

Slavery, Colonialism and Philanthropy at the University of Edinburgh¹

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¹ Note that this study (Appendix 1) should be read in conjunction with the main report, entitled ‘Decolonised Transformations: Confronting the University of Edinburgh’s History and Legacies of Enslavement and Colonialism’ (2025).

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Content Advisory and Language

The nature of this report means it includes some troubling material. Some of the historical sources analysed here include racist and genocidal language and ideas, or references to acts of violence and other modes of domination. The inclusion of such detail is common in historical studies. Still, decisions on whether or not to include direct quotations concerning offensive or disturbing content – including accounts of what Saidiya Hartman memorably calls ‘scenes of subjection’ – have not been taken lightly.² Numerous scholars have underlined how research that draws on the archives of slavery, race-making and colonial domination is irrevocably fraught with ethical as well as methodological concerns.³ Economic studies of slavery and colonialism, in particular, can be perceived as lacking compassion for, and so marginalising of, human suffering; in the process, such research risks unintentionally reinforcing the same racial logics that historically have legitimised the making of people into property, coercible and racialised units of labour and less-than-human beings.

However, investigating exactly what the University of Edinburgh’s benefactors and their associates and representatives said and did, if unsettling, is the most reliable route towards a better understanding of the institution’s financial links to enslavement and colonialism. Importantly, the inclusion of such detail helps us to situate historical subjects within their proper historical context, particularly the racial and imperial ideologies of the times and societies in which they lived.

The approach taken here has been to look at sources on a case-by-case basis to assess the relative value which their reproduction within this academic report might have towards its overall analysis. This means that some evidence of scenes of racial violence, especially visual content, is referred to but not reproduced or described in detail. Truth-telling, though vital to the task of explaining both our past and present, is never without its complications; not least for those who continue to live with the ongoing legacies of slavery and colonialism in the present. The author trusts that readers will read this study with these same concerns in mind.

Following recent guidance for best practice in slavery studies, this study uses the term ‘enslaved’ rather than ‘slave’, unless quoting an historical source. As P. Gabrielle Foreman et al explain in a community-sourced guide, ‘using enslaved (as an adjective) rather than “slave” (as a noun) disaggregates the condition of being enslaved with the status of “being” a slave. People weren’t slaves; they were enslaved’.⁴ There is some debate surrounding the use of the historical term ‘slave trade’ to describe the capture, forced transportation and sale of enslaved Africans and their descendants, specifically in a British context between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. For some, the term serves to dehumanise enslaved people. In this study, the Atlantic ‘slave trade’ is acknowledged as a contested term, and used infrequently and in quotations, with preference given to other formulations, such as the trade in, or trafficking of, enslaved Africans or people of African descent.

² Saidiya V. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

³ See, for example, Katharine Gerbner, ‘Archival Violence, Archival Capital: Ethics, Inheritance, and Reparations in the Thistlewood Diaries’, *The William and Mary Quarterly* 79, no. 4 (2022): 595-624; Stephanie E. Smallwood, ‘The Politics of the Archive and History’s Accountability to the Enslaved’, *History of the Present* 6, no. 2 (2016): 117–32; Temi Odumosu, ‘The Crying Child: On Colonial Archives, Digitization, and Ethics of Care in the Cultural Commons’, *Current Anthropology* 61, no. 22 (2020): S289-S302.

⁴ P. Gabrielle Foreman et al. ‘Writing about Slavery/Teaching About Slavery: This Might Help’, community-sourced document, <https://www.pgabrielleforeman.com/writing-about-slavery-guide>.

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Abbreviations

ECA	Edinburgh City Archives
EIC	East India Company
EUL	Edinburgh University Library Archives
LBS	Legacies of British Slavery, University College London
NA	National Archives, Kew
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NRS	National Records of Scotland
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
UoE	University of Edinburgh

Preferred Citation

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Introduction: ‘for the use & behoof of the College of Edinburgh’

At a meeting of Edinburgh’s Town Council on 16 October 1804 – after discussions of masonry works, water pipes, and the supply of fresh fish – Lord Provost Sir William Fettes informed colleagues that he was in possession of a copy of the last will and testament of John Drummond, a ‘Practitioner of Physic and Surgery’ in the Parish of Westmoreland, Jamaica. Drummond’s will bequeathed his ‘means and estate’ in Jamaica to a ‘series of persons’ but stipulated that if his named inheritors die without issue then the ‘residue of his means and estate’ would be ‘devised in trust for the use & behoof of the College of Edinburgh for the benefit of its foundation’. At that time, Edinburgh Town Council managed the University of the Edinburgh (UoE), which was still often referred to as the ‘Town’s College’. Fettes – a businessman, philanthropist, and, as Provost, *ex officio* Rector of the UoE – instructed that copies of Drummond’s will be made and inserted into the records of the Council and handed to the UoE’s Principal, Reverend Dr George Baird, so it could be added to the UoE’s own records.⁵ A copy of the will currently resides in the UoE’s archive, indicating that figures within both Edinburgh’s Council and University were made aware of Drummond’s contingent legacy.⁶

Drummond was a longtime white British resident of Jamaica who claimed ownership over a number of enslaved people of African descent. In his will he left capital and assets to various people, including, in Jamaica, ‘free’ African-descended women and children whom he had fathered with both enslaved and free women of African descent. He also left instructions to manumit some enslaved women and children, or pass ownership of them over to other individuals. Much of his unspecified ‘fortune’, however, was to be placed in a trust for his daughter, Alice Drummond and other relatives in Britain. All of Drummond’s property in Westmoreland, including the estate of Drummond Lodge and ‘all and every of my slaves’, was to be placed in a trust for his inheritors (including his mixed-race son in Jamaica, Thomas Drummond). In the circumstance that Drummond’s named inheritors died without issue, the majority of Drummond’s wealth and assets – including the approximately eighty enslaved African-descended people on Drummond Lodge – would pass into the ownership of the UoE.⁷

In the end, this specific condition in Drummond’s contingent legacy was never executed; Drummond’s inheritors did not die without issue, meaning Drummond Lodge remained within the family. As far as is known, the UoE never inherited a trust inclusive of human chattels. Still, the matter-of-fact references to Drummond’s potential ‘gift’ of human beings to the UoE says much about the legacies of enslavement and empire in Edinburgh at the turn of the nineteenth century. Unlike in the United States, where universities and colleges such as the University of Virginia institutionally owned enslaved people, no British university or college has so far has been proven to have owned enslaved people. Drummond’s will, along with a similar case of a contingent legacy of enslaved people at Trinity College, Oxford, that also remained unexecuted, indicates a path by which a British university or college *could* have owned enslaved people.⁸

While this benefaction was never activated, the UoE *did* receive endowments (financial gifts which the institution invested, using dividends to support bursaries, scholarships and chairs) and subscriptions (capital donations towards one-off projects) from individuals whose wealth derived

⁵ Edinburgh Town Council Minutes, 16 December 1804, Volume 141, SL1/1, Edinburgh City Archives (hereafter ECA).

⁶ ‘Ext[ract], Minute of Council containing Last Will and Testament of John Drummond Esq of the Island of Jamaica, whereby in defunct of issue therein mentioned the residue of his means is devised to the College of Edinburgh’, 19 December 1804, part of EUA CA17, Edinburgh University Library Archives (hereafter EUL).

⁷ ‘Will of John Drummond, Practioner in Physic and Surgery of Westmorland County of Cornwall Island of Jamaica , West Indies’, 15 February 1806, PROB 11/1438/152, National Archives, Kew (hereafter NA).

⁸ For more on this topic, see Nicholas Draper, ‘British Universities and Caribbean Slavery’, *Social and Economic Studies* 68, no. 3/4 (2019): 136.

from or were linked to enslavement and colonialism – including Drummond himself. In 1793, Drummond donated £22 4s 7d on behalf of himself and another Jamaican resident towards the UoE’s fundraising campaign to finance the building of what is today known as Old College.⁹ This was a gift from an alumnus to their *alma mater*: Drummond travelled from Jamaica to matriculate to study medicine at the UoE for the 1762-3 academic year, where he undertook courses in Anatomy, Botany and Medical Practice under Professors Alexander Monro *secundus*, John Hope, and Robert Whytt. On his return to Jamaica, Drummond established a medical practice, providing services for colonists of European extraction and enslaved African-descended people. A botanist and medical scientist, Drummond wrote to medical colleagues in Britain sharing his observations of enslaved Africans’ healing practices and the efficacy of different medicines on enslaved people.¹⁰ Throughout his life, Drummond maintained a connection with UoE professors; Professors James Gregory and Alexander Hamilton acted as Drummond’s proposers when he became an Ordinary Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.¹¹ Drummond’s financial ties to the UoE – whether his small subscription for Old College, or his unexecuted contingent legacy – were manifestations of an alumnus’s gratitude to an institution that had not only educated him, but continued to mean something to him throughout his career.

Background

Following the publication of the University of Glasgow’s 2018 report into its historical links to slavery, several universities, colleges, banks, healthcare bodies, museums, galleries, local authorities, charities and other institutions in the UK have commissioned research into their historical links to slavery.¹² A main focus has been on whether institutions or their predecessors at one stage benefited financially from slavery-‘derived’ or –‘associated’ wealth, however defined. Aided by invaluable resources such as University College London’s Legacies of British Slavery database, these historical

⁹ *Caledonian Mercury*, 8 December 1792, 1.

¹⁰ Drummond introduced Dr William Wright (another UoE alumnus who had previously lived and owned enslaved people in Jamaica) to the plant *Epidendrum Claviculatum* (green wythe), noting that it was held in ‘great esteem, amongst the negroes, for the cure of gonorrhoea and lues venerea’: William Wright, ‘An Account of the Medicinal Plants growing in Jamaica’, *London Medical Journal* 8 (1787): 254-55. Drummond also reported to Wright on the healing effects of *quassia polygama*, or bitter-wood, on fevers, amenorrhea, chlorosis, dyspepsia, and ‘that species of pica called Dirt-eating, so fatal to a number of negroes’: John Lindsay, ‘An Account of the Quassia Polygama, or Bitter-wood of Jamaica; and of the Cinchona Brachycarpa, a new Species of Jesuit’s Bark found in the same Island’, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh* 3 (1794): 208. While dirt-eating had occurred in many historical and geographical contexts in Europe and Africa, ‘chronic sustained dirt eating among enslaved Africans in the Atlantic World took on a different meaning and became identified as a pathological practice and peculiarity of black people’ in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: Rana A. Hogarth, *Medicalizing Blackness: Making Racial Difference in the Atlantic World, 1780-1840* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 82.

¹¹ C. D. Waterston and A. Macmillan Shearer, *Biographical Index of Former RSE Fellows 1783–2002 Part 1 (A-J)* (Edinburgh: Royal Society of Edinburgh, 2006), 269.

¹² Simon Newman and Stephen Mullen, *Slavery, Abolition and the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2018). For an overview of the wider context surrounding research into universities’ links to slavery, and the approach of the University of Glasgow, the first to undertake such research in the UK, see Stephen Mullen, ‘British Universities and Transatlantic Slavery: The University of Glasgow Case’, *History Workshop Journal* 91, no. 1 (2021): 210–33. Other UK universities and colleges that have since undertaken similar projects include the University of Strathclyde, University of Nottingham, King’s College London, Liverpool John Moores University, University of Bristol, University of Aberdeen, University of Dundee, University of Cambridge, University of Manchester, University of Liverpool, and the University of Oxford (Exeter College and Balliol College). Much of this research follows in the wake of studies of universities and colleges in the USA: Craig Steven Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America’s Universities* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2013).

‘audits’ have done much to, in Catherine Hall’s words, ‘bring “race” and slavery home’ to Britain.¹³ The pattern emerging from these institutional histories broadly aligns with one of Eric Williams’s arguments in his famous 1944 study *Capitalism and Slavery*: that many British institutions in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including universities and colleges, had been beneficiaries of the proceeds of slavery.¹⁴ As Maxine Berg and Pat Hudson argue in a recent synthesis of the literature, Atlantic slavery, if not the sole ‘cause’ of Britain’s industrial revolution, or even ‘necessary for the development of industrial capitalism’, was nonetheless ‘formative in the timing and nature of Britain’s industrial transition’.¹⁵ A growing number of studies conducted on educational institutions prompt consideration of the degree to which slavery-linked wealth impacted Britain’s education system.

This report investigates the University of Edinburgh’s financial links to slavery and colonialism through endowments and capital campaigns. The University of Edinburgh (UoE) has a long and complex history. Established in 1583 following a bequest of funds from Bishop Robert Reid and a charter by King James VI and I, the institution was known variously over its early years as the College of Edinburgh, King James’s College, or simply ‘Tounis College’.¹⁶ In spite of the UoE’s ever-evolving identity, philanthropy – from Reid’s bequest and Clement Litill’s contemporaneous gift of a theological library (the forerunner of UoE’s Library), to gifts managed today by the university’s Philanthropy and College Advancement team – has remained a continuous theme in the institution’s history and historiography.

Various attempts have been made to document and draw attention to the UoE’s history of philanthropy. In the late seventeenth century the father-and-son librarians William and Robert Henderson did vital cataloguing of the earliest administrative records of monetary donations and other gifts given to the UoE.¹⁷ In his 1808 history, Thomas Craufurd highlighted not only Reid’s and Litill’s respective benefactions but also an early gift to the Library of ‘30 lib’ from a ‘Mrs Scot’, the ‘more esteemed, because it is from a worthy matron and lover of learning, a good example to all others of her sex’.¹⁸ A later history by Alexander Bower emphasised royal patronage, noting a 1693 gift from King William III of England and Orange and II of Scotland of £300 per annum (taken out of

¹³ Catherine Hall, ‘Doing Reparatory History: Bringing “Race” and Slavery Home’, *Race & Class* 60, no. 1 (1 July 2018): 3–21.

¹⁴ Eric Williams highlighted funds from the Codrington family’s Barbadian and Barbudan estates that came to All Souls College, Oxford: Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University North Carolina Press, 2014, first published 1944), 90.

¹⁵ Maxine Berg and Pat Hudson, *Slavery, Capitalism and the Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2023), 7.

¹⁶ Thomas Craufurd, *History of the University of Edinburgh, from 1580 to 1646: To Which is Prefixed the Charter Granted to the College by James VI of Scotland, in 1582* (Edinburgh: Printed by A. Neill & Co., 1808); Alexander Bower, *History of the University of Edinburgh* Vols. 1-3 (Edinburgh: printed by Alex Smellie, 1817-1830); Andrew Dalzel, *History of the University of Edinburgh from Its Foundation* Vols 1-2 (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1862); Alexander Grant, *The Story of the University of Edinburgh during its First Three Hundred Years*, Vols. 1-2 (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1884); *Edinburgh University; a Sketch of its Life for 300 years* (Edinburgh: James Gemmell, 1884). For twentieth and twenty-first century histories, see A. Logan Turner, ed., *The History of the University of Edinburgh 1883-1933* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1933); David Bayne Horn, *A Short History of the University of Edinburgh, 1556-1889* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1967); Charles P. Finlayson, *Clement Litill and his Library: The Origins of Edinburgh University Library* (Edinburgh: Printed for Edinburgh Bibliographical Society and The Friends of Edinburgh University Library, 1980); Gordon Donaldson, ed., *Four Centuries: Edinburgh University Life, 1583-1983* (1983); Robert D. Anderson, Michael Lynch, and Nicholas Phillipson, *The University of Edinburgh: An Illustrated History* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003). For a selection of primary sources concerning the UoE’s history, see *University of Edinburgh: Charters, Statutes, and Acts of the Town Council and the Senatus 1583-1858* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1937).

¹⁷ Dalzel, *History of the University of Edinburgh*, Vol. 1, 271.

¹⁸ Craufurd, *History of the University of Edinburgh*, 168.

the bishops' rents after the episcopacy was abolished in 1690) to each Scottish university.¹⁹ A history published to celebrate the UoE's bicentenary – likely written with a view to exploit the opportunity presented by the anniversary to attract new benefactors – emphasised the founding of the Chair of Agriculture by William (Johnstone) Pultney in 1790, the 'first Chair in this College founded by a private benefactor'.²⁰ A 2017 architectural history of the UoE details how 'personal benefactors provided the catalyst for renewed private and public investment in the University's estate'.²¹ Studies of the UoE's art collections, meanwhile, document how the institution thanked and memorialised its historical benefactors, and the Gallery of Benefactors, a digital platform managed by the UoE Library, 'commemorates and celebrates donations, bequests and other benefactions to Edinburgh University Library'.²² A 2014 history of philanthropy at the UoE reminds us how donors' 'generosity', time and time again, has 'translated into tangible benefits'.²³

Offering a new perspective on the history of philanthropy at the UoE, this report constitutes the first methodical assessment of the slavery- and empire-connected origins of gifts received by the UoE over its history. It shows how some of the gifts, which provided members of the UoE both tangible and intangible benefits, derived, at least in part, from the enslavement, conquest and subjugation of non-European peoples. That the UoE's history of philanthropy (a charitable act of *giving*) was in different ways connected to slavery and colonialism (the violent *taking* of bodies, labour, rights, resources, land and knowledge) is deeply jarring, not least for an institution so closely associated with the humanistic and liberal values of the Scottish Enlightenment.

Most of the UoE benefactions described in this report occurred during the so-called 'century of abolition' (c.1787-1888).²⁴ During this period in Britain, philanthropy was not understood exclusively as the giving of money, but also more generally in relation to its original Greek meaning as the 'love of humankind'. Indeed, the term 'philanthropist' was frequently used to describe campaigners for the abolition of the 'slave trade' and colonial slavery (often by their proslavery opponents, as an insult).²⁵ The UoE could claim many leading Scottish abolitionists among its community. Two academics and ministers of the Church of Scotland, William Greenfield (c.1754-1827), Professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, and Andrew Hunter (1743-1809), Professor of Divinity, were members of Edinburgh's Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade in the 1790s. In May 1792, members of the UoE's Dialectic Society, a student debating club, debated whether the 'use of the produce of slavery involve us in its guilt?', voting 'by a great majority' that it did. Going further, members then passed a resolution for their formal 'renunciation of Sugar and Rum' and agreed to 'exert their influence with others to persuade them to do the same way and until the African Slave Trade shall be fully

¹⁹ Bower, *History of the University of Edinburgh*, Vol. 2, 2.

²⁰ Donaldson, ed., *Edinburgh University; a Sketch of its Life for 300 years*, 52.

²¹ Nick Haynes and Clive B. Fenton, *Building Knowledge: An Architectural History of the University of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Historic Environment Scotland, 2017), 50.

²² William Hole, *Quasi Cursors; Portraits of the High Officers and Professors of the University of Edinburgh at its Tercentenary Festival* (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable, 1884); D. Talbot Rice and Peter McIntyre, *The University Portraits, with Biographies* Vols. 1 and 2 (Edinburgh: Published for the University Court by the University Press, 1957 & 1986); Edinburgh University Library Gallery of Benefactors, <https://www.docs.is.ed.ac.uk/docs/lib-archive/bgallery/Gallery/index.html>.

²³ Jean Grier and Mary Bownes, *Private Giving, Public Good: The Impact of Philanthropy at the University of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 3.

²⁴ Identification of the 'long' nineteenth century as the 'century of abolition' is highly contested by historians of slavery: Michael Zeuske and David Fernbach, 'Historiography and Research Problems of Slavery and the Slave Trade in a Global-Historical Perspective', *International Review of Social History* 57, no. 1 (2012): 87–111.

²⁵ Hugh Cunningham, *The Reputation of Philanthropy since 1750: Britain and Beyond* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), 1–8.

abolished'.²⁶ Later that decade, a student in the same debating society, Andrew Mitchell Thomson (1779–1831), read an essay simply entitled 'Slavery'.²⁷ The essay was a nascent expression of the antislavery sentiments of a prominent future campaigner: in 1830, Thomson would give a pivotal speech at a meeting of the Edinburgh Society for the Abolition of Slavery that would help to divert the abolitionist movement from the path of 'gradual' abolition towards 'immediate' emancipation.²⁸

Focusing on these antislavery voices, however, obscures the UoE's more ambiguous institutional record in relation to slavery's abolition. In January 1788, 'Africanus', an anonymous letter writer in Aberdeen, asked James Beattie, Professor of Moral Philosophy at Aberdeen's Marischal College, to encourage 'some other eminent men in your church and universities' to organise towards the abolition of the 'slave trade'.²⁹ By late June 1788, the University of Glasgow, Aberdeen's two colleges, the Town Councils of Paisley and Dundee and Edinburgh's Chamber of Commerce had all sent petitions to Parliament. As Iain Whyte writes, 'what is extraordinary is the absence of any petition from the University of Edinburgh, given the number of academics enthusiastically and actively involved in the campaign'.³⁰ Despite investigation of the meetings of the UoE's Senatus, no record so far has been found in relation to any proposal for a UoE-signed petition. It may be, as Whyte speculates, that Edinburgh 'followed the pattern of Oxford in that it did not regard itself a suitable body to petition'.³¹ In any case, UoE administrators must have been aware of the petitions sent by their counterparts in Aberdeen and Glasgow, and Edinburgh's Chamber of Commerce, and alert to the involvement of its academics (and students) in the abolitionist movement. We can only assume that a decision was made at some level of the UoE's hierarchy *not* to organise an institutional petition. The anti-'slave trade' petitions over 1788-1792 were not immediately successful (the Slave Trade Act only became law in 1807). Yet they laid the foundations for a still embryonic British abolitionist movement. Whether a consciously-made decision or not, the UoE's conspicuous inaction in *not* producing a petition speaks to an inertia within the institution towards the antislavery cause.

Antislavery 'philanthropists' among the UoE's officers, faculty, students and alumni were, ultimately, a relatively small minority within the university's wider community, especially when compared with those who openly supported, or personally benefited from, slavery and colonial rule; who promoted a white-supremacist worldview that legitimised enslavement and colonialism; and who, like the aforementioned John Drummond in Jamaica and others described in this report, siphoned off the profits of slavery and empire into the UoE's financial accounts.³²

²⁶ Minutes of the Dialectic Society, Vol. 2, 12 May and 29 May 1792, Records of University of Edinburgh Dialectic Society EUA GD9, EUL. Only one member, James Baxter, dissented. Though the Society was predominantly in support the abolition of the 'slave trade', members' debates about the abolition of slavery in the 1820s and 1830s were far more conflicted.

²⁷ *History of the Dialectic Society* (Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable, 1887), 145.

²⁸ Andrew Thomson, *Substance of the Speech Delivered at the Meeting of the Edinburgh Society for the Abolition of Slavery, Etc.* (Edinburgh: William Whyte and Co., 1830), 20, 28, 30, 38. For another perspective on the meeting, see Henry Cockburn, *Memorials of His Time* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1856). For more on Thomson's abolitionism, see Iain Whyte, "'Can We Come out of Sin 'by Degrees'?" The Contribution of Andrew Thomson and John Ritchie to the Anti-Slavery Movement in Scotland 1820–1840', *Scottish Church History* 35, no. 1 (1 June 2005): 119–41.

²⁹ 'Africanus' to James Beattie, 26 January 1788, MS 30/2/55/561, Aberdeen University Library.

³⁰ Iain Whyte, *Scotland and the Abolition of Black Slavery, 1756-1838* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 70, 84.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Several UoE alumni published tracts and spoke at public meetings in favour of slavery. To take two examples: in 1790, Dr James Makittrick-Adair, an alumnus and former enslaver in Antigua, published a defence of the trafficking and enslavement of Africans: James Makittrick Adair, *Unanswerable Arguments against the Abolition of the Slave Trade* (London: J.P. Bateman, 1790). In 1833, a fellow alumnus, Peter Borthwick (1804-1852), spoke at a meeting in Glasgow on behalf of the West India Committee in favour of slavery's continuance: Whyte, *Scotland and the Abolition of Black Slavery, 1756-1838*, 230-1.

Executive Summary

- Fifteen of the UoE's historic endowments have been identified as having links to slavery, and a further twelve endowments with connections to British colonialism in India, Singapore and South Africa.
- It has not been possible to ascertain the accrued economic impact of these endowments over time (i.e. the interest raised each year), though these endowments undoubtedly generated significant dividends for the UoE over long periods of time, and in some cases still continue to.
- Fundraising campaigns to finance the construction of two purpose-built campus buildings – Old College (1789-94) and the Old Medical School (1873-85) – drew in hundreds of subscriptions (donations) from individuals based in Britain's colonies, or whose wealth was in some way connected to slavery and colonialism. In both capital campaigns, the UoE's representatives actively sought out wealth from Britain's colonies, particularly among alumni overseas.
- The total amounts of identified slavery- and empire-linked money received through these two income streams (endowments plus capital campaigns) are summarised below (all figures given to nearest £). Three modern-day equivalences for these historical sums have been calculated for each figure using Measuring Worth calculators. These equivalences are calculated through analysis of the historical sums' relative price worth (RPW), relative wage or income worth (RWIW) and relative output worth (ROW) in present-day terms, or, in other words, their value in relation to retail prices, earnings or gross domestic product in the year 2023. These three equivalences are approximations that provide a range of possible present-day values for these historical sums. For reasons of simplicity, readers may wish to refer in the first instance to the RWIW figures, which lie between the smaller RPW figures and larger ROW figures. See the [Methodology section](#) for more detail on how to interpret these sums.

	Amount (historical)	Value in 2023 (RPW)	Value in 2023 (RWIW)	Value in 2023 (ROW)
Slavery-linked endowments	£125,984	£14,621,500	£112,831,000	£484,940,000
Slavery-linked Old College subscriptions	£3,405	£481,840	£5,603,800	£40,536,000
Slavery-linked Old Medical School subscriptions	£22,636	£2,850,000	£13,900,000	£49,200,000
<i>Slavery-linked wealth (subtotal)</i>	£152,025	£17,953,340	£132,334,800	£574,676,000
Empire-linked endowments	£91,478	£11,223,600	£63,059,000	£226,352,000
Empire-linked Old College subscriptions	£2,860	£440,000	£5,010,000	£36,200,000
Empire-linked Old Medical School subscriptions	£3,364	£423,000	£2,070,000	£7,310,000
<i>Empire-linked wealth (subtotal)</i>	£97,702	£12,086,600	£70,139,000	£269,862,000
Slavery- and empire-linked wealth (combined total)	£249,727	£30,039,940	£202,473,800	£844,538,000

Aims and Limitations

This report does not – and cannot – contend to have successfully counted every single pound, shilling and penny which the UoE received from individuals with links to slavery or colonialism. Instead, it offers a framework of analysis and methodology; an overview of the UoE's financial linkages to slavery and colonialism identified so far; and possible avenues for further research. It is hoped that future research will be able to expand upon and nuance these initial findings.

The results of this research are intended to be indicative rather than conclusive. As other projects have shown, identifying funds which a university or college received from individuals whose wealth was entangled to some degree from the enslavement of African-descended people – let alone to British or European colonialism more generally – is a mammoth task. The accessibility and reliability of extant sources necessitates interpretation, contextualisation and, at times, informed speculation and revision in the face of new sources. Given what recent historiography tells us about the embeddedness of empire, slavery, and the profits they accrued in seventeenth-, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century British society, calculation of the total 'sum' of any British institution's receipt of slavery-linked wealth is an elusive, arguably impossible goal. The archival and conceptual difficulties in identifying and quantifying the impact of slavery-associated and colonially derived wealth back in Britain should not, however, automatically prohibit an attempt to study some of the more identifiable ways in which British colonialism and slavery-connected trades generated discrete sums of wealth for British institutions. These questions are particularly relevant for universities that generated the knowledge, academics and graduates necessary for the administration, expansion and justification of enslavement and colonial enterprises.

It is important to recognise that the UoE's historical connections to slavery and colonialism go far beyond financial transfers. As Nicholas Draper writes, any widening of the 'field of analysis for slave-connections for the universities' must necessarily take into account the 'most problematic intellectual legacies of slavery, including the invention of "race"'.³³ This study acknowledges from the outset that the UoE's financial links to slavery and colonialism represents only one, albeit significant connection between the 'Tounis College' and enslavement and empire. This research should be read and interpreted alongside other research, including that produced as part of the Decolonised Transformations project, that investigates how officers, professors, students and alumni contributed to proslavery, imperial, and racial discourses. Nevertheless, a better understanding of the UoE's receipt of slavery- and empire-linked wealth can also offer new ways of investigating the organisation's intellectual ties to slavery and colonialism. As the above account of Dr John Drummond's multilayered relationship with the UoE emphasises, histories of philanthropy can provide snapshots of an organisation's colonial networks at particular moments in time, and windows into its diverse entanglements in enslavement, colonial rule and race-making.

One criticism that can be levelled at this kind of economic history is that it centres the finances of mostly white European enslavers, colonists and merchants, rather than the lives of enslaved Africans and colonised and racially minoritised people they claimed ownership and ruled over, and whose unrecognised labour benefited Edinburgh. While effort has been made to acknowledge and draw attention to the experiences and humanity of the African, Asian, and Indigenous people whose lives were connected to the UoE via its benefactors, this report is not a social history of slavery or colonialism. Further research is required to better understand what enslavement, colonialism and racial subjugation entailed for the enslaved, colonised, and racially minoritised people whose labour helped to finance and sustain the UoE over its long history.

Nor is this report a history of the presence and contributions of African, Caribbean and Asian people within the UoE. The recent student-led Uncover.Ed project on historic students of colour at the UoE in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and wider research in this field – including on figures such as William Fergusson, the first recorded student of African descent (1809–12) and James 'Africanus'

³³ Draper, 'British Universities and Caribbean Slavery', 106.

Beale Horton, the first African graduate (MD, 1859), to name but two – provide important context for the findings of this study.³⁴

Methodology

This report is divided into two sections, each looking at a category of revenue which the College/University of Edinburgh (hereafter UoE) received between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries:

Endowments: Bursaries, Scholarship, Chairs, and Fellowships

Capital Campaigns: Old College (1789-1794) and the Old Medical School (1873-1883)

This study investigates whether the UoE's benefactors (i.e., 'endowers' and 'subscribers') can be classed under one or more of the following three categories of linkage to slavery and colonialism:

- First, **links to the ownership and trade of enslaved people**, including owners of enslaved people; those linked financially to estates that included human chattels; and owners and investors in vessels or joint-stock companies (e.g. South Sea Company) involved in the transatlantic trafficking of captive Africans.
- Second, **links to slavery-associated trades and services**, including merchants and owners or investors in businesses dealing in goods produced by or facilitating enslaved labour, whether the import and sale of products cultivated or made by enslaved people (e.g. sugar, rum, cotton, tobacco, indigo), or the export of items linked to slavery across Atlantic markets (e.g. linen to clothe enslaved labourers); or those who operated in a military, administrative, legal or financial capacity within, or in connection to, slavery societies in the Americas, and so were involved, to some degree, in managing, underwriting, legislating, enforcing and sustaining the institution of slavery. While similar studies sometimes refer to these as 'indirect' linkages with slavery, these connections are not considered here as any less important for the purposes of this study.
- Third, those whose **wealth derived in some direct or meaningful way from colonial rule or Scottish/British/European imperialism**, including colonial officials and medical, legal and military professionals operating in colonies or at the peripheries of the Scottish/English/British empires; investors or active participants in colonial joint-stock companies (e.g. the East India Company); or merchants of goods originating from, or traded to different sites within, said empires, especially those reliant on the labour of colonised people.

Identifying links

This study has involved first identifying historic endowments and subscriptions, and then cross-referencing those benefactors with wider sources to establish lists of those with links to slavery and imperialism. Ascertaining the identities and colonial backgrounds of benefactors entails labour-

³⁴ Uncover.Ed, <https://global.ed.ac.uk/uncovered>; Esme Allman, Daisy Chamberlain, Tom Cunningham, Henry Dee, Maryam Helmi, Hannah McGurk, Cristina Moreno Lozano, Natasha Ruwona, Lea Ventre and Dingjian Xie, 'Decolonising University Histories: Reflections on Research into African, Asian and Caribbean Students at Edinburgh' in *Scotland's Transnational Heritage: Legacies of Empire and Slavery*, edited by Emma Bond and Michael Morris (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023), 185-199; Lisa Williams, 'African Caribbean Residents of Edinburgh in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', *Kalfou* 7, no.1 (Spring 2020): 42-49; Marika Sherwood, 'Two Pan-African Political Activists Emanating from Edinburgh University: Drs John Randle and Richard Akinwande Savage', in *Africa in Scotland, Scotland in Africa: Historical Legacies and Contemporary Hybridities*, edited by Afe Adogame and Andrew Lawrence (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 101-136; George A. Shepperson, 'An Early African Graduate', in *Four Centuries: Edinburgh University Life, 1583-1983*, edited by Gordon Donaldson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1983), 92-98; Ashok Malhotra and Roger Jeffery, 'The University of Edinburgh's India Connection', *University of Edinburgh Journal* 51, no.1 (2023): 18-23.

intensive research using a range of historical sources. Although some limited archival research has been conducted for this project in the National Library of Scotland, National Records of Scotland, and the UK's National Archives (Kew), for practical reasons the findings of this report originate mainly from desk-based research and a use of digitised materials. UCL's Legacies of British Slavery database, the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* and other reference texts, a variety of print media and family, local, regional, and military histories, among a range of other digitally available primary and secondary sources have been utilised to aid research. More in-depth archival research would undoubtedly uncover more benefactors with links to slavery and colonialism. Sources such as antiquarian texts and genealogies, for example, though essential in providing biographical information and other leads, can only ever produce limited results. Archival holdings which may provide more information on benefactors' links to slavery and colonialism, but which have not been consulted as part of this study, are highlighted in footnotes.

Geographical and thematic scope

This report does not solely investigate slavery-connected gifts but also those from individuals involved in or the direct beneficiaries of British and European colonialism and imperialism. It shows that the UoE has been a substantial financial beneficiary of British imperialism in Asia, and, to a lesser extent, South Africa. Institutional connections between the UoE and the East India Company (hereafter EIC) meant funds from serving and retired EIC officers – often alumni – often found their way into the university's accounts. As Andrew Mackillop writes, Scots' 'connections with the East Indies, if not as powerfully felt as the influence of the Atlantic world, were becoming increasingly pervasive from the 1760s onwards'.³⁵ Asia-linked 'returns' – of people, knowledge, resources and, as shown here, financial capital – greatly impacted Scotland's cities, towns, and institutions, especially, as Roger Jeffery and others have shown, the City and University of Edinburgh.³⁶

Separating out slavery- and empire-linked benefactions has its conceptual difficulties. The slavery-linked benefactions identified here most often, though not exclusively, went hand-in-hand with British colonialism, with notable exceptions being gifts from individuals whose wealth derived from slavery outside of a British imperial context (namely Brazil and the USA). The wealth of some benefactors, furthermore, can be traced to *multiple* domains within the British Empire; some gifts, in theory, could be placed in either (or both) the 'slavery'/'colonialism' categories. In such cases, a judgement call has been made on the relative significance of an individual's connection to slavery as to whether their gift should be placed in the category of slavery-linked benefactions; if the linkage to slavery is deemed relatively negligible then their gift has instead been categorised as an empire-linked benefaction.

Chronological scope

The UoE was founded in 1583. As the EIC was established in 1599, and the Union of the Crowns in 1603 provided limited routes for Scottish involvement in English imperial ventures over the ensuing century, this study has attempted to investigate all known monetary 'gifts' dating roughly back to the UoE's foundation. Research has not identified any slavery or empire-linked 'gifts' made to the UoE in the seventeenth century. This will partly be due to archival limitations when researching this earlier historical period, though it also reflects historical trajectories, namely more substantial Scottish involvement in imperial activities following the Acts of Union with England in 1706-7. With cases ranging from the early eighteenth century to the dawn of the twentieth century, however, this report still demonstrates the long chronological scope of the UoE's financial links to slavery and colonialism. Included here are endowments from individuals who invested in the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies (1695-1707), most well-known as the vehicle for Scotland's failed attempt at establishing a Scottish colony on the Isthmus of Darien in what is present-day Panama, commonly known as the Darien 'scheme'. As Stephen Mullen writes, the Company of Scotland has frequently been characterised in Scottish historiography as a 'tragic disaster for Scotland

³⁵ Andrew Mackillop, *Human Capital and Empire: Scotland, Ireland, Wales and British Imperialism in Asia, c.1690-c.1820* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021), 221.

³⁶ Roger Jeffery, ed., *India in Edinburgh: 1750s to the Present* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2020).

rather than a failed attempt at settler-colonisation intent on the exploitation of enslaved labour'.³⁷ Although the Company's links to slavery require a deeper investigation, it is clear that the Company not only planned to integrate Scotland into the transatlantic slavery economy, but in fact *did* engage in the trafficking of captive Africans in an Indian Ocean context.³⁸

Moving forward in time, this report also considers how slavery's profits – including monies passed down via inheritance, or generated in the United States and Brazil, where slavery was not abolished until 1865 and 1888, respectively – continued to flow into the UoE's accounts long after the abolition of slavery in the British Empire (1833-1838), along with the spoils of a 'second' British imperialism in Africa and Asia in the late Victorian period. Indeed, most of the endowments identified here come after the UoE's separation from the Town Council in 1858, following the Universities (Scotland) Act, at which point the institution became even more reliant on private philanthropy.

For this study, individuals have only been included when their connection to slavery and colonialism occurred or began *before* their gift to the UoE. For example, James Pringle of Torwoodlee, Commissioner for Selkirkshire in the Scottish Parliament from 1693-1702, gave £100 to the City of Edinburgh on 28 November 1694 for the maintenance of one bursar of Divinity or Philosophy at the city's college. Two years later, Pringle invested £1,300 in the Company of Scotland, a large enough subscription to make him a Company Director.³⁹ The gift to establish the *Pringle Bursary* thus predated and so cannot be directly tied to Pringle's investment and involvement in the Company of Scotland.⁴⁰ Similarly, General John Hope, 4th Earl of Hopetoun's 1789 gift of £52 10s towards the UoE's scheme to finance Old College arrived before his service in the late 1790s with Britain's military forces in the Caribbean, where he took part in the brutal suppression of African-descended people involved in Fedon's Rebellion in Grenada.⁴¹ Unless evidence emerges of Hope's colonial activities from an earlier period, it cannot be said that Hope's gift derived from a slavery- or empire-linked source.

Non-monetary gifts

Aside from a few incidental references, this study does not investigate non-monetary gifts such as artworks, manuscripts, books, scientific equipment or animal and botanical specimens. It is right to acknowledge, however, that some of these gifts will have come from individuals who operated in British colonial settings or were the beneficiaries of colonially derived slavery-connected wealth and

³⁷ Stephen Mullen, 'Centring Transatlantic Slavery in Scottish Historiography', *History Compass* 20, no. 1 (2022): 6-7.

³⁸ A Company of Scotland ship, the *African Merchant*, sailed to Africa in 1699, bringing back gold, ivory and rice (though no human cargo) from the western Gold Coast. In 1698, another Company vessel, the *Nasseu*, purchased enslaved people in Madagascar, and in 1701 and 1708 the Company 'initiated or licensed' slaving vessels in the Indian Ocean: George Insh, *Papers Relating to the Ships and Voyages of the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies, 1696-1707* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1924), xxi-xxii, 260; Mark Duffill, 'The Africa Trade from the Ports of Scotland, 1706-66', *Slavery & Abolition* 25, no. 3 (1 December 2004): 115, footnotes 2 and 3. Darien colonists, meanwhile, recorded their desires to introduce enslaved Africans to the region. A letter from the Council of New Caledonia in 1699 to Company directors in Edinburgh assured them that a 'firm settlement may be made' on the Isthmus, including adequate 'planting and improvement', but that 'no great stress can be laid for reimbursing the adventurers [investors], unless negroes be procured, white men being unfit for that work, more costly in their maintenance, and so only fit for defending the settlement and overseeing the work': Letter from the Council to the Directors, 23 December 1699, in John Hill Burton, ed., *Darien Papers: Being a Selection of Original Letters and Official Documents Relating to the Establishment of a Colony at Darien by the company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies, 1695-1700* (Edinburgh: Bannatyne, 1849), 216.

³⁹ *A Perfect List of the Several Persons Residenters in Scotland: Who Have Subscribed as Adventurers in the Joynt-stock of the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies: Together with the Respective Sums which They Have Severally Subscribed in the Books of the Said Company* (Edinburgh: Hutchison & Brookman, 1696), 11.

⁴⁰ *List of Deeds*, 9.

⁴¹ H. M. Chichester and S. Kinross, 'Hope, John, Fourth Earl of Hopetoun (1765-1823), Army Officer', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (hereafter *ODNB*), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13731>.

that they generated and, in some cases, continue to generate economic as well as intellectual value for the UoE. Ongoing research, for example, at the UoE's Centre for Research Collections into the provenance of the Manuscripts of the Islamicate World and South Asia collection has begun to unpack how EIC directors and officers 'collected' many of the rare and valuable items from South Asia and the Middle East that today reside in the UoE's collections.⁴²

Disaggregation

Apart from a few rare cases, in most instances it has been practically impossible to disaggregate the exact proportion of a benefactor's gift that derived from their colonial or slavery-connected activities. For example, we know that the £1,845 which Sir Robert Abercromby, a military general in India, gave towards the Old College fundraising campaign in 1794 derived entirely from 'prize money' awarded to him by the British Government for his role during the Anglo-Mysore Wars (see [Old College subscriptions, 1789-1794](#)). By contrast, we know that General John Reid's bequest to the UoE did not come *directly* from his inheritance of slavery-linked wealth or his ownership of land in North America, because his will clearly stated that it was his British estate (not the 'fortune' he inherited from his wife's family or his 'lands in America') that would finance the Chair of Music and the Reid concerts (see [Chair of Music \[1838\]](#)). This nonetheless raises an important question, one grappled with by other researchers in this field: to what degree can we separate Abercromby's, Reid's or other individuals' wealth neatly into colonially derived/slavery-associated and non-colonially derived/slavery-associated, when, taken together, those different sources of income contributed to their overall wealth and how they chose to spend or invest it?

This disaggregation issue means that this report adopts a very broad interpretation of 'linkages' to slavery and colonialism: from individuals whose wealth was predominately based on the profits of enslavement and/or empire, to those for whom such colonially derived money or assets constituted a far less significant proportion of their entire wealth. This wide range of linkages, of course, complicates any conclusions that might be made about the relative impact of slavery and colonialism on the UoE's finances.

This disaggregation issue is equally challenging when gifts came from groups of individuals or others institutions. Until the UoE's separation from the control of Edinburgh Town Council, many chairs, bursaries and infrastructure projects at the UoE were funded or supported by the patronage of either the Town Council or the Crown. Identifying slavery-associated or colonially derived wealth which *first* entered the Town Council and *then* the UoE is a complicated task that goes beyond the scale of this research project. Some reasonable speculation can be made, however, of the ways in which the Town Council's finances were entangled in the transatlantic slavery economy, a topic raised by the City of Edinburgh's Slavery and Colonialism Legacy Review.⁴³ The Council, for example, received income from taxes placed on ships arriving into Leith harbour bringing colonial 'groceries' (including goods cultivated by enslaved hands) to Scotland, and, though far less frequently than in London, Bristol and Liverpool, slaving vessels.⁴⁴ Funds which the Council drew from the transatlantic trafficking of enslaved Africans were almost certainly negligible when compared to those it received via duties from local merchants entangled in slavery-reliant Atlantic trades such as tobacco, sugar and cotton. The Council maintained a working relationship with such merchants: on 31 March 1762, for example, the Council considered a petition from the Edinburgh Sugar House Company for an

⁴² For more on this provenance and cataloguing research, see the following forthcoming publication: Lucy Deacon and Aline Brodin, 'Renaming (and Reshaping) the University of Edinburgh's "Oriental" Manuscript Collection"', in *MELA Notes* (forthcoming).

⁴³ Edinburgh Slavery and Colonialism Legacy Review Report and Recommendations (Edinburgh City Council, 2022), available at <https://democracy.edinburgh.gov.uk/mgConvert2PDF.aspx?ID=48188>.

⁴⁴ The slaving vessels the *Tiger* in 1672, and the *Glasgow* in 1765, both left Leith on journeys bound for Barbados, via an named West African location ('Africa') and Gambia, respectively. The latter brought 93 Africans into enslavement in Barbados. For details on these journeys, see the Slave Voyages database: <https://www.slavevoyages.org/>. For more on slaving vessels which departed from Scotland, see Mark Duffil, 'The Africa Trade from the Ports of Scotland, 1706-66', *Slavery and Abolition* 25 (2004): 102-22.

abatement of additional duties demanded upon the firm by the Council.⁴⁵ The Council occasionally drew from specific funding sources under its control to help finance the UoE. In 1838, for example, the Council ringfenced £2,500 annuity out of the revenues of Leith Harbour and Docks to support several academic positions at the UoE in the mid-nineteenth century.⁴⁶ Taxes raised through Leith Harbour during this period from the arrival of vessels holding goods originating in North and South American markets (including the USA, Cuba, and Brazil, where slavery remained legal until later in the century) were thus another route by which the UoE benefitted from slavery-linked money after slavery's abolition in the British Empire (1833-38). In short, any study of the UoE's financial links to slavery and colonialism up until 1858 cannot, in theory, be separated from the City of Edinburgh's history.

Funding from the Crown is another complex case that will only be explored here in brief. In 1707, for example, Queen Anne allotted a salary of £300 yearly at the UoE for Charles Erskine, Professor in Public Law and the Law of Nature and Nations; the next year she funded salaries for four Professors of Philosophy, one Professor of Mathematics, one Professor of Humanity, and one Professor of Hebrew to 'conduce to the promoting of learning in that part of our kingdom of Great Britain called Scotland'.⁴⁷ Queen Anne's financial links to slavery – including at one stage owning stock in the slaving South Sea Company – feature in the Church of England's research on its own institutional links to slavery via what became known as the Queen Anne Bounty.⁴⁸

Other organisations whose histories of slavery and colonialism have yet to be comprehensively investigated are not explored here. Some academic chairs, for example, at the UoE were funded by income of the properties of the Bishopric in Edinburgh (Public Law); the Lords of Session (Humanity); and the Society of Writers to his Majesty's Signet (Conveyancing). In most cases, it has not been possible within the timeframe of this project to adequately research other institutions' own financial links to slavery or colonialism, though such cases emphasise the multiple possible entry points for slavery- and colonially-derived wealth into the UoE's accounts, and the wider embeddedness of such wealth in Scottish and British society from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. The only exceptions to this rule are for organisations which have either recognised, or commissioned research into, their own colonial pasts.

An important category of benefactor identified here are those who worked for banks linked to slavery-connected Atlantic trades. As Berg and Hudson write, the 'financial needs of slave-related enterprise contributed to key financial innovations in national and international trade credit, bills of exchange, banking, mortgage lending, stock broking, insurance and public debt'.⁴⁹ In a Scottish context, explains Mullen, the 'extension of the national banking system to Glasgow was a necessary precondition for the progression of the city's capital-hungry West India commerce. Merchants held large sums of capital in account current and often invested directly in stock and shares in banks'.⁵⁰ Scotland's banking sector – of which Edinburgh was an important centre – thus had multiple connections to slavery estates in the Americas and slavery- and empire-linked wealth.

Student Fees

Time constraints have meant that the subject of student fees (the payment to matriculate each year, to attend lectures and to graduate) will not be explored here in detail, though it worth recognising that fees from overseas students were an important revenue stream for the UoE's yearly operations during

⁴⁵ Edinburgh Town Council Minutes, 31 March 1762, Volume 77, SL1/1, ECA.

⁴⁶ Scottish Universities Commission, *General Report of the Commissioners Under the Universities (Scotland) Act, 1858: With an Appendix Containing Ordinances, Minutes, Reports on Special Subjects and Other Documents* (Edinburgh: Murray and Gibb, 1863), 46-47, 198.

⁴⁷ Order VII, in Appendix, *Evidence, Oral and Documentary, taken and received by the Commissioners appointed by His Majesty George IV ... for visiting the Universities of Scotland*, Vol. I (Edinburgh, 1837), 50.

⁴⁸ D. A. G. Waddell, 'Queen Anne's Government and the Slave Trade', *Caribbean Quarterly* 6, no. 1 (1960): 7-10. For the Church of England report, see <https://www.churchofengland.org/about/leadership-and-governance/church-commissioners-england/who-we-are/church-commissioners-links>.

⁴⁹ Berg and Hudson, *Slavery, Capitalism and the Industrial Revolution*, 170.

⁵⁰ Mullen, *The Glasgow Sugar Aristocracy*, 295.

its early history. research in this field in relation to the Edinburgh Medical School indicates that between 1744 and 1830, at least 187 young men from the Caribbean graduated in medicine at Edinburgh, while almost 500 matriculated and several more would have attended classes without matriculating by paying a fee to the professor (as ‘occasional auditors’).⁵¹ Many students also came to study in Edinburgh from British North America prior to the American Revolution, and later from the USA.⁵² It can be assumed that many of these students were the sons of enslavers, or from families with other ties to slavery, meaning that their fees to matriculate, attend classes and graduate were another route by which slavery-associated money benefited the UoE. For much of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the fee to matriculate (which guaranteed students access to the Library) for medical students ranged from two shillings and sixpence to ten shillings, and to graduate, twelve guineas.⁵³ In 1792 attendance at most courses of medical lectures cost three guineas, with students taking multiple courses each session.⁵⁴ The shifting size of fees and the as-yet unknown total number of fee-paying colonial students means quantifying the economic impact of overseas’ students fees thus requires further research.

Ireland

Due to time constraints, financial links between the UoE and English and, later, British colonisation of Ireland have not been explored in any depth. Writing in the context of Ireland’s inclusion in their recent report into the ‘empire connections’ of the ‘Properties in Care’ of Historic Environment Scotland, Stephen Mullen, Andrew Mackillop and Stephen Driscoll have emphasised how the ‘case of Ireland exemplifies the contested nature of defining the Empire and deciding which territory is or is not in an “imperial” and “colonial” situation’. Drawing on the latest historiography, the researchers interpret the Ulster plantation from c.1606 onwards as an ‘early and seminal part of Scotland’s involvement in English and later British imperial expansion and colonialism’, with Scots playing a ‘disproportionate role in the displacement of native Irish people and communities’.⁵⁵

Two gifts provide examples of the kind of research that can be conducted on the UoE’s financial links to the colonisation of Ireland. In 1790 John James Hamilton (1756-1818), 9th Earl and 1st Marquess of Abercorn, subscribed £105 towards the capital campaign to finance the building of Old College. The 9th Earl of Abercorn came from a family of Ulster landowners: in the early seventeenth century, Hamilton’s ancestor, the 1st Earl of Abercorn, from Paisley, was granted lands in County Tyrone as part of the scheme for the Ulster Plantation.⁵⁶ Another case is Dr Daniel Ellis (1771-1841) whose bequest established the Ellis Prize in Physiology, awarded for student essays on animal or vegetable physiology. An obituary notes Ellis’s service as a medical and regimental officer in the Essex Calvary, joining them in the West of Scotland and in Ireland ‘towards the close of the rebellion’, likely a reference to an Irish insurrection against British forces in 1798.⁵⁷

⁵¹ Richard B. Sheridan, *Doctors and Slaves: A Medical and Demographic History of Slavery in the British West Indies, 1680–1834* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 58–61. Sheridan drew this data from *Medical Matriculation Albums, 1740–1830*, EUA IN1/ADS/STA/2, EUL; and *List of Graduates in Medicine in the University of Edinburgh, From MDCCV to MDCCCLXVI* (Edinburgh: printed by Neill & Company, 1867).

⁵² Samuel Lewis, ‘List of the American Graduates in Medicine in the University of Edinburgh from 1705 to 1866, with Their Theses’, *New-England Historic Genealogical Society* 42 (April 1888): 159-165.

⁵³ Grant, *The Story of the University of Edinburgh*, Vol 2, 8, 230-231.

⁵⁴ Prices varied between courses and over the duration of a student’s education: James Hamilton’s Midwifery lectures cost three guineas for the first round of lectures in a year, and then two guineas for the second and one guinea for the third, and thenceforth free (or students could pay an annual fee of ten guineas): J. Johnson, *A Guide for Gentlemen Studying Medicine at the University of Edinburgh* (London: Printed for G.G.J. and J. Robinson, 1792), 4, 31.

⁵⁵ Stephen Mullen, Andrew Mackillop and Stephen Driscoll, *Surveying and Analysing Connections between Properties in Care and the British Empire, c.1600–1997* (Historic Environment Scotland, 2024), 16.

⁵⁶ Patrick A. Walsh, ‘Hamilton, John James’, *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, <https://doi.org/10.3318/dib.003755.v1>.

⁵⁷ *The Gardener’s Magazine, and Register of Rural & Domestic Improvement* 17 (January 1841): 188–190.

Calculating present-day values

It is very difficult to accurately discern the relative worth of historical amounts of money in present-day terms, let alone the value of endowments over time. This study uses Measuring Worth, a resource created and used by academics, to provide three estimates for the present-day worth of funds:

<i>RPW</i>	<i>Relative price worth (relative to retail prices)</i>
<i>RWIW</i>	<i>Relative wage or income worth (relative to earnings)</i>
<i>ROW</i>	<i>Relative output worth (relative to GDP)</i>

The above three calculations provide a *range* of sums that aids understanding of the present-day worth of different historical sums. All three figures can be seen as valid equivalences, and all three are shared in the relevant sections below. For reasons of simplicity, readers may wish to refer in the first instance to the relative wage or income worth (RWIW) sums, which lie between the relative price worth (RPW) and relative output worth (ROW) figures. Measuring Worth calculators, if producing estimations that may be subject to debate, arise from the collaboration of economists and economic historians and have been adopted by a number of institutions who have undertaken similar work into their financial links to slavery.⁵⁸ In using Measuring Worth's calculators, this study borrows the rationale of the University of Glasgow's report, in which the authors discuss at great length the general difficulties in assessing values of money over time; specific issues in using Measuring Worth's calculators; and how best to interpret such sums.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Available at www.measuringworth.com.

⁵⁹ Newman and Mullen, *Slavery, Abolition and the University of Glasgow*, 12-21.

Endowments: Bursaries, Chairs, Fellowships and Scholarships

One night in 1863, a young enslaved man of African descent who lived and laboured on Palmeiras, a *chácara* (country estate) near Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, attacked his enslaver, Dr Robert Halliday Gunning, in his bed, with a weapon (either an iron bar or a pair of shears). Although ‘seriously beaten over the head’, Gunning recovered from the attack; almost nothing is known of the consequences for the young freedom seeker.⁶⁰ A Dumfriesshire-born UoE alumnus, Gunning held around thirty to forty enslaved people on Palmeiras. A decade earlier he had acted first as a medical officer and then Chief Commissioner for the National Brazilian Land and Mining Association, which operated the Cocais gold mine and institutionally owned between 300-400 enslaved African-descended miners. After thirty years in his adoptive home of Brazil, Gunning returned to Scotland a very wealthy man. In the years before his death in 1900, Gunning used his slavery-associated wealth to patronise a number of prominent Scottish institutions, including the UoE, where he endowed funds to establish the *Gunning Victoria Jubilee Prizes* in the Schools of Medicine and Divinity, and a Lectureship in Divinity. The *Gunning Victoria Jubilee Medical Prizes* were combined into a ‘merged medical fund’ in the early 2010s; at the time of writing, the Gunning endowments at the School of Divinity, which continue to support both the annual Gunning Lectures and the *Gunning Victoria Jubilee Divinity Prizes*, are collectively worth over £5 million.⁶¹

This section looks at historic endowments at the UoE from individuals with links to slavery and colonialism. Following the Universities (Scotland) Act (1889), the Scottish Universities Commissioners ordered the printing of a *List of Deeds of Foundation of Bursaries, Scholarships, Fellowships, etc., in the University of Edinburgh* (1891; hereafter *List of Deeds*).⁶² The document is a relatively comprehensive list of all bursaries, scholarships, foundations, and prizes still ‘on the books’ as of 12 June 1891, the earliest being the *Archibald Johnstone Bursary* (1619). The list provides important information concerning these gifts, including size of funds supplied; the date given; the targeted group (i.e. discipline; school; professors or students); and extracts or verbatim copies of foundational deeds of ‘mortification’ (a document that records the establishment of an endowment for a certain purpose). The *List of Deeds* thus provides a helping resource in ordering benefactions chronologically and collating biographical information on benefactors. It is not, however, a complete list of benefactions. Professor of Greek Andrew Dalzel’s posthumous multi-volume 1868 history collates earlier revenue going back to 1597.⁶³ Another text, *Deeds of Foundation: Chairs and Scholarships*, provides examples not listed in the *List of Deeds*.⁶⁴ Additionally, the *Edinburgh University Calendar* (from 1858 onwards), provides detail about new foundations and existing endowments.⁶⁵ From these different sources, a total of 195 endowments have been identified, though this may not be a conclusive lists.

Assessing these 195 endowments for the period 1597 to 1931, this report has identified:

⁶⁰ *Correio Mercantil* (Brazil), 15 February 1863, 1; John Codman, *Ten Months in Brazil: With Incidents of Voyages and Travels, Descriptions of Scenery and Character, Notices of Commerce and Productions, Etc* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1867), 75–78.

⁶¹ ‘Gunning Lectures’, School of Divinity, UoE, www.divinity.ed.ac.uk/news-events/public-lecture-series/gunning-lectures.

⁶² *List of Deeds of Foundation of Bursaries, Scholarships, Fellowships, etc., in the University of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Neil and Company, 1891) [hereafter *List of Deeds*].

⁶³ Andrew Dalzel, *History of the University of Edinburgh: From Its Foundation*, Volumes 1 and 2 (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1862).

⁶⁴ *Deeds of Foundation: Chairs and Scholarships*, University Factor, 1774-1962, EUA IN1/ADS/FAC, EUL.

⁶⁵ *Edinburgh University Calendar* (Edinburgh: James Thin, 1858-2003), EUA IN1/PUB/1, EUL.

- **Fifteen endowments with links to slavery in the Americas** ([Appendix 1a](#)) (approximately eight per cent of those studied)
- **Twelve endowments with connections to colonialism in India, Singapore and South Africa** ([Appendix 1b](#)) (approximately six per cent of those studied).

Therefore, approximately **14 per cent of the number of endowments studied as part of this research have been identified as having connections to slavery and/or colonialism.**

In total, **£125,984 of slavery-linked wealth** (in historical money, all figures rounded to nearest £) has been identified as having been invested in the UoE as endowments (i.e., values of all funds taken at the time of their endowment and added together). Using Measuring Worth calculations for each individual endowment, taken at the year in which funds came into the UoE's hands, this figure is equivalent in the year 2023 to:

RPW: **£14,621,500**

RWIW: **£112,831,000**

ROW: **£484,940,000**

In total, **£91,476 of empire-linked wealth** (in historical money) has been identified as having been invested in the UoE as endowments (i.e., values of all funds taken at the time of their endowment and added together). Using different Measure Worth calculations for each individual endowment, taken at the year in which funds came into the UoE's hands, this figure is equivalent in the year 2023 to:

RPW: **£11,223,600**

RWIW: **£63,059,00**

ROW: **£226,352,000**

Adding together these two sums (i.e., slavery-linked wealth plus empire-linked wealth), this report thus identifies a total of **twenty-seven empire- and slavery-linked endowments worth £217,462** (in historical money) as having been invested in the UoE. Using different Measure Worth calculations for each individual endowment, this figure is equivalent in the year 2023 to:

RPW: **£25,845,100**

RWIW: **£175,890,000**

ROW: **£711,292,000**

While relevant information is known for many of the 195 endowments, a lack of knowledge of the financial value of some of these gifts means that these monetary figures cannot be reproduced as percentages of the sum of all endowments.

Endowments with Links to Slavery

BENEFACTION	BENEFACTOR	DATE	AMOUNT	RPW	RWIW	ROW	LINK
McLurg Bursary	Sir James McLurg	1714	£166	£30,300	£435,000	£5,420,000	Company of Scotland investor
William Wardrop Bursary	William Wardrop	1725	£111	£20,900	£304,000	£3,320,000	Company of Scotland investor
Chair of Agriculture	Sir William (Johnstone) Pulteney	1790	£1,250	£189,000	£2,240,000	£17,600,000	Owner of estate and likely enslaved people in Caribbean
Stuart Bursaries	Rev. James Stuart	1809	£603	£55,300	£669,000	£3,840,000	Owner of an enslaved person in North America
Chair of Music	General John Reid	1839	£68,876 18s 3d	£7,660,000	£70,300,000	£329,000,000	Inherited slavery-linked wealth
Baxter Mathematical and Philosophical Scholarships and Baxter Natural and Physical Science Scholarships	Sir David Baxter	1863, 1865	£6,000	£745,000	£5,200,000	£17,100,000	Slavery-associated Atlantic trade (linen)
Horsliehill Scott Bursaries	Francis James Scott	1865	£2,000	£242,000	£1,710,000	£5,620,000	Investment in Caribbean estate that likely included enslaved people
Chair of Engineering	Sir David Baxter	1868	£6,000	£682,000	£4,700,000	£16,300,000	Slavery-associated Atlantic trade (linen)
Misses Baxter of Balavies Scholarship	Mary Ann Baxter	1869	£2,500	£292,000	£1,860,000	£6,620,000	Inherited wealth from slavery-associated Atlantic trade (linen)

Baxter Salary Fund	Sir David Baxter	1872	£18,000	£2,030,000	£12,800,000	£39,400,000	Slavery-associated Atlantic trade (linen)
John Edward Baxter Scholarships	John Edward Baxter	1876	£6,678 12s 7d	£794,000	£4,180,000	£14,500,000	Slavery-associated Atlantic trade (linen)
Steven of Bellahouston Scholarship	Elizabeth and Grace Steven	1882	£2,000	£254,000	£1,250,000	£4,150,000	Inherited wealth from slavery-associated Atlantic trade (sugar)
Buchanan Scholarship	Jane Buchanan	1883	£1,000	£127,000	£623,000	£2,070,000	Inherited wealth from slavery-associated Atlantic trade (sugar)
Gunning Victoria Jubilee Medical and Divinity Prizes	Robert Halliday Gunning	1890	£10,800	£1,500,000	£6,560,000	£20,000,000	Slavery-associated Atlantic trade (gold) and owner of enslaved people in Brazil
TOTAL (nearest £)			£125,984	£14,621,500	£112,831,000	£484,940,000	

Endowments with Links to Colonialism

BENEFACTION	BENEFACTOR	DATE	AMOUNT	RPW	RWIW	ROW	PLACE
Macpherson Bursary	Sir John Macpherson	1817	£2,740 12s 8d	£253,000	£2,810,000	£16,700,000	India
Sanskrit Chair	John Muir	1863	£6,250	£755,000	£5,370,000	£18,900,000	India
Abercrombie Bursary	Dr James Abercrombie Sr	1864	Not known	n/a	n/a	n/a	South Africa
Bruce of Grangehill and Falkland Scholarships and Bursaries	Margaret Stuart Tyndall Bruce	1865	£10,000	£1,210,000	£8,550,000	£28,100,000	India

<u>Guthrie Fellowship</u>	James Guthrie	1865	£2,500	£302,000	£2,140,000	£7,020,000	Singapore
<u>Falconer Memorial Fellowship</u>	Multiple subscribers	1869	£2,500	£292,000	£1,860,000	£6,620,000	India
<u>Neil Arnott Prize for Experimental Physics</u>	Dr Neil Arnott	1869	£1,000	£117,000	£743,000	£2,650,000	India
<u>Shaw Philosophical Fellowship</u>	Multiple subscribers	1869	£4,100	£478,000	£3,050,000	£10,900,000	India
<u>Shaw Macfie Lang Fellowship</u>	General William Lang	1870	£3,000	£363,000	£2,210,000	£7,440,000	India
<u>Vans-Dunlop Scholarships</u>	Dr Andrew Vans-Dunlop	1880	£57,000	£7,170,000	£35,000,000	£124,000,000	India
<u>Mouat Scholarships in Practice of Physic</u>	Dr John Mouat	1883	£1,599 16s 6d	£204,000	£996,000	£3,300,000	India
<u>Robert Mackenzie Campbell Scholarship</u>	Isabel William Campbell	1915	£786 11s 10d	£79,600	£330,000	£722,000	South Africa
TOTAL (nearest £)			£91,476	£11,223,600	£63,059,000	£226,352,000	

Accrued income from endowments

The figures in the above tables represent only the worth of the endowments on the date in which the funds were given the UoE. They thus constitute an *underestimate* of the cumulative financial impact of these endowments over time. Each endowment was invested with subsequent dividends raised being used to support stipulated expenditures (e.g., a professor's salary or a bursar's annual award).

After 1858, the *Edinburgh University Calendar* published information about endowments, though not usually in great detail. More comprehensive accounting data has been found in annual reports published between the 1890s and early 1950s.⁶⁶ After that time, however, the archival trail appears to go cold. It is possible that further accounting records for the second half of the twentieth century reside somewhere within the UoE's archive, but none have been identified so far. As robust records only exist for a relatively short period of time, it has not been possible to assess the accrued wealth and value over time of endowments. Using issues of the *Calendar* and the annual reports for 1895-1945, [Appendix 1c](#) shares relevant data (Value, Revenue and Expenditure) for just the slavery-linked endowments taken at regular intervals (roughly every decade) during this 80-year period. This is intended as an indication of the kind of research that might be conducted if more accounting records can be identified for an earlier period, and for the period from the 1950s to the present.

Most of the endowments discussed here seem to have still been active within the UoE's accounts by at least 1971, when they were recorded under the University of Edinburgh (Fellowships, Scholarships and Bursaries) Scheme (1971).⁶⁷ Some have been identified as 'active' or 'live' at the time of writing, and these are shared in the below table. There are possibly more that have not yet been identified. The Finances team at the College of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences has returned an information request on the present-day value of some of these active endowments, available figures for which are provided below; information on the present-day value of other endowments is still pending. Each fund holds a certain number of Capital Units, which derive from the original endowment; the value of these units is regularly updated and the economic value (£) of the sum of a fund's Units is referred to as Capital Investment. Funds which have underspent over several years against the dividends received have additionally acquired what is known as Accumulated Income Assets. Adding together these two figures (i.e., Capital Investment plus Accumulated Income Assets) provides the total present-day (i.e., 2024) worth of the funds.

⁶⁶ Henry Cook and C. E. W. Macpherson, *Accounts of the University of Edinburgh for the Year to ...* [dates for each year 1896, 1906, 1916, 1926, 1936, 1946] (Edinburgh: Printed at the University Press by T. and A. Constable Ltd, [1896, 1906, 1916, 1926, 1936, 1946]), all available in EUL.

⁶⁷ The University of Edinburgh (Fellowships, Scholarships and Bursaries) Scheme (1971), No. 1849, UK Statutory Instruments, <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukSI/1971/1849/contents/made>.

Known ‘live’ slavery- and empire-linked endowments

NAME	SCHOOL	DETAIL	VALUE IN 2024
Horsliehill-Scott Bursaries (Classics)	History, Classics and Archaeology	‘Awarded to two students each year entering their third year for the MA degree on the basis of class work. The bursaries are awarded to different subject areas on a rotational basis’. ⁶⁸	No exact figure available as amalgamated into two school funds (Classics and Philosophy)
Horsliehill-Scott Bursaries (Philosophy)	Philosophy, Psychology and Language Sciences	‘Awarded to two students entering their third year for the MA degree on the basis of class work. The bursaries are awarded to different subject areas on a rotational basis’. ⁶⁹	No exact figure available as amalgamated into two school funds (Classics and Philosophy)
Horsliehill-Scott Bursaries (Mathematics)	Mathematics	Unclear if still awarded but listed under general list of bursaries. ⁷⁰	-
Neil Arnott Scholarship for Experimental Physics	Physics and Astronomy	‘A scholarship, to the value of £250 per annum for two years, is awarded to the most distinguished student in the Physical Laboratory who must assist the Professor of Physics in the laboratory during the ensuing session ... If the Professor deems that no such student is worthy of the award, it may be given to a student for a degree in Art who passed the Physics examination with the highest distinction’. ⁷¹	-
Vans Dunlop Scholarship	Law	‘A scholarship, to the value of £1,000 maximum, is awarded to a student who has passed within three years immediately prior to the date of the award the last exams necessary for graduation in Law ... The holder must pursue a course of advanced study in law approved by the School during his or her tenure, and must not undertake any other employment or course of study except with the consent of the School’. ⁷²	-

⁶⁸ ‘Classics scholarships and prizes’, <https://registryservices.ed.ac.uk/student-funding/current-students/university-prizes-awards/humanities/classics>.

⁶⁹ ‘Philosophy, Psychology and Language Sciences awards’, <https://registryservices.ed.ac.uk/student-funding/current-students/university-prizes-awards/humanities/philosophy-psychology>.

⁷⁰ ‘A-Z List of Prizes and Awards’, <https://registryservices.ed.ac.uk/student-funding/current-students/university-prizes-awards/a-z>

⁷¹ ‘Physics scholarships and prizes’, <https://registryservices.ed.ac.uk/student-funding/current-students/university-prizes-awards/science-engineering/physics>

⁷² ‘Law scholarships and prizes’, <https://registryservices.ed.ac.uk/student-funding/current-students/university-prizes-awards/humanities/law>.

Misses Baxter of Balgavies Bursary Fund	n/a (external)	‘Awarded annually to undergraduates in second or later years who were educated at Dundee High School for at least one year and who are following degree courses that would have fallen within the scope of the previous Faculties of Arts, Law, Medicine or Science ... The level of the award is dependent on academic progress in the previous year’. ⁷³	-
Bruce of Grangehill Prizes	Philosophy, Psychology and Language Sciences	‘Prizes are awarded annually on the recommendation of the Head of Philosophy to the most distinguished students in Logic and Metaphysics’. ⁷⁴	Capital Units: 18,600 Capital Investment: £904,863 Accumulated Income Assets: £695,515 Total value: £1,600,378
Shaw Philosophical Fellowship	Philosophy, Psychology and Language Sciences	‘Open to applications from Masters of Arts students of any Scottish University of not more than three years’ standing and undergraduates who are proceeding to graduation as Master of Arts in the year of award ... The Fellowship may be awarded after consideration of the quality of work done by the applicants as undergraduates and in any subsequent study of Philosophy ... All candidates must be undertaking postgraduate study at the University of Edinburgh’. ⁷⁵	Capital Units: 20,303 Capital Investment: £987,712 Accumulated Income Assets: £893,136 Total value: £1,880,847
Gunning Lectures	Divinity	‘The lectures were set up to promote the study of Natural Science among the students of New College, specifically to bring to their attention the findings of Science, Philosophy, Language, Antiquity and Sociology. More recent Gunning Lecturers have covered topics including Religious Art, the World Wide Web, Economics, and Gender in Hinduism and Islam’. ⁷⁶	Capital Units: 10,308 Capital Investment: £501,469 Accumulated Income Assets: £320,122 Total value: £821,592
Gunning Victoria Jubilee Divinity Prizes	Divinity	No public information available.	Capital Units: 67,646 Capital Investment: £3,290,881 Accumulated Income

⁷³ ‘Other undergraduate awards’, <https://registryservices.ed.ac.uk/student-funding/current-students/external-funds/other-undergrad-awards>

⁷⁴ ‘Philosophy, Psychology and Language Sciences awards’, <https://registryservices.ed.ac.uk/student-funding/current-students/university-prizes-awards/humanities/philosophy-psychology>.

⁷⁵ ‘Philosophy, Psychology and Language Sciences awards’, <https://registryservices.ed.ac.uk/student-funding/current-students/university-prizes-awards/humanities/philosophy-psychology>

⁷⁶ ‘Gunning Lectures’, School of Divinity, UoE, www.divinity.ed.ac.uk/news-events/public-lecture-series/gunning-lectures.

			Assets: £1,203,734
			Total value: £4,494,615
Reid Orchestra Endowment	Music	No public information available.	Capital Units: 10,030 Capital Investment: £487,969 Accumulated Income Assets: £116,726 Total value: £604,695

Reinvestment of slavery- and empire-linked endowments

Using the robust accounting records for 1896-1946, a picture emerges of how the UoE's accountants reinvested endowments into Scottish land, British railways, war bonds, and colonial government bonds in the early twentieth century. Looking only at slavery-linked endowments for sample years (taken once every decade, starting in 1895), we can see that the UoE reinvested its slavery-linked wealth in the following enterprises:

- Bonds for lands (see map below) in Kilsyth (North Lanarkshire); Fouliden (Berwickshire); Auchencowie and Duntreath (Stirling); Schawpark (Alloa); Lassodie and Kilmany (Fife); Cally and Dirnanear (Perth and Kinross); Teaninich (Ross and Cromarty); Dunlop (Ayrshire); Duntarvie (West Lothian); Graitney (or Gretna) and Terregles (Dumfries); Galloway (unspecified); Broughton (South Lanarkshire); Culloden (Inverness); Strathenry (Glenrothes); Eskbank (Midlothian); Brucklay, Philorth, Fyvie and Nethermuir (Aberdeenshire); Letham (Angus); Breckness (Orkney); Busta (Shetland)
- a bond for an unspecified property in Edinburgh
- stock in Caledonian Railway; London, Midland and Scottish Railway; Highland Railway; Glasgow and South-Western Railway; North British Rail; London, Midland and Railway; London and North Western Railway
- war bonds during the First and Second World Wars
- colonial government stock in Commonwealth of Australia; South Australia; New South Wales; and New Zealand

Similar results can be expected of the empire-linked endowments. Further research would be required to assess the relative impact of these funds on these different enterprises, though this limited data is nonetheless suggestive of how the UoE inadvertently liquidated the profits of slavery and slavery-linked trades into land across Scotland (primarily in the Central Belt, but also in the Borders, Highlands and Islands); the transport infrastructure that drove British industrialisation and modernisation; the bonds that helped Britain's twentieth-century war efforts; and the colonial government stock that supported the administration of Britain's settler-colonies in the early twentieth century.

As well as chiming with others studies on the multiple connections between Atlantic slavery, British industrialisation and Scottish land-ownership, this snapshot – taken from only five sample years over a fifty-year period – compliments an ongoing study using the same records by Henry Dee and Nicola Perugini on the colonial dimensions of the UoE's investment portfolio during the same period (c. 1890s-1950s), and later investments in companies connected to South Africa during the Apartheid period.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ For the impact of slavery's profits on British industrial transition, see Berg and Hudson, *Slavery, Capitalism and the Industrial Revolution*. For plantation slavery and land-ownership in the West Highlands and Islands of



*Locations of Scottish lands invested in by the UoE using slavery-linked endowments.
Images courtesy of Google Maps.*

Scotland, see Iain MacKinnon and Andrew Mackillop, *Plantation Slavery and Landownership in the West Highlands and Islands: Legacies and Lessons* (Community Land Scotland, 2020).

Capital Campaigns: Old College (1789-1794) and the Old Medical School (1873-1885)

Without classrooms, offices, accommodations, libraries, museums, laboratories and other spaces for reading, writing, teaching, discussion, observation and experimentation, a university simply cannot function. For much of its early history, the ‘Tounis College’ operated from the Kirk o’ Field (Collegiate Church of St Mary in the Fields, a pre-Reformation collegiate church); Hamilton House, the mansion of James Hamilton, 2nd Earl of Arran; smaller buildings managed by the Town Council; and the homes of Regents and Professors. By the mid-eighteenth century, however, the UoE’s facilities were old and too small for the growing student population. Two major developments to the UoE’s built environment occurred over the next century. First, in 1789 the UoE administrators began the decades-long process to finance and construct a ‘new college’ for the university, the iconic South Bridge building known today as Old College. Second, in 1869 executive officers undertook a similar campaign to extend the UoE’s campus, leading to the opening of a new building for the Medical School on Teviot Place known today as the Old Medical School, and, by the end of the century, a graduation hall (McEwan Hall). These expansions to the UoE’s campus were partly funded by government funds, and partly through capital campaigns: fundraising schemes to solicit ‘subscriptions’ (donations) from private individuals and groups. In each campaign, the UoE invited members of the public – particularly alumni – to commit their financial support to the institution.

Using a combination of archival sources, two datasets – Subscribers to the University of Edinburgh’s Old College (1789-1794), and Subscribers to the University of Edinburgh’s Old Medical School (1873-1885) – have been produced and made freely available to access on Edinburgh DataShare.⁷⁸ These datasets document the UoE’s diverse supporters – men and women from a wide range of professional and social backgrounds and backgrounds, based across Scotland, Britain, Europe and the world – in two periods of time. It is hoped they will also be helpful resources for genealogists, family historians, social historians and historians of Scotland as well as those interested in the UoE’s global and imperial history.

Using these datasets and other archival records, this section of the report investigates the UoE’s fundraising activities during each capital campaign, focusing specifically on how UoE representatives courted prospective colonial donors – including former students working in Britain’s Atlantic and Asian colonies – and summarises some of the key findings relating to subscribers with links to slavery and colonialism. [Appendix 2](#) and [Appendix 3](#) details the subscribers to these two schemes who had some link to slavery and colonialism.

There are limitations to these findings. In many cases it is difficult to ascertain from subscription lists the identities of subscribers let alone their connections to enslavement and colonialism. As will be seen, subscription records sometimes consisted merely of a name (although anonymous donations were made, too) and an amount. Record of a subscriber’s title, profession, place, or other information can provide ‘leads’ to help identify some subscribers, though in some cases even these clues have not been enough to identify subscribers. Furthermore, for practical reasons, scoping research has largely taken place on the backgrounds of subscribers who gave over £10, apart from subscribers based in British colonies, or identified as ‘merchant(s)’: a total of 1,096 subscriptions have been identified for Old College, and 2,759 for the Old Medical School. Even with this filtering process, the limitations that come with largely desk-based research means it is possible subscribers with links to slavery and colonialism might be uncovered at a later date. It is therefore expected that the total sums presented in

⁷⁸ Simon Buck, ‘Subscriptions towards the University of Edinburgh’s Old College (1789-1794) and Old Medical School (1873-1887), 1789-1887’, dataset, Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, University of Edinburgh, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.7488/ds/7844>.

each section below are *underestimates* of the amount of slavery- and empire-linked wealth which contributed to the financing of these two buildings.

Old College subscriptions, 1789-1794

On 22 August 1793, the UoE reported in the press that it had received a new set of donations towards its fundraising project to construct a new campus building, what is known today as Old College on South Bridge. Included in that list of ‘subscriptions’ was the relatively small gift of £5 5s from Dr Samuel Athill in Antigua.⁷⁹ Samuel Byam Athill (1758- 1832) had long been connected to the UoE. Twenty years earlier he had travelled from Antigua to study medicine in Edinburgh, where he secured his MD in 1778.⁸⁰ While in the city he had assisted Dr Andrew Duncan Sr at the Public Dispensary, providing free medical care to the city’s poor. Duncan praised his Antiguan protégé’s ‘genius and industry’, including his contributions during a dissection at the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh.⁸¹ On his return to Antigua, Athill provided medical services, including vaccinations, for the Yeamans family’s sugar plantation. He soon began to take care of the estate on behalf of its absentee owners, before finally acquiring a third share in the property and the enslaved people attached to it.⁸² It appears that after marrying Mary Lynch in 1780, Athill gained an interest in his deceased father-in-law Nicholas Lynch’s estate and its associated enslaved people, which Mary had inherited.⁸³ In 1817, Athill registered a total of 364 enslaved men, women and children as part of the property, along and several others he registered on estates elsewhere on the island; two years later he leased the Lynch estate and its human chattels as part of a marriage settlement.⁸⁴ Among the many names Athill recorded in 1817 were Carpenter Quacco, Nanny Pungy and Congo Fanny; the 88-year-old Molly and three-month-old baby John James; and individuals whose names reflected African naming traditions (Phibba and Benneba), or their enslavers’ Scottish connections (Glasgow) or family name (Grace, Sukey, John and Ann Lynch).

During his post-university years in Antigua, Athill kept up his interests in medical science, writing to his former mentor Dr Andrew Duncan Sr (later a fundraiser and Professor of Medicine at the UoE) to share accounts of clinical cases from Antigua.⁸⁵ He also made public statements in favour of the continuance of the transatlantic trade in enslaved Africans. In 1790, Athill testified at parliamentary hearings on the abolition of the ‘slave trade’. Emphasising his combined authority as a ‘medical man and a planter’, Athill claimed that an end of the ‘African trade’ would cause havoc to Britain’s interests in the Caribbean as ‘[s]laves could not be kept up by breeding’. In any case, he continued, the ‘negro and his family [were] happier, and much freer from cares and misery, than the peasantry in many parts of this country [i.e. Britain]’.⁸⁶ It would take another seventeen years for the trafficking of Africans to be legally prohibited on British vessels. In the meantime, the labour of those Athill

⁷⁹ *Caledonian Mercury*, 22 August 1793, 1.

⁸⁰ ‘Athill, Samuel Byam’, *Students of Medicine, 1762-1826*, University of Edinburgh: Historical Alumni Collection, <https://collections.ed.ac.uk/alumni>.

⁸¹ *Medical and Philosophical Commentaries*, Volume 4 (London, Edinburgh and Dublin: J. Murray, Kincaid and Creech and W. Drummond, T. Ewing, 1776), 457-458.

⁸² For a detailed account of Athill’s role on the estate, see Ulrich B. Phillips, ‘An Antigua Plantation, 1769-1818’, *The North Carolina Historical Review* 3, no. 3 (1926): 439-45.

⁸³ Nicholas Lynch died c. 1769 and Mary was his only heir: Vere Langford Oliver, *The History of the Island of Antigua, One of the Leeward Caribbees in the West Indies, from the First Settlement in 1635 to the Present Time*, Volume 2 (London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1896), 210-11.

⁸⁴ *Slave Registers: Antigua, 1817-1818*, T71/245, pp.304-312, Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834, National Archives, Kew, London (hereafter NA); ‘The Honble. S. B. Athill to William Henry Fremantle Esqr. and others ... Lease for a Year’, 4 November 1819, M503, Beinecke Lesser Antilles Collection, Hamilton College, New York.

⁸⁵ *Medical and Philosophical Commentaries* 5 (1777): 181-183.

⁸⁶ *Abridgement of the Minutes of Evidence taken before a Select Committee on the Slave Trade* (London: n.p., 1789-91), 119-127.

enslaved – and whom he grossly misrepresented as being contented with their enslavement – would help the UoE-trained ‘medical man and planter’ accrue enough expendable income to allow him to comfortably send a small gesture of thanks to his *alma mater*. In so doing, Old College became – and remains – connected to the enslaved people in Antigua whom Athill claimed control over.

By the late eighteenth century, the UoE was held in high esteem locally, nationally, and internationally. The numbers of professors, students and courses had grown substantially over the last century, particularly due to the steady growth of the School of Medicine (est. 1726). The ruinous state of the UoE’s physical infrastructure, however, had become a source of embarrassment for both ‘town and gown’. Although plans for a ‘new college’⁸⁷ (today’s Old College) date back to the 1760s, it was only after the completion of South Bridge in the late 1780s that Edinburgh’s Town Council was able to begin plans to rebuild the UoE’s dilapidated buildings.⁸⁸

The Trustees appointed to oversee the scheme – including the Lord Provost, other representatives from the Council, judges, politicians, Presidents of the Royal Colleges of Surgeons and Physicians of Edinburgh and the UoE’s Principal and several Professors, amongst other prominent figures in Edinburgh – first met on 20 October 1789.⁸⁹ The Trustees decided to raise revenue for the scheme through a subscription campaign (i.e., donations from private individuals). In part this was out of necessity: the Town Council’s own funds were limited. It was also believed that raising capital through philanthropy would, in turn, secure the confidence of government in the project, and so attract public funds. Architect Robert Adam believed ‘private exertions will be the best spur to public aid as it will shew that we do not entirely depend on [the government’s] assistance for our University’.⁹⁰ Early accounts of the estimated costs for Adam’s ambitious college varied, although £60,000 was a commonly promoted figure throughout the first few years of the campaign.⁹¹ A lavish, well-publicised procession and ceremony to lay the foundation-stone on 16 November 1789 raised the project’s profile.⁹² The Trustees instructed their clerk to publish advertisements for prospective subscribers, and, later, lists of existing subscribers, in London newspapers, the *Edinburgh Courant* and, most frequently, the *Caledonian Mercury*. Subscription papers, meanwhile, were sent to ‘banks, bankers

⁸⁷ Known first as the ‘Town’s College’ or ‘College of Edinburgh’, and then officially ‘King James College’ (after a Royal Decree from King James VI in 1617), the University of Edinburgh gradually took on its current name over the seventeenth century, although it was still occasionally referred to as a ‘college’ well into the eighteenth and century. In most texts concerning the project to design, finance, and construct new buildings for the UoE, the term ‘new college’ is most frequently used. This should not be confused with New College, established in 1846 by the Free Church of Scotland and formally a separate institution from the UoE until it become the home of the School of Divinity in 1935.

⁸⁸ Two important studies of the ‘new college’ fundraising project are A. G. Fraser, *The Building of Old College: Adam, Playfair & the University of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989); Nick Haynes and Clive B. Fenton, *Building Knowledge: An Architectural History of the University of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Historic Environment Scotland, 2017), 33-86.

⁸⁹ In practice it was only a small subsection within the Trustees who attended all the meeting and undertook most of the work. The full list of Trustees included the Lord Provost; First Baillie; Dean of Guild; Treasurer; Convenor of the Trades; Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland; Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal of Scotland; Lord Register of Scotland; Lord Justice General of Scotland; Lord President of the Court of Session; Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer; Lord Justice clerk; Lord Advocate of Scotland; Solicitor General; Dean of the Faculty of Advocates; Keeper of His Majesty’s Signet; a representative of the city of Edinburgh in Parliament; a representative of the County of Mid-Lothian; Principal of the University; Professors, to be elected by the Faculty; President of the Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons in Edinburgh; Master of the Merchant Company of Edinburgh; a senior minister of Edinburgh; and, once the subscription scheme had begun, three subscribers who donated at least £100 each: University Committee Minute Book, 23 October 1789, 1/4/L23, ECA.

⁹⁰ ‘Robert Adam to Thomas Kennedy of Dunure, 3 October 1789, transcript from the originals in the possession of Lt Col. J. JK. MacFarlan, H2/ADR (P), Historic Environment Scotland.

⁹¹ E.g. *Scots Magazine* 54 (November 1793), 533.

⁹² University Committee Minute Book, 20 October 1789, 1/4/L23, ECA.

and booksellers' in Edinburgh and London, and to politicians across the country; etchings of the college designs were strategically placed in the homes of prominent British nobility and London businessmen.⁹³

One of the Trustees, Henry Dundas – an alumnus and immensely powerful figure in Scotland, at that time as an MP for Midlothian, Treasurer of the Navy and Commissioner of the Board of Control for India – was considered a key player in the fundraising campaign.⁹⁴ At a meeting of the Senatus Academicus on 19 October 1789, Principal William Robertson informed professors that Dundas had committed to using 'his utmost influence' to obtain aid from the government and to stimulate a 'liberal contribution' from the general public.⁹⁵ Trustees likely sought Dundas's support because his political power and far-reaching networks could attract press attention and healthy subscriptions from Britain's elite classes – at home and abroad. The *Caledonian Mercury* reported that month that Dundas planned to help the scheme by 'exert[ing] himself among his friends in the East Indies, that fertile source of wealth to this country. A supply is likewise expected from the West Indies, there being many opulent persons in both those countries, who have received their education in the University of Edinburgh'.⁹⁶ In November, the Senatus bestowed Dundas with an honorary law degree 'as a mark of respect from the College due to him, particularly at this time, when he is promoting with all his interest the erecting of new and elegant buildings for the proper accommodation of this university, of which he was formerly an alumnus'.⁹⁷

The subscription campaign was initially promising. By the start of December 1789, around £13,000 had been raised, including £8,700 in a single day.⁹⁸ Initial excitement, however, soon waned. The total raised was still only £16,869 by April the following year.⁹⁹ Edinburgh's Lord Provost Thomas Elder (whose provostship made him *ex officio* the UoE's Rector) visited London in March to solicit subscriptions and request government aid.¹⁰⁰ Elder's London trip proved unsuccessful and rumours of the Trustees' failings (and hubris) began to circulate among Edinburgh's elite. In May, Gilbert Inness of Stow, Director of the Royal Bank of Scotland, Manager of the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh, and patron of the arts in Edinburgh, wrote privately that

Provost [Elder] is returned without a penny from government for the new college, he had reason to believe Dundas would get him £30,000 or 40,000 – a damned scrape for the town and a take in to the subscribers who gave their money on the faith of great men's promises. The Bridewell [another project designed by Adam] is planned larger than before, nothing got for it either but promises – I know of a small cloud gathering that may blow that scheme to nothing. War [with France] is yet uncertain but stocks have tumbled and money, from being amazingly plenty in Edinburgh, beyond former examples is scarce and will be scarcer.¹⁰¹

Possibly because the promised bonanza from the colonies had not yet materialised, and a lack of progress threatened to damage the goodwill of prospective and existing subscribers, the Trustees met on 29 October 1790 to approve a draft letter to be 'transmitted to a number of Gentlemen in Jamaica'.¹⁰² The decision to write to Jamaica was in keeping with successful philanthropic approaches elsewhere in the city: the Managers of the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh (made up of a similar cross-

⁹³ University Committee Minute Book, 4 April 1790, 1/4/L23, ECA.

⁹⁴ For Dundas's ties to West India merchants and his role in delaying abolition of the slave trade, see Stephen Mullen, 'Henry Dundas: A "Great Delayer" of the Abolition of the Transatlantic Slave Trade', *The Scottish Historical Review* 100, no. 2 (1 August 2021): 218–48.

⁹⁵ Senatus Academicus Minutes, 19 October 1789, Volume 1, EUA IN1/GOV/SEN/MIN/1, EUL.

⁹⁶ *Caledonian Mercury*, 26 October 1789, 3.

⁹⁷ Senatus Academicus Minutes, 11 November 1789, Volume 1, EUA IN1/GOV/SEN/MIN/1, EUL.

⁹⁸ *Kentish Gazette*, 8 December 1789, 3.

⁹⁹ *Scots Magazine*, 51 (December 1789): 615.

¹⁰⁰ *Cumberland Pacquet, and Ware's Whitehaven Advertiser*, 31 March 1790, 3.

¹⁰¹ George Innes, of Stow, to William Hall at Pirntaiton, 25 May 1790, GD113/4/168, Papers of George Innes, Papers of the Innes family of Stow, Peeblesshire, NRS.

¹⁰² University Committee Minute Book, 29 October 1790, 1/4/L23, ECA.

section of Edinburgh's establishment) had successfully deployed the same tactic in the 1740s.¹⁰³ There are parallels, too, with the establishment of universities and colleges of the newly independent USA during the same period. Cross-referencing indicates that several of the Jamaica-based subscribers to Old College, for example, also subscribed to a similar 1773 scheme to raise money in Jamaica for the College of Philadelphia (later the University of Pennsylvania).¹⁰⁴

One of the co-signees of the 1790 letter to Jamaica was incoming Lord Provost James Stirling (who had replaced Thomas Elder that year). A Scottish banker and partner in Mansfield, Ramsay, & Co., Stirling had earlier sojourned as a young man to Jamaica to work as a clerk on the sugar plantations of Archibald Stirling of Keir, before later rising to become secretary to Jamaica's Governor, Sir John Dalling. Stirling is said to have returned to Edinburgh with a 'considerable fortune'. The origins of this 'fortune', beyond his clerical work, is unclear, though it likely involved investments in sugar-producing land, and possibly the ownership of enslaved people.¹⁰⁵ Further record of the Trustees' proactive attempt to attract colonial wealth from Jamaica can be found later, in April 1791, when Stirling requested 'some copies of the plans & Elevations' of the buildings be sent to Jamaica, from whence he expected 'handsome Subscriptions'.¹⁰⁶

The other co-signee of the 1790 letter to Jamaica was the minister and historian William Robertson, who had campaigned for new campus buildings since at least 1768.¹⁰⁷ Principal of the UoE since 1762, Robertson's intellectual relationship to slavery was complex. In 1788 William Wilberforce M.P., then in the early days of his abolitionist campaign, wrote to Robertson asking for 'such facts and observations' on the 'slave trade' that might be useful for him as he brought the issue to parliament. Wilberforce assumed that the two shared a similar position on the subject and was interested in 'any intelligence respecting the institutions of the Jesuits in Paraguay', a 'useful subject of investigation', he believed, to 'any one who would form a plan for the civilization of Africa'.¹⁰⁸ Although Robertson's response does not appear to have survived, Wilberforce's subsequent reply indicates the Robertson shared with him a sermon on slavery (largely confined to ancient rather than contemporary slavery) he had written on the topic several years earlier.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰³ Simon Buck, *Uncovering Origins of Hospital Philanthropy: Report on Slavery and the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh* (NHS Lothian Charity, 2022).

¹⁰⁴ 'List of Subscriptions obtained in Jamaica for the College of Philadelphia, by Dr John Morgan', c. 13 December 1773, in Minutes of the Trustees of the College, Academy and Charitable Schools, Vol. 2 (Trustees of the College, Academy, and Charitable Schools of Philadelphia, 1768-1791), 73-79, in University of Pennsylvania Board of Trustees Records, Penn Libraries, University of Pennsylvania.

¹⁰⁵ John Kay, *A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings, by the late John Kay, Miniature Painter, Edinburgh; with Biographical Sketches and Anecdote*, Vol. 1, Part 1 (Edinburgh: Hugh Paton, 1842), 373. Stirling's scepticism towards the abolitionist movement is documented in a 1792 letter to Dundas concerning a petition to abolish the 'slave trade' circulating in Edinburgh: 'Whatever may be the real spirit of these associations in the different parts of the United Kingdom ... it evidently appears to me very strongly mixed here with politics, supported and promoted chiefly by characters wishing to embarrass [the] administration': James Stirling to Henry Dundas, 7 March 1792, GD51/5/637/1-3, Dundas Papers, NRS.

¹⁰⁶ This comes from a letter from Robert Adam to John Paterson, 7 April 1791, MS 19992-3, National Library of Scotland (hereafter NLS), Edinburgh, UK.

¹⁰⁷ William Robertson, *Memorial Relating to the University of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Balfour, Auld and Smellie, 1768).

¹⁰⁸ William Wilberforce to William Robertson, 25 January and 20 February 1788, Robertson-MacDonald Papers, MS 3943, Folios 230-4, NLS.

¹⁰⁹ This was likely a 1755 sermon, published in 1775, in which Robertson claimed that 'No inequality of condition, no superiority in power, no pretext of consent, can justify this ignominious depression of human nature, or can confer upon one man the right of dominion over the person of another ... it is not the authority of any single detached precept in the gospel, but the spirit and genius of the Christian religion, more powerful than any particular command, which hath abolished the practice of slavery through the world': William Robertson, *The Situation of the World at the time of Christ's Appearance and its Connection with the Success of His Religion Considered* (Edinburgh: John Balfour, 1775), 33, 35. Alan McConnochie, advocate, cited Robertson in the *Knight v Wedderburn* case in 1774: Whyte, *Scotland and the Abolition of Black Slavery, 1756-1838*, 55, 71. For more on Robertson and empire, see Stewart J. Brown, ed., *William Robertson and the Expansion of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

The involvement of both men – one of whom had experience working on plantations in the Caribbean, and the other an influential Enlightenment thinker who opposed slavery in theory (although not enough to take a public stand on the issue) – in securing Caribbean wealth on behalf of the UoE encapsulates the often Janus-faced relationship between Edinburgh’s establishment and slavery in the age of abolition.

By transcribing published lists of subscribers in the *Caledonian Mercury* between 5 December 1789 and 11 October 1794, this study has compiled a dataset of the just-under 1,100 subscriptions (including repeat subscriptions) which the Trustees chose to publicise.¹¹⁰ Trustees may have not published all subscriptions, and computational or human error may mean some subscriptions may have been missed when searching through digitised issues of the *Caledonian Mercury*, the total sum of subscriptions arrived at through this method (approximately £36,000) comes relatively close to the figure of £30,000 later cited by Trustees, indicating that this dataset is reasonably robust.

Colonial subscribers: Caribbean and India

Between 1790 and 1793, **77 Caribbean-based subscribers** (predominantly in Jamaica, with two based in Antigua and one in Grenada) gave **£750 0s 2d** towards the UoE’s ‘new college’ (see [Appendix 2a](#)).¹¹¹ Most of the Caribbean-based subscribers gave relatively sums (under £5 each); a handful gave £20, £50, or £100 each.¹¹² Jamaica-based subscriptions (usually sent in local currency) were typically given their own section within the published lists. Among the Caribbean-based subscribers were those identified as ‘merchants’ (a term which obfuscates their trade in goods cultivated or produced by enslaved people, and often their accompanying ownership of enslaved people) and in the legal, military, naval and, most prominently, medical professions. A separate study has been conducted on the Caribbean medical subscribers.¹¹³

If not an insignificant sum, subscriptions from the Caribbean and specifically Jamaica were not decisive to the Old College fundraising campaign. In fact, they were likely far less than the Trustees had hoped for from Jamaica, whose slavery-reliant sugar economy – even despite the political and economic turbulence caused by the loss of the American War of Independence – still made it Britain’s most profitable Caribbean colony, and one with a prominent white Scottish population (including UoE alumni).¹¹⁴

By contrast **165 India-based subscribers** subscribed a total of £7,192 5s (see [Appendix 2b](#)) between 1789 and 1794. It would appear, however, that the UoE ultimately received a smaller amount from

¹¹⁰ Besides one exception, there are no known lists of subscribers for Old College held within the UoE’s archives. A printed list of subscribers, dated 5 March 1790, reporting a total (culminative) raised figure of £15,366 5s 6d, exists in the records of the Senatus Academicus. This is presumably an example of what was sent to the *Caledonian Mercury*, and to banks, homes, and others public and private spaces: ‘Subscribers to the New College, Edinburgh’, 5 March 1790, EUA IN1/GOV/SEN/COR (former shelf mark Da.32.1), Correspondence, 18th-20th century, Senatus Academicus, 1733-2002, EUL.

¹¹¹ This relies on a exchange rate in Jamaica of £1.4 Jamaica currency to £1 sterling, a model used in other economic histories of eighteenth-century Jamaica, e.g. Trevor Burnard and Sheryllynne Haggerty, ‘Commerce and Credit: Female Credit Networks in Eighteenth-Century Kingston, Jamaica’, *Enterprise & Society*, 27 February 2023, 1–26.

¹¹² *Caledonian Mercury*, 12 July 1790, 3; 21 August 1790, 1; 18 November 1790, 1; 22 August 1793, 1

¹¹³ Simon Buck, ‘To practise the healing art even in the most remote corners of the British Empire’: Slavery, Medical Philanthropy, and the University of Edinburgh’s Colonial Networks, c. 1789–1794, *Social History of Medicine* (2025): hkaf050 (FirstView), <https://doi.org/10.1093/shm/hkaf050>.

¹¹⁴ For more on Jamaica’s economic position after the American Revolution, see Trevor Burnard, *Jamaica in the Age of Revolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020), 238–249. The white population in Jamaica during the era of British slavery has been estimated at between one-tenth and one-third Scottish. Stephen Mullen and Simon P. Newman, ‘Scotland and Jamaican Slavery: the problem with numbers’, Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery blog, 2021, University College London, available at <https://lbsatuel.wordpress.com/2021/11/12/scotland-and-jamaican-slavery-the-problem-with-numbers/>, accessed 20 February 2024.

South Asia than that subscribed there.¹¹⁵ As detailed below, failure of a bank in Calcutta meant Trustees did not receive all the subscriptions promised to them from India. More reliable sources are publicised announcements of the bills of exchange from the presidencies of Madras, Bengal and Bombay received by James Stirling, Henry Dundas and 'P. Crawford Bruce' (likely Patrick Crawford Bruce, an EIC officer in Bombay).¹¹⁶ It is possible that these 'group' subscriptions, totalling **£2,629 19s 4d**, were either entirely separate to those individual India-based subscribers whose names were published, or were in fact the sums of those individuals' subscriptions in each region. A conservative estimate would therefore be that the UoE received *at least* £2,629 19s 4d from India towards Old College, but *possibly* upwards of £7,000.

In any case, Trustees had expected to raise over £10,000 from Asia. Reflecting a wider 'turn to the East' in British imperialism near the end of the eighteenth century, Trustees from the outset had always expected more funds from Britain's Asian colonies than the Caribbean. In February 1790, Andrew Dalzel, Professor of Greek at the University, and a Trustee for the project, wrote in a letter to a friend that 'subscriptions have gone on far beyond my expectations, though they were abundantly sanguine', with Dundas being 'no doubt of bringing £10,000 from India'.¹¹⁷ Trustees thus welcomed news in May 1791 that subscriptions of 'about £2000' would arrive soon from India in the next few months. The news was particularly well-received given several subscribers had not yet paid what they had promised, and lists were being compiled of subscribers who had yet to pay.¹¹⁸

A letter from Phineas Hall, a barrister in Bombay, to Dundas from December 1790 indicates the difficulties involved with the subscription drive in India. Hall had taken over the task of collecting Bombay subscriptions from General Robert Abercromby, who was soon to embark on an expedition to the coast in the war against Tipu Sultan, a long-time military opponent of the EIC. 'I am sorry to say that my success [in collecting subscriptions] has not been equalled by my zeal', Hall confessed to Dundas, the 'deficiency of subscribers ... accounted for from the present state of the settlement, entirely deserted by the Army who are now in service'.¹¹⁹ Hall appears to have studied Law at Edinburgh and was a founding member of the Juridical Society of Edinburgh, though his reasons for helping the Trustees may have been as much motivated by the access it gave him to Dundas than a sense of loyalty to his *alma mater*. After supplying Dundas with a summary of his career so far, Hall confessed that his offer of assistance was partly motivated by his wish to attract the 'notice of a gentleman [Dundas] whose character & abilities have done honour to his country'.¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ This study uses the following conversion rates: one *pagoda* to eight shillings, and one *sicca* rupee to two shillings. All conversion figures should be taken as guides to illustrate trends rather than entirely accurate equivalences. For the difficulties in assessing value of EIC coinage in sterling, see Matthew H. Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765-1843* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), xvii. The largest India subscription ('15,819 rupees'; assumed to be *sonat* rupees given *sicca* rupees are highlighted as such in other subscriptions) from Sir Robert Abercromby was valued at £1,845. This conversion rate (one rupee equals approximately two shillings) has been used for all *sonat* rupees raised in Bengal and Bombay, a figure which is close to Edney's calculation of a *sonat* rupee at one shilling, ten pence: *Caledonian Mercury*, 11 October 1794, 3.

¹¹⁶ *Caledonian Mercury*, 4 August 1792, 3

¹¹⁷ In another subsequent letter, Dalzel noted that the 'sum subscribed is about £17,300, besides a considerable sum we hear has been subscribed in Jamaica'. Both letters are reproduced in Andrew Dalzell, *History of the University of Edinburgh From its Foundation*, Vol. 1 (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1862), 80-81, 84-5.

¹¹⁸ UCMB, 18 May 1791.

¹¹⁹ Hall had recently relocated to Bombay after working for seven years at the bar in the Supreme Court in Calcutta: Phineas Hall to Henry Dundas, 2 December 1790, GD51/5/631, Letters and papers on Scottish affairs, Papers of the Dundas Family of Melville, Viscounts Melville, Melville Castle Papers, NRS.

¹²⁰ Ibid; *History of the Juridical Society of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Printed for the Society, 1875), 1.

EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY.

LIST of SUBSCRIBERS to the UNIVERSITY of EDINBURGH, transmitted to the Right Hon. the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council, by Colonel John Murray, Thomas Graham, Esq. John Fleming, Esq. Colonel Peter Murray, Alexander Ross, and W. Farquharson, Esqrs. a Committee to solicit contributions, appointed at a meeting of Gentlemen in Calcutta.

	Sicca Rupees.
Lord Cornwallis,	5000
The Hon. C. Stuart,	2000
Colonel John Murray,	1000
Colonel Alexander Ross,	1000
Colonel Peter Murray,	1000
Thomas Graham, Esq.	1000
John Fleming, Esq.	1000
Sir Robert Chalmers,	200
James Campbell, Esq.	250
James Hare Esq.	500
William Dick, Esq.	200
William Smout, Esq.	100
Anthony Lambert, Esq.	100
William Fairlie, Esq.	250
Alexander Colvill, Esq.	250
David Ross, Esq.	200
John Reid, Esq.	100
Major William Duncan,	100
Captain James Williamson,	100
Captain A. Pringle,	50
Ensign James Wright,	50
John Wood, Esq.	50
William Inglis, Esq.	100
T. Calcutt, Esq.	50
George Boyd, Esq.	500
William Anderson, Esq.	50
Edmund Morris, Esq.	100
W. N. W. Hewett, Esq.	100
Major Charles Maitland,	100
Mr James Ross,	100
Mr J. Watts,	105
Hugh Muir, Esq.	1000
S. S. Taylor, Esq.	100
James Grant, Esq.	200
William Douglas, Esq.	100
Robert Ireland, Esq.	50
Capt. W. Macdonald of the Ann and Eliza,	50
B. Crisp, Esq.	100
William Ross Munro, Esq.	200
John Mackenzie, Esq. jun.	100
Mr Thomas Watt,	100
Alex. Russell, Esq.	200
Joseph Barretto, Esq.	150
Mr Davies,	50
Lieut. Col. V. W. Hauley,	105
P. Cochran, Esq.	50
Capt. J. Collins,	100
Mr R. Stewart,	160
J. L. Chavett, Esq.	100
G. Rankin, Esq.	100
R. Fergusson, Esq.	200
Lieut. John Moungh,	100
Robert Graham, Esq.	200
James Stark, Esq.	100
John Henderson, Esq. of Jeffere,	100
Mr William Gurrel,	100
The Rev. Mr D. Mackay, 72d regiment,	30
Lieut. Rob. Macray, Bengal Cavalry,	20
Lieut. John Macgregor, 70th regiment,	20
Lieut. Malcolm Macgregor, Madras Etab.	20
Lieut. Donald Macgregor, 73d regiment,	20
Cornet V. Macgregor, Madras cavalry,	20
Ensign Donald Macgregor, Madras Infantry,	20
Lieut. Rob. Macgregor, Bengal Establishment,	25
Lieut. John Macgregor, ditto ditto,	25
Major Robert White,	105
Capt. Alex. Orme, Major of Brigade,	50
Ensign William Graham,	25
Archibald Montgomery, Esq.	500
Capt. John Macintyre,	50
Joseph York Kinloch, Esq.	50
Dr Alex. Campbell, Physician,	500
Capt. Thomas Hogan,	100
Mr G. C.	100
Robert Grant, Esq.	100
Capt. Ludovick Grant,	100
Capt. Thomas Green,	100
Capt. John Bready,	100
Capt. William Rattray,	100
Mr W. Cairns, Assistant Surgeon,	50
Mr George Fraser, ditto,	50
Major W. Palmer,	100
Major James Dickson,	100
Ensign J. Rolland,	50
Lieut. Peter Black,	32
Lieut. B. Kelly,	20
Jonathan Duncan, Esq.	600
Alexander Duncan, Esq.	200
Doctor John Alexander,	100
Doctor Adam,	100
Captain John Wilson, of the ship Mary,	50
Total, Sicca Rupees,	22022

SUBSCRIBERS NAMES, transmitted in a letter from Jamaica.

	Jamaica Currency.
James Walker, M. D.	5 5 0
David Grant, M. D.	5 5 0
Thomas Lunglas, M. D.	5 5 0
Thomas Nieuville, M. D.	5 5 0
Caleb Dickenson, M. D.	5 5 0
Thomas Steakes Harris, Esq.	5 5 0
William Lambie, Esq.	5 5 0
Hinton East, Esq.	5 5 0
John Allan, Esq.	5 5 0
Archibald Galbraith, Esq.	5 5 0
John Nieuville, Esq.	5 5 0
F. Christie, Esq.	5 5 0
John Dick, Esq.	5 5 0
James Stewart, Esq.	5 5 0
William Fortescue Harris, Esq.	5 5 0
Alexander Forbes, Esq.	5 5 0
William Halgate, Esq.	5 5 0
James Rothead, Esq.	5 5 0
Robert Beeg, Esq.	5 5 0
James Cleghorn, Esq.	5 5 0
Hamilton Lithgow, Esq.	5 5 0
Thomas McKimlay, Esq.	5 5 0
William Lumden, Esq.	5 5 0
Ambrose Carter, Esq.	5 5 0
William Paterson, Esq.	5 5 0
William Ross, Esq.	5 5 0
David Baillie, Esq.	5 5 0
Alexander Aikman, Esq.	5 5 0
James Dickson, junior, Esq.	5 5 0
Dr William Fife,	5 5 0
Dr John Harris,	5 5 0
Dr John Tod,	5 5 0
Dr Donald Cameron,	5 5 0
Dr McMillan Jamieson, Royal Artillery,	5 5 0
Dr Archibald Menzies, 10th Regiment,	5 5 0
Dr James McVicar,	5 5 0
Dr Alexander Maitland,	5 5 0
Dr Edward Richards,	5 5 0
Dr William Flanagan,	5 5 0
Dr McKinnon,	5 5 0
Dr Morely,	5 5 0
Mr James Waddel, merchant,	5 5 0
Mr James Walker, do.	5 5 0
Mr James Morely, do.	5 5 0
Mr Thomas Branton, do.	5 5 0
Mr Simon Gibbs, do.	5 5 0
Mr Robert Kirkwood, surveyor,	5 5 0
Captain Robert Liddel, Ship Rosella,	5 5 0
Dr James Shaw,	3 5 0
Dr William Johnston,	3 5 0
Dr James Gordon,	3 5 0

Left: subscriptions from a 'Committee to solicit contributions [for the University of Edinburgh], appointed at a meeting of Gentlemen in Calcutta': *Caledonian Mercury*, 6 August 1792, 1.

Right: subscriptions 'transmitted in a letter from Jamaica': *Caledonian Mercury*, 21 August 1790, 1.

As Hall's letter indicates, the subscription drive was slower to progress in India as it had been in the Caribbean, though the campaign appears to have become quite organised once it got off the ground. In May 1791, several 'respectable gentlemen' in Calcutta formed a society to promote plans for the building and appointed a committee to collect subscriptions. The 'very handsome subscription' raised by the Society included funds from Lord Charles Cornwallis, Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of India, and Colonel Charles Stuart.¹²¹ In August, the *Caledonian Mercury* excitedly reported that £11,000 had been collected by subscription in the East Indies, but by the next month the Trustees had announced they had begun soliciting subscriptions from presbyteries and councils across Scotland to enable them to 'proceed in this great work without relaxation, until the large subscription from India arrive[s]'.¹²²

At some stage in 1792 a 'Committee for Subscriptions for Edinburgh's New College' (possibly related to the aforementioned 'society', or a different group) was established in Calcutta. Its secretary, J. C. Gordon, praised the project's 'laudable purpose' and hoped that the 'desire of encouraging an undertaking of such importance to Literature, will induce many more to give their assistance and support'. Later, in 1794, Gordon's committee circulated proposals to publish by subscription the medical professional John Peter Wade's four-volume *The History of Assam*, with profits from sales going towards the 'New College of Edinburgh'.¹²³

In August 1792, the *Caledonian Mercury* noted Provost James Stirling's receipt of £1,100 from Bengal, but also his fear that only part of a further sum of 10,000 rupees subscribed there could be recovered from the bank in Calcutta where the money had been deposited following its recent failure.¹²⁴ Subscriptions then largely dried up until 1794, when Trustees received a much-needed donation of £1,845 – the largest single subscription received during the whole fundraising campaign – from Sir Robert Abercromby in India. Abercromby's subscription came entirely from 'prize money' which the government had awarded him for the 'reduction of the province of Malabar by the army under his control', a reference to his commanding role during the Anglo-Mysore Wars. Highlighting Abercromby's 'munificence', the *Caledonian Mercury* reported that he had declined to accept 'any share of the gratuity or prize-money allowed the army on the termination of the glorious war' with Tipu Sultan, instead choosing to give his award directly to the UoE.¹²⁵

The influx of colonial wealth – though perhaps less than the Trustees had expected or hoped for – was not enough to alleviate the project's financial woes. As early as July 1791, cash shortfalls prompted the Trustees to consider ways to delay or stop work altogether.¹²⁶ The death of architect Robert Adam in 1792 was the first major stumbling block for the project; over subsequent years, war with France, poor harvests and high inflation had even more detrimental effects.¹²⁷ Issues in securing the India subscriptions, and the relatively low amounts drawn from the Caribbean, were also contributing factors. By 1795 the project's funds were almost entirely exhausted. In 1799 Trustees solicited for emergency government aid, with £5,000 eventually provided by parliament over the next few years,

¹²¹ The Calcutta Committee comprised of Colonel John Murray, Lieutenant-Colonel A. Poss, Thomas Graham, Andrew Hunter, John Fleming, William Farquharson, Lieutenant-Colonel P. Murray, and James Cosmo Gordon, the latter acting as Secretary: *Caledonian Mercury*, 25 April 1791, 3.

¹²² *Caledonian Mercury*, 18 August 1791, 3; 29 September 1791, 3.

¹²³ *Calcutta Gazette*, 16 February 1792, 2; 18 December 1794, 1. For more on Wade, a medical alumnus of the UoE, see Arupjyoti Saikia, 'Geographical Exploration and Historical Investigation: John Peter Wade in Assam', in *Landscape, Culture, and Belonging: Writing the History of Northeast India*, edited by Neeladri Bhattacharya and Joy L. K. Pachau (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 110–28.

¹²⁴ It was around this time that Henry Dundas received funds from Madras, and the Trustees collected the Bombay collection: *Caledonian Mercury*, 4 August 1792, 3; 29 November 1792, 2; 8 December 1792, 1. The collapse of the Calcutta bank was mentioned in a later 'memorial' from the Trustees to Henry Dundas in 1800, soliciting emergency government aid: Memorial to Henry Dundas, 17 November 1800, Da.32.1, Papers relating to the rebuilding of Edinburgh University 1742 - 1810, Correspondence, 18th-20th century, Senatus Academicus, 1733-2002, EUA IN1, EUL.

¹²⁵ *Caledonian Mercury*, 11 October 1794, 3.

¹²⁶ UCMB, 2 July 1791.

¹²⁷ For more on the 'Playfair' stage of Old College's construction, see Fraser, *The Building of Old College*.

strictly for the paying of outstanding debts. In 1800 the *Caledonian Mercury* reported positively on the government's intervention, which would finish works on a half-constructed building that had become a 'monument at once of national pride and poverty'.¹²⁸ The project lay low until 1815 when the defeat of Napoleon and a more promising economic climate allowed the hiring of a new architect, William Playfair. The next stages of the project, which raised the project's total costs to somewhere over £180,000, were funded almost entirely by government aid.

Political and economic contexts ultimately meant private subscriptions alone could not finance the building of Old College. Funds from colonial subscribers were a small fraction of the total amount required to finish the project over forty or more years. The total funds identified through this research as having been *subscribed* during the campaign (an overestimate, give the aforementioned caveats) comes to around £36,464 2s 3d. Subscriptions from the Caribbean thus made up 2 per cent of the entire amount *raised*, and subscriptions from India came to 27 per cent of that *subscribed* and at least 7 per cent of that *raised*. It should be noted, however, that the *promise* of colonial funds (if overblown) likely kept the project's momentum going during an acutely difficult period of time for philanthropic projects in Britain. Old College may not have gotten off the ground – at least to the point where the British government was willing to intervene to foot the bill to finish the half-constructed building – without wealth derived directly from British colonies. Old College thus owes at least part of its construction to the labour of enslaved and colonised peoples.

Many of the Caribbean-based subscribers personally owned enslaved people, or were members of families which did.¹²⁹ Some subscribers worked in professional roles (often alongside their personal ownership of property and enslaved people), in colonial law (Hon. John Palmer and Hon. John Grant) and surveying (Robert Kirkwood); in the military (Dr Archibald Menzies and Dr McMillan Mathieson); and the merchant navy (Captain Robert Liddel).¹³⁰ Five subscribers identified as merchants – including James Waddell, who owned enslaved people and whose 'extensive mercantile dealings ... allowed him to accumulate a fortune of £47,857 sterling' – though several of those who gave no profession or title in the subscription can also be identified as either planters or merchants.¹³¹ Some took on roles in administration of their colony, such as the enslaver Alexander Aikman, a member of Jamaica's House of Assembly. Of the India-based subscribers, many are identified in subscription records as EIC officers and captains of East Indiamen. Unsurprisingly, many colonial subscribers were born in Scotland or of Scottish heritage, and several were alumni of the UoE.

¹²⁸ *Caledonian Mercury*, 20 October 1800, 3.

¹²⁹ 'Caleb Dickenson of Knockpatrick', Legacies of British Slavery (hereafter LBS) database, University College London, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146632156>; 'Dr David Grant', <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146644713>; 'Dr Francis Rigby Brodbelt', <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146659217>; 'Francis Rigby Brodbelt Stallard Penoyre formerly Brodbelt', <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146638591>; 'Thomas Nasmyth', <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146634320>; 'John Drummond', <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/17239>; 'James MacVicar Affleck I', <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146662457>; 'Dr Tod', <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146646709>; 'William Fyfe', <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146666657>; 'Samuel Byam Athill', <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146639397>; 'Hon. John Palmer', <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146644535>; 'James Waddell', <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146646789>; 'James Walker of Woodlands, Dumfries', <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146645327>; 'Simon Gibbs', <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146636439>; 'Alexander Aikman senior', <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/15301>.

¹³⁰ At the time of his subscription, Robert Liddel captained the *Roselle*, one of the three ships to Jamaica which Robert Burns booked to travel on (though never did). For more on Burn and Jamaica, see Stephen Mullen, 'Robert Burns, Slavery and Abolition: Contextualising the Abandoned Jamaica Sojourn in 1786', *Editing Robert Burns for the 21st Century*, <https://burnsc21.glasgow.ac.uk/robert-burns-slavery-and-abolition-contextualising-the-abandoned-jamaica-sojourn-in-1786-part-1-of-2/>.

¹³¹ Mullen, *The Glasgow Sugar Aristocracy*, 162.

Further research is required to write a comprehensive prosopography of Old College's colonial subscribers, though a forthcoming study by the present author considers the largest professional group among the Caribbean subscribers: medical practitioners. Medical professionals in Britain and its colonies were key targets for the Trustees. On 18 November 1789, Trustees requested Drs Andrew Wardrop, (President of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh), Benjamin Bell (an Edinburgh-based surgeon), and Dr Andrew Duncan Sr (soon to be Professor of Medicine) to 'transmit subscription papers to the Practitioners of Medicine in different parts of the Globe with whom they are acquainted'.¹³² An extant copy of their printed and signed letter shows how the doctors explained the UoE's need to solicit funds from abroad:

[t]he liberal exertions of all ranks in the City have already exceeded expectation. Yet these can afford but very inadequate funds for so expensive an undertaking. The Trustees are therefore under the necessity of looking abroad for assistance. Among those to whom application may be made on this occasion, we flatter ourselves, that no set of men retain a more grateful remembrance of the benefits they have derived from this University than those who have here received a Medical Education; and we trust that none will show greater exertions in promoting a Plan so essential to its fame, and so conducive to its advantage.¹³³

Old College was in no small part a project of medical philanthropy: both in terms of its primary purpose to provide greater infrastructure for a blossoming Medical School, but also in how it was funded through the networks of the medical profession across the British Empire.

Britain- and USA-based subscribers with links to slavery and colonialism

Funds sourced *directly* from the colonies were only one method by which slavery-associated or colonially derived wealth helped to finance the building of Old College. Any assessment of the impact of such wealth on the fundraising campaign must take into account Britain-residing subscribers, or other foreign subscribers whose wealth was in some way entangled in empire and/or enslavement.

[Appendix 2c](#) lists **forty-eight Britain-based subscribers to Old College with identified or likely links to slavery**, who subscribed a total of **£2,373 7s 11d**. These individuals claimed an array of connections to slavery in the Caribbean and North America, including as owners of enslaved people; beneficiaries of slavery-derived wealth, through marriage or inheritance; trustees or other claimants over Caribbean estates and enslaved people; traders in goods cultivated, produced or used by enslaved people (tobacco, sugar, rum, iron); former administrators of Atlantic colonies; bankers whose banks provided financial services for West India merchants and planters; military officers in British North America and the Caribbean (including those who served in conflicts involving enslaved people such as Britain's capture of Havannah and Martinique); and professionals (including medical practitioners) who returned from the Caribbean to Britain. Excluded from this list for reasons discussed earlier are two substantial donations from 'HM, the King', King George III (£5,200), and the City of Edinburgh (£2,000).

A list of **five Britain-based subscribers to Old College with links to colonialism** – largely through professional careers in the EIC – who subscribed a total of **£381**, can be found in [Appendix 2d](#).

[Appendix 2e](#), meanwhile, lists **two USA-based subscribers to Old College**, both of whom were Scottish migrants who either owned enslaved people or traded in goods cultivated by enslaved people in southern states, and donated a total of **£25**.

¹³² University Committee Minute Book, 18 November 1789, 1/4/L23, ECA

¹³³ The letter can be found in MS 3998/44-5, Miscellaneous letters and papers, collected by William Kirk Dickson, NLS. For Duncan's fundraising among the British-Atlantic medical profession, including his publication of a list of medical subscribers, see *Medical Commentaries* 4 (1790): 415, 485-88; *Medical Commentaries* 5 (1791): 410-20; *Medical Commentaries* 8 (1794), 425-39.

Summary: Old College subscriptions with connections to slavery and colonialism

Although no complete list of subscribers survives, this research has identified **a total of £36,339 2s 3d in subscriptions** towards the building of Old College. As already stated, this represents only funds from philanthropic sources, not the considerable government funds which ultimately completed the project.

The below table shows that of Old College's private philanthropy, approximately **nine per cent has been identified as coming from slavery-connected sources**, and **a further approximately eight per cent from empire-linked sources**. Taken together, these figures comprise around **seventeen per cent of the total worth of all subscriptions**. Estimations of the present-day values of these sums have been calculated using Measuring Worth For convenience, 1792 (an approximate midpoint over the six-year period) has been used as the 'initial' year and 2023 as the 'desired' year.

	AMOUNT	% (subscriptions)	RPW (retail)	RWIW (earnings)	ROW (GDP)
Slavery-linked					
Caribbean	£750 0s 2d	2.1%	£108,000	£1,230,000	£8,920,000
USA	£25	0.1%	£3,840	£43,800	£316,000
Britain	£2,473 7s 11d	6.8%	£380,000	£4,330,000	£31,300,000
<i>SUBTOTAL</i>	<i>£3,405 18s 1d</i>	<i>8.9%</i>	<i>£481,840</i>	<i>£5,603,800</i>	<i>£40,536,000</i>

Empire-linked					
India	£2,629 19s 4d	7.2%	£404,000	£4,610,000	£33,300,000
Britain	£381	1%	£58,600	£667,000	£4,820,000
<i>SUBTOTAL</i>	<i>£2,860 19s 4d</i>	<i>8.2%</i>	<i>£462,600</i>	<i>£5,277,000</i>	<i>£38,120,000</i>

Slavery- and empire-linked					
<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>£6,258 7s 6d</i>	<i>17.1%</i>	<i>£954,440</i>	<i>£10,880,800</i>	<i>£78,656,000</i>

Old Medical School subscriptions, 1873-1885

The Jamaica-born Dr Izett W. Anderson practiced medicine in Edinburgh, London and Kingston, Jamaica in the late nineteenth century. He was the son of William Wemyss Anderson, a Scottish lawyer in Kingston, whose professional life included acting as a creditor or trustee on estates with enslaved people attached to them.¹³⁴ In 1867, Izett Anderson published an article in the medical journal *The Lancet* on the so-called ‘Turtle Woman’ of Demerara.¹³⁵ The article was based on a photograph and description of a unnamed 24-year-old ‘black girl’ with a congenital deformity given to him by his brother, Dr Francis Henry Anderson.¹³⁶ Her case was of ‘such interest and comparative rarity’ to Izett that he obtained permissions from his brother Francis, Demerara’s Surgeon-General, to include an etching of the photograph in *The Lancet*.

The young woman’s ‘peculiar malformation of the lower extremities’ supposedly derived from her pregnant mother having experienced a fright from a turtle. Described as generally ‘healthy’, she was able to do needlework by holding the cloth between her right arm and her body, using the needle with her left hand. After losing a child in labour, and then later suffering a miscarriage, the unnamed woman died from syphilis in Demerara’s Colonial Hospital on 10 July 1867. It is unclear whether Francis himself took the intimate and invasive photograph of the ‘Turtle Woman’ – most likely taken without its subject’s informed consent – but it would appear likely. As well as the photograph, Francis provided exacting measurements of the woman’s bones taken during a post-mortem.

It was not unusual in the late nineteenth century for medical professionals to draw attention to ‘cases’ of people with congenital disabilities. Belief in maternal impressions – the idea that an expecting mother’s experiences or emotions during pregnancy could cause a congenital disability in her child – can be found in numerous societies dating back to antiquity, and was regularly associated with white as well as Black disabled people.¹³⁷ In a post-slavery colonial society like Demerara, however, such beliefs were wrapped up in a particularly unequal power dynamic between patient and medical professional, in this case between a disabled woman of African descent and the white male doctor who examined her body and took her photograph. Like so many Black bodies before and after slavery’s abolition in the British Empire, the so-called ‘Turtle Woman’ – both in life and death – was subject to what historian Christopher Willoughby, writing in a USA context, calls the white medical profession’s ‘clinical-racial gaze’: the unified optics of white supremacy and medical authority.¹³⁸

The Anderson brothers were alumni of the UoE. In 1876, nine years after the death of his female subject in Demerara, Francis became a small-time benefactor of the UoE along with other colonial subscribers based in Guyana, India and Hong Kong. He sent the equivalent in local currency to £5 4s 2d towards the University Buildings Extension Scheme, the UoE’s latest effort to build new infrastructure for University, in this case the building on Teviot’s Place known today as the Old Medical School.

By the 1860s, a combination of increasing numbers of medical students, and a desire among faculty to embrace new methods of medical education adopted in other European medical schools – laboratories, museums, theatres – created the need at the UoE for greater infrastructure than that

¹³⁴ See ‘William Wemyss Anderson’, LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/23748>.

¹³⁵ Izett W. Anderson, “‘The Turtle Woman’ of Demerara”, *The Lancet* 90, no. 2306 (9 November 1867): 578.

¹³⁶ The Demerara-based Anderson brother would soon become a Medical Officer of Immigration Districts and in 1891 he would provide medical services for an expedition to explore gold and timber opportunities of the Essquebo and Potaro Rivers: J. W. Carrington, ‘Commissioners on Tour’, in *Timehri: Being the Journal of the Royal Agricultural & Commercial Society of British Guiana*, ed. J. J. Quelch, vol. 5 (Demerara: J. Thomson, 1891), 119–21.

¹³⁷ Jennifer L. Barclay, ‘Bad Breeders and Monstrosities: Racializing Childlessness and Congenital Disabilities in Slavery and Freedom’, *Slavery & Abolition* 38, no. 2 (3 April 2017): 287–302.

¹³⁸ Christopher Willoughby, *Masters of Health: Racial Science and Slavery in U.S. Medical Schools* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2022), 49.

provided by the Adam-Playfair college building. In 1873, the UoE formed a Subcommittee for the University Buildings Extension Scheme. The primary output of this scheme was a 'new Medical School', the building known today as the Old Medical School on Teviot Place. The Subcommittee's membership changed over time, but included Principal Sir Alexander Grant, Professor James Muirhead, Sir Robert Christison and Professor William Turner, among others. A surviving minute book provides insight into how the Subcommittee raised funds, and two contributions books record monies received.¹³⁹

A government grant of £80,000 was secured on the condition that the planned campanile and hall were abandoned, and that any additional funds come from subscription. A subscription scheme was launched to raise funds for the project, with £60,000 raised by 1874. The site for the new medical school had already been purchased, but the estimated costs for the new building snowballed. Another round of appeals in 1884 raised around £130,000, with a final push in January 1885 drawing in a further £15,000.¹⁴⁰

A notable donor was the brewer William McEwan, who additionally paid for the building of McEwan Hall, which opened in 1897. It has not been possible to investigate McEwan's colonial trade in depth here, though some initial leads are suggestive. As Ian Donnachie writes, during the 1860s McEwan's firm 'built up a profitable trade further afield in the British colonies – hence the origin of one of its most famous products, McEwan's Export ale'.¹⁴¹ Over the period 1865-1868, McEwan expanded its exports to Australia, New Zealand, the United States, the West Indies, Asia, Africa and South America. By 1868, McEwan's trade to South America – primarily Buenos Aires, Montevideo and Rio de Janeiro – accounted for a remarkable twenty per cent of the firm's exports.¹⁴²

Colonial and Brazilian Subscribers

In April 1884, the UoE celebrated its tercentenary with a packed programme of events. The anniversary was marked by the opening of the new Medical School building on Teviot Place; indeed, festivities were delayed by a year so that they could coincide with the Medical School's late opening. In a study of the 'Tercentenary Festival', Robert Anderson writes that 'not much [money] came from abroad' for the new Medical School building, despite 'much celebration' during the anniversary of the 'diffusion of Edinburgh graduates throughout the world'.¹⁴³ Robert Anderson's analysis is based primarily on Principal Grant's list of subscribers who gave over £500, included in his 1884 history of the UoE.¹⁴⁴ Given those subscriptions constituted around 40 per cent of the total raised, Anderson's statement is partially true: a larger proportion of funds came from landed wealth in Britain than its colonies. Anderson understates, however, the fundraising campaign's empire connections, from a

¹³⁹ There are two 'Contribution Lists', dated 1873-1881 (Vol. 3) and 1883-1887 (Vol. 4), respectively. Despite being listed inside as Volumes 3 and 4, no earlier or later 'volumes' have been found: University Buildings Extension Contribution List, 1873-1881, and University Buildings Extension Contribution List, 1883-1887, EUA IN1/COM/B2/4/1-2. All records relating to the University Buildings Extension Scheme can be found in EUA IN1/COM/B2, EUL.

¹⁴⁰ For more on architect Rowand Anderson's designs for the building, see S. McKinstry, *Rowand Anderson: The Premier Architect of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1991), 68-75, 133-5; P. D. Savage, 'Edinburgh University's Extension Scheme of 1874', *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* 34, Part 2 (1979): 95-104.

¹⁴¹ Ian Donnachie, 'McEwan, William (1827-1913), brewer and politician', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/50416>. Further detail of McEwan's colonial and global trade – including Atlantic markets – can likely be found in Records of William McEwan & Co Ltd, brewers, Edinburgh, Scotland, GB 248 SNM, University of Glasgow Archive Services.

¹⁴² Ian Donnachie, 'Following the Flag: Scottish Brewers and Beers in Imperial and International Markets, 1850-1939', in *The Dynamics of the Modern Brewing Industry*, edited by Terry Gourvish and Richard G. Wilson (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 117.

¹⁴³ Robert Anderson, 'Ceremony in Context: The Edinburgh University Tercentenary, 1884', *The Scottish Historical Review* 87, no. 223 (2008): 127.

¹⁴⁴ Alexander Grant, *The Story of the University of Edinburgh During its First Three Hundred Years*, Volume Two (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1884), 211-5.

surprising number of colonial and foreign subscribers, to Britain-based subscribers whose wealth was connected to slavery and colonialism.

The Subcommittee actively reached out to prospective subscribers in Britain's colonies. On 8 April 1874, the Subcommittee resolved that 'local honorary secretaries should be asked to act in all the important [Scottish] towns and country districts, and also in India and the colonies and in certain of the principal towns in England'.¹⁴⁵ Later that month, a 'Dr Taylor of York Place' wrote to Professor William Turner suggesting the formation of 'Colonial Committees' and offering his assistance in doing so. The Subcommittee instructed William Turner to contact Taylor and 'ascertain his views more definitely'. In the end, Taylor appears to have raised funds in Canada and the USA.¹⁴⁶ A month later, the Subcommittee proposed a meeting of 'Scotsmen in London' to raise funds. Perhaps significantly, the figure chosen to be the local London secretary was the UoE-educated Dr George Christopher Molesworth Birdwood, of the India Office.¹⁴⁷ By June 1875, the London-based Henry S. King and Co. had agreed to send pamphlets to India and China on behalf of Trustees 'with a view to organise subscriptions there'.¹⁴⁸ In February 1877, the number of subscriptions from Demerara (British Guyana) so surprised the Subcommittee that members considered 'advertising the Demerara subscriptions when the next list should be published', though they ultimately agreed not to as it had 'not been done in similar cases'.¹⁴⁹ As with the Old College fundraising project in the 1790s, the Subcommittee in the 1870s sought out medical philanthropy: it requested Sir Robert Christison and William Turner wrote to the 'principal medical men'. It is as-yet unclear whether they, like their predecessors during the Old College campaign, actively sought out 'medical men' in Britain's colonies, though the subsequent response would suggest they did.¹⁵⁰

A total of 103 subscribers were based in British or European-controlled colonies – in Guyana (63); India (24); South and Southeast Asia (12), and Canada (5) – and 21 subscribers were based in Brazil, where slavery remained legal until 1888.

[Appendix 3a](#) lists the **63 Guyana-based subscribers**, mostly from Demerara and one from Berbice, who gave a total of **£223**. Although the Guyana-based subscribers collectively did not contribute a large amount of funds towards the project, the high number of subscribers is indicative of the close relationship between the UoE and Guyana during the Victorian period, and echoes a longer history of Scottish involvement in the colony.¹⁵¹

Slavery was legally abolished in Guyana in 1833-1838. After emancipation, Afro-Guyanese workers were economically marginalised and impoverished, finding work as peasant farmers and in the gold fields, and struggling to survive in a society geared towards sugar exports. The colony's vast sugar plantations, meanwhile, were worked predominantly by indentured labourers from South Asia. From c.1834 until c.1920, indentured workers, primarily from South and East Asia and racialised as 'coolie' labour, travelled across and beyond the British Empire to work on plantations, mines and other industries requiring large labour forces. An 'indenture' bound a worker to an employer under a three-, five-, or seven-year contract, taking them to distant territories and leaving them largely dependent on their employers. The harsh transportation and labour conditions of the indenture system drew the ire

¹⁴⁵ Subcommittee for the University Buildings Extension Scheme Minute Book, 8 April 1874, EUA IN1/COM/B2/1/3, EUL.

¹⁴⁶ Subcommittee for the University Buildings Extension Scheme, Minute Book, 20 April 1874, EUA IN1/COM/B2/1/3, EUL. This is likely William Taylor, MD, of 67 York Place, according to Edinburgh and Leith directories.

¹⁴⁷ Subcommittee for the University Buildings Extension Scheme Minute Book, 18 May 1874, EUA IN1/COM/B2/1/3, EUL.

¹⁴⁸ Subcommittee for the University Buildings Extension Scheme Minute Book, 9 June 1875, EUA IN1/COM/B2/1/3, EUL.

¹⁴⁹ Subcommittee for the University Buildings Extension Scheme Minute Book, 12 February 1877, EUA IN1/COM/B2/1/3, EUL.

¹⁵⁰ Subcommittee for the University Buildings Extension Scheme Minute Book, 13 April 1874, EUA IN1/COM/B2/1/3, EUL.

¹⁵¹ David Alston, *Slaves and Highlanders: Silenced Histories of Scotland and the Caribbean* / David Alston. (Edinburgh: University Press, 2022), 115–30, 6.

of contemporary antislavery activists, some of whom termed it a ‘new slavery’.¹⁵² An indentured worker was not enslaved: they were not the legal property of their employer; their bondage was neither perpetual nor inheritable; and their entrance into the contract, if constrained by poverty and other circumstances at home, was technically voluntary.¹⁵³ Guyana, where indenture was abolished in 1917, is an important example for historians of how indentured Asian labourers nonetheless suffered great hardship and indignities at every stage of their transoceanic journey and during their time within the colony’s plantation system.¹⁵⁴

Many of the Guyana-based subscribers to the Old Medical School, we can assume, were financial beneficiaries of the indenture system. This includes William Russell (d. 1881), a Scottish sugar plantation owner known locally as the ‘planter king’.¹⁵⁵ The six clergymen and sixteen medical professionals – several former students of the UoE – in the list emphasises the UoE’s connections to colonial missions in the nineteenth century, and its continued role in producing physicians for Britain’s Atlantic colonies in the late nineteenth century. It is likely that at least some of these subscribers, especially those born in the colony, were *also* the beneficiaries of slavery-derived wealth through inheritances (or had in the past been personally connected to slavery). However, further research is needed to confirm such links as many of these subscribers recorded only their surnames when they subscribed. For the purposes of this report, then, these subscribers have been classed as ‘empire-linked’ rather than ‘slavery-linked’, though further research would no doubt uncover slavery connections among at least some of them.

Appendix 3b lists **24 India-based subscribers** (based in Agra, Calcutta, Roorkee, Bombay, Udupi, and Madras) who gave a total of **£294 2s 10d**. As with the Old College capital campaign, medical and military professionals are well represented in the list, along with prison, college, hospital and museum administrators.¹⁵⁶ Further investigation of India-based subscribers shows some transmitted more than solely money to the UoE: Alexander Christison (1828–1918), son of Sir Robert Christison, Professor of Medical Jurisprudence at the UoE, and graduate from the same institution, joined the EIC a year after graduating. In Agra from 1858, Christison acted as a superintendent of vaccination and lecturer of surgery, and later Principal, at the local medical school. Christison sent objects from India to the Edinburgh Museum and Edinburgh’s Royal Botanic Garden. Most troublingly, he also sent skulls to the UoE’s Professor of Anatomy William Turner.¹⁵⁷

Appendix 3c lists the **21 Brazil-based subscribers** who gave a total of **£155 13s**. All were based in Rio de Janeiro. Notable on the list are two subscriptions (including a second subscription of £100, after his return to Britain) from Dr Robert Halliday Gunning, a Scottish and UoE-trained medical professional, businessman, and owner of enslaved people near to Rio de Janeiro. Gunning also endowed funds at the Schools of Medicine and Divinity (see [Gunning Victoria Jubilee Prizes \[1890\]](#)). Further research is required to identify the slavery connections of other members of this group. As

¹⁵² In a Guyanese context, this criticism was clearly stated in the following 1871 text: Joseph Beaumont, *The New Slavery: An Account of the Indian and Chinese Immigrants in British Guiana* (London: W. Ridgeway, 1871). For a classic historical study that adopts this view, see Hugh Tinker *A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas, 1830–1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974). For indentureship and British antislavery activism, see James Heartfield, *The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 1838–1956: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 335–350.

¹⁵³ David Northrup, *Indentured Labor in the Age of Imperialism, 1834–1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Madhavi Kale, *Fragments of Empire: Capital, Slavery, and Indian Indentured Labor Migration in the British Caribbean* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998).

¹⁵⁴ Gaiutra Bahadur, *Coolie Woman: The Odyssey of Indenture* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2013); Bishundut R. Singh, *After Slavery: Indian Indentured Labourers British Guiana, 1838 To 1917* (Hertford, England: Hansib Publications, 2016); Basdeo Mangru, *Indenture and Abolition: Sacrifice and Survival on the Guyanese Sugar Plantations* (Toronto: TSAR, 1993); Walter Rodney, *A History of the Guyanese Working People, 1881–1905* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981).

¹⁵⁵ ‘William Russell Memorial’, National Trust of Guyana, <https://ntg.gov.gy/monument/william-russell-memorial/>, accessed on 20 July 2024.

¹⁵⁶ There were overlaps between these roles: members of the Indian Medical Service managed prisons, for example.

¹⁵⁷ ‘Sir Alexander Christison, Bt. M.D.’ *British Medical Journal* (19 October 1918), 452.

Joseph Mulhern writes, in the period between British emancipation (1833-1838) and abolition in Brazil (1888), ‘slaveholding was a fairly common practice at all levels of the small British expatriate communities in Brazil’ as were British-linked firms that traded in goods cultivated or mined by enslaved labourers such as coffee and gold.¹⁵⁸ For example, one subscriber, Alexander de Castro, was a partner of the Liverpool-Rio firm William Moon & Co, a coffee company which, if not recorded for certain as an owner of enslaved people, was at one stage accused of being so, and likely traded in coffee picked by enslaved hands.¹⁵⁹ The subscriptions raised in Brazil may explain why Francisco Inácio de Carvalho Moreira, Baron de Penedo, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Brazil in Britain, was a delegate at a banquet held during the Tercentenary Festival in 1884. The UoE’s Chancellor thanked the Baron for his attendance and described the Emperor Pedro II’s of Brazil as a ‘monarch so enlightened and so devoted to scientific pursuits’; in his own toast the Baron de Penedo described the Emperor as an ‘indefatigable protector of the diffusion of knowledge throughout the empire under his beneficent rule’.¹⁶⁰

[Appendix 3d](#) lists **four ‘group’ group subscriptions and one individual subscription from Canada** collected by William Taylor, MD, totalling **£353 8s**. The identities of the subscribers from Ottawa, Quebec, Hamilton, and Montreal cannot be ascertained.¹⁶¹ The only named subscriber, Alexander David Ferrier (1813-1890), was born in Edinburgh and studied medicine at the UoE (his mother was Charlotte Monro, second daughter of the UoE’s Professor of Anatomy, Alexander Monro *tertius*) before joining his father in Quebec. In Canada, Ferrier became a merchant in Quebec, before moving to live on a farm near Fergus. He later became a politician, and once moved briefly back to Scotland (a time which may have coincided with his subscription). In his 1866 memoir, Ferrier recorded his racist views of First Nation peoples:

I have seen a great many Indians both at Quebec and here, and I must say I do not think a great deal of them. The men seem to care very little except for fishing, shooting and trapping, and certainly generally speaking make poor farmers. The women seem more industrious than the men, but it seems to be the will of Providence that they should gradually disappear as the white man gets possession of the country.¹⁶²

[Appendix 3e](#) lists **eleven East and Southeast Asia-based subscribers**, mostly based in Hong Kong, apart from one in Singapore, one in Batavia (present-day Jakarta, Indonesia) in the Dutch East Indies and another in Japan. Together they contributed **£14 3s 7d**. Although these individuals collectively contributed a small amount, their subscriptions nonetheless indicate the close connections between the UoE and Britain’s imperial interests in East and Southeast Asia. The Singapore subscriber, Frederick Adolphus McNair, was a colonial official who, in 1853, was posted to the Straits Settlements. In 1857, McNair became executive engineer in charge of public works, controlling a labour force of 3,000 convicts transported from India and Ceylon. When the Straits Settlements became a crown colony in April 1867 he returned to Singapore as an engineer and controller of convicts. McNair used convict labour to build the Singapore Cathedral, Government House, a modern prison and military defences. He ended his career in 1884, having served his last few years as acting lieutenant-governor of

¹⁵⁸ Joseph Mulhern, *After 1833: British Entanglement with Brazilian Slavery* (PhD dissertation, Durham theses, 2018), 301.

¹⁵⁹ Moon & Co.’s slavey connections are discussed in more length – including disputed claims over the firm’s ownership of enslaved people – in the University of Dundee’s report because of its repeated business dealings with the Baxter family: Gooptar, *University of Dundee Founders Project Final Report*, 23-24.

¹⁶⁰ *Records of the Tercentenary Festival of the University of Edinburgh, Celebrated in April 1884* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1885), 112-113.

¹⁶¹ Taylor also collected £5 from Chicago, USA in 1878, again without naming the subscriber(s). This subscription has not been included in the list of slavery-linked wealth because no further information was provided about the subscriber(s).

¹⁶² A. D. Ferrier, *Reminiscences of Canada, and the Early Days of Fergus* (Guelph, C.W: printed at the Mercury Book and Job Office, Day’s Block, 1866), 29.

Penang.¹⁶³ Another subscriber, Dr Patrick Mansen, born in Aberdeenshire and an alumnus of Aberdeen University, served as a medical officer in Taiwan to the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs before moving to Hong Kong where he opened a private practice. Later, in 1897 Mansen was appointed as Medical Adviser to the Colonial Office, and in 1899 he helped to establish the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine (LSHTM).¹⁶⁴ The LSHTM published its own report on its colonial roots in 2022 acknowledging that ‘it is largely to its role in British colonialism that the LSHTM owes its current power and position as a leader in health research and teaching.’¹⁶⁵

Funds also came from British expatriates operating elsewhere in Southeast and East Asia. One subscriber was John Pryce & Co. were merchants and auctioneers and commission agents for the government in Batavia, capital of the Dutch East Indies (present-day Jakarta).¹⁶⁶ Another subscriber, David H. Marshall, a UoE graduate, was hired to teach mathematics, along with several other Scottish teachers, at Japan’s Imperial College of Engineering (precursor to the University of Tokyo’s Faculty of Engineering) in 1873.¹⁶⁷ The College’s administrators had asked Scottish industrialist Hugh Matheson (a member of the Matheson family, whose connections to China and Hong Kong are mentioned below) for recommendations for the posts, which ended up including Marshall. Though coming from outside of the British Empire, Marshall’s subscription is symbolic of the UoE’s connections to Britain’s ‘soft’ imperial interests in Meiji-era Japan.¹⁶⁸

Britain-based subscribers with links to slavery and colonialism

While indicative of the UoE’s vast imperial and global networks, the funds contributed by colonial subscribers was not decisive towards the fundraising campaign. Caribbean- and Asia-‘returned’ wealth (i.e., individuals who had themselves previously lived and earned their wealth in British colonies before returning to Britain, or inherited colonially generated wealth), and Britain-based merchants of goods connected to Atlantic and Asian markets, were more significant routes by which slavery- and empire-linked wealth contributed towards the Old Medical School building.

[Appendix 3f](#) lists the **28 Britain-based subscribers with links to slavery** who contributed a total of **£22,481**. By far, the largest contribution was £18,000 (£20,000 minus legacy duty) from Sir David Baxter, whose links to slavery-associated wealth are discussed elsewhere in this report (see [Baxter Mathematical and Philosophical Scholarships \[1863\]](#)). (Baxter’s wife, Elizabeth, ‘Lady Baxter’, also gave £100). David Baxter’s gift represents the largest subscription to the scheme discussed here, and is one of several examples found in this research of philanthropists who made multiple gifts to the institution. Other subscribers to this scheme with links to empire and slavery who additionally endowed funds at the UoE for scholarships or prizes included Drs Andrew Vans Dunlop ([Vans Dunlop Scholarships \[1880\]](#)) Frederic John Mouat ([Mouat Scholarships in Practice of Physic \[1883\]](#)), and Robert Halliday Gunning ([Gunning Victoria Jubilee Prizes \[1890\]](#)). Putting aside the Baxters’ gifts, a total of **£4,281** came from the rest of the subscribers. These individuals include inheritors of slavery-

¹⁶³ C. M. Turnbull, ‘McNair, (John) Frederick Adolphus (1828–1910)’, *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/34804>.

¹⁶⁴ J. W. W. Stephens, revised by Mary P. Sutphen, ‘Manson, Sir Patrick, (1844–1922)’, *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/34865>.

¹⁶⁵ Lioba A. Hirsch and Rebecca Martin, *LSHTM and colonialism: A report on the colonial history of the London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine (1899–c.1960)* (London: London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, 2022), 7.

¹⁶⁶ *Isles of the East: an Illustrated Guide: Australia, New Guinea, Java, Sumatra* (Batavia, Java: Distributed by the Royal Packet Steam Navigation Co., 1912), 182.

¹⁶⁷ W. H. Brock, ‘The Japanese Connexion: Engineering in Tokyo, London, and Glasgow at the End of the Nineteenth Century (Presidential Address, 1980)’, *The British Journal for the History of Science* 14, no. 3 (1981): 227–44.

¹⁶⁸ For a study on these links, particularly around Scottish engineers and universities and the Japanese maritime industry, see Masami Kita, ‘The Japanese acquisition of maritime technology from the United Kingdom’ in *Intra-Asian Trade and the World Market*, edited by A. J. H. Latham and Heita Kawakatsu (London: Routledge, 2017), 46–74.

derived wealth (including those who received compensation payments from the British government following abolition) and manufacturers of slavery-linked trades, especially American cotton and Caribbean sugar.

[Appendix 3g](#) lists the **33 Britain-based subscribers with links to colonialism** who contributed a total of **£2,469 10d**. The majority of these individuals were employed by the EIC. In addition, subscriptions came from those connected to Jardine, Matheson & Co., which traded in tea, cotton and opium in South, Southeast and East Asia.¹⁶⁹

Summary: Old Medical School subscriptions with connections to slavery and colonialism

In total, £112,282 17s 7d was raised during 1873-1880, and a further £18,534 5s 4d over 1883-1885, meaning a total of £130,817 2d 11s was recorded as having been raised in the two ‘Lists of Contributions’.

The below table shows that approximately **seventeen per cent of the Old Medical School’s fundraising has been identified as coming from slavery-connected sources**, and **over two per cent from other empire-linked sources**. Taken together, these figures comprise around **one-fifth of all subscriptions**. The present-day values of these sums have been calculated using Measuring Worth, with 1880 (as the middle point in this decade-long fundraising period) used as an ‘initial’ year and 2023 as the ‘desired’ year.

	AMOUNT	% (subscriptions)	RPW (retail)	RWIW (earnings)	ROW (GDP)
Slavery-linked					
Brazil	£155 13s	0.1%	£19,500	£95,300	£337,000
Britain	£22,481	17.2%	£2,830,000	£13,800,000	£48,900,000
<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>£22,636 13s</i>	<i>17.3%</i>	<i>£2,850,000</i>	<i>£13,900,000</i>	<i>£49,200,000</i>
Empire-linked					
Guyana	£223	0.2%	£28,000	£137,000	£485,000
India	£294 2s 10d	0.2%	£37,000	£181,000	£640,000
Canada	£353 8s	0.3%	£44,400	£217,000	£768,000
E. and S.E. Asia	£24 3s 7d	0.0%	£3,040	£14,800	£52,600
Britain	£2,469 10d	1.9%	£323,000	£1,580,000	£5,590,000
<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>£3,363 16s 5</i>	<i>2.6%</i>	<i>£423,000</i>	<i>£2,070,000</i>	<i>£7,310,000</i>
Slavery- and empire-linked					
<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>£26,000 9s 5d</i>	<i>19.9%</i>	<i>£3,270,000</i>	<i>£16,000,000</i>	<i>£56,500,000</i>

¹⁶⁹ For more on the firm’s activities in Southeast and East Asia, see Richard J. Grace, *Opium and Empire: The Lives and Careers of William Jardine and James Matheson* (Montreal, Canada: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2014).

Recommendations for Further Research

An overhaul of the UoE's institutional archive would widen the range of possible studies in this field. Despite the efforts of excellent archivists, there were several barriers that slowed down research or led to dead-ends. Some measures that would aid any future research in this field include, but are not limited to: better cataloguing and digitisation of institutional records and officers', professors', and students' papers; improvement and expansion of the UoE's Historical Alumni database; and the creation of a new open-access digital database documenting the UoE's historic benefactors.

As mentioned in this report's introduction, further research can be undertaken on the histories of individual benefactors and the enslaved and colonised people whose labour generated their wealth. Furthermore, newly uncovered evidence and resources may add additional case studies. For example, it would be worth revisiting the names of the UoE's endowers and subscribers again after the forthcoming *Register of British Slave Traders* – an AHRC-funded project (2021-24) based at Lancaster University that will generate a prosopography of 6,524 British investors in the 'slave trade', c.1550-1807 – becomes available.

Surveying individual members of the UoE who were the financial beneficiaries of the profits of enslavement and empire before, during or after their time at Edinburgh is a mammoth task that is beyond the scope of this report, though would no doubt expand knowledge of the UoE's diverse connections to slavery and colonialism.

The Capital Campaign section of this report focuses on the funding of two still-functioning purpose-built buildings. Today, the UoE owns and manages over 600 buildings across five campuses. Many are historic buildings, in some cases dating back several centuries, with ownership changing hands once or multiple times before eventually becoming part of the UoE's campus. Investigating whether antecedent owners of certain buildings drew on funding linked to slavery and colonialism to finance the construction and/or maintenance of those buildings is a labour-intensive job, involving research and potentially cross-institution collaboration that, again, goes beyond the scope of this study. The following case studies are presented here as examples of ongoing and possible work in relation to a selection of sites across the UoE's estate.

St Cecilia's Hall

St Cecilia Hall, owned by the UoE and home to its Musical Instrument Collection, was built in 1763, and its construction financed by 280 donations from members of the Edinburgh Musical Society. Research conducted by staff and volunteers at St Cecilia Hall has looked into the most prominent twenty-eight benefactors (those who gave ten guineas or more), and found six individuals with colonial links.¹⁷⁰ Scoping research using the same list of eighty-one subscribers who collectively subscribed £638 (around half the total funds subscribed) has raised the total to eight (see [Appendix 4a](#)).

High School Yards

High School Yards encompasses buildings formerly owned by the High School of Edinburgh and the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh.

In 1777, works began for a new site for the High School of Edinburgh. To finance the building's construction, the High School's administrators and patrons appealed to the general public for subscriptions; a total of around £4,000 was raised.¹⁷¹ Two lists of subscribers to the High School in 1777 can be found in a pamphlet and a letter written by William Forbes. Only the first list provides

¹⁷⁰ 'Colonial Legacies at St Cecilia's Hall', St Cecilia's Hall, <https://www.stcecilias.ed.ac.uk/about/colonial-legacies-at-st-cecilias-hall/>. The list of subscribers used can be found in W. Forbes Gray, 'The Musical Society of Edinburgh and St. Cecilia's Hall', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* 19 (1933): 245.

¹⁷¹ William Steven, *The History of the High School of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Maclachlan & Stewart, 1849), 122-125.

amounts subscribed, and it would appear likely that these lists are incomplete. Scoping research on the forty subscriptions recorded in these documents has identified eight subscribers as having links to slavery and colonialism (see [Appendix 4b](#)).¹⁷²

In 1829, as the High School moving to a new site in Edinburgh's New Town, the nearby Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh (RIE) bought the Drummond Street building for £7,609 and renovated it for £3,138, converting it into a Surgical Hospital in which UoE's medical professors held anatomy classes.¹⁷³ At this time the Infirmary owned Red Hill pen, an estate in Jamaica with enslaved people attached to it, bequeathed to the hospital inherited from the Scottish surgeon Archibald Kerr in 1750. The rents raised from Red Hill's enslaved labourers – along with other sources of slavery-linked funding that the RIE received over the preceding century – thus contributed in part to the building's renovations and maintenance.¹⁷⁴ By 1905 the UoE had taken over the Old High School building for its Engineering and Science departments, and between 1931 and 1984 it was the home of the Department of Geography. The Department then moved to the New Surgical Building (constructed in 1853) where it currently resides.

New College

Home to the UoE's School of Divinity since 1935, and the General Assembly Hall of the Church of Scotland, the iconic New College building situated on the Mound was constructed as an educational institution for trainee ministers in the wake of the Disruption of 1843, which created the Free Church of Scotland. The building was constructed over 1845–1850. A College report, dated 1846, includes a list of the building's initial benefactors.¹⁷⁵ As part of the fundraising campaign, Dr David Welsh approached possible benefactors among members and friends of the Free Church, within a few weeks securing £21,000 from twenty individuals; nineteen subscribed £1,000 each and one subscribed £2,000. Of the initial twenty subscribers recorded, ten have been identified as having links to slavery and colonialism (see [Appendix 4c](#)). These individuals, of course, represent only the initial subscribers, and comprehensive research would require study of the Free Church of Scotland's archival records: for example, another list exists of a further thirty-two subscribers to New College, printed on the back of a dinner invitation, dated 1850.¹⁷⁶

Edinburgh College of Art

The history of the Edinburgh College of Art, now a School within the UoE's College of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences, dates back to the 1760s, when it began life as a Drawing Academy of the Board of Trustees for Fisheries, Manufactures and Improvements in Scotland. The institution became the Edinburgh College of Art in 1907.

The building for the rechristened institution was constructed over 1907-1909, funded by donations including the relatively large contribution of £10,000 from Andrew Grant (1830-1924), a UoE alumnus, MP for Leith Burghs (1878-1885) and merchant. Grant lived in China from 1854-1858, before moving to Bombay where he joined and rose the ranks of the firm Campbell, Mitchell and Co. He co-founded the University of Bombay and was the first chairman of the Royal Bank of India and twice-elected President of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.¹⁷⁷ Grant was described by

¹⁷² 'Subscription pamphlet for the erection of a new High School in Edinburgh, with letter from Sir William Forbes giving details of subscribers and subscriptions received', 22 April and 29 May 1777, GD18/5834, NRS.

¹⁷³ Arthur Logan Turner, *Story of a Great Hospital: the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh, 1729-1929* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1937), 180.

¹⁷⁴ Simon Buck, *Uncovering Origins of Hospital Philanthropy: Report on Slavery and the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh* (NHS Lothian Charity, 2022).

¹⁷⁵ This report is reproduced in Hugh Watt, Rev. A. Mitchell Hunter, and W. A. Curtis, *New College, Edinburgh: A Centenary History* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1946), 19.

¹⁷⁶ Watt, Hunter and Curtis, *New College*, 20.

¹⁷⁷ Grant's banking interests extended also to Ceylon: *Ceylon Observer*, 16 January 1865, 5

contemporaries in South Asia as ‘one of the ablest men in the Mercantile community’ of Bombay, and as a ‘conspicuous figure in public meetings’ there, ‘his eloquence was such as to attract large crowds. He, too, was a man of great sagacity and talent’.¹⁷⁸

The exact nature of Campbell, Mitchell and Co.’s business is currently unclear, though it had links with the East India Cotton Agency Ltd and investments in vessels travelling from South Asia to Liverpool.¹⁷⁹ A newspaper report from 1878 notes that Grant ‘made a large fortune rapidly in cotton during the American [Civil] war, and wiser than most of his neighbours, retired with his gains before the reaction came’.¹⁸⁰ Evidently, Grant benefited greatly from the growth of Britain’s cotton economy in India during the American Civil War (1861-65), a development that had devastating effects on other aspects of local economies in cotton-producing areas, and which entailed the exploitation of a cheap labour force.¹⁸¹

Grant returned to Britain in 1866, where he carried on business from Liverpool, seemingly founding another firm Grant Brothers and Co., and buying land in Perthshire, before embarking on a political career.¹⁸² On Grant’s death in 1924 he also left his whole estate to the College to enable art students to travel. That enormous bequest, amounting to £350,000 at the time of its activation in 1932, continues to support the Edinburgh College of Art’s activities.

¹⁷⁸ *Ceylon Observer*, 16 January 1865, 5; Sir D. E. Wacha, *My Recollection Of Bombay 1860-1875* (n.p., 1920), 758.

¹⁷⁹ *The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art* 13, No. 325 (18 January 1862): 85; William Herbert Coates, *The Old ‘Country Trade’ of the East Indies* (London: Imray, Laurie, Norie and Wilson Ltd., 1911), 170.

¹⁸⁰ *Madras Mail*, 13 February 1878, 2.

¹⁸¹ In 1861 India contributed 31 per cent of Britain’s raw cotton imports; a year later that figure rose to 90 per cent, dropping to 67 per cent by 1864: Frenise A. Logan, “‘India-Britain’s Substitute for American Cotton, 1861-1865’”, *The Journal of Southern History* 24, no. 4 (1958): 475. For more on the growth of the global cotton industry during the American Civil War, see Sven Beckert, ‘Emancipation and Empire: Reconstructing the Worldwide Web of Cotton Production in the Age of the American Civil War’, *The American Historical Review*, 109, No. 5 (December 2004): 1405–1438.

¹⁸² James Mackenzie Maclean, *A Guide to Bombay, Historical, Statistical and Descriptive* (Bombay: Bombay Gazette Steam Press, 1876), 102.

Appendix 1: Endowments

1a. Endowments with Links to Slavery

McLurg Bursary (1714)

In 1696 Sir James McLurg of Vogrie (c.1626-1717), a former Dean of Gild of Edinburgh, invested £1,000 in the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies (instigator of the Darien ‘scheme’).¹⁸³ McLurg also acted as a Director for the Company.

In 1714 McLurg bequeathed 3,000 Scots merks (c. £166 sterling) to the UoE to establish a bursary to support students of Divinity. McLurg’s philanthropic legacies were inscribed on a monument to him in Greyfriar’s Churchyard, including those to the ‘common poor of Edinburgh’, Trinity Hospital, Merchants’ Maiden Hospital, Trades Hospital, ‘poor Burgeses of the Merchant Company’ (to erect a free school in Edinburgh), the Tolbooth Kirk (for silver plates), free schools in Camonell and Vogrie and poor housekeepers in Edinburgh.¹⁸⁴

At some stage it appears the *McLurg Bursary* combined with the *Penman Bursary* (1703) to create the *McLurg and Penman Bursary*. This combined bursary became part of the Divinity Bursary Fund through the Edinburgh University (Fellowships, Scholarships and Bursaries) Scheme (1953), where it remained until at least 1971.¹⁸⁵

William Wardrop Bursary (1725)

William Wardrop (c.1660-1724) was a litster (cloth dyer) and sometimes Deacon Convener of the Crafts of the City of Edinburgh.¹⁸⁶ This is very likely the same individual as ‘William Wardrop, litster in Edinburgh’ who subscribed £100 in the Company of Scotland.¹⁸⁷

In 1725, William’s brother Andrew Wardrop, informed Edinburgh’s Town Council that ‘William Wardrop litster burgess of Edinburgh and sometime deacon Convener of the Crafts of the said Citie now deceast had by his assignation ... burdened Andrew Wardop with payment making to Colledge’ of 2,000 Scots merks (c.£111 sterling) for the maintenance of a bursar in philosophy or divinity.¹⁸⁸

It seems that at some stage the *Wardrop Bursary* was combined with the *Pringle Bursary* (1694) to make the *Pringle and Wardrop Bursary*. This combined bursary became part of the Arts Bursary Fund in the Edinburgh University (Fellowships, Scholarships and Bursaries) Scheme (1953) and is recorded as still being distributed at £25 per annum for one bursar in ‘Arts, Social Sciences ...’ as late as 1971.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸³ *A List of the Subscribers to the Company of Scotland, Trading to Africa and the Indies, Taken in Edinburgh &c. Until the 21 of April Inclusive 1696* (Edinburgh, 1696), 8.

¹⁸⁴ James Brown, *The Epitaphs and Monumental Inscriptions in Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh. Collected by J. Brown ... With an Introduction and Notes* (Edinburgh: J. M. Miller, 1867), 230.

¹⁸⁵ The University of Edinburgh (Fellowships, Scholarships and Bursaries) Scheme (1971), No. 1849, UK Statutory Instruments, <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukSI/1971/1849/contents/made>.

¹⁸⁶ ‘Old Parish Records – Deaths’, Parish Number: 685/1 (Edinburgh), 890/147, NRS; Helen Armet, ed., *Extracts from the records of the Burgh of Edinburgh*, Vol. 13 (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1967) 99, 203, 239.

¹⁸⁷ *A List of the Subscribers to the Company of Scotland*, 15.

¹⁸⁸ *List of Deeds*, 15-16.

¹⁸⁹ The University of Edinburgh (Fellowships, Scholarships and Bursaries) Scheme (1971), No. 1849, UK Statutory Instruments, <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukSI/1971/1849/contents/made>.

Chair of Agriculture (1790)

Sir William Pulteney (formerly Johnstone), 5th baronet (1729–1805) was the son of Sir James Johnstone, 3rd Baronet of Wester Hall, Dumfries, and Barbara Murray.¹⁹⁰ He studied law at the UoE over 1746–47 and was admitted to the Scottish bar in 1751. He served as an MP for Cromarty and, later, Shrewsbury. A large portion of his wealth came through his wife, whose surname he acquired on their marriage along with the Pulteney estates. By 1773 Pulteney had invested in plantations and enslaved people in Dominica and Tobago; one of his properties, in Tobago, was named Pulteney Hill.¹⁹¹ In 1794, he inherited the Westerhall (previously known as Baccaye) estate in Grenada (named after the family's Dumfries estate) and the enslaved people attached to it from his older brother James Johnstone.¹⁹² Records relating to the Grenadian estate show Pulteney took a close interest in its affairs over subsequent years, including moving a number of enslaved people from another Grenadian plantation, Port Royal, after the damage to the estate conducted during Fedon's Rebellion. It is unclear at what stage Pulteney came into ownership of the enslaved people of Port Royal. Although his ownership of Westerhall began in 1794, Pulteney had advanced money towards a mortgage on the estate from at least 1789.¹⁹³ In 1792 the Pulteney Association, in which he owned nine-twelfths of the shares, invested in land in the western region of what is now New York State.¹⁹⁴

A firm supporter of the West India interest, Pulteney's last major speech to Parliament on 28 February 1805 (the year he died) criticised the latest rendition of a bill to abolish the slave trade. He argued that the 'slave trade had been very advantageous to the West India islands' and that

The West Indies cannot be cultivated by Europeans, whose constitutions will not bear fatigue in that climate. It is therefore necessary, if they are to be cultivated at all, that it must be by some other class of the human species, who being natives of warm climates, are able to endure that degree of labour and fatigue which no Europeans could do in that climate. This being the acknowledged fact, the question, is, shall we abandon the cultivation of the West India islands altogether, or what class of the human species shall we employ to, cultivate them? Some say, that it is much better to employ free negroes than slaves, and that the labour of freemen would be more productive. This is, however, only a supposition, a mere theory. The fact is known to be, that the natives of warm countries are not naturally disposed to labour. In warm countries the climate produces the means of subsistence with so little labour, that they have no necessity, and consequently no inclination, for laborious work; and for that species of labour which was necessary for raising sugar and other Colonial produce, it was absolutely necessary to use something of

¹⁹⁰ The Johnstone family is the subject of a detail historical study of eighteenth-century imperial networks: Emma Rothschild, *The Inner Life of Empires: An Eighteenth-Century History* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2011).

¹⁹¹ John Fowler, *A Summary Account of the Present Flourishing State of the Respectable Colony of Tobago in the British West Indies Illustrated with a Map of the Island and a Plan of Its Settlement, Agreeably to the Sales By His Majesty's Commissioners* (London: A Grant, 1774), 42–43.

¹⁹² M. J. Rowe and W. H. McBryde, 'Pulteney [formerly Johnstone], Sir William, fifth baronet (1729–1805)', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/56208>; 'Sir William Pulteney 5th Bart., born Johnstone', LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146632156>.

¹⁹³ 'Grenada: Baccaye Estate, formerly the Quarter of Maigrin, parish of St. David: Release', DM41/48, West Indies Papers, University of Bristol Archives.

¹⁹⁴ Jeffrey M. Johnstone, 'Sir William Johnstone Pulteney and the Scottish Origins of Western New York', *The Crooked Lake Review* 132 (Summer 2004), available at https://www.crookedlakereview.com/articles/101_135/132summer2004/132johnstone.html, accessed 22 February 2024. Though not consulted for this study, the William Pulteney papers, held by the Huntington Library (San Marion, California), would appear to provide further evidence of his social networks and possibly business interests across the Caribbean, North America, and India: William Pulteney papers, mssPU 1-2087, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

compulsion. It might appear to some to be a great hardship to compel men to labour, but it was the common condition of the lower orders of society.¹⁹⁵

The bill, proposed by William Wilberforce, MP, failed to pass the House on that occasion. It would be another two years before such a bill was successfully made into law. The Slave Voyages database records 83,666 enslaved Africans as embarking on British slaving vessels during the period 1805-10, most occurring before the introduction of the Slave Trade Act (1807).¹⁹⁶

In 1790, Pulteney endowed a Chair in Agriculture at the UoE in appreciation of his time there. He gave £1,250 to provide a perpetual salary of £50 per annum. The Chair was significant in being the first at the UoE founded by a private individual, rather than the Crown, Town Council, Faculty of Advocates or the Church of Scotland.¹⁹⁷

Stuart Bursaries (1809)

Reverend James Stuart (1743-c.1805) was born in Boyndie, Banffshire, the son of a farmer. He later became Rector of Georgetown and All Saints, South Carolina, and Chaplain to the King's Rangers in North America during the American War for Independence. In March 1784, after his property was confiscated by American forces, Stuart submitted a claim to the Parliamentary Commission on Loyalist Claims and Services. The claim indicates that Stuart owned an estate large enough to generate £400 per annum and at least one enslaved person, a 'negro carpenter' whom he claimed to lose along with other property during the conflict.¹⁹⁸ Additionally, during his time in Georgetown Stuart married Ann Allston Waties, daughter of Thomas Allston, and widow of Thomas Waties. Both the Allston and Waties families were South Carolina rice planters; Thomas Allston is recorded as having owned enslaved people.¹⁹⁹

As a result of the War, Stuart travelled across the Caribbean in 1778-79, to Guadeloupe, Dominica, Santa Cruz, St Eustatius, Nevis and St Kitts. In 1788 he gave evidence to a parliamentary committee on the treatment of enslaved people in the British, French and Danish West Indies, as well as colonial North America. He concluded that 'both in America and in the West Indies, ... the Condition of the Negroes, even under the most humane Masters, is deplorable', and noted differences between systems of slavery in British, French and Danish colonies.²⁰⁰

Stuart's will, dated 3 May 1809, provided one-fifth of £5,000 (£1,000) to the Lord Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh:

for the use and benefit of the University of Edinburgh, and to apply the interest from time to time for ever in and towards the instruction and for the better education of youth, as to the principal and others having powers vested in them by charter or

¹⁹⁵ 'Slave Trade Bill', Hansard House of Commons Debate, 28 February 1805, Vol. 3, 641-74.

¹⁹⁶ Slave Voyages database, www.slavevoyages.org.

¹⁹⁷ Ian J. Fleming and Noel F. Robertson, *Britain's First Chair of Agriculture at the University of Edinburgh, 1790-1990: A History of the Chair Founded by William Johnstone Pulteney* (Edinburgh: East of Scotland College of Agriculture, 1990).

¹⁹⁸ The claim is reproduced in Henry D. Bull, 'A Note on James Stuart, Loyalist Clergyman in South Carolina', *The Journal of Southern History* 12, no. 4 (1946): 570-75.

¹⁹⁹ Henry D. Bull, 'The Waties Family in South Carolina,' *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 95 (1944): 12-22.

²⁰⁰ Reverend James Stuart testimony, 24 June 1788, *Report of the Lords of the Committee of Council Appointed for the Consideration of All Matters Relating to Trade and Foreign Plantations: Submitting to His Majesty's Consideration the Evidence and Information They Have Collected in Consequence of His Majesty's Order in Council, Dated the 11th of February 1788, Concerning the Present State of the Trade to Africa, and Particularly the Trade in Slaves; and Concerning the Effects and Consequences of this Trade, as Well in Africa and the West Indies, as to the General Commerce of this Kingdom*, Part Three (London: Board of Trade, 1789), 131-132.

otherwise shall seem meet ... and I direct that a young man of the name of Steuart [sic] who may be educated ... shall always be preferred to others.²⁰¹

The other four-fifths went to the Universities of St Andrews and Glasgow and Aberdeen's King's College and Marischal College, and his will left sums to several other Scottish and English institutions, including Balliol College, Oxford. Stuart's benefactions are highlighted in the reports into the legacies of slavery at the University of Glasgow, Balliol College and the University of Aberdeen.²⁰² As with the University of Glasgow, the actual amount the UoE received was, in the end, £603. By 1830, the UoE's Stuart Bursaries were granted after a competition amongst the candidates, a preference given, under terms of the mortification, to students in the Arts of the names of Stuart or Simpson.²⁰³ The number of bursars and size of the bursary changed over time. By 1842 the Stuart Bursaries paid for three bursars of three years each, their annual allowance being £10 1s each; by 1897, two students received £18 a year.²⁰⁴ The 'Stuart Bursary Fund', possibly the same endowment, was still active in the UoE for 'students entering the second year of their course for a degree in Arts or Pure Science' in 1971.²⁰⁵ In 2019, the College of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences converted a 'Stuart Bursary' (possibly the same fund, previous fund code: E06022) into a scholarship and amalgamated it into the 'Pg [postgraduate] Studentships Arts and Social Sciences' fund (current fund code: 565000) meaning its present-day value cannot be ascertained.²⁰⁶

Chair of Music (1839)

General John Reid (formerly Robertson) (c.1721-1807) was born in Inverchroskie in Strathardle, Perthshire, the son of Alexander Robertson of Straloch. Educated first in Perth, Reid then studied law at the UoE.²⁰⁷ Reid's connections to colonialism and enslavement are numerous and complex, involving military service in colonial conflicts involving enslaved African-descended people and Indigenous peoples; marriage into a colonial American family involved in the ownership and trafficking of enslaved people; colonial landownership; and financial investment in the EIC. Reid's substantial bequest to the UoE – which provided the foundations for today's Reid School of Music and the annual Reid Concerts – derives from his involvement in British colonialism in North America, the Caribbean, and South Asia.

Military service in North America and the Caribbean

Reid's early military experiences included serving with Lord Loudoun's Highlanders at the battle of Gladsmuir or Prestonpans in 1745, and in Flanders over 1747-1748. His first travelled to North America in 1756, serving with the 42nd Regiment of Foot (also known as the Black Watch) in New

²⁰¹ Extract of will printed in *List of Deeds*, 21. For the original will, see: PROB 11/1504/173, NA.

²⁰² Newman and Mullen, *Slavery, Abolition and the University of Glasgow*, 49-51; Sebastian Raj Pender, *Balliol and the Proceeds of Slavery Project Report* (Oxford: Balliol College, University of Oxford: 2021), 30.

²⁰³ House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, *Report made to His Majesty by a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the State of the Universities of Scotland* (1831), 107, 165; Richard Anderson, *The University of Aberdeen and the Legacies of Slavery* (Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen, 2024), The Stuart Bursaries are not to be confused with the *James Stewart [of Duart] Bursaries* (1897), managed by the Kirk Session of Callander and Trossachs.

²⁰⁴ William Wallace Fyfe, *Statistical Sketch of the University of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Maclachlan, Stewart, and Co., 1842), 38; *Edinburgh University Calendar* (1897), 150.

²⁰⁵ The University of Edinburgh (Fellowships, Scholarships and Bursaries) Scheme (1971), No. 1849, UK Statutory Instruments, <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukSI/1971/1849/contents/made>.

²⁰⁶ College of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Edinburgh, correspondence with the author.

²⁰⁷ Christopher D. S. Field, 'Reid [formerly Robertson], John (1722?-1807)', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23331>. Earlier research on Reid's colonial connections was made by Alice Adonis, a research intern for the University of Edinburgh's Centre for Research Collections, in 2022.

York.²⁰⁸ He participated in different theatres of the Seven Years' War, first in what is commonly known as the French and Indian War (1754-1763), a conflict in which various Indigenous forces allied strategically with the opposing European powers. Reid was raised to the position of Major in 1759, taking part that year in the advance into Lake Champlain and the capture of Fort Ticonderoga and Crown Point. In 1760, Reid assisted in Britain's taking of Montreal, and in 1762, still with the 42nd Regiment, Reid served in Britain's invasion of the French Martinique, where he was wounded. Later that year, he took part in the siege of Spanish Havana. Around this time he was made Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, and in 1764 he acted as second-in-command to Colonel Henry Bouquet's expedition on the Ohio and Muskingum Rivers. Reid 'retired' in 1770 on half pay (at which point he began to expand his land-ownership in North America) though returned to service after seven years. With the 95th Regiment, Reid prevented the Channel Island of Jersey from being taken by French forces in 1781. Further appointments in the 1780s and 1790s led him to reaching the position of General in 1798, nine years before his death.

Enslaved people – drawn largely from Jamaica and the Leeward islands – took part in the expeditionary forces along with Reid in both Martinique and Havana in 1762. As Maria Alessandra Bollettino writes, thousands of African-descended men 'served the British, French, and Spanish empires' in the Caribbean theatre of the Seven Years' War 'as militiamen; as ad hoc troops raised to fend off sieges, suppress slave insurrections, or staff offensive expeditions; and as artisans (including, importantly, dockworkers and sailors) and laborers'.²⁰⁹ No evidence has been found to suggest Reid either commanded or came into contact with enslaved people of African descent, though both are possibilities. Reid nonetheless was paid to take part in two colonial conflicts in which enslaved labour was an underlining context: both for Britain's decision to invade and take control of two major sugar-producing Caribbean territories from their imperial rivals, but also militarily, whether the enslaved people whom the British forced to bear arms and provide auxiliary military support, or the African-descended people who the British captured from the French and Spanish and subsequently claimed ownership over.²¹⁰

After the Treaty of Paris (1763) ended war with France, a new series of conflicts, commonly known as Pontiac's War (after an Indigenous leader of that name), erupted in North America over 1763-1766 between British colonisers and a loose network of Indigenous peoples across the Ohio Valley, Mississippi Valley and Great Lakes regions.²¹¹ Reid's 42nd Regiment engaged Indigenous armies at Bushy Run, near Fort Pitt, in 1763. A year later, acting as second-in-command to Colonel Henry Bouquet, Reid took part in Britain's suppression of the uprisings, both through military force and diplomacy; Reid himself attended several 'conferences' with Indigenous leaders.²¹²

²⁰⁸ Unless otherwise stated, the following account of Reid's military service derives from A. McK. Annand, 'General John Reid, 1721-1807', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 42, no. 169 (1964): 44–47.

²⁰⁹ Maria Alessandra Bollettino, 'Africans, Slavery, and the Slave Trade', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Seven Years' War*, edited by Trevor Burnard, Emma Hart, and Marie Houllémare (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2024), 503.

²¹⁰ For a detailed study of Britain's year-long occupation of Havana and its impacts on enslaved people on both Spanish and British sides, see Elena Andrea Schneider, *The Occupation of Havana: War, Trade, and Slavery in the Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2018). Britain's terms of capitulation in the case of Martinique stated that while 'Mulattoes' would be treated first as prisoners of war, and then later as British subjects, the 'Negroes which have been taken in Arms' by the French would thenceforth be 'deemed Slaves'. The following newspaper report lists these terms of capitulation along with a list of British troops wounded during the invasion, including Reid's name: *Gloucester Journal*, 30 March 1762, 4.

²¹¹ The name of the conflict is much debated by historians: see, for example, Richard Middleton, *Pontiac's War: Its Causes, Course and Consequence* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007).

²¹² Over 17-18 September 1765, for example, Reid negotiated face-to-face with different Delaware representatives: Col. John Reid to Col. Henry Bouquet, 17 and 18 September 1764, in *The Papers of Col. Henry*

Surviving correspondence between Reid and Bouquet from 1764 provides some insight into Reid's attitudes towards the region's Indigenous peoples. On 25 August, with discussions of a peace treaty in the air, Reid wrote to Bouquet to share his opposition to any treaty with those he considered 'Ringleaders of all these inhuman Barbaritys'; instead, Reid recommended that 'we shall still march into their Country, and make such Examples of these inhuman monsters, as will make their posterity tremble to think of'.²¹³ In another letter from Fort Pitt on 3 September, Reid again expressed his indignation at a proposed peace treaty with those he called 'savages'. He asked rhetorically,

Should these Brutes, who distinguish themselves by the Names of Wolf, Fox, etc. (beasts of prey) be still indulged with the liberty of calling Britains their Brothers? [O]ught they not on the contrary to be held in the lowest contempt, and taught to know the difference due to a People who have it in their Power to reduce them to the most abject State of Slavery, or to raze them from the face of the Earth [sic].²¹⁴

Reid's attitudes were no doubt shaped by his violent desire to, in his words, 'revenge the Murders still committed by the Savages on the Frontiers'.²¹⁵ On 16 September, Reid told Bouquet of his company's discovery of their enemy's murder and decapitation of a British courier, whose head was placed upon a pole forty-five miles from their fort.²¹⁶ Nevertheless, Reid's frequent use of terms such as 'savage' and 'barbarous' to describe Britain's Indigenous enemies, and his threat of their enslavement ('reduce them to the most abject State of Slavery') and extermination ('raze them from the face of the Earth'), document his white supremacist and genocidal views towards Indigenous Americans.

Historians have long debated the extent of Britain's use of biological warfare in conflicts against Indigenous Americans in eighteenth-century North America, particularly an infamous episode near Fort Pitt in 1763 when British officers gave blankets from the smallpox hospital to Indigenous enemies, seemingly with the express intent to infect them. Much attention has been given to ultimate culpability of Britain's commander-in-chief officer on the continent, Jeffery Amherst. Records prove that both Amherst and his subordinate Bouquet had proposed and discussed such an idea, but it would seem the officers at Fort Pitt executed their own plan independently from their superiors.²¹⁷ Smallpox devastated the Shawnee and Delaware people over 1763, and through into 1764 and 1765, though, of course, this does not prove that the Fort Pitt infection attempt was successful. As Elizabeth A. Fenn writes, 'while blame for this [smallpox] outbreak cannot be placed squarely in the British camp, the circumstantial evidence is nevertheless suggestive'.²¹⁸ Likewise, while Reid's proximity to events at Fort Pitt (which he had helped to relieve in 1763, and where he was based the following year), and

Bouquet, Vol 14, edited by Sylvester K. Stevens and Donald H. Kent (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical Commission), 138-139.

²¹³ Col. John Reid to Col. Henry Bouquet, 25 August 1764, Fort Lignoier, in *The Papers of Col. Henry Bouquet*, Vol 14, 94-95.

²¹⁴ Col. John Reid to Col. Henry Bouquet, 3 September 1764, Fort Pitt, in *The Papers of Col. Henry Bouquet*, Vol 14, 94-95.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

²¹⁶ Col. John Reid to Col. Henry Bouquet, 16 September 1764, in *The Papers of Col. Henry Bouquet*, Vol 14, 135.

²¹⁷ For record of the Fort Pitt officers' intentions to spread smallpox to the enemy, see William Trent, 'William Trent's Journal at Fort Pitt, 1763', edited by A. T. Volwiler, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 11 (1924): 400. In 1763 Amherst wrote to ask Bouquet, 'Could it not be contrived to send the Small Pox [sic] among those disaffected tribes of Indians?', to which Bouquet replied, 'I will try to inoculate [them]'. Bouquet responded, 'with some blankets that may fall in their hands, and take care not to get the disease myself'. Amherst's final response was 'You will do well to try to inoculate the Indians by means of blankets, as well as to try every other method that can serve to extirpate this execrable race'. For more on this case, see Philip Ranlet, 'The British, the Indians, and Smallpox: What Actually Happened at Fort Pitt in 1763?' *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 67, no.3 (2000): 427-441.

²¹⁸ Elizabeth A. Fenn, 'Biological Warfare in Eighteenth-Century North America: Beyond Jeffery Amherst', *The Journal of American History* 86, no. 4 (2000): 1558.

close relationship to both Amherst and Bouquet, is similarly ‘suggestive’, no evidence has been found to suggest Reid was aware of, let alone involved in, acts or proposals of biological warfare against Indigenous Americans.

Beneficiary of slavery-linked wealth via marriage

On 28 December 1762 Reid married Susannah Alexander (1736–1777), the youngest daughter of James Alexander (1691–1756) and his wife Mary Alexander (c.1690–1760), in New York. James Alexander was a Scottish lawyer based in New York who rose to become Surveyor-General of the Province of New Jersey. He at one stage appears to have owned at least one enslaved person. In June 1756, James published an advertisement in the *New York Gazette* for the recapture of a ‘Negro Man named Yaff, about 35 years old’, whom he claimed ownership over; the literate Yaff was described in the notice as a ‘sensible and cunning fellow’.²¹⁹ Earlier, James had acted as part of the prosecution in the trial of several enslaved people in New York followed the events in 1741 commonly known as a ‘plot’ or ‘conspiracy’ of the city’s enslaved people.²²⁰ Reid’s brother-in-law, William Alexander (1725–1783), meanwhile, was involved in the trafficking of enslaved people by at least 1748, purchasing interests in slaving vessels through the financial aid of his parents (James and Mary): two vessels he invited in, the *Wolf* and the *Rhode Island*, together brought over one-hundred more captive Africans to New York’s auction blocks.²²¹ Along with her siblings and mother, Susannah inherited part of her father’s estate through James’s 1756 will. Reid, therefore, was an indirect beneficiary of the Alexander family’s colonial property and slavery-linked wealth.²²²

Colonial landownership

In the mid-1760s Reid applied for and was awarded a tract of land around Otter Creek, in Charlotte County, Vermont; he also helped to secure land for officers of his regiment.²²³ Over 1772–1773, a ‘mob’ of New Englanders led by Ethan Allen – the ‘Robin Hood of Vermont’ – and his ‘Green Mountain Boys’ attempted to violently dispose Reid’s tenants on Otter Creek, some of whom were Scottish migrants whom Reid had helped to settle there.²²⁴ A series of affidavits taken from Reid’s

²¹⁹ *New York Gazette*, 23 June 1729. Lepore claims Alexander owned six enslaved people at the time of Yaff’s escape: Jill Lepore, *New York Burning: Liberty, Slavery, and Conspiracy in Eighteenth-century Manhattan* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 31–32.

²²⁰ In an unpublished dissertation, Ellen Maria Russell argues that Alexander likely played only a small role in court, although he may have been more involved in the pre-trial planning than extant records suggest. Alexander was personally connected to the case: one of those defendants testified during the hearings of the existence of a plan among some enslaved people to seize Alexander’s own house: Ellen Maria Russell, ‘James Alexander, 1691–1756’ (PhD dissertation, Fordham University, 1995), 398–404.

²²¹ Paul David Nelson, *William Alexander, Lord Stirling* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1987), 11.

²²² ‘Last Will of James Alexander’, transcribed in *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 18, no. 4 (October 1887): 173–181. Susannah was not named in her brother William’s 1780 will, reprinted in William Alexander Duer, *The Life of William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, Major-General in the Army of the United States During the Revolution: With Selections from His Correspondence* (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1847), 265. Reid appears to have acted as a co-devisee on his deceased father-in-law’s land in the county of Orange. A petition, dated 1 February 1772, from Reid, his brother-in-law William, and other devisees to New York’s colonial authorities concerning James Alexander’s estate, is mentioned in E. B. O. Callaghan, *The Calendar of N.Y. Colonial Manuscripts Indorsed Land Papers; in the Office of the Secretary of State of New York, 1643–1803* (Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co, 1864), 552. The original has not been inspected.

²²³ Abstracts of Reid’s various petitions over 1764–1771 to the colonial authorities in New York, which document his requests for land in Vermont; his provision of certificates to support the land applications of his fellow officers of the 42nd Regiment; and surveys and maps of the lands, can be found in E. B. O. Callaghan, *The Calendar of N.Y. Colonial Manuscripts Indorsed Land Papers; in the Office of the Secretary of State of New York, 1643–1803* (Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co, 1864). It has not been possible to research the original copies held by New York State Archives.

²²⁴ Henry Hall, *Ethan Allen, the Robin Hood of Vermont* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1892), 46–56.

‘settlers’ in the wake of these attacks, besides being fascinating accounts of settler-on-settler violence in late colonial America, indicate Reid’s lands were mostly cultivated for corn, with a few mills built on the estate.²²⁵ Reid would lose his claim to the lands following the American War of Independence, receiving only a relatively small compensation from the British government to cover the costs of erecting mills and undertaking land surveys.²²⁶ It appears Reid also claimed ownership over land in Pennsylvania in 1783.²²⁷ In 1796 Reid inherited an estate of between 4,000 and 5,000 acres in the township of Douglas, Nova Scotia, from his cousin, Major-General John Small (1726-1796), under the terms of the latter’s 1796 will.²²⁸ At the close of the American War of Independence, Small had been awarded a Crown grant of 105,000 acres in Hants County, entrusted to him and the disbanded officers of the 2nd Battalion of the 84th Regiment in 1784. Small’s own lands included a 950-acre lot on the Kennetcook River named Amherstford, and another estate called Selma on Cobequid Bay, on which he built the mansion Selma Hall.²²⁹ No evidence so far has been found that free or enslaved African-descended people were part of, or laboured on, Small’s estates, though it is a possibility: approximately 3,500 ‘Black Loyalists’ came to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick near the end of the American Revolution, often as ‘servants’ of their white Loyalist enslavers.

Possible ownership of an enslaved person

It is not clear whether Reid himself ever owned enslaved people. On 15 January 1776, a ‘Colonel John Reid’ based ‘near the Fort’ at New York City posted an advertisement in the *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury* offering an award of forty shillings for the recapture of a New Jersey-born ‘negro man’ named Sam, formerly owned by ‘Docter Mercer’s family’ but seemingly now claimed by Reid.²³⁰ ‘Dr Mercer’ is likely Dr William Mercer (c.1715-1770), a Scottish colonist, physician and mill owner in New Jersey and New York.²³¹ It has not been possible to affirm, however, that the individual named in the notice who claimed ownership over ‘Sam’ is the same John Reid who bequeathed funds to the UoE.

²²⁵ E. B. O. Callaghan, *The Documentary History of the State of New-York*, Vol. 4 (Albany: Charles Van Benthuyssen, 1851), 842-854.

²²⁶ Samuel Swift, *History of the Town of Middlebury: In the Country of Addison, Vermont* (Middlebury, Vermont: A. H. Copeland, 1859), 65-68; Frederick B. Richards, *The Black Watch at Ticonderoga and Major Duncan Campbell of Inverawe* (Fort Ticonderoga, New York: Fort Ticonderoga Museum Library, 1911), 78-81.

²²⁷ Reference to Reid’s lands in Pennsylvania can be found in a series of John Reid’s papers, including accounts, legal papers, and claims over his property in North America, held by the New-York Historical Society Museum and Library. It has not been possible to consult these materials for this project: Series 6: John Reid, 1762-1806 and Undated, inclusive’, Rutherford Family Papers 1721-1879, MS 532, New-York Historical Society Museum and Library.

²²⁸ ‘Will of John Small, Colonel in His Majesty’s Service of Saint Martin in the Fields , Middlesex’, 31 May 1796, PROB 11/1275/279, NA.

²²⁹ Marion Gilroy, ed., *Loyalists and Land Settlement in Nova Scotia* (Halifax, Canada: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1937), 3; John Victor Duncanson, *Rawdon and Douglas: Two Loyalist Townships in Nova Scotia* (1989), 45-47.

²³⁰ ‘Run Away from Col. John Reid, on Wednesday the 10th day of January, inst, a negro man named Sam, born in New-Jersey, formerly lived in Doctor Mercer’s family. He is about 21 years of age, about 5 feet 5 inches high, slender made, small featured ; he carried with him a blue cloth surtout coat, with yellow metal buttons, a tight-bodied blue cloth livery coat, with red cuffs and collar, and also red lining, a blue cloth coatee, with red lining, cuffs, and collar, and white metal buttons, two white linen vests, a red cloth and a blue cloth vest, two pair of leather breeches, a pair of red everlasting breeches, two pair of mixed blue and white stockings, one pair of brown and one pair of blue worsted stockings, and some silk stockings, a pair of fashionable plated shoe and knee buckles, a new castor hat, some white stockings, with a pinchbeck stock buckle. Whoever apprehends the said run-away and secures him, so that his master may have him again, shall be paid the above reward, and all reasonable charges, by John Reid, near the Fort’: *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, 15 January 1776.

²³¹ Francis Bazley Lee, *Genealogical and memorial history of the state of New Jersey*, Vol. 2 (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1910), 403-404.

Bequest

Reid held a life-long interest in flute music which he developed during his time in the army; in 1756 he composed 'The Highland March' (later adapted into the more well-known 'In the Garb of the Old Gaul'). He published his musical compositions and grew his own substantial music library.²³² Reid's 1803 will, and a subsequent codicil dated 1806, instructed his trustees to endow a 'Professorship of the Theory of Music' at the UoE ('where I had my education, and spent the pleasantest part of my youth').²³³ Reid specified that his gift should also make 'additions to the Library of the said University' and promote the 'general interest and advantage of the University, in such way and manner as the Principal and Professors ... think most fit and proper'. He additionally left two portraits ('one when a Lieutenant in the Earl of Loudoun's regiment, raised in the year 1745 and the other when a Major-General in the Army') which are still owned by the UoE.²³⁴ In his will, Reid described music as 'an art and science in which the Scots stand unrivalled by all the neighbouring nations in pastoral melody, and sweet combination of sound'. The will and codicil stipulated that his trust should first support his daughter, Susanna Stark, until her death, after which 'part of the fortune ... acquired by marriage' (i.e., via the Alexander family), and 'real or and personal estates ... seised [sic] or possessed of in America' would go to his deceased wife's nieces and nephews. Reid's will referred several times to his 'estates in America'. In the Codicil, dated 1806, Reid gave 'Governor Franklin' a painting of the 'lower falls of a river named Otter Creek' near Lake Champlain, where he once 'possessed of an extensive and valuable track of country, of which I was deprived immediately before the Rebellion in America, by an armed banditti from New England, which that unfortunate and ill-conducted war put it out of my power to recover, and for which I have received no compensation from Government'. Reid's 'personal estate in the Kingdom of Great Britain', meanwhile, was what formed the basis of his bequest to the UoE. Though Reid's North American assets and inheritances via marriage did not transfer *directly* to the UoE, his entire wealth at his death was no doubt enriched by his in-laws' colonial and slavery-linked wealth; his military salary for services in North America and the Caribbean; and his colonial landownership.²³⁵ Additionally, Reid's interests in Asia also will have fed into the gift: in a letter dated 3 March 1807 to Principal George Husband Baird, Reid's executors noted that his estate included £3,900 in East India stock. Reid's gift to the UoE thus also derived, in part, from his investment in the EIC's colonial endeavours in South Asia.²³⁶

In 1838, after the death of his daughter without issue, the Reid endowment, worth £68,876 18s 3d, came to the University; the Professorship finally began in 1839.²³⁷ Reid also gave his substantial book collection and his own compositions to the UoE and instructed that the Professor organise an annual

²³² For Reid's musical contributions, see Elizabeth C. Ford, *The Flute in Scotland from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Lausanne, Switzerland: Peter Lang, 2019). For the Chair of Music at Edinburgh, see Rosemary Golding, *Music and Academia in Victorian Britain* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 15-54. The value of Reid's book collection has not been ascertained: 'Catalogue of rare books acquired using money from the Reid Bequest, 1845-c1866', EUA IN1/ADS/LIB/1/Da.1.28, EUL.

²³³ 'Will of John Reid, General in His Majesty's Army and Colonel of the Eighty Eighth Regiment of Foot of Woodstock Street Oxford Street, Middlesex', PROB 11/1456/264, NA. Also see a printed version featuring the 1806 codicil: John Reid, *Will and Codicil of General Reid* (c. 1807), EUA/Da.46.9, EUL.

²³⁴ 'General John Reid', c.1745, EU0083, <https://images.is.ed.ac.uk/luna/servlet/s/v081eg>, and George Watson, 'General John Reid', 1806, EU0523, <https://images.is.ed.ac.uk/luna/servlet/s/71b847>, University of Edinburgh Art Collection.

²³⁵ One-quarter each to the children (i.e., his nieces and nephews by marriage) of his deceased wife's living siblings, including William Alexander, mentioned above.

²³⁶ This letter is included in a previously cited published version of Reid's will and codicil.

²³⁷ Field, 'Reid [formerly Robertson], John (1722?-1807)'. *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23331>.

memorial concert on his birthday each year on 13 February. This formed the foundation for what became known as the ‘Reid Concerts’.²³⁸

Reid’s significant financial gift to the UoE had an immeasurable impact on music education in Britain, and greatly benefited the institution in other ways. Reid is a prominent, multifaceted example of what Andrew Bull has recently described as the underexamined ‘colonial links between Scottish music from the long eighteenth century and the burgeoning British Empire’.²³⁹ As Reid instructed for the funds to the UoE to only be released after the death of Reid’s daughter, the UoE would have to wait until 1838 to begin to make provisions for the Chair of Music. As well as the Professor of Music’s salary and the Reid concert, early uses of the funds included the payment of legal expenses, and a contribution towards the natural history collection (£2,700). As Fiona M. Donaldson explains, by the 1830s Edinburgh’s Town Council was in considerable financial straits, and the ‘injection of capital attached to the endowment for the Professorship of Music, for the library and the promotion of the general interest of the University, was interpreted by the Town Council and the Senatus for use in ways more favourable to the second part of the bequest than the first’.²⁴⁰ An 1847 account, for example, Trustees shows that funds had already gone to the General Library (£400), Theological Library (£100), an allowance for retiring professors (£750), the ‘encouragement of graduates of arts’ (£200), the Anatomical Museum (£200), and the teaching of Natural Philosophy (£130).²⁴¹ In its early years then, the Reid fund benefited not solely the UoE’s music professors, students and Reid Concert performers and audiences but the entire institution.

Baxter Mathematical and Philosophical Scholarships (1863)

Sir David Baxter of Kilmaron (1793–1872) was a linen merchant and manufacturer based in Dundee. Baxter and his family firm’s connections to slavery via the trade of osnaburg, a cheap course cloth used to clothe enslaved labourers in the Caribbean and North America, and one of the firm’s biggest exports, have been documented in a report into the founders of the University of Dundee.²⁴² Before joining the family’s linen trade, Baxter managed the Dundee Sugar House (1818-1834), which likely imported Caribbean sugar via Glasgow and the Clyde.²⁴³ Baxter had left the sugar trade by 1837 and joined the family firm, becoming head of Baxter Brothers & Co. in 1854. Research at the University of Dundee concluded that David Baxter’s considerable wealth ‘derived indirectly from slavery’ as the firm sold its wares on Atlantic markets that relied on the ‘continued use of enslaved labour’.²⁴⁴ An inventory of David Baxter’s estate, taken as part of his will, proved 17 December 1872, shows his investments in colonial enterprises including the Oriental Bank Corporation, the London Chartered

²³⁸ For more on the Reid concerts, see Fiona M. Donaldson, ‘Reid concerts at the University of Edinburgh: the first 100 years, 1841–1941’ (PhD dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 2018), and the Reid Concerts database, designed and developed by Donaldson, at www.reidconcerts.music.ed.ac.uk.

²³⁹ Andrew Bull, ‘The British Empire in Late Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century Scottish Music: Early Observations’, *Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies* 11, no. 1 (2023): 1-12.

²⁴⁰ Donaldson, ‘Reid concerts at the University of Edinburgh: the first 100 years, 1841–1941’, 16.

²⁴¹ Scroll Minute Book of the Reid Trustees, 19 November 1847, EUA/Da.46.2, EUL.

²⁴² Cassandra Goptar, *University of Dundee Founders Project Final Report* (Dundee: University of Dundee, 2022), 36-37.

²⁴³ David Perry with contributions by Derek Hall and Richard Jones, ‘The Dundee Sugar House, Seagate, Dundee’ (n.d.), available at <http://www.tafac.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/p103-118-Perry.pdf>, accessed October 2023, 109-110.

²⁴⁴ Someone by the name of ‘David Baxter’ is listed as an owner of enslaved people in Jamaica in UCL’s LSB database, though researchers at Dundee were not able to confirm whether this is the same person as Sir David Baxter: Goptar, *University of Dundee Founders Project Final Report*, 37.

Bank of Australia, the Bank of South Australia, the East Indian Railway Company and the Peninsula and Oriental Steam Navigation Company.²⁴⁵

Baxter's first deed of mortification (i.e., gift) to the UoE, dated 18 May 1863, provided £3,000 for 'encouragement and promotion of studies ... of Mathematics and Mental Philosophy'. Baxter gave further funds to the UoE to establish the [Baxter Natural and Physical Science Scholarships \(1865\)](#), the [Chair of Engineering \(1868\)](#) and the [Baxter Salary Fund \(1872\)](#) as well as a large subscription (£18,000) towards the Old Medical School. Two more endowments derived from gifts from other members of the Baxter family: the [Misses Baxter of Balavies Scholarship \(1869\)](#) and the [John Edward Baxter Scholarship \(1876\)](#).

The 'David Baxter Mathematical Scholarship' became part of the Mathematics and Natural Philosophy Scholarship Fund under the Edinburgh University (Fellowships, Scholarships and Bursaries) Scheme 1953), where he it remained until at least 1971.²⁴⁶

Baxter Natural and Physical Science Scholarships (1865)

For David Baxter's background and links to slavery, see the above entry for [Baxter Mathematical and Philosophical Scholarships \(1863\)](#).

Baxter's second deed of mortification to the UoE, dated 27 May 1865, provided further scholarships for the 'encouragement and promotion of studies in the Departments of Physical and Natural Science'. His endowment amounted to £3,000 to provide for two scholarships.²⁴⁷

Under the Edinburgh University (Fellowships, Scholarships and Bursaries) Scheme (1953) the 'Sir David Baxter Scholarship in Mental Philosophy' became part of the Philosophical Scholarship Fund, and the 'Sir David Baxter's Natural and Physical Science Scholarships' became part of the Science Faculty Scholarship Fund'; both remained within their respective combined funds until at least 1971.²⁴⁸

Horsliehill Scott Bursaries (1865)

Lieutenant Colonel Francis James Scott of Horsliehill (c.1749-1821) appears to have served as a Captain with the Sixth Regiment of the Foot in the 'Charibbee Islands' (Antilles) in the 1770s. In 1803 he was with the Leith Volunteers.²⁴⁹ By the 1810s Scott was based in Roxburghshire, and at the time of his death on 18 December 1821, he was based in Mount Lodge, Portobello.²⁵⁰ A portrait exists of him by Sir Henry Raeburn.²⁵¹

An inventory of Scott's estate, dated 2 May 1822, lists 'dividends now and hereafter expected from Colebrookbay [sic] Estate in the West Indies under the charge of certain Bankrupt assignees in

²⁴⁵ For Baxter's will, see SC20/50/44, NRS.

²⁴⁶ The University of Edinburgh (Fellowships, Scholarships and Bursaries) Scheme (1971), No. 1849, UK Statutory Instruments, <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukxi/1971/1849/contents/made>.

²⁴⁷ *List of Deeds*, 29-30.

²⁴⁸ The University of Edinburgh (Fellowships, Scholarships and Bursaries) Scheme (1971), No. 1849, UK Statutory Instruments, <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukxi/1971/1849/contents/made>.

²⁴⁹ H. V. Bowen and Anita McConnell, 'Colebrooke, Sir George, second baronet (1729-1809), banker', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/37301>; [London] *Morning Post*, 24 November 1803, 4.

²⁵⁰ *Edinburgh Almanack*, 1812, Note of Scott's date of death can be found in James Brown and David Laing, *The Epitaphs and Monumental Inscriptions in Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh* (Edinburgh and London: J. Moodie Miller and Hamilton, Adams & Co, 1867), 225; *Scots Magazine*, 1 January 1822, 144.

²⁵¹ Henry Raeburn, 'Colonel Francis James Scott, 1796/1811', Andrew W. Mellon Collection, National Gallery of Art, available at <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.109.html#history>, accessed 31 January 2024.

London'. The dividends amounted to £1,500 and Scott's total wealth at his death came to over £12,000.²⁵²

Which Caribbean estate under than name 'Colebrookbay' (Colebrooke Bay) Scott claimed dividends from is not clear. It may have been an estate associated with Sir George Colebrooke, 2nd Baronet (1729-1809), an MP, EIC official, banker and speculator who went bankrupt in 1772. Colebrooke owned sugar plantations and enslaved people in Antigua, Dominica and Grenada; the estates in both Dominica and Antigua estates bore his name. In 1786 Colebrooke's creditors (known as the 'Second Shop creditors') considered the sale of estates in Grenada and Dominica mortgaged to Colebrooke and assigned by him to them.²⁵³ It would seem possible, therefore, that Scott was one of Colebrooke's creditors. The Antiguan estate ('Colebrook's') at various stages included over 200 enslaved people; its owner in 1836, John Adam Wood (also the enslaver of Mary Prince, author of an influential narrative of her enslavement) was awarded £2,230 14s 9d in compensation following the abolition of slavery. Scott may, however, have claimed dividends from the Dominican estate in the Parish of St Patrick given that that site was known as Colebrook Bay. The estate produced sugar and had been owned by George Colebrooke's father, Sir James Colebrooke (1680-1752) and sold to Sir James Cockburn (1729-1804) by at least 1777.²⁵⁴ Cockburn was also declared bankrupt in 1781, a possible route by which Scott acquired an interest in Colebrook Bay. The presence of enslaved people on the estate is not yet clear, though Cockburn himself reported losing a large number of enslaved people on France's invasion of Dominica in 1778 during the American Revolutionary War.²⁵⁵ It is not yet known whether the estate was still associated with enslaved people during the period in which Scott drew dividends from it.

Scott left instructions for the creation of bursaries at the UoE, but it took until 1865 for the trustees of Scott's estate to transfer funds to the UoE because of a dispute with one of Scott's heirs that was only resolved in Scotland's Court of Session in 1863.²⁵⁶ In 1865 Scott's trustees conveyed £2,000 to the UoE, 'for the foundation and establishment of two bursaries of equal annual amounts, to be competed for by students'.²⁵⁷ Scott also bequeathed funds to Edinburgh's Royal Infirmary, Lying-in Hospital, Asylum for the Relief of the Indigent and Industrious Blind, New Town Dispensary, and the Scottish Institution for Imbecile Children.

In 2019 the College of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences amalgamated the Horsliehill-Scott Bursary for Classics and Philosophy into two funds: 'Annual undergraduate prizes in Philosophy' (Fund code: 565167) and 'Annual undergraduate prizes in Classics' (Fund code: 565166). The present-day worth of these endowments, therefore, cannot be ascertained.²⁵⁸ At the time of writing this report, the Horsliehill-Scott Bursaries are still distributed to Classics, Mathematics and Philosophy students.²⁵⁹

Chair of Engineering (1868)

For David Baxter's links to slavery, see above entry for the [Baxter Mathematical and Philosophical Scholarships \(1863\)](#).

²⁵² Inventory of Francis James Scott, 1822, SC70/1/27, NRS.

²⁵³ *London Gazette*, 2 May 1786, 192.

²⁵⁴ *Kentish Gazette*, 2 November 1768, 4; John Byres, *References to the Plan of the Island of Dominica, as Surveyed from the Year 1765 to 1773* (London: printed for S. Hooper, 1777), 24.

²⁵⁵ There appears to be a typo in a newspaper report, which states Cockburn lost '18,00 negroes'. Whether this means 1,800 or 180 is unclear: *Norfolk Chronicle*, 7 November 1778, 2.

²⁵⁶ *The Scotsman*, 28 November 1863, 7

²⁵⁷ *List of Deeds*, 30-1.

²⁵⁸ College of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences accountants, correspondence with the author.

²⁵⁹ See, for example, 'Classics scholarships and prizes', UoE, available at <https://www.ed.ac.uk/student-funding/current-students/university-prizes-awards/humanities/classics>, accessed 22 January 2024.

In a deed of mortification dated 7, 8, and 11 May 1868, Baxter provided £6,000 to ‘promote studies in the Science of engineering in Scotland’ at the UoE. Because of Baxter’s gift, the Lord Commissioner of Her Majesty’s Treasury promised to add a yearly contribution of £200.²⁶⁰ Baxter was present at a meeting of the Senatus Academicus in February 1868, during which he

explained that he hoped the new professor would teach the Chair of Engineering without neglecting its applications to the manufacturing industry. It would also be pleasing to him [Baxter], if the Professor would make practical excursions with his students, taking them into the field to teaching them surveying, and going with the to large workshops and manufactories, for the purpose of bringing them into direct contact with industrial operations.²⁶¹

Misses Baxter of Balavies Scholarship (1869)

Mary Ann Baxter of Balavies (1801-1884) was the daughter of William Baxter, founder of the Dundee firm Baxter Brothers & Co., and brother of Sir David Baxter (see entries above). Along with her cousin John Boyd Baxter (father of John Edward Baxter: see [John Edward Baxter Scholarship \[1876\]](#)), Mary Ann Baxter was a co-founder of the University College Dundee, providing part of the £14,000 used to establish the institution which later became the University of Dundee. Her financial links to slavery (inherited via her family) are discussed in the University of Dundee’s research into its founders. Research found that Mary Ann was the ‘direct recipient of funds from Baxter Brothers & Co. through her father’s settlement and was a beneficiary of her brother and sister’s estate, a large portion of her assets came from the family’s business as well as transatlantic and colonial investments’.²⁶² At her death, Mary Ann’s estate was worth £283,586.²⁶³ Mary Ann’s wealth came in part from her father, William Baxter of Balgavies (1767–1854), who had been a successful export merchant in the early nineteenth century, beginning the small mill in 1806 that would later evolve into Baxter Brothers and Co.. William’s estate at his death (valued at £212,815 3s 3d) was placed into a trust. Mary Ann and her sister Eleanor received ‘life-rent’ use of the Ellengowan and Balgavies properties, while her father’s shares and interests in Baxter Brothers & Co. were shared between all five Baxter siblings (Edward, David, John, Eleanor, Eliza, and Mary Ann). Mary Ann received substantial sums from her share in the company over subsequent years, demonstrating a ‘flow of wealth from profits of Baxter Brothers & Co. to Mary Ann Baxter’.²⁶⁴ Her inventory indicates that the amount of money invested or held in trust for her, and other associated interest and revenue from her father’s estate, totalled £64,135.²⁶⁵ Investments through the estate were made in the Union Bank of Australia and British Linen Company (later Bank), both companies, as highlighted in the University of Dundee report, with their own links to slavery-derived wealth (in the former case through compensation payments on the abolition of slavery in the 1830s), and other foreign and colonial stocks. Mary Ann received further legacies on the deaths of her brother Sir David Baxter in 1872, and her sister Eleanor in 1868.²⁶⁶ Mary Ann reinvested much of this inherited wealth (derived in part from

²⁶⁰ *Deeds of Foundation: Chairs and Scholarships*.

²⁶¹ Senatus Academicus, Minutes, 29 February 1868, Volume 8, EUA IN1/GOV/SEN/MIN/1, EUL. For more on the Chair of Engineering, see Ronald M. Birse, *Engineering at Edinburgh University: A Short History, 1673-1983*

(Edinburgh: The School of Engineering, University of Edinburgh, 1983).

²⁶² Goptar, *University of Dundee Founders Project Final Report*, 11, 37-39.

²⁶³ SC 45/31/35, NRS.

²⁶⁴ SC47/40/22, NRS; Goptar, *University of Dundee Founders Project Final Report*, 38.

²⁶⁵ SC45/31/35, NRS.

²⁶⁶ SC20/50/44, NRS.

slavery-associated transatlantic trades) in colonial projects (primarily missions) in ‘Central, Africa, India, China and New Guinea’; the Baxter River in New Guinea is named after her.²⁶⁷

An 1869 deed of mortification of Mary Ann Baxter of Balgavies provided £2,500 for the UoE to establish two scholarships in connection with the Corporation of the High School of Dundee. It was her desire to ‘promote the well-being of the said University’ and the Scholarships were an expression of her ‘regard ... for the said High School’. The Directors of the High School were involved in selection of the Scholarships, which were provided to students who had attended the School.²⁶⁸

As of 2024, the Misses Baxter of Balgavies Bursary Fund continues to be awarded annually to ‘undergraduates in second or later years who were educated at Dundee High School for at least one year and who are following degree courses that would have fallen within the scope of the previous Faculties of Arts, Law, Medicine or Science’.²⁶⁹

Baxter Salary Fund (1872)

Sir David Baxter’s will, proved 17 December 1872, left a legacy to the UoE totalling £40,000, of which £20,000 (minus duty legacy) was provided towards the scheme to build a new medical school building (see: [Old Medical School subscriptions, 1873-1885](#)). An additional £20,000 was to be ‘applied to the further endowment of the Chairs in the Faculty of Arts’, excluding Engineering and Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, which he felt were ‘already sufficiently endowed’.²⁷⁰ Minus duty legacy, this sum came to £18,000 and became known as the *Baxter Salary Fund*. At an address given to open the 1872-73 academic year, Principal Sir Alexander Grant expressed the UoE’s ‘warmest gratitude’ to the deceased Baxter for his gifts.²⁷¹

John Edward Baxter Scholarship (1876)

John Edward Baxter (1829-1867) was born in Dundee, the only child of Margaret Baxter (née Edward) (1801-1882) and John Boyd Baxter (1796-1882). John Boyd, a solicitor in Dundee and eventually Procurator-Fiscal for Forfarshire (Angus), was the second son of William W. Baxter, whose cousin was William Baxter, the founder of Baxter Brothers & Co. making him second cousin to David and Mary Ann Baxter, discussed above. Research at the University of Dundee found no ‘discernible commercial relationship’ between John Boyd and Baxter Brothers & Co. but did highlight John Boyd’s possible ‘indirect links’ to slavery-associated wealth via his father, described as ‘one of the principal merchants in the town’; and his father-in-law, Alexander Edward, a tobacconist, and his brother-in-law, Allan Edward, who established A. & D. Edward and Co, a linen and jute firm.²⁷²

John Edward Baxter’s profession is listed as ‘merchant’ in voting registers before his death.²⁷³ His wife later claimed that her husband’s ‘property consisted to a large extent in a partnership in the business of Allan Edward and Co.’, a successor firm to the aforementioned A. & D. Edward & Co. (est. 1828) based at Logie Works on Scouringburn.²⁷⁴ The latter-day firm is identified as importing goods from the Baltic Sea and in maritime insurance in the late 1850s and early 1860s, and its factory,

²⁶⁷ Gooptar, *University of Dundee Founders Project Final Report*, 41.

²⁶⁸ *List of Deeds*, 45-47.

²⁶⁹ ‘Scholarships and Student Funding’, University of Edinburgh, www.ed.ac.uk/student-funding/hardship-funding/current-students/external-funds/other-undergrad-awards, accessed 24 May 2024.

²⁷⁰ For Baxter’s will, see SC20/50/44, NRS.

²⁷¹ The charitable legacies in Baxter’s will, of which the UoE was the largest single beneficiary, also included funds for a Mechanics’ Institute in Dundee, the Free Church of Scotland and Dundee Infirmary. The will and Grant’s address were both widely reported on in the British press: e.g., *Larne Reporter and Northern Counties Advertiser*, 9 November 1872, 3.

²⁷² Gooptar, *University of Dundee Founders Project Final Report*, 10, 43.

²⁷³ See Dundee Voters Roll 1865 to 1866, via Friends of Dundee City Archives

²⁷⁴ *Dundee Courier*, 25 February 1886

Logie Works, was for several years one of only four power-loom factories in Dundee.²⁷⁵ However, it seems the predecessor company was involved in exports to the USA. In 1854, A. & D. Edward & Co cosigned a letter along with other Dundee merchants and manufacturers (including Baxter Brothers & Co. and Allen Edward, as an individual cosigner) addressed to the USA's President Franklin Pierce. As 'exporters of goods from this district [Dundee] to the United States' they praised the efforts of James McDowell, holder of the Office of American Consul for Dundee, requesting he remained in post.²⁷⁶ Although further research is required to better understand the relationship, A. & D. Edward & Co.'s identified American trade raises the possibility that the firm sold linen to planters in southern states.

Allen Edward, in any case, was one of the first importers of jute from Calcutta to Dundee, as well as other East India goods such as sugar, rice, saltpetre (potassium nitrate), straw hats and cocoa nuts.²⁷⁷ An 1867 study of the linen trade noted that A. & D. Edward & Co 'for a long time' had spun only flax and tow, but had recently moved into jute. The goods manufactured at the factory, which included five engines and 2,500 employees, were

sail-cloth, duck, dowlas, shirtings of all widths, up to three yards wide, diapers, hessians, and indeed all descriptions of Linen or Jute goods, suited either for the English or foreign markets. Linen damas of various widths and qualities are also manufactured and this is the only establishments [sic] in the district where figured Linens are produced to any extent by power ... [T]he manufactured article is ... dispatched from the packing-house in bales, either for the English trade or for the remote markets of the world.²⁷⁸

John Edward Baxter, therefore, was likely involved in, and benefited from, the Edward family's East India, as well American, trade.

John Edward died at 37 Royal York Crescent, Clifton (near Bristol), on 14 March 1867.²⁷⁹ A deed of settlement, dated 23 August 1864, directed that besides certain legacies of Baxter's therein mentioned that the remainder of his money, property, or securities, at his wife's death, should be handed over to the Association for the Better Endowment of the University of Edinburgh. The Association appropriated his legacy (worth £6,678 12s 7d) in 1876.²⁸⁰ Reports in the Dundee press noted that John Edward had

from the state of his health and from his retiring habits, shrank from any active share in public matters. The institution of this Association [for the Better Endowment of the University of Edinburgh], however afforded him great pleasure; and he rejoiced in its progress. The taste and culture which he had received at College were quietly indulged, and his practical knowledge of the benefits of a University education, impressed on his mind the importance of raising our seats of learning to a position much more becoming the advancement of our country in wealth and trade.²⁸¹

²⁷⁵ In 1859 Allan Edward and Co. imported 13,342 bobbins undressed flax via the *Elizabeth*, a Prussian ship, from Memel (Lithuania): *Dundee, Perth, and Cupar Advertiser*, 22 April 1859, 3; Alex Johnston Warden, *The Linen Trade, Ancient and Modern*, 2nd edition (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Robers & Gren, 1867), 614.

²⁷⁶ *Dundee Courier*, 22 March 1854, 3.

²⁷⁷ Warden, *The Linen Trade*, 65. For an advertisement of East India goods sold by Allan Edward, see *Dundee, Perth & Cupar Advertiser*, 15 March 1844, 3.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 624, 656.

²⁷⁹ *Grantham Journal*, 23 March 1867, 4.

²⁸⁰ *List of Deeds*, 66-68.

²⁸¹ *Dundee Courier*, 28 March 1867, 3.

The Association thanked John Edward's father, John Boyd, who outlived his son and acted as the executor of his will: 'The Committee unanimously resolved to record in their minutes their deep sense of the public spirit and zeal for the interests of his University evinced by the late Mr John Edward Baxter, in making so important a bequest to the Association'.²⁸²

In 1885, a case in the Court of Session was raised between the other inheritors of the residue of the estate of John Edward's uncle, Alexander Edward, and the Association for the Better Endowment of Edinburgh University. After the death of Alexander Edward in 1863, John Edward inherited a share of his uncle's estate, along with other nephews and nieces, though his share of the inheritance (£6,092 19s 10d) only came after his death (see below). The Association's solicitor claimed that John Edward (or his inheritors) was entitled to one-thirteenth share, which he successfully secured. The sum secured (£7,000) was nearly equal to that Baxter had provided to the UoE.²⁸³ The following year, John Edward's widow, Mary Elizabeth Grummit (formerly Hardy/Baxter), took the Association to the Court of Session to secure a full account of her deceased husband's estate, believing she had not received her fair share; she was eventually successful in securing a £5,000 'refund' from the Association.²⁸⁴

The Scholarships were eventually chosen for those who studied 'Classical Literature, Mental Philosophy, and Mathematical Science'. The UoE's Art Collections contain a bust of John Edward Baxter by Amelia Hill, dated 1868.²⁸⁵ Under the Edinburgh University (Fellowships, Scholarships and Bursaries) Scheme (1953), the 'John Edward Baxter Scholarship in Classics' became part of the Classical Scholarship Fund; the John Edward Baxter Mathematical Scholarship became part of the Mathematics and Natural Philosophy Scholarship Fund; and the John Edward Baxter Mental Philosophy Scholarship became part of the Philosophical Scholarship Fund; all three remained within those combined funds until at least 1971.²⁸⁶

Steven of Bellahouston Scholarship (1882)

Spending his early years as a farmer in Drymen, Moses Steven of Polmadie (1749-1831) later became a successful linen and West India merchant in Glasgow. He owned, with his cousin James Buchanan, firms under the names Buchanan, Stevens & Co., and later Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co. The latter firm had import and export interests in Jamaica, Grenada, the Bahamas and South America; following the abolition of slavery in the British Empire, the firm exported goods to Argentina and Brazil (where slavery remained legal until 1888).²⁸⁷ Buchanan, Steven & Co. owned at least one vessel, the *Leander*, built in Glasgow, which was captured by the French near Barbados in 1803, on a voyage to Newfoundland.²⁸⁸ In 1825 Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co. was linked to the firm William Duff and Co., which in 1822 owned nine enslaved people on New Providence in the Bahamas.²⁸⁹

²⁸² *Dundee Advertiser*, 30 November 1867, 3.

²⁸³ *Dundee Courier*, 29 January 1885, 4; 10 February 1885, 3.

²⁸⁴ *Dundee Courier*, 23 January 1886, 3; 25 February 1886, 4; 4 March 1886, 3.

²⁸⁵ Amelia Hill, 'John Edward Baxter (1868)', marble bust, EU0397, UoE Art Collection, available at <https://collections.ed.ac.uk/art/record/19571?highlight=JOHN+EDWARD+BAXTER>, accessed 19 February 2024.

²⁸⁶ The University of Edinburgh (Fellowships, Scholarships and Bursaries) Scheme (1971), No. 1849, UK Statutory Instruments, <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukxi/1971/1849/contents/made>.

²⁸⁷ 'Minute book of Dennistoun, Buchanan, & Co. Glasgow, 1806-42', particularly p. 17, MS Murray 605, University of Glasgow Special Collections. Press notices document Buchanan, Steven, & Co.'s interests in Grenada: *Caledonian Mercury*, 2 March 1807, 3. In 1822 the successor firm imported mahogany from New Providence, Bahamas, and indigo from Calcutta: *Glasgow Herald*, 26 April 1822, 4; *Liverpool Mercury*, 19 April 1822, 7.

²⁸⁸ *Caledonian Mercury*, 4 August 1806, 3.

²⁸⁹ In 1825 Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co announced that the 'branch of [its] business, carried on in the Island of New Providence under the firm of William Duff and Co.' was to be discontinued: *Royal Gazette of Jamaica*, 19 November 1825, 21; Bahamas Slave Registers (1822), T71/456, Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813-1834, NA.

When Steven died he bequeathed £10,000 to each of his sisters, Elizabeth, Grace, and Margaret; his son (also Moses) became his principal heir.²⁹⁰ A deed of mortification, dated 13 March 1882, by Elizabeth Steven and Grace Steven, two of Moses Steven's sisters, both of Bellahouston, Lanarkshire, provided £2,000 to found a scholarship in connection with the Chair of Agriculture in the UoE for the 'advancement of the Science of Agriculture' in memory of their late brother Moses Steven who 'took an interest in the said Science of Agriculture'.²⁹¹ The Steven family's slavery-derived wealth has been studied as a result of the Bellahouston Bequest in Glasgow, established by them for the benefit of several Glasgow institutions including the University of Glasgow.²⁹² The 'Steven of Bellahouston Scholarship Fund' was recorded as still active in 1971.²⁹³

Buchanan Scholarship (1883)

James Buchanan (d.1857) was born the son of a farrier near the Trongate in Glasgow. In 1800, after being introduced to Moses Steven (see [Steven of Bellahouston Scholarship \[1882\]](#)) and James Buchanan (no relation), he travelled to St George's, Grenada, to work for their Glasgow West India house Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co.. Seven years later he acted as the firm's managing partner in Kingston, Jamaica, and in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. He returned to Scotland in 1816, supposedly 'retired' having amassed a large fortune abroad, and remained involved in the company until at least 1825.²⁹⁴ On his return to Scotland he invested in land, property, and commercial and industrial enterprises in Britain and the Americas.²⁹⁵ He paid for the building of, and lived at, 49 Moray Place in Edinburgh's New Town.

As research at the University of Glasgow (which also received a Buchanan bequest) highlights, James Buchanan's wealth on his return from the Americas was vast, making him one of the richest men in Britain on his death in 1857. He left sums to both the University and City of Glasgow, and various civic institutions there including the Royal Infirmary of Glasgow, the Trades' House of Glasgow, and the Merchants House of Glasgow; Buchanan's bequests thus also feature in a study of the City of Glasgow's links to slavery.²⁹⁶

Buchanan's trust disposition and settlement provided his widow, Jane Buchanan (née Jack; 1798-1883) an annuity of £2,000, one of the few relatives to whom he bequeathed any money.²⁹⁷ Having outlived her husband by several decades, Jane Buchanan continued his philanthropic legacy. In 1880 she left £1,000 to the UoE to establish a scholarship in Midwifery and Gynaecology.²⁹⁸ She also gave £4,000 around 1868 towards the building of the new Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh on Lauriston Place, which named a ward after her. Over subsequent decades, the Buchanan gifts to the UoE and the

²⁹⁰ 'Settlement of Moses Steven', 10 July 1833, NRS, SC58/42/6, NRS.

²⁹¹ *List of Deeds*, 78.

²⁹² Mullen and Newman, *Slavery, Abolition and the University of Glasgow*, 42-46.

²⁹³ The University of Edinburgh (Fellowships, Scholarships and Bursaries) Scheme (1971), No. 1849, UK Statutory Instruments, <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukSI/1971/1849/contents/made>.

²⁹⁴ For Buchanan's time with the firm, see 'Minute book of Dennistoun, Buchanan, & Co. Glasgow, 1806-42', MS Murray 605, University of Glasgow Special Collections. This biography relies on *Historical Sketch of the Buchanan Institution Glasgow* (Glasgow: Buchanan Trust, 1913), 1-6; George Crawford, *A Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Trades' House of Glasgow: Its Constitution, Funds, and Bye-laws* (Glasgow: Bell & Bain, 1858), 265-271. For an in-depth study of Buchanan's journey to and through the West Indies and South America, and his legacies back in Britain, see Stephen Mullen, *The Glasgow Sugar Aristocracy: Scotland and Caribbean Slavery, 1775-1838* (London: University of London Press, 2023), 130, 203-207.

²⁹⁵ 'Inventory of James Buchanan', 10 July 1858, SC70/1/98, NRS.

²⁹⁶ Stephen Mullen, *Glasgow, Slavery and Atlantic Commerce: An Audit of Historic Connections and Modern Legacies* (Glasgow: Glasgow City Council, 2022), 85-86.

²⁹⁷ 'Trust disposition and settlement of James Buchanan', 10 July 1858, SC70/4/58, NRS.

²⁹⁸ *Deeds and Foundations: Chairs and Scholarships*, in EUA IN1/ADS/FAC.

Infirmery became connected: a condition of the *Buchanan Scholarship* was that the awardee acted as House Physician for the Infirmery's University Gynaecological Ward.²⁹⁹

Gunning Victoria Jubilee Medical and Divinity Prizes (1890)

Robert Halliday Gunning (1818-1900) was born in Ruthwell (between Dumfries and Annan) and spent part of his childhood in Kirkbean and New Abbey before moving to Dumfries. He first left for Edinburgh in 1834, and in 1840-41 lived in Aberdeen, working as Assistant and Demonstrator of Anatomy under Mariscal College's Dr Allen Thomson. When Thompson took on the Chair of Physiology at the UoE, Gunning followed him, taking charge of the Anatomical Rooms under Alexander Monro *tertius* and lecturing on anatomy in Surgeon's Square. While at the UoE, Gunning prepared, in his words, a 'numerous class of students and graduates from all parts of the Empire' for the completion of their medical degrees.³⁰⁰ He completed his own MD at the UoE in 1846, writing his dissertation entitled 'On the Nature and Treatment of Pulmonary Consumption'.³⁰¹ He also studied and experimented with chloroform, presenting a paper on the topic for the Medico-Chirurgical Society of Edinburgh in 1848.³⁰² He became acquainted with two figures in Edinburgh around this time who would have a great impact on him, shaping his desire to bring together the natural sciences and theology: Thomas Chalmers, leader of the Free Church of Scotland; and Robert Christison, a toxicologist and Chair of Medical Jurisprudence (and later *Materia Medica* and Therapeutics) at the UoE.³⁰³ In 1847 Gunning married Mary Agnes Winwood Hughes. In 1849, 'obliged to seek a warmer climate' on account of his health, Gunning and his wife moved to Brazil. This proved a 'great improvement' for the doctor's health and the 'prospect of easy and lucrative medical practice' tempted him to remain in the country, which he did for thirty-three years.³⁰⁴

As well as serving the medical needs of Rio de Janeiro's elite – including Emperor Dom Pedro II – Gunning's initial start in the country was a medical officer for the gold-mining industry, serving the needs of European-descended and enslaved Black miners.³⁰⁵ One visitor who later stayed with Gunning at his property in Brazil described him as 'a young physician in Scotland' who had been 'invited to take medical charge of a colony of Europeans employed in the Brazilian mines' but soon became a 'great authority on the skin diseases which, from minor forms, reach to the last degrees of leprosy and elephantiasis among the black natives of Brazil'.³⁰⁶

Gunning soon began to invest in mining, railways, roads and shipping interests. An obituary in the *Rio News* following his death in 1900 confirms and adds to the above account, claiming he first came to Brazil as a 'medical officer' for the National Brazilian Mining Association, before becoming a director of one of the Company's mines; a contractor on the Dom. Pedro II railway and the União e

²⁹⁹ Robert Paterson, *Memorials of the Life of James Syme, Professor of Clinical Surgery in the University of Edinburgh, Etc.* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1874), 279-280; *Edinburgh University Calendar* (1891), 447-448.

³⁰⁰ John Dunns, Gunning's associate and New College Professor of Natural Sciences, wrote an obituary based in part on an 1899 letter written to him by Gunning in which he recounted much of his personal history: John Dunns, 'Obituary Notices', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh* 23 (November 1899 to July 1901): 489-497.

³⁰¹ *List of the Graduates in Medicine in the University of Edinburgh from MDCCV to MDCCCLXVI* (Edinburgh: Neill and Company, 1867), 139.

³⁰² Robert Halliday Gunning, 'On the Physiological Action of Chloroform', *Monthly Journal of Medical Science* 9 (July 1848): 47-49.

³⁰³ Dunns, 'Obituary Notices', 491-94.

³⁰⁴ Dunns, 'Obituary Notices', 490.

³⁰⁵ In 1882 Gunning was made Honorary Physician of the Brazilian Emperor's palace: *Rio News*, 5 May 1882, 5.

³⁰⁶ Thomas W. Hinchliff, 'Rio de Janeiro and the Organ Mountains – VI', in H. W. Bates, ed., *Illustrated Travels: A Record of Discovery, Geography & Adventure*, Volume 2 (London, Paris and New York: Cassell, Petter & Galpin, n.d. [c.1870]), 336-39.

Industria road; and an investor in the Navegação Brasileira Company (a shipping firm).³⁰⁷ A census of British slaveholders in Brazil in 1848-69, commissioned by British Foreign Secretary Lord Palmerston, found that the National Brazilian Mining Association, a gold-mining interest, owned between 300 and 400 enslaved people, making it the third-largest British slaveholder in Brazil.³⁰⁸ Gunning's name is linked to the National Brazilian Mining Association's gold mining operations as early as March 1853, when he acted as Chief Commissioner of the Cocais mine, lifting the flagging organisation out of its debts.³⁰⁹ That same month, the London *Daily News* reported that the 'value of the slaves on the [National Brazilian Mining Association's] property' was estimated at least at £50,000; the company owned 160,000 acres of the 'finest agricultural land in Brazil' as well as its mineral resources.³¹⁰ It is not yet known when – if ever – Gunning left the firm, though enslaved labour evidently remained a feature of the Association's workforce: concerns about the firm's illegal holding of enslaved labourers were raised in the British House of Commons as late as 1882.³¹¹

With the profits wrought by his medical practice and his investments in mining, railroads, and roads, Gunning bought land near to Rodeio train station, two hours along the Dom Pedro II railway from Rio de Janeiro. He dubbed the property Palmeiras after the area's abundant palm trees. A hotel was eventually built there the site became a spot for health tourism, and visited upon by European and North American travellers.³¹²

An 1867 travelogue written by John Codman, an American steamer captain, claimed Gunning was the personal owner of thirty to forty enslaved people.³¹³ Codman's account broadly aligns with that of

³⁰⁷ *Rio News*, 27 March 1900, 7. He also appears to have acted on behalf of the Amazon Steam Navigation Company as a stockholder: *Rio News*, 24 May 1885, 5. He appears to have been linked to the Minas and Rio railway: in May 1882 Gunning and the British Minister in Brazil, Edwin Corbett, visited the Minas and Rio railway: *Anglo-Brazilian Times*, 14 May 1882, 2.

³⁰⁸ The census-taker noted that some of the enslaved in the mining companies were 'hired, but the greater proportion [were] owned by the companies': Mr. Westwood to Viscount Palmerston, 28 December 1848, in Correspondence on Slave Trade, 1848-49 (Class B), P.P. 1128, p. 152. For more on the census returns, see Joseph Mulhern, 'British Slaveholders in Brazil Census, 1848-1849', *Journal of Slavery and Data Preservation* 4, no. 4 (2023): 39-44.

³⁰⁹ Capt. John Hitchins submitted a report to 'Dr R. H. Gunning' on the conditions of the Serra Velha Mine, noting the 'want of European miners': 'National Brazilian Mining Association', *The Mining Journal* 23, no. 918 (26 March 1853): 179. 'National Brazilian Mining Association', *The Mining Journal* 23, no. 950 (5 November 1853): 701. One of the Company's gold mines in 1853 was known as 'Gunning's': *The Railway Record and Joint Stock Companies' Reporter*, 23 April 1853, 299.

³¹⁰ *Daily News* [London], 21 March 1853, 7. Visitors to Brazil's mining regions referred to both the company's history of slave-ownership and Gunning's involvement in the firm. In the early 1840s the Company's Morro Velho mine, about 'eleven leagues' from Cocais, was worked by 'thirty English miners, about three hundred slaves, and thirty hired free Brazilians, at work in and about the mine': George Gardner, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil: Principally Through the Northern Provinces, and the Gold and Diamond Districts, During the Years 1836-1841* (London: Reeve Brothers, 1846), 489. An 1869 travelogue explained that the National Brazilian Land and Mining Association, based in the municipality of Jacutinga in the State of Minas Gerais, was '[u]nder the rule of Mr Roscoe, Mr Goodair, ... the late Henry Oxenford senior ... and Dr Gunning, – who went out as "Medical Missioner," to the Brazil!' The author noted that the mine 'yielded £100,000, but never paid its costs': Richard F. Burton, *Explorations of the Highlands of the Brazil; With a Full Account of the Gold and Diamond Mines. Also, Canoeing Down 1500 Miles of the Great River São Francisco, From Sabará to the Sea*, Volume 1 (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1869), 442.

³¹¹ The Company's use of enslaved labour was referred in Britain's House of Commons: Hansard, House of Commons debate, 4 August 1882, vol. 273, c744.

³¹² 'A Rio Sanitarium', *Anglo-Brazilian Times*, 5 August 1870, 3; Annie Brassey, *A Voyage in the 'Sunbeam', Our Home on the Ocean for Eleven Months* (Chicago: Belford, Clarke & Co., 1881), 54-5; 'The Rev. J. Hutchison on his Voyage to South America', *Stalybridge Reporter* 9 September 1882, 3.

³¹³ John Codman, *Ten Months in Brazil: With Incidents of Voyages and Travels, Descriptions of Scenery and Character, Notices of Commerce and Productions, Etc* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1867), 75-78. For more on Codman's travelogue and other American writers' takes on Brazilian slavery, see Gerald Horne, *The Deepest South: The United States, Brazil, and the African Slave Trade* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 213-14; Manoel Cardozo, 'Slavery in Brazil as Described by Americans, 1822-1888', *The Americas* 17, no. 3

another visitor, Thomas W. Hinchliff, who came to the estate in the 1860s.³¹⁴ Gunning himself, however, later disputed claims that he personally owned enslaved people. The case is complex and the subject of a more detailed research article but can be summarised as follows. In 1880, Gunning's name was mentioned in a dispute that arose in *The Rio News* about who was responsible for emancipating the enslaved labourers of Catta Branca, whose enslavement Brazilian abolitionists had turned into a scandal.³¹⁵ After letters from readers painted Gunning in different lights (either as a benign 'master' who tried to 'uplift' his workers, or as someone who had never, in fact, 'freed' his labourers), Gunning himself wrote to defend his name.³¹⁶ In his letter he claimed he 'had never held, nor could hold a slave' yet also that the 'said blacks were bought and freed at once' and converted into 'debtors', meaning they had to repay the advance for their freedom by cash, or labour under the law of *Locação de Serviços* [labour contact]. Much of his account appears to be a rewriting of history to defend Gunning's reputation. Gunning's account presented himself as a benevolent 'master' who did not benefit financially from the labour of his so-called 'debtors'.³¹⁷

An account of Gunning's medical practice indicates the kind of control he held over his Black workers' bodies. Around May-June 1871, a party from HMS *Bristol*, part of the West Africa Squadron, visited 'Doctor Gunning, an old Scotch physician who had resided in Brazil for nearly 20 years'. While traversing the forest to reach him, a member of the party encountered and killed a snake. After they had recounted the event to Gunning, the doctor described his treatment for snake bites:

on discovering the nature of the injury he instantly commenced sucking the wound (if a negro was not at hand to do so under his direction), and continued this for a lengthened period, ejecting the matter at intervals from his mouth. He also administered a stiff glass of grog (whiskey, rum or brandy whichever was most convenient), and cheered the patient with assurances of a good recovery. No other means were adopted, with the exception perhaps of tying a ligature tightly round the limb immediately above the wound and between it and the heart, to prevent the entrance of the virus into the system.³¹⁸

In summary, Gunning benefited from enslavement via his role in the National Brazilian Mining Association, which owned hundreds of enslaved Africans during his tenure as a medical officer and then Chief Commissioner of the Cacaos gold mine. It appears very likely that he also personally owned enslaved people on his Palmeiras estate; at the very least, he bought (an illegal act for a British national in Brazil) and subsequently 'freed' enslaved people, ensuring that their 'freedom' was contingent on their subsequent financial indebtedness to him. That one of Gunning's Black labourers attacked him in search for his freedom suggests how he and others perceived their own situation. Gunning evidently wielded considerable authority over his Black labourers: he expected that they,

(1961): 241–60. Another 1869 travel journal provides further detail of Gunning's estate which was located approximately two-and-a-half hours on the train from Rio. The valley opposite Gunning's house was known as the Valley of Monkeys. The elevation at the nearest station (the station appears to have been located between Belem and Barra stations) was upwards of 1,300 feet and took a range of some twenty or thirty miles. Gunning explained to his guest his plans to build a hotel in the area to attract Rio residents in 'search of fresh air and renovated health': William Hadfield, *Brazil and The River Plate in 1868: Showing the Progress of Those Countries Since His Former Visit in 1853* (London: Bates, Hendy And Co, 1869), 87-90.

³¹⁴ Thomas W. Hinchliff, 'Rio de Janeiro and the Organ Mountains – VI', in *Illustrated Travels: A Record of Discovery, Geography & Adventure* Volume 6, edited by H. W. Bates (London, Paris and New York: Cassell, Petter, & Galpin, n.d. [c. 1869?]), 336-39.

³¹⁵ *Rio News*, 15 May 1880, 4. For more on the Catta Branca case, see Courtney J. Campbell, 'Making Abolition Brazilian: British Law and Brazilian Abolitionists in Nineteenth-Century Minas Gerais and Pernambuco', *Slavery & Abolition* 36, no. 3 (3 July 2015): 521–43, especially footnote 62; Marshall C. Eakin, *A British Enterprise in Brazil: The St. John D'el Rey Mining Company and the Morro Velho Gold Mine, 1830–1960* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1989).

³¹⁶ *Rio News*, 5 June 1880, 1; 24 June 1880, 1.

³¹⁷ *Rio News*, 15 July 1880, 1.

³¹⁸ Marcus Allen (Acting Assistant Surgeon), 'Medical and surgical journal of HMS Bristol for 10 February to 15 December 1871 ...during which time the said ship was employed in the West African Squadron', Folio 25, ADM 101/267/1, NA.

rather than he, would be the ones to perform invasive, potentially self-harming procedures on poisoned patients in the name of medicine.

While in Brazil, Gunning patronised a number of artistic, civic, and scientific institutions.³¹⁹ On 18 June 1882, the night before Gunning left Brazil to ‘revisit his native Scotia after an absence in Brazil of over thirty years’, a number of merchants in Rio gave him a dinner at Carson’s Hotel, to present him the Dignitary of the Imperial Order of the Rose, conferred on him by the Emperor for his ‘valuable services to education and medicine’.³²⁰

Gunning died on 22 March 1900, having been ‘quite blind’ for several years. He was buried in Edinburgh’s Grange Cemetery. Gunning’s philanthropic giving in Britain, as in Brazil, was extensive. While he left substantial sums in his will, he also left several benefactions during his lifetime, including a series of prizes under the name Gunning Victoria Jubilee in honour of Queen Victoria’s Jubilee year (1887–88).³²¹

During his time in Brazil, Gunning maintained contact with UoE professors. In 1870 he sent a box of ‘ipecacuan plants’ to Professor Robert Christison who was involved in efforts to introduce the plant (understood as a remedy for dysentery) to India. For several years Christison had pressed the importance of introducing it to India onto his students. Around 1869 he wrote to one former student (Gunning) in Brazil, who ‘entered very cordially into the scheme’. Gunning’s consignment of plants went into Edinburgh’s Botanic Garden, where they were cultivated for multiplication by its curator and gardener and presumably re-exported to India.³²² Possibly around this time, Gunning also began to acquire what would become substantial investments in South Asia. His will, signed 1896, and an inventory of his estate made on his death in 1900. As well as shares in the Amazon Steam Navigation Company, a transatlantic shipping enterprise, Gunning owned shares in the following Indian mining ventures: Champion Reef Gold Mining Company of India, the Mysore Gold Mining Company, and the Mundydroog Company Ltd.³²³

In a bond, dated 6 March 1890, Gunning described how he three years earlier, in expression of his ‘gratitude to my Alma Mater’ and to encourage the ‘scientific study of medicine’, he had bound himself to give £5,000 to the UoE support eleven post graduation prizes for medical students at the UoE. Gunning named the prizes after various historic Edinburgh medics, including some of his mentors and friends: Monro Prize for Anatomy (the Alexander Monro dynasty); Bell Prize for Physiology (Charles and John Bell); Edward Forbes Prize for Zoology (Edward Forbes); Hutton Balfour Prize for Botany (John Hutton Balfour); Joseph Black Prize for Chemistry (Joseph Black); Christison Prize for Materia Medica [later Pharmacology] (Robert Christison); Lister Prize for Surgery (Joseph Lister, 1st Baron Lister); Gregory Prize for the Practice of Physic (James Gregory); Alison Prize for Public Health and Medical Jurisprudence [later Community Medicine] (William Alison); Thomson Prize for Pathology (James Thomson); Simpson Prize for Obstetrics (James Young Simpson). Gunning had informally paid the prizes money over the last three years, but the 1890 bond

³¹⁹ *Anglo-Brazilian Times*, 1 December 1881, 2; 1 January 1882, 2; 24 February 1882, 2; *Anglo-Brazilian Times*, 24 August 1882; *Rio News*, 13 January 1890, 4; 2; 12 May 1891, 4; Marie Robinson Wright, *The New Brazil: Its Resources and Attractions, Historical Descriptive, and Industrial* (Philadelphia and London: George Barrie & Son and C. D. Cazenove & Son), 158.

³²⁰ *Anglo-Brazilian Times*, 24 June 1882, 2. The Gunnings returned to Brazil to holiday over subsequent years: e.g. *Rio News*, 24 November 1886, 5. Gunning believed strongly in hygiene over medication, and claimed to have contributed to the cure of the German Prince Bismark’s sickness in 1887: *Rio News*, 5 May 1887, 3.

³²¹ Gunning’s will and inventory, SC70/4/321 and SC70/1/390, National Records of Scotland. For more on Gunning’s Victoria Jubilee Prizes, see T W Baillie, ‘Robert Halliday Gunning and the Victoria Jubilee Prizes’, *Scottish Medical Journal* 48, no. 2 (1 May 2003): 54–57, <https://doi.org/10.1177/003693300304800209>.

³²² Journal of Robert Christison, 27 June and 7 August 1870, reprinted in Robert Christison, *The Life of Sir Robert Christison, Bart.* Volume 2 (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1886), 257–58. For more on ipecacuanha, see M. R. Lee, ‘Ipecacuanha the South American vomiting root’, *Journal of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh* 38, no. 4 (2008): 355–60. Further references to Gunning may be found in the Papers of Sir Robert Christison (1797–1882), 1822–1887, Coll-1817/2, EUL.

³²³ Gunning’s will and inventory, SC70/4/321 and SC70/1/390, NRS.

made the arrangement more formal. The sum assigned by Gunning yielded £600 every three years (£200 per annum).³²⁴

Alongside the Medical Prizes were investments in the study of Theology. In 1880 Gunning provided £600, being the first three-quarters' income of a gift (presumably £800) to the Association for the Better Endowment of the University of Edinburgh to support what became known as the Gunning Theological Scholarships and Fellowship.³²⁵ These awards, which were examined at the UoE, and funded through the Association, were nonetheless available to students at a Scottish university who intended to study for the ministry, either the Church of Scotland and the Free Church of Scotland, and specifically for them to study natural sciences. There were three Scholarships of the annual value of £50, £30, and £20, each tenable for three years, while the Fellowship, of the annual value of £100, was open to theological students and awarded in 1883.³²⁶ The Gunning Theological Scholarships and Fellowship appear to have been wrapped up 1889/90, when he made a more substantial gift.

Around 1889-90, Gunning provided the UoE £5,000 to establish the Gunning Victoria Jubilee Divinity Prizes, theological counterparts to his medical prizes. Consisting of ten 'senior' prizes and a lectureship in the Faculty of Divinity, the gift was designed to 'promote the study of Natural Science among candidates for the ministry, and to bring out among Ministers the fruits of the study in Science, Philosophy, Language, Antiquity, and Sociology'. The lectureship was to be awarded triennially.³²⁷

The total amount Gunning invested in the study of medicine and theology at the UoE, including both the Victoria Jubilee Divinity and Medicine Prizes, the Divinity Lectureship and the predecessor Gunning Theological Scholarships and Fellowship, came to £10,800. He also donated a total of £110 towards the scheme to the fund the building of a new building for the Medical School (see [Appendix 3c](#)). The Gunning Victoria Jubilee Medical Prizes are last recorded as being awarded in 2011, and consolidated into one merged medical fund sometime between 2014 and 2015.³²⁸

In 1887 the UoE's Dean of the Faculty of Law Professor John Kirkpatrick presented Gunning with the honorary degree of LL.D. In his speech, Kirkpatrick praised Gunning's various medical and philanthropic achievements abroad, which had already 'earned' him the 'respect and approbation of his Alma Mater', and drew attention to Gunning's 'numerous benefactions for the promotion of learning and research' at Edinburgh, evidently the cause of his honorary degree. To several cheers, Gunning, seemingly visually impaired by that stage, happily accepted his degree and seemed 'touched by the warmth of his reception'. Kirkpatrick drew particular attention to Gunning's progressive attitude towards women's education, notably his financial support of the Association for University Education of Women.³²⁹

Gunning's benefactions reached far beyond the UoE. After Gunning's death, his agents, Messrs Auld & Macdonald, calculated his benefactions within and without Scotland as totalling £28,000, divided among a number of institutions, including (besides those already mentioned): Protestant Institute of Scotland (£1,000); Waldensian Missions Aid Society (£2,500); Reformed Church of Bohemia (£2,500); Evangelical Church of Italy (£2,500); Royal Society of Edinburgh (£1,000); Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (£1,000); Association for University Education of Women (£1,000); Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh (£1,000); Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh (£1,000); Royal Society, London (£1,000); Dumfries Infirmary (£1,250); Victoria Institute, London (£500); Robertson's Orphanage, South Queensferry (£1,000). Of particular note was Edinburgh's West Port Church. Throughout his time in Brazil, Gunning had continued to subscribe to West Port Church, a Free Church of Scotland experiment in poor relief. In the estimation of the executors of his will, the

³²⁴ *List of Deeds*, 87-88.

³²⁵ *The Scotsman*, 28 January 1880, 6.

³²⁶ *Edinburgh University Calendar* (1882), 401.

³²⁷ *Edinburgh University Calendar* (1889), 519-520.

³²⁸ Correspondence between author and Academic Administration at the College of Medicine and Veterinary Medicine.

³²⁹ *Dumfries and Galloway Standard*, 6 August 1887, 3; 'The late Dr. R. H. Gunning', *The Lancet* 155, no. 3996 (31 March 1900): 968.

total funds he gave to the West Port Church, '[f]rom first to last, must have come to a very large sum'.³³⁰ Other gifts not mentioned include his financing of a bust of Hugh Miller for the Hall of Busts for the Wallace Monument in Stirling's Abbey Craig; monuments within St. Giles Cathedral; a library for Clarencefield's McFarlan Hall and provision of paraffin street lighting there; and a sports pavilion near Brow Well. Taken together, the impact of Gunning's slavery-linked Brazilian wealth, and, via interests in Indian mining, colonially derived wealth, on Britain's religious, scientific, medical and heritage environments near the end of the nineteenth century is breathtaking.³³¹

1b. Endowments with Links to Colonialism

Macpherson Bursary (1817)

Sir John Macpherson, 1st Baronet (1745-1821), was born in Sleat in the Isle of Skye. He studied at both Aberdeen's King's College and the UoE, where he boarded with his tutor, Adam Ferguson. In 1767 he travelled to Madras, where he became a writer and mayor (1772-1773). Macpherson became involved in EIC activity in the region, including an extensive relationship with Mohammed Ali Chan, the 'Nabob of Arcot'.³³² Macpherson was accused of being on the payroll and acting on behalf of the interests of the 'nabob' while an MP for Cricklade (1779-1782). He acted as governor-general in Bengal (1785-1786), during which time he authorised the colonisation of Penang, Malaysia.³³³ After his retirement from service he secured a handsome EIC pension worth £15,000 plus £1,000 per annum. He served again as an MP, this time for Horsham, Sussex, from 1796-1802. His estate in 1796 was valued at £247,000 in England and £320,000 in India.³³⁴

Macpherson's will, dated 4 November 1817, and proved 23 March 1821, provided £2,740 12s 8d to the UoE for 'an annual Bursary to any Highland student who understands his native Gaelic'; he also endowed funds for a bursary under similar conditions at Aberdeen's King's College.³³⁵

The 'Macpherson Bursary Fund' became part of the Arts Faculty General Scholarship Fund under the Edinburgh University (Fellowships, Scholarships and Bursaries) Scheme (1953) and remained within that combined fund until at least 1971.³³⁶

Sanskrit Chair (1863)

John Muir (1810-1882) was born in Glasgow and educated at Glasgow University and later the East India College at Haileybury. He later worked for the EIC, eventually becoming Principal of Benares Sanskrit College (Victoria or Queen's College) and then a Civil and Sessions Judge at Fatehpur. After his retirement and return from India to Edinburgh he became involved in the fundraising Association for the Better Endowment of Edinburgh University and was awarded an honorary degree of LL.D

³³⁰ 'Obituary Notices', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh* 23 (November 1899 to July 1901): 490

³³¹ For an overview of Gunning's benefactions, see Baillie, 'Robert Halliday Gunning and the Victoria Jubilee Prizes'. For the Victoria Institute benefaction, see Stuart Mathieson, 'The Victoria Institute, Biblical Criticism, and the Fundamentals', *Zygon* 56, no. 1 (2021): 263. For the Hugh Miller bust, see *The British Architect* 28 (21 October 1887): 299.

³³² Paul J. deGateno, 'Macpherson, Sir John, first baronet (c. 1745-1821)' *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17730>.

³³³ Archibald Francis Steuart, *A Short Sketch of the Lives of Francis and William Light: the Founders of Penang and Adelaide, with extracts from their journals* (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co. 1901), 9.

³³⁴ G. McElroy, 'Ossianic Imagination and the History of India: James and John Macpherson as Propagandists and Intriguers', in *Aberdeen and the Enlightenment*, edited by J. Carter and J. Pittock (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987), 363-74.

³³⁵ 'Will of Sir John Macpherson of Frant, Sussex', 23 March 1821, PROB 11/1641/213, NA.

³³⁶ The University of Edinburgh (Fellowships, Scholarships and Bursaries) Scheme (1971), No. 1849, UK Statutory Instruments, <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukSI/1971/1849/contents/made>.

from Edinburgh in 1861. His younger brother, Sir William Muir (1819-1905) was an administrator in India and later a Principal of UoE (1885-1903).³³⁷

The Muir family had several connections to colonial trades. The brothers were the children of William Muir (1783–1820) and his wife, Helen Macfie (1784–1866), of Ayrshire. The family grew up in Kilmarnock. The brothers' paternal grandmother, Jean Fairlie, had three brothers involved in trans-Atlantic trade with the Caribbean and North America, and overseas trade to Bengal. One of them, William Fairlie, amassed considerable wealth in India, funds which he re-invested back in Kilmarnock and gave his sister. The letter books of another brother, James Fairlie (d. 1820) indicate he was based in Jamaica, and at least once assisted his brother-in-law's (John Muir, the Muir brothers' grandfather) grocery business by sending a consignment of sugar from the Caribbean for him to sell from his post office counter. The Muir brothers' great-uncles (the Fairlies) would play a key role in their own moves into the EIC. Helen Macfie, the brothers' mother, meanwhile, was the daughter of John Macfie, an influential calico printer in Glasgow who had brought the trade to Kilmarnock. It was likely through this link that William Muir (the brothers' father) moved to Glasgow in 1804 to enter as a junior partner with a calico printer and hosiery manufacturer. He later opened his own business and was elected to Glasgow's Merchant House in 1814 as a 'home trader'. Near the end of his life, however, the elder Muir had developed interests in South Asian trade, sourcing cotton and indigo from Calcutta.³³⁸

In a mortification dated 17 January 1862, John Muir (then residing in Edinburgh) endowed funds to the UoE to support a Chair of Sanskrit Language, Literature, Philosophy and Comparative Philology. The benefaction provided £200 pounds per annum out of the sums authorised (40,000 rupees) 'presently invested in promissory notes bearing five per cent interest payable half yearly by the Governor of India in Council to the University of Edinburgh'. The professor would teach each winter session at least fifteen lectures on Sanskrit literature and philosophy and fifteen lectures on comparative philology; to teach principles of Hindu law. Following a supplementary deed of endowment, dated 19 March 1870, which passed over debentures by the government of Victoria in Australia for five hundred pounds each, the total endowment came to £6,250.³³⁹

Abercrombie Bursary (1864)

Around 1864 'Dr Abercrombie, Cape Town' founded a £20 yearly bursary for a student of Heriot's Hospital to enable students to study medicine at the UoE.³⁴⁰ It has not been possible to ascertain the size of the original endowment, which was managed by Heriot's.

It is unclear which member of the Abercrombie family this is. It could be the Edinburgh-born Dr James Abercrombie (senior) (1790-1871), who after himself attending Heriot's as a bursar, trained to be a surgeon and moved to the Cape Colony in 1817.³⁴¹ It could, in theory, also be his son, Dr James Abercrombie (junior) (1830-c.1871). In 1840 the elder Abercrombie took his son to study in England and Scotland; the younger Abercrombie graduated from the UoE in 1851. Returning to Cape Town, the younger Abercrombie quickly established a practice ('his college reputation preceded him to the colony'); due to ill health, Abercrombie left the colony to return to Europe in 1863.³⁴²

³³⁷ For more on the Muirs, see Avril A. Powell, *Scottish Orientalists and India: the Muir brothers, Religion, Education and Empire* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010).

³³⁸ Avril Ann Powell, *Scottish Orientalists and India: The Muir Brothers, Religion, Education and Empire* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010), 24-25.

³³⁹ *Deeds of Foundation: Chairs and Scholarships*.

³⁴⁰ *Edinburgh University Calendar* (1868).

³⁴¹ E. H. Burrows, *A History of Medicine in South Africa up to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Cape Town and Amsterdam: A. A. Balkema, 1958), 110–1.

³⁴² *The Lancet* 102 (20 January 1872): 97.

Bruce of Grangehill and Falkland Scholarships and Bursaries (1865)

Margaret Stuart Tyndall Bruce (1788-1869) of Falkland was born in India, and was the mixed-heritage daughter of Lieutenant Colonel Robert Bruce (1751-1796) of the Bengal Artillery, and an unnamed Indian woman. Robert, who died in India in 1796, left a large proportion of his wealth, including his estates in England, Scotland, and India, to his brother, John Bruce of Grangehill and Falkland 1744–1826), UoE's Professor of Logic and Metaphysics.³⁴³ At an early age, Margaret was taken to Edinburgh to be raised by her uncle John. In 1820 her uncle purchased the estate of Falkland, which included Falkland Palace. On her uncle's death in 1826 Margaret inherited the Keepership of Falkland Palace as well as his wealth and other property, much of which had financial links originating with Robert Bruce in India.³⁴⁴ Margaret married Onesiphorus Tyndall (1790–1855), who came from a Bristolian family of West India merchants, traders in enslaved people and bankers. Onesiphorus's father (also Onesiphorus Tyndall) is recorded as the co-owner of the *Cato*, a slaving vessel which in 1730 took 461 captive Africans from Calabar (Southern Nigeria) to Barbados.³⁴⁵ Letters also document the elder Onesiphorus's investments in other slaving voyages from Angola and the Gold Coast (Ghana) to Cuba and Hispaniola.³⁴⁶ Margaret, however, does not seem to have benefited from the slavery-derived wealth of her husband's family. Around the time Onesiphorus married Margaret he was rumoured to be in serious debt, which Margaret paid off on condition that he signed an ante-nuptial contract giving him only life rent; an inventory of his estate at his death shows he largely lived off his wife's wealth.³⁴⁷ Margaret Stuart Tyndall Bruce's familial connections to empire have been explored in research conducted by the National Trust for Scotland on the history of Falkland Palace.³⁴⁸

A deed of mortification by Margaret Stuart Tyndall Bruce, dated 10 June 1865, left £10,000 to the UoE to provide scholarships for students in Classical Literature, Mental Philosophy, and Mathematics, named in memory of her uncle and UoE Professor, John Bruce.³⁴⁹

The School of Philosophy, Psychology and Language Sciences still awards 'Bruce of Grangehill Prizes'.³⁵⁰

Guthrie Fellowship (1865)

The Singapore-based firm Guthrie & Co. was established by Alexander Guthrie (1796-1865), from Brechin. After the EIC lost its monopoly in 1813, merchant firms opened up across South, Southeast and East Asia. Guthrie was one such businessman who began to exploit new markets in Singapore, which opened as a free port in 1819. In 1821 he started a local branch of the firm Thomas Harrington and Company. The firm dissolved in 1823, so he started his own business with his partner, James Scott Clark, in 1824. The firm diversified into insurance, storage, freight and food crops (e.g. gambien, pepper, nutmegs, and cloves).³⁵¹ In the mid nineteenth century, the Guthrie firm supplied 'British goods (e.g. cotton, wool, manufactured articles) in exchange for produce from the Straits (spices, tin, coffee, beeswax, ebony, ivory); India (Punjab wheat, Indian cotton, opium from Calcutta); Java (coffee); Borneo (sago); Malay Peninsula (rattan, pepper), and Siam and Cambodia (sugar,

³⁴³ 'Will of Robert Bruce, Lieutenant Colonel of the Third Battalion Brigade of Artillery Bengal Establishment of Cawnpore, East Indies', 2 March 1798, PROB 11/1303/36, NA.

³⁴⁴ For the will and inventory of Professor John Bruce, see SC70/1/35; SC70/1/37, NRS.

³⁴⁵ C. H. Cave, *A History of Banking in Bristol from 1750 to 1899* (Bristol: n.p., 1899), 43.

³⁴⁶ See, for example, 'Letters to Messrs Isaac Hobhouse, Onesiphorus Tyndall, merchants of Bristol, from their agents in the West Indies, 1723 – 1736', 8029/16, Bristol Archives.

³⁴⁷ For their ante-nuptial contract, see SC20/50/26, NRS. For Onesiphorus Tyndall Bruce's inventory in 1855 (though not his will), see SC20/50/26, NRS.

³⁴⁸ 'Facing Our Past: Interim report on the connections between the properties now in the care of the National Trust for Scotland and historical enslavement', National Trust for Scotland (2021), 20.

³⁴⁹ *List of Deeds*, 31-33.

³⁵⁰ 'Philosophy, Psychology and Language Sciences awards', <https://registryservices.ed.ac.uk/student-funding/current-students/university-prizes-awards/humanities/philosophy-psychology>.

³⁵¹ *Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, 10 September 1927, 18.

coconut oil, salt, rice, teak)'.³⁵² The Guthrie firm also illegally imported opium from Calcutta which was shipped to China.³⁵³ As early as 1823 Alexander Guthrie was requesting permission to land opium from Turkey in Singapore.³⁵⁴ By the end of the nineteenth century the firm was involved in coffee plantations and, by the twentieth century, rubber and palm oil cultivation, on the Malay Peninsula.³⁵⁵ Alexander and later his nephew James Guthrie gave to several local causes in Singapore, especially in the field of education.³⁵⁶

Alexander Guthrie left Singapore in 1847. His nephew, James Guthrie (c.1814-1900) became a partner in the firm in 1837. Alexander Guthrie served as a Magistrate, and his nephew later a Justice of the Peace.³⁵⁷ The firm appears to have been linked to indentured labour. For example, Cho Kim Siang, a Singapore-based broker of indentured Chinese labourers, acted as an agent for Guthrie & Co. as part of its operations in Australia in the 1870s.³⁵⁸ In a study of Asian indentured labour in the Australian Pearling Industry in the twentieth century, Julia Martínez notes how Guthrie & Co. acted as a recruiting agent in Singapore, and had in the 1950s, for reasons unknown, become 'reluctant to continue handling the dispatch of pearling idents', suggesting that the firm had previously been involved in siphoning indentured labourers towards Australia's pearling economy.³⁵⁹

James Guthrie's deed of mortification, dated 29 December 1865, left £2,500 to the UoE on behalf of his uncle, Alexander Guthrie, who had wanted 'during his lifetime to endow a fellowship in the university of Edinburgh' but had died before being able to do so. The fellowship was intended for those studying Classical Literature.³⁶⁰ The Guthrie Fellowship became part of the Classical

³⁵² 'Guthrie Corporation Archive', GB 102 GC, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) Archives, University of London.

³⁵³ Sjovald Cunyngham-Brown, *The traders: a Story of Britain's South-East Asian Commercial Adventure* (London: Newman Neame, 1971), 37–39.

For a summary of the context Guthrie entered in Singapore, see 'Pioneer merchant Alexander Guthrie arrives in Singapore', National Library Board, Singapore, available at <https://www.nlb.gov.sg/main/article-detail?cmsuuid=00b9b41e-cc94-444e-97f8-df0ad01b9ddc>, accessed.

³⁵⁴ In 1823 Guthrie's 'application for permission to land from the [Venelia] 27 chests Turkey Opium for Exportation' was granted by William Farquhar, a Scottish colonial administrator and the first Resident of Singapore', on condition of Guthrie providing 'adequate security for its reexportation'. Around this time Guthrie was partner in the firm Harrington, Guthrie, & Co.: W. Farquhar to A. Guthrie, 17 January 1823, in L13: Raffles: Letters from Singapore, p.38, Straits Settlements, Raffles Museum and Library, National Archives of Singapore.

³⁵⁵ *Singapore Free Press*, 22 January 1952, 2.

³⁵⁶ Walter Makepeace, Roland St. John Braddell, and Gilbert Edward Brooke, eds., *One hundred years of Singapore: Being Some account of the Capital of the Straits Settlements from its foundation by Sir Stamford Raffles on the 6th February 1819 to the 6th February 1919* (London: Murray, 1921), 435–467.

³⁵⁷ The pair's use of their administrative roles in the Straits might be further explored in their correspondence with Singapore officials in the National Archives of Singapore; in records relating to the firm in the National Archives, Kew; and in the extensive Guthrie Corporation Archive at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) Archives, which contains records for the thirty-two companies linked to what became one of the region's premier agency houses over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: Raffles Museum and Library, National Archives of Singapore; Guthrie Corporation Archive, GB 102 GC, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) Archives, University of London.

³⁵⁸ 'Report on the Chinese Protectorate, Singapore, for the Year 1880, by W. A. Pickering, Protector of Chinese, Straits Settlements on 18 March, 1881', in Straits Settlements Legislative Council Proceedings, 1881, Appendix No. 15, 'Evidence given by Cho Kim Siang on July 3rd, 1876', 'Report of Committee Appointed to Consider and Takes Evidence upon the Condition of Chinese Labourers in the Colony, 1876', in CO 275/19, NA. For more on this Cho Kim Siang's role in 'coolie' brokerage, see Ching-hwang Yen, *Ethnicities, Personalities And Politics In The Ethnic Chinese Worlds* (Singapore: World Scientific, 2016), 76.

³⁵⁹ Julia Martínez, 'The End of Indenture? Asian Workers in the Australian Pearling Industry, 1901-1972', *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 67 (2005): 138.

³⁶⁰ *List of Deeds*, 33–34.

Scholarship Fund under the Edinburgh University (Fellowships, Scholarships and Bursaries) Scheme (1953) and remained in that combined fund until at least 1971.³⁶¹

Falconer Memorial Fellowship (1869)

Hugh Falconer (1808-1865) was an influential Scottish, botanist, geologist and palaeontologist. Born in Elginshire, Falconer completed his MD at the UoE in 1829, joining the EIC in Bengal a year later. Many of his early scientific researches were conducted in India, and he became both superintendent at the Calcutta Botanical Garden and Professor of Botany for Calcutta's Medical College. He returned to Britain in 1855. In August 1869, the Association for the Better Endowment of the University of Edinburgh appropriated 'subscriptions to a Fund for a Memorial to the late Hugh Falconer' collected by Dr Charles Murchison (himself also a UoE alumnus, former EIC officer and professor of Calcutta's Medical College). Total subscriptions raised came to £2,500 to support UoE students of science and medicine.³⁶² Although a list of the subscribers has not been found, at least a significant proportion of this sum was collected within Calcutta. In 1865 the Indian newspaper *Pioneer* noted that

subscriptions to the memorial to the late Dr Hugh Falconer amount to Rs 1775 collected by the Calcutta Committee, added to £1,007 already announced. The memorial is to consist of a bust, and a fellowship or scholarship in natural science in the University of Edinburgh, to be called the Falconer Fellowship or Scholarship.³⁶³

The Falconer Memorial Fellowship became part of the Science Faculty Scholarship Fund under the Edinburgh University (Fellowships, Scholarships and Bursaries) Scheme (1953) and remained in the combined fund until at least 1971.³⁶⁴

Neil Arnott Prize for Experimental Physics (1869)

Dr Neil Arnott (1788-1874) was a physician, inventor, and one of the founders of University College London. Born to Alexander Arnott in Arbroath, Neil's paternal uncles included David Arnott, a Major of Infantry in North America and the West Indies, and Charles who 'made a fortune in India'.³⁶⁵ Following his studies at Aberdeen's Marischal College and in the London hospital schools under the supervision of Sir Everard Home, the 19-year-old Arnott became full surgeon to an East Indiaman, the *Surat Castle*. Despite not having the necessary experience, Arnott was recommended for the post by Home to help a patient (the ship's captain) who suffered from stricture of the urethra.³⁶⁶ He made two trips to China, in 1807 and 1811, before settling in London in 1811. Arnott's youthful appearance initially displeased the crew, which included soldiers, though they soon came to appreciate his studious mind, even enjoying the 'lectures on natural philosophy and political economy' he gave onboard. Arnott saved the crew during a storm by fixing the ship's chronometer.³⁶⁷ During the 1807-1808 trip the ship struck a leak that meant they had to stop at Rio de Janeiro for repairs. Over several weeks docked in Brazil Arnott joined a company of men on an 'excursion' to the Concorado Mountains, though little more is known about the sojourn. On his second EIC voyage in 1811, Arnott delivered an emergency operation on the captain to alleviate an intractable stricture, an event described as a 'turning point in his career' as it would later put him in touch with another EIC surgeon

³⁶¹ The University of Edinburgh (Fellowships, Scholarships and Bursaries) Scheme (1971), No. 1849, UK Statutory Instruments, <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukxi/1971/1849/contents/made>.

³⁶² *List of Deeds*, 44-45.

³⁶³ *Pioneer* (Allahabad, India), 12 May 1865, 2.

³⁶⁴ The University of Edinburgh (Fellowships, Scholarships and Bursaries) Scheme (1971), No. 1849, UK Statutory Instruments, <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukxi/1971/1849/contents/made>.

³⁶⁵ A. Bain, 'Neil Arnott', *Transactions of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society* 1 (1884): 133. Bain drew much of this biography from recollections of conversations with Arnott, including about his EIC service.

³⁶⁶ This story features in several obituaries after Arnott's death, though its source is unclear. See, for example, *The Lancet* 1 (13 March 1874): 388-89.

³⁶⁷ James M. M'Bain, *Eminent Arbroathians: Being Sketches Historical, Genealogical, and Biographical, 1178-1894* (Arbroath: Brodie & Salmond, 1897), 258-260.

whom he would join forces in a medical practice in London. The vessel brought back injured soldiers, and Arnott's care of them earned him 'a most flattering letter of thanks from the military authorities'.³⁶⁸ When Arnott opened his medical practice in London on his return, his medical title 'consisted in his having been full surgeon in the East India service'.³⁶⁹

Arnott only made two voyages in the medical employment of the EIC, and while his salary would have been satisfactory, it does not seem that his own colonial activities contributed much more than a very small proportion of his entire life's wealth (though he possibly was a beneficiary of his uncles' colonial wealth). Nonetheless, according to an obituary, Arnott's EIC voyages influenced his later scientific research in a number of ways.³⁷⁰ Arnott's *Element of Physics* (1827), for example, incorporated observations on waves, currents, tides, winds, and storms and a discussion of sanitary health aboard ships such as those he had travelled on.³⁷¹ In a passage on how the levelness of a liquid surface, Arnott recounted how he had once 'in the eastern ocean, had an opportunity of contemplating waves of extraordinary magnitude rolling along during a gloomy calm, and therefore with unbroken surface, and appearing like billows of molten lead. It was afterwards ascertained that at that very time, about one hundred miles to the north-east, four of the finest ships of the India Company were perishing in a storm'.³⁷² His work on ventilation, similarly, referred to ventilation methods used in China, possibly those he witnessed first hand.³⁷³ It was during his voyages, furthermore, that Arnott designed a device for removing bad air from a space and bringing in pure air.³⁷⁴ By the 1840s, writes Katherine Foxhall, Arnott's ventilation pumps were even 'appearing on naval warships'.³⁷⁵ The ocean was, in Arnott's own words, 'the great laboratory in which most actions of life go on, and on composition of which they depend'.³⁷⁶ The EIC thus provided Arnott a floating research laboratory that would impact his future career in public health and physics.

Arnott's deed of mortification, dated 31 July and 27 November 1869, left £1,000 for the foundation and endowment of a prize for encouraging the study of Experimental Physics among medical students. He bequeathed funds to each of the four universities of Scotland, and to what became the University of London.³⁷⁷ At the time of writing, the School of Physics and Astronomy continues to distribute the Arnott Prizes.³⁷⁸

Shaw Philosophical Fellowship (1869)

In 1869 Sir John Shaw; Sir George Samuel Abercromby, of Birkenbog; Major-General William Lang, of the Bombay Army (see [Shaw Macfie Lang Fellowship \[1870\]](#)); Colonel John Lang, late of the Bengal Army; Major Archibald Woodburn, late of the EIC's Madras Army; Douglas Brown, Barrister-at-Law; Reverend William Hanna; and John Muir, 'late of the EIC's Bengal Civil Service' (see

³⁶⁸ Bain, 'Neil Arnott', 147.

³⁶⁹ Ibid, 148.

³⁷⁰ *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London* 25 (1877): xiv-xviii.

³⁷¹ Neil Arnott, *Elements of Physics: Or, Natural Philosophy, General and Medical ; Explained Independently of Technical Mathematics*, Volumes 1-2 (London: Thomas and George Underwood, 1827-1829).

³⁷² Ibid, 409.

³⁷³ Neil Arnott, *On Warming and Ventilating* (London: Longman, Ormf, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1838), 29.

³⁷⁴ Bain, 'Neil Arnott', 133-16; Robert A. Bayliss and C. William Ellis, 'Neil Arnott, F.R.S. Reformer, Innovator and Popularizer of Science', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 36, no.1 (1981), 103-123.

³⁷⁵ Katherine Foxhall, *Health, Medicine, and the Sea: Australian Voyages, c.1815-60* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 69.

³⁷⁶ Arnott, *Elements of Physics*, 204.

³⁷⁷ *List of Deeds*, 47-48.

³⁷⁸ 'Physics scholarships and prizes', UoE, available at <https://www.ed.ac.uk/student-funding/current-students/university-prizes-awards/science-engineering/physics>, accessed 13 February 2024.

[Sanskrit Chair \[1863\]](#)), acting on behalf of themselves and other subscribers, committed to financing a Fellowship at the UoE as a memorial to the late Sir James Shaw, Bt..

Other subscribers included those based in Britain and the USA, and those identified as currently residing in, or recently returned from, India: Mrs William Lowe, in Simla, India; Colonel William Nicol Burns, late of Madras Army; the late Colonel James Glencairn Burns, formerly of the Bengal Army; James Douglas Robinson and William Rose Robinson, both of the Madras Civil Service; Colonel Thomas McGown, Madras Army; William Muir, Bengal Civil Service; Lieutenant William James Wemyss Muir, Royal Artillery, in India; Captain Michael Wyllie, late of the Bombay Army; Dr David Woodburn, formerly Bengal Medical Service; John Woodburn, Bengal Civil Service.³⁷⁹ The above list represents only the most obvious colonial connections among the subscribers.

The award was made in tribute to Sir James Shaw, Bt., who was born at Mosshead, in Ayr, in 1764 and spent some time working in New York commercial house of Messrs George and Samuel Douglass. He later became Mayor of London and died in 1843. The subscribers contributed in total £4,100 to the UoE to support the *Shaw Philosophical Fellowship*, open to graduates in Arts in any of the Scottish universities. The School of Philosophy, Psychology and Language Sciences continues to distribute the Shaw Philosophical Fellowship.³⁸⁰

Shaw Macfie Lang Fellowship (1870)

General William Lang (c.1807-1870) served in the Bengal Infantry. He was promoted to Major-General in 1863.³⁸¹ In the latter part of his life he resided at Craigend Castle, Milngavie, and died at Rossie House, Bridge of Earn, Perthshire.³⁸² He was a member of the Royal Asiatic Society.³⁸³

Lang's will provided £3,000 for the endowment of a Fellowship devoted to the 'encouragement of such branches of learning as the Senatus Academicus in concurrence with the University Court may determine'; payment would only be made after the decease of his brother, John Lang, who received interest on General Lang's trust until his death.³⁸⁴

The 'Shaw Macfie Lang Fellowship Fund', 'offered for award in any Faculty of the University at the discretion of the Senatus Academicus', was still in existence in 1971.³⁸⁵

Vans Dunlop Scholarships (1880)

Andrew Vans Dunlop (1805-1880) was born in Ayrshire and received his MD from the UoE in 1826, writing his dissertation on cataracts. The same year he became a Licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh.³⁸⁶ A year later he was admitted to the EIC service and spent several decades as a surgeon in the Bengal Medical Service, including as an Assistant Surgeon for Bengal's General Hospital. By 1836 he was serving in the same role under the disposal of the Agra government, and by

³⁷⁹ *Edinburgh University Calendar* (1868), 237-242.

³⁸⁰ 'Philosophy, Psychology and Language Sciences awards', <https://registryservices.ed.ac.uk/student-funding/current-students/university-prizes-awards/humanities/philosophy-psychology>

³⁸¹ *London Gazette*, 2 October 1863, 4743.

³⁸² *Homeward Mail from India, China and the East*, 10 January 1870, 61.

³⁸³ *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 2, no. 2 (1866): 9.

³⁸⁴ Extract of the will reproduced in *List of Deeds*, 49.

³⁸⁵ The University of Edinburgh (Fellowships, Scholarships and Bursaries) Scheme (1971), No. 1849, UK Statutory Instruments, <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukSI/1971/1849/contents/made>.

³⁸⁶ *List of the Graduates in Medicine in the University of Edinburgh from MDCCV to MDCCCLXVI* (Edinburgh: Neill and Company, 1867), 78; *The Scotsman*, 17 May 1826, 5.

1848 he had joined the 71st Regiment of Bengal Native Infantry.³⁸⁷ In 1834 he married Jane Fergusson, eldest daughter of James Ferguson, one of the principal Clerks of Session.³⁸⁸

Dunlop may have been financially tied to indigo cultivation in Bengal by the 1840s. A case taken to Bengal's Supreme Court in 1850 describes how someone by his name had previously been assigned debts and a mortgage in relation to a Putterghat indigo concern.³⁸⁹ The case arose after Dunlop (the defendant) had seized the estate's shipment of indigo in Calcutta, due to the complainant's lack of payment of interest to him. Additionally an 'A. Van Dunlop' is listed as proprietor of the 'Goamalti [presumably Golmati, Bengal] indigo concern' in an 1860 report of the Bengal Indigo Commission.³⁹⁰ By the early nineteenth century Bengal produced a significant proportion of the world's indigo.³⁹¹ The EIC pressured Bengal peasants into cultivating indigo rather than food crops, providing exploitative loans in the process. Poor conditions led indigo farmers to undertake a mass revolt over 1859-1862.³⁹²

By 1859 Dunlop was residing at 18 Rutland Square, Edinburgh; he died in February 1880 while visiting Aberdeen.³⁹³ Dunlop's will, proved 15 April 1880, and the accompanying codicils and two inventories taken of his estate, provide information on where his investments lay at his death.³⁹⁴ Dunlop held investments in British, Irish, Canadian, American and Indian railway companies; the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company; the India Rubber, Gutta Percha and Telegraph Works Company; the Credit Foncier of Mauritius Ltd; the British and Australian Trust and Loan Company Ltd; Ceylon Company Limited (a coffee and tea company); the Bengal Coal Company; Indian government loans; New Zealand government bonds, the United States Rolling Stock Company, and other enterprises too numerous to list here. His entire estate was estimated as worth over £190,000.

A codicil concerning Dunlop's trust disposition and settlement, executed in Edinburgh in February 1879, nominated the UoE's Senatus as residuary legatees for the distribution of Vans Dunlop Scholarships. Six of the scholarships were allotted to medical students, and others for students in Chemistry and Chemical Pharmacy; Natural History including Geology and Botany; English Literature and Poetry; Classical Learning, including Latin and Greek; Engineer and the Mechanical and Useful Arts; Commercial and Political Economy and Mercantile Law; Logic and Metaphysics; Natural Philosophy; Mathematics; Oriental Languages and Comparative Philology; History, Ancient and Modern; and Law.³⁹⁵ The residue of his estate was estimated in his will as 'not less than forty or fifty thousand pounds', though most contemporary reports estimated it as worth at least £50,000 if not higher. Dunlop ordered that £3,000 be placed directly into the general funds of the UoE. The UoE could then also draw funds to support around sixteen scholarships of about £100 each per annum,

³⁸⁷ *The East-India Register and Directory for 1828* (London: J. L. Cox, 1828), 141; *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British and Foreign India, China, and Australasia*, Volume 10 (London: William H. Allen and Co, 1836), 176; *Scott and Co.'s Bengal Directory and Register: With Almanac and Appendix, for 1849* (Calcutta: Scott and Co., 1848), 386.

³⁸⁸ *London Courier and Evening Gazette*, 23 June 1834, 3.

³⁸⁹ 'James H. Makinlay v Andrew Vans Dunlop and others, 20 December 1850', in *Reports of Cases Heard and Determined in the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal: From January, 1849, to December, 1850, Both Inclusive; with Tables of the Cases, Titles, and Index to the Principal Matters* (Calcutta: P. S. D'Rozario & Company, 1853), 498-506. The figure stated in the case's records for the debts ('1,30,000') appears to be a typo.

³⁹⁰ Bengal Indigo Commission, *Report of the Indigo Commission Appointed Under Act XI. of 1860: With the Minutes of Evidence Taken Before Them; and Appendix* (1860), lxxx.

³⁹¹ Jenny Balfour-Paul, *Indigo* (London: British Museum Press, 1998), 70-71.

³⁹² Blair B. Kling, *The Blue Mutiny: The Indigo Disturbances in Bengal, 1859-1862* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016, first published 1966).

³⁹³ *The Medical Register* (London: Kelly & Co., 1865), 123; *The Lancet* (6 March 1880), 386.

³⁹⁴ For Dunlop's will and inventories, see SC70/4/183, SC70/1/199, and SC70/1/201, NRS.

³⁹⁵ *List of Deeds*, 76-77.

tenable for three years. Each scholarship was allotted £2,770 from his estate, though the remainder of his estate would only pass to the UoE after the deaths of heirs listed in his will.

In 1881 the residue of Dunlop estate was valued between 'between £60,000 and £70,000' with £45,000 already received by the UoE.³⁹⁶ In 1885 an additional sum of £12,000 arrived, 'for the foundation of four more scholarships of the annual value of £100 each, in accordance with the terms of his bequest' presumably raising the total amount to £57,000, which is the figure arrived at in this study (it is possible that even more funds arrived from Dunlop's estate over subsequent years).³⁹⁷ In 1884 the UoE's Principal Sir Alexander Grant referred to Dunlop as the 'greatest and wisest of the University's benefactors', and that his substantial gift, 'nearly all-embracing in its scope' and the largest since General Reid's, placed Dunlop 'in the highest rank of the benefactors of the university'.³⁹⁸ The UoE owns a portrait of Dunlop by John Henry Lorimer.³⁹⁹ Dunlop also bequeathed funds to a number of schools, missions and other organisations, including the Edinburgh Institution for the Relief of Incurables at their Own Homes, aimed at those with cancer (what became the Dunlop Cancer Fund); a fund for the 'relief of destitution in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland'; and to the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh.⁴⁰⁰ He also contributed towards the Strangers' Home, a 'model lodging House for the Natives of India, Arabia, Africa, China, Straits of Malacca, the Mozambique, and the Islands of the South Pacific' in Limehouse, London.⁴⁰¹ A memorial at Greyfriars Church, erected by his sister, notes his 'good work in Scotland and in India'.⁴⁰²

As of writing, the Law School still distributes 'Vans-Dunlop Scholarships'.⁴⁰³ The Vans Dunlop Medical Prize Fund and the Vans Dunlop Arts Scholarship Fund were still in existence in 1971.⁴⁰⁴

Mouat Scholarships in Practice of Physic (1883)

Dr Frederic John Mouat (1816-1897) was born in Maidstone, Kent, the son of an army surgeon. He studied first in Paris and then medicine at University College London.⁴⁰⁵ He received his MD from the UoE in 1839, writing his dissertation 'On the Brain as the Organ of the Mind'.⁴⁰⁶ He joined the Indian Medical Service in 1840, serving as Assistant Surgeon in Calcutta, with the 21st Fusiliers, the 47th Bengal Native Infantry, and the first Battalion of Artillery at Dum Dum. He remained with the Indian

³⁹⁶ *Dublin Daily Express*, 7 January 1881, 7.

³⁹⁷ *Dundee Advertiser*, 12 January 1885, 6.

³⁹⁸ Grant valued the estate as £70,000, though this appears to be an overestimation: Alexander Grant, *Address to the Students of the University of Edinburgh by Sir Alexander Grant, Vice-Chancellor and Principal of the University delivered on 28th October 1884* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1884), 12; Alexander Grant, *The Story of the University of Edinburgh During Its First Three Hundred Years*, Volume 2 (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1884), 142-145.

³⁹⁹ John Henry Lorimer, 'Andrew Vans Dunlop', oil painting, 1883, EU0059, UoE Art Collection, <https://collections.ed.ac.uk/art/record/552?highlight=dunlop>, accessed 14 February 2024.

⁴⁰⁰ Royal Society for Home Relief to Incurables Records, GD1/1094, NRS; *Caledonian Mercury*, 12 January 1857, 1; *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 14 July 1847, 4; *Scottish Press*, 23 March 1855, 2.

⁴⁰¹ *Home News for India, China and the Colonies*, 10 June 1856, 38.

⁴⁰² John F. Mitchell, *Edinburgh Monumental Inscriptions (pre-1855)*, Volume 4: Greyfriars Burial Ground (Edinburgh: Scottish Genealogy Society, 2003), 42.

⁴⁰³ 'Van Dunlop Scholarship', UoE, <https://www.law.ed.ac.uk/community/scholarships-prizes-and-awards/edinburgh-law-school-prizes-and-awards/vans-dunlop-scholarship>, accessed 14 February 2024.

⁴⁰⁴ The University of Edinburgh (Fellowships, Scholarships and Bursaries) Scheme (1971), No. 1849, UK Statutory Instruments, <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukSI/1971/1849/contents/made>.

⁴⁰⁵ Ross Lawrenson, 'Frederic John Mouat (1816-97), MD FRCS LLD of the Indian Medical Service', *Journal of Medical Biography* 15, no. 4 (2007): 201-205. Also see obituaries in *British Medical Journal* 1 (1897): 628-629; *The Lancet* 1 (1897): 282-3.

⁴⁰⁶ *List of the Graduates in Medicine in the University of Edinburgh from MDCCV to MDCCCLXVI* (Edinburgh: Neill and Company, 1867), 119.

Medical Service until 1870, when he had reached the rank of Deputy Inspector of Hospitals.⁴⁰⁷ In India he served as Deputy Apothecary and Assistant Opium Examiner to the Government, a role that allowed him to explore his interests in pharmacology and chemistry.

Due to Mouat's success in this role, Lord Auckland, Governor General, made him Professor of Chemistry and Materia Medica at Bengal Medical College. Mouat translated the *London Pharmacopoeia* into Hindustani, and produced a handbook of anatomy in the same language. His contributions to chemistry including his role in the invention of a waterproof glaze to prevent rapid deterioration of percussion caps, and experiments with rockets. In medicine, he published findings in 1854 on the use of chaulmoogra oil (an Ayurvedic medicine) when treating leprosy, a technique used by the local population and introduced to him by the headmaster of the Hindhu College. As Mouat explained,

[Chaulmoogra] appears to have been long known to, and prized by the Natives in the treatment of leprosy, and few of the faquirs [religious mendicants] traveling about the country are unacquainted with its properties. I was first informed of its properties by Mr. Jones, the Headmaster of the Hindoo College, a gentleman of eminent acquirements, who brought it to the notice of other practitioners in this city, and at whose recommendation it was tried at the Leper Asylum, with a favourable result.⁴⁰⁸

He further noted that 'Native practitioners direct their patients while taking the Chaulmoogra, to avoid all salt-meats, acids, spices, and sweetmeats, but to aid its operation with butter, ghee and oily articles of diet. It would be well to bear this in mind, and to regulate carefully the diet of all subjected to the use of Chaulmoogra'.⁴⁰⁹ Mouat successfully experimented with the procedure on patients in Calcutta Hospital and knowledge of the oil soon circulated among the medical profession in South and Southeast Asia.

In 1850 a bout of sickness caused Mouat to take a break from his medical services. During this period, he visited the Indian Ocean islands of Réunion, Mauritius and Ceylon (Sri Lanka). He published an account of his travels in 1852, partly to illustrate the islands' potential suitability as sanatoria for Indian 'invalids'. Mouat encountered formerly enslaved people and imported Bengal 'coolie' labourers during this trip, and his account includes his views on the abolition of slavery on the islands (Réunion: 1848; Mauritius: 1835; Ceylon: 1844). In the French colony of Réunion, he noted how emancipating the enslaved 'without any immediate remuneration' had 'ruined a large number of landholders and of the more respectable classes, of whom they formed the chief wealth'. After visiting Réunion and Mauritius, he concluded that 'He who has been born in bondage, reared under its blighting influence, and accustomed ... to be dependent on others, is no more fitted at once for uncontrolled licence, than is the starved man to eat a full meal, or the newly restored eye of the blind to face the bright light of day'. Mouat held disparaging views of the 'ancient slaves' of Reunion, noting that they were 'an idle, vain, pleasure-loving race'. The recently emancipated mixed-heritage waiters in hotels, meanwhile, Mouat described as 'idle' and holders of 'notions of independence and republican fraternity' that were both 'absurd' and 'amusing'. He was equally scathing of Indian immigrants from the Malabar coast: 'wherever I went in the Mauritius I heard complaints of the inadequate power possessed by the planter over his labourers, and of the idleness, impudence, and

⁴⁰⁷ G. Crawford, *A History of the Indian Medical Service, 1600–1913*, Volume 2 (London: W. Thacker & Co., 1914), 177.

⁴⁰⁸ Frederic John Mouat, 'Notes on Native Remedies No 1.: The Chaulmoogra', *Indian Annals of Medical Science* 1 (1854): 648.

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 649.

gross insubordination of the coolies' I had some opportunities of personally witnessing this ... the fact is that the coolie is too well treated in the Mauritius'.⁴¹⁰

After a brief time in Britain, Mouat returned to India in 1855, becoming Inspector General of Jails of the Lower Provinces. His role involved the collection of statistics for the fifty-four prisons under his supervision. He utilised access to the Lunatic Asylum to make studies on the effects of alcohol and opium.⁴¹¹ Mouat became, in David Arnold's estimation, the 'principal architect and advocate' of 'jail industries', or the 'remunerative industry' within Indian prisons, in the late 1850s, a profit-driven system whereby prisoners were forced to labour as penance for their crimes.⁴¹² His views were that prisons should be economically self-sustainable; that prisoners owned a financial debt to society; and that 'honest labour' benefited prisoners in providing them skills and improving the 'morality' of prison life. Thanks to his input, the Calcutta jails over 1861-65 produced goods worth £193,000 using nearly two-thirds of the convicts, profits which never returned directly to prisoners. Mouat's and other prison reformers' supposedly 'ethical system of prison governance', writes Arnold, served a 'self-legitimising rhetorical purpose and a moral value for the colonial power, even though the brutality, squalor, and corruption revealed by prison reports and enquires was hard to deny or disguise'.⁴¹³ Even after his return to Britain, Mouat drew on his experiences in India to advocate in academic papers for the 'importance of prison labour as an instrument of punishment, reformation, and profit'.⁴¹⁴

During the Indian Rebellion of 1857, Mouat was made President of a government commission to locate a site for convict settlement in the Andaman Islands. His investigation lasted between November 1857 and January 1858, leading ultimately to the creation of Port Blair. His published account of the investigation contains descriptions of the 'Savage Character' of the island's supposedly cannibalistic Indigenous population, the Andamanese, whose skulls he studied. While on the islands, the Andamanese attacked his party on several occasions. After one attack, his team captured an Andamanese man. The sailors dubbed their captive 'Jack' and played tricks on him (at least until Mouat intervened to stop them). 'Jack' was taken to Calcutta but eventually returned on a boat to the Andaman Islands after becoming sick with cholera.⁴¹⁵

An 1883 declaration of several UoE Professors, Thomas Grainger, William Turner, Alexander Russell Simpson, and Thomas Richard Fraser (all trustees of Mouat's estate), provided £1,599 16s 6d in the form of New Zealand stock to establish the *Mouat Scholarship in Practice of Physic* for the 'encouragement of Medical studies in that department'. Mouat's wife Mary Rennards Mouat (d. 1885) and another inheritor were able to draw on the trust during her lifetimes, and the UoE could not draw on funds until after both their deaths (i.e. 1897).⁴¹⁶ Over a decade before his death, in 1886, the UoE had conferred Mouat with honorary degree of LL.D. He reportedly intended to endow a similar prize in Calcutta but a 'failure of a bank crippled his resources and left him financially unable to'.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁰ Frederic John Mouat, *Rough Notes of a Trip to Réunion, the Mauritius and Ceylon: With Remarks on the Eligibility as Sanitaria for Indian Invalids* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink, 1852), 20, 33-5.

⁴¹¹ John Frederic Mouat, 'On prison statistics and discipline in lower Bengal', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* 25 (1862):175-18; John Frederic Mouat, 'The ethics of opium and alcohol', *The Lancet* 140, no.3612 (1892): 959-61.

⁴¹² David Arnold, 'Labouring for the Raj: Convict Work Regimes in Colonial India, 1836-1939', in *Global Convict Labour*, edited by Christian Giuseppe De Vito and Alex Lichtenstein (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 213.

⁴¹³ Ibid, 214-215, 218.

⁴¹⁴ John Frederic Mouat, 'On Prison Ethics and Prison Labour,' *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 54, no. 2 (1891): 214.

⁴¹⁵ John Frederic Mouat, *Adventures and Researches Among the Andaman Islanders* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1863), 256-289.

⁴¹⁶ *List of Deeds*, 83-84.

⁴¹⁷ Lawrenson, 'Frederic John Mouat', 204.

Robert Mackenzie Campbell Scholarship (1915)

Robert Mackenzie Campbell (1857-1902) was born in Durness, Sutherland, the son of Charles Campbell, a tenant farmer, and his wife Ann McKay. Sometime after 1881 he added the name Mackenzie, from his uncle, at which time he was living in Govan, Glasgow, where he worked as a joiner and possibly studied architecture. By 1888 he had emigrated to Pretoria, South Africa and worked between there and Johannesburg. He became an architect, entering into a practice with Frank Emley. He designed several buildings, including the Pretoria Club, and moved to Cape Town after the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902). He designed properties for his family back in Durness in the 1890s. Near the end of his life he resided in Glen Afric, Johannesburg, and was survived by his wife Isabel.⁴¹⁸

A deed of foundation by William George Sutherland of Rosehill, Tain, formerly of Pretoria, South Africa, appropriated the legacy of the late Isabel Wilson Campbell (1869-1908) to establish a Scholarship at the UoE in memory of her husband in the terms of her last will and testament, dated 16 October 1902. Due to some difficulties in Sutherland taking on the role as an executor of Isabel's will (as he was no longer resident in the country), it took until 1915 for him to take control over the funds. By then, the residue of her estate was £786 11s 10d and 'a few Mining Claims presently unrealisable, and which may or may not prove to be of any value hereafter. The award was intended for students from the Sutherlandshire, and Scholarships were set at £25 per annum; if the 'proceeds of the Mining Claims' were to increase, then the Senatus was empowered to enlarge the number of Scholarships under the scheme.⁴¹⁹ It has not been possible to identify the details of Campbell's mining interests, though they likely involved diamond or gold extraction.

The 'Robert Mackenzie Campbell Bursary' was merged into the Common Bursaries Fund under the Edinburgh University (Fellowships, Scholarships and Bursaries) Scheme (1953) where it remained until at least 1971.⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁸ This biography derives from the *Artefacts: the Built Environment of Southern Africa* website, which itself is based on an earlier South African Biographical Dictionary of Architects, <https://artefacts.co.za/main/Buildings/archframes.php?archid=207>.

⁴¹⁹ *Edinburgh University Calendar* (1915), 791-792.

⁴²⁰ The University of Edinburgh (Fellowships, Scholarships and Bursaries) Scheme (1971), No. 1849, UK Statutory Instruments, <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukSI/1971/1849/contents/made>.

1c: Accrued wealth and value over time of endowments with links to slavery, 1865-1945

* Figures for 1865-1885 taken from issues of the *Edinburgh University Calendar* from each subsequent year (e.g., data for the academic year 1865-6 can be found in the issue for 1866-7) All later figures taken from Henry Cook and C. E. W Macpherson, *Accounts of the University of Edinburgh for the Year to ...* [1896, 1906, 1916, 1926, 1936, 1946] (Edinburgh: Printed at the University Press by T. and A. Constable Ltd, [1896, 1906, 1916, 1926, 1936, 1946]), all available in EUL.

** Includes all funds under the following names or variants thereof: ‘General Reid’s Trust’, ‘Reid Chair of Music’ and Reid Professor of Music – Assistants and Expenses Fund’. From at least 1935 this also included the ‘Reid Orchestra Endowment Fund’, a separate fund to the ‘Reid Orchestra Endowment Fund (Miss Wyer’s Bequest)’.

*** Includes both Baxter Mathematical and Philosophical Scholarships and Baxter Natural and Physical Science Scholarships in 1865, 1875 and 1885, and additionally Misses Baxter of Balavies Scholarship in 1875.

	Chair of Agriculture (Pultney Foundation)			Stuart Bursaries			Chair of Music (Reid Fund)**		
Date*	Value	Revenue	Expenditure	Value	Revenue	Expenditure	Value	Revenue	Expenditure
1865	£938	-	£38	[in abeyance]	-	-			
1875	£964	-	£370	-	-	£30 3s			
1885	£1,033 1s 4d	-	£370	-	-	£30			
1895	£1,252 4s 4d	£39 5s 6d	£39 5s 6d	£1,184 6s	£34 16s	£34 16s	£49,241 14s 8d	£2,113 15s 10d	£1,929 6s 7d
1905	£1,252 4s 4d	£38 11s 10d	£38 11s 10d	£1,242 15s 7s	£4 4s	£17 10s	£50,183 15s 5d	£1,943 5s 9d	£2,037 16s 5d
1915	£1,252 4s 4d	£53 2s 6d	£53 2s 6d	£1,427 9s	£35 12s 5d	£1 0s 10d	£49,624 1s 1d	£2,744 6s 6d	£2,744 6s 6d
1925	£1,252 4s 4d	£73	£73	£1,763 9s 10d	£66 10s	£38 11s	£49,487 16s 8d	£2,615 8s 8d	£2,615 8s 8d
1935	£1,252 4s 4d	£73	£73	£1,513 17s 10d	£65 15s	£65 15s	£60,407 6s 6d	£3,720 9s 9d	£3,720 9s 9d
1945	£1,252 4s 4d	£73	£73	£1504 17s 10d	£73 3s 6d	£73 3s 6d	£72,125 16s 11d	£3,871 9s 11d	£3,871 9s 11d

	Baxter Salary Fund			Baxter Mathematical and Philosophical Scholarships**			Baxter Natural and Physical Science Scholarships		
Date	Value	Revenue	Expenditure	Value	Revenue	Expenditure	Value	Revenue	Expenditure
1865	-	-	-	£6,000	-	£240	-	-	-
1875	-	-	-	£9,384	-	£320	-	-	-
1885	-	-	-	£7,112 15s 5d	-	£412	-	-	-
1895	£17,980	£583 13s 6d	£583 15s 6d	£3,592 15s 10d	£121 9s 6d	£91 15s 10d	£4,221 0s 11d	£145 3s 10d	£74 8s 10d
1905	£17,981 14s 6d	£573 12s 4d	£573 13s	£3,807 11s 9d	£127 11s 6d	£96 2s	£4,292 12s 8d	£144 19s 10d	£144 19s 10d

1915	£17,961 4s 3d	£603 16s	£603 16s	£4,080 15s 8d	£123 13s 8d	£36 13s 7d	£4,727 8s 11d	£160 2s 5d	£87 17s 5d
1925	£17,961 4s 3d	£603 16s	£603 16s	£4,810 14s 5d	£204 1s 10d	£102 5s 4d	£5,824 7s 11d	£288 15s	£288 15s
1935	£17,961 4s 3d	£603 16s	£603 16s	-	-	-	£6,676 12s 4d	£433 16s 4d	£433 16s 4d
1945	£17,961 4s 3d	£603 16s	£603 16s	-	-	-	£6,821 1s	£280 17s 10d	£126 16s 1d

	Horsliehill Scott Bursaries			Chair of Engineering			Misses Baxter of Balavies Scholarship		
Date	Value	Revenue	Expenditure	Value	Revenue	Expenditure	Value	Revenue	Expenditure
1865	£2,000	-	£80	-	-	-	-	-	-
1875	£2,062	-	£80	£5,790	-	£434	-	-	-
1885	£2,061 6s	-	£71 15s	£6,098 3s 7d	-	£431	£3723 18s 11d	-	£20
1895	£2,080 0s 9d	£64 8s	£64 8s	£5,637 17s 6d	£216 10s 8d	£216 10s 8d	£4,456 7s 1d	£155 14s	£79 7s 10d
1905	£2,198 18s 8d	£66 7s 6d	£66 7s 4d	£5,600	£217 14s 4d	£217 14s 4d	£4,920 0s 11d	£165 6s 7d	£139 7s 9d
1915	£2,314 0s 1d	£77 8s 8d	£1 7s 4d	£7,316 2s 7d	£275 10s	£212 10s	£5,671 15s 9d	£177 3s 6d	£33 3s 4d
1925	£3,115 1s 8d	£142	£73 6s 9d	£5,955 5s 10d	£240 5s 11d	£240 5s 11d	£6,222 1s 6d	£262 10s	£204 19s 7d
1935	£3,190 7s 8d	£145 10s	£145 10s	£5,855 5s 10d	£242 5s 11d	£232 5s 11d	£7,276 2s 4d	£290 15s 7d	£290 15s 7d
1945	£3,307 12s 1d	£245 3s 1d	£24 3s 1d	£5,855 13s 9d	£240 1s 9d	£240 1s 7d	£8,261 8s 7d	£518 9s 8d	£518 9s 8d

	John Edward Baxter Scholarships			Steven of Bellahouston Scholarship			Buchanan Scholarship		
Date	Value	Revenue	Expenditure	Value	Revenue	Expenditure	Value	Revenue	Expenditure
1865	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1875	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1885	£8,125 3s 9d	-	£268	£2,033 11s	-	-	-	-	-
1895	£8,402 14s 5d	£259 2s 3d	£235 0s 5d	£2,033 10s 11d	£72 10s	£72 10s	£1,286 9s 11d	£39 3s	£39 3s

1905	£8,550 3s 9d	£261 9s 10d	£209 18s	£2,029 7s	£66 10s	£95 6s 3d	£1,290 14s 7d	£38 9s 6d	£38
1915	£8,556 16s 4d	£344 11s 2d	£291 2s 2d	£2,058 3s 3d	£86 2s 11d	£90 3s 9d	£1,346 1s 8d	£35 2s 8d	£0 12s 2d
1925	£10,052 3s 10d	£469 5d	£471	£2,304 14s 5d	£102 15s	£52 13s 2d	£1,453 13s 11d	£47 9s 8d	£83 1s 9d
1935	-	-	-	£2,243 19s 3d	£111 5s	£111 5s	£1,443 6s 5d	£60 16s 10d	£60 16s 10
1945	-	-	-	£2,361 1s 9d	£159 10s 3d	£159 10s 3d	£856 12s 1d	£57 15s 5d	£57 15s 5d

	Gunning Victoria Jubilee Medical Prizes			Gunning Victoria Jubilee Divinity Prizes and Lectureship		
Date	Value	Revenue	Expenditure	Value	Revenue	Expenditure
1865	-	-	-	-	-	-
1875	-	-	-	-	-	-
1885	-	-	-	-	-	-
1895	-	-	-	-	-	-
1905	£6,437 5s 10d	£191 8s 4d	£54 0s 3d	£6,506 4s 9d	£198 5s 6d	£5 0s 6d
1915	£8,180 6s 3d	£28 0s 10d	£5 2s 4d	£8,566 17s 3d	£268 18s 3d	£4 16s 6d
1925	£11,931 19s 1d	£555	£131 13s 6d	£12,116 7s 9d	£524 5s	£114 2s
1935	£17,289 19s 2s	£762 5d	£762 5d	£16,196 9s 10d	£1,567 19s 10d	£1,567 19s 10d
1945	£19,271 7s 7d	£1,629 7s 7d	£1,629 7s 7d	£16,319 16s 1d	£1,247 13s 5d	£1,247 13s 5d

Appendix 2: Old College subscribers

2a. Caribbean-based subscribers to Old College

NAME(S)	PLACE	PROFESSION OR OTHER INFORMATION	NOTES ABOUT SUBSCRIPTION	SUBSCRIPTION	<i>DATE</i>
Dr James Nasmyth	Jamaica	physician		£105	18 November 1790
Union Lodge, Montego Bay	Jamaica; Montego Bay		Two subscriptions of £50 each, remitted to Dr William Wright, Edinburgh	£100	12 July 1790; 13 October 1791
Charles Bernard Jr	Jamaica		Remitted to Dr William Wright, Edinburgh, £70 Jamaica currency	£50	13 October 1791
William Fowle[r]	Jamaica		Remitted to Dr William Wright, Edinburgh, £70 Jamaica currency	£50	13 October 1791
Francis Rigby Brodbelt [Sr]	Jamaica; Spanish Town	MD		£30	13 October 1791
Dr John Drummond	Jamaica; Westmoreland	MD	for himself and Mr James Paterson, practitioner in physic and surgery, in Hanover, Jamaica	£22 4s 7d	8 December 1792
Hon. John Grant	Jamaica	Chief Justice in Jamaica		£21	18 November 1790
Dr Andrew Gardner	Jamaica; Trelawny Parish	physician		£21	19 January 1792
Provincial Grand Lodge of St Andrew	Jamaica; Morant Bay, St Thomas, East Jamaica,		£28 Jamaica currency	£20	18 November 1790
Patrick Murray	Jamaica	physician; MD; Physician General to the Militia, Jamaica	remitted to Dr William Wright, Edinburgh; £22 1s Jamaica currency	£15 14s 8d	13 October 1791
Thomas Nasmyth	Jamaica	MD; surgeon general, Jamaica	remitted to Dr William Wright, Edinburgh; £21 Jamaica currency	£15	13 October 1791
John Hay, Esq	Grenada			£10 10s	8 December 1792

Dr William Leckie	Jamaica	doctor		£10 10s	22 August 1793
Hon. John Palmer	Jamaica	Judge	remitted to Dr William Wright, Edinburgh, £14 14s Jamaica currency	£10 10s	13 October 1791
Dr Francis Brown	Antigua	Physician		£10 10s	22 March 1792; 8 December 1792
Dr Samuel Athill	Antigua	Physician		£5 5s	22 August 1793
Alexander Aikman	Jamaica		£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790.
Alexander Forbes	Jamaica		£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790.
Ambrose Carter	Jamaica		£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790.
Archibald Calbraith	Jamaica		£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790.
Caleb Dickenson	Jamaica	doctor; MD	£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790.
Captain Robert Liddel	Jamaica	Ship the <i>Roselle</i>	£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
David Baillie	Jamaica		£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
David Grant	Jamaica	doctor; MD	£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
Dr McKinnon	Jamaica	doctor	£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
Dr Alexander Maitland	Jamaica	doctor	£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
Dr Archibald Menzies	Jamaica	doctor; 10th Regiment,	£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
Dr Donald Cameron	Jamaica	doctor	£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790.
Dr Edward Richards	Jamaica	doctor	£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790.
Dr James Gordon	Jamaica	doctor	Two subscriptions, £5 5 0 Jamaica Currency; £3 5s Jamaica Currency	£6 15s 8d	21 August 1790; 18 November 1790
Dr James McVicar	Jamaica	doctor	£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
Dr John Harris	Jamaica	doctor	£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
Dr John Tod	Jamaica	doctor	£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
Dr McMillan Mathieson	Jamaica	doctor; Royal Artillery	£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
Dr Morely	Jamaica	doctor	£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
Dr William Fife	Jamaica	doctor	£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
Dr William Flanagan	Jamaica	doctor	£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
F. Christie	Jamaica		£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790

Fortescue Harris	Jamaica		£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
Hamilton Lithgow	Jamaica		£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
Hinton East	Jamaica		£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
James Cleghorn	Jamaica		£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
James Dickson junior	Jamaica		£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
James Morely	Jamaica	merchant	£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
James Rothead	Jamaica		£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
James Stewart	Jamaica		£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
James Waddel	Jamaica	merchant	£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
James Walker	Jamaica	doctor; MD	£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
James Walker	Jamaica	merchant	£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
John Allan	Jamaica		£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
John Dick	Jamaica		£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
John Leufville	Jamaica		£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
Robert Boog	Jamaica		£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
Robert Kirkwood	Jamaica	surveyor	£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
Simon Gibbs	Jamaica	merchant	£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
Thomas Brunton	Jamaica	merchant	£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
Thomas Lunglas	Jamaica	doctor; MD	£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
Thomas McKinlay	Jamaica		£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
Thomas Nieusville	Jamaica	doctor; MD	£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
Thomas Stoakes Harris	Jamaica		£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
William Halgate	Jamaica		£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
William Lambie	Jamaica		£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
William Lumsden	Jamaica		£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
William Paterson	Jamaica		£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
William Ross	Jamaica		£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	21 August 1790
James Skene	Jamaica; Kingston	doctor, MD	£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	18 November 1790
Alexander Hamilton	Jamaica; St Thomas, East		£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	18 November 1790
Dr West	Jamaica; St Thomas, East	doctor	£5 5 0 Jamaica Currency	£4 9s 3d	18 November 1790

Dr William Scot	Jamaica; St Thomas, East,	doctor	Subscribed also for Mr John Wilson	£7 14s 3d	18 November 1790; 8 December 1792
Mr John Wilson	Jamaica		Dr William Scot, for the deceased Mr John Wilson	£3 15s	8 December 1792
Dr James Shaw	Jamaica; Kingston	doctor	£3 5s Jamaica Currency; £3 5s Jamaica Currency	£4 12s 10d	21 August 1790; 18 November 1790
Dr William Johnston	Jamaica	doctor	£3 5s Jamaica Currency	£2 6s 5d	21 August 1790
			TOTAL	£750 0s 2d	

2b. India-based subscribers to Old College

NAME(S)	PLACE	PROFESSION OR OTHER INFORMATION	NOTES ABOUT SUBSCRIPTION	SUBSCRIPTION	DATE
Major General Sir Robert Abercromby	Bombay	Governor of Bombay; K. B. Commander in Chief in India		£2,335	13 October 1791; 8 December 1792; 11 October 1794
Lord Cornwallis	Calcutta	Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of India		£500	3 May 1791; 6 August 1792
Hon. Colonel Stuart	Calcutta			£400	25 April 1791; 6 August 1792
Dr Andrew Hunter	India	doctor; President of the Medical Board in the East India Company's Service		£105	13 October 1791
Andrew Hunter	[Calcutta]		Inferred to be part of Calcutta subscriptions	£105	6 August 1792
Colonel John Murray	Calcutta		1000 sicca rupees	£100	6 August 1792
Colonel Alexander Ross	Calcutta		1000 sicca rupees	£100	6 August 1792
Colonel Peter Murray	Calcutta		1000 sicca rupees	£100	6 August 1792
Thomas Graham	Calcutta		1000 sicca rupees	£100	6 August 1792
John Fleming	Calcutta		1000 sicca rupees	£100	6 August 1792

Hugh Muir	Calcutta		1000 sicca rupees	£100	6 August 1792
Messrs Charles and George Binny	Madras		250 pagodas	£100	8 December 1792
John Erskine	Madras		250 pagodas	£100	8 December 1792
Robert Malcom	Madras		250 Pagodas	£100	8 December 1792
Mr W. Balfour	Madras		250 Pagodas	£100	8 December 1792
William Ross Munro	Calcutta		800 sicca rupees	£80	6 August 1792
Mr Cockburn	Madras		200 pagodas	£80	8 December 1792
Captain John Campbell	Madras		200 Pagodas	£80	8 December 1792
Mr Colt	Madras		200 Pagodas	£80	8 December 1792
Jonathan Duncan	Calcutta		600 sicca rupees	£60	6 August 1792
Mr Petrie	Madras		150 Pagodas	£60	8 December 1792
John Griffith	Bombay		500 rupees	£60	8 December 1792
Alexander Adamson	Bombay		500 rupees	£60	8 December 1792
Lieut. Col. Robert Nicholson	Bombay	Chief Engineer	500 rupees	£60	8 December 1792
Patrick Crawford Bruce	Bombay		500 rupees	£60	8 December 1792
William Blane	Calcutta			£52 10s	6 August 1792
James Robertson, Esq	India, from			£50	5 December 1789
James Hare	Calcutta		500 sicca rupees	£50	6 August 1792
George Boyd	Calcutta		500 sicca rupees	£50	6 August 1792
Archibald Montgomery	Calcutta		500 sicca rupees	£50	6 August 1792
Dr Alex Campbell	Calcutta	physician	500 sicca rupees	£50	6 August 1792
General Musgrave	Madras		125 pagodas	£50	8 December 1792
A. Sadleir, Madras	Madras		125 Pagodas	£50	8 December 1792
David Haliburton	Madras		125 Pagodas	£50	8 December 1792
Major Hart	Madras		100 pagodas	£40	8 December 1792
James Strange	Madras		100 pagodas	£40	8 December 1792
Mr M. Dick	Madras		100 Pagodas	£40	8 December 1792
Mr J. Drummond	Madras		100 Pagodas	£40	8 December 1792
Charles Ker	Bombay	Surgeon; MD Surgeon, 75th Regiment,	300 rupees	£36	8 December 1792
John Forbes	Bombay		300 rupees	£36	8 December 1792

Charles Fraser	Madras		82, 8, 60 Pagodas	£32 16s	8 December 1792
John Craigie	Calcutta		included in above list as sterling, but seems to also be Calcutta subscriptions	£31 10s	6 August 1792
Mr Moubray	Madras		50 Pagodas	£29	8 December 1792
Captain Phillip Dundas	India	<i>Melville-Castle</i> (East Indiaman)		£26 5s	5 December 1789
James Campbell	Calcutta		250 sicca rupees	£25	6 August 1792
William Fairlie	Calcutta		250 sicca rupees	£25	6 August 1792
Alexander Colvil	Calcutta		250 sicca rupees	£25	6 August 1792
John Jervis	Madras		25 Pagodas	£24 16s	8 December 1792
Dr William Horseman	Madras	doctor	62 Pagodas	£24 8s	8 December 1792
Dr William Spink	Bombay	Surgeon; MD; Hospital Surgeon	200 rupees	£24	8 December 1792
James Tate	Bombay		200 rupees	£24	8 December 1792
W. F. Gardner	Calcutta			£21	6 August 1792
Major Hay McDowall	Calcutta	73rd Regiment		£21	6 August 1792
Sir Robert Chalmers	Calcutta		200 sicca rupees	£20	6 August 1792
William Dick	Calcutta		200 sicca rupees	£20	6 August 1792
David Ross	Calcutta		200 sicca rupees	£20	6 August 1792
James Grant	Calcutta		200 sicca rupees	£20	6 August 1792
Alex. Russel	Calcutta		200 sicca rupees	£20	6 August 1792
R. Fergusson	Calcutta		200 sicca rupees	£20	6 August 1792
Robert Graham	Calcutta		200 sicca rupees	£20	6 August 1792
Alexander Duncan	Calcutta		200 sicca rupees	£20	6 August 1792
Lieutenant Thomas Hart	Madras		50 Pagodas	£20	8 December 1792
Capt. Glendoning	Madras		50 pagodas	£20	8 December 1792
Mr H. Maxwell	Madras		50 Pagodas	£20	8 December 1792
Mr Cochran	Madras		50 Pagodas	£20	8 December 1792
Captain James Robertson	Madras		50 Pagodas	£20	8 December 1792
Major David Woodburn	Madras		50 Pagodas	£20	8 December 1792
R. Stewart	Calcutta		160 sicca rupees	£16	6 August 1792
James Stark, Esq	Calcutta			£15	21 August 1790

Joseph Baretto	Calcutta		150 sicca rupees	£15	6 August 1792
Helmos Scott	Bombay		100 rupees	£12	8 December 1792
Phineas Hall	Bombay		100 rupees	£12	8 December 1792
Alexander Ramsay	Bombay		100 rupees	£12	8 December 1792
Thomas Bruce	Bombay		100 rupees	£12	8 December 1792
Major John Bellas	Bombay	Artillery	100 rupees	£12	8 December 1792
John Pringle	Bombay		100 rupees	£12	8 December 1792
Captain John Burrowes	Bombay		100 rupees	£12	8 December 1792
Dr Francis Balfour	Bengal	Doctor		£10 10s	1 July 1790
James Todd	India	The <i>Ocean</i> (East Indiaman)		£10	9 June 1791
Captain James Hay	India	<i>Lord Macartney</i> , (East Indiaman)		£10 10s	22 March 1792
Mr J. Watts	Calcutta		105 sicca rupees	£10 10s	6 August 1792
Lieut. Col. V. W. Hussey	Calcutta		105 sicca rupees	£10 10s	6 August 1792
Major Robert White	Calcutta		105 sicca rupees	£10 10s	6 August 1792
Major S. Dyer	Calcutta	Deputy Quartermaster-General of Bengal Army		£10 10s	6 August 1792
George Cheap	Calcutta			£10 10s	6 August 1792
George Arbuthnot	Calcutta			£10 10s	6 August 1792
Gilbert McLeod	Calcutta	33 rd Battalion Sepoys		£10 10s	6 August 1792
Captain James Pringle	Calcutta			£10 10s	6 August 1792
Rev. T. T. Blanchard	Calcutta			£10 10s	6 August 1792
Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Hardy	Calcutta			£10 10s	6 August 1792
William Smoult	Calcutta		100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792
S. S. Taylor	Calcutta		100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792
William Douglas	Calcutta		100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792
B. Crisp	Calcutta		100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792
John Mackenzie junior	Calcutta		100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792
Thomas Watt	Calcutta		100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792
Anthony Lambert	Calcutta		100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792
Capt. J. Collins	Calcutta		100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792

J. L. Chavett	Calcutta		100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792
G. Ranken	Calcutta		100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792
Lieut. John Monggah	Calcutta		100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792
James Stark	Calcutta		100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792
John Henderson	Calcutta	Jeffare, of	100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792
William Burrel	Calcutta		100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792
Rev. Mr D. Mackay	Calcutta	72nd Regiment	100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792
John Reid	Calcutta		100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792
Capt. Thomas Hogan	Calcutta		100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792
Mr G. C. Calcutta	Calcutta		100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792
Robert Grant, Calcutta	Calcutta		100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792
Capt. Ludovick Grant	Calcutta		100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792
Capt. Thomas Green	Calcutta		100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792
Capt. John Bradley	Calcutta		100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792
Capt. William Ramsay	Calcutta		100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792
Major W. Palmer	Calcutta		100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792
Major James Dickson	Calcutta		100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792
Doctor John Alexander	Calcutta	doctor	100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792
Doctor Adam	Calcutta	doctor	100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792
Major William Duncan	Calcutta		100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792
Captain James Williamson	Calcutta		100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792
William Inglis	Calcutta		100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792
Edmund Morris	Calcutta		100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792
W. N. W. Hewett	Calcutta		100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792
Major Charles Maitland	Calcutta		100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792
James Ross	Calcutta		100 sicca rupees	£10	6 August 1792
Major Derome	Madras		25 Pagodas	£10	8 December 1792
Mr John Hamilton	Madras		25 Pagodas	£10	8 December 1792
Mr G. Chalmers	Madras		25 Pagodas	£10	8 December 1792
Lieutenant Undden	Madras		25 Pagodas	£10	8 December 1792
Major Agnew	Madras		25 Pagodas	£10	8 December 1792
Captain A. Brown	Madras		25 Pagodas	£10	8 December 1792

Captain A. Pringle	Calcutta		80 sicca rupees	£8	6 August 1792
Robert Ireland	Calcutta		80 sicca rupees	£8	6 August 1792
Davies	Calcutta		80 sicca rupees	£8	6 August 1792
Bernard McMahan	Madras		20 Pagodas	£8	8 December 1792
Henry Mellish	Madras		15 Pagodas	£6	8 December 1792
David Simpson, Esq	India, from			£5 5s	5 December 1789
Gavin Hamilton	Calcutta			£5 5s	21 March 1791
Lieut. W. Knox	Calcutta			£5 5s	6 August 1792
John Smith	Calcutta	16 th battalion sepoy		£5 5s	6 August 1792
Captain Borthwick	Madras		13, 5, 20 Pagodas	£5 4s	8 December 1792
William Anderson	Calcutta		50 sicca rupees	£5	6 August 1792
Capt. W. Macdonald	Calcutta	<i>Ann and Eliza</i> (East Indiaman)	50 sicca rupees	£5	6 August 1792
P. Cochrane	Calcutta		50 sicca rupees	£5	6 August 1792
Capt. Alex. Orme	Calcutta	Major of Brigade	50 sicca rupees	£5	6 August 1792
Capt. John Macintyre	Calcutta		50 sicca rupees	£5	6 August 1792
Joseph York Kinloch	Calcutta		50 sicca rupees	£5	6 August 1792
W. Cairns	Calcutta	Assistant Surgeon	50 sicca rupees	£5	6 August 1792
George Fraser	Calcutta	Assistant Surgeon	50 sicca rupees	£5	6 August 1792
Ensign J. Rolland	Calcutta		50 sicca rupees	£5	6 August 1792
Captain John Wilson	Calcutta	<i>Mary</i> (East Indiaman)	50 sicca rupees	£5	6 August 1792
Ensign James Wright	Calcutta		50 sicca rupees	£5	6 August 1792
John Wood	Calcutta		50 sicca rupees	£5	6 August 1792
T. Casement	Calcutta		50 sicca rupees	£5	6 August 1792
Lieut. Monro	Madras		12, 21 Pagodas	£4 16s	8 December 1792
Lieut. Peter Black	Calcutta		32 sicca rupees	£3	6 August 1792
Lieut. Rob Murray	Calcutta	Bengal Cavalry	30 sicca rupees	£3	6 August 1792
Lieut. John Macgregor	Calcutta	76 th regiment	20 sicca rupees	£2	6 August 1792
Lieut. Malcolm Macgregor	Calcutta		20 sicca rupees	£2	6 August 1792
Lieut. Donald Macgregor	Calcutta	73 rd Regiment	20 sicca rupees	£2	6 August 1792
Cornet V. Macgregor	Calcutta	Madras cavalry	20 sicca rupees	£2	6 August 1792

Ensign Donald Macgregor	Calcutta	Madras Infantry	20 sicca rupees	£2	6 August 1792
Lieut. Rob Macgregor	Calcutta	Bengal Establishment	25 sicca rupees	£2 10s	6 August 1792
Lieut. John Macgregor	Calcutta	Bengal Establishment	25 sicca rupees	£2 10s	6 August 1792
Ensign William Graham	Calcutta		25 sicca rupees	£2 10s	6 August 1792
Lieut. B. Kelly	Calcutta		20 sicca rupees	£2	6 August 1792
			TOTAL	£7,192 5s	

‘Madras subscription’	Madras	Henry Dundas, bills of exchange from William Balfour, subscriptions at Madras at the date of his departure from that place.	£1,314 2s 8d	29 November 1792
‘Bengal subscription’	Bengal	Lord Provost [James Stirling] received bills ... as part of the subscription going on in India.	£1,100	4 August 1792
‘Bombay subscription’	Bombay	by P. Crawford Bruce, Esq., the names of the subscribers not transmitted	£215 16s 8d	22 August 1793
			TOTAL	£2,629 19s 4d

2c. Britain-based subscribers to Old College with link to slavery

NAME(S)	PLACE	PROFESSION/OTHER INFORMATION	AMOUNT	DATE
Duke of Montague			£150	5 December 1789
George Montagu (formerly Brudenell), 1st Duke of Montagu of a new creation (1712-1790), through marriage to Lady Mary Montague, inherited the name and estate of his father-in-law, John Montagu (1690-1749), on the latter's death in 1749. ⁴²¹ In 1722, John Montagu obtained a grant from the British Crown for St Lucia and St Vincent, and appointed governor and captain-general during the attempt to colonise the Caribbean islands, which ultimately failed due to a lack of British naval support and French opposition. It is reported that Montagu lost ‘over £40,000’ in the process. In 1728 he applied for a similar royal grant to take control over Tobago, but was rejected. He later gave up his interests in Caribbean colonies and became a patron of African-descended people in Britain, including Ignatius Sancho. ⁴²²				

⁴²¹ H. M. Chichester and M. J. Mercer, ‘Montagu, George Brudenell, duke of Montagu (1712–1790), courtier’, *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19019>.

⁴²² Edward Charles Metzger, ‘Montagu, John, second duke of Montagu (1690–1749), courtier’, *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19025>.

Interest paid by the Bank of Scotland			£117	21 March 1791
This was one of likely several payments made the Trustees by the Bank of Scotland as interest owed on the subscriptions held by the Bank. While not a ‘subscriber’ as such, the sum has been included here as an indication of how financial services, via a Bank that itself was tied to slavery-linked Atlantic trades, generated additional wealth from subscriptions.				
Thomas Stewart		Treasurer to the Bank of Scotland	£109 8s 7d	9 June 1791
As Treasurer (or sometimes Secretary) of the Bank of Scotland, Thomas Stewart was emersed in the Bank’s provision of financial services, though the extent of his personal involvement in the Bank’s activities in relation to slavery-linked Atlantic wealth requires further examination. ⁴²³ Stewart was personally involved, for example, in the Bank of Scotland’s trade with the British Linen Company, whose slavery-connected Atlantic interests are discussed elsewhere in this report. ⁴²⁴				
Duke of Buccleuch			£105	5 December 1789
Henry Scott, 3rd Duke of Buccleuch (1746-1812) was among the landed Scottish elites who co-founded Douglas, Heron & Co (‘Ayr Bank’) which famously failed in 1772. That firm provided credit to at least one individual with ‘extensive property in the West-India islands’. ⁴²⁵ Buccleuch later acted as Governor of the Bank of Scotland from 1777-1812. ⁴²⁶				
Viscount of Stormont			£105	1790
In 1774, David Murray, 7 th Viscount of Stormont, and later 2 nd Earl of Mansfield (1727-1796), acted as a trustee for a marriage settlement that at one stage including security for the annuity of the St John Capisterre estate on St Kitts, which included 182 enslaved people. ⁴²⁷				
Lord Frederick Campbell			£105	5 December 1789
Lord Frederick Campbell and other named individuals in the will (dated 8 June 1775) of Barlow Trecothick, Alderman of the City of the London, were made trustees of Trecothick’s estate after his death. Trecothick had been the owner and lessee of sugar estates and enslaved people in Grenada and Jamaica. Funds from Trecothick’s estate went to a number of individuals and philanthropic causes, including London hospitals. Each trustee, including Campbell, was provided £500 and part-ownership of Trecothick’s residence of Addington following the death of his wife. ⁴²⁸				

⁴²³ For the Bank of Scotland’s links to slavery-derived wealth, see Mullen, *The Glasgow Sugar Aristocracy*, 82, 272.

⁴²⁴ Reference to Stewart’s correspondence to the Company’s directors can be seen in their minutes for 16 May 1771, reproduced in Alastair Durie, ed., *Scottish Linen Bank* (Edinburgh: Pillans & Wilson Ltd, 1996), 211.

⁴²⁵ *The Precipitation and Fall of Mess. Douglas, Heron, and Company, Late Bankers in Ayr, with the Causes of their Distress and Ruin, Investigated and Considered, by a Committee of Inquiry, Appointed by the Proprietors* (Edinburgh: n.p., 1778), 27.

⁴²⁶ Alexander Murdoch, ‘Scott, Henry, third duke of Buccleuch and fifth duke of Queensberry’, *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24875>.

⁴²⁷ ‘David Murray 7th Viscount Stormont, later 2nd Earl of Mansfield’, LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146666625>.

⁴²⁸ ‘Will of Barlow Trecothick, Alderman of the City of London of Addington , Surrey’, 8 June 1775, PROB 11/1009/51, NA. Also see ‘Barlow Trecothick’, LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146648757>.

William Ramsay, Esq		Banker	£105	5 December 1789
William Ramsay (later of Barnton) was a banker who after working his way up through the bank Mansfield, Hunter & Co. became a partner and prominent councillor in Edinburgh and director of the Bank of Scotland. Mansfield, his co-partner, had dealings with West India merchants, including in Montserrat. ⁴²⁹ As well as interests in steam navigation and agricultural improvement, Ramsay was one of the ‘largest shareholders’ in Falkirk’s Carron Iron Company, and in 1769-70 Mansfield, Hunter & Co. became trustees for John Roebuck, Carron’s account holder, when that firm experienced financial woes. From 1762, Carron ironworks produced sugar pans, a speciality item produced for plantations in the West Indies and North America. ⁴³⁰				
Earl of Lauderdale			£105	12 December 1789
The will of Anthony Todd, of the General Post Office of Walthamstow, left the majority of his estate – which held links to a Nevis property and enslaved people – to his daughter Eleanor, Lady Lauderdale, wife of James Maitland, 8 th Earl of Lauderdale. ⁴³¹ It is likely, therefore, that the Earl of Lauderdale was a beneficiary of at least part of his father-in-law’s wealth. James and Eleanor Maitland were the great-grandparents of Arthur James Balfour, who would go on to become Prime Minister and Chancellor of the UoE.				
Lord Kinnaird			£105	1 July 1790
George Kinnaird, 7 th Lord Kinnaird (1754-1805) was a co-partner of Ransom, Morland and Hammersley, a bank based in Pall Mall, London. ⁴³² The bank is named as the account-holder for Stephen Oakeley Attlay, an absentee owner of the Prospect estate and enslaved people in Portland, Jamaica. ⁴³³ Further research is required to assess the bank’s financial entanglements with slavery-associated estates.				
Earl of Warwick			£105	16 September 1790
This donation appears to have come from George Greville, 2nd Earl of Warwick. His father, Francis Greville, 1 st Earl of Warick, seemingly lent money against, and then took a mortgage over, an estate and enslaved people in Tobago around 1771. The LBS project is clear to point out that further clarification is needed on the exact nature of either the 1 st or 2 nd Earls of Warwick’s connections to enslavement, though local historical research suggests the 2 nd Earl of Warwick was also involved in a mortgage relating to the Tobago estate, and possibly was an owner of enslaved people. ⁴³⁴				

⁴²⁹ Zella Ashford, ‘From James Mansfield to Ramsays, Bonar & Company: some notes on the story of a private bank’, *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* 6 (2005): 25-39, especially 27.

⁴³⁰ R. H. Campbell, *Carron Company* (Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1961), 105-7.

⁴³¹ ‘Will of Anthony Todd, of the General Post Office London of Walthamstow, Essex’, PROB 11/1308/89, NA.

⁴³² See entry for William Morland, one of the bank’s named co-partners, ‘MORLAND, William (1739-1815), of 56 Pall Mall, Mdx. and Lee House, Kent’, History of Parliament Online, www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/morland-william-1739-1815.

⁴³³ See reference to Ransom, Morland and Hammersley in ‘Stephen Oakeley Attlay’, LBS database, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146633484.

⁴³⁴ For the deed relating to the estate, see Vere Langford Oliver, *Caribbeana* Vol. I, p. 19 and Vol. III p. 294. Also see ‘Rt Hon. Francis Greville Earl Brooke of Warwick Castle, 1st Earl of Warwick’, LBS database, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146659671; Adam Buziakiewicz, ‘Oranges and Lemons: Greville Gardens and Portraits’, *Our Warwickshire*, www.ourwarwickshire.org.uk/content/article/oranges-lemons-greville-gardens-portraits-part-two.

Duke of Argyll			£105	19 January 1792
Although no source has yet been identified directly linking this subscriber, George Campbell, 6th Duke of Argyll, to empire or slavery, the research of heritage staff at Inveraray Castle, seat of the Dukes of Argyll since the early eighteenth century, highlights a number of connections held by his wider family. The institution's preliminary report into these connections notes, for example, the existence of two people of African descent on the estate during the era of the 1 st Duke of Argyll, and William Campbell, a 'native of the East Indies' and servant to the 3rd Duke of Argyll. The 4 th Duke became a colonial governor in both Nova Scotia and South Carolina, married into a rice plantation-owning family (the Izards), and likely owned enslaved people there as well. Although an indirect connection, a sister-in-law of George Campbell (the subscriber to Old College) was Joan Glassell, heir to a tobacco merchant's wealth. ⁴³⁵				
Thomas Coutts	London	Banker	£105	19 January 1792
Thomas Coutts (1735-1822) was the founder of Coutts & Co. bank. Though no direct connection has been found with Coutts' own finances to either the ownership of enslaved people or Atlantic trades linked to slavery, some of Coutts's family members and his bank's clients appear to have had connections to slavery-linked Virginian tobacco and likely other slavery-connected and imperial enterprises. ⁴³⁶ A gift Thomas Coutts received of Chinese wallpaper from George Macartney (1737-1806), Governor of Madras, as thanks for his use of the bank's financial services indicates possible South Asian connections. ⁴³⁷				
Sir John Hunter-Blair, Bart			£105	5 December 1789
Sir John Hunter-Blair, 2 nd Baronet (1772–1800) was the eldest son of Sir James Hunter-Blair, 1 st Baronet (1741-1787), a banker and politician. Along with Sir William Forbes, James Hunter-Blair had been financially connected to a plantation in Tobago since at least 1778. ⁴³⁸ As Lord Provost of Edinburgh in the 1780s, James Hunter-Blair had been involved in several civic projects including the South Bridge and the early stages of the scheme to build what became Old College. James Hunter-Blair's second son, Sir David Hunter-Blair, inherited the Rozelle estate and enslaved people in Jamaica from his uncle, William Hunter. ⁴³⁹ Further research is required to establish John Hunter-Blair's receipt of slavery-linked wealth via his family. As a partner in his father's bank William Forbes & Co. though, it can be assumed that he was involved directly or indirectly in the financial services that underpinned the Atlantic slavery economy. ⁴⁴⁰				
Earl of Eglinton			£100	15 July 1790

⁴³⁵ 'Slavery and the Argylls', Inveraray Castle, www.inveraray-castle.com/images/Slavery_and_the_Argylls.pdf.

⁴³⁶ Ernest Hartley Coleridge, *The Life of Thomas Coutts, Banker* (London and New York: John Lane Company, 1920), 48.

⁴³⁷ For Coutts's Chinese wallpaper, see Helen Clifford, 'Chinese Wallpaper: From Canton to Country House', in *The East India Company at Home 1757-1857*, edited by Margot Finn and Kate Smith (London: UCL Press, 2018), 60-61.

⁴³⁸ 'Sir James Hunter Blair', LBS database, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146659669. See 'Release and assignment of plantation in Tobago by Sir William Forbes, Baronet, Sir Robert Herries, James Hunter Blair [formerly Hunter] Charles Herries, George Henderson and William Herries and John Irving., 3 November 1778', 3 November 1778, Ch.12655, NLS.

⁴³⁹ 'Sir David Hunter Blair', LBS database, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/43579.

⁴⁴⁰ Sir William Forbes of Pistligo, Bart., *Memoirs of a Banking House* (London and Edinburgh: William and Robert Chambers, 1860), 75-76. For more on the bank's connections to slavery, see 'Sir Wm Forbes Bart, James Hunter & Co', LBS database, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/firm/view/-1086508977.

Archibald Montgomerie, 11th Earl of Eglinton (1726-1796), as Lieutenant-Colonel of the 78 th Highland Regiment, led military forces in North America, including an expedition against the Cherokee in the 1760s. An 1864 genealogical memoir of the family comments how Montgomerie ‘most successfully reduced’ the Indigenous forces to ‘perfect obedience’. ⁴⁴¹ Under Montgomerie’s leadership, the same Regiment took part in British expeditions in Saint-Domingue (Haiti), Martinique, and Havannah, Caribbean conflicts which impacted and involved the mobilisation and re-enslavement of enslaved people. ⁴⁴²				
Lord Adam Gordon			£52 10s	5 March 1790
Lord Adam Gordon (c. 1726-1801) was an MP for Aberdeenshire and had earlier in life served in the military. On 19 January 1763 he became colonel of the 66 th foot and left London in April 1764 ‘ <i>en route</i> for the West Indies, the American colonies, and Canada’. ⁴⁴³ His journal from that journey (1764-5) records his desire to purchase land in different colonies, including in East Florida and New York, and his encounters with enslaved people in the Caribbean and Indigenous Americans in Britain’s southeastern American colonies. ⁴⁴⁴				
Sir Adam Fergusson, Bart.		Member of Parliament	£52 10s	16 September 1790
Sir Adam Fergusson, 3 rd Bart., of Kilkerran (1733-1813), an MP at different times for Edinburgh, Midlothian and Ayrshire, inherited the Jamaican Rozelle estate and enslaved people attached to it from his brother, the banker Charles Fergusson, after the failure of the latter’s bank in 1772. Adam Fergusson provided cash to his brother to avoid bankruptcy and the Accounts Produce for the estate show him as the co-owner from 1773 onwards. ⁴⁴⁵				
Home of Wedderburn	Wedderburn, of		£52 10s	20 October 1791
As the entry for this subscription does not provide a first name, it has not been possible to identify the subscriber with any certainty, though it would seem like that this was Patrick Home of Wedderburn (1728-1808), MP for Berwickshire until 1796. Work undertaken at Paxton House, owned by the Home family, details how Home lobbied Henry Dundas to appoint his nephew, Ninian Home, to become Governor of Grenada in 1792. Patrick Home, meanwhile, married Jane Graham, whose brother, John Graham, was the owner of the Douglaston estate in Grenada and plots in Tobago. Patrick, as with Ninian, helped his brother-in-law to become Governor of Tobago in 1769. Patrick Home’s connection’s to slavery, besides the aid he provided to his family members in attaining high administrative positions in the Caribbean, also entailed him managing his brother-in-law’s estate as an executor. In 1790 he was involved, along with other trustees, in the selling of Graham’s land and enslaved people. ⁴⁴⁶				

⁴⁴¹ Arthur Guthrie, *Historical memoir of the family of Eglinton and Winton, together with relative notes and illustrations* (Arthur Guthrie, 1864), 77-79.

⁴⁴² For more on Archibald Montgomerie’s military service, see the following study of his son: A. McK. Annand, ‘Hugh Montgomerie, 12th Earl of Eglinton, K.T.’, *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 39, no. 157 (1961): 37–40.

⁴⁴³ Stuart Handley, ‘Gordon, Lord Adam (c. 1726–1801), army officer and politician’, *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11013>.

⁴⁴⁴ Lord Adam Gordon, ‘Journal of an Officer’s Travels in America and the West Indies’, in *Travels in the American Colonies, edited by newton Dennison Mereness*, 367-456 (New York: Macmillan Company, 1961), 367–453.

⁴⁴⁵ ‘Sir Adam Fergusson 3rd Bart., of Kilkerran’, LBS database, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146651175. For a recent study of the Fergussons of Kilkerran, see Alex Renton, *Blood Legacy: Reckoning with a Family's Story of Slavery* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2021).

⁴⁴⁶ ‘Patrick Home of Wedderburn (1728-1808)’, Paxton House, www.paxtonhouse.co.uk/sugar-slavery-trail/patrick-home-of-wedderburn-1728-1808/. Further detail on Graham’s estate can be found at ‘John Graham of Grenada’, LBS database, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146649763.

Sir William Forbes, Bart			£50	5 December 1789
Sir William Forbes, 6 th baronet (1739-1806) was the founder of Forbes, Hunter & Co. (est. 1773) which provided financial services in relation to Caribbean estates and enslaved people, including as a creditor and provider of mortgages on plantation in Tobago. ⁴⁴⁷				
James Stirling, Esq			£50	5 December 1789
Although it is not possible to confirm for certain from the name alone, it is possible that this was James Stirling (c.1740-1805), who a year later would become Lord Provost on the death of the previous postholder Thomas Elder. As a young man Stirling sojourned to Jamaica to work as a clerk on the sugar plantations of Archibald Stirling of Keir, before later rising to become secretary to Jamaica's Governor, Sir John Dalling. Later sources describe Stirling as having returned to Edinburgh with a 'considerable fortune'. Though the scale and origin of that 'fortune' is unclear, it would appear highly likely Stirling profited from enslavement, or owned enslaved people. ⁴⁴⁸ His attitude towards abolitionists is captured in a 1792 letter from Stirling to Henry Dundas with news about the petition from Edinburgh to abolish the slave trade: 'Whatever may be the real spirit of these associations in the different parts of the United Kingdom, it evidently appears to me very strongly mixed here with politics, supported and promoted chiefly by characters wishing to embarrass [the] administration'. ⁴⁴⁹ Stirling became a partner in Mansfield, Ramsay, & Co., a firm known to have worked with clients with links to slavery, and served three terms as Lord Provost of the City of Edinburgh from 1790 to 1800, a post which also made him <i>ex officio</i> Rector of the city's University.				
Dr. William Cullen			£50	5 December 1789
Towards the end of 1729, following his studies, William Cullen (1710-1790), the famous physician and Professor of Medicine and Chemistry – first at Glasgow then Edinburgh University – went to London where he was appointed surgeon to a 'merchant ship' captained by a relation, 'Mr Cleland of Auchinlee'. An early biography of Cullen's life describes the vessel as having been 'engaged in trading to the Spanish settlements in the West Indies', spending six months in Portobello, New Granada. Though only there for a short time, Cullen took in an interest in local manners, climate and diseases (seemingly yellow fever, which had struck the region a few years before his arrival); he later referred to his observations from that time in his lectures. ⁴⁵⁰ Jeffrey Charles Wolf makes a convincing case, through an investigation of newspapers reports and other sources, that Cullen probably served on the South Sea Company ship the <i>Prince William</i> , whose itinerary over 1730-1 included St Christopher's, Cartagena and Portobello, before returning via Hispaniola, Jamaica, and Bermuda. Its cargo included '1,500,000 Pieces of Eight [Spanish silver dollars]' and 'Jesuits Bark, Cochineal, Loggood, and Drugs, near the Value of 500,000 Pieces of Eight more'. ⁴⁵¹ The extent to which this cargo which the <i>Prince William</i> brought from Spanish America to Britain was the				

⁴⁴⁷ 'Sir Williams Forbes bart.', LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146659667>; 'Release and assignment of plantation in Tobago by Sir William Forbes, Baronet, Sir Robert Herries, James Hunter Blair [formerly Hunter] Charles Herries, George Henderson and William Herries and John Irving., 3 November 1778', 3 November 1778, Ch.12655, NLS.

⁴⁴⁸ John Kay, *A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings, by the late John Kay, Miniature Painter, Edinburgh; with Biographical Sketches and Anecdote*, Vol. 1, Part 1 (Edinburgh: Hugh Paton, 1842), 373.

⁴⁴⁹ James Stirling to Henry Dundas, 7 March 1792, GD51/5/637/1-3, Dundas Papers, NRS.

⁴⁵⁰ John Thomson, *An Account of the Life, Lectures and Writings of William Cullen*, Volume 1 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & T. Cadell, 1832), 5-6.

⁴⁵¹ Jeffery Charles Wolf, "'Our master & father at the head of physick": The Learned Medicine of William Cullen' (PhD dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 2015), 269-274.

product of the exploited labour of enslaved Africans is unknown, though it would seem likely; the South Sea Company had earlier been granted an <i>asiento</i> by the Spanish Crown to traffic enslaved Africans to New Granada.				
Gilbert Innes			£50	5 December 1789
Gilbert Innes (1751-1832) was deputy governor of the Royal Bank in Edinburgh. The Bank's entanglements in slavery-linked wealth, as with the Bank of Scotland, are well known: Stephen Mullen highlights Innes's personal role at the Royal Bank in receiving 'information about the "good credit" of potential customers in the city of Glasgow', namely Glasgow's 'sugar aristocracy'. ⁴⁵²				
James Mansfield, Esq	Banker		£31 10s	5 December 1789
This would appear to be a descendant of James Mansfield, founder of the bank later known as Mansfield, Ramsay and Co. ⁴⁵³ See the entry for James Stirling on this bank's Caribbean connections.				
William Ramsay, Esq	Banker		£31 10s	5 December 1789
It is unclear whether this is the same William Ramsay of Barnton (1732-1805), partner in Mansfield, Ramsay and Co., mentioned above. ⁴⁵⁴ See the entry for James Stirling on this bank's Caribbean connections.				
Andrew Bonar, Esq	Banker		£31 10s	5 December 1789
Likely an early partner of the bank Ramsays, Bonars & Co., a forerunner of Mansfield, Ramsay and Co., mentioned above. ⁴⁵⁵ See the entry for James Stirling on this bank's Caribbean connections.				
Alexander Bonar, Esq	Banker		£31 10s	5 December 1789
Likely an early partner of the bank Ramsays, Bonars & Co., a forerunner of Mansfield, Ramsay and Co., mentioned above. ⁴⁵⁶ See the entry for James Stirling on this bank's Caribbean connections.				
William Simpson, Esq	Banker		£31 10s	5 December 1789
Likely William Simpson (1742-1808), cashier of the Royal Bank of Scotland. As well as his salary from the bank, which as mentioned in the entry on Gilbert Innes (who was Simpson's cousin), Simpson married twice to daughters of 'Tobacco Lords': Anna Ingram, 'daughter of the Glasgow merchant Archibald Ingram', in 1773, and later (after Simpson's subscription to Old College), Isabella Glassford, daughter of the tobacco merchant John Glassford. ⁴⁵⁷				
Josiah Wedgewood junior	London; Greek Street	for himself and Brothers	£31 10s	1 July 1790
This is likely Josiah Wedgewood (1769-1843), whose father, the English potter Josiah Wedgwood (1730-1795) designed the famous 'Am I Not a Man and a Brother?' anti-slavery medallion. Nuancing simplistic narratives of the Wedgwood family as abolitionists, recent research by Georgia Haseldine and				

⁴⁵² Mullen, *The Glasgow Sugar Aristocracy*, 81.

⁴⁵³ Zella Ashford, 'From James Mansfield to Ramsays, Bonar & Company: Some Notes on the Story of a Private Bank', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* 6 (2005): 25-39, especially 27.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁷ See 'William Simpson', NatWest Group Heritage Hub, <https://www.natwestgroup.com/heritage/people/william-simpson.html>.

Hannah Smith, respectively, has begun to unpack the Wedgewood family's business connections to both Atlantic and Asian trades, particularly their production of 'covetable, luxury ceramics from which British buyers consumed colonial products such as slave-grown sugar, some of which were decorated with images of Africans'. ⁴⁵⁸				
James Vere	London	Banker	£31 10s	20 October 1791
Described in the subscription record solely as a 'banker', this is likely the James Vere whose will, dated 11 April 1822, describes him as both a banker and 'late Silk Merchant of Lombard Street, City of London'. ⁴⁵⁹ NatWest's archives hold records of the various banks Vere was partnered in, and a copy of James Vere & Co.'s silk trade letterbook, dated 1825, which may detail more information on the origin of the silk. ⁴⁶⁰ James Vere & Co. was a consignee of a 'Certificate of Several Silk Manufacturers and Traders' in London, dated 29 March 1755, concerning 'the goodness and color of a parcel of Georgia raw silk, given to the Board of Trade by Benjamin Martyn, agent for Georgia'. The authors praised the Georgia silk and noted that such product was 'greatly wanted & what would tend to the improvement of our Silk manufacture's could 20 or 30 thousand Weight be made annually'. ⁴⁶¹ It is not clear whether Vere's company imported any of the tested Georgia silk, though it would seem possible. The crop had initially been linked to the early desire amongst colonists to make Georgia a slavery-free colony, the so-called 'Georgia experiment' from 1732 to 1750. With slavery finally made legal in Georgia in 1750, however, it is possible that the colony's silk, potentially bought by Vere on or after 1755, had been cultivated by enslaved labourers. ⁴⁶²				
Samuel Anderson, Esq		Banker	£26 5s	5 December 1789
Likely 'Samuel Anderson, Esq. of Rowchester and Moredun' an Edinburgh banker who died in 1821. An obituary identified Anderson as once a partner in Sir William Forbes and Co. ⁴⁶³ See entries for Sir John Hunter-Blair and William Forbes for more detail on this particular bank's connections to Caribbean wealth.				
Sir John Whitfoord, Bart			£26 5s	5 March 1790
Around 1784, Alexander 'Sandy' Bell returned from Jamaica to retire in Ayrshire, bringing with him a 'native of that far distant country – a real, live black boy from the Indies'. Though described in a later source as a 'servant', this individual was almost certainly enslaved person when he left the Caribbean. At that time, however, holding an individual in slavery within Scotland was illegal because of the landmark <i>Knight v Wedderburn</i> case (1778). The status of this individual once they arrived on Scottish soil would, legally speaking, have been as a 'free' person. At some point in 1784, Bell 'made a present' of the 'boy' – language that strongly indicates the individual's lack of freedom in the matter – to Sir John Whitfoord, 3 rd Baronet (c. 1743-1803),				

⁴⁵⁸ Georgia Haseldine, 'Radical Objects: Josiah Wedgwood's anti-slavery medallion', *History Workshop*, 2022, <https://www.historyworkshop.org.uk/slavery/radical-objects-wedgwoods-anti-slavery-medallion/>. Hannah Smith is conducting research on the Wedgewoods' colonial links as part of her PhD dissertation at Keele University.

⁴⁵⁹ 'Will of James Vere, Banker, late Silk Merchant of Lombard Street, City of London', PROB 11/1656/71, NA.

⁴⁶⁰ 'Sapte, Muspratt, Banbury, Nix & Co.', Natwest Group, Heritage Hub, <https://www.natwestgroup.com/heritage/companies/sapte-muspratt-banbury-nix-and-co.html>.

⁴⁶¹ 'Certificate of Several Silk Manufacturers and Traders, Mar. 29, 1755, London, received and read Apr. 10, 1755, C.O. 5/644, A. 52, attesting to the goodness and color of a parcel of Georgia raw silk, given to the Board of Trade by Benjamin Martyn, agent for Georgia.', in Kenneth Coleman, ed., *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia: Volume 27: Original Papers of Governor John Reynolds, 1754-1756* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1977), 43-44.

⁴⁶² Katherine Johnston, *The Nature of Slavery: Environment and Plantation Labor in the Anglo-Atlantic World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2023), 45-74; Mart A. Stewart, *What Nature Suffers to Groe: Life, Labor, and Landscape on the Georgia Coast, 1680-1920* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 2022), 31-34.

⁴⁶³ *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol. 9 (April-August 1821), 123.

of Ballochmyle in Ayrshire. ⁴⁶⁴ Whitefoord subsequently paid for the ‘boy’'s education in the school of the Mauchline Kirk and he was catechized locally, aged seventeen. The event saw the church crowded out by curious locals, including potentially Robert Burns and his brothers. The baptismal record, dated 5 September 1784 described the individual, newly named John Cartwright, as a ‘Black boy servant to Sir John Whitefoord of Whitefoorde’. ⁴⁶⁵ Whitefoord also indirectly benefited from East India wealth: following the Ayr Bank crash, Whitefoord sold his family’s Ballochmyle property to Claude Alexander of Southbar (1752-1809), who had previously been paymaster-general for the EIC in Bengal. ⁴⁶⁶				
Mess. Bells and Rannie		Wine merchants	£25	5 March 1790
Likely a firm of wine merchants of the same name based in Quality Street, Leith. The firm is known to have sold Jamaican rum in 1763 had an interest with other merchants in Leith, Edinburgh and Glasgow in a vessel that sailed from Britain to Kingston, Jamaica. ⁴⁶⁷				
Rear-Admiral Duncan		[Navy]	£21	12 December 1789
Likely Adam Duncan, later Viscount Duncan (1731-1804), a Dundee-raised naval officer who served as lieutenant on British naval ships in North America over 1755-56 and took part in Britain’s capture of Havana in 1762, and in Jamaica until the end of the Seven Years’ War. His health was ‘affected by his service in the West Indies and for the next three years he spent much time at Bath and Cheltenham’. ⁴⁶⁸ He returned across the Atlantic to fight in the American War of Independence.				
General Alexander Leslie		[Army general]	£21	5 December 1790
Possibly Major General Alexander Leslie (1731–1794), born in England to the Scottish aristocrat Alexander Leslie, 5 th Earl of Leven, the younger Alexander served in the British Army during the American War of Independence. In a much-cited letter from 1781, Leslie wrote to Lord Cornwallis that ‘700 Negroes are come down the River in the Small Pox - it will ruin our Market, which was bad enough before. I shall distribute them about the Rebell Plantations’. ⁴⁶⁹ Interpretations of this letter – which at face value suggests Leslie’s intention to use fleeing, small pox-infected people of African descent as biological weapons against American forces – have been subject such to much debate among historians. ⁴⁷⁰ Later, in 1797, Leslie became a trustee of the estate of the enslaver George Robinson Hamilton, on behalf of Lady Mary Walker (Leslie’s sister), to whom Hamilton bequeathed his property and seemingly enslaved people in Jamaica. ⁴⁷¹				
James Gordon, Esq		Member of Parliament for Stockbridge	£21	5 December 1790

⁴⁶⁴ *Ardrossan and Saltcoats Herald*, 31 July 1858, 2. This extract was quoted in John Strawhorn, *Mauchline Memories of Robert Burns* (Darvel, Ayrshire: AANHS, 1985), 255.

⁴⁶⁵ Old Parish Register, Mauchline, Births, 604/20, p. 24, NRS.

⁴⁶⁶ For more this and the case of John Cartwright, see Clark McGinn, ‘Robert Burns’s Black Neighbours in Ayrshire’, *Burns Chronicle* 133, no. 1 (2024): 1–18.

⁴⁶⁷ *Caledonian Mercury*, 30 November 1756, 4; 19 May 1762, 4; 23 April 1763, 4.

⁴⁶⁸ P. K. Crimmin, ‘Duncan, Adam, Viscount Duncan (1731–1804)’, *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8211>.

⁴⁶⁹ Alexander Leslie to Lord Cornwallis, June 27, July 13, 1781, Public Record Office, 30/11/6, f. 276, 281, Alderman Library, University of Virginia/n

⁴⁷⁰ Elizabeth A. Fenn, *Pox Americana: The Great Smallpox Epidemic Of 1775-82* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001), 132; Philip Ranlet, ‘The British, Slaves, and Smallpox in Revolutionary Virginia’, *The Journal of Negro History* 84, no.3 (1999): 217-226.

⁴⁷¹ ‘George Robinson Hamilton’, LBS database, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146644843.

An MP for Stockbridge at the time of his subscription, James Gordon (1758-1822) was the son of James Brebner Gordon, Chief Justice of Antigua. The younger Gordon inherited estates and enslaved people in Antigua and St Vincent from his great-uncle, also James Gordon. ⁴⁷²				
Caleb Whitefoord, Esq	London	Wine merchant	£21	1 July 1790
Remembered for his friendship with Benjamin Franklin and role as a diplomat in France, Caleb Whitefoord (1734-1810) was a wine merchant who entered a business with Thomas Brown on Craven Street (where Whitefoord first met Franklin). It appears the pair entered into the West India alcohol trade: in 1769 ‘B. Keith’ (Sir Basil Keith, Governor of Jamaica) wrote to Caleb concerning ‘some right Jamaica Stingo [a strong ale] but you must pay the duty’. ⁴⁷³ Whitefoord and Brown, furthermore, sold claret, seemingly their main trade, to partners in South Asia. ⁴⁷⁴				
James Christie	Durie, of		£21	21 August 1790
James Christie (c.1738-1803) left Scotland as a young man for North America where he worked in a mercantile house in Baltimore established by his relatives, James Christie of Stirling and Robert Christie of Glasgow. His support for the Royalist cause caused him to be expelled from the country. He first left to become commissioner-general in the Leeward Islands, joining his relative Colonel Gabriel Christie. He then returned to Britain, where he purchased the property of Durie, in the parish of Scoonie, Fife, in 1786. ⁴⁷⁵				
Alexander Blair	Portland Place, London		£21	9 June 1791
Alexander Blair (1737–c.1815/1816) of Portland Place, London, is described in the <i>ODNB</i> entry for his daughter, Mary Margaret Busk (née Blair), as a nonconformist soap manufacturer and timber merchant from Birmingham. ⁴⁷⁶ Researchers at the <i>Equiano’s World</i> project – which looks at the world of the formerly enslaved Gustavus Vassa (Olaudah Equiano), the author of an influential narrative of his enslavement – identify Blair as a co-investor in Dr Charles Irving’s 1776 scheme to establish a castor oil and cotton plantation on Britain’s Mosquito shore territory. The pair co-owned the <i>Morning Star</i> ship, which transported captive Africans to the plantation. ⁴⁷⁷ Gustavus Vassa (Equiano) was hired as an overseer for the plantation. The investment in castor oil links with Blair’s interests in soap manufacturing back in Britain: he and James Keir purchased the Tipton Chemical Works in 1778.				
Major General Thomas Stirling		41st Regiment [of Foot]	£21	22 March 1792
Sir Thomas Stirling, of Strowan, 5th Baronet (1733-1808) served as Captain of the 42nd Highlanders (the Black Watch) in several military conquests and victories in North America, including against Indigenous forces in Canada (1758-9), and in Martinique (1759), Havana (1762), and Illinois (1763) gaining prize money for his contributions. He returned to fight in the American War of Independence. ⁴⁷⁸ In his will, dated 1808, he left an estate of Ardoch in St				

⁴⁷² ‘James Gordon’, LBS database, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/1271272987.

⁴⁷³ B. Keith to Messrs Brown and Whitefoord, 13 September 1769, in W. A. S. Hewins, ed., *The Whitefoord Papers: Being the Correspondence and Other Manuscripts of Colonel Charles Whitefoord and Caleb Whiteford, from 1739 to 1810* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898), 146.

⁴⁷⁴ *Calcutta Gazette*, 9 July 1789, 2.

⁴⁷⁵ Bernard Burke, *A genealogical and heraldic history of the landed gentry of Great Britain & Ireland*, Vol. 1, 6th edition (London: Harrison 1879), 311; Charles Rogers, *Genealogical Memoirs of the Scottish House of Christie* (London: Printed for the Royal Historical Society, 1878), 30-35.

⁴⁷⁶ D. E. Latané, Jr., ‘Busk [née Blair], Mary Margaret (1779-1863)’, *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/45517>.

⁴⁷⁷ See ‘Alexander Blair’, *Equiano’s World*, <https://equianosworld.org/associates-scientific.php?id=2>

⁴⁷⁸ E. M. Lloyd, revised by Roger T. Stearn, ‘Stirling, Sir Thomas, of Strowan, fifth baronet (1733–1808)’, *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/26535>

Ann, Jamaica, to his trust for Thomas Graham, his nephew and captain of the <i>Windham</i> (an East Indiaman). ⁴⁷⁹ At the time of abolition the estate included ninety-four enslaved people. ⁴⁸⁰				
Dr William Mackinen Fraser		[doctor]	£21	22 August 1793
William Mackinen (or Mackinnon Fraser) (d. 1807) was born in Antigua and completed his MD at Edinburgh in 1775. He became a Licentiate of London's Royal College of Physicians in 1785, and practised medicine in Southampton, Bath and London, eventually acting as Physician Extraordinary to the future King George IV. The Mackinnon side of William's family had been established in Antigua since 1710, when Dr Daniel Mackinnon (William's great-grandfather) acted as a member of the island's legislature. William evidently followed a family tradition by studying medicine: William's father was Thomas Fraser, MD, of Antigua. ⁴⁸¹ The 'Mackinnon' estate in Antigua remained in the hands of the family at least until the time of abolition, when it included 276 enslaved people. ⁴⁸²				
Francis Rigby Brodbelt junior	Edinburgh	student of medicine in Edinburgh	£21	13 October 1791
Francis Rigby Brodbelt Jr (later Stallard Penoyre) (1771–1827) was the son of a colonial subscriber, Francis Rigby Brodbelt Sr, mentioned above, and had travelled from Jamaica to study medicine at Edinburgh, where he was based at the time of his subscription. ⁴⁸³				
Mess. Ramsay, Williamson, and Co.		Merchants	£10 10s	5 March 1790
A firm by this name operated in Leith in the 1780s and 1790s, selling Muscovado sugar and rum. ⁴⁸⁴ A 1794 advertisement for a sale of sugar and rum from the firm's Leith premises noted that said goods had come via the Jamaican merchant John Fisher on the ship the <i>Fortune</i> . ⁴⁸⁵				
Andrew Hunter	Leith	merchant	£5 5s	5 March 1790
A Leith merchant by the name of Andrew Hunter traded with Thomas Smith Jr as Hunter and Smith. A surviving letterbook for the firm from the 1770s shows that its global trade focused largely on Baltic states though it also 'sent as adventure' wine and barley to Jamaica. ⁴⁸⁶				
Dr William Wright		Physician	£5	12 December 1789

⁴⁷⁹ 'Will of General, Sir Thomas Stirling, Colonel of the Forty First Regiment of Foot of Monzievaird and Strowan', 12 October 1808, PROB 11/1487/70,

⁴⁸⁰ 'General Sir Thomas Stirling 5th Bart.', LBS database, <https://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146642171>.

⁴⁸¹ Frances Lanaghan Flanigan, *Antigua and the Antiguan: A Full Account of The Colony and its Inhabitants from the Time of the Caribs to the Present Day, Interspersed with Anecdotes and Legends. Also, An Impartial View of Slavery and the Free Labour System; The Statistics of the Island, And Biological Notices of the Principal Families* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1844), 342–43.

⁴⁸² 'Mackinnon's estate', LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/324>

⁴⁸³ 'Francis Rigby Brodbelt Stallard Penoyre formerly Brodbelt', LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146638591>

⁴⁸⁴ *Caledonian Mercury*, 21 September 1782, 1.

⁴⁸⁵ *Caledonian mercury*, 22 February 1794, 1.

⁴⁸⁶ Letter books, Alexander Hunter, merchant, Leith, and Hunter and Smith, merchants, Leith, 1774–1786, CS96/1986 and CS96/2007, CS96/2008, NRS.

The Perthshire-born William Wright (1735-1819) lived and practiced medicine in Jamaica from 1764-1777, where he worked on sugar plantations and owned an estate and enslaved people 150 miles from Kingston. After moving back and forth between Britain and Jamaica, Wright returned to Britain in 1785. Several historians have studied Wright's observations of, and experimentations on, enslaved people in Jamaica as part of his medical practice. ⁴⁸⁷				
Dr James Makittrick Adair, Sen.		Doctor	£5 5s	8 December 1792
James Makittrick Adair (1738-1801) (MD, Edinburgh, 1766), lived and practiced medicine in Antigua and wrote a 1790 tract opposing the abolition of the 'slave trade'. ⁴⁸⁸ Makittrick Adair's will, proved 7 December 1801, included debts owed to him by several West India merchants. ⁴⁸⁹				
Dr James Barter Mackittrick Adair, jun.		Doctor	£5 5s	8 December 1792
Dr James Barter Mackittrick Adair junior (MD, Edinburgh, 1789) was the son of Dr James Makittrick Adair, Sen., mentioned above, who followed into his father's profession. The younger Adair became a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh in 1793. ⁴⁹⁰ Surviving correspondence between the younger Adair and Thomas Jefferson suggests the former made plans in the 1790s to travel to Virginia, seemingly relating to agricultural business interests. ⁴⁹¹				
		TOTAL	£2,323 7s 11d	

2d. Britain-based subscribers to Old College with links to colonialism

NAME(S)	PLACE	PROFESSION OR OTHER INFORMATION	AMOUNT	DATE
David Scott, Esq.	Dunninald, of		£105	12 December 1789
After first being educated St Andrews, the Angus-born David Scott (1746-1805) moved to India, at first not with the EIC but instead as a private trader. He founded the agency house Scott, Tate, and Adamson in Bombay. In the 1770s he was among those who helped to finance greater control of Bombay's ports and territory from local forces through military expansion, a scheme that was ultimately unsuccessful. Bombay's government was indebted to Scott				

⁴⁸⁷ Tim Lockley, *Military Medicine and the Making of Race: Life and Death in the West India Regiments, 1795–1874* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 34; Sasha Turner, *Contested Bodies: Pregnancy, Childrearing, and Slavery in Jamaica* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), 65; Londa Schiebinger, *Secret Cures of Slaves: People, Plants, and Medicine in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2017), 65–91.

⁴⁸⁸ W. P. Courtney, 'Adair, James Makittrick (1728–1801)', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/81>; James Makittrick Adair, *Unanswerable Arguments against the Abolition of the Slave Trade* (London: J.P. Bateman, 1790).

⁴⁸⁹ 'Will of James Makithrick [sic] Adair, Doctor of Physic of Newton upon Air', PROB 11/1366/153, NA.

⁴⁹⁰ *Historical sketch and laws of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh from its institution to August 1882* (Edinburgh: Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh), 6.

⁴⁹¹ Thomas Jefferson to James B. M. Adair, 1 September 1793, Founder Online, National Archives (USA), <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-27-02-0001>.

to the sum of £200,000. ⁴⁹² Scott returned to London in 1786, where he continued his Bombay business. In 1788, with the help of Henry Dundas, then head of the India Board of Control, Scott became a director of the EIC. ⁴⁹³				
Bertram, Gardner & Co.		Bankers	£105	5 December 1789
The business records of James Brown & Co. Ltd, papermakers in Esk Mills, Penicuik, suggest that that firm traces its history to a 1776 partnership between Peter Brotherston and Bertram, Gardner & Co. in a cotton-spinning interest in Penicuik (with paper manufacturing added around 1792). The cotton used in the business, which closed around 1810, likely came from colonial sources, though further research is required to ascertain an exact place of origin. ⁴⁹⁴				
F. H. McKenzie	Seaforth, of		£100	21 August 1790
Likely Francis Humberston Mackenzie, 1 st Baron Seaforth. Mackenzie served as an MP for the County of Ross and later raised regiments in the British Army. In 1787 and on other occasions over the next decade he raised Highland Regiments for service in India. Known from 1797 onwards as Lord Seaforth, Mackenzie went on (after his subscription) to become an owner of enslaved people in Berbice and Governor of Barbados from 1800-1806, where he instigated reforms relating to the laws to ‘ameliorate’ the conditions of enslaved people. ⁴⁹⁵				
Lord Napier			£50	5 December 1789
Francis Napier, 8 th Lord Napier of Merchistoun (1758–1823) joined the British army in the 1770s, serving in Canada under General Burgoyne and then in the American War of Independence. ⁴⁹⁶ Further details on Napier’s time in North America – including his capture by American forces – and in Ireland may be gleaned from his surviving correspondence, held by the University of Manchester Library. ⁴⁹⁷ As Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, Napier laid the foundation stone for Old College, and was awarded the honorary degree of LL.D. ⁴⁹⁸				
Lieut. Colonel Dugald Campbell	George Street, Edinburgh		£21	5 December 1789
It seems likely that this is Dugald Campbell (c.1742-1809) of Auchinbreck, who entered the EIC service in 1766. By the 1790s he had reached rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and he served mostly in Madras. ⁴⁹⁹				
TOTAL			£381	

⁴⁹² Pamela Nightingale, ‘Scott, David (1746–1805), merchant and director of the East India Company’, *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/63537>.

⁴⁹³ For Scott’s correspondence concerning Indian affairs, see Cyril Henry Philip, ed., *The Correspondence of David Scott, Director and Chairman of the East India Company, Relating to Indian Affairs, 1787-1805* (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1951).

⁴⁹⁴ James Brown & Co Ltd, Papermakers, Esk Mills, Penicuik, GD1/575, Miscellaneous small collections of family, business and other papers, NRS.

⁴⁹⁵ H. M. Chichester and Jonathan Spain, ‘Mackenzie, Francis Humberston, Baron Seaforth and Mackenzie of Kintail (1754–1815), army officer and colonial governor’, *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14126>. For a more recent study of Lord Seaforth, see Finlay McKichan, *Lord Seaforth Highland Landowner, Caribbean Governor* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018).

⁴⁹⁶ Robert Clyde, ‘Napier, Francis, eighth Lord Napier of Merchistoun’, *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19751>.

⁴⁹⁷ ‘Correspondence from Francis Napier, 8th Lord Napier’, GB 133 HAM/1/20, University of Manchester Library.

⁴⁹⁸ *Scots Magazine* 51 (November 1789): 524.

⁴⁹⁹ Major Sir Duncan Campbell, *Records of Clan Campbell in the Military Service of the Honourable East India Company, 1600-1858* (London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1925), 100-102.

2e. USA-based subscribers to Old College

NAME(S)	PLACE	PROFESSION OR OTHER INFORMATION	AMOUNT	DATE
Colonel Horatio Sharp	Maryland, USA	late Governor of Maryland	£20	21 March 1791
<p>Horatio Sharp (1718-1790) was born in Hull and served in the British military against the Jacobites in 1745 and later in the West Indies. Around 1753 he became British colonial governor of Maryland, holding the post until 1773. A 1912 biography paints Sharp as a ‘benevolent’ enslaver though more research is required of the scale of his slaveholding. During the period 1760-65 Sharp owned an estate on the shores of Chesapeake Bay, eight miles from Annapolis, where he built a country house (Whitehall) and converted a mill into a loom and spinning factory which woven clothes for enslaved labourers described by Sharp as ‘my people’. A later hagiographic biography described how ‘no kinder master could be found, and his large retinue of negro slaves and indentured white servants were supremely happy’.⁵⁰⁰ Sharp’s subscription appears to have only come to the UoE after his death.</p>				
Colin McGregor	New York, USA	Merchant	£5	13 October 1791
<p>Colin McGregor (d. 1801) (sometimes known as ‘Coll’ McGregor/Macgregor) was a Scottish merchant and land speculator New York. He came to the country in 1781 becoming a merchant in the city of New York.⁵⁰¹ Business dealings, documented in a series of surviving letterbooks and other business records dated 1782-1794, including trade with firms in Nova Scotia, Britain and elsewhere, including North Carolina, Virginia (where McGregor bought tobacco) and St Lucia (where he bought sugar).⁵⁰²</p>				
TOTAL			£25	

⁵⁰⁰ Matilda Ridout Edgar, *A Colonial Governor in Maryland, Horatio Sharpe and His Time, 1753-1773* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1912), 188-89.

⁵⁰¹ For a biography of McGregor, see William M. MacBean, *Biographical Register of Saint Andrew's Society of the State of New York ...* (New York: Saint Andrew’s Society of the State of New York, 1922), 211-12.

⁵⁰² Some of these records have been digitised: Collin MacGregor letterbooks, 1782-1794, MssCol 3517, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library, New York. The reference to St Lucian sugar comes from MacBean, *Biographical Register*, 212, though has not been verified with a primary source.

Appendix 3: Old Medical School subscribers

3a. Guyana-based subscribers to Old Medical School

NAME(S)	PLACE	PROFESSION OR OTHER INFORMATION	AMOUNT	DATE(S)
Hon. Allan G. McCalunan	Demerara		£20	1875
R. W. Inlach	Demerara	Justice of the Peace	£20	1875
Reverend Thomas Slater	Demerara		£20	1875
Hon. William Russell	Demerara		£20	1875
W. H. Campbell	Demerara		£10	1874
Alexander Reid	Demerara		£5	1876
Andrew Picken	Demerara		£5	1875
Dr Dickson	Demerara		£5	1876
Dr F. H. Anderson	Demerara	Doctor	£5	1876
Dr Gordon	Demerara	Doctor	£5	1876
Dr Pereira	Demerara	Doctor	£5	1876
J H Glennie	Demerara		£5	1876
Rev Fergus Jardine	Demerara	Reverend	£5	1875
Rev James Huskie	Demerara	Reverend	£5	1875
Rev John Dalgleish	Demerara	Reverend	£5	1876
Reverend John McGuffie	Demerara	Reverend	£5	1875
Dr J. P. Watt	Demerara	Doctor	£3	1876
Dr Klein	Demerara	Doctor	£3	1876
A. B. Trotter	Demerara		£2	1876
Alex Duff	Demerara		£2	1876
David Carruthers	Demerara		£2	1876
David Dougal	Demerara		£2	1876
Donald Currie	Demerara		£2	1876

Dr Brebner	Demerara	Doctor	£2	1876
Dr Cameron	Demerara	Doctor	£2	1876
Dr Dalton	Demerara	Doctor	£2	1876
Dr Donald	Demerara	Doctor	£2	1876
Dr Herbert	Demerara	Doctor	£2	1876
Dr Shannon	Demerara	Doctor	£2	1876
H. R. Greig	Demerara; Hamburgh		£2	1876
J. Thomson	Demerara		£2	1876
James Craigen	Demerara		£2	1876
James R. Porter	Demerara		£2	1876
James Shaw	Demerara		£2	1876
John Drysdale	Demerara		£2	1876
John S. Gordon	Demerara		£2	1876
Rev William Harper	Demerara	Reverend	£2	1876
W. B. Crossley	Demerara		£2	1876
W. B. Jamieson	Demerara		£2	1876
William Cragen	Demerara		£2	1874
William Gray	Demerara		£2	1876
Andrew Bell Irving	Demerara		£1	1876
C. H. Stuart	Demerara		£1	1876
Charles Macarthur	Demerara		£1	1876
D. Gibson	Demerara		£1	1876
Dr Hachet	Demerara	Doctor	£1	1876
Dr Leary	Demerara	Doctor	£1	1876
Dr Pollard	Berbice	Doctor	£1	1876
Dr Veendam	Demerara	Doctor	£1	1876
J. B. Simpson	Demerara		£1	1876
J. D. Fraser	Demerara		£1	1876
J. G. R. Tulloch	Demerara		£1	1876
J. P.	Demerara		£1	1876

James Gray	Demerara		£1	1876
John D. Smith	Demerara		£1	1876
John Menzies	Demerara		£1	1876
S. B. Irshinan	Demerara		£1	1876
T. W. Wintrup	Demerara		£1	1876
Tho[m]as Woodman	Demerara		£1	1876
Thomas Low	Demerara		£1	1876
W. J. Bridges	Demerara		£1	1876
William Leslie	Demerara		£1	1876
TOTAL			£223	

3b. India-based subscribers to the Old Medical School

NAME(S)	PLACE	PROFESSION OR OTHER INFORMATION	AMOUNT	DATE(S)
Dr Alexander Christison	Agra	Civil Surgeon	£70	1876-1881
John Anderson	Calcutta	MD; Curator of Imperial Museum and Professor of Comparative Anatomy, Medical College in Calcutta	£50	1883
Thomas Key	Madras	surgeon in the Madras Army	£50	1874-1878
Murray Thomson	Roorkee	MD	£11	1875
D. D. Cunningham	Calcutta	MD	£10	1875
J. E. Charles	Calcutta	MD	£10	1874
R. H. Davidson	Bombay	Deputy Inspector of Hospitals	£10	1874
Hon. Sir W. Muir	Calcutta	Knight Commander, member of Council	£9	1875
J. B. Brown	Calcutta	CB; Surgeon General	£9	1875
J. Elliot	Calcutta	MD	£9	1874
J. M Cunningham	[India]	MD; Sanitary Commissioner with Government of India	£9	1875
R. Muir	Calcutta	MD	£9	1875

C. H. Aitchison	Calcutta		£4	1875
F. G. Nicholson	Calcutta	MD	£4	1875
K. McLeod	Calcutta	MD	£4	1875
Major General Bourie	Calcutta	Official Inspector General of Prisons	£4	1875
S. C. Mackenzie	Calcutta	MD	£4	1875
J. Hope Finlay	Madras		£3	1876
A. Shewan	Bombay	Bombay Medical Service	£2	1875
A. Wingate	Bombay	Bombay Medical Service	£2	1875
Col. C. W. Wahab	Bombay	Bombay Medical Service	£1	1874
H. G. Davidson	Bombay	Bombay	£1	1875
Lieut. R. E. G. Davidson	Bombay		£1 16s 3d	1875
Charles G. Ross	Bombay	Bombay Medical Service	£0 17s 1d	1875
TOTAL			£294 2s 10d	

3c. Brazil-based subscribers to the Old Medical School

NAME(S)	PLACE	PROFFESION OR OTHER INFORMATION	AMOUNT	DATE
R. H. Gunning	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; London (second subscription)	MD	£110	1876-1884
Andrew Muir	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil		£5	1876
Colin Mackenzie	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil		£5	1876
Dr Fairbairn	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	Doctor	£5	1876
A. J. Taylor	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil		£3	1876
James G. Taylor	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil		£3	1876
Alex de Castro	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil		£2	1876
Andrew Steele	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil		£2	1876
H. Kemp	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil		£2	1876
John Gordon	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil		£2	1876
P. S. Nicolson	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil		£2	1876

Robert Dunnean	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil		£2	1876
William Hector	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil		£2	1876
Alex J. Wilson	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil		£1	1876
Clements H. Wilmot	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil		£1	1876
George Wilmot	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil		£1	1876
John Crashley	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil		£1	1876
K. M. McNiven	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil		£1	1875
Reverend P. Preston	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	reverend	£1	1874
W. Cassels	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil		£1	1876
W. J. Baird	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil		£1	1876
TOTAL			£155 13s	

3d. Canada-based subscribers to the Old Medical School

NAME(S)	PLACE	SUBSCRIPTION DETAIL	AMOUNT	DATE
‘from Montreal’	Montreal, Canada	collected by William Taylor, MD	£247	1878
‘from Hamilton’	Hamilton, Canada	collected by William Taylor, MD	£38	1878
‘from Ottawa’	Ottawa, Canada	collected by William Taylor, MD	£35	1878
‘from Quebec’	Quebec, Canada	collected by William Taylor, MD	£33	1878
A. D. Ferrier	Canada	‘Late of Canada’	£1	1878
TOTAL			£343 8s	

3e. East and Southeast Asia-based subscribers to the Old Medical School

NAME(S)	PLACE	AMOUNT	DATE
D. H. Marshall	Japan	£10	1878
Major McNair	Singapore	£2 2s	1876
H. R. Bruce	Hong Kong	£2 0s 3d	1876
Messrs J. Pryce & Co.	Batavia [Dutch East Indies]	£2	1878

J. L. Anderson	Hong Kong	£1 0s 2d	1876
L. Anderson	Hong Kong	£1 0s 2d	1876
J. Bruce	Hong Kong	£1 0s 2d	1876
A. Corner	Hong Kong	£1 0s 2d	1876
J. J. Harkness	Hong Kong	£1 0s 2d	1876
J. Marson	Hong Kong	£1 0s 2d	1876
Dr Manson	Hong Kong	£1 0s 2d	1876
D. A. Trotter	Hong Kong	£1 0s 2d	1876
TOTAL		£24 3s 7d	

3f. Britain-based subscribers to Old Medical School with links to slavery

NAME(S)	PLACE	AMOUNT	DATE
Sir David Baxter		£18,000	1873-74
For Sir David's Baxter's links to slavery via the Atlantic linen trade, see Baxter Mathematical and Philosophical Scholarships (1863) . David Baxter's 1872 will left £20,000 (of which legacy duty was then taken off) to the UoE for 'the extension of the Buildings of that University, and if necessary in acquiring ground therefor'. ⁵⁰³ The UoE's Subcommittee had been concerned that the fundraising in Dundee would be difficult given plans to build a college there around the same time. On 8 April 1874 the UoE's Subcommittee sent a deputation to Dundee to 'see whether fundraising there is worthwhile considering money for College underway there'. ⁵⁰⁴ Evidently, the Baxter family's simultaneous investment in higher education in Dundee (what later became the University of Dundee) did not deter David Baxter from investing in the UoE.			
Sir William Stirling Maxwell, Bart		£1,000	1872-1875
Sir William Stirling Maxwell, 9th Baronet (1818-1878), was the son of Archibald Stirling, 8th Baronet, who owned hundreds of enslaved people in Jamaica, on the Hampden estate in St James, Frontier, in St Mary, Kerr or Keir Settlement in Trelawney, and Grange Hill in Westmoreland. ⁵⁰⁵ William was the principal heir to his father's wealth. William's half-brother, Edward Stirling, whose mother was an enslaved Black woman in Jamaica, used a			

⁵⁰³ For Baxter's will, see SC20/50/44, NRS.

⁵⁰⁴ Subcommittee for the University Buildings Extension Scheme, Minute Book, 8 April 1874, EUA IN1/COM/62, EUL.

⁵⁰⁵ 'Archibald Stirling the younger', LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/18902>.

portion of his father's compensation money following the abolition of slavery to fund his settler colonial activities in South Australia. ⁵⁰⁶ William appears to have sold the unprofitable Jamaican estates in the 1850s. ⁵⁰⁷ He was elected Chancellor of the University of Glasgow in 1875.			
David Anderson	Moredun, of	£600	1873-1877
David Anderson (c.1798-1888) was a leading partner in the banking house Sir William Forbes, James Hunter and Company. ⁵⁰⁸ With his co-partners Anderson was awarded a share of the compensation for a claim (total: £209 3s 0d) in Manchester, Jamaica, as judgement creditors of Helen Watt, 'gentlewoman of Manchester'. ⁵⁰⁹ The Forbes bank in the late eighteenth century was involved as a creditor on slavery estates in Jamaica and mortgaged human property in Tobago. ⁵¹⁰			
T. R. Buchanan, MP		£500	1883-1884
Thomas Buchanan (1846-1911) was a Liberal MP in Edinburgh and later Aberdeenshire. He later served as Under-Secretary of State for India under Asquith's government. Thomas's father, John Buchanan, inherited much of his own father's fortune in 1844. James Buchanan of Dowanhill (1756-1844) (i.e. Thomas's grandfather) was a West India merchant and in 1822 was the part-owner of nine enslaved people in the Bahamas. John Buchanan's wealth (£371,259) passed onto to his sons, including Thomas, on his death in 1877. John Buchanan endowed funds to establish the Dowanhill Prizes at the University of Glasgow. ⁵¹¹			
Messrs J. P. Coats	Paisley	£450	1874-1885
J. P. Coats (James & Peter Coats) was a cotton and textile company formally founded in Paisley in 1830. ⁵¹² In fifty years it became the largest cotton manufacturing business in the UK. ⁵¹³ In addition to the Paisley mills, J. & P. Coats built mills in the USA at Pawtucket, Rhode Island State, between 1870 and 1883. ⁵¹⁴ As the University of Glasgow's report notes, we can assert with almost certainty that some of the raw cotton that the firm relied upon was produced through the labour of enslaved people. ⁵¹⁵			
Merchant Company of Edinburgh	Edinburgh	£315	1877-1884

⁵⁰⁶ The will is referred to in Beth M. Robertson, 'Edward Stirling: Embodiment and beneficiary of slave-ownership', *Australian Journal of Biography and History*, no. 6 (2022): 103-24.

⁵⁰⁷ See 'Slavery and Glasgow: Slave Owners', Scottish Archive Network exhibition, https://www.scan.org.uk/exhibitions/blackhistory/blackhistory_2.htm.

⁵⁰⁸ A. Campbell Swinton, 'David Anderson of Moredun', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh* 14 (1888): 28.

⁵⁰⁹ 'David Anderson', LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/42580>.

⁵¹⁰ 'Sir Wm Forbes Bart, James Hunter & Co.', LBS databased, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/firm/view/-1086508977>.

⁵¹¹ 'Will of James Buchanan, Merchant in Glasgow and Partner of Dennistoun Buchanan and Company of Dowanhill', PROB 11/1999/349, National Archives; NRS, SC36/48/30, 'Inventory of James Buchanan of Dowanhill', 11 July 1844, p.531; NRS, SC70/1/177, 'Inventory of John Buchanan', 4 March 1876, p.260; NRS, SC70/4/160, 'Settlement of John Buchanan', 4 March 1876, p.67; John Guthrie Smith, *Strathendrick and its inhabitants from early times* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1896), 344-55; Mullen and Newman, *Slavery, Abolition and the University of Glasgow*, 49-51.

⁵¹² Dong-Woon Kim, 'J. & P. Coats as a Multinational before 1914', *Business and Economic History* 26, no. 2 (1997): 531.

⁵¹³ Anthony Cooke, *The Rise and Fall of the Scottish Cotton Industry, 1778-1914: 'The Secret Spring'* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 181.

⁵¹⁴ 'J & P Coats (UK) Ltd', Glasgow School of Art Archives, <https://gsaarchives.net/catalogue/index.php/j-p-coats-uk-ltd>.

⁵¹⁵ Mullen and Newman, *Slavery, Abolition and the University of Glasgow*, 74.

The Merchant Company of Edinburgh was a guild for merchants in the city that acted as a representative to protect its members rights. It is highly likely that many of the merchants were linked to slavery, and the Company itself has recognised this in its Statement on Slavery. As well as connections to enslaved labour, the merchant house benefited from colonial trade relationships throughout the British Empire. ⁵¹⁶			
John MacFie	Edinburgh	£260	1873-1884
John MacFie (b. 1844) was the only son of Robert Andrew MacFie, mentioned below. The family was the second to establish sugar refineries in Greenock around 1808. The family remained in the sugar refining business throughout the nineteenth and into the early twentieth century. ⁵¹⁷ The business extended from Greenock to have branches in Leith, Edinburgh and Liverpool. Before emancipation the company refined sugar produced by enslaved people labouring in Jamaica. ⁵¹⁸ John MacFie managed the Liverpool branch of MacFie & Sons, which opened in 1838.			
Lady Baxter	Kilmarnock, of	£200	1875-78
Seemingly Elizabeth Baxter (1801–1882), Sir David Baxter’s wife, whose wealth was entangled in her husband’s linen business (see above entry).			
John Gordon of Cluny		£200	1874
John Gordon of Cluny (d.1878) was the illegitimate son of John Gordon, 4 th of Cluny, who received a compensation payment of £12,482 for the 653 people he owned/held in slavery in Tobago on his Bacolet, Trois Rivières and Spey Side plantations. ⁵¹⁹ John Gordon, 4 th of Cluny, devised a system of entails and trusts so that his only surviving child John Gordon, not his legal heir, would receive his large fortune on his death. ⁵²⁰			
Robert A. MacFie	Dreghorn, of	£100	1873
Robert Andrew MacFie (1811-1893) was a sugar refiner and politician, the eldest of the nine children of John MacFie (1783–1852) and brother of John MacFie (mentioned above). Robert attended the UoE. In 1829 he entered his father's business. In parliament as MP for Leith Burghs, he defended sugar refiners against the loss of tariff protection under the French trade treaty of 1860, linking it with their disadvantaged position, relative to Caribbean competitors. ⁵²¹			
David Carnegie	Stronvar, of	£100	1874

⁵¹⁶ ‘Slavery Statement’, Royal Company of Merchants of the City of Edinburgh, <https://www.mcoe.org.uk/legal-policies/slavery-statement/>.

⁵¹⁷ ‘Papers of the MacFie Family, sugar refiners, Greenock and Liverpool’, Archives Hub, <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/archives/71884d4b-2348-3b6a-813a-31c30636a4cc>.

⁵¹⁸ Michael Nix, ‘Silk Gloves and Cast Iron Boilers: A Study of Cargoes from Scotland to Australia, 1820-1824’, *Australasian Historical Archaeology* 23 (2005): 34.

⁵¹⁹ ‘John Gordon 4th of Cluny’, LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/1301318774>.

⁵²⁰ H. Gordon Slade, ‘Cluny Castle, Aberdeenshire’, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 111 (30 November 1982): 462.

⁵²¹ Christine MacLeod, ‘Macfie, Robert Andrew (1811–1893)’, *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17499>.

David Carnegie (1813-1890) made money from brewing and sugar refining in Gothenburg, Sweden. ⁵²² In 1836 he acquired the Lorent sugar refinery and porter brewery in the Klippan area of Gothenburg. ⁵²³ For most of the nineteenth century Sweden imported the majority of its sugar from Brazil, the Caribbean and Asia, where enslaved and unfree labour dominated. It was not until 1870 that Sweden started to produce sugar beet domestically. ⁵²⁴			
Dennistoun Cross and Co	London	£100	1876
Dennistoun Cross and Co. was a cotton-broking business established as part of an interlocking series of partnerships in Glasgow, New Orleans, Liverpool and London. The firm traded with planters in the Antebellum US South. ⁵²⁵			
Right Hon. the Earl of Arlie		£100	1874-1877
David Graham Drummond Ogilvy, 10 th and 5 th Earl of Airlie, (1826–1881) was the eldest son of David Ogilvy, 9 th Earl of Airlie. Through his marriage to Clementina Drummond, David Ogilvy senior became the owner of the Ferry plantation in Jamaica, and fifty-nine enslaved people. He received £1,362 in compensation when Britain abolished slavery. ⁵²⁶ As his oldest son, David Graham likely inherited some of his father's wealth alongside his title when he died in 1849.			
His Grace the Duke of Argyll		£100	1875
George John Douglas Campbell, 8 th Duke of Argyll (1823–1900) was the second and only surviving son of John Campbell, 7 th Duke of Argyll. John Campbell married twice into families with slavery-derived wealth. His second wife Joan Glassell was the daughter of John Glassell, an enslaver and merchant who profited from enslaved labour on Virginia tobacco plantations. Joan brought £50,000 to the marriage with John Campbell. John Campbell's third wife Anne Colquhoun Cunningham was the daughter of John Cunningham who enslaved 170 people in Jamaica. ⁵²⁷ Inveraray Castle, where both John and George Campbell lived, is currently undertaking research into the site's connections with slavery. ⁵²⁸ George John Douglas Campbell contributed to the establishment of the Royal Indian Engineering College, which trained civil engineers for the Indian Public Works Department. From wealth accumulated through the colonisation of Caribbean and enslavement of African people, George Campbell was able to establish himself in a position to take part in Britain's colonial rule of India.			
Sir Alexander Grant, Bart		£100	1874-1877

⁵²² 'Stronvar House', Historic Environment Scotland, <https://portal.historicenvironment.scot/designation/LB4188>; Alexander A. Cormack, *Chalmers Family and Aberdeen Newspapers; Links between Aberdeen and Gothenburg*. (Denside, Peterculter, Aberdeenshire: Aberdeen Journals, 1958), 34.

⁵²³ 'History', Carnegie website, <https://www.carnegie.no/startside/about-carnegie/history/>.

⁵²⁴ Klas Rönnbäck, 'Flexibility and Protectionism. Swedish Trade in Sugar during the Early Modern Era', Working Paper, Göteborg Papers in Economic History, no. 4 (2006): 8,11, <https://gupea.ub.gu.se/handle/2077/2952>.

⁵²⁵ Draper, 'Helping to Make Britain Great', in *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership: Colonial Slavery and the Formation of Victorian Britain*, edited by Catherine Hall, Nicholas Draper, Keith McClelland, Katie Donington and Rachel Lang (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 80.

⁵²⁶ 'David Ogilvy, 4th Earl of Airlie', LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/11814>

⁵²⁷ MacKinnon and Mackillop, *Plantation Slavery and Landownership in the West Highlands and Islands*, 14.

⁵²⁸ 'Addressing our connections with historic slavery', Inveraray Castle Website, https://www.inveraray-castle.com/images/Slavery_and_the_Argylls.pdf, accessed 17 June 2024.

Sir Alexander Grant (1826-1884) was the son of Robert Innes Grant 9th baronet of Dalvey. Robert Innes Grant was awarded compensation for people he enslaved in both British Guiana and Jamaica. In 1835 he received a compensation payment of £836 for the freedom of forty-three enslaved people on the Mount Vernon plantation and £5,414 for one hundred and six enslaved people on the Vrees en Hoop plantation in British Guiana.⁵²⁹ Alexander's mother was also from a family that profited from enslaved labour, in that case on the Danish Island of Santa Croix. His uncle too was an enslaver, owning people and plantations in Jamaica, and as an MP represented enslavers in parliament. Alexander spent a few years as a child in the Caribbean. As an adult he joined the Indian Civil Service and worked in Madras. In 1863 he became Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay, before returning to Britain and becoming the Principal of the UoE in 1868.⁵³⁰

Sir Thomas Gladstone		£100	1874-1877
Thomas Gladstone (1804–1889) was the eldest son of John Gladstone. ⁵³¹ John Gladstone first established his wealth through trade with India, and then Virginian tobacco and American grain before turning to the Caribbean where he purchased estates and enslaved people. He profited from the labour of hundreds of enslaved people. When slavery was abolished in the British Caribbean, he received a £106,769 payment for the 2,508 people in British Guiana and Jamaica he had enslaved. After this he sold most of his Caribbean plantations and began profiting from Bengal sugar. ⁵³² He was also one of the initiators of the Indian indentured labour system to the Caribbean. ⁵³³ Influenced by his father and the source of his family's wealth, Thomas Gladstone was sympathetic to the West India lobby of enslavers and merchants. ⁵³⁴ Thomas's brother, William Ewart Gladstone, served as the UoE's Rector from 1859-1865.			
John Irving	London	£100	1877
John Irving (1805–1891) was a partner of the West India and East India merchant firm Reid, Irving and Company with his uncle John Irving the elder and Sir John Rae Reid. When Britain abolished slavery John Irving along with two partners of the firm received £21,981 for the hundreds of people they enslaved on two plantations in Trinidad and six in the Virgin Islands. ⁵³⁵			
Peter McLagan of Pumpherston	Edinburgh	£90	1879 -1883
Peter Maclagan of Pumpherston (c. 1823-1900) was the son of Peter McLagan of Calderbank. His mother was of African descent. Maclagan was born in Demerara and later attended the UoE. His father was partner in the Sandbach Tinne trading firm, itself reliant on the enslaved labour of people in the Caribbean. The company sold sugar, coffee, molasses and rum and owned the Coffee Grove & Caledonia plantation in Demerara. Peter McLagan and Samuel Sandbach shared a compensation payment of £21,480 for the four hundred and seven people they had enslaved on this plantation. With this compensation wealth Peter McLagan went on to purchase the Pumpherston Estate in West Lothian, which the younger Peter McLagan then inherited. As			

⁵²⁹ 'Robert Innes Grant 9th baronet of Dalvey', LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/6310>.

⁵³⁰ R. D. Anderson, 'Grant, Sir Alexander, tenth baronet (1826–1884), university principal.' *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11243>.

⁵³¹ 'Sir Thomas Gladstone', LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146643651>.

⁵³² 'John Gladstone', LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/8961>.

⁵³³ Madhavi Kale, *Fragments of Empire: Capital, Slavery, and Indian Indentured Labor in the British Caribbean* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 13–26.

⁵³⁴ 'Sir Thomas Gladstone', LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146643651>.

⁵³⁵ 'John Irving the younger', LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/47042>.

well as attending Edinburgh University himself, Peter's older brother John became a surgeon in Demerara and graduated in medicine from the University of Edinburgh in 1836; he died 11 November 1850. ⁵³⁶ Peter McLagan was the MP for Linlithgow 1865-1893 and is thought to have been Scotland's first Black MP.			
Sir Robert Hay, Bart.	Smithfield and Haystoune, of	£60	1874-1877
Robert Hay (1825-85) was the eldest son of the banker and politician Adam Hay. Adam Hay carried out business with Sir William. Forbes, James Hunter & Co., of Edinburgh, which took out a successful counterclaim against Helen Watt for those emancipated on an estate in Jamaica. The counterclaimants received part of the compensation payment of £209 in 1837, the prescribed value of eighteen enslaved people on the estate. ⁵³⁷			
Sir William Baillie, Bart	Polkemmet, of	£50	1874-7
William Baillie (1816-90) was the eldest son of Sir William Baillie, 1st Baronet. William Baillie was awarded £10,725 in compensation as one of the trustees and executors of his brother-in-law Farquhar Campbell who enslaved 197 people on the Melville Ormsary and Strath Campbell plantation in British Guyana. ⁵³⁸			
William Matthew Coulthurst, Messrs Coutts and Co.	London	£50	1874
William Mathew Coulthurst (1797-1877) was a senior partner in the bank Coutts & Co. Through his marriage to Anna Susannah Watson Taylor, the heiress of Simon Taylor, Colthurst received compensation following the freedom of hundreds of enslaved people across seven estates in Hanover, St Mary and St Thomas-in-the-East in Jamaica. ⁵³⁹			
Sir G. Graham Montgomery	Stanhope Bank, of	£50	1874-1883
Graham-Graham Montgomery (1823-1901) was the eldest son of Sir James Montgomery, 2 nd Bart. Sir James Montgomery received a compensation payment alongside two other trustees for his brother-in-law Robert Nutter Campbell's plantation in Demerara called Carriere. Campbell enslaved 223 people on the plantation and the compensation payment was £6,030. ⁵⁴⁰ Graham-Graham received all his father's property when he died in 1839. Graham was the conservative MP for Peeblesshire, 1852-68, and Selkirkshire and Peeblesshire, 1868-80. ⁵⁴¹			
Francis Brown Douglas	Edinburgh	£25	1876
Francis Brown Douglas (1814-85) was awarded compensation payment of £3,697 as owner of Bellaire plantation in St Vincent. At the time of emancipation his family enslaved one hundred and thirty-five people on this plantation. Douglas was also successful counterclaimant as owner-in-fee of			

⁵³⁶ 'Peter McLagan' LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/41631>.

⁵³⁷ 'Jamaica Manchester 348', LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/12266>.

⁵³⁸ 'Sir William Baillie' LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/8037>.

⁵³⁹ 'William Matthew Coulthurst' LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/46462>.

⁵⁴⁰ 'Sir James Montgomery 2nd Bart.' LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/10539>.

⁵⁴¹ David R. Fisher, 'Montgomery, Sir James, 2nd bt. (1766-1839), of Stobo Castle, Stanhope, Peebles', *History of Parliament*, 2009, <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/montgomery-sir-james-1766-1839>.

one enslaved person on the Sans Souci estate, St Vincent. ⁵⁴² Douglas studied law at the UoE and went on to become the Lord Provost of Edinburgh from 1859 to 1862.			
John B. Shand	Cardiff	£10 10s	1874
John B. Shand (c.1804-1877) was the son of John Shand and Frances Brown, a formerly enslaved woman of African and European descent. ⁵⁴³ His father John Shand was an enslaver in Jamaica who used the profits from enslaved labour to purchase landed estates in Kincardineshire, Scotland. He ensured the payment of £3,000 each for the education of his seven illegitimate children (four boys, three girls) including John B. Shand in his will. ⁵⁴⁴ John Shand had hoped to leave £5,000 to each of his children, but due to mismanagement his children may not have inherited as much as he had hoped. His brother William Shand was also a plantation owner and enslaver in Jamaica. John B. Shand became secretary of the Rhymney Railway Company in Cardiff.			
Andrew Gillon	Walhouse, of	£10	1874
Andrew Gilon of Walhouse (1823-88) was a beneficiary of his older cousin John Gillon's will. John Gilon died in 1809, and left Andrew £500 per annum. John Gillon had made his fortune through the forced labour of those he enslaved on the Walhouse plantation in Dominica, named after Walhouse in Linlithgowshire (West Lothian). ⁵⁴⁵			
Col. P. Grant Peterkin of Inverness		£10	1874
Col. P. Grant Peterkin (1786-1878) married Mary Anne Peterkin who inherited Chatham estate in Jamaica from her brother John Gordon Peterkin. Mary Anne Peterkin received a compensation payment of £2,965 in 1836 following the emancipation of 144 enslaved people on the Chatham estate. ⁵⁴⁶			
Robert Macfie	Airds, of	£10	1874
This subscriber has not been identified, though it would seem likely they are related to the Macfies listed above, and therefore involved directly or indirectly in the family's sugar refining business.			
Dr Murchison	London	£10 10s	1876
Identified in the subscription record as a Fellow of London's Royal Society, this is likely Dr Charles Murchison (1830–1879) who was born in Jamaica, the second son of Alexander Murchison a medical practitioner there. Alexander received compensation for 191 enslaved people on the Springfield and Grimett estates in Vere totalling £3,641. ⁵⁴⁷ Charles went to Edinburgh as a medical student in 1847. He was appointed assistant surgeon to the EIC in January 1853. In Calcutta Murchison was appointed professor of chemistry at the Bengal Medical College. In 1854 he served on the medical staff in the Burmese campaign. Murchison is a good example of the movement of colonial wealth and careers from the West to the East Indies, through the metropole of Edinburgh.			
TOTAL		£22,481	

⁵⁴² 'Francis Brown Douglas', LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/46709>.

⁵⁴³ 'John Shand and Frances Brown', African-Scottish Families, University of Aberdeen. <https://exhibitions.abdn.ac.uk/university-collections/exhibits/show/a-north-east-story/african-scottish-families>.

⁵⁴⁴ John Shand, LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146635763>.

⁵⁴⁵ 'John Gillon' LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146638501>.

⁵⁴⁶ 'Mary Ann Peterkin', LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/19203>.

⁵⁴⁷ 'Hon. Alexander Murchison', LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/21804>.

3g. Britain-based subscribers to Old Medical School with links to colonialism

NAME(S)	PLACE	AMOUNT	DATE
William Mackinnon	Balinakill, of	£500	1883 - 1884
William Mackinnon of Balinakill (1823-1893) was born in Scotland and moved to India in 1847. He and an old schoolfellow Robert Mackenzie founded the firm Mackinnon, Mackenzie & Co. In 1856 Mackinnon helped to establish the Calcutta and Burmah Steam Navigation Company, renamed the British India Steam Navigation Company in 1862, which became one of the largest shipping companies in the world, establishing trade around the coast of India and Burma, the Persian Gulf, and the east coast of Africa, as well as subsidiary lines of connection with Britain, the Dutch East Indies and Australia. ⁵⁴⁸			
Andrew Jardine	Lauriek Castle, of	£200	1874
Andrew Jardine was the nephew of William Jardine of the Hong Kong-based Jardine, Matheson & Co., which traded in cotton, tea, silk and opium in Asia. Andrew joined his uncle in Canton in the first half of the 1830s. ⁵⁴⁹			
Robert Jardine	Castlemilk	£200	1874
Robert Jardine (1825–1905) was also William Jardine’s nephew. After attending the UoE, from 1865, he led Jardine, Matheson and Co. from headquarters in Hong Kong. He arrived in Hong Kong in 1845, joining his brothers Andrew, Joseph, and David.			
Hugh M. Matheson	London	£200	1876
Hugh M. Matheson was the nephew of James Matheson. He became a founding partner in Jardine, Matheson and Company in London in 1848. ⁵⁵⁰ Prior to this he worked for his uncle in Calcutta. ⁵⁵¹			
The Most Hon. the Marquis of Tweeddale		£150	1878
William Montagu Hay, 10th Marquess of Tweeddale (1826–1911) served in the Bengal Civil Service as Deputy Commissioner of Simla and then as Superintendent of the Hill States of Northern India between 1845 to 1862. ⁵⁵²			
Professor Wyville Thomson		£115	1881
Professor Wyville Thomson was a Scottish natural historian. His father, Andrew Thomson, was a surgeon in the EIC. ⁵⁵³			
Alexander Scott	Honorable East India Company Service	£115	1874-1878

⁵⁴⁸ E. I. Carlyle, revised by John S. Galbraith, ‘Mackinnon, Sir William, baronet (1823–1893)’, *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17618>.

⁵⁴⁹ Richard J. Grace, *Opium and Empire: The Lives and Careers of William Jardine and James Matheson* (Montreal, Canada: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2014), 101.

⁵⁵⁰ Grace, *Opium and Empire*, 101.

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid*, 116.

⁵⁵² Edward J. Buck, *Simla, Past and Present* (Calcutta, India: Thacker, Spink and Co., 1904), 177-180.

⁵⁵³ A. L. Rice, ‘Thomson, Sir Charles Wyville’, *ONDB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27295>.

It would appear likely that ‘Alexander Scott, HEICS [Honorable East India Company Service]’ is the same individual recorded as living at 41 Lauriston Place, Edinburgh, at the date of his first subscription in 1874, though little has been uncovered about his EIC service. ⁵⁵⁴			
Duncan Vertue	Surgeon in the East India Company Service	£100	1874
Duncan Vertue (1799-1883) studied medicine at the UoE between 1813-1817, though did not graduate, choosing instead to undertake a diploma of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, an option taken by many who chose to enter the EIC. Vertue became an assistant surgeon for the EIC in 1823 and surgeon in 1837, retiring in 1841. Vertue was later a major benefactor of the Royal Infirmary of the Edinburgh in 1883. ⁵⁵⁵			
Right Hon. Sir John M. Macleod		£100	1875
Educated at the UoE and later the East India College at Haileybury, Macleod first joined the EIC in 1809 as a writer. He later was appointed secretary to the government in the financial and general departments and became a Tamil and Persian translator. He was appointed commissioner for the government of Mysore in 1832 and involved in drawing up India’s penal code in 1837. He retired from EIC service in 1841 though continued to publish on Indian law. He acted as a member of the general council of the UoE and was nominated Knight Commander, Order of the Star of India in 1866. ⁵⁵⁶			
Principal Sir W. Muir		£100	1885
Sir William Muir (1819–1905) and his brothers, schooled in Kilmarknock, Ayrshire, held prestigious careers in the EIC, including for William as Lieutenant-Governor of NWP and Oudh (1868–74), and a seat on the Viceroy’s Council (1874–76). This donation from Muir, then Knight Commander, Order of the Star of India, and the UoE’s Principal, was his second: he had already subscribed to the scheme back in 1875, while still in Calcutta. William’s brother John endowed funds to establish the UoE’s Sanskrit Chair (1863) . ⁵⁵⁷			
Philip Vanderbyle	London	£100	1876 - 1881
Philip Vanderbyle was the son of Philip Vanderbyl of the Cape of Good Hope. After studying medicine at the University of Edinburgh Philip practiced medicine until 1858, then retired from that line work and transitioning into business. He joined the London merchant house Redfern Alexander and Company, working for several Australian and New Zealand businesses. He was also on the board of directors of the Metropolitan Trading Association Limited and the Director of the East and West India Dock. ⁵⁵⁸			
Sir James Matheson, Bart	Lewis and Achany, of	£50	1874
Co-founder of the Hong Kong-based Jardine, Matheson & Co., which traded in cotton, tea, silk and opium in Asia. Before founding the firm with William Jardine, James worked for Mackintosh & Co in Calcutta. ⁵⁵⁹			
John Alexander Beith	Manchester	£90	1875-1883

⁵⁵⁴ *Post-Office Edinburgh & Leith Directory 1873-74* (Edinburgh: Postmaster General, 1874), 175

⁵⁵⁵ ‘Portraits from the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh Boardroom’, Lothian Health Services Archive, https://www.lhsa.lib.ed.ac.uk/exhibits/rie_portraits/vertues.htm.

⁵⁵⁶ E. I. Carlyle, revised by Katherine Prior, ‘Macleod, Sir John Macpherson’, *ODNB*, 23 September 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17674>.

⁵⁵⁷ For more on the Muir brothers, see Powell, *Scottish Orientalists and India*.

⁵⁵⁸ *Debrett’s House of Commons* (London: Dean, 1867), 151.

⁵⁵⁹ See Grace, *Opium and Empire*.

John Alexander Beith (d.1896) was a Manchester-based cotton merchant. ⁵⁶⁰ He was a partner in Stevenson & Co of Manchester and Glasgow a financier and intermediary between manufacturers in Britain and merchants in Asia. ⁵⁶¹ He mediated between producers in Lancashire, Yorkshire and Lanarkshire and merchants in Bombay, Kurrachee, Madras, Calcutta, China and Japan.			
William Westgarth	London	£50	1874-1885
William Westgarth (1815–1889) was born in Edinburgh but made a career as a merchant and politician in Australia. He published on the condition of the colonies of Australia and persuaded the imperial authorities to subsidize the emigration of German rural workers. He married Ellison Macfie, the daughter of John MacFie the sugar refiner noted above. ⁵⁶²			
Right Hon. Holt Mackenzie		£50	1874
Holt Mackenzie was a colonial administrator in India responsible for the introduction of the Mahalwari land system in India in 1822, which increased land revenue for the colonial government. ⁵⁶³			
A. Vans Dunlop		£50	1874
Andrew Vans Dunlop (1805-1880) worked for several years as a surgeon in the EIC. He also gave a large endowment to the University. See the entry for the Vans Dunlop Scholarships (1870) for Dunlop's colonial career and investments.			
Sir John McNeill		£50	1874-1875
Sir John McNeill (1795-1883) studied medicine at the UoE, and in 1816 was appointed assistant surgeon for the EIC in Bombay. He became surgeon in 1824 and retired from the medical service on 4 June 1836. From 1824 to 1835 he was attached to the EIC's legation in Persia, at first practising medicine medical charge, and latterly in a diplomatic role. He returned to Scotland in 1842 and worked on the new Scottish Poor Law Act. ⁵⁶⁴			
Charles Morehead		£50	1874
Charles Morehead studied medicine at Edinburgh University. In 1829 he entered the Bombay Medical Service. Morehead was responsible for the establishment of the Grant Medical College in Bombay in 1845. He was first principal of the Grant College and was its first professor of the principles and practice of medicine. He also founded the Medical and Physical Society of Bombay and served as president from 1837 to 1859. ⁵⁶⁵			
Right Hon Sir Lyon Playfair		£50	1884-1885
Lyon Playfair, 1st Baron Playfair (1818-1898) was born in Chunar, Upper Bengal, the son of George Playfair, an EIC surgeon and later Bengal's Inspector-General for Hospitals, and raised from 1820 back in Scotland, in St Andrews. Lyon later became a chemist and politician. ⁵⁶⁶			
H. Cleghorn	Stravithie	£30	1883

⁵⁶⁰ See the following entry for John's son: 'Beith, John Hay [pseud. Ian Hay]', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/30678>.

⁵⁶¹ Great Britain Parliament House of Commons, *Sessional Papers* (H.M. Stationery Office, 1894), v.

⁵⁶² Geoffrey Serle, 'Westgarth, William (1815–1889)', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29113>.

⁵⁶³ J. C. Joshi, *Lord William Bentinck, His Economic, Administrative, Social, and Educational Reforms* (Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications, 1988), 46.

⁵⁶⁴ H. M. Chichester, revised by H. C. G. Matthew, 'McNeill, Sir John (1795–1883)', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17714>.

⁵⁶⁵ A. J. Arbuthnot, revised by Claire E. J. Herrick, 'Morehead, Charles (1807–1882)' *ODNB*, 23 September 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19197>.

⁵⁶⁶ Ian Blatchford, 'Lyon Playfair: chemist and commissioner, 1818–1858', *Science Museum Group Journal* 15 (Spring 2021), available at <https://dx.doi.org/10.15180/211504/001>.

‘H. Cleghorn, MD’ of Stravithie was likely Hugh Francis Clarke Cleghorn (1820–1895). Born in Madras, Cleghorn was educated in Edinburgh and then Madras College in St Andrews, before studying medicine at the UoE. He became an assistant surgeon in Madras in 1842, and Madras’s first conservator of forests in 1856, a role which gave him responsibility for ensuring the supply of timber for railways and military projects. He left India for the final time in 1867, basing himself at Stravithie for his final years. Some of his library of botanical and forestry books eventually came to the UoE. ⁵⁶⁷			
A. M. Rendel	Westminster	£20	1876
Alexander Rendel was a civil engineer and worked in his father’s firm. Though the firm was based in London, he spent considerable time on the Leith docks. When his father died, he succeeded him as consulting engineer to the East Indian Railway. ⁵⁶⁸			
Admiral Sir James Hope		£20	1875
Sir James Hope was Commander-in-chief of the Madras army for three years who returned to Britain in 1865. ⁵⁶⁹			
Right Hon. The Earl of Elgin		£20	1877-1878
Victor Alexander (1849–1917) was at one stage Viceroy of India. His father had also been the Viceroy of India, and before that the Governor of Jamaica. ⁵⁷⁰			
Sir Walter Elliot	Wolfelee; Kelso, of	£20	1874-1878
Sir Walter Elliot was born in Edinburgh and joined the EIC in Madras in 1821. ⁵⁷¹			
Sir George Campbell	London	£20	1876
Sir George Campbell was born in Scotland and had a long career in the EIC; his final post, as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, ended in 1874. ⁵⁷² His 1893 memoir documents his experiences in India. ⁵⁷³			
Sir George M. Birdwood		£15 5s	1878-1884
Sir George Christopher Molesworth Birdwood was born in Bombay but educated in Britain, including at the UoE where he completed his MD in 1854 on ‘The Origin of Ideas’. He entered the Bombay Medical Service the same year, serving in the Persian War (1856-57). He became a professor of Grant			

⁵⁶⁷ Henry J. Noltie, ‘Cleghorn, Hugh Francis Clarke (1820–1895)’, *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/101011>.

⁵⁶⁸ Michael R. Lane, ‘Rendel, Sir Alexander Meadows (1829–1918)’ *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/35725/>.

⁵⁶⁹ T. R. Morema, ‘Grant, Sir James Hope (1808–1875)’, *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11267>.

⁵⁷⁰ R. Hyam, Bruce, ‘Victor Alexander, ninth earl of Elgin and thirteenth earl of Kincardine, (1849–1917)’, *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/32136>.

⁵⁷¹ Hugh Cleghorn, ‘Obituary Notices of Deceased Fellows, Sir Walter Elliot of Wolfelee’, *Transactions of the Botanical Society of Edinburgh* 17, no. 1–4 (1 January 1889): 342–45.

⁵⁷² G. le G. Norgate, revised by David Steele, ‘Campbell, Sir George (1824–1892)’ *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4499>.

⁵⁷³ Sir George Campbell, *Memoir of My Indian Career*, Vol. 1 (London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1893).

Medical College. ⁵⁷⁴ In 1864 he was made Sheriff of Bombay. After he returned to England in 1868 was appointed keeper of the Indian Museum and assistant reporter on the products of India. ⁵⁷⁵			
F. J. Horniman	London	£10 10s	1876
Frederick John Horniman (1835–1906) was a partner in the tea company Horniman's Tea, established by his father. The company relied on and profited from the labour and exploitation of people under colonial rule who worked on tea plantations. This labour was poorly compensated and in many cases was indentured or forced. Horniman travelled extensively and obtained objects, in many instances through colonial violence and brought them back to London, where he founded the Horniman Museum. ⁵⁷⁶ The Horniman Museum is working to address the colonial and violent history of Horniman's wealth and collecting. ⁵⁷⁷			
Gavin Milroy, MD	London	£10 10s	1876
Gavin Milroy was born in Edinburgh and trained in medicine at Edinburgh University. He became renowned for his critique of quarantine in response to disease outbreak. His desire to end quarantine as a strategy for disease control was supported by the British government and its free trade ideals. Milroy was also seconded to Jamaica to report on the sanitary conditions there when a cholera outbreak took place in 1850. He was appointed medical commissioner to the West Indies in 1871–2. ⁵⁷⁸			
Dr Mouat		£10	1876
This is presumed to be Dr Frederic John Mouat (1816-1897), who spent over thirty years in India. As well as donating to the Building Extension Scheme, Mouat endowed funds to the University. See the entry for the Mouat Scholarships in Practice of Physic (1883) for more details on Dunlop's colonial career.			
Sir Charles Trevelyan		£10	1875
Charles Trevelyan (1807–1886) was the son of Harriet Trevelyan, who was among five Trevelyan family members who received nearly £27,000 in compensation after emancipation for the hundreds of people on plantations in Grenada that the family had enslaved. His career traversed both colonial and metropolitan government. Charles entered the EIC and worked in Calcutta. In 1840 back in Britain he became assistant secretary to the Treasury, he has been heavily criticised for his mishandling of the Irish famine. Between 1862 and 1860 Trevelyan was Governor of Madras, and Indian Finance Minister from 1862 to 1865. ⁵⁷⁹			
Sir George Yule		£10	1874-1883
George Yule was in Bengal by the 1830s, where he became known for tiger hunting. He founded George Yule & Co, and was involved in Andrew Yule & Co., in Calcutta. After the Sonthal rebellion of 1855, Yule was specifically selected to be Commissioner of Bhagalpur to, in the words of the author			

⁵⁷⁴ Charles Edward Buckland, 'Birdwood, Sir George Christopher Molesworth', in *Dictionary of Indian Biography* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1906), 43.

⁵⁷⁵ Valentine Chirol, revised by Katherine Prior, 'Birdwood, Sir George Christopher Molesworth (1832–1917)' *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/31896>.

⁵⁷⁶ Charlotte Fell-Smith, 'Horniman, Frederick John (1835–1906)', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/odnb/9780192683120.013.33994>.

⁵⁷⁷ 'Frederick Horniman's colonial legacy', Horniman website, <https://www.horniman.ac.uk/story/frederick-hornimans-colonial-legacy/>.

⁵⁷⁸ Mark Harrison, 'Milroy, Gavin, (1805–1886)' *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18797>.

⁵⁷⁹ G. C. Boase, revised by David Washbrook, 'Trevelyan, Sir Charles Edward, first baronet (1807–1886)', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27716>.

of the <i>Dictionary of Indian Biography</i> , ‘pacify the country’ and was active in repressive measures following the 1857 uprising. He was made KCSI in 1866. ⁵⁸⁰			
Sir Henry Lacon Anderson	KCSI	£5 5s	1876
Sir Henry Lacon Anderson (1807-1879) worked for the Indian Civil Service in Bombay from the 1820s. He acted as Secretary to the Government and in the Secret, Political and Judicial Departments in 1855. He was Awarded KCSI (Knight Commander, Order of the Star of India) in 1867. ⁵⁸¹			
Lieut. Col Davidson	Woodcroft	£3	1874
The Haddington-born Sir David Davidson (1811-1900) served as an officer with the EIC from 1827-1848. Most known today for his work on telescopic sights for rifles, on his retirement from EIC service Davidson built a mansion, Woodcroft, for himself in Edinburgh and continued to develop weaponry. Davidson’s memoir details his experiences in India. ⁵⁸²			
TOTAL		£2,469 10d	

⁵⁸⁰ Charles Edward Buckland, ‘Yule, Sir George’, in *Dictionary of Indian Biography* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1906), 464.

⁵⁸¹ Buckland, ‘Anderson, Sir Henry Lacon’, in *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, 13.

⁵⁸² David Davidson, *Memories of a Long Life* (Edinburgh: printed by Morrison and Gild for David Douglas, 1890).

Appendix 4: Campus Legacies

4a. Subscribers to the Edinburgh Musical Society's St Cecilia's Hall with links to slavery and colonialism

Hon. W. Charteris	£30
This would appear to be Francis Wemyss Charteris (1723- 1808), 7 th Earl of Wemyss, who inherited the estate (and surname) of his maternal grandfather, Colonel Francis Charteris (1675-1732) who amassed wealth through well-timed investments in the South Sea Company, a joint-stock slaving company. ⁵⁸³	
Sir Lawrence Dundas	£30
Sir Lawrence Dundas's (1710-1781) later (after his subscription to the Musical Society) owned of Caribbean estates mentioned elsewhere in this report, though he was by the time of this subscription already an owner of EIC stocks and investor in EIC voyages. ⁵⁸⁴	
James Coutts	Ten guineas
James Coutts (1733-1778) was the founder of Coutts & Co and later an MP. James's grandfather, the Montrose-based merchant Patrick Coutts had traded New York and Pennsylvania among other places in Europe, and the wider Coutts family were active in the Chesapeake region in the eighteenth century. James and his brother Thomas were at one stage involved in the re-export of American tobacco to France. ⁵⁸⁵	
Duke of Queensberry	£21
Charles Douglas 3rd Duke of Queensberry (1698-1778) was an investor and, from 1762, director of the British Linen Company. The company's West India and North American exports included cloth used to clothe enslaved labourers. ⁵⁸⁶	
Mr Campbell of Shawfield	£21
Daniel Campbell of Shawfield (1736-77) was the grandson of Daniel Campbell (c.1671–1753) who travelled to New England in 1692, developing a merchant career across North America and the Caribbean, before returning to Glasgow. Campbell bought the island of Islay and some of Jura in 1726 using the profits of slavery-derived sugar and tobacco, and investments in the transatlantic trafficking of enslaved Africans. ⁵⁸⁷	
Earl of Cassillis	Ten guineas
Thomas Kennedy, 9 th Earl of Cassillis, was a smuggler, soldier, and landowner whose family owned Culzean Castle in South Ayrshire. Kennedy's <i>ODNB</i> entry notes that a former smuggling agent, Robert Kennedy, owned four slaving vessels named <i>Lord Cassillis</i> , thus potentially indicating Thomas Kennedy's links to slaving. Additionally, Thomas Kennedy bought land in Florida in 1767 for the cultivation of indigo, rice, and cotton, and invested in EIC stocks and an EIC voyage. ⁵⁸⁸	

⁵⁸³ 'Charteris, Francis (c. 1665-1732)', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5175>.

⁵⁸⁴ Helen Clifford, 'The Dundas Property Empire and Nabob Taste: Accommodating the East: Sir Lawrence Dundas as Nabob of the North?', *East India Company at Home*, February 2013, <http://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/files/2013/02/Aske-Hall-Final-PDF-19.08.14.pdf>.

⁵⁸⁵ Sir William Forbes, *Memoirs of a Banking House* (London and Edinburgh: William and Robert Chambers, 1860), 24, 103.

⁵⁸⁶ Alastair Durie, *The Scottish Linen Industry in the Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1979), 117, 144-145, 152.

⁵⁸⁷ MacKinnon and Mackillop, *Plantation Slavery and Landownership in the West Highlands and Islands*, 10-11.

⁵⁸⁸ Michael S. Moss, 'Kennedy, Thomas, ninth earl of Cassillis (1726–1775)', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/92715>.

Provost Drummond	£5 5s
Geroge Drummond (1688–1766), six-time Lord Provost of Edinburgh, was for a period a director of British Linen Bank. From its inception, the British Linen Company (and later Bank) supplied cheap linen not just the home market but also for West Indian and North American colonies where a demand rose among planters for a cheap coarse linen to clothe enslaved labourers, known as osnaburg. A 1747 letter from the Company’s directors shows how they elicited new workforces on the estates of landowners around the country by highlighting the opportunities available in the Caribbean: ‘The experiments made by the Company in the Osnaburg manufactures, we have the pleasure to acquaint you that they have not only given satisfaction to our own West India merchants in Scotland but what is much more material to both the West India merchants and linen drapers at London. Now the Company is resolved to push that branch of the linen as far as it’s possible’. ⁵⁸⁹ Whether Drummond was involved in the British Linen Company’s West India trade is unclear, but he evidently used his powerful influence in the city for the Company’s benefit: in 1763 he wrote letters to ‘several Collectors of Excise in favour of the Company’, his efforts having a ‘good effect in removing in part the prejudices entertained in the Country against the Company’. ⁵⁹⁰ As Manager and Presiding Officer of the Managers of the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh, Drummond also played a key role in the hospital’s profiting from the ownership of Red Hill, an estate in Jamaica with enslaved people attached to it, given to them as part of a bequest in 1750. ⁵⁹¹	
John Coutts	£3 3s
Likely John Coutts, the brother of James Coutts, discussed above, who also was a beneficiary of their grandfather and father’s slavery-linked American tobacco trade. ⁵⁹²	

4b: Subscribers to the new High School of Edinburgh (1777) with links to slavery and colonialism

NAME	AMOUNT	DATE
Sir L Dundas, MP for Edinburgh	£5	29 May 1777
Sir Lawrence Dundas’s (1710-1781) later ownership (after his subscription the High School of Edinburgh) of Caribbean estates mentioned elsewhere in this report, though he was by the time of this subscription already an owner of EIC stocks and investor in EIC voyages. ⁵⁹³		
Sir Wm Forbes, Bart	£5 5s	29 May 1777

⁵⁸⁹ Letter reproduced in Alastair J. Dune, ed., *The British Linen Company, 1745-1775* (Edinburgh: Pillans & Wilson Ltd, 1996), 30-31.

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid., 171.

⁵⁹¹ For more on Drummond and the Royal Infirmary, see Buck, ‘Uncovering Origins of Hospital Philanthropy’.

⁵⁹² For reference to this James Coutts, see the entry for the brothers’ father in the *ODNB*: Jacob M. Price, ‘Coutts, John (1699–1750)’, *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6468>.

⁵⁹³ Helen Clifford, ‘The Dundas Property Empire and Nabob Taste: Accommodating the East: Sir Lawrence Dundas as Nabob of the North?’, *East India Company at Home*, February 2013, <http://blogs.ucl.ac.uk/eicah/files/2013/02/Aske-Hall-Final-PDF-19.08.14.pdf>.

Sir William Forbes, 6 th baronet (1739-1806) is mentioned elsewhere in this report. He was the founder of Forbes, Hunter & Co. (est. 1773) which provided financial services to a number of enslavers in relation to their Caribbean estates and enslaved people, including as a creditor and provider of a mortgage on property and enslaved people in Tobago. ⁵⁹⁴		
Sir John Whitefoord, Bart	£5 5s	29 May 1777
Sir John Whitfoord, 3 rd Baronet (c. 1743-1803) is mentioned elsewhere in this report as the owner of enslaved boy (see Appendix 2c).		
J. Hunter and Company	No amount given	22 April 1777
Firm of Sir William Forbes, mentioned above.		
Mansfield, Ramsay and Company	No amount given	22 April 1777
This bank's ties to West India wealth are discussed elsewhere in this report (see Appendix 2c).		
Thomas Coutts and Company	No amount given	22 April 1777
This bank's ties to West India wealth are discussed elsewhere in this report (see Appendix 2c).		
Robert and Henry Drummond and Company	No amount given	22 April 1777
Scots-London bank, run by the brothers Robert and Henry Drummond. In the 1760s and 1770s Henry Drummond acted as a paymaster of the British forces in North America and the Caribbean. ⁵⁹⁵		
Robert Herries and Company	No amount given	22 April 1777
A Scots-London banker whose firm was established in 1770, Robert Herries (1730-1815) was involved in Caribbean and North American trade. In 1775 Herries, along with William Forbes and others, was the consignee of a lease on an estate in Tobago. ⁵⁹⁶		

4c: Subscribers to the Free Church of Scotland's New College with links to slavery and colonialism

The Most Noble the Marquis of Breadalbane
Acting as a co-trustee for a 1819 marriage settlement, John Campbell, 2nd Marquis of Breadalbane (1796-1862) was awarded a share of £6,630 5s 6d in 1836 as compensation for the emancipation of 379 enslaved individuals on the Hope estate in St Andrew, Jamaica. ⁵⁹⁷
Dowager Marchioness of Breadalbane

⁵⁹⁴ 'Sir Williams Forbes bart.', LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146659667>;

⁵⁹⁵ Philip Winterbottom, 'Drummond, Henry (c. 1730–1795)', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/48025>.

⁵⁹⁶ 'Lease for a year of plantation in Tobago by Sir William Forbes, Baronet, Sir Robert Herries, James Hunter, Charles Herries, George Henderson and William Herries to Henry Hope', 4 August 1775, Ch.12647, NLS.

⁵⁹⁷ 'John Campbell, 2nd Marquis of Breadalbane', LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/19525>

It would appear this gift came from Mary Turner Campbell (nee Gavin), Marchioness of Breadalbane (.c 1771-1845), widow of the 1 st Marquis of Breadalbane, and mother of the 2 nd Marquis of Breadalbane, above. Mary's father, David Gavin, was a merchant who appears to have traded in South Asian goods such as tea. ⁵⁹⁸
Her Grace the Duchess of Gordon
The father of Elizabeth Gordon (1794-1864), Alexander Brodie (1748-1818), went to Madras in the 1770s to work for the EIC, before returning with considerable wealth and becoming an MP. Elizabeth received a large dowry from her father. ⁵⁹⁹
Wm. Campbell, esq, of Tullichewan
William Campbell, of Tullichewan, founded the Glasgow-based firm J. & W. Campbell, which traded cloth and other goods to international markets, including, according to an 1886 text, 'North America, the West Indies and the Antipodes'. ⁶⁰⁰
James Buchanan, Esq, Glasgow
James Buchanan (1785–1857) was a Glasgow-West India merchant who amassed a considerable fortune over his lifetime, and gave money to a number of institutions in Glasgow and Edinburgh. For more on Buchanan, who features prominently in the University of Glasgow's report, see above entry for the UoE's Buchanan Scholarship (1883) .
Hugh Cogan, Esq, Glasgow
Hugh Cogan was a Glasgow cotton merchant, operating for a period as a partner of Cogan and Bartholemew. Further research is required to better understand the source of Cogan's cotton, though his membership of the Glasgow East India Association Committee would suggest the cotton was sourced from Asia. ⁶⁰¹
John Cogan, Esq, Glasgow
This is presumably a relative of Hugh Cogan, mentioned above, and therefore likely a beneficiaries of the family's colonially derived wealth.
George Rainy, Esq, London
This is likely George Rainy (1790–1863), a partner in Sandbach Tinne, who received a large compensation claim for the emancipation of enslaved people in Demerara. ⁶⁰²
Francis Brown Douglas, Esq

⁵⁹⁸ A letter book for Gavin's business, dated 1755-76, can be found in Records of David Gavin & Co, merchants, Glasgow, Scotland, GB 248 UGD 041, University of Glasgow Archive Services.

⁵⁹⁹ Jamie Barron, 'The benevolent Elizabeth, Duchess of Gordon', National Trust for Scotland, 26 Mar 2020, <https://www.nts.org.uk/stories/the-benevolent-elizabeth-duchess-of-gordon>.

⁶⁰⁰ *Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men Who Have Died During the Last Thirty Years, and in Their Lives Did Much to Make the City What it Now Is*, Vol. 1 (Glasgow: James Maclehose And Sons, 1886), .

⁶⁰¹ 'Inventory of Hugh Cogan', 8 October 1858, SC36/48/42, NRS; Anthony Cooke, 'The Scottish Cotton Masters, 1780–1914', *Textile History* 40, no. 1 (2009): 29–50. Reference to Cogan as a member of the Glasgow East India Association can be found in Yukihiisa Kumagai, *Breaking into the Monopoly: Provincial Merchants and Manufacturers' Campaigns for Access to the Asian Market, 1790-1833* (Brill, 2012), 80, footnote 17.

⁶⁰² 'George Rainy', LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/8674>. For more on Rainy's time in Demerara, see David Alston, 'Rainy, George (1790–1863)', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/107415>.

Francis Brown Douglas (1814-1885) was awarded compensation payment of £3,697 as owner of Bellaire plantation in St Vincent. At the time of emancipation his family enslaved one hundred and thirty-five people on this plantation. Douglas was also successful counterclaimant as owner-in-fee of one enslaved person on the Sans Souci estate, St Vincent.⁶⁰³ Douglas studied law at the UoE and went on to become the Lord Provost of Edinburgh from 1859 to 1862. He also subscribed money towards the building of the Old Medical School in the 1870s.

James Ewing, Esq, of Strathleven

James Ewing (1775-1853) was a prominent Glasgow-West India merchant whose multiple philanthropic legacies were well noted by contemporaries.⁶⁰⁴ This subscription preceded the significant bequest Ewing made on his death of over £18,000 to the Free Church of Scotland.⁶⁰⁵ As Stephen Mullen writes, 'Ewing's staggering donation to the Free Church has attracted little attention', despite being thirty times the size of the 'controversial monies raised through American sources', a reference to the Free Church's receipt of slavery-derived wealth from the US South that was famously criticised by the African American abolition Frederick Douglass in his 'Send Back the Money' speeches. The Free Church's 'post-Disruption development', Mullen concludes, was 'powered by wealth derived from West Indian rather than American slavery'.⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰³ 'Francis Brown Douglas' LBS database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/46709>.

⁶⁰⁴ For a biography of Ewing, see Stephen Mullen, 'Ewing, James (1775-1853)', *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/53100>.

⁶⁰⁵ 'Inventory of James Ewing', 24 February 1854, SC65/34/7, NRS.

⁶⁰⁶ Mullen, *The Glasgow Sugar Aristocracy*, 48.