

Jesus College Legacy of Slavery Working Party

Interim Report (July-October 2019)

presented to College Council 25 November 2019

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¹ TR = Terms of Reference provided by Council

1. The creation of the Jesus College Legacy of Slavery Working Party (LSWP)

Early 2019, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University Stephen Toope set up the Cambridge Advisory group on Legacies of Enslavement, chaired by Prof. Martin Millett. On 30 April 2019, the Vice-Chancellor publicly announced that the Advisory group would oversee a two-year study funded by the University on the University's links to the slave trade by two post-doctoral research fellows starting in autumn 2019. Cambridge University's Inquiry into Legacies of Enslavement (LSI) echoes similar studies undertaken several years earlier by other British Universities such as Glasgow and UCL, and by many American Ivy League Universities. Its starting point is that 'Cambridge, like many other major UK institutions, benefited both directly and indirectly from the slave trade and imperialism more broadly' and that 'understanding of that involvement should be central to the University's efforts to address some of the structural inequalities that are a legacy of enslavement'; the study aims to (1) examine 'the university's financial history' and (2) 'its scholarly productions around the idea of race', and (3) to 'recommend specific ways for the University to publicly acknowledge such historical links and to address their intergenerational impact'.² The University Inquiry has announced that it will produce an interim report early in 2020; a final report (initially announced for 'autumn 2021') is expected 'in 2022.'

At the first Jesus College Council Meeting which followed the announcement of the University Inquiry, that of 20 May 2019, the College Council 'made a formal commitment to the LSI', including by opening its Archives and other relevant material to the LSI,³ as many other Cambridge Colleges similarly declared they would do in the course of May-June. In addition to supporting the University Inquiry, Council decided at that same meeting on 20 May to also establish a College-based Working Party which would undertake an Inquiry into legacies of slavery at Jesus College specifically.⁴ A handful of other Colleges have since done the same, although they will not necessarily work in the same manner as the Jesus Inquiry (for example, King's officially announced a College-centered 'research scheme' on 28 May 2019, which, to date, invites students to carry out the research)⁵.

At its next meeting, on 18 June 2019, Council appointed the members of the Working Party.⁶ The founding of the Jesus College Legacy of Slavery Working Party was publicly announced on 1 July 2019. The Working Party first convened on 8 July 2019 and started work immediately. The Working Party was asked by Council to produce an interim Report within the academic year 2019-2020 (and a final Report following the conclusion of the University Inquiry). Given the importance of the topic of the legacy of slavery for the College, and to give ourselves the opportunity to benefit from the wider Fellowships' views and advice, we decided to present our Interim Report quite early in our proceedings.

2. Composition of the Jesus College LSWP

At its meeting of 18 June 2019, the College Council appointed all Fellows and one CPDA who had volunteered to serve on the LSWP in reply to a request for expressions of interest which was circulated

² Source: 'Legacies of Enslavement', Vice-Chancellor's Office (<https://www.vc.admin.cam.ac.uk/projects/legacies-of-enslavement>, downloaded 4 Nov 2019).

³ Unreserved Council minutes 9469, 20 May 2019.

⁴ Unreserved Council minutes 9469, 20 May 2019.

⁵ <https://www.kings.cam.ac.uk/news/2019/kings-college-research-slavery-past-and-present>, accessed 4 Nov 2019. Note that an informal announcement by the Provost of King's Michael Proctor was made on twitter on 24 May.

⁶ Reserved Council Minutes 9559, 18 June 2019.

via the Society email list. Members include: Véronique Mottier (Chair), Elly Robson (Secretary), Julius Grower, Claire Fenton-Glynn, Renaud Morieux, Shailaja Fennell, Chris Jeppesen, Rohan Clarke as Graduate Representative, and JCSU President Sorcha Keenan (18 June- 7 October) / JCSU Ethnic and Religious Minorities Officer Nabil Haque (from 7 October) as Undergraduate Representative. Michael Edwards and Robert Athol are 'in attendance' as, respectively, Keeper of the Old Library and College Archivist and, in these roles, make key contributions. Fellow Commoner Preti Taneja expressed interest in the LSWP after its members were appointed by Council; the Working Party elected her as co-opted member at its first meeting. We also elected an external member who is not based in the UK, Prof Verene Shepherd from the University of the West Indies, Mona (Jamaica).

We started our work by mapping the skills and research interests that each of us can bring to this Working Party. In alphabetical order: Robert Athol is the College Archivist. In this role he is responsible for the College Archives and has detailed knowledge of Jesus College history and its historic collections. He also has wider experience working with various collegiate institutions (Oxbridge Colleges, Inns of Court and Livery Companies) and has worked at the National Archives as well. Rohan Clarke is the MCR student Rep. He is doing graduate studies in development studies, and has previously worked for the Jamaican diplomatic service. In this role he has followed UN debates on reparative justice. Michael Edwards is a College Fellow in History. He is Keeper of the Old Library at Jesus College, and a historian specializing in early modern intellectual and cultural history. He has also worked on the history of Jesus College and its library, and the history of early modern universities and other educational institutions more generally; he brings expertise in archival research and a familiarity with the history of the College and its seventeenth- and eighteenth century records. Shailaja Fennell is a College Fellow in Land Economy. She is a development economist, and researches the impact of colonialism on current day development trajectories of countries. She is also the academic staff representative on the University's BAME staff network. Claire Fenton-Glynn is a College Fellow in Law. She has legal expertise in the area of international human rights law, and has previously worked with indigenous groups on issues relating to colonisation and reparative justice. Julius Grower is a College Fellow in Law. He has legal expertise on private law, civil wrongdoing, property law etc. More generally, he can cover British law relevant to our work. Chris Jeppesen is a College CPDA in History. His research focuses on the links between British elites and Empire from the eighteenth century to decolonization. His PhD examined the recruitment strategies and career motivations behind imperial careers in the twentieth century and he subsequently worked as a post-doctoral researcher on the UCL Legacies of British Slave-ownership project, looking at the links between the Caribbean, the East India Company, and elite British families. Renaud Morieux is a College Fellow in History. He is a historian of eighteenth-century Britain and France. He has been working on incarceration and forced migration for a number of years, and has recently published some of his research on the Caribbean. Véronique Mottier is a College Fellow in Human, Social and Political Sciences. From a background in sociology, political science and gender studies, her research has focused since the late 1990s on comparative histories of eugenics and racial science in European countries. She is also Principal Investigator of a current study on activist campaigns for reparative justice for victims of state practices of forced child placements in Switzerland, which include the Jenish, a racialized minority. Elly Robson is a College Research Fellow in History. She works on 16th and 17th century struggles over land rights and environmental change in Britain and the Atlantic world. She also runs a digital magazine called History Workshop Online which publishes widely on topics relevant to our inquiry. Our co-opted member, Preti Taneja, is a Fellow Commoner at Jesus. She has developed and taught the College's Writing Together programme, where Jesus students learn creative writing alongside men serving long and life sentences at HMP Whitemoor. She is an award winning fiction writer and academic whose most recent work concentrates on legacies of slavery and colonialism as they have informed the field of literary studies With a professional background in human rights reporting with a focus on cultural, religious, ethnic and

linguistic minority rights, she has written and broadcasted on various media on slavery and decolonisation (and is a former editor of Varsity).

The role of our external member is to ensure critical scrutiny of our inquiry by an expert on our topic who is not Cambridge-based. For this role, we elected Prof. Verene Shepherd who is Head of the recently established Centre for Reparation Research at the University of the West Indies, Mona. The Centre has very strong connections with legacy of slavery inquiries in Glasgow, Bristol and UCL. Prof. Shepherd sits on the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) and, therefore, travels via London at least three times per year to attend meetings in Geneva. This means that she might hopefully be able to attend some of our WP meetings in College.

A graduate of the UWI, Mona and the University of Cambridge, where she read for her PhD in history, Professor Shepherd's research interests are Jamaican Economic History during slavery (especially the history of non-sugar activities); Migration and Diasporas, and Caribbean Women's history; she has published widely on these topics. Among her publications (sole-authored, co-authored, edited and co-edited) are *Livestock, Sugar & Slavery: Contested Terrain in Colonial Jamaica* (2009); *I Want to Disturb My Neighbour* (2007); *Maharani's Misery: Narratives of a Passage from India to the Caribbean* (2002) and *Engendering History: Caribbean Women in Historical Perspectives* (1998). She also writes for High School students, producing, with Hilary McD. Beckles, *Liberties Lost: Caribbean Indigenous Societies and Slave Systems* (2004) and *Freedoms Won: Caribbean Emancipations, Ethnicities and Nationhood* (2006). Both Professor Shepherd and Professor Beckles were also very instrumental in ensuring that Lucille Mathurin Mair's path-breaking PhD thesis "A Historical Study of Women in Jamaica," written in 1974, was finally published in 2007.

Prof. Shepherd has had a long association with the women's movement and a track record of research on gender issues. She was University Director of the Institute for Gender & Development Studies and Professor of Social History at the Mona Campus of the University of the West Indies (2010-17), the Faculty of Arts Representative on the Board for Gender & Development (1996-1998), and Faculty Representative, Women and Development Studies Group (1989-1991). She has also contributed to other aspects of university life. For example during the period 2004 - 2006 she served as a member of the Mona Campus Strategic Transformation Team. Professor Shepherd is the host of "Talking History" on Nationwide 90FM and member of the United Nation's Working Group of Experts on People of African descent. She is the Immediate Past President of the Association of Caribbean Historians and was the first woman to chair the Board of Trustees of the Jamaica National Heritage Trust (2006-2007). She has been the recipient of several awards, including the Jamaica National Heritage Trust Award for contribution to Jamaican history and heritage and the Africana Studies distinguished African Award (2007) from Florida International University.

3. How we have proceeded

We have had three 2.5-hour plenary meetings of the LSWP so far: on 8 July, 9 September and 8 October 2019. The LSWP Chair also held 11 additional meetings with subgroups and individual members of the Working Party to coordinate the work-in-progress over the summer, after we divided up some of the tasks. She also coordinated with relevant others (such as Donal Cooper as Chair of the Works of Arts Committee, to discuss potential overlap between our respective activities).

We started our work by unpacking the Terms of Reference (TR) provided by Council, which are reproduced verbatim in this section (in bold print). We mapped and timetabled the initial tasks that the WP will set itself in the light of our interpretation of the TR. The rest of this report presents our progress with regard to each of the six points of the terms of reference.

TR1: To explore how the College may have benefitted historically from slavery and coerced labour through financial and other donations and bequests

TR2: To investigate ways in which Fellows of Jesus College may have contributed to scholarship that underpinned slavery

Regarding TR1, we noted that the College would not only have benefitted financially from specific donations, but also from fees paid for example by students from slave-holding families. To explore the embeddedness of the College within wider systems of slavery and colonial violence, we therefore felt that we should not just examine 'what went in' in terms of money or gifted objects, but also in terms of 'people'. Moreover, we should also examine 'what went out': how did our alumni or Fellows help to prop up the wider structures of colonial exploitation?

Regarding TR2, and noting that Council had authorised us to modify the terms of reference if needed, we decided to examine contributions to scholarship of 'members of the College' more widely, so as to include Jesus Alumni as well, rather than only focus on 'Fellows'. We noted that while other inquiries, such as UCL, have focused exclusively on the period of slavery itself (and hence stop with its abolition in 1833), our brief is to examine the 'legacy' of slavery, which requires opening up the timespan that we will cover to consider longer-term financial and social outcomes of slavery. The College Inquiry thus aims to examine the place of Jesus College in relation to the wider dynamics of slavery, colonial administration, colonial violence, and long-term financial and social legacies including institutional exclusions and under-representation. For example, TR2 asks us to examine relevant 'scholarship'; this could range from legal scholarship on the abolition of slavery or on issues of compensation for losses incurred as a result of its abolition, to racial and eugenic science; given that eugenics only emerges in the 1880s, and racial science thrives well into the 1930s-1940s, restricting ourselves to the period before the abolition of slavery would mean ignoring these areas of scholarship altogether. Given the potential vastness of these issues, we decided to try to find a balance between breadth and depth, by first trying to achieve a general mapping of each area of our investigation, and then zoom in on a limited number of 'cases'. These selected case studies, explored in greater depth, will serve as practical illustrations of the wider structural dynamics at work.

Against this backdrop, we interpreted TR1 and TR2 as a research agenda consisting of 'tracing people, money, objects and scholarship' related to legacy of slavery issues linked to Jesus College. We decided to spend much of the first year of our Inquiry trying to get an initial picture of the relationship of Jesus to legacy of slavery issues in these four areas (people, money, objects and scholarship). This will help us get a clearer idea of how much (more) there is to research; depending on the results of this first phase, we may need to make a request for financial support for research assistance to carry out more in-depth analyses of Archives (possibly outside of Cambridge), and of the Old Library, to Council.

4. Examples of our work-in-progress and preliminary findings

4a) Tracing people (TR1 & TR2)

Over the summer, we undertook preliminary research to identify Fellows, Alumni and Donors whose lives were in different ways relevant to the focus of our Inquiry. The Working Party as a whole participated in putting together a list of keywords that could be used to search the databases. A sub-team of the Working Party, consisting of Chris Jeppesen, Elly Robson and Robert Athol, then used the keyword list to carry out extensive analysis of various sources such as the Venn database (which lists all Cambridge University alumni until 1900). This analysis generated over 200 relevant life trajectories: so far, we have identified over 100 Jesuans with known Caribbean/slavery connections pre-1900, and equally over 100 Jesuans with connections to the colonial service in the time period 1900-1960s.⁷

In terms of people 'who went in,' these included students who arrived at Jesus from plantation families in the Caribbean, or Rustat's son, who became a Jesus student. In terms of people 'who came out,' we observed that Jesus produced many alumni who went off to the colonies as clergy, military or colonial administrators. We also identified earlier Jesuans who supported the campaigns against slavery. For example, the College's 'Conclusion Books' (the equivalent of today's Council Minutes in a time period before Council existed) record that Jesus Fellows made an official College donation to the abolitionist cause on 3 December 1787.⁸ Amongst the signatures of Fellows on the relevant page, we noted the name of William Frend, a Jesus Fellow who was engaged in the abolitionist struggle more widely, as well as other topics of radical politics of his era (he was later thrown out of College, but we learn from Peter Glazebrook's chapter in *Jesus: the Life of a Cambridge College* (2007) that this was not because of his anti-slavery position, but because he'd publicly declared that the doctrine of the Holy Trinity was 'rank nonsense,' compounded by his support for the execution of the French King).⁹ Finally, several individuals appeared in both categories, i.e. Jesus alumni who became colonial administrators, and later returned to the College as Fellows.

In this first stage, we prioritised focusing on the Caribbean, because of its potential links with slave plantations. We have generally not yet examined data after 1900 (which are not readily available in pre-existing alumni databases), nor for different regions, apart from our overview of the links of Jesus to the 20th colonial civil service.

⁷ This second number is by no means exhaustive and does not include those who were with the military under Empire (during the 19th century, that represented a significant number, as we know from the Venn database) or who joined before 1900 (again, Venn lists quite a few who went to India, for ex.). In this respect, the overall number is likely to be much higher; 'over a 100' represents those we have names for at this stage. The same is true for the pre-1900 figure: further research is likely to generate further names (for ex., we already know that a handful of Jesuans became chaplains in the East India Company).

⁸ Jesus College Archives, JCGB/1/2/1.

⁹ Glazebrook, P. 'Francophilia: Fellows on Trial,' in *Jesus: The Life of a Cambridge College*, edited by Peter Glazebrook, Cambridge, Granta Editions (2007).

4b) Tracing money (TR1 & TR2)

College Properties

Both through our archival research and with help from the Bursar, we established that Jesus College never owned any properties outside of the UK. Historically, its main income came from the ownership of farms (sold in recent decades), businesses and pubs in the region: Cambridge/Cambridgeshire, Essex, Surrey, City of London and Warwickshire. Some properties (warehouses/industrial units) were acquired during the late 20th/early 21st centuries for investment purposes in Huntingdonshire, Yorkshire and Leicestershire, but many have since been sold off. In sum, none of the income generated by Jesus College properties came directly from slave plantations or slave trade (and remembering more generally that, until the 19th century, Jesus College was 'amongst the poorer' Colleges, and that it is only in the course of the 19th century that it rose to one of the 12th wealthiest Colleges).¹⁰

College Donors

A sub-team of the working party consisting of RA, ME, CJ and SF examined whether any of our major donors had links to slavery/the colonies. RA & CJ carried out a preliminary survey of those who made bequests and donations to the College from the sixteenth to eighteenth century, as listed in a number of published mid-nineteenth century sources [see below]. We cross referenced individuals mentioned in these sources with the list of preliminary leads found in Venn and the LBS database. All these books take their information from Sherman's *Historia Collegii Jesu cantabrigiensis* and list only the College's principal benefactors before the mid-18th century. This means there are likely to be other bequests we have not yet been able to check, which may have a slavery connection. Where possible we also checked the wills of former Jesuans who appear in the list of possible leads and came from Caribbean families. Digitized wills are only available until 1858, however. Many 19th century Jesuans who came from slave owning families died after this date, meaning it has not been possible to check their wills.

This preliminary survey has not generated any new leads and suggests that the major benefactors before the mid-1700s, aside from Tobias Rustat, did not have immediate personal or family connections to Caribbean slavery or the slave trade.¹¹ From the wills examined, no slavery-linked Jesuan left a personal bequest to the college.

Even so, as we already know thanks to our database research on 'people' presented in the preceding section, a significant number of Jesuans did come from families embedded in the Caribbean slave economy or Transatlantic slave trade and derived wide ranging financial benefit from funds derived from slavery. In this respect, it is important to stress that the College did derive financial benefit from this connection simply by having these students in residence. Many were pensioners and fellow commoners and therefore paid fees to the College for tuition and living.

¹⁰ Stephen Barton's chapter in *Jesus: The Life of a Cambridge College*, ed. Peter Glazebrook, Cambridge, Granta Editions, 2007 explains that this was as a result of the two enclosures Acts of 1801 and 1807, when Jesus received 'allotments' in the region.

¹¹ The two earliest donors, Reginald and Katherine Bray, are only known to have given money to the College in general, with evidence for those donations coming from later records (the lists included in 17th volumes of commemoration of benefactors for example). The actual accounts in which the money which they gave would have been listed, or at least the ways in which that money would have been spent, unfortunately do not survive for the early 16th century. However, they themselves were both dead by 1507 so pre-date the period we're looking at.

Although this initial survey has not delivered particularly rich findings, it is important to acknowledge it had significant limitations. We carried it out quickly and largely through published sources, which offer little coverage after 1800 and miss the post-compensation period.¹² As a next step, we should now focus on the college's archival collections, in particular College accounts and subscription lists for eighteenth and nineteenth century building or renovation projects. This would, however, require extensive and time-consuming archival research over several months, which may necessitate involving (and potentially paying) student volunteers to work through the original records. Currently, the College archives are in the process of being indexed. Once this process is completed, our research on this question will be much easier. For this reason, we plan to study the origins of the many smaller donations to the College only in one or two years' time,

In contrast to the absence of links to slavery of the College's other major donors, these links are strong and well-documented for our most prominent benefactor, Tobias Rustat. The next section outlines these in greater detail, prepared by a sub-team of our LSWP consisting of ME and RA.

Tobias Rustat's Legacies

Tobias Rustat (1608-1694) was one of the College's largest benefactors before the twentieth century. His donation (in the form of rent on land at Waterbeach and Denny in Cambridgeshire) was made to support scholarships for the orphan sons of Anglican clergy; he also gave the College income from land at Nuneaton to found a charity to relieve the widows of clergymen. One account estimates the total value of Rustat's gifts to the College at £3,230 (the equivalent of £500,000 today).

Our College Archives record that Rustat transferred £2,030 2s 8d to the College on 17th July 1671 for the purchase of farms in Waterbeach and Denny (Abbey), the annual rental income (valued at £134 3s 5d in 1671) from which was to pay for eight 'Rustat Scholarships' for sons of deceased C of E clergy. As the Trust income increased over time, the number of scholars grew to 11 in 1769, 14 in 1848 and 16 or 17 by 1863. The funds for the Rustat Scholarship were transferred to the Jesus College Consolidated Fund in September 1962. £12 of the rental income was to be taken by the College to help pay for the costs of the Rustat Feast (see below). The Rustat Bursar (who was appointed from the Fellowship) was to pay £6, also from this rental income, every six months into the 'College Chest'. Calculating the current value of historical amounts of money is complex. This Report uses www.measuringworth.com,¹³ a site commonly used by historians for purchasing power/value comparisons. On the basis of 'measuring worth', the four possible current values of £2,030 2s 8d are:¹⁴

¹² Records Consulted - Published sources:

Combe, William, *A History of the University of Cambridge, Its Colleges, Halls and Public Buildings: In Two Volumes*, Vol. 2 (1815); Cooper, Charles Henry, *Memorials of Cambridge: St. Peter's College* (1860); Deighton, J.J. *The Cambridge Guide. A new edition* (1838); Gray, Arthur, *Jesus College* (1902); Sherman, John, *Historia Collegii Jesu cantabrigiensis*, Volume 25 (ed. J. Halliwell, 1840); Wright, Thomas, *Memorials of Cambridge: A Series of Views of the Colleges, Halls, and Public Buildings*, Vol. 1 (1845).

Wills: Caldwell, George (d.1848); Rawdon, Marmaduke (d. 1719); Rawdon, Thomas (d. 1666); Westmorland, Isaac (d.1856)

¹³ See also <https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/>

¹⁴ Throughout, perhaps the key value quoted is what [measuringworth.com](http://www.measuringworth.com) calls the 'real wage or real wealth' value: that is, 'the purchasing power of an income or wealth to buy a (fixed over time) bundle of goods or services'.

real wealth of that income or wealth is £323,200.00
labour earning of that income or wealth is £4,367,000.00
relative income of that income or wealth is £7,747,000.00
relative output of that income or wealth is £78,890,000.00

£1,000 was used to purchase property in Nuneaton, Warwickshire in 1672 to provide an annual income of £60 to pay for the pensions for six 'Rustat Widows' who all had to be widows of C of E clergy. The, essentially administrative, cost of securing this benefaction was £133. Using the website 'measuring worth', the four possible current values of £1,000 are given as:

real wealth of that income or wealth is £159,200.00
labour earnings of that income or wealth is £2,151,000.00
relative income of that income or wealth is £3,816,000.00
relative output of that income or wealth is £38,860,000.00

The Rustat Feast which was to be held following the auditing of the accounts relating to Rustat's benefactions was not to exceed £3. Of those attending, (Rustat) scholars were to be given 12d each, Fellows 5s and official visitors (so the Master, the Vice-Chancellor, Provost of Kings and Master of Trinity) 10s.¹⁵

Rustat was not himself a Jesuan, but his father, Robert Rustat (d.1637), was. Rustat's gift to Jesus, made in 1671, was part of a broader project of philanthropy that began in the mid-1660s. Rustat's charitable giving had a political and religious agenda: a royalist during the Civil Wars, he intended his bequests primarily to support the established Church and the universities (which, like most early modern people, he would have understood as politicised, religious institutions), and to relieve clergy and their families who had suffered as a result of the religious and political upheavals of the 1650s.

Much of Rustat's personal wealth came from his career as a courtier in the 1640s and afterwards; he was appointed Yeoman of the Robes to Charles II in 1659. At this time, the line between public service and private enterprise was blurry, and courtiers holding office in the Royal household profited substantially from them.

Rustat was also an investor in a series of trading companies: the Company of Royal Adventurers of England Trading into Africa, commonly called the Royal African Company, which was chartered in 1663 and reincorporated in 1672 as The Royal African Company (RAC). Rustat's name appears on the charter of both of these companies; a manuscript recently acquired by the Beinecke Library at Yale University seems to suggest that Rustat was also involved in another trading company, the Gambian Adventurers, into the early 1680s. Rustat's investment in the RAC was £400 (the equivalent of £60,000 today). Many courtiers and others in Rustat's circle invested, including his patron the Duke of Buckingham and his private banker, Edward Backwell. The RAC was not consistently profitable, but Rustat received significant dividends on his investment. He also took a role in running the RAC, being elected for a yearly term as an Assistant (the rough equivalent of a Director) in the years 1676, 1679, and 1680, although his direct involvement in the day-to-day management of the company was not great.

¹⁵ Note that while the specific initial amounts given or used to purchase properties to provide incomes are fairly straightforward, the compound annual incomes from those properties which were used to pay the scholarships and widows' pensions are much trickier to calculate and will involve quite a bit of work going through the College Accounts to see what the actual income from each property was.

The historian William Pettigrew, author of a recent book on the Royal African Company, describes its activities clearly: “The Royal African Company shipped more enslaved African women, men, and children to the Americas than any other single institution during the entire period of the transatlantic slave trade. From its foundation in 1672 to the early 1720s, the African Company transported close to 150,000 enslaved Africans, mostly to the British Caribbean.”¹⁶ This was a brutal and sustained trade in human life that exploited thousands of people: investors in the RAC were fully aware of its activities and intended to profit from this exploitation.

The facts of Rustat’s involvement both with the College and in the slave trade are not in doubt; they have been widely known for years, and are discussed both in scholarly studies of the Royal African Company and the University Library, and in his entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Further archival research might supply more detail about his finances and the precise degree of his involvement in the management of the Royal African Company; but we can be clear that Rustat had financial and other involvement in a slave trading company over a substantial period of time, including at the time when he donated to the College. This involvement has never been fully acknowledged by the College, and current accounts of Rustat’s life on the website and in the College history do not mention it.

Rustat is still very present in the College today: he is buried in Chapel, where his grand marble memorial remains, and his donation is acknowledged both at the Commemoration of Benefactors Feast, and at the Rustat Feast. Rustat scholarships (worth on average £1000 a year) are still awarded to students who are the children of clergy. His portrait currently hangs prominently in the Combination Room. Other aspects of his continuing presence result from decisions taken by the College in the last decade or so: the widely-publicised Rustat conferences, established in 2009 and currently run by the Intellectual Forum, are named after him, and his name is prominently visible on the recently constructed donor wall in Cloister Court.

4c) Tracing objects (TR1 & TR2)

For this question, we aim to map relevant art works, including portraits, and silver. In terms of timetabling, we plan to leave the systematic analysis of Jesus works of art and donated silver (listed in the College’s platebook) for the second year of our inquiry; this part of our study is undertaken by JG, CFG and RA in particular. In this first stage, the LSWP as a whole has considered what to do with the most obviously relevant objects that we are already aware of, such as Rustat’s portrait (see also TR3/TR4 below).

4d) Tracing scholarship (TR1 & TR2)

This task will involve identifying whether Jesus members have made contributions to scholarship relevant to our Inquiry. A sub-team of our working party consisting of ME, VM and PT will turn in particular to the Old Library, to identify works of racial science, eugenics, or legal scholarship relevant to slavery; we also plan to examine more indirect traces of relevant scholarship within disciplines such as literature, zoology, biological anthropology or psychiatry. This is too big a task to be able to carry it out ourselves; we plan to prepare precise research questions on this topic in spring 2020, and to organise and oversee research internships for students or postdocs in the Old Library to carry out this analysis over the summer 2020.

¹⁶ Pettigrew, *Freedom’s Debt: The Royal African Company and the Politics of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1672-1752*, 2013, p. 11

4e) Acknowledgement, reparative justice and use of donors' names (TR3 & TR4)

TR3: to consider ways in which the College should acknowledge past links to slavery

TR4: To consider the College's engagement in reparative justice, memorialisation and use of the names of donors known to have been involved in the slave trade

The Working Party noted that common practices of reparative justice in this domain are:

- official apologies
- memorialisation
- restitution of objects
- financial compensation
- funding of research into the history and legacies of slavery
- addressing issues of current (under- or non-) representation of black students or staff
- curriculum change

In this light, the Working Party believes that TR3 and TR4 are interlinked. We noted that one of the longer-term tasks of our WP will be to consider which of these forms seem the most appropriate for the College to engage in, taking into account the future findings of our Inquiry. Some issues concerning TR3 and TR4 require immediate attention, however. Given how much we already know at this stage, it would be both ethically problematic, and damaging to the College, to wait until the end of our College Inquiry before taking clear decisions on specific objects, and on the memorialisation and use of the name of our major benefactor Rustat. At the Society meeting on 18 November we will present various options to be discussed by the Society, before submitting our propositions to Council.

4f. Wider engagement with slavery

TR5: To propose ways to engage members of the College and the wider community with issues surrounding slavery

Our initial thoughts on TR5 are that a good (if not the only) way of doing so is by actively engaging people with our Inquiry. In this light, our preliminary propositions include:

- Engaging members of the College:
 - to offer Jesus undergraduate and postgraduates the possibility of being actively involved in our Inquiry in the form of the above-mentioned Archive and Old Library internships: from spring 2020
 - a presentation of our interim findings to the wider Jesus Community, for example at the Forum: possibly in conjunction with advertising the above internships in spring 2020.

➤ Engaging the wider community:

- to provide help in the form of advice regarding publicly available databases, at Jesus and elsewhere, posted on the College website for families from the Caribbean and from African countries (or elsewhere) who are interested in studying their family history but do not know how to go about doing so (noting that the College has already received requests of this nature from families in the Caribbean): winter 2019
- panel/conference event(s) with experts at the Intellectual Forum on topics such as Reparative Justice: academic year 2020-21
- to organise a temporary or permanent exhibition on this topic at Jesus
- to produce a small book which presents the history of Jesus College in relation to the topic of the legacy of slavery (with contributions from members of the LSWP, as well as other interested Jesus Fellows, students and alumni) : to conclude the LSWP inquiry, 2021-22.

4g. Implications of the University Inquiry for the College (TR6)

TR6: To address the impact of the conclusions of the University Legacy of Slavery Inquiry on Jesus College

We have made the College Inquiry known to the University Inquiry at the meeting on 1 July 2019 which had been called for university staff, and plan to liaise with this Committee once they have hired the two announced postdoc researchers who will pursue work at the University level, to discuss potential overlaps. Addressing the impact of the conclusions of the University Legacy of Slavery Inquiry on Jesus College more fully can, by definition, only be done once the University Inquiry is completed. By implication, the College Inquiry can only be fully completed after the University's final report is produced.

31.10.2019, VM, JG, ER, CJ, SF, CFG, RM, PT, ME, RA, RC