



Nottingham's Universities and Historical Slavery

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Steering Group

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Acronyms

BMB	Birmingham and Midland Bank
LBS	Legacies of British Slave-ownership
NCA	Nottingham College of Art
NCAC	Nottingham College of Arts and Crafts
NCC	Nottingham City Corporation
NCE	Nottingham College of Education
NDTC	Nottingham and District Technical College
NGSD	Nottingham Government School of Design
NJSB	Nottingham Joint Stock Bank
NMI	Nottingham Mechanics' Institute
NP	Nottingham Polytechnic
NPB	National Provincial Bank
NRCT	Nottingham Regional College of Technology
NSD	Nottingham School of Design
NTU	Nottingham Trent University
NUaHS	Nottingham Universities and Historical Slavery
SCC	South Sea Company
SPS	Smith, Payne & Smiths Bank
UCL	University College London
UCN	University College Nottingham
UoG	University of Glasgow
UoN	University of Nottingham

Terms and Terminological Limitations

The terms *transatlantic slave economy*, *transatlantic economy* and *African enslavement*, and *slavery business* are used synonymously within this report and refer to the commercial Atlantic system (i.e., African enslavement, materials produced from enslaved African labour, goods manufactured from the fruits of their toil, and commodities exchanged for captive African people) that integrated Africa, Europe and the Americas in the long period spanning c. 1500 to 1888. Within this extended period and wide geographic scope, the era of the *British transatlantic slave-economy* ran from c. 1600 to 1865: there were isolated 'slave-trading' ventures from English ports in the 1560s, but the entanglement of the British Isles in the slavery business really began with the establishment of Britain's own colonies in the early-17th century. Whilst slavery was legally abolished across Britain's Caribbean colonies in 1833, it persisted in the United States of America until 1865. Numerous parts of Britain's economy remained heavily reliant upon raw materials and cash crops from the U.S. after 1833, and Britain continued to import these from America despite its own outlawing of slavery. The wider transatlantic slave economy remained operational after 1865 until slavery was finally outlawed in Brazil in 1888. This later period spanning 1865 to 1888 has not been specifically researched for this report since the proportions of raw materials grown by enslaved African people, subsequently imported into Britain, and relevant to Nottingham's economy (primarily cotton) were relatively small.

Connections to the slave-economy refers to the links that have been identified between slavery and Nottingham's universities through industries that were established in the period of the slavery business. Such connections include individuals and firms who were active in the period of the British transatlantic slave-economy up to 1865, but also individuals and firms active after 1865 whose economic activities had their roots in the earlier era of the transatlantic slave-economy. Because much of the development of Nottingham's universities occurred after the end of the British transatlantic slave economy, the precise nature of these linkages between the centuries of slavery and their aftermath are central to this report: the research underpinning this report allows us to move beyond asserted connections to an evidence-based approach.

Terms such as '*slave*', '*slave-trade*', and '*slave-owner*' are often interpreted as inaccurate and highly offensive by people of African and African-Caribbean heritage since they suggest that slavery was the natural and objective state of their ancestors who were held in bondage. These terms are also perceived as irresponsible and reductive since they do not account for the parties/institutions culpable for placing and holding African people in the condition of slavery. Alternative terms including '*enslaved African people*', '*enslaved people of African descent*', '*traders in enslaved African people*', and '*owners of enslaved African people*' are more appropriate as they acknowledge African humanity and the fact that African people were forcibly held in the condition of slavery by another group of people, namely white Europeans. This report uses the more dignifying terms outlined above as much as possible; however, they are fairly lengthy, and it is not practical to use them every time they are required. Thus, there are instances when the reductive terms are used, although this is kept to a minimum.

Please note that appendices 2 to 5, which list those African people enslaved by some of the benefactors (and their predecessor institutions) to Nottingham's universities, contain names and racial terms that are now considered highly inappropriate and offensive. These lists have been included in order to render visible, humanise and acknowledge the existence and importance of enslaved African people, whose exploitation contributed to the enrichment of each benefactor.

Executive Summary

Aim and Scope of the Report

In 2019, the University of Nottingham (UoN) and Nottingham Trent University (NTU) commissioned a study on their historic connections to the transatlantic slave economy. This report presents the findings of the investigation. It establishes the historical context behind the universities' development, explores the extent and nature of their links to this contested part of Britain's past, and illuminates the contemporary legacies of slavery via eight detailed case studies on the universities' historic sponsors.

UoN and parts of NTU (which is an amalgamation of 19th and 20th century educational institutions) emerged from University College Nottingham (UCN). UCN, in turn, has its origins in the Nottingham Mechanics' Institute (founded in 1837) and was formally established in 1881 with limited funding from private benefactors and substantial financial backing from Nottingham Corporation (known as Nottingham City Council after 1897). The first donation advanced for the founding of UCN was made in 1875, whilst the last one was received in 1960 as part of UoN's campaign for endowment. This span of 85-years forms the temporal scope of the report and is connected back to the era of slavery by the continuities of industries, firms and families identified in the body of the report.

Origins of this Study

This study emerges out of the wider reflective historical research taking place at American and British universities, which are investigating their origins and links to the transatlantic slave economy. Indeed, there have been a series of events that have led up to this point, including Brown University's decision, in 2003, to investigate and issue a report on its historical relationship to slavery and the transatlantic trade in enslaved African people, which was published in 2006;¹ and the public and academic criticisms levelled at Britain's government and national institutions, including museums, art galleries, and libraries, which were accused of using the 2007 bicentenary of the abolition of the 'slave trade' to perpetuate the nation's longstanding self-congratulatory narrative that highlights William Wilberforce, in particular, and the popular abolitionist movement, in general, as the primary factors that led Britain to proclaim itself as the first European country to abolish the transatlantic trade in enslaved African people.²

Arguments were made for a more balanced history that acknowledged the contributions of African people to the economic growth of Britain, their role in the abolition of the 'slave trade' and slavery, and the persisting legacies of this era. Two years later, in 2009, University College London (UCL) launched the Legacies of British Slave-ownership (LBS) project that investigated the extent to which contemporary Britain developed from colonial slavery, by identifying the areas that the compensation money awarded to its owners of enslaved African people was invested. Following on from this research, the University of Glasgow (UoG), in 2016, formed a History of Slavery Steering

¹ *Slavery and Justice: Report of the Brown University Steering Committee on Slavery and Justice* (Providence: Brown University, 2006), [\[https://slaveryandjustice.brown.edu/sites/g/files/dprerj1501/files/reports/SlaveryAndJustice2006.pdf\]](https://slaveryandjustice.brown.edu/sites/g/files/dprerj1501/files/reports/SlaveryAndJustice2006.pdf), - accessed 3 Dec, 2019], p. 3.

² 1807 Commemorated, [\[https://archives.history.ac.uk/1807commemorated/media/reviews/independent.html\]](https://archives.history.ac.uk/1807commemorated/media/reviews/independent.html), accessed 3 Dec, 2019].

Committee, which agreed to investigate the institution's links to transatlantic slavery. UoG published its findings in September 2018.³

Cognisant of Nottingham's ties to the slavery business via its importation and manufacture of raw cotton from the Americas during the 18th and 19th centuries, but unaware of the city's universities linkages to this period, UoN and NTU opted to investigate the possibility, extent, and nature of this connection.

Sources and Methods

The underlying research, and hence this report, focus on the financing of the Nottingham's universities and specifically on donations, both by firms and by individual benefactors. Other possible linkages, although potentially important, have not been researched. For example, no work has been undertaken on theoretical frameworks of knowledge, departmental structures or curricula to trace the impact of colonial slavery on the intellectual formation of the teaching in the universities. No work has been undertaken on the slavery connections of faculty members, or on the composition of the student body and its links with African and African-Caribbean communities in Britain. The results of the research are structured as an extended contextualisation of the development of Nottingham's universities against the background of Nottingham's economic and social development as a city, and eight case studies that allow the nature and extent of the linkages of that economic and social development to slavery to be established and assessed through the lens of micro-histories of both firms and individuals. Eight benefactors were selected based on the availability of evidence relating to their historic business activities and the origins of their wealth. A range of 18th and 19th century textual and statistical archival sources were identified and consulted for each of the eight patrons. These included wills, written correspondence, genealogical pedigrees, legal indentures, financial ledgers, registers of enslaved African people, and national importation figures for colonial produce (e.g., cotton and tobacco). The effective study of these benefactors and their related manuscripts necessitated the adoption of a mixed methods case-study research approach. The research was supported by a multi-university workshop and a steering group comprising members from UoN, NTU, and Nottingham's African-Caribbean Community.

³ Stephen Mullen and Simon Newman, *Slavery, Abolition and the University of Glasgow: Report and Recommendations of the University of Glasgow History of Slavery Steering Committee* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2018), [https://www.gla.ac.uk/media/Media_607547_smx.pdf, accessed 19 Nov, 2019].

Headline Findings

- Between 36% and 44% of total private donations received by UCN and UoN between 1875 and 1960 were made by eight patrons (Jesse Boot and Boots Pharmacy; John Player & Sons; Bentinck & Cavendish-Bentinck family; Barclays, Lloyds and Midland banks; National Provincial Bank; Thomas Adams Limited, George Brettle & Co; and I. & R. Morley) with historic links to the transatlantic slave economy.
- The origin of UoN and parts of NTU can be traced back to the Nottingham Mechanics' Institute. This body opened in 1837 and was partially born into existence from Britain's industrial revolution, which was stimulated by the transatlantic slave economy.
- Benefactors of Nottingham's universities have a variety of historic connections to the transatlantic slave economy including the ownership of enslaved African people, the manufacture of cash crops cultivated by enslaved Africans, and governorship of British West Indian colonies during the 18th and 19th centuries.
- Benefactors inherited or developed material, financial, cultural, social and reputational capital which were intergenerationally transmitted to, shared with, and benefitted UoN and NTU.
- Four of Nottingham's most prominent industries (textiles, tobacco, banking, and pharmaceuticals) have historical ties to the transatlantic slave economy, with numerous benefactors in each sector providing gifts which benefitted Nottingham's universities.
- 43% of the private donations made to UCN's 1928 endowment campaign derived from the textile, tobacco and banking sectors.
- 26% of the private donations made to UoN's 1949-50 endowment campaign were from the textile, banking and tobacco sectors.
- At least five buildings (Portland Building, Portland Hill Road, Trent Building, Bentinck Room, East Midlands Conference Centre previously known as the Jesse Boot Conference Centre) are named after benefactors with links to the transatlantic slave economy.

Moving Forward: Policy Recommendations for Reparatory Justice

Reparatory justice is a key part of UoN and NTU's acknowledgement, reconciliation and ongoing effort to heal the damaging legacies of slavery from which they benefitted. Within the context of transatlantic slavery and its legacies, reparatory justice seeks to address and repair (so far as possible) the harm and/or harms inflicted on enslaved African people and their enduring legacies on the lives of their descendants. In order to initiate this process, it is recommended that, in the first instance, UoN and NTU:

1. Formally acknowledge their connections to and benefits from the transatlantic slave economy with a public statement of recognition.
2. Organise an official public launch of the report and subsequent workshops, where its findings can be presented, discussed, and measures formulated that address the specific legacies of transatlantic slavery.

3. Strengthen their collaborative working relationship with the local community in order to continue remedying the disadvantaging and offensive vestiges of transatlantic slavery.
4. Engage with other UK and Caribbean universities and continue to work within the Universities Studying Slavery network (USS), to help deepen their understanding of reparatory justice and its effective practical application.

Introduction

Amongst the most celebrated groups at all universities are their private benefactors – individuals and businesses who give monetary, material and other gifts of support which contribute towards the establishment, development, and maintenance of these educational institutions.⁴ Patrons bestowing the largest and most significant donations are often commemorated through the eponymous naming of spaces, places, structures and bursaries (i.e., buildings, roads, lecture theatres, rooms, and scholarship prizes).⁵ These individuals and entities, thus, become embedded within the anatomy of universities, forming an important part of their history, identity, and celebrated heritage. William Arthur Henry Cavendish-Bentinck, 7th Duke of Portland, is one of the University of Nottingham's (UoN's) most distinguished benefactors. He and his family gifted money towards the development of its predecessor institution – University College Nottingham (UCN) – and deposited their dynastic manuscripts in its archives, which now form a major part of the university's special collections. The 7th Duke also served as the 2nd Chancellor of UoN from 1954 to 1971.⁶ He and the Bentinck family name have been honoured for their longstanding service and gifts through the titling of numerous structures across UoN's UK and China campuses. This Duke and many other corporate and individual benefactors such as Players Tobacco and Jesse Boot have been proudly written into the annals of UoN's history with few questions asked about their past. Who precisely are these people and entities? Did any of their wealth originate from Britain's former colonies in the Americas? If so, did this contribute to their esteemed status? What exactly did they gift to UCN/UoN? Does this matter? And if yes, why? These are important questions which UoN began asking itself in light of an article published by Haggerty and Seymour in 2018 titled 'Imperial Careering and Enslavement in the Long Eighteenth Century: The Bentinck Family, 1710-1830s'. The paper examined "the influence of enslavement in the building of Britain and its empire through a multi-generational study of a leading British elite family, the Bentincks."⁷ It concluded that the enslavement of African people in Britain's former colonies had a significant impact on its development, but resulted in losses as well as gains for the family. The article raised important questions about the extent and ways in which UoN's historical development is tied to the transatlantic economy and African enslavement. This line of enquiry was further spurred after the publication of a report by the University of Glasgow (UoG) in September 2018. The study detailed the biographies of over 38 benefactors who were linked to the slavery business in some way, shape or form, and partially quantified the extent to which the university profited from the slavery business.⁸ UoG was the first university in the UK to undertake a self-reflective investigation within this historical context. This inspired UoN to initiate a scoping study, which was compiled by Dr Hannah-Rose Murray (with Dr Susanne Seymour and Dr Sheryllynne Haggerty as key advisors) in autumn 2018. Murray, Seymour and Haggerty recommended undertaking "a more accurate assessment of the University of Nottingham's links to transatlantic slavery" via the composition and exploration of a list of benefactors. They proposed that this be used to "trace links between the donors, their family wealth and the legacies of

⁴ For more information see: David Cannadine, Introduction, In: Jill Pellew and Lawrence Goldman (eds), *Dethroning Historical Reputations: Universities, Museums and the Commemoration of Benefactors* (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2018), pp. 1-13.

⁵ Jill Pellew, Commentary on Universities, Museums and the Commemoration of Benefactors, In: Jill Pellew and Lawrence Goldman (eds), *Dethroning Historical Reputations: Universities, Museums and the Commemoration of Benefactors* (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2018), p. 15.

⁶ John Beckett, *Nottingham: A History of Britain's Global University* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016), p. 98.

⁷ Sheryllynne Haggerty and Susanne Seymour, 'Imperial Careering and Enslavement in the Long Eighteenth Century: The Bentinck Family, 1710-1830s', *Slavery & Abolition*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (2018), pp. 642-662.

⁸ Mullen and Newman, *Slavery, Abolition and the University of Glasgow*.

slavery.”⁹ UoN, in conjunction with Nottingham Trent University (NTU) agreed that this was a viable course of action and in November 2019 publicly announced the launch of the Nottingham Universities and Historical Slavery project (NUaHS). Its primary aim was to examine the nature and extent to which the city’s universities (UoN and NTU) were connected to and benefitted from Britain’s transatlantic slave economy.¹⁰

Investigating benefactors within the context of transatlantic slavery is important for Nottingham’s universities which are committed to truth, justice, fairness, diversity, and inclusion. This encompasses the narration of UoN and NTU’s historic development, which they believe should reflect the role(s) played by every group of people regardless of their demographic characteristics. This is specifically applicable to people of African and African-Caribbean heritage whose ancestors were enslaved, purchased and violently exploited for the fruits of their labour in Britain’s American and Caribbean colonies between the early-17th and mid-19th centuries. Although their toil enriched Britain considerably, the significant role the slavery business played in the country’s modern formation has been persistently omitted and overlooked. This has led to a systemically incomplete account of the nation’s development that frequently acknowledges the contributions of white Britons (such as industrial magnates and the working class), but largely ignores those of enslaved Black people. Working within the tradition of reparative history, which partly seeks to redress this imbalance and provide a fuller account of the past, Nottingham’s universities embarked upon this study of their nexuses with the transatlantic slave economy. Far from complete, it is the beginning of their reckoning with a traumatic and challenging history that has legacies which continue to disadvantage, offend and marginalise people of African descent.

Report Structure

The first section of this report outlines the methodology employed for the identification of donors to Nottingham’s universities with links to the transatlantic economy and African enslavement. It explains the range of ways that the contemporary equivalencies of historic monetary donations have been calculated and discusses the relevance of the data analysed and the temporal scope of the report, along with the limitations of this research.

The second section sets out the national and local 18th and 19th century historic industrial context within which the progenitor institutions – Nottingham Mechanics’ Institute (NMI) and University College Nottingham (UCN) – to UoN emerged and highlights the systemic impact of the transatlantic slave economy on Nottingham’s development. It also touches upon the complicated and shared institutional heritage NTU has with UoN, which is presented in a genealogical tree (see Diagram 3). This section illuminates two key trades (cotton and tobacco) which eventually dominated the city’s economy and points out each sector’s increasing reliance on Britain’s importation of cash crops from colonies in the Americas where this produce was primarily cultivated by enslaved African people. Attention is then given to the substantial government grants received by UCN in the late-1800s and the subsequent shift away from this model to private funding after the 1920s. An analysis of the local trades and industries that advanced donations to the development of Nottingham’s universities is provided and discussed.

The third section presents eight detailed case studies of corporate and individual benefactors to Nottingham’s universities who were linked to local industries closely associated with the

⁹ Hannah-Rose Murray, Susanne Seymour, Sheryllyne Haggerty, *Scoping Report: Transatlantic Slavery, the Slave Trade and the University of Nottingham* (Nottingham: University of Nottingham, 2019).

¹⁰ ‘New Study into the Historical Connections between Nottingham’s Universities and Transatlantic Slavery’, [\[https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/news/new-study-into-the-historical-connections-between-nottinghams-universities-and-transatlantic-slavery\]](https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/news/new-study-into-the-historical-connections-between-nottinghams-universities-and-transatlantic-slavery), accessed 8 Aug, 2021].

transatlantic slave economy. The nature and value of their gifts is disclosed. This is followed by a comprehensive biography that provides concrete examples of their ties to the slavery business, source(s) of wealth, how the city's universities benefitted from this, and a diagrammatic representation which summarises the linkages between the transatlantic slave economy, each benefactor, and UCN/UoN.

The penultimate section of this report discusses and reflects on the findings, before drawing them together in a conclusion, followed by key process recommendations for reparatory justice.

Project Methodology

The Nottingham Universities and Historical Slavery (NUaHS) project is informed by the methodologies underpinning the Legacies of British Slave-ownership project (LBS) at University College London (UCL) and the University of Glasgow's (UoG) research on its own connections to the transatlantic slave economy. Scholars who had worked on these studies attended a methodological advisory meeting held at UoN in the summer of 2019 (prior to the commencement of the NUaHS project). During this gathering, they shared their thoughts and recommendations on the most appropriate ways for Nottingham's universities to tackle this research. These approaches were subsequently used as reference points to develop the NUaHS project's own strategy for studying UoN and NTU's linkages to the slavery business. Unlike UoG, Nottingham's universities are relatively modern institutions that were established after the legal termination of slavery in Britain's West Indian colonies in 1833/34. Moreover, they are located inland, in the East Midlands (central Britain), rather than in one of the prominent peripheral port cities that were home to industries and sectors directly connected to the slavery business such as ship building, sugar refining and Atlantic commerce (trading in enslaved African people and/or trading in raw materials produced by enslaved Africans).¹¹ Nonetheless, Nottingham was a key site of industrial and commercial sectors, notably hosiery, lace and tobacco manufacture, which relied on supplies of raw cotton (and later on, tobacco) cultivated and harvested by people of African descent who were enslaved on plantations in the American South and elsewhere in the Americas during the late-18th and 19th centuries.¹² Indeed, Britain's economy remained dependent upon and dominated by cotton and tobacco picked by African people enslaved in these regions even after it had abolished slavery in its own Atlantic colonies. The predecessor institutions to Nottingham's universities were founded between 1837 and 1881, when slavery still existed in America and Brazil, although UoN and NTU themselves were not established until the next century. UoN and NTU's ties to the slavery business are, therefore, largely indirect, less obvious, and have been more complicated to identify since this has required tracing supply chains and businesses/individuals with multiple evolutions in their titles/surnames back to earlier periods of Britain's involvement in transatlantic colonial slavery.

Phase One: Identifying Donors to UCN/UoN

Since no official register of benefactors existed at the outset of this project, the composition of a donor list was the first step towards the identification of connections between Nottingham's universities and transatlantic slavery. This comprised the financial and material gifts made to UCN and, later on, UoN.¹³ The identification of structures and icons connected to colonial slavery also formed an important part of this project, which led to the mapping of named buildings, rooms, and roads across UoN's UK, Malaysia, and China campuses.¹⁴ Colleagues at NTU were undertaking a similar exercise during the summer of 2020, identifying edifices and spaces named after potentially problematic individuals (e.g. the Arkwright Building).¹⁵ At UoN a wide range of sources were used for this exercise, most notably, archival manuscripts and 19th and early-20th century newspaper articles

¹¹ Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1944), pp. 59-83.

¹² Susanne Seymour, Lowri Jones and Julia Feuer-Cotter, *The Global Connections of Cotton in the Derwent Valley Mills in the Later Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*, In: Chris Wrigley (ed.), *The Industrial Revolution: Cromford, the Derwent Valley and the Wider World* (Cromford: Arkwright Society, 2015), pp. 150-170.

¹³ Although UCN was opened in 1881 the first donation gifted to the institution was made in 1875, which has been taken as the temporal starting point for this investigation. The cut off year for this study is 1960 as this was when the last donation to UoN's 1949 endowment fund was made.

¹⁴ Bursaries, prizes and the names of built structures were identified for UoN.

¹⁵ Liaison with Professor Barbara Matthews at NTU about the institution's Richard Arkwright Building, 4 Aug, 2020.

– which list the date and nature of benefactions – and digital lists of UoN’s bursaries, prizes, and titled spaces and places. The archival work was undertaken at the Manuscripts and Special Collections centre at UoN’s King’s Meadow campus and at the Nottinghamshire Archives located in Nottingham city centre, with the findings transcribed and recorded in a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. The list of bursaries was obtained from the Campaigns and Alumni Relations Office (CARO), while the named structures across the institution were provided by the institution’s Estates Office (EO).

Findings from this initial phase of the research show:

- 852 benefactors gifted over 1,093 financial and material donations towards the establishment and development of UCN/UoN.¹⁶
- 976 of the 1,093 benefactions awarded UCN/UoN had listed monetary values.
- 782 benefactors gifted UCN/UoN quantifiable donations.
 - 752 of the 782 benefactors were private/charitable businesses or individuals; 23 were government run departments; and 7 were associated with unidentifiable industries / professions.
- 87 named buildings, 27 titled rooms and four named roads across UCN/UoN’s UK and international campuses.
- 454 bursaries and prizes.

Phase Two: Identifying UCN/UoN Donors’ Connections to Transatlantic Slavery

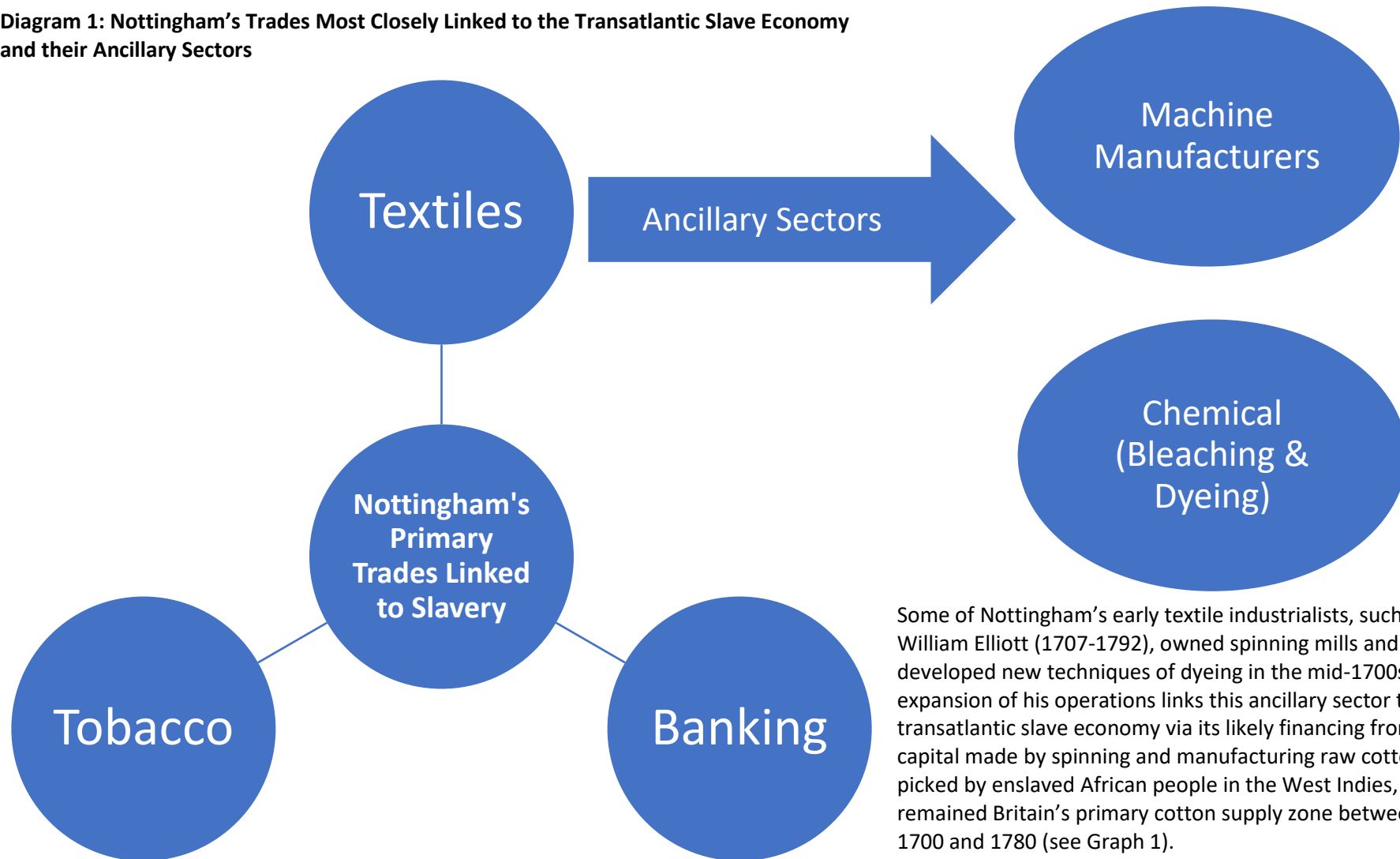
To identify which of UCN/UoN’s 752 private benefactors were most likely to be associated with slavery, each one was categorised by the industrial trade or professional sector in which it operated. This process was carried out via an initial internet and local trade directory search on each patron. I. & R. Morley were, for instance, classified as ‘Textile Manufacturers’ and John Player & Sons as ‘Tobacco Manufacturers.’ This was a useful approach as 380 (50.5%) of UCN/UoN’s private benefactors were identified as businesses, business owners, or individuals working across variety of sectors. Collectively, their donations account for approximately 92% (RPI £52,181,018; WIG £150,035,009; ROW £322,797,699) of the overall value of the quantifiable private donations (RPI £56,097,215; WIG £163,407,456; ROW £351,977,722) received by UCN/UoN between 1875 and 1960. Obtaining information on firms, their proprietors, individuals working in the professions, and people from prominent aristocratic families was fairly straightforward since they often, but not always, left behind accounts of their commercial and historic activities. On the other hand, it was more challenging to track individuals who generally appear to have been ordinary members of the locality and surrounding communities – they made up 372 (49.5%) of all the identified private donors to UCN/UoN from unknown businesses and professions. Their gifts accounted for around 8% (RPI £4,752,197; WIG £13,372,447; ROW £29,180,023) of the overall quantifiable total privately awarded to UCN/UoN between the late-19th and the mid-20th centuries. Many of these people were not prominent members of the public and did not own an enterprise, which meant that simple internet, database, and electronic literature searches often returned few, if any, results on who these people were. Searching census records, tracing family lineages and inputting these names into the LBS database are promising ways of obtaining more information on these benefactors and their possible connections to the transatlantic economy and African enslavement. This is a viable approach for future research.

¹⁶ This report used an official 1928 endowment appeal fund subscriber list which aggregated small donations less than £10, simply listing them as ‘subscriptions under £10’. John Beckett refers to a similar list which names these benefactors individually, noting that there were 520. Unable to locate this source in the archives, the sum of their total donation has been treated as it is listed – a single financial donation of £1,333. See: Beckett, *Nottingham: A History of Britain’s Global University*, p. 61.

Firms and individuals based in sectors most closely associated with the transatlantic slave economy (textiles, tobacco, banking, chemical production, machinery manufacturing) were then isolated for investigation. Noticeably large donations from businesses and people not ostensibly connected to slavery, such as pharmaceutical production, were also identified for examination since credit was often extended to these firms by some of Nottingham's local banks. A number of these banks (e.g., Smiths Bank, which eventually became part of NatWest Bank, and Nottingham Joint Stock Bank) generated capital from their ownership of enslaved African people or were partially founded on profits generated from the sale of raw materials produced by the enslaved and guns sold to the American confederacy during the Civil War (1861-1865).¹⁷ In all, donations were made by 125 different benefactors in industries closely linked to the slavery business. Almost 75% of these gifts derived from textile-based enterprises. This is not surprising given the long presence of this trade in Nottingham, which existed prior to the city's involvement in the transatlantic trade and African enslavement. It also indicates the considerable interest taken in the establishment of UCN/UoN by this particular sector.

¹⁷ For more information on Smiths Bank and the Nottingham Joint Stock Bank see the case studies contained in this report for *National Provincial Bank* and *Thomas Adams*; Joseph McKenna, *British Blockade Runners in the American Civil War* (Jefferson: McFarland and Company, 2019), p. 45.

Diagram 1: Nottingham's Trades Most Closely Linked to the Transatlantic Slave Economy and their Ancillary Sectors



Some of Nottingham's early textile industrialists, such as William Elliott (1707-1792), owned spinning mills and later developed new techniques of dyeing in the mid-1700s.¹⁸ The expansion of his operations links this ancillary sector to the transatlantic slave economy via its likely financing from capital made by spinning and manufacturing raw cotton picked by enslaved African people in the West Indies, which remained Britain's primary cotton supply zone between 1700 and 1780 (see Graph 1).

¹⁸ S. D. Chapman, Industry and Trade, 1750-1900, In: John Beckett (ed.), *A Centenary History of Nottingham* (Chichester: Phillimore & Co., Ltd, 2006), p. 319; Stanley D. Chapman, *The Early Factory Masters: The Transition to the Factory System in the East Midlands Textile Industry* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1967), p. 42.

The next step in establishing a link between benefactions made to UCN/UoN and the transatlantic slave economy entailed background checks on their patrons. This involved returning to Nottingham's local trade directories to identify the years in which relevant businesses were founded – before, during, or after the period of British transatlantic slavery (c. 1625-1865). The archival accounts of companies were also used (whenever they were available) along with manuscripts listing the names of firms that sourced relevant products (e.g., cotton and tobacco) imported from the Americas during the 18th and 19th centuries, since these were likely to have been cultivated and harvested by enslaved African people. Increasing and consistent quantities of raw cotton were also imported from other regions, such as South Asia from 1815 onwards, but were not considered in this study which specifically deals with New World colonial slavery.¹⁹ The LBS database, newspaper articles, books on the history of Nottinghamshire, the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB), and journal articles also proved helpful for providing further details on the identified businesses. Of the 125 benefactors, eight were selected as in-depth case studies due to their verifiable connections with the transatlantic slave economy. The information contained in the abovementioned sources was subsequently drawn upon to compose extended biographies for each benefactor. These detail the type of donation they made to UCN/UoN, the year in which this gift was made, its original and contemporary monetary value (where applicable), its proportion as a percentage of the total value of private gifts awarded to UCN/UoN between 1875-1960, along with an extended description on the nature of each donor's connection to the slavery business.

Research Design

This report works within the case study research tradition, which is most appropriate for exploring smaller aspects of larger social and economic occurrences.²⁰ In this instance, the examination of eight individual benefactors (from a broader universe of 852) who made monetary and material donations to UCN/UoN and from who Nottingham's universities also benefitted via forms of immaterial capital (e.g., social, cultural and reputational – explained below). These eight patrons, their gifts, and their historic origins are examined within the wider context of the British transatlantic slave economy and Nottingham's industrialisation.

A key drawback of the case study is its narrow focus on specific elements of large-scale phenomena. In practice, this meant the close examination of eight patrons in isolation from the other 844 donors, which made it impractical to establish broader connections and trends between them and the slavery business. An awareness of the way in which more donors were specifically linked to the transatlantic economy and African enslavement would have helped to establish a more informed understanding of the scale and significance of slavery in the development of Nottingham's universities. This ties into the more generic and well-known criticism of case study research, which argues that findings from this approach are non-generalisable and lack representativeness.²¹ Although this is true, it is not the intention of the case study to generalise from cases to universes, which is usually the aim of surveys.²²

¹⁹ Giorgio Riello, *Cotton: The Fabric that Made the Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 257; Houses of Parliament (HoP), *Tables of the Revenue, Population, Commerce of the United Kingdom and its Dependencies (Part III), 1820-1835, 1838-1852* (London: William Clowes; and George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode).

²⁰ Joachim K. Blatter, (Case Study), In: Lisa M. Given (ed.), *The Sage Encyclopaedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, Vols. 1 and 2 (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2008), pp. 68-71.

²¹ William A. Firestone, 'Alternative Arguments for Generalizing from Data as Applied to Qualitative Research', *Educational Researcher*, Vol. 22, No. 4, (May., 1993), pp. 16-23.

²² Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, Fourth Edition (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Inc, 2009), p. 43.

Underpinning Social Theory

Money is widely understood to have been the primary gain derived from the slavery business, but it is not the only one. This research acknowledges the other forms of capital (cultural, social and reputation) accumulated from linkages to the transatlantic economy and African enslavement, demonstrates their intergenerational transmission, and highlights how contemporary benefactors have shared these benefits with Nottingham's universities. The Bentinck/Cavendish-Bentinck family is the clearest example of this, although this phenomenon is implicit within nearly every benefactor's case study. Capital theory defines capital as a resource that holds subjective value which can be accumulated, transferred, loaned, leveraged, and expended within specific socio-economic contexts. It is most commonly used to create, influence, access, develop, enhance and preserve advantageous opportunities, power, privilege and positionality.²³

Cultural capital refers to the behaviour, principles, expectations, tastes, knowledge, skills, and ideas that are valued in any given culture, society, or social group (e.g., working class, aristocracy, old boys' networks, legal professionals). An individual who holds and expresses the relevant behaviour, knowledge, skills, and ideas — or who understands and develops some of them — is more likely to be accepted, thrive and succeed in that culture or group.²⁴ For example, members of Britain's elite aristocracy often have firmly established traditions of attending the oldest private schools and universities, reading classical European literature, travelling to historic landmarks, working in high-powered roles, and marrying into other titled dynasties. These undertakings, activities and the environments within which they are practised foster a particular group outlook on life that helps to bind its members together. They are also consciously and unconsciously transmitted from one generation to another, which preserves and replicates established traditions.

Social capital pertains to the networks and nature of relationships that exist between people which can be used to influence a range of life outcomes.²⁵ These nexuses are underpinned by shared values, beliefs and understandings that support cooperation within and across groups.²⁶ The benefits of social capital can be viewed by examining social bonds. Family members, friends, colleagues and acquaintances offer support to one another in numerous ways – psychologically, emotionally, financially, educationally, economically, and politically – which are often used to advance their relative socio-economic interests.²⁷

Reputational capital is understood to be the perception an individual, group of people, or organisation possesses based upon their actions and interactions with the wider social world. It is a resource that accumulates over time and is used to influence the thoughts, behaviour, and decisions people make. This form of capital is often employed to enhance and solidify status, prestige, privilege, and power. It has a propensity to attract others who value similar attributes and aspire to similar goals.²⁸

²³ For more an extended discussion on capital theory see: Pierre Bourdieu, The Forms of Capital, In: Richardson, J., *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (Westport: Greenwood, 1986), pp. 241–258.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), *What is Social Capital?*, [<https://www.oecd.org/insights/37966934.pdf>, accessed 1 Jun, 2021], p. 103.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Adapted from: Taewon Suh and Lyn S. Amine, 'Defining and Managing Reputational Capital in Global Markets', *Journal of Marketing Theory and Practice*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (2007), pp. 205-217; Brianne Schaer, What is Reputation Capital?, *Reputation X* [<https://blog.reputationx.com/what-isreputation-capital>, accessed 1 Apr, 2022].

Calculating the Contemporary Financial Value of Donations

The financial sums presented throughout this report are the modern-day equivalents of the original values of the donations gifted to Nottingham's universities. Similar to those contained in UoG's report, they were generated using the website 'Measuring Worth' – an online calculator created by economists and economic historians.²⁹ The 'Measuring Worth' calculator is one of the most trusted and regularly utilised computational resources employed in academic research. A range of indexes to calculate present-day value exist. The ones used in this report are *Relative Price Worth (RPW)*, *Relative Wage or Income Growth (WIG)*, and *Relative Output Worth (ROW)*.

RPW represents the 'average price' of all goods/services purchased by a typical household or consumer in the base year, and then calculates the cost of those same goods and services in 2020 (allowing for inflation). There are two scales 'Retail Price Index' and 'GDP Deflator'. This briefing uses the Retail Price Index (RPI) comparator.

WIG describes average earnings for all workers in the base year, and then calculates the average earnings for all workers in 2020 (allowing for inflation). It then computes what proportion of annual wages (across the population) in a given year (e.g., 1875) and then applies that proportion to annual wages in 2020, therefore, arriving at a modern equivalent. There are two scales 'Average Earnings' and 'Per Capita GDP'. This study employs the Average Earnings comparator.

ROW is the most comprehensive comparison approach. It calculates the proportion of national GDP, an amount in the desired base year (e.g., 1875), and then applies that percentage to the national GDP in 2020.

RPW tends to provide the most conservative estimates of modern-day monetary equivalents. This means that we know for certain the lowest contemporary value of the identified gifts that were donated to UCN/UoN between 1875 and 1960. ROW generally gives the highest contemporary equivalency, whilst WIG lies somewhere in between the two. All three financial indexes are presented in the benefactor case studies to show the full range of values that reflect the contemporary worth of historic donations.

Relevance and Temporality of Data and Findings

UCN was the original institution out of which UoN was officially established in 1948. It also contributed to the creation of NTU, which emerged in 1992 (after a series of organisational evolutions).³⁰ This means that they (UoN and NTU) have a shared history of patronage up until the 1940s, after which they became independent institutions with distinct histories of benefactions and linkages to the transatlantic economy and African enslavement. The divergence in their common past necessitated separate investigations. The data and connections identified and reported after 1945 solely pertain to UoN. NTU published their own findings, in July 2023, which elaborate on the details of their complex historic origins in 1843.³¹

²⁹ MeasuringWorth.com, [<https://www.measuringworth.com>, accessed 2 Dec, 2019].

³⁰ NTU Evolution: Nottingham and District Technical College (1945) → Nottingham Regional College of Technology (1958) → Nottingham Regional College (1966) → Trent Polytechnic (1970) → Nottingham Trent University (1992).

³¹ Lewis Darwen and Andrew Gritt, *Nottingham Trent University and Links to Historical Slavery*, [https://www.ntu.ac.uk/_data/assets/pdf_file/0032/2248817/Nottingham-Trent-University-and-Links-to-Historical-Slavery.pdf, accessed 2 Feb, 2024].

Research Limitations

The outbreak of COVID-19 triggered an almost uninterrupted 13/14-month national lockdown resulting in the closure of archives across the country between March 2020 and April/May 2021. This severely curtailed this project's empirical fieldwork, leaving approximately six months (December 2020, February and April to July 2021) for its completion after which the three-and-a-half-month project write-up began. As a result, detailed biographies were composed for eight of the benefactors with nexuses to the transatlantic economy and African enslavement. Future research should focus on the remaining 117 donors associated with the sectors of Britain's economy most closely linked to the slavery business.

The disruption caused by the pandemic also prevented the second aspect of donor research from being carried out. This would have investigated the backgrounds of the ratepayers sitting on Nottingham City Corporation (NCC) – the principal funder of UCN – during the late-19th and early-20th centuries. A sizeable number of these individuals were textile magnates, mercers and bankers, whose taxes partially financed the establishment and sustenance of UCN between 1875 and 1920. It is likely that some of these entrepreneurs indirectly derived a portion of their income from the slavery business given the close association between the sectors they operated in and the slavery business. Future research should focus on NCC and these individuals, with the findings contributing to a clearer understanding of the origin of the funding upon which UCN was founded.

The coronavirus pandemic prevented the execution of several key public engagement activities, including collaborative desk-based research and archival work with UoN's students and members of Nottingham's local community. This aspect of the project was intended to provide these important stakeholders with the opportunity to assist with the background checks on businesses and individuals who donated gifts to UCN/UoN and on members of NCC, thus helping to determine whether they had links to the transatlantic slave economy. The inability to include UoN's students and residents of Nottingham significantly slowed down this aspect of the research. Combined with time constraints, it was not possible to carry out the entirety of this donor checking task alone. As a result, details on 49.5% of the donors (mainly individuals as opposed to businesses) to UCN/UoN have not been researched. This work could form the basis of further investigation in order to develop existing understandings on the extent and nature of UCN/UoN's links to the transatlantic slave economy.

The pandemic also stopped the planned public presentation and reflective engagement exercises designed for the key stakeholders of Nottingham's universities (staff, students, alumni, members of the city's African / African-Caribbean community, and wider residential population of Nottingham). These events form a critical part of UoN's multilateral reparatory justice process which will entail the formulation of measures specifically designed to address the damaging legacies of slavery (see the section entitled *Process Recommendations for Reparatory Justice* for more detail). This part of the project will take place at a later date.

Although an extensive list of over 450 scholarships, bursaries and prizes was identified, the time limitations created by the coronavirus prevented the investigation of their endowers. Similar to the abovementioned threads of work, future research on these patrons may help reveal any connections they had to the slavery business.

It has not been possible to calculate the proportion of money Nottingham's universities absorbed from their benefactors which specifically derived from the transatlantic economy and African enslavement. This is primarily because each patron's inward and outward cash flows were mixed with money generated from a miscellany of other transactions, which are challenging to quantify as

proportions of their yearly net income. Moreover, the advantages and enrichment accrued from other forms of capital (political, social, cultural, reputation) borne out of, or enhanced by, benefactors' ties to the slavery business are also impossible and impractical to measure financially since their nature does not lend itself to quantification.

The broad balance of evidence (national trade statistics for ascertaining the origin of cotton and tobacco, and secondary literature), has been helpful in identifying the regions these two cash crops derived from and the modality of labour that predominated there. It is, however, possible that a minority of cotton and tobacco imported into Britain from zones heavily dominated by enslaved labour, such as the Americas and Caribbean, could have been farmed by free people (white and Black). The level of specificity required to be certain that British manufactured cotton and tobacco was sourced from plantations harnessing the labour of enslaved African people only partially exists. The scholarship upon which this report largely hinges is that of Seymour, Jones and Feuer-Cotter whose painstaking study on the processing of cotton in the East Midlands has identified its highly probable sourcing from plantations on the Caribbean. The temporality of their work spans the period 1794-1817. Research outside of this period is yet to be undertaken. Moreover, the sparsity of records that permit this kind of meticulous tracing to be carried out compounds the challenge of pinpointing the precise plantations and names of enslaved people who farmed these crops.

Britain's history of abolishing its trade in enslaved African people in 1807 and its legal termination of slavery throughout its West Indian colonies in 1833/34 is well documented. These events are the routine focal point of the country's long involvement in transatlantic slavery (1562-1833) and dominate public memory of this period. Remembrance of slavery in Nottingham has been commemorated in this context with numerous studies and exhibitions dedicated to those racialised as 'white' who fought against slavery.³² Limited work has been undertaken on Black presences in Nottingham during the period of British transatlantic slavery. Specifically, that relating to George Africanus who appears to have been trafficked as part of the Atlantic trade in enslaved African people and became a prominent businessman in the city. Other than this, public remembrance of the centuries of transatlantic slavery, which preceded the emergence of abolition as a political movement around 1780, is almost non-existent. The violent enslavement of African people and appropriation of their labour was central to the production of the cash crops and raw materials that partially fuelled Britain's (and Nottingham's) industrial growth. Rarely remembered or publicly acknowledged as key contributors to the nation or city's economic development between the 17th and 19th centuries, this report recognises the importance of enslaved African people and focuses on Britain's exploitation of their labour. It therefore adds balance to Nottingham's narratives of this period which focus on the efforts of its white abolitionists.

³² Robert Mellors mentioned that Samuel Fox "energetically supported the abolition of negro slavery," in his title *Men of Nottingham and Nottinghamshire: Being Biographical Notices of Five Hundred Men and Women who Were Born, or Worked, or Abode, or Died in the County of City of Nottingham and who, in Some Way, Were Distinguished for Usefulness to Others* (Nottingham: J. & H. Bell, 1924), p. 218; The Nottingham Building Society, which was founded by Samuel Fox in 1849, highlights him as an abolitionist on its website: *The Nottingham*, [<https://www.thenottingham.com/your-society/inside-the-society/history/>], accessed 26 Nov, 2021]; Samuel Morley is noted as an "advocate of the anti-slavery movement in Nottingham" on the website: *Morley Threads*, [<http://www.morleythreads.com/human-rights/josiah-henson-abolitionist>], accessed 26 Nov, 2021]; Natalie Fahy, Nottingham: The City that Celebrates those who Fought the Slave Trade, *Nottingham Post*, [<https://www.nottinghampost.com/news/nottingham-city-celebrates-those-who-4210423>], accessed 26 Dec, 2021].

About the Project's Steering Group and External Peer Review

In 2018, a group of academic experts based in UoN's faculties of arts and social sciences commissioned an initial scoping exercise that illuminated potential linkages between the university and the transatlantic slave economy. It proposed that these be investigated further in order to better understand the extent to which the institution's development is tied to this period. The NUaHS project emerged out of the scoping report and the first steering group meeting took place in early-2019. It was tasked with developing a robust methodological and investigative approach to the study of UoN and transatlantic slavery and convened every 10 to 12 weeks to discuss the project's progress and, when appointed, the researcher's findings. The group included established academics, representatives from the city's Black (African and African-Caribbean) community, members of Nottingham City Council, and senior leaders of local charitable institutions. The majority of those sitting on this group comprised white academics from a range of disciplines in the humanities, law, and social sciences. Recognising the importance of inclusion and representation necessary for this work, and the underrepresentation of minority ethnic students and staff across UoN, especially those who identify as Black, led the university to appoint approximately six people from this racial demographic to the NUaHS steering group. Many of these individuals are descendants of enslaved African people. Their biological proximity to the historical atrocity of slavery played an important role in raising and maintaining awareness of the ongoing emotional pain experienced by people of African and African-Caribbean ancestry, which their white counterparts were not necessarily initially aware of or sensitive to.

External Peer Review

The external peer review process was an essential part of this study and was undertaken by leading historical scholars at other UK and international universities who specialise in subjects and topics directly related to the transatlantic slavery. The amendments made in response to their feedback have been essential for ensuring this report and the arguments it makes are accurate, logical, original, of high quality, methodologically sound, and analytically rigorous, therefore helping to maintain the integrity of history as a discipline.

Historical Context

Britain's Prominent Links to the Transatlantic Slave Economy

Bristol, Liverpool, London and Glasgow are port cities with prominent and well noted links to the transatlantic slave economy.³³ During this period, they were key locations used for shipping British manufactured goods to west Africa which were exchanged for women, men, and children. Many of these individuals had been captured in wars or kidnapped in raids and were subsequently enslaved in the internal African trade in enslaved people.³⁴ This form of African servitude was not, however, based on the European model of hereditary chattel slavery nor was it the basis of that system of chattel slavery. Instead, slavery in west African societies pre-European contact was often based on practices of pawnship and panyarring (i.e., seizing and holding persons as collateral until a debt was repaid or a dispute resolved).³⁵ The arrival of European 'slave-traders' on the coast of the continent transformed pre-existing types of servitude there. Throughout the 17th, 18th and early-19th centuries, growing numbers of enslaved African people were sold to traders from Europe's colonial nations who forcibly transported them to the Americas and Caribbean.³⁶ Bristol, Liverpool, London and Glasgow also became well-known for their importation of the raw materials and cash crops produced by enslaved Africans, which included sugar, rum, tobacco, cotton, indigo, spices and mahogany timber. The extensive body of work concentrating on the historical ties between these coastal metropolises and the transatlantic slave economy has dominated the national account of slavery's impact on Britain to such an extent that its influence is widely understood as being limited to the nation's periphery. How then could an inland city like Nottingham, situated in the heart of England, possibly be connected to the slavery business? It had a very different local economy to Britain's four prominent port cities during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, which does not immediately prompt questions about its potential connections to the slavery business.

³³ Charles Malcolm MacInnes, *Bristol and the Slave Trade* (Bristol: Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, 1968); David Richardson, *The Bristol Slave Traders: A Collective Portrait* (Bristol: Bristol Branch of the Historical Association, 1985); David Richardson, *Bristol, Africa and the Eighteenth-Century Slave Trade to America: The Years of Expansion, 1698-1729* (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 1986); Madge Dresser, *Slavery Obscured: The Social History of the Slave Trade in an English Provincial Port* (London: Continuum, 2001); P. E. H. Hair and Roger Anstey (eds), *Liverpool, the African Slaved Trade, and Abolition: Essays to Illustrate Current Knowledge and Research* (Widnes: Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1976); David Richardson, Suzanne Schwarz and Anthony Tibbles (eds), *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007); David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); James A. Rawley, *London, Metropolis of the Slave Trade* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003); T. M. Devine, 'Glasgow Merchants and the Collapse of the Tobacco Trade, 1775-1783', *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 52, No. 153 (Apr., 1973), pp. 50-74; David Hancock, Scots in the Slave Trade, In: Ned C. Landsman (ed.), *Nation and the Province in the First British Empire: Scotland and the Americas, 1600-1800* (Cranbury: Bucknell University Press, 2001), pp. 60-85; Stuart M. Nesbit, 'Early Glasgow and Sugar Plantations in the Caribbean', *Scottish Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 31, No. 1/2 (2009), pp. 115-136; Stephen Mullen, *It Wisnae Us: The Truth About Glasgow and Slavery* (Edinburgh: Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland, 2009).

³⁴ Stephanie E. Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), pp. 27-37; Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Rebecca Shumway, *The Fante and the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2011).

³⁵ J. D. Fadge, 'Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Context of West African History', *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (Jul., 1969), pp. 394-395; Paul E. Lovejoy, 'Pawnship, Debt, and 'Freedom' in Atlantic Africa During the Era of the Slave Trade: A Reassessment', *Journal of African History*, Vol. 55, No. 1 (Mar., 2014), pp. 55-78.

³⁶ Paul E. Lovejoy, 'The Volume of the Atlantic Slave Trade: A Synthesis', *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (1982), pp. 478.

Recent work by Seymour, Jones, Feuer-Cotter, Haggerty and Bright Ideas Nottingham has begun identifying linkages between the region in which the city is situated (the East Midlands) and various elements of the transatlantic slave economy.³⁷ This has primarily focussed on the slavery connections of the Bentinck family, prominent Nottinghamshire landowners, and those of the region's textile industry which drew upon supplies of raw cotton cultivated by enslaved African people in the Americas and Caribbean during the late-18th and 19th centuries. This study is specifically concerned with the links between Nottingham's universities and transatlantic slavery. Since these institutions were established over a century after its legal termination in the British West Indies (1833) and 83 years after its outlawing in America (1865), how could they ever be connected to it? If they happen to be, to what extent? What would the identification of links between the city's universities and slavery mean for them? And, how would findings of this kind affect their contemporary reputations? These are critical questions that have been considered and discussed amongst members of the project's steering group since the inception of the study in early 2019. They are also questions which this study attempts to address so far as intellectually, methodologically, and practically possible.

Industrialisation, Slavery, and the Founding of Britain's Civic Universities

The University of Nottingham (UoN) was established by a Royal Charter in 1948, and Nottingham Trent University (NTU) in 1992.³⁸ The former institution emerged from University College Nottingham (UCN), which had its roots in Nottingham's Mechanics' Institute. The latter university emerged from a combination of educational bodies that trace their lineage back to the Nottingham Government School of Design (NGSD) and UCN.³⁹ UoN emerged towards the end of an era (1850-1970) that is defined by the founding of university colleges and metropolitan universities across Britain.⁴⁰ Whilst each of these institutions, also known as *redbricks*, grew out of their own distinctive local historical contexts, one of the general causes of their existence is understood to be the 'Industrial Revolution.'⁴¹

A. C. Wood, on the first page of his seminal text, *A History of the University College Nottingham*, notes that "it is clear that one big common factor lies behind the diverse histories of these institutions. In origin, they all stem from the Industrial Revolution... without the industrial revolution it is safe to say, there would have been no "redbrick" universities."⁴² Sanderson, in his influential title

³⁷ For more information see: Seymour, Jones and Feuer-Cotter, *The Global Connections of Cotton in the Derwent Valley Mills*, pp. 150-170; and *Slave Trade Legacies: The Colour of Money* (Nottingham: Bright Ideas), [<http://www.brightideasnottingham.co.uk/current-projects/current-projects/slave-trade-legacies/>, accessed 30 Aug, 2021].

³⁸ See the section entitled *Industry and Education: The Historic Development of Nottingham's Universities* for more information on the establishment of the University of Nottingham and Nottingham Trent University.

³⁹ Darwen and Gritt, *Nottingham Trent University and Links to Historical Slavery*.

⁴⁰ Bruce Truscott, *Redbrick University*, 2nd Edition (London: Pelican Books, 1951); William Whyte, *Redbrick: A Social and Architectural History of Britain's Civic Universities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Britain's Redbrick universities include Victoria University established in 1880; University of Birmingham in 1900; University of Liverpool in 1903; University of Manchester (as Victoria University of Manchester) in 1903; University of Leeds in 1904; University of Sheffield in 1905; University of Bristol in 1909; University of Reading in 1926; University of Nottingham in 1948; Newcastle University in 1963; University of Dundee in 1967.

⁴¹ Michael Sanderson, 'English Civic Universities and the 'Industrial Spirit', 1870-1914', *Historical Research*, Vol. 61, No. 144 (Feb., 1988), p. 91; Michael Sanderson, *The Universities and British Industry, 1850-1970* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972); H. K. Briscoe, 'Nottinghamshire Mechanics' Institutes in the Nineteenth Century', *The Vocational Aspect of Secondary and Further Education*, Vol. 6, No. 13, p. 151.

⁴² A. C. Wood, *A History of the University College Nottingham, 1881-1948* (Oxford: B. H. Blackwell Ltd, 1953), p. 1.

The Universities and British Industry, maintains “it [is] evident that without massive support from industry no university movement stood much chance of successful development.”⁴³ Britain’s industrial revolution has, for many decades, been narrated as a sudden sweeping change from age-old manual labour to newly mechanised high-volume manufacturing, which emanated from domestic (i.e., internal) causal factors.⁴⁴

In 1944, however, Eric Williams proposed that the profits generated from the transatlantic slave economy “provided one of the main streams... of capital in England which financed the Industrial Revolution.”⁴⁵ The extent to which the slavery business propelled the nation’s industrialisation is subject to debate with scholars such as Morgan, Engerman and Burnard maintaining that it encouraged considerable growth in exports which stimulated the country’s economy, but that it did not provide the significant outlay needed for British mechanisation argued by Williams.⁴⁶ At the far end of the spectrum is Robert Thomas who maintains “that the possession of the British West Indies actually had the effect of retarding the growth of Great Britain.”⁴⁷

Williams also argued that British Caribbean slavery entered economic decline after the outbreak of the American War of Independence, in 1776.⁴⁸ However, there is now broad agreement that decline did not occur until the 19th century. Nicholas Draper dates this period around the 1820s when some areas in the British Caribbean had clearly fallen into ‘structural decline’ in terms of profitability.⁴⁹ Although modern conclusions weaken Williams’ contention on the timing of slavery’s economic downturn, they effectively support his central thesis: that slavery in the British Caribbean underpinned the development and timing of Britain’s Industrial Revolution.

Inikori argues that England’s transatlantic economy and international trade were fundamental factors contributing to its industrial development. He maintains that the country’s domestic market grew substantially from commercial interactions with the African continent and from the importation of raw materials produced by African people enslaved in the New World. England’s increasing importation of these products for manufacturing is said to have significantly stimulated output and growth across numerous industries including sugar refining, cotton-based textile manufacture and ship building.⁵⁰

⁴³ Michael Sanderson, *The Universities and British Industry, 1850-1970* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), p. 78.

⁴⁴ For further commentary on this see: Richard B. Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery: An Economic History of the British West Indies, 1623-1775* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), pp. 5-11.

⁴⁵ Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, pp. vii, 52, 65, 105, 210.

⁴⁶ Kenneth Morgan, *Slavery, Atlantic Trade and the British Economy, 1660-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Kenneth Morgan, *Slavery and the British Empire: From Africa to America* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 82-83; Stanley L. Engerman, ‘The Slave Trade and British Capital Formation in the Eighteenth Century: A Comment the Williams Thesis’, *Business History Review*, Vol. 46, No. 4 (1972), pp. 430-443; Trevor Burnard, *From Periphery to Periphery: The Pennant’s Jamaican Plantations and Industrialisation in North Wales, 1771-1812*, in: H.V. Bowen (ed.), *Wales and the Overseas Empire: Interactions and Influences, 1650-1830* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 117, 136.

⁴⁷ Robert Paul Thomas, ‘The Sugar Colonies of the Old Empire: Profit or Loss for Great Britain?’, *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Apr., 1968), pp. 30-45.

⁴⁸ Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, p. 120.

⁴⁹ Nicholas Draper, *Helping to Make Britain Great: The Commercial Legacies of Slave-ownership in Britain*, in: Catherine Hall, Nicholas Draper, Keith McClelland, Katie Donington, and Rachel Lang, *Legacies of British Slave-ownership: Colonial Slavery and the Formation of Victorian Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 81.

⁵⁰ Joseph E. Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England: A Study in International Trade and Economic Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Berg, Hudson, Zahedieh, Bailey and others largely agree with Inikori's thesis regarding the significance of overseas colonial trade (and within it the critical importance of the slavery business).⁵¹ Research being undertaken by the Legacies of British Slave-ownership (LBS) project at University College London (UCL) is helping to uncover the various economic sectors that the fortunes from slavery permeated (e.g., textile production, tobacco manufacture, banking, metallurgy, civil engineering and railways).⁵² Moreover, a growing body of micro-economic work in the form of local and regional case studies is adding detail to Williams' thesis and buttressing Inikori's arguments by evidencing the continuous overspill of colonial wealth and shipping of raw materials to Britain, which were fed into a range of sectors that stimulated "the long period of structural change and economic growth which culminated in the Industrial Revolution."⁵³

During this period, a class of wealthy industrialists and commercial entrepreneurs emerged who harnessed their locality's established industries, created new ones that responded to growing consumer demand, and sold machines that facilitated mass production. These individuals, particularly the industrial magnates, were key sponsors of Britain's university colleges and civic universities, their capital helping to found and drive forward the development of these educational institutions.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Maxine Berg and Pat Hudson, *Slavery, Capitalism and the Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2023); Maxine Berg and Pat Hudson, 'Slavery, Atlantic Trade and Skills: A Response to Mokyr's 'Holy Land of Industrialism'', *Journal of the British Academy*, Vol. 9 (Nov., 2021), pp. 259-281; Pat Hudson, *The Genesis of Industrial Capital: A Study of the West Riding Wool Textile Industry, c. 1750-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Pat Hudson, Slavery, the Slave Trade and Economic Growth: A Contribution to the Debate, In: Catherine Hall, Nicholas Draper and Keith McClelland (eds), *Emancipation and the Remaking of the British Imperial World* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2014), pp. 36-59; Maxine Berg and Pat Hudson, 'Rehabilitating the Industrial Revolution', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (Feb., 1992), pp. 24-50; Nuala Zahedieh, *The Capital and the Colonies: London and the Atlantic Economy, 1660-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Nuala Zahedieh, 'Colonies, Copper, and the Market for Inventive Activity in England and Wales, 1680-1730', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 66, No. 3, (2013), pp. 805-825; Ronald Bailey, 'The Other Side of Slavery: Black Labour, Cotton, and Textile Industrialization in Great Britain and the United States', *Agricultural History*, Vol. 68, No. 2 (1994), pp. 35-50; Joseph E. Inikori, 'Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England: A Roundtable Response', *International Journal of Maritime History*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Dec., 2003), pp. 330-361.

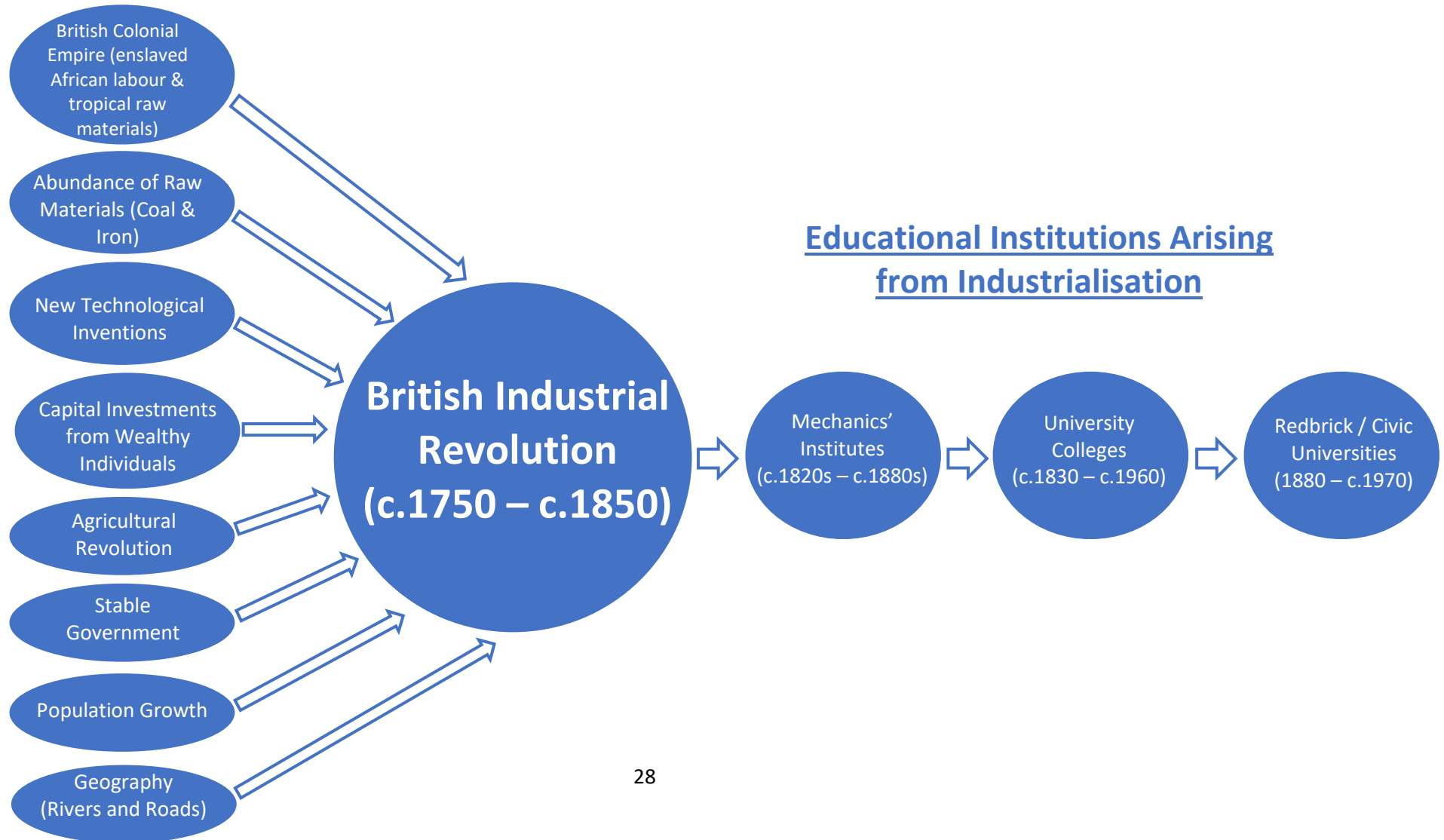
⁵² *Legacies of British Slave-ownership (LBS)*, [<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/commercial/>], accessed 25 Aug, 2021].

⁵³ Zahedieh, *The Capital and the Colonies*, pp. 1, 257, 258-279, 288-289, 291; Catherine Hall, Nicholas Draper, Keith McClelland, Kate Donington and Rachel Lang, *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership: Colonial Slavery and the Formation of Victorian Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 9-11.

⁵⁴ Sanderson, 'English Civic Universities and the 'Industrial Spirit', 1870-1914', p. 91; Sanderson, *The Universities and British Industry, 1850-1970*.

Diagram 2: Factors Driving Britain's Industrial Revolution and the Educational Institutions which Originated and Evolved from it

Causal and Stimulating Factors
Driving Britain's Industrial Revolution



The Growth of Industrial and Commercial Nottingham Within the Context of Transatlantic Slavery

To understand UNC, UoN and NTU's links to the slavery business, via the process of industrialisation and the benefactions gifted by private donors who established themselves in this period, it is vital to provide an overview of Nottingham's economy between the 17th and 19th centuries.

The Foundations of Industrial Nottingham

The economy of pre-industrial 17th century Nottingham comprised a mixture of trades including food, beverages, farming, leather, metal, building and textiles.⁵⁵ The latter was one of the oldest, with records indicating its existence since at least 1155.⁵⁶ It drew upon supplies of locally and nationally produced wool that were spun into yarn (thread) and used to make a variety of household and worn personal items which were knitted by hand up until the late-16th century.⁵⁷ The invention of the stocking frame around 1589 saw a shift away from this form of manual labour to semi-mechanised production, which greatly increased textile output.⁵⁸ Framework knitting expanded considerably after the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 and the trade boomed across Nottingham and the rest of the shire in the late-17th century.⁵⁹ Of the many garments that were made locally, it was hosiery (socks, stockings and tights) that became the dominant form of textile production and employment.⁶⁰ Nottingham's textile sector grew in tandem with "the adoption of new processes in the metal, glass and pottery trades"⁶¹ and eclipsed a number of the town's established trades such as tanning, which began to decline from the mid-17th century onwards.⁶² This growth in economic activity generated demand for capital investment, the extension of credit, and a secure location to hold the town's growing wealth, resulting in the emergence of provincial banking services.⁶³ Together, Nottingham's developing trades, particularly hosiery production along with its rising banking sector, set the ground for the ensuing period of industrialisation.

Textiles

As Nottingham entered the 18th century its textile industry began to grow markedly, transforming the structure upon which the town's economy was based by shifting it from historically mixed trades to one that primarily specialised in hosiery production.⁶⁴ Several important ancillary sectors emerged over the course of the century, such as dyeing and bleaching, needle making, and machine manufacture, all of which diversified the nature and expanded the services offered by the town's textile economy.⁶⁵

Nottingham's population also increased significantly, almost doubling from 6,000 at the beginning of the 1700s to an estimated 11,000 by 1750.⁶⁶ Its continued growth resulted in a period of rising

⁵⁵ Adrian Henstock, Sandra Dunster and Stephen Wallwork, *Decline and Regeneration: Social and Economic Life*, In: John Beckett (ed.), *A Centenary History of Nottingham* (Chichester: Phillimore & Co., Ltd, 2006), pp. 143, 149-154.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 157-159.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

⁶⁰ "Between 1688 and 1750 framework knitters and hosiers formed the second largest occupational group of wealthy tradesmen, after maltsters." – *Ibid.*, pp. 158, 160, 161.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 154.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 160; Chapman, *Industry and Trade, 1750-1900*, pp. 343-345.

⁶⁴ Chapman, *Industry and Trade, 1750-1900*, p. 317.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 317, 322, 332.

⁶⁶ Henstock, Dunster and Wallwork, *Decline and Regeneration: Social and Economic Life*, pp. 132-133.

prosperity for the town's hosiery manufacturers who experienced increasing consumer demand for clothing.⁶⁷ Public clamour for hosiery was heightened by improvements in its quality, along with evolving consumer trends and tastes in apparel, subsequently spurring the establishment of high-volume cotton spinning mills across Nottingham and within settlements close by.⁶⁸ These buildings were often financed through a combination of bank loans and significant monetary outlays from the industrialists who commissioned them.⁶⁹ Prominent magnates in Nottingham included George Robertson (later called Robinson) who had two mills constructed in Bulwell in 1738 and 1761; Richard Arkwright, Jedediah Strutt, Samuel Need and James Hargreaves who established themselves at Hockley during the late-1760s / early-1770s; and Robert Denison and Samuel Oates who formed the partnership Denison & Oates Ltd and had the largest mill in the city built for them in 1792.⁷⁰ Historically crafted from raw wool spun into yarn, the UK's hosiery producers increasingly opted for cotton when cheap supplies began to emerge from the country's Caribbean colonies and, later, the Americas (North and South) during the mid to late-1700s and throughout the 1800s, respectively.⁷¹ This crop quickly became a commonly used material in Nottingham's textile manufacturing process, which gradually transitioned to steam powered machinery housed in workshops and large factories across the town.

Changing fashion trends and the lack of mechanical innovation saw Nottingham's hosiery industry fall into decline between 1810 and 1850.⁷² Lace making subsequently rose to the fore, filled its place, and became one of the town's specialist products.⁷³ The first factories to manufacture lace emerged in the early-1820s, "half a century after Arkwright set up Nottingham's first cotton-spinning factory."⁷⁴ From the 1850s onwards, large scale mechanised plants were established by the locality's remaining hosiery industrialists.⁷⁵ Similar to hosiery, a considerable proportion of lace was made from cheap imported cotton. By the 1860s, "2,149 [machines] across the city were making silk lace, and 1,450 cotton lace."⁷⁶ Output and employment in these two distinctive trades grew rapidly, particularly lace which eventually dominated Nottingham's 19th century economy, solidifying its status as a leading national textile producer.⁷⁷ Although lace fell out of fashion around the 1920s, the city's reputation was maintained by the hosiery trade with undergarments returning to vogue until the late-1900s. Thereafter, Nottingham's textile industry shrank and gave way to a number of post-industrial enterprises.⁷⁸

Cotton, Slavery, and the Strutts, 1700-1888

⁶⁷ Chapman, *Industry and Trade, 1750-1900*, p. 319.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 319, 321.

⁶⁹ S. D. Chapman, 'The Transition to the Factory System in the Midlands Cotton-Spinning Industry', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (1965), pp. 540-542.

⁷⁰ Chapman, *Industry and Trade, 1750-1900*, In: pp. 319, 321-322; Chapman, 'The Transition to the Factory System in the Midlands Cotton-Spinning Industry', pp. 536-537; Richard L. Hills, *Power in the Industrial Revolution* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1970), p. 67.

⁷¹ Chapman, *Industry and Trade, 1750-1900*, p. 321; Seymour, Jones, and Feuer-Cotter, *The Global Connections of Cotton in the Derwent Valley Mills*, pp. 150-170.

⁷² Chapman, *Industry and Trade, 1750-1900*, pp. 322-324, 329.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 324

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 325.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 329-332.

⁷⁶ William Felkin, 'The Lace and Hosiery Trades of Nottingham', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (Dec., 1866), pp. 536.

⁷⁷ S. D. Chapman, *Economy, Industry and Employment*, In: John Beckett (ed.), *A Centenary History of Nottingham* (Chichester: Phillimore & Co., Ltd, 2006), p. 482.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 480-485, 496-502; Competition from foreign countries, which were able to produce higher quality clothes more cheaply, and the lack of resources required to establish new fashion lines contributed to the decline of Nottingham's textile industry in the late-20th century.

Consistent supplies of cheap raw cotton became increasingly important as the textile industry in Nottingham and its surrounding towns expanded throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. This was primarily obtained from the Caribbean and Americas where the predominant mode of production was enslaved African labour.⁷⁹ Smaller cotton supply zones included the Levant region (e.g., Egypt and Turkey), a miscellany of countries in Africa, and India (see Graph 1 below). Planted, picked, and cleaned by enslaved Africans, approximately 70% of the UK's yearly raw cotton was, on average, imported from the West Indies between 1700 and 1780.⁸⁰ Provisions were subsequently eclipsed by those from Brazil, which became the UK's primary supplier (45% annual average) between 1791 and 1798.⁸¹ Thereafter, American cotton increasingly dominated the country's total yearly imports where it comprised approximately 51% in 1803.⁸² This rose to 62% in 1810,⁸³ 59% in 1820, 80% in 1830, 87% in 1845, and accounted for an average of 80% of the UK's total annual raw cotton imports between 1846 and 1861 – the outbreak of the American Civil War.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ J. T. Danson, 'On the Existing Connection Between American Slavery and the British Cotton Manufacture', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Mar., 1857), pp. 7, 10-15.

⁸⁰ Alfred P. Wadsworth and Julia De Lacy Mann, *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, 1600-1780* (Manchester: The University Press, 1965), pp. 520-521.

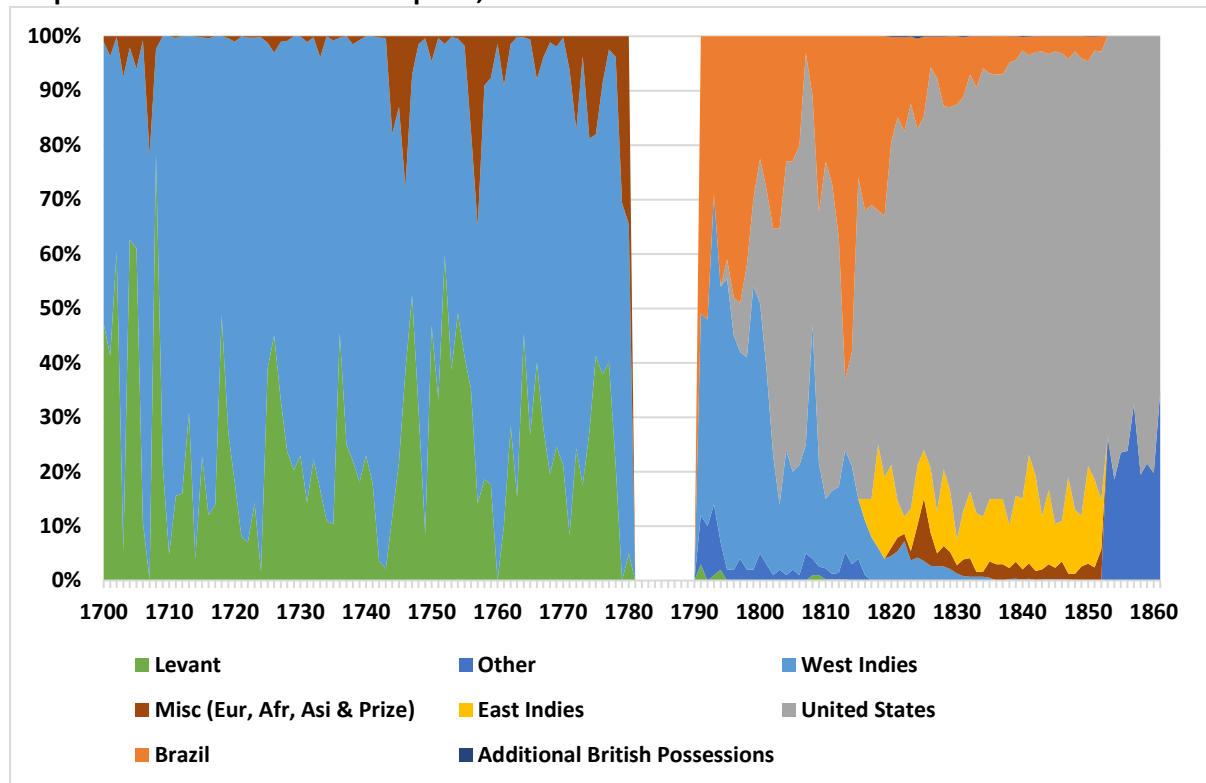
⁸¹ Riello, *Cotton: The Fabric that Made the Modern World*, p. 257.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 257.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

⁸⁴ Houses of Parliament (HoP), *Tables of the Revenue, Population, Commerce of the United Kingdom and its Dependencies (Part III), 1820-1835, 1838-1852* (London: William Clowes; and George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode); B. R. Mitchell and Phyllis Deane, *Abstract of Historical Statistics* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 180-181.

Graph 1: UK Total Raw Cotton Imports, 1700-1861 ⁸⁵



Once imported into Britain, the vast majority of cotton was procured by brokers who subsequently sold it to local mill owners and regional cotton spinners, such as the Strutts and Arkwrights, whose employees transformed it into yarn before it was sold to textile manufacturers.⁸⁶ The Strutts are particularly relevant since they sold spun cotton to numerous hosiery and lace producers across Nottingham. Research on the origins of the Strutts raw cotton supplies shows that they were obtaining almost 75% of their bagged provisions from South America and the Caribbean (41% from Brazil, 28% from Guyana and Suriname, 3% from other regions in South America, 24% from the West Indies, 4% from the USA) between 1794 and 1803.⁸⁷ Pernambuco in Brazil was a particularly important region for the Strutts from which they obtained 31% of their total supplies during the last-mentioned period.⁸⁸

The quantities and origin of the Strutts supplies changed markedly between 1804 and 1817, with bags of raw cotton from Brazil constituting 48% of their entire reserves during this span.⁸⁹ Maranhão, another province to the north of Pernambuco, became the primary supply zone for the family during this period, accounting for 26% of its total provisions.⁹⁰ Overall statistics by Eltis

⁸⁵ Period spanning 1700-1780 – Wadsworth and Mann, *The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire, 1600-1780*; Years 1705, 1712, 1727, 1790-1819, 1836-1837 – Riello, *Cotton: The Fabric that Made the Modern World*; Years 1820-1835, 1838-1852 – Houses of Parliament (HoP), *Tables of the Revenue, Population, Commerce of the United Kingdom and its Dependencies*; and Years 1853-1861 – Mitchell and Deane, *Abstract of Historical Statistics*, pp. 180-181; No data is available for the period 1781-1790; Data for the span 1791-1820 is only for the port of Liverpool.

⁸⁶ For an example see: R. S. Fitton and A. P. Wadsworth, *The Strutts and the Arkwrights, 1758-1830* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1958), pp. 342-343.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 263-267; Seymour, Jones, and Feuer-Cotter, *The Global Connections of Cotton in the Derwent Valley Mills*, p. 157.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 159-160.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

indicate a rise in the number of enslaved African people disembarked in north east Brazil, which coincides with the time that the Strutts were sourcing raw cotton from this region (1794-1817).⁹¹ Approximately 210,800 Africans were brought to north east Brazil between 1776 and 1800, and a further 214,800 between 1801 and 1825.⁹² In 1819, 66.6% of Maranhão's population was reportedly enslaved on cotton plantations.⁹³ After 1825, the numbers of enslaved Africans brought to north eastern Brazil declined rapidly.⁹⁴ This aligns with suggested shrinkages in South American cotton supplies in the 1820s, which resulted in the Strutts purchasing increasing quantities from the southern states of America, the Indian subcontinent, and Egypt.⁹⁵ The family had been buying U.S. cotton prior to this with their supplies from America rising in volume and significance between 1803 and 1817. During this period, U.S. supplies comprised approximately 14% the Strutts total raw cotton provisions – up from 4% between 1798 and 1803.⁹⁶

The Strutts initial sourcing of cotton from the U.S. appears to have occurred in 1798, where small quantities were imported into Britain from Georgia and New Orleans.⁹⁷ This coincides with the era in which the American market was beginning to take-off. The Strutts purchases increased thereafter, but fluctuated anywhere between 20 and 1,715 bags during the period spanning 1804 to 1817.⁹⁸ Some of this variation can be attributed to the war between Britain and America (1812-1815), which disrupted supplies.⁹⁹ The volume of cotton contained in any given bag was inconsistent, however, a calculation of weight by region from the Strutts' General Clearing Book of 1793-1798 shows that the average quantity of 1 bag from America weighed 317 lbs, the West Indies 246 lbs and South America 211 lbs.¹⁰⁰

Whilst the Strutts were only procuring a minority of American cotton during the late-1790s and early-1800s, the larger average bag volumes indicate that it comprised a nonetheless important proportion of their overall supplies. Since research on the origin of the Strutts cotton after 1820 has not been undertaken, it is impossible to say with full certainty that their cotton derived from regions dominated by enslaved labour. Having said this, the balance of evidence shows that the majority of Britain's raw cotton imports derived from the United States, with smaller quantities from Brazil, making it highly likely that this was a source of cotton for the Strutts. Certainly, the increasing significance of U.S. cotton for this family aligns with the crop's exponential importation into, and subsequent domination of, the UK's market between 1800 and 1860. The outbreak of the American Civil War in 1861 ended the U.S.'s command of the UK's cotton economy and resulted in the legal termination of American slavery in 1865. By 1871, however, the U.S. had recaptured its position as the UK's premier supplier of cotton.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

⁹² David Eltis, 'The Volume and Stricture of the Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Reassessment', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 58, No. 1 (Jan., 2001), pp. 45; *Ibid.*

⁹³ Arthur Ramos, 'The Negro in Brazil', *The Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (Jul., 1941), p. 516.

⁹⁴ Eltis, 'The Volume and Stricture of the Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Reassessment', p. 45; Herbert S. Klein and Francisco Vidal Luna, *Slavery in Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 296.

⁹⁵ Seymour, Jones, and Feuer-Cotter, *The Global Connections of Cotton in the Derwent Valley Mills*, p. 161.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

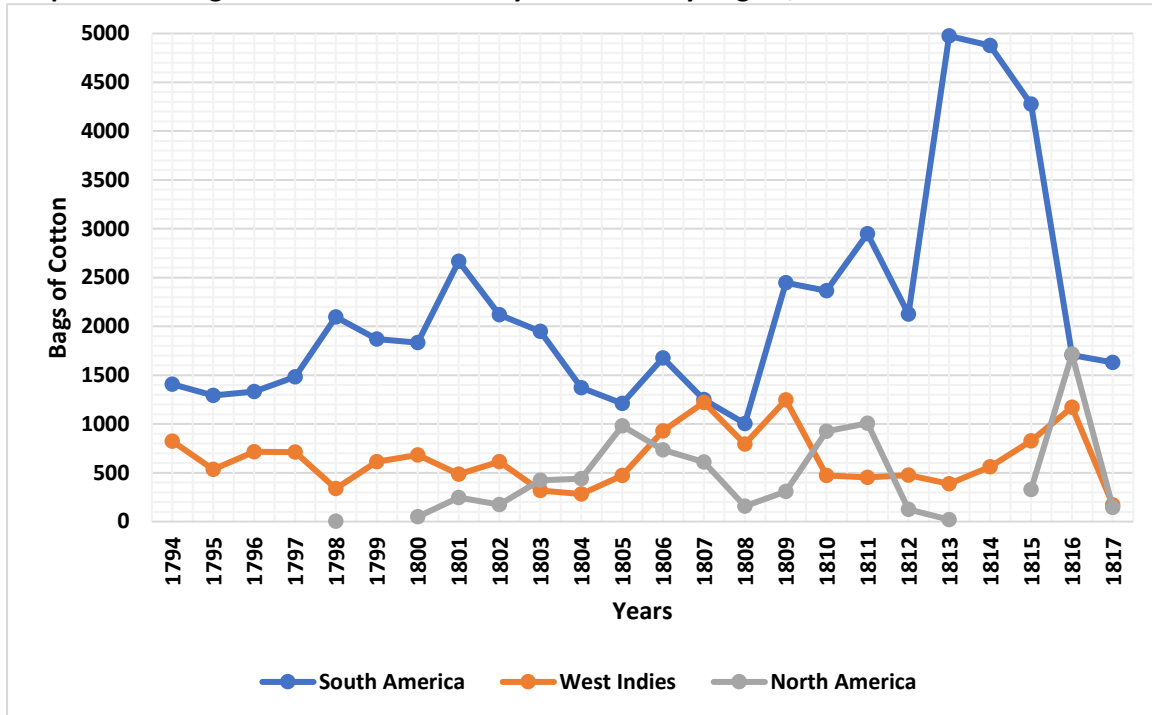
⁹⁷ Fitton and Wadsworth, *The Strutts and the Arkwrights, 1758-1830*, p. 265; *Ibid.*, p. 162.

⁹⁸ Fitton and Wadsworth, *The Strutts and the Arkwrights, 1758-1830* pp. 264-267.

⁹⁹ Thomas Ellison, *The Cotton Trade of Great Britain* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1886), p. 89; Riello, *Cotton: The Fabric that Made the Modern World*, p. 257.

¹⁰⁰ Fitton and Wadsworth, *The Strutts and the Arkwrights, 1758-1830*, pp. 339-341.

Graph 2: Raw Bags of Cotton Purchased by the Strutts by Region, 1794-1817 ¹⁰¹



In summary, Nottingham’s 18th and 19th century textile economy developed significantly as Britain began to industrialise. Its rapidly growing population, which required clothing, and specialisation in hosiery manufacturing, and later lace production, generated an exponential demand for cheap raw materials. Cotton became the preferred and dominant resource, with increasing quantities being imported from the West Indies and Brazil during the 1700s, before the UK switched to supplies from America in the early-1800s, which almost saturated the British market from the 1820s onwards.¹⁰²

Nottingham’s hosiery and lace trades became heavily dependent upon cotton grown by millions of African people held in bondage on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. A number of cotton spinners and manufacturers emerged from the growing English town who were significantly enriched by the profits they generated from garments made of cotton picked by enslaved Africans. This placed the industrial entrepreneurs and their heirs in a position to make financial and material gifts towards the establishment of Nottingham’s universities in the late-19th and 20th centuries, as demonstrated by the case studies contained in this report. Nottingham’s specialisation in hosiery and lace eventually saw it become one of the most distinguished textile-producing and marketing centres in the 1800s. This status remained linked to and largely driven by cotton picked by enslaved African people until at least 1865. Despite Britain’s legal termination of slavery in 1833, numerous parts of its economy remained locked into the transatlantic system driven by enslaved African labour until the last remnants of this institution were abolished in the Americas in 1888.¹⁰³

Tobacco

Tobacco was another colonial cash crop that became increasingly important to Nottingham’s industrialising economy, which began mass processing the leaf from at least 1823.¹⁰⁴ It was one of

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 339-341.

¹⁰² Bailey, ‘The Other Side of Slavery’, p. 36.

¹⁰³ Joseph Martin Multher, *After 1833: British Entanglement with Brazilian Slavery*, Published PhD Thesis (Durham: University of Durham, 2018).

¹⁰⁴ Chapman, *Economy, Industry and Employment*, p. 489.

the first consumable crops cultivated in, and exported from, Britain's north American colonies with a history that stretches back to the early-1600s.¹⁰⁵ Initially farmed by white colonisers (indentured servants) on small plantations in the Chesapeake region (primarily Virginia and Maryland), an emerging market and increasing demand for tobacco in Britain and across Europe resulted in a shift to large-scale production using enslaved African labour from the third quarter of the 17th century.¹⁰⁶ Its commercial cultivation later spread to numerous other states, namely North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri, where it became a staple crop in the mid-1800s.¹⁰⁷

Imported into Britain for public consumption since the 1600s, tobacco profits contributed to the significant enrichment and development of coastal port towns such as Bristol and Glasgow. Britain's domestic tobacco market thrived on increasing imports from colonial America between the early-1700s and 1775. Supplies fell into a state of decline after the American War of Independence (1776-1783), before gradually recovering in the early-19th century. By the early-1800s, the U.S. had become Britain's leading supplier of tobacco. A 21-year run of national trade statistics, from 1828 to 1849, shows that, on average, 95% of the country's tobacco originated from America, with Parliament making specific reference to its sourcing from Virginia and Maryland, two of America's key producers in the 1830s.¹⁰⁸ This span of time overlaps with the formative years of commercial tobacco manufacturing in Nottingham. With such a high proportion of Britain's tobacco arriving from the U.S. where it was predominantly farmed by enslaved African people, a significant proportion – even after accounting for re-exports – undoubtedly ended up in Nottingham cigarettes which were sold in the city by its small but growing number of tobacconist shops.

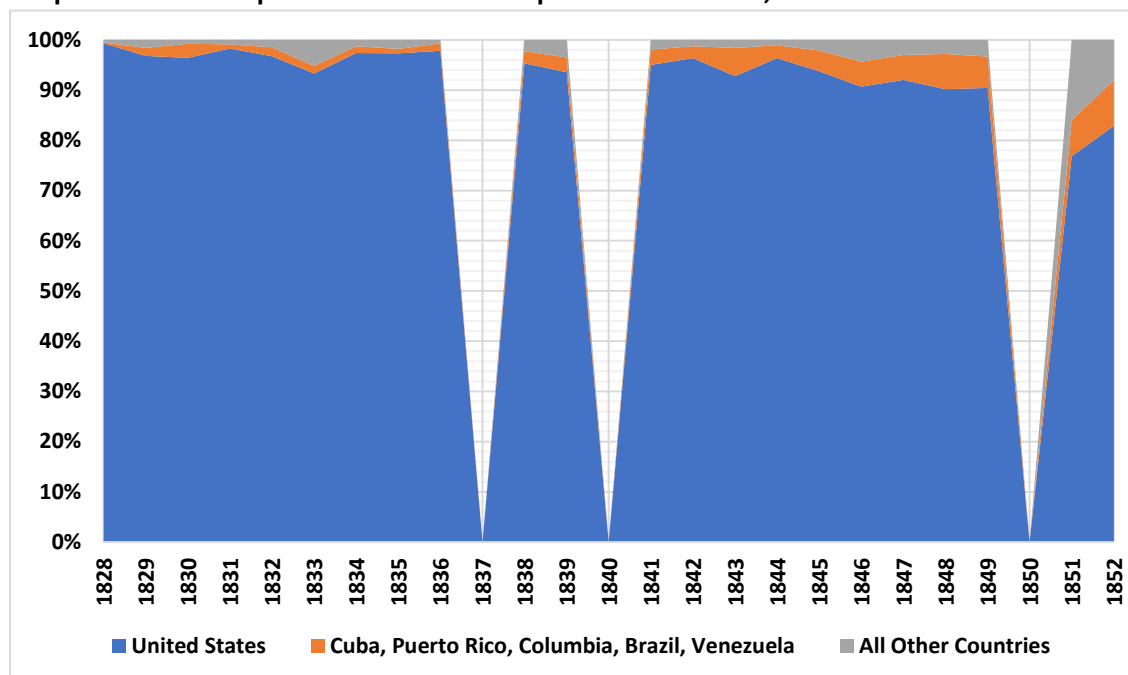
¹⁰⁵ Russell R. Menard, 'Plantation Empire: How Sugar and Tobacco Planters Build their Industries and Raised an Empire', *Agricultural History*, Vol. 81, No. 3 (2007), pp. 310, 322; James Horn, 'Transformations of Virginia: Tobacco, Slavery and Empire', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 68, No. 3 (Jul., 2011), pp. 327.

¹⁰⁶ Frederick C. Knight, *Working the Diaspora: The Impact of African Labour on the Anglo-American World, 1650-1850* (New York: New York University Press, 2010), pp. 70, 71; Menard, 'Plantation Empire', p. 318; Horn, 'Transformations of Virginia', p. 327; Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), pp. 40-41.

¹⁰⁷ *The Seventh Census of the United States, 1850* (Washington: Robert Armstrong, 1853), p. 174; *Agriculture of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eight Census* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), p. xcvi.

¹⁰⁸ House of Commons (HC), *Navigation Laws and Commercial Policy*, Vol. 12, Col. 1311, 22 May, 1832, [<https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1832-05-22/debates/9ee8a4ba-e2c4-4b31-9823-ea542ec4b0a1/NavigationLawsAndCommercialPolicy>], accessed 13 May, 2021]; Statistics for the years in which European colonial slavery in the Americas continued (1853-1888) have been difficult to obtain, hence their omission here.

Graph 3: Annual Proportions of Tobacco Imported into the UK, 1828-1849 ¹⁰⁹



Rising demand for tobacco within British towns and cities, such as Nottingham, was satisfied via an increase in the enslaved population throughout America, particularly the southern states, where their labour propelled the quantity of this crop’s cultivation.¹¹⁰ The rise in the enslaved population was particularly pronounced in the tobacco producing states of Virginia which grew from 425,153 to 472,528 enslaved people between 1820 and 1850; North Carolina (205,017 to 288,548); Kentucky (126,732 to 210,918); Tennessee (80,107 to 239,459); and Missouri (10,222 to 87,422). Conversely, the enslaved population in Maryland declined from 107,397 to 90,368 between 1820 and 1850.¹¹¹ National and international demand for cotton also drove the rise in America’s enslaved population, particularly in the south after 1790, underscoring the importance of (and reliance on) the institution of slavery.

Although the manufacture of tobacco in Nottingham was never as prevalent as cotton, the sector developed in a distinctive manner and eventually became one of the most prominent and defining elements of the town’s late-19th and 20th century economy.¹¹² Its manufacturers rose to

¹⁰⁹ House of Commons (HoC), Accounts of the Quantity of Tobacco Imported into United Kingdom, 1828-1836, 1838, 1841-1849, 1851-1852, *19th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers*, (London: HoC).

¹¹⁰ The rapid increase in the number of enslaved people was also driven by the explosion in cotton production across states in the Deep South (Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana) in the early 1800s. For more information on the contested causes driving the increase in America’s enslaved population see: Michael Tadman, ‘The Demographic Cost of Sugar: Debates on Slave Societies and Natural Increase in the Americas’, *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 105, No. 5 (Dec., 2000), pp. 1534-1575; Gregory D. Smithers, *Slave Breeding: Sex, Violence, and Memory in African American History* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012).

¹¹¹ U.S. Department of Commerce, *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970, Part 1*, Bicentennial Edition (Washington, D.C: U.S. Congress, 1975) – See: Series A, 91-104, Population, by Sex and Race: 1790 to 1970, Table LXXI – Slave Population of the United States, p. 14.

¹¹² London, Bristol, Liverpool and Glasgow were Britain’s leading centres of historic tobacco manufacture – B. W. E. Alford, *W.D. & H.O. Wills and the Development of the U.K. Tobacco Industry, 1786-1965* (London: Methuen & Co, 1973), p. 13.

distinguished affluence that enabled them to dispense their wealth across the city throughout the early-20th century.¹¹³

Cotton, Tobacco and Enslaved African People

The increasing volumes of raw cotton and tobacco that were being produced in the Caribbean and Americas were driven by growing global demand, particularly in industrialising towns and cities across England such as Nottingham. The town's market for these staple products contributed to the ramping up of the trade in enslaved African people. They were purchased in west Africa, forcibly transported to the Americas in shipping vessels, and sold to 'slave-owners' who coerced them into clearing and transforming wild territory into plantations for growing a variety of cash crops.

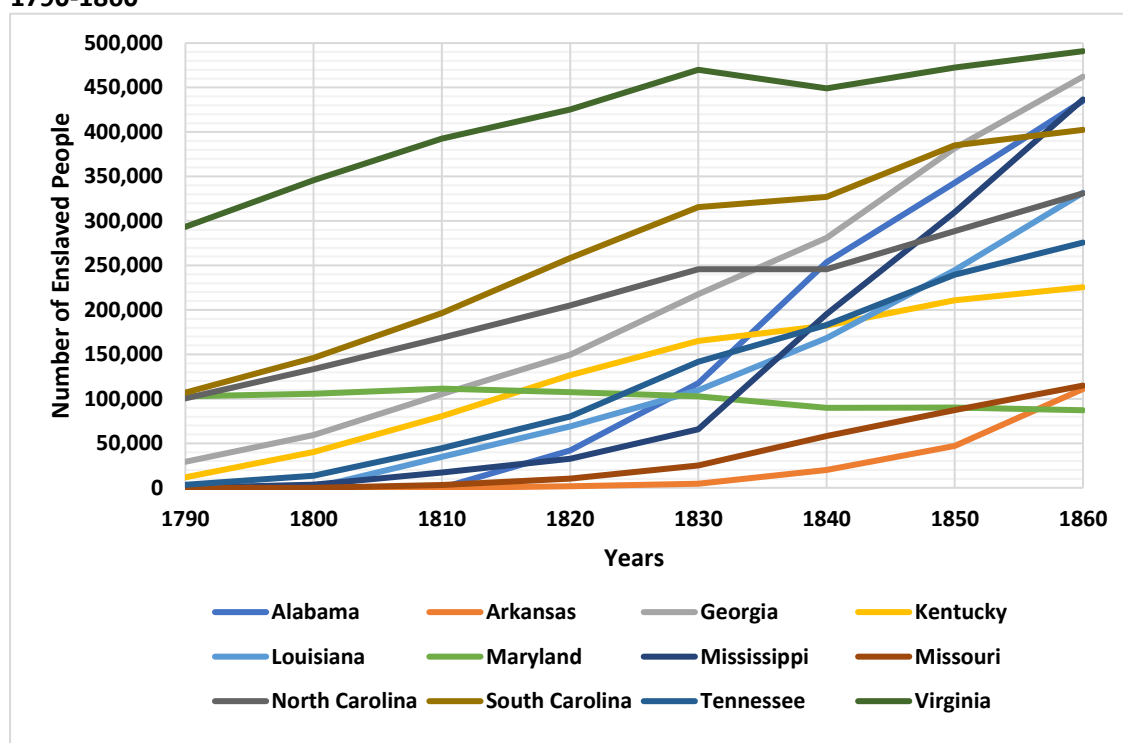
The "importation" of enslaved African people into the United States between 1619 and 1808 combined with the rise in their numbers through natural reproduction and the internal American 'slave trade' after this period resulted in an exponential spike in the country's enslaved population. This was important to Britain since America became an increasingly significant location from which it drew most of its cotton and tobacco between 1790 and 1860. A relatively complete set of decadal census figures at both national and state levels shows, for example, that the number of enslaved African people more than doubled from 697,681 in 1790 to 1,538,022 in 1820, and continued to spike, peaking at 3,953,760 in 1860.¹¹⁴ This increase in enslaved people was particularly pronounced in the key cotton and tobacco producing states such as Alabama where its enslaved population rose from 41,879 to 435,080; Arkansas (1,617 to 111,115); Georgia (29,264 to 462,198); Kentucky (11,830 to 225,483); Louisiana (34,660 to 331,726); Mississippi (3,849 to 436,631); North Carolina (100,572 to 331,059); South Carolina (107,034 to 402,406); and Virginia (293,427 to 490,865).¹¹⁵ Nottingham was, therefore, one of many towns, whose growing demand for cotton and tobacco fuelled the continuing and increasing enslavement of African people.

¹¹³ John Bittiner and David Lowe, *Nottingham General Hospital: Personal Reflections* (Nottingham: Special Trustees for Nottingham University Hospital, 1990), pp. 23-39, 83; S. D. Chapman, 'John Player, 1839-1884', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)*, [<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/39035>, accessed 24 Apr, 2021].

¹¹⁴ U.S. Department of Commerce, *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970* – See: Series A 91-104. Population, by Sex and Race: 1790 to 1970, p. 14.

¹¹⁵ *The Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*, p. 82 – provides census figures on the number of enslaved people of African descent between 1790 and 1850; *Population of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864).

Graph 4: Enslaved Population Across America’s Primary Cotton and Tobacco Producing States, 1790-1860 ¹¹⁶



Banking

Nottingham’s banking sector has pre-industrial roots and was instrumental to the town’s economic growth. Its origins can be traced back to at least 1658 and originated from a range of local circumstances, namely the extension of credit and need for the secure and careful management of the town’s growing wealth that arose from its increasing commercial activities.¹¹⁷ Numerous banks emerged throughout the town over the following two centuries (Smiths Bank in 1658; Wright’s Bank in 1761; Fellows, Mellor & Hart in 1808; Moore, Maltby, Evans & Middlemore in 1812; and Nottingham Joint Stock Bank in 1865), each one serving the distinct and unique financial requirements of the specific trades that existed there.¹¹⁸ Some of these banks were partially financed and directed by the town and region’s wealthiest industrialists, who formed partnerships, loaned capital and provided underwriting services to a miscellany of customers across the East Midlands. These clients were connected to a variety of commercial sectors and, more specifically, included traders in enslaved African people, owners of enslaved Africans, West Indian merchant houses, and businesses manufacturing imported raw materials produced by those held in bondage. Indeed, some of Nottingham’s banks became more closely involved in the transatlantic slave economy via their direct ownership of enslaved Africans in the British Caribbean. Their lending of capital tainted by slavery facilitated the financing of town’s 18th and 19th century economic

¹¹⁶ The enslaved population in America for the decades 1790 to 1850 is contained in: *The Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*, p. ix; For 1860 see: Joseph C. G. Kennedy, *Preliminary Report on the Eighth Census, 1860* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1862), pp. 245-294.

¹¹⁷ J. A. S. L. Leighton-Boyce, *Smiths the Bankers, 1658-1958* (London: National Provincial Bank, 1958), p. 9.

¹¹⁸ Smiths Bank was established in 1658; Wright’s Bank in 1761; Fellows, Mellor & Hart in 1808; Moore, Maltby, Evans & Middlemore in 1812; and Nottingham Joint Stock Bank in 1865. For more information see: Chapman, *Industry and Trade, 1750-1900*, pp. 343-347; Thomas Seccombe (revised by Alison Milbank), ‘Ichabod Charles Wright, 1795-1871’, *ODNB*, [<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/30033>, accessed 26 Sep, 2021].

development and structural transformation. Permeating the fabric of Nottingham, this borrowed money subsequently implicated many of its enterprises in the slavery business.

Summary

Textile production gradually became a primary pillar upon which a considerable proportion of Nottingham's economy rested during 18th and 19th centuries. Tobacco manufacture also emerged as an important and prosperous sector, although it was less prevalent than cotton-based hosiery and lace-making. Banking developed during the same period as the town's textile trade with the services it offered in the 19th century, forming a critical part of the underpinning infrastructure that financed Nottingham's development. All three sectors were crucial elements of Nottingham's economy and were largely, particularly in the cases of textile and cigarette manufacture, driven by and dependent upon the raw cotton and tobacco cultivated by enslaved Africans in the Caribbean and Americas. As the 1700s and 1800s progressed, Nottingham's economy became increasingly locked into, formed part of, and sustained by the broader colonial transatlantic economy. This was underpinned by complex transactions and commercial relationships, at the heart of which lay African people, who were purchased, sold, enslaved, owned and exploited for their labour power. The fruits of their toil were violently extracted by white 'slave-holders' for over 250 years and used to fuel Britain and, more specifically, Nottingham's industrialisation.

Industry and Education: The Historic Development of Nottingham's Universities

Nottingham Mechanics' Institute, 1837

Nottingham's industrial landscape evolved rapidly, with mechanised factory-based production first appearing in its cotton spinning trade around the late-1700s.¹¹⁹ This soon spread, with the factory system taking root amongst lace makers in the early-1820s, hosiery producers in the 1850s,¹²⁰ and tobacco manufacturers sometime during the same century.¹²¹ The proper and effective operation of the new machinery installed in these buildings, which introduced innovative techniques of mass production and ways of working, required Nottingham's industrialists to provide new forms of technical and vocational training to their labourers.¹²² This was assumed by the town's Mechanics' Institute – one of hundreds of specialist bodies established in localities across Britain throughout the 19th century with the intention of teaching practical and expert skills to industrial factory workers – which effectively took over the theoretical aspect of the industrialists' educational obligations.¹²³ Initially, these bodies were unsuccessful in attracting factory workers and artisans. Instead, many, but not all, were filled with people from the middling strata of society whose presence influenced a change from the intended practical and technical nature of instruction, to that of lectures, discussions, and debates.¹²⁴

¹¹⁹ Chapman, 'The transition to the Factory System in the Midlands Cotton-Spinning Industry', pp. 526-543.

¹²⁰ Chapman, *Industry and Trade, 1750-1900*, pp. 325-326 – Chapman notes that prominent within the locality were Samuel Hall, a cotton spinner from Basford, whose factory was built in Lenton in 1820; James Fisher, a London lace merchant who had a manufacturing plant built in Radford; Thomas Robert Sewell, who founded a factory in Carrington in 1831; and Biddle & Birkin, who established themselves in New Basford in the mid-1830s.

¹²¹ Chapman, *Economy, Industry and Employment*, p. 489.

¹²² H. K. Briscoe, 'Nottinghamshire's Mechanics' Institutes in the Nineteenth Century', *The Vocational Aspect of Secondary and Further Education*, Vol. 6, No. 13 (1954), p. 151; Wood, *A History of the University College*, p. 5.

¹²³ Briscoe, 'Nottinghamshire's Mechanics' Institutes', p. 151.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 155; Edward Royle, 'Mechanics' Institutes and the Working Classes, 1840-1860', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (Jun., 1971), pp. 305-321; A. F. Chadwick, 'The Derby Mechanics' Institute, 1825-1880', *The Vocational Aspect of Education*, Vol. 27, No. 68 (1975), pp. 103, 104.

Talks of founding a Mechanics' Institute in Nottingham arose in 1824, although it would be another 13 years before one was formally established in the town.¹²⁵ Several others were created across Nottinghamshire, with Mansfield's opening in 1831/32, Newark's in 1836, and Nottingham's Mechanics' Institute in 1837. Its patrons included a range of important local figures with commercial, landed, and imperial interests including John Smith Wright (1773/4-1848), a prominent local banker; Richard Morley (1755-1855) and Samuel Morley (1809-1886), owners of the hosiery manufacturing firm I. & R. Morley; Louis Heymann (1802-1869), a wealthy Nottingham-based lace merchant and manufacturer; Edward Strutt (1801-1880), a politician and the grandson of the cotton spinning magnate Jedediah Strutt;¹²⁶ and William Henry Cavendish-Scott-Bentinck (1768-1854), 4th Duke of Portland (1768-1854).¹²⁷

Samuel Morley of I. & R. Morley, and the Bentinck and Cavendish-Bentinck families had links to the transatlantic slave economy, their wealth partially financing the creation of Nottingham's Mechanics' Institute, which was the antecedent institution from which UCN and the city's universities (primarily UoN and elements of NTU) came into existence during the twentieth century. The DNA of Nottingham's universities was, therefore, associated with the transatlantic slave economy long before they were conceived. This does not appear to have been an unusual scenario. Benefactors connected to the slavery business financially and politically supported the founding of mechanics' institutes across Britain. Notably, John Gladstone (1764-1851), a prominent owner of enslaved African people and father of Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898),¹²⁸ and Benjamin Heywood (1793-1865), a member of the Heywood 'slave-trading' and cotton importing family,¹²⁹ both patronised Liverpool Mechanics' Institute which was opened in 1832.¹³⁰ Joseph Strutt (1765-1844), son and co-heir of prominent cotton spinner Jedediah Strutt and partner in W. G. & J. Strutt, who sourced this cash crop from colonies dominated by enslaved labour in the Americas between 1794 and 1817,¹³¹ was the founder of Derby Mechanics' Institute, which opened in 1825, and was a major supporter of its subsequent development.¹³²

Britain's mechanics' institutes evolved quickly, improving and widening their syllabi. This was partly in response to overseas competition from countries across rapidly industrialising mainland Europe. Of particular concern were the advances being made by Germany and Switzerland, which were surging forward in the field of scientific and vocational technical education.¹³³ Britain's manufacturers became increasingly anxious about the prospect of being left behind in the industrial race and fearful of losing their share in their respective markets due to the improved quality and variety of competing foreign products. Their fear was realised at the Paris Universal Exposition of 1867 – a showcasing of international industrial technology, science, art and innovation. Interest in Britain's inventions was eclipsed by the attentiveness shown and praise given to those produced by other European nations. The event reinforced concerns over growing international competition and

¹²⁵ Wood, *A History of the University College, Nottingham*, p. 5.

¹²⁶ David Wardle, *Education and Society in Nineteenth-Century Nottingham* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 177, 180-181; James Granger, *Nottingham Mechanics' Institution: A Retrospect, 1837-1912* (Nottingham: W. Burrows, 1912), pp. 7, 8-10, 12-13, 40.

¹²⁷ Wardle, *Education and Society in Nineteenth-Century Nottingham*, pp. 177, 180-181; Wood, *A History of the University College, Nottingham*, p. 5; Granger, *Nottingham Mechanics' Institution*, pp. 7, 8-10, 12-13, 41.

¹²⁸ Roland Quinault, 'Gladstone and Slavery', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (Jun., 2009), pp. 363-383.

¹²⁹ Richardson, Schwarz and Tibbles (eds), *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery*, pp. 29, 235.

¹³⁰ Gordon W. Roderick and Michael D. Stephens, 'Approaches to Technical Education in Nineteenth-Century England: Part V. The Liverpool Mechanics' Institution', *The Vocational Aspect of Education*, Vol. 25, No. 61 (1973), p. 99.

¹³¹ Seymour, Jones and Feuer-Cotter, *The Global Connections of Cotton in the Derwent Valley Mills*, pp. 156-164.

¹³² Chadwick, 'The Derby Mechanics' Institute, 1825-1880', p. 103.

¹³³ Wood, *A History of the University College, Nottingham*, p. 9.

underscored Britain's need to enhance its economy if it was to maintain its industrial dominance.¹³⁴ The Paris exposition was "seized upon by critics, like the scientist Lyon Playfair, as evidence of the nation's decadence and technological backwardness."¹³⁵ It also heightened existing sentiments of urgency around the need to improve education and fund new colleges across Britain.¹³⁶ Investing in this area would allow the latest technical and mechanical skills to be cultivated in the labour force who could then apply these within a variety of competitive industrial trades.

In 1867, the idea of establishing a university in Nottingham was floated by Louis Heymann, an original patron of the town's Mechanics' Institute.¹³⁷ This proposal along with the concerns over foreign competition led to the introduction of what became known as 'university extension lectures' at the Mechanics' Institute. These formally commenced in 1873 and were organised and coordinated under the auspices of the University of Cambridge.¹³⁸ Two years later, in 1875, Nottingham Corporation (which became the City Council in 1897) received a pledge of £10,000.¹³⁹ This was offered by William Henry Heymann, Louis Heymann's son, who promised to donate the sum towards the endowment of university lectureships upon the condition that the Corporation provide accommodation for the lectures.¹⁴⁰ Agreeing to Heymann's offer, the Corporation identified a suitable location, produced the funds required and commissioned the construction of new educational buildings at Horse Fair Close, located at the junction of Burton Street and Shakespeare Street in central Nottingham.¹⁴¹ This site became the home of Nottingham's new University College, which was officially opened in 1881.¹⁴² It took over many of the educational responsibilities of the Mechanics' Institute, leaving the latter to focus on the expansion of its lending library, and establishment of debating, literary, and dramatic societies.¹⁴³

¹³⁴ B. H. Tolley, Nottingham University College, 1811-1911: The Formative Years, In: *One Hundred Years of Nottingham Life – The Centenary Lectures Delivered at the University of Nottingham* (1981), p. 5; Whyte, *Redbrick*, p. 114.

¹³⁵ Whyte, *Redbrick*, p. 114.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ Wood, *A History of the University College, Nottingham*, p. 7; *Ibid.*, p. 159; William Rubinstein, 'Jewish Top Wealth-Holders in Britain', *Jewish Historical Studies*, Vol. 37 (2001), p. 141; Geoffrey Oldfield, 'Lewis Heymann, 1802-1869', *ODNB*, [<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/57644>, accessed 28 Sep, 2021].

¹³⁸ Briscoe, 'Nottinghamshire's Mechanics' Institutes', p. 160; Beckett, *Nottingham: A History of Britain's Global University*, pp. 12-13.

¹³⁹ *Records of the Borough of Nottingham (RBN) – Being a Series of Extracts from the Archives of the Corporation of Nottingham, Vol. 9, 1836-1900*, (Nottingham: Thomas Forman & Sons Ltd, 1956), pp. 226-7; also see pages 242, 259, 357; Beckett, *Nottingham: A History of Britain's Global University*, p. 509.

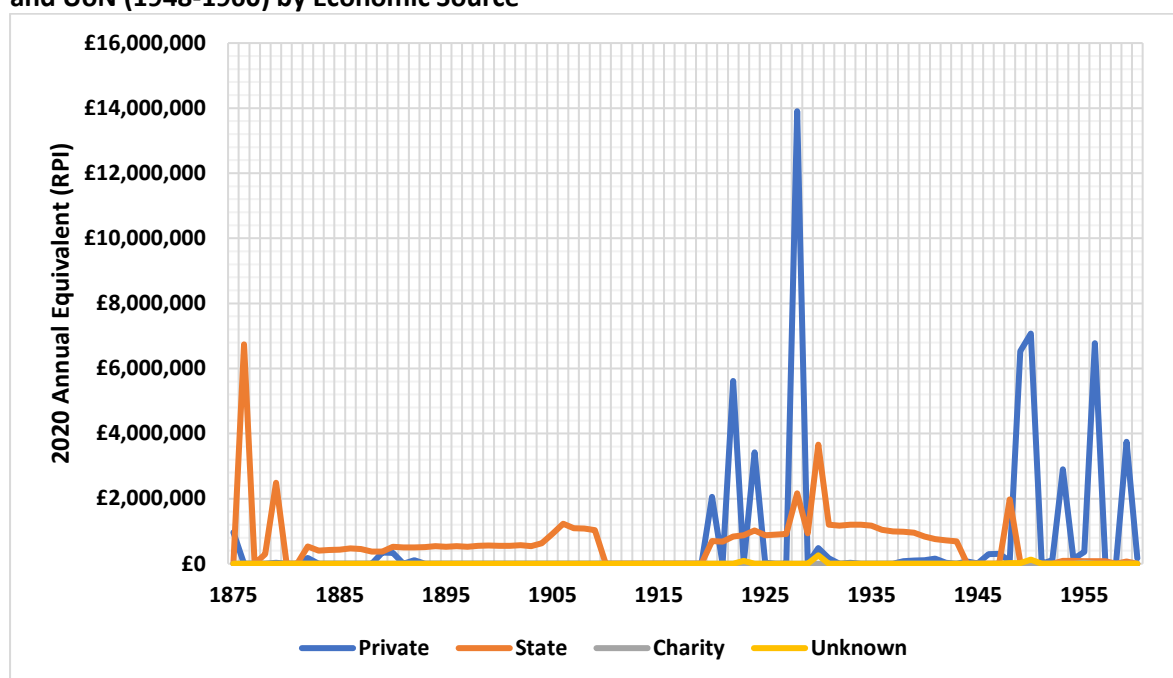
¹⁴⁰ Briscoe, 'Nottinghamshire Mechanics' Institutes', p. 160; Beckett, *Nottingham: A History of Britain's Global University*, p. 18.

¹⁴¹ Beckett, *Nottingham: A History of Britain's Global University*, p. 18.

¹⁴² Briscoe, 'Nottinghamshire Mechanics' Institutes', p. 159; *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ Briscoe, 'Nottinghamshire Mechanics' Institutes', p. 159; Granger, *Nottingham Mechanics' Institution*, pp. 32-33, 41.

Graph 5: 2020 RPI Equivalent Sum of Annual Donations & Grants Received by UCN (1875-1947) and UoN (1948-1960) by Economic Source ¹⁴⁴



Unlike Nottingham Mechanics' Institute, which received considerable funding and support from affluent local industrialists, textile manufacturers, the nobility and gentry,¹⁴⁵ hardly any private philanthropists stepped forward to fund University College Nottingham (UCN) during its first 40 years (see Graph 5 above). The few who did (e.g., Charlotte Bentinck, daughter of the 4th Duke of Portland, who donated £300 in 1879; and the Draper's company of the City of London which had donated £4,700 by 1889) gifted relatively small amounts compared to Nottingham Corporation, which initially advanced £97,000, between 1876 and 1881, to fund the cost of establishing UCN.¹⁴⁶ Thereafter, the institution was largely maintained by a combination of annual grants from the Corporation and the government.¹⁴⁷

Although Graph 5 shows an absence of data for local and national state funding between 1910 and 1920, this undoubtedly continued given local industry's reluctance to finance the College. State sponsorship appears to have diminished significantly, however, after the late-1940s, as monetary benefactions from the private sector picked up. The significant lack of private support during UCN's early development partially stemmed from the considerable sums that the Corporation was willing to spend on its maintenance.¹⁴⁸ This disincentivised Nottingham's industrialists and businessmen who viewed the College as an opportunity to upskill their workers without having to advance any money.¹⁴⁹ Moreover, the control exercised over UCN by the Corporation created a political

¹⁴⁴ MSC UCN and UoN, Miscellaneous Archival Papers, 1875-1960 (Nottingham: Kings Meadow).

¹⁴⁵ Wardle, *Education and Society in Nineteenth-Century Nottingham*, p. 177.

¹⁴⁶ *RBN – Being a Series of Extracts from the Archives of the Corporation*, pp. 251, 260, 271; £67,000 for the entire cost of buildings, decorations, fittings and furniture (which includes £3,000 advanced for digging deeper foundations in 1878; £24,000 over running costs given in 1879; £10,000 miscellaneous costs); and £30,000 for the value of the land upon which UCN was situated; A. W. Coats, 'Academic Freedom in England: The Case of University College, Nottingham, in the 1880's', *American Association of University Professors (AAUP) Bulletin*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (Dec., 1963), p. 329.

¹⁴⁷ University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections (UNMSC) UCN/E/25/2, *Grants to University College Nottingham, 1882-1909*.

¹⁴⁸ Sanderson, *The Universities and British Industry*, p. 76.

¹⁴⁹ Adapted from: Tolley, *Nottingham University College, 1811-1911*, pp. 13-14.

atmosphere which deterred those who were genuinely interested in College and university education.¹⁵⁰

Having obtained University College status in the 1880s, the next step in UCN's development was to become a fully fledged university, which was attained by Birmingham in 1900, Manchester and Liverpool in 1903, Leeds in 1904, Sheffield in 1905, and Bristol in 1909.¹⁵¹ However, UCN's lack of degree level work, absence of a medical school, relatively small student population, deficiency of physical space to expand, and scarcity of patronage from local industry all hampered its successful application for university status in 1903.¹⁵² Thus, it continued to operate as a civic college under the control of Nottingham Corporation.

A key turning point in the College's development occurred after 1920 as gifts from local benefactors began to materialise, albeit sporadically and inconsistently. The most substantial and structurally significant of these was arguably the Highfields Estate (known today as University Park), located just 2.5 miles south-west of UCN's original premises on Shakespeare Street.¹⁵³ The estate was originally awarded to Nottingham Corporation by pharmaceutical magnate, Jesse Boot, as space for the establishment of a new East Midlands University, but the idea collapsed and the property became an extension of the College.¹⁵⁴ From this point on, UCN grew upon two separate and distinctive sites. Its physical expansion and the subsequent opening of its iconic Trent Building in 1928 was marked by the simultaneous launch of the College's first official campaign for endowment.¹⁵⁵ Large sums were received from numerous businesses and individuals working in local trades. The four most substantial sources of private philanthropy derived from the city's textile producers (32%), enterprises and people labouring in unidentified sectors (25%), the pharmaceutical industry (11%) and tobacco manufacturers (10%).¹⁵⁶ At this point, the banking trade accounted for just 1% of the funding received. Further substantial donations were made by the pharmaceutical sector, although these were not formally gifted as part of UCN's official call for funding. The 1928 endowment drive provided the College with its first substantial private injection of money, with almost 45% originating from the textiles, tobacco and banking trades combined – Nottingham's three industrial sectors most closely associated with the transatlantic slave economy.

UCN's authorities "had known since 1914 that they needed to raise an endowment of roughly £250,000 if the College was to be considered a serious candidate for full university status."¹⁵⁷ Short of this target, the 1928 funding drive generated an approximate total of £136,000 (£100,000 of which was bequested by the private sector).¹⁵⁸ Local industry was, however, not forthcoming with subsequent benefactions and the College continued to rely on substantial government grants for its

¹⁵⁰ Beckett, *Nottingham: A History of Britain's Global University*, p. 37-39; William Whyte, *Building a University: A Biography of Nottingham Trent University*, Public Lecture, 21 Feb, 2018, [<https://www.ntu.ac.uk/about-us/events/events/2018/02/professor-william-whyte>, accessed 30 Sep, 2021].

¹⁵¹ Beckett, *Nottingham: A History of Britain's Global University*, p. 29; Whyte, *Redbrick*, pp. 128, 136.

¹⁵² Beckett, *Nottingham: A History of Britain's Global University*, pp. 29-31.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 56

¹⁵⁵ For more information on the opening of the Trent Building see: Beckett, *Nottingham: A History of Britain's Global University*, pp. 40-41.

¹⁵⁶ UNMSC UCN/A/4/ UR 911/12, University Endowment Fund: List of Donations, 30 Jun, 1928; Individual donors who were not identifiable by any particular trade accounted for 11% of UCN's endowment funding in 1928.

¹⁵⁷ Beckett, *Nottingham: A History of Britain's Global University*, p. 56.

¹⁵⁸ UNMSC UCN/A/4/ UR 911/12, University Endowment Fund; UNMSC UCN/A/2/UR 52/169, *Boot (at Cannes) to Shimeld, 16 Feb, 1928*.

maintenance until the 1940s.¹⁵⁹ Lack of financial patronage again slowed the development of UCN and prevented it from achieving university status. This was finally attained after it was awarded a royal charter that was used to declare the official establishment of the University of Nottingham (UoN) in 1948.¹⁶⁰ Its founding resulted in University Park (formerly the Highfields estate) becoming UoN's primary campus which was also now free from the Corporation's control.¹⁶¹ Another campaign for endowment was launched the following year, in 1949, with local enterprises and individuals from a miscellany of trades again stepping forward to assist with financing the development of the city's new university. By 1950, almost £390,000 had been raised with £387,000 of this deriving from the private sector. Over a quarter (26%) of the endowment funding was gifted by the textile, tobacco and banking sectors combined (17%, 7% and 2%, respectively).¹⁶² The pharmaceutical industry contributed 14%, businesses and individuals from unidentified trades gifted 11%, and the remaining 49% came from trades such as iron founding, mechanical engineering, and chemical manufacturing. Individually and collectively, Nottingham's textile, tobacco and banking trades were clearly important contributors to UoN's 1949-50 campaign for endowment. These patterns in gifts, donations, and pledges once again makes it almost impossible to conclude that UoN did not benefit in some way, shape or form from its association with, and absorption of wealth from, at least three trades with close historic proximity to the transatlantic slave economy. Private donations continued to be gifted to the University from a variety of sectors, the last one that appears to be related to the 1949-50 campaign for endowment was received in 1960.¹⁶³

Whilst the genealogy of UoN is fairly straightforward (i.e., Nottingham Mechanics' Institute (est. 1837) → University College Nottingham (1881) → University of Nottingham (1948)), the lineage of NTU is more complicated. It emerged from an amalgamation of institutions established at various points between the early-19th and late-20th centuries. Its origins can be traced back to the founding of the Nottingham School of Design (NSD), which was opened in 1838, although it is this institution's immediate successor body, the Nottingham Government School of Design (NGSD), that opened in 1843, which NTU officially claims as its genesis.¹⁶⁴ The Nottingham College of Art (NCA) grew out of the NGSD in 1934, which birthed the Nottingham College of Arts and Crafts (NCAC) six years later, in 1940.¹⁶⁵ Nottingham and District Technical College (NDTC) emerged from UCN in 1945,¹⁶⁶ and Nottingham Regional College of Technology (NRCT) grew out of NDTC in 1958.¹⁶⁷ The following year, Nottingham College of Education (NCE) was created. NCAC and NRCT operated independently until they merged into one body and formed Trent Polytechnic in 1970. This institution amalgamated with NCE in 1975, its name evolving to Nottingham Polytechnic in 1988. The polytechnic operated for a further four years before acquiring full university status under the Higher Education Act of 1992, when it became officially known as Nottingham Trent University (NTU).¹⁶⁸ UCN's birthing of NDTC (in 1945) and UoN (in 1948) is significant as it forms part of UoN and NTU's shared heritage which links

¹⁵⁹ Beckett also acknowledged the lack of funding from local businesses and individuals in the late-1920s – See: Beckett, *Nottingham: A History of Britain's Global University*, p. 61.

¹⁶⁰ Beckett, *Nottingham: A History of Britain's Global University*, p. 97.

¹⁶¹ Whyte, *Building a University: A Biography of Nottingham Trent University*.

¹⁶² 'The University of Nottingham Endowment Appeal Fund: First List of Subscriptions', *Derby Evening Telegraph*, 11 Aug, 1949, p. 2; UNMSC UCN/P/7/UR 1451, Oct 1948-Dec 1949; UNMSC UCN/NOT5.A12, *Endowment Appeal Fund: List of Subscriptions (to the 31st October, 1950)*; UNMSC UCN/P/7/ UR 1452.

¹⁶³ UNMSC UCN/A/4/UR918, Donations Gifts and Loans (Part 2) – £7,218 gifted by Mrs Leonora Julia Shaw.

¹⁶⁴ Darwen and Gritt, *Nottingham Trent University and Links to Historical Slavery*.

¹⁶⁵ Whyte, *Building a University: A Biography of Nottingham Trent University*.

¹⁶⁶ John Beckett and Ken Brand, *Nottingham: An Illustrated History* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1997), p. 83.

¹⁶⁷ Nicholas Groves (ed.), *Shaw's Academic Dress of Great Britain and Ireland*, 3rd Edition (London: The Burgon Society, 2011), p. 315.

¹⁶⁸ Nottingham Trent University (NTU), *Legal and Charitable Status*, [<https://www.ntu.ac.uk/about-us/governance/legal-and-charitable-status>, accessed 1 Oct, 2021].

them to the transatlantic slave economy via UCN's benefactors. This complex institutional genealogy is displayed below in Diagram 3.

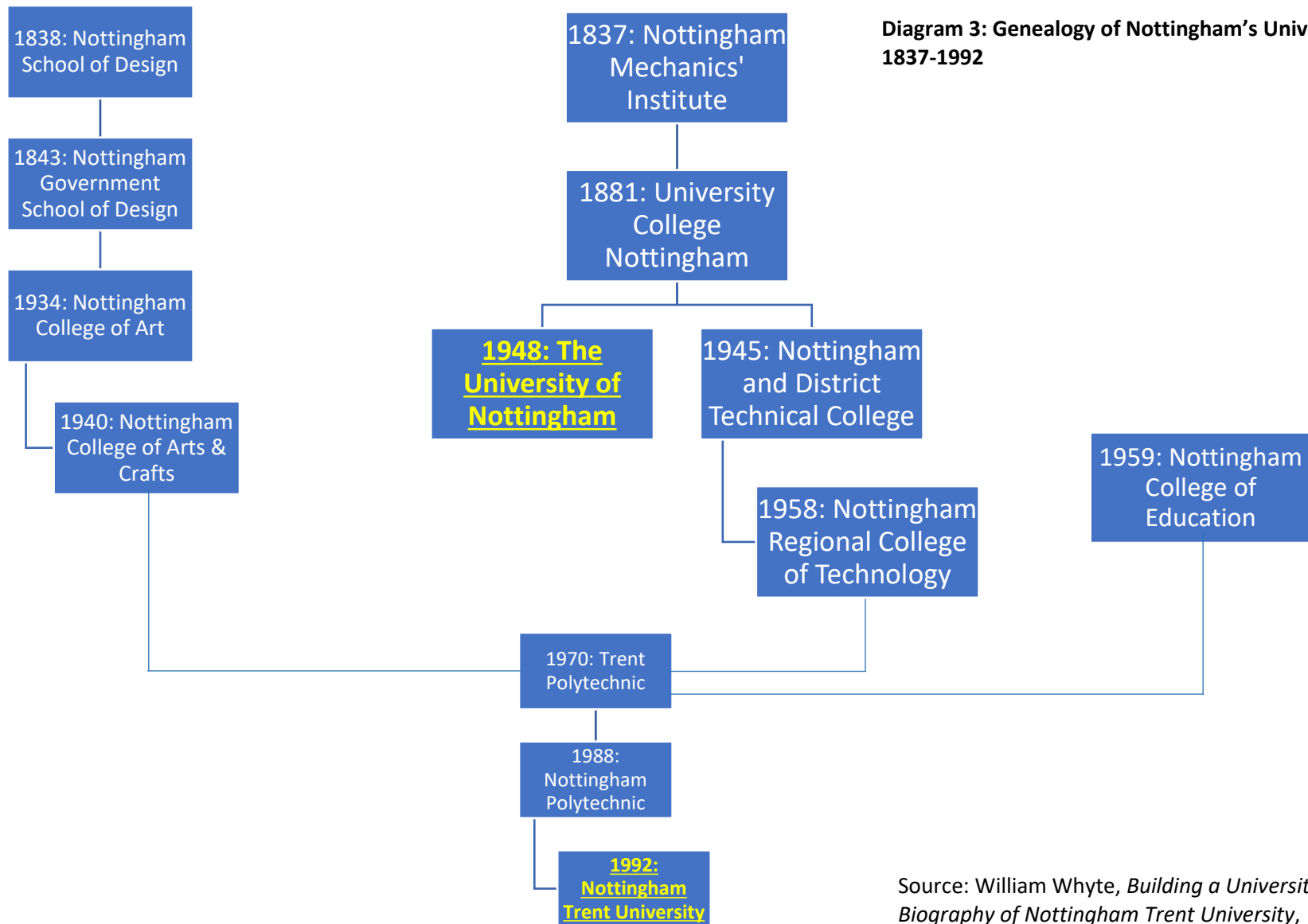


Diagram 3: Genealogy of Nottingham's Universities, 1837-1992

Source: William Whyte, *Building a University: A Biography of Nottingham Trent University*, Public Lecture, 21 Feb, 2018.

Funded by benefactors labouring in trades historically connected to the transatlantic slave economy, the following section of this report details the nature of the gifts awarded to UCN/UoN by eight donors. It illuminates the ways in which the source of their wealth was linked to the slavery business and how UCN, UoN and NTU (via UCN) have benefitted from this.

UCN and UoN Benefactor Case Studies

I. & R. Morley (1797-1965)

Benefactor and Connection to UCN/UoN

I. & R. Morley was a prominent Nottingham-based textile manufacturing house established in the late-18th century. Prospering throughout the 1800s, it expanded its operations and eventually became one of Britain's leading producers of hosiery. In the following century, I. & R. Morley made a significant financial donation of £500 to UCN's 1928 endowment fund.¹⁶⁹ The firm also loaned a variety of textile machinery to the institution. The first appearing to have been a "full-size hosiery flat-bed steam press" of unknown value in 1926 (see Table 1).¹⁷⁰

Further loans were made to UCN in 1941 due to the damage caused by the heavy bombing in World War 2, which destroyed a number of machines situated in the Department for Textiles.¹⁷¹ These replacements included a "Stibbe" Rib Circular Machine (worth £180 in 1941); a latch Needle Blackburn Plain Web Machine (£140); a Maxim Reverse Plating Half-nose Machine (£130); a Two-Thread Overlock Machine (£35); and a Lockstitch Machine (£20).¹⁷² It is unknown if UCN retained the borrowed machinery or returned it to the firm.

Table 1: Donations made to UCN by I. & R. Morley, 1928 and 1941

Year	Donation	Historic Value	Contemporary Donation Value		
			RPI (2020)	WIG (2020)	ROW (2020)
1928	Money	£500	£30,800	£91,200	£232,000
1941	"Stibbe" Rib Circular Machine	£180	£9,110	£26,200	£44,700
1941	Needle Blackburn Plain Web Machine	£140	£7,090	£20,400	£34,700
1941	Maxim Reverse Plating Half-nose Machine	£130	£6,580	£19,000	£32,300
1941	Two-Thread Overlock Machine	£35	£1,770	£5,100	£8,680
1941	Lockstitch Machine	£20	£1,010	£2,920	£4,960
Total			£56,360	£164,820	£357,340
Donation as % of the Value of Total Private Gifts Awarded to UCN/UoN between 1875-1960			0.1%	0.1%	0.1%

Biography, Slavery Connection and Source of Wealth

The origins of I. & R. Morley (also known as J. & R. Morley – the initials of its founders) lie in a small Nottingham warehouse equipped with stocking frames, a counter, and counting office,¹⁷³ that was

¹⁶⁹ UNMSC UCN/A/4/ UR 911/12, University Endowment Fund: List of Donations, 30 Jun, 1928.

¹⁷⁰ UNMSC UCN/P/7/ UR 1436, Textile Trade Research: Nottingham Department's Growing Activities and Usefulness – Valuable Additions to the Equipment – Keeping Touch with the Industry, *The Nottingham Journal: Trade Review*, 4 Jan, 1926, fol. 90.

¹⁷¹ UNMSC UCN/A/3/4/UR403; Beckett, *Nottingham: A History of Britain's Global University*, p. 17.

¹⁷² UNMSC UCN/A/3/4/UR 403.

¹⁷³ Stanley Chapman, 'I. & R. Morley: Colossus of the Hosiery Trade and Industry 1799-1965', *Textile History*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (1997), p. 12.

acquired by brothers John (1768-1849) and Richard Morley (1775-1855) from Sneinton, Nottinghamshire, sometime in the 18th century.¹⁷⁴ Most of the manufacturing was not undertaken on the premises, but by domestic framework knitters stationed in workshops across the town and its surrounding villages.¹⁷⁵ The House of Morley was formally established around 1797,¹⁷⁶ when John Morley opened a storehouse “at 18 Wood Street in the City of London.”¹⁷⁷ This metropolitan branch of the firm emerged from friendships between Thomas Chambers, William Wilson and the Morleys, who formed a partnership and traded under the title Chambers, Wilson & Morley.¹⁷⁸ The business’s founding occurred during the hosiery boom (c. 1740-1810),¹⁷⁹ with the declining price of machine spun cotton placing it in a strong position to capitalise on the prevailing trends in undergarment vogue.

During its formative years, Chambers, Wilson & Morley spent its money procuring cotton thread from a variety of suppliers. One of these was the Strutt cotton spinning company whose customer ledgers dating 1799-1823 list the Morleys and their partners as spending an unweighted total of approximately £10,895 on cotton thread.¹⁸⁰ From 1818 onwards, the business appears as J. & R. Morley in the Strutts accounts, signalling their exit from the former partnership.¹⁸¹ Like many of Nottingham’s textile manufacturers, the House of Morley’s link to the transatlantic slave economy existed via their use of raw cotton that was farmed by enslaved African people, imported into Britain, and spun into yarn by firms such as the Strutts.¹⁸²

By 1810, Chambers, Wilson & Morley’s growing affluence, which derived from a mixture of hosiery sales, inherited wealth, and money brought into the partnership by William Wilson, is estimated to have “placed [the firm] within the [UK’s] top ten (or so) merchant hosiers.”¹⁸³ Whilst sales from its Nottingham-based warehouse were modest between 1808 and 1848, those from the London storehouse increased rapidly and were, by the late-1850s, almost ten times those of the provincial stockroom.¹⁸⁴ In 1848, I. & R. Morley replaced their row of half-a-dozen houses in the City of London with a new palatial five-storey warehouse, which outwardly projected their growing success, dominance and permanence in the centre of London’s textile district.¹⁸⁵ Their early prosperity and expansion largely coincided with British imports of Brazilian raw cotton, which reached their height in the early-1800s, before being eclipsed by American cotton thereafter. Indeed, imports from the

¹⁷⁴ UNMSC Mrl, *Records of the Morley Family of Nottingham and I. and R. Morley Limited, Hosiers of Nottingham, 1710-1896*, [<https://mss-cat.nottingham.ac.uk/CalmView/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=Mrl&pos=1>], accessed 13 Oct, 2020].

¹⁷⁵ Chapman, ‘I. & R. Morley’, p. 12.

¹⁷⁶ Charlotte Erickson, *British Industrialists: Steel and Hosiery, 1850-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), p. 93.

¹⁷⁷ Chapman, ‘I. & R. Morley’, p. 12.

¹⁷⁸ Thomas Chambers Hine, *Nottingham, Its Castle, a Military Fortress, a Royal Palace, a Ducal Mansion a Blackened Ruin, a Museum and Gallery of Art: With Notes Relating to the Borough of Nottingham* (London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co, 1876), p. 154.

¹⁷⁹ Chapman, *Industry and Trade, 1750-1900*, p. 317, 322.

¹⁸⁰ Derbyshire Record Office (DRO) D6948/2/41, Strutt London Ledger, Aug 1793-Jun 1809; and D6948/2/65, Strutt Nottingham Ledger, Oct 1809-Feb 1827.

¹⁸¹ DRO D6948/2/65, Strutt Nottingham Ledger, Oct 1809-Feb 1827.

¹⁸² Seymour, Jones and Feuer-Cotter, *The Global Connections of Cotton in the Derwent Valley Mills*, pp. 156-164.

¹⁸³ Chapman, ‘I. & R. Morley’, p. 12.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

U.S. comprised almost 80 per cent of the raw cotton used in Britain by the late-1850s,¹⁸⁶ making its use highly likely amongst Britain's cotton textile manufacturing houses.

Image 1: I. & R. Morley's Warehouse, 18 Wood Street, London, 1925 ¹⁸⁷

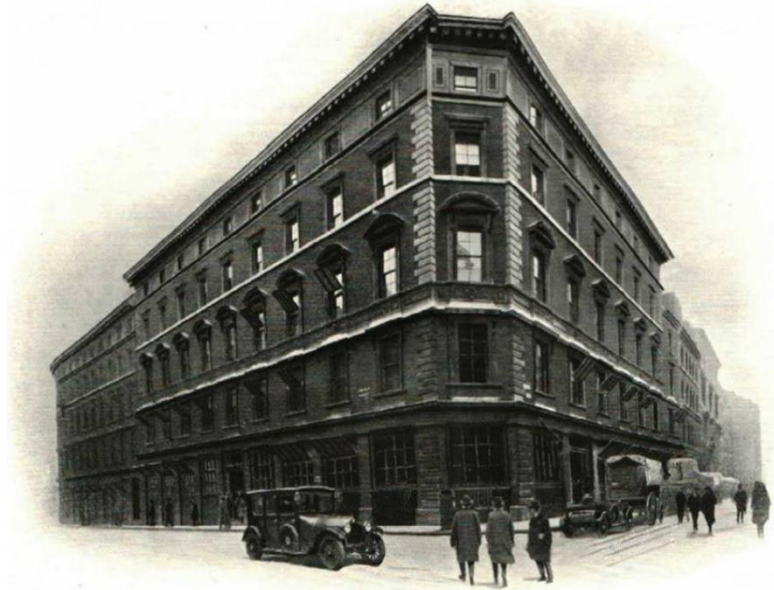
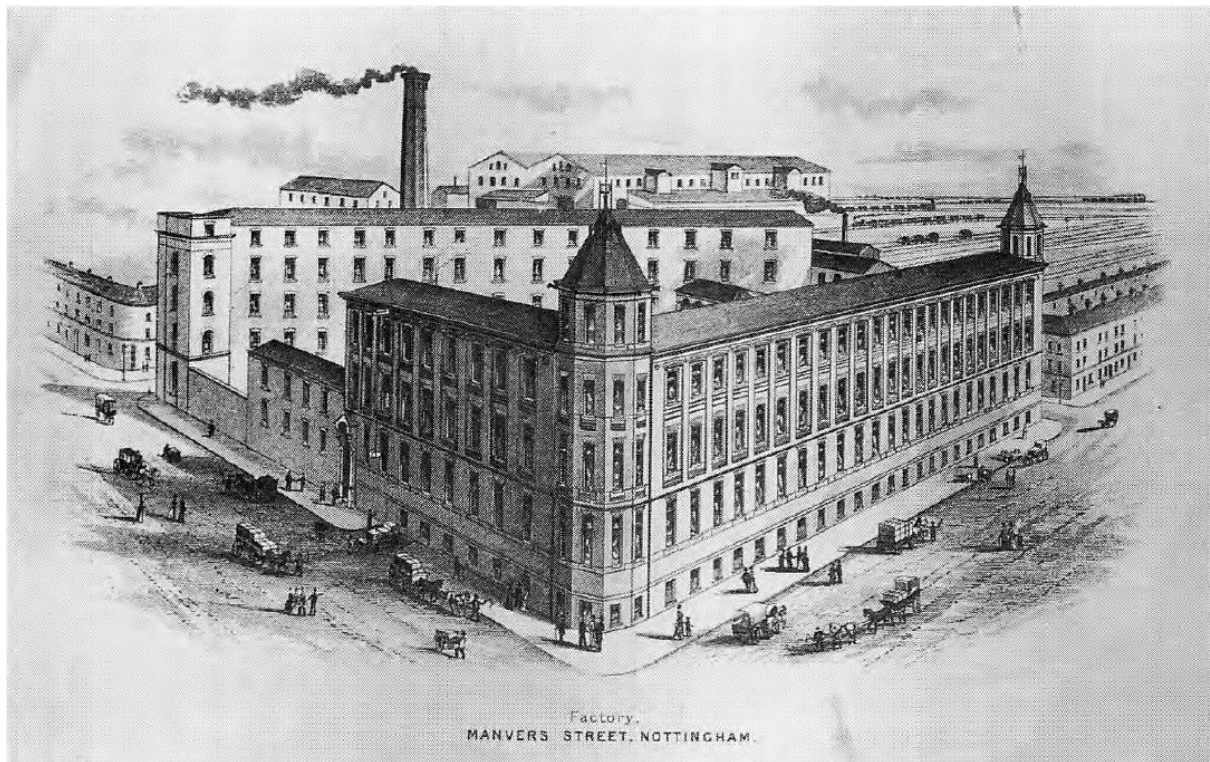


Image 2: I. & R Morley's First Factory in Manvers Street, Nottingham, Acquired in 1866 ¹⁸⁸



¹⁸⁶ Sven Beckert, 'Emancipation and Empire: Reconstructing the Worldwide Web of Cotton Production in the Age of the American Civil War', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 109, No. 5 (Dec., 2004), pp. 1408-1409; For more information see: Mitchell and Deane, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics*, p. 180.

¹⁸⁷ Rob Baker, *Flashbak*, Beautiful 20th Century Morley Hosiery Adverts [<https://flashbak.com/beautiful-20th-century-morley-hosiery-adverts-54504/>, accessed 20 Jun, 2021].

¹⁸⁸ Chapman, 'I. & R. Morley: Colossus of the Hosiery Trade', p. 12.

Samuel Morley (1809-1886), son of John (1768-1849), began working in the London branch of the family's hosiery business in 1825 and inherited the firm in 1860. Bringing 35 years of experience and knowledge of the sector to bear upon the business, it continued to flourish under his proprietorship. Samuel acquired the firm's first mechanised hosiery factory in 1866 which he purchased from I. & I. Wilson.¹⁸⁹ It was located on Manvers Street in Nottingham and was just a stone's throw away from the town's famous Lace Market. Four more factories became operational whilst Samuel was the owner, two being newly built in Heanor, Derbyshire, in 1875, and on Oxford Street, London, in 1884; and two which already existed in Daybrook, near Nottingham, in 1875, and Handel Street, Nottingham, in 1879.¹⁹⁰

The final 25 years of the 1800s were marked by international expansion, as the Morleys, amidst an environment of intensifying competition, opened additional sales offices in numerous British colonies, namely Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Canada.¹⁹¹ Moreover, "by 1880, the firm was second in the table of home trade houses and far ahead of any other hosiery specialists in London. At the first UK Census of Production in 1907, it can be calculated that Morleys were selling as much as 36 per cent of all hosiery and knitwear produced in Britain."¹⁹² I. & R. Morley's structural expansion and extensive sales were clear signs of its wealth and reflected its continued status as a leading hosiery manufacturing house. At the time of Samuel's death, in 1886, the business employed over 10,000 domestic and factory labourers, and approximately 1,000 warehouse workers, with its sales totalling £2.5 million.¹⁹³ Samuel's three sons (Samuel Jr, 1845-1929; Charles, 1847-1917; and Arnold, 1849-1916) inherited the firm in 1886. They built upon their father's momentum by purchasing another hosiery factory situated in Sutton-in-Ashfield, Nottinghamshire in 1887; and commissioned the construction of two new builds in Loughborough and London in the 1890s.¹⁹⁴

The House of Morley continued to thrive as it entered the 20th century, which permitted it to make the substantial donation of £500 to UCN's 1928 endowment campaign.¹⁹⁵ Its dominance began to show signs of weakening thereafter, with textile manufacturers such as N. Corah & Sons from Leicester and J. B. Lewis & Sons from Nottingham taking command of the hosiery and knitwear industry by the 1940s.¹⁹⁶ It is possible that the slippage of their position as the nation's premier hosiery manufacturer was part of the reason for it loaning, as opposed to outright gifting, machinery to UCN in 1941. I. & R. Morley continued to operate for a further 25 years before being taken over by Courtaulds textile group in 1965, bringing its 168 years of family ownership to an end.¹⁹⁷

Ultimately, the Morley's access to cheap raw cotton grown by enslaved African people, supplied to them in the form of yarn by the Strutts, was foundational to their establishment and early prosperity during the late-1700s/early-1800s. Formally trading under the name I. & R. Morley from around 1818 onwards, the firm grew from strength-to-strength throughout the 19th century as increasing quantities of American cotton saturated Britain's market, gradually transforming the House of Morley into a leading national hosiery manufacturing powerhouse. Four generations later, the

¹⁸⁹ Chapman, 'I. & R. Morley', p. 20.

¹⁹⁰ Erickson, *British Industrialists*, p. 173; Chapman, 'I. & R. Morley', pp. 15-20; UNMSC Mrl, *Records of the Morley Family of Nottingham*.

¹⁹¹ Chapman, 'I. & R. Morley' p. 19.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 24.

¹⁹⁵ UNMSC UCN/A/4/ UR 911/12, University Endowment Fund: List of Donations, 30 Jun, 1928.

¹⁹⁶ Chapman, 'I. & R. Morley', p. 22.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 25; Lynden Briscoe, *The Textile and Clothing Industries of the United Kingdom*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971), p. 170.

business's intergenerational wealth placed it in a position to make a generous financial donation to UCN in the late-1920s, and material loans in the early-1940s.

George Brettle & Company, Limited (1801-1964)

Benefactor and Connection to UCN/UoN

George Brettle & Company, Limited, was a hosiery manufacturer established in Belper, Derbyshire, in 1834 and evolved from an earlier partnership between George Brettle and Ward & Son in 1803.¹⁹⁸ The Ward and Brettle textile enterprise grew considerably throughout the early-19th century and by 1829 it was noted as being one of “the most extensive hosiers in the kingdom.”¹⁹⁹ It became known as George Brettle & Company, Limited in 1914 and continued trading under this name until the mid-20th century. It made an important donation of £105 to the University of Nottingham’s endowment fund in 1950 (see Table 2).²⁰⁰

Table 2: Donation made to UCN by George Brettle & Company, Limited, 1950

Year	Donation	Historic Value	Contemporary Donation Value		
			RPI (2020)	WIG (2020)	ROW (2020)
1950	Money	£105	£3,680	£9,880	£17,400
Donation as % of Total Value of Private Gifts Awarded to UCN/UoN between 1875-1960			0.01%	0.01%	0.01%

Biography, Slavery Connection and Source of Wealth

The roots of George Brettle & Company can be traced back to two earlier textile production houses – E. Brettle & Company, established on Cateaton Street, London, in 1786, by Edward Brettle,²⁰¹ and Ward & Son, founded in Belper by the Ward family in the mid-18th century.²⁰² Information on E. Brettle & Company’s operations is scant and not much else is known. Primary sources and literature concerning John Ward senior and John Ward junior (his son) is, however, much more abundant, the two men legally established their business as ‘Ward & Son’ in 1799.²⁰³ In 1801/2, Ward & Son entered into a partnership with James Carter Sharp (a Derbyshire stocking manufacturer), became known as ‘Ward, Sharp & Co’,²⁰⁴ and opened a warehouse situated on Cateaton Street in London.²⁰⁵ Sharp withdrew from the partnership shortly after joining and the Wards (now John Ward Jr and his brother William) formed a new commercial relationship with George Brettle (c.1777-1835), establishing ‘Ward, Brettle & Ward’ in 1803.²⁰⁶

During the progenitor and successor firms’ (Ward & Son; Ward, Sharp & Co; Ward, Brettle & Ward; and George Brettle & Co) first 19-years (1799-1818) increasing quantities of cotton thread were

¹⁹⁸ MCL MSS, Strutt Belper Ledger, 1792-1803 (Manchester: Manchester Central Library (MCL)), fol. 194, In: Negley B. Harte, *A History of George Brettle & Co Ltd, 1801-1964* (London: Privately Printed, 1975), p. 11.

¹⁹⁹ Stephen Glover, *History, Gazetteer & Directory of the County of Derby*, II (Derby, 1829), p. 100.

²⁰⁰ UNMSC UCN/P/7/ UR 1452, *Lincolnshire Chronicle and Leader*, 8 Jul, 1950, fol. 170.

²⁰¹ UNMSC BBE, W27, Schedules and Documents, ‘George Brettle & Co. Ltd Made Nelson’s Vests’, *Derby Evening Telegraph*, 5 Mar, 1954.

²⁰² Harte, *A History of George Brettle & Co Ltd*, p. 11.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

²⁰⁴ UNMSC BBE, 1/8, Papers Relating to the Formation of the Firm of Messrs, Ward, Brettle & Ward., London & Belper, fol. 1.

²⁰⁵ *Kent’s Directory for 1803: Being an Alphabetical List of the Names and Places of Abode of the Merchants and Traders of London and Parts Adjacent* (London: R. and H. Casuton, 1803), p. 208; Harte, *A History of George Brettle & Co Ltd*, p. 15.

²⁰⁶ UNMSC BBE, 1/1, C1, Mr James Carter Sharp to Messers John Ward & Co, Assignment of Stock in Trade, 21 Jul, 1803.

sourced from the Strutt's Belper spinning mill.²⁰⁷ Ward, Brettle & Ward used the thread – which was, at this time, primarily spun from raw cotton grown in Brazil and the Caribbean by enslaved African people – to produce stockings, pantaloons, shirts, hair nets, socks, flannels and caps, which became staple outputs from their Belper factory.²⁰⁸ The firm's increasing expenditure on cotton thread is reflected in the Strutts' financial ledgers, which show that its purchase rose in value from £182 in 1799, to £1,847 in 1803, and to £4,955 in 1818.²⁰⁹ The growing financial outlay on cotton was driven by escalating consumer demand which translated into increasing sales.²¹⁰ The House of Ward and Brettle ploughed the profits from their hosiery manufacture back into the business and leased additional properties in London which assisted the expanding operation of their enterprise.²¹¹ By 1820, Ward, Brettle & Ward possessed net assets totalling £64,000, making its proprietors – John Ward, George Brettle and William Ward – some of England's wealthiest hosier producers.²¹² The business continued to prosper from the sale of its cotton garments and just three years later, in 1823, its net assets were valued at £94,000.²¹³ By 1826 its net assets were worth £105,000, which more than doubled to £234,000 by the end of 1832,²¹⁴ arguably making it “the biggest hosiery firm in the country.”²¹⁵ John Ward left the firm in 1823 with £31,000 to his name,²¹⁶ whilst George Brettle and William Ward continued, their worth valued at £118,000 and £116,000, respectively, in 1833.²¹⁷ Neither partner brought any capital into the firm.²¹⁸ Thus, it appears to have largely been profits from the sale of hosiery manufactured from cotton primarily picked by enslaved African people that financed the expanding manufacturing operations upon which the House of Ward and Brettle prospered.

When William Ward died in 1833 George Brettle agreed to purchase his share in Ward, Brettle & Ward.²¹⁹ This made George its sole owner and resulted in the firm's name evolving to George Brettle & Company in 1834.²²⁰ George died the following year (in 1835) and his three sons, Edward, George Henry, and Alfred, who were all minors, took over the proprietorship of the firm in 1843, when they reached their majority ages, as outlined in George's will.²²¹ The House of Brettle appears to have continued prospering through the remainder of the 19th century, expanding its operations through

²⁰⁷ Harte, *A History of George Brettle & Co Ltd*, pp. 14, 28.

²⁰⁸ Negley B. Harte, *A History of George Brettle & Co Ltd*, pp. 33, 23; UNMSC BBE, S1-6, George Brettle & Co Cotton Hose Price List – Price list missing for 1827, but available for most years between 1853-1860; Also see: Harte, *A History of George Brettle & Co Ltd*, p. 23; Seymour, Jones, and Feuer-Cotter, *The Global Connections of Cotton in the Derwent Valley Mills*, pp. 150-170.

²⁰⁹ MCL MSS, Strutt Belper Ledger, 1792-1803, fol. 194; MCL MSS, Strutt's Derby Spinning Ledgers, 1802-07, fols. 182, 167; MCL MSS, Strutts Derby Spinning Ledgers, 1807-1817, fol. 51; MCL MSS, Strutts Derby Spinning Ledger, 1817-1826, fol. 78 – Archival references cited in: Harte, *A History of George Brettle & Co Ltd*, p. 28; Transactions for the surviving years are either very low in value or only partially recorded in the extant Strutt ledgers held at the Derbyshire Record Office in Matlock.

²¹⁰ Harte, *A History of George Brettle & Co Ltd*, p. 41-42.

²¹¹ UNMSC BBE, D4, George Bicknell Esq to Messrs Ward Brettle & Ward, Agreement Being 60 Year Lease of Huggin Lane, Wood Street at £220 Per Annum, Miscellaneous Papers, 1818-1870; Harte, *A History of George Brettle & Co Ltd*, p. 21.

²¹² Harte, *A History of George Brettle & Co Ltd*, p. 30.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

²¹⁵ Glover, *History, Gazetteer & Directory of the County of Derby*, p. 242.

²¹⁶ UNMSC BBE, 1/8, Papers Relating to the Formation of the Firm of Messrs, Ward, Brettle & Ward., p. 48.

²¹⁷ Harte, *A History of George Brettle & Co Ltd*, p. 48.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

²²¹ The National Archives (TNA), PROB 11/1856/65, *Will of George Brettle, Wholesale Hosier of Wood Street Cheapside, City of London*, 22 Jan, 1836 (Kew: TNA), pp. 2-3.

the augmentation of its existing premises, namely a factory for the mechanised production of its hosiery around the 1860s/70s.²²²

Existing evidence also shows that Brettle & Company were clients of Smiths Bank during the abovementioned period, the capital extended to them possibly being used to finance the manufacturing firm's technological expansion.²²³ Its association with the bank pre-dates this post-British slavery period, however, and goes back to at least 1825, when Ward, Brettle & Company were overdrawn by £206 on their account with Smiths.²²⁴ Indeed, the Wards' connection to Smiths appears even earlier in 1811 when William (d.1833) was overdrawn by £3,888 on his account with the bank.²²⁵ These are significant connections since the London branch of the bank, known as Smith, Payne & Smiths (SPS), and several of its directors and partners (namely, Robert Smith and George Robert Smith) owned plantations and enslaved people in the West Indies, which they claimed substantial compensation for after 1833.²²⁶ Moreover, the bank's London branch had extensive and longstanding connections to a miscellany of creditees engaged in the transatlantic slave economy including the West Indian merchant houses of Edward and Rene Payne & Co, and Milligan & Robertson. More locally, its Nottingham branch loaned capital to slave-owning families (e.g., Dukes of Portland), industrial spinners of raw cotton cultivated by enslaved African people (e.g., the Strutt and Arkwrights), and manufacturers of yarn sourced from these spinners (e.g., I. & R. Morley and Jonathan Hine). At the time Ward, Brettle & Ward were banking with Smiths, in the mid-1820s, the bank's directors and partners owned at least 795 enslaved people in Jamaica.²²⁷

An incalculable proportion of Smiths Bank's profits therefore derived from their ownership and exploitation of enslaved African people and the interest earned on the money they lent to firms and individuals involved in the transatlantic slave economy. It is highly likely that some of SPS's financial gains were ploughed back into the bank, financing its operation and enhancing its monetary reserves which were subsequently lent to clients including George Brettle & Company. These connections are significant as they broaden the House of Brettle's links to the transatlantic slave economy and shed light on the likely origins of some of the money it borrowed, which supported their textile manufacturing enterprise.

There do not appear to have been any further significant changes to George Brettle & Co as it entered the 20th century other than its incorporation as a limited firm, resulting in the evolution of its name to George Brettle & Co., Ltd, in 1914.²²⁸ The period during and between World Wars 1 and 2 (1914-1945) was punctuated by spurts of considerable profit but also significant loss, which saw the firm borrow extensive amounts of capital from the National Provincial Bank (NPB). Smiths Bank was acquired in 1918 by NPB,²²⁹ which also extended considerable sums to the House of Brettle & Co between 1915 and 1940, including the substantial overdraft of £165,000 during the economic slump of the early-1920s.²³⁰ George Brettle & Co thus continued to be financed by a bank (NPB) that was

²²² Harte, *A History of George Brettle & Co Ltd*, p. 84.

²²³ UNMSC BBE, Smith, Payne & Smiths Bankers Receipt, 1874, Miscellaneous Letters, 4C; Financial accounts as early as mid-1833 appear to show Anne Ward, widow of William Ward (deceased partner of Ward, Brettle & Ward) as banking with Smith, Payne & Smiths. George Brettle was sending cheques to this bank as payment for William's share of Ward, Brettle & Ward after he died – UNMSC BBE, ACC-1532, C8, Mrs Anne Ward in Account With George Brettle, fols. 1-9.

²²⁴ NatWest Group Archives (NWGA) SSD/69/13, Smiths' Derby Customer Account, 1822-1832.

²²⁵ NWGA SSD/69/6, Smiths' Derby Customer Account, 1811.

²²⁶ See the case study for the *National Provincial Bank* for specific details on Smiths Bank and their connections to the transatlantic slave economy.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*

²²⁸ Harte, *A History of George Brettle & Co Ltd*, p. 110.

²²⁹ Hartley Withers, *National Provincial Bank, 1833 to 1933* (London: Waterlow & Sons Limited, 1933), p. 82.

²³⁰ Harte, *A History of George Brettle & Co Ltd*, p. 120.

considerably enriched by its absorption of another money lending institution (Smiths) that has significant historic ties to the transatlantic slave economy.

Ultimately, it is clear that George Brettle & Company, was partially established upon profits made from the sale of hosiery produced from raw cotton cultivated and harvested by enslaved Africans; and the extension of money by banks which had been directly involved in the enslavement and ownership of African people. These two key factors contributed to the House of Brettle's prosperity and propelled the company from strength-to-strength, particularly during the mid-20th century,²³¹ facilitating its financial donation of £105 to the University of Nottingham in 1950.

Image 3: George Brettle & Co's Factory in Belper, c. 1870, in: Harte, *A History of George Brettle & Co Ltd, 1801-1964* ²³²



²³¹ UNMSC BBE, W41, George Brettle & Co., Ltd, Directors' Report and Statement of Accounts, c. 1937-1960.

²³² Harte, *A History of George Brettle & Co Ltd*.

Thomas Adams Limited

Benefactor and Connection to UCN/UoN

Thomas Adams Limited was a textile production house established by and named after its founder Thomas Adams (1807-1873), a wealthy lace merchant, manufacturer and philanthropist born in Worksop, Nottinghamshire.²³³ Originating from a joint partnership with several other textile producers in the 1830s, Adams' firm thrived throughout the 19th century and became one of Nottingham's leading lace producers. It continued to operate in the 20th century and made a financial donation of £105 UoN's endowment in 1950 (see Table 3).²³⁴

Table 3: Donation made to UoN by Thomas Adams Limited, 1950

Year	Donation	Historic Value	Contemporary Donation Value		
			RPI (2020)	WIG (2020)	ROW (2020)
1950	Money	£105	£3,680	£9,880	£17,400
Donation as % of Total Value of Private Gifts Awarded to UCN/UoN between 1875-1960			0.01%	0.01%	0.01%

Biography, Slavery Connection and Source of Wealth

Thomas Adams only spent a short period of his childhood in Worksop as his mother moved the family to Sheffield after the death of his father. Educated in the town until the age of 14, he was subsequently sent to commence an apprenticeship with a draper (fabric seller) in Newark-on-Trent, Nottinghamshire, in 1821. After the completion of his training, he moved to London and laboured in the warehouse of Boden, Morley and Grace, a lace manufacturing company with factories in Devonshire and Derbyshire.²³⁵

Adams arrived in Nottingham city in 1830 and founded a business purchasing plain and decorated nets from local artisans, which he modified and sold to retailers.²³⁶ Two years later, in 1832, he formed a partnership with James Page and several other small manufacturers who collectively traded under the name Adams, Page & Co at St. Mary's Gate, Nottingham.²³⁷ His connection with James Page is of particular relevance. The Pages were an established Nottingham-based textile manufacturing family who were long-standing customers of the Strutts – one of the East Midlands leading cotton thread producers. The Strutts customer ledgers show that the House of Page were frequent purchasers of cotton yarn during the period spanning 1812 and 1839.²³⁸ It is known that the Strutts raw cotton supplies principally originated from Brazil and the Caribbean (although their use of American grown cotton was on the rise), between 1794 and 1817, where the predominant

²³³ Geoffrey Oldfield, 'Thomas Adams, 1807-1873', *ODNB*, [<https://doi-org.ezproxy.nottingham.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/53531>, accessed 7 Oct, 2020]; Geoffrey Oldfield, 'The Nottingham Lace Market', *Textile History*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (1984), pp. 197-198.

²³⁴ UNMSC UCN/NOT5.A12, *Endowment Appeal Fund: List of Subscriptions to the 31st October, 1950*.

²³⁵ Oldfield, 'Thomas Adams, 1807-1873'; Oldfield, 'The Nottingham Lace Market', pp. 197-198; UNMSC Bo, *Records of Boden and Company Limited, Lace Manufacturers, Derby, 1818-1954*, [<https://mss-cat.nottingham.ac.uk/CalmView/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=Bo&pos=1>, accessed 10 Jan, 2021].

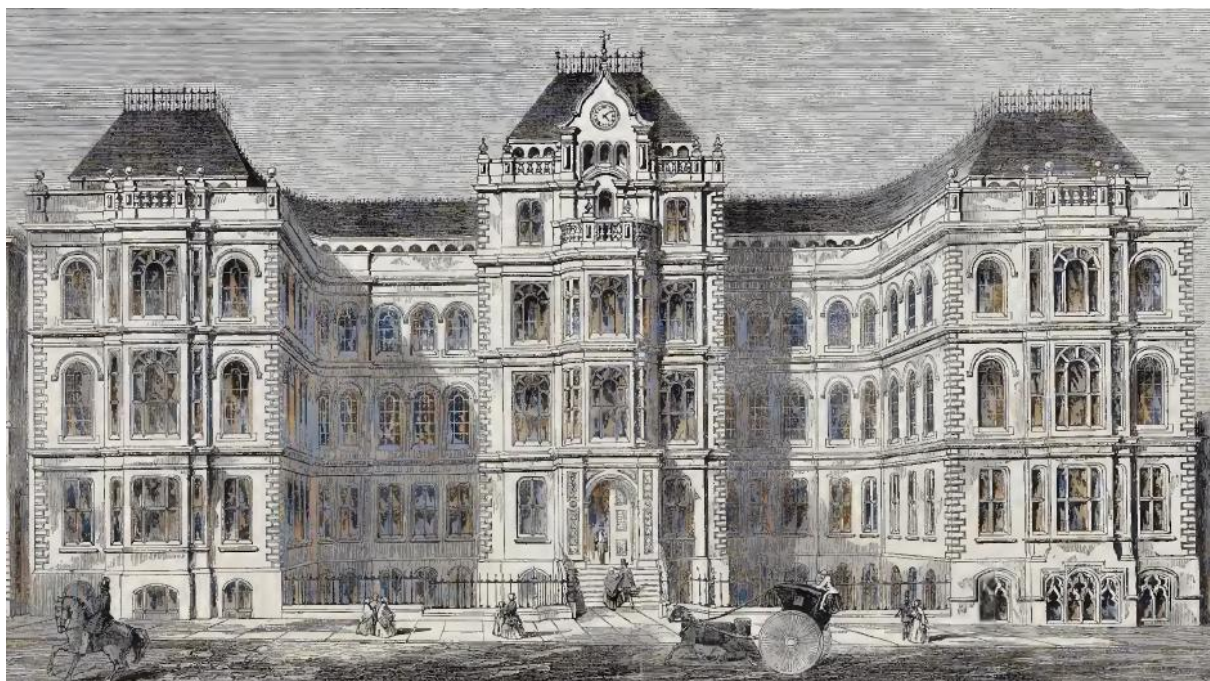
²³⁶ Oldfield, 'Thomas Adams, 1807-1873'.

²³⁷ *Ibid*; Frank Barnes, *Priory Demesne to University Campus: A Topographical History of Nottingham University* (Nottingham: UoN, 1993), p. 256.

²³⁸ DRO D6948/2/65, Strutt Nottingham Customer Ledger, Oct 1809-Feb 1827, fols. 222, 249, 250, 252; DRO D6948/2/66, Strutt Nottingham Customer Ledger, Mar 1823-Apr 1840, fols. 49, 50, 107, 196, 198.

modality of cultivation was enslaved African labour.²³⁹ Revenue made by the House of Page from the sale of their cotton garments helped sustain the business through the 1810s, 20s and 30s. Its subsequent partnership with Thomas Adams, who had just arrived in Nottingham, undoubtedly brought him into contact with and allowed him to tap into Page's established client base, supply networks, market knowledge, and prestigious reputation. Adams, Page & Co prospered over the following two decades (1830s-1840s) and resulted in Adams rising to affluence and social distinction in his own right. He and Page eventually commissioned the construction of the Adams and Page warehouse in Nottingham city centre (today known as the Adams Building), located on Stoney Street, which opened in July 1855, and employed approximately 400 people.²⁴⁰ The small manufacturers were dropped from the company the following year (1856) as Adams and Page entered into business alone, incorporating the firm in 1862.²⁴¹ Their business continued to thrive throughout the 19th and into the 20th century, although Page's name was evidently given up, the firm's title evolving into Thomas Adams & Co, and then Thomas Adams Limited by 1950.

Image 4: Adams and Page Warehouse, Stoney Street, Nottingham, Early 1850s ²⁴²



Thomas Adams clearly became more affluent, prominent, and influential after partnering with James Page in the early-1830s. Foundational to his (Adams') success, though not the only source, was the increasing amount of raw cotton imported into Britain during the decades following 1830. The majority of this was sourced from the United States where it was cultivated by enslaved African people and subsequently used in the British textile industry, including the lace manufacturing process. Moreover, Adams was able to capitalise on the achievements and established reputation of the House of Page, which partially rested upon the earlier profits it made from the manufacture of

²³⁹ Seymour, Jones and Feuer-Cotter, *The Global Connections of Cotton in the Derwent Valley Mills* pp. 156-164.

²⁴⁰ John Beckett and Ken Brand, *Municipal Reform and Parliamentary Enclosure*, In: John Beckett (ed.), *A Centenary History of Nottingham* (Chichester: Phillimore & Co. Ltd, 2006), p. 246; Barnes, *Priory Demesne to University Campus*, p. 256; Adams and Page Warehouse image – *A Nottingham Warehouse*, *The Builder*, Vol. 12, No. 611, 21, Oct., 1854, p. 547.

²⁴¹ Oldfield, 'Thomas Adams, 1807-1873'; Also see: Barnes, *Priory Demesne to University Campus*, pp. 256-260; Mellors, *Men of Nottingham and Nottinghamshire*, p. 216.

²⁴² *A Nottingham Warehouse*, *The Builder*, Vol. 12, No. 611, 21, Oct., 1854, p. 547.

raw cotton cultivated by African people held in bondage in South America, the Caribbean and North America.

Adams' growing fortunes from lace making were not only invested back into his textile business, but also used to help fund the establishment and expansion of the Nottingham Joint Stock Bank (NJSB). Founded at Bridlesmith Gate in 1865 with the assistance, capital, and experience of four other local textile producers, three bankers, a leather manufacturer and a legal professional, Adams was appointed first chairperson and managing director of NJSB.²⁴³ The bank opened with nominal capital of £1,000,000 – the total value of share capital that the bank was authorised to allocate to shareholders.²⁴⁴ Its formation as a joint-stock company saw an initial public offering of the bank's shares at £25 each which investors purchased, thus making them co-owners (shareholders).²⁴⁵ Thomas Adams' public listing amongst the investors in 1872 indicates his sinking of capital into NJSB, although the total amount he contributed is unknown.²⁴⁶ This list contains the names of a further 191 investors, the largest known proportion (17%) associated with the textile industry as lace manufacturers, hosiers, drapers, and merchants, the majority of whom were based in Nottingham. None of these individuals were associated with companies bearing immediately obvious links to the transatlantic slave economy via their use of cotton. However, gun manufacturers comprised at least 3% of NJSB's investors in 1872, all of whom were based in Birmingham. These weapons were typical items in the cargo of earlier traders in enslaved African people and their production was just as central to Birmingham's 18th century economy as cotton became to Nottingham in the 19th century.²⁴⁷ Henry Hollis (b. 1839) was the proprietor of a prominent family-owned gun manufacturing firm founded by Richard and William Hollis who were actively trading in central Birmingham during the late-1820s.²⁴⁸ Around 1848, the business formed a partnership with Isaac Brenthall Sheath and began producing Hollis and Sheath 12-gauge double barrel percussion shotguns, which were purchased and used "used extensively by the Confederacy during the [American] Civil War."²⁴⁹ The confederate states comprised supporters of slavery in America's

²⁴³ The founding partners of Nottingham Joint Stock Bank were: Thomas Adams, Stephen Wells, Thomas Riste, and Abraham Tolley – Nottingham-based lace producers; Abraham Tolley – a Nottingham-based silk manufacturer; Charles Henry Wagner, Robert Fletcher, and Edwin Gwyther – Birmingham-based bankers; Thomas Bayley a leather manufacturer located in Nottingham; and Arthur Wells, Clerk of the Peace in Nottingham. For more information see: The Birmingham Financial Company (Limited) Invite Subscriptions for the Capital of a New Bank at Nottingham to be called the Nottingham Joint Stock Bank (Limited), *The Economist*, 8 Jul, 1865, p. 839; Thomas Adams and Company Limited, 9 Aug, 1873, *The Money Market Review*, Vol. 27 (Dec., 1873), p. 199; W. F. Crick and J. E. Wadsworth, *A Hundred Years of Joint Stock Banking* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1936), p. 263.

²⁴⁴ I. Smith Homans (ed.), *The Banker's Magazine and Statistical Register*, Vol. 20 (New York: I. Smith Homans, 1866), p. 651; Crick and Wadsworth, *A Hundred Years of Joint Stock Banking*, p. 263; Roy A. Church, *Economic and Social Change in a Midland Town: Victorian Nottingham, 1815-1900* (London: Frank Cass & Co, 1966), p. 231.

²⁴⁵ The Birmingham Financial Company (Limited) Invite Subscriptions, p. 839.

²⁴⁶ Nottingham Joint Stock Bank (Limited): Persons of Whom the Company or Partnership Consists, *Nottingham Journal*, 15, Feb, 1872.

²⁴⁷ Joseph E. Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England: A Study in International Trade and Economic Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 457; Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, p. 65.

²⁴⁸ *Pigot and Co's National Commercial Directory, 1828-29: Comprising a Directory and Classification of the Merchants, Bankers Professional Gentlemen, Manufacturers and Traders in... Staffordshire* (London: J. Pigot & Co, 1829), Col. 40, p. 794.

²⁴⁹ Live Auctioneers, *Hollis and Sheath Side by Side Percussion Shotgun*, [https://www.liveauctioneers.com/en-gb/item/66379890_hollis-and-sheath-side-by-side-percussion-shotgun, accessed 22 Nov, 2021]; Also see: James B. Whisker, *U.S. and Confederate Arms and Armouries During the American Civil War: Arms Imported from Europe During the American Civil War, 1861-1865*, Volume 3 (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2002), p. 202.

southern states who used the wealth generated by enslaved Africans to finance the acquisition of Hollis and Sheath's firearms. Enriched by the money of American 'slave-owners', who were amongst a miscellany of other clients, the gun manufacturing firm prospered and was inherited by Henry Hollis who invested some of his wealth in the shares offered by NJSB. Similarly, Charles Pryse (1814-1887) and Robert Hughes – both Birmingham-based gun manufacturers and partners in the firms Pryse & Redman, and Robert Hughes & Son, respectively, which "produced Enfield rifles and guns for the Confederacy"²⁵⁰ – are listed as investors in the newly formed bank. Thus, demonstrating that revenue deriving from cotton garments and gun making was foundational to the early establishment and propping up of the Nottingham Joint Stock Bank.

In 1873, Adams laid the foundation stone at the banking house's new premises in Victoria Street.²⁵¹ Close commercial relations appear to have existed between Adams' warehouse and the bank, with increasing trade at the former resulting in business "satisfactorily extending" at the latter.²⁵² NJSB was an important local bank born out of the industrial revolution, which played a pivotal role in financing the development of Nottingham's modernising 19th century economy through its lending services. Later on, it extended credit to a range of clients, the most prominent and biggest borrower being Jesse Boot (1850-1931), who ploughed increasing amounts of the bank's money into the augmentation of his business, Boots Chemist, between 1883 and 1905.²⁵³ Enlarging its operations throughout the late-19th century, NJSB operated 28 branches by 1905.²⁵⁴ In November of that year it was absorbed into London City & Midland Bank. Thirteen years later, in 1918, this bank merged with London Joint Stock Bank to form the London Joint City & Midland Bank. The name of the business evolved and simply became known as Midland Bank in 1923, which, in 1949, donated £1,000 to the UoN's endowment fund.²⁵⁵

Thomas Adams lived at Lenton Firs house, now part of UoN's University Park Campus, from 1844 until his death in 1873.²⁵⁶ In 1861, he used his lace-based riches to commission and supervise the extension of the property, which entailed the construction of its East Lodge at a cost of £840. Adams (the lessee) financed the labour costs and Henry Willoughby, 8th Baron Middleton (its owner), provided the building materials, the extension being completed in 1862.²⁵⁷ Adams continued to rent the property for the annual fee of £160 before finally purchasing it along with its surrounding land

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

²⁵¹ Nottingham Joint Stock Bank (Limited), *Nottinghamshire Guardian*, 7 Feb, 1873; W. Milton, *Memorials of Thomas Adams, J. P. of Nottingham, Lace Merchant* (London: Hamilton, Adams & Co, 1874), p. 169; Authentic Records, *The Nottingham-Date Book of Remarkable & Memorable Events Connected with Nottingham and its Neighbourhood: Part 1, 850-1800* (Nottingham: H. Field, 1884), p. 50 – "The Nottingham Joint Stock Bank commenced in 1865, at the corner of Bridlesmith-gate and Low-pavement, and removed to their new premises in Victoria-Street, 1874."

²⁵² Milton, *Memorials of Thomas Adams*, p. 170.

²⁵³ Stanley Chapman, *Jesse Boot of Boots the Chemists* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1974), pp. 123-124; Barnes, *Priory Demesne to University Campus*, p. 260; Chapman, *Industry and Trade, 1750-1900*, p.345.

²⁵⁴ Barnes, *Priory Demesne to University Campus*, p. 260.

²⁵⁵ Forrest Cappie and Alan Webber, *A Monetary History of the United Kingdom, 1870-1982: Vol. 1 – Data, Sources and Methods* (Winchester, Allen & Unwin, 1985); The University of Nottingham Endowment Appeal Fund: First List of Subscriptions, *Derby Evening Telegraph*, 11 Aug, 1949, p. 2.

²⁵⁶ Frederick Boase, *Modern English Biography Containing Many Thousand Concise Memoirs of Persons Who Have Died Since the Year 1850*, Volume 1, A-H (Truro: Netherton and Worth, 1892), pp. 1846-1847.

²⁵⁷ Barnes, *Priory Demesne to University Campus* p. 258; Also see: University of Nottingham (UoN), *The Historic Houses of University Park* (Nottingham: UoN, 2014),

[<https://www.lakesidearts.org.uk/SiteData/Root/File/Visit%20us/heritageguide.pdf>, accessed 26 Oct, 2020], p. 13; Frank Barnes, More About Mr. Mitchell, *Lenton Times*, No. 4 (Jun., 1990),

[https://www.lentontimes.co.uk/back_issues/issue_4/issue_4_22.htm, accessed 27 Oct, 2020].

for £6,500 in 1867. He resided there for the remainder of his life.²⁵⁸ After Adams' death in 1873, Lenton Firs was occupied by Alderman William Lambert (1823-1905), a lace dresser, and then Sir Thomas Shipstone (1851-1940), a brewing magnate.²⁵⁹ Shipstone died in 1940 and six years later, in 1946, UCN rented the property and used it "as a small Hall of Residence."²⁶⁰ It was subsequently purchased by UoN and incorporated into its campus in 1950.²⁶¹ During this same year, Thomas Adams Limited donated £105 to the institution's endowment fund.

Today, Lenton Firs is home to UoN's Department of Architecture and Built Environment (see Image 5). UCN, UoN and NTU are, therefore, direct beneficiaries of financial capital arising from Thomas Adams' historic links to the manufacture of cotton grown by enslaved African people. More specifically, UoN has also acquired some of Adams' material wealth (i.e., Lenton Firs) which has a developmental past linked to his riches which were rooted in African enslavement and exploitation in the Americas.

Image 5: Lenton Firs, Department of Architecture and Built Environment, University Park Campus, University of Nottingham, 2019 ²⁶²



²⁵⁸ Barnes, *Priory Demesne to University Campus*, p. 260.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 262-266.

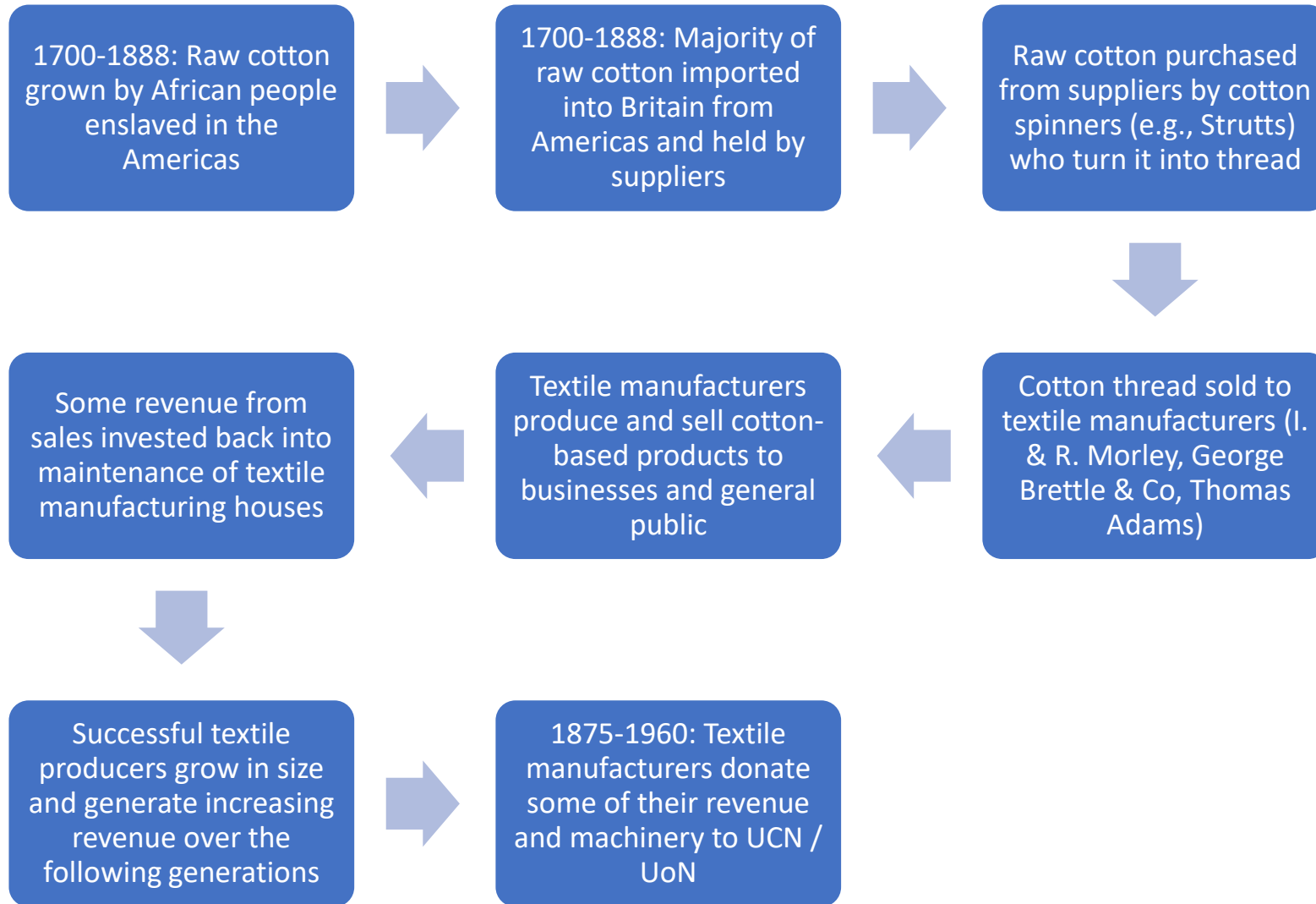
²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 268.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*

²⁶² University of Nottingham (UoN), *Heritage Character Encounters*

[<https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/home/featureevents/2019/heritage-character-encounters-5-october.aspx>, accessed 7 Jul, 2022].

Diagram 4: Links between the Transatlantic Slave Economy, Nottingham's Textile Manufacturers, and Nottingham's Universities



Jesse Boot & Boots Pure Drug Company

Benefactor and Connection to UCN/UoN

Jesse Boot, 1st Baron Trent and 1st Lord Trent, was one of Nottingham's most prominent pharmaceutical manufacturers and retailers who gifted considerable sums of money to a variety of institutions across the city throughout his life. He developed the small herbal shop established by his father in the mid-19th century and turned it into the nationally renowned Boots Chemists (also known as Boots Pure Drug Company). He sold it in 1920, after which time he, his family (and the Boots Pure Drug Company) made several substantial financial and material benefactions to UCN and UoN. The aggregate sum of gifts from Boots constitutes the largest donation awarded by any patron between UCN's conception in 1875 and the end of UoN's second drive for endowment in 1960. As a tribute, UCN titled its most iconic structure the Trent Building, which opened in 1928 and is named in reference to Jesse Boot's ennobled status 1st Baron Trent.²⁶³ For ease of reading, these gifts are chronologically listed in Table 4 which includes additional details on their nature.

Table 4: Donations made to UCN and UoN by the Boots Family and Boots Chemists, 1920-1954

Year	Donor	Donation	Historic Value	Contemporary Donation Value		
				RPI (2020)	WIG (2020)	ROW (2020)
1920	Jesse Boot	Money	£50,000	£2,050,000	£6,010,000	£17,800,000
1922	Jesse Boot	Money	£100,000	£5,580,000	£20,400,000	£47,800,000
1923	Jesse Boot	Land (35 acres)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
1924	Jesse Boot	Money	£4,000	£233,000	£727,000	£1,950,000
1924	Jesse Boot	Money	£3,400	£198,000	£618,000	£1,660,000
1928	Jesse Boot	Money	£80,000	£4,930,000	£14,600,000	£37,100,000
1928	Florence Boot	Money	£45,000	£2,770,000	£8,210,000	£20,800,000
1928	Mr John Boot	Money	£1,050	£64,700	£191,000	£486,000
1928	Lady Boot	Money	£125	£7,700	£22,800	£57,900
1928	Mrs John Boot	Money	£125	£7,700	£22,800	£57,900
1928	Boots Pure Drug Co	Money	£10,000	£616,000	£1,820,000	£4,630,000
1930	Jesse Boot	Money	£2,900	£187,000	£533,000	£1,340,000
1949	Boots Pure Drug Co	Money	£50,000	£1,810,000	£4,690,000	£8,680,000
1954	Boots Pure Drug Co	Scientific Instrument	£100	£2,800	£6,880	£12,000
Total				£18,456,900	£57,851,480	£142,373,800
Donation as % of Total Value of Private Gifts Awarded to UCN/UoN between 1875-1960				32.4%	35.4%	40.5%

²⁶³ The Trent Building, *University of Nottingham*, [<https://www.nottingham.edu.cn/en/news/the-names-behind-our-buildings/the-trent-building.aspx>, accessed 25 Nov, 2021]; Benefactors of University College: Jesse Boot, University of Nottingham, [<https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/manuscriptsandspecialcollections/collectionsindepth/university/benefactors-of-university-college.aspx>, accessed 5 Jun, 2022].

The Boots' unparalleled donations and directives regarding their use deserve attention to understand the distinctive developmental significance of this benefactor to the growth of UCN and UoN. Jesse Boot's first recorded donation to UCN was received in the form of £50,000 cheque in 1920, £30,000 of which was for the institution's building fund and £20,000 to endow a chair of chemistry.²⁶⁴ Two years later, in 1922, Jesse gifted a further £100,000 towards the institution's building fund.²⁶⁵ The following year he donated 35 acres of the Highfields estate he purchased in 1919 – its value is unknown.²⁶⁶ He presented UCN with two separate donations in 1924, one for £4,000 which was to be put towards the erection of a pavilion and new playing fields.²⁶⁷ The second benefaction came in at £3,400 and was a contribution for equipment needed to operate an engine house.²⁶⁸ Jesse continued to financially endow UCN and in 1928 he gifted £80,000 towards the construction costs of the Great Hall.²⁶⁹ Florence Boot, Jesse's wife, also made a substantial donation of £45,000 in 1928 for the cost of accommodation which became known as "The F.B. Hostel for Women Students."²⁷⁰ In the same year, John Boot, Jesse and Florence's son, contributed £1,050 towards UCN's first endowment fund; whilst his wife and mother donated £125 each.²⁷¹ Boots Pure Drug Company gifted the larger substantial sum of £10,000 to the institution's endowment campaign in 1928.²⁷² The final benefaction from Jesse Boot before he died came in the form of £2,900.²⁷³ It was gifted in 1930 for the purchase of Broadgate House (which became temporary student accommodation) and extra ground for UCN's library.²⁷⁴ UCN was granted "full use of the house for 5 years and then [required to] reimburse Mr. Boot for the purchase money along with any other funds."²⁷⁵ Almost two decades later, in 1949, Boots Pure Drug Company gifted the considerable sum of £50,000 to the newly formed UoN, which was, at the time, calling for subscribers to its second endowment fund.²⁷⁶ In 1954, it made a smaller material donation, worth £100, to the University's Spectrographic Department in the form of a Judd-Lewis Comparator – scientific equipment used to examine how light passes through physical objects.²⁷⁷

Established over two generations, Boots Chemist was the Boot family's primary source of wealth and one of the most crucial local enterprises from which UCN and UoN benefitted. The Boots' donations,

²⁶⁴ UNMSC UCN/G/4/2 (Nottingham: UoN MSC), fol. 397.

²⁶⁵ UNMSC MS859/1/1, Official Booklet, 14 June 1922; UNMSC MS859/2/3, Pictorial Commemoration of this Event; UNMSC UCN/G/4/3, fol. 254.

²⁶⁶ Beckett, *Nottingham: A History of Britain's Global University*, p. 51.

²⁶⁷ UNMSC UCN/P/7/ UR 1434 [Dec 1917-Dec 1924], What "Highfields" Will Mean to the City – Sir J. Boot's Noble Gift, *Nottingham Guardian*, 4 Jul, 1924, fols. 167-168; and University College – Progress of Building Scheme – Work to be Accelerated – Duke of Portland's Tribute to Sir Jesse Boot, *Nottingham Guardian*, 16 Dec, 1924, fols. 198-199 – "Sir Jesse is providing a pavilion for the use of students at a cost of £4,000."

²⁶⁸ UNMSC UCN/P/7/ UR 1434 [Dec 1917-Dec 1924], University College – Progress of Building Scheme – Work to be Accelerated – Duke of Portland's Tribute to Sir Jesse Boot, *Nottingham Guardian*, 16 Dec, 1924, fols. 198-199 – "The council reported further munificent gifts by Sir Jesse Boot. Sir Jesse has... also given the sum of approximately £3,400 for the equipment of the engine house."

²⁶⁹ UNMSC UCN/A/2/UR 52/169, *Boot (at Cannes) to Shimeld, 16 Feb 1928*.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid*; Beckett, *Nottingham: A History of Britain's Global University*, p. 73.

²⁷¹ UNMSC UCN/A/4/ UR 911/12, University Endowment Fund: List of Donations, 30 Jun, 1928.

²⁷² *Ibid*.

²⁷³ UNMSC UCN/A/2/UR17, Miscellaneous Papers Relating to the University College Nottingham Committee, May. 1930 - Oct. 1930, fol. 294.

²⁷⁴ Beckett, *Nottingham: A History of Britain's Global University*, p. 75

²⁷⁵ UNMSC UCN/A/2/UR17, Miscellaneous Papers Relating to the University College Nottingham Committee, fol. 294; *Ibid*, p. 75.

²⁷⁶ The University of Nottingham Endowment Appeal Fund: First List of Subscriptions, *Derby Evening Telegraph*, 11 Aug, 1949, p. 2.

²⁷⁷ UNMSC UCN/A/4/UR918, Donations Gifts and Loans (Part 1) – Judd-Lewis Comparator (worth £100) donated to UoN Spectrographic Department.

particularly those from Jesse and Florence, clearly contributed to the structural development, landed augmentation, and financing of staff at UCN during the 1920s.

Biography, Slavery Connection and Source of Wealth

Jesse Boot was born in Nottingham in 1850 and was the only son of John Boot (1815-1860) and Mary Mills.²⁷⁸ Prior to Jesse's birth, John worked as an agricultural labourer in Radcliffe-on-Trent, close to Nottingham. After numerous bouts of ill-health and inspired by his mother's herbal remedies, he decided to move to Nottingham and opened a herbal store on 6 Goose Gate, central Nottingham, in 1849.²⁷⁹ Jesse was born the following year and was raised by his mother whilst his father continued to invest time into growing the business. John Boot died in 1860 leaving the small but emerging business to the management of his wife whilst Jesse attended school.²⁸⁰ Leaving formal education at the age of 13, Jesse went to support his mother with the operation of the herbal shop, eventually taking over the business in the late-1860s.²⁸¹ He introduced a range of household products into the store that were priced more cheaply than his competitors, which helped to draw in more customers.²⁸² Like many businesses, Boot's most significant challenges were a shortage of start-up capital and increasing customer footfall.²⁸³ Consequently, he embarked upon a major advertising campaign in 1877 which was partially funded by a number of his business associates, including Henry Jalland (a neighbouring wine merchant), Jesse Hind (a leading Nottingham solicitor), and S. F. Armitage (a wholesale grocer).²⁸⁴ The successful marketing drive increased demand for Boot's products and compelled him to lease a larger premises on Goose Gate.²⁸⁵ The company continued to grow throughout the 1880s with Jesse purchasing three houses adjoining his shop which provided additional space for stock.²⁸⁶ He extended his lease from 21 to 99 years and sank considerable capital into the reconstruction of his shop. This augmentation and renovation cost approximately £2,000, which Jesse secured in the form of an overdraft from the Nottingham Joint Stock Bank (NJSB) – established in 1865 by Thomas Adams, one of Nottingham's foremost lace manufacturers, three other textile producers, two businessmen and a local solicitor (see Thomas Adams Limited case study).²⁸⁷ As shown in the case study on Thomas Adams Ltd, the bank's first managing director and a number of its early shareholders had strong ties to the transatlantic slave economy and it was their capital which helped to float and develop the bank, eventually permitting it to extend capital to local clients such as Jesse Boot.

Between 1884 and 1891 Boot established a total of 11 branches across Nottingham, Sheffield, Lincoln and Derby.²⁸⁸ He also commissioned the construction of a new manufacturing factory and

²⁷⁸ S. D. Chapman, 'Jesse Boot, First Baron Trent, 1850-1931', *ODNB*, [<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/31965>], accessed 12 Jul, 2021].

²⁷⁹ Boots Heritage, *Boots*, [<https://www.boots-uk.com/about-boots-uk/company-information/boots-heritage/>], accessed 12 Jul, 2021]; Richard Lliffe and Wilfred Baguley, *Victorian Nottingham: A Story in Pictures*, Volume 18 (Nottingham: The Nottingham Historical Film Unit, 1977), p. x; Chris Weir, *The Story of Jesse Boot and the Boots Company*, *Keyworth & District Local History Society Seminar*, May, 2010, [<http://www.keyworth-history.org.uk/about/reports/1005.html>], accessed 12 Jul, 2021].

²⁸⁰ Chapman, *Jesse Boot of Boots the Chemists*, pp. 33, 36.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 37, 38-39.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁷ See the case study on *Thomas Adams Limited* for more information on Thomas Adams and the establishment of Nottingham Joint Stock Bank.

²⁸⁸ Chapman, *Jesse Boot of Boots the Chemists*, pp. 57-81.

warehouse during this period.²⁸⁹ Whilst these premises were being built, he had makeshift ones erected which “consisted of three rooms in Elliott’s lace-thread doubling factory in Island Street, a few hundred yards from [Boot’s] shop... By 1892 Boot had taken over the whole of Elliott’s cotton mill, and was in the course of furnishing it with new machinery to prepare drugs at the cheapest possible prices.”²⁹⁰ The Elliotts were established hosiery dyers, bleachers and stocking trimmers whose presence in Nottingham stretched back to the mid-1700s.²⁹¹ It is highly probable that the family used at least some enslaved picked cotton, since the vast majority imported into Britain during the formative years of their enterprise (1750 to the early-1800s) arrived from the Caribbean and South America (see Graph 1). Jesse Boot would, therefore, have used part of Nottingham’s built environment that was financed by cotton and slavery to facilitate the establishment of his pharmaceutical retail enterprise during its initial years. This period of Boots Chemist’s expansion correlates with its rising total sales, which increased from £28,000 to £49,000 between 1884 and 1888.²⁹²

Boot continued to borrow money from NJSB, which extended the limit of his overdraft to £11,000 in 1889, although he only seems to have borrowed £3,000 (see Graph 6),²⁹³ which was enough to assist him in financing the opening of two additional branches that year.²⁹⁴ Boots Chemist experienced rapid and unprecedented expansion throughout the final decade of the 19th century with a total of 181 shops in operation across England and Wales by 1900.²⁹⁵ This made the business more than twice as large as its nearest rival and is reflected in Jesse’s borrowing from NJSB which peaked at £114,000 at the beginning of the 20th century (see Graph 6).²⁹⁶ He continued to establish retail outlets for the sale of his herbal and domestic products via the construction of new stores and acquisition of existing chemists,²⁹⁷ raising additional funds by “floating a new company, Boots Cash Chemists (Southern) Ltd., in June 1901.”²⁹⁸

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 82-102.

²⁹⁰ Chapman, *Jesse Boot of Boots the Chemists*, pp. 61-62, 66.

²⁹¹ William Elliott (1707-1792), *Knitting Together: The Heritage of the East Midlands Knitting Industry*, [<https://www.knittingtogether.org.uk/behind-the-scenes/the-people/william-elliott-1707-1792/>], accessed 13 Jul, 2021].

²⁹² Chapman, *Jesse Boot of Boots the Chemists*, p. 47.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 123-124, 205.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

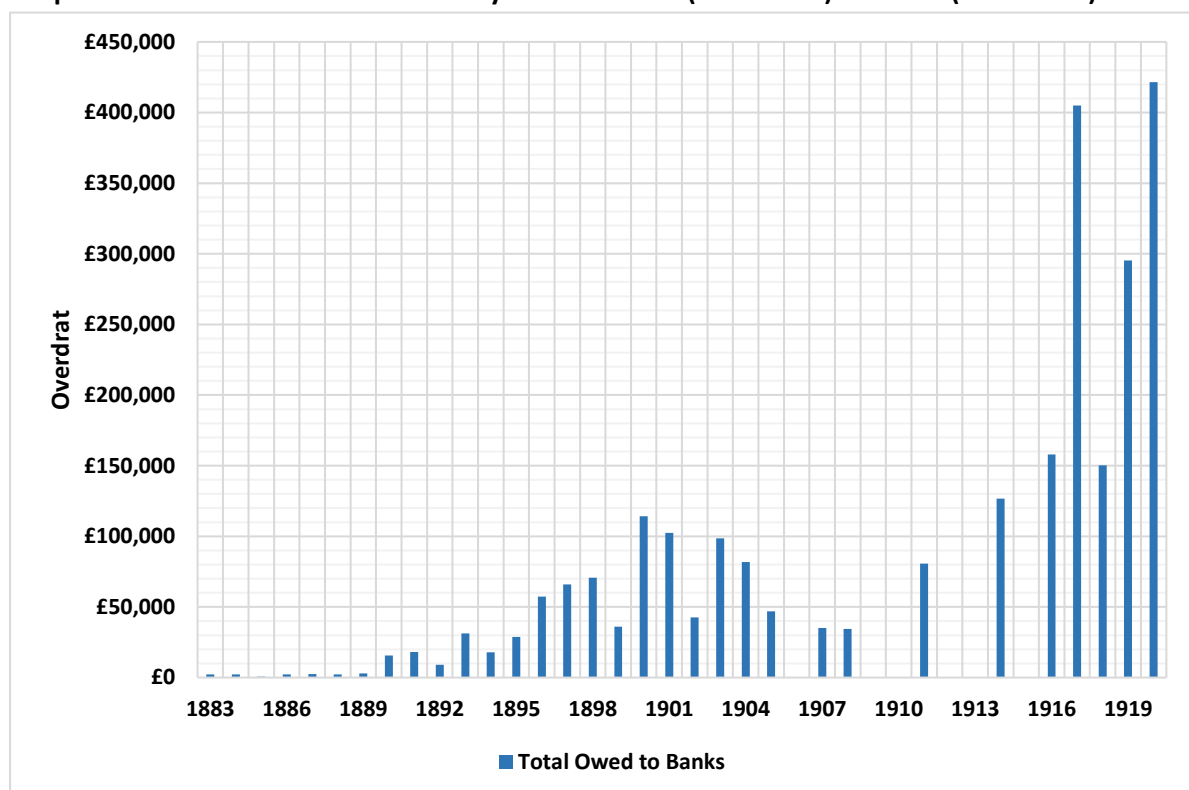
²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 81, 90.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 76, 205-209.

²⁹⁷ Jesse Boot purchased Day’s Southern Drug Co., in the late-1890s for £113,000. This consisted of 65 shops and 2 warehouses founded by William Day in 1874 – Chapman, *Jesse Boot of Boots the Chemists*, pp. 84-85.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

Graph 6: Boots Total Overdraft Primarily Owed to NJSB (1883-1905) and NPB (1905-1920)²⁹⁹



To support the administration of his growing enterprise, Boot rented several rooms in Hine & Mundella’s hosiery factory located on Nottingham’s Station Street between 1898 and 1912. He transformed these into his head office and soaring profits permitted him to purchase the entire building for £22,000 in 1912.³⁰⁰ The premises was originally built in 1851,³⁰¹ the Hine family, however, established themselves in Nottingham’s textile industry much earlier in the 19th century,³⁰² with Jonathan Hine (1780-1862) listed as regularly purchasing cotton yarn and twisted net from the Strutts, spending approximately £1,584 between 1816 and 1823.³⁰³ Similarly to many other local hosiery manufacturers, Hine’s use of cotton thread to produce hosiery implicated him in the transatlantic slave economy. His conversion of financial proceeds from his textile business into material wealth (i.e., his factory) proved, therefore, to be crucial to the early administrative and physical development of Boots Chemists.

In 1905, Jesse Boot transferred all of his company accounts from NJSB to the National Provincial Bank (NPB), which also had historic ties to the transatlantic slave economy (see the case study on NPB for more details). Boot had held an account with NPB since purchasing Campbell Cash Chemists

²⁹⁹ Chapman, *Jesse Boot of Boots the Chemists*, pp. 205-206.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

³⁰¹ Chapman, *Industry and Trade, 1750-1900*, p. 329.

³⁰² Jonathan Hine and Thomas Low Bradley founded Hine & Bradley hosiers, which was located on Mount Street in central Nottingham in 1815 – *The Nottingham Directory, 1815: Containing a General List of Merchants, Tradesmen and Local Inhabitants of Nottingham, New Radford, and New Sneinton* (Nottingham: Sutton & Son, 1815), pp. 46, 85; *The London Gazette*, 2 Jan, 1819 (London: Authority, 1819), p. 430; There is only one individual with the surname Hine listed in Nottingham’s 1815 trade directory. This name is noted alongside their profession as a hosier with a business situated on Mount Street, which all correspond with Jonathan Hine, making it almost certain he is the same Jonathan Hine listed in the Strutt’s Nottingham customer ledger that exists for the period spanning 1809 to 1824.

³⁰³ DRO D6948/2/65, Strutts Nottingham Customer Ledger, Oct 1809-Feb 1827, fols. 16-18, 26, 304.

in Norwich in 1893.³⁰⁴ His chemists' continued expansion, which was fuelled by credit from NPB, saw the number of its branches increase from 314, in 1905, to 560 on the eve of World War 1.³⁰⁵ During the final six years of Jesse's ownership of Boots Chemists (1914-1920) he expanded its manufacturing operations significantly and opened a further 58 stores to supply these goods, bringing the total number of outlets to 618 in 1920.³⁰⁶ His overdraft with NPB also increased dramatically reaching in excess of £400,000 in 1917 and 1920, and in the latter year it "once topped £600,000."³⁰⁷ These unprecedented amounts of borrowing, coincided with NPB's acquisition of Union of London & Smiths Bank in 1918.³⁰⁸ This was a highly enriching moment in NPB's history, which resulted in the significant expansion of its banking operations and commercial influence. Its takeover of Smiths is of specific importance in this instance as this institution was heavily involved in financing the transatlantic slave economy during the 18th and early-19th centuries. During the latter period, Smith, Payne & Smith (the London-based branch of Smiths Bank) and its directing partners (namely Robert Smith and his nephew George Robert Smith) were also owners of enslaved African people and plantations across the British Caribbean, which they leased to supplement their existing income; they also received compensation after the legal termination of slavery in 1833. Smiths appear to have used the transatlantic slave economy to assist their development into a prosperous bank that NPB benefitted from when it took over in 1918, helping to explain its capacity to increase the limit of Jesse Boot's overdraft to £600,000 in 1920.

Banking credit was clearly an important financial component that underpinned the expansion of Boots Chemists from the 1880s onwards. It became increasingly critical as Jesse Boot accelerated the establishment of shops across the country up until the second decade of the 20th century. The importance of credit can be seen from "a quick examination of the figures [which] demonstrate that at some periods Boots Pure Drug Company owed as much as half its capital to the bank[s]."³⁰⁹ Those which Jesse had accounts with, however, were partially developed using capital derived from the exploitation and appropriation of enslaved African labour, and sale of firearms to American 'slave-owners'. In addition, Jesse's early use of cotton mills for manufacturing and administrative purposes is an example of how Nottingham's built environment, which was partly financed by the profits of slavery, was capitalised on by Boot for the growth of his business during an extremely critical phase of its development. The transatlantic slave economy was by no means the sole financier of Boots Chemists, but its profits facilitated the growth of the banking and textile sectors Jesse Boot relied on for the founding and operation of his massively successful pharmaceutical retail enterprise. This commercial success enabled him, his family and the business to make some of the largest donations ever received by UCN. These have been commemorated via the erection and naming of several monuments across the campus such as the East Midlands Conference Centre (formerly known as the Jesse Boot Conference Centre) and a bust of Jesse Boot located at the institution's Highfields entrance on University Boulevard.³¹⁰ Boots Pure Drug Company continued to bank with NPB into the late-1940s, when they made their substantial donation of £50,000 to UoN (see Table 4).

³⁰⁴ Chapman, *Jesse Boot of Boots the Chemists*, p. 124.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86, 90.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

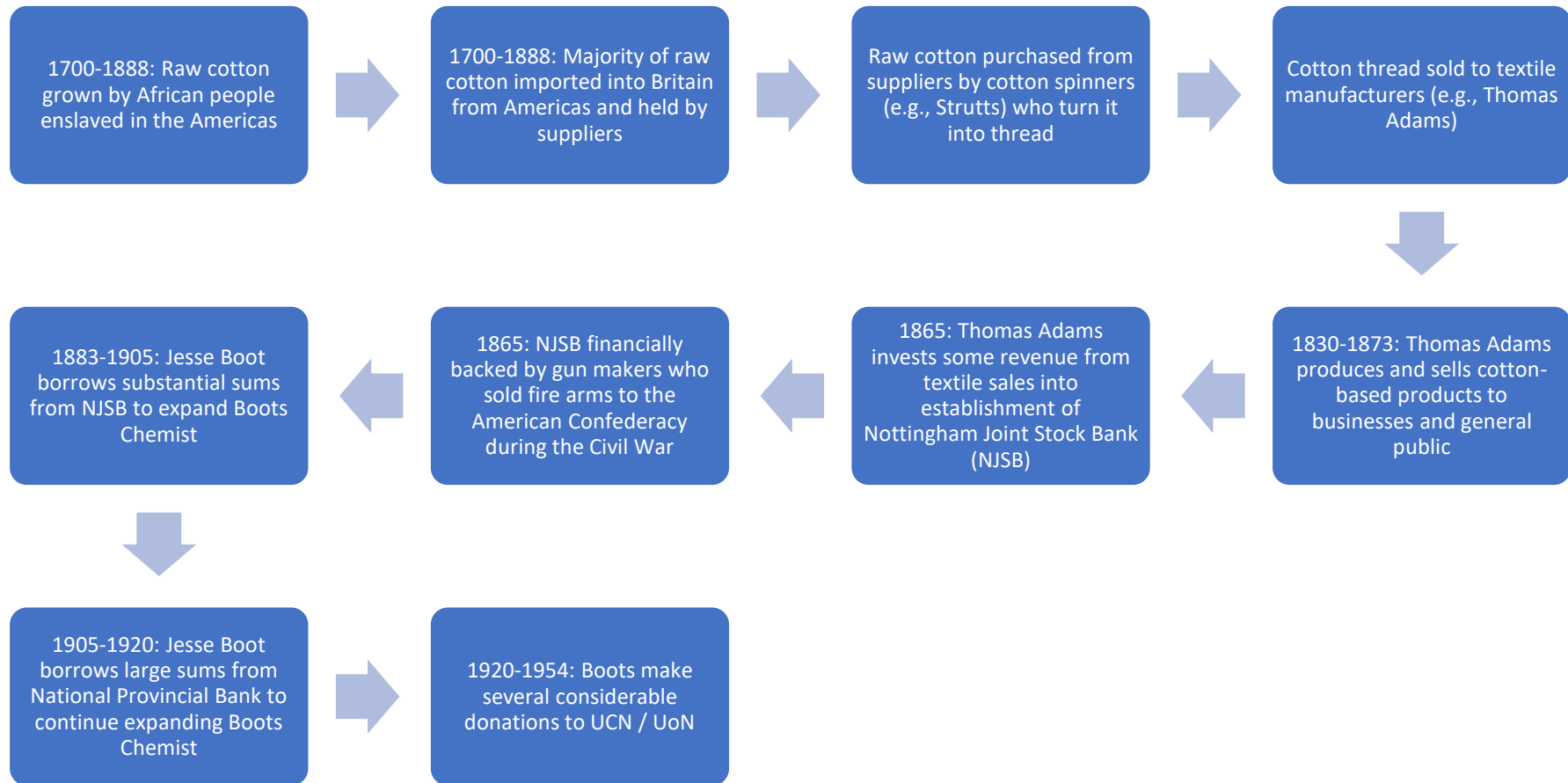
³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

³⁰⁸ Withers, *National Provincial Bank, 1833 to 1933*, p. 82.

³⁰⁹ Chapman, *Jesse Boot of Boots the Chemists*, p. 134.

³¹⁰ *The Historic Houses of University Park*, p. 21; Historic England, *Bust of Sir Jesse Boot, University Boulevard, Nottingham* [<https://historicengland.org.uk/services-skills/education/educational-images/bust-of-sir-jesse-boot-university-boulevard-7463>, accessed 5 Jun, 2022].

Diagram 5: Links between the Transatlantic Slave Economy, Boots, and Nottingham's Universities



John Player & Sons (1877-1901)

Benefactor and Connection to UCN/UoN

John Player & Sons was a prominent tobacco and cigarette manufacturing business founded in the Broadmarsh area of central Nottingham in 1877 by John Player (1839-1884).³¹¹ The firm prospered and expanded its operations throughout the late-19th and early-20th centuries, allowing John Player's two sons – John Dane Player (1864-1950) and William Goodacre Player (1866-1959), who became the enterprise's proprietors in 1893 – to make four significant financial donations to UCN and its successor institution, UoN.³¹² The first two benefactions were gifted in 1928, with both men donating £5,000 each to UCN's endowment fund.³¹³ Just over two decades later, in 1949, John Dane Player gifted £10,400 to UoN's endowment appeal, which was augmented by a further £15,000 from the firm John Player & Sons.³¹⁴ The combined value of their donations is one of the most significant sums of money awarded to UCN/UoN between its conception in 1875 and the end of its second drive for endowment in 1960 (see Table 5).

Table 5: Donations made to UCN and UoN by John Player & Sons, 1928 and 1949

Year	Donation	Historic Value	Contemporary Donation Value		
			RPI (2020)	WIG (2020)	ROW (2020)
1928	Money	£5,000	£308,000	£912,000	£2,320,000
1928	Money	£5,000	£308,000	£912,000	£2,320,000
1949	Money	£10,400	£376,000	£976,000	£1,810,000
1949	Money	£15,000	£542,000	£1,410,000	£2,600,000
Total			£1,534,000	£4,210,000	£9,050,000
Donation as % of Total Value of Private Gifts Awarded to UCN/UoN between 1875-1960			2.7%	2.6%	2.6%

Biography, Slavery Connection and Source of Wealth

The roots of John Player & Sons can be traced back to a tobacco manufacturing business established and owned by John Wright in the 1820s.³¹⁵ His factory was situated in Nottingham's Middle Marsh district (now known as Broadmarsh) and made tobacco products for local consumption.³¹⁶ No records for Wright's company appear to have survived, consequently, little more is known about the business's development other than the fact that it employed approximately 150 people when it was acquired by John Player in 1877.³¹⁷

Tobacco was a foreign crop and a strong clue indicating its likely origin during the early years of its manufacture by John Wright lies in a 21-year span of national importation statistics, from 1828 to 1849, which show that 90% to 99% of the UK's tobacco originated from the U.S., with parliament

³¹¹ S. D. Chapman, 'John Player, 1839-1884', *ODNB*, [<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/39035>, accessed 20 Apr, 2020].

³¹² *Ibid.*

³¹³ UNMSC UCN/A/4/ UR 911/12, University Endowment Fund: List of Donations, 30 Jun, 1928.

³¹⁴ The University of Nottingham Endowment Appeal Fund: First List of Subscriptions, *Derby Evening Telegraph*, 11 Aug, 1949, p. 2.

³¹⁵ *Pigot and Co's National Commercial Directory, 1828-29: Comprising a Directory and Classification of the Merchants, Bankers, Professional Gentlemen, Manufacturers and Traders, Part 2 – Nottinghamshire, Yorkshire and North Wales* (London: J. Pigot & Co, 1828); Barnes, *Priory Demesne to University Campus*, p. 311.

³¹⁶ Nottinghamshire Archives (NA) DD/PL/13/17, Player's: Symbol of Excellence and Quality in the Manufacture of Tobacco Products Since 1877 (Nottingham: John Players & Son).

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*

making specific reference to its sourcing from Virginia and Maryland in the 1830s (see Graph 3).³¹⁸ The increasing quantity of tobacco that Britain imported from America during this period coincides so closely with the formative years of Wright's tobacco manufacturing business that it is highly likely a significant proportion of this lucrative leaf was processed in its factory. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that the development of this business was at least partly predicated upon some of the revenue reaped from the sale of tobacco farmed by enslaved African people in America up to 1865 when slavery in the United States was legally abolished.³¹⁹

John Player purchased Wright's tobacco factory in 1877, continued to build upon its success, and in 1881 bought a plot of land in the Radford area of Nottingham upon which he commissioned the construction of three factory blocks in 1882.³²⁰ The first block, known as the No. 1 factory, opened in 1884, just a few months before Player died, with the remaining two blocks not fully occupied and functional until 1902.³²¹ John Player almost certainly used his own networks and established reputation as a local tobacconist to support the growth of the new factory. He arrived in Nottingham around 1862 and set up shop on 8 Beeston Market Hill in central Nottingham where he sold agricultural manures and seeds along with small quantities of loose tobacco.³²² Its popularity within Nottingham spurred Player to become a tobacconist (seller of cigarettes and other items used by smokers), and by 1879, he had opened at least one other shop on 27 Market Street.³²³ The manufacturing business continued to be known as John Player & Sons after John Player's death in 1884 and created a range of cigarette brands including 'Sandringham', 'Dubec', 'Weights', 'No. 3 Virginia', and 'Gold Leaf Navy Cut'.³²⁴ The latter variety of cigarettes were produced before the 1890s and eventually became one of the firm's most popular brands.³²⁵

In 1901, John Player & Son, valued at just over £600,000, merged with 12 other British tobacco manufacturers to form the Imperial Tobacco Company (ITC).³²⁶ The conglomeration was established in response to growing competition from the United States, in particular, the American Tobacco Company, which attempted to acquire a majority share in the British tobacco market in 1900.³²⁷ Several of the constituent firms comprising ITC were established long before John Player & Sons in port towns with strong connections to the transatlantic slave economy. The most important were Stephen Mitchell & Son, originally founded in 1723 in Linlithgow before moving to Glasgow, and W.D. & H.O. Wills, a Bristol-based firm, which had roots that stem back to 1786.³²⁸ Papers of the

³¹⁸ House of Commons (HC), *Navigation Laws and Commercial Policy*, Vol. 12, Col. 1311, 22 May, 1832, [<https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1832-05-22/debates/9ee8a4ba-e2c4-4b31-9823-ea542ec4b0a1/NavigationLawsAndCommercialPolicy>], accessed 13 May, 2021].

³¹⁹ Cuba and Brazil became major exporters of tobacco and slavery was not abolished in these colonies until 1886 and 1888, respectively. More research needs to be undertaken to ascertain the quantities of tobacco Britain imported from these nations since many of the crops originating from them are likely to have been produced by enslaved Africans.

³²⁰ Barnes, *Priory Demesne to University Campus*, p. 311.

³²¹ S. A. Mason, 'Tobacco and Lace: The Growth of John Player and Sons, 1881-1903', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire*, Vol. 85 (1981), pp. 102-110.

³²² NA DD/2497/3/2. 'Founding Fathers: The Men Who Made their Mark on Nottingham – Player's Top Role in City', *Evening Post*, 7 Dec, 1990, p. 6.

³²³ *Ibid.*

³²⁴ NA DD/PL/13/6, *John Player & Sons: Centenary History, 1877-1977* (Nottingham: John Player & Sons, 1977), p. 6, 9.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³²⁶ NA DD/PL/13/4, Alec George Gordon, *The History of the Imperial Tobacco Company, 1901-1966*, p. 12; NA DD/PL/13/13, *The History of the Imperial Group Limited* (Nottingham: Imperial Group Limited, 1977), p. 10.

³²⁷ *Ibid.*

³²⁸ NA DD/PL/13/4, *The History of the Imperial Tobacco Company*, p. 2; Henry Rees, *The British Isles: A Regional Geography* (London: Harrap, 1972), p. 150; Iain Gately, *Tobacco: A Cultural History of How an Exotic Plant*

Mitchell family, contain letters from Stephen Mitchell (the 6th) “describing his experiences as a young skilled artisan employed to teach the secrets of tobacco manufacture to slaves in the Virginia of the 1780’s.”³²⁹ Virginia was a British colony during the 1700s and its tobacco planters sold increasing amounts of the crop to Britain throughout the 18th century. Its distinctive golden leaves and the close attention paid to its cultivation led to it being considered the “best quality of tobacco that was grown in the United States.”³³⁰ Given the association between Stephen Mitchell VI, Virginian grown tobacco cultivated by enslaved African people, and the rising importation of this crop into Britain during the 1700s, it is highly probable that Stephen Mitchell & Son procured some of the leaf from this region of America. This is a key lead that needs more exploration since the Mitchell’s long-standing experience and knowledge of the tobacco industry along with its relationships with British suppliers would have assisted the ITC in successfully navigating the tobacco market. This would have contributed to its prosperity and was likely capitalised upon by John Player & Sons after it merged into ITC. Indeed, Players went from strength-to-strength and continued to prosper after its incorporation into ITC with William Goodacre Player appointed to the role of director at the initial board meeting of the newly formed conglomerate in December 1901.³³¹ Player’s growth can be partly seen from its steadily rising number of employees – in 1914 there were 2,500; this doubled to 5,000 in 1928; and had reached 7,500 by 1939.³³² The firm expanded its manufacturing operations with “the main periods of building being 1910-14, 1920-22, 1926-32 and 1939-40 when two factories and a bonded warehouse were built.”³³³ Whilst John Player & Sons developed the Wright’s tobacco factory, which was established during the period of transatlantic slavery, Player’s major expansion clearly occurred in the post-slavery period, and was, therefore, driven by the exploitation of free, waged British labour. Having said this, slavery was so foundational to the original factory it acquired from the Wrights that Player’s would never have evolved in the manner it did without chattel slavery in the first place. Like other enterprises that were founded after slavery, but which were dependent upon the economies of raw materials produced via enslaved labour (e.g., sugar and cotton), Players took advantage of the pre-existing large scale American tobacco economy, which had been established before it came into existence.³³⁴ Although both brothers (John Dane and William Goodacre) retired from the business in 1926, they continued to reap significant profits, a proportion of which they gifted to UNC/UoN in 1928 and 1949.³³⁵

Seduced Civilization (New York: Grove Press, 2001), p. 213; B. W. E. Alford, *W. D. & H. O. Wills and the Development of the U.K. Tobacco Industry, 1786-1965* (London: Methuen & Co, 1973), pp. 3-24; Stephen Mitchell & Son and W. D. & H. O. Wills need to be investigated further for their likely connections to the transatlantic slave economy via the processing of tobacco that was harvested by enslaved African people in the United States of America.

³²⁹ Jacob M. Price, ‘The Beginnings of Tobacco Manufacture in Virginia’, *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 64, No. 1 (Jan., 1956), p. 3.

³³⁰ NA DD/PL/13/6, *John Player & Sons: Centenary History*, p. 3.

³³¹ NA DD/PL/13/4, Alec George Gordon, *The History of the Imperial Tobacco Company*, p. 37.

³³² NA DD/PL/13/6, *John Player & Sons: Centenary History*, p. 21.

³³³ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³³⁴ Other scholars such as Doctor Nicholas Draper maintain that this model of economic development – firms trading within the Atlantic world which were founded post-slavery were able to take advantage of the exploitative economies that developed out of enslaved African labour. Tate and Lyle is a clear example of a business established after the period of British West Indian slavery that grew from the sugar market established in the Americas which appropriated enslaved African labour. For more information on this framework of development see: Tate, *The Tate Galleries and Slavery* [<https://www.tate.org.uk/about-us/history-tate/tate-galleries-and-slavery>, accessed 5 Jun, 2022].

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

Whilst riches from John Player & Sons were transferred to UCN/UoN in the form of financial donations, material wealth arising from its prosperity was also incorporated into the institution in less explicit ways. For example, William Goodacre Player purchased a plot of land in 1898 upon which he commissioned the construction of Lenton Hurst in 1898/9.³³⁶ It was “one of the largest houses in the city” and a reflection of both William’s wealth and John Player & Sons’ prosperity.³³⁷ He is recorded as taking up residence there in 1900 and he purchased several additional plots of land in 1903 which were integrated into the gardens of the property.³³⁸ William resided at Lenton Hurst for approximately 30 years, selling the house and its adjoining land to “Sir Thomas Shipstone of Lenton Firs” in 1930.³³⁹ In 1945, the property and its grounds were leased to UCN for use as residential accommodation before being purchased by the newly formed University of Nottingham in 1950.³⁴⁰ Still in use today, Lenton Hurst forms part of UoN’s University Park Campus and operates as general office space and accommodation (see Image 6).

Image 6: Lenton Hurst, University Park Campus, University of Nottingham, 2008



Source: Photo taken by Matt Buck (May, 2008)

Ultimately, the balance of evidence strongly suggests that it was revenue from the manufacture and sale of tobacco largely imported from America between the 1820s and 1860s – some of which was farmed by enslaved African people – that formed the basis of the Wrights tobacco enterprise. John Player’s purchase of William Wright’s factory in 1877 allowed him to build upon this foundation by expanding the business’s production capacity via the erection of a new factory in Radford that provided employment to hundreds of Nottingham’s local residents. The firm’s prosperity, under the direction of John’s sons resulted in increasing fortunes that allowed John Dane Player and William Goodacre Player to make four substantial financial donations to UCN and UoN in 1928 and 1949, respectively. Although it is not currently possible to calculate the proportion of the donations generated from enslaved African labour, their acceptance by UCN/UoN is an example of how the fortunes made during the later period of American slavery (1820-1865) aided the creation of further wealth thereafter, which permeated the institution several generations later.

Moreover, William Goodacre Player’s conversion of financial capital into material wealth through the construction of Lenton Hurst and its subsequent incorporation into UCN’s and then UoN’s campus is demonstrative of the non-philanthropic way that material wealth, with traceable roots to the transatlantic slave economy, came to form part of UoN’s built environment.

³³⁶ UNMSC UMP/1/5/1 and UNMSC UMP/1/5/2, *Photographs of Lenton Hurst, University Park, c. 1950*; Barnes, *Priory Demesne to University Campus*, pp. 309-310.

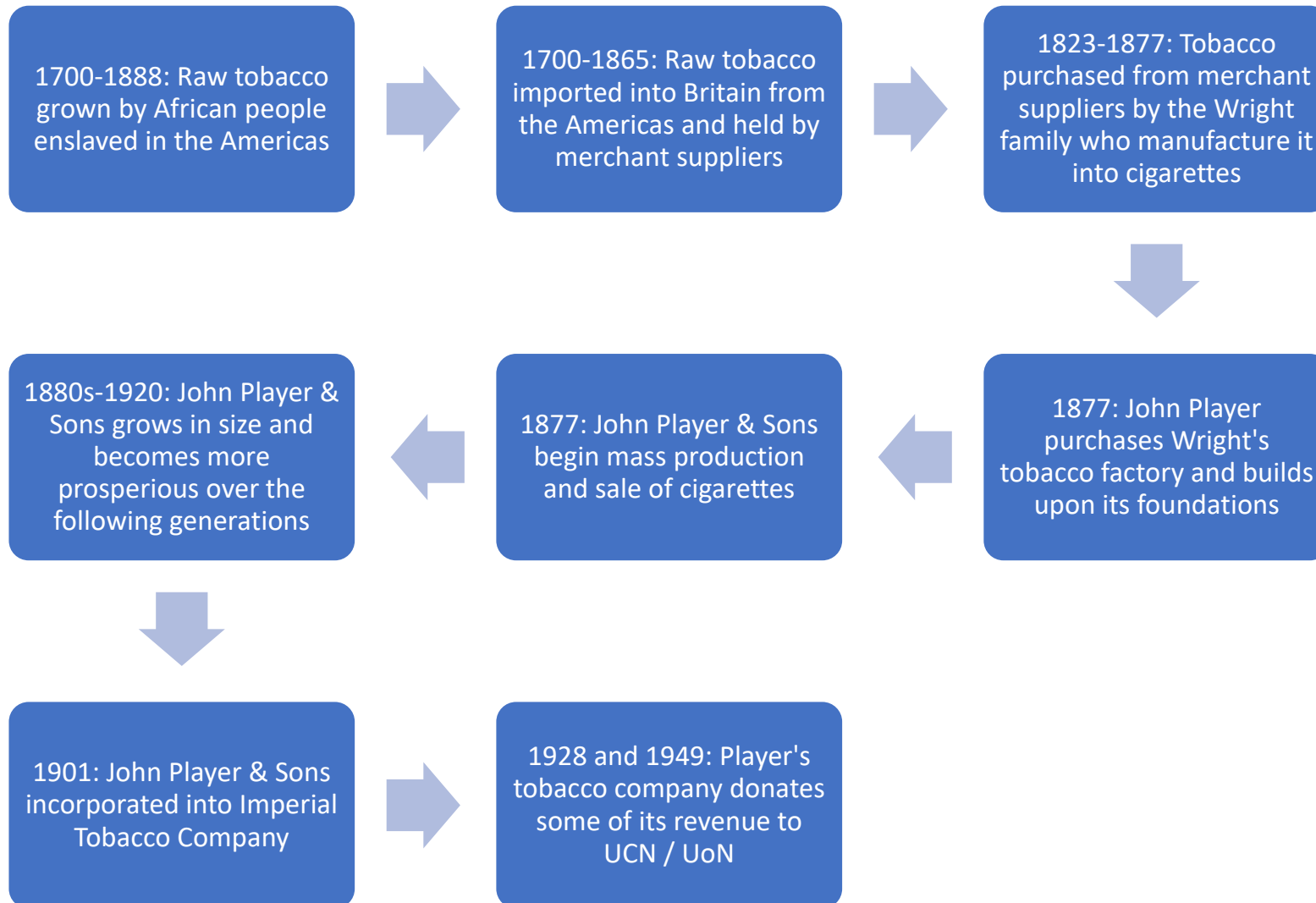
³³⁷ Nick Hayes, “Calculating Class’: Housing, Lifestyle and Status in the Provincial English City, 1900-1950’, *Urban History*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (May., 2009), p. 126.

³³⁸ Barnes, *Priory Demesne to University Campus*, pp. 310, 312.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 313.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 314.

Diagram 6: Links between the Transatlantic Slave Economy, John Player & Sons, and Nottingham's Universities



National Provincial Bank of England (1833-1970)

Benefactor and Connection to UCN/UoN

The National Provincial Bank of England (NPB) was a prominent British retail bank that operated in England and Wales from 1833 until 1970. As it developed, it acquired a series of other commercial banks until 1970, when it merged with the National Westminster Bank, popularly known as NatWest. NPB gifted two significant financial donations to Nottingham’s universities. The first being a £500 donation to UCN’s 1928 endowment fund.³⁴¹ The second and larger benefaction of £2,000 was made in 1949 and was gifted in response to UoN’s second appeal for endowment (see Table 6).³⁴²

Table 6: Donations made to UCN and UoN by the National Provincial Bank, 1928 and 1949

Year	Donation	Historic Value	Contemporary Donation Value		
			RPI (2020)	WIG (2020)	ROW (2020)
1928	Money	£500	£30,800	£91,200	£232,000
1949	Money	£2,000	£72,200	£188,000	£347,000
Total			£103,000	£279,200	£579,000
Donation as % of Total Value of Private Gifts Awarded to UCN/UoN between 1875-1960			0.2%	0.17%	0.16%

Biography, Slavery Connection and Source of Wealth

NPB’s origins can be traced back to 1828, when it was initially conceived under the name ‘Royal Bank’ by Thomas Joplin (c.1790-1847), one of its founders and first directors.³⁴³ The bank’s provisional committee began meeting frequently shortly thereafter and by 1833 had opted to change its name to the National Provincial Bank of England.³⁴⁴ Established as a provincial (country) bank with its administrative headquarters located in metropolitan London, NPB’s creators structured it upon a branch banking model which focussed on serving customers up and down the country as opposed to a specific urban region. The first branch was opened in Gloucester in 1834, followed by branches in Brecon, Walsall, Birmingham and several other towns.³⁴⁵

Archibald Paull (1787-1871), who served as one of NPB’s earliest directors between 1841 and 1844,³⁴⁶ was an absentee ‘slave-owner’ and West Indian merchant. In 1836, he was jointly awarded a total of £25,485 compensation in exchange for the liberation of the 1,162 African people enslaved upon 10 estates located on the islands of St. Kitts, Nevis, and Grenada.³⁴⁷ The slavery compensation

³⁴¹ UNMSC UCN/A/4/ UR 911/12, University Endowment Fund: List of Donations, 30 Jun, 1928.

³⁴² The University of Nottingham Endowment Appeal Fund: First List of Subscriptions, *Derby Evening Telegraph*, 11 Aug, 1949, p. 2.

³⁴³ National Provincial Bank Ltd: A Brief History, *NatWest Group*, [<https://www.natwestgroup.com/heritage/companies/national-provincial-bank-ltd.html>, accessed 4 Feb, 2021].

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁶ Withers, *National Provincial Bank, 1833-1933*, pp. V-IV.

³⁴⁷ ‘Archibald Paull, 1787-1871’, *Legacies of British Slave-ownership Database (LBS)*, [<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/10808>, accessed 16 Apr, 2021]; Paradise (167 enslaved people valued at £4,969), Mount Horne (130 enslaved people for £3,629), Plaisance (124 enslaved people for £3,140), Paraclete (117 enslaved people for £2,876) – These four estates were located in Grenada; Kades Bay (31 enslaved people for £556), Mount Pleasant (124 enslaved people for £2,059) and New Castle (60 enslaved people for £976) – Located in Nevis; Camp (63 enslaved people for £1,028), Brothersons (133 enslaved people for £2,566) and Dieppe Bay (213 enslaved people for £3,868) – Located in St. Kitts.

records list Paull as one of the owners of Brothersons estate in St. Kitts in 1825. He received financial redress as the mortgagee (lender) on six estates (Paradise, Mount Horne, Plaisance, Paraclete, Brothersons and Dieppe Bay); as the trustee of three additional properties (Kades Bay, Mount Pleasant, New Castle); and as a counterclaimant of the Camp estate. The owners of these properties generally appear to have become bankrupt and the monetary value of the African people enslaved upon them awarded as repayment to Paull and his business partners for the arrears owed to them by the proprietors of each estate.³⁴⁸

The National Provincial Bank expanded throughout the 19th century, with a particularly distinctive period of growth between 1834 and 1865, which was marked by the acquisition of numerous small private and joint stock banks.³⁴⁹ These included Rotton & Co in 1834; Bristol City Bank in 1835; Lichfield, Rugeley & Tamworth Banking Co in 1838; the Isle of Wight Joint Stock Bank of Newport in 1844; and Thomas Kinnersly & Sons located in Newcastle-under-Lyme in 1855.³⁵⁰ Henry Bengough (d. 1818) and Philip Protheroe (d. 1803) were founding partners of Bristol City Bank, which was established in 1794.³⁵¹ A legal conveyance dated “21 October 1808” appears to show Edward Protheroe, Robert Claxton and Philip Protheroe, as entrusting “Rivulet and Revolution Hall estates on St. Vincent and the enslaved people attached to them” to Henry Bengough and Matthew Wright.³⁵² This agreement provided Henry Bengough with the legal power to control and administer the West Indian interest.

Philip Protheroe (d. 1803) was a senior partner in the West Indian merchant house of Protheroes & Claxton with his son Edward Protheroe senior. The firm extended capital to plantation owners and is listed as the mortgagee of “100 enslaved people on Stoakes Hall [Jamaica, which was] paid off... sometime between 1802-1803.”³⁵³ Philip Protheroe was also the mortgage holder for Longville estate in Jamaica and Ratho Mill in St. Vincent.³⁵⁴ He would have developed significant commercial knowledge, expertise and connections from working in the West Indian merchant house and is likely to have applied this in his role as director to support the growth of Bristol City Bank, before it was acquired and its development capitalised upon by NPB in 1835.

³⁴⁸ ‘Archibald Paull, 1787-1871’, *LBS*.

³⁴⁹ National Provincial Bank Ltd: A Brief History, *NatWest Group*.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid*.

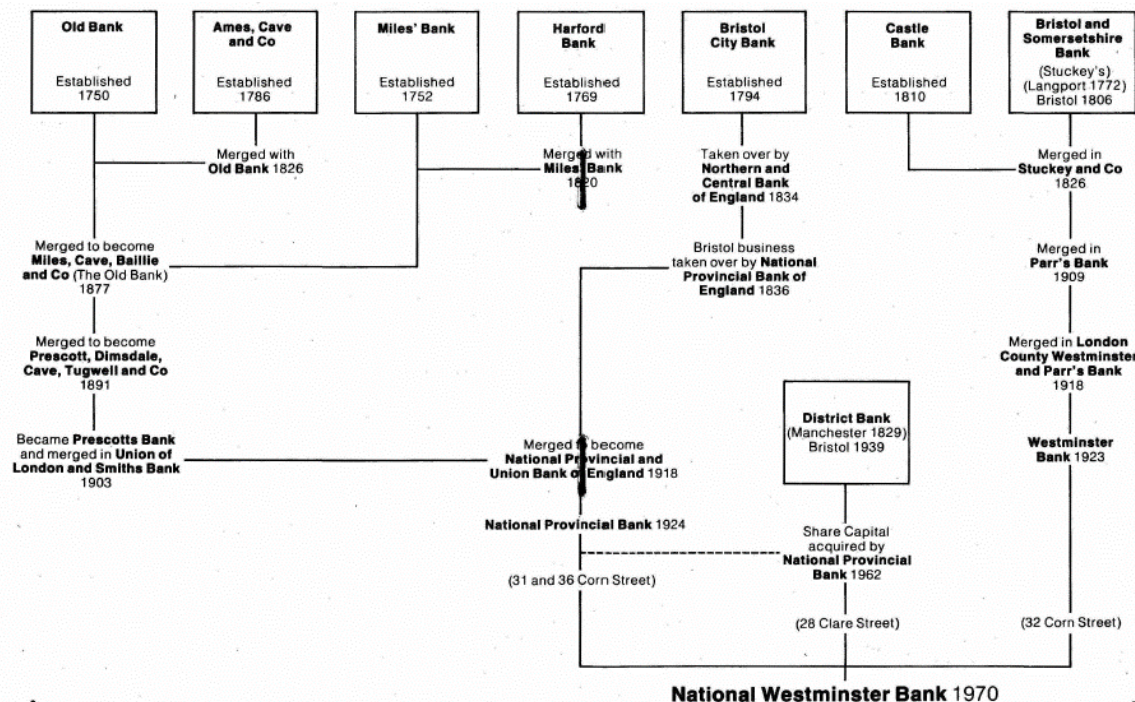
³⁵¹ National Westminster Bank, *Three Banks in Bristol: The National Westminster Bank in Corn Street, 1750-1980* (NatWest Bank, 1980), p. 3.

³⁵² ‘Henry Bengough, d. 1818’, *LBS*, [<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146665097>], accessed 16 Apr, 2021].

³⁵³ ‘Philip Protheroe the elder, d.1803’, *LBS*, [<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146649875>], accessed 16 Apr, 2021].

³⁵⁴ *Ibid*.

Diagram 7: Genealogical Tree – National Westminster Bank in Bristol ³⁵⁵



By 1865, NPB had established 122 branches across Britain. It continued to swallow smaller banks and possessed around 200 branches at the end of the 19th century.³⁵⁶ These acquisitions were essential building blocks in the growth and development of NPB, which facilitated the expansion of its operations, ability to provide increasingly essential banking services to a growing number of customers, and escalating financial profits.

NPB developed significantly during the early-1900s, broadening its commercial activities and enriching itself by building upon the successes of two key banks with historic connections to the transatlantic slave economy. The first of these was NPB's acquisition of a 50 per cent share in Lloyds Bank (France) in 1911, which became a joint venture known as Lloyds & National Provincial (Foreign) Bank Limited in 1919.³⁵⁷ Lloyds donated money to UCN and UoN and its connections to the transatlantic slave economy are detailed in a case study on the bank later on in this report. The fortunes Lloyds generated from its involvement in the colonial economy facilitated the strengthening of its commercial position, eventually enabling it to engage in profitable ventures such as its French based bank, which existed from 1911 to 1955, with the support of NPB until 1954.³⁵⁸

NPB's Acquisition of Smiths Bank, 1918

The other relevant development in NPB's history which links it to significant exploitative financial gains accrued from the transatlantic slave economy was its acquisition of the Union of London and Smiths Bank in 1918.³⁵⁹ The latter of these two institutions (Smiths Bank) was heavily involved in the

³⁵⁵ National Westminster Bank, *Three Banks in Bristol: The National Westminster Bank in Corn Street, 1750-1980* (NatWest Bank, 1980), p. 7.

³⁵⁶ National Provincial Bank Ltd: *A Brief History*, NatWest Group.

³⁵⁷ Geoffrey Jones, *British Multinational Banking, 1830-1990* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 140-141.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁹ J. A. S. L. Leighton-Boyce, *Smiths the Bankers, 1658-1958* (London: National Provincial Bank, 1958), p. 1.

transatlantic slave economy and it was from this bank that NPB grew substantially, absorbing its long-established branches.

Smiths Bank was founded in Nottingham by Thomas Smith I (1631-1699) in 1658.³⁶⁰ Prior to its establishment, he laboured as a mercer selling a miscellany of goods.³⁶¹ Challenges arose with the settlement of commercial transactions for the purchase and sale of these items. This combined with Nottingham's position on the River Trent, which made it an increasing locus for communications, "suited it to become a commercial and financial centre for a wide area of the North Midlands."³⁶² Smith's sensing of the importance of pecuniary management and the opportunity to expand his business in the emerging economic landscape are two key stimuli underpinning his idea to found a bank.³⁶³ He "appears to have been the only English provincial banker in the seventeenth century,"³⁶⁴ which resulted in his firm emerging as one of the region's leading financial businesses and, later on, its prominence as the oldest provincial bank in England.

Not much is known about the bank's operation during its first 100 years of existence.³⁶⁵ It is clear that it became a major family concern, with successive generations of the Smiths taking over its management. The bank fell under the administration of Thomas Smith II (1682-1727) after his father, Thomas Smith I (d. 1699) – the founder of the bank – died in 1699.³⁶⁶ It continued to operate under the management of Samuel Smith (d. 1751) and Abel Smith I (d. 1757), the younger brothers of Thomas Smith II who died in 1727. By this time the bank was known as Samuel Smith and Abel Smith.³⁶⁷ Two of Abel I's sons – George (1714-1769) and Abel II (1717-1788) – had joined the business as partners by 1746 with the firm's name evolving to Samuel and Abel Smith & Co.³⁶⁸ Abel Smith II developed the bank significantly after his father's death in 1757, and established branches in London in 1758, Lincoln in 1775, and Hull in 1784. This considerable growth expanded the firm's dominance and laid "the foundations for the sound and prosperous group of banks which his descendants were to develop in the... first half of the nineteenth century."³⁶⁹ The branch founded in London was created via a partnership between Abel Smith II and John Payne (1708-1764), who formed Smith & Payne.³⁷⁰ John's brother, Edward (1716-1794) served as a director of the Bank of England between 1756 and 1794,³⁷¹ and was also appointed its governor from 1771-1772.³⁷² His powerful position in the national banking sector was one of the critical considerations which

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2, 15; Leighton-Boyce notes that the term *mercier* was "in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries... used in a less specialised sense, and was applied to a dealer in a wide range of merchandise." p. 8.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

³⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 15; For a slightly alternative narrative concerning Thomas Smith I's founding of the bank see: J. Scot. Henderson, 'Bank Panics and Runs', *Time*, Vol. 2 (Feb., 1880), pp. 628-629.

³⁶⁴ R. D. Richards, *The Early History of Banking in England* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), p. 41.

³⁶⁵ Leighton-Boyce, *Smiths the Bankers*, p. 17.

³⁶⁶ Harry Tucker Easton, *The History of a Banking House: Smith, Payne and Smiths* (London: Blades, East & Blades, 1903), p. 39.

³⁶⁷ Leighton-Boyce, *Smiths the Bankers*, pp. 17-18.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 67-69, 71.

³⁷¹ Bank of England, *The Bank of England: A History* (London: Bank of England, 1970), p. 199.

³⁷² Joseph Hume Francis, *History of the Bank of England: A Comprehensive Account of its Origin, Foundation, Rise, Progress, Times and Traditions, Manner of Conducting Business, its Officers and Offices and a Full History of the Bank, and its Entire Working and Management* (Euclid Publishing Company, 1888), p. 176; Bank of England, *Past Governors of the Bank of England*, [<https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/about/people/governors>], accessed 18 Jun, 2021).

influenced Abel II to partner with the Paynes to fulfil his aspiration of establishing a branch of Smiths bank in the capital city.³⁷³

Amongst Smiths Bank's customers during the latter half of the 18th and early-19th centuries were a number of families and individuals with ties to the transatlantic slave economy. These included the dukes of Newcastle and Portland, John Morley (the founder of I. & R. Morley),³⁷⁴ John Roebuck & Son,³⁷⁵ Jedediah Strutt & Sons,³⁷⁶ Richard Arkwright,³⁷⁷ Edward Charles Cavendish-Bentinck, Rene Payne and Edward Payne.³⁷⁸ The 1st Duke of Portland and members of his extended family have a well-documented history of owning enslaved African people and political administration of the British West Indian colonies during the period when slavery was legal there, with a substantial proportion of their income deriving from elite governing offices.³⁷⁹ It is probable that some of the credit extended to the Portlands by Smiths Bank was paid back with money gained from their colonial political salaries. This is an example of how revenue from the ownership of enslaved Africans and salaries from the political administration of Britain's Caribbean colonies entered the bank's coffers.

A more complicated instance, but one of equal significance, is that of John Roebuck & Sons who were amongst Smiths Bank's most important customers during the middle of the 18th century.³⁸⁰ John Roebuck (1718-1794) emerged as one of Scotland's leading industrial magnates after establishing the Carron Company ironworks at Carron, Stirlingshire, in 1759.³⁸¹ Smiths loaned Roebuck capital for this enterprise, who, in 1767, subsequently invested some of the money in the development of James Watt's steam engine in return for a 66 per cent share in the invention, whilst also settling Watt's outstanding debt of £1,000.³⁸² Prominent for the improvements he made to Thomas Newcomen's 1712 steam engine, Watt is less well-known for the sale of his engines to West Indian 'slave-owners' such as Simon Taylor, George Hay Dawkins-Pennant, James Colyear Dawkins, Henry Fitzherbert, George Cornewall, and James Wildman in the early-1800s.³⁸³ The capital Smiths

³⁷³ Leighton-Boyce, *Smiths the Bankers*, p. 69.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 38-39, 49.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 43; The Watt family had long established connections with the transatlantic slave economy dating back to the early-1730s. Stephen Mullen notes that "James Watt senior and his sons were at the centre of an Atlantic world trading network in Greenock and Glasgow that involved the trade in enslaved people." For more information see: Stephen Mullen, *The Rise of James Watt: Enlightenment, Commerce, and Industry in a British Atlantic Merchant City, 1736-74*, In: Caroline Archer-Parré and Malcolm Dick (eds), *James Watt, 1736-1819: Culture, Innovation and Enlightenment* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2020), pp. 39-60.

³⁷⁶ NWGA SSD/69/7-13, *Account of Balances of Samuel Smith Esqr & Co of Derby, 1811-1832*; Leighton-Boyce, *Smiths the Bankers*, p. 63.

³⁷⁷ NWGA SSD/69/7-13, *Account of Balances of Samuel Smith Esqr & Co of Derby, 1811-1832*.

³⁷⁸ NWGA SPS/303, *List of Discounts Outstanding and Customer Balances of Smith, Payne & Smiths, 1798* – Richard Arkwright, Edward Charles Cavendish-Bentinck, Rene Payne, and Edward Payne are all listed as customers of Smith, Payne & Smiths Bank in 1798.

³⁷⁹ Haggerty and Seymour, 'Imperial Careering and Enslavement in the Long Eighteenth Century', pp. 642-662.

³⁸⁰ Leighton-Boyce, *Smiths the Bankers*, p. 42.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*

³⁸² *Ibid.*; Samuel Smiles, *Lives of the Engineers – The Steam Engine: Boulton and Watt* (London: John Murray, 1874), p. 93; Watt is less well known for his colonial exploits as a Glasgow-based agent for his father's Atlantic enterprise from 1753 onwards. This involved the importation and sale of enslaved Africans in 18th century Scotland and intermittently trading produce they grew. For more information see: Mullen, *The Rise of James Watt*, pp. 45, 47.

³⁸³ Veront Satchell, *Sugar, Slavery, and Technological Change: Jamaica, 1760-1830* (Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller GmbH & Co., 2010), pp. 150, 160, 162, 163; Birmingham Archives (BA) MS 3147/5/888, W. G. & S. Hibbert and Beeston Long, Jamaica, 1815, *Boulton and Watt Collection*; Susanne Seymour, Stephen Daniels and Charles Watkins, 'Estate and Empire: Sir George Cornewall's Management of Moccas, Herefordshire and La Taste, Grenada, 1771-1819', *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (Jul., 1998), pp. 334-336.

Bank lent to John Roebuck coincides with the period he invested money in James Watt's development of the steam engine, which Watt later sold to British planters in the Caribbean – Smiths capital is, therefore, likely to have been used to partially finance technological developments that eventually mechanised the West Indian plantation economy. Another example is the Strutts who, in the late-1700s and early-1800s spun raw cotton sourced from plantations in the Americas where it was cultivated and cleaned by enslaved Africans.³⁸⁴ The "Strutts were by far the bank's most important account... during the years 1819-1822. Their overdraft in December 1819 amounted to over £25,000, more than one-third of the bank's total advances to its customers at the time, and was still £14,000 a year later."³⁸⁵ It was the revenue generated from the sale of the Strutts' yarn, heavily comprised of cotton picked by enslaved African people, that was used to repay the credit extended to them by Smiths Bank. These examples demonstrate the complicated connections and opaque ways in which some of Smiths' money circulated amongst various individuals and businesses linked to the transatlantic slave economy, which later returned to the bank (in the form of repayments) tainted by slavery, that enriched and supported its operation and expansion.

Smiths Bank became more closely linked to the slavery business through its partnership with the Paynes (Edward and Rene) who established Edward and Rene Payne & Co – a West Indian Merchant house – and "reportedly purchased a coffee plantation in St Paul's Dominica in 1776."³⁸⁶ The Paynes were also involved with properties in Grenada, had an interest in "cargo" of 313 enslaved African people transported on a vessel named the *Marlborough* between 1772 and 1773,³⁸⁷ and extended credit to merchants (Miller & Sinclair, William and Thomas Monteath, and Thomas Hibbert Junior) who possessed property in Jamaica.³⁸⁸ Edward and Rene Payne & Co were also the recipients of 434 hogsheads of tobacco shipped to England from the Upper James River in Virginia in 1774.³⁸⁹ Tobacco was the premier staple of Virginian agriculture which grew from its planting during the earliest days of British colonisation. Increasingly cultivated by enslaved African people between the 17th and 19th centuries, it is highly likely that the leaf received by Edward and Rene Payne was farmed under this form of servitude and sold on with the intent of making a profit. This is yet another way that the Paynes were connected to the transatlantic slave economy and how their partnership indirectly linked the Smith bankers to the slavery business.

Furthermore, Smith, Payne & Smiths, the London-based branch of Smiths Bank, became the owners of at least three Jamaican estates by the final decade of the 18th century.³⁹⁰ These were Farm, Cow Park, and Halfway Tree, covering 750, 470 and 230 acres, respectively.³⁹¹ Attached to the properties

³⁸⁴ Seymour, Jones and Feuer-Cotter, *The Global Connections of Cotton in the Derwent Valley Mills*, pp. 150-170.

³⁸⁵ Leighton-Boyce, *Smiths the Bankers*, p. 258; Leighton-Boyce notes the Strutts as having an overdraft of £25,000 with Smiths Bank in December 1819, however, the bank's Derbyshire customer account only appears to show the Strutts as being overdrawn by £2,545 in December of the same year – See: NWGA SSD/69/7-13, *Account of Balances of Smiths of Derby, 1819*.

³⁸⁶ 'Edward Payne, ????-1794', *LBS*, [<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146661671>, accessed 21 Jul, 2021].

³⁸⁷ NWGA SPS/9/4, *Edward & Rene Payne Esqrs as Guarantees & Half Concerned in the Marlborough Cargo of Negroes*.

³⁸⁸ 'Edward Payne, ????-1794', *LBS* – LBS obtained this from the following report which is now unavailable online: RBS/Citizens Financial Group, Inc. *Historical Research Report: Predecessor Institutions Research Regarding Slavery and the Slave Trade* (first published 25 May, 2006; updated May 29, 2009), p. 7.

³⁸⁹ Robert Polk Thomson, 'The Tobacco Export of the Upper James River Naval District, 1773-1775', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (Jul., 1961), p. 405.

³⁹⁰ Farm Pen, St. Catherine, Jamaica, *LBS*, [<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/1482>, accessed 4 Feb, 2021].

³⁹¹ *Conveyance of Two Thirds of the Farm Plantation: Samuel Smith Esq and others to The Right Honourable Lord Carrington*, 20 Aug, 1798 (Washington: Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture), [https://nmaahc.si.edu/object/nmaahc_2010.1.317a-g, accessed 3 Feb, 2021].

were a total of 237 enslaved people including Priscilla who worked in the ‘small gang’, Duke who was a watchman, Nelly an invalid, Hannah who was a child too young to work, along with Boston, Cyrus and Sukey, who all sought their freedom from slavery by running away (see Appendix 2).³⁹² It is not entirely clear how the estates and enslaved people were acquired by Smith, Payne & Smiths. This may have occurred through a foreclosure on, and subsequent repossession of, the properties sometime between 1789 and 1791, when their previous owners were unable to service their debts owed to the bank. The Farm and Halfway Tree, for example, which were the property of Sir Charles Price (1732-1788), 2nd Baronet, in 1777, were encumbered with heavy debts that he inherited from his father.³⁹³ This was compounded by his extensive borrowing (between 1776 and 1782) against a number of other properties bequeathed to him. Gayle, Burtons, Mickleton, Wallins, Spanish Town, Goshen, Amity Hall, Plantain Walk, Rose Hall, Shenton, New Works, Decoy and three unnamed estates, their enslaved labourers and future agricultural produce were all committed by Price as collateral to his creditors.³⁹⁴ By 1786, his indebtedness amounted to almost £300,000.³⁹⁵ Unable to repay his mounting arrears, most of Price’s properties were sold off, one by one, during and after the final years of his life.³⁹⁶ It was around this time (1789-1791) that Smith, Payne & Smiths acquired the Farm estate, presumably as Price’s mortgagees.³⁹⁷ This scenario of banks repossessing plantations, pens and enslaved people was not uncommon and occurred throughout the period of transatlantic slavery,³⁹⁸ particularly after the American War of Independence which sent devastating economic shockwaves through the British Caribbean plantation economy.³⁹⁹

Some creditors auctioned off their repossessions, whilst others chose to maintain them, therefore becoming the owners of enslaved Africans. Smith, Payne & Smiths bank held onto some of the properties they acquired and in 1798 Robert Smith (1752-1838), Lord Carrington, paid £19,117 to banking partners Samuel Smith III (1754-1834), René Payne, George Smith II (1765-1836) and John Smith II (1767-1842) for a 66 per cent share in Farm Pen, Halfway Tree and Cow Park. Robert became the largest shareholder in these three estates, with Samuel and René owning smaller portions.⁴⁰⁰ Smith, Payne & Smiths banking partnership was dissolved the year after, in 1799,⁴⁰¹ but retained its established trading name. Robert subsequently acquired majority ownership over the three Jamaican properties. He maintained this interest for the remainder of British West Indian slavery, leasing the estates in some years (e.g., 1823) for 2,000 guineas per annum (equivalent to at

³⁹² *Ibid.*

³⁹³ Michael Craton and James Walvin, *A Jamaican Plantation: The History of Worthy Park, 1670-1970* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1970), pp. 156-158.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 158-160, 180.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 160-161.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

³⁹⁷ Farm Pen, St. Catherine, Jamaica, *LBS*.

³⁹⁸ Katie Donington, *The Benevolent Merchant? George Hibbert (1757-1837) and the Representation of a West Indian Mercantile Identity*, Unpublished PhD Thesis (London: University College London, 2013), p. 60; S. D. Smith, *Slavery, Family and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles, 1648-1834* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 190, 221.

³⁹⁹ Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, pp. 121, 123; Selwyn H. H. Carrington, ‘British West Indian Economic Decline and Abolition, 1775-1807: Revisiting Econocide’, *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, Vol. 14, No.27 (1989), pp. 38, 45, 47; Selwyn H. H. Carrington, *The Sugar Industry and the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1775-1810* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), p. 99; David Beck Ryden, *West Indian Slavery and British Abolition, 1783-1807* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 221-222 – Ryden’s examination of plantation building in Jamaica between 1750 and 1800 showed that their construction stalled and value declined as sugar production diminished during in the lead up to and during the American War of Independence (1775-1783).

⁴⁰⁰ *Conveyance of Two Thirds of the Farm Plantation*.

⁴⁰¹ Leighton-Boyce, *Smiths the Bankers*, pp. 53-54.

least £195,000 in 2020 – RPI).⁴⁰² This demonstrates the considerable sums that he was able to make from the labour of enslaved African people during the early-19th century. When slavery in the British West Indies was legally abolished in 1833, Robert Smith was awarded £4,900 (equivalent to at least £475,000 in 2020 – RPI) as compensation for the 268 people enslaved upon Farm Pen (see Appendix 3).⁴⁰³ His nephew and banking partner, George Robert Smith (1793-1869) represented Smith, Payne & Smiths bank and received a share of £19,229 (equivalent to at least £1.85 million in 2020 – RPI) as compensation for the proportional interest he and the bank held in the 527 people enslaved upon four properties across the Caribbean (Plantation Friends in British Guiana; Holland Estate in Jamaica; Estridges and Estridges Bramble Estate in St. Kitts).⁴⁰⁴ How George became involved in all four is not entirely understood. What is clear, however, is that in 1826, the late Peter Campbell Senior owed £67,279 to his creditors, which was partially secured by way of a £40,000 mortgage on his two Jamaican plantations (Fish River and Petersville). He was also the owner of the Holland estate which was located on the island. Campbell’s agents at the time were Milligan, Robertson & Co, who had borrowed the money, but later filed for bankruptcy as they were unable to repay it. Liability for the debt was subsequently taken on by Messrs John Gladstone & Aneas Barkly who “accepted [the sum] in favor of Milligan, Robertson & Co.”⁴⁰⁵ The mortgage comprised capital lent by a number of organisations and individuals including Smith, Payne & Smiths (£10,000), John Gladstone (£5,000), Divie Robertson (£5,000) and several others (£20,000).⁴⁰⁶ The £20,000 owed to the other lenders (Sir Charles Forbes, James Baillie, Mr Robley) was later taken by John Gladstone.⁴⁰⁷

With Campbell’s estate unable to repay the sum and his agents, Milligan, Robertson & Co, bankrupt, John Gladstone, Divie Robertson and George Robert Smith (who took responsibility on behalf of Smith, Payne & Smiths bank) entered into an agreement, in the late 1820s, whereby they sought to recoup their credit from sales of the annual produce from the estates.⁴⁰⁸ The agreement specified that George Smith was “entitled to 3 eighth parts of the crops and produce of the said Holland Plantation up to and including the 30th day of Sept last [c. 1835...] and paying the like proportion of the cost of management and cultivation of the said plantation.”⁴⁰⁹ Gladstone wrote to Smith, Payne & Smiths on several occasions in 1829 informing them that its “323 slaves (154 males & 169 females)... are a very inefficient gang of people.”⁴¹⁰ He stated that this had resulted in inadequate crop output at Holland and that the only way it could be improved was to purchase a further 118 enslaved people for £4,000.⁴¹¹ Smith, Payne & Smiths agreed to advance £1,500 of this sum, whilst

⁴⁰² HoC, Report from Select Committee on the Extinction of Slavery Throughout the British Dominions: With Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index, 1832, *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers Online* (London: House of Commons, 1832), pp. 474-475; Guineas converted to pound sterling, then pound sterling converted to 2020 equivalency using *Measuring Worth’s* Retail Price Index (RPI) – [<https://www.measuringworth.com>].

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁴ ‘George Robert Smith, 1793-1869’, *LBS*, [<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/8581>], accessed 23 Jun, 2021].

⁴⁰⁵ NWGA SPS/252/62, *Letter from Freshfield & Son on Milligan’s Security to Messrs Smith, Payne & Smiths*, 23 Mar, 1826.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁷ NWGA SPS/252/56, *Messrs Smith, Payne & Smiths and John Gladstone Esqr, Contract for Sale of their Interest in Holland Estate*, 1836, p. 4.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁴¹⁰ NWGA SPS/252/293, *Copy Letter from John Gladstone/James MacDonald*, 29 Jul, 1829, p. 1.

⁴¹¹ NWGA SPS/252/19, *Gladstone’s Proposal to Purchase Slaves on his Own Account for Holland & Petersville*, 2 Nov, 1829; NWGA SPS/252/18, *Letter to Messrs Smith, Payne & Smith Bankers, London, From John Gladstone*, 6 May, 1830, pp. 2-3; NWGA SPS/252/17, *John Gladstone Advice on Purchase of 118 Negroes for Holland Estate*, 14 Sep, 1830.

Gladstone paid £2,000 and Robertson £500.⁴¹² Partially owned by the three men, the gang of enslaved Africans were set to work on Holland Estate, although it is not known if they recouped the money owed to them (see Appendix 4). George Robert Smith received £778 (equivalent to £74,900 in 2020 – RPI) on behalf of Smiths, Payne & Smiths in 1836 as compensation for the bank's share in the African people it owned who were enslaved upon the Holland estate.⁴¹³

Smiths, Payne & Smiths also held an interest in Friends plantations located in British Guiana. The property was originally owned by William Forsyth (1789-1856) who became heavily indebted to Nathaniel Winter & Co – a West Indian merchant house. Forsyth advanced a claim for compensation but Winter & Co counter-claimed, hoping to regain some of the money Forsyth owed them. The situation became more complicated when Smith, Payne & Smiths subsequently issued a counter-counter-claimed against Winter & Co, presumably because they were in debt to the bank. Their suit was successful and George Robert Smith (who represented the bank) received a further £14,689 in 1836 (equivalent to at least £1.4 million in 2020 – RPI) for the 272 African people who were enslaved upon the property.⁴¹⁴

Finally, John Beadnell (d. 1851) and James William Freshfield (1775-1864), attorneys and trustees of Smith, Payne & Smiths, were awarded £5,899 (equivalent to £568,000 in 2020 – RPI) as compensation for a total of 215 people enslaved upon the Cunynghams and Brechin Castle estate, in St. Kitts and Trinidad respectively.⁴¹⁵

It is clear that Smiths Bank was heavily involved in the transatlantic slave economy as creditors to, and commercial partners with, West Indian merchant houses who represented the interests of various 'slave-owners'. They earned interest on the capital extended to industrialists, some of whom created their profits by spinning thread or manufacturing garments made from cotton cultivated by enslaved Africans, whilst others like John Roebuck likely used Smiths' money to invest in the development of James Watt's steam engine, which Watt later sold to wealthy West Indian planters. Furthermore, through the process of foreclosure, Smiths Bank and its partners became 'slave-owners' themselves. Attempting to recoup the extensive sums of loaned capital, Smiths Bank (inclusive of individual family bank members such as Robert Smith) and their legal representatives appear in the compensation records as awardees and co-awardees for a total of 1,170 enslaved African people held in captivity on seven properties located across the Caribbean. The total amount of money awarded to Smiths Bank (including that of their legal associates) as compensation was £28,731 (equivalent to £2.77 million in 2020 – RPI).

It should be noted that the geographic locations out of which Smiths Bank operated connected it with the transatlantic slave economy in different ways. Its provincial branches were primarily connected through the extension of capital to industrialists concerned with the manufacture of textiles produced from cotton picked by enslaved Africans; whilst its London based partnership, known as Smith, Payne & Smiths was directly involved in the ownership of enslaved African people and the financing of West Indian merchant houses.

⁴¹² NWGA SPS/252/19, *Gladstone's Proposal to Purchase Slaves*; NWGA SPS/252/18, *Letter to Messrs Smith, Payne & Smith Bankers*, p. 3.

⁴¹³ 'George Robert Smith, 1793-1869', *LBS*.

⁴¹⁴ 'Plantation Friends in British Guiana', *LBS*, [<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/8560>, accessed 19 Jul, 2022]; Helpful notes from Ruth Reed, Archivist at NatWest Bank Archives, provided insight on SPS and their compensation claim for Plantation Friends.

⁴¹⁵ 'John Beadnell, ???-1851', *LBS*, [<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/44001>, accessed 23 Jun, 2021]; 'James William Freshfield, 1775-1864', *LBS*, [<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/41816>, accessed 23 Jun, 2021].

The final seven years of British West Indian slavery (1826-1833) and subsequent remainder of the 19th century was, for Smiths Bank, a period “of substantial expansion.”⁴¹⁶ This growth was characterised by the acquisition of small private banks and the creation of new branches, particularly in Nottinghamshire where services opened in Ilkeston, Long Eaton, Basford, Bulwell, Meadow Lane, Southwell, Hucknall Torkard, Sutton-in-Ashfield, Shirebrook, and Pinxton.⁴¹⁷ However, as the 20th century dawned, Smiths Bank found itself struggling to keep pace with the rapidly developing banking sector and, in 1902, sold the firm to the Union Bank, which altered its name to The Union of London & Smiths Bank, Ltd.⁴¹⁸ Union’s acquisition of Smiths Bank saw its number of branches rise from 22 (all in the London area) to 52 (30 of which were originally Smiths), greatly expanding its geographic coverage across the country and making it “the eighth largest bank in England.”⁴¹⁹ It also benefitted greatly from the established and prestigious name of Smiths and absorbed some of its most affluent clientele. Its governor succinctly summed up the advantages of amalgamating with Smiths by saying “we shall have an increased sphere of activity, a broader basis, a larger working capital, a more numerous and influential circle of friends and supporters with the most important connections.”⁴²⁰ The working partnerships with West Indian merchant houses such as Edward and Rene Payne & Co, networks made through extensive lending to individuals and businesses engaged in various arms of the slavery business, and the revenue generated from this economy, facilitated the development of Smiths Bank, which benefitted the Union Bank after they merged.

The Union of London and Smiths Bank operated for 16 years before it was acquired by the National Provincial Bank to form the National Provincial and Union Bank of England, Ltd, in 1918. Its title was officially shortened to the National Provincial Bank (NPB) in 1924.⁴²¹ NPB was significantly augmented by this conglomeration, taking on the previous bank branches founded under the Smiths’ name, benefitting from its prestigious national reputation, and capitalising on the powerful foundation it had built as highlighted by the governor of the Union Bank. At the same time, NPB inherited the exploitative history that tied Smiths Bank to the British transatlantic slave economy along with the material wealth, and social and reputational capital (bank branches, business connections, and status) which were all partially financed and developed during this period of history (c. 1770s-1833). This was compounded by NPB’s own historic nexus with the slavery business, having grown throughout the 19th century by swallowing up several other banks with ties to this era and being directed by several partners who claimed financial compensation for the enslaved African people they owned in the 1830s. Slavery played an important role in the development and prosperity of NPB and the banks it absorbed, facilitating its capacity to make two considerable donations, one to UCN in 1928 and the other to UoN in 1949.

⁴¹⁶ Leighton-Boyce, *Smiths the Bankers*, p. 280.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 280; See *Ibid.*, pp. 280-282 for a fuller list of Smiths Bank branches that opened between 1826 and 1902.

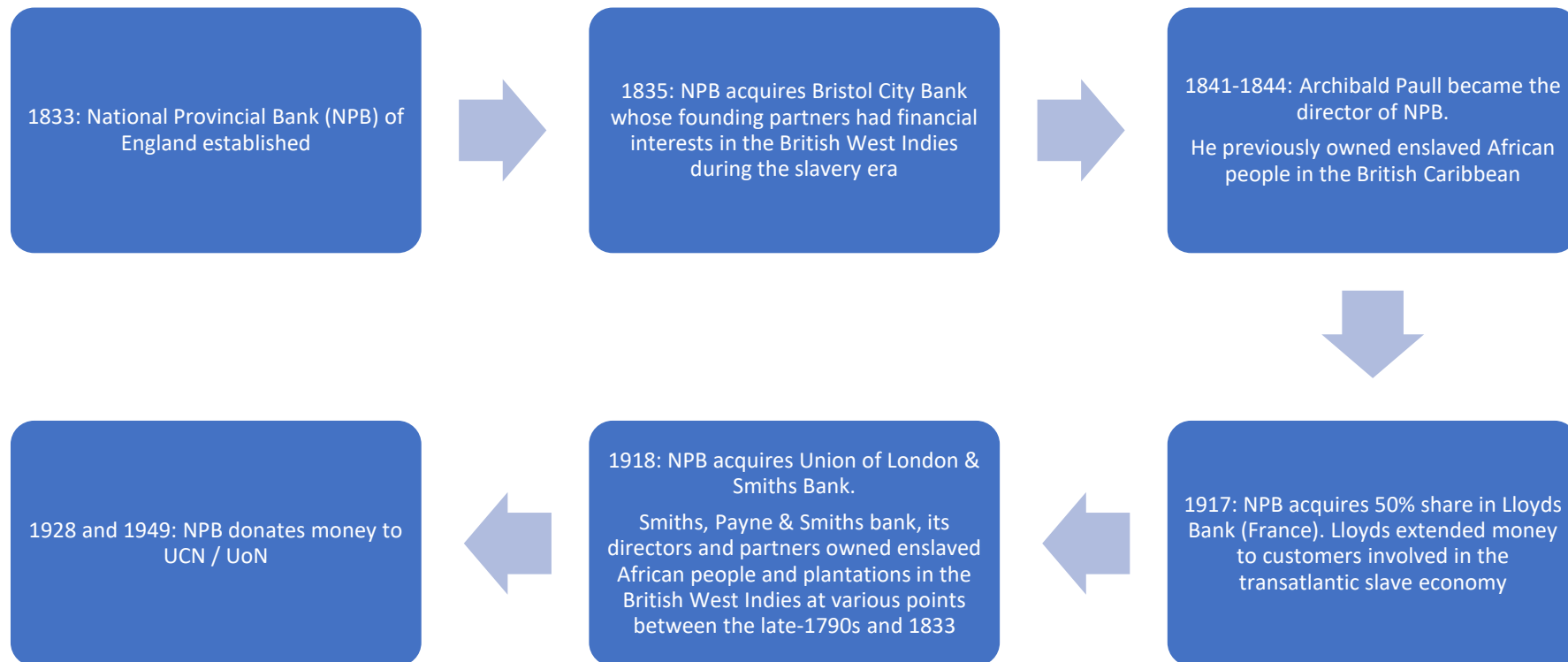
⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 301-302.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 300, 302; Withers places the number of Union Banks at 24 before its amalgamation with Smiths and at 53 subsequently – Withers, *National Provincial Bank*, pp. 78-79.

⁴²⁰ Withers, *National Provincial Bank*, p. 77.

⁴²¹ Leighton-Boyce, *Smiths the Bankers*, p. 305.

Diagram 8: Links between the Transatlantic Slave Economy, National Provincial Bank, and Nottingham's Universities



Barclays, Lloyds, and Midland Banks

Benefactor and Connection to UCN/UoN

Barclays, Lloyds and Midland (now HSBC UK) are three of Britain's most prominent high street banks. The first two have fairly well-known connections to Britain's transatlantic slave economy, whilst the latter's link is less prominent. Both Barclays and Lloyds Banks gifted £105 to UCN's 1928 endowment appeal and each gave a further £1,000 to UoN when it launched its second campaign for funding in 1949. These gifts were matched almost pound-for-pound by Midland Bank which donated £100 in 1928 and £1,000 in 1949 (see Table 7).⁴²²

Table 7: Donations made to UCN and UoN by Barclays, Lloyds and Midland Banks, 1928 and 1949

Year	Donor	Donation	Historic Value	Contemporary Donation Value		
				RPI (2020)	WIG (2020)	ROW (2020)
1928	Barclays	Money	£105	£6,470	£19,100	£48,600
1928	Lloyds	Money	£105	£6,470	£19,100	£48,600
1928	Midland	Money	£100	£6,160	£18,200	£46,300
1949	Barclays	Money	£1,000	£36,100	£93,800	£174,000
1949	Lloyds	Money	£1,000	£36,100	£93,800	£174,000
1949	Midland	Money	£1,000	£36,100	£93,800	£174,000
Total				£127,400	£337,800	£665,500
Donation as % of Total Value of Private Gifts Awarded to UCN/UoN between 1875-1960				0.2%	0.2%	0.2%

Biography, Slavery Connection and Source of Wealth

British banks played an important role in financing different aspects of the nation's transatlantic slave economy. They provided capital to a range of sectors which profited from the trading of enslaved African people (metallurgy, ship building, glass, jewellery);⁴²³ West Indian merchant houses who used this borrowed money to purchase plantation supplies for the owners of enslaved Africans; and industrialists who employed the banks' capital to finance their processing and manufacture of cash crops (e.g., cotton, tobacco, sugar) imported from the Americas where they were cultivated by enslaved African people. In some cases, banks became the direct owners of plantations and their captive African populations, taking possession of these when loanees were unable to make the necessary repayments. They earned interest on the credit they extended to those engaged in the transatlantic slave economy, which was repaid by their clients with an incalculable proportion of the revenue generated from their exploitative association to the transatlantic slave economy.

Barclays Bank

The origins of Barclays Bank can be traced back to 1690 when John Freame (c.1664-1745), a Quaker, and Thomas Gould (d. 1728), began trading as goldsmith bankers in Lombard Street, London.⁴²⁴

⁴²² UNMSC UCN/A/4/ UR 911/12, University Endowment Fund: List of Donations, 30 Jun, 1928; The University of Nottingham Endowment Appeal Fund: First List of Subscriptions, *Derby Evening Telegraph*, 11 Aug, 1949, p. 2.

⁴²³ Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, pp. 57-59, 81-84.

⁴²⁴ Philip W. Matthews, *History of Barclays Bank Limited: And the Many Private and Joint Stock Banks Amalgamated and Affiliated With It* (London: Blades, East & Blades Ltd, 1926), p. 33; Barclays Bank, *Our History*, [<https://home.barclays/who-we-are/our-history/>], accessed 29 Oct, 2021]; John Orbell and Alison Turton, *British Banking: A Guide to Historical Records* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), p. 83.

Officially trading under the name, Freame & Gould by 1698, their business thrived off of Freame’s connections by providing credit to “Quaker traders in the new colonies in America and the Caribbean.”⁴²⁵ James Barclay (1708-1766), who became John Freame’s son-in-law after marrying his daughter Sarah (1708-1769), entered the partnership in 1736 shortly after Thomas Gould’s death, effectively replacing him. John Freame’s son, Joseph (1701-1766), also joined in 1736, succeeding his father which resulted in evolution of the banking house’s name to Freame and Barclay.⁴²⁶ John Freame junior, the son of Joseph Freame, joined the partnership in 1759 which then became known as Freame, Barclay & Freame up until James’ death in 1766.⁴²⁷ Immediately thereafter, the bank’s title was restyled Freame, Smith & Benning, before being joined by Silvanus Bevan III (1743-1830) the following year.⁴²⁸ By 1776, the bank’s name had changed, yet again, this time to Barclay, Bevan & Benning, after the death of several key partners including Joseph Freame,⁴²⁹ and being joined by David Barclay (1729-1809) – the younger half-brother of James Barclay (d. 1766). David was known for being a religious anti-slavery political activist and struggled to reconcile the fact that “his bank had close links to the West India trade and financed plantation mortgages.”⁴³⁰ He and John (1726-1787), his brother, “were mortgagees of an estate called Vaucluse and the enslaved people attached to it on Barbados c.1780.”⁴³¹ Around 1785, they took control of Unity Valley cattle pen in St. Ann’s, Jamaica, due to the unpaid arrears of William Harvie.⁴³² David Barclay took full possession of the estate after the death of John, in 1787. Eight years later, he sent his agent, William Holden, to Jamaica with instructions to free the people enslaved upon the property and to relocate them to Philadelphia “where they would be delivered into the care of the Society for Improving the Condition of Free Blacks, run by Quaker acquaintances.”⁴³³ Unity Valley Pen was subsequently sold for £5,500 (equivalent to £581,000 in 2020 – RPI), with the cost of those formerly enslaved Africans’ removal to Philadelphia valued at approximately £500 (£52,800 in 2020 – RPI).⁴³⁴ The individuals relocated to the United States were: London (aged 42), Sabina (40), Clarissa (35), Bathsheba (35), Mintas (34), John (32), Patience (32), Amelia (28), Kingston (23), Simon (25), Dido (24), Nancy (26), Nanny (24), Bacchus (23), Phillis (22), Juba (14), Prince (14), Charles (14), Yawo alias David Barclay (14), Toby (12), Wiltshire (11), Sancho (10), Mingo (10), October alias Robert Barclay (8), Quashie alias George Barclay (7), Caesar (6), Charlotte (5), Sukey alias Susannah (4) – (see Appendix 5 for more information).⁴³⁵

Barclay, Bevan & Benning were joined by J. H. Tritton, in 1783, with the bank’s trading title evolving to Barclays, Tritton, Bevan & Co in 1785.⁴³⁶ Three years later, the London-based branch of this banking house began acting as agents for Benjamin Heywood (c. 1722-1795) and his two sons, Benjamin Arthur (1755-1828) and Nathaniel Haywood (1759-1815), who founded a branch of Heywood’s Bank in Manchester known as Benjamin Heywood, Sons & Co.⁴³⁷ The Heywood family

⁴²⁵ Barclays Bank, *Our History*; Orbell and Turton, *British Banking*, p. 83.

⁴²⁶ Matthews, *History of Barclays Bank Limited*, p. 34.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 37; Orbell and Turton, *British Banking*, p. 83; P. G. M. Dickinson, ‘David Barclay, 1682-1769’, *ODNB*, [<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/37149>, accessed 29 Oct, 2021].

⁴²⁸ Matthews, *History of Barclays Bank Limited*, p. 37; Orbell and Turton, *British Banking*, p. 83.

⁴²⁹ Matthews, *History of Barclays Bank Limited*, p. 38; Orbell and Turton, *British Banking*, p. 83.

⁴³⁰ ‘David Barclay, 1729-1809’, *LBS*, [<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146643749>, accessed 29 Oct, 2021].

⁴³¹ ‘David Barclay, 1729-1809’, *LBS*.

⁴³² ‘Unity Valley Pen’, *LBS*, [<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/1597>, accessed 29 Oct, 2021].

⁴³³ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁴ David Barclay, *An Account of the Emancipation of the Slaves of Unity Pen, In Jamaica* (London: William Phillips, 1801), p. 18; ‘David Barclay, 1729-1809’, *LBS*.

⁴³⁵ Barclay, *An Account of the Emancipation of the Slaves of Unity Pen*, p. 10.

⁴³⁶ Orbell and Turton, *British Banking*, p. 83.

⁴³⁷ Heywood Brothers & Co, *NatWest Group*, [<https://www.natwestgroup.com/heritage/companies/heywood-brothers-and-co.html>, accessed 29 Oct, 2021].

were deeply involved in the slavery business and owned a fleet of ships which assisted them in undertaking 140 slaving voyages between 1745 and 1789.⁴³⁸ The proceeds from these ventures were used to establish their first bank in Liverpool, which operated under the name Arthur Heywood, Sons & Company, in 1773.⁴³⁹ It was acquired by the Bank of Liverpool Ltd in 1883. The latter bank also absorbed Martins Bank in 1918 becoming the Bank of Liverpool and Martins Ltd, before being acquired by Barclays in 1969.⁴⁴⁰ Moreover, the Heywoods were reportedly amongst the first importers of cotton grown by enslaved African people in the United States.⁴⁴¹ The Barclay–Heywood connection was a mutual attempt to expand their existing commercial banking operations, which were partially predicated upon revenue generated from their historic engagement in the slavery business.

The banking house's trading title, Barclays, Tritton, Bevan & Co, evolved to Barclay & Tritton, after Silvanus Bevan's withdrawal from the partnership in 1791.⁴⁴² Immediately after the legal abolition of slavery in the British Caribbean colonies, in 1833, the business became known as Barclays, Bevan, Tritton & Co.⁴⁴³ It subsequently absorbed and partnered with a number of other banks including Spooner, Attwood, Twells & Co (est. 1801) in 1865; Ransome, Bouverie & Co (established around 1782) in 1888; Hall, Bevan, West & Bevans (est. 1805) in 1894; and led the amalgamation of 20 banks to establish the joint stock bank of Barclay & Company Limited in 1896.⁴⁴⁴

Although the full extent of Barclays Bank's involvement in Britain's transatlantic slave economy is yet to be fully detailed, it is clear that this is a significant period of the company's past which contributed to its development and capacity to provide financial donations to UCN and UoN in 1928 and 1949, respectively.

Lloyds Bank

Lloyds Bank (initially known as Taylors & Lloyds) was established in Birmingham in 1765 by John Taylor (1711-1775) and Sampson Lloyd (1699-1779).⁴⁴⁵ It served a range of customers including firms involved in Birmingham's local iron (nails, shackles, hoes), brass (pans, kettles, wire) and gun trades.⁴⁴⁶ Some of the city's staple products were sold to ship builders who used nails for the construction of their vessels and fitted them with fetters for restraining enslaved people on the

⁴³⁸ *Slave Voyages: Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database* [<https://www.slavevoyages.org/voyage/>, accessed 30 Oct, 2021] – Vessels owned and slaving trips involving members of the Heywood family; Sally-Anne Huxtable, Corinne Fowler, Christo Kefalas, Emma Solcombe (eds), *Interim Report on the Connections Between Colonialism and Properties Now in the Care of the National Trust, Including Links with Historic Slavery* (Swindon: National Trust, 2020), [<https://nt.global.ssl.fastly.net/documents/colonialism-and-historic-slavery-report.pdf>, accessed 5 Feb, 2021], p. 50. Also see: J. E. Inikori, 'Market Structure and the Profits of the British African Trade in the Late Eighteenth Century', *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (Dec., 1981), p. 770.

⁴³⁹ Huxtable, Fowler, Kefalas, Solcombe (eds), *Interim Report on the Connections Between Colonialism and Properties Now in the Care of the National Trust*, p. 50; Morgan, *Slavery, Atlantic Trade and the British Economy*, p. 77.

⁴⁴⁰ Orbell and Turton, *British Banking*.

⁴⁴¹ Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, p. 47.

⁴⁴² Orbell and Turton, *British Banking*, p. 83.

⁴⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁴⁴⁴ Matthews, *History of Barclays Bank Limited*, pp. 1, 30; *Ibid.*, pp. 83-84.

⁴⁴⁵ T. R. Gilbert and Basil Boothroyd, *The Lloyds of Lloyds Bank – An Excursion into Family History* (London: Lloyds Bank Limited, 1951), p. 3; Jacob M. Price, 'Sampson Lloyd, 1699-1779', *ODNB*, [<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/37682>, accessed 5 Feb, 2021].

⁴⁴⁶ Lloyds Banking Group (LBG), *The History of Lloyds Bank* (London: LBG), [<https://www.lloydsbankinggroup.com/who-we-are/our-heritage/lloyds-bank.html>, accessed 5 Feb, 2021].

voyage between West Africa and the New World.⁴⁴⁷ Birmingham's products were also shipped to West Africa and exchanged for enslaved women, men and children, whilst "exports of wrought iron and nails went to the plantations."⁴⁴⁸ The full extent to which Lloyds Bank profited from its involvement in the Britain's transatlantic slave economy is unknown. It has, however, publicly acknowledged that some of its "customers included those involved in the iron trade as well as gun makers... which would have been used by slave traders."⁴⁴⁹

The bank has also stated that its archives detail "links to slavery" via a member of its provisional administrative committee and through its acquisition of approximately 50 banks, between 1865 and 1923. These procurements included the takeover of other banks that were directed/owned by individuals or financed businesses with interests in the transatlantic slave economy.⁴⁵⁰ For example, Charles Haden Adams (1800-1881) was one of 66 members of the Provisional Committee formed to establish Lloyds Banking Company when it evolved from a private partnership to a joint-stock company in 1865.⁴⁵¹ Adams was a co-claimant for, and awardee of, £74 compensation for one enslaved person on the island of Trinidad after the legal termination of slavery there in 1833.⁴⁵² Additionally, Bosanquet, Salt & Co., originally established as Bosanquet, Beachcroft & Reeves in 1780, was acquired by Lloyds Banking Company in 1884.⁴⁵³ Four of its partners – James Hughes Anderdon (1790-1879), James Whatman Bosanquet (1804-1877), Samuel Bosanquet III (1768-1843), and Charles Franks (1792-1870) – all received a share in the £5,970 compensation awarded in exchange for the liberation of 358 enslaved people held on three estates in Nevis after slavery was

⁴⁴⁷ Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, p. 81.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 82; LBG, *The History of Lloyds Bank*.

⁴⁴⁹ LBG, *The History of Lloyds Bank*.

⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid*; Acquired banks linked to the transatlantic slave economy listed on the website of Lloyds Banking Group include: **Willis, Percival & Co** (founded in 1668, it was taken over by Capital & Counties Bank in 1878, and acquired by Lloyds in 1918). The bank financed international trade, including cargoes of sugar from the West Indies in the 1780s. Customers included owners of West Indian plantations with enslaved people; **Cox & Co** (founded in London in 1758. Lloyds Bank took over it in 1923, by which time it was Cox's & King's). Customer Sir Thomas Champneys owned a plantation, including enslaved people in Jamaica. He went bankrupt and the bank foreclosed on the mortgage. It owned the plantation between about 1822 and 1854. Compensation was paid to bank partner Richard Henry Cox; **Berwick, Lechmere & Co** (formed in 1831 and was part of a business acquired by Lloyds in 1918). Two partners were mortgage holders for Virgin Island estates and received compensation; **The London & Brazilian Bank** (formed in 1862 and taken over by Lloyds Bank in 1923). The bank had connections with slavery before the institution was abolished in Brazil in 1888. This included financing coffee plantations. John White Cater, Chairman, and two directors, John Bloxham Elin and Edward Johnson received compensation; **Bland, Barnett, Hoare & Co** (founded 1728 in London, successor bank taken over by Lloyds 1884). Customers included owners of Jamaican plantations with enslaved people; **Handbury, Taylor, Lloyd & Bowman** (founded 1772, London agents to Taylors & Lloyds. Taken over by Lloyds in 1884). Partners Osgood Hanbury and Osgood Hanbury II owned a plantation in Barbados with c.100 enslaved people; **Praed & Co** (founded in London in 1802, taken over by Lloyds in 1891). Founding partner, William Praed, owned two plantations in Jamaica. He and another partner, Vere Vane, received compensation after the abolition of British West Indian slavery; **Madison, Pearce & Hankinson** (founded in 1770 in Southampton, successor bank taken over by Lloyds in 1903). Partner Robert Pearce received compensation after slavery was outlawed in the British Caribbean; and **Hammond & Co** (founded in 1788 in Kent. Successor bank taken over by Lloyds in 1918). Original partners were from the Gipps family, who owned a sugar plantation in Jamaica.

⁴⁵¹ LBG, *The History of Lloyds Bank*.

⁴⁵² 'Charles Haden Adams, 1800-1881', LBS, [<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/44653>, accessed 5 Feb, 2021].

⁴⁵³ Lloyds Banking Group Archives (LBGA), GB 386 A/13, *Bosanquet, Salt & Company Records, 1824-1884* (London: LBGA), [<https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb386-a/13>, accessed 5 Feb, 2021].

abolished in the British West Indies.⁴⁵⁴ The fortunes of slavery, reaped by these individuals helped them to maintain the operation of their respective banks, which were subsequently acquired by Lloyds. This facilitated the strengthening of its commercial position, eventually enabling it to engage in profitable ventures such as its French based bank, which existed from 1911 to 1955.

Midland Bank

Midland Bank, initially known as Birmingham and Midland Bank (BMB), was established in 1836 by Charles Geach (1808-1854) and was located on Union Street, central Birmingham.⁴⁵⁵ Ten years prior to its founding, Geach had been working as a clerk at the Bank of England (BoE) – an institution that owned 599 enslaved African people by 1788 and a national body with at least 27 former governors and early directors who also possessed enslaved labourers or had financial interests in the British West Indies during the period of slavery.⁴⁵⁶ Using the expertise Geach had gained at the Bank of England, BMB developed quickly, building a strong customer base across Birmingham and acquiring numerous other banks, which added to its size and influence. It “acquired the private banking firm of

⁴⁵⁴ ‘James Hughes Anderdon, 1790-1879’, *LBS*, [<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/43883>, accessed 5 Feb, 2021]; ‘James Whatman Bosanquet, 1804-1877’, *LBS*, [<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/46545>, accessed 5 Feb, 2021]; ‘Samuel Bosanquet III, 1768-1843’, *LBS*, [<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/25287>, accessed 5 Feb, 2021]; ‘Charles Franks, 1792-1870’, *LBS*, [<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/46544>, accessed 5 Feb, 2021].

⁴⁵⁵ Sara Kinsey, ‘Charles Geach, 1808-1854’, *ODNB*, [<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/49133>, accessed 31 Oct, 2021]; HSBC UK (Midland Bank), [<https://history.hsbc.com/collections/global-archives/hsbc-uk-midland-bank>, accessed 31 Oct, 2021].

⁴⁵⁶ *Slavery & The Bank: A Large Print Guide* (London: Bank of England, 2022), pp.40-42 – based on the archival research of Michael Anson and Michael D. Bennet, *The Collection of Slavery Compensation, 1835-43*, Staff Working Paper No. 1,006 (London: Bank of England, 2022); Bank of England former governors and directors: Daniel Giles 1795-1797 (co-mortgagee of estates in Grenada); Beeston Long 1806-1808 (mortgagee of multiple estates); Jeremiah Harman 1816-1818 (owned 409 enslaved Africans across three estates in St Kitts); John Palmer 1830-1833 (238 enslaved Africans, two estates in Grenada); Timothy Curtis 1837-1839 (206 enslaved Africans, estate in St Vincent); John Reid 1839-1841 (3,112 enslaved Africans, 17 estates in Jamaica, Virgin Islands and others); Thomson Hankey Jnr 1851-1853 (534 enslaved Africans, four estates in Grenada); Sheffield Neave 1857-1859 (West Indian merchant and son of a ‘slave-owner’); Bonamy Dobree 1859-1861 (19 enslaved Africans, two estates in British Guiana); Alfred Latham 1861-1863 (402 enslaved Africans, three estates in Jamaica, Nevis and Tobago); Benjamin Buck Greene 1873-1875 (plantation manager in St Kitts and inheritor of slave fortune); William Manning (unsuccessful claimant on Estridge estate in St Kitts); Richard Neave (mortgagee of multiple estates and owner of Sugar Loaf in Dominica between 1768 and 1814); Edward Payne (partner in Edward and Rene Payne & Co West Indian merchant house); Samuel Hibbert (mortgagee and recipient of compensation on multiple Jamaican estates); George Blackman Harnage (Owner of Boarded Hall estate in Barbados from 1803-1832); Samuel Turner II (associated with Gray’s estate in Antigua); Ebenezer Maitland (mortgagee of Amity Hall plantation, Jamaica, in 1797); Thomas Boddington (mortgage holder for several West Indian estates between 1760 and 1798); William Snell (mortgage holder and owner of several estates during the late-1700s); Peter Isaac Thellusson (possible owner of Fournilliers Bacolet estate in Grenada between 1817 and 1820); John Pearse (recipient of compensation for Spooners and Priddies Mornes estates in St Kitts); Nathaniel Bogle (partner in Bogle French West Indian merchant house); Henry Davidson (mortgage holder and owner of estates across the British West Indies between 1799 and 1827); Thomas Neave (mortgagee, trustee and recipient of compensation on several estates across the British West Indies); Thomas Baring (mortgagee of at least 8 estates in British Guiana in 1834); Benjamin Hopkins (recipient of annuities secured on an estate and enslaved people in St. Vincent in the 1700s) – ‘Bank of England’, *LBS*, [<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/firm/view/1116227371>, accessed 31 Oct, 2021]; For more information see: Jasper Jolly, ‘Bank of England Apologises for Role of Former Directors in Slave Trade’, *The Guardian*, [<https://www.theguardian.com/business/2020/jun/18/bank-of-england-apologises-for-role-of-former-directors-in-slave-trade>, accessed 31 Oct, 2021]; Bank of England, *Statement in Relation to the Bank’s Historical Links to the Slave Trade*, [<https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/news/2020/june/statement-in-relation-to-the-banks-historical-links-to-the-slave-trade>, accessed 31 Oct, 2021].

Bate and Robins in 1851, followed by Nichols, Baker and Crane in 1862... [growing into...] the second-largest bank in Birmingham by the mid-1870s."⁴⁵⁷ BMB purchased the Central Bank of London (est. 1863) in 1891 and City Bank (est. 1855) in 1898, with its name evolving to London City and Midland Bank thereafter.⁴⁵⁸

Whilst BMB and its employees are not listed in the Legacies of British slave-ownership database, it had absorbed no less than 26 banks by 1910, some of which had historic connections to the transatlantic slave economy.⁴⁵⁹ One of these was the Nottingham Joint Stock Bank (NJSB), which was, in its early years (1865-1872), financially backed by a range of industrial shareholders with strong ties to slavery in America via their manufacture of cotton imported from its southern states and sale of guns to 'slave-owners' in the Confederacy during the U.S. Civil War.⁴⁶⁰ Twenty-eight branches of the NJSB were operational at the time it was taken over by London City and Midland Bank, contributing to the latter's rise and success as one of the UK's 'Big Four' banking groups throughout most of the 20th century.

London City and Midland Bank merged with London Joint Stock Bank in 1918, initially changing its name to London Joint City and Midland Bank, before simplifying it to just Midland Bank in 1923.⁴⁶¹ This merger deepened Midland Bank's connections to the transatlantic slave economy with at least one of the London Joint Stock Bank's directors, Thomas Phillpotts (1785-1862), receiving a significant share of the £10,800 (equivalent to £1,040,000 in 2020 – RPI) awarded for the liberation of 605 enslaved people held on 12 estates across Jamaica.⁴⁶² It is unknown if Thomas Phillpotts invested any of his compensation money in shares issued by the London Joint Stock Bank. Around 1814, Felix Booth, another of the bank's co-founders, took possession and management of the Hopewell plantation. He later filed an unsuccessful claim in his capacity as an executor to a will for the £1,652 compensation awarded for the freedom of 86 people enslaved upon the Jamaican estate.⁴⁶³

Similar to Barclays and Lloyds, the transatlantic slave economy clearly played a role in the growth and development of Midland Bank. By 1918, it was ranked as the "biggest bank in the world – a position it was to hold until the 1940s," its prosperity enabling it to make two key donations to UCN in 1928 and to UoN in 1949.⁴⁶⁴ Midland Bank was acquired by HSBC in 1992 but maintained its title until 1999 when it was renamed HSBC Bank Plc (now HSBC UK).⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁵⁷ HSBC UK (Midland Bank).

⁴⁵⁸ Crick and Wadsworth, *A Hundred Years of Joint Stock Banking*, pp. 37, 276; *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁹ Crick and Wadsworth, *A Hundred Years of Joint Stock Banking*, p. 328.

⁴⁶⁰ For more information see the case study on Thomas Adams; Live Auctioneers, *Hollis and Sheath Side by Side Percussion Shotgun; Whisker, U.S. and Confederate Arms and Armouries During the American Civil War*, Volume 3, p. 202.

⁴⁶¹ HSBC (Midland Bank).

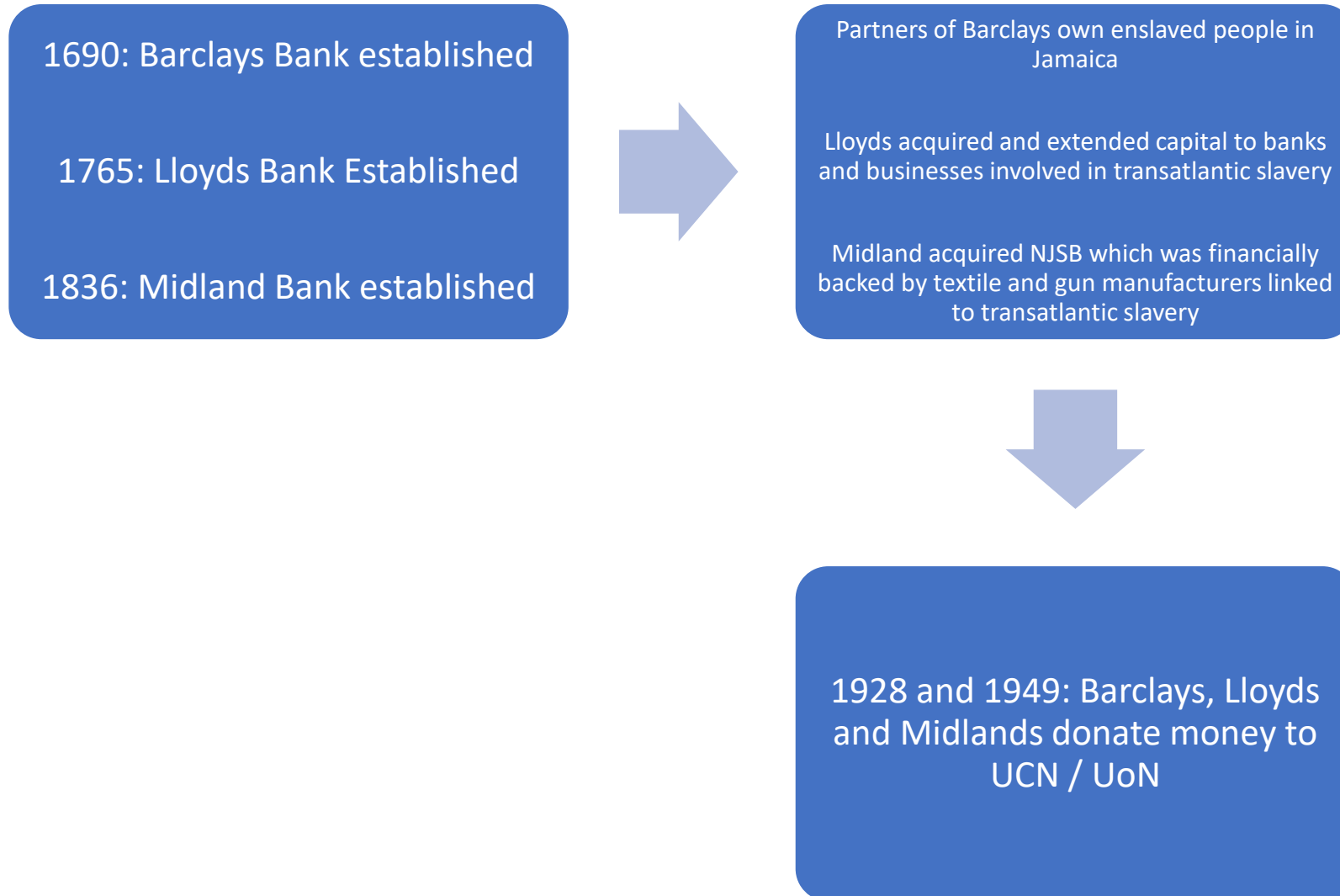
⁴⁶² 'Thomas Phillpotts, 1785-1862', *LBS*, [<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/14110>, accessed 31 Oct, 2021].

⁴⁶³ 'Felix Booth', *LBS*, [<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146634200>, accessed on 31 Oct, 2021].

⁴⁶⁴ HSBC (Midland Bank).

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.*,

Diagram 9: Links between the Transatlantic Slave Economy, Barclays, Lloyds and Midland banks, and Nottingham's Universities



Bentinck and Cavendish-Bentinck Family (Dukes of Portland)

Benefactor and Connection to UCN/UoN

The Bentinck family, which later came to include the Cavendish-Bentincks, were an aristocratic dynasty, with strong ties to Nottinghamshire. Several members of this dynasty who descended from Hans Willem Bentinck (1649-1709), 1st Earl of Portland, became intimately involved in the British transatlantic slave economy from the early-1700s up until its legal termination in 1833. The Cavendish-Bentincks were key patrons of UCN and UoN in the late-19th and 20th centuries. The first recorded gift to the former institution was made by Charlotte Denison (née Cavendish-Scott-Bentinck, 1806-1889), Lady Ossington, who donated £300 in 1879.⁴⁶⁶ William John Arthur Charles James Cavendish-Bentinck, 6th Duke of Portland, and his brother, Henry Cavendish-Bentinck, advanced the sums of £3,000 and £100, respectively, to UCN's appeal for endowment in 1928.⁴⁶⁷ The 6th Duke made an annual award of £50 to UCN via the Welbeck Estates Company in 1930, 1939, 1940, and £51 in 1941.⁴⁶⁸ He also served as the President of UCN from 1903 until his death in 1943.⁴⁶⁹ William Arthur Henry Cavendish-Bentinck, 7th Duke of Portland, gifted a cache of family manuscripts to UCN in 1947 and 1950, which formed the basis of the Portland Collection held in UoN's archive.⁴⁷⁰ He was appointed the 2nd Chancellor of UoN in 1954 and held this position until 1971.⁴⁷¹ The Portland Building, which houses the Students' Union, was opened in 1956 and named in honour of the 7th Duke of Portland (see Table 8).⁴⁷²

Table 8: Donations made to UCN and UoN by the Cavendish-Bentinck Family, 1879-1950

Year	Donor	Donation	Historic Value	Contemporary Donation Value		
				RPI (2020)	WIG (2020)	ROW (2020)
1879	Lady Charlotte Denison	Money	£300	£31,200	£145,000	£551,000
1928	6 th Duke of Portland	Money	£3,000	£185,000	£547,000	£1,390,000
1928	Henry Cavendish-Bentinck	Money	£100	£6,160	£18,200	£46,300
1930	6 th Duke of Portland	Money	£50	£3,230	£9,190	£23,100
1939	6 th Duke of Portland	Money	£50	£3,170	£8,390	£18,000
1940	6 th Duke of Portland	Money	£50	£2,790	£7,700	£14,900
1941	6 th Duke of Portland	Money	£51	£2,580	£7,430	£12,700

⁴⁶⁶ RBN, p. 268.

⁴⁶⁷ UNMSC UCN/A/4/ UR 911/12, *University Endowment Fund: List of Donations, 30 Jun, 1928*.

⁴⁶⁸ UNMSC UNC/A/2/UR17, *£50 Donation from Duke of Portland via the Welbeck Estates Company Limited, 1930*, fol. 298; UNMSC UCN/A/3/4/UR403, *£50 Donation from Duke of Portland via the Welbeck Estates Company Limited, 1939, 1940 and 1941*.

⁴⁶⁹ Wood, *A History of the University College Nottingham*, p. 171.

⁴⁷⁰ UNMSC UNC/A/6/5/20, *Donations, Gifts and Loans; Jan. 1944-Jun. 1948*, fol. 129; UNMSC UCN/A/4/UR918, *Donations Gifts and Loans – Part 2 [1950 Portland Papers]*.

⁴⁷¹ Beckett, *Nottingham: A History of Britain's Global University*, p. 98.

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 108, 111.

1947, 1950	7 th Duke of Portland	Manuscripts	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Total				£234,130	£742,910	£2,056,000
Donation as % of Total Value of Private Gifts Awarded to UCN/UoN between 1875-1960				0.4%	0.5%	0.6%

Biography, Slavery Connection and Source of Wealth

The Bentincks were an old dynasty of Dutch and English aristocratic ancestry that can be traced back to the 16th and 17th centuries, respectively.⁴⁷³ Hans William Bentinck (1649-1709) was the first member of the family to enter the English nobility after being granted the title 1st Earl of Portland in 1689.⁴⁷⁴ His son, Henry Bentinck (1682-1726) inherited the rank and became the 2nd Earl of Portland in 1709. He was ennobled the 1st Duke of Portland in 1716.⁴⁷⁵ Four years prior to his initial ennoblement, he was elected to the House of Commons and represented Southampton from 1705 to 1708, and Hampshire between 1708 and 1709.⁴⁷⁶ Just over a decade after exiting Parliament he began investing extensive sums of money in the South Sea Company (SSC), hoping for a lucrative return.⁴⁷⁷ Founded in 1711, the SSC was a joint-stock venture established for the purpose of monopolising shipping and trading rights in Spanish America so as to break the Iberian empire's dominance in the region.⁴⁷⁸ This objective was extended after 1713 when Britain was granted the *Asiento*, a contract which committed it to exporting 4,800 enslaved African people per year.⁴⁷⁹ Using Royal African Company ships, the SSC delivered these captives to various ports in the Spanish Caribbean and mainland Spanish America.⁴⁸⁰ The 1st Duke's attempts to profit from the trade in enslaved African people ultimately failed due to the plummeting prices of South Sea stock after 1720.⁴⁸¹ Consequently, he incurred a substantial financial loss and owed around £280,000 (£47 million in 2021 – RPI) to his creditors who had purchased these speculative assets for him. Between 1720 and 1722, the 1st Duke, in a move to protect his estate, defaulted on many of his repayments and “ignored the claims of those [lenders] who... were too weak to pursue [him] legally.”⁴⁸² Shea suggests that only a limited amount of the Duke's South Sea stock debts were settled either by the

⁴⁷³ 'William Bentinck, Baron Bentinck, d. 1576', *The Peerage*

[<https://www.thepeerage.com/p33499.htm#i334989>, accessed 26 Oct, 2021].

⁴⁷⁴ Hugh Dunthorne and David Onnekink, 'Hans Willem [William] Bentinck, 1st Earl of Portland, 1649-1709', *ODNB*, [<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2160>, accessed 28 Oct, 2021].

⁴⁷⁵ 'Henry Bentinck, 1st Duke of Portland, 1682-1726', *Peerage Online* [<https://www.thepeerage.com/p965.htm#i9644>, accessed 28 Oct, 2021].

⁴⁷⁶ Paula Watson and Ivar McGrath, 'Henry Bentinck, Visct. Woodstock, c.1682-1726', *History of Parliament Online (HoPO)*, Vol. 1690-1715, [<https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/bentinck-henry-1682-1726>, accessed 26 Oct, 2021].

⁴⁷⁷ Haggerty and Seymour, 'Imperial Careering and Enslavement in the Long Eighteenth Century', p. 645.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 644.

⁴⁷⁹ Victoria Gardner Sorsby, *British Trade with Spanish America Under the Asiento, 1713-1740*, Published PhD Thesis, (London: University College London, 1975), pp. 1, 11; 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), pp. 154, 160; Andrea Weindl, 'The *Asiento* de Negros and International Law', *Journal of the History of International Law*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (2008), pp. 242-247; Jonathan Eacott, 'Leverage: Foreign Strength in British Economic Thinking and Policy, 1600-1763', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 77, No. 4 (Oct., 2020), pp. 558, 567-570.

⁴⁸⁰ Haggerty and Seymour, 'Imperial Careering and Enslavement in the Long Eighteenth Century', p. 644.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 644-645.

⁴⁸² Gary S. Shea, Sir George Caswall Vs. the Duke of Portland: Financial Contracts and Litigation in the Wake of the South Sea Bubble, In: Jeremy Atack and Larry Neal (eds), *The Origin and Development of Financial Markets and Institutions: From the Seventeenth Century to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 138.

1st Duke himself or by his son William Bentinck (1709-1762), 2nd Duke of Portland.⁴⁸³ Whilst the 1st Duke's avoidance of repaying his South Sea stock arrears lessened the financial stress upon him and his family, it damaged his social status as a trustworthy individual. Indeed, this debt was in addition to the existing substantial arrears on the estate he inherited from his father in 1709, which was, at that time, valued at £850,000.⁴⁸⁴ In an effort to repair this monetary deficit and his reputation he "tried to develop his imperial career in a different direction and when he took up the post of the Governor of Jamaica in 1722, he became directly involved in a slave society."⁴⁸⁵ This was a particularly distinguished role in which he acted as "the representative of the king in acts of legislation; general of the island's military forces; judge of probate wills; [and] grant[ed]... administrators in the ecclesiastical court."⁴⁸⁶ Taking up the position of Governor of Jamaica was an important step in restoring the Duke's social esteem along with the reputation of his family, via his service to the monarch and nation. Moreover, it carried a significant annual salary of £2,500, that, once in post, he successfully increased after petitioning for its rise in the Jamaica House of Assembly, which doubled it to £5,000 per year (equivalent to at least £804,000 in 2020 – RPI).⁴⁸⁷ Holding this position until his death in 1726, the aggregate payment he received for five years' service is equivalent to at least £3.8 million today (RPI).⁴⁸⁸ The 1st Duke attempted to build upon his colonial wealth by purchasing a pen (a livestock farm) and enslaved African people, which he immediately mortgaged for £1,700 after arriving in Jamaica in 1722.⁴⁸⁹ An evaluation of the 1st Duke's moveable Jamaican holdings the year after his death, in 1727, placed their combined value at £25,412 sterling. Just over half of this sum was made up of debts totalling £13,564, with the remaining £11,848 (equivalent to £1,800,000 in 2020 – RPI) comprising his own personal wealth, that included 287 enslaved African people valued at £6,499.⁴⁹⁰ This fortune excluded the price of his Jamaican real estate (a pen) which added to his wealth.⁴⁹¹ In his will, the 1st Duke directed that his wife inherit the Jamaican property and sell it "as soon as possible after his death in order to pay the debts on his estates in England,"⁴⁹² thus, reducing the financial impact of his arrears on the family. Moreover, he used his position as Governor to create the parish of Portland (an administrative area in the north-east of the island) in 1723. This helped to elevate and project him as one of the most important individuals on the island, assisting him with the repair of his reputation.⁴⁹³

⁴⁸³ Haggerty and Seymour, 'Imperial Career and Enslavement in the Long Eighteenth Century', p. 645; *Ibid*, pp. 132-152.

⁴⁸⁴ Shea, Sir George Caswall Vs. the Duke of Portland, p. 138.

⁴⁸⁵ Haggerty and Seymour, 'Imperial Career and Enslavement in the Long Eighteenth Century', p. 645.

⁴⁸⁶ Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica: Or General Survey of the Antient and Modern State of the Island, with Reflections on its Situation, Settlements, Inhabitants, Climate, Products, Commerce, Laws, and Government*, Volume. 1 (London: T. Lowndes, 1774), p. 26.

⁴⁸⁷ *Journals of the Jamaica Assembly*, 1 March 1710 to 19 February 1731, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Kingston, Jamaica), pp. 476, 489, 492.

⁴⁸⁸ £5,000 RPI calculated for 1722-1726, *MeasuringWorth.com*, [<https://www.measuringworth.com>, accessed 27 May, 2021].

⁴⁸⁹ Haggerty and Seymour, 'Imperial Career and Enslavement in the Long Eighteenth Century', p. 646.

⁴⁹⁰ Trevor Burnard, *Database of Jamaican inventories, 1674-1784* (Spanish Town: Jamaica Archives).

⁴⁹¹ 'Henry Bentinck, 1st Duke of Portland (1682-1726)', *Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery (CSLBS)*, [<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146662185>, accessed 8 Nov, 2023]; Haggerty and Seymour, in their article 'Imperial Career', published in 2018, concluded that the first Duke's "involvement in a slave society did not rescue his finances."⁴⁹¹ Since then, new data from the *Jamaican Planter Inventories, 1674-1784*, has been published on the CSLBS website which shows the substantial value of Henry Bentinck's personalty on the island in 1727.

⁴⁹² Haggerty and Seymour, 'Imperial Career and Enslavement in the Long Eighteenth Century', p. 646.

⁴⁹³ National Library of Jamaica (NLJ), *History of Portland* [<https://www.nlj.gov.jm/history-notes/History%20of%20Portland%20Final.pdf>, accessed 27 May, 2021]; Noel B. Livingstone, *Sketch Pedigrees of Some of the Early Settlers in Jamaica* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company Inc, 1992; originally published in 1909), p. 137.

This elite position at the highest level of colonial governance, considerable salary, ownership of enslaved African people, and eponymous naming of a Jamaican district significantly helped to restore the 1st Duke's social status and provided him and his family with a source of much needed financial enrichment after the losses he suffered from speculating in the SSC. This was, however, not enough to offset the substantial debt that he had accumulated, with the family still suffering from the burden of arrears as late as 1785.⁴⁹⁴ Nevertheless, the 1st Duke and his immediate family would surely have ended up experiencing a much more serious degree of financial hardship without his remunerations from Britain's West Indian plantation economy.

The Bentinck family's association with Britain's transatlantic slave economy and the management of its West Indians colonies transcended the 1st Duke when his grandson, William Henry Cavendish-Bentinck (1738-1809), 3rd Duke of Portland, became Prime Minister in 1783. The political campaign for the termination of the trade in enslaved Africans was just beginning to take off and compelled him to engage with the issue.⁴⁹⁵ Despite being lobbied by influential abolitionists such as Granville Sharp (1735-1813), who spoke passionately about the monstrosities of slavery and the *Zong* massacre, the Duke was not moved and is assumed to have "upheld pragmatic British interests and the property rights of slave-owners."⁴⁹⁶ Whilst serving as the Secretary of State for Home Affairs (1794-1801), a position in which he led on colonial matters, he was compelled to engage with the issue of slavery again. This time he was petitioned for financial relief by Liverpool merchants who were creditors of estates in Grenada which had experienced a highly destructive uprising led by the enslaved against the oppressive conditions. This resulted in the death or deportation of 7,000 enslaved African people who razed 100 plantations to the ground between 1795 and 1796.⁴⁹⁷ The significantly reduced enslaved population meant plantation owners were unable to repay their outstanding arrears, placing the Liverpool merchants at risk.⁴⁹⁸ The 3rd Duke did reply on this occasion and liaised with the Treasury to appoint an appropriate individual who would deal with the problem, more than likely in a supportive manner since he knew the plantations could not be worked and the merchants' credit repaid without the enslaved. Thus, demonstrating his support for slavery and the understanding that enslaved African people were essential to the operation of Britain's plantation economy.⁴⁹⁹

Several other members of the Bentinck dynasty followed the path into colonial administration set by the 1st Duke. These included his third grand-nephew, Charles Ferdinand Bentinck (1764-1811), who served as the Governor of Suriname from 1809 to 1811; and his fourth grand-nephew, Henry William Bentinck (1765-1820), who was the Governor of St. Vincent (1802-1806), Demerara (1806-1812) and Berbice (1814-1820).⁵⁰⁰ Similar to the 1st Duke's occupation as Governor of Jamaica, these posts commanded considerable sums of money which significantly enriched his half-brother's line (William Bentinck, 1704-1774, 1st Count Bentinck) of the family (see Diagram 10). Henry William Bentinck, for example, received an annual salary of £2,668 when he was sworn in as Governor of Demerara and Essequibo in 1806 (equivalent to at least £221,000 in 2020 – RPI).⁵⁰¹ The prestigiousness of these

⁴⁹⁴ Haggerty and Seymour, 'Imperial Careering and Enslavement in the Long Eighteenth Century', p. 646.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁶ David Wilkinson, *The Duke of Portland: Politics and Party in the Age of George III* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), p. 70.

⁴⁹⁷ Haggerty and Seymour, 'Imperial Careering and Enslavement in the Long Eighteenth Century', p. 647.

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 648.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, Seymour and Haggerty (2010, p. 46) support this view based on their reading of the British Library Liverpool papers and correspondence in the UoN Manuscripts and Special Collections.

⁵⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 648-649.

⁵⁰¹ James Rodway, *History of British Guiana, From the Year 1782 to the Present Time*, Vol. 2, 1782-1833 (Georgetown, Demerara: J. Thomson, 1893), p. 179.

administrative colonial stations helped to preserve the dynasty's status as a powerful elite ruling aristocratic family.

By 1808, both Charles Ferdinand and Henry William each owned a sixth share in the Demeraran plantation, La Bonne Intention. The latter's interest in the property had increased to 66% by the time of his death, in 1820, which he bequeathed to his nephews, Charles Anthony Ferdinand Bentinck (1792-1864) and his brother Henry John William Bentinck (1796-1878). Both men were awarded just over £13,300 in 1837 (equivalent to at least £1.24 million in 2020 – RPI) as compensation for the “loss” of 266 enslaved African people, following the abolition of slavery in the British Caribbean.⁵⁰² This was directly transferred to their mortgagor, Daniel Willink, in order to help extinguish the £39,352 debt they owed to him.

Although the Bentinck brothers did not directly receive the substantial compensatory payment awarded in exchange for the freedom of their enslaved African labourers, they benefitted from it nonetheless, since it contributed to the defrayment of their outstanding arrear (reducing it by 34%), thus showing the importance of ‘slave-ownership’ to their financial wellbeing. These members of the Bentinck family therefore directly benefitted from compensation when slavery in the British Caribbean was abolished in the 1830s. Their indebtedness was not an unusual scenario with many ‘slave-owning’ families in a similar position during the final decades of British Caribbean slavery. Indeed, numerous “planters took the slave compensation money as an opportunity to wipe the slate clean of debt and consolidate their position, rather than to make their escape from the West Indies.”⁵⁰³ This seems to have been the case with the Bentincks who “... retained ownership of the plantation into the 1840s, perhaps in the hope that it would become profitable post-emancipation.”⁵⁰⁴

Not every member of the Bentinck family was in favour of slavery. Lord William Henry Cavendish-Bentinck (1774-1839), second son of the 3rd Duke of Portland, formed part of Britain's abolitionist movement.⁵⁰⁵ This stance was, however, contradicted when he later advanced a claim as a trustee for compensation, hoping, but ultimately failing, to collect part of the sum of £2,411 awarded for the emancipation of 46 enslaved African people held on L'amitie plantation in Trinidad.⁵⁰⁶

The preservation and enhancement of elite status, reputation, wealth and power were the objectives of all aristocratic dynasties. These ambitions were underpinned and driven by a cultural capital (attitudes, understandings and behaviours) of high expectations, awareness of elite values, and an established and visible dynastic history of occupying authoritative positions. This cultural capital was passed down the generations and Henry, 1st Duke of Portland, actively chose to maintain the Bentincks' status and wealth by engaging with the transatlantic slave economy. His initial speculation in profits arising from the sale of enslaved African people, via investments in South Sea Company shares, subsequently developed into direct participation in the governance of British-Caribbean ‘slave society’ and the ownership of enslaved African people. This decision helped set his

⁵⁰² ‘Charles Anthony Ferdinand Bentinck, 1792-1864’, *LBS*, [<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146630429>, accessed 8 May, 2021]; ‘Henry John William Bentinck, 1796-1868’, *LBS*, [<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146630430>, accessed 8 May, 2021]; Haggerty and Seymour, ‘Imperial Careering and Enslavement in the Long Eighteenth Century’, p. 650.

⁵⁰³ J. R. Ward, ‘Emancipation and the Planters’, *The Journal of Caribbean History*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (Jan., 1988), p. 130.

⁵⁰⁴ Haggerty and Seymour, ‘Imperial Careering and Enslavement in the Long Eighteenth Century’, p. 650.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 650-652.

⁵⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 652; ‘Lord William Henry Cavendish-Bentinck, 1774-1839’, *LBS*, [<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/1299780778>, accessed 27 Oct, 2021]; Susanne Seymour and Sheryllynne Haggerty, *Slavery Connections of Bolsover Castle, 1600-c.1830*, (Swindon: English Heritage, 2010), pp. 22-24.

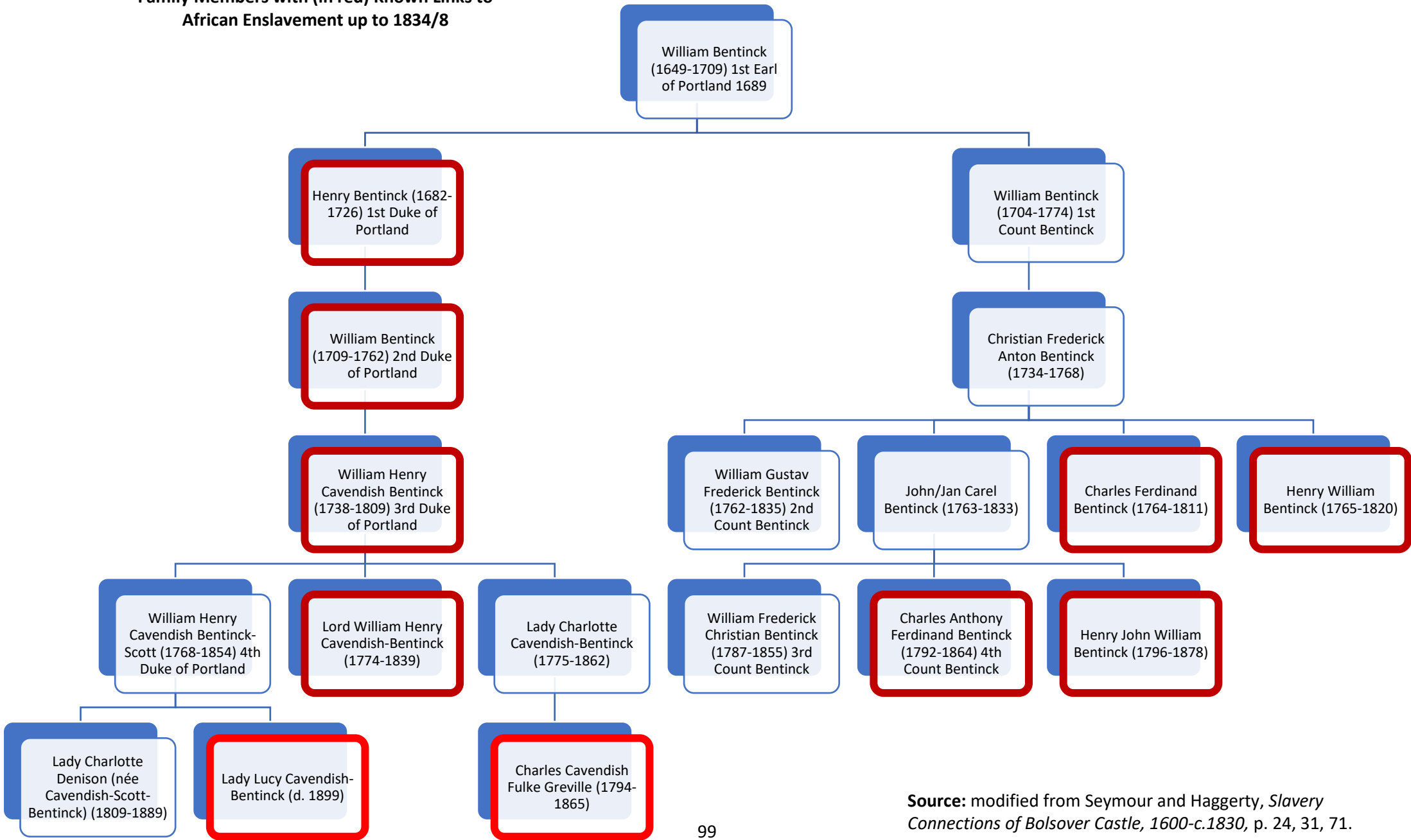
family on a trajectory of sustained involvement in Britain's West Indian colonies, which later generations (i.e., his grandnephews and great-nephews) continued by acquiring similarly prestigious stations of governance that conferred social distinction by way of monarchical representation, lucrative salaries, political power, and significant financial compensation.

In many respects, the Bentincks' direct involvement with the slavery business was an opportunity seized and maintained by multiple generations in the 18th and 19th centuries for the purpose of preserving and displaying their historic social prestige, wealth and power. The transatlantic slave economy was not the germ of the dynasty's eminence or the reason for their elevation to the Dukedom, rather it contributed (overall) to the repair and enhancement of their respected elite status and substantial colonial salaries. Moreover, the 1st Duke's strategic legal avoidance of the debts accumulated from his unfortunate speculation in the South Sea Company helped to lessen the financial impact of the slavery business upon his family. Ultimately, the Cavendish-Bentincks benefitted from the slavery business in terms of reputational, cultural and social capital, all of which were inherited, to a greater or lesser extent, by those members of the following generations who opted to remain engaged with Britain's West-Indian colonial project.

The respectability carried by the ennobled Bentincks and Cavendish-Bentincks undoubtedly helped to attract rare invitations, opportunities and engagements which are unlikely to have been offered without their high social standing. Indeed, UCN and UoN's appointment of William John Cavendish-Bentinck, 6th Duke of Portland, as President, and William Arthur Cavendish-Bentinck, 7th Duke of Portland, as 2nd Chancellor, respectively, was a strategic move to benefit from the family's distinguished reputation, which was based, in part, on earlier family members' involvement in slavery (see Diagram 11). UoN honoured the 7th Duke of Portland through the eponymous naming of a large building, designed to house the Students Union and a number of amenity facilities. The Portland Building was opened in 1956 and is located on the University Park Campus.⁵⁰⁷ The road leading up to this structure is called Portland Hill, and a space on the University's King's Meadow Campus is titled the Bentinck Room. Moreover, UoN's Ningbo Campus in China also has a Portland Building.

⁵⁰⁷ Beckett, *Nottingham: A History of Britain's Global University*, pp. 108, 111.

Diagram 10: Bentinck and Cavendish-Bentinck Family Members with (in red) Known Links to African Enslavement up to 1834/8



Source: modified from Seymour and Haggerty, *Slavery Connections of Bolsover Castle, 1600-c.1830*, p. 24, 31, 71.

Diagram 11: Bentinck and Cavendish-Bentinck Family Pedigree – Association with UCN and UoN

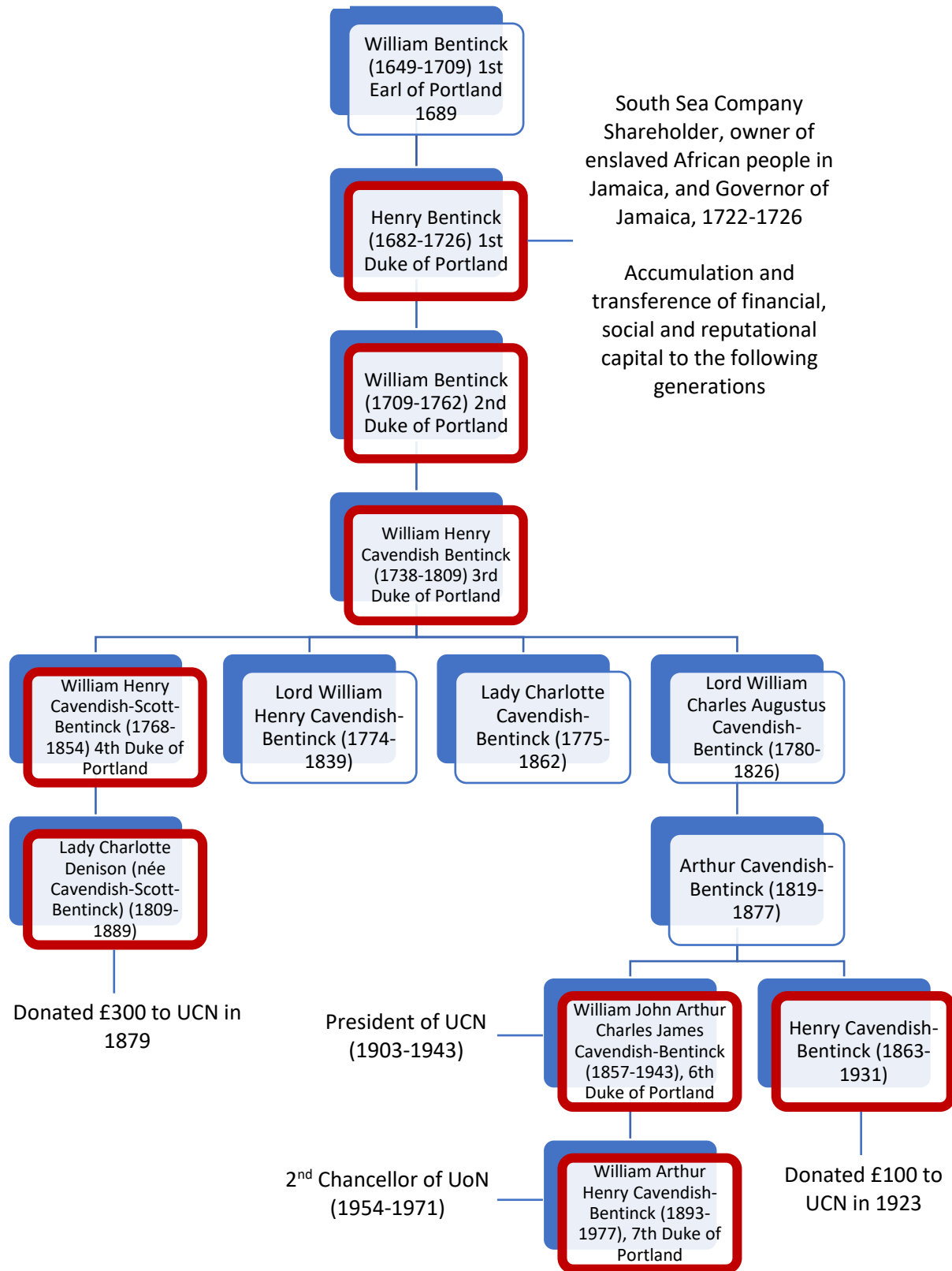
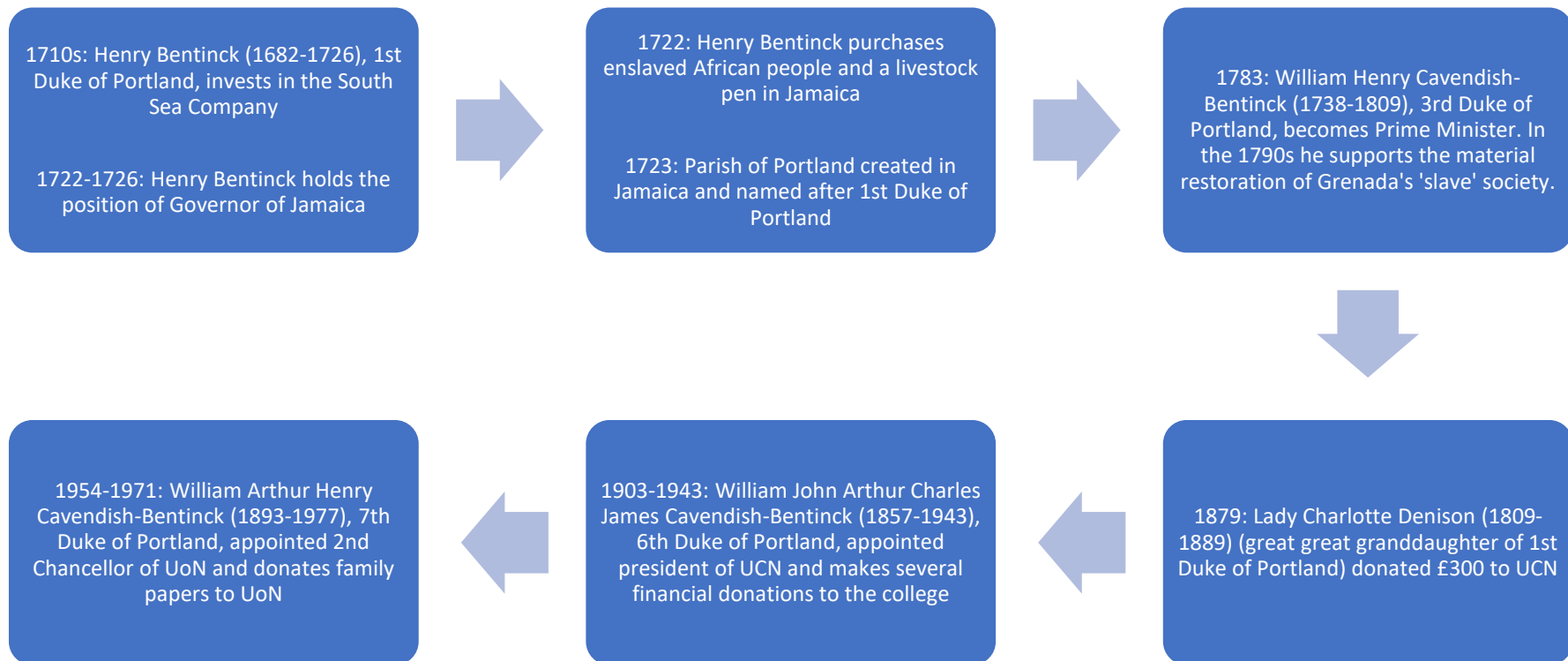


Diagram 12: Links between Transatlantic Slave Economy, the Bentinck/Cavendish-Bentinck Families, and Nottingham's Universities



Discussion and Reflections

Nottingham's two universities are evidently connected to, benefitted from, and owe part of their development to the wealth generated from various elements of the transatlantic slave economy. Notably, the labour of enslaved African people was partially foundational to the fortunes of Nottingham's cotton and tobacco manufacturers, at least two of its local banks, and Boots – UCN's largest private benefactor. Material and immaterial gains generated from the slavery business were acquired and built upon by later generations of businesses and individuals, who shared the fruits of their success with UCN and UoN between 1875 and 1960. Partially comprised of an institution born from UCN in 1945 (Nottingham and District Technical College), NTU also benefitted from these benefactions.

Each benefactor's closeness to, and degree of involvement with, the transatlantic slave economy morally problematises their donations. For instance, seven out of the eight case study donors highlighted in this report laboured in commercial sectors and professions that formed integral parts of Britain's colonial economy. Patrons such as the National Provincial, Barclays, Lloyds and Midland banks, specific members of the Bentinck/Cavendish-Bentinck family, and Nottingham's tobacco and cotton manufacturers have histories of directly financing/servicing the slavery business, owning African people, governing Britain's colonies in the Americas, and processing cash crops grown by the enslaved. Jesse Boot and Boots Pure Drug Company's less direct links to the transatlantic slave economy obscure and distance their association with slavery, making it appear more tenuous. Yet, a significant proportion of the financial backing used to expand Boots during the late-19th and early-20th centuries was lent by two banks – one partially founded on, and the other enriched by, their proprietors' historic connections to the transatlantic slave economy. Diagram 13 below uses concentric circles to illustrate the proximity of UCN and UoN's eight identified benefactors to the slavery business and summarises the nature of their linkages (see Table 9). Up until now, the passage of time and lack of historical context have made it difficult to understand how Nottingham's universities could be connected to the slavery business, particularly since they were established over a century after the abolition of British Caribbean slavery (1833/38), and 83 years after the legal termination of American slavery (1865). However, setting the lineage of their establishment against the wider backdrop of Britain's industrialising economy, some of which was driven by the importation of cash crops and raw materials cultivated by enslaved African people, helps to make slavery's role in the development of Nottingham's universities clearer and more relevant. Overlaying this background with the case studies that demonstrate the intergenerational transmission of capitals (financial, cultural, social, reputational) accumulated from benefactors' engagement with and links to the transatlantic slave economy brings clarity, detail and specificity as to how material and immaterial gains from this period permeated, enriched and contributed to the development of UCN, UoN and NTU.

Diagram 13: UCN and UoN Benefactors' Associations and Proximity to the Transatlantic Slave Economy

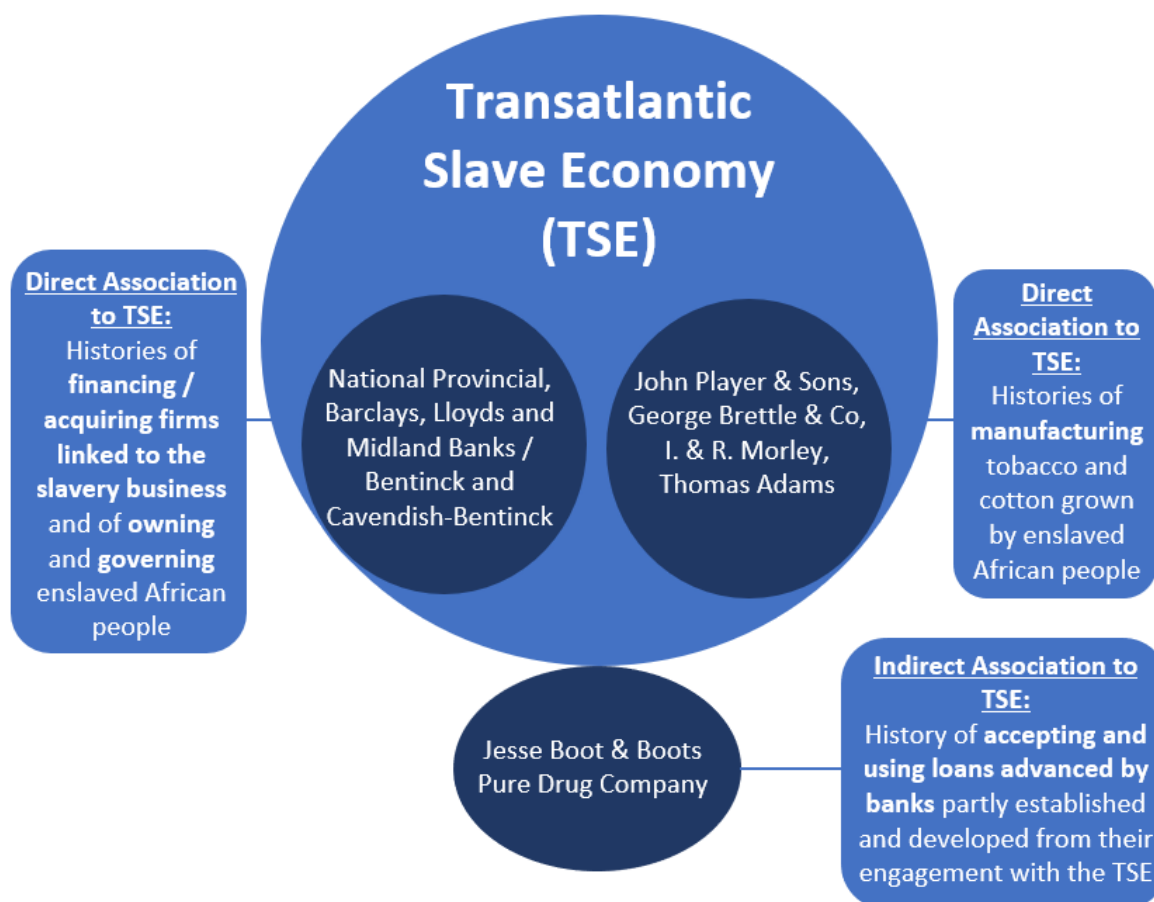


Table 9: Summary of Benefactors' Trade, Connection to Slavery, and Donations to UCN and UoN

No	Benefactor	Industry/Trade	Connection	Donation(s)
1	I. & R. Morley	Textile Manufacture	Use of cotton cultivated by enslaved Africans	Money & Machinery
2	George Brettle & Co	Textile Manufacture	Use of cotton cultivated by enslaved Africans	Money
3	Thomas Adams Ltd	Textile Manufacture	Use of cotton cultivated by enslaved Africans	Money
4	John Player & Sons	Tobacco Production	Use of tobacco cultivated by enslaved Africans	Money
5	National Provincial Bank	Banking	History of owning enslaved African people	Money
6	Barclays, Lloyds & Midlands Banks	Banking	History of financing African enslavement	Money
7	Jesse Boot & Boots Chemists	Pharmacy	Borrower of money stemming from slavery	Money, Educational Instruments, Land
8	Cavendish-Bentinck Family	Landowners	Ancestral history of owning Africans and colonial administration	Money & Manuscripts

Whilst Nottingham’s universities are the recipients of money from benefactors with historical links to the transatlantic slave economy, it has not been possible to calculate the specific proportion of the donations that derive from their involvement in this enterprise. This is largely due to the fact that benefactors’ inward and outward cash flows were mixed with money generated from a variety of other complicated transactions, which are difficult to account for as proportions of their yearly net income. It is possible, however, to sum and rank the total of their financial benefactions and express them as contemporary values and as proportions of the total modern-day amount privately gifted to UCN and UoN between 1875 and 1960 (see Tables 10 and 11 below).

Table 10: Total Monetary Value of Private Donations made to UCN and UoN by Eight Case Study Benefactors, 1875-1960

Rank	Benefactors	Contemporary Donation Total		
		RPI (2020)	WIG (2020)	ROW (2020)
1	Jesse Boot & Boots Pure Drug Company	£18,456,900	£57,851,480	£142,373,800
2	John Player & Sons	£1,534,000	£4,210,000	£9,050,000
3	Cavendish-Bentinck Family	£234,130	£742,910	£2,056,000
4	Barclays, Lloyds, and Midland Bank	£127,400	£337,800	£665,500
5	National Provincial Bank of England	£103,000	£279,200	£579,000
6	I. & R. Morley	£56,360	£164,820	£357,340
7	George Brettle & Company, Limited	£3,680	£9,880	£17,400
8	Thomas Adams Limited	£3,680	£9,880	£17,400
Combined Values of Contemporary Donations		£20,519,150	£63,605,970	£155,116,440

Table 11: Contemporary Donations of Eight Case Study Benefactors Expressed as % of Total Monetary Value of Private Donations Awarded to UCN and UoN between 1875-1960

Rank	Benefactors	Contemporary Donation		
		RPI (2020)	WIG (2020)	ROW (2020)
1	Jesse Boot & Boots Pure Drug Company	32.4%	35.4%	40.5%
2	John Player & Sons	2.7%	2.6%	2.6%
3	Cavendish-Bentinck Family	0.4%	0.5%	0.6%
4	Barclays, Lloyds, and Midland Bank	0.2%	0.2%	0.2%
5	National Provincial Bank of England	0.2%	0.17%	0.16%
6	I. & R. Morley	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%
7	George Brettle & Company, Limited	0.01%	0.01%	0.01%
8	Thomas Adams Limited	0.01%	0.01%	0.01%
Combined Percentages of Total Donations		36.02%	38.99%	44.18%

Jesse Boot and Boots Pure Drug Company are by far the largest financial donors to Nottingham’s Universities. Gifts from Boots account for between £18.4 and £142.3 million today, which translates to between 32.4% and 40.5% of the total monetary value of the private donations made to UCN/UoN and NTU during the period spanning 1875 to 1960. The second largest benefactor is John Player & Sons which gifted between £1.5 and £9 million to the city’s universities. This accounts for approximately 2.6% of the donations awarded to these institutions during the abovementioned period. The Bentinck and Cavendish-Bentinck families made several significant donations valued between £234,130 and £2 million, making them the third largest benefactor of the eight identified patrons. Proportionally, their gifts equate to between 0.4% and 0.6% of the total value of private gifts awarded to Nottingham’s universities between 1875 and 1960. Barclays, Lloyds, and Midland banks all gave similar amounts of money to UCN and UoN. Their benefactions vary between £127,400 and £665,500, which is approximately 0.2% of all the private donations made to the city’s universities. The National Provincial Bank of England is the fifth largest donor and gifted slightly

smaller sums than Barclays, Lloyds and Midland banks. These ranged from £103,000 to £579,000 and translate to between 0.16% and 0.2% of the total private gifts given to Nottingham's universities. I. & R. Morley, George Brettle & Company Limited, and Thomas Adams Limited – the three textile enterprises investigated in this study – gave the smallest donations. I. & R. Morley donated the contemporary equivalent of between £56,360 and £357,340. Ranked as the sixth largest benefactor, Morley's gifts made up 0.1% of the entire donations awarded to UCN, UoN and NTU between 1875 and 1960. George Brettle & Company and Thomas Adams Limited both gifted exactly the same sums of money to Nottingham's universities, their modern-day equivalency ranging between £3,680 and £17,400. These sums make-up just 0.02% of the total value of private benefactions gifted to Nottingham's universities between the late-19th and mid-20th centuries. Although they are smaller, they are nonetheless important and played a role in financing the expansion and administration of the city's universities.

Collectively, these donations amount to between £20.5 and £155 million today, which translates to between 36.02% and 44.18% of the total private donations made to UCN and UoN. These contemporary equivalents are clearly significant sums of money, which evidently aided the growth and development of Nottingham's universities. The eight identified patrons who contributed to these sums were either dependent on the raw materials produced by enslaved African people (e.g., I. & R. Morley and John Player & Sons); developed from previous enterprises that profited (e.g., National Provincial Bank) or sought to profit (e.g., the Bentinck & Cavendish-Bentinck families) from the ownership of enslaved African people; or were funded by banks that were established or financially backed by individuals with exploitative connections to the slavery business (e.g., Boots). Whilst the proportion of their collective gifts that directly derived from the slavery business is not yet possible to calculate, it is clear that the transatlantic slave economy played an important role in the development of each patron. Indeed, Nottingham's three primary industrial and commercial sectors (textiles, tobacco, banking) – from which these eight benefactors emerged – were so reliant upon and tied into the transatlantic slave economy that it is difficult to envision what the city's universities would have looked like without the influence of slavery.

At some point in the future, it may be possible to estimate the proportion of their donations that derived from the transatlantic slave economy via the employment of a sophisticated computational methodology which can account for every, if not most, economic variables. The advantages and enrichment accruing from other forms of capital (cultural, social and reputational) borne out of, or enhanced by, connections to the slavery business are impractical to monetarily gauge since their nature does not lend itself to quantification.

Legacies of Slavery at Nottingham's Universities

This report has primarily focussed on illuminating UoN and NTU's linkages to the transatlantic slave economy via their receipt of documented financial and material benefactions. They are also connected to and bear the marks of slavery in more emblematic and less quantifiable ways such as their commemorative structural iconography that projects the violence of this period and its legacy of racism. For instance, a number of the benefactors presented in this report, namely members of the Bentinck and Boot families, have been honoured across UoN and NTU's campuses via the eponymous naming of buildings, spaces and statues. Up until now, this form of commemoration has paid tribute to benefactors' philanthropy, inscribing their remembrance into their architecture, and thus, symbolically communicating its importance. The findings in this report, however, create a fuller context that compels Nottingham's universities to reconsider how they honour and present the histories of their patrons, and encourage them to think through the importance of acknowledging the enslaved African people whose labour provided part of the financial outlay for each institutions' modern existence. This absence of recognition is not uncommon. Indeed, it is a key point of

discussion in the broader debate on Britain's national remembrance of colonial slavery, empire and the problems associated with the eponymous naming of structures titled after individuals linked to these historic episodes of dehumanisation. National and local recognition afforded to those who benefitted from slavery and donated portions of their fortunes to various bodies, exacerbated by a lack of acknowledgment to the generations of enslaved Africans whose labour partly made this possible, is a major point of racial inequality and public discontent.

The naming of immovable structures after patrons has also served to immortalise their characterisation as respectable philanthropists. This form of commemoration totalises them as such, making it challenging to understand, and difficult for people to accept, the historic inhumanity that their philanthropy is partially predicated on, since the two phenomena are conceived as diametrically opposed to one another and mutually exclusive. The enslavement of African people, exploitation of their labour, and appropriation of the fruits of their toil, which played an important role in the enrichment of UCN and UoN's sponsors, are just as important to acknowledge as their philanthropic efforts. This historic context helps to provide a more informed narrative on the development of Nottingham's universities and recognises the enslaved African people who have been forgotten from each institutions' past. Moreover, this tradition of structural commemoration has been exported to the opposite side of the world where a Portland Building and a Trent Building have been constructed on UoN's Ningbo campus in China. This raises important and complicated questions regarding the meaning and significance of their names outside of the geographic areas to which they are historically linked.

Racism is the most prominent legacy of transatlantic slavery. It affects all institutions and manifests itself in a variety of ways, namely harmful stereotypes that engender racial prejudice which result in conscious and unconscious discrimination. Race-based structural inequalities are present at UoN in the form of disproportionately low numbers of Black staff (academic and senior professional employees) and students; the over-representation of Black staff at the most junior grades; the student racial attainment gap; and a racially unbalanced curriculum that largely focuses and places emphasis on the undertakings of white people. This signals a lack of value and appreciation towards the equally significant efforts of people of African descent. These are issues that require urgent and sustained attention from both of Nottingham's universities.

Conclusion

The transatlantic slave economy was a key external force that stimulated, but did not cause, British industrialisation, as argued by Eric Williams. Couched within this national context, this report has illuminated the scale and significance of cotton and tobacco to the country's 18th and 19th century economy, its findings throwing light on the unique importance of these cash crops to Nottingham's economic development. Integrated and instrumental to the locality's financial growth were at least two of its banks which financed a number of local industrial and commercial enterprises. Despite Britain's outlawing of slavery across its West Indian Colonies in 1833, the country's economy remained very much locked into and dependent upon cash crops grown by enslaved Africans in the United States of America, where slavery was not abolished until 1865. Indeed, African people remained enslaved in Brazil, the last bastion of slavery, until its legal termination in 1888.

The findings in this report add detail and gravity to Williams' thesis regarding the influence of the slavery business upon the modernisation of Britain, in this case, the growth of the country's higher education system. More specifically, its industrial revolution was a critical factor that was partially propelled by the fruits of enslaved African labour, and which engendered the creation of the antecedent educational bodies that eventually gave birth to the nation's Redbrick universities. Archival evidence and the application of social theory shows that the patrons of Nottingham's universities were connected to the slavery business in numerous ways. They were conduits of tangible and intangible capitals acquired and developed during and after colonial slavery, that have been intergenerationally transmitted to and utilised for the development of the city's mechanics' institute, out of which UCN originated with UoN and part of NTU emerging from this institution. Moreover, despite the abolition of slavery in the 19th century, vestiges linking Nottingham's universities to this period still exist in material, symbolic and discriminatory forms that are the subject of national debate and global demonstrations. The revelations contained within this report provide each university's key stakeholders (staff, students, alumni, members of Nottingham's African and African-Caribbean community, and other residents of Nottingham and Nottinghamshire) with the opportunity to consider the important ways that these two institutions benefitted from the transatlantic slave economy until at least 1865. The findings also act as a starting point for the process of truth telling, admission, reconciliation, reparatory justice and, for the descendants of enslaved African people, healing from the legacies and trauma of transatlantic slavery.

Process Recommendations for Reparatory Justice

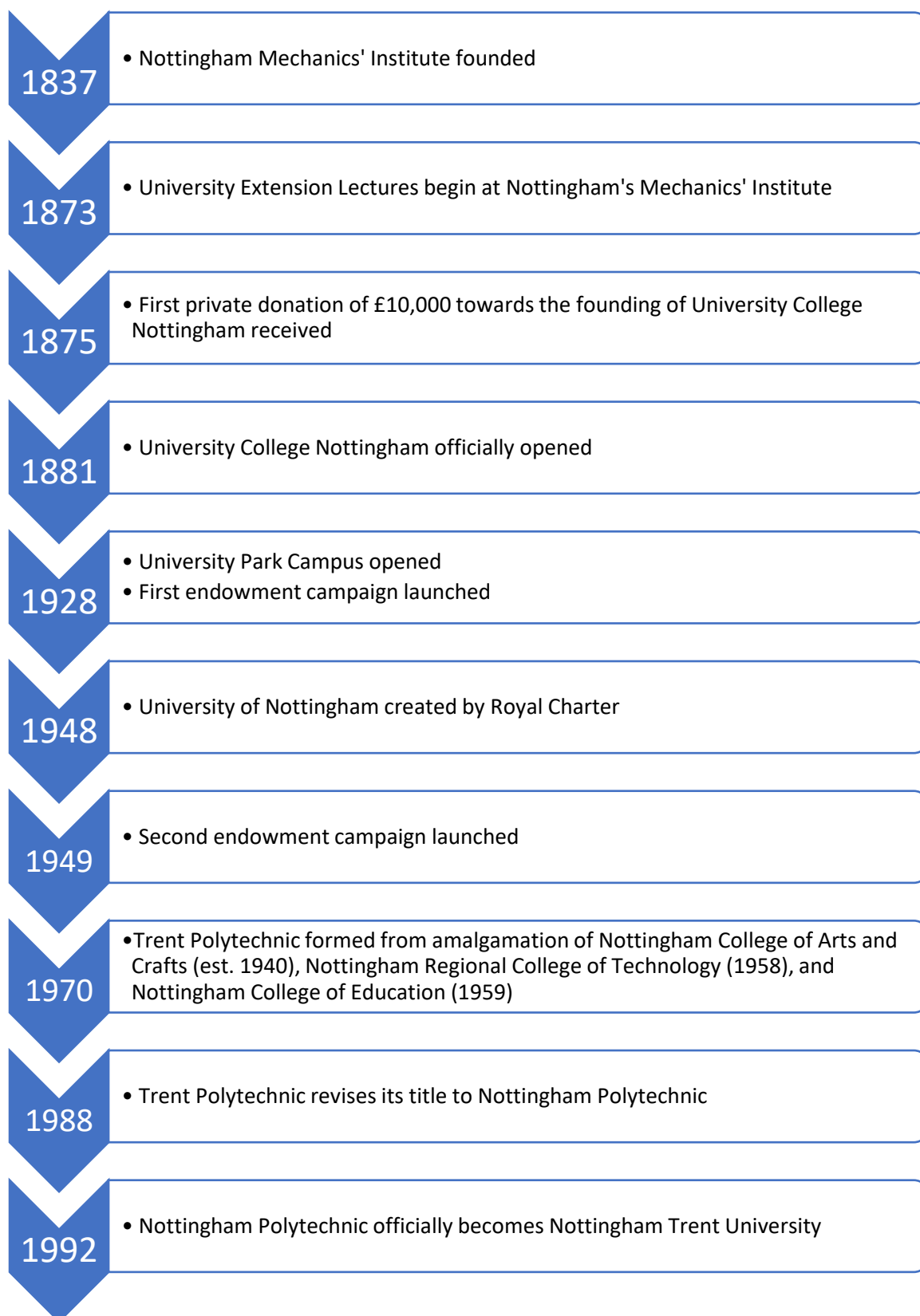
Reparatory justice is a key part of the acknowledgement, reconciliation and ongoing healing process. Within the context of transatlantic slavery, it seeks to address and repair the harm or harms inflicted on enslaved African people and the enduring detrimental legacies this period continues to have on the lives of their descendants. Whilst Nottingham's universities are not the perpetrators of slavery, they are the beneficiaries of material and immaterial gains from this historic abuse, and they (UoN and NTU) continue to cause harm, distress and offence in a number of ways (e.g., their symbolic honouring of individuals/families with exploitative connections to the slavery business; and failure to acknowledge the exploitation of enslaved African people whose labour produced some of the wealth they were founded on). These are clear issues that require attention. Any remedies enacted by a beneficiary or beneficiaries of an offence should be formulated in concert with those experiencing the trauma, along with representatives of the wider community, so that the agreed measures are responsive to the context in question and the lived experiences of the victims.

In order to initiate this process, it is recommended that, in the first instance, the University of Nottingham and Nottingham Trent University:

1. Formally acknowledge their connections to and benefits from the transatlantic slave economy with a public statement of recognition.
2. Organise an official public launch of the report, where its findings can be presented.
3. Arrange and invite their key stakeholders (staff, students, alumni, members of African descendant communities, residents of Nottinghamshire) to a series of workshops that allow them to reflect on this history, discuss its implications, and contribute to the formulation of reparatory measures that address the relevant legacies of transatlantic slavery.
4. Strengthen their collaborative working relationship and with the local community for the explicit purpose of remedying the disadvantages and offensive vestiges of transatlantic slavery.
5. Engage with other UK and Caribbean universities, and continue to work within the Universities Studying Slavery network (USS), in order to deepen their understanding of reparatory justice and its effective practical application.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Nottingham's Universities – A Timeline of their Origins and Development, 1837-1992



Appendix 2: African people enslaved upon Farm Pen, Cow Park, and Halfway Tree Pen, St. Catherine, Jamaica, in the 1798. Owned by the directors and partners of Smiths Bank (Samuel Smith, Rene Payne, George Smith, John Smith, and Robert Smith – Lord Carrington).

Small Gang	
Name	Sex
A. Thomas	Male
Amelia	Female
B. Flora	Female
Catalina	Female
Charlotte	Female
Cuba	Female
Harriet	Female
Jack	Male
John	Male
Lucretia	Female
Maurice	Male
Mytilla	Female
Old Peggy	Female
Philander	Male
Priscilla	Female
P's Billy	Male
Psyche	Female
S. Marina	Female
S. Martha	Female
Sarah	Female
Simon	Male
Watchmen	
C. George	Male
Duke	Male
Harry	Male
Joe	Male
Nero	Male
Nero	Male
O. Cupid	Male
Quamina	Male
Sandy	Female
Invalids	
A. Lucy	Female
Blossom	Female
Delia	Female
Hannah	Female
John	Male
Kent	Male
Mary Ann	Female
Nelly	Female
Norah	Female

Invalids	
Name	Sex
November	?
O. Amey	Female
O. Mary	Female
O. Robin	Unknown
Patience	Female
Patience	Female
Prue	Female
Quasheba	Female
Sophy	Female
Children Too Young to Work	
Abigail	Female
Adam	Male
B. L. Dick	Male
Bessy	Female
C. Adjoe	Female
C. Bess	Female
C. Hercules	Male
Catherine	Female
Hagar	Female
Hannah	Female
J. Tom	Male
Juba	Female
L. A. Fanny	Female
L. L. Prue	Female
L. Parthenia	Female
M. Jenny	Female
M. Judy	Female
Margaret	Female
N. Mary	Female
P. Billy	Male
P. Cuba	Female
P. Dye	Female
P. George	Male
P. John	Male
P. Mindam	Female
P. Nelly	Female
P. William	Male
Peter	Male
Quamina	Male
Quasheba	Female
S. Billy	Male
S. Harriet	Female
S. James	Male
S. Juba	Female
S. Parson	Male

Children Too Young to Work	
Name	Sex
S. Tom	Male
Sabina	Female
T. Venus	Female
Attending the Hot House	
Amey	Female
Moll	Female
William	Male
Attending Houses	
Basheba	Female
Bob	Male
Dungee	Unknown
Flora	Female
J. Wilks	Unknown
Kate	Female
Mary Ann	Female
Monimia	Female
Nancy	Female
O. Dick	Male
Patham	Male
S. Mary	Female
T. Mary	Female
Tornazina	Unknown
York	Male
Runaways	
Abigail	Female
Amelia	Female
Amey	Female
Benneba	Female
Boston	Male
Clarissa	Female
Cork	Male
Cuffy	Male
Cyrus	Male
Dick	Male
Dolly	Female
Egypt	Unknown
Isaac	Male
Jenny	Female
Junto	Unknown
Junto's Will	Male
Katey	Female
London	Male
Love	Unknown
Madam	Female
Maria	Female

Runaways	
Name	Sex
Milton	Male
O. Princess	Female
O.Bucchus	Male
Parthenia	Female
Sarah	Female
Silby	Unknown
Stratford	Unknown
Sukey	Female
Toby	Male
Whanica	Female

Source: *Conveyance of Two Thirds of the Farm Plantation: Samuel Smith Esq and others to The Right Honourable Lord Carrington, 20 Aug, 1798* (Washington: Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture).

Appendix 3: African people enslaved upon Farm Pen, St. Catherine, Jamaica, in the 1820s and 1830s. Owned by Robert Smith, Lord Carrington, of Smiths Bank

Females			
Names	Colour	Age	African or Creole
Abigail's Child	Negro	Unknown	Creole
Amelia McKie	Negro	1	Creole
Anne Richards (also known as Quashiba)	Negro	36	Creole
Badhead	Negro	0	Creole
Bella	Negro	2	Creole
Bessy	Negro	0	Creole
Catherine Ellis (also known as Sabina)	Negro	38	Creole
Charlotte Jackson	Negro	2	Creole
Cockroach	Negro	3	Creole
Cockroach	Negro	1	Creole
Dolly Gilbert	Unknown	2	Creole
Dorothy Johnston (also known as Frankye)	Negro	51	Creole
Elizabeth Greig (also known as Bessy)	Negro	22	Creole
Elizabeth Oliver	Quadroon	4	Creole
Esther	Negro	2	Creole
Fanny Brown	Negro	8	Creole
Gracey	Negro	2	Creole
Gracey	Negro	1	Creole
Henrietta Darling	Mulatto	5	Creole
Hopy Davis	Unknown	6 Months	Creole
Jane Payne (also known as Jenny Payne)	Negro	60	African
Jane Smith	Negro	7	Creole
Jenny Paulson (also known as Fanny)	Negro	75	African
Little Gracey (baptised Gracey Thomas)	Negro	16	Creole
Lucy	Negro	2	Creole
Lucy	Negro	0	Creole
Lucy, Lucretia Williams	Unknown	72	Creole
Margaret Ellis	Negro	1	Creole
Margaret Mary Redwood	Unknown	24	African
Mary	Unknown	6 Months	Creole
Mary	Negro	0	Creole
Mary Ann Wilks (also known as Claudae)	Negro	55	Creole
Mary Brown (also known as Mimba)	Negro	73	Creole
Mary Lodge (also known as Little Jenny)	Unknown	26	Creole
Molly, Ann Wiltshire	Unknown	22	Creole
Mortemia	Negro	90	African
Nancy	Negro	0	Creole
Patience	Negro	1	Creole
Patience	Negro	0	Creole
Pinda (also known as Pindar Reid)	Unknown	58	African
Pinky (also known as Kitty Reed)	Negro	2	Creole
Puss (baptised Letetia Taylor)	Quadroon	8	Creole

Names	Colour	Age	African or Creole
Rose	Negro	1	Creole
Saraha Walker (also known as Phillis)	Negro	65	Creole
Statia, Statis Richardson	Unknown	11	Creole
Males			
Names	Colour	Age	African or Creole
Badhead	Negro	1	Creole
Benjamin Clark (Ben)	Negro	6	Creole
Billy	Negro	3	Creole
Bird	Negro	3	Creole
Bristol	Negro	41	Creole
Bone (also known as Alexander Campbell)	Negro	2	Creole
Charles Hemming (also known as Fortune)	Negro	47	Creole
Cicero	Negro	70	African
Edward Forbes	Negro	31	Creole
Frederick Ranger	Quadroon	7	Creole
George	Mulatto	3	Creole
George Frederick Scudder	Mulatto	3	Creole
George Ken (also known as Portland)	Negro	24	Creole
George White (also known as Hanibale)	Negro	20	Creole
George Wilks	Negro	1 month	Creole
Harry Barnaby	Negro	2	Creole
James Ellis	Negro	4	Creole
James Payne	Negro	4	Creole
James Tulloh	Mulatto	6 Months	Creole
Jittersome (also known as Frank Francis)	Negro	3	Creole
Joe Durant	Negro	1	Creole
John (alias John Mopkey)	Negro	1	Creole
John Payne (also known as Jack)	Negro	75	Creole
Joseph	Quadroon	1	Creole
Lewis Forbes	Negro	2	Creole
Michael Dison	Mulatto	51	Creole
New Years Day (also known as Thomas Cope)	Negro	2	Creole
Parson Thomas Ewing	Negro	28	Creole
Quaco	Negro	1	Creole
Quashie	Negro	1	Creole
Richard	Negro	2	Creole
Robert	Negro	0	Creole
Robert Darling	Mulatto	2	Creole
Robert Johnston (also known as Robin)	Negro	49	Creole
Robert Savage (also known as Milton)	Negro	47	Creole
Robert Welch	Negro	2	Creole
Samuel Wilson	Negro	3	Creole
Stephen	Negro	1	Creole
Thomas	Negro	1	Creole
Thomas Mould (also known as King)	Negro	65	Creole

Names	Colour	Age	African or Creole
Thomas Pinnock	Negro	3	Creole
Thomas Went	Negro	1	Creole
Throwaway (also known as Joseph Pinnock)	Negro	0	Creole
Throwaway (also known as Thomas Barnes)	Negro	1	Creole
Tom	Negro	0	Creole
Tom Pindar	Negro	75	Creole
Victor	Negro	82	African
Wellington	Sambo	5	Creole
William	Quadroon	2	Creole
William (also known as Isaac)	Negro	49	Creole
William Davis	Negro	2	Creole
William Lodye (also known as Billy)	Negro	39	Creole
William Payler	Negro	2	Creole
William Taylor	Negro	1 month	Creole
Wolf	Negro	38	African

Appendix 4: African people enslaved upon Holland Estate, St. Elizabeth, Jamaica, in 1832. Owned by John Gladstone, Smith, Payne & Smiths Bank, and Divie Robertson.

Females			
Names	Colour	Age	African or Creole
Frances Wright (also known as Abba)	Negro	43	Creole
Olivia Jibby (also known as Cuola)	Negro	18	Creole
Frances Brooks (also known as Claudia)	Negro	45	Creole
Mary Smith (also known as Damsel)	Negro	19	Creole
Frances Solomon (also known as Eve)	Negro	43	Creole
Catherine Davis (also known as Eleanor)	Negro	25	Creole
Eliza Mitchell (also known as Elizabeth)	Negro	15	Creole
Catherine Brooks (also known as Frances)	Negro	16	Creole
Juliet	Negro	16	Creole
Letelia Williams	Negro	27	Creole
Jane (also known as Jenny)	Negro	41	Creole
Jane Smith (also known as Jane)	Negro	41	African
Eleanor Smith (also known as Liddy)	Negro	41	African
Susan Barrett (also known as Monsmia)	Sambo	28	Creole
Margaret James (also known as Monsmia)	Negro	16	Creole
Margaret	Negro	39	Creole
Dorothy Smith (also known as May)	Negro	39	African
Eleanor Bryson (also known as Nelly)	Mulatto	35	Creole
Ann Maria (also known as Nancy)	Negro	39	Creole
Mary James (also known as Priscilla)	Negro	41	Creole
Pheonix	Negro	43	Creole
Mary Walson	Negro	41	African
Patty	Negro	41	African
Amelia Davie (also known as Polly)	Negro	31	Creole
Frances Sleela (also known as Felecia)	Negro	20	Creole
Louisa Smith	Negro	17	Creole
Rosannah Slate (also known as Rose)	Negro	31	Creole
Sally Smith (also known as Rodella)	Negro	21	Creole
Elizabeth Vassal	Negro	17	Creole
Sarah Williams	Negro	39	Creole
Susan Brookes	Negro	47	Creole
Mary Ann (also known as Sylvia)	Negro	45	African
Ann Daly (also known as Sabina)	Negro	19	Creole
Susanna	Negro	17	Creole
Sally	Negro	17	Creole
Esther Campbell	Negro	39	Creole
Bell	Negro	13	Creole
Elizabeth Morgan (also known as Phoebe)	Negro	10	Creole
Ann Smith	Negro	10	Creole
Evelina Walson	Negro	9	Creole
Lucinda Williams	Negro	9	Creole
Elizabeth Bennett (also known as Bess)	Negro	10	Creole

Names	Colour	Age	African or Creole
Olivia Thomson (also known as Mioca)	Negro	7	Creole
Unknown	Negro	5	Creole
Catherine (also known as Martha)	Negro	7	Creole
Mary Mitchell (also known as Peggy)	Negro	4	Creole
Ann White	Negro	7	Creole
Cathe Morgan	Negro	7	Creole
Rebecca	Negro	7	Creole
Margaret (also known as Molly)	Negro	6	Creole
Unknown	Negro	3	Creole
Elizabeth Thomson	Mulatto	2	Creole
Charlotte Smith	Negro	2	Creole
Ann Mitchell	Negro	1	Creole
Frances Brookes	Negro	1	Creole
Olivia Barrett	Negro	1	Creole
Mary White	Sambo	1	Creole
Mary Jones	Negro	1	Creole
Peggy Smith	Negro	1	Creole
Peggy Smith	Negro	1	Creole
Rose Ann	Negro	1	Creole
Kitty	Negro	1	Creole
Charlotte	Negro	1	Creole
Males			
Arthur	Negro	48	African
Anthony	Negro	63	African
Harry Morgan (also known as Allick)	Negro	21	Creole
Adam	Negro	19	Creole
William Smith (also known as Billy)	Negro	45	Creole
Robert Wright (also known as Bob)	Negro	47	Creole
John	Sambo	85	Creole
James Myers (also known as Barnell)	Negro	43	Creole
Brandy	Negro	43	African
Unknown	Negro	15	Creole
William Morgan (also known as Bucchus)	Negro	48	African
Unknown	Negro	41	African
Robert Daly (also known as Darby)	Negro	43	African
Thomas Mitchell (Edward)	Negro	27	Creole
Unknown	Negro	22	Creole
Francis Smith (also known as Frank)	Negro	13	Creole
James	Negro	49	African
Richard Vassal (also known as Genick)	Negro	21	Creole
John Blackwood (also known as Hood)	Negro	48	African
William Maxwell (also known as Maurie)	Negro	41	African
Robert (also known as John Bull)	Negro	31	Creole
Jacky	Negro	48	Creole
James Smith	Negro	41	Creole

Names	Colour	Age	African or Creole
William Scarlett (also known as James)	Negro	13.5	Creole
Edward James	Negro	47	African
Lewis	Negro	29	Creole
Unknown	Negro	13.3	Creole
Thomas Green	Negro	41	African
Henry Smith (also known as Philip)	Negro	47	African
Unknown	Negro	17	Creole
Robert Brooks	Negro	43	Creole
James Fuller (also known as Robert)	Negro	18	Creole
Francis (also known as Sam)	Negro	43	African
Solomon	Negro	16	Creole
Thomas Thomson	Negro	39	Creole
Thomas Smith (also known as Fidus)	Negro	13	Creole
Dralby	Negro	12	Creole
Jamaica	Negro	11.5	Creole
Unknown	Negro	16	Creole
James Salmon (also known as Lynch)	Negro	10	Creole
William Green	Negro	10	Creole
William Bryson	Negro	8	Creole
Unknown	Negro	8	Creole
Richard Bennett	Negro	1?	Creole
William Shand	Negro	7	Creole
Thomas (also known as Scipio)	Negro	6	Creole
Robert Lilly	Quadroon	5.5	Creole
Robert Wade	Negro	6	Creole
Bute	Negro	5	Creole
Richard Williams	Negro	4	Creole
John Bell	Mulatto	1	Creole
William Thomson	Mulatto	1	Creole
Francis	Negro	1	Creole
Joseph	Negro	3	Creole
George Smith	Negro	3	Creole
Thomas Samuel	Negro	3	Creole
William	Negro	2	Creole
John Reid	Negro	1	Creole
Edward	Negro	1	Creole
Robert Mitchell	Negro	1	Creole
William	Sambo	1	Creole

Source: T71/1-671, *Slave Registers of Former British Colonial Dependencies, 1832 – Jamaica*, John Gladstone, Smith Payne & Smiths, and Divie Robertson (Kew: The National Archives).

Appendix 5: African people enslaved upon Unity Valley Pen, St. Ann, Jamaica, in the 1795. Owned by David Barclay, Partner of Barclays Bank.

Females	
Name	Age
Sabina	40
Bathsheba	35
Clarissa	35
Mintas	34
Patience	32
Amelia	28
Nancy	26
Nanny	24
Dido	24
Phillis	22
Juba	14
Charlotte	5
Sukey (also known as Susanna)	4
Males	
John	32
Bacchus	23
London	42
Simon	25
Kingston	23
Charles	14
Prince	14
Yawo (also known as David Barclay)	14
Toby	12
Wiltshire	11
Sancho	10
Mingo	10
October (also known as Robert Barclay)	8
Quashie (also known as George Barclay)	7
Cesar	6

Source: David Barclay, *An Account of the Emancipation of the Slaves of Unity Pen, In Jamaica* (London: William Phillips, 1801), pp. 10, 13-14.

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