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INTRODUCTION

In the wake of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement and a socio-political climate which has prompted mainstream brands, established institutions and city councils to re-examine tangible and intangible vestiges of colonialism, the University of Dundee has selected a path of transparency and acknowledgement of its own historical past.

This research is part of a wider narrative which calls for a more holistic approach and recontextualisation of Britain's imperial legacy. The UK is a multicultural society that includes descendants of the enslaved and communities from former British colonies. The alienation and underlying discontent felt by these communities is symptomatic of not only structural racism but also stems from a non-inclusive educational curriculum, skewed narratives of enslavers and general lack of significance attached to Britain's imperial legacy and its interwoven nature with modern day systemic inequalities. As a result of mounting pressure and an impetus to counteract the traditional narrative, a number of universities in the UK and several city councils have started investigating their own links with historical slavery.¹

The University of Dundee has its roots in the University College Dundee, which was founded in 1881 with the donation of £140,000 (RPW: £14,400,000) from Mary Ann Baxter and her cousin, John Boyd Baxter.² Her brother, Sir David Baxter's, bequest of £20,000 (RPW: £1,830,000) laid the foundation for what would later become the Duncan of Jordanstone College of Art & Design.³ Given the firm of Baxter Brothers & Co immense wealth and linen exports to transatlantic markets, questions were inevitably raised on the issue of the University of Dundee and its links with slavery and the empire. This, coupled with concerns both internally and externally regarding the university's built environment, highlighted the need for research into the provenance of bequests and donations to University of Dundee and affiliate institutions.

It is envisaged that this report, which is the culmination of three months of research, would provide a deeper understanding of the university and by extension the city's links with slavery and the empire. Due to the short time frame of this project, an emphasis was placed on themes relating to Atlantic slavery and the enslaved people. However, exploration of Chinese indentureship and bonded labour in South America was explored due to its linkages with endowments to the university in the late 19th century. This report ultimately aspires to promote the conceptualisation of further works focused on Dundee's role in Britain's imperial past and feeds into numerous other projects spearheaded by the university and heritage sector in Dundee.

¹ "University of Glasgow Publishes Report into Historical Slavery" *University of Glasgow*, 16 Sep. 2018, https://www.gla.ac.uk/news/archiveofnews/2018/september/headline_607154_en.html, accessed 25 March 2022; "Cambridge University Launches Inquiry into Historical Links to Slavery" *University of Cambridge*, 30 Apr. 2019, www.cam.ac.uk/news/cambridge-university-launches-inquiry-into-historical-links-to-slavery, accessed 25 March 2022; ISOS, "New Study into the Connections between Nottingham Universities and Transatlantic Slavery", 9 Dec. 2019, <https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/isos/news/new-study-universities-transatlantic-slavery-connection.aspx>, accessed 26 March 2022; Mark Drakeford MS, First Minister, "Written Statement: Audit of public monuments, street and building names associated with the history of black communities in Wales" <https://gov.wales/written-statement-audit-public-monuments-street-and-building-names-associated-history-black>, accessed 26 March 2022.

² "University of Dundee, 'The road to independence 1881-1967', <https://www.dundee.ac.uk/50/stories/history/>, accessed 14 March 2022.

³ *Dundee Courier*, 2 October 1872; *The Scotsman* - Tuesday 15 October 1872; *Montrose Standard* - Friday 28 July 1871; T. F. Henderson, revised by Anita McConnell, 'Baxter, Sir David, baronet', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1730#odnb-9780198614128-e-1730> accessed 29 March 2022; McManus 168, 'Sir David Baxter of Kilmaron'; University of Dundee, 'Foundations', <https://www.serena.ac.uk/museum/exhibitions/djcad/foundations/>, accessed 25 March 2022.

METHODOLOGY

This project sought to uncover more on the founding bequests and donations to the University of Dundee and affiliate institutions and their associations with historical slavery and the empire. The University of Dundee short-term archive based 'Endowments Project of 2014', which recorded endowments to the University and its predecessor bodies, was utilised as a starting point and guidance throughout the study. Beginning with the Baxter family, the 'endowments list' was assessed chronologically to uncover potential links with historical slavery and the empire within the three month time frame set for this research project.

Four Step Methodological Process

Step One

This project was guided by a four-step methodological process. The 'Endowment Notes' contained within the 'Endowments Project of 2014', archival sources as well as online database searches provided the backdrop for this step of the methodology, identifying the central figures of this study. Through preliminary research, donors were codified on a basis of priority and individuals with possible links with slavery were isolated for in-depth research.

Due to the time constraints of this project and the high number of donors and bequests to the University of Dundee, the Baxters and donations made in the late 19th Century were prioritised as the main subjects of this research.

Step Two

Step two of the methodology involved identifying the commodities or trade of the figures identified in step one and codifying their links with slavery and colonialism. This entailed uncovering commercial enterprises and trade that directly or indirectly involved profits from Atlantic slavery and the empire. Identification of slave holdings and slave trade investments along with ascertaining business partnerships, shipping intelligence and associated goods such as linen, tobacco and fertilisers were conducted at this step. Trade directories, Chamber of Commerce reports, *Gazette* records, newspaper classified ads such as obituaries, biographical texts, antiquarian material, and the Legacies of British Slave-ownership (LBS) database proved particularly useful at this stage of the research process.

For the purposes of this report, the following framework was used when codifying links with Atlantic slavery and colonialism:

Slavery

1. Direct link refers to direct involvement in the slave trade or slave holdings
2. Indirect link refers to:
 - i. Involvement in the production and exportation of manufactured goods to transatlantic markets in America, South America or the West Indies. More

specifically as it pertains to Dundee merchants, involvement in the production and exportation of linen that was used on plantations to clothe the enslaved people and transport colonial produce grown by the enslaved people. This codification also extends to persons involved in the supply of raw material for the production of linen.

- ii. Involvement with produce grown by enslaved people such as tobacco, sugar, cotton and rum.

Colonialism & Exploitation

For the purpose of the report, links with the empire encompassed:

1. Trade with colonies of the British empire.
2. Possession of bonds, stocks or investments in infrastructural development of colonies.
3. Profiteering from exploitative labour systems in undeveloped or developing countries.

Step Three

The third step of the methodology entailed following the financial capital of the key figures isolated in steps one and two. It essentially asks the question, where did their money come from. This involved identification of potential profits from the Atlantic slavery economies, tracking profit and loss accounts and an analysis of cash books and ledgers. Source material for this step included cash books, account ledgers, scroll balance books, receipts, shipping registers, probate inventories, the Legacies of British Slavery (LBS) database and archival as well as online shipping databases.

Step Four

Step four of the methodological process aimed to identify wider networks involving social capital such as cultural, social and political affiliations with slavery. This included potential views on slavery and abolition. The university's built environment and its links with slavery was also examined at this stage. This section of the methodological process was limited by time constraints and prioritisation of steps one to three.

Establishing the Link

The biographical information and commercial activities of each individual were collated using both primary and secondary sources. This information was then cross checked against secondary literature and key databases. The following table gives an overview of the sources utilised to explore links between the relevant individuals and slavery:

Commercial Activities	Biographical Information	Link to Slavery
Historical trade and local directories for Scotland & England.	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> (ODNB) and genealogy websites Ancestry UK and Find my Past.	<i>Legacies of British Slavery</i> (LBS) database.
Newspaper database: The <i>Gazette</i> , British Library Newspapers, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Burney Newspapers Collection, The Times Digital Archive, Scotsman Digital Archive, British Newspaper Archive.	Electronic journal database, <i>The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1820-1832</i> and Scotlands People website for Scotland probate inventories.	Liverpool Shipping Records: Imports and Exports, 1826 to 1860, Friends of Dundee City Archives: 19th Century Dundee Ships (from the Directories) 1818 - 1898, National Records of Scotland: Dundee Outport and District Records, Caledonian Maritime Research Trust.
Archives: Friends of Dundee City Archives, University of Dundee archives, Dundee City Archives, National Records of Scotland, Parliamentary Archives, Archives & Special Collections, University of Glasgow, The National Archives (digital downloads), History of Parliament Online.	Biographical texts and antiquarian texts, newspaper database (classified ads, obituaries, speeches, editorials, lawsuits, marriage announcements), University of Dundee published material.	Slave Voyages Database.

Data Analysis & Presentation of Findings

Given the prominence and extent of the linen trade of Baxter Brothers & Co along with the time constraints of this research project, the scope of this project and report can be summated in three phases:

1. Baxter Brothers & Co, their linen trade & transatlantic slavery
2. The Baxters & their links with transatlantic slavery
3. Case studies on the Donors & the Dalhousie building

Phase one

Phase one of the research involved the examination of Dundee's linen trade and its links with Atlantic slavery. Set against this backdrop, newspaper articles, scholarly literature and archival sources were used to conduct research on the history and success of Baxter Brothers & Co. This included exploration of their export goods, consumption of raw materials, the prominence of Osnaburghs which was used to clothe the enslaved people and Dundee's output of linen in the 1830s. This phase of the research was important as it tried to answer the question of where did the firm's money come from. Utilising Baxter Brothers & Co's Scroll Balance Book with Profit and Loss accounts, 1854-1860 and information from other financial ledgers, a map was constructed to itemize the firm's markets. Primary and secondary sources formed the basis for the case studies on commission agent firms that were presented to further elucidate Baxter Brothers and Co's commercial networks across Latin America, the US and the West Indies.

The ships owned by Baxter Brothers & Co and David Baxter were also traced using shipping registers and shipping intelligence notices to further delineate where the firm's linen was being shipped to in the period 1840 to 1870. John Baxter's inventory, William and David Baxter's probate inventories as well as other archival sources were used to examine the shares owned by the Baxters in other firms with links to transatlantic slavery. In this regard, case studies were also presented on the Dundee, Perth and London Shipping Company Co Ltd (DP&L) and Turnbull & Co. as a representation of the Baxters' extensive commercial investments.

Phase Two

Phase two of the research honed in on the Baxters and their specific links with the Atlantic slavery economy. A myriad of sources both archival and online, such as *Gazette* records, financial records, trade associates, cash transactions, ship names, family correspondence, business agreements, contracts, memoirs and biographical information, were employed to build case studies on Edward Baxter, David Baxter and Mary Ann Baxter. Specific mention must be made of Mary Ann Baxter, a co-founder of the University of Dundee. The probate inventories of David and William Baxter greatly assisted in understanding the inherited wealth of Mary Ann Baxter from her father and siblings. This coupled with her own probate inventory allowed a clearer picture to emerge about her commercial connections with her father's estate and Baxter Brothers & Co.

Based primarily on speeches, newspaper excerpts and his text on slavery, a brief case study on the son of Edward Baxter, William Edward Baxter, and his views on slavery was presented. This served as an example of step four of the methodological process in practice.

Phase Three

Phase three of the project examined donors who made endowments in the late 19th century. A combination of archival and secondary source information was drawn on to explore the connections of the following men with transatlantic slavery and imperialism; George Armitstead, Stephen Williamson, William Carnelley, John Patrick Crichton-Stuart, 3rd Marquess of Bute and D'arcy Thompson. Given the time period, most of the aforementioned individuals had connections with colonialism and exploitative labour practices such as indentured labour and bonded labour as opposed to slavery. The background to the Dalhousie building and its links with slavery through its namesake, Simon Ramsay, 16th Earl of Dalhousie, was also investigated.

Time constraints prevented a thorough examination of more donors and the university's built environment. Ancestral tracing was required in the cases of the Bute Bursary Endowment, D'arcy Thompson Commemorative Medals Endowment and the 16th Earl of Dalhousie to demonstrate their links with transatlantic slavery and colonialism.

An appendix highlighting case studies on foreign agents listed in inventory of John Baxter 1834, was included to highlight the commercial networks of Turnbull & Co and by extension Baxter Brothers & Co.

Time Period

Historical background searches were conducted on the aforementioned individuals within the overall time period of 1650 to 1888. Varying time periods were apparent depending on the phase of the study:

1. Baxter Brothers & Co - 1806 to 1870.
2. The Baxters - 1790 to 1888.
3. Donors & Dalhousie Building - 1650 to 1860.

Contemporary Financial Values

Estimates of income derived from commercial activities was calculated using the Relative Price Worth (RPW) index. This aligns with the University of Glasgow's approach. This study utilised this index calculated through 'Measuring Worth', an on-line calculator regarded as "the most trusted and most regularly utilized resource of this type used in academic research".⁴ Other indexes that provide contemporary equivalencies for historical prices include the Relative Wage of Income Growth (WIG) and Relative Output Worth (ROW). All three provide strikingly different modern-day values with the WIG and ROW computations, in particular, offering significantly inflated present-day values, and so we have chosen to quote the RPW, which generates the most conservative estimate.⁵

Limitations

Jute & Wider Links with Colonialism

The time constraints of this study meant that priority was placed on unearthing links between donors and transatlantic slavery. As such, the study could not explore the Baxter Brothers & Co and other firms' connections with the empire through their jute trade. This does not decrease the relevance of the jute industry and Dundee's links with colonialism. Instead, it underscores the need for further time and resources to be dedicated to understanding wider links between the university and colonialism. Focus was, however, placed on Chinese indentureship and other exploitative labour practices in phase three of the report.

⁴ Stephen Mullen and Simon Newman, *Slavery, Abolition and the University of Glasgow*, Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2018, p. 13; James Dawkins, *Historical Price Conversion Methodology*, Unpublished Paper, University of Nottingham, 2020, p. 3.

⁵ "RPW is an index number that represents the 'average price' of all goods/services purchased by a typical household or consumer in the base year, and then calculates the cost of those same goods and services in 2016 (allowing for inflation) There are two scales 'Retail Price Index' and 'GDP Deflator'. This study utilizes the Retail Price Index comparator. WIG calculates average earnings for all workers in the base year, and then calculates the average earnings for all workers [in 2019] (allowing for inflation). It then calculates what proportion of annual wages (across the population) £x represented in [1821], and then applies that proportion to annual wages [in 2019], thus arriving at a modern equivalent. ROW is the most comprehensive comparison method. This calculates what percentage of national GDP an amount in the base year represented, and then applies that percentage to national GDP [in 2019]". Mullen and, *Slavery, Abolition and the University of Glasgow*, p. 13; James Dawkins, *Historical Price Conversion Methodology*, Unpublished Paper, University of Nottingham, 2020, p. 3; Sherylllyne Haggerty and Cassandra Gooptar, Unpublished Report, University of Nottingham, 2020.

Exact Profits

Due to the limited time frame and sheer volume of transactions related to the Baxter Bros and Co from the 1830s to 1860s, it was not possible to quantify the exact profits that Baxter Brothers & Co derived from the sale of their goods to transatlantic markets. The limited time frame and lack of archival as well as secondary information also precluded the possibility of pinpointing the exact plantations (apart from those related to Turnbull & Co) that were buying goods from Baxter Brothers & Co. This limitation was somewhat counteracted by the maps and case studies showcasing Baxter Brothers & Co and Turnbull & Co's extensive network of commission agents and their locale of operations.

John Boyd Baxter

Priority was given to: William, David and Edward Baxter due to their heavy commercial involvement with Baxter Brothers & Co, Mary Ann due to her founding donation to the university as well as her inherited wealth and William Edward Baxter for his views on slavery. As a result of this prioritisation, time constraints and an absence of a discernible commercial relationship between John Boyd Baxter and Baxter Brothers & Co, in-depth research could not be conducted on J.B. Baxter in phases one and two of the project. A brief case study with leads for possible research was included on page 43 of this report.

Tracing the Lineage of Donors

The endowments list for the University of Dundee is extensive, with many of the recorded donors giving bequests in the 20th and 21st century. This is to be expected given that the university was founded in the late 19th century. Tracing the lineage and inherited wealth of more recent donors with no discernible links with transatlantic slavery and the empire, is an incredibly lengthy and difficult task, one which requires above all, time. For this to be done, more resources and time would have to be dedicated to the project to further explore these later donors and their potential ancestral links with slavery and the empire. As a result of this limitation, focus was placed on donors in the 19th century and two built environment sites to exemplify the varied links that do exist between the university and Britain's colonial legacy.

KEY FINDINGS

- Baxter Brothers & Co, through an extensive network of commission agents, sold their goods, including Osnaburgs, to transatlantic markets in the US, West Indies and Latin America.
- The Baxters owned shares in other companies, such as Dundee, Perth and London Shipping Company Co Ltd (DP&L) and Turnbull & Co, which were involved in the transatlantic slavery economy and contributed to their overall wealth.
- Along with shipping and stock investments in the above companies, David Baxter's immense fortune was built upon the success of Baxter Brothers & Co's lucrative linen trade which relied on a market in the transatlantic colonies and the continued use of enslaved labour.
- The Duncan of Jordanstone College of Art & Design has its foundation in David Baxter's bequest and money that was derived indirectly from slavery.
- Mary Ann Baxter's brother, Edward Baxter, built his fortune as a commission agent for Baxter Brothers & Co, selling consigned goods to transatlantic markets. He also held numerous investments securities in the US and colonial bonds which contributed greatly to his wealth.
- Indirectly Chattel slavery was one of the foundations of Mary Ann Baxter and her family's fortune.
- As Mary Ann was the direct recipient of funds from Baxter Brothers & Co. through her father's settlement and was a beneficiary of her brother and sister's estate, a large portion of her assets came from the family's business as well as transatlantic and colonial investments. It can thus be said that the University of Dundee was partially founded on wealth derived from the exploitation of the markets for clothing for the enslaved in the Caribbean and elsewhere in the region.
- Although he profited indirectly from Atlantic slavery through his firm Edward Baxter & Son, Mary Ann Baxter's nephew, William Edward Baxter, condemned the brutality of slavery in the US.
- The Armistead Bursary Endowment is indirectly connected with transatlantic slavery and imperialism through George Armitstead & Co's shipping interests, trade with the Far East and commercial activities as a flax and guano importer.
- Balfour, Williamson & Co's imperialist practice of forced resettlement, bonded labour and exploitative commercial practices in South America formed the basis for Stephen Williamson's wealth and the Stephen Williamson Bursary Endowment.

- The Carnelley Memorial Prize Endowment and the Carnelley building are indirectly connected with transatlantic slavery through William Carnelley's commercial relationship with the prominent Manchester cotton firm, Rylands & Sons.
- The Bute Bursary was founded with an endowment from the Bute family fortune which was intertwined with the Caribbean slavery economy and investments in shipping, railway infrastructure and coal exports.
- Sir D'Arcy Thompson, after whom the D'arcy Thompson Commemorative Medal is named, had distant links with transatlantic slavery and the empire through his grandfather, a ship captain who engaged in East Indies, US and Caribbean trade in the mid 1800s. However, no discernible wealth was derived from this relation.
- Simon Ramsay, 16th Earl of Dalhousie who served as the second Chancellor of the University of Dundee and the namesake of the Dalhousie building, had indirect links with the Transatlantic Trafficking of Enslaved Africans (TTEA) and the Atlantic slavery economy through both his maternal and paternal sides of the family.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Dundee is a city known for its jam, jute and journalism. However, the rise of the jute industry was preceded by another noteworthy commodity, linen. Through Dundee's flourishing linen industry, indirectly profits derived from the exploitation of the transatlantic slave economy have impacted upon various sectors of the city, from its built environment to its cultural and educational institutions.

In order to fully grasp the importance of Dundee's linen industry within the context of the transatlantic slave economy, a brief historical background on the textile's history in Scotland, trade routes and use on plantations will be given.

Introduction of Linen to Scotland

“There is no disagreement amongst economic historians about the place that the linen industry occupied in the Scottish economy during the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century”⁶

Osnaburgs were introduced to Scotland through the Scottish Board of Trustees for Fisheries and Manufactures and later the British Linen Company. In 1742 the Board of Trustees commissioned “trials of that slack and coarse kind of yarn fit for Osnaburg and other coarse linens used in the American plantations”.⁷ The British Linen Company formed in 1746 and credited by Alastair Durie for the success and “the establishment of the manufacture of Osnaburg linen” in Scotland, further propelled the work of the Board of Trustees.⁸

Osnaburg, which was originally from Osnabrück, Germany, was a coarse linen that was exported to plantations in North America and the West Indies to be used as clothing for the enslaved people and sacks for cotton wool and other colonial goods grown by the enslaved.⁹ In 1734, a bounty on certain British and Irish linens exported to the plantations came into operation under the 1742 Act, effectively cheapening the price of Osnaburgs in the colonies.¹⁰ “Increased in 1745 so that even the cheapest cloths received the bounty... its effect was transformational”.¹¹ Dundee's output of linen “rose from 817,416 yards in 1747 to 1,275,689 yards in 1759”.¹² As Professor Christopher Whatley explains, “over the course of the next half

⁶ Alastair J. Durie, “The Markets for Scottish Linen, 1730-1775”, *The Scottish Historical Review*, 52:153, Edinburgh University Press, 1973, p. 30.

⁷ United States, Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of Manufactures, ‘*Daily Consular and Trade Reports*’, 1913, p. 478; Enid Gauldie, *The Dundee Textile Industry, 1790-1885: The Dundee Textile Industry, 1790-1885: From the Papers of Peter Carmichael of Arthursstone*, Edinburgh, 1969, p. xvii.

⁸ Alastair Durie, “Imitation in Scottish Eighteenth-Century Textiles: The Drive to Establish the Manufacture of Osnaburg Linen”, *Journal of Design History*, vol. 6, no. 2, [Oxford University Press, Design History Society], 1993, p. 75; Charles McKean, Bob Harris, and Christopher A. Whatley, *Dundee: Renaissance to Enlightenment*, United Kingdom, Dundee University Press, 2009; Draft material from Christopher A. Whatley and Jim Tomlinson, *Juteopolis’: The Making of a Global City, Dundee, 1800-1918* (in preparation), p.8.

⁹ ‘*Daily Consular and Trade Reports*’, p. 478; Douglas Duncan (ed.), *History of the Union of Scotland and England by Sir John Clerk of Penicuik*, Edinburgh, 1993, p.177; Durie, “Imitation in Scottish Eighteenth-Century Textiles”, p. 72.

¹⁰ Durie, “The Markets for Scottish Linen, 1730-1775”, pp. 36-7.

¹¹ Whatley and Tomlinson, *Juteopolis’: The Making of a Global City, Dundee*, p. 9.

¹² Durie, “The Markets for Scottish Linen, 1730-1775”, pp. 30.

century, roughly nine-tenths of the linen exported from Scotland, most supported by the bounty system, was destined for use in the plantations”.¹³ That is, mainly to clothe the enslaved peoples.

Production of linen in Scotland increased from “£835,081 in value in 1784-5 to £1,047,598 in 1799-1800” mainly because of coarse linen production, the centre of which was Dundee.¹⁴ In 1818, Dundee, Forfar and Kirriemuir manufactured “over 8 million yards of this linen, four-fifths of the total yardage of Osnaburg manufactured in Scotland”.¹⁵

Undeniably, the prosperity of the linen trade in Scotland and more specifically Dundee, was hinged on the exploitative tobacco and sugar industries of the US, Caribbean and South America and the enslaved people forced to toil in those regions.

Dundee & the Osnaburg Trade to the Plantations

For a time, Edinburgh was more successful in its output of Osnaburgs but Dundee came to dominate in its production of Osnaburg. As stated in the 1782 *Dundee Register of Merchants and Trades*:

“Dundee is in a very flourishing state; manufacturers go on briskly, and there are near one hundred sail of shipping belonging to the place. He several manufactures consist of linen (especially osnaburgs), sailcloth, cordage, thread, stockings, buckrams, tanned leather, shoes, and hats...The osnaburg trade is the staple, of which there has been above four millions of yards annually stamped of late”.¹⁶

Dundee linens was described in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1742 as being “the poorest and meanest” of all linens.¹⁷ Indeed, its coarseness and inexpensiveness meant that Dundee Osnaburgs was in high demand by enslavers who sought to reduce labour costs by buying the cheapest clothing for the enslaved. In 1764, Dundee exported “4,242,653 yards of Osnaburg, besides 165,000 yards of bagging for cotton wool”.¹⁸ With Britain adding to its empire through the Treaty of Paris, the transatlantic colonial market became exponentially expanded and “Dundee’s inhabitants were amongst the winners”.¹⁹ The European market gaze of disdain towards Dundee linen did nothing to deter the industry as its main markets lay overseas in the transatlantic colonies.²⁰ Plantations in the Caribbean, Brazil and southern states of America proved to be a profitable market for Dundee linens. Writing on the markets for Scottish linen from 1730 to 1755, Durie calculated that “Ninety per cent of all linen exported from Scottish ports went to America or the West Indies” with the largest share going to Virginia and Jamaica.²¹ The linens which served as clothing for both the enslaved people and enslavers comprised a major part of the tobacco and sugar ships export cargoes that ultimately supported and thrived on slave societies and the plantation system. Durie also interestingly noted that planters in Jamaica had a preference for brighter, lighter linen that was of the coarsest material

¹³ Whatley and Tomlinson, *Juteopolis': The Making of a Global City, Dundee*, p. 9.

¹⁴ Gaudie, *The Dundee Textile Industry, 1790-1885*, pp. xvii-xviii.

¹⁵ Durie, “Imitation in Scottish Eighteenth-Century Textiles”, p. 71; *Reports from Assistant Hand-loom Weavers Commissioners*, United Kingdom, House of Lords, 1840, p. 695.

¹⁶ Charles William Boase, *A Century of Banking in Dundee; being the annual balance sheets of the Dundee Banking Company, from 1764 to 1864*, Second edition, etc. United Kingdom, 379 [579], R. Grant & Son, 1867, p. 131.

¹⁷ ‘*Daily Consular and Trade Reports*’, p. 478.

¹⁸ *Daily Consular and Trade Reports*, p. 478.

¹⁹ Gordon Jackson with Kate Kinnear, *The Trade and Shipping of Dundee, 1780-1850*, United Kingdom, Abertay Historical Society, 1991, p. 15; Whatley and Tomlinson, *Juteopolis': The Making of a Global City, Dundee*, p.8.

²⁰ Jackson with Kinnear, *The Trade and Shipping of Dundee, 1780-1850*, p. 15.

²¹ Durie, “The Markets for Scottish Linen, 1730-1775”, p. 41.

while Virginia planters preferred a more dull and harder material to clothe the enslaved people on their plantations.²² ‘Runaway’ adverts offer insight to the prevalence of Osnaburgs on US and Caribbean plantations.²³

Shipping Routes- Dundee to the Plantations

The following table from *The Trade And Shipping of Dundee, 1780-1850* give an idea of which plantation societies Dundee linens were being exported to in 1815, 1821 and 1829.

“Exports of Linens, by Port of Destination, 1815, 1821, 1829 (yards)”

PORT	1815		1821		1829
	Linen 6d-1/6d	Diaper	Linen 6d-1/6d	Linen 5d-6d	Linen 6d-1/6d
Quebec	62,493	56,203	37,037	221,465	158,306
Montreal	-	-	-	54,068	20,873
St John,	-	-	3,526	2,748	2,791
New York	29,315	105,415	1,142,349	7,772,172	5,467,366
Norfolk	11,839	3,103	-	-	-
Charlestown	-	-	266,145	817,445	608,260
Savannah	-	-	-	139,345	201,229
New Orleans	-	-	223,197	160,913	190,159
Mobile	.	.	.	50,000	55,000
sub-total	103,647	164,721	1,672,254	9,218,156	6,703,984
Jamaica	287,834	29,804	689,561	1,207,544	506,872
Haiti	-	-	-	809,228	598,396
San Domingo	-	-	-	130,650	93,898
St Thomas	-	-	127,471	-	-
Pernambuco	-	-	-	31,700	32,947
Rio de Janeiro	.	.	.	211,412	114,598
sub-total	287,834	29,804	817,032	2,390,534	1,346,711
Gibraltar	-	-	-	3,686	2,913
Cadiz	-	-	-	54,104	80,169
Oporto	.	.	.	5,760	5,680
sub-total	-	-	-	63,550	88,762
TOTAL	391,481	194,525	2,489,286	11,672,240	8,139,457

Source: Jackson Gordon With Kate Kinnear, *The Trade And Shipping of Dundee, 1780-1850*, Abertay Historical Society, Dundee, 1991, p. 18.

A.J. Warden provides an example of the transatlantic journey of linen from Dundee to the US, Caribbean and South American plantations:

²² Durie, “The Markets for Scottish Linen, 1730-1775”, p. 41-2.

²³ *Royal Gazette of Jamaica* - Wednesday 26 June 1793; Daniel Meaders, *Advertisements for Runaway Slaves in Virginia, 1801-1820*, United Kingdom, Taylor & Francis, 2014; Simon P. Newman, “Rethinking runaways in the British Atlantic World: Britain, the Caribbean, West Africa and North America”, *Slavery & Abolition*, 2017, 38:1, pp. 49-75.

“In December ,1828, vessels sailed from Dundee for Mobile, New York, and St Domingo; and vessels were then loading for Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, Pernambuco, New Orleans, Charleston, Savannah. New York, & c., with Linens”.²⁴

Generally, the Osnaburgs produced in Dundee was exported via Glasgow and Liverpool, with textiles ending up in the hands of commission agents in northern ports of the US such as New York. However, the rise in demand for Osnaburgs as clothing for the enslaved saw a growing number of vessels transporting goods directly to southern ports in Charleston, New Orleans, Savannah and Mobile by the 1820s. By the late 20s “the USA received three quarters of Dundee's direct cloth exports”.²⁵ In the case of the West Indies, as early as 1753, direct trade with Jamaica was established when “when the *Dolphin* sailed for Jamaica carrying only linen”.²⁶ Later shipping records also depict similar direct routes. In 1827 a *Royal Gazette of Jamaica* notice depicts the *Ocean* captained by Kidd and owned by a Peter Thomson as loading in Dundee for Jamaica.²⁷ Another vessel, *Scotia*, captained by Morrison and owned by David Smart of Neish and Smart, merchants in Dundee, was recorded in 1826 as arriving in Port-Royal, Jamaica from Dundee.²⁸ *Scotia* was described as a “regular trader” in an earlier advert “for freight or passage” from Dundee to Kingston, Jamaica in 1824.²⁹ The Dundee merchant firm, Neish and Smart, also shipped goods directly from Dundee to Savannah in *The Traveller* and New York in *Eliza*.³⁰

Direct exports of Dundee linens to Jamaican plantations “reached some 300,000 yards in some years, along with other goods such as sailcloth, iron, and tanned leather” by 1815. *Margaret*, which arrived in Jamaica from Dundee in 1816 was loaded with bagging, bales of presumably linen, biscuits, dry goods, iron pots and other manufactured goods.³¹ Plantation goods reliant on enslaved labour such as “rice, tar, turpentine and pitch” often formed the return cargo.³² Such cargoes, from the Caribbean in particular and stocked with colonial goods produced in enslaved societies, offered a double stimulus to Dundee.³³ Gordon Jackson and Kate Kinnear highlight that Dundee’s trade with the Caribbean “was the only fully rounded trade, with those important shipments of linens matched by valuable imports” such as sugar and other tropical goods including tamarinds and succades.³⁴

Dundee Mercantile Interests, West Indian Planters & the Abolition of Slavery

As markets expanded in the sugar rich areas of South America and Jamaica, the interests of the Forfarshire Chamber of Commerce and Dundee linen mercantile community became aligned

²⁴A.J. Warden, *The Linen Trade: Ancient and Modern*, United Kingdom, Taylor & Francis, 2013, p. 607.

²⁵ Jackson with Kinnear, *The Trade and Shipping of Dundee, 1780-1850*, p. 18.

²⁶ Whatley and Tomlinson, *Juteopolis’: The Making of a Global City, Dundee*, p. 11.

²⁷ *Royal Gazette of Jamaica* - Saturday 03 March 1827; Friends of Dundee City Archives, “19th Century Dundee Ships (from the Directories) 1818 - 1898”, <http://www.fdca.org.uk/pdf%20files/19cShipsReg%20O.pdf>, accessed 24 March 2022.

²⁸ *Royal Gazette of Jamaica* - Saturday 02 September 1826; *The London Gazette*, 11 May 1827, p. 1055; Friends of Dundee City Archives, “19th Century Dundee Ships (from the Directories) 1818 - 1898”, <http://www.fdca.org.uk/pdf%20files/19cShipsReg%20S.pdf>, accessed 24 March 2022.

²⁹ *The Scotsman* - Wednesday 17 November 1824.

³⁰ *Aberdeen Press and Journal* - Wednesday 28 August 1822; *Liverpool Mercury* - Friday 04 October 1822.

³¹ *Royal Gazette of Jamaica* - Saturday 30 March 1816.

³² Charles McKean, Claire Swan and Malcolm Archibald, ‘Maritime Dundee and its Harbour, c.1755-1820’, in McKean, Harris and Whatley (eds), *Dundee: Renaissance to Enlightenment*, pp.276-80; Whatley and Tomlinson, *Juteopolis’: The Making of a Global City, Dundee*, p. 11.

³³ Jackson with Kinnear, *The Trade and Shipping of Dundee, 1780-1850*, p. 5.

³⁴ Jackson with Kinnear, *The Trade and Shipping of Dundee, 1780-1850*, pp. 19-20.

with the interests of the West Indian Planters.³⁵ This was demonstrated in the Chamber of Commerce's petition in support of the Planters and against the reduction of sugar duties and removal of preference for colonial sugar:

“The interests of the linen trade of this county are intimately connected with the prosperity of the West Indian Planters as your Petitioners supply Osnaburghs for the whole of their negroes' cloathing...”³⁶

In the eyes of the Chamber of Commerce, the capitalist premise and success of the Dundee linen industry superseded the emancipation of the enslaved people whose bodies fitted with coarse linen, formed the basis of their wealth. In 1830, the Chamber “refused to support” the abolition of slavery, citing that it was “a moral issue”.³⁷

Capitalism and the profits of the transatlantic slavery economy continued to be accrued by Dundee manufacturers post emancipation as plantation markets were sought elsewhere. Shipments of Osnaburghs exceeded pre-emancipation figures as places such as Cuba and Brazil, which continued to use enslaved labour until the 1880s, commenced importing linen directly for use on the plantations.³⁸ Indeed, as the case study on Baxter Brothers & Co will show, “South American trade was of great importance to Dundee”.³⁹

Branches of the Linen Trade

There were four branches of the trade of which some firms such as Baxter Brothers & Co. were engaged in multiple strands. Flax merchants who imported the raw material used to manufacture linen, flax and hemp, represented one branch of the industry. This report codifies merchants who imported flax as being indirectly connected to transatlantic slavery through their supply of raw material to manufacture colonial textiles. The other three branches involved the flax spinner, the manufacturer and the linen merchant. Commission agents such as Edward Baxter also played a crucial role in the sale and profits of the linen as well as the return cargoes of colonial produce.⁴⁰

Due to the time constraints of this project, focus was placed on the city's links with transatlantic slavery (see Limitations section). However, various links between Dundee and the empire, such as the guano industry of Peru, nitrate trade of Chile and shipping links with East Asia will be explored through the various case studies included in this report.

³⁵ *Royal Gazette of Jamaica* - Saturday 30 March 1816.

³⁶ Jackson with Kinnear, *The Trade and Shipping of Dundee, 1780-1850*, p. 18; Chamber of Commerce, 20 Mar 1823.

³⁷ Jackson with Kinnear, *The Trade and Shipping of Dundee, 1780-1850*, pp. 18-9; Chamber of Commerce, 11 Dec 1830.

³⁸ *Advertiser*, 1 June 1819; ³⁸ Jackson with Kinnear, *The Trade and Shipping of Dundee, 1780-1850*, p. 19; Whatley and Tomlinson, *Juteopolis': The Making of a Global City, Dundee*.

³⁹ Gauldie, *The Dundee Textile Industry, 1790-1885*, p. 120.

⁴⁰ Gauldie, *The Dundee Textile Industry, 1790-1885*, p. 60; N. I. Beckles, 'Textiles and port growth in Dundee', *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 1968, 84:2, pp. 90-98; W. H. K. Turner 'The growth of Dundee', *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 1968, 84:2, pp. 76-89; W. H. K. Turner, 'Flax weaving in Scotland in the early 19th century', *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 1983, 99:1, pp. 16-30; Louise Miskell & C. A. Whatley 'Juteopolis' in the Making: Linen and the Industrial Transformation of Dundee, c.1820-1850', *Textile History*, 1999, 30:2, pp. 176-198; Louise Miskell and William Kenefick, 'A Flourishing Seaport': Dundee Harbour and the Making of the Industrial Town, c.1815-1850', *Scottish Economic & Social History*, 2000, 20:2, pp. 176-198.

BAXTER BROTHERS & CO & LINKS WITH SLAVERY

An 1890 article in the *Dundee Courier* states, “by energy, tact, and perseverance the Baxters have risen from humble origin to the position of merchant princes”.⁴¹ While this might be true it must be noted and acknowledged that the profits and wealth of Baxter Brothers & Co. was built literally, upon the bodies of the enslaved people of the US, West Indies and South America. As stated in the University of Dundee published book, *Baxter’s of Dundee*, “the wealth generated by the firm played a key role in the foundation of University College, Dundee in 1882”.⁴² Importantly then, in an effort to better understand the firm’s links with transatlantic slavery, the following sections will explore where its goods were shipped to and the source of its wealth.

The Origin Story

The success story of Baxter Brothers begins with the father of Mary Ann Baxter, William Baxter of Balgavies (1767–1854), who was described by the *Dundee People’s Journal* as “one of our largest and most successful export merchants during the first half of the century”.⁴³ In about 1806 he erected “a small spinning mill at Glamis” from which sprang the powerhouse Baxter Brothers & Co.⁴⁴ Later, in 1818 he leased a flax spinning mill at Glamis for 21 years and built a mill on Dens Burn, Dundee in 1822.⁴⁵ By this time, his son Edward Baxter (see case study below) had joined him in business under the firm William Baxter & Son. After Edward left in pursuit of his own economic endeavours as an export merchant and agent, his younger brothers John (d. 1853) and William (d. 1852) joined their father in 1825. The firm was then called Baxter Brothers & Co.⁴⁶ After unsuccessfully managing the Dundee Sugar Refinery, David Baxter (1793-1872) joined the family business in the 1830s and by 1867, he was the head of the company.⁴⁷ Peter Carmichael and William Ogilvie Dalgleish became a partner in 1853 and 1856 respectively. In 1924, Baxter Brothers & Co. became part of Low & Bonar “until production at Dens Works finally ceased in the summer of 1978”.⁴⁸

⁴¹ *Dundee Courier* - Monday 11 August 1890.

⁴² A.J. Cooke (ed), *Baxter’s of Dundee*, University of Dundee, 1980, p. 4.

⁴³ *Dundee People’s Journal* - 29 July 1871.

⁴⁴ *Dundee People’s Journal* - 29 July 1871; *Dundee Courier* - Monday 11 August 1890; *The Scotsman* - Tuesday 15 October 1872.

⁴⁵ David Bremner, *The Industries of Scotland: Their Rise, Progress, and Present Condition*, United Kingdom, A. and C. Black, 1869, p. 255; Cooke (ed), *Baxter’s of Dundee*, p. 17; GB 254 MS 11, ‘Baxter Brothers & Co Ltd, linen and jute spinners and manufacturers, Dundee, 1795-1992’, University of Dundee Archive Services, <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb254-ms11> [accessed 25 March 2022]; *The Gazetteer for Scotland*, “William Baxter 1767 – 1854”, <https://www.scottish-places.info/people/famousfirst4323.html> [accessed 29 March 2022]; Grace’s Guide To British Industrial History, “Baxter Brothers and Co”, https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Baxter_Brothers_and_Co [accessed 29 March 2022].

⁴⁶ MS 11/5/5/8, ‘British Industries -No. XI - Linen Manufacture. Messrs Baxter Brothers & Co. Ltd. Reprint from The Gentleman’s Journal’, University of Dundee Archive Services, *Dundee People’s Journal* - 29 July 1871; *The Scotsman* - 15 October 1872; GB 254 MS 11, ‘Baxter Brothers & Co Ltd’.

⁴⁷ *Dundee Directory and General Register, 1834*. Dundee: Archibald Allardyce, MDCCCXXXIV, p. 4, <https://digital.nls.uk/directories/browse/archive/84958383> accessed 2 April 2022; *Montrose Standard* - Friday 28 July 1871; Cooke (ed), *Baxter’s of Dundee*, p. 17; Dundee City Council, ‘David Baxter’, <https://www.dundee.gov.uk/service-area/neighbourhood-services/environment/david-baxter> [accessed 28 March 2022]; Grace’s Guide, “Baxter Brothers and Co”; Henderson, revised by McConnell, ‘Baxter, Sir David, baronet’, *ODNB*; David Perry with contributions by Derek Hall and Richard Jones, ‘The Dundee Sugar House, Seagate, Dundee’, <http://www.tafac.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/p103-118-Perry.pdf> p. 109, accessed 25 February 2022.

⁴⁸ University of Dundee Archive Services, GB 254 MS 11; Cooke (ed), *Baxter’s of Dundee*, p. 24.

Exports

Baxter brothers were originally linen manufacturers and later jute spinners from the 1870s. Trade directories also list Baxter Brothers & Co. as “merchants and flax spinners”. Descriptions of their export goods included Osnaburghs, canvas, coal sackings, sailcloth, sheetings, paddings and hammocking amongst a myriad of other flax and hemp based goods. The main raw materials used by the firm consisted “chiefly of flax and tow, with a little hemp”.⁴⁹ In terms of its consumption of flax, Baxter Brothers & Co. was the “largest linen manufacturers in the world, no firm using nearly as much weight of flax, & c. as they do”. The Baxters as a firm, sustained the momentum of Dundee’s linen trade allowing the city to monumentally benefit from the firm’s profits and consistent need for raw material. The firm quickly “became one of the largest manufacturing houses in the world” with linen exports from Dundee to the plantations predominantly being products of Baxter Bros & Co.⁵⁰

Custom-House Books show that in 1832, Dundee exported 11,334, 256 yards of linen to plantations in Jamaica, Haiti, St Thomas, Cuba, Brazil, Canada and the US. The value of Dundee linen exported in 1830, 1831 and 1832 amounted to £277,977 (RPW: £25,400,000), £365, 595 (RPW: £33,900,000), and £596,424 (RPW: £56,700,000) respectively.⁵¹ Based on the preeminence of the firm, most of this exported linen would have come from Baxter Brothers & Co. Apart from plantation exports to clothe planters and the enslaved people, increasingly profitable for the Baxter Brothers was their contract with the US Navy to produce flax canvas which ran until 1914 as well as their output of sailcloth for the Admiralty.⁵²

Given the Baxter Brothers & Co. dominance in linen manufacture, both locally and abroad within a city that was dubbed the “chief seat of the linen manufacture in Britain”,⁵³ there can be no doubt about the firm, its partners and shareholders’ indirect links with the transatlantic slavery economy.

Where did their money come from?

This section of the report is tied in with step three of the methodology process, following the financial capital of Baxter Brothers & Co. The limited time frame and sheer volume of transactions and figures listed in the financial records of Baxter Brothers & Co. between the 1830s and 1860s, precluded the possibility of calculating a precise end result figure of how much wealth was derived from slavery. However, what can be discerned from records is where some of the firm’s money came from and the value of David and William Baxters’ stake in the firm.

The following map highlights some of the places Baxter Brothers & Co. was selling its goods to in 1854:

⁴⁹ *The Scotsman* - Tuesday 15 October 1872.

⁵⁰ Leslie Stephen (ed), ‘Dictionary of National Biography’, United Kingdom, Macmillan, 1885, p. 426; Henderson, ‘Baxter, Sir David, baronet’, *ODNB*.

⁵¹ Warden, *The Linen Trade*, p. 608.

⁵² C. Northcote Parkinson (ed), *The Trade Winds: A Study of British Overseas Trade During the French Wars 1793-1815*, Taylor & Francis, 2013. p 92; Grace’s Guide, “Baxter Brothers and Co”.

⁵³ Stephen (ed), ‘Dictionary of National Biography’, p 426; Baxter, Sir David, baronet’, *ODNB*.



Figure 1: Countries Baxter Brothers & Co was selling Goods to in 1854

Below are case studies on some of the firms who sold goods in the various colonies for Baxter Brothers & Co. as commission agents. Commission agents both locally and abroad acted on behalf of firms, selling consigned goods for a commission. Often time they would supply payment for consigned goods in the form of return cargoes of colonial produce grown by the enslaved people. Commission agents will be further discussed in the case study below on Edward Baxter.

These case studies are important as information on these firms provide insight on their trading activities and by extension Baxter Brothers & Co trade links in the West Indies, US and Brazil. Understanding the merchant activities of these commission agents can also assist in unearthing to which plantations the Os naburgs and other manufactured goods of Baxter Brothers & Co were being sold. This might prove relevant for possible later research on identifying the enslaved people and tracing the descendants of the enslaved associated with such plantations.

White & Thugar, New York

Baxter Brothers & Co. had dealings with this firm in the 1850s.⁵⁴ An importer of dry goods and linen, shipping intelligence notes that this firm imported dry goods via Liverpool on various ships, *Asia, Washington and Henry Clay, Andrew Foster, Geo. Phelps, American Congress, Middlesex, Typhoon, Universe* in 1852. The firm also imported dry goods aboard *Sir Robert Peel* and *Hudson* from London and Glasgow respectively.⁵⁵ This firm appears numerous times in the Baxter Brothers & Co., Scroll balance book with profit and loss accounts 1854-1860'. An example of the sums recorded include £11470 3s 3d (RPW: £1,100,000) received in 1854 by Baxter Brothers & Co. likely for the sale of consigned goods in the US by

⁵⁴ MS 11/1/6, 'Scroll balance book with profit and loss accounts 1854-1860', Baxter Brothers & Co., University of Dundee Archive Services.

⁵⁵ United States Economist, *Dry Goods Reporter, and Bank, Railroad and Commercial Chronicle*, United States, 1852. pp. 27, 386; Charles R. Rode and John Doggett, *The New York City Directory, for United States*, Doggett & Rode, 1850, p. 539.

White & Thurgar and a sum of £313 4d (RPW: £30,000) paid to White and Thurgar, likely as commission for the sale of consigned goods from Baxter Brothers & Co.⁵⁶

Wyman & Arklay, Boston

Another firm found in Baxter Brothers & Co's financial records was Wyman & Arklay. The '1870 Boston City Directory' lists Wyman & Arklay as:

“Importers of Irish and Dundee linens, Burlaps, Baggings, Canvas, Ducks, Drills, Spanish Linen, Shirting Linens, Sheetings, Pillow Linens, Damasks, Cloths, Napkins, Doylies, Diapers & c.”⁵⁷

Wyman & Arklay consisted of Edward Wyman and Patrick Arklay who are listed in trade directories as merchants and commission merchants. They were importers of “goods and linens”, some of which were acquired from Baxter Brothers & Co.⁵⁸ As commission merchants, they would have sold some of these goods as consignments in America for Baxter Brothers & Co. An example of Wyman & Arklay's sale of goods can be seen in a bill of receipt to C.M. Bailey on Sept. 20, 1859, for the sale of \$912. 88 (RPW: \$29,300) worth of burlaps in Boston, MA.⁵⁹

Two transactions highlight the relationship between Baxter Brothers and Wyman & Arklay. A payment in the amount of £474 18s 3d (RPW: £45,600) from the former to the latter on 27th May 1854, likely represents Baxter Brothers & Co's payment of commission for the sale of consigned goods by Wyman & Arklay.⁶⁰ While a 28th May 1854 record shows Baxter Brothers & Co. receiving £1022 11s 4d (RPW: £98,100) from Wyman & Arklay, Boston, likely for the sale of consigned goods in the US.⁶¹ This textbook example of commission agent and manufacturing house commercial dealings is repeated throughout the Baxter Brothers & Co Scroll Balance Book for the 1850s. In that same month, payments are made to numerous firms operating in the transatlantic colonial market such as Gihon & Co, Philadelphia, Balbian & Co., Havana, Schmidt, Whitehand & Co, Mexico and S.S. Davenport & Co, Bahia to name a few, likely for the sale of consigned manufactured goods from Baxter Brothers & Co.⁶²

“McKinnan Marshall & Co., Laguayra” and “Marshall McKinnon & Co., St. Thomas”

Mackinnon, Marshall & Co. consisted of John Marshall, Lachlan Mackinnon and Matthew Pearce. The firm carried on business at La Guayra, Venezuela.⁶³ It was recorded in Baxter Brothers Balance book with profit and loss accounts in 31 August 1832.⁶⁴ The same firm also

⁵⁶ MS 11/1/6, 'Scroll balance book'.

⁵⁷ '1870 Boston City Directory', <http://hdl.handle.net/10427/5409> [accessed 31 March 2022].

⁵⁸ *The New York herald*, [volume] (New York [N.Y.]), 11 Nov. 1872. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress; *The daily dispatch*. [volume] (Richmond [Va.]), 26 July 1853. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress; '1850 Directory of Boston', https://www.boston1872.docema.com/cgi-bin/directory_search.pl?ds=2&ln=19639 [accessed 31 March 2022]; *Post Office Dundee Directory, including Lochee, Broughty Ferry, Newport, and the Rural District in the vicinity of Dundee, for 1871-72*, James P. Mathew & Co. p. 222.

⁵⁹ Fordham Libraries, Bill of Receipt to C.M. Bailey for goods bought from Wyman V. Arklay on Sept. 20, 1859 in Boston, MA, *US Civil War Era Letters, 1865-1866, Shipping Industry*, https://www.library.fordham.edu/digital/item/collection/civil_war/id/86 [accessed 31 March 2022].

⁶⁰ MS 11/1/6, 'Scroll balance book'.

⁶¹ MS 11/1/6, 'Scroll balance book'.

⁶² MS 11/1/6, 'Scroll balance book'.

⁶³ *The London Gazette*, United Kingdom, T. Neuman, 1830, p. 18.

⁶⁴ MS 11/1/35, "Balance book with profit and loss accounts 1832-53", Baxter Brothers & Co. Ltd., University of Dundee Archive Services, p. 7.

carried on business in St. Thomas under the name “Marshall, Mackinnon, and Co. and at Glasgow, under that of Mackinnon, Pearce, and Co.”⁶⁵ Mackinnon, Pearce, & Co. is listed in 1837 trade directories as merchants in Glasgow.⁶⁶ A testimony by Lachlan Mackinnon who was a partner in Mackinnon, Pearce & Co. as well as Mackinnon, Wilson & Co. of La Guayra offers insight to their merchant trade. He testified that “American coarse cotton manufactures (or ‘domestics’) are sent into that market in considerable quantities, and interfere very much with the sale of British goods of the same description”.⁶⁷ As Mackinnon was engaged in business regarding the exporting of coarse cotton presumably as clothing for the enslaved people, it stands to reason that as agents for Baxter Brothers & Co in La Guayra and St Thomas, the firm was selling the consigned goods to planters and for the use on plantations in these regions.

This agent relationship with Mackinnon, Marshall & Co. is thus another example of where some of the Baxter Brothers & Co profits came from, societies dependent on enslaved labour.

Moon Brothers & Co., Rio

Baxter Brothers & Co. were also selling their goods in Brazil through the Moon Brothers who operated in Maranhão and Rio de Janeiro.⁶⁸ This firm is mentioned multiple times in the Baxter Brothers Balance Book, 1832-1853 and from as early as 31 August 1832⁶⁹, making it increasingly relevant to garnering a deeper understanding of the Baxters and their links with slavery in South America.⁷⁰ As noted above in the Historical Context, Brazil represented an important market for Dundee following the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies.

Moon Brothers & Co. comprised of James Moon, Edward Moon, Richard Moon, William Moon of Liverpool and Charles Hopley of Rio de Janeiro. The firm operated in Rio de Janeiro as merchants until the partnership’s dissolution in 1844.⁷¹ William Moon, until his retirement in 1869, was also partner in Moon and Co., Liverpool and William Moon and Co., Rio de Janeiro.⁷² Edward Moon “represented Liverpool’s Brazilian Association in 1841” and was British consul in Maranhão.⁷³ He was also a director and one of the larger shareholders of “Brazil’s first English bank: London & Brazilian Bank Limited” created in London on 13 May 1862.⁷⁴

Import–export houses in South America

From around 1810 to the 1870s, textiles comprised the main British goods exported to the Southern Cone.⁷⁵ Spanish Latin America and Brazil’s share in “world exports from the United

⁶⁵ *The London Gazette*, 1830, p. 18.

⁶⁶ James Pigot, *Pigot and co.'s national commercial directory of ... Scotland, and of the isle of Man*. United Kingdom, n.p, 1837, p. 595.

⁶⁷ Alexander Graham, *The Impolicy of the Tax on Cotton Wool, as Aggravated by the Progress and Capabilities of Foreign Countries in Cotton Manufactures ...* Second Edition. United Kingdom, n.p, 1836, p. 20.

⁶⁸ MS 11/5/43, “Photocopy of inventory of the personal estate of John Baxter”, University of Dundee Archive Services; Joseph Martin Mulhern, *After 1833: British Entanglement with Brazilian Slavery*, Durham theses, Durham University, 2018, p. 229.

⁶⁹ MS 11/1/35, “Balance book with profit and loss accounts 1832-53”, p. 7.

⁷⁰ MS 11/1/35, “Balance book with profit and loss accounts 1832-53”, pp. 7, 29.

⁷¹ *The London Gazette*, 1845, p. 1091.

⁷² *Liverpool Commercial List*, United Kingdom, Estell & Company, 1871., p. 6; *The London Gazette*, 1851, p. 2402.

⁷³ Mulhern, *After 1833*, pp. 72, 229.

⁷⁴ *Colonial and Imperial Banking History*, United Kingdom, Taylor & Francis, 2015, p. 41.

⁷⁵ Manuel Llorca-Jaña, “Knowing the shape of demand: Britain’s exports of ponchos to the Southern Cone, c. 1810s–70s”, *Business History*, vol. 51, no. 4, 2009, p. 604.

Kingdom” between 1830 to 1839, amounted to 12.2%.⁷⁶ After 1808, “British merchants – the main carriers of British exports to Latin America, opened import–export houses in South America for the first time and at a very high rate”.⁷⁷ This not only enhanced the value of Latin America as a market but also allowed British merchants invested in transatlantic slavery to establish mercantile houses in Brazil. Here, “their agents on the spot became the exporters’ eyes and ears”.⁷⁸ As agents for British textile firms and as merchants, the Moon Brothers & Co. would have exploited the access their branch in Rio facilitated, in terms of gauging the needs of the plantations. Armed with this information, they would then be able to “instruct their associated head offices, partners or agents in Britain what to ship with a great deal of precision”.⁷⁹ Furthermore, William Moon & Co. held public auctions at their warehouse in Rio to showcase manufactured goods to “important dealers” in Brazil.⁸⁰ This meant that the goods of Baxter Brothers and Turnbull & Co. would have likely been purchased by dealers from various regions in Brazil, thus highlighting the extensive networks that may have been involved in the purchasing process. Edward Moon’s diplomatic position as consul in Maranhão would have also enhanced their trade networks and access to information, ultimately benefitting the reach of firms who consigned goods to be sold by the Moon Brothers such as Turnbull & Co. and Baxter Brothers & Co.

Imports of Moon Brothers

Shipping intelligence for Liverpool shows the Moon Brothers importing colonial produce such as rum from Jamaica in 1820 and 1833, coffee in 1826 along with tamarinds and succades in 1827.⁸¹ The Moon Brothers also imported raw cotton from Brazil. Shipping reports show that the firm imported cotton from Maraham (Maranhão) on a large scale in 1829, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1842 and from Bahia in 1834. Apart from cotton they imported 1460 hides from Maranhão in 1833.⁸² Shipping records also show the Moon Brothers importing cotton from southern US states such as Virginia, Charleston and New Orleans.⁸³ An excerpt in the *Glasgow Herald* in 1869 also denotes that imported “Manchester goods” were sold at William Moon & Co’s stores in Rio.⁸⁴ Based on their import history and agent relationship with Baxter Brothers & Co., the

⁷⁶ A.K. Manchester, *British pre-eminence in Brazil. Its rise and decline*, New York: Octagon Books, 1972; L.H. Guenther, *British merchants in nineteenth-century Brazil: Business, culture, and identity in Bahia, 1808–1850*, Oxford: Centre for Brazilian Studies, 2004; Llorca-Jaña, “Knowing the shape of demand: Britain’s exports of ponchos to the Southern Cone, c. 1810s–70s”, p. 603; Manuel Llorca-Jaña, “The organisation of British textile exports to the River Plate and Chile: Merchant houses in operation, c. 1810–59”, *Business History*, vol. 53, no. 6, 2011, p. 823; The National Archives, Kew, London, Ledgers of Exports under Countries (CUST/8), all volumes for 1815–59.

⁷⁷ Llorca-Jaña, “The organisation of British textile exports to the River Plate and Chile: Merchant houses in operation, c. 1810–59”, p. 825.

⁷⁸ Llorca-Jaña, “Knowing the shape of demand: Britain’s exports of ponchos to the Southern Cone, c. 1810s–70s”, pp. 604, 609; Chapman, “The international houses”; Chapman, “British marketing enterprise”; Chapman, *Merchant enterprise in Britain*, p. 290; Llorca-Jaña, “The organisation of British textile exports to the River Plate and Chile: Merchant houses in operation, c. 1810–59”, p. 826; V. Bulmer-Thomas, *The economic history of Latin America since independence* (2nd ed.), Cambridge University Press, 2003; Trevor Burnard and Cassandra Gooptar, Unpublished Report, University of Hull, 2021.

⁷⁹ Herbert S. Klein, “The Internal Slave Trade in Nineteenth-Century Brazil: A Study of Slave Importations into Rio De Janeiro in 1852.” *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. 51, no. 4, 1971; Richard Graham, “Slavery and Economic Development: Brazil and the United States South in the Nineteenth Century”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 23, no. 4, 1981; Llorca-Jaña, “Knowing the shape of demand: Britain’s exports of ponchos to the Southern Cone, c. 1810s–70s”, 602; Francisco Vidal Luna and Herbert S. Klein, *Slavery in Brazil*, Netherlands, Cambridge University Press, 2010; , Nuno Palma, Andrea Papadia, Thales Pereira and Leonardo Weller, “Slavery and Development in Nineteenth Century Brazil”, *Capitalism: A Journal of History and Economics*, 2021, vol. 2 no. 2.

⁸⁰ *Glasgow Herald* - Monday 06 December 1869; “Accident On The North British Railway To-Day” *Glasgow Herald*.

⁸¹ “Imports,” *Liverpool Mercury*, 14 July 1820; “SHIP NEWS.” *Lancaster Gazette*, 30 Sept. 1826; “Imports.” *Liverpool Mercury*, 5 Oct. 1827.

⁸² “Imports”, *Liverpool Mercury*, 21 June 1833.

⁸³ “Multiple News Items”, *Sheffield Independent*, 2 Apr. 1831; “Shipping Intelligence”, *Sheffield Independent*, 17 Sept. 1831; “Imports”, *Liverpool Mercury*, 28 Aug. 1829; “Imports”, *Liverpool Mercury*, 22 July 1842.

⁸⁴ “Accident On The North British Railway To-Day”, *Glasgow Herald*, 7 Dec. 1869.

Moon Brothers in their capacity as merchants and commission agents, were re-exporting manufactured textiles and importing return cargoes of raw cotton and other goods from the West Indies, Brazil and Southern US. Like other mercantile houses in the Southern Cone (see below), Moon Brothers & Co. would have sold goods consigned to them by British firms such as Baxter Brothers & Co. and send bills as payment for the sale of such goods. They also likely used some of the proceeds from the sale of consigned goods to procure return cargos consisting of colonial produce for the Baxter Brothers. This commercial relationship is illustrative of Eric Williams analysis of the triangular trade and the triple stimulus Britain received from its colonial trade.⁸⁵

Moon Brothers and Enslaved People

A census return from British consul in Maranhão seemingly shows that “Messrs Moon & Co.” did not own enslaved people.⁸⁶ However, it should be noted that Edward Moon “replied without giving details of his personal circumstances” in another correspondence dated 1840 on “the prohibition of slaveholding by British functionaries abroad”.⁸⁷

An interesting account regarding William Moon & Co’s warehouse in Rio and an enslaved person was depicted in the *Manchester Examiner* and *Glasgow Herald* in 1869 under the title “Liberating a Slave”. The first article published on the 6 December 1869 and based on information from the *Anglo-Brazilian Times*, stated that “a slave was taken to the warehouse for sale, and that, on an appeal to the generosity of the dealers present, he was bought by the dealers, and set at liberty...”. The article concludes that “it shows the state of slavery in Brazil when a slave is sometimes sold, even in an English warehouse, among ‘other’ articles of merchandise.”⁸⁸ However, an article to the editor on the 7 December 1869 from an acquaintance of William Moon, sought to rebut this account, stating that “the slave was neither bought nor sold at the sale” and was brought in by a “respectable gentleman” for the purpose freeing the said enslaved person.⁸⁹ While it is unclear which article is representative of the truth, both offer some insight to the Rio warehouse of William Moon & Co. and underscores the firm’s close connection with dealers of British manufactured goods, transatlantic slavery and the enslaved population

The Baxter Brothers Scroll Balance Book show the receipt of £724 17s 7d (RPW: 68,900) in 1832 and payment of £8 8s 5d (RPW: £810) relating to Moon Brothers & Co. in 1836.⁹⁰ Undoubtedly other commercial transactions occurred between both firms. Further analysis of Moon Brothers & Co’s business dealings in Brazil can extend our understanding of import–export houses in South America, their links with firms in Dundee such as Baxter Brothers and Turnbull & Co. and the enslaved people who were associated with their goods.

⁸⁵ Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, pp. 51-2, 71; Robert B. Marks, *The Origins of the Modern World: Fate and Fortune in the Rise of the West*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2007; Hall, et al. *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership*. 206.

⁸⁶ Mulhern, *After 1833*, p. 156.

⁸⁷ “Mr. Moon to Viscount Palmerston, 4 December 1840, in Correspondence on Slave Trade, 1841 (Class B)”, pp. 403, 741; Mulhern, *After 1833*, p. 72.

⁸⁸ *Glasgow Herald* - Monday 06 December 1869.

⁸⁹ “Accident On The North British Railway To-Day”, *Glasgow Herald*.

⁹⁰ MS 11/5/43, “Photocopy of inventory of the personal estate of John Baxter”, University of Dundee Archive Services; MS 11/1/35, “Balance book with profit and loss accounts 1832-53”, University of Dundee Archive Services, pp. 7, 29.

Boorman, Johnston & Co., New York

Another firm which appeared in Baxter Brothers & Co's Balance Book was Boorman, Johnston & Co.⁹¹ Initially Boorman and Johnston, this firm was "one of the oldest, wealthiest and largest commercial houses, conducting a most varied business in New York for a long time".⁹² James Boorman (1783-1866) joined John Johnston (1781-1851) in 1813 to form the mercantile house of Boorman & Johnston. Adam Norrie joined the partnership in 1828, when the name changed to Boorman, Johnston & Co.⁹³ The firm "almost entirely controlled the Dundee linen trade from Scotland".⁹⁴ As well as being one of the largest importers of iron to the US from Sweden and Russia, Boorman, Johnston & Co. "was one of the major exporters in New York of Virginia tobacco" where at one time they handled "virtually all" of the tobacco that came from Richmond.⁹⁵ Writing in regards to the 18th century state of Scottish linen exports to America, Alastair J. Durie explains that "linens constituted a major element in the outward cargoes of commodities shipped to the colonies in the tobacco and sugar ships, e.g. clothing for the planters and slaves, which were varied in weight and colour according to the region".⁹⁶ Further research is needed to verify whether Boorman, Johnston & Co. had a similar relationship with the Baxter Brothers and Turnbull & Co; Dundee linens shipped to New York aboard tobacco ships returning with colonial produce. Given Boorman, Johnston & Co. control of Virginia tobacco exports and Dundee linen trade, it is highly likely they were bringing slave produced commodities such as tobacco to Britain and re-exporting Dundee linens and bagging to plantations across America. Both John Johnston and James Boorman were prominent men in New York with various investments in the commercial and educational sector. Johnston co-founded New York University while Boorman was a founder of the Bank of Commerce, an original stockholder of New York University and "director, vice-president and president of the Hudson River Railroad Company".⁹⁷

Table 1: Other Firms Commissioned by Baxter Brothers & Co. To Sell Their Goods in the 1850s

Firm	Location
Gihon & Co	Philadelphia
Balbiani & Co	Havana
Schmidt, Whitehead & Co	Mexico
Schmidt Chabot & Co	Vera Crus
O.J. Bergust? & Co	St Thomas
S.S. Davenport & Co	Bahia
Henry Patisson? & Co	Boston
W. Brand & Co	New York
Cameron & Brand	New York
F. Claussen & Co	Tampico

⁹¹ "Balance book with profit and loss accounts 1832-53", University of Dundee Archive Services.

⁹² David Bradley, *South Street A Maritime History of New York*, Canada, New American Library of Canada, 1977, p. 193.

⁹³ Prabook, "James Boorman", <https://prabook.com/web/james.boorman/3761462>, accessed 08 Dec. 2021.

⁹⁴ House Histree, "John Johnston (1781-1851)", <https://househistree.com/people/john-johnston-2>, accessed 08 Dec. 2021;

House Histree, "James Boorman (1783-1866)", <https://househistree.com/people/james-boorman>, accessed 08 Dec. 2021;

Prabook, "James Boorman", "Attributed to Rembrandt Peale (American, 1778-1860)"

<https://www.cowanuctions.com/lot/attributed-to-rembrandt-peale-american-1778-1860-4069409>, accessed 08 Dec. 2021.

⁹⁵ Richard C. McKay, *South Street: A Maritime History of New York*, New American Library of Canada, 1977; "Attributed to Rembrandt Peale (American, 1778-1860)"; House Histree, "John Johnston (1781-1851)", Prabook, "James Boorman".

⁹⁶ Alastair J. Durie, "The Markets for Scottish Linen, 1730-1775", *The Scottish Historical Review*, Apr., 1973, Vol. 52, No. 153, Part 1 (Apr., 1973), p. 41.

⁹⁷ "Attributed to Rembrandt Peale (American, 1778-1860)"; House Histree, "John Johnston (1781-1851)", Prabook, "James Boorman".

Ballingall Thomson & Co	Mazatlan
W. Schruder & Co	Aguadilla
William Newall & Co	Zacatecas

Source: Based on data in MS 11/1/6, 'Scroll balance book with profit and loss accounts 1854-1860', Baxter Brothers & Co, University of Dundee Archive Services.

Links with Manchester Firms

Baxter Brothers & Co also amassed part of their fortune from selling their goods to British based firms engaged in the transatlantic slavery economy. Three such firms that catch the eye in their scroll balance book are the stalwart Manchester firms, Rylands & Sons, J & N Philips and W.G. and J. Strutt.⁹⁸ Strutt "was founded by Jedediah Strutt [1726–1797], who, with his brother-in-law, William Woollatt, and with John Bloodworth and Thomas Stamford entered the hosiery business in Derby in 1758".⁹⁹ Strutt is credited with the invention of the Derby Rib Machine, a machine that helped create ribbed stockings.¹⁰⁰ By 1815, the Strutts were considered to be "the largest producers of cotton yarn in England" with their raw cotton being sourced from places using enslaved labour such as Brazil, the West Indies, Guyana, Suriname and the southern states of the US.¹⁰¹ J & N Philips was "the largest tape manufacturers in Europe, but was also involved in a hatting business with a growing American market in the late 1780s".¹⁰² The firm traded in "silk, smallwares, fustians, checks, cotton dealing, hatting; later in West India merchanting, cotton spinning, power-loom weaving" amongst other things.¹⁰³ Rylands & Sons, another noteworthy firm connected to the famous John Rylands Library, Manchester, will be discussed in a later section of this report. All three firms had extensive indirect connections with transatlantic slavery.

There are several reasons why these veteran firms would have had commercial dealings with Baxter Brothers & Co. It is possible that they purchased linen and other goods for the domestic market or export. However, it is more likely that these firms were either purchasing yarn from Baxter Brothers & Co to manufacture and re-export textiles to transatlantic markets or were selling goods on behalf of Baxter Brothers & Co through their large network of commission agents both locally and abroad.

New Orleans as a Market

David Baxter's inventory also illustrates a connection between Baxter Brothers & Co and New Orleans from as early as the 1830s. David inherited 1/5 interest, £977 9s 2d (RPW: £93,800),¹⁰⁴

⁹⁸ MS 11/1/6, 'Scroll balance book'; MS 11/1/7, 'Scroll balance book with profit and loss accounts 1861-1866', Baxter Brothers & Co., University of Dundee Archive Services.

⁹⁹ R.S. Fitton, "Overseas Trade during the Napoleonic Wars, as Illustrated by the Records of W. G. & J. Strutt", *Economica*, vol. 20, no. 77, 1953, p. 53.

¹⁰⁰ Derbyshire Record Office, "Derby Rib Machine patent", https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/derby-rib-machine-patent-jedediah-strutt/pgEMljG_ci6jCw?hl=en, accessed 22 Nov 2020.

¹⁰¹ Susanne Seymour, Lowri Jones and Julia Feuer-Cotter, "The global connections of cotton in the Derwent Valley mills in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries" in *The Industrial Revolution: Cromford, The Derwent Valley and The Wider World*, ed. Chris Wrigley, Arkwright Society Limited, 2015, p. 157; R. S. Fitton, *The Arkwrights: Spinners of Fortune*, Manchester University Press, 1989; "W.G. and J. Strutt Ltd.", *The National Archives*, <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/a6d33a63-890c-4631-8c8e-75a91c4830dd>, accessed 20 March 2022; Susanne Seymour, 'Global Cotton Connections: East meets West in the Derbyshire Peak District: An AHRC Connected Communities project', <https://globalcottonconnections.wordpress.com/tag/strutt/>, accessed 20 March 2022.

¹⁰² A. C. Howe, "Philips, Sir George, first baronet (1766–1847), textile industrialist and politician." *ODNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/38689>, accessed 2 Nov 2021.

¹⁰³ Alfred P. Wadsworth and Julia De Lacy Mann, *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, 1600–1780*, Manchester University Press, 1965, p. 289; Haggerty and Gooptar, Unpublished Report, 2020.

¹⁰⁴ SC20/50/44, '1872 Baxter, David', Wills and testaments, Cupar Sheriff Court, p. 1414.

of his father's stock of "ten bonds for one thousand dollars each by the Corporation of the city of New Orleans to the Commercial Bank of New Orleans" dated 20 June 1833. At that time, it was valued at £1800 (RPW: £175,000).¹⁰⁵ This indicates that New Orleans was likely a market for the Baxters in the 1830s, with the firm's Osnaburgs being sold to plantations in New Orleans.

Shipping Registers & Baxter Brothers

Shipping intelligence as it pertains to Baxter Brothers & Co is also aligned with step three of the methodology and helps to further ascertain from where some of the firm's wealth was derived. Profits made by the Baxters through flax and linen was reinvested into shipping interests¹⁰⁶ which not only helped to lower their own freight costs but brought in a steady stream of profits. The following paragraphs highlight some of the vessels belonging to the Baxters and shed light on their destination ports for Osnaburgs and other goods.

Brechin Castle

The Brig *Brechin Castle* was owned by David Baxter from 1846 to 1847. *Dundee Courier* reported its launch from Marine Parade in December 1844, commanded by a Mr Barclay and owned by Baxter Brothers & Co.¹⁰⁷ Voyage information for *Brechin Castle* lists London and Port Adelaide. In February 1847, it ran aground after leaving Adelaide for Swansea and London in 1846. The Brig at the time was carrying a cargo of copper ore, mail and passengers.¹⁰⁸

The destination of Adelaide, Australia illustrates Baxter Brothers & Co links with colonialism. The Kaurna People are regarded as "the traditional owners of the Adelaide Plains in South Australia".¹⁰⁹ However, following the passing of the South Australian Colonisation Act in 1834, the British colonised what is now known as South Australia, with Adelaide becoming its capital. Like many others, Baxter Brothers & Co capitalised on this exploitation and found a new colonial market in Adelaide. David Baxter's inventory also highlights his dealings in South Australia. He was owed a sum of £1500 (RPW: £147,000) in 1870 from the Bank of South Australia.¹¹⁰

Ellengowan

Ellengowan (appears as 'Ellangowan' in Baxter Brothers records) was another brig owned by David Baxter. Built in 1843, shipping intelligence in 1844 places *Ellengowan* "from Dundee at New York" and in Glasgow from New York.¹¹¹ Peter Carmichael, at the time manager at Baxter Brothers & Co., wrote in a letter to his brother-in-law, in 1847 on news of safe arrival

¹⁰⁵ SC47/40/22, '1854 Baxter, William', Wills and testaments, Forfar Sheriff Court, p. 731.

¹⁰⁶ SC45/31/11, '1854 Baxter, John Gorrel', Wills and testaments, Dundee Sheriff Court, p. 628. John Gorrell Baxter, son of William Baxter and partner in Baxter Brothers & Co., held shares in trust for the ships, *Helena*, *Ellengowan* and *Jules* on behalf of the company.

¹⁰⁷ *Dundee Courier* - Tuesday 17 December 1844; "19th Century Dundee Ships (from the Directories) 1818 - 1898", Friends of Dundee City Archives, p. 19.

¹⁰⁸ Passengers in History, "Brechin Castle", <https://passengers.history.sa.gov.au/node/921599>, accessed 10 Dec. 2021; "Brechin Castle", Lloyd's Register Foundation, <https://hec.lrfoundation.org.uk/archive-library/ships/brechin-castle-1844>, accessed 10 Dec. 2021; Wrecksite, SV Brechin Castle (+1847), <https://www.wrecksite.eu/wreck.aspx?10497>, accessed 10 Dec. 2021.

¹⁰⁹ Irene Watson, *Aboriginal Peoples, Colonialism and International Law: Raw Law*, United Kingdom, Taylor & Francis, 2014, p. 64.

¹¹⁰ SC20/50/44, '1872 Baxter, David', p. 1417.

¹¹¹ "Ship News", *Glasgow Herald*, 4 Oct. 1844; "Shipping Intelligence", *Dundee Courier*, 20 Aug. 1844.

of the “‘Ellangowan’ at Rio de Janeiro”.¹¹² As cited above in the Historical Context, the South American market was increasingly important for Dundee. Indeed, data on the commission agents and shipping destinations of Baxter Brothers & Co corroborates this notion. Brazil in particular and regions utilising enslaved labour such as Bahia, Maranhao, Pernambuco and Rio have been associated with Turnbull & Co and Baxter Brothers & Co goods, highlighting the importance of this market to their linen trade and an important indirect link with transatlantic slavery. If one was to follow the money, the *Ellengowan*, a ship owned by David Baxter carrying cargoes of Baxter Brothers & Co’s linens, and sailing to New York and Brazil in the 1840s, it is evident that the firm was selling their goods to enslaved societies for use on plantations. The *Ellengowan* appears frequently in Baxter Brothers & Co. Balance Book 1832-53 and Scroll Balance Book 1854-60.¹¹³

Glammiss Castle

Glammiss Castle, constructed in 1842, was another vessel registered to David Baxter and Baxter Brothers & Co.¹¹⁴ Newspaper ads cite the *Glammiss Castle* as being “342 Tons” and as having a “considerable part of her cargo engaged”, advising “intending shippers” to make early applications.¹¹⁵ Therefore, apart from goods in her cargo, the *Glammiss Castle* also transported a limited number of passengers to New York.¹¹⁶ The *New York Daily Tribune* reported that the *Glammiss Castle* arrived in New York in 1844.¹¹⁷ Peter Carmichael also wrote in the same aforementioned letter to his brother-in-law in 1847, of the “safe arrival” of the *Glammiss Castle* “at New York”.¹¹⁸

Helena

Baxter Brothers & Co. was also linked to the Bark *Helena* which was bound for New York. *Helena* left Dundee under the Captaincy of John McNab with “a very valuable cargo of bale goods” from Baxter Brothers & Co. The 1848 notice which headlined the “Loss of Bark *Helena* and Six Lives” indicated that a letter with the news was received by Baxter Brothers & Co.¹¹⁹ However, a “Barque *Helena*” appears in the Baxter Brothers & Co. Scroll balance book on 27th May 1854, associated with a cost and freight account.¹²⁰ This indicates that *Helena* was likely owned by the Baxter Brothers and was in continued use after the 1848 notice.

The Baxters & Dundee, Perth and London Shipping Company

Apart from his transatlantic links through Baxter Brothers and the Dundee Sugar House, David Baxter also owned shares in other companies which were involved in the transatlantic slavery economy. The Baxters owned shares in the Dundee, Perth and London Shipping Company Co Ltd (DP&L) from 1826.¹²¹ Formed in 1826, through the joining of the Dundee & Perth Shipping Company and the Dundee & Perth Union Shipping Company, DP&L “owned 13

¹¹² Gauldie, *The Dundee Textile Industry, 1790-1885*, p. 120.

¹¹³ MS 11/5/43, “Photocopy of inventory of the personal estate of John Baxter”, University of Dundee Archive Services; MS 11/1/35, “Balance book with profit and loss accounts 1832-53”, University of Dundee Archive Services.

¹¹⁴ “19th Century Dundee Ships (from the Directories) 1818 - 1898”, Friends of Dundee City Archives, p. 5.

¹¹⁵ *Northern Warder and General Advertiser for the Counties of Fife, Perth and Forfar* - Thursday 13 November 1845.

¹¹⁶ *Northern Warder and General Advertiser for the Counties of Fife, Perth and Forfar* - Thursday 05 November 1846.

¹¹⁷ *New-York Daily Tribune*, [volume] (New-York [N.Y.]), 17 Feb. 1844.

¹¹⁸ Gauldie, *The Dundee Textile Industry, 1790-1885*, p. 120.

¹¹⁹ *New York Daily Herald* (New York, New York), 02 Feb 1848.

¹²⁰ MS 11/1/6, ‘Scroll balance book’.

¹²¹ Gauldie, *The Dundee Textile Industry 1790-1885*, p. xxii.

smacks and 10 sloops, together worth almost £34,000 [RPW: £2,920,000]”.¹²² The firm engaged in shipping various goods such as farm produce, coal and most relevant in terms of the transatlantic economy, “Dundee linen to English ports for export”.¹²³ DP&L shipping route ran from Dundee to London, Glasgow and Liverpool as well as Dundee and Perth.¹²⁴ The company initial capital was valued at “£38,045 [RPW: £3,270,000], held in 1,200 shares of £31.14s.1d [RPW: £2,720]” with its capital stock increasing to £50,000 (RPW: £4,580,000) in 1830.¹²⁵ There was one vote per share when the company was formed, 12 board of directors and over 150 shareholders.¹²⁶ By 1835, the share prices in DP&L were worth £47 (RPW: £4,730).¹²⁷

The ‘1829-30 Dundee Directory’ lists David Baxter as one of the company’s directors while DP&L payment for the company’s stocks still appear in Baxter Brothers & Co. balance book in May 1862.¹²⁸ Baxter Brothers & Co is recorded as receiving £1295 (RPW: £124,000) for “D.P. + L. Shipping Co. Stock” in 31 May 1856 and 1st June 1861.¹²⁹ David’s father, William Baxter, owned 105 ½ shares in DP&L worth £3692 10s (RPW: £354,000) at £35 (RPW: £3,360) per share. 31 of these shares were in the name of David Baxter.¹³⁰ David himself owned 54 shares of DP&L at £38 (RPW: £3,470) per share and a value of £2079 (RPW: £190,000).¹³¹ As shipowners themselves with stocks invested in DP&L, David Baxter and Baxter Brothers & Co’s stake in Dundee shipping interests is representative of yet another way in which the Baxter fortune is linked with profits from transatlantic slavery.

The Baxters & Turnbull & Co.

The connection between David and his father William Baxter with the firm of Turnbull & Co is relevant to understanding the importance of their transatlantic investments and its contribution to their overall wealth. Exploration of this strand of research is also aligned with part three of the methodology, identifying and following the financial capital of the Baxters.

John Baxter’s Inventory

The inventory of the estate of John Baxter (1765-1833), brother of William Baxter and uncle of David and Mary Ann Baxter, reveals important details that help us to understand Baxter Brothers & Co connections to slavery. John Baxter’s inventory makes reference to “goods in the hands of Agents abroad and proceeds of goods sold but not yet remitted”.¹³² This is

¹²² Jackson with Kinnear, *The Trade and Shipping of Dundee, 1780-1850*, p. 54; Mark Freeman, Robin Pearson & James Taylor, ‘Technological change and the governance of joint-stock enterprise in the early nineteenth century: The case of coastal shipping,’ *Business History*, 49:5, 2007, p. 578.

¹²³ Freeman, Pearson & Taylor, ‘Technological change’, pp. 578-9.

¹²⁴ ‘Dundee, Perth & London Shipping Co Ltd, Dundee, Perth & London Shipping Co Ltd, 1922-1976’, University of Dundee Archive Services, GB 254 MS 28, <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb254-ms28>, accessed 26 March 2022.

¹²⁵ Jackson with Kinnear, *The Trade and Shipping of Dundee, 1780-1850*, p. 54; Freeman, Pearson & Taylor, ‘Technological change’, p. 579.

¹²⁶ Freeman, Pearson & Taylor, ‘Technological change’, p. 579.

¹²⁷ Jackson with Kinnear, *The Trade and Shipping of Dundee, 1780-1850*, p. 55.

¹²⁸ Friends of Dundee City Archives, ‘Dundee Shipping Companies 1829-30’, http://www.fdca.org.uk/Shipping_Companies1829.html [accessed 31 March 2022]; MS 11/1/7, ‘Scroll balance book’. Baxter Brothers & Co paid £116 11s (RPW: £11,100) for DP&L stocks on 31st May 1862.

¹²⁹ MS 11/1/6, ‘Scroll balance book’; MS 11/1/7, ‘Scroll balance book’.

¹³⁰ ¹³⁰ SC20/50/44, ‘1872 Baxter, David’, Wills and testaments, Cupar Sheriff Court, p. 1414.

¹³⁰ SC47/40/22, ‘1854 Baxter, William’, p. 731, p. 722.

¹³¹ SC20/50/44, ‘1872 Baxter, David’, p. 1411. Further examination of David Baxter’s inventory may show ownership of further shares in the company.

¹³² MS 11/5/43, “Photocopy of inventory of the personal estate of John Baxter, [merchant], Dundee”, Baxter Brothers & Co Ltd., University of Dundee Archive Services.

significant as the extensive list, which contains both the names of the commission agents and their locations, offers a glimpse into the operations of Turnbull & Co. For example, it highlights where they were sending their goods, who was selling it on their behalf and which possible plantations were buying and using their goods.

Shares and Investments in Turnbull & Co

As William and David Baxter possessed shares and investments in Turnbull & Co., a portion of their wealth was derived from interests in this company. Therefore, analysis of this inventory list and its ‘foreign agents’ are relevant to highlighting the indirect links of both men with transatlantic slavery.

Various sources mention that Turnbull & Co. was founded at Claverhouse in 1814 by Hector Turnbull and consisted of a partnership with William Baxter and Henry Boase.¹³³ However, it should be noted that the *Gazette* also records John Baxter as being a partner in the firm until his death in 1833.¹³⁴ In 1838, William Baxter invested £2000 (RPW: £184,000) in Turnbull & Co. and received “six-twentieths of the net profits”.¹³⁵ William’s investment “earned interest at 5 per cent” and at the time of his death in 1854, he had accrued £10,000 (RPW: £960,000) in the firm.¹³⁶ His will indicates that his “share or interest” in Turnbull & Co passed to his sons David and John.¹³⁷ By October 1865, Baxter Brothers & Co., represented by David Baxter, owned half of Turnbull & Co., then known as Boase & Co. In 1892, Baxter Brothers had a controlling interest in the company, owning 55% of the shares.

The name Turnbull & Co. in relation to the outstanding remittances from John Baxter’s foreign estate is not explicitly named. However, at the time of Baxter’s death, only one company associated with the name John Baxter was recorded as being dissolved, Turnbull & Co. In addition, an analysis of his inventory shows that he possessed significant stock in Turnbull & Co. in the amount of £2581 13s 6d (RPW: £250,000). As such, it is highly likely that the “goods in the hands of Agents abroad” referred to in the inventory, relates to that of Turnbull & Co.

It should be noted that some agents listed in the inventory also appear in the Baxter Brothers Balance Book with Profit and Loss accounts 1832-35. Additionally, John Baxter’s inventory lists a sum of £4408 1s 9d (RPW: £433,000) “due by Edward Baxter” in 1834.¹³⁸ This further indicates that a degree of overlap existed between the businesses and that an understanding of these case studies can help unearth details of Baxter Brothers & Co. wider commission agents network. On this point, it should be noted that Baxter Brothers & Co. also paid Turnbull & Co. for bleaching its linen, a transaction that was still taking place in the 1860s. Baxter Brothers is listed as paying £2822 5s 10d (RPW: £271,000) “for bleaching” on 26th May 1860¹³⁹ and the payment of principal sums between both firms is mentioned in William Baxter’s inventory.¹⁴⁰

The following is a map depicting the various places Turnbull & Co. exported their goods:

¹³³ GB 254 MS 10, “Boase & Co Ltd, Claverhouse Bleachfield, Dundee”, <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb254-ms10>, accessed 05 Dec. 2021.

¹³⁴ *The London Gazette*, 13 June 1834, p. 1116.

¹³⁵ Gauldie, *The Dundee Textile Industry, 1790-1885*, p. xxi.

¹³⁶ Gauldie, *The Dundee Textile Industry, 1790-1885*, p. xxi.

¹³⁷ PROB 11/2200/82, “Will of William Baxter, Merchant of Ellengowan in or near Dundee, Angus”, The National Archives, Kew.

¹³⁸ SC45/31/2, ‘1834 Baxter, John’, Wills and testaments, Dundee Sheriff Court, p. 288.

¹³⁹ MS 11/1/6, ‘Scroll balance book’.

¹⁴⁰ SC47/40/22, ‘1854 Baxter, William’, p. 726.

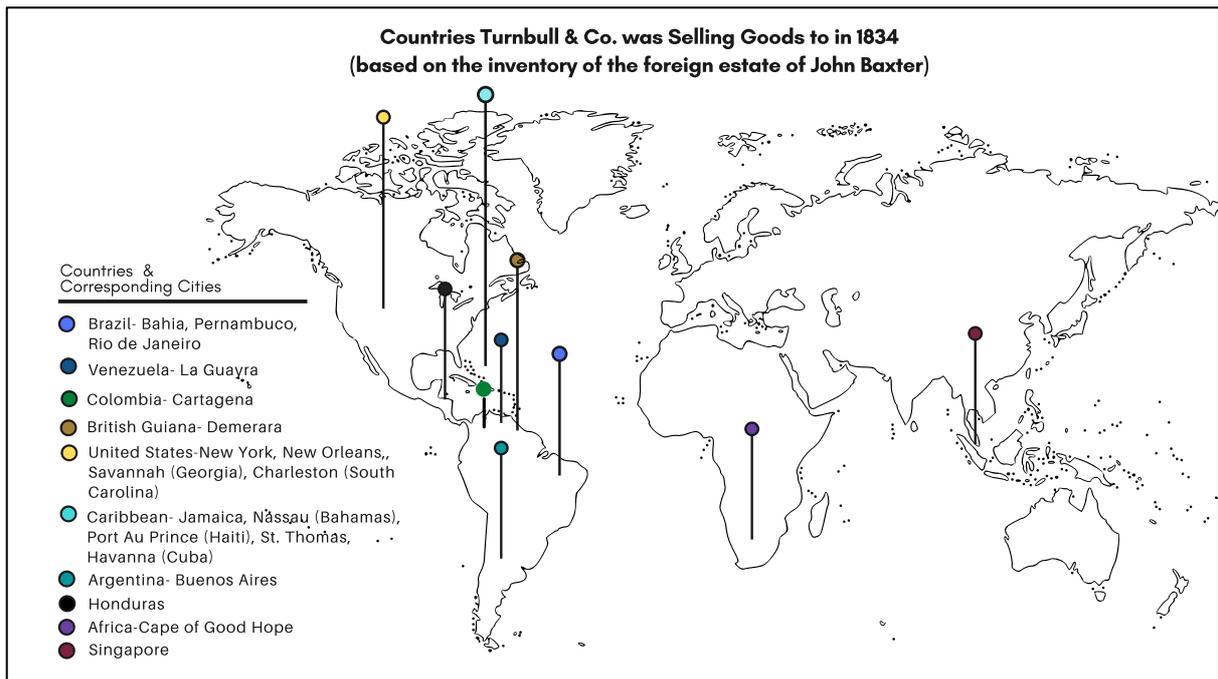


Figure 2: Countries Turnbull & Co was Selling Goods to in 1834

See appendix for case studies on some of the ‘foreign agents’ listed in John Baxter’s inventory (many of whom were enslavers) and their links with slavery.

CASE STUDIES ON THE BAXTERS

Edward Baxter (1791-1871)

Edward Baxter, the brother of Mary Ann Baxter, was a wealthy Dundee merchant who acted as a commissions agents for Baxter Brothers & Co. Exploration of his business and indirect links with slavery will facilitate a better understanding of the exportation networks of the Baxter Brothers & Co as well as highlight the family's varied connections with the Caribbean and South American slave economy.

About 1813, Edward Baxter “commenced his business career as an export merchant in company with his father”, William Baxter, 1767 – 1854, under the firm William Baxter & Son.¹⁴¹ This firm was the foundation for what would later become Baxter Brothers & Co. After branching out on his own, Edward and his son, William Edward Baxter, (b. 1825), conducted business under the firm Edward Baxter & Son as “business merchants and commission agents”, “general and commission-merchant” and “foreign merchants”.¹⁴² Edward and his firm's connection to transatlantic slavery are particularly interesting compared to other merchant companies in Dundee as it was “the first textile merchant company in Dundee to trade directly with foreign customers”.¹⁴³ He was deemed by local newspapers to have “inaugurated an entirely new system” of conducting export trade in bypassing Liverpool and London agents and opening “direct communication with foreign houses, thus securing the large profits which the factors had hitherto gained”.¹⁴⁴ Apart from resulting in increasing profitability for the Baxter clan, this elimination of the middleman also “led to a substantial increase in the value of commerce from Dundee”.¹⁴⁵

Commission Agents for Baxter Brothers & Co

Edward Baxter & Son, which was a “purely merchanting operation”, was intimately connected with the Baxter Brothers and their trade networks. It dealt “in supplies of textile raw material and finished goods, mainly for Baxter Brothers”.¹⁴⁶ Commissions agents and merchants such as Baxter acted as the communicative and commercial link between manufacturers and foreign consumers.¹⁴⁷ Indeed, “by the 1850s up to three-quarters of British industrial exports were handled by commission agents who invariably acted for a large number of firms”.¹⁴⁸ Edward Baxter & Son was thus indirectly connected to the Atlantic slavery economy as commission

¹⁴¹ *Dundee Directory and General Register, 1834*; *Montrose Standard* - Friday 28 July 1871; “Death of Mr Edward Baxter of Dundee”, *Dundee People's Journal* - Saturday 29 July 1871; *Dundee Courier* - Monday 11 August 1890; Henderson, revised by McConnell, ‘Baxter, Sir David, baronet’, *ODNB*; GB 254 MS 11, “Baxter Brothers & Co Ltd, linen and jute spinners and manufacturers, Dundee”, https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/archives/2b4f2c12-6f2b-3cdd-85ea2_dffe7d4e95c?terms=edward%20baxter, accessed 30 Oct. 2021; “William Baxter 1767 – 1854”, <https://www.scottish-places.info/people/famousfirst4323.html>, accessed 01 Nov. 2021; Grace's Guide, “Baxter Brothers and Co”, https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Baxter_Brothers_and_Co, accessed 01 Nov. 2021.

¹⁴² *Dundee Advertiser* - Friday 07 April 1871; *Dundee Directory and General Register, 1834*; Robert Henry Mair (ed), *Debrett's Illustrated House of Commons and the Judicial Bench*, United Kingdom, Dean & Son, 1870, p. 19.

¹⁴³ George A. Stout, *Robert Fleming and the Dundee Merchants*, United Kingdom, Friends of Dundee City Archives, 1999, p. 9.

¹⁴⁴ *Dundee People's Journal* - Saturday 29 July 1871.

¹⁴⁵ Stout, *Robert Fleming*, p. 9.

¹⁴⁶ Stout, *Robert Fleming*, p. 9.

¹⁴⁷ J. F. Wilson, *British Business History, 1720-1994.*, United Kingdom, Manchester University Press, 1995.

¹⁴⁸ Wilson, *British Business History*, p. 91.

agents and export merchants engaged in trade with US markets, importing raw colonial produce and exporting manufactured textiles for Baxter Brothers and other firms. Like other commission agents at the time, Baxter sold consigned goods abroad on commission and remitted bills as payments, using some proceeds from sales to acquire return cargoes of colonial produce.¹⁴⁹

Additionally, in their capacity as export merchants, Edward Baxter and his son, sold manufactured goods to foreign markets thus further linking their commercial interests with transatlantic slavery. An example of Edward Baxter & Son's non-consigned commercial activities is illustrated in the bankruptcy examination of Mackenzie, Ramsay & Co. general merchants in Dundee and relatives of Edward Baxter.¹⁵⁰ Mackenzie, Ramsay & Co. reported in 1857, that they had transactions of "two kinds" with Edward Baxter & Son; "they discounted bills for us, and we sold goods to them...we never made any consignments". Mackenzie, Ramsay & Co. cite that "the aggregate amount of our sales of goods to Messrs Baxter & Son was about £2000 (RPW: £195,000).¹⁵¹

Two submissions from Edward Baxter & Son in the early 1850s to the Scottish Board of Customs provides a bit of insight to their shipping destinations, affiliated vessels, goods and agent operations at the time. According to Dundee Outport and District Records, on 30 September 1853, Edward Baxter & Son submitted an application "to be allowed to pass a shipping bill for some goods not entered". The goods in question were 56 packages of linen and sacks worth £856 (RPW) on board the *Pilmaise*? for Melbourne.¹⁵² An earlier record sheds further light on Edward Baxter & Son export operations. On 27 December 1851, the firm submitted a request to the Board to remove three bales of hemp sacks on board the *Earl of Paris* free of duty from Montreal. His account states,

"We gave the above goods in charge to a carter here on 16 August cash with directions to take them to the *Dundee S. S.* then on the berth for London. By some unaccountable error they were received on board the *Earl of Paris* loading for Canada..."¹⁵³

The firm's relay of events offers us insight to the innerworkings of their business. The firm would use carters to transport the goods to the relevant ports, sometimes paying in cash for the transaction. In this case it was hemp sacks to be shipped to London for possible export to the transatlantic market. Baxter also stated in the letter that "we then wrote to our agent in Dundee",¹⁵⁴ indicating that like many other established commission and merchant firms, they operated through agents in the various cities.

¹⁴⁹ Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*. 1st ed., University of North Carolina Press, 1944; S.D. Chapman, "The international houses: The continental contribution to British commerce, 1800–1860", *Journal of European Economic History*, vol. 6, 1977; S.D. Chapman, "British marketing enterprise: The changing roles of merchants, manufacturers and financiers, 1700–1860", *Business History Review*, vol. 53, no. 2, 1979; S.D. Chapman, *Merchant enterprise in Britain: From the Industrial Revolution to World War I*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992, p. 290; Joseph Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England: A Study in International Trade and Economic Development*, Cambridge University Press, 2002; Manuel Llorca-Jaña, *The British Textile Trade in South America in the Nineteenth Century*, United Kingdom, Cambridge University Press, 2012.

¹⁵⁰ *Dundee, Perth, and Cupar Advertiser* - Tuesday 15 December 1857.

¹⁵¹ *Dundee, Perth, and Cupar Advertiser* - Tuesday 15 December 1857.

¹⁵² CE70/1/28, 'Letter Book 1853-1855', Dundee Outport and District Records, National Records of Scotland, pp. 49, 53, 63.

¹⁵³ CE70/1/27, 'Letter Book 1849-1853', Dundee Outport and District Records, National Records of Scotland, p. 117.

¹⁵⁴ CE70/1/27, 'Letter Book 1849-1853', p. 117.

In acting as a “general and commission-merchant”¹⁵⁵ for firms including Baxter Brothers & Co., and through his investment securities, Edward Baxter was able to build a considerable fortune of over £500,000 (RPW: £47,600,000) by the time of his death in 1871.¹⁵⁶

Edward Baxter retired from Edward Baxter & Son in 1871 and the firm was “continued by W. E. Baxter as sole partner, assisted by Messrs A.H. Foggie and Henry D. Bell, under the firm W.E. Baxter & Co”.¹⁵⁷

Trade with America

Having amassed a fortune, the question remains; where did his money come from? It has been established that through his links with Baxter Brothers & Co and inherited share of the company from his father, some of Edward Baxter’s wealth was sourced from transatlantic markets. However, compared to his siblings, he had a vast amount of investment securities in America and the colonies.

Baxter’s son, speaking on his father’s commercial activities, stated that, “he was a man engaged in foreign commerce, and no other; therefore, in wholesale commerce, and no other”.¹⁵⁸ There is evidence which illustrates that Edward Baxter was very much involved in trade with America in the 1800s. On 10th April 1857, Baxter Brothers & Co., Edward Baxter & Son and several other Dundee firms, signed a Dundee Chamber of Commerce resolve as “merchants and manufacturers engaged in the American trade” in support of the then American Consul in Dundee, Thomas Steere.¹⁵⁹ Furthermore, in 1854, both aforementioned firms signed a petition “as exporters of goods from this district [Dundee] to the United States” against the removal of a former US Consul to Dundee, James M’Dowell.¹⁶⁰

Baxter was also Dundee’s first US consular officer. He is described as vice consul in a dispatch sent in December 1833 but in March 1834, he was nominated by US President Andrew Jackson to be upgraded to consul.¹⁶¹ He served from 1834 to 1845.¹⁶² As US Consul for Dundee, Baxter was extensively involved in engaging and fostering trade with America, while protecting the mercantile commercial and shipping interests of his Dundee counterparts.¹⁶³ Given the aims of US Consuls which “existed to invent and find new markets”, with the responsibility for penetrating foreign markets resting on their consular officers,¹⁶⁴ Baxter as US Consul would have kept vigil for commercial opportunities that benefitted American exporters as per his tasked duties. Additionally, before 1856, US consul officers had the right to carry on trade.¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁵ *Dundee Directory and General Register, 1834*; Gauldie, *The Dundee Textile Industry, 1790-1885*, p. 60.

¹⁵⁶ Stout, *Robert Fleming*, p. 11.

¹⁵⁷ *Dundee Advertiser* - Friday 07 April 1871.

¹⁵⁸ *The Dublin University Magazine*, Ireland, 1876, p. 653.

¹⁵⁹ *Dundee, Perth, and Cupar Advertiser* - Friday 17 April 1857.

¹⁶⁰ *Dundee, Perth, and Cupar Advertiser* - Friday 17 March 1854.

¹⁶¹ Nicholas M. Keegan, *US Consular Representation in Britain Since 1790*, United Kingdom, Anthem Press, 2018, p. 135.

¹⁶² *The United States Gazette*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 10 May 1834, <https://www.newspapers.com/clip/79185705/>,

accessed 13 December 2021; May 20, 1835, *The Philadelphia Inquirer* from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/346687417/?terms=%22Edward%20Baxter%22&match=1>, accessed 13 Dec. 2021; *Official Congressional Directory*, United States, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1841 p. 55; Debra J. Allen, *Historical Dictionary of U.S. Diplomacy from the Revolution to Secession*, United States, Scarecrow Press, 2012, p. 313; Keegan, *US Consular Representation*, p. 135.

¹⁶³ Keegan, *US Consular Representation*, p. 135.

¹⁶⁴ *Imagining Britain’s Economic Future, C.1800–1975: Trade, Consumerism, and Global Markets*, Germany, Springer International Publishing, 2018, p. 56; *Reports from the Consuls of the United States on the commerce, manufactures, etc., of their consular districts* (Washington, DC, 1899), pp. 60, 69, 179; *Reports from the Consuls*, 43 (Washington, DC, 1891), p. 398.

¹⁶⁵ Keegan, *US Consular Representation*, p. 135.

As such, Baxter would have actively engaged and fostered trade with the US, gaining profits and a salary from his diplomatic position. He would have also had close ties with the local mercantile community dependent on him to dispatch and receive communications from the US regarding trading issues and likely benefitted tremendously in terms of developing networks and business relationships with firms eager to trade with the US.

His close commercial relationship with the US is evidenced in his American investments. Edward Baxter was “an expert on American securities” and had extensive “American holdings”.¹⁶⁶ Robert Flemming (1843-1933) was a clerk in Edward Baxter & Son and was responsible for managing Baxter’s investments, eventually being sent to the US in 1870 as Baxter’s agent.¹⁶⁷ In terms of Baxter’s investment interests “overseas transactions were carried out largely on the recommendations of Baxter’s investment bankers in America: Maitland, Phelps & Co. in New York and Falkner, Bell & Co. in San Francisco”.¹⁶⁸ At the time of his death in 1871, Maitland, Phelps & Co held securities in trust for Baxter worth \$340549.95 (RPW: \$7,440,000). These securities were mainly invested in railroad companies from various US states including New York, New Orleans, Pittsburg, Michigan, Delaware, Massachusetts, Boston and Baltimore. Falkner, Bell & Co. also held securities in trust for him in the amount \$123220 (RPW: \$2,690,000).¹⁶⁹

Edward Baxter himself divulged information on his investments indicating that he invested his capital in:

“buying and selling or lending money in railway and other mortgages, debentures, bonds, and shares, stocks and other securities both in this country and abroad and have large sums thus invested...”¹⁷⁰

As a commission agent who worked with Baxter Brothers & Co in selling their goods abroad, Baxter’s aforementioned location of investment securities can provide an idea of some of the transatlantic markets for the firm’s goods.

Baxter also held various bonds related to Panama, India and the US. By the time of his death in 1871, Baxter’s estate included his Hazell Hall house as well as multiple country estates and investment securities which included “colonial government bonds, Panamanian and Indian railway bonds and U.S. railway and utility securities”.¹⁷¹

As a commission agent and export merchant who supplied raw material for the making of manufactured goods that were then re-exported to transatlantic markets, Edward Baxter was indirectly connected to slavery. His wealth through his business, father’s estate settlement and share in Baxter Brothers & Co as well as his many colonial investments, mean that a substantial portion of his wealth was derived from slavery and colonial enterprises. A portion of his

¹⁶⁶ *Dundee Courier* - Wednesday 02 August 1933; Mira Wilkins, *The history of foreign investment in the United States to 1914*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1989, pp. 124-5; *Capitalism in a Mature Economy: Financial Institutions, Capital Exports and British Industry, 1870-1939*, United Kingdom, Edward Elgar Publishing, Incorporated, 1990, p. 141.

¹⁶⁷ *Dundee Evening Telegraph* - Thursday 19 September 1929; Youssef Cassis, *City bankers, 1890-1914*, United Kingdom, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 162; *Capitalism in a Mature Economy*, p. 141; Anthony Cox, *Empire, Industry and Class: The Imperial Nexus of Jute, 1840-1940*, United Kingdom, Routledge, 2013, p. 26; Adam Fleming, “The History of Dunedin Income Growth Investment Trust PLC: The first investment trust launched in Scotland, 1873 – 2018”, p. 23, <https://www.aberdeenstandard.com/docs?documentId=GB-090919-98606-1>, accessed 2 Nov 2021.

¹⁶⁸ “The History of Dunedin Income Growth Investment Trust PLC”, p. 21.

¹⁶⁹ SC45/31/23, ‘1872 Baxter, Edward’, Wills and testaments, Dundee Sheriff Court, pp. 556-7.

¹⁷⁰ Stout, *Robert Fleming*, p. 10.

¹⁷¹ Stout, *Robert Fleming*, p. 11.

heritable wealth passed to his brother David Baxter,¹⁷² whose bequest was the foundation of the Duncan of Jordanstone College of Art & Design.

Sir David Baxter (1793-1872)

As highlighted above, David Baxter was indirectly connected with transatlantic slavery through his links with the plantations and role in Baxter Brothers & Co. However, before joining his father in the linen business, David Baxter was also involved in another sector of the Atlantic slavery economy, sugar refining. He served as manager of the Dundee Sugar House from 1818 to 1834 and “was appointed trustee on the sequestered estates” of the Dundee New Sugar Refining Company that became bankrupt in 1824.¹⁷³ Records of sugar imports direct from the Caribbean to Dundee are scarce. In 1786, “only one shipload of sugar is recorded as entering Dundee directly from the West Indies: a cargo of sugar and rum from St Christopher or St Kitts”.¹⁷⁴ Most of the sugar was brought in from Glasgow or the Clyde with custom records labelling it as “brown or Muscovado Sugar Imported from His Majestys Sugar Colonies in America”.¹⁷⁵ By 1837, David had left the sugar business and joined the family business.¹⁷⁶ Following the death of his father, he became the head of Baxter Brothers & Co. in 1854.¹⁷⁷

As the head of the firm, David Baxter was the main beneficiary of Baxter Brothers & Co’s success. From 1860 to 1869 he received £592,500 (RPW: £56,000,000) consisting of £3000 (RPW: £283,000) as his salary from Baxter Brothers & Co, £166,300 (RPW: £15,700,000) capital interest, and £422,900 (RPW: £39,900,000) as profits on his share of the company.¹⁷⁸ This does not include his stocks invested in Turnbull & Co, which would also have been highly profitable. In addition, Baxter possessed several “foreign government and railways bonds” from Washington (1864), Pennsylvania (1854) and Chile (1865) indicating his investments in US securities while slavery still existed.¹⁷⁹

At the time of his death in 1872, his property was valued at £1,200,000 (RPW: £110,000,000) of which £20,000 (RPW: £1,830,000) went towards establishing a mechanics’ institute in Dundee. This became the Dundee Technical Institute and the foundation of the Duncan of Jordanstone College of Art & Design.¹⁸⁰

It is clear that David Baxter’s immense fortune was built upon the success of Baxter Brothers & Co lucrative linen trade which relied on a market in the transatlantic colonies and the continued use of enslaved labour. Adding to his wealth were his shipping and stock investments in firms such as DP&L and Turnbull & Co and US investment securities. The Duncan of Jordanstone College of Art & Design is one of the largest and most prestigious schools of art and design in the UK. However, it was started with David Baxter’s bequest and money that

¹⁷² SC45/31/23, ‘1872 Baxter, Edward’.

¹⁷³ Perry, Hall and Jones, ‘The Dundee Sugar House, Seagate, Dundee’, p. 109.

¹⁷⁴ Perry, Hall and Jones, ‘The Dundee Sugar House, Seagate, Dundee’, p. 110.

¹⁷⁵ Perry, Hall and Jones, ‘The Dundee Sugar House, Seagate, Dundee’, p. 110.

¹⁷⁶ McManus 168, ‘Sir David Baxter of Kilmaron’, <https://mcmanus168.org.uk/mcmanus168entry/sir-david-baxter/>, accessed 31 March 2022.

¹⁷⁷ Cooke (ed), *Baxter’s of Dundee*, p. 19.

¹⁷⁸ MS 11/1/37, ‘Private ledger 1853-1872’, Baxter Brothers & Co Ltd, University of Dundee Archive Services; Cooke (ed), *Baxter’s of Dundee*, p. 19.

¹⁷⁹ SC20/50/44, ‘1872 Baxter, David’, p. 1413.

¹⁸⁰ *Dundee Courier*, 2 October 1872; *The Scotsman* - Tuesday 15 October 1872; *Montrose Standard* - Friday 28 July 1871; Henderson, ‘Baxter, Sir David, baronet’, *ODNB*; McManus 168, ‘Sir David Baxter of Kilmaron’; *The Gazetteer for Scotland*, ‘Sir David Baxter’, <https://www.scottish-places.info/people/famousfirst867.html>, accessed 31 March 2022; University of Dundee, ‘Foundations’, <https://www.serena.ac.uk/museum/exhibitions/djcad/foundations/>, accessed 31 March 2022.

was derived indirectly from slavery, a fact that has not been properly acknowledged by the university.

Furthermore, as some of Baxter Brothers & Co and David Baxter's wealth was inherited by his sister, the money that was donated to found University College Dundee is undoubtedly linked to the enslaved people of the West Indies, US and South America and their descendants. This will be discussed in further detail in the case study on Mary Ann Baxter.

Was David Baxter an Enslaver?

Mention must be made on this point as (i) research was conducted on this question in phases one and two of the project and (ii) questions would naturally arise given the appearance of the names David, Henry and Edward Baxter on the *Legacies of British Slavery* database.

Given David Baxter's involvement with the Dundee Sugar Refining Company and Baxter Brothers & Co. there is a possibility that the David Baxter listed on the LBS database is one and the same.¹⁸¹ The Henry Baxter listed on the database could also be the same Henry Baxter who was the son, heir and executor of John Baxter's estate as well as David Baxter's cousin and partner in the Dundee Sugar Refining Company.¹⁸² The David and Henry Baxter listed on the database both received compensation for estates in the same parish of Jamaica, St. George indicating a possible relation between the two men. However, it is highly circumstantial and difficult to verify whether these are the same Baxters in question. An Edward Baxter is also listed on the database, but the *Royal Gazette* lists an Edward Baxter as a planter in Jamaica from as early as 1806, making it unlikely that this is the same Edward Baxter in question.¹⁸³ As mentioned in the Recommendations section, further research is needed on this point.

Mary Ann Baxter (1801-1884)

Mary Ann Baxter co-founded University College, Dundee with her donation of £130,000 (RPW: £13,400,000). At the time of her death in 1884, her estate was valued at £283,586 (RPW: £30,200,000).¹⁸⁴

Inherited Wealth

The Estate of William Baxter & Stake in Baxter Brothers & Co

Her fortune was amassed through inherited wealth from her father, siblings. At the time of his death in 1854, William Baxter's estate was valued at £212,815 3s 3d (RPW: £20,400,000).¹⁸⁵ He set up a "Trust Disposition and Settlement" for his estate and appointed his children as the

¹⁸¹ "David Baxter", *LBS*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/21848>, accessed 15 Oct. 2021.

¹⁸² "Henry Baxter", *LBS*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/21847>, accessed 15 Oct. 2021. There is also a William Baxter listed in the parish of St George in 1829. Jamaican Family Search Genealogy Research Library, '1829 Jamaica Almanac', <http://www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Members/a/al29portgeorg.htm>, accessed 15 Oct. 2021.

¹⁸³ Jamaican Family Search Genealogy Research Library, 'Excerpts From the Royal Gazette, 1806', <http://www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Samples/gazet01.htm>, accessed 15 Oct. 2021.

¹⁸⁴ Sheila Hamilton, 'Baxter, Mary Ann', *ODNB*, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-52722#odnb-9780198614128-e-52722>, accessed 11 March 2022; McManus 168, 'Miss Mary Ann Baxter', <https://mcmanus168.org.uk/mcmanus168entry/miss-mary-ann-baxter-of-balgavies/#source12>, accessed 31 March 2022; University of Dundee, 'The road to independence 1881-1967', <https://www.dundee.ac.uk/stories/road-independence-1881-1967>, accessed 20 March 2022.

¹⁸⁵ SC47/40/22, '1854 Baxter, William', p. 730.

trustees and executors.¹⁸⁶ He bequeathed “life-rent” use of his Ellengowan and Balgavies properties to Mary Ann and her sister Eleanor.¹⁸⁷ In terms of Baxter Brothers & Co., her father included in his will that the value of his share and interest in the business as it stands “in the last balance in that Company’s Books immediately” before his death, was to be given to his children Edward, David, John, Eleanor, Mary Ann and Eliza.¹⁸⁸ William Baxter instructed that his “estate and effects, heritable and moveable” be converted into money with the residue (after satisfying claims upon his estate) to be divided “into six equal parts”. Three of the shares went to his sons as their absolute property while the other three shares were given to his daughters. In the case of his daughters, their shares were invested “on good security” with payments made “yearly by equal portions” to them on “the interest, annual rent or produce of the said portions or shares, overally belonging to and invested for them”.¹⁸⁹ He also granted his daughters “full power to test and dispose of their respective shares or portions”,¹⁹⁰ indicating that Mary Ann would have had a good degree of freedom to invest her money as she saw fit.

At the time of his death, William Baxter’s share in the capital stock of Baxter Brothers & Co was £99,999 14s 7d (RPW: £9,600,000) with interest at 3 ¾% from 28 May 1853 to 22 February 1854 adding £2773 19s 5d (RPW: £266,000). He was also due £25,823 2s 4d (RPW: £2,480,000) and an interest of £716 15s (RPW: £68,800) from the company.¹⁹¹ Mary Ann’s name appears in Baxter Brothers & Co. 1854 balance book on 26th May 1855 along with “Edward Baxter”, “F + Mrs Molison” (Eliza Baxter’s married name), “Eleanor Baxter”, “David Baxter for (W. Baxter’s Executors)” and “the late W. Baxter’s Trustees”. She is listed as receiving £13023 11d (RPW: £1,240,000) while the Trustees received £99,999 14s 7d (RPW: £9,550,000), the value of William Baxter’s capital stock. Her name repeats again on 31st May 1856 as receiving the same sum, £13023 11d (RPW: £1,240,000) accompanied by another figure, £93545 16s 4d. (RPW: £8,940,000). The “Trustees of late William Baxter” also received £67499 14s 7d (RPW: £6,450,000). The names “Miss Baxter” and “David Baxter (W. Baxter’s Executors)” are also included on this date as recipients of various sums. “Miss Baxter”, likely Eleanor Baxter, received almost the same amount as her sister, £13023 10d (RPW: £1,240,000). MA Baxter is listed again on 26th May 1860 as receiving £2523 11d (RPW: £242,000) and £5046 1s 9d (RPW: £485,000).¹⁹² The aforementioned sums of money under Mary Ann’s name would have been her inherited share of her father’s stake in Baxter Brothers & Co as well as revenue and accrued interest. This not only establishes a clear flow of intergenerational wealth between the two Baxters but also a flow of wealth from profits of Baxter Brothers & Co to Mary Ann Baxter.

The Inventory of Mary Ann Baxter

Mary Ann Baxter’s inventory at the time of her death in 1884, further clarifies the amount of wealth she inherited from her father. The sums invested or held in trust for Mary Ann under her father’s deed of settlement as well as all her interests and revenue in the succession to her father’s estate, amounted to £64,135 (RPW: £6,830,000).¹⁹³

¹⁸⁶ SC47/40/22, ‘1854 Baxter, William’, p. 731

¹⁸⁷ SC47/40/22, ‘1854 Baxter, William’; *Dundee Courier* - Saturday 20 December 1884.

¹⁸⁸ SC47/40/22, ‘1854 Baxter, William’, p. 733.

¹⁸⁹ SC47/40/22, ‘1854 Baxter, William’, pp. 736-7.

¹⁹⁰ SC47/40/22, ‘1854 Baxter, William’, p. 737.

¹⁹¹ SC47/40/22, ‘1854 Baxter, William’, p. 721.

¹⁹² MS 11/1/6, ‘Scroll balance book’.

¹⁹³ SC45/31/35, ‘1885 Baxter, Mary Ann’, Wills and testaments Dundee Sheriff Court, pp. 302-4.

The British Linen Company

The shares of this trust fund that had grown over time, had been invested in various companies that were involved in the transatlantic slavery economy such as the British Linen Company Bank, Dundee. The British Linen Company established in 1746 to promote the linen industry branched into banking in the late 1760s. Being able to expand relatively quickly on account of its wide network of agents, “by 1780, it had a total of nine agencies, or branches”.¹⁹⁴

Union Bank of Australia

Another such investment was made in the Union Bank of Australia. Formed in 1837, the Union Bank of Australia was a predecessor of the Australia and New Zealand Banking Group Limited.¹⁹⁵ Apart from its colonialist role, the bank was also linked with transatlantic slavery through three of its directors. John Bloxam Elin (1791-1873), James Bogle Smith (1787-1870) and John Bloxam Elin (1791-1873), along with its co-founder, George Fife Angas (who joined the South Australian Colonisation Commission in 1835)¹⁹⁶ all received compensation for enslaved people.¹⁹⁷ Mary Ann also had investments in the Bank of Australasia through her father’s estate.¹⁹⁸ The Bank of Australasia “incorporated by Royal Charter in 1834” and operating in Sydney from 1835, was a predecessor firm of the Australia and New Zealand Banking Group Limited.¹⁹⁹ Jacob Barrow Montefiore (1801–1895) was a founder and director of the Bank of Australasia.²⁰⁰ Together with his brother, Joseph (1803-1893), he formed a partnership under the firm J.B Montefiore & Co., and “were instrumental in the foundation of the Bank of Australasia”.²⁰¹ Their father, Eliezer Montefiore, “had traded 211 slaves to Demerara and Belize”.²⁰² In 1838, the brothers received £386 19s 1d (RPW: £35,600) for 20 enslaved persons “as trustees for three children of a tenant in tail”.²⁰³ In 1837, Jacob unsuccessfully claimed, as trustee, £514 12s 3d (RPW: (RPW:£47,800) for 33 enslaved persons on Caledonia estate. Both estates associated with Jacob Montefiore were in Barbados. The Bank, supported by wealthy London investors including Jacob, “while it fell short of the funds predicted, with a total capital of £200,000, its primary objective was to facilitate colonial financial transactions”.²⁰⁴

¹⁹⁴ ‘British Linen Bank, British Linen Bank, 1746-1974’, Lloyds Banking Group Archives (Edinburgh), GB 1830 BLB1, <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb1830-blb1>, accessed 28 March 2022.

¹⁹⁵ Union Bank of Australia Limited (1837 - 1951), Guide to Australian Business Records, <https://www.gabr.net.au/biogs/ABE0176b.htm>, [accessed 13th February 2022]; L. Loewe (ed.) *Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore*, volume I, Chicago: Belford-Clarke, 1890, p. 94.

¹⁹⁶ ‘NatWest Group ‘Angas’; Edwin Hodder, *George Fife Angas: Father and Founder of South Australia*, United Kingdom, Hodder and Stoughton, 1891, p. 98.

¹⁹⁷ ‘John Bloxam Elin’, Legacies of British Slavery database, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/17590> [accessed 13th February 2022]; ‘James Bogle Smith’, Legacies of British Slavery database, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/46670> [accessed 13th February 2022]; ‘George Fife Angas’, Legacies of British Slavery database, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/-2109028293> [accessed 14th February 2022].

¹⁹⁸ SC45/31/35, ‘1885 Baxter, Mary Ann’, p. 302.

¹⁹⁹ ‘Bank of Australasia (1835 - 1951)’, Guide to Australian Business Records, <http://www.gabr.net.au/biogs/ABE0024b.htm#related>, [accessed 2nd February 2022].

²⁰⁰ ‘Bank of Australasia’, Legacies of British Slavery database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/firm/view/2144928927> accessed 11th February 2022]; Hirsch Munz, “The Montefiores. Jews and the Centenary of South Australia.” *The Australian Quarterly*, vol. 9, no. 1, Australian Institute of Policy and Science, 1937, pp. 87.

²⁰¹ Marie Ruiz, *International Migrations in the Victorian Era*, Netherlands, Brill, 2018, p. 371.

²⁰² Carolyn Collins and Paul Sendziuk, *Foundational Fictions in South Australian History*, Australia, Wakefield Press, 2018, p. 60; Eli Faber, *Jews, Slaves, and the Slave Trade, Setting the Record Straight*, New York: New York University Press, 1998, p.130; Humphrey McQueen, ‘Slavery in South Australia’, p. 3, https://www.surplusvalue.org.au/McQueen/aus_hist/Slavery%20in%20South%20Australia.pdf, accessed 10 December 2021.

²⁰³ ‘Barbados 1274’, Legacies of British Slavery database, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/3150> [accessed 11th February 2022]; Collins and Sendziuk, *Foundational Fictions*, p. 60.

²⁰⁴ Janette Holcomb, *Early Merchant Families of Sydney: Speculation and Risk Management on the Fringes of Empire*, Anthem Press, 2014, p. 250; Cassandra Gooptar, ‘Antecedent Firms, Compensation & the Enslaved’, Unpublished Report, University of Hull, 2022.

DP&L & Colonial Stocks

Mary Ann also possessed investments in the Scottish American Mortgage Company Limited and numerous railway stocks via the settlement. Her total estate in Scotland was worth £226,324 (RPW: £24,100,000), which included wealth derived from joint stock companies such as DP&L, Dundee Coffee House Company and the Scottish American Trust Company.²⁰⁵ Mary Ann's investments also extended to Asia as she was due sums from Agra Bank Limited and the Hong Kong Shanghai Banking Corporation. She also possessed about £1100 (RPW: £117,000) "India five percent stock" in the Bank of England which was held by her sister Eleanor on her behalf.²⁰⁶

Mary Ann also held stocks in various colonial funds in Asia and Australia, such as £1778 2s 7d (RPW: £189,000) in the East India Railway, £2098 16s 8d (RPW: £224,000) in New South Wales Inscribed Stock and £2038 16s 8d (RPW: £217,000) in the Victorian Government Inscribed Stock.²⁰⁷

Railway Stocks

Investments aligned with both her Scotland and England estates show that Mary Ann, like her father and brothers, owned valuable stocks in several railways. Some of her stocks for North Eastern Railway were worth £12644 10d (RPW: £1,350,000), London & North Western Railway, £5964 4s 9d (RPW: £636,000) Midland Railway, £13333 15s 5d (RPW: £1,420,000), Caledonian Railway, £27953 16s 2d (RPW: £2,980,000) and Glasgow South Western Railway £6022 10s (RPW: £642,000).²⁰⁸ William Baxter also owned 614 shares of capital stock of the Dundee and Arbroath Railway Company worth £11420 8s (RPW: £1,100,000) of which 80 shares were in the name of Mary Ann.²⁰⁹

The connection between railways and slavery is one that evokes much debate in academia. Nick Draper states that findings from the Legacies of British Slave-ownership research illustrate that "direct financing by slave-owners constitutes perhaps the most immediate type of legacy in infrastructure".²¹⁰ Mary Wills and Madge Dresser also corroborate this point, stating that "as wealthy local elites, slaveowners undoubtedly played a role as investors and managers in the developing transportation infrastructure, including railways in the nineteenth century".²¹¹ For example, the Great Western Railway benefitted from the Bristol West India interest²¹² and railway companies such as Edinburgh & Northern, benefitted from slavery-derived wealth in that "40% of the initial subscriptions were from slave-owners and their families".²¹³ Therefore, while Mary Ann Baxter herself did not have wealth derived directly

²⁰⁵ SC45/31/35, '1885 Baxter, Mary Ann', p. 298.

²⁰⁶ SC45/31/21, '1869 Baxter, Eleanor, Miss', Wills and testaments, , Dundee Sheriff Court, p. 798.

²⁰⁷ SC45/31/35, '1885 Baxter, Mary Ann', p. 306.

²⁰⁸ SC45/31/35, '1885 Baxter, Mary Ann', pp. 298, 303-6

²⁰⁹ SC47/40/22, '1854 Baxter, William', p. 722.

²¹⁰ M. C., Reed, *Investment in railways in Britain, 1820–1844, a study in the development of the capital market*, Oxford, 1975; Nicholas Draper, 'The City of London and slavery: evidence from the early dock companies 1795-1800', *Economic History Review*, vol. 61, no. 2, 2008, pp. 432-66; Dan Bogart, 'The transport revolution in industrialising Britain', in R. Floud, J. Humphries and P. Johnson (eds.), *Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain Vol. 1 1700-1870*, Cambridge, 2016, p. 369; Nick Draper, "Slavery and Britain's infrastructure", <https://lbsatucl.wordpress.com/2019/05/13/slavery-and-britains-infrastructure/>, accessed 20 August 2021.

²¹¹ Mary Wills and Madge Dresser, *The Transatlantic Slave Economy and England's Built Environment: A Research Audit*, Portsmouth: Historic England, 2020, p. 12.

²¹² Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, p. 105.

²¹³ Draper, "Slavery and Britain's infrastructure".

from slavery, her and her family's railway investments and increasing resultant wealth meant that they benefitted from an industry with tangible links to the transatlantic slavery economy.

Inherited Wealth from David Baxter

According to the *ODNB*, Mary Ann Baxter “received a significant inheritance on the death of her brother Sir David Baxter in 1872”.²¹⁴ In terms of David Baxter's £1,200,000 (RPW: £110,000,000) estate “one half was divided among near relatives, and the other among distant relatives and public institutions”.²¹⁵ Mary Ann's inventory lists £1000 (RPW: £107,000) as the estimated amount of the share of the residue of her brother's estate at the time of her death in 1884.²¹⁶

Inherited Wealth from Eleanor Baxter

Mary Ann Baxter also inherited the estate of her sister Eleanor, following her death in 1868.²¹⁷ Her estate was worth £96797 13s 5d (RPW: £8,900,000) and like her siblings, included bonds by the Corporation of the City of New Orleans, investments in various railways in England and Scotland and shares or stocks granted to them as trustees for their father's estate.²¹⁸

Indeed, it is evident that Mary Ann's “inherited wealth achieved through a successful family business was reflected in the gross value of her estate”.²¹⁹

Reinvestment of Slavery Derived Wealth into Colonialism

Another interesting point worth mentioning is Mary-Ann's philanthropical work in “Central, Africa, India, China and New Guinea”.²²⁰ Though noble in its intention, her ardent support of missions in these regions is a classic example of colonialism and the imposition of Anglocentric religious ideals on indigenous populations. The accepted prejudicial thinking at the time on ‘civilising’ the ‘uncivilised’ world is one that needs no explanation. Mary Ann's support of such causes was so dedicated that she bought a steamer for £3000 (RPW: £320,000) (and a replacement, for £2000 [RPW: £213,000])²²¹ which she named *Ellengowan* “to take missionaries to New Guinea”.²²² The Baxter River that was named after her, epitomises a lasting legacy of British colonialism in New Guinea's built environment. Mary Ann Baxter also provided financial assistance to help train “native pastors and teachers” in China and India as well as “established the Papuan Institute on Murray Island, New Guinea”.²²³

²¹⁴ Hamilton, ‘Baxter, Mary Ann’, *ODNB*.

²¹⁵ Henderson, ‘Baxter, Sir David, baronet’, *ODNB*.

²¹⁶ SC45/31/35, ‘1885 Baxter, Mary Ann’, p.302.

²¹⁷ SC45/31/21, ‘1869 Baxter, Eleanor, Miss’, p. 799.

²¹⁸ SC45/31/21, ‘1869 Baxter, Eleanor, Miss’, pp. 788, 789, 790-4, 798.

²¹⁹ Hamilton, ‘Baxter, Mary Ann’, *ODNB*.

²²⁰ *Dundee Courier* - Saturday 20 December 1884; Elizabeth L. Ewan, Rose Pipes, Sian Reynolds and Sue Innes, *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*, United Kingdom, Edinburgh University Press, 2006. p 32; Hamilton, ‘Baxter, Mary Ann’, *ODNB*.

²²¹ *Dundee Courier* - Saturday 20 December 1884.

²²² Ewan, et al., *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*, 2006, p. 32.

²²³ *Dundee Courier* - Saturday 20 December 1884.

The University of Dundee's Links with Slavery & Colonialism

It should be noted that by the time of David Baxter's death in 1872, Baxter Brothers & Co was not yet heavily involved in the jute industry.²²⁴ Therefore, Mary Ann's inherited wealth through shares in the firm at the time of her father and brother's death would have been mainly based on the business of linen and its exportation to clothe the enslaved people in the US, West Indies and Latin America. However, her brothers, father and indeed Mary Ann herself held various stocks and lucrative colonial investments in Asia and Australia that grew over time, further adding to her inherited textile fortune.

In terms of 'slavery derived wealth', it is difficult to assess precisely to what extent transatlantic slavery contributed to someone's wealth. In the case of William, David and Edward Baxter, a consistent increase in their wealth can be seen through their firm Baxter Brothers & Co, merchant activities and shares in other firms indirectly linked with transatlantic slavery such as D.P&L and Turnbull & Co. As Mary Ann was the direct recipient of funds from Baxter Brothers & Co through her father's settlement and as a beneficiary of her brother and sister's estate, it is clear that a large portion of her wealth came from the family's business as well as transatlantic and colonial investments. Therefore, although some of her wealth came from other sources, the Atlantic slavery economy and slavery itself were the main determinants in the accumulation of her wealth. Since her and her family's fortune was grounded in slavery economics, it can thus be argued that wealth, indirectly derived from slavery, constituted the foundation of Mary Ann Baxter's founding bequest to the University of Dundee. It is then undeniable that transatlantic slavery, colonialism and the enslaved people of the US, West Indies and Latin America constitute an integral part of the University of Dundee's formation and history.

There is no question that Mary Ann Baxter was a benevolent person, evidenced in her multiple generous donations to various organisations and causes in Dundee. However, the role of the enslaved people in the Baxter success story and the foundation of the University of Dundee is one that must be acknowledged.

John Boyd Baxter (1796-1882)

John Boyd Baxter helped found the University College Dundee with his bequest of £10,000 (RPW: £1,030,000).²²⁵ He was the second son of William W. Baxter, a cousin of William Baxter.²²⁶ He studied law and became a solicitor in Dundee, where he was appointed as Procurator-Fiscal for the country in 1824. No direct links with slavery are apparent in the case of John Boyd Baxter, however indirect links may exist through; his father who was regarded as "one of the principal merchants in the town", his father-in-law, Alexander Edward who was a tobacconist and brothers-in-law via their flax spinning and linen merchants and manufacturers firm, A & D Edward & Co.²²⁷

²²⁴ *The Scotsman* - Tuesday 15 October 1872.

²²⁵ *Dundee Evening Telegraph* - Tuesday 12 September 1882; McManus 168, "John Boyd Baxter Esquire", <https://mcmanus168.org.uk/mcmanus168entry/john-boyd-baxter/#source10>, accessed 8 April 2022.

²²⁶ *Dundee Courier* - Tuesday 08 August 1882; *Dundee Courier* - Saturday 05 August 1882.

²²⁷ *Dundee Courier* - Saturday 05 August 1882; McManus 168, 'James Edward Esquire', <https://mcmanus168.org.uk/mcmanus168entry/james-edward/>, accessed 8 April 2022; McManus 168, 'Allan Edward Esquire', <https://mcmanus168.org.uk/mcmanus168entry/allan-edward/>, accessed 8 April 2022; Friends of Dundee City Archives, 'The Dundee Lockit Book The Burgess Roll of Dundee – 1513 to Present', <http://www.fdca.org.uk/pdf%20files/>

Time constraints of this project prevented an in-depth look into the commercial activities of J.B. Baxter. Further research is needed to better ascertain his commercial background, inherited wealth and possible indirect links with slavery and the empire.

William Edward Baxter (1825-1890) & Views on Slavery in the US

The son of Edward Baxter and partner in Edward Baxter & Son, W.E. Baxter was a wealthy merchant and MP for the Montrose Burghs in Dundee.²²⁸ He inherited part of his wealth from his father and uncle, David Baxter.²²⁹ His wealth at death was £128,903 11s 5d (RPW: £14,500,000).²³⁰

Interestingly, he was the author of *America and the Americans* which targeted European audiences to highlight the evils of slavery.²³¹ The book relayed what he witnessed on his travels to the US and condemned the brutality of slavery:

“But what SHALL we, what CAN we say in favour of the condition of the negroes on many of the large cotton plantations; where, under the fierce rays of an almost tropical sun, poorly clad, and as poorly fed, they are compelled to work like oxen, and are driven in gangs like felons? It makes me shudder to think of the severe toil and the heartless oppression which these wretched beings undergo to support a white aristocracy, and supply with the raw material the manufactories of Manchester”.²³²

W.E. Baxter also delivered a lecture “on the American struggle” in connection with the Blairgowrie Mechanics Institute in 1865. He spoke in support of the Union and emancipation of the enslaved people, stating:

“...this daring revolt of the slaveowners should be down now. I desire it in the interest of the black man, emancipated throughout the Union by the Republican party, condemned to perpetual bondage by the Confederate Constitution-I desire it in the interest of my country, which never could allow the re-opening of the African slave trade, or the indefinite extension of slave territory...”.²³³

His abolitionist views, however, did not stop him from being an active participant and profiteer from the sales made to clothe enslaved peoples and their descendants through his firm Edward

[LockitE.pdf](#), accessed 8 April 2022; Genes on the Web, ‘Sons and Daughters of Forfarshire and Beyond’, <http://www.genesontheweb.co.uk/g16/p16562.htm>, accessed 8 April 2022; McManus 168, ‘John Boyd Baxter’.

²²⁸ Alex Johnston Warden, *Angus Or Forfarshire: The Land and People, Descriptive and Historical*, United Kingdom, C. Alexander & Company, 1885, p. 253; ; Mair (ed), *Debrett's Illustrated House of Commons* p. 19; *Dundee Courier* - Thursday 27 July 1871; *Bradford Weekly Telegraph* - Saturday 29 July 1871.

²²⁹ SC45/31/23, ‘1872 Baxter, Edward’; SC20/50/44, ‘1872 Baxter, David’; *Dundee Evening Telegraph* - Friday 31 January 1902.

²³⁰ E. I. Carlyle, revised by H. C. G. Matthew, ‘Baxter, William Edward’, *ODNB*, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1741>, accessed 1 April 2022.

²³¹ *Anti-Slavery Advocate* - Saturday 01 September 1855; *The Dublin university magazine*, Ireland, 1876, p. 660.

²³² William Edward Baxter, *America and the Americans*, United Kingdom, G. Routledge & Company, 1855, p. 181.

²³³ *Dundee Courier* - Wednesday 18 January 1865; *Dundee Advertiser* - Wednesday 18 January 1865.

Baxter & Son. Baxter's commercial activities and his abolitionist views illustrate stark dissonances. Although his goods would have been shipped to plantations, it appears that he saw himself far removed from the Manchester cotton merchants who imported raw cotton from plantations using enslaved labour. In reality, W.E. Baxter's case is not unique. Research in this field has revealed an increasingly complicated and nuanced picture of many prominent merchants connected with slavery. The on-the-surface generalisation that all enslavers were pro-slavery, and all abolitionists were not involved in the business of slavery is a common misconception. In this sense, W.E. Baxter's cognitive dissonance reinforces an important point; the aim of research such as this, is not to vilify or relegate historical figures to a 'good' or 'bad' category, but rather is to provide a holistic and uncensored narrative of Britain's imperial past.

ENDOWMENTS AND DONORS

Armitstead Bursary Endowment

George Armitstead (1824-1915) of George Armitstead & Co. donated £2500 (RPW: £257,000) to the University in 1883. The scholarship was “for a period of not more than 4 years in the first instance” but could be extended subject to what was necessary.²³⁴ The combined capital and revenue in 2014 was £328,864.53.²³⁵

Born in Riga, Russia, it was there that his father formed “the flax trading company” Armitstead & Co.²³⁶ The company likely had commercial links with Dundee from as early as 1834, with a vessel ‘George Armitstead’ operating between the two cities.²³⁷ He was linked with the Atlantic slavery economy and the empire in various ways. Armitstead was a “flax and jute merchant, importer of fertilisers, shipowner, railway director and finally MP”.²³⁸ Dundee trade directories and shipping registers list Armitstead “merchant and commission agent” and “shipowner”.²³⁹

Links with the Baxters

Marriage & Inheritance

In 1848, he is recorded as having commenced business in Dundee as a flax merchant and established a London branch of his business in 1857.²⁴⁰ He married into the Baxter family in 1848. His wife was the daughter of Edward Baxter, Jane Elizabeth.²⁴¹ Armitstead is described in David Baxter’s will as his nephew and “merchant in Dundee and London”.²⁴² He was one of the trustees to whom David Baxter conveyed his “whole property, heritable and moveable” and bequeathed a personal legacy of £20,000 (RPW: £1,830,000) to Armitstead.²⁴³ Edward Baxter also named Armitstead as one of his trustees.²⁴⁴

²³⁴ University of Dundee Archive Services, ‘University of Dundee Endowment Project 2014: Endowments Notes’, p. 175.

²³⁵ University of Dundee Archive Services, ‘University of Dundee Endowment Project 2014: Analysis of End 31.07.14’.

²³⁶ Friends of Dundee City Archives, ‘More on George Armitstead (Lord Armitstead of Castlehill)’, http://www.fdca.org.uk/George_Armitstead2.html, accessed 4 April 2022.

²³⁷ McManus 168, ‘George Armitstead Esquire’, <https://mcmanus168.org.uk/mcmanus168entry/george-armitstead/>, accessed 4 April 2022.

²³⁸ MS 15/239, ‘Evening Telegraph, 24 Oct. 1964’, University of Dundee Archive Services.

²³⁹ *Dundee Directories, 1853-1891*, Local Studies, Central Library, Dundee; Registers of Shipping, 1849-1863. CE70/11/8-11, Dundee City Archives; McManus 168, ‘George Armitstead Esquire’.

²⁴⁰ R/62, ‘George Armitstead; Baron Armitstead of Castlehill in the City of Dundee, 1824-1915’, University of Dundee Archive Services; McManus 168, ‘George Armitstead Esquire’; Friends of Dundee City Archives, ‘More on George Armitstead’.

²⁴¹ McManus 168, ‘George Armitstead Esquire’.

²⁴² SC20/50/44, ‘1872 Baxter, David’, p. 1435.

²⁴³ SC20/50/44, ‘1872 Baxter, David’ pp. 1435, 1460; *Fife Herald* - Thursday 28 November 1872.

²⁴⁴ SC45/31/23, ‘1872 Baxter, Edward’ pp. 559-60.

Importer of Flax & Commission Agent

George Armitstead & Co. is listed as “merchants and commission agents” from 1853.²⁴⁵ The firm would have been flax suppliers as well as commission agents for Baxter Brothers & Co, thereby benefitting indirectly from the sale of their goods in transatlantic markets. A warehouse fire in 1865 gives an idea of some of the raw material Armitstead imported from the Baltic.²⁴⁶ The warehouse which was occupied by his firm “was completely filled with Archangel tow and Riga odilla, which was mad up into bales” worth between £9000 and £10,000.²⁴⁷

“G. Armitstead & Co” is also listed in the Baxter Brothers financial records on 26th May 1855 and 31st May 1856 as being credited with £2887 3s 3d (RPW: £276,000) and £29 6s 2d (RPW: £2,800)²⁴⁸ respectively. This was likely either commission for selling consigned goods or supplying flax.

Guano Importation

In addition to flax, Armitstead was an importer of guano from Peru. According to the *Evening Telegraph*, George Armistead & Co “dealt in fertiliser from the guano islands off the west coast of South America”.²⁴⁹ An 1865 notice shows the firm advertising “the Florine with a Cargo of 1400 Tons” of “Peruvian government Guano” for sale to “landowners, farmers, and others”.²⁵⁰ In terms of guano importation to Dundee, “the ships bringing this pungent, but necessary, commodity were the largest using the Tay until the development of the jute trade”.²⁵¹

Guano, which comes from the Quechua word ‘wanu’ meaning ‘malodorous commodity’, is the nitrate-rich excrement of seabirds.²⁵² Once used by the Inca, it was extracted mainly from the Chincha Islands, Peru to be used as fertiliser.²⁵³ During colonial rule, the importance of guano waned in favour of silver. Following Peru’s independence from Spain, the importance of guano as a fertiliser was revived due to the Peruvian government’s efforts and the onset of foreign merchants trying to capitalise on emerging South American markets and the guano trade.²⁵⁴

²⁴⁵ McManus 168, ‘George Armitstead Esquire’.

²⁴⁶ *Dundee, Perth, and Cupar Advertiser* - Tuesday 09 September 1862; *Bicester Herald* - Friday 08 September 1865; *Fifeshire Journal* - Thursday 15 March 1877.

²⁴⁷ *Bicester Herald* - Friday 08 September 1865.

²⁴⁸ MS 11/1/6, ‘Scroll balance book’.

²⁴⁹ MS 15/239, ‘*Evening Telegraph*, 24 Oct. 1964’.

²⁵⁰ *Perthshire Constitutional & Journal* - Thursday 09 March 1865.

²⁵¹ MS 15/239, ‘*Evening Telegraph*, 24 Oct. 1964’.

²⁵² National Trust, ‘William Gibbs and the creation of Tyntesfield’,

<https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/tyntesfield/features/william-gibbs-and-the-creation-of-tyntesfield>, accessed 3 April 2022.

²⁵³ Megan L. Johnson, ‘The English House of Gibbs in Peru’s Guano Trade in the Nineteenth Century’, Clemson University, p. 1, https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3798&context=all_theses, accessed 3 April 2022.

²⁵⁴ George Washington Peck, *Melbourne and the Chincha Islands: With Sketches of Lima, and a Voyage Round the World*, New York City: R. Craighead, 1854; A.J. Duffield, *Peru in the Guano Age; Being a short account of a recent visit to the guano deposits, with some reflections on the money they have produced and the uses to which it has been applied*, London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1877; Robert G. Greenhill and Rory M. Miller, ‘The Peruvian Government and the Nitrate Trade, 1873-1879,’ *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 5, No.1, PP. 107-131, Cambridge University Press, 1973; D.C.M. Platt, *Business Imperialism 1840-1930: An Inquiry Based on British Experience in Latin America*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977; Jimmy M. Skaggs, *The Great Guano Rush: Entrepreneurs and American Overseas Expansion*, New York City: St. Martin’s Press, 1994; Johnson, ‘The English House of Gibbs’, p. 2.

The Labour Force: Enslaved Persons & Chinese Indentured Labour

In 1840 the international trade in guano began, with the prominent English merchant house of William Gibbs & Co “holding a virtual monopoly on Peruvian guano, from 1842 until 1861”.²⁵⁵ The principal markets for guano were the US, Britain and France with convicts, enslaved people and Chinese indentured labourers bearing the brunt of the labour.²⁵⁶ As W. M. Mathew writes, “there was little voluntary movement of workers to the guano islands. People usually had to be placed there and coercively retained”.²⁵⁷ Domingo Elias, a plantation owner and politician who was self-proclaimed President of Peru in 1844, was awarded the business of extracting guano from the islands in 1849. The arrangement was supposed to last for six years but was terminated in 1853.²⁵⁸ Elias political clout “and his command, as a major plantation owner, of a substantial labour force” allowed him to secure the contract.²⁵⁹ It was said that:

“Don Domingo would make use of his negro slaves, not of free labourers to whom he would have to pay wages, the loading would leave him an annual profit of \$30,000”.²⁶⁰

In the 1840s, convicts, army deserters, conscripts and enslaved people from Elias’ plantations laboured in Chincha islands, extracting guano for the European and US markets. At the time “the workforce varied between 200 and 800 men, who were isolated on the islands”.²⁶¹ Up till 1853, enslaved people still accounted for part of the work force on the islands. “In 1853 the working population was apparently about 70 per cent Chinese and 6 per cent slave”.²⁶²

Confronted with political instability, the impending abolition of slavery and labour shortages in plantations and mines, Elias headed a bill in 1848 that introduced indentured labourers from China. Between 1849 and 1874, over 100,000 Chinese indentured labourers were brought to Peru aboard approximately 276 vessels.²⁶³ “Chinese workers replaced slaves in the fields, on the railroad, in the mines, and on the guano island” and the exploitative system facilitated the abolition of slavery in Peru in 1854.²⁶⁴ Elias as a slaveowner was compensated after the abolition of slavery and “like other slave owners, he profited off of the end of slavery and

²⁵⁵ Johnson, ‘The English House of Gibbs’, pp. ii, 4; W. M. Mathew, *The House of Gibbs and the Peruvian Guano Monopoly*, United Kingdom, Royal Historical Society, 1981; David Hollett, *More Precious Than Gold: The Story of the Peruvian Guano Trade*, Cranbury: Associated University Presses, 2008; Gregory T. Cushman, *Guano and the Opening of the Pacific World: A Global Ecological History*, New York City: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

²⁵⁶ Deborah McCarthy Auriffeille and Leslie King, *Environmental Sociology: From Analysis to Action*, United States, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2019. p 121; W. M. Mathew, “A Primitive Export Sector: Guano Production in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Peru”, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, vol. 9, no. 1, Cambridge University Press, 1977, p. 41; Johnson, ‘The English House of Gibbs’, p. 5.

²⁵⁷ Mathew, “A Primitive Export Sector”, p. 40.

²⁵⁸ Mathew, “A Primitive Export Sector”, pp. 37-8; Mathew, *The House of Gibbs and the Peruvian Guano Monopoly*; Johnson, ‘The English House of Gibbs’, p. 60.

²⁵⁹ Fredrick B. Pike, *The Modern History of Peru*, 1967; Mathew, “A Primitive Export Sector”, p. 37; Peter Blanchard, “The ‘Transitional Man’ in Nineteenth-Century Latin America: The Case of Domingo Elias of Peru”, *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, vol. 15, no. 2, [Wiley, Society for Latin American Studies (SLAS)], 1996, pp. 157–76; Alfonso W. Quiroz, *Corrupt Circles: A History of Unbound Graft in Peru*, United States, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008. p. 108.

²⁶⁰ Mathew, “A Primitive Export Sector”, p. 37. See Diaries of Henry Witt, vol. IV, 19 to 27 Oct. 1849.

²⁶¹ Mathew, “A Primitive Export Sector”, p. 41; Johnson, ‘The English House of Gibbs’, pp. 13, 61-3.

²⁶² Mathew, “A Primitive Export Sector”, p. 41.

²⁶³ Isabelle Lausent-Herrera, ‘Tusans (tusheng) and the Changing Chinese Community in Peru’, *Journal of Chinese Overseas* 5, 2009, p. 116; Edward D. Melillo, “The First Green Revolution: Debt Peonage and the Making of the Nitrogen Fertilizer Trade, 1840—1930,” *The American Historical Review*, vol. 117, no. 4, 2012, p. 1029.

²⁶⁴ Auriffeille and King, *Environmental Sociology*, p. 121.

through facilitating the importation of Chinese labor”.²⁶⁵ He was “the third most important compensated owner” having received 111,000 pesos for 370 enslaved persons.²⁶⁶

Although regarded as indentureship with labourers being paid wages, it was seen by many as “a form of ‘disguised slavery’”.²⁶⁷ As G. W. Peck states, the Chinese indentured workers were “absolutely slaves...without any title, or rights, or conceded customs-mere over-worked beasts of burden.”²⁶⁸ Similar to the Chinese and Indian indentureship system in the West Indies, coercion, trickery and kidnapping were often involved in recruiting labourers for the scheme.²⁶⁹ The manipulative means of recruiting and the voyage conditions saw that “out of 736 recorded voyages from China to Latin America between 1847 and 1874, mutinies struck almost one in ten”.²⁷⁰ There are many accounts of the harsh and cruel treatment of the Chinese indentured labourers from as early 1854. Writing on the plight of these labourers, the *Nautical Magazine* wrote in 1856:

“Most people...have heard of the fertilizing virtues of guano ... but few probably are aware that the acquisition of this deposit, which enriches our lands and fills the purses of our traders, entails an amount of misery and suffering on a portion of our fellow creatures, the relation of which, if not respectably attested, would be treated as a fiction”.²⁷¹

“Heavy floggings”, “murderous cruelty”, “as many as 30 flogged in one day” were some of the atrocities reported by ship captains and observers visiting the island.²⁷² It was reported that “indentured laborers who did not load 5 tons of bird feces per day, 7 days per week, were whipped”.²⁷³ Suicide rates and opium abuse among the Chinese labourers were high:

“In the months of November (1853)- wrote an American mariner-I have heard fifty of the boldest of them joined hands and jumped from the precipice into the sea. In December there were twenty-three suicides; this is from one in authority; in January quite a number, but I have not learned how many”.²⁷⁴

According to an 1854 account by a Peruvian consular officer based in Canton, the ‘Guano Islands’:

“Are represented as so many prisons where the Chinese are maltreated. Up to a point this cannot be denied for want of proof and more so as the Captains of Peruvian Vessels themselves, who come with Guano to return with Chinese, give such information”.²⁷⁵

²⁶⁵ Auriffeille and King, *Environmental Sociology*, p. 121.

²⁶⁶ Quiroz, *Corrupt Circles*, p. 131.

²⁶⁷ Auriffeille and King, *Environmental Sociology* p. 121.

²⁶⁸ Peck, *Melbourne and the Chincha Islands*, p. 206.

²⁶⁹ Watt Stewart, *Chinese Bondage in Peru: A History of the Chinese Coolie in Peru, 1849-1874*, United Kingdom, Muriwai Books, 2018., pp. 39, 71; Mathew, “A Primitive Export Sector”, pp. 42-3.

²⁷⁰ Robert E. Wright, *The Poverty of Slavery: How Unfree Labor Pollutes the Economy*, Germany, Springer International Publishing, 2017, p. 88.

²⁷¹ Mathew, “A Primitive Export Sector”, p. 44.

²⁷² Mathew, “A Primitive Export Sector”, p. 45.

²⁷³ Wright, *The Poverty of Slavery*, p. 88.

²⁷⁴ Mathew, “A Primitive Export Sector”, p. 47; Johnson, ‘The English House of Gibbs’, p. 62; Duffield, *Peru in the Guano Age*, p. 43.

²⁷⁵ Mathew, “A Primitive Export Sector”, p. 43; Stewart, *Chinese Bondage in Peru*, pp. 18, 62;

The terrible conditions and treatment of the indentured labourers were eventually brought to the attention of both the British and Peruvian governments. Samuel Went, who was in charge of William Gibbs & Co house, claimed that the conditions such as wages, medical care and treatment were improved after they took over from Elias.²⁷⁶ Although it appeared that “the number of independent reports itemising brutalities fell away sharply after the mid-1850s”,²⁷⁷ the labour system used to extract guano for exportation to Britain was one predicated on oppression, having been rooted in the enslavement of Africans, an indentureship system borne out of slave derived wealth and the maltreatment of Chinese labourers.

Guano Markets & Slavery

Apart from the Guano trade’s links with slavery and colonialism through its labour force, it was also tied in with both systems through its markets. Guano was used to supply the US cotton south as a “a reliable means of renewing the exhausted soil of the southern plantation” and preserve nutrients in the soil exhausted through industrialisation processes in Britain.²⁷⁸ The exploitative Guano industry thus helped to sustain cotton production in the US as well as meet the agricultural and developmental needs of Britain as an industrialising nation. George Armitstead & Co., was therefore, indirectly connected with slavery and the exploitative Chinese indentureship as an importer of Peruvian guano who profited from this trade.

Shipping Interests

Having owned and commissioned various vessels for trade activities with the Baltic, South America and Asia, George Armitstead is credited with helping the shipbuilding industry of Dundee. *Runo*, built in 1849 for trade with the Baltic was firstly owned by Armitstead and his father-in-law, Edward Baxter.²⁷⁹ Another vessel, *Onega*, built in 1850 and owned by Armitstead, was commissioned “for Dundee-Baltic trades”.²⁸⁰ However, it was lost in 1862 “at the end of a transatlantic voyage”.²⁸¹ Another brig, *George & Lucy*, was built in 1851 “for a Riga-resident brother of George Armitstead” and was used for Dundee-Baltic trades. It was owned by Armitstead in 1853.²⁸² Though different from Manchester merchants who imported cotton grown by the enslaved people in the US, Brazil and West Indies, Armitstead and his firm George Armitstead & Co were still indirectly linked with the Atlantic slavery economy through their active involvement in the shipping industry and importation of raw materials such as flax; an important raw material needed to manufacture Osnaburgs.

²⁷⁶ Mathew, “A Primitive Export Sector”, pp. 45-7.

²⁷⁷ Mathew, “A Primitive Export Sector”, p. 46; David Northrup, *Indentured Labor in the Age of Imperialism, 1834-1922*, United Kingdom, Cambridge University Press, 1995, p. 110.

²⁷⁸ Bruce W. Farcau, *The Ten Cents War: Chile, Peru, and Bolivia in the War of the Pacific, 1879-1884*, Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group Inc., 2000, p. 9; Johnson, ‘The English House of Gibbs’, pp. 5-6.

²⁷⁹ MS 15/239, ‘*Evening Telegraph*, 24 Oct. 1964’.

²⁸⁰ Scottish Built Ships, ‘Onega’,

https://www.clydeships.co.uk/view.php?official_number=&imo=&builder=&builder_eng=&year_built=&launch_after=&launch_before=&role=&propulsion=&category=&owner=armitstead&port=&flag=&disposal=&lost=&ref=59555&vessel=ONEGA, accessed 5 April 2022; Friends of Dundee City Archives, ‘19th Century Dundee Ships (from the Directories) 1818 - 1898’, <http://www.fdca.org.uk/pdf%20files/19cShipsReg%20O.pdf>, accessed 5 April 2022.

²⁸¹ MS 15/239, ‘*Evening Telegraph*, 24 Oct. 1964’.

²⁸² MS 15/239, ‘*Evening Telegraph*, 24 Oct. 1964’; Scottish Built Ships, ‘George & Lucy’,

https://www.clydeships.co.uk/view.php?official_number=&imo=&builder=&builder_eng=&year_built=&launch_after=&launch_before=&role=&propulsion=&category=&owner=armitstead&port=&flag=&disposal=&lost=&ref=59553&vessel=GEORGE+%26+LUCY, accessed 5 April 2022.

Armistead also acquired the DP&L paddler, London, with others, the brig *Mary Jessie* and the barque *Eva*, that was built in 1853 for “deep sea trading”.²⁸³ In the later years, a screw steamer, *Garry*, was registered to “North Sea S.S. Co. Ltd. - G. Armistead & Co” in 1883 and *Spey* and *Isla*, in the late 1800s.²⁸⁴

Trade with the Far East

Dent & Co

Armitstead remained committed to the Baltic trade despite the era of ‘Jutepolis’. According to Steven Ivings, “George Armitstead & Co.’s core competency remained in the Baltic trade in which the firm maintained strong personal and commercial networks”.²⁸⁵ However, George Armistead & Co did invest in trade in East Asia through ventures to the Far East via *Eva* in the 1850s and the West Pacific Company Limited (WPC).²⁸⁶ *Eva* which was chartered by Dent & Co for trade in 1861, is illustrative of one way in which Armitstead profited from trade with the empire and Atlantic slavery. Dent & Co, a powerhouse Shanghai-based British merchant firm operating in the Far East, was founded by George Baring (1781–1854) in 1809 as an “East India supercargo”. Dent & Co later traded in opium, becoming the main rival of Jardine, Matheson & Co. before failing in 1867.²⁸⁷ George Baring was the son of Sir Francis Baring (1740–1810) who founded the Baring Brothers merchant bank. The Barings bank network encompassed slavery-related interests “including funding the mortgage on the Bogue Estate in St James, Jamaica, with over 200 enslaved people held”.²⁸⁸ Banks such as Barings, built by fortunes based in West India interests, “would lend to slave-traders, or West India merchants (importing sugar, coffee, cotton, tobacco, and other slave-produced goods)”.²⁸⁹ George’s brother, Alexander Baring, was a beneficiary of multiple claims of compensation for enslaved

²⁸³ MS 15/239, ‘*Evening Telegraph*, 24 Oct. 1964’; Friends of Dundee City Archives, ‘19th Century Dundee Ships (from the Directories) 1818 - 1898’, <http://www.fdca.org.uk/pdf%20files/19cShipsReg%20E.pdf>, accessed 5 April 2022; Scottish Built Ships, ‘*Eva*’, https://www.clydeships.co.uk/view.php?a1Order=Sorter_ship_list_bld_ref&a1Dir=DESC&a1Page=37&ref=59554&vessel=EVA, accessed 5 April 2022; Friends of Dundee City Archives, ‘19th Century Dundee Ships (from the Directories) 1818 - 1898’, <http://www.fdca.org.uk/pdf%20files/19cShipsReg%20M.pdf>, accessed 5 April 2022.

²⁸⁴ Scottish Built Ships, ‘*Garry*’, https://www.clydeships.co.uk/view.php?official_number=&imo=&builder=&builder_eng=&year_built=&launch_after=&launch_before=&role=&propulsion=&category=&owner=armistead&port=&flag=&disposal=&lost=&ref=55906&vessel=GARRY, accessed 5 April 2022; Friends of Dundee City Archives, ‘19th Century Dundee Ships (from the Directories) 1818 - 1898’, <http://www.fdca.org.uk/pdf%20files/19cShipsReg%20G.pdf>, accessed 5 April 2022; ; Friends of Dundee City Archives, ‘19th Century Dundee Ships (from the Directories) 1818 - 1898’, <http://www.fdca.org.uk/pdf%20files/19cShipsReg%20S.pdf>, accessed 5 April 2022; Friends of Dundee City Archives, ‘19th Century Dundee Ships (from the Directories) 1818 - 1898’, <http://www.fdca.org.uk/pdf%20files/19cShipsReg%20I.pdf>, accessed 5 April 2022.

²⁸⁵ Steven Ivings, ‘Fostering a Trade in Japan’s Northeast: The West Pacific Company at Hakodate in the 1860s’, Kyoto University p. 7, <https://commoditiesofempire.blogs.sas.ac.uk/files/2020/04/WP33.pdf>, accessed 2 April 2022.

²⁸⁶ Ivings, ‘Fostering a Trade in Japan’s Northeast’, pp. 7-8.

²⁸⁷ Alain Le Pichon (ed), *China Trade and Empire: Jardine, Matheson & Co. and the Origins of British Rule in Hong Kong, 1827-1843*, United Kingdom, OUP/British Academy, 2006, pp. 67-8; Virtual Shanghai, ‘Alfred Dent & Co.: Shanghai Office’, <https://www.virtualshanghai.net/Photos/Images?ID=15045>, accessed 1 April 2022; Peter C. Perdue, ‘Rise & Fall of the Canton Trade System-I China in the World (1700-1860s)’, https://visualizingcultures.mit.edu/rise_fall_canton_01/cw_essay03_1.html, accessed 1 April 2022.

²⁸⁸ ‘Sir Francis Baring’, Legacies of British Slavery database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146661913>, accessed 1 April 2022; Laurence Brown, “The Slavery Connections of Northington Grange”, English Heritage <https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/slavery-connections-northington-grange/slavery-connections-northington-grange/>, accessed 1 April 2022; Matthew Stallard, ‘Historic Sources of Funding Review Group Final Report’, City University of London, p. 31, https://studenthub.city.ac.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0006/573522/HRG_30-Sep-2020.pdf, accessed 1 April 2022.

²⁸⁹ Stallard, ‘Historic Sources of Funding’, p. 34.

persons on estates in British Guiana and St Kitts,²⁹⁰ while Baring himself worked for his father as an agent for Baring Brothers in his earlier days.²⁹¹

Dent & Co's chartering of *Eva*, a ship owned by George Armitstead & Co, provides an example of the indirect way in which Armitstead's firm was connected with slavery derived profits and trade in East Asia. His firm benefitted financially from its chartering relationship with Dent & Co, a firm founded with money from the Barings family West India trading fortune. It is likely that other similar firms, with ties or origins in slavery, chartered Armitstead's fleet for trading purposes to Asia and elsewhere.

West Pacific Company Limited

Thomas Wright Blakiston (1832-1891), an English merchant and 'explorer', upon returning from Hakodate, Japan became interested in the island's timber and trade with China and Japan. Needing funds and the "mercantile know-how", he teamed up with George Armitstead & Co. to form the WPC.²⁹² At the time, George Armitstead & Co was "among the most prominent mercantile firms in Dundee" with some knowledge of trade with Asia. Armitstead became a large shareholder in WPC, owning 50 shares in the company.²⁹³ It is likely that the other shareholders in the company were indirectly linked with transatlantic slavery or colonialism in one way or the other as wealthy Dundee or London merchants.

WPC, which was registered in 1863, had ties to the empire through its 'Far East' trade. George Armitstead & Co built three ships, *Khankai*, *Ousuri* and *Akindo*, that were then leased to the WPC for its trading activities.²⁹⁴ The WPC traded in timber, coal, rice as well as Chinese and Western goods via Hakodate, Shanghai, Malaya and Hong Kong.²⁹⁵ The company's 'Memorandum of Association' also indicates that they were "Merchants or Commission Agents".²⁹⁶ Given Britain's colonisation of Malaya, Shanghai and Hong Kong at the time, some of Armitstead's wealth was, therefore, derived from his stake in the WPC and shipping interests invested in colonialist commerce.

As George Armitstead was indirectly linked with the Atlantic slavery economy and the empire through his heavy importation of flax, guano, shipping charters, stake in the WPC and inheritance from David Baxter, it is safe to say that the founding money of the Armitstead Bursary Endowment was partly derived from transatlantic slavery and colonialism.

Stephen Williamson Bursary Endowment

This endowment, recorded in 1905, was made by the widow of Stephen Williamson of Copely, Cheshire.²⁹⁷ The combined capital and revenue balance of the fund in 2014 amounted to £14,814.37.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁰ 'Alexander Baring', Legacies of British Slavery database, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/-1411131717>, accessed 3 April 2022.

²⁹¹ Carter Grayson, 'Baring, George', *ODNB*, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-47101>, accessed 1 April 2022.

²⁹² Ivings, 'Fostering a Trade in Japan's Northeast', p. 7.

²⁹³ Ivings, 'Fostering a Trade in Japan's Northeast', pp. 7, 9.

²⁹⁴ Ivings, 'Fostering a Trade in Japan's Northeast', pp. 9-10.

²⁹⁵ Ivings, 'Fostering a Trade in Japan's Northeast', pp. 10, 12.

²⁹⁶ Ivings, 'Fostering a Trade in Japan's Northeast', p. 8. See National Records of Scotland (Edinburgh), West Pacific Company Records (WPCR), Memorandum of Association, 6 February 1863.

²⁹⁷ University of Dundee Archive Services, 'University of Dundee Endowment Project 2014: Endowments Notes', p. 222.

²⁹⁸ University of Dundee Archive Services, 'University of Dundee Endowment Project 2014: Analysis of End 31.07.14'.

Balfour, Williamson & Co. & Chile

Stephen Williamson, born in Kilrenny, Fifeshire in 1827, was head of the ship owning and merchant firm in Liverpool, Balfour, Williamson & Co. He was the son of a ship-owner, Archibald Williamson and studied business in Liverpool, where he partnered with another Scotsman, Alexander Balfour (1824-1886).²⁹⁹ The company was founded in 1851 and had strong trade connections with South America, with offices in Valparaiso and Chile.³⁰⁰ Described as Chilean merchants, the firm had “an interest in most Chilean imports and exports including nitrates, and some business with Peru”.³⁰¹ The firm initially exported British manufactured goods to Valparaiso, Chile and imported raw goods such as nitrates, wheat and copper from Chile.³⁰² Their trade and investments portfolio also extended to cement works, flour mills, iron works, and petroleum in Valparaiso.³⁰³ In 1864, Williamson encouraged trade to San Francisco where they eventually held offices.³⁰⁴ It also engaged in grain trade in California and later formed the Pacific Loan & Investment Co. to expand its investments and trade in the US, Chile and Peru.³⁰⁵ As far as commercial operations in Chile were concerned, Balfour, Williamson & Co was quite involved in Chilean nitrate companies, to the extent where they “made issues for the South American companies and accepted seats on their boards”.³⁰⁶ According to S.D. Chapman, “trading connexions were encouraged to deposit money with the London house, which in turn advanced credits to Chilean nitrate companies on a large scale”.³⁰⁷

In the 1840s up till the 1930s, countries in South America such as Peru and Chile, “exported hundreds of millions of tons” of guano and sodium nitrate or *salitre* to various places across the globe, including California and Britain to be used as fertilisers.³⁰⁸ As mentioned above, the Peruvian guano trade relied on the exploitation of Chinese indentured labourers. The labour force needed by nitrate firms in Chile followed a similar template of exploitation.

The Enganche System & Nitrate Trade

The *enganche* system and its recruiters, *enganchadores*, which translates to “ones who press or trick others into performing a service” resulted in debt peonage or bonded labour to support

²⁹⁹ *Aberdeen Press and Journal* - Thursday 18 June 1903; Geni, ‘Alexander Balfour, of Liverpool’,

<https://www.geni.com/people/Alexander-Balfour-of-Liverpool/6000000022627374982>, accessed 8 April 2022.

³⁰⁰ *Lloyd's Register of Shipping*, United Kingdom, Wyman and sons, 1906, p. xxxv; *The London Gazette*, 1901, p. 4428, <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/27329/page/4428/data.pdf>, accessed 8 April 2022; *The London Gazette*, 1907, p. 5804, <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/28053/page/5804>, accessed 8 April 2022; Grace's Guide To British Industrial History, ‘Balfour, Williamson and Co’, https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Balfour,_Williamson_and_Co, accessed 8 April 2022.

³⁰¹ UCL Special Collections, ‘Balfour Williamson & Company Records’, <https://archives.ucl.ac.uk/CalmView/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=BW&pos=1>, accessed 8 April 2022; The National Archives, ‘Balfour Williamson & Co Ltd, Chilean merchants’ <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/c/F186701>, accessed 8 April 2022.

³⁰² Morton Rothstein, ‘A British Firm on the American West Coast, 1869-1914’, *The Business History Review*, vol. 37, no. 4, [President and Fellows of Harvard College, Cambridge University Press], 1963, pp. 394; Morton Rothstein, ‘Multinationals in the Grain Trade, 1850—1914’, *Business and Economic History*, vol. 12, Cambridge University Press, 1983, pp. 87-8.

³⁰³ *The Economic History Review*, vol. 38, no. 2, [Economic History Society, Wiley], 1985, pp. 248-9.

³⁰⁴ Morton, ‘A British Firm on the American West Coast’, p. 394; Mira Wilkins, *The history of foreign investment in the United States to 1914*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1989, p. 285; Grace's Guide, ‘Balfour, Williamson and Co’.

³⁰⁵ S. D. Chapman, ‘British-Based Investment Groups before 1914’, *The Economic History Review*, vol. 38, no. 2, [Economic History Society, Wiley], 1985, p. 238.

³⁰⁶ Chapman, ‘British-Based Investment Groups before 1914’, p. 238.

³⁰⁷ Chapman, ‘British-Based Investment Groups before 1914’, p. 238.

³⁰⁸ Donald McConnell, ‘The Chilean Nitrate Industry’, *Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 43, no. 4, 1935, pp. 506–29; Edward D. Melillo, ‘The First Green Revolution: Debt Peonage and the Making of the Nitrogen Fertilizer Trade, 1840—1930’, *The American Historical Review*, vol. 117, no. 4, 2012, pp. 1029.

the extraction of nitrates in Chile.³⁰⁹ Introduced by Henry Meiggs in Chile in the 1850s as part of railway construction, it became a popular practice that was adopted by mining companies. The Asociación Salitrera (Nitrate Producers Association) “ran carnivals in which entertainment was followed by a pitch describing the fortunes to be made in the north”.³¹⁰ However, the reality was vastly different for the newly arrived migrant workers seeking fortune in Northern Chile. The nitrate companies “routinely ignored contractual obligations” with lower wages and a high cost of living leading to poor living conditions. It was not possible for the labourers to leave as they became “‘hooked’ - in debt to the contractor for the passage north and without the means for a steamship ticket home”. What resulted was a system of bonded labour where “debt for his passage to the mines became the interminable bond that kept each worker toiling endlessly for his contractor”.³¹¹

Control in Commercial Activities of Nitrate Companies

As the industry was seasonal and demanding, the exploitative labour practices of nitrate producers resulted in the constant recruitment of migrant workers from Peru, Bolivia and Central Chile. This led to a ‘reserve army of labour’ that could undercut wages of Chilean workers and promote a division of labour. According to Michael Monteón this “led to the development of national minorities in northern Chile” and the persistence of competition and social conflict in Northern Chile. Although Chile controlled the nitrate deposits following the War of the Pacific (1879-1883), “the nitrate trade was controlled before the First World War by British firms and thereafter by corporations in Great Britain and the United States”.³¹² These companies in London and Liverpool had just as much control in the commercial activities in Chile as their partner firms in South America. By way of their Chilean partners, Balfour Williamson³¹³, “held directorships in several nitrate companies, as well as providing accounts for 15 salitreros”, including firms that controlled the commercial management of the nitrate mines.³¹⁴ They also partook in other branches of the trade in supplying “overdrafts to pay for stockholding and nitrate in transit” as well as managing local port agencies.³¹⁵ Another account of the firm’s interests on the ground reveals that the “managers of Balfour Williamson’s mines were regarded as inept and what little work they did was misdirected”.³¹⁶

Though diversifying into other industries in its later years, it is clear that Stephen Williamson’s firm and its subsidiaries in Chile profited extensively from the nitrate trade that was dependent on exploitative and imperialistic labour systems. Furthermore, as a Liverpool export firm operating from 1851, it is highly likely their shipments of manufactured goods and nitrate fertilisers made its way to southern plantations in the US prior to the outbreak of the Civil War.

³⁰⁹ Melillo, ‘The First Green Revolution’, p. 1030.

³¹⁰ Melillo, ‘The First Green Revolution’, p. 1030; Michael Monteón, ‘The Enganche in the Chilean Nitrate Sector, 1880-1930’, *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 6, no. 3, 1979, pp. 67.

³¹¹ Melillo, ‘The First Green Revolution’, p. 1030; Michael Monteón, ‘The Enganche’, p. 67.

³¹² Michael Monteón, ‘The Enganche’, p. 66.

³¹³ Williamson Balfour or Balfour Williamson was the subsidiary in Chile of Balfour, Williamson & Co. Porteous, J. Douglas, ‘Easter Island: The Scottish Connection’, *Geographical Review*, vol. 68, no. 2, 1978, p. 147.

³¹⁴ Diego, Manuel Llorca-Jaña, Rory M. Miller (eds), *Capitalists, Business and State-Building in Chile*, Germany, Springer International Publishing, 2019, p. 101; Douglas, ‘Easter Island’ p. 147.

³¹⁵ Barría, Llorca-Jaña and Miller, *Capitalists, Business and State-Building in Chile*, p. 101.

³¹⁶ Barría, Llorca-Jaña and Miller, *Capitalists, Business and State-Building in Chile*, p. 116.

Balfour, Williamson & Co. and Easter Island

Another example of the firm's imperialist practice is apparent in Williamson Balfour's "control of Easter Island in the mid-1809s".³¹⁷ In 1903, Williamson Balfour established the subsidiary firm La Compañía Explotadora de la Isla de Pascua (CEDIP), fittingly translated as the Easter Island Exploitation Company, to capitalise on sheep rearing and the wool trade.

The impact on the physical landscape of Easter Island and the lives of the indigenous people, the Rapa Nui, has been noted in scholarly literature. J. Douglas Porteus wrote that the operations of Brander-Bornier and CEDIP, both Scottish sheep-rearing businesses, meant that the island was a virtual "company state".³¹⁸ He explains that both companies "were the initiators of the radical changes in settlement patterns, economy, employment and landscape features which took place after 1870".³¹⁹ In preparation for capital intensive sheep rearing, Brander-Bornier who controlled the island in the 1860s, "rounded up the native population and forced them to live in the government-owned area of Hangaroa".³²⁰ One account states that "the Rapanui were and have been forbidden to disturb the stock and they were compelled to live in the village of Hangaroa".³²¹ Easter Island essentially became "a personal estate" with sheep rearing resulting in the virtual extinction of indigenous trees and destruction of ceremonial artefacts to build walls as 'fences'. As Alfred Métraux recounted in relation to one of the villages, "there are the remains of several houses, though some have been pulled down by Williamson-Balfour agents for stones to build their walls".³²² There were many reports of "repression and abuse" of the indigenous population by CEDIP which "became a permanent feature of the Chilean press and eventually resulted in government action". The Chilean government gained control of Easter Island in 1952 following naval occupation, though according to Porteus, this simply replaced one authority with another.³²³ The exploitation of Easter Island is an understudied aspect of the empire. However, the displacement of indigenous populations to facilitate trade and profits that did not financially benefit or develop the land it exploited, is a staple feature and indeed characteristic of British imperialism.

Through Balfour, Williamson & Co's imperialist practice of forced resettlement and exploitation of Easter Island as well as its deep involvement with the Chilean nitrate trade, Stephen Williamson and the Stephen Williamson Bursary Endowment has become linked with an increasingly under focused aspect of British imperialism.

³¹⁷ J. Douglas Porteus, 'Easter Island: The Scottish Connection', *Geographical Review*, vol. 68, no. 2, 1978, pp. 147.

³¹⁸ Porteus, 'Easter Island', pp. 147, 150-6; Jan J. Boersema, *The Survival of Easter Island: Dwindling Resources and Cultural Resilience*, United Kingdom, Cambridge University Press, 2015.

³¹⁹ Modernization of easter island, pp. 125-7.

³²⁰ Porteus, 'Easter Island', p. 150; Beverly Haun, *Inventing 'Easter Island'*. United Kingdom, University of Toronto Press, 2008.

³²¹ "Letter from John Brander to Schlubach, 1897" as cited in Porteus, 'Easter Island', p. 150.

³²² Alfred Métraux, *Ethnology of Easter Island*, United States, The Museum, 1971. p. 129; Porteus, 'Easter Island', pp. 150, 153, 155.

³²³ Porteus, 'Easter Island', p. 156.

Carnelley Memorial Prize Endowment

*“Described as one of the old school of textile men who helped to build up Lancashire's greatness... Carnelley was a man who contributed to Britain's prosperous industry and trade during the 19th and early 20th Century”.*³²⁴

The Carnelley Memorial Prize, registered in 1892, was founded by William Carnelley (1823-1919) of Fallowfield, Manchester.³²⁵ As of 2014, it's combined capital and revenue was £5,397.25.³²⁶

Involvement with Rylands & Sons

Born in 1823, Carnelley was indirectly linked with the Atlantic slavery economy as senior director and chairman the stalwart Manchester cotton firm, Rylands & Sons. After gaining experience in the textile industry working for his uncle, a small business linen manufacturer, Carnelley headed to Manchester in 1840. He secured a position at the Wigan branch of Rylands & Sons. “in charge of the handloom” as well as being “made responsible for the company's material costs and expenses”. He eventually became head of manufacturing at the Wigan branch and in 1847, was in charge of managing the Fustian Department at the firm's Manchester Warehouse.³²⁷ He is described in 1870 as a Warehouseman.³²⁸ After the firm became a joint stock company, Carnelley “was nominated by John Rylands to be one of the nine Directors on the company board”.³²⁹ Following the death of John Rylands in 1888, Carnelley continued working for the Rylands & Sons and was appointed chairman in 1901. He retired from the firm in 1916 after which he was bestowed with the title of “Honorary Directorship”.³³⁰

Rylands & Sons and Links with Slavery

Rylands & Sons was established in 1819 by John Rylands (1801-1888), his brothers and his father, Joseph Rylands (1767- 1847) and was initially manufacturers and distributors of linen.³³¹ A factor which may account for Rylands & Sons being listed in Baxter Brothers & Co financial records.³³² In 1822, the firm opened its first warehouse in New Hight Street, Manchester and eventually became listed as “cotton spinners and manufacturers, and general

³²⁴ GB 133 WCC, ‘William Carnelley, 1823-1919, businessman’, William Carnelley Collection, 1850-1923, University of Manchester Library, <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb133-wcc>, accessed 5 April 2022; D.A. Farnie, 'John Rylands of Manchester', from *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 1993; D.A. Farnie, 'Enriqueta Augustina Rylands (1843-1908), Founder of the John Rylands Library', from *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 1989.

³²⁵ University of Dundee Archive Services, ‘University of Dundee Endowment Project 2014’, p. 15.

³²⁶ University of Dundee Archive Services, ‘University of Dundee Endowment Project 2014: Analysis of End 31.07.14’.

³²⁷ GB 133 WCC, ‘William Carnelley’; Farnie, 'John Rylands of Manchester'; Farnie, 'Enriqueta Augustina Rylands (1843-1908)’.

³²⁸ *English Patents of Inventions, Specifications: 1869, 2027 – 2083*, United Kingdom, H.M. Stationery Office, 1870, p. 2.

³²⁹ GB 133 WCC, ‘William Carnelley’.

³³⁰ GB 133 WCC, ‘William Carnelley’.

³³¹ Science Museum Group, ‘Rylands & Sons Ltd’, <https://collection.sciencemuseumgroup.org.uk/people/ap8092/rylands-sons-ltd>, accessed 5 April 2022; John Rylands Research Institute and Library, ‘Rylands and Sons Archive’, https://www.library.manchester.ac.uk/rylands/special-collections/exploring/a-to-z/detail/?mms_id=992983876599001631#:~:text=Rylands%20%26%20Sons%20Ltd%20was%20the.goods%20for%20the%20Chester%20trade, accessed 5 April 2022.

³³² Baxter Brothers & Co received £74 18s (RPW: £7,160.) from Rylands & Sons, 31 May 1856. MS 11/1/6, ‘Scroll balance book’.

warehousemen”.³³³ John Rylands became the sole owner of the firm in 1842 with Rylands & Sons Ltd becoming “the most successful cotton firm in Britain in the late 19th century”.³³⁴ The prominence of the firm made John Rylands “Manchester's first multi-millionaire”, who from 1857, was regarded as the country’s “greatest textile merchant ”.³³⁵

According to the John Rylands Library, which was founded by Ryland’s wife, Enriqueta Rylands in memory of her husband:

“It is, however, beyond doubt that the firm of Rylands and Sons, whose profits underwrote the creation of the Library, was intimately connected to the practice of slavery in the Americas. The great majority of the cotton which this and other Lancastrian firms imported for processing was grown in the American South, and nearly all of it was picked by enslaved men, women, and children”.³³⁶

Manchester’s nickname ‘Cottonopolis’, typifies the interwoven nature of the city’s identity with its trademark commodity.³³⁷ As Catherine Hall *et al.* explains: “Manchester had a key role to play in the maintenance of the slave-economy”.³³⁸ Katie Donington corroborates that, “from early beginnings in the rural cottage industry, to the large-scale factories and mills, the industrialisation of cotton relied on the production of raw materials by enslaved workers across the New World”.³³⁹ This cotton was also reexported as finished cloth to Africa where it was traded for enslaved people and used to clothe the enslaved in the Americas.³⁴⁰ Manchester thus “received a double stimulus from the colonial trade”.³⁴¹ In this way slavery essentially ensured the high demand for cotton while also preserving its cheap supply.³⁴²

The John Rylands Library to which Carnelley contributed towards, has also acknowledged its links with slavery in Cuba. Enriqueta Augustina Tennant (1843-1908) who commissioned the building of the Library in 1890, was born in Matanzas, Cuba. The Library has examined its founders links with slavery, stating that:

“Her family had built up huge wealth trading in land and sugar, profiting from slavery and the exploitation of indigenous peoples in the southern states of America and in Cuba”.

³³³ The National Archives, ‘Rylands & Sons Ltd, cotton spinners and manufacturers, and general warehousemen’, <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/c/F182976>, accessed 6 April 2022; Grace’s Guide To British Industrial History, ‘Rylands and Sons’, https://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Rylands_and_Sons, accessed 6 April 2022; John Rylands Research Institute and Library, ‘Rylands and Sons Archive’.

³³⁴ John Rylands Research Institute and Library, ‘Rylands and Sons Archive’.

³³⁵ Science Museum Group, ‘Rylands & Sons Ltd’; ³³⁵ John Rylands Research Institute and Library, ‘Our history’, <https://www.library.manchester.ac.uk/rylands/about/ourhistory/#:~:text=John%20Rylands%20was%20Manchester's%20first%20textile%20company%2C%20Rylands%20%26%20Sons>, accessed 6 April 2022.

³³⁶ Rylands Blog, ‘Rylands Reflects: The Founder and the Fortune’, <https://rylandscollections.com/2020/09/07/rylands-reflects-the-founder-and-the-fortune/>, accessed 6 April 2022.

³³⁷ Barbara Hahn, “Cottonopolis”, *Cambridge Core*, January 2020 <https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/technology-in-the-industrial-revolution/cottonopolis/9A1A96604401A4E1228C98CBFD0F051C>, accessed 6 April 2022.

³³⁸ Catherine Hall, et al. *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership*, p. 206.

³³⁹ Katie Donington, *The Bonds of Family: Slavery, Commerce and Culture in the British Atlantic World*, Manchester University Press, 2020, p. 29.

³⁴⁰ Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*. 1st ed., University of North Carolina Press, 1944, p. 71; Donald Read, *Peterloo The ‘Massacre’ and its Background*, Manchester University Press, 1958, p. 5; Catherine Hall, et al. *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership*, p. 206.

³⁴¹ Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, p. 71.

³⁴² Robert B. Marks, *The Origins of the Modern World: Fate and Fortune in the Rise of the West*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2007; Haggerty and Gooptar, Unpublished Report 2020, pp. 7-8.

Apart from her family profiting from the colonial goods such as “sugar, cotton, tobacco and timber” produced by enslaved people in Cuba, they “owned an unknown number of ‘house slaves’, who were ‘hired out’ – rented to other slave holders for a profit”. She also profited for many years from La Reunion Deseada, a Cuban sugar plantation and mill of which she owned shares.³⁴³

To add to this, Rylands & Sons’ involvement with Baxter Brothers & Co. likely as clients who purchased linen and other goods from them in the 1850s, also extends their indirect links with the Atlantic slavery economy.

Carnelley Prize & Carnelley Building

William Carnelley, as a senior figure in the firm of Rylands & Sons throughout almost the entirety of his career, built his wealth by profiting from goods produced by enslaved people. So close was his relationship with the Rylands, that he served as an executor of Enriqueata’s will. An estate of which “he benefitted to the extent of £5000 and 60,000 ordinary shares of Rylands, Ltd. His estate was valued at “£358,863 (RPW: £40,900,000) with net personalty £344,817 (RPW: £39,300,000)”.³⁴⁴

Carnelley was a “life Governor of the College”³⁴⁵ who founded the Carnelley Prize in Chemistry, bequeathed £300 (RPW: £14,100) to the University³⁴⁶ and contributed to the formation of a ‘Technical Museum’ along with his son, Professor Thomas Carnelley.³⁴⁷ The Carnelley building was named after his son, Thomas Carnelley, first Professor of Chemistry at the university from 1882-88.³⁴⁸ The building which opened in 1883, was “built at the cost of £10,000 given by Miss Mary Ann Baxter”.³⁴⁹ It is safe to say then, that both the Carnelley prize and part of the University of Dundee’s built environment in the Carnelley building, are connected with transatlantic slavery through William Carnelley’s commercial relationship with the cotton giant, Rylands & Sons.

Bute Bursary Endowment

The Bute Bursary in 2014 held a combined capital and revenue of £21,170.63. John Patrick Crichton-Stuart, 3rd Marquess of Bute (1847–1900), for whom the Bute Bursary is named after, was the son of John Crichton-Stuart, 2nd Marquess of Bute (1793 - 1848), “the creator of modern Cardiff”.³⁵⁰ The 2nd Marquess was an industrialist who owned large amounts of

³⁴³ William S. Coker, “The Papers and History of Panton, Leslie and Company, and John Forbes and Company.” *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, vol. 73, no. 3, Florida Historical Society, 1995, pp. 354; Rylands Blog, ‘Rylands Reflects: Whiter than white? Enriqueata Rylands’s Cuban roots’, <https://rylandscollections.com/2020/09/14/whiter-than-white-enriqueta-rylands-cuban-roots/>, accessed 6 April 2022.

³⁴⁴ *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* - Thursday 01 January 1920.

³⁴⁵ *Dundee Courier* - Thursday 13 November 1919.

³⁴⁶ *Dundee Courier* - Thursday 13 November 1919.

³⁴⁷ *Dundee Courier* - Thursday 18 October 1888; *Dundee Courier* - Thursday 28 August 1890

³⁴⁸ CMS 4/1/23/9, ‘Professor Thomas Carnelley, Department of Chemistry 1882-1888’, <https://archives.dundee.ac.uk/cms-4-1-23-9>, University of Dundee Archive Services; British Listed Buildings, ‘Carnelley Building, University Of Dundee, Park Place, Dundee’, <https://britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/200361461-carnelley-building-university-of-dundee-park-place-dundee-dundee#.YktDbW6ZMUt>, accessed 6 April 2022.

³⁴⁹ British Listed Buildings, ‘Carnelley Building’.

³⁵⁰ Dictionary of Welsh Biography, ‘BUTE, marquesses of Bute, Cardiff Castle, etc.’, <https://biography.wales/article/s-BUTE-BUT-1550>, accessed 16 March 2022; Lynsey Nairn, ‘The Bute Archive and Family at Mount Stuart: Past and Present’, Art & The Country House, <http://artandthecountryhouse.com/essays/essays-index/the-bute-archive-and-family-at-mount-stuart-past-and-present>, accessed 16 March 2022.

inherited lands in Glamorgan. Mainly located in the South Wales coalfield, “the Bute family made money from the land by leasing out the mineral rights”.³⁵¹

Coal was an important commodity within the Atlantic slavery economy as it was needed on sugar plantations. “Coal from local pits was shipped out to the Caribbean to heat the pans and boilers used in the processing of raw sugar”.³⁵² Eric Williams further underscores its value, asserting that Bristol was able to produce cheaper and superior quality sugar compared to London, partly due to “its proximity to the coal supplies for fuel”.³⁵³ Indeed, “it was largely the profits of coal and iron ore that made Wales rich”, with a demand for wool and copper sourced from mines in Cuba, also being indicative of the area’s links with slavery.³⁵⁴ It should be noted that it was only “from the 1850s, coal began to replace iron as the industrial foundation of south Wales”.³⁵⁵ However, the industrial revolution acted as a catalyst for the development of infrastructure and exploitation of coal in Cardiff, for the purposes of not only exportation but for industries which included domestic refineries, mills and factories that utilised raw material and goods produced by the enslaved people. The Bute family was connected to both strands of industry, coal and infrastructural development.

The Bute Docks

To expand profits of the South Wales coalfield and increase accessibility as well as transport links, the 2nd Marquess in 1822 posed the idea of constructing docks on his property at the mouth of the Taff.³⁵⁶ The Bute Docks which began construction in 1834 “became the world’s largest for exporting coal for almost a century”.³⁵⁷ The project which was an investment at his own personal cost, resulted in an increase of revenue for the Bute family through dock earnings, rents, increased profits from their mineral wealth due to easier accessibility.³⁵⁸ The Bute trustees (following the death of the Marquess in 1848) also invested in railways to further promote the exploitation of their vast mineral reserves.³⁵⁹ The National Museum Wales notes that annual exports of coal reached 2 million tonnes as early as 1862.³⁶⁰ This meant that the Marquess’ investments in infrastructure and coal bore incredible profits. The Bute fortune was built on industrialisation, investments in shipping, railway infrastructure and coal, which would have been used domestically to further the industries utilising colonial produce as well as exported abroad. As such the Bute Bursary has associations with the Atlantic slavery economy and the empire.

³⁵¹ UK Parliament, ‘Background: The Bute Estate and the great mineral wealth of South Wales’, <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/tradeindustry/importexport/glamorgan-case-study/introduction/the-bute-estate/>, accessed 16 March 2022.

³⁵² Wills and Madge Dresser, *The Transatlantic Slave Economy and England’s Built Environment: A Research Audit*, p. 134.

³⁵³ Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, p. 74.

³⁵⁴ Caitlin O’Sullivan, ‘The uncomfortable truth about Wales, the industrial revolution and the slave trade’, *Wales Online*, <https://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/wales-news/uncomfortable-truth-wales-industrial-revolution-15272677>, accessed 16 March 2022.

³⁵⁵ National Museum Wales, ‘Cardiff – Coal and Shipping Metropolis of the World’, <https://museum.wales/articles/1034/Cardiff--Coal-and-Shipping-Metropolis-of-the-World/>, accessed 16 March 2022; Cardiff Bay, ‘Our History’, <https://www.cardiffbay.co.uk/history/>, accessed 17 March 2022.

³⁵⁶ UK Parliament, ‘Background: The Bute Estate’; UK Parliament, ‘Timeline of Key Acts and Events’, <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/tradeindustry/importexport/glamorgan-case-study/introduction/cardiff-docks/key-acts-and-events/>, accessed 17 March 2022; Chris Evans, ‘Slavery and Welsh industry before and after emancipation’ in *Emancipation and the remaking of the British imperial world*, <https://www.manchesterhive.com/view/9781526103017/9781526103017.00011.xml>, accessed 17 March 2022.

³⁵⁷ Nairn, ‘The Bute Archive’; Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales, ‘Bute West Dock, Cardiff’, <https://coflein.gov.uk/en/site/34257/>, accessed 17 March 2022.

³⁵⁸ UK Parliament, ‘Background: The Bute Estate’; *Morning Chronicle* - Friday 31 March 1848.

³⁵⁹ UK Parliament, ‘Background: The Bute Estate’.

³⁶⁰ National Museum Wales, ‘Cardiff’.

“By the end of the nineteenth century revenue from the Bute estate was one of the highest in the country for an estate of its size”. Royalties from coal showed an increase from £25,000 (RPW: £2,730,000) in 1850, to £115,000 (RPW: £5,730,000) annually by 1918.³⁶¹ The 3rd Marquess inherited the family fortune in 1868. He received “a gross annual income of some £300,000 [RPW: £27,600,000]”³⁶² and was “said to have been the richest man in the world for a time.”³⁶³

D’arcy Thompson Commemorative Medal Endowment

This fund was established as a memorial to Sir D’Arcy Thompson (1860-1948), the first Professor of Biology at the university.³⁶⁴ In 2014, the fund’s combined capital and revenue amounted to £6,766.67.

John Skelton Thompson & Georgiana

Thompson was the son of D’Arcy Wentworth Thompson (1829–1902), who was born on a ship, *Georgiana*, in 1829. This ship, captained by his father, John Skelton Thompson of Maryport, Cumberland was “carrying more than 180 men sentenced to penal servitude in Van Diemen’s Land” (now Tasmania).³⁶⁵ In a lecture to the Classical Association, Cardiff, D’Arcy Thompson spoke about his father and grandfather:

“A hundred years ago this very day [9 April 1929] - we are grown accustomed to centenaries - a small barque was running down her easting between the Cape of Good Hope and Van Diemen's Land, the weather (by the log) being dark, thick and gloomy, a strong gale blowing from the south-east, and the ship labouring heavily. The Captain, who happened to be my grandfather, had his wife with him, for their ship was house and home to both of them and everything else they had...”

In 1833, Thompson engaged in East Indies trade between Batavia (Jakarta), Singapore and Canton and in 1834, *Georgiana* became “one of the first British ships ever to make the journey directly from China to Britain”.³⁶⁶ In this return journey, it carried cargoes of teas, marble slabs, mats, ceramics, ivory goods and paintings. As the first ship to sail directly from China to

³⁶¹ UK Parliament, ‘Background: The Bute Estate’.

³⁶² Undiscovered Scotland, ‘John Crichton-Stuart, 3rd Marquess Of Bute’, <https://www.undiscoveredscotland.co.uk/usbiography/c/johncrichtonstuartbute.html>, accessed 3 April 2022.

³⁶³ Gazetteer for Scotland, ‘John Patrick Crichton-Stuart (3rd Marquess of Bute)’, <https://www.scottish-places.info/people/famousfirst690.html>, accessed 3 April 2022.

³⁶⁴ University of Dundee Archive Services, ‘University of Dundee Endowment Project 2014’, p. 74; University of Dundee, ‘D’Arcy Thompson Zoology Museum’, <https://www.dundee.ac.uk/facilities/darcy-thompson-zoology-museum>, accessed 5 April 2022.

³⁶⁵ Robert Bickers, *China Bound: John Swire & Sons and Its World, 1816 – 1980*, United Kingdom, Bloomsbury Publishing, 2020, p. 6; Stephen Wolfram, ‘Are All Fish the Same Shape if You Stretch Them? The Victorian Tale of On Growth and Form’, <https://writings.stephenwolfram.com/2017/10/are-all-fish-the-same-shape-if-you-stretch-them-the-victorian-tale-of-on-growth-and-form/>, accessed 5 April 2022; University of St Andrews, Scotland, ‘D’Arcy Thompson’s family’, https://mathshistory.st-andrews.ac.uk/Extras/DArcy_family/ accessed 5 April 2022; Clifford Dobell, “D’Arcy Wentworth Thompson, 1860-1948,” *Obituary Notices of Fellows of the Royal Society*, vol. 6, no. 18, The Royal Society, 1949, pp. 599–600.

³⁶⁶ Bickers, *China Bound*, p. 6; Dobell “D’Arcy Wentworth Thompson”, p. 599-600.

Liverpool, just on the heels of East India Company losing its monopoly, “Georgiana’s arrival marked the onset of a new era”.³⁶⁷

Georgiana, built in 1826 in Quebec, also made journeys to Charleston, South Carolina and Calcutta. In addition, to East Indies and US trading, Thompson also sailed to the Caribbean, where he died of sunstroke. Following his death, *Georgiana* was sold, and his wife and D’arcy Thompson Senior settled in Brussels. He later went to boarding school in England and studied at Cambridge.³⁶⁸ Sir D’arcy Thompson’s grandmother and father likely benefitted, albeit modestly, from John Skelton Thompson’s East India and Atlantic voyages transporting cargoes of manufactured goods from England and returns of colonial produce.

In addition to this link with the empire, the D’Arcy Thompson Museum of Zoology, which contains much of Sir D’arcy’s collection of specimens, also highlights another varied link with colonialism. The museum, which holds his collection as well as others associated with colonialism, is currently working on decolonising its material, acknowledging that its “zoology collection was largely acquired during the colonial era of the late 19th and early 20th centuries”.³⁶⁹

Dalhousie Building

Examination of the built environment of the University of Dundee and its links with slavery is also an important aspect of this research. Due to time restrictions only the Carnelley Building (see above section on Carnelley Memorial Prize Endowment) and the Dalhousie building were explored in this report.

The Dalhousie building was named in honour of Simon Ramsay, 16th Earl of Dalhousie (1914-1999) who served as the second Chancellor of the University of Dundee, from 1977 to 1992.³⁷⁰ He was descended from the 1st Earl of Dalhousie, William Ramsay (*d.* 1672) with each succeeding Earl becoming chief of Clan Ramsay. Discernible ancestral links with slavery and colonialism can be identified through George Ramsay, 9th Earl of Dalhousie (1770-1838) and James Broun-Ramsay, 1st Marquess of Dalhousie (1812-1860).³⁷¹

The 9th Earl of Dalhousie & Links with Slavery and Colonialism

Dalhousie University

Dalhousie University, Canada, named after the 9th Earl of Dalhousie, published an extensive report on the Earl’s connections with slavery in 2019. While serving as lieutenant-governor in Nova Scotia from 1816, Dalhousie “had a troubling relationship with the Black Refugees of the War of 1812, three thousand of whom had arrived in the colony between 1813 and 1816”.³⁷²

³⁶⁷ Bickers, *China Bound*, pp. 7-8.

³⁶⁸ Ruth D’arcy Thompson, ‘D’Arcy Wentworth Thompson’, p. 3 https://bigoni.dicam.unitn.it/varie/D'ARCY_WENTWORTH_H_THOMPSON.pdf, accessed 6 April 2022; Wolfram, ‘Are All Fish the Same Shape’.

³⁶⁹ Craig Simpson, ‘Museum grapples with legacy of British Empire by decolonising... a stuffed echidna’, *The Telegraph*, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2022/02/19/museum-grapples-legacy-british-empire-decolonising-stuffed-echidna/>, accessed 6 April 2022; University of Dundee, ‘D’Arcy Thompson Zoology Museum’.

³⁷⁰ University of Dundee, ‘Ceremony to mark naming of Dalhousie Building’, <http://www.app.dundee.ac.uk/pressoffice/contact/2008/october/dalhousiebuilding.html>, accessed 6 April 2022;

³⁷¹ *Debrett’s peerage, and titles of courtesy, in which is included full information respecting the collateral branches of Peers, Privy Councillors, Lords of Session, etc.* London, Dean, <https://archive.org/details/debrettspeeraget00unse/page/262/mode/2up> pp. 261-2.

³⁷² Dalhousie University, ‘Report on Lord Dalhousie’s History on Slavery and Race’, September 2019, p. 19,

They were formerly enslaved persons mainly from the southern parts of the US who had fought for the British armed forces in its war against the United States and were now freed. They were to begin their new lives with the support of the British Crown; however, Dalhousie was not welcoming to these newly arrived Black Refugees. An 1816 letter from Dalhousie to Lord Bathurst (Secretary of State for the Colonies and War) provided evidence of this; he wrote that “slaves by habit & education...their idea of freedom is idleness and they are therefore quite incapable of industry”.³⁷³ Seven correspondence letters with Bathurst while Dalhousie were analysed by the ‘Scholarly Panel to Examine Lord Dalhousie’s History on Slavery and Race’ and it concluded:

“The letters Dalhousie wrote to Bathurst paint a picture of a man whose biases and personal prejudices stood in the way of making just decisions in regards to the Black Refugees of the War of 1812...The desire to send Black people “back” to their true home in the tropics and to significantly reduce their rations formed important planks of Dalhousie’s policy toward the Black Refugees, a policy based on paternalism, frustration, hostility, and racism”.³⁷⁴

Martinique

Dalhousie was also intertwined with slavery as an officer of the British forces who occupied Martinique in 1794. Following victory of the British forces over the Revolutionary government in Martinique, some enslaved people who were freed under the previous government, along with all of the enslaved people on the island, “were ordered to return to their masters”. As an officer at the time, he helped deprive enslaved people of their freedom, an experience which is said to have enforced his racialised perceptions. As the ‘Report on Lord Dalhousie’s History on Slavery and Race’ highlights, “this experience of conquest and re-enslavement helped influence his subsequent views and perceptions about African peoples”.³⁷⁵

1st Marquess of Dalhousie (1812 -1860)

The son of Dalhousie, James Andrew Broun-Ramsay, 1st Marquess of Dalhousie (1812 -1860), is also representative of another member of the Ramsay family with links to colonialism. He was Governor-General of India from 1848-1856 and thereby played an important part in the sustenance of the British colonial administration and the subjugation of the people of India.

Sir Gilbert Heathcote, 1st Baronet (1652 -1733)

Another noteworthy link between Simon Ramsay and slavery is demonstrable in the maternal branch of his family tree. His mother, Lady Mary Adelaide Heathcote-Drummond was the daughter of Gilbert Heathcote-Drummond-Willoughby, 1st Earl of Ancaster. He was a direct descendant of Sir Gilbert Heathcote, 1st Baronet (1652 -1733), a “London merchant and colonial trader with significant involvement in early trade with Jamaica”.³⁷⁶ A former

https://cdn.dal.ca/content/dam/dalhousie/pdf/dept/ldp/Lord%20Dal%20Panel%20Final%20Report_web.pdf, accessed 6 April 2022.

³⁷³ Dalhousie University, ‘Report’, p. 10.

³⁷⁴ Dalhousie University, ‘Report’, pp. 56, 58.

³⁷⁵ Dalhousie University, ‘Report’, pp. 10-11.

³⁷⁶ ‘Sir Gilbert Heathcote’, Legacies of British Slavery database, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146652093>, accessed 7th April 2022; The Peerage, ‘Sir Gilbert Heathcote, 1st Bt’, <https://www.thepeerage.com/p16088.htm#i160879>, accessed 18 March 2022; The Peerage, ‘Gilbert Henry Heathcote-

Governor of the Bank of England and Lord Mayor of London, “Heathcote was active in colonial trade from the 1680s until his death in 1733”.³⁷⁷ He was involved with Atlantic trade, most importantly with Jamaica along with his three brothers.³⁷⁸ As Madge Dresser and Andrew Hann elucidate:

“By the 1690s, Heathcote was London’s leading importer from Jamaica and was also heavily involved in both the private slave trade and the very profitable business of re-exporting slaves to the Spanish colonies (known as the Asiento trade)”.³⁷⁹

He imported goods such as sugar, ginger and indigo from the island worth about £8000 (RPW: £1,240,000) in 1695. Heathcote was also directly involved in the slave trade having financed the vessel *Eagle* on a journey to Guinea and Jamaica in the same year.³⁸⁰ His exploitation of commercial trading networks within the Atlantic slavery economy vastly increased his wealth, which at the time of his death was said to be £750,000 (RPW: £127,000,000).³⁸¹ Heathcote is representative of a colonial merchant who, through their slavery derived wealth, was able to ascend to the local gentry. A feature which persisted across generations. By the 1890s, the family, now named Heathcote-Drummond-Willoughby, owned numerous seats of British aristocracy as well as country houses.³⁸² Dresser and Hann conclude that merchants such as Heathcote “showed an almost universal desire to use their wealth to secure the leisure and power of future generations”.³⁸³ This is an interesting revelation given his relation to the 16th Earl of Dalhousie.

Preliminary research, therefore, shows that the 16th Earl of Dalhousie and former Chancellor of the University of Dundee had direct as well as indirect links with slavery and colonialism through both the maternal and paternal sides of his family.

Drummond-Willoughby, 1st Earl of Ancaster’, <https://www.thepeerage.com/p2625.htm#i26244> accessed 18 March 2022; The Peerage, ‘Lady Mary Adelaide Heathcote-Drummond’, <https://www.thepeerage.com/p1133.htm#i11326>, accessed 18 March 2022.

³⁷⁷ Madge Dresser and Andrew Hann (eds.), ‘Slavery and the British Country House’, p. 71, <https://historicensland.org.uk/images-books/publications/slavery-and-british-country-house/slavery-british-country-house-web/> accessed 7th April 2022.

³⁷⁸ Dresser and Hann, ‘Slavery and the British Country House’, p. 73; ‘Sir Gilbert Heathcote’, *LBS*; ‘Josiah Heathcote’, Legacies of British Slavery database, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146648541>, accessed 8th April 2022; ‘George Heathcote’, Legacies of British Slavery database, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146648543>, accessed 8th April 2022.

³⁷⁹ Dresser and Hann, ‘Slavery and the British Country House’, p. 74.

³⁸⁰ Dresser and Hann, ‘Slavery and the British Country House’, p. 151. See TNA, HCA 13/82, ‘Deposition of Henry Mees’.

³⁸¹ *Gentleman’s Magazine III*, January 1733, p. 47; Dresser and Hann, ‘Slavery and the British Country House’, pp. 72, 74.

³⁸² Dresser and Hann, ‘Slavery and the British Country House’, p. 76; Isabella Priest, ‘Kenwood: A home built on slavery?’, <https://www.architectsjournal.co.uk/news/kenwood-a-home-built-on-slavery>, accessed 8 April 2022.

³⁸³ Dresser and Hann, ‘Slavery and the British Country House’, p. 77.

NEXT STEPS

The University of Dundee through various donors and the important founding donation of Mary Ann Baxter have become indelibly linked with slavery and the empire. In sifting through the financial records and historical past of these prominent individuals, it must, however, be remembered that at the core of this research is the enslaved people and those were subjected to exploitative labour systems such as indentureship and bonded labour for the sake of profits. Further research to pinpoint the plantations where Baxter Brothers & Co sold their goods and to trace the enslaved Africans whose bodies literally laid the foundation for the firm's wealth, is necessary in threading a path to reparative justice. This study would also benefit from further investigation on the university's built environment, the donors' connections with the jute industry and their views on slavery.

Given the short time frame of this project, public engagement was not possible. However, consultations with the African Caribbean Society (ACS) at the University of Dundee was held in which possible next steps were discussed in light of the report findings. The following excerpt, submitted by Ibitomilayo Komolafe, Vice President of the ACS, offers a preview of what students of African and African Caribbean ancestry expect from the University of Dundee in terms of addressing its links with slavery:

“In light of this finding, we expect/propose that the university starts to find ways to encourage and support black excellence. Especially local black excellence.

The university could start by:

- Providing grants to support local black/ethnic minority businesses.
- Partnering with local black/ethnic minority businesses.
- Decolonising the curriculum”.

Executive Committee, ACS

This report is illustrative of a starting point in the University of Dundee recognising and acknowledging that some of the wealth that helped build the institution to what it is today, came at the expense of the enslaved who forcibly toiled in plantations in the US, Latin America and the Caribbean. In the spirit of solidarity and remembrance, the university must make an effort to; further develop and expand on the University of Dundee Founders Project, work towards decolonising the curriculum, consult with people of colour in the local community and wider UK and liaise with experts in the field of reparative justice and memorialisation. It is hoped that this research project and report is not simply a tick-in-the-box endeavour but is representative of a wider commitment by the university to acknowledge its imperial legacy.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Archival Research

1. This study would benefit from further archival research on the following themes:
 - i. Firms and commission agents listed in the Baxter Brothers & Co.
 - ii. Later partners in Baxter Brothers & Co; Peter Carmichael and William Ogilvie Dalgleish and possible links with slavery and the empire.
 - iii. John Boyd Baxter and other connections with Atlantic slavery and the empire.
 - iv. Further in-depth research on whether David, Henry, Edward and William Baxter were enslavers.
 - v. Exploration of wider networks involving marriage and links with slavery; David Baxter and Edward Baxter.
 - vi. Baxter Brothers & Co's export networks and commission agents in the US and Brazil.
 - vii. Provenance of later bequests and donations to the University of Dundee and affiliate institutions.
 - viii. The university's complex connections with the jute trade and the empire
 - ix. Tracing the enslaved people associated with the plantations in the US and Brazil that used the osnaburgs and other goods of Baxter Brothers & Co.

Built Environment Research

2. Conduct further investigation of the University of Dundee and affiliate institutions' street names, plaques, halls, libraries and other buildings with possible links to slavery and the empire.
3. Explore other facets of the built environment and where slavery derived wealth went in Dundee including, but not limited to: other donations to the university, bequests to cultural institutions in the city, other establishments that benefitted from their donations.

Public Engagement

4. In light of indirect connections of the University of Dundee with transatlantic slavery and colonialism, consult with the African-Caribbean and Asian communities in Dundee and surrounding areas to discuss possible reparative options
5. Given the city's thriving museums and cultural institutions, many of which have already taken steps to decolonise their material, collaborate with Dundee's heritage sector to develop appropriate reparative justice goals.

6. As a result of overlapping areas of research, form a liaison network with the University of St Andrews, Aberdeen University, Edinburgh University and other relevant institutions to enhance knowledge transfer and exchange of information on this topic.
7. In the interest of co-production and promoting public ‘ownership’ of these histories, conduct a wide range of consultations and public engagement activities with relevant stakeholders to assess what type of reparative actions might be taken.

Time & Resources

8. Dedicate a minimum of 3 months’ time and resources for sufficient consultation and public engagement activities outlined in recommendations 4-7 above. An additional 3 months’ time and resources should be dedicated to such activities, following the output of future potential works.
9. For archival and built environment research, dedicate a minimum of 6 months’ full time and resources for steps 1-3 outlined above. Time and resources should also be allocated for public engagement activities to run alongside this archival and built environment research, especially with student groups of African, African Caribbean and Asian ancestry.

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APPENDIX

Case Studies on Foreign Agents Listed in Inventory of John Baxter, 1834

The following case studies shed light on the commission agents network of Turnbull & Co and by extension Baxter Brother's & Co and the Baxter family who held shares in the firm. See above section on the Baxters & Turnbull & Co. for further context.

“Morris Hamilton & Co., Jamaica”

This firm consisted of John Ball Morris, Robert Hamilton and William Douglas who were all enslavers in Jamaica. They received compensation in the amount of £30 5s 5d (RPW: £2,910) in 1836 as co-owners of one enslaved person in Kingston, Jamaica. This compensation was sought “as partners of Morris Hamilton”.³⁸⁴ Both Morris and Hamilton also received compensation for other enslaved persons in Jamaica. Morris, a slave owning West India merchant, received £97 14s 3d (RPW: £9,400) in 1836 for five enslaved persons in Kingston, Jamaica in 1836.³⁸⁵ He was also owner of Urban, Kingston estate from 1817 to 1834.³⁸⁶ Mowbray Morris, manager of the *Times* from 1847-73, was his son.³⁸⁷

Robert Hamilton was also connected to multiple estates in Jamaica. In 1835, Robert Hamilton received “1/4 share” of the total compensation of £6230 5s 8d (RPW: £627,000) for 286 enslaved persons on Dunkley's estate in Vere.³⁸⁸ Hamilton was also attorney of Colbeck's Estate (Jamaica, St Dorothy) and Platfield Plantation (Jamaica, St Mary) as well as joint owner from 1817 to 1820, of Stratton Hall (Jamaica, St Thomas-in-the-East, Surrey).³⁸⁹ Hamilton was partner in Hamilton, Scott & Co. (later Bogles & Co.) with Michael Scott, Andrew Bogle and James Franklin. Hamilton's uncle, Bogle, was associated with 17 estates while Scott, who also had interests in Macaraybo Colombia as a “South American merchant”, was associated with five estates in Jamaica.³⁹⁰

Information on the enslaved people connected to slaveowners and agents of Turnbull & Co., Morris and Hamilton, is intrinsic to maintaining the focus of this project on the enslaved people and their descendants. Preliminary research has revealed some specifics in regard to identifying the enslaved people who worked on Morris and Hamilton's estate. For example, on 17 September 1817 an enslaved woman, Rachel Aikenhead, is recorded as having been manumitted by John Ball Morris for £10 (RPW: £749).³⁹¹ In 1820, Morris owned 17 enslaved people, 11 female and 6 male as owner of Urban estate from 1817-1834.³⁹² Hamilton was also

³⁸⁴ “Jamaica Kingston 1828”, *Legacies of British Slavery database*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/15808>, accessed 11 Dec. 2021.

³⁸⁵ “Jamaica Kingston 2102”, *LBS*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/17356>, accessed 11 Dec. 2021.

³⁸⁶ “Jamaica Kingston 1828”, *LBS*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/15808>, accessed 11 Dec. 2021.

³⁸⁷ Catherine Hall, et al. *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership: Colonial Slavery and the Formation of Victorian Britain*, Cambridge University Press, 2014, p. 39.

³⁸⁸ “Jamaica Vere 69A B C & D (Dunkly Estate)”, *LBS*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/22647>, accessed 09 Dec. 2021.

³⁸⁹ “Robert Hamilton”, *LBS*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/46362>, accessed 05 December 2021.

³⁹⁰ “Michael Scott of 'Tom Cringle's Log' ”, *LBS*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146651295> accessed 11 Dec. 2021; “Andrew Bogle”, *LBS*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146632308>, accessed 14 Dec. 2021;

“Robert Hamilton”, *LBS*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/46362>, accessed 14 Dec. 2021.

³⁹¹ *Parliamentary Papers: 1780-1849*, United Kingdom, H.M. Stationery Office, 1826, p. 407.

³⁹² “Urban (Kingston) [Jamaica | Kingston]”, *LBS*, <http://www.depts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/21373>, accessed 11 Dec. 2021.

associated to this estate as the “previous owner” of some of the enslaved people on Urban estate.³⁹³ Hamilton along with partners in his firm Hamilton, Scott & Co. also sold enslaved people to the Barrack’s Pen estate (Jamaica, St Thomas-in-the-East, Surrey) and Byndloss estate (Jamaica, St Thomas-in-the-Vale).³⁹⁴ Overall, Morris, Hamilton and their associates were linked to over 18 estates in Jamaica with approximately 722 enslaved persons toiling on these plantations.³⁹⁵ Further research along these lines may reveal more information on the enslaved population who laboured on Morris, Hamilton & Co’s estates and their descendants.

As Morris, Hamilton & Co. are listed as agents of Turnbull & Co., it is highly likely that the company’s goods were being used to clothe the enslaved populations on the estates connected to John Ball Morris, Robert Hamilton and William Douglas. The outstanding remittance of £338 7s 10d (RPW: £32,800)³⁹⁶ depicted in the inventory list would have therefore been money derived from slavery and West India interests. Further research on this firm and its dealings in Jamaica may reveal wider links with Turnbull & Co., Baxter Brothers and Dundee’s linen trade.

“Miller, Ferguson and Stewart, Jamaica”

This firm, depicted in *Gazette* records as Miller, Ferguson, and Stuart, consisted of merchants Robert Ferguson, John Miller (and later John Miller Jr.) and John Stuart. Until 1829, they conducted business in Kingston, Jamaica under the name Miller, Ferguson and Company and in Glasgow as John Miller and Company. By 1838, when the partnership was dissolved, the firm was known as Miller, Ferguson, and Stuart in Kingston, Jamaica and Robert Ferguson and Company in Glasgow.³⁹⁷

John Miller, Robert Ferguson and John Stuart were all enslavers and in 1836 were granted £90 16s 4d (RPW: £8,740) in compensation for three enslaved persons in Jamaica, Kingston.³⁹⁸ John Miller was also granted compensation in the amount of £331 0s 8d (RPW: £33,300) for 19 enslaved persons on Stavley Park estate in 1835, as executor of the estate. In 1815, the number of enslaved people at this estate totaled 51, but by 1832, there were 17 enslaved persons on the estate.³⁹⁹ John Miller was also likely connected to other plantations as the son-in-law of Henry McCook, a planter in Jamaica. A Henry McCook was recorded as the owner of 61 enslaved persons in St Ann, Jamaica in 1792.⁴⁰⁰

³⁹³ “Urban (Kingston)”, *LBS*, <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/20679>, accessed 11 Dec. 2021.

³⁹⁴ “Barrack's Pen [Jamaica | St Thomas-in-the-East, Surrey]”, *LBS*, <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/1508>, accessed 11 Dec. 2021; “Byndloss [Jamaica | St Thomas-in-the-Vale]”, *LBS*, <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/2671>, accessed 11 Dec. 2021.

³⁹⁵ “Stratton Hall [Jamaica | St Thomas-in-the-East, Surrey]”, *LBS*, <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/19803>, accessed 11 Dec. 2021; “Barrack's Pen”, *LBS*, <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/1508>, accessed 11 Dec. 2021; “Byndloss”, *LBS*, <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/2671>, accessed 11 Dec. 2021; “Colbeck's Estate [Jamaica | St Dorothy]”, *LBS*, <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/2444> [accessed 11th December 2021]; “Platfield Plantation [Jamaica | St Mary]”, *LBS*, <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/2669>, accessed 11 Dec. 2021; “Hugh Bogle”, *LBS*, <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/1519853792>, accessed 11 Dec. 2021; “George Bogle”, *LBS*, <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146633005>, accessed 11 Dec.2021.

³⁹⁶ MS 11/5/43, “Photocopy of inventory of the personal estate of John Baxter”, University of Dundee Archive Services.

³⁹⁷ *The Edinburgh Gazette*, 3 April 1829, p. 95; *The London Gazette*, 22 June 1838, p. 1425.

³⁹⁸ “Jamaica Kingston 1805”, *LBS*, <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/17127>, accessed 12 Dec. 2021.

³⁹⁹ “Stavely Park [Jamaica | Port Royal]”, *LBS*, <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/2975>, accessed 12 Dec. 2021.

⁴⁰⁰ “Henry McCook”, *LBS*, <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146658643>, accessed 12 Dec. 2021.

In 1837, John Miller and his wife headed the lists of slave-owning investments in the Glasgow, Paisley, Kilmarnock and Ayr Railway Company in which “some 10 per cent of the total of £452,900 raised can be attributed to slave-owners”.⁴⁰¹

Miller, Ferguson & Stewart are cited twice in John Baxter’s inventory with two sums; £892 12s 4d (RPW: £86,600) and £28 2s 10d (RPW: £2,730) representing outstanding proceeds for goods sold by the firm for Turnbull & Co. in Jamaica.⁴⁰² It is likely that these goods would have been connected to Miller’s Stavley Park estate, plantations associated with his father-in-law and the enslaved people that Miller, Ferguson and Stewart co-owned in Kingston, Jamaica.

Lawrence Gibson & Co., Jamaica

Lawrence Gibson was a West India merchant and commission agent who was awarded compensation amounting to £1009 12s 11d (RPW: £102,000) for “10 claims in Kingston, Manchester, St Andrew and St Elizabeth” in Jamaica.⁴⁰³ Gibson also operated as a merchant and commission agent with his partner Peter Sinclair, under the firm Sinclair and Gibson in Glasgow and Gibson and Sinclair in Kingston, Jamaica until its dissolution in 1829.⁴⁰⁴ Lawrence Gibson & Co. was listed twice on the inventory with the amounts £89 5s 5d (RPW: £8,660) and £360 9s 9d (RPW: £35,000)⁴⁰⁵ not yet remitted to Turnbull & Co. As Gibson was associated with estates in various parishes in Jamaica, it is likely that in his capacity as commission agent for Turnbull & Co., his firm sold their goods to these plantations.

“Alexander Glen & Co., Demerara”

Alexander Glen and James Glen were partners in the “local merchant firm in British Guiana” Alexander Glen & Co.⁴⁰⁶ The firm successfully claimed £417 18s (RPW: £42,100) in compensation for eight enslaved persons in 1835 and were registered as co-owners of five estates in Demerara, British Guiana; Eccles, Profit, Henry, Haagsbosch and Greenfield.⁴⁰⁷ Additionally, they both individually received substantial compensation for enslaved people in British Guiana. Alexander Glen received £1167 16s 9d (RPW: £118,000) for 20 enslaved people in 1835 while James Glen along with another claimant, George Robertson, received £7784 19s 9d (RPW: £749,000) for 145 enslaved on Hoop en Vrees estate in 1836.⁴⁰⁸ James Glen was sole executor of Alexander Glen and was either his brother or father.⁴⁰⁹ James Glen was the son of Alexander Glen (b. 1748) and “carried on an extensive business as a West India merchant”.⁴¹⁰ He had six sons, two of whom were James and Alexander Glen, cited as “planters

⁴⁰¹ Nicholas Draper, “Helping to make Britain great: the commercial legacies of slave-ownership in Britain” <https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/legacies-of-british-slaveownership/helping-to-make-britain-great/DD5B983DBBEDD4983933A0DFBE751A97>, accessed 12 Dec. 2021.

⁴⁰² MS 11/5/43, “Photocopy of inventory of the personal estate of John Baxter”, University of Dundee Archive Services.

⁴⁰³ “Lawrence Gibson”, *LBS*, <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/11884>, accessed 16 Dec. 2021.

⁴⁰⁴ *The London Gazette*, 1 September 1829, p. 1641.

⁴⁰⁵ MS 11/5/43, “Photocopy of inventory of the personal estate of John Baxter”, University of Dundee Archive Services.

⁴⁰⁶ Alexander Glen & Co., <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/firm/view/2144929113>, accessed 16 Dec. 2021; *The London Gazette*, 3 July 1846, pp. 2476-7.

⁴⁰⁷ “Alexander Glen”, *LBS*, <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/7328>, accessed 14 Dec. 2021; “British Guiana 842”, *LBS*, <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/6267>, accessed 14 Dec. 2021; “James Glen”, *LBS*, <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/41847>, accessed 14 Dec. 2021; *Accounts and Papers*, United Kingdom, n.p., 1838, p. 211.

⁴⁰⁸ “British Guiana 1276”, *LBS*, <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/7280>, accessed 14 Dec. 2021; “British Guiana 2420 (Hoop en Vrees)”, *LBS*, <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/6858>, accessed 14 Dec. 2021.

⁴⁰⁹ “Alexander Glen”, *LBS*; Rev. Charles Rogers, *Memorials of the Scottish Family of Glen*, n.p., p. 10.

⁴¹⁰ Rev. Charles Rogers, *Memorials of the Scottish Family of Glen*, n.p., p. 9.

in Demerara". Two of Alexander's other sons, Robert and Archibald were also involve in West India trade, with the former dying in Trinidad and the latter engaging in business in the West Indies and then Liverpool. Alexander and James also had a brother, William Glen who lived in the West Indies for some time before returning to Glasgow.⁴¹¹

The number of enslaved people on Hoop en Vrees in 1817 was 193 rising to 216 in 1826. By 1832, the enslaved population on the estate was 146; 84 female and 62 male.⁴¹² As one of the curators for the owner of the estate Owen Kernan who was deceased by 1832 and a successful claimant of the estate, it is highly likely that the goods of Turnbull & Co. would have been to clothe the hundreds of enslaved people on the Hoop en Vrees plantation as well as the eight enslaved persons, co-owned by Alexander Glen & Co. and the five estates co-owned by Alexander & Co. in British Guiana; Eccles, Profit, Henry, Haagsbosch and Greenfield. The outstanding remittance from Alexander Glen & Co. for the sale of Turnbull & Co's consigned goods in Demerara amounted to £346 7s 3d (RPW: £33,600).⁴¹³

Johnston Carmichael & Co., Honduras

Andrew Galbraith, his brother Archibald Galbraith and cousin Alexander Johnston formed a mercantile house in Havana and Honduras under the firm Johnston, Galbraith & Co.⁴¹⁴ A *Gazette* 1833 notice shows the firm Johnston, Carmichael & Co. as operating in Belize and Honduras with partners John Carmichael and partners of firm Johnston, Galbraith & Co.⁴¹⁵ Apart from their mercantile operations in slave societies, Johnston was otherwise linked to slavery through marriage. He married the daughter of John Ronald who was associated with six claims in British Guiana and Trinidad and granted compensation (along with others) in the sum of £28049 4s (RPW: £2,700,000) for 440 enslaved persons.⁴¹⁶

A John Carmichael shipped goods to Belize and Honduras on the H.M. in 1856.⁴¹⁷ In 1836, John Carmichael described as a "merchant, Belize, Honduras" married Sarah Anne, daughter of John Hutchinson who was a merchant in Trinidad.⁴¹⁸

The outstanding amount for goods of Turnbull & Co. sold by Johnston Carmichael & Co in Honduras was £945 3d (RPW: £91,700) and £31 4s 10d (RPW: £3,030).⁴¹⁹

Turnbull & Co was heavily invested in the transatlantic slave economy, having sold its goods to enslavers in the West Indies. This inventory list increases the possibility of tracing the

⁴¹¹ Rev. Charles Rogers, *Memorials of the Scottish Family of Glen*, n.p., p. 10; Bob Glen, *History of the Scottish Family Glen*, 1995, p. 9.

⁴¹² "British Guiana 2420 (Hoop en Vrees)", *LBS*, <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/6858>.

⁴¹³ MS 11/5/43, "Photocopy of inventory of the personal estate of John Baxter", University of Dundee Archive Services.

⁴¹⁴ *Biographical Sketches of the Hon. the Lord Provosts of Glasgow: With Appendix*, United Kingdom, J. Tweed, 1883, p. 191.

⁴¹⁵ *The London Gazette*, United Kingdom, T. Neuman, 1833, p. 1703.

⁴¹⁶ "British Guiana 2362", *LBS*, <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/7543>, accessed 10 Dec. 2021; "British Guiana 2536A-C", *LBS*, <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/9413>, accessed 14 Dec. 2021; "Trinidad 1754 (Palmira Estate)", *LBS*, <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/28718>, accessed 11 Dec. 2021; "Trinidad 1924 (Otaheit)", *LBS*, <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/28101>, accessed 14 Dec. 2021; "Trinidad 1662A & B (Sevilla Estate)", *LBS*, <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/28642>, accessed 14 Dec. 2021; "Trinidad 1802A-F", *LBS*, <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/28810>, accessed 14 Dec. 2021.

⁴¹⁷ *The General Weekly Shipping List and Postal and Mercantile Directory*, United Kingdom, J. Haddon and Son, 1853, p. 22.

⁴¹⁸ *Aberdeen Journal, and General Advertiser*, 28 Sep 1836.

⁴¹⁹ MS 11/5/43, "Photocopy of inventory of the personal estate of John Baxter", University of Dundee Archive Services.

plantations and the enslaved people associated with the firm's goods. It also underscores yet another link between David and William Baxter's fortune and transatlantic slavery.

See above case studies on the Baxters for further information on their links with transatlantic slavery.