Glasgow, Slavery and Atlantic Commerce: An Audit of Historic Connections and Modern Legacies

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Scope, Terminology, and the Role of Historians

Chronology/Geographical Scope

The core of this study is focused on individuals (almost exclusively men), many of whom were residents of Glasgow and its associated towns and rural hinterlands, and who were involved with Atlantic slavery between c.1603 and 1838. Some of these individuals shaped today's city, whilst others are memorialised in civic space. Chattel slavery was one of the economic foundations of Britain's transatlantic empire. This colonial system was based upon the exploitation of labour of African enslaved people, and those of African descent, which supported an international structure of mercantile commerce which created great wealth for colonising nations. As noted below, chattel slavery was established in Barbados in the early-to-mid 17th century, and was not abolished across the British West Indies until 1834 (with a system of labour imposed for further four years, known as the Apprenticeship scheme). English (and, after 1707, British) colonial America was established in the early 1600s, and ended with conclusion of the American War of Independence (1775-1783). Plantation slavery continued in the new United States of America, and was not fully abolished until 1865.[1] Whilst there were undoubtedly Scottish connections in America after 1838 up to 1865, and in South America in the later 19th century - slavery was abolished in Argentina and Brazil in 1861 and 1888 respectively - this study focuses on the period of British slavery, c.1603-1838.

Glasgow Boundaries

Across the period surveyed here, the burgh (afterwards city) of Glasgow underwent a dramatic expansion in terms of boundaries and population. Until 1800, the municipal burgh of Glasgow was confined to an area north of the Clyde, covering 1768 acres. It was traditionally known as the royalty.[2] There were moves to extend the royalty boundaries in 1772, although, these proposals were not successful. In 1832-3, the royalty included ten parishes of Glasgow (Inner High; St Marys or the Tron; Blackfriars or College; Outer High Church; St Georges; Ramshorn; St Andrews; St Enoch; St John's St James'), as well as the Barony and the Gorbals (south of the river).[3] The 1846 Extension Act brought a major boundary expansion, incorporating Kelvingrove, Woodside as well as Anderston and Calton, with the municipality doubling from 2373 to 5672 acres. The City of Glasgow Act (1891)

[1] Whilst this is the date that commemorates abolition in the United States of America, some enslavers continued to hold enslaved Africans in bondage. In certain circumstances – for example, if a person was designated as a criminal - slavery remained legal.

[2] Irene Maver, 'The Guardianship of the Community: Civic Authority Before 1833' in *Glasgow, Volume 1, Beginnings to 1830,* ed. by T. M. Devine and G. Jackson, (Manchester, 1995), p.241.

[3] James Cleland, David Smith, 'Map of the ten parishes within the Royalty of Glasgow', (1832).

created greater Glasgow (although smaller than today's city), stretching from Cowcaddens to Langside, and Partick to Bridgeton. The Glasgow Corporation extended the municipal boundaries in 1912, to include the Burghs of Govan, Partick and Pollokshaws among other areas.[4] Today, there are twenty-three councils wards within Glasgow City Council's perimeters.[5]

Historic terminology

Where possible, this report adopts preferred terms related to colonial era enslavement and its associated economies that are consistent with community sourced best practice guidelines compiled by Gabrielle Foreman (Paterno Family Professor of American Literature and Professor of African American Studies and History).[6] First, the historic term 'slave trade' euphemistically conveys the impression of accepted commerce around a commodity, rather than the large-scale trafficking of African people into chattel slavery. This report does not utilise this euphemism, unless referring to historical sources or contemporary usage by others. Second, the term 'enslaved' (an adjective) is preferred to 'slave' (a noun) to denote that status resulted from the actions of others. Third, the term 'enslaver' is preferred to 'master', since these individuals enslaved other human beings. Finally, the terms 'West India merchant' and 'Virginia merchant' are not intended as euphemistic descriptors, rather they are used to accurately denote the commercial and geographical focus of each individual: many were also enslavers, and this is often noted.

Academic Historians, Contested Histories, Public Consultations

Like all academic historians, I contextualise individuals by the standards of their era. I have been tasked with identifying historical evidence around various individuals, how they are represented in Glasgow, as well as modern acknowledgment strategies adopted by other cities. This provides information for others to decide on the modern implications. Conclusions based on historical evidence should not be interpreted as a didactic pronouncement how individuals are or should be memorialised or commemorated in civic space. I am neutral in modern decision-making processes.

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[4] Irene Maver, 'Glasgow's Civic Government', in *Glasgow, Volume II, 1830-1912,* ed. by W. Hamish Fraser and Irene Maver, (Manchester, 1996), p.446, p.450, p.466, p.476-7.
[5] 'Glasgow City Council: Community Council and Wards', Available: https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/chttphandler.ashx?id=19499&p=0 Accessed: 4 January 2022.
[6] P. Gabrielle Foreman, et al. "Writing about Slavery/Teaching About Slavery: This Might Help" community-sourced document, Available: https://docs.google.com/document/d/1A4TEdDgYslX-hlKezLodMIM71My3KTN0zxRv0IQTOQs/mobilebasic Accessed: 21 January 2022

Academic historians cite verifiable evidence from reputable sources, provide transparent workings of evidence and analysis alongside objective conclusions – in this case, regarding the city of Glasgow and transatlantic slavery in the period, c.1603 - 1838. Historians have a duty to explain – without fear or favour – in a clear, concise manner based on empirical evidence culled from research in published and manuscript materials which are referenced to the source, for others to check should they wish to do so. Analysis is undertaken in an unbiased fashion and compiled, in this case, in the form of a fully-referenced report. This provides a body of carefully researched evidence to inform public debate and discussion around the city of Glasgow's history and built heritage. I am not a resident of Glasgow. I am not entitled to provide a view on how to deal with these legacies in any future public consultation; that is up to the politicians and citizenry of the city.

Literally thousands of examples have been assessed in this study, a process that has been restricted by limited or no access to many national and local archives. Public interpretation and contextualisation of built heritage requires careful and transparent discussion with academic historians, the wider community and stakeholders, ideally with a written statement provided that makes available sources, justifications and conclusions to allow academic, public and media scrutiny. The evidence in each of the cases identified here might be regarded as a starting point for discussion, and, if deemed of interest, should be debated widely on an individual basis.

Introduction

In 1990, the city of Glasgow confirmed the 'Merchant City' title for the historic zone at the east end of the city centre. The epithet seems to have originated in Gomme and Walker's text *Architecture of Glasgow* (first published in 1968).[7] With the area under threat in the 1970s, the informal title passed into popular usage and was adopted for the European City of Culture in 1990. This strategy has proven highly successful in preserving one of the city's most unique enclaves and has also served as a marketing tool. Whilst the title may have been modern, the quarter - adjacent to the medieval heart of the city, the Cathedral and Old College (the original University of Glasgow) - evolved from 1711. The 'Merchant City', therefore, *was* a historically accurate title – a few mercantile residences remain intact – and whether this was intended in 1990 to celebrate colonial merchants or not, the use of the generic term 'merchant' attracted criticism at the time since it ignored the provenance of mercantile wealth. In September 1991, the Workers City group uniquely adopted a critical tone - in radical newspaper *The Glasgow Keelie* - to what was regarded as an imperially myopic title:

> They name Glasgow 'Merchant City' which is nothing short of disgraceful. Surely the Labour Councillors are aware that these 'merchants' made their colossal fortunes on the backs of thousands of slaves forced to work on tobacco, cotton and sugar plantations? The names of Glassford, Finlay and Colquhoun appear in most archives held in American Museums and Universities devoted to the history of slavery in the western hemisphere. How can the labour movement even associate itself with such people, let alone glorify them, in the way the District Labour Council does?[8]

James Kelman put forward similar views that the 'Merchant City' title glorified merchants whilst marginalising the realities of chattel slavery. [9] Over the last thirty-two years, these critiques have played out in the public discourse around the city's slavery past.

Colonial merchants often accumulated slavery-derived wealth (merchant capital), whilst resident and absentee planters (in the metropole and colonies) accumulated wealth from the exploitation of enslaved people which was often invested at home. Atlantic commerce often led to the construction of built infrastructure; for example, tobacco warehouses, cotton mills, sugar refineries. Furthermore, individuals wealthy from slavery and the Atlantic trades often improved regions of Scotland. Many individuals visited slavery societies with the intention of accumulating wealth and a quick return (transients known as

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[7] Andor Gomme and David Walker, *Architecture of Glasgow*, (London, 1987 edition), p.41.
[8] 'A Bygone Radical History of the TUC', *The Glasgow Keelie* (September 1991). Available: https://ia600901.us.archive.org/6/items/GlasgowKeelieSeptember1991/sept91.pdf Accessed: 21 February 2022.
[9] James Kelman, *Some Recent Attacks: Essays Cultural and Political,* (Glasgow, 1992), pp.1-2.

'sojourners') to invest across Great Britain. Examples of direct investments include grand mansions or townhouses but others are often less tangible and survive in financial records only. Philanthropic donations to institutions, for example, often remain intact and provide payouts from annual interest which can be accessed by wider society up to the present day.

Black led anti-racism groups in Glasgow started a public conversation about the city's historic connections with Atlantic slavery, as well as the associated lack of civic recognition. From 2001, Glasgow Anti-Racist (GARA), now the Coalition for Racial Equality and Rights (CRER), led by Jatin Haria, coordinated Black History Month in October. These included the first Black History tours of the Merchant City – broader than just the story of slavery and abolition – which were researched and performed, at times, by David Govier, Frank Boyd and Pauline Brown. The last of the initial GARA tours were delivered around March 2007.[10] This author delivered tours from September 2007 to October 2015. Zandra Yeaman's appointment at CRER in 2014 transformed the provision of Black History Month in Glasgow, including the development of a new tour delivered by Adebusola Deborah Ramsey and Marenka Thompson-Odlum in recent times.

2007 marked the bicentennial of the 'Abolition of the Slave Trade Act'. This was a significant year for Britain's memory of slavery and led to an explosion of academic and popular interest. Professor Catherine Hall compared this 'national conversation' about slavery to abolitionist era debates, as various contributions permeated everyday conversation.[11] However, the tone of the national commemoration in 2007 attracted criticism at the time. Toyin Agbetu, British Nigerian social rights activist and academic, criticised the 'Wilberfest' as a 'commemorative ritual of appeasement and self-approval marking the bicentenary of the British parliamentary act to abolish what they disingenuously refer to as a "slave trade" '.[12] If the commemoration attracted criticism for its overtly self-congratulatory tone - effectively prioritising abolition over two centuries of English and British profiteering from Atlantic slavery - there were early criticisms that Glasgow did little. In the spring of 2007, Jackie Kay, prominent author and later Scots Makar (2016-21), noted the lack of major public events in the city in *The Guardian* on 24 March:

> Glasgow does not readily admit its history in the way that other cities in the United Kingdom have done - Bristol, Liverpool, London. Other cities are holding major

[10] 'Glasgow's dark secret', *The Scotsman,* Available: https://www.scotsman.com/news/glasgows-dark-secret-2508822 Accessed: 21 January 2022.
[11] Catherine Hall, 'Doing reparatory history: bringing "race" and slavery home', *Race & Class,* 60/1, (2018), pp.3-21.
[12] Toyin Agbetu, 'My protest was born of anger, not madness', *The Guardian,* Available: https://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/2007/apr/03/features11.g2 Accessed 21 February 2022.

> events to commemorate the abolition. What's happening in Glasgow? - in the Gallery of Modern Art, for instance, which was originally Cunninghame Mansion, built in 1778, the splendid townhouse of William Cunningham, a tobacco baron? Or in Buchanan Street, the great shopping street, named after Andrew Buchanan, another tobacco lord, or in Jamaica Street, Tobago Street, the Kingston Bridge?[13]

The relatively muted response in Glasgow can be contrasted with other Atlantic ports. 286 associated events were held in Great Britain in 2007, with a grand total of sixteen in Scotland. By comparison, there were more in Liverpool (24) and Bristol (30) than the whole of Scotland, and five times more in London alone (80). Just five were held in Glasgow - although it should be noted several smaller events came under the banner of GARA's 'Black History Month' in October which is counted as one event on the website.[14]

Whilst Jackie Kay was right to note the muted response, there were high profile collaborations later that year. In 2007, Anne McChlery, Glasgow Building Preservation Trust (GBPT), secured funding from the Heritage Lottery Fund. £20 million was administered through the Heritage Lottery Fund for a national programme of events (much of this funding contributed to one project, the M-Shed in Bristol). According to Catherine Hall, leading historian of Britain's historical relationship with race and colonial slavery, 'without that support many museum and gallery projects would have been impossible'.[15] The project 'Glasgow's Built Heritage, Tobacco, the Slave Trade and Abolition' was delivered in a one-off partnership with GARA in September 2007, and contributed to Doors Open festival. Evolving from this research, Jatin Haria (GARA) subsequently commissioned the popular book, *It Wisnae Us: The Truth About Glasgow and Slavery*, which was published by the Royal Incorporation of Architects in October 2009.

Subsequent questions about the city's imperial past were posed at The XX Commonwealth Games, Glasgow 2014. The cultural programme hosted high-profile events that interrogated the city's historical connections with slavery. *The Empire Café* – organised by Professor Louise Welsh and architect Jude Barber – promoted discussion amongst a synergy of academics, writers, activists and poets. Another event in the cultural programme, *Emancipation Acts,* was a series of site-specific performances that took place in Glasgow's

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[13] Jackie Kay, 'Missing faces', *The Guardian,* 24 March 2007, Available: https://www.theguardian.com/books/2007/mar/24/featuresreviews.guardianreview25 Accessed: 1 February 2022.

[14] 'Remembering 1807' (part of the AHRC funded project 'The Antislavery Usable Past' at the University of Nottingham) notes 340 separate projects in 2007, although not all were funded by the HLF. Available: http://antislavery.ac.uk/solr-search?facet=collection:%22Remembering+1807%22 Accessed: 12 January 2022.

[15] Catherine Hall, 'Introduction to Feature Remembering 1807: Histories of the Slave Trade, Slavery and Abolition', *History Workshop Journal* 64/1, (Autumn 2007), p.2.

Merchant City between 31 July – 1 August. Graham Campbell and Anne McLaughlin proposed an inaugural event on the 180th anniversary of the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies. Jean Cameron, then of Glasgow Life, was the driving force. Supported by Glasgow Life and Creative Scotland, *Emancipation Acts* was written and directed by Alan McKendrick and explored Glasgow's involvement with Atlantic slavery, abolition and reparations. The roving street theatre was set across locations in the Merchant City; Merchants Steeple at the Briggait, Ramshorn Kirk, City Halls, Virginia Court and the Cunninghame Mansion/GOMA.

Civic bodies responded to questions from Black led community groups. Around 2016, Flag Up Scotland Jamaica, posed questions about the University of Glasgow's historic sources of funding. In 2018, the report 'Slavery, Abolition and the University of Glasgow' was launched. This was the first report of its type in British history to survey a university's historic connections with slavery in a systematic fashion. Estimates suggested that the university profited by up to £198m (2016 values) which attracted global headlines.[16]

This study here, provisionally titled 'The City of Glasgow and Transatlantic Slavery, c.1600-1838', commenced on 1 October 2019. The project itself was paused from 15 March 2020, due to the Covid 19 pandemic and lockdown. As reported in the *Sunday Post* of 14 June 2020, the report was delayed as UK archives and libraries – vital to the completion of this report - closed.[17] The research restarted in late 2021, although restrictions in archive access remained in place. At time of completion (March 2022), the National Records of Scotland remain inundated trying to accommodate researchers, and are not yet operating a full capacity. Previous digitization of important records (available via *Scotland's People* website) helped provide sources on many individuals surveyed here.

[16] Stephen Mullen and Simon Newman. 'Slavery, Abolition and the University of Glasgow' (2018). Available: https://www.gla.ac.uk/media/Media_607547_smxx.pdf Accessed: 25 January 2022.
[17] Craig MacDonald, 'Coronavirus crisis delays review of Glasgow's links to slavery', *Sunday Post,* 14 June 2020, Available: https://www.sundaypost.com/fp/covid-delays-review-of-citys-links-to-slavery/ Accessed: 21 January 2022.

Methodology

This study began with what seemed like a simple premise to identify individuals who had some relationship with Atlantic slavery, and who are connected to Glasgow: as Lord Provosts, through bequests made to the Town Council, or if these individuals or their residences are commemorated in statues or street names, or who named areas after themselves or their properties. Buildings with historical connections to slavery – and remain extant today – have also been surveyed.

Atlantic Slavery 'Connections'

As noted below in the historical context section, chattel slavery was an economic system, underpinned by a socially constructed ideology of racial difference. The entire system was supported by an imperial infrastructure - with political, administrative, naval and military dimensions - with transatlantic implications. Lobbying groups in Great Britain, often described as the West India interest, put forward pro-slavery positions in the political arena and popular culture which were intended to justify and perpetuate chattel slavery. Whilst economic connections are the mainstay of this study, individuals also provided wider support for chattel slavery – via military, naval and political activities in Great Britain and the colonies, or pro-slavery lobbying – which perpetuated and extended the system. The following framework therefore summarizes 'connections' to Atlantic slavery:

1. Profiteering from the transatlantic trafficking in enslaved people, ownership of enslaved people in the Americas to 1834, sojourning or claimant of compensation from the British Government after 1834
2. Personal ownership of enslaved people in Great Britain, 1603-1778
3. Profiteering from the trade in produce grown by enslaved people such as tobacco, sugar, cotton and rum, 1603-1834
4. Profiteering from ships involved with the trafficking in enslaved people or plantation slavery, 1603-1834
5. Profiteering from the export in manufactures to slavery economies in North America, South America or the West Indies, 1603-1834
6. Involvement with financial business related to slavery, such as banking and insurance, 1603-1834
7. Inheritance of fortunes derived from the trafficking in enslaved people, plantation slavery, or commodity trades
8. Involvement with the imperial infrastructure (political, military, naval, popular lobbying) that imposed, extended and perpetuated chattel slavery, 1603-1834

Sources

These connections were identified via the examination of a variety of published and manuscript sources, comparing and cross-referencing evidence in a clearly defined process:

Step 1 (Antiquarian sources): These sources were sampled to establish biographical details of individuals. For example, the University of Glasgow matriculation lists, records of civic institutions such as the Burgess and Guild Brethren of Glasgow and the Merchant House. In terms of buildings, sources such as *The Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry* (1870/1878 editions) were examined.

Step 2 (Historiography): There is a well-developed historiography of individuals with connections to the Atlantic slavery economy in Glasgow, especially concerning merchants associated with the Virginia and West India trades, as well as textiles manufacturers. There is some published work on voyages that departed the west of Scotland for Africa that trafficked enslaved people to the Americas which provides detail on Glasgow involvement. Further Reading is provided at the end of this report.

Step 3 (Digital databases): Several online databases that provide information of individuals in Great Britain connected with the Atlantic slave economy. The 'Transatlantic Slave Trade database' provides details of voyages that trafficked enslaved people from Africa to the Americas (including the few Scottish examples). The 'Legacies of British Slavery' website (formerly 'Legacies of British Slave-ownership') provides details of individuals connected with Caribbean slavery, especially when compensations was awarded after emancipation in 1834. The 'Runaway Slaves in Britain: bondage, freedom and race in the eighteenth century' provides details of Black people held in bondage in Great Britain, some of whom escaped; with many examples in Scotland and Glasgow.

Step 4 (Digital Repositories): The National Records of Scotland provides digitised records such as the Old Parish Registers (covering 1553 to 1854) as well as the confirmation inventories, wills and testaments - from Commissary and Sheriff Courts. These legal records provide details of individuals and wealth and investments on death.

Step 5 (Research Databases): During doctoral and post-doctoral work, this author has developed databases related to Glasgow-West India commerce 1775-1838; including details of a) shipping from Clyde ports to the British West Indies, 1806-1834 and b) Glasgow-West India merchants, 1775-1838. These provide much detail on many individuals, and their commercial connections to Caribbean slavery.

Step 6: (Manuscripts): Where relevant, the individuals in this study have been cross-referenced with manuscript records in Glasgow City Archives (GCA), the National Records of Scotland (NRS), as well as American, Caribbean and English archival material where appropriate.

The methodological approach at each stage involved identifying a large sample of individuals (including biographical details of individuals and origins of wealth), as well as bequests, buildings, statues and streets associated with them. This process allowed elimination of some individuals, as well as establishing a group for further investigation.

Research Themes (Phases)

This study of Glasgow's connections with Atlantic slavery encompassed seven main areas:

1) Lord Provosts in Glasgow Town Council with connections to transatlantic slavery
2) Bequests managed by Glasgow Town Council from individuals with connections to transatlantic slavery
3) Buildings with connections to transatlantic slavery
4) A case study of the finance for the Glasgow City Chambers (built between 1883 and 1888)
5) Statues of individuals with connections to transatlantic slavery
6) Street-names with connections to transatlantic slavery
7) Acknowledgement strategies

Methodologies, by Phase

Phase 1: Lord Provosts

The first phase involved an examination of politicians. The city's Lord Provosts between 1636 and 1834 – the broad period of British slavery - were identified through antiquarian publication and cross-referenced with printed burgh records. This section has been informed by antiquarian text: James R. Anderson, (ed. by James Gourlay), *The Provosts of Glasgow from 1609 to 1832,* (Glasgow, 1942). This well-researched work provides biographical details of each Lord Provost, as well as information on commercial interests and political activities.[18] Each Lord Provost's 'connections' with slavery has been ascertained by cross referencing with printed and published sources, online databases, as well as manuscript sources in Scottish archives. Further details on each Lord Provost, their political activities, and the role of the Town Council in respective years have been culled from Robert Renwick (ed.),

[18] James R. Anderson, (ed. by James Gourlay), *The Provosts of Glasgow from 1609 to 1832,* (Glasgow, 1942).

Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 1691-1717, Volume IX, (Glasgow, 1908) through to Robert Renwick (ed.) *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 1823-1833,* Volume XI, (Glasgow, 1916).

Phase 2: Town Council Bequests

Phase two involved a detailed audit of historic philanthropic bequests and trusts held by Glasgow City Council. The research process began with identifying historic accounts in antiquarian accounts, and working forwards to modern accounts. Donors, and establishing origins of donor's wealth, were identified through detailed archival research. Financial connections of donors were corroborated through archival and digital records. From the Victorian era, the Town Council of Glasgow has published details on public accounts under its control, mainly via the work of John Strang, City Chamberlain with responsibility for finances. Strang's *Bursaries, Schools, Mortifications and Bequests,* (Glasgow, 1861) outlined the town council managed accounts with different remits: Education (Bursaries); Educations (Schools); Education (Prizes); Mortifications (Charities); Miscellaneous (Bequests). From this, a list of historic cases was compiled and compared with modern accounts to identify those that were established in the era of British slavery and beyond.[19] Glasgow City Council provides publicly available information of historic bequests. As of 2010 (apparently the most recent publicly available accounts), the council had responsibility for over 120 accounts totalling £14.63m, some of which were 'active' and others 'non-active' (many having been transferred to other funds, usually on the basis that the terms for dissemination were anachronistic).[20] These modern accounts were compared with historical evidence about the establishment of funds, donors and the provenance of their wealth.

Phase 3: Buildings

This section surveyed buildings in Glasgow with connections to the Atlantic slavery economy, compiling several case studies of historic country houses and properties in urban space. Dozens of landed estates, many of which were owned by colonial merchants and enslavers, were once located in and around what is now considered Glasgow. The antiquarian text *The Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry,* (Glasgow, 1870 and 1878 editions) surveyed the landed estates in and around Glasgow towards the end of the nineteenth century,

[19] John Strang, *Bursaries, Schools, Mortifications and Bequests*, (Glasgow, 1861).
[20] Glasgow City Council, 'Active Trusts: Appendix 1', Available: https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/councillorsandcommittees/viewSelectedDocument.asp?c=P62AFQZL0G2U810G Accessed: 12 December 2021.

just as many of these mansions were being demolished.[21] This section, therefore, began with an examination of the 100 buildings in the 1870/1878 editions, examining what buildings were a) within the boundaries of modern Glasgow, b) remained extant, and c) their owners had a connection to the Atlantic slavery economy. The historic mansions in Glasgow were entered into *Historic Environment Scotland: Canmore* portal which confirmed eight that remain extant today.[22] The ownership of these buildings was identified in antiquarian sources and compared with Scotland's Register of Sasines as well as legal and contemporary records, which identified chronologies of ownership and occupational roles.

Historic Environment Scotland's *Canmore* portal, as well as other publicly available sources, provides details of extant urban buildings in Glasgow with historic connections to Atlantic slavery. Some are well known. For example, the Cunninghame Mansion, the core of which is now the Gallery of Modern Art, was built by a 'tobacco lord' and had successive associations with colonial merchants.

Phase 4: City Chambers

The fourth stage examined finance required for Glasgow City Chambers, ascertaining what percentage came from public subscription and the origins of the wealth of donors. The City Chambers was built between 1883 and 1888 – fifty years after slavery was abolished in the West Indies and twenty-five years after slavery was abolished in the United States. There is voluminous archive material on the establishment and financing of the City Chambers in Glasgow City Archives.[23]

Phase 5: Statues

The starting point for any study of Glasgow statues are Ray McKenzie's comprehensive works, especially the authoritative *Public Sculpture of Glasgow* (Liverpool, 2002).[24] These works provide much detail on architectural and statuary practice and some biographical information, but little on the imperial connections of individuals and provenance of wealth. Research was also undertaken in secondary, archival sources to confirm connections to

[21] John Guthrie Smith, John Oswald Mitchell, *The Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry,* (Glasgow, 1878).
[22] *Historic Environment Scotland Portal,* Available: http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/search Accessed: 7 January 2022. These are Aikenhead House; Auldhouse (now Auldhouse Court); Cathkin House; Haggs Castle; The Lynn (Linn House); Pollok House; Tollcross House; Wellshot House.
[23] Glasgow City Archives [GCA], D-TC 6/31 'Papers relating to the New Glasgow Municipal Buildings, 1884-5, Vols. 1 and 2.
[24] Ray McKenzie, *Sculpture in Glasgow: an Illustrated Handbook* (Glasgow, 1999); Ray McKenzie, *Public Sculpture of Glasgow* (Liverpool, 2002).

chattel slavery. Publicly available sources were sampled to identify the erection of any relevant installations in the last twenty years.

Phase 6: Street names

Some street names are already well known. Buchanan Street was named after a 'tobacco lord'. Similarly, Glassford Street was named after John Glassford whose Shawfield Mansion was on the corner of Glassford and Argyle streets. This section further examined Glasgow streets and locations with connections to either colonial zones or individuals involved with Atlantic slavery via Hugh Macintosh's six volumes of research on Glasgow's Street names (now held in Glasgow City Archives). [25] These volumes underpinned the antiquarian publication *The Origin and History of Glasgow Streets* (Glasgow, 1902).

There are methodological issues in using such a survey as the basis for this report. First, Macintosh's survey only covered 2,100 streets with many more squares, quadrant and parades in 1900-2. In total, there 3,450 landmarks are recorded in Glasgow City Archives' index of street names. This, obviously, excluded streets in twentieth-century schemes. And, in 2021, Ordinance Survey data records over 6,100 streets in Glasgow.[26] However, streets in these new urban layouts outside the historic centre are much less likely to celebrate individuals involved with Atlantic slavery (the streets obviously named two centuries later), although the expansion of the city's boundaries meant titles of what were once landed estates were sometimes retained. As such, this is a survey of areas in Glasgow *historic* street names and parishes that remain extant today - effectively starting from the city's original streets and zones and working forward, rather than working backwards from thousands of modern streets (since many have little provenance, this would have been an unworkable strategy).

Although Macintosh listed a comprehensive bibliography - including consultation with Depute Town Clerk of Glasgow, Robert Renwick - the research was not footnoted.[27] This report, therefore, cross-referenced Macintosh's data, where possible, with other antiquarian texts, legal records as well as Scotland's Registers of Sasines which recorded all transfers of land for relevant counties (Barony, Renfrewshire, Lanarkshire).[28] Proximity of

[25] These volumes are available in GCA: LK5/40, 'Glasgow Streets, A-B', Volume 1; LK5/41 'Glasgow Streets, C-D', Volume 2; LK5/42, 'Glasgow Streets, E-I', Volume 3; LK5/43 'Glasgow Streets, J-M' , Volume 4; LK5/44, 'Glasgow Streets, N-R' , Volume 5; LK5/45, 'Glasgow Streets, S-Y' , Volume 6.
[26] Ordnance Survey Open Data shows 6193 streets in Glasgow. Available: https://www.maps-streetview.com/United-Kingdom/Glasgow/streets.php Accessed: 15 November 2021.
[27] Hugh Macintosh, *The Origin and History of Glasgow Streets*, (1902), p.iv.
[28] GCA, Abridgements of Sasines, GCA T-SA 5/1 Glasgow (Barony and Regality), (vol. 1, 1781-1808; vol. 2, 1809-1820; vol. 3, 1821-1830, vol. 4, 1831-1840); GCA T-SA 6/1 Lanarkshire, (vol. 1, 1781-1820; vol. 2,

streets to prominent historic landmarks sometimes provides important corroborative evidence. For example, some areas retained the title of an eighteenth-century colonial merchant's estate. Cartographic evidence from various plans of Glasgow after 1778 up to 1838 were therefore sampled which often confirmed rough dates of establishment of streets and allowed comparison with modern locations.[29]

Phase 7: Acknowledgement in British and International Context

This section has been informed by a desk-based survey of academic literature and media publications and is presented as a neutral assessment of civic strategies in Great Britain with some international comparisons. Some measures have already been implemented in Bristol, Lancaster, London and Liverpool such as the naming of bridges, establishment of international museums or addition of plaques/memorials to recognise the presence of enslavers and enslaved people in certain sites. The city of Nantes, France initiated a major conversation with construction of the 'Memorial to the Abolition of Slavery'. Philadelphia, USA developed major strategies to reconcile the unacknowledged slavery past of the city especially via the remnants of George Washington's 'Presidents House' which has come to symbolise the historic presence of enslaved people in the city, and the prevalence of slavery more broadly.

Assessing Values of Bequests, Gifts and Mortifications

This study has identified thirteen gifts to Glasgow Town Council from individuals with connections to the Atlantic slave economy, of which nine had a verifiable monetary value. In order to assess the value of these gifts at time of donation, the website 'Measuring Worth'(https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/) has been utilised. This tool has been developed by academic historians and economists and is regularly cited in leading academic journals. This method, as applied to assessing institutional legacies of slavery, was first developed in the 'Slavery, Abolition and the University of Glasgow' report

1821-1830; vol. 3, 1831-1840); GCA T-SA 7/1 Renfrewshire, (vol. 1, 1781-1807; vol. 2, 1807-1820; vol. 3, 1821-1830; vol. 4, 1831-1840).

[29] These include 'Plan of the city of Glasgow: Gorbells and Caltoun from an actual survey by John McArthur, surveyor in Glasgow', (Published according to Act of Parliament Novr. 1st 1778); 'Map of the town of Glasgow & Country Seven Miles Round, from actual survey / by Tho. Richardson', (Glasgow, 1795); Peter Fleming, 'Map of the City of Glasgow and suburbs', (Glasgow: s.n., 1807); Cleland, Smith, Wood, 'Map of the ten parishes within the Royalty and the parishes of Gorbals Barony of Glasgow', (Edinburgh, 1822); Smith & Fleming's 'Map of the city of Glasgow and suburbs'. Originally published by Mr. Fleming in 1807. Surveyed and brought down to May 1821. (Glasgow, 1822); Cleland, Smith, 'Map of the ten parishes within the Royalty of Glasgow', (1832).

(2018), and has subsequently been emulated in, for example, the 'Balliol and the Proceeds of Slavery Report' (2021).[30]

Essentially, 'Measuring Worth' is an online calculator which takes a monetary value at a specific year and compares that value with modern equivalencies. There are three separate estimates:

Relative Price Worth (RPW) compares against 'average prices' of goods in a base year, then compares against the same prices to provide modern estimates. There are two scales 'Retail Price Index' and 'GDP Deflator', and this study uses the Retail Price Index comparator. The most recent data available in Measuring Worth is 2020 values.

Relative Wage or Income Growth (WIG) compares against 'average earnings' for all workers in a base year, then estimates this against modern values. There are two scales 'Average Earnings' and 'Per Capita GDP', and this study uses the Average Earnings comparator (again, 2020 values).

Relative Output Worth (ROW) is arguably the most comprehensive comparator, comparing a monetary value in a base year as a proportion of national GDP, and the comparing that against national GDP in 2020.

These three values have equal validity; this is not a perfect science. They are simply intended to provide different estimates of scale compared to average prices, average wages, and against GDP. Ideally, they should be placed together; **RPW** generally provides the lowest estimates, with **ROW** the largest. **WIG**, that is, a comparison against 'average wages' lies in the middle.

One theoretical example elucidates how these estimates work in practice. £30 in 1792 would seem like a small monetary value to the modern eye, but would have been regarded as a major sum at the time:

(RPW): In 2020, the relative price worth of £30 from 1792 is £3,730 (comparing against retail price index).

(WIG): In 2020, the relative wage or income worth of £30 from 1792 is £43,600 (comparing against average earnings)

(ROW): In 2020, the relative output worth of £30 from 1792 is £299,000 (comparing against GDP)

In other words, if comparing against 'average earnings', the relative worth of £30 in 1792 would have been more than today's annual average salary in the U.K. Thus, seemingly minor

[30] 'Balliol and the Proceeds of Slavery Report' (2021) Available: https://www.balliol.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/balliol_and_the_proceeds_of_slavery_-_project_report.pdf Accessed: 10 February 2022.

donations were quite often huge by contemporary standards and apparently modest donations in the slavery era could have major implications. A version of this methodology has been deployed in Phase Two, and will be fully discussed in that section.

Summary

- Between 1636 and 1834, 79 individual Lord Provosts were nominated to Glasgow Town Council. Forty had some connection to Atlantic slavery, and some sat in office whilst owning enslaved people

- Glasgow Town Council invested £1,812 sterling in the Company of Scotland in 1696, a state sanctioned colonial scheme (in 2020, the relative wage or income worth of £1,812 from 1696 is £4,050,000 compared against average earnings). CoS ships later trafficked enslaved people from Madagascar in the Indian ocean

- Glasgow Town Council loaned £1,500 credit from Robert Dinwiddie in 1759, the lieutenant governor of Virginia and personal enslaver

- Glasgow Town Council received and managed donations from individuals with connections to Atlantic slavery equivalent to many millions of current monies

- Glasgow Corporation and City Council received non-monetary gifts from an enslaver (Cecilia Douglas' art collection) as well as residences formerly owned by those either involved with West India commerce (John Gordon of Aikenhead) or who inherited wealth from previous generations involved with Caribbean slavery (William Stirling Maxwell)

- A minimum of 11 existing mansions and urban buildings in Glasgow are connected to individuals who were involved with Atlantic slavery

- Funding for the City Chambers in the 1880s was derived from municipal incomes, whilst occasionally borrowing from banks with previous connections to the Atlantic slavery economy (the British Linen Bank)

- Eight individuals with connections to Atlantic slavery are commemorated across multiple monuments and other representations in Glasgow

- 62 Glasgow streets and locations have a 'direct' or 'associational' connection to Atlantic slavery

Historical Context

The famous Glassford family portrait takes pride of place in the People's Palace in Glasgow. Painted by Archibald McLauchlan at various points between 1764 and 1768, the portrait illustrates the extravagance enjoyed by Glasgow's mercantile elites in the Georgian era. For John Glassford was one of the city's most infamous colonial merchants, and the portrait depicts him alongside his family in the salubrious Shawfield mansion (which sat in what is now Glassford street at the corner with Argyle Street). Popularly known as a 'tobacco lord', one of the most elite Virginia merchants, Glassford's wealth was based upon Atlantic commerce, and by extension, chattel slavery. The portrait also identifies Glassford as a personal owner of a Black page boy, likely enslaved, who remains a shadowy image behind Glassford's right hand shoulder. Although it was once popularly believed the young child was painted over by Glassford descendants in the Victorian era, it became apparent during a Glasgow Museums restorative project in 2007 that the young child had simply faded due to grime built up over the centuries.[31]

Glassford's mercantile firms (three separate companies) were at the pinnacle of the Virginia-Clyde tobacco commerce in 1775, according to historian Tom Devine, with nine stores in Maryland with other interests in Virginia.[32] Neil Jamieson was one of Glassford's main factors in Norfolk, Virginia, and he was naturally involved with West India commerce. The Jamieson correspondence reveals this group to be involved with the intercolonial trafficking of enslaved African people. In January 1767, Montgomerie & Whytlaw based in Jamaica (almost certainly a Scottish firm) wrote to Jamieson advising there was no produce for sale in Kingston's market that would be in demand in Norfolk, so they would instead send him 'some negroes to dispose of'.[33] Although the background of the young child in Glassford's mansion is unlikely ever to be identified, it seems possible that Jamieson arranged his transportation to Glasgow. Indeed, the practice of holding young Black children as page boys was not uncommon in this era.[34] Glassford's personal holdings and commercial operations, therefore, were dependent upon Atlantic slavery in North America and the West

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[31] Anthony Lewis, 'John Glassford's Family Portrait', *Legacies of Slavery in Glasgow Museums and Collections,* (2018). Available: https://glasgowmuseumsslavery.co.uk/2018/08/14/john-glassfords-family-portrait/ Accessed: 21 October 2021. Craig Lamont, *The Cultural Memory of Georgian Glasgow,* (Edinburgh, 2021), p.108.

[32] T.M. Devine, *The Tobacco Lords,* (Edinburgh, 1975), p.62, pp.65-6.

[33] Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., Manuscript Division, (Neil Jamieson Papers), Box 2/Folder 3 (1767). Montgomerie & Whytlaw to Neil Jamieson, 20 January 1767.

[34] John Cairns, 'Maintaining Slavery without a Code Noir: Scotland, 1700–78', in *Lawyers, the Law and History: Irish Legal History Society Discourses and other Papers, 2005-2011,* ed. by N. M. Dawson, F. M. Larkin, (Dublin, 2013); Stephen Mullen, Nelson Mundell, Simon Newman, 'Black Runaways in Eighteenth-Century Britain', in *Britain's Black Past,* ed. by Gretchen Gerzina, (Liverpool, 2020), pp.81-97.

Indies, much like Glasgow's commercial connections over three separate centuries which underpinned the economic transformation from small market town to world-leading industrial powerhouse.

Chattel slavery in historical context

From the early 1600s, the English (later, the post-1707 British) Empire was imposed on North America and the West Indies. In America, the earliest English colonial societies originated in the Chesapeake region. James I granted the charter for the Virginia Company in 1606 with settlers arriving at Jamestown a year later. Lord Baltimore established Maryland in 1634. The province of Carolina split into North Carolina and South Carolina in the early 1700s. In New England, Plymouth was founded in 1620, and the Massachusetts Bay company established the colony of the same name in 1620s. In the Middle Colonies, East New Jersey – established in 1683 - has been described as Scotland's 'first American colony' (albeit not a formal one). Scots were mainly prevalent in the Chesapeake colonies (Virginia and Maryland), as well as North Carolina, which eventually became the premier tobacco growing regions in the world.[35]

The English West Indies began with the maritime raiding of Spanish vessels and evolved into settler colonization schemes across the Caribbean which facilitated genocide, planting and trading. English colonies were established at St Kitts in 1624, Nevis in 1628, Antigua and Montserrat in 1632. Barbados, the most significant seventeenth-century English colony, was settled in 1627. Under the direction of Oliver Cromwell's 'Western Design', Jamaica was seized from the Spanish in 1655 and became the most important British colony of the eighteenth-century. At the end of the Seven Years War (1756-63), the islands of Dominica, St Vincent, Grenada and Tobago were ceded to Great Britain, explaining their collective title the 'Ceded Islands'. After 1793, St Lucia, Trinidad and Demerara were subsumed and the latter colony was merged with Berbice and Essequibo to become British Guiana in 1831.[36]

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[35] James Horn, 'Tobacco Colonies: The Shaping of English Society in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake'; Virginia DeJohn Anderson, 'New England in the Seventeenth Century'; Ned C. Landsman, The Middle Colonies: New Opportunities for Settlement, 1660-1700', in *The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century,* ed. by Nicholas Canny (Oxford, 1998). See also Ned C. Landsman, *Scotland and Its First American Colony, 1683-1765,* (Princeton, N.J., 1985).

[36] Hilary McD. Beckles, 'The Hub of Empire': The Caribbean and Britain in the Seventeenth Century', in *The Origins of Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century,* ed. by Nicholas Canny (Oxford, 1998), pp.218-239; Carla Gardina Pestana, *The English Conquest of Jamaica: Oliver Cromwell's Bid for Empire,* (Cambridge, M.A., 2017); J. R. Ward, 'The British West Indies in the Age of Abolition, 1748-1815' in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Eighteenth Century, vol. 2,* ed. by P.J. Marshall, (Oxford, 1998), p.415.

Between 1501 and 1875, European nations are estimated to have trafficked 12.5million African people to slavery in the Americas. The British were the second largest traffickers after the Portuguese, trafficking 3.25m African people between 1556 and 1810. Of these, 2.6m Africans were disembarked in the British Caribbean. Liverpool was the premier British slaving port; trafficking 1.3m enslaved people on 4,971 voyages between 1696 and 1808.[37] The transatlantic trafficking in enslaved people was abolished by the British Government in 1807, although plantation slavery in the British West Indies endured to 1834. The 'Apprenticeship scheme' held the formerly enslaved in unwaged bondage for a further four years before full emancipation in 1838.

From the early 1600s, Africans were trafficked into a racialized system of labour that became known as chattel slavery. The 'Act for the Better Ordering and Governing of Negroes' passed in Barbados in September 1661, and provided legal justification to hold African people as property. The Barbados Slave Code, as it became known, effectively confirmed a practice already in place for almost thirty years. In 1668, a modification classed enslaved people as real estate, rather than chattel, which meant they could be permanently tied to estates. The Barbados slave code set the tone for subsequent codes (in Jamaica, South Carolina, and Antigua) that confirmed chattel slavery as the dominant system of forced labour across the English Atlantic world.[38] Slavery is, and always has been, the legal ownership of people as property in society. Chattel slavery was hereditary and perpetual (although enslaved people could be manumitted). Enslaved people were appraised as 'property' with no legal personality. Slavery as practised in the English and subsequently British colonies was distinctive from the Roman version of slavery, principally because there was no embracement of Roman law in England. Whilst Roman slavery has been described as the 'paradigm case for non-racist slavery', chattel slavery was racialised and reserved for one group – people of African descent, including those born in the Americas.[39] Whilst Scots law *was* based on Roman precedent, Scottish society's interaction with transatlantic enslavement was predicated on the existing legal frameworks established by English authority prior to 1707.

Indentured servitude – labourers who went from Europe to America and the West Indies in forced transportation or elective migration – was predominantly reserved for white

[37] Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade – Database, Available: https://www.slavevoyages.org/ Accessed: 13 October 2021
[38] Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713,* (New York and London, 1973), pp.238-241.
[39] Alan Watson, *Slave Law in the Americas* (Athens and London, 2012 edition), p.66, p.76, p.81.

Europeans, it was temporary (usually 4-6 years), non-transmissible, and, in theory, came with the promise of free status and land at the end of term.[40] As noted by historian Kenneth Morgan, servants in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake had recourse to colonial courts if they were treated badly. Indentured servants were therefore regarded as a part of colonial society, often taking up prominent positions after servitude ended.[41] Due to exploitative colonial practices, indentured servitude was a gruelling and often short existence but colonial legislation permanently ratified African people as sub-human chattel property in a way that did not apply to white Europeans.

The transition from indentured servitude to chattel slavery was complete in Barbados by 1680, and by 1720 in the Chesapeake. Conditions on the plantations were extremely arduous yet varied across Atlantic world region.[42] There was a noted demographic growth amongst the enslaved population in eighteenth-century America, in contrast to the British West Indies. The harsher tropical conditions in the Caribbean and associated disease, alongside backbreaking work in sugar cane fields – compared to the less demanding but still gruelling work in tobacco and rice plantations in America – explains the higher morbidity and mortality rates in the British West Indies.[43] Mortality rates for the enslaved in the British West Indies were amongst the worst ever recorded. The average life expectancy for an enslaved person born into a plantation in early nineteenth-century Trinidad was seventeen years.[44] In 1817, high death and low birth rates contributed to a natural decrease for the enslaved population in most British West India colonies (13 of 18 colonies).[45] In other words, more enslaved people died in these forced labour regimes than were born, contributing to a natural population decline after the abolition of Africa trafficking in 1807.

Although chattel slavery was never codified in Great Britain with legislation (unlike North America and the West Indies), many Black people were held in a form of racial slavery. There are probably no more than 100 recorded examples of African and Indian origin in eighteenth-century Scotland (the numbers will likely be higher but few records exist), many of whom were treated as enslaved. The Scottish legal system at least tacitly supported

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[40] Michael Guasco, *Slaves and Englishmen: Human Bondage in the Early Modern Atlantic World,* (Philadelphia, 2014), p.164. For a good discussion of the differences with indentured servitude and chattel slavery, see Jerome S. Handler and Matthew C. Reilly, 'Contesting "White Slavery" in the Caribbean', *New West Indian Guide / Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 91/1-2 (2017), p.42.
[41] Kenneth Morgan, *Slavery and Servitude in North America, 1607-1800* (Edinburgh, 2000), p.21-4.
[42] Kenneth Morgan, *Slavery and the British Empire: From Africa to America,* (Oxford, 2007), pp.26-33.
[43] Morgan, *Slavery and the British Empire,* pp.89-95.
[44] A. Meredith John, 'Slave Mortality in Trinidad', *Population Studies,* Vol. 42, No. 2 (July 1988), p.172.
[45] B.W. Higman, *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean 1807-1834,* (Baltimore and London, 1984), p,72, p.76, pp.308-11

the practice of holding Black people as property in Scotland, and sometimes sanctioned the return of people to slavery societies. In April 1720, a 'Strolling Negro' was snatched off a Glasgow street by a merchant, Andrew Ramsay, who publicly requested payment before he would release the man, 'otherwise the present Possessor will dispose of him at his Pleasure' (which likely meant transportation to the Americas and sold into slavery).[46] Slavery could not be abolished in Scotland since it was never codified, but it was not until the famous Joseph Knight legal decision in 1778 that the practice was confirmed inconsistent with Scots law. Nevertheless, historians John Cairns and Simon Newman have argued that, before this decision, the social reality for many Black people in Scotland was one of slavery. As John Cairns notes, eighteenth-century Scotland was 'not a slave society, but until 1778 it was certainly a society with slaves'.[47]

Chattel slavery is often compared what has been termed 'modern slavery'. As noted by legal scholar Jonathan Brown, the European Court of Human Rights approved 'classic' definition of slavery is as follows: a 'status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the rights of ownership are exercised'. For Brown, since slavery was confirmed illegal in Scotland in 1778, Section 4(1)(a) of the Human Trafficking and Exploitation (Scotland) Act 2015 arguably 'criminalised an impossible action'.[48] Whilst modern forms of forced labour are illegal in Great Britain, historic chattel slavery was legal throughout the English, subsequently British, colonies in North America and the West Indies. This state-sanctioned process of settlement and enslavement underpinned a transatlantic system of mercantile commerce which helped shape the development of metropolitan economies and societies across Great Britain, especially Atlantic ports along the western seaboard such as Glasgow.

The rise of Glasgow in Atlantic context

In 1611, King James conferred Glasgow with royal burgh privileges including 'special liberty to the said provosts, bailies, councillors and community of the said burgh and city to exercise and use the craft of trade, by land and sea, at home and abroad'.[49] These privileges promoted

[46] *Edinburgh Evening Courant,* 28 April 1720, p.4. See 'Runaway Slaves in Britain: bondage, freedom and race in the eighteenth century', Available: https://www.runaways.gla.ac.uk/ Accessed: 27 October 2021.
[47] Cairns, 'Maintaining Slavery without a Code Noir'; Simon Newman, 'Freedom-Seeking Slaves in England and Scotland, 1700–1780. *The English Historical Review*, 134/570, (2019), pp.1136–1168,
[48] Jonathan Brown, 'Servitude, slavery and Scots law: historical perspectives on the Human Trafficking and Exploitation (Scotland) Act 2015', *Legal Studies,* 40, (2020), pp.353–375.
[49] 'XCII: Charter of James VI making Glasgow a Royal Burgh (1611)', J D Marwick (ed.), *Charters and Documents Relating To the City of Glasgow 1175-1649 Part 2,* (Glasgow, 1894), pp.278-283. *British History Online,* Available: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/glasgow-charters/1175-1649/no2/pp278-283 Accessed 21 October 2021.

the rise from market town into a commercial centre and later city. The river Clyde was initially too shallow to facilitate large scale commerce, and Glasgow's early merchants operated from of the deep-water ports of Ayr, as well as Greenock and eventually Port Glasgow. The west of Scotland subsequently became one of the leading seaboards in the British-Atlantic world. Glasgow's mercantile ranks were initially subordinate to tradesmen (who organised in the Trades House) although by the early 1600s, merchants were in the ascendency and effectively dominated the city's de facto local government. A Letter of the Guildry in 1605 confirmed the importance of merchants, relative to the trades.[50] Transatlantic focused merchants soon dominated the west of Scotland economy and subsequently Glasgow society and political arenas.

The residency of Scots across the embryonic English Empire helped to develop Atlantic trade connections with home. Whilst Scots had an ambiguous status in the early English empire, some elites were granted land - whilst others arrived as indentured servants - during the settlement of the Leeward islands and Barbados after 1629.[51] The early Glasgow-West India trade, however, seems to have been insignificant. Around 1655, Thomas Tucker, an Excise and Customs Official, visited Glasgow and noted that whilst some merchants had established connections with Barbados, voyages were apparently discontinued as merchants deemed them unprofitable.[52] Constitutional and imperial factors further prohibited large-scale Atlantic commerce. Despite sharing the same monarch from 1603, Scots did not have full trading privileges within the English Empire. The Navigation Acts was maritime based legislation (five acts passed between 1651 and 1696) that created a trade monopoly between England and English colonies, at times effectively excluding Scotland.[53]

Glasgow's commercial involvement developed after the Restoration in 1660, when King Charles II granted prerogative powers to Glasgow which allowed the import of colonial produce to Scotland. From 1667, sugar refining houses were established in and around what is now the Gallowgate.[54] Glasgow Council purchased land at Newark (which became Port Glasgow) and feued it out to various merchants, which helped establish a regular means of Atlantic commerce. From 1667, merchants had access to a deep-water port along the river

[50] Laurence Hill, 'On the Letter of Guildry, and the Merchants' and Trades' Houses', *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society* 1/1 (1859), pp.29–37.
[51] Allan I. Macinnes, *Union and Empire: The Making of the United Kingdom in 1707,* (Cambridge, 2007), p.147.
[52] Thomas Tucker, *Report by Thomas Tucker upon the Settlement of the Revenues of Excise and Customs in Scotland in 1692* (Edinburgh, 1881), p.26.
[53] Kenneth Morgan, *Slavery, Atlantic Trade and the British Economy, 1600-1800* (Cambridge, 2000), p.13.
[54] T.C. Smout, 'The Early Scottish Sugar Houses, 1660-1720', *The Economic History Review*, 14/2 (1961), pp.240-253.

from the commercial centre, which facilitated the increase of Atlantic commerce.[55] Between 1676 and 1686, Glasgow merchants established a joint stock group to facilitate 'trade to Virginea, Carriby Islands, Barbadoes, New-England, St Christophers, Monserat, and other colonies in America'.[56] Even so, Glasgow's pre-Union Atlantic commerce remained a minor enterprise. Scottish customs books, although incomplete for much of the period, record just seventy-five Atlantic voyages landing at Port Glasgow across the seventeenth century. Thirty-two West India voyages departed – especially to Barbados, Montserrat and Nevis – whilst forty-three departed for America, mainly New England and Virginia.[57]

From 1696, Scots were subject to the same punitive tariffs as 'foreign nations', and so were technically excluded from the English Empire.[58] In the same decade, the Scottish Parliament passed several acts designed to encourage national colonial involvement. Although the pre-Union Scottish state did not have the military or naval capacity to impose settler colonization schemes like England, this did not preclude organised efforts. The Company of Scotland was established by the Scottish Parliament in June 1695 under the 'Act for a company trading to Africa and the Indies'. This act allowed the 'said company…[to] grant and delegate such rights, properties, powers and immunities, and permit and allow such sort of trade, commerce and navigation into their plantations, colonies, cities, towns or places of their possession'.[59] This imperial venture resulted in the establishment of an ultimately unsuccessful Scottish colony on the Isthmus of Panama - commonly known as the Darien scheme - which was intended as a colonial trading outpost.[60] This episode exemplifies attempts at a 'Scottish Empire' prior to the Union of 1707.

The Company of Scotland's relationship with trafficking African enslaved people has yet to be fully assessed. One historian claimed there was not the 'slightest indication in any of the papers of the Company that they contemplated taking part in the slave trade', although this is contradicted by other evidence.[61] From 1696, the Company of Scotland investigated

[55] T.C. Smout, 'The Development and Enterprise of Glasgow 1556-1707', *The Scottish Journal of Political Economy,* 6/3 (1959), pp.194-212.
[56] John McUre, *The History of Glasgow: A New Edition,* (Glasgow, 1830), p.170.
[57] T. C. Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of Union, 1660–1707*, (Edinburgh and London, 1963), pp.175-7.
[58] Allan I. Macinnes, 'Scottish circumvention of the English Navigation Acts in the American colonies 1660-1707', in *Making, Using and Resisting the Law in European History,* ed. by Gunther Lottes et al, (Pisa, 2008), p.123.
[59] *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, K.M. Brown et al eds (St Andrews, 2007-2022), 1695/5/104. Available: http://www.rps.ac.uk/trans/1695/5/104 Accessed: 24 January 2022.
[60] Douglas Watt, *The Price of Scotland: Darien, Union and the Wealth of Nations,* (Edinburgh, 2007); Julie Orr, *Scotland, Darien and the Atlantic World, 1698-1700,* (Edinburgh, 2018).
[61] George Insh, *Historians Oyssey: The Romance of the Quest for the Records of the Darien Company,* (Edinburgh, 1938), p.158.

the viability of trading with Africa, plans which did not take shape until the fitting out of the ship *African Merchant* in 1699. According to historian Mark Duffill, if the venture was successful, it would have had 'no other purpose other than trading for slaves, ivory, gold'.[62] Although there is no evidence the Company of Scotland participated in the transatlantic trafficking in enslaved people, its ships later trafficked enslaved people in the Indian Ocean. In 1698, the *Nassau* purchased enslaved people from pirates when docked in Madagascar.[63] The Company of Scotland 'initiated or licensed' further slave trafficking voyages in Madagascar: the *Speedy Return* and *Content* (1701), and the *Neptune* (1707).[64] The Company of Scotland, and the settlement at Darien, was an imperial venture from the outset. Whilst the Company of Scotland may not have begun with the intention of facilitating the trafficking of African enslaved people, there was verifiable company involvement in the Indian Ocean before 1707.

The failure at Darien, and the conflict it created amongst European colonizing nations, exacerbated constitutional disputes between Scotland and England and paved the way for union. The Union of 1707 incorporated the Scottish and English parliaments. The Union's Article IV provided all British subjects, and therefore Scots, with 'full Freedom and Intercourse of Trade and Navigation, to and from any Port or Place within the said United Kingdom, and the Dominions and Plantations'.[65] Scots were also granted access to the maritime trafficking of enslaved African people. London, Liverpool and Bristol were major slaving ports although there were relatively fewer Scottish 'triangular' voyages (since Scottish port records are incomplete, actual numbers of voyages could be higher). There are just 27 recorded voyages between 1706 and 1766, although Scots based in English ports organized another four. Scottish traffickers directly trafficked around 5,000 enslaved people in 'triangular voyages' to colonies such as Virginia, Jamaica, Grenada and Barbados.[66]

Most of these voyages departed from Port Glasgow and Greenock on the west coast of Scotland. However, for all intents and purposes, most were 'Glasgow' voyages. In 1720, the *Hannover* departed Port Glasgow and ultimately trafficked 118 Africans from Old Calabar to Barbados and the Leewards in the West Indies. Owned by Glasgow firm Robert Bogle & Co.,

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[62] Mark Duffill, 'The Africa Trade From the Ports of Scotland, 1706-66', *Slavery & Abolition* 25/3, p.115, footnote 2.
[63] George Insh, *Papers relating to the ships and voyages of the Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies, 1696-1707,* (Edinburgh, 1924), p.xxi-xxii.
[64] Insh, *Papers relating to the ships and voyages of the Company of Scotland*, p.xxii, p.260; Duffill, 'Africa Trade', p.115, footnote 3.
[65] 'Articles of Union', Available: https://www.parliament.uk/documents/heritage/articlesofunion.pdf Accessed: 30 January 2022; John Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America,* 2 Vols. (London, 1708).
[66] Duffill, 'Africa Trade', pp.102-122.

this family were early pioneers of the Glasgow-Jamaica trades.[67] There were other slavers in Glasgow too. At the 1724 trial in Edinburgh of the *Hannover* surgeon Alexander Horsburgh, Richard Oswald of Scotstoun appeared as he was the 'recognized authority on the slave trading in Glasgow'.[68] In the 1760s, Glasgow firms Buchanan Simson & Co., and Houston & Co. all initiated slaving voyages. The last recorded such voyage from Scotland departed Greenock in 1766.[69] By that point, Glasgow merchants dominated the Atlantic trade in produce grown by enslaved people, especially tobacco, and many Scots were by then owners of estates and enslaved people in the West Indies which underpinned the importation of sugar and cotton. In 1789, representatives of the firm Alexander Houston & Co. petitioned in support of the continuation of Africa trafficking, which was intended to protect the supply of enslaved people to their West India estates. This petition not only underlined the commercial shift by Glasgow's mercantile elites into West India commerce, but confirmed the city's prosperity was dependent upon the continued trafficking of African enslaved people.[70]

There were many other Black people like John Glassford's page boy held in bondage in eighteenth-century Scotland. Scottish merchants imported Black people for sale, such as the Watt mercantile enterprise. The 'great improver' of the steam engine, James Watt, was involved with his father's Atlantic business in mid-eighteenth-century Glasgow. In 1762, James Watt – having relocated from Greenock – was personally involved trafficking a Black child, named only as Frederick, for sale to the Brodies of Spynie, a gentry family in north-east Scotland.[71] Many Black people held in such bondage, some in Glasgow, and some chose to run away. In February 1727, Ann, described as an eighteen-year-old Black woman, absconded from her enslaver, Dr Gustavus Brown. Ann escaped whilst in Glasgow, despite her enslaver mounting a brass collar around her neck.[72] At least one Glasgow 'tobacco lord' William Crawford, was known to have owned a Black boy, who escaped in 1746.[73] Personal

[67] GCA, TD1681 1/4/74, 'George Bogle to Robert Hamilton, from regarding sugar at Jamaica, 11 May 1733; Duffill, 'Africa Trade', p.105.
[68] Eric Graham, Sue Mowat, 'The Slaving Voyage of the Hannover of Port Glasgow 1719–1720', *History Scotland,* 3/5, (September/October 2003), p.33.
[69] Duffill, 'Africa Trade', p.105-6.
[70] *Journal of the House of Commons,* Vol. XLIV, 20 November 1788–10 December 1789, p.294.
[71] Library of Birmingham, Archives and Collections, MS 3219/3/92, 'Letter from James Brodie to James Watt junior in Greenock', 3 October 1762. For wider context, see Stephen Mullen, 'The Rise of James Watt: Enlightenment, commerce and Industry in a British Atlantic Merchant City, 1736-1774' *in James Watt (1736-1819): Culture, Innovation and Enlightenment,* ed. by Malcolm Dick, Caroline Archer-Parre, (Liverpool, 2020), pp.39-61.
[72] *Edinburgh Evening Courant,* 9-13 February, 1727, p.4. See 'Runaway Slaves in Britain: bondage, freedom and race in the eighteenth century', Available: https://www.runaways.gla.ac.uk/ Accessed: 27 October 2021.
[73] *Glasgow Journal,* 9 January 1746, p.4; 'Runaway Slaves in Britain: bondage, freedom and race in the eighteenth century', https://www.runaways.gla.ac.uk/database/display/?rid=3 Accessed: 27 October 2021. Devine, *Tobacco Lords,* p.179.

ownership of enslaved people was therefore not unusual in eighteenth-century Glasgow, which is perhaps unsurprising given the city's deep mercantile connections to Atlantic slavery economies.

During Glasgow's classical era of tobacco (1740-1790), Clyde ports became one of the premier commercial seaboards in the British-Atlantic world. In one year, 1758, more tobacco was landed at the Clyde than all other English ports combined.[74] This commercial success was based upon the monopoly provided by the Navigation Acts. Glasgow merchants had privileged access to America's tobacco regions, receiving and re-exporting the produce to Europe whilst shipping finished goods to the colonies. Prominent merchants based in Glasgow known as 'tobacco lords' (numbering c.160) controlled this trade: William Cunninghame, John Glassford, Alexander Spiers, John Ritchie *et al.* These elite merchants had a dramatic effect on agricultural, industrial and urban development of Glasgow and its hinterlands. Colonial merchants contributed to the development of the Forth and Clyde canal after 1768, which improving the transport infrastructure from the west to the east of Scotland, and facilitated the two-way flow of produce and goods from America to Europe. Before the American revolution in 1776, the west of Scotland was one of Europe's leading tobacco *entrepôts*.[75]

The end of the American War of Independence (1775-1783) realigned the Scottish-Atlantic economy. Whilst tobacco commerce was undertaken by elite merchants and centred around *entrepôt* commodity trade which did not stimulate many large-scale manufacturing processes, the subsequent commercial shift to the West India trades had a transformative effect initiating the classical era of the Clyde-West India trades (1790-1838).[76] A new mercantile grouping – the 'sugar aristocracy' – came to dominate Scotland's Atlantic economy and Glasgow's commercial and political affairs.[77] Several family firms based their commercial fortunes, and the transmission of intergenerational wealth, on the West India trades, especially with Jamaica but also Grenada, Trinidad, Demerara and Berbice. West India merchants such as James Ewing, Archibald Smith and John Campbell senior all owned mansions or large estates in and around Glasgow whilst undertaking commerce which helped

[74] Jacob M. Price, 'The Rise of Glasgow in the Chesapeake Tobacco Trade, 1707-1775', *The William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series,* Vol. 11, No. 2, (1954), p.190.
[75] T.M. Devine 'The golden age of tobacco', in *Glasgow. Volume I: Beginnings to 1830,* ed. by T.M. Devine and Gordon Jackson (Manchester, 1995), pp.139-183; T.M. Devine, Philipp Robinson Rössner, 'Scots in the Atlantic Economy 1600–1800', in *Scotland and the British Empire,* ed. by John MacKenzie and T.M. Devine, (Oxford, 2016), pp.41-2.
[76] Gordon Jackson, 'New Horizons', in *Glasgow, Volume 1, Beginnings to 1830,* ed. by T. M. Devine and G. Jackson, (Manchester, 1995), pp.217-219.
[77] John Strang, *Glasgow and Its Clubs,* (London and Glasgow, 1857), p.212.

transform the city and surrounding region. West India merchants not only imported sugar and cotton, but also exported Scottish textiles to American and Caribbean markets, underpinning the Scottish Industrial Revolution.

Scotland and Glasgow's trading connections with the West Indies increased in both scale and significance after 1790.[78] The import of cotton grown by enslaved people was a decisive factor in Scotland's 'industrial revolution' (c.1770s-1830). In 1778, the first cotton spinning mill was introduced in Scotland.[79] The West Indies, and by extension enslaved people, provided the raw materials for Scottish cotton mills up to 1800, and one of the main sources (alongside America and India) throughout the early 19th century. The Inspector General's Returns for Scotland confirms the West Indies and North America as the main source of cotton imported into rapidly industrialising Scotland. Between 1770-1799, the West Indies supplied most of the cotton imported into Scotland from the Americas.[80] After wartime restrictions ended, cotton from America became increasingly important. Of all cotton imported to Scotland between 1770 and 1824, the vast majority (90%) arrived from North America and the West Indies (official value of £13m - £6.5m from America and £5.26m from the West Indies).[81] A multiplicity of commercial connections, dependent upon Atlantic slavery, underpinned the textile phase of the Scottish Industrial Revolution.

The West Indies became the main export market for linen-based textiles, whilst cotton produced by enslaved people supplied a manufacturing industry dependent upon the re-export of finished goods across the Atlantic. Jamaica's status as the premier island for Scots is reflected in trade statistics. The island was the premier outlet for linen goods produced in Scotland; with a ten-fold rise in exports between 1765 and 1795.[82] After 1778, cotton grown by enslaved people became the principal raw material for the Scottish textile industry, and Jamaica remained the most significant export market.[83] In 1808, Jamaica received £195,626 of British-made cottons exported from Scotland – more by official value than went to

[78] T.M. Devine 'An Eighteenth-Century Business Elite, Glasgow West India Merchants, 1740-1815', *Scottish Historical Review,* (1978), pp.40-67; Anthony Cooke, 'An Elite Revisited: Glasgow West India Merchants, 1783–1877', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies,* 32, 2 (2012), pp.127–65.
[79] Christopher A. Whatley, *Scottish Society, 1707-1830: Beyond Jacobitism, Towards Industrialisation,* (Manchester, 2000), p.219.
[80] Henry Hamilton, *An Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century,* (Oxford, 1963), Appendix, VII.
[81] This section is based upon The National Archives of the U.K. [TNA], CUST 14, 'Ledgers of Imports and Exports, Scotland (1755-1827)'. See Hamilton, *Economic History of Scotland*, Appendix, VII; and Alexander James Robertson, 'The Growth of the Cotton Industry and Scottish Economic Development, 1780-1835', (Unpublished MA Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1965), pp.135-9.
[82] Alasdair Durie, *The Scottish Linen Industry in the Eighteenth Century,* (Edinburgh, 1979) p.152.
[83] Iain Donnachie and George Hewitt, *Historic New Lanark: The Dale and Owen Industrial Community Since 1785* (Edinburgh, 2015 edn.), pp.1-16.

America.[84] In this way, Atlantic slavery in general, and Caribbean slavery in particular, underpinned the first phase of Scotland's Industrial Revolution which created employment for vast swathes of the population. In 1810, almost 70,000 handloom weavers worked in in west-central Scotland.[85] By 1827, textile manufacturing was the leading sector in Scotland. Of 257,900 textile workers in Scotland, cotton employed sixty percent (154,000 people), with linen and wool based textile production comprising the rest.[86]

By 1833, Glasgow was described as the 'great den of colonial slavery' by a missionary resident in Jamaica, partially due to the influence of the pro-slavery newspaper *Glasgow Courier*.[87] The city hosted the Glasgow West India Association, which was founded in October 1807, in a defensive move after the trafficking of enslaved people was abolished earlier that year.[88] This group became one of the most powerful lobbying groups of their type in Great Britain, mounting a pro-slavery offensive up to emancipation, arguing that if plantation slavery were to be abolished, planters should be compensated for the loss of property. In May 1823, the association petitioned the Earl of Liverpool at the Treasury outlined their stance:

> That as their property has been acquired under the solemn sanction of His Majesty's Government and is held by the same tenure and on the same security as any estates in the British Dominions, they are clearly entitled to the same justice and protection and if on public grounds an infringement should be made on their private rights or an injury be sustained on their private fortunes, they do with the utmost confidence in the faith of their country, enter their claim for full & ample indemnity.[89]

Plantation slavery in the British West Indies was finally abolished in 1834, when the British government paid £20m compensation to enslavers for the loss of their enslaved property. The relative wage or income worth of £20m in 1834 is £18 billion (compared against average earnings in 2020).[90] The formerly enslaved were subject to another four years of labour, known as the Apprenticeship scheme. Scots comprised just 10% of the total British population at this time, yet those resident in Scotland represented around 15% of all British

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[84] TNA, CUST 14/21, f.77
[85] Norman Murray, *The Scottish Handloom Weavers, 1790-1850: A Social History,* (Edinburgh, 1978), p.17-23.
[86] John Sinclair, *Analysis of the Statistical Account of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1831), p.333; Anthony Cooke, *The Rise and Fall of the Scottish Cotton Industry, 1778-1914,* (Manchester, 2010), p.57.
[87] John Howard Hinton, *Memoir of Reverend William Knibb*, 2nd ed., (London, 1849), p.
[88] GCA, TD1683/1/1, 'Abstract of the West India Association, 1807-1853'.
[89] GCA TD1683/1/1, 'Abstract', f.452.
[90] *Measuring Worth*, Available: https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/result.php?year_source=1834&amount=20000000&year_result=2020 Accessed: 9 March 2022.

absentee enslavers in the compensation list (a much higher proportion compared to Irish claimants).[91]

As evidenced by the census of British absentee claimants of compensation at *The Legacies of British Slavery* website, there are many dozens of Glaswegian claimants – mainly West India merchants and planters – including James Ewing of Strathleven (1775-1853), Ewing was Dean of Guild of the Merchant House (1816; 1831), Lord Provost of Glasgow (1832-3) and MP for Glasgow after the Reform Act of 1832. In a two-year period between 1836-7, he claimed £9,327 for 586 enslaved people on five estates in Jamaica, including Taylor Caymanas in St Catherine.[92] In relative terms (compared to average earnings in 2020), Ewing's claim in 1836 is equivalent to £7.8m in modern values.[93]

Historiographical Perspectives of Atlantic Slavery, Scotland and Glasgow

In *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944), Eric Williams argued that Caribbean slavery was central to the progress and timing of the British Industrial Revolution. For Williams, there were multiple streams influencing British economic development; the profits from the trafficking in enslaved people; the profits generated by the Atlantic trades (that is, from imports of sugar, cotton and tobacco as well as the industries generated around exports such as textile manufactories); the accumulation and investments of merchant capital; as well as the accumulation of wealth from those resident in, and returned from, the West Indies.[94] Williams' scope was Anglocentric, although his arguments have been hotly disputed by historians of English economic change who argue that Atlantic commerce, and by extension slavery, played only a small role in national industrialisation.[95]

Nevertheless, it has become increasingly apparent that Williams' arguments were more relevant in a Scottish context. In 1997, historian Christopher Whatley argued that Scotland industrialised quicker than England at a time when West India commerce was central to the economy, as well as noting Scotland's population rose at a slower rate

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[91] Nicholas Draper, 'Dependent on precarious subsistences': Ireland's Slave-owners at the Time of Emancipation', *Britain and the World,* 6/2, 220-242; 'Scotland and Colonial Slave-ownership: The Evidence of the Slave Compensation records', in *Recovering Scotland's Slavery Past: The Caribbean Connection,* ed. by T.M. Devine, (Edinburgh, 2015), pp.166-187.

[92] 'James Ewing of Strathleven', *Legacies of British Slavery database*, Available: http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/21020 Accessed: 25 January 2022

[93] *Measuring Worth*, Available: https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/result.php?year_source=1837&amount=9327&year_result=2020 Accessed: 16 January 2022.

[94] Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill, 1944), p.

[95] Kenneth Morgan, *Slavery, Atlantic Trade and the British Economy, 1600-1800* (Cambridge, 2000); David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman, 'The Importance of Slavery and the Slave Trade to Industrializing Britain', *Journal of Economic History*, 60 (2000), pp.123–144.

compared to England, meaning external factors for industrial growth were more significant.[96] In 2011, T.M. Devine endorsed Williams' main argument (known as 'the Williams thesis'), noting the differences in the development of Scotland compared to England. Scotland industrialised after 1707 - later then England - at a time when the economy was heavily dependent on Atlantic commerce (both Virginia and West India trades). Moreover, it started from a less diversified economic base. Colonial merchants invested in embryonic industries, and the leading industrial sectors (linen and cotton) were inextricably connected with Atlantic commerce.[97] Glasgow was at the epicentre of Scotland's Atlantic slavery nexus.

As the discipline of Scottish history developed from the late 1960s, historians of Scottish economic and societal development did not centre the institution of Atlantic slavery in their analyses. Most academic historians of Scotland in this era tended to claim that Atlantic commerce, and by extension slavery, had only marginal effects on national development. With multiple publications on Glasgow's colonial merchants from 1971, T.M. Devine pioneered the history of Glasgow's slavery past which transformed Scottish historiography's terms of reference. Whilst Devine's work argued that Atlantic commerce and merchant capital was central to Scottish economic development, if any of these works mentioned slavery at all - which some occasionally did - it was only in tokenistic fashion (for which Devine apologized 'Mea Culpa, Mea Maxima Culpa' in 2010). After 1997, the historiographical interest around Glasgow and Scotland's slavery past has accelerated and Atlantic slavery has become central in the field of Scottish historiography.[98]

[96] Christopher A. Whatley, *The Industrial Revolution in Scotland,* (Cambridge, 1997), p.24, p.35-6, p.41, pp.43-4.
[97] T.M. Devine, 'Did Slavery Make Scotia Great?', *Britain and the World*, 4/1, (2011), p.40-64; T.M. Devine, 'Did Slavery make Scotia Great?: A Question Revisited', in *Recovering Scotland's Slavery Past*: *The Caribbean Connection*, ed. T.M. Devine, (Edinburgh, 2015), pp.225-245, pp.246-7.
[98] Stephen Mullen, 'Centring transatlantic slavery in Scottish historiography', *History Compass,* (2022).

Glasgow's Political System: Town Council and Lord Provosts

Before the Reform Act of 1832, sitting councillors in Glasgow's Town Council dominated the city's politics. Just 33 electors voted in the city's share of election of MP for Clyde Burghs (shared with Dumbarton, Rutherglen, and Renfrew). In Glasgow, only serving councillors could vote, and these were comprised from burgess institutions – the Merchants House and Trades House. The merchants dominated, since the Merchants House was bestowed with two privileges; nominating a set majority of councillors, and the Lord Provost was chosen from among their membership.[99] In practical terms, for much of the Georgian era, mercantile elites – many involved with Atlantic commerce, based upon chattel slavery – entered Glasgow Town Council and wielded disproportionate influence over city affairs whilst the west of Scotland rose to international commercial prominence.

Findings

Between 1636 and 1834 (the broad chronology of chattel slavery), there were 79 individual Lord Provosts elected in Glasgow Town Council. Two years was the normal terms of office, although some sat for a solitary year whilst others sat for multiple years. For example, James Anderson was in office for multiple times across three separate decades (1689-1690, 1695-1696, 1699-1700, 1703-4).[100]

As Appendix 1 underlines, individuals with connections to transatlantic slavery came to dominate Glasgow Town Council. Of 79 separate Lord Provosts, forty had some connection to the Atlantic slave economy. Walter Gibson (in office: 1688-1689) was the first known Lord Provost with Atlantic connections; as one of the leading figures in the establishment of the 'Great Company' undertaking trade with 'Virginea, Caribby-Islands, Barbadoes, New England, St Christophers, Monserat and other colonies in America'.[101] Little is known about the operations of this company, although historian Andrew Gibb suggests tobacco was the main Atlantic import to Glasgow in the 1670s.[102]

In the 1690s, four separate Lord Provosts subscribed to the Company of Scotland. This company was established by the Scottish Parliament in June 1695 under the 'Act for a

[99] Irene Maver, 'Power and Politics in the Scottish City: Town Council in the Nineteenth Century', in *Scottish Elites,* ed. T.M. Devine, (Edinburgh, 1994), pp.98-130.
[100] James R. Anderson, (ed. by James Gourlay), *The Provosts of Glasgow from 1609 to 1832,* (Glasgow, 1942), p.39.
[101] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow,* p.37*;* John McUre, *History of Glasgow, new edn.,* (Glasgow, 1830), p.170.
[102] Andrew Gibb, *Glasgow: The Making of a City,* (London, 1983), p.40.

company trading to Africa and the Indies'.[103] This resulted in the establishment of a Scottish colony on the Isthmus of Panama - the Darien scheme.[104]

On 9 March 1696, John Anderson, Provost of Glasgow, personally subscribed £1000 to the Company of Scotland.[105] Others, such as James Peadie, were involved with Glasgow's embryonic Atlantic domestic economy; James Peadie was one of the initial partners in the joint-stock Easter Sugar Works which processed sugars in premises near the Gallowgate from c.1669. The process was based on the import of semi-refined muscovado from the West Indies – grown by enslaved people in Barbados - which arrived at Port Glasgow in hogsheads and was boiled up in the works in Glasgow itself. The Easter Sugar works remained in the hands of initial partners and their descendants, including the 'heirs of provost Peadie' into the 1730s.[106]

The 18th century rise of Glasgow as a great tobacco metropolis is well known, and as resident merchants acquired wealth and status, many took political office. Of the fifty Lord Provost appointments between 1701 and 1799, colonial merchants were elected on thirty-one occasions. Of these office holders, Virginia merchants ('tobacco lords') dominated (19), as well as colonial merchants with interests in the Virginia and West India trades (9), and some West India merchants (3). For example, Andrew Cochrane of Brighouse was a famous 'Tobacco Lord' and had interests in the King Street Sugar House.[107] Cochrane Street was named after him.[108] After the American War of Independence (1775-1783), the city of Glasgow's merchants replaced the lost tobacco monopoly by refocusing on the British West Indies, taking up commerce based upon sugar and cotton, as well as the export of textiles. The 'sugar aristocracy' came to dominate the office of Lord Provost. Of eighteen Lord Provosts between 1800 and 1832, West India merchants were appointed on nine separate occasions, whilst cotton manufacturers with inherited or commercial connections to the West Indies were appointed four times (Kirkman Finlay and Henry Monteith).

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[103] *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, K.M. Brown et al eds (St Andrews, 2007-2022), 1695/5/104. Available: http://www.rps.ac.uk/trans/1695/5/104 Accessed: 24 January 2022.
[104] W. Douglas Jones, 'The Bold Adventurers': A Quantitative Analysis of the Darien Subscription List (1696)', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies,* 21:1 (2001), pp. 22-42; Douglas Watt, *The Price of Scotland: Darien, Union and the Wealth of Nations,* (Edinburgh, 2007); Julie Orr, *Scotland, Darien and the Atlantic World, 1698-1700,* (Edinburgh, 2018).
[105] *The Darien Papers: Being a Selection of Original Letters and Official Documents Relating to the Establishment of a Colony a Darien by the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies 1695-1700* (Edinburgh: T. Constable, 1849), p.410-1.
[106] McUre, *History of Glasgow*, p.228; T.C. Smout, 'The Early Scottish Sugar Houses, 1660–1720', *Economic History Review* 14 (1961), pp.240–253.
[107] T.M. Devine, *The Tobacco Lords*, (Edinburgh, 1975), p.179.
[108] Glasguensis, *Banking in Glasgow during the olden time*, (Glasgow, 1862), p.18.

John Hamilton of Northpark (in office: 1800-1801, 1804-1805, 1810-1811) was one of the major 19th c West India Lord Provosts. His firm, John Hamilton & Co. was based at the Trongate from 1787. Three separate streets were named after him: Great Hamilton Street (no longer in existence), Hamilton Drive and North Park Street (in Kelvinbridge).[109] Some of these West India Lord Provosts, such as William Smith (in office: 1822-23); Mungo Nutter Campbell (in office: 1824-25), William Hamilton (in office: 1826-27), and James Ewing (in office: 1832), later collected compensation when plantation slavery was abolished in 1834, underlining they were likely enslavers whilst in office.

Glasgow Town Council's Institutional Involvement with Scotland's Atlantic Economy

Glasgow Town Council also became institutionally complicit in Scotland's Atlantic economy, via investment in the Company of Scotland as well as borrowing from colonial officials. Both had connections to slavery.

As noted above, the Company of Scotland was a state sanctioned colonial scheme. As a result of this venture, a public subscription scheme induced a financial mania across Scotland. On 5 March 1696, John Anderson, Provost of Glasgow (in office: 1689-1690, 1695-6, 1699-1700, 1703-1704) subscribed £3,000 on behalf of the 'Magistrates and Councell of the said Burgh' to the Company of Scotland.[110] In what was regarded as a national endeavour, institutional investors were not uncommon. For example, the 'Good Town of Edinburgh' subscribed £3,000, as did the Town of Perth (£2,000), the Merchants House of Glasgow (£1,000), Trades House of Glasgow (£1,000), the Faculty of Advocates (£1,000) and Burgh of Linlithgow (£200), Burghs and towns of Ayr (£200), Paisley (£200), Renfrew (£200) St Andrews, Inverness, Queensferry, Cupar, and Irvine (all £100).[111] As noted above, Company of Scotland ships later engaged in trafficking enslaved people in the Indian Ocean.

Burgh records outline the rationale behind the Glasgow Magistrates and Council subscription in March 1696. Referring to the act of the Scottish Parliament in June 1695, the burgh considered it to be 'very promiseing and apparently may tend to the honor and profite of the kingdom, and particularly to the great advantage of this burgh to share therein'. John

[109] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, pp.111-113; John Guthrie Smith, John Oswald Mitchell, *The Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry,* (Glasgow, 1878), 'Northwoodside House'.
[110] *The Darien Papers: Being a Selection of Original Letters and Official Documents Relating to the Establishment of a Colony a Darien by the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies 1695-1700* (Edinburgh, 1849), p.410.
[111] Watt, *Price of Scotland,* pp.269-70.

Anderson of Dowhill was commissioned to subscribe £3,000 sterling.[112] According to James Anderson and James Gourlay, not all of this sum was paid up. [113] Robert Renwick concurs and states just 'more than half had been paid'.[114] By January 1701, the magistrates and town council noted the 'insuccesfullnes of the said company's designs' and asked for a committee to investigate company affairs.[115] As part of the agreement under the Treaties of Union of 1707, Article XV - amongst other things - dissolved the Company of Scotland and reimbursed the capital stock held by shareholders with interest from time of subscription (via a payment of £398,085 10s, which became known as the 'Equivalent').[116] Of the initial £3,000 subscription, the town council acknowledged £1,812 was made in 'severall payments'. The Equivalent brought a payment of £2,114 15s 7 1/2d which was placed, 'by subdivisions, in several houses'.[117]

Glasgow Town Council later utilised the commercial networks of their former Lord Provosts to borrow capital derived from Atlantic slavery. In early January 1759, 'the toun are oweing a great many accounts to tradesmen and otherways', and borrowed £1,500 sterling (with interest at 4.5 percent) from Laurence Dinwiddie, former Lord Provost (1742-3), although the 'money [was] properly belonging to Robert Dinwiddie, esquire, late governour of Virginia'.[118] As Lieutenant governor of Colonial Virginia (1751-8), Dinwiddie – an Old College alumnus – was a personal enslaver, selling the enslaved people he owned when he returned to London in 1769.[119] In relative terms (compared to average earnings in 2020), the £1500 Dinwiddie loan in 1759 is equivalent to £2.95m in modern values.[120]

In summary, individuals connected to Atlantic commerce, and by extension chattel slavery, were regular office holders in Glasgow Town Council between the Union of 1707 and the abolition of plantation slavery in 1834. Occasionally, the Town council became involved as an institution, both investing in an imperial venture and borrowing credit from a colonial official who owned enslaved people.

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[112] Robert Renwick, (ed.), *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 1691-1717,* Vol. IV, (Glasgow, 1908), p.194.
[113] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.40.
[114] Renwick, (ed.), *Extracts, 1691-1717,* p.xi.
[115] Renwick, (ed.), *Extracts, 1691-1717,* p.313.
[116] 'Articles of Union', Available: https://www.parliament.uk/documents/heritage/articlesofunion.pdf Accessed: 30 January 2022.
[117] Renwick, (ed.), *Extracts, 1691-1717,* pp.407-8.
[118] Robert Renwick, (ed.), *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 1739-59,* Vol. VI, (Glasgow, 1911), p.539-40.
[119] John R. Alden, *Robert Dinwiddie: servant of the Crown*, (Charlottesville, U.S., 1973), p.18, p.75, p.112.
[120] *Measuring Worth*, Available: https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/result.php?year_source=1759&amount=1500&year_result=2020 Accessed: 16 January 2022.

Bequests, Gifts and Mortifications

In pre-Victorian Scotland, charitable and philanthropic concepts underpinned the provision of the poor law, benevolent institutions, orphanages for children, as well as access to education and care for the elderly and sick.[121] Historically, the Magistrates and Town Council of Glasgow, and the Glasgow Corporation, had a legal role as trustee, patron or administrator to administer a range of bursaries, mortifications, charities, bequests, and schools that were established from donations by private individuals.[122] The Magistrates and Town Council of Glasgow also managed a number of bursaries for distribution at Old College.[123]

Findings

John Strang's *Bursaries, Schools, Mortifications and Bequests,* (Glasgow, 1861) outlined the town council managed accounts with different remits: Education (Bursaries); Educations (Schools); Education (Prizes); Mortifications (Charities); Miscellaneous (Bequests).[124] From all accounts surveyed (over 150), forty were identified as having been established via donations from individuals between 1617 and 1853. After researching the donors amongst this list of forty, fifteen were discounted by ascertaining occupation (that is, they were in an occupation with no known exposure to the Atlantic trades). For example, Boyd's bursaries were established in 1635 by Zacharias Boyd (1585–1653), minister of the Barony parish of Glasgow.[125] From the remainder, nine were identified as gifted from individuals with connections to transatlantic slavery; just under a quarter of all traceable donations from 1617-1853. A further four gifts and bequests were assessed, either being high profile examples (Cecilia Douglas bequest; the Mitchell Library) or others that have come to light via research on individual buildings (Aikenhead House, Pollok House). As Table 1 reveals, thirteen gifts, mortifications, and bequests with connections to Atlantic slavery have been identified in this study.

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[121] Olive Checkland, *Philanthropy in Victorian Scotland: Social Welfare and the Voluntary Principle,* (Edinburgh, 1980), p.2, p.12.
[122] John Strang, *Bursaries, Schools, Mortifications and Bequests*, (Glasgow, 1861).
[123] *Account of Bursaries in the University of Glasgow and of Other Mortifications Under the Management of the Magistrates and Town Council of Glasgow,* (Drawn Up by the Town Clerks, 1792)
[124] John Strang, *Bursaries, Schools, Mortifications and Bequests*, (Glasgow, 1861); Glasgow City Council, 'Active Trusts: Appendix 1', Available: https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/councillorsandcommittees/viewSelectedDocument.asp?c=P62AFQZL0G2U810G Accessed: 12 December 2021
[125] Strang, *Bursaries, Schools, Mortifications and Bequests*, p.8.

Table 1: Gifts, Mortifications, Bequests managed by the Town Council with connections to Atlantic slavery

Title	Established	Slavery Connection
Aikenhead House (King's Park)	1930-4	West India/inherited
Alexander's Charity	1847	Inherited/manufacturing
Bell's Trust	1832	Tobacco merchant
Blind Asylum	1823	West India merchant
Buchanan's Bequest	1857	West India merchant
Coulter's Mortification	1788	Virginia merchant
Coulter's Mortification (Invention)	1788	Virginia merchant
Douglas Bequest	1862	Inherited/Enslaver/compensation
Ewing's Medal	1822	West India merchant/enslaver
Leadbetter's Bursaries	1853	Linen manufacturer
Mitchell bequest (Mitchell Library)	1874	Inherited/ tobacco manufacturer
Pollok House	1966	Inherited wealth
Stewart's Bursaries	1810	Enslaver

Source: see Appendix 2 – Bequests, Gifts and Mortifications

Atlantic Slavery 'Connections'

As explained in detail in Appendix 2, six of these gifts were gifted directly by individuals whose primary source of income was derived from activities related to Atlantic slavery - West India and Virginia merchants as well as an owner of enslaved people/compensation claimants in 1834 (John Leitch/Blind Asylum; James Buchanan/Buchanan's Bequest; James Coulter/Coulter's Mortifications; Cecilia Douglas/Douglas Bequest; James Ewing/Ewing's Medal). A further three were connected to individuals who had inherited wealth from father's who were involved with Caribbean slavery. Alexander's Charity was gifted by James Alexander (1807-1847), the son of a Glasgow-West India merchant Robert Fulton Alexander (c.1762-1843), and who was involved in thread manufacturing. Two were gifted by individuals involved in ancillary commerce in the Scottish Atlantic slave economy before slavery was abolished in the West Indies in 1834 and America in 1865: Leadbetter's Bursary (linen manufacturing) and Mitchell's bequest (tobacco manufacturing). Stephen Mitchell also inherited wealth from a father who was present in colonial Virginia. Two were gifted by individuals whose fortunes were apparently established in colonial America: Rev. Andrew Bell of Egmore (1753-1832) and Reverend James Stuart (1743-c.1805). Case studies are provided for all in Appendix 2, explaining the provenance of wealth.

Assessing Proportion of 'Slavery Derived Wealth'

Assessing to what extent Atlantic slavery contributed to an individual's wealth, however, is problematic. For some of these individuals, such as James Ewing, West India commerce

provided the initial means to wealth, which was then diversified into ancillary manufacturing industries. Similarly, James Buchanan was a West India merchant early in life, but diversified with an international portfolio of high-return investments, such as shares in railways. Colonial merchants such as John Leitch held interests in West India merchant firms on death (in 1805), before plantation slavery was abolished in the West Indies. Cecilia Douglas inherited wealth from a planter husband, retained possession of a St Vincent estate and enslaved people and was awarded compensation in 1834. Whilst is possible that some of the wealth came from other sources, Atlantic commerce and slavery was the principal determinant in the accumulation of personal wealth, and thus was formed at least some part of the gifts and bequests in life and death.

Stephen Mitchell inherited wealth from his father who was enmeshed in Atlantic commerce – including as resident in colonial Virginia - as well taking over a tobacco manufacturing business dependent upon imports of produce grown almost exclusively by enslaved people. But there are next to no available records to quantify this, or to show the specificity of these relationships, beyond tracing the family's association with American slavery and identifying there was a consistent rise in fortunes before 1865. However, by the time of death, the wealth was invested in multiple domestic concerns (such as railways) with no connection to Atlantic commerce. These investments in non-slavery related concerns may even have been the most profitable investments across his life, although his fortune was grounded in slavery economics.

Estimating the contribution of slavery derived wealth in inheritances is an even more complex task. James Alexander inherited from a father who was a West India merchant, and took over a business that was initially connected with plantation slavery in Jamaica in 1834. It evolved into thread manufacturing which might even have been supplied with cotton grown by enslaved people. Aikenhead House and Pollok House were once owned by those involved with Caribbean slavery (John Gordon of Aikenhead) and direct descendants (William Stirling Maxwell) although it is impossible to state how much this initial wealth improved the residences, if at all. Moreover, both were gifted in the 20th century, long after emancipation.

Contemporary estimates of the value of some of these gifts and bequests underline they were of major significance. As Table 2 shows, the Town Council, Magistrates and Corporation of Glasgow managed wealth donated by individuals connected to the Atlantic slavery economies equivalent to hundreds of millions of pounds in modern values. It should be underlined the three values are simply included as an estimation of scale; the three values based on 'average prices' (RPG; £5.4m, 2020 values), 'averages wages' (WIG; £84.1m, 2020

values) and compared to GDP (ROW; £322m, 2020 values) all have equal validity. Moreover, these are listed as examples of bequests from individuals who had some form of connection to Atlantic slavery; it may not have been the principal source of wealth.

The interpretation and reporting of these estimates should be treated very carefully indeed. The modern comparisons of the value of these gifts and bequests, however, do underline how significant they were at the time; those connected with Atlantic slavery gifted and bequeathed major sums for the benefit of the city and its institutions.

Table 2: Values of Gifts, Mortifications, Bequests managed by the Town Council with connections to Atlantic slavery (2020 Values)

Title	Value	Established	RPG	WIG	ROW
Aikenhead House (King's Park)	n/a	1930-4			
Alexander's Charity	£10,000	1847	£934,000	£8,180,000	£34,400,000
Bell's Trust	£10,000	1832	£950,000	£8,840,000	£47,700,000
Blind Asylum	£5,000	1823	£463,000	£4,740,000	£25,400,000
Buchanan's Bequest	£30,000	1857	£2,930,000	£23,200,000	£84,600,000
Coulter's Mortification	£1,200	1788	£155,000	£1,920,000	£14,700,000
Coulter's Mortification (Invention)	£200	1788	£25,800	£320,000	£2,460,000
Douglas Bequest	n/a	1862			
Ewing's Medal	£21	1822	£1,960	£20,200	£112,000
Leadbetter's Bursaries	n/a	1853			
Mitchell bequest (Mitchell Library)	£66,998	1874	£6,360,00	£36,400,000	£110,000,000
Pollok House	n/a	1966			
Stewart's Bursaries	£603	1810	£43,700	£541,000	£2,740,000
		Totals (£ stg.)	£5,475,700	£84,161,200	£322,112,000

Sources: Appendix 2 - Bequests, Gifts, Mortifications

The Role of the Town Council

As noted above, the Magistrates and Town Council of Glasgow, and the Glasgow Corporation, had a legal role as trustee, patron or administrator of donations gifted from private individuals.[126] Moreover, the Magistrates and Town Council of Glasgow also managed bursaries for the University of Glasgow.[127] In the 1820s, the Town Council had responsibility for, amongst other properties, the Grammar School of Glasgow (now The High School of Glasgow), explaining why it managed the dissemination of Ewing's Medal.[128] At

[126] Strang, *Bursaries, Schools, Mortifications and Bequests*.
[127] *Account of Bursaries in the University of Glasgow and of Other Mortifications Under the Management of the Magistrates and Town Council of Glasgow,* (Drawn Up by the Town Clerks, 1792)
[128] Strang, *Bursaries, Schools, Mortifications and Bequests*, p.79; James Cleland, Thomas Muir, James Cleland Burns, *The History of the High School of Glasgow,* (Glasgow, 1878), p.23; Irene Maver, 'Glasgow's Civic Government', in *Glasgow, Volume II, 1830-1912,* ed. by W. Hamish Fraser and Irene Maver, (Manchester,

least one – Bell's Trust – was intended for educational purposes and was ultimately disseminated through Kirk sessions. The Town Council, therefore, took on a legal role to disseminate funds amongst these institutions on an annual basis. Most of the donated wealth by value was intended for capital projects and resulted in the establishment of major institutions in the city (Alexander's Charity School; Blind Asylum; Buchanan's Institute; the Mitchell Library). In this sense, the Town Council and corporation was vested with a role of trustee, ensuring funds were used by institutions for the greater good of the city of Glasgow, its institutions, and people.

1996), p.447; 'Our History', Available: https://www.highschoolofglasgow.co.uk/the-high-school-experience/our-history Accessed: 19 January 2022.

Buildings

This section surveyed buildings in Glasgow with connections to the Atlantic slave economy, compiling several case studies of historic country houses and properties in urban space. Dozens of landed estates, many of which were owned by colonial merchants and enslavers, were once located in and around what is now considered Glasgow. John Guthrie Smith and John Oswald Mitchell's antiquarian text *The Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry,* (Glasgow, 1870 and 1878 editions) surveyed the landed estates in and around Glasgow towards the end of the nineteenth century.[129]

This section, therefore, began with an examination of the 100 buildings in the 1870/1878 editions, examining what buildings were a) within the boundaries of modern Glasgow, b) remained extant, and c) their owners had a connection to the Atlantic slave economy. Whilst the work was titled *The Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry,* only around a third (64) were within what is recognised as the boundaries of modern Glasgow. Some buildings just outside Glasgow would have been of interest, such as Greenbank House in East Renfrewshire, which has well-known connections to the Atlantic slave economy.[130] After applying geographical parameters, the sixty-four historic Glasgow mansions were entered into *Historic Environment Scotland* portal which confirmed eight that remain extant today.[131] Comparison with Scotland's Registers of Sasines which recorded all transfers of land for relevant counties (Barony, Renfrewshire, Lanarkshire) often confirmed date of purchase, and owners.[132] Within this group of eight extant country houses, five were connected to the Atlantic slavery economy with another 'possible' connection (see Appendix 3).

At least one of these historic mansions was built by a West India merchant. Scotland's Register of Sasines confirm Glasgow merchant Colin Campbell seised 'Hagthornhill' on 29 April 1822 via disposal by trustees of Alexander Campbell of Hallyards.[133] After purchasing the estate, he 'immediately built a house upon it', and renamed it 'The Lynn'.[134] Aikenhead

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[129] John Guthrie Smith, John Oswald Mitchell, *The Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry,* (Glasgow, 1878).
[130] Jennifer Melville, *Facing Our Past Report*, (National Trust for Scotland, 2021), p.30.
[131] *Historic Environment Scotland Portal,* Available: http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/search Accessed: 7 January 2022. These are Aikenhead House; Auldhouse (now Auldhouse Court); Cathkin House; Haggs Castle; The Lynn (Linn House); Pollok House; Tollcross House; Wellshot House.
[132] Those surveyed include Glasgow City Archives, Abridgements of Sasines, GCA T-SA 5/1 Glasgow (Barony and Regality), (vol. 1, 1781-1808; vol. 2, 1809-1820; vol. 3, 1821-1830, vol. 4, 1831-1840); GCA T-SA 6/1 Lanarkshire, (vol. 1, 1781-1820; vol. 2, 1821-1830; vol. 3, 1831-1840); GCA T-SA 7/1 Renfrewshire, (vol. 1, 1781-1807; vol. 2, 1807-1820; vol. 3, 1821-1830; vol. 4, 1831-1840).
[133] GCA, T-SA 7/1/3, Renfrewshire, 1821-30, sasine 734.
[134] Smith and Mitchell, *Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry,* 'The Lynn'.

house was certainly owned by West India merchant John Gordon, although sasines suggest the construction of the building preceded his ownership. Nevertheless, it seems that he later improved the building, which was ultimately gifted to Glasgow City Council in 1930-4.[135] Similarly, Cathkin House was owned by Humphry Ewing Maclae, a Jamaica enslaver, from around 1814 until 1860. Pollok House was owned by the Maxwell family, passing to Sir William Stirling Maxwell (1818-1878), who inherited his father's interests in 1847. His father, Archibald Stirling of Keir (1768-1847) was a major Jamaica planter, and further research is required to what extent this wealth contributed to Pollok House. Haggs Castle was also owned by the Maxwell's of Nether Pollok, and they had some connections to the transatlantic slavery economy in the mid-18th century, although it is difficult to trace how much of this wealth, if any, contributed to the redevelopment of Haggs Castle after 1860. Tollcross estate was built in 1848, for the Dunlops of Garnkirk. They had considerable interests in tobacco commerce, although the firm, Colin Dunlop & Sons, faced bankruptcy in 1793. James Dunlop diversified into profitable mineral extraction, and it seems likely this was the main source of wealth, rather than Atlantic commerce, although the possibility of slavery influencing the family fortune cannot be discounted. [136]

There six urban buildings with connections to Atlantic slavery that remain in existence in Glasgow. The Cunninghame Mansion (now at the core of the Gallery of Modern Art) and Tobacco Merchant's House at 42 Miller Street are well known. The Merchants House of Glasgow were recipients of slavery-derived wealth on the death of James Ewing of Strathleven in 1853, although this building was not constructed for another twenty years. Buchanan's Institute was established from the bequest of West India merchant, James Buchanan (although the building itself was purchased by the City of Glasgow). The Mitchell Library developed from a major bequest by tobacco manufacturer, Stephen Mitchell. Colonial merchants frequented churches such as St Andrew's by the Green and St. George's Parish Church. Publicly available sources suggest slavery-derived wealth contributed to the development, at last in part, to other buildings: Camphill House (built for cotton manufacturer Robert Thomson junior after 1800), Glasgow Academy (established in 1845) as well as extant tobacco and cotton infrastructure listed on Historic Environment Scotland's Canmore site which will require detailed research. Overall, whilst modern Glasgow has been famously described as one of the great Victorian cities in Great Britain, there remains a

[135] *King's Park History,* Available: https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=31494&p=0 Accessed: 30 November 2021.
[136] GCA T-SA 5/1 Glasgow (Barony and Regality), (vol. 1, 1781-1808), sasine 1370, 3340.

scattering of buildings from the Georgian era, and some of this built heritage preserves the legacies of Atlantic slavery.

City Chambers: A Case Study

The architectural symbolism of Glasgow City Chambers serves as a permanent reminder of the city's colonial past. The triangular façade on the front of the building – the Jubilee Pediment – is testament to the British Empire. The main figure of Queen Victoria is supported by figures representing Scotland, Ireland, England and Wales. The positioning of several figures was intended to symbolise the nature of the relationship between metropole and colony. Indigenous people represent Canada, whilst settler colonists appear for Australia and New Zealand. India is also represented, whilst, as reported in the *Glasgow Herald* at the time, Africa is symbolised by a 'white man having his arm around the neck of a negro'. Above the Jubilee Pediment, three figures symbolise Truth, Riches and Honour, presumably values then associated with the British Empire.[137]

Perhaps this imagery prompted questions about the sourcing of the finance for the building, although the New Municipal Buildings of Glasgow (now known as the 'City Chambers') were built long after plantation slavery was abolished in the British West Indies. The foundations stone was laid on 6 October 1883, and Queen Victoria formally opened the building in August 1888. As per a statement of 31 January 1889, the final cost of the New Municipal Buildings was £522,472.[138] Finance for the build was acquired from a variety of sources; the sale of existing assets, contribution from public trusts, as well as long and short-term borrowing (which was ultimately repaid from municipal revenue).

As there were 'no suitable premises for conducting the municipal business of the Corporation' in the late nineteenth-century, the Glasgow Municipal Buildings Act (1878) legislated for funding, purchasing land and the construction of new buildings. The act noted that 'the total sum expended' on the Glasgow Municipal Buildings was to be apportioned between two sources:

1) The city of Glasgow should bear *exclusively* [my italics] the proportion of such expenditure applicable to the accommodation to be afforded to the Corporation for purposes purely municipal, credit being allowed to the Corporation for the value of the accommodation formerly given to them and thereafter to be given to the sheriff court and justice of peace court and the officials of those courts.

2) The City of Glasgow and the Lower Ward of the county, including the Royal Burgh of Rutherglen, should bear the remainder of said expenditure according to their several valuations, the same being applicable to the increased accommodation for the sheriff courts, the justice of the peace court, and their several officials.

[137] 'The New Municipal Buildings', *The Glasgow Herald,* 31 August 1889, p.4.
[138] Glasgow City Archives [GCA], D-TC 6/31 'Papers relating to the New Glasgow Municipal Buildings, 1884-5, Vol.2: Abstract Statement of Cost', 31 January 1889, ff.108-9.

The city of Glasgow finance was principally derived from the current income of the municipality - assessed at £988,000 per annum in 1878 - as well contributions from public trusts who would make use of the buildings, water commissioners, gas trustees, and park trustees. The 1878 Act also enabled other forms of income generation. Article 26 allowed for the sale of the Galleries of Art and Corporation Halls in Sauchiehall Street, whilst articles 33-36 allowed for longer term borrowing (via mortgage) and short-term borrowing (via cash credits) of up to £400,000.[139]

The disposal of existing properties, as well as contributions from new tenants, provided major streams of income to fund construction. The sale of the Old Chambers, the Water Office and Gas Office realised £70,000. Contributions from statutory departments who would go onto use the new building (including Gas, Police and Parks) realised a further £195,000.[140] The remainder (up to £300,000) was borrowed. Minutes of the 'Committee on New Municipal Buildings' reveals the short and long-term credit utilised for the work. Borrowing on mortgage likely provided the major source: by 1883, over 110 mortgages had been taken. The list of mortgage creditors does not seem to have survived although this level of finance could only have been provided by banks.[141] Shorter-term cash credits (analogous to modern overdrafts) were opened with the Royal Bank and the British Linen Bank, who both 'expressed their willingness' to provide accounts of £50,000 in June 1879.[142] The latter bank's origins lay in the Scottish-Atlantic textile industry. The bank's predecessor, the British Linen Company, provided financial support that 'underpinned the activities of many linen manufacturers' in eighteenth-century Scotland. These manufacturers exported their finished textiles to the West Indies in general and Jamaica in particular.[143] Whilst it is certain that some of the British Linen Company's capital before 1834 was generated from manufacturers exporting textiles to the Caribbean, the proportion loaned to the City Chambers by the 1880s, if any, was many times removed from chattel slavery (both geographically and chronologically) making it practically impossible to quantify.

[139] GCA D-TC 6/31, 'Papers relating to the New Glasgow Municipal Buildings, 1883, Vol.1: Glasgow Municipal Buildings Act, 1878', f.3.
[140] GCA, D-TC 6/31 'Papers relating to the New Glasgow Municipal Buildings, 1884-5, Vol.2', Capital Account, 1890, ff.184-5.
[141] GCA D-TC 6/31, 'Papers relating to the New Glasgow Municipal Buildings, 1883, Vol.1', n.p., 6 December 1883.
[142] GCA D-TC 6/31, 'Papers relating to the New Glasgow Municipal Buildings, 1883, Vol.1', 4 June 1879.
[143] Alasdair Durie (ed.), *The British Linen Company, 1745-1775,* (Edinburgh, 1996), p.6.

Smaller ad-hoc borrowing from local institutions made up shortfalls for specific activities, such as meeting payments to architects and tradesmen. A sample of these transactions - totalling £82,000 between 1884 and 1887 - suggests the Corporation were the main creditors.[144] In early September 1887, with borrowing powers of up to £400,000 granted under the Municipal Buildings Act (1878) exhausted, the Municipal Building Committee applied to Parliament to additional borrowing powers. A memorandum by the Town Clerk in October 1887 increased borrowing powers by a further £200,000.[145] Glasgow Corporation immediately loaned the Municipal Buildings Committee £80,000.[146] The New Municipal Buildings of Glasgow was formally opened soon thereafter in August 1888. In theory, there remains the possibility that capital derived from plantation slavery before 1834 could have contributed to the City Chambers development (banks might have accrued initial capital from the Atlantic slave economy, or the tax-payers who later paid rates inherited wealth from forebears with colonial interests) but the degrees of separation means this is impossible to quantify.

The funding strategy for the New Municipal Buildings of Glasgow differs entirely from the University of Glasgow's public campaign to raise capital in 1866-1870. There are obvious reasons for this. The University of Glasgow had a relatively small annual budget of £12,000 in the 1860s, and had always relied upon, amongst other sources, gifts from former and current staff, students and public notables as sources of income.[147] By contrast, in the 1880s, Glasgow Corporation had an enormous annual municipal income which facilitated both short and long-term borrowing from a diversity of sources. As repayments could be met from tax income over many years, there was simply no requirement to encourage wider public subscriptions. Indeed, this strategy attracted public criticism at the time. Writing under the pseudonym, one anonymous correspondent, 'Burgess', wrote to the *Herald* newspaper:

> Will our Council not have some respect to the claims of all classes to be relieved from undue taxation, rather than injure and insult them by extravagant expenditure in such a form and at such time as this. Let them by all means enjoy their grand

[144] GCA D-TC 6/31 'Papers relating to the New Glasgow Municipal Buildings, 1884-5, Vol.2'. See: Corporation, £6,500 on 20 Nov. 1884, f.1; Corporation, £9,000 on 18 December 1884, f.2; Corporation Loans Fund Committee, £6,000 on 21 August 1885, f.6; Market Commissioners, £6,000 in October 1885, f.7; Parks Trustees, £7,500 and Police Authorities, £10,000 both repaid on 12 May 1886, f.14; City Improvement Trust, £20,000 on 4 June 1886, f.15; Municipal Buildings Department £12,000 on 19 November 1886, f.19; Municipal Buildings Department, £5,000 on 28 January 1887, f.22.
[145] GCA D-TC 6/31 'Papers relating to the New Glasgow Municipal Buildings, 1884-5, Vol.2', f.39, ff.44-46, f.49.
[146] GCA D-TC 6/31 'Papers relating to the New Glasgow Municipal Buildings, 1884-5, Vol.2'. Corporation, £30,000 on 17 November 1887, f.51; Municipal Buildings Committee, £30,000 on 18 November 1887, f.52.
[147] M.S. Moss, J. Munro, R. Trainor, *University, City and State - The University of Glasgow since 1870*, (Edinburgh, 2001), pp.29-36.

> conceptions if they can pay for it themselves; but let them well consider before they burden the city with rating, which can be well avoided, when inability to provide the ordinary necessaries of life is easily gauged by the dull trade that has prevailed so long and still prevails…[if] our Council leads us into the expense beyond what that half million will provide they will deserve what I am pretty sure they will get when the citizens are called upon to pay.[148]

Finance for the City Chambers ultimately came from Glasgow's tax-payers themselves, but was also sourced from the sale of existing assets, contribution from public trusts, as well as long and short-term borrowing (and repaid from municipal revenue).

[148] 'Municipal Buildings', *Glasgow Herald*, 3 February 1881, p.2.

Monuments and Statues

Public sculpture has been erected in Glasgow from the medieval period, although the earliest surviving pieces are the twin statues of George and Thomas Hutcheson erected *c*.1649.[149] Whilst there are many dozens of sculptures, the work of Ray McKenzie suggests there are less than ninety public representations of individuals in the city of Glasgow (not including tombs in the Necropolis) who lived during the period under examination, c.1603-1838. Given the focus of this study, some can be immediately discounted. Five statues of three individuals (Shakespeare, George and Thomas Hutcheson) died before c.1640, the period when chattel slavery was first codified. A further two individuals with statues were born in the 20th century (La Passionaria and Sir David Cuthbertson). Individuals with famous life stories (worthy of including in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*) and with no known connection to slavery can also be discounted (composers Mozart and Beethoven, chemist Joseph Lister, Florence Nightingale, Lord Kelvin, Sir William Macewen).

Given the public interest in Scotland's national bard, Robert Burns, and wider cultural significance of his story (as well as his statue in George Square), it is necessary to clarify that he was not present in a slavery society, nor had any known connection to Atlantic commerce. Although he is commonly associated with Jamaica, which was a slavery society, Robert Burns did not cross the Atlantic. There is no doubt that Burns *intended* to go to Jamaica in 1786 – in his own words, to work as a 'poor negro driver' on Ayr Mount estate in Portland – but he had to raise the cost of the passage himself. He published a collection of poems on 31 July 1786 - that became known as the Kilmarnock Edition – which was critically acclaimed, albeit not as commercially successful as his later work. In his own words, Burns 'pocketed, all expenses deducted, nearly twenty pounds' which covered the passage (£9 9s) aboard the *Nancy* from Greenock to Savanna-la-Mar in Jamaica on 10 August 1786 although, of course, he did not board.[150] He booked two further tickets for Jamaica that September and December but Burns remained in Scotland to chase the literary dream in Edinburgh where a subsequent print run of his work (the Edinburgh Edition, published in April 1787) earned him £700.[151] Whilst Burns *intended* to go to Jamaica and his moral values - or lack thereof - will continue

[149] Ray McKenzie, *Public Sculpture of Glasgow* (Liverpool, 2002), p.xii.
[150] For Burns' correspondence on abandoned sojourn, see letter to Dr John Moore in August 1787 in J. Logie Robertson (ed.), *The Letters of Robert Burns.* Available: https://www.gutenberg.org/files/9863/9863-h/9863-h.htm Accessed: 25 January 2022.
[151] For context see Gerard Carruthers, 'Robert Burns and slavery', *Drouth*, 26, (2007), pp.21-26; Nigel Leask, *Robert Burns and Pastoral: Poetry and Improvement in Late Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, (Oxford, 2010); Michael Morris, *Scotland and the Caribbean, c.1740-1833: Atlantic Archipelagos* (London, 2015); Clark McGinn, 'The Scotch Bard and 'The Planting Line': New Documents on Burns and Jamaica', *Studies in Scottish Literature,* 43/2, pp.255–266.

to generate debate, this study is concerned with those individuals who were verifiably involved with chattel slavery. Beyond the imagination, Robert Burns was not complicit with chattel slavery in any tangible way. He is the most famous Scot in history not to be involved with Caribbean slavery.

Research on the remainder identifies eight individuals commemorated across multiple monuments and other representations across Glasgow (see Appendix 4). Some have direct connections to Africa trafficking. As noted by historian William Pettigrew and was reported in *The Times* newspaper in June 2020, King William (monument near Cathedral Square) was a shareholder in the Royal African Company (although William seems to have utilised the RAC for imperial power, rather than as a profit generating exercise).[152] James Watt, the famous improver of the steam engine, (a monument and other representations) was involved with colonial commerce in Glasgow in the 1750s and 1760s, including the trafficking of a Black child named only as Frederick.

Others inherited slavery-derived wealth and promoted the interests of enslavers in the British Parliament. MPs William Ewart Gladstone and James Oswald inherited wealth from forebears with major connections to the Atlantic slavery economy. In different ways, Gladstone and Oswald (as well as Robert Peel junior) supported the interests of enslavers in Parliament, although Oswald (at least nominally) supported the end of the Apprenticeship scheme, by signing a public petition in 1836. John Moore and Colin Campbell (both George Square) were in the British army, with identifiable roles in upholding the system of chattel slavery in colonies of the British West Indies. David Livingstone, famous missionary explorer, was employed in Blantyre Mill, owned by Henry Monteith, who was in a partnership with two Glasgow-West India merchants in the 1810s. Blantyre Mill paid relatively high wages to its workforce; including Livingstone from 1823 and especially after 1832 when he was promoted to a cotton-spinner which funded his education.

It seems surprising that none of Glasgow's most famous colonial merchants are represented in the city's civic space. There is no evidence that any 'tobacco lords' or 'sugar aristocracy' were commemorated in monuments or statues (although there are interior marble busts of West India merchants James Ewing and James Buchanan in the Merchants House, which were on display until recently).[153] Perhaps this lack of direct commemoration has been another factor why the city of Glasgow's historic connections with Atlantic slavery did not

[152] William Pettigrew, *Freedom's Debt: The Royal African Company and the Politics of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1672-1752,* (North Carolina, U.S., 2016), p.138.
[153] McKenzie, *Public Sculpture,* p.195.

attract more public interest until after 2000. Whilst the statue in Bristol of Edward Colston, a trafficker of enslaved people, has attracted public interest since the 1990s and arguably underpinned the city's civic conversations around the acknowledgement of slavery, this remained absent in Glasgow (with the debates centred around street names). Edward Colston was commemorated in statuary form to celebrate his philanthropic activities. There were similar benefactors in Glasgow – such as James Ewing of Strathleven - whose wealth was derived from slavery. But there was no similar statuary commemoration, although the provenance of the wealth of the multiple Ewing bequests has gradually come into focus after c.2010.

Street names and other areas

Glasgow street names continue to attract popular interest and media attention, no doubt as they act as a constant reminder of the city and its residents' historic connections with Atlantic slavery.[154] In the summer of 2020, one media outlet directly linked 18 Glasgow's streets with Atlantic slavery.[155]

Problems

Attempting a systematic analysis of these streets presents methodological issues. First, there are issues related to scale. The city of Glasgow and its boundaries have undergone a dramatic urban expansion since the slavery era. As noted by the chronicler of Glasgow's streets Hugh Macintosh, 'until 1750 there were only 13 streets in Glasgow' [Bell Street, Bridgegate Street, Candleriggs Street, Canon Street, Drygate Street, Gallowgate Street, High Street, King Street, Princes Street, Rottenrow Street, Saltmarket Street, Stockwell Street, Trongate Street]. By 1902, there were 2,100 streets (and more squares, quadrants and parades).[156] In 2021, Ordinance Survey data records over 6,100 streets in Glasgow.[157]

Second, the motives behind the naming practices of many streets in Greater Glasgow will never be confirmed, since they were titled by private citizens in what was an often haphazard process. In 1892, for example, there were so many streets of the same name in Greater Glasgow, the system was ridiculed in the popular press. The naming process consisted of new proprietors recommending titles for their property to the Police board, which was the only opportunity to prevent repetition - often without success.[158] The 'Place Names Committee of the St Andrew Society (Glasgow)' which sat in 1913 noted the 'numberless duplications of names which cannot but lead to confusion'.[159] Given the remarkable growth in Glasgow's urban streetscape in a short period, perhaps this was to be expected. There is no definitive record of when, why, or how Glasgow's streets were initially named, changed, or removed. Some have clearly passed into popular usage, others have been named after prominent residents who once lived there. Some were named after prominent

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[154] For example, 'Glasgow 'slaver' streets renamed by anti-racist campaigners', *The Guardian,* 6 June 2020. Available: https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/jun/06/glasgow-slaver-streets-renamed-by-anti-racist-campaigners Accessed: 9 October 2021.
[155] Craig Williams, 'Every Glasgow street name linked directly to slavery', *Glasgow Live,* 7 June 2020. Available: https://www.glasgowlive.co.uk/news/history/glasgow-history-slavery-street-names-18369259
[156] Hugh Macintosh, *The Origin and History of Glasgow Streets*, (1902), p.vi.
[157] Ordnance Survey Open Data shows 6193 streets in Glasgow. Available: https://www.maps-streetview.com/United-Kingdom/Glasgow/streets.php Accessed:
[158] 'Glasgow Street Names', *Glasgow Evening Post,* 3 March 1892, p.2.
[159] 'Names of Glasgow Streets', *The Scotsman,* 26 November 1913, p.8.

buildings that once stood there, such as mansions, or are derived from nearby streets or landmarks such as canals. As one account of Glasgow's streets noted, quite often 'street names have conflicting explanations as to their origin'.[160] It must be underlined that empirical evidence does not exist to definitively establish the provenance of many street names and in some cases the evidence that does exists is tenuous. However, a comprehensive method of cross-referencing antiquarian sources with cartographic evidence and land records outlines many more streets and areas of Glasgow have connections to the Atlantic slavery economy than has previously been understood.

Approach

This report is based upon a survey over 3,450 of Glasgow's streets, quadrants, and parades which are recorded in Glasgow City Archives index of street names (which records all those extant in 1902).[161] This began with a basic analysis what and who each street was named after. Of known origins of streets, 936 were named after people, 432 after Scottish place names, and 105 after English place names. Of the 936 streets named after people, they commemorated, for example, British aristocracy and gentry (216) Royalty (125), Glasgow citizens (115) and British politicians (66) and over twenty historic battles. Other historic streets commemorated Glasgow's connections with the Atlantic world and chattel slavery. However, some that would have been of interest to this study are no longer in existence. Antigua Place and Antigua Court (near Nelson Street) were established in late 18th century by James Miller, a West India merchant, who named them after the colony which was the focus on his firm's trade. City Improvement commissioners opted to rebuild the thoroughfare and these landmarks were demolished in early 1900s.[162] 'Black Boy Close' was named after 'Black Boy tavern' near the Gallowgate, which was likely a nod to the eighteenth-century practice of using Black male children as page boys in large houses.[163]

Although technically outside the scope of this study (to examine connections to Atlantic slavery), one street in Glasgow commemorates an abolitionist. Fox Street was named after Whig politician Charles James Fox (1749 – 1806), a parliamentary campaigner who supported abolition in the 1790s.[164] Fox was a close ally of William Wilberforce and was

[160] Carol Foreman, *Glasgow Street Names*, New Edn. (Birlinn, 2007), p.viii.
[161] Glasgow City Archives [GCA]: LK5/40, 'Glasgow Streets, A-B', Volume 1; LK5/41 'Glasgow Streets, C-D', Volume 2; LK5/42, 'Glasgow Streets, E-I', Volume 3; LK5/43 'Glasgow Streets, J-M' , Volume 4; LK5/44, 'Glasgow Streets, N-R' , Volume 5; LK5/45, 'Glasgow Streets, S-Y' , Volume 6.
[162] GCA LK5/44, 'Glasgow Streets, N-R' , Volume 5; p.1434.
[163] GCA LK5/40, 'Glasgow Streets, A-B', Volume 1, p.248.
[164] GCA, LK5/42, 'Glasgow Streets, E-I', Volume 3, p.786.

widely recognised for his parliamentary efforts. At a meeting on 5 April 1792, the 'London Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade' thanked William Wilberforce, William Pitt and Charles James Fox for their parliamentary contributions - although abolition was not enacted until 1807.[165]

There are many more streets connected to Atlantic slavery, although some modern streets with ostensibly colonial connections can be discounted. It has been commonly assumed that St Vincent Street in Glasgow city centre was named after the colony of the same name in the British West Indies which was subsumed into the British Empire in 1763. However, Macintosh notes St Vincent Street was named 'to commemorate victory of Sir John Jervis 1797, off Cape St Vincent'.[166] The street is therefore named after a naval battle near Portugal which marked the opening of the Anglo-Spanish War (1796–1808). St Vincent Street and St Vincent Street West opened soon afterwards in 1804 and 1809 respectively (almost a half-century after the ceding of St Vincent in the British West Indies).[167] The 'Place Names Committee of the St Andrew Society (Glasgow)' which sat in 1913 confirmed the street was named after a 'great national event…the battle of St Vincent'.[168] Even after discounting such examples, the historic streets of interest which remains extant today outlines that Glasgow's historic connections with Atlantic slavery are present via street names and locations in a far more substantial fashion than has previously been understood.

Findings

As Table 3 shows, 62 Glasgow streets and locations have a 'direct' or 'associational' connections to Atlantic slavery. In this instance, 'direct' refers to the direct commemoration of an individual with a 'connection' to Atlantic slavery (such as Glassford Street named after 'tobacco lord' John Glassford). These include financial and commercial connections to either Atlantic commerce, or ownership of enslaved people. A street or area's 'associational' connection means that street or area has some association with Atlantic slavery or merchants in abstract. For example, there are eighteen areas or streets in Glasgow today that have their provenance in landed estates owned by colonial merchants at some point (see Appendix 5 for more details). Whilst these areas do not directly commemorate the individual concerned, the area was once owned and usually improved by someone wealthy from the proceeds of

[165] British Library [BL], Add. MS. 21256 (Proceedings of the Committee for Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1790–1819), 5 April 1792, fol. 54.
[166] Macintosh, *Origin and History,* p.44.
[167] James Cleland, *Statistical Tables Relative to the City of Glasgow,* 3rd edn., (Glasgow, 1823), pp.192-5.
[168] 'Names of Glasgow Streets', *The Scotsman,* 26 November 1913, p.8.

slavery, establishing the zone as a prominent and permanent space in the city's urban landscape.

Table 3: Existing Glasgow streets and areas with slavery connections

Named After	'Direct'	'Associational'	Total
Anti-Abolitionist	4		4
Colonial & Absentee Planter/Enslaver	6		6
Colonial merchants		1	1
Colonial zone (America)	4		4
Colonial zone (West Indies)	3		3
Cotton merchant/manufacturer	4		4
Military	2		2
Navy	3		3
Pro-slavery propagandist/politician	6		6
Titles of landed estates		18	18
Trafficker in Black people	1		1
Virginia merchant	6		6
West India merchant	4		4
	43	19	62

Source: see Appendix 5 - Streets (Extant, with connections to Atlantic Slavery).

As noted in Table 3, this section identified individuals with broad slavery 'connections'; covering a trafficker in a Black child, planters/owners of enslaved people (both resident in Great Britain and the colonies), colonial merchants who facilitated the maritime trades between the Scotland and the colonies (differentiated as Virginia and West India merchants), merchants and manufacturers of cotton products, as well as those who supported the continuation of slavery; either in the imperial infrastructure (military, navy, colonial governance) or pro-slavery propagandists and politicians.

As outlined in Appendix 5, Glasgow's street names mainly reflect the city's residents historic involvement with Atlantic slavery economies. As is already known, Glasgow's large-scale connections with mercantile commerce with North America and the British West Indies are prominently represented in the city's streetscape. There is only one known example of a street named after a trafficker in Black people (James Watt Street). Atlantic merchants feature more prominently. The names Buchanan, Glassford, Ingram, Cochrane, Speirs are synonymous with Glasgow, Atlantic slavery and tobacco, and are commemorated in city centre streets and Speirs Wharf. It is now apparent that West India merchants are also prominent in Glasgow's streetscape: Gordon Street and Robertson Street being key examples. Cotton merchants and manufacturers are also commemorated: Oswald Street (near the

Broomielaw), Houldsworth Street (Anderson), and Monteith Place and Row (Glasgow Green).

Owners of enslaved people have remained largely uncontroversial in previous debates, although it is now apparent such individuals are also memorialized in Glasgow's urban landscape. Lawrence Dundas (1712 – 1781) was the Governor of the Forth & Clyde Navigation Co. and laid the first sod in 1768. This explains the naming of Port Dundas. Dundashill runs contiguous to Port Dundas, whilst Dundas Street and Dundas Lane appear to be derivatives as they once led to Port Dundas. It is impossible to assess if the subsequent naming was similarly intended to honour Lawrence Dundas, or that they simply mimic the naming of the earlier zone. Either way, there are now four separate Glasgow landmarks that refer directly to an absentee planter and enslaver who owned 'two slave estates in the West Indies - in Dominica and in Grenada' in the 1770s.[169]

McFarlane Street near the Gallowgate opened in 1815, and was named after Alexander MacFarlane (1702-1755) who bequeathed astronomical instruments to Old College (now the University of Glasgow).[170] It has recently come to light that MacFarlane was a resident planter in Jamaica who owned 791 enslaved people when he died.[171] The astronomical instruments gifted to Old College were housed in the Macfarlane Observatory established in 1757. McFarlane street was close to the observatory and St John's Church. Another enslaver is commemorated in the east end. Franklin Street (Bridgeton) is named after Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790), one of America's founding fathers.[172] Whilst famous as an international statesman and diplomat, he was the owner of at least seven enslaved people in his Philadelphia household.[173] This example provides an insight into how industrial developments led private citizens to name new streets. In 1805, Henry Monteith took over the Barrowfield Dye Works and subsequently laid out streets for workers which were named after men 'whose reforms and inventions had supposedly improved the lot of mankind' including Benjamin Franklin and Jean-Baptiste Colbert.[174]

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[169] 'Sir Lawrence Dundas 1st Bart.', *Legacies of British Slavery database*, http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146656113 Accessed 16 October 2021.
[170] Macintosh, *Origin and History*, p.33.
[171] 'Alexander Macfarlane', *Legacies of British Slavery database*, http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146644157 Accessed 6 December 2021.
[172] GCA, LK5/42, 'Glasgow Streets, E-I', Volume 3, p.788.
[173] Gary B. Nash, 'Franklin and Slavery', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* (Dec. 2006), Vol. 150, No. 4 (December 2006), pp. 618-635
[174] Aileen Smart, *Villages of Glasgow: North of the Clyde* (Edinburgh, 2002), p.28. I am grateful to Niall Murphy and Fergus Sutherland for bringing this source to my attention.

Glasgow's streets directly commemorate others who were an integral part of the imperial infrastructure which enabled the imposition and expansion of chattel slavery. Sir Ralph Abercromby (1734 – 1801) (Abercromby Street, Calton) was the Scottish Commander-in-Chief of the Leeward and Windward Islands, responsible for leading an expedition against the French in the West Indies in the 1790s.[175] As well as the takeover of Trinidad, he secured the neighbouring island of Tobago via the use of enslaved African people in West India regiments in 1796.[176] Abercromby Street is located in the Calton, formerly the Barrowfield estate owned by the Orrs, who also owned estates and enslaved people in Tobago (an island with many Scottish planters - see below). Given Abercromby Street runs perpendicular to Tobago Street, the Orrs apparently named new streets in the Calton district after the Scottish imperialist who secured their slavery interests in Tobago. Naval commanders commemorated in a similar fashion across Glasgow include Admiral Nelson, Admiral Vernon and Baron Rodney.

A hitherto unknown aspect of Glasgow's streetscape is the commemoration of notables and politicians who acted as pro-slavery propagandists, sometimes advancing, preserving, or defending the institution of slavery. Colbert Street (Bridgeton) is named after Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683), French statesman and Minister of King Louis XIV of France. The explanation for this naming practice lies in the transformation of the city's suburbs due to the industrial revolution. As noted above, in 1805, Henry Monteith laid out streets for his workers which he named after, among others, Benjamin Franklin and Colbert.[177] Before his death, Jean-Baptiste Colbert provided the inspiration for the *Le Code Noir* (the Black Code) which was ratified in 1685; reforms which regulated the practice of chattel slavery in the French West Indies. The code's sixty articles subsequently controlled the lives of enslaved people, including the order that 'slaves should be baptized and educated in the Catholic faith'.[178]

There are also British examples. Sir Archibald Alison, 1st Bt. (1792–1867) is commemorated in Allison Street (Govanhill).[179] Alison was a pro-slavery propagandist and claimed compensation for enslaved people when slavery was abolished in the British West

[175] David Gates, 'Abercromby, Sir Ralph, of Tullibody (1734–1801), army officer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004); Accessed 11 October 2021.
[176] K.O. Laurence, *Tobago in Wartime, 1793-1815,* (Kingston, 1995), p.83.
[177] Smart, *Villages of Glasgow: North of the Clyde*, p.28.
[178] Kelly Buchanan, 'Slavery in the French Colonies: Le Code Noir (the Black Code) of 1685', Available: https://blogs.loc.gov/law/2011/01/slavery-in-the-french-colonies/ Accessed: 21 October 2021.
[179] Aileen Smart, *Villages of Glasgow: South of the Clyde* (2002), p.106.

Indies in 1834.[180] West Campbell Street in Glasgow is named after Archibald Campbell of Blythswood (c.1763-1838), who owned the Blythswood estate, and feu'd off the lands in the 1820s. He was MP for Glasgow Burghs (1806-9), Elgin Burgh (1812), Perth Burgh (1818-20) and Glasgow Burghs (1820-1831). As Glasgow Burghs MP in the 1820s, he often introduced petitions in the House of Commons at the behest of the pro-slavery Glasgow West India Association.[181] Other politicians have been associated with both the abolitionist movements yet implemented verifiably pro-slavery Government policies at the time. William Pitt the younger (Pitt Street) was named after the British Prime Minister who is often associated in popular works with the cause of abolition during the era of 'gradual abolition' (1792-1807).[182] However, as the historian Roger Buckley has argued, after 1795 the British government, including William Pitt, supported the continuation of the trafficking of African enslaved people in order to improve the British army's military capacity. From early 1795, the British Government advocated the use of enslaved soldiers in West India regiments in the British West Indies. Between 1795 and 1808, around 13,400 Africans were trafficked to the West Indies for use in these regiments as the British Government became the largest single purchaser of enslaved people across this period.[183]

There is a nuanced difference with participation in pro-slavery activities (which William Pitt did, at least temporarily) and anti-abolitionism, in which an individual may not be pro-slavery per se but *were* opposed to the abolition of the 'slave trade' or plantation slavery and influenced key debates. King George III (1738-1820) succeeded to the throne in 1760 and was privately described as an anti-abolitionist during the era of gradual abolition (1792-1807). In the 1750s, the future King surveyed Charles de Montesquieu's text *The Spirit of Laws* (initially published in 1748), making notes that suggested he was privately opposed in theory to the practice of chattel slavery.[184] In practice, however, as later monarch King George III was an influential if secret opponent of the movement to abolish the trafficking in enslaved people during the 'gradual abolition' era. Commentary from Stephen Fuller, agent for Jamaica and anti-abolitionist, suggests the King used his influence to block abolition. In March 1795, Fuller wrote to the Jamaica Committee of Correspondence that the King was a

[180] 'Sir Archibald Alison 1st Bart.', *Legacies of British Slavery database*, http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/46692 Accessed 22 October 2021.
[181] See, for example, *The Times,* 13 May 1823, p.2.
[182] William Hague, *William Pitt the Younger,* (London, 2004), p.292-304.
[183] R. N. Buckley, 'The British army's African recruitment policy, 1790–1807', *Contributions in Black Studies,* 5 (2008), p.4, p.10–11.
[184] Andrew Roberts, *George III: The Life and Reign of Britain's Most Misunderstood Monarch,* (London, 2021), p.29.

'true friend to the colonies' and that they 'owe more to him than is generally known in regard to the defeat the absurd attempt of abolishing the Slave Trade'.[185]

King George III is commemorated in Glasgow in George Square and George Street. It has usually been assumed that Kingston in Glasgow was named after Kingston in Jamaica (established 1693),[186] but there is no evidence of this. Instead, Hugh Macintosh claims that Kingston in Glasgow was named after the then reigning monarch, King George III.[187] Cartographic evidence supports the view, since the zone was titled between 1783 and 1807 – towards the end of his reign – and also contained streets named after close relatives, the Duke of Gloucester and Duke of Clarence (see Appendix 5; Kingston).[188] Kingston, therefore, was a title to celebrate the sitting King. Thus, the city's politicians named Kingston, Glasgow to commemorate the King, George III, in his final years. Presumably, the Kingston Bridge took its name from the already titled area.

Some of the individuals here, such as James Watt, had multiple occupations across his life although he was a verifiable trafficker of an enslaved Black child in the 1760s. Others, such as William Pitt the younger, were temporarily 'pro-slavery' to advance imperial interests at specific points. It should be recognised that for some commemorated in Glasgow's streets, involvement with Atlantic slavery and its continuation might only have been fleeting. On the other hand, this report confirms many examples of Glasgow streets commemorate individuals who were involved with Atlantic commerce and ownership of enslaved people over the long-term. As committed Virginia merchants, profiteering from Atlantic slavery was an everyday feature of life for John Glassford, Archibald Ingram, Andrew Cochrane. Less well-known examples include Alexander MacFarlane, a resident planter in Jamaica, whilst Lawrence Dundas was an absentee of two estates and enslaved people in Grenada and Dominica.

Glasgow's streets also commemorate colonial zones and therefore have an 'associational' connection to Atlantic slavery economics, especially in North America. This was occasionally a legacy of the site of grandiose mansions. As is now well known, one of the city's major tobacco firms in the late 18th century, the Buchanans of Drumpellier, built the

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[185] M. W. McCahill (ed.), *The Correspondence of Stephen Fuller, 1788–1795: Jamaica, the West India interest at Westminster and the campaign to preserve the slave trade* (Chichester, 2014), p.227.
[186] Sophie Law, 'Every street name in Scotland linked to the slave trade', *Daily Record,* 10 June 2020, Available: https://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/news/scottish-news/every-street-name-scotland-linked-22167876 Accessed: 23 December 2021.
[187] GCA, LK5/43 'Glasgow Streets, J-M' , Volume 4, p.1154.
[188] 'Plan of the city of Glasgow : Gorbells and Caltoun from an actual survey by John McArthur, surveyor in Glasgow', (Published according to Act of Parliament Novr. 1st 1778).

Virginia mansion in the 1750s on what is now Virginia Place and Virginia Street. Whilst the mansion was demolished, the name remains as a permanent reminder of the city's Atlantic slavery economics.[189] The Rowan of Bellahouston had connections in 1726 to the premier American tobacco region, Maryland, which likely explains Maryland Drive near Bellahouston Park.[190]

The British West Indies are also represented, most prominently in Jamaica street and Plantation district, but the island of Tobago, a south-eastern Caribbean island ceded to Great Britain in 1763, is also commemorated. There is no definitive record why Glasgow's Tobago street (in the Calton) should be named as such.[191] But this street was on the Orrs landed estate. In 1730, John Orr of Barrowfield (c.1700-1743) purchased the 'land on which Calton was built'.[192] The Orrs later owned estates and enslaved people in Tobago. After 1763, land in newly ceded Tobago was sold off to private speculators who, in turn, transformed the economic potential of the island - thirty-two miles in length and thirteen miles at its widest breadth - by implementing a plantation system dependent upon chattel slave labour and intended to maximise sugar, cocoa and especially cotton production.[193] There was a large-scale Scottish presence on the island afterwards with one Scot, Lachlan Campbell, describing the island in 1776 as a 'Scotch Colony'.[194] France, however, recaptured Tobago in 1793. At this point, there were a small but influential group of absentee Tobago proprietors' resident in Glasgow. Working on behalf of their 'common interest' in November 1796, the town-clerk and commissary of Glasgow, John Orr of Barrowfield (d.1803) – himself owner of Kings Bay estate and enslaved people - lobbied Prime Minister William Pitt and Henry Dundas, the Secretary of State for War, to voice collective opposition to ceding the island back to the French.[195] The island was secured in the late 1790s and cartographic evidence suggests Tobago Street was named after this period alongside Abercromby Street as the Calton village spread westwards from Barrowfield estate.[196]

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[189] North Lanarkshire Council Archives, U1/29/14; 'Interesting Old House in Virginia Street', Glasgow Herald, 18 September 1866, p.3.
[190] Sam Small, *Greater Glasgow: An Illustrated Architectural Guide*, (Edinburgh, 2008), p.198.
[191] GCA, LK5/45, 'Glasgow Streets, S-Y' , Volume 6, p.1915.
[192] Smart, *Villages of Glasgow: North of the Clyde*, p.58.
[193] Laurence, *Tobago in Wartime*, p.1.
[194] The University of the West Indies, Mona, West Indies and Special Collections, 'Papers of Lachlan Campbell, Deputy Provost Marshall Tobago, 1772-1782'.
[195] John Orr appears to have inherited the estates from James Orr, one of the original purchasers of land in Tobago in 1763. In the decade before his death in 1803, he bequeathed the colonial property to his three sisters and Thomas Orr, his natural son. National Records of Scotland, GD51/1/522, 'Letter from John Orr to Henry Dundas', 26 November 1796; J.W. Dickson *et al* (eds)., *The Scottish Jurist,* Vol III. (Edinburgh: Michael Anderson, 1831), p.54.
[196] Peter Fleming, 'Map of the City of Glasgow and suburbs', (Glasgow : s.n., 1807).

There is also a tacit celebration of 'colonial merchants' in Glasgow. The quarter originally known as Glasgow's New Town, which developed after 1711, is now known by the modern title: the 'Merchant City'.[197] Planning officials invoked the descriptor to accentuate its unique identity and City fathers formalized it during the rebranding of Glasgow as European City of Culture in 1990. If the modern title was historically accurate, the city booster approach endorsed a title that tacitly celebrated colonial merchants in civic space. As noted above, the Workers City group, and prominent author James Kelman, seem to have been the lone critical voices around that time.[198]

[197] Andor Gomme and David Walker, *Architecture of Glasgow*, (London, 1968).
[198] James Kelman, *Some Recent Attacks: Essays Cultural and Political,* (Glasgow, 1992), pp.1-2.

Acknowledging Atlantic Slavery in British and International Context

From the mid-1990s, England began to formally recognise its historic connections with both the trafficking in enslaved people and plantation slavery; developing what Ana Lucia Araujo has described as 'slave-trade heritage…[and] cultural tourism'.[199] In the period since, the main English Atlantic ports – London, Liverpool, Bristol, Lancaster – have addressed historic connections with Atlantic slavery, including via formal apologies, the recontextualization of statues, memorials and sites associated with individuals connected to the Atlantic slave economy. There have been international efforts too. Nantes in France has led the way with the 'Memorial to the Abolition of Slavery' which opened in 2012. Cities in the United States of America such as Philadelphia have also developed strategies to address the unacknowledged slavery past of national heroes such as George Washington.

Apologies and 'Statements of Regret'

Between 1999 and 2007, four apologies and one 'statement of regret' were issued by the British Prime Minister, on behalf of devolved nations, cities and/or institutions with historic connections to Atlantic slavery.[200] On 9 December 1999, the city of Liverpool apologised for the city and it's merchants' role in the transatlantic trafficking of African people, and the role in slavery in the Americas. Amongst eight points, the apology read: 'on behalf of the city, the City Council expresses its shame and remorse for the city's role in this trade in human misery. The City Council makes an unreserved apology for its involvement in the slave trade and the continual effects of slavery on Liverpool's Black community'.[201]

On 9 February 2006, The General Synod of the Church of England apologised for its historic role in chattel slavery, including ownership of estates and enslaved people in Barbados via 'The Anglican Church through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel'.[202] Research has since underlined that many Anglican clergymen were major beneficiaries of compensation when plantation slavery was abolished in 1834. In the summer of 2020, the Church of England reiterated their earlier position: 'While we recognise the

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[199] Ana Lucia Araujo, 'The Transnational Memory of Slave Merchants: making the Perpetrators Visible in the Public Space' in Ana Lucia Araujo (ed.), *Politics of Memory: Making Slavery Visible in Public Space*, (New York, 2012), p.25

[200] Gelien Matthews, 'The Caribbean Reparation Movement and British Slavery Apologies: An Appraisal', *Journal of Caribbean History* 51, no. 1 (2017), p.82.

[201] For full transcript, see Mark Christian, 'The Age of Slave Apologies', *National Museums of Liverpool,* Available: https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/transcript-of-age-of-slave-apologies-case-of-liverpool-england Accessed: 15 February 2022.

[202] Matthews, 'British Slavery Apologies', p.88. See also: 'The Church and the legacy of slavery', Available: https://www.churchofengland.org/news-and-media/news-and-statements/church-and-legacy-slavery Accessed: 23 January 2022.

leading role clergy and active members of the Church of England played in securing the abolition of slavery, it is a source of shame that others within the Church actively perpetrated slavery and profited from it'.[203]

Leading up to the bicentennial of the 2007 Wilberforce Act (officially 'An Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade' enacted in 1807), British Prime Minister Tony Blair expressed what has been described as a 'statement of regret' at the nation's historic involvement. In November 2006, PM Blair stated: 'how profoundly shameful the slave trade was - how we condemn its existence utterly and praise those who fought for its abolition, but also to express our deep sorrow that it ever happened'. This has been criticised as a carefully worded non-apology but simultaneously praised by MP David Lammie who claimed Blair went further than any previous 'leader of any western democracy'.[204] There has been an attempt at apologising on behalf of devolved nations. Peter Hain, former Secretary of State for Northern Ireland and Wales, issued an apology on behalf of Northern Ireland and Wales on 7 February 2007. However, the reaction made it clear that Hain was not apologising on behalf of any devolved nation, with some claiming that Ireland had relatively limited national involvement with slavery in any case.[205]

Kenneth Livingstone, former Mayor of London, issued a full slavery apology on behalf of the city on 23 August 2007.[206] This was reported in the national media at the time: 'As mayor I offer an apology on behalf of London and its institutions for their role in the transatlantic slave trade. Some say that recognising such a crime is a form of - and I quote - 'national self hate'. But the late Senator Bobby Kennedy often quoted the French writer Albert Camus who wrote: 'I should like to be able to love my country and still love justice'.[207]

Since 2019, there have been various apologies on behalf of British institutions with antecedents in the era of British slavery. On 23 August 2019, David Duncan, the chief operating officer and secretary of the University of Glasgow addressed the institution's historic connections to slavery, apologising on Channel 4 News: 'We are sorry that that happened and that we benefited in that way, and now we are trying to, if you like, put it right

[203] See 'The Church and the legacy of slavery', Available: https://www.churchofengland.org/news-and-media/news-and-statements/church-and-legacy-slavery Accessed: 23 January 2022.
[204] Matthews, 'British Slavery Apologies', p.89-90; 'Text of Tony Blair's statement on slavery', November 2006, Available: https://historynewsnetwork.org/article/32322 Accessed: 15 February 2022.
[205] Matthews, 'British Slavery Apologies', p.91.
[206] Matthews, 'British Slavery Apologies', pp.92-3.
[207] Hugh Muir, 'Livingstone weeps as he apologises for slavery', *The Guardian,* 24 August 2007, Available: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2007/aug/24/london.humanrights Accessed: 12 January 2022.

and repair that past'.[208] In September 2019, one of the University of Oxford's most prestigious colleges, Balliol, commissioned an investigation into past donations from individuals connected to the trafficking in enslaved people and plantation slavery. In March 2021, Dame Helen Ghosh, master of Balliol, said: 'Of course, looking back on this now we are sorry that we took those donations - whatever might have been in the minds of people who took them at the time'.[209]

In June 2020, the Bank of England apologised for its former directors, many of whom claimed compensation when the British Government abolished plantation slavery in 1834. A spokesperson said: 'There can be no doubt that the 18th and 19th century slave trade was an unacceptable part of English history. As an institution, the Bank of England was never itself directly involved in the slave trade, but is aware of some inexcusable connections involving former governors and directors and apologises for them'. The institution also pledged to remove all statues and paintings of anyone associated with slavery.[210]

British Museums, Built Heritage, Statuary and Commemorative Practices: Renaming and Recontextualization

More tangible efforts have been attempted in the heritage sector, including via museum galleries that address historic slavery connections. London, of course, was the great British imperial metropolis and at one time the leading port for departing voyages that trafficked enslaved people from Africa to the Americas. As late as 2005, London's connections to the Atlantic slave economy were not reflected in 'The Museum of London Docklands' located in east London in a former warehouse that stored sugar; essentially a remnant of the London-West India trades. David Spence, appointed the museum's second director in 2005, worked with the wider community to develop a permanent gallery 'London, Sugar and Slavery'.[211] In 2015, historian Katie Donington's project 'Local Roots / Global Routes: The Legacies of British Slavery' worked in partnership with Hackney Museum and Archives, connecting a 'variety of Hackney-based audiences with the history of transatlantic slavery, abolition and the historic black presence by using a local lens' which included an exhibition, resources for

[208] "Glasgow University first institution to pay slave-trade reparations," *Channel 4,* August 23, 2019, Available: https://www.channel4.com/news/glasgow-university-first-institution-to-pay-slave-trade-reparations

[209] Sian Griffiths, 'Balliol College Oxford apologises for 300 years of taking slavery cash', *The Times,* 21 March 2021, Available: https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/balliol-college-oxford-apologises-for-300-years-of-taking-slavery-cash-cl2f3v7fg Accessed: 16 January 2022.

[210] Jasper Jolly, 'Bank of England apologises for role of former directors in slave trade', *The Guardian,* Available: https://www.theguardian.com/business/2020/jun/18/bank-of-england-apologises-for-role-of-former-directors-in-slave-trade Accessed: 23 January 2022.

[211] David Spence, 'Making the London, Sugar and Slavery Gallery at the Museum of London Docklands', in *Representing Enslavement and Abolition in Museums: Ambiguous Engagements* ed. by L. Smith, G. Cubitt, K. Fouseki, R. Wilson, (London, 2011), pp.149-163.

schoolchildren, archive workshops for adult learners, and programmes for younger learners.[212] Donington's work offers a model of community based engagement to encourage academics, archivists and the general public to interrogate local connections with slavery.

Alongside new approaches to museum practice and representations of slavery in exhibitions, there have been efforts to commemorate London's involvement with chattel slavery. The 'Memorial 2007: Remembering Africans and their Descendants 1807-2007' project was established with the aim of creating a 'permanent memorial to honour of the millions of unnamed enslaved Africans and their descendants whose enforced labour contributed to laying the foundations of the Industrial Revolution and the legacy of economic prosperity from which Britain continues to benefit to this day'.[213] However, as of June 2020, this remained unfinished due to a lack of funding.[214] Black British Heritage commissioned 'The Gilt of Cain' (by Michael Vissochi with poetry by Lemn Sissay) which opened in the City of London in 2008 (see Image 1). This installation takes the form of a series of cylindrical objects which has been interpreted as either sugar canes, or people, reminiscent of a congregation (it is situated in the former churchyard of St Gabriel's Fenchurch Street, frequented by John Newton, former slaver turned abolitionist).[215]

Image 1: 'Gilt of Cain' by Michael Visocchi & Lemn Sissay, Fen Court, City of London. Photograph: Andy Scott. CC-BY-SA-4.0 licence.

[212] Katie Donington, 'Local Roots/Global Routes: Slavery, Memory and Identity in Hackney', in *Britain's history and memory of transatlantic slavery: Local nuances of a national sin,* eds. K. Donington, R. Hanley & J. Moody, (Liverpool, 2015), pp.172-193.
[213] *Memorial 2007: Remembering Africans and their Descendants 1807-2007*, Available: http://www.memorial2007.org.uk/the-project Accessed: 13 February 2022.
[214] Sarah Lee, 'We will not give up on London slavery memorial', *BBC News*, Available: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-52995586 Accessed: 12 February 2022.
[215] Hilda Kean, 'Making Public History: Statues and Memorials', *Public History Review,* 28 (2021), p.3.

Whilst there have been recent attempts at commemoration in London, the deficiencies of existing schemes have been outlined. The 'Blue Plaque' scheme extends to 978 plaques commemorating 1,160 prominent figures. A study by *The Guardian* newspaper in 2021 noted that just 2 percent of plaques commemorated Black people - although a recent plaque was affixed to Schomberg House in Pall Mall, central London, acknowledging noted anti-slavery campaigner Ottobah Cugoano authored one of his most famous works there.[216]

A more critical approach to existing statuary and commemorative practices has evolved in recent times. In 2007, historian Madge Dresser examined London's public statues and monuments, noting that a) many of the city's statues commemorate individuals with historic connections to the Africa trafficking or plantation slavery, b) the statues, memorials and monuments that explicitly refer to the Africa trafficking or plantation slavery 'generally marginalize the experience of enslaved Africans in favour of a self-congratulatory and nationally defensive political agenda'.[217] The presence of those connected with the Atlantic slavery economies in civic space attracted public criticism which brought institutional reactions. As noted by Katie Donington, a statue of Robert Milligan (1746–1809), a Scottish enslaver and West India merchant resident in London, was situated in London West India docks from 1813 (and was re-erected near the Museum of London Dockland in 1997).[218] As early as 2012, Ana Lucia Araujo noted the Museum of London Docklands published materials related to Milligan did not fully convey the full story of his connections to Atlantic slavery.[219] On 10 June 2020, the Canal and River Trust removed the Milligan statue, after a 'number of individuals and community groups have raised objections to its presence'.[220]

The modern acknowledgement of British connections with Atlantic slavery, however, began not in the great imperial metropolis, London, but in Liverpool, historically one of the leading outports. Liverpool's Black community have long asked questions about the city's historic relationship with slavery and how this is commemorated today, ensuring the city led the way in acknowledging these histories. According to Jean-Francois Maincom, a curator at

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[216] Tobi Thomas, Aamna Mohdin and Pamela Duncan, 'Only 2% of blue plaques in London commemorate black people', *The Guardian,* 5 October 2021, Available: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/oct/05/blue-plaques-in-london-black-people Accessed: 12 January 2022; Mark Brown, 'Blue plaque for anti-slavery campaigner Ottobah Cugoano', *The Guardian,* 20 November 2020, Available: https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2020/nov/20/blue-plaque-for-anti-slavery-campaigner-ottobah-cugoano Accessed: 12 January 2022.

[217] Madge Dresser, 'Set in Stone? Statues and Slavery in London', *History Workshop Journal,* 64/1, (Autumn 2007), p.164.

[218] Katie Donington, 'Milligan, Robert (1746–1809), merchant, slave owner, and dock promoter." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* 6 Oct. 2016.

[219] Araujo, 'Transnational Memory', p.27.

[220] Donington, 'Milligan, Robert'.

the International Slavery Museum, a commission set up in the aftermath of the city's Toxteth riots in 1981 recommended that Black history be promoted. The Merseyside Maritime Museum opened in the early 1980s, although was soon criticised for failing to address issues around chattel slavery. The opening of the Transatlantic Slavery Gallery in 1994 preceded the internationally renowned International Slavery Museum in 2007. This is the only national museum in Europe devoted to transatlantic slavery.[221] More recently, the city's institutions have opted for both recontextualization of streets and renaming of buildings. In January 2020, Liverpool Mayor, Joe Anderson, pledged to provide plaques that were associated with traffickers in enslaved people:

> I do not believe that changing street names is the answer - it would be wrong to try and airbrush out our past. We need to judge the past with a historical perspective, taking into account today's higher ethical standards and, most importantly, how everyone, from every community in the city feels about it. As we understand our past we can also focus on our future for the black and BAME communities in our city.[222]

On the other hand, the BBC reported on 10 June 2020 that the University of Liverpool opted to rename the Gladstone building, named after former British Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898).[223]

In Bristol, the historian Richard Pares' book *A West India Fortune* (1950) examined the city's West India dynasty, the Pinneys, who owned the historic building at 7 Great George Street (now known as 'The Georgian House', which was later gifted to Bristol museums).[224] Pares noted that John Pretor Pinney (1740 – 1818), an absentee St Kitts planter and West India merchant, lived in the Georgian House with an enslaved African valet, Pero (1753-1798). Research from the 1980s onwards brought Pero's story to life. In 1997, a display on the Pinney family and Pero was exhibited in the Georgian House. The city of Bristol has since marked the historic presence of Bristol's enslaved people more formally. The development of the harbourside in the 1990s presented opportunities in naming practices around new maritime infrastructure. After a public consultation (in which 'Pero' came second in a poll), 'Pero's Bridge' was opened in 1999, thus permanently commemorating the

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[221] 'How the Toxteth Riots helped our city come to terms with its slave trade links', *Liverpool Echo,* Available: https://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/news/liverpool-news/how-toxteth-riots-helped-city-18486783.amp Accessed: 29 January 2022; Jessica Moody, 'Liverpool's Local Tints: Drowning Memory and 'Maritimising' Slavery in a Seaport City', in *Britain's History and Memory of Transatlantic Slavery,* ed. by Katie Donington, Ryan Hanley, and Jessica Moody (Liverpool, 2016), p.156.

[222] 'Liverpool identifies first streets for slavery plaques', *BBC News,* 24 August 2020, Available: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-merseyside-53892675 Accessed: 23 January 2022.

[223] 'William Gladstone: University of Liverpool to rename building over slavery links', *BBC News,* 10 June 2020, Available: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-merseyside-52990464 Accessed: 23 January 2020.

[224] Richard Pares, *A West India Fortune,* (London, 1950), p.130.

enslaved boy who acted as servant to one of Bristol's most infamous enslavers. According to historian Madge Dresser, the bridge, and the memory of Pero, have been interpreted in multiple ways, including as a site commemorating those who suffered slavery and as a celebration of racial diversity, although others have criticised the naming as the bridge celebrates the 'apparently deferential servant'.[225] From 2011, Bristol's M-Shed has told the story of the port's involvement with the transatlantic trafficking of enslaved people.

From the mid-1990s, an 'energetic mobilization' in Bristol saw more critical questions raised about the port's historic connections with the trafficking of enslaved people from Africa and how the legacies were represented in civic space. The Bristol Slave Trade Action Group was established in 1996, to advise the city council on the implications about the legacies of slavery in civic space.[226] Representations of Edward Colston (1636 – 1721), politician and slaver, attracted much interest. That Colston's great fortune was derived from the trafficking in enslaved people was not in doubt, but he shaped a positive post-mortem reputation by founding many charitable foundations with his slavery-derived wealth. Many in Victorian Bristol glorified his philanthropy which had the effect of eliding the provenance of his fortune; many streets, public buildings and a concert hall were subsequently named after him.[227] In 1998, the statue of Edward Colston was defaced underlining questions around public statuary and commemorative practices were a long-term issue in the city (and of course, the statue was removed by protestors in June 2020 which resulted in a criminal trial).[228] The conversation was well-developed by 2006. Due to connotations with chattel slavery, public opposition towards the proposed naming of a Bristol 'Merchant Quarter' meant that, unlike Glasgow in 1990, the plan was dropped.[229] Thus, Bristol has commemorated the historic presence of African enslaved people in the city, introduced fresh interpretative galleries including in a bespoke museum space, whilst representations of those implicated in Atlantic slavery economies have been removed.

Lancaster - the fourth Atlantic port in England - has marked the city's historic connections with slavery. The grave of 'Sambo', an enslaved man buried near Sunderland

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[225] Madge Dresser, 'Peros' Afterlife: Remembering an Enslaved African in Bristol', in *Britain's Black Past,* ed. Gretchen H. Gerzina, (Liverpool, 2020), pp.126-137.
[226] Christine Chivallon, 'Bristol and the eruption of memory: Making the slave-trading past visible', *Social & Cultural Geography,* (2001), 2/3, pp.347-363.
[227] Sally Morgan, 'Memory and the merchants: Commemoration and civic identity', *International Journal of Heritage Studies,* 4/2, (1998), pp.103-113.
[228] Chivallon, 'Bristol and the eruption of memory', pp.347-363.
[229] Richard Savil, 'Bristol shuns slave trade name', *The Telegraph,* 21 April 2006. Available: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1516274/Bristol-shuns-slave-trade-name.html Accessed: 21 January 2022.

Point, has been given more prominence in the 21st century. Kevin Dalton Johnson's 'Captured Africans' on St George's Quay - which opened in 2005 - was proposed by Alan Rice (Lancaster University) and evolved from the 'Slave Trade Arts Memorial Project' (STAMP), led by SuAndi O.B.E. and the local community.[230] This modern installation is unusual, even unique, in a British context as acknowledges a city's direct involvement with the trafficking of enslaved people and plantation slavery (as well as the commodities and wealth these processes produced) rather than simply celebrating the historic presence of Black people, or abolitionists.[231]

The paradox is that whilst historical research focused on Glasgow and slavery related themes is now relatively well known - and its political leadership and citizenry are in an informed position - the city lags behind in civic recognition. Of all Britain's Atlantic outports, Glasgow has arguably the most well-developed body of historical writing that explains the implications of the colonial era. From the city's early 18th century sugar returnees; mid-18th century slaving voyages; the eras of the 'tobacco lords' 1740-1790 and 'sugar aristocracy' 1790-1838 (see Further Reading). Whilst historians have addressed key aspects of Liverpool and Bristol's history, notably in the Africa trafficking, there are multiple perspectives of Glasgow and its citizens' connections with Atlantic slavery.

International Approaches

Nantes, France. 'Memorial to the Abolition of Slavery', (2012)

There are international comparisons with how cities have acknowledged historic connections to the trafficking in African enslaved people and plantation slavery. The city of Nantes was the most significant French slaving port - more than 1,800 slave voyages departed Nantes - and the city has been creative in engaging with that past. From 1992, a temporary exhibit 'The Shackles of Memory' displayed in Nantes, outlining involvement. On 25 March 2012, the 'Memorial to the Abolition of Slavery' was opened to the public (this followed the destruction of an earlier memorial in 1998). The takes the form of a subterranean space which is intended to symbolise the hold of a slaving ship. The first official memorial in France that acknowledged national involvement in slavery, its installation marked a 'new stage in the development of the knowledge and recognition of Nantes' slave-trading past'.[232]

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[230] Kean, 'Making Public History', p.3.
[231] 'Captured Africans', *Age of Revolutions,* Available: https://ageofrevolution.org/200-object/captured-africans/ Accessed: 12 January 2022.
[232] Britta Timm Knudsen and Christoffer Kølvraa, 'Affective Infrastructures of Re-emergence? Exploring Modalities of Heritage Practices in Nantes', *Heritage & Society,* 13/1-2 (2021), pp.10-31; 'The Memorial in the City', Available: https://memorial.nantes.fr/en/the-memorial-in-the-city/ Accessed: 17 January 2022.

However, Nicola Frith, leading specialist on the memorialisation of slavery and reparative justice, notes that gauging the memorial's 'success' is a subjective process. Whilst acknowledging it was an architectural triumph that provides a counterpoint between slavery and abolitionism, the voices of the enslaved and women are marginalized in the installation. And, by recounting French legislation against slavery, the French state is privileged (although the central government did not provide financial support).[233] Frith's analysis encapsulates the debates around the role of commemoration and memorialization and its role in representing histories of slavery and current issues around legacies.[234] Do (or should) such initiatives acknowledge longer-term historic involvement with the Africa trafficking and/or plantation slavery (which chimes with modern anti-racism initiatives); or do they prioritise abolition events, which can be interpreted as the glorification of a governmental decisions which came after over two centuries of settler colonization, trafficking, and slavery as well as the benefits it generated for colonizing nations?

Philadelphia, United States of America (post-2002)

Philadelphia offers another recent example of acknowledging historic connections with chattel slavery that had been submerged in public memory. Chattel slavery has traditionally been represented as a Southern phenomenon whilst the North's abolitionist credentials have been celebrated. Indeed, the work of Marc Howard Ross on 'collective memory', alongside the 'collective forgetting' of Philadelphia's slavery past, underlines that many Americans had little understanding that the system of slavery was so pervasive in the North. This is partly explained by the lack of commemoration and acknowledgment in civic space. Sites associated with the trafficking in enslaved people and plantation slavery, for example, were not identified as such. For example, it was not until 2002 that it was understood that George Washington brought nine enslaved people from Virginia with him to labour in his home ('Philadelphia President's House') between 1790 and 1797.[235] Although this building was later demolished, a strategy developed to identify the site, as well as the residents, and how to be best acknowledge slavery in the city's narratives and displays. A major debate evolved as to how the histories of slavery and liberty should be represented, especially as it was effectively juxtaposed relative to Independence National Historical Park (INHP) which is

[233] Nicola Frith, 'The Art of Reconciliation: The Memorial to the Abolition of Slavery in Nantes', in *At the Limits of Memory: Legacies of Slavery in the Francophone World,* ed. by Nicola Frith, Kate Hodgson, (Liverpool, 2015), pp.68-89

[234] Knudsen and Kølvraa, 'Affective Infrastructures', pp.18-19.

[235] Marc Howard Ross, *Slavery in the North: Forgetting History and Recovering Memory,* (Philadelphia, 2018).

said to represent the 'founding ideals of the nation, and preserves national and international symbols of freedom and democracy'.[236] Indeed, the rear of the former site of the house sits in what is now Independence Mall located north of INHP.

How to best represent the contradictory endorsements of slavery and freedom held by one of America's founding fathers, and arguably of the nation itself, played out in 21st century Philadelphia. African American community groups requested that histories of enslaved people be integrated in the city's narratives. An archaeological excavation at the site of the President's House followed, with foundations and a kitchen discovered extant - which would have been where enslaved cooks worked. In this sense, archaeological processes – alongside the work of historians and the community – reconnected past and present. As part of the 'President's House/Slavery Memorial' project, a plaque was installed that commemorated each of the nine enslaved people which was also marked with an African libation ceremony. For Marc Howard Ross, the substantial media coverage of various controversies meant that the city's residents 'learned more about Northern slavery from it than they had ever known before'.[237] A historical and memorial site 'Freedom and Slavery in Making a New Nation' in Independence Mall generated more controversy, however, especially around interpretive materials. This site – showcasing the archaeological remains, with a granite memorial showing the names of the enslaved alongside video and text displays - opened in 2010, to a mixed reception. For Ross, the 'President's House/Slavery Memorial' demonstrates 'both collective forgetting and the recovery of a long-ignored and forgotten story'.[238]

[236] 'National Historical Park Pennsylvania', Available: https://www.nps.gov/inde/index.htm Accessed: 8 February 2022.
[237] Ross, *Slavery in the North*, pp.121-152.
[238] Ross, *Slavery in the North*, pp.153-178.

Appendices

Appendix 1 - Lord Provost: Case Studies

Walter Gibson: (in office: 1688-1689)[239]

Walter Gibson has been described as the 'greatest merchant of his day in Glasgow'. According to John McUre, historian of early Glasgow, Walter Gibson was one of the leading figures in the establishment of the 'Great Company' undertaking trade with 'Virginea, Caribby-Islands, Barbadoes, New England, St Christophers, Monserat and other colonies in America'.[240]

John Anderson, 3rd (younger), (in office: 1689-1690, 1695-1696, 1699-1700, 1703-4)[241]

On 9 March 1696, John Anderson, Provost of Glasgow, personally subscribed £1000 to the Company of Scotland, and a further £3000 on behalf of the 'Magistrates and Councell of the said burgh'.[242] Only part of this was paid, but the Town Council were reimbursed under Article XV of the Union ('The Equivalent').

James Peadie, 1st (in office: 1691-92, 1697-1698)[243]

James Peadie was one of the initial partners in the joint-stock Easter Sugar Works which processed sugars in premises near the Gallowgate from c.1669. The works remained in the hands of initial partners and their descendants, including the 'heirs of provost Peadie' into the 1730s.[244]

Sir Hugh Montgomerie (in office: 1701-2)[245]

Hugh Montgomerie appears to be a subscriber of the 'Great Company' undertaking trade with 'Virginea, Caribby-Islands, Barbadoes, New England, St Christophers, Monserat and other colonies in America'.[246] According to Anderson, Montgomerie was also a partner in the South Sugar Works.[247] On 7 March 1696, he personally subscribed £1,000 to the Company of Scotland.[248]

John Aird (younger) (in office: 1705-6, 1709-1710, 1713-14, 1717-18, 1721-22)[249]

On 9 March 1696, John Aird younger, Dean of Guild, personally subscribed £100 to the Company of Scotland, and a further £1000 on behalf of the Merchants House.[250]

Robert Rodger (in office: 1707-8, 1711-12)[251]

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[239] James R. Anderson, (ed. by James Gourlay), *The Provosts of Glasgow from 1609 to 1832,* (Glasgow, 1942), p.37.
[240] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow,* p.37*;* John McUre, *History of Glasgow, new edn.,* (Glasgow, 1830), p.170.
[241] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.39.
[242] *The Darien Papers: Being a Selection of Original Letters and Official Documents Relating to the Establishment of a Colony a Darien by the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies 1695-1700* (Edinburgh: T. Constable, 1849), p.410-1.
[243] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow,* p.41.
[244] McUre, *History of Glasgow*, p.228; T.C. Smout, 'The Early Scottish Sugar Houses, 1660–1720', *Economic History Review* 14 (1961), pp.240–253.
[245] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.44.
[246] McUre, *History of Glasgow*, p.170.
[247] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.44.
[248] *Darien Papers*, p.411.
[249] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.46.
[250] *Darien Papers*, p.410-1.
[251] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.49.

Robert Rodger appears to be a subscriber of the 'Great Company' undertaking trade with 'Virginea, Caribby-Islands, Barbadoes, New England, St Christophers, Monserat and other colonies in America'.[252]

John Stark (in office: 1725-6)[253]
James Peadie was one of the partners in the Wester Sugar Works which processed sugars in premises from c.1667.[254]

John Stirling (in office: 1728-29)[255]
'John Stirling, late provost' is listed as a subscriber of the 'Great Company' undertaking trade with 'Virginea, Caribby-Islands, Barbadoes, New England, St Christophers, Monserat and other colonies in America'.[256]

Peter Murdoch (in office: 1730-31)[257]
'Peter Murdoch, late provost' appears as a subscriber of the 'Great Company' undertaking trade with 'Virginea, Caribby-Islands, Barbadoes, New England, St Christophers, Monserat and other colonies in America'.[258] He was also a partner in the King's Street Sugar Works established in 1727.[259]

John Coulter (in office: 1736-7)[260]
John Coulter appears as a subscriber of the 'Great Company' undertaking trade with 'Virginea, Caribby-Islands, Barbadoes, New England, St Christophers, Monserat and other colonies in America'.[261] He was also a partner, alongside Peter Murdoch, in the King's Street Sugar Works established in 1727.[262]

Andrew Aiton (in office: 1738-9)[263]
Andrew Aiton appears as a subscriber of the 'Great Company' undertaking trade with 'Virginea, Caribby-Islands, Barbadoes, New England, St Christophers, Monserat and other colonies in America'.[264]

Andrew Buchanan (in office 1740-41)[265]
Andrew Buchanan of Drumpellier was 'one of the celebrated Virginia Dons' the pioneering tobacco merchants described as 'Tobacco Lords' by historian T.M. Devine.[266] His colonial connections were varied: he also appears to be a subscriber of the 'Great Company' undertaking trade with 'Virginea, Caribby-Islands, Barbadoes, New England, St

[252] McUre, *History of Glasgow*, p.170.
[253] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.52.
[254] McUre, *History of Glasgow*, p.227-8.
[255] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.54.
[256] McUre, *History of Glasgow*, p.170.
[257] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.55.
[258] McUre, *History of Glasgow*, p.170.
[259] McUre, *History of Glasgow*, p.229.
[260] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.59.
[261] McUre, *History of Glasgow*, p.170.
[262] McUre, *History of Glasgow*, p.229.
[263] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.61.
[264] McUre, *History of Glasgow*, p.170.
[265] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.63.
[266] John Guthrie Smith, John Oswald Mitchell, *The Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry,* (Glasgow, 1878), 'Drumpellier'; T.M. Devine, *The Tobacco Lords,* (Edinburgh: 1975), p.178.

Christophers, Monserat and other colonies in America'.[267] He was also a partner in the King's Street Sugar Works, alongside Peter Murdoch and John Coulter.[268]

Lawrence Dinwiddie (in office 1742-3)[269]
Lawrence Dinwiddie was described as a 'Tobacco Lord' by historian T.M. Devine.[270]

Andrew Cochrane (in office: 1744-5, 1748-9, 1760-61)[271]
Andrew Cochrane of Brighouse was described as a 'Tobacco Lord' by historian T.M. Devine (and had interests in the King Street Sugar House).[272] Later nineteenth-century publications confirm Cochrane Street was named after him.[273]

John Murdoch (in office: 1746-7, 1750-51, 1758-9)[274]
James R. Anderson and James Gourlay stated there 'was no doubt' that John Murdoch was 'engaged to some extent in the trade with Virginia' although not on a large-scale.[275] Historian T.M. Devine confirms John Murdoch as a 'Tobacco Lord'.[276]

George Murdoch (in office: 1754-55, 1766-67)[277]
Historian T.M. Devine noted George Murdoch (1715-95) as a 'Tobacco Lord'.[278]

Robert Christie (in office: 1756-7)[279]
Robert Christie (1717-8) was listed as a 'Tobacco Lord' by historian T.M. Devine.[280]

Archibald Ingram (in office: 1762-3)[281]
Archibald Ingram (1699-1770) was described as a 'Tobacco Lord' by historian T.M. Devine.[282] Historian of Glasgow, Robert Reid (Senex) confirmed that Ingram Street was named after Archibald Ingram.[283]

John Bowman (2nd) (in office: 1764-5)[284]
John Bowman was described as a 'Tobacco Lord' by historian T.M. Devine.[285]

James Buchanan (in office: 1768-69, 1774-75) [286]

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[267] McUre, *History of Glasgow*, p.171.
[268] McUre, *History of Glasgow*, p.229.
[269] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.63.
[270] Devine, *Tobacco Lords*, p.179.
[271] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.67.
[272] Devine, *Tobacco Lords*, p.179.
[273] Glasguensis, *Banking in Glasgow during the olden time*, (Glasgow, 1862), p.18.
[274] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.69.
[275] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.69.
[276] Devine, *Tobacco Lords*, p.182.
[277] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.73.
[278] Devine, *Tobacco Lords*, p.182.
[279] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.76.
[280] Devine, *Tobacco Lords*, p.179.
[281] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.78.
[282] Devine, *Tobacco Lords*, p.181.
[283] Senex, *Glasgow, past and present,* Volume 3 (Glasgow, 1856), p.528.
[284] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.80.
[285] Devine, *Tobacco Lords*, p.178.
[286] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.82.

James Buchanan was the eldest son of Andrew Buchanan of Drumpellier. As a partner in the firm Buchanan, Hastie & Co. and investor in the King Street Sugar House, he was described as a 'Tobacco Lord' by historian T.M. Devine.[287]

Colin Dunlop (in office: 1770-71)[288]
Colin Dunlop of Carmyle was a partner in firm, Colin Dunlop & Sons, was a major importer of tobacco to Glasgow in the 1770s.[289] He was described as a 'Tobacco Lord' by historian T.M. Devine.[290]

Arthur Connell (in office: 1772-3, 1773-4)[291]
Arthur Connell (1717-85) was one of the co-founders of Somervell, Connell & Co, a West India merchant firm that evolved into Stirling, Gordon & Co. [292] The firm became one of the largest firms of its type in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Glasgow, its commercial success based upon the import of sugar grown by enslaved people in Jamaica. Connell had multiple colonial interests, and was also described as a 'Tobacco Lord' by historian T.M. Devine.[293]

Robert Donald (in office: 1776-7, 1777-8)[294]
Robert Donald (1724-1803) was a tobacco merchant, whose firm Robert Donald & Co. operated in Glasgow from around 1735. A successor firm, Thomas Donald & Son., was sequestered in 1787.[295] Donald was a tobacco merchant of elite standing and was described as a 'Tobacco Lord' by historian T.M. Devine.[296]

William French (in office: 1778-9, 1779-80)[297]
William French (1732-1802) was a tobacco merchant, and was involved with two elite firms that imported tobacco grown by enslaved people in Virginia: French Crawford & Co., and Alexander Speirs & Co.[298] French was an elite 'Tobacco Lord', although he was bankrupted in 1786.[299]

Hugh Wyllie (in office: 1780-1, 1781-2)[300]
In the 1750s, Hugh Wyllie was a shipmaster and a merchant, having commanded the 'Caeser' which sailed between Greenock and Jamaica in November 1753, and the 'St Andrew' which sailed to Jamaica in 1757.[301]

Patrick Colquhoun (in office: 1782) [302]

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[287] Devine, *Tobacco Lords*, p.178.
[288] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.84.
[289] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.84.
[290] Devine, *Tobacco Lords*, p.180.
[291] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.86.
[292] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.87.
[293] Devine, *Tobacco Lords*, p.179.
[294] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.88.
[295] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.87.
[296] Devine, *Tobacco Lords*, p.180.
[297] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.90.
[298] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.90.
[299] Devine, *Tobacco Lords*, p.180.
[300] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.92.
[301] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.92.
[302] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.94.

Patrick Colquhoun was a colonial merchant of some importance and was described as a 'Tobacco Lord'. He spent a period in his youth in Virginia 'engaged in mercantile pursuits', before returning to Glasgow in 1766.[303] His firm, Colquhoun & Ritchie, were based in Glasgow in the late 1780s, which imported, amongst other commodities, sugar and tobacco from North Carolina, Virginia, Antigua, Jamaica and Grenada. The firm consigned tobacco across Europe.[304] In 1783, Colquhoun purchased the Woodcroft estate in the west end of Glasgow, which he renamed Kelvingrove.[305]

John Coats Campbell (in office: 1784-5)[306]
John Coats Campbell (1721-1804) was described as a 'Tobacco Lord' by T.M. Devine.[307]

John Riddell (in office: 1786-7)[308]
John Riddell (?-1794) was a colonial merchant of some importance in Glasgow, 'having numerous interests in Virginia', his rise enabled due to a close relationship with his uncle, John Glassford (one the leading 'Tobacco Lords' in the city).[309] Riddell was involved several different trading concerns that imported tobacco from North America and sugar from the Caribbean. In 1789, he was as partner in leading West India firm Robert Mackay & Co., and, alongside other Glasgow merchants, took possession of a Jamaica estate, Heywood Hall.[310]

James McDowall (in office: 1790-2, 1796-7)[311]
James McDowall was a colonial merchant in Glasgow, involved with both the Virginia and West India trades (mainly the latter). He was the grandson of Col. William McDowall who first acquired slave plantations in St Kitts in Caribbean in the 1710s and 1720s. James McDowall was involved with the great West India partnership, Alexander Houston & Co., which was bankrupted in 1798.[312]

John Dunlop (in office: 1794-5)[313]
John Dunlop (1744-1820) of Rosebank was described as a 'Tobacco Lord' by T.M. Devine.[314]

Laurence Craigie (in office: 1798-1800, 1802-4)[315]

[303] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, pp.94-96. Devine, *Tobacco Lords*, p.180
[304] National Records of Scotland [NRS], CS96/3994, Colquhoun and Ritchie, merchants, Glasgow. Sederunt books.
[305] Glasgow City Archives [GCA] T-SA 5/1/1, Glasgow Barony, 1781-1808, sasine 199.
[306] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.97.
[307] Devine, *Tobacco Lords*, p.178.
[308] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.99.
[309] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.99; Devine, *Tobacco Lords*, p.183.
[310] GCA TD1/88, 'Business Records: Articles of Agreement between (1) James Modyford Heywood of Mariston, co. Devon, esq., and (2) Robert Mackay, James Gordon, John Riddell, William and John Robertson and John Speirs Munro of Glasgow, merchants (trading as Robert Mackay & Co.)', 1 May 1789.
[311] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.103.
[312] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow,* pp.103-4; Devine, *Tobacco Lords*, p.182.
[313] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.108.
[314] Devine, *Tobacco Lords*, p.180.
[315] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.109.

Laurence Craigie spent much of his youth in the West Indies, according to James Anderson.[316] He was a partner in the West India merchant firm, James Black & Co., which imported sugar from to Greenock which was re-exported to Europe via Leith.[317]

John Hamilton (in office: 1800-1801, 1804-1805, 1810-1811)[318]
John Hamilton of Northpark was a major West India merchant in late eighteenth-century Glasgow, evidenced by the major fortune of over £26,000 he left on his death in 1829. His firm, John Hamilton & Co. was based at the Trongate from 1787. Three separate streets were named after him: Great Hamilton Street (no longer in existence), Hamilton Drive and North Park Street (in Kelvinbridge).[319]

Kirkman Finlay (in office: 1812-1814, 1818-19)[320]
Kirkman Finlay is more commonly associated with the East India trade after 1813, although he registered as a 'home merchant' with the Merchants House from 1798. His father's firm, James Finlay & Co. were the largest producers of textiles in early nineteenth-century Scotland. In 1800, West India merchants held forty percent of the share capital and some of the cotton for the mills was grown by enslaved people in the West Indies.[321]

Henry Monteith (in office: 1814-15, 1818-19)[322]
Henry Monteith (1765-1848) took over Blantyre Mill in Lanarkshire in 1802 and had partnerships with two Glasgow West India firms Robert Bogle & Co., and Francis Garden & Co. Cotton grown by enslaved people in the West Indies likely supplied Blantyre Mill via the partnership with these two merchant firms.[323]

William Smith (in office 1822-23) [324]
William Smith of Carbeth Guthrie was the son of Archibald Smith of Jordanhill, and was thus a second-generation West India merchant in Glasgow.[325] William Smith did not join the family firm, Leitch & Smith, but instead branched out with cousins to establish the firm, Smith & Browns. The co-partners owned the sugar plantation, Jordan Hill in Trinidad (perhaps named in deference to the family estate in Renfrew). In 1834, Smith was a co-claimant of compensation for the 154 enslaved people on the plantation.[326]

Mungo Nutter Campbell (in office: 1824-25)[327]

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[316] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, pp.109-10.
[317] *Cased Decided in the House of Lords on Appeal from Scotland,* 1824., Vol.2, (Edinburgh: 1827) p.189; 'Notice', *The London Gazette*, Issue: 15721, 21 July 1804, p.892.
[318] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.111.
[319] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, pp.111-113; NRS SC36/48/21, Glasgow Sheriff Court Inventories, 'Inventory of the personal estate of John Hamilton Esquire of Northpark', 6 November 1829, p.669; Smith and Mitchell, *Old Country Houses,* 'Northwoodside House'.
[320] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.118.
[321] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, pp.118-119; University of Glasgow Archives (hereafter GUA), UGD91/1/4/1/3/1 'Ledger of James Finlay and Co.', 1792-1800, p.27, p.105-6.
[322] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.120.
[323] T.M. Devine, 'An Eighteenth-Century Business Elite, 1740-1815', *Scottish Historical Review,* (1978), pp.45-6.
[324] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.125.
[325] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, pp.125-6
[326] 'William Smith of Carbeth Guthrie', *Legacies of British Slave-ownership database*, http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/28824 Accessed: 19 October 2019.
[327] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, pp.127-129.

Mungo Nutter Campbell (1785-1862) was one of Glasgow's most prominent West India merchants. In 1806, he took up a partnership in his family firm, John Campbell senior & Co., one of the major firms of its type in Scotland.[328] The firm was established in Glasgow in 1790, and was already thoroughly enmeshed in the transatlantic slavery economy by the time Mungo Nutter Campbell took up partnership, with interests in Grenada and Demerara.[329] Mungo Nutter Campbell was also a major enslaver. In 1836, he claimed £61,393 for enslaved people in British Guiana.[330] In relative terms (compared to average earnings in 2020), Campbell's claim in 1836 is equivalent to £53m in modern values.[331]

William Hamilton (in office: 1826-27)[332]
William Hamilton (1790-1866) was the son of John Hamilton of Northpark, and succeeded to the family West India firm. He subscribed to the pro-slavery Glasgow West India Association in 1809.[333] After emancipation in 1834, William Hamilton claimed £59,049 for enslaved people in British Guiana, Trinidad and Jamaica.[334] In relative terms (compared to average earnings in 2020), Hamilton's claim in 1836 is equivalent to £50.9m in modern values.[335]

Alexander Garden (in office: 1828–1830)[336]
Alexander Garden was the son of Francis Garden, a West India merchant in Glasgow. Alexander was a founding subscriber to pro-slavery Glasgow West India Association in 1807 (indeed, was second on the list of subscribers).[337] He was a partner in his father's family firm, Francis Garden & Co. (although he ceased to be a partner until 1813).[338] Garden became a partner in Henry Monteith & Co. (his father-in-law) afterwards.

James Ewing (in office: 1832)[339]
James Ewing of Strathleven (1775-1853) was one of the city's most influential politicians. Dean of Guild of the Merchant House (1816; 1831), Lord Provost of Glasgow (1832-3) and MP for Glasgow after the Reform Act of 1832. Ewing was also a key figure in establishing the Glasgow West India Association in 1807, and took a leading role in advancing the city's pro-slavery interests after 1807. He was also a West India merchant and absentee planter for the duration of his commercial life. In a two-year period between 1836-7, he claimed £9,327 for 586 enslaved people on five estates in Jamaica, including Taylor Caymanas in St

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[328] GCA TD96, Box 2, 'Contract of Copartnery of Messrs John Campbell senior & Company, 1806'.
[329] For an account of the firm John Campbell senior & Co., see Stephen Mullen, 'The Great Glasgow West India House of John Campbell senior & Co.', in *Recovering Scotland's Slavery Past: The Caribbean Connection,* ed. by T.M. Devine, (Edinburgh, 2015), pp.124-145.
[330] 'Mungo Nutter Campbell', *Legacies of British Slavery database*, Available: https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/41620 Accessed: 25 January 2022
[331] *Measuring Worth*, Available: https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/result.php?year_source=1836&amount=61393&year_result=2020 Accessed: 16 January 2022.
[332] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.130.
[333] GCA, TD1683/1/1, 'Abstract of the Glasgow West India Association', p.8a.
[334] 'William Hamilton', *Legacies of British Slavery database,* Available: http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/45268 Accessed: 1 February 2022.
[335] *Measuring Worth*, Available: https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/result.php?year_source=1837&amount=9327&year_result=2020 Accessed: 16 January 2022.
[336] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p131.
[337] GCA, TD1683/1/1, 'Abstract of the Glasgow West India Association', p.7.
[338] 'Notice', *London Gazette,* 6 March 1813.
[339] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p135.

Catherine.[340] In relative terms (compared to average earnings in 2020), Ewing's claim in 1836 is equivalent to £7.8m in modern values.[341] Ewing was one of the city's major benefactors, bequeathing £31,000 to the Merchants House in 1853, to support the institution, as well as to be distributed amongst merchants in financial difficulties, as well as their sons, wives and daughters, as well.[342]

[340] 'James Ewing of Strathleven', *Legacies of British Slavery database*, Available: http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/21020 Accessed: 25 January 2022
[341] *Measuring Worth*, Available: https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/result.php?year_source=1837&amount=9327&year_result=2020 Accessed: 16 January 2022.
[342] NRS, SC65/34/7, 'Inventory of James Ewing', 24 February 1854, pp.183-207.

Appendix 2 - Bequests, Gifts, Mortifications: Case Studies

Education (Bursaries)

Leadbetter's Bursary

John Leadbetter (1788-1865) was a linen merchant in Glasgow. According to his biography, he established his own company John Leadbetter & Co. around 1815, and has been described as 'one of the most important linen businesses in the city'. At least prior to 1834, the Atlantic markets, and plantation slavery, contributed to his personal fortune. Leadbetter's biographer noted innovative methods to meet 'the convenience of the American and West India merchants, it was necessary to anticipate their wants and have a large stock of suitable goods ready for them to select from when their orders to ship arrived'.[343]

When John Leadbetter died in 1865, he left a fortune of £4650. He acknowledged in a testament towards the end of his life that his 'fortune is much lessened by recent losses'.[344] Although the value of the gift he made earlier in 1853 is not recorded, it was made at a time of greater personal prosperity and was intended to support boys attending Old College, especially those who had previously attended the High School of Glasgow or sons of members of the Merchant's House.[345]

Stewart's Bursaries

Reverend James Stuart (1743-c.1805) was born in Banffshire on 21 July 1743. He took religious instruction, and afterwards travelled to America. He departed soon after the outbreak of the American Revolution in 1776, temporarily residing in the West Indies, before returning to America. He eventually returned home to Great Britain and died in England in 1805. As a Loyalist during the American Revolution, his property was confiscated and he made claims to the Parliamentary Commission on Loyalist Claims in 1784. Prior to the revolution, he had an income of £400 from a large private property, and he was a personal enslaver, claiming a 'Negro Carpenter, Horses & c &c plundered and carried off'.[346] After his death in 1805, Rev. Stuart bequeathed 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 and towards the instruction, and for the better education, of youth.[347]

The Magistrates and Town Council received £603 in 1810, which allowed the awarding of two bursars of £12 annually, increasing to three of £15 after 1861.[348] The 'Slavery, Abolition and the University of Glasgow' report (2018) speculated - since there were limited financial data available in university records - that 'it is possible it [Stuart's Bursaries] was repurposed

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[343] *Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men who have Died During the Last Thirty Years, and in their Lives did Much to Make the City what it Now is,* Vol.2, (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1886), pp.173-6.

[344] National Records of Scotland [NRS], SC36/48/52, Glasgow Sheriff Court Inventories, Inventory of John Leadbetter, 6 June 1865, p.686; NRS, SC36/51/48, Glasgow Sheriff Court Wills, 'Trust Disposition and Deed of Settlement; Codicils of John Leadbetter', 6 June 1865, p.551.

[345] John Strang, *Bursaries, Schools, Mortifications and Bequests*, (Glasgow, 1861), pp.18-19.

[346] 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; *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships, and Other Foundations, in the College and University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Maitland club, 1850), p.191.

[347] *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships, and Other Foundations, in the College and University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Maitland club, 1850), p.192.

[348] Strang, *Bursaries, Schools, Mortifications*, pp.26-29.

after the 1820s and the funds were disbursed more widely under a different scheme'.[349] However, it is now apparent that Glasgow City Council managed the bequest until fairly recently, seeking permission in 2010 'to transfer fund [£30,011] to the University of Glasgow Court (SC004401)'.[350]

Education (Schools)

Alexander's Charity

James Alexander (1807-1847) was the son of Robert Fulton Alexander (c.1762-1843) of Yorkhill, a Glasgow-West India merchant. In 1807, Robert Fulton Alexander subscribed to the pro-slavery lobbying group the Glasgow West India Association, both as an individual and as a company, Robert Fulton Alexander & Co.[351] The firm, Robert Fulton Alexander & Co., focused on Jamaica, exporting goods to Kingston in late 1808.[352] The firm had wider commercial interests in Jamaica, including a mortgage secured on a wharf in 1817.[353] Robert Fulton Alexander had personal financial difficulties in life; compelling trustees of his estate to sell his Thornbank estate in the Barony in 1825.[354] Nevertheless, he left a fortune of £1108 on his death in 1843.[355] Whilst modest by the standards of the Glasgow-West India elites, the relative worth (compared to average earnings) of £1108 in 1843 is £903,000 (2020 values).[356]

James Alexander was a thread manufacturer, and whilst it seems probable he imported cotton from the West Indies before 1834, or America before 1865, it is also possible he imported Indian sourced cotton. In the absence of company records for that period, it is impossible to confirm.[357] Nevertheless, he inherited wealth from a father enmeshed in West India commerce prior to the abolition of plantation slavery. James Alexander was one of the main beneficiaries of his father's will in 1843; for example, being gifted a property Hermitage in Helensburgh 'in part of his share of the residue of my estate'.[358] Moreover, he retained shares in his father's firm, R.F. Alexander & Co., which was once a West India trading firm, but had evolved into manufacturing by 1847 (indeed, most of his personal wealth of £50,726 was held in the firm).[359] James Alexander endowed some of his wealth to a hospital and school for poor children, as well as land belonging to his estate (the total was valued at £10,000). The Lord Provost, Baillies and Magistrates of Glasgow took on duties as governors, and a schoolhouse was opened in Duke Street in 1859.[360]

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[349] Stephen Mullen, Simon Newman, 'Slavery Abolition, and the University of Glasgow' (2018), p.42.
[350] Glasgow City Council, 'Active Trusts: Appendix 1', Available: https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/councillorsandcommittees/viewSelectedDocument.asp?c=P62AFQZL0G2U810G Accessed: 12 December 2021.
[351] Glasgow City Archives [GCA], TD1683/1/1, 'Abstract of the Glasgow West India Association', pp.6-7.
[352] 'For Kingston, Jamaica', *Glasgow Herald,* 3 October 1808.
[353] NRS, 'R.F. Alexander and Company, merchants, Glasgow. Sederunt book, 1816-1825', 11 September 1817.
[354] GCA, T-SA 5/1/3, Barony, 1821-1830, sasine 2845.
[355] NRS, SC36/48/30, Glasgow Sheriff Court Inventories, Inventory of Robert Fulton Alexander, 21 December 1843, p.124.
[356] *Measuring Worth*, Available: https://measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/result.php?year_source=1843&amount=1108&year_result=2020 Accessed: 21 January 2022.
[357] There are existing records for 'RF & J Alexander & Co Ltd, cotton thread manufacturers', which continued into the 20th century, although these records cover a later period 1892-1950. Available: https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/c/F176138 Accessed: 21 January 2022.
[358] NRS, SC36/51/19, Glasgow Sheriff Court Wills, Robert Fulton Alexander: Trust Disposition and Settlement; Codicils, 21 December 1843, pp.606-7
[359] NRS, SC65/34/5, Dumbarton Sheriff Court, James Alexander of Hermitage, merchant in Glasgow, 'Inventory, Extract Trust Disposition and Deed of Settlement', 14 July 1848, p.251.
[360] Strang, *Bursaries, Schools, Mortifications and Bequests*, pp.26-29. For details on the school, see GCA, T-BK148, 'Alexander's Charity School, Glasgow: Minute book, 1841-85'.

Bell's Trust

In 1831, the Rev. Andrew Bell of Egmore (1753-1832) gifted one-twelfth of £120,000 to the Magistrates and Council of Glasgow (£10,000). This was transferred to the Corporation of Glasgow to establish a school based upon a Madras system. On death, Dr Bell bequeathed the large sum to support 'School of Schools, founded, or to be founded, in the City of Glasgow…upon the Madras System'. Rather than establishing new schools, Dr Bell's bequest, and 'the annual Interest or proceeds of this donation, should be equally divided among, and paid over half-yearly to the ten different Kirk Sessions of Glasgow'.[361]

At least some of his wealth was derived from chattel slavery. According to his entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Andrew Bell was a 'Church of England clergyman and educationist'. In early career, he took up a position in America in 1774 as tutor to sons of Carter Braxton (1736 – 1797), a tobacco planter in pre-revolutionary Virginia. According to biographer Jane Blackie, Bell's annual salary (£200) was paid 'partly in tobacco shares and bonds, accompanied by shrewd advice on commodity investment, so that by the time Bell left Virginia he owned assets, as he recorded in his account book, worth nearly £900'.[362] Carter Braxton, one of the signatories of the U.S. Declaration of Independence, has been described as a 'planter of Virginia, later a revolutionary statesman'. He was involved with trafficking of enslaved Africans in 1763 and remained an enslaver in Virginia until his death in 1792.[363] Andrew Bell was involved in commerce around tobacco in Virginia, noting that he was owed 25,634 pounds of tobacco from Carter Braxton, and a further 8,000 pounds of tobacco (secured on bond) from John White in Virginia. It seems likely that Bell dramatically increased his wealth whilst resident in India after 1786, although, according to biographers, from his Virginia dealings: 'he had secured an independence and had nothing more to wish for in the way of fortune'.[364] He acquired a significant fortune (£900) during a relatively short stay in America (1774-1781), but diversified and acquired greater wealth from his residency in India (1786-1796), leaving with a fortune of £25,000 and an East India Company pension.[365] Thus, whilst his initial fortune was based on Virginia tobacco and slavery, it was not the only source and his fortune dramatically increased after he departed America and India.

James Buchanan's Bequest

James Buchanan donated £3,000 annually to the city of Glasgow for ten years after his death in December 1857 (a total of £30,000), to be used for an 'Industrial Institution in the City of Glasgow'. He also bequeathed £10,000 to the Royal Infirmary, £10,000 to the Trades House and £10,000 to the Merchants House 'for the sons of decayed members' of the latter two institutions.[366] The £10,000 donated to the Merchants House was amalgamated with the Ewing's Bequest No.2 in 1909, some of which made its way to the University of Glasgow via what is now known as the Ewing-Buchanan bequest (as acknowledged in a 2018 report).[367]

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[361] Strang, *Bursaries, Schools, Mortifications and Bequests*, pp.31-33.
[362] Jane Blackie, "Bell, Andrew (1753–1832), Church of England clergyman and educationist." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 Sep. 2004).
[363] Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The History of the Atlantic Slave Trade 1440-1870,* (London, 1997), p.294, p.298; *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia,* Volume 4 (New York, 1811), p.151.
[364] Robert Southey, Caroline Bowles Southey, *The Life of the Rev. Andrew Bell* Vol. 1 (London and Edinburgh, 1844), pp.32-35, pp.167-8.
[365] Jane Blackie, "Bell, Andrew (1753–1832), Church of England clergyman and educationist." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 Sep. 2004).
[366] Strang, *Bursaries, Schools, Mortifications and Bequests*, pp.34-5.
[367] Stephen Mullen, Simon Newman, 'Slavery Abolition, and the University of Glasgow (2018), p.32.

James Buchanan was present in Grenada in the south-east British West Indies from 1800, working with Glasgow West India house Dennistoun, Buchanan & Company.[368] He was also present in two other slavery societies; Jamaica and Brazil, returning to Scotland in 1816. The firm's minute books suggest he retained partnership status at least until 1825.[369] It is impossible to identify how much of the exact proportion of his wealth was derived from slavery, but slavery was central to the development of the great fortune. In 1800, he departed Glasgow the son of a farrier, worked in three separate economies with a Glasgow-West India firm whose interests were structured around slavery, and retired at a very early age (retaining partnership in said firm) to invest widely in stocks and shares. With a personal fortune of over £124,000, he was one of the richest men in Great Britain on death in December 1857.[370]

The City of Glasgow accepted the major donation; and the Buchanan Institution was opened in 1859 (later known as Greenview School, 47 Greenhead Street in Bridgeton).[371] The Buchanan Institute was an Endowed School, with mixed funding sources. The city of Glasgow purchased the ground and provided a building, and had the responsibility of maintaining it. Buchanan's bequest was not spent on the building, instead went directly to the education of children who were instructed in 'navigation, in gymnastics, tailoring, shoemaking, and carpentry, to fit them for the navy and army, the merchant marine service, and as emigrants to the colonies'. In 1873, on average, 269 boys attended daily.[372]

Education (Prizes)

Ewing Medal

In 1822, James Ewing of Strathleven, L.L.D. (1775-1853) gifted twenty Guineas (£21) to the Corporation of Glasgow, of which the interest (5 percent) was to be laid out annually on a Gold Medal for the 'Grammar School of Glasgow' (now The High School of Glasgow) at the end of each school session.[373] (This is entirely separate from the £100 Ewing donated to the University of Glasgow to establish the Ewing Gold Medal in 1828).[374] The gift to the Grammar School of Glasgow was vested in the corporation, alongside twenty Guineas for a library at the school.[375]

James Ewing was born on 5 December 1775 in Glasgow, Scotland. He attended the High School of Glasgow, and later took up prominent positions in local and national politics; Dean of Guild of the Merchant House (1816; 1831), Lord Provost of Glasgow (1832-3) and MP for Glasgow after the Reform Act of 1832.[376] Simultaneously, Ewing was a West India merchant, planter, enslaver and major philanthropist. In 1836-7, he claimed £9,327

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[368] *Historical Sketch of The Buchanan Institution, Glasgow* (Buchanan Trust, 1816).
[369] University of Glasgow, Special Collections, MS Murray 605, 'Minute book of Dennistoun, Buchanan, & Co. Glasgow, 1806-42'.
[370] 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 c.£81,426 in America.
[371] *Historical Sketch of The Buchanan Institution, Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1913), p.15.
[372] *Reports From Commissioners: Ecclesiastical; Church Estates, Endowed Schools and Hospitals (Scotland),* Vol. XVII, 5 March 7 August 1874, pp.192-195.
[373] Strang, *Bursaries, Schools, Mortifications and Bequests*, p.79. 'Our History', Available: https://www.highschoolofglasgow.co.uk/the-high-school-experience/our-history Accessed: 19 January 2022.
[374] *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships, and Other Foundations, in the College and University of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1850), p.221.
[375] James Cleland, Thomas Muir, James Cleland Burns, *The History of the High School of Glasgow,* (Glasgow, 1878), p.23.
[376] Stephen Mullen, 'James Ewing (1775–1853)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, (September 2016); Macintosh Mackay, *Memoir of James Ewing Esq., of Strathleven,* (Glasgow: James Maclehose, 1866),

compensation for 586 enslaved people on five estates in Jamaica, including Taylor Caymanas in St Catherine.[377]

Mortifications (Charities)

Coulter's Mortification

James Coulter (d.1788) was descended from two generations of merchants; his grandfather, James Coulter (d.1708) was bailie in 1703 and 1706. His father, John Coulter, was Lord Provost in 1736-7.[378] He appears to have been a subscriber of the 'Great Company' undertaking trade with 'Virginea, Caribby-Islands, Barbadoes, New England, St Christophers, Monserat and other colonies in America'. He was also a partner in the King's Street Sugar Works established in 1727.[379] James Coulter was therefore the third successive Coulter who took up mercantile occupations in the same family, registering as Burgess and Guild Brethren in September 1740, as 'son to John C., merchant'.[380] This paternal lineage established, it is apparent that James Coulter was one of Glasgow's tobacco merchants described as 'Tobacco Lords' by historian T.M. Devine. Coulter was also a partner in Wester Sugarhouse.[381]

James Coulter died on 6 September 1788, having left £1200 in a 1787 will and settlement for a charitable fund. This fund was intended for 'worthy and deserving persons in indigent or narrow circumstances….[with] a preference be given to persons of the name of Coulter, or of Peadie'. In 1860, the annual revenue from the fund was £54, which was paid out to vulnerable and elderly people. In 1860, twelve pensioners were paid £4.[382] In 2010, Glasgow City Council reported this was worth £80,090, and was to 'transfer to the Lord Provost's Charities fund for Vulnerable Citizens'.[383]

Bequests (Miscellaneous)

Blind Asylum

In 1804, John Leitch bequeathed £5,000 to establish a charitable foundation, although this was not paid until after his wife died in 1823.[384] John Leitch of Kilmardinny (died c.1805-6) was a Glasgow-West India merchant, and partner (with Archibald Smith of Jordanhill) in Leitch and Smith, one of the city premier firms after the American Revolution.[385] Leitch was a wealthy and landed West India merchant, purchasing the estate of Kilmardinny around 1800.[386] His journal – now in Glasgow City Archives – reveals he held major capital in Leitch & Smith, at the exact time the West India firm was lending to Scottish merchants with

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[377] 'James Ewing of Strathleven', *Legacies of British Slavery database*, Available: http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/21020 Accessed: 25 January 2022

[378] *Deeds Instituting Bursaries, Scholarships, and Other Foundations, in the College and University of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Maitland club, 1850), p.213.

[379] John McUre, *History of Glasgow, new edn.,* (Glasgow: Hutchison & Brookman, 1830), p.170, p.229.

[380] James R. Anderson, ed., *The Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Glasgow, 1573-1750,* (Edinburgh, 1925), p.437.

[381] T.M. Devine, *The Tobacco Lords,* (Edinburgh, 1975), p.179.

[382] Strang, *Bursaries, Schools, Mortifications and Bequests*, pp.85-87.

[383] Glasgow City Council, 'Active Trusts: Appendix 1', Available: https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/councillorsandcommittees/viewSelectedDocument.asp?c=P62AFQZL0G2U810G Accessed: 12 December 2021.

[384] Strang, *Bursaries, Schools, Mortifications and Bequests*, pp.103-4.

[385] 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.

[386] Smith and Mitchell, *Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry*, 'Kilmardinny'.

Jamaica estates and enslaved people. The last entry in his journal is December 1805, suggesting he died soon afterwards.[387]

Coulter's Mortification for Inventions

As noted the above family biography above for *James Coulter's Mortification*, James Coulter was described by historian T.M. Devine as one of Glasgow's 'Tobacco Lords'. Coulter was also a partner in Wester Sugarhouse.[388] Alongside the *Coulter Mortification* (£1200), James Coulter also bequeathed £200 'to be lodged in the hands, and to be under the directions, of the Magistrates and Town Council of Glasgow' for the 'benefit of the Manufacture and Trade of Glasgow'.[389]

Other Bequests

Cecilia Douglas Bequest

Cecilia Douglas (1772-1862) was the sister of several prominent Glasgow-West India merchants, and also became an enslaver in the British West Indies. In 1793, she married Gilbert Douglas. When he died in 1807, Cecilia Douglas inherited his Scottish estates in Douglas Park and Boggs in Lanarkshire, before purchasing nearby Orbiston.[390] She also inherited his part share of the sugar plantation Mount Pleasant in St Vincent and claimed over £3000 for Enslaved people when plantation slavery was abolished in 1834.[391] It is also apparent that Cecilia Douglas had travelled Italy in a grand tour; collecting artworks. As per her settlement:

> I am anxious to preserve the collection of pictures, sculpture Pietro duro tables and cabinets marble tables vases Etruscan vases mosaics and Cabinet of China and other works of art purchased by me during my residence abroad and being satisfied that this can be affected only by them being deposited in some Public Institution. Therefore I hereby direct and appoint my said Trustees or Trustee…to present the said pictures sculpture Pietro duro tables and cabinets marble tables vases Etruscan vases bronzes mosaics and Cabinet of China and other works of art conform to an inventory thereof to be made out and subscribed my me as relative hereto as a Donation from me to such public institution in Scotland as my said Trustees or Trustee and their on his aforesaid may consider to be the best calculated to accomplishing this my wish and intention or as I may hereafter appoint.[392]

After her death, Douglas' trustees presented the artworks to the Glasgow Corporation. Some paintings have been displayed in the Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum in Glasgow.[393]

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[387] GCA, T-MJ 80, Ledger Book of John Leitch. Leitch held £12,000 in account current in the firm in 1800. The same year, the firm loaned £25,000 to Glasgow-West India firm Robert Mackay & Co. GCA, TD 1/1081/3, Bond £25,000 by Robert Mackay and Comp., 3 Oct. 1800.

[388] Devine, *Tobacco Lords*, p.179.

[389] Strang, *Bursaries, Schools, Mortifications and Bequests*, pp.104-6.

[390] Smith and Mitchell, *Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry* 'Orbiston House'.

[391] 'Cecilia Douglas (née Douglas)', *Legacies of British Slavery database,* http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/27301 Accessed 15 February 2022.

[392] NRS, SC 36/51/44, 'Trust Disposition and Settlement; Codicil of Cecilia Douglas', 13 December 1862, pp.195-233; Cecilia Douglas left moveable property of £40, 365 when she died. See NRS, SC36/48/49, 'Inventory of Cecilia Douglas', 13 December 1862, pp.248-255.

[393] Smith and Mitchell, *Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry,* 'Orbiston'; Ben Riley-Smith, 'The paintings sullied by slavery', *The Herald*, 10 March 2013. Available: https://www.heraldscotland.com/news/13095465.paintings-sullied-slavery/ Accessed: 21 January 2022.

Kings Park (Aikenhead House)

John Gordon was one of Glasgow's leading West India merchants. He was a partner of Stirling, Gordon & Co., one of the city's premier firms that traded exclusively with Jamaica, importing sugar grown by enslaved people.[394] Gordon's wealth was derived from West India commerce and textile produce, and therefore dependent upon chattel slavery. He took possession of Little Aikenhead estate 'with Mansion House, Garden, Mains, Parks & Offices' on 30 April 1808.[395] However, the mansion house was already built (in 1806) by the time Gordon took possession of the estate in April 1808, although he financed the later improvement of the mansion.[396] Between 1930 and 1934, King's Park (almost 100 acres) was gifted to Glasgow City Council, which included Aikenhead House. In 1986, Aikenhead house was converted into private housing by developers, and converted into residential housing as it remains today.[397]

Mitchell Library

The Mitchell Library was established via a gift from Stephen Mitchell (1789 – 1874). On his death, he was described as a former 'tobacco manufacturer in Linlithgow, afterwards tobacco manufacturer in Saint Andrew Square Glasgow'.[398]

The Mitchell family's wealth was derived from the family firm, Stephen Mitchell & Sons, which was initially a tobacco manufacturing business in Linlithgow from 1723. The firm had successive generations of namesakes, with Stephen Mitchell (1789 – 1874) eventually moving to Glasgow in 1825.[399] The early history of the firm, and the family, reveals connections to Philadelphia and Virginia. In 1785, Stephen Mitchell (Stephen 'library' Mitchell's father) entered a year's contract with Theodorick Bland (1746-1793), was a British born Virginia planter and owner of enslaved people. As part of Mitchell's indenture contract of May 1785, he was to use his 'utmost endeavour to instruct or inform any Negrow or other persons in any branch of manufactury that he is Master of'. He worked in Bland's snuff mill likely training up enslaved people (although he ultimately received no wages due to Bland's financial situation). Writing in April 1787, Stephen Mitchell informed his father about the possibilities of tobacco commerce just before returning to Scotland that summer. Likely due to his extensive connections in Virginia in the 1780s, Stephen Mitchell is credited with being 'chiefly responsible for transforming the family shop and snuff mill into a significant tobacco manufacturing firm'.[400]

The Mitchell lineage reveals when most of the family fortune was accumulated. On the death of Stephen Mitchell, merchant in Linlithgow, around 1757, he was owed just £57 sterling (the relative worth of £57 in 1757, compared to average earnings in 2020, was £114,000).[401] On the death of Stephen Mitchell senior, tobacconist in Linlithgow, on 28 July 1821, he left £1446 (of which 97 percent was held in Stephen Mitchell and Son).[402] The

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[394] Smith and Mitchell, *Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry* 'Aikenhead House'.
[395] GCA T-SA 6/1/1, Lanarkshire, 1781-1820, sasine 5509.
[396] Smith and Mitchell, *Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry* 'Aikenhead House'.
[397] *King's Park History,* Available: https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=31494&p=0 Accessed: 30 November 2021.
[398] NRS SC15/41/15, Dumfries Sheriff Court Wills and testaments, Stephen Mitchell, 18 June 1874, p.802.
[399] *Memoirs and Portraits* Vol.2, pp.233-4.
[400] Jacob Price, 'The Beginnings of Tobacco Manufacture in Virginia', *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* 64/1 (January 1956), pp.3-29.
[401] NRS CC8/8/116, Edinburgh Commissary Court, 'Testament Dative and Inventory of Stephen Mitchell, merchant in Linlithgow', 28 July 1757, pp.784-7. *Measuring Worth*, Available: https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/result.php?year_source=1757&amount=57&year_result=2020 Accessed: 9 March 2022.
[402] NRS SC70/1/26, Edinburgh Sheriff Court Inventories, Inventory of Stephen Mitchell sr., tobacconist in Linlithgow, 6 February 1822, p.642.

relative worth of £1446 in 1821, compared to average earnings in 2020, was £1.39m.[403] Not only did Stephen Mitchell - who established the Mitchell Library - inherit significant personal wealth, he took over a firm with origins in the Atlantic slavery economy.

Stephen Mitchell assumed control of Stephen Mitchell & Sons on the death of his father (in 1821) and moved the business to Glasgow. In 1825, Glasgow Trade Directories confirm that Stephen Mitchell, and Son 'wholesale tobacconist' were based at 106 Candleriggs house and 40 Charlotte street. By 1834, Stephen Mitchell and Son were based at 10 St Andrews Square. According to biographers, the 'style of the firm…has been unchanged for more than a century'. Stephen Mitchell retired in 1859, and died on 21 April 1874, aged 85.[404] On death, he left a major fortune of £79,269. The relative worth of £79,269 in 1874, compared to average earnings in 2020, is £43.1m.[405] Mitchell had apparently disposed of his shares in Stephen Mitchell and Sons, and invested in a broad portfolio of interests, including banking firms and railway companies. The residue of his estate was left to the 'Incorporation of the city of Glasgow…[and] shall form the nucleus of a fund for the establishment and endowment of a large Public Library in Glasgow' (and the Town Council was said to have received £66,998 10s. 6d).[406]

It is impossible to confirm exactly how much Stephen Mitchell and Sons depended upon the import of produce grown by enslaved people between 1723 and the abolition of slavery in America in 1865, although given chattel slavery superseded indentured servitude in the Chesapeake by 1720, it is improbable that the firm did not import any of this produce at all.[407] Given the dramatic increase between father and son's personal wealth, most of family fortune was acquired between 1821 and 1874. Stephen Mitchell, who established the Mitchell Library, dealt in tobacco in Glasgow prior to the abolitions of plantation slavery in the West Indies in 1834, and the United States of America in 1865. Indeed, he retired six years before plantation slavery was abolished in the United States. After his retirement, he invested profits from the tobacco business into other concerns with high returns, such as shares in the railway companies. To what extent the Atlantic trades, and plantation slavery, contributed to the Mitchell family fortunes, and ultimately the Mitchell Library, requires further research but it is inconceivable that it had no influence at all.

Pollok House and estate

Pollok House was the ancient seat of the Maxwells of Nether Pollok. The mansion house was completed in 1752, with 'small additions' in 1845-6.[408] Dr Jennifer Melville's recent report for the National Trust for Scotland concluded Sir Walter Maxwell 4th Bt (1732-62) was connected to the Atlantic slave economy with his brother James Maxwell (1735-85), and that further research is required to establish just how much slavery-derived profits influenced the development of Pollok House.[409] The Maxwells connected with the Stirling family line - who had major interests in Jamaica slavery – with the marriage of Elizabeth Maxwell and

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[403] *Measuring Worth*, Available: https://measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/result.php?year_source=1822&amount=1446&year_result=2020 Accessed: 9 March 2022.
[404] *Memoirs and Portraits* Vol.2, pp.233-4; *The Glasgow Directory, 1825-7,* 27th Edition, (Glasgow, 1825), p.132; *The Post Office Annual Directory for 1834-5,* (Glasgow, 1834), p.135.
[405] *Measuring Worth*, Available: https://measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/result.php?year_source=1822&amount=1446&year_result=2020 Accessed: 9 March 2022.
[406] NRS SC15/41/15, Dumfries Sheriff Court Wills and testaments, Stephen Mitchell, 18 June 1874, p.805; *Memoirs and Portraits* Vol.2, pp.233-4.
[407] Kenneth Morgan, *Slavery and the British Empire: From Africa to America,* (Oxford, 2007), p.27.
[408] Smith and Mitchell, *Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry* 'Pollok House'.
[409] Jennifer Melville, *Facing Our Past Report,* (National Trust for Scotland, 2021), p.48.

Archibald Stirling in 1815. Their son, William Stirling Maxwell, inherited considerable family interests. He died at Venice in 1878, leaving a remarkable £202,817 in personal wealth.[410] The Maxwell family gifted Pollok Park and house to the City of Glasgow Corporation in 1966 and is now jointly managed with the National Trust for Scotland.[411] In 2017, experts from the BBC4 programme *Britain's Lost Masterpieces* discovered a 'lost' painting by Sir Peter Paul Rubens in Pollok House.[412] Further research is required to identify to what extent slavery derived capital contributed to Pollok House and its contents.

[410] NRS SC44/44/23, Dunblane Sherriff Court, Eik granted 08/07/1886. Second Eik granted 03/09/1889; Sir William Stirling Maxwell, of Keir and Pollok, Baronet, d. 15/01/1878 at Venice, p.1442.
[411] *Pollok Country Park History*, Available: https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=31496&p=0 Accessed: 27 November 2021.
[412] 'Missing masterpiece worth millions found hanging in country house in Glasgow', *The Scotsman,* Available: https://www.scotsman.com/whats-on/arts-and-entertainment/missing-masterpiece-worth-millions-found-hanging-country-house-glasgow-839755 Accessed: 27 November 2021.

Appendix 3 - Buildings: Case Studies

Aikenhead House

Aikenhead House in King's Park, Glasgow was built in 1806.[413] Scotland's Register of Sasines confirms that John Gordon of Aikenhead (1753-1828) took possession of 'Little Aikenhead' with mansion house and garden on 30 April 1808 from the trustees of Robert Scott (son of Robert Scott, banker in Glasgow).[414] Gordon was one of Glasgow's leading West India merchants. He was a partner of Stirling, Gordon & Co., one of the city's premier firms that traded exclusively with Jamaica, importing sugar grown by enslaved people for sale.[415] He registered with the Merchants House in 1786, as son of Alexander Gordon, and merchant and Baillie of Glasgow.[416] He was heavily involved with the 1807 establishment of the pro-slavery lobbying group, the Glasgow West India Association, indeed was its first subscriber and chairman.[417] Gordon's fortune was boosted with diversification into Scottish cotton manufacturing, also dependent upon Scotland's Atlantic slavery economy. From 1800, John Gordon owned stock and shares in James Finlay & Co. – a major cotton manufacturing firm which imported produce grown by enslaved people in the West Indies – and his investments dramatically rose up to his death in 1828.[418] On his death, he possessed one of the largest slavery-derived fortunes amongst his peers, valued at over £118,000 (in an era when £100,000 was a fortune worthy of the British super-rich).[419] John Gordon took possession of Aikenhead with mansion house and garden on 30 April 1808.[420] In May or early June 1808, he borrowed £5,000 via a 'heritable bond' from the College of Glasgow, a loan which likely helped fund the purchase (Aikenhead was valued at £22,000 by July 1808).[421] Designed by famous Glasgow architect, David Hamilton, wings were added to the mansion in 1823.[422] Historic Environment Scotland lists this as a Category A Listed building today.[423]

Cathkin House

Cathkin House was built in 1799, to designs by Edinburgh architect James Ramsay. Walter Ewing MacLae (d.1814) inherited Cathkin estate from his maternal uncle Walter Maclae in 1790, and set about building a new mansion house.[424] Walter Ewing Maclae's connections to the Atlantic slave economy remain unverified, although he was an accountant who specialised in bankruptcies with a 'foreign connection'.[425] With wife Margaret Fisher, Walter Ewing Maclae had two daughters and two sons. Both sons would become involved with West India commerce and Caribbean slavery. The second eldest son was prominent West India merchant James Ewing of Strathleven (1775-1853), although it was eldest son, Humphry

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[413] John Guthrie Smith, and John Oswald Mitchell, *The Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry,* (Glasgow, 1878 edn.), 'Aikenhead House'.
[414] Glasgow City Archives [GCA] T-SA 6/1/1, Lanarkshire, 1781-1820, sasine 5509.
[415] Smith and Mitchell, *Old Country Houses,* 'Aikenhead House'.
[416] *A List of Matriculated Members of the Merchant's House,* (Glasgow, 1858), p.17.
[417] GCA, TD1683/1/1, 'Abstract of the Glasgow West India Association', pp.6-8.
[418] University of Glasgow Archives, UGD91/1/4/1/3/1, Ledger, 1792-1800, p.153; NRS, SC36/48/21, Inventory of John Gordon, 11 August 1828, p.618.
[419] National Records of Scotland [NRS], SC36/48/21, 'Inventory of John Gordon of Aikenhead', 11 August 1828, p.620.
[420] GCA T-SA 6/1/1, Lanarkshire, 1781-1820, sasine 5509.
[421] NRS, GD1/1209/9, 'Journal of John Gordon', p.21, p.25.
[422] Smith and Mitchell, *Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry* 'Aikenhead House'.
[423] Cathkin House, Available: http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/designation/LB33705 Accessed: 26 November 2021.
[424] Smith and Mitchell, *Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry* 'Cathkin House'.
[425] Smith and Mitchell, *Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry* 'Springbank House'.

Ewing Maclae (died 1860), who became the laird of Cathkin on his father's death in 1814.[426] In 1798, Humphry Ewing (afterwards Maclae) was a 'merchant in Kingston' who received inheritance from his maternal uncle, Ralph Fisher, also a merchant in Kingston.[427] By 1834, Humphry Ewing Maclae owned enslaved people in Jamaica and claimed compensation when the British Government abolished slavery in 1834 (£3462 18s 8d for 161 enslaved people on Dallas Castle, Port Royal; £3039 12s 0d for 195 enslaved people in Southfields, St Ann; and £1874 1s 11d for 93 Enslaved on Lillyfield, St Ann).[428] To what extent capital derived from Atlantic slavery contributed to the development and improvement of Cathkin house remains unascertained. Walter Ewing Maclae – who commissioned the building – was an accountant with foreign interests, although his son Humphry Ewing Maclae was more closely linked to the Atlantic slave economy whilst he owned the house for forty-six years. Historic Environment Scotland states this remains a Category B Listed building today.[429]

Linn House (The Lynn)

According to Smith and Oswald's *Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry,* Colin Campbell purchased a portion of the estate Hagtonhill around 1820 and immediately renamed his holding 'The Lynn'.[430] Scotland's Register of Sasines confirm Colin Campbell seised 'Hagthornhill' on 29 April 1822 via disposal by trustees of Alexander Campbell of Hallyards.[431] Hallywards was in fact Colin Campbell's brother, and his nephew (Mungo Campbell junior) was a partner in prominent Glasgow firm John Campbell senior & Co. Colin Campbell had deep personal and commercial connections to Atlantic slavery economies. In 1807, he was almost certainly a subscriber to the pro-slavery Glasgow West India Association (there are two separate subscribers named Colin Campbell).[432] A merchant resident in London and Amsterdam, he was a partner in the merchant firm of Colin Campbell, Dent & Co. in Antwerp in 1833.[433] In 1836, he claimed compensation for 165 enslaved people (£8899 17s 11d) on the Sans Souci estate in British Guiana.[434] Linn House was built around 1822 by Colin Campbell, and was sold to John Gordon of Aikenhead around 1840.[435] Gordon of Aikenhead was the son of prominent West India merchant, and he extended Linn House in 1852. In this way, it seems that capital directly accumulated from West India commerce, as well as inherited wealth from a father with West India connections, contributed to the development of Linn House. Historic Environment Scotland states this remains a Category B Listed building today.[436]

Pollok House

Pollok House was the ancient seat of the Maxwells of Nether Pollok. The mansion house was completed in 1752, with 'small additions' in 1845-6.[437] Dr Jennifer Melville's recent report

[426] Smith and Mitchell, *Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry* 'Cathkin House'.
[427] William Lindsay Alexander, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Ralph Wardlaw,* (Edinburgh, 1856), p.300
[428] 'Humphrey Ewing Maclae', *Legacies of British Slavery database,* http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/12095 Accessed 7 February 2022.
[429] *Aikenhead House,* Available: http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/designation/LB33708 Accessed: 26 November 2021.
[430] Smith and Mitchell, *Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry* 'The Lynn'.
[431] GCA T-SA 7/1/3, Renfrewshire, 1821-30, sasine 734.
[432] GCA, TD1683/1/1, 'Abstract of the Glasgow West India Association', p.7.
[433] *London Gazette,* 30 April 1833.
[434] 'Colin Campbell of Glasgow and Rotterdam', *Legacies of British Slavery database*, http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146652289 Accessed 7 February 2022
[435] Smith and Mitchell, *Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry* 'The Lynn'.
[436] *Linn Park House*, Available: http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/designation/LB33334 Accessed: 26 November 2021.
[437] Smith and Mitchell, *Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry* 'Pollok House'.

for the National Trust for Scotland claims Sir Walter Maxwell 4th Bt (1732-62) was connected to the Atlantic slave economy with his brother James Maxwell (1735-85). This report suggests James Maxwell made some improvements in 1767-8.[438]

Later owners also had substantial connections to slavery, albeit through inherited wealth. Sir William Stirling Maxwell (1818-1878) inherited Pollok through his maternal line; his mother, Elizabeth Maxwell (1793-1822), was married to Archibald Stirling of Keir (1768-1847) in 1815.[439] Archibald Stirling was a planter and enslaver 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 on his father's estates of Hampden and Frontier'.[440] Glasgow City Archives holds the Stirling of Keir family collection which provides full detail on the family's Jamaica estates, as well as Archibald Stirling's activities. In his own words in 1789, he went 'to be planter with that resolution in everything that lies in my power to learn the business which is my own Interest'.[441] He also retained ownership of enslaved people Jamaica; claiming £12,517 when the British Government abolished plantation slavery in 1834.[442] There is no record how much Archibald Stirling bequeathed on his death in 1847 to his son, William Stirling Maxwell, but he retained considerable family interests. He died at Venice in 1878, leaving £202,817 in personal wealth.[443]

Tollcross

Tollcross estate was once owned by 'tobacco lord' James Dunlop of Garnkirk (b.1742). He was a partner in his father's extensive Virginia tobacco firm, Colin Dunlop & Sons, before its bankruptcy in 1793. James Dunlop later operated a large-scale in coal mining and purchased Tollcross estate in 1810, dying there six years later. However, the current mansion was built for the Dunlop family in 1848.[444] In this sense, this estate's connection to slavery was via inherited wealth two generations after the tobacco era. It seems more likely the estate and mansion was purchased and built mainly from industrial, rather than slavery-derived, wealth. Historic Environment Scotland list this as a Category A Listed building today.[445]

Potential Connections

Haggs Castle

According to Smith and Oswald's *Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry,* Haggs Castle was 'one of the early residences of the Maxwells of Nether Pollok, and is now part of the combined Keir and Pollok estate'. At the end of the 18th century, the house was in ruins but after 1860 was restored by Sir John Maxwell, 7th Baronet, of Pollok (1791 – 1865). He was the grandson of Sir James Maxwell, 6th Bt (1735-85), and Frances Colquhoun/Colhoun. Dr Jennifer Melville's National Trust report noted how Frances (d.1818) was the daughter of Robert Colhoun (1710–63), a planter in St Kitts, and married James Maxwell with a dowry of

[438] Jennifer Melville, Facing Our Past Report, (National Trust for Scotland, 2021), p.48.
[439] William Fraser, *The Stirlings of Keir, and their family papers* (Edinburgh, 1858) p.81.
[440] Fraser, *The Stirlings of Keir,* p.81. See also, GCA, T-SK 11/3, 'Bound Volumes of Letters, Vol. 3', April 1789, ff. 119, 121, 122.
[441] GCA T-SK/11/3/121, Archibald Stirling to his father William Stirling of Keir, 27 Apr 1789
[442] 'Archibald Stirling the younger', *Legacies of British Slavery database,* Available: http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/18902 Accessed 15 February 2022.
[443] NRS SC44/44/23, Dunblane Sherriff Court, Eik granted 08/07/1886. Second Eik granted 03/09/1889; Sir William Stirling Maxwell, of Keir and Pollok, Baronet, d. 15/01/1878 at Venice, p.1442.
[444] Smith and Mitchell, *Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry* 'Tollcross'.
[445] *Tollcross House*, Available: http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/designation/LB33648 Accessed: 26 November 2021.

£5,000.[446] For comparison, in 2020, the relative wage or income worth (average earnings) of £5000 from 1760 is £9.41m.[447] It is impossible to estimate how much of this dowry, if any, made it way via two generations of a landed family into Haggs Castle. Historic Environment Scotland lists Haggs Castle as a Category A Listed building today.[448]

Other historic properties in Glasgow City Centre with connections to the Atlantic slave economy

Cunninghame Mansion (GOMA)

The Cunninghame Mansion – the building now at the core of Glasgow's Gallery of Modern Art – was built for William Cunninghame of Lainshaw (1731 – 1799). (The Cunninghame of Lainshaw in Ayrshire should not be confused with the Cuninghames of Craigends in Renfrewshire, who owned Grandvale estate in Westmoreland, Jamaica). The foundation stone for the building was laid in 1778, and built over two years. It was said to cost £10,000, and was described as the 'most splendid urban mansion in Scotland'.[449] William Cunninghame's fortune was derived from tobacco commerce and American slavery. He was resident in Virginia in the late 1740s, first as a factor then in charge of Cochrane, Murdoch & Co. from 1752 (his kinsman's firm in Falmouth). He branched out on his own account in 1759, supplying victuals to the British army in Pittsburgh. Cuninghame returned to Glasgow in July 1762, taking up a partnership in the Cochrane, Murdoch & Co. Before the American War of Independence (1775-1783), he headed his own firms, structured around William Cunninghame & Co., one of the three major tobacco firms in Glasgow (alongside that of Alexander Speirs and John Glassford). Cunninghame made multiple investments in land and heritable property in Scotland; paying £26,200 for the Lainshaw estate in Stewarton in 1778.[450] In the same year, he was said to have invested £10,000 in the Cunninghame Mansion in Glasgow, although he did not reside in the urban mansion for long.[451]

After the American War ended in 1783, Cunninghame stepped back from Atlantic commerce whilst diversifying into the West India trades, assuming a role as financier to the firm Robert Dunmore & Co. This firm had extensive connections with Jamaica, including ownership of three estates and enslaved people (valued at £69,000 in 1800).[452] In 1786, Robert Dunmore & Co. shipped out supplies to Scottish enslavers in Jamaica, stocking their estates with goods such as coppersmith tools and copper stills.[453] According to historian T.M. Devine, Cunninghame lost much of his wealth in the West India trades, advancing 'upwards of £115,000' to Robert Dunmore & Co., and apparently still liable for debts of £45,000 on his death.[454] Thus, whilst Cunninghame was both a Virginia and West India merchant and planter, the Cunninghame mansion was likely constructed by wealth derived from American slavery. From 1827, the mansion was redeveloped into the Royal Exchange; which became the meeting point for the city's elites. The redevelopment was led by James Ewing, leading

[446] Jennifer Melville, *Facing Our Past Report,* (National Trust for Scotland, 2021), p.48.
[447] *Measuring Worth*, Available: Available: https://measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/result.php?year_source=1750&amount=5000&year_result=2020 Accessed: 25 November 2021
[448] *Haggs Castle*, Available: http://portal.historicenvironment.scot/designation/LB33467 Accessed: 26 November 2021.
[449] 'Senex' (Robert Reid, 1773-1865), *Glasgow, Past and Present,* Volume II, (Glasgow, 1851), p. 4.
[450] T.M. Devine (ed.), *A Scottish Firm in Virginia, 1767-1777: W. Cuninghame & Co*., (Edinburgh, 1984), pp.x-xv.
[451] 'Senex' (Robert Reid, 1773-1865), *Glasgow, Past and Present,* Volume II, (Glasgow, 1851), p.
[452] Devine, *A Scottish Firm in Virginia,* p.xiii.
[453] NRS, GD247/58.P1, Misc. 'List of Sundries to be shipt by Messrs Dunmore and Co. for Hugh Fraser to be marked HF, Westmoreland, Jamaica', 28 May 1786
[454] Devine, *A Scottish Firm in Virginia,* p.xiii.

Glasgow West India merchant and the Royal Exchange became the home of the Glasgow West India Association.

Greenview School (47 Greenhead Street, Bridgeton)
Greenview School was the location of the Buchanan Institution from 1859. This was an endowed school, with £30,000 gifted by James Buchanan, a Glasgow-West India merchant who was present in Grenada, Jamaica and Brazil. His bequest was used to educate schoolboys, although the city of Glasgow purchased the land and the building. Whilst schoolchildren were educated via the proceeds of slavery, the building itself was purchased by the city.[455] The building has survived and seems to be a residential development as of 2008.[456]

Merchants House
The modern Merchants House building in Glasgow's George square was erected in 1874. This commercial organisation was established via a Letter of the Guildry in 1605, and was initially based at the Merchant's Hall at the Bridgegate. As the commercial centre of Glasgow moved westwards in the 19th century, the organisation moved to George square. On his death in 1853, James Ewing - former Dean of Guild, Jamaica planter, enslaver and recipient of slave compensation – bequeathed £1,000 to the 'Dean of Guild and Directors of the Merchants House for behoof of that Incorporation'.[457] In 2020, the relative wage or income worth (average earnings) of £1000 from 1853 is £808,000.[458] Although a substantial sum, it is unknown how much of this bequest, if any, was invested in the relocation.

Mitchell Library (see Appendix 2: Bequests for a full explanation)
The Mitchell Library was established via a gift from Stephen Mitchell (1789 – 1874). On his death, he was described as a former 'tobacco manufacturer in Linlithgow, afterwards tobacco manufacturer in Saint Andrew Square Glasgow'.[459]

St Andrew's by the Green, Glasgow (The Whistlin' Kirk)
St Andrews by the Green was built in 1750, with Richard (1687-1763) and Alexander Oswald (1694-1766) heavily involved in its foundation. This family originally came from Caithness, and became one of Glasgow's major colonial mercantile dynasties. Later, St Andrews by the Green was patronised by a prominent group of Glasgow's Episcopalian West India merchants. James Fyffe and Charles Stirling – both partners in Stirling, Gordon & Co. – shared the same pew in 1827. Pew rents likely contributed to the maintenance of the kirk, albeit small-scale.[460]

St. George's Parish Church (St George's Tron Church)

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[455] *Historical Sketch of The Buchanan Institution, Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1913), p.15; *Reports From Commissioners: Ecclesiastical; Church Estates, Endowed Schools and Hospitals (Scotland),* Vol. XVII, 5 March 7 August 1874, pp.192-195.
[456] Sam Small, Greater Glasgow: *An Illustrated Architectural Guide,* (Edinburgh, 2008), p.95; Canmore, 'Glasgow, 47 Greenhead Street, Greenview School', Available: https://canmore.org.uk/site/162006/glasgow-47-greenhead-street-greenview-school Accessed: 31 January 2022.
[457] NRS SC65/34/7, Inventory of James Ewing, 24 February 1854, p.199-200.
[458] *Measuring Worth,* Available, https://measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/result.php?year_source=1853&amount=1000&year_result=2020 Accessed: 11 January 2022.
[459] NRS SC15/41/15, Dumfries Sheriff Court Wills and testaments, Stephen Mitchell, 18 June 1874, p.802.
[460] GCA, TD423/8/1, St Andrew's Pew rent books', p.92.

St George's Parish was established 1807-9. This became the worshipping place of the Glasgow-West India elite including John Gordon, James Ewing, Colin McLachlan, James Connell.[461]

Tobacco Merchants House (42 Miller Street)

As noted on the *Scottish Civic Trust* website, the house at 42 Miller Street is 'the last of the Georgian villas known as the Virginia Tobacco Merchants' houses to remain standing in Merchant City of Glasgow'.[462] Colloquially known as 'Tobacco Merchants House', it was built for John Craig, a wright, and opened in 1775. Miller Street was originally feu'd out by John Miller of Westerton and opened in 1773.[463] Around 1782, the building was sold to Robert Findlay of Easterhill (1748-1802). His firm, Findlay, Hopkirk & Co., operated out of a counting house at the back of his residence in Miller Street.[464] Findlay was unusual in that he was involved with Virginia commerce before the American War of Independence (1775-1783), and afterwards became a West India merchant. He became a member of the West India Club which sat in Glasgow, 1787-91. He was named as a partner in Findlay, Bannatyne & Company, 1792-1799, which traded between Great Britain, America and the West Indies.[465] There is little question West India commerce was undertaken from this counting house. In 1799, Findlay, Hopkirk & Co. merchants', was located at 'counting-house east side Miller street' and Robert, Findlay merchant was to be found in the 'lodging and counting house' at Miller street.[466] Robert Findlay died intestate in 1802, although his son, Robert Findlay junior, retained interests in Findlay & Co. became a very wealthy Glasgow West India merchant. It is unknown to what extent slavery-derived wealth contributed to the development of 42 Miller Street, but it was owned for many years by a colonial merchant enmeshed in two slavery economies.

Other Potential Connections

Cotton infrastructure

Historic Environment Scotland's Canmore site lists twenty-eight cotton factories in the city of Glasgow, many from 19th century although with dates unverified, which have potential links to the Atlantic slave economy.[467]

Camphill House

Camphill House was built for Robert Thomson junior (1771-1831) between 1800 and 1818. Robert Thomson junior was a partner in the firm Robert Thomson & Sons, established by his father, Robert Thomson senior (1742-1820). The firm operated Adelphi Cotton Works in Hutchesontown, Glasgow. One antiquarian source noted how Robert Thomson senior was 'originally bred to the linen trade, which he carried on extensively till about the year 1778'. Thomson experimented with East India cotton, although this was difficult to procure, and so they proceeded with the use of cotton twist.[468] Given that Jamaica was the premier outlet for

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[461] GCA, CH2/818/11-12, 'St George's Roll Books', 1818, 1823.
[462] 'Our Building', Available: https://www.scottishcivictrust.org.uk/our-building/ Accessed: 23 January 2022.
[463] 'Senex' (Robert Reid, 1773-1865), *Glasgow, Past and Present,* Volume II, (Glasgow, 1851), p.201.
[464] George Stewart, *Curiosities of Glasgow Citizenship,* (Glasgow, 1881), pp.205-6.
[465] *Cases Decided in the Court of Session, Teind Court & c. and House of Lords, 1863-1864,* (Edinburgh, 1864) p.88
[466] *The Glasgow Directory, 1799* (Glasgow, 1799), n.p.
[467] *Historic Environment Scotland: Canmore*, Available: https://canmore.org.uk/site/search/result?SIMPLE_KEYWORD=cotton&SITECOUNTRY=1&COUNCIL=260 Accessed: 23 January 2022.
[468] *Memoirs and Portraits of One Hundred Glasgow Men who have Died During the Last Thirty Years, and in their Lives did Much to Make the City what it Now is,* Vol.2, (Glasgow, 1886), pp.323-4.

Scottish linen (which the family depended on up to 1778), and that East India cotton was not a major feature of the Scottish economy until the East India Company Act of 1813, it seems likely that the Adelphi Works depended upon West India cotton

Glasgow Academy

The Glasgow Academy website notes the 'story of The Glasgow Academy begins with William Campbell of Tullichewan', and his firm J & W Campbell traded with 'Canada, the West Indies, Australia and New Zealand'. Established in 1845, according to the Glasgow Academy website, 'many of the first Academy families were connected with the textile industry in roles such as turkey-red dyers, lace manufacturers, cotton spinners and power loom cloth manufacturers….Most of the income from these individuals would have been derived from the import, export and sale of slave goods'.[469]

Tobacco infrastructure

Historic Environment Scotland's Canmore site lists a small number of tobacco factories from 19th century although with dates unverified, which have potential links to the Atlantic slave economy.[470]

[469] 'The History of Glasgow Academy', Available: https://www.theglasgowacademy.org.uk/alumni/from-our-archives/the-history-of-the-glasgow-academy/ Accessed: 23 January 2022.
[470] *Historic Environment Scotland: Canmore*, Available: https://canmore.org.uk/site/search/result?SIMPLE_KEYWORD=tobacco&SITECOUNTRY=1&COUNCIL=260 Accessed: 23 January 2022.

Appendix 4 - Statues: Case Studies

Colin Campbell Monument (George Square)[471]

According to his entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* Colin Campbell [formerly Macliver], Baron Clyde (1792–1863) was an army officer. As part of the 21st regiment (Royal Scots Fusiliers), he was stationed in the British West Indies in the slavery era, initially in Barbados in 1819. Two years later, he transferred to Demerara-Essequibo (now British Guiana) as the Governor John Murray's aide-de-camp and brigade major to resident miliary force. He continued in this role under Sir Benjamin D'Urban after 1823. He remained in the British colony until 1826, returning to England.[472] Whilst he was resident in the colony, the Demerara rebellion began on 18 August 1823, involving upwards of 10,000 enslaved people. Campbell was certainly part of the colonial infrastructure that reinstated imperial order (although his actual military role remains unclear). On 13 October 1823, Colin Campbell sat on a General Court Martial in Colony House, Georgetown, in which the London missionary Rev. John Smith was put on trial for allegedly inciting the enslaved population.[473] Smith died on 6 February 1824, before he could be executed, with historian Emilia Viotti da Costa arguing he was made a 'scapegoat' of the Demerara colonists. These colonists claimed the rebellion started due to the arguments put forward by abolitionists and the activities of evangelical missionaries in the colonies.[474]

William Gladstone Monument (George Square)[475]

William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898) is one of the most distinguished politicians in British history, having served four terms as Prime Minister (1868-74; 1880-85; 1886; 1892-94). He was awarded the Freedom of the City of Glasgow in 1865 and served as Rector of the University of Glasgow (1877-1880). His father, John Gladstone (1764-1851) was Scottish merchant based in Liverpool and major owner of enslaved people in the British West Indies. In 1833, his fortune was valued at £636,000 of which approximately half was held in West India property (land and enslaved people) in Demerara and Jamaica. When slavery was abolished in 1834, John Gladstone claimed around £112k for the loss of enslaved 'property' (men, women and children). Approximately £324,000 was gifted in life and death to his children, including c.£115,100 to William Ewart.[476] John Gladstone's commercial interests directly shaped Gladstone's political career. As argued by Roland Quinault, his father subsidised his election expenses and provided a large annual allowance. And W.E. Gladstone reciprocated, as for many years in Parliament 'his main concern, as an MP, was to protect the financial interests of his father and other slave owners'.[477] For example, in a contribution to the House of Commons on 3 June 1833, William Gladstone noted that whilst 'honourable and respectable branches of his family had held West-India property'….they were not 'inattentive to the wants, the wishes, the feelings, and the interests, of the negro population connected

[471] Ray McKenzie, *Public Sculpture of Glasgow* (Liverpool, 2002), p.136.
[472] Stephens, H. M., and Roger T. Stearn. "Campbell [formerly Macliver], Colin, Baron Clyde (1792–1863), army officer." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* 23 Sep. 2004.
[473] Edwin Angel Wallbridge, *The Demerara Martyr: Memoirs of the Rev. John Smith, Missionary to Demerara,* (London, 1848), p.102.
[474] Emilia Viotti da Costa, *Crowns of Glory, Tears of Blood: The Demerara Slave Rebellion of 1823*, (New York and Oxford, 1994), p.274, p.290
[475] McKenzie, *Public Sculpture,* p.144.
[476] S.G. Checkland, The *Gladstones: A Family Biography 1764-1851* (Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp.414-6; 'John Gladstone', *Legacies of British Slavery database,* Available: http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/8961 Accessed: 21 January 2022.
[477] Roland Quinault, 'Gladstone and Slavery', *The Historical Journal,* 52/2 (2009), pp.365-70.

with their plantations'.[478] The rise of W.E. Gladstone exemplifies how slavery-derived wealth flowed to the next generation, shifting the family's concerns from commerce to politics and in the process, protecting reputations and slavery interests more broadly.

John Moore Monument (George Square) [479]

According to his entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* Sir John Moore (1761 - 1809) was a British Army general, born in Glasgow. He joined the army in 1776 and was involved in the American War of Independence (1775-1783). He later served as MP for Lanark Burghs (1784-1790). In 1796, he returned to military service under Ralph Abercrombie and helped consolidate British imperial control in St Lucia in the eastern Caribbean (previously a French colony and occupied by the British between 1778 and 1784). Moore was appointed Commandant and Governor of St Lucia in the summer of 1796 and was present on the island until May 1797.[480] In aftermath of the French Revolution, agents instilled revolutionary principles amongst the island's Black population, some of whom were enslaved and who immediately considered themselves free. Moore revealed in August 1796: 'I have not only these Brigands to subdue…[although] many have returned to the estates and above three hundred have been killed'.[481] Whilst Great Britain did not regain full control until 1803, Moore was behind initial moves to re-establish a slave society and succeeded in returning some individuals back to enslavement.

David Livingstone Monument (Cathedral Square)[482]

David Livingstone (1813-1873), famous missionary explorer, was born in Blantyre and worked in Blantyre Mill which was owned by Henry Monteith, one of Glasgow's most important cotton manufacturers. From 1816, Monteith was in a partnership with two Glasgow West India merchants; Adam Bogle and Frances Garden.[483] It is likely that when Livingstone commenced work in the mill as a 'piecer' in 1823 and spinner in 1832, the cotton was sourced from the West Indies. In one of his most famous works, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, Livingstone described how the high remuneration allowed him to undertake study at the Andersonian (now the University of Strathclyde) and Old College (now the University of Glasgow).[484] After sixteen years in London and Africa, Livingstone returned to Blantyre mill in 31 December 1856. He condemned slavery as the 'greatest meanness ever perpetrated' and those who expropriated the labour of others for profit were the 'meanest set upon on earth'. But Livingstone mounted a strong defence of cotton masters, whom he regarded as paternalistic and benevolent.[485] Perhaps this was understandable: Livingstone's rise was based upon the high wages provided by Scottish cotton manufacturing which was itself dependent upon Atlantic slavery economies.

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[478] 'Ministerial Plan for the Abolition of Slavery', House of Commons Debates, 3 June 1833, vol 18 cc308-60. Available: https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1833/jun/03/ministerial-plan-for-the-abolition-of#S3V0018P0_18330603_HOC_29 Accessed: 21 February 2022.
[479] McKenzie, *Public Sculpture,* p.119.
[480] J. Sweetman, 'Moore, Sir John (1761–1809), army officer'. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2006).
[481] James Carrick Moore, John Moore, *The Life of Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, Volume 1,* (John Murray, 1834), p.146
[482] McKenzie, *Public Sculpture,* pp.62-64.
[483] T.M. Devine, 'An Eighteenth Century Business Elite, 1750-1815', *Scottish Historical Review,* 57/ 163 (1978), pp.40-67.
[484] David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa,* (New York, 1858), p.6.
[485]'Reception of Dr Livingston at Blantyre', *Glasgow Herald*, 2 January 1857.

James Oswald Monument (George Square)[486]

James Oswald of Shieldhall (1779-1853) was the second son of Alexander Oswald of Shieldhall, Glasgow, and Margaret Dundas of Manor. James Oswald derived extensive familial and commercial income from Atlantic slavery and its commerce, although he had a fleeting connection with abolition. He was the son of a 'tobacco lord' Alexander Oswald (1738-1813) and inherited the Shieldhall estate on his father's death.[487] On the death of his cousin, Richard Alexander Oswald in 1841, he inherited a further slavery fortune. He succeeded to Auchincruive estate in Ayrshire which was purchased by kinsman (and infamous Scottish trafficker of enslaved people) Richard Oswald of Auchincruive (1705 – 1784). James Oswald subsequently invested in a cotton spinning mill:

> In 1812 the Oswalds of Shieldhall had acquired the great mill at Barrowfield, and we find the two young men, James and Nathaniel Stevenson, taken into partnership by Richard Alexander Oswald and James Oswald, and a firm, Oswald Stevenson & Co., formed for mercantile transactions in cotton and yarns, which continued till 1853.[488]

A fortune secured from the Atlantic slavery system, Oswald supported Parliamentary moves towards the abolition of plantation slavery in 1834, seemingly helping the members of the pro-slavery Glasgow West India Association secure a final pay-off. In May 1833, as MP for Glasgow, Oswald provided their representatives (who had travelled to London) with 'valuable services during [the] important negotiations and debates relative to the question of Emancipation'.[489] However, in 1836, as MP for the City of Glasgow, Oswald also supported an abolitionist petition that called for the end of the Apprenticeship scheme (the system of unpaid labour that followed after chattel slavery was abolished in 1834).[490] This might have suited his own agenda and moves towards free trade. Oswald, therefore, had a contradictory relationship with Atlantic slavery; as beneficiary of inherited wealth, as well a cotton manufacturer dependent upon produce, and finally a nominal supporter of emancipation in the 1830s, which resulted in a pay-off to pro-slavery interests.

Robert Peel junior Monument (George Square) [491]

As MP and Home Secretary, Robert Peel junior (1788 – 1850) advanced the proslavery position in the House of Commons in the 1820s. According to Michael Taylor, leading historian of the British West India interest, the West India interest (in parliament, as well as merchants and planters in metropolitan society and the colonies) 'could not have wished for a capable guardian' than Peel junior in their parliamentary fight against the abolition of plantation slavery. Peel junior was one of the leading figures in the Wellington–Peel ministry (1828-1830) and his rhetorical opposition to the abolition of plantation slavery in 1834 impeded the abolitionist's chances of progress in that period. The West India interest courted Peel's advice and regarded him 'a hero'.[492]

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[486] McKenzie, *Public Sculpture,* p.131.
[487] John Guthrie Smith, and John Oswald Mitchell, *The Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry,* (Glasgow, 1878 edn.), Shieldhall.
[488] *Memoirs and portraits of one hundred Glasgow men who have died during the last thirty years and in their lives did much to make the city what it now is* (Glasgow, 1886), p.291.
[489] Glasgow City Archives [GCA], TD1683/1/2, Minutes of the Glasgow West India Association, fols.16, 20.
[490] Iain Whyte, *Scotland and the Abolition of Black Slavery, 1756-1838* (Edinburgh, 2006), p.235.
[491] McKenzie, *Public Sculpture,* p.132.
[492] Michael Taylor, *The Interest: How the British Establishment Resisted the Abolition of Slavery,* (London, 2020), p.155.

James Watt Monument (George square; and various) [493]

James Watt (1736-1819), inventor and improver of the steam engine, had both familial and direct connections with colonial commerce and the trafficking in enslaved people. His father, also James Watt (1698-1782), was a transatlantic merchant operating out of Greenock in the mid-eighteenth century. His business between North Carolina and the West Indies involved commerce in produce grown by enslaved people to be sold in Scotland, as well as the occasional trafficking of enslaved people in the colonies. In 1753, James Watt relocated in Glasgow, operating as his father's agent including a tobacco account. In 1755, his father subsidised his expensive (£21) one-year instruction in London as an instrument maker.[494] In 1762, James Watt was still involved with his father's business and was directly involved in the trafficking of a likely enslaved child in Glasgow, named only as Frederick, who was to be sold onto a gentry family, the Brodies of Spynie.[495] The statue in George Square was erected after a campaign that began in 1824 by Mungo Nutter Campbell, Lord Provost of Glasgow, West India merchant and enslaver.[496] The Boulton-Watt steam engine was exported to the British West Indies after 1803 (after James Watt retired in 1800) and allowed enslavers to accumulate greater profits up to 1834.[497] There are other representations at Embank Street, McPhun park, Nelson Mandela Place and the Clydeport building.[498] A steel representation of James Watt was added to a 'portrait bench' in Anderston in 2013.[499]

King William Monument (near Cathedral square)

As reported in *The Times* newspaper in June 2020, King William III (1650-1720) owned shares in the Royal African Company.[500] Also known as William of Orange, he was King of Scotland, England and Ireland from 1689 until he died. Historian William Pettigrew identified him as a Governor and stockholder in the Royal African Company (RAC) in the 1690s. The RAC held a monopoly over all English slave trading from the west coast of Africa to the Americas from 1672 onwards. In order to consolidate the relationship with the new monarchy in 1689, the RAC gifted £1,000 of shares to King William although his interest seems to have focused on using the RAC as a naval power against the French rather than a profit-making exercise.[501]

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[493] McKenzie, *Public Sculpture,* p.122.

[494] For context see Stephen Mullen, 'The rise of James Watt: enlightenment, commerce, and industry in a British-Atlantic merchant city, 1736-74', in M. Dick and C. Archer-Parré, (eds.) *James Watt (1736-1819): Culture, Innovation and Enlightenment*, (Liverpool University Press: 2020), pp. 39-61.

[495] Library of Birmingham, Archives and Collections, MS 3219/3/92, 'Letter from James Brodie to James Watt junior in Greenock', 3 October 1762.

[496] James Cleland, *Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the City of Glasgow, 2nd ed*., (Glasgow: John Black & sons, 1831), p.275-6.

[497] 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, 2002), pp.242-258.

[498] McKenzie, *Public Sculpture*, p.107, p.283.p.305.p.334.

[499] 'Anderston's Bridge to Nowhere', Available: http://www.clydewaterfront.com/projects/glasgow-city-centre/infrastructure/i70---anderston%27s-bridge-to-nowhere Accessed: 21 January 2022.

[500] David Leask, 'Black Lives Matter: William of Orange statue faces attack over slave links', *The Times,* Available: https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/black-lives-matter-william-of-orange-statue-faces-attack-over-slave-links-h73f3q2s2 Accessed: 21 January 2022.

[501] William Pettigrew, *Freedom's Debt: The Royal African Company and the Politics of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1672-1752,* (North Carolina, 2016), p.138.

Appendix 5 - Streets (Extant, with connections to Atlantic Slavery)

Abercromby Street

Abercromby Street in Glasgow's east end was named in 1802 after Sir Ralph Abercromby (1734 – 1801), a Scottish military commander and imperial governor.[502] As Commander-in-Chief of the Leeward and Windward Islands, Abercromby was responsible for leading expeditions against the French in the West Indies, and the resultant British takeover of the island of Trinidad in the south-east Caribbean in February 1797.[503] Abercromby secured Tobago via the use of enslaved West India regiments.[504] The forced imposition of British chattel slavery followed: Trinidad and Tobago are estimated to have received over 25,000 African enslaved people on British ships between 1797 and 1825, who made up the island's labour force.[505]

Aikenhead Road

This street was the thoroughfare leading to Aikenhead House in Kings Park. This was owned by the Hamiltons, but the main house was built in early 1800s an afterwards occupied and improved by Glasgow-West India merchant, John Gordon (d.1828).[506]

Allison Street

Allison Street is likely named after Sir Archibald Alison, (1792-1867), Sheriff of Lanarkshire in 1834 (although note the inconsistency in spelling).[507] Alison received compensation for enslaved people when slavery was abolished in the British West Indies in 1834 and was a pro-slavery propagandist.[508] Aileen Smart notes that it is popularly believed that this street was named after Archibald Alison.[509]

Balshagray Avenue

Balshagray Street and Avenue in Broomhill were part of lands once owned by the Oswald family.[510] The Oswald colonial merchant dynasty was established by Richard and Alexander Oswald from Caithness. They acquired the Scotstoun estate in 1751, and Balshagray in 1759.[511] Richard Oswald of Scotstoun appeared at a trial in Edinburgh in 1724 as he was a 'recognized authority on the slave trading in Glasgow'.[512]

Belvidere Avenue

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[502] GCA, LK5/40, 'Glasgow Streets, A-B', Volume 1, p.32.
[503] James Epstein, *Scandal of Colonial Rule: Power and Subversion in the British Atlantic during the Age of Revolution,* (Cambridge, 2012), p.94-95.
[504] K.O. Laurence, *Tobago in Wartime, 1793-1815,* (Kingston, 1995), p.83.
[505] The transatlantic slave-trade database estimates that British ships carried 28,819 Africans to Trinidad and Tobago between 1797 and 1808. See *The Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*, Available: http://www.slavevoyages.org/assessment/estimates Accessed: 10 February 2020.
[506] John Guthrie Smith, and John Oswald Mitchell, *The Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry,* (Glasgow, 1878 edn.), Aikenhead House; Glasgow City Archives [GCA] T-SA 6/1/1, Lanarkshire, 1781-1820, sasine 5509.
[507] GCA, LK5/40, 'Glasgow Streets, A-B', Volume 1, p.76.
[508] 'Sir Archibald Alison 1st Bart.', Legacies of British Slavery database, http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/46692 Accessed 22 October 2021; Catherine Hall, 'The most unbending Conservative in Britain': Archibald Alison and Pro-slavery discourse', in *Recovering Scotland's Slavery Past: The Caribbean Connection,* ed. T.M. Devine, (Edinburgh, 2015), pp.206-224.
[509] Aileen Smart, *Villages of Glasgow: South of the Clyde* (Glasgow, 2002), p.106.
[510] GCA, LK5/40, 'Glasgow Streets, A-B', Volume 1, p.162
[511] Smith and Mitchell, *Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry*, 'Scotstoun'.
[512] Eric Graham, Sue Mowat, 'The Slaving Voyage of the Hannover of Port Glasgow 1719–1720', *History Scotland,* 3/5, (September/October 2003), p.33.

Belvidere Avenue was named after Belvidere Mansion built by tobacco merchant John McCall in 1760.[513] It was later owned by West India merchant Mungo Nutter Campbell between 1813 and 1820.[514]

Buchanan Street
In 1763, Andrew Buchanan junior (1725-1783) purchased five acres and laid off a street which became known as Buchanan Street in Glasgow city centre.[515] Buchanan was the son of George Buchanan, and a co-partner in of Virginia firms Andrew Buchanan & Co. and Buchanan, Hastie, & Co. According to historian Jacob Price, Buchanan, Hastie & Co. was the fifth largest Clyde importer of tobacco grown by enslaved people in the Chesapeake: the firm had stores in Virginia and North Carolina.[516]

Campbell Street (West)
West Campbell Street in Glasgow was named after Archibald Campbell of Blythswood (c.1763-1838), sometime after 1808.[517] Campbell owned the Blythswood estate, and feu'd off the lands in the 1820s. During his tenure as Glasgow Burghs MP (1806-9), he was supportive of the aims of pro-slavery lobbying group the Glasgow West India Association, and often introduced their petitions in the House of Commons in the 1820s.[518]

Cardross Street
Cardross Street was named by the Dennistoun family after the location of their Highland estate, Colgrain.[519] The Dennistouns were a major tobacco dynasty, involved with multiple firms that imported produce grown by enslaved people into Clyde ports.[520]

Cochrane Street
Cochrane Street was named in 1787 after Andrew Cochrane (1693-1777).[521] Andrew Cochrane of Brighouse was one of Glasgow's famous 'tobacco lords', who became wealthy as a co-partner in the firm of Cochrane, Murdoch & Company which imported tobacco from Virginia, America and exported finished goods in return.[522]

Colbert Street
Colbert Street in Bridgeton, Glasgow is named after Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683), French statesman and Minister of King Louis XIV of France.[523] In 1805, Henry Monteith took over the Barrowfield Dye Works and subsequently laid out streets for workers which were named after Howard, Franklin, Rumford and Colbert.[524] Before his death, Jean-Baptiste

[513] GCA, LK5/40, 'Glasgow Streets, A-B', Volume 1, p.228; Smith and Mitchell, *Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry*, 'Belvidere'.
[514] 'Mungo Nutter Campbell', *Legacies of British Slavery database,* http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/41620 Accessed 22nd October 2021.
[515] Daniel Frazer, *The Story of the Making of Buchanan Street*, (Glasgow, 1885), p.3.
[516] Jacob Price, 'Buchanan & Simson, 1759-1763: A Different Kind of Glasgow Firm Trading to the Chesapeake', *The William and Mary Quarterly,* 3rd Ser., Vol. 40, No. 1. (January 1983), pp. 3-41.
[517] GCA, LK5/41 'Glasgow Streets, C-D', Volume 2, p.373.
[518] Archibald Campbell (c.1763-1838) of Blythswood, Renfrew, *History of the Parliament Online,* https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/campbell-archibald-1763-1838#footnoteref10_1tzqc3w Accessed: 22 October 2021.
[519] GCA, LK5/41 'Glasgow Streets, C-D', Volume 2, p.393.
[520] T.M. Devine, *The Tobacco Lords,* (Edinburgh, 1975), p.179.
[521] GCA, LK5/41 'Glasgow Streets, C-D', Volume 2, p.498.
[522] Devine, *Tobacco Lords,* p.179.
[523] GCA, LK5/41 'Glasgow Streets, C-D', Volume 2, p.499.
[524] Aileen Smart, *Villages of Glasgow: North of the Clyde* (Edinburgh, 2002), p.28.

Colbert provided the inspiration for the *Le Code Noir* (the Black Code) which was ratified in 1685; reforms which regulated the practice of chattel slavery in the French West Indies.[525]

Colgrain Terrace

Colgrain Terrace was named by the Dennistoun family after their Highland estate.[526] The Dennistouns were a major colonial dynasty over several generations, importing tobacco and sugar. In 1836, the Highland estate Colgrain was sold by James Dennistoun of Dennistoun to Colin Campbell, a West India merchant who claimed compensation when slavery was abolished in the British West Indies in 1834.[527]

Craigton

Craigton in southwest Glasgow was named after the Craigton estate which stood there in the 18th century.[528] The Ritchie family purchased the estate in 1746. In 1755, it was inherited by James Ritchie (b.1722), amongst the most successful of Glasgow's 'tobacco lords', known as the 'four young men'. This group became the wealthiest of their time due to the trade in tobacco imported from the Chesapeake region of America.[529]

Cromwell Street

According to Hugh Macintosh, Cromwell Street in Glasgow was named after Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658), English statesman, Commander-in-Chief, and Lord Protector of the British Isles from 1653 until 1658.[530] As Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell ratified The Commonwealth of England's acts which ensured the embryonic English-Caribbean trades (initially focused on Barbados) were controlled by England's merchants. Cromwell extended Commonwealth policy to launch an imperial strategy what became known as the 'Western Design', which included the capture of Jamaica in 1655.[531] The island became the premier British sugar producing island which led to the large-scale trafficking of enslaved people. Between 1626 and 1825, almost 1m Africans landed in Jamaica on British ships to become chattel slaves.[532]

Dowanhill

The Dowanhill area in Glasgow's west end (as well as Dowanhill Place, Street and Terrace of the same name)[533] are named after the estate which once stood there. The estate was once owned by James Buchanan of Dowanhill (1756-1844), who was in possession of Dowanhill by 1812.[534] Buchanan was a partner in two Glasgow-West India merchant firms, Buchanan,

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[525] Kelly Buchanan, 'Slavery in the French Colonies: Le Code Noir (the Black Code) of 1685', Available: https://blogs.loc.gov/law/2011/01/slavery-in-the-french-colonies/ Accessed: 21 October 2021.
[526] GCA, LK5/41 'Glasgow Streets, C-D', Volume 2, p.502
[527] GCA T-SA 4/1/3, Dunbartonshire, 1831-1840, sasine 920.
[528] GCA, LK5/41 'Glasgow Streets, C-D', Volume 2, p.554.
[529] Smith and Mitchell, *Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry*, 'Craigton'.
[530] GCA, LK5/41 'Glasgow Streets, C-D', Volume 2, p.572.
[531] Carla Gardina Pestana, *The English Conquest of Jamaica: Oliver Cromwell's Bid for Empire,* (Cambridge, M.A., 2017), p.1.
[532] The transatlantic slave-trade database estimates that British ships carried 28,819 Africans to Jamaica and Tobago between 1655 and 1808. See *The Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*, Available: http://www.slavevoyages.org/assessment/estimates Accessed: 10 February 2020.
[533] GCA, LK5/41 'Glasgow Streets, C-D', Volume 2, p.656.
[534] GCA, T-SA 5/1/2, Barony and Regality, 1809-1820, sasine 8829.

Steven & Co., and its successor firm Dennistoun, Buchanan & Co. These firms imported produce from the British West Indies but also diversified into Brazil [535]

Dundas (Port Dundas, Dundashill, Dundas Street and Dundas Lane)
There is no evidence that Glasgow's various Dundas zones have any connection to Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville, who is commemorated via the Melville Monument in Edinburgh. However, Glasgow's Port Dundas, Dundashill and associated thoroughfares Dundas Street and Dundas Lane commemorate his kinsman Sir Lawrence Dundas (1712 – 1781), the Governor of the Forth & Clyde Navigation Co.[536] A major promoter of the canal scheme (which ran through his Kerse estate in Falkirk), he laid the first sod around 1768. Since Dundas Street (and nearby Dundas Lane) once proceeded to Port Dundas, and Dundashill is contiguous, these would seem to be derivative of the original naming of Port Dundas after Lawrence Dundas.[537] According to the *Legacies of British Slavery* project, Lawrence Dundas owned 'two slave estates in the West Indies - in Dominica and in Grenada' in the 1770s.[538] In 1773, Lawrence Dundas as a (joint) present proprietor of 435 acres of landed in the southeastern island of Dominica, which had been ceded to Great Britain in 1763.[539]

Dunlop Street
Dunlop Street in Glasgow was opened in 1772 and was named after Colin Dunlop of Carmyle (1706–1777), a 'Tobacco Lord'.[540] Dunlop was Lord Provost of Glasgow, 1770-1. His firm, Colin Dunlop & Sons, was a major importer of tobacco from the Chesapeake region of America to Clyde ports in the 1770s.[541] Dunlop acquired a mansion in 1749, and feu'd out the street in 1770 to a plan by James Barrie.[542]

Easterhill Street
Easterhill Street in Tollcross, Glasgow is named after the estate that once sat there.[543] Easterhill estate was owned by four successive colonial merchants across a century: Archibald Smellie (Virginia) between 1750 and 1783, James Hopkirk (Virginia/West Indies) between 1783-4, Robert Findlay (Virginia/West Indies) between 1784 and 1803, and Robert Findlay junior between 1803 and 1862.[544]

Franklin Street
Franklin Street in Bridgeton, Glasgow is named after Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790).[545] Franklin, of course, was one of America's founding fathers, statesman, leading intellectual

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[535] John Guthrie Smith, *Strathendrick and its inhabitants from early times,* (Glasgow, 1896), p.217. University of Glasgow, Special Collections, MS Murray 605, 'Minute book of Dennistoun, Buchanan, & Co. Glasgow, 1806-42',
[536] GCA, LK5/41 'Glasgow Streets, C-D', Volume 2, pp.682-4
[537] William Wade, *The History of Glasgow, Ancient and Modern, with an Historical Introduction and a Statistical Appendix* (Glasgow, 1823), p.141, p.301.
[538] 'Sir Lawrence Dundas 1st Bart.', *Legacies of British Slavery database*, Available: http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146656113 Accessed: 16 October 2021.
[539] John Byres, *References to a plan of the island of Dominica as surveyed from the year 1765 and 1773* (London, 1777), p.6.
[540] GCA, LK5/41 'Glasgow Streets, C-D', Volume 2, p.692; Devine, *Tobacco Lords*, p.180.
[541] James Anderson, *The Provosts of Glasgow from 1609 to 1832, (*Glasgow, 1942), p.84.
[542] John M'Ure (ed. by J.F.S. Gordon), *Glasghu facies : a view of the city of Glasgow; or, An account of its origin,* (Glasgow, 1872), pp.1109-1110.
[543] GCA, LK5/42, 'Glasgow Streets, E-I', Volume 3, p.709.
[544] Smith and Mitchell, *Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry*, 'Easterhill House'.
[545] GCA, LK5/42, 'Glasgow Streets, E-I', Volume 3, p.788.

and inventor. Franklin Street was part of the same naming process implemented by Henry Monteith to house Barrowfield Dye Worker after 1805.[546] It has recently come to light that Franklin was also a purchaser, seller and owner of at least seven enslaved people, whose labour he exploited in his Philadelphia household. Later in life, he condemned the practice of slavery.[547]

George Square (and George Street)
George Square (and George Street) are named after King George III (1738-1820) who succeeded to the throne in 1760.[548]

Gilmorehill
Gilmorehill in Glasgow's west end is a Celtic/English derivative term meaning 'The Servant of Mary's'.[549] This estate belonged to Robert Bogle (1757 – 1821) and his son Archibald Bogle (1801 – 1858), West India merchants and absentee owners of a Jamaica estate and enslaved people.[550] Robert Bogle acquired Gilmorehill estate in Glasgow in 1802, and it remained in the family until 1845.[551]

Gladstone Street
Gladstone Street in Bridgeton, Glasgow is named after William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898).[552] As noted in the section on statues, he was a distinguished politician and four-time Prime Minister. His father was an enslaver and W.E. Gladstone's 'main concern, as an MP, was to protect the financial interests of his father and other slave owners'.[553]

Glassford Street
Glassford Street in Glasgow city centre was formerly the site of the Shawfield Mansion, one of the city's protype Palladian townhouses (built in 1711). Three successive owners had connections with the Atlantic slave economy: Daniel Campbell, William McDowall, and John Glassford. Glassford was one of Glasgow's four most prominent 'tobacco lords' and was a personal owner of an enslaved page boy as revealed by the Glassford family portrait painted in 1767. Glassford acquired the Shawfield mansion in 1760, and it remained in the family until it was demolished in 1792.[554] The family's close association with the mansion provided the inspiration for the naming of the street where it once stood.

Golfhill Drive
Golfhill Drive in Dennistoun is named after the estate of James Dennistoun (1758–1835) which once made up part of modern Dennistoun.[555] According to historian Anthony Cooke, James Dennistoun of Golfhill was a partner in West India firm Buchanan Steven & Co.[556]

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[546] Smart, Villages of Glasgow: North of the Clyde, (2002), p.29.
[547] Gary B. Nash, 'Franklin and Slavery', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* (Dec. 2006), Vol. 150, No. 4 (December 2006), pp. 618-635
[548] GCA, LK5/42, 'Glasgow Streets, E-I', Volume 3, p.824.
[549] GCA, LK5/42, 'Glasgow Streets, E-I', Volume 3, p.831.
[550] Robert Bogle of Gilmorehill', *Legacies of British Slavery database,* Available: http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146633007 Accessed 7 October 2021.
[551] GCA, T-SA 5/1/1, Glasgow Barony, 1781-1808, sasine 4410.
[552] GCA, LK5/42, 'Glasgow Streets, E-I', Volume 3, p.838.
[553] Roland Quinault, 'Gladstone and Slavery', *The Historical Journal,* 52/2 (2009), pp.365-70.
[554] GCA, LK5/42, 'Glasgow Streets, E-I', Volume 3, p.840; GLM Goodfellow, 'The Shawfield Mansion in Glasgow', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 23/3 (October 1964), pp.123–128.
[555] GCA, 'Glasgow Streets, E-I', Volume 3, p.854. Smith and Mitchell, *Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry*, 'Golfhill House'.
[556] Anthony Cooke, 'An Elite Revisited: Glasgow West India Merchants, 1783-1877', *Journal of Scottish*

Gordon Street
According to Macintosh, Gordon Street in Glasgow city centre is named after 'Mr Gordon of Stirling, Gordon & Co.'[557] John Gordon of Aikenhead was one of the leading West India merchants in early 19th century Glasgow. Writing in 1885, Daniel Frazer claimed that Gordon Street was named after John Gordon's brother, Alexander 'Picture' Gordon.[558] In any case, both were co-partners in the firm Stirling, Gordon & Co. in 1795, a firm that imported sugar from Jamaica for sale in Scotland.[559] John and Alexander Gordon were involved with the pro-slavery lobbying group, the Glasgow West India Association.[560]

Hamilton Drive
Hamilton Drive is named after John Hamilton of North Park (1754-1829).[561] Hamilton was a Glasgow West India merchant, and thrice Lord Provost of Glasgow.[562]

Houldsworth Street
Houldsworth Street in Anderston is named after Henry Houldsworth, (1770-1853).[563] Houldsworth was a Nottinghamshire-born industrialist, arriving in Glasgow in 1799. He took up management of a cotton mill, establishing his own mill at Anderston in 1801.[564] He later diversified into iron production, and became the provost of Anderston, likely explaining the commemoration in civic space.

Ingram Street
In 1781, this street was named after Archibald Ingram (1699-1770), Lord Provost of Glasgow.[565] Historian T.M. Devine listed Ingram as one of Glasgow's 'Tobacco Lords'.[566]

Jamaica Street
According to Macintosh, Jamaica Street opened in 1763, 'about the height of the rum and sugar trade, hence the name'.[567] Although the burgeoning Clyde-West India connections is likely the reason for the commemoration in street name, Glasgow's trade connections with the Caribbean did not fully develop until after 1776.

James Watt Street
This street near the Broomielaw (previously Delftfield Lane) was named in honour of James Watt, inventor and improver of the steam engine (1736-1819).[568] Watt's house and workshop (he lived in Glasgow between 1753 and 1774) was located in this street at least until 1848.[569]

Historical Studies, 32/2 (2012), p.143.
[557] GCA, LK5/42, 'Glasgow Streets, E-I', Volume 3, p.861.
[558] Daniel Frazer, *The Story of the Making of Buchanan Street,* (Glasgow, 1885), p.49.
[559] Smith and Mitchell, *Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry*, 'Kenmure'.
[560] GCA, TD1683/1/1, 'Abstract of the Glasgow West India Association', pp.6-8.
[561] Anderson, *The Provosts of Glasgow*, p.113.
[562] Anthony Cooke, 'An Elite Revisited: Glasgow West India Merchants, 1783-1877', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies,* 32/2 (2012), p.160.
[563] GCA, LK5/42, 'Glasgow Streets, E-I', Volume 3, p.1015.
[564] Anthony Cooke, 'The Scottish Cotton Masters, 1780–1914', *Textile History*, 40 /1, (May 2009), pp.29–50.
[565] Senex, *Glasgow, past and present,* Volume 3 (Glasgow, 1856), p.528.
[566] Devine, *Tobacco Lords*, p.181.
[567] Hugh Macintosh, *The Origin and History of Glasgow Streets*, (Glasgow, 1902), p.30.
[568] Macintosh, *Origin and History*, p.30.
[569] William Simpson, 'Glasgow in the Forties': Watercolour / James Watt's House, 1848. Available: http://collections.glasgowmuseums.com/mwebcgi/mweb?request=record;id=161772;type=101 Accessed: 8 November 2021.

Watt had both familial and direct connections with colonial commerce and the trafficking in Black children. In 1762, Watt was involved with mercantile commerce and was directly involved in the trafficking of a likely enslaved child in Glasgow, named only as Frederick, who was to be sold onto a Scottish gentry family, the Brodies of Spynie.[570]

Keir Street

This street – in modern Pollokshields – is named after the 'patrimonial estate of the Stirlings, who were the successors of the Maxwells of Pollok'.[571] The Stirling-Maxwell line was established via the marriage of Archibald Stirling (1768-1847), who had previously been resident in Jamaica as a planter and owner of enslaved people:

> 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.[572]

The Keir estate is near Bridge of Allan in Perthshire. Given the proximity of Pollok and Maxwell parks to Keir Street in Glasgow's southside, it seems likely the Stirling-Maxwell family line commemorated their ancestral estate. In the process, this ensured the landed estate of the most infamous of all Scottish owners of enslaved people remains part of Glasgow's civic space.

Kelvingrove

Kelvingrove (in the west end) began as divisions of land known as 'Woodcroft' and 'Berrie-dyke', and were purchased by Patrick Colquhoun, a 'tobacco lord', in 1782, which became known as Kelvingrove thereafter.[573] A West India merchant Richard Dennistoun purchased the estate in 1806 and added to the land a year later.[574] The estate was purchased by Glasgow Corporation in the late 19th century, and the Kelvingrove Museum is in the former estate grounds.

Kenmure Street

This street in Pollokshields East is named after the estate[575] owned by Archibald Stirling (1768-1847), later purchased by Charles Stirling of Kenmure (d. 1830). Archibald Stirling was a planter in Jamaica, whilst Charles Stirling was a co-partner in the Glasgow-West India firm, Stirling, Gordon & Co. He owned the mansion and landed estate from 1806 to 1816.[576]

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[570] Library of Birmingham, Archives and Collections, MS 3219/3/92, 'Letter from James Brodie to James Watt junior in Greenock', 3 October 1762.
[571] Macintosh, *Origin and History*, p.30.
[572] William Fraser, *The Stirlings of Keir, and their family papers* (Edinburgh, 1858) p.81. For the history of the Stirling family and Cadder House, see Smith and Mitchell, *Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry*.
[573] Smith and Mitchell, *Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry*, 'Kelvingrove'; GCA T-SA 5/1/1, Glasgow Barony, 1781-1808, sasine 199.
[574] GCA T-SA 5/1/1, Glasgow Barony, 1781-1808, sasine 6376.
[575] GCA, LK5/43 'Glasgow Streets, J-M' , Volume 4, p.1111.
[576] Smith and Mitchell, *Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry*, 'Kenmure'. T.M. Devine, 'Glasgow Colonial Merchants and Land, 1770–1815', in *Land and Industry: The Landed Estate and the Industrial Revolution*, ed. by J. T. Ward and R. G. Wilson, (Newton Abbot, U.K, 1971), p.260.

Charles Stirling of Kenmure was also involved with pro-slavery lobbying; as one of the founding members of the Glasgow-West India Association in 1807.[577]

Kingston (and Dock and Bridge)

It has long been assumed that Kingston in Glasgow was named after Kingston in Jamaica, in testament to the city's connections with West India commerce. However, this is almost certainly not the case. Kingston in Jamaica was established in 1693,[578] and was likely named after King William of Orange (1650-1702), then on the throne. Kingston in Glasgow appears to have been named much later, and almost certainly after a later King. The area that became Kingston in Glasgow 'consists of the western portion of the lands purchased by the Magistrates and Council from Sir Robert Douglas in 1647. They extended from West Street to Kinning House Burn, and from the River Clyde to the lands of Shields'.[579] Kingston, Glasgow was named (c. early 1800s) before the first known direct voyage from Glasgow harbour to Kingston, Jamaica. Due to the shallowness of the river Clyde in what is now the city centre, the larger seagoing vessels destined to cross the Atlantic departed from Port Glasgow and Greenock. The Broomielaw was not established as a major Clyde-Caribbean port in its own right until 1827-1832, although direct voyages were taking place earlier.[580] The first known *direct* voyage from Glasgow Broomielaw to Kingston, Jamaica occurred in May 1824, with Glasgow West India merchant Robert Dewar's ship the *James*.[581] Instead, according to Macintosh, the zone from 'West Street to Kinning House' was named for King George III (1738-1820).[582] Printed Burgh records do not confirm when and why Kingston, Glasgow was named but a survey of maps supports this view. There is no record of 'Kingston' in John McArthur's 'Plan of the City of Glasgow' (1778),[583] although the title does appear on Peter Fleming's 'Map of the city of Glasgow and suburbs' which was first published in 1807.[584] The 1807 maps suggest the King was commemorated alongside his close relatives - it also included a Gloucester Street (likely after his brother, the Duke of) and a Clarence Street (likely after his son, the Duke of). There is no evidence that Glasgow's Kingston was named in testament of Jamaica, Kingston but it seems they share a common feature; they were both named in testament of a King of England/Scotland who sat on the throne in consecutive centuries. Kingston Dock in Glasgow was authorised by Parliamentary Acts (1840-46) and completed in 1867. The Kingston Bridge opened in 1970. These appear to be derivative from the original Kingston title and therefore commemorate King George III. As noted above, the monarch was a committed anti-abolitionist.

McFarlane Street

McFarlane Street (near the Gallowgate) was opened in 1815, and named after Alexander MacFarlane (1702-1755).[585] MacFarlane an alumnus of Old College (now the University of Glasgow), who went onto become a prominent merchant, planter and enslaver in Kingston,

[577] GCA, TD1683/1/1, 'Abstract of the Glasgow West India Association', p.7.
[578] Jack Greene, *Settler Jamaica in the 1750s,* (Virginia, 2016), p. 153
[579] Macintosh, *Origin and History*, p.31.
[580] Charles Munn and Gordon Jackson, 'Trade, Commerce and Finance', in *Glasgow,* Volume II, 1830-1912, ed. W. Hamish Fraser and Irene Maver, (Manchester, 1996), p.54.
[581] *Glasgow Herald,* 3 May 1824, p.3
[582] GCA, LK5/43 'Glasgow Streets, J-M' , Volume 4, p.1154.
[583] 'Plan of the city of Glasgow : Gorbells and Caltoun from an actual survey by John McArthur, surveyor in Glasgow', (Published according to Act of Parliament Novr. 1st 1778).
[584] Peter Fleming, 'Map of the City of Glasgow and suburbs', (Glasgow, 1807).
[585] Macintosh, *Origin and History*, p.33.

Jamaica. When he died in 1755, he owned 791 enslaved people in Jamaica.[586] He bequeathed astronomical instruments to the university, which led to the establishment of the MacFarlane Observatory at Old College in 1760. According to university historian, J.D. Mackie, land was purchased 'at some expense, and with the aid of the city…in order to prevent the view from being obstructed'.[587] Smith and Fleming's map of Glasgow (1821) shows that McFarlane Street runs from the MacFarlane Observatory, suggesting the street came into popular usage due to the proximity of observatory named after the slave-owning benefactor (although the spelling is inconsistent, this was not uncommon).[588]

McNair Street

This street in Shettleston is named after James McNair, who once owned this area. McNair purchased Greenfield Estate in 1759 and adjoining Shettleston in 1762.[589] There were multiple James McNair's in the family line, although the purchaser of the estates was involved with the West India trades (and, on occasion, travelled to Barbados to sell Scottish goods).[590] As late as 1820, James McNair purchased sugar from West India merchants and sold on to local customers in Glasgow.[591] As such, the McNairs were closely associated with Glasgow's Atlantic slave economy across the 18th and 19th century. The wealth accrued facilitated the purchase and retention of landed estates over several generations, explaining the modern street name.

Maryland Drive (and Gardens)

The Rowans were an old Glasgow landed family who owned swathes of the modern Glasgow's southside, with some involved with Atlantic commerce.[592] The Bellahouston estate was purchased in 1726 by 'James Rowan of Maryland'.[593] Although it is unclear exactly who he was, he presumably was a younger son of the family who travelled to America and became wealthy due to tobacco cultivation, and by extension from the profits of chattel slavery. His tobacco sojourn seems to have been commemorated in a street name near what was once Bellahouston estate.

Monteith Row (and Monteith Place)

These streets - now thoroughfares in Glasgow Green – are named after Henry Monteith (1764–1848), one of Glasgow's major cotton manufacturers, Lord Provost of Glasgow and Tory MP.[594] From the early 1800s, the council sought to exploit the potential of Glasgow Green, including the value of prestigious residences on these thoroughfares at its north edge. The Town Council was the feudal superior of the land, and so it is no coincidence these were

[586] 'Alexander Macfarlane', *Legacies of British Slavery database,* Available: http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146644157 Accessed 6 December 2021.
[587] J.D. Mackie, *The University of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1954), p.222
[588] Smith & Fleming's 'Map of the city of Glasgow and suburbs', (Glasgow, 1822).
[589] Smith and Mitchell, *Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry*, 'Greenfield House'.
[590] Robert Cullen, Lord Cullen, "Information for James Coulter, John Cross, and others, Merchants in Glasgow, Insurers of the Ship Jean, and her Cargo, Suspenders; against Robert M'Nair Merchant in Glasgow, Charger ," 10 Dec 1771 , *Scottish Court of Session Digital Archive Project.* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Law Library, 2015-2019).
[591] NRS, CS 96/4260, 'Raw Sugar Book', 1820.
[592] GCA T-SA 5/1/2, Glasgow Barony, 1809-1820, sasine 9502. Bellahouston was transferred to Moses Steven (a relation by marriage) in 1814. GCA T-SA 5/1/2, Glasgow Barony, 1809-1820, sasine 9557.
[593] Sam Small, *Greater Glasgow: An Illustrated Architectural Guide,* (Edinburgh, 2008), p.198.
[594] GCA, LK5/43 'Glasgow Streets, J-M' , Volume 4, p.1385; Anthony Cooke, 'The Scottish Cotton Masters, 1780–1914', *Textile History,* 40 /1, (May 2009), p.48.

named after the Lord Provost (1818-19), Henry Monteith.[595] Henry Monteith took over Blantyre Mill in Lanarkshire in 1802 and had partnerships with two Glasgow West India firms Robert Bogle & Co., and Francis Garden & Co.[596]

Moore Street

This street is named after Sir John Moore (1761 - 1809) a British Army general, born in Glasgow.[597] As noted in the section on statues, Moore was a soldier, military commander and also MP for Lanark Burghs (1784-1790). He was appointed Commandant and Governor of St Lucia in the summer of 1796 and was present on the island until May 1797.[598] Moore was behind initial moves to re-establish a slavery society on the island, including the capture and return of individuals back to enslavement.

Mount Vernon

It has often been erroneously claimed – including by Hugh Macintosh - that the Buchanan family (a major tobacco dynasty) renamed the Windyedge estate 'Mount Vernon' in 1756 in honour of an estate of the same name in Virginia, America owned by Lawrence Washington. He was the brother of George Washington, a Founding Father of America, and first President of the United States (1789-1797).[599] However, local historian Robert Murray identified in legal records that Windyedge estate was renamed Mount Vernon much earlier (1741) and by another merchant, Robert Boyd. Although the two Mount Vernons in Glasgow and Virginia are not named after each other, they both commemorated the same man: Admiral Edward Vernon (1684 – 1757).[600] As such, Glasgow's Mount Vernon commemorates a distinguished English naval officer who was responsible for the protection of the British West Indies (and effectively the upholding and extending of Britain's Atlantic slavery system). Vernon took command of the West Indies station in 1708 and later captured Spanish territory during the War of Jenkin's Ear (1739-1748). It seems likely that Vernon was commemorated due the capture of Porto Bello (now in Panama) in 1739.

Nelson Streets

There are two Nelson Streets in Glasgow – Tradeston and Baillieston – and both commemorate Vice-Admiral Horatio Nelson (1758 – 1805).[601] A recent statement by Matthew Sheldon, Director of the National Museum in London, claimed Nelson 'never owned slaves, never owned a slave plantation, never took part in slaving activities at sea and never financed a slave ship'.[602] However, correspondence from Nelson in 1805 to a Jamaica planter and enslaver (Simon Taylor) revealss the decorated Admiral remained in favour of plantation slavery in the abolition era:

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[595] Irene Maver, 'The Guardianship of the Community: Civic Authority Before 1833' in *Glasgow, Volume 1, Beginnings to 1830,* ed. by T. M. Devine and G. Jackson, (Manchester, 1995), p.245.
[596] Devine 'An Eighteenth-Century Business Elite', pp.45-6.
[597] GCA, LK5/43 'Glasgow Streets, J-M' , Volume 4, p.1393.
[598] J. Sweetman, 'Moore, Sir John (1761–1809), army officer'. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2006).
[599] Smith and Mitchell, *Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry*, 'Mount Vernon'. Macintosh, *Origin and History*, p.36.
[600] Robert Murray, 'Mount Vernon - The True Origin of the name', Available: https://baillieston-history.webs.com/mountvernonname.htm Accessed: 13 October 2021.
[601] GCA, LK5/44, 'Glasgow Streets, N-R' , Volume 5, pp.1434-5.
[602] Matthew Sheldon, 'Nelson on a Pedestal', Available: https://www.nmrn.org.uk/news-events/nelson-pedestal Accessed: 8 November 2021.

> I was bred, as you know, in the good old school, and taught to appreciate the value of our West India possessions; and neither in the field or in the senate shall their interests be infringed whilst I have an arm to fight in their defence, or a tongue to launch my voice against the damnable and cursed doctrine of Wilberforce and his hypocritical allies.[603]

And this was not mere rhetoric. Nelson was, of course, a naval commander in charge of the British Navy, which included patrolling the West Indies and defending British possessions and by extension, facilitating the continuation of chattel slavery.[604]

North Park Street
North Park Street was named after the landed estate of John Hamilton (1754-1829).[605] Hamilton was a Glasgow West India merchant, and thrice Lord Provost of Glasgow.[606]

Oswald Street (City Centre to Broomielaw)
Oswald Street in Glasgow city centre was named after James Oswald of Shieldhall (1779-1853).[607] As noted in detailed biography in the statues section, Oswald inherited vast slavery fortunes (including Shieldhall and Auchincruive estates in 1813 and 1841 respectively) and derived income from cotton spinning manufacturing after 1812. As MP for the city after 1832, he also signed an abolition petition in 1836.

Pitt Street
Pitt Street in Glasgow city centre was named after William Pitt the Younger (1759–1806).[608] Pitt was the British prime minister over two ministries (1783–1801 and 1804–6) in the era of 'gradual abolition' (1792-1807). He was a sometime friend and ally of William Wilberforce, who was the leading parliamentary campaigner for abolition. A sometime advocate of abolition, Pitt was thanked for his efforts by the 'London Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade' in the parliamentary debates around 'gradual abolition' on 2-3 April 1792.[609] However, after the war with Revolutionary France opened in March 1793, Pitt shifted between contradictory stances of publicly supporting abolition whilst implementing pro-slavery strategies in Government. Pitt sometimes supported abolition; as George Canning noted in February 1795: 'of leaders, you know, Pitt is one way and Dundas the other'.[610] On the other hand, as the historian Roger Buckley has argued, after 1795, the British government, including William Pitt, ensured the trafficking of African enslaved people was continued to improve the British army's military capacity. From early 1795, the British Government advocated the use of enslaved soldiers in West India regiments in the British West Indies. Between 1795 and 1808, around 13,400 Africans were shipped to the West

[603] This quote is cited in Christer Petley, 'The Royal Navy, the British Atlantic empire and the abolition of the slave trade' in *The Royal Navy and the British Atlantic World, c. 1750-1820, e*d, by J. McAleer and C. Petley, (London, 2016), pp. 97-121.
[604] For example, Nelson unilaterally made the decision to 'defend lucrative British colonies like Jamaica' as a 'strategic priority' in 1805. See Christer Petley, 'Lord Nelson and slavery: Nelson's dark side', *History Extra,* Available: https://www.historyextra.com/period/georgian/lord-nelson-slavery-abolition-william-wilberforce-dark-side/ Accessed: 7 October 2021.
[605] Anderson, *Provosts of Glasgow,* p.113. GCA, LK5/44, 'Glasgow Streets, N-R' , Volume 5, p.1467.
[606] Anthony Cooke, 'An Elite Revisited: Glasgow West India Merchants, 1783-1877', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies,* 32/2 (2012), p.160.
[607] GCA, LK5/44, 'Glasgow Streets, N-R' , Volume 5, p.1501.
[608] GCA, LK5/44, 'Glasgow Streets, N-R' , Volume 5, p.1580.
[609] British Library [BL], Add. MS. 21256 (Proceedings of the Committee for Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1790–1819), 5 April 1792, fol.54.
[610] Peter Jupp (ed.), *The Letter-Journal of George Canning, 1793–1795* (London, 1991), p.215.

Indies for use in these regiments as the British Government became the largest single purchaser of enslaved people across this period.[611]

Plantation

Plantation around Tradeston was initially the estate of Craigiehall and was purchased by John Robertson in 1783. He had multiple commercial interests; he was the Cashier of the Glasgow Arms Bank, as well as the Smithfield Company which manufactured ironworks for export to the colonies. According to one contemporary source, John Robertson was the proprietor of 'several sugar and cotton plantations in the West Indies' which compelled him to later change the name of Craigiehall to Plantation.[612] The *Legacies of British Slave Ownership* project reveals them to be Prospect in Grenada, although this was not purchased until 1793.[613] John Robertson was a partner in a West India firm in 1789, as a co-partner in Robert Mackay & Co. which had credit dealings with Jamaica enslavers.[614]

Possil (and Possil Road)[615]

Possil was once a landed estate. Purchased in 1808 by Colonel Alexander Campbell (1780-1849), the eldest son and main beneficiary of John Campbell senior (d.1807),[616] who was both a 'tobacco lord' and West India merchant in late-eighteenth-century Glasgow. The family were described as such:

> The Campbells of Possil, or rather of John Campbell sen. & Co., deserve more than a passing notice. They were a representative family of those West India magnates, who came after the Virginia Dons, and came in for much of their social and commercial supremacy.[617]

Col. Alexander Campbell himself 'was interested in the West India trade, as he succeeded [after 1807] to his father's sugar estates, then worth £10,000 or £12,000 a-year'.[618] The family's wealth was centred around the family firm, John Campbell senior & Co., one of the major West India firms in late-eighteenth-century Glasgow. The firm's commercial success was dependent upon the exploitation of enslaved people in multiple colonies, including Grenada after 1780 and Demerara after 1795.[619] Colonel Campbell was a co-partner in the family West India firm putting in capital of £20,000 in 1812, although this was only for one term.[620] As such, the modern estate of Possil, and by extension Possil Road, is a reminder of a landed estate that was once owned and improved by a prominent Glasgow-West India merchant and beneficiary of slavery.

Robertson Street

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[611] R. N. Buckley, 'The British army's African recruitment policy, 1790–1807', *Contributions in Black Studies,* 5 (2008), p.4, p.10–11.
[612] Smith and Mitchell, *Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry*, 'Plantation'.
[613] 'John Robertson of Plantation', *Legacies of British Slavery database,* Available: http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/44179 Accessed 7 January 2022.
[614] GCA TD1/88, 'Business Records', 1 May 1789.
[615] GCA, LK5/44, 'Glasgow Streets, N-R' , Volume 5, p.1600.
[616] NRS, SC36/48/3, Inventory and Settlement of John Campbell senior, 3 October 1808, pp.57-63.
[617] Smith and Mitchell, *Old Country Houses of the old Glasgow Gentry*, 'Possil'.
[618] Ibid.
[619] Stephen Mullen, 'The Great Glasgow West India House of John Campbell, senior & Co.', in *Recovering Scotland's slavery past: The Caribbean connection*, ed. by T.M. Devine, (Edinburgh, 2015), pp.124– 144.
[620] GCA TD1696, Box 2. 'John Campbell senior & Co; contract of co-partnership', 1812, p.1.

Robertson Street at the Broomielaw was initially the site of the Smithfield Company which was established in 1734. John Robertson of Plantation was the managing partner and it seems the street name was changed from Madeira Street to Robertson street on that basis.[621] As noted above, John Robertson of Plantation was a West India merchant and co-partner of Robert Mackay & Co.[622]

Rodney Street

Rodney Street is named after George Brydges Rodney, Baron Rodney (1718 – 1792), a British naval commander involved with the capture of French territory in the Caribbean during the Seven Years War (1756-1763).[623] In 1762, he was selected to lead the British invasion of French colony Martinique, and St Lucia and Grenada (also French colonies) capitulated to his squadron.[624] Afterwards, Grenada was retained by the British and between 1762 and 1808, around 141,691 African people were transported to Grenada into chattel slavery. Grenada became wealthiest of the Leeward and Windward islands and second only to Jamaica in the British West Indies in 1774.[625] In this sense, Rodney was an enabler of settler colonization and the large-scale British imposition of slavery.

Speirs Wharf

Speirs Wharf (also listed as 'Spiers Wharf') was named after Archibald Speirs of Elderslie (1758-1832),[626] son of 'tobacco lord' Alexander Speirs of Elderslie (1714-1782) and who became a Virginia merchant in his own right.[627] Archibald Speirs was the Chairman of the Committee of Management of the Forth and Clyde canal and was present at the opening in July 1768, launching the first 'hogshead of water into the canal' (explaining why he was memorialised forevermore in the nearby wharf).[628] The Forth & Clyde canal – that effectively crossed Scotland – allowed the shipment of produce by Glasgow merchants to Europe. Building began in 1768 and it twenty-two years to build at a cost of near £394,000. It attracted merchant capital; 'Tobacco lord' John Glassford was involved (at least in land sales), although Archibald Speirs had a more substantial role as an 'early promoter of the "small canal" '.[629]

Merchant City

The Merchant City was first noted in *Architecture of Glasgow* (1968) to describe the historic quarter at the east end of Glasgow city centre.[630] The title was made official by the city's fathers leading up to Glasgow's term as European City of Culture in 1990. From 1711 onwards, colonial merchants built salubrious Palladian townhouses on modern Glassford, Virginia and Queen streets: the respective Shawfield and Virginia Mansions are now long gone, although the Cunninghame Mansion remains at the core of the Gallery of Modern Art

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[621] Macintosh, *Origin and History*, p.41.
[622] GCA TD1/88, 'Business Records', 1 May 1789.
[623] GCA, LK-5/44, Glasgow Street Names, N-R, p.1678.
[624] Richard Pares, *War and Trade in the West Indies,* (Oxford, 1936), p.195.
[625] *The Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*, Available: http://www.slavevoyages.org/assessment/estimates Accessed: 10 October 2021; Richard Sheridan, 'The Condition of The Slaves in the Settlement and Economic Development of the British Windward Islands, 1763-1775, *The Journal of Caribbean History*, 24/2, (1990), p.125.
[626] GCA, LK5/45, 'Glasgow Streets, S-Y' , Volume 6, p.1813.
[627] Devine, *Tobacco Lords*, p.183.
[628] James Denholm, *The History of the City of Glasgow and Suburbs,* 2nd edition (Glasgow, 1798), p.49
[629] Thomas J. Dowds, *The Forth and Clyde Canal: A History,* (East Linton, 2003), pp.9-10; Antony Slaven, *Development of the West of Scotland*, p.94.
[630] Andor Gomme and David Walker, *Architecture of Glasgow*, (London, 1987 edn.), p.41.

(GOMA). A smaller yet still grandiose Palladian townhouse - known as 'Tobacco Merchant's House' - remains today at 42 Miller Street. The title therefore is historically accurate, yet has been criticised by James Kelman as being imperially myopic.

Tobago Street

Tobago Street in the Calton was originally an estate owned by John Orr of Barrowfield (1700-1743). The Orr family eventually owned land and enslaved people in 18th century Tobago,[631] and it seem likely they named the street in testament to these connections as the Calton district spread eastwards from their Barrowfield estate. There is no mention of Tobago Street in McArtur's 'Plan of Glasgow' in 1778,[632] although it appears in Peter Fleming's 'Map of the city of Glasgow and suburbs' which was first published in 1807.[633] This confirms the naming within that timescale.

Virginia Street and Virginia Place

Virginia Street and Virginia Place was the site of the Virginia mansion, owned by the Buchanan family who owned slave plantations in Virginia in America.[634] The family archive holds a *Glasgow Herald* newspaper article which provides an abbreviated history of the mansion and the street (it seems possible the family provided the information for the article). Provost Andrew Buchanan of Drumpellier began purchasing plots of land around 1746 and Virginia Street opened c.1750. The newspaper account notes the family were correspondents with George Washington and imported Virginia tobacco, which influenced the titling of the mansion and the street. This was the 'first street in the first new town of Glasgow'.[635] The mansion was demolished in the 1860s, although its location is marked today by the extant Virginia Place just off Ingram Street.

Whitehill Street (and Whitehill Gardens)

Whitehill Street and Whitehill Gardens were named after the Whitehill estate which was owned by 'tobacco lord' John Glassford (1715-1783).[636] Cartographic evidence confirms the approximate location of Whitehill estate at the east side of what is now Duke street; close to the modern Whitehill Street and Whitehill gardens.[637]

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[631] 'John Orr', *Legacies of British Slavery database*, Available: http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146632773 Accessed 18 February 2022.
[632] 'Plan of the city of Glasgow : Gorbells and Caltoun from an actual survey by John McArthur, surveyor in Glasgow', (Published according to Act of Parliament Novr. 1st 1778).
[633] Peter Fleming, 'Map of the City of Glasgow and suburbs', (Glasgow : s.n., 1807).
[634] GCA, LK5/45, 'Glasgow Streets, S-Y' , Volume 6, p.1974.
[635] North Lanarkshire Council Archives, U1/29/14; 'Interesting Old House in Virginia Street', *Glasgow Herald,* 18 September 1866, p.3.
[636] Senex, Glasgow, *Past and Present: Illustrated in Dean of Guild Court Reports and in the Reminiscences and Communications of Senex,* Aliquis, J.B., Etc · Vol., 1 (Glasgow: 1884), p.474.
[637] 'Map of the town of Glasgow & Country Seven Miles Round, from actual survey / by Tho. Richardson', (Glasgow, 1795).

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