

**Slavery, Abolition and the University of Glasgow**

**report and recommendations of the  
University of Glasgow  
History of Slavery Steering Committee**

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University  
of Glasgow

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

1.	Introduction	3
2.	Slavery, Abolition and the University of Glasgow	5
3.	Ardoch, Beniba and Martin: enslaved people, Jamaica and the University of Glasgow	7
4.	Project methodology	11
5.	Summary of findings	14
6.	Moving forward: a programme of reparative justice	16
7.	Appendix One: Bursaries and Endowments research	18
8.	Appendix Two: Capital Campaign research	57
9.	Appendix Three: Members of the History of Slavery Steering Committee	76

## INTRODUCTION

In July 2016 the Senior Management Group of the University approved and issued the following statement:

The University of Glasgow acknowledges that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it received some gifts and bequests from persons who may have benefitted from the proceeds of slavery. Income from such gifts and bequests has been used in supporting academic activity undertaken by the students and staff of the University.

The University notes that, during the era of slavery, many of its staff adopted a clear anti-slavery position. For example, the Principal and Clerk of Senate, on behalf of the Senate of the University, petitioned the House of Commons in 1788, and again in 1792, against slave holding and slave trading; in 1791, the University honoured William Wilberforce with the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws in recognition of his anti-slavery work; Adam Smith, Francis Hutcheson and John Millar all wrote against slavery in their publications; and James McCune Smith, an emancipated slave, graduated in medicine from the University of Glasgow in 1837, and, in so doing, became the first African-American in the world to graduate in medicine. Smith came to study at the University of Glasgow for this degree as he was barred from doing so in the United States because of his colour.

The Senior Management Group (SMG) of the University of Glasgow has instructed that research be undertaken and a report prepared on the University's connections with those persons who may have benefitted from the proceeds of slavery. When it receives this report, the SMG will consider the most appropriate way of acknowledging those connections.

The University then formed a History of Slavery Steering Committee (HSSC), with external consultants. At the same time the University joined the international consortium of Universities Studying Slavery (<http://slavery.virginia.edu/universities-studying-slavery/>). HSSC oversaw a year-long research process undertaken by Dr. Stephen Mullen and Prof. Simon Newman to:

1. investigate the nature and extent of the financial benefits which accrued to the University as a result of historical racial slavery
2. recommend possible acts of reparative justice designed to acknowledge this history and engage in the kinds of reparative justice most appropriate to a university based on Enlightenment ideals of truth and justice
3. draft a report for publication, summarising the complicated relationship between the University and the history of racial slavery, and the actions the University proposes to take going forward

This report shows that although the University of Glasgow never owned enslaved people or traded in the goods they produced, it is nonetheless clear that the University received significant financial gifts and support from people who derived some or occasionally much of their wealth from slavery. The issue facing the University today is how to address this history? We deeply regret that during a crucial period of its growth and development the University of Glasgow indirectly benefitted from racial slavery, and this is a past which clashes with our proud history of support for the abolition of both the Slave Trade and slavery itself. We believe that what is most important, however, is how we intend to use our knowledge of this past in a 'Programme of reparative justice.' This is designed to be the beginning of a process whereby the strengths of our university as a centre of justice and enlightenment will be utilized to

enhance awareness and understanding of our history, while moving forward in new directions to benefit the University community through an ever more diverse staff and student body, through creative relationships with new partners such as the University of the West Indies, and through study and teaching about all forms of slavery and trafficking in the past and present.

The University of Glasgow seeks to fully engage with the history revealed in this report, recognising that the heritage of historical slavery continues to shape our lives and society. Acknowledging our past relationship to slavery and abolition in this fashion, the University of Glasgow seeks to move forward as only a university can, using its resources as a major international centre of research and learning in order to increase understanding of slavery and its legacies, enhance racial equality in education and society, and erode the legacies of slavery and racism.

## SLAVERY, ABOLITION AND THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW a brief introduction

It is a great honour in the University of Glasgow that it should have produced, before any public agitation of the question, three professors, all of whom bore their public testimony against this cruel trade.

Thomas Clarkson, *The History of the Rise Progress and Accomplishment of the Abolition the African Slave Trade* (London, 1808), 228.

This project seeks to increase knowledge and understanding of the parallel histories of the University of Glasgow benefitting financially from slavery while yet helping to lead the movement for abolition, and to build from this knowledge in seeking a way forward which engages and redresses this past through a programme of education and reparative justice.

For more than two centuries students and academics at the University have taken pride in the University's opposition to the transatlantic slave trade and the institution of racial slavery. Following the formation of the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade in London in 1787, University of Glasgow professors John Millar, Patrick Wilson (1743-1799), and John Young (1747-1820) were all active participants in Glasgow's abolitionist movement. The University of Glasgow sent two anti-slave trade petitions to Parliament, both drawn up by John Millar, in 1788 and 1792. In 1791, the University awarded an honorary degree to William Wilberforce (1759-1833), the leading figure of British abolitionism. At that time the University was located on the High Street and no more than a stone's throw from the heart of the mercantile businesses profiting from the trade in slave-produced goods.

To so publicly support abolitionism when the profits of racial slavery helped sustain Glasgow's commerce was courageous, and the University's pioneering anti-slave trade stance developed despite the powerful pro-slavery interest in the city. The 1788 petition was one of the first of its type from a Scottish non-ecclesiastical institution. The second petition in 1792 was the first anti-slave trade petition from Scotland to be received by Parliament.<sup>1</sup> The authors described the slave trade as 'an existing evil of infinite magnitude' which 'comprehends in it the most obvious violation of the feelings of nature, of the principles of morality, and of those doctrines and duties inculcated in the Gospels which form the basis of our most holy religion'. Members of the University Senate proclaimed themselves 'Deeply penetrated by the cries of justice and mercy', and they hoped to see the 'infamous Traffick... banished from the face of the earth'.<sup>2</sup>

In 1807 the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act outlawed the Transatlantic Slave Trade, but racial slavery remained legal in the British Colonies. The abolitionist movement turned its attention to freeing existing slaves, and the Glasgow Anti-Slavery Society was one of the most active in Britain. In 1826 University of Glasgow students organized an anti-slavery petition which attracted thirty-eight thousand signatures and was discussed in Parliament.<sup>3</sup> Following the abolition of slavery in Britain's colonies the Glasgow Emancipation Society (GES) was established in 1835 to abolish slavery elsewhere, particularly in the United States. A number of Glasgow University alumni and graduates were active members of the Society including the

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<sup>1</sup> Iain Whyte, *Scotland and the Abolition of Black Slavery, 1756-1838*, (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2006), p.82, p.91.

<sup>2</sup> Glasgow University Archives (hereafter GUA), SEN 1 1/2, pp.136-7.

<sup>3</sup> *Caledonian Mercury* (Edinburgh), 'Abolition of Colonial Slavery', 2, 6, 8, 11, 13, 23, 29 March 1826; 17, 20 April 1826; and 26 May 1826. *Glasgow Herald* (Glasgow), 'Glasgow Anti-Slavery', 27 February and 6 March 1826.

Rev. Dr. Ralph Wardlaw (1779-1853), who served as the society's vice-president and allowed it to hold meetings in his West George Street Chapel. Wardlaw had been a student of John Young, Professor of Greek at the University, and had been strongly influenced by Young's anti-slavery stance. John Pringle Nichol, Chair of Astronomy, was another member and became president of the society in 1859.<sup>4</sup> James McCune Smith (1813-65) was a founding member of GES and had direct personal experience of slavery. Born a slave in New York City, McCune Smith had been freed by New York state's emancipation act, and after being denied entry to American medical schools on account of his colour he had applied to and been admitted by the University of Glasgow. A former slave thus became a now celebrated Glasgow University student. He received a bachelor's degree in 1835, a master's degree in 1836, and his medical degree in 1837, becoming the first African American to hold such a degree.<sup>5</sup> McCune Smith would have attended Old College with sons of merchants and planters resident in the Caribbean, who sent their children to Great Britain for education.

The history of abolitionism in the University of Glasgow is a source of much pride, but what has been largely forgotten is that at the same time that university staff and students were deeply involved in the movements to abolish the slave trade and then slavery itself, the University was in fact benefitting financially from the profits of slave-ownership and the trade in goods produced by enslaved people. Between 1727 and 1838 at least 133 (3%) students who matriculated at what was then Old College came from the Caribbean, most of them the sons of slave-owning planters and merchants. It is likely that some of these students were the products of unions between Scottish men and enslaved or free women of colour. Many Scottish graduates went on to live and work in the slave societies of the Caribbean and North American colonies.<sup>6</sup> As Glaswegian and Scottish merchants, planters, bankers, shipbuilders and others grew wealthy through the slave economy, some of the money they made (or left to their descendants) was passed on to the University of Glasgow, often by grateful alumni.

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<sup>4</sup> For a full discussion of the GES see Rachael A. Jezierski, 'The Glasgow Emancipation Society and the American Anti-Slavery Movement' (PhD dissertation, University of Glasgow 2011).

<sup>5</sup> For more on McCune Smith see John Stauffer, *The Works of James McCune Smith: Black Intellectual and Abolitionist* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

<sup>6</sup> Between 1736 and 1838, over 130 Caribbean students matriculated at Old College, mainly from Jamaica, Antigua, Barbados, Demerara, Nevis and Trinidad. Over 4300 students matriculated at Old College between 1740 and 1838. Thus, the 133 Caribbean students represented c.3 percent of the overall total in these years. See W. Innes Addison, *The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow, From 1728 to 1858*, (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1913); for numbers of matriculating students, see W.M. Mathew, 'The Origins and Occupations of Glasgow students 1740-1839', *Past and Present*, 33, (1966), p.75.

## ARDOCH, BENIBA AND MARTIN: ENSLAVED PEOPLE, JAMAICA AND THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

This project explores how the University of Glasgow benefitted from racial slavery and the profits it generated. As such it is focused on white people who gave money or other items to the University. But at heart this is a project about the enslaved whose labour generated some of this wealth, of remembering their oppression and seeking to at least partially redress this through reparative justice. We do not even know the names of most of the many thousands of enslaved people who helped create this wealth, but it is vital to try and remember their lives and experiences, and to keep them in mind throughout this process. The following section describes the little we know of the experiences of just four of them.

We do not know when Ardoch and Beniba were born, or when they died. All we know is that during the mid- to late-eighteenth century they lived and worked on Lucky Hill, a sugar plantation in Jamaica. Together with Beniba's unnamed child they were included in Robert Cunningham Graham's (1735-97) hand-written list of the fifty-one enslaved people who he described as 'my property,' enslaved men, women and children who lived, worked and died at Lucky Hill. In 1784 Graham recorded that his enslaved human 'stock' at Lucky Hill was valued at £3,604: their value would have been higher, he noted, but for the fact that £886 worth of these people were 'dead since the original valuation.'<sup>7</sup>

What do we know of the lives of people such as Ardoch, Beniba and her child? On Jamaica they lived and worked in what one historian has described as the harshest slave system in history.<sup>8</sup> On sugar plantations like Lucky Hill the enslaved faced lives that were anything but lucky, facing malnutrition, a disease-ridden environment and the brutal violence of those who demanded unrelenting work.<sup>9</sup> One historian has estimated that enslaved adult Jamaican plantation workers labored for an average of 96 hours per week, and very few survived into their fifties.<sup>10</sup>

Their work began at an early age, and from about the age of four or five Beniba's child would have worked in the 'grass gang', a group of young children and elderly or injured adults. The grass gang collected fodder to feed to the plantation's livestock, an important task given that plantations did not grow or import food for livestock, and the manure created by livestock was vital to the growing of sugar. The grass gang also assisted in constantly weeding young sugar cane, for if left unattended for more than a day or two the rampant vines and weeds of the Caribbean could quickly smother and strangle young sugar cane plants.

If he or she survived, Beniba's child most likely graduated to the Second Gang, which was made up of younger teenagers and adults no longer fit to work in the First Gang. The Second Gang members were often responsible for planting, weeding, and harvesting food crops and

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<sup>7</sup> National Library of Scotland, Acc. 11335/184, Robert Graham of Gartmore, Out-letter books and business ledgers, in Correspondence and Papers of Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham and Family (hereafter cited as Graham Papers), Inventory of Lucky Hill, 1784, pp.53-4, p.61.

<sup>8</sup> Richard S. Dunn, *A Tale of Two Plantations: Slave Life and Labor in Jamaica and Virginia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2014), p.180.

<sup>9</sup> The following account of enslaved labour on sugar plantations is drawn from Simon P. Newman, *A New World of Labor: The Development of Plantation Slavery in the British Atlantic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2013), pp.216-42.

<sup>10</sup> J.R. Ward, 'The amelioration of British West Indian slavery: anthropometric evidence,' *The Economic History Review* (early online version, 2018), pp.2-3.

were constantly employed in weeding the precious sugar cane. Their workload increased when they assisted First Gang slaves in the planting and manuring of cane. At harvest time the second gang would help in the cleaning of newly harvested canes, and they were largely responsible for the collection and drying of the leaves and cane tops, as well as the crushed cane stalks, the by-products that would be employed as animal feed and as fuel for the fires so essential for sugar production.

The First Gang was made up of the healthiest and strongest enslaved people, men and women like Ardoch and Beniba. First Gang labour lasted from the late-teens until the late-twenties or early-thirties, by which time the bodies of most of these young men and women had been wrecked. At planting time a single First Gang Worker dug an estimated daily total of between 640 and 1,500 cubic feet of soil, all with a hoe. The newly planted cane was then fed with specially prepared manure, and at least one ton of dung was required for each acre of sugar cane, with First Gang workers carrying all of this manure into the fields in baskets balanced upon their backs and heads.

Harvesting and processing sugar was a semi-industrialized process which required three months of around-the-clock work, with First and Second Gang slaves often working twelve-hour shifts, six days a week. Members of the First Gang cut the thick-stemmed and sharp-leaved cane with razor sharp 'bills', and the canes then had to be pressed before they spoiled. Slaves fed the canes back and forth through powerful rollers, and the extracted juice was then boiled down. Exhausted workers wielding sharp tools and then feeding cut cane into mechanized rollers were prey to injury, and virtually every plantation had workers with scarred or missing limbs. Slave drivers and overseers used whips to violently force enslaved people to work as hard as possible, and the sounds of whips and the cries of those treated this way were ever-present.

Enslaved plantation workers lived in small and crowded slave quarters, crudely built structures with little furniture. They were given one or two outfits of working clothes each year, often made of coarse and hard-wearing cotton fabric. Masters gave their enslaved workers insufficient food rations and expected them to spend part of their weekly day of rest tending provision grounds, small allotments on which they grew additional food. Ardoch and Beniba, and the other enslaved plantation workers who belonged to Graham most likely lived short and harsh lives of working to grow sugar and make profits for white Britons, all the while struggling to create families and to find joy and meaning in the most challenging of environments.

The low life expectancy of enslaved people in Jamaica is confirmed by demographic records: at least one million enslaved Africans were disembarked on British-ruled Jamaica, yet even with natural increase only 385,000 people of African origin were still alive when the slave trade ended in 1807. With annual mortality rates ranging between 3%-7% far more enslaved people died each year than were imported from Africa or were born on the island. Those who survived into their thirties were by then unwell, maimed or exhausted, and the few who survived beyond their mid-forties were often considered elderly and decrepit. On a typical Jamaican plantation one quarter of all enslaved children died before reaching adulthood, and of those who survived well over half died before they reached forty.<sup>11</sup> Conditions were particularly hard for women like Beniba, who were required to undertake incredibly arduous

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<sup>11</sup> Dunn, *A Tale of Two Plantations*, p.180. See also B.W. Higman, *Slave Population and Economy in Jamaica, 1807-1834* (Mona: University of the West Indies Press, 1995), pp.105-12.

work with little relief during pregnancy and motherhood.<sup>12</sup> Planters were making so much money from sugar that they chose to work the enslaved to death and purchase replacements from Africa rather than devote resources to improving living standards and the quality of life amongst those who worked.

Ardoch and Beniba's owner had left Scotland for Jamaica when he was only seventeen years old. Robert Cunningham Graham spent nineteen years on the island, serving as Receiver-General of Taxes, a member of the Jamaican Assembly representing St. David's Parish, and he became a wealthy businessman. In 1763 he married Anne Taylor, the sister of Simon Taylor who was one of Jamaica's wealthiest merchants and plantation-owners. During his time in Jamaica Graham acquired some enslaved people to serve as domestic servants, and as a businessman he came into possession of several large groups of enslaved plantation workers: when he and Anne left Jamaica for Scotland they arranged to sell many of the enslaved people they owned, including the plantation labourer Rachel and her children John and Duk, and Judy and her children Tom and Harriet.<sup>13</sup> We do not know, but it is very likely that mothers and children were separated through sale to different owners. White owners thought nothing of buying and selling the people they owned, routinely breaking up the fragile families and communities of the enslaved in the process.

It is possible that there were some of the people that Graham sold were his own children. Several years before his marriage to Ann, Graham wrote to Samuel Bean recalling that in his youth he had given 'rather too great a latitude to a dissipated train of whoring, the consequence of which [is] I now daily see before me a motley variegated race of different complexions.'<sup>14</sup> In this Graham was very like his close friend, business associate and future brother-in-law Simon Taylor, who never married and fathered a number of children by different enslaved women.<sup>15</sup> It is possible that Ardoch may have been one of Graham's children, for the young enslaved man was named for a Scottish estate in Graham's family, an estate which Graham later inherited. It seems likely that only Graham could have been the source for this unusual name for an enslaved child.

When Graham returned to Scotland he and Ann sold not only enslaved plantation workers but also their enslaved domestic servants: Graham did not think these people significant enough to name them, instead listing them as 'a very good Butler who is also an Upholsterer & Taylor, I have likewise a Good Cook to dispose of & a young fellow who has been 6 years in the Kitchen.'<sup>16</sup> The lives of enslaved domestic workers were generally a little more comfortable than those of plantation workers, although they were subject to the same violent discipline and might at any time be sold to a new master who might reassign them as plantation workers, which may have happened to the unnamed butler, cook or kitchen worker. The Grahams kept at least two of their enslaved domestic servants, bringing them home to Scotland. A year later,

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<sup>12</sup> Jennifer Morgan, *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

<sup>13</sup> Graham listed thirty-two enslaved people 'not dispos'd of' who he wanted to be sold as quickly as possible in Robert Cunningham Graham to Angus MacBean, Ardoch, 28 February 1773, Letter Book 1772, Graham Papers, Acc 11335/180, p.34.

<sup>14</sup> Robert Cunningham Graham to Samuel Bean, 5 April 1760, reprinted in full in R.B. Cunninghame Graham, *Doughty Deeds: An Account of the Life of Robert Graham of Gartmore, Poet & Politician, 1735-1797, drawn from his Letter-books & Correspondence* (London: Heinemann, 1925), p.71.

<sup>15</sup> Daniel Livesay, 'Extended Families: Mixed Race Children and Scottish Experience, 1770-1820,' *International Journal of Scottish Literature*, 4 (2008), pp.1-9.; Richard Sheridan, 'Simon Taylor, Sugar Tycoon of Jamaica, 1740-1813,' *Agricultural History*, 45 (1971), pp.285-96.

<sup>16</sup> Robert Cunningham Graham to James Irving, 16 March 1771, Letter Book 1772, Graham Papers, Acc 11335/179, p.83.

however, Graham decided to send one enslaved man named Martin back to Jamaica. Graham sent Martin to a friend and fellow merchant in Jamaica named Angus MacBean along with a letter in which he wrote:

By Capn. Campbell you will also receive your old friend Martin he is too lively & sprightly to accommodate his disposition to the sedate Gravity of this Climate—dispose of him to the best advantage, & put part of the proceeds into a pipe of the best Madeira to be sent me as soon as you can. I was offered £100 for him before I left Jama. & think he is now worth a good deal more...<sup>17</sup>

We do not know what Graham meant when he described Martin in this way. A year after England's Somerset decision and five years before Scotland's *Knight v Wedderburn* case effectively ended slavery in Britain, perhaps Martin resented his enslaved status. Whatever the cause, Graham determined to remove Martin from his position as a well-dressed and well-fed domestic servant in Scotland and send him back to Jamaica, where he would be sold and quite likely put to work in the fields of a sugar plantation. There is nothing to suggest that Graham gave any thought to the life to which he was condemning Martin, and he appears to have been more concerned with the madeira that he would get from the proceeds of Martin's sale.

Robert Cunninghame Graham, the man who owned, sold and perhaps even fathered some of these enslaved people was a graduate of the University of Glasgow. Upon his return from Jamaica to Scotland he became involved in Whig politics as well as pursuing a successful literary career. He owned Ardoch estate in Dunbartonshire as well as Gartmore in Perthshire. In 1785 Graham succeeded Edmund Burke as Rector of the University of Glasgow, serving until 1787 when he was succeeded by Adam Smith. A year after stepping down from the Rectorship Graham made a gift of £100 to the University of Glasgow to establish the Gartmore Gold Medal, to be awarded every two years for the best student work on 'Political liberty'.<sup>18</sup> By the time that Graham served as Rector and endowed a prize for the best student work on liberty he had been a slave-owner for nearly forty years, owning many people like Ardoch, Beniba and Martin, and he had made his fortune from their labour and from his trading and selling of the sugar they and other enslaved people produced. Henry Raeburn's portrait of Robert Cunninghame Graham hangs in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery in Edinburgh, but we have no pictures of and hardly any records of the lives and experiences of the enslaved people he owned, whose short and brutal lives helped create his enormous wealth.

In focusing on learning more about the ways in which the University of Glasgow benefited financially from the profits of racial slavery, or supported students and faculty in their quest for abolition of the slave trade and then slavery, it is vitally important not to forget the many enslaved people who were at the heart of this story, yet whose names, lives and suffering have been obscured or forgotten. Recognition and commemoration of these people will be part of the process of engagement with this complicated past.

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<sup>17</sup> Robert Cunninghame Graham to Angus MacBean, 24 March 1773, Letter Book 1772, Graham Papers, Acc 11335/18, p.41.

<sup>18</sup> *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships, and Other Foundations, in the College and University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Maitland Club, 1850), p.206.

## PROJECT METHODOLOGY

The University has records of

- approximately 200 endowments, bursaries and prizes
- approximately 2,500 donations toward the cost of the new Gilmorehill campus

Often these records contain little more than the name of the donor, the amount, and perhaps an address. In order to establish whether or not this gift is ‘tainted’ by slavery has necessitated identifying the person and establishing how they (or their ancestors or other family members) made their money. In some cases this was relatively straightforward, but in most it was more complicated and required extensive research outside of the University. Combing through records in the Mitchell Library in Glasgow, and in the National Archives of Scotland and the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh has made it possible to identify most benefactors. Further research in a variety of sources (newspapers, city directories, wills etc.) helped to establish exactly how people made their money: if some of the money came to them through inheritance or marriage, further research took place in order to establish how that money had been made.

In a few cases it has been possible to establish that benefactors made most if not all of their money directly from slavery. In other cases, people appear to have made money less directly, through mercantile firms directly involved in the trade in tobacco, sugar, cotton and other goods produced (or consumed) by slaves. People who made money in this fashion did not necessarily own plantations and slaves, although most were under no illusions about the reality and nature of slavery. Shipbuilders provide a complicated category of benefactors: many were building ships specifically intended for the trade in goods produced by slaves, all the way up to the builders of ‘blockade runners’ constructed for the Confederacy during the American Civil War, as well as several warships for the Confederate navy. Such shipbuilding had a definite connection to slavery, but how do we regard a gift to the University from such a shipbuilder? Other people may have other indirect connections, perhaps inheriting from or marrying into a family which had made money from slavery. And in some cases just a portion of the wealth of an individual may have come from slavery, while most of their wealth came from other sources.

Using the example of how American universities such as Brown, Yale and Georgetown have dealt with the issue of slavery-tainted gifts, this report contains as robust and defensible an assessment as is possible. Identifying the sources of wealth for each and every donor or benefactor would be a monumental task. Moreover, statistical precision in determining how much of this wealth was from slavery—whether directly or indirectly—and what exactly this is worth today, is impossible.

What is clear, however, is that the evidence uncovered to date clearly supports the conclusion that the University of Glasgow enjoyed a significant financial benefit from slave-holding and the profits made from slave-ownership and the trade in slave-produced goods.

### ***Research***

#### *Phase One: Bursaries, Prizes and Mortifications*

There are a total of approximately 200 such gifts to the University of Glasgow listed in the records. Many were discounted because they were granted well before or long after the age of

racial slavery, or because no link could be found between the donors and racial slavery and its profits, or because the identity of donors or their source of wealth could not be established. Of those that remained, a full investigation was conducted of 25 cases of gifts which appeared highly likely to have a relationship to profits from slavery, and 18 cases with a possible relationship to such profits (total 43). This involved:

- establishing whether or not the donor or his/her family had profited from slavery, and estimating the size/proportion of this slavery wealth/profit (i.e. did it account for all, most, some or just a small portion of wealth?)
- assessing the size of the bursary, endowment etc
- providing different estimates of the value in 2016 of the gift when originally made, and of the value (as of 2016) of all income generated by the gift between the date of donation and the present

From these 43 cases, 16 were identified with clear connections to New World slavery and were examined in further detail (see below).

### *Phase Two: Gilmorehill donors*

Having organised the approximately 2,500 donors to the Capital Campaign in order of the size of gift, the investigation focused on a small selection of the largest donations. 78 gave £1,000 or more, and some preliminary investigation of these highlighted 23 with demonstrable links to racial slavery or the trade in slave-produced goods. Together these 23 donated a total of £11,325. This was a complicated process, often involving exploring several generations and branches of family, as money that had been made from slavery was often inherited or passed along through marriage. The research into the remaining 55 large-scale donors may yet reveal slavery connections.

In addition, any donors of between £100 and £1,000 who were recognised from the endowments or other research were also explored.

The research on this select group of donors was intended to establish:

- whether or not each donor or his/her family had profited from slavery, and if so estimate the size/proportion of this slavery wealth/profit (i.e. did it account for all, most, some or just a small portion of wealth?)
- the value of donations with demonstrable links to racial slavery and its profits, with calculations of the 2016 worth of these gifts to the University

### *Assessing Value*

Estimating the present-day value of historic gifts to the University is extremely difficult. The first problem is assessing what, for example, a gift of £100 in 1820 is worth today. Then, in the case of bursaries, endowments and mortifications, it has been necessary to assess the present-day value of how much money has accrued to University from that £100 since 1820, and how much more those accrued funds are worth today (i.e. translating value of accrued interest or dividends each year between the original gift and the present, accounting too for the value added to the original gift by unspent income, and then translating to present-day worth). This is complicated by incomplete and imprecise University financial records for much of the period between the early eighteenth and the mid twentieth centuries. Furthermore, several gifts are administered by third parties outside of the University, which affects the level of dividend received by the University.

This process has involved using different calculations, to show a range of equivalencies. We have used 'Measuring Worth' (<https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/>), an on-line calculator created by a highly-respected group of economists and economic historians, and we have worked with colleagues in the Economic and Social History subject area of the College of Social Sciences who have helped fashion the process of calculation and translation. The 'Measuring Worth' calculator is the most trusted and most regularly utilized resource of this type used in academic research.

'Measuring Worth' provides a range of ways of calculating present-day value. These include:

**Relative Price Worth (RPW)** is an index number that represents the 'average price' of all goods/services purchased by a typical household or consumer in the base year, and then calculates the cost of those same goods and services in 2016 (allowing for inflation). There are two scales 'Retail Price Index' and 'GDP Deflator'. This study utilizes the Retail Price Index comparator.

**Relative Wage or Income Growth (WIG)** calculates average earnings for all workers in the base year, and then calculates the average earnings for all workers in 2016 (allowing for inflation). It then calculates what proportion of annual wages (across the population) £x represented in 1830, and then applies that proportion to annual wages in 2016, thus arriving at a modern equivalent. There are two scales 'Average Earnings' and 'Per Capita GDP'. This study utilizes the Average Earnings comparator.

**Relative Output Worth (ROW)** is the most comprehensive comparison method. This calculates what percentage of national GDP an amount in the base year represented, and then applies that percentage to national GDP in 2016.

**RPW** tends to provide the lowest present-day amount, **ROW** the highest, and **WIG** lies between the two. **RPW**, **WIG** and **ROW** provide strikingly different modern equivalencies. All three are used to show the full range of possible modern worth of historic gifts and the income accrued from them. It is important to use all three, rather than appear to select one showing a lower modern equivalency.

The full methodology for both Phase One and Phase Two is detailed in the appendices.

## SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

It is impossible to calculate the precise financial benefit that racial slavery generated for the University of Glasgow. Records are incomplete and imprecise; the proportion of personal wealth directly linked to slavery is usually hard to assess (especially when gifts were made years or decades later); and there are no reliable ways of calculating the present-day value of 18th and 19th century financial gifts.

However, the purpose of this report, and the research that informs it, was not to arrive at a set amount of money, but rather to establish whether or not the University of Glasgow reaped significant financial benefits from donors who owned enslaved people or who profited from the trade in enslaved people or the goods they produced. The conclusions that follow, and the evidence supporting them, clearly demonstrate that the University of Glasgow did benefit from the profits of racial slavery.

The research below and the amounts presented should be seen as indicative of the nature of the financial benefit to the University of Glasgow, rather than precise and authentic totals which are impossible to achieve. Further research will almost certainly increase the amounts, but will not change the core finding that the University benefitted from racial slavery.

This financial dividend took two forms:

- a) the value of and income from bursaries, endowments and mortifications, and
- b) the Capital Campaign of 1866-1880 (to fund the University's relocation to and construction of the new Gilmorehill campus).

a) *Bursaries, endowments, mortifications*

Sixteen bursaries, endowments and mortifications donated between 1809 and 1937 have been identified as being directly linked to the profits from slavery. (For details see Appendix 2). Three of these were non-financial (books, scientific and medical equipment etc.), and others were held or managed outside of the University of Glasgow (by the Merchants House). There are different methods for estimating the value of the initial gifts in today's money (see Section 5, 'Project Methodology' for explanation), and the three methods most commonly used by historians suggest the total present-day value of the gifts ranges between:

**£6,165,230 (2016, RPI)**

**£26,921,100 (2016, WIG)**

**£87,817,000 (2016, ROW)<sup>19</sup>**

b) *Subsequent income from endowments*

Not all these gifts provided ongoing monetary income (from the time of gift through to the present). But for the eleven that did, the approximate overall assessment of the present-day value of the historic income to the University (that is, income accruing each year over the lifecycle of the endowment/bursary) of these slavery-associated gifts, endowments, bursaries etc. ranges between:

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<sup>19</sup> See 'Assessing Value' in Section 4, 'Project Methodology' for an explanation of RPI, WIG and ROW.

**£9,525,085 (2016, RPI)**

**£33,166,567 (2016, WIG)**

**£91,149,619 (2016, ROW)**

c) *The Capital Campaign of 1866-1880*

Focusing on a selection of larger donations (see below for methodology), twenty-three individuals have been identified as having some form of economic connection with New World slavery, between them donating £11,325 (out of the total of approximately £213,000 raised by the Capital Campaign). Estimates of present-day values range between:

**£985,850 (2016, RPI)**

**£5,712,700 (2016, WIG)**

**£19,691,000 (2016, ROW)**

*PROVISIONAL TOTALS*

If these three income streams (value of original bursaries, endowments and mortifications; value of subsequent income from endowments; value of gifts to the Capital Campaign) are combined, then the estimated present-day value of all of these ranges between:

**£16,676,165 (2016, RPI)**

**£65,800,367 (2016, WIG)**

**£198,657,619 (2016, ROW)**

## **MOVING FORWARD**

### **a programme of reparative justice**

Having commissioned and then considered this report, the Senior Management Group of the University of Glasgow have committed the University to achieving the following objectives over the coming decade, with the goal of achieving reparative justice and enhancing awareness and understanding of the history of the University's connections to both slavery and abolitionism.

1. Publication of the Senior Management Group's statement of July 2016, along with the final (somewhat edited) version of this full report detailing the research and conclusions of the research into how the University benefited from the profits of historical slavery, and a statement describing the reparative justice actions to be undertaken by the University.
2. Strive to increase the racial diversity of students and staff and to reduce the degree attainment gap, in line with the University of Glasgow's Equality and Diversity Policy. Include the awarding of scholarships to BAME students of Afro-Caribbean descent to help address their under-representation in the University.
3. Pursue the negotiation and signing of a Memorandum of Understanding between the University of Glasgow and the University of the West Indies, designed to fit the needs and requirements of UWI staff and students, while working in alignment with the educational objectives of the University of Glasgow. It is hoped that this might include, for example:
  - (a) A short-term visiting fellowship for UWI academic staff
  - (b) Student scholarships for UWI students
  - (c) Develop relationships in focused areas (for example, medicine, engineering)
  - (d) Work collaboratively with UWI to advance research and education in the fields key to reparative justice (e.g. health, history of slavery and its legacies, post-colonial economic development etc.: see <https://www.caricom.org/caricom-ten-point-plan-for-reparatory-justice/>)
4. Creation of an interdisciplinary centre for the study of historical slavery and its legacies, including modern slavery and trafficking. This centre would combine scholarly research and teaching with public humanities, increasing knowledge and enhancing understanding of both historical and modern slavery, and the effects they have on and in modern day society. This would include collaboration with museums, schools and other public institutions. A long-term objective would be the creation and coordination of new courses, and the eventual development of programmes of study focused on slavery, trafficking and their effects.
5. The inauguration of an internal and rotating fixed-term named professorship, a post to be awarded to a University of Glasgow academic undertaking significant research relevant to historical slavery and reparative justice (which might, for example, include research into historical racial slavery; work on present day refugees and victims of trafficking; medical research into sickle cell anaemia; economic or political research

into post-colonial nations etc.). The professorship would be held for a fixed term (e.g. one or two years), and would include a public lecture, and other public-facing activities.

6. The naming of a major new University building or space to commemorate a significant figure, perhaps James McCune Smith, with appropriate signage and public-facing information, so that the University's campus and built environment can help enhance knowledge and understanding of the University's history and our present-day activities commemorating this history and pursuing policies of reparative justice.
7. In addition to the naming of a new building or campus space, a commemorative plaque will be added to the Gilbert Scott Building, explaining that this was the site of the house of Robert Bogle (<https://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/building/?id=131>), a wealthy West India merchant who owned a great many enslaved people (<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146633007>), and that people who made money from slave-ownership and the trade in slave-produced commodities were amongst the donors for the construction of these campus buildings.
8. Development of a Hunterian exhibition exploring the often unknown and unexpected ways in which some items within the collections are related to the history of racial slavery. Ideally this would continue as a permanent digital exhibition.
9. The creation of a creative arts and sciences series (under the auspices of the new centre), with performances, events and lectures ranging from poetry to film-making to medical and scientific research relating to both historical and present-day slavery, but also to research areas connected with issues arising from the heritage of slavery.

For two centuries awards, bursaries and buildings within the University of Glasgow have been named for people who made money from racial slavery. Part of the process of reparative justice would entail naming some of the schemes listed above for and in commemoration of the enslaved. James McCune Smith, as a formerly enslaved person who became a University of Glasgow student and a renowned abolitionist, is an obvious example. Others might include some of the enslaved people owned by people who had a role in the University and/or gave money to the University, such as Ardoch or Beniba mentioned above in Section 3. Also, we might use the name of an enslaved person who spent time in Scotland such as Jamie Montgomery. (Montgomery was brought from Virginia to Scotland in 1754. Montgomery was apprenticed to a carpenter in Beith, Ayrshire, and he began attending the local church where he was baptised. After several years Montgomery's owner Robert Sheddan determined to send Jamie back to Virginia and to make a profit by selling him as a now-skilled craftsman. Jamie escaped, and found refuge living and working as a joiner in Edinburgh. After the publication of a newspaper advertisement describing Jamie and offering a reward for his capture, Jamie was taken up and incarcerated in the Edinburgh tolbooth, where he perished).

## APPENDIX ONE:

### BURSARIES, ENDOWMENTS AND MORTIFICATIONS RESEARCH

#### Slavery-connected bursaries, endowments and mortifications at the University of Glasgow

##### *Summary*

The initial investigation of 43 bursaries, endowments and mortifications involved identifying not just donors but also the family members of donors, in order to establish as clearly as possible the sources of wealth which helped fund major gifts to the University. However, University and external records are often patchy at best, and the research process has been extremely challenging.

This research resulted in the identification of sixteen gifts with clear and demonstrable links to the profits from racial slavery. Eight of these were gifts from people or families who had owned and profited from direct ownership of enslaved people. Three of the sixteen were non-financial, including astronomical instruments donated by Alexander MacFarlane, a major book collection donated to the University Library by Smith Crutherland, and another book collection given by Sir William Stirling-Maxwell. It is beyond the remit of this report to assess the financial value of these gifts, both at the time and in the years since, but without doubt these instruments and book collections were of significant material and intellectual value to the University. However, the report that follows focuses on financial gifts.

Information exists about the initial value of thirteen of the sixteen financial gifts to the University of Glasgow. However, we have records of subsequent income or revenue for only eleven of these thirteen. It is tremendously difficult to assess the value of bursaries, endowments and mortifications dating back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. To begin with, there are different ways of calculating the present-day relative worth of £1 in a given year in the past. Furthermore, there is the issue of accrued value and interest earned in the years since, and how best to assess that in terms of value today, a task complicated by imprecise and incomplete University records. There is no precise way of doing this, and the process used here is described in the discussion of ‘Value’ in Appendix Two: Bursaries and Endowments research.

The thirteen financial endowments, bursaries and mortifications which were given by people (or the families of people) who had profited significantly from slavery and the trade in slave-produced goods were worth an estimated total of £64,6285 (cash value when given). However, while this amount represents the combined total of each gift, it is a relatively meaningless number: adding together a gift of £100 in 1750 and another gift of £100 in 1850 gives a total of £200, but gives no sense of the significant changes in the value of sterling over time (i.e. the sterling value of the gifts at the time they were made). However, after individually converting each gift to present-day value we have reached the following totals for the combined thirteen financial gifts, depending upon the formula used:

£6,165,230 (2016, RPI)

£26,921,100 (2016, WIG)

£87,817,000 (2016, ROW)

Added to this is the estimated present-day value of income earned by the University.  
Information exists for eleven gifts:

£9,525,085 (2016, RPI)

£33,166,567 (2016, WIG)

£91,149,619 (2016, ROW)

Range in estimates of TOTAL value of 13 financial gifts to the University, plus the income generated by 11 of these which has accrued to the University:

£15,690,315 (2016, RPI)

£60,087,667 (2016, WIG)

£178,966,619 (2016, ROW)

### ***Methodology***

Prof. Newman began by investigating a complete listing of these funds and compiled an assessment based on preliminary research highlighting some as red (high likelihood of money being connected with slavery: orange for possible connections and green for no connections. After further research into these, Dr. Mullen has investigated over twenty red cases. This has involved extensive research in University records, as well as genealogical and archival research in order to correctly identify those who gifted money, establishing how they and their family members made money, and tracing wealth and investment over multiple generations. Finding this kind of evidence can be both difficult and time-consuming. For example, in 1892 Mrs. Arthur of Barshaw granted an endowment to the University of Glasgow. Sixteen people named Arthur were granted compensation by the British government when slavery was ended in 1834; a number of people named Arthur had been merchants in Virginia, Greenock, Irvine and Ayr in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, trading in slave-produced tobacco. Moreover, Mrs. Arthur was related to the Coats family, thread manufacturers who were probably related to other people named Coats who traded between Greenock and South Carolina (slave-produced cotton), and yet more people named Coats who traded in slave produced tobacco from Virginia and Maryland during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This one example shows the difficulties involved in establishing whether or not some of the money of a person like Mrs. Arthur can said to be slavery-connected.

### ***Value***

There is a tremendous amount of work involved in assessing the changing value of endowments over time—how much an endowment generated in annual income, and how much more the principal was worth each year since its founding, and then adjusting those values to modern sums. As ascertaining annual capital or income from the University accounts is impossible give the scope of the project and paucity of records, the challenge has been to estimate how much any endowment generated each year between sample years, and what that earned income is worth today. This working estimate has been achieved by estimating annual capital and income from annual interest rates. Firstly, from university records, the annual value

of each endowment or bequest was identified in ‘snapshots’ from inception then at regular intervals (depending on completeness of records). For example, James Ewing donated £100 in 1828 to be used for the Ewing Prize. Available figures show its value in 1876, 1889, 1908, 1837, 1949, 1959, 1965, 1973, 1982, and 2017. The capital sum between those years has been estimated by averaging the two values at respective ‘snapshots’. For example, capital between 1828 and 1876 is estimated to be £108, based on the average of £100 in 1828 and £116 in 1876. This estimate is designed to reflect the growth in capital between 1828 and 1876. Income accruing from to the University each year from the capital sum (mainly used for student scholarships) was estimated by calculating interest on the estimated value.<sup>20</sup> This process was replicated for each year of the lifecycle of the endowment or bursary then converting the estimated income to 2016 values.

The table below shows broad results and value in 2016 terms using three different measures: **Relative Price Worth (RPW)** is an index number that represents the ‘average price’ of all goods/services purchased by a typical household or consumer in the base year, and then calculates the cost of those same goods and services in 2016 (allowing for inflation).

**Relative Wage or Income Growth (WIG)** calculates average earnings for all workers in the base year, and then calculates the average earnings for all workers in 2016 (allowing for inflation). It then calculates what proportion of annual wages (across the population) £x represented in 1830, and then applies that proportion to annual wages in 2016, thus arriving at a modern equivalent.

**Relative Output Worth (ROW)** is the most comprehensive comparison method. This calculates what percentage of national GDP an amount in the base year represented, and then applies that percentage to national GDP in 2016.

### ***Problems***

Financial and other records (both University and external) are missing for some cases, making it extremely difficult to complete the research and make an informed assessment. In other cases, endowments have been channeled through external bodies (particularly the Merchants House of Glasgow), limiting our knowledge. Moreover, at times the University may have earned significantly more from endowment accounts than interest: for example, during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century the University invested in railroad companies and like other investors made a great deal more money than would have been generated by annual interest: it is almost certain that some of the slavery-related funds increased in value through such investment. Finally, during the 1970s the University reorganized and consolidated endowments and bequests, amalgamating some which makes it all but impossible to determine the changing value and income of the original endowments after the 1970s. Endowments have massively increased in value since that date.

### ***Broad conclusions***

Sixteen endowments, bursaries and gifts have been identified whose donors had tangible connections to slavery and the trade in enslaved people and the commodities that they produced: there are almost certainly more, but it will be impossible to determine these without a great deal of further research. Three of the sixteen were non-financial (two important book

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<sup>20</sup> For interest rates, the ‘Measuring Worth’ resource includes estimated long-term interest rates for each year from 1729 to present. This study used the “Long-Term Rate: Consistent Series” which are based upon returns on annuities (1729-1752), consols (1753-1918) and British-government securities (1919-present). The “Long-Term Rate: Consistent Series” was chosen as it smooths (by linking) the change in concept from annuities to more conventional securities, providing a more sophisticated analysis. See Samuel H. Williamson, ‘Sources of Interest Rates’, *Measuring Worth*, Available: <https://measuringworth.com/datasets/interestrates/sources2.php> Accessed: 21 May 2018.

collections gifted to the library by Smith Crutherland and by Stirling-Maxwell, and the MacFarlane bequest consisting of astronomical instruments). No assessment has been made of the financial value of these (or of other benefits which might be said to include the Regius Professorship of Astronomy, which came to the University in part because of the MacFarlane bequest). From those that have generated financial benefit, it has become clear that slavery-contaminated money in the form of endowments, bursaries and related gifts has been—and still is today—used by the university to support student bursaries; teaching (including academic staff salaries and the establishment of chairs and/or departments); the development of the library, including books and annual grants, and the development of infrastructure, including buildings.

### *Slavery connections*

Of the sixteen slavery-associated gifts, endowments and bursaries, six were made by donors who have been identified as merchants trading in slave-grown produce such as sugar, cotton tobacco, or as people who owned slaves, including some who received compensation from the British government when enslaved people they owned were emancipated. For example, James Ewing was amongst the most prominent West India slaveowners and merchants during Glasgow's 'golden age' of sugar, 1790-1838. Ewing is associated with three separate gifts, bursaries and prizes to the University of Glasgow between 1828 and 1909 (the latter long after his death in 1853). Another six of the donors are individuals whose wealth was inherited from fathers or brothers who were slave-owners or merchants trading in slave-grown produce. For example, the Bellahouston bequests were provided by the Steven siblings who accumulated a fortune of £500,000 in 1875 (worth as much as £243 million in 2016, depending on the comparator used), much of which came from their father, Moses Steven, a partner in a West India firm in Glasgow during the 1820s. Another donor, the famous inventor James Watt, was the son of a West India merchant and slave-trader who supported Watt in his career: indeed, Watt worked for his father as a mercantile agent in Glasgow during the 1750s. Furthermore, Caribbean planters who needed to process sugar cane were significant consumers of James Watt's steam-engines. It is certain that Watt profited from slavery and its commerce, but exact quantification is impossible.

**Table 1:** The donors' connection to New World slavery

<b>Title</b>	<b>Est.</b>	<b>Slavery Connection</b>
Bellahouston	1892	Inherited; father was a WI merchant
Breadalbane	1863	Compensation claimant, 1834
Brown	1697	Tobacco merchant
Buchanan (Bellfield)	1875	Inherited; father was a cotton merchant
Denny (Archibald)	1937	Inherited; father was a 'Blockade Runner'
Dinwiddie	1770	Colonial official/slaveowner
Dowanhill	1865	Inherited; father was a WI merchant
Ewing; Ewing/Buchanan	1879-1909; 1909	Slaveowner/WI merchant
Ewing Prize	1828	Slaveowner/WI merchant
Gartmore	1788	Slaveowner
MacFarlane bequest	1755	Slaveowner
Rainy	1937	Inherited; father was a slaveowner
Smith Crutherland	1849	Compensation claimant, 1834
Stirling-Maxwell	1956	Inherited; father was a slaveowner
Stuart	1809	Personal slaveowner
Watt	1808	Involved with WI commerce

### *Historic Values of Bequests*

The single largest bequest to the University of Glasgow amongst the sixteen cases was the Bellahouston bequest. Whilst the Ewing/Buchanan bequest is also very large, the University was not gifted the principal and only the income is gifted to the University (since the gift was to and is administered by the Merchants House).

**Table 2:** Establishment year, value of mortification, and contemporary estimates (2016 figures)

Title	Value	Est.	RPW	WIG	ROW
Bellahouston	£36,145	1892	£3,610,000.00	£15,500,000.00	£49,900,000.00
Breadalbane	£1000 (estimate)	1863	£87,800.00	£640,000.00	£2,200,000.00
Brown	£100 stg.	1697	£12,500.00	£213,000.00	£2,400,000.00
Buchanan (Bellfield)	£3,772	1875	£326,000.00	£1,790,000.00	£5,900,000.00
Denny (Archibald)	£465	1937	£27,500.00	£74,900.00	£175,000.00
Dinwiddie	£100 (for books)	1770	£12,700.00	£164,000.00	£1,500,000.00
Dowanhill	£100 (estimate)	1865	£8,770.00	£63,800.00	£205,000.00
Ewing;		1879-1909;			
Ewing/Buchanan	£20,000	1909	£1,910,000.00	£7,260,000.00	£19,100,000.00
Ewing Prize	£100	1828	£7,860.00	£79,400.00	£433,000.00
Gartmore	£100	1788	£11,600.00	£144,000.00	£1,130,000.00
MacFarlane bequest	Astronomy instruments	1755			
Rainy	£1500 (estimate)	1937	£88,800.00	£242,000.00	£564,000.00
Smith Crutherland	Pamphlets	1849			
Stirling-Maxwell	Pamphlets	1956			
Stuart	£603	1809	£40,200.00	£499,000.00	£2,790,000.00
Watt	£300	1808	£21,500.00	£251,000.00	£1,520,000.00
<b>Totals</b>			<b>£6,165,230</b>	<b>£26,921,100</b>	<b>£87,817,000</b>

### *Historic Income*

Estimating the income accruing to the University over the life of these gifts is very complicated. For example, of James Stuart's bursaries, records only exist for the years 1800 to 1826. Our approximate overall assessment of the income accruing to the University from these eleven endowments, bursaries and gifts (during the period up to 2016) (2016) is:

**£9,525,085 (RPW)**

**£33,166,567 (WIG)**

**£91,149,619 (ROW)**

**Table 3:** Value of Income accruing to the University from mortifications/bursaries (2016 figures)

Title	Value	Est.	RPW	WIG	ROW
Bellahouston	£36,145	1892	£3,770,170.00	£14,638,740.00	£40,760,260.00
Breadalbane	£1000 (estimate)	1863	£1,007,620.00	£3,130,500.00	£7,525,400.00
Brown	£100 stg.	1697		No available data	
Buchanan (Bellfield)	£3,772	1875	£972,050.00	£3,243,640.00	£8,150,220.00
Denny (Archibald)	£465	1937	£154,527.88	£216,631.88	£294,253.88
Dinwiddie	£100 (for books)	1770		Not monetary income	
Dowanhill	£100 (estimate)	1865	£427,870.00	£1,228,194.00	£3,075,464.00
Ewing;		1879-1909;			
Ewing/Buchanan	£20,000	1909	£1,337,591.00	£3,821,031.00	£8,414,131.00
Ewing Prize	£100	1828	£371,366.00	£730,160.00	£1,652,240.00
Gartmore	£100	1788	£296,471.00	£1,517,480.00	£6,455,850.00
MacFarlane bequest	Astronomy instruments	1755		Not monetary income	
Rainy	£1500 (estimate)	1937	£591,240.00	£1,968,930.00	£4,797,550.00
Smith Crutherland	Pamphlets	1849		Not monetary income	
Stirling-Maxwell	Pamphlets	1956		Not monetary income	
Stuart	£603	1809	£56,850.00	£676,800.00	£3,734,600.00
Watt	£300	1808	£539,329.00	£1,994,460.00	£6,289,650.00
<b>Totals</b>			<b>£9,525,085</b>	<b>£33,166,567</b>	<b>£91,149,619</b>

As Table 4 below shows, of the eleven identified gifts which generated income over time, five were amalgamated in 1979 into the ‘The University of Glasgow (Bursaries, Fellowships and Scholarships) Investment Fund’. The present-day capital value and the income earned from five funds is unknown, since disaggregation is impossible. There is no surviving data for others, such as the Brown Bursaries.

**Table 4:** Current (known) values of bequests/mortifications

Title	Value	Est.	Last known value	Status
Bellahouston	£36,145	1892	£90,215.51 (2017)	Live
Breadalbane	£1000 (estimate)	1863	£14,829 (1974)	Amalgamated in 1979
Brown	£100 stg.	1697	Unknown	Unknown
Buchanan (Bellfield)	£3,772	1875	£9,925 (1974)	Amalgamated in 1979
Denny (Archibald)	£465	1937	£33,227 (2017)	Live
Dinwiddie	£100 (for books)	1770		
Dowanhill	£100 (estimate)	1865	£43,389 (ave. 2014-7)	
Ewing;				Administered by Merchants House
Ewing/Buchanan	£20,000	1879-1909	Unknown	
Ewing Prize	£100	1828	£99,998 (ave. 2014-7)	Live
Gartmore	£100	1788	£3231 (1974)	Amalgamated in 1979

MacFarlane bequest	Astronomy instruments	1755		
Rainy	£1500 (estimate)	1937	£6,358 (1974)	Amalgamated in 1979
Smith Crutherland	Pamphlets	1849		
Stirling-Maxwell	Pamphlets	1956		
Stuart	£603	1809	Unknown	Unknown
Watt	£300	1808	£6,237 (1965)	Amalgamated in 1979

### BURSARIES: RESEARCH

*What follows are the detailed research notes for each of the slavery-related bursaries, endowments, mortifications and gifts which have been investigated in detail.*

#### **Breadalbane Scholarships**

##### **Benefactors**

John Campbell (1796-1862), 2nd Marquess of Breadalbane bequeathed £100 to the University of Glasgow (on death) in 1862 (adding to donations made during his lifetime).<sup>21</sup>

##### **Biography**

John Campbell, politician and courtier, also known as Lord Glenorchy and Earl of Ormelie, was born in Dundee, Scotland on 26 October 1796. He was the son of John, fourth earl and first marquess of Breadalbane (1762–1834).<sup>22</sup> He attended Eton and matriculated at the University of Glasgow in 1813, and was afterwards elected Member of Parliament for Okehampton, 1820-26, and then Perthshire, 1832-34. He succeeded his father on 29 March 1834 as the second Marquess of Breadalbane and fifth Earl of Ormerlie. Campbell served as Rector of the University of Glasgow 1840-42. He died in Lausanne, Switzerland in 1862.<sup>23</sup>

##### **Slavery connection and source of wealth**

The *Legacies of British Slave Ownership* database reveals the ‘Marquis of Breadalbane’ was awarded compensation of £6630 5s 6d for 379 enslaved people on the Hope estate (plantation) in St Andrew, Jamaica on 25 July 1836. He claimed the compensation as the trustee of a marriage settlement (1819), likely that of his sister, Mary, who was married to the 2nd Duke of

<sup>21</sup> National Records of Scotland (hereafter NRS), SC 49/31/75, ‘Settlement and Trust Disposition and Codicil and Deed of Bequest by the Marquess of Breadalbane’, June 1863, p.1148.

<sup>22</sup> W. G. Blaikie, ‘Campbell, John, second marquess of Breadalbane (1796–1862)’, rev. H. C. G. Matthew, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006 Available: <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/4522>, Accessed 9 Aug 2017.

<sup>23</sup> W. Innes Addison, *The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow, From 1728 to 1858*, (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1913), p.268.

Buckingham, the previous owner of Hope estate.<sup>24</sup> It is possible John Campbell was not the principal beneficiary of the compensation.

### **Legacies: process**

John Breadalbane's settlement (proved in June 1863) stated:

And also specially under the burden of the annual payment in all time coming of one hundred Pounds to the university of Glasgow to be yearly paid to deserving students in that college as Scholarships or Bursaries to be called the Breadalbane Scholarships. And that in such proportions and according to such rules and regulations as shall be fixed by myself by a deed to that effect, and failing such deed, then the same shall be fixed and regulated by the Senatus Academicus of the said University, who shall forthwith determine and fix the said proportions rules and regulations which shall be observed in all time thereafter. And the annuity and annual payment aforesaid together with the expenses of the Trust shall be yearly paid out of the interest or annual proceeds of my Estate.<sup>25</sup>

### **Legacies: disbursement**

The bursaries were to be decided under regulations set by the Marquess of Breadalbane or by the Senate of the University of Glasgow.<sup>26</sup>

### **Income to the University of Glasgow**

In 1875, the Breadalbane Foundation was worth £1000, in an interest-bearing investment in Greenock and Ayrshire railway stock, which paid a yearly income of £45. In expenditure (£48), three bursaries of £16 were awarded.<sup>27</sup>

In 1909, The Breadalbane Foundation had increased in value to £4179, generated annual revenue of £121, and disbursed expenditures of £117 (two fellowships totaling £110, and miscellaneous).<sup>28</sup>

In 1924-25, the Breadalbane Foundation was worth c.£3581, from interest-bearing investments in London-Midland Railway Stock, Glasgow Corporation, and War Stock, which generated yearly income of c.£197. In expenditure, two bursaries of £40 were awarded.<sup>29</sup>

In 1936-7, the value was £5025, with a revenue of £209 and expenditure of £172 (£12 on factorage and miscellaneous, and £160 on fellowships).<sup>30</sup>

In 1948-9, the value was £8689, with a revenue of £214, 5s, 2d and expenditure of £12 (no scholarships awarded, and expenses of £12, 18s, 7d).<sup>31</sup>

<sup>24</sup> 'John Campbell, 2nd Marquis of Breadalbane', *Legacies of British Slave-ownership database*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/19525> Accessed 18th July 2018; 'Jamaica St Andrew 114 (Hope Estate)', *Legacies of British Slave-ownership database*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/19451> Accessed 18 July 2018.

<sup>25</sup> NRS, SC 49/31/75, 'Settlement and Trust Disposition and Codicil and Deed of Bequest by the Marquess of Breadalbane', June 1863, pp.1154-5.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p.1155.

<sup>27</sup> GUA, GB248/F2/10, 'Glasgow University Ledger, 1875-1878', p.196

<sup>28</sup> GUA, GB248/F2/29, 'Glasgow University Ledger, 1909: University of Glasgow Abstract of Accounts, 1907-8', p.24.

<sup>29</sup> GUA, GB248/F2/45, 'Glasgow University Ledger, 1924-25', p.519.

<sup>30</sup> GUA, F6/1/5/1, 'Abstract of Accounts 1936-43: Endowment Accounts, 1936-37', p.38.

<sup>31</sup> GUA F6/1/5/4, 'Abstract of Account 1948-53: Endowment Accounts, 1948-9', p.18.

In 1958-9, the 'Total fund' was valued at £8814, revenue of £280 and no expenditure (thus a surplus of £280).<sup>32</sup>

In 1964-5, the value was £9927, with an income of £549 and expenditure of £308.<sup>33</sup>

In 1973-4, the value was £14,829, with an income of £1018 and an expenditure of £832.<sup>34</sup>

In 1979, the Breadalbane Scholarship was amalgamated into 'The University of Glasgow (Bursaries, Fellowships and Scholarships) Investment Fund'.<sup>35</sup> From this point on it becomes impossible to assess the value and income generated from this gift, but both are likely to be considerable.

### ***Brown's Bursary***

#### **Benefactors**

From 1669, David Brown was a resident of Somerset County, Maryland, America. Brown's Bursary was established after his death in 1697.<sup>36</sup>

#### **Biography**

Colonel David Brown hailed from Glasgow and arrived in Somerset County in 1669. It is likely he was associated with a group of Scottish merchants in Maryland and he had connections with Paisley in Scotland.<sup>37</sup>

#### **Slavery connection and source of wealth**

David Brown was a pioneering Scottish tobacco merchant in Somerset County who helped introduce Presbyterianism to Maryland. One historian has described how he 'made a goodly fortune for his day and time'.<sup>38</sup>

#### **Legacies: process**

David Brown's last will and testament (19 July 1697) bequeathed 'unto the Colledge of Glasgow as a memoriall and support of any of my relations to be educated therein, to be payed in cash, or secured by good exchange to the Visitours, or to Mr. James Browne and William Carmichael for the use aforesaid, the full soume of Ane Hundred Pound Sterling current money of England, with all convenient speed after my decease. Item, I give and bequeath unto the said James Browne and William Carmichael, Five Pounds Sterling current money of England to be conveyed at the same tyme appointed them trustess that the aforesaid money be conveniently paid to the College as aforesaid'. It is unknown if the sum was paid in full, and it seems to have been paid in several instalments up to 1712.<sup>39</sup>

### **Income to the University of Glasgow**

<sup>32</sup> GUA, F6/1/4/1, 'Endowment Accounts, 1958-9', p.5.

<sup>33</sup> GUA, F6/1/4/7, 'Endowment Accounts, 1964-5', p.5.

<sup>34</sup> GUA, F6/1/5/9, 'Abstract of Accounts, 1972-7: Endowment Accounts, 1973-4', p.5.

<sup>35</sup> The terms of the University of Glasgow Scheme 1979 reorganised University endowments as 'Court and the Senate have found in increasingly difficult to award bursaries and scholarships because of restrictions laid down by donors'. See *University of Glasgow (Bursaries, Fellowships and Scholarships) Scheme* (1979), p.1, p.13.

<sup>36</sup> *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships, and Other Foundations, in the College and University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Maitland club, 1850), pp.130-131.

<sup>37</sup> Clayton Torrence, *Old Somerset on the Eastern Shore of Maryland*, (Baltimore, 1966), pp.363-5.

<sup>38</sup> Clayton Torrence, *Old Somerset on the Eastern Shore of Maryland*, (Baltimore, 1966), p.213.

<sup>39</sup> *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships, and Other Foundations, in the College and University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Maitland club, 1850), pp.130-131.

In 1697, David Brown of Somerset County left £100 sterling to the College of Glasgow.<sup>40</sup>

In 1715, £60 Scots was given to a student at the University. In 1720 and in 1723, relations of David Brown took up allowances from the mortification.<sup>41</sup>

In 1831, Brown's bursary paid £5 sterling to bursars during four years of study of languages and philosophy. It was described as a 'burden on the sub-deanery'.<sup>42</sup>

In 1844-5, Brown's Bursary paid £5 to bursars.<sup>43</sup>

In 1875, there appeared to be a cash income of £10, with £5 paid to bursars.<sup>44</sup>

In 1924-5, no available data.<sup>45</sup>

In 1936-37, there are four 'Brown Bursaries', but none of the names or conditions match this particular donor's terms, although it is impossible to be certain of the source of these grants.<sup>46</sup>

NB. There is no comprehensive data to ascertain historic income from this bequest.

### ***Buchanan (Bellfield) Testimonial***

#### **Benefactors**

Misses Jane and Elizabeth Buchanan of Bellfield, Kilmarnock left instructions which founded the Buchanan (Bellfield) Testimonial at the University of Glasgow in 1875.<sup>47</sup>

#### **Biographies**

George Buchanan of Woodlands (1755-1840), merchant in Glasgow, was the fifth son of James Buchanan of Carston. From his marriage with Jean Miller, he had one son, James (1785-1857) later a partner in cotton firm, James Finlay & Co., and three daughters, Margaret, Jane and Elizabeth, who became known as the Misses Buchanan of Bellfield.<sup>48</sup> The sisters were responsible for the bequests to the University of Glasgow.

#### **Slavery connection and source of wealth**

In 1789, George Buchanan, father of the Buchanan sisters, was listed as an 'English merchant and dealer in cotton yarn' based in Oswalds Close in the Stockwell, Glasgow.<sup>49</sup> An English merchant was a common term in eighteenth-century Glasgow for a 'wholesale warehouseman of his day, doing business over the border'.<sup>50</sup> The Buchanans were cousins with the Finlay family, and almost certainly sourced the cotton from James Finlay & Co., whose partners in the

<sup>40</sup> House of Commons Parliamentary Papers (hereafter HCPP) (1831), *Report made to His Majesty by a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the state of the Universities of Scotland*, p.268.

<sup>41</sup> *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships, and Other Foundations, in the College and University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Maitland club, 1850), pp.130-131.

<sup>42</sup> HCPP (1831), *Report made to His Majesty by a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the state of the Universities of Scotland*, p.268.

<sup>43</sup> *Report on Bursary and Prize Foundations, and other Endowments, in connection with the College* (1846), p.8.

<sup>44</sup> UGA, GB248/F2/10, Glasgow University Ledger, 1875-1878, p.74.

<sup>45</sup> UGA, GB248/F2/45, 'Glasgow University Ledger, 1924-25'.

<sup>46</sup> GUA, 'Abstract of Accounts 1936-43: Endowment Accounts, 1936-37', pp.22-4.

<sup>47</sup> NRS SC6/46/10 'Trust Disposition, Settlement, Codicils of Elizabeth Buchanan; Codicils', 24 July 1875, p.707.

<sup>48</sup> John Guthrie Smith, *Strathendrick and its inhabitants from early times*, (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1896), p.339.

<sup>49</sup> *Jones's Directory for the Year 1789 (Glasgow, 1789)*, p.9.

<sup>50</sup> 'James Finlay & Co. - An Old Glasgow Firm', *Glasgow Herald*, 17 April 1884, p.3.

1790s included Glasgow West India merchants, Archibald Smith and John Gordon. James Finlay & Co. was also in partnership with Glasgow-West India merchant firm, Leitch & Smith, between 1792 and 1823.<sup>51</sup> After 1813, James Finlay & Co. (then managed by Kirkman Finlay) traded with the East Indies. It is likely George Buchanan's fortune was derived from trade in cotton imported from the West Indies, and his son James' fortune derived from trade in East India cotton. The Misses Buchanan outlived their father and brother James and were said to have inherited legacies from both.<sup>52</sup>

### **Legacies: process**

Elizabeth Buchanan's settlement (proved on 4 July 1875) stated:

Quinto, That the said Trustees as soon as they conveniently can shall assign and convey to the Principal and Professors of the College of Glasgow, for the time being, but limited to the Principal and such of the Professors as hold their appointment from the University Court, the sum of Four Thousand Two Hundred Pounds Sterling, vested by us in reduced three percent annuities, to beholden to said reduced three percent annuities by the said Principal and Professors as Bursaries under the name and title of "The Buchanan Bursaries" for the maintenance and education of two matriculated students who may be prosecuting their studies at the University of Glasgow, with a view to becoming Licentiates and Clergymen of the Established Church of Scotland, and that during the whole curriculum of their studies at said University, or such portion thereof as to the said Principal and Professors may deem proper; and we do hereby appoint the said Principal and Professors for the time being, to be constant Patrons of the said two Bursaries and to nominate and present to the said Bursaries from time to time, two Students qualified as before mentioned, which students so nominated shall be entitled, equally between them to the free yearly produce of the said reduced three percent annuities, and that during the whole period embraced in their respective nominated to said Bursaries, further hereby authorise and empower the said Principal and Professors to pay and apply out of the first and of the annual produce or dividend of the said reduced three percent annuities all necessary charges and expenses attending the execution and management of this mortification; Declaring the major number of the said Principal and Professors for the time being to be a quorum with power to transact and perform all acts, deeds, matters or things which the said Principal and Professors are hereby empowered to do in the execution and engagement of this mortification.<sup>53</sup>

### **Legacies: disbursement**

As above, the Trustees of the Buchanan estate were to assign funds (from £4200) to the Principal and Professors of the University of Glasgow for two bursaries for students of the Church.

### **Income to the University of Glasgow**

In 1877, The Buchanan Bellfield Foundation was worth £3772 (held in 3% Govt. Annuities), which generated a dividend of £113 that year, with £108 paid to two bursars.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Stephen Mullen, 'A Glasgow-West India House and the Imperial Dividend, 1779-1867', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, (2013), p.204.

<sup>52</sup> Margaret, the eldest sister, died aged 71 on the 13th February 1864 of a heart attack. Jane, died aged 71 on 17th December 1867 from influenza and Elizabeth died aged 72 on 23rd April 1875. See 'The Buchanan Sisters', Available: <http://www.glasgowncropolis.org/profiles/buchanan-sisters/> Accessed: 18 July 2018.

<sup>53</sup> NRS SC6/46/10 'Trust Disposition, Settlement, Codicils of Elizabeth Buchanan; Codicils', 24 July 1875, pp.717-8

<sup>54</sup> GUA, GB248/F2/10, 'Glasgow University Ledger, 1875-1878', p.74.

In 1907-8, the Buchanan Bellfield Foundation was worth £3864, and generated annual revenue of £99, with expenditure that year of £100 (£94 on bursaries, and £6 on miscellaneous).<sup>55</sup>

In 1936-7, the value had grown to £5002, with annual revenue of £208 16s 3d, and annual expenditure of £106 (£94 in bursaries).<sup>56</sup>

In 1948-9, the value was £7135, with annual revenue of £205 11s 1d, and annual expenditure of £172 (£160 on bursaries and £12 expenses).<sup>57</sup>

In 1958-9, the 'Total Fund' value was £6771, with annual revenue of £226, and annual expenditure of £160.<sup>58</sup>

In 1964-65, The Buchanan Bellfield Foundation was worth £7282 (held in 3% Govt. Annuities), which generated income of £421 that year, with £140 of expenditure.<sup>59</sup>

In 1973-4, the value was £9925 (at 31.7.74), with annual income of £668 and an expenditure in that year of £345.<sup>60</sup>

In 1979, the Buchanan Bellfield Bursaries were amalgamated into 'The University of Glasgow (Bursaries, Fellowships and Scholarships) Investment Fund'.<sup>61</sup>

### ***Buchanan and Ewing Educational Bequest***

#### **Benefactors**

The two benefactors to the Buchanan and Ewing Educational Bequests were James Ewing of Strathleven (1775-1853) and James Buchanan (d. 1857) of 49 Moray Place, Edinburgh.<sup>62</sup>

#### **Biographies**

James Ewing of Strathleven, L.L.D. (1775-1853), West India merchant and planter, politician, philanthropist, was born in Glasgow, Scotland on 5 December 1775. He was the fifth eldest child (and second eldest son) of Walter Ewing Maclae of Cathkin House (d.1814) and Margaret Fisher (d.1815). His father was a merchant and arbiter in Glasgow who specialised in the bankruptcies of West India merchant firms and plantations. James Ewing matriculated at the University of Glasgow aged eleven in 1786.<sup>63</sup> Afterwards a leading West India merchant, plantation and slave-owner in Glasgow, James Ewing had an active role in the municipal affairs of the city. The University of Glasgow recognised his achievements with an honorary Doctor of Laws in 1826. James Ewing died in December 1853.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>55</sup> GUA, GB248/F2/29, 'Glasgow University Ledger, 1909: Abstract of Accounts, 1907-8', p.20-21.

<sup>56</sup> GUA, F6/1/5/1, 'Abstract of Accounts 1936-43: Endowment Accounts, 1936-37', pp.24-5.

<sup>57</sup> GUA F6/1/5/4, 'Abstract of Account 1948-53: Endowment Accounts, 1948-9', pp.4-5.

<sup>58</sup> GUA, F6/1/4/1, 'Endowment Accounts, 1958-9', p.2.

<sup>59</sup> GUA, F6/1/4/7, 'Endowment Accounts, 1964-5', p.2.

<sup>60</sup> GUA, F6/1/5/9, 'Abstract of Accounts, 1972-7: Endowment Accounts, 1973-4', p.2.

<sup>61</sup> *University of Glasgow (Bursaries, Fellowships and Scholarships) Scheme* (1979), p.1, p.13.

<sup>62</sup> Glasgow City Archives (hereafter GCA), T-MH, 56/6, 'Merchants House of Glasgow (Buchanan and Ewing Educational Bequests)', (1908), p.1.

<sup>63</sup> W. Innes Addison, *The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow, From 1728 to 1858*, (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1913), p.147; Macintosh Mackay, *Memoir of James Ewing Esq., of Strathleven*, (Glasgow: James Maclehose, 1866), p.18-20.

<sup>64</sup> Stephen Mullen, 'James Ewing (1775-1853)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2016 Available: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/53100>, Accessed 2 August 2017.

James Buchanan was the son of a farrier near the Trongate at Glasgow. He travelled to the West Indies at an early age and has no known connection with the University of Glasgow. After accumulating a fortune in Grenada, Jamaica and Brazil, Buchanan was said to have retired aged thirty-three in 1816 and returned to Scotland and invested his fortune. He lived in Moray Place, Edinburgh and died on 21 December 1857.<sup>65</sup>

### **Slavery connection and source of wealth**

#### James Ewing

James Ewing had a long connection with the West Indies across his commercial career. The Glasgow-West India merchant firm James Ewing & Co. was formed around 1803 and it is also likely he inherited some of his father's business interests. In 1807, he was one of the leading influences behind the establishment of the Glasgow West India Association, which became the strongest pro-slavery lobbying group outside of London in the period up to the emancipation of slavery in 1834.<sup>66</sup> Ewing retained interests in the West Indies for the rest of his life. As a West India merchant in Glasgow, he imported sugar and cotton and profited from commission. He also exported goods such as textiles and foodstuffs to slave plantation owners in Jamaica.<sup>67</sup> The merchant firm would also have extended credit to slave-owners. There is no record of Ewing ever visiting Jamaica, although he had significant interests in and on the island. It is likely he took ownership of Taylor Caymanas plantation and its enslaved workers in St Catherine, Jamaica in 1832 (which he retained until his death).<sup>68</sup> He also held security over slaves on other plantations (which effectively constituted legal ownership). On the emancipation of all enslaved people in British colonies James Ewing claimed over £9,000 in compensation for slaves on Minard and Caledonia in St Anns, Taylor Caymanas in St Catherine and Palmetto River in St Thomas in the East, all in Jamaica.<sup>69</sup> Ewing accumulated a fortune from multiple sources. Although he retained his interests in the West Indies for the duration of his life, he diversified into the East Indies from the 1810s onwards. Ewing also operated a shipping business to the West Indies during the 1820s. He was therefore at once a West India merchant in Glasgow, an absentee owner of Jamaican plantations, an East India merchant, and a shipping agent. He also had significant investments in Muirkirk Ironworks, the Scottish cotton dying industry as well the Glasgow Union Bank. At the time of his death in 1853, Ewing's vast estate (£281,296, 14s. 7d.) thus came from multiple sources as a merchant, financier, landowner and industrialist in Scotland, as a plantation owner in Jamaica and slavery compensation beneficiary, as well trading with the East Indies. However, Ewing's involvement in West Indian slavery was vital during the formative stages of his business career endured throughout his commercial career, and the profits from Jamaican slavery provided the foundation for Ewing's expansion into other profitable enterprises.<sup>70</sup>

#### James Buchanan

James Buchanan travelled to St George's, Grenada in 1800 to work with the Glasgow-West India merchant firm Dennistoun, Buchanan & Company.<sup>71</sup> There is no record that Buchanan ever owned slaves although his role involved profiteering from commerce related to chattel

<sup>65</sup> *Historical Sketch of The Buchanan Institution Glasgow*, (Glasgow: Buchanan Trust, 1913), pp.1-6.

<sup>66</sup> GCA, TD1683/1/1, 'Abstract of the Glasgow West India Association', pp.6-8.

<sup>67</sup> Glasgow University Special Collections, MS GEN 519/29, 'Letter from James Ewing to AW Hamilton, Jamaica', 18 October 1819.

<sup>68</sup> 'Taylor's Caymanas [Jamaica | St Catherine]', *Legacies of British Slave-ownership database*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/3139> Accessed 18 July 2018

<sup>69</sup> 'James Ewing of Strathleven', *Legacies of British Slave-ownership database*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/21020> Accessed 18 July 2018

<sup>70</sup> NRS, SC65/34/7/183-207, 'Inventory of James Ewing', 24 February 1854.

<sup>71</sup> *Historical Sketch of The Buchanan Institution, Glasgow* (Buchanan Trust, 1816).

slavery. As a junior worker in Grenada, his role might have included managing the store and conducting business with resident slave plantation owners and managers (as well as supervising enslaved workers connected with the store). After a seven-year training period under Wilson in Grenada, James Buchanan became the firm's managing partner in Kingston, Jamaica and Rio De Janeiro, Brazil (also a slave-owning society). In a more senior commercial role, he might have been responsible for financial business including the management of a firm's activities including the loaning of mortgages to resident slave-owners. After his return to Scotland in 1816, Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co.'s minute books confirm he was still involved in the company's trading activities as late as October 1825.<sup>72</sup> James Buchanan subsequently accumulated a major portfolio of shares and investments in commerce and industry, including Scottish and English railways and American banks and insurance companies. He also acquired urban property in Glasgow and a luxurious home in Moray Place in Edinburgh's New Town. Upon his death in December 1857, Buchanan had a personal fortune of over £124,000 (and more in heritable property).<sup>73</sup>

Buchanan spent sixteen years in the West Indies (seven in Grenada, nine in Jamaica and Brazil), and then about forty-two years in Edinburgh investing the money he had made in commerce, land and industry across Scotland, England and America. His wealth at the time of his death was therefore derived from multiple sources. At the very least, however, the initial accumulation of capital was probably acquired in the West Indies and Brazil (although there are no extant records documenting how much wealth he accumulated during these years) which facilitated later profitable investments, some of which became the Ewing/Buchanan bequest approximately fifty-two years after his death.

### **Legacies: process**

#### James Ewing bequest

James Ewing's post-mortem bequests (although not initially intended for the University) were substantial. On his death in 1853, James Ewing endowed at least £70,000 (c.25 percent of his wealth on death, of c. £281,000) to individuals, religious institutions and charities mainly in the west of Scotland. The bequests relevant to this study here were initially bequeathed to the Merchants House of Glasgow. In his Trust Disposition and Settlement of 9 September 1844 and registered in the Books of Council and Session on 9 December 1853, James Ewing left large sums to the Merchants House. Firstly, £10,000 was to be invested in heritable or personal security and interest to be used in 'pensions or allowances to decayed Glasgow merchants'. Secondly, £10,000 was also to be invested in securities and interest to be used for:

The purpose of educating, training, and settling in business the sons of decayed Glasgow merchants to be allocated in such sums and allowances as they may from time to time judge most expedient.

Thirdly, another £10,000 was to be invested in heritable and personal security with the interest to be used 'for pensions and allowances to widows and daughters of decayed Glasgow merchants'.<sup>74</sup> One third of the overall James Ewing bequest (i.e. £10,000 for the 'sons of decayed Glasgow merchants', known as Ewing's Bequest No.2) was repurposed in 1879 to

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<sup>72</sup> University of Glasgow, Special Collections, MS Murray 605, 'Minute book of Dennistoun, Buchanan, & Co. Glasgow, 1806-42'.

<sup>73</sup> NRS SC70/1/98, 'Inventory of James Buchanan', 10 July 1858, pp.82-101. Buchanan had property valued at £31,553 in Scotland, £11,625 in England and \$361,533 in America (c.£81,426, based on exchange rate of £1 to \$4.44). See Markus A. Denzel, *Handbook of World Exchange Rates, 1590-1914*, (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), p.405.

<sup>74</sup> NRS, SC65/34/7, 'Inventory, Trust Disposition and Settlement of James Ewing', 24 February 1854, pp.199-200.

establish 'James Ewing Entrance Bursaries' at the University of Glasgow and was once again realigned in 1909 to make up approximately half of the Ewing/Buchanan bequest.<sup>75</sup>

### James Buchanan Bequest

In his Trust Disposition and Settlement of 17 February 1852, and three relative Codicils of 16, 17 and 20 May 1857, all registered in the Books of Council and Session on 15 February 1858, James Buchanan bequeathed £10,000 to the Merchants House to be placed in an Educational Trust to be used for 'sons of decayed members of the Merchants House'.<sup>76</sup> The relevant section of Buchanan's settlement shows he bequeathed 'for behoof of the Merchants House of Glasgow the sum of Ten Thousand Pounds...in name of the Merchants House Glasgow in Trust for Educational Purposes on behalf of the sons of decayed members of the said Corporation...to be exclusively appropriated and expended towards the Education of the sons of decayed members: and granting Bursaries to such of them as give evidence of future eminence in such a manner as the Directors of the Merchants House may deem best'.<sup>77</sup>

### **Legacies: disbursement**

#### James Ewing Entrance Bursaries

In 1879, the Merchants House of Glasgow began a process of granting small mortifications and bursaries under their charge to 'greater practical advantage'. In order to do this, the Merchants House petitioned the Home Secretary of Scotland in order to repurpose funds given to them earlier. What is clear, however, is the Merchants House already had legal authority to alter the terms of the Ewing bequest of 1853. Indeed, the relevant minutes state:

The Directors have further to report that having power under the Deed of Endowment by the late Mr James Ewing of Strathleven they purpose to apply annually £80 of the income of his Legacy of £10,000 "for Educating Training and Settling in Business the sons of Decayed Glasgow Merchants" in entrance bursaries of £20 each in the Faculty of Arts at the University, to be designated the "James Ewing Entrance Bursaries" and to be tenable by Students attending the ordinary curriculum of the Faculty of Arts, under such legislations as the Lord Dean and Directors in conjunction with the Senate of the University may from time to time deem expedient.

The University of Glasgow, therefore, directly received funds from Ewing's bequest – via the Merchants House – at least from 1879, when the James Ewing Entrance Bursary was established in the spirit of disbursing revenues to 'greater practical advantage'.<sup>78</sup> By the end of the 19th century, however, and due to the declining influence of the Merchants House in the commercial life of the city (fewer individuals were matriculating with the organisation), there were no longer a sufficient number of eligible candidates who met the strict requirements for the bursaries.

### The Buchanan and Ewing Educational Bequests

By the early 1900s, the Merchants House faced the same issues as they had a quarter century before: large bequests were governed by anachronistic, strict legal injunctions which meant that disbursement of funds was increasingly difficult. Indeed, in 1908, there was only one application to the Buchanan and Ewing bequests and a surplus revenue of £5,000 accrued that

<sup>75</sup> GCA, T-MH, 56/6, 'Merchants House of Glasgow', p.2; GCA, T-MH, 1/14, 'Minutes, 1908-1915', Annual Report 1910, p.2.

<sup>76</sup> GCA, T-MH, 56/6, 'Merchants House of Glasgow', p.1.

<sup>77</sup> NRS, SC70/4/58, 'Trust Disposition and Settlement of James Buchanan', 10 July 1858, pp.775-6.

<sup>78</sup> GCA, T-MH 1/10 'Merchants House Minutes, 1879-1887', pp.59-60.

year. It was recognised that change was required and that both James Ewing's and James Buchanan's bequest should be merged. In creating the Ewing/Buchanan bequest, the intention of the Merchants House was 'to enable the objects of the Founders (i.e. Ewing and Buchanan), in accordance with the spirit of their intentions, to be carried out in a useful and judicious manner adapted to the Educational requirements of the present day'.<sup>79</sup>

The Merchants House commissioned a lawyer, Sir Henry Craik, MP for Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities, to undertake a report on the endowments in order to put them to greater use. Craik concluded the restriction of the respective settlements had become 'insignificant in comparison with the magnitude of the endowment'. Craik noted the declining influence of the Merchants House on the commercial life of Glasgow. Therefore, the persons intended to benefit from the bequests were no longer automatically matriculated members, which he attributed to the vast changes in the economic and social structure of the west of Scotland. Craik suggested a new course:

- Be in consonance with the aims of the Founders
- Maintain, in spirit, the class of beneficiaries intended, although that class has increased beyond the definition adequate when the Wills were made.
- Preserve the salient features of the allocation which the Founders had in view.

In addition to this course, Craik recommended a number of practical steps:

- Contribution to lectureships and professorships in the University of Glasgow
- Contributions to educational institutions of recognised public utility
- Establishment of scholarships or exhibitions...to be conferred on especially meritorious students.

Craik recommended a contribution to the proposed Professorship of Scottish History and Literature at the University of Glasgow, and he suggested that bursaries be made more generally available for male candidates (but not females because, Craik argued, ample provision for females was already made in other Ewing bequests), although this was later amended and made gender neutral.<sup>80</sup>

A Scottish Office Report of December 1908 also noted the changes in the Scottish Educational system since the bequests were initially made and observed the Craik recommendations. In order to merge the bequests and to disseminate them in such a manner, an Order of the Secretary for Scotland confirmed by Parliament under the provisions of the Private Legislation procedure (Scotland) Act 1899 was required. This order was titled The Merchants House of Glasgow (Buchanan and Ewing Bequests) Order 1909. There were a number of regulations set out in the Order, including interpretation of settlements, administration of funds, trust purposes.<sup>81</sup> In 1909, the joint bequests stood at around £22,000 (held in interest capital investments in, for example, railways in Scotland and England).<sup>82</sup>

In order to disseminate the funds, an open advertisement was placed in national newspapers (*Daily Herald*, *Daily Record* and the *Scotsman* and *Evening Citizen*) in February 1910:

#### Buchanan and Ewing Bequests

The Directors of the Merchants House are prepared to receive applications for Grants in connection with the above bequests. In terms of the provisional order, regulating the administration of the above bequests, and for the purposes thereof, Grants may, inter

<sup>79</sup> GCA, T-MH, 1/14, 'Minutes, 1908-1915', October 1909.

<sup>80</sup> GCA, T-MH 56/5 'Report by Sir Henry Craik, M.P., on the Administration of the Bequests for Education by James Buchanan and James Ewing', (1908).

<sup>81</sup> GCA, T-MH, 56/6, 'Merchants House of Glasgow'.

<sup>82</sup> GCA, T-MH, 1/14, 'Merchants House: Notanda by the Collector for Report on the future Administration of the Funds of the BUCHANAN and EWING EDUCATIONAL BEQUESTS', November 1909.

alia, be made in aid of Colleges, Schools, or Institutions in the City of Glasgow, providing Higher or Technical, or Artistic Education, suitable and available for the education of the sons of persons who are or who have been members of the Merchants House, or in the position of Merchants in Glasgow; or in contributing to the revenues of Professorships or Lectureships, or for the additional or better equipment of such institutions & c. Applications addressed to the subscriber will be duly considered by the Directors.<sup>83</sup>

On 3 June 1910, after several applications from institutions across Glasgow, a committee decided on how to best disseminate an annual fund (a decision which was to be reviewed on a five-yearly basis). The University of Glasgow (or in association with the Royal Infirmary) received £250 per annum (from approx. £800). The relevant awards were 'University of Glasgow for Scholarship or other purpose' (£100); 'Royal Infirmary University Lectureship' (£100) and 'Chair of Scottish History at Glasgow University' (£50).<sup>84</sup> The first instalment of these sums was paid on 1 November 1910, including an equally apportioned distribution of surplus for that year (£194).<sup>85</sup> By 1925, the £100 for 'Scholarship or other purpose' was used for a lectureship in Russian History at the University of Glasgow (and was still used for this purpose up to 1952).<sup>86</sup>

### **Income to the University of Glasgow**

#### James Ewing Entrance bursary, 1879-1909

The 'James Ewing Entrance Bursaries' provided annual bursaries for arts students at the University of Glasgow between 1879 and 1909. £80 per annum was proposed (£20 each student), and in the sampled years (1901, 1909) an average of three per year (£60) were awarded.<sup>87</sup>

#### Ewing/Buchanan bequest, 1879-present day

The Ewing/Buchanan Bequest (held by the Merchants House) was valued at £20,000 in 1910, with expenditure of £850 per annum in 1910.<sup>88</sup> In 1925, the expenditure was £905.<sup>89</sup> In 1963, expenditure was £1,190.<sup>90</sup>

NB. Not all this income was awarded to the University of Glasgow and identifying the precise amount of financial benefit to the University is immensely difficult. For example, some of the income was amalgamated into a larger pot for a Chair in Scottish History and Literature, and precisely how much came and comes from the Ewing/Buchanan bequest is impossible to ascertain. But based on years with available data, the University of Glasgow received, on average, between a quarter and a third of the overall total: (1915, £250; 1920, £250; 1925, £250).

#### Available data.

In 1910, the University of Glasgow (in association with the Royal Infirmary) received £250 per annum. The relevant awards were 'University of Glasgow for Scholarship or other purpose'

<sup>83</sup> GCA, T-MH, 1/14, 'Minutes, 1908-1915', pp.108-9.

<sup>84</sup> GCA, T-MH, 1/14, 'Minutes, 1908-1915', pp.119.

<sup>85</sup> GCA, T-MH, 1/14, 'Minutes, 1908-1915', pp.162-163.

<sup>86</sup> GCA, T-MH, 1/17, 'Minutes, 1925-30', p.2; GUA, GB248/F2/97, 'Ledger Account 1951-52', p.378.

<sup>87</sup> GCA, T-MH 1/10 'Merchants House Minutes, 1879-1887', p.60.

<sup>88</sup> GCA, T-MH, 1/14, 'Minutes, 1908-1915', pp.119, pp.162-163.

<sup>89</sup> GCA, T-MH, 1/17, 'Minutes, 1925-30', p.2.

<sup>90</sup> GCA, T-MH, 94, 'Annual Report October 1963', pp.14-5.

(£100); ‘Royal Infirmary University Lectureship’ (£100) and ‘Chair of Scottish History at Glasgow University’ (£50).<sup>91</sup>

In 1952, the University of Glasgow received £250 - used for a Lectureship in Russian History (£100) and the Chair in Scottish History (£150).<sup>92</sup>

1964-5, no accounts available.

1973, no accounts available.

1982, no accounts available.

In 2001, the University of Glasgow received £1880 (£790, Russian Lectureship) and (£1090, Chair of Scottish History and Literature).<sup>93</sup>

In 2017, the University of Glasgow received £1703 (£717, Russian Lectureship) and (£986, Chair of Scottish History and Literature).<sup>94</sup>

### ***Gartmore Gold Medal***

#### **Benefactors**

Robert Cunninghame Graham of Gartmore was Rector of the University of Glasgow, 1785-87. He founded the Gartmore Gold Medal in 1788, to be given every two years for the best discourse on ‘Political liberty’.<sup>95</sup>

#### **Biography**

Graham [*later* Cunninghame Graham], Robert, of Gartmore (1735–1797), politician and poet, was born at Gartmore, Perthshire, the second son of Nicol or Nicolas Graham (1694/5–1775), laird of Gartmore, and Lady Margaret Cunninghame (1703/4–1789), daughter of William, twelfth earl of Glencairn.<sup>96</sup> Robert matriculated at Glasgow University in 1749. He was elected Rector of the University of Glasgow, 1785-87. He founded the Gartmore Gold Medal in 1788. M.P. for Stirlingshire, 1794-96. Died at Gartmore, 11th December 1797, aged 62.<sup>97</sup>

#### **Slavery connection and source of wealth**

Robert Graham travelled to Jamaica in 1752, where he became Receiver-General of Taxes. During this time, he was elected to the Jamaica Assembly for St Davids (a political assembly reserved for the plantocracy class). He was resident in Jamaica up to 1771, disposing of personal slaves when he departed in April to live as an absentee planter and landowner in Scotland.<sup>98</sup> The *Legacies of British Slaveownership* project reveals him as a mortgagee in possession of Lucky Hill and Roaring River estates. De facto ownership of the latter estate, in

<sup>91</sup> GCA, T-MH, 1/14, ‘Minutes, 1908-1915’, pp.119.

<sup>92</sup> UGA, GB248/F2/97, ‘Ledger Account 1951-52’, p.378.

<sup>93</sup> University of Glasgow, Finance and Procurement Office information.

<sup>94</sup> University of Glasgow, Finance and Procurement Office information.

<sup>95</sup> *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships, and Other Foundations, in the College and University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Maitland club, 1850), p.206.

<sup>96</sup> John Walker, ‘Graham, Robert, of Gartmore (1735–1797)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 Available: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11220>, Accessed 15 August 2017.

<sup>97</sup> W. Innes Addison, *The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow, From 1728 to 1858*, (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1913), p.40.

<sup>98</sup> National Library of Scotland, Acc.11335/179, ‘Letter-books of Robert Graham, Kingston, 1770-71’, p.83.

St Ann, between 1770 and 1788 suggests he was in possession of enslaved people in Jamaica whilst Rector of Glasgow University and whilst he founded the Gartmore Prize.<sup>99</sup>

### **Legacies: process**

The deed executed by Robert Graham bequeathing £100 to the University of Glasgow is fully transcribed in *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships, and Other Foundations, in the College and University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Maitland club, 1850), pp.208-213.

### **Income to the University of Glasgow**

In 1788, Robert Graham bequeathed £100 for the Gartmore Prize.<sup>100</sup>

In 1889, the value was £579, which generated revenue of £25, and expenditure of £7.<sup>101</sup>

In 1907-8, the Gartmore Prize was worth £777, generated revenue of £32, with expenditure of £29 (of which £27 was spent on fellowships).<sup>102</sup>

In 1924-25, the Gartmore Prize was £756, generated revenue of £35 (with £22 given to one bursar).<sup>103</sup>

In 1936-7, the value of the Gartmore Prize was £1244, with revenue of £52 and expenditure of £38 (of which £35 went to fellowships).<sup>104</sup>

In 1948-9, the value of the Gartmore Prize was £2970, with revenue of £54 and expenditure of £43 (of which £40 went to prizes).<sup>105</sup>

In 1958-9, the value of the Gartmore Prize was £1888, with revenue of £71 and expenditure of £60.<sup>106</sup>

In 1964-5, the value of the Gartmore Prize was £2148, with income of £138 and expenditure of £50.<sup>107</sup>

In 1973-4, the value of the Gartmore Prize was £3231, with an income of £244 and an expenditure of £165.<sup>108</sup>

In 1979, the Gartmore Foundation was amalgamated into 'The University of Glasgow (Bursaries, Fellowships and Scholarships) Investment Fund'.<sup>109</sup>

### **Rainy Bursaries Benefactors**

<sup>99</sup> 'Robert Cunninghame Graham', *Legacies of British Slave-ownership database*, Available: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/-719617813> Accessed 18 July 2018.

<sup>100</sup> *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships, and Other Foundations, in the College and University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Maitland club, 1850), pp.208-213.

<sup>101</sup> *Annual Report on the state of the Finances of the University of Glasgow*, 1889-90, pp.12-13.

<sup>102</sup> GUA, GB248/F2/29, 'Glasgow University Ledger, 1909: Abstract of Accounts, 1907-8', pp.24-25.

<sup>103</sup> GUA, GB248/F2/45, Glasgow University Ledger, 1924-25, p.575

<sup>104</sup> GUA, F6/1/5/1, 'Abstract of Accounts 1936-43: Endowment Accounts, 1936-37', pp.46-7.

<sup>105</sup> GUA F6/1/5/4, 'Abstract of Account 1948-53: Endowment Accounts, 1948-9', p.30

<sup>106</sup> GUA, F6/1/4/1, 'Endowment Accounts, 1958-9', p.7.

<sup>107</sup> GUA, F6/1/4/7, 'Endowment Accounts, 1964-5', p.8.

<sup>108</sup> GUA, F6/1/5/9, 'Abstract of Accounts, 1972-7: Endowment Accounts, 1973-4', p.8.

<sup>109</sup> *University of Glasgow (Bursaries, Fellowships and Scholarships) Scheme* (1979), p.1, p.16.

Founded in 1872 by Harry Rainy, MD, Professor of Medical Jurisprudence, 1841-72. RAINY Bursaries (four: £750 x 2): Awarded biannually to students of Anatomy, Biochemistry and Physiology/Pharmacology who have completed two years of the regular medical curriculum at the University. From 2006 this bursary will be awarded annually to the two second-year students who demonstrate the highest level of excellence across the assessments of years 1 and 2 of the MBChB programme.<sup>110</sup>

### Biography

Harry Rainy, MD, Professor of Medical Jurisprudence, 1841-72.

### Slavery connection and source of wealth

Harry Rainy, Professor of Medical Jurisprudence at Old College received £8000 from his brother's fortune in 1863: George Rainy was a Scottish West India merchant in Liverpool and London, and a large-scale claimant of compensation following the abolition of slavery in 1834.<sup>111</sup>

From *Legacies of British Slaveownership database*:

George Rainy, West India merchant in London and major recipient of compensation in British Guiana as partner in Sandbach Tinne (q.v.) and its predecessors, resident in British Guiana at the time of compensation and retiring in 1843. Will of George Rainy formerly of Raasay in County of Inverness but late of Porchester Terrace who died 09/06/1863 proved 06/07/1863 by Harry Rainy brother, Charles Stuart Parker the nephew and Charles Stuart Parker the younger of University College Oxford the great-nephew, effects under £160,000.<sup>112</sup>

For further biographical information about George Rainy see *Slaves and Highlanders*.<sup>113</sup>

### Legacies: process

In his will George Rainy bequeathed 'all my estate and effects whatsoever and wheresoever except as aforesaid not hereintofore disposed of unto my brother Harry Rainy of Glasgow, Doctor of Medicine, my Nephew Charles Stuart parker the younger...and my son George Haygarth Rainy...in Trust', and 'To my said brother Harry Rainy, Eight Thousand Pounds'.<sup>114</sup>

### Income to the University of Glasgow

In 1889, the value was £1659, which generated revenue of £53, and expenditure of £42 (of which £40 went on two bursars).<sup>115</sup>

In 1907-8, the value was £2132, with revenue of £75 and expenditure of £44 (of which £40 was spent on bursaries).<sup>116</sup>

<sup>110</sup> *Prizes, Bursaries, Fellowships and Scholarships*, Available:

[https://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media\\_107560\\_en.pdf](https://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_107560_en.pdf) Accessed: 18 July 2018.

<sup>111</sup> NRS SC70/4/94, 'Will of George Rainy', 9 August 1864, pp.127-8, p.130.

<sup>112</sup> 'George Rainy', *Legacies of British Slave-ownership database*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/8674> Accessed 16th September 2018.

<sup>113</sup> 'Slaves and Highlanders: George Rainy', Available:

<http://www.spanglefish.com/slavesandhighlanders/index.asp?pageid=245741> Accessed 18 July 2018.

<sup>114</sup> NRS SC70/4/94, 'Will of George Rainy', 9 August 1864, pp.127-8, p.130.

<sup>115</sup> *Annual Report on the state of the Finances of the University of Glasgow*, 1889-90, pp.10-11.

<sup>116</sup> GUA, F2/29, 'Glasgow University Ledger, 1908-9: Abstract of accounts 1907-8', pp.22-23.

In 1936-7, the value was £4073, with revenue of £155 and expenditure of £109 (of which £100 was spent on bursaries).<sup>117</sup>

In 1948-9, the value was £5009, with revenue of £141 and expenditure of £128 (of which £120 was spent on two bursars).<sup>118</sup>

In 1958-9, the value was £5026, with revenue of £175 and expenditure of £75.<sup>119</sup>

In 1964-5, the value was £5089, with an income of £311 and expenditure of £320.<sup>120</sup>

In 1973-4, the value was £6358, with an income of £452 and an expenditure of £370.<sup>121</sup>

In 1979, the Rainy Bursaries was amalgamated into 'The University of Glasgow (Bursaries, Fellowships and Scholarships) Investment Fund'.<sup>122</sup>

### **Smith (Crutherland)**

#### **Benefactors**

John Smith, youngest of Crutherland, bookseller, (1784-1849), established the Smith Bursaries in 1849. This bursary was administered by the Directors of the Incorporated Company of Stationers, and initially they granted 'Preference to sons of members of the Incorporated Company of Stationers, then sons of persons connected with any of the trades included in their Charter, whom failing, such other students as may be approved by the Patrons'.<sup>123</sup>

In 1912, the bursary was worth £18 annually, although research on other sampled years does not provide figures to show that any income was actually received.<sup>124</sup>

John Smith, Youngest, of Crutherland also donated the Smith collection to the University of Glasgow on his death.<sup>125</sup>

#### **Biography**

John Smith is sometimes known as 'John Smith, youngest' although he appears in the compensation records in 1836 as 'John Smith junior'.<sup>126</sup> He appears in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* as 'Smith, John [known as John Smith, youngest] (1784-1849), bookseller and publisher'.

'John Smith's grandfather, John Smith of Finnieston (1724–1814), the youngest son of the second laird of Craigend, was discharged from the army after being wounded at the battle of Laffeldt, Flanders, in 1747, and founded the bookselling concern of John Smith & Son,

<sup>117</sup> GUA, F6/1/5/1, 'Abstract of Accounts 1936-43: Endowment Accounts, 1936-37', pp.34-5.

<sup>118</sup> GUA F6/1/5/4, 'Abstract of Account 1948-53: Endowment Accounts, 1948-9', pp.16-17.

<sup>119</sup> GUA, F6/1/4/1, 'Endowment Accounts, 1958-9', p.4.

<sup>120</sup> GUA, F6/1/4/7, 'Endowment Accounts, 1964-5', p.4.

<sup>121</sup> GUA, F6/1/5/9, 'Abstract of Accounts, 1972-7: Endowment Accounts, 1973-4', p.4.

<sup>122</sup> *University of Glasgow (Bursaries, Fellowships and Scholarships) Scheme* (1979), p.1, p.21.

<sup>123</sup> HCPP, *Scottish universities (Bursaries, &c.)*. 1912, p.41.

<sup>124</sup> HCPP, *Scottish universities (Bursaries, &c.)*. 1912, pp.40-41.

<sup>125</sup> 'The Smith Collection', Available: <https://www.gla.ac.uk/myglasgow/specialcollections/collectionsa-z/smithcollection/> Accessed: 7 July 2018.

<sup>126</sup> According to *Legacies of British Slaveownership*, he acted as 'executor of Francis Brown of Jordanhill in Trinidad (d. c. 1825), as 'John Smith the youngest' in 1829 (before his father's death), and this is how he appears in the ODNB'. See 'John Smith youngest', *Legacies of British Slaveownership*, Available: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/44576> Accessed: 17 August 2017.

Glasgow, in 1751'.<sup>127</sup> He was from a line of booksellers and matriculated at the University of Glasgow in 1796. Addison states:

John Smith filius natu maximus Joannis Biblio poise in urbe Glasguensi. (eldest son of John book seller in the city of Glasgow). Born 23rd March 1784. LL.D. 1840. Of Crutherland. Bookseller and Publisher in Glasgow. Secretary to the Maitland Club. Founder of the Smith Bursaries in the University of Glasgow. Died at 120 West Regent Street, Glasgow, 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1849.<sup>128</sup>

### **Slavery connection and source of wealth**

John Smith's paternal grandfather, John Smith of Finnieston, was an uncle of West India merchant Archibald Smith of Jordanhill, who in turn was an uncle to John Smith of Crutherland. The familial connection continued into West India commerce: John Smith of Crutherland was a partner in Smith & Brown, whose partners were recruited from a close kinship network, and whose assets included the Jordanhill plantation in Trinidad. The co-partners of the firm collected a fifth-share of £7500 for 154 enslaved people following the emancipation of all enslaved people in Britain's colonies.<sup>129</sup>

### **Legacies: process**

On his death in 22 January 1849, John Smith of Crutherland, bookseller in Glasgow, Doctor of Laws, was worth £5032.<sup>130</sup> His settlement (proved on 24 March 1849) stated:

I direct my said Trustees at the first term of Whitsunday or Martinmas that shall occur after the expiry of twelvemonths from the date of my death to make payment of the following sums of money to the Institutions after mentioned to be invested by them for the purpose of Establishing Bursaries in the College of Glasgow, vizt. To the Moderator for the time being of the Reverend The Presbytery of the Church of Scotland, Established by Law in the city of Glasgow the sum of five hundred pounds sterling, Item to the Treasurer of the Incorporated Stationers Company of Glasgow of which I am a member the sum of Five Hundred Pounds Sterling, and I hereby reserve to myself full power by a separate deed or writing under my hand to regulate the investment of the said sums of Five Hundred Pounds Sterling; the number and requisite qualifications of the Bursars and the management and application of the interest or rental that may be derived from the monies to be invested but failing my leaving such separate deed or writing I hereby instruct the Moderator and members of the Reverend The Presbytery of Glasgow for the time being, and the Treasurer and Directors of the Company of Stationers Glasgow for the time being, to exercise the above reserved powers they keeping always as close to my intentions as shall be apparent to them, and I do hereby provide and declare that the said Moderator and Members of the Reverend the Presbytery of Glasgow and their successors in office for the time being, shall be perpetual Governors of the said Bursary or Bursaries with full powers to do all and whatever acts, deeds, matters or things may be necessary for carrying my said will and desire into complete execution and effect – and I direct that the said Bursary or Bursaries shall be denominated 'Smith's Presbytery Bursary or Bursaries' – and I do hereby provide and declare that the said Treasurer and Directors of the Company of Stationers Glasgow and their successors in office for the time being

<sup>127</sup> Antony Kamm, 'Smith, John (1784–1849)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/61577>, accessed 21 Aug 2017]

<sup>128</sup> W. Innes Addison, *The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow, From 1728 to 1858*, (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1913), p.182.

<sup>129</sup> 'John Smith youngest', *Legacies of British Slaveownership*, Available: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/44576> Accessed: 17 August 2017.

<sup>130</sup> NRS, SC36/48/35, 'Inventory of John Smith', 24 March 1849, p.389.

shall be perpetual Governors of the said Bursary or Bursaries, previously referred to, with full powers to do all and whatever acts, deeds, matters or things may be necessary in all time coming, for carrying my said will and desire into complete execution and effect.<sup>131</sup>

### **Legacies: disbursement**

As above, bursaries from the fund (£1000) were to be administered under the wishes of the Presbytery of Glasgow and the Company of Stationers of Glasgow. However, John Smith left major bequests (i.e. £10,000 to his niece) that his personal fortune at the time of his death could not cover. This might explain why there seems to be no record related to Smith of Crutherland bequests in the University of Glasgow accounts.<sup>132</sup>

### **Income to the University of Glasgow**

There is no recorded income to the University, suggesting income to the University was irregular or was paid directly to students -

In 1889, no identifiable figures.<sup>133</sup>

In 1907-8, no identifiable figures.<sup>134</sup>

In 1936-7, no identifiable figures.<sup>135</sup>

In 1948-9, no identifiable figures.<sup>136</sup>

In 1958-9, no identifiable figures.<sup>137</sup>

In 1964-5, no identifiable figures.<sup>138</sup>

In 1973-4, no identifiable figures.<sup>139</sup>

In 1981-82, no identifiable figures.<sup>140</sup>

It seems possible and perhaps likely that the only benefit accruing to the University was non-financial, in the shape of a large collection of books (known as the Smith Collection).

### ***Stuart's Bursaries***

#### **Benefactors**

The will and last testament of Reverend James Stuart established Stuart's Bursaries at the University of Glasgow in 1809.<sup>141</sup>

<sup>131</sup> NRS, SC36/51/27, 'Trust Disposition and Deed of Settlement of John Smith' 24 March 1849, p.89-90

<sup>132</sup> 'Smith Collection', Available: <https://www.gla.ac.uk/myglasgow/specialcollections/collectionsa-z/smithcollection/> Accessed 12 December 2017.

<sup>133</sup> *Annual Report on the state of the Finances of the University of Glasgow, 1889-90*, pp.1-15.

<sup>134</sup> GUA, F2/29, 'Glasgow University Ledger, 1908-9: Abstract of accounts 1907-8'.

<sup>135</sup> GUA, F6/1/5/1, 'Abstract of Accounts 1936-43: Endowment Accounts, 1936-37'.

<sup>136</sup> GUA F6/1/5/4, 'Abstract of Account 1948-53: Endowment Accounts, 1948-9'.

<sup>137</sup> GUA, F6/1/4/1, 'Endowment Accounts, 1958-9', p.7.

<sup>138</sup> GUA, F6/1/4/7, 'Endowment Accounts, 1964-5'.

<sup>139</sup> GUA, F6/1/5/9, 'Abstract of Accounts, 1972-7: Endowment Accounts, 1973-4'.

<sup>140</sup> GUA, F6/1/5/10, 'Abstract of Accounts, 1977-82: Endowment Accounts, 1981-2', p.24.

<sup>141</sup> *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships, and Other Foundations, in the College and University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Maitland club, 1850), pp.191-193.

## Biography

The Reverend James Stuart (1743-c.1805) was born in Boyndie in Banffshire around 21 July 1743. He was the son of a farmer, Alexander Stuart, and Isobel Simpson. He seems to have had a rudimentary education in Boyndie and studied for the Church. Travelling to America, he became a Rector and afterwards Chaplain to the King's Rangers in North America during the American War for Independence.<sup>142</sup> As the war progressed, his position became untenable and he resigned on 23 December 1777. He then travelled to the West Indies for a brief period, before returning to America. He died in England in 1805.<sup>143</sup>

## Slavery connection and source of wealth

The Reverend James Stuart was a Loyalist in the lead-up to the American Revolution (1775-1783) and consequently lost property which was confiscated by the American authorities. In March 1784, he submitted a claim to the Parliamentary Commission on Loyalist Claims and Services. His claim (reproduced in full in *The Journal of Southern History*) reveals that he owned unnamed private property (perhaps a slave-plantation) large enough to generate an annual income of £400. The testimony confirmed he was a personal slaveowner: one part of Stuart's claim for compensation was for a 'Negro Carpenter, Horses & c &c plundered and carried off'.<sup>144</sup>

## Legacies: process

Rev. Stuart died around 1805, and his will bequeathed an equal sum to the five Universities in Scotland (and a further gift to Balliol College, Oxford). His will directed executors to give a fifth part of £5000 (i.e. £1000):

To the Magistrates of Glasgow for the time being, I give another fifth part, in trust and for the use and benefit of the University of Glasgow, and to apply the interest from time to time, for ever, in an towards the instruction, and for the better education, of youth, as to the Principal and others having power vested in them by Charter or otherwise, shall seem meet...it is my will and meaning, that any person of the name, first of Stuart, and then of Simpson, shall always be preferred (thereat and also) at any of the Universities before any other person or persons.<sup>145</sup>

## Legacies: disbursement

The capital was held by the Magistrates and Town Council.<sup>146</sup>

## Income to the University of Glasgow

It seems, however, that the total amount granted to the Town Council (and eventually the University) was £670, which was further reduced to £603. The bursary was to be applied to the Latin or Greek class and was worth £12 per annum in the early 1800s.<sup>147</sup>

<sup>142</sup> *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships, and Other Foundations, in the College and University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Maitland club, 1850), p.191.

<sup>143</sup> Henry D. Bull, 'A Note on James Stuart, Loyalist Clergyman in South Carolina', *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (Nov. 1946), pp. 570-575

<sup>144</sup> Henry D. Bull, 'A Note on James Stuart, Loyalist Clergyman in South Carolina', *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (Nov. 1946), p.575

<sup>145</sup> *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships, and Other Foundations, in the College and University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Maitland club, 1850), p.192.

<sup>146</sup> *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships, and Other Foundations, in the College and University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Maitland club, 1850), pp.192-3.

<sup>147</sup> *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships, and Other Foundations, in the College and University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Maitland club, 1850), pp.192-3.

In 1826, the value of the funds was £778 sterling, providing £12 a year to students with the name Stuart or Simpson.<sup>148</sup>

In 1889, no identifiable figures.<sup>149</sup>

In 1907-8, no identifiable figures.<sup>150</sup>

In 1936-7, no identifiable figures.<sup>151</sup>

In 1948-9, no identifiable figures.<sup>152</sup>

In 1958-9, no identifiable figures.<sup>153</sup>

In 1964-5, no identifiable figures.<sup>154</sup>

In 1973-4, no identifiable figures.<sup>155</sup>

In 1981-82, no identifiable figures.<sup>156</sup>

There is no available data to assess historical income to the University of Glasgow. Given the strict terms (i.e. available only to those with the name Stuart or Simpson) and was administered by an outside body (i.e. the Magistrates and Town Council), it is possible it was repurposed after the 1820s and the funds were disbursed more widely under a different scheme.

## MORTIFICATIONS: RESEARCH

### ***Bellahouston Bequest***

#### **Benefactors**

Bursaries and grants awarded to the University of Glasgow by the Bellahouston Trustees (bequest founded in 1892) for studentships and building projects from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century through to the present.<sup>157</sup>

#### **Biography**

The Bellahouston Bequest was established in March 1892 after the death of Miss Elizabeth Steven. Her brother, Moses Steven, and her sister Grace (or Grizel), had accumulated property valued between £400,000 and £500,000 which was held in trust to be administered for the benefit of ‘charitable, educational and benevolent institutions’ of Glasgow. The trustees were

<sup>148</sup> HCPP (1831), *Report made to His Majesty by a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the state of the Universities of Scotland*, p.274.

<sup>149</sup> *Annual Report on the state of the Finances of the University of Glasgow*, 1889-90, pp.1-15.

<sup>150</sup> GUA, F2/29, ‘Glasgow University Ledger, 1908-9: Abstract of accounts 1907-8’.

<sup>151</sup> GUA, F6/1/5/1, ‘Abstract of Accounts 1936-43: Endowment Accounts, 1936-37’.

<sup>152</sup> GUA F6/1/5/4, ‘Abstract of Account 1948-53: Endowment Accounts, 1948-9’.

<sup>153</sup> GUA, F6/1/4/1, ‘Endowment Accounts, 1958-9’, p.7.

<sup>154</sup> GUA, F6/1/4/7, ‘Endowment Accounts, 1964-5’.

<sup>155</sup> GUA, F6/1/5/9, ‘Abstract of Accounts, 1972-7: Endowment Accounts, 1973-4’.

<sup>156</sup> GUA, F6/1/5/10, ‘Abstract of Accounts, 1977-82: Endowment Accounts, 1981-2’, p.24.

<sup>157</sup> ‘Bellahouston Bequest’, Available: <http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/biography/?id=CB0024&type=C>  
Accessed: 18 July 2018.

Glasgow lawyers and bankers.<sup>158</sup> Elizabeth, Moses and Grace Steven's father was Moses Steven, afterwards of Polmadie, a West India merchant in Glasgow during the city's 'golden-age' of sugar.

### **Slavery connection and source of wealth**

Moses Steven senior (1749-1831) was originally a linen trader and matriculated with the Merchants House as a 'Home Trader' in 1790.<sup>159</sup> With his first cousin, James Buchanan, afterwards of Dowanhill, he went into partnership in two prominent West India merchant firms in Glasgow, Buchanan, Steven & Co., and its successor firm Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co.<sup>160</sup> The latter firm had interests in Grenada, Jamaica and South America, likely based on exporting textiles to the West Indies (i.e. connected to commerce based on chattel slavery).<sup>161</sup> Moses Steven owned the Polmadie estate south of Glasgow. He purchased some plots of Bellahouston estate (and in 1824, the full estate was bequeathed to Moses Steven junior).<sup>162</sup> It is unknown how much he was worth when he died in 1833, although he bequeathed £10,000 to each of his three daughters, Elizabeth, Grace and Margaret, and nominated his son Moses Steven his heir.<sup>163</sup> This Moses Steven (1806-1871) was a graduate of Glasgow University. He trained as an advocate although he never practised.<sup>164</sup> In addition to his inherited estates, he purchased other land.<sup>165</sup> On his death, he left moveable property of £36,872.<sup>166</sup> Before his death, he expressed 'a wish that his fortune, which had come from Glasgow, should go back to Glasgow' and his sisters carried this into action. A joint-deed of 25 August 1871 executed what was effectively a joint-will.<sup>167</sup> The wealth that established the Bellahouston Trust was second-generation (i.e. inherited from a father involved with a West India firm) as well as derived from multiple sources (i.e. a West India merchant firm and Scottish landed estates).

### **Legacies: process**

The funds (based on property of £400,000 to £500,000) were disseminated through a group of Trustees. Many institutions in Glasgow (such as the Royal Infirmary) received funds regularly, and annual bursaries for students at the University of Glasgow were furnished from the outset:

For the purpose of founding and endowing or assisting to found and endow bursaries or scholarships in connection with the University of Glasgow for students attending or purposing to attend or having with distinction attended the said university to be called the "Bellahouston" Bursaries or scholarships. The said bursaries or scholarships shall be of such number and annual amount and shall be awarded to such students attending or purposing to attend or having with distinction attended the said university and shall be awarded in such a manner and be held for such periods either before, during or after

<sup>158</sup> 'Bequests of nearly half a million to Glasgow', *Glasgow Herald*, 17 March 1892, p.6.

<sup>159</sup> *A List of Matriculated Members of the Merchant's House, From 3d October 1768, to 5th October 1857*, (Glasgow: James McNab, 1858), p.35.

<sup>160</sup> John Guthrie Smith, *Strathendrick and its inhabitants from early times*, (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1896), p.344.

<sup>161</sup> University of Glasgow, Special Collections, MS Murray 605, 'Minute book of Dennistoun, Buchanan, & Co. Glasgow, 1806-42'.

<sup>162</sup> 'The Stevens of Bellahouston', *Glasgow Herald*, 28 March 1892, p.13.

<sup>163</sup> NRS, SC58/42/6, 'Settlement of Moses Steven', 10 July 1833, p.3889.

<sup>164</sup> W. Innes Addison, *The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow, From 1728 to 1858*, (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1913), p.320.

<sup>165</sup> 'The Stevens of Bellahouston', *Glasgow Herald*, 28 March 1892, p.13; Addison, p.320.

<sup>166</sup> NRS, SC36/48/67 'Inventory of Moses Steven junior', 27 October 1871, p.198

<sup>167</sup> 'The Stevens of Bellahouston', *Glasgow Herald*, 28 March 1892, p.13.

their attendance thereat, and as such conditions as our trustees may from time to time fix and determine.<sup>168</sup>

Other codicils of the bequest allowed for grants to combat ‘poverty and disease’ and the promotion of Evangelical Protestantism.

### **Legacies: disbursement**

The Bellahouston Bursaries were administered through Trustees although capital grants were given directly to the University.

### **Income to the University of Glasgow**

Bursaries – ongoing since 1892, seemingly on an *ad hoc* basis.

In 1907-8, no identifiable data.<sup>169</sup>

In 1936-7, the University of Glasgow was awarded £300 for Bellahouston Research Scholarships. £225 was spent on bursaries with £75 in the bank<sup>170</sup>

In 1964-5, no identifiable data.<sup>171</sup>

At least two strands in modern period –

#### Strand 1:

The Bellahouston Medical Fellowship was created in 1965 by the Bellahouston Trustees by gift to the Lister Centenary Appeal Fund. It is awarded annually by the Faculty of Medicine to enable persons engaged in medical teaching or research, to visit laboratories, institutions, or individuals with related interests abroad. Preference will be given to candidates between the ages of 35 and 45 having an association with the University.<sup>172</sup>

In 1973-4, no identifiable data.<sup>173</sup>

In 1981-82, the value was £10,530, with an income of £920 and expenditure of £1100.<sup>174</sup>

#### Stand 2:

**BELLAHOUSTON Scholarships (£1,200 each)**

Established in 1996. The University receives from the Trustees of the Bellahouston Bequest an annual sum of £4800. The money is used to provide a one-year scholarship each year of £1200 in each of the Colleges of Arts, Science & Engineering (Science and School of Engineering) and the College of MVLS (School of Life Sciences). The scholarships are awarded on the recommendation of the Colleges to home postgraduate students (with a preference for Glaswegians) undertaking a taught or research masters'

<sup>168</sup> ‘Bellahouston Bequest Fund’, *Glasgow Herald*, 8 April 1892, p.4.

<sup>169</sup> GUA, F2/29, ‘Glasgow University Ledger, 1908-9: Abstract of accounts 1907-8’.

<sup>170</sup> GUA, F6/1/5/1, ‘Abstract of Accounts 1936-43: Endowment Accounts, 1936-37’, pp.64-5.

<sup>171</sup> GUA, F6/1/4/7, ‘Endowment Accounts, 1964-5’.

<sup>172</sup> ‘Bellahouston Medical Fellowship’, Available: <http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/award/?id=237> Accessed 18 July 2018.

<sup>173</sup> GUA, F6/1/5/9, ‘Abstract of Accounts, 1972-7: Endowment Accounts, 1973-4’.

<sup>174</sup> GUA, F6/1/5/10, ‘Abstract of Accounts, 1977-82: Endowment Accounts, 1981-2’, p.22.

degree programme. The Trustees have agreed that the same student may be nominated for a second year, if this is felt to be appropriate. If in any year a College is unable to nominate a suitably qualified applicant, the scholarship will be offered to one or other of the Colleges.<sup>175</sup>

*Capital, 2014-17*

2014, £76,504.52;

2015, £79,363.37;

2016, £82,021.13;

2017, £90,215.51.<sup>176</sup>

*Revenue, 2014-17*

2014, £3,906.24;

2015, £4,015.60;

2016, £4,107.16;

2017, £5,563.62.<sup>177</sup>

**Further Information**

**Bellahouston Capital Grants**

For details of initial capital grants, See *Glasgow University Abstract of Accounts*, 1893-94, p.13.

Capital grants in 1892 –

£5000 towards the ‘erection and equipment of buildings at Queen Margaret College for the medical and scientific instruction of the students attending there’.

£5000 ‘on behalf of the Chair of Geology...for the establishment of the Chair in question’.<sup>178</sup>

Capital grants in 1895.

‘Grant from Bellahouston Bequest Fund - a further grant of £250 has been paid to account of the **Observatory**, thus increasing the capital Grant in that connection to £1000’.<sup>179</sup>

Capital grants recorded in 1909 –

**Library** ‘For the Purchase of Scientific Literature – received in sessions 1893-94 to 1907-8 £1514’.<sup>180</sup>

**Natural Philosophy** ‘For the maintenance, improvement and supplement of the Apparatus and Instruments in connections with the Chair of Natural Philosophy - received in sessions 1893-94 to 1907-8 inclusive, £1279’.<sup>181</sup>

**Chemistry** ‘For the maintenance and supplement of Apparatus in the Chemistry department - received in sessions 1893-94 to 1907-8 inclusive, £1222’.<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> *Prizes, Fellowships, Bursaries, University of Glasgow*. Available:

[https://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media\\_107560\\_en.pdf](https://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_107560_en.pdf) Accessed: 8 October 2017.

<sup>176</sup> University of Glasgow, Finance and Procurement Office information.

<sup>177</sup> University of Glasgow, Finance and Procurement Office information.

<sup>178</sup> ‘Glasgow University Court’, *Glasgow Herald*, 21 April 1892, p.9.

<sup>179</sup> *Annual Statistical Report by the University Court of the University of Glasgow*, 1894-5, p.13.

<sup>180</sup> GUA, GB248/F2/29, ‘Glasgow University Ledger, 1909: Abstract of Accounts, 1907-8’, p.14.

<sup>181</sup> GUA, GB248/F2/29, Glasgow University Ledger, 1909, ‘University of Glasgow Abstract of Accounts, 1907-8’, p.14.

<sup>182</sup> GUA, GB248/F2/29, Glasgow University Ledger, 1909, ‘University of Glasgow Abstract of Accounts, 1907-8’, p.14.

**Zoology** ‘Received in the session 1906-1907, £750’.<sup>183</sup>

**Physiology** ‘For purchase of apparatus, Received in session 1907-8 £300’.<sup>184</sup>

### ***Materia Medica***

‘For Purchase of Apparatus, £100’<sup>185</sup>

### ***Forensic Medicine and Public Health***

‘For purchase of apparatus, Received in session 1907-8, £100’<sup>186</sup>

### ***Botanical Laboratory Buildings***

‘Grant from Bellahouston Trustees towards erection of buildings – received in sessions 1898-99 and 1899-1900 - £6000’<sup>187</sup>

### **Museums and Herbarium**

‘Grant from Bellahouston Trustees for Apparatus etc. in connection with Museums and Herbarium, £200 received in 1899-1900 and received in 1901-2, £200’.

### **The James Watt Engineering Laboratories**

Grant from the Bellahouston Trustees towards the erection and equipment of a Laboratory and Class Room in connection with the Chair of Civil Engineering and Mechanics – received session 1899-1900 - £12,620’.<sup>188</sup> (see for totals<sup>189</sup>)

### **Library**

In 1907-8, £100 to the Library from the ‘Bellahouston Trust Grant’.<sup>190</sup>

#### **Capital Grants 1910**

In 1910, ‘The Bellahouston Trust Grant for year from Whitsunday, 1910 - £130’.<sup>191</sup>

In 1910, ‘The Bellahouston Trustees Annual Grant for Apparatus (not specified) - £300’.<sup>192</sup>

#### **1911**

‘Bellahouston Grants: Chemistry £32; Physiology, £163; Materia Medica, £77; Forensic Medicine, £32; Botany £12; Physical Chemistry, £167’. Total, £486.<sup>193</sup>

Bellahouston and University Court Grants

<sup>183</sup> GUA, GB248/F2/29, Glasgow University Ledger, 1909, ‘University of Glasgow Abstract of Accounts, 1907-8’, p.14.

<sup>184</sup> GUA, GB248/F2/29, Glasgow University Ledger, 1909, ‘University of Glasgow Abstract of Accounts, 1907-8’, p.14.

<sup>185</sup> GUA, GB248/F2/29, Glasgow University Ledger, 1909, ‘University of Glasgow Abstract of Accounts, 1907-8’, p.14.

<sup>186</sup> GUA, GB248/F2/29, Glasgow University Ledger, 1909, ‘University of Glasgow Abstract of Accounts, 1907-8’, p.14.

<sup>187</sup> GUA, GB248/F2/29, Glasgow University Ledger, 1909, ‘University of Glasgow Abstract of Accounts, 1907-8’, p.15.

<sup>188</sup> GUA, GB248/F2/29, Glasgow University Ledger, 1909, ‘University of Glasgow Abstract of Accounts, 1907-8’, p.15.

<sup>189</sup> ‘James Watt Engineering Building’, Available: <http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/building/?id=112>  
Accessed: 18 July 2018.

<sup>190</sup> GUA, GB248/F2/29, ‘Glasgow University Ledger, 1909: Abstract of Accounts, 1907-8’, pp.19.

<sup>191</sup> *The Annual Report on the state of the finances of the University of Glasgow*, (1909-1910), p.9.

<sup>192</sup> *The Annual Report on the state of the finances of the University of Glasgow*, (1909-1910), p.9.

<sup>193</sup> The annual report on the state of the finances of the University of Glasgow, 1910-1911, p.14.

Anatomy, £103; Pathology, £12'.  
Bellahouston Trustees: Library, £100; Apparatus, £150'.<sup>194</sup>

In 1925, The Bellahouston Trustees (Mitchell, Johnson & Co.) awarded the University £100 a 'grant for the University Library'.<sup>195</sup>

## **Denny**

### **Benefactors**

Founded in 1875 by Peter Denny, LLD, 1890 of Dumbarton (Patrons: Denny Trustees) engineer and shipbuilder. Peter Denny's son, Archibald Denny, also incorporated a prize in 1912:

### **Biography**

Peter Denny FRSE LLD (25 October 1821 – 22 August 1895) was a shipbuilder and shipowner based in Dumbarton, Scotland. He was the sixth son of Dumbarton shipbuilder William Denny, and in 1844 he joined with brothers William and Alexander to form the Denny Brothers Shipyard in Dumbarton. In 1871 he was awarded an honorary doctorate by the University of Glasgow for the promotion of education amongst his workforce.<sup>196</sup>

### **Slavery connection and source of wealth**

William Denny & Sons built a wide range and large number of ships for the Confederate cause during the American Civil War (1861-5), flaunting supposed British neutrality and essentially profiting from supplying the Confederate cause which was dedicated to the continuation of slavery in the American South, and accumulating wealth from trade with Southern slaveowners. According to Eric Graham, Denny was one of the most prolific constructors of Clyde-built 'blockade runner' ships used during the American Civil war period.<sup>197</sup>

### **Legacies: process**

Peter Denny's bursary was 'open for competition to students which have been pupils at Dumbarton Academy for at least two years. Open to either sex. Awarded on General competitive examination'.<sup>198</sup> Details of the Archibald Denny prize from the University of Glasgow story website:

The Archibald Denny Prize was founded in 1912 by the shipbuilder and engineer Archibald Denny (1860-1936). It is open to students who, in the session of competition, have attended the Senior class of Naval Architecture and who are completing the final examination in Naval Architecture embracing Naval Architecture with Marine Engineering and practical work in Ship and Marine Engineering Design. The prize was intended by the donor to enable the winner to take a holiday after the work of the session'.<sup>199</sup>

### **Legacies: disbursement**

In 1912, the Peter Denny bursaries were worth £120 annually (4 bursaries)<sup>200</sup>, although the lack of available data suggest or there was no sustained income to the University. The Archibald Denny prize provided more sustained income to students.

<sup>194</sup> *The Annual report on the state of the finances of the University of Glasgow*, 1911-1912, p.4, p.6.

<sup>195</sup> GUA, GB248/F2/45, Glasgow University Ledger, 1924-25, p.96.

<sup>196</sup> Eric Graham, *Clydebuilt: Blockade Runners, Cruisers and Armoured Rams*, (Birlinn, 2008), p.168

<sup>197</sup> Eric Graham, *Clydebuilt: Blockade Runners, Cruisers and Armoured Rams*, (Birlinn, 2008), pp.191-196

<sup>198</sup> HCPP, *Scottish universities (Bursaries, &c.)*. (1912), pp.18-19

<sup>199</sup> 'Archibald Denny Prize', Available: <http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/award/?id=409> Accessed: 18 July 2018.

<sup>200</sup> HCPP, *Scottish universities (Bursaries, &c.)*. (1912), pp.18-19

## **Income to the University of Glasgow**

### Peter Denny

1875

In 1907-8, no record.<sup>201</sup>

In 1936-7, no record.<sup>202</sup>

In 1948-9, no record.<sup>203</sup>

In 1958-9 no record.<sup>204</sup>

In 1964-5, no record.<sup>205</sup>

### Archibald Denny Prize

In 1936-7, the value was £465, with revenue of £17 and expenditure of 13shillings.  
206

In 1948-9, the value was £514, with revenue of £17 and expenditure of 13 shillings.<sup>207</sup>

In 1958-9, the value was £839, with revenue of £23 and expenditure of £20.<sup>208</sup>

In 1964-5, the value was £924, with an income of £42 and no expenditure.<sup>209</sup>

In 1973-4, the value was £1271, with an income of £77 and an expenditure of £60.<sup>210</sup>

In 1981-82, the value was £2738, with an income of £226 and expenditure of £120.<sup>211</sup>

In 2001, the value was £25,284, the revenue was £6150, and expenditure of £1200.

In 2014-2017, the average annual value was £33,227, with an average annual dividend income of £6840, and an average annual expenditure of £1348.<sup>212</sup>

## ***Dinwiddie's Mortification***

### **Benefactors**

Dinwiddie's Mortification was established by Robert Dinwiddie.<sup>213</sup>

### **Biography**

Robert Dinwiddie (1692-1770) was born in Glasgow in 1692. In the 1690s, it is likely his father (listed in different sources as Mathew and Laurence Dinwoodie) was involved in transatlantic commerce between Glasgow and the plantation slave colonies of Virginia and Barbados.<sup>214</sup> Robert Dinwiddie attended the University of Glasgow 1710-11 (although he is

<sup>201</sup> GUA, F2/29, 'Glasgow University Ledger, 1908-9: Abstract of accounts 1907-8'.

<sup>202</sup> GUA, F6/1/5/1, 'Abstract of Accounts 1936-43: Endowment Accounts, 1936-37'.

<sup>203</sup> GUA F6/1/5/4, 'Abstract of Account 1948-53: Endowment Accounts, 1948-9'.

<sup>204</sup> GUA, F6/1/4/1, 'Endowment Accounts, 1958-9'.

<sup>205</sup> GUA, F6/1/4/7, 'Endowment Accounts, 1964-5'.

<sup>206</sup> GUA, F6/1/5/1, 'Abstract of Accounts 1936-43: Endowment Accounts, 1936-37', pp.46-7.

<sup>207</sup> GUA F6/1/5/4, 'Abstract of Account 1948-53: Endowment Accounts, 1948-9', pp.28-9.

<sup>208</sup> GUA, F6/1/4/1, 'Endowment Accounts, 1958-9', p.7.

<sup>209</sup> GUA, F6/1/4/7, 'Endowment Accounts, 1964-5', p.8.

<sup>210</sup> GUA, F6/1/5/9, 'Abstract of Accounts, 1972-7: Endowment Accounts, 1973-4', p.7.

<sup>211</sup> GUA, F6/1/5/10, 'Abstract of Accounts, 1977-82: Endowment Accounts, 1981-2', p.23.

<sup>212</sup> University of Glasgow, Finance and Procurement Office information.

<sup>213</sup> *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships, and Other Foundations, in the College and University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Maitland club, 1850), p.237.

<sup>214</sup> John M'Ure, *The History of Glasgow*, (Glasgow, 1830 edn.), p.170-1.

not recorded in Addison's account which starts in 1728). He then travelled to Bermuda in 1718 where he became a collector of customs in 1727. He was appointed by Horation Walpole to the post of 'Surveyor General of the Southern Part of the Continent of North America. Viz. South and North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Bahama Islands and Jamaica'. In 1741, Dinwiddie moved to Virginia and was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia on 4 July 1751.<sup>215</sup> In 1754 he was awarded an honorary Doctor of Laws by the University of Glasgow.<sup>216</sup> He died in 1770.

### **Slavery connection and source of wealth**

Whilst lieutenant governor of colonial Virginia from 1751 to 1758, Dinwiddie 'bought half-a-dozen or more Negro slaves to perform household chores'.<sup>217</sup> On his departure from Virginia in 1757 Dinwiddie commissioned Colonel Corbin to 'sell his slaves and furniture' in Williamsburg, a process completed after he returned to London in 1769.<sup>218</sup>

### **Legacies: process**

Upon his death in 1770, Robert Dinwoodie bequeathed £100 to the University of Glasgow to be laid out in the purchase of books. 'The faculty conceiving that it would be most respectful to his memory, and most useful to the Library, to make this sum a standing fund for buying books', this process was then agreed with his wife and daughter.<sup>219</sup>

### **Legacies: disbursement**

Minutes of the Clerk of Senate reveal the interest from the £100 mortification was used to purchase books after 1770.<sup>220</sup>

### **Income to the University of Glasgow**

This was a one-off mortification to pay for library books.

### ***Dowanhill Prizes***

#### **Benefactors**

The Dowanhill Prizes were founded in 1865 by John Buchanan, undergraduate in Arts from 1821 to 1824, who was a merchant in Glasgow. The prizes are for 'excellence in the Art of Oratory and Declamation'.<sup>221</sup>

### **Biography**

<sup>215</sup> A. W. Parker, 'Dinwiddie, Robert (1692–1770)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 Available: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/58772>, Accessed 19 August 2017.

<sup>216</sup> *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships, and Other Foundations, in the College and University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Maitland club, 1850), p.237.

<sup>217</sup> John R. Alden, *Robert Dinwiddie: servant of the Crown*, (Charlottesville, University Press of Virginia, 1973), p.18.

<sup>218</sup> John R. Alden, *Robert Dinwiddie: servant of the Crown*, (Charlottesville, University Press of Virginia, 1973), p.75, p.112.

<sup>219</sup> *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships, and Other Foundations, in the College and University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Maitland club, 1850), p.238.

<sup>220</sup> *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships, and Other Foundations, in the College and University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Maitland club, 1850), p.238.

<sup>221</sup> 'Dowanhill Prizes', Available: <http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/award/?id=336> Accessed 18 July 2018.

John Buchanan (1807-1876) was the son of James Buchanan of Dowanhill (1756-1844), a prominent West India merchant in Glasgow in the early 1800s. John Buchanan matriculated at the University of Glasgow in 1820.<sup>222</sup>

### **Slavery connection and source of wealth**

James Buchanan of Dowanhill (1756-1844) originally a linen trader. He matriculated with the Merchants House in 1790 as the 'son of George Buchanan, Farmer, Drymen, Dumbartonshire'.<sup>223</sup> He went into partnership with his first cousin, Moses Steven, in two prominent West India merchant firms in Glasgow, Buchanan, Steven & Co., and its successor firm, Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co.<sup>224</sup> Buchanan of Dowanhill was a leader of the Glasgow-West India trades as one of the 1807 subscribers to the pro-slavery Glasgow West India Association. He was also involved with the East India Association. When James Buchanan died in 1844, the inventory of his property suggested that he was one of the wealthiest men in Great Britain, with a fortune of £126,987.<sup>225</sup> When considering his son John Buchanan's (1807-1876) gift to the University of Glasgow, the connection to New world slavery is therefore inherited (second generation).

### **Legacies: process**

When John Buchanan (1807-1876) died, his estate was worth £371,259.<sup>226</sup> His settlement of 28 February 1876 seemingly provided no provision for the University of Glasgow. The main bequests were arranged separately eleven years before he died.<sup>227</sup>

### **Legacies: disbursement**

Little is known about the bequest itself although he also bequeathed a feudality on the Observatory land, which was income-generating. John Buchanan seems to have bequeathed land to the University of Glasgow for a certain period which generated income. This is an important point: the wealth generated on the land has been taken into account when assessing how much income accrued to the University of Glasgow.

### **Income to the University of Glasgow**

1865, no identifiable data.

In 1877, The Dowanhill Foundation generated revenue of £33, of which £31 was spent on fellowships and miscellaneous.<sup>228</sup>

In 1888-9, the value was £112, which generated revenue of £32, and expenditure of £32 (of which £31 was spent on fellowships).<sup>229</sup>

In 1907-8, the value was £155, with a revenue of £33 and expenditure of £31 (of which £30 was on fellowships).<sup>230</sup>

<sup>222</sup> W. Innes Addison, *The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow, From 1728 to 1858*, (Glasgow: James Maclehoose and Sons, 1913), p.1820.

<sup>223</sup> *A List of Matriculated Members of the Merchant's House, From 3d October 1768, to 5th October 1857*, (Glasgow: James McNab, 1858), p.7.

<sup>224</sup> John Guthrie Smith, *Strathendrick and its inhabitants from early times*, (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1896), , p.344, see also 'Notice', *Caledonian Mercury*, 2 March 1807.

<sup>225</sup> NRS, SC36/48/30, 'Inventory of James Buchanan of Dowanhill', 11 July 1844, p.531.

<sup>226</sup> NRS, SC70/1/177, 'Inventory of John Buchanan', 4 March 1876, p.260.

<sup>227</sup> NRS, SC70/4/160, 'Settlement of John Buchanan', 4 March 1876, p.67

<sup>228</sup> GUA, GB248, F2/10, 'Glasgow University Ledgers, 1875-78', p.264.

<sup>229</sup> *Annual Report on the state of the Finances of the University of Glasgow*, (1889-90), pp.12-13.

<sup>230</sup> GUA, F2/29, 'Glasgow University Ledger, 1908-9: Abstract of accounts 1907-8', p.24

In 1924-25, the Dowanhill Foundation was worth £273, generated income of £42 (including Observatory feudality which generated £32 per annum), and expenditure of £20 to two awardees (£10, and £10).<sup>231</sup>

In 1936-7, the value was £488, with revenue of £47 and expenditure of £31 (of which £30 went on fellowships).<sup>232</sup>

In 1948-9, the value was £1358, with revenue of £44 and expenditure of £36 (of which £5 went on fellowships).<sup>233</sup>

In 1958-9, the value was £1446, with revenue of £37 and expenditure of £35.<sup>234</sup>

In 1964-5, the value was £1530, with an income of £66 and expenditure of £35.<sup>235</sup>

In 1973-4, the value was £2004, with an income of £114 and an expenditure of £90.<sup>236</sup>

In 1981-82, the value was £4005, with an income of £324 and expenditure of £90.<sup>237</sup>

In 2014-2017, the average annual value was £43,389, with an average annual dividend income of £2383, and an average annual expenditure of £5204.<sup>238</sup>

### ***Ewing Prize***

#### **Benefactors**

In 1828, James Ewing donated £100 to the University of Glasgow to establish the Ewing Gold Medal, awarded to the writer of the best essay in Civil History.<sup>239</sup>

#### **Biography**

As described above, James Ewing of Strathleven, L.L.D. (1775-1853), West India merchant and planter, politician, philanthropist, was born in Glasgow, Scotland on 5 December 1775. He was the fifth eldest child (and second eldest son) of Walter Ewing Maclae of Cathkin House (d.1814) and Margaret Fisher (d.1815). His father was a merchant and arbiter in Glasgow who specialised in the bankruptcies of West India merchant firms and plantations. James Ewing matriculated at the University of Glasgow aged eleven in 1786, and was considered an exceptional student.<sup>240</sup>

#### **Slavery connection and source of wealth**

<sup>231</sup> GUA, GB248/F2/45, 'Glasgow University Ledger, 1924-25', p.573.

<sup>232</sup> GUA, F6/1/5/1, 'Abstract of Accounts 1936-43: Endowment Accounts, 1936-37', p.46.

<sup>233</sup> GUA F6/1/5/4, 'Abstract of Account 1948-53: Endowment Accounts, 1948-9', p.28-9.

<sup>234</sup> GUA, F6/1/4/1, 'Endowment Accounts, 1958-9', p.7.

<sup>235</sup> GUA, F6/1/4/7, 'Endowment Accounts, 1964-5', p.8.

<sup>236</sup> GUA, F6/1/5/9, 'Abstract of Accounts, 1972-7: Endowment Accounts, 1973-4', p.8.

<sup>237</sup> GUA, F6/1/5/10, 'Abstract of Accounts, 1977-82: Endowment Accounts, 1981-2', p.24.

<sup>238</sup> University of Glasgow, Finance and Procurement Office information.

<sup>239</sup> *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships, and Other Foundations, in the College and University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Maitland club, 1850), p.221.

<sup>240</sup> W. Innes Addison, *The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow, From 1728 to 1858*, (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1913), p.147; Macintosh Mackay, *Memoir of James Ewing Esq., of Strathleven*, (Glasgow: James Maclehose, 1866), p.18-20.

James Ewing had a long connection with chattel slavery across his commercial career as a West India merchant, plantation owner and claimant of compensation on the emancipation of slavery in 1834.

### **Income to the University of Glasgow**

In 1828, James Ewing donated £100.<sup>241</sup>

In 1876, the value was £116, with an income of £4 and expenditure of £7.<sup>242</sup>

In 1889, the value was £170, which generated revenue of £7, and expenditure of 5s 5d.<sup>243</sup>

In 1907-8, the value was £251, with revenue of £9 and no expenditure.<sup>244</sup>

In 1936-7, the value was £533, with revenue of £15 and expenditure of 11 shillings.<sup>245</sup>

In 1948-9, the value was £1341, with revenue of £23 and expenditure of 16 shillings.<sup>246</sup>

In 1958-9, the value was £1176, with revenue of £42 and no expenditure.<sup>247</sup>

In 1964-5, the value was £1369, with an income of £87 and expenditure of £26.<sup>248</sup>

In 1973-4, the value was £2328, with an income of £167 and an expenditure of £75.<sup>249</sup>

In 1981-82, the value was £7025, with an income of £622 and no expenditure.<sup>250</sup>

In 2014-2017, the average annual value was £99,998, with an average annual dividend income of £7237, and an average annual expenditure of £3310.<sup>251</sup>

### ***MacFarlane Bequest***

#### **Biography**

Alexander MacFarlane was the youngest son of John Macfarlane of Macfarlane (d. 1705) and his second wife Helen, daughter of Robert, second Viscount Arbutnot. Macfarlane was an alumni of Old College who became a large-scale merchant, planter and slave-owner in Kingston, Jamaica.

#### **Slavery connection and source of wealth**

The *Legacies of British Slaveownership* project shows MacFarlane to have been the owner of Biscany Estate in St Elizabeth, Jamaica.<sup>252</sup> Macfarlane acquired a large fortune. He was

<sup>241</sup> *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships, and Other Foundations, in the College and University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Maitland club, 1850), p.221.

<sup>242</sup> GUA, F2/10, 'Glasgow University Ledger 1875-78', p.298

<sup>243</sup> *Annual Report on the state of the Finances of the University of Glasgow*, (1889-90), pp.12-13.

<sup>244</sup> GUA, F2/29, 'Glasgow University Ledger, 1908-9: Abstract of accounts 1907-8', pp.24-25

<sup>245</sup> GUA, F6/1/5/1, 'Abstract of Accounts 1936-43: Endowment Accounts, 1936-37', p.46.

<sup>246</sup> GUA F6/1/5/4, 'Abstract of Account 1948-53: Endowment Accounts, 1948-9', pp.28-29.

<sup>247</sup> GUA, F6/1/4/1, 'Endowment Accounts, 1958-9', p.7.

<sup>248</sup> GUA, F6/1/4/7, 'Endowment Accounts, 1964-5', p.8.

<sup>249</sup> GUA, F6/1/5/9, 'Abstract of Accounts, 1972-7: Endowment Accounts, 1973-4', p.8.

<sup>250</sup> GUA, F6/1/5/10, 'Abstract of Accounts, 1977-82: Endowment Accounts, 1981-2', p.24.

<sup>251</sup> University of Glasgow, Finance and Procurement Office information.

<sup>252</sup> 'Alexander Macfarlane', *Legacies of British Slave-ownership database*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146644157> Accessed 20 January 2018.

appointed an assistant judge and elected as a member of the legislative assembly. Having built a large observatory on the island, he was appointed a Fellow of the Royal Society.<sup>253</sup> Dying in August 1755, his testament bequeathed to the University of Glasgow:

All my mathematickall instruments: a four-foot mural arch made of brass, a five foot meridian transit, a five foot astronomical sector, a small clock and an instrument of four foot equal altitude and likewise object, and other globes for three telescopes and three micrometers, also some variation needles and some other small things.<sup>254</sup>

This very significant donation led to the establishment of the MacFarlane Observatory—the first of its type in Great Britain—at Old College in 1760. According to J.D. Mackie, the land for the observatory (afterwards named the Macfarlane Observatory) was purchased ‘at some expense, and with the aid of the city’.<sup>255</sup> Without doubt, this bequest helped facilitate the founding of the Regius Professor of Astronomy in 1760.

### **Income to the University of Glasgow**

There is no mention of finance in the will and assuming it is a complete transcription, the Macfarlane bequest was of instruments alone, not finance for the observatory.

### ***James Watt Prize***

#### **Benefactors**

The Watt Prize was instituted in 1808 by James Watt, the engineer and inventor who had worked as an instrument maker at the University. The annual prize of £10 was to be awarded for the best essay on a subject connected with Science or the Liberal Arts.<sup>256</sup>

#### **Biography**

James Watt (1736-1819), the famous engineer who worked from 1756 to 1764 as mathematical instrument maker to the University. Two Engineering chairs and a prize are also named for him.<sup>257</sup>

### **Slavery connection and source of wealth**

James Watt’s immediate family were heavily involved in transatlantic commerce, including on occasion trading enslaved persons in Greenock. His father, James Watt senior (1698-1782) was a transatlantic merchant in Greenock trading in sugar and tobacco with factors in North America and the Caribbean, at least from 1733 until 1771. For example, in the early 1740s, Watt senior traded with in Antigua via factor Archibald Cochran, including grain and corn and in return, sugar, rum and cotton.<sup>258</sup> James Watt’s brother, John, worked in father’s business and branched out in slave-trading. On 17 March 1762, Walter McAdam ‘received from John Watt a Black Boy which I promise to deliver to Mr John Warrant Mercht in Glasgow’.<sup>259</sup> The enslaved boy was named Frederick, and he was clothed in breeches, a waist-coat, a black

<sup>253</sup> John Macfarlane, *History of Clan MacFarlane* (Glasgow, 1922) p. 127.

<sup>254</sup> 'Alexander Macfarlane', *Legacies of British Slave-ownership database*, Available: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146644157> Accessed 13 February 2018.

<sup>255</sup> J.D. Mackie, *The University of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1954), p.222

<sup>256</sup> James Watt Prize, Available: <http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/award/?id=148> Accessed: 18 July 2018.

<sup>257</sup> 'James Watt', Available: <http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/biography/?id=WH0018&type=P> Accessed: 18 July 2018.

<sup>258</sup> This report has sampled microfilms from ‘Industrial Revolution: A Documentary History’: Series 1: ‘The Boulton & Watt Archive and the Matthew Boulton Papers from Library of Birmingham’. See guide here: [http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital\\_guides/i.aspx](http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/i.aspx) Accessed: 14 March 2018. Microfilms - Series 1/Reel 70: MII/3/36/13, ‘Letter from Archibald Cochran, Antigua’, 17 September 1742.

<sup>259</sup> Series 1/Reel 69: MII/3/61, ‘Receipt for a Black Boy’, 17 March 1762.

cravat, shoes and a blue coat before being delivered to the Saltmarket in Glasgow, to be forwarded to Lady Spynie at Brodie House as the property of James Brodie of Spynie.<sup>260</sup> The father and son team of merchants, James Watt senior and John Watt, were at the centre of Atlantic world trading network in eighteenth-century Greenock and Glasgow. James Watt's father supported Watt through his apprenticeship in London in 1755 (although his father left no will or testament and it is impossible to gauge how much, if anything, he bequeathed his son).<sup>261</sup> James Watt himself profited from the ancillary commerce surrounding the West India trades in Great Britain. Firstly, James Watt acted as a mercantile agent for his father throughout 1753-4, in London 1755-6, and after he returned permanently to Glasgow in 1757.<sup>262</sup> Secondly, James Watt was a major shareholder in Delftfield pottery firm from 1764 until his death in 1819 (his initial investment of £240 increased twenty-fold in that period). Early nineteenth-century shipments of delft left the Clyde destined for, amongst other places, Antigua, Trinidad, Jamaica and Grenada, islands with large contingents of resident Scottish planters.<sup>263</sup> Thirdly, between 1800 and 1830, Caribbean planters were the main overseas customers of the Boulton-Watt steam engine, a new technology which allowed them to remain competitive towards the end of Caribbean slavery, using steam power for the milling of sugar cane and the boiling of sugar syrup.<sup>264</sup>

### **Legacies: process**

On 3 June 1808, James Watt acknowledged the influence the University of Glasgow had on his career. 'Entertaining a due sense of the many favours conferred upon me by the University of Glasgow', he donated £300.<sup>265</sup>

### **Legacies: disbursement**

James Watt's gift was intended to 'excite the spirit of enquiry and exertion' in students of Natural Philosophy and Chemistry.<sup>266</sup>

### **Income to the University of Glasgow**

On 3 June 1808, James Watt donated £300 to the University of Glasgow.<sup>267</sup>

In 1846, the value was worth £300.<sup>268</sup>

In 1889, the value was £506, which generated revenue of £32, and expenditure of £1 0s 3d.<sup>269</sup>

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<sup>260</sup> Series 1/Reel 69: MII/3/3/62, 'List of Cloths for Black Boy', March 1762.

<sup>261</sup> Richard L. Hillis, *James Watt Volume 1: His time in Scotland, 1736-1774* (England: Landmark, 2002), p.50-51.

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.*, p.48, p.53, p.83.

<sup>263</sup> George Haggarty, 'Scotland crosses the Atlantic: evidence for eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century ceramic trade', in Habib, Gray & Forbes (eds.), *Making for America: Transatlantic craftsmanship: Scotland and the Americas in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*, (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2013), pp. 129-149.

<sup>264</sup> Veront Satchell, 'Steam for Sugar-Cane Milling: The Diffusion of the Boulton and Watt Stationary Steam Engine to the Jamaican Sugar Industry, 1809-1830' in Kathleen Monteith and Glen Richards (eds.), *Jamaica in Slavery and Freedom: History, Heritage and Culture* (Kingston: University of West Indies Press, 2002), pp.242-258.

<sup>265</sup> *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships, and Other Foundations, in the College and University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Maitland club, 1850), pp.214-8.

<sup>266</sup> *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships, and Other Foundations, in the College and University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Maitland club, 1850), pp.214-8.

<sup>267</sup> *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships, and Other Foundations, in the College and University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Maitland club, 1850), pp.214-8.

<sup>268</sup> *Report on Bursary and Prize Foundations, and other Endowments, in connection with the College* (1846), p.8.

<sup>269</sup> *Annual Report on the state of the Finances of the University of Glasgow, 1889-90*, pp.14-15.

In 1907-8, the value was £1300, which generated revenue of £46, and expenditure of £2 19s 5d.<sup>270</sup>

In 1936-7, the value was £2955, with revenue of £91 and expenditure of £5 12s 4d.<sup>271</sup>

In 1948-9, the value was £6810, with revenue of £109 and expenditure of £6.<sup>272</sup>

In 1958-9, the value was £5070, with revenue of £169 and no expenditure.<sup>273</sup>

In 1964-5, the value was £6237, with an income of £370 and expenditure of £275.<sup>274</sup>

In 1979, the James Watt Scholarship was amalgamated into 'The University of Glasgow (Bursaries, Fellowships and Scholarships) Investment Fund'.<sup>275</sup>

### ***Stirling-Maxwell Collection***

#### **Benefactors**

The Stirling Maxwell Collection was bequeathed to the University of Glasgow Library in 1956 under the terms of the will of Sir John Stirling Maxwell (1866-1956), Sir William's son; it was received by the Library in 1958. Included in the bequest was a group of some 300 18th century pamphlets, mainly of Scottish interest. Not forming part of the bequest, however, was a substantial number of valuable books, mainly volumes on the arts of design and collections of proverbs and these were sold at Christie's, 20-23 May and 19 November 1958.<sup>276</sup>

#### **Biography**

Sir William Stirling Maxwell (1818-1878), was son of Archibald Stirling, Esq., of Keir and Cawder, who owned estates (plantations) and enslaved people.

#### **Slavery connection and source of wealth**

Sir William Stirling-Maxwell's father, Archibald Stirling (1768-1847), was a planter and slave-owner in Jamaica:

Like former younger sons of the family [Archibald Stirling] went in early life to Jamaica sailing for Montego Bay in April 1789. For nearly twenty-five years he was a planter there, on his father's estates of Hampden and Frontier. On his return home, he purchased...the estate of Kenmure where he settled with his wife Elizabeth Maxwell, second daughter of Sir John Maxwell of Pollok...In 1831, he succeeded [to] the family estates [of Keir and Cawder], and resided at Keir with little interruption until his death.<sup>277</sup>

#### **Income to the University of Glasgow**

<sup>270</sup> GUA, F2/29, 'Glasgow University Ledger, 1908-9: Abstract of accounts 1907-8', pp.24-5.

<sup>271</sup> GUA, F6/1/5/1, 'Abstract of Accounts 1936-43: Endowment Accounts, 1936-37', p.46.

<sup>272</sup> GUA F6/1/5/4, 'Abstract of Account 1948-53: Endowment Accounts, 1948-9', pp.26-7.

<sup>273</sup> GUA, F6/1/4/1, 'Endowment Accounts, 1958-9', p.6.

<sup>274</sup> GUA, F6/1/4/7, 'Endowment Accounts, 1964-5', p.7.

<sup>275</sup> *University of Glasgow (Bursaries, Fellowships and Scholarships) Scheme*, (1979), p.23.

<sup>276</sup> University of Glasgow, 'Stirling-Maxwell Collection', Available:

<https://www.gla.ac.uk/myglasgow/specialcollections/collectionsa-z/stirlingmaxwellcollection/> Accessed: 18 July 2018.

<sup>277</sup> William Fraser, *The Stirlings of Keir, and their family papers* (Edinburgh, 1858) p.81. See also, GCA, T-SK 11/3, 'Bound Volumes of Letters, Vol. 3', April 1789, ff. 119, 121, 122.

Book collection (as well as donations during the capital campaign).

**APPENDIX TWO:  
CAPITAL CAMPAIGN RESEARCH**

**Slavery-connected donations during the capital campaign  
at the University of Glasgow, 1866-1880**

***Summary***

The analysis of the capital campaign for the Gilmorehill campus builds from two documents held in Glasgow University Archives:

- List 1: ‘New College Buildings and Hospital: List of Subscriptions’ which details donations between April 1866-January 1880
- List 2: ‘New College Buildings: List of Subscriptions’ which details donations between March 1877 and January 1881

Together these two documents detail gifts made during these years totaling approximately £213,000. Research focused on a select group of large donors (the 78 who gave £1,000 or more), and a small number of donors who made gifts of between £100 and £1,000 who we knew to have slavery connections.

Assessing whether or not the money donated to the University between 1866 and 1871 is tainted by slavery is a complicated process. Trade in slave-produced goods (especially sugar from the West Indies, tobacco from North America and cotton from the American South) carried on from the late-17<sup>th</sup> century up until the early 1860s, and during that decade Clyde shipbuilders profited from the construction of merchant and military vessels for the American South. However, most of the profits from slave-produced tobacco, sugar and other such crops had come to Glasgow and Scotland between the late-17<sup>th</sup> and the early-19<sup>th</sup> centuries, pre-dated the abolition of slavery in the British Caribbean in 1834. During the 1830s the British government paid more than £20 million in compensation to the owners of enslaved people who were freed, creating a massive injection of capital into the British economy with a very direct relationship to slavery. £20 million in 1840 is worth an estimated £1.66 billion (RPI); £15.9 billion (WIG); and £73.3 billion (ROW).

However, with the exception of connections to the American South which continued into the 1860s, by the time of the University of Glasgow’s Capital Campaign most of the Glaswegian and Scottish families whose members had profited from slavery were a generation or more removed from slavery itself, and most had diversified their financial interests or had added their slavery profits to existing wealth. Inheritance, dowries and other inheritance arrangements complicate the picture yet more. In virtually all cases it is therefore impossible to calculate what proportion of a gift can be said to have come from slavery, and the results of this research are indicative rather than definitive. Only cases in which there is clear evidence that a significant proportion of the wealth of a donor had clear and tangible connections to the profits from slavery have been included in the calculation of money given to the University’s Capital Campaign.

Despite the complications involved it is nonetheless clear that the profits from slavery provided a significant boost to the development of the Gilmorehill campus. Although our research has focused on only a small number of donors, we have already established that at least £11,325

out of approximately £213,000 raised had clear slavery connections. There are a further two individuals with ‘possible’ connections, whose donations total £3000, but more research is required before a determination can be made. Further research on large, medium and small donations will almost certainly increase the amount of slavery-related money, perhaps significantly.

£11,325 in the 1860s and 1870s is worth an estimated £5,712,700 in 2016 (WIG), or £985,850 (RPI) or £19,691,000 (ROW). Calculation of financial benefit is easier than bursaries, endowments and mortifications, since we need only calculate the value of the original one-off gift in today's money (with no calculation of income from or interest earned on invested endowments). That said, the University has continued to benefit from the campus and buildings constructed with the aid of the Capital Campaign, and so the value of the original gift has been enhanced over time.

### ***Methodology***

This report discusses the fund-raising campaign initiated to help facilitate the University of Glasgow’s relocation from Old College to Gilmorehill between the late 1860s and 1880. This report is based upon two documents held in Glasgow University Archives:

- ‘New College Buildings and Hospital: List of Subscriptions’ which details donations between April 1866-January 1880
- ‘New College Buildings: List of Subscriptions’ which details donations between March 1877 and January 1881.<sup>278</sup>

The combined total value of gifts, subscriptions and donations listed in these two documents was approximately £213,000 (equivalent to £332,000,000 **ROW** in 2016). This represented just under half of the total cost of the new Gilmorehill campus and Western Infirmary of £428,000. A great many donations were relatively small, and it would take years of research to investigate all of these.<sup>279</sup> Research began with the 78 largest donors who each gave £1000 or more, and identified 23 of these with clear slavery connections. (There are almost certainly more large and smaller donors who had slavery connections, but the process of investigating wealth acquisition over three or more generations means that a great deal of further research will be required to establish the full extent of the slavery dividend).

### ***Donors of Interest: broad conclusions***

The twenty-three individuals who have been identified as having some form of connection with New World slavery together donated a total of £11,325. There are a further two individuals with ‘possible’ connections, whose donations total £3000, but further investigation is required in order to determine whether or not this £3,000 is related to the profits from racial slavery. Thus, based on research to date we know that at least 5% of the £213,000 raised in the Capital Campaign money raised in the Capital Campaign was connected to the profits from racial slavery. Further research would almost certainly increase this percentage, perhaps significantly.

### ***Donors of Interest: slavery connections***

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<sup>278</sup> University of Glasgow Archives (hereafter UofGA), 1563a, ‘New College Buildings and Hospital: List of Subscriptions’ April 1866-January 1880; UofGA, 1563b, ‘New College Buildings: List of Subscriptions’.

<sup>279</sup> Michael Moss, J. Forbes Munro and Richard Trainor, *University, City and State: The University of Glasgow Since 1870*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p.36.

Slavery connections of donors to the capital campaign is a complex issue but can be summarised as follows:

- a) Individuals who owned slaves in the West Indies and/or claimed compensation when slavery was abolished in 1834
- b) Individuals who were resident in the British West Indies prior to 1834 (and therefore beneficiaries, either directly or indirectly) of the plantation slave system
- c) Glasgow merchant firms established before 1834 whose wealth was initially or primarily based upon trade with the West Indies
- d) Philanthropic organisations whose subscribers were slave-owners or colonial merchants
- e) Individuals who inherited wealth from people who made money through slave-ownership or trade in slave-produced goods, especially those who were either ‘tobacco lords’ or members of the Glasgow ‘sugar aristocracy’ during the period 1740-1848.

a) *Individuals who owned slaves in the West Indies and/or claimed compensation when slavery was abolished in 1834*

Three donors have been identified as owning enslaved people and/or claiming compensation in 1834. Archibald Smith of Jordanhill (1795-1883) who donated £100 was a partner of leading Glasgow West India firm, J&A Smith, and claimed compensation on the emancipation of enslaved people in 1834.<sup>280</sup> A more substantial series of donations were made by William Frederick Burnley (two donations totaling £1100). W.F. Burnley was the son of William Hardin Burnley who was the leading and largest slave-owner in Trinidad during the early 1800s. Both father and son claimed large sums of compensation in 1834 (see below).<sup>281</sup>

b) *Individuals who were resident in the British West Indies prior to 1834*

Gregor Turnbull was resident in Trinidad in the early 1830s, but likely made the majority of his fortune on the return to Glasgow. It is likely, yet unproven, that his initial wealth was derived from chattel slavery.

c) *Glasgow merchant firms established before 1834 whose wealth was initially based upon trade with the West Indies*

There are three major firms of interest. The partners in the firm of Wm Connal & Co. donated £350. Campbell, Rivers & Co. donated £375. Campbell, Rivers & Co. was an elite West India merchant firm and subscribed as a company to the pro-slavery lobbying group the Glasgow-West India Association in 1807. Partners of the firm in the early 1800s included some of Glasgow’s most illustrious merchants such as Richard Dennistoun of Kelvingrove. James Finlay & Co. donated £1000. This company was one of Glasgow’s major cotton importers. Initial partners in the firm included merchants Archibald Smith of Jordanhill and John

<sup>280</sup> 'Archibald Smith', *Legacies of British Slave-ownership database*, Available: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/42021> Accessed: 14 April 2018.

<sup>281</sup> For details on the son, see 'William Frederick Burnley', *Legacies of British Slave-ownership database*, Available: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/45585> Accessed 27 April 2018.

For details on his father, see Selwyn R. Cudjoe, 'Burnley, William Hardin (1780–1850)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2016 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/109518>, accessed 1 April 2018]; 'William Hardin Burnley', *Legacies of British Slave-ownership database*, Available: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/28815> Accessed: 27 April 2018.

Gordon.<sup>282</sup> Thus, two separate West India firms supplied James Finlay & Co. with cotton in the early 1800s, likely from Jamaica and Grenada.

d) *Philanthropic organisations whose subscribers were slave-owners*  
The Merchants House of Glasgow donated £1000.

e) *Individuals who inherited wealth from direct forebears, especially those who were either Virginia or West India merchants during the period 1740-1848*

There are several relevant individuals, including University of Glasgow staff. Indeed, the vast majority of donors to the Capital Campaign who have been identified as having slavery connections had inherited wealth from direct relatives.

Of major interest is Sir William Stirling-Maxwell (1818-1878), who donated £3000. His father was Archibald Stirling of Keir (1768-1847) whose family owned Jamaica estates, Hampden and Frontier.<sup>283</sup> According to the University of Glasgow story, Sir William Stirling-Maxwell was the 'University's Dean of Faculties from 1857 to 1859 and Chancellor from 1875 until 1878. Stirling-Maxwell was the first Chancellor of the University of Glasgow to be elected by the members of the General Council, which had been created in 1859. Previously, Chancellors had been elected by members of Senate'.<sup>284</sup> See below for more information.

The Stevens of Bellahouston family are also of interest. The father of Elizabeth, Moses and Grace Steven was Moses Steven of Polmadie, a West India merchant in Glasgow during the city's 'golden-age' of sugar. Moses Steven junior (an Old College graduate and leading advocate) donated £400 to the capital campaign fund, whilst a 'Misses Steven' donated £100. These donations in life complement their later post-mortem gifts after March 1892 via the Bellahouston bequest.<sup>285</sup> Ascertaining what the exact proportion of their income derived from slavery is problematic. Their father was undoubtedly a partner in a leading West India firm, but he also inherited landed property which is likely to have constituted most of the family wealth.

The Rainy family are also of interest. George Rainy (1790-1863) was a major beneficiary of compensation as partner of Liverpool based firm, Sandbach Tinne and its predecessors.<sup>286</sup> His son, George Haygarth Rainy (£500) and brother, Professor Harry Rainy (£100), donated to the University of Glasgow capital campaign. Harry Rainy, Professor of Medical Jurisprudence at Old College, had received £8000 from his brother's fortune in 1863.<sup>287</sup>

The heirs of James Ewing are also of interest. Ewing was at once a West India merchant and owner of an estate in Jamaica from c.1800, large scale claimant of slave compensation, and the de-facto head of Glasgow's West India interest.<sup>288</sup> His direct heir, Humphry Ewing-Crum- Ewing donated £300, whilst nephew, Walter Crum, donated £500. Another family of note is the Speirs. Archibald Alexander Speirs of Elderslie (1840 – 1868), a Scottish MP in the House of Commons between 1865 and 1868. Speirs was descended from both the 'Tobacco Lords' and 'Sugar Aristocracy' in his paternal and maternal lines. His paternal grand-parent (or great-grandfather) was Archibald Speirs of Elderslie, otherwise

<sup>282</sup> GUA, UGD91/1/4/1/3/1/105-6, 'Ledger of James Finlay and Co., 1792–1800'.

<sup>283</sup> For the history of the Stirling family and Cadder House, see John Guthrie Smith and John Oswald Mitchell, *The old country houses of the old Glasgow gentry*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., (1878).

<sup>284</sup> 'Sir William Stirling-Maxwell', Available:

<https://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/biography/?id=WH1106&type=P> Accessed: 16 April 2018

<sup>285</sup> 'Bequests of nearly half a million to Glasgow', *Glasgow Herald*, 17 March 1892, p.6.

<sup>286</sup> 'George Rainy', *Legacies of British Slave-ownership database*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/8674> Accessed 27 April 2018.

<sup>287</sup> NRS, Edinburgh Sheriff Court Wills, 'Will of George Rainy', 1864 pp.127-8, p.130.

<sup>288</sup> 'James Ewing of Strathleven', *Legacies of British Slave-ownership database*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/21020> Accessed 19 April 2018.

known as ‘the mercantile god of Glasgow’ and one of the four major ‘Tobacco Lords’ in the city. His mother, Eliza Stewart Hagart, was daughter of Thomas C. Hagart of Bantaskine, a Glasgow West India merchant in 1807 (with his father, Charles Hagart of Bantaskine, d.1813).

### **Problems**

The major issue in this research is the problem of assessing to what extent the wealth of firms, organisations or individuals had been derived from racial slavery. James Ewing and Archibald Smith, both members of *arriviste* West India gentry families, derived a high percentage of their wealth from the profits from Caribbean slavery, even though they then used this wealth to develop varied and diverse portfolios. Caribbean slavery propelled these families into the elite. Organisations are more problematic: the Merchants House had no known institutional involvement with slavery yet received subscriptions from slave-owners as well as major bequests for post-mortem management. Merchant firms also present an issue. For example, the wealth and influence of Campbell, Rivers & Co. was—by the time of the Capital Campaign—no longer based upon Caribbean slavery, by which time their colonial and international trade activity had diversified. Similarly, by the 1870s James Finlay & Co.’s imports were no longer derived primarily from slave societies, although their cotton imports had originally been sourced from Britain’s slave colonies, and then during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century came largely from the slave society of the American South. Assessing what percentage of an individual’s inherited wealth had originally been derived from slavery is equally challenging and will require further investigation outwith the scope of the current study. In some cases (such as Archibald Alexander Speirs), the connection to slavery is third-generation, and assessing the significance of the original slavery-related wealth to a larger wealth two or three generations later is all but impossible. All that can be said at this stage is that the profits of racial slavery had contributed, sometimes significantly, to the wealth of people and companies which supported the University’s Capital Campaign.

### **Donors of Interest: Contemporary Values**

Table 5 shows twenty-three donors, the amounts each donated, the year of the donations, as well as the three estimates of present-day value:

**Table 5:** Donors, Establishment year, value, and contemporary estimates (2016 figures)

<b>Title</b>	<b>Value</b>	<b>Est.</b>	<b>RPW</b>	<b>WIG</b>	<b>ROW</b>
Col. Buchanan	£1,500	1869-79	£140,000.00	£651,000.00	£2,550,000.00
W.F. Burnley	£1,100	1869-72	£90,100.00	£583,000.00	£1,750,000.00
Campbell, Rivers & Co.	£375	1866-79	£35,000.00	£163,000.00	£639,000.00
Wm Connal & Co.	£250	1868-77	£21,600.00	£110,000.00	£401,000.00
Michael Connal	£100	1879	£9,330.00	£43,400.00	£170,000.00
Walter Crum	£500	1869	£42,400.00	£277,000.00	£965,000.00
Alexander Dennistoun	£1,250	1874-80	£114,000.00	£572,000.00	£1,980,000.00
Humphrey Ewing Crum Ewing	£300	1868	£24,800.00	£175,000.00	£594,000.00
James Finlay & Co.	£1,200	1869-77	£104,000.00	£527,000.00	£1,930,000.00
George W. Hamilton	£100	1867	£8,130.00	£59,100.00	£200,000.00
Merchants House	£1,000	1870	£87,800.00	£550,000.00	£1,810,000.00

Mrs McCall	£100	1867-71	£8,550.00	£54,100.00	£168,000.00
Henry McCall	£250	1868	£20,600.00	£146,000.00	£495,000.00
James McCall	£250	1866-69	£21,200.00	£139,000.00	£483,000.00
William Stirling- Maxwell	£100	1870-76	£8,630.00	£46,600.00	£158,000.00
George H. Rainy	£500	1869	£42,400.00	£277,000.00	£965,000.00
Prof. H. Rainy	£100	1869	£8,480.00	£55,400.00	£193,000.00
Archibald Smith	£100	1870	£8,780.00	£55,000.00	£181,000.00
A.A. Speirs	£1,000	1869	£84,800.00	£554,000.00	£1,930,000.00
Moses Steven	£500	1867-71	£42,700.00	£270,000.00	£841,000.00
Misses Steven	£100	1871	£8,550.00	£54,100.00	£168,000.00
Michael R. Shaw-Stewart	£250	1869	£21,200.00	£139,000.00	£483,000.00
Gregor Turnbull	£400	1867-72	£32,800.00	£212,000.00	£637,000.00
<b>Totals</b>	<b>£11,325</b>		<b>£985,850</b>	<b>£5,712,700</b>	<b>£19,691,000</b>

The twenty-three individuals who donated to this campaign have been identified as having some form of economic connection with New World slavery, donating £11,325 in total. Present-day values range between:

**£985,850 (2016, RPI)**

**£5,712,700 (2016, WIG)**

**£19,691,000 (2016, ROW)**

### *Donors of Interest: Case Studies*

#### *Colonel Buchanan of Drumpellier*

##### **Biography**

Colonel David Carrick Robert Carrick-Buchanan of Drumpellier (1825-1904) was the son of David Carrick Buchanan (1760-1827) and great-great-grandson of Provost Andrew Buchanan, one of Glasgow's famous 'tobacco lords'.<sup>289</sup>

##### **Slavery connection and source**

Colonel David Carrick Robert Carrick-Buchanan of Drumpellier's father's correspondence reveals the family's interest in the slave-produced tobacco trade endured into the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, the family wealth was derived from tobacco trading in 18<sup>th</sup>-century Glasgow, planting interests in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century Virginia, both of which continued over successive generations to generate the wealth and land inherited by the donor.<sup>290</sup>

##### **Capital donation**

<sup>289</sup> For tobacco credentials of Andrew Buchanan, see T.M. Devine, *The Tobacco Lords: A Study of the Tobacco Merchants of Glasgow and their Trading Activities, 1740-1790*, (Edinburgh, John Donald, 1975), p.178.

<sup>290</sup> For evidence of the family's tobacco interests in Richmond in 1800, see North Lanarkshire Council Archives, U1/29/17/2, 'Letters from Robert Pollok and Richard Bloa to David Buchanan regarding tobacco trade in Virginia', 1800.

Colonel Buchanan made three donations of £1500 in total: £500 on 2 February 1869,<sup>291</sup> £500 in 10 October 1873,<sup>292</sup> and £500 in 16 April 1879.<sup>293</sup>

### ***William Frederick Burnley***

#### **Biography**

William Frederick Burnley was the son of William Hardin Burnley (1780-1850), a slaveowner in Virginia at the outbreak of the American War for Independence, who as a loyalist fled to New York, and eventually Great Britain. After Britain acquired Trinidad after 1802, he invested in plantations and enslaved people on the island. By the 1820s, William Hardin Burnley owned fourteen sugar estates and ultimately claimed £4800 compensation following the emancipation of the enslaved in 1834. Described by Trinidadian historian Selwyn Cudjoe as the ‘wealthiest man and largest slave owner in Trinidad during the first half of the nineteenth century’, he died in Port of Spain in December 1850, leaving a fortune of over £200,000 which was left to his widow and sons.<sup>294</sup> His son, William Frederick Burnley was born in London in 1810 and inherited a fortune made from slave-ownership and commercial connections with Trinidad. The junior William Frederick Burnley became a partner in Glasgow-Trinidadian based firm, Eccles, Burnley & Co. and consolidated the connections by marrying Rosina Eccles, one of the main partner’s daughter. He was resident in Glasgow from around the 1830s and afterwards became Chairman of the pro-slavery lobbying group, the Glasgow West India Association. He claimed around £20,000 compensation following the emancipation of enslaved people 1834. It is unusual for a direct beneficiary of slave-compensation to be identified as a donor to the University of Glasgow campaign, but this anomaly is explained by the junior William Frederick Burnley’s long life, for he died in 1903 aged ninety-three.<sup>295</sup> W.F. Burnley was sequestered in 1848, although this may have been a legal tactic to dissolve the unprofitable Glasgow firm and to protect his personal West India fortune. He retained a substantial (but not nationally significant) fortune on his death.<sup>296</sup>

#### **Slavery connection and source**

W.F. Burnley’s family connections with New World slavery were substantial over two generations and spanned branches of commerce in distinct colonial spheres: America, Great Britain and the West Indies. He was the beneficiary of his father’s planting fortune, a West India merchant in his own right, and a recipient of slave-compensation money in 1834.

#### **Capital donation**

William Frederick Burnley made two donations totaling £1100: £1000 was paid on 2 February 1869, and £100 paid on 21 December 1872.<sup>297</sup>

### ***Campbell, Rivers & Co.***

#### **Biography**

<sup>291</sup> GUA 1563a, ‘New College Buildings and Hospital: List of Subscriptions’ April 1866-January 1880’, p.1.

<sup>292</sup> GUA 1563a, ‘New College Buildings and Hospital: List of Subscriptions’ April 1866-January 1880’, p.27.

<sup>293</sup> GUA 1563a, ‘New College Buildings and Hospital: List of Subscriptions’ April 1866-January 1880’, p.35.

<sup>294</sup> For details see Selwyn R. Cudjoe, ‘Burnley, William Hardin (1780–1850)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2016 Available: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/109518>, Accessed: 1 April 2018

<sup>295</sup> For details, see ‘William Frederick Burnley’, *Legacies of British Slave-ownership database*, Available: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/45585> Accessed 27 April 2018

<sup>296</sup> When he died in Edinburgh in January 1903, William Frederick Burnley was worth £7908. See NRS, SC70/1/420, ‘Inventory of William Frederick Burnley’, 3 February 1903, p.972.

<sup>297</sup> GUA 1563a, ‘New College Buildings and Hospital: List of Subscriptions’ April 1866-January 1880’, p.2, p.33.

Campbell, Rivers & Co. was one of the main Glasgow-West India firms, during the city's 'golden age of sugar'. The firm registered with the pro-slavery group, the Glasgow West India Association in 1807, and in 1818 the main co-partners were Denistouns, an elite mercantile family, as well as their relation through marriage, Colin Campbell of Jura.<sup>298</sup> *The London Gazette* reveals the partnership structure in 1822, as well as main trading areas:

The business carried on by the subscribers at Glasgow under the firm of Campbell Rivers & Co., at Liverpool under the firm of Colin and John Campbell and Co., and at Kingston under the firm of Dennistouns, Scheviz & Co., and at New Orleans...under the name of Dennistouns, Bosworth & Co., was terminated in consequence of the expiry of the contract of Copartnership [on 31st October 1821 for Kingston and New Orleans, 31st December 1821 for Glasgow and Liverpool]. All debts due to and by the Company will be discharged by Colin Campbell or George Scheviz. The firms of Campbell, Rivers and Co., in Glasgow and Dennistouns, Scheviz in Jamaica are continued by Richard Dennistoun, George Scheviz and George Campbell, in conjunction with George Alston and Robert Douglas Alston. Subscribers = Colin Campbell, Richard Dennistoun, Colin M'Lachlan; James Dennistoun jun., by his attorney Richard Dennistoun; Geo. Scheviz, Robert Dennistoun; George Campbell, William Bosworth by their attorney Geo. Scheviz; James Buchanan, jun., John Campbell.<sup>299</sup>

### **Slavery connection and source**

The main co-partners of the firm were comprised from Glasgow's West India elite and were heavily involved with slavery and its commerce between 1807 up to 1838. For example, Richard Dennistoun of Kelvingrove owned Belvidere plantation in Trinidad up to his death in 1833.<sup>300</sup> In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the firm's co-partner was John Patrick Alston of Muirburn, described as an American merchant and banker in the Thistle Bank.<sup>301</sup> Even if the firm's donation to the University was made long after the emancipation of slavery, the foundation of the wealth of the firm and its co-partners was based upon slave-labour.

### **Capital donation**

The firm, Campbell, Rivers & Co. made two donations to the capital campaign totalling £375: £250 on 9 February 1866 and £125 on 20 February 1879.<sup>302</sup>

### ***Wm Connal & Co.***

#### **Biography**

William Connal & Co. was a West India firm in Glasgow.

### **Slavery connection and source**

According to historian Anthony Cooke, William Connal was a West India merchant in Glasgow in the slavery period and founder of William Connal & Co. Although he died in 1856,

<sup>298</sup> *London Gazette*, 14 March 1818.

<sup>299</sup> *London Gazette* 9 April 1822 p.601

<sup>300</sup> 'Richard Dennistoun d. 1833', *Legacies of British Slave-ownership database*, Available: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/44548> Accessed: 14 May 2018.

<sup>301</sup> *The Edinburgh Gazette*, 14 February 1896, p.150; George Stewart, *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship, as exhibited chiefly in the Business Career of its Old Commercial Aristocracy*, (Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1881), p.174.

<sup>302</sup> GUA 1563a, 'New College Buildings and Hospital: List of Subscriptions' April 1866-January 1880', p.2; GUA, 1563b, 'New College Buildings: List of Subscriptions', p.2.

the firm continued after his death. In the 1840s, the firm imported tea from China and was led by William Connal's nephew, Michael Connal.<sup>303</sup>

### **Capital donation**

The firm made two donations totalling £250: £150 paid on 4 February 1868 and £100 on 11 August 1877.<sup>304</sup>

### ***Michael Connal***

#### **Biography**

Michael Connal was nephew of William Connal, and partner in the family firm (which began as a West India firm).

#### **Slavery connection and source**

See above for description of the firm, William Connal & Co.

### **Capital donation**

Michael Connal of 43 Virginia Street Glasgow made one donation of £100, paid on 4 January 1879.<sup>305</sup>

### ***Walter Crum of Thornliebank***

#### **Biography**

Walter Crum was a Scottish scientist. He was the second son of Alexander Crum of Thornliebank and Jean Crum nee Ewing, daughter of Walter Ewing Maclae. His maternal uncle was James Ewing of Strathleven, one of Glasgow's most prominent slaveowners, from whom he inherited a very large proportion of his wealth. His brother was Humphry Ewing Crum-Ewing (see below).

#### **Slavery connection and source**

Inherited. In James Ewing's Trust Disposition and Settlement, dated 24 February 1854, he stipulated 'To the said John Crum, Humphry Ewing Crum, Walter Crum and James Crum, all children of Jean Ewing or Crum my sister and to their respective heirs and assignees, the sum of Twenty Thousand Pounds each'.<sup>306</sup>

### **Capital donation**

Walter Crum made one donation of £500, paid on January 1869.<sup>307</sup>

### ***Alexander Dennistoun***

#### **Biography**

Alexander Dennistoun (1790-1874), University of Glasgow alumni and M.P. for Dunbartonshire (1835-7) was the eldest son of James Dennistoun of Golfhill, a banker involved with the West India trades in Glasgow.<sup>308</sup>

<sup>303</sup> Anthony Cooke, 'An Elite Revisited: Glasgow West India Merchants, 1783-1877', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 32/2 (2012), p.156; J. Forbes Munro, *Maritime Enterprise and Empire: Sir William Mackinnon and His Business Network, 1823-1893*, (The Boydell Press, 2003), p.20.

<sup>304</sup> GUA 1563a, 'New College Buildings and Hospital: List of Subscriptions' April 1866-January 1880', p.5, p.36.

<sup>305</sup> GUA, 1563b, 'New College Buildings: List of Subscriptions', p.8.

<sup>306</sup> NRS, SC65/34/7/19, 'Inventory, Trust Disposition and Settlement of James Ewing', 24 February 1854, pp.196.

<sup>307</sup> GUA 1563a, 'New College Buildings and Hospital: List of Subscriptions' April 1866-January 1880', p.6.

<sup>308</sup> W. Innes Addison, *The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow, From 1728 to 1858*, (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1913), p.205; James MacLehose, *Memoirs and portraits of 100 Glasgow Men*, (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1886), pp.99-102.

### Slavery connection and source

James and Alexander Dennistoun, father and son, were involved with the firm J&A Dennistoun, which also traded cotton in New Orleans in the 1820s. Alexander Dennistoun took up residence in New Orleans in the 1820s.<sup>309</sup> On his father's death on 19 October 1835, he left a fortune of over £200,000 placing him amongst the richest men in Great Britain. He also held the 'right to an interest in a Mortgage over property in Demerara belonging to Douglas Adamson & Company', revealing he was involved in the financing of plantations in the West Indies.<sup>310</sup> His Trust Disposition of 15 April 1836 designated Alexander Dennistoun as a principal beneficiary of personal wealth and landed estates.<sup>311</sup>

### Capital donation

Alexander Dennistoun of Golfhill made two donations of £1250: £250 paid on 5 June 1874 and £1000 paid on 14 July 1880.<sup>312</sup> Since he died in 1874, it is likely the subscriptions were fulfilled by executors.

### *Humphry Ewing Crum Ewing*

#### Biography

Humphrey Ewing Crum Ewing (1802-1887) was the nephew and principal heir of James Ewing, Jamaican slaveowner, compensation claimants and the de facto head of Glasgow's West India interest 1807-1838.<sup>313</sup>

### Slavery connection and source

James Ewing was one of the richest men in Britain, and by his death in 1853 he had amassed a fortune worth more than £260,000. In James Ewing's Trust Disposition and Settlement, dated 24 February 1854, he stipulated that Humphry Ewing Crum was to receive £20,000 'in the event of his not succeeding to Levenside'. Thus, he was bequeathed a major inheritance of slavery-derived wealth by his uncle, including the Levenside estate and property in British Guiana. As part of the inheritance deal, James Ewing demanded Humphry Ewing Crum adopt his surname, so he became Humphrey Ewing Crum Ewing.<sup>314</sup>

### Capital donation

Humphrey Ewing Crum Ewing made one donation of £300, paid on 10 January 1868.<sup>315</sup>

### *James Finlay & Co.*

#### Biography

One of Glasgow's leading merchants, Kirkman Finlay (1772-1842), operated the family firm, James Finlay and Co., which was the leading producer of textiles in early nineteenth century

<sup>309</sup> W. Innes Addison, *The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow, From 1728 to 1858*, (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1913), p.205; James MacLehose, *Memoirs and portraits of 100 Glasgow Men*, (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1886), pp.99-102.

<sup>310</sup> NRS SC36/48/25, 'Inventory of James Dennistoun of Golfhill', 15 April 1836, p.404.

<sup>311</sup> NRS SC36/51/13, 'Trust Disposition of James Dennistoun of Golfhill', 15 April 1836, pp.103-111.

<sup>312</sup> GUA 1563a, 'New College Buildings and Hospital: List of Subscriptions' April 1866-January 1880', pp.35-6.

<sup>313</sup> For more biographical details, see 'James Ewing of Strathleven', Legacies of British Slave-ownership database, <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/21020> Accessed 12 April 2018.

<sup>314</sup> NRS, SC65/34/7/19, 'Inventory, Trust Disposition and Settlement of James Ewing', 24 February 1854, pp.193-6. See also 'Humphrey Ewing Crum-Ewing', *Legacies of British Slave-ownership database*, Available: <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146644131> Accessed 12 April 2018.

<sup>315</sup> GUA 1563a, 'New College Buildings and Hospital: List of Subscriptions' April 1866-January 1880', p.11.

Scotland via cotton mills at Ballindalloch, Catrine and Deanston.<sup>316</sup> As well as utilising slave-produced cotton, they made cheap textiles which were shipped and sold to the West Indies to clothe the enslaved.

### **Slavery connection and source**

The firm's partners were from the West India elite, including Archibald Smith of Jordanhill and his own firm, Leitch & Smith. The West Indies provided import and export markets whilst West India merchants invested capital. It is likely that by the time of the Capital Campaign the firm had little formal involvement with the West Indies (since Kirkman Finlay had shifted commercial focus to the East Indies), although James Finlay and Co. had strong connections with the West Indies throughout the first third of the nineteenth-century.<sup>317</sup> Yet it is clear that a significant amount of the firm's capital had accrued from slavery-related trade.

### **Capital donation**

James Finlay and Co. made two donations of £1200: £1000 paid on 2 February 1869, and £200 paid on 9 August 1877.<sup>318</sup>

### ***George W. Hamilton***

#### **Biography**

George W. Hamilton was almost certainly the grandson of his namesake, George William Hamilton (c.1786-1857), a University of Glasgow alumni. George William Hamilton I was the son of John Hamilton of Northpark, one of the leading West India merchants in late-eighteenth-century Glasgow, and Janet Bogle, of the Jamaica plantation and slave-owning family, the Bogles of Gilmorehill.<sup>319</sup>

### **Slavery connection and source**

George William Hamilton I was resident in Jamaica in the early nineteenth-century. In 1812, he took over the management of the Georgia Estate and eventually became one of the leading attorneys managing slave plantations on the island. He diversified into slave-ownership and made several claims for compensation following slave emancipation in 1834.<sup>320</sup> He returned to Scotland in the 1840s and his will of 1858 left annual support for his grandson, George William Hamilton 'only child of the now deceased Larchin Lynch Hamilton'.<sup>321</sup> This a significant portion of his grandson George W. Hamilton's wealth had come directly from slavery-related money.

### **Capital donation**

George W. Hamilton made one donation of £100, paid on 6 March 1867.<sup>322</sup>

<sup>316</sup> See Anon, *James Finlay & Company Limited: manufacturers and East India merchants, 1750-1950*, (Glasgow: Jackson Son & Co., 1951).

<sup>317</sup> Stephen Mullen, 'A Glasgow-West India Merchant House and the Imperial Dividend, 1779-1867', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* 33/2, (2013), pp.196-233.

<sup>318</sup> GUA 1563a, 'New College Buildings and Hospital: List of Subscriptions' April 1866-January 1880', p.2; GUA, 1563b, 'New College Buildings: List of Subscriptions', p.1.

<sup>319</sup> W. Innes Addison, *The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow, From 1728 to 1858*, (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1913), p.199.

<sup>320</sup> National Library of Jamaica, MS 132, 'Letterbook of Georgia Estate', Vol.1, pp.122-139.; see also 'George William Hamilton', Legacies of British Slave-ownership database, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/14412> Accessed 13 May 2018.

<sup>321</sup> NRS SC70/4/58, Edinburgh Sheriff Court Wills, Will of George Hamilton, 12 June 1858, p.367.

<sup>322</sup> GUA 1563a, 'New College Buildings and Hospital: List of Subscriptions' April 1866-January 1880', p.4.

## ***The Merchants House***

### **Biography**

The Merchants House was a commercial organisation in Glasgow with responsibilities in important areas of civic life. A Letter of the Guildry in 1605 established the preeminent position of the merchants, and the body afterwards became the domain of elite traders and merchants.

### **Slavery connection and source**

The Merchants House was a subscription-based organisation. Ninety-six West India merchants and planters matriculated between 1768 and 1841, constituting around seven percent of the overall membership.<sup>323</sup> The organisation also had a philanthropic role: many of the West India merchants and slave-owners—such as James Ewing—made large bequests to the Merchants House for disbursement across the west of Scotland. Thus as well as accruing some wealth from slavery-related interests, the Merchants House administered monies entrusted to them by subscribers who had made their money through slavery.

### **Capital donation**

The Merchants House made one donation of £1000, paid on 11 January 1870.<sup>324</sup>

## ***Mrs McCall of Ibroxhill***

### **Biography**

Isabella McCall nee Smith of Ibroxhill was the daughter of Archibald Smith senior of Jordanhill, one of the most prominent West India merchants in Glasgow.

### **Slavery connection and source**

Inherited wealth. On her marriage to West India merchant, John McCall of Ibroxhill, in 1803, her father Archibald Smith provided Isabella with a ‘tocher’ (marriage dowry), sealed with a marriage contract.<sup>325</sup> The historian Anthony Cooke has proved John McCall to have been a West India merchant, with shares in the firm John McCall & Co.<sup>326</sup>

### **Capital donation**

Mrs McCall of Ibroxhill made one donation of £100, paid on 28 May 1867.<sup>327</sup> She died soon afterwards in 1871.<sup>328</sup>

## ***Henry McCall of Daldowie***

### **Biography**

Henry McCall of Daldowie was almost certainly the son of James McCall of Daldowie, Glasgow merchant and claimant of compensation following slave emancipation in 1834.

### **Slavery connection and source**

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<sup>323</sup> Between 1768 and 1838, around 1385 individuals registered with the Merchants House. Thus, around 7 percent of membership were West India merchants and planters. See *A List of Matriculated Members of the Merchant's House, From 3d October 1768, to 5th October 1857*, (Glasgow: James McNab, 1858), pp.45-46.

<sup>324</sup> GUA 1563a, ‘New College Buildings and Hospital: List of Subscriptions’ April 1866-January 1880’, p.4.

<sup>325</sup> GCA, TD1/18, ‘Contract of Marriage between John McCall and Isabella Smith’, 1 October 1803.

<sup>326</sup> Anthony Cooke, ‘An Elite Revisited: Glasgow West India Merchants, 1783-1877’, *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 32/2 (2012), pp.161-2.

<sup>327</sup> GUA 1563a, ‘New College Buildings and Hospital: List of Subscriptions’ April 1866-January 1880’, p.4.

<sup>328</sup> NRS, SC36/48/65, Glasgow Sheriff Court Inventories, ‘Inventory of Mrs Smith, residing at Ibroxhill in parish of Govan, widow of John McCall esq, merchant in Glasgow’, 15 March 1871.

According to the *Legacies of British Slaveownership* project, James McCall was awarded compensation for enslaved people he owned on St Vincent.<sup>329</sup>

### **Capital donation**

Henry McCall of Daldowie made one donation of £250, paid on 4 February 1868.<sup>330</sup>

### ***James McCall of Daldowie***

#### **Biography**

James McCall of Daldowie, Glasgow-West India merchant and claimant of slave compensation in 1834. Quoting Burke's *Landed Gentry*, the *Legacies of British Slaveownership* project assesses James McCall's background:

The family came originally from Dumfriesshire. Samuel McCall, a wealthy merchant, possessed properties in Virginia and Maryland, which his family lost in the War of Independence by their loyalty and adherence to the British Crown." James McCall (1778-1866) was the son of Samuel's grandson James McCall (1726-1803) and his wife Sarah nee Reid. He married Anna Catrina Jacoba De Wet Fehrszen, daughter of Henricus Fehrszen, in 1815.<sup>331</sup>

### **Slavery connection and source**

According to the *Legacies of British Slaveownership* project, on 18 June 1836 James McCall was awarded £12,765 13S 8D compensation for 485 enslaved people on the Adelphi estate on St Vincent.<sup>332</sup>

### **Capital donation**

It is likely that James McCall died after he subscribed £250 to the University of Glasgow campaign but before it was paid. The subscription to the University of Glasgow was committed on 1 May 1866 and paid on 2 February 1869.<sup>333</sup> James McCall died on 7 September 1866 – his executors therefore likely paid the subscription.

### ***Sir William Stirling-Maxwell***

#### **Biography**

Sir William Stirling-Maxwell was the son of Archibald Stirling of Keir (1768-1847), prominent Scottish landowner and Jamaican planter.

### **Slavery connection and source**

Sir William Stirling-Maxwell's father was resident in Jamaica for much of his life:

Like former younger sons of the family [Archibald Stirling] went in early life to Jamaica sailing for Montego Bay in April 1789. For nearly twenty-five years he was a planter there, on his father's estates of Hampden and Frontier. On his return home, he purchased...the estate of Kenmure where he settled with his wife Elizabeth Maxwell, second daughter of Sir John Maxwell of Pollok...In 1831, he succeeded [to] the family

<sup>329</sup> 'James McCall', *Legacies of British Slave-ownership database*, Available: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/46713> Accessed: 19 June 2018

<sup>330</sup> GUA 1563a, 'New College Buildings and Hospital: List of Subscriptions' April 1866-January 1880', p.3.

<sup>331</sup> 'James McCall', *Legacies of British Slave-ownership database*, Available: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/46713> Accessed: 19 June 2018

<sup>332</sup> 'James McCall', *Legacies of British Slave-ownership database*, Available: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/46713> Accessed: 19 June 2018

<sup>333</sup> GUA 1563a, 'New College Buildings and Hospital: List of Subscriptions' April 1866-January 1880', p.3.

estates [of Keir and Cawder] and resided at Keir with little interruption until his death.<sup>334</sup>

After Archibald Stirling's death in 1847, Sir William Stirling-Maxwell received an inheritance and landed estates in Scotland, in part derived from the wealth of Jamaica plantations.<sup>335</sup>

### **Capital donation**

Sir William Stirling-Maxwell (1818-1878) donated £3000 to the University of Glasgow campaign: £1000 paid 7 September 1870, and £2000 paid on 30 November 1876.<sup>336</sup>

### ***George H. Rainy of Raasay***

#### **Biography**

George Haygarth Rainy was the son of George Rainy with his second wife, Margaret Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. George Haygarth. According to the *Legacies of British Slaveownership*:

George Rainy, West India merchant in London and major recipient of compensation in British Guiana as partner in Sandbach Tinne (q.v.) and its predecessors, resident in British Guiana at the time of compensation and retiring in 1843. Will of George Rainy formerly of Raasay in County of Inverness but late of Porchester Terrace who died 09/06/1863 proved 06/07/1863 by Harry Rainy brother, Charles Stuart Parker the nephew and Charles Stuart Parker the younger of University College Oxford the great-nephew, effects under £160,000.<sup>337</sup>

#### **Slavery connection and source**

From George Rainy's will proved in 1863: 'I give bequeath all my estate and effects whatsoever and wheresoever except as aforesaid not hereintofore disposed of unto my brother Harry Rainy of Glasgow, Doctor of Medicine, my Nephew Charles Stuart Parker the younger...and my son George Haygarth Rainy...in Trust...To my said brother Harry Rainy, Eight Thousand Pounds'.<sup>338</sup>

### **Capital donation**

George H. Rainy of Raasay made one donation of £500, paid on 10 February 1869.<sup>339</sup>

### ***Prof. Harry Rainy***

#### **Biography**

Harry Rainy, MD, Professor of Medical Jurisprudence at Old College, 1841-72.

#### **Slavery connection and source**

Harry Rainy received £8000 from his brother's fortune in 1863: George Rainy was a Scottish West India merchant in Liverpool and London.<sup>340</sup> From his brother George Rainy's will proved in 1863: 'I give bequeath all my estate and effects whatsoever and wheresoever except as aforesaid not hereintofore disposed of unto my brother Harry Rainy of Glasgow, Doctor of

<sup>334</sup> William Fraser, *The Stirlings of Keir, and their family papers* (Edinburgh, 1858) p.81.

<sup>335</sup> GCA, TSK/9/9/8-9, Will and testament of Archibald Stirling of Keir, deceased 8 October 1847.

<sup>336</sup> GUA 1563a, 'New College Buildings and Hospital: List of Subscriptions' April 1866-January 1880', p.25, p.35.

<sup>337</sup> 'George Rainy', *Legacies of British Slave-ownership database*, Available: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/8674> Accessed 6 May 2018.

<sup>338</sup> NRS, Edinburgh Sheriff Court Wills, Will of George Rainy, 1864 pp.127-8, p.130.

<sup>339</sup> GUA 1563a, 'New College Buildings and Hospital: List of Subscriptions' April 1866-January 1880', p.3.

<sup>340</sup> NRS, Edinburgh Sheriff Court Wills, Will of George Rainy, 1864 pp.127-8, p.130.

Medicine, my Nephew Charles Stuart Parker the younger...and my son George Haygarth Rainy...in Trust...To my said brother Harry Rainy, Eight Thousand Pounds'.<sup>341</sup>

### Capital donation

Professor Rainy made one donation of £100, paid on 19 February 1869.<sup>342</sup> This is therefore a slavery-related gift to the Capital Campaign by a member of the University faculty.

### *Archibald Smith of Jordanhill*

#### Biography

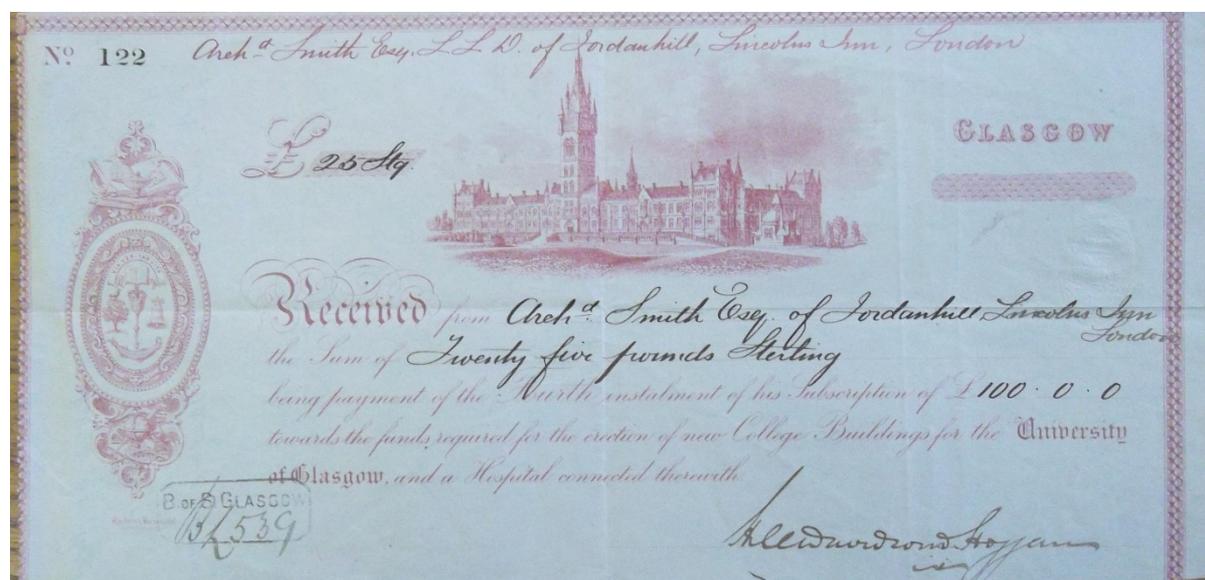
Archibald Smith II of Jordanhill (1795-1883), University of Glasgow alumnus, was a second-generation West India merchant in Glasgow. Archibald matriculated at the University of Glasgow aged twelve in 1807.<sup>343</sup>

#### Slavery connection and source

Archibald Smith became a West India merchant aged around 22. His father gifted his youngest son with a present of over £5,000 on 31 March 1817, consisting of two shares in the West India firm, Leitch & Smith (at £2,000 each) and the rest in cash.<sup>344</sup> Archibald Smith II of Jordanhill and elder brother, James Smith, established the successor firm, J&A Smith & Co. in 1821, which had interests in slave plantations in both Jamaica and Grenada. Archibald Smith II was involved with multiple claims for slave compensation for enslaved people in Grenada on the emancipation of slavery in 1834.<sup>345</sup> Archibald Smith II was involved with the family West India firm for over half-a-century.

### Capital donation

Archibald Smith II of Jordanhill (1795-1883) made one donation of £100, paid on 23 June 1870.<sup>346</sup> Unusually, the subscription form is preserved in Glasgow City Archives:



<sup>341</sup> NRS, Edinburgh Sheriff Court Wills, Will of George Rainy, 1864 pp.127-8, p.130.

<sup>342</sup> GUA 1563a, 'New College Buildings and Hospital: List of Subscriptions' April 1866-January 1880', p.1.

<sup>343</sup> W. Innes Addison, *The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow, From 1728 to 1858*, (Glasgow: James Maclehoose and Sons, 1913), p.229.

<sup>344</sup> GCA, TD1/1095, 'Daybook extracts'.

<sup>345</sup> 'Archibald Smith', *Legacies of British Slave-ownership database*, Available: <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/42021> Accessed: 8 February 2018.

<sup>346</sup> GUA 1563a, 'New College Buildings and Hospital: List of Subscriptions' April 1866-January 1880', p.6.

**Source:** Glasgow City Archives, TD1/1099

***A.A. Speirs Esq., of Elderslie M.P.***

**Biography**

Archibald Alexander Speirs of Elderslie (1840 – 1868), was a Member of Parliament between 1865 and 1868.

**Slavery connection and source**

Archibald Alexander Speirs of Elderslie was descended from both the ‘Tobacco Lords’ and the ‘Sugar Aristocracy’ along both his paternal and maternal lines. His paternal grand-parent (or possibly great-grandfather) was Archibald Speirs of Elderslie, described by a leading Scottish historian as ‘the mercantile god of Glasgow’ and one of the four major ‘Tobacco Lords’ of the city.<sup>347</sup> His mother, Eliza Stewart Hagart, was daughter of Thomas C. Hagart of Bantaskine, a Glasgow West India merchant (along with his father, Charles Hagart of Bantaskine, d.1813).

**Capital donation**

A.A. Speirs MP of Elderslie made one donation of £1000, which was paid on 24 February 1869.<sup>348</sup>

***Moses Steven of Bellahouston***

**Biography**

Moses Steven (1806-1871) was a graduate of Glasgow University. He trained as an advocate although he never practised.<sup>349</sup> In addition to his inherited estates, he purchased other land.<sup>350</sup> On his death, he left moveable property of £36,872.<sup>351</sup>

**Slavery connection and source**

Inherited. His father, Moses Steven senior (1749-1831) was originally a linen trader and matriculated with the Merchants House as a ‘Home Trader’ in 1790.<sup>352</sup> With his first cousin, James Buchanan, afterwards of Dowanhill, they went into partnership in two prominent West India merchant firms in Glasgow, Buchanan, Steven & Co., and successor firm, Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co.<sup>353</sup> The latter trading firm had interests in Grenada, Jamaica and South America, likely based on exporting textiles to the West Indies (i.e. connected to commerce based on chattel slavery).<sup>354</sup> Moses Steven owned the Glasgow estates of Polmadie. He purchased some plots of Bellahouston estate (and in 1824, the full estate was bequeathed to Moses Steven junior).<sup>355</sup> It is unknown how much he was worth when he died in 1833,

<sup>347</sup> T.M. Devine, *The Tobacco Lords: a study of the Tobacco Merchants of Glasgow and their Trading Activities, 1740-1790*, (Edinburgh, John Donald, 1975).

<sup>348</sup> GUA 1563a, ‘New College Buildings and Hospital: List of Subscriptions’ April 1866-January 1880’, p.3.

<sup>349</sup> W. Innes Addison, *The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow, From 1728 to 1858*, (Glasgow: James Maclehoose and Sons, 1913), p.320.

<sup>350</sup> ‘The Stevens of Bellahouston’, *Glasgow Herald*, 28 March 1892, p.13; Addison, p.320.

<sup>351</sup> NRS, SC36/48/67 ‘Inventory of Moses Steven junior’, 27 October 1871, p.198

<sup>352</sup> *A List of Matriculated Members of the Merchant’s House, From 3d October 1768, to 5th October 1857*, (Glasgow: James McNab, 1858), p.35.

<sup>353</sup> John Guthrie Smith, *Strathendrick and its inhabitants from early times*, (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1896), p.344.

<sup>354</sup> University of Glasgow, Special Collections, MS Murray 605, ‘Minute book of Dennistoun, Buchanan, & Co. Glasgow, 1806-42’.

<sup>355</sup> ‘The Stevens of Bellahouston’, *Glasgow Herald*, 28 March 1892, p.13.

although he bequeathed £10,000 to each of his three daughters, Elizabeth, Grace and Margaret and nominated his son Moses Steven junior his heir.<sup>356</sup>

### **Capital donation**

Moses Steven junior made two donations totalling £500: £300 paid on 30 November 1867 and £200 (for the hospital) paid on 5 June 1871.<sup>357</sup>

### ***Misses Steven of Bellahouston***

#### **Biography**

This probably refers to several of the daughters of Moses Steven senior: perhaps two or even all three of Elizabeth, Grace and Margaret, who lived in Bellahouston house.

### **Slavery connection and source**

Inherited. See above for slavery connections.

### **Capital donation**

The Misses Steven made one donation totalling £100: paid on 11 November 1871.<sup>358</sup>

### ***Sir Michael R. Shaw Stewart, Greenock***

#### **Biography**

Sir Michael Robert Shaw-Stewart, 7<sup>th</sup> Baronet (1826-1903) was a Scottish landowner and Liberal Conservative MP for Renfrewshire. Michael R. Shaw Stewart's father, Sir Michael Shaw Stewart 6<sup>th</sup> Bart. (1788-1836), was the MP for Lanarkshire. The family owned estates in Greenock in Renfrewshire in the west of Scotland.

### **Slavery connection and source**

Inherited. The Shaw-Stewarts owned the 700-acre Roxburgh sugar estate in the parish of St Pauls in Tobago from 1808 if not earlier.<sup>359</sup> The father of Michael R. Shaw Stewart, Sir Michael Shaw Stewart 6<sup>th</sup> Bart, inherited the estates in Greenock, Trinidad and Tobago from his own father, although his brother (Admiral Sir Houston Stewart RN 1791-1875), and in 1834 he was awarded the compensation for the emancipation of enslaved people at Roxburgh.<sup>360</sup> Thus, the family had long-term involvement with Tobago over successive generations.

### **Capital donation**

Sir Michael R. Shaw Stewart made one donation totalling £250: paid on 15 December 1869.<sup>361</sup>

### ***Gregor Turnbull & Co.; Gregor Turnbull.***

#### **Biography**

<sup>356</sup> NRS, SC58/42/6, 'Settlement of Moses Steven', 10 July 1833, p.3889.

<sup>357</sup> GUA 1563a, 'New College Buildings and Hospital: List of Subscriptions' April 1866-January 1880', p.10, p.28.

<sup>358</sup> GUA 1563a, 'New College Buildings and Hospital: List of Subscriptions' April 1866-January 1880', p.10, p.29.

<sup>359</sup> National Archives Kew, CO285/13, 'Correspondence - Secretary of State: Statistical Report, April 1808', ff.51-96.

<sup>360</sup> 'Sir Michael Shaw Stewart 6<sup>th</sup> Bart.', *Legacies of British Slave-ownership database*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146636353> Accessed 8 July 2018; 'Houston Stewart', *Legacies of British Slave-ownership database*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/27793> Accessed 8 July 2018.

<sup>361</sup> GUA 1563a, 'New College Buildings and Hospital: List of Subscriptions' April 1866-January 1880', p.10, p.12.

Gregor Turnbull lived in Trinidad in the 1830s and afterwards became a shipping merchant in Glasgow.

### **Slavery connection and source**

Turnbull's connection with slavery is unquantified, but, according to the Trinidadian historian, Gerard A. Besson, 'fate brought him [Gregor Turnbull] to Trinidad in 1831, when he was just 22 years old'.<sup>362</sup> His initial fortune was probably established via his work as a clerk, although he accumulated much more wealth after he returned to Glasgow and operated as a shipping merchant. The actual percentage of wealth derived from Caribbean slavery is unknown but is likely to be small, because unlike others who returned to Scotland from the Caribbean, he had not made a large fortune there.

### **Capital donation**

Gregor Turnbull made three donations totalling £400; £200 in a personal capacity paid on 10 March 1871, £100 in the name of the firm Gregor Turnbull & Co., paid on 1 March 1867, and another of £100 on 13 September 1872.<sup>363</sup>

*The following cases requires further research*

### ***J&P Coats***

#### **Biography**

J&P Coats were a Paisley firm, and once the leading makers of cotton thread in the world.

### **Slavery connection and source**

In the 1840s, the firm's main markets were in America (where seventy five percent of their trade was focused). The firm had mills in Paisley as well at Pawtucket, Rhode Island State, between 1870 and 1883.<sup>364</sup> Almost certainly some of the raw cotton was slave-produced.

### **Capital donation**

J&P Coats made one donation of £1000, paid on 29 September 1869.<sup>365</sup>

### ***Duke of Hamilton***

#### **Biography**

The Hamilton were a prominent Scottish gentry family who both established bursaries and donated to the University of Glasgow capital campaign. The bursaries were founded in two stages. In October 1694, Anne, Duchess of Hamilton (1636-1716) established three bursaries for students of divinity.<sup>366</sup> Almost a century later, in 1791, the bursaries were altered by Douglas Hamilton, 8th Duke of Hamilton, 5th Duke of Brandon (1756 – 1799)<sup>367</sup> and again in 1803 by Archibald Hamilton, 9th Duke of Hamilton and 6th Duke of Brandon (1740 – 1819).

### **Slavery connection and source**

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<sup>362</sup> 'Gregor Turnbull', Available: <http://caribbeanhistoryarchives.blogspot.co.uk/2011/09/gregor-turnbull.html>  
Accessed: 14 April 2018.

<sup>363</sup> GUA 1563a, 'New College Buildings and Hospital: List of Subscriptions' April 1866-January 1880', p.5, p.28, p.31.

<sup>364</sup> GUA 199/1, Records of Coats Viyella plc, thread manufacturers, Paisley, Renfrewshire, Scotland.

<sup>365</sup> GUA 1563a, 'New College Buildings and Hospital: List of Subscriptions' April 1866-January 1880', p.8.

<sup>366</sup> *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships, and Other Foundations, in the College and University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Maitland club, 1850), p.102.

<sup>367</sup> *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships, and Other Foundations, in the College and University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Maitland club, 1850), p.124.

The slavery connection stems from the marriage of Alexander Hamilton, 10th Duke of Hamilton, (1767 – 1852) to Susan Euphemia Beckford, daughter of William Thomas Beckford (1760-1844) on 26 April 1810 in London. William Thomas Beckford was a major planter in Jamaica and claimant of slave compensation.<sup>368</sup> However, the first bursaries were established a century before the marriage into the Beckford slave-owning family in 1810, and the second and third bursaries were established nineteen and seven years respectively prior to the marriage which brought slavery capital into the family. Indeed, the last bursaries were established by the father of Alexander Hamilton, who in turn married Susan Beckford in 1810. Whilst it is unlikely (but not impossible) the Hamiltons profited economically from New World slavery, it is almost certain they were owners of an enslaved page boy resident in their landed home. In 1711, Lieutenant-General Hamilton, Nevis, wrote to the Duke of Hamilton and discussed sending him 'a fine young negroe boy' to attend my lord marquis of Clidsdale (his name is Cambridge)'.<sup>369</sup> The family's overall economic profiteering from slavery cannot be revealed without deep investigation of the archive holdings held in the National Records of Scotland.

#### Capital donation

The Duke of Hamilton made one donation of £2000, paid on 27 August 1877.<sup>370</sup>

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<sup>368</sup> 'William Thomas Beckford', *Legacies of British Slave-ownership database*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/22232> Accessed 30 November 2017.

<sup>369</sup> NRS, GD406/1/5860, Lieutenant-General Hamilton, Nevis, to the Duke of Hamilton, 30 August 1711.

<sup>370</sup> GUA 1563a, 'New College Buildings and Hospital: List of Subscriptions' April 1866-January 1880', p.7.

### **APPENDIX THREE: MEMBERS OF THE HISTORY OF SLAVERY STEERING COMMITTEE**

Prof. John Briggs (Clerk of Senate), Convenor

Dr. David Duncan (Chief Operating Officer and University Secretary)

Prof. Simon Newman (History, School of Humanities)

Dr. Stephen Mullen (History, School of Humanities)

Rev. Stuart MacQuarrie (Chaplain)

Prof. Louise Welsh (English, School of Critical Studies)

Ms. Marenka Thompson-Odlum (History, School of Humanities)

Ms. Kate Powell (SRC President)

Mr. Peter Aitchison (Director of Communications and Public Affairs)

Advisors to the Committee:

Prof. Sir Hilary Beckles (Vice Chancellor, University of the West Indies)

Sir Godfrey Palmer (Emeritus Professor, Heriot-Watt University)

Cllr Graham Campbell (Glasgow City Council - Springburn/Robroyston Ward 17) Project Leader Flag Up Scotland Jamaica, emeritus Coordinator and Founder of the African Caribbean Centre, Glasgow)