

## Unearthing the Contributions of Enslaved African and Indigenous Plant Knowledge in the Development of the St Vincent Botanical Garden during the Late Long-Eighteenth Century

Christina Welch, University of Winchester

This chapter will unearth the contributions of enslaved African people to the development of the St Vincent Botanical Garden (hereon the Garden), the oldest garden in the Western hemisphere, established 1765. With a focus on the time that Alexander Anderson was superintendent, from 1785-1811, and by drawing on his extensive archive and thus primary data, it will note many of the plant species growing in the Garden which were used by the island's indigenous population and for what purpose. It will do the same for the island's enslaved African people, highlighting their plant knowledge, but also unearthing their hidden contributions to the Garden both in terms of labor and horticulture.<sup>1</sup>

Please note this chapter contains direct quotes from documents of the era and these may cause offence.

In 1785 when Anderson took over running the Garden it contained just 60 plant species, most of which were useful, with circa 9 appearing to be exotic or ornamental (Welch & Finneran 2022; Appendix A). However, just 20 years later, his plant catalogue of c.1800 noted over 1,300 different plant species. Such growth was only possible because Anderson utilized the horticultural technique practiced by enslaved Africans in their provision grounds, of maximising tree cover to allow plants to thrive. The previous superintendent to Anderson did not employ this practice, and after Anderson's death, his successor superintendents chose to shift the Garden from a nursery that hot-housed mostly plants from the Americas, to a more European-style pleasure garden removing trees to maximise picturesque views.

---

<sup>1</sup> The research and transcription underpinning this chapter was funded by the UKRI; project Ref AH/W008505/1 'Unearthing the contribution of indigenous & enslaved African knowledge systems to the St Vincent Botanical Garden under Dr Anderson (1785-1811)'. Transcription of manuscripts unless otherwise stated was carried out by Dr Gabrielle Storey and Dr Christina Welch.

In terms of a brief history to the St Vincent Botanical Garden it is pertinent to note that it was established in 1765 two years after the island was ceded to the British by the French under the 1763 Treaty of Paris. The Island came under the control of the War Office with the establishment of a militia and the fortification of the Island beginning that same year. General George Melville (1723-1809) was installed as governor of the ceded territories and suggested the establishment of a Botanical Garden to, in effect, assist the British militia in retaining control of the Island; it is notable that the cannons in the fortifications pointed inland rather than out towards the sea, as the main threat came from the indigenous residents, at the time known as the 'Black Caribs' (now Garifuna) and to a lesser extent, the Yellow Caribs' (also known at the time as the 'Red Caribs', now Kalinago). Melville had six acres of military land cleared for the Botanical Garden and appointed the surgeon of the Island's military hospital, Dr George Young (unknown-1803), as Superintendent. As well as establishing the Garden, Melville instructed Young to obtain information about indigenous medicines from 'physical practitioners of the Country, natives of Experience and even old Caribs & slaves who have dealt in cures', even if this had to be paid for and went against Young's medicinal training (LinnSoc MS605, letter 23 Sept 1766). Because of this thrust it is perhaps of little surprise that of the 30 plant species growing in the Garden in 1773, 15 were primarily medicinal (see Fig.1). The remaining plants were either edible, or key to everyday manufacturing. It is unclear which, if any, of these plant species were planted in the Garden due to the information Young gathered from indigenous and enslaved people on the Island. The list was given to the English naturalist John Ellis (c.1710-1776) by Young himself when he visited England.

Cinnamon	E	Balsam Capavi	Me	Italian Senna	Me
Logwood	Ma	<i>Sefamum</i> ; or Oily Grain	E	Aloes	Me
Sufflower	Me	<i>Cassia Fistula</i>	Me	Coriander	E
Tumeric	Me	China Root	Me	Anniseed	Me
East-India Mango	E	<i>Gum Galbanum</i>	Me	Vanelloes [vanilla]	E
Paper Mulberry	Ma	<i>Simaruba</i>	Me	Dates	E
Scammony	Me	<i>Speglia</i> ; or Wormgrass	Me	Anatto	E
Colocynth	Me	Citron	Me	Guaiacum	Me
Rhubarb	Me/E	Bergamot Orange	Me/E	China Tallow-tree	Ma
Tobago Nutmeg	E	Bamboo Cane	Ma	The Plant on which the Cochineal Insect is found	E

Fig.1. Plants growing in the St. Vincent Botanical Garden as listed by Young 1773 (Ellis 1773:12) with usage by Welch, 2024. Me=medicinal, Ma=Manufacture, E=Edible

Young's superintendentship of the Garden was interrupted in 1779 when the French invaded St Vincent and gained control; the British retreated to the nearby island of St Lucia and Young returned to his work as a physician where he met with Alexander Anderson (1748-1811). Anderson was a Scot from Aberdeen who had quit his chemistry course at the University of Edinburgh in 1771 after just one year, leaving to work at the Chelsea Physick Garden in London under the horticulturalist William Forsyth who later became gardener to King George III. Examining baptism certificates, it is highly likely that his father was John Anderson, a gardener,<sup>2</sup> and that Anderson decided to follow in his father's footsteps than continue with his University education. However, by December 1774 he was setting sail for New York following his brother John (1745-??) who had emigrated to become a printer in the city. During his time in the Thirteen Colonies Anderson collected specimens of flora and fauna, and observed the medicinal use of plants by 'country people and Indians' (Kew MS, Letter 26 Feb 1778). However, due to the Revolutionary War, in late 1778 Anderson decided to head to Suriname and continue his natural history explorations there, but was captured and eventually billeted to St Lucia where he was employed as a hospital mate. Working under Young, Anderson was engaged to collect medicinal plants on the island (Howard 1992:2).

<sup>2</sup> His mother is most likely Joan Buchan

In 1783 the Treaty of Versailles returned St Vincent to the British, allowing Young to return to his position as Superintendent. However, according to Anderson's memoirs, during the French occupation, the Garden had become 'overgrown with weeds and bushes' and that the Hurricane of 1780 had caused some destruction. Anderson asserted that in effect, the place was now '...totally deranged & effaced... the ground...necessary to be remodeled [and] the soil rendered nearly barren by long cultivation, particularly exhausted in.... cultivating Indian corn & tobacco, which of all other products the soonest impoverished the land' (LinnSoc MS605). Young decided the work required to bring the Garden he helped establish back into productive use was too much for him and decided the superintendentship required someone younger, suggesting Anderson. Anderson's appointment was widely supported including by King George iii, who 'thought it fit that the Botanical Garden at Kingstown St Vincent, formerly under the care of Doctor Young...should be restored and cultivated under [Anderson's] immediate superintendence' (LinnSoc MS605, letter 2 Feb 1785). Letters of support also came from the British War Office, and Sir Joseph Banks, a naturalist and botanist, the President of the Royal Society, and an advisor to King George iii (LinnSoc MS605, letters 20 Jan 1785, 4 Feb 1785); these endorsements demonstrated the importance of the Garden to Britain as a colonial power. Seeds were to be sent via the East India Company to help Anderson re-establish the Garden and over the subsequent years it was reiterated that 'the chief object [of the Garden was]... the multiplying of those plants which may be usefull in Medicine & Commerce' (LinnSoc MS605, letter 21 July 1790).

Anderson took on the task of reestablishing the Garden with zeal. Effectively having a blank slate however, he was able to reshape the Garden according to his own practices, which meant cultivating plants other than those he was instructed to focus on - but with very good reason. In a letter dated 6 June 1786 to William Forsyth, who had been appointed superintendent to King George iii's royal gardens, he writes the following:<sup>3</sup>

... Sir Joseph Banks & Mr Adair [at the War Office]... seem to think I pay too little attention to the usefull plants but that is far from being the case. For the introduction of plants usefull in Medicine or Commerce are objects I always keep in view ...

---

<sup>3</sup> Transcription by Mil Reid and Dr Christina Welch

As to the idea of those plants whose properties are not as yet ascertained, being cumbersome to the Garden & taking place of more usefull is wrong, for it is absolutely necessary to get the ground as thick cover with plants as possible before the usefull will thrive, for there is no cultivating plants with success in this Country without screening them from the direct rays of the sun and retaining the natural moisture of the earth by shade, for which end I have been obliged to fill every part of the Garden that was open & exposed with fast growing plants, which prosper in all soil & situations... Shelter from the sun is as necessary here, as from cold with you... The most proper plan and is the one I should have adopted, had I possession of the Botanic Ground in a state of Nature to have let it remain nearly so for some years at least all the trees & taller plants should have remained and only clearing the underwood & vines and so sown my seeds & laid my plants with little trouble nor is there any thing more ridiculous than a spot of land intended for a garden in this Country to be cleared as in Europe and I have often viewed the nigroe gardens with surprise being filled with all kinds of vegetables in the greatest perfection while their masters garden was a bed of dry earth this I readily found to be from the nigroe tracing the footsteps of Nature, by leaving every tree that would shelter the labour of his hand, while his master acted the contrary. Whoever has seen a Tropical Country in a state of Nature, views with admiration the wise precautions nature has taken to guard her vegetable offspring and where the luxuriency of it far surpasses any thing of the kind in any other climate of the world, from the tallest tree to the most groveling vine, every individual mutually aids & supports one another. The spread of branch & thick foliage of the lofty tree protects the humbler plants from the scorching rays of the sun they in return cover the expanse of the earth and retain a perpetual moisture to nourish the roots of their protectors]so that in the woods of Tropical Climates there is a perpetual shade & moisture ... (Kew)

It is evident from this letter that Anderson was fully aware that gardening as one would in England would not provide results in the tropics, and in it he clearly acknowledges the horticultural skills of enslaved Africans. By copying this technique, by 'tracing the footsteps of Nature, by leaving every tree that would shelter the labour of his hand', Anderson was able to develop the Garden into a thriving nursery that hot-housed plants for the British

Empire. When Anderson took over the Garden in 1785 there were just circa 60 plant species (Welch and Finneran 2022:198 & Appendix A – 1 June 1785) but under his direction using the mode of horticulture he saw practiced by enslaved laborers, the number of plant species grew exponentially. Anderson sent a catalogue of plants growing in the Garden to Dr John Hope (1726-1786), a physician and Professor of Botany at the University of Edinburgh. Dated 9 July 1786, it lists circa 331 plants (NRS GD253/144/1/1-8);<sup>4</sup> in a little over 13 months Anderson's collection of plant species had grown by circa 450% fully justifying his adoption of the enslaved African horticultural technique.

The growth of the Garden continued; Anderson listed 515 plant species under cultivation in his 24 June 1791 catalogue (Kew MS – the first extant catalogue where Anderson separated the plant species growing in the Garden into distinct categories), 787 plant species in his 24 December 1792 plant list (Banks papers 56.02), 1,147 plant species in his catalogue dated to circa 1808 (LinnSoc MS607)<sup>5</sup>, and 1,377 plant species in his catalogue dated 24 September 1806 (Anderson 1807:191-212). Work done by the author and colleagues at Kew Botanical Gardens on the plant catalogues, suggests some double-listing of plants in the post-1800 catalogues, and as Anderson himself notes, plants that has not yet flowered, he could not ascertain (1806: 212), as such the plant species figures listed above must be considered indicative only. However, it appears that Anderson took the Garden from circa 60 plant species in 1786, to over 1370 in 1806, an increase of more than 2,180% in 21 years.

Although the Garden was established to focus on plants that were useful for medicinal purposes and commerce (that is plants that were edible, or had a purpose in manufacture – everything from plant dyes for cloth, to trees used in building wharfs for ships), Anderson over time moved away from useful plant species to focus on those deemed ornamental and exotic. Figure 2. shows the development of the Garden in terms of the increase of plant species, and also the change in make-up according to classification.<sup>6</sup> In 21 years, the number of non-useful plant species (here categorised as Exotics) rose from circa 10% in 1785, to

---

<sup>4</sup> My thanks go to the Hope Trust for granting access to this archive.

<sup>5</sup> For the Anderson c.1800 plant catalogue see The Linnean Society [https://linnean-online.org/view/collection\\_by\\_date/anderson=5Fmanuscripts/1808.html](https://linnean-online.org/view/collection_by_date/anderson=5Fmanuscripts/1808.html)

<sup>6</sup> Analysis of plant species by Dr Christina Welch and Dr Bob Allkin, Kristina Patmore, and Tiziana Cossu from The Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew, London

circa 68% in 1806. Meanwhile, those classified as Medicinal, and Medicinal and Commercial dropped from 36% in 1785 to 12% in 1806, whilst Fruits, and Esculents dropped from 15% in 1785 to 11% in 1806, and Valuable Woods, and other Economic Plants dropped from 30% in 1785 to 10% in 1806.

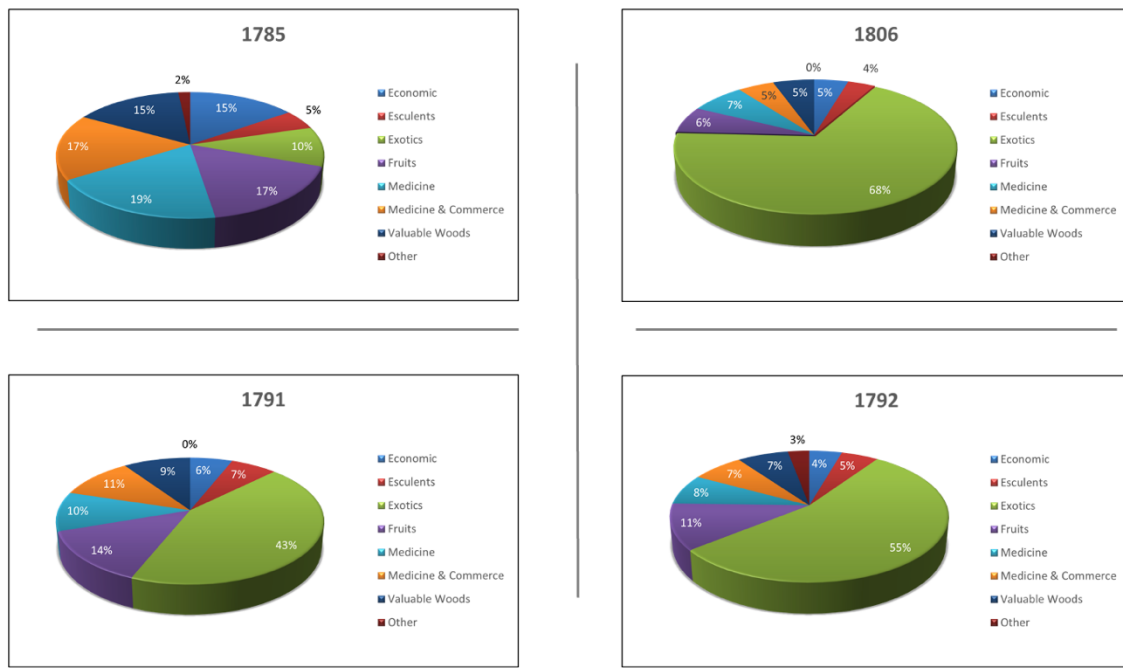


Fig.2. Make-up of the Garden from Anderson's plant catalogues between 1785 to 1806 in terms of classification of plant species

Over Anderson's time as superintendent, he gathered plants from all over the world with species being sent from various botanical gardens around the British Empire including the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew, the botanical garden on St Helena which was governed by the East India Company, and the Royal Botanic Garden in Calcutta. Further, Anderson received plants from personal contacts around the Caribbean, and travelled on plant hunting expeditions around the Caribbean and to Guyana. Figure 3 provides a not-for-scale map showing countries of origin Anderson lists for plants growing in the Garden, and a pie-chart detailing the percentage of plants from various parts of the world based on his 1806 plant catalogue.<sup>7</sup> As is fitting for the oldest botanical garden in the Western Hemisphere,

<sup>7</sup> Analysis of origins of plant species by Kristina Patmore, and Tiziana Cossu from The Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew, London, with map produced by Dr Christina Welch

the majority of plant species were from that part of the world, totalling total 64% with the largest quantity coming from the Caribbean region.

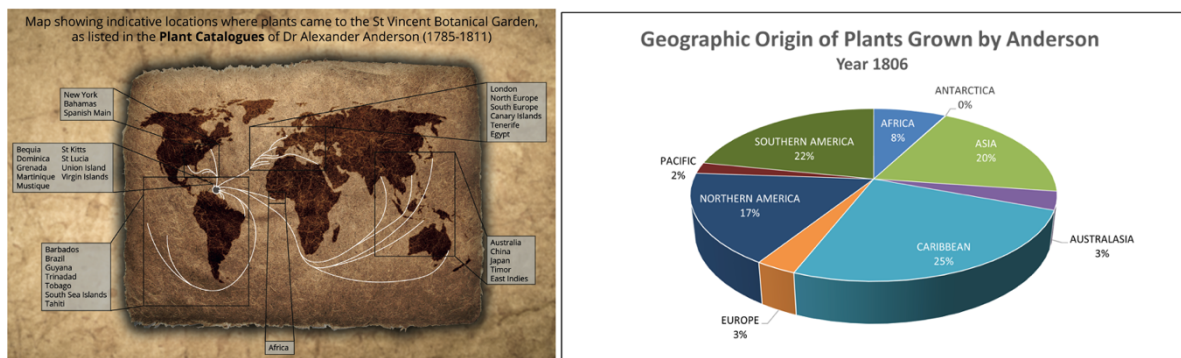


Fig. 3. The geographical origins of plants listed as growing in the St Vincent Botanical Garden in Anderson's 1806 plant catalogue, and a not-to-scale map naming the countries where Anderson claimed his plant species came from

However, it was not just Anderson's adopting the horticultural technique of enslaved Africans that led to the Garden's huge success, but also the labor of enslaved workers. The Garden's physical establishment in 1765 was due to the work on enslaved Africans who 'caused [land] to be broken up & cleared, hedged and fenced & then stocked [it] with the best Plants found in ... neighbouring Islands' (RSA PRMC104.10.132), and in his history of the Garden Anderson states that six enslaved Africans were permitted by the War Office to be hired for the re-establishment of the Garden in 1785. However, it seems that by 1785, African labors had only been acquaintance with cultivation in the cane fields and Anderson notes their need for training (LinnSoc MS605). By his 24 June 1791 catalogue, Anderson records that 16 acres were under cultivation and that 12 enslaved Africans worked the Garden (Uncatalogued MS at Kew Botanical Gardens), and as the Garden increased in size so did the number of workers needed. In his Catalogue dated 24 December 1798 Anderson records 17 acres under cultivation with 16 enslaved African workers, and by 24 June 1807 Anderson records 28 acres under cultivation and the employment of 21 enslaved African workers (TNA WO 40/4). These enslaved workers were primarily rented to Anderson with payment going to those who claimed ownership over them (TNA WO40/4). The cost varied according to their work, as enslaved labor was used to build houses on the site as well as for tending plants with (presumably as there is no documentation as to their duties) the more skilled workers having a higher charge; two receipts dated to January 1800 demonstrate this (TNA WO40/4):



Receipt to Elizabeth Alexander January 4, 1800; to hire of nine Negroes three months at 40 shillings

Receipt to William Walker Esq 17 January 1800; the hire of one negro three months at 66 shillings - to hire two ditto 36 days each at 2/2 ½ per day

Anderson notes in a letter dated 7 April 1792 that the cost of hiring enslaved workers to labor in the Garden is 'much less than in other departments of government and even that in estate hiring Negroes' (TNA WO40/4), and this may be because he uses some elderly and infirm workers unfit for the cane fields to in 'nursing...up and protecting from live stock while young' certain plants, such as East India spices (LinnSoc MS605). These men slept in the Garden in small huts, which a receipt dated 24 March 1800 (TNA WO40/4) shows were locked; we can presume from the outside to keep them in at night. A map held by the Linnean Society shows these huts (LinnSoc MS609/1)<sup>8</sup> and although the map does not include their provision grounds, there is manuscript evidence this adjoined the Garden (RSA MS60/30, letter 28 Feb 1813) meaning the men would have worked in the Garden during the day, and on their own plots in the evening.

Anderson personally claimed ownership over enslaved Africans who presumably worked in the Garden; in deeds of sale to Anderson dating to June 1793 and May 1794, the names of 10 men appear; Quashy, Quamino, Ovid, Sampson, Joseph, Caeser, Ochra, Davy, Moses, and Alick (EAP688/1/1/40, Deed Book 1793-1794). Further to this, there is evidence Anderson's wife Elizabeth also claimed ownership of enslaved Africans. In their marriage contract Maria and her three children, Chance, Frances, and Liverpool and named with Anderson agreeing 'not nor will at any time hereafter [their marriage] hinder or obstruct the said Elizabeth Alexander his intended Wife in having using and employing the said Negroes or Slaves' (EAP688/1/1/37, Deed 9 June 1789). From a diary entry made by a visitor to the Garden in February 1801, who noted that Mrs Anderson was 'from some accident made very deaf' (Liston 2020:38), it is highly likely that Maria and her children were vital to Elizabeth's life as a woman, wife, and later as a mother to their daughter. A diary entry made by Anderson's

---

<sup>8</sup> Map of the St Vincent Botanic Garden held at the Linnean Society; <https://linnean-online.org/170914/#?#/95&s=0&cv=0&z=-0.0179%2C-0.2196%2C1.1111%2C1.1588>

nephew during his visit 1799, notes that Elizabeth collected seeds from the Garden (in Pomeroy 2005:614), so it may well be that Maria and her children helped in that aspect of her life also. A letter written to Banks by one of Anderson's successor superintendents, George Caley, notes that 'some of Mrs Anderson's negroes had been brought up from their childhood in the garden' (Banks letters 2014, letter 184, 29 July 1818). As such it is evident that the work of enslaved Africans was central to all aspects of the Garden.

However, it seems one enslaved African was possibly more important than the others, and his name was Mazaran. Anderson purchased him for 10 shillings (sale recorded 30 January 1790) solely to work in the Garden, and to work there for perpetuity:

in trust to and for the Public use of the Botannick Garden aforesaid and that the Labour and Service of the said Negro be applied therein and thereto under the direction of the said Alexander Anderson and his successor Superintendents of the said Botannick Garden or Botannick establishment to the End and Intent that the said Slave Mazaran may be inseperably attached to, and comprise part of the said Publick Botannick Establishment and to for an upon no other trust or intent or Purpose whatsoever (EAP688/1/1/37, deed book 1789-1790)

The vital importance of this man to the Garden Anderson records in a letter dated 7 April 1793, where he notes that Mazaran almost died of dysentery and that his death would have been 'a great loss'. Thankfully, 'with great care & attention he is recovered' with Anderson stating 'He is a very usefull man' (TNA WO40/4).

Another very useful man to Anderson was his botanical illustrator, John Tyley, a mixed-race self-taught artists who Anderson employed for several years at the going rate for an assistant. Tyley produced a number of botanical illustrations, signing some of them which for the time was unusual. One of his best-known works today though is an image of an enslaved African man sitting under a Breadfruit Tree (Linnean 2021). Breadfruit is commonly believed to have been brought to St Vincent via Captain Bligh in January 1793, but Anderson records a plant coming from a contact in Martinique which by December 1792 was six-feet in height (Banks papers 1792). It is therefore perhaps of little surprise that by January 1795, just two year after their arrival, Bligh's breadfruit were producing fruit (Banks Letters 2011, letter 168 2 Feby 1795); the success of the crop was doubtless due to the botanical

knowledge of not only Anderson but the enslaved African workers who had successfully tended plant through its early stages of growth.

But as well as using enslaved African workers in the Garden, Anderson drew on their plant-based medicinal knowledge and also the medicinal and economic uses of plants by indigenous people; his c.1800 plant catalogues provides the most information, and Figure 4 shows the uses for three economic plants and three medicinal plants that he gleaned from his sources.

- **For Economic uses**

<u>Agave cubensis</u>	brought by Carribs from mainland; leaves macerated in water to destroy pulp gives longitudinal fibres for needlework & fishing lines
<u>Carribs aiounza</u>	interspersed in woods on Windward St V by Carribs; thrive in most places but best by margins of Rivulets; Introduced from Carrib grounds in 1789; used by <u>carribes</u> for their fine baskets
<u>Myristica americana</u>	common to Trinidad - first discovered on Tobago; introduced from Tobago & Trinidad by rivers with seeds on ocean to Leeward shores; juice is yellow and used for several medical intentions on the continent; oil of fruit <u>Aublet</u> says formed into candles

- **Medicine**

<u>Capiscums</u>	West India Gardens and <u>nigroe</u> grounds; Peppers are thought to be very wholesome in hot Climates, food for debilitated stomachs & aid digestion. Ripe fruit pounded or the powder mixed with salt and vinegar has been found an efficacious remedy for the putrid sore throat.
<u>Cissus cordiofolius</u> ; <u>Cissus Sicyoides</u>	Juice given internally is poisonous. The <u>nigroes</u> apply the young leaves to sores to heal them; great affinity between two plants. Makes excellent <u>tye tyes</u> for <u>nigroes</u> , in fastening temporary fences
<u>Gardenia Pentandua</u> <u>Monogynia</u>	Sent to AA by <u>Mr Aquart</u> of Martinico in 1787, from the continent; <u>Carrib</u> chief in St Vincent told AA the pear fruit roasted or baked in an Iron pot, and applied was an effectual remedy for that disgusting & infectious disease the yaws.

Fig.4. Information on Economic and Medicinal plants Anderson records as having gathered from enslaved African and Indigenous people (then called 'Carribs')

His 1791 plant catalogue includes a list of West India medicines (Welch & Finneran 2022: Appendix D) but in it he does not state is any information is gathered from the 'old Carribs & slaves who have dealt in cures' that he and Young were initially required to approach. In his account of the Garden, Anderson notes though that he used 'Indian guides' to help on his 1791 plant hunting-trip to Guiana (LinnSoc MS605), and other letters and reports speak of his use of enslaved labour to help him

Anderson, A. 1807. 'Catalogue of Plants in his Majesty's Botanical Garden in the Island of St. Vincent, September 24, 1806', *Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce* Vol.25: 191-212.

Banks letters. 2011 [1791-1798]. *The India and Pacific Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks* Vol.4 (edited by Neil Chambers). London: Pickering & Chatto.

Banks letters. 2014 [1810-1821]. *The India and Pacific Correspondence of Sir Joseph Banks* Vol.8 (edited by Neil Chambers). London: Pickering & Chatto.

Banks papers. 1792. 'Series 56.02: "A Catalogue of Plants in His Majesty's Botanical Gardens in the Island of Saint Vincent, December 24, 1792". Held at, New South Wales State Library <https://bankspapers.sl.nsw.gov.au/banks/section-09/series-56/56-02-a-catalogue-of-plants-in-his-majesty-s.html>

Ellis, John. 1773. *Some Additional Observations on the Method of preserving seeds from Foreign Parts, For the benefit of Our American Colonies with an account of The Garden at St. Vincent, under the care of Dr. George Young*. London: W. Bowyer & J. Nichols <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/190756#page/9/mode/1up>

Howard Richard. 1994. 'Eighteenth Century West Indian Pharmaceuticals' *Harvard Papers in Botany* 1(5):69-91.

Linnean. 2021. 'Decolonising our Collections: John Tyley and the Breadfruit Tree', *The Linnean Society of London*, 29 July 2021 <https://youtu.be/wbBJCNL500?feature=shared>

Liston, Henrietta. 2020 [1801]. *The Travels of Henrietta Liston; the journals of a diplomat's wife, 1796-1801 and 1812-1820*, *National Library of Scotland*. <https://digital.nls.uk/travels-of-henrietta-liston/>

Pomeroy, Jane. 2005. *Alexander Anderson, 1775-1870: wood engraver and illustrator; an annotated bibliography*. Newcastle Del.: Oak Knoll Press.

Welch, Christina and Finneran, Niall. 2022. *Interpreting the Indigenous and Imported Heritage of Medicinal and Culinary Plant Use in St. Vincent*, *Economic Botany* 76: 189-204.

Manuscript key

EAP; Endangered Archive Project, for St Vincent see <https://eap.bl.uk/project/EAP688>

Kew; Uncatalogued MS at the Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew

LinnSoc; the Linnean Society of London for Anderson Manuscript Collection see

[https://linnean-online.org/anderson\\_mss.html](https://linnean-online.org/anderson_mss.html)

NRS; National Records of Scotland

RSA; Royal Society of Arts

TNA; the National Archive, London

DRAFT