

Autumn Number 2020/2



*Statue of Henry Dundas in St Andrews
Square Edinburgh*

Vilified by many for his part in delaying the abolition of the Transatlantic Slave Trade, Dundas remains a very controversial figure in the 19th century Scottish political landscape. In his capacity of advocate he defended Joseph Knight before the Court of Session in 1777 and his assertion that negroes were not racially inferior helped to enshrine the concept that slavery was illegal in Scotland.

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This edition of Ayrshire Notes has been produced to celebrate Black History month which takes place every year in October (February in USA).

Due to the current pandemic there are restraints on the meetings held by local societies at present. Hence the truncated information on syllabuses.

Frederick Douglass and Anti-Slavery Support in Ayrshire by Barbara Graham

As the morning of Monday, 23rd March 1846, dawned, the Reverend Robert Renwick of Cathcart Relief Church in Ayr must have been quietly confident that his church would be packed to the rafters that evening. It was to be his pleasure to introduce the young American orator, Frederick Douglass, at his first speaking engagement in Ayrshire.

By now this runaway slave was famous throughout the land. Born in Maryland in 1818, Frederick Washington Bailey was the son of a white man and a slave. His mixed ancestry won him no favours, however, and in 1838 he seized the opportunity to escape to freedom in the northern states of America. By law he could be claimed by his owner if traced and so he changed his name. He chose the name Douglass for its connection with Sir James Douglas, hero of Sir Walter Scott's poem, *The Lady of the Lake*¹.

By 1841 Douglass had become a lecturer for the American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS), telling his own story and painting graphic pictures of life under the South's "peculiar institution". In 1845 the Society paid for the publication of Douglass's biography, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, which became a best seller across northern states. His fame brought risks, however, as it made it easier for his owner to identify Douglass as his runaway slave. To avoid this fate, the AASS sent Douglass on a speaking tour in Britain and Ireland, where his powerful oratory attracted huge crowds wherever he went.

It had not been difficult for Rev. Renwick to persuade Douglass to

¹ Our Bondage and Our Freedom: Frederick Douglass and Family – Their Struggles for Liberty, 1818-2018, University of Edinburgh, 2018 at <https://ourbondageourfreedom.llc.ed.ac.uk/maps/>

come to Ayrshire. Not only was he happy to press the anti-slavery cause on any podium, but he was a great admirer of Robert Burns. His first purchase of a book with his earnings as a free man was a volume of Burns' poems, from which he quoted extensively². He felt a strong bond with Burns as a man who "*broke loose from the moorings which society had thrown around him*"³. Now he had an opportunity to visit the ploughman poet's birthplace and see those scenes from which "*old Scotia's grandeur springs*".

Prior to the evening's meeting, Rev. Renwick took great delight in escorting Douglass to Alloway to view Burns' cottage and the monument erected in 1828.

The highlight of the visit was an interview with the poet's sister, Isabella Burns Begg, and her daughters. Douglass later wrote of his favourable impression of the family.

"Mrs Beggs is the youngest sister of Robert Burns, and though now approaching 80, she does not look to be more than sixty. She enjoys good health, is a spirited looking woman, and bids fair to live yet many days. The two daughters are truly fine looking women. Coal black hair, full, high foreheads, and jet black eyes, sparkling with the poetic fire which illumined the breast of their brilliant uncle⁴."

If the Burns family lived up to his expectations, so too did the fervour of the audiences who packed into Cathcart Church on that evening and again on the next day. According to the *Ayr*

² Douglass in Scotland: <https://www.bulldozia.com/douglass-in-scotland/speaking-engagements/ayr-23-march-1846/> 2018

³ Letter of Douglass to Anne Mott, printed in *Albany Evening Journal*, 13 June 1846, at <https://www.bulldozia.com/douglass-in-scotland/douglass-burns-and-scott/douglass-letter-from-ayr/> 2018

⁴ Letter of Douglass to Anne Mott, printed in *Albany Evening Journal*, 13 June 1846, at <https://www.bulldozia.com/douglass-in-scotland/douglass-burns-and-scott/douglass-letter-from-ayr/> 2018

Advertiser, “The remarks of the various speakers throughout the night were repeatedly and enthusiastically cheered⁵”.

The reporter’s first impressions were good. “He is possessed of a surprising natural eloquence, which enables him to plead with great effect the wrongs of his dusky brethren, and the novelty of his appearance on the platform, as well as the harrowing scenes he depicted, elicited from the audience the most unequivocal expressions of their sympathy. He is a tall young man, intelligently featured, with a dark complexion, and his whole appearance entirely belies the notion of the inferiority of the negro race.”

Douglass began with a brief personal history before going on to expound on “*the horrors of slavery*” from his own experience. The audience was aghast to learn that in the Southern states there were “25,000 ministers who preached peace and charity on the Sabbath, and left their places of worship to torture their slaves!”

Frederick Douglass as a young man Onondaga Historical Association

Frederick Douglass, Syracuse, New York, July–August 1843; whole-plate daguerreotype by an unknown photographer, from Picturing Frederick Douglass



5 *Ayr Advertiser*, 26 March 1846, <https://www.bulldozia.com/douglass-in-scotland/speaking-engagements/ayr-23-march-1846/> 2018

On 24th March in the same venue, Douglass expanded on this theme, after giving further insight into how he gained his education “*by stealth*”, thanks to a kind mistress who broke the law which at that time forbade teaching slaves to read and write⁶.

In 1843 Scottish society had been rocked by the Disruption, when 450 Church of Scotland ministers had walked out of their charges over the right of patrons to choose ministers, regardless of the wishes of congregations. The rebels formed the Free Church of Scotland, which transferred the right of calling ministers to congregations. This was a bold move which meant that the rebels had to set up new congregations with their own buildings. In a remarkably short time, the seceders, led by Dr Thomas Chalmers, managed to raise £400,000 and build 700 churches throughout Scotland. This was a remarkable achievement – but Frederick Douglass pointed out that it had come at an undesirable moral cost.

As part of their fundraising campaign, the Free Church had sent "missionaries" to American Presbyterian churches, which by this time had split over the slavery issue into separate Northern and Southern denominations. Arriving first in New York, these ambassadors had been met by an Anti-Slavery Society delegation, who had implored them not to raise money from Southern slave owners. Nevertheless, the Free Church men went South, where they raised the sum of £3,000 from churches⁷.

On arrival in Scotland, Douglass joined in the cry which had already been raised by critics in the “*Send back the money!*” campaign. In Ayr, as elsewhere, “*Mr. Douglass dwelt long and*

6 *Ayr Advertiser*, 26 March 1846, <https://www.bulldozia.com/douglass-in-scotland/speaking-engagements/ayr-24-march-1846/> 2018

7 Murray, Hannah-Rose, Scotland – Frederick Douglass in Britain and Ireland, <http://frederickdouglassinbritain.com/journey/scotland/> 2018

eloquently on this part of his subject, gathering warmth as he advanced, and calling loudly, at every sentence, on the Free Church to SEND BACK THE MONEY! This subject occupied his attention till a late period of the evening, the audience all the while expressing their entire concurrence in the sentiments advanced and energetically cheering him.”

Douglass concluded by asking Free Church members to use their influence to prevail upon their church leaders to return this tainted money, but despite this campaign the Free Church converted the money into bricks and mortar.

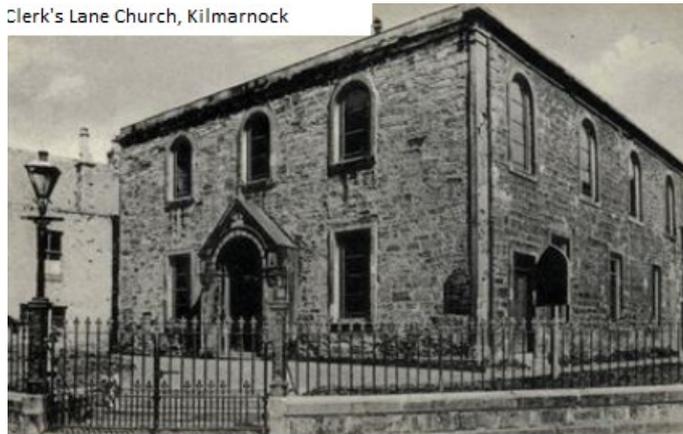


Laigh Kirk, Kilmarnock from Scottish Churches Trust

<https://scotlandschurchestrust.org.uk/church/new-laigh-kirk-kilmarnock/>

From Ayr Frederick Douglass moved to Kilmarnock, where there was a strong Radical and Chartist legacy from the 1820s and 1830s. On Wednesday 25th March, he addressed a “*very respectable*” audience at the George Inn Hall. Clerk’s Lane Evangelical Union Chapel was the venue on the following evening, while on Friday a meeting was held in the Church of Scotland’s Low Church (as the Laigh Kirk was called in an era of Anglicising Scots words)⁸. The Ayr Observer reported that at the Low Church, “*The audience were admitted by tickets, and it is understood that about two thousand were sold, so that the church was densely filled. The audience was composed of men of all sects; but a great proportion belonged to the Dissenters, who loudly cheered him in his severe castigation of the conduct of the Free Church*”⁹.”

Clerk's Lane Church, Kilmarnock



8 Douglass in Scotland; <https://www.bulldozia.com/douglass-in-scotland/speaking-engagements/kilmarnock-25-27-march-1846/>

9 Ayr Observer, 31 March 1846; <https://www.bulldozia.com/douglass-in-scotland/speaking-engagements/kilmarnock-25-27-march-1846/>

Given this hearty support from Dissenters, it was little wonder that Douglass was invited to return to Clerk's Lane Chapel by the Reverend James Morison, who had been expelled from the United Secession Church before forming the Evangelical Union¹⁰. This Anti-Slavery Soiree took place on 3rd April 1846, when "Emancipation songs were sung and a happy and profitable evening was spent by all." With one accord, all present agreed to support all that Douglass had advocated¹¹.

He did not have far to go for his next engagement, a few miles north at Fenwick. There he was the guest of the Fenwick Weavers' Improvement of Knowledge Society. This enlightened group campaigned not only for the abolition of slavery, but also for equal rights for women¹². The venue for the meeting was the United Secession Church.

The Kilmarnock Herald reported that, "*His address was short, on account of the exhaustion of his body from spending every night for some time previously, and from this cause we had not the best opportunity of judging of his oratorical powers.*" Nevertheless, Douglass made an impact, as local handloom weaver, James Taylor, noted in his diary that, "*An uncommonly large meeting agreed unanimously to a resolution condemning churches in this country for having fellowship with the slave-holding churches of America*"¹³.

There was only one more opportunity for Ayrshire supporters to meet Frederick Douglass in 1846 – and that was on a brief stop in

10 [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/James_Morison_\(evangelical\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/James_Morison_(evangelical)) and Douglass in Scotland, <https://www.bulldozia.com/douglass-in-scotland/speaking-engagements/kilmarnock-3-april-1846/>

11 Ayr Advertiser, 9 April 1846; <https://www.bulldozia.com/douglass-in-scotland/speaking-engagements/kilmarnock-3-april-1846/>

12 <https://fenwickweaverscooperative.com/fenwick-weavers-society/history/frederick-douglass/>

13 Douglass in Scotland; <https://www.bulldozia.com/douglass-in-scotland/speaking-engagements/fenwick-4-april-1846/>

Kilmarnock on 2nd October when he was en route to catch a ferry for Belfast¹⁴. This time his companion was William Lloyd Garrison, Chairman of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Despite impromptu arrangements, Douglass noted that, *“We addressed several hundred persons, hastily summoned together, and received their benediction – and, after taking tea with a number of choice lovers of our good cause, we took the cars for Ardrossan.”*

Before Douglass returned to the USA in spring 1847, British supporters had raised funds to pay for his emancipation. Although he could have remained in a country where he felt that, *“I am treated as a man, an equal brother”*, he felt a compelling need to carry on his campaign in America. *“I know it will be hard to endure the kicks and cuffs of the pro-slavery multitude, to which I shall be subjected; but I glory in the battle, as well as in the victory”¹⁵.*

After a long absence, Frederick Douglass returned to Scotland in 1859-60, but it is said that *“his speeches lacked the radical edge of 1846”¹⁶*. After the hanging of radical abolitionist, John Brown, who had tried to trigger a major slave revolt by seizing the Federal arsenal at Harper’s Ferry, Virginia, Douglass felt a need to distance himself from such violence and had fled to Canada. Once again he was well received by abolitionists in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Kilmarnock, but the political climate was divided between these supporters and business people with a vested interest in the booming cotton industry which was heavily dependent on cotton imports from the USA.

14 Douglass in Scotland; <https://www.bulldozia.com/douglass-in-scotland/speaking-engagements/kilmarnock-2-october-1846/>

15 Our Bondage and Our Freedom: Frederick Douglass and Family – Their Struggles for Liberty, 1818-2018, University of Edinburgh, 2018 at <https://ourbondageourfreedom.llc.ed.ac.uk/maps/>

Douglass in Scotland, <https://www.bulldozia.com/douglass-in-scotland/spotlight-edinburgh/>

16 Douglass in Scotland, <https://www.bulldozia.com/douglass-in-scotland/frederick-douglass-american-slave/>

Frederick Douglass continued to fight for equality for African – American people throughout his life. It is typical of the man that his last speaking engagement was in support of women’s rights at the National Council of Women in Washington DC, on 20 April 1895 – the very day that he died of a heart attack at the age of 77¹⁷.

Barbara Graham June 2020

¹⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frederick_Douglass#From_slavery_to_freedom

AMERICA SALUTES AYRSHIRE:

Tributes to anti-slavery supporters in Ayrshire

Ayrshire's connection with slave ownership in the Caribbean sugar plantations has been well explored in recent years¹⁸. Less has been written about the Ayrshire people who campaigned for the abolition of slavery, not only in the British Empire, but also in America. This article sheds light on some early advocates for slave emancipation and a later generation of ardent abolitionists who promoted this reform in the 1860s and gained recognition across the Atlantic for their efforts.

As we trace the history of some of Ayrshire's stately homes, we discover that the wealth of many of their original owners was derived from the sugar plantations of the West Indies.

In 1796, nearly 30 per cent of plantations in Jamaica were owned by Scots and by 1817 32 per cent of the island's slaves laboured on their estates. Jamaica was no exception as Scots were also prominent plantation owners on other Caribbean islands such as St Kitts.

In recent years, painstaking research by historians including Sir Tom Devine, Stephen Mullen and Eric Graham has revealed the huge extent of Scots' involvement. Stephen Mullen calculated that:

“There was a Scots plantation grab in Jamaica and St. Kitts after 1711, and from 1763 in Dominica, St. Vincent, Grenada, Guyana, Antigua, and Trinidad and Tobago. This facilitated the emigration of up to 20,000 sojourners in search of their fortune in the period

¹⁸ <https://www.blackhistorymonth.org.uk/article/section/history-of-slavery/scotland-and-slavery/>, 2015

*1750 to 1800*¹⁹.”

Robert Burns might have been one of these young men but for the success of the Kilmarnock Edition of his poems, as his passage to Jamaica on the brig *Nancy* had been booked in 1786²⁰.

Among the most prominent owners were the Hamiltons of Ayr, the Oswalds of Auchencruive and the Cunyngghams of Glengarnock. The extent of their business interests in the plantations has been investigated by Ayrshire historian, Eric Graham²¹.

Alongside these wealthy families there were many other more modest stake-holders. The full picture is unveiled in the records of the Slave Compensation Commission, which managed the distribution of £20,000,000 compensation awarded to hundreds of slave owners when slavery was abolished throughout the British Empire in 1833. Researchers at the University College London have used these records to create a Legacies of British Slave-Ownership database which can be searched to find out where all the compensated owners lived. This includes biographies of around 3,400 people in Britain, among whom are people at 27 addresses in Ayrshire²².

While some upper and middle class families in Ayrshire undoubtedly benefited from the slave labour economy, there is

19 Stephen Mullen, *Scots and Caribbean Slavery: Ae Fond Kiss and Then We Sever*, published in *Variant Magazine*, 35, Summer 2009. Available at <http://www.variant.org.uk/35texts/AeFondKiss.html>

20 Eric Graham, *Burns and the Sugar Plantocracy of Ayrshire*, Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, monograph 36, 2009

21 Ibidem

22 Legacies of British Slave-Ownership database, University College London <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/>

another aspect of Ayrshire's connection with slavery: namely, the campaigners who advocated the abolition of the "abominable institution". For over seventy years, before and after the abolition of slavery in the British Empire, Ayrshire voices joined with others across Scotland and the UK in condemning slavery and urging politicians to legislate against it.

By the time that Frederick Douglass, escaped slave and powerful orator for the American Anti-Slavery Society, spoke in packed venues in Ayr, Kilmarnock and Fenwick in 1846, he was assured of vast audiences. Indeed, in some places people bought tickets in order to hear his personal story and ardent plea on behalf of slaves²³. Who were all these people and how had they come to espouse this cause so vehemently?

For most audiences this was no sudden whim, based on the novelty of seeing a runaway slave with charisma. Support for abolition of slavery pre-dates Douglass's tour by several decades.

There was clearly a new mood emerging in Scotland in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, as evidenced by the legal decision in the Joseph Knight case in 1778. Knight was a black slave who had been brought from Jamaica to Scotland by his owner, John Wedderburn. On hearing of a successful lawsuit by a slave in England, Knight began a four years fight for freedom on the grounds that slavery was not legal in Scotland. His case was won when the Court of Session decreed in his favour, thus setting

²³ Barbara Graham, *Frederick Douglass and Anti-Slavery Support in Ayrshire*, Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, Ayrshire Notes, Autumn 2020

a precedent for similar litigants²⁴. It is interesting to note that it was only three years earlier that the Colliers and Salters (Scotland) Act of 1775 had liberated this under-class of workers from a serf-like state of permanent bondage to their masters²⁵.

Stimulated by the Scottish Enlightenment, support for slave emancipation continued to grow in the 1780s. One year after the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade was founded in London in 1787, anti-slavery petitions to Parliament had poured in from many parts of Scotland, including Ayrshire.

“By the end of June 1788, the Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, the Town Councils of Paisley and Dundee, and the Chamber of Commerce in Edinburgh had all sent petitions to Parliament. Not only had the Presbyteries of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen also done so, but Kirkwall and Kirkcudbright at the extreme ends of the country joined them and the Synods of Glasgow and Ayr..... had added their voices, frequently prompted by deliverances from several presbyteries within their bounds²⁶.”

By 1792 there were five anti-slavery societies in Scotland, in Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Paisley and Perth. Although there was apparently no branch in Ayrshire, some sympathisers in smaller towns subscribed to societies in the cities. One of these was Reverend Doctor Dalrymple of the Auld Kirk in Ayr, who

²⁴ Slavery, freedom or perpetual servitude? - The Joseph Knight case

<https://webarchive.nrscotland.gov.uk/20170106025723/http://www.nas.gov.uk/about/071022>

²⁵ [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colliers_and_Salters_\(Scotland\)_Act_1775](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colliers_and_Salters_(Scotland)_Act_1775)

²⁶ Iain Whyte, *Scotland and the Abolition of Black Slavery, 1756 – 1838*, Edinburgh University Press, 2006, pp.70-71

subscribed two guineas at the founding of the Edinburgh Anti-Slavery Society in 1789. This set a significant example as Dalrymple was an influential cleric. He had been Moderator of the Church of Scotland's General Assembly in 1781 and became Moderator of Ayr Presbytery in 1792. This may explain why Ayr Presbytery aired its anti-slavery views in national newspapers and supported petitions initiated by other campaigners²⁷.

The abolitionists' first victory came in 1807 with the Slave Trade Act, which banned British participation in the transatlantic trade in human beings between Africa and the Caribbean islands and the USA²⁸. Campaigners' efforts then focused on achieving the next step of banning the use of slave labour on Caribbean and other plantations. This was a direct attack on the source of plantation owners' wealth. It was not until production on British Caribbean plantations began to decline in the 1820s, when Jamaica's output was overtaken by Cuba, that the climate was right to press hard for total abolition of slavery in the British Empire²⁹.

The final push came when there was a large-scale slave revolt in Jamaica in 1831. This led to two Parliamentary commissions of enquiry and finally to the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833. This did not mean immediate emancipation for slaves as they were bound to a period of "apprenticeship" before full freedom was achieved in 1838³⁰. The Slave Compensation Act of 1837 ensured that slave owners were not out of pocket, as around £20,000,000 was paid to them to ease the

²⁷ Ibid., 77–78, 87–88

²⁸ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Slave_Trade_Act_1807

²⁹ Dale W. Tomich, *Slavery in the Circuit of Sugar*, State University of New York Press, 2016. Sourced at <https://www.sunypress.edu/pdf/63296.pdf>, June 2020.

³⁰ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Slavery_Abolition_Act_1833



transition from chattel slavery to employment of the same people in conditions which were scarcely, if at all, better than what they had known as slaves³¹.

British abolitionists did not rest on their laurels at this stage and in 1839 the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was formed with the aim of eradicating slavery worldwide³². Scottish abolitionists eagerly joined in this cause.

In Scotland during the 1820s and 1830s there were other developments which may have contributed to the growth of the abolitionist fervour which supported Frederick Douglass in 1846. Skilled artisans such as weavers were striving for a greater say in the government of the country. This mood boiled over in a week of strikes and protest marches in 1820 in the so-called “Radical War”³³. There were major flashpoints in Paisley, Glasgow, Bonnybridge and Strathaven, but Ayrshire was also well represented in the rising:

“The Irvine Valley, strong weaver territory, produced solid indications of Radical power in Newmilns and Galston, from where there were communication links north-east to Strathaven and south-west to Tarbolton and Mauchline. Kilmarnock and Ayr both saw Radical activity and even south of Ayr there was a spirit of rebellion in Minigaff, Ballantrae and Portpatrick³⁴.”

31 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Slave_Compensation_Act_1837

32 John Oldfield, British Anti-slavery, 2017 Sourced at http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/empire_seapower/antislavery_01.shtml Image sourced at Michael Kaye, The Tools of the Abolitionists, 2017

33 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Radical_War

34 https://www.electricscotland.com/history/1820/1820_rising.htm

The Radical War ended with the execution and transportation of the leaders, but Pandora's box had been opened and the radical spirit lived on, with a desire for equality at its heart.

Its next manifestation was in the People's Charter of 1838. This sprang from disappointment with the very limited expansion of the Parliamentary franchise in the Reform Act of 1832. Beginning in London and Wales, Chartism quickly spread through the UK³⁵.

At a mass meeting in Glasgow in August 1839 a committee was formed to co-ordinate activities across Scotland³⁶. One of Chartism's primary objectives was votes for all men aged 21 and over. Although Chartists' demands did not include votes for women, nevertheless there were at least 23 Female Chartist Associations in Scotland between 1838 and 1852³⁷.

Although Chartism did not overtly espouse the cause of universal slave emancipation, nevertheless at the heart of its beliefs was a desire for human rights to be acknowledged. Evidence of this is seen in the life of Allan Pinkerton of detective fame. A Chartist from the Gorbals, Pinkerton emigrated to Illinois in 1842 and by 1844 was volunteering his home as a safe house for Chicago abolitionists to use on the Underground Railroad for escaped slaves³⁸.

Another influence in favour of abolition of slavery was the

35 <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chartism>

36 Chartist Ancestors, <http://www.chartistancestors.co.uk/great-meeting-scottish-delegates-1839/>

37 Women Chartists in Scotland, <http://www.chartistancestors.co.uk/women-chartists-in-scotland/>

38 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Allan_Pinkerton#Early_life,_career_and_immigration

generation of ministers who followed those who had campaigned for an end to the slave trade. These included hosts of Frederick Douglass of the American Anti-Slavery Society on his speaking tour in 1846. Among them were the Reverend Robert Renwick of Cathcart Relief Church, Ayr, and the Reverend James Morison, co-founder of the Evangelical Union and minister of Clerk's Lane Chapel in Kilmarnock³⁹. On his Scottish travels most of Douglass's hosts came from the Secession and Relief Churches which had split from the Church of Scotland over theological issues. Noticeably absent from the list of hosts were ministers of the newly established Free Church. In its fund-raising campaign to pay for new churches after their departure from the Church of Scotland after the Disruption of 1843, the Free Church had accepted donations from slave-owning Presbyterians in America's southern states. Douglass therefore backed the "Send Back the Money" campaign of Scottish abolitionists in his anti-slavery speeches.

A full account of Douglass's time in Ayrshire has been given in a previous edition of Ayrshire Notes⁴⁰. During that time he spent two days in Ayr in March 1846, managing to fit in a visit to the birthplace of one of his heroes, Robert Burns, and meeting his relatives. He also spoke in Kilmarnock on five days between March and October 1846, while also addressing that hotbed of reform, the Fenwick Weavers' Society, in April⁴¹. At all of these venues, he was well received by large audiences and resolutions were passed, expressing full support of slave emancipation and the

39 Frederick Douglass: Scottish Tours, 1846, <https://www.bulldozia.com/douglass-in-scotland/speaking-engagements/>

40 Barbara Graham, *Frederick Douglass and Anti-Slavery Support in Ayrshire*, Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, Ayrshire Notes, Autumn 2020

41 <https://fenwickweaverscooperative.com/fenwick-weavers-society/history/frederick-douglass/>

“Send Back the Money” campaign.

Attention turns now to the next generation of anti-slavery supporters in the 1860s, who were reading in their newspapers about the events of the American Civil War which were unfolding in that drama across the Atlantic Ocean. In view of the large outflow of Scots emigrants to the USA during preceding decades, many Ayrshire families may also have been hearing first-hand accounts from their relatives in America.

Although Ayrshire was not the worst affected area during the slump in the cotton industry caused by the embargo on cotton exports from the Confederacy, nevertheless many local people depended on cotton for their livelihoods – and none more so than the mill workers of the Irvine Valley villages. Despite this, many cotton workers around the UK supported the Union cause and the ending of slave labour. There are several causes of this counter-intuitive situation, but in recent decades, most emigrants from the Britain’s industrial areas had settled in the northern states of the U.S.A., as there was little hope of finding paid work in the southern states in competition with slave labour. Thus news from migrants known to mill workers in the UK was coming predominantly from the north of America.

In Newmilns there was a thriving Anti-Slavery Society⁴². The date of its origin is unknown as its Minutes Books appear to have been lost, but it seems to have been well established by the mid-1860s. What we know of it comes from reports of incidents in 1864 and

42 R.M.Paterson, *Newmilns Weavers and the American Civil War*, Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 1949

1865.

These reports tell us who were the leading lights in the Society. John Donald, who was said to be “*the driving force of Newmilns Anti-Slavery Society*”, was a local Chartist leader who had agitated for wider electoral reform since the 1830s⁴³. The President in 1864 was Matthew Pollock, who, according to the Post Office directory of 1868 for Kilmarnock and district, was an ironmonger in Newmilns⁴⁴. Judging from accounts of his speeches to the Society at the meetings of 1864 and 1865, he was a confident and eloquent public speaker⁴⁵.

An exchange of letters in December 1864 between the U.S. Minister in London, Charles Francis Adams, and the U.S. Secretary of State, William Seward, shows that congratulations on the re-election of President Lincoln had been received from British supporters of his emancipation of slaves in the Confederacy. Amongst these was a copy of the minutes of a meeting of Newmilns Anti-Slavery Society on 25th November 1864⁴⁶. It is clear from these minutes that the Society had previously been in contact with the U.S. Consul in Glasgow, Warner Underwood. The purpose of the meeting was to receive from Mr Underwood “*two volumes of correspondence between the American Government and all other Governments*” during this Consul’s term of office from 1862 - 64. As Mr Underwood had returned to the U.S.A. by November, the presentation was made

43 R.M.Paterson, *Newmilns Weavers and the American Civil War*, Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 1949

44 Post Office Directory, Kilmarnock, 1868, <https://digital.nls.uk/directories/browse/archive/86537532>

45 R.M. Paterson, *op.cit.*

46 National Archives, Washington DC, Record Group 59, General Records of the Department of State, cited by R.M. Paterson, see above.

by Mr. John Brooks, a black businessman residing in Glasgow.

There is no mention in this minute of an American flag, but an article in “The Glasgow Herald” on 16th December 1864 mentions that at a “*great gala day a few months ago*” the Society had been presented with an American flag. The “Glasgow Herald” was officially neutral, but the Editor appears to have had one eye on the Clydeside shipbuilding community who were making a fortune from building ships for the Confederacy and the merchants who were not so covertly profiting from a brisk trade in exports and imports on blockade runners. The tone of the article suggests a degree of cynicism about village weavers communicating with the higher echelons of the U.S. Government:

“The Society rose up as one man, or perhaps as half-a-dozen altogether, and planted the Yankee banner either on the church steeple or on the lock-up house – we forget which – where it fluttered on the breeze for a few hours, and might well have given rise to the supposition that the village had just sworn allegiance to the Federal President and the Federal Constitution⁴⁷.”

The villagers may not have sworn such an oath, but they clearly admired and identified with President Lincoln, “Honest Abe”, who had risen from birth in a log cabin to the highest office of state in the U.S.A. They were appalled in April 1865 to learn of his assassination and they expressed their “*lamentations over the sad event*” to Lincoln’s successor, President Andrew Johnson⁴⁸.



⁴⁷ Glasgow Herald, 16 December 1864

⁴⁸ National Archives, Washington D.C., Appendix to American Diplomatic Correspondence of 1865 on the Assassination of Abraham Lincoln, cited by R.M. Paterson, op. cit.

Lacking the Society's Minute Books, it is not possible to say how long the Newmilns Anti-Slavery Society continued in existence. Some abolitionists in other societies turned their attention to supporting the former slaves after emancipation, but few Freedmen's Aid Societies lasted very long after the 1860s.

A reminder of the Society has a place of honour in Loudon Church, Newmilns. This is not the original flag, but a substitute for one which was lost. This flag was given in 1949 by U.S. Consul, Dayle McDonough, to Newmilns Civic Week Committee, which held a historical pageant in that year⁴⁹.

Further north in the county, another valiant supporter of the emancipation cause and the victory of the Union also received a reward for his endeavours. Arthur Guthrie was the Editor of the "Ardrossan and Saltcoats Herald", which he had established in 1853. Intended for a mass audience, this publication claimed to be "*the oldest penny newspaper in Scotland*". By 1859 circulation had grown to 5,500. Always entrepreneurial, Guthrie went on to establish the "Irvine and Fullarton Times" (1873) and the "Cumnock News" (1880)⁵⁰.

His political inclinations may be surmised from the fact that he employed Keir Hardie, an active organiser of miners' strikes, as a journalist on the "Cumnock News", "*a paper loyal to the pro-labour Liberal Party*"⁵¹. Two decades earlier these views predisposed him to favour the Unionist cause in the U.S.A.

49 Image: Loudon Church, Newmilns website, <https://loudonchurch.org/index.php/photo-gallery>

50 Glasgow West End Addresses and Their Occupants, 1836-1915, http://www.glasgowwestaddress.co.uk/1891_Book/Guthrie_Arthur.htm

51 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Keir_Hardie#Early_life

It is not clear how his supportive editorials came to the attention of “*a few of your friends*” in New York⁵², but it is known that “*sailors’ wives (sent) copies (of the newspaper)...to their absent husbands*”, some of whom may have served on vessels which transported emigrants and other commodities across the Atlantic⁵³.

In March 1865, as the American Civil War was drawing to a successful conclusion for the Federal Government, these New York residents sent to Arthur Guthrie a handsome scroll entitled, A Tribute to the “Herald”, and a cane (walking stick), with the following inscription:

“Presented to Arthur Guthrie, Esq., Editor of ‘The Ardrossan and Saltcoats Herald’, by friends in New York, in token of their appreciation of his words of cheer and encouraging defence of the Union Cause, as opposed to the Slaveholders Rebellion.

New York, March 4th, 1865”

In the scroll their praise of Guthrie’s editorials was generous:

“During the dark days of the struggle, when advocates were few and far between; when the columns of the mass of the foreign press were filled with misrepresentation and abuse of the united States, ‘The Ardrossan and Saltcoats Herald’, by its clear statements, its consistent and generous advocacy of our cause, proved a friend indeed.”

The scroll was signed by Hugh Taylor, who is listed in the New York City Directory as a baker in Greenwich Street, New York⁵⁴. It is not known what links, if any, he had with Ayrshire.

⁵² Extract from a facsimile of “A Tribute to the Herald”, March 24th, 1865. The facsimile was issued by the “Ardrossan and Saltcoats Herald” in 1965.

⁵³ Glasgow West End Addresses and Their Occupants, 1836-1915,

http://www.glasgowwestaddress.co.uk/1891_Book/Guthrie_Arthur.htm

⁵⁴ Trow’s New York (City) Directory, vol. 8, May 1865, accessed at https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=hY4tAAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=city+directory&lr=&as_brr=1&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=city%20directory&f=false

This account of attitudes to slavery in Ayrshire demonstrates that at any time in history there have been diverse views co-existing on any important issue. These views are often shaped by self-interest, but sometimes they spring from a fundamental belief in what is right and wrong in society. Reform occurs when the tipping point comes and the balance swings in favour of equality and human rights. Wisdom lies in being in the vanguard of reform and achieving it by peaceful means.

Barbara Graham

June 2020

Slavery Source List

The following guide is a list of resources, web links and print, relating to Scotland's and Ayrshire's involvement in Slavery. We are hopeful efforts will continue (by us and others) to enable printed sources to be made available online. Weblinks can go out of date, so please do search around the titles and authors if they are no longer working. New sources and suggestions always welcome.

Scottish Involvement in the Transatlantic Slave Trade

Web Resources

<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/>

UCL's Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slave-Ownership traces the impact of slave-ownership on the formation of modern Britain. Search the database to find out about individuals' and families' involvement in or relations to the Transatlantic slave trade, or browse the estates' or explore the ownership of plantations and estates in the British Caribbean.

<https://www.blackhistorymonth.org.uk/article/section/history-of-slavery/scotland-and-slavery/>

Scotland and Slavery overview

<https://www.nts.org.uk/learn/downloads/Scotland%20and%20the%20SlaveTrade.pdf>

National Trust for Scotland Resources Pack

<https://www.nls.uk/collections/topics/slavery>

National Library of Scotland resources, which usually can be consulted in search rooms:

Papers of Scottish planters and sugar merchants including -

Information about enslaved people working in Scotland

First-hand accounts of the voyages of slave ships

Printed and manuscript material about the abolition and emancipation movements.

The National Records of Scotland has an online guide to resources for the Transatlantic Slave Trade at

<https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/research/guides/slavery-and-the-slave-trade>

This includes records relating to individual slaves and former slaves such as **Scipio Kennedy**, originally from Guinea, who was brought to Culzean and lived in Kirkoswald, Ayrshire until his death in 1774; also has Court of Session Papers on the *The Montgomery v Sheddan* case (1756) in which a runaway slave **James Montgomery** attempted to obtain his freedom from his master, Robert Sheddan of Morrishill, Beith. Montgomery died in the Edinburgh Tolbooth before the case could be decided.

There are also the court papers of the case before the Court of Session in 1777 *Knight v Wedderburn* which is summarised in the catalogue as follows -

This Court of Session case, heard during 1777 and 1778, derived from an earlier action brought by a negro slave, or servant, Joseph Knight, who sought the freedom to leave the employment of John Wedderburn of Bandean [Ballendean, Inchtute, Perthshire]. Knight claimed that the very act of landing in Scotland freed him from perpetual servitude, as slavery was not recognised in

Scotland. Many years earlier, Knight had been purchased by Wedderburn in Jamaica from a slave trader. The case caused disagreement in the courts as Wedderburn insisted that slavery and perpetual servitude were different states. He argued that in Scots law Knight, even though he was not recognised as a slave, was still bound to provide perpetual service in the same manner as an indentured servant or an apprenticed artisan. The Justices of the Peace in Perth, who first considered the matter, found in favour of Wedderburn. However, when Knight appealed to the Sheriff Deputy that decision was overturned. Wedderburn made a further appeal to the Lords of Council and Session, who upheld the Sheriff Deputy's decision, ruling that "the dominion assumed over this Negro, under the law of Jamaica, being unjust, could not be supported in this country to any extent: That, therefore, the defender had no right to the Negro's service for any space of time, nor to send him out of the country against his consent: That the Negro was likewise protected under the act 1701, c.6. from being sent out of the country against his consent. The judgements of the Sheriff were approved of, and the Court remitted the cause simpliciter (from Decisions of the Court of Session, Jan 1778 - Nov 1780 (Edinburgh, 1783))

National Library of Scotland comprehensive list of articles, books and theses on the Scots and the West Indies.

<https://digital.nls.uk/travels-of-henrietta-liston/pdfs/scots-and-west-indies-resources.pdf>

<https://www.nls.uk/media/22282/discover-nls-06.pdf>

Eric J. Graham, **Scotland and Slavery: The Evidence**, National Library of Scotland *Issue 6, Winter 2007*

<https://glc.yale.edu/lectures/evening-lectures/past-lectures/20042005/bunce-island/bunce-island-history>

Richard Oswald of Auchincruive and the Bunce/Bance Island connection.

<https://blog.royalhistsoc.org/2019/10/29/bunce-island-legacy/>

Royal Historical Society blog on Bunce and legacy in Sierra Leone.

<http://www.ayrshirepaths.org.uk/auchincruivehistory.htm>

Oswald and the Auchincruive estate.

There are several Black and British series of programmes on BBC/iPlayer:

Slavery: Scotland's Hidden Shame

Britain's Forgotten Slave Owners

Black and Scottish

Black and British: A Forgotten History

Alt History - The Black British History We're Not Taught in Schools

Printed Resources

T. Devine (ed.), *Recovering Scotland's Slavery Past: The Caribbean Connection* (2015)

Eric J. Graham and Mark Duffil, **Black People in Scotland during the Slavery Era**

Scottish Local History, Issue 71, Winter 2007

Ayrshire and Slavery

Web Resources

<https://microform.digital/map/guides/R73075.pdf>

This link to an index to the Jamaican material in the papers of Hamilton of Rozelle and Carluie, 1734-1873 appears on the UCL's Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slave-Ownership. It includes a detailed introduction by Kenneth Morgan. The original records are held by Ayrshire Archives.

<http://www.jamaicanfamilysearch.com/Samples2/1754lead.htm>

The UCL's Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slave-Ownership also hosts a link to a List of landholders in the Island of Jamaica together with the number of acres each person possessed taken from the quit rent books in the year 1754'.

<https://scarf.scot/national/scarf-modern-panel-report/modern-case-studies/case-study-searching-for-scipio/>

Archaeological project to uncover Scipio Kennedy's (see above) links to Culzean.

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

Resources relating to Montgomery v Shedden Case (see above).

<https://www.historynet.com/a-virginia-slave-schooled-in-scotland-made-a-bravehearted-bid-for-his-freedom.htm>

More on the life of James Montgomery.

Ayrshire Archives holds the Kennedy of Kirkmichael papers under the reference GB244/ATD60 which contains the following material -

....Shaw papers (accounts, correspondence and other papers concerning the Shaw family, connected first with Great Valley Plantation, Jamaica, and later in Ayr, including an account of the affairs of William Fergusson in Jamaica, later in Canada, 1851, and various estate accounts and other documents concerning the plantation and its slaves, with a reference to the Gladstones in Jamaica), 1825-1864 and undated

The National Records of Scotland also has the following small collection relating to the Kirk Family -

GD1/632 Kirk Family of Grenada, West Indies and Kilmarnock.

GD1/632/3 dated 20th Feb 1812 is a letter to Adam Kirk in Grenada from his father John in Kilmarnock relating to Adam's kind treatment of the slaves amongst other topics

Printed Sources

Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, originally published in 1944

David Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, Cambridge, CUP, 1995.

Eric J. Graham & Tom Barclay, *The Early Transatlantic Trade of Ayr: The Scots Lots in the Americas 1680–1707*

History Scotland. Vol. 3, No. 4 pp23–31 July/August 2003

Eric J. Graham & Tom Barclay, *The Early Transatlantic Trade of Ayr: The West Indies 1640–1680*

History Scotland. *Vol. 3, No. 3 pp241–47 May/June 2003*

Eric J. Graham & Tom Barclay 'The early transatlantic trade of Ayr, 1640-1730' (Ayr: Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 2005)

Eric J. Graham, **Sugar Plantocrats: the Cunynghams of Glengarnock and Cayon St. Kitts**

History Scotland. *Vol. 7, No. 6 November/December 2007*

E. J. Graham, *Burns and the Sugar Plantocracy of Ayrshire* (Ayr: Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 2014)

Abolition movement

Web Resources

Twitter account @fd_scotland

<http://frederickdouglassinbritain.com/>

<http://frederickdouglassinbritain.com/AbolitionistsMap/>

<https://www.bulldozia.com/douglass-in-scotland/spotlight-glasgow/>

<https://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/wards/ward.html#ward330>

<https://runaways.gla.ac.uk/blog/index.php/2018/05/25/scot-free-dr-james-mccune-pt-1/>

Owen Roberts, *Black Abolitionism and Anti slavery in Scotland, 1833-1861* thesis submitted for MA (Hons)History University of Glasgow February 2017

<https://www.docdroid.net/Sr1DmLO/complete-version-pdf>

Printed Sources

Eric J. Graham '**Uncle Tom's Cabin' comes to Scotland: Harriet Beecher Stowe & the Scottish anti-slavery movement**, *History Scotland*, Vol. 8, No. 6 Nov/Dec 2008

I. Whyte; *Scotland and the Abolition of Black Slavery 1756-1838* (2006)

Geoff Palmer; *The Enlightenment Abolished* (2007)

Local Societies

Due to the current restrictions on public meetings because of the COVID 19 pandemic most societies are unable to produce a viable schedule of winter meetings. There follows the best that can be produced at time of writing in September 2020. Readers are advised to contact the society concerned for confirmation of any planned meetings.

Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society

Meetings on Zoom for the rest of the year including

Pabasa's Sarcophagus	John Rattenbury	24 th Sept 2020
Working Voices	Alyssa Shepard	8 th Oct 2020
Farms and Wildlife	Ian Comforth	12 th Nov 2020
The Caithness Broch	Kenneth McElroy	26 th Nov 2020
The Mesolithic in Ayrshire	Dr Dean Wright	14 th Jan 2021
Burying the Dead	Lorraine Evans	28 th Jan 2021
Archaeological Methods	Dr Tessa Poller	11 th Feb 2021
Bridgescapes	L Bruce Keith	11 th Mar 2021

If you wish to attend any of these meetings by Zoom please let Ian Holland know on treasurer@aanhs.org so that we can supply you with the codes using your email address.

Beith Historical Society

No meetings planned

Cumnock History Group

No meetings planned but they are running the following project



A historical research project on the farms of Auchinleck, New Cumnock, Ochiltree and Old Cumnock undertaken by Cumnock History Group and funded by the National Lottery Heritage fund supported by the Coalfields Communities Landscape Partnership. We are collecting information on all farms in the four parishes including and especially those no longer there. Altogether we are expecting to find well over 300.

We are looking at location, alternate spellings on old records and maps, evidence of earliest known date, and by the end of the 18th century we are beginning to find the people, information on the tenants and owners. After the 1911 census records are not easily accessible so we need your help with the last 100 years or so.

We are interested too in farm life, the work done by farmers and the hired help. We're looking in newspaper archives for adverts, competitions, shows and hiring fairs and any interesting stories.

We would like to hear from current occupants of farms, retired farmers, people whose forebears were farmers in the area.

We have a small team of researchers looking through the records. We need information and stories from you. We will be training volunteers to take oral histories and we will need farmers, farmer's wives or children to be interviewed and recorded. Help us find subjects to interview. Maybe your parent who doesn't do Facebook or email. Let us know too if you would like to be an interviewer. Training will start late September/October and involves 1 full day and one half day initially. Further training on editing the interviews will follow.

[https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLSfdf2fgvOHwwuDzJwm8i40_1NYgMAXGryMQWFI Eje4d00myAA/viewform?](https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLSfdf2fgvOHwwuDzJwm8i40_1NYgMAXGryMQWFI Eje4d00myAA/viewform?usp=sf_link)

[usp=sf_link](https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLSfdf2fgvOHwwuDzJwm8i40_1NYgMAXGryMQWFI Eje4d00myAA/viewform?usp=sf_link)

Our questionnaire is ready to do online. Again you can help by completing it and perhaps in getting it to parents or uncles who aren't online. farms@cumnockhistorygroup.org

No arrangements currently due to restrictions on venue for the following societies.

Dundonald Historical & Archive Society

East Ayrshire Family History Society

Kyle & Carrick Civic Society

Largs & District Historical Society

North Ayrshire Family History Society Syllabus 20/21

The following have been arranged for September 2020, but due to the Covid 19 pandemic dates marked * will be filled from the speakers below (depending on availability);-

- 8th Sept 20 'Robert the Bruce and his Ayrshire
Connections' Tom Barclay
- 24th Sept (Thurs) AGM
- 13th Oct 20 'Lord Admiral Cochrane' Alex Blair
- 20th Oct 20 (afternoon meeting 2-30-4-30)
'Women Munitions Workers in WW1' Barbara
Graham
- 10th Nov 20 Evening Workshop
- 26th Nov 20 Joint Meeting with Largs Historical & Museum
Society
- 8th Dec 20 'A Dickens of a Christmas' Val Reilly
- 2021**
- 12 Jan 2021 Jewish Family Research Harvey Kaplan
- 28th Jan (Thurs) Workshop (2-30-4-30)
- 9th Feb * See above
- 25th Feb (Thurs.) Workshop (2-30-4-30)
- 9th Mar * See above
- 25th Mar (Thurs.) Joint Meeting with all Ayrshire FH
Societies
- 13th Apr 'Messages from the Front' Wendy Sandiford
- 29th Apr (Thurs) Outing to the Mitchell Library, Glasgow
- 11th May A.G.M.
- All meetings are held on Tuesdays in Largs Library Community Room at 7-30pm, unless otherwise stated. The Syllabus may alter if a speaker is unable to attend on the evening stated.

Prestwick History Group

No meetings arranged

Stewarton and District Historical Society

Programme starting 2021

11 th Jan 2021	Lambertons of Cocklebie	David McKie
1 st Feb 2021	Dean Castle Restoration Project	Stephen Morgan
1 st Mar 2021	To Be Decided	Roger Griffiths
12 th Apr 2021	Alexander Graham Bell	Barbara Graham
10 th May 2021	History of Lace	Margo Graham MYB Textiles, owner and designer of machine lace exploring Ayrshire's fascinating textile and lace industry

Members £1

Non Members £2.50

***Normally 1st Monday of the Month September to May at 7.30 pm
(except January, April and May 2021)***

John Knox Church Hall, High Street, Stewarton

Scottish Charitable Incorporated Organisation Registered

Charity No. 011194

Address: Town House, 8 Avenue Square, Stewarton, KA3 5AD

www.stewartonhistoricalsociety.org

E-mail: stewartonhistoricalsociety@hotmail.com

Troon @ Ayrshire Family History Society

West Kilbride Civic Society

Provisional programme from January to March 2021

AGM should take place in September but this could be difficult as the numbers that can meet are still limited, and the venue has not decided which groups can use the premises and under what conditions.

Provisional dates are:- 2021

January 26th Subject talk on a visit to Cuba given by George Donohoe

February 23rd:-John Riddell Small Harbours of Ayrshire

March 23rd:-Culzean Wall Garden Speaker Iain Govan Head Gardener

East Ayrshire Family History Society

Registered Charity No SC029609



No evening meetings or afternoon workshops have been held since the lockdown in March. We were fortunate in being able, just before that, to host the annual joint meeting of the family history societies in Ayrshire and to enjoy the company of our friends from the North Ayrshire and Troon societies.

It seems unlikely that we will be able to hold meetings any time soon.

Although we are unable to meet personally we remain operational. Members are able to assist each other by electronic means and are encouraged to make greater use of the Forum on the EAFHS website. Some committee meetings have been held online and we were able to produce the April and August editions of The Journal.

Address: c/o The Dick Institute, Elmbank Avenue, Kilmarnock, KA1 3BU

Email: enquiries@eastayrshirefhs.co.uk

Website: www.eastayrshirefhs.co.uk

AANHS Publications

Publications of the Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society (AANHS) are available

from Mr Denis Rattenbury, 4 Ewenfield park, Ayr KA7 2QG (01292 280593 email: info@aanhs.org)

Further information about the AANHS and its publications will be found on the society's website:

www.aanhs.org.uk

Armstrong's Map of Ayrshire 1775 (reprint 6 sheets) £12.00

Antiquities of Ayrshire by Grose (edited by Strawhorn revised 2010) £4.00

11 Robert Adam in Ayrshire (Sanderson) revised 2010 £4.00

13 Toll and Tacksmen (McClure) £1.50

20 Historic Ayr: A Guide for Visitors 2nd edition £2.50

30 The Early Transatlantic Trade of Ayr 1640-1730 (Barclay & Graham) 104 pages £4.50

33 Dr John Taylor, Chartist: Ayrshire Revolutionary (Fraser) 112 pages £4.00

35 The Masters of Ballantrae (Hunter) 30 pages £4.00

37 Historic Troon and Its Surroundings 40 pages £3.00

38 Excavations in Ayr 1984-1987 (Perry) 140 pages £9.99

39 The Church Buildings of Ayrshire (Hume) 94 pages £7.50

41 Mining and Quarrying in Stevenston (McLatchie) 210 pages £9.50

42 The Battle of Largs (Cowan) 95 pages £8.00

43-45 Ayrshire Collections – 128 pages £7.50

Ayr Jails by Jane Jamieson

Kilwinning Revisited by Margaret H B Sanderson

A Bonnie Lass by Petra Baillie

47 Watermills of Arran by Alastair Weir 71 pages £6.00

48 Oculeus: The Musings of a Liberal Victorian in Ayr by Carolyn O'Hara 140 pages £8.00