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## **British Universities & Transatlantic Slavery: The University of Glasgow case**

Stephen Mullen

On 1 August 2017, the University of Glasgow commissioned an unprecedented study to examine its historic relationship with transatlantic slavery. After a year-long examination of the institution's archives, the report of 16 September 2018, 'Slavery, Abolition and the University of Glasgow', acknowledged the institution had benefitted from wealth derived from chattel slavery estimated between £16m and 198m (2016 values).<sup>1</sup> The institution simultaneously launched a programme - reported as a reparative justice initiative - that commits £20m over the next twenty years to a widely publicised partnership with The University of the West Indies. The University of Glasgow, however, has faced criticism for its intention to 'raise and spend' the sum via a research centre rather than repaying the descendants of the enslaved directly from core funds.<sup>2</sup> The reparative process between British universities and the Caribbean began with the All Souls-Codrington scholarship at Oxford in 2017, yet the unprecedented scale of both the evidence and institutional response at Glasgow provided further impetus to the national process.<sup>3</sup> In 2019-20 alone, the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Nottingham, Bristol and Aberdeen commissioned studies, some with permanent academic positions, to examine historic connections between these institutions and chattel slavery or colonialism in the British Empire. Whilst studies are underway, the historiography focused on British universities and transatlantic slavery is in an embryonic state.<sup>4</sup> This article, therefore, does two things. Firstly, it provides an overview of the University of Glasgow's rise in transatlantic context and the commercial eras in which the institution flourished. This contextualises the ways in which the university benefitted, financially and otherwise, and what the university did

with the income it received. Secondly, in order to inform other approaches, this article discusses the research methodology itself. This provides insights into the process of collecting and analysing the evidence on which the University of Glasgow report - and reparative justice strategy – was based. Current understandings about British universities and transatlantic slavery are shaped by the institutional relationship with owners of enslaved people. This article underlines the importance of merchant capital – in this case, via West India commerce - to the development of one institution.

### **Glasgow, Scotland and the British-Atlantic World**

The origins of Old College (now known as the University of Glasgow) is traced to January 1451, when the Bishop of Glasgow, William Turnbull, acquired a Papal Bull from Pope Nicholas V. Given Bishop Turnbull's involvement, the institution's early years were inextricably connected with the nearby Glasgow Cathedral. The Papal Bull itself acknowledged Glasgow as an appropriate place for a *studium generale* (university) in which the Catholic Faith could be advanced and men's intellect developed through the teaching of theology and arts, canon and civil law.<sup>5</sup> According to one historian, it was a relatively small institution for several centuries with only a minor impact on the local economy.<sup>6</sup> However, colonial commerce was to have a dramatic effect. Nicholas Draper stated 'every [British] university extant in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century is likely to have received gifts derived from slavery'.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps so, but of all British universities with antecedents in the period of British slavery (c.1600-1838), only Old College was located in a city that was rapidly transformed whilst closely connected with Atlantic slave economies.<sup>8</sup> As will be revealed below, in addition to gifts and bequests, the close proximity of colonial merchants to Old College had important consequences for its early development.

Scotland had a long economic relationship with chattel slavery. Whilst Scots had relatively limited direct involvement with the maritime trade in enslaved people, chattel slavery profoundly influenced the nation in other ways. As few as twenty-seven recorded ‘triangular trade’ voyages cleared Scottish ports between 1706 and 1766.<sup>9</sup> In that same period, over 1,500 transatlantic slave trade voyages departed from the English port of Bristol alone.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, Eric Williams’ *Capitalism & Slavery* makes clear the profits of the slave trade were but one flow of capital derived from the wider slavery economy: the Atlantic trades with North America and the Caribbean, as well as the personal fortunes of merchants, planters and economic migrants known as sojourners, all contributed to British development.<sup>11</sup> In Scotland, commerce based upon slave-grown imports like sugar, tobacco and especially cotton as well as exports to the Americas, such as textiles, not only created private fortunes but provided large scale employment. The view that slavery underpinned Scottish economic development has become the orthodox position in modern historiography. In 2015, T.M. Devine concluded that slavery and its commerce influenced Scotland – with a small population and rapid industrialisation - in a more profound manner than either England, Ireland or Wales.<sup>12</sup> In other words, it was the Atlantic trades, rather than the direct profits from slave-trade voyages, that powered Scotland’s eighteenth and early nineteenth-century economic growth.

The Union of 1707 opened up the Empire to Scots and Glasgow subsequently became the ‘first tobacco port in the realm’.<sup>13</sup> Around 90,000 Scots emigrated from the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland to settle in North America between 1700 and 1815.<sup>14</sup> Although patterns of Scottish slave-ownership in colonial America remains unquantified, Virginia, North Carolina and Maryland were noted Caledonian enclaves

prior to the American War of Independence (1775-1783), an event that ended Glasgow's monopolisation of tobacco imports from the Chesapeake. With the British West Indies loyal and open for trade, Glasgow's merchants ushered in the city's 'golden age' of sugar by refocusing on islands with existing Scottish networks, especially Jamaica, Grenada, and Trinidad. Subsequently, the Scottish economy was closely interconnected with Caribbean slavery, particularly via cotton imports and textile exports which stimulated the first phase of the Scottish Industrial Revolution.<sup>15</sup> Between 1750 and 1799, around 17,000 Scots travelled to the West Indies. Mainly young men, they hoped for quick profits and a rapid return to spend colonial wealth in Scotland.<sup>16</sup> Scots were involved at all levels in the British West Indies; as overseers, bookkeepers, attorneys, doctors, surveyors, merchants and especially planters. The UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* project quantified the disproportionate Scottish role in Caribbean slave-ownership. When the British Government abolished chattel slavery in 1834, £20m compensation was paid to slave-owners for the loss of their enslaved 'property'. Those living in Scotland were overrepresented amongst the claims from British residents, with a high concentration based in Glasgow.<sup>17</sup> The city's relationship with chattel slavery endured even after its abolition in the British Empire. Throughout the American Civil War (1861-1865), shipbuilding firms on the river Clyde produced fast ships – known as 'blockade runners' – for Southern planters, allowing them to beat the Northern blockades and continue exporting slave-grown cotton to Great Britain.<sup>18</sup> Thus, Scots were disproportionately over-represented in the Caribbean, and in various roles across the British-Atlantic world more generally, facilitating colonial commerce that profoundly shaped the nation.

### The Rise of Old College, and Colonial Alumni

The rapid accumulation of commercial fortunes in private hands - as well as the systemic impact of the Atlantic trades - had major implications for the British economy, society and institutions. The study of the legacies of slavery in universities provides the opportunity to trace the significant of the profits to learned seats of enlightenment.

Nicholas Draper suggests four historic relationships should be of interest. Slave-owning founders and benefactors are of some importance, evidenced by Eric Williams' example of Codrington Library at All Souls, Oxford. Draper's analysis suggested other potential streams of slavery-derived income: a British university as owner of enslaved people; 'faculty members' as slave-owners; and students as slave-owners. As such, Draper's model of university slavery-income is based upon evidence mainly related to individuals in *direct* contact with the institution who were *directly* involved with slave-ownership (although the presumed importance of mercantile connections was mooted).<sup>19</sup> This article here attempts to gauge the importance of colonial wealth – mercantile, planting and sojourning - to the development of the University of Glasgow.

Founded in 1451, before the imposition of chattel slavery in the New World, the initial development of Old College was not influenced by colonial wealth. Moreover, unlike many American universities, there is currently no evidence that Old College ever owned colonial plantations or enslaved people.<sup>20</sup> The university's students and alumni connections with the British Empire ensured slavery-derived wealth rested with the institution. An as yet unquantified group of Glasgow graduates took up positions across North America and the West Indies. With no medical schools in the latter region, many doctors educated at Scottish universities ended up working on sugar estates. Old College medical graduates would have been outnumbered across the Caribbean by alumni from the University of Edinburgh - one of the best medical schools in

eighteenth-century Europe – although there were some notable Glasgow examples.<sup>21</sup> And it was not only medical graduates who crossed the Atlantic. Matriculating at Old College in 1820, and after much deliberation about his future career, theology alumnus Robert McGregor Stirling arrived in the West Indies in 1829 and was dead in Trinidad within three years.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, many survived to become wealthy and at least six known gifts were donated to Old College by colonial returnees (not all of whom were alumni). Robert Graham (1735-1797) did attend Old College and was resident in Jamaica from the age of 16, returning around 1771.<sup>23</sup> Between 1785 and 1787, as Rector of the University of Glasgow, he was an absentee planter and owner of enslaved people. The printed legal records of a donation of £100 in 1788 revealed his motives: ‘from the regard which I have for the said College, and with the view of promoting the success and advancement of the members thereof’.<sup>24</sup> The largest sum from a colonial returnee was £10,000 donated by James Buchanan on his death in 1857, though only the interest arrived at the University of Glasgow (the capital was held in trust by the Merchants House, as will be explained below).<sup>25</sup> Staff seemingly benefitted too. In 1817, John Muir, a planter in Trelawney, Jamaica left £30 to John Young, Professor of Greek of Old College. Muir almost certainly attended his Greek class in 1804, although given Professor Young was one of the signatories of Old College’s petition to the British Parliament against the slave trade in 1792 - the first civic institution in Scotland to do so – the planter’s last wishes must have presented a moral dilemma.<sup>26</sup> Whilst the gifts from returnees could be substantial, this was not transformative to university development overall – although these bequests were not the only flow of colonial wealth.

Wealthy Scots in the British West Indies often sent young sons home for education, perhaps taking advantage of relatively lower costs. Fees were modest

compared to Oxbridge: in 1828, the average per year was £4 5s, rising to £9 by 1863.<sup>27</sup> The traditional pathway meant students tended to matriculate between the ages of twelve and fourteen and transatlantic business connections often provided a home for young students. In 1802, George Buchanan, a Scottish planter in Cornwall, Jamaica, appointed Glasgow-West India merchants David and James Connell to ensure his 'reputed son' George Goodin Buchanan received 'a genteel education with board and clothing'. George Buchanan matriculated in 1813.<sup>28</sup> He was not alone. Between 1736 and 1838, approximately 133 sons of the West Indies - mainly from Jamaica, Antigua, Barbados, Demerara, Nevis and Trinidad - attended Old College. Since approximately 14,037 students matriculated between 1728 and 1838, this was around 1 percent of the matriculated student population.<sup>29</sup> The figures revise upwards Richard Sheridan's estimates of eighty-four Caribbean students at the eighteenth-century Old College (and since not all students were required to matriculate, both are likely to be underestimates).<sup>30</sup> The presence of planters' sons, like Alexander Cuthill (or Cuthell), brought slavery wealth to Glasgow. Born in Jamaica in 1772 and arriving at Old College in 1786, Cuthill remained for several years. He died on a return to Jamaica in 1807, bequeathing a substantial legacy of £7,000 to his Scottish wife's family.<sup>31</sup> Beyond economics, the presence of so many individuals must have added pro-slavery voices to the classrooms of Old College and the clubs and taverns of Glasgow.

The relationship between Old College and Glasgow's resident colonial merchants, however, was not always cordial. In *The defects of an University education and its unsuitableness to a Commercial People* (1761), the Minister of Govan, Rev. William Thom, launched a scathing attack on Old College's suitability in a burgeoning commercial environment:



Founded and designed purely or chiefly for the sake of that theology which was in vogue two or three hundred years ago: Some of the classes bear evident marks of this original design, being either totally or in part calculated for the disputes and wranglings of divines, and of little use to the lawyer or physician, and still less to the merchant or gentleman.<sup>32</sup>

The supposed disconnect between gown and the town's merchants is underlined in modern historiography. According to the classic account of Old College's matriculated students between 1740 and 1839, only around 12-14 percent went onto to work in 'industry and commerce'. However, students whose father's occupations were in the same sectors rose from around a quarter in the 1740s to almost fifty percent in the 1830s.<sup>33</sup> Thus, one historian argued the university channelled students from industrial and commercial backgrounds into professional occupations, especially teaching, law and medicine.<sup>34</sup> Obviously, as industry and commerce were conflated in these findings, the study was not sensitive enough to ascertain the exact numbers of young men entering the institution who later took up commercial pursuits.

Old College hosted many of Glasgow's famous colonial merchants in their youth. Around sixty-eight colonial merchants, principally 'tobacco lords', are estimated to have attended Old College between 1728 and 1800.<sup>35</sup> Around fifty-five West India merchants and planters of Glasgow, known as the 'sugar aristocracy', are known to have matriculated at Old College between 1737 and 1825.<sup>36</sup> The case of James Ewing of Strathleven, a West India merchant prominent amongst the latter grouping, will be explored in more detail below. Although comparisons between mercantile groups and slave-owners is imperfect, Draper estimates almost 400 of the latter matriculated at Oxford or Cambridge between 1763 and 1834.<sup>37</sup> These figures reveal Old College's substantial role in developing the city's merchants, although questions remain how significant colonial merchants were to the development of Old College.

Glasgow's eighteenth-century commercial growth initiated a dramatic increase in local population and, for one historian of university finances, the student body became another key generator of income.<sup>38</sup> Many colonial merchants sent sons to the institution. Fifty-nine sons of Glasgow's 'tobacco lords' attended in the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries.<sup>39</sup> And over one-hundred sons of West India merchants and planters matriculated in the same period, meaning 164 students attended Old College whilst their fathers were involved with Atlantic commerce in Glasgow.<sup>40</sup> Alongside the students from the Caribbean who matriculated (described above) almost 300 students attended Old College whilst their fathers were involved with slave economies. Whilst the sons of colonial merchants and planters were an everyday feature of Old College life, this was a small proportion (around 2 percent) of the c.14,000 students who matriculated between 1728 and 1838.<sup>41</sup> Even so, whilst Old College might not have been an appropriate venue for commercial training, many colonial merchants did matriculate and subsequently sent sons in increasing numbers, ensuring their wealth passed through the institution into the Victorian period. Glasgow's merchants also contributed to the wider development of the city, which meant more colonial wealth passed into the institution's coffers in hitherto unseen ways.

#### **The 'Merchant City' and Old College Expansion**

The collaborative interplay between commerce and enlightenment thought in eighteenth-century Glasgow is well-known, particularly Adam Smith's genial relationships with local merchants between 1751 and 1764. Beyond the contributions of John Glassford and other 'tobacco lords' to the Foulis Academy, however, the impact of mercantile wealth on Old College has received scant attention.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, whilst noting the importance of students increasingly drawn from the nearby merchant city, popular

and academic accounts of the university have disregarded the significance of colonial wealth.<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless, the transformation of the city of Glasgow via colonial commerce had profound implications for Old College.

When historian of Old College finances Paul L. Robertson stated ‘the local business community contributed significantly to the development of the University of Glasgow, even before 1914’ he was, of course, accurate but the provenance of such wealth has never been properly scrutinised.<sup>44</sup> Like many other British universities, Old College received grants, gifts and subscriptions from the Crown, town councils, former students and staff.<sup>45</sup> In 1784 – the first year that detailed financial records are available - income was derived from four main sources: ‘Ordinary Revenue’; ‘Archbishopric Revenues’; ‘Subdeanery Revenues’; ‘Supplementary Revenues’. Firstly, ‘Ordinary Revenue’ was generated from mortifications under James VI’s *Nova Erectio* charter which consisted of teinds (tithes) on grain from local parishes. This arrangement lasted from 1577 until 1858. Secondly, in 1696, Old College was granted a ‘tack’ (lease) on revenues from local parishes that the Archbishopric of Glasgow formerly received. This lasted until 1825 and was based on tithe income from land in local parishes such as the Barony. Thirdly, from 1670, income from the Revenues of the Subdeanery of Glasgow (including parishes of Monklands and Calder), and, fourthly, the increase in profits from the first three categories were known as ‘Supplementary Revenues’. Despite access to multiple streams of income, Old College still had an ‘erratic fiscal record’ in 1801.<sup>46</sup>

A report to Royal Commissioners (1826-1830) noted a transformative strategy had been implemented at Old College from 1784. Whilst the main income remained teinds from local parishes, funds accrued from the purchase of heritable property, as well the acquisition of government shares and public undertakings. The university also

lent mortgages secured on heritable property as well as personal bonds on turnpike roads. In the 1820s, substantial revenue was derived from the sale of heritable property, from donations and legacies, as well as the repayment of loans. This diversification produced remarkable results. Between 1784 and 1824, all income streams doubled (except Archbishopric revenues, which only rose modestly). Bolstered by interest accrued from bonds and loans, 'Supplementary' income increased by an astonishing factor of four.<sup>47</sup> Old College's increased capital – augmented by a Government grant of £2,500 and a donation of £11,000 from Robert Hamilton, a 'merchant in China and India' - underwrote infrastructure development and urban expansion. Between 1813 and 1831, the Hamilton building opened, as well as the Common Hall, new surgery facilities and a Chemistry building. A contribution to the Royal Botanic Institute provided the Professor of Botany with teaching space.<sup>48</sup> The institution profited in various ways from the British colonialism and - like the nation more broadly - acknowledgement of the profits of slavery could mark the first step in a wider imperial reckoning.

Overall, university revenue approximately doubled during Glasgow's 'golden age' of sugar (c.1790-1838).<sup>49</sup> Explanation for the rise between 1784 to 1824, at least in part, lies in the improvement of the local region by Glasgow's colonial merchants. As this group acquired fortunes, the most successful consolidated their status through the purchase and improvement of land. Between 1770 and 1815, the Barony of Glasgow was home to twenty-seven colonial merchants in possession of thirty-three estates, and Renfrew was home to sixteen merchants in possession of twenty-two estates.<sup>50</sup> Thus, based upon rights to tithes as noted above, Old College claimed income in several parishes - the Barony and Renfrew included – whose resident colonial merchants were intent on improvement which served to maximise agricultural outputs and income. The

increase in the extent and value of landholding did not go unnoticed in the quadrangles of Old College.

In 1785, James Hill was appointed university factor and, as a lawyer, managed the accounts with some precision. The new factor realised the College was not receiving sufficient income from land then yielding more wealth and that revenue would be dramatically increased by re-examining payments due by landowners in the parishes of Govan, Renfrew and Kilbride.<sup>51</sup> Two legal advocates confirmed their case, although the heritors in parishes, especially Govan, avoided settlement for many years.<sup>52</sup> It can hardly be coincidence the first summons was executed against two colonial merchants of some repute, Robert Houston Rae of Little Govan and James Ritchie of Craigton. After a long legal battle, the case was settled favourably for Old College in late 1798 which established a precedent. Hill immediately received an extraordinary reward of 120 Guineas.<sup>53</sup> After the success in Govan, the College factor approached heritors in Renfrew and Kilbride. In 1798, Mr Spiers of Elderslie agreed to pay £110 a year.<sup>54</sup> Archibald Speirs inherited the lands from his father, a famous 'tobacco lord' whose companies imported 20 percent of all tobacco landed on the Clyde from Virginia and Maryland in 1774-5.<sup>55</sup> In the early 1800s, West India merchant Archibald Smith paid around £17 per annum for his estate of Jordanhill. The legal proceedings raised by Old College suggests this was insufficient and, although the outcome is unknown, it almost certainly resulted in a positive result for Hill.<sup>56</sup>

Whilst drawing income from colonial merchants, Old College also acted as a mercantile creditor. On 31 May 1808, John Gordon borrowed £5,000 from the College of Glasgow via a heritable bond, presumably to help fund the purchase of Aikenhead estate for £22,000 which it was secured upon. Gordon was a partner in Stirling, Gordon

& Co., a major firm whose vast profits from the import of sugar grown in Jamaica underpinned co-partners' fortunes.<sup>57</sup> Thus, Old College flourished with the annual harvesting of crops across the Atlantic world; grain on merchants' estates in the west of Scotland, tobacco grown by enslaved people in Virginia and sugar cane grown by enslaved people in Jamaica.

In addition to payments from local heritors (many of whom were colonial merchants), gifts, mortification and bursaries donated directly to the University of Glasgow by individuals with connections to colonial slavery were also of some importance (as will be illustrated in more detail below). Research for 'Slavery, Abolition and the University of Glasgow' (2018) revealed sixteen bequests and gifts with clear connections to New World slavery were donated by individuals between 1697 and 1937. Three of these were non-financial (books, scientific and medical equipment). Of the thirteen that were financial, some were donated directly whilst a minority were held and managed by external institutions. Not all generated an annual income but many did - in the slavery period and beyond. As best can be judged from incomplete data, the annual income from such endowments in the 1870s and 1880s was c.£315 per year. After the addition of the Ewing/Buchanan bequest in 1909, this rose to £565.<sup>58</sup> The University's total annual income from endowments in 1875 was £6,300,<sup>59</sup> which suggests that gifts derived in part from slavery provided around 5-8% of the total endowment income in the later nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Whilst not an unsubstantial number, measuring the significance of the historic slavery-wealth via the small percentages of annual endowment income is problematic. The Bellahouston bequests were donated from 1892 for various purposes. Most of these did not generate annual income: they were usually capital grants for specific purposes

such as the £12,620 for the ‘erection and equipment’ of The James Watt Engineering Laboratories and the Chair of Civil Engineering and Mechanics in 1899-1900.<sup>60</sup>

Ironically, James Watt’s personal connections with chattel slavery (and his own gift to the University of Glasgow in 1808) have also recently come to light.<sup>61</sup> In summary, Old College profited in multiple ways from wealth derived from slavery: through the attendance of sons at the institution, from the annual teinds of merchants in local estates, and via gifts and mortifications which the institution profited from historically and continues to do so up to present day. This article now turns to the methodology that estimates the contemporary values.

#### **Transatlantic Slavery and Old College’s Gifts, Bequests and Mortifications**

The national conversation around the legacies of slavery has gathered momentum in the twenty-first-century. The 2007 bi-centennial of the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act marked a watershed moment for Britain’s memory of slavery. The event ‘reopened’ questions about the slave trade and plantation slavery, explaining the explosion of academic and popular interest that has followed since.<sup>62</sup> British universities have gradually come into focus. The examination of slavery and the university has been led from the United States: institutions such as Brown and Georgetown have interrogated past institutional connections with slavery.<sup>63</sup> Yet until fairly recently, British universities have avoided similar questions about sources of historic income. However, the Rhodes Must Fall protests in South Africa in 2015 sparked what has become known as the Decolonising movement; influencing student-led strategies in British universities that have come to challenge the Eurocentric domination in curricula and the lack of diversity within the British academy.<sup>64</sup>

Consistent with international developments, Scotland's historic connections with chattel slavery have attracted considerable attention in recent years. Black led anti-racist groups in Glasgow - rather than historians or universities - initiated the public conversation around the city's historic connections with slavery. Glasgow Anti-Racist (GARA), now the Coalition for Racial Equality and Rights (CRER), have co-ordinated Black History Month from 2001. Various events have examined the city's connections with slavery since then, contributing to greater public awareness about the significance to regional and national development. As one of Britain's ancient universities with antecedents in the slavery period, the University of Glasgow's historic connections with slavery were eventually queried. Initial questions to the University of Glasgow were posed by a Black-led community group, Flag Up-Scotland Jamaica, now chaired by Graham Campbell, prominent African-Caribbean activist and current City Councillor in Glasgow. In response, the 'Slavery, Abolition and the University of Glasgow' study was launched on 1 August 2017. The first public acknowledgement of this research was published in the *Scotsman* newspaper on 24 September 2017.<sup>65</sup> The study itself had an internal committee comprised of Clerk of Senate, University staff and the chaplain, as well as students, including African-Caribbean scholar, Marenka Thompson-Odlum, who is now a Research Associate at the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. The external advisory group was comprised of three internationally recognised African-Caribbean scholars; Cllr Graham Campbell (Glasgow City Council - Springburn/Robroyston Ward 17; Project Leader Flag Up Scotland Jamaica), Sir Godfrey Palmer (Emeritus Professor, Heriot-Watt University) and Prof. Sir Hilary Beckles (Vice Chancellor, University of the West Indies). Hilary Beckles, of course, is a distinguished historian and also the author of the manual for U.K.- Caribbean reparative justice.<sup>66</sup> The University of



Glasgow's reparative justice initiative was undertaken in collaboration with figureheads of the African-Caribbean communities in Scotland and the Caribbean. Graham Campbell has since described the initiative as a 'memorable act of reparative justice'.<sup>67</sup> On the other hand, the method of external consultation has attracted comment. At the recent 'INOSAAR Roundtable on Universities & Reparative Justice', Dr Nicola Frith, leading expert on reparative justice, noted the University of Glasgow's consultation was limited to a 'few selected individuals'. Frith also warned any British university that does not widely and transparently consult with communities of reparations interest, both internally and externally, may not 'truly call itself reparative'.<sup>68</sup>

The first step of the process – ascertaining the evidence - was undertaken by Scottish-based historians (Prof. Simon Newman and myself) and the remit was, at first glance, straightforward: to ascertain the nature and extent of the institution's economic connections with chattel slavery.<sup>69</sup> Like many other universities across Great Britain, Old College's income – as noted above - involved, alongside student fees, public donations and subscriptions for student scholarships and one-off developments.<sup>70</sup> Whilst these were typical sources of income, a permanent institutional relocation of the institution *was* unusual amongst the ancient British universities. The move began in 1866 - thirty-two years after slavery was abolished in the British West Indies and the year after slavery was ended in the United States of America - so the public subscription campaign was of interest. This set the parameters of the study: bequests and scholarships, students with familial connections to chattel slavery, as well as subscription gifts for one-off developments.

The foundational discussions that shaped the study were centred around what constituted a 'slavery connection'. The scope was governed by Glasgow and Scotland's

imperial history: if the source of wealth of any donor to the university was derived in whole or in part from the following activities, they would become of interest:

- a) Donors involved in the slave trade, or plantation slavery or as sojourners across the British Empire, or claimants of Government compensation in 1834.
- b) Owners of enslaved people in Great Britain.
- c) Merchants involved in importing slave-grown produce such as cotton, tobacco or sugar.
- d) Profiting from ancillary industries such as shipping, or the export of goods such as textiles to the Americas.
- e) Involved as financiers or insurers with connections to the slave trade or plantation slavery.
- f) Donors who inherited wealth derived from any of the above activities.

The study of Old College was overtly focused on the economics of chattel slavery and its legacies.

Gifts, bursaries and donations were received by the university over centuries, and modern cataloguing of archival material related to the donations made identification easier. The university archive lists contain details of approximately 200 gifts to the University of Glasgow. The main focus was on the period of racial slavery, that is c.1600 to 1838 for British slavery and 1865 for American slavery. Based on chronological scope, around forty gifts donated to the University of Glasgow were initially deemed of interest. It was almost immediately established that the university benefited from slavery-derived income. A university website, online for several years, denoted that the Ewing Prize was established by £100 donated in 1827 by ‘Glasgow merchant James Ewing of Strathleven (1775-1853), undergraduate in Arts 1786-90, LLD 1826’. As is now known, Ewing was the de-facto head of Glasgow’s West India

interest, a West India merchant, an absentee Jamaican planter and claimant of compensation in 1834.<sup>71</sup> At the peak of his influence in 1826, the university awarded him an LLD. In response, he donated £100 and personally approved the purpose: ‘for the best philosophical essay on a historical subject’.<sup>72</sup> The Ewing prizes are still awarded annually to postgraduates, rotating between Medieval and Modern History. Since Ewing authored historical works himself, he obviously intended his wealth should help create generations of historians in perpetuity.<sup>73</sup> The university’s economic relationship with chattel slavery had been hidden in plain sight: it simply required historians to follow wealth expropriated, in this case, from enslaved people on Jamaican sugar estates to modern classrooms in Glasgow.

A bespoke verification methodology evolved. Firstly, printed matriculation lists were scoured to identify if donors had been students and of so, when they matriculated and in what years. Due to the admirable work of William Innes Addison, an early twentieth-century University Registrar, the albums often yielded extra details.<sup>74</sup> Addison’s albums provide student names, year of matriculation, father’s names and often additional details such as places of death and familial relationships. Secondly, names of donors were cross-referenced with the records of pro-slavery lobbying group, the Glasgow West India Association, as well as tobacco, sugar and cotton merchants in existing historiography.<sup>75</sup> The *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership* project provided names of claimants of compensation in 1834. From initial scoping work on the forty cases, key individuals and bequests were prioritized for detailed archival research. Thirdly, family papers, archival holdings and relevant historiography, where available, were examined to verify direct and unambiguous economic connections to slavery.

With direct or familial connections to slavery verified, the question of value of gifts and mortifications – at the time, and income accruing to present day - became important questions. The logic here was obvious; if invested and managed properly, as many institutions do, capital is never extinguished. Bequests generate annual interest and the income can be used for scholarships and other purposes. During the initial research on several examples, a working methodology evolved to answer the broader questions:

- 1) Firstly, establish whether or not the donor or his/her family had profited from slavery, ideally through legal records or personal correspondence.
- 2) Estimate the size/proportion of this slavery wealth/profit. Did it account for all, most, some or just a small portion of wealth?
- 3) As far as possible, identify descendants of those who inherited slavery wealth.
- 4) Assess the size of the bursary, endowment at the time of donation.
- 5) Provide contemporary estimates of the current value of the gift when originally made, and of the value of all income generated by the gift between the date of donation and the present.

The first part of the process – verification – was assisted by antiquarian text *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships, and Other Foundations, in the College and University of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1850) which provided full transcriptions of certain deeds. For example, the first known donation of slavery wealth to the university was in 1697 with £100 gifted by David Brown in America: ‘I give and bequeath unto the Colledge of Glasgow as a memoriall and support of any of my relations to be educated therein’.<sup>76</sup> Modern historiography confirmed Brown was a pioneering tobacco merchant in Somerset County in Maryland and therefore some of his wealth was derived from slavery.<sup>77</sup> Other records reveal how the Old College senate courted the favour of alumnus as their imperial careers progressed. Robert Dinwiddie was a merchant who

became Collector of the Customs for Bermuda in 1727 and Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, 1751-1758. University senate minutes of 20 December 1754 hoped to benefit from his advanced standing:

It would be very proper to confer the Degree of Doctor of Laws...both as he was an Alumnus of this Universitie and a native of this city, and as being a person who by the high office he bears, does honour to both, and may have occasion to promote their Interest.<sup>78</sup>

Dinwiddie formally accepted in September 1755, thanking the Senatus of the University with a response that modestly included details of his career.<sup>79</sup> A biography confirmed Dinwiddie's ownership of enslaved people in colonial Virginia before 1769.<sup>80</sup> On his death in 1 August 1770, Dinwiddie bequeathed £100 to the University, which Principal Leechman immediately chased up in a letter to his widow Rebecca 'desiring [her] concurrence' in the disposition of the legacy which was used for books in the university's library.<sup>81</sup>

There were challenges in tracing the flow of intergenerational wealth that underpinned some donations, which were resolved by examining probate material and newspaper sources. The Bellahouston bequest to the University of Glasgow was the largest of its type, representing around forty-five percent of the acknowledged slavery-derived income. This was not one individual bequest, but several, accepted over many years from a trust established in 1892. Whilst some bequests were specifically intended for the institution, different applications were made for bespoke purposes, including infrastructure development and academic appointments. The initial source of the wealth was Moses Steven senior (1749-1831) a partner in two Glasgow-West India merchant firms. *The London Gazette*, on occasion, provides partnership records and Moses Steven was listed as a partner in Buchanan, Steven & Co. in February 1784.<sup>82</sup> He purchased the estate of Polmadie in 1805 which elevated his social position and facilitated marriage

above his rank, to Janet Rowan, the daughter of the laird of neighbouring Bellahouston estate. Janet's brother, Stephen Rowan was also a notable West India merchant in Glasgow.

The intergenerational transmission of wealth was established by examining wills, testaments and inventories. Moses Steven senior died in 1833, leaving substantial personal wealth of over £31,000. However, the marriage facilitated the transfer of land from the Rowan to the Steven line and the children inherited a major landed fortune.<sup>83</sup> Moses Steven junior matriculated at the University of Glasgow in 1820.<sup>84</sup> Trained as an advocate, he instead managed the family's interests and himself left £36,872 on his death in 1871.<sup>85</sup> His fortune increased in one generation and passed to his three sisters, Elizabeth, Grace and Margaret (who had also inherited wealth from their father) alongside the landed portfolio. The legal terms were advertised in newspaper accounts of the bequest (established in 1892) revealing Moses Steven junior's 'wish that his fortune, which had come from Glasgow, should go back to Glasgow'. The sisters complied in a joint-testament of 1871.<sup>86</sup> After the death of Elizabeth in March 1892, a trust for the benefit of 'charitable, educational and benevolent institutions' of Glasgow was established, the family having acquired an enormous fortune of almost £500,000.<sup>87</sup> Newspapers of the day outlined potential uses for the bequest.<sup>88</sup> The university has used funds for various purposes from 1892 to present day. Although some of the Bellahouston bequest – the largest single slavery-derived donation (worth up to £90m, Relative Output Worth, 2016 Values) – was derived from, amongst other sources, the personal fortune of Old College alumnus Moses Steven, the majority was not specifically intended for the institution.<sup>89</sup>

### **The Capital Campaign, 1866-1870**

The location of the University of Glasgow was perceived to be unsuitable from the 1850s onwards, especially as old buildings housed a rapidly increasing student cohort. Both professors and students had to reside in a hazardous area, polluted by local industry and threatened by undesirables in the local population. As the High Street location became increasingly pestilent, Glasgow's urban axis shifted outwards toward the fashionable West End. In the 1840s, offers from railway companies for the sprawling Old College site presented Faculty professors with the opportunity to relocate. The grand old edifice was eventually sold for £100,000. Construction on the new campus at Gilmorehill in the West End began in 1867. Alongside the Western Infirmary build, the relocation ultimately cost £428,000. For an institution with an annual budget of £12,000 in the 1860s, this was a remarkable undertaking. Funding came from internal sources, British Government grants and benefactions as well as public donations which totalled £159,000 by 1876.<sup>90</sup>

Two documents in the University of Glasgow Archives contain names of subscribers, addresses and associated firms as well as value of subscription and final sums paid.<sup>91</sup> A small sample from approximately 2,500 subscribers was surveyed. Almost 500 people gave £100 or more, with 78 donating £1,000 or more. Research on the select group of donors of £1,000 followed a similar process as examining the bequests: ascertaining slavery connections, proportion of wealth derived from slavery, how much they donated and current value. Several generations and branches of family had to be traced backwards through legal records such as wills and testaments, as money that had been made from slavery was often inherited or passed along through marriage.

From the public donations, twenty-three individuals were identified as having some form of economic connection with New World slavery, between them donating £11,325. This a small proportion of the subscribers of the overall total of £428,000 (c.3 percent) and of the £159,000 subscriptions up to 1876 (7 percent). These estimated proportions contrast with preliminary work at the University of Bristol. In 2018, Richard Stone estimated that ‘around 85% of the wealth used to found our University depended on the labour of enslaved people’, presumably after verifying the source of benefactors’ fortunes generated through the activities of predecessors.<sup>92</sup> The explanation lies, at least partially, in patterns of donations from subscribers and limited time available for the Glasgow research. From the information available online, it seems Stone’s research identified major benefactions from prominent families (Wills, Fry and Colston). By contrast, the Glasgow study focused mainly on individuals who donated relatively small donations of £1,000 (but also identified some individuals who donated lower sums) and worked back through probate material to identify connections to slavery. However, given the inter-generational importance of colonial wealth to Glasgow’s Victorian elite, it is almost certain the proportion of slavery-derived income donated to the Gilmorehill campus campaign will, with further research, increase.

By way of summary, of the twenty-three subscriptions to the Gilmorehill development, three were firms or commercial organisations. Twenty individuals have been identified. Of these, two were women and, since they were not allowed to matriculate at Scottish universities until 1892, could not have attended the University of Glasgow in this period. Of the eighteen men, just half, such as Archibald Smith of Jordanhill, matriculated at Old College as youths. Identifying motives of non-matriculating donors is a difficult task, although the George Haygarth Rainy’s £500 in



1869 is likely to have been influenced by his father's attendance at Old College.<sup>93</sup>

Others are harder to explain. William Frederick Burnley (1810-1903) is the only known former slave-owner to donate to the capital campaign. His father, William Hardin Burnley, was the largest slave owner in Trinidad in the early nineteenth century.<sup>94</sup> The son, W.F. Burnley, moved to Glasgow and took up partnership with Glasgow-Trinidadian firm Eccles, Burnley & Co. in the early 1830s and married one of the partner's daughters. Neither W.F. Burnley, nor his paternal or maternal families, seem to have any connection to the university which makes the substantial gift of £1,100 so difficult to explain.<sup>95</sup> His affairs were in some disorder on his death in 1903 and it can only be presumed the gifts in 1870 were viewed as a philanthropic service at a time of personal prosperity.

Overall, approximately forty donations with some connection to chattel slavery - including bequests and the capital campaign - were gifted to the University of Glasgow. Of these, thirty-four separate donors have been identified (some donated more than once and so have not been double-counted). Of these, four were women - Mrs McCall, Misses Jane and Elizabeth Buchanan of Bellfield, and Miss Elizabeth Steven of Bellahouston. Of the thirty men who donated to the university, just over half (16) are known to have matriculated. Therefore, the university received more slavery-derived gifts from donors with no prior connection to the institution. Assessing the main provenance of the overall wealth - mercantile, planting, compensation - is a problematic task. Just five of sixteen gifts and bequests in stage 1 (31%) came from individuals with some connection to the compensation process in 1834. Two of these (Smith-Crutherland and Stirling-Maxwell) were non-monetary gifts. Donors in stage 2, the capital campaign, with connections to the compensation process in 1834 were more

extensive. Of the twenty-three gifts, twelve had some connection to compensation. Of these, three were direct claimants, the rest were inherited wealth. Thus, the best estimates suggest only a minority of the University of Glasgow's historic income from slavery can be traced to the compensation awarded on the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies in 1834 (somewhere between 13 and 18 percent). The majority of the slavery-derived income came from tobacco and sugar merchants, both directly and via wealth bequeathed to descendents. Ninety percent of the overall total came from individuals associated with the British West Indies. The major source, the Bellahouston bequest, began as a mercantile fortune, was augmented by land acquisition and ended as a trust fund for the greater good of Glasgow. Indeed, over half of the overall income to the University of Glasgow came from trust funds (the Bellahouston and Buchanan Bellfield) established by individuals whose connection to slavery was via inheritance. This underlines that a slavery fortune does not begin and end in one generation, a conclusion that has obvious implications for other British institutions founded after slavery was abolished in the British West Indies in 1834 and in the United States in 1865.<sup>96</sup>

#### **Assessing Contemporary Values in British Universities**

The quantitative method to ascertain income from bequests at time of inception to present day is laid out in full in the report and need not be discussed in detail here. In short, the method involved identifying the a) value of each bequest at the time, b) estimating annual income generated by each bequest up to present day, if applicable, with modern equivalencies using the *Measuring Worth* website.<sup>97</sup> There are three different comparators, which essentially involve comparison between historic and contemporary values equivalent to average retail prices (Relative Price Worth, RPW),

average earnings (Relative Wage or Income Growth, WIG), and national Gross Domestic Product (Relative Output Worth, ROW). The historical comparators are an imprecise science and are simply intended as an estimation of scale – the three different estimates are equally valid. Thus, three different historical comparisons (RPW, WIG, ROW) were required for the a) value of each bequest at the time, and b) annual income generated by each over time up to present day, where relevant.

There were challenges in acquiring the archival evidence for a methodology that required the growth in income of each bequest to be assessed over time. For example, the Ewing bequest was £100 in 1828 and the increase up to present day (and income per year) had to be identified in university ledgers. However, scouring often unindexed nineteenth-century accountancy ledgers, with accounts laid out across hundreds of pages, to find snippets of information in key years over two centuries – to be replicated for thirteen bequests – was not an efficient strategy. Records were not available for all bequests, and time was wasted looking for account records that did not exist. A major breakthrough came with the discovery of abstract of accounts and endowments. Although not available for every year, they provide the capital value of bequests, alongside income and expenditure. Comprehensiveness presented another issue. The abstracts ended in 1982 and the most up-to-date records are held by the University of Glasgow finance office.<sup>98</sup> In other words, some of the bequests crossed the boundary between ‘history’ and modern-day financial practices.

Not all historic bequests to the University of Glasgow have records in the modern Finance Office. Five bequests – including the Gartmore Prize donated by Robert Graham and the Watt prize donated by James Watt – had been amalgamated with several others in 1979 as the terms of disbursement had become anachronistic. The

income of some bequests after 1979 or the present-day value, therefore, could not be disaggregated from a larger fund. The current values of bequests and mortifications, where known or at last available point, is summarised in the report. For those that have current funds, there were challenges also. Of the bequests with current values, such as the Ewing Prize, there was some fluctuations in recent years. In order to smooth this, and working with finance office, the average value was determined over a three-year-period. However, initially, conversations between an historian of the eighteenth-century British-Atlantic world and modern accountants did not always proceed smoothly. Atlantic historians have names of merchants and slave-owners; accountants hold information on accounts. However, after a process of elimination, some historic bequests were matched with modern funds. The value of the Ewing Prize, for example, was ascertained to be £99,998, (average between 2014 to 2017).<sup>99</sup> With this figure verified, there came the remarkable acknowledgement that Caribbean slavery has a budget code in a British university. To what extent this is replicated across the United Kingdom - in universities and other institutions with antecedents in the slavery era - remains to be seen, but the University of Glasgow is not a unique case.

The overall value to the University of Glasgow - including gifts, bursaries and mortification, as well as donations in capital campaign - was estimated at:

£16,676,165 (Retail Price Index, 2016 values), or

£65,800,367 (Relative Wage or Income Growth, 2016 values) or up to

£198,657,619 (2016, Relative Output Worth, 2016 values)

As noted, all three estimates have equal validity although there was a lack of nuance in some reporting the range of the estimates (although it is accepted the press will

inevitably report the top value). For example, on 26 September 2018, *The Sunday Times* praised the University for acknowledging it benefitted from ‘up to £200m in today’s money’.<sup>100</sup> And not all of this came to the university. Firstly, some of the income was managed by external trusts. The capital of the Ewing/Buchanan bequest (£20,000 in 1909) has been held by the Merchants House from inception. The Merchants House in Glasgow was and remains a commercial organisation with responsibilities in important areas of civic life, including a philanthropic role. This is a similar organisation to the Society of Merchant Venturers in Bristol which took donations from slave-traders such as Edward Colston to educate boys in the city in 1706.<sup>101</sup> Whilst the Ewing/Buchanan capital - around 10 percent of the overall Glasgow total - was included as income to the university, it was never at any time held by the institution. Secondly, it is impossible to definitively confirm what proportion of each donor’s wealth came directly or indirectly from chattel slavery. Many - such as James Ewing - had diverse business interests whilst others inherited the wealth or had multiple sources of income. However, all values were accepted as ‘income derived from slavery’ regardless of the main source of the wealth (it would have been impossible to ascertain the proportion in any case). The acknowledged income therefore started high and was reported in the highest possible fashion, often without explanation. Indeed, regardless of qualifiers, the national press often took the highest possible figures and rounded them off in typically sensationalist style.

### **Reflections on the practice of Reparative History**

In 2018, Professor Catherine Hall questioned if the writing of history could be reparative in nature, positively concluding that scholarship can ‘develop a different understanding **here** of Britain’s involvement in the slavery business and our

responsibilities, as beneficiaries of the gross inequalities associated with slavery and colonialism'. This is true but historical scholarship can only act as a first step of acknowledgement or, as Hall puts it, 'one way in'.<sup>102</sup> The University of Glasgow process demonstrates the capacity of historians and historical scholarship in the first step in the process, yet also underlines the limitations of such research. One of the institution's key donors of capital derived from slavery, James Ewing of Strathleven, owned multiple sugar estates and enslaved people in early nineteenth-century Jamaica. This was widely known with the publication of the UCL *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database in the early 2010s. Working in collaboration with Dr. Nicholas Draper, I subsequently authored Ewing's *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entry – which highlighted the 1827 gift of £100 to the University of Glasgow – that was published online in October 2016.<sup>103</sup> Yet, Ewing's gifts to Old College were not raised as an issue within the institution until Flag Up-Scotland Jamaica questioned the wider relationship between the university and slavery. This underlines the importance of a political movement to sit alongside the verifiable evidence in any future campaign. Historical research is vitally important to reparative processes, at least at an institutional level. Identifying, verifying and analysing the evidence discussed here required a lot of labour-intensive archival work. The findings were the fruits of over a year's research and analysis of data culled directly from little-used financial ledgers: this type of information, or at least a comprehensive survey of it, required the detailed work of researchers. As evidence came to light, the external advisory group members guided discussions about reparative justice. Scholarship around Caribbean slavery can only be truly reparative if undertaken in collaboration with, or indeed led by, the descendants of

the enslaved and if those in control of capital - politicians, policy makers, university administrators – acknowledge findings and effect structural change.

### Conclusion

After visiting Edinburgh and Glasgow in 1819, John Gibson Lockhart extolled the virtues of Old College although he critiqued their business practices:

The college of Glasgow is a far older, more venerable, and infinitely richer institution than that of Edinburgh; it is situated in a rich town, and most populous part of the country. It would at first sight, seem to possess every advantage, but on inquiry I found that it makes very little use of those it does possess... Whether it is the air of the place, or the influence of example, this corporation has assumed in all its ideas and conduct, the appearance of a *petty mercantile house* [my italics].<sup>104</sup>

Lockhart could never have realised just how many areas of university business this principle applied to. Like mercantile houses, Old College imported from the Caribbean, although sons of merchants and planters arrived rather than sugar, cotton and tobacco. The institution also exported outwards, although it was students who crossed the Atlantic rather than finished goods. Income was generated from estates owned by colonial merchants (and landowners more generally) which created surplus capital to subsidise loans to other colonial merchants. It may be too far to claim colonial wealth was the *deus ex machina* that transformed Old College from debt-ridden institution to urban behemoth between 1784 and 1824 but, given the presence of just so many colonial merchants in surrounding regions, it was evidently of major significance. The gifts, bursaries and bequests intended for students and eventually staff costs between 1697 and 1937 were not transformative on an annual basis, but represented a significant part of the annual endowment income at the opening of the twentieth century. The cumulative long-term impact *was* transformative: bequests are still managed to provide students with the means to attend the modern institution. The university also received

donations for infrastructure development, including for the move to Gilmorehill in 1870. The development of Old College was accelerated by wealth derived from slavery and it would have been a very different and smaller university today in the absence of such wealth. Whilst Old College petitioned against the slave trade in 1792, and a handful of its staff adopted an anti-slavery approach, the institution was pro-slavery in practice. If these findings had been known to Eric Williams when researching *Capitalism & Slavery*, Old College would surely have made an appropriate example alongside All Souls at Oxford.<sup>105</sup>

This evidence presented here represents the first in-depth study of a British university's historic and contemporary connections with transatlantic slavery. It adds a new dimension to existing studies of the University of Glasgow and British universities more broadly, but goes beyond an institutional history. Indeed, whilst the evidence supports aspects of Nicholas Draper's model (especially staff, students and alumni as slave-owning benefactors), a wider approach is required. Firstly, the evidence here suggests the majority of donations to the University of Glasgow came from donors with no prior association to the institution. Secondly, and relatedly, income was also derived from local estates owned by colonial merchants and by extending credit to this group. Although the extent of both these practices are unknown, they were likely significant between 1785 and 1824. Thirdly, the largest donations by value were accrued from externally managed trust funds (Bellahouston and Ewing/Buchanan bequests) that were not initially intended for the university. Fourthly, the major sums - over half by value - came from funds whose provenance lay in inherited wealth (Bellahouston and Buchanan Bellfield). Fifthly, wealth derived from mercantile commerce, rather than slave-ownership or compensation claims, had a greater impact, although this was to be



expected given Glasgow's idiosyncratic economic development across successive commercial eras during which the Virginia then West India trades dominated the local economy. It might be presumed that slave-traders will have greater influence on institutions in Liverpool and Bristol, and cotton merchants on institutions in Manchester. In summary, although Old College's distinctive location in a commercial city in close proximity to colonial merchants may be unique amongst the ancient universities of Great Britain, the findings underline British universities should take notice of the local environments in which they historically flourished in, as well as the gifts from benefactors with both direct and indirect connections to the slave economies.

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<sup>3</sup> Six 'All Souls College Hugh Springer Graduate Scholarships' have been taken up between 2017 and 2020. See 'FOI request: Caribbean scholarships and funds', Available: [https://www.whatdotheyknow.com/request/caribbean\\_scholarships\\_and\\_funds#incoming-1632895](https://www.whatdotheyknow.com/request/caribbean_scholarships_and_funds#incoming-1632895) Accessed: 14 September 2020.

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<sup>7</sup> Draper, 'British universities', p.99.

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- <sup>54</sup> Coutts, *University of Glasgow*, pp.298.
- <sup>55</sup> T.M. Devine, 'A Glasgow Tobacco Merchant during the American War of Independence: Alexander Speirs of Elderslie, 1775 to 1781', *The William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series*, 33:3, July 1976, p.502.
- <sup>56</sup> GUA 12803 'Copy decret arbitral', 1809.
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- <sup>59</sup> Olive Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland: Social Welfare and the Voluntary Principle*, Edinburgh, 1980, p.128.
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- <sup>64</sup> Gurminder K. Bhambra, Dalia Gebrial and Kerem Nisancioglu, *Decolonising the University*, London, 2018, 1.
- <sup>65</sup> Dani Garavelli, 'Glasgow University sets up study to chart any links to slavery', *The Scotsman*, 24 September 2017 <https://www.scotsman.com/education/glasgow-university-sets-up-study-to-chart-any-links-to-slavery-1-4568298>
- <sup>66</sup> Hilary Beckles, *Britain's Black Debt: Reparations for Caribbean Slavery and Native Genocide*, Kingston, 2013.
- <sup>67</sup> Graham Campbell, 'Black Lives Matter – pulling down racism is much harder than pulling down statues', *The Scottish Left Review*, Available: <https://www.scottishleftreview.scot/black-lives-matter-pulling-down-racism-is-much-harder-than-pulling-down-statues/> accessed: 25 October 2020
- <sup>68</sup> 'INOSAAR Roundtable on Universities & Reparative Justice' Available: [https://www.facebook.com/watch/live/?v=3222009504575075&ref=watch\\_permalink](https://www.facebook.com/watch/live/?v=3222009504575075&ref=watch_permalink) Accessed: 25 October 2020.
- <sup>69</sup> My role was as an historian undertaking research to ascertain if, and in what ways, the University of Glasgow benefitted from Atlantic slavery. How the University chose to deal with that information, and to formulate a reparative justice plan, was worked out by the University's Senior Management Group. I was not part of that decision-making process.
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- <sup>71</sup> 'James Ewing of Strathleven', *Legacies of British Slave-ownership database*, Available: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/21020> Accessed 4 March 2020.
- <sup>72</sup> UGA, Prizes/1607, 'James Ewing to University Senate', 1828.

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- <sup>73</sup> James Ewing, *View of the History, Constitution, & Funds, of the Guildry, and Merchants House of Glasgow*, Glasgow, 1817.
- <sup>74</sup> Addison, *Matriculation Albums*.
- <sup>75</sup> GCA, TD1683/1/1, 'Abstract of the Glasgow West India Association', pp.6-8.
- <sup>76</sup> *Deeds Instituting*, pp.130-131.
- <sup>77</sup> Clayton Torrence, *Old Somerset on the Eastern Shore of Maryland*, Baltimore, 1966), p.213.
- <sup>78</sup> *Deeds Instituting*, p.237.
- <sup>79</sup> UGA Prizes/3200, 'Letter from Robert Dinwiddie', 1755.
- <sup>80</sup> John R. Alden, *Robert Dinwiddie: servant of the Crown*, Charlottesville, 1973, p.18, p.75, p.112.
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- <sup>82</sup> *The London Gazette*, Issue 12516, 3 February 1784, p.5.
- <sup>83</sup> NRS SC58/42/6, 'Settlement and Inventory of Moses Steven', 10 July 1833, pp.389-396.
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- <sup>85</sup> NRS SC36/48/67 'Inventory of Moses Steven junior', 27 October 1871, p.198
- <sup>86</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 28 March 1892, p.13.
- <sup>87</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 17 March 1892, p.6.
- <sup>88</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 8 April 1892, p.4.
- <sup>89</sup> Mullen, Newman. University of Glasgow, pp.42-6.
- <sup>90</sup> Moss, Munro, Trainor, *University, City and State*, pp.29-36.
- <sup>91</sup> GUA, 1563a, 'New College Buildings and Hospital: List of Subscriptions' April 1866-January 1880; GUA, 1563b, 'New College Buildings: List of Subscriptions'.
- <sup>92</sup> *Past Matters: the University of Bristol and transatlantic slavery*, Available: <https://www.bristol.ac.uk/university/history/past-matters/> accessed: 20 January 2020.
- <sup>93</sup> GUA 1563a, 'New College Buildings', p.3.
- <sup>94</sup> Selwyn Cudjoe, *The Slave Master of Trinidad*, Massachusetts, 2018.
- <sup>95</sup> GUA 1563a, 'New College Buildings', p.2, p.33.
- <sup>96</sup> The ground-breaking work of Dr. James Dawkins on the project 'Nottingham Universities and Historical Slavery' at the University of Nottingham will reveal the implications, if any, in one 'red brick university'.
- <sup>97</sup> Available: <https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/> Accessed: 1 February 2020.
- <sup>98</sup> GUA, F6/1/5/10, 'Abstract of Accounts, 1977-82'.
- <sup>99</sup> Mullen, Newman, *University of Glasgow*, pp.23-4
- <sup>100</sup> *The Sunday Times*, 26 September 2018, p.1.
- <sup>101</sup> Thomas Garrard, *Edward Colston, The Philanthropist: His Life and Times*, Bristol, 1852, p.482.
- <sup>102</sup> Hall, 'Doing reparatory history', pp.3-21.
- <sup>103</sup> Stephen Mullen 'Ewing, James (1775–1853), West India merchant, slave owner, and civic leader', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 6 Oct. 2016; Accessed 15 Sep. 2020.
- <sup>104</sup> 'Observations on "Peter's Letters to His Kinsfolk"' *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, XXIII:IV, (February 1819), p.620.
- <sup>105</sup> Williams, *Capitalism & Slavery*, p.90.