

Table of Contents

Introduction	2
Aberdeen and Aberdeenshire	3
Angus.....	5
Arbroath, Angus.....	6
Argyll and Bute	8
Ayrshire	9
North Ayrshire	11
Clackmannanshire	14
Dundee	15
Dumfries and Galloway.....	17
East Lothian	19
Edinburgh.....	20
Edinburgh, National Museums Scotland	22
Edinburgh.....	23
Falkirk.....	27
Glasgow	29
University of Glasgow	32
Highland	33
Inverclyde.....	38
Moray and Na h-Eileanan Siar (Western Isles)	40
Orkney Islands	42
Perth.....	43
Perthshire, The Case of Joseph Knight.....	44
Perthshire.....	46
Renfrewshire	47
Scottish Borders	48
Shetland Islands.....	49
Stirling.....	52

Introduction

This collection of primary sources relating to the topic “The trade in enslaved Africans, 1770-1807” is intended to inspire new approaches to teaching. This collection is by no means exhaustive; many more objects, documents, oral histories, heritage sites, and archaeological remains link Scotland and Scottish people to the histories of the transatlantic slave trade. However, it is intended to demonstrate that these histories can be found Scotland-wide, not just in the port cities or grand country houses typically associated with colonial trade.

We also wanted to shift some focus away from “Tobacco Lords” towards the lives of enslaved people. Most records tell us very little about their culture, politics, or religious practices. However, careful reading and attention to other forms of evidence, testimonies, such as objects, songs, and artwork, can help us to better understand the worlds of enslaved people, who were taken from West African societies, forced to labour in the Caribbean, and struggled against their enslaved status.

Notes on classroom use

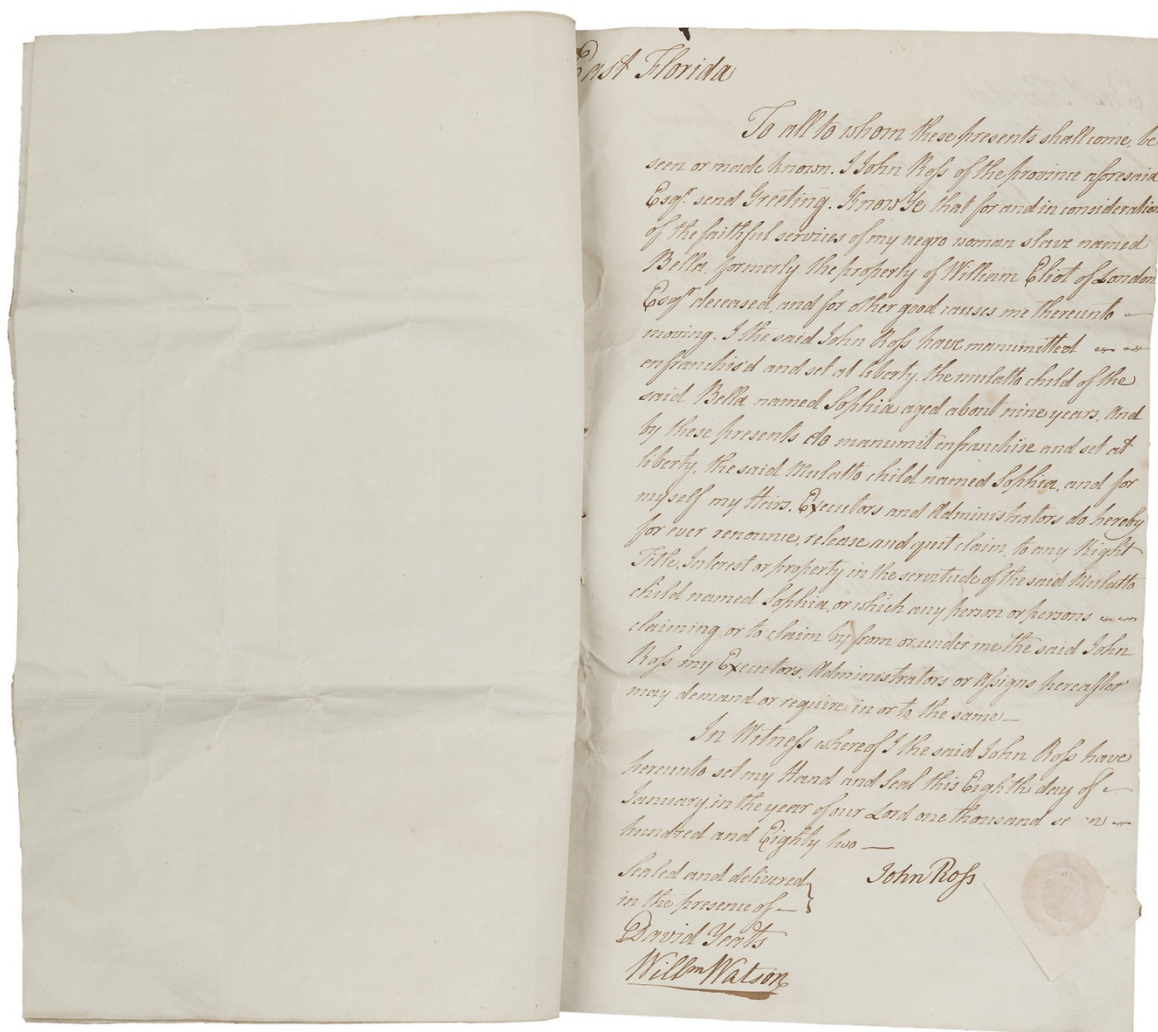
These documents contain words which are now unacceptable. The historical terms used in these documents (such as the racial category “negro”) were considered acceptable at the time but are not now. They were used as part of a system which demeaned and belittled Africans and people of African descent. They can easily be mis-used today to perpetuate racism and bullying. So how can we handle documents that use these terms in the classroom?

Contextualise: the first step is to explain that language matters and that the terms we use have an impact on everyone around us.

Empower: ask the class how they would like to tackle these words, would they prefer them to be removed from the sources, would they like to be warned that there will be racist and upsetting language, would they like guidance on resources to tackle racism?

Reflect: allow the opportunity for reflection on the difficult feelings and ideas that have been raised in the classroom.

Aberdeen and Aberdeenshire



Certificate of freedom from slavery for a child called Sophia, 1782

University of Aberdeen, Special Collections

To find out more see:

<https://exhibitions.abdn.ac.uk/university-collections/exhibits/show/los/caribbean/descendants>

Questions

Why was this certificate of freedom created?

What does it tell you about John Ross?

What might have happened to Sophia?

A List of Slaves upon Georgia Estate 1 st Jan ^y 1788						List continued					
Men	Employ	Condition	Men	Employ	Condition	Women	Employ	Condition	Women	Employ	Condition
1 Prince	Man	old & healthy	40 Tylus	Field	young & able	2 Rose	Field	old & weakly	51 Nancy	Invalid	old & king evil
2 York	do	do	41 Lorn	do	do & healthy	9 Phyllis	do	do & do	52 Charlotte	do	do & do
3 Harlequin	Carpenter	do	42 Andrus	do	do & do	10 Sophia	do	do & do	53 Betty	do	do & do
4 Bob	do	do	43 Peter	do	do & do	11 Sumor	do	do & do	Boys		
5 Tom	do	do	44 Glasgow	do	do & do	12 Topsy	do	do & do	1 Peter	Field	Ab. able
6 Tuscan	do	do & weakly	45 Tith	do	do & do	13 Elizabeth	do	do & do	2 Brutus	do	Ab. do
7 Aaron	do	do & do	46 Primus	do	do & do	14 Sally	do	do & do	3 Frank	do	Ab. do
8 Brick	do	do & do	47 Aberdeen	do	do & do	15 Hannah	do	do & do	4 Agatha	do	Ab. do
9 King	do	do & do	48 Cato	do	do & do	16 Phineas	do	do & do	5 John	do	Ab. do
10 Coffee	Cook	do & do	49 Cudjoe	do	do & do	17 Topsy	do	do & do	6 Milton	do	Ab. do
11 Cupid	do	do & do	50 Guy	do	do & do	18 Bella	do	do & do	7 Sami	do	Ab. do
12 Bucken	do	do & do	51 Teph	do	do & do	19 Sarah	do	do & do	8 Daman	do	Ab. do
13 Scotland	do	do & do	52 Jack	do	do & do	20 Lucy	do	do & do	9 James	do	Ab. do
14 Billy	do	do & do	53 Torra	do	do & do	21 Kitty	do	do & do	10 Nettle	do	Ab. do
15 Compy	Cattleman	old & healthy	54 Cato	do	do & do	22 Phyllis	do	do & do	11 Quashie	do	Ab. do
16 Joe	do	do & do	55 Tryden	do	do & do	23 Betty	do	do & do	12 Abby	do	Ab. do
17 Tom	do	do & do	56 David	do	do & do	24 Pallas	do	do & do	13 Ballantine	Cattle-boy	Ab. do
18 Wolfe	do	do & do	57 George	do	do & do	25 Aminda	do	do & do	14 Adam	do	Ab. do
19 John	do	do & do	58 Thomas	do	do & do	26 Hannah	do	do & do	15 Harry	do	Ab. do
20 Harry	Blacksmith	young & able	59 Caesar	do	do & do	27 Cathia	do	do & do	16 Charles	do	Ab. do
21 Dick	Driver	old & healthy	60 Edinburgh	do	do & do	28 Admonia	do	do & do	Girls		
22 Fender	do	do & do	61 Bang	do	do & do	29 Eliza	do	do & do	1 Martha	Field	Wife able
23 Quace	do	do & do	62 Sam	do	do & do	30 Cherry	do	do & do	2 Bide	do	Ab. do
24 Homer	Field	old & do	63 Mill	do	do & do	31 Dauphney	do	do & do	3 Lilly	do	Ab. do
25 Jan	do	do & do	64 Jupiter	do	do & do	32 Cucka	do	do & do	4 Diana	do	Ab. do
26 Leith	do	do & do	65 Bollen	do	do & do	33 Maria	do	do & do	5 Julia	do	Ab. do
27 Murray	do	do & do	66 Paul	do	do & do	34 Flora	do	do & do	6 Pusey	do	Ab. do
28 Kintch	do	do & do	67 bullin	do	do & do	35 Phasa	do	do & do	7 Eliza	do	Ab. do
29 Chester	do	do & do	68 Sander	do	do & do	36 Clarinda	do	do & do	8 Molly	do	Ab. do
30 Othello	do	do & do	69 Vulcan	do	do & do	37 Pamela	do	do & do	9 Eric	do	Ab. do
31 Apollo	do	do & do	70 Julius	do	do & do	38 Nanny	do	do & do	10 Penny	do	Ab. do
32 Bedford	do	do & do	71 Murren	do	do & do	39 Gatta	do	do & do	11 Mary	do	Ab. do
33 Jasper	do	do & do	72 Rea	do	do & do	40 Martilla	do	do & do	12 Panny	do	Ab. do
34 Joseph	do	do & do	73 L. Prince	do	do & do	41 Marina	do	do & do	13 Patty	do	Ab. do
35 Richmond	do	do & do	Women			42 Silvia	do	do & do	14 Eliza	do	Ab. do
36 Mercury	do	do & do	1 Jenny	House	young & able	43 Sukey	do	do & do	15 Betsy	do	Ab. do
37 Cornwall	do	do & do	2 Alice	Washer	do & do	44 Annimica	do	do & do	16 Susan	do	Ab. do
38 Hamilton	do	do & do	3 Bineba	do	do & do	45 Sue	do	do & do	17 Dauphney	do	Ab. do
39 Simon	do	do & do	4 Esther	Cook	old & healthy	46 Princep	do	do & do	18 James	do	Ab. do
			5 Queen	Field	old & weakly	47 Amelia	do	do & do	List contin		
			6 Harriet	do	old & do	48 Countess	do	do & do			
			7 Belinda	do	do & healthy	49 Mumba	do	do & do			
						50 Peggy	do	do & healthy			

List of people enslaved on the Georgia Estate, Jamaica which was owned by the Gordon family of Cairness House, Aberdeenshire.

University of Aberdeen, Special Collections

To find out more see:

<https://exhibitions.abdn.ac.uk/university-collections/exhibits/show/los/caribbean/enslavers>

Questions

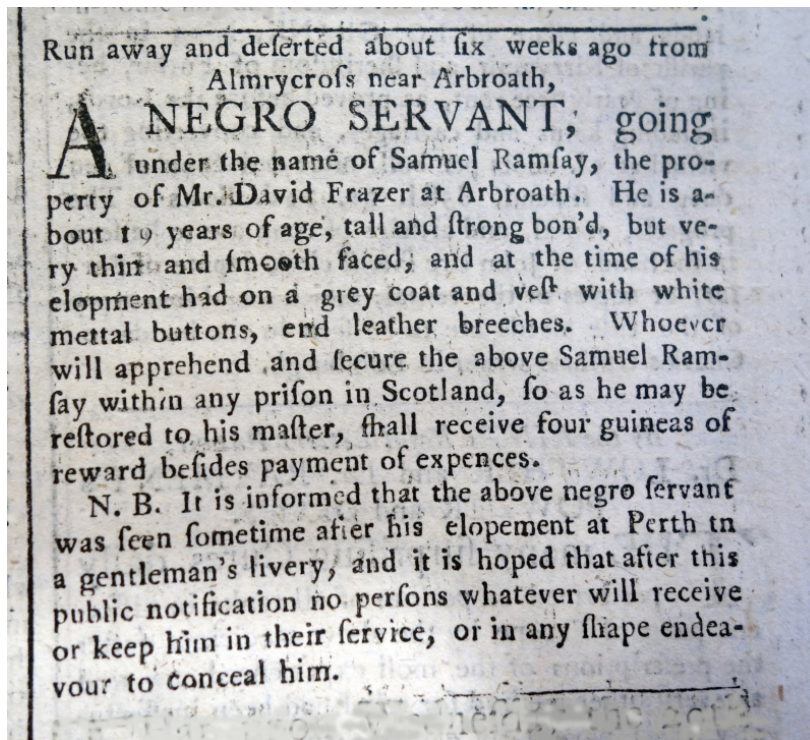
What does this list tell you about the enslaved person named Aberdeen?

Who made lists like this and why?

What would you like to know about the people on this list?

Angus

From the British Library Collection: *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 6 September 1760



“Run away and deserted about six weeks ago from Almrycross, near Arbroath,

A NEGRO SERVANT, going under the name of Samuel Ramsay, the property of Mr. David Frazer at Arbroath. He is about 19 years of age, tall and strong bon'd, but very thin and smooth faced, and at the time of his elopement had on a grey coat and vest with white mettall buttons end leather breeches. Whoever will apprehend and secure the above Samuel Ramsay within any prison in Scotland, so as he may be restored to his master, shall receive four guineas of reward besides payment of expences.

N.B. It is informed that the above negro servant was seen sometime after his elopement at Perth in a gentleman's livery, and it is hoped that after this public notification no persons whatever will receive or keep him in their service, or in any shape endeavour to conceal him.”

This is the second advertisement placed for Samuel. The first was shorter, described him as about 18 years of age and offered “twenty shillings sterling” as a reward. See, <https://runaways.gla.ac.uk/database/display/?rid=8>

Questions

What was the difference between twenty shillings and four guineas in 1760?

What could that amount of money have bought then?

What do they think Samuel Ramsay has done?

Arbroath, Angus

Thomas Smith, *A narrative of an unfortunate voyage to the coast of Africa in the Ann Galley of London with Remarks on the Slave Trade* (1813)

<https://digital.nls.uk/antiquarian-books-of-scotland/archive/120564108#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=12&xywh=-305%2C-1%2C1659%2C1839>

The author of this short book, Thomas Smith, was a sailor from Arbroath. In this, he describes his first experience of the transatlantic slave trade, which ended with a revolt on-board the ship. This excerpt about the revolt might need some explanation of the spelling (which was not yet settled into its modern forms) and the language. But it gives a very good description of a plot to overthrow the crew of a slaver. Smith suspects that an African trader, friendly with the ship's captain, aided the rebels.

Excerpt

“so the next day when we were all at dinner, (the plot being conserted) a ... boy that we had on board, caught hold of the cooks hatchet, and went with it in hand, away unnoticed through the Barakheada door in among the slaves; and then the fatal catastrophe instantly began ; for on one of the guns they laid their irons, and opened the forelock of them, which set a number of them loose upon us at once. However before that this awful affair took place, some ideas were entertained, that they intended some thing like a raising, and this being the case, we were in a manner half prepared.

As soon as they made their appearance, the sailors started forward with billets of wood in their hands, and beat down almost every one of them that made their appearance; and a dreadful havock this was indeed. The consternation that prevailed throughout the ship, is beyond my weak abilities to describe.—

In the midst of this affray, I myself was knocked down...

soon after this was over, we observed them cut the' cable of the ship, and away she run oft in her own accord along with the current; and in a short time after they all turned mad, and threw every article over board, the vessel still dragging away with the violence of the waves. At this time there was not a vessel to be seen, but one Brig that belonged to the Brazils, on board of which we put all our wounded men, and the rest of the crew, went again in persuit of the ship, thinking to recover her, but in that enterprize all our efforts were rendered abortive. This was the total loss of the excellent ship, the Ann Galley, commanded by David Adam, Esq.”

Notes

This text contains a wealth of useful details on different aspects of the slave trade, including, details of the Ann Galley's cargo, descriptions of Africans on the coast, some details about how people were enslaved and a description of defences on-board the ship.

After this description of a slave revolt, the author is quartered on a Brazilian ship, treated by a doctor of African origin, and eventually makes a transatlantic slave trading

voyage. He provides a very detailed description of the journey and the cruelties endured by the enslaved. From this experience he becomes an abolitionist and he appends his thoughts on the slave trade.

This extract refers to a slave trading voyage, ID number 75063, listed in www.slavevoyages.org

Slave Voyages also hosts a 3D reconstruction of a slave ship, which highlights some of the features mentioned in this account:

<https://www.slavevoyages.org/voyage/ship#3dmodel/0/en/>

Questions

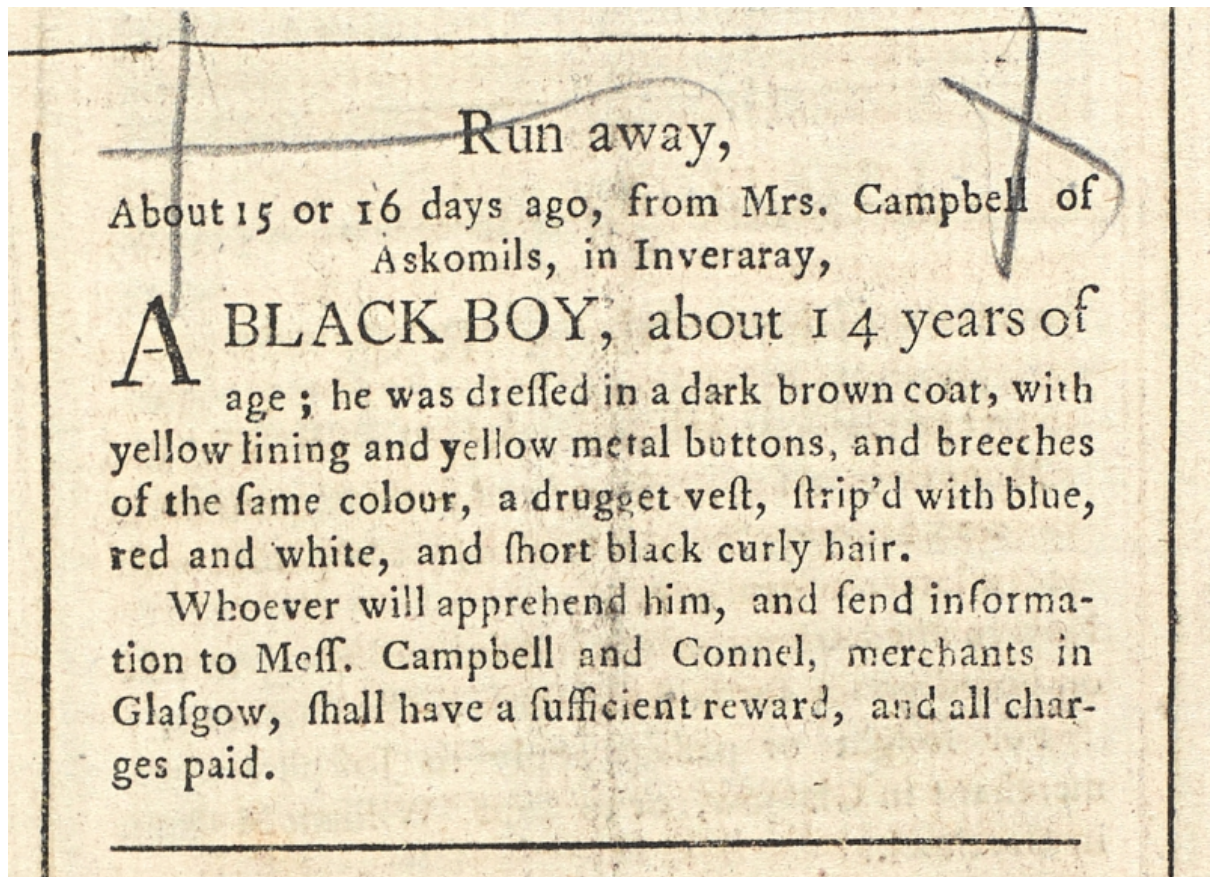
How did the enslaved people revolt on this ship?

What happened to the Ann Galley?

Why do you think the author became an abolitionist?

Argyll and Bute

From the British Library Collection: *Glasgow Courant*, 4 September 1758



“Run away, About 15 or 16 days ago, from Mrs. Campbell of Askomils, in Inveraray, A BLACK BOY, about 14 years of age; he was dressed in a dark brown coat, with yellow lining and yellow metal buttons, and breeches of the same colour, a drugget vest, strip'd with blue, red and white, and short black curly hair. Whoever will apprehend him, and send information to Mess. Campbell & Connel, merchants in Glasgow, shall have a sufficient reward, and all charges paid.”

Notes

Askomils appears to actually be near Campbeltown, some 75 miles from Inveraray. John Campbell was a Glasgow merchant and the eldest son of Alexander Campbell (d. 1769), partner of Campbell, Connell and co. For more sources like this, see: ‘Runaway Slaves in Britain: bondage, freedom and race in the eighteenth century’ <https://runaways.gla.ac.uk/>

Questions

What did you notice first about this advertisement?

Why do you think Mrs Campbell enslaved an African child?

Ayrshire

These two sources were kindly provided by Alex Renton, a journalist and descendant of Charles Fergusson. You can find out more about the story of Caesar's escape in his book, *Blood Legacy*. The Fergussons lived at Kilkerran House in Ayrshire.

More of the family papers relating to slavery can be found at [NRAS3572](#) at the National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh.

James Fergusson, Grenada, to Adam Fergusson, Scotland, 20 June 1773

“a Planter who is sparing of food and clothing to his slaves, will most certainly save money on these articles, but it is equally certain he will lose by it in the long run, and grossly mistakes his true interest. Negroes are not the brutes they are often represented, and I do affirm that there may be more made of them, by well timed kindnesses and mercy - than by the most severe usage and blows - one would think that self interest (allowing this doctrine to be just) should induce all men to act in this way, but without a higher and better principle of action, there can be no steadiness - therefore, I say a good heart is as necessary as a good head to constitute a good Planter or a good anything else”

***Jamaica Mercury*, 4 December 1779**

“Run away, from Rozell Estate a creole Negro man, named CASEAR, well known in St. Thomas in the East and St. David; but, being an artful fellow, may endeavour to pass in the Towns for free. He is a likely well-made Negro, about 5 ft. 5 in. high; has the mark of a cut upon his chin, and a broad mark upon the back of one of his hands, where he was burnt when a child. Any person who apprehends the said Negro, and secures him in goal, or delivers him to the Subscriber on the above estate, shall receive five Pounds reward, and all reasonable charges to be paid; or if any person can give information by whom the above Negro is harboured, shall receive ten Pounds, upon conviction of the harbourer. ANDREW MURDOCH.”

Questions

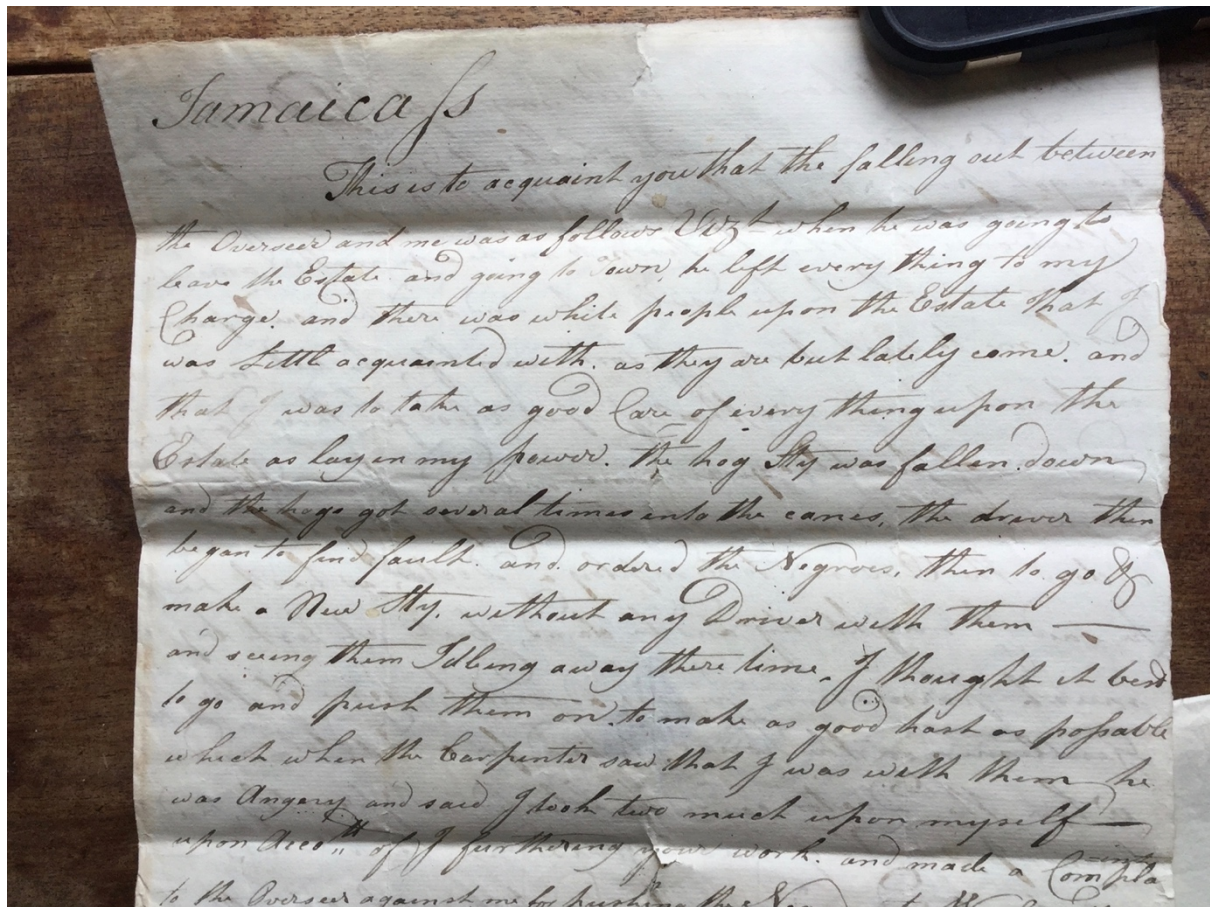
Why does James Fergusson think of himself as kind?

What does the advertisement tell you about Caesar?

Did your view of Fergusson and/or Caesar change when you read the letter from Caesar?

Why is it important to read different kinds of historical sources?

Letter from Caesar to Charles Fergusson esq Scotland, the owner of the Rozell Plantation, 1779



Jamaica

This is to acquaint you that the falling out between the Overseer and me was as follows Viz. when he was going to leave the Estate and going to Town, he left every thing to my Charge, and there was white people upon the Estate that I was little acquainted with, as they are but lately come, and that I was to take as good Care of every thing upon the Estate as lay in my power. The hog sty was fallen down and the hogs got several times into the canes, the driver then began to find fault, and ordered the Negroes, then to go & make a New Sty, without any Driver with them — and seeing them Idling away there time, I thought it best to go and push them on to make as good hast as possible which when the Carpenter saw that I was with them he was Angry and said I took too much upon myself — upon Acct. of I furthering your work, and made a Complaint to the Overseer against me for beating the Negroes.

“To Charles Fergusson Esq Scotland

Jamaica Is

This is to acquaint you that the falling out between the Overseer and me was as follows Viz. when he was going to leave the Estate and going to Town, he left every thing to my Charge and there was white people upon the Estate that was little acquainted with, as they are but lately come, and I was to take good Care of every thing upon the Estate as lay in my power. The hog sty was fallen down and the hogs got several times into the canes, The driver then began to find fault and ordered the [enslaved people] then to go & make a New Sty, without any Driver with them. and seeing them Idling away there time, I thought it best to go and push them on to make as good hast as possible which when the Carpenters saw that I was with them he was Angry and said I took too much upon myself. Upon Acct. of I furthering your work, and made a Complaint to the Overseer against me ... the Carpenters name is James Moody. After the Overseer hearing him, he without speaking a Word, took & screwed my two thumbs together, and put me in the Stocks, after giving me two hundred Lashes and I begd the People to let me out which they did...”

North Ayrshire

From the British Library Collection: *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 4 May 1756

RUN away from the Subscriber, living near Beith, Shire of Ayr, ONE NEGROE MAN, aged about 22 Years, five Feet and a half high or thereby. He is a Virginia born Slave, speaks pretty good English; he has been five Years in this Country, and has served sometime with a Joiner; he has a deep Scare above one of his Eyes, occasioned by a Stroke from a Horse; he has also got with him a Certificate, which calls him James Montgomerie, signed, John Witherspoone Minister. Whoever takes up the said Run-away, and brings him home, or secures him, and gets Notice to his Master, shall have two Guineas Reward, besides all other Charges paid, by me
ROB. SHEDDEN.
Morrishill, April 26th 1756.
N.B. The Negroe run away the 21st inst.

“RUN away from the Subscriber, living near Beith, Shire of Ayr, ONE NEGROE MAN, aged about 22 Years, five Feet and a half high or thereby. He is a Virginia born Slave, speaks pretty good English; he has been five Years in this Country, and has served sometime with a Joiner; he has a deep Scare above one of his Eyes, occasioned by a Stroke from a Horse; he has also got with him a Certificate, which calls him James Montgomerie, signed, John Witherspoone Minister. Whoever takes up the said Run-away, and brings him home, or secures him, and gets Notice to his Master, shall have two Guineas Reward, besides all other Charges paid, by me
ROB. SHEDDEN.

Morrishill, April 26th 1756.

N.B. The Negroe run away the 21st Inst.”

<https://runaways.gla.ac.uk/database/display/?rid=29>

Sp. 10 Fredricksburgh March the 9th 1750

Know all men by these presents that I
Joseph Hawkins of Spotsylvania County for
in consideration of the Sum of Fifty Six pounds
twelve Shillings & six pence Virginia, sum⁴
to me in hand paid by Robert Shedden Merchant
in Fred⁸ the Receipt whereof I acknowledge,
Have bargained sold & delivered & by these presents
do bargain sell & delivers unto the said Robert
Shedden One Negroe boy named Jamie, To have
& to hold the said Negroe unto the said Robert Shedden
his Executors Administrators for ever, And I the said
Joseph Hawkins for my self my Executors & Adminis^{rs}
shall & well warrant & for ever defend against all
Persons whatsoever ever In witness whereof I have
hereunto set my hand & seal this Ninth day of March
One thousand Seven hundred & fifty

Signed Sealed & Delivered
In presence of - - -
Sa. Aldrop
Jo: Seward

Joseph Hawkins

Sheddan's bill of sale from Joseph Hawkins for 'One Negroe boy named Jamie'
National Records of Scotland, CS234/S/3/12

"Fredricksburgh March the 9 1750

Know all men by these presents that I
Joseph Hawkins of Spotselvenia County for
& in Consideration of the Sum of Fifty Six pound
twelve shillings & six pence Virginia Curr[enc]y
to me in hand pay[e]d by Robert Shedden Merch[an]t
in Fred[ricksburgh] the Receipt wherof I acknowledge
Have bargain[e]d Sold & deliv[e]red & by these presents
do bargain sell & deliver unto the said Robert
Shedden One Negroe Boy Named Jamie, To have
& to hold the said Negroe unto the said Robert Shedden
his Executors administrators for Ever, And I the said
Joseph Hawkins for my self my Executors & admin[istrato]rs
shall & will warant & forever defend against all
Persons whatsum Ever In witness wherof I have
herunto sett my hand & seal this Ninth day of March
One thousand seven hundred & fifty
Signed Seal[e]d & Deliv[e]red Joseph Hawkins
Ja[m]es Hilldrop
Jo[h]n Stewart"

More information:

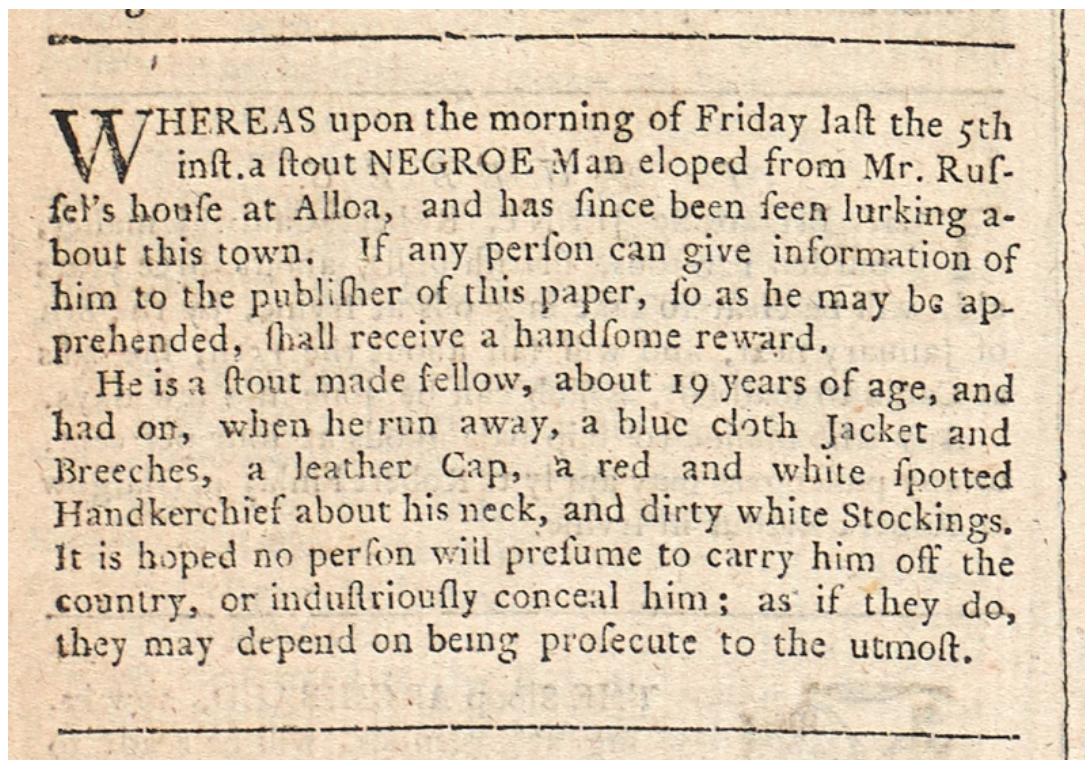
<https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/research/learning/slavery/the-montgomery-slavery-case-1756>

<https://glasgowmuseumsslavery.co.uk/2018/08/14/jamie-montgomery-runaway-slave/>

<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/45502>

Clackmannanshire

From the British Library Collection: *Glasgow Journal*, 11 December 1766



"WHEREAS upon the morning of Friday last the 5th inst. a stout NEGROE Man eloped from Mr. Russel's house at Alloa, and has since been seen lurking about this town. If any person can give information of him to the publisher of this paper, so as he may be apprehended, shall receive a handsome reward.

He is a stout made fellow, about 19 years of age, and had on, when he run away, a blue cloth Jacket and Breeches, a leather Cap, a red and white spotted Handkerchief about his neck, and dirty white Stockings. It is hoped no person will presume to carry him off the country, or industriously conceal him; as if they do, they may depend on being prosecute to the utmost."

<https://runaways.gla.ac.uk/database/display/?rid=57>

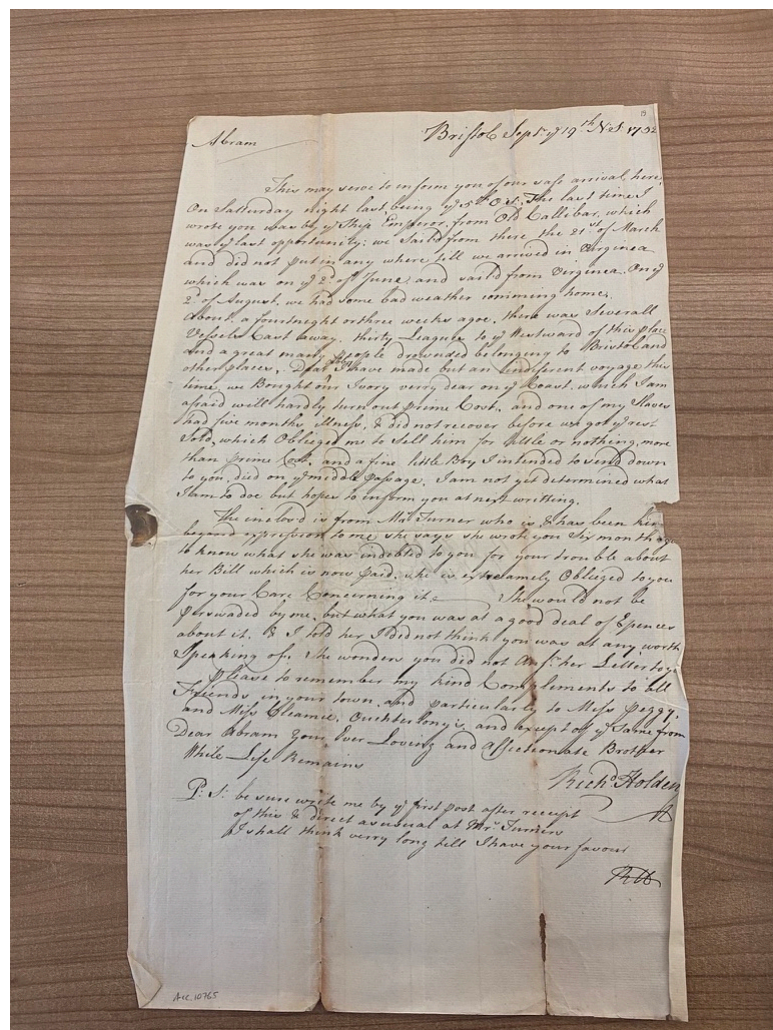
Questions

Why does this advertisement not include a name of the person who has run away?

What would it have been like to try and hide from your enslaver in 18th century Alloa?

Dundee

National Library of Scotland, MS.50266



Richard Holden of Baldovie, near Dundee, was a surgeon on slave ships (active 1747 to around 1761).

<https://manuscripts.nls.uk/repositories/2/resources/21977>

Abram

Bristol, Sept [?] 19th N.S.[?] 1752

This may serve to inform you of our safe arrival here on Saturday night last, being the [?] 5th O.S. The last time I wrote you was by the [?] Ship Emperor, from Old Callibar, which was the [?] last opportunity; we Sailed from there the 21st of March and did not put in any where till we arrived in Virginia which was on the 2d of June, and sailed from Virginia on the [?] 2d pf August, we had some bad weather comming home. About a fortnight or three weeks agoe, there was Severall Vessels Cast away thirty Leagues to the [?] Westward of this place and a great many people drowned belonging to Bristol and other places. Dear Abby I have made but an indifferent voyage this time, we Bought our Ivory verry dear on the Coast, which I am afraid will hardly turn out prime Cost, and one of my Slaves had five months illness, & did not recover before we got the the [?] rest Sold, which Obliged me to Sell him for little or nothing more than prime Cost, and a fine little Boy I intended to send down to you, died on the middle passage. I am not yet determined what I am to doe but hope to inform you at next witting.

The inclosed [?] is from Mrs Turner who is, & has been kind [?] beyond expression to me she says she wrote you six months ago to know what she was indebted to you for your trouble about her Bill which is now paid, she is extremely Obliged to you for your Care Concerning it ----- She would not be persuaded by me, but what you was at a good deal of Spencer [?] about it, & I told her I did not think you was at any worth Speaking of. She wonders you did not ask [?] for her Letter to you.

Please to remember my kind Compliments to all Friends in your town, and particularly to Miss Peggy, and Miss Clearnie, [???], and except [?] of the same from Dear Abram your Ever Loving and Affectionate Brother.

While Life Remains

Rich Holden

P.S. Be sure write me by the first post after receipt of this & direct [???] at Mrs Turners. I shall think verry long till I have your favour.

Dumfries and Galloway

An African Song or Chant, Gloucestershire Archives

An African Song or Chant, - taken down in Notes by G.S. from the information of Dr. Wm. Dickson, who lived several years in the West Indies, & was Secretary to a Governor of Barbadoes.

A Single Negro (while at Work with the rest of the Gang) leads the Song, and the others join in Chorus at the end of every verse.
(Generally in a minor key - suppose E with minor 3^d.)

Massa buy me he won't killa me Oh - Massa buy me he won't kill a me Oh Massa buy me he won't kill a me Oh 'for he kill me he ship me regulaw

Chorus of labouring Negroes as they proceed in their work
NB a is sounded by them like the french ai or English a

'For I live with a bad Man oh la - 'for I live with a bad Man Obudda-bo
'For I live with a bad Man oh la - 'for I would go to the River side Regulaw

Chorus a a a a a a a a a a O di'

Notes
+ 'For is an abbreviation of Before, meaning - Before I would live, or rather than live &c.
x Obudda signifies destruction; from the Hebrew. a bad (he destroyed) & abandon (a name of the Devil in Holy scripture) the Destroyer, & from thence the English word bad
⊕ Regulaw - seems to mean - to be sold, or merchandise, and may be derived from the Hebrew word recal (537) - which has a Merchant, a Merchandise

"An African Song or Chant – taken down in Notes by G.S. from the information of Dr Wm. Dickson, who lived several years in the West Indies, & was Secretary to a Governor of Barbadoes. A Single Negro (while at Work with the rest of the Gang) leads the Song, and the others join in Chorus at the end of every verse.

(Generally in a minor key – suppose E with minor 3rd.)"

Massa buy me he won't killa me. Oh Massa buy me he won't killa me. Oh Massa buy me he won't kill a me. Oh 'for he kill me he ship me regular.

Chorus of labouring Negroes as the proceed in their work. NB a is sounded like the French ai of English a

'For I live with a band Man oh la – 'for I live with a bad Man Obudda-bo.

'For I live with a bad Man oh la – 'for I would for o the Riverside regular.

Chorus

Notes

+ 'For is an abbreviation of Before, meaning Before I would live, or rather than live die.

x Obudda signifies destruction; from the Hebrew. Abed (he destroyed) & abaddon (a name of the Devil in Holy Scripture) the Destroyer; & from these in the English word bad.

x Regular – seems to mean – to be sold, or merchandise, and may be derived from the Hebrew-word recal – a Merchant or Merchandise.”

This African work chant was sung by enslaved people working in sugar-fields in 18th century Barbados. Abolitionist William Dickson (see notes below) heard it while working for the Governor of Barbados, and Granville Sharp transcribed it (G.S. on the document above).

- Source: <https://www.gloucestershire.gov.uk/archives/>
- See also, <https://www.unesco.org/en/memory-world/lac/african-song-or-chant-barbados>
- A recording of the song is here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mdFrNPY1wlw>

William Dickson

William Dickson was the son of a prosperous linen weaver and stamp master who lived in Moffat, Dumfries and Galloway. There is still a Dickson House, built by William's father in 1772, and a Dickson Street in Moffat today.

William Dickson emigrated to Barbados in 1772, where he was secretary to the Governor and witnessed slavery first-hand. On his return, he published accounts of slavery drawn from his experiences. He also toured Scotland to make the case for the abolition of the slave trade. Like other abolitionists he would put up copies of the print of the slave ship Brooks in public places to draw attention to their cause. In 1792 he wrote to James Phillips that in Edinburgh, “The slave ships have been put up in Banks, Public offices, Coffee house &c. here, with an excellent effect. Our cause gains ground.”¹

More info: <https://antislavery.ac.uk/items/show/593>

L E T T E R S
O F
S L A V E R Y,
B Y
WILLIAM DICKSON,
FORMERLY PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE LATE
HON. EDWARD HAY, GOVERNOR OF BARBADOES.
TO WHICH ARE ADDED,
ADDRESSES TO THE WHITES, AND TO THE FREE
NEGROES OF BARBADOES; AND ACCOUNTS
OF SOME NEGROES EMINENT FOR THEIR VIRTUES
AND ABILITIES.

¹ Thompson-Clarkson collection, Vol. II: Letter from William Dickson, Edinburgh to James Phillips, 14 January 1792.

East Lothian



To begin then with the beginning--I was born in the island of Jamaica, about the year 1762, on the estate of a Lady Douglas, a distant relation of the Duke of Queensbury. My mother was a woman of colour, by name ROSANNA, and at the time of my birth a slave to the above Lady Douglas. My father's name was JAMES WEDDERBURN, Esq. of Inveresk, in Scotland, an extensive proprietor, of sugar estates in Jamaica, which are now in the possession of a younger brother of mine, by name, A. COLVILLE, Esq. of No.35, Leadenhall Street.

...

It was seven years after my arrival in England that I visited my father, who had the inhumanity to threaten to send me to goal if I troubled him... nor did he deny me to be his son, but called me a lazy fellow, and said he would do nothing for me. From his cook I had one draught of small beer, and his footman gave me a cracked sixpence.

Image source: https://archive.org/details/horrors_of_slavery/mode/2up

Notes

Robert Wedderburn, *The Horrors of Slavery* (London, 1824) - <https://msuweb.montclair.edu/~furrq/gbi/docs/wedderburnhorrors.pdf>

For more on Robert Wedderburn, see <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146643591>

For more on James Wedderburn Colville, see <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146643501>

Edinburgh

Excerpt from The History of George Dale, a native of Africa, as related by himself at Edinburgh 6th Aug. 1790.

National Records of Scotland reference GD50/235/6

The full text can be accessed here:

<https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/files//images/features/Transcript%20-%20The%20History%20of%20George%20Dale.pdf>

General Remarks as given by him, in answer to Queries put to him –

George Dale originally called Aina, was born in Nago, an Inland nation or Province of Africa (time he does not know) far up the Country, about a months travelling as he himself expresses it - His father, & as he says, most of the inhabitants of that Country do, draws his Livelihood from tillage, or culture of a small spot of Ground - and had a large family.

When about Eleven years of age (as he thinks) he, accompanied with two of his Brothers, one Sister, and a little lassy, a neighbours daughter, had been one day sporting themselves at a little distance from the village or Cots, where there parents lived; there suddenly came, from a thicket that was near them, two or three men of their own Complexion, and as he imagines their own Countrymen, and seized upon them all...

He says Nago, the nation he came from, is a good way up the Country - the nations contiguous to it, he calls Poppa, (which it seems extends Between Nago and the Sea Coast), Ibo, Cromanty, Congo etc. He says every Nation is governed by a Prince or King - that the Inhabitants are different, in their manners, language, Worship etc. - that there are a kind of Justices or Magistrates in almost every Town of any note among them, who takes cognisance of the actions of those within their Jurisdictions - that Murderers are always punished with death - that Adulterers are severely punished, generally by selling them for Slaves; tho' Polygamy is tolerated, and common among them - that they have no particular object of adoration, some worshipping one thing, some another - that their houses or huts are built of timber and Clay; and covered with a kind of long grass -

that their food consists of yams, cocoa, plantain, & Rice - He say the Kings or Princes of these nations are often at War with one another, and that the Prisoners taken in these wars are sold as Slaves - being asked what did he think was the cause of these wars? - Answered, he thinks the reasons is more owing to a desire of procuring slaves, than any natural propensity they have to fighting - he says the practice of kidnapping [fragment missing] Children is very Common in [the country] he cam from - that the [fragment missing] Countrymen for the most part [fragment missing] these depredations are owing to [fragment missing] given by Slave Merchants, always ready to [fragment missing] and reward those who bring them slaves.

Notes

Aina (George Dale) described himself as being from “Nago”. It is important to note that many of these kinds of ethnonyms refer more to a people than a place. The term “Nago” is associated with Yorùbá speakers in the Bight of Benin. Historian Robin Law argues that “Nago” derives from the West African descriptor Anago, which was used by a small sub-group in the Bight of Benin, but was increasingly extended through the 18th century. It was used extensively in Bahia, among enslaved people, and may have travelled back to West Africa with a broader definition than its original form, meaning that by the 19th century, it was much more commonly-used. In the French colony of St Domingue (Haiti), researchers have collated 401 runaway slave advertisements that describe the person as “Nago”

<https://sites.duke.edu/marronnagevoyages/nations/nago/> This suggests that, in the French Empire, the term Nago was taken up by enslavers as a broad descriptor for Yorùbá-speaking people.

Aina makes reference to a number of similar descriptors:

- Poppa Coast (more commonly written as Popo), which was a European term for the ancient town and kingdom of "Hulagan" (Great Hula) on the modern border between Togo and Benin.
- Ibo (also written in the past as Ebo and Eboe), was a term to describe Igbo-speaking people from the Bight of Biafra, from the River Nun on the Niger delta in the west to Cape Lopez in the south.
- Cromanty is likely a corruption of Coromantee, Coromantins, Coromanti or Kormantine which were all English-language terms used to describe Akan people taken from a region known as the Gold Coast. Akan people were notoriously leaders in a series of revolts in the British-occupied Caribbean, including Tacky's Revolt in 1760, the 1763 Berbice Slave Uprising, and the 1795 Second Maroon War.
- Congo, people described as “Congo” generally hailed from West Central Africa in the Congo River region.

In the full version, he stated that he also lived for a while in Greenock and then went to Glasgow, before coming to Edinburgh. In addition, the full version contains some (disparaging) notes on his appearance written by the interviewer, a member of the anti-slave trade movement.

Questions

What can you learn about African societies from Dale's account?

What did he tell his interviewer about the impact of the slave trade on West Africa?

What is most significant about this testimony?

Edinburgh, National Museums Scotland

Late-eighteenth-century trade cloth from West Africa, A.716.29



<https://www.nms.ac.uk/search-our-collections/collection-search-results?entry=332729>

Notes

Distinctive type of ceremonial cloth from Ijebu-Ode in Yorubaland. It is a hand woven cotton and silk cloth made by Ijebu artisans, known as *aso olona* ("cloth with patterns"). These were worn across the shoulders of chiefs and other titleholders in the Oshugbo society. They were heavily embellished with brocaded patterns. They prominently featured embroidered schematic representations of animals which symbolized deities and spiritual forces. These were not usually available for trade, but were transferred as gifts to cement trading relationships.

It was acquired by Captain William H. Corran, in about 1790. He most likely bought it at the West African port of Bonny. It was sold to the National Museum of Scotland by his daughter Harriet Ashley. Corran made eight known slave ship voyages as captain of a ship: <https://www.slavevoyages.org/voyages/7DSLm2VP>

References

Colleen E. Kriger, *Cloth in West African History*, Rowman & Littlefield, New York, 2006 pp. 47-48

Edinburgh

Letter, 1834, of Eleanor Affleck to Sarah Affleck., 1834

National Library of Scotland, MS.50277

Answered
25 August 1835 }

Green Island Hanover Jamaica
24th June 1834

My dear Daughter

I had the pleasure to receive
your letter of the 24th March a few days ago
and am glad to learn that you expected your dis-
-pute with Mr. Campbell would be so soon settling
and hope you have not been disappointed. In
reply to your enquiries respecting your Slaves I
have to inform you that they are still on Salt Spring
There are now living Jacob, Mumba and her two
children George & Queen. The hire allowed for
them during the life time of Mr. Dugald Campbell
was £50 currency of Ann. but I do not know
if any valuation for him has been made since.
You are I suppose aware that they will be all
free on the 1st of August next and that you will
receive a Compensation from Government. They
will after that time be apprentices for six years
and work a part of their time for the accommodation
of

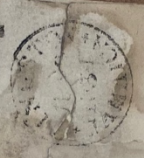
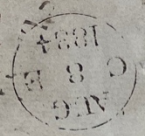
of those who supply them with Houses, Provisions
Grounds, Clothing &c - so that I am afraid you
must not expect much here for the time to come.
You must get some friend to apply for your share
of the compensation when the sum is fixed -

I am happy to learn that yourself & family were
well. Eliza must now be a young woman - but
what is the reason that you make no mention
of your Husband - Is he dead or alive? - Has
your Brother's Widow recovered any of his Property?

Since I last wrote to you I have enjoyed very
good health and have met with no other mis-
fortunes tho' I find it hard enough to make
a living - Your Sister Ann begs to be kindly
remembered to you & all the family & begs
me to say that she has two children a boy Alexander
& a Girl Susan - - With my best wishes for your
health & happiness I remain

My dear Daughter

Your affectionate Mother
Chancor Appleby



29/3

*Mr. Sarah Affleck
10 East Adam Street*

1/2

Edinburgh

Packet.



25 August 1835

Green Island Hanover Jamaica

24th Jun 1834

My dear Daughter

I had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 24th March a few days ago and am glad to learn that you expected your dispute with Mr. Campbell would be so soon settled and hope you have not been disappointed – In reply to your enquiries respecting your Slaves I have to inform you that they are still on Saltspring [.] There are now living, Jacob, Memha and her two children George & Queen – The hire allowed for them during the lifetime of Mr. Duglad Campbell was £50 Currency per Ann: but I do not know if any valuation for hire has been made since. You are I suppose aware that they will be all free on the 1st of August next – and that you will receive a Compensation from Government – they will after that time be apprentices for six years and work a part of their time for the accommodation of/those who supply them with Houses, Provision Grounds, Clothing &c – so that I am afraid you must not expect much hire for the time to come. You must get some friend to apply for your share of the compensation when the sum is fixed –

I am happy to hear that yourself & family were well – Eliza must now be a young Woman – but what is the reason that you make no mention of your Husband – Is he dead or alive? – Has your Brother's Widow recovered any of his Property?

Since I last wrote to you I have enjoyed very good health and have met with no other misfortunes tho' I find it hard enough to make a living – Your sister Ann begs to be kindly remembered to you & all the family & begs me to say that she has two Children a boy Alexander & a Girl Susan – – With my best wishes for your health & happiness

I remain

My dear Daughter

Your affectionate Mother

Eleanor Affleck

Notes

Eleanor Affleck: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/16238>

Liverpool April 10th 1804

Sir

I take the liberty to address you with a few lines in respect
of a most sincere friend of mine Mr W^m Forbes your nephew
who I had the pleasure of seeing onboard the Ship ^{Commanded} I comm^d
in Gambia river in August last; I then was present when
he received your letter advising him to come home —
On the receipt of which he was exceedingly thankful for
your kindness, I am sorry to say that he will in no
manner be able to quit Africa for two years being much
involved & that unavoidably, Had he a little property advanced
in goods fitting for the Gambia trade it would very
rapidly enable him to increase his wealth to a degree fit
for coming home; Otherwise of course his detention will be
greater than he wishes — I am in hopes of going to Gambia
myself again but at present my employers has no ships
at home & I had the misfortune to be captured six days after
I left Gambia with a full cargo — I shall be happy to receive
a few lines from you as probably I may have a conveyance
to my friend Capt^r E. King Bridgewater St^r I am Sir your
William Forbes Esq^r { Respectful Attⁿ Serv^t Chas^r King

Liverpool April 10th 1804

Sir,

I take the liberty to address you with a few lines in respect of a most sincere friend of mine Mr Wm Forbes your Nephew, who I had the pleasure of seeing onboard the ship I command in Gambia river in August last; I then was present when he received your letter advising him to come home.

On the receipt of which he was exceedingly thankful for your kindness. I am sorry to say he will in no manner be able to quit Africa for two years being much involved & that unavoidably. Had he a little property advanced in goods fitting for the Gambia trade it would very rapidly enable him to increase his wealth to a degree for coming home; Otherwise of course his detention will be greater than he wishes. I am in hopes of going to Gambia myself again but at present my employers has no ships at home & I had the misfortune to be captured six days after I left Gambia with a full cargo. I shall be happy to receive a few lines from you as probably I may have a conveyance to my friend, Captain C. King Bridgewater St. I am Sir your Respectful
Able Servant Chas. King.

(Letter addressed to) William Forbes Esquire

Questions

Why can't William Forbes (the nephew) come home from West Africa?

What does this letter tell you about the transatlantic slave trade from the Gambia?

Who is Charles King (the author of the letter)?

Glasgow

The Glasgow Courier, 19 January 1791

THE GLASGOW COURIER.

Vol. I.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 19. 1791.

No. 61.

Efficient-Indies. ST. DOMINGO.

W H O E V E R has read the history of this island, and noted the extermination of the original inhabitants, would suppose, from the horrid scenes that have recently been transacted here, that the era of the revenge of the ancient Caribbs was arrived.

Leaving others to account for the present revolt of the negro barbarians in this island as they please, I, for my part, see nothing more in it than a natural consequence of European despotism and unmercenary vanity. The ambition to extend their possessions and authority into every region of the globe must have been attended with a desire to see those possessions peopled, and become objects of wealth and commercial importance. To accomplish these ends, it was necessary that men should be procured, suited by nature to the climate, and the fruits of whose labours were to be transferred from themselves to their masters—Hence the origin of the African slave-trade.

I cannot, however, notwithstanding my abhorrence to every species of tyranny, bring myself to think with certain unfeeling characters in Great Britain, that an immediate emancipation of the West India slaves would be a desirable event.—The effectual prohibition of any further European or American intercourse with the African coast, ought to satisfy the fondest friends to humanity for four times to come. Men in the situation of the blacks must gradually acquire the habits and education of free men in any country, before they can become useful or even innoxious members of a community. The establishment of liberty and the nature of things, be confined to that kingdom, but must rapidly extend through Europe: the consequence will be, that the lust of European foreign dominion will be of itself cease; and it will even become the interest of the insular planters, and of the defendants of the unfortunate Africans in the West Indies should become free. America, in general, will then assert her own rights, and make known to Europe that she is the best judge of pursuing such measures as tend to her own peace, emolument, and honourable character, among the potentates on the earth.

Several letters from Cape François, the latest dated November 6, confirm the account of the burning of the quarter of Valère by the negroes, and of the French entertained at the Cape for the rich plains of the east.

These letters add, that M. Thourand, Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment of the Cape, had driven the negroes from Haut-Limbe. He delivered fifty white women, and took Pere Philémon, a capuchin, and rector of Limbe, whose papers proved that he had maintained a criminal intelligence with the insurgents. This detestable Monk is said to have made the white prisoners in the camp of the negroes suffer every species of horror.

FRANCE AND GERMANY.

The following will explain to our Readers the nature of the present dispute between France and the Empire of Germany, relative to the privileges of the Nobility, &c. in Alsace and Lorraine.

Alsace, and the three Bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, were ceded by the famous treaty of Munster, or Westphalia, signed the 24th of October 1648, in the most ample manner, and to hold them with the privileges, rights, &c. of the house of Austria; which cession was confirmed in a subsequent Diet of the German Empire.

But stipulations were made by the 88th article, notwithstanding the sovereignty thus transferred, for the privileges of the nobles, &c. in those Provinces, and also for their immunities, which may be translated, their dependence upon, or right of protection from the German Empire.

Upon the conclusion of these jarring articles, upon the lease of granting a foreignt in *plena potestate*, and upon the meaning of a subsequent article, containing a reservation of a dependence on the Empire, the French and Imperial Ministers have had constant disputes, which, like many other political arguments, seem to have confirmed the disputants in their own opinions.

In the negotiations at Nimwegen in 1678, this matter was again revived by the Imperial Minister; but France being then in the plenitude of her power, and rendered still greater by our defection of the allies, and by Sir William Temple's negotiations having been traversed and crossed by a

private emultery of the Dukes of Portsmouth—a circumstance which was in consequence the second Charles, and which caused such chagrin and vexation to that great Minister—France refused to have this matter brought upon the carpet; and the treaty of Nimwegen was signed without explanation on this subject. The German Ministers, however, made a solemn protestation in favour of this right of protection, referred by the treaty of Munster.

The treaty of Rhyfwick, 1697, having settled some other points relative to the treaty of Westphalia, this matter was pulled over in silence in that pacification.

The French Diplomatic Writers, the Abbé Mably, and Pere Bougeant, the celebrated historians of the negotiations which preceded the treaty of Westphalia, argue from this last circumstance, that the Empire, by their silence, had thus relinquished any further pursuit of this claim; that the 88th article of the famous treaty was inserted merely to quiet some scruples and prejudices of the inhabitants of those Provinces, when they were ceded to France.

But, by the Emperor's diploma, which was read in the National Assembly on Saturday, Dec. 24th, it is plain that he still claims a right of protecting the Nobility of Alsace, &c. in their rights, as vassals of the Empire—complaining of the innovations made by the new French Constitution in 1789; and also of the writings, the polyglot of the French Constitution, &c. &c. which have been dispersed in his States, to disseminate the principles of disobedience and revolt.

This a question has arisen upon the treaty of Westphalia, which must interest all the powers of Europe, who are concerned either as mediators, guaranties, or parties in that treaty, save only England and Russia; the date of 1648 accounts for the first, and the latter was not considered as without in the circle of European politics before the reign of Peter the Great—but it is conceived, that the treaty of Munster has been rectified and confirmed by England also, in subsequent treaties.

Germany.

VIENNA.

DECEMBER 24.

On the 13th of December last, orders were sent by the Emperor of Germany to the Chancery of Bohemia and Austria, that the proper officers should furnish the Monarch with various information relative to their several departments, on purpose that his Imperial Majesty may be acquainted with the grievances of his subjects, and redress them.

THIONVILLE.

JANUARY 6.

There are, we are assured, not above 4000 men at Luxembourg; they will not suffer the French to remain there longer than a day; two emigrant families only are permitted to reside there, that of M. Fouquet Calonne and M. de Bouille, lately a deputy in the National Assembly: 200 men from the garrison of Luxembourg, have drove out all the emigrants from Grevenmacher, and have left a detachment of 50 men to prevent them from establishing themselves there again.

England.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

Lord Chamberlain's Office, January 13, 1791.

David Dundas, Esq. of Richmond, in the County of Surrey, is appointed one of the Sergeant Surgeons in Ordinary to his Majesty, in the room of Pennel Hawkins, Esq. deceased.

PROMOTIONS.

Warr Office, Jan. 7.

2d Regiment of Life Guards, Supernumerary Major Charles Barton to be Major.

Captain John William Commerell to be Supernumerary Major.

Lieutenant William Mansell to be Captain.

Cornet and Sub-Lieutenant Michael Impey to be Lieutenant.

Cornet Robert Brierford, from the 4th Regiment of Dragoons, to be Cornet and Sub-Lieutenant.

2d Regiment of Dragoon Guards, Ensign Henry Pockington, from the 45th Foot to be Cornet.

4th Regiment of Foot, Webb Stone, Gent. to be Ensign, by Purchase.

LONDON.

JANUARY 14.

By the accounts from Germany, there is reason to believe, that the petty Princes have been more alarmed by the discontents of their own subjects than the menaces of France. Wherever the emigrants have been suffered to assemble to any

considerable number, the people complain of the dearth of provisions, and were ready to proceed to the last extremity, at the prospect of being exposed to the calamities of war, on account of men whom they have been accustomed to view with an interest.

The French King's proclamation, was issued just in time to prevent, if they can be prevented, the incursions of the French undisciplined soldiers into the German territories. It is thought the Emperor will prevent on his part, the emigrants and the German Princes from being the aggressors.

Should both parties be capable of being restrained within the bounds of moderation, a negotiation between the Emperor, as guarantee of the King of the French, may be entered into with mutual amity.

It is evident, that though the German Princes are many of them averse to the new French Constitution, none of them dare avowedly attack it. And their enmity is left to be dreaded, as their forbearance is supposed to be influenced by the sentiments of their subjects, who have hewed diffidencies by no means inclining to second them in an attempt to apprehend a revolt, should they venture upon such a measure.

The alteration in the opinions of the German Princes is attributed more to the fear of the French, than to the principles spreading in Germany, than to the dread of the French arms. However this may be, the change is highly favourable to the continuance of the tranquillity of Europe—an object particularly beneficial to this country, which might have been obliged to take a part in the hostilities, as guarantee to the Emperor. The public funds have risen in consequence two per cent. within these few days.

The politics of the court of Petersburg have been for many years adverse, and indeed hostile, to the interests of Great Britain. Part was supposed owing to the influence of Potemkin, who entertained strong prejudices against this country, which were like every thing else, communicated to and received by the Emperors. The Grand Duke, on the other hand, has always manifested the greatest partiality for England and its nation; a circumstance favourable to this nation in proportion as his authority and power increase.

The Knights of Malta are sinking very fast into insignificance. The decreasing value of money, and the increasing importance of traders, are the great antidotes to their military and chivalric consequences.

Landed property continues to increase astonishingly in value. Some of Mr. Thornton's grounds near Bradford in Yorkshire, used to let for 63l. a year, the lease expiring, they were sold and fetched 10,781l.

Miss Smith, to whom Sir F. Eden is just married, is the daughter of the *spoken performer* Bond-dancer. Her fortune, if she had married a tradesman, was to have been *very handsome* pounds; marrying a Baronet she takes only ten now, and succeeds to the rest upon the decease of her father and mother.

Last week, Mr. Lonsdale, a respectable yeoman of Stainton, in Cumberland, was found suffocated in his bed, and his wife nearly in the same situation. This fatal accident was caused by the hot air being taken out of an oven on the night, which were directly under the apartment where they slept.

A NEW TRADE.

A person who deals in birds, &c. in the environs of the town, has an additional notice, specifying, that he gives the most money for live rats for the training of ferrets, and that he sells them on the lowest terms to the *Trade or the Fancy*!

Economical Customs in China, at the beginning of the New Year, related by a Gentleman long resident there.—The five days preceding this, which are the only holidays they keep, being spent entirely in festivity, the creditors become exceeding importunate; and if not satisfied on the last night of the Old Year, repair to the houses of the debtors, where each of them taking their fears, they observe the most profound silence.—As soon as midnight is passed, he rises, congratulates the debtor on the New Year, and retires. The debtor has then lost his face, and no person will ever trust him afterwards.

THE EFFECTS OF PERSECUTION.

By DR. PRIESTLEY.

More men were destroyed in the persecution of the Protestants by Catholics, than of Christians

by Heathens. The Waldenses and Albigenses were massacred by thousands and tens of thousands, in the northern parts of Italy and southern parts of France. But there they still exist, and in as great numbers as ever to this day. The persecutions of Zuinglius, of Luther, of Calvin, and of a great part of Germany, Switzerland, and the cantons of the Protestant religion France. The cruelties of Philip II. made the Netherlands the woollen manufactory, which we gained by the asylum which we afforded to those who left that country on account of religion.

The persecution of the French Protestants by Louis XIV. did not diminish the number of French Protestants in France, but brought over to us their manufactures in silk, and a number of other most ingenious and industrious artists.

The persecution of the Puritans, or our original Dissenters, by Queen Elizabeth and the Stuarts, much more than doubled the number of Dissenters in this country, besides driving thousands of them into foreign parts, and especially into North America, where they increased and established themselves in an extraordinary manner, and where, in consequence of the further oppression of this country, they are now become a great and independent nation.

The Dissenters in this country were decreasing in number since the accession of the present Royal Family, which favoured them, and inspired the Bishops with a spirit of moderation. But since the Court, or at least the Bishops, and the Clergy in general, are become more hostile to them, they are increasing again, as the late of Birmingham and every other manufacturing town, is a proof.

These facts are undeniable; and since this course of things has been uniform and invariable in all times and in all countries, the cause must be permanent, and exist in the very principles of human nature; so that it may be depended upon to produce the same effect in all similar circumstances.

SHERGOLD and Co. MARGRAY and Co.
&c. &c. &c.

CAUTION TO THE PUBLIC.

It is hoped that the following Affidavit of NICHOLAS WILLIAMS, late of Exeter, Coal-dealer, will serve as a Caution to all Venders of illegal Lottery Tickets, not to offend against the Statute in future.

In the Exchequer, between

RICHARD KING, and
NICHOLAS WILLIAMS.

NICHOLAS WILLIAMS late of the city of Exeter in the county of Devon, Coal-dealer, but now prisoner in his Majesty's prison of the Fleet, and the Defendant in the above cause, maketh oath and faith, that about the 9th day of October last, he, this Deponent, received a letter, dated the 7th day of the said month of October, signed W. Sherman, which is now in this Defendant's custody, including several pieces of paper, with the name *Shergold and Co.* written thereon, which pieces of paper were therein described to be Share Receipts, by which this Deponent understood, was meant legal Shares in the Irish Lottery; and this Deponent was desired to sell the same, and for which he was to be allowed 10l. per cent. for his trouble.

And this Deponent further faith, that being ignorant that the said pieces of paper were illegal Shares of Lottery Tickets, and liable to a penalty of 50l. for the sale of each, he, this Deponent, did sell several such pieces of papers, signed *Shergold and Co.* and for which offence, the Commissioners of the Stamp Office, as this Deponent has been informed and believes, ordered this prosecution to be commenced against him for 500l. penalties incurred by such sale, as aforesaid. And this Deponent further faith, that on applying to the house of the said *Shergold and Co. No. 50. Lombard Street*, for assistance in hailing him from prison, it was refused, and therefore he was carried to jail; and this Deponent now remains there in consequence thereof, at the mercy of the said Commissioners of the Stamp Office. And this Deponent further faith, that he never knew the person of the said *Shergold*, whose name is signed to the before-mentioned pieces of paper, nor does he believe that there is in being any such person.

N. WILLIAMS
Sworn in the Fleet Prison, before me, this 22d Dec. 1791.

THOMAS GORDON.
By Commission.



West Indies

St. Domingo.

October 15

Whoever has read the history of this island, and noted the extirpation of the original inhabitants, would suppose, from the horrid scenes that have recently been transacted here, that the era of the revenge of the ancient Caribbs was arrived.

Leaving others to account for the present revolt of the negroe barbarians in this island as they please, I, for my part, see nothing more in it than a natural consequence of European despotism and monarchial vanity. The ambition to extend their possessions and authority into every region of the globe must have been attended with a desire to see those possessions peopled, and become objects of wealth and commercial importance. To accomplish those ends, it was necessary that men should be procured, suite by nature to the climate, and the fruits of whose labours were to be transferred from themselves to their masters – Hence the origin of the African slave-trade.

I cannot, however, notwithstanding my abhorrence to every species of tyranny, bring myself to think with certain enthusiastical characters in Great Britain, that an immediate emancipation of the West India Slaves would be a desirable event.—

The effectual prohibition of any further European or American intercourse with the African coasts ought to satisfy the fondest friends to humanity for some time to come. Men in the situation of the blacks must gradually acquire the habits and education of free men in any country, before they can become useful or even innoxious members of a community. The establishment of liberty and a free government in France, cannot long, in the nature of things, be confined to that kingdom, but must rapidly extend through Europe: the consequence will be, that the list of European foreign domination will of itself cease; and it will even become the interest of the insular planters, and their reformed or independent governments, that the descendants of the unfortunate Africans in the West Indies should become free. America, in general, will then assert her own rights, and make known to Europe that she is the best judge of pursuing such measures as tend to her own peace, emolument, and honourable character, among the potenates on the earth.

Notes

This article was published less than six months after the outbreak of the Haitian Revolution, a widespread uprising of enslaved people against French planters. The article suggests that the French Revolution had a profound impact, and would set off a series of similar reverberations which would eventually overthrow European hegemony.



18th century bow-and-bridge harp from Sierra Leone, The Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow.

This beautiful musical instrument was crafted in Sierra Leone in West Africa. This region was one of the first places where British slave traders first operated: John Hawkins had abducted and enslaved Africans there in the 1580s. By the late 18th century, there was a Scottish-owned slave trading fort on Bunce Island in the mouth of the Sierra Leone River. Numerous African art objects were brought to Scotland by traders and others associated with the fort.

We do not know for sure who brought this harp to Glasgow, or how it ended up in the collections of the university museum, but we know it is the kind of musical instrument that enslaved people taken from the Bunce island fort would have listened to and played.

Notes

What does this harp tell you about the people of Sierra Leone?

Why is music important to our understanding of West African history and societies?

What else do you want to know about Sierra Leone? How could you find out more?

Highland

Record of sale by auction of Huntly Estate, Demerara (now Guyana), formerly belonging to Robert Gordon, 1815

National Library of Scotland, MS.50277 folios 120-124

3 122

(Signed) W^m Austin, Attorney of Davidson's
Graham & Co

(Signed) Th^o Newburn 99

(Signed) Henry Buckell
of Vendue Office

In my presence
(Signed) James Shanks }
Lucan Clerk }

6, 12 & 18 months credit, for the Plantation Monthly
agreeable to conditions, & the last Installment to be
indorsed over by the Vendue master, to the Seller with
all the right of Summary Execution

Alexander
Fraser of
Mr Seaforth
24,000.

Twenty four thousand Guilders

Lot	No ^o Neg ^o	Names	Purchaser	Sum	Lot	No ^o Neg ^o	Names	Purchaser	Sum
1		Adam			19		Brought up		19,000
		Nanny			3	5	Alison		
		Barrington					Sarah		
		Theresa					Rebet		
		Rolin					Margdalene		
		Nelly					Bess	Lewis Cammion	6,000
		Thommy	Robert Selkirk	5,700	4	2	Archy	James Gordon	5,785
2	12	Lambo					Venus		
		Dell			5	3	Boobswain		
		William					Elice &		
		Michael					Child	James Walcott	3,250
		Mumme			6	1	Abraham	Chas Dixon	2,000
		Matty					Alexander		
		Ann			7	5	Isabelle		
		James					Isaac		
		Elizabeth					Stacia		
		Lokey					Morgan	Spencer & Watson	5,800
		Bella							
		Isabelle	McJury, Sandbach & Co	13,300		35	Brought over		4,180
19		Brought up		19,000					

Robert Gordon was from Inverness. This document includes a list of the enslaved people sold on Huntly Estate, Demerara (now Guyana) and Borlum plantation, Berbice.

Notes

What do you notice about the surnames of the people purchasing enslaved people from Robert Gordon?

<https://www.nms.ac.uk/discover-catalogue/the-experiences-of-enslaved-people>

Inverness, Highland

Background

John Fraser was born in 1769 in Inverness. He became a merchant, working with firms based in Glasgow and Liverpool. In 1799 he married a woman named Phenda at Crawford's Island, one of the Isles de Los. Phenda was a West African, who probably identified as either Susu or Baga. Fraser established a slave-trading business at Bangalan on the upper Pongo River. They had five children: James, Margaret, Mary Ann, Eleanor, and Elizabeth.

They probably lived in typical slaver-trader's dwelling: a two-storey house, built of sun-dried mud bricks, with outbuildings, a large courtyard and a barracoon to confine enslaved people. The family's living quarters were on the top (second) floor, with the ground floor reserved for trading and commercial work. Fraser likely stored trade goods there, tobacco, cloth, gunpowder, guns, ivory, gold, hides, beeswax and so on.

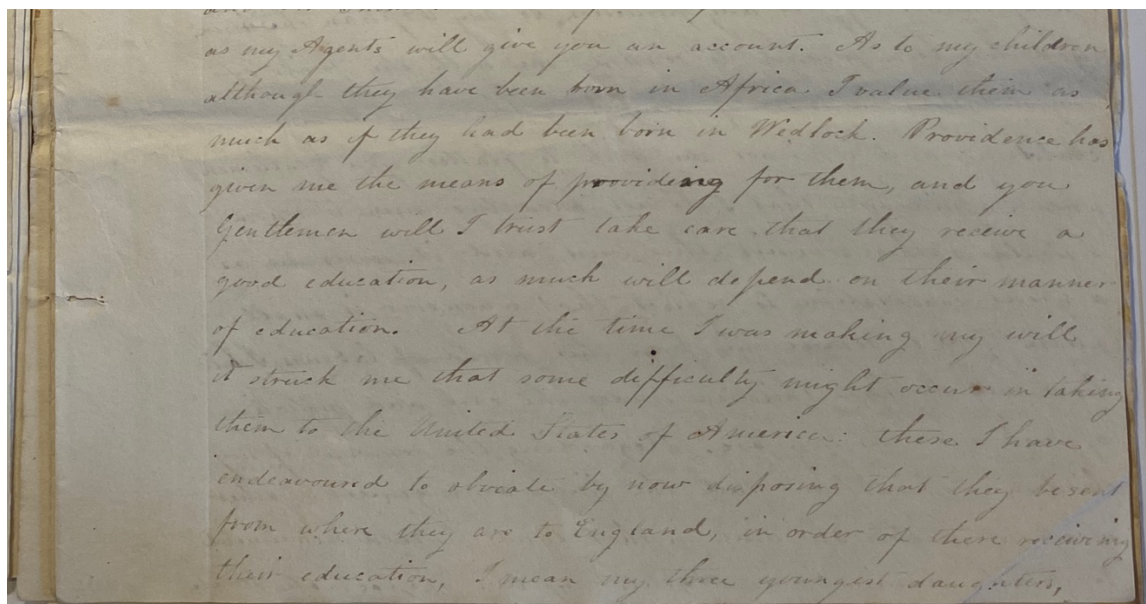
In 1807, Fraser moved from Bangalan to Charleston in South Carolina, then to Florida. He continued to transport enslaved people across the Atlantic (even after the British and American ban) for his own plantations. He left Florida for West Africa in 1811 but returned after the Patriot Rebellion (an attempt to annex the territory to the United States) destroyed his plantations. He drowned in 1813 in St Johns River.

His Last Will left generous bequests for his brother Archibald and sister Ann, but the majority of his estate was to be liquidated for the benefit of his children in Rio Pongo. It also instructed his friends, Charleston merchants Andrew Charles and Thomas Napier to act as guardians for his five children. Margaret was sent to Liverpool as a four-year-old to be educated but died there in February 1818. James was at school in Charleston in 1813, but left in 1817. The three girls attended a Church Missionary Society school at Bashia in Rio Pongo.

His will also freed Mamado Yonge, his wife Susanna, an interpreter named Charles, and his family. The rest of the people enslaved by Fraser in the Rio Pongo were sold on his death, with the exception of ten who were left to his wife Phenda. Fraser's sister Ann still lived in Scotland, and may have met her nieces and nephews there when they travelled to Liverpool for education.

Ann married a draper, William Roberston in Inverness, but soon moved to East Florida and launched a law-suit to attempt to disinherit Phenda and her children on the grounds that they were "slaves residing in a foreign country" and thus ineligible to inherit property in the Americas.

However, the surviving children, Eleanor, Mary Ann and Elizabeth Fraser appointed an American slave trade, Stiles Edward Lightburn, who lived in the Rio Pongo, as their attorney and sought to challenge Ann's suit. In this, they were only partially successful. Ann was able to increase her share of the inheritance from \$8,800 to more than \$50,000 and it took thirty-eight years before Elizabeth, the sole survivor, received her father's fortune.



Letter from John Fraser to his friends merchants Andrew Charles and Thomas Napier, 17 August, 1811.

“As to my children, although they have been born in Africa I value them as much as if they had been born in Wedlock. Providence has given me the means of providing for them, and you Gentlemen will I trust take care that they receive a good education, as much will depend on their manner of education. At the time I was making my will it struck me that some difficulty might occur in taking them to the United States of America: these I have endeavoured to obviate by now disposing that they be sent from where they are to England, in order of there receiving their education, I mean my three youngest daughters Mary Ann, Elenor, and Elizabeth; the oldest has been in England since the fourth year of her age, and is now under the care of my friend Mr Thomas Powell. My son is in Charleston and I could desire that he was sent to a good College, leaving it to you whether that is to be in the United States or in England, where no particular distinction is made as to colour; but so much more of good conduct and manners. I am confident Gentlemen that you will act in this matter for the benefit of these creatures which I commit to your charge. Owing to my having lived absent from my country so long, I am unacquainted with the character of my distant relations who may yet be alive. Of my Brother I have not heard these fifteen years and he was then in China: I fear he is no longer among the living: and my Sister is unmarried and she consequently cannot afford any protection to my Orphan children.”

Notes

The history of John Fraser and his family can be used to explore several different themes:

First, that the **white litigants based in Florida (his Scottish relatives) had a considerable advantage in the legal system over his African family**. His sister Ann was able to delay the rightful inheritance of his children for a considerable period of time, partly because she was able to make arguments along racial lines. Fraser's children relied on the representation of white men, mostly slave-traders, in order to be able to navigate the judicial system.

Second, we can see how **slavery operated in tandem in West Africa and the Americas**. Enslaved people were mostly "war captives" captured by Fula armies in the interior, far from the coast. Enslaved people were purchased from caravans in the Rio Pongo, and then worked in agriculture, eg rice production, until their sale to European slave-traders. The rice they cultivated could be sold with them as provisions for the slave ships. The abolition of the slave trade did not end the enslavement of people in West Africa, who could still be profitably out to work in plantations growing rice, peanuts, cotton, etc.

Third, much **trading activity in this region was controlled by the Afro-European descendants of white merchants who settled in West Africa and married African women**. John Fraser was only one of many men with an African wife and children. These kinship ties helped these men to establish trade links and navigate local politics. As well as commercial advantages, at least some of the men also formed strong emotional bonds.

Questions

What advantages did Euro-African families have in trade in West Africa?

How was slavery in West Africa linked to slavery in the Caribbean and Americas?

What does this tell you about different attitudes towards "race" in West Africa and America?

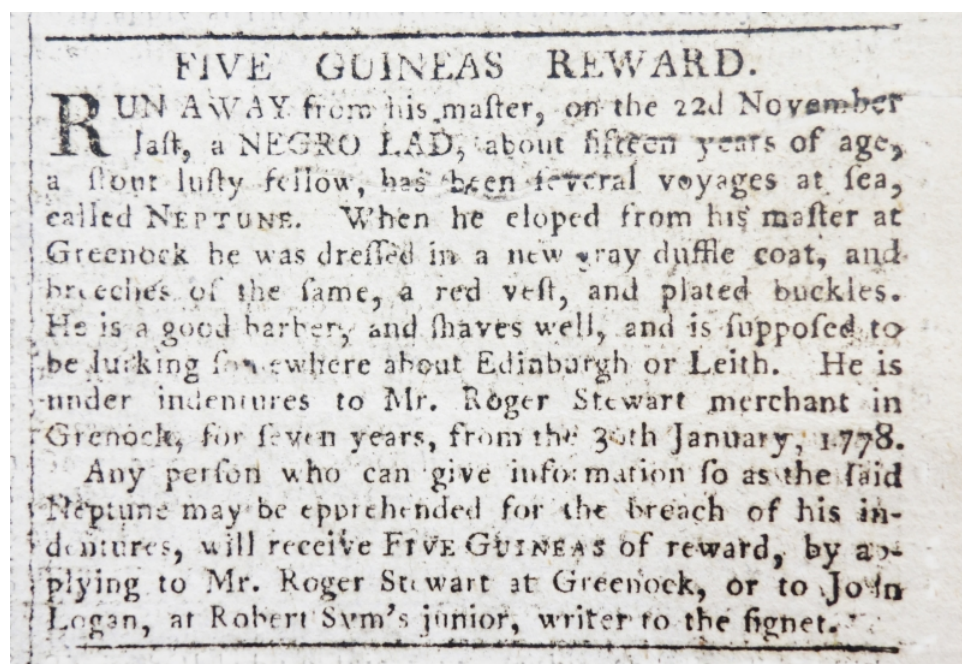
Further reading

Pernille Ipsen, "The Christened Mulatresses': Euro-African Families in a Slave-Trading Town", *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 70:2, 371-398.

Daniel L. Schafer, "Family Ties that bind: Anglo-African slave traders in Africa and Florida, John Fraser and his descendants", *Slavery and Abolition*, 20:3, 1-12.

Inverclyde

From the British Library Collection: *Edinburgh Evening Advertiser*, 24 December 1779

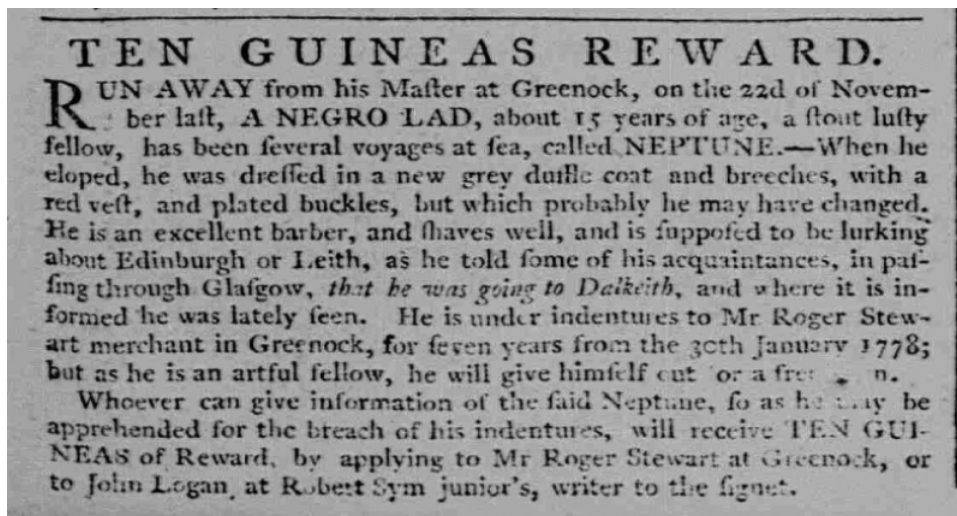


FIVE GUINEAS REWARD.

RUN AWAY from his master, on the 22d November last, a NEGRO LAD, about fifteen years of age, a stout lusty fellow, has been several voyages at sea, called NEPTUNE. When he eloped from his master at Greenock he was dressed in a new gray duffle coat, and breeches of the same, a red vest, and plated buckles. He is a good barber, and shaves well, and is supposed to be lurking somewhere about Edinburgh or Leith. He is under indentures to Mr. Roger Stewart merchant in Greenock, for seven years, from the 30th January, 1778.

Any person who can give information so as the said Neptune may be apprehended for the breach of his indentures, will receive FIVE GUINEAS of reward, by applying to Mr. Roger Stewart at Greenock, or to John Logan, at Robert Sym's junior, writer to the signet.

<https://runaways.gla.ac.uk/database/display/?rid=35>



TEN GUINEAS REWARD.

RUN AWAY from his Master at Greenock, on the 22d of November last, A NEGRO LAD, about 15 years of age, a stout lusty fellow, has been several voyages at sea, called NEPTUNE. —When he eloped, he was dressed in a new grey duffle coat and breeches, with a red vest, and plated buckles, but which probably he may have changed. He is an excellent barber, and shaves well, and is supposed to be lurking about Edinburgh or Leith, as he told some of his acquaintances, in passing through Glasgow, *that he was going to Dalkeith*, and where it is informed he was lately seen. He is under indentures to Mr Roger Stewart merchant in Greenock, for seven years from the 30th January 1778; but as he is an artful fellow, he will give himself out for a fre[e ma]n.

Whoever can give information of the said Neptune, so as he may be apprehended for the breach of his indentures, will receive TEN GUINEAS of Reward, by applying to Mr Roger Stewart at Greenock, or to John Logan, at Robert Sym junior's, writer to the signet.

<https://runaways.gla.ac.uk/database/display/?rid=42>

Notes

These two advertisements (*Edinburgh Evening Advertiser*, 24 December 1779 and *Caledonian Mercury*, 22 December 1779) appear to be searching for the same person. What are the similarities between the advertisements? What differences do you notice?

Moray and Na h-Eileanan Siar (Western Isles)

Journal of Alexander Innes (born 1792) of Loanhead near Rathven, Banffshire,
National Library of Scotland, MS.17956

Distance per Log 183 Miles
 Lat. observed $17^{\circ} 33''$
 Longt by Acct $74^{\circ} 43''$
 Diff of Lat. from Cullin $48^{\circ} 10''$
 D^o of Longt. from D^o $7^{\circ} 48''$
 Thursday 18th Dec - 1823
 Breeze commenced with strong breezes
 and cloudy weather at 6 P.M. saw the Island
 At 7 A.M. Morant Point bore S. by E. distant
 two leagues. it is a large promontory on the west
 side of the Island. At 10 A.M. took a Pilot
 on board off Port Noyel. At 1 P.M. brought up
 in the Narrows. At 3 P.M. I went up to King's
 town in a canoe with the Captain. —
 Distance per Log 82 miles
 Lat by Observation $18^{\circ} - 1' - 30''$
 Longt by Acct — $76 - 45$
 Lat. of Cullin Banffshire $57^{\circ} - 43$
 Lat of Jamaica $18^{\circ} -$
 Diff. of Latitude $39^{\circ} - 43''$
 Longitude of Cullin Banffshire $2^{\circ} 51''$
 Longitude of Jamaica $76 - 45$
 Diff of Longitude — $73 - 54$

- Colbecks Wednesday 14th Jan 1824

Harvest commenced this day. The Slaves are all employed cutting Canes, they remind me of a Band of Reapers in Scotland. I am not yet sufficiently acquainted with the Planting Business as to be able to give an account of the Process.

I was shocked to day beyond measure at the inhuman, cruel manner Mr Spenser directed a poor old Female Slave to be punished who is large in the Family way. The Negroes upon the Property are very quiet, but still they have a great share of the propensities of savage nature (Idleness & Profligacy.) There is no doubt that the Island is at present in a very agitated state. Superstition is marshalling its ranks, prompt for vengeance; and sounding its Call through all the dense ranks of ignorance. Such conduct as Mr Spenser's this morning is enough to rouse the spirit of revenge in any people. Much has been said by Mr Wilberforce and others in the British Senate on Slavery. I am clearly of opinion if Emancipation were granted then that they would become the most miserable creatures on earth. Respecting slavery in the abstract there can not be two opinions, but to invest people with the full

privileges of freedom, before they are qualified for the experience, and enjoyment of those privileges, is no better than turning loose a herd of wild beasts to ravage a Country, and then devour one another. A moral cause must be created, in order to be able to abolish the Physical cause of labour; and a motive must be shewn which induces the English rustic to labour, to bear upon the Negro; when the Negro peasant will work regularly like the White peasant then he ought to be free. I am of opinion that much manual labour might be saved in this Country if the Plough was introduced in place of the Spade, the majority of the Planters here are Scotchmen, and too much wedded to prejudice and old customs.

- Colbecks Sunday 18th Jan 1824

Mr Spenser the Overseer was dismissed to day by order of Mr McInnes, and a Mr Simpson has been appointed in his place. I regret Mr Spenser having left us, he is an intelligent gentleman like man. His cruelty to the Slaves was very reprehensible, and I believe the cause of his losing his situation. Mr Simpson is from Orkney he is a vulgar looking fellow. A young man of the name of Fulster an Irishman has come to be Bookeeper.

I had a long conversation to day with several Negroes respecting their notions of religion, they seem to have no idea at all of an hereafter, they pointed to the clouds, and told that there was a good old man there that would be kind to them if they died not tief as they pronounce thief it is much to be regretted that schools are not established in the Island, none of them can either read or write. The Drivers keep an account of the Field work by cutting strange kind of figures on a piece of wood.

- Colbecks Monday 19th Jan 1824

Mr Simpson our new Overseer commenced his career by flogging six old Slaves under my charge. Poor creatures they called to me to assist and protect them. I had a serious row with Simpson and frightened him by threatening to report him to Mr McInnes. He is ashamed of his conduct and has promised me that he will never again interfere with my people. We commenced to distil rum today.

Notes

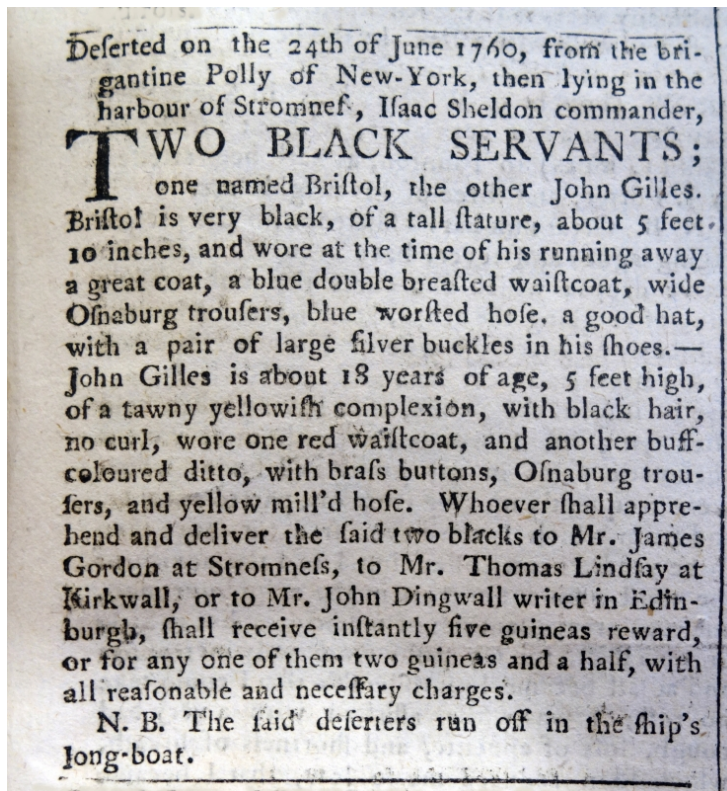
According to the UCL Legacies of British Slavery database, Colbecks was owned by the McLeods: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/2444> ;
<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146640341> ;
<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146640339>

The McLeods were from the Isle of Lewis. Malcolm McLeod was also awarded compensation for another estate in Jamaica – Reid's Pen in St Catherine parish. For more details, see <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/12000>

For more on the McLeods, see David Alston, *Slaves and Highlanders: Silenced Histories of Scotland and the Caribbean* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2021), 50-52; 246-247

Orkney Islands

From the British Library Collection: *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 23 July 1760



“Deserted on the 24th of June 1760, from the brigantine Polly of New-York, then lying in the harbour of Stromness, Isaac Sheldon commander,
TWO BLACK SERVANTS; one named Bristol, the other John Gilles. Bristol is very black, of a tall stature, about 5 feet 10 inches, and wore at the time of his running away a great coat, a blue double breasted waistcoat, wide Osnaburg trousers, blue worsted hose, a good hat, with a pair of large silver buckles in his shoes. -
John Gilles is about 18 years of age, 5 feet high, of a tawny yellowish complexion, with black hair, no curl, wore one red waistcoat, and another buff-coloured ditto, with brass buttons, Osnaburg trousers, and yellow mill’d hose. Whoever shall apprehend and deliver the said two blacks to Mr. James Gordon at Stromness, to Mr. Thomas Lindsay at Kirkwall, or to Mr. John Dingwall writer in Edinburgh, shall receive instantly five guineas reward, or for any one of them two guineas and a half, with all reasonable and necessary charges.
N.B. The said deserters ran off in the ship’s long-boat.”

<https://runaways.gla.ac.uk/database/display/?rid=9>

Perth

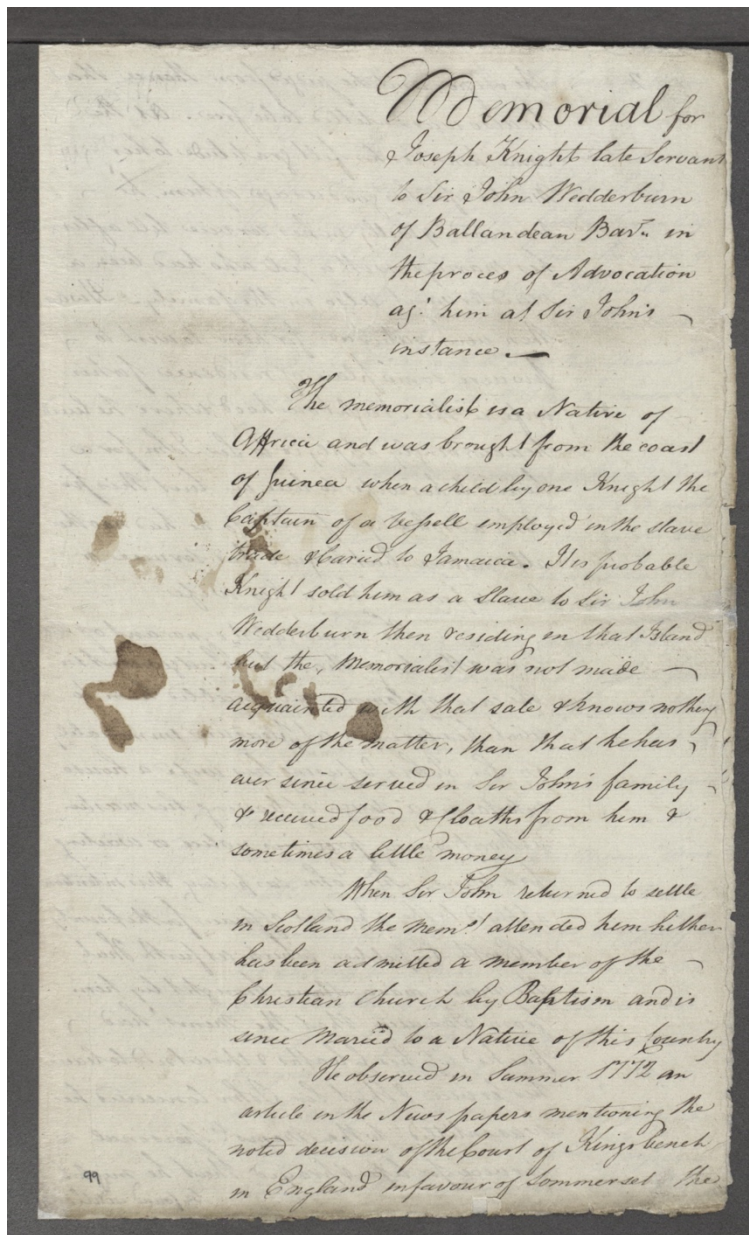


Sir John Baptiste de Medina, 'James Drummond, 2nd titular Duke of Perth, 1673 - 1720. Jacobite' and an unnamed enslaved child, [National Galleries of Scotland](#)

Questions

What do images like this tell us about how people in Scotland thought about slavery in the late 17th century?

Why do you think the boy remains unnamed?



"Memorial for a Joseph Knight late Servant to Sir John Wedderburn of Ballandean in the process of Advocation as him at Sir John's instance—

The memorialist is a Nation of Affrica and was brought from the coast of Guinea when a child by one Knight the Captain of a vessel employed in the slave trade & carried to Jamaica. This probable Knight sold him as a slave to Sir John Wedderburn then resigning in that Island but the memorialist was not made acquainted with that sale & knows nothing more of the matter, than that he has ever since served in Sir John's family & received food & Cloaths from him & sometimes a little money.

When Sir John returned to settle in Scotland the Mem. attended him hither has been admitted a member of the Christian Church by Baptism and is since married to a Native of this Country.”

A good summary of this cases is available here:

<https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/research/learning/slavery/slavery-freedom-or-perpetual-servitude-the-joseph-knight-case>

Notes

This extract is taken from the 1774 Process, Joseph Knight against Sir John Wedderburn of Ballendean, the papers of a case taken by Joseph Knight against his enslaver in the Sheriff Court of Perth. In this significant case, Joseph Knight decided to bring a case against his enslaver to be able to leave his service. Knight had read about the Somerset case in England in 1772. He was recently married and had a child who died. His desire to live with his wife, along with his belief that the Somerset decision had set enslaved people free, inspired him to press for his freedom through the courts.

Joseph Knight was transported from [Cape Coast Castle](#) to [Montego Bay](#) in Jamaica on-board the Phoenix (Voyages ID: 17601). He left West Africa in 1764, arriving in Jamaica in 1765 where he was purchased by John Wedderburn. At Ballindean Estate in Perthshire, he served Wedderburn in his house and was eventually baptized. Working there, he met his wife

Questions

How do you think Joseph Knight imagined his life as a free man?

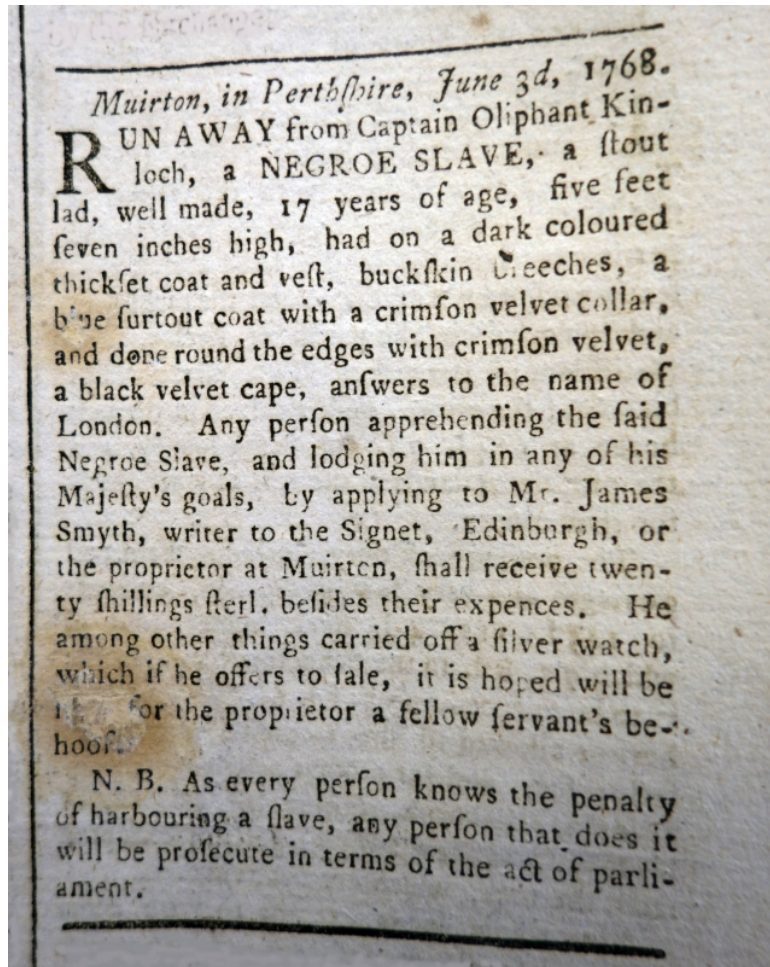
Why did the Somerset case inspire him?

Perthshire

From the British Library Collection: *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 7 June 1768

"Muirton, in Perthshire, June 3d, 1768.

RUN AWAY from Captain Oliphant Kinloch, a NEGROE SLAVE, a stout lad, well made, 17 years of age, five feet seven inches high, had on a dark coloured thickset coat and vest, buckskin breeches, a blue surtout coat with a crimson velvet collar, and done round the edges with crimson velvet, a black velvet cape, answers to the name of London. Any person apprehending the said Negroe Slave, and lodging him in any of his Majesty's goals, by applying to Mr. James Smyth, writer to the Signet, Edinburgh, or the proprietor at Muirton, shall receive twenty shillings sterl. besides their expences. He among other things, carried off a silver watch, which, if he offers to sale, it is hoped will be stopped for the proprietor a fellow-servant's behoof.



N. B. As every person knows the penalty of harbouring a slave, any person that does it will be prosecute in terms of the act of parliament."

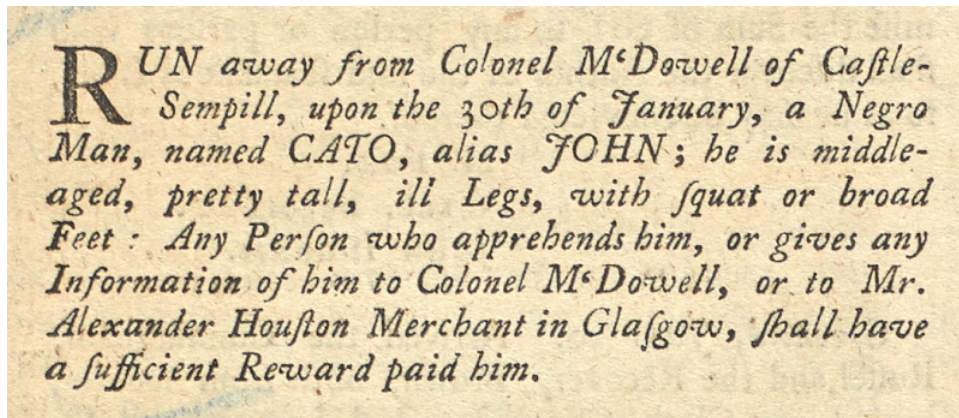
<https://runaways.gla.ac.uk/database/display/?rid=32>

See information about George Oliphant Kinloch here:

<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/2146652717>

Renfrewshire

From the British Library Collection: *Glasgow Courant*, 1 February 1748



RUN away from Colonel M^dDowell of Castle-Sempill, upon the 30th of January, a Negro Man, named CATO, alias JOHN; he is middle-aged, pretty tall, ill Legs, with squat or broad Feet: Any Person who apprehends him, or gives any Information of him to Colonel M^dDowell, or to Mr. Alexander Houston Merchant in Glasgow, shall have a sufficient Reward paid him.

RUN away from Colonel McDowell of Castle-Sempill, upon the 30th of January, a Negro Man, named CATO, alias JOHN; he is middle-aged, pretty tall, ill Legs, with squat or broad Feet: Any Person who apprehends him, or gives any Information of him to Colonel McDowell, or to Mr. Alexander Houston Merchant in Glasgow, shall have a sufficient Reward paid him.

<https://runaways.gla.ac.uk/database/display/?rid=51>

Notes

Can you find Colonel McDowall's entry in the Legacies of British Slave-Ownership database?

www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs

What does it tell you about him?

Historian Stuart Nisbet has found evidence that McDowall was involved in the voyages of the slave ship Hannover. Can you find this ship in Voyages: A Slave Trade Database?

www.slavevoyages.org

References

For more on McDowall, see Stuart M. Nisbet, 'Early Scottish Sugar Planters in the Leeward Islands, c. 1660-1740' in T.M. Devine (ed.), *Recovering Scotland's Slavery Past: The Caribbean Connection*

Scottish Borders



Paxton House, wikicommons

Paxton House has a wealth of archival sources available online about the Waltham and Paraclete slave plantations. You can explore their collection here:

<https://ehive.com/collections/4646/paxton-house>

The lists of enslaved people give their names, ages and occupations. This is a useful starting point to think about the range of skills enslaved people had in agriculture; carpentry; childcare; medicine; cooking; and more. These lists also show how children and the elderly were also labouring on the plantation.

And find out more about the connections between the house and its luxurious furnishings and the labour of enslaved people here:

<https://paxtonhouse.co.uk/discover/history/caribbean-connections/>

You can also find out more about their research into how enslaved people dressed here; <https://paxtonhouse.co.uk/news/how-did-enslaved-people-dress-in-the-1800s/>

This might fit well with a discussion about [Stanley Mills](#) and [New Lanark Mill](#).



James Innes (1747-1798), from Shetland, was an enslaver in Portland Parish, Jamaica. This is a copy of the inventory of James Innes, including a list of enslaved people, from 1798.

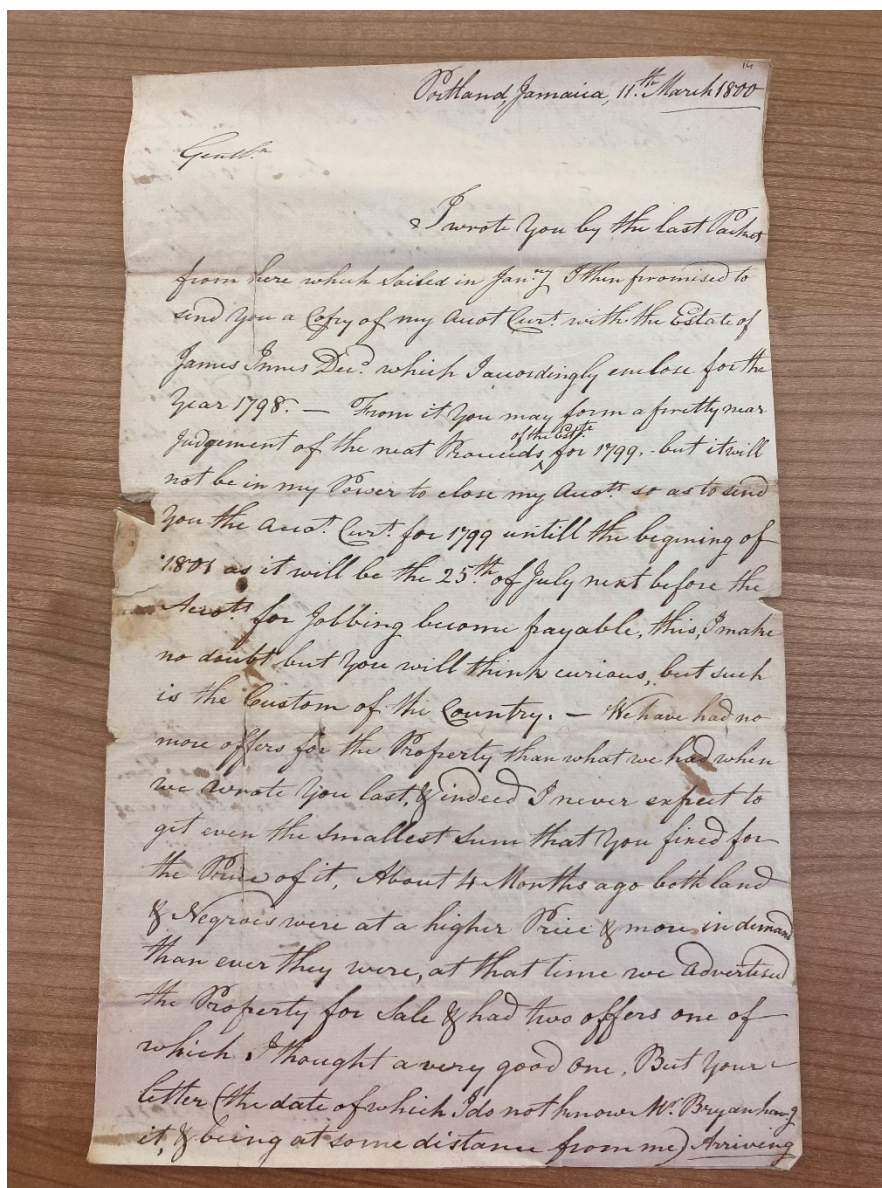
Notes

<https://maps.nls.uk/jamaica/robertson.html>

Letter of Archibald Anderson to Robert Scollay and Thomas Bolt., 1800.

National Library of Scotland, MS.50277 folios 14-15

James Innes had a son James Innes, whose mother was an enslaved woman. These three letters concern James's journey to Shetland after the death of his father (in 1798). It is clear from the letters that James Innes Jr's freedom from enslavement and his journey to Shetland (in 1803) were financed by the sale of the other people his father had enslaved. For more on James Innes Jr., see https://www.shetlandmuseumandarchives.org.uk/site/assets/files/1689/unkans_no5.pdf



Portland, Jamaica, 11th March 1800

Gentln

I wrote you by the last Packet? from here which Sailed in January. I then promised to send you a Copy of my ??? ??? with the Estate of James Innes Dec. which I accordingly enclose for the Year 1798. – From it you may form a pretty near judgement of the neat proceeds of the Estate for 1799, but it will not be in my Power to close my accost so as to send you the accot ??? for 1799 untill the beginning of 1800 as it will be the 25th of July next before the Accots for Jobbing become payable, this, I make no doubt but you will think curious, but such is the Custom of the Country. – We have had no more offers for the Property than what we had when we wrote you last, & indeed I never expect to get even the Smallest Sum that you fined for the Price of it, About 4 Months ago both land & Negroes were at a higher Price & more in demand than ever they were, at that time we advertised the Property for Sale & had two offers one of which I thought a very good one, But your letter (the date of which I do not know Mr Bryan having it, & being at some distance from me) Arriving

Arriving just a stop to the sale, And so fluctuating is the Value of Property in this Island that I am sure, it would not sell now for £1000 less than what could have been got for it at that time However I hope the Value of Land & Negroes will come round again & that you will send some Person out who you know & can confide in, as although the Will empowers the Exect.ors here to sell the Property whenever they think proper, yet it would be disagreeable to them to do it without your afrobation and in my opinion the sooner it is sold the better for the Heirs, as in the present Situation the Land cannot be improved & this is a risk in the life of the Negroes & all that can be neated by the jobbing the Negroes after paying all enfrences will be very little more than the Interest of the Money was it sold –

Mr. Innes's respected Son James Innes is well & lives with his Mother on Anchovy Estate, (as I have left that Estate now & live on a small place of my own near by) I expected His freedom would have been got this year & He sent home for Education but his Father's Property not being Sold has put a stop to that for the present. With best Respects to You & Families. I am Gentlemen Your most Obt. Servt. –

Arch.d Anderson

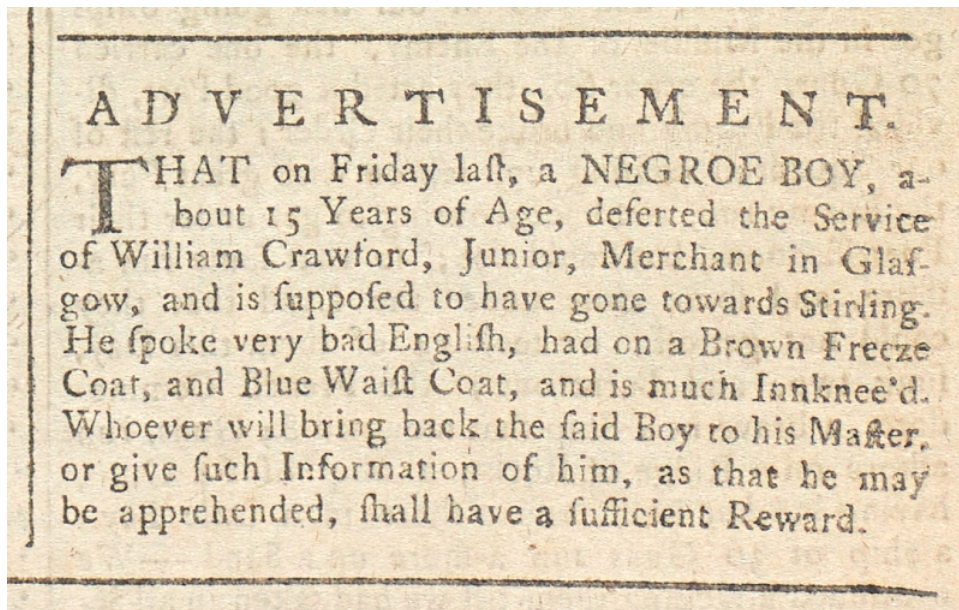
Messts Robt. Scoally & Thos. Bolt

Shetland

For more on Anchovy Valley in Portland, Jamaica, see
<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/12829>

Stirling

From the British Library Collection: *Glasgow Journal*, 9 January 1746



That on Friday last, a NEGROE BOY about fifteen Years of Age, deserted the Service of William Crawford, Junior, Merchant in Glasgow, and is supposed to have gone towards Stirling. He spoke very bad English, had on a Brown Freeze Coat, and Blue Waist Coat, and is much Innknee'd. Whoever will bring back the said Boy to his Master, or give such Information of him, as that he may be apprehended, shall have a sufficient Reward.

<https://runaways.gla.ac.uk/database/display/?rid=3>

The Craigengelt Slave Window, Church of the Holy Rude, Stirling



Commissioned from James Ballantine of Edinburgh in 1869, in memory of John Dick of Craigengelt. The original drawing was by Sir George Harvey, President of the Royal Scottish Academy, and was intended as an implicit critique of Stirling of Keir, a Glasgow tycoon made wealthy from Caribbean slavery. The window raises interesting questions about the memory of slavery in Scotland a generation after its abolition in the British Empire. Association with slavery was clearly regarded as shameful.

<https://www.smithartgalleryandmuseum.co.uk/chains-and-slavery/>

Thanks to Dr Kieran German for suggesting this source.