

Imperial Leamington: A Postcolonial Walking Tour

Overview

The tour starts at All Saints' Church in the centre of Leamington and proceeds straight up the Parade to Clarendon Avenue, before doubling back down to finish at the Town Hall. It features six stops that tell a chronological story of the British empire so it is best to do them in order if you can. The walk is one mile long, and the roads can be busy, so please take care. The tour was written for the Colonial Hangover project by academics from the Department of Politics and International Studies at the University of Warwick.¹

Background

There is a conventional history of Leamington by which you first come to know the town. It begins with the discovery of mineral-rich spring waters near the River Leam. Sensing a business opportunity, local entrepreneurs built bath houses for visitors to 'take the waters'. To attract wealthy patrons, the town expanded accordingly. Lavish town houses and hotels were designed in the regency style, public gardens created for promenading, and assembly rooms, reading rooms, theatres and picture galleries built for entertaining. The elite of British society came not just to restore their health, but to enhance their social standing too. As one early guidebook remarked, Leamington had become "one of the most interesting objects of fashionable resort in the British Empire".² When Queen Victoria gave her permission in 1838 for the town to officially assume regal status, the transformation was complete: the humble village of Leamington Priors had become the grand destination of Royal Leamington Spa.

Let's return to that passing reference to the British Empire. While you can find occasional boasts in older writings on Leamington about its facilities being the 'best in the Empire' along with descriptions of the "glorious spirit of enterprise abroad" that supposedly characterised this era, nowadays this context is somewhat downplayed.³ It has become a hidden history.⁴ That's what this walking tour is aiming to reveal: how the history of Leamington is also an *imperial* history.

This shouldn't be a big surprise. The rapid development of Leamington in the early nineteenth century coincided with the global expansion of the British Empire, which was acquiring territories across south Asia and establishing settler colonies in Australia, Canada, South Africa and New Zealand. In fact, less than a decade after Victoria made Leamington 'Royal', the influential statesman Viscount Palmerston was confidently declaring to Parliament that: "We stand at the head of moral, social, and political civilization. Our task is to lead the way and direct the march of other nations".⁵ As we'll show along the steps of this tour, this belief – and the practices that made it made possible – swirled through Leamington too, shaping the people who lived here and the legacies they left behind.

Stop 1: The tombs on the south side of All Saints' Church, facing Church Walk

We start with these tombs. The one farthest from Church Walk reads: "In this vault lie the mortal remains of Elizabeth Virgo Scarlett. Relict of the Late James Scarlett Esq of Trelawney in the island of Jamaica. Who died at Leamington on the 2nd of January 1821 aged 53. R.I.P."⁶ James Scarlett owned sugar plantations in Jamaica and had died there twenty-three years earlier. So how did his wife, known as Eliza, end up in Leamington?

She was an ‘absentee owner’ who had inherited property from her husband, ran the plantations from London, and (we assume) came to Leamington to recuperate. As you might be thinking, Eliza inherited not just the land and buildings of the plantations but the labour too. What we are looking at here, then, is the tomb of a slave-owner. In fact, both tombs belong to slave-owners. Sharing a vault with Eliza are James Virgo Dunn and his wife Elizabeth Virgo Dunn, who also owned plantations in Jamaica. Records show that Eliza inherited four plantations and hundreds of slaves. The most recent slaves had been bought for £75, around £3,500 today.⁷ Eliza managed the business until the end of life and passed on her accumulated wealth to her daughters. Her will detailed the property to be bequeathed, including a list that simply read: “negroes slaves plate jewells and all my other real and personal estate”.⁸

What these tombs tell us is how slave-ownership extended far beyond the sugar barons of the British West Indies. At the point when slavery was finally abolished in the British Empire, there were 47,000 individuals who had a direct stake in the enslaved, many of them living in Britain and engaged in a variety of professions.⁹ We know of another eleven slave-owners who lived in Leamington including a lawyer, an ex-soldier, a police constable’s wife and a reverend.¹⁰ Surely there were many more.¹¹

This pervasiveness of slave-ownership in British society was made possible by the scale of colonial slavery and the system of ownership. It is estimated that between 1640 and 1807 the British oversaw the transportation of 3.1 million Africans to the Americas, mostly to work on sugar plantations.¹² These were people turned into human commodities that could literally be bought at a market price and their lives subsequently treated as an economic asset that was recorded in the business accounts and which could be used as collateral to borrow money or passed onto the next generation. Despite the inhumanity of this process and the brutalisation it allowed – what abolitionists called ‘a stain upon the nation’ – the grand tombs also show how plantation wealth could be used to enhance the social status of slave-owners, even in death.¹³

Stop 2: The Royal Pump Rooms, over the River Leam and opposite Jephson Gardens

The Royal Pump Rooms were opened in 1814 and quickly became a star attraction. “No dross of society, or even ambiguous characters, will be found among those who assemble at the Pumproom for their health and the waters” proclaimed a guidebook to *The Spas of England*. It was built on land belonging to Bertie Greatheed, whose family had become one of the major landowners in this part of Warwickshire.¹⁴ They had paid for this land with proceeds from colonial slavery.¹⁵ Bertie’s grandfather had established a sugar plantation on the Caribbean island of St. Kitts which became extremely lucrative, helping to fund the rise of his son – Bertie’s father – as an English gentleman and MP. Plantation accounts from 1782 show that taxes were paid on 152 slaves and also show the bestial way in which they were treated, not unlike livestock. There were payments made for medicine and doctors’ fees, but similar sums spent on neck collars and “catching runaway negroes”.¹⁶

In contrast to Eliza Scarlett, Bertie Greatheed was less hands on as an absentee owner. Partly this was due to his interests, which lay in the arts rather than in business, and partly due to his politics, which were sympathetic to abolition. On a visit to Liverpool he apparently saw one of the Guinea ships used to transport slaves across the Atlantic and expressed his distaste for the cruelty involved; he also referred to his plantation as “that odious property”.¹⁷ All the same, he never sold his plantation but eventually leased it out for rent,¹⁸ keeping abreast of its annual productivity though preferring not to know about its day-to-day brutality.¹⁹

Rather than divesting from the slave economy, Bertie Greatheed began to diversify his property portfolio. He sold 65 acres of land north of the river and invested in the building of the Pump Rooms,²⁰ as well as in housing and an assembly room on what would become the Parade,²¹ confident that great profits were to be made in Leamington ‘new town’.²² He was also a signatory to the legislative act that ultimately brought the Warwick and Napton Canal through Leamington, aiding the transport of goods like coal and corn to the town,²³ and would later sell off large tracts of land for development in neighbouring Milverton (some of which was purchased by a Jamaican sugar planter).²⁴ These decisions appear to have been driven primarily by money worries. Bertie was living beyond his means and needed another source of income.²⁵

He had been advised against over-reliance on his sugar plantation, which was vulnerable to disruption from Britain’s wars with America and then with France, as well as the abolition of the slave trade which happened in 1807.²⁶ Indeed, these and other factors did eventually bring the West Indian sugar industry into permanent decline. Many plantation owners accrued serious debts as a result and looked to cut their losses and move any remaining capital elsewhere. Bertie Greatheed is but one example of how the wealth made from colonial slavery was reinvested in the British metropole, with land and real estate being among the principal destinations.²⁷ Indeed, there is a wider debate as to quite how much Britain’s Industrial Revolution and associated economic development – especially the infrastructure and financial capital which were its lifeblood – was ultimately dependent on the produce and profits of empire.

Stop 3: The Regent Hotel (Travelodge) at the intersection of the Parade and Regent Grove

The hotel was opened in 1819 as one of the largest in Europe. Managed by Jack and Sarah Williams, the former butler and housekeeper to Bertie Greatheed, it was visited by the Prince Regent, later King George IV, who gave it permission to take his name.²⁸ This royal seal of approval helped burnish Leamington’s reputation as refined place suitable for the nobility and gentry.²⁹ There is a plaque inside which lists some of the hotel’s well-known and well-heeled guests, including some infamous figures of the British Empire such as Lord Elgin, who removed marble sculptures from the Parthenon from Greece for display in Britain and wrote a letter from Leamington declaring his “utmost gratification” at the acquisition.³⁰

One person who does not feature on the plaque, though, is Sir John Gladstone. He was a Scottish merchant based in Liverpool, who first made his fortune trading corn and cotton. He also supplied West Indian plantations with goods, paid with mortgages in lieu of cash. Believing that he could succeed where others were failing, he began to acquire the plantations either through foreclosure or outright purchase, and by the 1820s he was the owner of seven sugar estates in Demerara and six in Jamaica.³¹ What was this business magnate doing in Leamington you might ask? He was there because his wife and daughter were receiving medical treatment from Dr Jephson, a renowned doctor after whom the gardens opposite the Pump Rooms are named.³² This was no passing visit. Gladstone’s family came repeatedly and stayed for the season in rented town houses at the top of the Parade.³³ Sir John was inevitably drawn into the social circuit of Leamington: attending balls,³⁴ contributing to appeals,³⁵ and advising the affluent Dr Jephson on financial matters.³⁶ A local newspaper article in 1833 acknowledged the contribution of the town’s wealthy patron, declaring it to be “indebted...to the indefatigable exertions of that steady friend to Leamington, J. Gladstone, Esq”.³⁷

That year was signal one for Gladstone. The *trade* in slaves had been abolished in 1807 but *ownership* of slaves continued. 1833 was the year this was legally overturned and 800,000 slaves in the British Empire emancipated.³⁸ Gladstone was one of its strongest opponents.³⁹ He

firmly believed in his right to property in slaves and their duty to serve – in fact, he thought it was in their best interests – but as the political tide turned against him and the other West India planters, they lobbied instead to secure compensation.⁴⁰ In this endeavour they were much more successful. The government compensated slave-owners to the tune of £20 million, equivalent to 40 per cent of government expenditure at the time.

As the owner of 2,508 slaves, John Gladstone was one of the biggest recipients of compensation, much of which was reinvested in railway development.⁴¹ He was also the prime mover to replace the liberated slaves with immigrants from British India so as to ensure a continued supply of cheap labour on the plantations. His plan was to give them free passage to and from the West Indies whereupon they would work for a fixed number of years at a certain wage. In 1838 the first indentured labourers – 396 people known as the ‘Gladstone coolies’ – arrived in British Guiana.⁴² This system was immediately criticised by anti-slavery campaigners who believed that the labourers were unaware of what they had signed up for and endured pitiful wages, physical violence and abysmal living conditions once they arrived.⁴³ Nevertheless, an estimated 500,000 Indians ultimately made the voyage as indentured labourers before its abolition in 1920. Two-thirds remained in the region, changing Caribbean society forever.⁴⁴

Stop 4: House of Fraser on the Parade, opposite the Royal Priors shopping centre

This middle section of House of Fraser was formerly Bettison’s Athenaeum Library and Reading Rooms.⁴⁵ There were many libraries in Leamington and they were important in connecting residents to the wider world, providing access to newspapers, periodicals and scholarly publications.⁴⁶ One visitor to this library was Thomas Fowell Buxton, a leading abolitionist who had successfully campaigned in Parliament for an end to slavery. Buxton wrote a number of letters from the Athenaeum as he continued to press for change.⁴⁷ In the years after emancipation, the anti-slavery movement had three main aims: the full realisation of freedom for former slaves; the protection of indigenous people as Britain’s territorial empire expanded; and the suppression of the Atlantic slave trade, which was being carried on by other nations.⁴⁸ Buxton had turned his attention to the last of these and it was whilst he was in Leamington that he formed an unlikely partnership to try and bring it about.

Buxton believed that if the British engaged in legitimate commercial trade with Africa and developed its domestic agriculture then this would provide an economic alternative to the capture and sale of slaves. To flesh out these plans he enlisted James MacQueen, a former plantation manager and outspoken critic of the abolitionists.⁴⁹ It was a marriage of convenience: Buxton needed MacQueen’s knowledge of coastal west Africa and experience of commerce while MacQueen needed Buxton’s political profile to further his own ideas to ‘open up’ Africa.⁵⁰ The result was a pamphlet to the government that criticised the current approach of using the British Navy to patrol the Atlantic and intercept slave ships. It proposed instead that the British should sign treaties with kings and chiefs in Africa to abolish slavery and cede land to the British for cultivation and commercial activities. It also advocated the establishment of schools so as to “elevate the native mind” by spreading Christian values.⁵¹

To make this plan a reality Buxton created the African Civilization Society and raised funds for what would become the Niger Expedition. With government approval, three ships set sail in 1841 with the intention of establishing a British settlement at the confluence of the Niger and Benue rivers, in what is now Nigeria. The expedition had become high-profile and Buxton’s reputation was at stake. He was in Leamington again just before the ships departed,

and wrote to the captain: “I once more crave that the blessing of the Lord may be with you in your mission of peace and mercy”.⁵² Unfortunately for Buxton, the blessing was not bestowed. The ships encountered malarial fever and a third of the Europeans on board died. The expedition was considered a national disaster, with one newspaper editorial in Leamington decrying the money wasted on the schemes of sentimental abolitionists who were more sympathetic to foreigners than to their own neighbours.⁵³ Buxton died a broken man a few years later. However, the expedition did not temper British imperialism. Buxton’s civilising mission of bringing commerce and Christianity to Africa was taken up by others, most notably the missionary and explorer David Livingstone, whose exploits were celebrated by the British public.⁵⁴ The pursuit of freedom on behalf of others – what Rudyard Kipling called the ‘white man’s burden’ – was key to the support that imperialism enjoyed in late nineteenth century Britain.⁵⁵

Stop 5: Bella Café on the Parade, opposite Tesco Metro

The Georgian villas at the top of the Parade were bought or rented by wealthy families.⁵⁶ The Gladstones were one such family (they lived in part of what is now Boots) and the Galtons were another. In fact, they knew each other well.⁵⁷ Samuel Tertius Galton, a one-time gun manufacturer,⁵⁸ retired to Leamington in 1831 and was soon joined by his young son Francis, a precocious child who would grow up to pioneer the controversial field of eugenics.⁵⁹ Leamington played an important part in the formative life of Francis Galton. While he received formal schooling in Kenilworth and Birmingham,⁶⁰ it was in Leamington that he gained informal lessons in medicine and masculinity. In his autobiography, for example, he writes of a memorable first experience in which, as a teenager, he was invited to witness the post-mortem examination of a recently deceased housemaid.⁶¹ He also spent considerable time in Leamington during his twenties where he took up hunting and shooting, learning the gentlemanly pursuits that would give him a sense of manliness.⁶²

Reflecting the Victorian passion for exploration, Galton’s first career was a geographer and anthropologist. Inspired by the exploits of explorers and big game hunters in south Africa,⁶³ he was one of the first Europeans to traverse modern-day Namibia and Botswana, recalling that on that trip he “saw enough of savage races to give me material to think about all the rest of my life”.⁶⁴ After the publication of *On the Origin of Species* by Charles Darwin – who happened to be his cousin – Galton turned his attention to human evolution, branching off into his second career as a social scientist. He popularised the term ‘nature versus nurture’ and was of the opinion that intellectual ability was largely hereditary. He also thought that, over time, different races had acquired innate characteristics. While these beliefs were not unusual, what marked Galton out was his development of scientific techniques that supposedly proved the “comparative worth of different races” and his desire to use state intervention to deliberately improve the “human stock”.⁶⁵ This is what he meant by eugenics: *eu-* meaning good, *-genic* meaning genes. It was a programme, in his words, to “give to the more suitable races or strains of blood a better chance of prevailing speedily over the less suitable”.⁶⁶

Galton’s ideas tied in with imperialism in a number of ways. Like Buxton, he also sought to civilise Africa, though suggested a very different way of doing it. In an infamous letter to *The Times* he argued that the British should encourage Chinese settlements on the east coast of Africa so that they “would multiply and their descendants supplant the inferior Negro race”.⁶⁷ He believed the Chinese had an “aptitude for high material civilization” and could settle permanently in the tropics, unlike the Anglo-Saxon race which was best suited to temperate

climates. For Galton, then, this was a way to advance the march of human progress, with the happy coincidence that it would also serve European commercial interests.⁶⁸ Galton also believed that if eugenic thought were applied *within* Britain then the nation “should be better fitted to fulfil our vast imperial opportunities”.⁶⁹

Galton and his followers conceived of ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ ways of applying eugenics. Positive eugenics would encourage procreation among the gifted middle-class and allow only “the better sort of emigrants and refugees from other lands”.⁷⁰ Negative eugenics would drive out the urban ‘residuum’ or underclass who were seen as unfit for military service and jeopardising Britain’s foreign power.⁷¹ While negative eugenics fell out of favour, not least because of its genocidal adoption by the Nazis, positive eugenics remained influential in utopic visions of state-induced meritocracy. For example, William Beveridge, whose report laid the basis for Britain’s post-World War II welfare state, was a prominent member of the Eugenics Society and believed his proposal for child benefits would have positive eugenic effects by encouraging the “higher social classes” to procreate.⁷² As for Galton, he returned to Leamington throughout his life,⁷³ and when he died in 1911 he was buried next to his parents in Claverdon, a village eight miles to the west. An obituary in the *Leamington Spa Courier* lamented the loss of an “eminent Victorian scientist” and one “whom Warwickshire may claim as distinguished son and member a well-known County family”.⁷⁴

Stop 6: The Queen Victoria statue outside the Town Hall on the Parade

We come now to the final stop on the walking tour. Fittingly, it is of someone who embodied the British Empire: Queen Victoria. You can see her here dressed in her state robes, holding the orb and sceptre which symbolise the role of the British monarch as God’s representative on earth. The inscription reads: ‘Victoria Queen Empress 1837-1901 / She wrought her people lasting good’. It’s important to remember that constitutionally Victoria was not just Queen of the United Kingdom of Britain and Ireland, but also Empress of India.⁷⁵ She acquired this title in 1876 after the dissolution of the East India Company, which had come to rule over large parts of India at arms-length from the British state.⁷⁶ The effective nationalisation of the Company by Britain and the establishment of direct rule happened as a result of the Indian Rebellion some two decades earlier. Victoria is depicted here wearing the Star of India, which was a knighthood created after the rebellion to honour “conspicuous merit and loyalty” among Indian Princes and Chiefs, as well as British officers who served in India.⁷⁷ This was a political tactic to try and repair relations between the British Crown and Indian elites after the horrors of the rebellion, whereby British reprisals had resulted in the death and displacement of hundreds of thousands of Muslims and Hindus, mostly civilians.⁷⁸

Another royal initiative designed to stimulate commerce and strengthen the bonds of empire in the face of anti-imperial agitation was the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in 1886.⁷⁹ Though based in London, a party of guests from the Exhibition, including the Raja of Narsingharh, was also received in Leamington, with a banquet held in their honour at the town hall. It commenced with a toast to the Queen, “the acme of union through whom they shook hands together as members in common of one mighty empire”.⁸⁰ But it was the local MP and Speaker of the House of Commons, Arthur Peel, who best captured the mood among the white guests⁸¹ when he proclaimed to loud cheers “that in that strength and union [of Britain and the colonies] lies the guarantee not only for the maintenance of the glory and honour of the mother country, but the best guarantee for the peace and harmony of the world” – a reference to the idea of imperial federation among the self-governing white colonies.⁸²

The phrase ‘She wrought her people lasting good’ is taken from a poem by Alfred Tennyson written to the Queen and expresses a wish that future generations will say that her reign improved people’s lives. Shorn of that context on the statue, it appears instead as an assertion of fact.⁸³ The inscription on the back of the statue is ‘Erected by the people of Leamington October 11th 1902 William Davis Mayor’. This was the year after Victoria died and was part of a spate of commemorations to her reign. There are identical statues to this in Nottingham and South Shields made by the same sculptor,⁸⁴ and over eighty of her in total across the UK.⁸⁵ Nor was it just statues. The road from All Saints’ Church to the Royal Pump Rooms runs over Victoria Bridge, and down the river to the west is Victoria Park.⁸⁶ These various homages to the monarch were also a critical part of empire-building. By the end of the nineteenth century Victoria was a region in Australia, a city in Canada, a lake in east Africa, a harbour in Hong Kong, a waterfall in southern Africa, and more besides.⁸⁷

Taking the royal name helped explorers, merchants and settlers gain political legitimacy for their endeavours and reminded the British overseas of their duty to Queen and country.⁸⁸ But that relationship between Britain and its imperial territories was two-way. Empire ‘came home’ – came to Leamington – in a number of ways. We have already mentioned the wealth from the slave economy that flowed almost imperceptibly into the development and patronage of the town’s amenities, and the discussions behind closed doors about how to civilise supposedly ‘inferior races’. More visible expressions of empire, meanwhile, could be found in the circus elephants brought from Ceylon (statues inspired by these can be seen in Jephson Gardens and on Livery Street)⁸⁹ and the various cultural artefacts displayed in the town’s museums.⁹⁰ But perhaps the most explicit acknowledgement of British imperialism in Leamington was Victoria – and deliberately so. As the Mayor remarked when the statue was unveiled: “To the young it would speak and remind them that they were the sons and daughters of the greatest Empire the world has ever seen, and of the great heritage which they possessed.”⁹¹

Final thoughts

Through these six sites and the people they represent, we have tried to tell a bigger story about how the British Empire took place in Leamington. An important aspect of this was how imperialism evolved: from the so-called ‘first British Empire’ centred on the Americas and the Atlantic slave trade, to the ‘second British Empire’ centred on commercial and territorial expansion in Asia and Africa. Our story finished with the close of the Victorian era, but the evolution went on. The British Empire reached its territorial peak shortly after and then went into decline. The wave of decolonisation and creation of independent sovereign states after World War II ended much of the Empire’s direct rule, though there are important questions to ask about whether key features of British imperialism, such as the fusion of capitalist expropriation with a civilising mission, still exist today as a form of *neo*-imperialism.

Our walking tour has instead taken more of a post-colonial approach. This takes the view that the world we inhabit cannot be understood outside of its relationship to European imperialism and colonial rule. We have hopefully made this more explicit in the case of Leamington, though an implicit imperial history has always been there in the built environment, reproduced through acts of commission and omission; the memorialisation of Queen Victoria and the silence surrounding Bertie Greathead’s slave plantation being two such examples. A post-colonial approach also prompts us to ask *whose* history we study. All the people we’ve spoken about are white and most of the sources we’ve drawn, like the archival documents, are from white authors. This matters. Broadening the perspective helps provide a fuller

explanation of key historical events. For example, we get only a partial account of the demise of colonial slavery through the activities of the British abolitionists and the West India planters. The Demerara Rebellion of 1823, led by one of John Gladstone's slaves called Jack, was just one of many instances of slave resistance that would spur anti-slavery sentiment and force Britain's colonisers to compromise.⁹²

Broadening the perspective also matters to notions of belonging. In this respect, there is a *black history*⁹³ of Leamington that needs to be brought forward.⁹⁴ It could include the 1847 lecture given in Bath Street by the American abolitionist and former slave Frederick Douglass,⁹⁵ the military service in World War I by the young British Guianese recruit Lionel Turpin (now buried in Brunswick Street cemetery),⁹⁶ and the formation of the Black Peoples' Alliance in Leamington by Jagmohan and Shirley Joshi to counter the 1968 Commonwealth Immigrants Act⁹⁷ – an Act which stripped back the rights of people in former colonies to settle in the so-called 'motherland'.⁹⁸ And this other history of Leamington might end with the hundreds of people who walked up the Parade in the Summer as part of the Black Lives Matter protests; the latest chapter in an ongoing struggle against racism and the legacies of imperialism it confronts.⁹⁹

¹ The authors were Ben Richardson, Shahnaz Akhtar, John Morris and Matthew Watson. Please contact b.j.richardson@warwick.ac.uk for further information. The authors were ably helped by two student research assistants Victoria Carasava and Darius Stasiulevicius. Thanks also to Margaret Rushton and Jane Croom for their assistance in providing further information on local history. The Colonial Hangover project works with students to pose a series of questions about everyday life that currently remain underrepresented in both public political discourse and the school curriculum. See:

<https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/pais/about/outreach/colonialhangover/>

² Bisset, James (1814) *A Descriptive Guide of Leamington Priors*. Coventry: Merridew and Son, page 23.

³ Clarke, H. G. (1947) *Royal Leamington Spa: A Century's Growth and Development*. The Courier Press, page 70. Clarke writes how this spirit "resulted in the erection of many beautiful and magnificent houses" in Leamington in the 1820-30s. See also Smith on the Pump Rooms: "Upwards of £25,000 were expended in the erection of this noble pile! and we can confidently assert that these baths and pump room are the most complete in the empire." Francis Smith (1820) *Warwickshire Delineated*. Printed and Sold by the Author, second edition, page 77.

⁴ There are many other hidden histories to uncover. One might be a gendered history of Leamington, detailing the role of Victorian women like Margracia Loudon, who in 1835 wrote the highly-influential free trade treatise *Philanthropic Economy* in 1835 while living at 3 Clarendon Place, as well as men like Ernest Balfour Bax, born at 27 Clarendon Square in 1854, who attacked women's rights in his books *The Legal Subjection of Men* and *The Fraud of Feminism*. On Loudon see Richardson, Sarah (2013) *The Political Worlds of Women: Gender and Political Culture in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. London: Routledge.

⁵ Viscount Palmerston, Commons Chamber, *Hansard*, Volume 93, Column 1213, 5 July 1847. Note that when Palmerston said 'we' he was referring to the English rather than the British.

⁶ Cited in Griffin, Alan (2013) 'Eliza Scarlett: Leamington Widow and Jamaican Slave Owner', presentation to Leamington History Group, 12 December 2013, pp. 1-37. Available at: <https://leamingtonhistory.co.uk/eliza-scarlett-leamington-widow-and-jamaican-slave-owner/>

⁷ Griffin (2013) cites documents showing 223 slaves just on the Peru Estate in 1816, page 10.

⁸ 'Will of Eliza Virgo otherwise Elizabeth Scarlett, Widow of Leamington Priors' [made 26/12/1820] proved 19/01/1821, PROB 11/1638/264, National Archives.

⁹ Hall, Catherine, Nicholas Draper and Keith McClelland (2014) 'Introduction' in Hall, Catherine, Nicholas Draper, Keith McClelland, Katie Donington and Rachel Lang, *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership: Colonial Slavery and the Formation of Victorian Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, page 3.

¹⁰ Eight of these are identified in the Legacies of British Slave-ownership database covering claimants and beneficiaries of compensation for emancipation. These are: Charles Henry Barber, George Goodin Barrett the younger, Robert Glasgow (late Robertson), Robert Cunningham Cunningshame Graham, Elizabeth Mary Hewitt, Francis Hunt, Robert Sympson, Rev. William Smoult Temple. There were other people based at Leamington who were unsuccessful in their claims. See Legacies of British Slave-ownership website, UCL Department of History 2020. Available at: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs> [accessed 21 September 2020]. Another erstwhile resident was Isaac Scott Hodgson as recorded in the 1851 Leamington census. Thanks to Stella Bolitho of the

Leamington History Group for this information. The tenth is Christopher Barrow, a slave-owner in Barbados, who was resident in censuses in 1841, 1851 and 1861. The eleventh is John Gladstone, who we detail later.

¹¹ Another category are the direct descendants of slave-owners who came to Leamington. One example is the daughter of Charles van Baerle, who died at her uncle's house at Welbeck Lodge in Dale Street in 1863. Charles van Baerle owned the New Beehive estate in British Guiana.

¹² 'Slavery and the British transatlantic slave trade' (no date) The National Archives website. Available at: <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/british-transatlantic-slave-trade-records/> [accessed 22 September 2020].

¹³ In the early nineteenth century it was typical for people to be buried in their local churchyard, with the poor interred in mass graves in coffins, shrouds or even uncovered. The churchyard at All Saints' Church reached capacity in the 1830s and the Church started to acquire new plots. Most of the existing tombs and headstones in the churchyard were removed after being damaged in World War II.

¹⁴ Bertie Greathead's mother had bought 236 acres of land in Milverton and Leamington in 1766 for £5,000, a year after her husband died. See Croom, Jane N. (2019) 'The Speculative Development of the Parade, Royal Leamington Spa, c. 1808-c. 1838', *Warwickshire History*, Volume 17, Number 5, page 222.

¹⁵ John Greathead's son, Samuel Greathead, returned to England and bought the country house Guy's Cliffe as well as land in Warwick and Old Milverton using an annuity from the plantation (detailed in his will). See 'Slavery: A Warwickshire Connection?', Warwickshire Historic Environment Record, Warwickshire County Council website. Available at: <https://timetrail.warwickshire.gov.uk/exhibitionsview.aspx?eid=14&page=115> [accessed 23 September 2020].

¹⁶ The neck collars were in fact bought from the same person who sold the plantation cattle equipment. See Forman, Sharon (no date) 'Sugar and Slavery: A Warwickshire Story', Our Warwickshire website. Available at: <https://www.ourwarwickshire.org.uk/content/article/sugar-slavery-warwickshire-story> [accessed 1 October 2020]. Additional information acquired from 'Annual Accounts of the Sugar Plantation belonging to Bertie Greathead in Detail' (1782-1786), Warwickshire County Records Office, CR1707/30, accessed 16 September 2020.

¹⁷ Bertie's politics on this matter were influenced by his close friend John Henry Williams. See Haydon, Colin (2007) *John Henry Williams, 1747-1829, 'Political Clergyman': War, the French Revolution, and the Church of England*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, page 67.

¹⁸ This had happened by 1807, with Shipley, Williams and Co. of Liverpool acting as brokers for the payment of rent. See 'Bertie Bertie Greathead', Legacies of British Slave-ownership website, UCL Department of History 2020. Available at: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146644215> [accessed 21 September 2020].

¹⁹ In his journal entry for 13 December 1814 Bertie writes about a seeking an attorney to oversee the new lease and compares production on his 'estates' against those belonging to Tyson. He notes "the average produce therefore of my estate for 6 years has been 171,200 pounds of sugar". On another occasion, 2 July 1814, he writes of his annoyance at having to write to Davis (likely the person leasing the plantation) because of how "his mind sickens" whenever it is carried across the Atlantic. 'Journals of Bertie Greathead, 1759-1826: Guy's Cliffe, Garnstone in Herefordshire, London, Woodhay, Shugborough, Grimsthorpe etc. (1812-1814)', Warwickshire County Records Office, CR1707/120, accessed 16 September 2020.

²⁰ The proprietors of the Pump Room at its opening were "B. B. Greathead, John Tomes, and W. H. Tancred, Esqs., and Mr. Parkes, of Warwick". At a later date, sometime before 1860, the syndicate passed on its shares to Bertie Greathead's grandson-in-law, Charles Bertie Percy. See Dudley, B. D (1901) *A Complete History Of Royal Leamington Spa*. Morley also suggests that because Bertie was head dinner guest at the opening of the Regent Hotel in 1817, this implies that he backed the building financially after the £10,000 donated by the Birmingham businessman Samuel Galton (himself embroiled in the slave trade as an arms exporter to West Africa) fell far short of the eventual costs. However, detailed research by Croom does not disclose such an involvement and so this link remains speculative. See Morley, Jonathan (2007) 'Warwickshire and the Slave Trade', BBC Local website, 4 April 2007. Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/coventry/content/articles/2007/03/28/warwickshire_slave_trade_feature.shtml [accessed 23 September 2020]; and Croom (2019) 'Speculative Development'.

²¹ According to Lydon Cave, Bertie was part of a consortium that on 4 November 1809 posted an advert in the *Northampton Mercury* to contract builders for twenty houses. Cave, Lyndon (1988) *Royal Leamington Spa: Its History and Development*. Chichester: Phillimore, page 63. It seems likely that the consortium Cave refers to was the Union Society or Leamington Building Society, in which Bertie had 3/18 share. The assembly room was located on the corner of Parade and Regent Street now occupied by River Island. The building itself has not survived. Croom (2019) 'Speculative Development'.

²² Haydon (2012) *John Henry Williams*, page 64.

²³ 'Canal Conservation Area', Warwick District Council website, no date. Available at: <https://warwickdc.oc2.uk/document/76/2653> [accessed 23 September 2020].

-
- ²⁴ The Jamaican planter was George Goodin Barrett, mentioned above. Croom, Jane N. (2013) ‘An Eligible Spot for Building’: The Suburban Development of Greatheed Land in New Milverton, 1824-c.1900’, *Warwickshire History*, Volume 15, Number 5, pp. 217-234.
- ²⁵ In February 1807 his net income was £1,600 per year and his expenditure was £2,000. See Croom (2019) ‘Speculative Development’, page 222.
- ²⁶ See Cave (1998) *Royal Leamington Spa*, page 49.
- ²⁷ Draper, Nick (2014) ‘Possessing People: Absentee Slave-Owners Within British Society’ in *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership*, page 58.
- ²⁸ Beck, J. (1839) *Beck’s Leamington Guide*. Leamington: J. Beck., fifth edition, page 135.
- ²⁹ See Palmer, Nicola J. (2007) *Royal Tourism: Excursions around Monarchy*. Bristol: Channel View Publications Ltd, page 52.
- ³⁰ Elgin wrote in July 1831 to the Society of Dilettanti stating: “My success, to the vast extent it was effected, will never cease to be a matter of the utmost gratification to me”. See Smith, A. H. (1916) ‘Lord Elgin and His Collection’, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Volume 36, November 1916, pp. 163-372. There was a likely homage to this act in the form of the Parthenon Assembly Rooms (now a branch of Iceland) that opened in Leamington in 1821, five years after Parliament had purchased ‘the Elgin marbles’ for the nation.
- ³¹ Checkland, S. G. (1954) ‘John Gladstone as Trader and Planter’, *Economic History Review*, Volume 7, Issue 2, pp. 222-223.
- ³² John Gladstone’s daughter, Helen, was treated by Jephson over a long period. She and her mother first entered his care in 1830. Helen is then recorded in the *Leamington Spa Courier* as leaving the Regent Hotel to visit Jephson at his Beech Lawn home in 1835. She returned to Leamington in 1847 to break her dependence on laudanum and eventually asked to be admitted to a convent. John Gladstone’s son Roberston, and his wife, were also treated by Jephson in the 1840s. See Checkland, S. G. (1971) *The Gladstones: A Family Biography 1764-1851*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, page 227; Checkland, S. G. (1985) ‘Mr Gladstone, his Parents and his Siblings’ in Peter J. Jagger (ed.) *Gladstone, Politics and Religion: A Collection of Founder’s Day Lectures delivered at St. Deinol’s Library, Hawarden 1967-83*. Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, pp. 40-48; Isba, Anne (2003) ‘Trouble with Helen: The Gladstone Family Crisis, 1846-1848’, *History*, Volume 88, Number 2, pp. 249-261.
- ³³ Articles from the *Leamington Spa Courier* report that Gladstone stayed at the Royal Hotel in May 1829 before moving into 2 Lansdowne Place (now 29 Parade, occupied by Boots) in October. He later stayed at various residences in Lansdowne Place in June and September 1830, April and July 1831, and September 1832, often after first visiting the Regent. The sale of a house in Lansdown [sic] Place “late in the occupation of Gladstone, Esq.” is reported on 19 October 1833. A Mr and Mrs Gladstone were at the Regent Hotel in May 1835 and Mr, Mrs and Miss Gladstone stayed at the Clarendon Hotel in January 1837.
- ³⁴ J. Gladstone is listed as an attendee of the 1837 Warwickshire Hunt Club Ball, enjoyed by “a considerable number of fashionables from Leamington”. *Leamington Spa Courier*, 14 January 1837, page 3.
- ³⁵ Gladstone made a £1 subscription to the Dudley Board of Health following cholera outbreak. *Leamington Spa Courier*, 20 October 1832, page 2.
- ³⁶ Baxter, Eric G. (1980) *Dr. Jephson of Leamington Spa* (edited by Joan Lane and Robert Bearman). Leamington Spa: Warwickshire Local History Society, page 33.
- ³⁷ *Leamington Spa Courier*, 2 February 1833, page 2.
- ³⁸ With the exception of slaves held by the East India Company and on the islands of Ceylon (modern day Sri Lanka) and Saint Helena.
- ³⁹ Gladstone set out his views in a lengthy and public letter to Robert Peel in 1830 entitled ‘A Statement of Facts Connected with the Present State of Slavery in the British Sugar and Coffee Colonies, and in the United States of America: Together with a View of the Present Situation of the Lower Classes in the United Kingdom’. He argues that ‘negroes’ in Africa are able but unwilling to work in tropical conditions; relocated to the colonies as slaves they find that “all their wants, whether in infancy or old age, in health or in sickness, are duly and effectively provided for them by their owners, without care or exertion on their part” (page 7). Gladstone was at best ill-informed and at worst disingenuous. The condition of the slaves on the Gladstone sugar plantations in Demerara were so harsh that deaths exceeded births. Sheridan, Richard (2002) ‘The Condition of the Slaves on the Sugar Plantations of Sir John Gladstone in the Colony of Demerara, 1812-49’, *New West Indian Guide*, Volume 76, Number 3-4, pp. 243-269.
- ⁴⁰ Checkland (1954) ‘John Gladstone as Trader and Planter’, page 225.
- ⁴¹ Calculated based on awards from ‘John Gladstone’, Legacies of British Slave-ownership website, UCL Department of History 2020. Available at: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/8961> [accessed 25 September 2020]. The total pay-out was over £105,000. See also Draper, Nicholas (2012) ‘The Rise of a New Planter Class? Some Countercurrents from British Guiana and Trinidad, 1807-33’, *Atlantic Studies*, Volume 9, Number 1, pp. 65-83.

⁴² Gladstone wrote to the Calcutta firm Gillanders Arbuthnot & Co in 1836, enquiring about the possibility of bringing indentured labourers to the West Indies, persuading the Secretary of State for the Colonies to approve the transfer in 1837. See Kaladeen, Maria del Pilar (2018) 'Hidden Histories: Indenture to *Windrush*', British Library Windrush Stories, 4 October 2018. Available at: <https://www.bl.uk/windrush/articles/indenture-to-windrush> [accessed 25 September 2020]; Mangru, Basdeo (1986) 'Indian Labour in British Guiana', *History Today*, Volume 36, Issue 4, April 1986.

⁴³ See Checkland (1954) 'John Gladstone as Trader and Planter', page 227 and Kaladeen (2018).

⁴⁴ Roopnarine, Lomarsh (2017) 'Indian Indentured Servitude in the Atlantic World', Oxford Bibliographies website. DOI: 10.1093/OBO/9780199730414-0210 [accessed 25 September 2020].

⁴⁵ This name is taken from Beck, J. (1840) *Beck's Guide to Leamington*. Leamington: J. Beck., sixth edition. Moncrieff refers to it as Bettison's Athenaeum, Reading and Promenade Rooms. The Athenaeum was built in 1832 at 6 Upper Parade and was later acquired by Burgiss and Colbourne to become Bedford Stores, 80-82 The Parade. See 'Warwick Place, Milverton', *Leamington Spa Courier*, 28 February 1947. Indicating the library's cosmopolitanism, one resident writes how it was the favourite haunt of a high ranking 'Pole' in exile from imperial Russia who would sit on the veranda talking to gentlemen. Moilliet, Andrew (ed.) (2003) *Elizabeth Anne Galton (1808-1906) A Well-Connected Gentlewoman*. Hartford: Leonie Press, page 151.

⁴⁶ The other libraries in Leamington listed in Beck (1840) belonged to Hewett, Enoch, Beck, Merridew, Reeve, Beddome, and Wight and Dewes. Bettison's was considered distinctive by stocking not just "novels and romances" but "food for every mind". It also provided French and Irish newspapers.

⁴⁷ On 23 May 1838 he sent a letter from the Athenaeum stating his delight at the resolution in Parliament for the immediate abolition of apprenticeship – the period of four-six years whereby 'emancipated' slaves had to carry on working for their owners. Buxton, Charles (ed.) (1848) *Memoirs of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton*. Philadelphia: Henry Longstreth, page 428.

⁴⁸ Lambert, David (2013) *Mastering the Niger: James Macqueen's African Geography and the Struggle Over Atlantic Slavery*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, page. 177.

⁴⁹ Buxton also invited Reverend John Scoble to join them. Scoble had investigated conditions in British Guiana as part of a Commission of Inquiry, including on John Gladstone's plantation Vreedenhoop. See Lambert (2013) *Mastering the Niger*.

⁵⁰ As Lambert notes this idea was not new but coming from Buxton it was taken more seriously. Indeed, a letter to the editor of the *Leamington Spa Courier* from 'B.S.' in 13 September 1828 strikes a very similar tone:

The question then is, how to put a final end to this traffic? And what the best mode of accomplishing this most desirable object? ... We must look then for the extinction African Slavery, to the ultimate civilization of that unhappy country: the surplus wealth of Europe cannot better employed, than effecting that desirable object. I must conclude with my own conviction, that until that happy period, this population must depend other countries for subsistence, or be exposed to worse sufferings at home.

⁵¹ Fowell Buxton, Thomas (1838) *Letter on the Slave Trade, to the Lord Viscount Melbourne and the other Members of Her Majesty's Cabinet Council*. London: John W. Parker, pp. 196-201. As argued by Follett, "white control was supposed, in Buxton's mind at least, to be temporary, a means of education and example... [though he] did not conceive of himself as an imperialist, he did believe he was pressing forward the missionary cause, but in his mind that was a different matter, as in his experience it had always been the missionaries who defended the indigenous peoples and tried to help them improve their conditions". Follett, Richard R. (2008) 'After Emancipation: Thomas Fowell Buxton and Evangelical Politics in the 1830s', *Parliamentary History*, Volume 27, Issue 1, page 127.

⁵² Buxton was in Leamington for treatment by Dr Jephson. See Buxton (1848) *Memoirs*, pp. 449-542.

⁵³ See 'Warwickshire Standard', *Leamington Spa Courier*, 24 December 1841.

The lamentably painful and fatal result, of the *second* Niger expedition, which was fitted out few months since at expense of something exceeding two hundred thousand pounds sterling, by the late Whig Cabinet, to gratify the sentimentalists of the FOWELL BUXTON School, and to secure their "Parliamentary support," offers very severe rebuke to that order of "philanthropists," who are so ready to extend their sympathies to foreign climes before they have half-filled up the measure of humanity and Christian duty to their suffering and necessitous neighbours of the dependent class at home!

⁵⁴ In June 1840 Livingstone attended the meeting at Exeter Hall which launched the Niger Expedition and also heard Buxton expound the strategy of undermining the slave trade through 'legitimate trade' in conjunction with the Christian gospel. See Roberts, A. D. (2004) 'Livingstone, David', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004.

⁵⁵ Walvin, James (1994) 'Freedom and Slavery and the Shaping of Victorian Britain', *Slavery and Abolition*, Volume 15, Number 2, pp. 246-259.

⁵⁶ A history of Leamington written in 1842 makes clear the opulence of what was then Lansdowne Place: "It is beyond measure unfair to represent the houses in Lansdowne Place, as of an ordinary character, whereas they are, many of them, of a style resembling palaces". Hopper, Richard (1842) *The History of Leamington Priors: From the Earliest Records to the Year 1842*. Leamington: Published for the Author, page 34. Interestingly, in his Preface (page v), Hopper favourably contrast the expansion of Leamington with that of empire:

The history of governments and empires offers little more to the view than a series of usurpations and violence: but the History of LEAMINGTON, now about to be presented, will be free from any such unkindly features; its enlarged territories have been acquired by honourable and pacific agency alone!

⁵⁷ According to Elizabeth Anne Galton, Francis' older sister: "All the best families called upon us. Old Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone came next door to us for the winter [of 1833?]. Their son was Mr W. Gladstone, afterwards Prime Minister; he was a young man then, but was thought very clever. We knew the old people well; they were quiet, unpretending, clear-headed people, proud of their son's talents. Mr W. Gladstone came to see them for a short time and dined at our house". Moilliet, Andrew (ed.) (2003) *Elizabeth Anne Galton (1808-1906) A Well-Connected Gentlewoman*. Hartford: Leonie Press.

⁵⁸ Samuel Tertius, a Quaker, dissolved the gun business in 1815 and moved into banking. It was he who married into the Darwin family.

⁵⁹ The Galtons lived at a house which was numbered 44 Lansdowne Place (in information dated 1832, 1834) and then 29 Lansdowne Place (1843). Elizabeth Anne Galton writes how they moved into a newly built home, finished to her father's instructions, in Lansdowne Place in 1832. Francis joined them there from Boulogne in the summer of 1832. He also stayed at the Regent Hotel in November 1847, the Lansdowne Hotel in January 1850, and regularly at 5 Bertie Terrace, the home of his sister Emma from 1853. He writes in his autobiography that during the period 1853-1866: "My mother and sister Emma lived together in Leamington, and their house became a second home to my wife and myself. [Emma] cared for the interests of the family as a whole, and for each of us severally". Galton, Francis (1908) *Memories of My Life*. London: Methuen, pp. 155-156. Despite their closeness, Emma was troubled by his views but Francis dismissed her scruples, writing to her that "It is one of the few services that a man situated like myself can do, to take up an unpopular side when he knows it to be the true one". 'The Francis Galton Papers', Wellcome Library website. Available at: <https://wellcomelibrary.org/collections/digital-collections/makers-of-modern-genetics/digitised-archives/francis-galton/> [accessed 1 October 2020].

⁶⁰ Francis was educated in Kenilworth until 1834 when he was sent to King Edward's School in Birmingham aged 12. Gillham, Nicholas Wright (2001) *A Life of Sir Francis Galton: From African Exploration to the Birth of Eugenics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

⁶¹ Galton also retained his doctor's prescription of 'blue pills' (mercury) and Leamington Water for constipation, which he received aged 12, as part of his data collection on himself. Galton (1908) *Memories of My Life*, pp. 22-23.

⁶² This was during in the four years after 1845; the year his father died. Galton also joined the hunt club and attended social events linked to this circle. A friend he made in Leamington also invited him grouse-shooting in the Scottish Highlands. Berclouw, Marja (2010) *The Travels of Francis Galton*. Masters Advanced Seminar and Shorter Thesis, Faculty of Arts, School of Historical Studies, The University of Melbourne.

⁶³ See Galton (1908) *Memories of My Life*, chapter 9. One of the people Galton mentions in his reasons for travelling is David Livingstone. The two were in fact present together in a discussion of the third Niger Expedition of 1857 organised by the Royal Geographical Society in 1858, loosely tying Galton's story to Buxton. See 'Reports from the Niger Expedition', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, Volume 2, Number 2, pp. 82-101, 11 January 1858.

⁶⁴ This was from Galton's acceptance speech upon winning a Royal Society Gold Medal for statistical inquiries into biological phenomenon. See *The Times*, 1 December 1886. Available at: <http://galton.org/essays/1880-1889/galton-1886-times-rsoc-medal-speech.pdf> [accessed 29 September 2020].

⁶⁵ The phrases he used in *Hereditary Genius* (1869). Galton developed the analysis of family trees, and the use of measurement and statistics to analyse inherited and non-inherited human traits.

⁶⁶ Galton, F. (1883). *Inquiries into Human Faculty and its Development*. London: Macmillan, page 17.

⁶⁷ Galton, Francis (1873) 'Africa for the Chinese', *The Times*, 5 June 1873.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ Galton, Francis (1904) 'Eugenics: Its Definition, Scope and Aims', *The Sociological Review*, Volume 1, Issue 1, page 47.

⁷⁰ Galton (1869) *Hereditary Genius: An Inquiry into its Laws and Consequences*. London: Macmillan, page 364.

⁷¹ MacKenzie, Donald (1976) 'Eugenics in Britain', *Social Studies of Science*, Volume 6, Issue 3-4, pp. 499-532.

⁷² Beveridge gave the Galton Lecture in 1843, arriving straight from the House of Commons where his report had been debated, and argued that the proposal for child allowances could have long-term positive eugenic effects in offsetting the tendency of the higher social classes to have fewer children. In fact, he proposed modifications that would increase the allowances to those who earned more or demonstrated higher occupational ability. Beveridge, William (1843) 'Eugenic Aspects of Children's Allowances', The Galton Lecture delivered before the Eugenics Society, 16 February 1943. Available at: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2986076/pdf/eugenrev00265-0011.pdf> [accessed 29 September 2020]

⁷³ Galton visited Leamington every year from 1881 to 1897, and on other occasions before and after, typically to stay with his sister Emma. See Pearson, Karl (1930) *The Life, Letters and Labours of Francis Galton, Volume 3: Characterisation, Especially by Letters, Part B*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁷⁴ 'Obituary: Sir Francis Galton, FRS', *Leamington Spa Courier*, 20 January 1911, page 5.

⁷⁵ Ireland gained independence as a dominion of Britain in 1922, becoming the Republic of Ireland in 1937

⁷⁶ The British Raj started in 1858 when it effectively nationalised the East India Company. The region under British control included areas directly administered by the British crown, which were collectively called British India, and around 600 princely states ruled by indigenous rulers but under British paramountcy.

⁷⁷ *The London Gazette*, Number 22523, 25 June 1861, page 2621. See also 'Star of the Order of the Star of India', Royal Collection Trust website. Available at: <https://www.rct.uk/collection/441296/star-of-the-order-of-the-star-of-india> [accessed 29 September 2020].

⁷⁸ Peers, Douglas M. (2012) 'Sepoy Mutiny (1857-1859)' in Martel, Gordon (ed.) *The Encyclopaedia of War*. Wiley-Blackwell.

⁷⁹ An important contextual note is that 1885 was the year that the Indian National Congress was founded. See Mathur, Saloni (2007) *India by Design: Colonial History and Cultural Display*. Berkeley: University of California Press, page 57.

⁸⁰ 'The Visit of The Indians and the Colonials to Leamington', *Leamington Spa Courier*, 3 July 1886, page 6.

⁸¹ It is difficult to know the opinions of the Indian guests since only one – Murza (Prince?) Kazim Hosam – was allowed to make a toast, which was a short poem dedicated to the ladies present.

⁸² 'The Visit of The Indians and the Colonials to Leamington'. The passage below from S. R. Mehrotra (1961, page 29) sums up the place of India in imperial federation:

The great aim of the federationists was 'to reunite the scattered fragments of the same nation'. Their conception of the empire was frankly racial. With a few exceptions, they either neglected India altogether or expressly excluded her from their schemes of closer union on the ground that her inhabitants were 'not of the British race'.

Mehrotra, S. R. (1961) 'Imperial Federation and India, 1868-1917', *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, Volume 1, Number 1, pp. 29-40.

⁸³ Called 'To the Queen' (1851) the relevant stanza is:

And leave us rulers of your blood
As noble till the latest day!
May children of our children say,
'She wrought her people lasting good;

⁸⁴ The sculptor was Albert Toft, who also made a bust of Edward VII in the town hall and the Leamington Spa War Memorial. The latter is a soldier standing bare-headed with his rifle reversed, remembering those British military personnel who died in twentieth-century conflicts, casting a more sombre image of British imperialism.

⁸⁵ See 'List of statues of Queen Victoria', Wikipedia. Available at:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_statues_of_Queen_Victoria [accessed 29 September 2020]

⁸⁶ Originally a cricket ground and bowling green, the land was purchased by the borough in 1896 and named Jubilee Park in honour of Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee in 1897. It was renamed Victoria Park in 1902. Thanks to Margaret Rushton of the Leamington History Group for information.

⁸⁷ Walvin (1994) 'Freedom and Slavery', page 254. Other names were also used to honour Victoria, such as Queensland in Australia.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* There are 11 statues of Victoria in Canada, four in the Caribbean, ten in Australia, four in New Zealand, nine in India, seven in South Africa.

⁸⁹ The 'elephant circle' seat (1988) by Nicholas Dumbleby was originally outside the Royal Priors Centre and was unveiled by Queen Elizabeth II. The Three Graces sculpture (2015) was created by Philippa Downes and

commissioned by New River Retail. Sam Lockhart was a famous elephant trainer based in Leamington and he imported a number of elephants. His best known troupe were the ‘Three Graces’ of Haddie, Trilby and Wilhelmina, acquired toward the end of the nineteenth century. See Griffin, Alan (2014) ‘Sam Lockhart, Elephant Trainer Extraordinaire’, Leamington History Group website, 2 August 2014. Available at: <https://leamingtonhistory.co.uk/sam-lockhart-elephant-trainer-extraordinaire/> [accessed 30 September 2020].

⁹⁰ James Bisset (1761-1832) assembled a ‘cabinet of curiosities’ while in Birmingham, including artefacts from Captain Cook’s final voyage, and then brought this collection to Leamington. It was displayed in his house from 1816 and then in what is believed to be Leamington’s first museum, located on High Street, from 1819 until his death in 1832. The collection had artefacts from all over the world, including most parts of the British Empire. First among the curiosities listed in the Guide of 1816 is ‘The Throne of an African Prince, cut out of a solid piece of Wood’. When Bisset died the collection was auctioned off. No-one seems to know where the artefacts went. From the 1860s onwards a museum collection began in the public library, and may have included some of Bisset’s pieces, though most of the collection came from donations by local residents, many of whom were retired British military and diplomatic offices about which little is known. Two donors who are better known are E.C. Holland and J. Fenn Clark. Holland was the nephew of the curator William Carrington and sent 75 items from West Africa specifically for display in the museum. Fenn Clark was born in India – his father worked for the East India Company – and returned there to live. He travelled as a Christian missionary and collected pieces from India, China, Russia, Norway, Africa, Australia and the East and West Indies. Two of the most important items currently are a rhino horn cup and a selection of Buddhist texts. Leamington Spa Art Gallery and Museum still collects pieces for its ‘ethnographic collection’ – which now has around 2,000 items – but does so deliberately such that artefacts must have provenance and be connected to Leamington in some way. It has also featured a trail on the life of a ‘negro slave’ known as Myrtilla who was buried in the Warwickshire village of Oxhill in 1705, helping to shed light on Warwickshire’s links to slavery. See Watkin, Jeffrey (1995) ‘Ethnography in Leamington Spa: The Collections of James Bisset and the Public Museum’, *Journal of Museum Ethnography*, Number 7, pp. 117-130; ‘Myrtilla’s Trail’, Leamington Spa Art Gallery and Museum, 2007. Available at: <http://www.antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/516> [accessed 6 October 2020]. Thanks to Alice Swatton, art curator at the Leamington Spa Art Gallery and Museum, for additional information.

⁹¹ *Leamington Spa Courier*, 17 October 1902

⁹² Protesting bad treatment and seeking freedom in the mistaken belief that the British Parliament had passed an emancipation law that was being withheld, the largely peaceful revolt of 13,000 slaves was led by Jack Gladstone, who like his father Quamina, was given the surname after his absentee owner. White inhabitants were imprisoned or put in the stocks and their houses ransacked for arms. After the military and militia regained control, hundreds of slaves including Quamina were killed or executed and their English pastor, Reverend John Smith, found guilty of promoting discontent among the slaves and died in prison. In a rare plea, John Gladstone would write a letter seeking clemency for Jack who was sold and banished to the island of Saint Lucia. Sheridan (2002) ‘The Condition of the Slaves’, page 248.

⁹³ We are using ‘black’ (sometimes written as Black) as a political category to refer to people with a shared history of colonial oppression, though recognise that many ethnicities other than ‘white British’ exist and that other categories may better capture their collective experiences. The term ‘people of colour’ is often used as an umbrella category for those diverse experiences of racism.

⁹⁴ There are fragments of Leamington’s black history that exist but more research still to be done. A list of useful primary sources is here: ‘Sources for Black and Asian History at Warwickshire County Record Office’. Available at: <https://d23iiv8m8qvdxl.cloudfront.net/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Sources-for-Black-and-Asian-History-at-Warwickshire-County-Record-Office1.pdf> [accessed 1 October 2020]. Another source of interest is the newsletter archive of the Leamington Anti-Racist Anti-Fascist Committee 1977–1981 held at the Modern Records Centre at the University of Warwick. For more see Lowe, D. (2007) ‘The Respectable Revolutionaries: Leamington Anti-Racist Anti-Fascist Committee 1977-1981’, *What Next? Marxist Discussion Journal*, Number 31, pp. 23-25. More broadly Callaghan (2011) discusses black people in Warwickshire prior to 1918 though does not mention Leamington specifically. See Callaghan, D. I. (2011) ‘The Black Presence in the West Midlands, 1650–1918’, *Midland History*, Volume 36, Issue 2, pp. 180-194. Another publication of note, though one we have struggled to access, is Layton, J. (1994) *Black People in Warwickshire*. Leamington Spa: Warwickshire County Council.

⁹⁵ Douglass spoke on American slavery at the Parthenon, Bath Street, on 23 February 1847. See Murray, Hannah-Rose (2016) ‘Black Abolitionist Performances and their Presence in Britain’, British Library Digital Scholarship blog, 3 November 2016. Available at: <https://blogs.bl.uk/digital-scholarship/2016/11/black-abolitionist-performances-and-their-presence-in-britain-an-update.html> [accessed 30 September 2020]. Another prominent African American abolitionist, William G. Allen, also visited Leamington in 1859 to give a lecture on ‘Africa, her Past, Present and Future’. He was described in the *Leamington Spa Courier* as the only ‘man of colour’ to be asked to occupy a Professor’s Chair. See Sherwood, Marika (2011) ‘William G. Allen in Britain’, *Ethnicity and Race in a Changing World: A Review Journal*, Volume 2, Issue 2, page 60. Other notable talks in

Leamington were given by Charles Stuart on abolition in the 1830s and by John Harris in 1907 for the Congo Reform Campaign.

⁹⁶ Lionel Turpin was 19 when he enlisted in 1915 and was soon sent out with the No. 32 British Expeditionary Force to the Western Front in Europe. He was in the battle of the Somme and his army service ended in 1919 with two medals, two gas-burnt lungs and a shell wound in his back. He and his wife were supposedly the first black family to settle in Leamington when they moved into a basement in 6 Willes Road, though sadly Lionel only lived until the age of 33. Lionel is better known as being the father of Randolph Turpin – a middleweight boxing world champion – but his own story can tell us much about the massive contribution that the British colonies made to the war effort and how it was rewarded and remembered (or not) afterwards. See ‘Lionel Turpin’, Beyond the Western Front website. Available at: <https://beyondthewesternfront.com/dossiers/lionel-turpin/> [accessed 6 October 2020]; Griffin, Alan (2013) ‘Randolph Adolphus Turpin, the ‘Leamington Licker’’, Leamington History Group website, 5 December 2013. Available at: <https://leamingtonhistory.co.uk/randolph-turpin/> [accessed 6 October 2020].

⁹⁷ The Black People’s Alliance (BPA) was formed by groups with connections to Africa, Asia and the Caribbean and part of its mission was to bring these different ethnicities together under the banner of ‘Black Consciousness’. Jagmohan Joshi was a leader in the Indian Workers’ Association. While it is commonplace to refer only to his role in the formation of the BPA we have included his wife Shirley to acknowledge her active contribution in the anti-racist campaign work of the IWA too, especially the Co-ordinating Committee Against Racial Discrimination. See Sivanandan, A. (1981) ‘From Resistance to Rebellion: Asian and Afro-Caribbean Struggles in Britain’, *Race and Class*, Volume 23, Issue 2-3, pp. 111-152; Papers of the Indian Workers’ Association (1959-1998), MS 2141, Birmingham Library. Available at: <http://calmview.birmingham.gov.uk/CalmView/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=MS+2141> [accessed 6 October 2020].

⁹⁸ The Commonwealth Immigration Act 1968 extended the control of all Commonwealth passport holders (except those who held UK passports) as set out in the 1962 Act to those people without a parent or grandparent who was born in, or was a citizen of, the UK.

⁹⁹ For example, a 1994 study on Leamington detailed widespread racial discrimination in the job market among other areas. At this point in time the ethnic minority population accounted for 9 per cent of the town’s population, the majority being Sikhs from Punjab. See Candappa, Mano and Daniele Joly (1994) ‘Local Authorities, Ethnic Minorities and ‘Pluralist Integration’: A Study in Five Local Authority Areas’, Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, Monograph Series in Ethnic Relations, Number 7, January 1994. Available at: https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/crer/research/publications/monographs/monograph_no.7.pdf [accessed 1 October 2020]. More recently, the Warwickshire Hate Crime Annual Report 2019 found that race remains the most common characteristic targeted in Warwickshire, with 554 crimes and incidents reported to the police over the previous year. Available at: <https://safeinwarwickshire.files.wordpress.com/2019/10/warwickshire-hate-crime-annual-review-2019-20-5.pdf> [accessed 1 October 2020].