



EXETER
COLLEGE
OXFORD

Exeter College and the Legacies of Slavery
Project Report

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Exeter College is one of the constituent colleges of the University of Oxford and the fourth oldest college in the university. Founded in 1314 by Devon-born Walter de Stapeldon, the College has a rich history which spans more than seven centuries. Like many other higher education establishments in the UK, Exeter College recognises the need to bring greater scrutiny to its own institutional history. In consequence, in March 2020 the College's Governing Body decided to commission research to determine the extent to which it had been involved in, or benefitted from, the slave trade, the use of enslaved or coerced labour, and any of its associated commercial practices. This led to the formation of a Steering Group and the appointment of a Principal Researcher, to pursue the delivery of the project's four key objectives, namely: i) to investigate whether any Exeter College Undergraduates and Fellows were significantly connected to slavery in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries; ii) to determine if donations were made to Exeter College by persons with significant connections to slavery or whether Exeter College holds endowments, estates, chattels or paintings with significant connections to slave-owning wealth; iii) to determine if the Fellows and Students of Exeter College contributed substantially to scholarship that underpinned slavery; iv) to excavate the forgotten histories of any Exeter students of colour that it is possible to discover within the College archives in the period before 1945.

The project has sought to discover the nature and range of the College's potential connections to transatlantic slavery and the ways it may have benefitted from these connections, rather than confining itself to a simple financial investigation. As the full report below reveals, what we have uncovered is a broad web of connections over several centuries. This is noteworthy not because Exeter College benefitted from particularly substantial donations derived from slave-ownership – it does not appear to have done so – nor were any Exonians among the leading figures of the transatlantic slave economy: rather, the significance of what we have found lies in the breadth and range of connections between members of Exeter College and transatlantic slavery, and in the unexceptional character of these connections.

To briefly highlight the project's key preliminary findings in relation to the four objectives highlighted above:

- i) our initial investigation into whether any members of the College were significantly connected to slavery in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries has uncovered forty-five individuals who had a demonstrable connection within three generations to transatlantic slavery in its various iterations. These ranged from undergraduates whose families were actively engaged in plantation slavery in the colonies, to those who were involved with the system of slavery as merchants, to those who inherited wealth derived from the ownership of enslaved persons. These forty-five individuals amount to a small proportion of the entire Exeter College community of the time, yet the fact that throughout the period, multiple individuals attached to the College had some connection to transatlantic slavery attests to the persistent entanglement of members of the elite in Britain with the slave-holding economy.
- ii) the current state of our investigation into donations, endowments, estates, chattels, and works of art with significant connections to slavery given to Exeter College has revealed that between c.1670 and c.1900, the College was in receipt of a steady trickle of donations and gifts from individuals who derived some of their wealth from slave-ownership. The construction of the Gilbert Scott Chapel, for example, attracted

contributions from a range of donors with connections to transatlantic slavery (with the total of such sums amounting to c.1.5% of the total cost of the Chapel). Our findings reveal that Exeter College's financial resources were not significantly increased as a result of donations derived from slave-ownership, rather what our research into this issue again uncovers is the ordinary character of ties to the slave-holding economy, as well as the ongoing financial benefit to British institutions of such ties.

- iii) our preliminary research into whether members of Exeter College contributed substantially to scholarship that underpinned the institution of slavery has uncovered a number of alumni and Fellows of the College who published treatises and sermons that helped to sustain or implicitly endorsed the institution of slavery. We also identified two MPs among our alumni who were active in the Abolitionist cause.
- iv) our research into the overlooked histories of students of colour who attended Exeter College in the period before 1945 is at such an early stage that we have chosen not to include our findings thus far in this report, but to suggest that a key next step will be to build on these initial surveys to develop a more substantial stand-alone report.

Overall, as this brief summary suggests, the initial findings of the Exeter College Legacies of Slavery Project provide a clear example of the extent to which connections to the trade in and exploitation of enslaved labour, and the profits arising from it, were – as a matter of course – accepted and embedded in British society and institutions, including those in Higher Education. This project has also suggested new lines of research into additional potential connections and ways to shed more light on those already identified. Such additional research would contribute further to the growing body of research by a range of institutions revealing how fundamental transatlantic slavery was to the development of modern Britain.

1. INTRODUCTION

Substantial research regarding the ways in which Britain benefitted from the proceeds of slavery was first conducted by historian Eric Williams. He provided several important examples in *Capitalism and Slavery* (first pub. 1944) but left much room to explore the representativeness of these cases. Further research into the associations held by British institutions and slavery has recently seen significant progress, especially thanks to the important work of Catherine Hall, Nicholas Draper, and Keith McLelland at University College London (UCL), who have developed the *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database based on the records of the Slave Compensation Commission, set up in 1834 to manage the distribution of £20 million compensation aid to slave-owners on the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in 1833.¹ Hall et al argue that 'slave-ownership [has been] virtually invisible in British history', and with this project sought to follow up on Williams' research to highlight how 'slave-ownership permeated the British elites of the early nineteenth century and helped form the elites of the twentieth century'.² More recently, a number of British higher education institutions, including some Oxford and Cambridge colleges,

¹ <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs>

² Catherine Hall, Nicholas Draper and Keith McLelland, *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership: Colonial Slavery and the Formation of Victorian Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 2.

have sought to expand on this new wave of research and explore their connections to slavery and the colonial past.³ Some, such as the University of Glasgow, have discovered they had substantial financial ties to slavery whilst the findings of others have been more modest; yet all have committed to considering several issues connected to slavery and its legacies in order to make positive recommendations for action. Exeter College has now also committed to engaging more fully with its own institutional history.

Project History

The *Exeter College Legacies of Slavery* project was established in March 2020 as a result of the growing awareness that conducting research into the historic association between Oxford and Cambridge colleges and the institution of slavery was both timely and important. After securing approval for the project and funding from Governing Body, a Steering Group was convened and a Principal Researcher appointed. Formed of College members including Fellows with particular expertise in the history of empire and colonialism, the task of the Steering Group was to oversee the research project, to advise more generally on how the College might address some of the inequalities that are a consequence of slavery's legacies, and to determine how such legacies might be publicly acknowledged in the present day. The group comprises the following College members:

Dexnell Peters,	Project Director: Bennett Boskey Fellow in Atlantic History to September 2021; currently Lecturer in Caribbean and Atlantic History at the University of the West Indies, Mona; specialist in the history of the Greater Caribbean and Atlantic World.
Isabel Robinson,	Principal Researcher: Assistant Archivist to September 2021; currently Curator at The British Museum. Historian of Britain in the Long-Eighteenth Century.
Penelope Baker:	College Archivist (to July 2022).
Nicholas Badman:	Finance and Estates Bursar.
Christina de Bellaigue:	Fellow Archivist and Associate Professor in Modern History; research interests in the history of nineteenth-century Britain.
Stephanie Cavanaugh:	Sir John Elliott Junior Research Fellow in Spanish History (1400-1900); research interests in the history of race and religion.
Nandini Das:	Professor of Early Modern Literature and Culture; specialist in the history of early modern empire and transcultural exchange.
Jane Hiddleston:	Professor of Literatures in French; specialist in postcolonial literature and theory.
Giuseppe Marcocci:	Associate Professor in Iberian History (European and Extra-European, 1450-1800); specialist in the history of imperial ideology, race, and slavery.
Victoria Northridge	College Archivist (from July 2022).
Richard Trainor:	Rector of Exeter College and Social and Economic Historian of Modern Britain.

³ Some of these include the University of Glasgow, King's College London, Jesus, St. Catharine's and Gonville and Caius Colleges, Cambridge and Balliol and St. John's Colleges, Oxford.

Initially envisaged as a three-week research project, Exeter College's *Legacies* work began with a modest timescale and budget, but with an ambitious set of objectives. These were defined at the outset of project by the College's Fellow Archivist and were subsequently approved by the College's Governing Body. Of these objectives, four key aims were identified. These were to:

- i) Investigate whether any Exeter College Undergraduates and Fellows were significantly connected to slavery in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries;
- ii) See if donations were made to Exeter College by persons with significant connections to slavery or whether Exeter College holds endowments, estates, chattels or paintings with significant connections to slave-owning wealth;
- iii) See if the Fellows and Students of Exeter College contributed substantially to scholarship that underpinned slavery;
- iv) Excavate the overlooked histories of any Exeter students of colour that it is possible to discover within the College archives in the period before 1945.

Phase One:

In order to advance the project, a twofold research strategy was devised. Firstly, a mapping exercise of College resources would be conducted in order to identify archival holdings relevant to the project's aims. Secondly, initial findings would be contextualised by the use of public resources available to researchers interested in the history of Britain and its Empire, including the College's own Register of Fellows. The unforeseen onset of the Covid-19 pandemic, however, soon restricted access to on-site working and thus the ability of the Principal Researcher, Dr Isabel Robinson, to access the College's records. Instead, it became necessary to adopt a modified approach. Research was limited to the use of digital and electronic holdings within the wider public domain, with a view to developing these initial findings once the College Archive could re-open. As a result, objectives (i) and (ii) were prioritised and a decision taken to amass data through two key resources, namely: UCL's *Legacies of British Slavery* database and Exeter College's published two volume *Register of the Rectors, Fellows and Other Members*.

Initially a list of twenty-four individuals was generated whose profiles warranted further investigation. Our preliminary research established that these individuals were largely members of Exeter's student body, with their primary material effect on the College being the payment of tuition fees. At this early stage of the investigation our research had not yet uncovered any of the more substantial financial donations or bequests which we would later identify.⁴ Yet given the importance of student revenue to the overall functioning of the institution, all members of the Steering Group were in agreement that the College ought to publicly acknowledge our preliminary results. As a result, a draft statement of findings was prepared for publication on the College website. On the 21st October 2020 this, together with a working definition regarding how our inquiry defined a 'connection' to slavery, was made public. The page can be accessed [here](#).

⁴ It was subsequently discovered that the College had been the recipient of financial bequests associated with compensation monies, the details of which can be found later in this report.

Phase Two:

In the final quarter of 2020, our inquiry entered into a new phase of research, one supported by the partial re-opening of College sites. This provided Dr Robinson with a greater ability to access documentary evidence vital to the project's development. At this point, Dr Dexnell Peters of the Steering Committee took on a greater responsibility, helping to shape the intellectual direction of the project through his expert knowledge of the Atlantic World in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. At the same time, extensive cross-referencing work using the College *Registers* helped Dr Robinson to expand her list of Exonians worthy of further investigation. This phase of research, whilst far from complete, yielded some compelling results. At the end of our initial phase of inquiry, we had identified forty-five 'Persons of Interest' with some connection to the College and thirty potential others (seventy-six in total) whose activities and association with the College we believed demand further scrutiny.

By now it was becoming clear that certain patterns of interest operative within the greater colonial world were being mimicked and reproduced within College life itself. For example, the College *Registers* helped us identify the intergenerational nature of College attendance - parents, siblings, and children, for example - who had each attended the College at some point during their lifetime, and who each had varying kinds of footholds in imperial activity. Whilst such ties of kinship are not an uncommon feature of Oxford and Cambridge colleges in the main, they are not necessarily captured by entries on the *LBS* database alone. What is more, when the slave-owning activities of these families were examined, equivalent patterns of interest and reproduction began to re-emerge, with the same sets of individuals bequeathing estates and/or using plantation holdings to broker marriage settlements intergenerationally. Likewise, tracing geographical patterns of ownership became of interest to us, not least because of Exeter College's historic connection to the South West of England. Traditionally, the College's student body was drawn from this geographical locale, and this connection remained evident until at least the middle of the twentieth century, though it had been significantly reduced by the early nineteenth century. It is expressed too in the eligibility criteria for many of the College's early Fellowships. The College's Founder, for example, Walter de Stapeldon, was Bishop of Exeter and historically the Stapeldon Scholarship was limited to 'persons born or educated in Cornwall, Devonshire, Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire and Gloucestershire.'⁵ This is of potential significance because individuals from Devon played a significant role in the early development of British American colonies, including the codification of the institution of slavery and there were several firms with substantial interests in plantation colonies.⁶ Similarly, Catherine Hall's research has suggested that there was a preponderance of MPs with 'West India' interests with constituencies in the South West of England.⁷

⁵ *Oxford University Calendar for the year 1948*, Oxford Clarendon Press, 1948, 389.

⁶ Legacies of British Slave-Ownership: Devon and Slavery. Legacies of British Slavery, UCL. <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs//media-new/pdfs/lbsdevon1.pdf>

⁷ Hall et al, *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership*, 131.

Phase Three:

In February 2021, the project was extended for a further six months. This final phase involved a detailed review of the College's archival material, compiling and surveying the activities of College Fellows over a 250-year period, and a focus on the public dissemination of the research findings digitally. In late 2022, the Steering Group met and discussed an interim report of findings to discuss a first full draft of the report, which has now been revised and updated. What follows is the total sum of our findings to date. The authors readily acknowledge that this report constitutes a work in progress with many profitable lines of inquiry still to be pursued.

METHODOLOGY

From the outset, two key principles guided the project methodology; first, a commitment to refining and developing our analysis of the kinds of connection between Exeter College and the transatlantic slave trade as revealed in the sources, and second, a commitment to transparency and dialogue with other bodies engaged in similar research projects, seeking to enhance the intellectual value of our inquiry by fostering a collaborative ethos and drawing upon the expertise of our colleagues and peers.

In Phase One of the project, our purpose was to identify Exonians with a known and documented link to aspects of the slave trade and/or coerced labour, as the active owners of plantations themselves, or as close relations of individuals who benefitted financially from slavery. This work fell under the broad heading of 'People', and by this term we meant any individual with an association to the College, whether that be financial or academical, or any member of the College who explicitly contributed to its academic life, its Fellows and Rectors, for example.

Overall, our intention was to become familiar with the College's demographics over time, understanding the composition of Exeter's student and academic body, by what means individuals entered the College community, and the nature of those individuals' socio-economic background. Similarly, through these published records we sought to trace the lives of College members subsequent to their time at Exeter, observing any trends in career paths, aspects of continuity or discontinuity with regard to their association to the slave trade and furthermore, the broader impact these individuals may have had on their extended world. By these means the project sought to examine the nature of the College's potential embeddedness within transatlantic slavery in the round, an embeddedness which the College likely had in common with other higher education institutions of the time.

A key methodological issue emerging was how best to capture the range and types of connection to slavery of Exonians in the period from 1700 to 1900. We developed a working model of six types of connection:

Connections to slavery:

1. Alumni who were the direct recipients of compensation through the Government's reparations scheme of 1833 whilst matriculated at Exeter College.

2. The payment of individual student fees to Exeter College as the result of profits generated by enslavement or enforced labour within the British Empire and its colonies.
3. Exeter alumni with involvement in enslavement as slave-owners or plantation-owners, or with ties of kinship within three generations (parents, grandparents and children) to slave-owners or plantation-owners.⁸
4. Donations, bequests, chattels or any other form of financial benefit received by the College from individuals with a connection to enslavement and/or coerced labour.
5. Alumni (including those ties of kinship outlined above) with business interests in overseas colonies with systems of enslaved labour and/or with connections to a business or organisation which may have benefited from the proceeds of such labour.
6. Alumni who openly favoured or denounced the abolition movement.

An important methodological challenge lay in the tools at our disposal to conduct our investigation, especially our initial reliance on UCL's *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database. Whilst the work of the team at UCL provided a good starting point for identifying persons significant for our own investigation supplying, in the first instance, an initial list of twenty-four individuals affiliated with Exeter College, it soon became apparent that relying on these leads in isolation brought its own set of problems. Based on the records submitted by slave holders to the UK Government's Slave Compensation Commission of 1833, the database provides a relatively circumscribed snapshot into British slave-holding activity, primarily the period from 1763 to 1833. Furthermore, no institutions or corporate firms were granted compensation rewards but rather only individuals, some of whom might have been representatives for these larger entities. The database provides little information on persons with financial ties to slavery who may not have been slave owners including slave traders and merchants. It also restricts findings primarily to the British Caribbean. Whilst it was recognised that the *LBS* database is a phenomenal resource and one to which our own project is heavily indebted, we now sought to deepen our awareness of the role played by Exonians in the wider colonial past by drawing, in Phase Two (see pp.5-6 above), on a wider range of archival material to explore these connections, the fruits of which are detailed in this report.

Phase Three of the project focused on dissemination of the project's findings and dialogue with other organisations engaged in similar research. Outreach and public engagement activities enabled us to gather, observe and analyse the relevance of our findings through a variety of formats: some via informal discussion, some through email exchanges and/or targeted mail outs, whilst at other times we pursued more traditional academic outlets, public speaking, for example. In the autumn of 2020, both Dr Robinson and Dr Peters took part in roundtable events on the 20th and 30th October respectively. Both of these events were connected to the University's annual celebration of Black History Month.

The first event saw representatives from Exeter College's student and academic body come together in order to dissect some of the issues which are a feature of today's critical landscape,

⁸ We recognise that there is a distinction between individuals who owned slaves, directly received profits from slavery or themselves received compensation for emancipation, on the one hand, and those who inherited the proceeds of such activities. Both, however point to the ongoing benefit to British society over multiple generations of the profits of slavery.

namely those which touch on aspects of race and inequality within the Humanities. The second, an event hosted by the University of Oxford's History Faculty, provided an open forum to reflect upon work being undertaken by a number of Oxford Colleges whose projects on colonial enslavement pre-dated our own. With representatives from Uncomfortable Oxford, Balliol and St. John's Colleges, the event demonstrated the importance of sharing our research experience with a wider and more inclusive audience.

On 11th February 2021 Dr Robinson hosted a (virtual) meeting of OAC members (Oxford Archivists Consortium). Moving beyond a purely academic context, the aim of this meeting was to address some of the issues library and archive professionals will undoubtedly face as studies of enslavement and its legacies become ever more prevalent within educational settings. Dr Robinson and Dr Peters also initiated contact with persons involved with similar projects at other Oxford colleges with the aim of charting a way forward for greater inter-collegiate collaboration. This culminated in an event held on Thursday 17th June, 2021 and which was open to any members of Oxford's research community whose interests mirrored our own. The event was well attended and highlighted clear support for greater collaboration on a longer-term basis.

2. FINDINGS

i) **Connections of Exeter College Undergraduates and Fellows to Slavery, 1700 to 1900**

To date, our research has uncovered forty-five individuals who had a demonstrable connection to both Exeter College and to the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, in its varying iterations, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. These individuals, or Persons of Interest, as we have termed them, attended or had some association with the College over a broad timeframe, and demonstrated a range of connections to slavery as visible in the Table below. Overall, the most significant finding of this aspect of our research was to uncover the breadth and range of connections between Exonians and transatlantic slavery, connections that were considered unremarkable at the time. Common to all, was the extent to which each person benefitted from the broader slave economy by some means.

As shown in the table below, then, each of our forty-five Persons of Interest was connected to the activities of enslavement within three generations. To better identify and illustrate the nature and the range of these connections, we created twelve criteria of association, a full description of which can be found in the key to the table. Our table identifies these connections, using columns relative to each individual from which aspects of a person's biographical and genealogical history may be gleaned. Thus, you may see where a person was born, if they were a student or Fellow of the College, or whether they made donations to the College in the form of money or objects. A fuller breakdown of these donations is included as an Appendix to this report. Given the imperfect nature of converting historical figures into present day values, we have intentionally omitted from our table the amount (where applicable) of compensation an individual received at the time of the Commission, but full details of each claim can be found on UCL's *Slave-ownership database*.

Table 1***Persons of Interest***

KEY (fuller definitions are included in the Glossary)	
1. Claimant/Awardee of Compensation Monies (1833 Reparations/obtained under the Government-backed 1833 reparations scheme)	7. Absentee (overseas or non-resident plantation owner)
2. Beneficiary of Compensation Monies and/or the Trade in Enslaved Persons (1833 Reparations/ as above)	8. Government/Church/Military Official (officials who served within the colonies)
3. Mortgagee/Trustee (creditor with prior claim over compensation money or appointed person entrusted to receive and manage compensation money)	9. Merchant (commercial agents with some connection to the slave economy)
4. Annuitant (beneficiary of will or marriage settlement)	10. Investor in Slave-Produced Goods
5. Plantation Owner (in Britain's overseas colonies)	11. Politically Active on questions of slavery (Members of Parliament in the House of Commons)
6. Slave Holder (An individual who had purchased or inherited enslaved person(s))	12. Author of Scholarly or Intellectual Works on Empire
	13. Abolitionist views

Persons of Interest								
No.	Name	Dates	Matric.	Place of Birth	Fellow	College Donor	Donation Type	Connection Type
A.1	William Helyar	1622 - 1697	27 Oct. 1637	East Coker, Somerset		✓	Money; Silverware	5, 9, 10
A.2	Rowland Frye of Warfield	1746 - 1801	9 May 1764	Marylebone, London				5, 6, 7
A.3	Francis Haultain	1747 - 1827	11 Dec. 1764 (Pembroke)	Banstead, Surrey	✓	✓	Money	2
A.4	William Harriott Snr.	1768 - 1821	03. Nov. 1788	Jamaica				4, 5, 6, 7
A.5	Stephen Peter Rigaud	1774 - 1839	15 Apr. 1791	Richmond, London	✓	✓	Money; Silverware; Brass Memorial	1, 2
No.	Name	Dates	Matric.	Place of Birth	Fellow	College Donor	Donation Type	Connection Type
A.6	Rev. William Herbert	1778 - 1847	16 Oct. 1795 (Christ Church)	Highclere Castle, Berks.				1, 4, 8, 11, 13
A.7	James Hewitt Massy Dawson	1779 - 1834	6 Feb. 1796	Dublin		✓	Silverware	1, 2, 5, 7, 11, 13.

A.8	Rev. William Harriott	1790 - 1847	18 Nov. 1807	Metz, France				1, 2, 5, 7, 8
A.9	Edward Eliot	1789 - 1861	7 Apr. 1808	Devon	✓	✓	Money	8, 12
A.10	James Irving (Irvine) III	1789 - 1855	28 Jul. 1808	Jamaica				1, 2, 5, 7
A.11	Rev. Walter Stevenson Halliday	1793 - 1872	29 Nov. 1809	Bombay (Mumbai)				1, 5, 7, 8
A.12	Rev. William David Longlands	1792 - 1866	20 Feb. 1810	Greenwich				2, 8
A.13	Rev. John West	1794 - 1857	26 Jan. 1813	Jamaica				3, 8
A.14	Joan (John) Teschemaker	1792 - 1867	29 Oct. 1813	Essequibo, Dutch Guiana				1, 5, 6
A.15	Rev. Thomas Lawrence	1800 - 1881	07 Jul. 1816	Demerara, Dutch Guiana				2, 8
A.16	Sir Robert Marsh Horsford	1798 - 1875	07 Dec. 1816	Antigua				2, 3, 8
A.17	Rev. John Maynard	1799 - 1877	14 May 1817	Nevis, (Island of)				2, 8
A.18	John Marshall Collard	1802 - 1864	24 Mar. 1820	Ashley, Cricklade				2, 5, 6, 7
A.19	Rev. John Hendrickson Laurence	1801- 1836	18 May 1820	Nevis (Island of)				1, 6, 8
A.20	Captain James Massy- Dawson	1802 - 1837	02 May 1821	London				2
A.21	Philip Lovell Philipps	1805 - 1869	18 Feb. 1823	Barbados		✓	Money	1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 12
No.	Name	Dates	Matric.	Place of Birth	Fellow	College Donor	Donation Type	Connection Type
A.22	Rev. John James Scott	1807 - 1890	05 Feb. 1825	Marylebone, London				1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8
A.23	William Piercy Austin	1807 - 1892	04 Mar. 1825	Stone, Staffordshire				2, 5

A.24	Hampden Clement	1808 - 1880	08 Mar. 1826	Barbados				1, 5,
A.25	Alleyne Cox Yard	c. 1809 - 1858	06 Jul. 1827	Barbados				2
A.26	Rev. George Henry Cussans Scott	1811 - 1887	11 Dec. 1828	Marylebone				1, 2, 3, 8
A.27	Rev. Thomas Yard	1811 - ?	4 Mar. 1829	Barbados				2, 8
A.28	Stephen Jordan Rigaud	1816 - 1859	23 Jan. 1834	Westminster	✓	✓	Money; 2 x Memorial Fund	2, 8
A.29	John Morrison Myers	c. 1817 - 1861	14 Jun. 1834	Jamaica				2
A.30	William Jerdone Braikenridge	1817 - 1907	18 May 1835	Brislington, Somerset		✓	Money	2
A.31	Henry Hucks Gibbs	1819 - 1907	16 Feb. 1837	Elstree, Herts.		✓	Money	2, 9, 10
A.32	Charles Robert George Douglas	1822 - 1857	21 Feb. 1839	Mauritius		✓	Money	2, 8
A.33	John Fielder Mackarness	1820 - 1889	22 Oct. 1840 (Merton)	Elstree House, Bath	✓	✓	Money; Memorial Fund	2, 8
A.34	Henry George Windsor-Aubrey	1826 - 1892	27 Feb. 1845	Barbados				2
A.35	George Gibbs	1827 - 1846	22 May 1845	London				2
A.36	William Henry Teschemaker	c. 1829 - ?	2 Dec. 1847	Bath				2, 9
No.	Name	Dates	Matric.	Place of Birth	Fellow	College Donor	Donation Type	Connection Type
A.37	Charles Gibbs	1829 - 1890	11 May 1848	London				2, 8
A.38	John Thirlwall	c. 1830 - ?	23 Nov. 1848	Quebec				2

A.39	William Lloyd Gibbs	1830 - 1860	31 Jan. 1849	London		✓	Money	2
A.40	John Lomax Gibbs	1832 - 1914	24 Oct. 1849	London		✓	Money	2, 8, 9
A.41	Arthur Kekewich	1832 - 1907	21 Mar. 1850 (Balliol)	Peamore, Exminster	✓	✓	Money	2
A.42	William George Gardiner Austin	1835 - 1904	16 Feb. 1852	Bathwick				2, 8
A.43	Francis Gibbs	1834 - 1857	2 Jun. 1852	Wraxall, Somerset				2
A.44	William Walrond Jackson	1838 - 1931	8 Apr. 1856	Port of Spain, Trinidad	✓	✓	Money	2
A.45	Thomas George Davy	1856 - 1908	10 Mar. 1876	Jamaica				2, 8

Geographical Spread

Figure 1 below illustrates the geographical spread of claims by Exonians. It is clear that the College had connections spanning the entire Caribbean region from Jamaica to British Guiana. That the largest number of claims were associated with Jamaica and Barbados is not surprising; both were the longest and most established British Caribbean slave colonies. Claims to British Guiana were the third most frequent. This former Dutch colony, described by historian Barry Higman as a ‘third phase sugar colony’, expanded the British plantation frontier and marked the rise of a new planter class.⁹ The wide geographical spread of claims suggests that Exeter College was connected to both the older and newer stages of the British Caribbean plantation sector.

⁹ Barry Higman, *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean* (Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 1984), 58-64; Nicholas Draper, The Rise of a New Planter Class? Some Countercurrents from British Guiana and Trinidad, 1807-1833, *Atlantic Studies* 9.1 (2012):65-83.

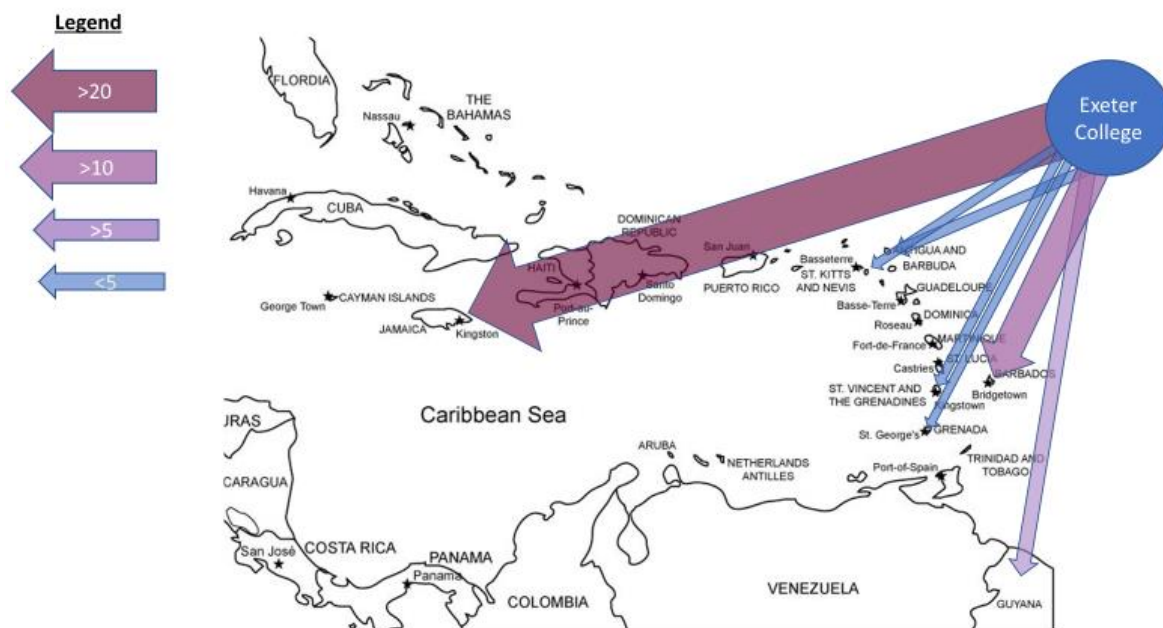


Figure 1: Geographical Spread of Claims in the Caribbean

Place of Birth

Analysis of the place of birth of our Persons of Interest has identified strong connections to the Caribbean, London and the south of England. One important point of note is that though the South West of England featured as a leading place of birth for Exeter students, especially during the early nineteenth century, this only applied to 4% of our POIs, despite the strong connections between the South West and Caribbean slavery highlighted on p.6 above. London and the South East, which became the leading place of birth for incoming students from around the mid-nineteenth century, also features as the top place of birth for our POIs. Further still, it is noteworthy that the Caribbean tied with London and the South East as the predominant place of birth amongst our list of Exonians. Our research also demonstrated that there was a small but growing percentage of students arriving at the College from locations with colonial connections or other overseas territories. The number stood at about 7% during the 1830s and peaked at 9% at the close of the century. Further investigation of all in-coming students from the Caribbean would be fruitful since it is likely that most students who originated from the Caribbean had some potential connection to enslavement.

Similarly, Exonians with ties to London and especially with financial organisations also deserve further attention. As historian Nicholas Draper has argued ‘the evidence from the slave compensation records suggests that slavery permeated the City but also that it could in some cases be a relatively shallow involvement, in others a deep and deeply important one’.¹⁰ Draper makes it clear that it should no longer be possible to consider nineteenth-century London without any reference to Atlantic enslavement.

¹⁰ Hall et al, *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership*, 111-112.

In comparison to the overall student body, our student POIs represent a small percentage of the whole. The total number of Exeter College undergraduate students ranged from just over seventy students to 180 students throughout the nineteenth century. On an annual basis, our student POIs never amounted to more than about 3% of the total student population.

Place of birth	Number of POIs
Caribbean	15
London and South East	15
South	6
South West	2
Midlands	1
Local	1
France	1
Ireland	1
India	1
Mauritius	1
Quebec	1
	45

Table 2: Places of birth of Persons of Interest

Case Studies of Persons of Interest

This section will provide brief case studies summarising some of the most obvious and recurring ways in which Exonians were connected to the institution of slavery in British Caribbean colonies. Some of the families of former Exeter students had deep historical ties to slavery and sometimes sent multiple generations of family members to study at the College. Many inherited enslaved persons that they managed from afar, whilst some were resident in the colonies, closely and actively involved in the handling of affairs. Others engaged actively with the system of slavery as merchants, colonial officials, clergymen or politicians. Others inherited wealth from people actively involved in the slave economy. Yet another group provided intellectual support to the institution of slavery or contributed to public discourse around slavery and abolition. Whilst most of the persons discussed in this section had clear links to slavery, we also discuss some less straightforward cases to explore the full range of Persons of Interest that emerged throughout our research.

Long term connections

Several Persons of Interest had long-term connections to slavery in the Caribbean. James Irving III (M.1808), for example, was born in Jamaica where his grandfather and father (James

Irving I and James Irving II) had been men of prominence. Both men were slaveowners and served in the local legislative assembly, an important arm of local government which exercised considerable autonomy under the direction of metropolitan authority.¹¹ Membership of the assembly was largely reserved for wealthier planters on the island and therefore almost exclusively served the interests of the planter elite.¹² James Irving I and II had thereby played an important political role in supporting the institution of slavery in Jamaica during the eighteenth century. The wealth of the family enabled James III to be sent to England for his education where he eventually attended Exeter College. James III acquired part-ownership of a Jamaican plantation after the death of his father in 1798.

Philip Lovell Phillips (M. 1823) came from a Barbadian slave-owning family whose connections with the island were well established. The UCL *LBS* records only trace the family to his grandfather Philip Lovell who was the owner of the Durants plantation in Christ Church, Barbados. It is likely that the family's history goes back to the early settlement of Barbados. Alison Games notes that a Philip and Elizabeth Lovell arrived in Barbados as a married couple in their early thirties sometime around 1640 and amassed land quickly.¹³ It seems that Philip Lovell also owned plantations in British Guiana. If true, this was not typical: few planters owned multiple plantations across several colonies and is perhaps evidence of his involvement in a more substantial enterprise. Philip Lovell's estates eventually passed on to his daughter, Elizabeth, who also married multiple plantation owner John Randall Phillips. Their son, Philip Lovell Phillips, was thus already fully embedded within the world of transatlantic slavery by the time of his birth. Though he went on to obtain a doctorate in medicine, he maintained a special interest in his Barbadian plantations, publishing a popular essay on tropical agriculture in 1845.¹⁴ It was written for 'West India' planters like himself. He seemed also to be well connected to the West India absentee planter networks in Britain. His publication swiftly sold out and was re-published three times as a result of West India Associations driving demand, purchasing Phillips' work and then sending it to the colonies. Its popularity may also have been linked to the timing of the publication which occurred only a few years after the formal transition away from chattel slavery. It is likely, then, that the book served as useful reading for planters seeking to manage the fresh challenges faced by a newly freed workforce.

Some slave-owning families sent generations of students to Exeter. At least two generations of Harriott family members came to the College. William Harriott Senior and his brother, John, matriculated at Exeter in 1788 and 1789 respectively. Both were the sons of John Harriot who owned two estates in St. Elizabeth, Jamaica. William Harriott Senior's son, Reverend William Harriott, later arrived at Exeter in 1807. He went on to inherit his father's estates in 1822, maintaining them until the end of slavery in the Caribbean. James Hewitt Massey Dawson and his son, Captain James Massey Dawson, came to Exeter in 1796 and 1821 respectively. J. H. M. Dawson went on to acquire plantations through his wife Eliza Jane Dennis who inherited the estates from her father, Francis Dennis. Dennis was himself a prominent slaveowner and member

¹¹ Christer Petley, *White Fury: A Jamaican Slaveholder and the Age of Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 98.

¹² Christer Petley, *Slaveholders in Jamaica: Colonial Society and Culture During the Era of Abolition* (London: Routledge, 2009), 42.

¹³ Alison Games, *Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World* (London: Harvard University Press, 1999), 99.

¹⁴ PL Phillips, *An Essay on Tropical Agriculture* (Glasgow: James Hedderwick & Son, 1845).

of the local legislative assembly in his own right. These examples briefly highlight some of the longer-term connections some slave-owning families had to Exeter College and warrant further investigation.

Resident Planters and Managers

Whilst many Persons of Interest inherited plantations that they managed from afar, some were resident in the colonies and played a more active role in the management of enslaved persons. John Teschemaker (M. 1813) and his son William (M. 1847), both of whom were students at the College, came from a very prominent slave-owning family in Essequibo, a colony in South America which at the time was under Dutch control. John was the grandson of Antony Tierens who was a slaveowner and the Commander (or governor) of the nearby Dutch colony Berbice from 1714-1733.¹⁵ Commander Tierens oversaw some significant developments of the plantation sector. After John finished his studies at Exeter he went on to study law in Leiden. Shortly after finishing his studies he was drawn back to the plantation world of the now British colony of Demerara-Essequibo to help manage his family's affairs. Barbadian born Hampden Clement, son of slaveowner Richard Clement, matriculated at Exeter in 1826, but by the early 1830s was also back in Barbados as the owner of two plantations. Exonians were among those resident planters who physically oversaw the management of their enslaved persons.

Commercial Agents

Some Exonians were connected to slavery through business. The Gibbs family provide one clear example. They were connected to the British trading company Antony Gibbs and Sons. This company was substantially connected to slavery and coercive labour, through its association with the Bristol-Liverpool firm, Gibbs and Bright (Gibbs and Bright was fully absorbed into Antony Gibbs and Sons by the late-nineteenth century) which was deeply involved in the transatlantic slave trade and owned enslaved persons in Jamaica.¹⁶ The firm experienced significant economic benefit when it managed to gain an exclusive concession on Peruvian guano (bird manure) in 1842 and became the sole importers of the product into Britain. Guano extraction relied on enslaved persons (before slavery was abolished in Peru in 1854) as well as Asian indentured workers operating under coercive labour conditions.¹⁷ The wealth derived from the firm allowed the Gibbs family to fund no less than six of its members' education at Exeter College by the mid-nineteenth century. The first of the family to come to Exeter was Henry Hucks Gibbs, son of George Henry Gibbs and grandson of the founder of the family business, Antony Gibbs. After graduating in 1841, Henry went on to work in the family business at a time when its operations were expanding

¹⁵ O. Ishmael, *The Story of Guyana* (Indiana: Xlibris, 2013), 651.

¹⁶ Hall et al, *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership*, 99, 103.

¹⁷ Eugenio, Chang-Rodriguez, Chinese Labor Migration into Latin America in the Nineteenth Century. *Revista de Historia de America* 46 (December 1958): 375–397; Lawrence Clayton, Chinese Indentured Labour in Peru. *History Today* 30.6 (1980); Watt Stewart, *Chinese Bondage in Peru: A History of the Chinese Coolie in Peru, 1849–1874* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1951); Frances Bailey et al., Interim Report on the Connections between Colonialism and Properties Now in the Care of the National Trust, Including Links with Historic Slavery (National Trust), accessed October 21, 2021, <https://nt.global.ssl.fastly.net/documents/colonialism-and-historic-slavery-report.pdf>.

due to the guano trade and the firm's greater involvement in merchant banking. In 1848 Henry became a partner in the firm before effectively taking control in 1858.¹⁸

Fellows of the College

Some former Fellows of the College also had connections to slavery. Two members of the Rigaud family: Stephen Peter (M. 1791) and his son, Stephen Jordan (M. 1834) were among this category. The trajectories of both men's lives tell a similar story. Both were academically successful and both occupied positions of intellectual and social prestige which were in part a consequence of their association with the College as a place of learning. In addition to Professorships in Geometry and Astronomy, Stephen Peter Rigaud held the position of Astronomer to George III and Radcliffe Observer. Likewise, after completing his studies and becoming a Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Stephen Jordan Rigaud went on to become Bishop of Antigua. The slave-holding activities of both men are also well documented. According to UCL's *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database, Stephen Peter Rigaud had inherited relatively large sums of money through a marriage alliance with the resident slave-owning Jordan family of Barbados. As father and son, both Gibbes Walker Jordan and Joseph William Jordan were independently active in Barbados' plantation economy, acting as legal advisors and agents, as well as owning outright at least three estates across the island. Upon Stephen Peter's death in 1839, Stephen Jordan went on to inherit a share of this familial wealth which was to coincide with his tenure as Fellow at the College.

By its very nature, however, it should be noted that the institution of slavery created for both Rigauds certain benefits well in advance of the UK's Government's formal compensation scheme. Stephen Jordan Rigaud's tuition fees, as also his standard of living, were in part maintained through a wealth accumulated through the transportation of goods, services and people within Britain's colonies.¹⁹ His father and mother, Stephen Peter Rigaud and Christian Jordan, had also forged a dynastic alliance through the Jordans' well-established foothold in the local Barbadian economy. To this picture we can add the Rigauds' material effect on College life. The results of our survey show that the Rigaud family are somewhat disproportionately represented in our archival holdings, having bequeathed to the College donations of money and silverware, as well as leaving their mark on the College's physical environment. A public memorial to the family can be found in the College's antechapel, and whilst not on public display, the College also owns several pieces of artwork associated with the family. The full extent of these holdings is documented later within this report.

William Walrond Jackson Jnr is perhaps the most prominent Fellow of the Exeter College community with connections to slavery. Jackson became a Fellow in 1863 and later served as Rector from 1887-1913, one of the longest serving heads of the College. Jackson's connections to the colonial world are clear: he was born in the British Caribbean colony of Trinidad in 1838, the

¹⁸ Martin Dauntton, Gibbs, Henry Hucks, first Baron Aldenham (1819–1907), merchant and merchant banker. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 23 Sep. 2004

¹⁹ Stephen Peter Rigaud', *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database, <http://wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146631700> [accessed 27th January 2021].

same year slavery officially ended in most British Caribbean territories. Though not a slave-owner himself, several close members of his family were the owners of enslaved persons. His father William Jackson Senior, the Bishop of Antigua, was a slave-owner and member of the Walrond clan in Barbados, a large family of slave owners, several of whom benefitted from compensation money when slavery was formally abolished in the British Empire.²⁰ His mother, Mary Pile Jackson, was the daughter of Conrad Pile, a resident planter who also benefitted substantially from government compensation at emancipation for hundreds of enslaved persons.²¹ Rector Jackson both served as executor of his father's estate upon his death and benefitted materially and financially from his father's will.²² Whilst the precise origin of these funds is not yet clear, Rector Jackson was perhaps the largest donor to Exeter College of the list of 45 Exonians with ties to slavery, giving over £1300 during his tenure. His wife, Amelia, who inherited a fortune from her father, a wealthy London merchant and late first husband, a physician, also gave generously to the College and has been amongst the most significant benefactors in recent times. We have found no evidence to suggest that Amelia Jackson herself had any connections to slavery.

Politicians, Colonial Officials and Clergy

Some POIs were politically active within British politics. Two Exonians, William Herbert and the aforementioned James Hewitt Massey Dawson, went on to become Members of Parliament in the House of Commons. Herbert first matriculated at Christ Church in 1795 but later migrated to Exeter College, whilst Massey Dawson matriculated in 1796. Herbert served in the Hampshire constituency from 1806-1807 and later in Cricklade 1811-1812. Massey Dawson served as MP for Clonmel from 1820-1830 and then in the county of Limerick in 1830. Both seemed to lend support to the abolition of the slave trade and later against slavery. For example,

²⁰ For information on the family see James C. Brandow, *Genealogies of Barbados families: from Caribbeana and the Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society* (Baltimore: Genealogical Pub. Co., 1983), 575.; For a brief sample of the entries of the family on the UCL Legacies of British Slavery Database, see 'Benjamin Walrond', Legacies of British Slavery database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/5464> [accessed 23rd September 2022]; 'George Walrond', Legacies of British Slavery Database <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/1987> [accessed 23rd September 2022]; 'Agnes Walrond', Legacies of British Slavery Database <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2723> [accessed 23rd September 2022]; 'Nicholas Humphrey Walrond', Legacies of British Slavery Database <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/5463> [accessed 23rd September 2022].

²¹ 'Conrad Pile', Legacies of British Slavery Database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/3614> [accessed 23rd September 2022].

²² Probate of will of William Walrond Jackson, Lord Bishop of Antigua, of Fulbrook House, Grange Road, Ealing; made 12 Sep 1890, codicil 25 Jun 1892, The National Archives, UK, <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/6ec7145a-4cb8-4eec-a851-adfc5451e721> [accessed 23rd September 2022].

Herbert was said to be a staunch friend to the abolition of the slave trade.²³ Similarly, Massey Dawson raised a constituency petition against African enslavement in parliament in 1824.²⁴

Other slave-owning Exeter alumni went on to serve as colonial officials or clergymen. Robert Marsh Horsford (M. 1816), for example, was a longstanding public servant in Antigua. His father was Paul Horsford who served as solicitor general, attorney general and as a member and speaker of the House of Assembly in the colony. After finishing his studies in England, he returned home to follow in his father's footsteps. He also went on to become Solicitor General (1825-1846), Attorney General and Chief Justice of the British colony of the Leewards Islands (an administrative grouping including Antigua, Barbuda, the British Virgin Islands, Montserrat, St. Kitts, Nevis, Anguilla and Dominica), receiving a knighthood for his service in 1841.²⁵ Robert Horsford held these positions during a crucial time in the consideration of the reform and later abolition of slavery in British imperial politics and is therefore likely to have played an important role in the local practical considerations and implementation of new imperial policies on slavery. Robert Horsford also significantly contributed to the transition from slavery to freedom in Antigua when he was appointed as a Stipendiary Magistrate. In this role he was tasked with overseeing the emancipation process and mediating labour disputes, maintaining a balance by considering the interests of former enslaved persons in conjunction with those of the planters. To help with the process, Stipendiary Magistrates were Crown appointed and their salaries were paid directly from the metropole as a means of keeping them free from local planter influence. As a slaveowner himself, Robert Horsford's appointment went against the aims of the initiative. Antigua's planters first strongly opposed the implementation of stipendiary magistrates but complied once they were allowed to appoint those more acquainted with the peculiar habits, customs, and character of the people; in other words, planters and other resident white elites. In his position as Stipendiary Magistrate and Chief Justice Robert Horsford oversaw the increased criminalisation of newly freed enslaved persons and was also in favour of a penal labour system.²⁶

Exeter alumnus Reverend John Hendrickson Laurence (M. 1820), the son of slave-holder Samuel Laurence of the Island of Nevis, returned home after his studies to provide religious service to the Island's inhabitants. He became a parish rector and was affiliated with the *Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of the Negro Slaves in the British West Indies Islands*. Laurence's participation was part of a new wave of missionary zeal for enslaved persons in the British Caribbean in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. With the rise of antislavery sentiment and calls for the amelioration of slavery, the period after the American Revolution brought on a greater impetus for enslaved instruction. In response to these

²³ HERBERT, Hon. William (1778-1847), of Park Place, Mitcham, Surr., *The History of Parliament*, Institute of Historical Research, School of Advanced Study, University of London <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/herbert-hon-william-1778-1847> [accessed 23rd September 2022].

²⁴ MASSY (afterwards MASSY DAWSON), James Hewitt (1779-1834), of Ballynacourte, co. Tipperary and 87 Gloucester Place, Mdx. *The History of Parliament*, Institute of Historical Research, School of Advanced Study, University of London https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/massy-james-1779-1834#footnote5_efqwxt2 [accessed 23rd September 2022].

²⁵ Vere Langford Oliver, *The History of the Island of Antigua: One of the Leeward Caribbees ...*, Volume 2 (London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1894), 89.

²⁶ Natasha Lightfoot, *Troubling Freedom: Antigua and the Aftermath of British Emancipation* (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2015), 191-192.

new challenges, colonial officials and planters sought to improve conditions, and the religious instruction of enslaved persons became one form of amelioration. Although viewed with some suspicion by colonial officials and the planter class, missionaries became important collaborators in the developing slavery reform efforts. The extent to which Exeter alumni participated in this new missionary expansion is worth further investigation.

The case studies explored above provide only a partial view of the ways in which these forty-five Exonians were affiliated with the system of slavery. In most cases very little or nothing has been written about our identified Persons of Interest; further research is needed and may also extend the list of Exonians connected to slavery. While more names may yet be added, on the basis of our preliminary investigations and the sources available, it is possible to conclude that members of Exeter College with connections to slavery constituted a small proportion of the entire Exeter College community. And yet, the fact that throughout the period, multiple individuals attached to the College had some connection to transatlantic slavery, and that this passed without comment, attests to the persistent entanglement of members of the elite in Britain in the slave-holding economy and its aftermath.

ii) Donations to Exeter College

The first phase of our inquiry was predominantly reliant on results that could be generated by conducting keyword searches on the *LBS* database and similar digital platforms. On entering into the second phase of our research, we sought to enhance these findings by utilising the internal College resources at our disposal. These resources are primarily located within the College's Special Collections. In what follows, we summarise our findings to date, as well as highlighting what further insights can be provided by turning our attention to the College's documentary history. For reasons of time, it has been regrettable that not all of these resources have been fully explored and investigated. As a result, this report now recommends that further systematic archival research be conducted to fully disclose the provenance of the College's built, financial and intellectual environment.

Benefactions and Subscription Funds

Between the late-seventeenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, Exeter College underwent extensive building and renovation projects. The Chapel, for example, has been rebuilt, modified and entirely resituated at least three times during the College's lifetime. Likewise, smaller building projects were often supported by funds given directly to the College by its former students. Much of this activity is dispersed throughout a wide range of archival material; some explicitly financial, others more honorary in their recordkeeping priorities. Of these, the College's Book of Benefactors has yielded the greatest results for our investigation. A large and lavishly decorated folio volume, the Benefactors' Book covers a period of close to 700 years (in other words, the entirety of the College's history) and is comprehensive in its detailing of College activity. It contains entries of every financial donation made to the College, up to and including the year

1987. Our examination of the book has been thorough, cross-referencing entries on a line-by-line basis with those names already familiar to us through the earlier stages of our research. As part of this exercise, we were also able to recover the names of individuals previously unknown to our investigation and whose financial contributions to the College were important to place on record.

Second only to Rector Jackson, the Rigaud family were found to have made the most substantial contributions to College. Whilst objects like silverware and artwork make for an immediately visible demonstration of wealth, a second trend soon became observable to us which owed more to the piecemeal expansion of the College and its buildings than to conspicuously large donations of money. As the table below illustrates, historically it has been far more common for alumni to maintain an association with the College through the donation of relatively small financial sums, most of which were connected in some way to individual building projects and/or to assistance funds for the College and its members. Examining the cost of the nineteenth-century Chapel project gives a sense of the role of such gifts in Exeter's finances. By 1861, the cost of the Chapel rebuilding amounted to £15,000. As the table below reveals, donors with connections to slave-ownership contributed a total of £218, 6s to the cost of rebuilding the Chapel, approximately 1.5% of the whole cost.²⁷

Table 3 – Benefactions to Exeter College

Name	Benefaction	Date
William Helyar (1621-1697)	£20 for 'erecting the buildings north of the front gate and up to the Chapel', started in 1672 - but not completed until 1682; 3 tankards weighing 22.5 oz, c. 1637.	Confirmed 1672 p.29 in Benefactors Book EC/6/1/2 – Details of other objects in College Register
Francis Haultain (c. 1747-1827)	£5. 5s given to Dr Small for refurbishing the Chapel and Hall	Confirmed 1811 in Benefactors Book p.83 EC/6/1/2
Stephen Peter Rigaud (1774-1839)	£10. 10s given for rebuilding the Quad, c. 1811; 2 Decanter Stands donated by either father or son, c. 1836; Brass memorial plaque within the College antechapel, honouring Fellows Stephen Peter and Stephen Jordan Rigaud; 1 silhouette of Stephen Peter Rigaud, 1822; Bust made in the likeness of Stephen Peter Rigaud; 1 punch bowl, date of donation unknown.	Confirmed 1811 in Benefactors Book p.83 EC/6/1/2– details of other objects in College orders
Rt. Rev. Henry Phillpotts (1778-1869) ²⁸	Rose window, Exeter College Chapel; £5 given towards Richard's Testimonial Fund	Confirmed 1807 in Benefactors Book p. 77 EC/6/1/2

²⁷ Exeter College Archives EC/11/4/2/E Chapel Costs. Tyack, Geoffrey. "Gilbert Scott and the Chapel of Exeter College, Oxford." *Architectural History* 50 (2007), 139.

²⁸ See pp. for discussion of Revd Phillpott's complex connections to slavery.

Name	Benefaction	Date
James Hewitt Massy Dawson (1779 – 1834)	'J Massey' listed as one of 8 donors for 4 side dishes and 4 covers, c. 1807. Also gave £10.5s for chapel window 1807	Confirmed 1807 in Chapel subscription Book EC/11/3/4 – Details of other objects in College orders
Edward Eliot (1789-1861)	£10 donated toward Gilbert Scott College Chapel	Confirmed 1868 in Benefactors Book p.101 EC/6/1/2
Rev. Walter Stevenson Halliday	£40 donated towards Gilbert Scott College Chapel	Confirmed 1868 in Benefactors Book p.103 EC/6/1/2
Name	Benefaction	Date
Philip Lovell Phillips (1805 – 1869)	£28 5s donated to Gilbert Scott College Chapel	Confirmed 1868 in Benefactors Book p. 105 EC/6/1/2
Stephen Jordan Rigaud (1816-1859)	£100 given to the College; £3. 3s given towards the Richard's Fund; Upon Stephen Jordan Rigaud's death, a memorial fund was established for his widow. He was the Bishop of Antigua.	Confirmed 1868 in Benefactors Book p. 83 EC/6/1/2
William Jerdone Braikenridge (1817-1907)	£30 donated towards Gilbert Scott College Chapel	Confirmed 1868 in Benefactors Book p.97 EC/6/1/2
Henry Hucks Gibbs (1819-1907)	£30 donated towards Gilbert Scott College Chapel (+ £20 from Gibbs' wife)	Confirmed 1868 in Benefactors Book p.101 EC/6/1/2
Charles Robert George Douglas (1822-1857)	£5 donated towards Gilbert Scott College Chapel	Confirmed 1868 in Benefactors Book p.99 EC/6/1/2
John Fielder Mackarness (1820-1889)	£20 towards Gilbert Scott College Chapel; £2 Richards Fund, 1854	Confirmed 1868 in Benefactors Book p. 105 EC/6/1/2
Charles Gibbs (1829-1890)	£10 donated towards Gilbert Scott College Chapel	Confirmed 1868 in Benefactors Book p. 101 EC/6/1/2
William Lloyd Gibbs (1830-1860)	£10 donated towards Gilbert Scott Chapel	Confirmed 1868 in Benefactors Book p. 101 EC/6/1/2
John Lomax Gibbs (1832-1914)	£10 donated towards Gilbert Scott College Chapel	Confirmed 1868 in Benefactors Book p. 101 EC/6/1/2
Arthur Kekewich (1832-1907)	£5 donated towards Gilbert Scott College Chapel	Confirmed 1868 in Benefactors Book p. 103 EC/6/1/2

Name	Benefaction	Date
William Walrond Jackson (1838-1931) Rector (1887-1913)	Between 1882-1887, £80 given annually for seven years for the payment of scholarships; 1887: £500 for repairs and decoration of Rector's lodgings and £200 for cleaning the College Hall; 1890: £60 for College Hall roof; 1904: £100 towards oriel window in College Hall	Confirmed – college register 1883 p.325 EC/2/1/4 and Benefactors Book p.115 EC/6/1/2.

Estates

Like many other long-standing or historic educational institutions, Exeter College used to derive a large portion of its income from the ownership of land and property. The majority of these holdings were distributed throughout the South West and South of England, although there are records which indicate that the College had some interest in land as far north as Cheshire. The College does not own, nor has it ever owned, any land or property located overseas.

The College's UK holdings were mainly church livings, advowsons and associated (church) lands. There has not been time within the current remit of the project to examine in detail the deeds and correspondence associated with these properties. Likewise, it is regrettable that such time limitations have made it impossible to incorporate into our results information about the parties to whom land and property has been sold, leased or gifted, or from whom the College has received the same. Given the intimate relationship between the College, the Church, and the transferral of property which accompanied it, we recommend further research in this area.

Of note, however, was the discovery that the College, through its Church of England connections, had been the potential recipient of funds derived from a government-backed annuity scheme with connections to the slave trade. Known as Queen Anne's Bounty (1704), the scheme was initially founded as a venture to support impoverished members of the clergy, primarily through the purchase of land, and was itself modelled on a system known as 'First Fruits' or Annates. As an ecclesiastical custom, the roots of Annates in England can be traced as far back as the thirteenth century. By 1704, however, the administration of these ecclesiastical funds was not only Crown controlled but saw a major change in how such monies were maintained. Payments, originally collected for the purchase of land, were increasingly invested in stock or held on deposit in order to generate greater financial returns. It is for this reason that Queen Anne's Bounty has recently come under scrutiny. Research conducted by the Church of England has revealed that monies collected for the scheme were invested in the South Sea Company whose monopoly to transport enslaved Africans to South America helped to create vast fortunes for investors before its eventual 'crash' in the 1720s. As recently as July 2022, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Justin Welby, issued an apology regarding the Church's involvement with both the South Sea Company and chattel slavery, describing it as 'a source of shame'.²⁹ The College has in its Archive a mortgage deed (1826) associated with a church property in Baverstock, Wiltshire, which was in

²⁹ Christopher Howse, '[Sacred Mysteries: Queen Anne's Bounty sunk in South Sea slavery](#)', *The Telegraph*, 2 July 2022, accessed 24 August 2022; Harriet Sherwood, '[CofE setting up £100m fund to 'address past wrongs' of slave trade links](#)', 10 January 2023, accessed 26 February 2023

part secured on money from the Queen Anne's Bounty scheme. This area merits further investigation in the future (see Suggestion 4 below).

Chattels, Paintings & Books

Chattels, in the form of silverware and artwork, have been acquired by the College throughout its seven-hundred-year history. Some objects have arrived into College as donations, often from former alumni, and some have been directly commissioned by the College itself. At the same time, it was, and still remains, a common practice for members to bequeath to the College their books and academic papers. These collections contribute to the cultural and historic identity of the College and possess in many ways a value that cannot be quantified. Addressing the provenance of these collections is a means by which to assess the impact made by academia on the legacies of enslavement. To date, our investigation into this aspect of College life is the most complete. We have been able to survey the College's numerous inventories of plate (up to 1982), together with its listings of paintings. A list of all known benefactions and/or gifts from Persons of Interest can be found in Tables 1 and 3 above of this report. Future investigation could review the wills of Fellows with connections to slavery to determine what, if any, objects and/or books they might have left to the College.

To sum up, between c.1670 and c.1900, the College was in receipt of a steady trickle of donations and gifts from individuals who derived some of their wealth from slave-ownership, however Exeter College's financial resources were not significantly increased as a result of donations derived from slave-ownership. Instead, what our research into this issue reveals is the ordinary character of ties to the slave-holding economy, as well as the ongoing financial benefit to British institutions of such ties.

iii) Contributors to scholarship on slavery

Exonians other than those whose publications have already been highlighted in the Persons of Interest case studies above contributed to public discourse about slavery. Edward Eliot (M. 1808), a former Fellow of Exeter and Archdeacon of the colony of Barbados, provides one such case. In 1833 he published a collection of sermons on the topic of Christianity and Slavery, sermons which he had originally preached before a mostly slavery supporting congregation at the Cathedral of Barbados. The book was aimed at a wide transatlantic audience, hoping to reach his fellow resident and non-resident holders of slave property in the West Indies, for he himself was also a slaveowner who successfully claimed £26 0s 5d at emancipation.³⁰ He aimed in his sermons to explicitly point out some of the ills of slavery and to encourage fellow owners to diligently improve the conditions of enslaved persons and especially their moral and religious welfare.³¹ Although the tide had been turning on the system of slavery, Eliot expressed no outright

³⁰ Edward Eliot, *Christianity and Slavery: In a Course of Lectures Preached at the Cathedral and Parish Church of St. Michael, Barbados* (London: J. Hatchard and Son, 1833), iv.

³¹ *Ibid*, v.

abolitionist sentiment in his sermons beyond emphasising the need for improvement. He may have been influenced by the need to curry favour with planters in the Caribbean in his desire to access enslaved persons as well as his own role as a slaveowner. Rather, Eliot pressed that the ills of slavery could be diminished, if not entirely removed, by the meliorating influence of Christianity.³²

On the subject of manumission or the purchased freedom of enslaved persons, Eliot noted that the possessor of slaves is bound in Christian principles ... to grant unhesitatingly freedom to his dependents, whenever they, or their friends, are able to purchase it.³³ He also addressed enslaved persons and, in line with a common case made by other Christian missionaries in the Caribbean, encouraged them to be good Christian servants content 'in the station in which it has pleased God to place him' and to obey 'the laws of the land ... not merely as a measure of worldly policy, and to avert the evils which resistance would probably bring upon him; but for conscience sake and under the influence of the controlling principle that it is God's command'.³⁴ The extent to which Exonians contributed to discussions about and attitudes to slavery is one area that is worth further examination.

One prominent, though complicated, connection to the College was the Bishop of Exeter, Henry Phillpotts. In Eric Williams' seminal work *Capitalism and Slavery*, he identified the Bishop as being the owner of 655 enslaved persons and as the recipient of almost £13, 000 in compensation following slavery's abolition in 1833.³⁵ Amongst the list of slave compensation recipients affiliated with Exeter College, Phillpotts is perhaps the most prominent as *Ex Officio Visitor* (see Glossary) to the College from 1830 to 1869, some thirty years. In fact, the Bishop was not a slave owner himself but received compensation as a Trustee under the will of John William Ward, Earl of Dudley.³⁶ Historian Nicholas Draper has noted that the Bishop's role as a Trustee could give very substantial control over and access to funds held under the trust, but the bald identification of Phillpotts as a slave-owner and beneficiary of compensation is not tenable.³⁷

While the Bishop was not a slaveowner, his brother Thomas, one of five Phillpotts siblings to have reached adulthood, was. In fact, Thomas Phillpotts had significant interests in the British Caribbean colony of Jamaica. In 1833, he was reported as owning 772 enslaved persons and receiving more than £15, 000 in compensation.³⁸ It is not known whether Thomas' connections to slavery influenced the Bishop's own views on the institution; preliminary research has suggested that Henry Phillpotts was not very vocal on the issue, but some evidence regarding the Bishop's views prior to his official appointment can however be found.³⁹ A letter penned by Henry

³² Ibid, viii.

³³ Ibid, 139.

³⁴ Ibid, 144.

³⁵ Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), 43.

³⁶ John William Ward, Earl of Dudley, Legacies of British Slavery Database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/1283343189> [accessed 23rd September 2022].

³⁷ Nicholas Draper, *The Price of Emancipation: Slave-ownership, Compensation and British Society at the End of Slavery* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2010), 5.

³⁸ Thomas Phillpotts, Legacies of British Slavery Database <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/14110> [accessed 23rd September 2022].

³⁹ Peter Wingfield-Digby, Which Philpotts was the Slave-Owner? UCL Legacies of British Slavery Workshop on Slavery, Slave-ownership and Devon and Cornwall, Exeter Community Centre, 14 November 2015, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/media-new/pdfs/phillpottsslaveowner.pdf>.

Phillpotts to the Anti-Slavery Society on 15 May 1824 and subsequently published in the *Newcastle Courant* indicates Phillpotts' misgivings on the validity of the Abolitionist cause. As the then Rector of Stanhope in the county of Durham, he rejected the Society's invitation on the grounds that slavery was justified by Christian principles, fearing that their efforts could lead to delud[ing] the ignorant and credulous [enslaved Africans] into a belief that a large portion of the British people mourns over them as the victims of a cruel oppression, and calls loudly upon them to break their chains on the heads of their oppressors.⁴⁰ Such evidence suggests that although not a slave-holder himself, Phillpott's personal views, as well as his financial ties to the institution of slavery more broadly, require further scrutiny.

Overall, our preliminary research into whether members of Exeter College contributed substantially to scholarship that underpinned the institution of slavery has uncovered a number of alumni and Fellows of the College who published treatises and sermons that helped to sustain or implicitly endorsed the institution of slavery). Further research into the publications and political activities of Exonians in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is needed to explore this issue fully. As noted above (p.19), we have also discovered two alumni of the College, both MPs, who expressed support for the Abolitionist cause in the period.

5. CONCLUSION

This project has sought to discover the nature and range of the College's potential connections to transatlantic slavery and the ways it may have benefitted from these connections, rather than confining itself to a simple financial inquiry. These preliminary investigations have revealed a broad web of connections over several centuries. This is noteworthy not because Exeter College benefitted from particularly substantial donations derived from slave-ownership – it does not appear to have done so – nor were any Exonians among the leading figures of the transatlantic slave economy; rather, the significance of what we have found lies in the breadth and range of connections between members of Exeter College and transatlantic slavery, and in the unexceptional character of these connections.

Our inquiry into whether any members of the College were significantly connected to slavery in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries has uncovered forty-five individuals who had a demonstrable connection within three generations to transatlantic slavery in its various iterations. These ranged from undergraduates whose families were actively engaged in plantation slavery in the colonies, to those who were involved with the system of slavery as merchants, to those who inherited wealth derived from the ownership of enslaved persons. These forty-five individuals amount to a small proportion of the entire Exeter College community in the period (equivalent to c.3% of the annual student body in the nineteenth century), yet the fact that throughout the period, multiple individuals attached to the College had some connection to transatlantic slavery attests to the persistent entanglement of members of the elite in Britain in the slave-holding economy.

The current state of our investigation into donations, endowments, estates, chattels, and works of art with significant connections to slavery given to Exeter College has revealed that

⁴⁰ *The Newcastle Courant*, Saturday, May 15, 1824, Issue 7701, p. 2.

between c.1670 and c.1900, the College was in receipt of a steady trickle of donations and gifts from individuals who derived some of their wealth from slave-ownership, for example the construction of the Gilbert Scott Chapel attracted contributions from a range of donors with connections to transatlantic slavery (with the total of such sums amounting to c.1.5% of the total cost of the Chapel). Exeter College's financial resources were not significantly increased as a result of donations derived from slave-ownership, rather what our research into this issue reveals again is the ordinary character of ties to the slave-holding economy, as well as the ongoing financial benefit to British institutions of such ties.

Our preliminary research into whether members of Exeter College contributed substantially to scholarship that underpinned the institution of slavery has uncovered a number of alumni and Fellows of the College who published treatises and sermons that helped to sustain or implicitly endorsed the institution of slavery.

Our preliminary research into the overlooked histories of students of colour who attended Exeter College in the period before 1945 suggests that further investigations would reveal that Exeter welcomed a small number of students of colour during this period, some of whom went on to have significant careers in education and the arts.

Overall, as this brief summary suggests, the initial findings of the Exeter College Legacies of Slavery Project provide a clear example of the extent to which connections to the trade in and exploitation of enslaved labour, and the profits arising from it, were – as a matter of course – accepted and embedded in British society and institutions, including those in Higher Education. This project has also suggested new lines of research into additional potential connections and ways to shed more light on those already identified. Such additional research would contribute further to the growing body of research by a range of institutions revealing how fundamental transatlantic slavery was to the development of modern Britain.

Christina de Bellaigue, Dexnell Peters, Isabel Robinson, 14th May 2023

6. NEXT STEPS

We propose the following suggestions for further development of this project by the College or students and others interested in developing their own standalone projects:

- **Suggestion 1: explore the possibility of collaboration with other Colleges in Oxford and seek further external funding to follow up research suggestions 3-11 below.**

The growing appetite amongst Oxford and Cambridge colleges (and amongst UK institutions as a whole) to investigate the nature of their ties to British Colonialism, makes this a fitting moment to share and diversify our research objectives with a wider and more inclusive audience. Thus far, our inquiry has benefitted from the input of scholars, archivists and librarians from Balliol, St. John's and Wolfson Colleges. Their contributions have highlighted the extent to which the

experience of Exonians as beneficiaries of enslavement was far from unique. Our recent Oxford-wide event created a good foundation for further collaborative work to take place. The College should continue to build on these efforts and explore the possibility of joint applications for funding to pursue further research along the lines outlined in suggestions 2-10 below.

➤ **Suggestion 2: Joint Stock Companies**

One area of research that has not yet been explored in our preliminary research is the connection of Exonians or College benefactors to Joint Stock Companies linked to slave trading activities. Sir John Petre, the son of Sir William Petre, a former student and major benefactor of the College, appears to have invested in the Virginia Company which oversaw the introduction of African slavery to the Jamestown settlement on the east coast of the North American continent in the early seventeenth century. Sir John's connection to the College remained as he 'augmented his father's benefactions' to the institution and even successfully recommended Thomas Holland as Rector of the College in the late sixteenth century. Similarly, William Salkeld, former student and fellow of the College, also invested in the South Sea Company which was granted a monopoly or 'asiento' to supply enslaved Africans to the Spanish Americas during the early eighteenth century. These two brief and under-investigated examples provide some of the potential avenues for further research on connections with Joint Stock companies.

➤ **Suggestion 3: Deepening investigations into Exeter College Undergraduates and Fellows who were significantly connected to slavery from 1700 to 1900**

The case studies presented in this report only scratch the surface on some of our Persons of Interest. Most of the individuals we have so far identified have very little presence in the secondary literature, thereby ensuring that ongoing research promises to make a significant and original contribution to knowledge. The extent to which these persons financially contributed to the College as well as the ways in which they supported or challenged the system of slavery also remains to be seen.

Whilst our findings relate mostly to the forty-five Persons of Interest with connections to slavery, our research established a larger list of potential individuals who were outside the bounds of our working definition or for whom there was insufficient information found to confirm connections. See this expanded list below:

Table 4: Persons of Interest with a potential connection⁴¹ to slavery

Name	Dates	Matric.	Fellowship
John Wilcocks	c. 1703 - 1756	8 Mar 1720 (Oriel)	Dev. 1722
Robert Scott	c. 1705 - 1761	13 Mar 1722	Petr. 1724
William Walter	c. 1707 - ?	12 Nov 1722 (Edmund H.)	Chapl. 15 Jan 1732
Samuel Hart	1762 -1845	27 Apr 1780	Chaplain 3 Aug 1786
Thomas Henry Sheppard	1814 - 1888	13 Dec 1832 (Oriel)	Chaplain Oct. 1851
William Monro Wollaston	1831- 1918	11 Mar 1851 (Trinity)	Dev. 1855
John Helyar	c. 1623- c. 1692	20 Mar 1640	
Sir Nicolas Morice	c. 1681- c.1726	14 Apr 1698	
Rev. Thomas Webber	1742-1768	19 Nov 1759	Dev. 1761
John Harriott	c.1770 - ?	26 Mar 1789	N/A
Rt. Rev. Henry Phillpotts	1778-1869	07 Nov 1791	Visitor 1831
Richard Oliverson	1831- ?	6 Jun 1851	
Robert Ratcliffe	c. 1657 - ?	10 Apr 1674	Petr. 1679

- **Suggestion 4: Investigate donations were made to Exeter College by non-Exonian persons with significant connections to slavery or whether Exeter College holds endowments, estates, chattels or paintings with significant connections to slave-owning wealth**

The results generated by our preliminary search of the College’s archival holdings make it clear that the College, in common with many institutions dating back to the eighteenth century and beyond, was the recipient of a variety of benefactions connected to slave-owning wealth. It is therefore important that research into this area continues; doing so would enable the College to further contextualise its own position relative to the broader institutionalisation of scholarly learning within the early modern and modern world. It would be sensible to collaborate with other

⁴¹ Defined in Glossary below

Colleges and institutions doing research in this area, such as the Church of England’s investigations into Queen Anne’s Bounty (1704).

Another area worth developing is a list of benefactors to include persons not directly affiliated with the College. From a brief sample of benefactors in the early-nineteenth century we identified a preliminary list of potential Persons of Interest. It was developed by cross referencing benefactors with the UCL database and only includes matches based on first, last and sometimes middle names. Further research is therefore required to determine the correctness of these matches. See table below:

Table 5: Early 19th century benefactors with potential slavery connections who contributed to the new chapel

Donor	Potential UCL matches
Thomas Best	https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/11105
R. J. Haynes	https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146640905
J. W. Moore	https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/5778
J. R. Nicholl	https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146666611
H. Walter – Hugh Walter?	https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/22330
C. B. Hunt	https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/42889
R. Hunt	Multiple hits
J. Kitson	https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/27982
G. Miller	Multiple hits
Tho. H. Sheppard	https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146648055
R. Sutton	Multiple hits
J. Whitehead	Multiple hits

It is suggested that the College should undertake a more systematic investigation of College benefactions and develop a database of all benefactors. Such a database would improve transparency and be a valuable resource for further investigations into sources of College income. This would not only enhance research findings which relate to the activities of enslavement and empire, but also projects dedicated to uncovering the College’s history in a broader sense.

➤ **Suggestion 5: Further explore views and opinions around slavery as well as networks with slave-owning interests at Exeter and Oxford**

Sources on College life could be explored, for example:

- Records of meetings, minutes of College clubs, debating societies, student body groups
- Papers of Rectors

➤ **Suggestion 6: Further research into geographical connections**

There is still a need to explore connections to geographical regions, some of which may be borne out in the specificities of our benefactions and chattels. Our preliminary findings highlight Exeter College's historic connection to students and Fellows coming from the Caribbean, London and the South of England. A further exploration of Exonians connected to these territories is recommended.

➤ **Suggestion 7: Further research into whether the Fellows and Students of Exeter College contributed substantially to scholarship that underpinned or undermined slavery, especially from the nineteenth century onwards.**

➤ **Suggestion 8: Excavate the overlooked histories of any Exeter students of colour that it is possible to discover in the College archives in the period before 1945**

Some preliminary work has been done in this area but there is much room for major expansion here.

➤ **Suggestion 9: Engage Exeter College's student body**

Given the significant number of research possibilities for the next phase of this project, we suggest greater engagement of the wider College community. We hope that this preliminary report will highlight to the student body a range of possibilities for future theses and special projects. There could also be the establishment of regular research internships to continue engaging the student body.

APPENDIX: Glossary of Terms

- Absentee:** A long-distance proprietor of a plantation, characterised by rare and infrequent visits, or no visits at all. The management of the plantation was undertaken by an attorney or manager with whom the Absentee owner would communicate via written correspondence.
- Annuitant:** The beneficiary of a specified annual income secured on an estate and the enslaved people under the terms of a will or marriage settlement. If the income was not paid in a given year the arrears accumulated. *
- Awardee:** The beneficiary or recipient of monies under the terms of the 1833 Slave Compensation Commission whose claim was secured on an estate and/or the enslaved persons thereon.
- Claimant:** An individual who *submitted* a claim to the Slave Compensation Commission between 1834 and 1845. Not all claims were successful. Likewise, not all claimants were the owners of enslaved persons but had instead different kinds of relationship to the plantation economy. For example, they may have been a mortgagee (creditor) whose claim was underwritten by legal agreement with the owner of a plantation.
- Colonial/Religious Official:** An individual who held public office or exercised public duties in one of Britain's overseas territories, acting as a representative or as an agent for a particular institution. This includes the British Government, the British military and various of Britain's religious organisations.
- Donor:** An individual who voluntarily gave money and/or artefacts to Exeter College in either a standalone capacity or in aid of a specified objective. On this basis, it is generally recognised that the act of giving was financially and/or culturally beneficial to the College. It may too have endowed the donor with social and/or political prestige.
- Ex Officio* Visitor:** The title held by the incumbent Bishop of Exeter and whose role was to officiate over internal College disputes. The title of Bishop was itself an elected role outside the powers of the College. However, the individual in question necessarily held jurisdiction over College affairs; a power he exercised either personally when present or by his depute when absent.
- Fellow:** An elected, senior member of the College who receives certain privileges, notably food and accommodation, in recognition of their scholarly merit and contribution to College life. Historically, a fellow was obliged to take Holy Orders but in the period after

1850, this stipulation was gradually removed. Today, a fellow may undertake academic or administrative duties.

Governing Body:	The group of persons responsible for the regulation and management of Exeter College as a place for the advancement of knowledge, education, research, learning and religion. The Governing Body comprises the Rector and all Fellows of the College, other than the holders of Supernumerary Fellowships, Emeritus Fellowships, Honorary Fellowships and Visiting Fellowships. Governing Body exercises its authority in line with the College's constitution, statutes, and byelaws.
LBS:	The Legacies of British Slave-ownership database, University College London, available at: https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/
Mortgagee	A creditor who had secured his claim on the estate and the enslaved people on it by way of a deed of mortgage entered into with the owner. A mortgagee had prior claim on the compensation money over the owner. *
Person of Interest:	An individual with a proven association with Exeter College – whether as a member of its student body, professoriate, or as an individual donor or officer – whose personal circumstances also indicate a connection to the activities of enslavement and the slave trade at large. This can include their period of tenure at the College as well as any time thereafter.
Potential Connection:	A potential connection relates to persons closely associated with others involved within the system of slavery and/or its governance, but where no evidence has yet been uncovered to prove any joint business interests, financial or political benefit or influence of opinions. Typical examples would be a close relative, a close business associate, a colonial official with potential jurisdiction over slavery, or an individual whose efforts or opinions in relation to slavery were well documented.
Rector:	The executive leader of the College and its scholarly community, the Rector, must be distinguished for literary, scientific, or academic attainments, or for services rendered to education in the University or elsewhere. The Rector of the College exercises general superintendence over the College in all its departments. He, she or they promotes the best interests of the objects of the College and is responsible to the Governing Body for providing academic and social leadership, representing the College within the University and beyond and exercising general supervision over the affairs and management of the College.
Slave Holder:	An individual who has purchased or inherited as property the life of another - often by public sale – and usually with the express intent of generating income through that person's enforced labour.

Typically, the majority of Britain's enslaved colonial labour had been forcibly removed from West Africa and re-settled in the Caribbean.

Trustee:

A person appointed under the terms of a legal construction of a trust to carry out the purposes of the trust. The trust might have been established under a will, a marriage settlement or for the benefit of creditors. In addition under the rules of the Commissioners of Slave Compensation, trustees were appointed where the compensation monies 'belonged to or [were] vested in any married woman, infant, lunatic, or person of insane or unsound mind, or persons beyond the seas, or labouring under any other legal or material disability... for the protection of whose interests it may be necessary to make provision.' A trustee appointed under a will was sometimes referred to as a *devisee-in-trust*. *

* This definition is directly taken from the Legacies of British Slave-ownership database, and can be accessed at: www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/project/individuals/