



Slavery Connections

CONFIDENTIAL

This paper provides an overview of connections between the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh (hereafter ‘the College’) and the Atlantic slave trade.

This paper has been compiled by the College’s Library & Heritage Team as an informational resource for the College’s Council and Senior Management Team. Its purpose is to enable these groups to make fully informed decisions on any subsequent actions to be taken – its aim is not to provide these outcomes.

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1. Modern context

- In October 2020, the College established a diversity and history group. This group consists of members of the Library & Heritage team and its focus has been:
 - Developing this report on the College's historical relationship with slavery
 - Developing public content for Black History Month in October 2021, focusing on celebrating achievements and positive contributions to medicine
 - Developing a heritage diversity statement and acquisitions policy and proactively collecting diverse stories from the College's Fellows & Members
 - Ensuring diverse experiences (both past and present) from BAME Fellows & Members are shared online, both from individuals based in the UK and overseas

- In November 2020 Edinburgh City Council established the Edinburgh Slavery & Colonialism Legacy Review Group, chaired by Professor Sir Geoff Palmer.

- In December 2020 Sir Geoff Palmer noted on social media the historical actions of past President of the College William Wright (discussed later in this paper) as well as more generally the role of doctors in supporting the slave trade.

- In August 2021 the Legacy Review Group wrote to Prof Elder to note that the College will be included in their report, particularly in the context of physicians being employed by slave owners. The letter also noted that a list has been compiled of 40 key features (organisations, monuments, buildings etc.) that are particularly associated with the slave trade in Edinburgh and therefore will be central to their report. The College is one of those 40 features.

- In August 2021 NHS Lothian and Edinburgh and Lothians Health Foundation established an advisory group and funded a research post to document historical links between the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh and the Atlantic slave trade.

- In September 2021 Prof Elder, Prof Thomas and Daisy Cunynghame attended the first of the ongoing series of meetings of an inter-agency group which is focused on supporting one another and sharing ideas relating to work currently underway relating to Edinburgh's

medical connections to the slave trade. Other attendees include individuals from the University of Edinburgh, NHS Lothian and George Watson's College.

- In November 2021 Prof Elder, Prof Thomas and Daisy Cunynghame met with Sir Geoff Palmer to discuss how the College can contribute to the Legacy Review Group.
- The deadline to respond to the Legacy Review Group's online review is 19th January 2022 (see here: www.edinburgh.gov.uk/slaverycolonialism).

2. Methodology

While some institutions (including the University of Glasgow) have focused their exploration of historical links with slavery particularly on the donations they received, the complex relationship between physicians and slavery (encompassing their occupation, as well as finances) has necessitated a broader look at the activities of the College's Presidents, Fellows and Members.

Key sources utilised in this research include:

- **the College's own historic records**
- **the *Medical Register* for the years 1780 and 1783** (registers were not systematically published until the mid-19th century, as a result these are the only two registers available for the dates covered by this report)
- **University College London's *Legacy of Slavery* database** (this database contains information about (1) every slave-owner in the British Caribbean, Mauritius or the Cape at the moment of abolition in 1833; (2) all the estates that the UCL project identified in the British Caribbean in the period 1763-1833; and (3) all the slave-owners, attorneys, mortgagees and legatees the project found for the estates between 1763 and 1833)

The College's historical Fellows number tens of thousands. As a result, it is not feasible to research the work and lives of each of these physicians individually. Priority instead has been given to three areas:

- **the College as an institution.** I.e. determining what involvement the College had with the slave trade by reviewing the College's own financial records, correspondence, reports and minutes
- **College Presidents.** An assumption is made that those individuals who held the office of President, by virtue of being elected to the post by their peers, were more closely connected with the College and therefore, potentially, were more representative of its values than Licentiates and Fellows

- **abolitionism.** Identifying where evidence exists for the active involvement of past Presidents and Fellows in the abolition of slavery

Where the activities of past Fellows and Licentiates have been identified as part of this project the details of this have been included. However, the list of relevant individuals included in this report is unlikely to be exhaustive.

Focusing on the role of the College and its Presidents and Fellows inevitably means that this report cannot cover the full breadth of the relationship of medicine, or Scottish doctors, with slavery.

Significant points to note which are not developed in this report are:

- Prominent racist physicians who studied at the University of Edinburgh but did not become Fellows of the College. This includes John Hume and James Thomson, author of *A Treatise on the Diseases of Negroes* (1820)
- The theoretical influence of the University of Edinburgh's medical professors on future generations of racist physicians. Londa Schiebinger, in *Secret Cures of Slaves*, suggests that the medical experimentation carried out at the city's infirmary by the university's medical lecturers, particularly Francis Home and James Gregory, encouraged their students to later develop experiments on enslaved people. As no reference is made to experiments on enslaved individuals in the work of Home and Gregory this is not considered to be sufficiently evidenced to examine here
- Individuals who have been wrongly attributed in secondary literature as being Fellows of the College. This includes Donald Monro, who published details of experiments carried out on enslaved people in his *Letters and Essays... by Different Practitioners* (1778). Monro is referenced in *Secret Cures of Slaves* as having been a Fellow of the College but was a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of London and not the Edinburgh College
- African American contributions to medical progress. While this is a fascinating topic which is of considerable interest to current historians (see, for example, Simon Currie's *European and Non-European Medical Practices* and Professor Carolyn Roberts' upcoming book *To Heal and to Harm: Medicine, Knowledge, and Power in the Atlantic Slave Trade*) it is outside the scope of this report

3. Summary

Owning enslaved people and employment on plantations

One President of the College, William Wright, has been identified who purchased enslaved people. In addition, two other Presidents (William Pulteney Alison and Alexander Morison) have been identified as having connections with the slave trade via bequests from relatives. William Cullen, another past President, visited the Caribbean whilst working on a merchant vessel as a ship's surgeon. There is no indication that Cullen engaged in activities relating to slavery during this visit.

16 Fellows have been identified who were connected to the slave trade either via owning enslaved people or their employment to medically treat enslaved people.

Racist writings

Medical writing played a central role in the establishment and promotion of racial theories which presented Afro-Caribbean people as biologically inferior to white people. William Wright (PRCPE) and James Grainger (FRCPE) were two prominent individuals connected with the College who wrote on the subjects of race and slavery.

According to Grainger, African enslaved people were uncivilised as a direct result of their race. He advocated the use of corporal punishment, for 'Surely were Negroes instructed in the practical principles of Christianity, they would be rendered much better servants, and would prevent with much severity, whereto they now unavoidably are exposed'.

Grainger also argued for the care and medical treatment of enslaved people as 'it is not enough to take care of Negroes when they are sick; they should also be well clothed and regularly fed... One Negroe saved in this manner more than pays the additional expense which owners of slaves by this means incur'. The purpose of such treatment, therefore, was not to preserve or protect the sick individual, it was a financial decision based on their monetary value.

Wright also wrote in favour of slavery, and the medical treatment of enslaved people. In addition, he was a vocal opponent of the abolitionist movement, arguing that it would be 'fatal to our commerce, ruinous to our islands, destructive to our countrymen, and no way serving the cause of humanity'.

Abolitionism

One past President (James Young Simpson) and two Fellows (James Currie and John Coakley Lettsom) have been identified who were active in the abolitionist movement. Their activities included writing abolitionist tracts, freeing the enslaved people they inherited and signing petitions against slavery.

4. Historical context

The relationship between physicians and slavery in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries was a complex one. In some instances, physicians themselves owned enslaved people. Some did this remotely, from their homes in Edinburgh, London or elsewhere, while others lived on the plantations and managed them directly. In the cases of the latter, many of these doctors studied enslaved people and wrote works which created, and encouraged, racial stereotyping which argued that white people were different, and even superior, to those they enslaved.

In other cases, physicians were employed to treat enslaved people, and indeed the ratio of physicians to residents was higher in slave-holding than non-slave-holding areas, as this was considered by many as a lucrative occupation and physicians would move to these areas for the employment opportunities offered (Halperin: 2013). One recent analysis found that two thirds of physicians practicing in Jamaica in 1780 were Scottish (Whyte: 2006).

This employment took place in the Caribbean and the Americas, but also on the ships which transported enslaved people. The latter is particularly significant for Scottish physicians because they far more commonly undertook the position of ship surgeon or ship physician than their English counterparts. There were a few reasons for this. Firstly, during the 18th century there were five universities in Scotland at which a student could study medicine (by comparison, there were only two in England at that time). As a result, more individuals qualified as physicians in Scotland than were posts available. Secondly, and even more significantly, for much of the 18th century Scottish qualifications were not recognised by the Royal College of Physicians of London and therefore doctors who studied in Scotland were not permitted to work in or around England's capital without an additional qualification from an English or continental university.

Scottish doctors, therefore, frequently joined the army, as military physicians, or became naval surgeons or physicians. Military action in the Caribbean drew surgeons and physicians and during the War of Jenkins' Ear (1739-1748) individuals stationed there included James Lind (credited as the founder of naval hygiene and the individual who developed the first clinical trial). Medical employment aboard ships could also include land wars in Europe, trade voyages with the East India Company to China, India and Japan, and employment on ships travelling to or from the Caribbean and the Americas.

It is often unclear precisely what the role of physicians on such ships was. In the early 18th century only the largest slave ships had a ship doctor. However, after the passage of the Slave Trade Act in 1788 it became compulsory for all British slave ships to have a doctor in order to keep records of all illnesses and deaths during voyages. While the original bill, as presented to parliament, detailed that the Royal College of Surgeons in London held the monopoly over granting licences to slave ship practitioners an amending act put forward by the Member of Parliament Henry Dundas stated that practitioners must exhibit 'a Certificate of his having passed his examination at Surgeons' Hall [in London] or at some Publick or County Hospital or at the Royal College of Physicians or Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh'. This revision came about as a result of lobbying on the part of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh and while they went on to promote their new role in the press, as well as to examine prospective slave ship surgeons, the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh showed no interest in participating and at no point examined slave doctors (Watson: 1969).

The terms 'doctor' and 'physician', in a historical context, should not be taken to have a direct correlation with their 21st century meanings. In the 17th and 18th centuries it was common for 'doctors' who planned to work aboard ship or in the Americas to undertake only a semester or two of studies at the University of Edinburgh before adopting the moniker of 'doctor' without holding an MD. This was particularly common in the Caribbean and many historians have noted that 'self-styled' doctors were commonplace there (Hamilton: 2005; Sheridan: 1985). Frequently these individuals were, in practice, surgeons or apothecaries. Indeed, in the 1780 *Medical Register* it is detailed that of 94 practitioners working in the Caribbean at that time, 17 were qualified physicians while 77 were surgeons or apothecaries. As a result, the majority of Scottish medical practitioners working in the Caribbean were not qualified physicians and were, therefore, not Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh.

The medical education available at the University of Edinburgh was considered to be one of the finest in the world in the 18th and 19th centuries, ranked alongside Paris and Leiden. The University of Glasgow, although not as pre-eminent as that of Edinburgh, offered a wide ranging and in-depth medical programme. The universities of St. Andrews and Aberdeen were, however, considerably less well regarded. It was not uncommon for individuals to buy their qualifications from those universities without ever having visited them, sat any examinations, or attended a single class. In order to progress to College Fellowship a mail-order qualification from one of those universities was an important step. It is significant to note, when considering the individuals detailed in this report, how many received their qualifications from Aberdeen or St. Andrews universities. And, moreover,

how many of these individuals achieved these qualifications when already living in the Caribbean. A qualification from one of these universities allowed the untrained and inexperienced to purchase their way into legitimate medical practice (Kett, 1964; Poynter, 1966).

5. The College as an institution

Darien Scheme

In the 1690s the College became involved in the Darien Scheme. This was an attempt, sponsored by an overseas trading company titled the Company of Scotland, to encourage trading to Africa and the East and West Indies. The aims of the scheme included the traffic of enslaved Africans who would be sold or forced to work in the gold mines of Panama.

The Darien Scheme also included a plan to establish a colony, to be titled New Caledonia, in the Caribbean. Two expeditions were carried out to the region, in 1698 and 1699, but these failed spectacularly – with the death of over 2,000 men. Investments by individuals and organisations across Scotland had been extensive and when the Darien Scheme failed the financial impact on lowlands Scotland was significant.

The College began investing in the Darien Scheme in September 1696. The College, having originally invested £200, received £120 and 16 shillings in 1707 when the scheme was wound up.

According to the College's minutes, dated 23rd September 1707:

'the colledge considering that they are proprietors in the capitall stock of the company of Scotland tradeing to affrica an the Indies conforms to subscription in the said company's books for the soume of tuo hundred pounds sterling the colledge therefor hereby impowers and grants warrand to Doctor John Riddell physitian present thessrer to the sd colledge to get out of the certificat from the directors of the said company and the receive from the honorable the commissioners appoynted by ther ma'tie for disposeing of the equivalent and ye cashers the soume of on hundreth and twenty pounds sterling and sextein shillings due and resting to the said colledge for the severall payments made by them of the sd subtne and rent of the samen preceeding the first of May last and the give his discharge to the saids commissioners yrof in comone forme which the colledge hereby declairs to be an sufficient exonoratne to them and all oysr concerned and ordains there clerk to give forth ane extract of this act.'

8 Queen Street

The College's premises on 8 Queen Street were previously owned by John Blackburn, whose father was a merchant of Glasgow. Blackburn made his fortune in Jamaica (where he was based between 1772 and 1805) before returning to Glasgow. He is noted in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* as having been a 'Jamaica proprietor'.

6. Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh

This section provides a brief overview of the history of the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh and its relationship with the Atlantic slave trade. More detailed research on this subject is being carried out by NHS Lothian, and so is out of scope of this report.

The Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh was founded in 1729. This was part of a wider movement which took place across Britain during the 18th century, in which 42 voluntary hospitals were established in England and Scotland by groups of charitable individuals, sometimes with the active support of local authorities.

The voluntary element of these institutions relates to the fact that they were funded, in large part, by voluntary donations from individuals, parishes and corporations, with additional revenue often supplied from other sources, such as church collections, charity theatre performances and bequests.

The College was instrumental in the infirmary's foundation – by establishing a public appeal for funds which was advertised in the press and approaching individuals and bodies such as the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to solicit donations. An early regulation stated that the management committee of the infirmary must include the President of the College and four Fellows. A rule was also made that all medical staff at the infirmary must be Fellows of the College. This rule was only overturned in 1888.

There were a number of distinctive features of the Edinburgh infirmary:

- While the infirmary accepted donations, it was not run on the same subscription model which English infirmaries adopted, whereby patients had to apply to donors for recommendations, and therefore only patients recommended by financial backers of the infirmary were admitted. The subscription model was only adopted in Edinburgh in 1796.
- As a result of the subscription model, the management board of English infirmaries was usually comprised of these donors, while key management positions on the Edinburgh infirmary's board were held by physicians.
- Freedom from control by lay management enabled the Edinburgh infirmary to admit individuals who were usually excluded from English infirmaries for moralistic reasons, including venereal patients and unmarried pregnant women.

- Without a subscription model of financing, the Edinburgh infirmary was unusually reliant on its financial investments, including the plantations which are described in more detail below.
- A large portion of the Edinburgh infirmary's funding came from the sale of attendance tickets to students at the University of Edinburgh. At teaching hospitals in London, by contrast, all fees were paid to the individual teachers, not to the hospital itself (Gelfand: 1985).
- Unusually, the Edinburgh infirmary had fee-paying wards alongside its wards for the poor. These were designated for servants, soldiers and sailors.

In the mid-18th century Dr Archibald Kerr (who was not a Fellow of the College) left an estate in Jamaica to the infirmary. This estate included 25 enslaved people. The infirmary then leased these premises to various individuals over the following decades. The income from this comprised approximately 10% of the infirmary's annual income. By 1817 the estate had expanded to include approximately 50 enslaved people. The estate remained in the infirmary's possession for almost another century (Risse: 1986).

7. College Presidents

Presidency of the College, since the founding charter of 1681, was voted upon by Fellows of the College at an annual meeting. The College had 54 Presidents between its foundation in 1681 and passing of the Slavery Abolition Act in 1833. Individuals with a connection to the slave trade and/or the Caribbean are detailed below, although in some cases these connections are marginal or somewhat obscure.

William Pulteney Alison (President 1836-1838). Alison was not himself an owner of enslaved people but was awarded compensation on the abolition of slavery as he was an absentee trustee on behalf of his brother-in-law Colonel Gerard for the Bellevue estate in Saint Vincent. The combined compensation was £4,081 and 10 shillings between the plantation owner, John Gerard, and the estate's three trustees.

Legacy: The College holds a large collection of Alison's research papers. A bust of Alison is on display at the foot of the Grand Staircase, in the foyer of 9 Queen Street. It does not appear from the College's financial records that any financial donations or bequests were made by Alison.

William Cullen (President 1773-1775). At the age of 19 Cullen became a ship's surgeon on a vessel, the Prince William, trading in the West Indies; his cousin William Cleland was the captain. It is notable that whilst this was a merchant ship (carrying merchant cargo, rather than enslaved people) it was owned by the South Sea Company who had the monopoly to supply African enslaved people to the islands in the South Seas and South America. The ship arrived at Porto-Bello on 31st January 1731 and remained there until 1st July that same year (Wolf: 2015). There is no indication that Cullen was engaged in activities relating to slavery during this six month stop over. He noted in lectures which he delivered at both Edinburgh and Glasgow universities that during his time in the West Indies he had studied the effect of climate on the human constitution and the diseases which were prevalent there.

Legacy: The College awards both a Cullen Medal and a Cullen Prize. The Cullen Suite, located in 8 Queen Street, is also named for him. The College also holds a portrait painting of Cullen which hangs in the Cullen Suite, as well as a roundel profile as part of the frieze in the Great Hall, in addition to many of his manuscripts and books. It does not appear from the College's financial records that any financial donations or bequests were made by Cullen.

Alexander Morison (President 1827-1829). Morison was one of a group of 'heirs of Thomas Stratton' to Windsor Castle estate, a sugar and rum plantation, in Saint David, Jamaica in 1817. Morison's wife (Mary Morison nee Cushnie) was his cousin, and had also, separately, been an heir to the Thomas Stratton estate. Mary had also previously received an additional share of the same estate on the death of her father, Alexander Cushnie, in 1799. These inheritances helped to fund Morison's early life and career, including the building of a property, Larchgrove.

Legacy: Two portraits of Morison hang in the College's Great Hall. The College also holds various papers of Morison, including a collection of illustrations he commissioned of asylum patients.

The College received both financial and property bequests from Morison one month before his death, in February 1866. His property, Larchgrove, was to be conveyed in trust within 12 months of his death for the purpose of 'providing a fund from which an annual remuneration should be paid to a Lecturer on subjects connected with mental diseases'. He also bequeathed a bond of annuity of £6.15, to be used for 'two premiums of £3 each for meritorious conduct in their duties to one Male and one Female attendant upon the Insane' (College minutes, February 1866).

Between March 1868 and April 1874 Lady Grace Morison (Morison's second wife) made seven further donations to the College, totalling £47.50.

The College sold Larchgrove in 1891 to a Mr Menzies for £1,150. The College set up a prize fund which was funded by Morison's bequest and the later donations of his wife, which was titled the Morison Lecture. The last Morison Lecture took place in 2019, although another was due to take place in 2020 but was cancelled because of the COVID pandemic. The Alexander Morison Fund remains within the College's portfolio. As of May 2021, the accumulated funds within this endowment totalled £2,714.70.

William Wright (President 1801-1803). Wright treated and owned enslaved people. He was a Royal Navy surgeon in the West Indies from 1758 to 1763. Wright was appointed Surgeon General of Jamaica in 1774 and remained in Jamaica until 1777. He later undertook a scientific expedition in the Caribbean from 1796 to 1798 with Ralph Abercromby.

The UCL slave ownership database indicates that at abolition, Wright received compensation for the loss of 33 enslaved people that he either owned directly or in partnership with others. According to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 'During these years [1764-1777] he became financially successful by investing the income from his medical practice in slaves and land. In mid-1765 he and Thomas Steel owned four slaves, in 1767 fifteen slaves, by 1771 thirty-three slaves'.

Wright's memoirs were amongst those publications which encouraged racial stereotypes and argued for a medical, and biological, basis to such racism. Wright wrote that enslaved people were 'rescued from... a state of barbarism' and referred to African people as a 'dark race'.

Legacy: The College does not own any paintings or sculptures of Wright, neither are his personal papers held by the College. A copy of his memoirs is held in the College library. It does not appear from the College's financial records that any financial donations or bequests were made by Wright.

8. Fellows, Members and Licentiates

Licentiates

The licensing of the College was established at its foundation. For a physician to practice in Edinburgh and the surrounding neighbourhood they were required to hold a College licence obtainable by examination, from which Scottish university graduates were exempt, and the licence, though not obligatory, was available to those practising outside the area of the College's jurisdiction, subject to their satisfying examiners and to the payment of appropriate dues.

In its early days the College often granted individuals a licence and advanced them to Fellowship at one sitting, and as a result the initial intermediate stage of Licentiate became largely redundant and was discarded around 1710.

In 1763 licentiateship was once again made a necessary stepping-stone to Fellowship and it was stipulated that at least a year must have elapsed between being granted a licence and being admitted to Fellowship, but this rule was not consistently followed. The rule was rescinded in 1829, the order of Licentiate fell into disuse and was resuscitated in an entirely new form in 1859. That year saw the introduction of the Double Qualification, a collaborative approach with the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh. Licentiateship, from that date onwards, meant an individual had passed an examination set by two or more medical colleges in partnership – it did not indicate a relationship between a single College and any Licentiate.

Membership and Fellowship

Under terms of the charter of 1861 a new level between Licentiate and Fellow was created which now had to pass an examination. This was the beginning of College Membership.

The terms Fellow and Member were used reasonably indiscriminately in the early records of the College for individuals who did not technically hold those titles and while an individual may have been described in the records as a 'Member' prior to the mid-19th century, this term was not then used in the sense in which we understand it in the 21st century.

After creation of the MRCP(UK) examination in the 1960s the three colleges of physicians agreed to establish a category of membership called Collegiate Members, who had extra privileges over ordinary members.

Findings

In those cases where, during research for this report, Fellows have been identified as being connected with the slave trade they are detailed below. This list, however, is unlikely to be exhaustive.

James Makittrick Adair (FRCPE). Adair was made a Fellow of the College in 1793. Following his education at the University of Edinburgh, Adair practiced in Antigua. He frequently spoke out in favour of slave owners, writing the book, *Unanswerable Arguments Against the Abolition of the Slave Trade* in 1790. In this work he argued that because enslaved people ‘often amuse themselves with singing and dancing’ there was ‘no reason to suppose they regard bondage as a great evil’. Adair is mentioned on the UCL list of beneficiaries from the slave trade but there are no specifics. His will suggests many connections to Antigua but there are no mentions of ownership of a plantation or enslaved people.

Legacy: The College library holds seven publications by Adair, including the book mentioned above. There is one letter from Adair in the College archive. It does not appear from the College’s financial records that any financial donations or bequests were made by Adair.

David Aird (FRCPE). Aird was made a Fellow of the College in 1816. Aird worked in Antigua although it is unknown what his work entailed.

Legacy: The College does not hold any papers or publications by Aird. It does not appear from the College’s financial records that any financial donations or bequests were made by Aird.

William Arnold (FRCPE). Arnold was made a Fellow of the College in 1822. He graduated at Aberdeen in 1821. Arnold worked in Port Antonio, Jamaica, as an assistant to Dr Alexander Murchison of Vere. Arnold was put in charge of a military hospital in 1815 and recorded his medical observations which resulted in the publication of his work *A practical treatise on the bilious remittent fever; its causes and effects. With illustrative tables and cases, on the temperature of the*

system in the febrile diseases of Jamaica. To which is added, medical topography of the different military stations in 1840. In this work Arnold noted that ‘During the whole period, with the exception of an absence from the island for about 18 months, I have been in extensive civil and military practice.’

Legacy: The College library hold Arnold’s book mentioned above. There is one letter from Arnold in the College archive. It does not appear from the College’s financial records that any financial donations or bequests were made by Arnold.

James Clark (FRCPE). Clark was made a Fellow of the College in 1789. Clark practiced in Dominica and researched yellow fever and other ‘West Indian diseases’ during his time there. He is listed on the UCL database as having been joint owner of two plantations there, Clark Hall Coffee Estate and Clark Hall Sugar Estate, and sole owner of one, Mount Pleasant. At the time of his death, there were 86 enslaved individuals on Clark’s Coffee Estate, 154 on his Sugar Estate, and 73 on his Mount Pleasant Estate.

Legacy: The College does not hold any papers or publications by Clark. It does not appear from the College’s financial records that any financial donations or bequests were made by Clark.

John Cochrane (FRCPE). Cochrane was made a Fellow of the College in 1744. Cochrane left London in 1714 to work as a surgeon’s mate on a voyage to Guinea. He then practiced as a surgeon in partnership with another surgeon in Kingston, Jamaica. In 1743 he sent his brother, Dr William Cochrane, in Edinburgh, £35 ‘to defray the charges of medical degrees which you mention you could purchase for me’. A year later he received his MD from the University of St Andrews.

Legacy: The College does not hold any papers or publications by Cochrane. It does not appear from the College’s financial records that any financial donations or bequests were made by Cochrane.

Sir Walter Farquhar (FRCPE). Farquhar was made a Fellow of the College in 1796. Farquhar owned a plantation known as Retreat Pen in Saint Ann, Jamaica, which included 57 enslaved people, from 1786 to 1792. He also owned a plantation titled Great River in Saint James, Barbados, from 1785 to 1790. His wife, Ann Harvie, was the daughter of a plantation owner, Thomas Stephenson of Barbados.

Legacy: The College does not hold any papers or publications by Farquhar. It does not appear from the College's financial records that any financial donations or bequests were made by Farquhar.

Andrew Fillan (FRCPE). Fillan was made a Fellow of the College in 1791. Fillan travelled to the Caribbean in the 1770s and set up practice in Roseau, Dominica. He rose to become chief medical officer in that city, with a number of physicians and surgeons working under him. He also owned a lucrative apothecary shop. In 1791 Fillan received his MD from Marischal College, Aberdeen. One of Fillan's employees, Dr Jonathan Troup, observed that Fillan had 'six mulatto children' during his time in Dominica (Hamilton, 2005).

Legacy: The College does not hold any papers or publications by Fillan. It does not appear from the College's financial records that any financial donations or bequests were made by Fillan.

James Grainger (FRCPE). Grainger was made a Fellow of the College in 1753. Grainger left England for the West Indies in 1759, travelling with his former pupil John Bourryau, who apparently offered him an annuity of £200 per annum for the trip. He married Miss Burt, daughter of William Burt, shortly after arriving in St Kitts. Grainger worked as a physician in St Kitts and managed the estates of Daniel Mathew, his wife's uncle. According to the UCL database, as Grainger was 'unable to afford to become a planter himself, he indulged in his favourite study of botany, and his scanty savings were invested in the purchase of slaves'.

Legacy: The College archive has a single notebook which may be by Grainger, although the provenance is uncertain. The College library holds three printed works by Grainger, including *An Essay on the More Common West-India Diseases: and the Remedies Which That Country Itself Produces; to Which are Added, Some Hints on the Management, &c. of Negroes* (1802). It does not appear from the College's financial records that any financial donations or bequests were made by Grainger.

Henry Evans Holder III (FRCPE). Holder was made a Fellow of the College in 1816. Holder was born in Barbados. He was the son of a slave-trade supporter, Rev. Henry Evan Holder, who was a member of an old Barbadian plantation family and Holder III inherited Joe's River plantation in Saint Joseph from his father. Holder III sold his plantations before his death.

Legacy: The College does not hold any papers or publications by Holder. It does not appear from the College's financial records that any financial donations or bequests were made by Holder.

Andrew Kenney (FRCPE). Kenney was made a Fellow of the College in 1819. Kenney's wife is listed as a beneficiary of slavery on UCL's database. His wife's father owned the Concordia estate in Tobago. In 1832 the family moved from Edinburgh to Tobago. Kenney died three years later. At the time the family owned the plantation there were 131 enslaved people living there.

Legacy: The College archive holds one letter from Kenney. It does not appear from the College's financial records that any financial donations or bequests were made by Kenney.

Anthony Lindsay (FRCPE). Lindsay was made a Fellow of the College in 1815. Lindsay worked in Jamaica although it is unknown what his work entailed.

Legacy: The College does not hold any papers or publications by Lindsay. It does not appear from the College's financial records that any financial donations or bequests were made by Lindsay.

William Macfarlane (FRCPE). Macfarlane was made a Fellow of the College in 1768. Macfarlane inherited the Jamaican property of his brother Alexander Macfarlane in 1755, along with his elder brother, Walter Macfarlane. This was comprised of estates in Biscany, Serge Island and Windsor. The Macfarlane brothers sold the Windsor and Biscany plantations to John Wallace in 1762 but appears to have retained Serge Island which was in the hands of trustees from at least 1782 until Macfarlane's death.

Legacy: The College does not hold any papers or publications by Macfarlane. It does not appear from the College's financial records that any financial donations or bequests were made by Macfarlane.

Alexander McLarty (FRCPE). McLarty was made a Fellow of the College in 1813. McLarty worked in Jamaica although it is unknown what his work entailed.

Legacy: The College does not hold any papers or publications by McLarty. It does not appear from the College's financial records that any financial donations or bequests were made by McLarty.

Edward Duke Moore (LRCPE). Moore became a Licentiate of the College in 1859. Licentiatehip by this date indicated that an individual had passed the collaborative Double Qualification examination, it did not indicate a direct affiliation with the College if the individual did not, as Moore didn't, progress to Fellowship.

Moore was born in Gloucestershire. His wife, Maria, was born in Jamaica. Moore was a surgeon, apothecary and merchant. His wife's father was a clergyman who owned three estates in Jamaica. It is unknown whether Maria or Edward benefited financially from these estates.

Legacy: The College does not hold and papers or books by Moore. It does not appear from the College's financial records that any financial donations or bequests were made by Moore.

David Morton (FRCPE). Morton was made a Fellow of the College in 1786. He received his MD in Aberdeen in 1768. Morton is listed in the *Medical Register* for 1780 as practicing in Kingston, Jamaica. It is unknown what his work entailed.

Legacy: The College does not hold and papers or books by Morton. It does not appear from the College's financial records that any financial donations or bequests were made by Morton.

Matthew Powell (FRCPE). Powell was made a Fellow of the College in 1778. Powell worked in Spanish Town, Jamaica although it is unknown what his work entailed.

Legacy: The College does not hold any papers or publications by Powell. It does not appear from the College's financial records that any financial donations or bequests were made by Powell.

Hans Sloane (Honorary Fellow). Sloane was made an Honorary Fellow of the College in 1705. In 1687 Sloane set sail with the governor of Jamaica, the second duke of Albemarle, to act as the duke's personal physician. Sloane spent over a year in Jamaica, working as a doctor on slave plantations. Sloane then married Elizabeth Rose, who was an heiress to sugar plantations in Jamaica. Much of Sloane's later collecting, which became the foundation of the British Museum, the Natural History Museum and the British Library, was funded via the income from these plantations.

Legacy: Three publications by Sloane are held in the College library, including *A voyage to the islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica* (1725). It does not appear from the College's financial records that any financial donations or bequests were made by Sloane.

John Smith (FRCPE). Smith was made a Fellow of the College in 1833. He lived in Jamaica, although it is unknown what his work entailed. While there he petitioned the Assembly of Jamaica for the

establishment of a medical school and medical board in Jamaica ‘for the purpose of examining the credentials of doctors arriving in Jamaica, and giving certificates of examinations’ (Sheridan, 1985).

Legacy: The College does not hold and papers or books by Smith. It does not appear from the College’s financial records that any financial donations or bequests were made by Smith.

James Walker (FRCPE). Walker was made a Fellow of the College in 1764. Walker’s wife, Lady Mary Leslie, is listed as a beneficiary on the UCL slavery database. Walker lived in Jamaica in the 1770s, working as a prison physician. It is possible that, although Lady Leslie was living in Jamaica, she did not in fact gain ownership rights to the plantation until her second marriage to a plantation owner, George Robinson Hamilton.

Legacy: The College archive holds three letters from Walker. It does not appear from the College’s financial records that any financial donations or bequests were made by Walker.

John Williamson (FRCPE). Williamson was made a Fellow of the College in 1814. Williamson practiced in Jamaica and his work there included employment by plantation owners to treat the enslaved people they owned. He kept a journal of his practice, describing diseases he encountered, including suggestions on how to improve the treatment of black Jamaicans. Williamson criticised the treatment of enslaved people, stating that ‘The humanity of medical practitioners to their negro patient is a duty which proper feeling calls upon them to discharge with scrupulous fidelity’.

Legacy: The College library holds Williamson’s book *Medical and miscellaneous observations relative to the West India Islands* (1817). The College archive contains two letters from Williamson. It does not appear from the College’s financial records that any financial donations or bequests were made by Williamson.

9. Abolitionism

James Young Simpson (President 1850-1852). Simpson's involvement in abolitionism is not clear cut or uncomplicated. He was an attendee of the Free Church of Scotland, who were criticised for profiting from slavery by means of raising funds from slave-owning presbyterian churches in the United States. However, Simpson signed a petition against the slave trade in 1829 and attended a meeting held by Dr Andrew Thomson, a vocal opponent of the slave trade, in 1833. At this meeting Dr Thomson demanded the freeing of enslaved people.

Although Simpson did himself invest in sugar plantations in Tobago, this was in the 1850s – over two decades after the abolition of slavery there.

Legacy: The College holds a large portrait of Simpson (which is on the Grand Staircase leading up to the Front Library) as well as a bust which is directly outside the entrance to the Great Hall. The College archive holds a large collection of Simpson's papers, including case notes, correspondence and lecture notes. The College library houses Simpson's personal book collection, which is still held as a separate and discrete collection (rather than being separated out and amalgamated with the other books).

John Coakley Lettsom (FRCPE). Lettsom was made a Fellow of the College in 1791. Lettsom was born in 1744 in the Virgin Islands before travelling to London to study and establish his career. In the 1760s Lettsom freed the enslaved people he inherited from his father's estate. 'The moment I came of age', he recalled in 1791, 'I found my chief property was in slaves, and without considering of future support, I gave them freedom, and began the world without fortune, without a friend, without person, and without address' (Pettigrew, 1817). Lettsom then turned to the practice of medicine on Tortola and neighbouring islands. He wrote that he often saw fifty to a hundred people before breakfast. Lettsom founded the Medical Society of London and the Royal Sea Bathing Hospital and was active in the Royal Humane Society and prison reform.

Legacy: The College archive holds a small number of letters and prints of Lettsom. Copies of his publications are held in the library.

James Currie (FRCPE). Currie was made a Fellow of the College in 1791. Currie was born in Dumfriesshire. He was sent by his father to undertake an apprenticeship in Virginia, before coming back to Britain in 1777 via the West Indies. He studied medicine at the University of Edinburgh

before finally settling in Liverpool. Currie became a strong advocate of the abolition of slavery and was a major financial backer of the Society for Abolition. He wrote a number of anti-slavery texts, including a poem entitled *The African*. Currie also corresponded with the politician and abolitionist William Wilberforce, sharing information about the slave trade.

Currie is identified in *Secret Cures of Slaves* as having carried out experiments on patients during his time working at the Liverpool Infirmary which were influenced by, and in turn influenced, experiments which doctors in the Caribbean carried out on enslaved people. It does not appear that Currie himself, however, discussed the subject of race in his work or carried out experiments on enslaved people.

Legacy: The College archive holds a small number of letters and prints of Currie. Copies of his publications are held in the library.

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