

Draft Trinity Colonial Legacies Working Paper on TCD and Slavery

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Introduction:

In April 2023 the Board of Trinity College Dublin voted to de-name the Berkeley Library. Built in 1967 as the New Library and named after the Irish Philosopher, cleric, and Trinity alumnus, Bishop George Berkeley in 1978, the library name became a subject of controversy from 2020 onwards when it became more widely known within the college community that Berkeley had both owned slaves in colonial Rhode Island and had been an outspoken advocate for slavery. Following a student-led campaign, a rigorous academic investigation, and a period of public consultation the decision to de-name was implemented by the College Board who argued that 'the continued use of the Berkeley name on its library is inconsistent with the University's core values of human dignity, freedom, inclusivity, and equality'. These very public discussions about George Berkeley's legacy at TCD open up wider questions about Trinity's connections to the transatlantic slave economy.¹ This working looks beyond Berkeley and outlines the various ways in which TCD staff, students and alumni were connected to the trans-Atlantic slave economy. It shows that, unlike other peer institutions in the UK and especially North America that benefited significantly from the profits derived from enslavement, Trinity's physical infrastructure was mostly financed from other sources.² The development of Trinity's campus in the eighteenth and nineteenth century was financed

¹ For further details see Ciaran O'Neill, Mobeen Hussain and Patrick Walsh, *Working Paper II on George Berkeley's Legacies at Trinity* (Trinity Legacy Review Working Group, 2023)

² A contrast can be drawn with Glasgow University where much of the rebuilding of its campus in the nineteenth-century was financed by merchant capital originating in the Caribbean. See <https://www.gla.ac.uk/explore/historicallslaveryinitiative/> and Stephen Mullan, 'British Universities and Transatlantic Slavery: the University of Glasgow Case', in *History Workshop Journal*, 91, (2021). For important legacy projects at Harvard, Georgetown and Brown University focusing on historic links to slavery see <https://legacyofslavery.harvard.edu/report>, Adam Rothman and Elsa Barraza Mendoza, (eds) *Facing Georgetown's History: A Reader on Slavery, Memory, and Reconciliation* (GUP, 2021) and <https://slaveryandjusticereport.brown.edu/>

principally from the revenues from the estates granted to the university as part of the Munster and Ulster plantations, and then later from taxation revenues raised by the Irish parliament.³ The impact of slavery on the life of the university however should not be limited to assessing the monetary value of any financial legacies from enslavers. What follows takes a more holistic approach and explores the subject under the following headings:

1. Ireland and Slavery
2. Slavery and Trinity's built environment
3. TCD students from enslaving societies
4. Trinity Alumni in the Caribbean and American slave economies
5. Jonathan Swift and Slavery
6. Edmund Burke and Slavery
7. TCD and the Abolition and Anti-Slavery movements

1. Ireland and Slavery

Modern scholarship has significantly altered our understanding of Ireland's connections to slavery and the slave trade. It is now well established that Irishmen and women of all religious denominations owned slave plantations in the Caribbean and in British North America while it is also clear that Irish merchants, bankers, lawyers, industrialists, and farmers profited significantly from the supply of goods and services to enslaving societies.⁴ British mercantilist legislation restricted Irish participation in the slave trade and the consequent emergence of local mercantile wealth derived from the direct import of enumerated commodities like tobacco or sugar in the manner seen in Glasgow, Liverpool, or Bristol partly explaining the lack of direct slave derived philanthropy visible in Trinity.⁵ Significant amounts of capital and revenue did flow from the Atlantic slave colonies into Irish ports to pay for the products of

³ On this see R.B. MacCarthy, *The Trinity College Estates 1800-1923: Corporate Management in an Age of Reform* (Dundalk, 1992).

⁴ Nini Rogers, *Ireland, Slavery and Anti-Slavery, 1612-1865* (Basingstoke, 2007); Ciaran O'Neill and Finola O'Kane-Crimmins (eds) *Ireland, Slavery and the Caribbean* (Manchester 2023).

⁵ Ciaran O'Neill, *The Public History of Slavery in Dublin: The Gilbert Lecture, 2021* (Dublin, 2022) David Dickson, 'Setting out the Terrain: Ireland and the Caribbean' in O'Neill & O'Kane-Crimmins (eds) *Ireland, Slavery and the Caribbean*. On Glasgow see Stephen Mullen, *The Glasgow Sugar Aristocracy: Scotland and Caribbean Slavery, 1775-1838* (London, 2022).

the Irish agricultural and textile industries.⁶ Irish consumers demanded ever increasing quantities of slave produced sugar, rum, and tobacco. Later Dublin artisans were important consumers of colonial timber products with Caribbean mahogany imported by amongst others the merchant, and slave-owning, son of a vice-provost of Trinity, Edmonstone Hodgkinson, becoming a vital raw material in the burgeoning furniture trade.⁷ These imported commodities were heavily taxed and rising government revenues were appropriated by the Irish parliament to fund a variety of public infrastructure projects from the early eighteenth century onwards.⁸ These included, as we shall see, some of TCD's most iconic buildings.

1 Irish beneficiaries from slavery

The extent of Irish involvement in the slave trade is now much more evident thanks to the work of the Legacies of British Slave-ownership project at University College London, which has proved the essential source for so many contemporary investigations into the legacies of slavery across Britain, Ireland and the wider British imperial world. Through its careful investigation into and presentation of the claims made by enslavers and their representatives for compensation following the abolition of slavery in 1833 it is possible to trace a snapshot of Irish slave-owning at this critical juncture.⁹ It is important to stress that the LBS only captures slave ownership at the time of abolition and many of those who had sold their interests in slavery before this are therefore not always detailed in their database. The Irish related data is not always as expansive as that related to English and Scottish slaveowners as this was a British focused project. The number of slaveowners with addresses seeking compensation was much smaller both in relative and absolute terms than those resident in either Scotland or England. This reflects structural differences in society and in the economy of each country/region.¹⁰ These small numbers (c.300 in total) also explain why there are so few claimants with explicit TCD connections. We have identified less than ten claimants with

⁶ David Dickson, *Old World Colony: Cork 1630-1830* (2005); Bertie Mandleblatt, 'A Transatlantic Commodity: Irish Salt Beef in the French Atlantic World', in *History Workshop Journal*, 63 (2007), 128-47.

⁷ Thomas Truxes, *Irish-American Trade, 1660-1783* (Cambridge, 1988). On Edmonstone Hodgkinson see Francis Hodgkinson to Rev. Thomas Clarke, 5 May 1809, Abel Labertouche to Clarke 6 Apr. 8 May 1816 (Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Clarke Papers D1108B/43, 57 758).

⁸ Eoin Magennis, 'Coal, Corn and Canals: : the dispersal of public moneys, 1695-1772', in D.W. Hayton (ed.), *The Irish parliament in the eighteenth century : the long apprenticeship* (Edinburgh, 2001)

⁹ www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs

¹⁰ Nick Draper, 'Ireland and British colonial slave-ownership, 1763-1833', in O'Neill & O'Kane-Crimmins (eds) *Ireland, Slavery and the Caribbean*, pp. 103-24. Mullen, 'British universities and transatlantic slavery', p. 212.

Trinity connections following Nick Draper's model of university-slavery income.¹¹ None of the university's founders were connected to 'new world' slavery, while George Berkeley is the nearest equivalent to a fellow/staff member or benefactor owning enslaved people. It is however possible to find connections to Trinity staff and students. These included Francis and Edmonstone Hodgkinson, the sons of Vice Provost Francis Hodgkinson, who had used funds provided by their father, a wealthy TCD fellow and sometime Professor of History, to set themselves up as planters in Jamaica following their marriages to two joint heiresses of a slave plantation.¹² Another indirect TCD connection can be found in the person of Elias Tardy who claimed compensation for the loss of four slaves valued at £238 4s 10 d in Trinidad, where he practiced as a surgeon. His brother James's insect collection formed a significant component of Trinity's natural history collections after its acquisition by the college in 1843. It is unclear however if James benefitted from his brother's Jamaican interests.¹³ The other Trinity men found in the LBS database were all graduates and included the Jamaican planters, Henry Coddington, Samuel Delap, Peter and William Digges La Touche, William Gilgeous, Robert Herdman and Edmund Lyon. Lyon (1767-1831) who attended Trinity together with his brother John in the 1770s had sold the estate he inherited from his father Benjamin but was the London agent for the Jamaican planters and lobbied parliament on their behalf from 1803-12 so can be directly implicated in the workings of the slave economy.¹⁴ Lyon can also be connected through his associate James Ridge with another important West Indies lobbyist in London, the celebrated Trinity graduate and politician Edmund Burke, whose connections to slavery are considered in greater depth later in this working paper.

2. Slavery and Trinity's built environment

¹¹ Nicholas Draper, 'British Universities and Caribbean Slavery', in Jill Pellew and Lawrence Goldman (eds) *Dethroning Historical Reputations: Universities, Museums and the Commemoration of Benefactors*, ed., London, 2018, pp. 93–107; Mullen, 'British universities and transatlantic slavery', p. 212

¹² <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/6367> (Francis) and <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/29913> (Edmonstone). The LBS is unclear if they are the Vice-Provost's sons but this can be clearly established from A Labertouche to Clarke, 4 Apr. 1818 (Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, D1108B/63).

¹³ <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/28681>. J.A. Good and M. Linnie, 'The History of the Early Nineteenth Century Coleoptera Collection of James Tardy at Trinity College, Dublin, and the Validity of Records Based on His Collection', in *Irish Naturalist's Journal*, 23, (1990), pp. 298-305.

¹⁴ <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146643069>

Over the course of the eighteenth century TCD received approximately £63,000 in parliamentary subsidies allowing for the development of its signature Georgian campus.¹⁵ This level of state financial support for a university was unprecedented in contemporary Europe and speaks to the close relationship between the colonial political elite in Dublin and the college authorities.¹⁶ Of the 300 MPs elected in 1695, 76 had been students in the college and 45 had actually graduated and this strong alumni representation would continue throughout the century.¹⁷ Trinity fellows also elected two MPs to the Irish parliament with one seat often reserved for nominees of the government including successive chief secretaries. In the second half of the century Provosts, Francis Andrews and John Hely-Hutchinson sat in the commons, with the latter playing a prominent if contested role in politics.¹⁸ From as early as 1698 there was a direct link between the rising revenues collected on the import of slave produced commodities into Irish ports and the parliamentary funding of new buildings on Trinity's campus. In December of that year the house of commons voted to grant Trinity £3,000 out of the proceeds of a new duty on tobacco for 'enlarging their publick buildings and erecting lodgings'.¹⁹ This grant, amounting to just under 1% of total government revenues, led to the construction of the Rubrics, the oldest surviving buildings on campus, and was only made possible by the imposition of a new duty or tariff on imported slave produced tobacco. In return the College granted an honorary doctorate in divinity to the chaplain of the house of commons Rev. Travers.

Between 1709 and 1722, parliament voted £15,000 towards the new library building, an extraordinary sum by contemporary standards. Parliament's largesse was justified at the time by the need to reward the political and ideological support provided by the college authorities in the face of sporadic episodes of pro-Jacobite sentiment amongst members of the college

¹⁵ Andrew Somerville *The early residential buildings of Trinity College Dublin: Architecture, financing, people* (Dublin, 2021).

¹⁶ Neither Oxford nor Cambridge for instance enjoyed the same sort of financial relationship with Westminster. For the origins of public funding of English universities see Jill Pellew, 'A metropolitan university fit for empire: the role of private benefaction in the early history of the London School of Economics and Imperial College of Science and Technology, 1895-1930', *History of Universities*, 26 (2012), pp. 202-45. If comparisons can be made it is probably with European universities funded by royal courts like that in Turin. For the connections between TCD and Irish politics see T.P. Power, *Protestants, Catholics, and university education: Trinity College Dublin in the age of revolution* (Oregon, 2022).

¹⁷ Somerville, *Early Residential Buildings* p. 74

¹⁸ Edith Johnston-Liik, *History of Irish Parliament* (6 vols, Belfast 2002). On Andrews and Hely-Hutchinson see their entries in the *D.I.B.*

¹⁹ Edward McParland, *Public Architecture in Ireland, 1660-1760* (London, 2001). Rogers, *Ireland, Slavery and Anti-Slavery*

community. This was made explicit in the original motion brought before the house of commons in June 1709 which noted 'the steady adherence of Provost and Fellows of the said College to the late happy Revolution, her present Majesty's Government and the Succession in the Protestant Line as by Law established'.²⁰ The proposed grant was being made 'for the encouragement of good literature and sound revolution principles', language which reflected the somewhat febrile political atmosphere at a time of fierce party-political tension. The Trinity authorities would astutely refer back to their actions in censuring and expelling a Jacobite fellow Edward Forbes for the use of seditious language to plead their case successfully for two further grants of £5,000 each.²¹ The politics of these grants has been scrutinised by historians of Irish Jacobitism, but little attention has been paid to the source of the funds appropriated for the College. These grants unlike the previous grant of £3,000 which was explicitly linked to an additional duty imposed on tobacco imports were not tied to a specific revenue source. They were however only possible because of buoyant customs revenues, of which taxes on imported slave-produced commodities, especially tobacco and sugar, were essential components. The critical role played by imports from Britain's slave dominated colonies in the Caribbean and North America in expanding Britain's fiscal capacity is now recognised by historians and the same argument applies to Ireland where taxes on trade contributed an even larger component of government revenues.²² The ability of parliament to fund new buildings at Trinity while motivated by political considerations was made possible by Ireland's connections to the transatlantic economy.

Trinity continued to benefit from the revenues generated by Atlantic commerce. In the 1750s, the college was again able to embark on an impressive building programme, including the erection of the new west front and the appropriately named Parliament or Front Square thanks to further capital investment from their neighbours across College Green. Between 1751 and 1757 parliament voted to provide grants totalling £45,000 to the university. This unprecedented expenditure was made possible by the determination of the house of commons to spend a surplus in the Irish Treasury to prevent it been remitted to London. Parliament's right to dispose of the surplus in Ireland had been at the centre of the 1753

²⁰ *Journal of the Irish House of Commons*, II, p.596.

²¹ Anon, *A short account of the late proceedings of the University of Dublin against Forbes* (Dublin, 1709). Eamon O'Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite Cause: A Fatal Attachment* (Dublin, 2002), p. 177.

²² Maxine Berg and Pat Hudson, *Slavery, Industrialisation and Capitalism* (London, 2023); Patrick Walsh, 'The Fiscal State in Ireland, 1691-1769', in *Historical Journal*, 56 (2013): 629-56.

Money Bill Dispute between Dublin and London political interests. Following this 'patriot' victory, significant investment was made in various infrastructure projects including the development of canals and inland navigations.²³ The sums paid to Trinity 'towards the rebuilding of the college' were however amongst the single largest grants and speak to the continuing entangled relationship between the colonial university and the colonial parliament. It is again hard to be precise about the source of the extra revenues that allowed such lavish spending, but it is clear customs revenues on imported trade were by far the fastest growing element within the Irish public accounts. Once again parliament's improved fiscal capacity owed much to the increased consumption of slave produced tobacco, cocoa, coffee, and sugar. Trinity was therefore an indirect beneficiary of Ireland's fiscal and trading connections with the Atlantic economy.

There is no evidence that either slavery or colonial derived wealth more generally contributed to the financing of Trinity's built environment in the nineteenth century. This marks it out as different from other peer universities like Glasgow where nineteenth-century expansion was supported by local overseas merchant communities.²⁴ There was simply not the financial resources within the Dublin merchant community to play a similar role due to the systematic shutting out of Irish commercial interests from full participation in transatlantic trade until the 1780s. Instead, Trinity relied on income from its vast landed estates (totalling 195,000 acres or 1-1.5% of Irish land), which by the mid nineteenth-century provided an income of c. £25,000 per annum, substantial bequests from Church of Ireland clergy and retiring College fellows, and student fee income until local Dublin philanthropists emerged in the form of the Guinness family in the late nineteenth century.²⁵

3. TCD students and staff from Slave Societies

The direct and indirect connections to the transatlantic slave economy were also visible within the student population and the alumni networks they generated. In 1921 Rev. Robert Murray

²³ Magennis, 'Coal, Corn and Canals', *passim*.

²⁴ Stephen Mullen, 'British Universities and Transatlantic Slavery: The University of Glasgow case' in *History Workshop Journal*, 91 (2021); Mulan, *Glasgow Sugar Aristocracy*.

²⁵ MacCarthy, *The Trinity College Estates*, pp. 75-77. For Guinness family philanthropy at TCD see MUN/P/1/2605: 16 April 1903; College Calendar 1904-1905 Vol II, p.110 (Earl of Iveagh funding Science Buildings).

delivered a Trinity Monday discourse celebrating the college' graduates who had made a contribution to the 'new world'.²⁶ He was especially interested in North American students and began his survey with the then unheralded Trinity alumni who had shaped America including seventeenth-century Puritans such as John Winthrop II, governor of Connecticut and the divines, Increase Mather, president of Harvard College between 1681 and 1701 and his brother Rev. Samuel Mather.²⁷ Combing through the student matriculation records published in *Alumni Dublinenses* it is possible to identify 26 students born in the Caribbean colonies, with students from Jamaica making up the largest component of this small cohort.²⁸ The presence of students born in plantation societies, and we can include here students from slave-owning backgrounds in the North American colonies and later United States is important in terms of understanding the banal presence of enslavers of their children in a university setting and how this might have informed contemporary understandings of and acceptance of slavery.²⁹ Their fee income also provides a small direct link to the slave economy. The numbers of students from enslaving societies at Trinity was however very small and uncovering details of their individual lives and circumstances is difficult. The earliest known student from a slave-owning background was John Gunthorpe who entered Trinity in 1708. Born in Antigua where his family owned a plantation from which his descendants successfully claimed £3,922 for the loss of 297 slaves upon emancipation in 1833, by which time they had severed their Irish connections.³⁰ Ten years after Gunthorpe we find Stapleton Davis the only Trinity student so far identified from Montserrat, although the 'dazzlingly reprehensible' Roger Osborne, a TCD graduate, had served as a controversial governor of the

²⁶ R.H. Murray, *Dublin University and the New World* (London & New York, 1921).

²⁷ Increase Mather played a prominent role in the Salem Witch trials and owned at least one slave. Members of the Winthrop family including John's father the influential governor of Massachusetts and his brother Samuel were slaveowners. For the Winthrop family's connections to Harvard see *Harvard and the Legacy of Slavery* (2022), p. 16-17, 20-21. See also Alan Ford, 'The Church of Ireland power and distance in the early-seventeenth-century Atlantic', in *The Seventeenth Century* (2023) <https://doi.org/10.1080/0268117X.2023.2245391>

²⁸ G.D. Burtchaell and T.U. Sadlier, *Alumni Dublinenses: a register of the students, graduates, professors and provosts of Trinity College in the University of Dublin (1593-1860)* (3 vols, Dublin, 1935). See <https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/concern/works/h415pd58x?locale=en> These numbers are much lower than the equivalent numbers for Glasgow again highlighting the relative differences between Ireland and Scotland's contribution to the Caribbean empire, Mullen, 'British universities and transatlantic slavery', p. 214,

²⁹ The inclusion of Trinity students from plantation societies in this working paper follows the example of Nicolas Bell-Romero, *The Legacies of Enslavement and Coerced Labour at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge* (2022), pp. 8-11. See also *Exeter College and the Legacies of Slavery Project Report* (Oxford, 2023), pp. 8-14. <https://www.exeter.ox.ac.uk/documents/Exeter-College-and-the-Legacies-of-Slavery-Report.pdf>

³⁰ Vere Langford Oliver, *History of Antigua* Vol. II (London, 1896), p. 38. <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/322>

Irish dominated island in the 1650s.³¹ On Barbados meanwhile we find Thomas Whitfoot O'Neal who entered TCD in 1831. Two years later his father's executors successfully claimed compensation for 195 enslaved individuals valued at over £4,300. It can be assumed that Whitfoot O'Neal, a younger son, benefited from this windfall and it is probable that it helped pay for his education.³² His elder brother John Carter O'Neal meanwhile married a daughter of Prof. B.G. McDowell who taught medicine at TCD.³³

The majority of Trinity students with Caribbean links came from Jamaica where there was a sizable Irish presence. It is possible to document some of their lives and connections in greater detail. This is true of those who were unambiguously members of prominent planter families including Francis Delap of Jamaica, whose father also Francis owned 379 slaves in Jamaica.³⁴ The younger Delap had been born outside wedlock, but his illegitimacy did not stop his father funding his education. He entered TCD in 1783 aged 15 before becoming a scholar three years later. Seven years later he was dead with his executors reported to be engaged 'in the administration of the effects of Francis Delap, bachelor and bastard of Dublin'.³⁵ In the absence of a legitimate male heir Francis Delap senior's Orange and Mount Eagle estates had descended to his brother Robert, a TCD educated lawyer who died at sea en-route from Jamaica to Ireland in 1782. The family plantations were eventually inherited by his son Samuel Francis Delap, yet another TCD graduate and lawyer, in 1791. In 1835 he made an unsuccessful claim for compensation for the loss of 91 slaves valued at £1,914.³⁶ He had however mortgaged his estate and a successful claim was instead made by his brother William Drummond Delap for 41 slaves on the Orange estate valued at £912 and for one enslaved person on the Mouteagle estate for £19 5s.³⁷ The family were also associated with a sugar plantation on Antigua, known as Delap's estate' which passed out of the Delap family's

³¹ For Osborne see Carla Gardina Pestana, 'The Problem of Land, Status, and Authority: How Early English Governors Negotiated the Atlantic World', in *The New England Quarterly*, 78 (2005), pp. 515-46, esp. p. 529. On Irish planters in Montserrat more generally see Donald Akenson, *If the Irish Ran the World* (Toronto, 1997).

³² <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/2542>

³³ Arthur Fox Davies, *Armorial Families: A directory of gentlemen of coat-armour* (2 vols, 1929) ii, p. 106

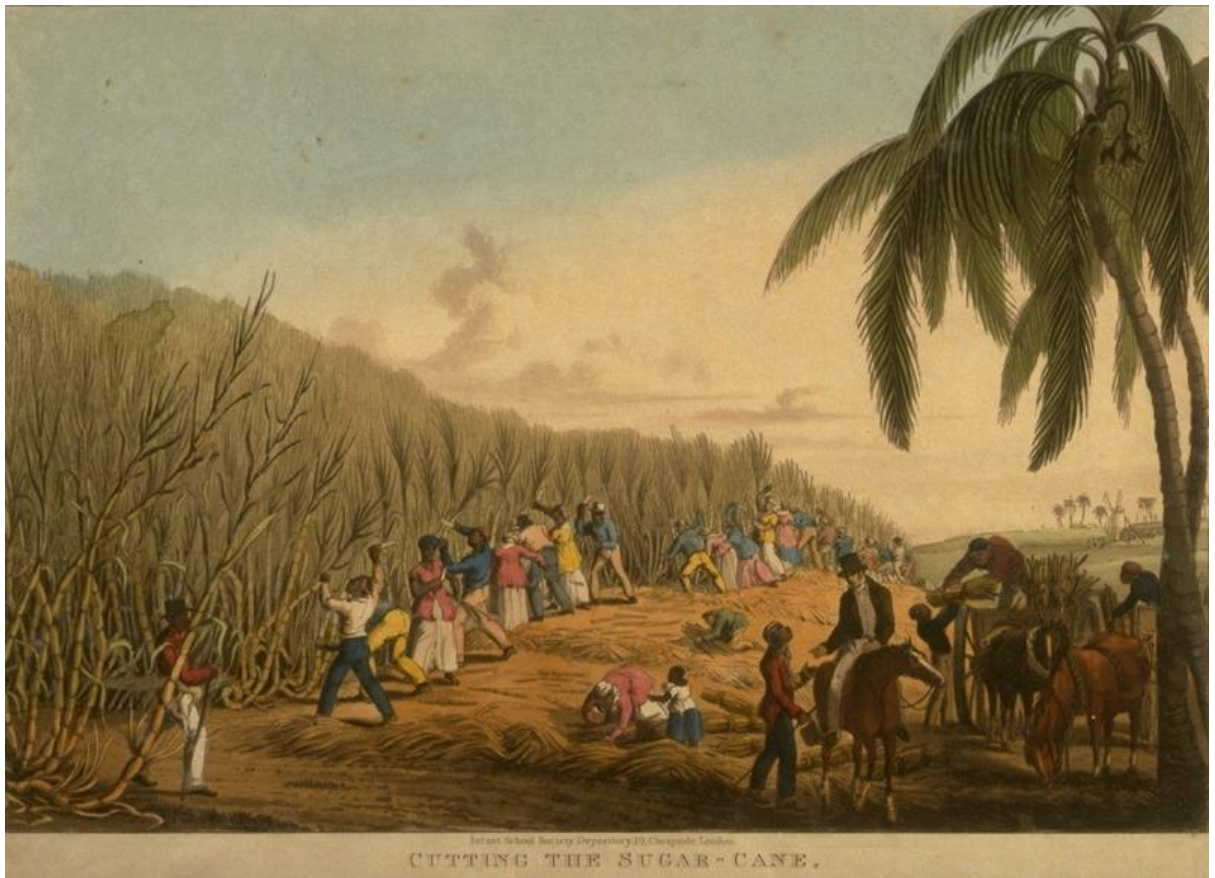
³⁴ On the Delaps see Karst De Jong, 'The Irish in Jamaica in the Long-Eighteenth Century' (PhD thesis, Queen's University Belfast, 2017), pp. 119-31. <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146651107>

³⁵ PROB 11/1014/193. Intriguingly his father had donated £50 to the University of Pennsylvania in 1772-73 but still sent his son back to Ireland for his education. <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146651107> Later in the nineteenth century a descendant, William Joseph Delap was agent for the TCD estates in county Kerry. MacCarthy, *The Trinity College Estates*, pp. 206-07.

³⁶ <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146644531>

³⁷ <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/43251>

possession in 1771.³⁸ Despite this, William Clark's nineteenth century print of enslaved people cutting sugar cane on the 'Delap plantation' is the most reprinted contemporary image of an Irish-owned slave plantation.



The Delap connection with Trinity did not end with Samuel Delap. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, a descendent William Robert Delap was employed as the College's agent on the College's Iveragh estate in south County Kerry, where his brother was the Church of Ireland Minister on Valentia Island.³⁹ Colonisation abroad at home could link within families. Other Trinity students can be identified amongst the Jamaican slave-owning class. William and Findlater Roper who entered TCD in 1835 and 1836 respectively were born in Jamaica, where their father was a doctor. Their mother Annie Roper was an heiress to Rosemount plantation in the parish of St James and successfully claimed £709 18s 5d for 29 enslaved people upon the abolition of slavery. This windfall may have helped to fund her son's

³⁸ <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/352>

³⁹ Later in the nineteenth century a descendant, William Joseph Delap was agent for the TCD estates in county Kerry, MacCarthy, *The Trinity College Estates*, pp. 206-07.

education at Trinity.⁴⁰ Richard McClelland meanwhile who entered TCD in 1832 likewise benefitted from his father Robert's investments in the slave economy on the island. In 1817 he was recorded as the owner of 29 slaves in urban Kingstown, where he was also one of the commissioners for the Kingstown workhouse.⁴¹ Similarly Robert Herdman who also entered Trinity in the early 1830s this time in 1834 was the son of another Robert, a merchant in Jamaica who acted as a receiver for the Grier park estate later owned by the prominent Antrim-born planter Hamilton Brown.⁴²

Despite their intergenerational presence as students at Trinity the Delaps nor any of their TCD educated contemporaries in Jamaica did not leave any material legacies to the college. Indeed, it is difficult to trace any material or financial legacies arising out of investment by students or graduates in the Caribbean. There were Caribbean collections in the Botany collection, including that collected in Antigua and Jamaica by Mayo born Patrick Browne (1720-97), but they were not collected by Trinity graduates. William Allman (1776-1846), Professor of Botany from 1809 until 1844 meanwhile was born in Jamaica where his father was a 'gentleman', but returned to Ireland as a four year old.⁴³ His botanical interests were however focused on Ireland and the European continent rather than the Caribbean.⁴⁴

There were also some TCD students with connections to enslavement in the North American colonies. Charles Grimke Cosslett entered TCD in 1791 graduating in 1795. His extant diaries suggest he was an active and visible presence in the college community participating in the Historical Society debates and the general undergraduate social whirl. He was born in Charlestown, South Carolina, where his father, also Charles, was a judge in the court of common pleas and a slaveowner.⁴⁵ The elder Cosslett (1737-76) was also a TCD graduate, having graduated in 1758. He was the son of a Co. Down clergyman and the family continued

⁴⁰ <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/19222> Both Annie Roper and her sister Sarah were proprietors of plantations in Jamaica. On Female slaveowners more generally see Christine Walker, *Jamaica Ladies: Female Slaveholders and the Creation of Britain's Atlantic Empire* (North Carolina, 2020).

⁴¹ <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146654577>

⁴² On Herdman senior see <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/13269>, while on Hamilton Brown see Rodgers, *Ireland, Slavery, and Anti-Slavery*, pp. 88, 93.

⁴³ It is possible that his father was an overseer and later plantation owner in Kingstown. See <https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Allman-160>

⁴⁴ See his entry in the *D.I.B.*

⁴⁵ Murray, *Dublin University in the New World*, p. 90. See also Hugh O'Neill, 'Charles Cosslett's Travel Diary 1790s Ireland and Britain observed', in *Familia*, 33 (2017), 162-183.

to own estates near Loughlinsisland after his departure for America. Their historian has excused Judge Cosslett's slave ownership as 'common' for the time and notes that 'this tradition continued into the next generation' with the younger Cosslett buying through the offices of his sister Ann a mulatto called David for \$700 in September 1816.⁴⁶ The younger Cosslett later converted to Catholicism and settled in Belfast. What became of his slaves is unknown.

4. Trinity Alumni in the Caribbean and American slave economies

The previous section has highlighted Trinity students who came from the Caribbean. Some like Allman and Edmund Lyon the West Indies agent made their careers elsewhere. There were also Trinity graduates who either made their careers or fortunes in the Caribbean. Absentee planters like Henry Barry Coddington of Oldbridge House Co. Meath might be considered amongst the latter. He made an unsuccessful claim for compensation for 235 enslaved people valued at £4,532 on the Creighton Hall estate in Jamaica in 1833. The size of his claim however indicates the scale of his Caribbean holdings, which he had inherited from his granduncle Fitzherbert Richards another Irish absentee.⁴⁷ More easily identifiable than the Irish absentee plantation owners are the Trinity alumni who became officeholders in the Caribbean. They included Eyre Coote, colonial governor of Jamaica, George Fitzgerald Hill, colonial governor of Trinidad and Thomas Baldwin and Dowell O'Reilly attorney -generals of Jamaica. O'Reilly was the first Catholic to serve in this important post after emancipation and was the island's chief law officer when slavery was abolished remaining in post until 1855.⁴⁸ Each of these men played a critical role in enforcing law and order and the racial hierarchies that underpinned Caribbean societies. They were part of a wider subset of Trinity alumni who made their lives and careers in leadership roles within the British empire, and their achievements were noted with particular pride by the compilers of the *Alumni Dublinenses* in the 1920s.

⁴⁶ O'Neill, 'Charles Cosslett's Travel Diary', p. 167.

⁴⁷ <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146644563>

⁴⁸ Rogers, *Ireland, Slavery and Anti-Slavery* p. 93. He might also be the 'Judge Reilly' who donated Jamaican objects to the TCD museum.

Trinity alumni could also be found in Colonial American slave societies, notably those connected to George Berkeley's Rhode Island/Bermuda venture in the 1720s. Of these Marmaduke Browne, vicar in Trinity Church (the name seems coincidental), Newport, Rhode Island is the best documented. He was part of a wider group of Dublin educated clergy linked to the London-based Society for the Propagation of the Gospel who found employment in America in the eighteenth century.⁴⁹ Browne's son Arthur would go on to become associated with the foundation of Brown University, while his son, also Arthur, a prominent lawyer, was educated at Trinity and became Regius Professor of Greek as well as an MP for TCD.⁵⁰

If Browne is exceptional as an American graduate who rose to an academic position in an Irish university, Trinity graduates could achieve similar posts in America. In 1795 David Ker, a Scots-Irish Presbyterian and TCD graduate became one of the first professors at the new University of North Carolina (founded 1789 by Presbyterian planters) only to resign his post after a year to become, with his Irish wife Mary Boggs, a cotton planter and enslaver in Mississippi.⁵¹ The most famous graduate active in the slave owning states in America was of course John Mitchell, Young Irelander turned pro-Confederacy propagandist. Mitchell's views in defence of slavery have attracted much modern comment, though Robert Murray was happy to include him in his catalogue of Trinity men in the New World noting only 'his implacable hatred of England' while acknowledging he was 'honest but utterly impracticable'.⁵² Despite Mitchell's contribution to nineteenth-century Irish nationalism he has however never been commemorated publicly in TCD. Instead, it was his fellow Young Irelander Thomas Davis who was honoured with the naming of a lecture theatre in the Arts Building in 1978.⁵³

5. Jonathan Swift and the Slave Trade

⁴⁹ On Browne, see Murray, *Dublin University in the New World*, p. 89. On the lack of TCD graduates in the American colonies in the 17th century, see Ford, 'The Church of Ireland, Power and Distance'. For eighteenth century nominations to American livings see the correspondence of Archbishop William King with Edmund Gibson, bishop of London. We are indebted to Liam O'Rourke for this information.

⁵⁰ For Arthur Browne see his entry in the *D.I.B.*

⁵¹ Craig Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy*, p. 100.

⁵² Murray, *Dublin University in the New World*, p. 90. For contemporary discussion of Mitchell's legacy see Fintan O'Toole, 'Honouring this fanatical racist by naming clubs after him shames our GAA', *Irish Times*, 23 May 2023 and his entry in the *D.I.B.*

⁵³ For their contrasting views on slavery see Niamh Lynch, 'Defining Irish Nationalist Anti-Imperialism: Thomas Davis and John Mitchell', in *Eire-Ireland*, 42 (2007), 82-107.

Trinity's most celebrated eighteenth-century graduates include Berkeley, Burke (on whom below), Oliver Goldsmith and Jonathan Swift. Berkeley's connections to slavery have been established, while Goldsmith expressed views that would now be seen as equivalent to white supremacy does not seem to have written any significant works on slavery or the slave trade.⁵⁴ Jonathan Swift on the other hand occupies a more complex position. In the 1710s operating as a pro-government journalist/propagandist in London he penned defences of the then nascent South Sea Company's acquisition of the *Asiento* – the exclusive contract to supply Spanish America with African slaves.⁵⁵ These partisan tracts did much to legitimate the South Sea Company's rise as one the major British joint-stock corporations. Such printed propaganda contributed to the inflation of the infamous South Sea Bubble of 1720, during which many Irish investors, including Swift, made losses on their speculative investments.⁵⁶ Swift later emerged as one of the harshest contemporary critics of the Company though his criticisms focused on corruption and mismanagement rather than on the Company's slave-trading activities, an aspect frequently ignored both by contemporaries and later scholars.⁵⁷ Moving beyond his work as a pro-government hack in the 1710s, it is difficult to discern Swift's views on slavery. As Ian McBride has noted the African trade is 'strikingly absent' from *Gulliver's Travels* while he has also concluded that *A Modest Proposal* (1729) likewise should not be seen as a commentary on slavery despite its arguments about the commodification of babies and children.⁵⁸ Swift's voluminous correspondence is also silent on the subject of slavery. All of this suggests that while Swift in his official work for the Tory administration in the 1710s offered a defence of the South Sea Company's trading activities it is difficult if not impossible to connect this work to strong personal beliefs on slavery and the slave trade. This

⁵⁴ We are indebted to Prof. David O'Shaughnessy for this information on Goldsmith.

⁵⁵ Jonathan Swift, *The Examiner*, no. 45, June 7, 1711.

⁵⁶ See Patrick Walsh, *The South Sea Bubble and Ireland: Money, Banking and Investment, 1690-1721* (Woodbridge, 2014).

⁵⁷ For the South Sea Company's slave trading role see especially Helen Paul, *The South Sea Bubble: An Economic History* (London, 2011). The Church of England has recently acknowledged its historic holdings of South Sea Company stock as evidence of its historic connections to slavery. <https://www.churchofengland.org/sites/default/files/2023-01/church-commissioners-for-england-research-into-historic-links-to-transatlantic-chattel-slavery-report.pdf>

⁵⁸ Ian McBride, 'Swift, Locke and Slavery' (2019) <https://pastandpresent.org.uk/swift-locke-slavery/>. See also McBride, 'The Politics of *A Modest Proposal*: Swift and the Irish Crisis of the Late 1720s', in *Past & Present* (2019). For an alternative view see John Richardson, 'Swift, *A Modest Proposal*, and Slavery', *Essays in Criticism*, 51:4 (2001), pp. 405, 406.

marks him out as different to both George Berkeley, even if we only consider his written work, and to Edmund Burke.

6. Edmund Burke and Slavery

The range and depth of Edmund Burke's Caribbean connections have come under greater scrutiny from historians in recent years and merit discussion here considering his status as a major figure in the College's history and projection of itself from the eighteenth century onwards. Burke's initial interest in the West Indies can be dated to the publication of *An Account of the European Settlements in America*, co-written with his cousin William Burke in 1757. Printed in two volumes and drawing on a wealth of source material it demonstrated to their readers in a clear and dispassionate style the wealth and of the British colonies in the Caribbean and their strategic and commercial importance to empire. Edmund Burke used this work to demonstrate his expertise in political economy and it helped him to quickly become recognised as an authority on economic affairs when he entered parliament. The *Account* while condemning the horrors of the slave trade – nevertheless the Burkes saw slavery as incompatible with the humanity of man - argued that slavery was necessary to the prosperity of the West Indies. The Burkes however advocated that plantation owners should take better care of their slaves and that this would allow the slave system to self-perpetuate allowing for less enslaved people having to be imported in the future.⁵⁹ Furthermore, this would allow for the gradual withering away of the slave system at some distant point in the future. This is the first iteration of Burke's gradualist approach towards the abolition of slavery. For some contemporary readers including the anti-slave trade campaigner Thomas Clarkson it marked him out as a 'forerunner in the great cause of abolition'.⁶⁰ The reality would turn out to be more complex.

Burke remained committed to advancing West Indies interests through the 1760s. This has been explained in terms both of his commitment to a particular form of imperial political economy and to his desire to promote and support the interests of his kinsmen and wider

⁵⁹ Edmund Burke and William Burke, *An Account of the European Settlements in America* (London: 2 vols, 1757), I, p. 298. See also P.J. Marshall, *Edmund Burke and the British Empire in the West Indies* (Oxford, 2019), pp. 20-22.

⁶⁰ Clarkson quoted in Marshall, *Edmund Burke*, p. 23.

London-Irish network. In parliament he was influential in obtaining the passage of the 1766 Free Ports Act which opened up trade with other Atlantic empires in the Caribbean. One of the consequences of this Act was in Burke's words that 'the African trade (i.e. slavery) has been extended and preserved'.⁶¹ Higher tariffs could now be collected on slaves being transferred through Dominica boosting British revenues. A leading historian has noted that 'the African trade had indeed been extended by an act in the devising of which Burke had been deeply involved'.⁶² Burke's legislative activity on behalf of West Indian interests was driven not just by ideology and party politics, but also by the Caribbean interests of his cousin William in Guadeloupe and especially his brother Richard in Grenada. Both Burkes were government officials, with Richard serving as customs collector in Grenada, rather than plantation owners. They were however heavily involved in the plantation economy and Richard Burke acted as a conduit for the entry of some of the elder Burke's London proteges into Caribbean society. The young William Hickey, for instance, was given a letter of introduction to Richard Burke when he sought unsuccessfully to make a career as an attorney serving plantation interests in Grenada and then Jamaica. Edmund Burke furthermore sought to support his brother's schemes to establish himself on St Vincent. These schemes were unsuccessful but point to a willingness to become financially connected to the West Indies plantation economy.

In the 1770s Burke continued to lobby on behalf of his mercantile constituents as MP for Bristol, a major slave-trading port, while he also made representations in parliament on behalf of the Company of Merchants Trading to Africa. All of this activity was informed by a belief that the institutions of slavery and the slave trade were established legal interests of great importance which were essential to Caribbean prosperity. Writing about this activity the Caribbean historian Eric Williams as long ago as 1944 described how Burke 'the champion of conciliation of America was an accessory to the crucifixion of Africa'.⁶³ Burke did however have his own personal moral qualms about slavery – in 1778 he described the severity of West Indian slavery as 'a matter of reproach' - but unlike contemporary abolitionists such as Granville Sharp or John Wesley, he did not see slavery or the slave trade as wholly illegitimate

⁶¹ Paul Langford et al, (eds) *The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke* (9 vols: Oxford, 1981-2015), ii., p. 55 quoted in Marshall, *Edmund Burke*, p. 122.

⁶² Marshall, *Edmund Burke*, p. 122.

⁶³ Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944), p. 38.

activities.⁶⁴ The American War however saw a shift in his thinking on slavery and c. 1780 he composed his 'Sketch on the Negro Code' which while not released publicly circulated in manuscript. It argued for more regulation from London and for a policy of managed gradual decline. This was consistent with his wider view on the nature of slavery, that 'it was a state of such degradation that sudden release from it must have catastrophic consequences for those released'. This belief in gradual amelioration of slavery drew on contemporary theories of stadial development as taught at eighteenth-century universities like TCD, which saw humanity slowly emerging from a state of barbarism.⁶⁵ Burke's 'Sketch' was 'not a radical assault on slavery', but it did eventually have a significant influence on contemporary debates.

This is where we come to assessing Burke's contribution to the parliamentary and public debates on the slave trade in the late 1780s and the challenges posed for those who seek to connect Burke's opposition to the excesses of empire in India and his hostility to the penal legislation directed towards Irish Catholics with his views on slavery.⁶⁶ Many contemporaries, including his old school and Trinity friend Richard Shackleton assumed that Burke was an abolitionist and he unequivocally supported abolition in parliament from 1788 to 1791.⁶⁷ By 1791 he had however changed his mind. It remains unclear what precisely led to this change of mind on what was one of the major issues of the day. It seems most likely that the impact of the French revolution was key as this, as is well known, gave Burke a horror of people power and made him unwilling to work alongside those in the abolition movement who were less horrified by events in France. He restated his commitment to a more gradual approach in notes for a speech in parliament, writing, 'slavery is contrary to Nature. True but you would instantly manumit all slaves. Property is to be secured'.⁶⁸ In 1792 when abolition again came before parliament, Burke had the ear of the secretary of state, Henry Dundas. Dundas read Burke's 'Sketch' and drew upon it to propose that rather than pushing for immediate abolition of the slave trade, parliament should instead vote to gradually abolish the slave trade.⁶⁹ This measure was passed and the end of the slave trade was delayed until 1807 with slavery in the British empire only abolished in 1833. Dundas's

⁶⁴ Marshall, *Edmund Burke*, p. 175.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, chapter 8 esp. pp. 188-90.

⁶⁶ For the classic statement of the postcolonial Burke see Seamus Deane, *Foreign Affections: Essays on Edmund Burke* (Cork, 2005).

⁶⁷ Marshall, *Edmund Burke*, pp. 207-11.

⁶⁸ Burke in 1792, quoted in F.P. Locke, *Edmund Burke Volume II 1784-97* (Oxford, 2009), p. 321

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

parliamentary intervention, drawn from Burke, and the lobbying power of the West Indies interest led to an enormous growth in the number of enslaved people trafficked to the British Caribbean colonies in the 1790s, with over half million people being sold into slavery in the period between 1792 and 1807. Recent scholarship has drawn greater attention to Dundas's role in extending the slave trade and his continued memorialisation in Edinburgh has become divisive with the wording commemorating Dundas on the Melville Monument changing in June 2020 to reflect Dundas's role in prolonging the slave trade.⁷⁰ Edmund Burke's role in developing the policy of gradual abolition together with his lengthy support for West Indian interests in parliament went beyond 'condoning disagreeable necessities'. As Peter Marshall shows in his definitive study, Burke actively promoted the slave trade in the 1766 act, in opposing Jamaican duties on slaves in 1775. He argues that 'It is on these grounds that Burke's reputation seems vulnerable'. The results of this careful scholarship into Burke's actions as well as his words needs to be recognised when we consider his memorialisation and reputation at Trinity.⁷¹ Burke like George Berkeley before him was more than just a man of his times, he was instead through his political activities complicit in furthering and prolonging the Atlantic slave system.⁷² These connections to slavery have not hitherto been recognised in any of the multiple forms of memorialisation and commemoration associated with Burke on Trinity's campus, which include a 1864 statue, a lecture theatre in the Arts Building, multiple portraits, an annual lecture, and numerous prizes offered by both the university and the college debating societies.⁷³

7. TCD and the Abolition and Anti-Slavery movements

Ireland and Abolition

⁷⁰ Stephen Mullen, 'A 'great delayer' of the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade', *Scottish Historical Review*, 100 (2), (2021), 218-48.

⁷¹ Marshall, *Edmund Burke*, p. 227.

⁷² It should be acknowledged that there is some debate amongst specialist Burke scholars over his views on slavery. See the debate between Gregory Collins and Daniel O'Neill in recent issues of the journal *Slavery and Abolition*.

⁷³ On the memorialisation of Burke at TCD see Louis Cullen's 1997 Trinity Monday discourse delivered on the bicentenary of his death, which makes the point that it was students who led the commemoration of Burke in the late 19th century.

https://www.tcd.ie/Secretary/FellowsScholars/discourses/discourses/1997_L%20Cullen%20on%20E%20Burke.pdf It focuses on Burke's relationship with Trinity and his view on the penal laws, with no discussion of Burke's views on empire or slavery.

We now turn to connections between Trinity College Dublin and the abolition and anti-slavery movements. From the early eighteenth century, Irish voices were also prominent in voicing opposition to slavery. The Dublin born moral philosopher Francis Hutcheson wrote an important early intellectual critique while the TCD educated playwright Thomas Southerne (1660-1746) adapted Aphra Benn's anti-slavery novel *Oronoko* for the London stage.⁷⁴ By the late 1780s there was an active anti-slavery presence in Dublin and Belfast, linked both to Quaker and Unitarian religious communities and to emerging radical political groups like the United Irishmen.⁷⁵ Amongst the radical voices was TCD graduate James Mullala (he proclaimed his status as Trinity Scholar on his frontispiece) who penned an influential pamphlet against slavery in Dublin in 1792. Writing in the aftermath of the Haitian revolution he argued that slaves had the right to revolt against their masters. This he claimed was the only effective way to end slavery, not consumer action as practiced by the genteel Dublin ladies towards whom his pamphlet was nominally addressed. This analysis was made even more incendiary when, in his conclusions, he drew upon the well-established, if problematic convention comparing Irish Catholics under the penal laws and chattel slaves.⁷⁶ It is hard to judge how much influence Mullala had but he was far from a lone voice calling for the abolition of slavery at this time.

The anti-slavery movement continued to grow in influence after the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 and scholarship in recent years has uncovered much more about this movement in Ireland. Again, it is possible to discern Trinity connections here. Thomas Fowell Buxton who succeeded William Wilberforce as leader of the British anti-slavery movement was educated in Trinity, graduating in 1807. He was not Irish, but attended Trinity as he expected to inherit an Irish landed estate from his mother's Quaker family. He seems to have made an impression

⁷⁴ On Hutcheson see M.J. Rozbicki, 'To Save Them from Themselves: Proposals to Enslave the British Poor, 1698-1755', in *Slavery & Abolition*, 22 (2001), pp. 34-35. On Southerne see his entry in *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (hereafter *D.I.B.*) <https://www.dib.ie/biography/southerne-thomas-a8197>

⁷⁵ Nini Rodgers, 'Two Quakers and a Unitarian: The Reaction of Three Irish Women Writers to the Problem of Slavery 1789-1807', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 100, C (2000); Kevin Whelan, 'The Green Atlantic: Radical Reciprocities between Ireland and America in the Long Eighteenth Century', in Kathleen Wilson (ed), *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660-1840* (2004). For a more ambiguous view of United Irish connections to slavery see Nini Rogers, 'Ireland and the Black Atlantic in the Eighteenth Century', in *Irish Historical Studies*, 126, (2000), pp. 174-92.

⁷⁶ James Mullala, *A Compilation on the Slave Trade Respectfully Addressed to the People of Ireland* (Dublin, 1792); Rodgers, *Ireland, Slavery and Anti-Slavery*, p.

during his time at Trinity and was asked to stand for the college parliamentary constituency in 1807. He declined this offer and later represented a southern English constituency at Westminster.⁷⁷ Despite his later public prominence it is unclear what if any influence he had on the anti-slavery movement in Ireland.

Of greater significance on antislavery in Ireland and arguably on the global anti-slavery cause were a series of lectures on American slavery delivered at TCD by the economist J.E. Cairnes in the 1850s as part of his teaching as Whately professor of political economy. The Co. Louth born Cairnes was the most important Irish economist of the nineteenth century.⁷⁸ A correspondent and associate of John Stuart Mill he wrote radical essays on the economics of Irish property, which influentially argued for land reform in Ireland, and the differential treatment of property in Ireland and England. Rents he argued should be determined by law not the market. A TCD graduate, he was appointed to the Archbishop Whately chair in political economy for a five-year term in 1856, jointly holding it with the professorship of jurisprudence at Queen's College Galway in 1859. Towards the end of his time in Trinity he delivered a series of lectures on the political economy of American slavery, which were later published as *The Slave Power* in 1862. Here he argued forcefully that the course of his history is 'determined by the action of economic causes' making a case for the economic logic of the Northern states' opposition to slavery. The period between the delivery of his lectures and their publication a year gave transformed their conclusions from 'the speculative' to being 'directly applicable to problem of immediate and momentous consequence'.⁷⁹ This was recognised by contemporaries in Britain and America (his papers include a letter of approval from Abraham Lincoln) who saw Cairnes' work as having a significant impact on turning British opinion towards the Northern cause.⁸⁰ *The Slave Power* was also read enthusiastically by Charles Darwin and Karl Marx amongst others and it continued to have a powerful influence

⁷⁷ See his entry in the *History of Parliament*. <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/buxton-thomas-fowell-1786-1845>.

⁷⁸ See T.A. Boylan and Tadgh Foley, 'J.E. Cairnes, J.S. Mill and Ireland', in Antoin Murphy (ed), *Economists and the Irish economy from the eighteenth century to the present day* (Dublin, 1983), pp 96-119. See also his entry in the *D.I.B.*.

⁷⁹ J.E. Cairnes, *The Slave Power*, 1862), preface.

⁸⁰ Abraham Lincoln to J. E. Cairnes, 1 Aug. 1862 (NLI Ms 21842) More generally see correspondence from American anti-slavery organisations and American and British abolitionists including Harriet Martineau in NLI Mss 8956-59 Cairnes Papers,

on debates on slavery into the 1960s and beyond.⁸¹ The immediate reaction to his lectures in Trinity is trickier to discern but it is interesting that Cairnes, despite his relative short stint in Trinity was amongst those names considered for the names of the Arts Building lecture theatres in 1978, presumably for his wider contribution to political economy than for his lectures on slavery alone.⁸² It is however conceivable that these lectures and the subsequent book were amongst the most important delivered in Trinity in the nineteenth century.

Conclusions

This working paper has provided an outline of Trinity College Dublin's connection to the transatlantic slave economy. It has endeavoured to situate Trinity's connections to the slave economy within both the history of Ireland and slavery and the international history of universities and slavery. It has shown that Trinity's connections to slavery were more complex and multi-dimensional than previously understood. Tax revenues from transatlantic trade directly funded Trinity through the series of financial grants made by the Irish parliament secured on colonial slave-produced commodities. We have also shown how some Trinity men, whether students, staff or alumni were enslavers or supported the enslavement of human beings in both North America and the Caribbean. Finally, we have extended our analysis to consider the intellectual defences of slavery, resistance to abolition, and arguments for anti-slavery made by key Trinity related intellectuals including Jonathan Swift, Edmund Burke and John Elliot Cairnes.

⁸¹ Boylan and Foley, pp. 110-11.

⁸² His name now adorns the School of Business in Galway university where he spent much more of his academic career.

