic planning and careful attention to many critical factors. A ship captain had to carefully time his arrival in the Bay to coincide with the seasonal rains when the Baymen floated their logs down river to the harbor—if too early, he wasted time on a long wait; if too late, he missed out on the best timber in the crush of ships. He had to be cognizant of mahogany sources, the comings and goings of competing ships, the monopolistic finaglings of the elite Baymen, and the ever-shifting prices of various goods and commodities. He also had to retain a solid crew of men, free and enslaved, and keep them in line with a minimum of trouble.²³ Mindful of all these factors, James tried to stay abreast of the shifting market conditions for slaves and mahogany in different locales. Each step of the way he negotiated a wide range of relationships to secure a cargo and oversaw the process as, one by one, each log was purchased, marked, measured, loaded, transported, distributed, and sold back on the wharves of New England.

While James stuck to the seafaring life, sailing often between his home in Newport and the Central American coast, Jonathan relocated to the Bay of Honduras after making his start as a sailor and serving a brief stint as a small-scale merchant in Newport. Shortly after his arrival Jonathan took the first necessary steps towards becoming a serious mahogany cutter; somehow, either with borrowed capital or some accumulated savings, he began buying slaves which, in turn, enabled him to lay claim to a mahogany works and start logging. He also forged a business partnership with another woodcutter named Capt. Francis Hickey. By 1776 the two men had taken up adjacent mahogany camps on Spanish Creek, many miles upriver from Belize City, where Jonathan staked out his claim as

²² 8 May 1765 sailing orders for *Rising Sun*, Aaron and Daniel Chase, Folder 4, MSS 1140, RIHS.

²³ Violence was a common aspect of maritime life which James experienced himself and in turn inflicted on others. Following his arrest in Africa, for example, James refused to work for his abusive captain. Later a captain himself, he paid £50 in damages to a sailor who accused him of "striking me while in the Bay of Honduras and also for his beating me this day on Board the Sloop *Rising Sun*." James Card's complaint, 27 March 1762, Goree Bay; 28 November 1764, complaint by William Pearce, Folder 4, MSS 1140, RIHS.

required "by the laws of the country...by falling a tree, building a hut, and hanging a grindstone."²⁴

Drawing on his New England connections, Jonathan found ready outlets for his timber shipments. Propitiously, both he and his brother entered the mahogany trade just as Aaron Lopez, the wealthy Rhode Island merchant with whom both brothers had established business ties, expanded his tropical wood trade into markets in London and Bristol.²⁵ Like others in the Bay, however, Card faced many challenges, particularly when Spanish guards disrupted the woodcutters' activities, periodically forcing them to retreat to the Mosquito Shore.²⁶ Significant numbers of slaves also absconded from the settlement each year, leaving the woodcutting gangs shorthanded.²⁷ In 1765 a widespread slave uprising (sparked by the murder of a master by his own slaves) terrified the white residents in the Bay. This event brought all work to a halt while the Baymen tried to track down the culprits in the rainforest before they could reach sanctuary among the Spanish.²⁸ Although ship captains and merchants awaiting mahogany deliveries complained of delays, they had little choice but to wait for the next season's harvest. Such were the vagaries of this frontier life.

Jonathan married Dorothy Taylor (known also as Dolle Card), a free woman of color who had served as his housekeeper. In addition to their son and daughter, their extended household included about ten or twelve enslaved men, women, and children. The little we know of the Card family slaves is gleaned from the personal testimony of one of them, Maria Perez, a Spanish creole woman forced into bondage after a 1762 English raid on the Spanish Yucatan.²⁹ In her previous life as a free woman, she

²⁴ Registration of Land Records, submitted by his son (also named Jonathan Card) on 29 June 1810, p. 290, Private Records, Vol. 3, Belize National Archives.

²⁵ For example, James's papers include a receipt, "Rec'd [in] Newport Dec. 14, 1765 of Capt. James Card...15 tons and ½ of a ton unchipt Logwood on acct of his brother Jonathan Card...on behalf of Mr. Aaron Lopez," MSS 1140, RIHS.

²⁶ According to the *Pennsylvania Gazette* (14 June 1764), for example, Capt. Oliver Ring Warner reported ships from Philadelphia, New York, London, and Rhode Island stalled in the Bay, awaiting cargoes after a Spanish attack.

²⁷ This was a problem wherever slaves could easily run away into the bush or seek freedom in adjacent Spanish territories. Jane Landers, "Cimarrón Ethnicity and Cultural Adaptation in the Spanish Domains of the Circum-Caribbean, 1503–1763," in *Identity in the Shadow of Slavery*, ed. Paul E. Lovejoy (London: Continuum, 2000), p. 42.

²⁸ On 9 September 1765 the *Newport Mercury* reported that a Mr. Cook "had been lately murdered by his own Negroes, and that the same fellows afterwards killed three English seamen, and then took to the bush;...several crafts with armed men were gone to the New River in search of them." By October things were back to normal.

²⁹ On Taylor, 20 February 1788, NA, Prob. 11/1163, see also note 66. Evidence suggests Maria was of mixed Spanish and Indian ancestry and granddaughter of "the Padre of Granada." Deposition of Maria Perez [signed with her mark], submitted to Col. Despard, Bay of Honduras, 29 October 1787, NA CO 123/5, p. 117 f., 151; Col. Lawrie's account of Maria Perez, 22 February 1788, NA CO 123/6, pp. 130–32 ff.

and her husband shared a peaceful existence until the English unexpectedly attacked her village and a nearby Spanish fort. Maria was captured and sold into slavery in the Bay settlement.³⁰ According to later conflicting accounts, her owner was either Jonathan Card, whom she referred to as "Old Mr. Card," or Dorothy Card, described as the "Mustee called Dol Card, Housekeeper to the Man so called old Card."³¹ Whoever officially owned her, Maria Perez became a dependent in Jonathan's household.

When missives to "her Native place" went unanswered, Maria Perez concluded her family and neighbors were all dead or scattered. Forced into a new situation, she adapted as best she could, eventually developing a relationship with Francis Hickey, Jonathan's business partner, whose mahogany works conveniently abutted the Card family compound.³² While he was alive, this relationship seems to have afforded Maria some protection and support although she remained Jonathan's slave. Comforted by a growing number of children, Maria reconciled herself to her master's domain. According to her, life within this racially mixed, extended household was tolerable, at least for a time, as its members, free and enslaved, coexisted.

By all appearances, Jonathan was well on his way to becoming a member of the Bay elite. After a few years of cutting wood, he purchased the sloop *Swordfish*. In a place where British subjects were precluded from land ownership because of the region's Spanish sovereignty, such a substantial piece of movable property constituted a major asset. Moreover, by owning a ship, Card gained independence, transporting his own produce as well as generating shipping revenues. Since only the most affluent Baymen owned or held shares in vessels, this acquisition was just the sort of necessary edge that might elevate a small-scale woodcutter into one of the powerful cadre of elite white woodcutters who dominated access to the best mahogany works and monopolized trade into and out of the settlement.

Perhaps in hopes of cutting his operating costs, Jonathan recruited his brother James to captain the *Swordfish*. For a while this arrangement seemed to suit them both. In 1767, when problems arose with one of Lopez's ship captains, Jonathan avoided the conflict by shipping his tim-

³⁰ Led by Capt. Ralph Wardlaw, the raid's participants included Baymen and Mosquito Indians.

³¹ Some documents identify Maria's owner as Dorothy Taylor [also called Dolle Card], while others name Jonathan Card. If indeed Jonathan acquired Maria after a Spanish raid, he may have sold or given her to Dorothy. According to her will, Dorothy owned at least nine slaves when she died. She was thus one of a very few free, mixed-race women in the Bay who owned slaves in this period. When Maria later sought her freedom, she referred to Jonathan as "Old Mr. Card," to differentiate him from his son of the same name who later inherited ownership of her. Col. Lawrie's account of Maria Perez, 22 February 1788, NA CO 123/6, pp. 130–32 ff.

³² Col. Lawrie's account of Maria Perez and the Card family, 22 February 1788, NA CO 123/6, pp. 130–32 ff.

ber aboard the *Swordfish* under his trusted brother's supervision.³³ For at least two years James sailed Jonathan's sloop on many successful ventures to Honduras Bay, the Windward Islands, and in the wide-ranging coastal trade.³⁴ When in the Bay, James checked in with his brother for instructions and loads of mahogany or logwood and then returned to Newport, where Sarah cared for their young children. Compared to his misadventures in Africa, this may have seemed a less hazardous route for the young father, but it was not by any means uneventful. At one point, Captain Card and the *Swordfish* were lauded in the newspapers for the heroic rescue of two men from a sinking ship which had been hit by a whale off Long Island.³⁵

This was a relatively prosperous period for the two brothers. During the late 1760s the brothers' names appear frequently in Aaron Lopez's account books, buying supplies and wholesale merchandise for resale and paying their accounts with tons of logwood and mahogany.³⁶ When home, James indulged in small luxuries for Sarah and their parents. He even bought fiddle strings, possibly for his own use. On one of his stretches ashore James apparently felt confident enough in his financial situation to revisit the Townsend family's cabinetmaking shop—this time purchasing two mahogany tables.³⁷ Jonathan also enjoyed ample credit with Lopez and ordered all manner of provisions, some of which he may have resold to others in the Bay.

In June 1769 disaster struck the *Swordfish*. Nine days out on a trip from Cape Fear to Jamaica, the ship encountered a vicious gale and lost its main sails, rigging, and boats. With eight feet of water swamping the hold, the crew manned the pumps around the clock for five days as waves breached over the decks. As their situation worsened, a passing ship thankfully spotted the distressed vessel. According to their rescuer, only "being loaded with Lumber...kept her from sinking," and the crew was "much disabled, and worn out with fatigue, when he took them all

³³ This incident involved the notoriously unreliable Captain Newdigate. Ron Potvin, "A poor soft weak Headed puffed up foolish fellow": The John Newdigate Controversy," *Newport History* 68, no. 236 (1997): 137–42.

³⁴ Ship clearances in the *Newport Mercury* record Card's ventures aboard the *Rising Sun* and the *Swordfish*: 26 November 1764 (325) bound for the Bay of Honduras; 6 May 1765 (348), *Rising Sun* with Card arrived from the Bay of Honduras; 9 November 1767 (480), *Sloop Swordfish* with Card cleared for Honduras.

³⁵ After the ship was struck by a whale, "she sunk in a few minutes; there were seven hands on board, two of which...with great Difficulty (the Weather being very stormy) were taken up by Captain Card, but the others were lost with the Vessel," 8 December 1760, *Boston Gazette and Country Journal*.

³⁶ Aaron Lopez Papers, Ledger 554 (O), 1767–1770, NHS. See, for example, account entries for 1766–1767, 136, 143, 162, 176, 188, 193; Ledger 555, 1766–1775, 158.

³⁷ Thomas Townsend's receipt for Card's order for mahogany tables and a coffin for his "negro girl," 8 September to 25 October 1768, Folder 2, MSS 1140, RIHS.

on board."³⁸ The sea ran so high, however, that the *Swordfish* and all her cargo were lost. This misfortune seems to have created a rift between the Card brothers. The root of their animosity is uncertain—perhaps Jonathan blamed James for the disaster, or perhaps it stemmed from bitter disappointment as the elder brother saw his aspirations shattered. James later complained that he feared Jonathan "will never pay me for my three years service and my negro in his sloop."³⁹

In any event, the brothers' alienation seems to have deepened when James returned to the employ of Oliver Ring Warner, the Newport merchant and former ship captain. Upon the death of William Cahoon in 1768, Jonathan inherited all of his property, including his slaves. Unfortunately, he became responsible for Cahoon's debts as well. Now Warner demanded his due from the estate and sent James to collect it, but Jonathan was not forthcoming with the money.⁴⁰ In 1770 James again pursued Jonathan to clear the debt.⁴¹ He was also under orders to retrieve Warner's slave Newport (who had been leased to Cahoon), to secure the man's back wages, and to invest that sum in mahogany and logwood.⁴² In a conciliatory gesture Warner sent a barrel of potatoes along for Jonathan. But after weeks of trying to fulfill his instructions, James reported that he had accomplished none of his assigned business; Newport had run away and Jonathan refused to respond to his claims. As James wrote to his employer, "My Brother will not show me any favours nor have nothing to say to me by Reason I came in Your Schooner."⁴³

In trying to extract mahogany from Warner's debtors on the Mosquito Shore, James encountered further delays. By the time he returned to the Bay, the bulk of the season's harvest had already been shipped and he was stalled "till a flud comes in the River to get there cargo."⁴⁴ In frustration James purchased a pricey load of timber from William Tucker, an affluent Baymen who owned multiple mahogany works and

³⁸ There were six men aboard the *Swordfish* at the time, including James, his chief mate, three sailors, and one passenger; at least one of the sailors was a slave owned by James. "Deposition regarding the loss of the sloop *Swordfish*," 4 September 1769 and 29 July 1770, James Card to Oliver Ring Warner, Folders 4 and 5, MSS 1140, RIHS; 21 September 1769, *Pennsylvania Gazette*.

³⁹ 29 July 1770, James Card to Oliver Ring Warner, Folder 5, MSS 1140, RIHS.

⁴⁰ Jonathan seems to have made some efforts to honor Cahoon's intention to manumit some of his slaves (who may have been his children), but creditors forced their eventual sale.

⁴¹ 23 February 1770, Oliver Ring Warner's Instructions and Power of Attorney for James Card, with attached list of accounts due, Folder 5, MSS 1140, RIHS.

⁴² The back wages were £25 per year from 1763 to 1768. "Estate of William Cahoon Esq. deceased in Acct. with Oliver Ring Warner," 26 February 1770, notarized by Warner in Newport, Folder 5, MSS 1140, RIHS.

⁴³ 1 May 1770, James Card to Oliver Ring Warner, Folder 5, MSS 1140, RIHS.

⁴⁴ 15 August 1770, James Card to Oliver Ring Warner, Folder 5, MSS 1140, RIHS.

large stockpiles of timber, and dispatched it to Warner on the *Betsey*.⁴⁵ Deciding to stay on through the off-season, James also sent several valuable mahogany logs (1,370 feet) home "for himself or his assigns."⁴⁶ He may have intended to sell them to make up his losses, to commission more furniture for his home, or to reexport it to England or elsewhere. Meanwhile he kept his ship busy transporting supplies and slaves around the region. In the spring of 1771 he sailed to Montego Bay to fetch "two Negro men named Prescott & Wiltshire, which I promise to deliver unto Mr. Roger Gale or his assigns in the Bay of Honduras."⁴⁷ Along with rum, nails, gunpowder, and cordage, he also took receipt of a slave "try'd for stealing and...condemned to be transported," presumably to the Bay.⁴⁸ The following year, however, James's maritime career came to an abrupt end when his life was cut short. Jonathan was upriver cutting wood when word came that James had died while in Belize City. Perhaps contrite after their unfortunate breach, he took charge of sending Sarah the sad news of her husband's death along with his personal effects.⁴⁹

Following James's death, Jonathan continued to cut mahogany (now with the additional labor of Cahoone's former slaves). He soon owned over thirty slaves, placing him at last firmly among the elite Baymen. Drawing on his earlier mercantile experience in Newport, he also established himself as an importer-exporter in Belize City. Most importantly, he became associated with two other members of the Bay elite, Thomas Potts and Richard Hoare, who was also one of the powerful local magistrates. These influential men helped him enlarge his network of business contacts beyond Rhode Island. Potts and Hoare most likely facilitated his introduction to Anthony Van Dam, an eminent New York entrepreneur, merchant, and mahogany dealer whose wealth and social status were amply reflected in his substantial East River estate and

⁴⁵ Receipt for 3,384 feet mahogany on the *Betsey* on Warner's account, 29 July 1770, Folder 5, MSS 1140, RIHS.

⁴⁶ "Invoice of Mahogany in the Schooner *Betsey*, Samuel Thurston, Master," 29 July 1770, James Card to Oliver Ring Warner, Folder 5, MSS 1140, RIHS.

⁴⁷ Another receipt documented the transport of an additional six slaves to the Bay, including Primrose, "a seasoned man," for £60; March, "a new Negro man," for £50; and for Jack, Bethy, Phillis, and Jenny, all children or adolescents, also £50 each," 10 April 1771, Receipt from Charles White [in Montego Bay] for Prescott and Wiltshire, Folder 5; 2 April 1771, Receipt from Owen Nash, Montego Bay, for six slaves, Folder 5, MSS 1140, RIHS.

⁴⁸ Memorandum from Lawrie, Hewlett, and Co. regarding slave's transportation, 14 August 1771, MSS 1140, RIHS.

⁴⁹ After paying the doctor bills and burial costs, Jonathan sent the remainder of his brother's money (15 doubloons, some pistoles, 11 dollars, and a few bits) to Sarah by way of "Mrs. Dorothy Taylor who goes with my Children to Long Island." Instructing Sarah to inquire after "Dorothy (or rather where my family is)," he urged secrecy, perhaps to avoid thieves or creditors, 22 July 1772, Jonathan Card to Sarah Card, Folder 8, MSS 1140, RIHS.

wharf.⁵⁰ In 1774 the trio consigned a large quantity of mahogany to Van Dam, including sixty-seven logs (19,618 feet of mahogany) from "Mr. Jonathan Card, in the said Bay of Honduras, by the Sloop *Content*," and an additional 63,723 feet consigned by Hoare and Potts.⁵¹ While Van Dam's advertisements reveal that he dealt in a wide range of commodities, he specialized in mahogany. This new connection promised to open up a whole new regional market to Jonathan.

The timing of this endeavor proved most unfortunate, however, as it coincided with the beginning of the American Revolution. With the onset of hostilities, commerce between the North American colonies and the Bay ground to a halt. Before the men's mahogany could be sold, New York City came under British occupation and the Royal Navy requisitioned a large portion of it for "the Defense of the said City"; their mahogany ended up being used to make "Caps, Gun-carriages & other naval works, for the use of his Majesty's Navy."⁵² When the tide of war turned against the British, Van Dam, an ardent Loyalist, was forced to flee to Bermuda. All of his property, including the remainder of the consigned mahogany, was seized after the war by the government of the new United States.⁵³ According to Van Dam's later request for royal compensation on behalf of himself and his three Bay correspondents, their forfeited mahogany was valued conservatively at over £6,600.⁵⁴

Meanwhile, as the American conflict spread to the Caribbean, the Baymen hoped that Britain might at last seize control of the Bay of Honduras. In 1776 the secretary of state considered a secret plan to enlist help from the Mosquito Indians to defeat the Spanish.⁵⁵ In 1779 John Dalling, the governor of Jamaica, reported a covert meeting with two

⁵⁰ Van Dam's eight-acre estate included a house with "an ornamented Board-Rail-Fence," a garden, an orchard, a "Rope-Walk, Hemp-House, Tar-House, Yarn-House, Smoke-House, Barn, [and] stables." He also owned a boat, slaves, and a large wharf. "Third Memorial of 1st February 1785, explained & argued this 25th March, 1786," submitted by Anthony Van Dam, "formerly residing in the City of New York; but now driven from thence on account of his said Loyalty..." See also his petition dated 1 February 1785, NA CO 123/4, p. 53 f.

⁵¹ *Rivington's New-York Gazetteer*, 10 October 1774; see also NA CO 123/4, pp. 31–34 ff.

⁵² Anthony Van Dam, "On behalf of his Correspondents Major Richard Hoare and Mssrs. Thomas Potts & Jonathan Card, his majesty's Natural-born Subjects of Great Britain & Ireland," 25 March 1786, NA CO 123/4, pp. 31–34 ff.

⁵³ According to his obituary, Van Dam, "a native of and for many years an eminent and highly respectable merchant of New-York," died in London in 1808, *Providence Gazette*, 31 December 1808, p. 3.

⁵⁴ According to Van Dam, the British military also appropriated his house as a barracks and hospital until 1778, demolished outbuildings for lumber, used his boat "as a Ferry-Boat between Long Island and New-York," and commandeered six slaves, all "valued workmen," as servants for "military gentlemen." Anthony Van Dam, "Third Memorial of 1st February, 1785, explained & argued this 25th March, 1786."

⁵⁵ The plan's likely author was Robert White, the Baymen's London agent, 9 December 1776, "Memorandum for the Right Honorable Lord George Germain his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State," MS. S-6.6, MHS.

unnamed Baymen to assess Spain's regional strength. They estimated that two hundred Baymen, five hundred slaves, and some Mosquito Indians could easily capture the nearest Spanish garrison, which was manned by only a hundred soldiers. The conspirators speculated that their ranks would then be "joined by some 100,000 Indians eager for liberation from Spain," enabling them to take the whole of the Yucatan.⁵⁶

None of these plans materialized. Rather, the Spanish surprised them all with a devastating assault on the Bay settlement. On 15 September 1779 at half past six in the morning, the slumbering residents of St. George's Key were roused abruptly from their beds to see a menacing phalanx of approaching sails. Gathered anxiously on the shore, the residents watched nineteen Spanish vessels swoop into the island's unprotected harbor.⁵⁷ Moreover, the well-informed Spanish forces timed their arrival to coincide with the season when most of the men, free and enslaved, were away at logging camps. By one report there were "101 white people on the Key when it was taken & 40 of mixed Colour...about 200 or 250 negroes, men, women, and children, mostly House-negroes.... [T]he principal part that carry on the Logwood & Mahogany cutting business were then up the River."⁵⁸ In the resulting chaos many slaves seized the opportunity to run away. Faced with superior forces, and all the Baymen "fit to bear arms" beyond reach, the residents and remaining slaves had no choice but to surrender.

The Spanish commandant informed the local inhabitants that, unbeknownst to them, the ongoing conflict between England and its northern colonies now engrossed Spain and France as well. Taking them all prisoner, his soldiers summarily rounded up the residents and marched them overland to the Spanish outpost of Merida, a harrowing 300-mile trek through swamps and dense forest. As they set off, the Spanish commander promised that if they went quietly, "great tenderness should be shown to the Ladies as well as to the Mustie women and children and a due attention...to protect them from violence."⁵⁹ Despite his assurances, the prisoners suffered many hardships en route; the survivors were deported and imprisoned in Cuba, some for as many as five years until the war's end.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ "Enclosure in Governor Dalling to Lord George Germain," 28 August 1779, NA CO 137/75, in *ABH*, p. 127.

⁵⁷ Robert A. Naylor, *Penny Ante Imperialism: The Mosquito Shore and the Bay of Honduras, 1600-1914* (Cranbury, N.J.: Associated University Press, 1989), p. 61.

⁵⁸ "An Account of the Spaniards landing at and taking St. George's Key by the subscriber (Edward Felix Hill) who was then on the place and an inhabitant," 1 October 1779, NA CO 137/76, in *ABH*, p. 128.

⁵⁹ "Account of the Spaniards landing...[by] (Edward Felix Hill)," 1 October 1779, NA CO 137/76, in *ABH*, p. 129.

⁶⁰ For years the Baymen unsuccessfully sought restitution from Spain for their losses. See, for example, NA CO 123/2, 11 December 1783, submitted by Robert White.

Receiving word of the attack, the absent Baymen, too late to mount a rescue, sought refuge in Jamaica. In 1780 British forces, aided by the Baymen and Indians, retaliated by attacking and briefly capturing the Spanish fort at Omoa. They then launched an ambitious campaign to seize Fort Immaculada Concepción, the Spanish stronghold that guarded access from the San Juan River to Lake Nicaragua. This waterway, as close to a transcontinental passageway as existed, linked Spain's Atlantic and Pacific coast settlements; whoever controlled it gained tremendous strategic advantages. Indeed, an English victory might have spelled a quick end of Spanish dominance in Central America.⁶¹

Ill-advisedly undertaking the campaign during the wettest season of the year, the British forces succeeded in taking the fort but could not hold it. Thousands of soldiers became ill or died in the flawed venture; even the hardy Mosquito warriors deserted en masse when their misgivings were not heeded. The fiasco proved a turning point in interimperial relations between Britain and Spain. Britain never again tried to invade the Spanish interior in Central America. On the Spanish side, when their attack on St. George's Key failed to deter the Baymen's return (even after a five-year hiatus and with a much reduced population), they too sought new ways to limit English expansion. Significantly, in the coming decade both nations came to see diplomacy as the more expedient road to regional security in the Caribbean.

In addition to these international consequences the war had personal costs as well. At some point in the conflict Jonathan Card was killed.⁶² After the war Anthony Van Dam requested Parliament to compensate his former Bay correspondents for their lost property and great personal suffering. In his petition Van Dam vividly described the Baymen's fate: all three were "pillaged & robbed of their property. Mr. Card died there; Mr. Potts was carried into Captivity and remained in that wretched Situation for upwards of two years; and Mr. Hoare, having with others escaped with the loss of their property, afterwards assisted in reducing the Fortress of Omoa...." Counter to the Baymen's reputation, Van Dam emphasized that "however Unfortunate & distressed, [they] embraced every occasion in their power, to prove themselves...the best and most Loyal of his Majesty's Subjects."⁶³

⁶¹ Craig L. Dozier, *Nicaragua's Mosquito Shore: The Years of British and American Presence* (University: University of Alabama Press, 1985), pp. 19-25.

⁶² While the exact date of Jonathan's death is uncertain, Van Dam's deposition suggests it occurred between 1777 and 1779, although Card's will was not entered into probate until 1788. See also 18 August 1783 petition signed by "Francis Hickey, Administrator of the estate of Jonathan Card and Dorothy Taylor deceased," NA CO 123/6, pp. 261-62 ff.

⁶³ The claim was submitted by Van Dam after Jonathan Card's death, presumably on behalf of his heirs. NA CO 123/4, pp. 31-34 ff., 25 March 1786, Memorial by Anthony Van Dam, "on behalf of his Correspondents Major Richard Hoare and Mssrs. Thomas Potts & Jonathan Card, his majesty's Natural-born Subjects of Great Britain & Ireland."

Interestingly, Van Dam called for the Crown to give special consideration to the Baymen because they were neither Loyalists nor rebels, but rather innocent bystanders caught up in the conflict of others.⁶⁴ In his view they were therefore entitled to “the Rights & Privileges of British Subjects, and the protection of the Laws and arms of Great Britain, wherever they or their property might be found within the Limits of the British Empire.” When they consigned their mahogany to his “Mercantile Care & Negotiation” in New York, he argued, they remained just as “Intitled to the protection of the Laws of his Majesty’s arms, as if it had been deposited for the same purpose in the City of London.”⁶⁵

Although the exact circumstances of Jonathan Card’s death are unknown, his children at least were apparently still safe in Long Island where they had been sent in 1772, most likely for schooling. Although Dorothy Taylor’s fate during this period is unknown, she drew up her will in the Bay in 1777, designating Francis Hickey as the children’s guardian and bequeathing three slaves to him and six to her children. Records suggest that she died in the Bay about 1783.⁶⁶

When Jonathan’s son, a man of mixed racial heritage (referenced in some period documents as “Colored Jonathan”), returned to the Bay after the war, he faced even greater challenges than his pioneering father since he had to weather the racial discrimination of the established white Baymen. His sister meanwhile secured her own position by marrying the New York merchant William Roach in 1785, allowing Hickey to buy her share of whatever could be retrieved of her deceased father’s estate.⁶⁷ Young Jonathan, meanwhile, inherited the remaining two-thirds, including approximately twenty-four of his father’s slaves.⁶⁸

The elder Card’s demise had serious negative consequences, however, for his slaves, especially Maria, her four daughters, and two grandchild-

⁶⁴ Although Van Dam accurately described Hoare and Potts as “native-born Subjects of Great Britain,” he described Jonathan Card as “a native of Ireland.” Since no other record suggests that Jonathan did not hail from Rhode Island or that there was another Bay resident (excluding his son) with the same name, Van Dam likely misrepresented Card’s nationality to strengthen his identity as a British subject following American independence.

⁶⁵ NA CO 123/4, pp. 31–34 ff., Memorial by Anthony Van Dam.

⁶⁶ Dorothy Taylor’s will, signed with her mark, was not entered in probate until 1788, although evidence suggests she died earlier. It bequeathed her household goods and wearing apparel to her daughter, NA, Prob 11/1163, 20 February 1788, Dorothy Taylor’s will. See also 18 August 1783 petition signed by “Francis Hickey, Administrator of the estate of Jonathan Card and Dorothy Taylor deceased,” NA CO 123/6, pp. 261–62 ff.

⁶⁷ William Roach and Sarah Card were married in 1785. “New York City Marriages, 1600s–1800s.” ancestry.com.

⁶⁸ 27 March 1788. Agreement between Jonathan Card and Francis Hickey. Private Papers, Vol. 1, p. 84. This agreement divided all of the deceased Jonathan Card’s slaves between his partner and son, except “Charles [the] Deaf Negro Man” and “Maria an Indian woman and her children” whose legal status was in question.

dren, who were inherited by his son.⁶⁹ Finding that this new master treated her family harshly, Maria filed a lawsuit asserting that she and her family had been wrongfully enslaved as they were Spanish subjects. Asked why she delayed seeking her freedom so long, Perez explained that “she lived happy till young Card, and his Sister came, who used her Children ill, [but] that she could...[have lived] all her days with Hickey.”⁷⁰ From Maria’s testimony it emerged that this was not her first attempt to secure freedom. A few years earlier she pleaded her case to a colonial official, who heard her saga sympathetically but took no action. He now vouched for her, noting that in his opinion “she is a free Woman and all her Children & that her not being at liberty many Years ago is her own fault owing to her happy Situation, not considering poor Creature that her Friend might die.”⁷¹

Thanks in part to his support, Maria Perez and all her offspring were freed. Rejecting an offer of repatriation to her homeland, she elected to remain in the Bay settlement because her family had “children and connections in the Country [and] they wished to remain there, provided they could be free.” She established her own household in Convention Town, applied to get a plantation ground, and set up a provisioning business.⁷² In 1789, however, colonial officials learned that Maria’s children had been kidnapped by an accomplice of the Cards who “went in the night time to Convention town where this family lived, and by force carried off the...children and put them on board of a vessel bound to America in Irons.” At the last moment her family was rescued from the ship and most probably from a Charleston slave market.⁷³ For the younger Card, “Colored Jonathan,” however, their manumission spelled a major setback—the loss of seven of his slaves at once. While around the same time, he freed and later married a woman named Lucretia and freed her daughter (likely his child), who had been owned by his father; that he would go so far as to arrange the kidnapping of the Perez family suggests how much was at stake.⁷⁴ Not only was his labor force depleted, negatively impacting his immediate earning power, but he also faced a significant blow to his long-term economic security. Already in a tenuous position as a man of mixed racial heritage, he would also have been

⁶⁹ Maria’s children were Frances, Lucinda, Clarinda, and Johanna; her grandchildren were Dorothy and Cuffee. NA CO 123/5, pp. 117 ff., 151, Maria Perez to Despard, 29 October 1787 [signed with her mark].

⁷⁰ NA CO 123/6, pp. 130–32 ff., 22 February 1788, Col. Lawrie’s report about Maria Perez.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² In 1790 Maria Perez is listed as head of an eight-person free household in Convention Town. NA CO 123/11, p. 261 f., “List of Inhabitants of Honduras...”

⁷³ NA CO 123/10, p. 163 f., Despard, “Narrative of the Public Transactions.”

⁷⁴ 27 March 1788. Jonathan’s Card’s Manumission of “a Negro woman my property named Lucretia together with her child Maria,” Private Papers, Vol 1, p. 72, Belize National Archives.

rightfully fearful that the loss would negatively affect his social position in the Bay, which hinged foremost on his stature as a large slaveholder.

As this case study reveals, the Card brothers, like many New Englanders, parlayed their connections in New England and the Bay of Honduras into opportunities as they learned how to maneuver between these very different worlds. Both brothers became slave owners and engaged respectively in multiple aspects of the mahogany trade, including such varied roles as woodcutters, timber shippers, merchants, slave traders, and mahogany consumers. With this reliable source of revenue James Card could have reasonably expected to graduate into the ranks of prosperous New England merchants. Before his death amidst the upheavals of war, Jonathan Card likewise had seemed secure within the privileged ranks of the elite white Baymen. Notably, his former associates, Hoare and Potts, both amassed considerable wealth in the post war years.⁷⁵

Yet as fate would have it, neither brother achieved his lofty goals, as their lives were cut short in the Bay. When James succumbed, his widow was left in Newport to raise their two sons, both of whom eventually followed their father's footsteps into the merchant marine. His probate inventory totaled only £38, including "1 Square table of Mahogany" and "1 Round Table of Mahogany."⁷⁶ After the elder Jonathan's death, his son redoubled his efforts to elevate his family's status within the Bay settlement's increasingly racialized social hierarchy, eventually surpassing his father's affluence, while ironically his former slaves meanwhile gained a new life of freedom. But as the two branches of the Card family diverged—in New England and in the Bay of Honduras—the familial and economic ties that once bridged the geographical and cultural distance between them were largely severed.

⁷⁵ NA Prob. 11/1463, 12 June 1807, Will of Thomas Potts; NA Prob. 11/1277, 18 July 1796, Will of Richard Hoare.

⁷⁶ James Card's estate was administered by his wife, 3 December 1774, Folder 8, MSS 1140, RIHS.