

# The Legacies of Enslavement and Coerced Labour at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge

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## **Introduction**

This report is the result of a year's research on a part-time, one-day-a-week basis into Gonville and Caius College's connections to slavery and coerced labour in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries.<sup>1</sup> It builds off preliminary research undertaken by Shay Gillam in the Summer of 2019. Over the course of a week's research, he found that eight Caians benefited from the Slavery Compensation Commission, which was established to reimburse slaveholders in the British Caribbean after the abolition of slavery in 1833.<sup>2</sup> Following Mr Gillam's lead, this more extensive inquiry into the legacies of enslavement at Caius had two aims:

1. To see whether undergraduate alumni or fellows at the college were connected to slavery or coerced labour; and
2. To see whether donations made to the college (often by undergraduate alumni or fellows) had been made by people who had connections to slavery or coerced labour.

Through examining internet databases, published sources, the College archives, and relevant records in North America and Britain, this report concludes that Caius alumni, fellows, and the College had significant connections to slavery and slaveholders and have profited off investments and benefactions connected to enslavement and coerced labour.

In having held connections to slavery and coerced labour, Caius was like many other colleges and universities. As the historians in both the United States, Britain, and Europe have shown, educational institutions acted as a third pillar, besides the state and church, in helping to support and propagate slavery and coerced labour from the Americas to Africa to the Indian subcontinent.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, the extent of Britain's involvement in slavery and the extraordinary

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<sup>1</sup> First and foremost, I want to thank the Caius archivist James Cox for his indispensable help and support. For their academic guidance, I also want to thank Dr Bronwen Everill and Professor Sujit Sivasundaram. I am indebted to the Master of Gonville and Caius College, Dr Pippa Rogerson, the fellowship, particularly Professors Peter Mandler and Annabelle Brett, and the Caius administrative staff for their support and encouragement during the COVID-19 pandemic. My thanks also go to Mr Shay Gillams, whose own work into the legacies of enslavement at Caius has been an important foundation for this report, and Mr Michael Prichard, who made several invaluable critiques of the original draft report in January 2021 that have given me much food for thought.

<sup>2</sup> Shay Gillam, "Report – Research Project Looking into the Legacies of Slavery and Coerced Labour at Gonville & Caius College," *Gonville & Caius College, University of Cambridge*, <<https://www.cai.cam.ac.uk/sites/default/files/Report%20%E2%80%93%20Research%20Project%20Looking%20into%20the%20Legacies%20of%20Slavery%20and%20Coerced%20Labour%20at%20Gonville%20%26%20Caius%20College%20-%20FINAL.pdf>>, accessed 4 August 2020.

<sup>3</sup> For the literature on slavery and the university, see Craig Steven Wilder, *Ebony & Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2013); Catherine Hall, Nicholas Draper, and Keith McClelland, eds., *Legacies of British Slave-ownership: Colonial Slavery and the Formation of Victorian Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016 [2014]); Lindsey K. Walters, "Slavery

wealth generated through the slave trade bears remembering because it helps to illuminate how this transnational trade in human lives drew many individuals and institutions into its orbit, such as Caius. Over the last half-century, historians have transformed our understanding of the relationship between slavery and empire. Scholars have shown that Britain was a ‘slave empire,’ where the enslavement of human beings from the Atlantic to the Indian oceans was central to the origins, growth, and development of the British Empire.<sup>4</sup> Between 1640 and the trade’s end in 1807, Britain kidnapped, enslaved, and transported 3.2 million Africans to Britain’s colonies in the Americas and traded another ten to twelve thousand enslaved persons within the Indian Ocean basin.<sup>5</sup>

Despite this extensive historical work, the legacies of enslavement have not received sufficient attention at Caius. The most extensive histories of Caius College, including John Venn’s multi-volume *Biographical History* and Christopher Brooke’s impressive *History of Gonville & Caius*, do not discuss slavery or its legacies. These scholars focus in depth on the College’s funding of the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade in the late eighteenth century.<sup>6</sup> In making these donations, Caius was one of several colleges at the University of

and the American university: discourses of retrospective justice at Harvard and Brown,” *Slavery & Abolition* 38, no. 4 (2017), pp. 719–744; Leslie M. Harris, James T. Campbell, and Alfred L. Brophy, eds., *Slavery and the University: History and Legacies* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2019); and Jill Pellew and Lawrence Goldman, ed., *Dethroning Historical Reputations: Universities, Museums and the Commemoration of Benefactors* (London: Institute of Historical Research Press, 2018).

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Eric Williams, *Capitalism & Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994 [1944]); Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A New History of Global Capitalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2015); Padraic X. Scanlan, *Slave Empire: How Slavery Made Modern Britain* (London: Robinson, 2020); Michael Taylor, *The Interest: How the British Establishment Resisted the Abolition of Slavery* (London: Bodley Head, 2020); William A Pettigrew, *Freedom’s Debt: The Royal African Company and the Politics of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1672–1752* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013); Alan Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670 – 1717* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); Wendy Warren, *New England Bound: Slavery and Colonization in Early America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2017); Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); and Simon P. Newman, *A New World of Labor: The Development of Plantation Slavery in the British Atlantic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016). For the origins of racial science and its connection to slavery, see for instance Andrew S. Curran, *The Anatomy of Blackness: Science & Slavery in an Age of Enlightenment* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011); Ibram X. Kendi, *Stamped from the Beginning: The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America* (New York: Random House, 2017); Rana A. Hogarth, *Medicalizing Blackness: Making Racial Difference in the Atlantic World, 1780–1840* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017); Katherine Paugh, *The Politics of Reproduction: Race, Medicine, and Fertility in the Age of Abolition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); and Sasha Turner, *Contested Bodies: Pregnancy, Childrearing, and Slavery in Jamaica* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017).

<sup>5</sup> David Eltis et al, “Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade – Estimates,” *Slave Voyages Database*, <<https://www.slavevoyages.org/assessment/estimates>>, accessed 3 March 2021 (‘3.2’); Richard B. Allen, “Satisfying the ‘Want for Labouring People’: European Slave Trading in the Indian Ocean, 1500–1850,” *Journal of World History* 21, no. 1 (March 2010), p. 64 (‘ten to twelve’).

<sup>6</sup> See John Venn, ed., *Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College*, 8 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1897–1987); and Christopher Brooke, *A History of Gonville and Caius College* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1996 [1985]). Aside from these two foundational histories of the College, this report has also depended on several other secondary sources, including Charles Henry Cooper, *Memorials of*

Cambridge, including St. Catherine's, Trinity, Emmanuel, and Magdalene, who also gave money.<sup>7</sup> Caius's donations were sizeable – five guineas in 1788 and another five in 1792 – but have perhaps received too much attention in College histories.<sup>8</sup> Building on already-existing reports and histories into the legacies of slavery at other institutions, this investigation, which has benefited from unrestricted access to the College's archival collections, addresses a significant omission in Caius's institutional memory.

As mentioned at the start, this report has depended on several archival resources and databases to make its findings. John Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigiensis* has been a particularly helpful resource in locating the many students who attended Caius – a process helped by the College's extensive records of past alumni.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, University College London's *Legacies of British Slavery* database provides an unparalleled insight into the many individuals and families who were involved in and benefited financially from plantations in the British Caribbean.<sup>10</sup> Despite uncovering the prevalence and importance of slave money in Britain, this collection is limited, however, because it focuses most of its attention on the end of slavery. Lastly, the report has made extensive use of the database *Measuring Worth* to determine the historical value of Caius benefactions over time.<sup>11</sup> The calculation of historical value is not an exact science – indeed, these figures are at best a rough estimate. Nevertheless, this report will concentrate on the *real value* or amount of a sum of money in 2020 pounds (illustrating the historical wealth's purchasing power today). In so doing, this report will illustrate how much

<sup>7</sup> Cambridge, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1841); and Michael Pritchard, *Gonville & Caius College: The Statutes of the Founders* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2017).

<sup>8</sup> A List of the Society, Instituted in 1787, For the Purpose of effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade (London, 1787). For Cambridge and abolitionism, see Michael E. Jirik, "Beyond Clarkson: Cambridge, Black Abolitionists, and the British Anti-Slave Trade Campaign," *Slavery & Abolition* 41, no. 4 (2020), pp. 748-771; Manisha Sinha, *The Slave's Cause: A History of Abolition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 98–104; Brown, *Moral Capital*, ch. 6; David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975), ch. 9; and Seymour Drescher, *Capitalism and Antislavery: British Mobilization in Comparative Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), ch. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Festo. St. Michaelis 1787 to Festum Annunc 1788 and Festo Annunc. 1792 to Festum St. Michaelis 1792, College Bursar Book, 1792-1810 (Gonville and Caius College Lower Library, University of Cambridge), GC/BUR/F/88.

<sup>10</sup> See J. L. Dawson, *ACAD: A Cambridge Alumni Database*, <<https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/>>, first accessed March 2020. This database compiles the list of names in John Venn and John Archibald Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigiensis: A Biographical List of all Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900*, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922-27), and A. B. Emden's *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963).

<sup>11</sup> Nicholas Draper et al, *Legacies of British Slavery*, <<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/search/>>, first accessed March 2020.

<sup>12</sup> Jeremy Atack et al, "Which MeasuringWorth comparator is best for you?," *MeasuringWorth*, <<https://www.measuringworth.com/>>, accessed 2 February 2020. It should be noted that both the Jesus College and Glasgow University reports into the legacies of enslavement used *MeasuringWorth* to make their determinations of value.

these Caian benefactions *may* be worth, thereby highlighting the significance of various bequests in the College's history. As a document of academic as well as public history, this report also has an obligation to communicate the potential size of these benefactions to the wider Caius community.

Regarding these benefactions and legacies, this report has mined the college's extensive archive of account books, minute books, bequest records, and correspondence files to uncover the College's connections to slavery and coerced labour. Some of these records are well known to Caius scholars and the wider community. Yet these written records also have several limitations. Much of the detail concerning what the Caius fellowship, students, and alumni believed and thought about slavery, the slave trade, or persons of colour is not present in the College's administrative records. For instance, Caius possesses the Master of the College Thomas Gooch's letters, principally from his brother William Gooch, the Governor of Virginia, but Caius owns few letters from Thomas due to a fire at Benacre Hall, the family's seat in Norfolk. Nevertheless, these archival silences need to be interrogated and, in so doing, can help to illuminate the complicity of fellows, students, and college members who often restrained themselves from criticising plantation slavery and the slave trade.<sup>12</sup>

Perhaps the most important methodological issue arising from these records and their silences is the problem of moral responsibility.<sup>13</sup> How responsible was Caius for admitting students from slavery backgrounds and did they know about these connections? And how responsible was the College for the actions and investments of fellows and staff? The first question can be conclusively answered from the available source material. College fellows knew about these connections and many viewed slaveholders as landed proprietors – little different in class status than landed elites in Britain. The second problem is more difficult to answer. But Caius actively invested money in assets connected to the slave trade (connections that Britons were aware of), took money from fellows who had made similar investments in a slave-trading company, and elected a slaveholder to a junior fellowship. In an era when slavery was constantly contested, no less from enslaved Africans who fought the plantation system,

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<sup>12</sup> The muting of enslaved voices and the opinions of the perpetrators in the archives is interrogated in Marissa J. Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016); Michel-Rolph Trouillot and Hazel V. Carby, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 2015); Saidiya V. Hartman, "The Dead Book Revisited," 6, no. 2 (2016), pp. 208-15; and Simon Gikandi, "Rethinking the Archive of Enslavement," *Early American Literature* 50, no. 1 (2015), pp. 81-102.

<sup>13</sup> See Mark Gibney et al. ed., *The Age of Apology: Facing Up to the Past* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

the decision to take money from the slave trade and coerced labour was a *choice* to benefit from Britain's wider slave empire.

As a result of the rapidly growing global historiography on slavery and coerced labour, the report will take a holistic approach to enslavement and its afterlives, following these legacies across the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The report itself will be structured into two parts:

1. The personal connections between college members and slavery, focusing on Caian students who came from slavery backgrounds and the relationship of fellows and college officials to slavery; and
2. Caius's financial connections to the slave trade, particularly college and fellowship investments in South Sea Company stocks and annuities and the provenance of these securities.

## **Personal Connections to Slavery and Coerced Labour**

### **The Education of Slaveholders at Caius**

By the turn of the eighteenth century, the University of Cambridge had been a global institution for more than five centuries – drawing students and fellows from throughout Europe and the wider Mediterranean world. In turn, Caius College graduates, such as John Pory and Richard Bucke (who both travelled to Virginia after its colonisation in 1607), took their educations abroad, moving to the mainland North American colonies, the Caribbean, and the Indian subcontinent.

Some of the descendants of these early colonists decided to receive their educations at Caius.<sup>14</sup> Students from slavery backgrounds – plantation owners, merchants, and slave traders

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<sup>14</sup> For these two early Caian colonists in Virginia, see William Powell Stevens, *John Pory, 1572-1636: The Life and Letters of a Man of Many Parts* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977); and Irene Hecht, "Bucke, Richard (1581 or 1582-ca. 1624)," *Encyclopedia Virginia*, <<https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/bucke-richard-1581-or-1582-ca-1624/>>, accessed 12 February 2021.

Pory became the first Speaker of the Virginia General Assembly, setting out important procedures for the colony's first legislative body that are still in use today, and published an important translation of the Berber diplomat al-Hasan ibn Muhammah al-Wazzan al Fasi's *Descriptions of Africa* in 1600. For a time, Bucke was the most prominent preacher in Virginia and may have performed the marriage ceremony for John Rolfe and Matoaka (more commonly known as Pocahontas). Cambridge's status as a global university is discussed in Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, ed., *A History of the University in Europe. Vol. I: Universities in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Alan B. Cobban, *The Medieval English Universities: Oxford and Cambridge to c. 1500* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017 [1988]); and Damian Riehl Leader, ed., *A History of the University of Cambridge, Volume 1: The University to 1546* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

– increased in number as the plantations and slave societies expanded throughout the Americas. As a result, the fortunes of the rapidly growing Atlantic economy became deeply intertwined with the numbers of students coming to Caius from North America. Intoxicated by the sweetness of sugar, the increased demand for this product drove a revolution in agriculture in the Caribbean, with vast stretches of forest on the islands destroyed to make way for large integrated plantation enterprises dedicated to the growth, processing, and sale of sugar. Whereas Barbadian and Jamaican proprietors had attempted to grow different crops – tobacco, coffee, and indigo – they settled on sugar as the product that would bring them riches – following other staple economies in the mainland British colonies, such as Virginia and South Carolina, that respectively depended on tobacco and rice production.<sup>15</sup> With great wealth came greater spending – and the ‘planters,’ as the enslaver class called themselves, spent significant sums of money on goods from England.<sup>16</sup> In time, they invested their money in a British education, a necessity for those desiring careers in the law or church.<sup>17</sup>

Neither Caius College nor the University of Cambridge, then, had to explain the importance of education to slaveholders in North America. Slaveholders based their right to rule on their supremacy over enslaved Black men, women, and children whom they considered to be intellectually and physically inferior, and over poorer whites who did not have the land or capital to match the sugar and tobacco magnates. Education was an integral part of one’s sense of belonging to the enslaver class, a class that believed itself the equal of the English landed gentry and forged important connections, bound through marriage, with Britain’s

<sup>15</sup> The rise of the plantation complex and the formation of slave societies in the Americas is illuminated in Newman, *A New World of Labor*; Anthony S. Parent, *Foul Means: The Formation of a Slave Society in Virginia, 1660-1740* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Trevor Burnard, *Planters, Merchants, and Slaves: Plantation Societies in British America, 1650-1820* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2015); Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713*, foreword by Gary B. Nash (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972 [2000]); David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*; David Brion Davis, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); and Betty Wood, *Slavery in Colonial America, 1619-1776* (Plymouth, UK: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005).

<sup>16</sup> This report refers to the ‘planters’ as ‘enslavers’ and to ‘slaves’ as ‘enslaved’ to humanise both sides of chattel slavery. Enslaved men, women, and children should not be denigrated and defined by their enslavement (if referred to as ‘slaves,’ the emphasis is on people’s status as commodities first and human beings second). And slaveholders should not be glorified as ‘planters’ (a label that they themselves created to emphasise their importance to the English and then British Empire). Moreover, the term ‘enslavers’ helps to show the interconnections between slave traders, merchants, and the landed classes, who together helped this system function.

<sup>17</sup> Andrew Jackson O’Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided: The American Revolution and the British Caribbean* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), p. 26. See also Julie M. Flavell, “The ‘School for Modesty and Humility’: Colonial American Youth in London and Their Parents, 1755-1775,” *The Historical Journal* 42, no. 2 (1999), pp. 377–403; and *idem.*, *When London Was the Capital of America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).

aristocracy. In a letter to his brother, the Virginian Nathaniel Burwell argued that education was not just about attaining knowledge; rather, education helped to form a proper gentleman and leader.<sup>18</sup> If he did not concentrate on his studies, Burwell declared, his sibling would be “unfit for any Gentleman’s conversation, & therefore a Scandalous person & a Shame to his Relations, not having one single qualification to recommend him[.]”<sup>19</sup> Education was the mark of a gentleman, a source of social capital for those slaveholders who had designs on joining the governing elite of their respective colonies.

In total, twenty-seven students from slavery backgrounds attended Caius from the early eighteenth century until the emancipation of enslaved persons was made legal in Parliament on 1 August 1838. Though this figure was probably higher, these new arrivals at the college came from several locations throughout the British Empire, with three from Virginia, another two from South Carolina, two from Nevis, eight from Barbados, one from British Guiana, three from Jamaica, one from St. Kitts, one from the Virgin Islands, and the remaining six students from various locations in England (including Norfolk, Surrey, and London). The families of these students had various relationships to slavery and the slave trade. The vast majority, twenty-six students, were the descendants of the landed enslaver class. The remaining student, John Baylor III, had family relations involved in both slaveholding and slave trading (Baylor later named his plantation “Newmarket” after the famous racecourse near Cambridge).<sup>20</sup> These Caians arrived predominantly in the mid-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, with the 1760s (three students), 1820s (five students), and 1830s (nine students) the three most popular decades for attendees. The figures were small, but the average admittance of Caians in one decade of the eighteenth century was around seven students, so Americans were not alone in not choosing Cambridge for their educations.<sup>21</sup> John Venn, well-versed in these admittance and matriculation records, has gone so far as to argue that “anyone, who in 1760, endeavoured to infer the future from observation of the past [number of student enrolments] might well have come to the conclusion that in another century Cambridge and Oxford would be nearly

<sup>18</sup> Peter Searby, *A History of the University of Cambridge, Volume III: 1750-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), esp. ch. 5.

<sup>19</sup> Nathaniel Burwell to Lewis Burwell, 13 June 1718, “Letter of Col. Nathaniel Burwell,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 7, no. 1 (July 1898), p. 44.

<sup>20</sup> Thomas Katheder, *The Baylors of Newmarket: The Decline and Fall of a Virginia Planter Family* (New York: Bloomington, 2009), pp. 1-2 (‘Newmarket’). These figures are all taken from Venn’s *Alumni Cantabrigiensis* and a list of the twenty-seven students along with details on their years of admittance, places of origin, matriculation date, student rank, and family’s involvement in slavery and the slave trade can all be found in Appendix 1.

<sup>21</sup> John Cannon, *Aristocratic Century: The peerage of eighteenth-century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987 [1984]), p. 46.

extinct.”<sup>22</sup> Though a small trickle, therefore, these students were an important personal connection between Caius and American slave societies.

As the Atlantic was a competitive education marketplace, with colonial colleges as well as British universities vying to attract students from North America and the Caribbean, the Caius fellowship were aware of the importance of students from slavery backgrounds and tried to make them feel welcome. These students were some of the wealthiest men in the British Empire – and they had to be to afford a Cambridge education.<sup>23</sup> From 1720 to 1830, the average cost of a year’s tuition at Cambridge, including tuition and board, increased from around £30 (around £4,583 today) at the start of that century to around £250 (£22,880).<sup>24</sup> The wealthiest students spent far more than that. The statistics show that six students with slavery backgrounds took up their place at the college as fellow-commoners, which (besides the status of ‘nobleman’) was the highest social class at the university and entitled them to miss lectures, take plain exercises for the bachelor’s degree, and dine at high table with the fellows.<sup>25</sup> In return, these students provided plate to the college and paid higher fees.<sup>26</sup> These students were highly esteemed at the university. Dr William Savage, the Vice-Chancellor (1724-25), acclaimed the fellow-commoners for adding “a great Lustre to our University” and he wanted them to appear in clothing “proper to their Quality & Station; which, by distinguishing them from all other Scholars, would be both an Honour to ye University, & also a means of procuring that greater Degree of Respect to themselves, which is due to Persons of their Quality & Fortunes.”<sup>27</sup> Alongside the fellow-commoners, twenty students entered Caius as pensioners (who paid the college for their board and lodging) and, perhaps indicating the prodigious wealth of these students, none entered as sizars (men who worked at the college to pay their way). One student’s status – the Rev. Charles Paul from London – has yet to be clarified. Still, the college benefited off its connections to students from slavery backgrounds, gaining small amounts of

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<sup>22</sup> Venn, ed., *Biographical History*, vol. 1, p. xxiii.

<sup>23</sup> The wealth of the enslaver class is explored in Christer Petley, ed., *Rethinking the Fall of the Planter Class* (New York: Routledge, 2017); *idem.*, *White Fury: A Jamaican Slaveholder and the Age of Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018); Andre Hann and Madge Dresser, ed., *Slavery and the British Country House* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2013); and Scanlan, *Slave Empire*.

<sup>24</sup> J. C. P. Roach, ed., *The Victoria History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely: Volume 3, the City and University of Cambridge* (London: Published for the University of London Institute of Historical Research by the Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 235-265.

<sup>25</sup> Searby, *History of the University of Cambridge, Volume 3*, p. 69. See also Christopher Wordsworth, *Social Life at the English Universities in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1874), p. 109.

<sup>26</sup> 25 October 1786, Master/Registry Gesta, 1784-1811 (Caius College, Cambridge), GC/GOV/03/01/07.

<sup>27</sup> Dr William Savage to the Master of Caius College, 15 December 1724, Papers concerning foundation and fellowships; and papers relating to the Mastership of Sir John Ellys (Caius College, Cambridge), GC/MAS/01/01/01.

money from enrolments, the prestige of educating these young prodigals, and perhaps hoping in the future to bring other family members through its doors.

Lewis Burwell IV from Virginia was one such fellow-commoner. Born in Gloucester County, Virginia, in 1710, Lewis was related to some of the oldest Virginian planter families. His maternal grandfather was Robert ‘King’ Carter, who owned more than 300,000 acres and enslaved more than three thousand Africans during his lifetime.<sup>28</sup> The young Burwell was also a wealthy man. On his return from England, he could expect to inherit his father’s plantation, known as Fairfield.<sup>29</sup> Unlike many students, a painting exists of the young Burwell at Caius College. Dressed in more modest attire as the dutiful student, he was painted soon after his arrival at the University.<sup>30</sup>

Burwell did not attend Caius out of a fit of fancy. Indeed, like many of his contemporaries, he probably attended the College because his cousin James Burrough, a fellow, one of the architects of the Senate House, and later Master of Caius, was a prominent figure there.<sup>31</sup> Students and fellows forged incredibly close bonds. In a July 1734 letter to Burrough, Burwell told his old tutor of his attempts to find a marriage partner, his struggles with studying the law, and his economic troubles after his mother’s death. He finished the letter by giving his respects to “the Master [Thomas Gooch], Mr. Simpson [Robert Simpson, a fellow at Caius], & the rest of my worthy acquaintance[s] in your College.”<sup>32</sup> Burwell was no outlier. As was common in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (and even today), family connections – in the case of the Baylor, Berney, Pinder, and Vidal families – helped to determine which college a student attended whilst at Cambridge.

Baylor enjoyed Cambridge – perhaps too much. Though Baylor’s letters about his time at Caius are few and far between, some correspondence between the young prodigal and his grandfather, Robert Carter, survives. These letters attest to the costs of living at Cambridge and the intentions of the enslaver class in using an education at Caius to further their interests at home in Virginia’s slave society. Baylor appears in the Bursar’s Books in 1729, but the elder Carter was concerned about his activities beyond the College grounds – activities that

<sup>28</sup> Edmund Berkeley, Jr., “Carter, Robert (ca. 1664-1732),” in Sara B. Bearss, ed., *The Dictionary of Virginia Biography*, vol. 3 (Richmond: Library of Virginia, 2006), pp. 84-86.

<sup>29</sup> Lorena S. Walsh, *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, & Profit: Plantation Management in the Colonial Chesapeake* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), p. 240.

<sup>30</sup> J. H. P., “The Gorsuch and Lovelace Families (Continued),” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 25, no. 3 (July 1917), p. 316.

<sup>31</sup> William Hamilton Bryson, ed., “A Letter of Lewis Burwell to James Burrough, July 8, 1734,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 81 (1973), p. 409.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 414.

undermined the very purpose of his education: to make him a “Scholar” and “Gentleman”.<sup>33</sup> In June 1729, Carter wrote that he had placed Burwell “under the care of Dr. Gooch our Governors Brother supposing him to be endowed with the same noble Qualitys that our Governour is whose temperate & Gentlemanly behaviour among us worthy render him a fit Patter to us all to square our Morals by who have the honour to be frequently in his conversation[.]”<sup>34</sup> Two years later, Burwell seems to have learned little of this ‘gentlemanly behaviour.’ Carter wrote that, in regard to “Scholarship”, his grandson’s head was “not to be turned to make any large improvements that Way what good the conversation of the University will do you I shall not prognosticate but I think I may fairly suppose you will come into your own country [Virginia] very indifferently equipped with talents proper to govern your affairs here.”<sup>35</sup> Less than a year later, Carter cut Burwell off after he had asked for another £170 (perhaps around £29,830 today).<sup>36</sup> On the matter of his prodigious expenditure at Cambridge, Carter later lamented that “if this is to be the Effects of an English Education I don’t know who will venture their Sons thither[.]”<sup>37</sup> The financial costs and logistical difficulties of funding an English education, especially one at Cambridge, explain in part why more students did not attend prestigious colleges such as Caius.

### **Thomas Gooch, the Colony of Virginia, and the Problem of Slavery at Caius**

Thomas Gooch has already appeared in this report, and he was an important go-between for the enslaver class and Caius. The letters from his brother and their silences concerning Virginia’s slave regime are significant. In the absence of pro-slavery pamphlets from Caius fellows, his letters provide another insight, besides the presence of the enslaver class at Caius, into how the enslaver class were perceived at the College.

Born in 1674 to a wealthy Norfolk merchant, Thomas climbed the ranks at Caius – taking his B.A. in 1694, M.A. in 1698, B.D. in 1706, and D.D. in 1711. In time, he became one of Caius’s longest serving Masters (lasting close to forty years from 1716 to 1754) and was elected as Vice-Chancellor at Cambridge in 1717. He was extraordinarily well-connected,

<sup>33</sup> Festo Annunc. 1729 to Festum Mich. 1729, College Bursar Book (Caius College, Cambridge), GC/BUR/F/88; (“appears”); Robert Carter to Lewis Burwell, 22 August 1727, Robert Carter Letterbook, 1701-1732 (Richmond, Virginia Historical Society, Microfilm) (“Scholar”). The Bursar’s Book mentions “one Fellow Commoner Mr. Burwell”, who was paid one pound.

<sup>34</sup> Robert Carter to Lewis Burwell, 26 June 1729, *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> Robert Carter to Lewis Burwell, 12 August 1731, *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> Robert Carter to William Dawkins, 11 July 1732, *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> Robert Carter to Micajah Perry, 11 July 1732, *Ibid.*

serving as a chaplain to Henry Compton, the Bishop of London, and then to Queen Anne. Gooch also effectively negotiated the tangled webs of patronage that ensured who rose or fell in Britain's ecclesiastical hierarchy. A supporter and confidant of Thomas Pelham-Holmes, the Duke of Newcastle and Secretary of state for the Southern Colonies, the ambitious Caian was able to gain successive posts as the Bishops of Bristol (1737), Norwich (1738), and Ely (1747). Though he died at Ely Place, he is buried in Caius chapel where there is a memorial to the venerable Caian.<sup>38</sup>

James Burroughs, who we also met earlier, and Thomas Gooch were alike in many ways. Gooch may have also had ancestral connections to Virginia. In March 1728, his brother William (then the Governor of Virginia) told Thomas that a "Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses" had informed him that "in his Plantation where formerly was a Church there is now a grave stone, with a Coat of Arms upon it, but what he could not tell, a large Inscription upon it, beginning with Wm Gooch, Esqr. And he thinks dated 1640."<sup>39</sup> Gooch's brother speculated that it may have been their uncle, who was a seaman.<sup>40</sup> Thomas Gooch was like Burroughs in other ways too: they provided money to Caius after their deaths. James Burrough, the cousin of Virginian enslavers, made several provisions in his 1762 will: an estate in Wilton, Norfolk (worth £30 per annum); the books, medals, and Greek and Roman coins in his collection; the sum of £150 so that the university could improve and enlarge public buildings, such as the Senate House; the sum of £100 to Addenbrooke's Hospital; and he gave a much smaller amount of £150 to the Cambridge Physic Garden (now a part of the Botanic Gardens).<sup>41</sup> Thomas was generous too. In 1754 he gave several portraits of his predecessors as Master of the college to Caius and left £200 for the repair of Gonville Court.<sup>42</sup>

Gooch was a regular correspondent with his brother, who from 1727 to 1749 was one of Virginia's longest serving and most impactful governors. Thomas was an influential advisor and point of contact for William in England throughout his tenure as governor, helping him to maintain strong personal connections to slaveholders through facilitating their education at

<sup>38</sup> Brooke, *History of Gonville & Caius College*, pp. 163-170; and C. N. L. Brooke, J. M. Horn, and N. L. Ramsay, "A Canon's Residence in the Eighteenth Century: The Case of Thomas Gooch," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 39, no. 4 (October 1988), pp. 545-556. Newcastle and Gooch's extensive correspondence can be found at the British Library. For Newcastle as Gooch's patron, see for example Thomas Gooch to Newcastle, 15 August 1734 and 10 October 1734, Newcastle Papers (British Library, London), Folio 353 and 453.

<sup>39</sup> William Gooch to Thomas Gooch, 27 March 1728, Thomas Gooch Letters and Correspondence (Caius College, Cambridge), PPC/GOO.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> John Venn, ed., *Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College*, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), p. 128.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 287.

Cambridge, using his relationship to Newcastle to ensure that William's policies remained unchallenged in Westminster, and helping to intercede with the Archbishop of Canterbury to find a new president for the College of William and Mary, the second oldest university in the American colonies.<sup>43</sup> In an April 1728 letter, William thanked Thomas for the "several Letters with the Hints & Advice for which I thank you; and I hope whenever you write you'l[I] continue the same method, which may always be of use to me, especially if we should have Peace, or War should be proclaimed."<sup>44</sup> William was also much "obliged" to Thomas for speaking to Thomas Townsend, the 1<sup>st</sup> Viscount Sydney and a graduate of Clare College, who along with Walpole helped to steer Britain's foreign policy.<sup>45</sup>

Gooch's most effective piece of lobbying, however, came with Virginia's Tobacco Inspection Act in 1730. As the historian Stacy Lorenz argues, Thomas's "close relationship" with Newcastle helped to make William's position much more "secure" as the governor hoped to impose new laws improving the quality of Virginia's tobacco.<sup>46</sup> In July 1733, William wrote to Thomas hoping for "your opinion of things by the first ship the next Winter, for I shall call an Assembly in the Spring, and would willingly be at some certainty with regard to politicks."<sup>47</sup> Though Thomas cannot be blamed for William's individual decisions whilst he held his office, the Master effectively wielded his power and authority to ensure that his brother's policies – policies which further consolidated Virginia's plantation economy – would remain unchallenged in the halls of power in Whitehall.

As William was a committed enslaver, slavery was mentioned in the Gooch brother's letters. Thomas did not discuss the subject as Caius only possesses the return correspondence of the brothers. But the Master failed to show his opposition to the institution or to his brother's repeated mentions of the many enslaved men, women, and children who ran his household. In a letter from the Spring of 1727, for instance, William gave some insight into the 'costs' one incurred on becoming the new governor of the Colony: he had to purchase "Horses, Cows & Slaves and a constant grant expense of Housekeeping, proclaiming His Majesty at first, & keeping very magnificently his Birthday since, that I can't tell what to say nor yet judge how

<sup>43</sup> Gooch's relationship with Newcastle and efforts to educate slaveholders will be the focus of this report, but for his struggle to find a new President for the College of William and Mary, see Dan M. Hockman, "William Dawson: Master and Second President of the College of William and Mary," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 52, no. 3 (September 1983), pp. 199-214.

<sup>44</sup> William Gooch to Thomas Gooch, 4 April 1728, Gooch Letters (Caius College, Cambridge).

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> Stacy L. Lorenz, "'To Do Justice to His Majesty, the Merchant and the Planter': Governor William Gooch and the Tobacco Inspection Act of 1730," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 108, no. 4 (2000), p. 357.

<sup>47</sup> William Gooch to Thomas Gooch, 20 July 1733, Gooch Letters (Caius College, Cambridge).

the Income will answer.”<sup>48</sup> Just a few paragraphs after these complaints, the governor commented that one of those enslaved persons was a “little black boy” and he had “named him Caius.”<sup>49</sup> Instead of questioning the institution of slavery, Thomas did not seem to offer any protestations about his brother naming an enslaved person after Caius. In fact, William wrote again in February 1728 about the “vast expence[s]” that he was incurring as a colonial governor for “Negro Servants & other necessaries about my House, besides a constant great expence of Housekeeping for the first year: proclaiming His Majesty 50G, his birth day near 100, Prince Fredericks 20G. These are the things to which I am exposed, so that have very little reason to expect to make a Fortune, or enough to keep me when I grow old, unless my stars are more favourable.”<sup>50</sup> Whilst there was much time spent in the letters about the costs of enslaving people, Thomas unsurprisingly gave few signs in these letters that he disagreed with his brother’s conduct as a slaveholder.

Thomas showed no opposition to slavery in his personal dealings with slaveholders or students from enslaver backgrounds either. In fact, he facilitated those relationships to the College and University’s benefit. Thomas had met with wealthy Virginian slaveholders and merchants, most notably John Randolph and Robert Cary (George Washington’s tobacco trader), at the George and Vulture, a London inn.<sup>51</sup> Indeed, William’s letters to Thomas are filled with references to students attending Cambridge and the governor’s hopes that the well-connected Master would wine and dine these young prodigals. In June 1731, William Gooch told his brother of a “very pretty young Gentleman” who “was coming over to your Colledge.”<sup>52</sup> Two years later, Thomas was also informed that the “Son of Col. Carter’s, late President of the Council” was coming “to your University, but goes to Trinity where his eldest Brother, now his Guardian... was brought up himself”.<sup>53</sup> The governor described the young Carter as a “sober youth and a very good scholar” and he “entreat[ed] the favour of you to encourage him by your Countenance and Invitation sometimes to Dinner.”<sup>54</sup>

Thomas and William’s solicitation of these well-connected slaveholders, which continued throughout the decade, suggest a close association and indeed affinity for persons whose monetary ability to study at Cambridge originated from chattel slavery. The Gooch’s also shared correspondence concerning Lewis Burwell. William informed his brother that

<sup>48</sup> William Gooch to Thomas Gooch, 28 October 1727, *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> William Gooch to Thomas Gooch, 18 February 1728, *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> William Gooch to Thomas Gooch, October 1732, *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> William Gooch to Thomas Gooch, 12 June 1731, *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> William Gooch to Thomas Gooch, 7 May 1733, *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

Burwell should return to Virginia “on the score of his estate” because his “Money Lands and Negros” would be divided between him and his brothers.<sup>55</sup> William continued to report on Burwell’s progress over the next year, sending news of Burwell’s mother’s marriage (to a man educated at St. John’s College), Burwell dining with the governor in the capital Williamsburg, and his new step-fathers untimely death.<sup>56</sup> Throughout these letters, there were no signs of protestation from Thomas about slavery.

Thomas’s silence on the question of slavery and the slave trade raises a difficult question about what Caians thought about this institution. Instead of following a policy of abolitionism or simple pro-slavery, there seems to have been many shades of grey at the College.<sup>57</sup> Generally, the Church of England – the membership thereof being a prerequisite to study or teach at Cambridge – did not have a significant problem with slaveholding or the slave trade for much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>58</sup> On the question of whether enslaved people were free upon being baptised Christians (slavery had been partly predicated in the early eighteenth century on the ‘heathen’ status of Africans), most church men argued that religious belief did not undercut the rights of personal property.<sup>59</sup>

The pamphlets that Caius fellows subscribed to provide one source of insight into collegiate attitudes toward slavery. These sources too present ambiguous findings. On the one hand, some Caians (including the Gooch brothers) are featured on the subscriber list to Claude Fleury’s 1727 *Ecclesiastical History*, a pamphlet which one respondent described a century later as proof “that the Church attached no sin to the relation of master and slave.”<sup>60</sup> On the other, John Frere, who graduated as Second Wrangler and subsequently became a fellow, subscribed to Thomas Harwood’s 1788 play, *The Noble Slave: A Tragedy* – an example of the anti-slave trade literature that emerged towards the latter quarter of the eighteenth century.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>55</sup> William Gooch to Thomas Gooch, February 1732, *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> William Gooch to Thomas Gooch, October 1732, *Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> As mentioned in the introduction to this report, historians have focused more recently on the power and prominence of the pro-slavery cause in Britain. See Paula E. Dumas, *Proslavery Britain: Fighting for Slavery in an Era of Abolition* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Taylor, *The Interest*; Travis Glasson, *Mastering Christianity: Missionary Anglicanism and Slavery in the Atlantic World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Andrew Jackson O’Shaughnessy, “The Formation of a Commercial Lobby: The West India Interest, British Colonial Policy, and the American Revolution,” *Historical Journal* 40, no. 1 (March 1997), pp. 71-95; and Srividhya Swaminathan, *Debating the Slave Trade: Rhetoric of British National Identity, 1759-1815* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

<sup>58</sup> Searby, *History of the University of Cambridge*, Volume 3, pp. 153-158.

<sup>59</sup> Brown, *Moral Capital*, pp. 59-60; Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, p. 42; and Michael Taylor, “British Proslavery Arguments and the Bible, 1823-1833,” *Slavery & Abolition* 37, no. 1 (2016), pp. 139-158.

<sup>60</sup> John Henry Hopkins, *A Scriptural, Ecclesiastical, and Historical View of Slavery, From the Days of the Patriarch Abraham, to the Nineteenth Century* [New York, 1864], p. 116.

<sup>61</sup> See Rev. Thomas Harwood, *The Noble Slave: A Tragedy* (London, 1788). The list of subscribers included members of King’s, Trinity, Jesus, Sidney Sussex, Bennet, and St. John’s colleges.

Some Caians, most notably George Elliot, published captivity narratives of their “loss of Liberty” and enslavement to the Barbary pirates in North Africa.<sup>62</sup> Still, most white elite Britons, if they were opposed to the slave trade, believed that slaveholding was a legal institution that should not be dispensed with altogether. Instead, most argued that Caribbean slavery could be redeemed and reformed (a policy known as amelioration), or else gradually abolished over the course of many decades.<sup>63</sup> If a contention can be made about Caius, it is that the College – like other British institutions – had some concerns with the slave trade, but not with slavery or enslavers.

### **The Berney Family and the Hanson Plantation in Barbados**

Though neither Gooch nor Burroughs were involved in plantation operations, they were conversant with the Berney family, a prominent family of Caians, who were members of the enslaver class. Numerous members of that extended family attended Caius College (see Table 1 for these names), but two men were especially significant in Caius’s history. Hanson Berney, the son of Sir Thomas Berney of Kirby Bedon, Norfolk, had matriculated as a Fellow-Commoner in 1738, followed by a period as a junior Frankland fellow from 1743 to 1756.<sup>64</sup> Frankland fellows received basic stipends and commons from the College, but because of an artificial distinction between ‘junior’ and ‘senior’ fellows imposed at Caius in the 1590s (a determination that had no basis in College statutes and was imposed to neuter the power of junior fellows), Berney had no institutional authority.<sup>65</sup> Furthermore, John Berney, Hanson’s

<sup>62</sup> George Elliot, *A True Narrative Of the Life of Mr. George Elliot, who was Taken and Sold for a Slave; With His Travels, Captivity, and Miraculous Escape from Salle in the Kingdom of Fez* (London, 1780). The Caiian alumnus Adam Elyott (or Elliott) had similar adventures to Elliot after his graduation in 1668. On his way back from tutoring in Italy, a group of Barbary pirates captured and sold him into slavery – his escape from which he publicised in a later pamphlet to avoid the charge that he was a Jesuit. (Brooke, *History of Gonville & Caius*, p. 157). Both stories from Elyott and Elliot were part of a wider genre of captivity narratives in England. See Joe Snader, *Caught between Worlds: British Captivity Narratives in Fact and Fiction* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2000); Linda Colley, *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World, 1600-1850* (London: Pimlico, 2002); and Lisa Voigt, *Writing Captivity in the Early Modern Atlantic: Circulations of Knowledge and Authority in the Iberian and English Imperial Worlds* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

<sup>63</sup> Amelioration was a popular position in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and was favoured by pro-slavery activists to blunt the abolitionist message for the ending of slavery and the slave trade. See Christa Dierksheide, *Amelioration and Empire: Progress and Slavery in the Plantation Americas* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2014); Trevor Burnard and Kit Candlin, “Sir John Gladstone and the Debate over the Amelioration of Slavery in the British West Indies in the 1820s,” *Journal of British Studies* 57, no. 4 (October 2018), pp. 760-782; and Caroline Quarrier Spence, “Ameliorating Empire: Slavery and Protection in the British Colonies, 1783-1865 (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 2014).

<sup>64</sup> I want to thank Michael Prichard for informing me about Hanson Berney’s junior fellowship, and his connections to the Gooch family.

<sup>65</sup> Brooke, *History of Gonville & Caius College*, pp. 96-97.

cousin, a Caius fellow, and for a time the college bursar, was generous, providing £200 to support the increase of the Branthwaite scholarships upon his death in 1782.<sup>66</sup> The Berney's were not just the lords of the manor in Norfolk, however – they owned a plantation in Barbados, the first English colony that had a Black, enslaved majority, and the focal-point for the creation of Britain's slave societies in the Caribbean.<sup>67</sup>

The early history of the Berney plantation, known as 'Hanson's,' is shrouded in obscurity but, as indicated on a survey of Barbados map between 1717 and 1721, the Berneys became involved there on the island the early eighteenth century before becoming fellows, as Sir Thomas, Hanson's father, inherited the plantation through his wife, Elizabeth Folkes.<sup>68</sup> The historical record remains silent until 1766, when Hanson was stated as owning "land in St. George's... formerly in tenure of Samuel Hanson [Elizabeth's father]."<sup>69</sup> Therefore, at the same time they were students and fellows at Caius or providing money for scholarships, the Berneys owned a plantation and perhaps managed the estate whilst at the College. Moreover, it was likely that other Caians knew of the plantation in their dealings with the Berney family. Thomas Gooch had close ties to the family and was perhaps instrumental in attaining a fellowship for Hanson Berney.

Despite not being a plantation to rival the great Caribbean or Virginian enslavers, like the Fullers, Berney's Barbadian estate was a significant enterprise and provides an invaluable insight into the estate holdings of Caian families. Positioned on a road between the capital Bridgetown and the Board Hall sugar plantation, Hanson's consisted of a main plantation house, two so-called 'negro yards' (where the enslaved had their dwellings and grew their own crops, poultry, and livestock), two mill fields, a hog pen, cotton tree, garden, and a number of other parcels of land.<sup>70</sup> The Berney estate also consisted, according to Robert Fellowes in 1791, of "383 acres of Land... 46 of which are not contiguous to the Sugar works but near enough to plant corn[.]"<sup>71</sup> The parcel of land known as 'Lower Berney's' divided the property, with two hundred acres of sugar cane planted. The soil was poor in areas, being described as "poor &

<sup>66</sup> Greg Dening, *The Death of William Gooch: A History's Anthropology* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1995), p. 97.

<sup>67</sup> Alan Taylor, *American Colonies* (New York: Penguin, 2002), p. 213.

<sup>68</sup> Jerome Handler et al. *Searching for a Slave Cemetery in Barbados, West Indies: A Bioarchaeological and Ethnohistorical Investigation* (Southern Illinois University: Center for Archaeological Investigations, Research Paper No. 59, 1989), p. 38.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.* p. 37.

<sup>71</sup> Martin Folkes to Robert Fellowes, 20 November 1789, Letters to Sir Martin Browne Folkes re. Sir John Berney's affairs, his estate having been put in trust for the payment of his debts, mostly from Robert Fellowes of Shotesham and Lord Abergavenny Folkes' fellow trustees and Berney himself (Norfolk Record Office, Norfolk, United Kingdom), MC 50/45.

rocky”.<sup>72</sup> In total, the plantation housed around seventy-three enslaved persons – “about one third of the quantity it should have”, according to an observer writer, and “most of them good people.”<sup>73</sup> The lawyers for Sir John Berney’s estate (not the same John Berney as the fellow mention above) were advised, if they wanted to sell the property, to “put on more negroes” as more than two hundred enslaved persons were needed to gain the most profit from the property.<sup>74</sup> The estate also had fifty head of cattle, many of which were old and not fit for use.<sup>75</sup> The mill, too, was “much out of order as well as all the Buildings upon the Estate”, and the estate had no water cistern.<sup>76</sup> Apparently, the 1780 hurricane had done much damage to Berney’s plantation and left the buildings in need of repair.<sup>77</sup> Not all was lost, however, as Fellowes advised that, given the excellent sugar works, a good overseer could return the estate to “working order[.]”<sup>78</sup>

Following Hanson Berney’s death in 1778, his son, Sir John Berney, attempted to sell property to pay off the family’s debts. To accomplish this task, John attempted to return the Barbados plantation to profitability to sell it on to a prospective buyer. The profits that could be gained from such a sale were considerable. In November 1791, Fellowes and the other trustees received word that they had already produced valuations of the “stock of negroes, Cattle, Horses, utensils [for sugar and rum production], & *unsevered* [sugar] produce”.<sup>79</sup> In February 1792, Jonathan Worrell, an absentee Barbadian slaveholder, sent another letter to Fellowes regarding the value of the estate.<sup>80</sup> He wrote that the estate was valued the previous year at “£17,850 Barbados Currency upwards of £2000 more than the estimate I formerly made of it and sent over to you about two years and a half ago amounting if I remember right to £15,500 Currency making at 35 per Ct. Exchange about £11490 Sterg.”<sup>81</sup> All this considered, he continued, the trustees should “sell as the last thing they could do with it” as the sugar price had shown “considerable advance the price of the produce has also tended to enhance the value of Land and property in this Island.”<sup>82</sup> He cautioned, though, that this was a “local advantage”

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*; Martin Folkes’s Account of Barbados Estate, *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> Martin Folkes to Robert Fellowes, 20 November 1789, *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> Young to Robert Fellowes, 19 November 1791, Letters re. Sir John Berney’s affairs, his estate having been put in trust for the payment of his debts (NRO, Norfolk), MC 50/45.

<sup>80</sup> E. M. Shilstone, “The Worrell Family in Barbados,” *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society* 29 (1961-62), pp. 8-23.

<sup>81</sup> Jonathan Worrell to Robert Fellowes, 15 February 1792, Letters re. Sir John Berney’s affairs (NRO, Norfolk), MC 50/45.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

that was “temporary, arising... from the repeated failure of Crops in several of the Islands for 3 or 4 years past” which had raised the price of sugar.<sup>83</sup>

More importantly, Worrell claimed that the land should be sold because of “the unhappy disturbances in the French sugar colonies and particularly the late dreadful and ruinous effects of the revolt in St. Domingo”.<sup>84</sup> Rather than depress the prices of landholdings, Worrell believed that the Haitian Revolution – a thirteen year struggle for freedom by formerly enslaved men and women in Saint-Domingue that led to the creation of Haiti – was an opportunity to be exploited, as it would take a number of years for the French plantations to return to “peace and concord” and that “in the mean time... the present very great price of sugar and other West Indian produce should tempt many to speculate in buying here, and of course advance the price of Estates also[.]”<sup>85</sup> In attempting to profit from the expected defeat of the Saint Domingue revolutionaries, Berney’s trustees showed immense hubris. By 29 August 1792, the revolutionaries controlled more than a third of the island and had forced the French Assembly to abolish slavery.<sup>86</sup>

Perhaps hoping that the Saint Domingue revolt would be crushed, the Berney estate papers contain sale documents for the Hanson plantation. The trustees had already sold or made valuations of Berney’s Kirby, Tunstead, Gimmingham, and Horningstoft estates – together worth an estimated £61,500 – but the Barbadian estate promised a hefty profit.<sup>87</sup> Showing how much the trustees valued the estate, they had already spent a significant amount on rebuilding the Barbados plantation: around £3,000 funded with the proceeds of the estate sales in England.<sup>88</sup> The auction for the 382 acres of “rich land, with all the necessary buildings thereon”

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> There has been a huge amount of recent scholarship on the Haitian Revolution and its reverberations throughout the Atlantic world. See Julius S. Scott, *The Common Wind: Afro-American Currents in the Age of the Haitian Revolution* (London and New York: Verso Books, 2018); Sudhir Hazareesingh, *Black Spartacus: The Epic Life of Toussaint Louverture* (London: Penguin, 2020); and Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005). For Britain’s involvement in the war for Saint Domingue, see David Geggus, “The British Government and the Saint Domingue Slave Revolt, 1791-1793,” *English Historical Review* 96, no. 379 (April 1981), pp. 285-305; and *idem.*, *Slavery, War, and Revolution: The British Occupation of Saint Domingue, 1793-1798* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982).

<sup>87</sup> Valuation of some Estates the property of Sir John Berney lying at Kirby, Tunstead, Gimmingham and Horningstoft in the County of Norfolk, October 1789, Letters re. Sir John Berney’s affairs (NRO, Norfolk), MC 50/45. For the sale notices of these estates, see also Particulars and Conditions of Sale, of the Extensive and Valuable Manors of Corneybury, Giberack, Yardley, and Leights, in the County of Hertford, 8 December 1789, *Ibid.*

<sup>88</sup> Calculation for Exonerating Sir John Berney’s Estate by the sale of Hertfordshire, Tunstead & Gimmingham also providing 3000 for reestablishing Barbados, *Ibid.*

was held at Garroway's Coffee House in Cornhill, London, at 12pm on 5 April 1792.<sup>89</sup> The auction advertisement described the property as possessing “exceeding fine Land, esteemed equally fertile with any in the Island; with a Boiling-house, Still-house, and Mill, with Coppers, Stills, and other necessary Utensils for Managing a Sugar-Estate.”<sup>90</sup> Besides the rights to the freehold property, a prospective buyer had the right to lease fifty-five acres to tenants. In total, including the annual produce of sugar and rum, the plantation had produced a profit of £8,375 over the course of six years from 1785-1790, an average of £1395 a year.<sup>91</sup> Though the auction papers admitted that the “Stock of Negroes and Cattle is by no means sufficient for the Cultivation of so extensive a Plantation,” the auctioneers determined that with a “full Stock” of enslaved workers the estate “would turn out to be considerably more productive than it has ever hitherto been”.<sup>92</sup> These sale papers were one of the last mentions of the plantation in the Berney papers.

The sale took longer than expected. Perhaps fearing blowback from the Saint Domingue revolt, Hanson's remained with the Berney family. In 1809, the family eventually sold the 316-acre plantation, “commonly called or known by the name of Hansons or Upper Berneys”, and its workforce of eighty enslaved persons – around the lower third of Barbadian plantations in terms of the size of their labour force.<sup>93</sup> The purchaser was John Simmons, who owned several plantations in Barbados around the same time, including Harrow's.<sup>94</sup> The names of those who worked on the plantation at the time of sale do not survive, but a ledger book survives from 1792 that provides an insight into the enslaved men, women, and children who lived on the Hanson estate. The ledger is divided into separate sections, including a list of sums due to creditors and money due to the plantation from debtors. In the section labelled “Stock”, the ledger lists the names, and ages of the nineteen men, twenty-five women, and twenty-one children who worked and lived their entire lives on the plantations.<sup>95</sup> The men’s names were Tom Perryman, Billy, Guy, Sharper, James Oronoque, Kirby, Apernew, Johnny, Ned, Sammy, Addo, Dicky, Toby, Johnny, Quan, Cain, William, and Jack. The women’s names were Nelly, Lucy, Jany, Rosey, Grace, Awcoo, Susannah, Rose, Murriah, Dolly, Sebell, Mimbo, Kitty Margarett, Dinah, Betty, Sally, Quashebah, Marcy, Anscilla, Dinis, Katy, Patience, Little

<sup>89</sup> Particulars and Conditions of Sale, of a Valuable Freehold Estate, called Hanson Plantation, Eligibly Situated in the Parishes of St. George, St. Michael, and Christ Church, in the Island of Barbadoes, 5 April 1792, *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> Handler et al. *Searching for a Slave Cemetery in Barbados*, pp. 38-39.

<sup>94</sup> “John Simmons,” *Legacies*, <<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146652643>>, accessed 10 July 2021.

<sup>95</sup> Journal of Hanson Plantation Accounts, 1792 (NRO, Norfolk), FEL 884, 556X4.

Anscilla, Betty Rose, and Doll. The children's names were Jany, Miah, Nanny Aubah, Priscilla, Kitty, Betty Dick, Bessy, Philly Quash, Arominnah, Sally Joan, Tom, Charles, Ledlow, Joe, Billy Tom Saers, Tom Dash, Sam William, Prince, Peter, and Frank.<sup>96</sup> In columns detailing the "Increase" and "Decrease" of this "Stock", the record lists "a negro Boy child born of Dinah & named it Frank" and "a Negro man died, named Cuffey" in the same column as that detailing how many calves had been born or cows that had died on the plantation.<sup>97</sup> The names of these individuals reveal the persistence of West African cultures within a system as oppressive as the British Caribbean. Names such as Quashebah, Oronoque, and Arominnah were African in origin – a sign of how the Black plantation workers persisted and continued their heritage whilst living with the threat of sexual violence, physical abuse, and summary execution.<sup>98</sup>

Besides Berney, more Caians appear in the records of the 1833 Commission, namely the former Junior and Senior Fellow of Caius (from 1782-91), Gunton Postle. As a result of his marriage to Mary Cerjat, whose father William Woodley was a trustee to the Greenland plantation in St. Kitts, Postle appears in the Commission records.<sup>99</sup> So did Robert Gwilt, an undergraduate at Caius from 1797 to 1800, and a doctor at Chelsea Royal Hospital.<sup>100</sup> As a trustee for Robert Burton Williams, who was judged a lunatic, Gwilt claimed no money from the estate's sale. Yet, whilst Postle and Gwilt did not benefit from the Commission, their experiences show how little separation existed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries between Caians and slavery, and how the fellowship had concerns with the slave trade – donating to the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade like other colleges – but not with the system itself. In possessing these connections and attitudes, Caius was like other institutions in forging connections with slaveholders but also having enslaver students and fellows in their midst.

## **South Sea Company Stocks and Annuities**

### **The Origins of the SSC and Owen Stockton's Benefaction**

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<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> Jerome S. Handler and JoAnn Jacoby, "Slaves Names and Naming in Barbados, 1650-1830," *William and Mary Quarterly* 53, no. 4 (October 1996), pp. 685-728.

<sup>99</sup> Gillam, "Report – Research Project Looking into the Legacies of Slavery," *Gonville & Caius*, <<https://www.cai.cam.ac.uk/sites/default/files/Report%20E2%80%93%20Research%20Project%20Looking%20into%20the%20Legacies%20of%20Slavery%20and%20Coerced%20Labour%20at%20Gonville%20Caius%20College%20-%20FINAL.pdf>>, accessed 4 August 2020.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*

Alongside personal connections between Caius alumni and fellows and enslavers, the College records also reveal extensive purchases of South Sea Company (SSC) stocks and annuities throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These investments in a slave-trading Company were made because of two benefactors: Owen Stockton and Bartholomew Wortley. The methodological issues the records introduce in terms of the changing nature of that organisation, its relationship to the slave trade, the complexity of these investments, and the vast sums of money involved require extensive discussion.

The Company's founder, Robert Harley, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, first established the firm as a public-private partnership in January 1711 to restructure the national debt.<sup>101</sup> The Company's existence became even more pressing during the Spanish Wars of Succession (1701-14). Looking to fund the military payroll of £300,000, Harley began a lottery, selling tickets to prospective buyers – the cost of which would help to pay the government's expenditure on the war effort. Though the tickets sold out in four days, the government sought a new scheme to consolidate the national debt, which would require creditors to surrender their debt into shares in the South Sea Company ('South Sea' meaning the Spanish Americas) with the same nominal value.<sup>102</sup> Under Harley's plan, the government made an annual payment to the Company and this money would then be distributed to the shareholders as a dividend. As a sweetener for investors, the Company was offered a monopoly to trade on the east and west coasts of South America, from the River Orinoco to the Tierra del Fuego (from modern Colombia to southern Chile and Argentina).<sup>103</sup>

Government debt provided the impetus for the Company's creation, yet historians have shown that investors, who had more limited opportunities to diversify their investment portfolios than today, were banking on returns from the firm's other major source of income: the slave trade.<sup>104</sup> From the beginning, Harley brought a number of pamphlets into print that sought to encourage a trading empire in the South Seas – an empire of expanding territory and

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<sup>101</sup> Helen J. Paul, *The South Sea Bubble: An Economic History of Its Origins and Consequences* (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 36.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>104</sup> For the South Sea Company as a determined slave trading firm, see Abigail L. Swingen, *Competing Visions of Empire: Labor, Slavery, and the Origins of the British Atlantic Empire* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015); Victoria G. Sorsby, "British Trade with Spanish America under the Asiento, 1713-1740" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1975); and Adrian Finucane, *The Temptations of Trade: Britain, Spain, and the Struggle for Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016). For an example of the older scholarship, which did not emphasise the firm's slave trading activities, see Donald L. Cherry, "The South Sea Company, 1711-1855," *Dalhousie Review* 13, no. 1 (1934), pp. 61-68.

wealth – based on what one scholar calls a “revival of Oliver Cromwell’s Western Design of 1655”, which had established a British presence on Jamaica.<sup>105</sup> After the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 granted Britain a monopoly to trade enslaved persons to the Spanish American colonies, the Company began its slave trading operations in earnest. The Company forged contracts with the Royal African Company to trade enslaved Africans to Jamaica, with some of the profits from the *Asiento de Negros* – the monopoly on trading enslaved Africans to South America – reserved for the Spanish Crown and Queen Anne, who was herself an ardent proponent of the slave trade.<sup>106</sup>

The South Sea Company was an enticing investment. The Company had an element of risk diversification built into its structure given that the government paid it a fee each year for its activities concerning the national debt, and investors also shared in the profits from the slave trade or colonisation if those ventures were successful.<sup>107</sup> The historian Helen Paul argues that the purchase of Company stock was “akin to buying a lottery ticket with the small chance of winning a large jackpot.”<sup>108</sup> Like the East India Company, the South Sea Company also benefited from substantial diplomatic and naval support, with Royal Navy ships carrying gold and other supplies for the company and providing convoy protection, offering emergency supplies such as sails, and providing dockyard facilities for Company ships.<sup>109</sup> The Company will be always remembered for the Bubble in 1720 (whose significance, both for the British economy and for the SSC itself, has been overstated), but even that event did not stop its slave trading efforts, with over nineteen thousand Africans sent to the Americas following that event.<sup>110</sup> In total, the Company perhaps sent 64,780 enslaved persons to the Spanish Americas

<sup>105</sup> Jonathan Lamb, *Preserving the Self in the South Seas* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2001), p. 50. The publisher John Morphew actively promoted the South Sea trade. In 1711, he published Daniel Defoe’s *A true account of the design, and advantages of the South-Sea trade ; with answers to all the objections rais’d against it : a list of the commodities proper for that trade : and the progress of the subscription towards the South-Sea Company* and, a year later, the geographer Herman Moll’s *A view of the coasts, countrys & islands within the limits of the South-Sea Company: Containing A Relation of the Discoveries, Settlements, and present State; the Bays, Ports, Harbours, Rivers, &c. the Product, People, Manufactures, Trade, and Riches of the several Places: With an Account of Former Projects in England for a Settlement, and the Accomplishment of the Last in the Present Company. As also Lists of the Commissioners, Governours, and Directors Names appointed by Her Majesty. With Some Useful Observations on the several Voyages hitherto publish'd.*

<sup>106</sup> Paul, *South Sea Bubble*, pp. 40-41. For the debate around slavery in Britain and Queen Anne, see Holly Brewer, “Slavery, Sovereignty, and ‘Inheritable Blood’: Reconsidering John Locke and the Origins of American Slavery,” *American Historical Review* 122, no. 4 (October 1, 2017), p. 1042. On the establishment of *Asiento* trade, Anne secured more than twenty per cent of the shares in the SSC.

<sup>107</sup> Paul, *South Sea Bubble*, p. 56.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64.

and the large gaps in the organisation's archival records suggests that figure could have been far higher.<sup>111</sup>

Having established that investors became interested in the Company both for its role as the consolidator of national debt and for its role as a slave trader, a distinction needs to be made between South Sea Company *annuities* and *stocks* – a distinction further cemented after the Bubble in 1720. Annuities provided an investor with a five per cent annual sum or fee to 1727 and four per cent thereafter.<sup>112</sup> In contrast, the trading stock in the Company fluctuated according to the success or failure of the firm's trading enterprise. In 1733, due to losses from the Company's slave trading ventures and aborted interest in Atlantic whaling, the firm's capital stock of over £14,000,000 was divided into one-quarter trading stock and three-quarters new annuity stock (known as 'New South Sea annuities').<sup>113</sup>

Despite being separate assets, investors would not have formed a marked distinction between the Company's debt functions and role as a slave trader – both were mutually reinforcing, and both provided a sound reason to invest in the Company. Furthermore, as was the case with the East India Company, the annuities were essential to the organisation's continued operation because – as a joint-stock company who traded publicly – the creation and sale of the annuities allowed the SSC to transfer the cost of the public debts they incurred on to third party investors. By design, the annuities also helped to support and stabilise the Company and provided the liquidity for day-to-day operations.<sup>114</sup> The SSC may have had its assets divided, but its proprietors continued to maintain control over the annuities and these assets provided the firm's leaders more stable capital from which to trade in the Americas.<sup>115</sup> Investing in annuities, not just the trading stock, therefore, also meant that one was receiving income from a firm committed to the slave trade.

Regarding these investors, all sorts of individuals, charities, societies, religious bodies, colleges, and universities became involved in joint-stock companies such as the South Sea Company. These investments in companies committed to colonisation took place before the Financial Revolution. From the very beginnings of colonisation in Virginia, investors managed global investment portfolios and used their financial acumen and fortunes earned in other

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>112</sup> Cherry, "South Sea," p. 63.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

<sup>114</sup> Emily Erikson, *Between Monopoly and Free Trade: The English East India Company, 1600-1757* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014), p. 42 ('public debts'); Philip Lawson, *The East India Company* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), p. 75 ('liquidity').

<sup>115</sup> Giada Pizzoni, "The English Catholic Church and the Age of Mercantilism: Bishop Richard Challoner and the South Sea Company," *Journal of Early Modern History* 24 (2020), p. 122.

enterprises to fund colonial causes.<sup>116</sup> The true reasons for investing often elude historians, yet the profits from such investments helped tie disparate individuals and institutions to profits gained from slavery and colonialism. There was also little division in SSC share and annuities purchases across different genders, classes, or professions – men and women, artisans, church men, and the landed classes equally joined the craze for shares and bonds in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>117</sup> The Royal Society was another significant investor, placing around £1,500 in Bank of England annuities and SSC bonds before the Bubble.<sup>118</sup> Indeed, some historians have claimed that investing became a patriotic duty in England – a sign of one's commitment to the nation's imperial activities.<sup>119</sup>

The Church of England was an investor in the South Sea Company, too, and Caius benefited from these investments through Queen Anne's Bounty. In 1704, Queen Anne's government established the Bounty – or 'Q. A. B.' as denoted in the College records – to supplement the incomes of poorer clergy in the Church through the purchase of land (generally around £200 worth in each transaction).<sup>120</sup> Before the eighteenth century, the First-Fruits Office raised the money for the Bounty from the first year's income of a cleric newly appointed to a bishopric. Yet the Bounty was also meant to become a self-sustaining fund – and that was why its administrators invested heavily in South Sea securities up to 1780 and three per cent consolidated debt (essentially government bonds) after that date.<sup>121</sup> The Church was an astute investor. By the nineteenth century, the quantity of capital stock had grown to such an extent that the interest from the capital, historian Geoffrey Best notes, "overtook the annual income from the first-fruits and tenths."<sup>122</sup>

Caius received at least three grants from the Bounty in the eighteenth century. In 1737, Venn notes in his *Biographical History* that the College had purchased an avowdson (the right to nominate someone for a church living) at Brooke in Norfolk.<sup>123</sup> Half of the purchase money

<sup>116</sup> Misha Ewen, "Women Investors and the Virginia Company in the Early Seventeenth Century," *Historical Journal* 62, no. 4 (March 2019), pp. 853-874.

<sup>117</sup> See Alexandra Shepard, "Minding their Own Business: Married Women and Credit in Early Eighteenth-Century London," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 25 (2015), pp. 53-74; Amy Froide, *Silent Partners: Women as Public Investors during Britain's Financial Revolution, 1690-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), ch. 2; and Ann M. Carlos and Larry Neal, "Women Investors in Early Capital Markets, 1720-1725," *Financial History Review* 11 (2004), pp. 197-224.

<sup>118</sup> Paul, *South Sea Bubble*, p. 71.

<sup>119</sup> David Hancock, "'Domestic Bubbling': Eighteenth-Century London Merchants and Individual Investment in the Funds," *Economic History Review* 47, no. 4 (November 1994), p. 700.

<sup>120</sup> William Richard Le Fanu, *Queen Anne's Bounty: A Short Account of Its History and Work* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1921), pp. 38-39.

<sup>121</sup> Geoffrey F. A. Best, *Temporal Pillars: Queen Anne's Bounty, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and the Church of England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), p. 128.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>123</sup> Venn, *Biographical History*, vol. 4, p. 69.

for this expense was provided by £200 from the Bounty, and the other half from a local reverend.<sup>124</sup> In 1741 and 1743, the College received two sums of £200 for the purchase a freehold farm at Standfield.<sup>125</sup> Though the SSC's slave trading had activities had concluded before the two latter donations, the first donation from the Bounty took place when the Company was still partly operating as a trading enterprise. These donations are a reminder, as we shall see with the Wortley benefaction, of how wealth from securities and stock purchases helped to drive landed wealth at Caius.

Taking this context into account, Owen Stockton was an unlikely man to get Caius directly involved in the SSC because he died thirty years before its formation. The fourth son of a younger branch of Stocktons, he had little chance of inheriting property and he suffered the further misfortune of his father's death at an early age. Educated at a local Ely grammar school, Stockton proceeded to Christ's College, but soon migrated to Caius where he was awarded his B.A. in 1649 and M.A. in 1653. Like Gooch, Stockton soared through the ranks at the College by virtue of his talents: becoming a junior fellow in 1651, senior fellow in 1652, morning lecturer and then Hebrew lecturer in 1652, steward in 1653, and catechist (a teacher of religion) in 1654. He then began preaching in the villages surrounding Cambridge, and gave sermons fortnightly at St. Andrew's Church, Cambridge – moving to Colchester and then to Ipswich where he continued to be a teacher.<sup>126</sup>

Stockton must have been thrifty because, upon on his death in 1680, he left his library and £500 to Caius for the founding of a scholarship.<sup>127</sup> The puritan divine also had an interest in spreading religion abroad to the American colonies. Though this provision in his will was never carried out (it was predicated on his daughter passing away at an early age), he made a £140 donation (£20 per annum for seven years) to Harvard's Indian College so that a Native American man could be converted and trained to preach the gospel in his own language. The will further stipulated that if the convert "do so long reside in the said Colledge and at the End of every Seven Years or sooner, vacancy by Death or otherwise a new one to be chosen."<sup>128</sup> The Christianisation of indigenous persons, it must be remembered, was not a wholly

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<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.

<sup>126</sup> Rev. John Fairfax, *Life of the Rev. Owen Stockton, M.A.* (London, 1832), pp. 3-5.

<sup>127</sup> Brooke, *History of Gonville & Caius*, p. 134, n. 35.

<sup>128</sup> Will of Owen Stockton, 20 December 1678, Robert Woodberry Lovett, ed., *Documents from the Harvard University Archives, 1638-1750* (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1975), p. 137.

benevolent task. Christianising native peoples was considered an effective way to neutralise colonial threats and spread the power of imperial governance throughout New England.<sup>129</sup>

Following Stockton's death, the story of how the College came to own South Sea annuities was rather complex. Stockton laid out money upon his death so that his wife, Eleanor, and daughter, Sarah, could purchase land to provide them with an income. Following both their deaths, this land would be transferred to Caius for the maintenance of a scholar from London or Westminster for four years in Cambridge, four years abroad, and another five years as a statutory fellow on their return to the College and residence there. In 1713, Eleanor Stockton died and left John Meadows and Sarah Chaplyn as the executors of her estate. That was where the trouble began.<sup>130</sup> Taking the case to the Court of Chancery, the College sought to recover Stockton's legacy and on 8 July 1714 it was ordered that the £500, none of which had been spent on the land, should be invested on lands for inheritance or "putt out at Interest on Government Security".<sup>131</sup> Accordingly, Thomas Gery, the Master in the Court of Chancery (which dealt with such property disputes) placed the sum of money out on Lottery Orders in 1715 and then on South Sea annuities in the Accountant General's name. Less than a decade later, Caius made another petition to the Master of the Rolls, a clerk in the Chancery, for the purchase of a rent charge of £18 a year to replace the Annuities and, four years later in 1728, another petition was offered again seeking compensation for the rent charge. Neither of these petitions came into effect and Stockton's legacy was vested in South Sea annuities – an accidental occurrence out of a complex legal process.<sup>132</sup> Adding to their importance, the annuities were the main source of income for that benefaction.

Despite these annuities having come into Caius's possession through accident, the College benefited extensively off these assets and made repeated attempts to gain the interest from these securities. In December 1726, the College made a "clayme before Mr Lightbourne one of the Masters of this Court for the said five hundred pounds annuitys and produce thereof"

<sup>129</sup> Lisa Tanya Brooks, *Our Beloved Kin: A New History of King Philip's War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), p. 81. See also David Silverman, *Faith and Boundaries: Colonists, Christianity, and Community among the Wampanoag Indians of Martha's Vineyard, 1600-1871* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). Prominent seventeenth-century figures at Harvard including Increase Mather, Benjamin Wadsworth, and William Brattle were all slaveholders. For these legacies from the founding of the college until the twentieth century, see Sven Beckert, Katherine Stevens, and the Students of the Harvard and Slavery Research Seminar, *Harvard and Slavery: Seeking A Forgotten History*, <<http://www.harvardandslavery.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/Harvard-Slavery-Book-111110.pdf>>, accessed 3 September 2020.

<sup>130</sup> The Master and Fellows of Gonville and Caius College to the Lord High Chancellor, 1728, Stockton Benefaction Account Records (Caius College, Cambridge), GC/BUR/F/70.

<sup>131</sup> The Master and Fellows of Gonville and Caius College to the Right Honourable Peter Lord King Baron, Undated, *Ibid.*

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*

– money they believed that Lightbourne had promised in “his generall Report”.<sup>133</sup> The College received the two and a half years’ worth of interest payments from the Annuities in Michaelmas 1727 – the sum of £62 and ten shillings.<sup>134</sup> Two years later, Caius received another £31 and five shillings from the Annuities, as recorded in the Stockton benefaction accounts, which Thomas Gooch signed each year.<sup>135</sup> To receive the interest over the following decades, Caius hired the services of a Mr. Moxon. The College paid for the coach hire for Moxon to attend South Sea House in London to receive interest from the Annuities and, in 1754, to purchase another £78 of these securities.<sup>136</sup> By the mid-eighteenth century, the South Sea Company had abandoned its slave trading activities, relying solely on its role in the government debt. But for more than twelve years, from 1727 to 1739, the College benefited off assets that helped to support the functioning of an active slave trading company. Over the course of that period, the College made more than £300 from these assets, a sum perhaps equivalent to £49,197 in real value today. From 1727 until these assets were turned into three-per-cent consols after the Company’s liquidation in 1855, the Stockton benefaction may have made £289,631 off these securities in real value. These assets were one of the many benefactions that partly relied on SSC securities at Cambridge.

### The Wortley Benefaction

Compared to the Stockton case, the Wortley benefaction was far more significant – and problematic – given that the benefactor was also an investor in the trading capital of the SSC. By the end of the Bubble, he held £160 in South Sea trading stock – an amount that expanded in subsequent years.<sup>137</sup> Bartholomew Wortley was, like many Caian fellows, deeply attached to the College. The son of a lowly plumber from Fakenham, Norfolk, Wortley showed an aptitude for learning at an early age, being admitting as a Scholar at Caius in 1671. After been awarded his B.A. in around 1675/6 and M.A. degree in 1679, Wortley became a fellow, holding this position for more than twenty years until 1706. Whilst at Caius, Wortley showed enough talent in classical languages that he was elected to a lectureship in Hebrew from 1690 until 1696.<sup>138</sup> He was a rather controversial figure – the historian Christopher Brooke suggests that

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<sup>133</sup> Accountant General to the Master and Fellows of Gonville and Caius College, 16 December 1726, *Ibid.*

<sup>134</sup> Michaelmas 1727, Stockton Account Book, *Ibid.*

<sup>135</sup> Michaelmas 1729, *Ibid.*

<sup>136</sup> Michaelmas 1753, *Ibid.*

<sup>137</sup> Bartholomew Wortley, Accountant’s Department: Stock Ledgers (Bank of England Archives, London, UK), AC27/6452, p. 775.

<sup>138</sup> Brooke, *History of Gonville & Caius*, pp. 150-152.

“he was in sympathy, and perhaps, in fact, a non-juror.”<sup>139</sup> (A non-juror refused to take the oath of allegiance to the joint monarchs William III and Mary II after the Glorious Revolution in 1688.) Perhaps fearing retribution for his politics, the College gave Wortley a living in Devon, affording the humble Norfolk man the distinction of being the first rector of Bratton Fleming. He held this position for forty-four years, passing away in his mid-90s after a fall close to his home and a short illness.<sup>140</sup>

Wortley’s benefaction to Caius was one of the largest in the College’s history and was the most significant sum of money provided to the college in the eighteenth century. Having been a thrifty bachelor for the duration of his life, he left £7,000 in stocks, bonds, and securities and lands in Norfolk and Devon to Caius, his will providing for two new fellowships for one man in the name of Wortley and another man from North Devonshire (preferably from Bratton Fleming). In 1748 a third fellowship was provided for a Norfolk man, preferably from Fakenham. According to Wortley’s instructions, these fellows should inspect the estates on which their foundation rested and, like the Stockton scholarship, travel abroad for four years during their tenure as a fellow. The Wortley benefaction also allocated £400 towards casing the east and west sides of Gonville Court and in rebuilding the north side, five pounds spent annually on a Commemoration Feast on 23 February (followed by a “commendation of learning” or lecture in “divinity, Physic or Philosophy”), a sum for the purchasing of lands throughout Cambridge, and a considerable amount of money for valuable advowsons in Beachampton in Buckinghamshire, and Kirstead in Norfolk.<sup>141</sup>

Not everyone was pleased with Wortley’s benefaction. In 1749, a former Caian noted that Wortley’s will did not provide for “his own brother’s children, who live here [in Norwich] & want bread.”<sup>142</sup> Caius would not feel the “poverty and distress” of that household.<sup>143</sup> Some Caius fellows were also displeased. The fellowships were not appointed until 1771, during which time two fellows were elected, on 9 October and 7 November. But, as Venn writes, it

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 152. The circumstances of Wortley’s death can be found in William Barbor to Thomas Gooch, 26 March 1749, 2 April 1749, 25 April 1749, 5 May 1749, and 12 May 1749, Bartholomew Wortley Benefaction Account (Caius College, Cambridge), GC/BUR/F/74.

<sup>141</sup> Will of Bartholomew Wortley, Clerk of Bratton Fleming, Devon, 7 June 1749, Prerogative Court of Canterbury and related Probate Jurisdictions: Will Registers (National Archives, Kew, London), PROB 11/771/66; Venn, *Biographical History*, vol. 3, p. 219. According to Brooke, Wortley modelled his will on Stephen Perse’s – understandable given that Wortley was the College’s former bursar and therefore had to deal with Perse’s benefaction on a regular basis. The lands in Norfolk and Devon included Atherington, Bratton (Kippiscombe), Bray, Elmham, and Fakenham. (*Ibid.*, p. 116).

<sup>142</sup> Francis Blomefield to William Cole, 27 June 1749, in David Stoker, ed., *The Correspondence of the Reverend Francis Blomefield, 1705-1752* (Norfolk: Norfolk Record Society, 1992), p. 401.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*

had been so long since a fellowship had been established that “a certain amount of distrust seems to have been felt as to the position of the new members of Caius.”<sup>144</sup> Accordingly, the College Gesta decreed on 4 July 1769 that “Wortley’s fellows shall receive no emolument from the common stock of the college, nor have any other stipend yearly than what shall issue out of Mr. Wortley’s benefaction: that they shall not be present with the senior fellows at any college business, except at the auditing of Mr Wortley’s accounts: that they shall not be capable of holding any college office, or any University office, in right of the said college, unless it shall have been refused by every one of the senior fellows.”<sup>145</sup> Although the money was appreciated, the same could not be said of the fellows who came in Wortley’s name.

Besides his domestic activities in Norfolk, Wortley may have been a subscriber to five hundred pounds of new East India Company stock in 1698 and thus appeared on their foundation charter.<sup>146</sup> So far, comprehensive searches of various genealogical databases have not shown anyone of a similar name who could have invested at this time.<sup>147</sup> Wortley’s investment was “not less than One Hundred Pounds” for the five hundred shares because that amount was necessary to be included as a signatory to the charter.<sup>148</sup> This investment would have been consistent with his religious attitudes and economic hopes, given that he would have expected to receive dividends from the Company’s activities that the founders assured could be “devise[d]” in “his last Will and Testament”.<sup>149</sup> The new EIC was created in response to criticisms of the original Company: that it was monopolising trade and restricting it from ‘interlopers’ and that the original EIC was not doing enough to spread Christianity to foreign parts and thereby undermine the menace of Catholicism.<sup>150</sup> The latter cause, in particular, was one that Wortley, given his religious background, would have supported. Moreover, the founders declared that merchants in the new Company should maintain a minister and schoolmaster in every garrison and factory whilst providing “a decent place for divine

<sup>144</sup> Venn, *Biographical History*, vol. 3, p. 219.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>146</sup> Charter Granted to the English Company, Trading to the East-Indies, 5 September 1698, John Shaw, ed., *Charters Relating to the East India Company From 1600 to 1761* (Madras, 1887), p. 133 (‘subscriber’) and 145 (‘five hundred’).

<sup>147</sup> Searches of the National Archives discovery records, Ancestry, Find My Past, and other relevant databases have not yielded anyone with the same name in the appropriate period.

<sup>148</sup> Charter, 5 September 1698, in Shaw, ed., *Charters Relating to the East India Company*, p. 124.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151.

<sup>150</sup> The problem of ‘interlopers’ in the EIC is explored in Philip J. Stern, *The Company-State: Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundations of the British Empire in India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), ch. 2. The issue of ‘interloping’ also concerned the slave trade, as can be seen in Pettigrew, *Royal Africa Company*, pp. 88-89. The religious foundations of the new EIC are discussed in Penelope Carson, *The East India Company and Religion, 1698-1858* (London: Boydell Press, 2012), ch. 1.

service.”<sup>151</sup> Despite no ecclesiastical hierarchy being mentioned in the Charter, the founders of the new EIC noted that ministers “were to learn the Portuguese and Hindoo languages, to enable them to instruct the Gentoos &c in the Christian religion[.]”<sup>152</sup>

The Company charter mentioned slavery and servitude, perhaps unsurprisingly given that the old EIC was, by this time, a participant in the trade in Madagascan enslaved persons and had tried to establish a slave society in St. Helena in the South Seas based on “a Barbados discipline.”<sup>153</sup> In the same passage as that providing for ministers, the charter noted that church men will “instruct the Gentoos, that shall be the Servants or Slaves of the Company, or of their Agents in the Protestant Religion”.<sup>154</sup> The new East India Company was initially successful, floated under a state-back indemnity of two million pounds and funded with £315,000 of subscription capital.<sup>155</sup> Yet it became clear that the Companies had no measurable competition so in 1702 they decided to merge to form the ‘United Company of Merchants Trading to the East Indies’, or more commonly known as the ‘Honourable East India Company.’ In this arrangement, the new Company sold £673,500 of capital stock, perhaps paying Wortley and others off for their initial investment.<sup>156</sup>

If the Wortley on this charter was the same Bartholomew Wortley from Caius – and the available evidence seems to support that conclusion – then his investment would be in keeping with the College’s attitudes towards religion and empire. Indeed, the Bursar Books and Council Minutes (or Gesta) reveal that Caius made three donations of five pounds, ten pounds, and fifteen pounds respectively to the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge in 1727 (principally so that the New Testament could be translated into Arabic) and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in 1743 and 1752.<sup>157</sup> Both organisations helped to support the plantation regimes in the Caribbean. The SPCK endeavoured to spread religion abroad to enslaved Africans on the plantations in the Caribbean. Founded in 1701 by the

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>153</sup> Stern, *Company-State*, p. 22. See also Frenise A. Logan, “The British East India Company and African Slavery in Benkulen, Sumatra, 1687-1792,” *Journal of Negro History* 41, no. 4 (October 1956), pp. 339-348; Andre Major, *Slavery, Abolition, and Empire in India, 1772-1843* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012); and Richard B. Allen, *European Slave Trading in the Indian Ocean, 1500-1850* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2014).

<sup>154</sup> Charter, 5 September 1698, in Shaw, ed., *Charters Relating to the East India Company*, p. 144.

<sup>155</sup> Indenture Tripartite Between Her Majesty Queen Anne and the Two East-India Companies, For Uniting the Said Companies, 21 July 1702, in Shaw, ed., *Charters Relating to the East India Company*, p. 157.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 173.

<sup>157</sup> The investment in the SPCK and the first donation of ten guineas to the SPG can be seen here: 5 April 1726 and 23 June 1743, Master/Registry Gesta, 1849-1857 (Caius College, Cambridge), GOV/03/01/05. The second investment of fifteen guineas in the SPG was recorded here on 2 June 1752, *Ibid.* For the corresponding donations in the Bursar Books, see Festo Mich. 1726 to Festum Annunc. 1727 and Festo Michaelis 1752 to Festum Annunc. 1753, College Bursar Book, 1792-1810 (Caius College, Cambridge), GC/BUR/F/88.

Reverend Thomas Bray, who also started the SPCK, the SPG was a more direct participant in the plantation system. It operated a Barbadian plantation after a charitable bequest from Christopher Codrington, the former governor of the Leeward Islands, in 1710 to fund and support what became Codrington College.<sup>158</sup> These investments in enterprises that were well known for their support and acceptance of slavery were typical of a Cambridge college, especially given the zeal for missionary Anglicanism at the time.

Caian fellows and minor benefactors owned South Sea capital too. Robert Simpson (or Sympson), a Master of Arts, fellow from 1711, and an Esquire Bedell (Cambridge's junior ceremonial officer), can be found in the Bank of England records.<sup>159</sup> Under an entry identifying him as from "Caius Coll. Cambridge," Simpson was said to have purchased £400 in South Sea annuities in June 1730. He also seems to have held trading stock, although the exact amount cannot be determined given that the stock books do not survive. By March 1733, his investment had reduced to £376.<sup>160</sup> On his death the same year as Wortley, Simpson donated £300 to Caius to use at the College's discretion.<sup>161</sup>

Given that the College actively owned South Sea Company annuities, too, Wortley would have not been stopped from making similar investments. Unlike the College, however, the available records show that he owned both stocks and annuities – thereby making one of Caius's most generous benefactors an active investor in the Company's slave trading operations. Out of the original sum he donated to Caius upon his death, he together held around £437 in South Sea shares and annuities – distinguishing between both securities in a 1741 note that is now contained in the Wortley benefaction records.<sup>162</sup> As we have seen, Wortley was not a late arrival to owning South Sea Company securities. In his descriptions of his shareholdings, he regularly denounced the Company's "Villain Directors," implying that Wortley may have been a victim of the Bubble.<sup>163</sup> He also mentioned that his original shareholdings "was all

<sup>158</sup> Glasson, *Missionary Anglicanism*, p. 141. See also *idem.*, "'Baptism doth not bestow Freedom': Missionary Anglicanism, Slavery, and the Yorke-Talbot Opinion, 1701-30," *William and Mary Quarterly* 67, no. 2(April 2010), pp. 279-318; Katharine Gerbner, *Christian Slavery: Conversion and Race in the Protestant Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018); and Katherine Carté, *Religion and the American Revolution: An Imperial History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2021).

<sup>159</sup> "Robert Sympson," ACAD, <[https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search-2018.pl?sur=simpson&suro=w&fir=robert&firo=c&cit=&cito=c&c=all&z=all&tex=&sye=&eye=&col=CA\\_IUS&maxcount=50](https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search-2018.pl?sur=simpson&suro=w&fir=robert&firo=c&cit=&cito=c&c=all&z=all&tex=&sye=&eye=&col=CA_IUS&maxcount=50)>, accessed 15 September 2021.

<sup>160</sup> Robert Simpson, Stock Ledgers (Bank of England, London), AC27/6459.

<sup>161</sup> Will of Robert Simpson, of Gonville and Caius College in the University of Cambridge, Prerogative Court of Canterbury and related Probate Jurisdictions: Will Registers (National Archives, Kew, London), PROB 11/775/106.

<sup>162</sup> An Account Taken of my Mortgages, Bonds and other Obligations then Due, 16 November 1741, Wortley Account (Caius College, Cambridge), GC/BUR/F/74.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*

reduced” to £500 because it had in part been paid “of ye principle” and “part Annihilated of the Annuities.”<sup>164</sup> The Bank of England records show that from 25 June 1733 Wortley invested in new South Sea annuities, indicating that Wortley may have taken the short end of the stick as the Company repositioned its capital in 1733 so that one-quarter would be placed in trading stock and three-quarters in annuities.<sup>165</sup> Effectively, Wortley complained because his share capital, which he seemed to value more than the annuities, had been halved as a result of the new regulations. Again, the Bank of England has no records on the South Sea stock, these records having been lost after the Company’s dissolution.<sup>166</sup> (William Barbor, one of Wortley’s executors, had a difficult time judging the amount of these securities as well, commenting to Thomas Gooch that he had found “as yet no Papers for ye S S Stock”).<sup>167</sup> It is difficult to believe that Wortley did not know of that institution’s role in the slave trade though – and the fact that he attempted to profit from that enterprise raises questions about one of Caius’s most generous benefactors.

Wortley’s benefaction was significant for its size but also what it suggested about the nature of the college as a financial investor. The account books show an increasing sophistication in the presentation of the account records, and the Caius fellowship’s dedication to buying and trading these shares to provide a source of long-term income for the College. After Wortley’s death in 1749, the College took ownership of the SSC investments – the importance of which is highlighted through the sheer amount of correspondence in the benefaction records that involves these stocks and annuities.<sup>168</sup> To enforce their ownership, Caius hired the services of Ebenezer Blackwell, a London financier and a later defendant in the case of *Barton v Cooper* in the Court of Exchequer after a slave ship took much longer than the planned 9-15 month voyage.<sup>169</sup> Blackwell got to work and in February 1749 he sent word to Thomas Gooch that he had bought eight hundred annuities on “your Lordship’s own account”, noting that the “£2000 South Sea Stock belonging to the College cannot be subscribed singly because the Capital must be subscribed or none.”<sup>170</sup> Blackwell sent two

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>165</sup> Bartholomew Wortley’s Purchases of New Sea Annuities, Accountant’s Department: Stock Ledgers (Bank of England Archives, London), AC27/6051/920.

<sup>166</sup> Andrew Odlyzko, “Newton’s Financial Misadventures in the South Sea Bubble,” *Royal Society Journal of the History of Science* 73 (2019), p. 48. The initial ledgers for 25 June 1723 are all that survives from the stock ledgers (*Ibid.*).

<sup>167</sup> William Barbor to Thomas Gooch, 1 June 1749, Wortley Account (Caius College, Cambridge), GC/BUR/F/74.

<sup>168</sup> Ebenezer Blackwell to Thomas Gooch, 22 February 1749, *Ibid.*

<sup>169</sup> Andrew Lyall, *Granville Sharp’s Cases on Slavery* (Portland, Oregon: Hart Publishing, 2017), p. 369.

<sup>170</sup> Ebenezer Blackwell to Thomas Gooch, 22 February 1749, Wortley Account (Caius College, Cambridge), GC/BUR/F/74.

permits along with the original letter, one for “£3000. 4pct. Annuities & the other for the Colleges £2000. New South Sea Annuities which of your Lordship will please to sign I will subscribe them both.”<sup>171</sup> All up, the College purchased enough stock on 7 February 1749 and in May 1751 to bring the total worth of these shares to £5,000.<sup>172</sup> In total, Martin, Stone, and Blackwell Company charged the College around £211 for their work in transferring these securities to Caius.<sup>173</sup>

Caius rewarded Blackwell for his services, regularly paying for the banker to visit South Sea House to collect interest and for him to come to Cambridge to settle Wortley’s accounts.<sup>174</sup> Gooch also visited the Company’s headquarters on the corner of Bishopsgate and Threadneedle Street in central London. According to the Wortley account records, Thomas Gooch “Paid sundry Expences at ye South Sea House for Entering ye will of Mr Wortley, & making Letters of attorney for Mr Ebenez[e]r Blackwell to accept ye several Transfers of both ye South Sea stock & new annuities, & to receive ye dividends that shall from time to time grow due on ye said stock[.]”<sup>175</sup> Rather than operating apart from these transactions, the College took steps to take ownership of these stocks and annuities in 1749 and their efforts to expand their purchases reveal the importance they placed upon them. Even towards the mid-eighteenth century, the College also profited from the Company’s trading activities because the relinquishing of the *Asiento* contract yielded £100,000 for investors and the firm only renounced its trading operations in 1807.<sup>176</sup> Though we today know that the Company no longer traded after 1730s, the same assumption cannot be made of people who invested in SSC stock at the time. Perhaps Gooch and others believed that these trading activities would resume and so invested in stocks as well as annuities to profit off those operations.

The benefaction’s size needs to be noted because the College was suffering financially in the eighteenth century, regularly posing losses in its account books (eventually the College

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.* For a list of these purchases, see also Drs. The Master & Fellows of Gonville & Caius College to Messrs. Martins Stone & Blackwell, 26 September 1751, *Ibid.*

<sup>172</sup> An Account Taken of my Mortgages, Bonds and other Obligations then Due, 16 November 1741, *Ibid.*; An Account of Money Paid by the Executors, *Ibid.*

<sup>173</sup> Ebenezer Blackwell to Thomas Gooch, 26 September 1751, *Ibid.*

<sup>174</sup> An Account of money received by the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Ely one of ye Executors of ye Revd. Mr Bartholomew Wortley, or by Messrs. Martins Stone & Blackwell by his Lordships Order, belonging to ye Estate of ye late Mr Wortley, and deliver’d in Novr. 27 1751 to the Bursar Mr John Smith for ye use of Mr Wortley’s Benefaction to Caius College, Wortley’s Benefaction Account Book, 1749-1844 (Caius College, Cambridge), GC/BUR/F/74.

<sup>175</sup> An Account of Money Paid by the Executors, *Ibid.*

<sup>176</sup> Cherry, “South Sea,” p. 66.

declared in 1849 that it had a debt of more than thirteen thousand pounds).<sup>177</sup> A benefaction such as Wortley's would mean hundreds of pounds for the College chest. In their attempts to take ownership and profit from the Wortley fortune, the College was successful. In real value, the total revenue from the Wortley benefaction from 1751 until 1844, when the account books for the bequest end (a decade before the SSC's liquidation), may be worth £21,246,960 in 2020.<sup>178</sup> The South Sea stocks and annuities alone may have provided dividends of £2,077,458 in real value from 1749 to 1844. The bequest's profits are estimated at £10,452,541 in real value in 2020.

It must also be stressed that such a complex operation as claiming the Wortley benefaction involved more colleges than Caius. The Wortley benefaction suggests a level of intercollegiate cooperation concerning these financial decisions that should be recognised. On 12 October 1769, the Caius council minutes read that the "Masters of St Johns and Trinity College being appointed by Mr Wortley's Will visitors of His Foundation do approve the Conditions and Regulations here mention'd and do confirm the same as far as by Law we are authorized to do."<sup>179</sup> The enormous profits gained from these investments – a long term exposure to the legacies of enslavement – become more problematic given that the assets partially owe their provenance to an investor in SSC trading capital.

The master and fellows of the College made sure that Wortley's money was put to good use. The money injection from the bequest was put to most purposes one can imagine at Caius, from wages to land to being used to support and fund other benefactions at the College. In October 1764, the College "Agreed to purchase so much Stock as will defray the Expence [sic] of the Window Tax the Plate Tax & the Master's Sizars Sipend left by Sr Thos. Gooch Bishop of Ely."<sup>180</sup> Though Wortley's money was continually paid into the college chest each year, the Caius fellows made detailed notes about when those funds were spent, particularly on salaries. In 1773 it was agreed "to give up the small dividends, due to the Master, Fellows, Steward & Butler from Brewer & Baker & to allow the Steward from Wortley's Benefaction, from Perse's & from the Coll. Chest 4£ pr. An. Each, & for the Cook's salary 5£ pr. An. From the Coll. Chest & from the above Benefactions 5£ pr. An. Each."<sup>181</sup> Wortley's money also helped to

<sup>177</sup> 28 March 1849, Master/Registry Gesta, 1849-1857 (Caius College, Cambridge), GOV/03/01/10. Aside from the one figure given, the discussion here is based on a reading of two centuries of College account books from 1650 to 1850.

<sup>178</sup> See Appendix 3 (Figures 4 and 5) for a complete picture of the real wealth that was earned from the SSC stocks and annuities as well as the Wortley benefaction's revenue and profits from 1751 until the accounts end in 1844.

<sup>179</sup> 12 October 1769, Master/Registry Gesta, 1751-1784 (Caius College, Cambridge), GOV/03/01/06.

<sup>180</sup> 19 October 1764, *Ibid.*

<sup>181</sup> 13 January 1773, *Ibid.*

support other benefactions, including those of Perse, Stokys, and Mickleburgh.<sup>182</sup> Most of these expenses involved dividends from SSC investments. Most importantly, as stipulated in Wortley's will, the benefaction also funded multiple land purchases: Ashdon (1759), Trinity Street and Newnham (1782), Grantchester (1782), Kirstead (1811), and Beachampton (1818).<sup>183</sup> Notably, the Caius sports ground, which Caians enjoy today, was bought with Wortley money.<sup>184</sup> These land purchases mean that, regarding the individual landholdings that resulted from their generosity, Wortley was a highly significant benefactor.

Due to these land purchases and his generous benefaction, Wortley was one of the most impactful donators to the College – and he has been remembered as such. Wortley's feast continued to be held on 23 February each year until the late nineteenth century.<sup>185</sup> Furthermore, to honour Wortley's benefaction, Caius built a statue of him facing Senate House Passage – facing land that his bequest helped to purchase.<sup>186</sup> The origins of this statue date to 1869, when the New Building was built. At that time, the College “filled [the niches] with the following five statues: - Gonville, Caius & Bateman (over the gateway), Wortley (facing down Senate House Passage), & Perse (in the corner of the Perse building); & that W. Phyffer's tender to execute them at £35 apiece be accepted.”<sup>187</sup> Towering above the staff bike shed, Wortley's statue is a tribute to his importance in Caius's history.

Besides statues, the College has remembered Wortley's contribution in other ways. The commemoration of benefactors each year – most recently in May 2021 – places Wortley alongside Joyce Frankland, Thomas Legge, and Stephen Perse as patrons “who, following in the footsteps of Edmund Gonville, William Bateman and John Caius, have contributed by their talents, their self-denial and their generosity to the stately foundation, whereof we their successors reap the benefits”.<sup>188</sup> In reaping those benefits, Gonville and Caius College placed themselves in the compromising position of taking money from a man who had probably invested in two companies committed to the slave trade. Through the Stockton and Wortley benefactions, the College's fate – like so many other educational institutions in Great Britain – became intertwined with the imperial commercial economy, with slavery being one of its most profitable ventures.

<sup>182</sup> 14 January 1780 and 11 January 1781, *Ibid.*

<sup>183</sup> Venn, ed., *Biographical History*, vol. 4, p. 116.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>185</sup> Cooper, *Memorials*, vol. 1, p. 89.

<sup>186</sup> Brooke, *History of Gonville & Caius*, p. 151.

<sup>187</sup> 16 March 1869, Master/Registry Gesta, 1858-1873 (Caius College, Cambridge), GOV/03/01/11.

<sup>188</sup> Gonville and Caius Commemoration of Benefactors Service, 9 May 2021, *Gonville & Caius College*, <<https://www.cai.cam.ac.uk/sites/default/files/Commemoration%20of%20Benefactors%20May%202021%20final.pdf>>, accessed 15 June 2021.

## **Conclusion**

This report has shown that Caian fellows, students, and officials had connections to chattel slavery and coerced labour, and invested in these enterprises. Befitting a college with global linkages and prestige, these connections have spanned the world, from the Americas to Britain, and from the Berney plantation to Bratton Fleming. First, the report examined the more personal linkages between Caius fellows and students to the plantations and slave societies of North America. These connections included students arriving from slavery backgrounds to take up positions of stature at the College, masters and fellows facilitating these new arrivals and assisting their family members in governing the colonies, and, in the Berney family's case, actively running a plantation for profit. Next, the report discussed the South Sea Company stocks and annuities that were provided to Caius through the Stockton and Wortley benefactions. These investments may have provided millions of pounds in wealth to Gonville and Caius College. In the case of the Stockton benefaction, the ownership of the annuities, although accidental, ensured that Caius's investments coincided with the Company's slave trading operations. Due to the Wortley benefaction, the College accepted money from a man who had invested in the trading stock of a slaving company and, perhaps, in the East India Company as well.

What does one make of the range of connections, both personal and financial, explored in this report? In short, Caius's story was not singular but was instead indicative of the longstanding ties of British institutions and individuals to chattel slavery and coerced labour. Whilst fostering debate about the legacies at Caius, this report should also serve as a reminder that the legacies of enslavement encompassed far more than the ownership of plantations and investments in the slave trade, and that the College's involvement in slavery was perhaps indicative of what can be expected at similarly old and venerable institutions in Britain. Though enslavement and the trade in human lives were the most violent and sadistic components of slavery, Britons also participated in these practices from a distance, helping to accommodate members of the enslaver class in their attempts to gain respectability and education in Britain, using patronage networks to further enhance the position of their kin – as with the Gooch brothers – who helped to control slave societies in the Americas, and the funding of joint-stock companies that were partly predicated on the slave trade.

No report, however, can claim to be settle discussion on such an important question as slavery and its legacies at Caius or in modern Britain. As a result, there are many areas of this study on which further research is required. Firstly, though a significant amount of attention is paid here to Hanson Berney, the connections of Caius fellows to plantation enterprises in North America and the Caribbean is not settled. More research in county and local archives, not to mention the extensive records in North American and Caribbean archives and historical societies, could allow a future researcher to uncover these connections in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Second, more study is needed on the twenty-seven students listed who had connections to slavery or coerced labour and whether there were other Caians who had similar linkages. Given John Venn's magnificent work in these records and Caius's extensive collection of matriculation information, this work needs to be undertaken to understand the presence and education of slaveholders more fully at the College. Third, the Stockton and Wortley benefactions were associated with South Sea Company stocks and annuities, but there could be other fellows linked to that organisation or other colonial enterprises such as the East India Company, who, as mentioned in this report, also issued stocks and bonds that investors eagerly bought and sold in London.

Concerning future research, the writer of this report also discovered evidence that William Munro Tapp (1859-1936), the College's largest post-foundation benefactor, established and ran a sugar plantation in Kenya and had investments in other colonial estates, including one that was criticised at the time for underfeeding, physically abusing, and overworking its Black workers. These sugar investments were bequeathed to the College as part of his benefaction, which included significant property holdings in London. These activities will be expanded upon in a future research article showing the significant afterlives of the plantation regime in Africa and the wider British Empire. These legacies should lead to more research at Cambridge about the university's links to colonial activities and modern slavery regimes in Africa and Southeast Asia, and the involvement of university personnel more broadly and Caians specifically in the persecution of religious minorities and other persons of colour.

## Appendix

### Appendix 1: Students from Slavery Backgrounds, 1723-1838

The following table and graph are the result of research undertaken in Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigiensis*, UCL *Legacies of Slave-ownership* databases, and relevant secondary sources. In Table 1 below, I have listed the student's names, birthplaces, matriculation dates, age on admittance to the College, student rank (sizar, pensioner, and fellow-commoner), whether they graduated, and the family's involvement in slavery. Using this data, Figure 1 shows the numbers of students who attended the College each decade from the start of the eighteenth century through to 1838 when the full emancipation of enslaved persons was made legal.

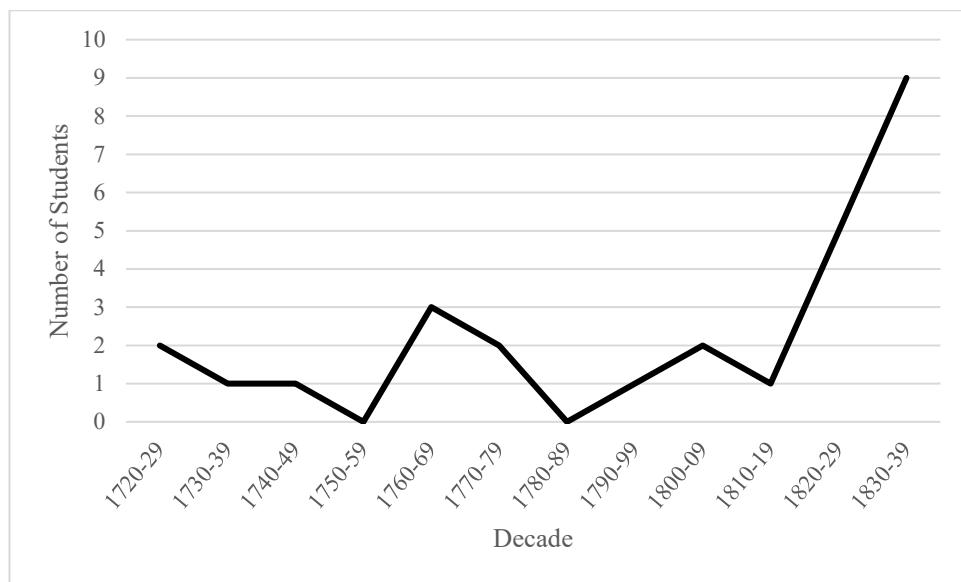
**Table 1: Student Names and Details**

Student Name	Birthplace	Matriculation Date	Age on Admittance	College Rank	Graduated	Family's Involvement in Slavery
<b>Robert Allwood</b>	Jamaica	1821	17	Pensioner	Yes	Planter
<b>Richard Berney</b>	Norfolk	1741	16	Pensioner	Yes	Planter
<b>Hanson Berney</b>	Norfolk	1738	16	Fellow-Commoner	Yes	Planter
<b>John Berney</b>	London	1776	18	Fellow-Commoner	Yes	Planter
<b>John Baylor III</b>	Virginia	1723	Unknown	Pensioner	No	Planter and Slave Trader
<b>John Baylor IV</b>	Virginia	1770	19	Pensioner	No	Planter
<b>Lewis Burwell</b>	Virginia	1729	Unknown	Fellow-Commoner	No	Planter
<b>Henry Carrington</b>	Surrey	1833	19	Pensioner	Yes	Planter

<b>Henry Richard Cassin</b>	St. Nevis	1792	22	Fellow-Commoner	No	Planter
<b>George French</b>	Virgin Islands	1835	18	Pensioner	Yes	Planter
<b>Francis Huger</b>	South Carolina	1768	18	Fellow-Commoner	No	Planter
<b>Edmund Thornton Henery</b>	British Guiana	1838	19	Pensioner	Yes	Planter
<b>Joseph Jones</b>	Barbados	1828	19	Pensioner	Yes	Planter
<b>Thomas Lynch</b>	South Carolina	1767	18	Fellow-Commoner	No	Planter
<b>Daniel Dering Matthew</b>	London	1806	20	Pensioner	No	Planter
<b>Dottin Maycock</b>	Barbados	1835	18	Pensioner	No	Planter
<b>James Dottin Maycock</b>	Barbados	1834	19	Pensioner	Yes	Planter
<b>Philip Neyle</b>	St. Nevis	1769	17	Pensioner	No	Planter
<b>George Webbe Parson</b>	St. Kitts	1805	18	Pensioner	Yes	Planter
<b>Charles Paul</b>	London	1822	20	Unknown	Yes	Planter
<b>Humphrey Senhouse Pinder</b>	Barbados	1823	18	Pensioner	Yes	Planter

<b>John Hothersall Pinder</b>	Barbados	1812	17	Pensioner	Yes	Planter
<b>George Sharp</b>	Barbados	1835	20	Pensioner	Yes	Planter
<b>Kyd Bishop Skeete</b>	Barbados	1833	20	Pensioner	Yes	Planter
<b>John Augustus Tulk</b>	Barbados	1834	17	Pensioner	No	Planter
<b>Francis Vidal</b>	Jamaica	1827	21	Pensioner	Yes	Planter
<b>George Vidal</b>	Jamaica	1834	19	Pensioner	Yes	Planter

**Figure 1: Admittance Numbers for Students from Slavery Backgrounds**



#### **Appendix 2: Annual Value of Produce from Hanson's Plantation, 1785-90**

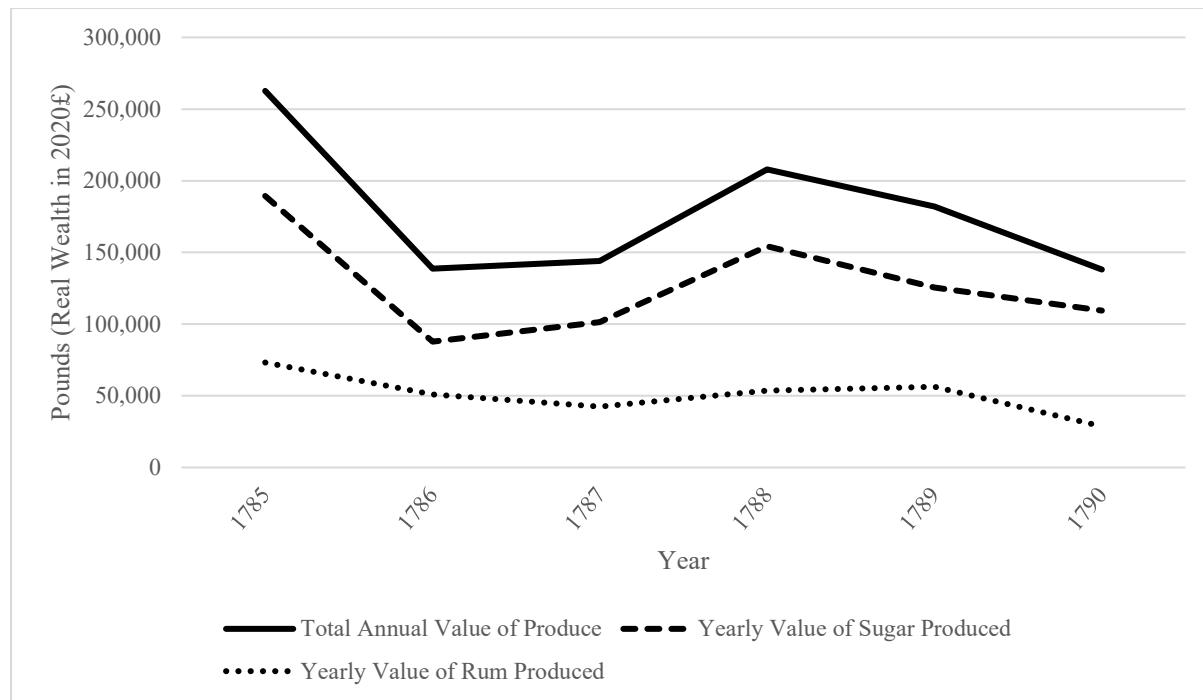
From the Berney estate correspondence, there is relatively little data on the plantation's earnings over time. Still, the sale documents for Hanson's in 1792 give some insight into the

profits that could be earned from the production and sale of sugar and rum. Of course, these figures may have been inflated to produce a sale of the plantation. But Table 2, which reveals the quantity and values of the plantation's produce in rum and sugar, and Figure 2, showing the total annual value of this produce in real wealth, provides some insight into the wealth that these estates earned for their proprietors. The number of pounds, shillings, and pence will be set out as follows: if Berney made 1462 pounds, 11 shillings, and 10 pence it will be tabulated as 1462.11.10. The quantity of produce is listed in pounds (lbs.) and the amount of rum is tabulated in gallons. If there was a fraction in the figures, these have been rounded to the nearest whole number.

**Table 2: The Produce of Sugar and Rum at Hanson's**

Year	Annual Produce of Sugar		Annual Produce of Rum		<b>Total Annual Value of Produce</b>
	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	
1785	73,810	1462.11.10	5,983	565.8.2	<b>2028.0.0</b>
1786	35,437	663.16.8	4,070	384.13.9	<b>1048.10.5</b>
1787	41,594	781.10.7	3,089	326.18.7	<b>1108.9.2</b>
1788	72,934	1196.17.6	3,894	414.19.1	<b>1611.9.2</b>
1789	55,618	999.6.6	4,686	448.11.4	<b>1447.17.10</b>
1790	46,948	895.16.7	2,253	235.0.4	<b>1130.16.11</b>
<b>Total for Six Years</b>	<b>326,341</b>	<b>5999.19.8</b>	<b>23,975</b>	<b>2375.11.3</b>	<b>8375.10.11</b>
<b>Average Yearly Produce</b>	<b>54,390</b>	<b>999.19.12</b>	<b>3,996</b>	<b>395.18.7</b>	<b>1395.18.6</b>

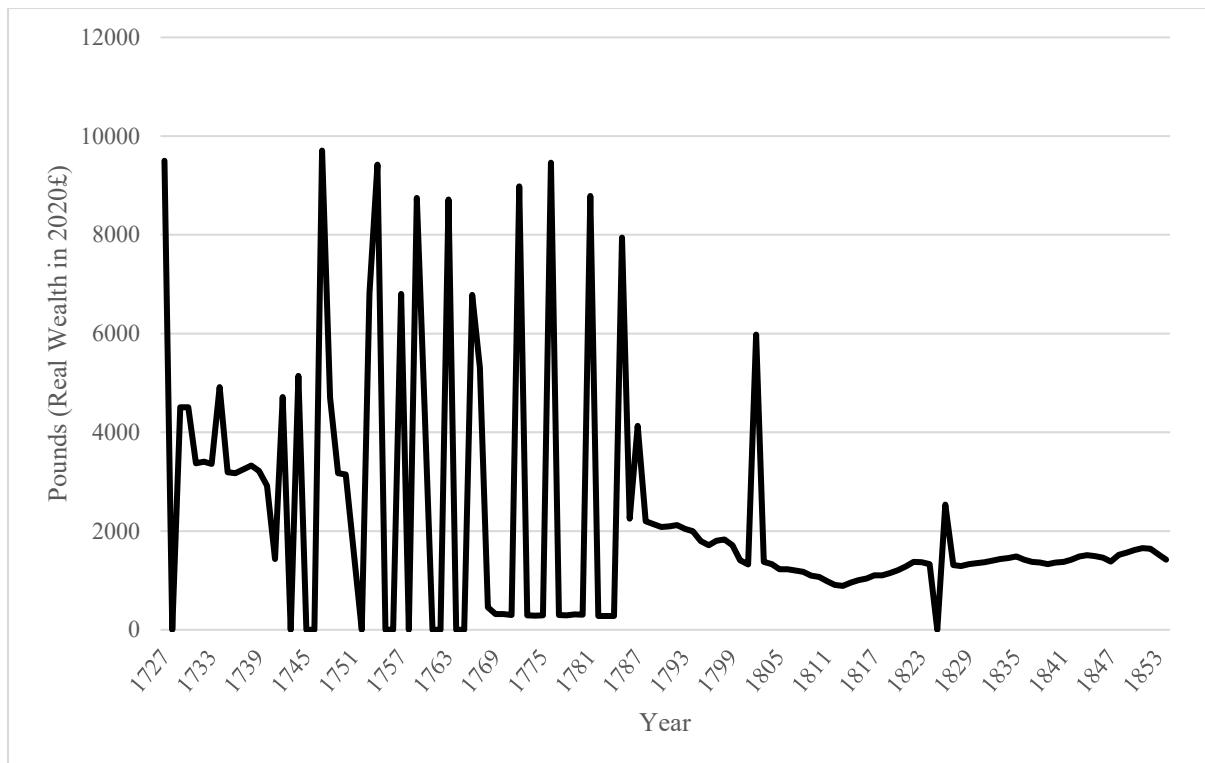
**Figure 2: Yearly Produce of Hanson's in 2020 Pounds**



### Appendix 3: The Stockton Benefaction, 1727-1854

Since the South Sea Company annuities were one of the primary sources of income for the Stockton benefaction, the annual dividends from these securities in each academic year are presented below. Figure 3, which ranges from the first appearance of the annuities in the records in 1727 until a year before the SSC's dissolution in 1854, was constructed from the Stockton Benefaction Account Book at the Caius Archive. Besides the extensive use of Latin, the account book worked much like modern accounting records, and are divided into receipts and expenses from Michaelmas each year. The original sums of money earned from the SSC annuities have been presented in their real value in 2020 pounds to show the shifts in income from these securities over time.

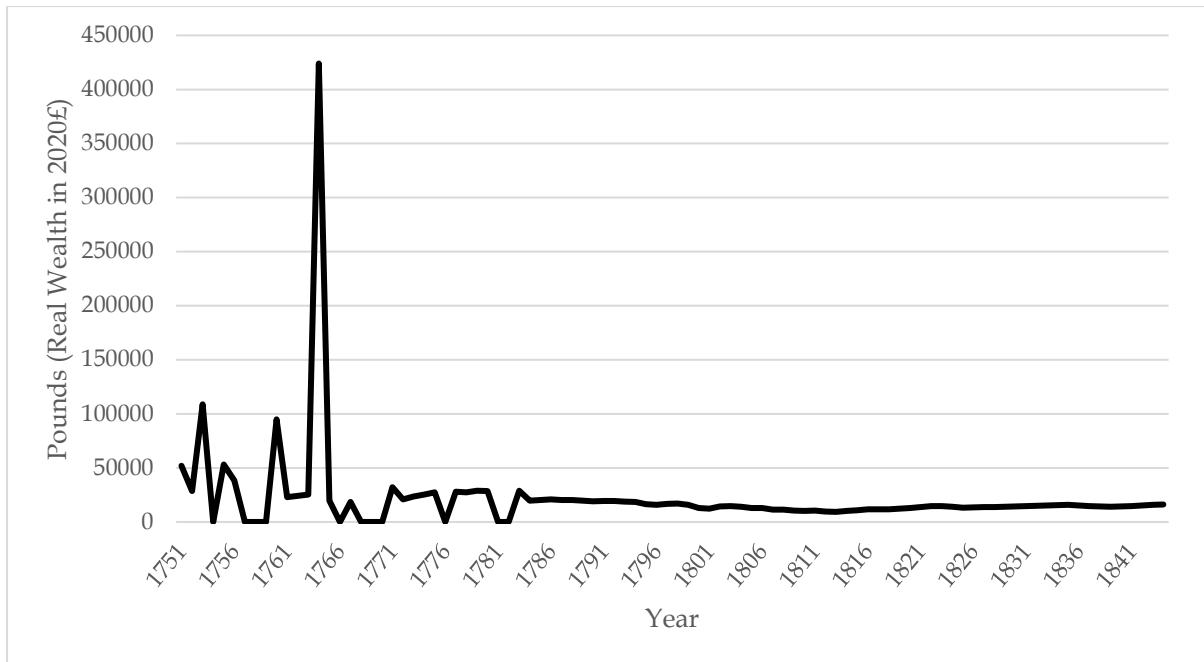
**Figure 3: Dividends from South Sea Company Annuities related to the Stockton Benefaction**



#### Appendix 4: The Wortley Benefaction, 1749-1854

The two graphs that follow were compiled from the Wortley Benefaction Account Book held in the Caius Archive. This record operates in much the same way as the Stockton account records. As with Stockton, the choice has been made to present the potential real value of these sums today to show the relative changes in the amount of income. Figure 4 shows the profits from dividends and sales of South Sea Company stocks and annuities from the start of Caius's ownership of these investments in 1751 through to 1844, eleven years before the SSC ceased operations. Figure 5 includes the data from the first graph concerning the SSC securities, but also includes the actual revenue from the benefaction each year (including land, investments, and other revenue-generating operations), and the profits that the benefaction earned each year relative to its expenses.

**Figure 4: Profits from Dividends and Sales of South Sea Shares and Annuities related to the Wortley Benefaction**



**Figure 5: Wortley Benefaction Revenue and Profits from South Sea Stocks and Annuities and Other Income**

