

NOTES

Introduction

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1 'The principal ingredient necessary to form a good planter': Education and the Making of a Transatlantic Elite

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6. Mark Rothery and Henry French, ed., *Making Men: The Formation of Elite Male Identities in England, c. 1660–1900* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 15 ('polite' and 'inner'); Nathaniel Burwell to Lewis Burwell, 13 June 1718, 'Letter of Col. Nathaniel Burwell', *WMQ* 7 (July 1898), 44 ('unfit'); Richard and Elizabeth Ambler to Edward Ambler, 1 August 1748, in Lucille Griffith, ed., 'English Education for Virginia Youth: Some Eighteenth-Century Ambler Family Letters', *VMHB* 69 (January 1961), 15 ('common', 'lower', and 'preserve'). See also Carolyn D. Williams, *Pope, Homer and Manliness: Some Aspects of Eighteenth-Century Classical Learning* (London: Routledge, 1993); Henry French and Mark Rothery, "'Upon Your Entry into the World": Masculine Values and the Threshold of Adulthood among Landed Elites in England 1680–1800', *Social History* 33 (2008), 409–410; and Alexandra Shepard, 'Student Masculinity in Early Modern Cambridge, 1560–1640', in Barbara Krug-Richter and Ruth E. Mohrmann, eds., *Frühneuzeitliche Universitätskulturen: Kulturhistorische Perspektiven auf die Hochschulen in Europa* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2009), 53–74.
7. Alan Taylor, *Thomas Jefferson's Education* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2019), 14 ('poor schooling'); 'Carter Papers', *VMHB* 6 (July 1898), 17 ('bred'); 'The Will of Charles Carter of Cleve', *VMHB* 31 (December 1923), 40, n. 2 ('perfect master'). Carter stipulated that the cost of his son's education would be 'born by my ex'tors and out of the interest of my Said son George's Bank stock'. ('Carter Papers', 17.) For the Fuller family's SSC investments, see John Fuller to John Lade, 25 July 1730, in David Crossley and Richard Saville, eds., *The Fuller Letters: Guns, Slaves and Finance, 1728–1755* (Lewes: Sussex Record Society, 1991), 24; and John Fuller, Accountant's Department: Old South Sea Company Annuities Ledgers, BE, AC27/6455, 518. John Fuller held £4,202 of these securities in 1728. For his East India bonds, see John Fuller to Mr Serocold, 30 October 1736, in Crossley and Saville, eds., *Fuller Letters*, 93.
8. Brown, *Tacky's Revolt*, 89 ('Akan'); Kevin J. Hayes, *The Library of William Byrd of Westover* (Madison, WI: Madison House, 1997), 90 ('smallpox'); Jane Tucker to St. George Tucker, 1 August 1816, St. George Tucker Papers, W&M, Box 35, Folder 7 ('sea air'); Richard B. Sheridan, 'Samuel Martin, Innovating Sugar Planter of Antigua 1750–1776', *Agricultural History* 34 (July 1960), 129 ('five editions'); Richard B. Sheridan, *Sugar and Slaves: An Economic History of the British West Indies, 1623–1775* (Jamaica: Canoe Press, 1994), 200–207 ('Young'); Samuel Martin, *An Essay Upon Plantership, Humbly Inscribed To his Excellency George Thomas, Esq.; Chief Governor of All the Leeward Islands, As a Monument to Antient Friendship* (London: Samuel Jones, 1765), v ('instruction') and vii ('captivated' and 'liberal'); Michal J. Rozbicki, 'The Curse of Provincialism: Negative Perceptions of Colonial American Plantation Gentry', *The Journal of Southern History* 63 (November 1997), 729–730 ('crudeness' and 'de-anglicize[d]'). Martin was a South Sea investor, owning £1,000 of annuities in July 1729 and £2,900 by September 1733. (Samuel Martin, Old South Sea Company Annuities Ledgers, BE, AC27/6457, 541.) Martin is mentioned in Janet Schaw, *Journal of a Lady of Quality: Being the Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, in the Years 1774 to 1776*, ed. by Evangeline Walker Andrews and Charles McLean Andrews (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1921), 106. For Arthur Young, see Peter M. Jones, *Agricultural Enlightenment: Knowledge, Technology, and Nature, 1750–1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 66.

9. Peter Peckard to James Beattie, 23 January 1789, Beattie Manuscripts, MC ('chagrín'); Morgan Godwyn, *The Negro's & Indians advocate, suing for their admission to the church, or, A persuasive to the instructing and baptizing of the Negro's and Indians in our plantations shewing that as the compliance therewith can prejudice no mans just interest, so the wilful neglecting and opposing of it, is not less than a manifest apostacy from the Christian faith* (London: J. D., 1680), 13 ('deity' and 'Profit'); Stephen Fuller to Benjamin Newton, 25 May 1756, Correspondence received by Stephen Fuller (at Sussex, London, and elsewhere) relating mainly to estate matters, 1731–1757, SHC, DD/DN/8/1/1/55 ('Mathematicians'); Robert Beverley Student Notebooks, 1787, Beverley Family Papers, VMHC, Mss1 B4678 a 4768[54] ('algebra'); Robert Beverley notes on logic, 1787, Robert Beverley Papers, NYPL, MssCol 282 ('logic').
10. Peter Peckard, *Piety, Benevolence, and Loyalty, recommended: A sermon preached before the University of Cambridge, January the 30th, 1784* (Cambridge: J. Archdeacon for J. & J. Merrill, 1784), 3 ('fashionable') and I ('firm' and 'Natural'). The Corpus Christi College library accounts, for instance, do not show any major purchases of abolition material. In Michaelmas 1787, the College purchased Richard Chandler's history of Greece, Clarendon's state papers, and Sir David Dalrymple's 1786 pamphlet on the propagation of Christianity, among other manuscripts. The tradition of purchasing histories, travel volumes, and legal texts continued throughout the late eighteenth century. (Expenses for Michaelmas 1787, Library Account, 1690–1818, CCC, GBR/0268/CCCC07).
11. Searby, *History of the University of Cambridge, Volume III*, 404 ('excluded'); Rebecca Zwick, *Fair Game? The Use of Standardized Admissions Tests in Higher Education* (New York: Routledge, 2002), ch. 1 ('standardised'); Stephen Fuller to Colonel Orgyll, 15 April 1756, Correspondence received by Stephen Fuller, 1731–1757, SHC, DD/DN/8/1/1/3 ('superintendency'); John Norton to John Hatley Norton, London, 21 April 1770, in Frances Norton Mason, ed., *John Norton & Sons, Merchants of London and Virginia: Being the Papers from Their Counting House for the Years 1750 to 1795* (Richmond, VA: Dietz Press, 1937), 132 ('Cozin' and 'answer').
12. John Witherspoon, *Address to the Inhabitants of Jamaica, and other West-India Islands, In Behalf of the College of New-Jersey*, 1772, in J. Witherspoon, *The Works of John Witherspoon, D. D. Sometime Minister of the Gospel at Paisley, and Late President of Princeton College, in New Jersey*, vol. 3 (Edinburgh: J. Ogle, 1815), 309 ('highest', 'activity', and 'opulence'); Philip V. Fithian to the Reverend Enoch Green, 1 December 1773, in Hunter Dickinson Farish, ed., *Journal & Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian 1773–1774: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion* (Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, 1965), 26 ('Boy') and 27 ('course'); *Candid Remarks on Dr. Witherspoon's Address To the Inhabitants of Jamaica, And the other West-India Islands, &c. In a Letter to those Gentlemen* (Philadelphia, PA: William Goddard, 1772), 9 ('numerous' and 'Person'). From the colonisation of Virginia in 1607 to the start of the American Civil War in 1861, eighty per cent of colleges failed. (Craig Steven Wilder, "'Sons from the Southward & Some from the West Indies': The Academy and Slavery in the Revolutionary America", in Harris et al., eds., *Slavery and the University*, 21–45.)
13. Kevin Joel Berland, ed., *The Dividing Line Histories of William Byrd II of Westover* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 5 ('Perceval'); William Byrd

- II to Sir Robert Southwell, 5 August 1701, William Byrd Papers, 1701–1745, VMHC, Mss2 B9964 b 3 ('colebatch', 'distinction', 'din'd', and 'discoverys'); 31 July 1701, in Mark R. Wenger, ed., *The English Travels of Sir John Percival and William Byrd II: The Percival Diary of 1701* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1989), 73–74 ('Bentley'); Lee Ann Caldwell, ed., *The Journal of the Earl of Egmont: Abstract of the Trustees Proceedings for Establishing the Colony of Georgia, 1732–1738* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2021), xviii ('president'); Kathleen Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 332 ('affairs').
14. William Gooch to Thomas Gooch, 4 April 1728, Thomas Gooch Letters and Correspondence, GCC, PPC/GOO ('Peace'); Stacy L. Lorenz, "'To Do Justice to His Majesty, the Merchant and the Planter': Governor William Gooch and the Tobacco Inspection Act of 1730", *VMHB* 108 (2000), 357 ('secure'); William Gooch to Thomas Gooch, 20 July 1733, Gooch Letters, GCC, PPC/GOO ('politics'); William Gooch to Thomas Gooch, 28 October 1727, *ibid.* ('Horses', 'boy', and 'Caius'). For Gooch, see also Dan M. Hockman, 'William Dawson: Master and Second President of the College of William and Mary', *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 52 (September 1983), 199–214; Christopher Brooke, *A History of Gonville and Caius College* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1996), 163–170; and Christopher Brooke, J. M. Horn, and N. L. Ramsay, 'A Canon's Residence in the Eighteenth Century: The Case of Thomas Gooch', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 39 (October 1988), 545–556.
 15. William Gooch to Thomas Gooch, October 1732, Gooch Letters, GCC, PPC/GOO ('inn'); William Gooch to Thomas Gooch, 12 June 1731, *ibid.* ('young' and 'Colledge'); William Gooch to Thomas Gooch, 7 May 1733, *ibid.* ('Son', 'University', and 'encourage'); William Gooch to Thomas Gooch, 5 July 1733, *ibid.* ('Trinity Hall', 'dinner', and 'shew'). For enslaved people in the governor's household, see Graham Hood, *The Governor's Palace in Williamsburg: A Cultural Study* (Williamsburg, VA: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 254.
 16. A. H. John, 'The London Assurance Company and the Maritime Insurance Market of the Eighteenth Century', *Economica* 25 (May 1958), 134 ('Bosanquet'); 'Mapps Estate', *Legacies*, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/441#:~:text=Samuel%20Mapp's%20plantation%20was%20130,Hughes%20Queree%20Index%20of%20Plantations.&text=In%201764%20Richard%20Smith%20of,the%20owner%20of%20Mapp's%20plantation, accessed 18 January 2022 ('Mapps'); Pope, 'Wealth and Aspirations', in Tibbles et al., eds., *Liverpool*, 179 ('Buddicom'); Andrew Kippis, *Biographica Britannica: Or, the Lives of the Most Eminent Persons, who Have Flourished in Great Britain and Ireland, from the Earliest Ages, Down to the Present Times*, vol. 6 (London: Unknown, 1763), 3930 ('correction', 'voyage', and 'sailor'); Madge Dresser, 'Bristol and the Transatlantic Slave Trade', *Bristol Museum & Art Gallery*, www.bristolmuseums.org.uk/stories/bristol-transatlantic-slave-trade/, accessed 4 July 2022 ('20,000'). The Rev. Smith's involvement in Mapps Estate is also mentioned in Charlotte Smith's letter to William Tyler, 9 August 1801, in Charlotte Turner Smith and Judith Philipps Stanton, eds., *The Collected Letters of Charlotte Smith* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 378.
 17. Benefaction received by Mr Thomas Boughey, Merchant since the 22nd Decr. 1678, Library records: donors, c. 1680, WL, Add. MS a/106 (£100); Articles and Orders of the Company of Adventurers to the Bahama Islands, 1672, Indenture for the Settlement of Lands, BL, Add MS 15640, f. 1 ('Proprietors'); 'Dr George Sandby',

- Legacies*, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146650797, accessed 26 November 2021 and Lease for 13 and a half years of Triall plantation, 1762 Church Mission Society Unofficial Papers, CRL, CMS/ACC81 T11 ('Sandby'); 'Hon. George Neville Grenville', *Legacies*, wwwdepts-live.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/42697, accessed 26 November 2021 (£20,000'). Christopher Monck was also a founding investor in the Hudson's Bay Company and was listed on their Royal Charter in May 1670. (Copy of the patent of Hudson's Bay Company, 2 May 1670, The Patent of the Hudson's Bay Company, BL, 2447.) The information on the various tutors at Cambridge has been compiled from ACAD and the Jamaican Family Research Library, which has digitised documents related to slavery in Jamaica.
18. 'Walter Pollard', ACAD, <https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search-2018.pl?sur=pollard&suro=w&fir=walter&firo=c&cit=&cito=c&c=all&z=all&tex=&sy=&eye=&col=all&maxcount=50>, accessed 7 July 2023 ('Harrow'); John Pollard to Walter Pollard, 29 November 1772, Correspondence of Walter Pollard, 1771–1788, BL, Add MS 35655 ('much disappointed', 'disapprobation', 'Tutor', 'large', 'Logick', and 'Essay'); John Pollard to Walter Pollard, 7 March 1773, *ibid.* ('Experimental' and 'insufficiency'); John Pollard to Walter Pollard, 21 March 1773, *ibid.* ('ever honoured' and 'considerable'); Rev. William Field, *Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Opinions of the Rev. Samuel Parr, LL.D.; with Biographical Notices of Many of His Friends, Pupils, and Contemporaries*, vol. 2 (London: Henry Colburn, 1828), 394 ('ingenuous' and 'friendship'); Matthew Mulcahy, 'Weathering the Storms: Hurricanes and Risk in the British Greater Caribbean', *The Business History Review* 78 (Winter 2004), 659 ('hurricane' and 'properties').
 19. Crossley and Saville, eds., *Fuller Letters*, xxiv ('380' and 'plantations') and x ('income' and 'landholdings'); Geoffrey Plank, *Atlantic Wars: From the Fifteenth Century to the Age of Revolution* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 92 ('imperial'); Walter Thornbury, ed., *The Life of J. M. W. Turner: Founded on Letters and Papers Furnished by His Friends and Fellow Academicians*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 47 ('patrons'); Joseph Jekyll to Marguerite Gardiner, 1833, in R. R. Madden, ed., *The Literary Life and Correspondence of the Countess of Blessington*, vol. 3 (London: T. C. Newby, 1855), 183 ('sponsors'). For imperial wars in the Caribbean, see Elena A. Schneider, *The Occupation of Havana: War, Trade, and Slavery in the Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018); and Brown, *Tacky's Revolt*, ch. 1. At the Royal Institution, "Mad Jack" Fuller founded a Professorship of Chemistry and a gold medal prize for the same subject.
 20. John Fuller to Dr Rose Fuller, 1 January 1741/2, in Crossley and Saville, eds., *Fuller Letters*, 413 ('Chosen Fellow'); John Fuller, 'Part of a letter from Mr. Stephen Fuller, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, to his father John Fuller, Esq; Senior, F. R. S. concerning a violent hurricane in Huntingdonshire, Sept. 8 1741. Communicated by Sir Hans Sloane, late Pr. R. S', *Philosophical Transactions* 41 (December 1740), 851 ('violent'); Stephen Whisson to Stephen Fuller, 19 March 1756, Correspondence received by Stephen Fuller, 1731–1757, SHC, DD/DN/8/1/1/53 ('offer', 'prospect', and 'pittances'); Stephen Fuller to Stephen Whisson, 25 May 1756, *ibid.* ('defray'); Stephen Whisson to Stephen Fuller, 26 May 1756, *ibid.* ('admitted' and 'entitle'). Fuller continued to be a member of the Royal Society into the 1760s. (11 June 1761, Journal Books of the Royal Society, Volume 25, RS, JBO/25/119.)
 21. Venn, ed., *Biographical History*, vol. 1, xxiii.
 22. Trevelyan, *Trinity College*, 71 ('silver'); Searby, *History of the University of Cambridge, Volume III*, 4 ('lax'); *Remarks on the Enormous Expence in the Education*

- of *Young Men in the University of Cambridge; with a Plan for the Better Regulation of the Discipline of that University* (London: C. Stalker, 1788), 2 ('Concern'). Henry Pennant, who matriculated at Queens' College in 1732 and became a fellow-commoner two years later in December 1734, provided a set of four sauce tureens of neo-classical form. Two of these were engraved 'Coll: Regin: dederunt Henricus Pennant ex Insula Jamaica et Johan: Peploe Mosdey Arm: Soc: commensalis ann: 1736 & 1788'. ('Silverware, 1750–99', *Queens' College, University of Cambridge*, www.queens.cam.ac.uk/visiting-the-college/history/college-facts/silverware/silverware-1750-99, accessed 30 April 2020.)
23. Roach, ed., *Victoria History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely*, 235–265 ('tuition'); Accounts of Rose Fuller at Cambridge, Leiden, and Paris, 1728–32, Books, Plans, and Account Books of the Fuller Family, ES, SAS/RF/15/27 ('spent'); Charles Davenant, *Discourses on the Public Revenues and on the Trade of England*, vol. 2 (London: James Knapton, 1698), 96 ('rich'); *Some Considerations humbly offered to both Houses of Parliament, Concerning the Sugar Colonies, and Chiefly the Island of Barbadoes* (London: A. Baldwin, 1701), 4 ('50,000').
 24. Stephen Fuller to Dr Aikenhead, April 1758, Correspondence received by Stephen Fuller, 1731–1757, SHC, DD/DN/8/1/16/13 ('200'); Denis Arthur Winstanley, *Unreformed Cambridge: A Study of Certain Aspects of the University in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 209 ('lavish'); Peter Edwards, *Horse and Man in Early Modern England* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2007), 116 ('integral'); Anthony Hinton to Rose Fuller, 12 October 1756, Papers of Rose Fuller, ES, SAS/RF/19/34 ('Races', 'cloaths', and 'me'); Stephen Fuller to Dr Gilbert Parker, 18 June 1766, Stephen Fuller Letterbooks in the Williams Ethnological Collection, JJBL, MS.2009.030 ('Ascot'); Thomas Katheder, *The Baylors of Newmarket: The Decline and Fall of a Virginia Planter Family* (New York: Bloomington, 2009), 1–2 ('honour'). For horse racing as a pastime in the southern colonies and states, see T. H. Breen, 'Horses and Gentlemen: The Cultural Significance of Gambling among the Gentry of Virginia', *WMQ* 34 (April 1977), 239–257; Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia, 1740–1790* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 119; Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics & Behavior in the Old South* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); and Katherine C. Mooney, *Race Horse Men: How Slavery and Freedom Were Made at the Racetrack* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).
 25. Richard Roderick, Old South Sea Annuities Ledgers, BE, AC27/6459, 220 ('annuities'); 'Richard Roderick', ACAD, <https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search-2018.pl?sur=&suro=w&fir=&firo=c&cit=&cito=c&c=all&z=all&tex=RDBK728R&sye=&eye=&col=all&maxcount=50>, accessed 9 May 2022 ('fellow at Magdalene'); John Mandeville (or Mandeville), Old South Sea Annuities Ledgers, BE, AC27/6446, 67 ('Corpus'); Zachary Pearce, *Epistolæ Duæ ad Celeberrimum Doctissimumque Virum F—V—Professorem Amestelodamensem Scriptæ* (London: Francis Clay, 1721), 2 ('thirst', 'educated', and 'desire'); Richard Monins, Old South Sea Annuities Ledgers, BE, AC27/6446, 541 ('Monins'); Richard Loving of Trinity College, Cambridge, Transfer Book for the Company of Royal Adventurers Trading with Africa, 9 January 1722 to 3 October 1723, TNA, T70/206, 111 ('Loving'); Dr. Richard Bentley, 'Angustam Amice Pauperiem Pati', 1722, in Charles Whibley, ed., *In Cap and Gown: Three Centuries of Cambridge Wit* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co., 1889), 17 ('rich'); Richard Bentley, D. D., Old South Sea Annuities Ledgers, BE, AC27/6437, 402 ('stock'); 'Past Fellows', *The Royal*

- Society*, <https://catalogues.royalsociety.org/CalmView/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Persons&id=NA8038>, accessed 2 February 2024 ('lost' and 'South Seas'). The South Sea Company's stock ledgers do not survive, but historians can determine the stock holdings of many earlier investors because the account books mention "By Joynt Stock SSA" if that person held these securities before the government divided South Sea stockholdings evenly into annuities and stock to ensure the Company's survival after the Bubble. Put simply, if someone owned £100 in stock in 1720, the government-enforced division of these assets in 1723 meant that someone ended up with £50 in annuities and £50 trading capital. For a helpful explanation of these source material issues, see Andrew Odlyzko, 'Newton's Financial Misadventures in the South Sea Bubble', *Royal Society Journal of the History of Science* 73 (2019), 29–59; and Ellen T. Harris, "Master of the Orchester with a Salary": Handel at the Bank of England', *Music & Letters* 101 (February 2020), 1–29.
26. Frances Walker Baylor to John Baylor, May 25 1770, George Daniel Baylor Papers, 1743–1964, VMHC, MssI B3445 d 9 ('hams'); John Fuller to Rose Fuller, 21 November 1759, Papers of Rose Fuller, ES, SAS/RF/19/171 ('boarding' and 'Confidence').
 27. Accounts of John Fuller, *ibid.*, 189/1–2 ('seventy pounds' and 'services'); J. E. B. Mayor, *Cambridge under Queen Anne: Illustrated by Memoir of Ambrose Bonwicke and Diaries of Francis Burman and Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co., 1911), 132 ('professors' and 'pipe'); Christopher Wordsworth, *Social Life at the English Universities in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1874), 373 ('traded news'). For coffeehouse culture in Britain, see Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008).
 28. 'Emmanuel College', *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of Cambridge* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1959) ('earned'); 'Burch Hothersall', *Emmanuel College Paintings*, www.emma.cam.ac.uk/about/history/paintings/index.cfm, accessed 20 February 2021 ('donated'); 'Church and Organ Music', *The Musical Times* 49 (October 1908), 649 ('Joice'); 'William Long', ACAD, <https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search-2018.pl?sur=long&suro=w&fir=william&firo=c&cit=&cito=c&c=all&z=all&tex=&sye=&eye=&col=all&maxcount=50>, accessed 17 March 2021 ('Long'); Greg Denning, *The Death of William Gooch: A History's Anthropology* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1995), 97 ('two hundred'); Mr Byam's Legacies, Wills, 1800–1914, KCA, GBR/0272/KCHR/3/1/8, 76 (£200'); Gavin Stamp, 'George Gilbert Scott, Jun., and King's College Chapel', *Architectural History* 37 (1994), 160 ('erecting'). The fire gutted the southern range of the Front Court at Emmanuel College.
 29. Searby, *History of the University of Cambridge, Volume III*, 69 ('Gentlemen'); Wordsworth, *Social Life at the English Universities*, 109 ('entitled'); 25 October 1786, Master/Registry Gesta, 1784–1811, GCC, GC/GOV/03/01/07 ('plate'); Dr William Savage to the Master of Caius College, 15 December 1724, Papers concerning foundation and fellowships; and papers relating to the Mastership of Sir John Ellys, GCC, GC/MAS/01/01/01 ('Lustre' and 'proper').
 30. Wordsworth, *Social Life at the English Universities*, 98 ('pensioner'); Searby, *History of the University of Cambridge, Volume III*, 142–143 ('sizars'); Roach, ed., *Victoria History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely: Volume 3*, 255–265 ('reformed'); Cannon, *Aristocratic Century*, 55 ('servants'); Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigiensis*, vol. 1, 399 ('Holt').
 31. Edmund Berkeley, Jr., 'Carter, Robert (ca. 1664–1732)', in Sara B. Bearss, ed., *The Dictionary of Virginia Biography*, vol. 3 (Richmond: Library of Virginia, 2006),

- 84–86 ('owned'); Walsh, *Motives of Honor*, 240 ('Fairfield'); Festo Annunc. 1729 to Festum Mich. 1729, College Bursar Book, GCC, GC/BUR/F/88 ('appears'); Robert Carter to Lewis Burwell, 22 August 1727, Robert Carter Letterbook, 1701–1732, microfilm, VMHC ('Scholar'); Robert Carter to Lewis Burwell, 26 June 1729, *ibid.* ('Quality'); Robert Carter to Lewis Burwell, 12 August 1731, *ibid.* ('fairly'); Robert Carter to William Dawkins, 11 July 1732, *ibid.* ('denied'); Robert Carter to Micajah Perry, 11 July 1732, *ibid.* ('Effects'); William Hamilton Bryson, ed., 'A Letter of Lewis Burwell to James Burrough, July 8, 1734', *VMHB* 81 (1973), 409 ('Burrough') and 414 ('Master'); Robert Simpson, Old South Sea Annuities Ledgers, BE, AC27/6459, 719 ('investor').
32. Dr Henry Godolphin, List of Holders of East India Company Stock, 16 April 1694, Stocks and Bonds of the East India Company, BL, IOR/H/2, 10 ('EIC'); Dr Henry Godolphin, Dean of St. Pauls, Old South Sea Annuities Ledgers, BE, AC27/6442, 405 ('South Sea'); H. C. Maxwell Lyte, *A History of Eton College, 1440–1875* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1875), 284 ('own cost').
33. Ralph Izard to William Drayton, 26 October 1777, in Anne Izard Deas, ed., *Correspondence of Mr. Ralph Izard, of South Carolina, From the Year 1774 to 1804; with a Short Memoir* (New York: Charles S. Francis & Co., 1844), 368 ('good character', 'proper', and 'residence'); Petley, *White Fury*, 26 ('Eton'); Jonathan H. Poston, 'Ralph Wormeley V of Rosegill: A deposed Virginia aristocrat, 1774–1781' (MA Thesis, College of William and Mary, 1979), 15 ('friends' and 'companions'). There was a sixfold increase in the number of Caribbean enslaver children attending Eton. After leaving, these students remembered their time at school fondly. Eton received donations of books and prints from Anthony Morris Stoner, and several portraits from students remain at the College. (O'Shaughnessy, *An Empire Divided*, 20–21.) See also Sol Gamsu et al., 'Elite Schools and Slavery in the UK – Capital, Violence and Extractivism', *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 45 (2024), 325–345.
34. Christopher Reid, 'Whig Declamation and Rhetorical Freedom at Trinity College, Cambridge, 1770–1805', *The Review of English Studies* 64 (September 2013), 630 ('prestigious'); R. G. Thorne, ed., *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1790–1820*, vol. 1 (London: Haynes Publishing, 1986), 293 ('peers'); Rt. Hon. Henry Goulburn, *Legacies*, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/21529, accessed 30 November 2021 ('Goulburn'). In May 1831, Goulburn became the MP for Cambridge University, a seat which he held until his death in January 1856. See Brian Jenkins, *Henry Goulburn, 1784–1856: A Political Biography* (Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 173–174.
35. 'John Downman', *National Portrait Gallery*, www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/person/mp06903/john-downman, accessed 10 November 2021 ('Downman'); J. H. P., 'The Gorsuch and Lovelace Families (Continued)', *VMHB* 25 (July 1917), 316 ('mortarboard'); 'Ralph Wormeley V (1745–1806)', *Colonial Virginia Portraits*, <https://colonialvirginiaportraits.org/portrait/ralph-wormeley-v-1745-1806-2/>, accessed 9 September 2020 ('Trinity Hall'); 'John Carter', *Encyclopedia Virginia*, <https://encyclopediaofvirginia.org/11631-6eb94a2f744480e/>, accessed 9 September 2020 ('posed'); Sir Godfrey Kneller, Transfer Book, May–June 1720, TNA, T70/199/1, 40 ('investor'). Kneller held £1,000 in Royal African stock. Downman studied under Benjamin West and painted in Cambridge after a residence in Italy from 1773 to 1775. Though associated with Napoleon, the hand-in-waistcoat pose was popular in eighteenth-century England. See Arline Meyer, 'Re-dressing Classical Statuary: The

- Eighteenth-Century “Hand-in-Waistcoat” Portrait’, *The Art Bulletin* 77 (March 1995), 45–63.
36. ‘Charles Crawford, “Earl of Crawford and Lindsay”’, *Legacies*, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146639287, accessed 7 April 2022 (‘son’); ‘Alexander Crawford of Antigua and Devonshire Street’, *ibid.*, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146659687, accessed 7 April 2022 (‘brother’); Winstanley, *Unreformed Cambridge*, 219 (‘drunk’).
 37. *Ibid.*, 220 (‘take’, ‘self-preservation’, and ‘touch’); *The Scots Magazine*, 1773 (‘West-Indians’, ‘discreet’, ‘expensive’, and ‘colder’); Lewis Leary, ‘Charles Crawford: A Forgotten Poet of Early Philadelphia’, *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 83 (July 1959), 294 (‘abolitionist’); ‘To the Printer’, *The Public Advertiser*, 21 October 1773 (‘Slave-Drivers’). For enslaver violence on campuses in the United States, see Jennifer Bridges Oast, ‘Negotiating the Honor Culture: Students and Slaves at Three Virginia Colleges’, in Harris et al., eds., *Slavery and the University*, 84–98; and Maurie D. McNinnis, ‘Violence’, in. Maurie D. McNinnis and Louis P. Nelson, eds., *Educated in Tyranny: Slavery at Thomas Jefferson’s University* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2019), unpaginated e-book edition.
 38. Norma Myers, *Reconstructing the Black Past: Blacks in Britain, 1780–1830* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 20 (‘10 to 15,000’); Vincent Caretta, ed., *Unchained Voices: An Anthology of Black Authors in the English-Speaking World of the 18th Century* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2004), 399 (‘Born’); ‘An Act to Prevent Slaves being Evidence against John Williams, a Free Negro’, in *Acts of the Assembly, Passed in the island of Jamaica, from 1681, to 1737, inclusive* (London: John Baskett, 1789), 119 (‘customs’); Caretta, *Unchained Voices*, 398–399 (‘experiment’) and 400–401 (‘records’ and ‘member’); David Hume, ‘Of National Characters’, David Hume, *Essays Moral, Political and Literary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), 213 (‘man of parts’); *Gentleman’s Magazine*, 1771, 595–596 (‘dressed’ and ‘rejected’). These figures were subject to sensationalist debate – further highlighting white fears about Black immigration. In 1764, the *Gentleman’s Magazine* claimed that there were ‘20,000 Negroe servants’ in Britain, and, in 1772, Lord Mansfield, deciding whether James Somerset was to be freed, estimated that there were 15,000 African-descended people residing in the country.
 39. Baptism of a ‘Negro Christian in the house, the weather being extremely cold’, 4 February 1710, Registers and Service of the Gamlingay Parish Church, CA KP76/1/1 (‘Negro Christian’); ‘A Black Servant’, *Cambridge Chronicle and Journal*, 2 December 1797 (‘Lady’ and ‘Jamaica’); ‘Deaths’, *The Royal Gazette* (Jamaica), 6 April 1793 (‘Westmoreland’); ‘Advertisements’, *Cambridge Chronicle and Journal*, 5 August 1848 (‘servant’); Chris Lloyd, ‘The Richmond slave given his freedom after saving life of gamekeeper during moor’s fire’, 14 November 2019, *The Northern Echo*, www.thenorthernecho.co.uk/history/18036868.richmond-slave-given-freedom-saving-life-gamekeeper-moors-fire/, accessed 15 October 2021 (‘Fish River’ and ‘Barker’); Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigiensis*, vol. 1, 442 (‘alumnus’); Baptism of John Yorke, 1776, Copies of Entries of Marske Parish Register, NYCRO, ZAZ/70/22/24 (‘catechism’); ‘Timothy Hutton’, *ACAD*, <https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search-2018.pl?sur=hutton&suro=w&fir=timothy&firo=c&cit=&cito=c&c=all&z=all&tex=&sye=&eye=&col=all&maxcount=50>, accessed 15 October 2021 (‘donated’). Charles Ignatius Sancho was featured in a painting of Lady Mary Churchill, Duchess of Montagu, and Caesar Shaw, an enslaved African man in the employment of the Spencer family, was featured in two portraits of John Spencer. (Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* [London: Pluto Press, 1984], 72–73.)

40. Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigiensis*, vol. 2, 158 ('matriculated'); James A. Rawley, 'Henry Laurens and the Atlantic Slave Trade', in James A. Rawley ed., *London: Metropolis of the Slave Trade* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2003), 82–97 ('8,000'); Flavell, *London*, 43–44 ('Scipio'); Henry Laurens to John Paul Grimké, 3 October 1772, in Philip M. Harmer et al., eds., *The Papers of Henry Laurens*, vol. 8 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1980), 489 ('genteel' and 'preparative').
41. 'Hon. Samuel Alpress', *Legacies* www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/21446650011, accessed 30 November 2021 ('father'); George Alpress's Letter of Introduction to Jesus College, 19 July 1754, Correspondence received by Stephen Fuller, 1731–1757, SHC, DD/DN/8/1/1 ('expended' and 'qualify'); Stephen Fuller to Benjamin Newton, 25 May 1756, *ibid.* ('intended').
42. Samuel Alpress to Stephen Fuller, 19 January 1757, *ibid.* ('Fence'); Samuel Alpress to Stephen Fuller, 26 January 1758, Correspondence received by Stephen Fuller (at Sussex and London) relating mainly to estate and business matters (including Jamaica), 1758–1762, SHC, 18 ('Estates', 'Circle', and 'Credit').
43. William Hawes to Stephen Fuller, 20 February 1757, Papers of Stephen Fuller, ES, DD/DN/503 ('Misfortune' and 'Expence'); Samuel Alpress to Stephen Fuller, 29 October 1758, Correspondence received by Stephen Fuller, 1758–1762, SHC, DD/DN/8/1/18 ('Curacy' and 'best living').
44. Samuel Alpress to Stephen Fuller, 13 February 1759, *ibid.* ('oblig'd'); Benjamin Newton to Stephen Fuller, 25 May 1759, *ibid.* ('frollick'); Benjamin Newton to Stephen Fuller, 28 May 1759, *ibid.* ('suffering'); Samuel Alpress to Stephen Fuller, 14 June 1759, *ibid.* ('Friends').
45. Robert Carter Nicholas to John Norton, 30 November 1772, in Mason, ed., *John Norton & Sons*, 285 ('Foundation'); William Nelson to John Norton, 27 February 1768, in *ibid.* ('Temptations'); 23 February 1770, in 'Extracts from Diary of Col. Landon Carter', *WMQ* 13 (July 1904), 47 ('priggishness'). In 1785, one parent forbade their children from associating with the Virginia gentry, many of whom had English educations, 'lest they should imbibe more exalted notions of their own importance than I could wish any child of mine to possess'. (Will of Thompson Mason, 1785, in Kate M. Rowland, ed., *Life of George Mason, 1725–1792*, vol. 2 [New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1892], 77.)
46. *South Carolina Gazette and American General Advertiser*, 20 November 1769 ('Patriotick' and 'True'); Hugh Swinton Legaré, 'On Classical Learning', in Mary Legaré, ed., *Writings of Hugh Swinton Legaré, Late Attorney General and Acting Secretary of State of the United States: Consisting of a Diary of Brussels, and Journal of the Rhine; Extracts from his Private and Diplomatic Correspondence; Orations and Speeches; and Contributions to the New-York and Southern Reviews*, vol. 2 (Charleston, SC: Burges and James, 1845), 7 ('opulent' and 'scholarship'); Samuel Miller, *A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth century. Part First; In Two Volumes: Containing a Sketch of the Revolutions and Improvements in Science, Arts, and Literature, During that Period*, vol. 2 (New York: T. and J. Swords, 1803), 400 ('classics'); Michael O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order: Intellectual Life and the American South, 1810–1860*, vol. 1 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 91 ('travelled'). For another example of newspapers promoting the American colleges, see the *Connecticut Gazette* (New Haven), 2 August 1765.
47. 'John Collingwood Tarleton', ACAD, <https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search-2018.pl?sur=tarleton&suro=w&fir=john&firo=c&cit=&cito=c&c=all&z=all&tex=&sy=&eye=&col=all&maxcount=50>, accessed 1 December 2021

- (‘fellow-commoner’); Jim Piecuch, *Three Peoples, One King: Loyalists, Indians, and Slaves in the Revolutionary South, 1775–1782* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2008), 239 (‘massacring’); James A. Rawley and Stephen D. Behrendt, *The Transatlantic Slave Trade: A History* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 182–184 (‘slave-trading operations’); John Tarleton to Clayton Tarleton, 5 February 1788, Tarleton family correspondence, including letters and papers of Clayton Tarleton (1762–1797) during his mayoralty, 1792–93, LRO, 920 TAR/4/5 (‘minutely’ and ‘impending’); *The Times*, 13 September 1819 (‘worth’). Between 1750 and 1799, Pope has identified nineteen sons of slave-traders who attended Cambridge, and the wealth from these operations persisted into the nineteenth century. (‘Wealth and Social Aspirations of Liverpool’s Slave Merchants’, in Richardson et al., eds., *Liverpool*, 179.)
48. Greg Denning, *The Death of William Gooch: A History’s Anthropology* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1995), 97 (‘200’); ‘Forby, Robert’, Leslie Stephen, ed., *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 19 (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1889), 414 (‘tutor’); Jerome Handler et al. *Searching for a Slave Cemetery in Barbados, West Indies: A Bioarchaeological and Ethnohistorical Investigation* (Southern Illinois University: Center for Archaeological Investigations, Research Paper No. 59, 1989), 38 (‘tenure’).
 49. *Ibid.*, 37 (‘consisted’); *Abridgment of the Minutes of the Evidence: Taken Before a Committee of the whole House, to whom it was referred to consider of the Slave Trade*, vol. 3 (London: Unknown, 1791), 129 (‘same’ and ‘employed’); Martin Folkes to Robert Fellowes, 20 November 1789, Letters to Sir Martin Browne Folkes re. Sir John Berney’s affairs, NRO, MC 50/45 (‘Sugar works’); *The Norfolk Chronicle, or, the Norwich Gazette*, 22 June 1782 (‘principal part’); Jonathan Worrell to Robert Fellowes, 15 February 1792, Letters re. Sir John Berney’s affairs, NRO, MC 50/45 (‘enhance’, ‘advantage’, ‘temporary’, ‘Domingo’, ‘peace’, and ‘produce’); Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, 163 (‘abolish’); Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African. Written by Himself* (London: Printed by the Author, 1794), xviii (‘subscriber’); ‘To Be Sold’, *Barbados Mercury and Bridge-Town Gazette*, 17 November 1810 (‘1810’). For the names of the enslaved people on the plantation, see Journal of Hanson Plantation Accounts, 1792, NRO, FEL 884, 556X4. There are nine different references to the sale or lease of Hanson’s plantation in the 1810 editions of the *Barbados Mercury*, perhaps illustrating the desire of Berney’s executors to profit from the estate.
 50. Josephine R. B. Wright, ‘George Polgreen Bridgetower: An African Prodigy in England, 1789–99’, *The Musical Quarterly* 66 (January 1980), 65–82 (‘Bachelor’); Clifford D. Panton, *George Augustus Polgreen Bridgetower, Violin Virtuoso and Composer of Color in Late 18th Century Europe* (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2005), 5–6 (‘father’); F. G. E., ‘George P. Bridgetower and the Kreutzer Sonata’, *The Musical Times* 49 (May 1908), 305 (‘renowned’) and 306 (‘composed’); *The Times*, 2 July 1811 (‘composition’); Vere Langford Oliver, *The History of the Island of Antigua, One of the Leeward Caribbees in the West Indies. From the First Settlement in 1635 to the Present Time*, vol. 3 (London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1896), 153 (‘Royal African’).
 51. ‘Thomas Hopkinson’, *Legacies*, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/45307, accessed 3 March 2022 (‘admitted’); *The Times*, 17 September 1828 (‘man of colour’); Daniel Livesay, *Children of Uncertain Fortune: Mixed-Race Jamaicans in Britain and the Atlantic Family, 1733–1833* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press,

- 2018), unpaginated e-book edition ('shunned'); *The Times*, 25 August 1828 ('nobleman'); Emilia Viotti da Costa, *Crowns of Glory, Tears of Blood: The Demerara Slave Rebellion of 1823* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 223 ('fired'); Joshua Bryant, *Account of an Insurrection of the Negro Slaves in the Colony of Demerara, which broke out on the 18th of August, 1823* (Demerara: A. Stevenson, 1824), 47 ('revolt'); Drescher, *Abolition*, 257 ('freeborn').
52. 'Robert Collymore', ACAD, <https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search-2018.pl?sur=collymore&suro=w&fir=robert&firo=c&cit=&cito=c&c=all&z=all&tex=&sy=&eye=&col=all&maxcount=50>, accessed 1 December 2021 ('matriculated'); Katherine Paugh, *The Politics of Reproduction: Race, Medicine, and Fertility in the Age of Abolition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 193–194 ('manumitted'); Kit Candlin and Cassandra Pybus, *Enterprising Women: Gender, Race, and Power in the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2015), 39 ('richest'); Jerome S. Handler, *The Unappropriated People: Freedmen in the Slave Society of Barbados* (Mona, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2009), 121 ('bequeathed'); 'Amaryllis Collymore', *Legacies*, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146639537, accessed 12 January 2022 ('will'); Michael Pike Mate to Alexander Gooden, 10 August 1841, in Jonathan Smith and Christopher Stray, eds., *Cambridge in the 1830s: The Letters of Alexander Chisolm Gooden, 1831–1841* (London: Boydell & Brewer, 2003), 210 ('Sugar Richard'). For the significance of free Black women in slave societies, see also Erin Trahey, 'Among Her Kinswomen: Legacies of Free Women of Color in Jamaica', *WMQ* 76 (April 2019), 257–288.
 53. 'Private Tuition', *The Barbadian*, 17 May 1825 ('advertisements' and 'instructing'); Peter Campbell Scarlett, ed., *A Memoir of the Right Honourable James, First Lord Abinger Chief Baron of Her Majesty's Court of Exchequer* (London: John Murray, 1877), 22 ('sensible', 'contamination', 'intercourse', and 'dialect').
 54. 'Sir Lawrence Dundas, 1st Baronet', *Legacies*, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146656113, accessed 29 January 2023 ('career'); 'Sir Keith Alexander Jackson, 2nd Baronet, of Arsley', *ibid.*, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146664351, accessed 29 January 2023 ('Jackson'); 'Peter Isaac Thellusson, 1st Baronet Rendlesham', *ibid.*, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146641149, accessed 29 January 2023 ('heir'); Rev. Frederick Herbert Maberly, *The Melancholy and Awful Death of Lawrence Dundas, Esq.* (London: J. F. Dove, 1818), 4–5 ('resort', 'stripping', and 'glutton'). Marmaduke Lawson, a Magdalene fellow, responded with a scathing rejoinder; see *Strictures on the Rev. F. H. Maberly's Account of 'The Melancholy and Awful End of Lawrence Dundas, Esq. of Trinity College,' and His Appeal to the University on its Laxity of Discipline* (London: Bensley and Sons, 1818).
 55. 'Stephen Fuller', *Legacies*, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146645307, accessed 30 September 2021 (£10,000'); 'Francis Henry Dickinson', ACAD, <https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search-2018.pl?sur=dickinson&suro=w&fir=francis&firo=c&cit=&cito=c&c=all&z=all&tex=&sy=&eye=&col=all&maxcount=9999>, accessed 1 December 2021 ('1831'); 'Edmund Henry Dickinson', *ibid.* ('1838'); George Dickinson to Francis Henry Dickinson, 7 June 1838, Correspondence received by Francis Henry Dickinson (usually at Kingweston), 1833–1838, SHC, DD/DN/4/4/5 ('Club'); George Peacock to Francis Henry Dickinson, 23 June 1838, *ibid.* ('Astronomy'); Printed rules of the Association of Jamaica Proprietors, 1838, Listing the Names members of the Association's Select Committee for 1838–1839, *ibid.*, 9 ('Association'); Will of Thomas Lowndes of London, Prerogative Court of Canterbury and related Probate Jurisdictions: Will Registers, TNA, PROB 11/762/307 ('my estate'); The Memorial of

the Association of Jamaica Proprietors to the Viscount Melbourne and the Marquis of Normanby, 24 May 1838, in *Papers Relative to the West Indies. Part IV. Bahamas. Honduras. Mauritius. Cape of Good Hope* (London: House of Commons, 1839), 2 ('proportion'). Historians who have challenged this rise and fall narrative include Christopher Petley, ed., *Rethinking the Fall of the Planter Class* (London: Routledge, 2016); Nicholas Draper, 'The Rise of a New Planter Class? Some Countercurrents from British Guiana and Trinidad, 1807–33', *Atlantic Studies* 9 (January 2012), 65–83; and Nicholas Draper, *Price of Emancipation*, 341–346.

2 'The Highe Priest hath banished you forth': Missionary Protestantism and the Origins of the British Empire

1. John Peile, *Biographical Register of Christ's College, 1505–1905, and of the Earlier Foundation, God's House, 1448–1505*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), 215 ('fellow'); *An Account of Two Missionary Voyages by the Appointment of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (London: Benjamin Dod, 1758), 35–38 ('five years') and 43 ('Barbarians'). For Thompson's travel writings in North America, see *A Letter from New Jersey in America, Giving Some Account and Description of that Province* (London: M. Cooper, 1756). Thompson also published his *A Discourse Relating to the Present Times, Addressed to the Serious Consideration of the Public* (London: J. Oliver, 1757).
2. Newman, *A New World of Labor*, 39–41 ('Castle'); Thompson, *An Account of Two Missionary Voyages*, 37 ('Table'); Governor Thomas Melvil to African Committee, 11 June 1752, in Vincent Caretta and Ty M. Reese, eds., *The Life and Letters of Philip Quaque: The First African Anglican Missionary* (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 2010), 189 ('convert' and 'Prophets').
3. Travis Glasson, *Mastering Christianity: Missionary Anglicanism and Slavery in the Atlantic World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 174–175 ('Quaque'); Thomas Thompson, *The African Trade for Negro Slaves, Consistent with Humanity and Revealed Religion* (Canterbury: Simmons and Kirkby, 1772), 6 ('dedicated') and title page ('SOMETIME FELLOW'); Stephen J. Braidwood, *Black Poor and White Philanthropists: London's Blacks and the Foundation of the Sierra Leone Settlement 1786–1791* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994), 267 ('African Company'). Thompson's arguments aligned with the views of the Royal African Company and its successor organisation, the African Company of Merchants: that African enslavement improved the lives of enslaved Africans because they were free from human sacrifices, cannibalism, and paganism in their homelands. (Pettigrew, *Freedom's Debt*, 196.) For Thompson's impact on proslavery discourse, see Tise, *Proslavery*, 24–25; Swaminathan, *Debating the Slave Trade*, 142–143; Jack P. Greene, *Evaluating Empire and Confronting Colonialism in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 180–183; and Molly Oshatz, *Slavery & Sin: The Fight against Slavery and the Rise of Liberal Protestantism* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 27–29.
4. Thompson, *African Trade*, 8 ('necessity') and 30 ('natives').
5. Granville Sharp, *An Essay on Slavery, Proving from Scripture its Inconsistency with Humanity and Religion* (Burlington: Isaac Collins, 1776), 19 ('leisure') and 28 ('destroys'); Edmund Keene, *A Sermon Preached before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; At Their Parish Church of St.*

- Mary-Le-Bow On Friday February 18, 1757* (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1757), 59–60 ('Distemper'); Letter of Thanks to the Master and Fellows of Christ's College, 8 March 1757, Letters from Thomas Thompson, CCMR ('Benefaction'). For Benezet's attack against Thompson, see also Jonathan D. Sassi, 'Anthony Benezet as Intermediary between the Transatlantic and Provincial: New Jersey's Antislavery Campaign on the Eve of the American Revolution', in Marie-Jeanne Rossignol and Bertrand Van Ruymbeke, eds., *The Atlantic World of Anthony Benezet (1713–1784): From French Reformation to American Quaker Antislavery Activism* (Leiden: Brill 2017), 136. Furthermore, in a 22 August 1772 letter to Benezet Benjamin Franklin noted the 'great Effects' that the abolitionist had achieved in his attacks against Thompson's pamphlet. (Benjamin Franklin to Anthony Benezet, 22 August 1772, *Founders Online*, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-19-02-0173>, accessed 7 January 2022.) In 1776, Sharp lambasted slavery's 'advocates' who had 'palliate[d] the guilt [of enslavers], and have even ventured to appeal to Scripture' to justify their actions. (Granville Sharp, *The Just Limitation of Slavery in the Laws of God, Compared with the unbounded Claims of the African Traders and British American Slaveholders* [London: B. White, 1776], 2–3.)
6. For the spread of Christianity and the debates within its denominations about slavery and abolition, see Glasson, *Mastering Christianity*; Randy J. Sparks, *On Jordan's Stormy Banks: Evangelicalism in Mississippi, 1773–1876* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994); Kenneth P. Minkema, 'Jonathan Edwards on Slavery and the Slave Trade', *WMQ* 54 (October 1997), 823–834; Mary Turner, *Slaves and Missionaries: The Disintegration of Jamaican Slave Society, 1787–1834* (Barbados: The Press University of the West Indies, 1998); Sylvia R. Frey and Betty Wood, *Come Shouting to Zion: African American Protestantism in the American South and British Caribbean to 1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Jon F. Sensbach, *Rebecca's Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006); Philip Hoffman, 'Christian Missionaries, Slavery, and the Slave Trade: The Third Order of Saint Francis in Eighteenth-Century Angola', *African Economic History* 51 (May 2023), 65–92; and Gerbner, *Christian Slavery*.
 7. Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America: An Intellectual History of English Colonisation, 1500–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 66–67 ('educated' and 'vigorous'); P. J. Wallis, 'The Library of William Crashawe', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 2 (1956), 223 ('Southampton').
 8. 'The Names of the Adventurers, with their seuerall summes aduentured, paid to Sir Thomas Smith, Knight, late Treasurer of the Company for Virginia', 22 June 1620, in Susan Myra Kingsbury, ed., *The Records of the Virginia Company*, vol. 3 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1935), 322 ('shareholder'); William Crashaw, *A sermon preached in London before the right honorable the Lord Lavvarre, Lord Gouvernour and Captaine Generall of Virginea, and others of his Maiesties Counsell for that kingdome, and the rest of the adventurers in that plantation* (London: W. Hall, 1610), unnumbered ('soules', 'want', and 'richer'); Draft of open letter, c.1619, Nicholas Ferrar Papers, MC, FP 134 ('Schooles' and 'Civilitye').
 9. 'Nicholas Ferrar', ACAD, <https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search-2018.pl?sur=ferrar&suro=w&fir=&firo=c&cit=&cito=c&c=all&z=all&tex=&sy=&eye=&col=all&maxcount=50>, accessed 2 December 2021 ('Clare Hall'); Peter Peckard, 'A Life of Nicholas Ferrar', in B. Blackstone, ed., *The Ferrar Papers: Containing a Life of Nicholas Ferrar, the Winding Sheet an Ascetic Dialogue, a Collection of Short Moral Histories, and a Selection of Family Letters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University

- Press, 1938), 67 ('Raleigh'); Michael Leroy Oberg, *Dominion and Civility: English Imperialism and Native America, 1585–1685* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999), 69 ('headright'); Allan Lawson Maycock, *Nicholas Ferrar of Little Gidding* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1938), 167–168 ('iron'); Ben Marsh, *Unravelling Dreams: Silk and the Atlantic World, 1500–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 126–135 ('silkworms'); Alexander Whitaker, *Good newes from Virginia Sent to the Counsell and Company of Virginia, resident in England* (London: William Welby, 1613) ('Scholler'). See also Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Sovereignty, Property and Empire, 1500–2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 60–62.
10. Newman, *A New World of Labor*, 82 ('tens'); Brendan Smith, *Crisis and Survival in Late Medieval Ireland: The English of Louth and Their Neighbours, 1330–1450* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 82–83 ('Visitation'); Maeve Callan, 'Making Monsters Out of One Another in the Early Fourteenth-Century British Isles', *Eolas: The Journal of the American Society of Irish Medieval Studies* 12 (2019), 58 ('sacreligious', 'crusade', 'wellbeing', and 'just war'); 'William Bedell', ACAD, <https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search-2018.pl?sur=bedell&suro=w&fir=william&firo=c&cit=&cito=c&c=all&z=all&tex=&sye=&eye=&col=all&maxcount=50>, accessed 29 June 2022 ('Bedell'); 'Sir Thomas Bendish (1607–1674)', *St John's College, Cambridge*, www.joh.cam.ac.uk/library/special_collections/early_books/bendish.htm, accessed 22 May 2023 ('books'); David Brown, *Empire and Enterprise: Money, Power and the Adventurers for Irish Land during the British Civil Wars* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020), 235 ('East India', 'Muscovy', and '£250') and 239 ('£400'); Charles Saye, *Annals of Cambridge University Library* (Cambridge: University Library, 1916), 80 ('forty'); Robert Potts, *Liber Cantabrigiensis, an Account of the Aids Afforded to Poor Students, the Encouragements Offered to Diligent Students, and the Rewards Conferred on Successful Students, in the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1855), 365 ('ten'). Ash's benefaction to Emmanuel was made in 1654 following his speculation with the Adventurers. For the colonisation of Ireland, particularly the Ulster plantation, see Nicholas P. Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580–1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Audrey J. Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea: Colonialism in the British Atlantic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013); Gerard Farrell, *The 'Mere Irish' and the Colonisation of Ulster, 1570–1641* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017); John Patrick Montaña, *The Roots of English Colonialism in Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); and Patricia Palmer, *Language and Conquest in Early Modern Ireland: English Renaissance Literature and Elizabethan Imperial Expansion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
 11. John Strype, *The Life of the Learned Sir Thomas Smith, Kt. Doctor of the Civil Law, Principal Secretary of State to King Edward the Sixth, and Queen Elizabeth* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1820).
 12. *Ibid.* ('thirteen-year'); Indenture and Patent of 5 October 1571, *ibid.*, 131–132 ('wicked'); Hiram Morgan, 'The Colonial Venture of Sir Thomas Smith in Ireland, 1571–1575', *HJ* 28 (June 1985), 261 ('enrichment').
 13. *Ibid.*, 262 ('joint-stock') and 264 ('three'); Sir Thomas Smith, *A Letter sent by I. B. Gentleman unto his very frende Mayster R. C. Esquire, wherein is contained a large discourse of the peopling and inhabiting the Cuntry called the Ardes, and other adiacent in the North of Ireland, and taken in hand by Sir Thomas Smith, one of the Queens Maisties priuie counsell, and Thomas Smith Esquire, his sonne* (London: Henry

- Binneman, 1572) ('godly'); Jonathan McMahon, 'The Humanism of Sir Thomas Smith' (MA dissertation, College of William and Mary, 1999), 63 ('playnting', 'barbarity', and 'profite'); Nicholas P. Canny, 'The Permissive Frontier: The Problem of Social Control in English Settlements in Ireland and Virginia, 1550–1650', in Nicholas P. Canny et al., eds., *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America, 1480–1650* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1978), 24 ('Eutopia'); D. B. Quinn, 'Renaissance Influences in English Colonization', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. 26 (December 1976), 545 ('Eden's'); Pietro Martire d'Anghiera and Richard Eden, *The decades of the new worlde or west India conteynnyng the nauigations and conquests of the Spanyardes, with the particular description of the most ryche and large landes and islandes lately founde in the west ocean pertheynyng to the inheritaunce of the kings of Spayne* (London: Edward Sutton, 1555) ('cannibalistic'); Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea*, 277 ('transferred').
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3 'The Glory of their times': Natural Philosophy, the Law, and the Spoils of Empire

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- ASC, CTM, 354, no. 343 ('Dead'); Birke Häcker, 'A Case Note on All Souls College v. Codrington (1720)', *Journal of Comparative and International Law* 76 (October 2012), 1059 ('refusing'); 18 August 1710, Barbados Committee Papers, Papers of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, BOD, USPG X/14, vol. 1 ('bequeathed' and 'counsel'); Dr Lloyd, 1709, An Account of Quarterly Payments & Benefactions to the Society, 1700–1735, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge Archive, CUL, GBR/0012/MS SPCK/C1/3 ('SPCK'); Edward Waddington, *A Sermon preached before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; at their Anniversary Meeting in the Parish-Church of St. Mary le Bow; on Friday the 17th of February, 1720* (London: John Downing, 1721), 67 ('SPG').
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47. Häcker, 'Case Note on All Souls College', 1058 ('Retrieving'); The Wardens Colledge of All Souls in Oxford, Old South Sea Annuities Ledgers, BE, AC27/6459, 882 ('held'); 21 November 1728, Account Books of Codrington's Legacy and Lloyd's Benefaction, ASC, CTM, 416 (£5,100'); The Wardens Fellows & Schollars of Wadham Colledge Oxon, Old South Sea Annuities Ledgers, BE, AC27/6452, 11 ('Wadham'); Peirce Dodd to Stephen Niblett, 22 May 1729, Papers Concerning the Building of the College, ASC, CTM 34, 293 ('Interest'). Dod possessed £1,000 of RAC stock. By 1725, William Baker, the Bishop of Bangor and Warden of Wadham College, had purchased £780 in annuities.
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- (‘Company’s stock’); Lord Finch to Charles Townshend, 25 June 1725, State Papers Domestic, George I, TNA, SP 35/56/59, f. 110 (‘Master’). Radcliffe had £3,000 in EIC stock in 1694. The trustees for Radcliffe’s estate had hoped to make windfall profits from the Bubble, which they believed would help to fund the construction in record time. The stock’s collapse, however, soon dashed their hopes of strong returns from this security.
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 51. Crawley, *Trinity Hall*, 120–121.
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 53. Parliamentary and Judicial Appendix, No. XV, in *Correspondence concerning Claims against Great Britain, Transmitted to the Senate of the United States in Answer to the Resolutions of December 4 and 10, 1867, and of May 27, 1868*, vol. 5 (Washington, D.C.: Philp & Solomons, 1869), 310.
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 58. Rutherford, *Institutes of Natural Law*, vol. 1, 488–491 ('four justifications') and 492 ('debt', 'extraordinary', and 'gestation').
 59. Samuel von Pufendorf, *Of the Law of Nature and Nations. Eight Books* (Oxford: L. Lichfield, 1703), 127 ('jurist'); Francis Hutcheson, *A System of Moral Philosophy. In Three Books*, vol. 2 (London: A. Millar, 1755), 81–82 ('posterity' and 'plainly'). Pufendorf's support for natural slavery and the enslavement of Africans is discussed in Kari Saastamoinen, 'Pufendorf on Natural Equality, Human Dignity, and Self-Esteem', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 71 (January 2010), esp. 43–44. For Hutcheson, see Wylie Sypher, 'Hutcheson and the 'Classical' Theory of Slavery', *The Journal of Negro History* 24 (1939), 263–280; Caroline Robbins, "'When It Is That Colonies May Turn Independent": An Analysis of the Environment and Politics of Francis Hutcheson (1694–1746)', *WMQ* 11 (April 1954), 214–251, esp. 244; and Michal J. Rozbicki, 'To Save Them from Themselves: Proposals to Enslave the British Poor, 1698–1755', *Slavery & Abolition* 22 (2001), 29–50.
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 61. Rutherford, *Institutes of Natural Law*, vol. 2, 389–390 ('judgment', 'security', and 'authority'); David Ramsay, *A Dissertation on the Manner of Acquiring the Character and Privileges of a Citizens of the United States* (Charleston: Unknown, 1789), 3 ('inhabitants'); Alan Watson, *Slave Law in the Americas* (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1989), 158 ('Ruffin'). For enslaved soldiers, see Christopher Leslie Brown and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Arming Slaves: From Classical Times to the Modern Age* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006). Rutherford was used as legal authority in a number of slave cases, including Mahoney vs. Ashton, May 1799, in Thomas Harris and John McHenry, eds., *Maryland Reports, Being a Series of the Most Important Law Cases Argued and Determined in the General Court*

- and *Court of Appeals of the State of Maryland, From May, 1797, to the End of 1799*, vol. 4 (New York: I. Riley, 1818), 300; and Thomas Aves, *Case of the Slave-Child, Med: Report of the Arguments of Counsel, and of the Opinion of the Court, in the Case of Commonwealth vs. Aves* (Boston: Isaac Knapp, 1836), 17.
62. William Holdsworth, *A History of English Law*, vol. 12 (London: Methuen & Co., Sweet and Maxwell, 1938), 644 ('tutor'); John Taylor, *Elements of the Civil Law* (Cambridge: Charles Bathurst, 1755), 424 ('impotency'), 476 ('horses'), and 436 ('Romans' and 'West India').
 63. E. Millicent Sowerby, ed., *Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1953), 404 ('libraries'); Gilbert Franchlyn, *An Answer to the Rev. Mr. Clarkson's Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, particularly the African; in a Series of Letters From a Gentleman in Jamaica, to His Friend in London: Wherein Many of the Mistakes and Misrepresentations of Mr. Clarkson are pointed out, Both with Regard to The Manner in which that Commerce is carried on in Africa, and The Treatment of the Slaves in the West Indies* (London: J. Walter, 1789), 66–67 ('proslavery'); Taylor, *Elements*, 435 ('Christianity'), 410 ('private family'), and 429 ('no persons' and 'beasts'); Rev. La Roy Sunderland, *Anti-Slavery Manual, Containing a Collection of Facts and Arguments on American Slavery* (New York: S. W. Benedict, 1837), 39 ('cruelties' and 'injustice[s]'); Earl M. Maltz, *Dred Scott and the Politics of Slavery* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007), 106 ('Lemmon'), 69 ('originates'), and 95 ('violation'). John Taylor's *Summary of the Roman Law* (London: T. Payne, 1772), a redacted version of *Civil Law*, was included in the first White House library established during Millard Fillmore's presidency (1850–1853). See Catherine M. Parisian, ed., *The First White House Library: A History and Annotated Catalogue* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 317. The many uses of John Taylor's jurisprudence are discussed in Thomas D. Morris, "'Villeinage... as It Existed in England, Reflects but Little Light on Our Subject': The Problem of the 'Sources' of Southern Slave Law", *The American Journal of Legal History* 32 (April 1988), 95–137.
 64. William Whyte, 'The Intellectual Aristocracy Revisited', *Journal of Victorian Culture* 10 (December 2011), 39.

4 'Several University Gentlemen, who have quite altered their Tone': The Problem of the British Slave Trade

1. Account of South Sea Stock Purchased on Behalf of George I, George II Papers, RA, GEO/MAIN/52842–52843 ('tens of thousands'); His Royal Highness George Prince of Wales, Old South Sea Annuities Ledgers, BE, AC27/6452, f. 38 ('owned stock'); William, Duke of Clarence, to Samuel Hawker, 1807, Daniell Papers, RA, GEO/ADD/44/10 ('weaken'); George III to Lord North, 11 June 1779, in William Bodham Donne, ed., *The Correspondence of King George the Third with Lord North From 1768 to 1783*, vol. 2 (London: J. Murray, 1867), 254 ('Jamaica'); David Armitage, 'George III and the Law of Nations', *WMQ* 79 (January 2022), 27 ('helpless' and 'dominion'). The Prince of Wales, whose patronage of the arts led to the commissioning of "Rule, Britannia" and helped to popularise the Rococo style of architecture and furniture, owned £2,176 in stock at the time of the Bubble (though his personal involvement in these transactions was unrecorded). (Colley, *Britons*, 206.) For George III and

- the British Caribbean, see Andrew Jackson O'Shaughnessy, *The Men Who Lost America: British Command during the Revolutionary War and the Preservation of the Empire* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013), 35.
2. Henry Venn, *The Life and a Selection from the Letters of the Late Rev. Henry Venn, M. A., Successively Vicar of Huddersfield, Yorkshire, and Rector of Yelling, Huntingdonshire, Author of 'The Complete Duty of Man, &c.* (London: John Hatchard and Son, 1839), 422 ('circles'); 'Henry William Coulthurst', *Legacies*, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146634732, accessed 1 February 2023 ('compensation'); 'Henry William Coulthurst', ACAD, <https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search-2018.pl?sur=coulthurst&suro=w&fir=&firo=c&cit=&cito=c&c=all&z=all&tex=&sy=&eye=&col=all&maxcount=50>, accessed 1 February 2023 ('tutor'); 'At a General Meeting of the Gentlemen, Clergy, Merchants, and principal Inhabitants of the Town and Parish of Halifax, previously called by public Advertisement, The Rev. Dr Coulthurst, in the Chair', *The Leeds Intelligencer*, 27 February 1792 ('Police', 'Population', and 'Importations from Africa').
 3. Charles Farish, 'A Summary of the consequences of the abolition of the slave-trade', 1798, Letters, Papers, and Domestic Correspondence of George III, TNA, HO 42/42/109 ('happy effects', 'half its horrors', and 'Master'). Farish's petition is mentioned briefly in James Gregory, *Mercy and British Culture, 1760–1960* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2021), 225, n. 121.
 4. Farish, 'A Summary of the consequences of the abolition of the slave-trade', 1798, Correspondence of George III, TNA, HO 42/42/109.
 5. 'Appleby Gilpin', *Legacies*, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146632829, accessed 1 February 2023 ('Grenada'); T. W. Thompson and Robert Woof, ed., *Wordsworth's Hawkshead* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 134, n. 1 ('boarding lodge'); 'To a Friend & School-fellow', June 1784, in *ibid.*, 316 ('direful'); Henry Gunning, *Reminiscences of the University, Town and County of Cambridge, From the Year 1780*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 94 and Wordsworth, *Social Life at the English Universities*, 356 ('celibacy'); 11 October 1792, Book of Orders, 1787–1830, QC, unnumbered ('mundane'). Enslavement was a particularly fraught issue within the Society of Friends. See, for example, Jean R. Soderlund, *Quakers & Slavery: A Divided Spirit* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985); Larry Gragg, *The Quaker Community on Barbados: Challenging the Culture of the Planter Class* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2009); Brycchan Carey, *From Peace to Freedom: Quaker Rhetoric and the Birth of American Antislavery, 1657–1761* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012); and Markus Rediker, *The Fearless Benjamin Lay: The Quaker Dwarf Who Became the First Revolutionary Abolitionist* (London: Verso, 2017).
 6. Samuel Johnson, 'Taxation no Tyranny; An Answer to the Resolutions and Address of the American Congress', 1775, in Samuel Johnson, *Political Tracts* (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1776), 262 ('drivers'); Thomas Harwood, *Alumni Etoniensis; or, a Catalogue of the Provosts & Fellows of Eton College & King's College, Cambridge, from the Foundation in 1443, to the Year 1797; With an Account of their Lives & Preferments, Collected from Original Mss.* (Birmingham: T. Pearson, 1797), 329 ('solemnity'); Sir William Draper, *The Thoughts of a Traveller Upon Our American Disputes* (London: J. Ridley, 1774), 21 ('Proclame'); Prince Hoare, ed., *Memoirs of Granville Sharp, Esq.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 188 ('Spanish Regulations' and 'soften') and xvi ('wages', 'industry', and 'encouragement').

7. Brown, *Moral Capital*, 195 ('Hinchcliffe'); Keene, *A Sermon*, 22 ('Civil', 'Opportunity', 'Vicinity', and 'Dependence'). See also Oldfield, *Popular Politics and British Anti-Slavery*, 70–71.
8. Jirik, 'Beyond Clarkson', 2 ('most significant'); Peckard, *Piety, Benevolence, and Loyalty, recommended*, 3 ('treatment' and 'despotism'), 1 ('honour'), and 4 ('human' and 'complexion'). Peckard published numerous sermons, petitions, and pamphlets against the slave trade and slavery before his death in December 1797. See, for example, *The Nature and Extent of Civil and Religious Liberty* (Cambridge: J. Archdeacon 1783); and *Justice and Mercy recommended, particularly with reference to the Slave Trade* (Cambridge: J. Archdeacon, 1788). Jirik rightly argues that Peckard's influence on the antislavery cause at Cambridge has long been underappreciated.
9. Brown, *Moral Capital*, 435 ('topic') and 229 ('Spanish'); Micah Alpaugh, *Friends of Freedom: The Rise of Social Movements in the Age of Atlantic Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 199 ('horses'); Thomas Clarkson, *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade by the British Parliament*, vol. 1 (London: R. Taylor and Co., 1808), 205 ('Anne') and 210–212 ('awakening'); Members' Prizes, 1785, Registrum præmiorum, 1752–1872, University scholarship awards and prizes records, 1649–2015, CUL, GBR/0265/UA/Char.I.1, f. 25 ('Heslop'). On the *Zong* massacre, see Vincent Brown, *The Reaper's Garden: Death and Power in the World of Atlantic Slavery* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 158–160.
10. Clarkson, *History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment*, vol. 1, 436 ('essay'); Thomas Clarkson, *An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, Particularly the African, Translated from a Latin Dissertation, which was Honoured with the First Prize in the University of Cambridge, for the Year 1785, with Additions* (London: Re-Printed by Joseph Cruikshank, 1786), xi–xii ('government', 'traffick', and 'planters').
11. Jirik, 'Beyond Clarkson', 2 ('forgotten') and 14–16 ('radicalize'); Olaudah Equiano, 'To the printer of the Cambridge Chronicle', *Cambridge Chronicle*, 1 August 1789 ('Gentlemen' and 'civility'); Peter Peckard to the Chairmen of the Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 26 May 1790, in Vincent Caretta, ed., *Olaudah Equiano: The Interesting Narrative and Other Writings* (London: Penguin, 1995), 8 ('advertise'); Thomas Clarkson to the Reverend Thomas Jones, 9 July 1789, Business Records of Cambridgeshire Manors, CA, K132/B/1B ('sell'); Peter Peckard, *The Neglect of a Known Duty is a Sin. A Sermon Preached before the University of Cambridge on Sunday, January 31, 1790* (Cambridge: J. Archdeacon, 1790), 26 ('yoke'). For Equiano's life and times, see Vincent Caretta, 'Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa? New Light on an Eighteenth-Century Question of Identity', *Slavery and Abolition* 20 (1999), 96–105; and Vincent Caretta, *Equiano the African: Biography of a Self-Made Man* (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 2005), xvi.
12. Everill, *Not Made by Slaves*, 85–86 ('Wedgwood'); *Am I Not a Man? and a Brother? With all Humility Addressed to the British Legislature* (Cambridge: J. Archdeacon, 1788), 1–2 ('Peckard', 'Rights', 'Traffick', and 'beast'), 7 ('inferior' and 'precision'), and 13 ('Kidneys'); Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, 1788, in Merrill D. Peterson, ed., *Thomas Jefferson: Writings* (New York: The Library of America, 2011), 264–265 ('white skins'). The story of the 'white negroes' was publicised in newspaper articles, such as 'The History of White Negroes', *The New-Haven Gazette*, and the *Connecticut Magazine*, 13 April 1786. For the "white negroes" and Jefferson's discussions

- of race, see also Charles D. Martin, *The White African American Body: A Cultural and Literary Exploration* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 22; Dain, *A Hideous Monster of the Mind*, 26; and Jordan, *White Over Black*, 250.
13. “Tyro,” ‘For the Cambridge Chronicle on the Slave Trade Occasioned by the late sermon preached by P. Peckard D.D.’, *Cambridge Chronicle*, 1 March 1788 (‘Sons’, ‘Arrest’, and ‘patriot’); J. M. [signed from Magdalene College], ‘For the Cambridge Chronicle. Occasioned by Dr. Peckard’s sermon on the Slave Trade’, *ibid.*, March 1788 (‘Moore’ and ‘groans’).
 14. Amy Garnai, ‘An Exile on the Coast: Robert Merry’s Transatlantic Journey, 1796–1798’, *The Review of English Studies* 64 (February 2013), 90 (‘Merry’); Gresdina Ann Doty, *The Career of Mrs. Anne Brunton Merry in the American Theatre* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971), 35 (‘Hudson’s Bay Company’); ‘Della Crusca’ [Robert Merry], ‘For the Cambridge Chronicle. The Slaves. An Elegy.’, *Cambridge Chronicle*, 8 March 1788 (‘Stalks’ and ‘TEEMING’); ‘Sir John Willes’, *Legacies*, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146644091, accessed 6 February 2023 (‘maternal grandfather’).
 15. *A List of the Society, Instituted in 1787, For the Purpose of effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade* (London: Unknown, 1787) (‘entire section of donors’); Jirik, ‘Beyond Clarkson’, 9 (‘£161’) and 10 (‘six per cent’).
 16. Special Committee on 22 November 1787, Fair Minute Book of the Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1787–1788, BL, Add Ms 21254, f. 20 (‘Frend’) and 25 (‘Lambert’ and ‘Questions’); Committee on 5 March 1788, Fair Minute Book of the Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1788–1790, BL, Add Ms 21255, f. 3 (‘Coulthurst’) and 53 (‘Jones’); Clarkson, *History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment*, vol. 1, 462 (‘unhappy slaves’); Gascoigne, *Cambridge*, 226 (‘reformist’ and ‘student’); A Speech on the Character and Memory of King William the Third, in Rev. Robert Tweddell, ed., *Remains of John Tweddell, Late Fellow of Trinity-College Cambridge Being a Selection of his Correspondence a Republication of his Prolusiones Juveniles an Appendix Containing Some Account of the Author’s Collections Mss. Drawings &c.* (London: J. Mawman, 1816), 110 (‘english’, ‘legalized’, and ‘sweets’).
 17. Festo. St. Michaelis 1787 to Festum Annunc. 1788 and Festo Annunc. 1792 to Festum St. Michaelis 1792, College Bursar Book, 1792–1810, GCC, GC/BUR/F/88 (‘donations to end the slave trade’); 15 January 1789, Master/Registry Gesta, 1784–1811, GCC, GC/GOV/03/01/07 (‘Poor’); 13 April 1796, *ibid.* (‘relief’); Disbursements for the Year ended at Michaelmas 1726, Dr Spencer’s Account, 1693–1929, CCC, GBR/0268/CCCC02/B/146 (‘Eastern’); Disbursements for the Year ended at Michaelmas 1759, *ibid.* (‘British army’); Disbursements to Michaelmas 1793, *ibid.* (‘emigrant’); Searby, *History of the University of Cambridge, Volume III*, 420 (‘£7,000’).
 18. Vincent Caretta, ‘Olaudah Equiano: African British Abolitionist and Founder of the African American Slave Narrative’, in Audrey Fisch, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the African American Slave Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 55 (‘number and status’); Christopher Wright, *The Irresistible Glory and Everlasting Freedom; or, Religious Liberty, Exempt from Slavery. Being an Entire New Work* (Birmingham: Mr. Brown, 1787), title page (‘omitted’ and ‘speculate’); James Plumptre, *Four Discourses on Subjects Relating to the Amusement of the Stage: Preached at St. Mary’s Church, Cambridge, on Sunday September 25, and Sunday October 2, 1808* (Cambridge: Francis Hodson, 1809), 41 (‘public mind’); Rev. Thomas

- Harwood, *The Noble Slave: A Tragedy* (Bury St Edmunds: J. Rackham, 1788), list of subscribers ('subscribed'), title page ('University College' and 'noble slave'), and 87 ('laws', 'encroach', and 'rights of man').
19. 15 December 1796, Diary of the Reverend Romaine Hervey, MC, F/OMP/IV/VII ('House of Commons'); 'Thomas Truebody Thomason', ACAD, <https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search-2018.pl?sur=thomason&suro=w&fir=&firo=c&cit=&cito=c&c=all&z=all&tex=&sy=&eye=&col=all&maxcount=999>, accessed 13 February 2023 ('East India'); Kenneth Morgan, *Slavery and the British Empire: From Africa to America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 162 ('163 votes').
 20. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 'A Greek Prize Ode on the Slave Trade', 1791, in Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *The Poetical Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, vol. 1 (London: Macmillan and Company, 1880), 26–27 ('publicly', 'evil', and 'groans'); Legh Richmond, *Cum vincamur in omni Munere, sola Deos æquat Clementia nobis*, 1790, Tripos verses and lists, 1768–1802, CUL, GBR/0265/UA/Exam.L.3 ('labours'). Thomason was an opponent of the slave trade, writing in 1800 as a "Late Fellow of Queens' College" of his hopes that the 'disgrace of our age and nation' would end. (Rev. Thomas Truebody Thomason, *An Essay Tending to Shew that the Christian Religion Has in its Effects been Favourable to Human Happiness* [Cambridge: J. Burghes, 1800], 44). The treatise won the Norrisian Prize for an essay on Christian doctrine.
 21. Jane Webster, 'Collecting the cabinet of freedom: the parliamentary history of Thomas Clarkson's chest', *Slavery & Abolition* 38 (December 2016), 135–154 ('visualise'); Coleridge, 'Lecture on the Slave Trade', 16 June 1795, in *ibid*, Coleridge, vol. 1, 233 ('Jesus College'), 235 ('artificial'), 236 ('useful'), 238 ('savage', 'nursery', and 'shadows'), and 251 ('rebellious').
 22. Farish, 'Reverie on a Benguelinha or Angola Linnet, which was caught in Africa and carried successively to Brazil, to Botany-bay, to England, twice to the West-Indies, & finally to England again', 1798, Correspondence of George III, TNA, HO 42/42/109. For the "negral," see Richard Brookes, *The Natural History of Birds: With the Method of Bringing Up and Managing those of the Singing Kind*, vol. 2 (London: J. Newberry, 1763), 280.
 23. Andrew Burnaby, *Travels Through the Middle Settlements in North-America* (Dublin: R. Marchbank, 1775), 199 ('cruel'); William Eddis, *Letters from America, Historical and Descriptive; Comprising Occurrences from 1769, to 1777, Inclusive* (London: C. Dilly, 1792), list of subscribers ('Hinchcliffe'), 64 ('scarce'), and 65 ('white inhabitants').
 24. William Smyth to Dr James Currie, 2 April 1792, Letters of William Smyth to Dr Currie, LRO, 920 CUR/46 ('Intention' and 'retreat'); *The Debate on a Motion for the Abolition of the Slave-Trade, in the House of Commons, on Monday and Tuesday April 18 and 19, 1791, Report in Detail* (London: W. Woodfall, 1791), 49 ('Providence').
 25. Kenneth Morgan, 'Liverpool's Dominance in the British Slave Trade, 1740–1807', in Richardson et al, *Liverpool*, 15 (£2.6 million); K. J. Allison, ed., *A History of the County of York East Riding: Volume 1, the City of Kingston Upon Hull* (London: Victoria County History, 1969), 175 ('tobacco'); Berg and Hudson, *Capitalism*, unpaginated eBook edition ('per cent').
 26. Gilbert Wakefield, *Memoirs of the Life of Gilbert Wakefield, B. A. Late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge* (London: E. Hodson, 1792), 176–177 ('mart', 'head-quarters', 'aggravating', 'immoral', 'privateering', 'thunder', and 'agitated') and 179 ('knockt' and 'sea').
 27. Thomas Clarke, *A Sermon on the Injustice of the Slave Trade, Preached February 12th, 1792, in the Parish Church of the Holy Trinity, in Kingston-Upon-Hull* (Hull: J.

- Ferraby, 1792), title ('Late-Fellow'), 6 ('Cause'), 8 ('Test' and 'Humanity'), 11 ('Labourers' and 'moistened'), 17 ('Seeds' and 'rapid'), 18 ('glaring', 'impressment', and 'INDIA'), and 19 ('domestic'); Denver Brunzman, *The Evil Necessity: British Naval Impressment in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013), 6 ('250,000').
28. M. J. Smith, 'Benjamin Flower and the "Cambridge Intelligencer," 1793–1803', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 16 (2018), 417 ('syndicated'); 'To the Editor of the Cambridge Intelligencer', *Cambridge Intelligencer*, 17 November 1791 ('Wakefield'); 'Slave Trade', *ibid.*, July 1796 ('SALE'); 'The Willing Slave', *ibid.*, 20 February 1796 ('AFRICAN' and 'Gold'); 'Voluntary Contributions', *ibid.*, 17 March 1798 ('traffick'); Eve Tavor Bannet, *Eighteenth-Century Manners of Reading: Print Culture and Popular Instruction in the Anglophone Atlantic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 46 ('school-dames'). Flower was also listed as a subscriber to Captain John Gabriel Stedman's *Narrative, of a five years' expedition, against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam, in Guiana, on the Wild Coast of South America; from the Year 1772, to 1777: elucidating the History of that Country, and describing its Productions*, 2 vols. (London: J. J. Johnson, 1796).
 29. William Paley, *The Works of William Paley, D. D. Archdeacon of Carlisle. With a Life and Portrait of the Author. In Five Volumes*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: John Fairbairn, 1825), vi ('lectures'); Niall O'Flaherty, *Utilitarianism in the Age of Enlightenment: The Moral and Political Thought of William Paley* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 17 ('Christian utilitarian'); William Paley, *The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy*, vol. 1 (London: R. Faulder, 1785), 268–270 ('obligation', 'proportioned', and 'brutality') and 272 ('emancipation' and 'diffusion'). Paley's arguments were influential in the United States too. (O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order*, vol. 1, 961.) For another contemporaneous statement questioning the relative cost of free and enslaved labour, see Sir Joseph Banks to Thomas Coltman giving his 'Opinions on the subject of the slave trade', Papers from a letter book belonging to Sir Joseph Banks, BOD, MSS.Brit.Emp.r.2.
 30. Searby, *History of the University of Cambridge, Volume III*, 405 ('prominent'); George Dyer, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Robert Robinson, Late Minister of the Dissenting Congregation, in Saint Andrew's Parish, Cambridge* (London: G. G. and J. Robinson, 1796), 131–132 ('Randall'); Robert Robinson, *Slavery inconsistent with the Spirit of Christianity. A Sermon Preached at Cambridge, on Sunday, Feb. 10, 1788* (Cambridge: J. Archdeacon, 1788), 39 ('silver' and 'ambition').
 31. Dyer, *Robert Robinson*, 193–195.
 32. Roshan Allpress, *British Philanthropy in the Globalizing World: Entrepreneurs and Evangelicals, 1756–1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), 105 ('ideally positioned'); Leonard W. Cowie, 'Venn, Henry (1725–1797)', ODNB, www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28184;jsessionid=69C84D0C06C333025B9667856ACB310D, accessed 9 January 2021 ('Royal Navy'); Anne Stott, *Wilberforce: Family and Friends* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 9–17 ('Cambridge').
 33. Allpress, *British Philanthropy*, 106 ('credibility' and 'political influence'); Mary Milner, ed., *The Life of Isaac Milner, D.D., F.R.S., Dean of Carlisle, President of Queen's College, and Professor of Mathematics in the University of Cambridge; comprising a portion of his correspondence and other writings hitherto unpublished* (London: John W. Parker, 1842), 15–16 ('Milner') and 75 ('pivotal'); Hugh Evan Hopkins, *Charles Simeon of Cambridge* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2012), 198

- (‘African Institution’); William Jowett, *Mercy for Africa. A Sermon Preached in Favour of the Endowment Fund for the Bishopric of Sierra Leone. With an Appendix* (London: Seeleys, 1851), 9 (‘bodily’ and ‘spiritual’).
34. Andrew Jackson O’Shaughnessy, ‘The Formation of a Commercial Lobby: The West India Interest, British Colonial Policy and the American Revolution’, *HJ* 40 (March 1997), 49 (‘chief broker’) and 78 (‘amenability’, ‘case’, ‘direction’, ‘too much’, and ‘annual budget’); Roger Anstey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition, 1760–1810* (London: Humanities Press, 1975), 288 (‘work’).
 35. Stephen Fuller to the Committee of Correspondence, 6 February 1788, in W. M. McCahill, ed., *The Correspondence of Stephen Fuller, 1788–1795: Jamaica, the West India Interest at Westminster and the Campaign to Preserve the Slave Trade* (Chichester: West Sussex, 2014), 71 (‘Rights of Humanity’ and ‘impossibility’).
 36. O’Shaughnessy, *Men Who Lost America*, 314–317 (‘Saintes’); Stephen Fuller to Lord Rodney, 12 March 1788, McCahill, ed., *Correspondence of Stephen Fuller*, 77 (‘Plantation Office’); Paper received from Lord Rodney, March 1788, in *ibid.*, 77–78 (‘prominent’). For the proslavery argument concerning the poorer conditions of white labourers relative to the enslaved, see also ‘An Old Planter’, Letter VII, *Letters to a Young Planter; Or, Observations on the Management of a Sugar-Plantation. To which is Added, The Planter’s Kalendar* (London: Strachan, 1785), 36–37; and Martin, *Essay Upon Plantership*, xviii. For a stinging rebuke against this viewpoint, see Sharp, *Just Limitation of Slavery*, 36–38.
 37. Srividhya Swaminathan, ‘Developing the West Indian Proslavery Position after the Somerset Decision’, *Slavery and Abolition* 24 (December 2003), 56 (‘tyrannic’ and ‘savage’); Tise, *Proslavery*, 82–83 (‘Bastille’); Frank O’Gorman, ‘The Paine Burnings of 1792–1793’, *Past & Present* 193 (November 2006), 120 (‘412’); Clive Emsley, ‘An Aspect of Pitt’s “Terror”: Prosecutions for Sedition during the 1790s’, *Social History* 6 (May 1981), 155–156 (‘twelve’).
 38. Gunning, *Reminiscences*, vol. 1, 277 (‘burst’, ‘Masters’, and ‘Laudable’), 278 (‘Republicans’, ‘every’, ‘rogue’ and ‘exhibited’), and 279 (‘Paine’ and ‘America’); Henry Crabb Robinson to Thomas Robinson, 7 May 1852, in Thomas Saddler, ed., *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson, Barrister-at-Law, F.S.A.*, vol. 3 (London: Macmillan and Co., 1869), 401 (‘Frend’); Frida Knight, *University Rebel: The Life of William Frend (1757–1841)* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1971), 140 (‘LIBERTY’ and ‘EQUALITY’) and 141 (‘Coleridge’); William Frend, *A Sequel to the Account of the Proceedings in the University of Cambridge, Against the Author of a Pamphlet, Entitled Peace and Union; Containing the Application to the Court of King’s Bench, a Review of Similar Cases in the University, and Reflections on the Impolicy of Religious Persecution, and the Importance of Free Enquiry* (London: G. and J. Robinson, 1795), ix (‘violence’); George Dyer, *Slavery and Famine, Punishments for Edition; or, an Account of the Miseries and Starvation at Botany Bay* (London: J. Ridgway, 1794), 41 (‘FAMINE’).
 39. Stephen Fuller to the Committee of Correspondence, 2 April 1788, in McCahill, ed., *Fuller*, 80.
 40. Stephen Fuller, *The New Act of Assembly of the Island of Jamaica, Intituled, An Act to repeal an Act, intituled, ‘An Act to repeal several Acts, and Clauses of Acts, respecting Slaves, and for the better Order and Government of Slaves, and for other Purposes’* (London: B. White and Son, 1789), vii (‘philanthropy’); Robert Bisset, *A Defence of the Slave Trade on the Grounds of Humanity, Policy and Justice* (London: J. Hales, 1804), 56 (‘theophilanthropic’ and ‘revolutionary’). For amelioration, see, for

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41. John Henry Thomas and John Farquhar Fraser, eds., *The Reports of Sir Edward Coke, Knt. In Thirteen Parts: A New Edition*, vol. 4, parts 7–8 (London: Joseph Butterworth and Son, 1826), 373 ('eyes and soul'); Stephen Fuller to Lord Hawkesbury, 27 June 1788, in McCahill, ed., *Fuller*, 92 ('Petitions to Parliament'); Lord Hawkesbury to Stephen Fuller, 28 June 1788, *ibid.*, 92 ('Formality').
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5 'Those who wish to see the Slave System decline, and at length gradually and safely': The Ambitions of Cambridge Abolitionism

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11. 9 March 1824, Minute Book of Union Society, Papers of the Cambridge Union, CUL, USOC 1/1/1/1, 26–27 ('condition' and 'defeated'); 8 May 1825, *ibid.*, USOC 1/1/1/2, unnumbered ('conduct' and 'negative').
12. *Report of the Proceedings of the Great Anti-Slavery Meeting, Held at the Town Hall, Birmingham, on Wednesday, October 14th, 1835* (Birmingham: B. Hudson, 1835) ('Birmingham'); 'The Greek Cause', *The Times*, 19 December 1823 ('Liberty'); 'Town Meeting for the Abolition of Slavery', *Cambridge Chronicle*, 26 November 1830 ('borne', 'speedy', 'burthen', 'desirable', 'slavish', and 'cruelty'); *The Fifth Report of the Colchester and East Essex Association, in Aid of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 10th of April, 1821; and a List of Benefactors, Subscribers, and Collectors* (Colchester: W. Keymer, 1821), 4 ('passionate'). For a recent treatment of the international reaction to the Greek Revolution, see Mark Mazower, *The Greek Revolution: 1821 and the Making of Modern Europe* (New York: Penguin, 2021).
13. Harvey, *Sketches of Hayti*, vii–viii ('still' and 'knowledge'), xii ('excesses'), 3 ('contended'), 23 ('waste'); 31 ('uneducated'), and 37 ('superior'); Dubois, *Avengers of the New World*, 270–271 ('massacre'). For Harvey and Haiti, see also Karen Salt, *The Unfinished Revolution: Haiti, Black Sovereignty and the Nineteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2019), 68.
14. "A Member of the University of Cambridge," *Suggestions on the Abolition of Slavery in the British Colonies; or, Slavery Gradually Starved to Death Upon a Low Diet, V: Strangulation* (Cambridge: J. J. Deighton, T. Stevenson, and R. Newby, 1831), title ('Member'), iv ('feed'), v–vi ('invasion', 'constrain', and 'dependence'); Everill, *Not Made by Slaves*, 48 ('sixty').
15. *Ibid.*, 49 ('70,000' and 'Barbarities'); Gunning, *Reminiscences*, vol. 2, 39 ('held meetings').
16. "Member," *Slavery Gradually Starved to Death*, 1 ('Question'), 2–3 ('wantonly'), and 5–6 ('Slave owner' and 'least expenditure'). The mention of England being "enslaved" to her colonies was perhaps a reference to James Stephen, *England Enslaved by Her Own Slave Colonies* (London: Hatchard and Son, 1826).
17. Richard Bourke, *Empire and Revolution: The Political Life of Edmund Burke* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 647–663 ('Burke'); Major, *Slavery, Abolitionism and Empire*, 314 ('reproduced').
18. "Member," *Slavery Gradually Starved to Death*, 7 ('Adam Smith' and 'travel narratives'), 21–22 ('emancipated' and 'Hayti'), and 23 ('economising'); J. R. Ward, 'The Profitability of Sugar Planting in the British West Indies, 1650–1834', *Economic History Review* 31 (May 1978), 209 ('annual profits').
19. "Member," *Slavery Gradually Starved to Death*, 29 ('opiate', 'melioration', and 'stupify') and 26 ('volcano', 'bedlam', 'carnage', and 'lawless'); *A List of the Names of the Proprietors of East-India Stock who Appear, By the Books of the East-India Company, Qualified to Vote at the General Election, 12th April 1837* (London: Cox and Sons, 1836), 92 ('invest'); Charles Henry Cooper and John William Cooper, eds., *Annals of Cambridge, Volume V: 1850–1856 with Additions and Corrections to Volumes I–IV and Index to the Complete Work* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908), 107 ('college prize').
20. 'Sir Alexander Craufurd', *Legacies*, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146660847, accessed 6 February 2023 ('Grenville'); 'George William Grogan Craufurd', *ACAD*,

<https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search-2018.pl?sur=craufurd&suro=w&fir=george&firo=c&cit=&cito=c&c=all&z=all&tex=&sey=&eye=&col=all&maxcount=50>, accessed 6 February 2023 ('fellowship'); Will of George William Craufurd, Wills, 1800–1914, KCA, GBR/0272/KCHR/3/1/8, 33–38 ('Divinity Lectureship'); Adam Sedgwick to Bishop Wilberforce, 16 July 1848, in Clark and Hughes, eds., *Life and Letters of the Reverend Adam Sedgwick*, vol. 2, 143 ('slave-grown'); Adam Sedgwick to Mrs Norton, in *ibid.*, 394 ('sucked'); 'Rev. Adam Sedgwick', *Legacies*, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/24026, accessed 4 March 2022 ('trustee'). Sedgwick, who taught the famed naturalist Charles Darwin, supported the Union during the American Civil War, and advocated in his private letters for the conflict to be a 'war for the abolition of slavery'. (Adrian Desmond and James Moore, *Darwin's Sacred Cause: How a Hatred of Slavery Shaped Darwin's Views on Human Evolution* [Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2009], 327.)

21. George W. Craufurd, 'The Impolicy of Slave Labour', *Tourist: A Literary and Anti-Slavery Journal, under the Superintendence of the Agency of the Anti-Slavery Society*, 10 December 1832 ('mankind', 'liberally', 'direct tax', 'loss to the British economy', and 'system'); Lawrence Goldman, *Victorians and Numbers: Statistics and Society in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 33–34 ('Statistical Section'); Rev. Richard Jones, *An Introductory Lecture on Political Economy, Delivered at King's College, London, 27th February, 1833* (London: John Murray, 1833), 59 ('Evils'). For abolitionists and the profitability of free labour, see Seymour Drescher, *The Mighty Experiment: Free Labor versus Slavery in British Emancipation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 149–152.
22. Jeremy C. Mitchell and James Cornford, 'The Political Demography of Cambridge 1832–1868', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 9 (Autumn 1977), 251 ('1,400'); Searby, *History of the University of Cambridge, Volume III*, 386–387 ('held elections') and 390 ('uncontested'); '1832 General Election – Cambridge', *UK General Election Results, 1832–2019*, <https://api.parliament.uk/uk-general-elections/elections/53>, accessed 12 September 2023 ('contest' and 'victorious'); George Pryme, *An Introductory Lecture and Syllabus, to a Course Delivered in the University of Cambridge, on the Principles of Political Economy* (Cambridge: Deighton & Sons, 1823), 13 ('dearer') and 18 ('scarcity', 'slavery', 'plunder', and 'neglected'). The Senate named Pryme as a Professor, but the chair was not endowed until 1863 (after Pryme's retirement). (Professor Pryme to the Rev. the Master of Trinity, 11 May 1863, in Alicia Bayne, ed., *Autobiographic Recollections of George Pryme, Esq. M.A.* [Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co., 1870], 348–349.)
23. 'Fair Play,' *To the Electors of Cambridgeshire. Economy, Independence, and Truth* (Cambridge: H. Talbot, 1832), Election Broadside, CA, KAR89/82/11 ('declares'); Michael J. Turner, *Independent Radicalism in Early Victorian Britain* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2004), 195 ('sceptic'); George Pryme, *To the Electors of the Town of Cambridge* (Cambridge: W. Hatfield, 1832), Election Broadside, CA, KAR89/82/53 ('condition'); 'An Abolitionist,' *Slavery! To the Electors Of the County of Cambridge and Isle of Ely* (Cambridge: Hodson & Brown, 1832), *ibid.*, 136 ('FRIEND' and 'excerpts'); Charles Philip Yorke, *To the Electors of the County of Cambridge and Isle of Ely* (Cambridge: Hodson and Brown, 1832), *ibid.*, 138 ('humanity' and 'common justice').
24. *A Full Report of the Proceedings at the Cambridge County Election, Commencing Tuesday, August 10, 1830* (Cambridge: Matfield, 1830), 50 ('interest', 'sincere',

- 'faithful', and 'management') and 56 ('common'); 'Diamond', *Legacies*, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/3500, accessed 27 September 2022 ('trustee'); David R. Fisher, 'Cambridgeshire', *History of Parliament*, www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/constituencies/cambridgeshire#footnoteref18_3kxjcw, accessed 27 September 2022 ('white' and 'distresses').
25. George W. Craufurd, *Slavery! Captain Yorke's Views, on the Subject of Colonial Slavery, Refuted, In Two Letters, Together with Captain Yorke's Attempted Defence* (Cambridge: Weston Hatfield, 1832), 3 ('placards' and 'emancipation'), 5 ('clothing', 'sudden', and 'equitable'), 6 ('cattle'), and 8 ('industry'); Thomas Seccombe, 'Charles Philip Yorke (1764–1834)', in Stephen and Lee, eds., *DNB*, vol. 63, 341 ('Tory'). See, for example, "A Well Wisher to All Parties," *Negro Slavery Exposed* (Cambridge: W. Hatfield, 1824); Rev. William Cuttriss, *Slavery Inconsistent with Christianity* (Cambridge: Johnson, 1825); Charles Telfair and Thomas Jackson, *An Appeal to the Freeholders of the County of Cambridge and Isle of Ely, on the Subject of Colonial Slavery* (Cambridge: W. Metcalfe, 1832); Charles Telfair and Thomas Jackson, *Britain's Burden, or, The Intolerable Evils of Colonial Slavery Exposed* (Cambridge: W. Metcalfe, 1832); and *The Mauritius: an Exemplification of Colonial Policy; Addressed to the Electors of Cambridge and Devonport* (Birmingham: B. Hudson, 1837). In 1840, a Cambridge publisher reprinted Robert Robinson's *Slavery inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity* for 'gratuitous distribution'.
 26. J. Kent McGaughy, *Richard Henry Lee of Virginia: Portrait of an American Revolutionary* (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2004), 24 ('owner'); R. B. Harraden, Jr., *History of the University of Cambridge Illustrated by a Series of Engravings Representing the Most Picturesque and Interesting Edifices in the University and the Most Striking Parts of the Town* (Cambridge: J. Smith, 1814), 155 ('college fellow'). Two years before his death, Porteus transferred government stock worth £1,200 to Christ's to fund three gold medal prizes for students. (*Cambridge University Commission: Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the State, Discipline, Studies, and Revenues of the University and Colleges of Cambridge: Together with the Evidence, and an Appendix* [London: W. Clowes and Sons, 1852], 382.)
 27. J. C. S. Mason, *The Moravian Church and the Missionary Awakening in England, 1760–1800* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2001), 92 ('unwilling'); William Knox to the Lord Chancellor (Thurlow), 26 May 1789, 'The manuscripts of Captain H. V. Knox', in *Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections*, vol. 6 (Dublin: John Falconer, 1909), 203 ('prevented'); Brown, *Moral Capital*, 346 ('reformation').
 28. Brown, *Moral Capital*, 240 ('means') and 352–364 ('awakening'); Beilby Porteus, *The Cultivation, improvement, and conversion of the Negro-slaves in the British West-India islands recommended*, 23 February 1783, in Beilby Porteus, *Sermons on Several Subjects by the Right Reverend Beilby Porteus, D. D. Bishop of London* (London: T. Payne, T. Cadell, and W. Davies, 1808), 396 ('human' and 'saved'), 397 ('knowledge'), and 403 ('improvement').
 29. *Ibid.*, 406 ('failed'), 410 ('blessings'), and 411 ('emoluments').
 30. Mason, *Moravian Church*, 127 ('Christians'); 1789 report, in *Sessional Papers*, LXIX, 1 ('State'); *Address of Incorporated Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of the Negro Slaves in the British West India Islands* (London: The Society, 1824), 3–5 ('founded' and 'amelioration').
 31. *Selected Parts of the Holy Bible, For the Use of the Negro Slaves, in the British West-India Islands* (London: Law and Gilbert, 1807) ('Exodus'); William Greenfield,

- A Defence of the Surinam Negro-English Version of the New Testament* (London: Samuel Bagster, 1830), 5 ('Austen').
32. *Address of Incorporated Society*, list of governors ('members'), 14 ('Planters'), 7 ('Byam'), and 11 ('Ireland').
 33. Beilby Porteus, *A Letter to the Governors, Legislatures, and Proprietors of Plantations, in the British West-India Islands* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1808), 3 ('blessings'), 5–6 ('natural', 'fatal', and 'moral'), and 12–13 ('enormous'); Joyce E. Chaplin, 'Slavery and the Principle of Humanity: A Modern Idea in the Early Lower South', *Journal of Social History* 24 (Winter 1990), 311 ('souls').
 34. Richard Burgh Byam to William Howley, 4 December 1820, Papers of the Bishop of London: Correspondence and papers on the church overseas, LPL, FP Howley 2, 23–26.
 35. 'Rev. John Hothersall Pinder', *Legacies*, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146652643, accessed 9 July 2021 ('ordained'); 17 January 1797, Barbados Journal, BOD, vol. 4, X23, 72276x23, ff. 19–20 ('Nicholson'); John Hothersall Pinder to William Howley, 12 May 1821, Papers of the Bishop of London: Correspondence and papers on the church overseas, LPL, FP Howley 2, 599 ('instruct', 'afternoon', and 'Creed'); *The Christian Remembrancer; or, The Churchman's Biblical, ecclesiastical & literary miscellany*, vol. 6 (London, 1824), 151–152 ('thanksgiving' and 'servant').
 36. Richard Burgh Byam, *Suggestions for Promoting (Under the Patronage of the Church) Such Measures in the West Indies, as may Reasonably be Expected to Produce the Rapid Decline of Slavery, By a Member of the Senate, Who is also a Clergyman of the Church of England an Owner of West India Property, and a Member of His Majesty's Council in one of the Colonies*, 1825, Papers of the Bishop of London: Correspondence and papers on the church overseas, LPL, FP Howley 2, 91–94.
 37. 'Henry Nelson Coleridge', ACAD, <https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search-2018.pl?sur=coleridge&suro=w&fir=henry&firo=c&cit=c&cto=c&c=all&z=all&tex=&sy=&eye=&col=all&maxcount=50>, accessed 17 January 2022 ('distinguished'); Sehon Sylvester Coleridge, *Facing the Challenge of Emancipation: A Study of the Ministry of William Hart Coleridge, First Bishop of Barbados, 1824–1842* (London: Canoe Press, 2014) ('advocate'); Henry Nelson Coleridge, *Six Months in the West Indies*, in 1825 (London: John Murray, 1826), 7 ('Polar'), 8 ('Planters'), and 72 ('turn'); Henry Nelson Coleridge, *Six Months in the West Indies: Fourth Edition* (London: Thomas Tegg, 1841), preface to the third edition ('Abolitionists', 'hacked', and 'domestic treason').
 38. *Ibid.*, title page ('Late Fellow'); Simon P. Newman, 'Hidden in Plain Sight: Escaped Slaves in Late-Eighteenth- and Early-Nineteenth Century Jamaica', WMQ, https://oireader.wm.edu/open_wmq/hidden-in-plain-sight/hidden-in-plain-sight-escaped-slaves-in-late-eighteenth-and-early-nineteenth-century-jamaica/, accessed 1 December 2022 ('Hakewill' and 'vibrancy'); Jay B. Haviser, *African Sites: Archaeology in the Caribbean* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Weiner Publishers, 1999), 205 ('coarse').
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41. *Ibid.*, 102 ('Castle'), 239 ('education' and 'tempers'), 315–316 ('Oxford or Cambridge' and 'monsters'), 239 ('scarcely' and 'protection'), 314 ('refused'), 299 ('model of England', 'equality', and 'restlessness'), 302 ('interference' and 'tyranny'), 303 ('every age'), 304 ('spirit'), and 312 ('exception').
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43. Coleridge, *Six Months*, 308 ('Planters and Slaves'), 318 ('hardly at present', 'equality', and 'citizens'), 319 ('moral'), 327 ('protection'), 320 ('market'), 321 ('sudden' and 'fit').
44. Coleridge, *Six Months*, 1 ('rheumatism'); 'Literature', *The Morning Post*, 20 December 1832 ('newspapers'); 'Mode of Dressing a Turtle', *The Charleston Mercury*, 22 August 1826 ('excerpts'); 'New Books for Christmas Gifts, &c.', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 December 1837 ('New South Wales'); Charles Lamb to Samuel Taylor Coleridge, 22 March 1826, in Alfred Ainger, ed., *The Letters of Charles Lamb Newly Arranged, with Additions*, vol. 2 (New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1894), 144 ('excellent sense'); *The Young Logicians; or School-Boy Conceptions of Rights and Wrongs. With a Particular Reference to 'Six Months in the West Indies'. Part the Second* (Birmingham: B. Hudson, 1828), 31–32 ('licentiousness', 'tenth', 'filthy', and 'readers'); Kathleen Coburn and Merton Christensen, eds., *The Notebooks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, vol. 4 (London: Routledge, 2003), 558 ('flippancy', 'vulgarity', and 'enormity').
45. Ralph Bernal, *Substance of the Speech of Ralph Bernal, Esq.* (London: J. Moyes, 1826), 3 ('general body') and 5 ('case').
46. Rev. Stephen Isaacson, *A Vindication of the West-India Proprietors, In a Speech Delivered at Mansion House Chapel, Camberwell, August 18, 1832, With an Appendix* (London: J. Fraser, 1832), 4 ('crowded'), 7 ('prosperous'), and 8 ('last').
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49. "A West Indian Proprietor" to the Rev. Dr. Lambe', *Grenada Free Press, and Public Gazette*, 27 August 1828.
50. Ralph Davis, *The Industrial Revolution and British Overseas Trade* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1979), 43 ('most valuable'); Copy of lease to Robert Sacker

- of Haverhill, 5 May 1609, Cambridge, St Edward's Parish deeds, CCC, GBR/0268/CCCC09/09/49D, Copy of a lease to Robert Tavan, tailor, 10 May 1624, Cambridge, St Bene't (St Benedict's) parish, *ibid.*, 18/202J, Copy of a lease to Robert Sacker of Offord Darcy, 8 January 1630, Cambridge, St. Edward's parish, *ibid.*, 09/122F, Counterpart of lease to Elizabeth Sadler of a tenement, 27 May 1786, Cambridge, St Bene't (St Benedict's) parish, *ibid.*, 18/223, Counterpart of lease to Mary Harrison of a tenement, 31 March 1800, *ibid.*, 223b, Lease to John Bicheno of property in Bene't Street, 4 March 1814, Deeds relating to the college tenement in Bene't Street, *ibid.*, 18/236, Lease to John Bicheno of premises, *ibid.*, 236.1, and Counterpart of lease to George Salmon, gent., 1 June 1838, Cambridge, St. Edward's parish, deeds, *ibid.*, 09/191 ('good Barbary'); Theodore B. Leinwand, *Theatre, Finance and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 24 ('Thomas Gresham'); Chouki El Hamel, *Black Morocco: A History of Slavery, Race, and Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 144–145 ('al-Mansur'), 152 ('pyramids' and 'gold'), and 154 ('Caribbean').
51. John Gilmore, *The Poetics of Empire: A Study of James Grainger's The Sugar Cane* (1764) (New Brunswick, NJ: The Athlone Press, 2000), 9 ('patronage'); Susan Clair Imbarrato, *Sarah Gray Cary from Boston to Grenada: Shifting Fortunes of an American Family, 1764–1826* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2018), 29–30 ('undergraduate'); M. J. Chapman, *Barbadoes, and Other Poems* (London: J. Moyes, 1833), vii–viii ('colonies and empire') and 42 ('infuriate'). John Bourryau, whose father owned property on Saint Kitts, was Grainger's patron and may have also assisted with translation work for the poem.
 52. *Ibid.*, 101–102 ('Polygamy'); Sharon Block, *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 208–209 ('sexual violence'); Sarah M. S. Pearsall, *Polygamy: An Early American History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2019), 119 ('shorthand') and 120 ('unfit').
 53. 'John Pollard Mayers', *Legacies*, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/41310, accessed 10 January 2022 ('matriculated'); Bruce M. Taylor, 'Our Man in London: John Pollard Mayers, Agent for Barbados, and the British Abolition Act, 1832–1834', *Caribbean Studies* 16 (October 1976), 75–76 ('testimonies and statistics'), 83–84 ('reluctant', 'conciliation', and 'attaining'), and 74 ('indemnity').
 54. 25 April 1834, in John Patrick Tuer Bury, ed., *Romilly's Cambridge Diary, 1832–42: Selected Passages from the Diary of the Rev. Joseph Romilly, Fellow of Trinity College and Registrar of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 56 ('grand quarterly feast'); Matthew Gregory Lewis, *Journal of a West India Proprietor, Kept during a Residence in the Island of Jamaica* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) ('volume'); 'Matthew Gregory Lewis', *Legacies*, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/-1890542757, 12 January 2022 ('five hundred').
 55. 'Sir Alexander Cray Grant, 8th Baronet', *ibid.*, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/19810, accessed 12 January 2022 ('£14,000'); 29 June 1841, in Bury, ed., *Romilly's Cambridge Diary, 1832–42*, 219 ('Banner'); 'The Cambridge Election', *Cambridge Independent Press*, 23 May 1840 ('respectable' and 'human').
 56. 'The Slavery Question and the Cambridge Constituency', *ibid.*, 26 June 1841 ('monopoly', 'dear', and 'foreign'); Thomas Perronet Thompson, *Catechism on the Corn Laws; with a List of Fallacies and the Answers. Twelfth Edition* (London: Robert Heward, 1829), 55 ('unity'); Philip Harling, 'Sugar Wars: The Culture of Free Trade versus the Culture of Anti-Slavery in Britain and the British

Caribbean, 1840–50’, in Barry Crosbie and Mark Hampton, eds., *The Cultural Construction of the British World* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), 59 (‘Brazilian’).

6 ‘We presume that its influence is nowhere greater than in the Universities’: Ending and Defending American Slavery

1. Bishop Green of Mississippi to the Rev. Dr. William Hepworth Thompson, 8 June 1868, Letters received from various dignitaries, 1613–1868, CUL, GBR/0265/UA/Lett.17/30 (‘thanked’ and ‘pleasure’); Books ‘presented by the University of Cambridge to The Library of the University of the Southern States of America, 26 March 1868’, University of Cambridge Book Collection, WRL (‘volumes included’); William Clark, *Catalogue of the Osteological Portions of Specimens Contained in the Anatomical Museum of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 106 (‘Negroes’ and ‘Budd’).
2. George Rainsford Fairbanks, *History of the University of the South, at Sewanee, Tennessee: From Its Founding by the Southern Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of the Episcopal Church in 1857 to the Year 1905* (Jacksonville, FL: The H. & W. B. Drew Company, 1905), 7 (‘theological’); Woody Register and Benjamin King, ‘A Research Summary on Slavery at the University of the South and in the Community of Sewanee’, *The University of the South*, <https://new.sewanee.edu/roberson-project/learn-more/research-summary/#:~:text=While%20other%20universities%20have%20documented,itself%20ever%20owned%20enslaved%20people>, accessed 10 February 2023 (‘native’ and ‘go forth’); W. Brown Patterson, *The Liberal Arts at Sewanee* (Sewanee, TN: The University of the South, 2009), 16 (‘Sewanee Mining Company’).
3. Kate Parrish, ‘Ghosts of Lone Rock’, *University of the South*, <https://new.sewanee.edu/features/ghosts-of-lone-rock/>, accessed 10 February 2023 (‘convicts’); Charles Todd Quintard, *The Confederate Soldier’s Pocket Manual of Devotions* (Charleston: Evans & Cogswell, 1863), title page (‘compile’) and 29–30 (‘servant’).
4. Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865–1920* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009), 147 (‘five trips’); Richard J. M. Blackett, *Divided Hearts: Britain and the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001), 104 (‘thirty-nine’); Benjamin J. King, ‘Church, Cotton, and Confederates; What Bishop Charles Todd Quintard’s Fundraising Trips to Great Britain Reveal about Some Nineteenth-Century Anglo-Catholics’, *Anglican and Episcopal History* 90 (June 2021), 112 (‘University Church’); ‘Charles Todd Quintard’, ACAD, <https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search-2018.pl?sur=quintard&suro=w&fir=&fro=c&cit=&cito=c&c=all&z=all&tex=&sy=&eye=&col=all&maxcount=50>, accessed 13 February 2023 (‘doctorate’); ‘University of the South (Sewanee, Tennessee, U.S.A.)’, in Carol Summerfield and Mary Elizabeth Devine, ed., *International Dictionary of University Histories* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 640 (‘£2,500’); An Offering from English Churchmen to the American Bishops Towards the Re-Establishment of their University for the South and South-West Dioceses, Charles Todd Quintard Papers, WRL, Box 3, Folder 4 (‘Joining’ and ‘donors’); ‘Hope, Alexander Beresford’, ACAD, <https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search-2018.pl?sur=&suro=w&fir=&fro=c&cit=&cito=c&c=all&z=all&tex=HP837AJ&sy=&eye=&col=all&maxcount=50>, accessed 17 January 2022 (‘honorary’); Patterson, *Liberal Arts*, 16 (‘first-class’ and ‘civilized world’).

5. Bishop Green to Thompson, 8 June 1868, Letters from various dignitaries, 1613–1868, CUL, GBR/0265/UA/Lett.17/30.
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 53. Cambridge and Kingsley on American Affairs, *Christian Examiner*, November 1863 ('nowhere greater', 'overmastering', 'tariffs', 'triumph', and 'all hands'); Richard D. Fulton, "'Now Only the Times is on our Side': The London Times and America Before the Civil War', *Victorian Review* 16 (Summer 1990), 50 ('anti-abolitionist'). In 1863, *The Times* publicly opposed the Emancipation Proclamation of 1 January that year, which stated that all enslaved persons held within the Confederate states were free. The paper described it as 'measure which is not freedom to the blacks, but is, as far as possible, massacre to the women and children of the whites'. (*The Times*, 5 March 1863). *The Times*'s pro-Southern approach had earned a stinging rebuke from Samuel R. Calthrop, who wrote a letter in February 1863 to the *Daily News* in London from Marblehead, Massachusetts, as a man 'late of Trinity College, Cambridge'. He wrote that the *Times* was out of touch with American public opinion on enslavement and had misunderstood the origins of the 'great American contest', which had broken out, he claimed, because of 'slavery, and slavery alone'. ('The American War', *The Daily News*, 2 March 1863.)
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- 'Southern'); Robert E. Lee to Mary Anna Randolph Custis Lee, 27 December 1856, *Lee Family Digital Archive*, <https://leefamilyarchive.org/9-family-papers/339-robert-e-lee-to-mary-anna-randolph-custis-lee-1856-december-27>, accessed 6 December 2021 ('instruction'). John O. Waller argues that his opinions 'defy prediction and are still relatively resistant to rational explanation'. ('Charles Kingsley and the American Civil War', *Studies in Philology* 60 [July 1963]: 554.) Owen Chadwick writes that it was 'odd' to find him 'on the Confederate side in the American Civil War'. ('Charles Kingsley at Cambridge', *HJ* 18 [June 1975], 317.)
56. Chadwick, 'Kingsley at Cambridge', 304 ('first in classics') and 322 ('novels'); John C. Cobden, *The White Slaves of England* (Auburn: Derby and Miller, 1853), 193 ('White Slavery').
 57. American Affairs, *Christian Examiner*, November 1863 ('abolitionism'); Waller, 'Kingsley and the American Civil War', 557 ('Free-Soil'); Charles Kingsley, *Two Years Ago*, vol. 1 (London: Macmillan and Co., 1857), ii–iii ('tainted', 'philanthropists', and 'disruption').
 58. Charles Kingsley, *The Roman and the Teuton: A Series of Lectures Delivered Before the University of Cambridge* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1864), 305 ('Teutonic'); Jonathan Conlin, 'An Illiberal Descent: Natural and National History in the Work of Charles Kingsley', *History* 96 (April 2011), 186–187 ('family of Teutonic races'); Francis Kingsley, ed., *Charles Kingsley: His Letters and Memories of His Life*, vol. 2 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1885), 107 ('chimpanzees'); Robert Bernard Martin, *The Dust of Combat: A Life of Charles Kingsley* (New York: Macmillan, 1960), 257 ('rapacity'); Margaret Farrand Thorp, *Charles Kingsley, 1819–1875* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1937), 150 ('amenable'); Charles Kingsley, *The Gospel of the Pentateuch: A Set of Parish Sermons* (London: Parker, Son, and Bourn, 1863), 18 ('know not'); Waller, 'Kingsley and the American Civil War', 562 ('noble').
 59. *Ibid.*, 561 ('lectures'); Kingsley, *Roman and the Teuton*, 20 ('domestic' and 'gentleman') and 169 ('chivalrous', 'unarmed', and 'masters').
 60. Charles Kingsley, *The Limits of Exact Science as Applied to History: An Inaugural Lecture, Delivered Before the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge and London: Macmillan and Co., 1860) ('Limits'); Charles Kingsley to Sir Charles Bunbury, 31 December 1861, in Kingsley, ed., *Charles Kingsley*, vol. 1, 319 ('American', 'Professor', and 'gain to us'); *ibid.*, vol. 2, 311 ('captive'); 'American Affairs', *Christian Examiner*, November 1863 ('unique country', 'fugitive', 'moral', and 'torrents').
 61. *Ibid.*, ('worse evil', 'political existence', 'Confederacy', and 'Man after man'); Kingsley, ed., *Charles Kingsley*, vol. 2, 150–151 ('sobbed').
 62. Beckert, *Empire of Cotton*, 243 ('77') and 247 ('six'); Charles Kingsley to the Editor of *The Times*, undated, in Kingsley, ed., *Charles Kingsley*, vol. 2, 137 ('very Lancashire' and 'distress'); Charles Kingsley to a Millowner, undated, *ibid.*, 137–138 ('broad', 'nearly', 'independent', 'effeminates', and 'emigrate').
 63. Gad J. Heuman, *The Killing Time: The Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994) ('400' and '300'); Jake Subryan Richards, 'Political Thought and the Emotion of Shame: John Stuart Mill and the Jamaica Committee during the Governor Eyre Controversy', *Modern Intellectual History* (2022), 1–21 ('investigate'); George Gawler, 'Governor Edward John Eyre', *The Times*, 5 December 1865 ('Kingsley'); 'Eyre Defence and Aid Fund', *The Times*, 12 September 1866 ('Ruskin'); John Ruskin, *Cambridge School of Art. Mr. Ruskin's Inaugural Address* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co. 1858) ('School of Art'); Clark, *Endowments*, 498 ('Fitzwilliam'); Roderick Murchison, 'The Prosecution of

- Ex-Governor Eyre', *The Times*, 23 May 1868 ('distinguished'); 'Sir Roderick Impey Murchison', *Legacies*, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146644333, accessed 1 March 2023 ('Tourama').
64. Helga M. Griffin, 'Henry Ling Roth (1855–1925)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/roth-henry-ling-8278>, accessed 16 January 2024 ('Guiana'); Joseph Beaumont, *The New Slavery: An Account of the Indian and Chinese Immigrants in British Guiana* (London: W. Ridgway, 1871), 6 ('new slavery'); Sheldon Amos, *The Existing Laws of Demerara for the Regulation of Coolie Immigration* (London: Social Science Association, 1871), 2 ('revival') and 18 ('Blakesley'); 14 January 1949, Minutes of Meetings, Labour Situation in British Guiana, TNA, CO 946/1 ('form of forced labour' and 'Estate'); 17 January 1949, *ibid.* ('thief' and 'serve'); Edward Jenkins, *The Coolie: His Rights and Wrongs* (New York: George Routledge and Sons, 1871), 25 ('Cambridge graduates').
 65. Henry Ling Roth Research Fund, 1972–1988, University Registry subject files, 1896–2019, CUL, GBR/0265/UA/R188/1972, Box 1332 ('research fund'); Russell McDougall and Iain Davidson, 'Introduction', in Russell McDougall and Iain Davidson eds., *The Roth Family, Anthropology, and Colonial Administration* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 13 ('Guiana'); Henry Ling Roth, *A Sketch of the Agriculture and Peasantry of Eastern Russia* (London: Baillière, Tindall, & Cox, 1878), 82 ('demoralizing'); Tracey Banivanua-Mar, 'The Contours of Agency: Women's Work, Race, and Queensland's Indentured Labor Trade', in Carol Williams, ed., *Indigenous Women and Work: From Labor to Activism* (Urbana, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2012), 74 ('63,000'); Tracey Banivanua-Mar, *Violence and Colonial Dialogue: The Australian-Pacific Indentured Labour Trade* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 53 ('prison' and 'free'), 55 ('forty'), and 248 ('Metropolis'); Griffin, 'Roth' ('contracted', 'report', and 'two papers'); 'Meeting of the Mackay Planters and Farmers Association', *Mackay Mercury*, 5 April 1884, in Henry Ling Roth's Cuttings on the Queensland sugar industry, CUL, GBR/0115/RCS/RCMS 294 ('active member'); Henry Ling Roth, 'To the Editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*', 6 April 1883, in *ibid.* ('paradise', 'pandemonium', 'death rates', 'hospitals', 'savage life', 'disgusting', and 'general welfare'); Russell McDougall and Julian Croft, 'Henry Ling Roth's and George Kingsley Roth's Pacific Anthropology', *The Journal of Pacific History* 40 (September 2005), 149 ('Fijian').
 66. Ged Martin, 'The Cambridge Lectureship of 1866: A False Start in American Studies', *Journal of American Studies* 7 (April 1973), 22 ('Kingsley' and '\$6,000') and 27–28 ('self-conceit'); Joseph Brooks Yates, *Legacies*, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/21522, accessed 16 April 2022 ('plantation'); Nicholas Draper, 'British Universities and Caribbean Slavery', in Jill Pellew and Lawrence Goldman, eds., *Dethroning Historical Reputations: Universities, Museums, and the Commemoration of Benefactors* (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2018), 98 ('experienced'); Christopher Chancellor, ed., *An Englishman in the American Civil War: The Diaries of Henry Yates Thompson* (New York: New York University Press, 1971), 14 ('abolitionist' and 'understanding').
 67. Emily Davies to Barbara Bodichon, 12 March 1863, in Ann B. Murphy and Deidre Raftery, eds., *Emily Davies: Collected Letters, 1861–1875* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2004), 42 ('slave-grown cotton'); Emily Davies to Henry Tomkinson, 14 November 1865, in *ibid.*, 162 ('restored', 'extorted', and 'insurrection'); 'Henry and Elizabeth Yates Thompson', *Newnham College, University of Cambridge*, <https://newn.cam.ac.uk/about/history/biographies/>, accessed 4 April 2022 ('funding'); 'Glimpses of Girton: Catherine Gamble', 22 April 2018, *Girton*

- College, Cambridge, www.girton.cam.ac.uk/news/glimpses-girton-jane-catherine-gamble, accessed 15 June 2023 ('bequest funded'); Last Will and Testament of John G. Gamble, 6 December 1852, Florida County Judge's Court (Leon County) Probate Records, 1827–1887, microfilm, GSU, 167–177 and 'Lands of Col. John G. Gamble', *Floridian & Journal*, 2 October 1858 ('Floridian'); Journal: 'Fragments of a Life', 1876–1879, Personal Papers of Jane Catherine Gamble, 1783–1884, GCA, GBR/0271/GCPP Gamble 1/35, 7–8 ('pernicious influence'); Account of the estate of the late James and N. G. Dunlop, 1847, *ibid.*, 2/5 ('bonds' and 'Canal'). Thompson also donated to the British Museum, but his Cambridge benefaction was more impactful in Newnham's early history, providing the College with a Library in 1897 and then in 1907 donating funds to double its capacity.
68. Charles Priestley, ed., 'A Philosopher's Defense of the Confederacy: Jermyn Cowell to Henry Sidgwick, September 1863', *North & South* 9 (May 2006), 82–88 ('Trinity graduate'); *The Index*, 3 September 1863 ('Relief Fund'); John Jermyn Cowell to Henry Sidgwick, 15 September 1863, Letters Received by Henry Sidgwick, WL, Add. MS c/93/93 ('devastation', 'rebel states', 'injuries', 'sudden liberation', and 'emancipation'); Bart Schultz, *Henry Sidgwick – Eye of the Universe: An Intellectual Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 647 ('softened'); Henry Sidgwick to Mary Sidgwick, 15 May 1865, Letters Received by Henry Sidgwick, WL, Add. MS c/99/46 ('federal'). The Cowells were close to the British educationalist, historian, and King's fellow Oscar Browning too. John Jermyn became acquainted with Browning through the Union. (Oscar Browning, *Memories of Sixty Years at Eton, Cambridge and Elsewhere* [London: John Lane, 1910], 39). See also John Jermyn Cowell to Oscar Browning, 6 June 1860 and 21 July 1860, John Jermyn and John Welsford Cowell Letters to Oscar Browning, KCA, GBR/0272/OB/1/412/A.
 69. W. C. Lubenow, *The Cambridge Apostles, 1820–1914: Liberalism, Imagination, and Friendship in British Intellectual and Professional Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 310–311 ('Union's virtues'); Henry Jackson, 'The Hon. William Everett', *Cambridge Review*, 3 March 1910, 316 ('panegyric' and 'tie flaming').
 70. William Everett, *On the Cam: Lectures on the University of Cambridge in England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1865), 371 ('difference' and 'landed interest'), 362 ('governing'), 377 ('literary'), and 380 ('whole English race'). For race, ethnicity, and the special relationship, see also Duncan Bell, *Dreamworlds of Race: Empire and the Utopian Destiny of Anglo-America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2020).
 71. 'John Welsford Cowell', *Legacies*, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/11832, accessed 4 August 2021 ('trustee'); Michael Taylor, 'Conservative Political Economy and the Problem of Colonial Slavery, 1823–1833', *HJ* 57 (2014), 986 ('Political Economy Club'); Bennett, *London Confederates*, 39 ('branches'); Jessica M. Lepler, *The Many Panics of 1837: People, Politics, and the Creation of a Transatlantic Financial Crisis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 57 ('panics'); John Welsford Cowell, *France and the Confederate States* (London: Robert Hardwicke, 1865), 11–12 ('Calhoun') and 12 ('cotton' and 'unavoidable necessity'); John C. Calhoun, 'Speech on the Reception of Abolition Petitions', February 1837, in *Speeches of John C. Calhoun: Delivered in the Congress of the United States from 1811 to the Present Time* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1843), 225 ('positive good').
 72. T. E. Gregory, *The Westminster Bank: Through a Century*, pref. by the Hon. Rupert E. Beckett, vol. 2 (London: Westminster Bank Limited, 1936), 188–202 ('Alderman'

- and ‘emancipation’); Thomas E. Sebrell II, *Persuading John Bull: Union and Confederate Propaganda in Britain, 1860–65* (New York, NY: Lexington Books, 2014), 212 (‘supporter’); ‘British Jackson Monumental Fund’, *The Index*, 23 July 1863 (‘donated’).
73. 22 October 1857, Minute book of the board of directors of London & Westminster Bank, NatWest, LWB/234/3, 462 (‘loan’); 21 June 1854, *ibid.*, 288 (‘Railway’); *Reports from Commissioners: Oxford and Cambridge*, vol. 20, 7 (‘building works’); Gregory, *Westminster Bank*, vol. 2, 188 (‘non-attendance’); *ibid.*, vol. 1, 264–265 (‘fall from our grasp’); Douglas M. Peers, *India under Colonial Rule: 1700–1885* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 64 (‘800,000’); ‘David Lionel Salomons’, ACAD, <https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search-2016.pl?sur=&suro=w&fir=&firo=c&cit=&cito=c&c=all&z=all&tex=SLMS870DL&sye=&eye=&col=all&maxcount=50>, accessed 11 April 2022 (‘alma mater’).
 74. Original Correspondence from John W. Cowell, February 1840 to 1852, New Zealand Company Original Correspondence, TNA, CO 208/11 (‘corresponded’); ‘Terms of a Purchase of Land in the Settlement of Otago’, in Cuthbert W. Johnson and William Shaw, ed., *The Farmers’ Almanac and Calendar*, vol. 3 (London: James Ridgway, 1847–48), 158–161 (‘land purchase’); Colonial William Wakefield to John Welsford Cowell, 10 November 1842, New Zealand Company, TNA, CO 208/11 (‘statistical’). See also John W. Cowell to Charles Cox, 1 November 1853, in *A Letter from J. W. Cowell, Esq., to Sir George Grey, K.C.B. Late Governor of New Zealand, On the Mode of the Freeing that Colony from the Tax Imposed Upon it of Paying £268,000 to the New Zealand Company* (London: Raynell and Wight, 1854), 7–8. Though it was involved in sending the first four ships to New Zealand, the Association was not a success, and its business was concluded in 1855. See *Canterbury Papers: Information Concerning the Principles, Objects, Plans, & Proceedings of the Founders of the Settlement of Canterbury, in New Zealand*, 10 vols. (London: John W. Parker, 1850).
 75. J. F. Jameson, ‘The London Expenditures of the Confederate Secret Service’, *The American Historical Review* 35 (July 1930), 816 (‘Confederate agents’); John Welsford Cowell, *Southern Secession* (London: Robert Hardwicke, 1862), 33 (‘very object’ and ‘absolute independence’); John Welsford Cowell, *Lancashire’s Wrongs and the Remedy: Two Letters Addressed to the Cotton Operatives of Great Britain* (London: Robert Hardwicke, 1863), 29 (‘protectionist’); Cowell, *France*, 8 (‘monopolists’) and 18 (‘yoke’).
 76. Cowell, *Lancashire’s Wrongs*, 33 (‘peasantry’) and 5 (‘Operatives’); Cowell, *Southern Secession*, 18–19 (‘natural’ and ‘mutually’) and 32 (‘noble’); Catherine Hall, ‘Reconfiguring Race: The Stories the Slave-Owners Told’, in Hall et al., eds., *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership*, 163–202 (‘participants’). See Ritchie D. Watson, Jr., *The Cavalier in Virginia Fiction* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985).
 77. Martin G. Buist, *At Specs Non Fracta: Hope & Co. 1770–1815: Merchant Bankers and Diplomats at Work* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1974), 20 (‘loans’); Alexander Beresford Hope, *Essays* (London: Francis & John Rivington, 1844) and Alexander Beresford Hope, *The English Cathedral of the Nineteenth Century* (London: John Murray, 1861) (‘busy’); Alexander Beresford Hope, *A Popular View of the American Civil War* (London, James Ridgway, 1861), 11 (‘inherited’); Bennett, *London Confederates*, 167–170 (‘Fund’); ‘Hope, Alexander Beresford’, ACAD, <https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search-2018.pl?sur=&suro=w&fir=&firo=c&cit=&cito=c&c=all&z=all&tex=HP837AJ&sye=&eye=&col=all&maxcount=50>, accessed 17 January 2022 (‘1868’). See

- also 'William John Bankes', *Legacies*, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146645443, accessed 9 July 2021; and 'Sir Nicholas Conyngham Tindal', *Legacies*, www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/7212, accessed 9 July 2021.
78. Hope, *Popular View*, 10–11 ('ultra-abolitionists' and 'untaught'), 35 ('cruel war'), 28 ('massacre'), and 36 ('right arm of strength'); Alexander Beresford Hope, *The Results of the American Disruption: The Substance of a Lecture Delivered by Request Before the Maidstone Literary & Mechanics' Institution, In Continuation of A Popular View of the American Civil War, and England, the North, and the South* (London: James Ridgway, 1862), 16 ('principles of self-dependence'). For the Black Confederate myth, see Kevin M. Levin, *Searching for Black Confederates: The Civil War's Most Persistent Myth* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019).
 79. Stephen B. Oates, 'Henry Hotze: Confederate Agent Abroad', *The Historian* 27 (February 1965), 133–134 ('emigrated'); Dubrulle, *Ambivalent Nation*, 108 ('Gobineau'); Charles M. Hubbard, *The Burden of Confederate Diplomacy* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1998), 100 ('seven hundred'); Lonnie A. Burnett, ed., *Henry Hotze, Confederate Propagandist: Selected Writings on Revolution, Recognition, and Race* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2008), 19 ('paid journalists') and 20–22 ('opinion').
 80. Henry Hotze to Hon. J. B. Benjamin, 13 February 1864, in Colonel Harry Kidder White, ed., *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, vol. 3 (Washington, D.C.: Naval War Records Office 1922), 1025 ('locality'); Henry Hotze to Hon. J. B. Benjamin, 29 July 1864, *ibid.*, 1178 ('permanent root' and 'two gentlemen'); Oates, 'Henry Hotze', 151 ('idea'); Richard Barksdale Harwell, ed., 'The Creed of a Propagandist: Letter from a Confederate Editor', *Journalism Quarterly* 28 (Spring 1951), 215 ('identified').
 81. Zoë Laidlaw, *Protecting the Empire's Humanity: Thomas Hodgkin and British Colonial Activism, 1830–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 81 ('Ethnological'); Seth, 'Race, Specificity, and Statistics', 379 ('polygenism'); James Hunt, 'On the Negro's Place in Nature', in *Memoirs Read Before the Anthropological Society of London, 1863–4* (London: Trübner and Co., 1865), 55 ('improvement' and 'impunity') and 56 ('diseases'); Kathryn Olivarius, *Necropolis: Disease, Power, and Capitalism in the Cotton Kingdom* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2022), 81 ('immune').
 82. Barbara Black, *A Room of His Own: A Literary-Cultural Study of Victorian Clubland* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2012), 170 ('Cannibal Club'); Edmund Gosse, *Books on the Table* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921), 64 ('dined') and 65 ('Bendyshe'); 'Twelfth List of the Foundation Fellows of the Anthropological Society of London', in Thomas Bendyshe, ed., *The Anthropological Treatises of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, Late Professor at Göttingen and Court Physician to the King of Great Britain* (London: Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1865), 3–16 ('Cambridge-affiliated men'); John S. Michael, 'Nuance Lost in Translation: Interpretations of J. F. Blumenbach's Anthropology in the English Speaking World', *NTM: International Journal of History & Ethics of Natural Sciences Technology & Medicine* 25 (July 2017), 291 ('oversimplified'); Thomas Bendyshe, 'On the Extinction of Races', *Journal of the Anthropological Society of London* 2 (1864), xcix–cxiii ('extinction').
 83. James Hunt, *Anniversary Address Delivered Before the Anthropological Society of London, January 5th, 1864* (London: Anthropological Society of London, 1864), 21 ('ASL'); 'John George Witt', *ACAD*, <https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/cgi-bin/search-2018>

- .pl?sur=&suro=w&fir=&firo=c&cit=&cito=c&c=all&z=all&tex=WT856JG&sye=&eye=&col=all&maxcount=50, accessed 17 January 2022 ('matriculated'); John George Witt, *Life in the Law* (London: T. Werner Laurie, 1906), 141 ('met') and 143 ('entered'); 12 February 1861, Minute Book of Cambridge Union Society, CUL, USOC 1/1/1/17 ('probable').
84. Henry Hotze to John George Witt, 11 August 1864, Henry Hotze Letter and Dispatch Book, LARC, 90 ('highest ideal'); Witt, *Life*, 144 ('Southern cause') and 156 ('free off-hand', 'property', 'creed', and 'demarcation'); John George Witt, 'In Ducem Illustrissimum', *The Index*, 2 June 1864 ('poem'). Hotze's attention to the universities was not unusual or unprecedented. One southern enslaver identified Oxford University as the 'eye' and 'telescope' of 'British policy'. (Samuel A. Cartwright, 'The Education, Labor, and Wealth of the South', in E. N. Elliott, ed., *Cotton is King, and Pro-Slavery Arguments* [Augusta, GA: Pritchard, Abbott & Loomis, 1860], 893).
 85. Witt, *Life*, 146 and 148 ('remained in contact'), 154 ('dinner'), 157 ('many looks'), 158–159 ('rich inheritance', 'laughed', and 'delightful'); Jefferson Davis to John George Witt, 4 December 1868, in Lynda Lasswell Crist et al., *The Papers of Jefferson Davis*, vol. 12 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008), 331 ('Cambridge'). These exiles settled in many countries, including Brazil, Mexico, and Britain. See Michael L. Conniff and Cyrus B. Dawsey, eds., *The Confederados: Old South Immigrants in Brazil* (Auburn: University of Alabama Press, 1987); William Clark Griggs, *The Elusive Eden: Frank McMullan's Confederate Colony in Brazil* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987); and Daniel E. Sutherland, 'Exiles, Emigrants, and Sojourners: The Post-Civil War Confederate Exodus in Perspective', *Civil War History* 31 (September 1985), 237–256.
 86. Witt, *Life*, 160 ('introduced') and 166–167 ('Great Seal' and 'American citizen'). Thanks, in part, to Witt's efforts, Benjamin did not die a poor man. His executors, including Witt and Lindsay Middleton Appland (another London barrister), appraised the estate at over £60,221. From 1867 to 1882, Benjamin had earned more than £143,900 from his work at the English bar. (Pierce Butler, *Judah P. Benjamin* [Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Company, 1906], 419 ['appraised'] and 441 ['work'].)

Conclusion

1. List of Tharp Estates & Number of Slaves in 1817, Tharp Papers, CA, R55/7/123/16 ('Weipart' and 'list'); Sarah M. S. Pearsall, *Atlantic Families: Lives and Letters in the Later Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 213, n. 12 ('Trinity'); 'Splendid Entertainment at Windsor Castle', *The Court Journal. From January to December 1833* (London: Henry Colburn, 1833), 212 ('birthday'); Robert Livingston Schuyler, 'The Constitutional Claims of the British West Indies: The Controversy over the Slave Registry Bill of 1815', *Political Science Quarterly* 40 (March 1925), 6 ('Registry').
2. Ruth Simmons, 'Hidden in Plain Sight: Slavery and Justice in Rhode Island', *The Eagle*, 2007, 54 ('intrigued'); Lauren Egan, 'Biden Signs into Law Bill Establishing Juneteenth as Federal Holiday', *NBC News*, www.nbcnews.com/politics/white-house/biden-signs-law-bill-establishing-juneteenth-federal-holiday-n1271213, accessed 17 June 2021 ('Juneteenth'); John R. Oldfield and Mary Wills, 'Remembering

- 1807: Lessons from the Archives', *History Workshop Journal* 90 (Autumn 2020), 253–272 ('nationalistic'); Erik Gøbel, *The Danish Slave Trade and Its Abolition* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 177 ('1803').
3. The interconnections between British society and culture and the empire to the present have been more recently discussed in Sathnam Sanghera, *Empireland: How Imperialism Has Shaped Modern Britain* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2023); and Charlotte Lydia Riley, *Imperial Island: An Alternative History of the British Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2024).