Policy and Sustainability Committee

10.00am, Tuesday, 30 August 2022

Edinburgh Slavery and Colonialism Legacy Review Report and Recommendations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Executive/routine Wards</th>
<th>Executive All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Council Commitments</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Recommendations

1.1 It is recommended that Policy and Sustainability Committee:

1.1.1 Thanks the Review Chair, Professor Sir Geoff Palmer, and members of the Review Group and Advisory Group, for their commitment in undertaking the independent Edinburgh Slavery and Colonialism Legacy Review;

1.1.2 Welcomes their report (Appendix 1) and recognises the work and emotional labour required to produce it;

1.1.3 Endorses the 10 recommendations made by the Review Group, all of which support delivery of the Edinburgh and Lothians Equalities Framework 2021-2025; and

1.1.4 Agrees to progress the actions outlined in the action plan (Appendix 2). For the medium and longer term actions, it is proposed to bring forward proposals for delivery of these in future reports to the relevant Committee once the actions and associated implications have been further developed.

Paul Lawrence

Executive Director of Place

Contact: Gillian Findlay, Curatorial and Engagement Manager, Culture and Wellbeing

E-mail: gillian.findlay1@edinburgh.gov.uk | Tel: 07874 884913
Edinburgh Slavery and Colonialism Legacy Review Report and Recommendations

2. Executive Summary

2.1 This report summarises the background and milestones of the independent Edinburgh Slavery and Colonialism Legacy Review, as detailed in the Review Group’s report (Appendix 1).

2.2 The report also sets out indicative resource requirements and next steps in progressing the Review Group’s recommendations.

3. Background

3.1 In July 2020, Policy and Sustainability Committee agreed a set of actions to address historic racial injustice and stem modern day discrimination.

3.2 This included a commitment to the establishment of an independent Review to consider and make recommendations on Edinburgh’s slavery and colonialism legacy in the civic realm. The independent Review Group met for the first time in December 2020, with Professor Sir Geoff Palmer OBE appointed by the Council as its Chair.

3.4 Sir Geoff is the Chancellor of Heriot-Watt University, Professor Emeritus in the School of Life Sciences at Heriot-Watt University, and a well-known human rights activist. He has worked closely with the Council, academic representatives, and other stakeholders in recent years to review and revise the interpretation for the Melville Monument in St Andrew Square. He regularly speaks on contemporary anti-racist issues and publishes on Edinburgh’s historic links with the slave trade.

3.5 To ensure representation from people of diverse backgrounds, a comprehensive approach, and to encompass multiple viewpoints, membership of the Review Group was by invitation to people from, living or working in Edinburgh. Members included community leaders, arts professionals and academic representatives, as well as people working in equalities and justice, and built heritage conservation. All contributed their time, experience and knowledge in a voluntary capacity.
3.7 An Advisory Group was also established to support and input to the work of the Review Group. It was composed of local volunteers and aided by Council officers who provided communications and administrative support, and information on a range of issues as required, including in consultation and education.

3.8 The terms of reference agreed by the Review Group were based upon Committee’s original premise that its primary focus would be a consideration of features within the council boundary which commemorate those with close links to slavery and colonialism, including, but not limited to, public statues and monuments, street or building names.

3.9 As result of the Review, the independent Review Group has produced a report and set of recommendations (appended), featuring both short and long term measures to reconsider the heritage as part of the fight against modern day racism and discrimination, which are the legacy of these historic links.

4. Main report

Review Group Approach

4.1 The Review Group met seven times over an 18-month period, between December 2020 and June 2022, as it explored its remit, options for scope and methodology of the Review, and considered how a public consultation might be co-ordinated to inform its work.

4.2 The Group decided to follow the UNESCO approach to interpretation. This was agreed as highly relevant as it enabled individual features associated with slavery and colonialism to be related to broader themes of relevance, and then to the issues caused by its legacy today, such as racism and inequality. This methodology was also agreed to be suitable as it is designed to include public engagement or consultation. Features could be grouped and presented thematically, and discussed as representative examples, negating the need for an exhaustive approach to include every individual street name, public building or monument.

4.3 39 features, categorised under 10 key themes (as outlined in Appendix 1), were identified by the Group as being both representative and illustrative of the degree to which slavery and colonialism were connected to most aspects of city life in the past. These were presented for discussion through a public consultation, along with five broad areas for potential action: removal of monuments and renaming of streets or public buildings, civic redress, active learning, policy development and cultural interventions.

Public Consultation Methodology

4.4 Three distinct strands were devised for the public consultation, each engaging a different target group using a communications style suited to their needs and preferences. This was considered a key milestone as the Review Group wanted to
hear and understand the views of a wide range of people before making decisions about recommendations.

4.5 An online survey was hosted through the Consultation Hub and ran for 12 weeks between October 2021 and January 2022. While changing COVID restrictions inhibited in-person gatherings, this was preferred as a safe and accessible way with which to engage Edinburgh residents and stakeholders further afield. 3,346 individuals and 27 organisations took part. 2,811 (84%) respondents were based in EH-postcode areas.

4.6 Education and Children’s Services created teaching resources and adapted the online survey for schools’ use. Teachers across 14 primary and six secondary schools supported 654 pupils to engage with the questions and to take part in focus group sessions during January and February 2022. More are likely to have participated informally, and some senior pupils opted to complete the online survey individually.

4.7 Edinburgh & Lothians Regional Equality Council (ELREC) was commissioned to develop and deliver a series of in-person, community-based workshops. These were held specifically with people of Black and South Asian heritage living in Edinburgh, between December 2021 and February 2022, to ensure greater representation of opinions and reflections on this legacy and its impacts. 86 people participated in nine workshops in total.

4.8 The Review Group actively approached a number of key stakeholder organisations based in the city for their input or to share information about plans to research this legacy. A dedicated internship programme was funded by the University of Edinburgh, focussing on features of mutual interest, which provided valuable new information for the Review and progressed the University’s own plans to assess its past associations with the slave trade, colonialism and other aspects of race and racism.

**Public Consultation Findings**

4.9 Overall, more than 4,000 people and 35 organisations took part in the Review which provided an opportunity for citizens to re-examine this history and acknowledge the effects it has on life in the city today.

4.10 Participants responding from an Edinburgh (EH) postcode were generally the most enthusiastic about making changes in the civic realm; highlighting the many and positive contributions of diverse communities; and about taking positive action in other ways in order to tackle racism and discrimination in the city.

4.11 Most participants viewed Edinburgh’s links with slavery as an abhorrent but important part of the city’s history which should not be hidden from view, and were keen to ensure that residents and visitors to the city were educated about the past so that a positive difference could be made to people’s lives in the future.

4.12 The majority of those who took part were against monuments being removed or public buildings and street names being changed in Edinburgh, but were keen for
new, enhanced or revised interpretation to ensure accurate and fuller histories are told about features in the public realm linked with this legacy.

4.13 Education was highlighted in consultation responses as key in the fight against racism and inequality, and there is clear appetite across age groups for Edinburgh’s links to slavery and colonialism to be included in the school curriculum.

4.14 The need for further research to be undertaken and publicised was also articulated, with the potential to expand on Edinburgh’s colonial links highlighted as a potential priority for action.

4.15 The role of museums, cultural events and resources were discussed as accessible and important ways to explore the legacy of slavery and colonialism and its impacts on modern-day Edinburgh.

4.16 Participants expressed a wish for new public artworks or commemorations to be more representative of the diverse population of Edinburgh and their positive contributions to our national story, ensuring that those celebrated include women, individuals from Black and Minority Ethnic communities, and individuals with disabilities. An emphasis on inspiring stories of ‘ordinary’ people was expressed.

4.17 The responses which organisations made to the consultation were positive; the majority perceiving the Review as a crucial first step towards a longer-term action plan to address the legacy collectively and strategically.

Review Recommendations

4.18 Informed by the findings of the public consultation, the Review recommendations are as follows:

4.18.1 For the Council to publicly acknowledge the city’s past role in sustaining slavery and colonialism, and to issue an apology to those places and people who suffered.

4.18.2 Statues, monuments, buildings and street names associated with slavery and colonialism in Edinburgh are retained and re-presented in accordance with a new, dedicated interpretation strategy which explains the nature and consequences of that involvement.

4.18.3 City-wide observance of the annual, UNESCO-designated International Day for the Remembrance of the Slave Trade and its Abolition every August 23 is introduced and resourced.

4.18.4 Teaching and learning materials are developed and delivered to fill the gap in respect of Scotland’s and Edinburgh’s role in slavery and colonialism.

4.18.5 Friendship agreements are initiated with cities in countries most impacted by Edinburgh’s historic involvement with slavery and colonialism.

4.18.6 Universities and research bodies are encouraged to fund, develop and publish studies into the many under-researched aspects of Edinburgh’s
connections with slavery and colonialism, prioritising the objectives of the new interpretation strategy.

4.18.7 A significant public artwork is commissioned acknowledging Edinburgh’s links with slavery and colonialism. This initiates the development of a city-wide strategy for public art that fairly represents the diversity of the city and its histories, and capitalises on the creative potential of a multicultural city.

4.18.8 A positive programme of cultural commissions is established, empowering and resourcing emerging Black and Minority Ethnic creatives in Edinburgh to participate in and shape existing festivals, arts and heritage programmes.

4.18.9 For the Council to endorse the work of the Empire, Slavery and Scotland’s Museums steering group (ESSM) which was established by the Scottish Government, and commits to exploring how the capital can contribute to the creation of a dedicated space addressing Scotland’s role in this history.

4.18.10 An independent legacy stakeholder group is established, supported by the Council, to ensure approved recommendations are actioned, resourced and monitored, and progress is reported annually.

4.19 The recommendations of the Review are addressed primarily to the Council. Based on these recommendations, Council officers have developed an action plan of proposed short, medium and longer term actions which could be progressed. These are outlined in the attached action plan (Appendix 2).

5. **Next Steps**

5.1 If Committee approves the proposed action plan to implement the Review recommendations in full, Council officers will progress this in a phased manner as outlined, beginning with the establishment an independent legacy stakeholder group to lead and monitor implementation. Progress will be reported to Committee annually.

5.2 Where additional resources are required to implement the actions in full, Council officers will bring forward reports to the appropriate Committee to seek approval to progress with implementation.

5.3 The Review Group has also highlighted that their report should be a catalyst for other Edinburgh organisations, businesses and individuals to reflect on their own responsibilities in response to the legacy of slavery and colonialism and resulting effects of racism and inequality. The Review Group recommends a collaborative approach to this, and Council officers will support stakeholders to share relevant plans and information to enable collaboration where this is feasible.
6. **Financial impact**

6.1 The cost of the Review to date has been £18,500. This includes the costs for community consultation, communications and design, and volunteer expenses.

6.2 The individual recommendations of the Review have varied cost and resource implications. The short term actions have been assessed by Council officers and can be implemented within existing budgets in 2022/23.

6.3 As set out in the proposed action plan, detailed capacity and funding requirements will be assessed for the medium and longer term actions and, where these cannot be contained within departmental budgets, recommendations on how to progress with these will be reported to the appropriate Committee.

7. **Stakeholder/Community Impact**

7.1 The work of the Review features as a priority outcome under the Inclusive Communities theme of the Council’s *Equality and Diversity Framework 2021 to 2025*.

7.2 This addresses the need for safe, welcoming and more inclusive communities, enhancing the equality and diversity of our city.

7.3 As outlined in the main report, the Review Group sought views from stakeholders and community groups throughout the review period and specifically through a public consultation. The public consultation utilised the Consultation Hub and materials were developed to engage school pupils across Edinburgh. ELREC ran a series of in-person workshops and the Review Group approached a number of stakeholder organisations to seek their input.

8. **Background reading/external references**

8.1 *Response to Motion* – Black Lives Matter, Policy and Sustainability dated 23 July 2020 (item 6.7)

8.2 *Equality and diversity framework 2021 to 2025* – The City of Edinburgh Council

8.3 *Edinburgh Slavery and Colonialism Legacy Review interim committee report – Policy and Sustainability dated 20 June 2021* (item 6.7)

9. **Appendices**

9.1 Edinburgh Slavery and Colonialism Legacy Review Report and Recommendations (June 2022)

9.2 Action Plan for Edinburgh Slavery and Colonialism Legacy Review Recommendations (July 2022)
EDINBURGH SLAVERY AND COLONIALISM LEGACY REVIEW
Report and Recommendations
June 2022
# Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Summary and Recommendations</td>
<td>3-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreword by Professor Sir Geoff Palmer, Review Chair</td>
<td>5-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background to the Edinburgh Slavery and Colonialism Legacy Review</td>
<td>7-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slavery, Colonialism and Edinburgh: why a Review was needed</td>
<td>10-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The UNESCO approach: about the method chosen for the Review</td>
<td>13-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ten Key Themes and Representative Features:</td>
<td>16-27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communicating complex histories</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potential Recommendations and Actions:</td>
<td>28-32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>starting points for discussion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listening and Learning: who was involved with the Review</td>
<td>33-36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consultation Results: a summary of the findings</td>
<td>37-46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication Plan: how the consultation was promoted</td>
<td>47-48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recommendations: what should happen now</td>
<td>49-52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements and Further Information</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 1: Consultation Results</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 2: University of Edinburgh CRC University Histories Report</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 3: Schools Resources</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Summary and Recommendations

This report and the recommendations it features are the result of an independent Review of Edinburgh’s links with slavery and colonialism as expressed in the public realm, for example in street names, public buildings and monuments.

The Review explored how this heritage might be reconsidered as part of the fight against modern day racism and discrimination, which are the legacy of these historic links.

Between 2021-2022, more than 4,000 people and 35 organisations took part in a public consultation which provided an opportunity for citizens to re-examine this history and acknowledge the effects it has on life in the city today. The findings are reflected in the recommendations listed below.

The Review Group urges elected representatives of The City of Edinburgh Council to approve these and commit to taking action, in order that our capital city in the 21st century is a fairer, more compassionate place and our history is more fully understood as a result.

Recommendations:

1. The Council publicly acknowledges the city’s past role in sustaining slavery and colonialism, and issues an apology to those places and people who suffered.

2. Statues, monuments, buildings and street names associated with slavery and colonialism in Edinburgh are retained and re-presented in accordance with a new, dedicated interpretation strategy which explains the nature and consequences of that involvement.

3. City-wide observance of the annual, UNESCO-designated International Day for the Remembrance of the Slave Trade and its Abolition every August 23 is introduced and resourced.

4. Teaching and learning materials are developed and delivered to fill the gap in respect of Scotland’s and Edinburgh’s role in slavery and colonialism.
5. Friendship agreements are initiated with cities in countries most impacted by Edinburgh’s historic involvement with slavery and colonialism.

6. Universities and research bodies are encouraged to fund, develop and publish studies into the many under-researched aspects of Edinburgh’s connections with slavery and colonialism, prioritising the objectives of the new interpretation strategy.

7. A significant public artwork is commissioned acknowledging Edinburgh’s links with slavery and colonialism. This initiates the development of a city-wide strategy for public art that fairly represents the diversity of the city and its histories, and capitalises on the creative potential of a multi-cultural city.

8. A positive programme of cultural commissions is established, empowering and resourcing emerging Black and Minority Ethnic creatives in Edinburgh to participate in and shape existing festivals, arts and heritage programmes.

9. The Council endorses the work of the Empire, Slavery and Scotland’s Museums steering group (ESSM) established by the Scottish Government, and commits to exploring how the capital can contribute to the creation of a dedicated space addressing Scotland’s role in this history.

10. An independent legacy stakeholder group is established, supported by the Council, to ensure approved recommendations are actioned, resourced and monitored, and progress is reported annually.

“This is an incredibly important initiative. Thank you. Honestly recovering the past, educating Edinburgh, Scotland and the world about the legacy of slavery, and doing everything we can to repair wrongs and chart a different future is vital.”

Organisational Online Survey Response
I was born in Jamaica. I am descended from slaves and Scots who enslaved them, and there are Scottish names in my family such as Gladstone, Mowatt and Wood. The Baptisms List of chattel slaves ‘belonging to Lord Balcarres’ in Jamaica 1819, includes the name of my great grandfather. His name was Henry Larmond. One of my names is Henry.

With so intimate a bond to this legacy, it was a great honour to be invited by The City of Edinburgh Council to chair this independent Review and oversee the creation of a set of recommendations addressing Edinburgh’s slavery and colonialism legacy in the public realm.

The views of the public have been key to informing the Review Group’s findings, and it is hoped that these recommendations will guide the Council in its efforts to make Edinburgh an even better place for its diverse communities to live in.
I thank the Council and its staff for their support, and the members of both the Review and Advisory Groups who conducted this work using related skills, experience and expertise. My thanks also to the organisations and individuals that contributed to the consultation, especially the school pupils, community groups and members of the public who completed the project-related survey in large numbers. Their contributions are included in detail in this report.

Excuses should never be used to prolong injustice. Justice, education and progress are intertwined. This Review used the UNESCO model to identify and characterise historical items as examples of the legacies of chattel slavery and colonialism in Edinburgh. Although it has been said in some quarters that we should forget the past, our slavery and colonialism exploited many for the financial gain of the few, and had other unacceptable consequences such as racism which we can change for the better using education. It is hoped that this report and the recommendations it contains will encourage further studies in this area.

Indeed, among the recommendations, the importance of education was indicated by the survey results as one of the most direct and effective means of tackling historic racial injustice in our diverse society where we live as one humanity. The important decision of the Council that Edinburgh’s legacy from slavery and colonialism requires greater attention was confirmed by the findings of the Review.

We hope that the resulting recommendations are now converted into actions which help to remove racism and related inequalities from our society.

Professor Sir Geoff Palmer
Chair of the Edinburgh Slavery and Colonialism Legacy Review
Following the murder of George Floyd in May 2020, cities across the world witnessed public demonstrations in support of the Black Lives Matter movement.

Several of these took place in Edinburgh where, just as in Bristol, London and Glasgow, the statues and memorials dedicated to people and events associated with slavery or colonialism became the focal point of community anger.

In July that year, The City of Edinburgh Council’s Policy and Sustainability Committee agreed a set of actions to address historic racial injustice and stem modern day discrimination. It stated:

“…cities, including Edinburgh, should acknowledge and address their roles in perpetuating racism and oppression in the past as part of the process of challenging it in the present.”
“Committee believes that the people of Edinburgh want the Council to take meaningful actions to remove entrenched structural racism and inequalities wherever they are found…”

Three areas for immediate action were agreed: the first, to ensure a best practice approach to inclusive recruitment within the Council; second, to include Black and Minority Ethnic history and culture in all phases of secondary school education in the city; and third, to establish an independent review to consider and make recommendations on Edinburgh’s slavery and colonialism legacy in the civic realm.

Sir Geoff Palmer was invited to be Chair of the Edinburgh Slavery and Colonialism Legacy Review. He is the Chancellor of Heriot-Watt University, Professor Emeritus in the School of Life Sciences at Heriot-Watt University, and a human rights activist. Sir Geoff had worked closely with the Council, academic representatives, and other stakeholders to review and revise the interpretation for the Melville Monument in St Andrew Square. He regularly speaks on contemporary anti-racist issues and publishes on Edinburgh’s historic links with the slave trade.

As Chair, Sir Geoff worked with the Council to form the Review Group. Members were recruited over the Autumn and they met together for the first time in December 2020. Members were invited from a range of backgrounds to ensure multiple and diverse views would be heard. They include cultural, academic, justice, community and conservation representatives, all of whom live or work in Edinburgh:

- Mr Silence Chihuri
- Emeritus Professor Cliff Hague
- Mr Asif Khan
- Ms Janet McDonald
- Ms Irene Mosota
- Ms Christina Sinclair
- Professor James Smith

An Advisory Group was also established to input to and comment on the work of the Review, including:

- Dr Reginald Agu
- Mr Benjamin Carey
- Mr Asif Ishaq
- Mr Vineet Lal
- Ms Jessica Yang
Membership of both groups has been dynamic over the course of the Review as the capacity or circumstances of individuals involved have changed. Acknowledgement and thanks are therefore due to a number of contributors who have stepped down, including Mr Nick Hotham, Mr Luke Samuels and Mrs Mridul Wadhwa. All group members have participated on a voluntary basis.

A dedicated group of Council officers has supported the work of the Review, providing information and a range of services as required. This included administrative and communications support, and advice on the historic environment, conservation, education, consultation, equalities and safeguarding.

The Review Group agreed its remit to align with the suggestion of the Policy and Sustainability Committee and consider:

“...any features within the council boundary which commemorate those with close links to slavery and colonialism, including, but not limited to, public statues and monuments, street or building names.”

As result of the Review, the Group has produced this report detailing its methodology and findings and proposing a set of recommendations for both short and long-term measures, including suggestions about whether and how historic features could be re-presented as part of a wider set of actions to challenge racial inequality in the present.

The Review took place over 18 months, from December 2020 to June 2022.

The decision about which recommendations are accepted, and next steps, will be made by elected representatives of The City of Edinburgh Council.
It is over 200 years since the Parliament in London outlawed the brutal slave trade which had connected British ports like Liverpool, Bristol and Glasgow in a triangle with West Africa and the 'New World'. By 1838, the same Parliament abolished slavery in British colonies. These events happened long ago, far away, in a different world where deeds that would now excite outrage were commonplace.

But if this was just the way things were then (at least from a European perspective) should we not, in the 21st century, just move on?

The answer is no; for a number of reasons. For many people in Edinburgh, this history has largely been hidden. Young people have not consistently been taught in school about how Scotland and its capital city were active in the enslavement of Africans. Yet many more died on the slave ships than at Bannockburn and Culloden. The slave trade, in which Edinburgh played a part and the profits of which shaped the city, was an event of global significance, transcending feuds between clans or even over succession to the Scottish crown.

Shining a light on this legacy is long overdue, and it is a necessary part of learning to live together harmoniously as citizens of today’s world. It is not about erasing history, rather it is about presenting a fuller picture that enables us all to better understand who we are, and how this history influenced the development of Edinburgh itself.

Oppression is still all too present in our own time, with people being exploited internationally through modern slavery, for example. Without minimising that evil, it stops short of the full horrors of chattel slavery, a system which reduced human beings to property. Chattel slavery stripped away all individual rights. Enslaved people and their families were bought and sold, had no control over where they lived, who they worked for, or the fate of their loved ones. It was a brutal, highly profitable system.

A system of racial superiority was at its heart, endowing some, overwhelmingly White, families with enormous wealth while condemning other, overwhelmingly Black, families to poverty, a grievously unfair distribution that was passed through generations, and compounded by the terms of abolition. Slave owners were compensated handsomely by British taxpayers for the enforced loss of their human property; those who had been enslaved were left in destitution.
If slavery was commercially driven, colonialism was a political process - albeit with powerful commercial incentives. The commerce/government line was particularly blurred in the form of the East India Company. By the 1750s, it accounted for around half of the world’s trade, generating enormous wealth for its investors.

Its military power was integral to this success, enabling the company to rule large areas of India. Later, the state assumed this governing role across Britain’s Empire, overseeing a circular set of business practices in which primary resources were shipped from colonies, used to manufacture products in Britain, and then shipped back to key markets in the colonies. Again, race substantially determined in what role the vast majority of people involved were cast, reinforcing notions of White racial superiority.

People with good intentions were also intimately involved. Missionaries with a vocation to save souls; teachers to share the pedagogy of Scottish education; doctors to heal the sick. But a benign reading of this history tells only part of the story.

Many brave enslaved and colonised people actively opposed the situation that had been imposed upon them. As well as innumerable quiet acts of defiance, there were uprisings and wars. The cause of abolition and campaigns against colonialism and racism were also actively supported by many across Scotland and in Edinburgh. Again, such resistance has remained a largely hidden history.

It is undeniable that for many people, and for a very long time, everyday life was lived in Edinburgh in a way that normalised these global and racial structures of power and inequality. People worked, traded, taught and prayed without much obvious ethical discomfort.

Yet the simple act of stirring sugar in a cup of tea, whether in a drawing room or a single end, connected people in Edinburgh to plantations far away, with intermediaries in shipping companies, ship builders and repairers, dockers, carters, lawyers, bankers, and a host of other operators both grand and menial.

As well as networks at an individual level that gave people access to job opportunities, commercial deals or routes into services, there were institutions that typify capital cities. These included schools and universities, churches, military units, and the professions. They provided an interface with others within the city, and within supply chains and across continents. Individual actors were shaped by, and helped reproduce, a whole system of slavery and colonialism, bequeathing a legacy at home and abroad.

The foundations of this normality extended far beyond Edinburgh, and were strongly rooted in racial inequalities. The system produced relative prosperity that enabled investment into the infrastructure and built environment of the city. Dividends earned from the labour of enslaved people were reinvested here, rather than at their point of origin, thus widening the disparity.
Slavery contributed to the flow of wealth into Edinburgh that manifested itself in the elegant construction of the New Town. Compensation to slave owners was often reinvested in the railway boom. Statues were erected to honour people whose deeds linked them to perpetuation of slavery or notions of racial superiority.

So it is that our streets, fine buildings and monuments need to be seen through fresh eyes; enjoying and valuing the best of our past and the contribution it makes to our daily life, while also recognising dark aspects and using historic places to stimulate discourse, challenge and positive change in the present.

It is a truism that none of us is perfect. It is the same with our history which is there to be read as we move around Edinburgh with our minds open, enjoying the grandeur, but now also comprehending the pain and suffering of many who made it possible.

For many amongst the more than 40,000 Edinburgh citizens of Black or Minority Ethnic heritage, that pain has always been felt. Their ancestors endured directly the indignities and trauma of slavery and/or colonialism. Consequently, history has dealt them a harsh start in life and limits opportunities for many today. Most know from personal experience that racism still exists, and so a casual set of assumptions that slavery and colonial rule had no consequences in Edinburgh is simply wrong. It did and it does.

Racism remains part of that legacy. This Review, and the recommendations flowing from it, provide an unprecedented opportunity to acknowledge this, and take action to fight it. The Review is not just about Edinburgh’s past, or even its present, it is about our collective future.

The capital is an important face for Scotland internationally to a connected and ethnically diverse world. By demonstrating our commitment to being inclusive, honest, democratic and welcoming, Edinburgh can thrive, tapping into the innovation sparked when differences come together, and the opportunities provided through connections across the globe.

Even more importantly, all citizens have a right to live in peace and safety, free from the enduring evils of racism and discrimination.
The UNESCO approach: about the method chosen for the Review

Edinburgh is internationally renowned for its unique built heritage. The medieval Old Town and Georgian New Town - each incorporating important Victorian additions - are together inscribed as World Heritage Sites, attracting visitors from all over the world to enjoy their beauty and the hundreds of years of history they represent.

What many visitors, and residents, are not aware of is the significant number of features in the public realm which overtly commemorate people, places and events linked with slavery or colonialism, and their role in shaping the city we know today. This includes statues, buildings and street names, as well as memorials and artworks.

There are many reasons why this is a seriously under-represented aspect of the city's history, and it is clear that a comprehensive audit and research programme will be key to raising greater understanding and awareness of it. This would enable the heritage to be fully quantified and documented, and so make it more accessible for management, learning and interpretation purposes.
For purposes of this Review however, which aims through its recommendations to initiate a series of actions including further research, the Group agreed that rather than itemise and present every feature individually in detail, it would be more useful to refer to a representative selection of relevant street names, monuments and buildings. To achieve the key objective of raising awareness of the legacy and ensuring an inclusive, meaningful and wide-ranging public discussion about its impacts, it has prioritised work encouraging people to share their views and to consider the many, varied and interwoven ways in which slavery and colonialism has shaped Edinburgh life, both then and now.

To do this, the Group reviewed and added to an initial, broad listing of historic features in Edinburgh, and considered various methodologies for selecting a representative sample. It decided that a thematic approach would be most accessible and appropriate, with each theme linking to a small group of features for illustrative purposes.

This approach appealed to the Review Group because it clearly relates an individual heritage object to its wider context, and then to broader issues such as racial injustice, which is also relevant now.

It also follows international best practice as set down by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Constituted in London in 1945, UNESCO is the specialised agency of the United Nations that promotes world peace and sustainable development through international cooperation in education, science and culture. Its programmes include the World Heritage List, Memory of the World and the International Day for Remembrance of the Slave Trade and its Abolition.
UNESCO’s recommendations for the interpretation of sensitive and complex aspects of historic places, and examples of best practice, highlight the benefits of this method – notably to enable clear, accessible and inclusive communication and engagement with the public.

This approach further speaks to the definition of cultural significance under the Australia International Council on Monuments and Site Charter, which states that:

“Cultural significance means aesthetic, historic, scientific or social value for past, present or future generations…. And can be embodied in a place itself, its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects.”

(Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter 2013)

And the definitions used in the Historic Environment Policy for Scotland:
“Different individuals and groups of people value places in different ways. Understanding this helps us to understand the cultural significance of places for past, present and future generations.”
Ten Key Themes and Representative Features: communicating complex histories

Each of the ten themes identified by the Review Group is listed below, along with a brief descriptor and its group of representative features. This is illustrative of how the information was presented for the online element of the public consultation.

Respondents were asked to indicate which themes they felt were most important in communicating the legacy of slavery and colonialism in Edinburgh.

They were also asked whether they felt the linked features successfully illustrated the theme, and if they knew of any additional features which might be relevant and could usefully be added to the group.

The statistical results of the online survey are available, along with a summary analysis of the free text responses received to this section, in Appendix 1.

Theme 1: Edinburgh’s New Town and the physical expansion of the city, 1767 – 1850

Following approval of the plan for the first New Town in 1767, Edinburgh underwent an unprecedented physical expansion. Where did the money come from? While research does not yet give us a complete answer, we know, from the records of those who received compensation after the end of slavery, that many early residents of the New Town owned enslaved people and plantations. We also know that profits from colonialism, specifically from the activities of the East India Company, were invested in the city’s expansion.

1.1 Queen Street

74 residents of the New Town were slave owners, and received compensation from the government for the loss of their ‘property’ at Emancipation in 1833. Five of these individuals lived on Queen Street.
1.2 Bute House

Now the official residence of Scotland’s First Minister, three of Bute House’s historic owners directly benefitted from Atlantic slavery; either owning plantations and enslaved people, or receiving compensation paid out following Emancipation.

1.3 Dundas House

Built by Sir Lawrence Dundas, 1st Baronet, (1712-1781) who owned two estates worked by enslaved people in the West Indies, in Dominica and in Grenada.

1.4 India Street

Named as a celebration of empire as part of the second New Town expansion. Profits from Britain’s colonial relationship with India contributed to the funding of the New Town’s expansion.

1.5 Jamaica Street

Named as a celebration of empire as part of the second New Town expansion. Profits from slavery contributed to the funding of the New Town’s expansion.
Theme 2: International trade and the profits from slavery and colonialism

Profits from the trade in goods produced by enslaved people flowed into the city and Edinburgh-based banks were involved in financing all aspects of the Atlantic economy of slavery. Locally manufactured products such as linen were used to clothe enslaved people.

2.1 British Linen Bank, St Andrew Square

The Bank was established to support the Scottish linen industry, a substantial proportion of whose products were exported to the Caribbean and North America to clothe enslaved people. Some of its managers also owned Caribbean plantations.

2.2 Custom House, Leith

Importation of goods produced by enslaved people into Leith was a major part of the trade coming into Edinburgh, generating significant revenue.

2.3 Gladstone House, Leith

A gift to the city from Sir John Gladstone (1764-1851), one of the most prominent owners of plantations and enslaved people, and father of Prime Minister William Gladstone.

2.4 Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh

Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh trained many doctors and botanists who went to India. It also provided a home for plants, seeds, and illustrations sent back from India, so supporting the process of plant transfers across the British Empire, a key element of colonial expansion.
Theme 3: Politics and patronage in Great Britain and the colonies

Many people associated with Edinburgh were involved in sustaining the slavery-based economy and preventing the abolition of the slave trade and slavery. Many others were involved in the exploitation of people in the British Empire in Africa and the British Raj in India.

3.1 Statue of Charles II, Parliament Square

Charles II played a key role in the establishment of the Royal Africa Company. It was created in 1660 by royal charter with a focus on trade in gold, but the charter was amended in 1663 to include a monopoly in British trade of human beings lasting until 1752.

3.2 Melville Monument, St. Andrew Square

Monument to Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville (1742-1811), who used his influence as Home Secretary to delay the abolition of the slave trade. As President of the Board of Control, Melville also oversaw the East India Company.
3.3 Dundas Street
Named after Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville (1742-1811). (See 3.2)

3.4 Statue of William Pitt the Younger, George Street
William Pitt the Younger (1759-1806) was Prime Minister when Dundas’ ‘gradual’ amendment was adopted. He supported the abolition of the slave trade, but also sent British troops to the Caribbean to fight against the anti-slavery Haitian Revolution when Henry Dundas was Secretary of State for War (1794 - 1801).

3.5 Statue of David Livingstone, Princes Street Gardens
David Livingstone (1813-1873) was a Christian missionary whose memory was used to justify Britain’s colonial expansion in Africa.

3.6 Balcarres Street
Named after Alexander Lindsay, 6th Earl of Balcarres (1752-1825), Governor of Jamaica during the Second Maroon War in Jamaica (1795-96). Maroons were people of African descent who had managed to escape from slavery. After a dispute, Balcarres ordered his troops to put down the Maroons.
Theme 4: Inspiring individual stories

A closer look at the historical record of the city reveals inspiring stories of many individuals, some of whom were former slaves. These are stories of people who often overcame adversity and eventually settled in Edinburgh.

4.1 Court of Session, Parliament Square

Location of ‘Knight versus Wedderburn’ (1778); the landmark court case brought by former slave Joseph Knight against Sir John Wedderburn, that established the principle that Scots law would not uphold the institution of slavery in Scotland. The advocate presenting Knight’s case was Henry Dundas (See 3.2).

4.2 Headstone of Malvina Wells, St. John’s Graveyard

Malvina Wells (1804-1887), was born into slavery in Carriacou, Grenada and was brought to Edinburgh where she worked as a free woman as a lady’s maid.

Marble headstone for Malvina Wells, St John’s Episcopal Church Graveyard, Edinburgh.
© City of Edinburgh Council

4.3 (Private residence) Great King Street

Home of Peter McLagan (1823–1900), Scotland’s first Black MP, for Linlithgowshire. McLagan was born in Demerara in British Guiana (now Guyana). His mother was a Black woman who is likely to have been enslaved; his father was a sugar plantation owner.

4.4 (Private residence) Lothian Street

Residence of John Edmonstone, a Black man who was brought up in slavery in Demerara (now part of Guyana). He came to Edinburgh with his enslaver in 1817, where he became free. He worked for the University of Edinburgh’s zoological museum and gave lessons in taxidermy, including to Charles Darwin.
Theme 5: The role of the military in sustaining slavery and colonialism

Edinburgh is a city with a proud military past. However both the army and the navy of the British Empire were involved in sustaining the slavery-based economy through protecting commercial interests and suppressing anti-slavery rebellions by enslaved people.

5.1 Rodney Street

Named after Admiral Sir George Rodney (1718-1792), commander of British naval forces at the Battle of the Saintes which took place on 12 April 1782 and preserved British rule and control of slavery in Jamaica. Robert Burns famously referenced the event in his 1793 poem Lines On The Commemoration of Rodney’s Victory which included the words, “Here’s to the memory of those on the twelfth that we lost...”

5.2 Statue of General John Hope, 4th Earl of Hopetoun, St Andrew Square

General Hope played a significant part in ensuring the military might that maintained British slavery and colonialism in the West Indies. His relatives included Henry Dundas (See 3.2 and 3.3) and wealthy slave owners such as Sir John Wedderburn (See 4.1) and Lawrence Dundas who owned Dundas House in St Andrew Square (See 1.3).
Theme 6: The legacy of intellectuals, academic institutions and hospitals

Edinburgh’s academic institutions and hospitals were sometimes financed by plantation owners and involved in supporting the slave economy, for example by providing trained physicians to work on plantations. Graduates from Edinburgh were to be found in positions of importance in many of the colonies of the British Empire.

6.1 Statue of David Hume, High Street

The works of David Hume (1711-1776), one of the most important philosophers of the Scottish Enlightenment, include the influential racist argument that Black people are inferior to Whites.

6.2 University of Edinburgh Medical School

Known as the ‘first medical school of Empire’. Many physicians and surgeons trained at Edinburgh went on to practice medicine on slave ships and on colonial plantations worked by enslaved Africans.

6.3 Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh

Received donations from slaveholders such as Archibald Kerr in 1749, whose bequest included a Jamaican plantation and enslaved people.

6.4 Royal College of Physicians

Many members were employed by owners of enslaved people, enabling the expansion of slavery and the slave trade. Dr William Wright, who was President of the Royal College of Physicians (1801-1803), was a doctor and slave owner in Jamaica.
Theme 7: Churches, churchmen, slavery and colonialism

While some churchmen were prominent abolitionists, profits from slavery and colonialism also supported some churches. Church buildings and furnishings were sometimes funded by individuals who owned plantations, or who made significant profits from British colonial activities.

7.1 Free Church of Scotland, The Mound

Founded in 1843, the church obtained some of its funds from donations made by pro-slavery counterparts in the United States. This would be challenged by the American former slave, social reformer and abolitionist Frederick Douglass, who attacked the Free Church for its hypocrisy, and led the national campaign, ‘Send Back the Money’.

7.2 St. John’s Episcopal Church, Lothian Road

Wealthy members of the church, including Alexander Tod, Thomas Robertson and Alexander Dyce, made fortunes through their connection to the East India Company and contributed to the cost of the new church.

7.3 St. Georges Church, Charlotte Square

Prominent radical abolitionist Andrew Mitchell Thomson (1779-1831) was minister at St. Georges from 1814 – 1831.
Theme 8: Slavery and colonialism in the arts and literature

The lives of some prominent figures from Edinburgh's literary and artistic past were interwoven with the era of plantation slavery and its abolition.

8.1 Statue of Robert Burns (1759-1796), Scottish National Portrait Gallery

Scotland's national poet secured the offer of a job working as a bookkeeper (a low-level manager) on a Jamaican plantation worked by enslaved people. The successful publication of his first set of poems in 1786, shortly before he was due to set sail, led him to change his plans. He never visited the Caribbean.

Statue of Robert Burns in the entrance to the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

8.2 Grave of Agnes Maclehose (1759-1841), Canongate Kirk

Agnes Maclehose, or ‘Clarinda’ to Robert Burns (See 8.1), was an intimate friend of the poet. She was also the wife of James Maclehose, a lawyer who worked for plantation owners in Jamaica.

8.3 Portrait of Robert Cunninghame Graham of Gartmore (1735-1797), by Henry Raeburn (1756-1823), Scottish National Portrait Gallery

Robert Cunninghame Graham owned plantations and enslaved people. Raeburn painted many plantation owners, and so indirectly profited from slavery.
**Theme 9: Funding educational foundations from the profits of slavery**

Several of Edinburgh’s educational foundations received funding from individuals who were either slave owners, or who profited directly from the profits of slavery.

9.1 **James Gillespie’s School**

Opened in 1803 and funded by Edinburgh merchant James Gillespie (1726–1797). Gillespie amassed great wealth from the tobacco trade, directly benefitting from the work of enslaved people.

9.2 **James Buchanan Memorial, Dean Cemetery**

Though more often associated with Glasgow, James Buchanan (1785–1857), made his fortune from the profits of slavery, owned a house in Edinburgh’s West End and set up an industrial school for boys with his legacy. His bequest still supports education and apprenticeships in Scotland.

9.3 **George Watson’s College**

Funded by George Watson (1654–1723), whose wealth was partly derived from investment in the transportation of slaves and from financing trade in goods produced by enslaved Africans.

**Theme 10: Edinburgh and the abolition movement**

Edinburgh played its part in bringing about abolition. Prominent Edinburgh men and women were active in the movement, and the city hosted several famous abolitionists of the 19th century.

10.1 **Monument to Abraham Lincoln, Old Calton Burial Ground**

Commemorates six Scotsmen who died in the American Civil War fighting for the Union.
10.2 **Calton Convening Rooms, Waterloo Place**
Meeting place of the Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society, an important abolitionist group where suffragist Eliza Wigham (1820-1899) was treasurer.

10.3 **(Private residence) Gilmore Place**
Base of Frederick Douglass (1817-1895), the American former slave, social reformer and abolitionist, during his time in Edinburgh during the 1840s.

10.4 **Brougham Street**
Named after Lord Henry Brougham (1778-1868), abolitionist born in Edinburgh, who lived in St. Andrew Square.

10.5 **Cockburn Street**
Named in honour of Henry Lord Cockburn (1779-1854), an abolitionist and a vocal critic of his uncle Henry Dundas (See 3.2).

10.6 **Riccarton Estate (Heriot-Watt University campus)**
Home of William Gibson-Craig (1797-1878), MP for Midlothian who voted for the abolition of the apprenticeship system in 1838.

10.7 **Assembly Rooms, George Street**
On 19th October 1830, the radical minister and abolitionist Andrew Mitchell Thomson (1779-1831) addressed a crowd of over 2000 people, arguing for the immediate abolition of slavery.

Assembly Rooms, George Street, Edinburgh. © The City of Edinburgh Council.
Potential Recommendations and Actions: starting points for discussion

In considering the range and scope of potential recommendations it might develop, the Review Group explored a number of actions previously taken in Edinburgh and elsewhere addressing the legacy of slavery and colonialism to tackle inequality in the present.

It studied the approach that other cities in the UK have taken to similar civic reviews, including Bristol, Liverpool, Leeds and Glasgow, along with the national review undertaken in Wales. It also reviewed relevant research about the slave trade and decolonisation work published by bodies including the University of Glasgow, University College London, English Heritage, the University of Edinburgh, the National Trust and National Trust for Scotland.

The Group agreed it was essential to consult Edinburgh citizens and stakeholder organisations at an early stage, so their concerns and interests could be heard, analysed and meaningfully inform the final set of recommendations produced.

Five broad areas for discussion were suggested in the main strand of the consultation, the online public survey. These are listed below, each linked with a group of potential actions. This is illustrative of how the information was presented in the online survey.

Respondents were asked to choose which, if any, actions they agreed would be constructive in addressing the legacy of slavery and colonialism in Edinburgh.

The statistical results of the online survey are available along with a summary analysis of the free text responses received to this section in Appendix 1 of this report.
Potential Recommendation 1: Removal of Monuments and Renaming of Streets or Public Buildings

Respondents were asked their views on whether features known to be linked with slavery or colonialism should be considered for removal, or renaming, where that is a more relevant option.

1. No feature should be removed or renamed. It is important that all history is represented, however we feel about it today. Removal or renaming of features could result in this legacy being forgotten.

2. Features should be kept as they are, but information about them should be made available where this is missing, or reviewed and enhanced where it is limited to ensure a more rounded interpretation of the person or event in question.

3. Features which explicitly commemorate people and events which sustained the slave trade or negative consequences of colonialism should be removed or renamed.

4. I do not agree with any of the statements above.

Potential Recommendation 2: Civic Redress

There are various ways that Edinburgh might publicly acknowledge and actively atone for its part in supporting and benefiting from Atlantic slavery and colonial expansion.

1. A civic apology. The Council formally acknowledges and apologises for the city’s involvement in Atlantic slavery and colonial expansion which brought about racial injustice and systemic discrimination still affecting Black and Minority Ethnic people today. It agrees a plan to make sure the apology marks the beginning of a programme of action addressing these impacts.

3. Dedicated friendship agreements. The Council initiates partnerships with cities in the countries most impacted by Edinburgh’s historic involvement with slavery and colonialism, in order to forge or develop social, economic and academic links and opportunities for positive interaction in the future.

Potential Recommendation 3: Active Learning

The Council has committed to introducing modules on Black history and culture at every phase of secondary school education in Edinburgh. However, there are many other ways that both formal and informal learning about this legacy can be encouraged at different ages and stages of life, and partners who could be involved.

1. Research or study programmes to advance, or to revise, understanding of Edinburgh’s links to slavery and its part in colonial expansion; how these are expressed in the public realm and the impacts they can have on individual and community wellbeing. Opportunities, including scholarships and funding, prioritised for students from Black and Minority Ethnic backgrounds.

2. Resourcing of a dedicated Junior Tour Guide programme to ensure Edinburgh’s young people have an understanding and are creatively involved in the interpretation of this legacy and the experience of their ancestors with slavery and colonialism.

3. Schools and lifelong learning programme. Development of resources to support teaching and learning on Black history and culture across the curriculum, for use in primary and secondary schools, and in adult learning programmes. Professional development for teacher-educators.
Potential Recommendation 4: Policy Development

The Review has highlighted how decision-making about who and what are commemorated in the public realm, and how those decisions go on to be expressed, has often happened in an ad hoc way and focused on the lives and interests of a privileged minority. The development of new policies and processes could help to democratising this in future, and make sure the city adopts a more inclusive approach.

1. **Creation of a toolkit** for community use so that groups feel equipped and empowered to make decisions about how to highlight and address the legacies of slavery and colonialism that exist in their neighbourhoods. Formation of an independent advisory panel to support this work across Edinburgh.

2. **A dedicated interpretation strategy** to be developed, providing a framework for revision of existing information, or new and fuller accounts of all features in the public realm connected with slavery and colonialism. Use of digital technology to be mainstreamed to ensure accessible and sustainable forms of engagement for Edinburgh’s residents and visitors.

3. Development of a **monuments or public art strategy** which aligns with criteria of the existing street naming strategy to ensure inclusive decision-making and a sustainable approach to any new, permanent commemorations proposed for the public realm.

Potential Recommendation 5: Cultural Interventions

Edinburgh’s heritage and creativity - its wealth of festivals, museums and galleries, theatres, artists and performers - are recognised as great strengths of this city and the cultural sector has responded to this legacy in a variety of imaginative and compelling ways. Stakeholder groups will build on this to involve a wider range of voices and views, and to ensure new interpretations and responses are encouraged.
1. Creation of a **contemporary, permanent artwork** memorialising the city’s historic links with the slave trade and the Caribbean, situated in a central public space.

2. Instigation of a **major decolonisation programme**, involving multiple partners to tell fuller and more accurate histories of the city’s heritage collections and built estate.

3. Development of a **creative commemoration programme**, focussed in the first instance on celebration of individuals from under-represented groups who have contributed significantly to Edinburgh life and are not currently recognised.

4. Consolidation of existing **cultural diversity and inclusion resources** to sustain and develop new generations of local Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic artists and creatives in furthering their performing and arts projects, and contributing to greater visibility of Edinburgh’s diverse cultures.
Listening and Learning: who was involved with the Review

Edinburgh’s historic links with slavery and colonialism directly, and indirectly, impact people living in the city today. It has shaped some of our oldest institutions and many of the buildings, streets and monuments unique to it. Because so many have a real and immediate stake in this legacy, and any recommendations about responding to it, the Review Group actively set out to invite discussion about it with a range of stakeholders. It did this in a number of ways.

Public Consultation

Three distinct strands were devised for the public consultation, each aiming to engage a different target group using a communications style suited to their needs and preferences. This was considered a key milestone in the Review, as the Group wanted to hear and understand the views of a wide range of people before making decisions about the recommendations they would put forward to the Council.

• **Online survey:** Hosted on the Council’s website, members of the Review Group and the Advisory Group created an online survey which was available for 12 weeks between October 2021 and January 2022. While changing COVID restrictions inhibited in-person gatherings, this was preferred as a safe and accessible way with which to engage Edinburgh residents and stakeholders further afield. 3,346 individuals and 27 organisations took part. 2,811 (84%) respondents were based in EH-postcode areas.

• **Schools survey and focus groups:** The Council’s Education and Children’s Services team created teaching resources and adapted the online survey for schools’ use. Teachers across 14 primary and six secondary schools supported 654 pupils to engage with the questions and to take part in focus group sessions during January and February 2022. More are likely to have participated informally, and some senior pupils opted to complete the online survey individually.
• **Community workshop series:** Edinburgh & Lothians Regional Equality Council (ELREC) was commissioned to develop and deliver a series of in-person, community-based workshops. These were held specifically with people of Black and South Asian heritage living in Edinburgh, between December 2021 and February 2022, with the aim of ensuring greater representation of opinions and reflections on this legacy and its impacts. People who had recently immigrated to Edinburgh, a group of young people attending both state and public schools in the city, as well as university students took part. 86 people participated in nine workshops in total.

---

### Engaging Stakeholder Organisations

A significant number of the representative features included in the Review are owned or managed by the Council or leased by private individuals. However, some are cared for by organisations which are well-established Edinburgh or national institutions and/or are known to be actively researching their own links with slavery and colonialism.

All of the organisations listed below were contacted during July and August 2021 and invited to share information they may hold, or plan to investigate, about this legacy. Many responded positively, keen to support or take part in the upcoming online survey, share relevant research, and to consider opportunities for future collaboration.

- **Bank of Scotland (Lloyds Group)** - former British Linen Bank, St Andrew Square
- **Church of Scotland** - Grave of Agnes Maclehose, Canongate Kirk
- **The Episcopal Church** - St John’s Church and Headstone of Malvina Wells, St. John’s Graveyard
- **Free Church of Scotland** - The Mound
- **George Watson’s College**
- **Heriot Watt University** - Riccarton Estate
- **Howies Restaurants** - former Calton Convening Rooms, Waterloo Place
- **James Gillespie’s School**
- **National Galleries Scotland** - Statue of Robert Burns and Portrait of Robert Cunningham Grahame of Gartmore, Scottish National Portrait Gallery
- **NHS Lothian** - Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh
- **National Records of Scotland** - St. Georges Church, Charlotte Square
- **Royal Bank of Scotland (Natwest Group)** - Dundas House
- **Royal Botanical Garden Edinburgh**
- **Royal College of Physicians Edinburgh**
- **Scottish Court and Tribunals** - Court of Session, Parliament Square
- **Scottish Historic Buildings Trust** - Custom House, Leith
- **University of Edinburgh** - Medical School
Representatives from a number of organisations, including Historic Environment Scotland, Royal College of Physicians and the Church of Scotland also met with the Review Chair for detailed individual discussion about areas of shared interest and potential outcomes of the Review.

“HES supports and welcomes this initiative. Having had the opportunity to meet with Sir Geoff Palmer in 2021 and discuss the Independent Review, we are pleased to see the public consultation process underway and look forward to the conclusion of this stage of the review in due course. We also look forward to future conversations about how HES can support any work that flows from the recommendations of the Review Group.”

Organisational Online Survey Response

Research Internships with the University of Edinburgh

In early 2021, the University of Edinburgh confirmed that funding for internships had been secured for its programme of researching institutional histories, with a particular focus on the University’s historical links to the slave trade and wider colonial activities.

With many potential themes and features of mutual interest to both the University and the Review Group, it was agreed that three of the internships would be dedicated to collating archival evidence on these. The Head of Special Collections supervised the development of the internship strands, each with a project supervisor from its archival team, and with an academic sponsor in a member of academic staff.

Work began in earnest in the second half of July and completed in November 2021. Each intern produced two documents: a collection review spreadsheet listing all relevant (or potentially relevant) archives held either by the University of Edinburgh or external organisations, and a short report highlighting some of the major research findings.

At the end of the project, the reviews were merged so that all relevant records are now visible in one document. This body of work, included with this report in Appendix 2, provides an invaluable resource for future research, and the experience provided a unique learning opportunity for three young people embarking on their archival career.
“I found the internship to be an incredibly rewarding experience. It has given me the chance to engage with the archive and conduct research in a sustained and methodical manner.

Even so, the work I have done has barely scratched the surface. This makes me optimistic as it demonstrates that there is a great scope for research on this rightfully urgent topic; there is a wealth of information within the archives that demands to be recontextualised and reanalysed. Thus, I am grateful to have had the opportunity to be of service, however modestly, to future researchers.”

Intern Testimony, CRC ESCLR Internship Report
Consultation Results: a summary of the findings

An overview of the key findings from each of the three strands of the consultation - the online survey, community workshops and schools survey and focus groups – is listed below. More information, including statistical analysis, can be found in Appendix 1.

The online survey attracted by far the most participants, however responses to all three strands stressed the importance of highlighting Edinburgh’s links with slavery and colonialism, primarily through more accessible information, and development of educational materials. Significant differences in opinion were expressed – notably between age groups and in ethnic groups - about practical ways to address this legacy and the priorities for action.

“Thank you for doing this. As a person of colour born and raised in Edinburgh, I am proud of the city council for conducting an exercise into the city’s legacy of slavery and colonialism. Please don’t be disheartened by those who disregard this work. It is vital.”

Online Consultation Survey Respondent

Participants responding from an Edinburgh (EH) postcode were generally the most enthusiastic about making changes in the civic realm, highlighting the many and positive contributions of diverse communities, and about taking positive action in other ways in order to tackle racism and discrimination in the city. This local expression of opinion should be borne in mind when assessing the statistics and considering recommendations.

Overall, the consultation engaged more than 4,000 people and resulted in much useful and relevant data. However, it has also highlighted a number of issues with the process employed. The aim to engage diverse communities, and particularly people of Black and Minority Ethnic heritage, has been partially met. Reasons for relatively low levels of participation, even with a proactive approach to awareness-raising and engagement city-wide, are being explored and learning will inform future actions taken to address this legacy in an inclusive, sensitive and representative way.
Online Survey Word Cloud

The words represented in the diagram were all used more than 100 times in the online survey responses. The larger words were used most often.

---

**Online Survey: overview of free text responses**

Overall, participants viewed Edinburgh’s links with slavery as an abhorrent but important part of the city’s history which should not be hidden from view.

They were keen to ensure that residents and visitors to the city were educated about the past so that a positive difference could be made to people’s lives in the future.

The majority of those who took part were against historical features being removed in Edinburgh but were keen for more information to be provided in the form of information panels or plaques so that the full story could be told.

There were also suggestions of various technological and in-person methods to enhance interpretation of the legacy in the civic realm, and it was widely felt that none of this would be possible if the material history was “erased”.

For those who felt that statues should be removed and streets or buildings renamed, it was considered that these should be decided upon on a case-by-case basis. The statue of Melville was mentioned specifically and there was outrage amongst some that people who had gained through the exploitation of others were being celebrated in Edinburgh. It was felt also that statues commemorating such individuals only serve to perpetuate racism.
Some participants felt that the consultation was biased, the questions were "loaded" and the “review group had already made its mind up" – or reported being unclear about the Council’s plans as no definite proposals were included.

Concerns were raised about whether the Review constituted a good use of resource when the Council is focusing on core service delivery and contemporary problems such as modern-day slavery and poverty. Some felt the Council was "pandering to the minority" and following “current” and "woke" trends in commissioning this work.

“My concern is that this exercise will result in the eradication of much of Edinburgh’s (and Scotland’s) history. If we remove reference to individuals who participated in, or benefited from, slavery, we risk avoiding discussion of the topic in the longer term. It would be far better to keep the reminders of that shameful era so that it can be addressed squarely.”

Online Consultation Survey Respondent

It was suggested that the Review risked being divisive, that Edinburgh residents being made to feel ashamed about their ancestors’ behaviour may lead to increased racial tensions as well as a negative impact on the mental health of children.

The Review Group also received praise for being "brave" and providing a consultation that was “informative” and important in order to tackle modern day racism and discrimination.

“Henry Dundas is there on the biggest pedestal you’ve ever seen, looking down on our city with arrogance and authority he does not deserve. I’d personally like to see him removed and replaced with someone more inspirational.”

Online Consultation Survey Respondent
Responses to the illustrative themes and features

Comments were lodged about the usefulness of some of the illustrative themes and features suggested in the survey, with the link between Robert Burns and slavery specifically highlighted as problematic.

Some respondents felt that there should have been more focus on constructive acts such as the abolition of slavery while others emphasised the importance of not over-simplifying history by deeming individuals as “good or bad”, highlighting the “great” contributions made to Edinburgh, its architecture and institutions both cultural and educational. However, other participants warned against placing too much emphasis on the “rare positives” which were viewed as an opportunity to absolve guilt.

“The Cockburn Association welcomes this review and the work of the review group chaired by Professor Geoff Palmer.

The Review should aim to set in place a process that fills in gaps in the received history of the city, and in doing so reconciles past and present by recognising the contributions to Edinburgh’s development and prosperity made by people who were enslaved or colonised.

Equally, it is important to recover and celebrate the voices of those who contested the institutions and individuals that sustained the injustices. The legacy of slavery and colonialism is multi-faceted and enduring, and the Review should be seen as a way of beginning to engage fully with it.”

Organisational Online Survey Response

It was also felt that a greater focus on individuals who were directly involved – not least the women active in the abolition movement - and provision of global historical context, might helpfully have been provided. This would have demonstrated how Edinburgh’s experience reflected the ubiquitous nature of slavery and colonialism from a European perspective, and highlighted other contemporary forms of exploitation such as the domestic mistreatment of Highlanders, and the mistreatment of people across Scotland by other Scots as a result of class, status or gender inequity.
Responses to the draft recommendations

Education was viewed as key in the fight against racism and inequality. Some participants spoke about being unaware of Edinburgh’s link to slavery previously and were grateful to have this opportunity to learn more about their valued historic city.

There were calls to ensure that Edinburgh’s links to slavery and colonialism be included in the school curriculum, and that further research is undertaken into this history and publicised. The need to expand on colonial links in particular was highlighted as a potential priority for action.

Suggestions were made that an exhibition or museum dedicated to those affected by slavery and colonialism might be developed in Edinburgh. Statues removed from the civic realm could be displayed there for learning purposes, or be replaced with statues of people who had been enslaved, or who were instrumental to the abolitionist cause.

“We Edinburgh World Heritage fully supports the aspirations of the Edinburgh Slavery and Colonialism Legacy Review, and many of the approaches laid out within this consultation.

We believe that understanding, acknowledging and representing Edinburgh’s complex history in an inclusive and representative way is important, and long overdue. It is imperative that we face up to and engage with all elements of Edinburgh’s history, and consider how it is represented in the public realm. In doing so, we must ensure that the process is evidence-based, balanced, and informed by the views of a diverse range of stakeholders, particularly those of under-represented communities.”

Organisational Online Survey Response

Participants expressed a wish for new public artworks or commemorations to be more representative of the diverse population of Edinburgh and their positive contributions to our national story, ensuring that those celebrated include women, individuals from Black and Minority Ethnic communities, and individuals with disabilities. An emphasis on inspiring stories of ‘ordinary’ people was expressed.
For those who were keen for the city to atone for its part in slavery and colonialism, proposals were made that support, financial compensation, and/or education-based initiatives such as scholarships be offered to families impacted, and that links be forged with countries that were colonised by the British. There were also calls for any stolen artefacts in museum collections in Edinburgh to be returned to their country of origin.

The 27 organisational responses made to the online survey were largely positive, the majority perceiving the Review as a crucial first step towards a longer-term action plan to address the legacy collectively and strategically.

Schools survey and focus groups

The Review Group was particularly keen to hear the views of Edinburgh’s young people about the city’s legacy of slavery and colonialism, and what might be done to address it.

To achieve this, it worked closely with the Council’s Education and Children’s Services Equalities Lead to determine the most effective ways to encourage wide participation in the consultation, which was open to all schools. Twenty schools took part formally, assisting more than 650 young people to participate in the survey or focus group discussions.

“Nothing should be changed because people will get confused. Also if we change the names, people will forget what has been changed about how these places were named and we will probably do it again.”

Primary School Focus Group Participant

Class consultation engagement packs for primary schools P5-P7 (Curriculum for Excellence Second level) and both secondary schools S1-3 (Curriculum for Excellence Third and Fourth levels) and S4-S6 (Senior Phase) were developed. These built on work which had taken place in October 2021 during Black History Month, and were considered an opportunity to apply the learning acquired then to consideration of real and contemporary issues affecting peoples’ lives in Edinburgh today.

Teaching resources, including lesson and activity plans, PowerPoint presentations and a recorded film interview introducing the themes and purpose of the consultation by the Review Chair were developed and made available for schools’ use. A child-friendly version of the online survey was also created for younger participants who may have been encountering the subject for the first time. Examples of these resources are included in Appendix 3.
These resources were used by class teachers in primary schools and for Social Studies and English classes in secondary schools. Pupil Equality Groups were encouraged to raise awareness of the consultation in their individual schools and pupil focus group sessions took place online so that children from different schools and areas of the city could meet together safely and take part in supported discussion about the issues.

“We should be open in schools and education and not shy away or blame other countries. The government should openly admit to Scotland’s colonialism and actively work to deconstruct Scotland’s white privilege/ systemic racism.”

High School Focus Group Participant

On the whole, young people were aware in an abstract way of slavery and colonialism, but had little understanding or knowledge, before taking part in the consultation, of Edinburgh’s role in them. Some knew that that there were controversial statues and monuments in the city centre, but were unsure why these divided opinion, or how the wider historic environment had been built, to some degree, with profits from slavery.

Pupils were divided about whether features connected with this legacy should be retained, removed or renamed (where appropriate). There was a recognition that they might be traumatising or offensive, but also that they represent a period of history which, however brutal and immoral, cannot be erased.

On whether this legacy should be taught in schools:
“100% yes. It is part of history and we should definitely be taught about how it was in Edinburgh and Scotland as well as the wider world perspective.”

Primary School Focus Group Participant
Generally, pupils were not in favour of naming any streets or buildings after people as “people aren’t necessarily all good or all bad”. Suggestions were made about adding new, alternative names to existing street name plaques. The role and function of museums was also discussed; statues or street names that may be ignored in the streetscape, could take on new meaning if presented in an exhibition or as part of a museum collection. It was specifically suggested that museums need to address and explore colonialism and should repatriate objects that originated elsewhere.

Strong support was expressed for slavery and colonialism to feature in the curriculum. Pupils felt this should be taught from a young age and everyone should learn specifically about Scotland’s role in this legacy; that we should acknowledge mistakes and take accountability. Some expressed shock about the extent of our involvement nationally – and linked the lack of understanding and awareness of the legacy to a casual racism experienced in schools today.

Pupils felt the subject could usefully be addressed not only in History lessons, but in English, Drama, PSE (Personal and Social Education) and Social Studies. Talking about it at school assembly was also suggested as a way to reach the whole school, as was taking part in initiatives such as Black History Month. At some schools, teachers had benefited from anti-racist training. This had clearly made an impact on the respondents and their understanding of the issues.
Community Workshop Series

Edinburgh & Lothians Regional Equality Council (ELREC) conducted nine workshops both online and face to face in community settings, depending on the needs of the participating group and the COVID restrictions on inside gatherings at the time.

86 individuals took part across a series of workshops which engaged separately with African and South Asian men, women, secondary school pupils, private school pupils, university students and groups of people over the age of 65. Additional meetings were held with immigrants and refugees who had recently arrived in Edinburgh, as well as one meeting with participants of Indian descent specifically. Some sessions were translated into Bengali, Urdu and Punjabi with the help of the workshop leader and bilingual volunteers.

All participants live in Edinburgh and are from a diverse range of social backgrounds. Some participants declared they would not usually take part in surveys due to language or literacy barriers.

“The past has gone, but its effects are still felt today – truth needs to be told…”

Community Workshop Participant

On the whole, South Asian participants related to issues centring on colonialism, and African participants felt more strongly about the issues relating to the history of slavery.

Concern was expressed that this history is not being taught in schools and participants agreed that more needs to be done to not only educate society about the harsh reality of the slavery era but to make things right now. Consensus amongst African participants was that more action is required specifically to promote Black rights and equality, and to take positive steps towards diversity in both schools and public life. Equal access to housing, education and jobs were discussed as key areas for action.

All groups agreed strongly that accessible arts and cultural events such as museum exhibitions, awareness-raising initiatives and public discussions were important in raising the profile of these issues and in encouraging wide public discourse.
The majority of African participants (excluding 16-25 year olds and school pupils) expressed their personal views quite openly that slavery was catastrophic for the countries and the people involved. Resentment and anger about this history resonates today. Many believe they lost family members. 94% of participants felt that Edinburgh needs to do more to recognise its links to historic slavery and colonialism.

The younger groups suggested more tours and educational activities to learn about slavery and colonialism are needed, and more information on the subject should be available on social media. Participants discussed bullying at school, racism and discrimination, and suggested more needs to be done to acknowledge and address these issues, and to promote cultural diversity. All the participants felt Edinburgh should do more to recognise the achievements of Black and Minority Ethnic Edinburgh residents.

Older participants aged 65+ had significant lived experience of discrimination that made their reflections particularly personal. This group reflected that they and their families have all suffered some form of racism, inequality and discrimination and more needs to be done to make things better for future generations. All agreed that a more human rights-based approach to addressing this legacy is needed in contemporary life through education, awareness and improving diversity in public life.

The group featuring refugees and recent immigrants recommended that the city acknowledge its involvement in slavery, and add permanent galleries in its museums about the slave trade and British colonialism, so that everyone can learn and understand it better.
Communication Plan: how the consultation was promoted

The communications for the Edinburgh Slavery and Colonialism Legacy Review focused on:

- Encouraging wide participation in the consultation, particularly with people living in communities which may be negatively impacted by the legacy today.
- Publicising the aims of the Review.
- Helping participants understand the remit of the Review and why the consultation was taking place.

Organic campaign

The consultation was launched with a press release and a press briefing hosted by the Chair of the Edinburgh Slavery and Colonialism Legacy Review Group and attended by Forth News and The Telegraph. Follow up sessions were also organised with STV and Evening News.

A press release was issued as the online public survey went live, accompanied by organic social media posts on the Council’s channels, primarily Twitter and Facebook. The social media posts continued throughout the three months of the consultation, and print media covered the consultation locally, nationally and internationally throughout that period.

A social media communications toolkit was created, with social media posts, graphics and a blog post for stakeholders to reference and share on their channels. All posts included the link which took visitors directly to the online survey to encourage participation.

Dedicated webpages providing background information about the Review, its remit and scope, were created and are hosted on The City of Edinburgh Council website: https://www.edinburgh.gov.uk/edinburghslaverycolonialism

The organic posts from Council’s channels achieved over 480,000 impressions and over 2,000 click throughs.
Paid campaign

A paid campaign ran from 17 December 2021 until 18 January 2022 consisting of:

- Programmatic online/social media advertising – this was geotargeted to Edinburgh.
- Spotify audio advert which also had an on-screen ad shown on devices when the audio advert was played.
- Lamp post wraps in approximately 29 locations around Edinburgh, focusing on areas of the city recognised for their more diverse communities.

All advertising used the short URL [www.edinburgh.gov.uk/slaverycolonialism](http://www.edinburgh.gov.uk/slaverycolonialism) to take people to the consultation hub online questionnaire.

This campaign delivered over 7.5 million impressions and over 9,000 clicks to the site, generating a good volume of awareness.
In deciding on recommendations to put forward for consideration, the Review Group has taken an evidence-based approach, informed by the responses received through all three strands of the public consultation process.

It has built on the trends emerging from the online survey, community workshops and schools focus groups and has added actions which it believes are required - both practically and strategically - to address this legacy in the short and longer term. There is, for example, wide and substantial support for more education and better explanations about this history, and for an ambitious, speedy commitment to action at home and internationally.

The recommendations are addressed primarily to the Council, since it commissioned the Review. However, the Review Group believes that this report should be a catalyst for many other Edinburgh organisations, businesses and individuals to reflect on their own responsibilities, past, present and future, in response to the legacy of slavery and colonialism and resulting effects of racism and inequality. During the course of the Review, it became clear that many are prepared to do so.

It is essential that momentum created by the Review should be retained and extended, and it is clear that these recommendations could all be actioned quickly. None requires major infrastructure, investment or regulatory approval, though some will need a lead time before they are fully delivered.

Collaboration between the Council, academia, businesses and civil society will assist delivery, making best use of the resources available and creating a sustainable partnership which enhances and embeds a better understanding of the past. This collective approach is necessary to combat racism and grasp all the opportunities of an open and inclusive capital city – so making Edinburgh a better place for all its citizens.

“Slavery is not about buildings or monuments but racism - this is what needs to be addressed.”

Organisational Online Survey Response
The recommendations are set out below:

1) **The Council publicly acknowledges the city’s past role in sustaining slavery and colonialism and issues an apology to those places and people who suffered.**

   Slavery and colonialism were oppressive systems built upon, and leaving a legacy of, racism. They generated wealth that was invested, in part, in the Scottish capital. Private, public and charitable bodies were beneficiaries and facilitators and it is beyond dispute that people and institutions in Edinburgh were involved to a significant degree.

   The Review Group welcomes news that a number of local authorities in Scotland are investigating their local part in this national legacy and commends Glasgow City Council on its commitment to issuing an apology. As a new Human Rights Bill is developed for Scotland, local authorities collaborate to exchange relevant information and so further understand how their collective legacy shaped the wealthy and prosperous nation of today.

2) **Statues, monuments, buildings and street names associated with slavery and colonialism in Edinburgh are retained and re-presented in accordance with a new, dedicated interpretation strategy which explains the nature and consequences of that involvement.**

   Proportionality, research, balance, inclusive consultation and conservation principles are pillars of this approach. It ensures fresh perspectives, new understanding and fuller accounts of the legacy and the people associated with it, while also preserving the unique, historic fabric of the city. Digital and in-place explanations are robust and rooted in evidence, and presented in accessible and sustainable formats to encourage further discourse and opportunities for review or refresh.

3) **City-wide observance of the annual, UNESCO-designated International Day for the Remembrance of the Slave Trade and its Abolition on August 23 is introduced and resourced.**

   This is marked in a positive way to help people understand about both the historic legacy and the dangers of racism and prejudice today. As the date falls in August, Festivals Edinburgh is invited to consider the many and creative responses they might support or initiate to engage local audiences and visitors in this remembrance.
4) Teaching and learning materials are developed and delivered to fill the gap in respect of Scotland’s and Edinburgh’s role in slavery and colonialism.

The Council works with education bodies, and actively prioritises input from members of Black and Minority Ethnic communities in Edinburgh, to create resources on Black history and culture across the curriculum for use in schools and adult learning programmes. Professional development for teacher-educators is supported.

5) Friendship agreements are initiated with cities in countries most impacted by Edinburgh’s historic involvement with slavery and colonialism.

It is necessary to acknowledge this legacy not only in Edinburgh, with local communities, but in the places and with the peoples originally impacted. Partnerships can be established through bilateral governmental and transnational UNESCO inscriptions in order to ensure positive interaction by forging and developing social, economic and academic links. An international conference or series of cultural summits focussed on shared history and impacts is another option.

6) Universities and research bodies are encouraged to fund, develop and publish studies into the many under-researched aspects of Edinburgh’s connections with slavery and colonialism, prioritising the objectives of the new interpretation strategy.

The themes and features referenced in this Review are illustrative of many more which will benefit from further study. A focus on the positive contributions of Edinburgh’s diverse communities and the city’s role in colonialism is especially required, and research needed both to fill gaps in understanding of the legacy, and to identify ways to share and utilise new information widely. Accordingly, the Review Group welcomes the commitment of the Open University to scope out options for the creation of a bespoke new course – Empire, Power, Legacies – which will be accessible and available to a wide range of learners.

7) A significant public artwork is commissioned acknowledging Edinburgh’s links with slavery and colonialism. This initiates the development of a city-wide strategy for public art that fairly represents the diversity of the city and its histories, and capitalises on the creative potential of a multi-cultural city.

This prioritises the celebration of individuals and organisations which campaigned for abolition and liberation, and recognises the serious under-representation of women and Black and Ethnic Minority people in Edinburgh memorials.
8) A positive programme of cultural commissions is established, empowering and resourcing emerging Black and Minority Ethnic creatives in Edinburgh to participate with and shape existing festivals, arts and heritage programmes.

The mainstreaming of existing cultural diversity and inclusion resources contributes to the greater visibility of Edinburgh’s diverse cultures.

9) The Council endorses the work of the Empire, Slavery and Scotland’s Museums steering group (ESSM) established by the Scottish Government, and commits to exploring how the capital can contribute to the creation of a dedicated space addressing Scotland’s role in this history.

More broadly, the Council supports all six recommendations proposed by ESSM, and commits Museums & Galleries Edinburgh to developing its work with local communities across Edinburgh to progress its anti-racism activity and a dedicated decolonisation programme.

10) An independent legacy stakeholder group is established, supported by the Council, to ensure the approved recommendations are actioned, resourced and monitored, and that progress is reported annually.

The group has a diverse membership and prioritises participation by those with relevant lived experience. It works collaboratively and in partnership with a wide range of stakeholders and experts to ensure that agreed learning and social outcomes are met.
Acknowledgements

Many people have dedicated their time and shared their expertise to shape or participate in this Review. For some, this has required significant emotional labour through the sharing of lived experience of discrimination.

Organisations have offered support and provided relevant research and information of their own. The Review Group is grateful, and sincerely thanks all involved.

This report, and future actions resulting from the recommendations, would not have been possible without this input.

Further information

The information collated or generated through the Review is held by The City of Edinburgh Council for future reference and, in accordance with data protection guidelines, is publicly available.

Please see the Council’s website for more details and for guidance on how to make an enquiry: https://www.edinburgh.gov.uk/edinburghslaverycolonialism

“Embarrassing it is to admit, however in the few minutes it had taken to complete this survey I have learnt far more about the links to slavery in Edinburgh than in all my years living in city. This alone says so much about the issues we have in this beautiful city in burying our heads in the sand. No longer can this be the case.

This is your opportunity as councillors to take a step and a stand in how we in Edinburgh accept how this city was built and acknowledge the mistakes made by our ancestors. We cannot ignore. We cannot erase. We must accept errors in our ways and promote this ugly past for our future generations to learn.”

Online Consultation Survey Respondent
Appendix 1
Consultation Results

1.1 Online Public Consultation Statistical Results
1.2 Online Public Consultation Free Text Responses to Themes and Features
1.3 Community Workshops and Schools’ Consultation Findings
Appendix 1.1
Online Public Consultation
Statistical Results
Residents were asked to help shape the way Edinburgh addresses its past links to slavery and colonialism

The Review Group wanted to hear people’s thoughts about the most constructive ways that the city could address issues of historic racial injustice as a means to stem modern-day discrimination.

This consultation was divided into: Part 1 - personal details; Part 2 - questions regarding the legacy of slavery and colonialism in Edinburgh; and Part 3 - ten different themes that relate to slavery and colonialism in the public realm.

PART 1 Respondent Profiles

3346 responses to the consultation were received between 27 October 2021 and 19 January 2022. Responses to Part 1 - Personal information are presented below.

Postcode

2811 (84%) respondents were based in EH-postcode areas; the other 535 (16%) were based elsewhere in Scotland and the UK. The maps show individual locations of all UK-based respondents (Map 1) and EH-only residents (Map 2).
### Capacity (All)

3311 (98.95%) of respondents submitted their feedback as individuals and 27 (0.81%) on behalf of organisations. 8 (0.24%) left the question unanswered.

### Capacity (EH-only)

2783 (99%) of respondents submitted their feedback as individuals and 24 (0.85%) on behalf of organisations. 4 (0.14%) did not respond.

### Age (All)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 16</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0.63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-24</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>5.11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>453</td>
<td>13.54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>586</td>
<td>17.51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-54</td>
<td>644</td>
<td>19.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
<td>744</td>
<td>22.24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>702</td>
<td>20.98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not answered</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0.75%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Age (EH-only)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-24</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>514</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-54</td>
<td>533</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
<td>591</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>601</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not answered</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Ethnicity (All) - multiple choice

1.17% African - 39 respondents
0.12% Arab - 4 respondent
0.69% Asian - 23 respondents
0.03% Bangladesi - 1 respondent
31.38% British - 1.050 respondents
0.84% Caribbean - 28 respondents
0.33% Chinese - 11 respondents
9.29% English - 311 respondents
0.12% Gypsy, Traveller - 4 respondents
0.57% Indian - 19 respondents
3.62% Irish - 121 respondents
4.72% Mixed Heritage - 158 respondents
0.39% Pakistani - 13 respondents
49.10% Scottish - 1.643 respondents
1.20% Welsh - 40 respondents
8.61% Other - 288 respondents

### Ethnicity (EH-only) - multiple choice

1.07% African - 30 respondents
0.14% Arab - 4 respondents
0.71% Asian - 20 respondents
0.04% Bangladesi - 1 respondent
29.81% British - 838 respondents
0.75% Caribbean - 21 respondents
0.36% Chinese - 10 respondents
8.15% English - 229 respondents
0.11% Gypsy, Traveller - 3 respondents
0.00% Indian - 0 respondents
3.77% Irish - 106 respondents
4.87% Mixed Heritage - 137 respondents
0.43% Pakistani - 12 respondents
51.80% Scottish - 1.456 respondents
1% Welsh - 28 respondents
8.75% Other - 246 respondents

### Gender (All)

Out of 3,346 respondents
1,406 (42.02%) identified as female;
1,707 (51.02%) - male; and
63 (1.88%) - non-binary.

148 (4.42%) respondents preferred not to say; and 22 (0.66%) skipped the question.

### Gender (EH-only)

Out of 2,811 respondents
1,248 (44.40%) identified as female;
1,377 (48.99%) - male; and
54 (1.92%) - non-binary.

115 (4.09%) respondents preferred not to say; and 17 (0.60%) skipped the question.
Public Consultation Report

Part 2 & 3 - Questions

Respondents were requested to provide feedback on ways in which the legacy of colonialism and slavery can be addressed. Features you can see today in Edinburgh’s public spaces show us that many people in the past supported or benefitted from the slave trade or colonial expansion, and that other people opposed these activities. The features were listed under ten themes to illustrate how many aspects of Edinburgh’s society were impacted by this legacy.

Addressing issues of historic racial injustice as a means to stem modern-day discrimination

1. Removal of Monuments and Renaming of Streets or Public Buildings: We would like to know your view on whether features known to be linked with slavery or colonialism should be considered for removal, or renaming, where that is a more relevant option.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EH-based respondents only</th>
<th>790</th>
<th>1,266</th>
<th>698</th>
<th>36</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

1,116 No feature should be removed or renamed. It is important that all history is represented, however we feel about it today. Removal or renaming of features could result in this legacy being forgotten.

1,393 Features should be kept as they are, but information about them should be made available where this is missing, or reviewed and enhanced where it is limited to ensure a more rounded interpretation of the person or event in question.

756 Features which explicitly commemorate people and events which sustained the slave trade or negative consequences of colonialism should be removed or renamed.

48 I do not agree with any of the statements above.

2. Civic Redress: There are various ways that Edinburgh might publicly acknowledge and actively atone for its part in supporting and benefiting from Atlantic slavery and colonial expansion (multiple choice).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EH-based respondents only</th>
<th>1,144</th>
<th>1,705</th>
<th>1,487</th>
<th>668</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

1,241 A civic apology. The Council formally acknowledges and apologises for the city’s involvement in Atlantic slavery and colonial expansion which brought about racial injustice and systemic discrimination still affecting Black and Minority Ethnic people today. It agrees a plan to make sure the apology marks the beginning of a programme of action addressing these impacts.

1,867 City-wide observance of the annual, UNESCO-designated International Day for the Remembrance of the Slave Trade and its Abolition every August 23. Encouraging wide participation, remembrance and awareness-raising about the dangers of racism and prejudice.

1,629 Dedicated friendship agreements. The Council initiates partnerships with cities in the countries most impacted by Edinburgh’s historic involvement with slavery and colonialism, in order to forge or develop social, economic and academic links and opportunities for positive interaction in the future.

965 I do not agree with any of the statements above.

3. Active Learning: The Council has committed to introducing modules on Black history and culture at every phase of secondary school education in Edinburgh. However, there are many other ways that both formal and informal learning about this legacy can be encouraged at different ages and stages of life, and partners who could be involved (multiple choice).
4. Policy Development: The Review has highlighted how decision-making about who and what is commemorated in the public realm, and how those decisions go on to be expressed, have often happened in an ad hoc way and focussed on the lives and interests of a privileged minority. The development of new policies and process could help to democratise this in future, and make sure the city adopts a more inclusive approach (multiple choice).

1,158 Creation of a toolkit for community use so that groups feel equipped and empowered to make decisions about how to highlight and address the legacies of slavery and colonialism that exist in their neighbourhoods. Formation of an independent advisory panel to support this work across Edinburgh.

1,423 A dedicated interpretation strategy to be developed, providing a framework for revision of existing information, or new and fuller accounts of all features in the public realm connected with slavery and colonialism. Use of digital technology to be mainstreamed to ensure accessible and sustainable forms of engagement for Edinburgh’s residents and visitors.

1,576 Development of a monuments or public art strategy which aligns with criteria of the existing street naming strategy to ensure inclusive decision-making and a sustainable approach to any new, permanent commemorations proposed for the public realm.

1,116 I do not agree with any of the statements above.

5. Cultural Interventions: Edinburgh’s heritage and creativity - its wealth of festivals, museums and galleries, theatres, artists and performers - are recognised as great strengths of this city and the cultural sector has responded to this legacy in a variety of imaginative and compelling ways. Stakeholder groups will build on this to involve a wider range of voices and views, and to ensure new interpretations and responses are encouraged (multiple choice).

1,258 Creation of a contemporary, permanent artwork memorialising the city’s historic links with the slave trade and the Caribbean, situated in a central public space.

1,211 Instigation of a major decolonisation programme, involving multiple partners to tell fuller and more accurate histories of the city’s heritage collections and built estate.

1,573 Development of a creative commemoration programme, focussed in the first instance on celebration of individuals from under-represented groups who have contributed significantly to Edinburgh life and are not currently recognised.

1,507 Consolidation of existing cultural diversity and inclusion resources to sustain and develop new generations of local Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic artists and creatives in furthering their performing and arts projects, and contributing to greater visibility of Edinburgh’s diverse cultures.

874 I do not agree with any of the statements above.
### Theme 1: Edinburgh’s New Town and the physical expansion of the city, 1767 – 1850

Following approval of the plan for the first New Town in 1767, Edinburgh underwent an unprecedented physical expansion. Where did the money come from? While research does not yet give us a complete answer, we know, from the records of those who received compensation after the end of slavery, that many early residents of the New Town owned enslaved people and plantations. We also know that profits from colonialism, specifically from the activities of the East India Company, were invested in the city’s expansion.

Listed locations: Queen St, Bute House, Dundas House, India St., Jamaica St.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EH-based respondents only</th>
<th>57% agreed that this is an important theme which needs highlighting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>38% disagreed that this is an important theme which needs highlighting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5% did not answer the question</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 64% agreed that examples successfully illustrate the theme |
| 28% disagreed that examples successfully illustrate the theme |
| 8% did not answer the question |

### Theme 2: International trade and the profits from slavery and colonialism

Profits from the trade in goods produced by enslaved people flowed into the city and Edinburgh-based banks were involved in financing all aspects of the Atlantic economy of slavery. Locally manufactured products such as linen were used to clothe enslaved people.

Listed locations: British Linen Bank (St Andrew Sq), Custom House (Leith), Gladstone House (Leith), Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EH-based respondents only</th>
<th>55% agreed that this is an important theme which needs highlighting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>39% disagreed that this is an important theme which needs highlighting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6% did not answer the question</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 59% agreed that examples successfully illustrate the theme |
| 31% disagreed that examples successfully illustrate the theme |
| 10% did not answer the question |

### Theme 3: Politics and patronage in Great Britain and the colonies

Many people associated with Edinburgh were involved in sustaining the slavery-based economy and preventing the abolition of the slave trade and slavery. Many others were involved in the exploitation of people in the British Empire in Africa and the British Raj in India.

Listed locations: Statue of Charles II (Parliament Sq), Melville Monument (St. Andrew Sq), Dundas St., Statue of William Pitt the Younger (George St.), Statue of David Livingstone (Princes St. Gardens), Balcarres St.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EH-based respondents only</th>
<th>56% agreed that this is an important theme which needs highlighting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>37% disagreed that this is an important theme which needs highlighting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7% did not answer the question</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 60% agreed that examples successfully illustrate the theme |
| 29% disagreed that examples successfully illustrate the theme |
| 11% did not answer the question |

### Theme 4: Inspiring individual stories

A closer look at the historical record of the city reveals inspiring stories of many individuals, some of whom were former slaves. These are stories of people who often overcame adversity and eventually settled in Edinburgh.

Listed locations: Court of Session (Parliament Sq), Headstone of Malvina Wells (St. John’s Graveyard), (Private residence) Great King St., (Private residence) Lothian St.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EH-based respondents only</th>
<th>73% agreed that this is an important theme which needs highlighting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19% disagreed that this is an important theme which needs highlighting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8% did not answer the question</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 74% agreed that examples successfully illustrate the theme |
| 16% disagreed that examples successfully illustrate the theme |
| 10% did not answer the question |
### Theme 5: The role of the military in sustaining slavery and colonialism

Edinburgh is a city with a proud military past. But both the army and the navy of the British Empire were involved in sustaining the slavery-based economy through protecting commercial interests and suppressing anti-slavery rebellions by enslaved people.

Listed locations: Rodney St. and Statue of General John Hope, 4th Earl of Hopetoun (St. Andrew Sq).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>52%</td>
<td>agreed that this is an important theme which needs highlighting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39%</td>
<td>disagreed that this is an important theme which needs highlighting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9%</td>
<td>did not answer the question</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Theme 6: The legacy of academics, academic institutions and hospitals

Edinburgh’s academic institutions and hospitals were sometimes financed by plantation owners and involved in supporting the slave economy, for example by providing trained physicians to work on plantations. Graduates from Edinburgh were to be found in positions of importance in many of the colonies of the British Empire.

Listed locations: Statue of David Hume (High St.), University of Edinburgh Medical School, Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh, Royal College of Physicians.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>52%</td>
<td>agreed that this is an important theme which needs highlighting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40%</td>
<td>disagreed that this is an important theme which needs highlighting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8%</td>
<td>did not answer the question</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Theme 7: Churches, churchmen, slavery and colonialism

While some churchmen were prominent abolitionists, profits from slavery and colonialism also supported some churches. Church buildings and furnishings were sometimes funded by individuals who owned plantations, or who made significant profits from British colonial activities.

Locations listed: Free Church of Scotland (The Mound), St. John’s Episcopal Church (Lothian Rd), St. George’s Church (Charlotte Sq).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>54%</td>
<td>agreed that this is an important theme which needs highlighting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37%</td>
<td>disagreed that this is an important theme which needs highlighting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9%</td>
<td>did not answer the question</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Theme 8: Slavery and colonialism in the arts and literature

The lives of some prominent figures from Edinburgh’s literary and artistic past were interwoven with the era of plantation slavery and its abolition.

Locations listed: Statue of Robert Burns (Scottish National Portrait Gallery), Grave of Agnes Maclehose (Canongate Kirk), Portrait of Robert Cunningham Graham of Gartmore by Henry Raeburn (Scottish National Portrait Gallery).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>45%</td>
<td>agreed that this is an important theme which needs highlighting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45%</td>
<td>disagreed that this is an important theme which needs highlighting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10%</td>
<td>did not answer the question</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Theme 9: Funding educational foundations from the profits of slavery

Several of Edinburgh’s educational foundations received funding from individuals who were either slave owners, or who profited directly from the profits of slavery.

Listed locations: James Gillespie’s School, James Buchanan Memorial (Dean Cemetery), George Watson’s College.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>54%</td>
<td>agreed that this is an important theme which needs highlighting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37%</td>
<td>disagreed that this is an important theme which needs highlighting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9%</td>
<td>did not answer the question</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Theme 10: Edinburgh and the abolition movement

Edinburgh played its part in bringing about abolition. Prominent Edinburgh men and women were active in the movement, and the city hosted several famous abolitionists of the 19th century.

Listed locations: Monument to Abraham Lincoln (Old Calton Burial Ground), Calton Convening Rooms, Waterloo Place, Private residence Gilmore Place, Brougham St., Cockburn St., Riccarton Estate (Heriot-Watt University campus), Assembly Rooms (George St.).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>74%</td>
<td>agreed that this is an important theme which needs highlighting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18%</td>
<td>disagreed that this is an important theme which needs highlighting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8%</td>
<td>did not answer the question</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 1.2
ONLINE PUBLIC CONSULTATION
FREE TEXT RESPONSES TO
FEATURES AND THEMES
Following approval of the plan for the first New Town in 1767, Edinburgh underwent an unprecedented physical expansion. Where did the money come from? While research does not yet give us a complete answer, we know, from the records of those who received compensation after the end of slavery, that many early residents of the New Town owned enslaved people and plantations. We also know that profits from colonialism, specifically from the activities of the East India Company, were invested in the city’s expansion.

- **Queen Street**: 74 residents of the New Town were slave owners, and received compensation from the government for the loss of their ‘property’ at Emancipation in 1833. Five of these individuals lived on Queen Street.

- **Bute House**: Now the official residence of Scotland’s First Minister, three of Bute House’s historic owners directly benefitted from Atlantic slavery; either owning plantations and enslaved people, or receiving compensation paid out following abolition.

- **Dundas House**: Built by Sir Lawrence Dundas, 1st Baronet, (1712-1781) who owned two estates worked by enslaved people in the West Indies, in Dominica and in Grenada.

- **India Street**: Named as a celebration of empire as part of the second New Town expansion. Profits from Britain’s colonial relationship with India contributed to the funding of the New Town’s expansion.

- **Jamaica Street**: Named as a celebration of empire as part of the second New Town expansion. Profits from slavery contributed to the funding of the New Town’s expansion.

### Open Comments

- The significant majority of those who commented on the features agreed that they illustrated the theme well.

- Antigua Street, Leith, James Gillespie’s School, the Melville Monument, New Town and George Watson’s College were most often mentioned as features for further consideration.

- The street names, Jamaica Street and India Street, were most often mentioned as irrelevant or ambiguous, as they represented countries and nations but not individuals directly benefiting or opposing slavery or colonialism.

- Some called for celebration of the continuing relationship between Scotland and Jamaica, and Scotland and India.

- Bute House and Queen Street were identified as less fitting for the theme, owing to their complex historical context and relevance to modern-day politics.

- Those who opposed the Review in principle, or the thematic approach it takes, did not find any of the features relevant for public consideration.

- Some respondents found slavery and colonialism to be part of Edinburgh’s history which should not be rewritten or shamed. A very few respondents suggested the benefits of colonialism should be celebrated as it benefited many Edinburgh residents.

- Further consideration of, or greater focus on, modern-day slavery, poverty or exploitation, and other beneficiary groups such as the government and the Royal family were suggested.

- Further in-depth research, education and information sharing were recommended to ensure the public are more aware of the past and present impacts and implications of slavery and colonialism.
Theme 2: International trade and the profits from slavery and colonialism

Profits from the trade in goods produced by enslaved people flowed into the city and Edinburgh-based banks were involved in financing all aspects of the Atlantic economy of slavery. Locally manufacture products such as linen were used to clothe enslaved people.

- **British Linen Bank, St Andrew Square**: The Bank was established to support the Scottish linen industry, a substantial proportion of whose products were exported to the Caribbean and North America to clothe enslaved people. Some of its managers also owned Caribbean plantations.

- **Custom House, Leith**: Importation of goods produced by enslaved people into Leith was a major part of the trade coming into Edinburgh, generating significant revenue.

- **Gladstone House, Leith**: A gift to the city from Sir John Gladstone (1764-1851), one of the most prominent owners of plantation and enslaved people, and father of prime minister William Gladstone.

- **Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh**: Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh trained many doctors and botanists who went to India. It also provided a home for plants, seeds, and illustrations sent back from India, so supporting the process of plant transfers across the British Empire, a key element of colonial expansion.

Open Comments

- In general, participants argued that the positive aspects of the transportation of plants outweighed the negative; there were 166 comments from participants who felt the Botanic Garden was not a good fit for this theme.

- The transfer of plants was viewed as beneficial for food, medicinal purposes and science, and although the scientific advances gained were beneficial for the Scottish population, they were also considered to have benefited indigenous communities in India as many were treated by doctors trained at the Botanic Garden.

- It was recognised that a proportion of the linen produced in Scotland was used to clothe enslaved people, but because the rest was made for the domestic market, the British Linen Bank was viewed as a weaker/indirect link with slavery.

- The Custom House received goods from all over Britain and the rest of the world which were in addition to those items linked with slavery. Therefore, this was viewed as an indirect/weaker example.

- A few participants linked this example to slavery and exploitation that continues in modern times.

- Those who mentioned Gladstone House were generally supportive of its inclusion in this group of features.

- It was felt this example could be more directly linked to slavery than the others. However, participants warned against judging individuals who lived 200 years ago with the standards of today.

- A number of participants would have liked detailed information about individuals and institutions in Edinburgh with direct links to enslaved people.

- Some commented that it was important to highlight the living and working conditions of the Scottish population during this period.
Many people associated with Edinburgh were involved in sustaining the slavery-based economy and preventing the abolition of the slave trade and slavery. Many others were involved in the exploitation of people in the British Empire in Africa and the British Raj in India.

**British Linen Bank, St Andrew Square:** The Bank was established to support the Scottish linen industry, a substantial proportion of whose products were exported to the Caribbean and North America to clothe enslaved people. Some of its managers also owned Caribbean plantations.

**Statue of Charles II, Parliament Square:** Charles II played a key role in the establishment of the Royal Africa Company. It was created in 1660 by royal charter with a focus on trade in gold, but the charter was amended in 1663 to include a monopoly in British trade of human beings lasting until 1752.

**Melville Monument, St. Andrew Square:** Monument to Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville (1742-1811), who used his influence as Home Secretary to delay the abolition of the slave trade. As President of the Board of Control, Melville also oversaw the East India Company.

**Dundas Street:** Named after Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville (1742-1811), who used his influence as Home Secretary to delay the abolition of the slave trade. As President of the Board of Control, Melville also oversaw the East India Company.

**Statue of David Livingstone, Princes Street Gardens:** David Livingstone (1813-1873) was a Christian missionary whose memory was used to justify Britain's colonial expansion in Africa.

**Balcarras Street:** Named after Alexander Lindsay, 6th Earl of Balcarras (1752-1825), Governor of Jamaica during the Second Maroon War.

---

**Open Comments**

- Some respondents did not agree with the method of highlighting individuals instead of systems and/or institutions that enabled slavery.

- Some queried the description provided for the David Livingstone statue, suggesting it was not relevant either to the theme or wider Review as they saw him as an opponent to the colonial practice in Africa and a figure admired by contemporary sub-Saharan Africans.

- Opinions were also divided regarding the role of Henry Dundas. A few respondents referred to his introduction of ‘gradual abolition’ as example of a practical step in achieving complete abolition of slavery.

- Balcarras, Charles II and William Pitt the Younger were all highlighted as figures with mixed negative and positive contributions to history and society.

- It was also suggested further information on the role of other groups in this legacy, such as missionaries or the Royal Family, should be explored and shared publicly to aid public debate.
A closer look at the historical record of the city reveals inspiring stories of many individuals, some of whom were former slaves. These are stories of people who often overcame adversity and eventually settled in Edinburgh.

• **British Linen Bank, St Andrew Square:** The Bank was established to support the Scottish linen industry, a substantial proportion of whose products were exported to the Caribbean and North America to clothe enslaved people. Some of its managers also owned Caribbean plantations.

• **Court of Session, Parliament Square:** Location of ‘Knight versus Wedderburn’ (1778); the landmark court case brought by former slave Joseph Knight against Sir John Wedderburn, that established the principle that Scots law would not uphold the institution of slavery in Scotland.

• **Headstone of Malvina Wells, St. John’s Graveyard:** Malvina Wells (1804-1887), was born into slavery in Carriacou, Grenada and was brought to Edinburgh where she worked as a free woman as a lady’s maid.

• **(Private residence) Great King Street:** Home of Peter McLagan (1823–1900), Scotland’s first Black MP, for Linlithgowshire. McClagan was born in Demerara in British Guiana (now Guyana). His mother was a Black woman who is likely to have been enslaved; his father was a sugar plantation owner.

• **(Private residence) Lothian Street:** Residence of John Edmonstone, a Black man who was brought up in slavery in Demerara (now part of Guyana). He came to Edinburgh with his enslaver in 1817, where he became free. He worked for the University of Edinburgh’s zoological museum and gave lessons in taxidermy, including to Charles Darwin.

**Open Comments**
- The most contentious stories presented were that of McLagen and Wells. Participants suggested that if there is no clear evidence of McLagen’s mother being a slave, the example should not be used.
- Some participants asked for more information on Wells and queried whether her history was as noteworthy as the other individuals mentioned.
Edinburgh is a city with a proud military past. But both the army and the navy of the British Empire were involved in sustaining the slavery-based economy through protecting commercial interests and suppressing anti-slavery rebellions by enslaved people.

• **Rodney Street**: Named after Admiral Sir George Rodney (1718-1792), commander of British naval forces at the Battle of the Saintes which took place on 12 April 1782 and preserved British rule and control of slavery in Jamaica. Robert Burns famously referenced the event in his 1793 poem Lines On The Commemoration of Rodney’s Victory which included the words, "Here's to the memory of those on the twelfth that we lost..."

• **Statue of General John Hope, 4th Earl of Hopetoun, St Andrew Square**: General Hope played a significant part in ensuring the military might that maintained British slavery and colonialism in the West Indies. His family members included Henry Dundas and wealthy slave owners such as John Wedderburn and Lawrence Dundas who owned Dundas House in St Andrew Square.

**Open Comments**

- A few participants were keen to see more positive stories of Edinburgh’s fight against slavery including the role of the Royal Navy.
- It was felt by some that the military were simply carrying out orders and that it was the politicians and senior military officers making decisions who were responsible.
- Participants were interested to know more detail regarding the direct role of Hope and Rodney in the slave trade.
- Some participants queried the role of Edinburgh Castle in this history, mentioning the National War Museum and the monuments displayed at the Castle.
**Theme 6: The legacy of academics, academic institutions and hospitals**

Edinburgh’s academic institutions and hospitals were sometimes financed by plantation owners and involved in supporting the slave economy, for example by providing trained physicians to work on plantations. Graduates from Edinburgh were to be found in positions of importance in many of the colonies of the British Empire.

- **Statue of David Hume, High Street:**
  The works of David Hume (1711-1776), one of the most important philosophers of the Scottish enlightenment, include the influential racist argument that Black people are inferior to White people.

- **University of Edinburgh Medical School:**
  Known as the ‘first medical school of Empire’. Many physicians and surgeons trained at Edinburgh went on to practice medicine on slave ships and on colonial plantations worked by enslaved Africans.

- **Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh:**
  Received donations from slaveholders such as Archibald Kerr in 1749, whose bequest included a Jamaican plantation and enslaved people.

- **Royal College of Physicians:**
  Many members were employed by owners of enslaved people, enabling the expansion of slavery and the slave trade. Dr William Wright, who was President of the Royal College of Physicians (1801-1803), was a doctor and slave owner in Jamaica.

**Open Comments**

- Respondents had mixed views about Hume’s inclusion under this theme. Some felt that his positive work and contribution outweighs the negative, and that his views were in line with the times.

- In general, participants wanted to see more positives and more “balance” in consideration of medical institutions. They recognised that the medical institutions featured did gain from slavery – but that they had also contributed greatly to medical service we know today.

- It was felt that this theme could be expanded to include many more features and human stories, including positive stories of those who fought against slavery.
Theme 7: Churches, churchmen, slavery and colonialism

While some churchmen were prominent abolitionists, profits from slavery and colonialism also supported some churches. Church buildings and furnishings were sometimes funded by individuals who owned plantations, or who made significant profits from British colonial activities.

• Free Church of Scotland, The Mound: Founded in 1843, the church obtained some of its funds from donations made by pro-slavery counterparts in the United States. This would be challenged by the American former slave, social reformer and abolitionist Frederick Douglass, who attacked the Free Church for its hypocrisy, and led the national campaign, ‘Send Back the Money’.

• St. John’s Episcopal Church, Lothian Road: Wealthy members of the church, including Alexander Tod, Thomas Robertson and Alexander Dyce, made fortunes through their connection to the East India Company and contributed to the cost of the new church.

• St. George’s Church, Charlotte Square: Prominent radical abolitionist Andrew Mitchell Thomson (1779-1831) was minister at St. Georges from 1814 – 1831.

Open Comments

• This theme attracted the most open comments, many of which reflected on religion as part of the colonial establishment, or as an agent for the abolitionist movement in Scotland and beyond.

• Some respondents called for churches to investigate their links to slavery and colonialism, declare them publicly and apologise.

• Others saw little relevance between sources of donations or congregation members’ income and the erection of building they might have supported.

• Opinions were also divided on the selected features; some reflected on the anti-racist work at St John’s Church, some praised the mention of Andrew Mitchell Thomson; others did not agree with a narrow list of named locations.

• Numerous suggestions for other locations with links to profits from slavery or colonialism, and the abolitionist movement were made, including parliamentary churches, David Livingstone and other Scottish Missionaries, religious chapels of the private schools, St Giles Cathedral, abolitionist & Quaker Eliza Wigham and the Quaker Meeting House.
Theme 8: Slavery and colonialism in the arts and literature

The lives of some prominent figures from Edinburgh’s literary and artistic past were interwoven with the era of plantation slavery and its abolition.

• Statue of Robert Burns (1759-1796), Scottish National Portrait Gallery: Scotland’s national poet secured the offer of a job working as a bookkeeper (a low-level manager) on a Jamaican plantation worked by enslaved people. The successful publication of his first set of poems in 1786, shortly before he was due to set sail, led him to change his plans. He never visited the Caribbean.

• Grave of Agnes Maclehose (1759-1841), Canongate Kirk: Agnes Maclehose, or ‘Clarinda’ to Robert Burns, was an intimate friend of the poet. She was also the wife of James Maclehose, a lawyer who worked for plantation owners in Jamaica.

• Portrait of Robert Cunninghame Graham of Gartmore (1735-1797), by Henry Raeburn (1756-1823), Scottish National Portrait Gallery: Robert Cunninghame Graham owned plantations and enslaved people. Raeburn painted many plantation owners, and so indirectly profited from slavery.

Open Comments

• Respondents felt it was important to highlight Burns in this context, but also to note that his poetry included anti-slavery sentiments. Others were unhappy that Scotland’s national poet was being “attacked”. It was argued that Burns was impoverished; that he needed a job and should not be judged by today’s standards.

• Maclehose was felt to be included unfairly, as a woman found “guilty by association” with the actions of her husband, especially at a time when wives had little agency.

• Some participants supported the inclusion of Raeburn as the profits he made could be linked directly to slavery. However, others argued that he was simply making a living and worked for a wide range of clients, not all of whom shared these links.

• Participants agreed that it was important to highlight Cunninghame-Graham as his wealth could be directly linked with profits from slavery.

• Some participants viewed the examples as tenuous and felt that other examples of people being directly linked would have been more helpful.

• In general, it was suggested that everyone would have been linked to slavery 200 years ago – that it was “woven” into society.

• Some felt that this theme was less important than the other themes included in the Review.
Theme 9: Funding educational foundations from the profits of slavery

Several of Edinburgh’s educational foundations received funding from individuals who were either slave owners, or who profited directly from the profits of slavery.

- **British Linen Bank, St Andrew Square:** The Bank was established to support the Scottish linen industry, a substantial proportion of whose products were exported to the Caribbean and North America to clothe enslaved people. Some of its managers also owned Caribbean plantations.

- **James Gillespie’s School:** Opened in 1803 and funded by Edinburgh merchant James Gillespie (1726-1797). Gillespie amassed great wealth from the tobacco trade, directly benefitting from the work of enslaved people.

- **James Buchanan Memorial, Dean Cemetery:** Though more often associated with Glasgow, James Buchanan (1785-1857), made his fortune from the profits of slavery, owned a house in Edinburgh’s West End and set up an industrial school for boys with his legacy. His bequest still supports education and apprenticeships in Scotland.

- **George Watson’s College:** Funded by George Watson (1654–1723), whose wealth was partly derived from investment in the transportation of slaves and from financing trade in goods produced by enslaved Africans.

Open Comments

- Participants felt that there were more private schools and educational facilities than listed that would have benefited from the profits of slavery.

- It was noted that the description of the features did not focus on the positives impacts that these institutions have made to Edinburgh and some of its young people.

- Some participants felt that private schools which had benefited from profits of slavery should provide education or give back in some other way to young people from effected communities.

- Education was discussed as key to ensuring residents and visitors are aware of all aspects of the city’s past.
Theme 10: Edinburgh and the abolition movement

Edinburgh played its part in bringing about abolition. Prominent Edinburgh men and women were active in the movement, and the city hosted several famous abolitionists of the 19th century.

- **British Linen Bank, St Andrew Square:** The Bank was established to support the Scottish linen industry, a substantial proportion of whose products were exported to the Caribbean and North America to clothe enslaved people. Some of its managers also owned Caribbean plantations.

- **Monument to Abraham Lincoln, Old Calton Burial Ground:** Commemorates six Scotsmen who died in the American Civil War fighting for the Union.

- **Calton Convening Rooms, Waterloo Place:** Meeting place of the Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society, an important abolitionist group where suffragist Eliza Wigham (1820-1899) was treasurer.

- **(Private residence) Gilmore Place:** Base of Frederick Douglass (1817-1895), the American former slave, social reformer and abolitionist, during his time in Edinburgh during the 1840s.

- **Brougham Street:** Named after Lord Henry Brougham (1778-1868), abolitionist born in Edinburgh, who lived in St. Andrew Square.

- **Cockburn Street:** Named in honour of Henry Lord Cockburn (1779-1854), an abolitionist and a vocal critic of his uncle Henry Dundas.

- **Riccarton Estate (Heriot-Watt University campus):** Home of William Gibson-Craig (1797-1878), MP for Midlothian who voted for the abolition of the apprenticeship system in 1838.

- **Assembly Rooms, George Street:** On 19th October 1830, the radical minister and abolitionist Andrew Mitchell Thomson (1779-1831) addressed a crowd of over 2,000 people, arguing for the immediate abolition of the slave trade.

Open Comments

- The majority of respondents welcomed both this theme and examples provided.

- It was suggested further research in to Jane Smeal and Eliza Wigham, as well as the Edinburgh Ladies Emancipation Society, was needed to promote their work and the role of women in delivering positive change.

- It was recommended more examples of Black abolitionists were identified and listed to ensure representation and true reflection of the movement.

- Those who questioned the need for the Review did not wish for the abolitionist movement to be recognised either.

- A few respondents questioned the inclusion of Abraham Lincoln, William Gibson Craig, and Henry Lord Cockburn, due to their more complex relationship with and involvement in race relations and slavery.

- Some commented that just as much as slavery and colonialism, the abolitionist movement was part of Edinburgh’s history.
Appendix 1.3
Community Workshops and Schools’ Consultation Findings
Community Workshops and Schools’ Consultation - findings of key groups

Introduction

The Review Group determined that there were two key groups that they needed to consult; Edinburgh’s young people, who are shaping our future city; and people of Black and Minority Ethnic heritage, who are most likely to have lived experience of the negative historic consequences of slavery or colonialism.

Hearing and considering the views of these groups, before determining how this legacy might be addressed to make Edinburgh a more welcoming and inclusive place, was considered essential.

To do this, the Review Group worked with the Council’s Education and Children’s Services to bring the consultation to primary and secondary schools across the city, and commissioned Edinburgh & Lothians Regional Equality Council (ELREC) to engage with local residents in community-based venues.

All consultation activity took place between December 2021 and March 2022, and more than 700 people between the ages of 12 and 65+ took part.

A summary of the feedback from both strands is set out below.

Community Workshops

Group participation in the community workshops enabled a discursive, often very powerful personal response to the survey questions and potential recommendations. In considering the themes and features presented in the consultation, wider issues surfaced about the ways in which the legacies of slavery and colonialism directly and negatively impact Black and Minority Ethnic people’s lives in Edinburgh today.

Most participants responding to the question about how monuments, street names and buildings linked with slavery and colonialism should be addressed, felt they ought to be removed or renamed. A significant number also thought that they should remain, but that information about them should be made available where this is missing, or reviewed and enhanced where it is limited to ensure a more rounded interpretation of the person or event in question.
All of the suggested forms of civic redress were felt useful, including a formal apology and observance of the annual, UNESCO-designated International Day for the Remembrance of the Slave Trade and its Abolition. However, the potential action which the majority agreed as key was the initiation of dedicated friendship agreements with cities in the countries most impacted by Edinburgh’s historic involvement with slavery and colonialism, in order to forge or develop social, economic and academic links and opportunities for positive interaction in the future.

By far the most popular area for development of recommendations was active learning, with further research, and scholarships and funding prioritised for students from Black and Minority Ethnic backgrounds agreed to be positive, along with the development and delivery of schools resources, and opportunities for teacher-educator learning and development.

Responses to the question about main areas for policy development were clear. While limited support was expressed for development of a city-wide public arts or interpretation strategy, most respondents favoured the development of a toolkit for community use so that groups feel equipped and empowered to make decisions about how to highlight and address the legacies of slavery and colonialism that exist in their neighbourhoods.

**Personal Reflections**

31 out of 86 focus group members also shared their personal reflections on the following questions:

**Has Slavery or Colonialism effected your life in Edinburgh?**

**YES** - 42%
**NO** - 35%
**NOT SURE** - 23%

South Asian and African men talked about the importance of literature and museums doing more to educate society about the history of slavery and colonialism through art and culture. Some parents disclosed that their children had been bullied because of the colour of their skin, and felt that schools are not doing enough to integrate all pupils and celebrate diversity. Without actively addressing this, “racism won’t stop”.

All participants in the older age groups considered that Scotland had benefited from colonialism. The main message everyone wanted to convey was that the reality of British rule from their perspective was not as it has been portrayed, and that more books and information need to publicised from the perspective of the people who were colonised. One participant said, “the past has gone, but its effects are still felt today – truth needs to be told and greed must end’.
Do you think Edinburgh needs to do more to recognise its links to historic slavery and colonialism?

YES - 94%
NO - 0%
NOT SURE - 6%

The African participants felt strongly about the need for integration and awareness of slavery and colonialism, both in schools and wider society, so that people can understand all aspects of it better. The group felt “schools don't teach slavery and colonialism in its entirety and teachers are not trained enough”.

Should Edinburgh recognise the achievements of black and minority ethnic Edinburgh residents?

YES - 100%
NO - 0%
NOT SURE - 0%

All of the participants from older age groups disclosed that they and their families have suffered some form of racism, inequality and discrimination and more positive action is required to make things better for future generations, including overt acknowledgement of the contributions of BAME communities, and more celebration of diversity.

Would you like to see changes in Edinburgh related to slavery and colonialism?

YES - 100%
NO - 0%
NOT SURE - 0%

Participants who are recent immigrants or refugees recommended that Edinburgh acknowledges its involvement in slavery and creates content for permanent display in museums about the slave trade and British colonialism so that everyone can learn and understand it better. They also called for street names to change, relevant features to be removed, and more education on the subject.
Young People Focus Groups and Survey Responses

Participant Information

As part of the community consultation co-ordinated by ELREC, 21 young people from Black and Minority Ethnic backgrounds took part in a focus group session. This included students attending:

- Boroughmuir High School
- Edinburgh Napier University
- Firrhill High School
- Forrester High School
- Heriot-Watt University
- Royal High School
- The Mary Erskine School
- The University of Edinburgh
- Trinity Academy

Separately, the Council’s Education and Children’s Services team created teaching resources and adapted the online public survey for schools’ use.

Teachers across at least 14 primary and six secondary* schools in the city supported 654 pupils to engage with the survey questions and to take part in focus group sessions. (*Due to a technical issue, the names of some of the schools participating in the survey response were not recorded. It is believed that more took part than are listed below). Senior pupils may also have opted to complete the online public consultation individually.
• Broomhouse Primary School
• Broughton Primary School
• Bruntsfield Primary School
• Corstorphine Primary School
• Craigmount High School
• Craigroyston High School
• Currie Primary School
• Ferryhill Primary School
• Firrhill High School
• Gylemuir Primary School
• James Gillespie’s High School
• Leith Primary School
• Longstone Primary School
• Parson’s Green Primary School
• Prestonfield Primary School
• Preston Street Primary School
• St. Peter’s Primary School
• St. Augustine’s Roman Catholic High School
Schools’ Online Survey - Pupil Participant
Demographic Information

2. I am / we are in

3. Are you completing the consultation as an individual or as a class?

4. What is your ethnic background?
APPENDIX 1.3
Community Workshops and Schools’ Consultation Findings

5. If you selected ‘Other’ ethnic background, please describe

112 Responses

Latest Responses
"Polish."

55 respondents (50%) answered Polish for this question.

6. What is your gender?

Male 251
Female 255
Non-binary 16
Prefer not to say 24

7. Monuments, street names and public buildings. Some people think we should remove monuments or rename streets. Other people disagree. Tick all the statements YOU agree with:

Nothing should be removed 108
Monuments, street names and... 379
We should think about removing... 300
I don’t agree with any of these... 30
Schools’ Communications about the Review

Some schools used their social media channels to publicise their pupils’ involvement with the Review, and to encourage local community participation in the online public consultation.
APPENDIX 1.3
Community Workshops and Schools’ Consultation Findings

Primary 7 have researched some of Edinburgh's historic links to slavery and colonialism. We were shocked that so many of our city's historic buildings were financed by the labour of enslaved people. We were also fascinated by the amazing life of Frederick Douglass. #RRS #Article2

Primary 6 have been learning about some of Edinburgh’s links to slavery and colonialism. We investigated the life of James Gillespie and held a class debate to discuss our thoughts and opinions on streets and schools being named after him.

Article 13 - freedom of expression.
ELREC and Schools’ Consultation Findings

The findings of both the ELREC and schools consultation are detailed below.

Summary of ELREC Focus Group with Young People aged 16-25

The group was provided with information about the Edinburgh Slavery and Colonialism Legacy Review and members asked whether they have been taught about this history. The majority stated they had not, and some specifically mentioned they did not know about colonialism in South Asia including how the British ruled there, or why.

Participants suggested that more material on Scotland’s links to slavery should be readily available for use in formal education at schools, colleges and universities; that teaching of this ought to be mandatory and that museums should portray the reality of slavery and colonialism no matter how challenging this subject matter is.

More widely, participants suggested more must be done to deal with racism, bullying and inequalities faced by BAME people, including students. They agreed racism will worsen if this history is not taught comprehensively, as some people still treat others negatively based on the colour of their skin.

They felt that communities directly effected by historic slavery and colonialism need to be involved and should decide what happens as a result of the Review. They also felt more needed to be done to celebrate the many positive contributions and cultural achievements of Black and Minority Ethnic people.

Overall, the group felt that Scotland is not doing enough to tackle inequalities and discrimination, suggesting “we need diversity in all aspects of society for this to happen... and for diversity to be celebrated more”.

APPENDIX 1.3
Community Workshops and Schools’ Consultation Findings
Summary of Primary Schools’ Focus Group discussion

How much did you know about Edinburgh’s connection to slavery before you did some lessons about this recently as preparation for the consultation?

- Not that much really, we knew it was brutal and unfair
- Not that much, confused initially but now I know more
- Not that much, knew Edinburgh had a link to the slave trade but did not know how big a part Edinburgh played in it, know more now
- Knew that a lot of Edinburgh’s wealth was built around the slave trade
- Knew about Henry Dundas who lived in Edinburgh was against the abolition of the slave trade
- Knew about slave trade but did not talk about it that much, talked about other countries
- Did not know much about Edinburgh until the P7 topic before Christmas – slavery and the slave trade
- Didn’t learn about places and people specific to Edinburgh

What are your thoughts and feelings now you know more about Edinburgh’s links to slavery?

- Edinburgh’s link wasn’t as much, it was not as bad [as other countries’ links with slavery]. It is a bad thing but there is nothing we can really do except learn from it
- Slavery is not good. People now know that it is not good
- There were people in Edinburgh who had an influence good and bad on slavery
- We didn’t play a huge role but the link that we did play was important and we should learn more about it from an earlier age
- We could carry that information in to later years and understand the part we played
- [It is] really inhumane to mistreat people because of their colour
- Even though [some people] didn’t play a big part they still made mistakes and even though they made the mistakes they did try and abolish it

How do you now look at the buildings/street names/monuments around Edinburgh (and indeed other cities)?

- Slightly changed. Some of the buildings, roads and streets are named after people who played a big role in the slave trade. I don’t think it’s right and they should change it
- Our perspective has definitely changed. We look at them differently now
- Now we think about why are the streets named after these people, what did they do, what happened to get them that title?
• See it differently, but not all in a bad way, you can’t really change history
• Now we know that that person was not a good person but it doesn’t change much in the sense that – “oh no, I am never going to go there just because of that name”.
• James Gillespie: although he did good things, he did bad as well and was involved in the slave trade. On his plaque, keep what he did to gain his wealth, but also recognise what he did with his wealth. He did good things but how he gained it was not in the right way. I don’t think we should change the name [of the school]

What do you think about Edinburgh’s link to slavery being taught in schools?
• It should definitely be taught in schools
• It should be taught more in schools so we know about our past
• It is a lot more important to us to learn about what happened in our past and what made Edinburgh a great city…especially now that we have seen the PowerPoint for the survey
• Should be taught in schools so that we can learn from our mistakes, all the bad things that happened in the past and don’t repeat this in the future
• 100% yes, it is part of history and we should definitely be taught about how it was in Edinburgh and Scotland as well as the wider world perspective

How do you think young people and children should learn about it?
• PowerPoints and slides about each person so people can learn about the ones they are interested in
• Research from a given list of people, create a fact file/mind map about the slave traders and abolitionists. It was good to say our own opinion and make our own minds up
• Learning facts and developing our own opinion
• Learn about the people/individuals but also learn about inspirational people such as abolitionists. As well as the ones who were involved in the slave trade
• Learn about the things we did wrong but also more important to learn about the people who did good and how they overcame these problems that were so great
• History should still be known throughout the classes
• PowerPoints were good but we should do more interesting things as well as more educational and fun things, this will be help us learn

Teacher contribution about constructive ways to teach this history:
• Trips to museums and art galleries should always include information around the history of slavery and colonialism
• Tours of Edinburgh based around links to slavery and empire
• Developing links with countries who were part of that slavery history
• Lesson plans as well as lots of practical and engaging activities with historical facts threaded through
What should we be doing with monuments, street names and buildings names and why?

- Names should stay, they are too old to change, it will all be different and people will get confused
- Shouldn’t change the name of James Gillespie’s school because there is good history and bad history
- If we only keep the good history stuff I would not say that it would be boring but to do so would be kind of impossible
- Change some street names, we have Google maps now, it will ensure people don’t get lost. It will take some time to get used to it but people will get used to it
- Shouldn’t change the names especially James Gillespie’s, these are a part of history, good history and bad history, and if there was never anything bad in history we would never learn
- Agree, but on plaques the facts should all be shared, we should notice the things that they haven’t done so well
- Some of the street names should be changed but not all of them as these are part of our history
- Add plaques under certain street signs to add more information about links to slavery
- Some things should be changed as they are part of our history that we are not proud of
- Nothing should be changed because people will get confused. Also, if we change the names, people will forget what has been changed about how these places were named and we will probably do it again

Putting things right and making decisions differently in the future

- In future, we shouldn’t be naming [features] after people who aren’t role models, they should be named after abolitionists, they should be named after people who helped to stop the slave trade in Edinburgh’s past and future
- Learning from our history so we do not make the same mistakes. They are reminders of what we did wrong and help us not to make the same mistake
- Instead of statues of people like generals in wars, we can have names of people who suffered through slavery- to remember these people
- Think before we write down a name we want to add to a street or school. If the person has been good or bad, or if the person’s goodness has overridden the mistakes they have made
- Think before we act. We should learn about our streets, if we do change [names] the reasons for this should be known [to] learn about the history

Final thoughts and comments

- Robert Burns – does he really deserve a national celebration day? There are other poets who are important too
- Slavery would have been normal for [Burns] at the time he was alive. It is not the right thing to do but everyone would have been fine with it and thought there was nothing wrong
- Instead of taking statues down we can also learn about the history behind them
- Have statues of different people who helped like Harriet Tubman
- We should have statues of inspirational people who worked to abolish slavery
Summary of Secondary Schools’ Focus Group discussion, including James Gillespie’s School response

How much did you know about Edinburgh’s links to slavery and colonialism before studying this in class recently in preparation for the consultation?

• Had seen statues around town but hadn’t learned much about it before
• I was excited to learn about it
• I knew a bit before because of the connection to our school. A lot of this information is hidden
• There isn’t much information about it. I knew a little but because I’m black - so it’s a personal thing
• Only really knew about James Gillespie – not much about other things in the city
• Didn’t know much about slave trade and connections to Edinburgh but knew some monuments were controversial
• Before presentations/lessons didn’t know anything about it – that places were built by slave owners etc
• There wasn’t that much information about it when we did the slave trade in S1. Not anything about Edinburgh’s part

What are your thoughts and feelings now that you know more about Edinburgh’s links to slavery and colonialism?

• Feel we should change it up
• Need to be learning in school and from an earlier age
• Don’t know about what Scotland did
• James Gillespie – there are more appropriate ways to know about that man rather than naming a school after him
• Knowledge should be spread – not by making statues of these people
• Through our anti-racist club, we’ve done research. For example, the person who wrote the school book (about James Gillespie’s) was sympathetic to him. So, the writer had prejudices. Now that the information is ‘out there’, there’s so much we could learn. Has been hidden
• Need more research
Follow-up question: did you also study with any of the resources on Frederick Douglass (abolitionist) or John Edmonstone (who taught Charles Darwin)?

- All schools seem to have focused on James Gillespie, though one student had researched Frederick Douglass on his own
- Need to learn about more – not just the negatives

When exploring Edinburgh (or other places) – how do you look at them now?

- Think about it more now, e.g. passing the monument in St. Andrews Square – talked about it with friend
- Should be taking [features] down

What do you think about Edinburgh’s link to slavery being taught in schools?

- James Gillespie’s student: we should know about the school’s history
- All subjects need to take accountability for their pasts. Students can see which teachers are doing this and putting in the effort
- Older students know nothing compared to younger students
- It should be a big part of the curriculum
- We wouldn’t have known any of those things if it wasn’t for the lessons. Really important – everyone should be taught it in school
- That will make some impact on how Edinburgh is, for people to know about history of Edinburgh
- When we were taught slave trade, we didn’t know that we were part of it. I thought it was all English people. Shocked to learn that we had such a big part. “Was a real eye-opener”
- Casual racism in schools. If we were taught more, it could help this. It won’t eliminate it completely because pupils learn attitudes/ prejudices at home

How should it be taught? Any ideas?

- Example: Higher class – Great Gatsby – the teacher took a lesson out to explain if it hadn’t been written from that (white person’s) point of view
- Through projects: e.g. should freedom of speech be allowed? Projects are a very good idea. Learn much more. Have to find information by yourself. Group projects. More likely to learn and remember
- Could be through PSE but those teachers probably not experts on the subject. Should be taught through History or RMPS as it’s a core subject
- Assemblies – to reach those pupils who don’t take History
- Need to educate teachers. In October our anti-racist club did an anti-racist presentation for teachers. They didn’t know language like ‘colourism’. Also, how it effects their subject. e.g. Drama teacher told us about how black actors have difficult time getting roles
Lessons during Black History Month. Discussions important. Everyone can learn from each other – teachers and students.

In our school, teachers have gone through training on how to tackle racism, so something similar.

A lot can be taught through Social Subjects.

We should be open in schools and education and not shy away or blame other countries. The government should openly admit to Scotland’s colonialism and actively work to deconstruct Scotland’s white privilege/systemic racism.

Explain the roles that people who supported things in Edinburgh played in the slave trade.

Address the past of the slave trade and colonial expansion by educating children in schools more fully.

Fuller education about colonialism and include more celebration of black culture.

Make more courses/classes available to people in school/university online focused more on black history, culture and Edinburgh’s involvement.

Not white-washing our history and Modern Studies classes with justifying Britain and Scotland’s actions where there were many times we were in the wrong.

Have more time dedicated to learning about black history.

More open discussion to allow individuals to express their own opinions and experiences if they feel comfortable.

Dedicate days to talk about our history in the year – not just Black History Month.

What should we be doing with monuments, street names and buildings names and why?

Personally, I think they should be removed – hold trauma for people. Generational trauma.

But history shouldn’t be erased – have a plaque explaining previous street name and why it was removed.

Don’t erase history; if you take them away you’d never know they were there. If they are taken down, then have a plaque saying what was there before and why it was problematic.

Renaming streets would be impractical/confusing. So, have plaques explaining.

Student not from James Gillespie’s said they had talked about whether it should be renamed – felt that it should be up to the JG school community.

Street names: could have the new name underneath.

Problem with statues - should be taken down.

Renaming streets would cause a lot of confusion because so many street names. If not taken down or changed, there has to be information about atrocities that the person caused.

Monuments: 100% take down. JG – all building named after him should be changed. Inform people why it’s changing.

Street names: change these. Would cause some temporary confusion but a minor inconvenience compared to what enslaved people suffered during slavery.

Put things in museums.
Because of COVID, not top priority, but eventually should get changed

Some people don’t really pay attention to street names. I personally and people I’ve spoken to say they don’t pay attention. If put in exhibition/museum e.g. about street names – more informative. Museums need to specifically talk about colonialism

Monuments should be replaced with other people of importance and significance

Take down problematic monuments that correlate with racially negative views and people

Keep street names as would be confusing and possibly dangerous

Street names seem less celebratory

Remove monuments if not too costly or make information on their negative impact as widely known as possible

Display further context

Full disclosure of who they were and what they did. It’s important to remind people of Scotland’s true, raw history. We should give credit and dedicate monuments and streets to important and significant black people in Scottish history

Rename them to more appropriate names that link to the building/areas

Putting things right and making decisions differently in the future

I was in a previous call about museums and how much was stolen. The artefacts should go back to their origins but we should still know that something has gone

Acknowledge mistakes and take accountability

Need information for all types of people (accessible to people from different backgrounds and walks of life)

Future naming: need to research the person. Make sure person has died before something is named after them

Name more after minority groups: abolitionists etc

Stop naming places after people – that in itself is a weird concept. Can never be 100% sure – there’s always the possibility that we don’t know about something problematic that a person did. People aren’t necessarily all good or all bad

Definitely agree, it’s strange that we name buildings after people. But better to name after good people – there’s a scale. Choose someone who has done something good

More diverse staff/artists

Artists of all different backgrounds producing pieces

Edinburgh’s multiculturalism should be embraced and celebrated
Appendix 2
University of Edinburgh CRC University Histories Report

2.1 University of Edinburgh CRC University Histories Report
University Histories Internships:
Edinburgh Slavery and Colonialism Legacy Review
Evidence Report
Executive summary

In early 2021, the Centre for Research Collections (CRC) opened discussions with the University’s International and Development and Alumni offices on the potential of funding a collection of student internships to continue the process of researching institutional histories, with a particular focuses on the University’s historical links to the trans-Atlantic slave trade and wider colonial activities, to understand the lived student experience for students of the University from LMIC, and to surface narratives of under-represented student life from archival resources. The office of the Vice-Principal for International (led by Prof James Smith) was integral in awarding the CRC with £29,200 on 1 May 2021 to support these internships, which were designed to run in the summer and early autumn of 2021. Planning conversations for these internships quickly found grounding with the nascent Edinburgh Slavery and Colonialism Legacy Review (ESCLR) group that was forming, and it was decided that half of the internships would be dedicated to helping collate archival evidence for each of the subjects of the ESCLR. The Head of Special Collections supervised the development of three internship strands, each with a project supervisor from the CRC’s archival team, and with an academic sponsor in Prof Diana Paton (Edinburgh). Work began in earnest in the second half of July and completed on 30 November 2021.

Daryl Green FSA FSAScot
Head of Special Collections & Co-Director of the Centre for Research Collections
Summary

The City's draft ESCLR list provided a list of locations and figures commemorated publicly in Edinburgh and provided a foundation from which the interns could direct their data collection. The scope was later refined in conversations with the ESCLR lead, Prof Sir Geoffrey Palmer, and in the final ESCLR list. Each ESCLR data-point (e.g. figure, street name, building) provided a focus for gathering detailed archival evidence held both in the University and outwith, which outlined historical links to involvement in the trans-Atlantic slave trade and in wider colonial pursuits. It was decided that each intern would produce two documents: a "collection review" spreadsheet listing all relevant (or potentially relevant) archives held either by the University of Edinburgh or external organisations; and a short report highlighting some of the major findings. The collection review template employed by the interns has been developed at the CRC in order to gather consistent, quality archival data around collection content (e.g. descriptions, dates, creators, authorities etc.) and essential collection management information for collection managers and curators (e.g. sensitivities, extents, locations).

At the end of the project, the reviews were merged so that all relevant records are now visible in one review. Differences in the style and research methods of each intern are still very visible in the merged review. However, even in imperfect form, this body of work will provide an invaluable source from which the archives team can edit, analyse and improve current archival catalogue records. The result will be the ability to build new “access points” and perspectives from which the archives can be researched.

Staffing

Three student interns were employed in full-time and part-time capacity on this project starting from the end of July 2021 from three different backgrounds:

- a PhD Candidate, School of History, Classics and Archaeology;
- an Undergraduate Student, School of History, Classics and Archaeology;
- an MA (Hons) Student, Edinburgh College of Art (Architecture)

Each student brought their own academic and personal background to this project and created a dynamic team which produced fascinating evidence reviews. Almost 100% of this work was done from home and, once trained, in a self-directed manner.
Intern Report:

Sub-themes: 6 (British Linen Bank), 7 (Custom House, Leith), 8 (Gladstone House, Leith), 9 (Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh), 20 (Rodney Street), 21 (Statue of General John Hope, 4th Earl of Hopetoun), 29 (Statue of Robert Burns), 30 (Grave of Agnes Maclehose), 31 (Portrait of Robert Cunninghame Graham of Cartmore), 32 (James Gillespie’s School), 33 (James Buchanan Memorial), 34 (George Watson’s College), 36 (Calton Convening Rooms), 38 (Brougham Street), 39 (Cockburn Street)

The Edinburgh Slavery and Colonialism Legacy Review produced fruitful results which advocate for future in-depth research. The City Review’s thematic approach provided a useful framework to engage with the topics. The description included for each topic aided in streamlining initial research, however its brevity required additional research to gain vital context. The National Records of Scotland and Library of Congress were undoubtedly the most useful archival databases, however other archives such as The National Archives, National Library of Scotland, and numerous University archives were also beneficial. The content included in the topic descriptions was vital in directing the research to the appropriate archives.

Difficulty arose through two strands: first, the lack of content descriptions within archival databases, and second, many topics produced few results. While some archival databases included detailed descriptions of the documentation and its content, the majority did not. This lack of information made it difficult to discern what sources were related, especially regarding correspondence. For this research, I erred on the side of inclusion, but that likely led to an inflation of records. Unfortunately, many of the topics produce few results. Agnes Maclehose and James Gillespie indicated only provisional connections to slavery through archival sources. For Henry Cockburn, all archival databases produced was correspondence between him and David Laing. Without knowing the contents of the letters, we can only surmise an indirect connection through personal correspondence. The records regarding George Watson are similarly few—only record books exist. While these may contain vital information regarding his financial connections to slavery, the archival description does not indicate this.

6. British Linen Bank
Archival sources indicate provisional connections between the British Linen Bank at St Andrews Square and known plantation owners. Correspondence, court of session records, personal notebooks, bank statements, and bank receipts suggest that the British Linen Bank was involved with over forty plantation owners and people directly associated with colonialist endeavors. Through personal correspondence, the records establish a connection between the British Linen Bank and known Caribbean plantation owners William Pitcairn, Henry Dundas, and the Nairne family.

7. Custom House
Archival sources demonstrate that trade between Caribbean colonies and Edinburgh passed through the Custom House in Edinburgh. Custom House records from 1713 to 1792 include exports, miscellaneous
correspondence, excise duty, vessels, and charges. The information contained in these documents will hopefully indicate the names of plantation owners, merchants, and goods which passed through the Custom House. Correspondence is most illuminating regarding the role of Custom House in maintaining connections between Edinburgh and plantation owners. Letters in 1798 between James Edgar, a Jamaican plantation owner, and Henry Dundas, discuss current affairs in Scotland and the Caribbean. Correspondence between Jamaican plantation owner George Gardiner and the Earl of Leven and Melville discuss Custom House accounts, likely indicating what goods were imported by Scotland from Gardiner’s plantation. In 1798, commissioner David Reid wrote from the Custom House regarding an attorneyship for a Greenwich sugar plantation in Jamaica. This documentation will hopefully indicate Scottish administration and management of Caribbean plantations. Most interestingly, the National Records of Scotland holds a memorandum delivered to Henry Dundas by Patrick Colquhoun, a Glasgow and West Indian tobacco merchant, regarding the Auction Duty Bill, Commissioners of American Claims Bill, Tobacco Bill, and Custom House and canal regulations. A later 1845 memorandum from Custom House discusses the classification of sugar for duty and regulations on the importation and exportation of tobacco. These documents should be most illuminating in the opinions of Scottish merchants and slave owners on the regulations of slave goods.

8. Gladstone House
John Gladstone’s support of British slavery is clearly demonstrated through correspondence and publications. An 1824 letter between John Gladstone and James Cropper discusses Gladstone’s opinions on the state of slavery in the British West Indies and the United States. In 1830, John Gladstone wrote to Right Honorable Sir Robert Peel presenting a statement of facts connected with the present state of slavery in the British sugar and coffee colonies and in the United States. Earlier, in 1823, John Gladstone published an article in the New York Times discussing the advantages of the Tropical Free Labour Company, clearly demonstrating his pro-slavery position.

John Gladstone’s son, Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone, unfortunately has little documentation that directly indicates his position on emancipation. It is widely accepted that W.E. Gladstone originally opposed emancipation, but as his father’s influence within the British political landscape diminished, he became decidedly pro-abolition. A closer look at his correspondence will hopefully demonstrate this shift in ideology. W.E. Gladstone’s letters to the Governor General from Europe and India from 1850 discuss both personal and business matters and may contain information on his opinions on the opium trade—which he is known to have been vehemently opposed. Over forty years of correspondence between W.E. Gladstone and American politicians should hopefully discuss his opinions on the American Civil War. Finally, an edited volume of letters regarding W.E. Gladstone’s opinions of sugar duties should be most illuminating, as in 1844 Gladstone proposed sugar not produced through slave labor would be decreased by half.

9. Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh
Connections between the Royal Botanic Garden of Edinburgh and trans-Atlantic slavery follow two individuals, Patrick Murray and William Roxburgh. Patrick Murray provided the basis for the garden from his private collection. Correspondence from 1831 connects him to David Laing, the owner of Peter’s Valley in St George, Jamaica. Murray was influential in colonialist politics. In 1808 Murray wrote a letter to the Governor...
General recommending a Mr. Shaw to be appointed as the Bengal assistant surgeon. Correspondence also indicates that Murray sat on the East India Board, a segment of the East India Company.

William Roxburgh was the botanist for the Royal Botanical Garden and also worked for the East India Company. Selections of his drawings and descriptions were sent to the directors of the East India Company and have since been published. Archival data indicates that Roxburgh’s father, John Roxburgh, was a plantation owner in Bermuda.

20. Rodney Street
Admiral Sir George Rodney’s career cementing British control in the Caribbean is well-demonstrated through his correspondence. Correspondence between Rodney and His Majesty’s ministers discuss the capture of St. Eustatius and describe the state of the war in the West Indies, specifically the Battle of the Saintes. Published letters from Rodney regarding the capture of St. Eustatius and the Battle of the Saintes are held by the Library of Congress. Rodney’s letter books containing correspondence from 1780-1782 should contain information on militaristic ventures in the Caribbean.

21. Statue of General John Hope
Archival sources indicate that John Hope engaged both actively and passively to support British slavery through personal, professional, and business connections. On 18 November, 1791 John Hope wrote to Henry Dundas for help regarding an application for an appointment for a position with the East India Company. Later correspondence during Hope’s military campaigns is equally as illuminating. On 27 September, 1794 John Hope wrote a letter from Plymouth in the West Indies containing news of the 25th regiment, which at the time was in Grenada fighting a French-led slave rebellion. Similarly, Hope’s 1801 correspondence demonstrate his involvement in colonialist and militaristic campaigns in Egypt. Written four miles from Alexandria, Hope detailed accounts of army movements and the early stages of the siege. Finally, legal records indicate that John Hope was enmeshed in business with James Buchanan, a merchant in Glasgow who profited off of slavery in the Caribbean.

29. Statue of Robert Burns
While Robert Burns’s connection to trans-Atlantic slavery never came to fruition, his plans to move to Jamaica to become a bookkeeper for a plantation owner is clearly documented. The Library of Congress contains two separate letters demonstrating Burns’s intention. In a 1786 letter between Robert Burns and Thomas Campbell, Burns indicated that he was considering immigrating to Jamaica. Three years later, Thomas Blacklock wrote to Burns encouraging him to remain in Scotland and not leave for Jamaica. The Library of Congress credits this letter with convincing Thomas to stay in Scotland.

31. Portrait of Robert Cunninghame Graham
Archival sources indicate numerous connections between Henry Raeburn and plantation owners, sixteen of which are compiled in the ESCLR collection. Additionally, financial documents from the Raeburn estate will hopefully reveal information about his dealings with plantation owners and how much of his wealth was obtained indirectly through slavery.
Records indicate that Robert Cunninghame Graham of Gartmore was connected to slavery and colonialist ventures both personally and professionally. An early nineteenth-century letter to Peter Speirs indicates that Graham had significant political influence and was instrumental in shaping the career of Peter Speirs's son in the East India Company. Letters between Graham and his brother, Douglas Graham, discuss Douglas Graham's service as a major in the East India Company (later a political superintendent) and his time in South Africa. These letters also indicate that Graham's second brother, William John Graham, was a member of the Indian Civil Service. These letters also discuss Graham's opinions on the political, military, and social conditions in India and South Africa. This family correspondence also indicates Graham's political influence. Specifically, Douglas Graham requested that Graham obtain a cadetship for his son. Correspondence from 1856-1857 between Graham and his son, William, demonstrate that Graham's son, Douglas Alexander, was stationed with the 6th Dragoon Guards in India and discuss the social and military conditions in India.

Financial records from Graham will likely demonstrate the extent to which his wealth was acquired through slave labour. Two financial documents, a balance sheet from 1797, and a list of debts from 1809, should be illuminating. Correspondence between the Graham family from 1826-1829 also contains financial information regarding the Gartmore estate and the family's legal matters.

33. James Buchanan Memorial
James Buchanan is connected to trans-Atlantic slavery through his merchant business. James Buchanan was identified as one of many merchants in Glasgow who supplied rum and naval contractors to Portsmouth and Plymouth, and he traded in tobacco, sugar, wool, logwood, tallow, and brandy purchased from plantations in Jamaica. A decree of payment between James Buchanan and Patrick Sinclair Laing, son of Jamaican plantation owner David Laing, demonstrates Buchanan's lengthy history trading in slave goods from Jamaica between 1826-1868. James Buchanan was also a shareholder for James Finaly co., Scotland's leading cotton manufacturer, merchant, and Indian tea plantation owner. Archival sources include their partnership agreement and should hopefully indicate how Buchanan directly profited off of slavery.

34. Calton Covening Rooms
Archival information regarding the efforts of the Edinburgh Women's Emancipation Society is held almost exclusively by the Library of Congress. Among these records includes the Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society's annual report, and the reprinting of Slave Holding Piety Illustrated (1857) and writings of Harriet Beecher Stowe (1858). Scrapbooks created by George Thompson containing newspaper clippings and pamphlets relating to the anti-slavery movement in the United States, his work with the Aborigines Protection Society, and English political and social reforms from 1835-1886 were also circulated amongst the Emancipation Society. The topics of these scrapbooks vary from British politics to the salve trade and the rights of indigenous people in the nations of the British Empire.

The Edinburgh Emancipation Societies were formed to support George Thompson, an anti-slavery advocate and Member of Parliament from 1847-1852. Thompson engaged in debates and discussions on American slavery and the state of British India throughout the United Kingdom. In 1836, he hosted a public discussion between himself and Robert J. Breckinridge in Glasgow. Later that year, he participated in a discussion
between himself and Peter Borthwick, a pro-slavery agent, at the Royal Amphitheatre in Liverpool. Thompson gave lectures in the Rose Street Chapel in Edinburgh in 1838 on the state of India and the colonies, and in other parts of the United Kingdom until 1840. He later published an anti-slavery article titled “The Free Church of Scotland and American Slavery,” 1846.

William Lloyd Garrison, a founding member of the Edinburgh Emancipation Society, corresponded with several anti-slavery advocates in the United States. Amongst these include, Sylvanus Cadwallader (U.S. Civil War correspondent and journalist), Joshua Reed Giddings (Abolitionist Representative from Ohio and Consul General to Canada), Alice Stone Blackwell (editor of the Women’s Journal), Lewis Tappan (abolitionist), Edwin McMasters Stanton (U.S. Secretary of War under Abraham Lincoln), and Frederick Douglas. He was also involved in the Women’s Liberation movement, corresponding with suffragettes Caroline Wells, Healey Dall, Anna Elizabeth Dickinson, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and the National American Women’s Suffrage Association. The Library of Congress published a collection titled “Garrison Family Papers” which includes letters and documentation relating to the Garrison family's involved with reform movements in anti-imperialism, conservation, free trade, immigration reform, pacifism, and temperance. Garrison published an article in the American Quarterly Review titled “Thoughts on African Colonization,” 1832, which should be most illuminating.

38. Brougham Street
Connections between Henry Brougham and his abolitionist efforts should be demonstrated through his correspondence. Letters from Brougham in 1850 to the Governor General from Europe and India discuss both personal and business matters, and likely discuss Brougham’s abolitionist efforts and opinions. Miscellaneous correspondence between Brougham and his father, James Loch, discuss British colonialism in South Africa. Brougham also corresponded with influential politicians. Brougham’s 1843 correspondence contains letters between himself and Doroteiya Khristoforovna, Princess Lieven, a Baltic German noblewoman and wife to Christoph von Lieven, Russian ambassador to London in 1812-1834 and an influential figure in diplomatic, social and political circles of 19th-century Europe. Brougham also corresponded with Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmid from 1828-1839, discussing his interests and activities in Jewish emancipation, social and educational reform, including the foundation of the University of London.
Intern Report:

Sub-themes: 10 (Statue of Charles II), 11 (Melville Monument), 12 (Dundas Street), 13 (Statue of William Pitt the Younger), 14 (Statue of David Livingstone), 15 (Balcarres Street), 19 (Private residence of John Edmonstone), 22 (Statue of David Hume), 26 (Free Church of Scotland, The Mound), 27 (St John's Episcopal Church, Lothian Rd), 28 (St George's Church, Charlotte Sq), 35 (Monument to Abraham Lincoln)

Initial resources included: the CRC Archives catalogue or ArchivesSpace; UCL's Legacies of British Slavery website (LBS); Library of Congress (LoC); Virtual Internet Authority Files (VIAF); and Google Earth. As ArchiveSpace did not prove particularly fruitful, we had to expand our list of resources.

In addition to ArchiveSpace and LBS, I primarily used: the Scottish Archive Network (SCAN); the National Records of Scotland (NRS); the National Register of Archives for Scotland (NRAS); the National Archives UK; and the National Library of Scotland (NLS). Other secondary resources include: the Bodleian Archives; the Parliamentary Archives; the SOAS Archives; Archives Hub (JISC); the University of London Archives; the India Office Family History Search; and Three Decks, a website on naval history; etc. Different resources have proved useful for different themes (for e.g. Parliamentary Archives was particularly useful for sub-theme 10 while India Office Family History Search and Three Decks were useful for identifying historical figures of sub-theme 27). However, the NRS, SCAN, National Archives UK, and LBS have been generally useful across all the sub-themes.

I began by locating records corresponding to the sub-themes on ArchiveSpace. For example, for a sub-theme such as ‘Melville Monument’, I first used those exact terms to find any records pertaining to it on ArchiveSpace. Usually, while this would provide few or no results, it would aid in determining other possible search terms (using ‘Henry Dundas’ and ‘Lord Melville’ and ‘East India Company’ instead) and expanding my research.

When little information was found on a sub-theme, I conducted some background research to determine possible angles for my research. For example, I came across a scholarly article which mentioned that the Melville Monument was largely built through public funding; thus, I knew to look for such documents when diving into the archives. The author also cited use of Edinburgh City Archives; we did not have access to this database but it could be a potential resource for future research.

I cross-checked any names or addresses with LBS to see if there were any pertinent records. LBS was particularly useful for identifying direct and indirect connections between people, places, corporations and wealth accumulated from slavery. For example, for a sub-theme such as ‘Dundas Street’, I included the names of any residents that corresponded to the general dates of the sub-theme, even if not related to Henry Dundas himself. I also used the search terms and information I had compiled on the sub-themes to conduct more streamlined research through the additional archival databases.
Erring on the side of caution, I have included any records that may be of potential significance, even if only tangentially. For example, for sub-theme 13, I included correspondence by Alexander and Thomas Cochrane who are listed on LBS while conducting research on William Pitt, although they may not have any connection to Pitt himself. For sub-theme 22, I generally included any correspondence involving David Hume even if unsure of its relevancy. Similarly, for sub-theme 28, I included manuscripts pertaining to Andrew Mitchell Thomson’s sermons even though their relevancy to slavery and colonialism is undetermined.

Where possible, I have noted the lack of information or clarity on a sub-theme and have tried to identify other names and details that may help to narrow down or open up possible routes of research.
Highlights & findings

The majority of the records found can be classified as some form of correspondence.

It was rare to find documents explicitly related to the slave trade. As such, I have attempted to find financial records, wills, etc. For statues or monuments of figures connected to the East India Company, searches proved more fruitful if focused on the EIC as little could be found on the monuments or the individuals themselves. Thus, I have included records that are broadly connected to the EIC but may not bear direct connection to the figures highlighted in the city review. Moreover, putting greater focus on the EIC may also present us with a clearer picture of the accumulation and circulation of wealth within the British Empire.

For sub-theme 11, the various records on the ‘Melville Papers’ and ‘Papers of the Dundas family’ found on SCAN are particularly useful. While they are not directly related to the monument itself, these records are likely to contain useful information on the Dundas family, the EIC, trade and governance in the colonies, military and naval matters, etc.

For sub-theme 13, the records on a ‘Collection of Records of the East India Company’; a ‘Booklet on “Scotland and the Slave Trade”’ from 2007; and a slave list among the ‘Graham of Airth’ papers in SCAN are particularly useful. Although they aren’t directly related to William Pitt, the records can provide information on the British Empire and slavery. The Graham of Airth papers are concerned with a Charles Stirling of Ardoch Penn who is listed on LBS as a slave-owner.

For sub-theme 14, there are letters which discuss the slave trade and documents that explore Livingston’s missionary work that may be particularly relevant. It should be noted that while Livingston is a noted abolitionist, LBS holds two records where a David Livingston is listed as a slave-owner; further research needs to be conducted to confirm if they are one and the same. Moreover, it might be useful to look at sub-theme 14 in relation to sub-theme 26. Livingstonia in Malawi was founded by missionaries of The Free Church of Scotland after David Livingston. The mission was also linked to the African Lakes Company. For sub-theme 26, the records pertaining to its missionary work in the colonies and the ‘Financial papers of the Free Church of Scotland’ and ‘Banking records of the Free Church of Scotland’ found in NLS may provide useful financial information.

For sub-theme 22, I found two records titled ‘High Street, Edinburgh: miscellaneous documents’ and ‘Fletcher of Saltoun Papers: Estate Papers’ that contain papers pertaining to various properties in the city. There is also a record on the ‘Correspondence and papers of and concerning David Hume’ found in NLS that may be particularly relevant as it contains letters as well as published and unpublished manuscripts by Hume.

For sub-theme 27, little could be found on the church itself so I focussed on the persons named in the city review. Of particular importance may be the ‘Will of Alexander Dyce, Lieutenant General in the Service of the East India Company’; the ‘Will of Alexander Tod, late Captain of the Busbridge East Indiaman’; and ‘Miscellaneous papers on Matters of trade, revenue, finance and administration’ found in the National Archives, UK. Another potentially useful record was found in the Bodleian Archives which involves a ‘List of United East India Company ships sent abroad’.
For sub-theme 28, the record on 'Taxes, Rates and Licences Receipts' pertaining to the church may be useful. While conducting background research, I also found a book titled 'Scotland and the Abolition of Black Slavery, 1756–1838' which has information on other abolitionists contemporary to Rev. Thomson.

Sub-theme 10 proved the most fruitful when it comes to records directly relating to slavery. There is very little on the statue itself but I found a massive record on the Royal Africa Company (RAC) in the National Archives, UK. The record, titled ‘Company of Royal Adventurers of England Trading with Africa and successors: Records’ comprises: correspondence, financial accounts, minutes and reports relating to all aspects of the company’s business. Given its extensiveness, I have added sub-records from the collection that pertain to slavery. I have also found records of the company’s charter and documents relating to its trade in the Parliamentary Archives. In short, almost all the records found under this sub-theme are likely to be relevant to slavery and the British Empire in some capacity.

**Challenges, omissions, absences**

One obvious challenge is that none of the archival records have been assessed physically. Moreover, the archival databases rarely provided comprehensive information on the contents of the records. Thus, the actual content of the records, and their ultimate relevance, are not entirely known to us.

Another difficulty was the occasional lack of clarity in the city review in terms of the kind of information we were being asked to find. For my sub-themes, I was unsure whether the goal was to unearth information about the statues, streets, and churches themselves or the figures and firms connected to them.

Moreover, the lack of crucial biographical information on persons mentioned in the review made it difficult to commence the research as well as confirm identities. For example, Alexander Tod, Thomas Robertson, and Alexander Dyce are mentioned in sub-theme 27 but no dates or possible occupations are mentioned. This required me to spend a considerable amount of time trying to identify these details. Additionally, the names can be quite common (I have found several people who share the same name as Tod and Robertson) and can also have multiple spellings (e.g., Alexander Tod/d; David Livingsgon/e) so that raises further doubts. For sub-themes 14 and 27, records may need to be reassessed if dates, proper spellings, etc. can be determined.

Moreover, the RAC went by multiple names so it would have been useful to have them compiled in the review. In terms of dates, the review also didn’t define any parameters for slavery, colonisation, abolition, etc. In short, it would be useful to list all the essential pieces of information under each sub-theme so the research process is smoother and less time-consuming.

Moreover, the lack of biographical context in LBS also made it difficult to cross-check and confirm identities.

In terms of volume, some databases such as the NLS lack advanced search options and returns an enormous number of results for each search term. Although the catalogue itself can be useful, it made the research process needlessly lengthy.

In terms of absence, I found no archival records on John Edmonstone/37 and 51 Lothian Street, although I did
find a useful article on him by NRS. I also found very few records on the Abraham Lincoln monument for which there had been very sparse information in the city review.

**Potential future research topics**

As mentioned previously, I have found my research to be most fruitful when focusing on the EIC or the RAC. Therefore, my recommendation would be to direct future investigation towards corporations rather than individual people (although the latter can be useful in pointing us towards the former).

Corporations can exist over centuries and change names or leadership without altering their fundamental purpose and motivations. As we can see from the legacy of the EIC and the RAC, corporations have also been the most effective way for the British Empire to amass immense wealth, territory, and power as well as commit heinous crimes.

While researching the RAC, I discovered that it provided gold to the English/Royal Mint, a company that still operates today, from 1668-1722. I also found the National Bank of Scotland and the Royal Bank of Scotland on LBS. These are possible topics worth exploring.

There is also the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies/Scottish Darien Company which had monopoly of Scottish trade to India, Africa, and the Americas; it also tried to set up a Scottish colony on the Darien peninsula in Panama.

Another option may be the African Lakes Corporation (ALC) that was connected to the Foreign Missions Committee of the Free Church of Scotland; one of its directors was Alexander Low Bruce, David Livingston’s son-in-law. The directors of ALC also helped establish the Scottish Exploration Company and the Central African Mining Company. Further information can be found here: https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/archives/91e673d2-cbc5-3081-b69d-5d51412b336b.
Intern Report:

Sub-themes: 1 (Queen Street), 2 (Bute House), 3 (Dundas House), 4 (India Street), 5 (Jamaica Street), 16 (Court of Session), 17 (Headstone of Malvina Wells), 18 (Private resident of Peter McLagan), 23 (University of Edinburgh Medical School), 24 (Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh), 25 (Royal College of Physicians), 37 (Private residence of Frederick Douglass), 40 (Riccarton Estate), 41 (Assembly Rooms)

The context provided by the council was brief enough to allow for expansion in our own research, and provided an understanding of the theme’s relevance to the review itself. Dealing with a topic which faces a number of historiographical and methodological issues, having a research focus not only highlights specific cataloguing dilemmas, but also creates a database which may form the basis of further enquiries.

Evidently, the flexibility of research approaches was necessary as a consequence of the unpredictable nature of the results varying from each archive consulted. To mitigate this, a bank of relevant vocabulary was particularly helpful in increasing the number of relevant records. It should be noted that particularly the National Records of Scotland, one of the most significant archives for this data collection exercise, includes vocabulary from primary sources to construct the attributed cataloguing context. General searches using contemporary terms such as ‘slave owner’ and ‘enslaved persons’, will not produce many results. Vocabulary relevant to the period often has more success, but it is important to note that some results often include language deemed derogatory today. This in itself is not an opportunity to change such procedures, for in doing so may remove the deed. However, it should be noted as something affecting future scholars, researchers and archivists examining and cataloguing this theme.

Another beneficial method, particularly for researching individuals, their plantations and compensation claims, is the University College London Legacies of Slavery database. This source was pivotal for connecting notable slave owners to the New Town, and provided the basis for further research in the National Archives of the UK. The T71 Catalogue in the National Archives comprises of compensation claims, enslaved registers and even plantation plans, across ex-British colonies. Despite being unable to access the material, this catalogue is important for interconnecting individuals and their wealth to the slave trade, and therefore requires further research. The same can be said for a couple of catalogues within Edinburgh University’s CRC Collection review. Overall, the university’s collections were relevant to a few themes, but not to the degree of the National Library and Records of Scotland. However, particularly for the medical themes, the University’s relationship with the Lothian Health Service Archive is important for researching the Royal Infirmary, and the students recorded by William Cullen who either came from or went to work in the colonies.

Overall, researching the review required a multi-archive analysis due to the differing strengths of each institution. One was not better than the other, but National Library and Archives of Scotland and UK are excellent starting points for any future research, due to the volume of documents within their care.
Highlights & Findings

Letter from Robert Brisbane to William Cullen. (DEP/CUL/1/2/198). Case of Robert’s slave ‘troubled with epileptic fits’. Brisbane was a former student of Cullen’s and requested Cullen send ‘flowers of zink.’ In Charleston Robert became a prominent merchant, medical supplier and eventually Justice of the Peace (1774). According to The Cullen Project: “This letter stands out as a unique approach made on behalf of an unnamed American slave suffering from epilepsy. Regrettably we have been unable to trace any record of the slave to establish his name, though he is more likely to have been a house-servant (domestic servant) rather than a field worker.”

Letter from AJ Alexander to Joseph Black regarding mineralogical experiments, yaws and including a journal of local rainfall. (Coll-16/I/58-63) AJ Alexander was a plantation owner in Grenada (1773) and experimented with medical treatments on his slaves. This may provide further information about the plantation or information Black provided him. Black was also President of the Royal College of Physicians, situated on Queen Street, so this source would also benefit Theme 6 of the Review.

Receipts for public burdens, contributions towards the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh, etc, paid by Jane Innes. (GD113/5/501/4) May list certain benefactors who were involved in the slave trade. Also may allude to the involvement of Innes family who had a significant fortune, and had ties to the Royal Bank of Scotland as well as a merchant pastime. If this does prove the family’s involvement, the NRS has a full catalogue of the family papers. Further research would be required. Please also see LHB1 to see the financial papers dated from 1727-1974.

Letter from Thomas Clarke, Kingston, Jamaica [West Indies] to Henry Cullen (DEP/CUL/1/3/1920) Clarke is in co-partnership with Dr Fyfe and they have a boy called John Moodie working for them as an apothecary, and wish to gain his freedom. His father was an ‘eminent practitioner’ and his mother was enslaved. They ask Cullen for information on Mr Kerr’s donation under the Royal Infirmary’s charter and whether any part of it can be sold. In exchange they will give the Infirmary’s managers ‘a female slave who may breed, money or any eligible mode of setting the poor boy free’. Context and content indicated by the description is broad but may discover more about John Moodie and their endeavours to free him. However, more clarification is sought on the donation to the Royal Infirmary by ‘Mr. Kerr’ and the desire to exchange with the Infirmary managers.

Challenges, Omissions, Absences

Vocabulary
Vocabulary in catalogues may be by contemporary standards outdated, not purposefully, but often referring to context within a source, impacting search results. For instance, slave owners may be described as such, or
as ‘planters’, ‘plantation owners’ and ‘estate owners’. Additionally, various terms can refer to similar positions or occupations. For instance, ‘merchant’ has been linked to the exportation of various products such as cotton, tobacco, furniture, textiles with or without reference to slaves. This can be further complicated by a lack of context within the record description.

**No Methodological Pattern**
Each subcategory often requires a new approach depending on the individual or discipline involved. For instance, the National Records of Scotland has been critical for finding sources on Malvina Wells and the Court of Session, notably the Knight v Wedderburn and Montgomery v Sheddan legal cases. However, surprisingly, little sources appeared for 33 Gilmore Place. The greatest success was in fact searching through American archives, most importantly the Library of Congress which has digitised the entirety of their Frederick Douglass collection.

**Specific Case: Medical Repeats and Absences**
Members of the University are likely to be thoroughly recorded in Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons compared to University archives. For instance, John Argyll Robertson did not exist on the University’s Archive Space catalogue, however a number of results came back via the Royal College of Physicians. Repeat sources from the Cullen family collection have been found in both databases.

**Lack of Biographical Context:**
Depending on the individual in question, some sources have more information than others. This can be particularly difficult when trying to determine relevancy, but also understanding legislation or familial and cultural background. Some sources are so specific that a search is often difficult.

**Confirmation of Identities:**
Some individuals linked with the slave trade have fairly common names. If an individual is not particularly well-known it is often difficult to know for certain whether the individual is the one needed for the review. The UCL Legacies of slavery database has helped with this, but even then, a lack of biographical details can also bring about the end of a research enquiry.

**Previous Research without Citations:**
Often for events such as Black History Month, newspapers and conservation bodies write inspiring or exposure articles. However, some of these studies do not include the primary sources cited. Historic Environment Scotland and the National Library of Scotland were guilty of this in their articles on Frederick Douglass. This is critical for representing tactile historical discourses and is a record in its own right. An excellent example of a beneficial article is the NRS Slavery collection regarding Court of Session cases and the life story of Malvina Wells.

**Potential Research Topics**
The New Town developments has the potential to be broadened into an architectural and urban history analysis. The axial arrangement of neoclassical and arguably French neo-Baroque urban planning situates the
architecture within a collective urban entity, rather than as individual monuments. Understanding how these buildings communicate with each other would be valuable for understanding the relationships between institutions involved in slavery and colonialism. Furthermore, an exploration into the financing of the new town proposal would be beneficial for a detailed contextualisation of arguably the most important intervention in Edinburgh's architectural history. On a more specific level, building on the data gathered, reviewing the connection between Edinburgh, Jamaica and India to develop a greater analysis of Scottish involvement in the slave trade and colonialism in these nations, in an attempt to review the legacy of Edinburgh's street names. Overall, the New Town could be used as a vehicle to explore the legacy of neoclassicism, and the relationship with notions of enlightened knowledge, civilisation and democracy. This could be achieved by examining the Third New Town and Calton Hill which has funds linked with slavery.

The Court of Session has an extensive collection within the National Records of Scotland which needs to be sorted through to determine the relevancy of certain documents. For instance, there are a series of sources related to ship records from Leith regarding ‘merchants’ and their products, including cotton, sugar and rum. Their relevancy is unknown so a project researching Leith and the Court’s links with slavery would provide greater context regarding Edinburgh's industry and legal framework. Additionally, the Knight v Wedderburn, Montgomery v Sheddan and Dalrymple cases can be explored further in terms of their implications for interpreting eighteenth century law. The relationship between states of slavery and ‘perpetual servitude’ as Wedderburn articulated, would be an interesting exploration. However, in a general sense, the Court of Session’s involvement in nationwide slavery cases would interconnect several trade centres to the city and its legal reputation.

Finally, a number of the medical institutions have significant research absences. Notably, the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh which needs a financial examination, specifically benefactors related to the slave trade. This research may also contribute to an updated reorganisation of the Infirmary's archive which has its financial, medical, and staff documents recorded in a singular catalogue. Further explorations could be made into the Medical school’s colonial connections and the transference of students to and from the colonies and its impact. The school can also be linked with the Royal College of Physicians, which may encourage communication between the university and the institution to provide a joint research guide into Edinburgh's colonial medical history.
APPENDIX: EXAMPLE SOURCES

Archival Description
• NCA rules: https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/ncarules/

Web resources
• UCL Website: Legacies of British Slavery: https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/
• CRC Archives catalogue: https://archives.collections.ed.ac.uk/; https://aspaceadmin.collections.ed.ac.uk/?login=true
• Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh catalogue: http://archives.rcpe.ac.uk/calmView/default.aspx
• The National Archives catalogue: https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk
• National Records of Scotland: http://catalogue.nrscotland.gov.uk/nrsonianlinecatalogue/search.aspx
• National Records of Scotland Slavery and the Slave Trade Research Guide: https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/research/guides/slavery-and-the-slave-trade
• National Register of Archives for Scotland: http://catalogue.nrscotland.gov.uk/nrasregister/welcome.aspx
• Office of Registry of Colonial Slaves and Slave Compensation: https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/results/r?_q=T71&_sd=&_ed=&_hb=
• National Library of Scotland: https://manuscripts.nls.uk/search?type=resource
• Advocates Library Catalogue: http://voyager.advocates.org.uk
• Royal College of Surgeons Edinburgh: https://archiveandlibrary.rcsed.ac.uk/special-collections
• Lothian Health Service Archive: https://www.lhsa.lib.ed.ac.uk
• Heriot-Watt University Museum and Archive: https://www.hw.ac.uk/uk/services/is/heritage/museum-and-archive.htm
• The Cullen Project: http://www.cullenproject.ac.uk/data/docs/
• Bodleian Library: https://archives.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/
• SOAS Archive: http://archives.soas.ac.uk/CalmView/Overview.aspx
• India Office Family History Search: http://indiafamily.bl.uk/ui/Home.aspx
• Naval History: https://threedecks.org/index.php
• National Maritime Museum: https://www.rmg.co.uk/collections
• Scottish Archive Network: https://catalogue.nrscotland.gov.uk/scancatalogue/welcome.aspx
• JISC: https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/search/
• Royal Geographical Society: https://rgs.koha-ptfs.co.uk/cgi-bin/koha/opac-search.pl
• Parliamentary Archives: https://archives.parliament.uk/
• St Andrews University Library: https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/library/special-collections/
• Leicestershire Archive Catalogue: http://record-office-catalogue.leics.gov.uk/CalmView/
• Cambridge University ArchiveSearch: https://archivesearch.lib.cam.ac.uk/
• Yale University: https://archives.yale.edu/
• National Library of Ireland: http://catalogue.nli.ie/
• University of London Archives: https://archives.libraries.london.ac.uk/

Thesauri/authority databases
• Virtual Internet Authority Files: http://viaf.org/
• Art and Architecture, Getty: https://www.getty.edu/research/tools/vocabularies/aat/

Coordinates
• Google Earth: https://earth.google.com/web/
Appendix 3
Schools Resources

3.1 Introduction: Teacher Notes
3.2 Introduction: PowerPoint Presentation
3.3 Pupil Consultation Survey
Appendix 3.1

Introduction: Teacher Notes
## Teacher Notes: Introduction

**Duration:** Introduction 10-15 minutes PLUS Plenary 10-15 minutes

**Materials required:** powerpoint; speakers (MP4 film clip - embedded)

### INTRODUCTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Slide(s)</th>
<th>Instructions</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Materials</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>❖ Image of Edinburgh – view from Calton Hill. Does anyone know where this photo was taken from? Can you name any of the monuments you can see in the picture?</td>
<td>1min</td>
<td>ppt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>❖ Explain Edinburgh’s links to slavery and colonialism – support for/benefit from AND opposition to.</td>
<td>1 min</td>
<td>ppt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 &amp; 4</td>
<td>❖ Recap on the trans-atlantic slave trade</td>
<td>1 min</td>
<td>ppt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>❖ Map of the triangular trade – ask learners to explain this map, if they’ve already learned about it, or discuss with them.</td>
<td>1 min</td>
<td>ppt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>❖ Map of the British Empire</td>
<td></td>
<td>ppt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>❖ What is colonialism? This may be a new term for some. Explore/explain.</td>
<td>1 min</td>
<td>ppt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>❖ Why does this matter? ❖ We’re going to watch a clip of Sit Geoff Palmer, who is going to tell us a bit more about Edinburgh’s links to slavery and colonialism and introduce the consultation.</td>
<td>3 mins</td>
<td>ppt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>❖ Clip: Edinburgh Slavery and Colonialism Legacy Review ❖ Play clip (with captions). Explain that learners will be able to take part in the consultation – first, we’re going to learn more about some of the monuments, buildings and street names.</td>
<td>3:30mins</td>
<td>MP4 film clip – speakers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>❖ Map with 4 of the 6 features learners can choose to study. On the next few slides, they’ll hear about all 6, then make a decision. One of the features should be either an Inspirational Individual (John Edmonstone) or an abolitionist (Frederick Douglass).</td>
<td>1 min</td>
<td>ppt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>❖ Edinburgh’s New Town: Bute House ❖ Politics: John Gladstone</td>
<td>1 min</td>
<td>ppt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>❖ Inspiring individual stories: John Edmonstone ❖ Edinburgh and the abolitionist movement: Frederick Douglass</td>
<td>1 min</td>
<td>ppt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>❖ Art and Books: Robert Burns ❖ Funding schools: James Gillespie’s School</td>
<td>1 min</td>
<td>ppt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**END OF INTRODUCTION**

move to the powerpoints for the features the class has chosen
Appendix 3.2
Introduction: Powerpoint Presentation
Edinburgh's Links to *Slavery* and *Colonialism*

In Edinburgh, we can see *monuments, buildings, street names* and other features which show us that many people in the past *supported or benefited from* the slave trade or colonial expansion.

We can also see that other people *opposed* these activities.
What is the trans-atlantic slave trade?

• The transatlantic slave 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.

• It is estimated that over 2 million Africans died on the journey to the Americas, in a journey known as the Middle Passage.
• As a result of the transatlantic slave trade, millions of people of African descent live across the world. This is known as the African Diaspora.

*diaspora*: the spread of a people from their original homeland
What is colonialism?

- **Colonialism** is when one country has part or total control over another country.

- Britain used to have an empire. The **British Empire** ruled over ‘colonies’ - the many countries under its control.

- Examples: in the 17th and 18th centuries, Britain ruled over parts of **North America**. In the 19th century most of **India** and large parts of **Africa** were **British colonies**.
But why does this matter in 21st century Edinburgh?

• Who are our streets and schools are named after?
• Who are the statues and artworks are dedicated to?
• What do you think about that history?
• Do you want to see different people and histories, and different interpretations of history, commemorated in future?
Edinburgh Slavery and Colonialism Legacy Review

Sir Geoff Palmer
Edinburgh’s New Town was partly built using profits from slavery and colonialism.

**Bute House:** now the official residence of Scotland’s First Minister.

Edinburgh’s world famous New Town and home to our First Minister. We are proud to live in a beautiful city - but where did the money come to build it?

**OR**

This billionaire (by today’s standards) who had the largest number of enslaved people after the trade was abolished.

One of the largest slave owners in the British West Indies; father of the most important politician of the 19th century.

---

**Theme 4**

Inspiring Individual Stories

**John Edmonstone**

An enslaved person who found freedom, an unusual trade and a happy life in Scotland.

**OR**

**Frederick Douglass**

The most famous anti-slavery author and freedom-fighter in USA history. He was one of many Black anti-slavery campaigners to live and work in Scotland.

---

**Theme 10**

Edinburgh and the Abolition Movement

---

---
Robert Burns: Scotland’s national poet accepted a job offer on a Jamaican plantation worked by enslaved people. He never went.

OR

Gillespie's School: funded by Edinburgh merchant James Gillespie in 1803. Gillespie amassed great wealth from the tobacco trade, directly benefitting from the work of enslaved people.

The lives of some prominent figures from Edinburgh’s literary and artistic past were interwoven with the era of plantation slavery and its abolition.

Several of Edinburgh’s educational foundations received funding from individuals who were either slave owners, or who profited directly from the profits of slavery.
Appendix 3.3
Pupil Consultation Survey
Edinburgh Slavery and Colonialism
Legacy Review - pupil consultation

The Black Lives Matter protests in 2020 made us think about racism and injustice around the world. Edinburgh City Council are reviewing monuments, street names and buildings in Edinburgh that are connected with slavery and colonialism. Now that you've learned a bit more, you can tell the Review Group what you think we should do about the monuments, street names and buildings. You can also tell the group how important you think each of the ten themes is. The Review group will use your views to decide which actions it will recommend to the Council. We do not ask for your name, so your answers will be anonymous. Please complete Sections 1 & 2. If you want to, you can also complete Section 3.

* Required

* This form will record your name, please fill your name.

Your details

1. I am in *
   - P5-7
   - S1-3
   - S4-6

12/10/2021
2. What is your ethnic background? *

- African
- Arab
- Asian
- Bangladeshi
- British
- Caribbean
- Chinese
- English
- Gypsy Traveller
- Indian
- Irish
- Mixed Heritage
- Pakistani
- Scottish
- Welsh
- Other

3. If you selected 'Other' ethnic background, please describe
4. What is your gender? *

- [ ] Male
- [ ] Female
- [ ] Non-binary
- [ ] Prefer not to say
Making Edinburgh fairer and more welcoming for everyone

Please read through the suggestions below. Which suggestions do you agree with?

5. **Monuments, street names and public buildings.** Some people think we should remove monuments or rename streets. Other people disagree. Tick all the statements YOU agree with: *

- [ ] Nothing should be removed or renamed.
- [ ] Monuments, street names and buildings should stay and we should add better information about the history of the person, street or building.
- [ ] We should think about removing or renaming some monuments, streets or buildings which supported the slave trade.
- [ ] I don't agree with any of these statements.

6. **Putting things right.** There are different ways that Edinburgh can say that the slave trade and colonial expansion were beneficial (useful) to the city, and start to make up for it. Which of these ways do you think would help? *

- [ ] Edinburgh Council should apologise and make a plan to put things right.
  - Edinburgh should observe the International Day for the Remembrance of the Slave Trade and its Abolition every August 23rd. This will also raise awareness about modern-day racism and prejudice.
  - Edinburgh Council should start **friendship agreements** with cities in countries that were most affected by Edinburgh's involvement with the slave trade and colonialism. (In a 'friendship agreement' Edinburgh would develop social, economic and academic links with these cities.)
7. **Learning about this history**: we will learn about Black history and culture in primary and secondary school. What other ways do you think children, young people and adults should learn about Edinburgh’s connections to the slave trade and colonialism? *

- Junior tour guide programme: children and young people would learn about and tell others about this history.
- New and better resources for learning about Black history and culture.
- More training for teachers about Black history and culture.
- Programmes for university students to study more about Edinburgh’s links to the slave trade and colonial expansion.

8. **Making different decisions in future**. How should we decide (in future) who gets a statue, or a street or a building named after them? *

- Make sure people in the community have a say in what happens about existing connections to the slave trade and colonialism.
- Support to create better information about monuments, street names and buildings that are connected with slavery and colonialism.
- Have guidelines for how we choose new monuments and street names, so that they are more inclusive.

9. **Arts and culture**: how should Edinburgh use the Arts and Culture to tell a different and more honest history and to be more inclusive? *

- Give more information about the objects and art in museums and galleries, so that people understand the connection with slavery and colonialism.
- Use art and technology to celebrate people who were important in Edinburgh’s movement for the abolition of the slave trade.
- Continue funding for new local Black Asian and Minority Ethnic artists and musicians so that Edinburgh’s diverse cultures are more visible.
The ten themes: which features are most important?

Many monuments, street names, buildings and other features in Edinburgh show that people in the past supported or benefited from the slave trade and that other people opposed (were against) the slave trade. We have grouped the features in ten themes - which themes do YOU think are most important?

10. **Theme 1: Edinburgh’s New Town and the physical expansion of the city, 1767 – 1850.** Many of the people who lived in the New Town at this time owned enslaved people and plantations. We also know that profits (money) from colonialism were invested in new buildings. Some of these buildings are: Bute House (official residence of the First Minister today); many houses on Queen Street.

11. **Theme 2: International trade and the profits from slavery and colonialism.** Huge profits from the trade in goods (things that are bought and sold) produced by enslaved people came into the city. Edinburgh-based banks were involved in financing all aspects of the Atlantic economy of slavery. Examples: John Gladstone (Gladstone House in Leith); British Linen Bank, St. Andrew Square.

12. **Theme 3: Politics and patronage in Great Britain and the colonies**

Many people connected to Edinburgh were involved in continuing the slavery-based economy and preventing the abolition of the slave trade and slavery. Many others were involved in the exploitation of people in the British Empire in Africa and the British Raj in India. Examples: the Melville monument in St. Andrew Square, Dundas Street.

13. **Theme 4: Inspiring individual stories**

There are inspiring stories of many individuals - some of them were former slaves, for example John Edmonstone. These are stories of people who often had very difficult lives, became successful and lived in Edinburgh.

12/10/2021
14. **Theme 5: The role of the military in sustaining slavery and colonialism**

Edinburgh is a city with a proud military past. But both the army and the navy of the British Empire were involved in sustaining the slavery-based economy. They protected commercial (business) interests and suppressed (tried to stop) anti-slavery rebellions by enslaved people.

not important ✋ ⭐ ⭐ ⭐ ✪  very important

15. **Theme 6: The legacy of academics, academic institutions and hospitals**

Edinburgh’s academic institutions (universities) and hospitals were sometimes financed by plantation owners. They also supported the slave economy, for example they trained doctors who worked on plantations. For example: University of Edinburgh Medical School; Royal Infirmary Edinburgh. People who studied in Edinburgh had important jobs in many of the colonies of the British Empire.

not important ✋ ⭐ ⭐ ⭐ ✪  very important

16. **Theme 7: Churches, churchmen, slavery and colonialism**

While some churchmen were important abolitionists (against the slave trade), some churches also accepted money from slavery and colonialism. Sometimes, plantation owners or people who made profits from colonialism gave money to build churches. Examples: Free Church of Scotland on The Mound; St. George’s Church Charlotte Square (the minister Andrew Mitchell Thomson was an important abolitionist).

not important ✋ ⭐ ⭐ ⭐ ✪  very important

17. **Theme 8: Slavery and colonialism in the arts and literature**

The lives of some important people from Edinburgh’s literary and artistic past were linked with the period of plantation slavery and the abolition of slavery. Example: Robert Burns

not important ✋ ⭐ ⭐ ⭐ ✪  very important
18. **Theme 9: Funding schools from the profits of slavery**
   Several of Edinburgh’s schools received funding from individuals who were either slave owners, or who profited directly from the profits of slavery. Examples: James Gillespie’s School (opened 1803), George Watson’s College.

19. **Theme 10: Edinburgh and the abolition movement**
   Edinburgh helped the abolition movement. Important Edinburgh men and women were active in the movement, and many famous abolitionists stayed or lived in Edinburgh in the 19th century. Examples: Frederick Douglass (lived at Gilmore Place); Cockburn Street - named in honour of Henry Lord Cockburn (1779-1854), an abolitionist.

20. **Additional comments**: is there anything else you would like to say to the review group about Edinburgh's links to slavery and colonialism?
EDINBURGH SLAVERY AND COLONIALISM LEGACY REVIEW
### Action Plan for Edinburgh Slavery and Colonialism Legacy Review Recommendations (July 2022)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ESCLR Recommendation</th>
<th>Lead Body</th>
<th>Resource Requirements</th>
<th>Delivery Format and Timeframe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The Council publicly acknowledges the city’s past role in sustaining slavery and</td>
<td>CEC</td>
<td>Can be actioned within budget; no additional funding or capacity required.</td>
<td>Immediate action (within 22/23).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>colonialism, and issues an apology to those places and people who suffered.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Statues, monuments, buildings and street names associated with slavery and</td>
<td>Legacy Group with CEC</td>
<td>Resource requirements to be determined and report brought back to Committee.</td>
<td>Long term action.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>colonialism in Edinburgh are retained and re-presented in accordance with a new,</td>
<td>Stakeholder, academic, community and</td>
<td>Co-funding and external funding sources to be secured.</td>
<td>Complex project requiring phased development and delivery stages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dedicated interpretation strategy which explains the nature and consequences of that</td>
<td>specialist input required</td>
<td></td>
<td>Project scoping and funding plan development 2022/23.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>involvement.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Multi-year, incremental delivery from 2023/24 onwards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. City-wide observance of the annual, UNESCO-designated International Day for the</td>
<td>Legacy Group with CEC and partners</td>
<td>To be explored/ actioned in alignment with existing commitments.</td>
<td>Medium term action.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remembrance of the Slave Trade and its Abolition every August 23 is introduced and</td>
<td></td>
<td>Departmental budgets to be committed and external resource to be secured for delivery</td>
<td>Annual event, starting 2023/24.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>resourced.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(scalable).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Teaching and learning materials are developed and delivered to fill the gap in</td>
<td>Legacy Group with CEC and partners</td>
<td>To be explored/ actioned in alignment with existing commitments.</td>
<td>Medium term action.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>respect of Scotland’s and Edinburgh’s role in slavery and colonialism.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Departmental budgets to be committed and external</td>
<td>Requires engagement with education and teaching bodies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Resource requirements to be determined and report brought back to Committee.</td>
<td>Long term action.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Complex project requiring phased development and delivery stages.</td>
<td>Project scoping 2023/24.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Multi-year, incremental delivery from 2024/25 onwards.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Resource requirements to be determined and report brought back to Committee.</th>
<th>Long term action.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Co-funding and external funding sources to be secured.</td>
<td>Project scoping and funding plan development 2022/23.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Multi-year, incremental delivery from 2023/24 onwards.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>To be explored/ actioned in alignment with existing commitments.</th>
<th>Medium term action.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Requires engagement with creatives and stakeholder groups</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>existing festivals, arts and heritage programmes</td>
<td>Departmental budgets to be committed and external resource to be secured for delivery (scalable).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>For the Council to <strong>endorse the work of the Empire, Slavery and Scotland’s Museums steering group (ESSM)</strong> which was established by the Scottish Government, and commits to exploring how the capital can contribute to the creation of a dedicated space addressing Scotland’s role in this history.</td>
<td>CEC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>An <strong>independent legacy stakeholder group is established</strong>, supported by the Council, to ensure approved recommendations are actioned, resourced and monitored, and progress is reported annually.</td>
<td>CEC supporting stakeholders and community representatives.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>