

Trinity's Colonial Legacies Project

Draft Audit and Summary Document

1 February 2022

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Section 1 Trinity's Colonial Legacies Overview

Founded in 1592 between the foundation of the first English North American colony in Newfoundland and the first East India Company, Trinity College Dublin was from its outset a colonial institution. Established as part of the Tudor reformation in Elizabethan Ireland its purpose like that of the early North American colleges was to contribute to the 'civilising' and 'improvement' of a conquered society. The early college's personnel from the first chancellor Sr William Cecil, Lord Burghley, down were heavily involved in the expansionary activities of the late Elizabethan state. Trinity would benefit directly from these colonial activities in the early seventeenth century when the College was awarded extensive landed estates expropriated from native or indigenous landowners as part of the Munster and Ulster Plantations. By the late seventeenth century Trinity held estates totalling approximately 190,000 acres or 1% of the entire country making it one of, if not, the largest landowners in the country. These estates would continue to provide significant revenues to the College through to the beginning of the twentieth century when a series of land acts brought about a revolution in Irish property ownership.

These extensive landholdings combined with Trinity's role as the seminary for the established Church of Ireland and the intellectual role of early leading figures like James Hamilton, Adam Loftus, James Ussher, and Henry Jones in shaping the colonial state in Ireland mark it out as a colonial institution in Ireland from the very beginning. Throughout the eighteenth-century Trinity benefitted from significant financial support from the Irish parliament with grants totalling over £60,000 provided to the College by the Irish parliament – a unique form of state support for an early-modern university. Comparisons (sometimes self-serving) have often been made between Trinity and the ancient English universities notably Cambridge and Oxford. While there is validity to such comparisons, we argue that the early North American institutions, Yale, Harvard and later the College of William and Mary, Princeton and Kings College (later Columbia) are better comparators for understanding Trinity's position within the English/British empire. Whether looked at in terms of its landed endowment, its role in contemporary governance, religion or civil society, or in terms of its position within local society such comparisons seem appropriate especially for the early history of the college extending up to at least the Anglo-Irish union of 1801.

Indeed, the chronology of Trinity's engagement with empire can be divided into three distinct periods. The first of these extended from the College's foundation through to the late eighteenth century when the institution was largely (though not exclusively – see for example College's role in Berkeley's Bermuda scheme) focused on the domestic sphere in Ireland, whether in terms of its

intellectual and collecting interests, its student body and graduate opportunities, and its projection of social and cultural power. The second largely coincides with the period of the Union though arguably extended beyond Irish independence into the post-World War Two period and saw the marked engagement of the College with British overseas expansion notably in Asia both as a recruitment ground for the East India Company and then the Indian Civil Service, and for the Anglican dimension of the Irish spiritual empire in India, China and sub-Saharan Africa. The presence of imperial/colonial items in College collection greatly increased in this period while College fellows from across the faculties were engaged in scientific, linguistic and other intellectual pursuits directed connected to empire. The final period saw from the late 1950s saw the student population begin to expand and diversify both in terms of Irish students from all religious and increasingly social backgrounds, and in term of international students. It also saw College staff and students increasingly engage with postcolonial societies across the world helping to transform the relationship between College and the wider world even as older networks and legacies continued to persist. Now in the early 21st century Trinity's relationship with Irish society has radically altered. It is no longer a place part and its diverse international student and staff populations are increasingly questioning its historic role as an institution embedded in the structures of colonialism and empire at home and abroad. This research project addresses these legacies as part of this ongoing conversation about our institutions past, about the image and narratives that we choose to present about its past, about the individuals we choose to honour, celebrate, neglect or silence.

1.1 - Project Guiding Principles

The Trinity's Colonial Legacies project is a research-led investigation into Trinity's imperial and colonial past. Led by a team of historians it seeks to understand and contextualise the university's colonial legacies. Broad in scope both chronologically and thematically and open-ended in its coverage the project takes a holistic approach going beyond exploring financial and material connections to slavery and enslavement to explore Trinity's entangled relationship with empire within and outside Ireland. Our guiding principles in conducting this research are:

1. Transparency: This is a public-facing project, and we are committed to publishing our findings and methodology as we progress with the research, while recognising that these findings will be subject to revision and amendment as the research continues. Our initial audit document should therefore be treated as an interim document. We are also committed to engaging with College stakeholders, whether they be staff, students or alumni, or other interested groups throughout the research process.
2. Scope: This project investigates Trinity's relationship with empire and the impact of these relationships over the course of the university's history beginning with its foundation 1592. Geographically the

project engages with Trinity's history as an agent of colonialism within Ireland but also within the wider British empire. We are interested in the activities of Trinity staff and students as well as those alumni who continued to have a relationship with the College either through their own activities or through the College's contemporary and later commemoration/celebration of them.

3. Race and Racism: This project is not primarily about the legacies of slavery or indeed Trinity's connections to enslaved people. It is however informed by an awareness of the College's historic ties to race and racism and its contribution to an embedded race-based hierarchy in Irish society and the wider empire which has been informed by historic links to empire and colonialism at home and abroad.
4. Historical Collections: This project is primarily a research project and is the work of three historians. It may inform future College policies about collections management, decolonisation and restitution and will provoke future conversations within the College community.

Section 2 – Project Structure and Progress

2.1 - TCL Project Team

Dr Ciaran O'Neill, Ussher Associate Professor in Nineteenth-Century History- Principal Investigator

Dr Patrick Walsh, Assistant Professor in Eighteenth-Century Irish History- Principal Investigator

Dr Mobeen Hussain, Postdoctoral Research Fellow- Primary Researcher

Mobeen is an early career historian of the British Empire focusing on race, gender, and the colonial legacies of consumption, material cultures, and economic exploitation. She has recently completed her doctorate at the University of Cambridge on racialisation, colourism, and skin-lightening in colonial South Asia.

Gabriel Opare, Doctoral Candidate- Postgraduate Research Fellow

Gabriel is a postgraduate researcher at the Department of Sociology, Trinity College Dublin. He researches the Sociological and Historical Processes of African Students at Trinity College Dublin circa 1960. He is interested in Black studies particularly surrounding the themes of diaspora, education and socio-economic development.

Tinaye Gibbons, Master's Student- Public History Intern

Tinaye is currently in the MPhil course for Public History and Cultural Heritage, and she is interested in historical geography, queer history, and black history. She completed her BA in history at the University of West Georgia with a minor in geographic information systems (GIS) and certificate in public history. She worked on her undergraduates University History Project which focused on documenting and preserving the university's past.

Eve Loftus, Master's Student- Public History Intern

Eve is also in the MPhil course for Public History and Cultural Heritage. Her interests include the colonial legacies of museums, decolonial and anti-colonial museology, and identity and memory studies. She completed her BA in history at Smith College with a concentration in comparative colonialism and a minor in archaeology.

2.2 - Project Progress to Date

- Joined Universities Studying Slavery.¹
- Started conversations and/or established contact with key stakeholders in College including Library, School and Department Heads, Anatomy, Botany, Zoology, Engineering.
- Started discussions with scholars working on similar topics elsewhere getting advice on challenges of such projects as well as engaging in peer discussions including Stephen Mullen at Glasgow.
- Conducted archival scoping work for the project.
- Established an audit of prizes, bequests, scholarships, endowments, and peoples of interest.²
- Established some connections to slavery and empire.³
- Established Public History intern projects related to Colonial Legacies research to commence in the following months.

2.3 - External Interest and Participation

- Interest from documentary makers Dearth films – particular interest in Anatomy collections.
- Royal Irish Academy- keen to engage with Project in their attempts to trace the colonial connections of its Members.
- Interest from other Irish universities and institutions – invitations to speak on ‘decolonising’ roundtables and the progress of the Project’s including the University College Cork, NUI Galway, and The Consortium of National and University Libraries’ (CONUL) Unique and Distinct Collections Group.
- Confirmation to speak about the Colonial Legacies project at the ‘Ireland, Museums, Empire, Colonialism’ conference at Queen’s University, Belfast in April 2022

Section 3 – How does TCL compare to other projects?

1 <https://slavery.virginia.edu/universities-studying-slavery/>

2 See audit summary document for more information.

3 See audit summary document for more information.

Trinity's Colonial Legacies is not directly modelled on any one university project, but has taken inspiration from many. In this section we want to highlight what we have learned from those who have built similar projects before us, as well as those that are ongoing at present. This is, of course, an imprecise and moving picture. Rather than list them all we have split them up by type in in the interests of being concise.

3.1 - International University-Based Legacies Projects

Perhaps the most prominent project in these islands was that run by Stephen Mullen and Simon Newman at the **University of Glasgow**, which concluded in 2019 with a pledge by the University to raise £20m which would then be used for 'reparative Justice'. This was a huge news story globally in 2019, but the research report was actually quite narrowly defined and written by a 1-year postdoc who had a very impressive existing expertise in Scottish slave-owning connections. The terms of the report was limited to those donations and benefactions that were made to the university from slave-owners, and thus was much more focused and precise than TCL intends to be, but with a much more limited range. It paid no attention to collections, and also resisted the urge to put a precise number on what compensation could be estimated as fair. There was no college-wide or public engagement in the project until after the report had been written, but the report has contributed to wide range of initiatives, including the founding of the Beniba Centre for Slavery Studies.

The Rhodes Must Fall campaign at UCT and Oxford, and then the global wave of BLM in 2020 have both given added impetus to an already discernible pattern of self-critique at UK universities in relation to colonial legacies. This process itself has been variously attacked as superficial, self-regarding, and a good example of 'audit culture.'⁴ In 2020 only 28 out of 124 UK universities surveyed had made some attempt to study connections to slavery, or to decolonise the curriculum. Nonetheless, we can see major projects ongoing at Bristol – where decolonisation is mentioned in the core strategic plan, and at SOAS. Some of these smaller initiatives are relatively poorly resourced, or are student-led, such as those at KCL, or at Newnham College in Cambridge. Others have more institutional heft, such as the Legacy of Slavery Working Party at Jesus College in Cambridge, ongoing since 2019 and making significant progress. Up to 15 of the 31 colleges at

⁴ Mahmood Mamdani, 'Decolonising Universities', in Jonathan D. Jansen (ed.), *Decolonisation in Universities: The Politics of Knowledge* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2019); Sally Matthews. (2021) Decolonising while white: confronting race in a South African classroom. *Teaching in Higher Education* 26:7-8, pages 1113-1121; Katherine Wimpenny, Jos Beelen, Karine Hindrix, Virginia King, Ellen Sjoer. (2021) Curriculum internationalization and the 'decolonizing academic'. *Higher Education Research & Development* 0:0, pages 1-16; Leon Moosavi (2020) The decolonial bandwagon and the dangers of intellectual decolonisation, *International Review of Sociology*, 30:2, 332-354, DOI: 10.1080/03906701.2020.1776919

Cambridge have engaged with a University-wide enquiry into connections to slavery. At Oxford the pattern is a little different, with significant donor-led resistance at Oriel to any reform of its memorials arising from both external pressure and their own internal report. Exeter College in Oxford has a Legacy of Slavery project ongoing since 2020.

In Canada the recent report of a team led by Afua Cooper at Dalhousie University (The Lord Dalhousie Scholarly Panel on Slavery and Race) stands out for exemplary public engagement throughout. Beginning in 2018 the project team consulted with a wide range of stakeholders and recorded several of these interactions, then making recommendations in 2019. The resulting programme of activity has seen Dalhousie link with University of West Indies, and in particular with Sir Hilary Beckles, to set up research connections and co-host a major conference in Halifax by Dalhousie and the University of King's College in partnership with the Black Cultural Centre (BCC) for Nova Scotia from October 18-21, 2023. In contrast to the Glasgow project, the Dal project garnered very little in the way of global news attention, with mostly local outlets picking up the story.

In the United States we are following a number of current projects at institutions that are, in many ways, more analogous to Trinity's status in Ireland than any UK university of a similar vintage. Projects at Harvard, Yale, and elsewhere have mushroomed since 2020. Brown University has long been a leader in the study of slavery, began this process at a major Ivy League back in 2003. A good summary of this can be found in Craig Steven Wilder's *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities* (NY, 2013). UVA have invested heavily in researching this, and host the USS Consortium which is rapidly growing worldwide. In some institutions a recognisable pattern of student-led initiatives prevails. In 2017, undergraduate researchers at the University of Pennsylvania launched the Penn and Slavery Project (P&SP) to uncover, document, and examine the University's entanglements with the institution of slavery, leading to an institution-wide project from 2018.

Georgetown University have recently produced a monograph, Adam Rothman and Elsa Barraza Mendoza, (eds) *Facing Georgetown's History: A Reader on Slavery, Memory, and Reconciliation* (GUP, 2021). The University benefited profoundly from the sale of enslaved people at a critical juncture in its history, and the book focuses for the most part on this particular aspect of their history, and then adds contextual essays that help to explain the public history projects that emerged in recent years, as well as republishing some older essays on the topic.

The University of the West Indies has been at the forefront of conversations around reparations under the Vice-Chancellorship of Sir Hilary Beckles: a prominent historian. In recent years the university has entered into partnership with the University of Glasgiw, as well as accepting reparations in 2021 from a private UK citizen – Bridget Freeman – of \$500k.

The University of Cape Town have led globally in the area of decolonising curricula. While this movement is perhaps too large to scope in this document, a very useful summary of projects to date worldwide can be found in Jonathan Jansen, *Decolonisation in Universities: The politics of knowledge* (NYU, 2019) and a useful critique of its Global North bias can be found in KK Prah, *The Challenge of Decolonizing Education* (Cape Town: CASAS, 2018).

Much of the best practice we have observed thus far has emerged from university collections and museums within universities themselves. For example, at Pitt Rivers in Oxford. And there has been a series of exciting new projects that seek to distribute the process of restitution that are also worth noting: such as Action for Restitution to Africa, and The Restitution of Knowledge: Artefacts as Archives in the (post)colonial Museum. The museum sector has arguably progressed much further than the higher education sector, at least internationally. Initiatives of varying quality and depth are underway at most European museums with problematic collections, from AfricaMuseum in Belgium, to the Tropen Museum in Amsterdam, The Musée du quai Branly in Paris, to name but a few examples.

3.2 - Colonial Legacies and Decolonial Projects in Ireland

Projects on colonial legacies, decolonising curricula, and reassessing collections with imperial or colonial associations are in various stages of development in Ireland, responding to a heightened global and domestic interest in the subject. We mention some here in summary.

Universities have engaged with the issues in various ways. At Queens University Belfast a Public History project is underway to track and trace historic students of colour that have attended the university since foundation, and have launched a Black, Asian, Minority Ethnic and International Staff Network 'iRise'.

UCD have had a student-led Decolonise UCD initiative ongoing since 2017. The School of Sociology now run a MA & GradDip Race, Migration and Decolonial Studies: Decolonising the Curriculum

Platform, and the first Black Studies module has been founded and directed there by Dr Ebun Joseph. A recent publication, *Making Belfield*, has helped to contextual the colonial legacies of the villa estates UCD was built on in south Dublin

At Trinity a Black Studies module is now embedded as a Trinity elective since 2021, under Dr Phil Mullen, in addition to the TCL project, and have joined the USS consortium in 2021. UCC joined the USS consortium in 2018 and have begun conversations around a decolonising the curriculum initiative.

In the heritage space it is clear that the Office of Public Works has taken an interest in the area, and of its various properties the only property that announced a report was underway has been the National Botanic Gardens in Glasnevin. It was reported in March 2021 that such a report would be produced, though none has emerged.

The Royal Irish Academy has just committed to undertaking an internal audit of its own links to colonial properties, and any links to slavery, but this initiative is very much in embryo. Likewise the National Museum of Ireland has begun the process of investigating the contours of its 15,000 object ethnographic collection, some of which derives originally from TCD. The director Lynn Scarff has been active and vocal on the need to do so, and the institution has committed to returning the 21 Benin Bronzes in its possession. Lastly, the Hunt Museum in Limerick has also made public its desire to return its Benin bronzes.

Section 4 – How will we communicate our findings?

We see our potential audience for this project in the widest possible terms. We will address the college community first and most often, but will also make the process as transparent as possible to all those who might be interested via our project website. We will also communicate our findings, especially toward the end of the process, via social media, press release, and various other levels of academic output: to include podcasts, interviews, op-eds, all of which will supplement the main academic output, at present envisaged as a monograph.

4.1 - Defining our audience

So our audience is everyone, but in the interest of specifying those with likely the strongest interest we break it down a little more clearly below. It is a general goal that our various modes of ‘output’ should also have room for ‘input’ from all of those with whom we open a dialogue.

1. The college community. We define this as all current and emeritus faculty, as well as the administrative and support staff (both current and retired) and our student community, including alumni as well as our current student body. We plan to specifically address this community by holding town hall events and presentations as detailed below, serving key college constituencies such as the Student Union, the Fellows, and (if required) the college leadership team. We aspire to hold at least one town hall that anybody from the college community could attend (possibly online) and some tailored information sessions or town halls for each faculty. We would be happy to record these events and make them available for the sake of transparency.
2. The interested public. We define this in the broadest terms. The early publicity for TCL taught us that there was a substantial interest in the UK and Ireland, with a little less interest elsewhere in the Anglophone world, with some coverage in the USA and Australia. **We think the best way to reach this audience is with a concerted effort through more traditional media outlets** and towards the end of the project when we have key findings to report and write up for a general audience. We think this audience might be less invested in following the process and more interested in any results or new findings. We are currently developing

a social media and media strategy for this purpose, and we would hope the monograph will reach some of this readership.

3. Academic/professional communities: This is more difficult to define but broadly falls into two categories. The first group will be relatively small: academics interested in the historical development of the relationship between Ireland, Britain, and colonialism, and especially anybody interested in the history of universities and institutions with connections to colonial collections etc. The monograph will address this readership. The second group is perhaps larger, with the museum sector undergoing a profound period of change leading to some interest in our work from people across the cultural sector broadly defined, as well as a smaller but key audience of people working on projects similar to ours at other universities. **It is probably that the best output strategy with this audience is in the form of conference presentations and open dialogue** as the project develops.

Section 5 – Draft TCL Audit Document

5.1 – Overview of TCL Audit Document

This summary provides an overview of information collected in the audit of financial emoluments in the form of bequests, donations, prizes, lectureships, statues, buildings, and collections at Trinity College Dublin that have a connection to Empire. Such an exercise gives us an insight into the nature of commemorative practices at Trinity- whose names are celebrated, when, why, and how.

Trinity is crucial to the history of Ireland as a laboratory for colonialism elsewhere and is a colonial institution instrumental to, and having benefited from, the British colonisation of Ireland. The appropriation of Catholic lands and grants to Trinity by royal charter, estimated at 190,000 acres or 1% of country, implicate the college as a key beneficiary and making it Ireland's largest landowner.⁵ Thus, many of the donations, bequests, and named prizes also relate to the colonisation of Ireland and is reflected in the way that the summary is presented. At the same time, Trinity also played a significant in facilitating colonial policies and administrations overseas and in the training of colonial administrators, army and service personnel, medical men, missionaries, and engineers.

Sections A (Colonisation of Ireland) and B (Colonialism Overseas) focus on various forms of financial emoluments, many of which were and continue to be maintained overtime through commingling of funds or investments in stocks in the Bank of Ireland, Irish railways, and other ventures.⁶ For the purposes of this summary, Sections A and B are separated but there is considerable overlap.

Section C indicates selected complex legacies and family connections to colonialism and empire and Section D references other selected peoples and departmental connections. Section E outlines initial considerations about the project's scope, impact, and quantifiability, and indicates the current progress of the audit and next steps.

5 R.A. Somerville, *The early residential buildings of Trinity College Dublin: Architecture, financing, people*, Dublin: Four Courts Press, (2021), p.14.

6 Numerous examples in the College Muniments of stock transfer in favour of the Provost and fellows: MUN/P/1/1278/1&2: 18 Aug 1803; MUN/P/1/1284: 1 Feb & 2, 4 & 19 July 1805; MUN/P/1/1292: 22 Sept 1806.

Section A. Colonisation of Ireland

A.1 Foundational Charter and English Military Funding

Trinity College was founded by Royal Charter of 1592 which established a college near the city of Dublin for the better education, training, and instruction of scholars and students and granted lands and funding to College.⁷ Thereafter, lands and funds were consistently granted to Trinity College from the Crown, colonial administrators in Ireland, and English military officers as well tax exemptions.⁸ The following selected examples of this type of funding can be found in the College's Book of Benefaction and College Calendars:

1591: Sir Henry Bagnall, a Knight in Her Majesty's Service- £100.

17 Oct 1595: Benefaction made by Queen Elizabeth- £100 sterling per annum; with a direction to passing Lands for the purpose of College.

3 May 1599: Earl of Essex, Lieutenant Council 'confirmed and continued' to Provost and Fellows a grant made by the late Lord Justices and Council (on account of a delay in the Revenue by the Rebellion) concordatum of £40 sterling.

29 Jan 1599: An order from Lords Justice and Council to continue of Concordatum of £40 and per annum 'allowed for keeping a publick and standing Lecture unto of state' and to continue of same payment for the better maintenance of provost and for aforementioned.

1610: 'Land in the Counties of Armagh, Fermanagh, and Donegall, together with a Charter for Priviledges and Immunityes for their enjoyment of it' from King James.

Symbiotic of the close relationship and dependence of Trinity College on the Crown and the colonial governance of Ireland are reoccurring requests from College for support in times of hardship. One such request includes a Fellows and Scholars request to the Lord Justices for upkeep having 'fallen into great want' due to decay in Rents that followed the general rebellion in November 1598.⁹

A.2 Livings and Leases related to Colonisation of Ireland

Granting of lands and funds to Trinity were augmented by livings granted to College by the Patent of King James I which included Aughrim (admitted 1834) and Ballymoney (1798), Clonallon (1836), St John's Sligo (1820), Lea (1834), Skreen (1834), Kilmanagh (1801), Drimholm (1828), and Drumcannon

⁷ See R.B. McDowell and D.A. Webb, *Trinity College Dublin 1592-1952: An Academic History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) for an institutional history of the College since its foundation.

⁸ Tax exemption noted in the college muniments: MUN/P/1/1862: n.d. (mid 19th cent.).

⁹ College Calendars, 1858, p.250.

(1798). College enjoyed such livings until the Irish Church Act of 1869 whereby the rights of patronage formerly held by Trinity College were taken away.

Alongside the power to grant livings, which many Trinity men benefited from upon retirement of their fellowships, College was able to consistently grant leases to men connected to Trinity and others deemed worthy from which College was able to accrue land rents from tenants.¹⁰

A snapshot of leases from 1741:¹¹

19 January 1741: This day was perfected a lease to Edward Worth Esq of the Lands of Ballyknockane and other lands in the County of Limerick for 21 years from 1st November 1740 at the rent of £110 a year.

This day was likewise perfected a lease to Maurice Connel Gent of North Killcomiane in the County of Kerry for 21 years from 1st of November 1740/41 at the yearly rent of £10.

28 February 1741: A lease was perfected to John Elliot Esq of the Lands of Ballynacaward in County of Donegal, for 21 years from 1 November 1740 at £13-2-6 rent annually.

26 June 1741: Lease perfected to Mr Michael Hewetson of the Land of Coulrimar and Kereen in the County of Donnegal for 21 years from 1 November 1740 at yearly rent of £13.

16 November 1741: Lease perfected to James Hamilton Esq of Lands Muruagh and other lands in County of Donnegall at yearly rent of an £150 from 1 November 1741.

8 December 1741: Lease perfected to Robert Maxwell Esq of the Lands of Drumbrachins and Crerum in the County of Ardnagh, at yearly rent of £600 for 21 years from 1 November 1741.

This day lease was also perfected to John Connel of last of the Quarry Ground for term of 40 years from 1 November at yearly rent of £3-0-0.

20 Feb 1741: Lease perfected to Richard Bourke Esq of the Lands of Knockany in County of Limerick for 21 years from 1 November 1740 of £32 10s.

Senior Fellows of College were often granted episcopal titles after their fellowship term came to end which conferred Trinity men numerous landowning and religious rights and powers over tenants and congregations. Many of those granted leases or titles later donated back to the university via bequests, the foundation of scholarships or prizes, and other forms of donations thus perpetuating a cycle of capital, privilege, and appropriation. See next section subsection for examples including Edward Worth and Samuel Madden.

College muniments also demonstrate other related revenue streams including the 'Act for the better advancement of the Gospell and learning in Ireland' which sequestrated the revenues of St. Patrick

10 Works on Trinity Estates include R. B. MacCarthy, *The Trinity College Estates, 1800-1923: Corporate Management in an Age of Reform* (Dublin: Dundalgan, 1992).

11 MUN VOL/5/3 Board registers 1740-1783.

Cathedral and 'some other lands' for the benefit of Trinity and to found another College and a free school.¹²

A.3 Selected List of Prizes, Scholarships, Bequests, and Lectureships enabled by appropriation of lands & related to Trinity church and landholding men

- Dr. Downe's Divinity Premiums- 'premiums established out of a fund bequeathed the College for that purpose by the Rev. Dr. Downes, of Waterford'.¹³
- Lord Donegal's Lecturer in Mathematics- Lectureship founded c.1600 by Arthur Earl of Donegal with salary of £10 a year, after his death right of election devolved to Provost and senior fellows. Lectureship now held by Second Assistant to Erasmus Smith's Professor of Mathematics. Lord Donegal- of the Chicesters originally from Devon, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.¹⁴
- Longford Exhibitions- The Earl of Longford having founded certain Exhibitions of £10 per annum for benefit of Students entering the University from Kingstown School. Longford was a particularly large, and times, contested bequest to Trinity.¹⁵
- Bishop Forster's Divinity Premiums- in 1738, £200 given to college by Right. Rev. Nicholas Forster D.D., Lord Bishop of Raphoe on condition of being applied to the purpose of encouraging study of Theology.¹⁶

A.4 Large Bequests, Donations, and Connections to Trinity

- Sir Erasmus Smith (1611–1691)- A London merchant, Smith acquired a large estate during the Cromwellian plantation. An educational trust was founded in the seventeenth century to support various schools and educational endeavours including exhibitions and lectureships at Trinity.¹⁷

12 MUN/P/1/375-390.

13 College Calendar 1833, pp.87-88; MUN/P/1/1122a: 16 May 1794.

14 College Calendar 1834, p.43.

15 MUN/P/1/590: 12 May 1698; College Calendar 1861, p.27.

16 College Calendar 1880, p.140.

17 College Calendar 1834, p.21. p.43, pp.48-50; College Calendar 1887, p.58; MUN/P/1/1219: n.d. (late 18th cent.); MUN/P/1/2439: 14 May 1892.

- Samuel Molyneux Madden (1686–1765)- On 22 March 1743, a lease perfected to Rev Doctor Samuel Madden of the Lands contained in manor of Slutmullrooney and County of Fermanagh for term of 21 years from November last at yearly rent of £300 which lease John Madden Esq signed for his father.

In his will dated 7 August 1782, he bequeathed all of his estate and property, situated in the Corporation of Belturbet 'to be employed in promoting virtue and learning in Trinity College' from which the Madden Prizes were founded. To continue the administration of the charitable trusts created by the will and codicil of Samuel Moyneux Madden, a trust made up of £4138.16.11 Consols; £1800.18.1 Bank of Ireland stock; Rents amounting to £105.1.3. yearly from lands situated in the Corporation of Belturbet and County of Cavan were confirmed by the Chancery, Master of the Rools in 1921.¹⁸

Madden supported plantations and colonies in the Americas particularly Benjamin Franklin's ideas on colonial management. Belturbet was also first colonised as part of the Plantation of Ulster in the 17th century. The corporation and individual to be investigated further

- Guinness family- In 1903, Edward Cecil Guinness, 1st earl of Iveagh answered an appeal for funds to erect and equip the College's science laboratories, offering £34,000, the capital estimated necessary for buildings and fittings laboratories and like purposes so soon as enough has been collected by subscriptions.¹⁹ Family of interest: connections with metropole, antagonistic to home rule, family to investigate further.

18 College Calendar 1834, pp.128-129; MUN/P/1/2930(1): 15 Nov 1921.

19 MUN/P/1/2605: 16 April 1903; College Calendar 1904-1905 Vol II, p.110.

Section B. Colonialism Overseas

B.1 Prizes, Scholarships, Bequests and Lectureships with Established Connections to Slavery and Empire Overseas

- George Berkeley (1685-1753) - Bishop of Cloyne, associations are more well-known than other connections.

He had numerous interests in the 'New World' including his failed Bermuda scheme which he described his 1725 "A Proposal for the Better Supplying of Churches in our Foreign Plantations and Converting the Savage Americans to Christianity by a College to be Erected in the Summer Islands, otherwise called the Isles of Bermuda". This Bermuda scheme was to be staffed by TCD fellows. Berkeley was a slave-owner, having owned three enslaved people known by the names Philip, Anthony, and Agnes Berkeley. He also purported that enslavement can be justified through converting enslaved Africans to Christianity thus denying them a route to freedom via conversion — leaving an enduring philosophical legacy of enslavement.

The commemoration and legacies of Berkeley at Trinity are numerous. Historically had Lectureship in Greek named after him, made bequests to the college, and a memorial window exists in the chapel:

- A library was named after him in 1967.

- Bishop Berkeley's Gold Medals- On 8 May 1752, 'the Provost and Senior Fellows agreed to give annually, for ever, two Gold Medals for the encouragement of Bachelor of Arts in the Study of the Greek language: having received a Benefaction of one hundred and twenty guineas, besides a die, from the Right Rev. Dr. George Berkeley, Lord Bishop of Cloyne for that purpose.' These medals are still awarded today.²⁰

- Memorial Window- On 22 March 1867, Rev. Humphrey Lloyd, D.D., Provost of Trinity College gave £72 towards a Memorial Window to Bishop Berkeley in the College Chapel.²¹

Pertinent questions going forward include accounting for decisions made for commemoration which continue today in the form of prizes, memorials, and named entities.

Beyond Trinity, connections to other universities and prizes in the Atlantic world are vast. In 2001, graduate students from Yale University explicated the bishop's purchase of a plantation at Rhode Island and his attempts to set up a missionary project.²² His farmhouse in Rhode Island is preserved as Whitehall Museum House and, in the 1930s, Yale named a residential college after the bishop. Notably, Professor Colin and Ailsa Turbayne established an International Berkeley Essay Prize

²⁰ MUN VOL/5/3, p.91.

²¹ College Calendar 1868, p.312.

²² <http://www.yaleslavery.org/WhoYaleHonors/berk.html>

competition at the University of Rochester in New York with copies of winning essays being sent to the Library at Whitehall.²³

B.2 Other Connections to Slavery

The Legacies of British Slave-Ownership database yields the names of awardees and claimants that had connections with Trinity in some way via graduates, family connections, or donators. The connections below generate questions over familial intergenerational slave-based wealth distribution.

- Elias Tardy, a claimant/ beneficiary from Trinidad , awarded £236 4s 10d in 1837.²⁴ A surgeon by profession, his brother James Tardy's Natural History collection formed the basis of the museum at the College.
- Francis Hodgkinson, claimant/beneficiary, awarded two amounts for enslaved people in Barbados (£1,295 5s 6d) and Jamaica St James (£205 15s 8d).²⁵ Hodgkinson was a slave-owner in Barbados, upon his death in London in 1863 he left £450 and administration was granted to his son Francis Barker Hodgkinson, a Captain in the army. This man, dying in 1863, was identified as the son of the late Francis Hodgkinson Vice Provost of Trinity College Dublin.
- Robert Delap (1754 -1782), graduated from Trinity College in 1774, was admitted at the Middle Temple (1771), called to the Irish Bar in 1778, and then practiced in Dublin.²⁶ He was also Colonel of the Lawyers' Volunteer Corps in Dublin in 1780. Held an estate in Jamaica, slave-ownership at the estate's probate in 1783: 346 of whom 175 were listed as male and 171 as female. Total value of estate at probate: £29675.65 Jamaican currency of which £22600 currency was the value of enslaved people. Estate valuation included £0 currency cash, £5255.65 currency debts and £0 currency plate. He died at sea while returning from Jamaica in 1782, aged 28. The will of his widow dated 14 December 1791 was proved in 21 January 1806. In his will, Delap left his leasehold house in York Street Dublin to wife and then for her to dispose of; including estates at Donegal and estates called Orange in St James and Mounteagle in Westmoreland Jamaica in trust. Subsequent directions: trace intergenerational wealth distribution for further Trinity connections and influences.
- Richard Burke, brother of Edmund Burke (see C.3 below).

23 <https://internationalberkeleysociety.org/turbayne-essay-prize/>

24 <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/28681>

25 <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/6367>

26 <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146644529>

B.3 Other Connections Overseas

- Richard Touhill Reid (1822/3-1883) - Barrister-in-Law and jurist in India, formerly of Killarney, in the county of Kerry, afterwards of Bombay.

On 21 April 1888, he bequeathed to the University of Dublin, all his Stock in the Great India Peninsula Railway (£2300 Stock), and in Bombay, Baroda, and Central Indian Company (£1904, guaranteed 5% Consolidated Stock), to found “a Professor of Penal Legislation, including principles of prevention, repression, and reformation”. Also a sum of £6189 6s 8d 3% Consolidated Bank Annuities was left to found additional Sizarships or Exhibitions in the nature of Sizarships, up to 5, open to all students of limited means, natives of county Kerry. A Reid Entrance Exhibition is still offered.²⁷

His legacy is a complex one, he was involved in colonial governance but also invested in education in India having set up a school in Bombay. His investment in Indian railways indicates appropriation and financial benefit from colonial governance in India. Investment in railways gestured to a broader debate and public currency of the ‘colonial railways’ debate, often cited as a progressive investment in the Indian economy. Such assessments often belie the primary motivations and purpose of large scale surveying for railway establishment, that of engendering rapid trade and raw commodity circuits.

B.4 Selected Donations and Bequests to Collections

The range of collections with ties to colonial exploits, either through acquisition via donations or surveying practices in the pursuit of knowledge-production at Trinity (often both), are vast and range from zoological and anatomical collection to manuscript collections and Irish antiquaries. The following provides a snapshot this material (see also specific departments in Section D):

- Cook and Pacific Islands:

Museum possessed a large collection of dresses, weapons, and implements of the South Sea Islanders, ‘the greater part given by Lieutenant Patten, R.N who collected while with Captain Cook’, later moved to the National Museum of Ireland.²⁸

- William Henry Harvey’s donations and activity:

27 College Calendar 1889, p.448; A Professorship named Reid Professor of Criminal Law, Criminology and Penology exists in the School of Law, see <https://www.dib.ie/biography/reid-richard-tuohill-a7620>.

28 College Calendar 1834, p.29; MUN/P/1/2480/2: (c.1892); MUN/P/1/2480/7: 20 Apr 1894.

Harvey was appointed keeper of Trinity's herbarium (1844) and presented with an honorary degree in 1845. In 1858, Harvey presented 'a very valuable series of weapons from the Fiji & Friendly Islands, some of which were obtained through the influence of the Missionaries' to the museum.²⁹

Harvey travelled extensively in the Cape, Tasmania, New Zealand, Australia, and the Fiji Islands and added specimens of mollusca, crustacea, and echinodermata to Trinity's collections. He was able to travel so extensively because of his family connections, his brother was colonial treasurer, accountant general, and registrar of deeds in the Cape Colony.

- Collection of East Indian shells, corals, and some other objects of Natural History- presented in 1830 by Dr. Conwell, Surgeon in the Hon. East Indian Company's Service.³⁰
- Mosque Staff- Presented by Mr. Jolliffe Tuffnell on 1 March 1884. John Jolliffe Tuffnell was a landowner in Ireland and Deputy Lieutenant and Justice of the Peace.³¹
- South African diamonds- On 7 May 1887, two specimens showing the mode of occurrence of the South African diamonds in their native matrix were presented to the Geological Museum by Sir Thomas Uppington, through Benjamin Williamson.³² Uppington educated at Trinity, was an administrator, and acting as premier and attorney general of the Cape Colony at various points. Williamson was a TCD fellow, Donegall Lecturer in Mathematics (1876-1884), and Professor of Natural Philosophy (1884-1890).
- Nine Greek Papyri from Oxyrhynchus from the President of the Egypt Exploration Fund presented to the Library (1906-1907).³³ The Fund is now known as the Egypt Exploration Society.
- Three skulls of South Australian aborigines presented by Charles H. Fleming, M.D. (1909).³⁴

29 MUN/P/1/2480/2: (c.1892).

30 College Calendar 1834, p.29.

31 College Calendar 1885, p.396.

32 College Calendar 1888, p.420.

33 College Calendar 1907-1908, p.302.

34 College Calendar, 1909-1910 Vol 1, p.113.

Section C. Selected Complex Legacies and Family Connections

C.1 Tone family:

Theobald Wolfe Tone (1763-1798) was an Irish nationalist and Trinity graduate and his brother was an officer in the East Indian Company. Both brothers were ideologically invested in colonial rule overseas.³⁵

In 1934, the Wolfe Tone Memorial Society appealed to the Board at Trinity to erect a memorial to Wolfe Tone in the front square. The secretary of the society proposed to set up a committee 'representative of all shades of Nationalist opinion' for purpose of raising funds to achieve this.³⁶ The Board rejected this proposal for a memorial and the committee threatened to release its correspondence with the Board to the Dublin press. This proposal and the Tone family exemplifies a case in which commemoration has been contested. The Board may have rejected this proposal due to Tone's support for Republicanism. Are there any other ideological legacies of the family's connection to nationalism and colonisation?

C.2 Ball family:

There are many intergenerational family connections with Trinity and the Ball family is one such family.

Robert Ball (1802-1857)- Acted as Secretary of the Royal Zoological Society and Secretary of the Geological Society and was appointed director of the University Museum in 1884. He added to the natural history collections from his own collections and received valuable donations from the Indian Archipelago and Western Africa.³⁷

Valentine Ball (1843-1895)- He was the second son of Robert Ball, was educated at Trinity, and elected a Fellow of the Geological Society of London in 1874. In 1864, he joined the Geological Survey of India until 1881, working under Thomas Oldham (see D.1). Upon returning to Ireland, he was appointed to Professor of Geology and Mineralogy at Trinity. He published numerous works on India including *Jungle Life in India, or the Journeys and Journals of an Indian Geologist* (1880), *The Diamonds, Coal, and Gold of India* (1881), *The Economic Geology of India* (1881). He also authored numerous geological

35 Ballantyne writes that, by the close of 18th century 'Irish intellectual life increasingly operated within a globalized analytical framework created by Britain imperial expansion' of which Tone was a key interlocutor: Tony Ballantyne, 'The Sinews of Empire: Ireland, India and the Construction of British Colonial Knowledge', Terence McDonough (ed), *Was Ireland A Colony? Economics, Politics, and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, (Dublin: Irish Academy Press, 2005), 145-161, p.150.

36 MUN/P/1/3015(1-3): 14 July, 28 Nov & 18 Dec 1934.

37 College Calendar 1845, p.79.

tracts in India and accounts of his visits and explorations in Afghanistan, Bulochistan, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and the Himalayas. His explorations in less charted central regions of India informed the construction of a direct railway between Calcutta and Bombay.

The knowledge production of the family in their professional careers depended on access to, and appropriation from, parts of the empire overseas and their activities were invaluable to colonial surveys and ethnographic projects.

C.3 Edmund Burke and family:

Edmund Burke (1729-1797) is one Trinity's most well-known and remembered graduates. Erected in 1868, a statue of him at the front main entrance greets any visitor entering the College's grounds. College also remembers him by the Annual Edmund Burke Lectures which are supported by an endowment in honour of Padraic Fallon by his family.

Burke is hailed as abolitionist, for promoting an ideology of 'liberalism' in British rule overseas, and for his critique of the East India Company's (EIC) rule and administration as corrupt and eroding British governance overseas. Burke was vocal in his campaign against Warren Hastings, Governor-General of Bengal in 1772–1785, culminating in Hastings' impeachment trial (1786-94). Burke was also instrumental in the Fox's India Bill in 1783 in which he spoke on the danger that returning Nabobs would pollute the pure streams of British landed virtue.³⁸ He also supported the 'liberty of commerce' in European markets spanning Britain, Ireland, the British West Indies, and the American colonies.³⁹

However, Burke and his family has more complex legacy, both ideological and in practice, of which the more disreputable aspects are not publicly acknowledged by Trinity. His broader legacy includes supporting British rule as a benevolent force and support for maintaining a trade monopoly in the Subcontinent in which a reformed EIC could continue to operate, some of which was based on the benefits his family accrued from EIC stock speculation.⁴⁰ P.J. Marshall's book on Burke and the West Indies examines Burke's long involvement with the West Indies through the ambitions of his brother Richard Burke and friends and as a politician concerned with management of national assets.⁴¹ A Richard Burke (1733-1794) is also mentioned in the Legacies of British Slave-Ownership database as a possible owner of numerous plantations and an early purchaser of land in Tobago including the Great

38 Robert Travers, *Ideology and Empire in Eighteenth-Century India the British in Bengal*. Vol. 14. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p.271.

39 Gregory M. Collins, *Commerce and Manners in Edmund Burke's Political Economy*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), p.347.

40 Ibid., p.355.

41 See P. J. Marshall, *Edmund Burke and the British Empire in the West Indies: Wealth, Power, and Slavery* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

River division (St Mary parish).⁴² He was appointed collector of Customs for Grenada in 1763 and given a leave of absence in 1765. Returned to Grenada in 1769, he purchased land in St Vincent from the Caribs in 1770 — this purchase was opposed by the government, outlawed in 1771, and rejected in November 1775.⁴³

42 Though Marshall is speculative of Richard's Tobago holdings and his ODNB entry does not reference Tobago land purchases.

43 <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146632899>.

Section D. Other Selected Peoples and Departmental Connections

Trinity was responsible for, and facilitated, the training of a particular kind of colonial servant and administrator abroad, much of which resulted in circuitry flows whereby Trinity men would later return to teach, donate money, or add to the collections of their alma mater.

D.1 School of Medicine

Anatomy Collections and Medical Instruction:

The School of Medicine has numerous historical connections to imperial collecting of human remains, anthropometric surveying, and links to eugenic ideologies. The following provides a sense of these connections, the Anatomy Museum is of particular interest:

Dr James Macartney was appointed as professor of anatomy and surgery in the School of Physic in 1813 and was instrumental in establishing the medical school. Macartney's private collection of preparations of approximately 2000 specimens of deceased structure formed the principal museum in the Anatomy House.⁴⁴

The Anatomy Museum now holds many human remains connected to the anthropometric surveys undertaken across Ireland in the last decade of the nineteenth century. The anthropometric laboratory at Trinity was set up by Daniel Cunningham⁴⁵ and Alfred Haddon,⁴⁶ with Francis Galton 'providing encouragement and assistance' including some of his equipment. Such endeavours were in line with the work of other institutions across Europe.⁴⁷ Cunningham and Haddon originally planned to undertake measurements of Trinity students during the course of their study in 1892 so that they 'might employ the anthropometric methods for the purpose of giving some assistance to the anthropologist in his endeavours to unravel the tangled skein of the so-called 'Irish Race'.'⁴⁸ Haddon and Charles R. Browne⁴⁹ documented the lives of people on the west coast of Ireland between 1891 and 1900. The College holds albums that include photographs of Trinity's anthropological museum,

44 College Calendar 1835, p.55.

45 Cunningham (1850–1909) was a Scottish anatomist who studied medicine at Edinburgh University and became senior demonstrator in 1876. In 1882, he became professor of anatomy at the Royal College of Surgeons in Dublin and in 1883 was appointed professor of anatomy at Trinity College Dublin.

46 Haddon (1855-1940) was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge and was appointed professor of zoology at the Royal College of Science, Dublin in 1880.

47 See Volume 21 of *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* (1892) for more on the broader landscape of anthropometry in this period.

48 Cunningham, D. J. and Haddon, A. C. (1892). 'The Anthropometric Laboratory of Ireland'. *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 21, 35-39, p.36.

49 Browne (1867-c.1918) was a medical doctor and anthropologist and assistant to Daniel Cunningham at Trinity.

the West of Ireland island community, and other 'genealogical material'.⁵⁰ Various reports (ethnographies) were published in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy.⁵¹ Browne is a particularly notorious, known to have collected skulls from the graves of dead islanders and placed them in the Anthropological Museum and Laboratory at Trinity.⁵²

The influence of this work on anthropometric efforts elsewhere in the British Empire (including practices of phrenology and craniology) and on the enduring legacies of scientific racism and eugenics need to be investigated further and contended with, as do the extractive processes by which human remains were obtained in Ireland and other colonies. The Anatomy Museum, for instance, still holds skulls of 'bushman' from Australia, 'a Mohammedan skull,' 'a Brahman skull,' skulls of 'Burmese Males' donated by Dr Davis from the Indian Subcontinent, and the skulls of 'Negro males' amongst others.⁵³ Some of these remains were collected before the anthropometric survey across Irish sites and were later subsumed into the anthropometric collection, others were donated to the museum (see B.2 above). In 1912, the work of Cunningham was recognised and memorialised by former students and friends who subscribed to a fund that paid for a bronze portrait panel to be placed in Department of Practical Anatomy in his memory and for an annual Medal and Prize in Anatomy to be established.⁵⁴

Other Points of Interest:

The School of Medicine's historical and current partnerships and pedagogical practices are worthy of consideration. In 1919, six Egyptian doctors arrived in Dublin to take up training posts or medical positions in various hospitals around the city including Rotunda, Coombe, and Trinity.⁵⁵ Trinity is currently involved in partnerships with institutions abroad including with universities in South Africa and Malawi. These connections precipitate questions around colonial and postcolonial connections with institutions abroad and the 'development' role that Trinity has aimed to foster more recently.

50 Trinity College Dublin Archives and Manuscripts: IE TCD MS 10961.

51 Volume 5 of the Proceedings for 1989-1900 includes a 'Report on the Work done in the Anthropometric Laboratory of Trinity College, Dublin' by Charles E. Browne.

52 Dr Ciaran Walsh has undertaken extensive work on the Alfred Haddon and his anthropometric activities.

53 Postdoctoral research fellow's observations from a visit to the museum, the School of Medicine has yet to respond to a request made for access to museum collections and materials first made on the 12th October 2020.

54 College Calendar 1912-1913 Vol III, pp.547-551.

55 Vivian Ibrahim, 'Sailors, Merchants, Migrants: From the Sack of Baltimore to World War I', *Muslims in Ireland: Past and Present*, A. Khan, O. Scharbrodt, T. Sakaranaho, V. Ibrahim, & Y. Shanneik (eds), (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), 27-48, p.39.

D.2 Pedagogical Instruction for Indian Civil Service

Trinity prepared students for the Open Competition for admittance into East Indian Company service from 1856.⁵⁶ Provision was made for Oriental languages, initially Sanskrit and Arabic. In 1877, Trinity College was placed on the list of institutions in which Selected Candidates for the Civil Service of India would be permitted to reside for their probation before proceeding to India. Provision expanded to meet demand and to enable Trinity to recommend itself as institution for the training of colonial civil servants in the Indian Civil Service and Eastern Cadetships (for placement elsewhere including in Egypt).⁵⁷ Such provisions including additional lectures to be given to Trinity and non-Trinity students who wished to sit the open competition exams. In 1906, lecturers were also appointed to provide further language provision and instruction in Indian law and history. Dr. W. E. Ormsby, late Judge of the High Court of Travencore and previously lecturer at a law college in Travencore, was appointed to teach Indian law indicating further knowledge transfer and circulation between Ireland and India.⁵⁸ Other examples of Anglo-Irishmen entering the Indian Civil Service include Gerald (John) Simms (1904–1979) who later taught history at TCD from 1953.⁵⁹

The life of Lucas White King (1856–1925) is also demonstrative of cyclical knowledge transfer across British colonies. King, the son of the Deputy Surgeon-General Henry King, was born in Madras in 1856.⁶⁰ King was educated at Trinity, was listed as a successful candidate of the Open Competitive Examination for the Indian Civil Service in 1876⁶¹ and won a prize in Hindustani in 1877.⁶² He was active in the Indian Civil Service from 1878 including as an officer in the Waziristan Field Force in 1894, a delimitation officer in the Indo-Afghan Boundary Commission in 1895 and part of the Tirah Expedition Force between 1897–8. He authored numerous ethnographic works including ‘Monograph on the Orakzai Country and Clans,’ ‘History and Coinage of the Afghan Barakzais,’ and ‘History and Coinage of Malwa’.⁶³ Such works were instrumental tools of empire for mapmaking and codifying Indian peoples and customs. In 1905, King was appointed Professor of Arabic, Persian, Hindustani, and Hindi at Trinity as part of concerted efforts to improve and extend the provision for Indian Civil Service examination candidates.⁶⁴

56 College Calendar 1855, pp.25–28; see David Dickson, Justyna Pyz, and Christopher C. Shepard (Eds), *Irish Classrooms and British Empire: Imperial Contexts in the Origins of Modern Education*, (Dublin: Four Courts, 2012) for more on Irish pedagogy and empire.

57 College Calendar 1901–1902 Vol I, p.55*.

58 College Calendar 1906–1907 Vol I, p.58*.

59 <https://www.dib.ie/biography/simms-john-gerald-a8077>

60 He was also the Principal of the Medical School in Madras.

61 College Calendar 1880, p.10.

62 College Calendar 1906–1907 Vol III, p.86.

63 Ibid., p.356.

64 College Calendar 1906–1907 Vol I, p.58*.

From 1905, the War Office also agreed to annually offer 14 commissions to students of Trinity College for a period of 5 years including 10 commissions in the Foot Guards, Cavalry, Line or Army Service Corps; 2 Commissions in the Royal Artillery; and 2 Commissions in the Indian Army.⁶⁵

D.3 School of Divinity

One of the foundational elements of Trinity had been to 'civilise' through religious instruction in Ireland, to sermonise amongst Irish Catholics, and to facilitate missionary activities overseas including in China and India. Trinity-educated clergy also travelled to undertake positions in the settler colonies of Australia and Canada.⁶⁶

Within Ireland:

The College encouraged students who identified as Irish to take Holy Orders in the Anglican Church of Ireland by offering scholarships including the following:

Irish Scholarships: 'The Governors of the Irish Collegiate School have, with the approbation of His Grace the Lord Primate, and the sanction of the Provost and Senior Fellows of Trinity College, founded five Irish Scholarships in the University. They are designed for such Students only as intend to become candidates for Holy Orders, in the Church of Ireland, and are consequently open only to Members of the Church.'⁶⁷

St. Columba Irish Scholarships: 'The Warden and Fellowships of College of St. Columba have, with the approbation of his Grace the Lord Primate, and the sanction of the Provost and Senior Fellows of Trinity College, founded five Irish Scholarships in the University... designed for Students only as intend to become candidates for the Holy Orders in the Church in Ireland'.⁶⁸

Overseas:

The School of Divinity was involved in numerous missions abroad. The Dublin University Far Eastern Mission (1885-1935) and Dublin University Mission to Chota Nagpur (c.1891-2004) are well-known and celebrated within missionary circles. The Far Eastern Mission relates to the Fukien Province in China, more recently to Taiwan, and currently both Taiwan and Hong Kong and Macau.⁶⁹ The second

65 College Calendar 1908-1909 Vol I, p.280.

66 Thomas P. Power (Ed). *A Flight of Parsons: The Divinity Diaspora of Trinity College Dublin*, (Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2018).

67 One scholar was elected every year and value of stipend in first year was £24, increasing year by year up to £48: College Calendar 1843, p.100.

68 One scholar was elected each year. Regulations were amended in 1848 to include the following: the value of each scholarship became £30 per annum, candidates was examined by the Professor of Irish, and was only open to students who have been educated in the College of St. Columba: College Calendar 1849, p.105.

69 TCD MUN/DUFEM DU Far Eastern Mission and DU Mission to Fuh-Kien.

mission relates to the Diocese of Chota Nagpur in North Eastern India (modern-day Ranchi).⁷⁰ The activities of the second mission in Ranchi continue in the form of a convent, public schools, and hospitals and, in 2017, the Dublin University Mission attempted to renew links at Chota Nagpur.⁷¹ Other Irish universities, such as University College Dublin, have also spearheaded numerous missionary endeavours including related medical activity. Situating the Dublin missions alongside the role of Catholic and Protestant missions to take a cross-institutional approach would be generative, providing insights into how Trinity's involvement in missionary activity coalesced with other commercial and administrative motivations in colonies as well as within debates around Irish nationalism and religious identities at home.

D.4 School of Engineering

The School of Engineering advertised its courses as providing opportunities to graduates across empire. One report on the School of Engineering to the Royal Commission in 1906 indicated the following:

'The aim of the School has been to train men fit to undertake Civil Engineering work, particularly Surveying and Railway work, immediately after graduating, and many of its students have filled with success, in various parts of the world, posts to which they were appointed either direct from the School of when they had gained a few months' practical experience after graduating.'⁷²

'Since the appointments in the Indian Public Works have been thrown open, by the abolition of Hill's Engineering College, a number of our students have been selected for these posts. A share of Engineering Appointments in Egypt may be expected to be allotted to this College, when the teaching of the School becomes better known.'⁷³

70 Minutes, working papers of Executive Committee, correspondence, and miscellaneous records of the Dublin University Mission to the diocese of Chota Nagpur [DUMCN], Bihar Province, North India: see <https://www.ireland.anglican.org/news/6410/scenes-from-north-india-in>; also see Sarah Hunter, *The Dublin University Mission - Irish medical missionaries in Britain's empire in India, 1891 - 1929: identity, impact and sustainability*, PhD Thesis, (Dublin: Trinity College Dublin, 2016).

71 <https://dublin.anglican.org/news/2017/08/21/dublin-university-mission-to-chota>

72 MUN/P/1/2668: (1906)

73 Ibid.

D.5 School of Law

Alongside the instructional role played by individuals involved in colonial administration elsewhere, like Dr. W. E. Ormsby (see D.2 above), the School of Law has also attracted international human rights activists and legal scholars from the late twentieth century including Kadel Asmal.

Kader Asmal (1934-2011) was an prominent South African anti-apartheid activist. He qualified as a barrister at the London and Dublin Bars. He lectured at Trinity College for 27 years, specialising in human rights, labour, and international law. During his time in London, he started the British Anti-Apartheid Movement and, when he joined Trinity, he started the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement. Asmal also served on the African National Congress's constitutional committee from 1986 and, upon returning to South Africa in 1990, was involved in South African politics and took up numerous ministerial positions.

Asmal is remembered through the Kader Asmal Fellowship Programme which provides fully-funded scholarships to South African students to study at Master's level at an Irish university.⁷⁴

D.6 Other Trinity Graduates and Fellows of Interest

- John Winthrop the Younger (1606 –1676)- son of John Winthrop, founding governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, the younger Winthrop was an early governor of the Connecticut Colony.
- Sir Thomas Oldham (1816-1878)- Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India.
- William Crooke (1848-1923)- Educated at Trinity, colonial administrator and ethnographer in India.
- George Abraham Grierson (1851-1941)- Educated at Trinity, Superintendent of the Linguistic Survey of India.
- Henry Chichester Hart (1847–1908)- Educated at Trinity, Naturalist on the Palestine Exploration Fund's 1883-1884 expedition to Palestine.
- Robert Alexander Stewart Macalister (1870 -1950)- Son of Trinity anatomist Alexander Macalister, Director of excavations for the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF) in 1901.
- Mir Aulad Ali (1832-1898)- Professor of Arabic, Hindustani, and Persian from 1861 until around the 1890s. Ali was a Shia Muslim from North India, mostly like the United Provinces.

⁷⁴ <https://www.irishaidfellowships.ie/strands/kader-asmal-fellowship>

- Sir Albert Henry Hime (1842–1919)- Educated at Trinity and the Royal Military College, Woolwich, commissioned in the Royal Engineers (1861), colonial engineer of Natal (1875).
- Sir Charles Decimus O'Grady Gubbins (1855–1911)- Educated at Trinity, medical doctor and parliamentarian, and colonial secretary in Natal, South Africa.

Section E: Audit Reflections, Audit Current Progress and Next Steps

E.1 Audit Reflections

Our initial conclusions for the audit suggest a number of key considerations for how to proceed in the next stage of the project. Firstly, unlike other legacies of enslavement projects, particularly Glasgow's project on slavery,⁷⁵ establishing monetary quantification is more complex for a project which considers Trinity's involvement in Atlantic slavery within the broader scope of colonialism and its impacts. Secondly, in the case of Trinity, a historical investigation must include the institution's role in the colonisation of Ireland as beneficiaries of land appropriation and experimentation alongside its instrumental role in colonial training and administration in colonial overseas. Both of these considerations indicate the complex nature of assessing colonial legacies and impacts and its incommensurability in relation to institutional enslavement projects elsewhere.

The audit broadly uncovered monetary endowments and benefactions alongside non-monetary donations, department collections and collecting practices, and circuits of imperial knowledge production and ideologies. Thus, we envisage that the project's outcomes would involve moving beyond establishing quantification of capital gained by the slave trade — this should be a crucial separate project. Indeed, in some cases, quantification alone can preclude and belie the deeper, structural impacts of institutional harm and colonial violence. Instead, we propose further investigating the complex, intergenerational, and intersecting role of peoples, practices, extraction of material objects, and racialised imperial ideologies that Trinity men (for the most part) have been involved in. Tracing these connections and their ongoing postcolonial impacts at an Anglo-Irish institution — implicated in Irish debates on nationalism as well empire more broadly — would be a more generative and productive line of enquiry for this project moving forward.

⁷⁵ Stephen Mullen and Simon Newman, *Slavery, Abolition and the University of Glasgow*, <https://www.gla.ac.uk/research/az/slavery/report2018/#d.en.606332>.

E.2 Current Progress of Audit

- Consulted College Muniments, Calendars, and other archival material from Trinity's Manuscripts & Archives.
- Established some connections to slavery connections in the Caribbean and numerous connections to Empire particularly in India and South Africa.
- Met with numerous departments to initiate conversations about material held and consulting material in future stages of the project.
- Made contact with Art History about its collection.
- A Public History Internship, attached to the MA in Public History, has started a physical mapping project on the naming of statues, buildings, and rooms in College.

E.3 Next Steps

- Finish consultation of College Calendars.
- Complete audit spreadsheet.
- Conduct archival research in departmental collections
- Begin further research on the colonial connections arising from the audit and as indicated by the discussions of the first project board meeting.
- Establishing a second Public History internship on Students and Staff of Colour at Trinity.