



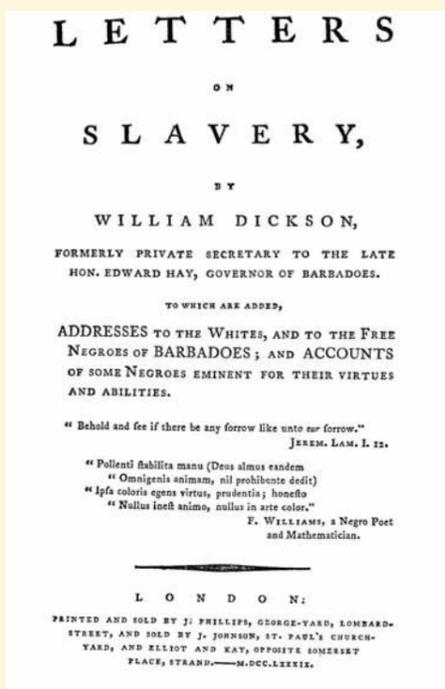
Dumfries & Galloway and the Transatlantic Slave Trade Abolition: 1792

This was not the beginning of the abolition movement. During the 1770s a Parliamentary Enquiry had taken evidence from a wide range of people, including Edgar Corrie in Liverpool. As the concern about what was happening in Africa and the Americas became widespread, several people sent petitions to their Members of Parliament, requesting that the slave trade should be abolished.

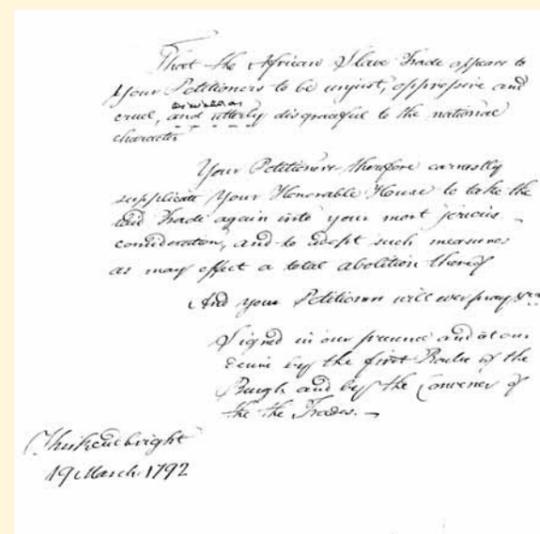
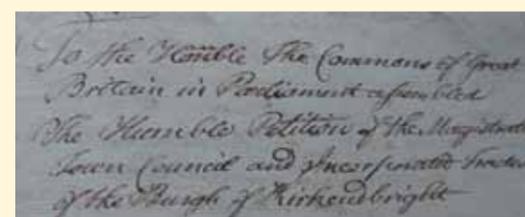
On 29 January 1792 James Stothert of Cargen wrote to David Hood, his attorney in Jamaica:

Even in North Britain, where they are in general so totally ignorant in the business, the frenzie spreads amazingly, for which great pains are taken by some individuals and religious motives are in course introduced. I am now told [Mr W] is sending copies of the evidence taken before the committee of the House of Commons to the minister of every parish, no doubt to obtain charitable contributions to carry on the Bill now depending [before Parliament]. I am sorry to add that no great spirit appears on the planters' behalf to counteract these dangerous machinations against the Colonies.

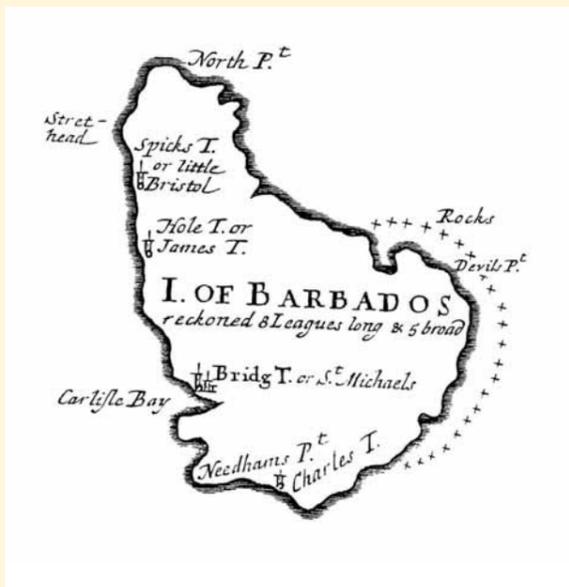
Also in January a crowd in Dumfries tried to prevent a shopkeeper from taking a cask of sugar into his house. They said that the sugar had been poisoned by the negroes and must be destroyed. The hoops were torn off the cask before it could be rescued.



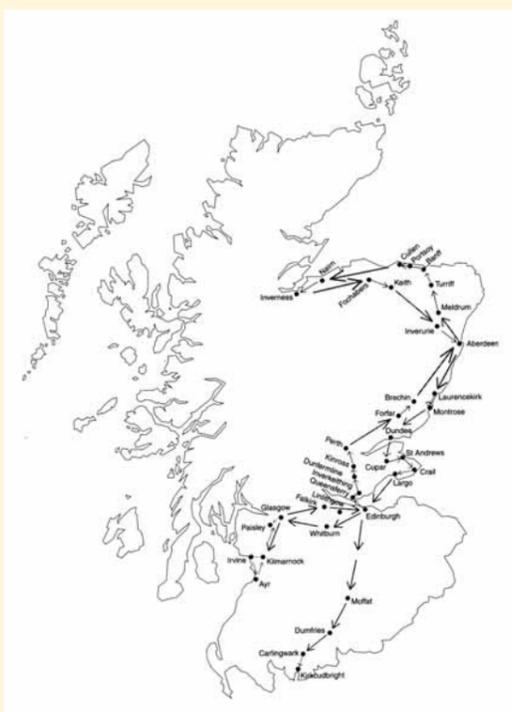
On 19 March 1792 a petition was sent from Kirkcudbright.



William Dickson went to Scotland for the Society for Abolition of the Slave Trade to encourage the widespread distribution of the *Abstract of Evidence* against the slave trade so that it would stimulate petitions from the local people. His handbook included the diagram of the *Brooks*, subsequently owned by the Tod brothers, also from Moffat.



William Dickson was born at Moffat and spent thirteen years in Barbados, where he was secretary to the governor. He experienced the slave trade at first hand and on returning to London he published a book about slavery.



That the African Slave trade appears to your petitioners to be unjust, oppressive and cruel and utterly disgraceful to the national character.

Your petitioners therefore earnestly supplicate your Honourable House to take the said Trade again into your most serious consideration, and to adopt such measures as may effect a total abolition thereof.

William Dickson died at London in July 1823, aged 71 years.

Thanks are due to several people and organisations that have provided the information and images for this exhibition. They include Birmingham City reference library, Birmingham University library, the Cumbria Record Office in Whitehaven, Dumfries Archive Centre, Dumfries Museum, the Stewartry Museum in Kirkcudbright, Manx National Heritage, National Archives of Scotland and private collections.

William Dickson's Scottish Journey,
January to March 1792
courtesy of Iain Whyte



Dumfries & Galloway and the Transatlantic Slave Trade On the African coast

The vessels could spend several weeks 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 Coast 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.

A partnership of four London merchants: Augustus Boyd, Alexander Grant, Richard Oswald and John Sargent 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 [£37 million in 21st century currency]. Cavens had belonged to William Maxwell of Preston, who owned plantations in Jamaica. There was a group of associates connected with each of the 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.



Limes

Once as many slaves as possible had been purchased, the remaining cargo on board would be used to purchase ivory or palm oil for trade and provisions to feed the slaves, and the crew, on board the vessel during the Middle Passage.

The provisions included yams, plantains and limes, and water.



In 1799 Samuel McDowal's Guineaman the *Harriott* appears to have spent nearly eighteen months on the African coast. In 1801, with a different captain, she was there for at least a year. In comparison, the Tod brothers' *Kitty's Amelia* made the whole voyage in 240 days so that she sailed from Liverpool for the Guinea coast twice in 1804.





Dumfries & Galloway and the Transatlantic Slave Trade North & South Carolina

Dr William Cathcart from Genoch near Stranraer settled in North Carolina in the 1730s. At first he did not succeed but then the money earned from practicing 'physic' during a smallpox outbreak meant that his situation was 'greatly improved'. Although John Murray of Murraythwaite had been appointed to a political position in South Carolina, he joined his brother James and his cousin David in a rice and indigo plantation. He was also involved in the importation of linens for the British Linen Company.



Agreement between John Cathcart of Genoch and his brother William dated 24 March 1737

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 ...



Location of Genoch

Letter from John Murray to Adam Smart, merchant in Antigua

We have heard that negroes are very cheap in Antigua ... 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 ... If you purchase, they must only be such as have now been six months in the West Indies ... Otherwise we will be liable to a high duty of £60 per head.



Indian Corn

In November 1764 Gabriel Cathcart wrote to his cousin Robert 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.



Rice



Dumfries & Galloway and the Transatlantic Slave Trade Dumfries & Kirkcudbright

'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]



The location of the Cape Verde Islands. The Isle of Maye is not marked. It is the island immediately to the east of Jago I.

On 16 May 1738 the *Unity* of Dumfries, James Corbitt owner and master, with a crew of eight, disembarked 81 slaves from St Kitts on the Lower James River, Virginia. It is probable that she had carried these slaves from West Africa.

Between 1750 and 1754 four vessels cleared from Dumfries with tobacco for the Isle of Maye in the Cape Verde Islands and plantation goods for Virginia. The last of these, the *Lilly* also belonged to James Corbet & Co. and the other three vessels to the Bell family of merchants. The Cape Verde Islands were a source for slaves and again it is probable that these were taken to the Americas.

The *Queensberry* with Thomas Bell as master made two of these voyages. She also carried tobacco to Europe, calling at the Isle of Man on more than one occasion. This is part of a tea cargo from Gothenburg that was landed on the Island by Anthony Malcolm and David Forbes, both originally from Dumfries. This tea was destined for the smuggling trade.

10th
Mr Anthony Malcolm on board the
Queensberry Tho Bell master 3 Chests of
Bohea and 3 Chests of Soatchon Tea
value 99^l 11^s 1^d 1/4

Extract from the Manx customs records for February 1753



The 'shipbuilding yard' marks the location of the Basil warehouse

In 1736 a company merchants applied for permission to build a warehouse and yard by the quay at Kirkcudbright. This became known as the Basil warehouse, after their ship the *Basil*, James Patton master.

Walter Lutwidge, who was a Whitehaven merchant, used this warehouse to unload and weigh his tobacco cargoes, when he felt that the customs officers at his home port were taking too great an interest in his activities. He was deeply involved in the smuggling trade.

During the late 1730s Lutwidge supplied part of the cargoes for four slave trading voyages. These are listed on the board describing the Guinea goods. There is no evidence that the voyages sailed from Whitehaven. Instead it is likely that they started from Kirkcudbright, calling at the Isle of Man for most of their cargoes. Unfortunately no port records have survived for Kirkcudbright to confirm this and the Manx customs records do not list goods exported from the island.



..In this picture the castle is to the right so that the Basil warehouse is on the left



Dumfries & Galloway and the Transatlantic Slave Trade The Granton Estate, Grenada

When Alexander Johnston died a detailed survey was made of all his assets and his debts associated with the Granton coffee plantation in Grenada. These were summarised in an inventory book. Some of the information about his slaves, his coffee trees and the supplies ordered for the plantation is included here.

Inventory and appraisement of Grants Estate & Coffee and other taken at Granton this 2^d Day of February 1796 by James Hay and Michael Lovell and Thomas Morris Esquires

1	John Baptist	£200	"	Breat Forward	2412 10 "
2	Jonathan	200	"	Cuffee	110 " "
3	Narry	120	"	Cupid	33 " "
4	Bill	100	"	Ophelia	82 10 "
5	Billy	82 10	"	Daphne	15 " "
6	Curry	200	"	Handy	33 " "
7	John	100	"	Monssa	82 10 "
8	Pichle	120	"	Yabba	82 10 "
9	Oben	80	"	Damase	82 10 "
10	Gibson	100	"	Graba	82 10 "
11	Sancho	90	"	Black Quashiba	82 10 "
12	Yarrico	90	"	Yellow Quashiba	100 " "
13	Jean Charles	70	"	Bella	85 " "
14	Betty	110	"	Mary Ann	75 " "
15	Billy	90	"	Phillis	60 " "
16	Concunna	120	"	Millyam	90 " "
17	Phillis	90	"	Styank	75 " "
18	Belita Hutchin	100	"	Tom	70 " "
19	Betty	60	"	Tom	100 " "
20	Kally	75	"	Ma	90 " "
21	Benoba	75	"	Maupla	100 " "
22	Liza	10	"	Sanche	90 " "
23	Lapin	25	"	Sharp	30 " "
24	Mary Jeanne	15	"	Grey	30 " "
25	Mary Ann	20	"	Appolathuffin	100 " "
26	Mary Ann	10	"	Yua	85 " "
27	Robin	50	"	Venus	15 " "
Carried up				£2412 10 "	Car. Forw. £4412 10 "

1	John Baptist	£200	"	Breat Forward	2412 10 "
2	Jonathan	200	"	Cuffee	110 " "
3	Narry	120	"	Cupid	33 " "
4	Bill	100	"	Ophelia	82 10 "
5	Billy	82 10	"	Daphne	15 " "
6	Curry	200	"	Handy	33 " "
7	John	100	"	Monssa	82 10 "
8	Pichle	120	"	Yabba	82 10 "
9	Oben	80	"	Damase	82 10 "
10	Gibson	100	"	Graba	82 10 "
11	Sancho	90	"	Black Quashiba	82 10 "
12	Yarrico	90	"	Yellow Quashiba	100 " "
13	Jean Charles	70	"	Bella	85 " "

This list includes anglicised versions of names still found in the school registers of West Africa, such as Cuffee, Quashiba and Yarrico. In the absence of surnames, on the plantation they were given the epithets such as Black and Yellow. The classic names Cupid, Daphne and Ophelia are mixed with Billy, Gibson and John. 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.

14	Agua	Breat Forward	4412 10 "
15	Phillis		75 " "
16	Bella		75 " "
17	Billy		30 " "
18	Jenny		70 " "
19	George		50 " "
20	William		60 " "
21	Tom		75 " "
22	Ben		75 " "
23	Petel Quash		55 " "
24	Brown		70 " "
25	Abraham		75 " "
			£5174 10 "

List of slaves



Coffee



The inventory book

..Some of the plantation supplies were provided by Thomas Tarleton & Co. Their invoice listed

- 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

250 acres Land @ £33 / acre	£8250
30,000 Coffee Trees @ 1/2 in	1500 "
Dwelling House	600 "
Two more farms put up for a benevolence	150 " "
Hospital and houses for Negroes Houses	85 " "
16 Cattle & 2 Mules	267 6 "
about 3000 lb Coffee in parchment	150 " "
£10,181 10 "	

Other assets



Dumfries & Galloway and the Transatlantic Slave Trade Guinea Goods

The slave trade ships carried cargoes of goods to exchange for slaves on the Guinea coast. These goods included a wide variety of East Indian cloths, beads, cowrie shells, brass pans (for processing palm oil), copper rods, iron bars, trade guns and gunpowder. Before 1765 the Isle of Man could provide everything required for a Guinea cargo at competitive prices. This meant that it became a 'storehouse' for the vessels sailing from Liverpool, and the Solway ports. In 1765 the English crown purchased the fiscal rights of the Island from the Duke of Atholl, to protect the interests of the English East India Company in London. After that date the Guinea goods came directly from London or from local manufacturers.



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 mainly came 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. Andrew, George and James Irving were all Guinea captains. At least two other James Irvings from the area were also based in Liverpool during the slave trading years.

Robert Gordon, related to Viscount Kenmure, had been a merchant in Liverpool before he moved to the Isle of Man. He imported Guinea goods supplied by the Dutch East India Company at Rotterdam on a regular basis.

Walter Lutwidge's scheme of a cargo to purchase 300 slaves in Angola according to three several voyages 1733 - 1737

- 6 pieces striped satin cut into 84 pieces, called sashes
 - 1,400 annavasses [annabasses]
 - 1,400 brass pans assorted
 - 100 alihabanies
 - 100 lb couries [cowries]
 - 220 blue and white chints [chintz], 18 yards each we call long cloth
 - 50 bars of iron the whole ? ton weight
 - 30 biram pants [byrampants]
 - 300 blue baffs [bafts]
 - 250 long nucanies [nicones]
 - 50 short do.
 - 150 topsails [tapseils]
 - 80 bejula pants [bejutapants]
 - 100 braules [brawles]
 - 20 blue and white photais [photaes]
 - 30 red photais
 - 350 Guinea suffs [Guinea stuffs]
 - 6 pieces Damask silk
 - 60 ounces coral
 - 12 pieces base [bays], 8 blue, 4 black, must be bought in England
 - 112 stone jugs about 6 quarters each
 - 150 dozen earthen mugs sorted for 1 pint to 3 pints
 - 68 yards of scarlet cloth
 - 40 yards blue scarlet cloth
 - 25 buccaneer guns
 - 450 muskets
 - 6 dozen cutlasses
 - 100 gross knives, single, sharp pointed like butchers knives
 - 160 cags of spirits
 - 100 cases spirits
 - 50 sillesias
 - 60 cases of gunpowder about 8 pounds each
- Note:** Goods that is well bought won't exceed £1,600 and the greatest allowance in setting out is £6 per head for the Negroes you intend to purchase.

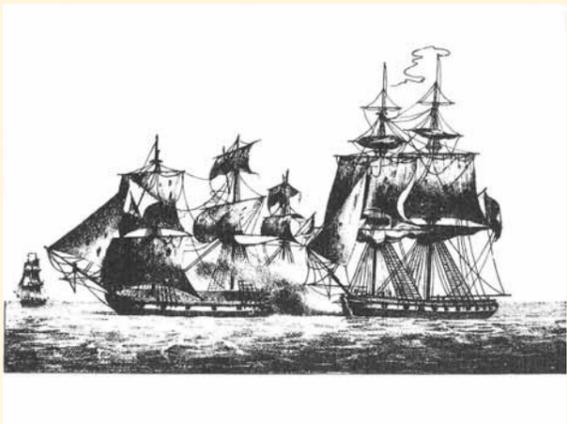
Date imported	Ship/captain	Goods, including value
2 February 1759	Zacharias, Andrew Cornelius	2 chests beads, 126 cases cowries Value £1,046 16s 1d
3 March 1759	Peter & Johannes, Cornelius Wartl	5 chests containing 500 bafts Value £637 14s 7d
8 August 1760	William & Elizabeth, Jan Gilberds	5 bales containing 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



Dumfries & Galloway and the Transatlantic Slave Trade Four Voyages of the *Kitty's Amelia*

Originally the *Young Amelia*, this French ship was captured by the slaver *Kitty* 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.



Fight at Sea (from Hugh Crow's *Memoirs*)

Thomas Nuttall was captain of the *Kitty's Amelia* for her first three voyages.

Voyage 1

She sailed from Liverpool on 13 February 1804 in company with two other Guineamen. On the 16th they survived an encounter with a large French warship. 286 slaves were sold at St Kitts and Havana and the *Kitty's Amelia* returned to Liverpool on 10 October 1804.

Voyage 2

Soon the *Kitty's Amelia* was ready for sea again, sailing from Liverpool on 3 December 1804. On this occasion she was accompanied by the *Prudence*, Charles Christian captain, also owned by the partnership. There was an attempted mutiny on board but when he appealed to the navy to arrest the ringleaders Nuttall was accused of overloading the *Prudence* with slaves. He was cleared at the court case in St Kitts. In the meantime, the *Prudence* had been sold and Thomas Forrest, the mate, had taken the *Kitty's Amelia* home. She arrived at Liverpool on 9 November 1805.



This picture was pasted at the front of a 1st edition of *The Memoirs of the Late Captain Hugh Crow* published by his executors on 1830

Voyage 3:

With Thomas Nuttall back in Liverpool, the *Kitty's Amelia* sailed again on 6 May 1806. Letters were waiting for the captain at Barbados, advising him of the best market for his slaves. Having evaded capture by a privateer, the *Kitty's Amelia* arrived at Trinidad on 23 October. Nuttall stayed behind to collect money owed for the sale of the slaves and the ship returned to Liverpool on 20 April 1807 with Thomas Forrest, the mate, as captain.



Voyage 4

Thomas Forrest had expected to command the *Kitty's Amelia* on her next voyage but when Captain Hugh Crow arrived in Liverpool the partnership asked him to take charge of their ship. Problems between the two men led to a formal enquiry and Forrest was confined to the cabin – he died on the voyage.

Because of the imminent abolition of the slave trade, the *Kitty's Amelia* had not been cleaned properly and some casks of damp goods from the previous voyage, when the ship was 'sickly' had remained on board. As soon as these were opened, an ague spread throughout the ship – several of the crew and the slaves died.

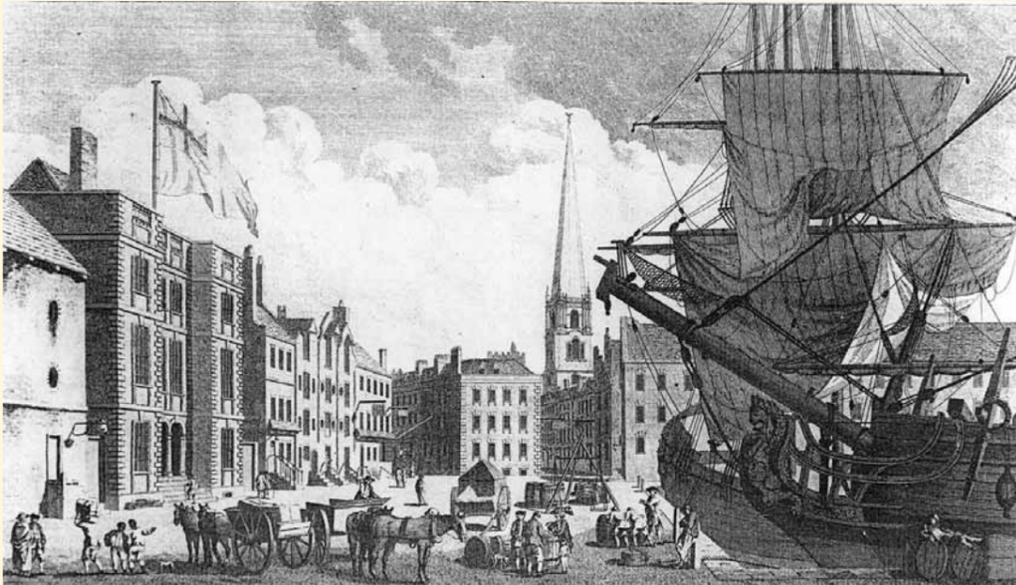
Hugh Crow sold his slaves at Jamaica and then stayed there to collect the money owed to the partnership.

The *Kitty's Amelia* returned to Liverpool on 29 June 1808.

Dumfries & Galloway and the Transatlantic Slave Trade Liverpool Merchants

'At least five Scots managed Liverpool slaving firms' [David Hancock *Scots in the Slave Trade* 2001]. His list included George Campbell, Thomas Chalmers, Thomas Dunbar, Edward Forbes and Samuel Shaw.

Samuel McDowal of Wigtown and Robert and George Tod of Moffat can be added to this list. These merchants undertook sixty Guinea voyages from Liverpool between 1795 and 1807.



Liverpool Custom House and the Old Dock from Trafford's Wient, 1774

The Tod brothers lived in Redcross Street. In partnership with Henry Clarke these merchants were involved in sixteen voyages from Liverpool during the last five years of the Guinea trade. The slaves were sold both in the West Indies (eight voyages) and South America (three voyages).

In 1804 they owned the *Brooks*, pictured in the section on the Middle Passage. This ship was 23 years old when she sailed from Liverpool to Angola, where the captain purchased 322 slaves. Two slaves died on the voyage to Montevideo. She was now unfit to travel any further and so the crew returned to Liverpool on different vessels.

They also owned the *Kitty's Amelia* who with the Manxman Hugh Crow as her captain was the last Guinea ship to sail from Liverpool before abolition of the slave trade.

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 near Dumfries, 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 for sale to the plantations there.



Wolstenholme Square about 1769

Samuel McDowal, described as 'one of the principal ship-owners in Liverpool', lived in Wolstenholme Square, where several of the Guinea merchants had built their houses in the 1750s and 1760s. His offices were in Parr Street.

Between 1795 and 1807 McDowal was involved in forty-four Guinea voyages. 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).

It is impossible to work out how much money Samuel McDowal made from these 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.



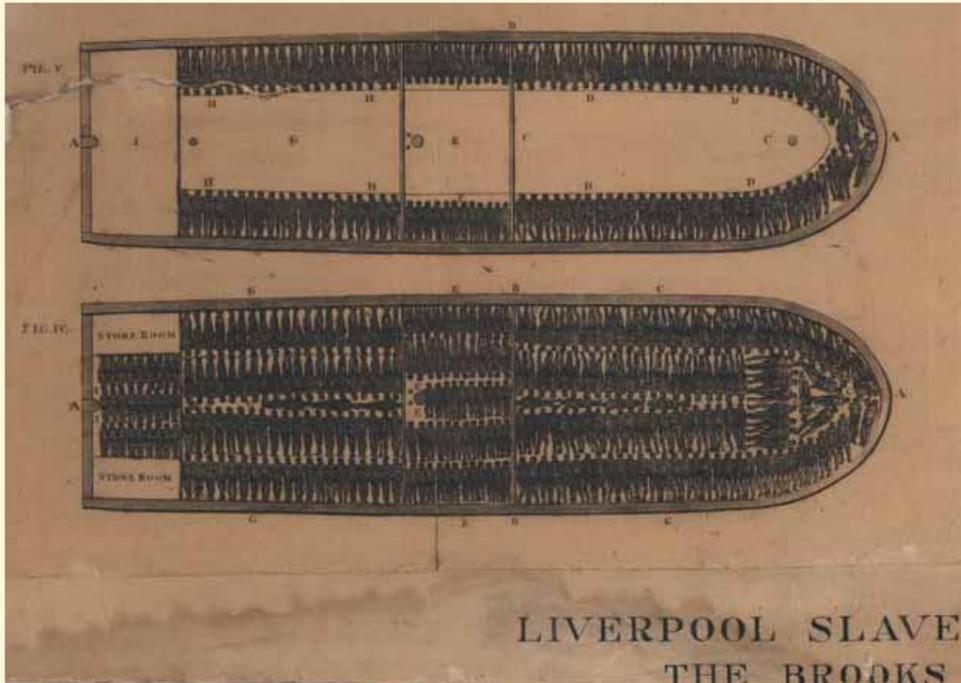
Location of Trinidad and Surinam

Eleven of the Tod brothers' vessels delivered their slaves to the Americas successfully. Eight of these cargoes were sold in the West Indies: three at Jamaica, two at Martinique, one each in St Bartholomew, St Kitts and Trinidad. The remaining three cargoes were sold in South America: two at Surinam and one at Montevideo.

Dumfries & Galloway and the Transatlantic Slave Trade

The Middle Passage

Once they had collected their cargo of slaves, provisions and water, the Guineamen set off across the Atlantic Ocean on the Middle Passage. This was the most difficult part of the voyage because of the large numbers of slaves on board. Hugh Crow described how they were treated to ensure that they were in the best possible good condition for the markets in the Americas. 'Ecclefechanus', the doctor's mate on board the *Lord Cassils* of Liverpool for her voyage in 1771/1772, sent the description of a slave 'insurrection' on board the ship to *The Dumfries Weekly Journal*. Unfortunately it has not been possible to identify him.



The Middle Passage has become synonymous with this picture of the *Brooks*, which was included in the booklets about the slave trade that were distributed by William Dickson of Moffat on his journey from Inverness to Kirkcudbright in 1792. This vessel was purchased by the Liverpool merchants the Tod brothers, also from Moffat and undertook one voyage for them in 1804.

Hugh Crow described how the slaves on board the *Kitty's Amelia* were treated.

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.

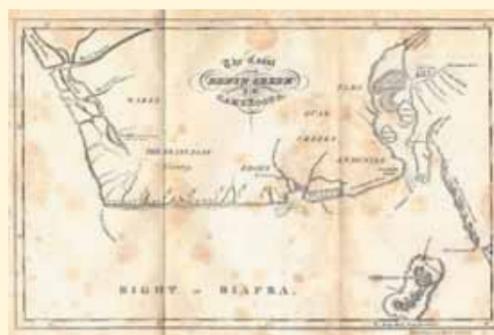
About eleven, if the day were fine, they washed their bodies all over, and after wiping themselves dry were allowed to use palm oil, their favourite cosmetic. Pipes and tobacco were then supplied to the men, and beads and other articles were distributed amongst the women to amuse them, after which they 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.

'Ecclefechanus' was the doctor's mate on board the *Lord Cassils* of Liverpool. This is his description of an insurrection on board the ship during the Middle Passage.

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.



Hugh Crow's map showing Calabar in the north-east corner

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.

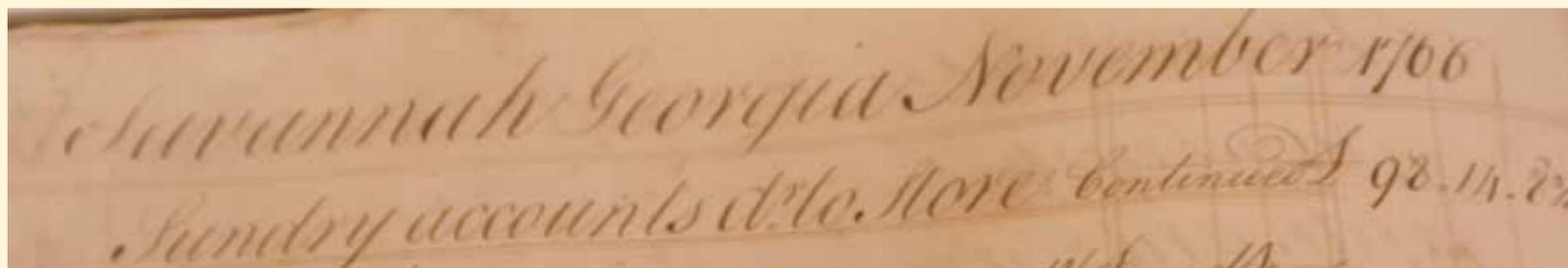
The cabin-boy had conveyed away the keys of the arm-chest, which caused still more confusion. After we had broke it open, and got to the arms we fired briskly upon them. Our chief mate, carpenter, and three others, were lying bleeding [sic] at our feet, being wounded, when briskly engaged in firing at 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 fore-castle, shot through the right breast, and a few others mortally wounded.



Dumfries & Galloway and the Transatlantic Slave Trade Supplies for the Plantations

The Plantations were not self-sufficient. Instead supplies were sent from Britain in the vessels that would take home the tobacco or sugar and rum. There are examples here of the goods sent out to the Americas either to supply a particular plantation or for sale in a general store.

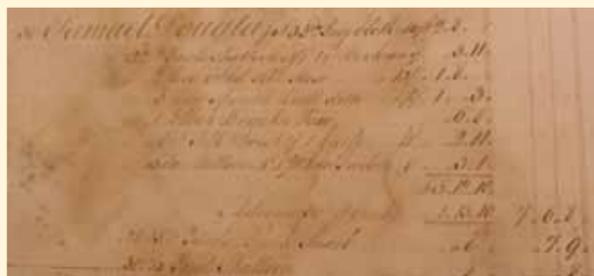


Account book for a store in Savannah, Georgia

A store in Savannah, Georgia, probably owned by a member of the Douglas family from Gelston, supplied a wide range of people with goods for cash. These included Samuel Douglas, who owned property in Georgia and later the Windsor Castle plantation in Jamaica. An endowment from Douglas helped to set up the Douglas-Ewart school in Newton Stewart.

There were stores in many of the main centres, providing for the needs of a large number of plantations. Daniel Payne at Dumfries, Virginia, had a wide range of goods in his store, which were purchased in return for the tobacco that he sold to the vessels that supplied the next season's store goods.

Sometimes these supplies were ordered by a particular plantation. For example, James Stothert of Cargen expected his attorney to send a list of what was required at Dundee. He wrote to David Hood in 1797, 'that I should know as well as you on the spot what necessaries are wanted is shameful'.



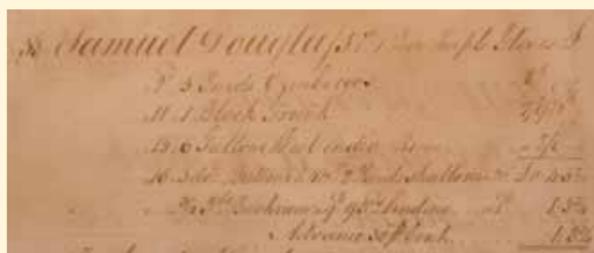
Goods purchased by Samuel Douglas from the store in Savannah, Georgia

Rum and again Rum, Spirits, French brandy, Geneva, Strong beer from Bristol, salt, sugar, white and brown, Bohea tea, Flower 16/6 the double hundredweight, scissors, brimstone for Geo. Calvert, 3 sticks hair, china, wineglasses, Lady's stays, tortoise shell and horn combs, coffee pots, seales and pencils, Calimance shoes, Window glass at 10d. the pane, Glass crewetts, 1/3, Blankets, Nutmeg graters, spices, German serge, brushes, shoe brushes, fine wool cards, sateen, Prayer Books 7/6, Silk Romalls, Porrhngers, 5/0, Pewter Tankards, London Buck breeches, Beaver hatts, Thimbles 0/4, Spelling Books, Teapot, Shammy skins, Men's Beaversette, Writing Paper, Shoe buckles, Wigs, Osnabrigs, single girths, 500 pins 1/0, Tin Sauce pans, 3 grosse pipes, Linen handkfs., Women's shoes, Silk lace, Black crape, Black gloves, 1 doz. hair bulbs, Coffee, fine Chintz, Woman's furr hatt, Spice Mortar and Pestle, Candlesticks, Skillett, Chocolate, Black jack, Cat lines, linen sheeting, Powder, drop shot, Razors, 2/6, draw locks, Chest locks, Carlisle Perch hooks, Green rugs, Penknives, butcher knives, Nonespretty, Spectacles and cases, Barras wrappers, Plain Bibles, Catteau, Mohair butts, Dowlas, Harrows, silk handkfs., Steel plate, Bar iron, Iron potts, Stilyards, Chizzels, Maddox, files, Nenekken, Shirts cuffs, Stone jugs, Great coats, Inkpots, Torrington ruggs, 7/6, fine figured ribbon, Belladine thread, Boy's saddle and furniture, Pocket bottles 0/8, Punch bowls, scissors, gilt coat buttons, Vest plated buttons, 3/9, Blue Cloth, Watch, 4/5/5, Rings, Men's shoes, Swanskin, Blue binding, Snaffle bridles, Quilted coats, Allspice, Pepper, School books, Garters, Damask, plaid hose, Cordage, Gunn flints, Groceries, Cheezes, grindstones, nails, Hose, Frying pans, Hawwers, Cloth, thread, Bearskin, Ribbon, Indigo, Butts, Bar lead, Hatts, Irish Linen.

Goods for sale in Daniel Payne's store at Dumfries, Virginia

The Granton plantation in Grenada purchased supplies from stores in the West Indies managed by the Manxman Patrick Kewley and by Thomas Tarleton & Co., connected with the major slave trading merchant John Tarleton of Liverpool.

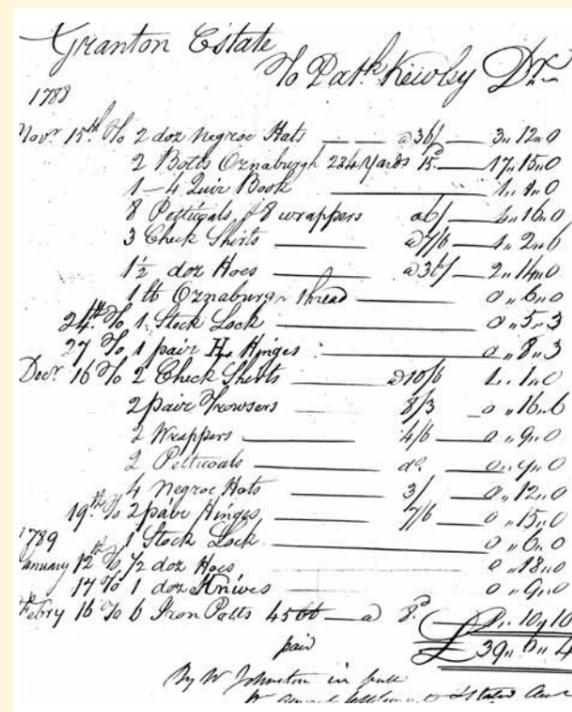
The Tarletons supplied the picket fence that was put round Alexander Johnston's grave.



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.

The Queensberry's cargo from Dumfries to Virginia in 1750

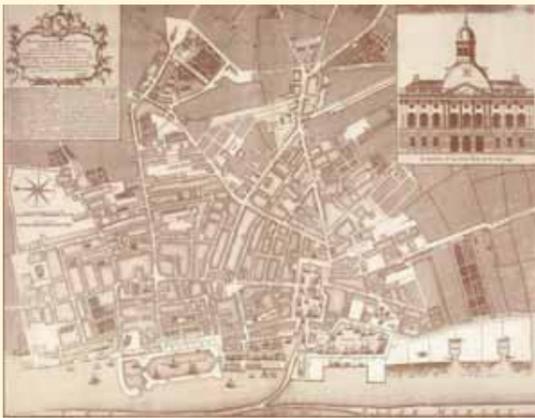


Patrick Kewley's account with the Granton estate

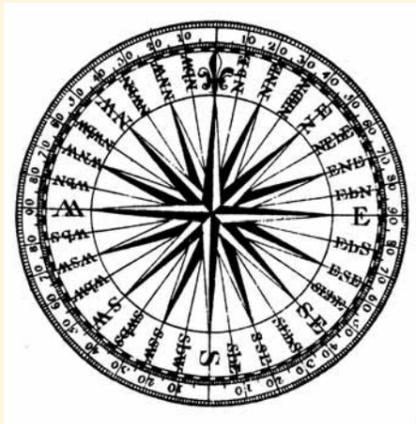


Dumfries & Galloway and the Transatlantic Slave Trade The Triangular Trade

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'. This exhibition describes the role played by people from Dumfries & Galloway in the trade from the merchants to the captains and crews and to the planters.



Liverpool was the principal slave trading port in Europe. Samuel McDowal from Wigtown and the brothers George and Robert Tod from Moffat took part in sixty Guinea voyages between 1795 and 1807 and Edgar Corrie of Dumfries acted as an agent to the owners of the plantations in the Americas.



Samuel McDowal employed his cousin, Alexander Cowan of Wigtown as one of the captains of his Guineamen. Cowan's nephew, Samuel Robinson sailed on board McDowal's ship the *Lady Nelson*.



Thomas Melville junior was employed as a factor on the African coast and a partnership including four Scottish merchants based in London and with connections to Dumfries & Galloway traded from Bance Island in the Sierra Leone River.

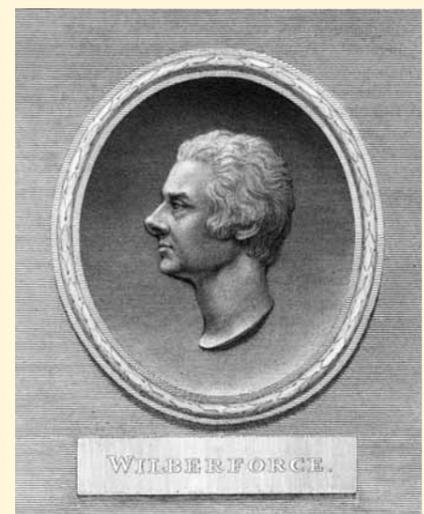


Plantation owners in North America, the West Indies and South America purchased slaves to work their crops. John Graham established Dumfries in Virginia, based on the tobacco trade; in the Carolinas Dr William Cathcart of Genoch near Stranraer grew tobacco and Indian corn and John Murray of Murraythwaite hoped to establish indigo and rice; in Jamaica James Stothert of Cargen made sugar and rum from his cane and in Grenada Alexander Johnston owned a coffee plantation.



Two views of abolition.

'The abolition of the slave trade is one of the most important events in the history of British legislation. It is a test by which to measure the debasement or exaltation of moral feeling; it enables us to ascertain our progress in civilization, and so estimate the advantages which it confers on society; it affords a triumphant proof that private patriotism has been the source of public philanthropy; for on the foundation laid by Granville Sharpe, we behold the dignified and successful labours of Wilberforce'. [1809]



In 1792 William Dickson of Moffat journeyed from Inverness to Kirkcudbright, distributing leaflets about the slave trade. The 'frenzy' of philanthropy produced petitions from the synod of Dumfries (1788) and Kirkcudbright town council (1792).

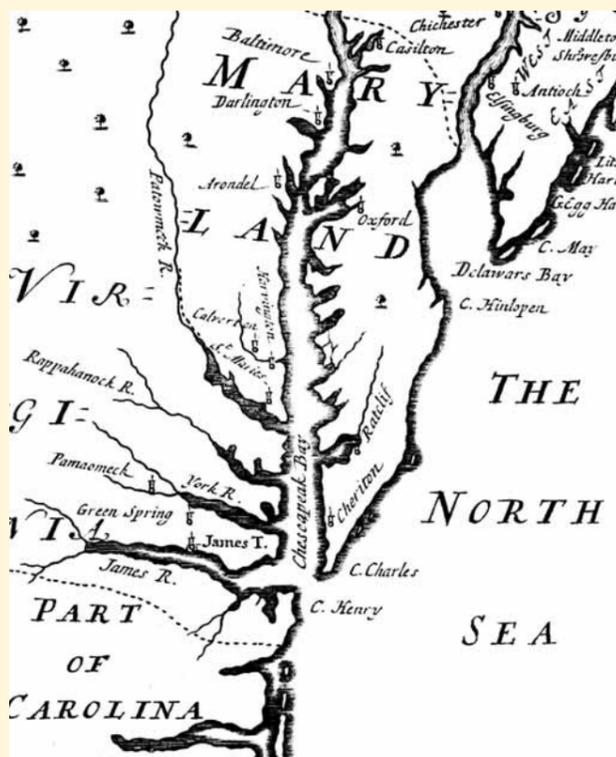
Men like James Stothert were opposed to abolition but defeated by the general apathy on the part of their fellow plantation owners.

Dumfries & Galloway and the Transatlantic Slave Trade Dumfries, Virginia

John Graham from Dumfriesshire owned a tobacco plantation on the Quantico Creek, off the Potomac River in Virginia. As the area developed into a major tobacco trading region, there was an urgent need for an official centre. Graham gave 60 acres of his land for the formation of a town and port. This was called Dumfries. It received a charter in 1749 and soon afterwards was the second largest port in North America. After a heyday in 1763, the area declined and by the 1780s Dumfries was 'a mere memory'.

John Graham, Peter Hedgman, William Fitzhugh, George Mason, Joseph Blackwell, Richard Blackburn and Thomas Harrison were appointed as the directors and trustees of Dumfries 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 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 ...



All the tobacco from the British plantations had to be imported into Britain first, and the duties paid, before it could be exported to the large tobacco market in Europe, based on the smuggling trade.

Kirkcudbright and Dumfries were both tobacco ports during the middle years of the eighteenth century. This tobacco was exported to Scandinavia, Holland or France where it was transhipped on to smaller vessels and taken to the Isle of Man or directly to the Solway, where it was smuggled on shore. Despite the costs of the voyage to Europe, the charges there and the costs of the return voyage, the tobacco was still less expensive than it would have been after paying the heavy import duties. Several merchants made their fortunes in the tobacco trade.



Several of the Glasgow tobacco firms had stores in Dumfries where goods sent out on their ships were used to purchase tobacco. Francis Hay was appointed to manage the store for William Cuninghame & Co.

'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'.

For the first few weeks Hay worked hard at the store and 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'.

As a result, Francis Hay was 'superseded'.

