# FACING OUR PAST

Interim report on the connections between the properties now in the care of the National Trust for Scotland and historical enslavement

NATIONAL TRUST *for* SCOTLAND

The *Facing Our Past* project was launched by the National Trust for Scotland in September 2020. It is part of the Trust's ongoing mission of research into the history of the properties and landscapes in our care. In a sense it is work without end, as there will always be more to discover and share, adding to our knowledge of how our culture and society has been shaped by the past.

The issue of slavery and its intertwining with the histories of individual properties, families and the nation as a whole is not something that has ever been completely hidden. Many historians and educators have shone a light on it through the years, including the Trust itself. However, we knew there was much that remained to learn and this report is a first step towards bringing the facts to attention and then using them in the interpretation of our properties, so that we can offer our members and visitors a much more rounded and honest view of the past.

*'Facing our Past is a key initiative in acknowledging the lost and excluded voices of our history, and in enabling our visitors to see the role of individual people and places in opposing, supporting or simply benefiting from the outrage of chattel slavery.'*
Professor Murray Pittock, Pro Vice-Principal of the University of Glasgow
and Board member of the National Trust for Scotland

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Art Fund_

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## Introduction

In 2007, the National Trust for Scotland undertook a project entitled *This is Our Story* to commemorate the bicentenary of the abolition of the slave trade across the British Empire. As part of this project, a travelling display was developed on the subject of historical enslavement and its connections with west coast Trust properties, including Greenbank House and Brodick and Culzean castles. Archaeological research focused attention on the subject by examining the site of Scipio Kennedy's house within Culzean Country Park.[2]

However, we now know that many Trust properties, across the whole of Scotland, have links to chattel slavery, the regime in which people were legally defined as the personal property of their owner, to be traded and moved at will and often subjected to numerous cruelties and injustices throughout their normally very short lives. Key to this new understanding was the launch in 2015 of the ground-breaking University College London's Legacies of British Slavery website, which lists all those who submitted claims, or who were awarded compensation, as a result of the Slave Compensation Act 1837. This Act followed the abolition of slavery throughout the British Empire by the Slavery Abolition Act 1833. It did not compensate the enslaved, but those who had owned enslaved people – they could claim reimbursement from the British government for their financial loss. The British government borrowed £20 million to compensate the owners. This sum was so vast (equivalent to nearly £2 billion today) that the debt to the British taxpayer was only paid off in 2015, the year of the UCL website launch.

For those Scots who were awarded compensation, it could be a life-changing sum, enabling them to acquire property and land or to enhance what they already owned. Much work remains to be done on the extent to which compensation money was used to acquire or improve the properties now in the care of the National Trust for Scotland.

At the time the *Facing Our Past* project began in September 2020, we were aware of around 20 properties across Scotland that had connections to slavery. When this report was first launched, in December 2021, that number had more than doubled to 48. It now stands at 49, and we anticipate that it may well grow as we carry out further research.

Across the Trust's portfolio the links to historical slavery are many and varied – extending across the British Empire as well as the Spanish, Dutch, French and Ottoman empires and over many centuries. The Trust owns three stretches of the Antonine Wall, including Rough Castle Fort, which are in the guardianship to Historic Environment Scotland.[3] People were enslaved across the Roman Empire and alongside the soldiers stationed along the Wall, who came from all corners of the Roman Empire, were many other civilians, including wives, families, camp followers and almost certainly also enslaved people. A tombstone found near Bar Hill in Lanarkshire (now Hunterian Museum), was erected by a man named Salmanes for his 15-year-old son, also called Salmanes. Salmanes may have been an eastern trader with links to the Syrian cohort based at the fort.[4] Close by was found the tombstone bearing the name of a woman called Verecunda – now thought to be a 15-year-old local girl who was enslaved and in the service of a commanding officer.[5]

The primary focus of this report however is on 18th- and 19th-century enslavement in the Atlantic Worlds. Although other enslavement narratives are included, it is anticipated that a more extensive investigation of the British Empire, including countries such as India and South Africa, may lead to an increase in the number of National Trust for Scotland properties connected to enslavement.

The Jacobite defeat at Culloden on 16 April 1746 saw many Scots either forcibly transported or, as political or economic migrants, made to seek new lives abroad (see, for example, ***31. Inveresk Lodge***). The increasing momentum of Scottish exodus meant that many Scots often first worked with and then (perhaps inevitably as their fortunes rose) became owners of enslaved people. In some cases, former impoverished cadets of grand families, who had made a fortune abroad through ownership of enslaved people, returned to Scotland and bought out their relatives who had previously held the primary position in the family. These returnees created dynasties which, over several generations, came to own vast swathes of Scottish land, as with the Braemore estate (***13. Corrieshalloch Gorge***) and the Glenaladale estate (***24. Glenfinnan Monument***). Alexander Forbes-Leith, who had married into a Kentucky plantation-owning family, bought Fyvie Castle (***19. Fyvie Castle***) on his return from America. The family wealth, accrued first on their Kentucky estates and later in industry, business

and banking, allowed Alexander's Fyvie to surpass the splendour of the original, nearby family seat of Leith Hall (***36. Leith Hall***).

Following the payouts from the slave compensation scheme, many properties were lavishly enhanced. There were major building and landscape projects at Brodick Castle between 1843 and 1863,[6] and at Brodie Castle, an elaborate expansion plan dating from 1824, which had been put on hold due to lack of funds, was finally realised in 1846 when architect James Wylson remodelled the entrance hall and fitted out the library.[7]

So often in the past, we have told the history of our properties in a largely patriarchal, linear format – from father to son – obscuring the narratives of women, servants and those who worked on the land. By ignoring women's stories, we have sometimes overlooked the financial input to estates that often came through marriage: from the daughters and widows of families who had benefited from enslavement to an enormous degree. In many cases, the profits of enslavement elevated the marriage prospects for women, with new family wealth facilitating their move from the middle classes to the aristocracy and landowning classes. This was the case with Susan Euphemia, the Beckford heiress who married the 10th Duke of Hamilton in 1810 (***7. Brodick Castle***). This may also have been the case with Elizabeth Baillie of Dochfour and Redcastle, who married into the Brodie family in 1838 (***8. Brodie Castle***) – her family was already landed and wealthy, but it received huge injections of funds following the Slave Compensation Act.

At National Trust for Scotland properties and estates, we can see how Scots supported each other when abroad. As R L Stevenson put it in *Kidnapped,* they 'all hing together like bats in a steeple' – so much so that in the Caribbean a type of limpet that crowded together on rocks was known locally as 'Scotchmen'. We can see these Scottish ties of friendship with a Mr Davidson offering to accompany Elizabeth McDermott's youngest daughter from Jamaica to Scotland (***4. Balnain House***). Family ties across continents are illustrated by the Allason brothers, who operated a family business around the notorious 'triangular trade' – from the west coast of Africa to Virginia and back to Scotland (***25. Greenbank House***).

As well as examining the history of properties across Scotland, the *Facing Our Past* project has also set out to find tangible links to specific places in former colonies. There are many plantations and place names that confirm these connections, such as Dun-Pen (***28. House of Dun***) and Leith Hall (***36. Leith Hall***), both in Jamaica, and Dunmore on Long Island in the Bahamas (***41. The Pineapple***). Conversely, we can also identify at certain properties how the former colonies influenced building in Scotland – most obviously at the 4th Earl of Dunmore's fanciful summerhouse (***41. The Pineapple***), but also at the home of Robert Waugh in Melrose, which significantly shares its ironic name Harmony with Waugh's pimento plantation in the parish of Clarendon, Jamaica. Harmony is also the name of another 24 plantations scattered across Trinidad, Demerara, Jamaica and Barbados. Built in 1807, Harmony Hall in Melrose (***27. Harmony Hall***) reveals its Caribbean connections with its high outdoor steps (installed in the West Indies to deter farm animals from entering the home), its unusual front portico (reminiscent of a colonial veranda) and its interior wooden panelling. The numerous sugar bowls and pieces of rare wooden furniture, including musical instruments, in Trust properties similarly reveal how enslaved people contributed to what we see at our places today. Portraits by Raeburn, Mosman and Ramsay shine a light on the faces of some of those whose comfortable Enlightenment existence was funded through enslavement.

A number of individuals did not profit through actually owning enslaved people, but they submitted claims to the Compensation Fund to recoup loans that they had made to plantation owners. Buying enslaved people was expensive and owners often ran into financial problems, since so many had taken out mortgages. When the Act was passed, it was often the assignees of the mortgages who submitted the claim for compensation to enable the loan to be repaid (and, of course, any interest that had accrued). This was the case with Alexander Murray of Broughton House and with two children of the Burnett family of Crathes Castle.

At Culzean Castle and Falkland Palace, the connection to slavery was through formerly enslaved Africans, who lost their birthnames upon arrival in Scotland, to be replaced by Christian names or the heroic names (eg Homer) favoured by their owners. At Culzean, the African boy 'Scipio', who was brought home as part of the retinue of the Douglas family, was first known by the Douglas surname and then, like his mistress, he took on the surname Kennedy at the time of her marriage. At Greenbank House, 'Black John' waited on Robert Allason.

At Inveresk Lodge, Falkland Palace, Pollok House and Balnain House, there was a mixed-race element to the family history. The fates of these individuals varied widely – some have been largely forgotten, certainly almost always excluded from the narrative of the property. Some were cared for, nurtured and assimilated into Scottish society, but only when they were of an acceptable hue, as was the case with the red-headed Peter Grant (***4. Balnain House***) and the Shaw siblings, who had only one black grandparent (***20. The Georgian House***).[8] Both these mixed-race families benefited from the slave compensation scheme, especially Grant who married the owner of many enslaved people in Jamaica. Margaret Stuart Bruce (***18. Falkland Palace***) also married into a family made wealthy through slavery: the Tyndalls of Bristol. She too was found to be acceptable, although her mother was Indian. Nevertheless, as one author saw it, her facial hair was a worrying indicator of her Indian heritage: 'keeping the secret of her origins was a constant trial. When Margaret was ten, Peggie wrote to John in a panic: "Margaret Stuart I am frightened is getting a black downiness on her lip". She exhorted John to find a remedy for a hairy upper lip, "but don't let Bob know".'[9]

To some degree, Scots forgot (or chose to ignore) their slavery connections, due perhaps to focusing on their significant role in its abolition.[10] The narratives of Scots and the abolition movement are important and can be seen in the complex, changing position of Robert Burns, who moved from intending to work on a Jamaican plantation in 1786 to being remembered as a champion of the anti-slavery movement (***45. Robert Burns Birthplace Museum***). This is echoed in the transition of ownership of properties from beneficiaries of slavery to abolitionists. In the case of Provan Hall (***44. Provan Hall)***, ownership passed to an individual who has been credited with influencing arguably Scotland's best-known abolitionist, David Livingstone. We should also laud the valiant efforts of Lord and Lady Aberdeen who, from the outset of their marriage in 1877, set out to improve the lives of others and on their honeymoon in Egypt took the opportunity to liberate four enslaved boys (***26. Haddo House***).

This project is not intended to demean the very considerable achievements of our forebears but, alongside extolling individuals such as Hugh Miller (***30. Hugh Miller's Birthplace Cottage & Museum***) and Thomas Carlyle (***47. Thomas Carlyle's Birthplace***), we shall also acknowledge their paternalism (in Miller's case) and racist views (Carlyle). To provide a more rounded understanding of the world in which they lived and the attitudes of the times, we shall include facts that have either been hidden or told only rarely. The National Trust for Scotland is committed to expanding knowledge and supporting staff and volunteers to address Scotland's role in enslavement where this is associated with its properties and places. With our very large and varied portfolio – from museums like Culloden, Robert Burns Birthplace Museum and our historic houses to humble cottages, gardens and landed estates – we have a unique opportunity to realise this ambition across Scotland.

My final words must be for those enslaved. Throughout this report, the names and dates of the Scots connected to Trust properties who were involved in enslavement, or those who benefited financially from the compensation paid out following abolition, are stated and, in many cases, details of their lives are elucidated. What has not been possible, in the main, is to bring to life the fates of those who were enslaved. In his recent book, *Blood Legacy: Reckoning with a Family's Story of Slavery* (Canongate, 2021), Alex Renton has shown how in-depth research of one family's papers (in his case those of the Fergusson family of Kilkerran) can greatly enhance this vital aspect of the narrative. We have documents in our care such as the Inverneill papers, which include substantial listings of those enslaved on plantations (see ***11. Canna House***), as well as family wills in which plantations and enslaved workers are bequeathed (such as those of Alexander Erskine – (see ***28. House of Dun & Angus Folk Collection***). Work on these documents in the family archives, along with research on papers held elsewhere (such as Elizabeth McDermott's poignant letter regarding the fate of her children – see ***4. Balnain House***), will allow us to learn more about the individuals whose lives were so impacted by Scottish homeowners and their relatives who supported the wider family from far-flung parts of the British Empire. We are also beginning to search the censuses (available free through the *Ancestry.com/co.uk* website) for all **Former British Colonial Dependencies, Slave Registers, 1813–1834.** We encourage further research into those listed, as only once this work has been completed can a fuller understanding of the impact on the enslaved by those associated with National Trust for Scotland properties be reached.

Dr Jennifer Melville, Project Leader, *Facing Our Past,* December 2021 (updated April 2022)

It is very important when examining these connections to slavery to define how we have established those links. The reality is that wealth accrued through enslavement seeped into almost every stream of British life and economy: it fed into 'traditional' acreage, new buildings, building extensions, fine and applied art, as well as creating new family genealogies.

In this report, following the guidance of Drs Andrew Mackillop and Iain Mackinnon, distinctions are drawn between the different types of connections, which broadly speaking can be defined as:

- **Direct [D]:** The property was owned by a person who trafficked or owned enslaved people, or who owned a plantation (the products and value of which relied on enslaved people); or the property was where a former enslaved person lived, worked or interacted with the owners.
- **Indirect [ID]**: The property was owned by a person who made money from the commodities produced by enslaved people, such as tobacco, sugar, cotton and Atlantic World indigo and rice; or the property was owned by people who benefited from the financial and credit systems spawned by enslaved labour economies (in other words, those lending to or borrowing from planters, investing in voyages and shipping connected to the 'Africa trades'); or the property was owned by merchants and manufacturers known to have exported their commodities to slave colonies – ie linen, iron and fish producers in Scotland.
- **Intergenerational [IG]:** The issue of longstanding privilege through slavery is problematic: how long does wealth connected to enslavement through these various groupings remain, in effect, slavery wealth? Very often it is entwined with other sources of wealth. Do great-grandchildren who inherit become owners of 'slavery-connected' wealth, or indeed organisations such as the National Trust for Scotland when they take on the care of properties, estates and collections that were once acquired through such wealth? Although the fortunes of families ebbed and flowed, privilege is often long-lasting. Direct links to slavery at Trust properties are now in the past, but they are a vital part of our history and worthy of research. Furthermore, this report brings women to the fore, exploring the powerful thread of the history of inheritance of wealth gained through slavery. Women's narratives show how they often acted as the channels for slavery wealth and perpetuated this wealth through marriage and family. Many of these women and their husbands and children, and indeed subsequent generations, were not directly profiting; rather, they inherited wealth and often continued to be financially privileged through this initial injection of funds.
- **Abolitionists [A]:** National Trust for Scotland properties illustrate many different phases of the abolition movement, from its beginnings in the late 18th century with Robert Burns through to the end of the 19th century with Lord and Lady Aberdeen. Emancipation societies were established in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Paisley, with separate women-only societies in Glasgow and Edinburgh. Given that, in Edinburgh alone, around 162,000 women signed a petition in 1833 calling for an end to slavery, it can be surmised that the women of Scotland who had been allowed leisured lives, made possible through inherited wealth (including assets accrued through enslavement or compensation), were also empowered, through leisure time and education, to play a significant role in the abolition movement, which is also an intrinsic part of the narrative. Further research to establish the links, if any, to those who lived and worked at Trust properties is recommended.[11]

**A note on inflation calculations**

Inflation calculations have been reached using the Measuring Worth website.

However, as Prof. Murray Pittock has explained by 1861 GDP per capita in England and Scotland was not consistent throughout this period and by 1861, Scottish GDP exceeded England's per capita; in 1815 it was 0.73–1.5:1, up to 1815 and 1–1.25:1 from 1815–30; and 1:1 after that date.'[12]

Therefore, in order to arrive at a more accurate figure for Scottish values, **before 1815** the calculation has meant multiplying the English amount by **1.5** for a Scottish value; from **1815–30** the amount has been multiplied by **1.25**; and from **1830 onwards** (including the period of government compensation for slave ownership) it is calculated at **1:1**.

### *1. Angus Folk Collection*

Presented to the Trust by Lady Jean Maitland in 1974.

See ***28. House of Dun & Angus Folk Collection***

### *2. Bachelors' Club*

Bachelors' Club was acquired in 1938, with a further section (Seabegs Wood) bought in 1973.

See ***45. Robert Burns Birthplace Museum***

### *3. Balmacara Estate* [D]

1. Thomas Lawrence, *Lord Seaforth*
Figge Art Museum, Davenport, Iowa

Balmacara Estate was once part of the much larger Lochalsh estate that extended all the way from Kyle in the west to Pait near Loch Monar in the east.[13] The Balmacara estate was owned by the Mackenzies of Seaforth. The last Lord Seaforth was Lieutenant-General Francis Humberston Mackenzie, 1st Baron Seaforth FRS FRSE FLS (1754–1815). Mackenzie was profoundly deaf, having contracted scarlet fever at the age of twelve (in Gaelic he was known as *MacCoinnich Bodhar* or 'Deaf Mackenzie'). Despite this, Mackenzie became Governor of Barbados from 1800–06, in the period immediately before the abolition of the British slave trade. Seaforth has been praised for reforming slavery: he made the killing of an enslaved person by a white person a capital offence, he reduced official discrimination against free black people and he supported their right to testify against white residents.[14] That said, Seaforth was himself a plantation owner in Berbice and once said that Berbice was ripe for speculative investment and the making of 'very rapid and splendid fortunes.'[15] The dilemma of Seaforth – apparently a humanitarian, concerned for the welfare of people for whom he felt responsible both in the Scottish Highlands and in the Caribbean, yet also pro-slavery – has been studied most recently by Finlay McKichan,[16] but McKichan's take on this conundrum has since been critiqued by Stephen Mullen,[17] who questions Seaforth's supposed altruism. Today our viewpoint is aligned to one of total abolition, rather than the gradual approach to abolition that some at the time justified. Many opposed the gradual approach, perhaps most notably the English social reformer Elizabeth Heyrick, who as early as 1824 had criticised abolitionists who advocated a gradual ending of enslavement, pointing out the lack of logic in that remaining enslaved could be in any way an improvement, let alone justified.[18]

In 1802 the Lochalsh estate was sold to Sir Hugh Innes (1764–1831). Innes paid £38,000 (*c*£5,127,000 in 2021) and subsequently bought further land from Seaforth in a neighbouring parish. Drs Mackillop and Mackinnon have queried the source of Innes's wealth. Sir Hugh Innes's father died when Hugh was an infant and it appears that his mother died when he was around 10 years old. Little is known of his life until he bought Lochalsh, but he was described in 1809 as 'a mercantile man of London'. His father (also Hugh) and paternal grandfather, James, were ministers, as was James's father, the Rev. Berowald Innes. They are said to have been descendants of the Innes family of Coxton. Some of Rev. Berowald Innes's descendants emigrated to Virginia, where they were enriched by the plantation economy. How it came to be that Sir Hugh Innes, an orphaned son of a minister, was able to spend some £40,000 on an estate in the West Highlands when he was in his mid-30s is still unclear, but the possibility that his wealth was connected to his wealthy relatives in Virginia, or with the Caribbean, cannot be ruled out and merits further research. What is known is that, as MP for Tain Burghs, on 2 March 1826 Innes voted against the motion condemning the Jamaican slave trials.[19]

Innes died unmarried in 1831 and the estate was inherited by his niece Catherine Lindsay. She married Isaac William Lillingston, who became owner of Lochalsh through this marriage. Lillingston's father, born Abraham Spooner, adopted his wife's surname upon marrying Elizabeth Lillingston, who was the widow of Luke Lillingston and the only daughter and heiress of Wilhelmina Joanna Dottin. According to Anne Stott, who has written extensively on the life of abolitionist William Wilberforce[20] (who was Isaac Lillingston's uncle): 'Mrs Lillingston, as Willielma [short for Wilhelmina] Joanna Dottin, was born in 1741 at Grenade Hall, Barbados, of a long-standing slave-owning and slave-trading family dating back to the early seventeenth century. One of her ancestors, William Dottin, was registered in June 1680 as "holding three manservants and 60 Negroes", while the family vessel, the *Dottin Galley*, made several voyages between 1702 and 1725 between London, the Gold Coast and Barbados transporting enslaved Africans (landing in 1704 with 150 enslaved aboard) and returning with rum.'[21]

In 1760 Elizabeth's father, who owned enslaved people, left her £4,000 in his will. In 1766 her first husband Luke was also granted 20,000 acres of land in the slave colony of East Florida, which, under the governorship of James Grant of Ballindalloch (1720–1806), was being settled with Protestant white inhabitants. This was part of an ambitious colonisation plan following transfer from Spanish rule – British subjects applied for and were granted land, but many of those, including Lillingston apparently, did not settle their lands.

The original 9,000 acre estate was gifted to the Trust by Lady Margaret Hamilton in 1946. Further land was acquired between 1948 and 1999.

### *4. Balnain House* [D/IG]

The National Trust for Scotland's regional headquarters for the Highlands, Balnain House is one of the oldest town houses in Inverness and was built in the 1720s on lands belonging to the Laird of Grant. Who first occupied this house is not known. However, in 1796 Colin Munro (c.1756-1823), son of William Munro of Munlochy and Nelly Graham of Drynie, north of Inverness. A 'master mariner' and an indigo planter in Grenada, he made his fortune in the West Indies, acquired the property and marrying Sarah Chisholm, the daughter of Inverness Lord provost Dr William Chisholm who died in the West Indies in 1807.[22] Munro completely re-styled the building: re-roofing it, creating new rooms and adding a conservatory overlooking a fine walled garden. The house became known locally as the Blue House, although it's unclear whether this was because of the fresh slate roof, the indigo trading or a blue harl to the building. Its official name was Fairfield House. The couples' son, also Colin, was born there in 1798 but moved to London. A daughter, Alice married her cousin, Colin Munro of Dingwall and moved to Dingwall, as did her unmarried sister Catherine Isabella.

2. Sir Henry Raeburn, *Ann Fraser, Mrs Alexander Fraser Tytler*, *c*1804 Brooklyn Museum, New York, Gift of Mrs Arthur Lehman

In 1825 the Frasers of Balnain acquired the house, hence its current name. William Fraser Tytler of Balnain FRSE (1777–1853) was a lawyer and historian[23] who inherited Balnain from his mother, Ann Fraser (*c*1750–1836). She was the daughter of William Fraser, W.S., of Balnain estate in Stratherrick and closely related to many men who made their fortunes through slavery on Caribbean plantations.[24] In 1810 Tytler was appointed Sheriff of Inverness, and Balnain House became his principal family home. When in Edinburgh for his academic duties, he stayed with his mother at 108 Princes Street, but he was heavily criticised for his lack of attendance at the University of Edinburgh. By 1816 his friend Walter Scott was embarrassed that Tytler was still theoretically Professor of History, despite having 'retired for some years into the north country, and does not even pretend to lecture'.[25] Tytler resigned in 1821. Tytler's two first cousins, James and Edward Fraser of Reelig, managed the family's sugar and cotton plantations in Berbice, Guyana (see also ***19. Fyvie Castle***).[26] Tytler's wife, Margaret Cussans Grant (1781–1862), whom he married in 1801, was the only legitimate child of George Grant of Burdyards[27] who owned the Airy Castle estate in Jamaica. Grant had fathered four children with a free woman of colour, Elizabeth McDermott, who were brought to Scotland to live with him in 1800 at his home Sanquhar House,[28] on the Burdyards estate near Forres. When George Grant died in 1819, Tytler (through his wife Margaret) inherited the Burdyards estate. What became of his father-in-law's other children who lived there, or their mother (who was presumably still in Jamaica), is not known. However, a remarkable letter, written to George Grant from Richmond Hill, Jamaica in 1800, reveals Elizabeth's feelings as she attempted to arrange for her youngest daughter to join her sisters in Scotland:

> *Richmond Hill*
> *May 1800,*
> *My Dear Sir, … I assure you sir I wait very impatiently to get a letter from you which is the only consolation left me for the absence of a Most Wordy Friend; I certainly would have wrote you long ere now; was it not owning to the hopes which I flatter'd myself with, of expecting your paying Jamaica a Vissit and indeed it was expected by every Other Person; the time is elapsed, and I now Dispair (too well), I know I am for forever bereft of that Happiness I long wished for, what shall I now think, when will I ever be so fortunate to meet again one like you; that I can trust or look to for Protection. (Can I venture) as you seems to be against my retiring to the Country my children resides in, surely you cannot imagine dear sir that my present situation can be anywere comfortable; I can write no more on this subject, for it only increases the tears in my Eyes and afford me a sad remembrance of past happinesses. Mr Donald Davidson[29] having purposed leaving this iland for the benefit of his Health, and as it has*

*been my Perticular wish, that my last poor little girl should be with her sisters, and she herself are very desirous of going to her sisters and to learn her Education, Mr Davidson was very kind to offer to take charge of her; and as he has taken home one of his own little girls we agreed that he should pay the expences of the servent, as one servent could attend both children, he readily comply, as he thought it was advantageous to both, I theirfore hope it wil meet your approbation, I cannot but acknowledge how much I am satisfied (my good sir) for the Fatherly care you have Hitherto been pleased to show my little ones, a circumstance which I assure you dear sir that my heart will always be Deeply Imprinted with, a jest sence, of how very grateful I ought to be, and will ever endeavour to beheave myself to deserve your esteem and I hope they will have the most sincere feelings of Duty, Gratitude and affection and will ever remain Proud and happy to entrance so particular a Mark of your Friendship. It pains me to tel you little Ann had met with an accident in her hip, it now renders her very lame I apployed to the surgeon here, but they advise me it will be much better done, and with little danger, in England, I theirfore pray you to see if their can be any thing done for he; I have provide Cloaths and evry other necessary for Ann's Departure …*[30]

Elizabeth was not left destitute – and may have even been compensated for the ownership of two enslaved people herself[31] – but she was parted forever from her three daughters and red-haired son Peter (later Lieutenant-Colonel Peter Grant, *c*1786–1878). In 1832 Peter bought the estate of Invererne near Forres and settled in its fine mansion house, which had been built in 1818 by General William Grant. The following year Peter Grant married Mary Anne Peterkin of Grange and Greshop (1808–54)[32] and assumed the additional surname of his wife. Mary Anne had recently inherited the Chatham estate in St James, Jamaica; just a few years later, she became the sole beneficiary of compensation for 144 people enslaved there, amounting to £2,965 2s 10d (*c*£281,200 in 2021).[33]

In 1823, attorneys John Alves and Charles Scott,[34] acting on behalf of Tytler and his wife, sold 51 'Negro slaves and their future issue' to Priscilla Franks for £5,415 (*c*£617,875 in 2021).[35] Following the abolition of slavery, Tytler was awarded compensation for a further three enslaved people still on the Airy Castle estate in 1840.[36]

Balnain House was acquired by the Trust from the Balnain House Trust in 1997.

### *5. J M Barrie's Birthplace* [ID]

This late 18th-/early 19th-century two-storey tenement house was the birthplace of writer J M Barrie. Barrie, whose father was a weaver, was born in 1860 and lived there until 1870. These houses are marked as 'the Tenements' in Ordnance Survey maps and have four loom shops to either side of the common stair. The warping lofts appear to have been to the south of these, beyond the wash house, and built of timber.

Although Kirriemuir weavers specialised in weaving linen for corsets (which are unlikely to have been standard wear for the enslaved), they are nevertheless part of the much larger Angus weaving story. As with the Angus Folk Collection at House of Dun (see ***28. House of Dun & Angus Folk Collection***), Barrie's Birthplace can be used to elucidate the history of how coarse linen was used to clothe enslaved people in the Americas and the Caribbean – it was one of Scotland's principal exports to countries where slavery was legal.[37]

J M Barrie's Birthplace was acquired by Mrs Elliot Alves and then gifted to the Trust in 1937.

### *6. Ben Lawers* [IG]

Ben Lawers once belonged to the Earls of Breadalbane. As is so often the case, the slavery connections here came through the female line. Lady Mary Campbell (1795–1862), daughter of Lt. Gen. John Campbell, 1st Marquess of Breadalbane, married Richard, 2nd Duke of Buckingham and Chandos (1797–1861). Mary's brother, John Campbell, 2nd Marquess of Breadalbane (1796–1862), was a trustee of her marriage settlement in 1819 and as such was one of two trustees[38] to lay claim to, and be awarded, compensation for the Duke of Buckingham's ownership of 379 enslaved people on the Hope estate in St Andrew, Jamaica. The compensation amounted to £6,630 5s 6d (*c.*£628,800 in 2021).[39]

> The Duke had inherited the Hope estate from his mother, who in turn had inherited from her mother, Anna Eliza Gamon (1737-1813). Anna's first marriage had been childless and on the death of her husband, Roger Hope Elletson in 1775, Anna took over the management of the Hope estate an absentee. Her estate correspondence can be viewed at the National Library of Jamaica.[40]

3. Firmin Massot John Campbell, 5th Earl and 2nd Marquess of Breadalbane
private collection

4. John Jackson *Portrait of Richard Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville, 2nd Duke of Buckingham and Chandos*, 1830
Stowe House, the former family estate

As to why the marriage trustees received the funds, rather than the Duke, is unclear but it may be to do with his financial mismanagement and the Duchess's desire to ensure her own financial security: in 1847 Richard was declared bankrupt with debts over a million pounds (£93.4 million as of 2022). In August that year he moved abroad to escape his creditors. Most of the family's vast assets were sold or auctioned and couple divorced in 1850.

Ben Lawers was acquired by the Trust in 1950.

### *7. Brodick Castle* [IG]

The Hamilton family were connected to slavery over several generations. In the 1670s, among the many servants of Anne, 3rd Duchess of Hamilton (1631–1716) is recorded 'one of the fashionable Negro footmen, known to his colleagues as John Timothy the Black'.[41] In the 1690s Anne headed the Edinburgh list of investors in the ill-fated Darien scheme: an unsuccessful attempt to establish *New Caledonia*, a Scottish colony on the Isthmus of Panama, putting up the maximum amount of £3000. A ship named *Duke of Hamilton*, was one of four ships that carried the 1300 colonists on the third Darien expedition, often called the *Rising Sun party*, which sailed from the Clyde, September 24th, 1699.[42] In 1700, Anne's eldest son James, 4th Duke of Hamilton (1658-1712), supported the establishment of a slave trading site near Cape Town in South Africa from where captured Africans could to be transported to Panama to supply labour for its gold mines. [43] The collapse of the Darien scheme overtook these plans (given the distance of the Cape from West Africa, where most enslaved people were captured, its failure was perhaps fortunate for the proposers of this somewhat hairbrained scheme).

A decade earlier, Anne's youngest son, Lord Archibald Hamilton (1673–1754), as a young naval officer, had accompanied James Kendall (1647–1708), the recently appointed Governor of Barbados, on his journey to the West Indies. The following year, he was serving as aide-de-camp to the Governor of the Leeward Islands, Christopher Codrington (1668–1710), and was highly commended for his actions during an attack on Guadeloupe. In May 1710 Hamilton was appointed Governor of Jamaica. The office was extremely lucrative, 'with a salary of £2,500 Jamaica money'. It also provided scope for further enrichment by fees and perquisites, making it 'the best the Queen has, excepting that of Ireland'.[44] Indeed, Hamilton's primary motivation seems to have been financial: in December 1715 he was charged with the misapplication of official funds. He was forcibly superseded in July 1716, when a local planter was proclaimed Governor and Hamilton was sent home as a prisoner to face a 'trumped-up charge of conniving at piracy'.[45]

In 1844 Susan Euphemia Beckford (1786–1859), who had married Alexander, 10th Duke of Hamilton in 1810, inherited the estate of her recently deceased father, William Beckford (1760–1844). This included part of his magnificent collection of *objets d'art,* much of which is still on display at Brodick Castle. The Beckford family was among the first to obtain plantations in Jamaica. They owned hundreds of enslaved people and, over three generations, became extremely rich. William Beckford spent vast amounts of money on his art treasures. We can be sure that many of the objects in the Brodick Beckford collection were acquired with money obtained through enslavement. This money may also have funded the 1844 extension of the castle, but without further research this cannot be certain. The Hamilton family had so much property that tracing specific sums to specific projects or purchases is unwise without more research. Susan's daughter-in-law Princess Marie Amélie von Baden (1817–88) is also likely to have brought a considerable dowry as part of her marriage agreement, so it might have been this that was used to fund the building works. Her marriage to the future 11th Duke of Hamilton took place in 1843. Through her mother, Princess Stéphanie de Beauharnais, Grand Duchess of Baden (1789–1860), Marie was related to the Empress Joséphine Bonaparte (1763–1814) and also to the extended Beauharnais family, which had owned enslaved people in the French colony of Martinique. François de Beauharnais, 1st Marquess de la Ferté-Beauharnais (1714–1800), the father of Joséphine's first husband Alexandre François Marie, Viscount of Beauharnais (1760–94), had served as a governor there from 1757–61. Joséphine's own family also owned enslaved people on Martinique – the sugar plantation where she was born in 1763, as Marie Josèphe Rose Tascher de La Pagerie, in Les Trois-Îlets is now a museum.[46] On 26 July 2020 Joséphine's statue in La Savane Park in Martinique's capital, Fort-de-France, was destroyed by protesters. She had been accused of influencing her second husband, Napoléon Bonaparte, to reinstate slavery in 1802, which had been abolished throughout the French colonies in 1794.

> **See also**:
> *A tale of two champions: the Cribb and Molineaux boxing drawings at Brodick*
> Written by Dr Heather Carroll, Exhibition & Events Officer, Stirling Smith Art Gallery & Museum
> It was the biggest boxing match of the era: the formerly enslaved American who couldn't be beaten, against England's champion. Two drawings from Brodick Castle tell the tale.
>
> *A tale of two champions: the fight for freedom*
> Regional Curator Sarah Beattie takes a closer look at the lives of Tom Molineaux and his trainer Bill Richmond, and their experiences as black boxers in Britain in the early 1800s.

Brodick Castle was acquired by the Trust in 1958 from the Trustees of the 12th Duke of Hamilton.

### *8. Brodie Castle* [IG]

The Brodie family can trace their association with the area back to Malcolm, Thane of Brodie, who died in 1285. The family fortunes went up and down, but when Alexander Brodie died in 1754 he left substantial debts. William Brodie (1799–1873) succeeded as 22nd Laird in 1824. He commissioned William Burn to make substantial alterations to Brodie Castle but again the improvements resulted in debts, the work was never completed and some of the house contents had to be sold. The family fortunes improved in 1837 when William married Elizabeth Baillie (1819–1914). In 1835 her father, Hugh Duncan Baillie (1777–1866), received a share of a compensation award totalling over £60,000 (*c*£5,690,000) for the enslaved people on 17 estates in British Guiana,[47] Grenada, St Kitts, St Vincent and Trinidad.[48] Brodie Castle was extensively remodelled by James Wylson *c*1846[49] but further research is required to establish if the Baillie assets enhanced Brodie Castle; the Brodie family papers[50] and Baillie family papers[51] would be good sources.

On display at Brodie Castle is a marble bust of Elizabeth's older brother, Colonel Henry James Baillie (1803–85), who was Conservative MP for Inverness-shire (1840–68). A friend of Benjamin Disraeli, he was later Under-Secretary of State for India (1858–59) in Lord Derby's Conservative government. His father's wealth, accrued through ownership and mortgaging of slavery plantations as well as the compensation pay-outs, had catapulted him into the very richest echelons of society. In his first recorded speech in the House of Commons, delivered on 17 March 1848, he took the opportunity to discuss despatches from Captain Maunsell regarding the blockade by British vessels of the African coast, which had prevented enslaved people awaiting transportation from sailing. As they were no longer deemed of worth, this resulted in their subsequent murder. It is not clear if Baillie's interest in this incident was humanitarian or financial – more research into his views would be welcome.[52]

A 9th-century Pictish stone, known as Rodney's Stone, stands beside the driveway leading to Brodie Castle. It was found in 1781 in the old churchyard of the nearby village of Dyke during digging for the foundations of a new parish church. It had been re-used as a recumbent grave-slab and was set up first in Dyke village. Sometime before 1832, it was moved to the grounds of Brodie Castle where it took on an association with Admiral Rodney (1718–92), who won a key battle in 1761 that opened up the Windward Islands of the lesser Antilles, including Grenada, Saint Vincent, Saint Lucia and the Grenadines to British (and particularly Scottish) domination.[53]

Brodie Castle was acquired by the Trust from Ninian Brodie, the 25th Laird of Brodie in 1980.

### *9. Broughton House & Garden* [ID]

The town of Kirkcudbright has connections with slavery through its trading links and long history as a port. This is evinced by the fact that several people from the town and county were awarded compensation for the enslaved people whom they owned when the government paid out in the 1830s. Given the early date of Broughton House, it seems possible, even likely, that those rich enough to afford to live in one of the grandest houses in the town's 18th-century expansion would have benefited from trade with the Americas and West Indies. In fact, the connection to slavery is closer, as Broughton House was named after the lands of Broughton in Wigtownshire, which were owned by the prominent Murray family. Over several generations, the Murrays were MPs for the area. One of these, Alexander Murray of Broughton (1789–1845), received part of the compensation for 121 enslaved people on the Whim plantation in Tobago (the total payment was £1,199 2s 7d or *c*£113,700 in 2021).[54] Alexander's payment was a settlement of a £7,000 mortgage owed to him and his business partners. The enslaved people were viewed as an asset, to be recouped from the debtor – the Rev. James Hamilton of Canterbury – who had originally claimed the compensation.[55]

Alexander Murray of Broughton was the illegitimate son of James Murray (1727–99), who had inherited Broughton House from his father, also Alexander (c1680–1750). It was Alexander Snr who remodelled two houses in Kirkcudbright that had been built in 1734, nos. 10 and 12 High Street, into a prestigious family home. He was Provost and MP for Kirkcudbright and in 1726 had married Euphemia, daughter of James Stewart, 5th Earl of Galloway, so he would have needed an impressive town house. On his death in 1750, the house passed to his son James, who also had a titled wife: his first cousin Catherine, daughter of Alexander Stewart, 6th Earl of Galloway. Following the birth of his only legitimate child Euphemia in 1756, Murray absconded to York with Grace Johnston, the daughter of his political rival Peter Johnston. The oldest of their three children, Alexander Murray of Broughton inherited his father's estates and assets when he was just 10 years old.[56] Although Broughton House had been sold, Alexander would have known it well: he too became the Member of Parliament for Wigtownshire and spent a large part of his fortune improving his estate at nearby Cally.

Broughton House & Garden was acquired by the National Trust for Scotland from the Hornel Trust in 1997.

### *10. Bute House* [D/ID/IG]

No. 6 Charlotte Square, Edinburgh was arguably the grandest terraced house in the capital. Now known as Bute House and as the official residence of the First Minister of Scotland, it was owned by three men in succession who had links to the West Indies: John Innes Crawford (1776–1839), who was born in Jamaica and inherited his father's estates when he was about 5 years old, including the Bellfield sugar plantation and several hundred enslaved people; Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster (1754–1835), who claimed part compensation for the 610 enslaved people living on three estates in St Vincent (although he died before the pay-out) whilst acting as a trustee for the marriage settlement of his brother-in-law, the Hon. Archibald Macdonald (son of Macdonald of Sleat), and Jane Campbell of Ardneave;[57] and Charles Oman, who bought the property in 1816 from Sinclair and ran it as a successful hotel.

3. right; Sir Henry Raeburn, *Sir John Sinclair (1754–1835), 1st Baronet of Ulbster, c*1794–99 National Galleries of Scotland

Oman's son Charles worked on the Trinity estate in St Mary, Jamaica – the site of the famous Tacky's revolt, an important slave rebellion led by a Coromantee chief from Ghana.[58]

*n.b.* For a detailed analysis of this property's connections to slavery, see Rachel Lang's article 'Bute House, official residence of the First Minister of Scotland' in the Legacies of British Slave-ownership project blog.[59] See also ***20. The Georgian House*** and ***40. No. 5 Charlotte Square***.

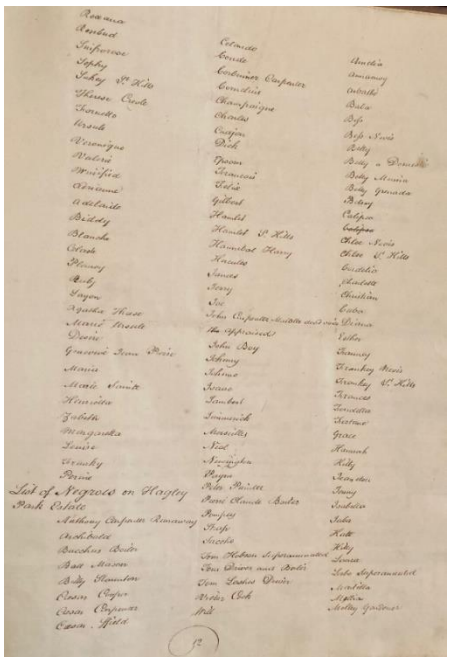
Nos 5,6 and 7 Charlotte Square were acquired by the Trust in 1958 from the executors of the late Marquess of Bute.

### *11. Canna House* [IG]

Scottish historian, farmer, environmentalist and folklore scholar Dr John Lorne Campbell FRSE LLD OBE (1906–96) and his wife Margaret Fay Shaw donated Canna to the National Trust for Scotland in 1981. Along with Dr Campbell's huge collection of Gaelic and Celtic songs, stories and poetry; his unique collection of butterflies and moths; and Margaret Fay Shaw's photographic archive, their home is itself remarkable in its eclectic mix of the couple's possessions and her quintessentially American aesthetic. Hanging at Canna House was a version of Romney's portrait of Dr John Lorne Campbell's illustrious ancestor, Sir Archibald Campbell, KB (1739–91), who served as a young soldier in Martinique, fought in the American War of Independence, was Governor of Jamaica 1781–84 (acting to 1783) and became Governor of Madras in 1786.

4. George Romney, *General Sir Archibald Campbell (1739–1791), Soldier*
National Galleries of Scotland, bequeathed by Mrs Campbell of Canna, 2006

Whilst there is no evidence that Campbell was directly involved in enslavement, he lent some of his Indian-made fortune on West Indian securities, so he was a financial beneficiary of the system. More importantly, as Governor of Jamaica, Campbell was an official enforcer of slavery, upholding British rule and the enslavement of thousands in order to maintain the island's profitable exports.




5. Extract from the Inverneill papers
National Trust for Scotland, Canna House

Campbell's time in Jamaica is generally related in terms of his successful defence of Jamaica from the French and insurgents who had captured Tobago, St Eustatius, St Kitts, Nevis and Montserrat. He made detailed plans for a defence of the island of Jamaica against attack by French and Spanish troops. Whilst the white men were obliged to serve in the militia, enslaved people were commandeered to work on the fortifications.[60] Campbell applied the same exactitude and rigour to the records that he kept of those enslaved on the lands under his command, now part of the family papers (the Inverneill archive) also at Canna House.[61] The long lists of the enslaved people record lives otherwise lost to history. Some are defined by their ethnicity or place of birth: Therese Creole; others by their previous location: Sukey St Kitts; or their role: Peter Painter, Victor Cook, Molley Gardener and, chillingly, Tom Lashes and Driver. Tom Hobson and Labo are described as 'superanuated' [sic] – ie deemed worthless because of age or infirmity. Some (like Scipio Kennedy) are given the heroic names reserved for the enslaved: Bacchus, Cesar, Taccho and Pompey. There are also Scottish popular names (Archibald*)*, French Island captives (Pierre Claude Boiler*)* and a former runaway *(*Anthony Carpenter*)*.

Along with Campbell's accounts of battle and defence, and his lists of enslaved people, are many letters to his father-in-law, the artist Allan Ramsay.[62] Ramsay's wife Margaret Lindsay, through her uncle Rear Admiral Sir John Lindsay, KB (1737–88), had several first cousins of mixed race, including Dido Elizabeth Belle (1761–1804).

6. David Martin *Dido Elizabeth Belle and her cousin Lady Elizabeth Murray* 1778, Scone Palace

The islands of Canna and Sanday were gifted to the Trust by Dr John Lorne Campbell in 1981. Canna House was purchased the same year, with the purchase and an endowment both funded by a grant from the National Heritage Memorial Fund (NHMF). St Edward's Church was acquired in 1994 with support from the Fides Fund, set up by the 6th Marquess of Bute.

### *12. Castle Fraser* [IG]

On 25 April 1817, Col. Charles Mackenzie Fraser, 10th of Inverallochy and 6th of Castle Fraser (1792–1871) married Jane Hay (1799–1861), daughter of Sir John Hay, 5th Bt of Haystoun and Smithfield (1755–1830). Hay was apprenticed in 1774, and then became a partner in 1782, in the private Edinburgh bank of Sir William Forbes, James Hunter & Company.[63] Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo (1739–1806) was the bank's managing partner and was Jane's uncle. Both Forbes and Hay, whose families had been somewhat impoverished,[64] became enormously wealthy through banking. The profits of the bank were closely associated with wealth accrued through the Atlantic slave trade and enslavement across the West Indies. Hay built a fine home (Kingsmeadows in Peebles) and arranged, at the time of her marriage, for Jane's portrait to be painted by Sir Thomas Lawrence.[65] Along with his partners, Hay submitted a claim for compensation as judgement creditors against Helen Watt. Watt was the owner of enslaved people on the Manchester plantation in Jamaica. Since Hay died in 1830, he was cited as a beneficiary rather than an awardee.[66]

The Trust acquired Castle Fraser from the Smiley family in 1976.

### *13. Corrieshalloch Gorge* [D]

The dramatic ravine of Corrieshalloch Gorge is situated on the Braemore estate. The railway tycoon Sir John Fowler (1817–98) purchased the 4,000 acres of the adjacent Braemore and Inverbroom estates, near Ullapool in Ross-shire, from the Davidsons of Tulloch, buying Braemore in 1865 and Inverbroom in 1867.[67] From the late 18th century onwards, three generations of the Davidson of Tulloch family bought Highland estates, using their slavery-derived wealth. This was enabled by having first acted as a major creditor to the indebted previous landowner.[68] Ultimately, they owned five estates in Wester Ross, totalling 45,981 acres.

The first generation was headed by Henry Davidson (1726–81) who, along with his younger brother Duncan (1733–99) and their kinsman Charles Graham, set up a mercantile business, Davidsons & Graham, trading from London with the West Indies.[69] By 1762, Henry had amassed a sufficient fortune to buy the Tulloch estate but died childless, so it was Duncan's family who inherited this asset. Duncan had married Louisa or Lucy Spencer (1745–77) in 1766. He remarried in 1788 to Magdalen Gemmell (*c*1740–1811), sister of William and Robert Gemmell who owned the Mount Craven estate in Grenada. The Davidson family became ever more involved in the slavery economy. By the time of the abolition of slavery, Duncan's grandson, also Henry (1802–86), was owner of 4,246 enslaved people, either owned directly or by mortgage to other plantation owners.[70] This Henry's wealth was further enhanced by his marriage in 1797 to Elizabeth Caroline Deffell (died 1828), the daughter of another London merchant and absentee plantation owner, John Deffell (died 1806). The marriage to Henry Davidson was deemed so advantageous that Deffell had 'been induced' to settle £5,000 more upon Elizabeth than he had for his other daughters.[71]

When Henry Davidson Snr died in 1827, he left his four sons £30,000 each (*c*£3,270,000 in 2021) along with landed estates. Henry Jnr (1802–86), the second son, received the plantation of Highbury in Berbice; the third son John (1805–98) inherited three plantations in Jamaica; the fourth and youngest son William (1811–94) had

the plantations of L'Esperance in the Dutch colony of Suriname[72] and Coley in Jamaica. Henry also provided 'handsomely' for his three daughters, and he left Mount Craven, Grenada (which had come from his stepmother's family) in trust to his grandson Robert William Dallas. Duncan Davidson (*c*1800–81), the eldest son who became MP and Lord Lieutenant for Ross-shire,[73] received the most prestigious and valuable assets: Tulloch Castle and all entailed Scottish property; vast estates[74] including Corrieshalloch Gorge on the Braemore estate; shares in the Forth & Clyde Navigation Co., Union Canal, Dingwall Canal and British Herring Companies; real estate at Inchicore, County Dublin and elsewhere in Ireland; and the Mount Gay plantation in Grenada.[75] Davidson made three claims to the Slave Compensation Commission for a total of 197 enslaved people he owned in Grenada. He was awarded £4,885 2s 1d (*c*£484,600 in 2021) in October/November 1835.

Corrieshalloch Gorge was presented to the Trust by Mr Calder in 1945.

### *14. Craigievar Castle* [IG]

There are no known direct links to slavery here. However, Margaret (born 1782), daughter of Sir William Forbes, 5th Bt of Craigievar (1755–1816) and the Hon. Sarah Sempill (1762–99), married Robert Wallace of Kelly (1773–1855), who was the son of Jamaican plantation owner John Wallace and the nephew of Sir James and Lady Frances Maxwell of Pollok (see ***42. Pollok House***). Robert Wallace was awarded compensation of £10,987 15s 10d (*c*£1,042,000 in 2021) for his ownership of 547 enslaved people across five Jamaican estates.[76]

Craigievar Castle was acquired from the Forbes Sempill family in 1963.

### *15. Crathes Castle* [IG]

There is no evidence to suggest that Crathes Castle and its estate benefited from the profits of slavery. However, over several generations, individual members of the Burnett of Leys family, whose home it was, did make slavery compensation claims – not as owners of enslaved people but to recoup debts owed to them by owners – albeit once they had left the family home.

A son and daughter of Sir Thomas Burnett, 6th Bt of Leys – General William Burnett (1762–1839) and his sister Catherine Burnett (1759–1853) – were jointly compensated for ownership of 398 enslaved people at the Lloyds and Mount Sinai estates in St David, Jamaica. They were 'assignees of a mortgage or beneficially interested under an agreement from the mortgagee' and as such were awarded £11,888 11s 2d' (*c*£1,197,000 in 2021).[77]

General William Burnett was a highly respected soldier who fought in the Napoleonic Wars. He also commanded the regiment in the attack in 1797 on Puerto Rico under Sir Ralph Abercromby and in 1803 became aide de camp to King George III. He settled in Deeside upon his retirement from the army and died unmarried in 1839,[78] passing his assets, including Banchory Lodge and the Arbeadie estate near Banchory (on the north side of the River Dee) and part of the Blackhall estate on its south side, to his great-nephew, William Burnett Ramsay (1824–80).

On 19th October 1783 his sister Catherine married her first cousin, Alexander Forbes of Schivas (1759–1803) at the old church of Banchory Ternan and the couple set up home at House of Schivas, near Methlick in Aberdeenshire. Catherine's husband and her only child, a son named Francis, predeceased her. Consequently, following the death of Francis in 1807, the Schivas estate passed to Alexander Forbes' cousin, Alexander Irvine, subsequently Alexander Forbes Irvine of Drum and Schivas (1777–1861). When he inherited Drum Castle in 1844, Schivas was passed, by an excambion of land, to George Hamilton-Gordon, 4th Earl of Aberdeen (1784–1860) (see ***26. Haddo House***).[79] This early transfer of Catherine's home to her husband's male first cousin, meant that Catherine's compensation would not have funded the expansion of her former family home, House of Schivas, the main block of which was extended to the west before 1851.[80] Instead, as with her unmarried brother William, Catherine's substantial assets passed instead to her nephew and niece and their children. The nephew, Captain Thomas Ramsay (1786–1857) was the son of Catherine's maternal uncle, Alexander Ramsay Bt of Balmain, and in 1826 married into the Burnett family: his second wife being Margaret Burnett (1796–1828), daughter of Catherine and William's oldest brother, Sir Robert Burnett, 7th Bt of Leys.

Captain Ramsay was closely involved with plantation slavery: his first wife was Jane Cruickshank (1792–1823), daughter of Patrick Cruickshank of Stracathro – part of a large family of plantation owners. Thomas's brother Robert married Margaret Cruickshank, another daughter of Patrick Cruickshank of Stracathro. The two brothers, Thomas and Robert, were co-owners of Surprise Estate, Trinidad, for which he received £4,038 11s 9d (*c*£400,600 in 2021) in compensation for 83 enslaved people.[81] Catherine's inventory, will and codicils reveals that she had helped her nephew with this enterprise; she held another mortgage from Captain Thomas Ramsay over his Surprise Estate.[82] In the codicil of 1846 Catherine mentions her Trinidadian interests and of changes being 'occasioned by circumstances and the falling off of the West India property', as the ending of slavery had impacted on profits. On her death in 1853, Catherine's assets were divided among a large range of beneficiaries, but primarily her favoured Ramsay relations, her nephew Thomas, his wife and her niece Margaret and their children.

Crathes Castle was acquired by the Trust from Sir James Burnett of Leys in 1952.

### *16. Culloden* [ID]

Prince Charles Edward Stuart sailed from Nantes – a busy port in the transatlantic slave trade – to the Hebrides in summer 1745 on a French slave ship, the *Du Teillay.* It belonged to the wealthy Irish-born shipowner, slave trader and plantation owner Antoine Walsh, whose father had helped Charles's grandfather escape after the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. Antoine took a leading role in financing and planning Bonnie Prince Charlie's expedition to Scotland.

After the defeat at Culloden in 1746, many Jacobite prisoners were transported to British colonies. The convicts were typically sold for £10 at the quayside into indentured labour for seven years; their life expectancy was low. In the years following the Battle of Culloden, many other Jacobites chose to emigrate, seeing no future in Scotland. Of these people, many became involved in enslavement: working enslaved crews to clear trees in the West Indies, managing plantations as 'attorneys' and subsequently owning enslaved people. Although many of these men died young too, the numerous Scottish surnames in Jamaica, other Caribbean islands and in the USA bear testament to the 18th-century Scots' impact and their disproportionate involvement with enslavement. So do the subsequent compensation claims lodged, once slavery was abolished, by descendants of those Scots who settled abroad during the last decades of the 18th century. (See also ***24. Glenfinnan Monument***).

There was a plantation estate in Jamaica named Culloden; see the Legacies of British Slavery website.

An intriguing item on display at Culloden Visitor Centre, which may possibly indicate the presence of a West Indian man at the Battle of Culloden, is described in the A Jamaican at the Battle of Culloden story on our website.

Culloden was acquired by the Trust in 1937, with further gifts and purchases from 1944 to 1998.

### *17. Culzean Castle* [D/ID/IG]

9. Scipio Kennedy's gravestone, Kirkoswald

The man who became known as Scipio Kennedy came to Culzean as part of the dowry of Jean Douglas when she married John Kennedy of Cassillis in 1705. 'Scipio' was born *c*1694 in West Africa and taken into slavery as a child – he was bought when he was only 5 or 6 years old, by Jean's father, Captain Andrew Douglas of Mains (near Milngavie), and transported to Scotland in 1702. Like many sailors from the west coast of Scotland, Douglas would have traded enslaved people and goods between Scotland, Africa and the Americas/West Indies.

At the age of 10 Scipio moved to Ayrshire, first living in the family's town house in Maybole and then from 1710 in Culzean Castle with Sir John and his wife. Scipio was granted his freedom when he was around 30 years old but he continued to work for the Kennedys and to live on the estate. The 1725 manumission document specifically mentions the good treatment Scipio received from the family, the yearly wage he

would receive (£12 Scots) and hints at his involvement with the smuggling trade, which took place in the caves below the castle. He was taught to read and write as well as trained to manufacture textiles. When Scipio was granted his freedom, a house was built on the estate for him at a cost of £90: the equivalent of almost 8 years' wages. In 1728 Scipio married a local woman called Margaret Gray, and the couple went on to have seven children, descendants of whom still live in the area.[83]

In 1997 an article was published on Scipio in the National Trust for Scotland magazine. In 2007 the HLF-funded project, *This Is Our Story*, attempted to locate the original site of Scipio's house in the grounds of Culzean. See the ScARF Searching for Scipio report for more details. We also have a series of articles on Scipio on our website.

John and Jean's 17th child, Thomas Kennedy, who became 9th Earl of Cassillis (1726–75) may have been involved with the slave trade through his former smuggling agent Robert Kennedy. Between 1767 and 1774, Robert was part-owner of a ship named *Lord Cassils* [sic], suggesting that the earl may have been a silent partner in the venture.[84] Thomas also retained a sixteenth share in a large sailing vessel, the *Bute* (probably the *Earl of Bute*), which 'made several profitable voyages'.[85] Captained by Robert Kennedy, it certainly made at least one Atlantic crossing: sailing from Whitehaven in 1763, it took on board 94 enslaved people on the west coast of Africa, then sailed on to Barbados in 1764 and offloaded the 83 enslaved people who had survived the journey; 11 had died en route.[86]

At about the same time, Thomas acquired land in Florida (thought to be *c*20,000 acres), intending to produce rice, cotton and indigo. He received advice from acquaintances who were experienced in the matter, including the then-Governor of East Florida, James Grant of Ballindalloch (1720–1806), who had visited Culzean and met Thomas on his way to America.[87] Grant cautioned: 'You'll never make yourself whole with less than thirty Negros'.[88] William Stock, who advised Thomas to seek out enslaved people already acquainted with a certain crop, explained: 'As to the Negroes, I must get them either in Carolina or Georgia, and must choose such as are used to the different Cultivations I begin with as Rice, Cotton, Indigo, etc.'[89]

For either commercial reasons or due to the political situation, the venture seems not to have been sustainable, and Thomas Kennedy sold the land in 1770.[90] He never married and was succeeded by his brother David. On his death in 1792, the baronetcy became extinct; the other titles passed to a distant cousin, Archibald Kennedy, 11th Earl of Cassilis (1736–94) who, after an illustrious military career, had retired to his extensive property and estate in and around New York.[91]

Enslavement was not abolished by the New York legislature until 1827**.** Archibald Kennedy's first wife, Katherine Schuyler (1737–65), was a member of the prominent Schuyler family, who owned enslaved people over several generations.[92] An only child, on her father's death in 1762 Katherine had inherited his entire estate. When she died just a few years later, this passed to her husband. In 1769 Archibald Kennedy married again, to Anne Watts (1744–83), who was also a member of the Schuyler family.

Archibald died two years after inheriting the title of Earl of Cassilis and he was succeeded by his son, Archibald Kennedy, 1st Marquess of Ailsa (1770–1846). On 10 December 1833, the Marquess's daughter Lady Mary Kennedy (1799–1886) married Richard Oswald of Auchincruive. Although Richard died early the following year, on 9 January 1834, his parents were subsequently awarded half of the compensation for the enslaved people on two Jamaican plantations.[93] The Oswalds of Auchincruive had long benefited from the profits of enslavement: Richard's great-great-uncle, also Richard Oswald (1705–84), had traded in tobacco and enslaved people. In addition, the dowry of his wife Mary Ramsay (1719–88), daughter of the merchant Alexander Ramsay (died 1738), included property in Jamaica and British North America. Oswald also bought land in West Africa and Virginia.[94]

Culzean Castle was gifted to the Trust by the 5th Marquess of Ailsa and the Kennedy family in 1945.

### *18. Falkland Palace* [D/ID]

It is often assumed that African people arrived in Scotland in the 18th century or even later, but in fact Africans were resident in Scotland much earlier.[95] In the early 16th century, they were high status members of the royal retinue. This is clearly recorded at the court of James IV (1473–1513). One African, 'Petir the Moryen' (Peter the 'Moor' – a generic term used at the time to describe people of African descent), seemed to have had a special relationship with the king: he was free to travel and was given five French crowns at the request of King James IV for a journey to France.

10. 17th-century copy by Daniël Mijtens of a lost original, *King James IV*, *c*1500
© National Gallery of Scotland / The Collection of the Stirlings of Keir

James IV was an enlightened and cultured ruler who, from 1501, continued the transformation of his old castle at Falkland into a beautiful Renaissance royal palace,[96] including building a chapel and altering the east and north ranges. Falkland Palace became a popular retreat for the Stewart (and subsequently Stuart) monarchs. They used the surrounding forests for hawking as well as hunting deer and wild boar.

On 25 January 1503, James IV married Margaret Tudor (1489–1541), daughter of the English king Henry VII and sister of the future King Henry VIII. The following September, James IV was entertained at Falkland by fiddlers, lutists and an African drummer. The unnamed African drummer also travelled with the king; he had been present on the king's raid in Eskdale earlier that year and, together with 'four Italien menstrales' (Italian minstrels), was taken to provide entertainment at visits to Peblis (Peebles), Dumfreis (Dumfries), Brechin and Faulklands (Falkland), where lodgings were paid for him. The drummer had a family, and in the court records there is mention of a payment to the 'More taubronaris wif and his barne' (African drummer's wife and child). The drummer was also a choreographer and devised a dance for 12 performers in chequered black-and-white costumes for Shrove Tuesday in 1505. The king, who loved music and played the lute and clavichord himself, favoured the drummer, buying him a horse, expensive clothes including a yellow coat, and paid 28s for his drum to be painted. He also covered his doctor's bills, gave money to his wife and child, and paid the nurse 28s to bring his baby for him to see.[97]

11. *Margaret Tudor*, copy by Daniël Mijtens of a lost contemporary portrait
The Royal Collection, at the Palace of Holyroodhouse. Royal Collection © Her Majesty the Queen

Although there is (as yet) no evidence that they ever visited Falkland Palace, there were two more noted Africans in this royal court. In 1506, two African women arrived in Leith and were presented as 'gifts' to King James IV.[98] According to contemporary records, they had been 'rescued' from a Portuguese ship (they were being carried into slavery) by the Barton Brothers.[99] Andrew and Robert Barton were sailors and privateers from Leith who imported valuable cargo for James IV, including blue damask cloth and timber for the ceiling of the chapel at Holyroodhouse in 1504. The ploy of their 'gift' worked: in July 1507, James IV revived the practice of issuing a letter of marque, granting the Bartons the right to seize Portuguese ships and their contents (the brothers' father John Barton had been issued with a similar letter by James III in the 1490s).

The 'Moorish lasses' were presented to King James IV, 'who not only accepted the gift but took the greatest interest in their welfare' and they were incorporated into the queen's household. They were later converted to Christianity and baptised as Margaret and Ellen (or Helen); their real names and country of origin have been lost to history. One of the women, probably Helen, became one of Queen Margaret's attendants and was described as the 'Quenis blak madin'. She was awarded the favoured position, reserved for the most beautiful lady of the court, of becoming the lady of the 'tournament of the black knight', with King James IV overcoming opponents to win her hand.[100]

No images exist of these tournaments, but we do know that they were magnificent and expensive spectacles, designed to promote the power of the royal household. 'The justing of the wyld knicht for the blak lady'[101] was held in June 1507 and again in May 1508. An invitation to one of the tournaments that was sent to France was illuminated with gold leaf and gave details of the events to be held at Edinburgh. In 1507, the 'Black Lady's' gown was made from Flanders damask, figured with flowers, bordered with yellow and green taffeta, with outer sleeves of black gauze, and inner sleeves and gloves of black leather. She wore a drape of the same black

gauze about her shoulders and arms. In 1508, the costume was renewed with a green woollen skirt and new leather sleeves and gloves. William Ogilvy and Alexander Elphinstone served as 'Squires of the Black Lady' and dressed in white damask. They escorted her from Edinburgh Castle to the field of the tournament. James IV himself played the part of the 'Wild' or 'Savage Knight'.

William Dunbar's contemporary poem 'Of Ane Blak-Moir' immortalised Helen's role in the tournament. He must have met people from various European nations at the Scottish court, but the presence of an African woman, albeit decreed the most beautiful, led him to adopt a mocking and racist tone throughout the five stanzas of this poem, with recurring negative descriptions of her facial features. The poem now serves not only as a window into bygone courtly life but also as a sad indictment of Scottish perceptions of race. This is possibly the first poem of this type to be written about an African woman in the English language. It is worth noting, however, that 'Dunbar was not writing from a position of white power about Africans per se, but as a jealous court hanger-on who saw a black woman in a more privileged position than himself, which in many respects she was'.[102]

The presence of Africans in the Scottish court continued. Of all the Stuart monarchs, James VI and his consort Anne of Denmark spent most time at Falkland. In 1589 James had granted Anne Falkland Palace as a 'morrowing gift', and in 1595 he renewed Falkland's status as a Royal Burgh. They frequently spent the summer months at the palace and James hunted daily in the park when he was in residence. Indeed, in 1586 James had to appeal to Elizabeth I of England for a shipment of fallow bucks to restock the park as he had hunted them so fervently. It seems that Anne too enjoyed hunting; and in 1617 she chose to be depicted in her hunting costume and accompanied by her small hunting dogs and a black groomsman who holds her horse. The equerry wears Anne's Oldenburg family colours of red and gold. The scene is set at another royal residence, Oatlands Palace, near Weybridge in Surrey but as a much younger woman hunting at Falkland the scene would not have been very different. Then, included in her large retinue was a black servant, described as the "Moir", who was probably a "page of the equerry", attending her horse. He was dressed in orange velvet and Spanish taffeta.[103] He died at Falkland Palace in July 1591, and James paid for his funeral.[104]

12. Paul van Somer *Anne of Denmark in Hunting Costume with Her Dogs 1617*
Royal Collection

Another black courtier was present at the baptism of James VI's eldest son, Prince Henry Frederick, which took place at Stirling Castle in 1597.[105]

13. Sir Henry Raeburn, *Margaret Stuart Bruce, c*1810
National Trust for Scotland, Hill of Tarvit

In 1826 the Keepership of Falkland Palace passed to Margaret Stuart Bruce (*c*1781–1869). Margaret was born in India and was the daughter of Lieutenant Colonel Robert Bruce of the Bengal Artillery and an Indian woman. At an early age, she was taken to Edinburgh and brought up by her bachelor uncle, Professor John Bruce, and his unmarried sister Margaret. Her father, who had sent substantial funds to his brother, died in India in 1796. In 1820 the professor purchased the estate of Falkland, which included Falkland Palace. He was a former MP and Professor of Logic at Edinburgh University; Keeper of the State Papers; Historiographer of the East India Company; and held the joint monopoly to print the Bible in Scotland. On his death in 1826, his niece became a very wealthy heiress and landowner of several estates. In 1828 Margaret married Onesiphorus Tyndall (1790–1855). Born in Bristol, Onesiphorus' family, over several generations, had been merchants, slave traders and bankers. His great-great-uncle William Tyndall (1693–*c*1740) had fathered at least seven children; their mother was Mary Augier, who had been born into slavery and manumitted under the will of her late father John Augier (a white

planter who died in 1722). In 1747–48, a Private Act of Assembly gave Mary and her children 'the same rights and privileges with English subjects born of white parents'.[106] At the time of his marriage, it was rumoured that Onesiphorus had debts of £50,000 (*c*£5,392,500 in 2021), which Margaret paid off on condition that he signed a pre-nuptial agreement giving him only life rent. This allowed her to keep a tight rein on the finances and add her surname after his.

The Tyndall Bruces carried out some repair work on the palace. They were active in country society and business, and were generous local benefactors; they also funded the building of Falkland parish church. After the death of Onesiphorus in 1855, the tenantry erected a monument to him on the nearby Black Hill and public subscription paid for a statue by Sir John Steell, which now stands outside the kirk.

In 1952 the National Trust for Scotland was appointed Deputy Keeper of the Palace by the then Hereditary Keeper Major Michael Crichton-Stuart and took over the care, maintenance and occupation of Falkland Palace and its gardens.

### *19. Fyvie Castle* [IG]

Fyvie Castle, as we see it presented today, is a late 19th-century home – the splendid transformation of an ancient Scottish castle by a returning Scot, Alexander Leith (1847-1925), and his American wife Marie Louise (née January). In 1889, when Alexander was still in his early 40s, he was able to retire from his career as a steel magnate and return to Scotland with his wife and their young family. He bought Fyvie Castle and the estate for the vast sum of £175,000 (*c*£19,490,000 in 2021). It was just over 20 miles north-east of the family seat of Leith Hall, where his first cousin Col. Alexander Sebastian Leith-Hay resided.

14. John Ernest Breun, *Alexander Forbes-Leith, 1st Baron of Fyvie*
Private collection, on loan to National Trust for Scotland, Fyvie Castle

At Fyvie, the couple set about creating their own American-style 'ancestral seat' – full of rich furnishings, fine paintings and all 'mod cons'. Alexander (whose surname Forbes-Leith had been enhanced by assuming the Forbes from his mother, alongside his own) and Marie, with their children Ethel and Percy, lived in luxury – a luxury funded by profits made from the American steel industry. Alexander had married the boss's daughter and had gone on to be successful in his own right, as both a steel magnate and in banking. But he and his wife had always lived lives of privilege, and both families had, to some degree, benefited from wealth accrued through slavery.

15. Francisque-Edouard Bertier, *Marie, Lady Forbes-Leith,* 1888
Private collection, on loan to National Trust for Scotland, Fyvie Castle

Marie Louise January (1848–1930) was the oldest child of Derrick Algernon January. Derrick[107] was born in 1814, in Kentucky, where he and his brothers owned large estates and built substantial houses on their properties. In a world reminiscent of *Gone with the Wind*, the home of one of the brothers (Thomas) was described as 'an antebellum mansion with a columned entrance that led into a large hall which extended to the rear of the house where a staircase spiralled to the second floor. At the top of the stairway was a wider portion that was probably used by musicians when there were parties.' It had a private racetrack and a fine wine cellar in the basement. After the house burned to the ground, four pairs of iron circles were revealed that had been attached to the walls, which 'were probably used for the disciplining of slaves'.[108]

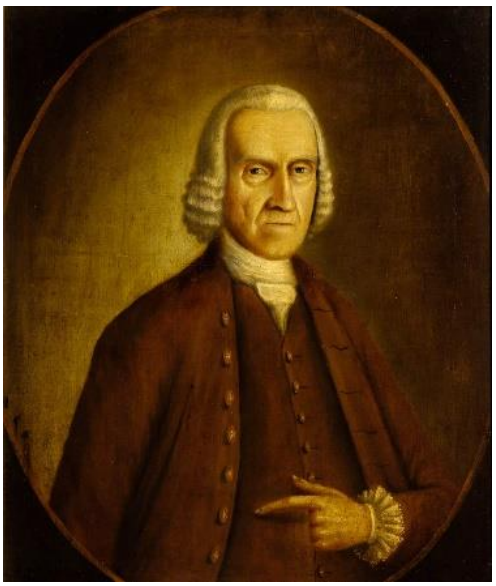
Derrick moved west to St Louis, Missouri in 1837 and established a wholesale grocery business – January, Stettinius and Co. On 26 April 1842, he married Louisa Smith. Marie was born six years later and a brother, Jesse, followed, but Louisa died in 1850. A pair of portraits painted the following year poignantly record this young family – Jesse pointing to the sky with some roses may serve as a *vanitas* symbol. In 1859 Derrick January remarried, to Julia Bryan Churchill, and the couple went on to have a further eight children.

16. Manuel Joachim de Franca, *Derrick January,* 1851
Private collection, on loan to National Trust for Scotland, Fyvie Castle

17. Manuel Joachim de Franca, *Louisa, Marie and Jesse January,* 1851
Private collection, on loan to National Trust for Scotland, Fyvie Castle

Like Derrick, Julia was from Kentucky and grew up amongst her extended family. They owned vast expanses of land near Louisville, part of which became a horse racing complex. Since 1875, Churchill Downs has hosted the famous annual Kentucky Derby. Inevitably, with so much land to care for, they had owned enslaved people for generations.[109]

The January family would have lived through the trauma of the American Civil War, in which Missouri was a hotly contested border state, populated by both Union and Confederate sympathisers. Slavery existed in Missouri until, with the imminent defeat of the South in sight, it was abolished on 11 January 1865, when Marie was in her teens. Derrick's brother Thomas had also moved to St Louis, where railroads became his main focus. As the biggest landowner in his part of Kentucky, he had owned 80 enslaved people until their emancipation.[110]



18. Unknown artist, *John Ross of Arnage (1707–1789)*
National Trust for Scotland, Fyvie Castle

On the Leith family side, generations of Alexander's family had overseen the control of enslaved people; a few, including his father, Rear Admiral John Leith, oversaw the gradual ending of slavery in the Caribbean (see ***35. Leith Hall***). Most of the family portraits commemorating these men remained at Leith Hall, but Alexander Forbes-Leith and his wife set out to acquire more. Among them were several of members of the Leith-Ross family, including a portrait of John Ross of Arnage, the 'deaf and dumb laird'.[111] Along with his unmarried daughter Christian or Christina (1732–1803), he was entrusted to care for his two mixed-race granddaughters, Margaret (Pegie) and Sophia. They were sent to Edinburgh when their father, the laird's son John Christian Ross, emigrated from Florida to Dominica in 1784 with their mother, an enslaved woman named Bella whom John had freed. Within a year, John Christian was dead – the fate of Bella is not known nor, for now, that of the two little girls who, so far as we know, spent the rest of their lives in Scotland.[112]

Along with rediscovered family portraits, the Forbes-Leiths acquired an impressive collection of paintings by the most highly sought-after artists of the day. In line with the new museums opening across the USA, the couple furnished their home with fine examples by the artists who were most admired and reproduced at the end of the 19th century: Sir Thomas Lawrence, George Romney, Sir Joshua Reynolds, John Opie, Sir Thomas Gainsborough and Sir William Beechey. They bought an outstanding group of portraits by Scottish master Sir Henry Raeburn, as well as works by Modern Masters, such as Sir John Everett Millais and John Pettie. To complete the decorative scheme, some members of the Stuart royal family (James VI and his son Charles I) were included, along with British heroes: a full-length portrait of Admiral Horatio Nelson by John Hoppner, and others of the Duke of Wellington and Robert Walpole. Perhaps unwittingly, in acquiring this fine collection of late 18th- and early 19th-century paintings, their Tiffany lamp lit up the faces of those who had thrived on the profits of enslavement, as it was these sitters who could afford to commission portraits from the fashionable and pricey artists.

19. John Hoppner, *Horatio, 1st Viscount Nelson 1758–1805,* 1801–10
National Trust for Scotland, Fyvie Castle

Given Alexander Forbes-Leith's family history of active engagement in the Napoleonic Wars, the Nelson portrait would have been a key acquisition for the new family seat of Fyvie Castle. Britain's greatest seafaring hero, Lord Nelson was an ardent defender of the British colonies in the West Indies and the slavery practices that ensured their continuing prosperity. Nelson's vehement opposition to William Wilberforce's campaign for the abolition of the slave trade is revealed in a letter he wrote to his old friend Simon Taylor, one of the wealthiest Britons of his generation. Taylor owned three huge plantations in Jamaica and claimed ownership over more than 2,000 enslaved men, women and children.

In a letter written aboard HMS *Victory* on 11 June 1805, Nelson proclaimed:
*'I was bred, as you know, in the good old school, and taught to appreciate the value of our West India possessions; and neither in the field or in the senate* [House of Lords] *shall their interest be infringed whilst I have an arm to fight in their defence, or a tongue to launch my voice against the damnable and cursed doctrine of Wilberforce and his hypocritical allies.'*[113]

20. Sir Henry Raeburn, *Alexander Edgar (1776–1820), of Wedderly, Jamaica and Stockbridge, Edinburgh, c*1802
National Trust for Scotland, Fyvie Castle

One of the Fyvie Raeburn portraits is of Alexander Edgar. At just 1 year old, Alexander Edgar inherited the Wedderelie (or Wedderly) estate in Trelawny, Jamaica from his father, Alexander Edgar of Auchingrammont, Lanarkshire and Wedd erlie, Jamaica (1698–1777). His grandfather had owned another plantation in Jamaica, Martha Brae, and the Edgar family lived in Jamaica for much of the 18th century.[114] Alexander Edgar Snr fathered two girls, named Hannah and Elizabeth, in the 1730s. Their mother was an enslaved woman called Daphney. Many other children carried the Edgar name.[115] The Alexander Edgar in the Fyvie portrait married Ann (or Anne) Gordon, who was born at her parents' estate of St Andrew's Hill, Jamaica. When they wed in 1797, the marriage settlement itemised 30 enslaved people settled in trust to secure her an annuity of £300 per year (Jamaican currency). At some point, the Edgars sold the Wedderly estate and the 117 enslaved people who worked its 221 acres for a total of £19,588 14s (Jamaican currency).[116] The couple, who had 11 children, returned to Scotland and settled in Edinburgh, where they lived in a fine Georgian sandstone villa at 5 Mary Place, Stockbridge.[117]

Sir Henry Raeburn was Scotland's foremost portrait painter at the time. He also lived in Stockbridge. Indeed, the artist and the sitter were related by marriage, as Sir Henry Raeburn's second wife, Ann Edgar, whom he married in 1780, was Alexander Edgar's first cousin.[118] Edgar appointed his own wife, Henry Raeburn and Raeburn's son (also Henry) as trustees for his estate, including a balance still due to him from the sale of the Wedderly estate. It also included the Grange Pen estate in St James, Jamaica, which had been owned by his late brother Dr Handyside Edgar and which Alexander Edgar intended should go to his eldest son, also named Alexander. Thus, as trustees, Sir Henry and his son were charged with 'securing the equivalent of around £1.6 million which was due from Edgar's debtors'.[119]

John Stirling, the sitter in another Raeburn portrait at Fyvie, inherited Kippendavie estate, near Dunblane in Perthshire, upon the death of his older brother Patrick in 1775. He also came into possession of the Content estate in Jamaica where, during his lifetime, he substantially increased the number of enslaved people to over 300. John was a senior partner in the Glasgow-West Indies merchants Stirling, Gordon & Co, whose main business at that time was importing sugar and rum from Jamaican estates. Both commodities were produced using enslaved workers. In 1837, two of John's sons, William and Charles, as co-owners of the Content estate and as partners in Stirling, Gordon & Co, received substantial compensation for the enslaved people on their estate following the abolition of slavery in 1833.

21. Sir Henry Raeburn, *John Stirling of Kippendavie (1742–1816), and His Youngest Daughter, Jean Wilhelmina (1804–1859)*
National Trust for Scotland, Fyvie Castle

The charming little girl at John's side is his youngest daughter, Jean Wilhelmina Stirling, known as Jane Stirling. She never married but became a pupil, then patron, of the Polish composer Frédéric Chopin. As she received only a small sum of money in her father's will, recent historians speculate that her patronage of Chopin was actually on behalf of the Swedish opera singer Jenny Lind. However, as Jane's patronage dates from the 1840s, she may have received money from her brothers following their substantial compensation pay-out. In 1876 Alexander Forbes-Leith's older sister, Margaret Mary Leith (1844-1907), married John Stirling's great grandson, Patrick Stirling of Kippendavie (1846-1899).

22. Sir Henry Raeburn, *Mrs James Gregory, née Isabella Macleod (1770–1847),* c1794
National Trust for Scotland, Fyvie Castle

Arguably the most iconic of all Raeburn's female sitters, Isabella Gregory (née Macleod) was the older sister of James Craufurd (Crawford) Macleod (1775–1821). Their father was Donald Macleod of Geanies House, Fern, near Tain in Easter Ross. James was in Berbice by 1801, on a plantation also named Geanies, on the Corentyne coast. The young Scots soldier Thomas Staunton St Clair described a visit to the plantation in 1806 in *A Residence in the West Indies and America* (1834). James Macleod was also in business in Stabroek, Demerara, where he was a member of the Court of Justice of the colony. He is mentioned a number of times in letters from both Peter Fairbairn, the manager of Seaforth's estates,[120] and Edward Fraser of Reelig (see ***4. Balnain House***). Fairbairn bought enslaved people on a number of occasions from Macleod and his partner William Mackenzie, who were in business with the slave trader George Baillie. Mackenzie & Co. was placed in the hands of trustees in 1806, and by 1810 Isabella's brother was described as 'late of Demerara, now of the Huntley Hotel, Leicester Fields in the county of Middlesex, but now of Berbice'.[121]

Fyvie Castle was purchased by the Trust from the Forbes-Leith family in 1984, with financial support from the National Heritage Memorial Fund, the Historic Buildings Council for Scotland and the National Galleries of Scotland.

### *20. The Georgian House* [D/ID/IG]

No. 7 Charlotte Square, Edinburgh, now known as the Georgian House, has slightly tenuous links to slavery. Duncan Campbell of Ross, who was the son-in-law of the first owner John Lamont, 18th Chief of the Clan Lamont (born *c*1741), inherited enslaved people from his brother Sir Archibald Campbell, who was appointed Governor of Jamaica in 1781 (see ***11. Canna House***).[122] Another John Lamont (1782–1850), a 'natural son' of James Lamont, 14th of Knockdow (a cadet branch of the Lamonts of Ardlamont) went to Trinidad to make his fortune and eventually came to own or co-own three estates, for which the total compensation paid was £15,953 (*c*£1,513,000 in 2021).[123]

23. (after) Sir Henry Raeburn *John Lamont*
National Trust for Scotland, the Georgian House

The many portraits now on display in the Georgian House inevitably depict sitters whose lives were linked to enslavement. This is true, for example, of the family portraits of the Graham family of Airth (see also ***22. Gladstone's Land***), which include two portraits of Captain Thomas Graham (1768–1836) who in 1805 inherited his father's estate in Airth, and in 1808 he added his mother's maiden name of Stirling to his own surname, having inherited both the Strowan estate in Perthshire and the trusteeship of the Ardoch plantation in St Ann, Jamaica from his wife's maternal uncle, General Sir Thomas Stirling. The family connections between the Grahams and Stirlings were further strengthened when Thomas's sister Mary married John Stirling, 6th of Kippendavie (see ***19. Fyvie Castle***). John was a senior partner in Stirling, Gordon & Co, one of the largest Glasgow-based firms trading with Jamaica and holding interests, often as mortgagee, in many Jamaican estates that were worked by enslaved people. Following the abolition of slavery, compensation of £1,717 (c£162,800 in 2021) was paid in respect of the enslaved people on the Ardoch estate; various members of the family contested the award.[124] Another connection to the Stirling family was next door to the Georgian House, at No. 8 Charlotte Square, where the Rev. Angus Mackellar, Moderator of the Church of Scotland, lived with his wife Helen. As she was part of the Stirling family of Keir, they were jointly awarded compensation for her share of 330 enslaved people in Jamaica.[125]

24. Adamson & Hill, *Angus Mackellar (c1780–1859) Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1840 and of the Free Church, 1852*, 1843–47
National Galleries of Scotland

On the other side of the Georgian House, at No. 6 Charlotte Square, three successive residents profited from enslavement (see ***10. Bute House***) as did the Fergusson family at No. 5, who married into the Dalrymple family of Newhailes (see ***39. Newhailes*** and ***40. No. 5 Charlotte Square***).

25. Sir Henry Raeburn, *Margaret Stobie, Mrs Walter Buchanan,* 1800–10
National Trust for Scotland, the Georgian House

In contrast, we see in Raeburn's portrait of Margaret Stobie (1762–1847) the determined face of an ardent abolitionist. Margaret was the wife of Reverend Dr Walter Buchanan (1755–1832), a minister of Canongate Kirk in Edinburgh where the senior minister was Rev. Robert Walker (1755–1808), Raeburn's famous 'Skating Minister'. In 1788, Rev. Walker persuaded the Presbytery of Edinburgh to petition Parliament to end the slave trade.

Further work remains to be carried out to establish which of the women connected to our properties were involved with the abolition movement and may have been members of the ladies' emancipation societies organised for and by women in Glasgow and Edinburgh. In 1833 around 162,000 women signed a petition in Edinburgh calling for an end to slavery. Given such close connections to prominent abolitionists, it is possible that Margaret, recently widowed, may well have turned her attention to the abolition movement at this time.

Although all of the paintings and collections in the Georgian House are original to Georgian and Regency Scotland, none of its contents are original to that house: it is in effect a 'set' full of props – a re-creation of an impressive Georgian home, intended to represent life in Edinburgh's New Town. Nevertheless, the collections on display at the Georgian House – furniture made from rare woods, sugar bowls, etc – can reveal myriad stories. One rare item was made in St Kitts. Its maker is now lost to history, but it is illustrative of the impact of British culture and taste on the island colonies in the West Indies.

For more details, see the *Collections diaries – from St Kitts to the Georgian House, Edinburgh* story on our website by Antonia Laurence-Allen, Regional Curator, Edinburgh and East.

26. A small, silver-mounted coconut shell ladle with a black painted wooden handle
National Trust for Scotland Collections, the Georgian House

In as much as the New Town is seen as a physical manifestation of Scotland's Enlightenment, the interpretive showcases of Georgian and Regency Edinburgh should now also include the subject of enslavement, as this was an intrinsic element of this period of Scotland's heritage and culture. Recent research has revealed that near neighbours and other families throughout Edinburgh's fashionable New Town either profited through owning plantations worked by enslaved people, or from trading in the goods supplied. Many were beneficiaries of the government compensation scheme in the 1840s. We now know that those compensated included several individuals and families who were descended from enslaved people. There were also people living and working in Edinburgh who had been born into enslavement. The life story of one of these working women, Malvina Wells, adds another important element to our understanding of the New Town.

**Malvina Wells [D]**

Domestic servants sometimes accompanied their masters and mistresses when they returned to Scotland. One such was Malvina Wells, who was born on the island of Carriacou *c*1804. As an enslaved 13-year-old girl, she was described in the Slave Register for Grand Bay estate in the terminology of the day as 'mulatto' with 'no distinguishing marks' and 'in the lawful possession' of George McLean, who by 1832 was described as the island's 'principal proprietor', with 2,200 of the 3,200 enslaved people under his rule.[126]

George and his brother John had come to Carriacou from Alness in Ross-shire. John's wife Janet was from the neighbouring parish of Rosskeen where her father, Thomas Urquhart, was minister.[127] Indeed, Scots represented roughly one quarter of Carriacou's white residents.[128]

27. Unknown artist, *Portrait of Janet McLean, her daughters Joanna and Dorothea, wife and children of John McLean of Carriacou and Grenada, West*

Although Wells is an English surname, Malvina's Highland heritage is suggested in her Christian name, which is derived from the Gaelic *mala mhinn*, meaning 'smooth brow'. Like the name Fiona, it was created by the 18th-century Scottish poet James Macpherson in his spurious and romantic but highly popular *Tales of Ossian*. Enslaved people were often given names from literary sources, and this name became popular throughout Europe. There is also a strong possibility that Malvina's father was a Scot. This would not have made things easier for her though when she was forced to leave her own family and travel across the world to Edinburgh, working first as lady's maid and domestic servant to Joanna, one of John McLean's daughters.

On 15 July 1841, Joanna McLean married John A Macrae, a Writer to the Signet, in Edinburgh. His was one of Edinburgh's most esteemed legal roles, which afforded a degree of respect and status for the entire family.

Malvina would have lived in the basement or the attic of their large sandstone house – too hot in summer, freezing in winter. Working long hours in the service of the growing Macrae family, Malvina never married or had a family of her own. Perhaps she was aware of the massive compensation being awarded to numerous residents of these graceful streets for their ownership of enslaved people, as she had once been. She must have hurried through Charlotte Square on numerous occasions as she ran errands for her mistress.

Although she may have spent a short period living independently at 42 Thistle Street, Malvina returned to service, moving from house to house in Edinburgh's New Town: at 33 Great King Street, then 2 Randolph Crescent (in the household of Edward Strathearn Gordon whose wife, Agnes, was born in Grenada), and finally back with Mrs Macrae at 14 Gloucester Place. Malvina's gravestone, erected by Joanna's son Horatio, in St John's Episcopal Graveyard on Princes Street, Edinburgh, describes her as a 'faithful Servant and Friend in the Family of Mrs MacRae Edinburgh. Faithful in all the house as a servant, Hebrews iii 5'.[129]

After her life of hardship, it is fitting that Malvina Wells is now listed as a 'notable resident' of Carriacou on the island's Wikipedia page. In Edinburgh too, she is also notable as a formerly enslaved woman who, against all odds, is remembered and admired for her life of sacrifice and unflinching service.

**Harriet Campbell's children [IG]**

Colourism is a term used today to describe discrimination against people according to their skin tone. This is, of course, not a new concept. Strict definitions of shades of colour existed in the 18th and 19th centuries, with prejudices and colour divisions if anything increasing, rather than declining, as the years progressed. For people who were visibly of mixed race, skin tone may have been a defining factor in determining their place in an increasingly stratified society, just as much as their education or background.[130] Since she was termed a 'mulatto', Malvina Wells remained in service even when freed from chattel slavery. The Edinburgh milkmaid depicted by David Allan (see ***22. Gladstone's Land***) also remained a working woman. However, for the Shaw family, living in Edinburgh in the 1840s was a very different experience. With only one black grandparent, they were able to assimilate into 'polite' society and marry into the professional classes.

28. Melville Street in Edinburgh, home of Elizabeth Brodie (née Shaw)

29. Thomas Hosmer Shepherd, *George Street, St Andrew's Church*, 1829, where Elizabeth Shaw married John Buchan Brodie on 14 August 1817. British Library

30. Unknown artist, *John Buchan Brodie (1787–1866),* private collection

The Shaws' mixed heritage has come to light only after the launch of the ground-breaking UCL Slave Compensation website in 2015, which published for the first time details of those who were compensated for slave ownership. Many of those listed had inherited enslaved people, through marriage or family connections, and many of the enslavers had fathered mixed-race children, sometimes gifting or bequeathing enslaved people to their children and their mothers – this meant that some of those who were awarded compensation were themselves of mixed race.

This was the case with five of the seven children of an enslaved woman called Harriet (or Henrietta) Campbell (1769–1832), who were still alive at the time of the compensation payout in 1843. One of these children, Elizabeth Shaw, may well have known Malvina Wells by sight, as she lived just a few minutes away from her at No. 6 Melville Street in Edinburgh's West End. Her near neighbour, at No. 29, was the evangelical activist Rev. Andrew

Thomson (1779–1831) who played a leading role in arguing for the immediate, rather than gradual, abolition of slavery. Elizabeth may even have called on Malvina's mistress Joanna Macrae, as she too had married a Writer of the Signet. Whilst Elizabeth's husband, John Buchan Brodie (1787–1866), was discoursing with Malvina's master Macrae in the magnificent Signet Library, the ladies may have been exchanging pleasantries over tea served with milk and sugar, grown on plantations in the West Indies. Would Joanna have done this if she had known Elizabeth's heritage?

Elizabeth's mother, Harriet Campbell,[131] had given birth to eight children between 1785 and 1803, all born out of wedlock. She lived with a Scot, David Shaw, who died in Jamaica in 1805. His main asset was the Bishops Mount plantation in St Mary parish, Jamaica along with the many enslaved people living there, some of whom are cited in his will: '*Shandy, Primms, Cato, Chloe and all her children, Princess and all her children, Simpr and all her children, Rosanna'*. The land was fertile; sugar, coffee, pimento and hardwoods could all be harvested there. Shaw was therefore able to leave Harriet a sizable amount of money: £200 Jamaican currency and an annuity of £100. Shaw had no legal wife; upon his death, Harriet and the children became the main beneficiaries of his estate. Shaw had instructed that the enslaved people would be kept for the term of Harriet's life, after which they could all be sold and the resulting income invested for their children's benefit. In his will, David Shaw had bequeathed to each of the eight 'children of Henrietta Campbell' £2,000 Jamaican currency, to be payable to each at age 21 or (for the daughters) at the time of their marriage.[132]

Harriet Campbell died aged 63 at Bishops Mount in October 1832. She is described on her burial record in the very specific terminology of the day as 'Quadroon' – someone who had one grandparent of African heritage. By the time of the Slave Compensation Act, her son Alexander Hamilton Shaw, by then resident in Leith, submitted a claim for 47 remaining enslaved people in Jamaica, as Harriet's executor. Four surviving siblings contested this claim, and a counterclaim was submitted on their behalf by John Brodie W.S. Ultimately, Alexander, his sisters Elizabeth, Fanny and Sarah (all of whom were also resident in Edinburgh), and their youngest brother John (who had been ordained as a deacon in 1828 and was living in Cumberland) were awarded equal shares of the compensation: a total of £895 16s 11d (*c*£81,250 in 2021).[133]

31. Unknown artist*, Peter and Elizabeth Bell*
Private collection

**Elizabeth Bell (née Lindsay or Palmer) [IG]**
Another more notable Edinburgh resident may reveal more about the city's mixed-race family history. In 1783 Peter Hill (1754–1837), an Edinburgh bookseller and friend of Robert Burns,[134] married Elizabeth Lindsay (1766–1842), the illegitimate daughter of Rear Admiral Sir John Lindsay, KB (1737–88) and half-sister of Dido Elizabeth Belle (see ***11. Canna House***).[135] Although several of Lindsay's other illegitimate children were mixed race,[136] Elizabeth's background remains unclear. Her mother, who is identified only as 'Martha G', lived in Jamaica, and Elizabeth was baptised on 10 January 1767 at Port Royal.[137] In a miniature of Elizabeth, painted in middle age, she appears to be white, but it is possible that she too was of mixed race.[138]

Nos 5,6 and 7 Charlotte Square were acquired by the Trust in 1958 from the executors of the late Marquess of Bute.

### *21. Geilston House and Garden* [D]

Geilston House was developed through ten main phases, from 1666 or earlier. It began as a modest thatched laird's house and was expanded to become a villa. The landscape developed in six main phases. During the 18th century, stable blocks (in two phases), a pavilion doocot, a kitchen garden with a stone-lined tank, and a woodland glen garden with some exotic plantings were all added. Geilston was owned by Thomas Donald of Geilston (1745–98), a Virginia merchant or 'Tobacco Lord'. Tobacco was a crop, like sugar, that relied on an enslaved workforce. His son Colin Dunlop Donald (1777–1859), as an executor, was one of three beneficiaries of the estate of Jamaica St David (Hermitage) – which on 4 April 1836 resulted in a compensation for 89 enslaved people, to the sum of £1,889 15s 5d (*c*£179,200 in 2021).[139]

Geilston House was bequeathed to the Trust by Miss E Hendry in 1990.

### *22. Gladstone's Land* [ID]

32. David Allan *Edinburgh Milkmaid with Butter Churn* c.1785-95
National Galleries of Scotland

As with to the Georgian House, Gladstone's Land was acquired by the National Trust for Scotland without its original contents and was then fitted out to represent life in Edinburgh. As an earlier building than The Georgian House, it covers the years when the Royal Mile, running between the castle and the Palace of Holyroodhouse, was its hub. In its interpretation, it can serve to reveal narratives of the early days of Scotland's associations with slavery and also show how the population of Scotland's capital included the formerly enslaved (see ***18. Falkland Palace***) and their descendants. One such is the girl with a milk churn, depicted by David Allan, one of numerous studies that this artist made of street vendors in Edinburgh towards the close of the 18th century. Of the 66 women listed in *Ranger's Impartial List of the Ladies of Pleasure in Edinburgh, which was printed in Edinburgh in* 1775, facsimiles of which are available in Gladstone's Land shop, three of them are described as 'black' or of 'black complexion'. Although it has been shown that such descriptions were sometimes used to describe Europeans, who were of dark complexion,[140] it is possible that these women were of African heritage or from the Caribbean. They are named as Miss Moffat, *alias* Beeston, who was living and working in Fountain Close, one of the vennels running off the south side of the High Street; Miss Betty Forbes, operating from Lyon's Close Luckenbooths on the north side and a little further south, Miss Ruthven, in Nicholson Street. Their colour or complexion may have impacted on their integration into the low life in which they eked out an existence and it is perhaps significant that these women seem to have been operating alone, rather than benefitting from the companionship and relative safety of the brothels, large and small, that were dotted about Edinburgh's Old Town. The list is thought to have been written by William Tytler (1745-1804) who studied medicine at Edinburgh University and spent a year apprenticed to a ship's surgeon,[141] and later set up a pharmacy in Leith, so would have been well acquainted with the routes and circumstances that brought these women to Scotland.

The Graham family portraits, on display at Gladstone's Land and the Georgian House, are a selection of 18th-century portraits gifted to the Trust as part of the David Somervell Bequest in 2003. Those on display at Gladstone's Land are contemporary to the interiors, dating from 1700–50. They offer a fascinating insight into some of the most tumultuous years of 18th-century Scotland and include a portrait of Elizabeth Graham (*d*1803). Elizabeth was the daughter of James Graham (1676–1746), Judge of the Court of Admiralty, who was closely involved with cases surrounding the failed Jacobite Rising of 1715. He purchased the estates of Airth in 1717 from a daughter of the Jacobite Bruce family, who was forced to sell after the rising failed. Elizabeth is pictured in its grounds, holding a basket of exotic fruits, the produce of its newly built hothouses. The Graham family had found wealth and could now demonstrate this.[142] Elizabeth was able to marry William Macdowall (*c*1719–74) in 1748, a prominent Anglican who inherited his father's vast commercial enterprises in trading sugar, rum and enslaved people.[143]

33. William Mosman, *Elizabeth Graham of Airth*, 1739
National Trust for Scotland, Gladstone's Land

(See also ***20. The Georgian House*** and, for their son, ***44. Provan Hall***)

Gladstone's Land was acquired by the Trust in 1934.

### *23. Glencoe* [IG]

Two consecutive heads of the MacDonalds of Glencoe family married into the Cameron of Fassifern family, which had interests in the Caribbean over several generations. At the trial of John Cameron of Fassifern (1698–1785) on 15 February 1754, Donald Cameron of Clunes gave evidence that in his presence the defendant's father, John Cameron of Lochiel, 18th Chief of Clan Cameron (1663–1748), in Harvest time 1713 had passed the rights of his West Indies estate to his second son John. He reckoned this would make him equal in assets to his oldest son Donald (19th Chief of Clan Cameron, 'Gentle Lochiel', 1695–1748). The witness further testified that, in 1721 or 1722, the defendant 'went from Scotland to the West Indies in order to enter into the said Estate', which had been under the management of Evan Drummond, son of Bochadie. He also stated that John Cameron of Fassifern sold the estate to Drummond at £500 (*c*£116,850 in 2021). He added that Evan Cameron, Lochiel's fourth son, went from Scotland to Jamaica at some point and carried along with him 'a good Number of Men and Women, and that he lived there some Time and then died, and that it was said he died very rich'.[144] By the 1760s, Archie Cameron, son of John Cameron of Fassifern, was based at Clarendon in Jamaica. Writing to his father, he requested new supplies, including a pair of pistols and a dirk.[145]

Glencoe was acquired by the Trust in 1936, with further purchases of land between 1937–95.

### *24. Glenfinnan Monument* [D/ID]

The Glenfinnan monument recalls the close association of the area with the Jacobite cause. Jacobites sailed to Scotland in a French slave ship in 1745. Many subsequently profited from the proceeds of slavery when abroad after being transported or exiled, or as financial migrants, who worked and owned enslaved people (see also ***16. Culloden***).

Glenfinnan Monument is on the Glenaladale estate, which was once owned by Alexander Macdonald, son of Angus Macdonald, 1st of Borodale. Alexander missed the '45 campaign, as he was travelling from Scotland to Jamaica that year. He made a fortune in Jamaica[146] after buying a coffee plantation and marrying a wealthy plantation widow, Mrs Handyside, before returning to Scotland in 1773. Having by now acquired the sobriquet 'Golden Sandy', or *Alasdair an Oir* in Gaelic, he purchased the Glenaladale estate from his cousin John MacDonald, 8th of Glenaladale (1742–1810) for £3,000 (*c*£576,000 in 2021). John used the funds to establish a new Catholic settler community on St John's Island, later Prince Edward's Island, in Canada, taking Sandy's parents and one of his brothers with him.

As happened in so many families across Scotland, those returning from the West Indies with their profits from the slavery economy were able to elevate their position in society; in Sandy's case, this meant taking the title of 9th Macdonald of Glenaladale. Sandy's only surviving son, Alexander Macdonald, 10th of Glenaladale (1786–1814) inherited the estate at the age of 12 on his father's death in 1799, but he proved to be profligate and dissipated much of his father's wealth. Even so, the building of the monument went ahead, and parts of the estate, including Glenaladale, stayed in the Macdonald family until the early 20th century.

The Macdonald of Glenaladale family's imperial and slavery connections have been studied in detail by the historian Dr S Karly Kehoe. Her talk, given in 2021 as part of the *Facing Our Past* lecture series, is available on our YouTube channel.

Glenfinnan Monument was gifted to the Trust by Sir Walter Blount & Diocesan RC Authorities of Argyll, on behalf of the trustees of Margaret MacDonald of Glenaladale in 1938, with a further purchase of woodland in 1994.

### *25. Greenbank House* [D/ID]

Greenbank House was built in the 1760s by Robert Allason who – along with his younger half-brothers William, David and Sandy – traded in tobacco and enslaved people. An active group in the Mearns area of Glasgow have been aware of the house's slavery links for many years, and two members published a book on the subject in 1992: *Robert Allason and Greenbank*.[147] However, subsequent further research, especially in the USA, has revealed much more extensive family involvement in slavery. Researchers have been able to access hundreds of letters between the brothers Robert and William, which are held at the Library of Virginia. A further batch of letters, held by Glasgow City Archives, were written at Williamwood House (in Netherlee, Glasgow), which Robert rented during his later years, following his retirement and bankruptcy that forced the sale of Greenbank in 1782. This correspondence reveals how the brothers worked in close partnership, despite the distances. Robert, the eldest brother, had the good fortune to marry the niece and heiress of a prosperous

'West India merchant', who conveniently died a few years after the marriage. On the strength of his new riches, Robert increased the style of his living and the range of his speculations, moving into Glasgow from Port Glasgow and plunging into ventures of various kinds, including what he referred to in his letters euphemistically as the 'Guinea Trade'. William mentions purchase of a ship, the *Beaufort,* which was captained by his younger brother Sandy.[148] The ship had been built in 1757 and was captured from the French *c*1765. Between 1765–69, Sandy Allason made at least three Atlantic crossings. The ship departed from Liverpool and transported goods to Calabar in West Africa (now in Nigeria). Over three voyages, he took on board nearly a thousand African men, women and children, 149 of whom died during the 'Middle Passage' – or the Atlantic crossing.[149] It sailed on to St John's in Antigua in 1765 (where 220 enslaved people landed) and again in 1767 (323 people landed). In 1769 it sailed to 'Antonia' (Port Antonio in Jamaica).

The ship had been renamed the *Dalrymple* – possibly as a snub against the French – in honour of the Scot Lt.-Col. Campbell Dalrymple (1725–67). He was Governor of Guadeloupe during the British occupation of the island during the Seven Years' War, but was forced to return Guadeloupe to the French under the Treaty of Paris, on 6 July 1763. Dalrymple had then retreated to Dominica, which he argued should become a free trade area in order to ruin the French Caribbean trade. This proposal was hugely beneficial to British merchants and by 1766 had been adopted as government policy.[150]

Allason's well-recorded voyages provide only a snapshot of the brothers' slaving business. William Allason wrote home from Virginia that his affluent lifestyle had come largely from dealing in enslaved people.[151] Sandy may also have connived in scuttling a ship to secure the insurance for the owners. Sandy died of fever in Old Calabar in 1769. His early death was much lamented by William, perhaps because a few more years in the 'Guinea Trade' would have made him 'very easy'.[152]

William Allason ran a tobacco plantation in Virginia. With the profits from the enslaved people transported by Sandy, he could buy tobacco and other goods, some of which he then sent back to Robert. Between 1759 and 1768, for example, William arranged for iron produced at the Neabsco Forge to be shipped to Robert for sale in Scotland. Most of the labour at the Neabsco Forge, the first ironworks in northern Virginia when it was established *c*1737 by Colonel John Tayloe, was provided by enslaved men and indentured servants. In the spring of 1760, another Allason brother, David, joined William as his storekeeper – a post he held for the rest of his life.

Meanwhile, Robert, who had tired of a merchant's life, moved to Greenbank *c*1763, bought a few farms and prepared to lead the life of a country gentleman. At least one African, known as 'Negro John' and who may well have been transported by the brothers, was resident at Greenbank, where he acted as personal servant to Robert. However, grand living and unwise speculations proved disastrous. From 1773 until his death in 1785, Robert lived in straitened circumstances, leaving his three unmarried daughters practically destitute. Relatives, including their uncle William, came to the rescue. Robert seems to have had an irascible and suspicious temper, prone to think himself the victim of ingratitude and his too kind heart. He was constantly at loggerheads with the rest of the family: because of a family quarrel, he refused to attend his father's funeral, nor was he mentioned in his mother's will. He and William quarrelled over business, and the breach was never healed.[153]

34. North Wales in Fauquier County, Virginia, built for William Allason between 1776–96
Image courtesy Virginia Dept. of Historic Resources © Cheryl Shepherd, 1998

It was William, ultimately, who thrived most. By the mid-1770s, he had prospered from Virginia becoming more populated and, with all his international trading, he too was able to acquire property in several towns, 28 enslaved adults and thriving plantations in Fauquier, Culpeper, Dunmore (now Shenandoah County) and Frederick County.[154] At North Wales, his 1,288-acre estate in central Fauquier County, William Allason built a Georgian-style stone house sometime between 1776–96. North Wales remained a working plantation for six generations of the Hooe/Allason families and was worked by enslaved people until 1865. In 1914, its grounds were transformed into a thoroughbred horse centre by two prestigious owners, Edward M Weld and Walter P

Chrysler. They bred horses for steeplechase, fox-hunting and the high-stakes Kentucky Derby.[155] (*c.f.* the Derrick home at Churchill Downs in ***19. Fyvie Castle***).

A later owner of Greenbank House was Maitland Hutchison, who died there *c*1795. He, or possibly his father, owned enslaved people and the Reading Pen plantation in St Elizabeth, Jamaica in 1791.[156] His father Alexander, a successful West Indies merchant, had purchased the nearby Southfield estate in 1771.

Greenbank House & Garden was gifted to the Trust by William Blyth in 1976.

### *26. Haddo House* [A]

Lord and Lady Aberdeen of Haddo House have been lauded as philanthropists, especially Lady Ishbel (1857–1939) for the important role that she played whilst in Canada, Ireland and Scotland in improving the lives of women, through better access to education and housing. In fact, this remarkable couple's philanthropy was manifest from the very outset of their marriage when, while on honeymoon in Egypt in 1877, they were personally responsible for freeing four enslaved children.

35. Lord and Lady Aberdeen at about the time of their wedding, *c*1877
Lord Aberdeen, Haddo House Collection

When 30-year-old John Campbell Hamilton-Gordon, 1st Marquess of Aberdeen and Temair (1847–1934) married 20-year-old Isabel ('Ishbel') Maria Marjoribanks on 7 November 1877, he was joining forces with a formidable, well-educated woman who shared his evangelical Christian views. Their honeymoon took them to biblical lands: Egypt and the Holy Land over the winter of 1877–78. Egypt had been under Ottoman control since 1517 and – although from 1867 it existed as a semi-autonomous 'tributary' state called the Khedivate of Egypt – the traditional practices of the Ottoman Empire, including slavery, were retained. Gradually, under foreign pressure, Egypt had relented, and in 1856 the import and sale of enslaved white people was finally forbidden. The year of the Aberdeens' honeymoon was significant, as it was in 1877 that the Anglo-Egyptian Convention banned the import and export of enslaved people from Sudan and Ethiopia; it also allowed British naval forces to search any vessel suspected of carrying enslaved Africans in Egyptian territorial waters. Nevertheless, neither the 1856 law nor the 1877 convention actually banned the practice of slavery itself, and so enslaved people already resident in Egypt remained enslaved.[157]

At this time, Egypt was becoming more and more popular as a tourist destination for the most privileged travellers. This was true in the Aberdeens' immediate social circle: their neighbours and friends in Aberdeenshire, the Farquharsons of Finzean, often sojourned in Egypt, where Mrs Farquharson's brother kept a boat on the Nile. The young couple followed the increasingly well-worn tourist path of travelling down the Nile from Cairo to Aswan and on to Philae, taking in the sights and sounds of this exotic (to western eyes) country. Lady Aberdeen took time to paint the scenery and ancient buildings viewed from the deck of their luxurious *dahabeah*.

37. Ishbel Hamilton-Gordon, Marchioness of Aberdeen and Temair, *Assouan*, February 1878
*National Trust for Scotland, Haddo House*

38. Ishbel Hamilton-Gordon, Marchioness of Aberdeen and Temair, *Philae*, February 1878
National Trust for Scotland, Haddo House

Johnny and Ishbel, however, could never be satisfied with merely soaking up the sun and touring around Egypt's antiquities. Instead, these devout evangelical Christians devoted many hours to Christian missionary work at the landing stages along the Nile, distributing 'simple medicines and ointments' and 'a selection of books in Arabic, including a store of nicely bound Testaments and Bibles'. Appalled by stories that the slave trade was still flourishing in Egypt, the couple devised a ruse to free some enslaved children. They asked to hire some as servants. Four boys (aged 8, 9, 11 and 16) were brought on deck and their strength and beauty extolled by their master, but these 'most terrified small beings'[158] were immediately adopted by Johnny and Ishbel. The Aberdeens ensured that the boys were baptised into the Presbyterian Church, and the three youngest – whom they named Abdeen, Gordon and Haddo – were entrusted to the mission school at Asyut. The oldest, whom they named Campbell (Johnny's middle name), became a paid cabin boy. The Aberdeens kept in touch with the four boys for the rest of their lives. Campbell, who went on to study, later wrote to Johnny to thank him:

> *To His Excellency our Revered and Honoured Parent Lord Aberdeen, may he be continually preserved. I cease not to feel grateful for your kindness in placing me in school-orchards to pluck the fruit of knowledge and good breeding under the care of virtuous Christian people. As to our news, we – thank God – are happy to the highest degree and we are progressing in our studies'.*[159]

36. Alfred Edward Emslie, *Dinner at Haddo House*, 1884
One of the guests at this dinner was Dr Robert Farquharson MP, Laird of the Finzean estate, whose stepmother's brother owned a boat on the Nile, where the family often sojourned. In the foreground, talking to Lady Aberdeen, is W E Gladstone. The nearby Fasque estate had been purchased in 1829 by his father Sir John Gladstone, who owned very many enslaved people in the Caribbean and was a highly influential figure in the West India Lobby (a group that opposed abolition of the slave trade). W E Gladstone supported compensation for slave-owners and the system of apprenticeship, and defended merchants' interests over such matters as sugar duties.

National Portrait Gallery, London

In addition, there is both an earlier and a much more recent link to the abolition of slavery in the Aberdeen family. In the early 1840s, Johnny's grandfather, George Hamilton-Gordon, 4th Earl of Aberdeen (1784–1860), served as British Foreign Secretary and was actively involved in the British Government's drive to end the Atlantic slave trade and in the abolition of slavery around the world. On 14 July 1842, Lord Aberdeen sent Edmund Molyneux (*d*1864), the British Consul in Savannah, Georgia, a copy of the treaty concluded at Sucre on 23 September 1840 between Queen Victoria and the Republic of Bolivia for the abolition of the traffic of enslaved people. Two years later, he wrote to Molyneux again, in response to a request for a copy of the Order in Council of 4 January 1843, which concerned the conditions on which 'coloured persons' could be admitted into the island of Trinidad.[160]

In 1845 Lord Aberdeen proposed a piece of legislation that was intended to enforce the British–Brazilian Treaty of 1826. This had included an agreement to end the Brazilian slave trade with Africa but it had been largely ignored by Brazil. Named the Aberdeen Act and passed by Queen Victoria on 9 August 1845, the Act gave the British Navy authority to stop and search Brazilian ships suspected of carrying enslaved people, and to arrest anyone on board who was suspected of such trading. The Act also stipulated that those arrested could be tried in British Admiralty courts.

In far more recent years, his namesake George Gordon, the current Marquess of Aberdeen and Temair (*b*1983), was heavily involved in the work to bring about the Modern Slavery Act 2015. As with Ishbel and Johnny in the 1870s, George's motivation lay in Christian ethics. Along with some friends from his church, he identified a need for more to be done to combat human trafficking (as it was then called). The then Lord Haddo lobbied David Cameron's government as well as multiple charities. As a result of their work, the Centre for Social Justice agreed to build a team to author a report. The group of friends raised the capital required to fund a two-year project, chaired by Andrew Wallis (CEO of Unseen UK) and James Ewins QC, and authored by Lucy Maule (now Colman). George Gordon sat on the working group and explained that:

'*after extensive research, the report (containing 80 recommendations) was handed to the Government. Teresa May, as Home Secretary, ran with the recommendation to modernise the legislation. She brought in the Labour MP Frank Field to draw on his expertise and to take it above any party divides. It was considered too important to fight over politically. After lots of work, the Modern Slavery Act was voted through. It was the last vote on the last day of Cameron's Conservative Government. Part of the success was changing the language from Human Trafficking to Modern Slavery, so people better understand what we are dealing with*'.[161]

The Centre for Social Justice continues its work and George Gordon, who became Lord Aberdeen in 2020, sits on the advisory board of the Modern Slavery Unit.

### *27. Harmony Hall* [D]

Harmony Hall in Melrose was built for Robert Waugh (*c*1754–1832), a local joiner and timber merchant. Robert and his older brother John had both trained as joiners/wrights and were sent to Jamaica as boys to work as craftsmen.[162] John, like many Scots, became a plantation overseer and died in Melrose, in the parish of Clarendon, Jamaica in 1794. Robert became the owner of a pimento plantation named Harmony, also in the parish of Clarendon. He made enough money to return to his hometown *c*1803, where in 1807 he built himself this imposing house. Prof. Stana Nenadic has convincingly argued that the house is remarkable because it is based on a West Indian style: its steep external staircase and elevated ground floor echoes those in Caribbean homes, designed to prevent farm animals from entering the property. The furniture and chimney were supplied from Edinburgh through Waugh's nephew, who also subsequently emigrated to Jamaica. Waugh continued to trade in Jamaican timber, indigo and sugar. When his near neighbour Walter Scott, at Abbotsford, was impressed by the Harmony interiors, Waugh was able to supply him with Jamaican cedar wood for his own house.[163] The executors and trustees of Robert Waugh were awarded the compensation for the Melrose and Mount Nelson estates in Manchester, Jamaica: at Melrose, for 25 enslaved people they were awarded £517 2s 7d (*c*£51,300 in 2021); at Mount Nelson, for 127 enslaved people they received £2,530 19s 3d (*c*£251,100 in 2021). Robert died around the time of the compensation payout, and the money went to his nieces.[164] (See also ***43. Priorwood Garden***)

Harmony Hall was gifted to the Trust by Mrs Christian Pitman in 1984.

### *28. House of Dun & Angus Folk Collection* [ID/IG]

The uniting of these two properties offers a unique opportunity to show how profits from enslavement benefited all echelons of Scottish society in this part of Scotland. The estate and folk collection together show how Angus linen (woven in great quantities) was shipped to provide clothing for enslaved people in the Americas and the West Indies. There is a Jacquard loom in the Angus Folk Collection – when House of Dun first opened as a National Trust for Scotland property, linen was woven on Jacquard looms there. At least one of the two silk dresses in the collection was worn by a woman whose family were enriched by the industrialisation of the weaving industry throughout rural Angus.

The Erskines of Dun, and the Dun estate, also have a tangible family connection to enslavement: in Jamaica a modest smallholding, Dun-Pen, took the name of its Scottish antecedent. One branch of the Erskine family made their fortune there through both the enslavement of hundreds of Africans and the subsequent massive government compensation following their liberation.

House of Dun was built for David Erskine, Lord Dun, 13th Laird of Dun (1670–1758), a law lord since 1710. He wanted a more comfortable and prestigious home, and so he commissioned the foremost architect of the day, William Adam (1689–1748). Work commenced in 1732 and the house was finished by 1743. Meanwhile, Lord Dun's younger brother Alexander (born May 1672) had set himself up as a merchant in nearby Montrose. He married Jean Turnbull of Balhall in 1708. John (1728–86), the youngest of their four sons, was perhaps frustrated by his limited opportunities in Scotland and, aspiring to the magnificence of his uncle's new home, sought his fortune in Jamaica. There, in 1770, he married Elizabeth Irving (1747–1808), the daughter of a doctor from Dumfries, who had first settled in Charleston, South Carolina, where Elizabeth was born. In Jamaica the Irvings had become wealthy plantation owners in the parish of St James and very much part of the establishment. By December 1767, Elizabeth's father was a member of the House of Assembly for St James and wealthy enough to be a prominent benefactor of the University of Pennsylvania.[165] Perhaps with his

father-in-law's help, by 1774 John Erskine had become estate attorney (manager) of the Lima plantation, also in the parish of St James; by 1786 he was its owner. It would have been John who named his land Dun-Pen in honour of the Erskine family seat back in Scotland (a 'pen' was a small landholding with a smaller slave workforce who tended livestock, allowing them to graze during the days and herding them into pens for safety at night).[166]

The Jamaica-based Erskines thrived and John was able to send two of his sons to study at Glasgow University: Alexander matriculated in 1791 and younger brother David two years later.[167] It was Alexander Erskine (1775–1855) who inherited the Lima estate and, following the abolition of slavery, received substantial compensation – for the 179 enslaved people that he owned at Lima plantation, he was awarded £5,096 12s 7d (*c*£505,600 in 2021); and for a further 3 enslaved people at his mother's family plantation of Ironshore, a further £13 (*c*£1,290 in 2021).[168] Alexander's profits, along with his compensation, were so extensive that he was able to acquire estates in Scotland, including his grandmother Jean Turnbull's lands at Balhall (near House of Dun) and Longhaven in Aberdeenshire.

Alexander had married twice in Jamaica and, as his only son had predeceased him, when he died in 1855 he left £180,000 (*c*£16,950,000 in 2021) to his surviving daughters, who also inherited his lands.[169] The Erskine heritage and status remained important to this now incredibly wealthy branch of the family. In 1872 Alexander's grandson, William Alexander West (1839–92), inherited 'the Erskine property left by his mother' (Elmina).[170] He applied successfully for royal licence to add the name Erskine to 'West' and to take a coat of arms.[171] He was a recently elected politician in Western Australia and no doubt felt that this aggrandisement would be advantageous. He proclaimed himself to be 'heir male and chief of the Erskines of Dun, Co. Forfar (now represented through the female line by the Marquess of Ailsa), a branch of the ancient family of the Erskines, Earls of Mar' and therefore a direct descendant of Robert the Bruce.[172] Thus, the descendant of a cadet line of the Erskines, merchants in Montrose, found fortune through the immense sacrifice of others who, over several generations, were forced to labour on the Erskine lands in Jamaica.[173] Family archives found in the Charter Room at House of Dun include wills and marriage settlements for this branch of the family and cite the Lima plantation as one of the assets.[174]

House of Dun was bequeathed to the Trust by Mrs Millicent Lovett, 21st Laird of Dun in 1980.

### *29. House of the Binns* [D/ID/IG/A]

House of the Binns passed to Magdalene Dalyell (1673-1732) in 1720 or 1721. She was married to James of Menteith (1666-1724). In c.1714 their second son, Thomas Menteith (1694-1746), sailed from Glasgow to Virginia and settled in Hanover Parish, Richmond County.[175] Following the death of her husband in 1724, Magdalene and some of her other children, joined her son Thomas in Virginia.[176] He prospered there, first as a merchant and later as a landowner, and in c.1735, married a local woman, Phyllis Gallop (1699-1760). The couple had at least four children; John (1735–1804),[177] Magdalene (later Doniphan)(1737–1792),[178] James W Monteith (1740–1804) and Elizabeth Monteith (1740–1807).[179]

Like most landowners in the county, where the main crop was tobacco, Menteith owned enslaved people to work his land and to serve in the house: local legend relates that when Thomas Monteith became gravely ill, he asked his enslaved workers to carry him out into his flower garden near the house where he then chose the spot where he wanted to be buried. [180] Thomas Menteith's will, signed on 1st December 1746, states:

> *'In the Name of God Amen. I Thomas Monteith of King George County being very sick and weak of body but of perfect sence mind and memory thanks be to Almighty God for it do ordain this my last Will and Testament, Revoking disannulling all former wills made by me heretofore. Item: I give to my daughter Magdalener Monteith the land I bought of Joshua Davis to her and her heirs forever.*
> *Item: I give to my daughter Elizabeth Monteith the land I bought of James Grant to her and her heirs forever. It is my will that all my Negroes be kept together for the support and bringing up my children.*
> *Item: I give all the rest of my lands to my two sons James Monteith and John Monteith to be equally divided between them to them and their heirs forever. It is further my desire that all my Negroes be equally divided among my children when they shall come of age…'*[181]

As with many Scottish families, the Dalyells married into lots of families who had links to slavery. For example, in 1773 Sir Robert Dalyell 4th Bt. (died 1791) married Elizabeth Graham (died 1791). Elizabeth's brother,

Robert Cunninghame Graham (c1735-1797), left for Jamaica in 1752 where he owned a plantation and enslaved people.

A later link to the Dalyell family comes from James Dalyell, the illegitimate son of Robert and Elizabeth's oldest son, Sir James Dalyell, 5th Bart of the Binns (1774-1841). This James Dalyell, whose mother is unknown, was born in Edinburgh on 24 July 1798. Whilst serving as a Lieutenant in the British Navy he was commended for his part in taking a pirate ship off Jamaica in 1823. At this point the trading of enslaved people had been banned, and British naval ships were tasked with patrolling the waters of the Caribbean, in order to suppress piracy, protect trading routes and stop the illegal trade of enslaved people from Africa.

House of the Binns was gifted to the Trust by Eleanor Dalyell of the Binns in 1944.

### *30. Hugh Miller's Birthplace Cottage & Museum* [A]

Hugh Miller (1802–56) is remembered today as a self-taught geologist, writer, folklorist, newspaper editor, evangelical Christian and campaigner for social justice. Here, Professor Ralph O'Connor explains Miller's views on race and the abolition of slavery:

The ongoing fight against global slavery was one of the most consistent, but now largely forgotten, features of Miller's newspaper *The Witness*, alongside the better-known campaigns against abuses of landowners' privileges for which he had been appointed as editor in 1840 (leading to the Great Disruption), and his protests against the Highland Clearances.[182]

Hugh Miller's Birthplace Cottage & Museum is situated in Cromarty. Several prominent Black Isle families drew their wealth from slavery, especially in Berbice in South America, and in Jamaica: these connections will be explored in David Alston's forthcoming book *Slaves and Highlanders* (2021). However, links to slavery are not known in Miller's own family apart from one unnamed and distant 'cousin' who worked on a plantation at Berbice (possibly Daniel Ross, d.1827). Neither Miller himself, nor his Birthplace Cottage, nor the next-door Museum (where Miller lived in the 1830s) benefited directly or indirectly from slavery, except insofar as it permeated the economy in this period.[183]

Some of Miller's boyhood friends and acquaintances were implicated in slavery, such as the planter Thomas Layfield of Berbice. Thomas's son or younger relation John, who also worked in Berbice, had been a boyhood friend of Miller's. Scattered anecdotes provided by these individuals about mudflats, alligator dung and naval action found their way into Miller's geological and autobiographical writings. These offer no insight into Miller's views on slavery, and no letters survive between him and either of the Layfields or his Berbice-based cousin. Two pairs of letters do survive between Miller and his close childhood friend Alexander Finlay. Finlay worked on a plantation in Jamaica and, by the time he resumed contact with Miller in 1836 after emancipation (but during the period of forced labour known as apprenticeship, lasting until 1838), he had become its proprietor.[184] Miller followed Finlay's later career with interest. Finlay apparently ended up alienating the white community in Jamaica by what they perceived as his overly favourable treatment of Black apprentices and employees.[185] A decade later, as a member of Jamaica's House of Representatives, Finlay made public his view that the colony would not prosper until the freed Black population enjoyed rights equal to those of whites. Miller agreed. His brief obituary of Finlay in his autobiography also alludes to the dehumanizing effect of the slavery system on planters, an effect that he said Finlay had escaped.[186]

The best-known 'link' between Miller and one of the local planter families is a fight that he got into in his mid-teens with an older mixed-race schoolfellow, 'a native of the West Indies', probably the son of a planter living abroad. According to Miller, the other boy was feared for his habit of pulling a knife when losing a fist-fight. He tried this during one fight with Miller, who had armed himself in advance and stabbed the boy in the thigh. In the earliest, unpublished account of their encounter (1829), Miller repeats the ethnic stereotype of West Indian people as having 'a wild, savage disposition'. Nevertheless, he tells the story *against* himself, as an example of how he had become even more savage by that time, squandering his education by getting into fights, latterly and most violently with the schoolmaster himself. The other boy, by contrast, is portrayed as behaving with decency and restraint once the fight was over. Miller edited the ethnic stereotype out of his published autobiography *My Schools and Schoolmasters* (1853–4) but keeps the same emphasis on himself as

the wildest savage of them all.[187] Alston has suggested that the other boy might have been Miller's friend John Layfield. If so, this is an early record of how Miller made friends – albeit not much to his credit.

In adulthood, as an evangelical, a man of science and an abolitionist, Miller published numerous attacks on slavery and scientific racism in *Witness* articles (by him and others) between 1840 and 1856. He kept up the pressure in a period which overall saw a decline in organized anti-slavery.[188] But abolitionism was not unified or conflict-free in this period. Debate raged over whether dialogue with the pro-slavery lobby or public naming-and-shaming campaigns were the best way of inducing enslavers to give up their dependence on slavery, and whether it was acceptable to remain in Christian communion with a church whose members included enslavers.

In 1844–47, leaders of Miller's fledgling denomination, the Free Church of Scotland, were attacked and mocked by radical abolitionists including William Lloyd Garrison, Henry Clarke Wright and Frederick Douglass for refusing to break communion with American churches that included enslavers and 'send back the money' donated by them.[189] The tactics they used left the Free Church leaders no room to manoeuvre and send the money back: the point was to provoke public outrage.[190] Miller fought back in his church's defence. He argued that the radicals' anti-government, anti-establishment strategy in their work in America risked undermining the abolitionist cause, and insisted that the Free Church's more dialogue-oriented approach would end slavery sooner. Despite the heat of this debate, Miller continued to attack American slavery itself. He did not follow the common journalistic tendency to heap racist slurs on the Black campaigner Douglass.

Later in life, Douglass recognized Miller alongside Burns as one of his Scottish heroes.[191] In the 1850s, meanwhile, Miller's abolitionism moved closer to the radicals' position as American pro-slavery sentiment and legislation hardened. Miller attacked churches that supported slavery and predicted that the eventual outcome would be a civil war between North and South.[192] This period saw an overall decline in Scottish newspapers' interest in American politics, but Miller again kept up the pressure, repeatedly denouncing policies such as the Fugitive Slave Act and the Nebraska Bill. He drew perceptive parallels between the despotism of European counter-revolutionary movements and that of the slavery system in America, reading an abolitionist lesson in America's relationship with 'despotic' Russia.[193]

In his scientific writings Miller, like Douglass, attacked the new (supposedly) scientific racism which held that Black people, and other non-white peoples, were fitted by nature or God with inherently inferior mental capacities than those of white Europeans. In ethnology, this was the cutting-edge position: Miller's own creationist mentor Louis Agassiz, America's star naturalist, was a key exponent, and it was also promoted by popular evolutionists such as Robert Chambers.[194] Miller rejected it. He saw how such views were used in America to support enslavement, and he held to the older view that 'there is but one human nature on the face of the earth'.[195]

But, also like Douglass and other anti-racist writers, Miller sometimes used disparaging stereotypes about the physical appearance of some of the victims of such prejudice in order to undermine scientifically racist explanations of how diverse physiques had come about. For example, in his last book *The Testimony of the Rocks* (1857), expanding a lecture from 1851, Miller argued that all people were descended from an essentially 'Caucasian' Adam and Eve in Central Asia, and that after a period of migration, certain indigenous peoples had become 'sunk' in the scale of civilization, had physically deteriorated, and now faced potential extinction, thanks to systemic deprivation similar to what Miller described (and campaigned to ameliorate) in the slums and rural bothies of Victorian Scotland.[196] Their situation was not God-given or inevitable, but the result sometimes of challenging natural environments, sometimes of human error and wrongdoing, not least 'the iron hand of oppression'.[197] Miller rejected the notion of a fixed hierarchy of races, but like all anti-racist commentators of his time – Douglass, for example, or the explorer David Livingstone – he did believe that civilization was a superior *state* to that of 'barbarian' or 'savage' societies, that civilization had significant health benefits, and that less civilized peoples ought to be helped to become more civilized.

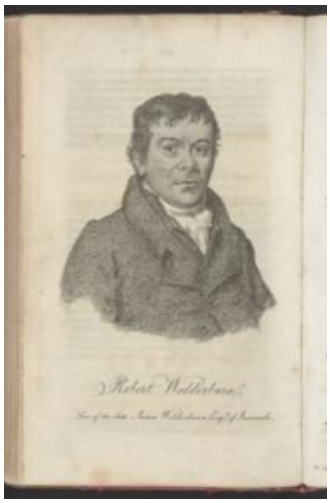
Passages like these make uncomfortable reading today and can easily be mistaken for racism. They are a reminder that nineteenth-century anti-racism was unapologetically ethnocentric and paternalistic, and they caution us against a 'heroes and villains' approach to the history of abolitionism. Yet Miller, Douglass and

Livingstone remain an important part of that history. The blend of assumptions we see in their work prompts us to stay alert to the presence of hidden cultural chauvinism in some of our most well-intentioned views today.

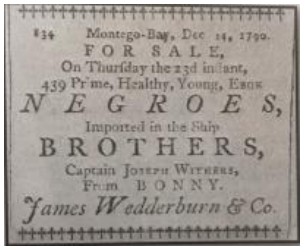
At the time, the abolitionist message of Miller's discussion of indigenous peoples in *Testimony* provoked sarcastic rejoinders by two pro-slavery authors based at the University of Virginia. They misquoted and twisted Miller's words in order to suggest that his argument was self-defeating. Enslavement itself, they retorted, was obviously the kindest way of preventing the extinction of Black people.[198] Miller's work had clearly touched a nerve among enslavers. Meanwhile in Scotland, Miller's work strengthened ongoing resistance to scientific racism. His admirer the 8th Duke of Argyll (see ***33. Iona***) used Miller's line of reasoning to attack Darwinian arguments about the inferiority of 'primitive' races. In the short term, the Darwinists won that debate. To this day, Miller's campaign against slavery and scientific racism is barely remembered, despite the energy and commitment that he gave to this cause.

Hugh Miller's House and Cottage were gifted to the Trust by the Miller family in 1938.

### *31. Inveresk Lodge* [D]



39. A portrait of Robert Wedderburn, from the frontispiece to his book *The Horrors of Slavery*




Inveresk Lodge, near Musselburgh, was the Scottish home of a Jamaica plantation owner, James Wedderburn (also known as James Wedderburn Colvile, 1739–1807).[199] His father Sir John Wedderburn, 5th Bt of Blackness (1704–76) was captured at the Battle of Culloden, taken to London where he was convicted for treason and executed. After the Jacobite rising of 1745, James and his older brother John (see ***39. Newhailes***) fled Scotland for the West Indies, where they both prospered. An advertisement (right) dated 14 December 1790 shows that his firm also traded enslaved people; at one sale alone, 439 Africans were to be sold.[200] However, James Wedderburn is most notable today as the father of the radical anti-slavery campaigner Robert Wedderburn (1762–1835/6).

Inveresk Lodge is remembered for a particular incident that took place there, which Robert Wedderburn related in his book *The Horrors of Slavery* (1824).[201] Robert detailed how, in the 1780s, he and his pregnant wife called on his father to ask for support:

> *I visited my father, who had the inhumanity to threaten to send me to gaol if I troubled him ... He did not deny me to be his son, but called me a lazy fellow and said he would do nothing for me. From his cook I had one draught of small beer, and his footman gave me a cracked sixpence*. [202]

Robert also exposed his father's rape of his mother Rosanna and his habit of having her whipped naked.

When he died in 1807, James left his possessions and wealth to his white children only (his daughter Lydia was the result of a liaison with a woman from Musselburgh). The bulk of his wealth went to his legitimate white son (who was 20 years younger than Robert), the Hon. James Wedderburn FRSE (1782–1822), who served as Solicitor General for Scotland from 1816. He lived in luxury in Edinburgh's New Town and commissioned Raeburn to paint his wife's portrait (right).

Inveresk Lodge was gifted to the Trust by Mrs H E Brunton in 1959.

40. right; Sir Henry Raeburn, *Mrs James Wedderburn, née Isabelle Clerk*, 1819–20
Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut

### *32. Inverewe* [IG]

The garden at Inverewe was created by Osgood Hanbury Mackenzie (1842–1922) on land bought for him by his mother, Mary Hanbury, in 1862. Mary Hanbury (1812–1901) was the second wife of Francis Mackenzie of Gairloch and, with an older son, Kenneth Mackenzie, was set to inherit the Gairloch estate.[203] Mary Hanbury bought the Inverewe and Kernsary estates for her only son Osgood with her own family money.[204] The Hanburys were originally a Welsh Quaker family but Mary's great-grandfather John Hanbury (1700–58) moved to Essex and married Anna Osgood (1705–54). Thus, Osgood became a family name. John Hanbury became a Virginia merchant, trading principally in tobacco.[205] In the years leading up to the American War of Independence, the family switched its attention to the West Indies. Two subsequent generations of the family – Mary's father and grandfather (both named Osgood), along with another son Charles Hanbury (and earlier their father's cousin, Capel Hanbury) – became part-owners of the Locust Hall estate in Barbados. The estate had been purchased in 1771 by Osgood Hanbury the elder (1731–84) and his business partner John Asgill Gosling, and was sold almost four decades later by brothers Charles Hanbury and Osgood the younger (1765–1852), in 1810. At the same time as buying Locust Hall, the Hanburys moved into banking. In 1770 Osgood Snr was a joint founder of the London bank of Hanbury, Taylor, Lloyd and Bowman. Another grandchild of Osgood Snr (Mary Hanbury's first cousin) was Thomas Fowell Buxton MP (1786–1845), who headed the abolitionist movement after William Wilberforce retired in 1825.

The Inverewe Osgood went on to marry Minna Edwards-Moss, the daughter of another major slavery beneficiary: Sir Thomas Edwards-Moss from Liverpool. Their family had owned plantations in the Caribbean for generations, and Sir Thomas's father and uncle shared an award of more than £40,253 18s 3d (*c*£3,817,000 in 2021) for 805 enslaved people on the Anna Regina plantation in British Guiana.[206] He held sporting rights over tens of thousands of acres in the Highlands – at Gaick, Kingussie and Fasnakyle near Beauly – and also rented shootings at Poolewe.

Osgood and Minna's marriage was an unhappy one and, during court proceedings,[207] it was alleged by his brother that Osgood believed he had been deceived over the amount of money he would receive from the Edwards-Moss family as part of the marriage contract.

Inverewe House and the garden was given to the Trust by Mairi Sawyer in 1952.

### *33. Iona* [IG]

The island of Iona was owned by successive Dukes of Argyll until 1979, when Ian Campbell, 12th Duke, sold it to pay death duties. The Campbell family has a number of slavery connections over several generations.

In the 18th century Lord William Campbell, a younger son of the 4th Duke of Argyll, settled in South Carolina. In 1763 he married Sara Izard (*b.*1743-84), daughter of the prominent South Carolina planter Ralph Izard (1717–62). It seems they bought a rice plantation and 80 enslaved people to tend the crop.[208] In June 1775 Campbell was appointed 30th Governor of this slave-owning colony. Campbell also petitioned for 20,000 acres of land in the slavery-based colony of East Florida.[209]

John Campbell, 7th Duke of Argyll (1777–1847) married twice into families with wealth derived from slavery. His second wife, Joan Glassell (*c*1775–1828), was born in Fredericksburg, Virginia, where her father John Glassell (1740–1814) had made a fortune, both as a tobacco merchant and a plantation owner, before returning to Scotland and leaving his brother in charge of operations in Virginia.[210] When she married in 1820, Joan's marriage portion was reputed to be £50,000 (*c*£5,032,000 in 2021). The 7th Duke's third wife, Anne Colquhoun Cunningham (1801–74), was a daughter of John Cunningham, 13th Laird of Craigends (1759–1822). Before his death, Cunningham owned more than 170 enslaved people on a Jamaican plantation.[211] Anne was a daughter of Cunningham's second wife, Margaret Cunningham-Fairlie. His first wife, Frances Maxwell, was a daughter of Sir James Maxwell, 6th Bt of Pollok (see ***42. Pollok House***).

In these ways, wealth linked to slavery played a key role in the steadying and recovery of the social, political and economic power of the House of Argyll in the second half of the 19th century. It is also important to acknowledge another Duke of Argyll's important contribution to anti-racism, as Professor Ralph O'Connor explains:

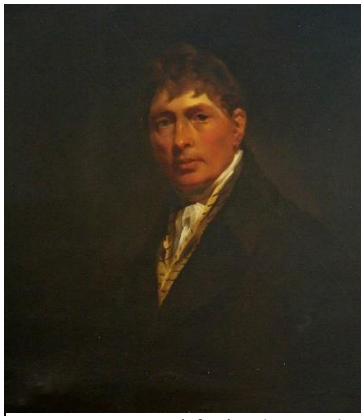
> *George Douglas Campbell, the polymath 8th Duke of Argyll (1823–1900), was one of the most important opponents of scientific racism in the second half of the nineteenth century. In British scientific debate, the*

*late 1850s and 1860s saw the gradual consolidation of the once-controversial hypothesis that humans had evolved from lower animals and could be divided into less and more highly evolved races, with white Europeans deemed inherently superior. This racist evolutionism was promoted by the influential Darwinian anthropologist and naturalist Sir John Lubbock among others.*[212] *In lectures and especially in his book Primeval Man (1868), the 8th Duke of Argyll attacked the growing assumption that indigenous peoples around the world had inherently lower mental or moral capacities than white Europeans, and that they were closer to humanity's animal origins. His criticisms of Lubbock's assumptions about extra-modern societies and about the validity of racial classification schemes remain relevant today. Instead, the Duke supported the older view (less widely shared today) that the first humans were created by God as fully human, morally and intellectually, and that modern humans, including Westerners, had fallen away from those high beginnings but had diverged in only superficial ways.*[213] *In their debate, Lubbock and his allies ultimately succeeded in side-lining the Duke's views by not engaging with his most serious points and by dismissing him unjustly as a theological conservative, as Neal Gillespie has demonstrated.*[214] *At the time, though, the Duke was a highly respected voice in this debate, and was acknowledged as such by his opponent Charles Darwin. His vision of evolution was very different from the Darwinism of today, but as historians of Victorian racism have pointed out, the Duke's counter-cultural opposition to emerging scientific racism deserves credit.*[215]

Following the sale of the island of Iona in 1979 by the Trustees of the estate of the 10th Duke of Argyll, it was gifted to the National Trust for Scotland by the Secretary of State for Scotland in 1980, using monies provided by the Hugh Fraser Foundation. (Iona Abbey and other properties administered by the Iona Cathedral Trust were not included in the gift.)

### *34. Kellie Castle* [A/D/ID]

James Lorimer and his wife Hannah (née Stodart) first rented Kellie Castle in 1878 and soon set about restoring the castle for use as a holiday retreat, but it soon became the family home. To this they brought family heirlooms, including a portrait, probably by George Watson (1867-1937), of Hannah's paternal grandfather Robert Stodart (1748-1831). Although the original painting is now with a descendent in Massachusetts,[216] a copy of it still hangs in the drawing room at Kellie Castle. Stodart made a fortune developing his piano business with John Broadwood. He initially trained as an engineer and as the family biographer Esther notes, he 'sailed to Tobago where he made a good living installing machinery on the sugar estates, but found slavery so repugnant that he threw up his job and went home.'[217]



41. George Watson (after) *Robert Stodart*
National Trust for Scotland, Kellie Castle

In another paper Esther expanded:

> *Once young Robert was out of his apprenticeship to a relative in Dalkeith, an engineer, the adventurous streak of the Stodarts sent him overseas: to Tobago. A lucky choice, for the sugar and coffee magnates, just beginning to install machinery on their estates, paid generously for his engineer's expertise. But two things soon drove Robert from the island, lucrative though it was: constant attacks of fever; hatred of slavery, of which he saw too much at first hand.* [218]

In 1878 Janet Alice Lorimer (b.1857), daughter of Professor James Lorimer of Kellie Castle, married David Chalmers (1835–99). Chalmers was first Chief Justice of the Gold Coast from 1876 to 1878 and wrote a report into the impact of the abolition of slavery there. More recently, the accuracy of this report and the expertise of Chalmers have been explored, notably by Gerald M McSheffrey.[219] Chalmers was subsequently appointed Chief Justice of British Guiana. He retired from this post in 1893, although continued to advise on colonial judicial matters. He took on judicial roles in Jamaica in 1894 and in Newfoundland in 1897, and served as a Royal Commissioner to enquire into a large-scale uprising, brought about through new taxes imposed by the British Government, in Sierra Leone in 1898. A portrait of Chalmers wearing his judicial robes, painted by his brother-in-law John Henry Lorimer (1856–1936), hangs at Kellie Castle, as does another painting by John Henry Lorimer of Janet Alice with one of her six children, completed on a visit to Kellie in 1890. Correspondence

between Janet and her husband and a pamphlet in his defence are included in their daughter Esther's papers, now held in the manuscript section of the National Library of Scotland.[220]

In 1895 Janet's older sister, Hannah Cassels Lorimer, (1854-1947) married Everard im Thurn (1852-1932).[221] Like Chalmers, he was employed in Guyana by the British Colonial Office. Whilst in Guyana they employed a local woman, Johanna Herbert (born *c.*1829-1916), as a nanny when the first of their six children was born. Joanna's mother had been enslaved; her white father, who was named on her death certificate as 'Herbert, Barrister-at-Law', is likely to be Charles Herbert (1795–1847) who practised as an advocate in Demerara from 1819.[222] Hannah's daughter Esther later recorded that:

> *On arrival they were met by an ADC and conveyed to Government House where Lady Haynes Smith and Sir William, the Governor gave them a warm welcome. Mother had little knowledge of marriage and of the position she would be expected to fill when they set out for British Guiana. They would be introduced to all the principle colonial servants in Georgetown. Then finding no official residence my father bought a large house in the coolest part of town near the sea wall. In that house four of mother's six children were born including myself. We had a large garden with stables, servants quarters, and two large vats for collecting rain water. My mother soon became interested in the people of the colony. Nine days after my eldest brother was born she engaged a half caste as nurse. Joanna Herbert by name, who stand with my mother until her death 45 years later in Scotland when my father retired there. She brought us all up and we adored her.*[223]

The family quickly nick-named Johanna *Nana* and then *Hubby*. With casual language, Esther mentions this in her diary:

> *Her [Joanna's] mother had been born into slavery and, though "de freedom come" when Nana was a child of seven, slavery was burnt deep into her mind; an acid folk-memory. Freedom de jure, not altogether freedom de facto. In the good old way her mother had been raped by some white man; the baby left to go through life in the dark shadow of illegitimacy.*[224]

Whilst at Kellie Castle, Joanna featured in John Henry Lorimer's paintings *The Mushroom Gatherers* (private collection), *A Lullaby* (National Gallery of Australia) *Bénédicité/Our Grandmother's Birthday* (Musée d'Orsay, Paris). She is always portrayed in a servile role, caring for her charges, quiet and passive, in contrast to the depictions of the much more animated women and children of the extended Lorimer family.

After 30 years of service, Johanna returned to Guyana and found it difficult to adjust. She wrote letters to the children she had helped to raise, and in one to Esther she recounts how hard it is to be a 'peasant' in a country where many of the white ladies and gentlemen of means were leaving:

> *I am hoping to go soon again to the soup kitchen and also to do some work I am sorry to say I shall be losing the Howell Joneses they are going to England very soon I have very little to do for Mrs Richter [?] at present this week however I am doing up some drawing room curtains…how are peasants to support themselves [?] I think I will give up hoping to get housekeeping place[.] if I could get three Ladies with regular work I would be quite content[,] you see there is [sic] so many private hotels that single gentlemen prefer going to them it is less worry in away [sic]*[225]

42. John Henry Lorimer *A Lullaby* 1889
National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne

Johanna was brought back to Edinburgh by the Chalmers family and died there in 1916. Her inability to readjust to life in Guyana reflects the rippling effects of enslavement on a country's descendants who are born into a climate of reliance on house and field work granted by colonisers; work that disappears when conditions change for those in power. As well as this, Johanna's importance and relevance (which she expresses herself in her letters to Esther, her former her charge) was her role as a maid and family nurse to a colonial administrator and his wife; Johanna was never defined as a woman in her own right.

Kellie Castle was acquired from Hew Lorimer by the Trust in 1970.

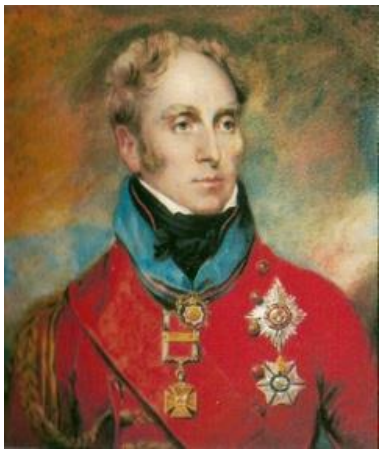
### *35. Kintail* [D?]

Parts of the Kintail estate were sold to Sir Hugh Innes by Mackenzie of Seaforth when Lochalsh was sold (see ***3. Balmacara Estate***). If it were to be established that this was ground now owned by the National Trust for Scotland, this would mark a further slavery connection with Kintail in addition to that of Mackenzie of Seaforth.

The Kintail Estate was purchased by the Trust from the Royal Northern Infirmary in 1944, with funds from the Mountainous Country Fund donated by Mr Percy Unna.

### *36. Leith Hall* [D]

Leith Hall is today best known for its links to the British Empire and especially the Indian Raj: it contains many items acquired around the time of the Siege of Lucknow in 1857 by Col. Alexander Sebastian Leith-Hay (1818–1900). Before this, however, family histories tie the Leith and Leith-Hay families to another part of the British Empire – the West Indies – where generations of the family served in government posts, upholding the British rule of law.



43. John Wright, *Sir James Leith*
Private collection

Col. Alexander Sebastian Leith-Hay, who later served in the Crimea and in India, was born in Grenada, in the West Indies, in 1818. Four years earlier, on 15 February 1814, his great-uncle Sir James Leith (1763–1816), a decorated war hero of the Napoleonic campaigns, had been appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Leeward Islands.[226] Once there, he continued to defend British territory from supporters of Napoleon Bonaparte on Martinique and then Guadeloupe. In April 1816 his troops quashed a major slavery revolt in Barbados, known as Bussa's Rebellion. The rebels were emulating the successful revolt in Haiti. Fearing a similar uprising, Governor Leith acted immediately and with force. Writing at the time, Leith blamed the free black community on the island for corrupting the colony's otherwise peaceful state with dangerous notions of equality and freedom, lamenting the 'mischievous delusions of those who have availed themselves of every circumstance to influence the minds of the slave' as well as the 'wicked attempts' to indoctrinate the enslaved masses.[227] Governor Leith also feared the influence of the international abolitionist movement and wrote of how 'discussions which have so generally taken place on the question of Slavery, attended by the misconception, heat, and exaggeration of many individual opinions' could not 'have occurred to such an extent without producing dangerous effects' and causing enslaved people to question their 'natural' condition.[228]

Reporting back on the actions of his troops, Leith estimated that 50 rebels had been killed during the fighting, and 70 were executed soon after. However, in late September he reported that the number of those condemned to death had risen to 144, while another 170 were sentenced to be transported.[229] The executions were carried out in public and across the island in what has been accurately described as 'an exercise in "psychological terror" designed to create the strongest impact upon the innocent enslaved'.[230] Within two weeks of the rising, Governor Leith issued a proclamation – unusual in that it was addressed directly to the enslaved people – reiterating their unchanged and 'unchangeable' condition. He dismissed any notion of emancipation and called upon them to 'return with cheerfulness'. Otherwise, he threatened, they would force him to use his 'ample power' to 'crush the Refractory and punish the Guilty'.[231]

Governor Leith was fêted as a hero, in both Britain and France. In November1816, the recently restored King of France, Louis XVIII, awarded him the Grand Cordon of the Order of Military Merit, for his role in securing France's West Indian colonies.[232] But the award came posthumously; Leith had contracted yellow fever on 10 October and died six days later. His body was returned to England, where he was given the great honour of being buried in Westminster Abbey, on 15 March 1817.

44. James Northcote, *Sir Andrew Leith-Hay MP*
National Trust for Scotland, Leith Hall

45. James Northcote, *Mary Margaret Clark*
National Trust for Scotland, Leith Hall

Meanwhile, back in the Caribbean, Governor Leith's nephew (the father of Col. Alexander Sebastian Leith-Hay), Andrew Leith-Hay (1785–1862) was serving as a British Army officer. He had served as Sir James Leith's aide-de-camp in Spain, and in 1816 had accompanied him when he was appointed Governor of Barbados, serving as military secretary, assistant quartermaster-general and assistant adjutant-general. He remained in the West Indies after his uncle's death, as captain in the 2nd Foot regiment from 21 November 1817 to 30 September 1819. Before leaving England in 1816, Sir Andrew had married Mary Margaret Clark, of Buckland House in Devon. Portraits of both, by James Northcote, hang at Leith Hall. In his portrait, Sir Andrew Leith-Hay is depicted as a heroic military leader, whilst Margaret is seen in the guise of Una, from Edmund Spenser's 16th-century poem *The Faerie Queene*. In the poem the beautiful young princess Una subdues a fierce lion which, captivated by her innocence and beauty, becomes her protector and companion.

The subject was popular with painters throughout the 19th century: it served, in turbulent times, as a powerful symbol of Protestantism and patriotism. In her classically styled, flowing white dress, it is tempting to see Mary in the guise of Britannia, and the lion – a traditional symbol of Britain – representing the way in which the British subjugated the colonies and their subjects. The trope of Una and the lion was used many times: Queen Victoria as Una and a subdued lion representing England was on the reverse of the Una and the Lion £5 gold coin, struck in 1839 to celebrate the young queen's accession to the throne in 1837. Both this coin, designed by William Wyon, and Northcote's portrait of Mary, which was also widely circulated as a mezzotint created by William Say, can justifiably be interpreted as powerful, early 19th-century images of the power of the British to subdue and conquer.[233]


46. (above) *Una and the Lion* £5 gold coin, 1839
National Numismatic Collection, National Museum of American History, Washington DC

47. (right) Mezzotint by William Say, after the painting by James Northcote, *Mary Margaret Leith-Hay (née Clark) as Una in Spenser's Faerie Queene*
National Portrait Gallery, London

Whilst there can be little doubt that all the members of the Leith and Leith-Hay family resident in the West Indies would have had enslaved people in their service – probably as domestic servants – the Leith family's more extensive involvement in enslavement has also been revealed. Legal documents disclose that in 1816 General Alexander Leith-Hay (father of Sir Andrew Leith-Hay and the older brother of Sir James Leith) is recorded as a 'commissioner' in the 'bankruptcy' of Mrs Elizabeth Leith, the heiress to the Tobago property of John Leith.[234] In fact, Elizabeth, who was from Islington in Middlesex, was unmarried and was not bankrupt, but she had been declared insane and therefore unable to be responsible for her goods and 'chattels', which would have included the enslaved people she owned. General Leith-Hay was claiming the right, as her closest relative, to administer (and presumably benefit financially from) her assets. Thus, John Leith, who either owned or managed several plantations in Tobago, all worked by enslaved people, must have been related to the Leiths of Leith Hall.[235]

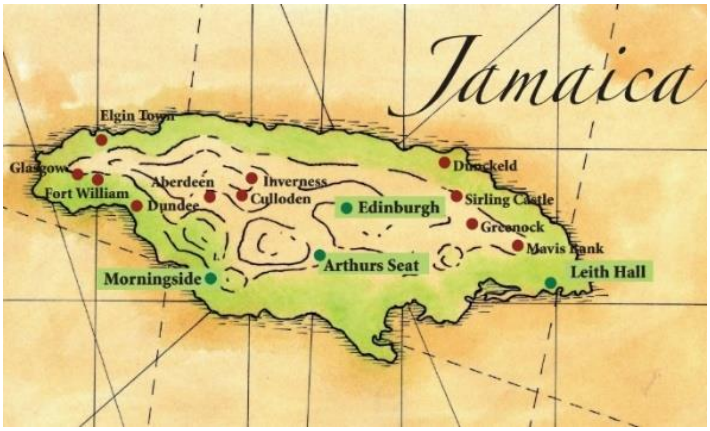
48. John Westbrook Chandler, *General Alexander Leith-Hay of Rannes and Leith Hall (1758–1838), c*1800
Private collection, on loan to National Trust for Scotland, Fyvie Castle

49. John Westbrook Chandler, *Mary Forbes of Ballogie (d1824), c*1800
Private collection, on loan to National Trust for Scotland, Fyvie Castle

The wider involvement of the Leiths of Leith Hall in the West Indies is also indicated by the fact that there was a plantation in Jamaica named Leith Hall (now giving its name to an area in the town of Prospect, Saint Thomas, around 30 miles east of the island's capital of Kingston), although quite how its name came about is

not yet known. Another branch of the family, that of Alexander Leith, has been explored in depth by Dr Désha Osborne.[236]

The full National Trust for Scotland article about Leith Hall is available on our website.




50. A map showing Scottish place names in Jamaica, including Leith Hall[237]

Leith Hall was gifted to the Trust by Mrs Leith-Hay of Rannes in 1945.

### *37. Malleny House and Garden* [D]

Malleny was the home of General Thomas Scott, 4th Laird of Malleny (1745–1842),[238] who commanded the 6th Brigade of the British forces at the storming of Seringapatam (Srirangapatna) in 1799 in Mysore, India. The legendary wealth of Tipu Sultan, the ruler of Mysore who was killed by the British, was taken by the British forces and each soldier received a portion of 'prize money'. The 4th Laird's share was £2,590 (*c*£384,500 in 2021), which would have given him the sort of funds required to add the early 19th-century extension to Malleny House. On Thomas's death, his nephew, Carteret George Scott (1803–75), became the 5th Laird of Malleny.

The 5th Laird's father, Francis Carteret Scott (1754–1835), was the sixth son of the 3rd Laird of Malleny. With little expectation of inheriting, Francis (like many other Scottish, educated, younger sons of the time) headed to the West Indies. There, Francis became part of the wider economic activity related to slavery. From at least 1786 to 1798,[239] he was Collector of Customs in Montego Bay in Jamaica; in 1798, he was a Director of the Close Harbour Company, established to address the problems of a bottleneck in Jamaica's second largest port.[240] During Francis' time at Montego Bay, the port handled the export of sugar (and sugar products such as rum and molasses) as well as the import of many thousands of enslaved African people and the re-export of thousands of enslaved people, mainly to other parts of the West Indies.[241]

Throughout his time in Jamaica, Francis corresponded with his Innes cousins of Stow, including Jane Innes, to whom he had proposed marriage prior to his departure for the West Indies. Although she had refused him, they remained friends. On 29 November 1789, Francis wrote to Marion Innes, relating that he had recently purchased 'a new Negro boy who I trust will be more attached to me than the one I had from Mr Hamilton. His morals were corrupted before I saw him. This boy has a placid countenance, very attentive, and everyway seems disposed to do good. £50 stg was his price which was buying him at a dear rate as he is very young and not above 4ft 5ins'.[242]

Francis returned to Scotland and, in 1801, married Elizabeth Cunningham in Edinburgh. Their son Carteret was born two years later. The family lived at 39 Charlotte Square, Edinburgh and also at Malleny. Carteret's son Francis, later Colonel Sir Francis Cunningham Scott (1834–1902), became the 6th Laird of Malleny, although he never lived there. He sold Malleny in 1882 to the former prime minister Archibald Primrose, 5th Earl of Rosebery (1847–1929), who owned the nearby Dalmeny estate.[243]

51. Unknown artist, *Francis Carteret Scott (1754–1835)*
National Trust for Scotland, Malleny House

52. Unknown artist, *Charlotte Elizabeth Cunningham, wife of Francis Carteret Scott*
National Trust for Scotland, Malleny House

The Jamaica connection continued, as the Earl of Rosebery's great-aunt, Lady Dorothea Arabella Hervey (née Primrose), had married William Hervey (1777–1863). Hervey inherited two plantations in Jamaica (Enfield and Plantain Garden River, the latter which he co-owned) from his mother. Following the abolition of slavery, Hervey was awarded £6,816 (*c*£676,200 in 2021) for compensation for 362 enslaved people.[244]

Malleny House was gifted to the Trust by Mrs Gore-Browne Henderson in 1968.

### *38. Mingulay, Pabbay and Berneray* [D]

The islands of Mingulay, Pabbay and Berneray were bought in 1840 by John Gordon of Cluny (1776–1858) as part of the Barra estate. In the late 1830s and 1840s Gordon bought five Hebridean estates, covering a total of nearly 100,000 acres in Benbecula, South Uist and Barra. Over the following decade he is thought to have removed nearly 3,000 people from the islands, and in so doing earned enduring notoriety for his treatment of tenants. He also inherited plantations in Tobago with his brother Alexander. Following the abolition of slavery, the pair were awarded compensation for 653 enslaved people on the island's estates of Bacolet, Trois rivieres and Spey Side, amounting to £12,483 0s 7d (*c*£1,184,000 in 2021).[245] Upon John Gordon's death, he was 'credited with a fortune of £2,000,000'. [246]

Mingulay, Pabbay and Berneray islands were purchased by the Trust in 2000 from the Barrahead Isle Sheepstock Co. with monies raised through an anonymous Trust member in Barra, the Fawcitt Bequest, SNH and the Chris Brasher Trust.

### *39. Newhailes* [D/IG]

The early history of Newhailes is closely tied up with the Darien Scheme, an unsuccessful attempt by the Company of Scotland to establish a Scottish colony, New Caledonia, on the Isthmus of Panama in the late 1690s. For the architect James Smith (*c*1645–1731), who built Newhailes House for himself *c*1686 and named it 'Whitehill', the impact on his clients (and therefore his income) was catastrophic. In 1701 Smith sold the estate to Lord Bellenden, a son of the 2nd Earl of Roxburghe, and it was renamed 'Broughton House'. Bellenden died in 1707 and in 1709 the house was bought by Sir David Dalrymple (*c*1665–1721), who renamed the estate 'Newhailes'.

Another colonial venture, the South Sea Company, was founded in 1711. In 1713 it was awarded a monopoly (the *Asiento de Negros*) to supply enslaved Africans to islands in the Caribbean and to South America – many thousands of people died en route. Sir David Dalrymple of Hailes invested heavily in this venture. However, what had been established with the aim of reducing the cost of the national debt instead ruined many: the collapse of the company in 1720 caused what was known as the South Sea Bubble and almost led to Dalrymple's bankruptcy; he died the following year.

The most famous connection of Newhailes to slavery must be that of Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, 3rd Bt of Hailes (1726–92), a Scottish advocate, judge and historian. He sat in the now famous 1778 appeal in the Court of Session for the case of Knight v. Wedderburn. The case had first been heard in 1774 before the justices of the peace in Perth and was brought by Joseph Knight, an African who had been enslaved in Jamaica and brought to Scotland by John Wedderburn of Ballindean (1729–1803), the older brother of James Wedderburn (see ***31. Inveresk Lodge***). Knight, now married to a Scottish woman, brought the case against Wedderburn, questioning whether he owed 'perpetual service' to his master and could potentially be returned to the West Indies to be enslaved once more. Knight had won the case and the Court of Session also found in his favour, by eight votes to four. Lord Hailes was one of the judges who found strongly on the side of Knight.[247] Much has been written on this case but James Robertson, who wrote a novel around the narrative, published as *Joseph Knight* in 2003, gives a succinct account of the facts in an essay entitled 'Slavery, Terrorism, Law, and Justice'.[248]

Lord Hailes had only one child by his first wife Ann Broun, a daughter named Christian (1765–1838). His second wife was Helen Fergusson of Kilkerran (1741–1810), whose brothers Charles, Adam and James owned enslaved people and plantations in Tobago and Jamaica from the 1760s. James died in Tobago in 1777, aged just 30; the other brothers remained absentee owners. Although on opposite sides of Scotland, the Dalrymple and Fergusson families remained close: in 1799 Lord Hailes and Helen's daughter, Jean Dalrymple (1777–1803), married her first cousin, Sir James Fergusson of Kilkerran, 4th Bt (1765–1838).[249] In 1812 Christian Dalrymple, who had inherited Newhailes in 1792, accompanied her step-uncle, Sir Adam Fergusson, on a tour to view the Giant's Causeway in Ireland.[250]

Sir Adam and Charles Fergusson were co-owners (with the Hunter Blair family) of the Rozelle plantation in Jamaica. In 1836, Sir James Fergusson (1765–1838) was awarded a portion of the compensation for the 198 enslaved people there.[251] Christian Dalrymple died in 1838 and, since she had not married, left Newhailes to her nephew, Charles Fergusson (1800–49). To acknowledge this inheritance, he changed his name to Sir Charles Dalrymple-Fergusson. In that same year, his own father died and so Charles also inherited the Rozelle plantation in Jamaica, the family seat in Ayrshire and No. 5 Charlotte Square (see ***40. No. 5 Charlotte Square***). The Jamaican estate remained in the family until one of Charles's sons sold it in 1875. Another son, also Charles (1839–1916), inherited Newhailes and dropped the Fergusson from his name.[252]

As at Dunmore (see ***41. The Pineapple***), Newhailes had a heated glasshouse installed for the growing of exotic plants and fruits. During 2000–2001, archaeological exploration uncovered a brick-lined 'oven pit' behind the site of a glasshouse, where a building is located on the 1798 Bauchop plan of the Newhailes estate and gardens.[253] The pit still contained a supply of coal, a stoke shovel and its cast-iron oven door.[254] Christian Dalrymple commissioned the noted horticulturalist and garden designer John Hay (1758–1836) to design a new flower garden for Newhailes in 1818 and a 'Hot Wall' in 1821. This 'hot wall' may refer to the kitchen garden dividing wall, built on land that was acquired in 1791.[255] John Hay is known to have imported and cultivated tropical fruits from the West Indies. However, his plans were not executed. Indeed, the Dalrymple family had an interest in exotic plants long before this. Christian's great-grandfather, Sir David Dalrymple, appears in the list of subscribers to the first edition of John James's *The Theory and Practice of Gardening* (1712),[256] and there is evidence that gardens were laid out for him in 1718. His son, Sir James Dalrymple, 2nd Bt of Newhailes (1692–1751), is credited with laying out the extensive ornamental landscape, buying seeds for the gardens from William Miller, Edinburgh and exchanging 'exotics' with Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, 2nd Bt (1676–1755) at Mavisbank.[257] Whilst the exact date of exotic plants being grown at Newhailes is not known, it certainly pre-dates by many decades the ending of slavery across the British Empire. These plants would have been cultivated by enslaved people and subsequently exported, along with sugar, rum, tobacco, indigo and pimento, on the final leg home of the 'Triangular Trade'.

Newhailes was donated to the Trust in 1997 by the Trustees of the late Sir C M Dalrymple, with the collections being purchased with grant-aid from the National Art Collection Fund, the then Secretary of State for Scotland, a public appeal and from the Heritage Lottery Fund, who also provided the endowment.

### *40. No. 5 Charlotte Square* [D/IG]

No. 5 Charlotte Square is remembered today as the home of John Crichton-Stuart, 4th Marquess of Bute (1881–1947), who bought it in 1903 and bequeathed it to the National Trust for Scotland. It was the Trust's headquarters from 1949 to 2000. No. 5 Charlotte Square was first owned and occupied by John Grant of Rothiemurchus (1774–1848) and was the birthplace in 1797 of Elizabeth Grant. In her autobiography, published as *Memoirs of a Highland Lady*, she recalled: 'On their marriage my parents settled in Edinburgh, which was to be their home and where my father had purchased one of the only three houses then finished in Charlotte Square'.[258] She continued: 'I was born on the 7th of May 1797 of a Sunday evening at No.5 N. side of Charlotte Square, Edinburgh, in my father's own lately built house'.[259] John Grant's father, William, was a wealthy London-born physician, who had retired to Moray. His correspondence with Jean Duff, Lady Grant (1746–1805) is highly revealing of the many personal and trading links of Clan Grant to Jamaica.[260] There was a plantation called Rothiemurchus in Jamaica, but it had been thus named by its owner Charles Anderson in 1823, having previously been called Richmond.[261] There were also numerous members of the Grant clan living in Jamaica: 247 people with that surname are listed in the compensation records.

Between 1814 and 1851, No. 5 Charlotte Square was owned by Sir James Fergusson Bt,[262] whose connections to slavery are outlined earlier (see ***39. Newhailes***).[263]

Nos 5,6 and 7 Charlotte Square were acquired by the Trust in 1958 from the executors of the late Marquess of Bute.

### *41. The Pineapple* [D/ID/IG]

The Pineapple was built by John Murray, 4th Earl of Dunmore (1730–1809). Murray commissioned the building as a birthday present for his young wife, Lady Charlotte Stewart (died 1818), whom he had married on 21 February 1759. The first phase of the building dates from 1761, but at that point it was just a single-storey, south-facing building. It was intended to serve both as a summerhouse – from which to view the walled gardens of Dunmore Park, the family estate that Murray had purchased in 1754 from the Elphinstone family for £16,000 (*c*£3,042,000 in 2021) – and as a hothouse for the growing of exotic plants, perhaps including pineapples.

53. Sir Joshua Reynolds, *John Murray, 4th Earl of Dunmore,* 1765
Scottish National Portrait Gallery

Lady Charlotte was the daughter of Alexander Stewart, 6th Earl of Galloway. Her siblings married into some of the most illustrious families in Scotland, and so the summerhouse may have been a bit of one-upmanship. However, there were clear health benefits to growing fruit too. Between 1760 and 1770, Charlotte gave birth to eight children. All but one survived into adulthood, no doubt well cared for and well fed. Charlotte was concerned about her own health, writing in 1780 from Dunmore Park to Dr Cullen in Edinburgh of her skin and digestive ailments.[264]

Murray left Scotland after the initial structure had been built, and went on to become the last Colonial Governor of Virginia, from 1771–75. There Dunmore recognised an opportunity and in 1775 issued a proclamation offering freedom to any enslaved men who abandoned their Patriot masters to join the British. The escapees became known as 'Dunmore's Ethiopian Regiment' – an estimated 800–2,000 formerly enslaved men sought refuge with the British.[265] Following his defeat to the Patriots at the Battle of Great Bridge on 9 December 1775, Dunmore loaded his troops and many Virginia Loyalists onto British ships. Smallpox spread in the confined quarters, and around 500 of the 800 members of the Ethiopian Regiment died.[266]

It is thought that it was on his return from America that Dunmore commissioned the extraordinary addition of a huge pineapple-shaped cupola atop the original building.[267] First brought to Europe

by Christopher Columbus from the Caribbean island of Guadeloupe in 1493, pineapples became a rare delicacy in Europe and were associated with power, wealth and hospitality. They were adopted as an architectural and decorative motif, in Europe, the Americas and the West Indies. Dunmore's next appointment was in the Bahamas, where he served as governor from 1787–96. Might this post have instead inspired Dunmore to commission his eccentric addition? The Gregory Town pineapple claims to be the sweetest on the planet, and it is believed that the Bahamas was the first country to produce pineapples on a commercial scale. Pineapples are indigenous to the Paraná–Paraguay River drainages between southern Brazil and Paraguay. They were introduced to the Bahamas *c*1720 and were found to do well. The sunshine and the rocky nature of Bahamian soil meant that they could thrive in almost any available space. By the time Dunmore arrived, pineapples were growing on a commercial scale on the islands of Eleuthera, Cat Island and Long Island. During Dunmore's tenure as governor, the British issued land grants to American Loyalists who had gone into exile. The sparse population of the Bahamas tripled within a few years. The Loyalists developed cotton as a commodity crop, but it was less resilient than pineapples and suffered from insect damage and soil exhaustion. In addition to the enslaved people they brought with them from America, the Loyalist planters and their descendants imported more Africans for enslaved labour.

An inscription above the distinctive Palladian 'serliana' portico[268] below the pineapple on our building may indicate that the fanciful additions celebrated the marriage of the 4th Earl's heir, George Murray, 5th Earl of Dunmore, to his first cousin Lady Susan, daughter of Archibald, 9th Duke of Hamilton, in 1803. This lends further credence to the idea that the pineapple element may date from after Dunmore's return from the Bahamas (and the inscribed date of 1761 commemorates the first element, rather than the completion of the build).

A further connection to the West Indies and slavery came in 1811, when Dunmore's third son, Lt-Col Hon. Alexander Murray (1764–1842), married Deborah Hunt, daughter of Robert Hunt (1740–1814), who was born in Bermuda and became Commissioner-in-Chief of the Bahamas. He briefly succeeded the 4th Earl as (acting) Governor of the Bahamas in 1796 and died in New Providence, Bahamas in 1811. In 1836 Alexander was awarded compensation for 59 enslaved people in the Bahamas, a sum totalling £685 10s 10d (*c*£65,010 in 2021). His will, made in the same year, shows extensive holdings in the Bahamas that are not reflected in the Compensation records.[269] Included among the many plantations that he claimed to own or part-own is one named Dunmore on Long Island, where a town and beach retains the name to this day.

Meanwhile, a wrangle ensued over a vast compensation payout in another branch of the Murray family. The 4th Earl's youngest daughter, Lady Susan Murray (1767–1826), had married Joseph Tharp, who was heir to a Jamaica sugar fortune but died young in 1795. His younger brother John Tharp VI (1769–1851) was allowed to reside at the family home of Chippenham Park in Cambridgeshire until Susan's son, John Tharp VIII (1796–1883), reached the age of 24. Both Susan's brother-in-law and her son laid claim to the compensation payable for the thousands of enslaved people owned by the family across ten estates in Jamaica. The case was bound up in Chancery until 1863.[270] Although *Burke's Peerage* (and still today *thepeerage.com*[271]) listed his date of death as 2 August 1863, John Tharp VIII was alive when his wife, Rt Hon. Lady Charlotte Hay, daughter of the 7th Marquess of Tweeddale, died in 1876. It has been suggested that John may have been in the Much Hadham Lunatic Asylum, in Hertfordshire, as early as 1841 and that he died there, aged 88, in 1883.[272]

The Pineapple was gifted to the Trust by Lady Perth in 1974.

### *42. Pollok House* [D/IG]

Pollok House's first known connection to slavery was through Sir Walter Maxwell, 4th Bt (1732–62), who had trading interests with Jamaica and connections with many Glasgow merchants.[273] These activities may well have opened a route for his brother James Maxwell (1735–85) who, like many younger sons without land or assets, sought his fortune abroad. James settled in St Kitts, where he was engaged by Robert Colhoun (1710–63), a well-established plantation owner whose grandfather was one of Glasgow's original merchants or 'Sea Adventurers' and had been a St Kitts planter in the 1670s. Colhoun started his career as an overseer for Col. William McDowall in 1724, but by the 1750s owned two sugar plantations of his own.

The unexpected deaths of his two older brothers and his infant nephew prompted James to return to Scotland. In 1762 he became Sir James Maxwell, 6th Bt and inherited the family's estate of Pollok. He took up residence at Pollok House, which had been built for his father, Sir John Maxwell, 2nd Bt, and completed a decade earlier

in 1752. Whilst on St Kitts, Sir James Maxwell had met Colhoun's daughter Frances (or Fanny, *d*1818) and they were married on their return to Scotland. Her dowry was substantial: £5,000 (*c*£1,089,000 in 2021). Meanwhile, back in the West Indies, Fanny's brother William McDowall Colhoun (1740–1821), named in honour of his father's first employer, inherited most of his father's wealth and expanded operations, managing a plantation on Nevis and acquiring the 430-acre Mount Pleasant sugar plantation in the Danish colony of St Croix. When her father died in 1763, Fanny, as a slavery heiress, brought large sums of money to Nether Pollok from both her late father's sugar plantations on St Kitts and that of her brother on St Croix, as well as from the extensive family lands in East Renfrewshire. Although Pollok House, which had only recently been completed, was not enlarged at this time, some garden works – brickworks and planting – were undertaken by Sir James *c*1767–68, building on the landscaping that his brother Sir Walter had carried out *c*1759. Accounts show that Walter upgraded Pollok House with new masonry, windows and plasterwork, and he also carried out land improvements such as ditching, drainage, dams and planting across various estates including Nether Pollok and Darnley. This work was supported by quarrying of local stone.[274] Further research is needed to establish which elements of Pollok House and estate, if any, were enhanced by monies brought through Sir James's marriage to Fanny Colhoun.

What is clear is that Fanny was key to the Maxwell family forming further connections with other plantation-owning families. William Colhoun had acquired land in Norfolk from the proceeds of the family estates in Jamaica and he maintained links with Glasgow and Bristol sugar traders. Fanny's sister Janet was the third wife of a Glasgow merchant and Jamaican plantation owner, John Wallace (1712–1805). Their son Robert Wallace (1773–1855) married into the landed family of Forbes of Craigievar (see ***14. Craigievar Castle***) and was awarded compensation for the enslaved people he owned.[275] A daughter of Sir James and Fanny, also Frances, married John Cunninghame, 13th Laird of Craigends (1759–1822), (see ***33. Iona***) [276] who had land and sugar plantations in Jamaica as well as the Grandvale estate, all of which were brought into their marriage contract.

In contrast, Sir James's sister-in-law Darcy, or D'Arcy, Lady Maxwell (née Brisbane, *d*1810), went on to commit her life to Methodism, following the death of her husband Sir Walter and their infant child John. She supported the abolition of slavery and advocated the Methodist emphasis on religious conversion of enslaved people as a means of their education, thus justifying a route to emancipation.[277]

In 1815, the granddaughter of Sir James and Fanny, Elizabeth Maxwell (1793–1822), married Archibald Stirling of Keir and Cadder (1769–1847). Stirling spent his youth in Jamaica where his family's Jamaican plantations – Hampden in St James; Frontier in St Mary; Kerr or Keir Settlement in Trelawney; and Grange Hill in Westmoreland – generated vast profits. In addition, post-abolition, he was awarded £12,517 (*c*£1,242,000 in 2021) for the loss of 690 enslaved men, women and children on his plantations. Their son Sir William Stirling of Keir went on to become Sir William Stirling Maxwell, 9th Bt of Pollok (1818–78) and used the family wealth to acquire the magnificent collection of paintings now on display at Pollok House.[278]

See also *High Water at Glasgow Bridge* – a story on our website about a unique clock at Pollok House that provides a clue to the 18th-century commercial interests of the Maxwell family, by Emma Inglis.

Pollok Park was subject to a conservation agreement in favour of the Trust from 1939. In 1966 Mrs Anne Maxwell Macdonald gifted the Pollok estate, including Pollok House, to Glasgow Corporation. Pollok House is now owned by Glasgow City Council, although the Trust manages the property jointly.

### *43. Priorwood Garden* [ID/IG]

Priorwood Garden is part of the designed landscape and policies of Priorwood House (originally named Priorbank). Built *c*1815 for Major General Francis Goudie, a retired East India Company man, and occupied after his death by his widow Ann Sophia (who had a life rent), Priorwood House was then acquired by solicitor Alexander Curle of Morriston and Priorwood, a partner in Messrs. Curle & Erskine.[279] His father, James Curle (c1791-1861), had been a solicitor as well, and being based in Melrose, worked for Sir Walter Scott as his business manager. He also acted as legal agent for the heirs of Robert Waugh of Harmony Hall in Melrose, laying claim in the late 1830s for Waugh's nieces to receive compensation for the 152 enslaved people whom they had inherited from their recently deceased uncle (see ***27. Harmony Hall***).[280] It was therefore Curle who in 1841, as executrix of Waugh's will, was awarded the compensation for the enslaved on two Jamaican plantations: the sizeable *Mount Nelson*, where 127 men, women and children were enslaved, and the much smaller *Melrose*, a 'pen' or smallholding where coffee, corn, timber, stock, pasture and 'wainage' (farm

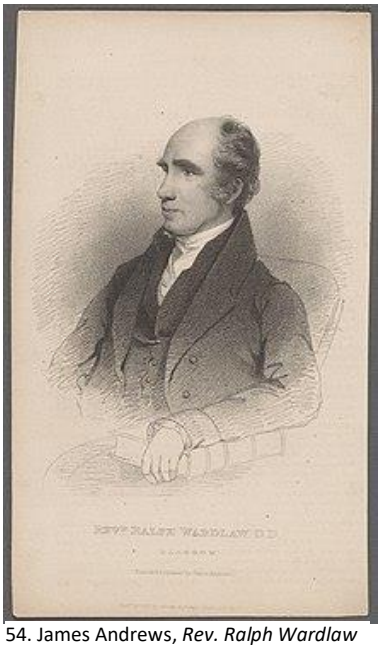
implements) are recorded, along with a further 25 enslaved workers. As the claim was successful, we can assume that, although Curle would have passed on the compensation of c£3048 1s 10d (c£283,300 in 2021) to Waugh's nieces, he would have commanded a fee for his work. Thus Scots, at all levels of society and in numerous occupations benefitted from the proceeds of historic enslavement.

The histories of Harmony Hall and Priorwood are closely linked, as James Curle's great-granddaughter Christian (whose childhood home was Priorwood)[281] married into the Pitman family, who had bought Harmony Hall in 1820. On her death in 1996, Mrs Christian Pitman bequeathed Harmony Hall to the National Trust for Scotland.

Priorwood was purchased by the Trust from Mrs Gwyneth Currie in 1974.

### *44. Provan Hall* [D/A]

Although Provan Hall is today managed by Glasgow City Council, it forms part of the Auchinlea estate (along with Blochairn House and the land surrounding both properties), which belongs to the National Trust for Scotland. The 15th-century Provan Hall and its lands were passed from Sir William Baillie, through marriage, to the Hamilton family; it is their initials above the courtyard gate. On 24 December 1794 William McDowall of Garthland[282] sold the estate to Dr John Buchanan, a ship's surgeon, Glasgow 'tobacco lord' and builder. Dr Buchanan is described as 'late of Jamaica' and it has been proposed that he was responsible for remodelling Blochairn House, which stands next to Provan Hall, based on the design of the plantation house on his Jamaican tobacco estate. Blochairn House is thought to have originally been a single-storey building, constructed around the same time as Provan Hall and possibly used for horses and storage of farming equipment. Its Georgian finishes now make it look distinctly different from Provan Hall.[283] Buchanan had no surviving legitimate children but he had a 'natural' son who was his heir.[284] Dr Buchanan died in 1809 but the property seems to have stayed within the family: his son, also John Buchanan, is described as 'of Provanhall'[285] when securing a bond of £1,000 from the Trustees of Duncan Buchanan, and a 'sometime surgeon in Madras' on 25 May 1813 so that he could acquire the sasine for Wester Cunshlie, 77 acres in Lordship of Provan.[286]



54. James Andrews, *Rev. Ralph Wardlaw DD*, 1833
National Library of Wales

Later, Provan Hall was owned by a Scottish Presbyterian clergyman and writer, the Rev. Dr Ralph Wardlaw (1779–1853). His success as a preacher was sufficient that, by 1811, he co-founded Glasgow's first academy for congregationalist theology students. In 1818 he moved his congregation to a new church in West George Street – it could hold more than 1,500 people, and his writings and preaching attracted a huge congregation. In the same year, Wardlaw was awarded an honorary doctorate (DD) from Yale University. He had a marked influence on David Livingstone, who attended his divinity lectures and was inspired by his campaigns against slavery to fight the African slave trade when a missionary and explorer. Wardlaw died at his home of Provan Hall in 1853.

Provan Hall was offered to the Trust by Provand's Lordship Club in 1974. The cost of purchasing and restoring the building was met by private subscribers, Glasgow Corporation, the Pilgrim Trust and the Dalrymple Archaeological Fund. In 1979 the Trust established a 60-year lease agreement with City of Glasgow District Council for the maintenance of the property and the surrounding Auchinlea Park.

### *45.* Robert Burns Birthplace Museum [ID/A]

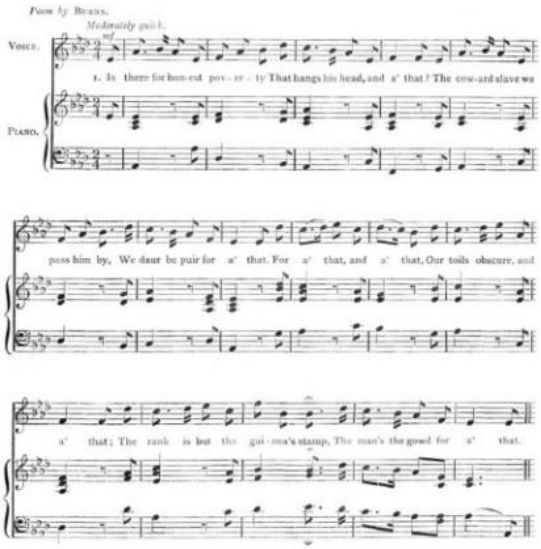
Visits to Robert Burns's birthplace by icons of the Civil Rights movement, including Muhammad Ali, Clark Gable and Maya Angelou, are testament to the abiding status of Robert Burns as a champion of the enslaved and disadvantaged. The truth, however, is far more complicated.

Like so many impoverished Scots in the 1700s, Robert Burns had decided to settle in the West Indies to seek a better livelihood. His thoughts on his imminent departure are expressed in his farewell poem, 'On a Scotch Bard, Gone to the West Indies' of 1786, with its theme of parting from loved ones. However, he makes no

mention of the task ahead: of ensuring maximum productivity from the enslaved workers. His plan was to move to Jamaica to work as a 'bookkeeper' on an estate in the town of Port Antonio, owned by one of his friends, Dr Patrick Douglas. Burns had negotiated a three-year contract at a wage of £30 a year (compared to the £7 he was currently making on the family farm). He was due to set sail from Greenock and had put down 9 guineas as a deposit for passage on the *Nancy*, which would depart on 10 August with freight and passengers bound for the Jamaican port of Savanna-la-Mar. However, the *Nancy* was delayed and in the interim Burns became a father to twins by his future wife Jean Armour. His *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* (or *The Kilmarnock Edition*, as the book became known) was published in July 1786 and received enthusiastic reviews in the Edinburgh press, rapidly elevating him to celebrity status.

Burns has subsequently been seen as a champion of freedom. He wrote 'The Slave's Lament' (1792) and 'A Man's a Man for A' That' (1795), which Murray Pittock has suggested may be based on Josiah Wedgwood's famous medallion *Am I not a Man and a Brother?* (1787).[287] Burns justifiably maintains this status, but in addition he epitomises the lot of the poor Scot who, either through financial hardship or political pressure, saw emigration as the best or even only option. For most, this meant being parted forever from loved ones and home, to go to places with hard physical conditions and exposed to disease. In many of these destinations, chattel slavery was the foundation of the economy and Scots were often responsible for managing the enslaved workers. Burns echoes too the change in attitude towards slavery, as it became increasingly seen as unacceptable. The calls for abolition gathered strength in Scotland from the 1790s, although abolition was not finally achieved until 1833.


55. *Am I not a Man and a Brother?* tinted stoneware medallion, modelled by William Hackwood, Wedgwood, Staffordshire, *c*1786 Brooklyn Museum, New York




56. Extract from Robert Burns's 'A Man's a Man for A' That', 1795

Burns was the revolution-supporting writer of 'Ballad on the American War' (1784), the man who railed against 'chains and slaverie' in 'Scots Wha Hae' (1793) and the egalitarian author of 'A Man's a Man for A' That' (1795), who had been on the cusp of becoming a slave overseer in Jamaica.

*Sarah Beattie, National Trust for Scotland curator for Robert Burns Birthplace Museum, writes on Burns and Black History:*

> Robert Burns is perhaps best known as a Scottish icon and Scotland's 'national bard' but he has also become intertwined with black history, particularly the history of transatlantic slavery, abolitionism in Britain and the African-American abolitionist movement during the American Civil War. Although there is scant evidence of his personal involvement with abolitionism in his letters, many of his poems, particularly 'A Man's a Man for A' That', express a desire for equality that was possibly derived from the abolitionist plaque designed by Wedgwood and used in the abolitionist writings of William Wells Brown.
>
> Burns's decision to accept a post as a slave overseer in Jamaica in 1786 has become an important aspect of Burns scholarship in recent years. Although anachronistic to the egalitarian views expressed in his poetry, it is an important example of the prevalence and paradox of transatlantic trade and slavery within Scottish society during

the Enlightenment era. Burns grew up in a region where transatlantic trade and slavery were deeply engrained in the economy.[288]

Josiah Wedgewood's anti-slavery medallion, produced for the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade in 1787, includes the motto 'Am I not a man and a brother?', which is believed to have influenced Burns's poem 'A Man's a Man for A' That', and particularly the line 'that man to man the world o'er, shall brothers be for a' that'. Burns's overtly anti-slavery poem, 'The Slave's Lament', was published in James Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum* in 1792, the year in which 519 petitions for the abolition of the slave trade were presented to the House of Commons. Burns's anti-slavery views crystallised in his response to Helen Maria Williams' poem 'The Slave Trade' (1788), about which he wrote to her very positively in 1789. In addition to 'The Slave's Lament' and 'A Man's a Man for A' That', Burns also penned a critical poem to Mrs Oswald of Auchencruive, on her late husband's slaving activities and her benefit from them (see ***17. Culzean Castle***).[289]

Although Burns appears not to have been involved directly with the abolitionist movement, his words were widely incorporated into the fight for abolition by others. Lines from 'A Man's a Man for A' That' were incorporated into the works of prominent African-American abolitionists in the mid-19th century. William Wells Brown (1814–84) and Frederick Douglass (1818–95) both merged Burns into their anti-slavery writings, and Douglass visited Burns Cottage and wrote his account, *A Fugitive Slave Visiting the Birthplace of Robert Burns,* in 1846.

Conversely, by the 1860s Burns's words were being misappropriated by Southern confederate groups in America, who were using Scottish writers and icons to shape a Southern extremist identity in the aftermath of the Civil War. For example, the first constitutional document of the Ku Klux Klan (1867) outlines how new recruits were required to recite 'To A Louse' as part of their initiation ceremony.[290]

In the 20th century, Burns would inspire the African-American writer and poet Dr Maya Angelou, who had become acquainted with his work as a child in rural Arkansas. Angelou felt that Burns was 'the first white man I read who seemed to understand that a human being was a human being and we are more alike than unalike'. She commemorated the bicentenary of his death and the parallels in their lives – impoverished childhoods; love of literature, liberty and equality; music; religion; and love – in a 1996 documentary and visit to Burns Cottage.

In 2008 the Trust took over responsibility for the management of Robert Burns Birthplace properties from South Ayrshire Council.

### *46. St Kilda* [IG]

The islands of St Kilda were historically part of the domain of the MacLeods of Harris and Dunvegan. At the time of the evacuation in 1930, St Kilda was owned by Sir Reginald MacLeod of MacLeod, 27th Clan Chief (1847–1935). His mother, Hon. Louisa Barbara St John (1818–80), had brought family funds to her marriage. A historian of Skye, Roger Hutchison, has said that her husband-to-be, Norman MacLeod, 25th Clan Chief (1812–95), was at the time close to bankruptcy and was 'lucky' to have made 'a good marriage'.[291] Louisa's grandmother was the daughter of a London merchant of Huguenot origin, Peter Simond, who owned many enslaved people in Grenada.[292] The grandmother is said to have brought £20,000 (*c*£3,855,000 in 2021) to her marriage to John St John of Northwood, 12th Baron St John of Bletso (1725 –1767) in 1755.[293]

In 1779, St Kilda changed owners, as the MacLeods of Dunvegan were forced to sell due to bankruptcy. As was so often the case, they sold the islands to a cadet of the family who had profited abroad. The islands' former tenants, the MacLeods of Pabbay, had emigrated to North Carolina in 1773, and the new owner also had American connections. He was a retired and wealthy entrepreneur, Captain Alexander MacLeod (*c*1715–90), the second son of Donald 'Old Trojan' MacLeod of Berneray (1692–1781). Alexander married Susanna Hume (born 1722), a daughter of Robert and Susannah Hume of Charleston, South Carolina. Her maternal grandfather was Henry Wiginton, a senior colonial official. In his will Wiginton left 'To said Robert and Sophia Hume all Negro slaves in Carolina and their Offspring or Issue, all monies due in the Province, &c. Executors in Carolina'.[294] Alexander MacLeod's marriage to the daughter of a planter did not give him the financial resources he later used to purchase St Kilda, for his career in the East India Company was well established by this time. However, what the marriage does demonstrate is the embedded nature of slavery and plantation interests within a world-wide British imperial system. In this context, a connection with a respectable planter family, which was also involved in East India trading, marked an important transformation in Alexander Macleod's social and cultural standing. His new status was cemented by his acquisition of landed property in the Hebrides.[295] Captain MacLeod was ambitious for the islands and developed a plan for an intensive fishing industry, centred at Rodel in Harris (he also bought Harris from Macleod of Macleod) but with buildings on St

Kilda too. Herring, when salted, could be exported as cheap protein for enslaved workers in America and the Caribbean.[296]

Norman MacLeod of MacLeod (1754–1801), 23rd Clan Chief, owned 141,679 acres in Inverness-shire[297] and was MP for Inverness. He was one of the early campaigners to abolish the slave trade. The profligacy of his grandfather had prevented him from owning St Kilda, but it was eventually reacquired by his grandson, Norman MacLeod, 25th Clan Chief, in 1871.

St Kilda was bequeathed by the 5th Marquess of Bute to the Trust in 1957.

### *47. Thomas Carlyle's Birthplace* [ID]

Author, biographer and historian Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881) is regarded as one of the most significant Scots of the 19th century. His birthplace was opened to the public in 1881, some 50 years before the founding of the National Trust for Scotland, and its first visitors' book testifies to Carlyle's international reputation at that time.

140 years later, our attitude to Thomas Carlyle is understandably shaped by the fact that in 1849 he published, under a pseudonym, the now infamous satirical essay 'Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question' in *Fraser's Magazine*. Noted Caribbean historian and politician Eric Williams has described it as 'the most offensive document in the entire world literature on slavery and the West Indies'.[298] In the essay, Carlyle argues for the restoration of slavery in the West Indies, and in 1865 it became a key source for the supporters of Governor Eyre during the parliamentary enquiry into the massacre at Morant Bay. Earlier that year, the Governor of Jamaica, Edward Eyre (1815–1901), had suppressed a rebellion at Morant Bay, resulting in the death and serious injury of hundreds of people. The Jamaica Committee, which included English liberals such as John Bright and John Stuart Mill, argued that Eyre should be tried for the murder of British subjects, as Jamaica was at that time a Crown Colony.

In the following year, Carlyle established the Governor Eyre Defence and Aid Committee[299] and in 1867 wrote *Shooting Niagara: And After?*, in which he encouraged historical perceptions of racial hierarchies and promoted the idea that Africans were born for servitude.

Inevitably with an author as highly regarded in his own day as Carlyle, his writings did affect others' opinions and even actions. However, Professor Ralph O'Connor has cautioned that the text upon which we derive our views on Carlyle's attitudes to race (ie 'Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question') does not express Carlyle's own views in a simple way. It was not merely 'published under a pseudonym' but instead as O'Connor explains:

> 'the pseudonym, Phelim McQuirk, is a fully-fledged fictitious lecturer whose manner and much of whose argument the surrounding pseudo-editorial matter (also created by Carlyle) is clearly designed in places to undermine, for instance with references to some members of the audience getting bored while McQuirk rants on. Parts of McQuirk's argument attack abolitionism; other parts of McQuirk's argument, including its satirical climax, attack the British government's hypocrisy in opposing slavery but refusing to take battleships to Cuba and Brazil in order to free enslaved people there. All this raises questions about using this source as a transparent evidence of Carlyle's own opinions, especially his pro-slavery arguments. At the time, its message was radically simplified by outraged abolitionists and delighted pro-slavery lobby alike. None of this works to get Carlyle off the hook as far as racism is concerned. But it should be acknowledged that this key contribution of his (which he himself dismissed at the time as a 'dud' and 'worth nothing at all') is by no means a straightforward defence of slavery.[300] Nevertheless, both here and in his other publications and letters, Carlyle consistently refused to join the abolitionists in straightforwardly condemning slavery. Instead, he frequently focused on exposing the hollowness of both pro- and anti-slavery rhetoric, in ways which are difficult for us to fully grasp nearly two centuries on because Carlyle so rarely dropped his satirical mask when discussing such issues. It may even be a mistake to attempt to find a single coherent 'opinion' in the case of this very complex figure.'

For more discussion of Carlyle's attitudes to race and slavery, see David Levy's *How the Dismal Science got its Name*. Also check out the website *Another History is Possible*, which offers A level teaching modules around people who had key roles in our understanding of the British Empire.
The Trust acquired Thomas Carlyle's Birthplace from the Carlyle Memorial House Trust in 1936.

### *48. Threave House* [D, IG]

Threave House was built in 1872. It had been commissioned the previous year from architect Charles Kinnear by Liverpool merchant William Gordon (1818–99), who had bought the Threave estate in 1867 as a summer home for his large family. Born in Montrose,[301] Gordon was employed in his youth by Joseph Dundas Miller (1792–1847), a Liverpool merchant whose first five children were born in Brazil before he returned to settle in Bootle on Merseyside, where he established the firm of Miller, Mackay & Co.[302] Miller's ships sailed between Brazil, Madeira and Liverpool. Madeira was probably a convenient place to stop for provisions and water on the voyages to and from Brazil, but madeira wine may well have been added to their cargo of Brazilian goods. William Gordon was listed in the 1860 census as a 'Brazilian merchant' and was very successful. Slavery was not abolished in Brazil until 1888; throughout the early 19th century many industries – gold and diamond mining, cattle ranching, coffee, sugar and other food production – all relied heavily upon an enslaved workforce. Whilst resident in Brazil, Gordon began dealing in diamonds and made his own fortune. According to his descendant, he returned to Britain aged 30 (he was in fact still in his 20s) with £250,000 (the equivalent of *c*£23,010,000 in 2021). [303]

On 20 April 1847 Gordon married Miller's oldest daughter, Mary Dorothy Miller, who was born in Bahia, Brazil in 1823. Joseph Miller died a few months later and was buried in the British Cemetery in Funchal, Madeira. [304] Gordon was an executor of Miller's estate. Having given birth to 11 children, Mary died aged just 36 on 18 March 1860 (less than a month after the birth of her last child) in New Brighton, Merseyside; she was buried in Liverpool.[305] William Gordon remarried, to Margaret Steele, also of Liverpool. Between 1865 and 1872, he had a further 5 children from this second marriage. Gordon was already a partner in his first father-in-law's firm, and afterwards he joined forces with Andrew Steele of Dundee (owned by his first mother-in-law's family).[306] With his vast fortune, not only was Gordon able to acquire the Threave estate and build his Scots baronial mansion, but he also owned a villa named Beausejour on the Isle of Wight.[307]

Threave was bequeathed to the Trust by Major Alan Gordon in 1948.

### *49. Torridon* [ID]

Torridon estate has had at least three owners who were beneficiaries of slavery. In 1797 it was sold by Kenneth Mackenzie of Torridon to his brother John Mackenzie (1754–1820) for £1,727 (*c*£270,300 in 2021). This happened shortly after John Mackenzie's marriage to Anne Isabella van Dam, daughter of Isaac van Dam, who appears to have been from a prominent slave-owning dynasty.[308] Kenneth Mackenzie had set up a fish curing station on the shores of Loch Torridon in the 1780s. One of the main markets for salt herring at that time was the Caribbean, where it was a staple food for the enslaved plantation workers. It may be surmised that both brothers were indirect beneficiaries of slavery.

There followed a brief period of ownership by James Alexander Stewart-Mackenzie (1784–1843), who had inherited the estates of the Mackenzies of Seaforth through marriage to Mary, daughter of Francis Humberston Mackenzie of Seaforth, thus providing another slavery connection (see ***3. Balmacara Estate***). The Torridon estate was then sold to Alexander McBarnet in 1838. McBarnet had already purchased Attadale estate in 1837. He died almost immediately after the purchase, and it was run by trustees on behalf of his son. A Torridon delegate to the Napier Commission[309] described him as a 'West Indian or South American planter' and detailed the family's oppressive actions during their period of ownership. Indeed, McBarnet had been a planter on the island of St Vincent and received a share of the compensation money for 430 enslaved people, amounting to £11,532 17s 3d (*c*£1,094,000 in 2021).[310] Alexander McBarnet's wife was Mary Rose, a niece of Hugh Rose of Glastullich (1767–1846).[311] Rose had also been a Caribbean slave-owner and was implicated in a fraud case while acting as deputy paymaster for the West Indies in the late 1700s (his brother was also involved in this scandal).[312] Rose later co-owned a plantation in Berbice. On his return to Scotland, Hugh Rose bought a number of Highland estates, including Bayfield and Tarlogie. It was rumoured that his first wife was murdered at Bayfield by a 'quadroon' mistress he had brought back from the Caribbean.[313]

In 1872 Torridon left the hands of the McBarnet family when it was bought for £63,000 (*c*£5,666,000 in 2021) by Duncan Darroch, 4th of Gourock (1836–1910). Multiple sources have claimed that Duncan Darroch's great-grandfather had made a fortune in Jamaica. Certainly, Duncan Darroch of Torridon's father married Susan Parker (*d*1889), daughter of Charles Stewart Parker who was a partner in the West India company that became Sandbach Tinne, one of the largest plantation-owning firms in the Caribbean. On his death in 1828, Charles Stewart Parker left £105,893 (*c*£11,420,000 in 2021). Through his marriage to Susan, Duncan Darroch also became a nephew of George Rainy (1790–1863), another partner in Sandbach Tinne who received one of the biggest payouts resulting from the Slave Compensation Act.[314] Later, through testimony given to the Napier Commission, Rainy was revealed to be an extremely cruel landlord of his tenants on Raasay.[315]

Torridon Estate was acquired by the Trust from the Estate of the 4th Earl of Lovelace in 1967. The adjoining Alligin Shuas Estate (809 hectares) was gifted to the Trust by the sons of Sir Charles and Lady Blair-Gordon in memory of their parents in January 1968.

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[1] Drs Iain MacKinnon and Andrew Mackillop, 'Plantation slavery and landownership in the west Highlands and Islands: legacies and lessons', Community Land Scotland, November 2020

[2] Case Study: Searching for Scipio | Scottish Archaeological Research Framework (rcahms.gov.uk)

[3] Acquired in 1938, with a further section, Seabegs Wood, bought in 1973.

[4] Professor Lawrence Keppie, formerly Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow. https://www.bbc.co.uk/ahistoryoftheworld/objects/6fj1TjpWTRS0rQBdJ8TeFA

[5] NEW VIDEO: 'A Window to the Scottish Past: Views on Verecunda's Life', Hunterian Museum Onsite Experience Hunetrian Museum 2019 https://emotiveproject.eu/index.php/2019/10/08/new-video-a-window-to-the-scottish-past-views-on-verecundas-life-hunterian-museum-onsite-experience/

[6] Historic Environment Portal BRODICK CASTLE (GDL00071) (historicenvironment.scot)

[7] Brodie Castle | Canmore online catalogue

[8] *'David Shaw', Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 6 July 2021]

[9] Deborah Cohen, *Family Secrets: Living with Shame from the Victorians to the Present Day*, Viking, 2013, p. 8

[10] See Iain Whyte, *Scotland and the Abolition of Black Slavery, 1756–1838*, Edinburgh University Press, 2006 and C Duncan Rice, *The Scots Abolitionists 1833–1861,* Louisiana State University Press, 1981

[11] The National Library of Scotland has the annual reports for 1838 and 1841 of the Glasgow Emancipation Society [Shelfmarks: APS.1.77.3 and APS.1.77.12]. Also available are the annual reports of the Edinburgh Ladies' Auxiliary Emancipation Society for the 1850s and 1860s [Shelfmarks: 6.1501 and 6.1505].

[12] The underpinning research is from: Henry Phelps Brown and Sheila V Hopkins, *A Perspective of Wages and Prices*, Routledge, 1981; A J S Gibson and T C Smout, *Prices, Food and Wages in Scotland 1550–1780,* Cambridge University Press, 1995; and Julian Hoppit, 'Scotland and the Taxing Union, 1707–1815' in *The Scottish Historical Review,* vol. 98, no. 246, April 2019, pp. 45–70

[13] Highland Council Museum Service hold an estate plan from 1807 owned by the Matheson family.

[14] See the entry for Francis Mackenzie Humberston in *Dictionary of National Biography, 1885–1900,* vol. 28

[15] See David Alston, '"Very rapid and splendid fortunes"? Highland Scots in Berbice (Guyana) in the early nineteenth century' in *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness,* 63, 2002–04, pp. 208–36 and Richard B Sheridan, 'The Role of the Scots in the Economy and Society of the West Indies,' in *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences,* 292, 1977, p. 98

[16] Finlay McKichan, 'Lord Seaforth: Highland Proprietor, Caribbean Governor and Slave Owner' in *The Scottish Historical Review*, vol. 90, no. 230, October 2011, pp. 204–35 [accessed 15 February 2021]

[17] Stephen Mullen reviews Finlay McKichan's 'Lord Seaforth: Highland Landowner, Caribbean Governor' in *The Innes Review,* vol. 71, November 2020, pp. 286–93

[18] Elizabeth Heyrick's pamphlet *Immediate, not gradual abolition; or, An inquiry into the shortest, safest, and most effectual means of getting rid of West Indian slavery* was published in 1824.

[19] https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/innes-sir-hugh-1764-1831

[20] See, for example, Anne Stott, *Wilberforce: Family and Friends,* Oxford University Press, 2012

[21] In the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database the ship is misspelled variously as *Dotten/Dotten Galley/Dotten Gally*. See also Nigel Tattersfield, *The Forgotten Trade: Comprising the Log of the* Daniel and Henry *of 1700 and Accounts of the Slave Trade from the Minor Ports of England, 1698–1725*, Jonathan Cape, 1998, p. 31

[22] Colin Munro *Fern Vale: or the Queensland Squatter* London 1862, pp. 6, 37. Colin Munro *Fern Vale: or the Queensland Squatter* London 1862, pp. 6, 37. https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=Yt0kGKsmX_0C&pg=PA6&lpg=PA6&dq=colin+munro+indigo+planter&source=bl&ots=fAiDbQzf4n&sig=ACfU3U3sd1a8gwV2gmZeKWKCZRzf6jtROQ&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjh6vGWmtf2AhVViFwKHTyiD2sQ6AF6BAgrEAM#v=onepage&q=indigo&f=false

[23] Tytler succeeded his father Alexander as Professor of History at the University of Edinburgh (1800–21).

[24] Ann's uncle, Dr Thomas Fraser (1726–60), graduated in 1749 as a medical doctor from Glasgow University and settled in Antigua. In 1752 he married Elizabeth Mackinnon, daughter of William Mackinnon who was a prominent member of Antigua society. William left an unspecified amount as a marriage settlement on Elizabeth as well as £1,000 to each of their children, including Ann's cousin William Mackinnon Fraser. When Dr Fraser died in 1760, he left '19 negros' and a sum of money for his wife; the rest of his estate was divided among the children, including William Mackinnon Fraser, who inherited the title Balnain on the death of his first cousin in 1775. He purchased the lands of Balnain in 1798 when parts of the Lovat estate were sold off to pay the debts of the late General Simon Fraser of Lovat. William Mackinnon Fraser married Isabel, daughter of Cortland Skinner of New Jersey, the attorney general for that state and a leading Loyalist during the American War of Independence. Skinner was descended from a Dutch family who were thoroughly immersed in the New World slavery economy as well as being centrally involved in the dispossession of the native peoples in the north-east of North

America.
See Alexander Mackenzie, *History of the Frasers of Lovat: With Genealogies of the Principal Families of the Name; To Which Is Added Those of Dunballoch and Phopachy*, A & W Mackenzie, 1896, pp. 552–63 and William S Pelletreau, *History of Putnam County, New York: With Biographical Sketches of its Prominent Men,* W W Preston, 1886, pp. 65–87
Another branch of the family, the Frasers of Reelig, also had extensive Caribbean connections. See Viccy Coltman, 'Henry Raeburn's Portraits of Distant Sons in the Global British Empire' in *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 95, 2013, pp. 294–311
Ann Fraser was also distantly related to Elizabeth Baillie (see ***9. Brodie Castle***) through Elizabeth's paternal grandmother, Emilia Fraser of Reelig, who had married Hugh Baillie, 3rd of Dochfour on 10 June 1730.
[25] Walter Scott, *Letters*, vol. 4, p. 200
[26] Viccy Coltman, n. 20, *op. cit.*
[27] 'George Grant of Burdyards', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 6 July 2021]
[28] Sanquhar House was greatly enlarged in 1863. More research could be done on the Grant family. See the papers of the Edward family and Fraser Tytler family of Sanquhar House, estate papers, The National Archives
[29] Donald Davidson owned enslaved people in St Ann, Jamaica and may have been related to Duncan Davidson and Peter Davidson (see ***14. Corrieshalloch Gorge***): 'Donald Davidson', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 6 July 2021]
[30] Extract from letter by Elizabeth McDermott, Richmond Hill, Jamaica, to George Grant, Forres, 1800 (GB0232/D766/5/6/1/1)
[31] *'Elizabeth McDermott', Legacies of British Slavery database* [accessed 29 November 2021]
[32] 'Mary Ann Peterkin', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 6 July 2021]
[33] Mary Ann Peterkin's compensation claim is dated 25 January 1836. 'Jamaica St James 415 (Chatham)', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 6 July 2021]
[34] Both attorneys John Alves and Charles Scott owned enslaved people and received substantial compensation. For Scott: 'Charles Scott', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 6 July 2021] and for Alves: 'John Alves', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 6 July 2021]
[35] Priscilla Franks died in 1832 leaving £400,000 (c£37,4400,000 in 2021). She had owned one-third of Dukinfield Hall sugar plantation in Jamaica. 'Priscilla Franks', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 6 July 2021]
[36] 'Jamaica St Thomas-in-the-East, Surrey 286 (Airy Castle)', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 6 July 2021]
[37] For more on the Scottish linen industry, see Alistair J Durie, *The Scottish Linen Industry in the Eighteenth Century*, John Donald Publishers, 1978
[38] The other was the Hon. G. Neville Grenville (1789-1854)
[39] 'John Campbell, 2nd Marquis of Breadalbane', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 6 July 2021]
[40] Duchess of Chandos Anna Eliza Brydges formerly Elletson (née Gamon)', Legacies of British Slavery database, http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146640763 [accessed 23rd March 202].
[41] Rosalind K Marshall, *The Days of Duchess Anne: Life in the Household of the Duchess of Hamilton, 1656–1716*, Tuckwell Press, 2000, p. 80
[42] See Papers of the Douglas-Hamilton Family, Dukes of Hamilton and Brandon, National Register of Archives for Scotland, Documents relating to the Darien Scheme 1693-1700 NRAS2177/Bundle 1416.
[43] *Op. cit.*: 'Robert West to [the duke of Hamilton], on behalf of some gentlemen who wish to make a settlement on the coast of Africa near Cape Bonne Esperance, are willing to supply Caledonia with provisions and enslaved people, and seek the patronage of the African Company. He encloses a memorandum giving further details of the proposition' NRS GD406/1/4743
[44] Andrew James Rutledge, 'Enemies Bound by Trade: Jamaica, Cuba, and the Shared World of Contraband in Atlantic Empires, 1710–1760', A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (History) in The University of Michigan, 2018, p. 44
[45] https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/hamilton-lord-archibald-1673-1754
[46] Musée de la Pagerie
[47] The former Dutch colonies of Essequibo, Demerara and Berbice became the united Colony of British Guiana in 1831, now the Co-operative Republic of Guyana.
[48] 'Hugh Duncan Baillie', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 13 November 2021]
[49] Brodie Castle | Canmore online catalogue
[50] Brodie family papers | The National Archives
[51] Baillie family papers | University of Bristol Archives
[52] Hansard record from 17 March 1848
[53] Brodie, Rodney's Stone | Canmore online catalogue
Professor Douglas Hamilton also suggests that it may have been installed to commemorate the decisive Battle of the Saintes of 1782 which, with forces led by Admiral Rodney, prevented the invasion of Jamaica by a combined French and Spanish fleet and is widely credited with retaining the West Indies under British control. Both Admiral Rodney and the battle are commemorated with the grandiose Rodney Memorial in Spanish Town, Jamaica, built in 1801.
[54] 'Alexander Murray of Broughton', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 7 July 2021]
[55] 'Rev. James Hamilton', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 7 July 2021]
[56] See Alexander Murray's entry in the Red Book of Scotland, a genealogical research project
[57] 'Hon. Jane Macdonald (née Campbell)', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 7 July 2021]
[58] Tacky was the Fanti leader in eastern Jamaica, and Apongo (African name) or Wager was the leader in the west. The Coromantee are now known as the Akan and originate from present-day Ghana.
[59] Posted on 16 May 2018 on the blog of the Legacies of British Slave-ownership project.
[60] On returning from Jamaica, Campbell was awarded Knight of the Order of the Bath. When he died in 1791, he was honoured with a burial in Westminster Abbey. See also Albert W Haarmann, 'Jamaican Provincial Corps 1780–1783' in *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, vol. 48, no. 193, 1970, pp. 8–13 [*JSTOR*, accessed 25 January 2021]

[61] The Inverneill papers are owned by the National Library of Scotland and held in the National Register of Archives for Scotland, ref. NRAS28/ IA/1/4/7
[62] Inverneill papers, IA/1/4/6/2, 1780
[63] The bank forms one of the legacy constituent parts of what is now Lloyds Bank. See: 'Sir William Forbes, James Hunter and Company, 1763–1909' in the Lloyds Banking Group Archives (Edinburgh), GB 1830 FOR.
[64] William Forbes' family lost property and land after the '45 rising. Hay's father worked as a physician.
[65] A copy of the painting hangs at Castle Fraser but the original painting is in the Philadelphia Museum of Art.
[66] 'Sir John Hay 5th Bart.', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 7 July 2021]
[67] Inverbroom had previously been called Ballone.
[68] The Davidsons had plantation interests in Florida as well as in the Caribbean. See Dr Iain MacKinnon & Dr Andrew Mackillop, *Plantation slavery and landownership in the west Highlands and Islands: legacies and lessons – A Discussion Paper*, November 2020, p. 12
See also the Clan Davidson website.
[69] The firm had premises at 14 Fenchurch Buildings in London. By 1811 it was known as Davidsons Graham & Co. By 1819 it was Davidsons Barkly & Co., a new partnership having been formed with Hugh and Aeneas Barkly, the latter owning thousands of enslaved people across the Caribbean.
[70] 'Henry Davidson', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 7 July 2021]
[71] 'John Deffell', *Legacies of British Slavery* database
[72] The Scots had extensive involvement in the plantations of Suriname. When the Dutch government paid out compensation in 1864, Scots (both in Scotland and resident in Suriname) were reimbursed for 2,707 enslaved people; the English and Welsh for only 416. See David Alston, 'Scottish Slave-Owners in Suriname: 1651–1863' in *Northern Scotland*, vol. 9, May 2018, pp. 17–43
[73] D R Fisher (ed.), 'Duncan Davidson' in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1820–1832*, 7 vols., Cambridge University Press for the History of Parliament Trust, 2009, vol. 5, pp. 862–63
[74] Dr Iain MacKinnon & Dr Andrew Mackillop, *Plantation slavery and landownership in the west Highlands and Islands: legacies and lessons – ANNEX: Data and References*, November 2020, p. 7
[75] 'Duncan Davidson', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 7 July 2021]
[76] 'Robert Wallace', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 7 July 2021]
[77] 'William Burnett', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 7 July 2021] and 'Catherine Forbes', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 7 July 2021]
[78] *Family of* Burnett of Leys, *with Collateral Branches*, Spalding Club, 1901, pp. 96–7
[79] Capt. Douglas Wimberley, *A Short Account of the Family of Irvine of Drum in the County of Aberdeen*, 1893, p. 56
[80] House of Schivas | Canmore online catalogue
[81] 'Thomas Ramsay', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 7 July 2021] *n.b.* The UCL database does not make the connection but given that his aunt's will identifies him as the owner of Surprise and his son's inventory at death includes a mortgage over Surprise, it clearly is him.
[82] National Records of Scotland: 1853, Forbes, Catherine (Wills and testaments Reference SC5/41/13 Stonehaven Sheriff Court) Image 483–505
[83] See the Slavery and the Slave Trade research guide from National Records of Scotland
[84] For details of this ship, including its owners, sailings and number of enslaved people offloaded and where, see the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database.
[85] Michael S Moss, 'Kennedy, Thomas, ninth earl of Cassillis (1726–1775)' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* May 2016
[86] See the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, as n. 76
[87] Earl of Cassillis to James Grant, 10 March 1767, quoted in: Linda K Williams, 'East Florida as a Loyalist Haven' in *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, vol. 54, no. 4, April 1976, pp. 465–68 and 469–78
[88] James Grant to the Earl of Cassillis, 22 July 1769, quoted in: Philip Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake & Lowcountry,* University of North Carolina Press, 1998, p. 35
[89] William Stock to the Earl of Cassillis, 14 June 1763
Quoted in: Daniel C Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina*, Louisiana State University Press, 1981, p. 76
[90] Michael S Moss, *op. cit.*
[91] Anne Byrne McLeod, *The Mid-Eighteenth Century Navy from the Perspective of Captain Thomas Burnett And His Peers*, University of Exeter PhD in Maritime History, 2010
[92] See, for example, the entry on Schuyler Flatts Burial Ground on the New York State Museum website.
[93] 'Richard Alexander Oswald', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 7 July 2021]
[94] Christopher A Whatley, *Scottish Society 1707–1830: Beyond Jacobitism, towards industrialisation,* Manchester University Press, 2000, p. 110
[95] Miranda Kauffman states that there were more Africans recorded in Scotland than in England at this period – see Miranda Kauffman, *Black Tudors: The Untold Story,* Oneworld, 2017, p. 17
[96] This work had been begun by James II and Mary of Guelders
[97] Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain,* Pluto Press, 1984, p. 5
[98] *The Scotsman,* 20 August 1938
[99] Fryer, *op. cit.,* p. 4
[100] John Pinkerton, *The History of Scotland from the Accession of the House of Stuart to that of Mary*, vol. 2, 1797, pp. 60–61
[101] Prof. Douglas Hamilton has noted (in conversation with Jennifer Melville) that the use of the word 'black' could also indicate a dark-haired woman at this date.
[102] Murray Pittock, in conversation with Jennifer Melville
[103] Jemma Field, *Anna of Denmark: The Material and Visual Culture of the Stuart Courts*, Manchester, 2020, p. 169.

[104] National Records of Scotland, Treasurer's Accounts July 1591 E22/8 fol.121r., "*Item be his maiesties spetiall command for ye buriall of a moir in Falkland & expensis thairupoun, vij li vj s viij d*", See REED transcriptions, edited by Sarah Carpenter, Royal Court of Scotland 1590-1592

[105] Fryer, *op. cit.*, p. 8. See also: June Evans, *African/Caribbeans in Scotland: A socio-geographical study,* PhD at University of Edinburgh, 1995
and James Balfour Paul, *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, vol. 3

[106] 'Mary Augier', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 7 July 2021] Further reading on the Augier family can be found in Anne M Powers, *A Parcel of Ribbons: The letters of an 18th century family in London & Jamaica,* lulu.com, 2012.

[107] https://www.myheritage.com/names/derrick_january

[108] Beverly Fleming, *Ferguson, A Community Profile*, pp. 2–3

[109] Kathleen Jennings, *Louisville's First Families: A Series of Genealogical Sketches,* The Standard Printing Co., 1920, p. 59

[110] Irene Sanford Smith, *Ferguson: A City and Its People,* Ferguson Historical Society, 1976, p. 79
The 1860 federal census identifies all the actual residents of the area as 'farmers'. By far the wealthiest, Thomas January owned real estate valued at $180,000 and personal property worth $25,000 – Fleming, *op. cit.,* p. 7

[111] *Thanage of Fermartyn including the district commonly called Formartine*, New Spalding Club, p. 496

[112] See the entry on John Ross on the Florida History Online website and 'John Ross of Dominica', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 7 July 2021]

[113] Christer Petley, 'Lord Nelson and slavery: Nelson's dark side' in *History Extra*, 2018
Christer Petley is Professor of Atlantic History at the University of Southampton and author of *White Fury: A Jamaican Slaveholder and the Age of Revolution,* OUP, 2018. For a discussion on the doctoring of this letter by Abolitionists, see The Nelson Society website.

[114] *Genealogical Collections Concerning the Scottish House of Edgar, with a Memoir of James Edgar*, Committee of the Grampian Club (ed.), 1873, p. 11

[115] See the James Edgar Genealogy website.

[116] 'Alexander Edgar of Wedderly and of Stockbridge near Edinburgh', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 7 July 2021]

[117] *The Post-Office Annual Directory, 1818–1819, Edinburgh and Leith*, 1818

[118] David Mackie, *Raeburn, Life and Art*, PhD thesis at the University of Edinburgh, 1994, p. 36

[119] Alison Campsie, 'Sir Henry Raeburn: "He was deeply involved in the profits of black slavery"' in *The Scotsman*, 13 June 2020

[120] National Records of Scotland, *Seaforth Papers*, ref: NAS GD46

[121] The National Archives, ref: B 3/3218

[122] 'Duncan Campbell of Ross', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 7 July 2021]

[123] 'John Lamont', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 7 July 2021]

[124] 'Ardoch [Jamaica | St Ann]', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 14 July 2021]

[125] 'Helen Mackellar (née Stirling)', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 29 November 2021]

[126] 'John McLean', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 9 November 2021]. Sadly, Malvina does not appear to be listed in the Slave Registers of Former British Colonial Dependencies, 1813–34

[127] 'John McLean', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 14 July 2021] (with contributions from David Alston)

[128] 'Grenada Heritage, from the Caribbean back to Scotland' article on the *Grenada National Archives* website, 2016

[129] 'Malvina Wells', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 14 July 2021] and memorial inscription on the Mapping Memorials to Women in Scotland website [accessed 5 October 2015]

[130] This applied to those coming from the east too. In 1828, Mrs Low of Clatto, Fife wrote to her son in India about Margaret Tyndall Bruce (see ***19. Falkland Palace***): 'I am told she is lively and agreeable but is of colour and her age above forty' – Ursula Low, *Fifty Years with John Company: from the Letters of General Sir John Low of Clatto, Fife, 1822–1858,* John Murray, 1936, p. 62

[131] Harriet's (or Henrietta's) mother, Rebecca Campbell, was born in 1732 in Jamaica. She was the daughter of Dugald Campbell and Anne Launce. Rebecca married Duncan Campbell, son of Dr Neil Campbell and Henrietta Campbell, who had been born 11 March 1753 at Saltspring, in Hanover parish, Jamaica. Rebecca died on 7 December 1774 and was buried at St John's Church, Hackney, London.

[132] The dates the children turned 21 are: Thomas Burke 20 October 1805; Elizabeth 4 July 1808; George 1 June 1810; Sarah 4 August 1812; Fanny 6 September 1815; David 1 March 1817; Alexander 24 October 1819; and John 16 February 1823.

[133] 'Alexander Hamilton Shaw', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 29 November 2021]

[134] Entry on Peter Hill on *The Burns Encyclopedia* website

[135] Entry on Rear Admiral Sir John Lindsay on *The Peerage* website

[136] Joanne Major, 'Dido Elizabeth Belle – New information about her siblings' on the *All Things Georgian* website, June 2018

[137] *Jamaica Church of England Parish Register Transcripts, 1664–1880*, Salt Lake City, Utah: FamilySearch, 2013

[138] Image courtesy of Ian Budge, a descendant; provided by Sarah Murden. See also Joanne Major, *op. cit.* (accessed 31 August 2021).

[139] 'Colin Dunlop Donald', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 14 July 2021]

[140] Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pp2-6, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/187581; Gwenda Morgan and Peter Rushton "Visible Bodies: Power, Subordination and Identity in The Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World", in *Journal of Social History*, (2005) pp 42-3 and Kathryn Woods "The 'Fair Sex': Skin Colour, Gender and Narratives of Embodied Identity in Eighteenth-Century British Non-Fiction", in the *Journal for Eighteenth Century Studies* (2016), pp. 3-5.

[141] Herman Kogan *The Great EB, the story of Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1923, p. 16.

[142] The Grahams of Airth, through marriage to the Stirling family, came to own Ardoch plantation in St Ann's, Jamaica. See *Stirlings of Ardoch and Grahams of Airth Family Letters: A Personal View of the Value of Kinship*, transcribed and edited by Sarah Harrison, 2016

[143] 'William McDowall II', *Legacies of Briti Slavery* database [accessed 14 July 2021] and the entry on his son 'MCDOWALL, William (c1749-1810), of Castle Semple, Renfrew and Garthland, Wigtown' in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1790–1820*, ed. R Thorne, 1986

[144] Entry on the trial of John Cameron of Fassifern on the Clan Cameron Archives website

[145] Archie Cameron to John Cameron of Fassifern, 11 December 1768
Quoted in: *Scotland and the Americas, c1650–c1939: A Documentary Source Book*, edited by Allan I Macinnes, Marjory-Ann D Harper & Linda G Fryer, Scottish History Society, 2002, p. 214
[146] Charles Mosley (ed.), *Burke's Peerage, Baronetage & Knightage,* 107th edition, Burke's Peerage, 2003
[147] Stuart M Nisbet and Thomas C Welsh, *Robert Allason and Greenbank,* Eastwood Libraries, 1992
[148] Robert W Spoede, *William Allason: merchant in an emerging nation*, Dissertation at the College of William & Mary – Arts & Sciences, 1973
[149] The *Dalrymple* was actually owned by a group of Liverpool merchants: William Davenport, John Parker, Patrick Black, William Earle, William Jenkinson, Robert Jennings and Chris Davenport – see the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database.
[150] P J Marshall, *Edmund Burke and the British Empire in the West Indies: Wealth, Power, and Slavery,* OUP, 2019, pp. 112–114
[151] See the History of Greenbank section on the *Mearns History Group* website.
[152] Edith E B Thomson, 'A Scottish Merchant in Falmouth in the Eighteenth Century' in *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 39, no. 2, April 1931, pp. 108–117 [JSTOR, accessed 25 January 2021]
[153] *Ibid.*, p. 109
[154] David D Plater, 'Building the North Wales Mill of William Allason' in *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 85, no. 1, January 1977, pp. 45–50 [JSTOR, accessed 25 January 2021]
[155] See the entry in the Historic Registers on the *Virginia Department of Historic Resources* website
[156] 'Maitland Hutchinson or Hutchison or Hutcheson', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 14 July 2021]
[157] Natalie Arsenault (Teresa Lozano Long Institute of Latin American Studies) & Christopher Rose (Center for Middle Eastern Studies), both at the University of Texas at Austin, *Africa Enslaved: A Curriculum Unit on Comparative Slave Systems for Grades 9–12*
[158] Lady Aberdeen's journals, quoted in Simon Welfare, *Fortune's Many Houses – A Victorian Visionary, a Noble Scottish Family, and a Lost Inheritance,* Simon & Schuster, 2021
[159] *Ibid.*
[160] See a document from a lot in a PBA Galleries Sale in July 2016.
[161] In correspondence with Jennifer Melville, September 2021
[162] John Waugh of Melrose Pen died in 1794, aged 46. He spent 33 years living in Jamaica.
'Robert Waugh of Melrose', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 14 July 2021]
[163] See Prof. Stana Nenadic, *Craftworkers in Nineteenth Century Scotland: Making and Adapting in an Industrial Age*, Edinburgh University Press, 2021 (Ch. 5 'Country House Building and Furnishing')
[164] 'Robert Waugh of Melrose', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 14 July 2021]
[165]'James Irving the elder', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 14 July 2021]
[166] For more on 'pens', see Verene Shepherd, *Pens and pen-keepers in a plantation society: aspects of Jamaican social and economic history, 1740–1845*, PhD thesis at the University of Cambridge, 1988 and Verene Shepherd, *Livestock, Sugar and Slavery: Contested Terrain in Colonial Jamaica*, Ian Randle, 2009
[167] See the entry for Alexander Erskine on the *University of Glasgow* website.
[168] 'John Erskine', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 14 July 2021] and 'Alexander Erskine', *Legacies of British Slavery database* [accessed 29 November 2021]
[169] See the entry for the Kennedy-Erskine family of Dun on the *OrnaVerum* website
[170] Entry in the *South Australian Register*, 27 October 1892, p. 5
[171] Manuscript in the National Library of Ireland, Genealogical Office
[172] Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Colonial Gentry*, vol. 1, 1891
[173] 'Alexander Erskine', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 14 July 2021]
[174] House of Dun – Charter Room Archives: NTS/02/67/HOD/01
[175] Donald Whyte *A Dictionary of Scottish Emigrants to the U.S.A.* Vol. 2, with an appendix and corrections to vol. 1. Baltimore: Magna Carta Book Co., 1986, p. 200
[176] Tam Dalyell *The Importance of being Awkward* Berlinn, Edinburgh 2011 pp. 8-9
https://issuu.com/birlinn_ltd/docs/importance_of_being_awkward_issuu
[177] John later changed his name to Montooth and married Native American Al Lin Nih Aline (aka Mildred) Cherokee (1745 -1785)
https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Cherokee-290
[178] Magdalene was an ancestor of President Harry S. Truman.
[179] https://ancestors.familysearch.org/en/LZG9-4BV/phillis-gallop-1699-1760
[180] *Ibid*
[181] https://www.genealogieonline.nl/en/genealogie-richard-remme/I363515.php
[182] This entry is based chiefly on information supplied by David Alston and Michael A Taylor in an unpublished draft of Ralph O'Connor's book on Miller and race; and Ralph O'Connor's article 'Hugh Miller: Racist or Anti-Racist? Part 1: Slavery, the Clearances, and Frederick Douglass' in *Hugh's News*, issue 48, 2021, pp. 7–22
[183] For example, some of the individuals for whom Miller carved gravestones had made their money from slavery.
[184] David Alston, 'Alexander Finlay: "A Gentle-Spirited Boy"' in *Hugh's News*, issue 41, December 2019, pp. 14–17
[185] Anon., 'Occasional Notes: Interesting Anecdote of Emancipated Negroes' in *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, issue 441, 11 July 1840, p. 196 (printed in Alston, ibid, p. 16, and possibly by Miller)
[186] Hugh Miller, *My Schools and Schoolmasters; or, the Story of My Education*, James Robertson (ed.), Edinburgh, Black and White Publishing, 1993, p. 534
[187] *Hugh Miller's Memoir: From Stonemason to Geologist*, Michael Shortland (ed.) Edinburgh University Press, 1995, p. 107; Miller, ibid, pp. 134–35
[188] For selected early and late examples, see *Witness*, 25 March 1840, p. 2; 29 April 1840, p. 1; 11 December 1844, pp. 2–3; 1 January 1845, p. 4; 25 January 1845, p. 4; 29 January 1845, p. 4; 22 March 1845, p. 4; 24 January 1855, pp. 2–3; 28 June 1856, p. 4; 9 August 1856, p. 2; 15 October 1856, p. 4; 18 October 1856, p. 2; 29 October 1856, p. 3; 26 November 1856, p. 2; 3 December 1856, p. 2 (accessed via The British Newspaper Archive)

On the wider decline, see Joel Quirk, *The Anti-Slavery Project: From the Slave Trade to Human Trafficking,* University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011, p. 52

[189] The fundamental study is still C Duncan Rice, *The Scots Abolitionists,1833–1861,* Louisiana State University Press, 1981, pp. 123–46. See also Alasdair Pettinger, *Frederick Douglass and Scotland, 1846: Living an Antislavery Life*, Edinburgh University Press, 2018

[190] Pettinger, ibid, pp. 70–3 and Iain Whyte, *'Send Back the Money!' The Free Church of Scotland and American Slavery,* James Clarke & Co, 2012, p. 82

[191] Frederick Douglass, 'Self-Made Men' lecture, 1874; typescript in Library of Congress, pp. 25–27 [accessed 7 April 2021]

[192] O'Connor, *op. cit*., pp. 13–17

[193] R M W Cowan, *The Newspaper in Scotland: A Study of Its First Expansion 1815–1860,* George Outram & Co, 1946, p. 382; and O'Connor, *op. cit.*, pp. 17–18

[194] Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, 2nd ed, W W Norton, 1997, pp. 71–82; and Robert Chambers, *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*, 1844, pp. 306–10

[195] Hugh Miller, *The Cruise of the* Betsey*: and Rambles of a Geologist*, Michael A Taylor (ed.), National Musuems of Scotland, 2003, p. 355

[196] Hugh Miller, *The Testimony of the Rocks; or, Geology in Its Bearings on the Two Theologies, Natural and Revealed*, 1857, pp. 246–58; compare Frederick Douglass, *The Claims of the Negro, Ethnologically Considered*, 1854, pp. 30–1

For brief comments, see John Hedley Brooke, 'Like Minds: The God of Hugh Miller' in *Hugh Miller and the Controversies of Nineteenth-Century Science*, Michael Shortland (ed.), Oxford, 1996, pp. 171–86 (pp. 176–7).

A detailed study by O'Connor is in preparation.

[197] Miller, *Testimony*, p. 257

[198] James Lawrence Cabell, *The Testimony of Modern Science to the Unity of Mankind*, 2nd ed, 1859, p. 264 n. and 266–67 n.; and Anon., 'The Unity of Mankind' in *Virginia University Magazine*, no. 3, 1859, pp. 165–71 (source provided by David Alston)

[199] 'James Wedderburn Colvile', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 14 July 2021]

[200] Advertisement reproduced by Sir Geoff Palmer in *The Enlightenment Abolished, Citizens of Britishness*, Henry Publishing, 2007, p. 14

[201] Robert Wedderburn, *The Horrors of Slavery*, 1824

[202] Alexander Wedderburn, The Wedderburn Book: a history of the Wedderburns in the counties of Berwick and Forfar, designed of Wedderburn, Kingennie, Easter Powrie, Blackness, Balindean and Gosford, 1296–1896, published privately, 1898, p. 661

[203] Francis Mackenzie's first wife, Kythe Caroline Smith-Wright, was also a slavery heiress: her maternal grandfather Edward Gray received £4,624 (*c*£458,700 in 2021) from the Compensation Fund. See 'Edward Gray', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 3 August 2021]

[204] In 1862 Mary bought Kernsary estate, and the following year Inverewe and Tournaig, a total of 12,000 acres. See John Henry Dixon, *Gairloch, in North-West Ross-Shire, Its Records, Traditions, Inhabitants, and Natural History*, 1886, p. 219; and Dr Iain Mackinnon & Dr Andrew Mackillop, *op. cit*., p. 5, n. 3

[205] Jacob M Price, 'Hanbury, John (1700–1758), merchant' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 29 November 2017

[206] 'Sir Thomas Edwards-Moss', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 14 July 2021]

[207] Osgood tried unsuccessfully, through three different court processes, to obtain a divorce from Minna. See Pauline Butler, *Eighty Years in the Highlands: The Life and Times of Osgood H Mackenzie of Inverewe 1842–1922,* Librario, 2010

[208] Edward Rugemer, *Slave Law and the Politics of Resistance in the Early Atlantic World*, Harvard University Press, 2018, p. 191

[209] David Swain, *British Colonial Office CO 5 – East Florida Records – Annotated List of Contents: a DLAR Finding Aid*, the David Library, December 2014

[210] David McKenzie Robertson, *From Roucan to Riches: The Rise of the Glassell Family*, Matador, 2020

[211] 'John Cunninghame 13th of Craigends', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 7 July 2021]

[212] John Lubbock, *Pre-Historic Times as Illustrated by Ancient Remains, and the Manners and Customs of Modern Savages*, 1865

[213] [George Campbell] Duke of Argyll, *Primeval Man: An Examination of Some Recent Speculations*, 1869

[214] Neal C Gillespie, 'The Duke of Argyll, Evolutionary Anthropology, and the Art of Scientific Controversy' in *Isis*, vol. 68, March 1977, pp. 40–54

[215] Edward Beasley, *The Victorian Reinvention of Race: New Racisms and the Problem of Grouping in the Human Sciences*, Routledge, 2010, pp. 112–28

[216] http://brounancestry.net/robert-stodart.shtml

[217] Papers of Esther B Chalmers are held in the National Library of Scotland, Acc. 8695 (xv drafts, box. 99)

[218] *Ibid,* - XIII Lorimer Family History Notes. 85. 'A Gaggle of Grandparents'

[219] Gerald M McSheffrey, 'Slavery, Indentured Servitude, Legitimate Trade and the Impact of Abolition in the Gold Coast, 1874–1901: A Reappraisal' in *The Journal of African History*, vol. 24, 1983, pp. 349–68

[220] Papers of Esther B Chalmers are held in the National Library of Scotland, Acc. 8695

[221] Author, explorer, botanist, photographer and British colonial administrator. Sir Everard Ferdinand im Thurn KCMG KBE CB FRAI (1852–1932) was Governor of Fiji 1904–1910. He married Hannah C. Lorimer in 1895

[222] With thanks for David Alston for suggesting this identification of Joanna's father

[223] *op. cit.*

[224] Esther B. Chalmers Autobiography 1. National Library of Scotland NLS 8695. I, with thanks to Charlotte Lorimer for sharing her research. Guyana was officially declared a British colony in 1831, slavery was officially abolished three years later.

[225] Letter from Joanna Herbert to Miss Nan [Esther Chalmers] Jan 6, 1910, 28 Alexander Street, Georgetown, British Guiana. National Library of Scotland NLS 8695. XVIII Chalmers Letters 122

[226] See the entry on Lieut. General Sir James Leith on the *Leith-Hay* website.

[227] Letter from Colonel Codd to James Leith, 25 April 1816; Proclamation enclosed to Earl Bathurst from James Leith, 29 June 1816 (British National Archives CO 28/85)

[228] Letter from James Leith to Earl Bathurst, 30 April 1816 (NA CO 28/85)

[229] Letter from James Leith to Earl Bathurst, 21 September 1816 (NA CO 28/85)

[230] Lilian McNaught, *The 1816 Barbados Slave Revolt*, Master's thesis at the University of Exeter, September 2017, p. 9

[231] Proclamation of James Leith, 26 April 1816 (NA CO 28/85)
[232] Letter from Colonel Codd to James Leith, 25 April 1816; Proclamation enclosed to Earl Bathurst from James Leith, 29 June 1816 (both NA CO 28/85)
[233] For more on Wyon's coin, see Mark Jones, *William Wyon*, Spink, forthcoming (September 2022).
[234] David Hume (ed.), *Decisions of the Court of Session 1781–1822 in the form of a Dictionary*, William Blackwood & Sons, 1839, pp. 194–95. See also 'General Alexander Leith Hay (formerly Leith)', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 14 July 2021]
[235] For more on the Leith family in Tobago, see Susan Elizabeth Craig-James, *The evolution of society in Tobago: 1838 to 1900*, unpublished PhD, London School of Economics, 1995
[236] Dr Désha Osborne, The Scots slave owner 'celebrated' for killing a Caribbean national hero, University of Edinburgh IASH website
[237] See also James Robertson's 1804 map of Jamaica at the National Library of Scotland, which is now digitised.
[238] Scott's portrait, hanging in the dining room at Malleny House, is a copy of the original at the National Army Museum.
[239] See the *1787 Jamaica Almanac* – this Almanac was based on those in public office in 1786.
The *1799 Jamaica Almanac* was based on those in public office in 1798.
[240] Aaron Graham, 'Slavery, capitalism, incorporation and the Close Harbour Company of Jamaica, circa 1800' in *Business History,* March 2019, pp. 705–26
[241] Herbert S Klein, 'The English Slave Trade to Jamaica, 1782–1808' in *The Economic History Review*, vol. 31, no. 1, 1978, pp. 32–3 [JSTOR]
[242]Letters from F Carteret Scott, Montego Bay, Jamaica, to Marion Innes, his cousin, St Andrew Square, Edinburgh, 1786–91 are held at the National Records of Scotland, Ref. GD113/5/72e
[243] For more on the Scotts of Malleny, see also Henry James Lee, *History of the Scott Family*, *c*1919
[244] 'William Hervey', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 14 July 2021]
[245] 'John Gordon 4th of Cluny', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 14 July 2021]
[246] John Malcolm Bulloch, *The Gordons of Cluny: From the Early Years of the Eighteenth Century down to the Present Time,* privately printed, 1911, pp. 4–8
[247] 'Knight v Wedderburn, 1778 M 14,545 – The opinions of the judges in the Court of Session, as recorded by Lord Hailes', pp. 776–77
[248] James Robertson, 'Slavery, Terrorism, Law, and Justice' in *The Bottle Imp*, Issue 14: Scottish Crime and Criminal Justice, November 2013
[249] Alex Renton, *Blood Legacy – Reckoning with a Family's Story of Slavery,* Canongate*,* 2021, pp. 24, 121, 135, 204–5
[250] Alex Renton, ibid*,* p. 217
[251] 'Sir James Fergusson 4th Bart.', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 28 July 2021]
[252] Alex Renton, *op. cit.*
[253] Connolly Heritage Consultancy, 'Newhailes House Estate, Flower Garden Wall recording', March 2007 (carried out on behalf of the National Trust for Scotland)
[254] See the Newhailes entry on the Historic Environment Scotland portal.
[255] In conversation with Colin Wren, Gardens & Designed Landscapes Manager (Edinburgh & East), National Trust for Scotland
[256] A translation of Dezallier d'Argénville's *La Théorie et la pratique du jardinage*, first published in 1709.
[257] See the Newhailes entry on the Historic Environment Scotland portal.
[258] Elizabeth Grant, *Memoirs of a Highland Lady: Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus*, Canongate Classics, 1988, p. 21
[259] Ibid*,* p. 24
[260] Dr Anthony Lewis, 'Lady Jean Grant and Caribbean Slavery' on the *Legacies of Slavery in Glasgow Museums and Collections* website, 2020
[261] 'Richmond/Rothiemurchus [2] [Jamaica | Portland]', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 14 July 2021]
[262] 'Sir James Fergusson 4th Bart.', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 14 July 2021]
[263] I am indebted to Alex Renton for providing this information.
[264] See the Consultation Letters of Dr William Cullen (1710–1790) at the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh [ID:1957]
From: Countess Charlotte Murray (Stewart) (Lady Dunmore) / To: Anonymous / Regarding: Countess Charlotte Murray (Stewart) (Lady Dunmore) (Patient), 17 December 1780
[265] Michael Lee Lanning, *African Americans in the Revolutionary War*, Citadel Press, 2005, p. 59 and Ray Raphael, *A People's History of the American Revolution: How Common People Shaped the Fight for Independence*, New Press, 2002, p. 324
[266] Stephanie Peters, *Smallpox in the New World*, Benchmark Books, 2005, p. 43
[267] The identity of the architect is uncertain but it may have been Sir William Chambers (1723–96), who designed similar fanciful structures at Kew Garden and other estates throughout Britain and Ireland.
[268] This Palladian tripartite opening is characterised by a semi-circular arch over a central opening and flanked by two columns and openings either side.
[269] 'Hon. Alexander Murray of Frimley Surrey', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 14 July 2021]
[270] 'John Tharp VI of Chippenham Park', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 14 July 2021]
[271] See John Tharp's entry on *The Peerage* website
[272] 'John Tharp VIII', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 6 July 2021]
[273] Professor Tom Devine has written extensively on these merchants. See, for example, T M Devine, 'An eighteenth-century business élite: Glasgow-West India merchants, c.1750–1815' in *The Scottish Historical Review,* vol. 57, no. 163, April 1978, pp. 40–67
[274] Stirling-Maxwell papers, T-PM 129, Glasgow City Archives
[275] 'Robert Wallace', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 14 July 2021]
[276] 'John Cunninghame 13th of Craigends', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 14 July 2021]
[277] See Rev. John Lancaster, *The Life of Darcy, Lady Maxwell, compiled from her Diary and Correspondence*, 1826 (but remastered and now available in paperback and Kindle edition)
[278] See the entry on the Maxwells of Pollok on the *South Glasgow Heritage Environment Trust* website.
[279] See the entry on Priorwood House on the *Friends of Melrose Youth Hostel* website.
[280] 'James Curle', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 14 July 2021]

[281] Christian's father was the eminent archaeologist James Curle; see J N Graham Ritchie, 'James Curle (1862–1944) and Alexander Ormiston Curle (1866–1955): pillars of the establishment' in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. 132, 2002, pp. 19–41
[282] 'MCDOWALL, William (c.1749–1810), of Castle Semple, Renfrew and Garthland, Wigtown' in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1790–1820*, ed. R Thorne, 1986
[283] For more information, see 'Provan Hall, Glasgow Conservation Plan', prepared for the National Trust for Scotland, The Glasgow Building Preservation Trust, Glasgow City Council by the Pollock Hammond Partnership, March 2009
[284] Ibid, p. 36
[285] National Records of Scotland, Register of Sasines (Printed Abridgements) – Barony of Glasgow [9224]
[286] Ibid, [9230–31] A sasine in Scots law is the delivery of feudal property, typically land.
[287] Pittock explains that the *Am I Not a Man and a Brother?* medallion was distributed in Scotland during William Dickson's abolition campaign visit and tour in 1792, which began in south-west Scotland. Dickson was born in Moffat and had been Secretary to the Governor of Barbados for 13 years. Whilst there is no evidence that Burns met Dickson in Dumfries, the visit was sufficiently high profile to contribute to 185 Scottish petitions for abolition that year – 35% of the UK total. Burns may have already been influenced by the medallion via his explicit engagements with the abolition movement in his commentary on Helen Maria Williams' poem on the slave trade in 1789, and correspondence with its author. Pittock also points to the 'most suggestive echo in a song which glances at various kinds of slavery, both "the guinea stamp" and the tune "though Geordie reigns in Jamie's stead".'
[288] Eric J Graham, *The Shipping Trade of Ayrshire 1689–1791*, Ayrshire Archaeological & Natural History Society, 1993
[289] Email from Murray Pittock to Sarah Beattie, 17 August 2020
[290] See the lecture by Arun Sood on YouTube; also Sood's book on which this lecture is based: *Robert Burns and the USA, c1786–1866: Poetry, Print and Memory 1786–1866*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018
[291] Roger Hutchinson, *Martyrs: Glendale and the Revolution in Skye,* Birlinn, 2015
[292] 'Peter Simond', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 14 July 2021]
[293] Alexander Mackenzie, *A History of the Macleods,* 1889, p. 185
[294] Lothrop Withington, 'South Carolina Gleanings in England' in *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. 5, no. 2 April 1904, pp. 100–07
[295] With thanks to Andrew Mackillop for clarifying these points.
[296] G F Geddes, *St Kilda Storehouse: a Conservation Statement,* unpublished report prepared for the National Trust for Scotland, 2016, p. 2
[297] John Bateman, *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland,* 1883, p. 292
[298] Eric Williams, *British Historians and the West Indies*, A&B Books, 1996, p. 80
[299] Other committee members included Charles Dickens, John Ruskin and Alfred, Lord Tennyson.
[300] The complexity of Carlyle's stance in his 'Occasional Discourse' is discussed by Brent E Kinser, 'Fearful Symmetry: Hypocrisy and Bigotry in Thomas Carlyle's "Occasional Discourse[s] on the Negro Question"' in *Studies in the Literary Imagination*, vol. 45, no. 1, 2012, pp. 139–65
[301] Anne Healy Field, *Descendants of John & Margaret Miller of Kendal, England,* p. 104, n. 247
[302] See the entry on Joseph Dundas Miller on Anne Field's website *Anne's Genealogy*
[303] Ibid for Mary Dorothy Miller
[304] Anne Field, *op. cit.*
[305] Ibid.
[306] John M Bulloch, *The Gordons in Forfarshire,* 1909, p. 22
[307] See the Historic England listing for Beausejour
[308] See Eric W Plaag, 'New York's 1741 Slave Conspiracy in a Climate of Fear and Anxiety' in *New York History,* vol. 84, no. 3, summer 2003, pp. 275–99
[309] The Napier Commission was appointed in 1883 to carry out a public inquiry into the condition of crofters and cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.
[310] 'Alexander McBarnet', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 14 July 2021]
[311] For portraits of the couple by Sir John Watson Gordon, see the Brightwells auction catalogue from a Fine Art sale in November 2017
[312] See David Alston's entry 'Roderick, Hugh and William Baillie Rose' on the *Slaves & Highlanders* website.
[313] See the entry on Hugh Rose on the *Clan MacFarlane* website.
[314] 'George Rainy', *Legacies of British Slavery* database [accessed 14 July 2021]
[315] David Alston, 'Rainy, George (1790–1863), merchant, slave owner, and landowner' on the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* website [accessed 6 October 2016]