



Bronze medal to commemorate the abolition of slavery, 1834

HIDDEN LEGACIES

GLASGOW'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE TRANSATLANTIC SLAVERY TRADE

“OH THE HORRORS OF SLAVERY! – HOW THE THOUGHT OF IT PAINS MY HEART! BUT THE TRUTH OUGHT TO BE TOLD OF IT; AND WHAT MY EYES HAVE SEEN I THINK IT IS MY DUTY TO RELATE; FOR FEW PEOPLE IN ENGLAND KNOW WHAT SLAVERY IS.”

MARY PRINCE

Historical background

Pre-colonial civilisations

Before Europeans arrived looking to trade people for profit, complex civilisations flourished all over Africa with distinct cultures.

Choose a kingdom or empire and start your research! What was the language spoken? What was the national dress? What was their greatest artistic achievement?

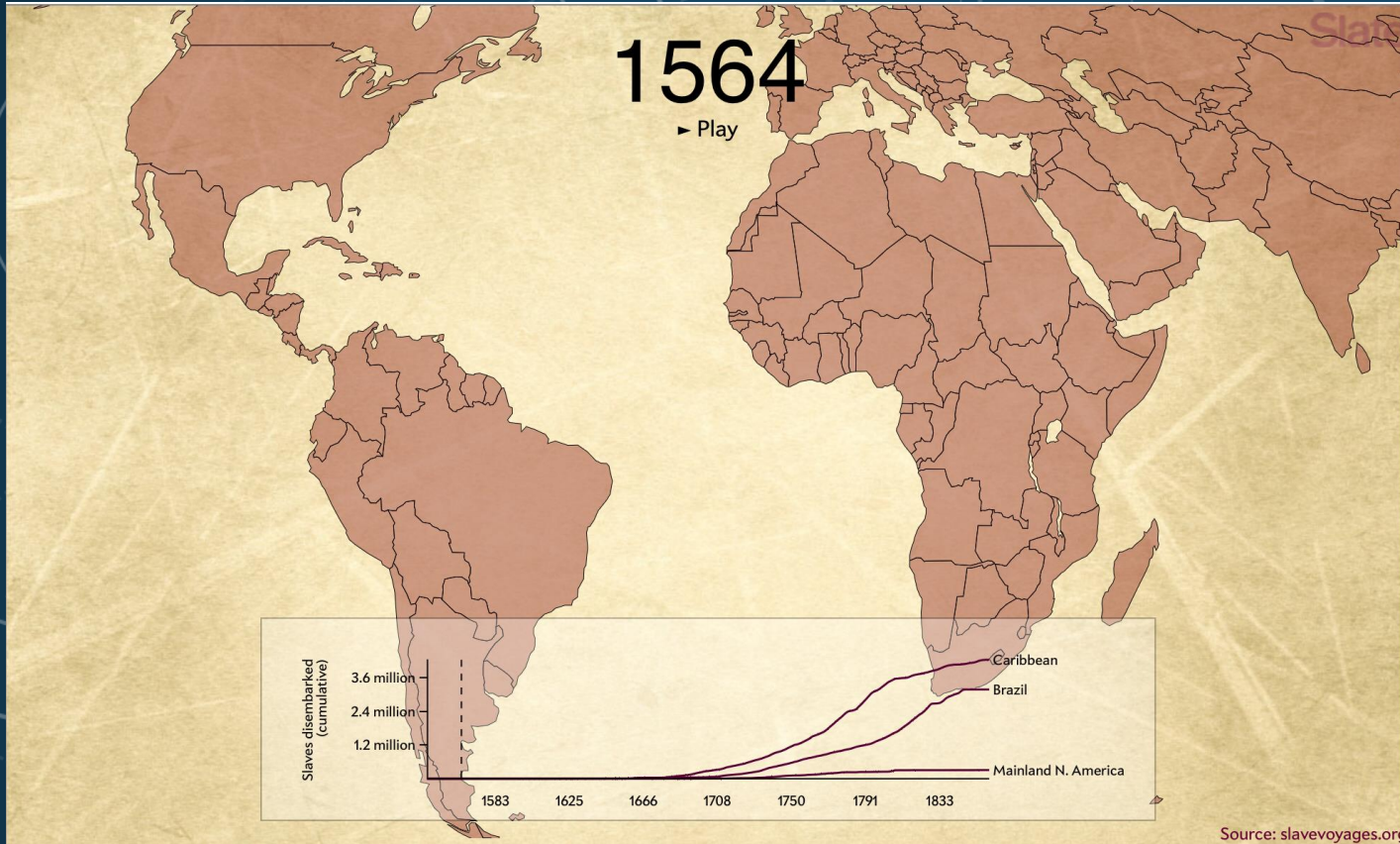
Now think about what happened to languages, customs and culture when the Europeans arrived and imposed their own. What would be the long-term impact of generations of people being taken away from their homelands?



Copyright bbc bitesize



Asante mma' gwa stool; Ghana, before 1874



Watch this short, animated interactive showing the history of the transatlantic slavery trade.

<https://tinyurl.com/p3npu5>

Where were most of the ships travelling to?

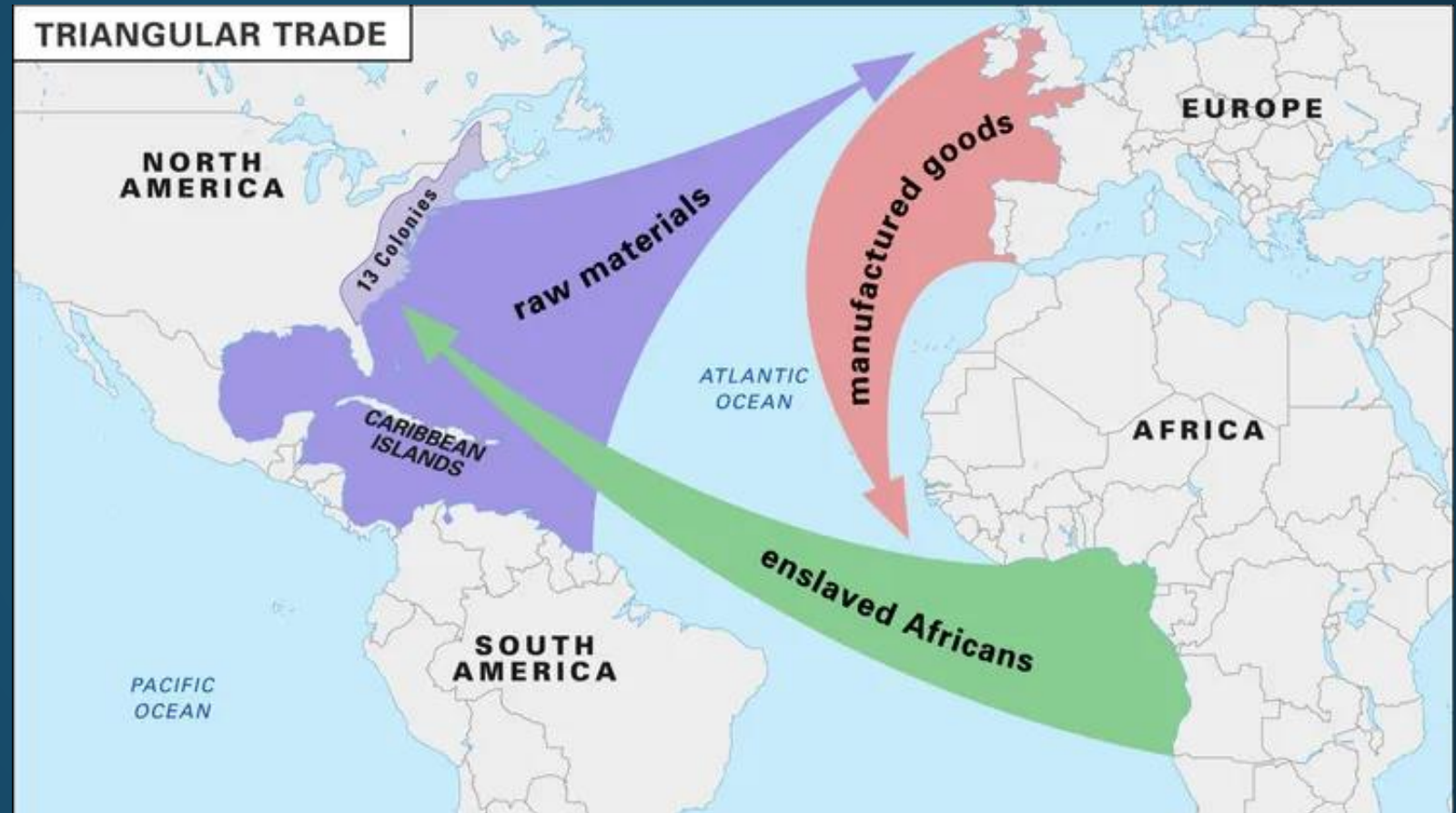
Why do you think there were periods in the timeline where there were fewer ships?

What was happening in the world during those times and why would it affect slavery?

Glasgow's Involvement

In the 1700s Glasgow was becoming a major centre for global trade and commerce.

Look at the diagram. How was Glasgow connected to, and dependent on, the trade of enslaved people between Africa and North America?



Trade Connections: Food and Drink

Sugar Tongs



Sugar tongs, early 18th century

Punch Bowl



Silver punch bowl, 1716

Clay Pipe



Clay pipe, 1920/30s

Herring



Robert Weir Alan, *Home from the herring fishing*, 1876

Discover and deduce

These household objects and the artwork all relate to food and drink.

Can you work out what products they relate to? Who would have eaten or drank them?

How are they connected to slavery?

Enslaved people and enslavers in Glasgow

Glassford Family Portrait



John Glassford was one of Britain's most successful enslavers with a fleet of 25 ships and a plantation in Virginia. He was enslaver of a black boy. This detail of the boy is from the far-left hand side of the portrait.

Why would Glassford want to have an enslaved child living in his home?



Archibald McLauchlan, John Glassford and his family, ca 1767-8

Silver Collar

It's long been believed that the collar was forced upon an enslaved person. However, more recent research has suggested that the collar was more likely worn by a dog.

The engraving shows the name of its owner.



Silver collar, ca. 1731

Discuss

The confusion of whether this collar was worn by an enslaved person or a dog is perhaps understandable. Enslaved people living in British cities would often be forced to wear collars that dehumanised them and identified them as someone's property, while also showing off the owner's wealth.

David Dale (1739-1806)

David Dale was a Scottish merchant, entrepreneur, banker and philanthropist. He owned the first cotton mill in Scotland at a time when that industry depended on enslaving workers to harvest the raw cotton.

However, he also supported the gradual abolition of the slavery trade and was the Chairperson of the Glasgow Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

Discover and Debate

What else can you find out about David Dale? Does the good that he did make up for the fact that some of his money was made from slavery? Organise a class debate.



Hugh William Williams, *David Dale*, ca 1793-1829

Compare

Look at how John Glassford and his family has been painted in their portrait (slide 7). Compare this with the portrait of David Dale on the previous slide.

Discuss

What information can we learn from a portrait?

What does each portrait tell us about John Glassford and David Dale? How are they different? What message does Glassford's portrait convey?



The Woman Shop Keeper

This Glaswegian shop keeper has sugar and lemons for sale, two of the ingredients used in punch, along with rum. The sugar is in cones and wrapped in paper. She is counting out coins or tokens.

Discuss

As well as the rich merchants, who else profited from goods grown on the plantations? Do you think they were aware of the scale of the slavery trade?



Unknown artist, *Woman Shopkeeper*, ca. 1790-1800

Revolutions, self-emancipation and abolition

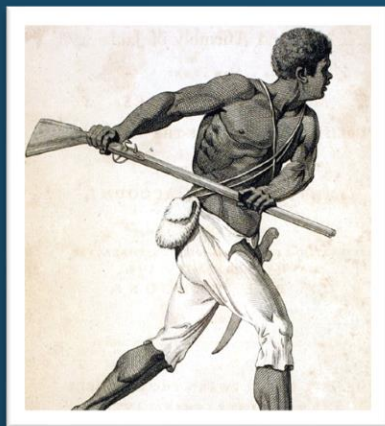
Conflicts that shook the slavery trade

1655

Jamaica
occupied by the
English

1730 to 1739

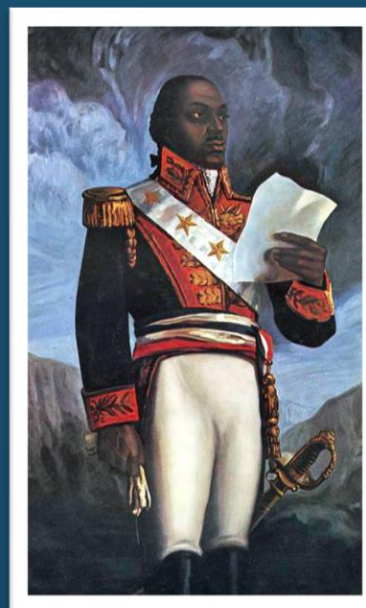
The First
Maroon War,
Jamaica



Maroon warrior
<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maroons>

1760
Tacky's War,
Jamaica

1791 to 1804
The Haitian
Revolution



Portrait of Toussaint L'Ouverture:
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Haitian_Revolution#/media/File:G%C3%A9ral_Toussaint_Louverture.jpg

1831

Samuel Sharp's
Uprising in
Jamaica

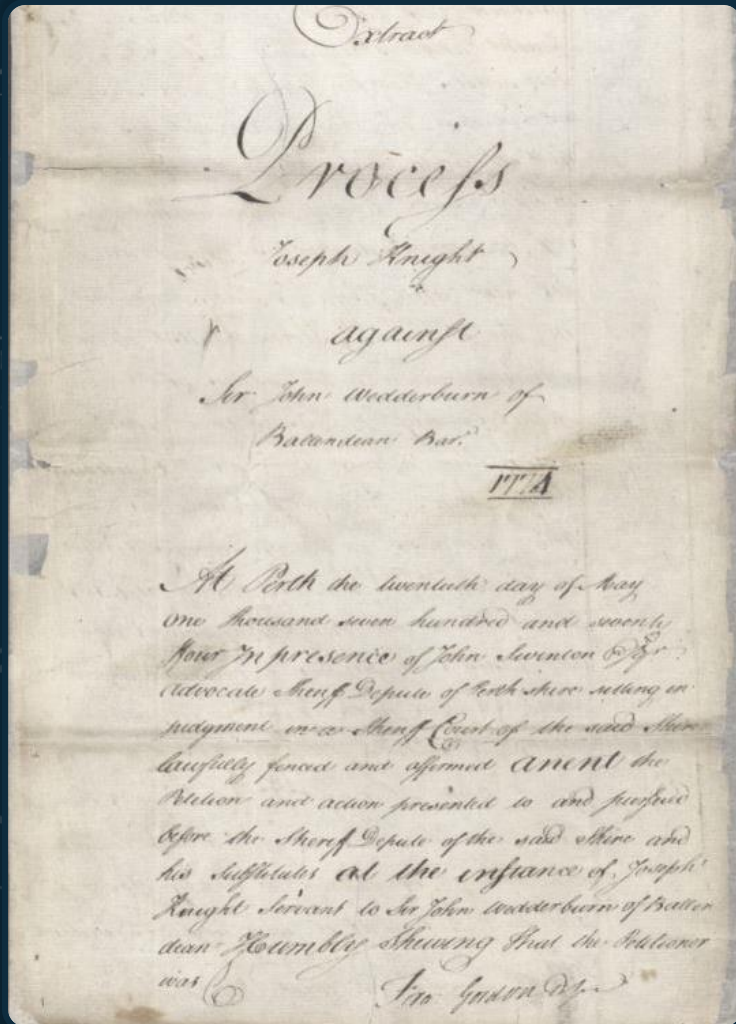
1833

Abolition of
Slavery Act



Samuel Sharpe on 50 Dollar Note
<https://www.leftovercurrency.com/exchange/jamaican-dollars/current-jamaican-dollar-banknotes/50-jamaican-dollars-banknote-samuel-sharpe/>

The Case of Joseph Knight and enslavement in Scotland



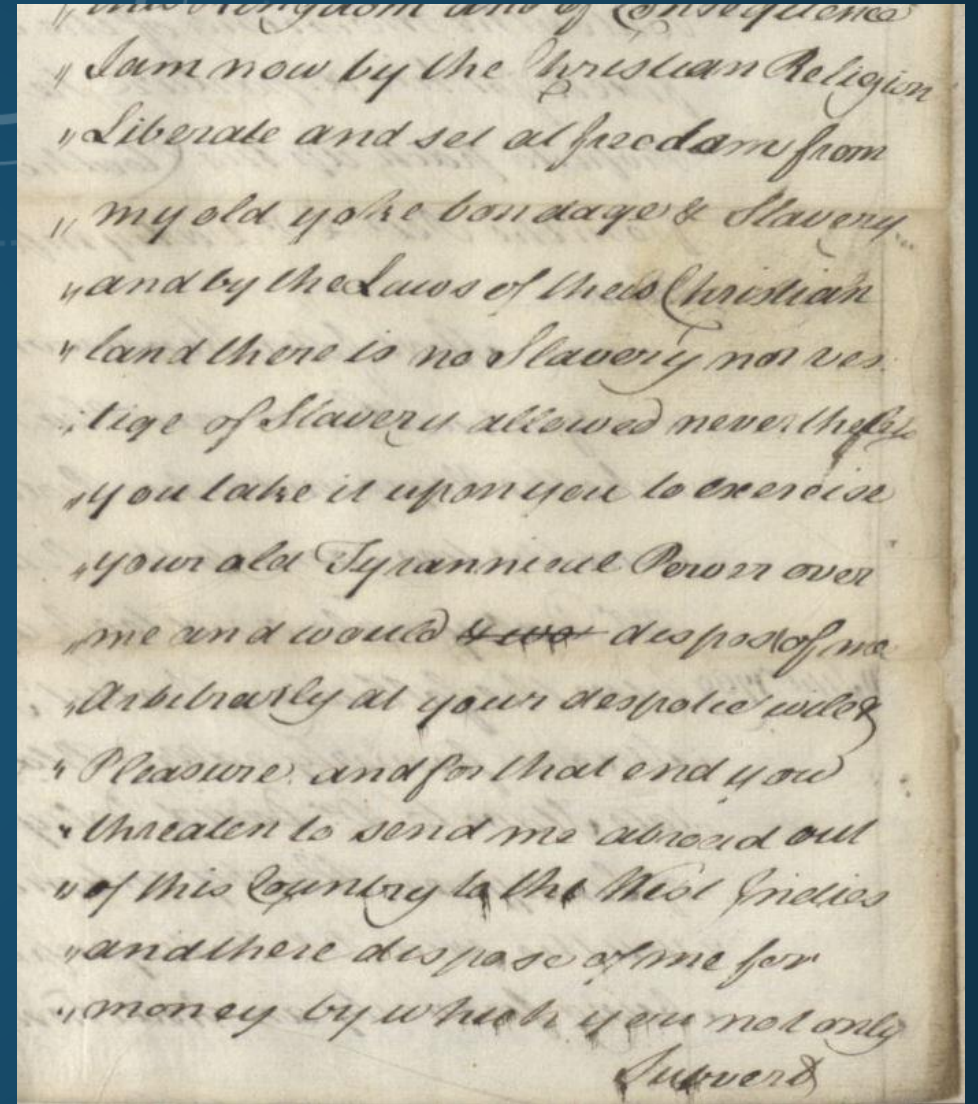
Joseph Knight was born in West Africa around 1763. After being enslaved and taken to Jamaica, Knight was sold to a Scot named John Wedderburn, who brought him to Scotland around 1768.

Knight self-emancipated and won a famous legal case against Wedderburn which granted him his freedom and earned him a place in Scottish legal history.

Investigate and Discover

What else can you find out about Joseph Knight?

Between 1756 and 1778 two other cases reached the Court of Session in Edinburgh whereby fugitives of enslavement attempted to obtain their freedom. What can you find out about Jamie Montgomery and David Spens?



I am now by the Christian Religion
Liberate and set at freedom from
my old yoke bondage & Slavery
and by the Laws of this Christian
Land there is no Slavery nor ves-
tice of Slavery allowed nevertheless
you take it upon you to exercise
your old Tyrannical Power over
me and would ~~ever~~ dispose of me
Arbitrarily at your despotic will &
Pleasure and for that end you
threaten to send me abroad out
of this Country to the West Indies
and there dispose of me for
money by which you not only
Succeed

Enslaved people in Scotland escaping

Millions of Black people were taken from the West coast of Africa; the majority went to the Americas and West Indies. Some were then brought into personal service here in the UK.

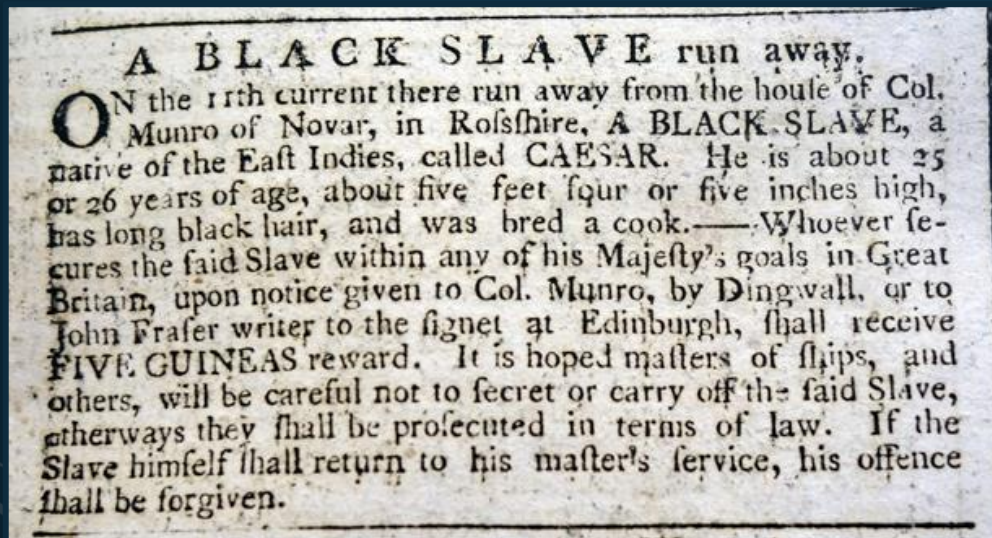
Activity:

Look at the advert and discuss:

What does the use of the terms 'bred' and 'reward' suggest to you?

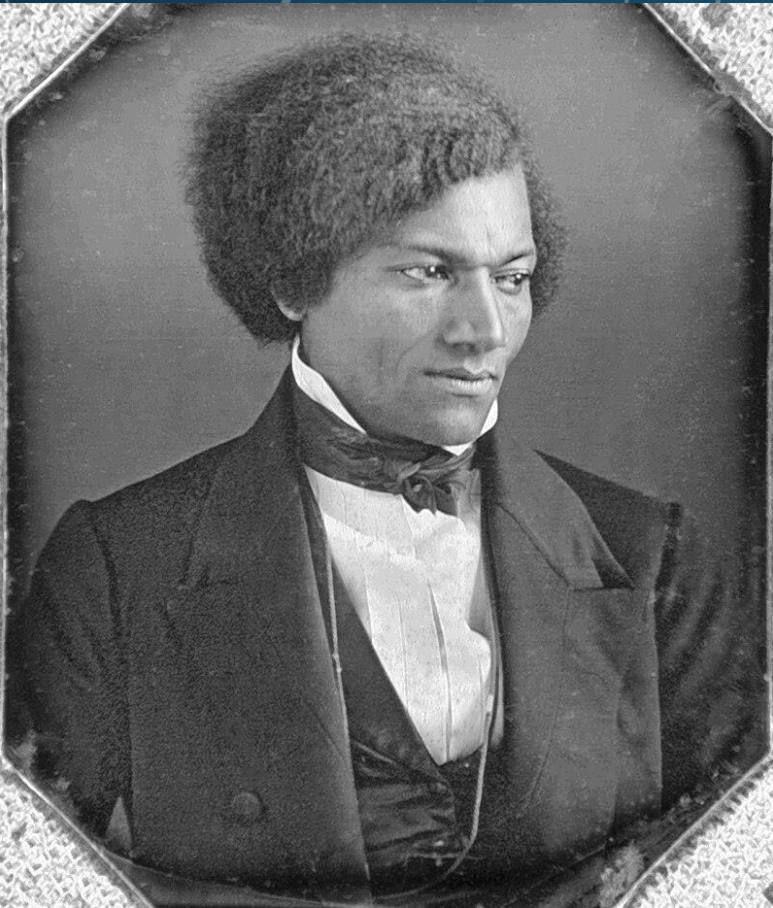
What does the advert tell us generally about the racist attitudes that existed at that time?

Why do you think Caesar ran away?
What challenges would he have met after running away?



Abolition

Read the excerpts on this page and the next from two of Frederick Douglass' speeches in Glasgow.



Frederick Douglass, 1840s, public domain

City Hall, 83 Albion Street, Glasgow

On April 21 1846, Frederick Douglass gave one of many speeches that was sponsored by the Glasgow Emancipation Society at City Hall. In this speech, Douglass condemns the visit of the Free Church of Scotland to the southern United States by calling this organization to account for its immoral actions: "The deputation had an excellent opportunity of aiming an effectual blow at slavery, but they turned a deaf ear and refused to listen to the friends of freedom. They turned a deaf ear to the groans of the oppressed slave." He is unequivocal in his protest against their avaricious greed: "they went into the slave states, not for the purpose of imparting knowledge to the slave, but to go and strike hands with the slaveholders, in order to get money to build Free Churches and pay Free Church ministers in Scotland."

Abolition

John Street United Presbyterian Church, 18 John Street, Glasgow

During his second visit to the UK, Douglass gave a speech here on February 14 1860. He lays bare the enormity of white slaveholding sin by insisting he would rather be eternally exposed to the physical and psychological abuses he experienced in slavery than be responsible for the sins of a slaveholder: "I... was born a slave. Before my birth the lash was twisted for my back, the fetters were forged for my limbs. Before I knew my own name it was inscribed in a book a long with horses, oxen, seep, and swine. I bear yet on my back the marks of the scourge of the surveyor. I have all or nearly all the physical horrors which are attendant upon slavery, and yet I conscientiously can declare, before my God and before my fellow-men, that I would suffer those horrors over again, aye if they were ten times worse, rather than change places with the haughtiest and wealthiest slave-owner in the Southern States."

Independent research

Find out about James McCune Smith, the physician and abolitionist and his connection to Glasgow

The Slave Trade Act of 1807 outlawed the British Atlantic slave trade and the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833 abolished slavery in the British Empire. The 1807 act didn't end plantation slavery or emancipate the thousands enslaved in the Caribbean.

Discuss

Why was it important for Frederick to share his experiences and draw attention to slavery even after these Acts were made law? Did slavery end straight away?

Further discussion

Activity

Take a look at a map of Glasgow city centre. Can you find any street names that relate to Glasgow's slavery trade with the Caribbean and North America?



**SHEKU BAYOH
STREET**

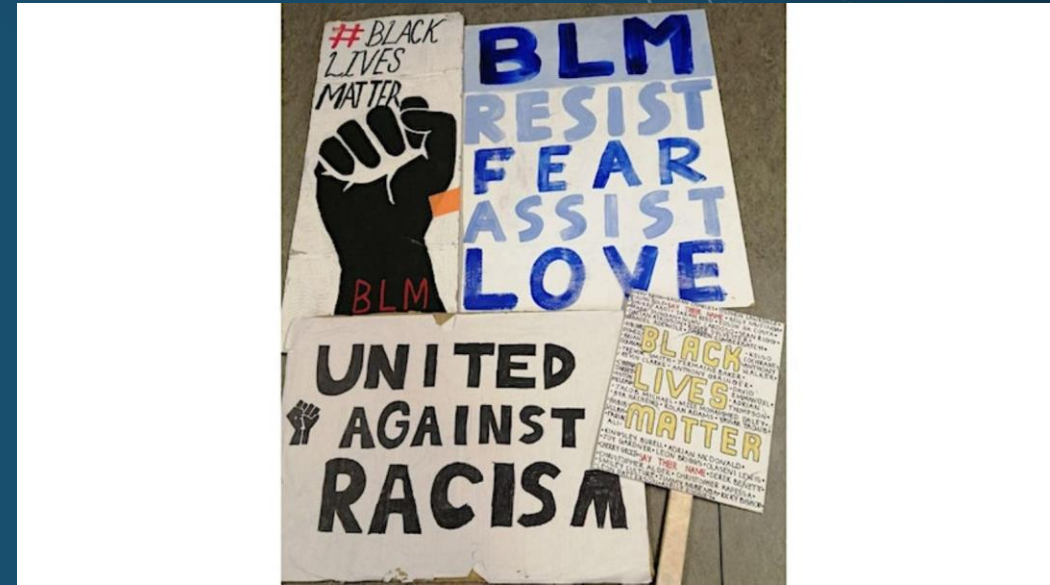
Debate

Many cities in the UK have considered changing their street names that honour merchants involved in the slavery trade. Do you think the street names in Glasgow should be changed?

The Slavery Abolition Act of 1833 provided compensation to the enslavers.

Why do you think the formerly enslaved people weren't given any money? What does this tell us about how Black people were regarded? Do you think their descendants should be compensated today?

Did the abolition of slavery also mark the end of white superiority and racism?



Protest placards, Glasgow, 2020

FURTHER RESOURCES

<https://glasgowmuseumsslavery.co.uk/>

<https://www.nls.uk/collections/topics/slavery>

<https://theblackcurriculum.com/resources>

<https://www.100greatblackbritons.co.uk/>

<https://education.gov.scot/improvement/learning-resources/slavery-and-human-trafficking/>

<https://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/humanities/research/historyresearch/historyinschools/atlanticslavetrade/>

<https://collections.glasgowmuseums.com/mwebcgi/mweb?request=record;id=1502;type=802>

<https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/research/guides/slavery-and-the-slave-trade>

<https://frederickdouglassinbritain.com/>

<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/>

<https://www.runaways.gla.ac.uk/>

The background is a dark blue gradient. It features several faint, light blue circular elements. On the left side, there is a large circular scale with tick marks and numbers ranging from 140 to 260. Other circular elements include dashed lines, solid lines, and arrows, some pointing clockwise and some counter-clockwise, suggesting a theme of rotation or cycles.

TEACHERS' NOTES

Slide 1:

This quote is by **Mary Prince** (1788 – 1833) who was the first Black woman to publish an autobiography of her experience as an enslaved person. Born in the colony of Bermuda to an enslaved family of African descent, she was sold a number of times and being moved around the Caribbean, and eventually was brought to England as a servant in 1828, and later left her enslaver.

This first-hand description of the brutalities of enslavement, published at a time when slavery was still legal in Bermuda and British Caribbean colonies, had a galvanising effect on the British anti-slavery movement.

If we talk about transatlantic slavery and how it ended, it is crucial that we include Black peoples' voices and stories as otherwise we focus too much on the white Eurocentric viewpoint which perpetuates the narrative of the white saviours and reduces Black people to the role of enslaved people.

Slide 3:

This is an example of starting to teach slavery in a less Eurocentric way – the history of African people does not begin with the arrival of Europeans and their subsequent enslavement from . There have been flourishing kingdoms and empires on the West Coast since the 13th century.

What was precolonial West Africa like? - Precolonial Africa - KS3 History - homework help for year 7, 8 and 9. - BBC Bitesize

This stool was looted from the Asante Royal Palace of Kumasi by Sir Archibald Alison, February 4th 1874. The Asante are famous for their ceremonial stools carved with an arched seat set over a foot, which is a symbol of wisdom. In Asante, every stool in use has its own particular significance and its own special name that denotes the gender, social status or clan of its owner. The number and shape of the stool supports and the decorative motifs indicate the stool's name. This stool is of a type known as Mma' gwa or woman's stool. It is carved from asese wood (*Funtumia africana*). The Mma' gwa has 5 supports, with the central support or sekyedua slightly rounded, a checkerboard motif known as dame dame piercing the central support only, and saw-toothed projections known as nkye kyewa along the 4 outer supports. The incised decorative motifs along the base indicate that this stool was used by a queen mother or Asantehemaa. This shape and the placement of incised design is commonly found on queen mother stools and distinguishes the stool from an ordinary woman's stool. As the stool was also found in the Royal Court it undoubtedly belonged to Afua Kobi I, the Asante queen-mother from 1857 – 1884.

Early in the morning February 4th 1874, a British Punitive Expedition Force entered Kumasi under the command of Sir Garnet Wolseley whose troops removed all the valuable objects they could find. On the 6th of February after sacking and burning the city, the British pulled out and marched back to the coast with their booty.

Slide 4:

The transatlantic slavery trade was the largest forced migration in history. Between 1500 and 1800, around 12-15 million people were taken by force from Africa to be used as enslaved labour in the Caribbean, North, Central and South America.

This powerful animation is an ideal introduction to the topic. You do not need to explain too much in advance – it's better to show the video and then discuss afterwards what they're seeing. You can pause the video at any time and click on the dots to see information about each ship and the enslaved people it was carrying.

In periods of wartime you can see fewer ships crossing the Atlantic. This is especially noticeable between 1775-1883, the American War of Independence. There is also a drop after 1807 when Britain passes the Slave Trade Act which prohibited the slavery trade in the British empire.

Ship carrying enslaved people in 3D video: <https://www.slavevoyages.org/voyage/ship#slave->

Slide 5:

Britain would transport goods such as guns, rum and cotton to Africa where they would be traded for enslaved people. Once the ships reached the Americas, the enslaved people would be sold to plantation owners. The products harvested on the plantations such as sugar, tobacco and cotton would be transported back to Britain - Glasgow was a key port. These raw materials were manufactured into goods in Scotland; this made the city wealthy.

By the rapid growth of the city in the 18th century and by the wealth amassed by the city's merchants, who built churches, mansions and even had the streets paved so they wouldn't have to walk on dirty roads. They liked to call themselves "tobacco lords" though they had no connection to nobility; hence we can question using this term.

Slide 6:

Glasgow was a major importer of sugar. This sugar came predominantly from St Christophers (41,649 kg in one year) and Jamaica (12,635 kg in one year). This sugar was used in food and drinks. Rum was also imported from Jamaica and would have been in ingredient in rum punches. Evidence shows that there was a strong presence of Scottish plantation owners driving production and trade in the Caribbean and establishing that essential link with traders here in Glasgow.

As clay pipes became mass-produced, they provided an inexpensive way of smoking tobacco for the wider population.

Research shows that salted fish, including herring, was a key product exported from Port Glasgow and Greenock to the colonies. It would be fished from around the Scottish coastline and then salted and put in barrels at the Clyde ports. This fish would have been used as a key part of enslaved peoples' diet on the plantations.

Slide 8:

The enslaved boy would have been called a man servant. We have no records of where he came from, possibly from Africa, but it was more realistic that he was brought from the West Indies. Discuss why we don't know much about him, unlike Glassford's family members or his business dealings, which are well documented.

It was a status symbol to have a Black enslaved person as a man servant. It meant that the merchant who owned them was very rich as he could afford to ship him to Scotland. The enslaved person would only be put to work at parties and gatherings serving drinks and food, to display to the guests of his enslaver's wealth and status in the higher classes. Around this time, there were approximately 80-90 Black enslaved people in the whole of Scotland.

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Slide 10:

Discuss the meaning of philanthropist with your pupils.

Slide 11:

The Glassford Family Portrait shows many symbols of wealth. Firstly, and most importantly, there is the enslaved boy. There are also fruit and flowers which only the rich could afford. They have a pet dog, one of the daughters plays a lute and there is an elaborate rug on the floor. Their clothing is colourful with John Glassford's clothes looking especially shiny and made of fine thread. He is sitting in a gold studded chair. There is a parrot on the windowsill symbolising the exotic places where Glassford made his money, and outside the window is his plantation in Virginia – Glasgow would not have had colourful red buildings. The picture to the right of the window depicts Glasgow with its grey/brown buildings.

David Dale portrays himself as humbler; with basic clothing and no fancy background. Is that deliberate? Does his humble demeanour make him ethically superior to Glassford?

Slide 12:

The average Glaswegian would've consumed some of the goods associated with slavery although not nearly as much as the richer, upper classes. Sugar and tobacco were originally luxury crops, usually only bought by the rich but as their availability gradually increased, they became available to more people. The working classes though were probably unaware of the extent of the suffering in the other side of the Atlantic Ocean because it was so far removed from their everyday lives. However, this does not make them less complicit – they were still benefitting from it.

Slide 14:

Running away wasn't the only form of resistance – enslaved people often fought for their freedom. In Jamaica alone, it is believed that there were as many as 28 rebellions by the enslaved people throughout Britain's occupation of the Island. Many more rebellions took place across the Americas.

From the outset of the slavery trade, enslaved people escaped and fled to the interior of different countries where they could avoid recapture. There they integrated with the natives and set up communities with strong African cultures that exist to this day. The people of these communities are known as 'Maroons'. In Jamaica, Maroons regularly launched raids on British plantations and set the enslaved people there free. In 1730, Britain, led by Edinburgh-born Governor Robert Hunter, went to war with the Maroons. The war was violent, long and both sides suffered great losses, but eventually a peace was agreed in which the Maroons were granted autonomy. In return, the Maroons had to stop their raids and return any escaped enslaved people to the British.

One outcome of the Maroon War was that the enslaved people living on plantations no longer saw the Maroons as allies they could escape to, so rebellion became the most viable route out of enslavement. Tacky's War, named after one of the leaders, was such a rebellion. Not much is known about the war, but it was considered a serious threat to British control of Jamaica. The brutality with which it was put down dramatically turned much British public opinion against the plantation owners and galvanized the abolition movement in Britain.

Frederick Douglass, the African American abolitionist who was former enslaved and visited Scotland several times, said of the Haitian Revolution: "We should not forget that the freedom you and I enjoy today is largely due to the brave stand taken by the black sons of Haiti". In 1791, the enslaved people of what was then Saint-Domingue, a French colony in the Caribbean, rose in open rebellion and expelled the French enslavers from the Island. French and British attempts to recapture the Island were successfully repelled and in 1804, the Haitian people established what was the first modern Black republic.

Samuel Sharpe who led the 1832 uprising was executed and buried a criminal in 1831/2. This is only a year before the 1833 act and demonstrates that the cruelty of slavery didn't really stop after the 1807 act.

Slide 15:

Knight believed he was born in Guinea. He was transported from West Africa to Jamaica when he was between the ages of eight and twelve. In Jamaica, he was purchased by a Scot named John Wedderburn, the 6th Baronet of Blackness, who owned a sugar plantation. Wedderburn chose to employ Knight as a household servant rather than having him work in the fields.

Wedderburn returned to Scotland in 1768/9 and Joseph Knight continued to live and work in the Wedderburn household.

However, a conflict arose between Wedderburn and Knight when the latter fell in love with the former's chambermaid, a servant named Annie Thomson. When Thomson became pregnant, Wedderburn dismissed her from service. Nevertheless, Knight and Thomson were married in Edinburgh in 1773. Wedderburn refused to pay Knight his full wages or provide accommodation for the couple, which escalated the dispute.

Upon learning about the Mansfield decision in which an enslaved man named James Somerset was granted freedom in England, Knight believed that the ruling applied in Scotland and promptly ran away to be with his wife in Dundee. Wedderburn initiated legal action with local authorities who supported his position. Although there was no written contract, Knight appealed, contending that Wedderburn had agreed to release him from servitude after seven years. He won, with the ruling stating that "the state of slavery is not recognized by the laws of this kingdom and is inconsistent with the principles thereof, and the regulations in Jamaica concerning slaves do not extend to this kingdom."

Wedderburn then appealed this decision and took the argument to the highest court in Scotland, the Court of Session, Scotland's Supreme Court in Edinburgh. He argued that Knight was not his slave but his "perpetual servant." This was a legal status recognised within Scottish law, and therefore, Knight should be returned to serve Wedderburn indefinitely.

In the final appeal in 1778, a panel of twelve judges decided Knight's case. Fortunately, eight of them ruled in favour of Knight, with only four opposing. They argued that the law that kept Knight enslaved was unjust and could not be upheld in Scotland. Knight had secured his freedom after a gruelling four-year battle. This ruling essentially led to the abolition of personal slavery in Scotland.

There are no records of Knight or Thomson after this ruling. It is assumed that Knight lived out his life in Scotland.

Transcription of image: *Extract, Joseph Knight against Sir John Wedderburn of Ballendean Bar[onet]. 1774. At Perth the twentieth day of May one thousand seven hundred and seventy four In presence of John Swinton advocate Sheriff Depute of Perthshire sitting in judgment in a Sheriff Court of the said Shire lawfully fenced and affirmed Anent the Petition and action presented to and pursued before the Sheriff Depute of the said shire and his substitutes at the instance of the Joseph Knight Servant to Sir John Wedderburn of Ballendean Humbly Shewing that the Petitioner was...*

Slide 16:

<https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/research/learning/slavery>

There are so many resources now available online for your pupils to investigate the topic – list at end of presentation.

Quotation from the protest by David Spens and John Henderson to David Dalrymple stating that Spens as a Christian is no longer an enslaved person and that in spite of this Dalrymple still intends to 'dispose of' Spens overseas, 1770.

Slide 17:

We have to get away from the narrative that white people were the ones that brought along change single-handedly. For another example of a runaway slave notice from Glasgow see:

[Boyd, an Enslaved African in Glasgow – Legacies of Slavery in Glasgow Museums and Collections \(glasgowmuseumsslavery.co.uk\)](http://glasgowmuseumsslavery.co.uk)

[Runaway Slaves in Britain :: Home \(gla.ac.uk\)](http://gla.ac.uk)

Slide 18:

Frederick Douglass (1817/18-1895) was an American social reformer, abolitionist, orator, writer, and statesman. After escaping from slavery in Maryland, he became a national leader of the abolitionist movement in Massachusetts and New York, during which he gained fame for his oratory and incisive antislavery writings

During his sensational tour of the British Isles between 1845-1847, Frederick Douglass ignited a wave of protests against the Free Church of Scotland, which had accepted donations a few years before from American enslavers. Douglass philosophised that in their acceptance of the money, the Church had acted as a bulwark for American slavery, and he used his own fugitivity to dramatize the impact on his enslaved brethren like no other abolitionist could. He travelled to numerous towns in Scotland including Aberdeen, Ayr, Glasgow, Greenock, Kilmarnock, Dundee, the Vale of Leven, and Edinburgh. In Ayr, he visited Robert Burns' birthplace, met his sister, and in a distinct performative strategy quoted his poetry in numerous Scottish meetings, dropping it from his repertoire when he went south of the border.

The response to the campaign was unprecedented. Thousands crammed into town hall and church venues, poems and songs were composed, and the newspapers clamoured to write descriptions of Douglass' speeches.

Slide 19:

Glaswegians were involved in the abolition of the slavery trade and many of the abolitionists' meetings were held at City Halls. David Dale (slide 10), who made much of his wealth from the products of slavery, became the Chair of The Glasgow Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. Other prominent Glaswegians in the movement were Quakers William Smeal, who founded the Glasgow Anti-Slavery Society, and his sister Jane Wigham, who was also a supporter of the women's emancipation movement. James McCune Smith was a physician and abolitionist. He studied medicine at the University of Glasgow in the 1830s, around the time Britain abolished slavery, and was the first African American to hold a medical degree, graduating top of his class. He was involved in abolitionist movements in Glasgow during his time there, before returning the States where the enslavement of people was still practiced.

Slide 21:

As the British Empire grew, so too did Glasgow's prominence as a major player in trade. Its manufacturing industries thrived. By the Victorian times Glasgow was dubbed the 2nd City of the Empire. A lot of the street name currently still used reflect that and inevitably enslavers are featured prominently.

62 streets in Glasgow are named after enslavers who made their fortunes on tobacco plantations. Eight statues in Glasgow as well as 11 mansions and buildings have been identified as representing people connected to the transatlantic slavery trade. In 2020 anti-racism campaigners renamed streets in Glasgow city centre that have links to slavery. In several streets, signs with a black background and white font have appeared alongside the originals when activists replaced the names of tobacco merchants and enslavers in favour of black campaigners, enslaved people and those who died in police custody.

Slide 22:

Compensation discussion:

In 2019 the University of Glasgow announced a programme of 'reparations' to the value of £20 million for their role in the slavery trade: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/aug/23/glasgow-university-slave-trade-reparations>

On further discussion, you could mention or discuss: the apprenticeship scheme that existed until 1840; that some families whose ancestors owned plantations still own them today (e.g. James Ewing's descendants); the UCL database Legacies of British Slavery (ucl.ac.uk)

for tracking those who claimed compensation and Glasgow being only after Edinburgh then London in compensation per capita.