Dumfries & Galloway and the Transatlantic Slave Trade

Frances Wilkins

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This book is dedicated to the Dumfries & Galloway Extra-Mural Support Group of the University of Glasgow Crichton Campus and particularly the Castle Douglas Class of 2007. Thank you for your enthusiasm that has inspired me to continue the research necessary to complete this description of Dumfries & Galloway's eighteenth century trade.

Introduction

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 book was originally intended as a catalogue to supplement the exhibition *Dumfries & Galloway and the Transatlantic Slave Trade*, which travels throughout the region in 2007 to mark the 200th anniversary of the abolition of the slave trade from Britain.

The comment that Dumfries in Virginia was essentially settled by people from Glasgow, however, suggested an urgent need for a free-standing 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.

How can this be tested? There is a list of questions that should be applied to any area in order to access its involvement in the slave trade:

- Did any slave trading voyages sail from ports in the area?
- Did merchants settle in Liverpool, or any other slave trading port, and become involved in slave trading voyages from there?
- Did people from the area live in Africa, supplying the slaving ships with negroes?
- Did merchants either within the area or now living in Liverpool act as suppliers to the slaving vessels: providing cargoes, insurance or guaranteeing payments for purchase of slaves in the Americas?
- Did captains or crewmen move from the area to Liverpool, where they sailed on the slaving voyages?
- Did people from the area settle plantations in the Americas, staying there to manage them or returning home and leaving an attorney in charge?

- Did merchants in the Americas supplying the plantations with essentials come from the area?
- Did merchants in the area send supplies directly to the plantations?
- Were there any doctors from the area living in the Americas and treating the planters and their slaves?
- Was there any trade in tobacco or rum into the area?
- Did any local merchant process the produce from the Americas?

Finally were there any links with the abolition movement, either through abolitionists from the area or local petitions to parliament asking for further consideration of abolishing the trade?

The sources of contemporary eighteenth and nineteenth century information available to answer these questions include official port records and muster rolls, listing all the crew on board a ship; merchant letterbooks into which were copied all the outgoing correspondence, loose incoming correspondence, accounts and journals; documents, including statements and account books, produced for court cases; inventories prepared for the executors on the death of someone owning property in the Americas.

This information can be found in a wide range of places. One of the most valuable starting points is the National Archives of Scotland on-line catalogue, which has been used extensively for this book as a means of identifying the documents to be studied in Edinburgh. There is only the one record office in the region: the Dumfries Archive Centre. Further information is available, however, in the local museums and libraries. Finally there are the National Archives at Kew in London and the Manx National Heritage library in Douglas.

Two books published in the nineteenth century are essentially primary sources. One was written by Hugh Crow, the Manx captain of several slaving vessels, including the *Kitty's Amelia*, which was the last slaving ship to sail from Liverpool in 1807, and which was published by his somewhat embarrassed executors in 1830. The second, based on copies of letters and journals, was written by Samuel Robinson of Wigtown, who had sailed as a boy on two slaving voyages when his uncle, Alexander Cowan, was captain. Although his book was produced

some sixty years after the slave trade was abolished, it is possible to test the accuracy of some of his statements from a modern database that has been complied using contemporary eighteenth and nineteenth century sources to provide details of over 27,000 slave trading voyages, not only from Britain.

There is also a 'chance' factor. Some correspondence held by an American descendant of a Bristol slave trading company was rejected in 1999 because it was outwith the current research area. Samples of the documents sent at that date, however, include letters from Edgar Corrie of Dumfries, who had settled in Liverpool. A footnote in an academic paper studied in a totally different context mentioned James Stothert of Cargen and a National Archives of Scotland reference number that was not included in the on-line catalogue so that the invaluable letterbook was only identified at the very last minute.

The evidence collected has been summarised in this book. It begins by using the sixty voyages of Samuel McDowal and the Tod brothers, originally from Dumfries & Galloway but now living in Liverpool, to explain the triangular trade. It is then possible to build on this background with the stories of the merchants, their ships and cargoes, the captains and crews on board the slaving vessels, the people who settled in the Americas, including those who supplied them and finally the abolitionists. This information is illustrated using contemporary maps and pictures.

One of the biggest problems has been confirming the exact identity of particular individuals. For example, were the brothers William and John Collow, merchants in London and deeply involved with the slave trade in Africa, from Dumfries or Worcestershire? In this context they have been omitted from the story. The tendency to err on the side of caution may mean, however, that some individuals have been excluded in error. Despite this a large number of people have been identified as involved in the transatlantic slave trade from Dumfries & Galloway.

Often the publication of a book effectively concludes that project. In this instance there will be a larger volume published in 2010 so that the research continues.

The Triangular Trade

The *Endeavour* was a 246 ton ship that had been built in France and sold as a prize taken from the French. She was registered at Liverpool in 1806. Alexander Cowan from Wigtown was her captain. She sailed from Liverpool on 27 June 1807and collected her slaves on the Gold Coast before sailing to Barbados, arriving there with 188 slaves. Disembarkation of the first 22 started on 13 February 1808. She then sailed to Demerara, where the remaining slaves were disembarked. She left the West Indies on 3 May 1808 and returned to Liverpool on 2 July 1808.

THE TRIANGULAR TRADE

> Ships are sailed every year to the Coast of Guinea to carry off a number of slaves which are obtained by purchasing the children and servants of the natives from the parents or masters. They are sold to planters in the West Indies, who govern them with whips, with iron and with fire. They are allowed a scanty provision for themselves and families, which nevertheless may be diminished or cut off altogether by their masters ... I shall not speak of the right that parents have to sell their children to slavery as it is not the present question. But what is the right of the slave merchant to buy? Where is the right of the planter to buy from the slave merchant? [From an eighteenth century essay *Is the slave trade justifiable?*][1]

Why did the transatlantic slave trade from Europe exist? It was aimed at providing a labour supply for the sugar and coffee plantations in the West Indies and Central America and the plantations growing tobacco, cotton, rice, corn and indigo in North America. This labour supply appeared essential to the expansion of these regions, where it had been discovered that white labour suffered from the debilitating effects of the climate and disease. Therefore the trade was driven by economic necessity. It was also looked upon as an investment: at times a slaving voyage might provide a slightly higher return on capital outlay than stocks and bonds purchased in London.

The transatlantic slave trade from Britain is known as the Triangular Trade because the voyage involved three very different sections: from Britain to Africa, the outward voyage; from Africa across the Atlantic to the Americas, the Middle Passage and from the Americas back to Britain, the Homeward Voyage. It was also known as the Guinea trade because the slaves were purchased on the Guinea coast of Africa. As a result the cargoes carried to Africa included 'Guinea goods', the ships that undertook the 'Guinea voyages' were called 'Guineamen' and the mariners were known as 'Guinea captains' and 'Guinea crews'.

Three merchants from Dumfries & Galloway moved to Liverpool towards the end of the slave trade: Samuel McDowal[2] from Wigtown, and the brothers George and Robert Tod from Moffat. The voyage of the *Endeavour* was only one of forty-four Guinea voyages funded by Samuel McDowal between 1795 and 1807. The Tods were in partnership

with Henry Clarke in a further sixteen voyages. These sixty voyages are used here to illustrate the various stages in the triangular trade (see Appendix I for the details of these voyages).

The Outward Voyage

Preparations at Liverpool involved:

deciding on a voyage and on any partners;
purchasing a new or secondhand vessel or repairing an old one;
finding a captain, and crew;
with the help of the captain ordering the cargo of trade goods (cloths, beads, guns, gunpowder etc.) and provisions for the crew;
insuring the vessel and her cargo for the voyage to Africa;
writing out detailed instructions to the captain and
sending letters to contacts in the Americas, who would sell the slaves and provide the cargo home.

No letters of instruction or cargo lists have been identified for any Guineamen belonging to the merchants from Dumfries & Galloway, as yet. In 1802 the Manxman Charles Kneale was captain of the *Lottery* for Thomas Leyland & Co. before sailing for Samuel McDowal as captain of the *Sally* in 1805. His letter of instruction and cargo list on the earlier voyage are reproduced in Appendix II, as typical of this time period.

	McDowal	**Tod**
Gold Coast, including Anomabu	11	1
Bight of Biafra, including Bonny, Cameroons & Gabon	7	5
Sierra Leone, including Cape Mount & Iles de Loss	5	
West-central Africa	4	5
Senegambia, including Gambia & Goree	3	0
Bight of Benin, including Benin & Lagos	2	0
Windward Coast	0	2
Unspecified	12	3
	44	**16**

Destinations on the Guinea Coast of Samuel McDowal and the Tods' Voyages

The African dealers in different parts of the Guinea coast required 'specific quantities and qualities of European, Asian and American textiles, manufactures, firearms, gunpowder and alcohol'. As a result the

cargoes should be 'assorted' for a specific market. It was impossible for a captain to trade successfully in a different area with what was essentially a 'disassorted' cargo.[3]

This meant that usually there was a pattern to the voyages made by a Liverpool slave trading partnership. They would develop close links with a particular part of the African coast and they would supply merchants in the Americas whom they knew would honour their payments.

The timing of a voyage was all-important. 'Those [merchants] who consistently organised voyages that traded within optimal transaction cycles minimized risks, reduced costs and maximized the potential for profit'. The problem was that this involved the cyclical supply and demand in three quite different places: Britain, the Guinea coast of Africa and the Americas, which included the American continent and the West Indies. The supply included:

- in Britain the availability of capital, labour (for the ship crews), vessels and trade goods

- in Africa the availability of slaves and provisions for the Middle Passage so that the date of the yam harvest[4] was crucial

The demand was for additional slave labour at different stages in the growing of a particular crop in the Americas.[5]

Month	McD	Tod	Month	McD	Tod	Month	McD	Tod
January	2	1	May	4	3	September	2	0
February	2	1	June	2	2	October	3	0
March	5	1	July	4	2	November	8	1
April	5	0	August	3	2	December	4	3

Dates when the McDowal and Tod vessels sailed from Liverpool

Although no such timing appears paramount in the dates when the McDowal and Tod voyages sailed from Liverpool, Samuel McDowal was apparently a very successful Guinea merchant. Once the Guineaman was fully prepared, the she would set off for the coast of Africa. The crew's main task during this first part of the voyage was preparing the ship to take the slaves on board.

On the African Coast

The slaving vessels could spend several weeks if not months on the Guinea coast, exchanging their cargoes for slaves and provisions for the Middle Passage. The slaves were purchased, often in ones and twos, from local dealers, including the tribal chiefs, from the British Company of Merchants Trading to Africa through their bases along the coast, such as Cape Coast Castle, and from companies of merchants established to supply their own ships.

Thomas Melville junior from Dumfriesshire worked as a factor for the Company of Merchants Trading to Africa on the Gold Coast before he became commander of Cape Coast Castle in the early 1750s. He had been appointed to both these posts with support from Robert Scott and his distant relative, Richard Oswald. Ebenezer Young from Kirkcudbrightshire had worked as an independent trader in both Sierra Leone and on the Gold Cost before he joined Melville at Cape Coast Castle. In partnership with the Castle's surgeon, Matthew Mackaill, Melville and Young exported their own slaves to America and sent ivory and gold to Britain. When Mackaill died in 1753, Young moved to Antigua, where he sold the slaves supplied by Melville in Africa.[6]

A partnership of four London merchants: Augustus Boyd, Alexander Grant, Richard Oswald and John Sargent II ran their own slaving base on Bance Island, 15 miles from the mouth of the Sierra Leone River. In 1752 Richard Oswald purchased and rebuilt Cavens, which remained in the Oswald family until the 1960s. When Oswald died in 1784 his total estate was worth £500,000. This figure should be multiplied by 75 to convert it to 21st century values i.e. Oswald was worth over £37 million. Cavens had belonged to William Maxwell of Preston, who owned plantations in Jamaica. There was a group of associates connected with each of the four main merchants. Alexander Johnston was associated with Grant and they discussed the possibility of a joint slave trading voyage. Johnston, purchased Carnsalloch from James Maxwell of Kirkconnell immediately after the Forty-five.[7]

'Ecclefechanus', the doctor's mate on board the *Lord Cassils* of Liverpool sent extracts from his journal to *The Dumfries Weekly Magazine.* Although it has been suggested that he was from the Clapperton medical family, the muster roll, listing all the crew on board, is in a very poor condition and it has been impossible to identify him with any certainty.[8]

Remarks on the Island of Annabona [*The Dumfries Weekly Magazine*, 5 July 1773]

... Before we had got within a mile of the land, we had above a hundred canoes alongside of us, with goats, fowls, frean [possibly corn], cocoa-nuts, palm wine, oranges, sheep, hogs, soap, besides a great variety of fish and Annabona cloths. The island, from where we lay, afforded a very agreeable prospect. The town is built much like those on the african [sic] coast. The islanders are all black, are subject to the Portuguese, and embrace their religion. Most of them wear a cross at their breast; none of them go quite naked: they wear such clothes as they purchase from the British ships, and the Portuguese, that come to trade with them for provisions. Their gentry (if any such there be) imitate the Guiney [sic] mates, and the common people resemble a ragged sailor. The governor came on board, and our captain gave him a jug, containing about three gallons of brandy: He was one of the greatest traders in the island; we bought goats, nuts, etc. of him to near thirty shillings value. The governor's dress and equipage consisted in a large broad brimmed quaker's [sic] hat, a white ruffled shirt, gold-laced jacket, linen trousers, cotton stockings, leather shoes, and a tolerable good brass-headed cane. One of the priests came along with him, dressed in a black gown, ruffled shirt, etc. with several Popish medals hung about his neck: he knew too much of priesthood to be concerned in trade; but chose rather to live by begging than merchandise. One of our hands proposed to sell him a pair of trousers: he tried them on, and approved of them; then, in broken English, proposed to offer up his prayers in our sailor's behalf. 'Faith brother,' replied my mess-mate, 'I want none of your prayers; but, damn my eyes, give me a good goat or a hog, and you may take the trousers, and go to hell with them if you please' ...

The houses are built with more regularity than the negro huts on the continent. The town stands on a pleasant sandy beach; behind it the mountain rises with a beautiful irregularity; the palm, and other trees, interspersed here and there amid the green turf. Below the town some stately rocks are washed by the sea ... About a mile above the town, a beautiful peninsula stretches itself a small way into the ocean ... In fine, the whole afforded a more pleasing landscape than ever I had seen before ...

The island, though not above six leagues in length, furnishes its own inhabitants, and a great many ships, with provisions, on their way to the American colonies; besides, provisions are much cheaper here than at St Thomas's, or any other of the southern islands. A large goat or hog is sold for two yards of check [cloth], ten large cocoa – nuts for a knife not worth 1½d English money, and a dozen fine fowls don't cost above a shilling.

Map of Africa showing both the Islands of Annabona and St Thomas

After three days at Annabona, the *Lord Cassils* 'got under way with the wind at south-east, to sail through the Atlantic ocean, in quest of a British colony, where we could best sell our cargo of slaves'. There was a slave insurrection on board before she reached the West Indies.[9]

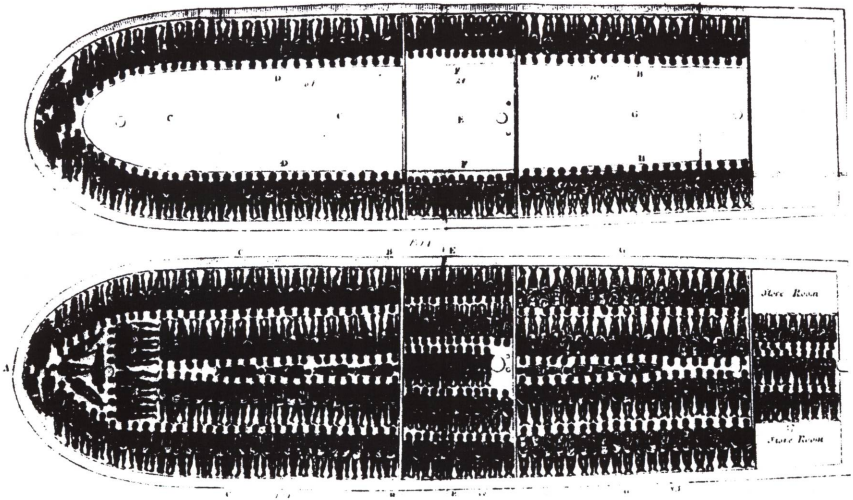
In 1808, when he was captain of the *Kitty's Amelia* belonging to the Tod brothers, Hugh Crow stopped at St Thomas's Island for provisions. Having heard that there was a ruined catholic cathedral on the Island, Crow took the time to go sightseeing with another Guinea captain.

The Middle Passage

Once they had collected their cargo of slaves, provisions and water, the Guineamen set off across the Atlantic Ocean. This part of the voyage could take several weeks.

Hugh Crow instructed his executors to publish his *Memoirs*, which were printed in 1830 and provide an excellent source of information about the slave trade. This is a description of how the slaves on board the *Kitty's Amelia* were treated by Hugh Crow and his crew:

> And here it may not be uninteresting to the reader to learn with what kind of provisions the negroes were supplied. We frequently bought from the natives considerable quantities of dried shrimps to make broth; and a very excellent dish they made when mixed with flour and palm oil, and seasoned with pepper and salt. Both whites and blacks were fond of this mess. In addition to yams we gave them, for a change, fine shelled beans and rice cooked together, and this was served up to each individual with a plentiful proportion of the soup. On other days their soup was mixed with peeled yams cut up thin and boiled with a proportion of pounded biscuit. For the sick we provided strong soups and middle messes, prepared from mutton, goats'-flesh, fowls, &c. to which were added sago and lilipees [not identified], the whole mixed with port wine and sugar. I am thus particular in describing the ingredients which composed the food of the blacks, to show that no attention to their health was spared in this respect.
>
> Their personal comfort was also carefully studied. On their coming on deck about eight o'clock in the morning, water was provided to wash their hands and faces, a mixture of lime juice to cleanse their mouths, towel to wipe with, and chew sticks to clean their teeth. A dram of brandy bitters was given to each of the men, and, clean spoons being served out, they breakfasted about nine o'clock.



Plan of the *Brooks*

This image of the slaves on board the *Brooks* of Liverpool was included in the literature handed out by the abolitionist William Dickson of Moffat during his journey from Inverness to Kirkcudbright in 1792.

> About eleven, if the day were fine, they washed their bodies all over, and after wiping themselves dry were allowed to use palm oil, their favourite cosmetic. Pipes and tobacco were then supplied to the men, and beads and other articles were distributed amongst the women to amuse them, after which they were permitted to dance and run about on deck to keep them in good spirits.
>
> A middle mess of bread and cocoa-nuts was given them about mid-day. The third meal was served out about three o'clock, and after every thing was cleaned out and arranged below, for their accommodation, they were generally sent down four or five in the evening.

Charles Kneale was forewarned about the dangers of fire on board ship 'the consequences attending which is horrible in the extreme' (see Appendix II). A fire did break out on board the *Kitty's Amelia* when the ship was over a thousand miles away from land. Two sailors had been sent to draw off some rum from a cask in the afterhold and 'not knowing the danger to which they exposed themselves' had taken a lighted candle to find their way – a spark from the candle ignited the spirit. Hugh Crow was in his cabin but was called on deck where he saw the men with their flannel shirts blazing on their backs and a dense cloud of smoke coming from the hold.

Knowing that the rum was stored near the forty-five casks of gunpowder on board (to defend the ship from an attack at sea), the crew was busy cutting away the boats so that they could abandon ship. Although most of the white people might get away, there was no means of escape for the slaves. Crow shouted to his men, 'Follow me, my brave fellows! And we shall soon save the ship'. Yet he admitted that 'when I first saw the conflagration, and thought of its proximity to the powder, a thrill of despair ran through my whole frame; but by a strong mental effort I suppressed my disheartening feelings, and only thought of active exertion unconnected with the thought of imminent danger'. Fortunately the spare sails were stored nearby and these were thrown over the flames, giving the crew time to collect buckets of water which were passed down the hatchway 'and in the course of ten or fifteen minutes, by the favour of the Almighty, we extinguished the flames!'

The slaves must have been all too aware of the potential danger to their lives. 'When I got on deck, the blacks both men and women clung round me in tears – some taking hold of my hands, others of my feet'.[10]

The *Lord Cassils* had a very different experience with their slaves.

> Being weakly manned we allowed six or eight of our prime slaves to sleep upon deck every night that they might be ready to assist us in working the ship. On the 9th of August 1772, about twelve o'clock at night, they had got together some round and double-headed shot, scrappers, billets of fire-wood, and other weapons. The cabin-boy (who was a native of Calabar) had provided them with about twenty knives and a dozen of cutlasses. The second-mate, and the rest of the watch, were at that time all on the quarter-deck. The slaves took this opportunity of putting their scheme in execution: some of them broke open the hatches, while one of the most daring, got into the cabin unperceived, and made a push at the captain as he lay asleep on his bed but fortunately did no other hurt than giving him a slight wound in the throat. In this dangerous crisis the captain awoke, and disarmed the assassin; but the rascal was fortunate enough to get upon the main deck without receiving any hurt. By this time all the slaves were upon deck and were bellowing out the war-cry with all their might, which indeed was a very hideous and frightful noise. The watch, terrified at such an unusual outcry, and not knowing the cause, were put into a considerable panic: some run headlong into the hands of their enemies, and narrowly escaped with their lives. The cabin-boy had conveyed away the keys of the arm-chest, which caused still more confusion. After we had broke it open, and got to the arms we fired briskly upon them. Our chief mate, carpenter, and three others, were lying blooding [sic] at our feet, being wounded, when briskly engaged in firing at them, with the weapons they threw at us. By this time several of the slaves were wounded, and others, despairing of success, sculked [sic] down below. On seeing them retreat, we run upon them with our cutlasses, and tumbled them down the hatches in the greatest terror and confusion. We found one lying dead on the forecastle, shot through the right breast, and a few others mortally wounded. We ordered up the contrivers of the mutiny, put them in irons and handcuffs, set sentries over the hatchways, calling 'All is well', every two minutes. Next morning we put all the men in irons, flogged the principal aggressors severely, extorted confessions from them with the thumb-screws, rubbed salt on their wounds, and used several other cruelties. The man that attempted the captain's death we massacred by flogging, kicking, cutting, burning, &c. run a hot poker twice up his fundament, which ended his days about six at night. We reeved a strong iron chain through the rings of their irons, and locked it to the ring bolts of the deck by day and to the hatch-bars by [night]. Our white people all recovered of their wounds, though unable to do duty for several days.

Despite this the event the *Lord Cassils* arrived safely at Antigua on 15 September with a cargo of 130 slaves, returning to Liverpool on 11 December 1772. There was no official report of this insurrection.[11]

The Plantations in the Americas

Name of Vessel	Date	Guinea coast	No. (1)	Market	No. (2)
Flyer	1795	Anomabu	216	Barbados	140
Cornwallis	1797	Angola	265	Demerara	256
Fair Penitent	1798	Iles de Loss	260	Grenada	253
Africa	1798	Anomabu	346	Demerara	331
Henry	1798	Gabon	155	Cuba	136
Lord Duncan	1798	Benin	242	Jamaica	194
Harriott	1799	Sierra Leone	222	Bahamas	?
Mary	1800	?	135	Savannah	?
Annan	1800	Gold Coast	204	Grenada	198
John	1800	Sierra Leone	247	Surinam	76
Lady Nelson	1801	Gold Coast	293	Demerara	?
Thomas	1801	Gold Coast	280	Demerara	279
Harriott	1801	Gambia	222	Trinidad	206
John	1801	?	293	Jamaica	280
Annan	1801	Gold Coast	204	Demerara	188
Deane	1802	?	281	Trinidad	269
Laurel	1802	Cape Mount	124	Georgia	124
Mary	1802	Cameroons	172	Surinam	?
Harriott	1802	?	232	Tortola	186
Roehampton	1802	?	132	Surinam	?
Thomas	1803	?	274	St Thomas	?
John	1803	Goree	283	Dominica	261
Roehampton	1803	Gabon	132	Surinam	130
Mary	1803	Bight of Biafra	172	Demerara	173
Harriott	1804	Angola	222	St Lucia	219
Resource	1804	Congo	260	Charleston	231
Roehampton	1805	?	132	St Thomas	?
Rebecca	1805	Angola	294	Montevideo	?
William & Mary	1805	Gambia	120	Martinique	?
Africaine	1805	Lagos	261	Barbados	216
Mary	1805	Sierra Leone	173	Charleston	190
James	1806	Gold Coast	224	St Vincent	?
Endeavour	1806	Gold Coast	353	Trinidad	?
Mary	1806	Gabon	205	Trinidad	184
Africaine	1806	Gold Coast	350	Jamaica	250
James	1807	Gabon	224	Demerara	221
Endeavour	1807	Gold Coast	275	Demerara	188

List of the numbers of slaves that Samuel McDowal's vessels intended to purchase in Africa (No. 1) and the numbers delivered in the Americas (No. 2)

In the Americas

There is information about the number of slaves that a vessel intended to purchase on the African coast and about the number delivered to market but there is very little information about the number of slaves actually purchased. As a result this list does not indicate the numbers of slaves who died on the Middle Passage. The only vessels belonging to Samuel McDowal with this data are the first two on the list: seven slaves died on board the *Flyer* and three on the *Cornwallis*.

Unfortunately there is no information about the numbers sold at some of the markets so that it is not a complete list of all his slave sales. During this time period the slaves sold for between £50 and £75 each. This provides some idea of the potential profit that Samuel McDowal could have made with his voyages. There were, of course, costs and, as will be seen in the section on the Guinea Captains and Crews, officers on board the vessels received commission on the number of slaves sold.

The captains did not arrive in the Americas until several months after they had received their first letters of instruction. In the meantime their owners at Liverpool had been in contact with merchant houses in London that would guarantee payments for purchase of the slaves. They had also watched carefully for any changes in the price of the local commodities, particularly sugar, in the British markets. This information had to be passed on to their captains in time for their arrival in the Americas. As Thomas Leyland & Co. wrote to Charles Kneale, 'in running down for that Island (Barbados) great care must be taken not to miss it, because the want of our instructions would probably be the ruin of the adventure' (see Appendix II).

Several letters have survived from the Tod brothers to Thomas Nuttall, captain of their *Kitty's Amelia* for her first three voyages. This correspondence relates to the third voyage, when they wrote to him at Barbados on 1 July 1806. Here is a summary of the alternatives:

sell all the slaves to Mr Thomson at Barbados

or in small lots to any of the following merchant houses on the Island for whom they had guarantees of payment: David & George Hall & Co., L. Chen & Co., Montifiore, George Reed junior, Ward, Cadogan and R. A Hyndman. Selling the slaves in small lots would avoid paying commission. The post-dated bills

provided as payment by these merchants must not exceed nine, twelve, fifteen and eighteen months in date, shorter if possible, on the guarantors Barrow, Lonsada & Co., presumably of London.

if the letters waiting for him at Barbados from Rivers, Campbell & Co. of Trinidad or John King & Co. of St Thomas offered £70 per slave in short payments (time-wise), then he should go to one of these Islands.

if he went to Trinidad then he must be paid in bills 'unless produce is very low and likely to leave a handsome profit'.

if he went to St Thomas, the Tods had no guarantees for payment from John King & Co. so that he must take cash or government bills or produce 'if it is any way reasonable'.

if he were not offered at least £65 per slave either on Barbados or at Trinidad and St Thomas, then he must sail 'without delay' to Jamaica, where he would find further instructions from the Tods either with Messrs Crossman, Harris & Co. or at the Post Office.

There was also a letter from John J Cremony of St Bartholomew waiting for Thomas Nuttall at Barbados. He wrote, 'the negroes continue in great demand to Windward, and I think in six weeks or two months I will be able to turn your cargo into government bills or cash, provided your cargo is good, and I have very little doubt of its being so – from the choice I have seen you make before. I will likewise engage to give you, either here or at St Kitts, a full freight for your ship'.[12]

Thomas Nuttall went to Trinidad, reporting in November 1806 that he had made very good sales of his slaves and was intending to take a third of their value in sugar. The Tods wrote in January 1807 forewarning him that sugar was 'extremely low here at present'. Despite this, they added 'Mr Clarke is much pleased with your conduct in this voyage and wishes to be remembered to you'.

The *Kitty's Amelia* returned to Liverpool on 20 April 1807 with Thomas Forrest the mate in charge – Nuttall had stayed behind to collect payments in Trinidad. She had six elephant teeth and a butt palm oil on board from Africa together with sugar for the Tods and cotton, hides, indigo and coffee on freight. These freight cargoes were one way in which the ship could make some money on her return voyage.[13]

The location of St Bartholomew

Key: E – English, F – French, H – Dutch & D – Danes

It has been suggested that there were only certain markets for slaves from a particular part of the African coast.

These are the markets where McDowal and the Tods sold their slaves, where known.[14]

Area in Africa/place sold in the Americas	McDowal	Tod
Gold Coast, including Anomabu		
Barbados	1	
Demerara	5	
Grenada	1	
Jamaica	1	1
St Vincent	1	
Trinidad	1	
Bight of Biafra, including Bonny, Cameroons & Gabon		
Cuba	1	
Demerara	2	
Jamaica		2
Surinam	2	2
Trinidad	1	1
Sierra Leone, including Cape Mount & Iles de Loss		
Bahamas	1	
Charleston	1	
Georgia	1	
Grenada	1	
Surinam	1	
West-central Africa		
Charleston	1	
Demerara	1	
Montevideo	1	1
St Bartholomew		1
St Kitts		1
St Lucia	1	
Senegambia, including Gambia & Goree		
Dominica	1	
Martinique	1	1
Trinidad	1	
Bight of Benin, including Benin & Lagos		
Barbados	1	
Jamaica	1	
Windward Coast		
Martinique		1
	30	**11**

The Homeward Voyage

Almost as soon as the slaves were landed, the navy would go on board the guineaman and impress several members of her crew. The theory was that fewer men were needed for the last part of the voyage. Yet by this stage many of the crew on board might be weakened with illness and the homeward voyage was fraught with dangers – from storms to encounters with enemy vessels.

Nineteen of Samuel McDowal's and exactly half of the Tods' vessels did not complete their voyages successfully. There were several reasons for this.

Shipwrecked or destroyed	in Auchenmalg Bay, near Glenluce	1	
	before the slaves embarked in Africa	2	
	at the Americas	1	
	location unspecified	1	5
Lost at sea	before the Americas	1	1
Captured by the French	before the slaves embarked	4	
	before the slaves disembarked in the Americas	1	
the Spanish	before the slaves disembarked	1	
	at the Americas	1	
the British	before the slaves embarked	1	
Captured & then either recaptured or released, captor unknown	before the slaves disembarked	3	11
Condemned for unseaworthiness or sold	in the Americas	10	10
			27

What happened to Samuel McDowal & the Tods' vessels that did not return

Shipwreck or capture at sea did not mean that the captain and crew were killed. Two of Captain Thomas Brassey's vessels were captured at sea and yet he brought the *Kitty's Amelia* home in 1808. It is not known why McDowal's vessel the *Resource* was captured by the British.

Another twenty-five of Samuel McDowal's vessels and eight belonging to the Tod brothers returned to Liverpool successfully so that it is possible to calculate the respective lengths of their voyages.

Vessel	Date	Length	Vessel	Date	Length
Cornwallis	1797	345	*Roehampton*	1802	292
Harriott	1799	612	*Thomas*	1803	251
Mary	1800	377	*Roehampton*	1803	417
Annan	1800	303	*Mary*	1803	495
John	1800	303	*Harriott*	1804	378
Thomas	1801	267	*Resource*	1804	274
Harriott	1801	283	*Africaine*	1805	356
John	1801	371	*Mary*	1805	280
Deane	1802	317	*James*	1806	349
Laurel	1802	250	*Endeavour*	1806	346
Mary	1802	283	*Mary*	1806	347
Harriott	1802	672	*Africaine*	1806	359

Samuel McDowal's vessels

Vessel	Date	Length	Vessel	Date	Length
Kitty's Amelia	1804	240	*Kitty's Amelia*	1806	349
Intrepid	1804	527	*Liberty*	1806	311
Juverna	1804	359	*King George*	1807	399
Kitty's Amelia	1804	341	*Kitty's Amelia*	1807	336

The Tod brothers' vessels

The average length of Samuel McDowal's voyages was 316 days. In 1799 the *Harriott* appears to have spent nearly eighteen months on the African coast. In 1801, with a different captain, she was on the African coast for at least a year and in the West Indies for a further six months. The average length of the Tod brothers' voyages was 358 days. This gives some idea of the length of time that a merchant's capital was tied up in a single Guinea voyage, regardless of how long he had to wait for payments for the slaves.

Once back at base it was time to prepare the vessel for the next voyage. There is further information about the four voyages of the *Kitty's Amelia* in the section on the Guinea Captains and their Crews.

THE MERCHANTS, THEIR VESSELS AND CARGOES

Yet some documentary evidence survives to suggest that men in smaller towns like Dumfries and Kirkcudbright were occasionally involved in the trade and, more aggressively, transplanted Scots in England were heavily engaged. [David Hancock, *Scots in the Slave Trade* 2001]

According to the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* that was published in Edinburgh in 1771, a merchant is defined as someone who moves in the 'way of commerce' by 'importation or exportation', who 'makes it his living to buy and sell and that by a continued assiduity, or frequent negotiation in the mystery of merchandizing'.

This section discusses the merchants either living within Dumfries & Galloway, at Dumfries and Kirkcudbright, or now based in Liverpool, who were involved in slave trading voyages.

The Dumfries and Kirkcudbright Merchants

There have been several suggestions that Dumfries and Kirkcudbright merchants were involved 'occasionally' in the slave trade.[15]

In the case of **Dumfries** their voyages appear to have been coincidental to the Virginia tobacco trade rather than a specific plan to compete in the slave trade. There is evidence of the *Unity* delivering slaves to Virginia in 1737 and between 1750 and 1754 four voyages sailed for the Isle of Maye in the Cape Verde Islands and Virginia.

On 16 May 1738 the *Unity*, a 60 ton vessel built in Britain in 1728 and registered at Dumfries on 16 September 1737, James Corbitt [sic] owner and master, with a crew of eight, disembarked 81 slaves from St Kitts on the Lower James River, Virginia.

'Such a relatively large number of slaves imported from the West Indies suggests the possibility that these were slaves transported direct from Africa, possibly in the *Unity*. However, the small size of the crew might also suggest that a voyage from Africa was unlikely, but there is evidence that vessels with crews of roughly the same size disembarked larger numbers of slaves from Africa and Virginia'.[16]

The brothers John and James Corbet were merchants and shipowners in Dumfries. Between 1748 and 1757 their vessels included:

The *Agnes* and the *Betty* both trading with north-west England in coal, tobacco, sugar, hemp, madder, copra [dried coconut], iron goods, linen, walnuts, limes, slates and porter.

The *Nannie & Jennie* (or *Jeanie*) in the Virginia trade. Her tobacco was landed at both Kirkcudbright and Dumfries and subsequently shipped to Le Havre, Dieppe, Rotterdam and Scandinavia. She brought timber, tea, flax and hemp and iron from Gothenburg, Copenhagen and Riga. In 1749 this ship belonged to three equal partners: William Gordon and Thomas Kirkpatrick, merchants in Kirkcudbright and James Corbet & Co. in Dumfries. She was valued at £90. In 1752 Lancelot Tyson, the master, also became an owner.[17]

In December 1754 the *Lilly* belonging to James Corbet & Co. and with David Blair as master sailed to the Isle of Maye and Virginia. Unfortunately there are no appropriate details of this voyage in the company's account books to confirm whether or not any slaves were sold in Virginia.

The *Lilly* was the last vessel sailing from Dumfries to take this route. The other three vessels all belonged to the Bell family of merchants and shipmasters.

In December 1750 the *Queensberry,* owned by William Bell & Co. and with Thomas Bell as master loaded a cargo for Virginia, including:

2 chests, 1 hogshead, 1 cask, 2 bales & 1 truss: 140 lb tanned leather shoes
1,206 yards woollens
20 lb hardware
660 yards checked linen
50 doz. thread
4 doz. pairs stockings & 16 hats
All manufactured in Britain so allowed to be exported duty free.

10 pieces containing 566 yards linen made of hemp or flax in Great Britain not striped, checked or made into buckram or filletings value 6d the yard and not above 12d the yard; 16 pieces containing about 371 yards of linen made of hemp or flax in Ireland not striped, checked or made into buckram or filletings value 6d the yards and not above 12d the yard; 16 pieces containing 355 yards of

linen made of hemp or flax in Ireland ... valued at 12d the yard and not above 18d the yard all above 26 inches broad per yard

This is exactly the type of cargo that would be expected on board a vessel headed for Virginia. These cargoes will be discussed in greater detail in the section on the Plantations. The *Queensbury* also loaded specifically for the Isle of Maye:

1 hogshead containing 500 lb Virginia leaf tobacco the old subsidy paid, the new and ⅓ subsidy additional duty impost and the new subsidy of poundage 1747/48 secured by William Bell for self, George Bell junior & Co. 11 August and 22 September last along with a greater quantity and not since drawn back out of the ship *Queensberry*, James Smith master, from Virginia, which reported here 11 August last per certificate and oath thereon.

Most of the tobacco imported into Dumfries & Galloway ports was subsequently exported, and then smuggled back on shore duty free. As was seen with the *Lilly*, it was commonplace for the Virginia ships to take tobacco to Europe as part of their outward cargo – but not to the Isle of Maye.

It has been suggested that these vessels collected slaves from the Isle of Maye and sold them in Virginia. 'The goods in demand in the Cape Verde Islands that the Scots could supply were similar to those carried by the slaving vessels that left the Scottish ports, or those goods that the produce trading vessels from the Clyde ports carried to the Americas for use by the slaves, such as coarse linens, hats and shoes'. Slaves were imported from the Portuguese Upper Guinea coast into the Cape Verde Islands and these supplies could have been sidetracked for the local landowners.

An alternative suggestion is that some or all of these goods were used to purchase small numbers of slaves either officially from the Isle of Maye or from Portuguese slave traders supplying the Cape Verde Islands directly from the African coast, who would exchange negroes for some of the woollens and linens on board the Virginia ships. 'Any slaves so acquired could have been carried to North America and the Caribbean, perhaps with salt or with the livestock that the Cape Verde Islands are known to have supplied to Barbados and probably to other Caribbean islands'.[18]

The Cape Verde Islands off the west coast of Africa

In August 1751 the *Queensberry* returned from Virginia with another cargo of tobacco. She was stranded on her way to Kirkcudbright, where Robert Ferguson and John Milligan entered 51 hogsheads containing 46,238 lb tobacco. A further seven and a half hogsheads, containing 4,936 lb of tobacco, salvaged when she was stranded and lodged in the customs warehouse, were sold to pay for the salvage and their duties. These were purchased by George Bell in December 1751. In late August George Bell junior and William Bell had entered a further 60 hogsheads containing 55,260 lb of tobacco at Dumfries. Between January 1752 and July 1753 the tobacco was exported from both Kirkcudbright and Dumfries to Havre de Grace, Rotterdam and Norway.

The Bells sent two more ships to Virginia by way of the Isle of Maye:

November 1751: George Bell junior: the *Peggy*, Benjamin Bell captain

April 1753: George Bell senior: the *Queensberry*, Thomas Bell captain
Part of this cargo was supplied by James Guthrie & Co. of Dumfries, who included James Maxwell of Kirkconnell and who were connected with the local merchant Robert Herries, who was a tobacco merchant based in Rotterdam.

These cargoes included: woollens, plain, striped and checked linen, coarse linen, fine linen, linen handkerchiefs, fustians, haberdashery, hardware, wrought iron, silk & worsted stuffs, stockings, hats, saddles, bridles, stirrup leathers, cordage, ribbons or silk, tanned leather shoes, and saws for Virginia and tobacco for the Isle of Maye.

Between 1748 and 1754 the *Queensberry* sailed from Dumfries to Virginia and the Isle of Maye, Rotterdam, Bergen, Drunton and Gothenburg. In September 1752, January 1753 and January 1754 she was at Ramsey, where David Forbes, John Lewhellin, Anthony Malcolm and John McCulloch, all originally from Dumfries & Galloway but now resident merchants in the Isle of Man, imported large cargoes of tea, purchased from the Swedish East India Company. Forbes and McCulloch were both deeply involved in the tobacco smuggling trade.[19]

The evidence for **Kirkcudbright**'s involvement in the slave trade is entirely different and unfortunately the relevant port records have not survived so that it is impossible to prove or disprove whether four slaving voyages sailed from there in the late 1730s. These are the facts.

In 1734 a group of merchants including John Milligan and Thomas Kirkpatrick with William Dalrymple, Thomas Gilchrist, John Griar [sic], David Telfair and William Gordon and James Patton, the master of their ship the *Basil*, formed a company 'to carry on some foreign trade' from Kirkcudbright. Their first action was to apply to the Town Council for permission to build a warehouse at the east end of the church yard, where they also intended to make a small wharf for unloading of goods. They believed 'such house and yard can be no loss to the common good of the burgh but on the contrary ...that may in time turn out to the good of the town in general and of every individual inhabitant in particular'.

Permission was granted and what became known as the Basil warehouse was built. It appears as a gable end on eighteenth and nineteenth century paintings of Kirkcudbright from the river.

The company offered Walter Lutwidge, a merchant in Whitehaven, space within the warehouse for weighing his tobacco cargoes landed at Kirkcudbright. Lutwidge owned a small fleet of four vessels constantly employed in the Virginia trade. He was also deeply involved in the smuggling trade with contacts in the Isle of Man, Rotterdam and Ireland, agents and warehouses on both sides of the Solway and a large network of customers for smuggled tobacco and wine in north-east of England. He had moved his trade to Kirkcudbright when the customs officials at Whitehaven became too interested in his activities. On 22 October 1736 Lutwidge, who was already a burgess, was made a freeman of Kirkcudbright and on 15 April 1738 Thomas Lutwidge Esquire, Walter's son, who had taken over part of his father's trade, became a freeman and burgess.

When the collector at Dumfries became almost obsessively determined to prove that Lutwidge was smuggling his tobacco cargoes, supposedly exported to Europe, into Scotland and England, the merchant moved his trade back to Whitehaven. In the meantime the Kirkcudbright Company had dispensed with the services of Patton as their master and he undertook one disastrous voyage for Lutwidge. Subsequently Patton became a respected linen merchant in America. [20]

According to his letterbooks, Lutwidge supplied goods for four slave trading voyages to Angola and the Gold Coast in 1733, 1735, 1737 and 1738 (see Appendix III). When David Richardson and Maurice Schofield

were studying the slave trade from Whitehaven in 1993 they wrote 'one historian has interpreted these documents as implying that three voyages were fitted out at Whitehaven at this time, but as no trace of African voyages from Whitehaven in the years mentioned by Lutwidge has been found in other records, we have not included them in our calculation of Whitehaven voyages to Africa'.[21]

Considering that most of his trade at this time was concentrated on Kirkcudbright, it is highly likely that these voyages sailed from the port, probably in partnership with the Kirkcudbright Company of merchants. This relationship did not survive into the 1740s and there is no evidence that Walter Lutwidge was involved in any more slave trading voyages, which is corroborated by this letter to the Liverpool slave trader John Hardman, dated 15 October 1749:

> It would not be disagreeable to me to be concerned a little in the Guinea trade from your place, as I have ships and no employment for them that I am at present fond (I mean the Virginia trade). I would readily send at least one of them to Guinea in case you should incline to take me in for a share of the cargo as a quarter, third, half or as was most agreeable to yourself, you to have the nominating the captain and other officers necessary to be skilled in the trade, people here [Whitehaven] being strangers to it.

There are two significant statements in the letter. The comment that he did not believe Whitehaven was skilled in the slave trade supports the possibility that Walter Lutwidge might have used Kirkcudbright for his Guinea voyages in the late 1730s. The concept of 'no trade' for Virginia ships is behind the sporadic involvement of merchants in Dumfries & Galloway in the slave trade.[22]

There is one final link between Kirkcudbright and slave trading voyages. In November 1766 the *Boyne* of Whitehaven, William Kendall captain, was stranded in Manxman's Lake on her way home from Virginia so that all her tobacco cargo was landed at Kirkcudbright. On 29 December the *Lady Walpole* of Whitehaven, Edward Davison captain, collected 181 hogsheads of this tobacco on her voyage to Rotterdam and Africa. This ship was sold after her slaves had been delivered to Antigua. There is no information about her owners but Thomas Kirkpatrick was the local agent at Kirkcudbright for John Dickson and Isaac Littledale, presumably of Whitehaven.[23]

The Liverpool Merchants

'At least five Scots managed Liverpool slaving firms'. These were listed as George Campbell, Thomas Chalmers, Thomas Dunbar, Edward Forbes and Samuel Shaw.[24]

Samuel McDowal of Wigtown and Robert and George Tod of Moffat whose voyages were described in detail under the section on The Triangular Trade (see also Appendix I), can be added to this list.

This Appendix also lists John Graham and Robert Ferguson, who were co-owners of the *Molly* in 1751 and are described as 'of Dumfries'; Robert Gordon who was based in the Isle of Man when he was listed as a co-owner of the *Four Friends* in 1760 – there is no evidence that this ship ever sailed to Africa and John Kirkpatrick and R Ferguson who were sole owners of Guinea ships sailing from Liverpool in 1799 and 1800 respectively. These appear to be all the Dumfries & Galloway merchants who owned shares in voyages from Liverpool but the research into individuals based there continues.[25]

Although he did not apparently own any shares in slaving vessels, Edgar Corrie from Dumfries was deeply involved in the trade from Liverpool. He acted as a banker for plantation owners like James Stothert of Cargen, arranged insurance on vessels bringing sugar from the West Indies, helped to sell the sugar when it arrived in Liverpool, shipped supplies ordered by the planters, attorneys and overseers and sent his own goods to Demerara.

In 1788 several people were asked to comment on the slave trade as part of the evidence-collecting before the Dolben Act was passed, reducing the number of slaves that could be carried by a particular size of vessel. Edgar Corrie believed that there were four risks associated with every slaving voyage. These were the purchase of the slaves on the Guinea coast, their mortality on the Middle Passage, the market in the Americas and the remittance from the merchants who purchased the slaves. He explained that the failure of any one of these risks would ruin even 'the best-planned voyage'.

In March 1794 John and Thomas Hodgson of Liverpool wanted to consign the *Jemmy*'s cargo of slaves from the Windward Coast to John Taylor's partners in Jamaica.

Edgar Corrie wrote to Taylor:

> These gentlemen are my very respected and particular friends and shall esteem it an obligation to me if the house in Jamaica will take up and sell on the best terms of price and payment they can make such negroes as Messrs John & Thomas Hodgson may send to their market, of which please to mention to your partners by this packet.

The *Jemmy* arrived at Kingston in May 1794 with 237 slaves on board but it is not known whether or not these were sold to John Taylor's partners. There had been an insurrection on board the ship and it is suggested that 28 slaves died between Africa and Jamaica. The Hodgsons were involved in several other slaving voyages, two with Thomas Twemlow, before his partnership with Samuel McDowal.[26]

Samuel McDowal[27]

McDowal lived in the fashionable Wolstenholme Square with an office in Parr Street. According to Samuel Robinson of Wigtown, his mother's cousin was one of the principal ship-owners in Liverpool. Certainly between 1795 and 1807 Samuel McDowal was involved in forty-four slave trading voyages. More significantly he was listed as sole-owner of more than half (twenty-eight) of these voyages, which means that apparently there was nobody else with whom to share the costs. His main partner was Thomas Twemlow of Cheshire (fourteen voyages) and he was in partnership with Twemlow, Roger Leigh, Plato Denny, James Machell and William Curran for his first voyage (the *Flyer* in 1795) and with A Mullion in the *Roehampton*'s voyage of 1805.

Date	No.	Date	No.	Date	No.
1795	1	1800	3	1804	3
1797	1	1801	6	1805	8
1798	4	1802	5	1806	5
1799	2	1803	4	1807	2

Samuel McDowal's Slaving Voyages from Liverpool

The destinations on the African coast and in the Americas and the success of these voyages have been discussed under the Triangular Trade. Samuel McDowal owned outright or held shares in twenty-six different vessels. One of the vessels was converted from a snow to a brig. The other twenty-five included:

Ship	17	Sloop	2
Brig	5	Schooner	1

The Rigs of Samuel McDowal's Vessels

There was a wide variation in the tonnage of his ships, remembering that by this stage there was a direct link between size and number of slaves that could be carried.

100 to 150 tons: *Rebecca*
150 to 200 tons: *Annan, Cornwallis, Fair Penitent, Harriott, James*
200 to 250 tons: *Africa, Deane, Endeavour, Resource*
250 to 300 tons: *Africaine, John, Lady Nelson, Rebecca, Thomas*
332 tons: *Argo*
465 tons: *Sally*

The *Rebecca* could carry 294 and the *Sally* 400 slaves. The vessels came from a wide range of sources:

British Built (5)		Non-British (9)		Prizes (11)	
Liverpool	2	United States	3	French	5
Lancaster	1	New England	1	Spanish	2
Bristol	1	Charleston	1	Dutch	2
Dublin	1	Bermuda	3	No information	2
		Unspecified	1	No details (1)	1

Considering that on average the Guineamen were only three to four years old, there was a somewhat surprising age range in McDowal's vessels on their first voyage for him:

Age (years)	**No.**	**Age** (years)	**No.**	**Age** (years)	**No.**	**Age** (years)	**No.**
New	1	8	2	13	2	23	2
3	2	11	2	15	2	24	1
4	1	12	4	19	2	Unknown	5

The costs of maintaining these vessels between voyages must have been considerable. There was also a strong possibility that they would not survive the rigours of a Guinea voyage: the *James* (24 years old) was condemned as unseaworthy in the Americas and the twenty-three year old *Argo* and the *Sally*, were shipwrecked before they reached the Africa.

Wolstenholme Square, Liverpool c. 1769
This was the fashionable place for Guinea merchants to have their houses. Often their counting houses were at the back, accessible from Duke Street. Samuel McDowal's offices were in Parr Street.

It is impossible to work out how much money Samuel McDowal made from his forty-four voyages. His success can be judged, however, by the fact that he was still listed as a merchant living in Wolstenholme Square fifteen years after the slave trade had been abolished.

George and Robert Tod[28]

The Tod brothers were based at 32 Redcross Street in Liverpool. Their main partner in Liverpool was Henry Clarke and it is possible that the brothers held shares in all his voyages. Between 1803 and 1807 this partnership was involved in sixteen slaving voyages from Liverpool. This number of voyages in so short a period of time is impressive and suggests that the merchants were either astute or foolhardy.

Date	No.	Date	No.	Date	No.
1803	1	1805	2	1807	2
1804	6	1806	5		**16**

The Tod Brothers' Slaving Voyages from Liverpool

Once more the destinations and fates of these voyages were discussed under the Triangular Trade and there is information about *Caroline I* and the *Kitty's Amelia* in the next section. The twelve vessels owned by the partnership are described here.

Name	Rig	Tonnage	Age	Origin
Caroline I	schooner	94	5	Non-British
Kitty's Amelia	ship	272	2	Prize
Brooks	ship	353	23	Liverpool
Intrepid	ship	383	28	London
Juverna	schooner	82	New	Ireland
Prudence	brig	126	8	Philadelphia
Swallow	brig	105	14	Spanish
Prince Edward	ship	156	13	New Brunswick
Liberty I	cutter	53	10	Ramsgate
Caroline II	schooner	94	9	Non-British
Liberty II	ship	160	14	New York
King George	schooner	82	4	Britain (unspecified)

It is possible that the *Brooks* was the same ship as the one illustrated on page 8. They were both built at Liverpool in 1781. If so, William

Dickson, also from Moffat, had dispensed the picture of this vessel on his walk from Inverness to Kirkcudbright in 1792, twelve years before she was owned by the Tod brothers. Despite her age, the *Intrepid* completed her voyage, returning to Liverpool safely.

The Tods and Clarke were also involved in the South American trade. The letter to Thomas Nuttall, the captain of the *Kitty's Amelia*, in January 1807 was signed George & Robert Tod & Co. but in a postscript George wrote: 'the *Kitty* was unfortunately captured in October on her passage for Buenos Ayres by a French 74 [guns]. Robert Tod was on board of her and we have not heard from him'. Fortunately he was released. After the abolition of the slave trade the partnership of Clarke and the Tod brothers put the *Kitty's Amelia* into the South American trade.

George Tod died in 1811. The *London Gazette* dated 16 May 1828 reported the bankruptcy of Henry Clark [sic] of Liverpool, Robert Pince and Robert Tod, late of Liverpool but now of Rio de Janeiro 'in respect of their joint ownership of the vessel *Alexander Lindo*'. Pince had been captain for seven Guinea voyages, including the *Kitty* for John and Henry Clarke in 1799. Robert Tod's will was dated 1831.[29]

The Guinea Cargoes and their Sources

The English East India Company based in London held a monopoly over all the East India goods imported legally into Britain. In addition there were high import duties on items from the East Indies. This meant that several of the goods needed for a Guinea cargo not only had to be purchased in London but were also expensive. In the eighteenth century the Isle of Man belonged to the Earls of Derby and then the Dukes of Atholl. They were able to charge low import duties on any goods that were imported into their Island. As a result the Isle of Man acted as a storehouse for less expensive East India goods imported there from the Dutch East India Company in Rotterdam. Holland also supplied other items that the Guinea merchants could purchase at competitive rates, including gunpowder and firearms. Several of the Guineamen sailing from Liverpool and other ports with easy access to the Irish Sea called at the Isle of Man on their way to Africa.

The Irishman Thomas Arthur, now living in Douglas, was one of Walter Lutwidge's main contacts in the Isle of Man. Between 1733 and 1738 he imported large quantities of Guinea goods, including several of

the cloths listed in Appendix III. Probably most if not all of the goods supplied by Lutwidge for his four voyages came from the Island.[30]

Robert Gordon

Originally from Galloway and related to Viscount Kenmure of the Battle of Preston fame, Robert Gordon had 'followed business for some time at Liverpool' before moving to the Isle of Man. The 'merchants' stranger on the Island were at a disadvantage over claiming debts owed when someone died or became bankrupt. The solution was to apply to the governor of the Island asking him to request the Duke of Atholl for 'naturalisation'. Then the merchant would have equal rights with the native Manxmen. On this occasion the governor Basil Cochrane, himself a Scotsman, recommended Gordon, who had 'a very good character'.

Date imported	Ship/captain	Goods, including value
2 February 1759	*Zacharias*, Andrew Cornelius	2 chests beads, 126 cases cowries Value £1,046 16s 1d
3 March 1759	*Peter & Johannes*, Cornelius Wartl	5 chests containing 500 bafts Value £637 14s 7d
8 August 1760	*William & Elizabeth*, Jan Gilberds	5 bales containing 500 bafts 2 bales beads Value £936 7s 1d
22 November 1762	*Endragt*, Gabriel van Leemenger	7 bales containing 682 bafts chellaes (no details of number) Value £1,184 10s 11d
21 March 1763	*Waahsaamheid*, Frederick Smith	3 bales bafts Value £536 15s 8d
18 April 1763	*Henrietta Maria*, Hendrick Bremer	1 box silks Value £180 2s 6d
1 July 1763	*John*, Hans Neilson	3 bales bafts Value £537 13s 9d

Some of Robert Gordon's Guinea cargoes from Rotterdam, often in partnership with the Manxman John Curghey

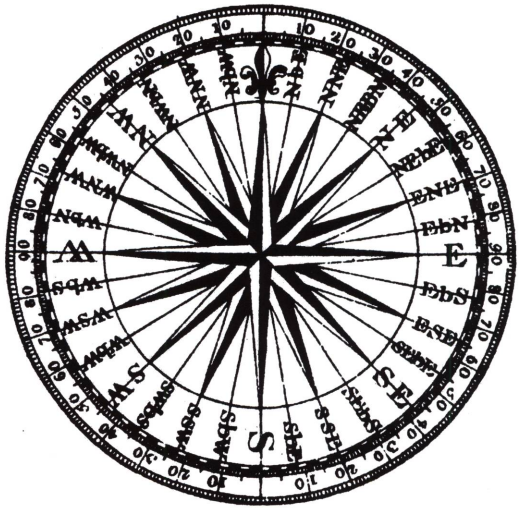
The value of the different items in the cargo was listed so that the import duty could be calculated. These goods imported by Robert Gordon were valued at over £5,000 [£375,000]. Appendix I includes the details of a Guinea voyage planned by Robert Gordon and his Liverpool partners. There is no information about why this vessel did not sail.[31]

In 1765 the English government purchased the fiscal rights of the Isle of Man from the Duke of Atholl, ostensively to end the smuggling trade into Britain but in reality reacting to pressure from influential members of the English East India Company, which was suffering from the competition with the Dutch East India goods available on the Island.

The Liverpool Guinea trade had benefited greatly from its proximity to the Isle of Man – one of the main reasons why Liverpool became the principal slave trading port in Europe. After 1765 the Guinea merchants were forced to purchase their cargoes in London. This provided an incentive to develop British versions of the East Indian cloths that composed a high proportion of the Guinea cargoes. By the end of the eighteenth century Manchester and other places in the north-west of England were producing cottons and other cloths for the slave trade. Charles Kneale's cargo for the *Lottery* is described in Appendix II. By 1802 most of his Guinea cloths came from London and Manchester.

Two bunches of beads 'used in barter in the slave trade on the West coast of Africa about 1780' originally in the Langholm Museum collection are now at Dumfries Museum. Beads for the Guinea cargoes came principally from India but also from Italy. It is possible that these beads are made of Venetian glass. Each bunch contains seven strings of ten beads.

There is a link between Langholm and the slave trade. James Irving the son of Janatus Irving, a baker in Langholm (also described as an innkeeper), was first a surgeon on board and then the captain of Guinea vessels in the 1780s and early 1790s (see the section on Guinea Capatins and Guinea Crews and Appendix IV). There were at least two other James Irvings from the area also based in Liverpool during the slave trading years and Appendix IV lists Andrew and George Irving.



Mariner's Compass

This copy of the mariner's compass is from the large section about navigation in the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1771). The navigation exercises reproduced in this edition are very similar to ones in exercise books from parish schools in the Isle of Man between the 1760s and 1830s. There were several mathematical and navigation schools on the Island and Charles Kneale (one of Samuel McDowal's captains) had attended the Peel Mathematical School. Hugh Crow, captain of the Tod brothers' vessel the *Kitty's Amelia* on her final slaving voyage, describes in his *Memoirs* how he took every possible opportunity to improve his understanding of both mathematics and navigation.

THE GUINEA CAPTAINS & THE GUINEA CREWS

My mother's brother was Captain of a merchant ship ... [Samuel Robinson *A Sailor Boy's Experience Aboard a Slave Ship*: Letter II Liverpool, April 1800]

Responsibilities of Captains

Edgar Corrie did not mention in his list of risks that a good captain was essential for the success of a slave trading voyage. The captains had several responsibilities at every stage in the voyage (see Appendix II):

choosing an appropriate cargo in London, Manchester and Liverpool. Often the captain had more experience than his owners about the 'assortment' of goods required for a particular part of the African coast.

ensuring that the ship was seaworthy. Hugh Crow was alarmed to discover that the carpenters working on the *Kitty's Amelia* in the graving dock at Liverpool had not plugged two large auger holes through the bottom of the ship. When she was in St George's Dock, taking on board her cargo, these holes became plugged with mud and rubbish. Fortunately, however, when the ship went out into the Mersey the mud 'burst through the holes ... for had it not been dislodged until we were out at sea the probability is that we should have lost both the ship and our lives'.

contracting with the crew for the voyage. By 1760s a printed crew contract was available to be signed by the captain and all the members of the crew. It set out clearly what the crew must do and in turn the captain agreed to sail the ship safely and pay the wages on time. In particular every member of the crew, including the officers, must be 'duly qualified and capable to perform their respective duties', according to the station that they had entered.

paying the crew. Each crew member's wages were agreed before he entered on board the ship but the wages did not start until the ship had actually sailed. The crew was given an advance, however, to pay debts left behind and to help their families in Liverpool survive during the voyage. This advance was deducted from the first half of their wages, paid where the slaves were delivered in the Americas. The second half was paid within thirty days of the vessel returning to Liverpool. Any crew who 'desert, mutiny or cause or stir up a mutiny or assault an officer' would be punished and forfeit all their wages due to date. Desertion was being absent without leave for more than 48 hours. Anyone refusing to obey an order would be fined up to one month's pay, for every offence. [Both these items are from a copy of the crew contract in a private collection].

preparing the ship during the outward voyage to take the slaves on board.

trading effectively and speedily on the African coast, but purchasing only the best slaves. At the same time keeping the ship and crew in good condition.

keeping the slaves in good condition during the Middle Passage. As part of his description of the *Kitty's Amelia*'s voyage, Hugh Crow explained how he ensured that there was no 'want of attention to the comfort of all who were on board, with regard to food or cleanliness'. Also taking care that there were no mutinies or fires on board.

selling the slaves to the best buyer, finding a good cargo home or staying behind to ensure that all the payments were honoured, at the same time hastening the ship back to Liverpool. In 1807 Thomas Nuttall stayed behind in Trindad for five months or 150 days after the *Kitty's Amelia* sailed back to Liverpool under Thomas Forrest. He charged Tod & Co. $2 per day, each dollar being worth 4s 6d: £63 15s 0d. In 1808 Hugh Crow's 'friend' Captain Thomas Brassey with the *King George*, also belonging to the Tods, was at Kingston, Jamaica at the same time as the *Kitty's Amelia*. Crow thought that it was 'prudent to give him the larger vessel that he might sail with the first convoy' of naval ships to Britain. Alexander Millar brought the *King George* to Liverpool, arriving on 27 July 1808, a month after the *Kitty's Amelia* with his Brassey on board. Crow did not return for another five months.

To compensate for this responsibility the captain, his first mate and the surgeon were allowed commission on the numbers of slaves sold in the Americas (see Appendix II). Thomas Nuttall's wages were £5 per month on this voyage but his commissions totalled several hundred pounds.[32]

Articles	Amount
My commission on 280 negroes @ £50 per head @ 2%	£280 0s 0d
Ditto @ 4%, after deducting the 2%	£548 0s 0d
Ditto on 171 negroes per *Prudence* @ £50 per head, commission @ 4% on £8379 after deducting Charles Christian, the master's commissions	£353 3s 2d
	£1,181 3s 2d

Commission Account from Captain Nuttall for the *Kitty's Amelia*'s 2nd voyage

The Liverpool Captains (see Appendix IV)
This includes the captains sailing for Samuel McDowal and the Tod brothers and captains from Dumfries & Galloway based in Liverpool.

Samuel McDowal's First Captains

The first captains sailed from Liverpool with the ship, carrying the letter of instruction. In other words they were the person chosen by the owners to be in charge for that voyage.

Captains	**Vessels**
Enock Almon	*Resource* (1805)
Henry Atkins	*Thomas* (1801)
Henry Baldwin	*Laurel* (1802)
John Blofield	*Mary* (1806)
Christopher Brew	*Africaine* (1805)
Ludwick Carlile	*Flyer* (1795)
Alexander Cowan	*Lady Nelson* (1801), *Mary* (1805), *Endeavour* (1806 & 1807)
Matthew Cusack	*Henry* (1798), *Harriott* (1799)
Richard Everi(e)tt	*Harriott* (1802 & 1804)
John Flinn	*Harriott* (1801), *William & Mary* (1805)
John Gardiner	*Fair Penitent* (1798)
John Hodgson	*Lord Duncan* (1798)
Robert Hume	*Laurel* (1805)
Charles King	*John* (1803)
John Kitts	*John* (1800)
Charles Kneale	*Sally* (1805)
Alexander Laing	*Deane* (1802)
John Laughton	*Rebecca* (1799)
John Mitchell	*Mary* (1802 & 1803)
Thomas Moffitt	*Resource* (1804)
Edward Newby	*Roehampton* (1805)
John Pitts	*Thomas* (1803)
Samuel Read	*John* (1801)
John Simpson	*Annan* (1800 & 1801)
Thomas M Smerdon	*Cornwallis* (1797), *Africa* (1798)
William Thompson	*Roehampton* (1802 & 1803), *Rebecca* (1803), *Argo* (1806), *James* (1807)
Robert Tyrer	*James* (1806)
Samuel Van Ranst	*Thomas* (1804)
Richard Vaughan	*Africaine* (1806)
Thomas Wright	*Mary* (1800), *John Bull* (1801)

Samuel McDowal's first captains

At least four of these captains came from Dumfries & Galloway.

Alexander Cowan (from Wigtown: four possibilities born/christened between 1730 and 1746): six voyages. When the *Lady Nelson* reached Demerara in December 1801 she was not in a condition to sail any further. The captain and crew made their way back to Liverpool but when Cowan arrived there Samuel McDowal did not have a vessel available for him. As a result Cowan went to London and sailed from there on 13 September 1802, as captain of the *Crescent* for John Fisher Throckmorton. His nephew Samuel Robinson was also on board this vessel. The *Crescent* returned to London on 29 January 1804. There is no evidence that Cowan was captain of a Guinea vessel until he sailed from Liverpool on the *Mary* in July 1805. It is unlikely, however, that he was unemployed during the intervening eighteen months.

John French was born at Moffat on 22 May 1763 (father Edward and mother Nicolas [sic] Gillespie). There were two other captains called John French in the slave trade: the first delivered 96 slaves to Barbados in 1720 and the second was captain of the *Hope*, sailing from London in March 1770.

A Samuel Reid was born at Wigtown in 1760 and died on 6 January 1843; Samuel Hugh Reid was born the same year in Liverpool.

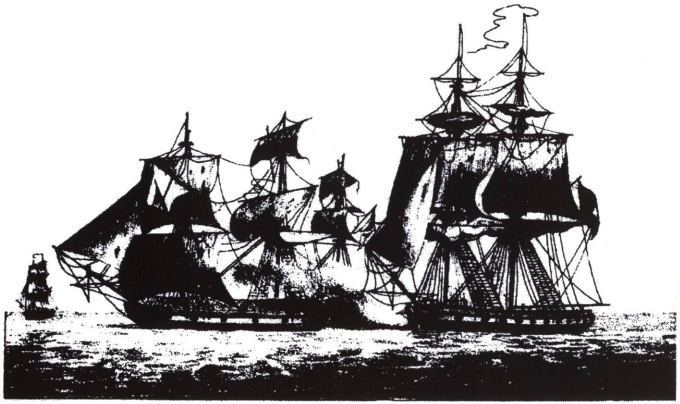
It is possible that John Simpson was from Galloway (two potential individuals) or born in Liverpool of Galloway parents. The name of his ship, the *Annan*, may be significant.

Samuel McDowal employed three Manx captains: Christopher Brew, Charles Kneale and Richard Vaughan and Samuel van Ranst came from New York.

Events at Sea involving Samuel McDowal's captains

On 14 June 1798 the *Maria*, the *Mersey* and the *Africa*, Captain Thomas Smerdon, belonging to Samuel McDowal, were all on their way to Africa when they captured the Spanish vessel *Soliadad*, from Cadiz, loaded with wine, brandy, iron etc. This meant that the crews on board the three British ships would be entitled to some of the prize money when the *Soliadad* and her cargo were sold.

It was not an act of piracy. During war the British merchantmen carried letters of marque, authorising them to seize enemy vessels. This meant that several of the Guinea vessels essentially had two roles: that of a slave trader and that of a privateer. Prize money supplemented a mariner's wages for the voyage and should he die at sea then it was the responsibility of his executors to claim all the money due to him.



Fight at sea
from illustration in Hugh Crow's *Memoirs* published in 1830

In 1799 the *Henry*, Captain Matthew Cusack, was on the Middle Passage when she was outgunned and outmanned by the Spanish ship *St. Roselia* under Captain Monase. After an initial chase, the first engagement lasted for forty minutes before the *St. Roselia* dropped astern.

> Coming up again shortly after, a close engagement took place for about three-quarters of an hour, when the Spaniard sailed away. At 1 p.m. the following day, he again came alongside, and gave the *Henry* a broadside, which was returned, and an engagement within pistol shot followed for three hours, resulting in the capture of the *Henry*, which was heavily damaged and ungovernable.
>
> After taking possession of the sloop, the Spaniards ran her on shore, about seven leagues to leeward of Cape Maize, where all the prize crew and slaves perished, except twenty-seven negroes, who swam on shore. Captain Cusack and his crew were well treated by the captain and officers of the *St. Roselia*, but in prison, at Havana, the captain was only allowed three-sixteenths of a dollar per day to live on.
>
> The Nassau paper, of February 22nd, 1799, contains the following curious intelligence:
>
> On board of the sloop *Henry* ... were two African youths of about twelve years each, one named John, the son of King George, and the other, Tom, the son of King John Qua Ben, both having extensive domains on the river Gabon. These youths their fathers had committed to the charge of Captain Cusack, to be carried to Liverpool, to be there educated. They were both taken from Captain Cusack, to be sold as slaves, in spite of all his remonstrances, and at Havana, he was told by a respectable Spanish merchant that they would not be delivered up. The owner of the Spanish vessel is Francisco Maria Cuesta, who must consign his name to eternal obloquy, should he persist in refusing these unfortunate youths their freedom. A representation on this business, we have reason to expect, will be made to the government of Cuba.

The ultimate fate of these two boys is not known. It was not unusual, however, for the Africans to send their sons, under the care of a trusted ship captain, to be educated in Liverpool and there were often between fifty and seventy such children there at any one time.

> The education of these children here is confined to reading, writing, and a little arithmetic, with as much of religion as persons of their age and situation usually receive from their schoolmasters. The girls, beside the

above-mentioned common school education, acquire some knowledge of domestic duties, and are instructed in needlework. The influence which European education seems to have upon them, after their return to their native country, appears chiefly in their more civilised manner of life. They endeavour to live and dress in European style, to erect their houses in a comfortable and convenient manner, and by a fondness for society their dispositions, we have no doubt, are improved by their education ... It has always been the practice of merchants and commanders of ships trading to Africa to encourage the natives to send their children to England, as it not only conciliates their friendship and softens their manners, but adds greatly to the security of the trader, which answers the purposes both of interest and humanity.

This appears to have been Matthew Cusack's only visit to Gabon. On his next voyage he went to Sierra Leone.[33]

The Tod brothers' first captains

Captains	**Vessels**
Thomas Brassey	*Liberty* (1806), *King George* (1807)
John Brown	*Prince Edward* (1806)
John Campbell	*Intrepid* (1804)
Charles Christian	*Prudence* (1804)
William Aldcroft Dale	*Swallow* (1805)
J Harrison	*Caroline II* (1806)
Allan Kennedy	*Liberty* (1806)
Robert Lewis	*Juverna* (1804, 1805)
William Murdock	*Brooks* (1804)
Thomas Nuttall	*Kitty's Amelia* (1804 – 2 voyages, 1806, 1807)
Robert Warbrick	*Caroline I* (1803)

There is no evidence that any of these captains came from Dumfries & Galloway.

Captain Robert Warbrick and the *Caroline I*

Robert Warbrick was mate on board the *William*, Richard Hart, on her voyage from Liverpool on 20 February 1799. Details of this voyage are found in the diary of the surgeon, Charles Christian. Warbrick's subsequent career is not known but on 20 December 1803 he sailed for Africa as captain of the schooner *Caroline* for the partnership of Ratcliffe, Clark and Tod. She was wrecked in Auchenmalg Bay on the Bay of Luce

in January 1804 and the captain was instructed by the Board of Customs in Edinburgh to superintend the reshipping of her cargo. This included not only goods for the African coast but also carriage guns, swivels and small arms for the protection of the vessel. There were also seven puncheons of brandy that did not have any dispatches from Liverpool so that they were seized by the local excise officers.

It is probable that, considering the time of year when she sailed from Liverpool, the *Caroline* had genuinely taken shelter from a storm in Luce Bay. It is also possible that she was intending to land the brandy on the Galloway coast. On 6 April 1804 Warbrick sailed from Liverpool as captain of the *Minerva*, belonging to Thomas Earle. He died on 21 June 1804 and the chief mate, William Gardner, returned the ship to Liverpool on 28 February 1805.[34]

Career Captains (see Appendix IV)
There were several 'career' captains from Dumfries & Galloway sailing from Liverpool. They includd John (two individuals) and James Corbett, James Irving, Samuel and Walter Kirkpatrick and George, Hugh and William Maxwell.

The Corbett Captains
James Corbett: four voyages (1785-1791).
He died on board the *Aeolus* on 19 October 1791.
John Corbett I: three voyages (1755-1757)
John Corbett II: two voyages (1798 & 1799)

James Irving
Born at Langholm on 15 December 1759, he sailed on five slave trading voyages before becoming a captain. James Irving's journal describing a shipwreck on the coast of Barbary in 1789 and letters including twenty written to his wife between 19 May 1786 and 14 June 1791 have been transcribed by Suzanne Schwarz in *Slave Captain The Career of James Irving in the Liverpool slave trade.* The last letter was written on board the *Ellen* 'off Benin Bar'. At this stage Irving claimed that he was 'healthy'. He died on 24 December 1791, on the Middle Passage. Further research is ongoing into this family and their slave trade connections.

The Kirkpatrick Captains
Samuel Kirkpatrick: five voyages 1763-1774
Walter Kirkpatrick: two voyages 1758-1760
Kirkpatrick (no first name given): one voyage 1806

In April 1758 Walter Kirkpatrick 'outsailed' the other ships sailing under convoy for the African coast, for protection against the enemy. On the 15th he hailed what he thought was a merchant vessel on her way home to Britain. It was the French privateer, the *Machault* of Bayonne, with twenty-six guns and a crew of three hundred and twenty men. Realising his mistake, Kirkpatrick 'made sail'.

> She soon gained on us, and when within pistol shot, we fired broadside for broadside an hour and an half, and had it not been for the continual fire from her small arms, whose balls were like showers of hail and obliged my men to run from their quarters, perhaps we might have got clear, notwithstanding her superior force. Thus overpowered, we were obliged to strike. Our rigging, masts, yards, and sails were very ill shattered, though our people were tolerably well sheltered. Four of our people were wounded: George Godsall (since dead); Mr Woolley Maisterson had his leg shot away by a 12 pound ball, which dismounted the gun he was quartered at, went through the dog's body, and split in two on the capson [sic]. He is now in a fair way of recovery; Edward Langshaw was ill hurt, but since recovered. All the rest in good health.
>
> The captain and officers behaved very well to us, the former complimented me with my hanger, saying I deserved one for fighting so long, and ordered me all my clothes, watch, books, and instruments, of which I got part, the remainder being plundered during my being on board the privateer, which I think is as near the model of the *Liverpool* man of war (now in Liverpool) as possible. This day we are ordered all into close confinement, and those who can find bail for £150 are allowed to go on parole about ten miles into the country. Your letters of credit will be extremely acceptable, &c.

This letter was written to his owners from a French gaol. Kirkpatrick must have been released because on 13 September 1760 he sailed from Liverpool as captain of the *Hero*.[35]

The Maxwell Captains
George Maxwell: nine voyages 1783-1794
Hugh Maxwell: three voyages 1761-1765 (returned 1767)
William Maxwell: five voyages 1793-1800

Thirteen of these voyages went to Angola and in two cases the destination is not known. In 1770 George Maxwell was at Liverpool when he wrote to his uncle, defending himself against the accusations of Captain Johnston, who had used his influence to obtain a position for Maxwell on board a merchant vessel.

George Maxwell wrote:

> am sorry to hear that Mr Johnston has given me such a character as to my going out second mate of that ship. It can be proven to the contrary by people of character. As to my falling out with the captain or mate it is unjust. The reason why I left the ship was with a view of preparing myself, which I did by getting mate of a ship in about three months afterwards. I have been mate of two ships out of Virginia and a master of a trading vessel and my character is as good there or in London where he was. Dear Uncle, if you dispute what I have said I can have several very creditable people that will justify what I have said by setting their hands to it. Please God I should meet the captain or mate of that ship at any time or in any place they will give me from under their hands to the contrary of what Captain Johnston was pleased to say. Captain Johnston need not make any apology about his recommending of me for it would be of no service to me.
>
> PS I am now going out to Jamaica in a ship called the *New Shoram* one Captain Gram. I am going out before the mast until I can suit myself otherways. Our voyage will be about nine months.[36]

The Guinea Crews

Because of all the different tasks that had to be performed, the crews on board the Guineamen included a wide range of people:

the captain and his first or chief mate
depending on the size of the vessel, a second and third mate
the surgeon or doctor and his mate
the cooper and the carpenter
the boatswain
the armourer and gunner
the cook
the steward and clerk

the seamen were 'bred to the sea' or qualified through apprenticeship on board.
the landsmen were immune to impressment into the navy.
boys, such as Samuel Robinson from Wigtown, were apprentices.

In 1867 Samuel Robinson wrote *A Sailor Boy's Experience aboard a Slave Ship in the beginning of the Present Century.* This is in the form of a series letters supported by his journal and describing life on board two vessels, the *Lady Nelson* (he calls her the *Lady Neilson*) and the *Crescent*, both commanded by his uncle, Samuel McDowal's captain Alexander Cowan.

Some of the events described during the first voyage have been compared with the muster roll of the *Lady Nelson*, which confirms the accuracy of Robinson's account. Because of the level of detail in this book, no attempt has been made to quote extracts. Instead it is recommended for further reading.

Appendix V combines two sources of information: a list sent to the captain by his owners and the official muster roll to describe the crew on board the *Kitty's Amelia*, Thomas Nuttall, for her third voyage. The original crew was forty-seven men, including:

Stations	No.	Stations	No.
Master	1	Armourer and gunner	2
Mates	2	cook	1
Surgeon & surgeon's mate	2	Steward and clerk	2
Cooper	1	Seamen	28
Carpenter	1	Landsmen	6
Boatswain	1		**47**

Only eight of these men returned with the ship to Liverpool. This was the fate of the remaining thirty-nine men:

Impressed into the navy		
10 May 1806	5	
21 October 1806	2	
7 November 1806	4	
11 November 1806	2	
6 December 1806	7	
12 January 1807	1	21
Died (including drowning)		
19 July 1806	1	
27 August 1806	1	
24 December 1806	1	
10 February 1806	1	
10 March 1807	1	5
Deserted		
27 October 1806	2	
1 November 1806	2	4
Discharged in the West Indies		9

Fate of the crew on board the *Kitty's Amelia* for her 3rd voyage

One of the people discharged in the West Indies was the captain, Thomas Nuttall. There could have been several reasons why a further eight men were also discharged there, including illness. The surgeon died on 27 August and his mate was impressed on 11 November 1806. The Appendix also lists the supplementary crew taken on board in the West Indies. Considering that both the first and second mates returned to Liverpool, it is unclear why a third mate was taken on board for five months.

Hugh Crow was deeply concerned about the health of his crew on board the *Kitty's Amelia* on her fourth voyage, when twenty-three of the initial crew of forty-three men died. Impressment was a great concern.

> We had been out [from Liverpool] but eight or ten days when we had the misfortune to fall in with H M frigate *Princess Charlotte*, commanded by Captain Tobin, who, although we had a protection, impressed four of our ablest seamen. I felt on the occasion as if so many people had fallen overboard, whom I had not the power to assist, and my abhorrence of the impress service became, if possible, more firmly rooted.

The Four Voyages of the *Kitty's Amelia*

Information about these voyages comes from a wide variety of contemporary sources, including the correspondence of the Tod brothers, Hugh Crow's *Memoirs* and the muster rolls or lists of the crew on board for a particular voyage.

Originally the *Young Amelia*, this French ship was captured by the slaver *Kitty*, Alexander McDonald captain and John Clarke owner, in October 1803 on her way from Isle de France to Lorient. Both ship and cargo were purchased by Henry Clarke and the Tod brothers and she was registered in Liverpool as the *Kitty's Amelia*. Described by Hugh Crow as 'a fine vessel of 300 tons, carrying eighteen guns', she performed four voyages for the partnership before the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 meant that no further legal Guinea voyages could sail from Liverpool.

Voyage 1

With Thomas Nuttall as captain the *Kitty's Amelia* and a crew of thirty-nine men sailed from Liverpool on 13 February 1804 in company with the *Laurel*, Captain Thomas Phillips and the *Urania*, Captain John

Ramsay both owned by a merchant simply referred to as Wheeler. On the 16th they survived an encounter with a large French warship.

Philip Bartlow, William Channal, Peter Jenkins, John Lewis, Isaac Nuld, John Ott and John Williams deserted at the West Indies in July, three on the same day. This might have been because they were afraid of being impressed into the navy. In August there were four crew deaths, including Joseph Plasket the 3rd mate, George McCormack and Robert Millar seamen and Robert Lee a landsman. Eight new crewmen were taken on board at Havana on 1 September for the journey home. Noah Techis [sic] was drowned on 17 September only a few days from home - he had been on board from the beginning.

Both the *Laurel* and the *Urania* were slaved at Angola and then proceeded to Demerara, where the *Urania* was declared to be unseaworthy. It is not known on what part of the coast the *Kitty's Amelia* collected her slaves (estimated at 350) but 286 were sold at St Kitts and Havana. She returned to Liverpool on 10 October 1804, six months before the *Laurel*. Her homeward cargo included sugar, cowhides and logwood, which was used for dyeing.

Voyage 2

Within a very short period of time the *Kitty's Amelia* was ready for sea again, sailing from Liverpool on 3 December 1804 which meant that she left for two slave trading voyages within the same year. It is possible that the partnership depended on a rapid turnaround between voyages (see Hugh Crow's comments about her fourth voyage). On this occasion the *Kitty's Amelia* was accompanied by the *Ann*, George Howard (she was wrecked en route for Africa), the *Retrieve*, Lewis Robinson (for the Congo and Trinidad) and the *Thomas*, Robert Pince (for Bonny and Jamaica). The *Prudence*, Charles Christian captain, also owned by the partnership, sailed the following day. The Tods intended that these two vessels should load 350 slaves at Angola, which would be sold by Nuttall at St Bartholomews. Provided all the produce purchased from the sales could be taken on board the *Kitty's Amelia* then the *Prudence* would be sold in the West Indies.

During the Middle Passage, some members of the crew plotted to seize the *Kitty's Amelia* and murder both Thomas Nuttall and his officers. When they reached St Kitts three of the ringleaders went on board

another vessel and Nuttall contacted the officers of H M *Lucie*, requesting that these crewmen should be arrested, as mutineers. Instead the naval officers and their local agent, Doctor Armstrong, 'a well-known infamous character' accused Nuttall of malpractice.

The partnership's desire for the ships to be slaved together and possible constant contact between the two vessels at Angola may have suggested that Nuttall had encouraged Christian to bring more slaves than his quota. Unfortunately there are no details about exactly how many slaves were delivered in the West Indies. This letter to Nuttall does suggest, however, that there were more than three hundred and fifty:

> I mentioned in my last as far as I then knew, the progress made in forwarding the *Kitty's Amelia* and *Prudence* slaves to Havana, since when say on the 26th September, the first schooner sent down has arrived who brought the intelligence that on her passage down she was taken into Barracco by a French privateer, but was imminently liberated and arrived safe at Havana, and on the day of her sailing from thence, the 30th of August, the whole of the slaves were sold.
>
> She also brought the disagreeable news that the brig with 200 and the schooner that was last dispatched with 151 slaves were also detained in the port of Barracoo, but every step was taken and no doubt remained of their speedy release; howsoever these obstructions are disagreeable as they cause anxiety, although at the same time they serve to prove that however the captors might be intended on doing mischief yet they find it not in their power to effect their purpose.

If a plot to circumvent the 1799 Slave Carrying Act had been proved then the *Kitty's Amelia* and any cargo on board would have been seized and there would have been no compensation for the underwriters. At the trial in St Kitts Thomas Nuttall managed to persuade the authorities that no fraud had been intended. He 'not only acted with greatest humanity and forbeance, but was entitled to the highest applause for his manly, prompt and spirited manner and in suppressing the most infamous, bloody and well conducted plot that ever was formed to take his life and run away with the ship and property'. Nuttall and his first mate Powell went to Surinam to find a ship for Liverpool. In the meantime the *Prudence* had been sold and Thomas Forrest had taken the *Kitty's Amelia* home with a cargo of sugar and cotton on freight. She arrived at Liverpool on 9 November 1805.

Voyage 3: with Thomas Nuttall back in Liverpool after all his adventures, the *Kitty's Amelia* sailed again on 6 May 1806. The same month the *Prince Edward*, John Brown, sailed for the same partnership but to Gabon and Jamaica instead of Bonny and Barbados, where the *Kitty's Amelia* arrived on 19 October 1806. Nuttall decided to sell his cargo at Trinidad and having evaded being captured by a privateer, she arrived there on 23 October. The *Kitty's Amelia* returned to Liverpool with Thomas Forrest as captain on 20 April 1807 (see page 14).

Voyage 4:
Thomas Nuttall was still in the West Indies and at first the owners appointed Thomas Forrest as the *Kitty's Amelia* captain. Then Hugh Crow returned to Liverpool with the *Mary*. She was too late to be cleared out for another voyage and so Henry Clarke offered Crow the *Kitty's Amelia*. Now Forrest was appointed as chief mate. The owners may have suspected problems between the two men because their instructions authorised Crow to consult any other slave trade captains in the vicinity in case of a serious problem between the two men.

When they were on the African coast, Forrest 'began to conduct himself in a very improper manner, although every indulgence was granted him, which a man in his situation could desire. He took every opportunity of making me and all on board as unhappy as he could, and, at one time, he had instigated the crew to an almost open state of mutiny, by constantly plying them with spirits'. Although Crow 'conveyed with the utmost patience and good-will', his concern that Forrest continued 'almost constantly in a state of intoxication' this 'exasperated him to such a degree that I often entertained apprehensions that he would either be the cause of my death, or, in his folly and intemperance, blow up the ship'. Crow was 'reluctantly, obliged to call a meeting of the captains then at Bonny, to obtain their opinions, and, if necessary ... to put him upon his trial. The result was that an investigation took place, during which he had every facility allowed him for a defence, and the unanimous opinion was that he should be dismissed from his situation. Indeed the unfortunate man himself acknowledged the propriety of the decision'. Feeling conscious that Forrest came from a 'respectable family in Liverpool' and that he was 'not deficient of abilities', Crow allowed his mate to stay in the cabin 'but not to assume any command in the ship. In a few days every thing became orderly and pleasant on board'. Forrest died later in the voyage.

Hugh Crow
from his *Memoirs* published in 1830

Hugh Crow's next problem was because 'in the hurry and bustle of fitting out the vessel at Liverpool' some returned goods from the previous voyage, 'when the ship was sickly', had been repacked in damp casks so that they were 'almost rotten' and had to be thrown overboard. As soon as these casks were opened 'a malignant fever and dysentery broke out amongst the crew' and this persisted for the rest of the voyage.

> To add to our troubles the weather was extremely unpropitious. We had at intervals some of the most awful thunder and lightning attended by heavy rains, I ever witnessed; and one night, in particular, such was the concussion produced by the explosion of the electric fluid that the ship actually shook from stem to stern like a basket.

Despite this the *Kitty's Amelia* 'completed our purchase of as fine a cargo of blacks as had ever been taken from Africa'. The ship lay off the coast for a week in an attempt to reduce the sickness on board. 'Our efforts were however of little avail: the disease baffled the skill of both our doctors, and I was deeply afflicted to see both whites and blacks dying daily around me'. Hoping that the sea air would help, they set sail for St Thomas's Island.

> But, alas! 'disasters seldom come alone'. In a few days after our departure we experienced a continuation of the most singular and unwholesome weather I had ever witnessed in those latitudes. During the day we had nothing but calms with an atmosphere uncommonly sultry and oppressive; and throughout the night we were visited by such awful storms of thunder and lightning that the ship shook and rocked like a cradle. Torrents of rain also deluged the deck, and during their continuance prevented us from paying that attention which we wished to the sick. The deaths, in consequence, became more alarmingly frequent ... The heat was at this time more intense and oppressive than it is possible for those who have not experienced the like to conceive.

After sixteen 'tedious days' instead of the usual two or three they reached St Thomas, where 'we procured refreshments, and as the weather continued fine, the sickness in a few days began to abate'.

Although according to his instructions Crow was supposed to call at Trinidad for his further instructions, he was also allowed 'to use my own discretion'. He sailed 'with all speed for my favourite port' of Kingston. They had lost 'no fewer than thirty whites and fifty blacks'.

To his surprise Hugh Crow discovered that there were already sixteen Guinea ships at Kingston, where some of them had been waiting to sell their cargoes for five or six months. Yet his reputation was such that there was already an advertisement in both the local newspapers stating that Captain Crow had arrived:

> With the finest cargo of negroes ever brought to Kingston. This I must confess was saying rather too much: the puff, however, had all the effect desired, for on the fifth day after we began to sell not a single negro was left on board, and we moreover obtained much higher prices than any of the other ships. Thus, after all our disasters, we made a very advantageous voyage.

Because Hugh Crow needed to stay in Jamaica 'on business', he sent Captain Thomas Brassey back to Liverpool with a cargo of elephant teeth, beeswax, palm oil, camwood, also for dyeing, sugar, rum, coffee, logwood and Madeira wine, presumably from the outbound voyage back to Liverpool. After five or six months Crow had 'the good fortune to get all my employers' business settled to my satisfaction'. He arrived at Liverpool on 17 August 1808 and was welcomed by the partnership with 'their accustomed kindness and hospitality'.

After abolition, the *Kitty's Amelia* was employed in the South American trade. In early February 1809 she was lost off the coast of Uruguay on her way to South America.[37]

THE PLANTATIONS

> After shipping and trade was established on a regular basis it was the custom for merchants to then employ their countrymen as resident agents or factors so commuting their mercantile capital to planter capital. The ownership or control of plantations enabled Scotsmen to employ their countrymen in a variety of craft, managerial and professional capacities. Other Scotsmen went to the West Indies to fill posts in government and military units. Many officials and officers acquired plantations, some by the expedient of marriage to sugar heiresses. No sooner was one Scotsman established in the Island than he began to send for his relatives, friends and former neighbours. [Richard B Sheridan *The Role of the Scots in the Economy and Society of the West Indies* 1977]

Networks dominated plantation life. John Murray of Murraythwaite was Secretary to the Provincial Governor of South Carolina, where he settled a plantation with his brother James and his cousin David, purchasing slaves from Adam Smart of Grenada. He imported two cargoes of linens manufactured by the British Linen Company of Edinburgh in partnership with his relation James Murray. He wrote regularly to James Irving and Dr William Graham of Mossknowe, now in Jamaica. James Stothert of Cargen employed his relations and namesakes and the promising sons of his Dumfries acquaintances as overseers and bookkeepers on his Dundee sugar plantation in Jamaica.[38]

There were so many people from Dumfries & Galloway in the plantations during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that it is only possible to describe the lives of a small proportion of them here.

One of the problems with the plantations was the debilitating climate that had proved a deciding factor in providing the labour force from Africa. It also effected the plantation owners and their overseers. This was one of the reasons for the high proportion of absentee landowners, particularly in Jamaica.

When he returned to North Carolina in 1764, after an education in Scotland, Gabriel Cathcart wrote to his cousin, Robert Cathcart of Genoch near Stranrer, 'I have myself been seized with the ague and

fever, and though it has continued pretty long it has not been very severe. I find the climate of this country does not agree so well with me as that of Scotland and that though a native of this warm climate my constitution is better adapted to one more frigid'.[39]

Illness is a regular theme throughout this section.

North and South Carolina: the Cathcarts of Genoch & the Murrays of Murraythwaite

John Cathcart of Genoch was a merchant, who was deeply involved in the smuggling trade into the area round the Bay of Luce. After their father's death, he became responsible for the education and training of his younger brother, William, who wanted to be a surgeon. In 1726 John paid his brother's apprentice fee of £400 Scots to John Kennedy, surgeon in Edinburgh and £50 0s 8d to Mrs Kennedy for his board and lodging. William was also given £82 pocket money. In 1729 John paid Drs Munro and Alston of the 'College' money for clothes, books and cash (pocket money again).

There is no information about William's career, as a surgeon or otherwise, before 24 March 1737, when the brothers signed this agreement:

> Forasmuch as I, William Cathcart, have an intention to settle in North Carolina of the Plantations belonging to the Dominions of Great Britain and that I design to purchase there to cultivate and improve and am further designed to trade with a stock in order to purchase negroes for improving those grounds so purchased and now seeing that John Cathcart of Genoch and I have agreed that all the purchases I shall make he shall be equally concerned with me and that the several rights of those grounds that I purchase shall be jointly taken in his name and his heirs as well as in my name and heirs … I William Cathcart do hereby bind and oblige me and my heirs and all my other representatives whatever to perform to John Cathcart and his heirs the conditions and articles after specified …. Under penalty of £300 sterling.

John was funding the whole venture by giving his brother £600 worth of goods to be sold in **North Carolina**. William took two-thirds of these with him and John promised to send a further cargo within the next two years. There is no information about the contents of these cargoes but they were probably the standard woollens, linens and shoes.

Carolina in 1714

William would use up to half the money to purchase land and the remainder would be invested in the purchase of slaves and 'other necessaries for improving the land'. He promised to 'keep just and clear accounts' of the sale of the goods. Because William would receive no commission, payment of interest on the loan from John was postponed until 1740.

There were two other conditions. William must not appoint either a trustee or a bookkeeper unless John was 'fully satisfied' about the man's 'honesty and fidelity'. If William married, then his widow would become responsible for repayment of any balance still owed.

William did settle in North Carolina but his constant lack of funds suggests that at first he was not a successful planter. He married Penelope Maule and they had a son, Gabriel, who was sent back to Scotland to school and then to train as a lawyer. After Penelope's death William married Prudence West and they had two daughters, Margaret (Peggie) who married William McKenzie of Nansemond, Virginia and Frances who married Samuel Johnston originally from Dundee. Prudence died in late 1763 or early 1764 and William in 1773.

There was a constant problem over keeping in contact with relations in the Americas. Anyone returning home was expected to bring letters, gifts and a detailed report about what was happening on the other side of the Atlantic. When John Rutherfurd of North Carolina was at London in January 1758, he wrote to John Cathcart, apologising for the fact that he had no recent news of William. He explained, 'Dr Cathcart lives 200 miles from my house and indeed in such an inland place that it is not often to be expected to hear of him by strangers and that he doth not write oftener himself is a great failing of his. He is a very worthy good man and nobody's enemy but his own – a general remark of him in that country'.

Two years later Rutherfurd was in London again when he reported, 'it will be some satisfaction to you to learn that about two months ago Dr Cathcart was very well and that by means of his vastly extensive business in the physic way, reasoned by the smallpox in that country, he has greatly mended in his fortunes. This I learned from Mr Crooker, who lived in his neighbourhood and is well acquainted with the Doctor. I hope you'll hear from him soon'.

After the death of his brother, William was in contact with his nephew, Robert. Four of his letters have survived, the first two (12 May 1760 and 5 June 1763) were concerned with the problems of paying for Gabriel's education in Scotland. In May 1760 William confirmed Rutherfurd's report, 'my circumstances are not what you may imagine and had I not undertaken the practice of physic it would not have been in my power to have remitted any money'.

Every area in Britain has a folklore of slaves being sold at market and kept by wealthy landowners, often with West Indian interests. In fact there were considerable numbers of negro servants, as witnessed by their presence in family portraits. These were free individuals who had arrived in Britain by a wide variety of routes. In 1763 William Cathcart went to Mr McDowal's store [there is no information about its location] so that he could send his nephew the negro boy 'mentioned in your last [letter] to me. His name is Luck, aged about 11. He is a very smart boy'. William also sent Robert some 'indico [sic] seed to amuse him in gardening'.

The Plantations

There is very little direct information about William Cathcart's plantations. In November 1764 Gabriel wrote to his cousin at Genoch:

> My father I have found to be quite the farmer, though on a different plan from what you pursue at home. He raises little more wheat than to supply his family and some oats for corn and fodder for his horses. His principal object is Indian corn, part of which he sends immediately to mercat. With the rest he fattens hogs and stall feeds beef, which are the best ready money articles. His overseers at the other plantations go chiefly on tobacco, which he does not trouble himself with.

Gabriel was planning to 'turn farmer soon', presumably on some land owned by his father. There was a great need for pasture in North Carolina because 'in summer 'tis indifferent, in winter we have none at all'. Gabriel's plan was to sow clover and grass seeds so that 'we may have good summer pasture and have it in winter'. He intended

> to pursue a method that will appear very strange to you in Scotland, where land is so valuable, which is to sow 10 or 15 acres with wheat for the cows to pasture on all winter, till the grass springs. A scheme, which in this country, where we value land so little, will be great economy. As for about 18/- sterling, the price of 6 bushels of wheat, we can give our

cows fine pasture all winter, and the fodder we are now obliged to maintain them with we can give to our steers and young cattle.

There were regular requests for good overseers from Scotland. On 14 April 1764 William wrote from Halifax, North Carolina, asking Robert to find a careful, industrious labouring man. There was great urgency about this, 'much occasioned by the bad overseers we have in this part of the world, who are the most idle set of moselikes [sic] on earth'.

This request was repeated by Gabriel in November 'as my father's health is much impaired and he needs some person of that kind to relieve him of part of the trouble and fatigue'. When he was last in Scotland Mr Tier of Stranraer had brought to Genoch a young lad from Ballantrae, who wanted to emigrate to North Carolina. Gabriel now offered him a four year contract at £7 a year, or £8 if necessary, 'but the cheaper the better', plus bed and breakfast and his passage paid but deducted from his first year's salary. The Glasgow ship that carried this letter to Robert was due to return to their river in North Carolina the following March or April so that the lad should come with her. Gabriel urged his cousin to send for the lad 'directly' to make this offer.

By May 1765 there was still no news of the lad and Gabriel offered him the full £8 or if an alternative overseer had been 'bred a gardener', then he would be paid £10. There is no information about whether Dr William Cathcart did employ an overseer from the Stranraer area.

On 24 June 1773 Samuel Johnston wrote to Robert Cathcart from Edinton, North Carolina, with news of his 'best friend' and father-in-law's death on 27 January 'after a short illness ... his daughter had lately lain in with her second daughter and he was passing some time with her while I was called abroad on business. He appeared in as good a state of health as possible when he was seized with an ague on a Sunday, as he was at dinner, which was succeeded by a fever that carried him off Saturday following in the evening. My wife was in a very dangerous state for some time after her father's death, but is now, I thank God, perfectly recovered and joins with her sister in offering her best affections to you and the rest of their friends in Scotland and would be very happy in sometimes hearing of you and their welfare'.

There is no further information about the family in North Carolina.[40]

Indian corn and rice

In January 1756 John Murray of Murraythwaite wrote from **South Carolina** to Adam Smart of Smart & Walker, merchants in Antigua explaining that he had purchased some land with his brother James and his cousin David Murray so that they could establish a rice and indigo plantation. He explianed:

> We have heard that negroes are very cheap in Antigua, as all the slaves made prize of have been sold there. This you will be a judge of and I desire you ... to purchase for us fifteen or twenty of the best you can pick. I mean such as have no sores, swellings or inveterate diseases upon them and ship them for us aboard the first vessel from your place. I desire you would purchase two-thirds men with three or four boys, some third women. But would at no rate have you meddle with them unless they are young and healthy. For you must know that just now slaves are fallen here from upwards of £300 to £200 our currency, which is 7 for 1 sterling [£43 to £30] and I expect that in Antigua the very best may be had for £100 to £140 currency or from £14 to £20 sterling, above which last sum I would not have you give. For if you do, the freight, insurance and duty will bring them higher than I can purchase here, as ones at market are falling every day in value. If you purchase, they must only be such as have now been six months in the West Indies and you must send a certificate to that purpose. Otherwise we will be liable to a high duty of £60 per head.

Their payment would be guaranteed by Robert Scott, at the Jamaica Coffee House in London. The 'prize' slaves were those captured on board French slaving ships. This letter emphasises the need for healthy slaves, the proportions between men and women and the fickleness of the market in the Americas.[41]

By October 1756 only John and James Murray were involved in the plantation. They had thirty slaves and expected to make a large quantity of indigo the following year, 'if no accident happen'.

The plantation was still in existence in 1761, when it was hoped that the frequent rains would produce a good crop of rice'.[42]

In July 1757 Sir Robert Laurie of Maxwelton was interested in purchasing the late Sir Alexander Nesbit's estate in South Carolina, which appeared to be a reasonable investment:

> There are near 100 slaves great and small upon the plantation but of these scarce forty can be deemed working hands, capable to go into the field. With these hands there was made last year 1780 hundredweight of good indico and 240 barrels rice, both shipped home. Neat proceeds £600, from which deductions of clothes for negroes and overseer's wages.[43]

Other employments

On 2 April 1764 Gabriel Cathcart was appointed Collector of Beaufort and Carrituck in North Carolina. It was 'more convenient' for him to undertake this post through a deputy. As he wrote to his cousin Robert, 'inform young Mr Tier not to depend upon me in his views of coming abroad. Had he come along with me, as I proposed, I could have provided him, as I had three deputies to appoint in my office, but which I was obliged immediately to put in'. This system of using deputies reduced Gabriel's profits by one third so that the post brought him 'nothing very considerable'.

By May 1765 Gabriel Cathcart was seeking patronage to become Receiver for North Carolina to collect the new general stamp duty. This would be 'of great consequence to me in the pursuit of the law or other public matters in which I may happen to be engaged' and at the same time provide 'a genteel little living suitable to my wishes and being obtained so early in life would be a singular advantage to me'. He would live in Newbern 'the most central town in the province and which 'tis expected will soon be fixed the metropolis'. As a result, 'I could discharge the office with great convenience to myself as well as to the public'. He wanted Robert's comments about possible support in Scotland from Lord Garlies, who had helped with the collector's post but was 'so generous perhaps he would not refuse to concur with Lord Eglinton and even endeavour to engage Lord Cathcart' to recommend Gabriel for the post.

Peggie Cathcart had lived with Samuel Johnston and her sister Frances 'ever since I had the misfortune to be deprived of my dear Father'. In a letter to Robert Cathcart dated September 1775 she described Samuel as 'one of the best of men. In him are visited every quality that adorns human nature, good sense and good nature, joined with an honest heart'. He was Governor of North Carolina in 1787/88. John Murray of Murraythwuite was Secretary in South Carolina.[44]

Linens

The urgent need for good quality clothing in America was emphasised by two letters from Gabriel Cathcart to his cousin Robert at Genoch. He requested that if the lad from Ballantrae came out to North Carolina as overseer then he should bring in his chest a pound of good tea costing 6/- or 7/- 'from my Torrs friends', (who were in the smuggling trade), a piece of Irish linen to make six or eight shirts at 4/- per yard and four yards of cambric at 10/- or 12/- per yard from Mr Tier at Stranraer and from Robert Wilson four pairs of shoes and four pairs of boots made of the best English calfskin 'in the same manner that the last were, only a very little longer'.

When John Murray of Murraythwaite first went to South Carolina in 1753 he was persuaded by his relation, James Murray, and some friends there 'of the trade' to be involved in a cargo of linens shipped from the British Linen Company in Edinburgh. The ship bringing these linens took four months to reach South Carolina and 'unhappily arrived too late for the market'.

Despite the fact that these linens had not sold, when Murray returned to Britain in 1754 he had several conversations with Mr Tod in London 'concerning the properest measures for extending the exportation of Scots linens into that country'. Tod persuaded him that because 'the bounty [payable on exportation] was soon to expire and its renewal was uncertain Mr Murray and I ought by no means to lose so good an opportunity but should immediately order out an additional assortment, which could not fail of selling to advantage'. John Murray was assured that 'a gentleman of considerable fortune in London was to be engaged with us as a partner in the adventure and next that Dr Murray of Charleston had by letter given a sort of commission for linens to the value of £1,200'.

Despite the fact he knew 'very little of trade since I had been brought up to a different profession' and it was 'impossible by reason of my office and other avocations' to become involved, John Murray agreed to act as factor in South Carolina for another cargo worth about £1,600. Instead Tod ordered linens valued at £2,200 and the gentleman in London 'now absolutely declined engaging as a partner'. Tod wrote pleading with Murray to take the cargo because, he claimed, he could only dispose of the linens by sending them to America. Murray agreed.

There were several problems with this cargo. Dr Murray had not made a firm contract with the people offering to purchase £1,200 worth of linens. When the cargo arrived 'unluckily' their offer was 'so low and inconsiderable that we must have been losers by the sale'. John Murray rented a store in Charleston at £45 sterling per annum and employed a clerk, Mr Adams, at a further £50 plus bed and board.

Shortly after the cargo was landed, a 'considerable merchant' in Charleston offered £800 or £900 for the Edinburgh and coarse linens. This would have produced a moderate profit but as soon as Murray was ready to sell them to him, the merchant 'declined the bargain and offered me a price that would not do more than pay the prime cost and charges, affirming positively that he had bought goods of the same kind as cheap'.

When the bales were opened and the linens taken out for sorting, 'we found a great many of the finest rotten and otherways damaged in the bleaching, and several of the other kinds torn and rendered utterly unfit for sale'. Unfortunately some of these damaged linens had been sold already and 'the people who got them raised such a clamour and the sale of the others was very much hurt'.

Because the fine linens were unsaleable in Carolina, Murray sent £200 worth of them to his contact James Irving in Jamaica. Months and then years passed, during which time Irving never mentioned what had happened to these linens. This £200 was listed in the account as a 'desperate debt', with the comment, 'which one can't avoid making in that country'.

Despite all the difficulties, John Murray managed to make several remittances to the company. Even these were not free from problems. In his absence, one payment of £253 was sent to James Murray 'with orders to pay it on our joint account'. Instead £153 was used 'to extinguish some other debt of his own in your books'. James was now dead and from 'the situation of his affairs' it was obvious that his executors would not be able to make any payments towards the joint debt.

When Adams, the clerk, returned to England, John Murray discovered that adding together the sales to date, including the desperate debt and the goods as yet unsold, being 'the most unmerchantable part

of the cargo' the sum could barely 'answer our original debt ... and pay the other incidental charges'. John Murray reassured Ebenezer McCulloch, manager of the British Linen Company, however:

> I have concealed as much as in my power the faults and defects of our goods from every one in Charleston, by which I know they might have been prejudiced against any further dealings with you; on the contrary I have used every means in my power, at Mr Tod's request, to introduce our Scots linens into Carolina, by recommending them to sundry of our most considerable merchants. I dare also venture to say and can prove it if necessary that my recommendations have already been productive of good effects.

There is no information about the long-term future of the export of these linens to Carolina.[45]

Dumfries, Virginia

The eighteenth century history of Dumfries, Virginia is one of boom and bust. There were several tobacco plantations in the area, including one owned by John Graham of Dumfries in Scotland and in 1731 a custom house and a warehouse were established for the exportation of the tobacco. In 1736 John Walker, described as a 'merchant of Virginia' and an inhabitant of Dumfries, left his 'earthly possessions' to his nephews 'heirs of Robert and James Walker of Caron Hill, Moreton Parish, Dumfriesshire'. Other local names appear in the early records, including Charles Mushet.

Dumfries was the first town in Virginia to receive a charter, dated 2 May 1749. It was described as 'sixty acres of land belonging to John Graham, situate and lying upon the head of Quantico Creek, near the public warehouses, in the County of Prince William'. In other words it is close to the present day Washington. Graham, Peter Hedgman, William Fitzhugh, George Mason, Joseph Blackwell, Richard Blackburn and Thomas Harrison were appointed as the directors and trustees to:

> lay out the land in lots and streets, not exceeding a half acre to a lot, and set apart such portions of said land for a market place and public quay, and appoint such places upon the creek for public buildings, as to them shall seem most convenient ... the grantee or grantees of every lot or lots so to be conveyed and sold shall within two years, erect, build and furnish on every lot so conveyed one house of brick, stone or wood, well

Virginia and Maryland

This map was published in 1714 so that Dumfries is not marked. It is on a tributary of the Patowmock [Potomac] River.

framed, of the dimensions of twenty feet square and nine feet pitch at least ... and if any swine, raised or kept, shall be found going or running at large, it shall and may be lawful for any person to kill and destroy the same; provided, nevertheless, that such person shall not convert any swine so killed to his or her own use, but shall leave the same in the place where it shall be killed and give immediate notice to the owner thereof, if known, and if not to the next Justice of the Peace ...

At this date the extensive tobacco trade from Dumfries made it the second port in America.[46]

Cuninghame & Co.'s Store

William Cuninghame & Co., originally from Kilmarnock but later based in Glasgow, were considerable tobacco merchants. The letters of James Robertson, their factor in Virginia have survived from 1767 to 1777. The company had a store in Dumfries. Their storekeepers were:

1764-1768:	Daniel Payne
1768-1772:	John Neilson
1772- February 1773:	Francis Hay
February 1773:	William Cuninghame

Daniel Payne was already a merchant in the town and his ledger for 1758 to 1761still exists. He sold the cargoes brought by the ships coming to collect. This was sold 'by the pound, hundredweight and cask. The prices allowed per hundredweight were good, 35 to 40 shillings a hundred, which accounts for the prosperity of the community at this period ... In addition to being storekeeper, his accounts show he was a general banker to the people'. His client list included about three hundred and fifty names.[47]

Under John Neilson's management the Cuninghame store was too successful, attracting several ships from Britain. As a result he was obliged 'to push for tobacco, and to take it from his customers on unfavourable terms, which will unavoidably be the consequence to any store lumbered with a quick succession of shipping'. Despite this James Robertson was devastated when Neilson died at 3.30 a.m. on 29 September 1772 'of a bilious or putrid fever and was interred the same evening'. He added, 'Mr Neilson's death is a most severe stroke! ... Who will supply his place I know not but whoever that may be I am afraid he will fall much short of the deceased'.

Tobacco plant

Francis Hay from Petersburg, Virginia was appointed as Neilson's replacement. James Robertson exhorted him:

> in your trade be generous, easy, affable and free to your customers, pointed and exact in fulfilling your engagements or even your most trivial promises. By these means you will engage their esteem, regard and confidence and on this plan alone a large and extensive trade can be carried on. You will also study to live on good terms with your neighbours in town, but too great an intimacy with any of them may be attended with bad consequences. Frugality or economy is generally the offspring of a sound judgement, despising the opinion and censure of the thoughtless part of the world.

James Robertson was optimistic because Francis Hay had been given 'a great character' in terms of his business ability and when interviewed by Robertson at Falmouth, Virginia, Hay had given the impression that he would be immune to 'the evil customs' of Dumfries.

For the first three weeks or a month Hay worked hard at the store, staying there in the evenings to work on his books, when he knew that Robertson would be in town. Then he met Richard Graham and 'engaged in the dissipation' of Dumfries.

> A purchase was made of a servant girl, which he kept for some time, and gaming to excess soon became common. So much addicted was he to this vice that he has lost, as I have been informed, £60 at a sitting.

Now Francis Hay gave 'little or no application' to the store and Robertson had no alternative but to 'supersede' him. Believing that his vices had been as a result of the bad company Hay had kept and were not 'constitutional', Robertson offered him a position at the store in either Petersburg or Fredericksburg. Instead Hay sued the company in Prince William County Court for damages of £750.[48]

Dumfries was at its most affluent in 1763. Then everything changed. The large numbers of ships sailing there had led to erosion of the river banks, which in turn resulted in silting of the main channel. The price of tobacco was depednet on too many factors: if the crop were successful then the market would be swamped, forcing the price in Britain down while shortage of shipping to transport the large volume of tobacco pushed up the costs; if the crop were poor then the planters would

increase their prices so reducing the market in Britain. On 5 May 1775 Thomas Jefferson recorded in his *Garden Book*: 'a frost which destroyed almost everything. It killed the wheat, rye, corn, many tobacco plants and even large saplings'. By the 1780s Dumfries was 'only a memory'.

Bishop Meade visited the town in the 1840s. He noted that although a substantial church had been built of brick in 1752

> It is not many years since the roof and walls fell to the ground. Dumfries itself, once the mart of that part of Virginia, the scene of gaiety and fashion ... is now in ruins almost as complete as that of the church. Pines have covered where the church once stood. Desolation reigns around. The old Court House was fitted up thirty or forty years ago for worship but that has long since been abandoned for want of worshippers.[49]

Other people from Dumfries & Galloway in North America

George MacMurdo from Dumfriesshire was a merchant on the Potomac River in Virginia when he married the widow Ann Stark Ravenscroft in 1750. She had a son, John. On 16 April 1751 James Corbett of Dumfries noted in his day book that William Maxwell, master of the ship *Nannie & Jenny*, had left with MacMurdo, some unsold goods, including:

500 yards brown linen @ 6½d	£15 19s 7d
150 yards check linen	£4 13s 9d
	£20 13s 4d

Two years later George and Ann returned to Scotland. Ann owned three plantations, thirty slaves and some cattle in the Chesapeake area, which brought them an income of £200 per year and they leased a farm. John had inherited from his father the Black Water and Maycox plantations and these were managed for him by his uncle Bolling Stark. Having trained as a physician in Edinburgh, John went out to Virginia in 1771, where he was bitterly disappointed by the life there and so returned to Scotland. There are further details about doctors in the Americas at the end of this section.[50]

There are several questions. Why was David Maitland of Barcaple, Kirkcudbright, at James River, Virginia when he met Susannah Poythress of Flowerdew plantation, between Richmond and Williamsburg?[51]

Life in Georgia and Jamaica: Samuel Douglas

There is no evidence about Samuel Douglas's early life but later he lived in Savannah, Georgia and owned Windsor Castle plantation in Jamaica, where he died at Charles Town in 1799. According to his will, Douglas left £10,000 towards the establishment of a school (now the Douglas-Ewart School in Newton Stewart).

There is evidence of Samuel Douglas's presence in Georgia from an account book from 1766 to 1767 for a store based in Savannah and found under the floorboards of Gelston Castle in the early 1970s. This castle belonged to the Douglas family, founders of Castle Douglas, who had connections with the plantations. According to this account book Samuel Douglas purchased on different occasions in 1767:

3 yds grey cloth, 2 yds buckram, 1 yd buckram, 2 pr. ribbed silk hose, 3 pr. Spanish knit hose, 1 black breeches piece, 1 oz silk twist, 1 knife, 5 dozen buttons, 1 pr. knee guarders, 15½ yd black snail, ¼ yd shalloon: £5 14s 0d

1 pr. purple gloves, 5yds osnaburgs, 1 black trunk, 6 gallons West India rum, 3 dozen buttons, 2 yds shalloon, ¾ yard buckram, 9 yds binding: £1 13s 7½d

368 bushels salt @ 1s 3d per bushel & 1 hogshead of West India rum containing 113 gallons at 3/6 per gallon: £42 15s 6d.

143 corn blades @ 3s per hundred: 4s 3d

1 corner cupboard £1 12s 0d

Note: buckram, osnaburgs, shalloon and snail were different kinds of cloth.

One of William Cathcart's plantations grew Indian corn and it is possible that Samuel Douglas purchased the corn blades for a similar crop.

Douglas 'inherited' the 900 acre Windsor Castle plantation in St Mary's Parish, Jamaica. In his will the neighbouring plantations are listed:

north:	Philip Redwood Esq
east:	John Speight
south:	Jonathan Forbes and John Mackay
west:	Henry Archbould Esq

The plantation included buildings, negro and other slaves, black cattle, horses, mules, sheep etc. It produced coffee and tea but if his executors thought the value would be increased then it could be converted into a sugar works.

The negro woman Francis [sic], who had been freed by Douglas, was to choose the location for a 'neat and comfortable small dwelling house' with five acres of land, to support her three slaves Cumboo, Joe and Lucretia. When the plantation was sold she would receive compensation. Alternatively she would be offered £20 Jamaican currency a year. Francis also inherited furniture, bed linen, china and cutlery and a milk cow.

The negro Tony [Tom] who had been Douglas's driver, must be freed and given the statutory £5 currency per year. He could live in a house on the plantation with enough land to grow provisions.

The remaining slaves were to have good warm clothing – the coffee plantations were located in the mountains - 'a necessary allowance of floorings', a little beef and rum on Christmas day.

Part of Samuel Douglas's network of people in the West Indies and the Americas are named in his will:

New York: George Douglas merchant

Jamaica: Alexander Forbes, physician; James & John Kirkpatrick; John Mundock, surveyor; James Thomson of Kingston, gentleman; Thomas Tucker of Spanish Town (his former clerk), gentleman

Georgia: Mrs Deborah Anderson, widow of Captain George Anderson, now living in Georgia. Her daughter Polly who had married John Wallace, merchant of Georgia in 1782

His executors in the West Indies and America were George Harrison and John Hart, merchants; Walter Pollock of St Mary, Jamaica and Colonel John Douglas of the Bahamas Islands.[52]

A West Indian Plantation

Before describing the lives of people from Dumfries & Galloway in the West Indies it is necessary to understand the hierarchy on a typical plantation.[53]

White People

Absentee proprietor; attorney; overseer; free tradespeople and bookkeepers

Slaves

Part of the general plantation workers: domestics; transporters, fishers etc.

Under the Bookkeeper:
Head skilled people, in charge of skilled people
Drivers in charge of field gangs
Boilers/distillers
Watchers

These were the respective roles of the white people:

The resident proprietor or the absentee landlord's attorney:
purchased slaves, ordered plantation supplies, superintended shipments of sugar and rum, coffee etc. They hired and fired overseers, inspected plantation records and recorded the management and productivity of the plantation.

Overseer or manager:
on a day to day basis superintended the agricultural side of the plantation, including management of the crop and its manufacture and of the slaves; ensured that the slaves were supplied with food, clothing, shelter and medical services.

White bookkeeper:
under the direction of the overseer or manager he recorded the tasks performed by the slaves, their births and deaths, the numbers of stock, any costs incurred both for supplies ordered from Britain and locally and the hire of slaves and tradesmen. Extracts from his books were forwarded to the absentee landowner at least once a year. These supplemented the regular reports from the attorney.

White artisans:
including the carpenters, millwrights, wheelwrights, masons, coopers, ropemakers and distillers either belonging to the plantation or hired for specific jobs. These people were assisted and often replaced by mulatto and black apprentices.

Medical services:
white doctors who would obtain their medical supplies annually from Britain. They were assisted by black doctors, nurses and midwives.

An efficient and trustworthy attorney was essential for the smooth-running of an estate with an absentee landowner.

Jamaica: the Stotherts of Cargen and Dundee Plantation

James Stothert had lived in Jamaica for several years before returning to Britain in 1780. His surviving letterbook starts in 1791 and it is possible that his first attorney was James Fowler of Martha Brae. He left Jamaica in July 1791 and was replaced by David Hood, who went to live in Stonefields, one of Stothert's properties at Montego Bay.

In November 1791 James Fowler wrote to James Stothert from London, 'as our transactions since you did me the favour of appointing me your attorney have been of great magnitude, I am to request the favour of you to say if my accounts are justly stated'. Stothert replied

> I have no doubt of the justness of your accounts during your management. I have formerly objected to the charge of postage £5 per annum as too high, my correspondence not being more than four or five letters in a season and some of those by private hands. Also to £15 per annum for travelling expenses, as I really am of opinion £280 is fully adequate to the trouble and expense of managing my affairs.
>
> As I well know that estates making double the quantity of produce are carried on at a far less expense than I have allowed since I left the Island, some proprietors only paying that amount to a gentleman who acts as attorney and overseer and when he is employed as sole attorney £200 currency per annum.

This uneasy relationship continued until Fowler's death in August 1792.

On 4 March 1792 Stothert wrote to Francis Grant at Trelawney, Jamaica:

> You, Sir, alarm me very much where you mention that you suspect that I am not well informed as to Mr H. The gentleman I am not at all acquainted with further than having had an excellent character of him from a gentleman in Grenada and his very nigh connection [relation] ... though for some time in the planter line yet never employed on a sugar estate. I therefore gave him a credit on London for £500 sterling that he might carry on some trade with America, expecting that he might have brought from Grenada some property, which with this might have introduced him to some business but am afraid that his several adventures have turned to little advantage.


I. OF
JAMAICA
accounted about 170 miles
long and 70 miles broad
Spanish Quarters
Sevill
P.t Fortaliza
S.t
S.t
S.t
James
Annes
Maries
S.t Georges
S.t
P.t Negrill
S.t Catharines
S.t Elizabeth
Luana P.t
P.t Pedra
Portland
S.t
Johns
Blue M.s
S.t
S.t
Thomas
P.t Morant
Clarendon
Port Royal
Andrews
Davids
S.t
S.t
Jago
Rio Montane

In his first letters to David Hood, Stothert complained in great detail about Fowler's management of the estate, as if he were attempting to train him by telling him what not to do. For example, between 31 March and 20 December 1790 Fowler had ordered provisions from Britain worth £590 and there was 'some profusion continued this year in time of crop, when seldom any necessity. When there is occasion, I am very far from wishing that the negroes should not have the necessary assistance, but not to indulge idleness and a due attention to their grounds'.

Stothert had repeatedly complained 'of the fresh beef accounts and the constant annual orders for supplies in glass and earthenware. Fourteen dozen negro hats for 1790 and eighteen dozen for 1791'.

At first it seemed that William Hood would not survive. He wrote to Stothert, forewarning him of a complaint in his liver. This was short-lived, however, and Stothert was pleased to hear that his attorney was 'well recovered of a dangerous and afflicting disorder'.

Having given David Hood an opportunity to correct the problems that he had inherited from James Fowler, in March 1792 James Stothert started to criticise his management of the plantation. He described the high mortality of slaves since Fowler had left as 'truly lamentable'. He believed that their provision grounds and houses had 'not received that attention which is surely necessary and should be the first object'. The mortality of mules and cattle was probably caused by the overseer working them too hard 'to establish his character in making great crops, though to the real loss of his employer'. Fortunately these losses had been offset by some outstanding debts and the rents of Stothert's properties at Montego Bay. Now the debts had been paid, Stothert was concerned because 'no property whatever could continue to support' such losses. He did not approve of Hood's request for a jack ass, as 'I do not believe it would answer any good purpose'.

The first crop under David Hood's management was not cut in time. 'Our best chance of yielding [good sugar] is in March and part of April and in these months sufficient strength should be hired to make a push to get off the crop in due time'. The situation deteriorated rapidly. The sugars sent off late in 1796 were 'worse than we have ever seen them the grain very soft, the colour dark'. To James Stothert's great concern, 'the affairs of Dundee seem to be in utter confusion'.

In January 1797 James Stothert responded to David Hood's 'extravagant' letter of July 1796, the latest one received from his attorney in Jamaica to date. The list of supplies needed was incomplete and included the suggestion that Stothert might be able to add items himself. 'That I should know as well as you on the spot what necessaries are wanted is shameful'. The accounts were incorrect cost 4/8 in postage, 'when if not for the laziness of yourself and bookkeepers one sheet of paper would have held the whole'. Even the number of births and deaths of the negroes was incorrect 'but that is of no estimation with you, as you reckon those dead of no value. I have much reason to be sorry for it, as they were of value to me. If otherwise with you and the doctor, little care would be taken of their lives'. He concluded, 'be so kind as inform me what title you have to a salary or to live at Stonefields'.

James Stothert employed a series of relations and sons of friends as overseers and bookkeepers on the Dundee plantation. George Carruthers was his nephew. He went to Jamaica in 1791 and for the next few years worked on sugar plantations: he was bookkeeper for George Grant at Amity Hall and Airey Castle and then at Winchester. In 1796 he was appointed overseer at Dundee 'in bad health when he came on the estate and in a dying condition when the time of making some exertion became necessary'. This had disastrous implications for the crop.

The cousins William and James Stothert had 'no manner of claim on me, but the name' yet Stothert helped them both. William was at Dundee under James Fowler who was 'imprudent enough to allow him to get considerably in my debt, of which no part will ever be recovered'. In early 1792 William was described as 'in a rapid decline'. In contrast James had 'a pretty good education and seems a modest well looking young man and hope will keep his health'. David Hood was instructed to 'keep him at Dundee as bookkeeper at the usual salary, if you are in the want. You must still give him employment till you can get him agreeably provided with some respectable overseer that will pay some attention to impudent behaviour, as well as instruction'. Hood not only gave James the job of bookkeeper but at the 'very extravagant' salary of £50.

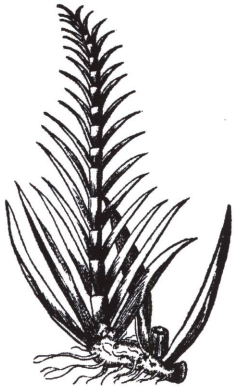
Andrew Jardine was the son of James Stothert's friend in Dumfries. He was appointed overseer but ousted by George Carruthers because he was not liked by David Hood. He appeared to be Stothert's hope for the future. The letterbook ends here.[54]

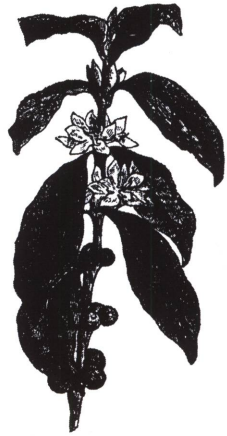
John Forrester 'having, by his industry and application to trade for a considerable number of years in the island of Jamaica, acquired to himself a considerable sum of money, or at least was believed to have done so, but at the same time finding, that, by his long stay in that Island his health was very much impaired, he was advised to return to his own country'. He arrived in October or November 1743 with a recommendation to Mr Moore at Edinburgh to be cured of a fistula[55]. Having 'in a good measure recovered' he went to Dumfries where he married Elizabeth Somerville, daughter of John Somerville, minister of the gospel at Caerlaverock, on 27 December 1743, without the formality of a marriage contract. They lived with Forrester's sister Hannah and her husband, Francis MacIntosh, at Cannaby [sic]. MacIntosh was 'a man of very low circumstances' yet he was expected to support the Forresters, their servant and a horse. Shortly afterwards Forrester fell ill 'of the disease of which he died' in late April or early May 1744.

Although the marriage had not lasted for a year and a day, Elizabeth claimed her inheritance on the basis of a long courtship, including a letter dated 21 March 1739 in which John had promised, 'I'll settle upon you, in case of death, £100 sterling per annum, to be paid upon the exchange of London'. On 28 April 1744 John had confirmed this with a deed in which he left her 'my plantation in Jamaica with the haill profits therefrom arising, all lying in the hands of Alexander MacFarlane, merchant in Kingston'.

George Bell junior, as cautioner for the MacIntoshes, was left with the unenviable task of sorting out the situation at long distance. He explained that 'what subjects' Forrester might have had in Jamaica was 'entirely unknown' to him and he had found nothing of any worth in Scotland. It was concluded that Elizabeth must go out to Jamaica, take over the plantation, sell as much as necessary to raise £666 13s 4d and live off the proceeds. Unfortunately there is no information about the end of this story.[56]

James McVicar Affleck of St Thomas in the East parish, Jamaica owned Edinghame in the parish of Urr, Kirkcudbright. After his death these lands were inherited by his son, James McVicar Affleck, who was a barrister-at-law in the Island. They had been managed by Henry Johnston Wyllie, who died in 1805.[57]





Sugar cane and coffee

Grenada: Granton Plantation

There is some uncertainty about the identity of the Johnston family in Grenada. The inventory of the Granton estate, when Alexander Johnston died in 1790, is held at the Dumfries Archive Centre, suggesting a connection with this region and Robert Johnston from Annan was a doctor in Grenada. This inventory is of particular interest because of the list of slaves.

1	John Baptist	£200	33	Wonssa	£82 10s
2	Jonathan	£200	34	Yabba	£82 10s
3	Harry	£120	35	Damasse	£82 10s
4	Bell	£100	36	Craba	£82 10s
5	Billy	£82 10s	37	Black Quashiba	£82 10s
6	Candy	£200	38	Yellow Quashiba	£100
7	John	£100	39	Bella	£85
8	Pickle	£120	40	Mary Ann	£75
9	Oben	£80	41	Phillis	£60
10	Gibson	£100	42	William	£90
11	Sancho	£90	43	Frank	£75
12	Yarrico	£90	44	Tom	£70
13	Jean Charles	£70	45	Sam	£100
14	Betty	£110	46	Ned	£90
15	Kitty	£90	47	Maccoba	£100
16	Conscience	£190	48	Saucho	£90
17	Juliette	£90	49	Sharp	£80
18	Felicite & her child	£100	50	Guy	£30
19	Betsy	£60	51	Affeba & her child	£100
20	Katty	£75	52	Ajua	£85
21	Beneba	£75	53	Venus	£85
22	Pedro	£40	54	Aqua	£75
23	Lapin	£25	55	Phillis	£75
24	Mary Jeanne	£15	56	Bella	£80
25	Mary Ann	£20	57	Jenny	£70
26	Mary Rose	£10	58	George	£50
27	Robin	£50	59	Quamino	£66
28	Cuffee	£110	60	Trim	£75
29	Cupid	£33	61	Ben	£75
30	Ophelia	£82 10s	62	Petit Quashe	£55
31	Daphne	£15	63	Bosun	£70
32	Shandy	£33	64	Abraham	£75
	Total value of slaves				£5,179 10s 0d

These include anglicised versions of names still found in the school registers of West Africa, such as Beneba, Quamino, Quashee and Quashiba. In the absence of surnames, on the plantation they were given the epithets Black, Yellow and Petit. The classic Greek names Daphne, Opehlia and Venus are mixed with Betty, Candy and Kitty. When a slave was christened they were given a new first name, and a second name. It is probable that both John Baptist and Jean Charles had been christened.

In addition to these slaves, eighteen negroes valued at £1,646 had been hired for seven months, presumably to help with the coffee crop. The standard rate was 12% of their value – on this occasion £93 12s 0d. The inventory also provides information about the estate:

250 acres land @ £33 per acre	£8,250 0s 0d
30,000 coffee trees @ 1s each	£1,500 0s 0d
dwelling house	£600 0s 0d
hardwood frame put up for a boncano [sic]	£150 0s 0d
hospital outhouses & negro houses	£85 0s 0d
14 cattle and 2 mules	£267 6s 0d
about 3,000 lb coffee in parchment	£150 0s 0d
Total	**£16,181 16s 0d**

Robert Coningham, the carpenter was owed money for his work:

finishing the joiner work of the great house	£228 0s 0d
hire of Colin 4 months & 11 days @ 6s	£14 14s 3d
3 squares 20 foot clapboarding in the back gallery @ 50/- per square	£8 0s 0d
4 sashes and frames @ 14 dollars	£23 2s 6d
1 folding door	£4 2s 6d
63 foot spouting @ 1/-	£3 3s 0d
	£281 2s 3d

Recent managers were James Ormston to December 1788 on a salary of £100, James Jesseman to November 1790 on £130 and James Johnston now on £200. There is no information about why Ormston and Jesseman left. Lodgings were required at 5s per day for Mr Hume (80 days), Mr Joice (39 days) and Mr Low for three months @ £50 per annum. They may have been resident on the estate or possibly they were hired on a short term basis to help with the inventory.

There does not appear to have been a resident doctor on the plantation. Between 22 March and 22 December 1789 Rapier & Sinclair charged £52 10s 0d for medicine and attendance on forty-eight slaves, including inoculating thirty-six of them against smallpox at £1 each.

The plantation supplies were not sent out directly from Britain but supplied by Thomas Tarleton & Co. based on the nearby island of Carriacou. These supplies included:

cloths: Scotch oznaburgs, Kendal cottons, Preston linen, hardens, calico, blue baize, handkerchiefs & thread
clothes & bedding: frocks, trousers, negro jackets, negro hats, shoes & blankets
food: dried fish, beef, rice, sugar, butter, tea, oil, black pepper, ham, Madeira wine & porter
earthenware: a coffee pot
necessaries: soap & candles
equipment: matchets [sic], cutlasses, axes, nails

They charged £5 15s 6d for building a piquet [picket fence] round Alexander Johnston's grave and £7 4s 0d for four dozen pairs of gloves given to people attending his funeral. Their total bill was £436 6s 5d. This company was connected to John Tarleton, a merchant in Liverpool.

Three people on Antigua

Money was owed to several creditors against Clouden [sic] in Galloway. In 1719 there was an enquiry into whether Thomas Rome, a merchant in Antigua but currently in Scotland, or the deceased Robert Graham, formerly provost of Dumfries, owned the best title to the estate.[58]

On 19 October 1792 William McLellan of Antigua purchased blue, superfine and black cloth, olive cassimere, silk and twist, thread and mats valued at over £72 from James Milligan & Co. of Glasgow, a partnership including William Laidlaw, a writer in Dumfries.[59]

John McCracken of Glenluce went out to Antigua with his brother. He became a plasterer and entered into partnership with a Mr Lawrence. John died in about 1800 'having in a melancholy manner been destroyed by a shark when bathing, no person being near him except a negro boy who held his horse'. John left a natural son, Thomas who was due to receive £400 to pay for his apprenticeship in the West Indies.[60]

Doctors

Several physicians and surgeons from Dumfries & Galloway went to the Americas. This list only includes a small number of them, as a sample.

Virginia:	
Dumfries	Dr James Craik of Arbigland, George Washington's physician
Norfolk	John McCaw from Newton Stewart, a surgeon apothecary
Maryland	William McWilliam from Caerlaverock, another surgeon apothecary
West Florida	Dr William Burnett from Dumfries
Jamaica	Thomas Clark, son of the minister of Kirkgunzeon, a physician, a surgeon and also His Majesty's Botanist William Graham of Mossknowe Dr James Irving
Grenada	Robert Johnston a physician from Annan

When Willielma Maxwell, the daughter of William Maxwell of Preston, was due to marry John, Lord Glenorchy, several people were involved in estimating the value of her dowry. On 15 December 1761 Sir Alexander Grant wrote to William Muire, writer to the signet in Edinburgh,

> not one shilling has, nor do I think ever can, be recovered of the late Mr Maxwell's debts in Jamaica. I made many efforts when Mr Dicker was my correspondent in that country and he recovered and transmitted all that could be got in. After his leaving that Island all posterior attempts proved unsuccessful. The debts almost all consisted of medical accounts which could not be proved, and from poor people who could not pay and therefore not worth suing at law. Nor do I believe one of them is alive. I have long despaired of recovering and so discontinued solicitation on this point. But if a copy of the list is transmitted to me, I will consider of it and give my opinion thereon. A new power may be sent out (if worthwhile). A new effort may be made as it will cost but little, and ill success will leave the affair but where it is.[61]