

Report – Research Project Looking into the Legacies of Slavery and Coerced Labour at Gonville & Caius College

Executive Summary:

This report lays out a summary of some preliminary research undertaken in the College archives by a Gonville & Caius undergraduate history student over five days in the summer of 2019. This initial research did find little evidence showing that undergraduate alumni or fellows were connected directly to slavery or that donations had been made to the College by people with connections to slavery or coerced labour. However, the College has subsequently employed a postdoctoral researcher to investigate further any other connections, and the results of that continuing investigation have yet to be published.

Key Details:

The initial brief for this project was ‘to use the Caius archives as well as primary and secondary materials to begin preliminary research for the College’s project looking into the legacies of slavery and coerced labour’. After an initial meeting, the week of the 22nd of July 2019 was selected for this research to take place.

Aims:

In order to preliminarily look into the *legacies* of slavery and coerced labour at Caius, there seemed to be two primary goals for this project to achieve.

1. To see whether undergraduate alumni or fellows at the college were connected to slavery or coerced labour during its peak in the 17th to mid-19th centuries.
2. To see whether donations made to the college (often by undergraduate alumni or fellows, of course) had been made by people who had connections to slavery or coerced labour.

Methodology:

In trying to ascertain the legacies of slavery and coerced labour at Caius, one has several methodologies at one’s disposal. These shall be detailed below.

Using the UCL Legacies of British Slave-Ownership Database

The UCL LBS Database includes the records of the Slavery Compensation Commission (and thus shows “every slave-owner in the British Caribbean, Mauritius, or the Cape at the moment of abolition in 1833”). It also includes details of some of the estates in the British

Caribbean between 1763 and 1833, as well as “all the slave-owners, attorneys, mortgages and legatees” who were on or involved with those estates; this element is not fully complete, and only covers the estates/people which could be “identified” by the UCL team but remains broadly useful.

Though it may seem counter-intuitive to look into British slave-ownership through a commission set up for the moment of abolition (rather than the preceding centuries when slave-trading was thriving and plantations being established and exploited), the SCC remains the most effective and concrete way of researching this topic. Nicholas Draper establishes why this is the case in his 2010 work – ‘The Price of Emancipation: Slave Ownership, Compensation and British Society at the End of Slavery’.

According to Draper, the Slavery Compensation Commission (a commission set up in 1833 to compensate British slave-owners for their ‘loss of property’ when abolition occurred, which ended up paying out a total of around £20,000,000) greatly increased the visibility of British slaveowners. Indeed, in prior years, societal disdain had led many British slave-owners to disguise their involvement in slavery and coerced labour, by rerouting money gained by slavery-affiliated practices into more socially acceptable ventures. However, when there was *monetary* reward for displaying the fullest extent of one’s slave-ownership, there was a very visible “feeding frenzy” (p.4) of slave-owners. The SCC thereby has a broadly full record of British slave-ownership, organised by colony (and in Jamaica, by parish), and detailing a unique claim number, a name, a number of slaves owned, and an amount of compensation rewarded for every slave-owner at the time.

Individuals on the UCL LBS Database are thereby people who *definitively* had some connection to slavery or coerced labour.

By searching for links to Caius on this database, one can compile a list of Caians who were affiliated with slavery and coerced labour.

Using Donor and Benefactor Records in The Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College (Compiled by John Venn)

Venn’s ‘Biographical History’ of Caius contains lists of donations (of fellowships, scholarships, exhibitions, prizes and speeches) and benefactions (of buildings, money, land, patronage and miscellaneous nature) from the 17th to the mid-19th centuries. It also contains biographical entries for every Caian who attended the college in the period, which can be used in tandem with the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, other biographical dictionaries and other sources to establish the details of the lives of said Caians.

One can use these two features together to see if any of the donors or benefactors of the college, in the period when slave-ownership and industry using coerced labour was thriving, made their money from slavery or coerced labour.

Using Bursars’ Accounts and Records

Over the period in question, Bursars' of Gonville & Caius kept incredibly detailed accounts of money going in and out of the college. The books are tricky to go through due to their length, detail and calligraphy (indeed, the accounts merely for Michaelmas of 1837 take up 22, detailed, larger-than-A4 pages, written in a confusing 19th-century scrawl) which makes going through them systematically for two-and-a-half centuries of data unfeasible in such a short time. Instead, it seems² most practical to use Bursars' Books primarily in tandem with the UCL Database hits. If one looks at the accounts for the immediate years' after the deaths of the Caiian individuals in the UCL LBS Database, one can see whether there was any financial relationship between them and the college. The reason for looking into years after these individuals' deaths is that donations were vastly more common in wills than anything else, in the period.

Other Methods

Though the above three methods are the ones which were thought to be the most likely to yield interesting, relevant and useful results from this research, there are others which could have been utilised.

Of these, the most important is cross-referencing the list of foreign-born and/or foreign- educated Caiians against other sources. In the past, another researcher compiled a list of every foreign-born or foreign-educated person ever to attend Gonville and Caius College. This list includes people from Barbados, Bermuda, the British Virgin Islands, Dominica, the East Indies (unspecified), Grenada, Guyana (including British Guiana & Dutch Guiana), Jamaica, Mauritius, Montserrat, St Kitts and Nevis, St Thomas (Dutch West Indies), St Vincent and the Grenadines, 'At Sea', and Trinidad and Tobago; it can be supposed that these people are more likely to have connections to slavery or coerced labour in the period, than the average Caiian. Though it could be useful, this aspect of the research was jettisoned for time; the number of people on the database, the fact that cross-referencing these people with other biographical sources would be more time-consuming than the week-long limit would allow, and the fact that the other methods seemed stronger, all contributed to this.

As well as this, there were more specific methods to be pursued, such as looking into individual people (like Lord Chancellor Thurlow) and using Bursars' Day Books and Books of Leases and Wills. These methods were much quicker to conduct, and therefore have been pursued in brief.

Results from these methods:

The results returned from employing these methods shall be detailed below; there are 'intermediate summaries' at the end of each section, commenting on the findings.

Results from using the UCL LBS Database

A search of 'Caius' in the 'Education' category of the database, with all other fields left blank, returns six results.

1. Reverend Robert Allwood (1803-1891), 1 Claim, £10,543 12S received. (Entry in Venn's Biographical History – Volume 2, Page 180)
2. Reverend Jarrett Dashwood (????-1859), 1 Claim, £3,119 10S received. (Entry in Venn's Biographical History – Volume 2, Page 120)
3. Dottin Maycock (1816-1879), 1 Claim, £64 1S 8D received. (Entry in Venn's Biographical History – Volume 2, Page 230.)
4. Reverend Charles Paul (1802-1861), 1 Claim, £3,480 16S 2D received. (Entry in Venn's Biographical History – Volume 2, Page 185.)
5. Reverend James Willins (1768-1851), 1 Claim, £3,119 10S 10D received. (Entry in Venn's Biographical History – Volume 2, Page 109)
6. George Webbe Parson (????-1850), 3 Claims, (£2,451 10S 9D) + (£2,214 13S 10D) + (£2,185 1S 7D). (Entry in Venn's Biographical History – Volume 2, Page 146)

A search of 'Caius' in the 'Notes Search' category of the database, with all other fields left blank, returns 15 Individuals [43 Records]. 5 of these are repeats (Dottin Maycock does not appear in the Notes Section).

The remaining individuals are detailed below, with their relations to Gonville and Caius College.

1. Mary Cerjat then Postle (née Woodley) – Married A Former Caius Fellow
2. Mrs William Ann Chenery – Sent Her Son to Caius
3. Henry Distin – Sent His Son to Caius
4. Richard Godson – Studied at Caius
5. Robert Gwilt – Studied at Caius
6. William Henery – Sent His Son to Caius
7. Hon. John Mais – Sent His Son to Caius
8. Ven. Archdeacon William Rowe – Studied at Caius
9. William Thomas Sharp – Sent His Son to Caius
10. Elizabeth Wade Vidal (nee Allwood) – Sent Her Two Sons to Caius

Sending a child to Caius does not seem a particularly strong link, and one doesn't want to blame the offspring for the sins of the parent; *these* results shall therefore be passed over for further research.

A search of 'Caius', 'Gonville and Caius', 'Trinity Street' and 'Gonville & Caius' in the 'Quick Address Search' category, yields no reliable results except Dottin Maycock, who was previously detailed in the 'Education' hits section.

A search of 'Cambridge' in the 'Quick Address Search' category, returns 38 hits. Eliminating those who lived in towns in Cambridgeshire, London streets with 'Cambridge' in their name and those who are documented as being resident at other colleges, leaves 3 individuals with ambiguous addresses.

1. William Ottley of St Kitts then Cambridge – Very likely to be William Young Ottley, writer and collector of art, son of plantation owner Robert Ottley.
2. Henry Francis Palmer – Brewer and wine merchant in Cambridge.
3. Jane Watson Roberts – Wife of James Watson Roberts, who studied medicine at Edinburgh University, before becoming a physician to the armed forces.

It seems that none of these people had any connection to Gonville and Caius.

A search of 'Caius' in the 'Sources' Category, returns three results. These are detailed with their relations to Caius, below.

1. Mark Dyer French – Sent his son, George French, to Caius.
2. Thomas Farquhar Hill – Sent his son, of the same name (b.1835), to Caius (matriculated 1855).
3. Elizabeth Wade Vidal (nee Allwood) – Sent her two sons, Francis Vidal and George Vidal, to Caius.

Again, sending a child to Caius does not seem a particularly strong link; these results shall therefore be passed over for further research.

All other potential categories (including 'Occupation' and 'Collected By') return no hits when 'Caius' (or relevant bastardisations thereof) is entered.

These results, extrapolated upon in further detail, shall be displayed in an Excel document entitled: 'Caians in the UCL Legacies of Slavery Database', which shall be sent alongside this report.

Intermediate Summary 1:

The UCL LBS Database shows that there were at least 10 Caians who were slave-owners or affiliated with slave-owners at the moment of abolition, and that these Caians profited from the compensation of the SCC.

However, as the accompanying spreadsheet shows, there were more people whose relation to slavery and coerced labour was indirect (as their fathers, or fathers-in-law had slaves, rather than them), than people whose relation was direct (as they were on plantations or were absentee slave owners). Furthermore, none of these individuals decided to maintain

contact with the college after completing their degrees; none became fellows, with most becoming clergymen or going into the professions.

It should be noted here that the sums gained by these Caians were larger than those generally paid out by the SCC. Draper suggests that 83% of claimants were rewarded with less than £500; by contrast the largest claim by a Caian was £10,543 12S 1D, with several others also reaching the thousands. This links in to the number of slaves-owned in some of these cases; the largest in the sample was 256 people, while smallest was 5.

There seems to be no geographic commonalities between the holdings in question, for the relevant claims; they are all from different Caribbean islands, but this is unsurprising since £16 million out of the £20 million which the SCC was working with, went to claims affiliated with the Caribbean.

Results from using the Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College (Compiled by John Venn), Volume I (1349-1713), Volume II (1713-1897) and Volume III (1349-1897)

The Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College Volume III details endowments (for fellowships, scholarships, exhibitions, prizes and speeches), and commemorates benefactors (to the buildings, advowsons, library and miscellaneous causes). Volumes I, II and III all have biographical entries for Caians, based on archival sources. Of course, these biographical entries are not fundamentally thorough, and must therefore be analysed further; where there are gaps in the books' accounts of peoples' lives, where people are said to have 'moved abroad' and when descriptions are ambiguous, I have tried to look further into them using other sources.

The section below shows each donor or benefactor (organised by category), details regarding their lives, and whether there is any visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from the source used.

Fellowship Donations Between 1600 and 1850 (approx.) – Dates Given as Time of Donation

Stephen Perse (1615); Caius Fellow, Deacon & Priest of Peterborough; No Visible Connection to Slavery or Coerced Labour from ODNB (Accessed 12:21, 22/07/2019).

Matthew Stokys (1635); Caius undergraduate, then junior fellow, senior fellow, dean of the college; No Visible Connection to Slavery or Coerced Labour from Venn's Biographical History (Vol 1, Page 124).

Bartholomew Wortley (1742); Significant donor (over £7000, contributing to the betterment of the architecture of Gonville court, studentships, exhibitions, and a commemoration feast), Caius Fellow. **Note:** Further research conducted after this interim report shows that Wortley owned South Sea Company stocks and annuities and that these were given to Caius College

after his death. Future reports into the legacies of enslavement at Caius will expand on these financial connections and their importance to the College's history.

Samuel Coleby Smith (1851); Caius Fellow, Deacon, Priest, Rector, Briefly Salarist & Cachetist; No Visible Connection to Slavery or Coerced Labour from Venn's Biographical History (Vol 2, Page 125).

Scholarship Donations Between 1600 and 1850 (approx.) – Dates Given as Time of Donation

Henry Hervey (1607); Master of Trinity Hall, Civil Lawyer; No Visible Connection to Slavery or Coerced Labour from the ODNB (Accessed 13:35, 22/07/2019).

Stephen Perse; As Above

Dr William Branthwaite (1619); Master of the College, Emmanuel College Fellow who was appointed to the position of Master of Caius by royal authority to prevent John Gostlin's election. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from John Venn's Biographical History (Vol I 196, 388, 474).

John Gostlin (1626); Master of the College. Gostlin came from a trading family in Norwich, but spent his own life in academia, as a renowned anatomist and Latinist. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from the ODNB (accessed 13:49, 22/07/2019).

Matthew Stokys (1634); As Above

John Cosin (1669); Bishop of Durham, Fellow, Master of Peterhouse College. Cosin came from a family engaged in the cloth trade in Norwich. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from the ODNB (accessed 13:51, 22/07/2019).

Owen Stockton (1679); Non-conformist minister, Caius Fellow, Leader of a Dissenting Congregation in Colchester. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from the ODNB (accessed 13:56, 22/07/2019).

John Mickleburgh (1756); Caius undergraduate, Corpus Fellow, Chemist. Significant donor of many books to the Caius library, as well as the establishment of a chemistry fellowship, and over £1000. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from Venn's Biographical History (Vol. I, 520).

Christopher Tancred (1754); Attended Caius and Christ's, Legal Scholar & Lawyer, Yorkshire JP, Royalist. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from the ODNB and the BL's Main Catalogue search.

John Sayer (1831); Senior Fellow, Barrister at Law, Magistrate. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from Venn's Biographical History.

Speeches, Exhibitions & Prize Donations Between 1600 and 1850 (approx.) – Dates Given as Time of Donation

John Thurston (1776); Caius Undergraduate, J.P. in Suffolk. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from John Venn's Biographical History (Vol 1, Page 177).

Bartholomew Wortley;
(As Above)

Christopher Tancred;
(As Above)

Samuel Fairclough (1690); Clergyman and ejected minister; fellow from 1650 to 1656 (after receiving his B.A. at Emmanuel College) when he left to take up a rectory in Bedfordshire. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from the ODNB (accessed 14:27, 22/07/2019).

Ralph Barker (1708); Caius Fellow, Lecturer, Preacher, Rector. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from Venn's Biographical History (Vol 1, Page 418).

William Peters (1708); N/A

Nicholas Parham (1713); Caius Undergraduate, Fellow, Greek & Hebrew Lecturer. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from Venn's Biographical History (Vol 1, Page 482).

Robert Moss (1729); Dean of Ely. Only gave to the college due to friendship with Dr Gooch. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from the ODNB (accessed 14:29, 22/07/2019).

Bartholomew Wortley; (See Above)

Dr Gooch (1754); Master of the College and Bishop of Ely, Preacher, Staunch Tory. Though we can't tell his *views*, there is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from the ODNB (accessed 14:33, 22/07/2019).

Richard F. Belward (1803); Caius Undergraduate, Fellow, President of Fellows, Master of the College, Vice-Chancellor of the University. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from Venn's Biographical History.

Dr Benedict Chapman (1849); Caius Undergraduate, Fellow, Bursar, Master. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from Venn's Biographical History.

Benefactors for the Buildings 1600-1850 (approx.) – Dates Given as Time of Benefaction

Please note that benefactions of small sums (less than £50) have been passed over for further study due to time constraints.

Sir W. Paston of Oxnead (1606); Prominent Norfolk Gentry. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from the ODNB (accessed 22/07/2019).

Dr Legge (1607); Playwright, Master of the College; Civil and Canon Lawyer. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from the ODNB (accessed 15:55, 22/07/2019).

Dr Stephen Perse (1615); As Above

John Symons (1637); Caius Undergraduate, Junior Fellow, Deacon, Priest, Lecturer in Rhetoric. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from Venn's Biographical History (Vol 1, Page 174).

John Lightwin (1716); Caius Undergraduate & Junior Fellow, Christs Senior Fellow, President of the College. Donated books to the library, and £500 for the restoration and beautification of the Chapel. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from Venn's Biographical History (Vol 1, Page 441)

Bartholomew Wortley (1749); As Above

Proprietors of the Building Fund (1839-52); Most significant donations to this fund by far were made by Dr Chapman (Master of the College) (see above) and Dr Edwin Guest (Caius Undergraduate, Fellow, Master of the College). There is no visible connection of either of them to slavery or coerced labour from Venn's Biographical History.

Benefactors & Augmenters of Advowsons (Patronage) 1600-1850 (approx.)
– Dates Given as Time of Benefaction

Gascoigne Canham (1667); Caius Undergraduate, Vicar in Arlington, Devon. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from Venn's Biographical History (Vol 1, Page 189).

Purchasers of Broadway, Dorset (1670-76); Edward Gelsthorpe (Caius Undergraduate, Proctor, Dean of the College, Honourable Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians), John Robinson (Caius Undergraduate, Fellow, Lecturer in Logic), William Blanks (Christs' Undergraduate & Junior Fellow, Caius Senior Fellow), John Ellys (Master of the College). There is no visible connection of any of these individuals to slavery or coerced labour.

Dr Brady (1700); Master of the College, Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, Critical Historian. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from the ODNB (accessed 16:26, 22/07/2019)

Stephen Camborne (1704); Caius Undergraduate, Deacon, Priest, Rector, Curate. Left £3,000 to Caius, which was used to purchase English land. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from Venn's Biographical History (Vol 1, Page 395).

John Gostlin (1705); As Above

Francis Jenney (1714); From A Merchant Family, Caius Undergraduate, Fellow, Lecturer in Logic, Rector of Denver. There is no visible

connection to slavery or coerced labour from Venn's Biographical History (Vol 1, Page 411).

Reverend John Russell (1731); Rector of Postwick. There is not a great deal of information available on Russell. What there is shows no visible connection of coerced labour from Venn's Biographical History.

Edward Brooke (1737); Rector of Woodchurch. There is not a great deal of information available on Edward Brooke. What there is shows no visible connection of coerced labour from Venn's Biographical History.

Bartholomew Wortley (1749); As Above

Miscellaneous Benefactors 1600-1850 (approx.) – Dates Given as Time of Benefaction

Please note that small benefactions, of basic items or of sums less than £50, have been passed over for further study due to time constraints.

Robert Welles (1632); Caius Undergraduate, Fellow, Bursar, Registrar. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from Venn's Biographical History.

Thomas Batchcroft (1663); Caius Undergraduate, Junior Fellow, Senior Fellow, Master of the College. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from Venn's Biographical History.

Francis Hobman (1669); Caius Undergraduate, Junior Fellow, Greek Lecturer, Senior Fellow, Rector. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from Venn's Biographical History.

William Blanks (1676); As Above

William Lyng (1680); Caius Sizar, Deacon, Lecturer, Fellow, Published a few well-read sermons. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from Venn's Biographical History.

Robert Brady (1700); As Above

James Halman (1703); Caius Sizar, Fellow, Lecturer in Ethics, Master. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from Venn's Biographical History.

Peter Parham (1723); Caius Undergraduate, Junior Fellow, Senior Fellow, Master, Dean, Rhetorical Praelector, Registrar, Bursar. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from Venn's Biographical History.

John Lightwin (1728); As Above

The Earl of Anglesey (1729); Venn's biographical history shows no detail of which Earl of Anglesey this was, or what their relation to Caius was. The ODNB shows no Earl of Anglesey who attended Caius or had any relation to it, nor any Earl of Anglesey who died in 1729. This result remains inconclusive.

Robert Sympson (1749); Caius Sizar, Junior Fellow, Senior Fellow, Hebrew Lecturer. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from Venn's Biographical History.

James Husband (1750); Caius Undergraduate, Junior Fellow, Senior Fellow, Greek Lecturer, President, Perse Fellow. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from Venn's Biographical History.

Sir Thomas Gooch (1754); As Above

John Thruston (1776); Fellow, Physician, Founder of the Thruston Speech. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from Venn's Biographical History.

T.P. Young (1778); Caius Sizar, Senior Fellow, Bursar, Deacon, Priest. Son of a Norfolk brewer. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from Venn's Biographical History.

John Berney (1782); Caius Undergraduate, Junior Fellow, Senior Fellow, Cachetist, Bursar, Priest. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from Venn's Biographical History.

Nathaniel Saltier (1791); Caius Undergraduate, Fellow, Praelector of Rhetoric. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from Venn's Biographical History

John Smith (1795); Caius Undergraduate, Junior Fellow, Dean, Bursar, Master, Curate. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from Venn's Biographical History

Richard F. Belward (1803); As Above

Margaret Bowers (1819); Sister of Richard F. Belward (As Above)

Martin Davy (1839); Caius Undergraduate, Physician, Master of the College. There is no visible connection to slavery or coerced labour from Venn's Biographical History.

Intermediate Summary 2:

Cross-referencing donor and benefaction records with biographical entries in Venn's Biographical History, the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography and other sources seems not to have turned out any individuals who were clearly involved with slavery or coerced labour. There were no donors who were detailed as making their money abroad (or specifically in the Caribbean), and the vast, vast majority of them were former fellows, masters, deans, bursars, registrars (etc.) of the college, who came to do their undergraduate degree at Caius and essentially never left. In retrospect, it does make sense that significant donations and benefactions to the college would come from people who devoted their lives to the institution, rather than people who completed their degrees and then left.

Though this exercise showed no people who were obviously affiliated with slavery and coerced labour, it remains possible that some donors and benefactors were. The scope of the week was not such that these

individuals' personal papers (which Caius admittedly doesn't tend to have in the archives) or family histories, could be checked.

Using Bursars' Records

Death Dates of the 10 Caius-Affiliated People in the UCL LBS Database – Operating under the Assumption that Donations would be most likely in Wills etc. upon these individuals' passing:

1. Reverend Robert Allwood – Died 27th October 1891
2. Reverend Jarrett Dashwood – Died 18th December 1859
3. Dottin Maycock – Died 14th December 1879 (Will Was Proved 1st March 1880)
4. Reverend Charles Paul – 11th April 1861 (“Leaving Nil Effects in England” – UCL LBS Database, National Probate Calendar)
5. Reverend James Willins – 16th February 1851 (Outlived by his wife, Charlotte Willins (nee Burton))
6. George Webbe Parson – 1850 (Will proved 20/01/1851)
7. Mary Cerjat then Postle (nee Woodley) – 1837
8. Richard Godson – 1849 (Will proved 11/12/1849)
9. Robert Gwilt – 1861
10. The Venerable Archdeacon William Rowe – 31 December 1885

Firstly, note that there is no overlap between the 10 Caians found in the UCL LBS SCC Database, and John Venn's lists of benefactors and donors.

Looking through the Bursars' Books for the years of 1837-8 for Mary Woodley/Cerjat/Postle or any variation thereof returns no results.

Looking through the Bursars' Books for the years of 1849-50 for Ricard Godson or any variation thereof returns no results.

Looking through the Bursars' Books for 1851 (when the will was proved) for George Webbe Parsons or any variations thereof returns no results.

Looking through the Bursars' Books for 1851 for Reverend James Willins or any variations thereof returns no results.

Looking through the Bursars' Books for 1859 for Jarrett Dashwood or any variations thereof returns no results.

Looking through the Bursars' Books for 1861-2 for Reverend Charles Paul or any variations thereof, or Robert Gwilt or any variations thereof returns no results.

Looking through the Bursars' Books for 1880-1 for Dottin Maycock or any variations thereof returns no results.

Looking through the Bursars' Books for 1885-6 for the Venerable Archdeacon William Rowe or any variations thereof returns no results.

Looking through the Bursars' Books for 1891-2 for Reverend Robert Allwood or any variations thereof returns no results.

Intermediate Summary 3:

Using the Bursars' Records to check whether any of the 10 confirmed slavery-affiliated Caians from the UCL LBS Database donated any small sum to Caius returned no hits. It appears that none of them left any sum of money, or material items, to Caius in their wills.

While conducting this part of the research, the earlier idea that fellows made up the bulk of donations was further confirmed; the books detail receipts from a great deal of people who served the college.

Miscellaneous Research

On top of these three major methods, there were smaller, less targeted ways of researching this topic, which were undertaken.

The primary miscellaneous methodology was looking into Bursars' Day Books and a book of Leases and Wills (both of which are slightly more detailed and qualitative than the Bursars' Books) to see if any information could be gleaned this way.

Unfortunately, trying to find information from the Bursars' Day Books was difficult due to their immense detail and nineteenth-century cursive scrawl; no relevant information was gleaned from this particular exercise, which was abandoned rather quickly. The books of Leases and Wills did not reveal anything either; when mentally cross-referencing the leases (generally of land in Cambridge) with the individuals mentioned in the other records, no results were returned.

As well as this, there was some research into particular individuals, most notably Edward Thurlow, an anti-abolitionist Lord Chancellor. Thurlow was admitted to Caius but was sent down from the university without completing his degree, as he disobeyed certain rules which the college and university had. There was never any record of Thurlow in donor or benefactor records (as one would expect from someone who was sent down). The extent to which one can call Thurlow a Caian is dubious, since he was kicked out.

Issues Encountered During Research

There were several issues which I encountered while doing this research, which should be noted by anyone who wishes to continue researching the topic.

The UCL LBS Database was generally very good, though its search function is not particularly intuitive. The database is organised such that one has to search for exact terms *and* bastardisations of said terms (one entry called the college 'Gaius' for example) in every category possible (Education, Occupation, Sources, Notes, Address, Town/City etc.). It remains, however, a richly detailed and useful resource.

Venn's Biographical History is also an excellent resource. However, some entries are far more detailed than others; brief ones come especially for people who don't become academics or clergymen. There are certain entries which cut out immediately after an individual leaves Caius (admittedly not many in this particular study, given the link between donation and fellowship), and cannot account for individuals' adult years.

Bursars' Books are probably the trickiest source to use. They are phenomenally thorough, detailing every receipt and disbursement down to the shilling, and use a nineteenth-century-typical calligraphy which is difficult for the modern eye to deduce without practice. Prior to the mid-nineteenth century, they write their accounts in quasi-prose, and do not divide inflows and outflows into terms, instead placing everything into the Michaelmas term. From around 1860, the accounts get progressively more categorised, better dated and easier to read. Later accounts therefore take far less time to go through.

Concluding Summary & How this Research Could be Developed Further in the Future

The preliminary research into the legacies of slavery and coerced labour has been a mixed bag but has nevertheless turned up some very interesting findings.

Firstly, one should note the fact that the ten Caians who benefited from the Slavery Compensation Commission at the moment of abolition generally received higher-than-average claims, sometimes through indirect familial relations to slave-owning and coerced labour, and sometimes through very straightforward, direct relations to slave-owning and coerced labour. Though perhaps symptomatic of a society where slave-owning had become a normalised (though somewhat societally frowned-upon) element of property-ownership, this remains an interesting find.

One should also note that over the period, people who benefitted from slavery and coerced labour tended not to then donate or make benefactions to the college. Indeed, most remained at Caius only to get their degrees and then cut off ties, going into other fields. That the ten UCL LBS individuals, who evidently had high-value *windfalls* in that period from the SCC, did not give to the college, is surprising.

One should further note that donations and benefactions to the college predominantly came from Caius fellows in this period, who would most often come to the college as undergraduates and then work through the ranks. There were almost no fellows who came into the college late in their lives; one reading of this might suggest that such grassroots involvement would mean that these academics hadn't the opportunity to go off and make money from slavery or coerced labour.

The overall message of this research should be that there were certainly Caians who benefitted significantly from the slave trade after they left the college, but that there is little evidence to suggest that the college profited

from their deeds by proxy of donation, as benefactions tended to come predominantly from former fellows (who were unlikely to have any connections to slavery or coerced labour).

In offering this conclusion, I should emphasise that mine is a tentative answer, drawn from only 5 days of archival research.

Commentary from a Fellow:
Three Caians and their alleged involvement in Slavery

1. This note comments briefly on the cases of three Caians mentioned in the *Report – Research Project Looking into the Legacies of Slavery and Coerced Labour at Gonville & Caius College*. These Caians are: Gunton Postle (G.& C.C. 1773); Robert Gwilt (G.& C.C. 1797); and Bartholomew Wortley (G.& C.C. 1671).
2. The cases of the first two, Gunton Postle and Robert Gwilt, arise in relation to claims by plantation owners before the Slavery Compensation Commission 1833, and they appear in the *Report* in a list of 10 Caians “who were slave-owners or affiliated with slave-owners at the moment of abolition, and ... profited from the compensation of the SCC.”¹ The case of the third, Bartholomew Wortley, is different: it does not arise from the ownership of slaves on plantations, but to possible profit a century earlier from an alleged involvement in the slave trade: according to the *Report*, “Further research ... shows that Wortley owned South Sea Company stocks and annuities and that these were given to Caius College after his death.”²..

Gunton Postle and Robert Gwilt.³

3. Gunton Postle appears in relation to the claim by Mary Cerjat Postle as one of the trustees of her late father, William Woodley, who had owned a plantation in St Kitts. The description of Mary Cerjat Postle as the wife of a former Fellow is misleading:⁴ she was in fact the *widow* of a former Fellow, Gunton Postle, whom she had married after the death of her first husband (G. Cerjat). Gunton Postle had been a Junior and then Senior Fellow from 1782 to 1791 but had resigned his fellowship and departed from the college to take up a benefice in East Anglia in 1790. He had died thirty years later in 1829, *four years before the Slavery Compensation Commission was set up*, and therefore was not someone who ever benefited from the Commission's awards and should not be included in

¹ *Report*, p.4, cf. also p. 12.

² *Report*, pp. 6-7.

³ Most of the information about Postle and Gwilt comes either from the Excel database that accompanied the original report in 2019 or else from Venn, *Biog. Hist.* vol. II.

⁴ *Report*, p. 4.

the tally of 10 Caians “who were slave-owners or affiliated with slave-owners at the moment of abolition, and ... profited from the compensation of the SCC.” (Cf. above and fn.1).

4. There is a similar error in the case of Robert Gwilt, listed a few lines after Mary Postle. Gwilt had been an undergraduate at Caius from 1797 to 1800 and some 30 years later, at the time of the Slavery Compensation Commission, he was a doctor at the Chelsea Royal Hospital and was one of the trustees and attorney of a slave-owner, Robert Burton Williams, who appears to have been adjudged a 'lunatic' and as such could not bring legal proceedings before the Commission in his own name;⁵ Burton Williams' claim had therefore had to be brought in the name of Gwilt as trustee of a lunatic, but as a trustee Gwilt was totally barred from benefiting from the claim in any way. Like Postle, Gwilt was therefore also not someone who ever benefited from the Slavery Compensation Commission and should not be included in the tally of 10 such Caians.

Bartholomew Wortley

5. Bartholomew Wortley came from a modest background. His father was a plumber in Fakenham and he was admitted to the college as a sizar in 1671. He became a Junior Fellow in 1679 and a Senior Fellow from 1681 to 1706, when he resigned his fellowship to become Rector of Bratton Fleming in the distant, north-west corner of Devon. He held in turn the usual college offices and served as bursar for five years from 1696 to 1701 and finally as steward for the years 1703 to 1705. In the latter year he departed to Bratton Fleming and remained there from 1705 till he died “in extreme old age” 44 years later in 1749.⁶ He must have been shrewd in matters of finance, because, on his death, he left to the college all his money, bonds, mortgages, debts and securities to the amount of more than £7000 and also his estates in Fakenham, Elmham and Gateley in Norfolk and in High Bray and Bratton in Devon.⁷

⁵ Burton Williams' estate was in Trinidad, and Gwilt may therefore have been chosen as trustee not only because he was a doctor but because his own wife's family came from the Bahamas: Venn, *Biog. Hist.* II, p.131.

⁶ Venn, *Biog. Hist.* I, pp. 444-5. The “extreme old age” was between 93 and 94.

⁷ Gross, *Biog. Hist.* IV(2), p.3. Much of the £7,000 seems to have been invested in mortgages and in the South Sea Annuities mentioned later. His father seems to have been shrewd too, for, a plumber at Bartholomew's admission, he left his son a 20-acre estate in Fakenham when he died: *ibid.*, p. 44.

6. The suggestion has now arisen that Wortley owned stocks in the South Seas Company which were bequeathed to the college on his death, with the implication that Wortley, and subsequently the college, may thereby have profited from the slave-trading activities of that company: “Further research conducted after this interim report shows that Wortley owned South Sea Company stocks and annuities and that these were given to Caius College after his death. Future reports into the legacies of enslavement at Caius will expand on these financial connections and their importance to the College’s history.”⁸
7. I am emphatically not an economist or an economic historian and cannot claim ever to have mastered the complexities of the South Sea Bubble and the subsequent history of the South Sea Company; but, in respect of the assets Wortley bequeathed by to the college, I am concerned that there may be a confusion between (a) South Sea Annuities which were a respectable form of investment in government debt similar to their successors, Consols,⁹ and (b) shares in the legally separated trading side of the SSC. After the reforms that followed the bursting of the South Sea Bubble in 1720, the capital of the company was divided into two distinct and separate parts, one the annuities stock and the other the trading stock of the company.¹⁰ The annuities simply gave the holders a specified rate of income and did not give them any share in the profits (or losses) of the trading side of the company or in the management of the company – simply annual interest reflecting the rate of interest paid by the government on the particular issue. Wortley and subsequently the college certainly owned South Sea Annuities, like other respectable trustees and institutions;¹¹ but, from my memory of the college's financial

⁸ *Report*, pp 6-7. In CC2021/32 the statement in the *Report* originally mentioned ownership of shares and stocks, but it has correctly been amended to include a statement that he owned South Sea Annuities.

⁹ ‘Consols’ were loan-stock issued by the government through the Bank of England after the establishment in the 1750s of the government’s Consolidated Fund at that bank; the interest on the loans was paid via the Consolidated Fund, hence the name of the securities.

¹⁰ At first the capital was divided into equal parts, but in 1733 it was again divided into $\frac{1}{4}$ trading stock and $\frac{3}{4}$ new annuities stock: hence the terms “Old South Sea Annuities” and “New South Sea Annuities”. Wortley (and subsequently the college) held both old and new annuities. The South Sea Annuities continued to exist long after the trading activities of the company had withered away completely.

¹¹ Details of early years are not available during lockdown, but the notebook of John Smith, Master 1764-1795, in College Library MS 621 gives details of the numerous purchases of annuities for the college and the various trust funds during his mastership. Consolidated Fund annuities were first issued by the government in 1761, but it was only after Smith became Master in 1764 that the college began seriously to invest surplus college

records, I am confident that the college never invested in South Sea Company shares or trading stock,¹² and it seems highly doubtful whether Wortley, living on the western edge of Exmoor, would have done so either. Surely it is highly unlikely that the college would have been happy to hold shares or trading stock in the South Sea Company as regards either its own funds or its various trust funds at the very same time as it was, in 1788, one of the early subscribers to the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade?¹³

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money (as well as that in its trust funds) as quickly as possible in government or South Sea annuities: see Prichard, *Gonville & Caius College: The Statutes of the Founders*, p. 469.

¹² Apart from government and South Sea annuities it did not invest in any stocks and shares until the 19th century and then only in 'trustee investments' until it took power to invest in 'equities' in the 1950s.

¹³ *Gesta*, 18 Feb. 1788, cited Venn *Biog. Hist.* III, p.131. The society had been formally constituted in May 1787. The amount of the college's contribution was small (5 guineas), but it was one of the earliest philanthropic donations not connected with college property that it ever made, and the Society's aim seems to have been to obtain as many subscribers as possible rather than the size of donations: