# Thomas Witheridge – Mariner and Slaver, Bristol Gary Oddie

The coin presented here is an outstanding piece of late eighteenth century engraving in miniature<sup>(1)</sup>. The host coin, possibly a shilling dating from the recoinage of William III, has been smoothed and engraved to act as a love token from the sailor Thomas Witheridge to his future wife, on his departure on the slave ship The Phoenix in 1772.



**Fig. 1.** Engraved shilling-sized disc – no trace of host coin. (Shown 300% and real size).

# Obv. THOS WITHERADGE \* THIRD \* MATE \* OF THE SHIP – PHŒNIX 1772 \*

Around, in the background, a design including a three masted ship sailing left under a radiant sun and shaded sky, and in the foreground a sailor and woman standing on land under a tree, her right arm on his shoulder and his left arm around her waist. His right arm is outstretched with a bowl (?) pointing to the ship. The man is wearing a sailor's outfit and hat and the woman a tight-waisted corset, dress and hat, both typically late eighteenth century.

Rev. A shepherdess with crook, sitting under a tree to the left, tending her flock, a dog seated at her feet. Two sheep in front of them and two swans on a pond in the foreground. In the background a group of farm buildings, one with smoke issuing from a chimney. Another tree on the right background, with birds flying in the cloudy sky. A bucolic scene – or the rural idyll.

This note will trace some details of the ship, its voyages, and the life of Thomas Witheradge. Note that whilst the engraved piece gives the name as Witheradge, all of the contemporary records have Witheradge or Witherage.

# The Ship - Phoenix

Identifying a particular ship from its name can be more difficult than identifying and tracing people. A first search for a ship called the Phoenix from this period resulted in the discovery of a harrowing tale of a slaving ship that was seriously damaged in a storm. Some of the slaves were released to help keep the ship afloat and when they became mutinous, many were killed. Another ship came to the rescue and saved all of the crew and the remaining slaves were left to sink with the ship!<sup>(2,3)</sup> The ship was sailing from the African coast to Chesapeake Bay with 332 slaves. However, this was in 1762 so cannot be a candidate.

The loss of His Majesty's Battleship Phoenix (along with several others) in a hurricane off Cuba in 1780 is also well recorded<sup>(2)</sup>, opening up the possibilities of a Royal Navy connection, along with the Merchant Navy.

To further complicate the search, the name Phoenix appears many times in the Lloyd's Registers, and the name of a lost ship would often be reused by shipping owners<sup>(4)</sup>. For the years 1768-71 the Lloyd's Register includes 2 ships with the name and in 1776 there are 8 ships and 8 barges called Phoenix in the main alphabetical list and another ship and barge in the late entries to the "P" section. Having been looking at this topic for some time, with hindsight, one of these ships now stands out under the Phoenix heading.



**Fig. 2.** Entry in Lloyd's Register for The Phoenix in 1776<sup>(4)</sup>.

Charles Taylor was the Master of the Phoenix, weighing 200 tons, built in Bristol in 1767, owned by John Powell & Co, and was running the Bristol, Africa &c route.

Further sources of records of shipping from Bristol in the 18<sup>th</sup> and early years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century are helpful. The first is a series of publications from the Bristol Record Society<sup>(5,6,7)</sup>. These give lists of various ships involved in the slave trade, each in a common format with the following header:

- (1) The tonnage and armament of the vessel
- (2) The size of the vessel's crew, both outward from Bristol and on its homeward journey, or otherwise specified
- (3) The place and year of construction of the vessel
- (4) The place and date of its registration
- (5) The master(s) of the vessel
- (6) The owner(s) of the vessel
- (7) The vessel's date of departure from Bristol or other (named) port
- (8) The vessel's recorded place or places of trade in Africa
- (9) The number or intended (\*) number of slaves shipped in Africa
- (10) The port or ports of arrival of the vessel in America
- (11) The vessel's date(s) of arrival at the port(s) in America
- (12) The number of slaves delivered to or sold at the port(s) in America
- (13) The date of departure of the vessel from its last port of call in America
- (14) The date of the vessel's return to Bristol or other known outcome to the voyage

One slaving ship, called the Phoenix had been taken as a prize of war. It was 100 tons, with 6 guns, of Spanish construction, but sailing under an English flag from Bristol to Angola and Barbados and can be traced 1738 to 1766. In that year the vessel was reported to have passed Anamaboe on its way to Bonny. It was also reported to have been in a sickly condition at Calabar in May 1766. The ship was then owned by John Powell & Co. (5) It is presumed that this ship has been lost, sold or renamed.

In 1767 a new and slightly heavier ship, with 6 guns, called the Phoenix, also owned by John Powell & Co is listed following the same route<sup>(6)</sup>.

PHOENIX	1767/21					
(1) 120 tons; 6 guns		(8) Guinea				
(2) 40	outward	(9)				
(3) Bri	tish	(10) Dominica				
(4)		(11) c.20 September 1767				
(5) George Bishop		(12)				
(6) John Powell & Co.		(13) c.16 December 1767				
(7) 26 March (pass 24 February)		(14) 28 (25) January (28 July) 1768				
According to its	According to its muster roll the vessel left Bristol with 32 crew and returned with 17. Three additional crew were enlisted					
at Guinea on 1 July. The vessel appears to have reached Dominica with 25 crew and to						
have discharged	have discharged 17 there between 20 September and 16 December. Nine new crew enlisted on 10 December.					

The ship repeated the round trip in 1768<sup>(6)</sup>, and again in 1770, 1771, 1772, 1774, and 1775<sup>(7)</sup>:

To the final fateful journey in 1782<sup>(7)</sup>:

(8) Calabar
(9) 430 (420)
(10)
(11)
(12)
(13)
(14) No pass returned

Letters of marque were declared on 4 October 1782 when the other owners of the vessel were named as Thomas Easton and Joshua Powell. It was variously reported overset when 'fully slaved' on the Calabar coast or two days after leaving the African coast for the West Indies, all its slaves, its master and 21 of its crew being drowned. The records show that no muster roll was obtainable for the vessel.

So far this is all circumstantial evidence – there was a ship called The Phoenix regularly sailing the Bristol, Africa, Americas triangle from 1767 until it sank in 1782. Lloyd's Registers can be used to fill in some of the gaps in The Phoenix records and confirm that the round trip was probably made annually<sup>(4)</sup>.

Date	Master	Owners	Running	Comments
1767	George Bishop	J. Powell & C	Guinea, Dominica	Launched, First voyage
1768	George Bishop	J. Powell & C	Calabar, Dominica	
1770	Thomas	J. Powell & C	New Calabar/	
	Borthwick		Bonny, Dominica	
	(Michael Bell)			
1771	Middleton Belt	J. Powell & C	?, Jamaica	
	(or Bell)			
1772	Middleton	J. Powell & C	?, Dominica	
	(William) Belt			
1774	Charles Taylor	J[ohn] Powell &	?, Jamaica	
		Co.		
1775	Charles Taylor	J[ohn] Powell son	Gold Coast,	
	(John Smith)	& Co.	Jamaica	
1776	C. Taylor	J. Powell & C	Bristol, Africa &c	
1778	Jn Smith	Powell & C	Africa Bristol	
1779	M Rdmnd	Powell & C	Bristol Jamaica	
1780	M Rdmnd	J. Powell & C	Jamaica Bristol	
1781	Redmond	Powell & C	Jamaica Bristol	
1782	Suthrlnd	Andrsn & C	Bristol Africa	Sank

Table 1. Details of The Phoenix, 1767-1782.

Another direct reference to a Thomas Witherage can also be found in the same source<sup>(7)</sup>.

ROYAL	CHARLOTTE	1784/11
NOIAL	CHARLOTTE	1/04/11

(1) 150 (140, 237) tons; 4 (14 or no) guns (8) Bonny (2) 40 outward and at Jamaica; 20 homeward (9)

(3) British (prize) (10) Kingston, Jamaica (4) Bristol; 26 July 1784 (11) 31 March 1785

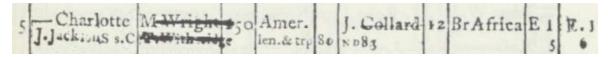
(5) **Thomas Witherage** (Joseph Jackson) (12) 377

(6) John Collard & Co. (13) 20 May 1785

(7) 19 August (pass 22 July) (14) 2 August (30 July) (1 December) 1785

According to its pass the vessel was bound for Africa and Jamaica. Its muster roll shows that it left Bristol with 43 crew and reached Jamaica with 32, though Parliamentary papers suggest it entered the island with 35. **Thomas Witherage** died on 20 August. Eighteen crew were discharged at Jamaica between 29 March and 19 April, and 7 new men enlisted on 15 May. It arrived at Bristol with 20 crew, one having died on the home run. It was reported to have passed Barbados on its way to Jamaica.

Searching Lloyd's Register for the period 1767-1784 for Wither(age) provides just one hit, confirming him to be master of the Royal Charlotte in 1784<sup>(4)</sup>.



**Fig. 3.** Entry in Lloyd's Register for The Royal Charlette in 1784<sup>(4)</sup>.

Two of the Master's names are crossed out suggesting the first Master of the Royal Charlotte was M. Wright, who was replaced by T. Witheridge and upon whose death, J. Jackson took over the post.

It would thus seem that Thomas had been promoted from Third Mate to Master at some point between engraving the token in 1772 and dying on board the copper-bottomed Royal Charlotte on 20 August 1784. That he had become master of a slaving ship adds weight to the suggestion that he was present on the slaving ship Phoenix.

Thomas's death onboard the Royal Charlotte just one day into the voyage must have been very unexpected, and likely caused by an accident rather than age or disease.

An alternative route to identifying Thomas Witheridge are the Muster Rolls for the ships that left and returned to Bristol during this period. Summaries of some of these have been presented above, but only include the name of the ship's master.

Some of the Muster Rolls can be found on the webpage of the Bristol based "Society of Merchant Venturers". The PORTCITIESBristol webpage includes low resolution images of some of the Muster Rolls<sup>(8)</sup>. One record is of particular interest; Muster Roll no: 35 in the muster roll book, September 1773 – September 1774. This is the Muster roll for the ship, The Phoenix, sailing from Bristol to Africa, 1772<sup>(9)</sup>.

With a little imagination and a squint, the fourth name on the list might be *Tho Witheridge* of Bristol.



Fig. 4. Muster Roll for The Phoenix, 1772. Thanks to and © The Society of Merchant Venturers<sup>(9)</sup>.

Further enquiries revealed that the original documents are held at the Bristol Archives, and it is here that more details of Thomas Witheridge's career can be found. Firstly, a readable image of Muster Roll 35<sup>(10)</sup>.

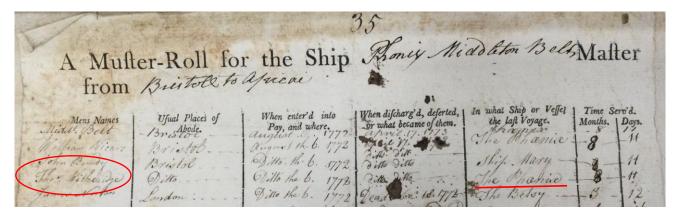


Fig. 6. Muster Roll for The Phoenix, 1772. Thanks to and © Bristol Archives<sup>(10)</sup>.

Following the Ship's Master, Middleton Belt, Thos Witheridge is the third name on the list, certainly an indication of his position on the ship and possibly Third Mate as indicated on the engraved coin. The voyage from Bristol to Africa lasted 8 months 11 days. Also of significance it is noted that the Muster Rolls also include an entry "In what Ship or Vessel the last Voyage". In the record above, Thomas Witheridge's previous service was also on The Phoenix. This is invaluable in piecing together the sequence of voyages, though is not infallible. The figure below show's Thomas Witheridge's previous journey on the Phoenix in 1771<sup>(11)</sup>.



**Fig. 7.** Muster Roll for the Phoenix in 1771. Thanks to and © Bristol Archives (11).

This gives his previous voyage on the Dominico Pacqu<sup>t</sup>, where the trail goes cold. There is a gap in the records for the Dominico Pacqu<sup>t</sup> in 1770, but Muster Rolls 92 (1768-69) and 1 (1771-72) make no mention of Thomas Witheridge.

Working forwards through the records, Thomas Witheridge is found on Muster Roll 7 for the Merlin (1780-81) and is second in command to Henry Webb<sup>(12)</sup>.

and a day	M	. 7			
A Must	er-Roll for	r the Ship	Mulin I	lenny Webb.	Master
from	even				
Mens Names	Ufual Places of Abode.	When enter'd into Pay, and where.	When discharg'd, deserted, or what became of them.	In what Ship or Veffel the last Voyage.	Time Serv'd. Months. Days.
Mary Webb	Britolo	December 31 177	4 angus 31-1	250 Novin Plants	8n 0 0n 8n0
Thomas weather	ng 0 10.	20	20	Tarlar	Sin 0 0 . X.0
John Neiter		Do	Do.	Do	81 0 0.8.0

Fig. 8. Muster Roll for the Merlin in 1780-81. Thanks to and © Bristol Archives (12).

His previous ship is listed as the Factor, but again the search goes cold, with no suitable ships found.

Thomas next appears as the Ship's Master on the Herbert in Muster Roll 18 (1781-82), where the connection to his previous voyage on the Merlin can be confirmed<sup>(13)</sup>. Note that this Muster Roll just covers the leg of the voyage from Nevis to Bristol, taking 4 months and 20 days.

			18.			
A Muft from	er-Roll for	the Ship	Herbar Thon	onne Withing	Mai	fter
Mens Names	Ufual Places of Abode.	When enter'd into Pay, and where.	When discharg'd, deserted, or what became of them.	In what Ship or Vessel the last Voyage.	Time So Months.	
Thomas M. Thomas	Bintol	May 21, 1781	October 1/2	Merlin	4	202
Thomas Toin				unknown	2	18.

**Fig. 9.** Muster Roll for the Herbert, 1781. Thanks to and © Bristol Archives (13).

Moving forwards in time, the next ship associated with Thomas Witheridge is the Royal Charlotte. When the ship had sailed in 1783, Lloyd's Register has Mungo Wright as ship's master<sup>(14)</sup>. Having been built by Collard & Co and launched earlier in the year, this was the ship's first journey. Note that whilst Lloyd's Register is a searchable pdf, the entries are not in strict alphabetic order and are often abbreviated.

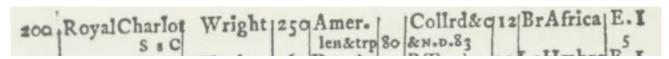


Fig. 10. Entry in Lloyd's Register for The Royal Charlette in 1783<sup>(14)</sup>.

The Muster Roll for this voyage of the Royal Charlotte is shown below<sup>(15)</sup>. This was the crew on 11<sup>th</sup> June 1784 having returned to Bristol from Tobago, after a total voyage lasting 11 months 3 days. Thomas Witheridge is second on the muster list after Mungo Wright, the Ship's Master.

Part of the second	Roll for the	e Ship hon	alphailo	Me, hungo weight	Master,
Men's Names,	Usual Places of Abode.	When enter'd into Pay, and where.	When discharged described, or what became of them.	In what it, y or Veffel the last Voyage.	Months Days.
MungoWright Tho Witheridge	Drital.	8 . July 1783	11 June 1784.	in Anies	11 3
Mine Lifter Miney Thyan	D.	Do		Jack Jack Jack Jack Jack Jack Jack Jack	11 3
Asuac Comer Alex. M. Donings	Lo	90.	Do Do	unknow.	11 3
Thomas Ryser John Mans	10 Do	20	Do	do	11 3
Ineph Packson	Do .	Do Do	. Jo	Hero.	113

Fig. 11. Thomas Witheridge returning on the Royal Charlotte in 1784. Thanks to and © Bristol Archives (15).

According to Lloyd's Register (Figure 3 above), the next voyage of the Royal Charlotte began a few weeks later, initially with Mungo Wright as Ship's Master. Wright was replaced by Thomas Witheridge who then died on 20<sup>th</sup> August and was replaced by J. Jackson. This is likely the Joseph Jackson who appears further down the crew list of the previous voyage (Figure 11).

The muster roll for the Royal Charlotte has been found for 1784-1785, but as it was completed at the end of the voyage, when the ship returned to Bristol on 30<sup>th</sup> July 1785, Thomas Witheridge is not named<sup>(16)</sup>. The following table summarises the records, including those naming Thomas Witheridge, that have been found in the Muster Rolls in the Bristol Archives.

	?	Dominica Pacq(ue)t	Phoenix	?	Factor	Merlin	Herbert	Royal Charlotte
1768	?	(Dell 02)						
1769	'	(Roll 92)						
1770		?						
1771		(Roll 1)	<b>Roll 181</b>					
1772		(Koli 1)	<b>^</b>					
1773			Poll 35					
1774			Roll 35					
1775			(Roll 199)					
1776				?				
1777			(D -11 127)					
1778			(Roll 137)			(Roll 131)		
1779			(Dall 40)		*	(K0II 131)		
1780			(Roll 40)			Roll 7		
1781			(Dall (1)			Kon /	Dell 10	
1782			(Roll 61)				Roll 18	
1783								Roll 142
1784								Kuli 142
1785								(Roll 90)

**Table 2.** Details of Thomas Witheridge's career c.1768-1784.

Bold red entries show muster rolls where Thomas Witheridge is named, red arrows indicate a cross reference and entries in parentheses indicate that a muster roll was checked, but Thomas Witheridge was not found.

# **Thomas Witheridge**

The name Thomas Witheridge is quite unusual, and even when allowing for variations in the surname (Witheridge, Witherage etc), there are not many candidates in the records. One possibility is the birth of a Thomas Witheridge on 27<sup>th</sup> Nov 1751 at East Down, near Barnstaple, Devon.

On firmer ground, a Thomas Witheridge married Christian Gill on 13th October 1776 in Bristol (17).

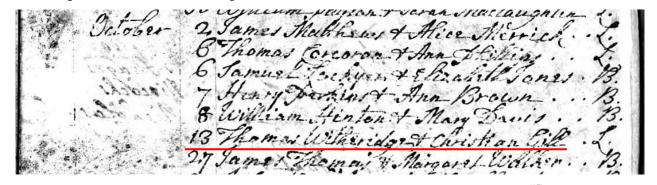
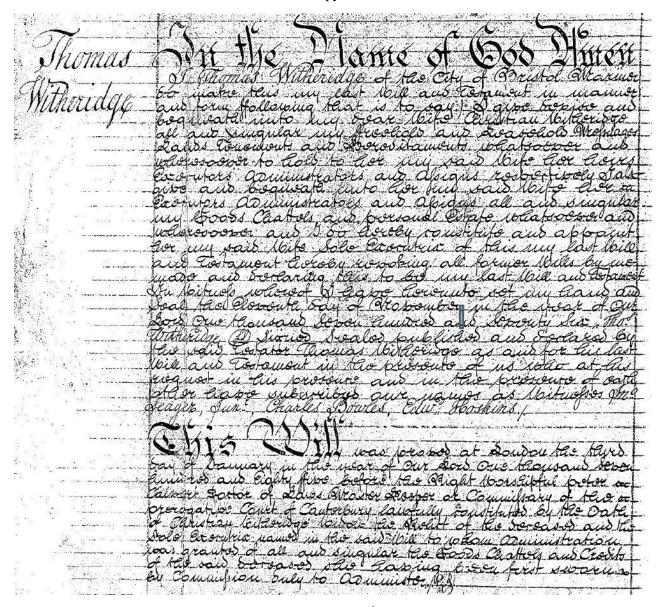


Fig. 11. The record of Thomas Witheridge's marriage to Christian Gill<sup>(17)</sup>.

There is also a record of a "Christ. Gill", baptised in Bristol 28<sup>th</sup> July 1755, child of David and Hannah Gill. The gender is given as male, but I suspect this is an error and assumption by the transcribers on reading "Chris.", which though rare, is also a female name.

The PCC transcript of Thomas's Will has been found and begins "I Thomas Witheridge of the City of Bristol Mariner". (18) In his Will he gives everything to his dear wife Christian Witheridge including "Freehold and Leasehold Messuages, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments", "Goods, Chattels and Personal Estate". The Will was written on 11<sup>th</sup> November 1776. The Will is very short and makes no mention of children or money, and is witnessed by Jn<sup>o</sup> Seager Junior, Charles Bowles and Edw. Hoskins. The Will was proved in London on 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1785. This is a copy of the proved will in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury records. In an attempt to

find the original and possibly Thomas's signature, the first enquiries to the Society of Genealogists and then The National Archives all reverted back to the PCC copy.



**Fig. 12.** .PCC copy of Thomas Witheridge's Will, proved 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1785. Thanks to and © The National Archives<sup>(18)</sup>.

However, the National Archives do hold approximately one million original wills. They are not indexed or scanned, but they are grouped by date and then sorted alphabetically, thus requiring a visit and manual search, with no guarantee of success. Knowing the date of probate narrows the search down to one box of Wills at the National Archives that might possibly contain the Will, PROB 10/2969<sup>(19)</sup>.

A few weeks later . . . .

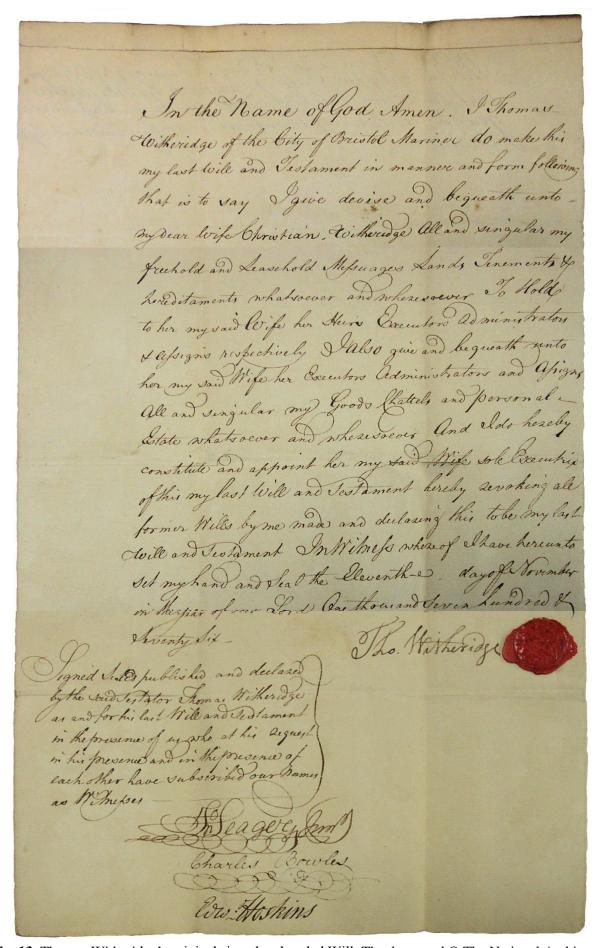


Fig. 13. Thomas Witheridge's original signed and sealed Will. Thanks to and © The National Archives<sup>(19)</sup>.

# **Loose Ends**

A further record gives the death of a Christian Witheredge in Bristol on 7 June 1821. The year of birth is given as 1754 and the gender male. This is a very unusual name combination and I suspect another assumption in the reading of Thomas's wife's first name. No Will or descendants have been found.

Interestingly, there are directory entries (1785<sup>(20)</sup> and 1787<sup>(21)</sup>) for a Thomas Witheridge operating as a "Master of a ship marine(a)" and then "Captain", based at King Street, Bristol. The way the data was collected, and the printing process often means trade directories can be a year (or more) out of date. These references are likely to the Thomas Witheridge who had died on board The Royal Charlotte in 1784.

# **Conclusions**

Thomas Witheridge was possibly born in East Down, near Barnstaple, Devon, on 27<sup>th</sup> Nov 1751. Having likely served an apprenticeship as a mariner, in 1771 the muster rolls show he was a crew member on board The Phoenix and by 1772 he had become the Third Mate, the same year the love token that prompted this note was engraved (shown in figure 1). The Phoenix was one of many slaving ships working between Bristol, Africa and the Caribbean, using the trade winds to make the annual voyage.

On the 13<sup>th</sup> October 1776 he married Christian Gill in Bristol, and his Will was written on 11<sup>th</sup> November the same year. Though there are a few gaps in his records, his presence on other Bristol-based slaving ships has been confirmed from the muster Rolls (The Factor and The Merlin) and he rose to be Ship's Master of The Herbert in 1781.

The slaving ship The Royal Charlotte was built in 1783 and on its return from Tobago in June 1784 the Muster Rolls show Mungo Wright as master with Thomas Witheridge as second in command. When the ship sailed again on 19<sup>th</sup> August 1784 something happened on the ship shortly after departure and Lloyd's Register shows Thomas Witheridge taking over as Ship's Master's from Mungo Wright. Thomas Witheridge then died on the 20<sup>th</sup> August, to be replaced by Joseph Johnson for the rest of the journey.

Thomas's Will was proved in London on 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1785, where he left everything to Christian, his wife. The ship returned to Bristol on 30<sup>th</sup> July 1785.

The signature and seal shown below are from the hand of Thomas Witheridge who, in 1772, gave the love token to Christian Gill, his wife-to-be.



# **References and Acknowledgements**

- (1) The piece, ex Fred Baldwin (mid 1960s) and David Young, has been on the author's "need to research this, but not making much progress" list for many years. Newly found online archives have recently allowed progress to be made.
- (2) Anon. *Thrilling Narratives of Mutiny, Murder and Piracy*. No date, but from the style of the binding and images c.1900. Includes "Wreck of a Slave Ship" pp212-213. And *An Account of the Loss of H.M.B. Phoenix* pp17-30. https://www.gutenberg.org/files/25982/25982-h/25982-h.htm
- (3) A. Vanner. *The sinking of the slave ship Phoenix*, 1762. 2016. http://dawlishchronicles.blogspot.co.uk/2016/01/the-sinking-of-slave-ship-phoenix-1762.html
- (4) <a href="https://hec.lrfoundation.org.uk/archive-library/lloyds-register-of-ships-online">https://hec.lrfoundation.org.uk/archive-library/lloyds-register-of-ships-online</a>
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  For those wishing to dig further, Richardson cites two primary sources which have not been checked: Felix Farley's Bristol Journal: 24<sup>th</sup> July, 14<sup>th</sup>, and 28<sup>th</sup> August 1784, 12<sup>th</sup> February, 21<sup>st</sup> May, 11<sup>th</sup> June, and 6<sup>th</sup> August 1785; Manuscript available at Bristol Central Library. And also the Cornwall Chronicle, 9<sup>th</sup> April 1785, (Published Montego Bay, Jamaica).
- (8) https://www.discoveringbristol.org.uk/
- (9) <a href="https://discoveringbristol.org.uk/browse/slavery/muster-roll62/">https://discoveringbristol.org.uk/browse/slavery/muster-roll62/</a>
- (10) Bristol Archives. SMV/9/3/1/7, Muster Roll 35 (Phoenix, 1773-1774). https://archives.bristol.gov.uk/indexes/musterrolls
- (11) Bristol Archives. SMV/9/3/1/6, Muster Roll 181 (Phoenix, 1771-1772).
- (12) Bristol Archives. SMV/9/3/1/8, Muster Roll 7 (Merlin, 1780-1781).
- (13) Bristol Archives. SMV/9/3/1/8, Muster Roll 18 (Herbert, 1781-1782).
- (14) https://archive.org/details/HECROS1783/page/n285/mode/2up
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- (17) https://www.ancestry.co.uk/discoveryui-content/view/1241911:61666
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- (19) PROB 10/2969. Wills proved during January 1785, surnames S-Z. Wills proved during February 1785, surnames A. <a href="https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/results/r?\_q=PROB+10%2F2969">https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/results/r?\_q=PROB+10%2F2969</a>
- (20) The Bristol Directory [for 1785] ... including Bedminster, Clifton & the Hot-Wells, 1785. Via Ancestry.
- (21) The Bristol and Bath Directory [for 1787] ... being the Third Number of the General Directory of England, Wales, etc. Via Ancestry.

As well as the usual genealogy websites FindMyPast and Ancestry, researching this token has really only been made possible through the great help of several archivists who answered my online requests and guided my searches. Lisa Holyoake and Caroline Chambers at the Society of Merchant Venturers, and Ginny Gilman at the Society of Genealogists, are thanked for the first steps in tracking down the muster rolls and the signed copy of the Will.

The biggest thank you goes to Alec Temple, Archives Officer, of the Bristol Archives at Bristol City Council, for working through Muster Rolls and directing me to their search engine. When you know where it is, it's obvious!

