

PRODUCE OF THE PLANTATIONS

The economic history of Scotland in the eighteenth century is dominated by the dramatic rise of the colonial trades. By far the most important of these was the importation of tobacco from Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina and its later sale in continental European markets, although in the last two decades of the century the trade in sugar, cotton, and rum, from the West Indies also assumed significance. [T. M. Devine *The Colonial Trades and Industrial Investment in Scotland, c. 1700-1815* 1976]

There were several businesses throughout Dumfries & Galloway based on the produce of the plantations from rice, cotton, rum and sugar importers to tobacco and snuff manufacturers. Two very different examples are described here.

Tobacco

Snuff making was an important by-product of the tobacco trade and there were several small snuff mills, often sharing the water power with a corn mill. William Johnston of Kirkcudbright and John Johnston of Dumfries, were co-partners in a snuff mill that they built at the New Abbey corn mill.

John had failed in business at least once before but he was given £50 by his father-in-law and other funds 'by accommodation from his friends and acquaintances' to start the new venture. Subsequently his wife received a legacy of £200 or two hundred guineas and his brother sent several remittances from New York.

William should receive half the profits and at the same time bear half the debts. He left the management of the business to John. When no payments were forthcoming, however, William asked John repeatedly for a statement of their affairs. This could not be produced because there were no letter or invoice books so that the profit and loss accounts could not be prepared. John was in severe financial difficulty again. One problem was the cost of keeping his family of seven, including his clerk, on the allowance of £25 per year for the managing the partnership. In addition wages for the clerk, who should have been keeping the books, were £10 a year.

John's creditors met at the George Inn in Dumfries at 12 o'clock on 3 February 1807. The following month he was in the tolbooth 'in so poor a state of health that it would be dangerous to bring him out'. As soon as he recovered an inventory was made of all his belongings, which were then sold to pay some of his debts.⁶²

Kirkcudbright and rum from Grenada

On 29 October 1776 George Macartney, governor of Grenada, wrote to John Macartney of Halketleaths about his property near Dumfries. He made suggestions about how John could reply, 'there are vessels here sometimes from Kirkcudbright, but the packet is by much the safest conveyance'.⁶³

According to the port records from 1769 to 1793 there was a short-lived but active trade between Kirkcudbright and Grenada, mainly run by John Beck & Co. At least one rum ship sailed from that port every year. The typical outward bound cargoes included:

oats, oatmeal, hulled barley, shelled barley, wheat flour, biscuit, potatoes, white pease, samphire, dried beef, mutton & pork; white herrings from Ayr, Irish salted butter, sugar manufactured at Ayr, cheese, French red wine, Irish port, British beer in green bottles, moulded tallow candles, wearing apparel, lawns, plain linen, checked & striped linen, checked linen handkerchiefs, white & coloured cotton, printed & striped cotton, cotton stuffs, woollen cloth, dimity, thread gauze, thread stockings, tanned leather shoes, slaked & unslaked lime, nails, grindstones, bricks, iron hoops, hardware, earthenware, writing & lapping paper, printed books

The vessels returned with rum, cotton wool and sugar (see Appendix VI). The John Paul who was the captain of the *John* of Dumfries is John Paul Jones.

Only a small proportion of the rum was sold to the home market. Most of it was exported to Cork or Dublin, and sometimes New York. One of the cargoes was purchased by Thomas Clarke & Co., originally from Peel in the Isle of Man, who subsequently owned farms at the Mull of Galloway as a base for their smuggling operations. This suggests that possibly all the rum sent to Dunkirk was subsequently smuggled along the Solway shore.

ABOLITION

Notwithstanding the great prices [of sugar] I consider the West Indian Islands as never in a worse situation with respect to this country. Mr Wilberforce, it is expected, will again bring forward his Bill of Abolition. Even in North Britain, where they are in general so totally ignorant in the business, the frenzie [sic] spreads amazingly, for which great pains are taken by some individuals and religious motives are in course introduced. I am now told [Mr W] is sending copies of the evidence taken before the committee of the House of Commons to the minister of every parish, no doubt to obtain charitable contributions to carry on the Bill now depending [before Parliament]. I am sorry to add that no great spirit appears on the planters behalf to counteract these dangerous machinations against the Colonies. [James Stothert of Cargen to his attorney in Jamaica, David Hood, 29 January 1792]

From the 1780s onwards several petitions were prepared in Dumfries & Galloway to support the ever-intensifying abolition movement. At the same time, there was a growing concern about the future on the part of the Guinea merchants and planters.

On Tuesday, 15 April 1788 William McMorris the minister at Caerlaverock presented an 'overture' to the Dumfries synod, 'that they should petition Parliament to take the slave trade under their consideration and adopt such measures as may tend in the end to abolish this traffic'. Having considered this at length, the synod appointed a working party of five, including McMorris to draw up a petition overnight. An amended version was forwarded to Sir James Johnston, the local Member of Parliament. The synod had 'observed with pleasure' that the nation was considering the slave trade and that petitions had been presented to Parliament

commiserating those of their fellow creatures who are the objects of this Traffic. Animated with a sincere regard to the interests of religion and humanity they beg leave to express their hope and desire that the High Court of Parliament would take this matter into their serious consideration and adopt such measures concerning it, as being consistent with the political interest of the nation and the spirit of liberty and Christianity, may tend to mitigate and, in the end to relieve the sufferings of their enslaved brethren.⁶⁴

LETTERS

ON

SLAVERY,

BY

WILLIAM DICKSON,

FORMERLY PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE LATE
HON. EDWARD HAY, GOVERNOR OF BARBADOES.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

ADDRESSES TO THE WHITES, AND TO THE FREE
NEGROES OF BARBADOES; AND ACCOUNTS
OF SOME NEGROES EMINENT FOR THEIR VIRTUES
AND ABILITIES.

“ Behold and see if there be any sorrow like unto *our* sorrow.”

JEREM. LAM. I. 12.

“ Pollenti stabilita manu (Deus almus eandem

“ Omnigenis animam, nil prohibente dedit)

“ Ipsa coloris egens virtus, prudentia; honesto

“ Nullus ineft animo, nullus in arte color.”

F. WILLIAMS, a Negro Poet
and Mathematician.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED AND SOLD BY J. PHILLIPS, GEORGE-YARD, LOMBAR-
STREET, AND SOLD BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-
YARD, AND ELLIOT AND KAY, OPPOSITE SOMERSET
PLACE, STRAND.—M.DCC.LXXXIX.

James Stothert of Cargen was deeply concerned about the renewed movement towards abolition in the early 1790s. He believed that it was 'very improbable that West India property can be supported, much less improved, without an annual supply [of slaves] from Africa'. The following year he wrote to Robert Milligan in London:

What think you of a mob rising in Dumfries the latter end of last week on a poor shopkeeper taking into his house a cask of muscovado sugar? They said the negroes had poisoned it and that they must stave the cask. With very great difficulty he got it into his shop and preserved after they had got off most of the hoops. No little pains seem to be taken in this part of the country to spread this frenzie [sic] of philanthropy, am told the copies of evidence ... are now transmitting from Edinburgh to the ministers of every parish which will serve no doubt to inflame the minds of ignorant people whether they contribute [money towards the campaign] or not.^{65 66}

William Dickson of Moffat

Born at Moffat William Dickson spent thirteen years in Barbados, where he worked as secretary to the governor. Dickson's publications included:

Letters on Slavery London 1789

Mitigation of Slavery London 1814

Addresses to Whites, Free Negroes of Barbados and Accounts of some Negroes Eminent for their Virtues and Abilities London 1797

Hints to the People of the United Kingdom in general and North Britain in particular on the Present Important Crises and some interesting Collateral subjects written at Moffat and published at Edinburgh in 1803.

These publications attracted the interest of the abolitionists. In January 1792 William Dickson was sent to Scotland to encourage the widespread distribution of the *Abstract of Evidence* against the trade so that it would stimulate spontaneous petitions from the local people. The *Abstract* was 128 pages long, including descriptions of procuring, transporting and selling slaves with a large folding plan of *Brooks* (see page 8). There was evidence of the conditions of the slaves in the West Indies and *A Graveyard for Seamen* quoted the deaths of crewmen on the slave ships between 1784 and 1790.

Dickson also carried the cameo produced by Josiah Wedgwood and showing a slave with hands up-raised and the words: Am I not a man? ⁶⁷



*The journeys of William Dickson throughout Scotland,
 January-March 1792, on behalf of the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade*
 From: Iain Whyte *Scotland and the Abolition of Black Slavery, 1756-1838* p. 92

On 19 March 1792 the Magistrates, Town Council and Incorporated Tradesmen of the Burgh of Kirkcudbright drafted a petition to the House of Commons. The first version stated:

That the African Slave Trade appears to your petitioners to be inhuman and unjust, and ought not to be countenanced by a free people. Your petitioners therefore most earnestly intreat the House to take the said trade again into consideration and to adopt such measures, as in their wisdoms may be most likely to effect a speedy abolition thereof.

And the second draft, which was forwarded to their Member of Parliament:

That the African Slave Trade appears to your petitioners to be unjust, oppressive and cruel, and utterly disgraceful to the national character. Your petitioners therefore earnestly supplicate your Honourable House to take the said trade again into your most serious consideration, and to adopt such measures as may effect a total abolition thereof.⁶⁸

In 1792 the Marischal College at Aberdeen awarded Dickson an Honorary LL.D. as author of *Letters on Slavery*. This is recorded on the Dickson gravestone in Moffat churchyard.

Wilberforce succeeded in producing sufficient support for the abolition of the slave trade from Britain.

In 1806 the Tod brothers forewarned Thomas Nuttall of the *Kitty's Amelia*, currently in the West Indies that 'the Bill has now passed [in Parliament] to prevent any more vessels from going to Africa, but those already in the trade and there can be no change of property[ownership] whatever in them'. This meant that 'you will therefore be careful of the *Kitty's Amelia*, and use all possible dispatch to get home'. This ship was the last Guineaman to sail from Liverpool in the slave trade, legally.⁶⁹

The Voyage of the *Donna Mariana*

The *Donna Mariana* was a 330 ton Portuguese ship that was registered in England and fitted out by Samuel McDowal for a slave trading voyage. She sailed from Liverpool in August 1809 with de Souza as her captain and a crew of twenty-one men. Having collected 293 slaves on the Gold Coast, she was due to carry them to Pernambuco. On Monday, 21 May 1810 HMS *Crocodile*, Commander E H Columbine was at Cape Coast

Castle when she sighted two strange vessels. That evening a Portuguese ship 'on a slave voyage' anchored astern of the *Crocodile* and the following day she was boarded 'to examine her papers. Found in one of the passenger's trunks documents which proved she had fitted out at Liverpool for the purpose of slaving. She was accordingly detained and two officers and twelve men were sent on board'.

On Wednesday, 23 May 1810 the *Donna Mariana* 'made all sail for Sierra Leone'. On 3 July 1810 she was forfeited to the King, 'being British property under neutral colours' by the local Vice-Admiralty Court. There was an appeal, presumably from McDowal, using Messrs Ounmanney & Druce and Samuel Curry as his agents. On 3 and 6 June 1812 the original sentence was affirmed by the judge of the High Court of Admiralty. It appears that she was sold for £2,535 8s – a moiety was paid to the captors and the remainder (£1267 14s) to the High Court - but not until 1821.⁷⁰

Conclusion

Such is supposed to be the beginning of the Town of Dumfries, named after its namesake on the Clyde, not far from Glasgow. Glasgow was, probably, more closely interested in the venture than the smaller place. [Fairfax Harrison quoted by Henry J Berkley in *The Port of Dumfries, Prince William Co., VA., 1924*]

This quotation is repeated to emphasise that it has been possible to show that the story of Dumfries & Galloway and the transatlantic slave trade was not dominated by its rapidly expanding neighbour. Instead it stands alone as a record of the achievements of a large number of men, and women, who became involved in a wide range of opportunities from trade to the African coast and the Americas to careers at sea to opening up new areas for agriculture to supplying these enterprises with necessities and finally to processing and selling the produce that created a market back home.

Slave trading voyages sailed from the Solway ports of Dumfries and probably Kirkcudbright; merchants from Wigtown and Moffat settled in Liverpool where they undertook sixty voyages towards the end of the slave trade; some of the slave trading captains and crews came from the region; several local people owned plantations in North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia and in the West Indian Islands of Jamaica, Grenada and Tobago; merchants supplied the plantations from stores in Georgia and North Carolina and attempted to introduce Scottish linens into South Carolina; there was a tobacco trade from Virginia and Maryland to Kirkcudbright, Dumfries, and Annan and a rum trade from Grenada to Kirkcudbright; snuff was manufactured in small mills, including the one at New Abbey.

Several questions remain unanswered, however, particularly in the context of who was who. After collecting a large amount of information about their voyages, the Gordons of Bristol were discounted because they supposedly came from the east coast. Yet there are regular references to them in the correspondence of the Murrays of Murraythwaite. Similarly the Irving family of Langholm appears to have had more slave trade connections than previous writers have concluded. The research continues.

Appendix I: Slave Trading Voyages from Liverpool

Dumfries & Galloway people with shares in Liverpool Voyages (1751-1800)

John Graham & Robert Ferguson (Dumfries) with Richard Golding, John Gillibran & Archduke Graham

Molly, Archduke Graham/Richard Rigby; sailed: 10 June 1751 for Gold Coast & Jamaica; returned: 1 December 1752
Note: Archduke Graham has not been identified.

Robert Gordon (relation of Lord Kenmure, living in the Isle of Man) with Thomas & John Dawson & John Montgomery
Four Friends; Thomas Dawson; sailed 15 August 1760 for Windward Coast; no further information

John Kirkpatrick (sole owner)

Royal George, Joseph Walker/Latimore; sailed 10 January 1799 for Angola & Grenada; sold in Americas.
Note: see also the section on Kirkcudbright and the rum trade from Grenada

R. Ferguson (sole owner)

Lion, William Willoughby; sailed 8 April 1800 for Anomabu & Jamaica; returned to London 22 July 1801

Sources: LTSD 51/18 *Molly* & 60/67 *Four Friends*
Transatlantic Slave Trade Database 82265 *Lion*, 83430 *Royal George*, 90371 *Molly* & 90882 *Four Friends*

Liverpool merchants: Samuel McDowall from Wigtown (1795-1807)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>Flyer</i>	Ludwick Carlile	1 July 1795	Anomabu	Barbados		Shipwrecked
<i>Cornwallis</i>	Thomas Smerdon	22 April 1797	Angola	Demerara	2 April 1798	Completed
<i>Fair Penitent</i>	John Gardiner	10 January 1798	Iles de Loss	Grenada		Sold
<i>Africa</i>	Thomas Smerdon	22 May 1798	Anomabu	Demerara		Condemned
<i>Henry</i>	Matthew Cusack	22 May 1798	Gabon	Cuba		Captured
<i>Lord Duncan</i>	John Hodgson/ Alexander Cowan	15 December 1798	Benin	Jamaica		Unseaworthy
<i>Rebecca</i>	John Laughton/ Brockbank	12 May 1799	Anomabu			Captured
<i>Harriott</i>	Matthew Cusack/ James Gridler	15 November 1799	Sierra Leone	Bahamas	20 July 1801	Completed
<i>Mary</i>	Thomas Wright	28 June 1800		Savannah	10 July 1801	Completed
<i>Annan</i>	John Simpson	18 November 1800	Gold Coast	Grenada	17 September 1801	Completed
<i>John</i>	John Pitts/ Thomas Boyd	18 November 1800	Sierra Leone	Surinam	17 September 1801	Completed
<i>Lady Nelson</i>	Alexander Cowan	26 April 1801	Gold Coast	Demerara		Unseaworthy
<i>John Bull</i>	Thomas Wright	24 August 1801				Lost
<i>Thomas</i>	Henry Atkins	8 November 1801	Gold Coast	Demerara	2 August 1802	Completed
<i>Harriott</i>	John Flinn	11 November 1801	Gambia	Trinidad	21 August 1802	Completed
<i>John</i>	Samuel Read	28 November 1801		Jamaica	4 December 1802	Completed

Notes: Alexander Cowan became captain of the *Lord Duncan* when John Hodgson died on 11 December 1799; Matthew Cusack was taken by the enemy on 25 November 1799 but returned to the ship on 24 April 1800. *John Bull* wrecked on 29 March 1803.

Samuel McDowall from Wigtown contd.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>Annan</i>	John Simpson	26 December 1801	Gold Coast	Demerara		Condemned
<i>Deane</i>	Alexander Laing	14 February 1802		Trinidad	28 December 1802	Completed
<i>Laurel</i>	Henry Baldwin/ Gould	13 August 1802	Cape Mount	Georgia	20 April 1803	Completed
<i>Mary</i>	John Mitchell	26 September 1802	Cameroons	Surinam	6 July 1803	Completed
<i>Harriott</i>	Richard Everitt	3 October 1802		Tortola	20 June 1804	Completed
<i>Roehampton</i>	William Thompson	9 December 1802		Surinam	17 September 1803	Completed
<i>Thomas</i>	John Pitts	14 January 1803		St Thomas	22 September 1803	Completed
<i>John</i>	Charles King	8 March 1803	Goree	Dominica		Captured
<i>Roehampton</i>	William Thompson	16 November 1803	Gabon	Surinam	7 January 1805	Completed
<i>Mary</i>	John Mitchell	26 December 1803	Bight of Biafra	Demerara	5 May 1805	Completed
<i>Thomas</i>	Samuel Van Ranst	5 March 1804				Captured
<i>Harriott</i>	Richard Everitt	27 October 1804	Angola	St Lucia	9 November 1805	Completed
<i>Resource</i>	Thomas Moffitt	4 November 1804	Congo	Charleston	5 August 1805	Completed
<i>Roehampton</i>	Edward Newby	1 March 1805		St Thomas		Unknown
<i>Rebecca</i>	William Thompson	18 March 1805	Angola	Montevideo		Captured
<i>William & Mary</i>	John Flinn	7 April 1805	Gambia	Martinique		Captured
<i>Africaine</i>	Christopher Brew/ John French	24 April 1805	Lagos	Barbados	15 April 1806	Completed
<i>Mary</i>	Alexander Cowan	8 July 1805	Sierra Leone	Charleston	14 April 1806	Completed

Notes: Henry Baldwin died on 20 April 1803. Christopher Brew was discharged at Barbados & John French became captain.

Samuel McDowall from Wigtown contd.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>Sally</i>	Charles Kneale	5 August 1805				Shipwrecked
<i>Resource</i>	Enock Almon	16 September 1805				Captured
<i>Laurel</i>	Robert Hume	22 October 1805				Captured
<i>James</i>	Robert Tyrer	2 February 1806	Gold Coast	St Vincent	17 January 1807	Completed
<i>Argo</i>	William Thompson	10 April 1806	Bonny			Shipwrecked
<i>Endeavour</i>	Alexander Cowan	11 May 1806	Gold Coast	Trinidad	22 April 1807	Completed
<i>Mary</i>	John Blofield/ Charles Hoyle	3 July 1806	Gabon	Trinidad	15 June 1807	Completed
<i>Africaine</i>	Richard Vaughan	24 July 1806	Gold Coast	Kingston, Jamaica	18 July 1807 [London]	Completed
<i>James</i>	William Thompson	28 March 1807	Gabon	Demerara		Condemned
<i>Endeavour</i>	Alexander Cowan	27 June 1807	Gold Coast	Demerara	2 July 1808	Completed

Note: Blofield died on 14 February 1807 and Charles Hoyle, the ship's surgeon, became master.

Key: 1: vessel; 2: captain; 3: date sailed; 4: main Guinea port; 5: main market in Americas; 6: date returned; 7: fate of voyage

Source: Muster Rolls: BT98/61,91 *Lord Duncan*, 61,366 *Harriott*, 61,360 *John*, 63,136 *Laurel*, 64,136 *John Bull*, 66,230 *Africaine* & 67,286 *Mary*. Transatlantic slave trade database: 80097 *Africa*, 82205 & 82206 *Africaine*, 80306 & 80307 *Annan*, 80345 *Argo*, 80914 *Cornwallis*, 80972 *Deane*, 81281 & 81282 *Endeavour*, 81354 *Fair Penitent*, 81489 *Flyer*, 81743, 81744, 81745 & 81746 *Harriott*, 81804 *Henry*, 81974 & 81975 *James*, 82044, 82045 & 82046 *John*, 82070 *John Bull*, 82216 *Lady Nelson*, 82243 & 82245 *Laurel*, 82341 *Lord Duncan*, 82607, 82609, 82610, 82611 & 82612 *Mary*, 83293 & 83294 *Rebecca*, 83319 & 83320 *Resource*, 83377, 83378 & 83379 *Roehampton*, 83492 *Sally*, 83792, 83793 & 83794 *Thomas* & 84061 *William & Mary*.

Liverpool merchants: George & Robert Tod from Moffat (1803-1807)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>Caroline</i>	Robert Warbrick	20 December 1803				
<i>Kitty's Amelia</i>	Thomas Nuttall	13 February 1804		St Kitts	10 October 1804	Shipwrecked
<i>Brooks</i>	William Murdock	3 May 1804	Angola	Montevideo		Completed
<i>Intrepid</i>	John Campbell	4 June 1804	Calabar	Surinam	13 November 1805	Completed
<i>Juerna</i>	Robert Lewis	29 July 1804	Calabar	Surinam	12 June 1805	Completed
<i>Kitty's Amelia</i>	Thomas Nuttall/ Thomas Forrest	3 December 1804	Angola	St Barthélemy	9 November 1805	Completed
<i>Prudence</i>	Charles Christian	4 December 1804	Angola			Sold
<i>Swallow</i>	William Aldcroft Dale	19 January 1805	Mesurado	Martinique		Captured
<i>Juerna</i>	Thomas Brassey	16 November 1805				Captured
<i>Kitty's Amelia</i>	Thomas Nuttall/ Thomas Forrest	6 May 1806	Bonny	Trinidad	20 April 1807	Completed
<i>Prince Edward</i>	John Brown	6 May 1806	Gabon	Jamaica		Unseaworthy
<i>Liberty</i>	Thomas Brassey	9 June 1806	Windward Coast	Trinidad		Captured
<i>Caroline</i>	J Harrison/ W Kennedy	9 August 1806	Angola			Shipwrecked
<i>Liberty</i>	Allan Kennedy	9 August 1806	Angola	St Kitts	16 June 1807	Completed

Key: 1: vessel; 2: captain; 3: date sailed; 4: main market in Americas; 5: main market in Americas; 6: date returned; 7: fate of voyage

George & Robert Tod from Moffat contd.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>King George</i>	Thomas Brassey/ Alexander Millar	23 March 1807	Gold Coast	Jamaica	27 July 1808	Completed
<i>Kitty's Amelia</i>	Thomas Forrest/ Hugh Crow/ Thomas Brassey	25 July 1807	Bonny	Jamaica	29 June 1808	Completed

Key: 1: vessel; 2: captain; 3: date sailed; 4: main Guinea port; 5: main market in Americas; 6: date returned; 7: fate of voyage

Note: this table includes vessels where Henry Clarke is listed as the sole owner but there is other evidence to suggest that he was in partnership with the Tod brothers for the voyage.

Source: 80673 *Brooks*, 80738 & 80739 *Caroline*, 81911 *Intrepid*, 82116 & 82117 *Juvena*, 82134 *King George*, 82200, 82201, 82202 & 82203 *Kitty's Amelia*, 82253 & 82254 *Liberty*, 83195 *Prince Edward*, 83252 *Prudence* & 83661 *Swallow*

Appendix II:
Captain Charles Kneale's letter of instruction and cargo list as
master of the *Lottery* of Liverpool
belonging to Thomas Leyland & Co. (1802)

The captain's instructions were dated 21 May 1802:

Having appointed you to the command of our ship *Lottery* you are to proceed in her immediately to Bonny on the coast of Africa. We have put on board her an abundant and well assorted cargo, an invoice of which you will receive herewith, and on your arrival at Bonny you are to barter it for 290 Negroes. Besides which we expect you will be able to procure a quantity of palm oil, which you will take especial care to put into puncheons, well iron-hooped, and that you will have a surplus of cargo left to bring home, which must be kept dry and preserved from damage.

We wish you to use every possible dispatch in making your trade at Bonny but we request you will at the same time observe great economy in the disposal of your cargo. You will most certainly have to contend with five or six vessels, but we trust the masters will study the interest of their owners and unite with you in every effort to keep down the prices – Captain Lawson of our ship *Louisa* and you are mutually to assist each other with goods and boats to forward the trade of both ships, and you are not on any account to oppose each other in any way that will operate to our prejudice. The presents, which he and you carry, must be promised and given to those traders who engage themselves in the interest and sell the most slaves to both ships.

Be very particular in the slaves you purchase. Receive only those as are well made, full chested, vigorous and without bodily imperfection. These are able to bear the passage and will command a sale in the West Indies. Endeavour to assort your cargo in the following proportions viz: one half to consist of prime men Negroes from 15 to 25 years old; three-eighths to consist of boys from 10 to 15 and one eighth to consist of women from 10 to 18.

In your treatment of the Negroes, show them every indulgence that will be consistent with the safety of the ship; do not suffer your officers or crew to offer the least abuse to them; take care that their provisions are cooked in that way which is most agreeable to them, and to such as are sick allow every comfort that your ship affords. Be strict and regular in the discipline on board the ship. Do not permit drunkenness among your crew for it is sure to be attended with some misfortune. Of all things be careful of fire, the consequences attending which is horrible in the extreme (see page 9).

Should Captain Egerton of the *Enterprize* send to you from Old Calabar, we request he may receive from you every assistance in goods or boats which you can render him without prejudice to your own voyage.

When you have finished your trade at Bonny and laid in a sufficient quantity of yams, wood and water for the Middle Passage, proceed with a press of sail for Barbados and on your arrival there call on Messrs Barton Higginson & Co. with whom you will find our further orders to govern you in prosecuting the remainder of the voyage. In running down for that Island great care must be taken not to miss it, because the want of our instructions would probably be the ruin of the adventure.

You must keep the ship very clean and take every care of her stores and materials, and you must write to us by every opportunity with a copy of your preceding letter, that we may not experience the anxiety and vexation which is always the consequence when the master neglects to perform that part of his duty.

You are to receive from the house who may sell your cargo of slaves your coast commission of £2 in £102 on the gross sales, and when this sum together with your chief mate's allowance and your surgeon's allowance and head money are deducted, you are then to draw your commission of £4 in £104 the remaining amount (see Captain Thomas Nuttall's account of his commissions for the second voyage of the *Kitty's Amelia*).

Your chief mate Mr Dugdale is to receive two slaves on an average with the cargo and your surgeon is to receive one slave on an average with the cargo and one shilling sterling head money per each slave sold.

In consideration of the above emoluments neither you nor your crew nor any of them are directly or indirectly to carry on any private trade at Africa on your or their accounts, under a forfeiture to us of the whole of your commissions arising on this voyage.

In case of your death, your chief mate Mr Dugdale is to succeed to the command of the ship and diligently follow these and all our future orders.

But we hope you will enjoy good health and that you will have a short, happy and prosperous voyage, which is the wish of Sir, your obedient servants, Thomas Leyland & Co.

Summary of the Invoice of Assorted Goods on board the *Lottery*

Beads	round moch coral, blue agates, calabash, blue china, red Bordeaux, barley corn
Cloths	blue bafts, blue bandanas, yellow bandanas, chelloes (chellae), blue chintz narrow stripes, chintz, cushloes, cushtaes cuttannees, red ells, blue long cloths, niccannees, blue chintz pattna, photaes, blue romals, check romals, pandicherry romals, blue Dane romals, red Dane romals Guinea stuffs suits of Dash clothes (to pay the local customs)
	striped worsted caps, scarlet & scarlet striped worsted caps
	trade hats, fine trade hats
	Bonny neptunes
	manilas
Muskets	soldiers, Spanish, French, sham tower, short stores
Gunpowder	barrels & powder kegs
	black musket flints
	Lead bars
	Lead shot
	Hatchets
	Dutch pocket looking glasses
	Horn Guinea knives
	25 puncheons of rum

Source: Liverpool Record Office: 387 MD42 Thomas Leyland & Co. Account Book of the Ship *Lottery* to Captain Charles Kneale, Liverpool, 21 May 1802

Appendix III: Walter Lutwidge's Guinea Cargoes

Scheme of a cargo to purchase 300 slaves in Angola according to three several voyages made anno 1733, 1735, 1736 and 1737

6 pieces striped satin cut into 84 pieces, called sashes
1,400 annavasses [annabasses]
1,400 brass pans assorted
100 alihabanies
100 lb couries [cowries]
220 blue and white chints [chintz], 18 yards each we call long cloth
50 bars of iron the whole $\frac{1}{2}$ ton weight
30 biram pants [byrampants]
300 blue baffs [bafts]
250 long nucanies [nicones]
50 short do.
150 topsails [tapseils]
80 bejula pants [bejutapants]
100 braules [brawles]
20 blue and white photais [photaes]
30 red photais
350 Guinea suffs [Guinea stuffs]
6 pieces Damask silk
60 ounces coral
12 pieces base [bays], 8 blue, 4 black, must be bought in England
112 stone jugs about 6 quarters each
150 dozen earthen mugs sorted for 1 pint to 3 pints
68 yards of scarlet cloth
40 yards blue scarlet cloth
25 buccaneer guns
450 muskets
6 dozen cutlasses
100 gross knives, single, sharp pointed like butchers knives
160 cags of spirits
100 cases spirits
50 sillesias
60 cases of gunpowder about 8 pounds each

Note: Goods that is well bought won't exceed £1,600 and the greatest allowance in setting out is £6 per head for the Negroes you intend to purchase.

Scheme of a cargo to purchase slaves on the Gold Coast

60 bijnta pants [bejuntapants] @ 16s 6d
40 nigni pants [negannepants] @ 15s
100 fine brawles @ 5s

50 chints [Chintz] @ 7s 6d
 40 fine small nucanes [nicones] @ 8s 9d
 30 fine blue balfs [bafts] 18 yards each 21s
 30 camdames @ 16s
 80 cotton romalls [rumals] @ 9s 6d
 30 coppes [cope cloths] @ 18s 6d
 40 pohotaies [photaes] @ 9s
 30 striped callanues @ 29s
 10 fine searsuckers [seersucker] @ 20s
 200 checked chilais [chelloe] @ 20s
 800 pounds of courries [cowries] @ 85s
 30 chints [Chintz] blue and white @ 20s
 4,000 azzangoes [arangoes] @ 60s per 1,000
 10 English bourbaye stuffs
 360 pounds purple, black, white olwta beads @ 11d a pound
 2,000 blue& light green perpets [perpetuanna] 10s 6d a pound
 70 green long ells @ 29s
 20 coarse blue sayes @ 31s
 1,300 old sheets @ 17d
 800 brass bands 9 cwt 1 quarter 8 pounds @ 140s
 60 Guinea carpets @ 2s 9d
 200 pounds tobacco @ 6d per pound
 385 bars iron quarter 8 pounds @ £16 10s per ton
 3 dozen coarse hats @ 15d
 40 pair blankets @ 3s 6d
 400 cags tallow 44 cwt 3 quarters 12 pounds @ £29 per ton
 400 pewter basons 3 lbs each @ 8d per pound
 30 do. 4 lbs)
 30 do. 2 lbs) @ 8d per pound
 30 do. 1 lbs)
 20 screw jugs @ 10s 6d
 1,227 gallons spirits in 6 guinea [bottles]
 40 wecker bot of do.
 30 caggs do.
 400 trading arms @ 7s 6d
 75 muskets @ 8s 3d
 75 buccaneers @ 11s 6d
 45 gunpowder repacked into 30 half pound: 222 quarters @ 57s 6d
 1 gross knives @ 29s
 36 gross pipes
 20 casks spirits @ 10s

Note: They reckon £8 per head upon cargoes in this trade and upwards and don't sell here so well in proportion of the Angola's.

Source: Cumbria Record Office, Whitehaven: Walter Lutwidge letterbooks

Appendix IV: Guinea Captains

Samuel McDowall's Captains known to come from Dumfries & Galloway

Alexander Cowan: voyages for Samuel McDowall

1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Lord Duncan</i>	15 December 1798	Benin	Jamaica		Unseaworthy
<i>Lady Nelson</i>	26 April 1801	Gold Coast	Demerara		Unseaworthy
<i>Mary</i>	8 July 1805	Sierra Leone	Charleston [Gibson & Broadfoot]	14 April 1806	Completed
<i>Endeavour</i>	11 May 1806	Gold Coast	Trinidad	22 April 1807	Completed
<i>Endeavour</i>	27 June 1807	Gold Coast	Demerara	2 July 1808	Completed

Other voyages: owner John Fisher Throckmorton

<i>Crescent</i>	London 13 September 1802	Cape Coast Castle	Kingston Jamaica	29 January 1804	Completed
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Note: Samuel Robinson of Wigtown was on board both the *Lady Nelson* and the *Crescent* with his uncle, Alexander Cowan.

Key: 1: vessel; 2: date sailed; 3: main Guinea port; 4: main market in Americas; 5: date returned; 6: fate of voyage

Sources: for the Samuel McDowall vessels see Appendix I.

Transatlantic Slave Trade Database: 80938 *Crescent*.

Samuel McDowall's Captains known to come from Dumfries & Galloway contd.

John French: voyage for Samuel McDowall (2nd captain after Christopher Brew)

1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Africaine</i>	24 April 1805	Lagos	Barbados	15 April 1806	Completed

Other voyages: apparently none.

Samuel Read: voyage for Samuel McDowall

1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>John</i>	28 November 1801		Kingston, Jamaica	4 December 1802	Completed

Other voyages: possibly 2nd captain to Robert Thornborrow (owners William Earle junior, Thomas Earle, Thomas Parke, Benjamin Arthur Heywood, John Copland, William Davenport and John Smale. It has been suggested that Copland was from Dumfries [David Dobson personal communication] but his other voyages have not been included in this book).

1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Oronoko</i>	11 December 1785	Cameroons	Barbados	4 March 1787	Completed

Key: 1: vessel; 2: date sailed; 3: main Guinea port; 4: main market in Americas; 5: date returned; 6: fate of voyage

Sources: for the Samuel McDowall vessels see Appendix I
Transatlantic Slave Trade Database: 82974 *Oronoko*

Samuel McDowall's Captains known to come from Dumfries & Galloway contd.

John Simpson: voyages for Samuel McDowall

1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Annan</i>	18 November 1800	Gold Coast	Grenada	17 September 1801	Completed
<i>Annan</i>	26 December 1801	Gold Coast	Demerara		Condemned Americas

Other voyages: Simpson was 2nd captain of the *Fanny* when Andrew Davidson was discharged on 20 May 1800 & James Barker took over as captain of the *Admiral Nelson* when John Simpson died on 6 July 1806. William Neilson & William Heathcote were the owners of both vessels.

1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Fanny</i>	29 July 1799	Angola	Surinam	2 September 1800	Completed
<i>Admiral Nelson</i>	7 March 1806	Windward Coast	Demerara	18 January 1807	Completed

Key: 1: vessel; 2: date sailed; 3: main Guinea port; 4: main market in Americas; 5: date returned; 6: fate of voyage

Sources: for the Samuel McDowall vessels see Appendix I

Muster rolls: BT98/60,502 *Fanny*, 67,131 *Admiral Nelson*

Transatlantic Slave Trade Database: 80046 *Admiral Nelson* & 81401 *Fanny*

The Corbett Captains sailing from Liverpool

John Corbett I

1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Grampus</i>	24 January 1755	Windward Coast	St Kitts	21 June 1758	Completed
<i>Grampus</i>	23 April 1757	Gambia (intended)			Captured
<i>Polly</i>	26 November 1757	Gambia	Charleston		Unknown

Owners: *Grampus*: William Earle, Nathaniel Basnett, Samuel Smith, Robert Armitage, Edward Cropper, Alex Torbett, William Davenport & John Maddock [sic]. On the first voyage Maddock took over as captain on 21 June 1756. *Polly*: William Davenport, John Maddocks, John Kelly, Thomas Rumbold & Thomas Rigby.

James Corbett

1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Lark</i>	11 September 1785	Cape Mount	Dominica	18 May 1788	Completed
<i>Aeolus</i>	30 January 1788	Windward Coast	St Vincent	5 January 1789	Completed
<i>Aeolus</i>	21 April 1789	?	St Vincent	4 June 1790	Completed
<i>Aeolus</i>	6 February 1791	Sierra Leone	St Vincent	10 February 1792	Completed.

Owners: Miles Barber (*Lark*), Thomas Staniforth. John Houghton, James Carruthers, Joseph Brooks junior, William Denison, Francis Ingram, Thomas Parke, Benjamin A Heywood, John Sargent, Christopher Chambers & Robert Rolleston (*Aeolus* 1788), same but without Heywood (*Aeolus* 1789) & Thomas Staniforth, Moses Benson, John Houghton & Thomas Parke (*Aeolus* 1791). James Corbett died on board the *Aeolus* on 19 October 1791 and James Thompson was 2nd captain.

The Corbett Captains from Liverpool contd.
John Corbett II

1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Plumber</i>	14 May 1798	Angola	Barbados		Captured
<i>Young Jonah</i>	21 March 1799	Barbados			Captured

Key: 1: vessel; 2: date sailed; 3: main Guinea port; 4: main market in Americas; 5: date returned; 6: fate of voyage

Sources: LTSD: 53/72 *Grampus*, 57/74 *Polly*

Muster rolls; BT98/52,81 *Aeolus* (3rd voyage)

Transatlantic Slave Trade Database: 80071, 80072 & 80073 *Aeolus*, 82240 *Lark*, 83119 *Plumber*, 84097 *Young Jonah*,
 90511 & 90512 *Grampus*, 90696 *Polly*

Captain James Irving's Voyages from Liverpool

Early Voyages in the West India Trade

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Prosperity</i>	James Murphy	January 1782	Tortola	September 1782
<i>Vulture</i>	William Wilson	November 1782	Tortola	July 1783

Key: 1: vessel; 2: captain; 3: date sailed; 4: destination in the West Indies; 5: date returned

Source: Suzanne Schwarz *Slave Captain*

Early Voyages in the Slave Trade

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>Vulture</i>	William Wilson	26 July 1783	Bonny	Jamaica	23 March 1784	Completed
<i>Jane</i>	Quayle Fargher	19 August 1784	Bonny	Jamaica	2 July 1785	Completed
<i>Jane</i>	Quayle Fargher	19 May 1786	New Calabar	Tobago	27 February 1787	Completed
<i>Princess Royal</i>	William Sherwood	14 April 1787	Bonny	Havana	21 December 1787	Completed
<i>Princess Royal</i>	William Sherwood	10 April 1788	N/A	Havana	22 January 1789	Completed

Note: James Irving is listed as 4th of 66 in the *Vulture*, 6th of 46 on the *Jane* (1784), *Jane*

Key: 1: vessel; 2: captain; 3: date sailed; 4: main Guinea port; 5: main market in Americas; 6: date returned; 7: fate of voyage

Sources: Muster Rolls BT98/44,114 *Vulture*, BT98/45,179 & BT98/47,87 *Jane*, BT98/48,16 & BT98/49,55 *Princess Royal*
 Transatlantic Slave Trade Database: 81989 & 81990 *Jane*, 83239 & 83240 *Princess Royal*, 83976 *Vulture*

James Irving's Voyages as Captain in the Slave Trade

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>Anna</i>	James Irving	2 May 1789				
<i>Ellen</i>	James Irving/ James Baillie	3 January 1791	Gold Coast	Trinidad	15 May 1792	Shipwrecked Completed

Note: James Irving died on 24 December 1791.

Sources: Muster roll BT98/52,258 *Ellen* & Transatlantic Slave Trade Database: 80295 *Anna*, 81242 *Ellen*

Other Irvings in the Slave Trade

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>Young Hero</i>	Andrew Irving	14 July 1789	Cape Coast	Trinidad	3 June 1790	Completed
<i>Orange Grove</i>	John K Williams/ Andrew Irving	27 November 1790	Bight of Benin	Havana	8 December 1791	Completed
<i>James</i>	George Irving	8 July 1802	Bonny	St Vincent	22 March 1803	Completed
<i>Esther</i>	George Irving	London: 2 November 1804	Angola	Charleston		Captured

Note: Captain Williams died on 2 March 1791 and Andrew Irving became captain.

Sources: Muster rolls BT98/50, 213 *Young Hero*, BT98/52,25 *Orange Grove* & Transatlantic Slave Trade Database: 81321 *Esther*, 81963 *James*, 82968 *Orange Grove*, 84093 *Young Hero*

Key: 1: vessel; 2: captain; 3: date sailed; 4: main Guinea port; 5: main market in Americas; 6: date returned; 7: fate of voyage

The Kirkpatrick Captains sailing from Liverpool

Note: John and William Kirkpatrick of Dumfries were both owners of Virginia voyages from Liverpool.

Walter Kirkpatrick

He was captain of the *Pemberton* for five voyages between 1752 and 1758 to the African coast for wood. Although the Transatlantic Slave Trade Database lists the fifth voyage as slaving, it is probable that it was also for wood – the ship was captured by the French (see main text). Her owners were James Crosbie & Co. (John Backhouse, Bryan Blundell, Richard Blundell, William Blundell & Samuel Shaw).

1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Hero</i>	13 September 1760	Angola	Antigua	2 June 1762	Completed

Walter was one of the owners for this and the following voyage. On 5 January 1762 Taylor became captain (in Antigua) and the captain on the subsequent voyage was John Clifton. The other owners of the *Hero* were John Crosbie & Co. (John Backhouse, Bryan Blundell, Jonathan Blundell, William Crosbie & William Trafford).

Samuel Kirkpatrick

1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Galam</i>	9 April 1763	Senegal	Grenada		Returned direct to Africa
<i>Assistance</i>	29 October 1767	Sierra Leone	Antigua		Unknown
<i>Richard</i>	21 May 1770	Benin	Jamaica	27 September 1771	Completed
<i>Richard</i>	16 April 1772	Windward Coast	Jamaica	25 February 1774	Completed
<i>Richard</i>	15 June 1774	Benin	Jamaica		Shipwrecked

The Kirkpatrick Captains sailing from Liverpool contd.

Samuel Kirkpatrick's owners were Samuel Shaw (from Scotland – Edinburgh?), Bryan Blundell & William Brockbank (*Galam*), James Lowe, Richard Savage, Thomas Hodgson junior, John Dobson, John Copeland, John Green & James Moneyppenny (*Assistance*) & Richard Savage, John Dobson, Thomas Hodgson, John Copeland, James Moneyppenny & John Tarleton (*Richard*), It has been suggested that Copland was from Dumfries (see).

Kirkpatrick

The first captain of this vessel was Joseph Vardy and there is no indication of Kirkpatrick's first name.

1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Swallow</i>	23 September 1806	Gabon	Guadeloupe		Captured

Her sole owner was John Leigh.

Key: 1: vessel; 2: date sailed; 3: main Guinea port; 4: main market in Americas; 5: date returned; 6: fate of voyage

Sources: LTSD: 50/16 *Pemberton*

Transatlantic Slave Trade Database: 27043 *Pemberton*, 83662 *Swallow*, 90899 *Hero*, 91068 *Galam*, 91419 *Assistance*, 91659, 91660 & 91661 *Richard*

The Maxwell Captains sailing from Liverpool

Hugh Maxwell

1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Catherine</i>	8 May 1761	Angola			Captured
<i>Upton</i>	4 September 1762	Angola	Charleston	27 November 1763	Completed
<i>Thomas</i>	17 April 1765	Angola	Kingston, Jamaica	6 February 1767	Completed

Note: William Postlethwaite took over as captain of the *Thomas* on 1 July 1766, in Jamaica – no reason given.
 Owners: Thomas Wycliffe & James Clemens (with James Gildart for *Upton*)

George Maxwell

1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Hope</i>	31 December 1784	Angola	Dominica	23 December 1785	Completed
<i>Prince Mangalli</i>	6 April 1786	Angola	Grenada		Sold
<i>Christopher</i>	8 June 1788	Unspecified	Dominica		Completed
<i>Christopher</i>	14 April 1789	Angola	St Kitts	18 December 1789	Completed
<i>Ned</i>	7 April 1790	Angola	Grenada	14 December 1790	Completed
<i>Ned</i>	20 February 1790	Angola	Grenada	7 October 1791	Completed
<i>Ned</i>	8 April 1792	Angola	Grenada	14 November 1792	Completed
<i>Tom</i>	13 April 1792	Congo	Grenada	25 December 1792	Completed
<i>Ned</i>	30 April 1793	Angola	Kingston, Jamaica	23 April 1794	Completed

Note: John Brine 2nd captain of *Ned* (1792) & 1st captain of *Tom*. Maxwell died on 23 April 1794.

The Maxwell Captains sailing from Liverpool contd.

George Maxwell's owners were: William Wilson (*Hope*) with John Kelly & William Car (*Prince Manzalli*); Thomas Leyland & Thomas Molyneux (*Christopher, Ned & Tom*)

William Maxwell

1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Archer</i>	27 November 1793	Unspecified	Kingston, Jamaica		Unknown
<i>Thomas</i>	17 January 1795	Angola	Kingston, Jamaica	28 January 1796	Completed
<i>Sundet</i>	7 February 1797	Angola	St Croix	18 January 1798	Completed
<i>Sundet</i>	27 May 1798	Angola	St Croix	10 March 1799	Completed
<i>Amacree</i>	1 August 1799	New Calabar	Dominica	22 June 1800	Completed

Note: Henry Woods was 1st captain of the *Archer*.

William Maxwell's owners were: William Boats & Thomas Seaman (*Archer*), Thomas Seaman & Henry Ellis Boats (*Thomas*), William Harper (*Sundet & Amacree*). William Boats was one of the principal slave traders in Liverpool – he married the daughter of Paul Bridson, the principal Guinea merchant in the Isle of Man.

Key: 1: vessel; 2: date sailed; 3: main Guinea port; 4: main market in Americas; 5: date returned; 6: fate of voyage

Sources: LTSD: 64/14 *Thomas* (1765)

Muster roll: BT98/54,127 *Ned* (4th voyage)

Transatlantic Slave Trade Database: 80215 *Amacree*, 80342 *Archer*, 80831 & 80832 *Christopher*, 81871 *Hope*, 82884, 82885, 82886 & 82887 *Ned*, 83197 *Prince Manzalli*, 83642 & 83643 *Sundet*, 83760 *Thomas* (1795), 83816 *Tom*, 90930 *Catherine*, 91007 *Upton*, 91143 *Thomas* (1765)

Appendix V: *Kitty's Amelia* Crew Lists
a. The Original Crew

Name	Station	Wages per month	Fate	Date
Thomas Nuttall	master	£6 6s 0d	discharged	6 November 1806
Thomas Forrest	1 st mate	£6 6s 0d	discharged	20 April 1807
J. E. Chaffers	surgeon	£6 6s 0d	died	27 August 1806
John Hargreaves	2 nd mate	£6 10s 0d	discharged	20 April 1807
Francis Begar	seaman	£6 0s 0d	discharged	29 November 1806
John Collins	carpenter	£8 0s 0d	discharged	10 November 1806
John Dalzell	cooper	£8 8s 0d	impressed	6 December 1806
William Berry	boatswain	£7 0s 0d	discharged	28 October 1806
Edward Bruce	gunner	£6 15s 0d	discharged	20 April 1807
Andrew Bowdash	seaman	£5 10s 0d	impressed	6 December 1806
Frome Spring	¾ seaman	£4 10s 0d	impressed	6 December 1806
Paul Lavendoscoe	seaman	£4 0s 0d	impressed	6 December 1806
Robert Auld	armourer	£6 0s 0d	discharged	21 October 1806
William Carter	seaman	£6 0s 0d	run	1 November 1806
John Harrymys	seaman	£6 0s 0d	run	1 November 1806
Jacob Hens	seaman	£6 0s 0d	died	10 February 1807
Christian Sheltiah	seaman	£5 10s 0d	died	24 December 1806
Joan Oxti	seaman	£6 0s 0d	discharged	12 November 1806
William Harper	seaman	£6 0s 0d	impressed	21 October 1806
John Deane	clerk	£4 10s 0d	discharged	18 April 1807
Joseph Grimes	steward	£5 0s 0d	discharged	7 January 1807

W C Traphs	surgeon's mate	£6 0s 0d	impressed	11 November 1806
Thomas Brobin	¾ seaman	£4 0s 0d	discharged	19 April 1807
John Johnson	seaman	£4 4s 0d	run	27 October 1806
William Garnett	seaman	£5 0s 0d	impressed	11 November 1806
George Drummond	½ seaman	£3 0s 0d	impressed	7 November 1806
Richard Edwards	¾ seaman	£5 10s 0d	impressed	6 December 1806
Henry Coupin	seaman	£5 0s 0d	discharged	18 April 1807
Michael Polpose	seaman	£5 10s 0d	discharged	18 April 1807
Martin Chevance	seaman	£4 10s 0d	impressed	7 November 1806
Robert Wilson	seaman	£5 0s 0d	discharged	20 April 1807
John Morgan	seaman	£4 0s 0d	run	27 October 1806
Peter Feris	landsman	£4 0s 0d	discharged	12 August 1806
Richard Midgley	½ seaman	£4 0s 0d	impressed	6 December 1806
James Wills	seaman	£4 0s 0d	impressed	7 November 1806
Brian Quigley	landsman	£3 0s 0d	died	19 July 1806
Thomas Marte	½ seaman	£3 10s 0d	impressed	7 November 1806
James Bruce	seaman	£3 0s 0d	discharged	6 December 1806
James Goodburne	landsman	£2 10s 0d	impressed	6 December 1806
Simeon Armstrong	landsman	£2 0s 0d	impressed	12 January 1807
William Catterall	landsman	£2 10s 0d	impressed	21 October 1806
William Anderson	cook	£6 0s 0d	discharged	20 April 1807
Henry Shaw	seaman	£5 0s 0d	impressed	10 May 1806
George Cheshire	seaman	£5 0s 0d	impressed	10 May 1806
John Hall	seaman	£5 0s 0d	impressed	10 May 1806
John Moore	seaman	£5 0s 0d	impressed	10 May 1806
James Crane	landsman	£3 0s 0d	impressed	10 May 1806

Appendix V: *Kitty's Amelia* Crew Lists
b. Supplementary Crews

4 July 1806	John Leatherbarrow	'Liverpool'	3 rd mate	discharged	28 November 1806
20 November 1806	John Morlen	'Liverpool'	seaman	discharged	20 April 1807
14 December 1806	Daniel Robinson	'Liverpool'	seaman	discharged	18 April 1807
18 December 1806	Patrick Joseph	'Liverpool'	seaman	discharged	18 April 1807
21 December 1806	George Rebell	'Liverpool'	seaman	discharged	18 April 1807
8 January 1807	John Clieu	'Liverpool'	seaman	discharged	18 April 1807
	John Scott	'Liverpool'	seaman	discharged	18 April 1807
10 January 1807	George Bush	'Liverpool'	seaman	discharged	20 April 1807
	Peter Obarnia	'Liverpool'	seaman	discharged	18 April 1807
20 January 1807	Luang	China	seaman	discharged	20 April 1807
	Ajam	China	seaman	discharged	20 April 1807
	Sig Mahomed	China	seaman	discharged	20 April 1807
	Poe Remomet	China	seaman	discharged	20 April 1807
	Sui Ally	China	seaman	discharged	20 April 1807
	Nurah	China	seaman	discharged	20 April 1807
	Abdullah Malay	China	seaman	drowned	10 March 1807
	Jacup	China	seaman	discharged	20 April 1807
	Dulup	China	seaman	discharged	20 April 1807
	Emumbuccas	China	seaman	discharged	20 April 1807
	Matula	China	seaman	discharged	20 April 1807
17 February 1807	Robert Lewis	'Liverpool'	seaman	discharged	18 April 1807

Sources: Merseyside Maritime Museum: DX170 & National Archives at Kew BT98 65/174

Appendix VI: The Kirkcudbright West Indian Trade [NAS: E504/21/3]

The Grenada trade

Date	Vessel & master	Puncheons	Gallons
December 1770	<i>John</i> of Dumfries, John Paul	122	9,239
December 1771	<i>John</i> of Kirkcudbright, James Stewart	174	12,807
September 1772	<i>John</i> of Kirkcudbright, James Stewart	185	14,319
September 1773	<i>John</i> , Thomas Wallace from Grenada	129	9,890
August/September 1774	<i>John</i> of Kirkcudbright, Thomas Wallace	166	23,408
August 1775	<i>John</i> , Thomas Wallace	193 & 2 tierces	16,446
January 1778	<i>Peggy</i> of Kirkcudbright, Robert Laurie	232	18,085
December 1778	<i>Peggy</i> , Thomas Wallace	205	17,144
August 1779	<i>Friendship</i> of Kirkcudbright, Robert Ker	168 puncheons & 20 hogsheds	14,490

Other importations from the West Indies

May 1769	<i>John</i> of Dumfries, John Paul	Jamaica	rum, muscovado sugar, cotton wool, mahogany and pimento
June 1784	<i>St Cuthbert</i> of Liverpool, Thomas Wright	Jamaica	rum, muscovado sugar, mahogany, logwood and fustick
September 1784	<i>St Andrew</i> of Liverpool	St Vincent	rum
March 1785	<i>Maxwell</i> of Kirkcudbright, Charles Nielson	Jamaica	rum & sugar, mahogany & pimento
July 1786	<i>St Andrew</i> of Liverpool, William Hannah	Antigua	rum & muscovado sugar
Aug 1790, Sept 1791 & Sept 1792	<i>Swan</i> of Kirkcudbright, Philip Richardson	Jamaica	rum, muscovado sugar, cotton wool, coffee, mahogany, limes & white oak staves

Further Reading

Books

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Notes

Key:

MNHL: Manx National Heritage library, Douglas

NAS: National Archives of Scotland

TSTD: David Eltis *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade* a database on CD-ROM Cambridge University Press 2000

¹ NAS: GD18/5130

² Samuel McDowal's name is spelt McDowal and McDowall. In this context the former spelling has been adopted in the text and the latter in the Appendices

³ Stephen D Behrendt Markets, Transaction Cycles and Profits: Merchant Decision Making in the British Slave Trade *The William & Mary Quarterly* Vol. 58 No. 1 January 2001

⁴ Although also a source of starch, the yam (*Dioscorea*) should not be confused with the sweet potato (*Ipomoea*). There is one species of *Dioscorea* known as the negro yam (*D. cayennensis*). Yams were eaten by the slaves on the Middle Passage. They were also cultivated in the slave provision grounds on the plantations in the Americas

⁵ Behrendt op cit

⁶ David Hancock Scots in the Slave Trade in *Nation and Province in the First British Empire Scotland and the Americas, 1600-1800* ed. Ned C Landsman Associated University Presses 2001 pp 60-93

⁷ David Hancock *Citizens of the World* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1992. Alexander Johnston's family network included his brother Samuel in Jamaica and his brother Patrick in Barbados. He was also in contact with people from Dumfries & Galloway including Charles Irvine and William Kirkpatrick in St Kitts, Ross & Nesbitt of Nevis and Alexander Gordon of Montserrat. This network will be considered in greater detail in the second volume about Dumfries & Galloway and the transatlantic slave trade to be published in 2010.

⁸ A E Truckell 'Addenda Antiquaria: Some Eighteenth Century Transatlantic Trade Documents' *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire & Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* Vol. 67 pp 86-88 1992. Ecclefechanus calls himself the doctor's mate. 'In the sea services a surgeon of the lowest rank was called a surgeon's mate, a term which was officially changed to assistant surgeon at the beginning of the nineteenth century' [W. N. Boog Watson *The Guinea Trade and some of its surgeons* *Journal of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh* Vol. 14 No. 3 July 1969 pp 203-214]

⁹ This edition of *The Dumfries Weekly Journal* can be seen at the Dumfries Museum

¹⁰ *Memoirs of the Late Captain Hugh Crow of Liverpool* 1830. There is a copy of this edition at the Manx National Heritage library in Douglas

¹¹ *The Dumfries Weekly Journal* Transatlantic Slave Trade database (TSTD) 91702 *Lord Cassils*

¹² This was high praise. Thomas Nuttall had been captain of four slaving vessels before the *Kitty's Amelia*. These delivered their slaves: 1798 voyage at Surinam, 1800 at Demerara, 1801 at Jamaica & 1802 at St Thomas. His previous owners were Hamlet Mullion & partners and George Case. TSTD 81859 *Hinde*, 81129 & 81130 *Eclipse* & 82947 *Nimble*

¹³ Merseyside Maritime Museum: DX/170

¹⁴ The Transatlantic Slave Trade database references for all these voyages are listed in Appendix I

¹⁵ 'If Glasgow merchants on the whole kept their hands clean, those from smaller ports such as Dumfries and Kirkcudbright showed less scruple. [Michael Fry *The Scottish Empire* Tuckwell Press & Birlinn 2001 p 75] 'Only a handful of direct slaving voyages from Glasgow and Edinburgh probably took place. But men in smaller towns like Dumfries and Kirkcudbright were more active. Expatriate Scots also participated in Bristol, Liverpool and London' [T M Devine *Scotland's Empire 1600-1815* Allen Lane 2003 p 245]

¹⁶ David Dobson *The Mariners of the Clyde and Western Scotland 1700-1800* [Part Two] 1999 quoting *Virginia Slave-Trade Statistics, 1698-1775*, Richmond Va. 1984; Mark Duffill *The Africa Trade from the Ports of Scotland in Slavery and Abolition* Vol. 25, No. 3, December 2004 pp.102-122 note 56 pp. 121-122

¹⁷ NAS: CS96/2147—2162, 4912 & 4913

¹⁸ Mark Duffill [op. cit.] pp 109-111; David Richardson *Cape Verde, Madeira and Britain's Trade to Africa 1698-1740* *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 22 (1994) pp 1-15; Walter Rodney *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast 1545-1800* (Oxford 1970) esp. chapters 3, 5, 7, 8 and 10; Nigel Tattersfield *The Forgotten Trade* London 1991 p. 267

¹⁹ NAS: E504 9/2 Dumfries Port Records; MNHL: 10058 Ingates 1753 & 1754

²⁰ For further information about Walter Lutwidge see Frances Wilkins *The Smuggling Trade Revisited* Wyre Forest Press 2004

²¹ Edward Hughes, *North Country Life in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1965), Vol. II pp 45-8; David Richardson & Maurice Schofield *Whitehaven and the eighteenth-century British Slave Trade* *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society* 1993 pp 183-204

²² Cumbria Record Office, Whitehaven: Walter Lutwidge papers

²³ NAS: E504 21/3 Kirkcudbright Port Records

²⁴ David Hancock *Scots in the Slave Trade in Nation and Province in the First British Empire Scotland and the Americas, 1600-1800* ed. Ned C Landsman 2001

²⁵ It has been suggested that John Copland (sole owner or partner in 40 voyages) was from Dumfries: personal communication with David Dobson.

²⁶ NAS: GD241/189/1; Tailour papers: personal communication 22 November 1999; TSTD: 82007 & 82008: *Jemmy* 1793 & 81053 & 81054 *Doe* 1783 & 1784. The Hodgsons were not in partnership with Twemlow for the voyage of the *Doe* in 1785 (81055).

²⁷ Samuel Robinson claimed that Samuel McDowall was his mother's cousin. It has not been possible to identify him with any certainty, however. These are some of the possibilities: Samuel (1): christened at Penninghame, Wigtown 25 January or 25 October 1760 father John & mother Elizabeth McGill; Samuel (2): born Curgie, Kirkmaiden, Wigtown 30 March 1762, father John & mother Grizal McClimon; Samuel (3) christened 9 July 1773 Sorbie, Wigtown, father Samuel & mother Mally White [Source: IGI] For sources of information about the voyages see Appendix I.

²⁸ TSTD: 82244 *Laurel* & 83916 *Urania*. Muster roll BT98/64,385. See also Appendix I; personal communication from Cath Tod.

²⁹ Merseyside Maritime Museum: DX170; *Billinge's Advertiser* 5, 12 & 19 September & 3 October 1808 & 23 January 1808; TSTD: 82194 *Kitty*; personal communication from Cath Tod.

³⁰ MNHL: ingates 1733-1737

³¹ MNHL: APX10-5; 10058: Ingates 1759, 1760 1762 & 1763; TSTD: 90882 *Four Friends*

³² This section is based on information from Merseyside Maritime Museum: DX170; Hugh Crow's *Memoirs* and a private collection (the crew contract)

³³ The stories of events at sea come from Gomer Williams *History of the Liverpool Privateers and Letters of Marque with an account of the Liverpool Slave Trade* 1897. The description of the education of African children in Liverpool is in British Sessional papers 1731-1800 House of Commons Accounts & Papers Vol. 29 1790.

³⁴ On 1 April 1771 Robert Warbrick married Elizabeth Corlas at St Peter's Church in Liverpool. Their son Robert was born on 14 July 1778. For the story of Warbrick's journey with Christian see *Manx Slave Traders* and MNHL 9381 Copy of a document written by Charles Christian, giving some episodes of his life. NAS: CE77 2/3 Board of Customs to Stranraer, 17 and 19 January and 2 February 1804. Transatlantic Slave Trade Database 80738 (*Caroline*) & 82758 (*Minerva*); *Minerva*. Muster roll BT98/65,174. Unfortunately neither the Stranraer nor the Wigtown port books have survived for this period so that there is no further information about the *Caroline's* detailed cargo list.

³⁵ Gomer Williams pp. 150-151

³⁶ Maxwell of Kirkconnell archive Bundle 192

³⁷ This section is based on information from Merseyside Maritime Museum: DX170, the Liverpool Record Office: *Billinge's Advertiser*, National Archives, Kew: BT98/65,174; Hugh Crow's *Memoirs* & personal communication with Cath Tod

-
- ³⁸ NAS: GD219/289& 290; GD241/189/1
- ³⁹ NAS: GD180 Cathcart of Genoch papers
- ⁴⁰ NAS: GD180/442, 465, 624, 625, 628, 629, 644 & 648
- ⁴¹ This is possibly the same Robert Scott who helped Melville obtain his post at Cape Coast Castle
- ⁴² NAS: GD219/289 & 290
- ⁴³ NAS: GD219/290
- ⁴⁴ Samuel Johnston was born at Sofar, Dundee, Angus on 15 December 1733 and he died on 18 August 1816 at Edenton, Bertie County, North Carolina. He held several different political posts in North Carolina, where he was Governor from 1787 to 1789, when he became the US Senator from that state. He was president of the North Carolina Convention to Ratify the Constitution. On 29 May 1770 he married Frances Cathcart. [Family Search Pedigree Resource File].
- ⁴⁵ NAS: GD219/289/7
- ⁴⁶ Henry J Berkley The Port of Dumfries, Prince William Co., Virginia *William & Mary Quarterly* 2nd Series Vol. 4 No. 2 pp 99-116 April 1924
- ⁴⁷ Berkley op cit
- ⁴⁸ These letters are transcribed in *A Scottish Firm in Virginia 1767-1777 W. Cuninghame and Co.* edited by T M Devine and published by Scottish History Society, Edinburgh 1984.
- ⁴⁹ Berkley op cit
- ⁵⁰ NAS: CS96/2158; Alan L Karras *Sojourners in the Sun: Scottish Migrants in Jamaica and the Chesapeake, 1740 to 1800* pp 107 to 114
- ⁵¹ Margaret Torrance A Tale of Two Houses in Virginia and Kirkcudbright *Transactions Dumfries & Galloway Natural History & Archaeological Society* Series III Vol. LXXIV pp 120-122 2000
- ⁵² *The Douglas-Ewart High School: How Secondary Education came to East Wigtown* Dumfries & Galloway Libraries 1994; Dumfries Museum: Savannah Georgia Account Book
- ⁵³ The diagram is based on B W Higman *Plantation Jamaica, 1750-1850: Capital and Control in a Colonial Economy* p31. The descriptions of the various tasks comes from Sheridan op cit.
- ⁵⁴ NAS: GD241/189/1
- ⁵⁵ A fistula is an 'abnormal passage connecting two hollow organs, or an organ and the body surface'. It can develop from an abscess. 'The condition may be extremely sensitive or painful; it requires prompt treatment, although it may be difficult to correct'. It can be cured by surgery but 'sometimes fistulas heal spontaneously'. [Reader's Digest *Family Health Guide* 1972]
- ⁵⁶ NAS: RH18/3/278
- ⁵⁷ NAS: CS313/888
- ⁵⁸ NAS: GD78/208 & GD135/1615
- ⁵⁹ NAS: CS96/1023-1026

⁶⁰ NAS: GD135/1693

⁶¹ NAS: GD1/403/42, 43 & 71; GD112/60/9; GD219/289/5; RH9/7/173; Berkley op cit.

⁶² NAS: CS96/753

⁶³ Maxwell of Kirkconnell Archive, Bundle 191

⁶⁴ NAS CH2/98/5

⁶⁵ NAS: GD241/189/1

⁶⁶ NAS: GD237/9/5/9 & GD241/189/1

⁶⁷ For details of William Dickson's comments on slavery in Barbados see Jerome S. Handler & Frederick W. Lange *Plantation Slavery in Barbados: An Archaeological and Historical Investigation* Harvard University Press 1978 pp 77-78 and Karl Watson *The Civilised Island of Barbados: A Social History 1750-1816* Barbados 1979 pp 68-69. See also Hilary Beckles *A History of Barbados: From Amerindian settlement to nation-state* Cambridge University Press 1990, C Duncan Rice *The Scots Abolitionists 1833-1861* Louisiana State University Press 1981 & Iain Whyte *Scotland and the Abolition of Black Slavery, 1756-1838* Edinburgh University Press 2006 is recommended for further reading.

⁶⁸ Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright: Kirkcudbright Burgh Records Bundle 0206.

⁶⁹ Merseyside Maritime Museum: DX170

⁷⁰ TSTD 7552; ADM 51/2198; HCA 49/97

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More information is available in 2007 about
Dumfries & Galloway and the Transatlantic Slave Trade.

There will be exhibitions at:

The Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright: 7 July to 25 August 2007
The Dumfries Museum: 1 September to 6 October 2007
The Stranraer Museum: 13 October to 1 December 2007

During each exhibition there will be a lecture

30 July 2007 in Kirkcudbright
1 September 2007 at the Dumfries Museum
Date to be arranged at the Stranraer Museum.

There will be a four lecture extra-mural course
for the Dumfries & Galloway Support Group associated with the
University of Glasgow Crichton Campus
at Castle Douglas in the autumn term.

This is the second part of a course held in the spring term of 2007
but attendance at the first course is not necessary
for an understanding of the second.



Sam Sapsal	£ 200	"	"	Pro. forward
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Bill	100	"	"	30 Ophelia
Billy	82	10	"	31 Daphne
Larry	200	"	"	32 Handy
Johny	100	"	"	Wons. 10

Such is supposed to be the beginning of the Town of Dumfries, named after its namesake on the Clyde, not far from Glasgow. Glasgow was, probably, more closely interested in the venture than the smaller place.

The comment that Dumfries in Virginia was essentially settled by people from Glasgow suggested an urgent need for a book to correct any misunderstandings about the true role of people from Dumfries & Galloway in the transatlantic slave trade of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As a result, this book sets out to prove that the area had an independent history in terms of the slave trade and was not overshadowed by Glasgow, or anywhere else.

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