

The Early Transatlantic Trade of Ayr 1640-1730



Tom Barclay and Eric J. Graham

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The Early Transatlantic Trade of Ayr 1640-1730

Tom Barclay and Eric J. Graham

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Cover illustrations

Front: Model of a Scottish merchant ship, c.1641.

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Back: Carved stone panel from the Merchants' Hospital, Glasgow, 1659. These are typical of the wealthy Scottish merchants of the period who engaged in transatlantic trade.

By kind permission of the Merchants House of Glasgow.

Acknowledgements

Extracts from Ayr Burgh Records appear by kind permission of Ayrshire Archives. The four maps were specially produced for this volume by Ian Holland.

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Foreword

One of the key themes in early modern Scottish history is the momentous shift in the nation's axis of trade from traditional centres in Europe to the new opportunities across the Atlantic in North America and the Caribbean. In due course this historic development would become the economic basis for the remarkable role which Scotland played in the expansion of the British Empire, which itself would have massive consequences for the history of the nation.

Much of this process of epochal commercial change is under-researched by scholars. And, when work has been published, Glasgow has most often been the focus of study. This is one reason why the monograph written by Tom Barclay and Eric Graham is to be warmly welcomed. It helps to cast new light on the whole subject of Scottish transatlantic trade before and after the Union by shifting the attention to another burgh, Ayr, which had its own distinctive and fascinating history of early transatlantic connections. It need hardly be said that they have also compiled an addition to the celebration of the 800th centenary of Ayr's Royal Burgh Charter. As a model of careful and thorough historical research, the monograph will be widely read further afield by all those interested in the early commercial and economic history of Scotland.

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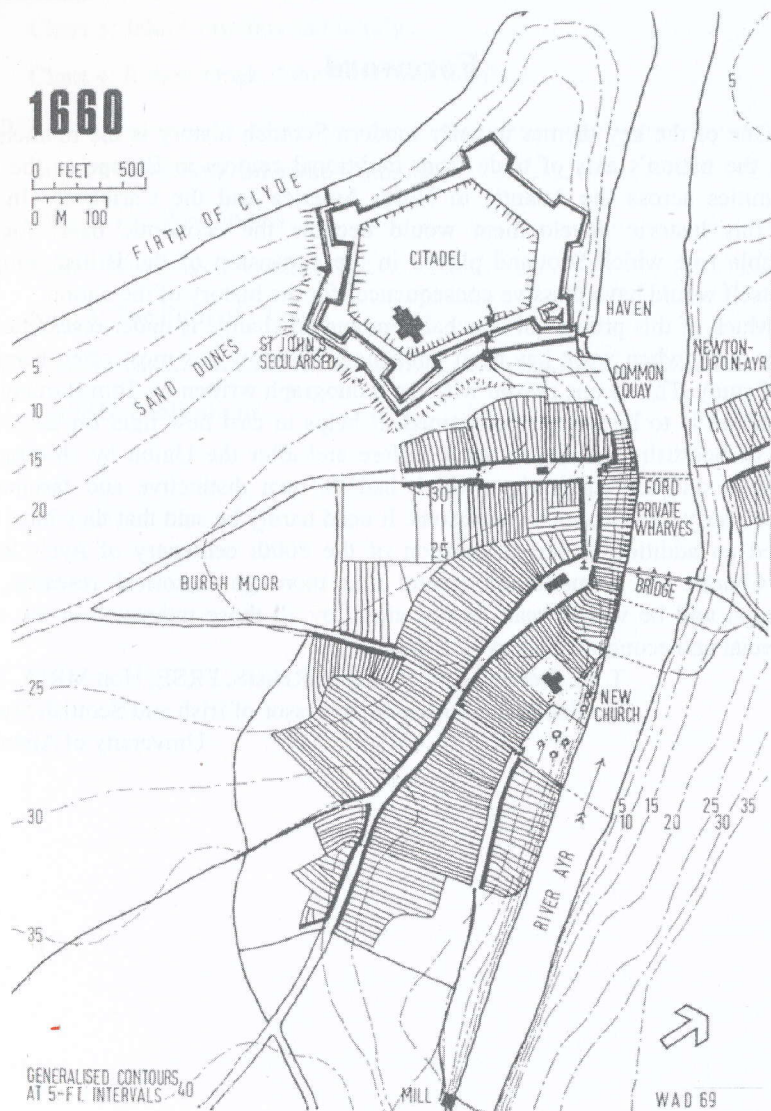


Figure 1: Ayr in 1660. Of the buildings within the Cromwellian citadel, only the medieval Church of St. John the Baptist is shown. (Dodd, AANHS Collections Vol.10)

Introduction

The appearance of the plague in Ayr, in the autumn of 1647, prompted sixty-seven mariners of Ayr, led by Provost John Osborne, to make full confession as to their sins while voyaging abroad.¹ This extraordinary public act of repentance and contrition before the assembled congregation of St. John's Church acknowledged that

The break of that solemne league & covenant doth grive them much as being the high transgression q̄r unto all the rest of yr sinnes did lead them as by steps & degries qlk they acknowledg deserves this kindled wrath of God in the pestilence as being the signe of his displeasure growing hotter & heichter aganst us then it did appear in their former rods & afflictions.

Such sins - induced by 'drunkness & passioness' - numbered fifteen and ranged across the spectrum of individual human weakness.² In addition, however, to their heart-searching perception as to what constituted their communal 'break' with the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643 (their agreeing to come to terms with the Marquis of Montrose's royalist forces in 1645³), it is another of their confessions - 'their ungodlie and unlawfull gaine by alluring and car[r]jing of children to the West Indies' - that is the basis of this study.⁴

This reference is but one of many from the 1640s, 1650s and 1660s which together constitute the earliest body of evidence for regular voyaging from a Scottish port to the West Indies. It is the purpose of this study to bring to the fore the central role played by the merchants and the maritime fraternity of Ayr in the Clyde's entry into the transatlantic trades.⁵ Likewise, the part played by endemic war and military occupation in providing the 'push-pull' dynamic to look to the Caribbean will be demonstrated. Subsequent involvement in trade with North America and in the Darien Scheme will also be examined.

Part One: Civil War and Occupation

War at sea and the first Atlantic venturers 1643 - 1650

Since the Middle Ages Ayr had exploited its sheltered river-mouth harbour, its foreign trade privileges as a royal burgh, and its situation on the western seas to import wine and good-quality salt from the French Atlantic ports such as Bordeaux and La Rochelle. Salted fish, hides, wool and cloth were exported. During the period covered by this study, the town's affairs were controlled by the merchant guild, whose members made up the whole of the town council except for two representatives of the trades (craftsmen). It was from the guild's elite, those engaged in foreign trade, that the town's magistrates – the provost, two bailies, treasurer and dean of guild (head of the merchant guild and adjudicator in disputes between members) were chosen. Sons and sons-in-law of guild brothers were entitled to membership for a nominal fee, but outsiders, if accepted, had to pay a substantial sum. Distinguished visitors often received honorary membership. Non-members ('unfree traders') could not do business in the town without applying to the council for permission, except at the carefully-regulated markets and fairs. Ayr had already lost the position of most prosperous western burgh to Glasgow, whose growth would continue apace. However, that city was hampered by being inaccessible at this time and for long after to sea-going vessels, which had to transfer their cargoes to small craft in anchorages further down the Clyde – anchorages over which the royal burgh of Dumbarton claimed dominion.

An increasingly hostile trading environment in southern European waters provided the initial 'push' to sail westward. The capture of Ayr vessels on the wine trade to French ports by Barbary corsairs working deep into the Bay of Biscay was undoubtedly a major factor when weighing the perils of a transatlantic voyage against the traditional short-haul trade route to France.⁶ Indeed, the dire plight of the captured crews certainly sat heavily on the conscience of Osborne and his fellow sinners who confessed to 'not bearing burthen wt those in their tentations & sufferings who are presentlie under the captivitie & slaverie of the Turk'.⁷

Ayrshire was one of the strongholds of Scottish Presbyterianism whose adherents, having bound themselves together in opposition to the policies of Charles I by the National Covenant of 1638, seized control of the country in the first attempt to redefine the situation created by the 1603 Union of the Crowns. In the 'Bishops' Wars' they defeated the efforts of Charles to crush them, opening the first cracks in the established order. The 'Wars of the Three Kingdoms' continued with the outbreak of the Irish Rebellion (1641) and the English Civil War (1642), adding to Barbary corsairs the additional threat of Irish and Royalist privateers⁸ in

the English Channel and south-west approaches. The precarious and complicated situation in Ireland and the fear that Dublin might fall to the Catholic rebels had, however, a compensatory windfall for Ayr, removed as it was from major contested sea areas.

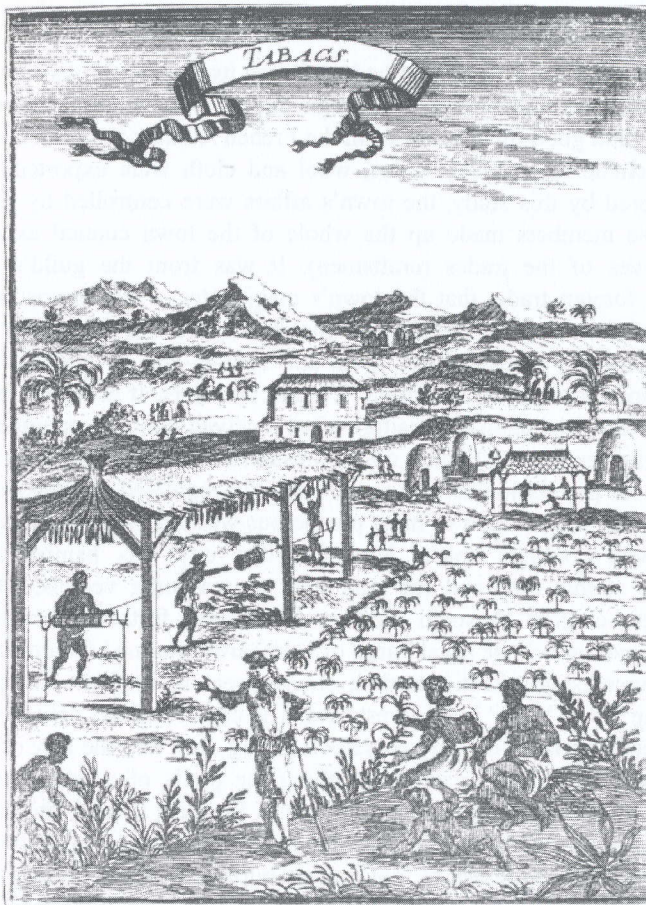


Figure 2: A typical (in this case French) seventeenth-century plantation in the West Indies. While some slaves plant tobacco, others form the dried leaves into rolls.

On 18th November 1642 a charter party agreement was drawn up in Ayr between James Collier/Gollier, gentleman of Dublin and owner and master of the 35 ton bark⁹ *Rebecca* of Dublin, then lying at the quay of Ayr, and Edward Carss, merchant 'sometime dwelling in Musselburgh'.¹⁰ Carss was chartering a fourth part of the bark to take goods and servants on a voyage to the English Caribbean islands of Barbados, Montserrat and Nevis and the Dutch island of St Eustatius. The

Rebecca was to sail as soon as possible after 1st December and on return was to await advice at Loch Ryan as to whether her cargo was to be sold at Ayr or Glasgow. Many of the white indentured servants¹¹ labouring on the plantations of the English West Indies at this time came from Ireland, and this appears to be an example of an Irish-based venture re-locating temporarily to Scotland as a consequence of the outbreak of conflict in Ireland and England.

The Ayr merchant community had close links with those of Belfast and Londonderry, and profits from the transportation and supply of the army sent to Ulster by the Scottish Estates could have provided the capital to finance new ventures. Hew Kennedy, the Ayr burgh representative on the Committee of Estates, had been one of the commissioners sent to England in 1640 to negotiate the Treaty of London which ended the Bishop's Wars, and he would return several times between 1643 and 1647 on diplomatic missions.¹² He would have had opportunities to establish commercial contacts with London merchants, including perhaps those associated with the second earl of Carlisle who had inherited the proprietorship of the English Caribbean islands from his Scottish father, James Hay the first earl. The trade of these islands had been largely in the hands of London-based interests but now, cut off by the outbreak of war from proprietorial control, they adopted a neutral stance and threw open their ports to the ships of any nation at peace with England. The Dutch were especially favoured, but those Scots who had been able to establish themselves on Barbados as agents of the Hays would have welcomed direct communication with their homeland.¹³ The opportunity thus presented provided the 'pull' westward to complement the 'push' away from the increasingly hazardous southern trade route. Collier's enterprise may well provide a context for the establishment of Caribbean trading contacts by Ayr's merchants and for the acquisition of a knowledge of the route by its mariners.

By 1644 Covenanting Scotland was in alliance with the English Parliamentarians and at war with the king, and that year saw what may have been the first transatlantic voyage by an Ayrshire-owned vessel. Robert Rowan, merchant burgess of Ayr, sailed to Barbados in the bark *Blessing* of Ayr and returned safely to that port with a cargo of tobacco. Associated with Rowan in this venture were Robert Wallace, a former treasurer of the town, and Rowan's brother-in-law Donald Blair junior, the latter also going out to Barbados.¹⁴ The 1630s having seen a dramatic fall in the price of tobacco, their original staple, the Barbadian planters had experimented with indigo, ginger and cotton and had just begun the cultivation of sugar which, with its requirement for large plantations worked by black slaves, would rapidly transform the island. At this time, however, the remaining virgin forest was still being cleared by adventurers of small means who would raise a crop of tobacco and then sell the land. Rowan was back in the West Indies in 1646, but that September he died on St Christopher (St Kitts), an island divided at this time between the English and French and producing tobacco

superior to that of Barbados.¹⁵ His stock of 11,000 'weight' (lb) of tobacco arrived back in Ayr aboard the ship *Bonaventure* of Irvine. 1647 saw the general confession of sins by the town's seafarers already referred to, including the carrying off of children to the West Indies to be sold as indentured servants.

Robert Gilchrist, son of a native of Duns, Berwickshire, came to the attention of Ayr town council when he arrived in the town in the autumn of 1648. Described as a planter in Barbados, he was required as an unfree trader to pay £40 Scots¹⁶ to the treasurer for importing a 'parcel' of tobacco into the harbour and selling it there.¹⁷ A year later the ship *James* of Ayr arrived back in her home port from Barbados with a cargo including 5,000lb of tobacco brought in by one John Muir, planter. The vessel's skipper, Charles Dalrymple, was in partnership with Ayr merchants John and Alexander Osborne, William Kelso and his son Robert (son-in-law of John Osborne), Andrew Leslie and James Cargill, but Dalrymple purchased Muir's tobacco for himself.¹⁸ During that year, 1649, Robert Gilchrist died. (In his testament he is described as 'merchant trafficker in Barbados.') His executors were John Edgar, merchant burghess of Peebles, and Robert Gordon, former provost of Ayr. 5,500 merks¹⁹ had been due to Gilchrist from Charles Dalrymple and John Osborne for tobacco which they had sold on his behalf.²⁰ These two also owed Ayr town council a £600 Scots composition for the tobacco imported by 'Gilchrist and Pitcairn'.²¹

1649 also saw the execution of Charles I, followed by a Royalist take-over in Barbados and Covenanter negotiations with Charles II which would soon bring war with the new English republic. Charles Dalrymple did not return to the West Indies in 1650, probably due to the displeasure of his partners over his appropriation of Muir's tobacco. Early in the year he empowered skipper George Angus to uplift all accounts and debts owing to him in Barbados and Martinique (where a short-lived English colony existed at this time alongside the French).²² Angus had almost certainly taken over as skipper of the *James*, described in early 1651, in the testament of the now-deceased William Kelso, as recently returned from Barbados. Kelso, part-owner of the vessel, had a sixteenth part of her cargo of tobacco worth £1,533 6s 8d Scots, and also had belonging to him a quantity of tobacco in the hands of 'certain persons in Barbados'.²³

Cromwellian interlude and a new beginning 1650 - 1660

This clearly well-established trade owed its existence to the wars of the three kingdoms and now they would bring it, for the time being, to an end. When the crew of the *James* arrived home in late 1650 they found Cromwell's invading army in possession of south-east Scotland and in December, following the battle of Hamilton, English troops arrived in Ayr. They withdrew next spring but returned in the autumn as Scottish resistance collapsed following the Battle of Worcester. In spring 1652 Ayr became a garrison town as work commenced on one of the great

citadels which were to secure Scotland for the Commonwealth; fortification of the port secured communications with Ireland and north-west England and provided a base for seaborne expeditions to Argyll and the Isles and for the supply of garrisons established there.²⁴ In that year also the English Caribbean possessions submitted to a Commonwealth naval expedition and Ayr soon resumed some degree of contact with them as the new regime's Scottish outlet to the Atlantic; it was from that port that several thieves banished to Barbados in 1653 by the Scottish High Court of Justiciary (reconstituted under English control) were to be transported.²⁵ It is possible that some of the prisoners from Glencairn's rebellion, sent to the West Indies from Scotland in 1654 and 1655, were transported from Ayr, although General Monk felt that Leith and Dundee would be most convenient for English merchants coming to collect them.

The *Gift* (of God) of Ayr was at Barbados in August 1655 when a Robert 'Murie' petitioned the island's council regarding the arrangements for transportation home he had made with Thomas 'Megonin', master or partner of the vessel.²⁶ No name resembling this is to be found among the seafaring or merchant communities of Ayr at this time, so the *Gift* is likely to have been under charter to other interests, perhaps to transport prisoners or in connection with Cromwell's 'Western Design' against the Spanish possessions which resulted in the capture of Jamaica. Reinforcements for Jamaica drawn from the occupation army in Scotland were sent to Ayr in the spring of 1656 to await embarkation in chartered English merchantmen, but a bloody brawl with the garrison troops resulted in their eventually taking ship from Portpatrick.²⁷

In July that year Thomas Tucker, commissioner for the customs and excise in Scotland, visited Ayr and was made an honorary burgess and guild brother.²⁸ In the Glasgow section of his report on the country's customs and excise revenues, produced at the end of the year, he makes the frequently-quoted observation that the merchants of that city had formerly ventured as far as Barbados but had discontinued this due to the length of the voyage.²⁹ In referring to Ayr, however, while noting that it possessed three sea-going vessels of 100, 40 and 30 tons, he curiously omits any reference not only to its former West Indian trade but to any overseas trade at all.³⁰ It appears likely that the former Caribbean ventures he mentions, while no doubt having had a degree of Glasgow involvement, were mostly if not entirely those which had gone out from Ayr.³¹ Tucker remarks on the town's decay due to the increasing congestion of its harbour by sand, and significantly states that the main hope for the preservation of its trade and indeed its very existence will be the newly-built citadel.³²

The Cromwellian Union received legislative sanction in April 1654 although it was not ratified by Parliament for another three years. By its provisions, Scots were able to trade freely with England and its possessions, being exempt from those restrictions, aimed at the Dutch, which Cromwell's navigation act of

1651 placed on foreign vessels trading with the colonies. It appears, from later evidence, to have been in 1658 that trade between Ayr and the West Indies was resumed, and during the next year transactions involving tobacco (stated to be from Barbados in one case) sold by merchant burgesses James Ferguson and John Muir begin to appear in the town's records.³³ The circumstances behind this new beginning are obscure, but factors must include previous experience in this trade up to 1650, the probable maintaining of some degree of contact during the intervening years, and the opportunities for financing such a venture presented to the merchant community by the presence of the English garrison, both in profits from the supply of its requirements and in loans from its well-paid officers. (Most of these had been stationed at the town for over four years with the prospect of remaining there for the foreseeable future.) Several English merchants had arrived at Ayr in the wake of the army and in addition to providing another source of finance they are likely to have been more directly involved in the enterprise. One of the functions of Cromwell's Scottish Council was to encourage trade, and Tucker may well have given encouragement to this particular venture during his visit.

Part Two: Restoration to Revolution

The Unicorn 1660 – 1668

The return from exile of Charles II following the death of Cromwell was welcomed in Scotland, but that welcome quickly cooled in the staunchly Presbyterian south-west as it became apparent that he intended to introduce episcopacy into the national church, and assume supremacy in religious matters. Several who had been stalwarts of the town council under the Covenanter and Cromwellian regimes refused to take the oath of allegiance and withdrew from local politics, including bailies John Ferguson and John Crawford (1); their sons, who also held to these principles, would in due course come to play an important part in Ayr's transatlantic trade.

Scottish hopes that free trade with the English colonies would survive the Restoration and the end of the Cromwellian Union were dashed by England's Navigation Act of September 1660. Only English or Irish-owned vessels with crews at least three-quarters English could trade with the colonies; desirable colonial exports including sugar, tobacco and indigo ('enumerated' goods) could only be shipped directly to England, Ireland or other English colonies; and no alien could practice as a merchant or factor in the plantations. Initially the Scots were granted exemption while the English Privy Council considered their appeals, but soon they found themselves excluded; it was feared that their trading partners the Dutch – the real targets of this legislation – would use Scottish vessels as a cover for their own activities.³⁴ Ayr's solution to the challenge this presented lay in the continuing English presence in the town. The regiment of foot which had formed the garrison since 1653, latterly under the command of Colonel Yaxley Robson, was among the Cromwellian units disbanded during November and December 1660, but other English troops, sent to guard the citadel until it could be demilitarised (by the demolition of part of its defences) would remain for another year and a half.

In November 1660 the town council, reasserting the privileges of its freemen, ordained that disbanded Englishmen who were usurping trade and brewing were to desist and leave the town within a specified period.³⁵ However, soon after this several of the English were made burgesses and guild brothers of the town. The most prominent was Colonel Robson himself, his entry reflecting his status as a hero of the Restoration for having, while still a captain, won the garrison over for General Monk from its pro-Lambert commanders during the power struggle following Cromwell's death.³⁶ Most of the other new English burgesses

had become entitled to that status by marrying the daughters of Ayr burgesses, and among these was John Hodgson.

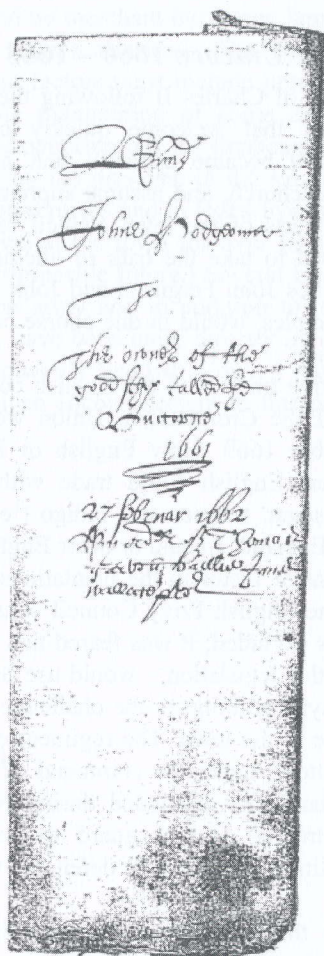


Figure 3: 'Bond – John Hodgeonne to the owners of the Unicorn'. John Hodgson undertakes to return their rendition of ownership if required, and to do nothing with the ship unless he has their permission. (Ayrshire Archives, Ayr Burgh Records, B6/33/1, 1661 bundle)

Hodgson had been a business partner of John 'Ekrig' (modern Akrigg), apparently the most prosperous by far of the resident English traders listed on an

Ayr stent roll of 1656,³⁷ and acted as executor following Ekrig's death in April 1661.³⁸ Ekrig appears to have come from Kendal, his other partners being Stephen Birkett, mercer and future mayor of that town³⁹ and Gabriel Dawson, gentleman, whose estate, the Hay, lay nearby.⁴⁰ Kendal's importance as a centre for the manufacture of woollen cloth no doubt indicates the nature of Ekrig's merchandise, and it is likely to have been the provision of clothing to the Cromwellian garrison which brought him to Ayr; perhaps he sent back Scottish wool. At the time of his death over fifty individuals, mostly merchants and tradesmen of Ayr, were in debt to him. When John Hodgson, 'Englishman', was entered a burgess of Ayr in December 1660, it was by the right of his wife Isobel Chalmers, daughter of a sailor burgess of the town and sister of James Chalmers, one of a new generation of Ayr skippers.⁴¹ This relationship is one of several indications that Hodgson himself had a seafaring background, and his participation in the partnership with Ekrig and the others may have been in a seafaring capacity.⁴²

On 2nd December 1661 the four owners of the Ayr ship *Unicorn* gave Hodgson a letter of rendition transferring ownership to him. He for his part signed a document in which he acknowledged that the rendition had only been granted to him 'per forma, as a confident (i.e. trustworthy) person', undertaking to return it unregistered to the owners and their partners on request and to do nothing prejudicial to them regarding the ship without seeking their consent.⁴³ The owners' partners were nine more Ayr merchants. One of the most prominent was John Ferguson, the former bailie who had been unable to accept the Restoration settlement. His eldest son James (involved in tobacco trading at the end of the 1650s) and son-in-law John McMillan were owners of the *Unicorn*, the others being Robert Colville and Robert Dalrymple. Providing direct continuity with the pre-occupation tobacco trade was another partner, Robert Kelso. Robert's son James and John Muir, a bailie at this time, were also in the partnership.⁴⁴ This was an unusually large trading partnership;⁴⁵ as subsequent events would show, it seems to have been a 'company' trading to the West Indies, and the purpose of their 'sale' of the *Unicorn* to Hodgson must have been to give her the appearance of being English-owned. It was probably intended from the start that Hodgson would travel out with the ship to actively assist in carrying on this subterfuge, although evidence that he was doing so does not emerge for some time.⁴⁶

St Kitts, which appears to have become the focus of Ayr's transatlantic efforts in this period, was the destination of the *Unicorn* in 1663. Her return cargo included 2,958 lbs of tobacco brought in by Ayr merchant John Garven, who had gone on the voyage. The skipper was Hodgson's brother-in-law, James Chalmers.⁴⁷ Cloth and provisions for the indentured servants working the plantations, and servants themselves, would have been the main exports.

The Covenanter regime had introduced acts for the encouragement of manufactories for fine woollen cloth in 1641 and 1645, and the latter year had seen

three such enterprises launched, one of them at Ayr.⁴⁸ Nothing is known about it, and the Cromwellian invasion would have brought it to an end, but the experience gained probably formed the basis for a new post-Restoration venture. The demilitarised Cromwellian citadel (its barrack blocks and ancillary buildings still largely intact) had been gifted by the Crown to Hugh Montgomerie, seventh earl of Eglinton. It became the earl's burgh of Montgomerieston and he and a number of partners established a woollen cloth manufactory there, going to considerable expense in carrying out conversion work.⁴⁹ This was one of a number of industrial enterprises which followed the restored Scottish Parliament's 1661 protectionist acts consolidating and extending those of the Covenanters.⁵⁰ Finished cloth from manufactories set up under these acts could be exported free of customs, and Ayr's revived plantation trade was no doubt seen as an outlet for some at least of that produced at Montgomerieston. The manufactory appears to have been active from 1663 until 1675.⁵¹ Its demise, along with similar enterprises elsewhere, was due to the failure, despite protection, of Scottish fine woollen cloth to achieve a quality able to compete with that of the English product. However, many of the textile workers 'in the Citadel' or 'in the Works of Ayr', recorded as fathers or witnesses in Ayr's christening records during the time of its existence, continue to appear afterwards, plying their trade within the burgh.⁵² Many in Ayr had feared competition from Montgomerieston, but the collapse of the manufactory there would have strengthened the town's own (guild-controlled) textile workforce and helped to maintain production of cloth for the export market.

1663 saw English measures strengthening the 1660 Navigation Act culminate in the Staple Act, forbidding the import of European goods into the colonies unless they were taken out from England on English vessels. However, a loophole existed by which Scots were permitted to directly export indentured servants, horses, and home-produced foodstuffs, and the Scottish Privy Council was soon issuing warrants for the transportation of servants and convicts on Scottish vessels. If, having delivered these articles, the Scots venturers succeeded in loading return cargoes of enumerated colonial goods - this was still forbidden - and reached home safely, these goods could be landed openly; the English navigation acts could not be enforced north of the border, and the Scottish Privy Council would have been happy to see customs revenue increased by such imports.

As Anglo-Dutch relations became increasingly strained by English protectionist measures, the Scots found themselves being dragged into another war with their best trading partners, as had happened under Cromwell. As full-scale hostilities loomed in late 1664, Scottish seaports were required to report to the Privy Council on the status of their vessels and mariners in connection with a levy for the Royal Navy. Ayr's magistrates replied on 23rd February 1665 that all three of the town's foreign-going vessels had already sailed, the largest of them being the 60-ton *Unicorn*, crewed by skipper James Chalmers and eight local sailors, bound

for the West Indies.⁵³ By early October she was back and Robert Collinson from St Kitts, whose father William was a 'gentleman' there, was being required to pay for the privilege of importing the tobacco and other goods he had brought in on her. In December Collinson and Alexander Chalmers, a merchant of St Kitts, were made burgesses and guild brothers of Ayr for service done and to be done to the town.⁵⁴ No relationship has been established between Alexander and either James Chalmers skipper (who, with Hodgson, witnessed the discharge of a debt owed by Alexander during this time⁵⁵) or another James Chalmers, merchant, who was one of the partners of the *Unicorn's* owners in 1661. He is a likely candidate, however, for the role of factor in the West Indies for the Ayr merchants.

John Hodgson's wife gave birth to a daughter on 1st August 1666. The father was absent from the baptism, being 'for the present in the West Indians'.⁵⁶ His voyage must have been eventful; during this year France entered the war on the side of the Dutch and the considerable military resources of her Caribbean colonies were directed against the English Leeward Islands, St Kitts, Antigua and Montserrat being overrun.⁵⁷ Hodgson escaped capture and appears in the Ayr customs records for February 1667 returning aboard the *Unicorn*, along with skipper James Chalmers, from a voyage to Bristol, the recorded cargo including quantities of iron and lead, glassware and some madder.⁵⁸ (Other vessels brought in small quantities of tobacco from England during the year.) The cessation of trade with France, the Netherlands and the West Indies made these dark days for Ayr, and although the war was over by the end of the summer its effects were lasting in the Caribbean. Antigua and Montserrat had been recaptured by the English, but although by the terms of the peace treaty France was to restore to them their territory on St Kitts this did not actually happen until 1671. Even then, recovery took many years due to the thorough destruction of the plantations, the deportation of many inhabitants during the war and the carrying off of slaves as booty. This must have dealt a crippling blow to the Caribbean tobacco trade, latterly focussed on St Kitts, which Ayr had been carrying on since the last years of the Protectorate, and it is at this time that evidence of what appears to be the beginning of a new venture emerges.

The *Unity* 1668 – 1674

On 16th July 1668 Ayr merchants William Muir, John Caldwell and Alexander Simpson commissioned their fellow townsmen and partners Captain Robert McAllan⁵⁹ and John Hodgson to go to 'any part of Chester Water or betwixt and thence' to buy or build a vessel of 60 tons or less.⁶⁰ The *Mary* of Liverpool was duly purchased and became the *Unity* of Ayr, destined for the West Indies trade. The only record of her burden puts her at a lowly 28 tons, but this may possibly indicate a vessel of a reasonable size built for performance rather than cargo capacity.⁶¹ Ayr had sent out two privateers, the *Lamb* and the *Mayflower*,

during the war, and Hodgson's companion was probably the Robert Allan/McAllan who had commanded the Glasgow privateer *George Friggato*.⁶² A vessel may have been sought which could serve in this role, as well as evade the enemy as a merchantman, in the event of future hostilities. A sacrifice of capacity in favour of speed would have been acceptable if the cargo was intended to be of high value.

Account of the cargo aboard the *Unity*
bound for the West Indies, according
to the list at the several accounts amongst
the six partners will make appear.

John Caldwell's account	— 590-19-02
Wm Moore	— 238-14-00
John Hodgson	— 428-11-08
John McColme & Andrew Neven	246-18-04
more they paid for shoes	090-15-00
James Chambers	— 369-16-00
Adam Hunter & John Campbell	290-17-02
more on the whole	— 1296-00-00
90 barrels beef	— 920-00-00
To Robt Barre for Luing	— 920-00-00
Sum	4469-11-10

Figure 4: The six partners' shares in the cargo of the *Unity*, ready to sail for the West Indies Feb. 1674. They are John Caldwell 'the father', William 'Moore' John 'Hodgson' John 'McColme' & Andrew 'Neven' (joint share, with their extra payment for shoes), James 'Chambers' (Chalmers), and Adam Hunter & John Campbell (joint share). In addition, they had jointly purchased 90 barrels of beef, and also 'Luing' (probably ling fish) from Robert 'Barre'. It was on this voyage that the *Unity* was captured by the Dutch. (Ayrshire Archives, B6/35/3, medium 1674 bundle, 'Hodgeon' v Crawford – encl.)

The Glasgow (Wester House) sugar refinery was founded in 1667, to be followed by the Easter House two years later. Although evidence for it does not emerge for some time, the *Unity* may have been purchased principally for the purpose of importing sugar. The cultivation of this commodity had spread from Barbados to the Leeward Islands, and it is from this time on that evidence of regular Glasgow voyages to the Caribbean begins to emerge.⁶³ A significant development during this period was Glasgow's triumph over Dumbarton in their long-running dispute over anchorage rights on the River Clyde, and its subsequent acquisition of land on the bay of Newark for development as the deep-water harbour which would become 'New-Port Glasgow'. It would be some time yet, however, before the full potential of this ambitious project as a base for channelling

the city's considerable resources into transatlantic endeavours could begin to be realised.

With the exception of Hodgson, it is not clear if any of the purchasers of the *Unity* had been involved with the *Unicorn* company, but it is probably significant that William Muir, a merchant of long standing in the town (he does not appear to have had any close connection with John Muir) had recently by a second marriage become a brother-in-law of James Ferguson, an important figure in that company. The many surnames common to the merchant communities of Ayr and Glasgow give an indication of their close relationship, and it may be more than a coincidence that an Ayr John Caldwell was an owner of the *Unity* and a Glasgow John Caldwell was a founder of the Wester House refinery.⁶⁴ It is clear from later port book entries that this partnership had close links with Glasgow's sugar refining industry, the great success of the Scottish manufactory movement. The partnership may indeed have been formed in close association with the Wester House company specifically to supply their refinery, utilising Ayr's expertise in plantation trading. The choice of name for the vessel may reflect a hope that the ultimately unsuccessful Anglo-Scottish negotiations first for economic and then for political union during 1668-70 would be advantageous to her owners.

The career of the *Unity* is obscure until 1671, but in the previous year Ayr town council gave in a report on the allegedly ruinous condition of its trade to the Convention of Royal Burghs, in explanation of its failure to contribute to a fund for the repair of Dundee's harbour, which included the following:

It is said we have our trad to Barbadoes and thos Islands; it is trew, but it can be maid appear that thir twelv years bygain we hav had great loss by that trad, as can be cleared by many famous witness and particulerlie by the customers, that wer necessitat somtym to take up the stock ... for the custom and excyss. We have had severall ships lost in that island, and be the way, and be fyre, and the last yeir ane new ship lost man and guds except the maister and boy that wer a shoir; and except the first twa or thrie yeirs we had never gane since.

(The report goes on to claim that the twenty vessels belonging to the town in 1638 were reduced to six by 1645.)

And since that tym we did loss all thess ships; and of lait we causit build and buy four ships, one qhrof casten down for age, ane other casten away at Barbadoes, so that in effect ships and trading is altogether decayed within our burgh.⁶⁵

No other evidence has yet emerged for the loss of an Ayr vessel in the West Indies in 1669. She may have been the former privateer *Mayflower*. The vessel laid up due to her age might have been the *Unicorn*, not recorded as active after August

1668 when she was lying in Ayr harbour with George Angus as her skipper.⁶⁶ This would have left the *Unity* and the former privateer *Lamb*, whose careers would continue, as the survivors of the four ships acquired 'of lait'.

Yet another vessel, however, appears in a deed of December 1668 recording the sale of bailie John Cunningham's eighth part of the ship called the *Providence* of Ayr, or *Admiral* of Belfast, to former bailie John Ferguson and former treasurer William Chalmers.⁶⁷ These two were making this purchase on behalf of Ayr merchant John Crawford (2), the sale including Cunningham's eighth of her cargo and of all other goods pertaining to her at Barbados, at home, and abroad. The *Admiral* may have been her previous identity if recently purchased, but it is also possible that she possessed dual identity for evasion of the navigation acts. This is the only reference to her yet to emerge, and there is no direct evidence that she made any voyages between Ayr and the West Indies, but the mention of goods connected with her in Barbados is an indication that she may have. This presents the possibility of an alternative interpretation of the 1670 report; that the *Unicorn* is not included among the four ships recently purchased, these being the *Mayflower*, *Lamb*, *Unity* and *Providence*; that the *Providence* (acquired to replace the *Unicorn*?) was the vessel lost at Barbados in 1669, and that it was the *Mayflower* (already old when purchased?) which was laid up, having had no transatlantic involvement.

It is the reference to 'thir twelv yeirs bygain' which appears to date the commencement of regular trade between Ayr and the West Indies to 1658, and the claim that it had not been profitable after the first two or three years, while not to be taken too seriously, is obviously intended to emphasise the harmful effects of the English Navigation Act of 1660.⁶⁸

The *Unity* sailed to the West Indies in 1671, one of her crew bringing an action for alleged unpaid wages against John Hodgson and his partners at the beginning of the next year.⁶⁹ In early October 1671 Ayr merchant James Wilson was accused of contravening the town's trading regulations by buying tobacco from James 'Boigle'. This must be Glasgow merchant James Bogle, whose family would rise to be one of the most prominent in that city's plantation trade, and as the *Unity* would have been due back around the time that this incident occurs, it is likely that his tobacco had been aboard her. In December 1671 the *Unity* was at Belfast;⁷⁰ during the year the direct importation of English colonial produce into Ireland had been prohibited for ten years, and from this time on there is evidence of Irish merchants making use of Ayr's transatlantic connections.⁷¹

In 1672 and 1673 Hodgson voyaged to the West Indies aboard the *Unity* under commission from her owners to act for them in trade.⁷² War with the Dutch broke out again in spring 1672, but this time there was little adverse effect on the English Caribbean colonies as France was now an ally. That September three unfree merchants who had returned to Ayr on the *Unity* were called before the

magistrates of Ayr on suspicion of unauthorised trading; Thomas Johnston of Glasgow declared that the West Indian tobacco he had imported was to be transported to that city; John 'Donnallie' of Ireland, declaring that he had sold none of his goods, was licensed after contributing to the poor box to sell his tobacco to any freeman, and Laurence 'Orum', also Irish, admitted selling his tobacco and indigo in the town and was duly fined.⁷³

The *Unity's* 1673 voyage is particularly well documented. Certainly on this voyage, and possibly on the others, Hodgson acted not only as supercargo but as master too. During February he was engaging seamen, on 10th March they commenced their service in the voyage, and by the end of May she was at Montserrat.⁷⁴ Another Ayr ship, the former privateer *Lamb*, sailed to Barbados this year under charter to the merchants of Belfast (her previous year's voyage had been to France for salt) with Ayr merchant John Crawford (2) going along to collect the freight charges.⁷⁵ On 2nd September the *Unity's* return to Ayr from Montserrat was recorded in the only port book to have survived from the period during which she was active.⁷⁶ (The collector of customs and excise at this time was the former Cromwellian governor Colonel Yaxley Robson.) The bulk of the cargo consisted of 35,500lb of 'pannellis' sugar (only partly refined and inedible), in various sizes of barrel, entered by Hodgson, 'master and merchant', along with a little under 3,000lb of roll tobacco⁷⁷ and smaller quantities of indigo⁷⁸ and ginger (about 400 and 650lb respectively). Ayr merchants John Hunter and John Dunbar, who had gone along as passengers, also imported the latter two commodities, (in quantities from 200 – 300lb) and Hugh Reid, 'pilot', brought in a little over 400lb of tobacco. The limitations of the sources for Ayr's transatlantic trade in this period other than the surviving port books are emphasised by their almost total lack of any reference to sugar. It is clear from subsequent references that Montserrat, with a population composed largely of Irish Catholics at this time, had become the new focus of Ayr's trade in the Leewards. These islands had been separated from the jurisdiction of Barbados in 1671 and given their own governor based in Nevis (where Glasgow's merchants had established connections for the arrangement of sugar shipments) but the island assemblies jealously guarded their independence, making enforcement of the navigation acts difficult. During 1673 Glasgow's Wester House refinery finally obtained recognition as a manufactory under the terms of the Scottish Parliament's 1661 act, enabling it to import raw materials, and export finished products, free of duty, to the dismay of the tacksmen of the customs who faced a consequent drop in revenue to the state and to themselves. In 1676 the Easter House refinery also succeeded in obtaining these privileges.⁷⁹

Soon after the conclusion of peace with the Dutch in early 1674 the *Unity* set off once again for the West Indies, but early in the voyage she was captured by a Dutch warship, its crew probably unaware of the end of hostilities, and taken to Amsterdam.⁸⁰ The crew would have been released quickly but the ship was not.

John Dunbar had been aboard her, in charge of the trade goods of Adam Crawford and Robert Dalrymple as well as his own. The six equal shares of the owning partnership at this time belonged to William Muir, John Caldwell, Hodgson himself and his skipper brother-in-law James Chalmers, the two remaining shares being jointly owned by John McCollm and Andrew Nevin, and by Adam Hunter and John Campbell (all Ayr merchants).⁸¹ Chalmers seems to have become a partner at an early stage but there is no evidence for any active participation on his part in the voyages of the *Unity*; in the 1672-73 port book he appears as pilot of a Saltcoats vessel returning to Ayr from Bordeaux.

The *James* (2) and the West Indies 1675 - 1683

During December and January 1674-75 Hodgson travelled to the Netherlands to try to obtain the release of the *Unity*.⁸² The outcome is unknown, but she does not appear again on record. Her short career seems to have been successful, however, as she was to be replaced by a much larger vessel, and Hodgson may have made preliminary moves at this time towards her acquisition. (He and his partners had perhaps been awarded compensation by the Dutch admiralty court.) During the summer of 1675 he was, as he would later put on record, 'going abowt and acting for procureng the good ship called the James of Air to be ane frie ship for...(document damaged)... trading and comerss'.⁸³ In early July he was in Dublin where he was arrested at the instance of a Liverpool merchant until he made payment of an outstanding debt connected with the acquisition of the *Unity* in 1668.⁸⁴ A month later in Amsterdam he received a bill of sale from a merchant of that city, 'Hendry Falkeslyne', for the 120-ton *Egmont*, which became the *James* of Ayr.⁸⁵ (It is assumed here that in the 1687 Scottish High Court of Admiralty record referring to this document, 1679 has been written in error instead of 1675.) Having apparently purchased the ship in his own name Hodgson retained ownership of a sixth part of her, and William Muir, John Caldwell and skipper James Chalmers each received a sixth. She would later be described as having a pass making her a free ship to trade within the king's whole dominions, and Hodgson's trip to Dublin appears to have been connected with its acquisition.⁸⁶ English- and Irish-owned ships would have needed such a document in their papers, as proof that they met the requirements for trading to the plantations under the provisions of the navigation acts. The *Mary* of Liverpool/*Unity* probably had such a pass already when she was purchased.

Failure to agree on the settlement of outstanding expenses and accounts relating to the career of the *Unity* led to Hodgson on the one hand and his partners, headed by William Muir, on the other bringing actions against each other before Ayr dean of guild court in February 1676.⁸⁷ A settlement was soon reached but Hodgson's relations with the others may have become strained. There is no evidence for his active participation in any further voyages, and financial

difficulties may have resulted in the sale of his share in the partnership soon after this time. Such cases now begin to vanish from the dean of guild records, hitherto a rich source of information, as James, Duke of York, appointed Lord High Admiral of Scotland for life in 1673, asserted the authority of the admiralty courts over all matters involving sea-borne trade. Other sources, however, provide glimpses of continuing activity; in March 1676 Ayr mariner John Angus borrowed a sum of money repayable on his return from the West Indies,⁸⁸ and in September 1677, James Bond, West Indies merchant, was among the witnesses at the baptism of a child of Ayr bailie Robert Hunter, an increasingly powerful figure in the economic and political life of the town whose brother Adam was involved in the *Unity/James* partnership.⁸⁹

The obscurity which shrouds the commencement of the *James's* career is dispelled in 1678, due firstly to the country's turbulent political situation at the time and secondly to the survival for this year of an Ayr port book listing imports. Early in the year a committee of the Scottish Privy Council, accompanied both by regular forces and by the militia who would be remembered as the 'Highland Host', came west to suppress Covenanting activity and established itself for a time in Ayr. John Muir, participant in the post-1658 tobacco trade and provost 1673-75, was accused of involvement in conventicles and went into hiding, his goods being seized. The *James*, waiting in the harbour for the first fair wind to sail for the plantations under skipper James Chalmers, was arrested on suspicion of having goods belonging to Muir aboard her, but on her owners swearing that he had no part in ship or cargo she was ordered to be set at liberty on 12th February.⁹⁰

By 19th September the *James* had returned to Ayr from Montserrat and the listing of her cargo in the port book commenced.⁹¹ The largest elements were the 34 hogsheads and eight barrels (around 20,00lbs) of sugar which the vessel's owners brought in by commission of the 'Glasgow sugary' and almost 17,000lbs of leaf tobacco which they imported on their own account, William Muir and John McColm entering these.⁹² No fewer than eleven 'passengers' arrived on the *James*, most bringing in both sugar in quantities varying from 1,500 to over 7,000lbs, and tobacco, mostly leaf, with a similar variation in quantity. Four of these can be identified as being from Ayr (Adam Coulthard, Robert Fullarton,⁹³ Hugh Muir and John Dunbar, who had been a passenger on the *Unity* in 1673 and was outward bound on her again when she was captured the year after). Ninian Gilhagie and Thomas Johnston (another former *Unity* passenger) belonged to Glasgow, and some of the others probably did.⁹⁴ Of the three other merchants, not described as passengers, who had goods aboard, one belonged to Ayr and one probably to Glasgow.⁹⁵ The third was none other than Walter Gibson, the most celebrated Glasgow merchant of this period, regarded as the founder of Glasgow's plantation trade, who brought in over 5,000lb of leaf tobacco.⁹⁶ John Angus, master's mate, brought in tobacco for himself and on behalf of the ship's company.⁹⁷



Figure 5: Detail from 'The Town of Aire from ye House of Netowne' in John Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiae*, 1693. (The original images for this work were made late 1670s/early 1680s.⁹⁸) Beyond the bridge, the masts of several large vessels lying in the harbour can be seen.

During the six days over which the cargo of the *James* was brought ashore and recorded, a second Ayr vessel, the 40-ton *Swan*, also arrived from Montserrat under the command of David Ferguson, 'master and merchant', who had become a brother-in-law of skipper James Chalmers through a second marriage of the latter

in 1676.⁹⁹ She carried 33,750 lbs of sugar 'to be sent to Glasgow for the use of the Suggery Works'. Ferguson brought in, presumably on behalf of unnamed partners as well as himself,¹⁰⁰ a little under 20,000lb of sugar and almost the same amount of tobacco, mostly leaf. The landing from these two ships of recorded imports totalling approximately 52 tons of sugar, 33 tons of leaf tobacco, 3 tons of roll tobacco (a total of 82,800lb of tobacco) and 1 ton of indigo appears to have been the high water mark of Ayr's transatlantic trade before the 1707 Union. This is the first appearance in Ayr records of leaf tobacco, usually associated with Virginia and Maryland, the significance of which will be considered later.¹⁰¹ All previous specific references had been to the roll tobacco of the West Indies.

Information on voyages is lacking between 1678 and 1681, but skipper James Chalmers, who had been chosen as a town councillor despite his seafaring commitments, was absent from meetings between March and September 1679 - almost certainly off to the Caribbean again.¹⁰² The port books which resume in 1681 are largely complete for the remainder of the decade, and both export and import records exist for the *James's* 1681 voyage to the West Indies, still with James Chalmers as her skipper.¹⁰³ John Harrison was now master's mate. On 5th February the goods which three Ayr merchants (John Muir's son Samuel, Robert Fullarton and John Hunter, passenger on the *Unity* in 1673) were sending out on her, and those of eight passengers travelling aboard her, were recorded. None of the passengers seem to have belonged to Ayr, most being apparently Glasgow merchants, and only two, Andrew Cathcart and Ninian Gilhagie, had been among those who returned on her in 1678.¹⁰⁴ Cloth, particularly packcloth with lesser quantities of linen and other varieties, was the main export, others being thread, stockings, shoes, assorted items such as tobacco pipes and knives, and barrels of beef. By 19th September she was back. There is no reference this time to any sugar being brought in by commission of the Glasgow refiners. (In this year the rights of the two Glasgow refineries to duty-free importation and exportation lapsed, but they were soon restored by the 1681 Trades and Manufactories Act.¹⁰⁵) Only five passengers returned aboard the *James*, none of them being among those who had left. They included Thomas Garven of Ayr,¹⁰⁶ who was a nephew of John Caldwell and was probably related to the John Garven who had sailed on the *Unicorn* in 1663. Two other passengers, John Warner and John Scott, may have been from Irvine. The remaining two were John Aird, a future provost of Glasgow whose family appears to have had Ayrshire origins,¹⁰⁷ and John Smith, probably also from that city. Only these two and Scott brought in sugar, totalling 22,300lb. All five brought in tobacco, between 5,000 and 6,000lb except for Garven who had around 10,000lb. Three Ayr merchants were among the remaining importers; Robert Fullarton and John Hunter, who had sent goods out, brought in around 10,500lb and 6,500lb of tobacco respectively and Adam Osborne 800lb of sugar. Garven, Fullarton and Hunter all brought in cotton totalling 250lb. James Chalmers, master,

the only one of the ship's owners listed, brought in 4,000lb of sugar and a little under 1,500lb of roll tobacco. All the other tobacco importers had mixtures of leaf and of staff- and hand-rolled, with roll mostly predominating. The 1,250lb of sugar and 4,000lb of tobacco imported by mate John Harrison for himself and the rest of the crew completed the list. The only indigo, 250lb, was brought in by Aird.

Not counting the 20,000lb of Glasgow Refinery-bound sugar, the 43,000lb of other sugar landed by the *James* in 1678 (8,000lb by Ayr-based interests) was down to 28,000lb in 1681 (6,000lb by Ayr-based interests). There was much less of a drop in tobacco, the 1678 total of 63,000lb (38,000lb, almost all leaf, by Ayr-based interests) being down to 55,000lb in 1681 (33,000lb by Ayr-based interests, almost evenly divided with slightly more roll than leaf). The *James* was the only Ayr ship to sail to the West Indies in 1681, and the large quantities of sugar and tobacco which David Ferguson brought in on the *Swan* in 1678 (including 20,000lb each of tobacco and sugar for Ayr interests) means a huge overall drop in the town's imports of colonial goods. The 1681 records show the *Swan* sailing to Holland, and she would continue to voyage regularly to European, particularly French, ports until near the end of the decade before venturing again across the Atlantic.

The leaf tobacco which features prominently in the return cargoes of the *James* and the *Swan* in 1678, and to a lesser extent in that of the *James* in 1681, was presumably being brought from the North American mainland to the West Indies on New England ships; that region's merchants and mariners had taken full advantage of the inter-colonial trade permitted by the navigation acts. The fact that the returning passengers on the *James* in 1681 were a different set of individuals to those who departed on her presents the possibility of a further aspect; that some at least of these merchants were sailing out to the West Indies, then taking passage north on a New England ship (Boston being a likely destination), spending the winter in North America, and returning to the Caribbean the next year with leaf tobacco to take back to Scotland on the *James*. (The tobacco could have been acquired from stocks held in New England, making a trip to Virginia or Maryland unnecessary.) August 1682 sees the first appearance in Ayr's christening records of a tobacco spinner. This occupation involved the processing of dried leaves into twist tobacco suitable for smoking, or for powdering as snuff, and individuals so designated appear regularly from this time until the end of the century.¹⁰⁸ The first firm evidence for trade between Ayr and North America comes from the Ayr export records for this year which show the re-export by David Ferguson, merchant, of three tuns of French wine to Virginia aboard the *Alexander* of Glasgow 'lying in the Clyde'.¹⁰⁹



Figure 6: Slezer's late-seventeenth-century view of Ayr harbour. Although entitled 'The Prospect of the Town of Air from the East', the view is actually from the north. The town's common quay is in the centre, with the Cromwellian citadel, its walls partially demolished, to the right. The citadel's own quay is at extreme right. The tower of St. John's Church was a prominent sea-mark for returning mariners.¹¹⁰

The Glasgow merchants appear to have pioneered regular direct trade between Scotland and North America, and the 1681 customs records for Port Glasgow show how active it had now become. In addition to the *Alexander*, three Glasgow ships are shown as sailing from there to Virginia, New York and New England, with a fourth and the *William and James* of Saltcoats (James Kyler master) going to the West Indies.¹¹¹ The presence in Scotland from 1680 to 1682 of the king's brother, James, Duke of York, chairman of the Scottish Council of Trade and proprietor of New York as well as Lord High Admiral of Scotland, probably facilitated the development of this trade.¹¹² Also in 1681 the prohibition of direct colonial imports to Ireland came to an end, although it would be re-imposed in 1685.

The *James's* 1682 voyage was not to the West Indies but to Nantes in France for salt, wine and various manufactured goods.¹¹³ Once again James Chalmers was her master but it was to be his last voyage; soon after her return to Ayr he died. His voyages on the *Unicorn* and the *James*, which must exceed in number those which have happened to be recorded, make him Ayr's greatest transatlantic skipper of this era. In a burgh court action brought by some of the crew for payment of wages, the owners of the *James* at the time of the commencement of the voyage are named as James Wallace present bailie, John Caldwell, William Muir, John Campbell, skipper James Chalmers and Janet Boill, widow of Andrew Nevin.¹¹⁴ Although only Chalmers is specifically stated to have had a sixth share, these six all presumably possessed an equal share, there having been only a few changes in the partnership since the loss of the *Unity* in 1674. Muir and Caldwell, commissioners of the purchase of the *Unity* in 1668, still remained. Hodgson had sold his share to Wallace (a lawyer who acquired the estate of Prestwickshaws around this time) perhaps as early as 1677. John Campbell now apparently possessed the whole of the sixth he shared with Adam Hunter in 1674 (and had in the meantime become William Muir's son-in-law) and similarly Andrew Nevin's widow had inherited the whole of the sixth he had shared with John McColm, who had now dropped out of the partnership.

A significant development in this year of 1682 was the exploratory voyage of the 50-ton *James* of Irvine (George Dreddan master) to Carolina. The Second Dutch War in the mid-1660s, though destructive in the West Indies, had greatly extended England's possessions in North America by the seizure of the Dutch territories there, New Amsterdam becoming New York. James Duke of York, became proprietor of the latter area, and around the same time two other proprietary colonies were established - New Jersey and, to the south of Virginia, Carolina.¹¹⁵ A consortium headed by the Ayrshire gentlemen John Cochrane of Ochiltree and George Campbell of Cessnock entered into negotiations with the English proprietors of Carolina for the establishment of a Scots colony on the coast, which was to be peopled largely by Covenanters - both voluntary exiles and

transportees. In this area remote from centres of English administration, it would give Scots merchants a trading foothold in the plantations. The *James* of Irvine was despatched to spy out the land, and aboard her as supercargo was Ayr merchant John Crawford (2)'s young son John junior.¹¹⁶ He kept a journal of observations including navigational information on the Carolina coast.

Hodgson was appointed executor for Chalmers, who had died childless, and the skipper's sixth share of the *James* was divided between his widow, Janet Ferguson, and Hodgson and his wife Isobel, Chalmer's sister.¹¹⁷ Hodgson had by this time become embroiled in the tumultuous events which troubled Ayr town council following the imposition of the Test oath in 1681. When all the candidates at that year's election refused to take it, the Privy Council nominated a new council and appointed as provost the customs collector and former Cromwellian governor Yaxley Robson (who was to die in office in 1683). Hodgson was one of those co-opted to make up the council's number, and he supported Provost Robson and his successor William Brisbane against the opposing and mutually hostile factions led by ex-provost William Cunningham of Brownhill and ex-bailie Robert Hunter, who caused considerable disorder at election times.¹¹⁸

As Hodgson became once again a member of the owning partnership of the *James* in early 1683, that vessel was being prepared for another voyage to the West Indies, and after the recording of the exports aboard her had been completed in the middle of March she sailed under the command of John Harrison, her mate on the 1681 voyage.¹¹⁹ Harrison (sometimes referred to as Harris) is of obscure origin; he may have been English or Irish. He would become a burgher of Ayr in 1685 following his marriage to Agnes Colville, daughter of the Robert Colville who was an owner of the *Unicorn* in the 1660s. There are no references to passengers on the export list, the twelve exporters all being designated as merchants. Six of these can be identified as belonging to Ayr (David Ferguson merchant, Hugh Muir, a passenger in 1678, Thomas Milliken, Robert Fullarton and John Hunter, both well-established in this trade, and Harrison himself.) The others are harder to identify but again some probably belonged to Glasgow, including Andrew Cathcart, a passenger on the *James* in 1678 and 1681. Exports were similar to 1681 with cloth predominating. The *James* was back in Ayr by 7th September.¹²⁰ Montserrat again appears in the customs books as the port of departure, but the import list is very brief indeed; only 2,200lb of sugar and 530lb of indigo brought in by Harrison for himself and the crew, and 930lb of indigo brought in by Thomas Garven.¹²¹ It is difficult to speculate as to whether this is the result of omissions in the records, some serious misfortune encountered in the course of the venture, or the disposal of the bulk of the cargo elsewhere. At least one vessel arriving in the Clyde during this year with sugar and Virginia tobacco was sent on to Holland due to a glut of these commodities on the Scottish market.¹²² However, the most likely reason for both the sugar glut and for the small amount of this commodity landed from the

James was the suspension during the year of work at Glasgow's Wester House refinery (which was to last five years) due to a dispute among its partners. This must have had a serious impact on the sugar trade, and especially on the Ayr partnership, given the indications of its close links with that refinery.¹²³ The failure of the *James* to make a Caribbean voyage in 1682, though, probably indicates that regular direct trade from Ayr was already doomed. Scotland's transatlantic trade was now dominated by Port Glasgow, able to accommodate ships of the largest size. From there Thomas Johnston, former passenger on both the *Unity* and the *James*, was trading to the West Indies on Glasgow ships in 1683 and 1685.¹²⁴ James Wardrope, a passenger in the *James* in 1681 (and probably a relation of William 'Woodruff', apparently from Glasgow, a merchant in Nevis in 1675) traded to the West Indies from Port Glasgow on the *Jean* of Largs (skipper Ninian Gibson) in 1684.¹²⁵ It is estimated that between 1680 and 1691, Glasgow was importing on average 250,000lb of tobacco a year, of which 80% came direct from America, and in 1685-86, over 450,000lb came in.¹²⁶ However, the thriving commerce carried on between Ayr and continental Europe during these long years of peace must have compensated to a considerable extent for the loss of the plantation trade to Glasgow.¹²⁷

The *James* (2) and the Carolina Colony 1684

During 1683 preparations had been gathering pace for the establishment the following year of the Scots colony at Port Royal Sound, Carolina, near present-day Beaufort, to be called Stuarts Town. It would be situated somewhat perilously on debatable land between English and Spanish territory, with a climate not conducive to good health. Subsequent developments would seem to indicate that by the end of the year most of the owners of the *James* felt that she could be most usefully employed in this enterprise, and that Hodgson dissented; the early months of 1684 saw a sequence of events which Hodgson would later claim were intended to exclude him from the partnership.¹²⁸ At the end of February, understanding that a buyer for the *James* had been found, he gave his written assent to her sale by public roup (auction). However, the buyer departed and the ship remained unsold. During April, the ship was publicly roused in the tolbooth of Ayr without Hodgson's knowledge while he was out of town, the highest bidder being none other than John Caldwell, a founder member of the partnership. The other partners then received their shares back with the exception of Hodgson, who, claiming that he had been tricked into giving his assent to a roup, resisted demands that he surrender his twelfth and accept payment for it. Ignoring him, the partners proceeded with their plans. There had been some significant changes in their membership since 1682; James Wallace of Prestwickshaws died around this time and his sixth passed to his widow Anna Kennedy. Founder members John Caldwell and William Muir, and Muir's son-in-law John Campbell, still remained, but in

place of the widows Janet Ferguson and Janet Boill were former member Adam Hunter and two new members, John Crawford (2) and Robert Fullarton. Adam was the brother and Fullarton the brother-in-law of ex-bailie Robert Hunter, who was petitioning the Scottish Privy Council over the alleged misdeeds of his political opponents, including Hodgson. John Campbell also appears to have been aligned with the Hunter faction, so there may have been a political dimension to Hodgson's exclusion.

The *James* was chartered by William Cunningham of Brownhill, John Muir (both ex-provosts of Ayr – Muir had by now made his peace with the authorities over his Covenanting activities), skipper John Ferguson (brother of skipper David Ferguson, who would command her) and Robert Rodger, (merchant in Kilmarnock, but married to a daughter of John Caldwell¹²⁹) to carry colonists overseas, this being publicised throughout the district both by placards and by beat of drum.¹³⁰ The first obstacle in the way of those heading for a new life in America was the wreck of the *Margaret* of Queensferry, which had been blocking the entrance to Ayr harbour since the previous October.¹³¹ An engineer was brought in from Glasgow, and by the end of August clearance work had been completed.¹³² The dutiable goods being exported aboard the *James* (as usual, mostly cloth) were recorded at Ayr on 19th August 1684 and her new master David Ferguson (who had made at least one previous Atlantic crossing in command of the *Swan* in 1678) was also the merchant in charge of them, Carolina being listed as the destination.¹³³ On the previous day the *Charles* of Glasgow had similarly cleared customs for Carolina at Port Glasgow and these two vessels doubtless sailed in company.¹³⁴ Over a month previously, Walter Gibson's *Pelican* of Glasgow/*Carolina Merchant* had left the Clyde with Lord Cardross and a mixture of voluntary colonists and transported Covenanters to found Stuarts Town.¹³⁵ Among those who emigrated voluntarily were John Montgomery of Crevoch (now Kennox near Stewarton) and his son.¹³⁶

The *James*'s 1684 voyage to Carolina was to be her last; she appears no more in the Ayr port books (complete for this period) and a list of lost foreign-going vessels in which Ayr was concerned, apparently covering the ten years up to 1692, has as its second item 'the *James* ship, burden 120 tunns, and cargo lost upon the coast of Carolina, value £13,333' (Scots).¹³⁷ A letter sent from Stuarts Town to the lords proprietors of Carolina in March 1685 by Lord Cardross and his assistant William Dunlop mentions the loss of a ship which had been bringing Ulster Scots to the colony from Belfast.¹³⁸ Covenanting tradition would recall that two vessels set out from Ireland for the colony and were caught in a storm near their destination, one being wrecked with the loss of half of the 140 aboard and the other returning to Ireland badly damaged.¹³⁹ The Reverend James Brown (originally from Loudoun parish and destined to become minister of Glasgow in 1690) was said to have been a survivor from the lost vessel. As Cardross and Dunlop seem to

have been aware of the loss of only one vessel bringing colonists to Stuarts Town, it seems likely that this was the *James*, and that she and the *Charles* of Glasgow had called at Belfast to pick up emigrants from among the Scots Presbyterians settled in Ulster (who were also undergoing persecution at this time). Skipper David Ferguson survived the loss of the *James* and was back in Ayr by the beginning of November 1685¹⁴⁰ when he attended a family christening.¹⁴¹ Later that month he was cited to appear before the Scottish High Court of Admiralty in an action brought by John Hodgson against the owners of the *James*.¹⁴² (John Caldwell having died, his widow Jean Garven and his eldest son, also John, were named in his place.) Proceedings did not begin until the next year, during which the Stuarts Town colony, weakened by disease and desertion, and by friction with the English authorities in Charles Town, was destroyed by a Spanish attack. (Most of the settlers escaped, but they either returned to Scotland or were absorbed by the English colony.)

Judgement was finally pronounced in the High Court of Admiralty at the end of 1687. Hodgson, claiming that though a part-owner he had not been consulted about the voyage or even made aware of it, had sought compensation. Carolina is not mentioned, the vagueness of Hodgson's deposition regarding the vessel's destination in the plantations being perhaps intended to emphasise his alleged ignorance of the voyage. Although she is not specifically stated to have been lost, this is implied: The defenders asserted that they had acted rationally in undertaking the voyage and that it was only by chance that it had proved unprofitable; also, that the voyage was undertaken with the consent of the major part of the owners, and if the ship did perish or was cast away then Hodgson must bear the loss with the rest of them. Hodgson was claiming a twelfth of the estimated monthly profit of the *James* from 24th July 1684 (when he claimed she sailed) until such time as she should return to Ayr harbour (apparently implying some uncertainty about her fate). His additional claim for damages due to the failure of the defenders to make profitable use of the ship 'as others had' implied that he blamed the new members of the partnership. In the end, Hodgson was awarded £400 Scots as a twelfth of the estimated value of the ship and its pass and freedom, and with this settlement his long and crucially important involvement in Ayr's plantation trade finally came to an end; he had not attended the court proceedings in person as he was infirm and unable to travel, and he died two years later in 1689.¹⁴³ It is interesting that the date Hodgson gave for the departure of the *James* is that on which the *Pelican/Carolina Merchant* left the Clyde for Carolina, although according to the port books the *James* was still at Ayr almost a month later.

North American Connections 1684 - 1688

The loss of the *James* finally brought to an end the regular transatlantic trade which had been carried on from Ayr in locally-owned vessels by the partnership which commissioned the purchase of the *Unity* in 1668, and before that by the *Unicorn*. Contact would continue, however, with the focus now shifting from the West Indies to the North American mainland. As we have seen, David Ferguson, merchant, re-exported French wine to Virginia on a Glasgow vessel in 1682, and it appears to have been around the same time that his brother Archibald emigrated to Massachusetts.¹⁴⁴ The confirmation of the Catholic James as his brother's heir in 1681 and the Test Act of the same year saw an increase in voluntary Scottish Presbyterian emigration, most of it to the Netherlands but some to the New World (alongside the enforced transportation there of imprisoned Covenanters) where merchant exiles could act as factors for their relatives and partners at home. The most prominent Ayr example seems to have been John Crawford (2), brother-in-law of David and Archibald.

John's father, also John, had been a leading member of the merchant community and a mainstay of the town council throughout the Cromwellian occupation along with John Ferguson, patriarch of the merchant Fergusons; both had held the post of bailie several times. John Crawford (2) joined his father on the council from 1656 until the Restoration, but the Crawfords and Fergusons found themselves unable to accept the Restoration settlement, no doubt on religious grounds, and took virtually no further part in burgh government until the Revolution. John Crawford (1) died soon after the Restoration, and around the same time John (2) married a daughter of former bailie John Ferguson. This made him a relation of several prominent figures in the transatlantic trade, which he is likely to have participated in, although there is little direct evidence for this until 1673 when he sailed to the West Indies aboard the Belfast-chartered *Lamb* of Ayr. He appears to have been an enthusiastic participant in the Carolina project; his son, another John, only sixteen, sailed as supercargo on the pioneering voyage of the *James* of Irvine in 1682, and soon afterwards John (2, henceforth 'senior') acquired a share in the partnership of the *James* of Ayr with the probable intention of securing her employment in voyages to Carolina, on the first of which she was lost. His name heads the list of her owners in the case subsequently brought against them in the Scottish High Court of Admiralty by John Hodgson, indicating that he was regarded as the principal partner. (Crawford and William Muir, founder member of the partnership, were married to sisters of the merchant Ferguson family and skipper David Ferguson, master of the *James* on her last voyage, had recently married Crawford's sister.)

John Crawford senior himself went to America in 1684 and appears to have stayed there until the Revolution of 1688. He may have sailed initially for Carolina, perhaps reaching shore as a survivor of the *James*, but both he and John

junior are recorded in 1684 as new members of the Scots Charitable Society of Boston; both are described as merchants in Ayr.¹⁴⁵ Another new member that year was John senior's brother-in-law Archibald Ferguson, now a merchant in the port of Marblehead near Boston.¹⁴⁶ This society was founded 'for the relief of Scotchmen' in 1657 (when many Scots transported to New England by Cromwell would have been reaching the end of their terms of servitude) and was open to men born in Scotland or their sons.¹⁴⁷

Other Ayrshiremen are known to have arrived in America during this era; John McCubbin, of the family at that time in possession of Knockdolian in Colmonell parish, settled at Tinker Neck, Anne Arundel County, Maryland in 1659, and had established a family there by the time of his death in 1685; a John Crawford of Ayrshire, exact locality of origin uncertain, died in New Kent County on Virginia's York River in 1676, his son David continuing as a settler there until his death in 1710; and Hugh Campbell, an Edinburgh merchant but a member of the Cessnock family, emigrated to Bermuda in 1677 and settled at Norfolk, Virginia in 1688.¹⁴⁸

The only transatlantic voyage recorded in the Ayr port books between the ill-fated 1684 voyage of the *James* and the end of 1686 is that of the *Providence* of Coleraine, Alexander 'Doick' master, which arrived in Ayr in July 1686 with 8,000lb of Virginia leaf tobacco; the port book entry gives her port of departure as Londonderry, but this is followed by an additional note that she had come from the plantations.¹⁴⁹ (There may be a connection with the prohibition once again during the previous year of direct importation of English colonial goods to Ireland.) Alexander 'Dook', skipper of Coleraine, was made a burgess and guild brother of Ayr at the end of the next year.¹⁵⁰ The Ulster Doaks appear to have been related to the Ayr family who in turn were in-laws of John Muir, and it is likely that he and his partners were involved with this shipment.¹⁵¹ There are gaps in the surviving port books between 1686 and 1690, but this period is covered by an April 1692 report by the magistrates of Ayr on their foreign imports over the past five years.¹⁵² Only two arrivals from the colonies are listed, 'ane small veshell from Virginia of 70 tunn burden or thereby, the fourth pairt of which cargo was sold in England by the master to which it belonged' (the cargo being presumably tobacco) and 'ane other small veshell with suggar from the West Indies.' The latter must refer to the voyage of the *Swan* of Ayr recorded in the 1691 port-book, a voyage which, like the original transatlantic ventures of the 1640s, sought to exploit the opportunities presented by a period of political upheaval and conflict.

Part Three: Revolution to Union

Conflict and Opportunity 1688 - 1693

The three-year reign of James VII was terminated by revolution in England at the end of 1688, and in the spring of the next year the Presbyterian-dominated Scottish Convention joined their southern neighbours in accepting William and Mary as monarchs; so ended the Covenanting troubles, and so began the Jacobite troubles. Soon France became an enemy, war broke out in Ireland and in the Highlands, and refugees from Ulster thronged the Scottish west coast ports, including Ayr. Local administration there was now in the hands of supporters of the new regime headed by John Muir, who took over the post of provost. Although theologically repugnant to these Presbyterian merchants, James had been a friend to Scottish trade whereas William, relying on English parliamentary support in his great contest with Louis XIV, would champion English commercial interests at the expense of the Scots. For a time, however, administrative disruption would facilitate evasion of the navigation acts.

By the time these events took place, the little group of Ayr merchants in Massachusetts had been joined by John Ballantyne, son-in-law of John Crawford senior. He vanishes from Ayr records in 1686 and in the next year he too became a member of the Scots Charitable Society of Boston, the record stating that he was from Ayr.¹⁵³ He was not the first of his name to appear on the list; as early as 1653, a William Ballantyne, a prosperous cooper understood by descendants to have been 'a gentleman of Ayr in Scotland', married Sarah Hollard in Boston and four years later was one of the founder members of the Scots Charitable Society.¹⁵⁴ It has been observed, no doubt correctly, that to have been of some substance by this time he could not have been one of the Scots prisoners-of-war transported by Cromwell to Massachusetts. He was presumably a master in charge of a cooperage – the export of casks of salt fish was a major part of the colony's commerce. William was dead by 1669 but his son, John, also a cooper and on the way to becoming one of Boston's most prominent citizens, joined the Scots Charitable Society in 1684, the same year as Archibald Ferguson and the Crawfords. Ayr merchant John Ballantyne's father, also John, was a cooper,¹⁵⁵ so there is a strong probability that he was a relation of the Boston Ballantynes, and that his marriage into the family of John Crawford created a transatlantic kin-group which also embraced the merchant Fergusons. The Revolution brought a flood of Presbyterian exiles back to Scotland, among them John Ballantyne and the two Crawfords; John Crawford senior and his brother Hugh, who had remained in Scotland, were the two bailies in the Williamite council which took charge of Ayr under provost John Muir in May

1689; they, and John Crawford junior, had previously been appointed officers in the town's armed companies formed to resist the expected Jacobite invasion from Ireland.¹⁵⁶ John Ballantyne was among the long list of those who became burgesses and guild brothers of Ayr in late 1688 and early 1689, having apparently shunned this status previously due to the oath of allegiance they were required to take under the Episcopalian regime.¹⁵⁷ Crawford junior was witness to a baptism in April 1689 and is designated 'John Crawford yngr alias Carolina' to distinguish him from yet another John Crawford from one of the other Ayr families of that name who was also a witness.¹⁵⁸

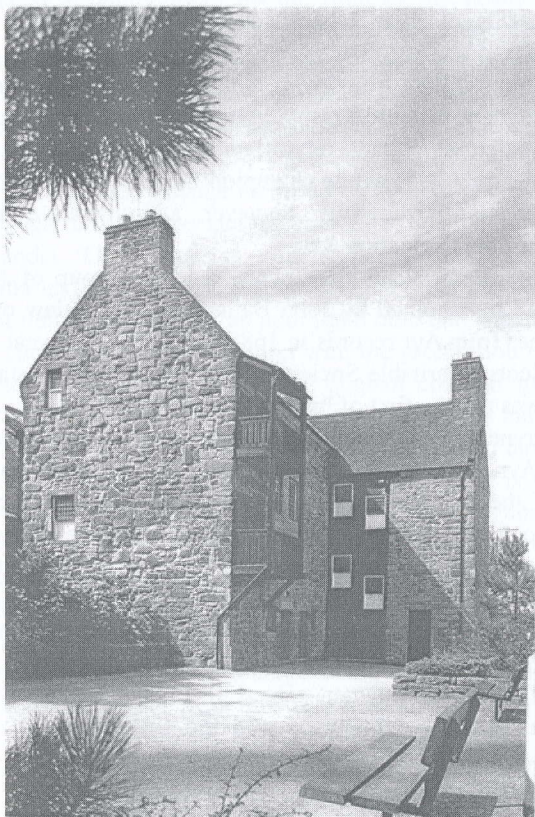


Figure 7: Loudoun Hall, in the Boat Vennel which led from the marketplace to the harbour. Built c. 1500 for the merchant Tait family, it became the town house of the Earls of Loudoun. In the late 1660s it was purchased by prominent transatlantic trader John Muir, who transferred it to his son Robert in 1684. It remained in possession of the family until the late eighteenth century. © Christine Ottewill Photography.

During 1689 the English West Indian colonies were ravaged by French attacks and Irish Jacobite uprisings, and two of Glasgow's best transatlantic trading ships, the *Pelican* and the *Janet*, fitted out as warships by the Scottish Estates, were captured in an epic battle with three French naval frigates in the North Channel.¹⁵⁹ Many of the Clyde's seafarers were killed or made prisoners in this action, and others would have gone to serve in the Royal Navy. As in the 1640s, Irish vessels were operating temporarily from Scottish ports, and in November 1689 the 80-ton *Swan* of Donaghadee (John Laird recorded as master), having loaded provisions for the crew, left Ayr to touch at Belfast, from where the tide of war had receded, and then continue to Virginia.¹⁶⁰ She appears to have returned to Ayr as in August 1690 Andrew Gregg, described as master of the *Swan* of Donaghadee, appeared before the council accused of selling 25 hogsheads of tobacco to unfreemen and others within the burgh, although as an unfree trader he should have offered them first to the magistrates and council. Having acknowledged his fault, he was let off with a modest fine in consideration of his good service done to the burgh.¹⁶¹ Gregg had returned from Virginia to Ireland in the summer of 1689 to find all of that country's ports except Londonderry in Jacobite hands and English warships in the North Channel searching merchant vessels for irregular cargoes (greatly inconveniencing those of Glasgow returning direct from the colonies in defiance of the navigation acts). Claiming to have been trapped in Loch Ryan, he got permission from the Scottish Privy Council to land his tobacco there duty-free provided he removed it within a reasonable period and paid duty on any he might have to sell to cover his expenses, and it is possible that it was for disposing of some of this consignment in Ayr that he was later fined there.¹⁶²

The loss of trade with France was a heavy blow to Ayr but the *Swan* of Ayr, which had been making regular voyages to that country until the outbreak of war, subsequently found conflict-related employment in the Irish Sea; arriving at Ayr from Liverpool at the beginning of 1690 with a cargo which included munitions, she sailed to Belfast in April and to Dublin, now in Williamite hands, in July.¹⁶³ During the year, the English were able to re-establish control in the West Indies, and the sugar-starved Glasgow refineries could prepare to resume direct importation of their raw material. Glasgow's depleted shipping resources were apparently insufficient to meet the demand, and for the first time since the late 1670s the refinery owners looked to Ayr. For some years the skipper of the *Swan* had been James Angus.¹⁶⁴ In March 1691 James was recorded in the Ayr port book as master of the *Swan*, bound for the Carribees, and as one of three merchants (the others being Alexander McCulloch and Andrew McColl,¹⁶⁵) exporting provisions, cloth, hose and shoes aboard her.¹⁶⁶

On the way back, the *Swan* made landfall on the Antrim coast near Londonderry; stormy weather, it was claimed, had forced her to take shelter there. The close connections between Ayr and Londonderry during this period did not

stop the city's collector of customs from arresting her when he discovered that her papers included a coquet purporting to have been issued at Beaumaris in Anglesey. This no doubt stated that the *Swan* had called there and that the duty on her cargo had been paid. Robert Shaw 'owner', persuaded the Irish Revenue Commissioners to release her; claiming that the owners of the cargo had been responsible for obtaining the coquet by indirect means, he undertook to investigate the matter and gave security that he would abide by the judgement of the English Treasury Board (which he subsequently petitioned).¹⁶⁷ This was probably the Robert Shaw who had been made a burgess and guild brother of Ayr in 1682, being the son of the late Mr James Shaw, minister of Carmonie in Ireland, and his wife Margaret Gordon, daughter of a provost of Ayr.¹⁶⁸ This, and the arrest of the *Swan* for having a false coquet, rather than for being a Scottish vessel trading with the plantations, indicates that she had been given the appearance of being Irish-owned. As such, she would have been entitled to trade with the colonies provided her return cargo was taken first to an English (or Welsh) port and English duty paid on it. The Beaumaris coquet would have made it appear that this had been done if the *Swan* had been stopped by one of the English warships (or Scottish privateers carrying an English commission) patrolling the Clyde approaches and seeking to make prizes of Scottish vessels caught contravening the Navigation Acts.

The *Swan* was back in Ayr by the end of September, and 65,700lb of sugar aboard her was recorded as having been brought in duty-free for the use of the sugary of Glasgow.¹⁶⁹ Skipper James Angus had died in July during the course of the voyage.¹⁷⁰ John Milliken, nephew of John Muir, is listed in the port book as master and merchant of the ship. He brought in 200lb of leaf tobacco, 250lb of cotton, and a small sugar cask of under 200lb. Two other merchants brought goods in, John Crawford (1,600lb of sugar) and John Muir's son Samuel (800lb of tobacco, 'most damaged'). Three of the sailors were also listed, David McWalter (900lb sugar cask), John Love (500lb sugar cask) and John Ash (90lb of tobacco).

The Ayr-West Indies-New England connection implied by the leaf tobacco brought back to Ayr from the Caribbean in the late 1670s-early 1680s is further confirmed by the appearance in Massachusetts of two merchants recorded as having exported goods on the *Swan*. Andrew McColm,¹⁷¹ Alexander McCulloch and Alexander's son Thomas¹⁷² were all described as belonging to Ayr when they were entered on the membership list of the Scots Charitable Society of Boston in 1691. Alexander McCulloch had been a burgess and guild brother of Ayr since 1675. He and Thomas were back by 1695 when the latter's wife Rebecca Green had the first of their children recorded as being baptised in Ayr.¹⁷³ Their marriage does not appear in Ayr's Old Parish Records and may have taken place in America. Very little evidence of their trading activities has emerged.

In early 1692 the *Swan* of Ayr set out again on what was to be her last voyage. Not long afterwards, commissioners of the Convention of Royal Burghs

arrived in the town to enquire into its condition and trade as part of a report intended to demonstrate the declining fortunes of the royal burghs. The Ayr material, compiled by the end of April, contained a list of the town's shipping losses over the past ten years or so, including the loss of the *James* off Carolina. The penultimate item was the *Swan* of Ayr, newly bound for the West Indies, ship and cargo lost to the combined value of £9,000.¹⁷⁴ With this loss, and that in February of the 140-ton *Fortune* of Ayr,¹⁷⁵ it was declared that, except for one small boat, Ayr now had no vessels belonging to it; nor were its inhabitants owners or partners in vessels belonging to other burghs. No evidence has yet emerged as to the cause of loss of the *Swan*; she may have been wrecked, as there was as yet little French privateering activity on the Scottish west coast. Another possibility is that of seizure by the English, as a consequence of the previous year's arrestment at Londonderry.¹⁷⁶

Also around this time, in March 1692, proceedings commenced in a case before the Scottish High Court of Admiralty which concerned a number of the most prominent Ayr merchants.¹⁷⁷ A partnership consisting of John Muir, his sons Robert and Samuel, his son-in-law David Ferguson merchant, David's brother John, and the Fergusons' brother-in-law Hugh Crawford (brother of John senior) had, at a time unspecified, engaged William Gregg, brother of the previously-mentioned Donaghadee merchant Andrew (also involved in the voyage), as supercargo to trade their outward cargo for tobacco in the plantations. Having returned to Whitehaven in Cumberland, the Gregg brothers were alleged to have sold on their own behalf 53 hogsheads of tobacco and 23,000 weight of 'bulk tobacco', much more than their own share of the cargo. They then brought the vessel (never named) to Saltcoats where Hugh Crawford and Robert Muir on behalf of the partnership received the remainder of the cargo, 26 hogsheads of tobacco and a parcel of leaf tobacco, and placed it in storage in the cellar of Saltcoats skipper John Lorimer and his wife. However, John Crawford senior and his son-in-law John Ballantyne now intervened, striking a deal with Andrew Gregg for the purchase of the tobacco and taking delivery of it from the Lorimers, despite the latter's having agreed that only the partnership should have access to it. In August the court found the Greggs and Lorimers liable to reimburse the partnership to the value of the proceeds of their outward cargo, but by this time Andrew Gregg had 'left the kingdom', having no doubt transferred his base of operations back to Ireland.

It is difficult from the evidence presently available to form a clear picture of the activities of Andrew Gregg during his involvement with Ayr's tobacco trade. The (not necessarily completely accurate) report for the Convention of Royal Burghs claimed that in the five years up to spring 1692 there was, in addition to the *Swan* of Ayr's 1691 sugar run from the West Indies, only one arrival in Ayr from the Plantations, a vessel from Virginia whose master had sold a fourth of the cargo

in England. If this should read three-fourths sold in England, then the similarity of the 25 hogsheads, which Gregg was fined in summer 1690 for selling, to the 26 hogsheads of the High Court of Admiralty case which he landed in Saltcoats, he having come via Whitehaven, might make it appear that all of this refers to the same voyage. However, the tobacco unloaded at Saltcoats was probably not counted as being among Ayr's imports in the report, and in any case the Greggs' outward destination in that voyage is given in the court record as the West Indies. If this is correct, the voyage can probably be dated to 1691, perhaps undertaken in company with the *Swan* of Ayr, and the report's vessel from Virginia may refer to an earlier venture by Gregg; the *Swan* of Donaghadee's recorded departure from Ayr for that destination in late 1689 (her return being therefore due in mid-1690) is a likely context.

The pursuers in the High Court of Admiralty case were careful to state that they had given a bond to the customs collector at Saltcoats for payment of the duty on the tobacco landed and stored there, but duty evasion seems a likely reason for this having been done, and it indicates that even where Ayr port books survive they do not give the whole picture of the importation of colonial goods by Ayr merchants. The case also makes clear the rift which had developed between John Crawford senior (and those who had returned with him from America) and the other leaders of the merchant community, including John's brother Hugh. This first becomes clear at the autumn 1690 council election when John Muir was continued in the post of provost which he had held since soon after the Revolution. The Crawford brothers were replaced as bailies but while Hugh received the office of dean of guild, John senior was returned as an ordinary councillor. He very seldom took his seat on the council from this time on, an exception being in June 1691 when he was the only dissenter from the decision to punish John Crawford junior, John Ballantyne and tobacco spinner Matthew Whitaker for alleged unspecified misdeeds.¹⁷⁸ At the next annual election John disappeared for good from the council, his brother Hugh being again appointed bailie.

August 20th 1692 saw the baptism of a child of John Ballantyne and his wife Elizabeth Crawford.¹⁷⁹ John Crawford 'late bailie and grandfather' and his brother Hugh were both present as witnesses; two weeks previously the Scottish High Court of Admiralty had passed judgement in the case of the tobacco brought into Saltcoats by the latter and his partners and then appropriated by the former. Also present as witnesses were 'Mr Archibald Ferguson of Marblehead in New England' and 'Robert Paterson mariner in Salem in New England'. In the middle of September Archibald, described as a merchant and resident of New England, was made a burgess and guild brother of Ayr as the third lawful son of the deceased John Ferguson late bailie.¹⁸⁰ The usual composition was waived for his good service done and to be done to the town. This appears to be his only recorded visit to Ayr, and the occasion is likely to have been the breakdown in relations between

his fellow members of the Scots Charitable Society of Boston, John Ballantyne and the John Crawfords father and son, and the Muirs and their associates (including Archibald's brothers David and John). The reasons for this rift remain obscure, but commercial rivalry appears to have been either a cause or a symptom. A probable factor is the religious and political split at this time between hard-line Presbyterians who wished to see church and state governed according to the provisions of the 1638 and 1643 Covenants (Crawford appears never to have compromised with the post-Restoration Episcopalian regime) and the mainstream moderates who were content that these principles should now be largely abandoned. (John Muir had served as a councillor and even as provost under the Restoration regime at times when measures against Presbyterians were relaxed.)

Present in Ayr harbour at the beginning of September 1692 was the *Dove* of Bristol. Its master, described as a Mr Peterson, offered the tobacco on board to the council wholesale, as unfree traders were required to do, at 3s 6d Scots per lb and for a payment received liberty to sell the cargo to any freeman.¹⁸¹ It is tempting to link the presence of this vessel with the arrival of Archibald Ferguson, although it would probably be going too far to try to equate 'Mr Peterson' with Robert 'Paterson' of Salem.

The Voyage of the *Joseph & Daniel* 1693

On 6th February 1693 John Crawford senior, John Ballantyne and their partners Elias Cathcart, Andrew Crawford and Hugh Hamilton gave a commission to skipper David Ferguson, transatlantic veteran and brother-in-law of John Crawford. He was to take charge of their cargo on the *Joseph & Daniel*, go to Virginia or Maryland for leaf tobacco and return to Loch Ryan to await further orders. If ship or cargo was challenged as being 'unfree', i.e. in contravention of the navigation acts, or if he arrived in America too late to be able to procure a cargo of tobacco, Ferguson was to act at his own discretion.¹⁸² The indications are that this was a new venture, recently organised. Vessels intended to bring back tobacco from the Chesapeake normally left late in the previous year, over-wintered in America, and commenced their return at the beginning of the next sailing season, as the tobacco marketing season ran from early November until the end of the following August.¹⁸³ Also, skipper Ferguson had been made a town councillor at the autumn 1692 election, it being apparently anticipated that he would be available to serve throughout the year. (His last attendance at a meeting was three days after the date of the commission.)

Of the three partners who joined John Crawford and Ballantyne in financing the venture, Elias Cathcart had been a burgess and guild brother of Ayr for twenty years. He was on John Muir's Revolution council of May 1689, but his involvement in local politics ended at the first election thereafter when he refused to take the oath to William and Mary, probably on religious grounds.¹⁸⁴ Andrew

Crawford does not appear to have been closely related, if at all, to John Crawford. He too had been a merchant burgess for some time, but he seems to have belonged to one of the landowning families of the name, and to have been closely associated with Elias Cathcart. Hugh Hamilton's father was the bailie clerk of Carrick, and he had recently married a daughter of John Ferguson of Castlehill, a prosperous lawyer and head of yet another branch of that name; this branch had marriage connections with the Osbornes and Kelsos among others. Hamilton would be appointed treasurer of the burgh at the autumn 1693 election, at which time he would also become a burgess and guild brother.¹⁸⁵

This was to be an eventful and ill-fated voyage, and the subsequent legal proceedings provide by far the fullest account of a seventeenth century transatlantic venture by Ayr merchants.¹⁸⁶ No home port is given for the *Joseph & Daniel*, nor is it stated, as is usually the case in such documents, that she sailed from the harbour of Ayr. She may have been Irish or English, Whitehaven being a possible port of origin,¹⁸⁷ although Ferguson was a sixteenth-part owner of the vessel as well as its cargo, and was apparently in command and not just acting as supercargo for the partnership. It is possible that Archibald Ferguson returned to America aboard her, and as John Crawford junior seems to disappear from Ayr records around this time, he may have gone back too. (If he did, evidence of his further career in the colonies has yet to emerge.)

Ferguson's commission directed him to proceed first to Madeira or another of the Atlantic islands and there dispose of part of the cargo and with the proceeds purchase wine to be traded in America. Having done so, he continued across the Atlantic, but he would later state that due to the season of the year he was forced for the safety of the vessel (apparently driven by stormy weather) to take it far from where he had anticipated doing business; it was probably intended that he would meet with known agents or customers, perhaps in the tidewater country of Virginia on the west side of Chesapeake bay, but he seems to have ended up in Maryland, to the north and east. Vessel and rigging needed repair, and other misfortunes were listed to explain why the proceeds of the inward cargo were insufficient to pay for the tobacco loaded and other expenses; the remaining part of the original cargo had to be disposed of clandestinely at a considerable loss, being prohibited goods under the navigation acts (it is implied that they would have been sold more advantageously at the intended destination); a new imposition had been placed on imported wine; the duty on exported tobacco had been raised, and the hire of small craft to take goods to and from the vessel's anchorage (probably in a remote spot in the hope of escaping the notice of the authorities) had proved expensive.

Unable to make up the shortfall by employing the proceeds of his own trade goods, Ferguson borrowed from Mr Hugh Muir, Glasgow merchant John Miller, a Mr Robert King (so far unidentified) and no less a person than the third lord

Baltimore, Charles Calvert, proprietor of Maryland until temporarily deposed after the 1688 Revolution; these four received bills of exchange. Hugh Muir appears to have been the Ayr merchant burgess who belonged to the Auchendrane family and succeeded to that estate at the end of the decade. (He had returned from the West Indies on the *James* in 1678, and had sent goods there aboard her in 1683.) His bill was payable by the partnership. The other three bills were payable by London merchant Mr James Foulis, a Scot who was clearly regarded as a reliable guarantor of such transactions. When Foulis in London received these bills from agents or assignees of the holders, he would honour them and then seek reimbursement from Ferguson through an agent in Scotland.

Ferguson was unable to avoid having to give bonds to the colonial authorities (for which he had to find security) that his homeward cargo would be landed in England and English duty paid on it; he would be liable to a penalty of £1,000 Sterling if certification of this having been done was not returned to America. Eventually, he re-crossed the Atlantic with his hard-won cargo of tobacco, arriving at the Isles of Scilly where he purchased provisions. Adverse winds may have driven him south, as vessels returning from North America direct to the Firth of Clyde usually aimed to come in from north of Ireland. Ferguson was now in a dangerous situation; French privateers were active in the western approaches south of Ireland, and on the way from Scilly to Loch Ryan the *Joseph & Daniel* was captured by one such vessel. The French captain refused Ferguson's offer that the ship be released while he remained hostage for a £300 Sterling ransom, and a prize crew was put on board, but on the way to France she was captured a second time by a privateer from Ostend in the Spanish Netherlands. Catholic Spain shared Protestant William's determination to curb the ambitions of Louis XIV, and was in alliance with him. Ferguson and his crew thus found themselves liberated, but the Ostenders were engaged in commercial, not altruistic, activity and it soon became apparent that they regarded the *Joseph & Daniel* not as a re-captured allied vessel to be sent on its way but as a prize taken from the French. Ferguson according to his own account spent five weeks in Ostend doing all he could to prevent ship and cargo being declared a prize by the admiralty authorities there; borrowing money for clothing and subsistence, and then made his way back to Ayr to report on his misfortunes (as he had done after the loss of the *James* in America in 1684-85). There is no indication of how long the round trip had taken, and it may have been well into 1694 before he arrived home; Hugh Muir, whose presence on the voyage is revealed by his loan of money to Ferguson in America, was recorded as being abroad when his son William was baptised in Ayr in January that year,¹⁸⁸ and Ferguson's presence at another baptism in June is the first evidence of his having returned home.¹⁸⁹ John Crawford senior had died in October 1693, and Ferguson was only able to recover part of his expenses and commitments relating to the voyage from the remaining partners. Consequently, he

brought a case against them before Ayr dean of guild Robert Muir in March 1695.¹⁹⁰ To the protest of the defenders that the Lord High Admiral of Scotland had sole jurisdiction in sea-faring cases it was answered that this was purely a matter of outstanding accounts and bills of exchange, which the dean of guild was competent to try. Also, that there was at the time no admiral depute in the west of Scotland, and as Ferguson was master of a ship awaiting the first fair wind to sail from Ayr to Norway there was no time for him to take his case to the High Court of Admiralty. If it pleased God that Ferguson never returned from the voyage, his family might suffer through the loss of the process. Muir duly passed judgement on the repayments due to Ferguson, and on his (and those who stood security for him) being relieved from the bonds he entered into in America for the return of evidence that the ship had arrived in England. These, he had stated, he couldn't be freed from without undertaking the expensive task of obtaining certification from Flanders that ship and cargo had been legally declared prize there.

Direct evidence for contact between Ayr and the plantations becomes much more scarce following the voyage of the *Joseph & Daniel*, but that it was intended to continue is demonstrated by an entry in the burgh records of Edinburgh: In November 1693 (around the time that skipper David Ferguson would have been expected back from the Chesapeake if all had gone well) David Ferguson merchant, Ayr's dean of guild at the time, successfully petitioned the city council for permission to go through the streets with beat of drum to hire servants for Barbados.¹⁹¹ This is one of the few references connecting Ayr with an export which must always have formed part of the cargo of plantation-going vessels but which does not appear in customs records. Between the Restoration and the 1688 Revolution, a number of ships were licensed by the Scottish Privy Council to transport convicted Covenanters from Leith and Glasgow, Walter Gibson and his brother James being particularly active in this at the latter port. There is no indication that such prisoners were ever shipped from Ayr, the town's Presbyterian sympathies and its proximity to hotbeds of militant Covenanting activity probably ruling this out, but many who (nominally at least) chose to do so must have crossed the Atlantic on Ayr vessels as indentured servants throughout this era, in addition to the Carolina colonists aboard the *James* in 1684.

The Darien Adventure 1693 - 1700

The difficulties encountered in America by skipper David Ferguson during his 1693 voyage illustrate the gradual strengthening of measures against illicit traders by the new regime's colonial authorities in the face of widespread connivance with such traders by many in the colonies. The growing concern expressed by English merchants and customs officials over the share of colonial commerce being taken by Scots and others led to a further navigation act in 1696 'for preventing Frauds and regulating Abuses in the Plantation trade'. The acts of

the 1660s were reiterated, their validity in all the Plantations were asserted, and measures to ensure their enforcement by colonial officials were undertaken; admiralty courts were established in the colonies, and Scottish settlers were forbidden to sit on juries in actions concerning forfeiture for contravening the acts. The Board of Trade and Plantations was also established in this year to oversee foreign trade and colonial affairs. It now became far more difficult for Scots to trade directly with the plantations than it had ever been before.

Among the factors prompting this activity by the English Parliament was the legislation passed by the Scottish Parliament, empowered as never before by the Revolution settlement, in support of its country's commerce (part of a developing cycle of measure and counter-measure by the two parliaments). Representations from Glasgow's Atlantic-minded merchants to the Convention of Royal Burghs led to the establishment of a trading colony being considered; to the 1693 Act for Encouraging Foreign Trade (providing for the formation of joint-stock companies to trade with any nation at peace with the Crown); and, in 1695, to the act establishing the Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies. Among the sweeping powers granted to the Company were a thirty-one year monopoly of Scottish-American trade (its monopoly of Asian and African trade being perpetual), freedom from customs duties for twenty one years, and the right to plant colonies in areas not settled by Europeans if the natives consented.

The impetus behind the establishment of this company came initially from the leaders of the Scots merchant community in London (including James Foulis, banker to Scots transatlantic traders like skipper David Ferguson) and their English colleagues, who were excluded from the great chartered companies such as the East India Company. They set to work with partners in Scotland to finance a rival Scottish-based company, and one of the most prominent advocates of this scheme in Scotland was Robert Blackwood. Robert's father John had been a merchant burghess of Ayr, a town councillor during the Cromwellian occupation who refused to take the oath of allegiance at the Restoration. Robert became a merchant in Edinburgh and rose to considerable importance there, holding the posts of bailie and dean of guild on the city council and receiving a knighthood. He maintained his connection with Ayr (his sister Janet was the mother of Hugh Hamilton, a partner in the *Joseph & Daniel*) and became a burghess and guild brother during a visit in 1684 (probably connected with the Carolina scheme).¹⁹²

Robert was a leading partner of one of Scotland's foremost industrial enterprises, the Newmills cloth manufactory near Haddington.¹⁹³ This was revitalised in 1694 when a group of Scots-connected London merchants including James Foulis and Thomas Coutts (originally from Montrose) joined the partnership. Members of the Edinburgh-London alliance thus formed played an important part in the formation of the Company of Scotland and in other ventures during the 1690s including the foundation of the Bank of Scotland. Among these

ventures was a manufactory for the production of Colchester baizes, eight of the London-based merchants including Foulis obtaining an act of the Scottish Parliament to this effect in 1693.¹⁹⁴ No location is specified, but it appears to have been under this act that a baize manufactory was established in the citadel of Ayr. London merchant Thomas Coutts, his relative Patrick Coutts, merchant in Montrose and Thomas Goodall, baize maker, visited Ayr in July 1695 and were made burgesses and guild brothers,¹⁹⁵ and at the end of the year the owners of the citadel (a partnership headed by John Muir which had purchased it from the Montgomeries of Eglinton in 1687) granted a fourteen-year tack to Patrick Coutts and the other partners of the baize manufactory, to commence from the next May.¹⁹⁶

Ayr seems to have been of considerable interest to entrepreneurs at this time; during September 1695 honorary burgess-ships were awarded to Nicholas Dupin, the Huguenot who had established linen and paper manufactories in the Lothians, and Matthew Partis, a Newcastle tobacco merchant who had taken up residence at the manor of his father-in-law Henry Fletcher of Tallentire, Cumberland. His brother-in-law was the estate steward of Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven, and he was involved in the colonial trade of that port.¹⁹⁷

By the beginning of 1696, opposition from commercial interests in England had brought about the collapse of the plans to raise capital for the Company of Scotland there, and similar attempts in Europe would also prove unsuccessful. The Scottish directors now took the fateful decision to rely on purely Scottish resources and to use them to establish an overseas trading colony. In this they were pursuing a long-cherished ambition to escape from the difficulties of trading directly with the English plantations which had so far seen East New Jersey,¹⁹⁸ largely colonised from north-east Scotland, brought under English control, and the Stuarts Town colony in Carolina destroyed by the Spanish. Increasingly they leant towards William Paterson's scheme for a plantation settlement in Darien on the Isthmus of Panama; from there, trade goods could be offered cheaply to the English colonists of the Americas in exchange for tobacco and sugar. (Paterson's vision of a great international emporium involving the overland transport of goods between the Atlantic and Pacific appears to have been watered down, although perhaps being still regarded as a hope for the future.) The claims of the Spanish to the area were disregarded, as they had never attempted to settle it. The main reason for this, the unhealthy environment, received little attention.¹⁹⁹



Figure 8: Caledonia Bay and New Edinburgh, Darien. Here, Ayr skipper Thomas Fullarton met his death in December 1698.

The nation responded with enthusiasm when a subscription book was opened in Edinburgh early in 1696. A second book was opened in Glasgow and in April it was brought to Ayr.²⁰⁰ Provost Robert Muir was entered on behalf of the town and council for the £200 Sterling collectively subscribed from the common good, and he also heads the list of twenty two merchants who each contributed £100 Sterling (the minimum permitted). Many had been actively involved in transatlantic trade; Robert's father John and brother Samuel, and relatives including John Milliken who had brought back the *Swan* in 1691, and David Ferguson merchant, at this time serving as a bailie. Also on the list is the other bailie, John McColm, formerly a member of the *Unity/James* partnership. Hugh Crawford, recently provost, is there as is his relative John Ballantyne and John's partners in the *Joseph & Daniel*, Hugh Hamilton and Elias Cathcart. Skipper David Ferguson is absent (perhaps away on a voyage) but his brother, skipper John, is listed. The Company of Scotland's monopoly of transatlantic trade affected those west coast merchants who had hitherto carried on this trade privately, but they seem to have decided that the best course was to become involved with the Company and the opportunities for avoiding the restrictions of the navigation acts

which it appeared to present. Among the members of landed families who subscribed at Ayr was David McCubbin younger of Knockdolian, who had relatives in Maryland; other Ayrshire lairds had set down their names at Edinburgh or Glasgow.

The Ayr subscribers would have received first-hand information on the progress of the Company's affairs in early May when William Blackwood, son of Robert who was now one of the directors, visited Ayr and was made a burgess and guild brother by his father's right.²⁰¹ The tack of the citadel by the baize manufacturers had commenced at the beginning of the month and this was probably the occasion of William's visit; if so this would indicate that the Blackwoods had an interest in this venture as well as the Newmills works. Both would have been seen as providing exports for the Company. In July a child of one of the textile workers in the citadel was baptised, the witnesses being Thomas Goodall, master of the manufactory, and William Blackwood's cousin Hugh Hamilton, agent for the owning partnership and subscriber to the Company of Scotland.²⁰²

Among those who had subscribed to the Company at Edinburgh in April was Thomas Fullarton, 'late commander of the little frigate called the *William and Mary*, appointed by the King to attend the garrison of Fort William'.²⁰³ In September at Ayr Fullarton married widow Isobel Hodgson, daughter of the John who had for so long been a mainstay of Ayr's transatlantic trade and who had died seven years previously.²⁰⁴ The marriage record (which also noted his having lately commanded the *William & Mary*) gave his place of residence as Greenock, but he now moved to Ayr and was described as a merchant of that town when the couple's first child was born in July 1697.²⁰⁵ Fullarton may well have had Ayrshire origins, perhaps from among the Irvine seafaring family of that name.

In September 1697 the Treaty of Ryswick ended the war with France, removing one hazard from the path of the expedition to Darien now in preparation. By the end of the year the Company's fleet of three large and two small vessels had been assembled in the Forth, and Thomas Fullarton was able to get command of one of the latter, the snow *Dolphin*.²⁰⁶ In the middle of November Isobel bore another child to Thomas (described as 'skipper in Ayr') by which time the expedition had reached 'Caledonia Bay' in Darien and founded the settlement of New Edinburgh. It was March 1699 before she learned that she was again a widow when two of the colony's councillors (including Ayrshire laird Major James Cunningham of Aiket near Dunlop) arrived in Edinburgh having travelled back via England. The colonists had celebrated Christmas with a feast and Captain Fullarton had partaken heartily of food and drink; having gone for a walk to clear his head he collapsed, and died soon after.²⁰⁷

The determination of his Scottish subjects to have their own colony in the Caribbean presented William with a diplomatic dilemma. To have forbidden it

would have detracted further from the already limited popularity he enjoyed in his northern kingdom, but its existence offended his Spanish allies (who regarded it as an invasion of their territory) and English commercial interests who feared its potential for undermining the navigation acts. Aware that the peace with France was unlikely to hold for long, William could afford to alienate neither of these; he instructed his governors in the English colonies that no trade was to be permitted with the Scots at Darien, nor was any assistance to be given to them.

Although there had already been a high rate of mortality from disease among the colonists, those who had returned from Darien gave an encouraging account of how matters were progressing, and preparations to assemble a second expedition in the Clyde proceeded apace. The largest of its four vessels was the 350-ton Amsterdam-built *Rising Sun*, her commander being the James Gibson of Glasgow who had formerly transported banished Covenanters. Among her crew was William Holland, whose father Ralph was another of the Englishmen who had arrived in Ayr during the Cromwellian occupation; appearing first on record as an assistant to John Hodgson, he married locally and rose to become a prosperous merchant burgess, trading mainly to England and the Continent.²⁰⁸

The second fleet, after being wind-bound in Rothesay Bay for a time, finally set out in September 1699, and a few days later Daniel McKay, the latest of the Darien councillors to arrive back via England, was made a burgess and guild brother of Ayr, having hurried over from Edinburgh to find he had narrowly missed obtaining a return passage on the vessels just departed.²⁰⁹ His first-hand account of the colonists' increasing sufferings from disease and hunger, and of Spanish preparations for attack, must have greatly concerned the Company's Ayr subscribers. By the time McKay finally set off on a Company supply vessel at the end of October (he was lost overboard during the voyage) news was coming in that the colony had been abandoned and this was confirmed during the next month when the *Caledonia* reached the Clyde with the survivors of the first expedition, the other vessels having been lost or abandoned. The late Captain Fullarton's *Dolphin*, under a new commander, had been wrecked near Cartagena, one of Spain's principal fortresses in the Caribbean, and those aboard taken prisoner. Among her crew when she left Scotland had been gunner Joseph Davidson, son of Ayr merchant Patrick. Joseph never returned to Scotland, and if disease spared him until the shipwreck he may have died a captive of the Spaniards.²¹⁰

The final act of the tragedy unfolded during 1700 as the second expedition, having arrived to find the colony abandoned, struggled to maintain itself in the face of decimation by disease and Spanish attack by land and blockade by sea. At the end of March they capitulated and were permitted to depart by the Spaniards, whose weak military resources in the region had been stretched almost to the limit by the campaign. Having gone first to Jamaica, the two surviving storm-battered vessels reached Charles Town, Carolina, and there on September 3rd they were

struck by a hurricane. The *Duke of Hamilton* sank inside the harbour, apparently with few casualties, but Gibson's *Rising Sun*, still lying outside the bar, was driven out to sea and lost with all aboard. William Holland would have been among them, unless disease had already claimed him.²¹¹ Two more Ayr men in the crew of the *Rising Sun*, sailor John Rankine²¹² and cooper Christopher Love,²¹³ are known to have died during the course of the expedition, and there were probably others from Ayr among the two thousand or so who perished during the course of the whole venture; a notable Ayrshire fatality was John Dunlop of Dunlop, whose father Alexander had been involved in the Carolina scheme.²¹⁴

William Holland's mother Helen Leslie is a remarkable illustration of how the strands of Ayr's transatlantic trading history during this era are intertwined; her father Andrew Leslie was a partner of the *James* (1) of Ayr's 1649 voyage to Barbados; she herself was one of the owners of the Belfast-chartered *Lamb* of Ayr when it sailed to the West Indies in 1673 (she having presumably inherited the share of her deceased husband John Lockhart); her second husband Ralph Holland, as has been noted, was associated with John Hodgson; her merchant brother Robert Leslie married Janet Ferguson, sister of skippers David and John and widow of skipper James Chalmers; and a daughter from her first marriage, Agnes Lockhart, married skipper James Angus shortly before his death during the *Swan* of Ayr's 1691 voyage to the West Indies. (Agnes married again in 1703 when she became the second wife of John Ballantyne.)

The loss of life during the course of the Darien venture was one more human tragedy to be added to the heavy casualties of the Scots regiments in Flanders and the terrible famine which repeated crop failures brought to Scotland in the closing years of the seventeenth century, but it must have fallen with disproportionate weight upon Scotland's seafarers. An even greater loss was that of around a quarter, in the proportion of subscriptions actually called upon, of Scotland's available capital.²¹⁵ The Company of Scotland continued to operate, but more ships were lost in attempts to trade to Africa and the East Indies, and the prospect of any returns for the subscribers steadily diminished. Robert Blackwood remained a staunch advocate and it may to have been in an attempt to steady faltering support for the Company that he visited Ayr early in 1701, attending the baptism of a child of his nephew Hugh Hamilton.²¹⁶ The new textile works in which the latter had been involved had not even outlasted the first settlement in Darien, the owners of the citadel having at the end of 1698 granted a discharge acknowledging Hamilton's settlement of accounts on behalf of the partners of 'the late baize manufactory'.²¹⁷

The end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth is at present a dark age in the history of Ayr's transatlantic contacts. There are occasional glimpses of quantities of tobacco changing hands; during 1700 John McCollm late bailie received 298lb from David Ferguson merchant, dean of guild

(both old hands in this trade).²¹⁸ Also in 1700 yet another Ayr man, John Wallace, appeared on the membership list of the Scots Charitable Society of Boston.²¹⁹ Although definite evidence for it has yet to emerge, the English port of Whitehaven in Cumberland is a likely route by which colonial goods would have been imported at this time by the merchants of Ayr; it was certainly so used by the merchants of Glasgow. Of eighteen vessels ready to leave that port for Virginia in November 1697, eight were reliably reported to have been freighted by Scots merchants, as had one of the two bound for the West Indies.²²⁰ Officially, of course, the return cargoes of these vessels were to be unloaded in England and full English customs paid on any colonial goods intended for Scotland, but it was suspected by the English Customs Commissioners that many in Whitehaven were colluding with the Scots in the evasion of the navigation acts. The town is not mentioned in connection with honorary burgesses of Ayr until 1699, but in that year and in 1701 and 1704 merchants of Whitehaven were made burgesses.²²¹ It was reported from Whitehaven in 1698 that ever since a ship of that port had been exposed as being secretly owned by Scots, the latter had dealt more at Liverpool,²²² and in 1700 Mr John Cunningham, factor at Liverpool, was made a burghess of Ayr as was Mr John Smallwood, merchant of that city, in 1705.²²³ Similarly honoured not long after the latter occasion was Ayr's most illustrious transatlantic visitor of this era, Mr Robert Livingstone of Livingstone Manor near Albany in the province of New York. Son of an exiled Covenanting Roxburghshire minister, Robert grew up in Rotterdam and then emigrated to New York where he acquired great wealth, standing and property. He had come to Britain to defeat an attempt by his political enemies to have his American estates sequestrated, and he returned to America soon after his visit to Ayr.²²⁴ That town's Second Charge minister, Ebenezer Veitch, from a Lanarkshire Covenanting family, was the brother of Livingstone's son-in-law Samuel Veitch or Vetch, a Darien survivor who had settled in New York. Samuel himself was made a burghess of Ayr while in Britain in 1708.²²⁵ (Ebenezer had died during the previous year.) He proposed to the Government a scheme for the conquest of Canada from the French, which he prosecuted on his return to America; although mostly unsuccessful, Samuel did manage to seize Nova Scotia and became its first governor.

At the end of 1704, Captain William Hutchison of Queens County, Maryland had also been made a burghess of Ayr,²²⁶ the provost for the yearly term during which Hutchison and Livingstone visited being John Ballantyne. Although Ballantyne had supported his father-in-law John Crawford against the council-dominating Muirs and their allies in the immediate post-Revolution period, he had clearly been able to establish good relations with the latter by 1700 when he was appointed the town's treasurer. Thereafter he was a magistrate each year, either bailie or dean of guild, until he attained the provostship – one of only a handful of merchants to break the run of John Muir (eight terms) and his sons Robert and

Samuel in this post from 1689 until 1722.²²⁷ Given the known involvement of Ballantyne's descendants in the Virginia tobacco trade, it is likely that he himself had continued in it (as the Muirs themselves no doubt had) and that this was the source of the prosperity which had placed him in the top rank of Ayr merchants. The Company of Scotland's monopoly of the nation's transatlantic trade (although little seems to have been done to exploit it in the aftermath of the Darien disaster) would have made it necessary for those privately involved in this trade to act clandestinely within Scotland as well as outside it unless they held a licence from the Company.

The Union of the Parliaments 1700 - 1707

The failure of the Darien scheme brought to a head the discontent of the Scots with the situation in which they found themselves as a result of the 1603 Union of the Crowns. Sharing a king and therefore a foreign policy with England meant their involvement without consultation in wars against their best trading partners, but as an otherwise independent nation they were excluded by English commercial interests (the beneficiaries of these wars) from legitimate involvement in the English plantation trade, and hindered in other long-range trading schemes. It was increasingly felt that a treaty was required which redefined Anglo-Scottish relations, and the political situation at this time appeared to give the Scots a strong bargaining position. Queen Anne, who at an advanced age had succeeded William in 1702, had no surviving children and the succession to the English throne had been settled by that country's parliament (without consulting the Scots) on the House of Hanover. The Scottish Parliament now made it clear that it would not necessarily follow suit unless conditions more advantageous to Scotland, including free trade, were agreed upon.

Since 1603 there had been little English interest in a closer union with the northern kingdom, even at times when the monarch had recommended it, but this situation was now reversed to a far greater extent than most Scots had envisaged. War with France had been resumed shortly after Anne's accession,²²⁸ and Scotland's apparent readiness, if its grievances were not redressed, to go its own way under a different monarch of its own choosing opened up the prospect that it might eventually find its way into the French camp. Anxious to secure their northern frontier and an important source of military manpower, the English commenced negotiations for union, dropping hints that if this could not be done amicably it might be accomplished by force. Furthermore, while the majority in Scotland wished for a loose federal arrangement in which the Scottish Parliament would continue in being to safeguard domestic and economic interests, the English were aiming at an incorporating union; their powerful commercial circles had viewed with concern the measures taken by the Scottish Parliament to boost trade, resulting in the formation of the Company of Scotland, and had decided that if free

trade was to be conceded to the Scots then it would be best if they were controlled by the economic policy decided at Westminster.

During 1706 the Scots and English Commissioners drew up the Treaty of Union in London, and when its terms became known in Scotland during the autumn there was a public outcry. Despite the provision for free trade with England and its colonies, Glasgow and many other Scottish towns submitted addresses against the Union to the Scottish Parliament, as did the Convention of Royal Burghs; they were dismayed by the proposed extension to Scotland of English taxes and trading laws, and by the prospect that Scottish economic interests would be subordinated to those of England in a united parliament. Ayr's address was noted at the time to be the only one which did not call for outright rejection of the Union, requesting instead some amendments to the articles.²²⁹ It had been drawn up by ex-provosts Robert and Samuel Muir, John McCutcheon and John Ballantyne, and submitted via Ayr's representative in Parliament, John Muir, serving his final term as provost and with only a few more years left to live. The passage of the treaty through the Scottish Parliament was well managed by the servants of the regime, and Muir was among the majority which voted for its acceptance.

In March 1707 the Union was accomplished and the Scottish Parliament soon afterwards ceased to exist. Having sought for almost fifty years to evade the English navigation acts, Scots merchants trading with the colonies now came within their protection, but on English terms. The Company of Scotland was dissolved, but the subscribers were to have their stock refunded plus interest of five per cent per annum. The Ayr merchants who had subscribed would have found this some consolation for the introduction of harmful English trading regulations, and in particular those giving preference to Spanish and Portuguese wines by placing prohibitive duties on wine imports from France. Ayr's centuries-old French wine trade, which been carried on even in wartime, now collapsed, taking the town into a period of decline during which the population dropped considerably.²³⁰ (Legitimate importation was however soon replaced by smuggling, which led to a flourishing black economy.²³¹)

What appears to be an otherwise unrecorded pre-Union industrial enterprise in Ayr is revealed in the terms of the sale in July 1707 by one of the four owners of Ayr citadel, Mr John Cockburn, of his share of the property to Bailie Mungo Campbell; the buildings involved included 'one of the sugar houses'.²³² The term sugar house usually referred to a refinery, indicating that an attempt at least had been made to set up such an establishment in the citadel. (No one associated with this industry appears in the Ayr Old Parish Records of the time.) While there is always the possibility that this was a newly-begun short-lived venture intended to exploit the new freedom of trade with the plantations, the most likely period for

such activity to be attempted would appear to be the 1670s and early 1680s when quantities of sugar were being imported to Ayr.

Post-Union Recovery 1707-1730

This study has been principally concerned with Ayr's transatlantic trade from its beginnings until the 1707 Union of the Parliaments, but a brief account will also be given of the subsequent period up to 1730, by which time direct trade had been resumed on a regular basis. The period still awaits in-depth study as regards the activities of Ayr merchants - surviving shipping records are scanty until the beginning of the 1740s.

At the time of the 1707 Union, Ayr appears to have had only one active vessel of a size for foreign trading, the 60-ton *Phoenix*. By 1712 she had been joined by four others,²³³ but no evidence has yet emerged of transatlantic voyages by any of these, and twelve years later another decline had apparently occurred; only two barques, one of about 30 tons and the other of about 20, were reported to belong to the town.²³⁴ However, the shipping and trade of the north Ayrshire ports of Irvine and Saltcoats, hitherto overshadowed by Ayr, flourished during this period. This was due firstly to the export of coal to Ireland from the rapidly-developing coalfields in their hinterland, and secondly to the participation of their vessels and mariners in Glasgow's transatlantic trade. Irvine vessels have already appeared in connection with early transatlantic ventures from Ayr and with the first voyage of the Carolina Company; it is they which make Ayrshire's earliest recorded post-Union transatlantic voyages, and there are indications that Ayr made use of connections with Irvine and Saltcoats to re-enter this trade. Glasgow, building on its pre-Union North American connections, had soon commenced the steady development of the tobacco trade - importing around two million lb in 1715 and doubling this by 1725 - which would see her achieve dominance in this trade after 1740.²³⁵ The re-export of tobacco to continental Europe, which Scots could now openly participate in, meant that imports were no longer constricted by the limits of internal consumption. Around 1720 (by which time the adverse effects of the Union, and the repercussions of yet another Scottish civil conflict, the 1715 Jacobite Rising, were beginning to fade) events which would lead to the recommencement of direct trade between Ayr and America began to gain momentum.

A new generation of Ayr merchants was reaching maturity, and in 1722, William Ballantyne, son of John, ex-provost and participant in the pre-Union transatlantic trade, became a burgess and guild brother of the town in the right of his father, who was nearing the end of his life.²³⁶ Five years previously, William's brother Patrick had become yet another Ayr member, as his father had before him, of the Scots Charitable Society of Boston.²³⁷ In 1725 William Ballantyne, William Rankin, Archibald Hunter, John Montgomery and skipper John Boyd certified the

Kirkcudbright-built *Agnes & John* of Ayr (60-70 tons), of which they were co-owners, (also appears as *Agnes & Jane*) for Plantation trading at Ayr. Boyd was originally from Saltcoats, moving to Ayr after his marriage to Grizel Hunter of that town in 1715.²³⁸ She appears to have been a relation of Archibald Hunter, who was a witness at the christening of their children. Boyd sailed the vessel to Virginia's Rappahannock River, arriving in August 1725, and in May the next year he set off back to Ayr with a cargo of tobacco. In 1728 the same vessel, still under the same ownership, sailed from Ayr to Virginia via Cork, Madeira and Barbados under the command of a 'Ged' Gordon. She arrived at Barbados in early September and departed for Virginia at the end of that month with a load of wine, butter, sugar and rum.²³⁹ The owners of another Ayr vessel, the 100-ton brigantine *Rebecca*, undertook a bond for a plantation certificate at Ayr in August 1730, and although there is no record of a voyage being undertaken at this time, she did later sail to Maryland for tobacco, arriving back in June 1732. This and subsequent transatlantic voyages from Ayr up to 1760 (including another by the *Agnes & John/Jane* in 1734) have already appeared in publications of this Society.²⁴⁰

At the beginning of the 1730s Ayr petitioned against the proposals of the English tobacco merchants - enraged by widespread Scots duty evasion in the course of re-exporting - that all Scottish ports be removed from the list of those permitted to receive enumerated colonial goods. These complaints largely accounted for the inclusion in Robert Walpole's 1733 Excise Scheme of a bonded warehouse system, but the collapse of the Scheme due to the unpopularity of other aspects meant that things continued as before. Since the Union, occasional visitors from across the Atlantic had continued to appear in Ayr's honorary burghess records, as had a number of merchants and mariners of Greenock, an important auxiliary port for Glasgow's tobacco imports. In 1729 no fewer than four gentlemen of Virginia were entered as burghesses and guild brethren of Ayr.²⁴¹

William Ballantyne continued to play a prominent part in Ayr's tobacco trade,²⁴² one of his partners being his brother Patrick, who eventually settled in Virginia and died there.²⁴³ In 1741, in his middle age, William married Elizabeth Bowman, daughter of the deceased John Bowman, who had been provost of Glasgow, and sister of another John, one of Glasgow's 'tobacco lords' who would himself become a provost of the city. This connection enabled William to participate in Glasgow's highly lucrative transatlantic and re-export trade (which would reach its height following the defeat of the 1745 Jacobite rising, which finally ended the threat of internal warfare). William's son John became a banker, and distinguished himself as provost of Ayr during much of the final decade of the eighteenth century. He was closely involved with the building of the New Bridge and the founding of the Academy, and was a friend and patron of the poet Robert Burns. He inherited from his brother the estate of Castlehill, which had been

possessed by the Bannatynes/Ballantynes at the end of the sixteenth century. It now passed back to them from the Fergusons, with whom they had inter-married.²⁴⁴

This is one of a number of instances where continuation from the pre-Union transatlantic trade through the remainder of the eighteenth century can be demonstrated, another being the career of Robert Hamilton, son of Hugh. He made his fortune in Jamaica and returned to purchase first the lands of Bourtreehill near Irvine and then a substantial part of the barony lands of Alloway, which he named after his Rochelle plantation in Jamaica and which became Rozelle.²⁴⁵

Conclusion

A number of themes run through this study. Civil conflicts and foreign wars could create opportunities as well as presenting problems; it was as a result of conflict and the disruption of established patterns of trade that Ayr was able to enter the plantation trade, and although the Cromwellian invasion temporarily ended it, that regime appears to have encouraged its recommencement. The small English presence in Ayr which was the legacy of the occupation, and in particular John Hodgson, assisted the indigenous merchant community in its remarkable determination to continue the trade in defiance of English protectionist measures (which admittedly were not too difficult to evade at the time if a little care was taken). Despite the setback of the devastation of St Kitts during the Second Dutch War, several factors combined to enable a small partnership to continue in the plantation trade, operating first a small ship and then a much larger one, for about fifteen years. Glasgow merchants made use of Ayr's experience in plantation trading to supply the city's newly-established sugar industry, subsidising voyages on which Ayr merchants and others could utilise spare cargo space. The ban on direct Irish importation of colonial goods in 1671 also appears to have been significant, and it is notable that Montserrat, with its large Irish population at this time, became the focus of trade. Links with Irish interests, particularly the merchant and seafaring communities of the northern ports, were of great importance from the very beginning and throughout most of the period under study. When Irish and Glasgow involvement moved away in the early 1680s regular voyages from Ayr ceased. A revival followed the 1688 Revolution, but the introduction of much stricter trade protection by the new regime in England, and the failure of the Company of Scotland, led to a period of obscurity which lasted until the post-Union recovery began in the 1720s. A dearth of relevant commercial records, such as merchant's letter books, has resulted in many of the matters touched upon remaining in shadow. The difficulties encountered by David Ferguson during the voyage of the *Joseph & Daniel* (culminating in the double capture of that ship); the loss by Helen Leslie of a son-in-law skippering a ship to the West Indies and then of a son during the Darien expeditions; and the children which the repentant mariners of 1647 had carried off to sell into servitude are all reminders of the human dimension which lies behind the bare record of voyages and cargoes.

Appendix 1

Vessels known to have been involved in Ayr's transatlantic trade 1640 – 1730

(Owned at Ayr unless otherwise stated)

Rebecca of Dublin 35 tons, ('bark')

James Collier/Gollier owner/master. Preparing to sail from Ayr to the West Indies (henceforth W.I.) at the end of 1642.

Blessing ('bark')

Sailed to Barbados and back 1644 with merchant Robert Rowan.

Bonaventure of Irvine ('ship')

Brought Rowan's tobacco back to Ayr after his death on St Kitts 1646. (Voyage may have been in 1647.)

James (1) 100 tons?

Recorded voyages to Barbados 1649 (Charles Dalrymple master) and 1650 (George Angus apparently master) for John Osborne, William Kelso and partners. May have been on her that Scots-Barbadian trader Robert Gilchrist (associated with Dalrymple and Osborne) brought tobacco into Ayr 1648. Probably renamed *Gift (of God)* following the 1651 Cromwellian conquest.

Gift (of God) 100 tons?

Probably *James (1)* renamed. Attacked by Barbary corsairs on a voyage to France 1654 (Charles Dalrymple master). At Barbados 1655 (Thomas 'Megenin' master) - probably chartered by outside interests. Presumably the 100t vessel belonging to Ayr 1656, and may have been used to resume W.I. trade 1658. Fate unknown.

Unicorn 60 tons

Apparently acquired around the time of the 1660 Restoration by James Ferguson, John McMillan and partners. Paper sale made to Ayr-domiciled Englishman John Hodgson 12/1661, presumably to circumvent the English navigation acts - W.I. voyages may have commenced soon after. Voyages to St Kitts recorded 1663 and 1665 (James Chalmers master). Probably in her that Hodgson sailed to W.I. 1666. *Unicorn* (with Hodgson and Chalmers) at Bristol

1667 (conflict in W.I. - Second Dutch War). In Ayr harbour 8/1668 - no record of activity thereafter. Perhaps the vessel reported in 1670 to have been laid up due to age. 1685 - ballast of the 'old' *Unicorn* to be taken out. (Apparently so designated to distinguish her from another *Unicorn* recently trading to Europe.) 1714 - ordered that three old hulks, including *Unicorn*, be removed from harbour.

***Providence?* ('or the *Admiral of Belfast*' - 'ship')**

Only known reference - 12/1668 sale of John Cunningham's eighth part of her to John Ferguson and William Chalmers on behalf of John Crawford, at which time there were goods pertaining to her at Barbados. *Admiral* possibly her previous name if recently acquired, but may also indicate that she was part-owned in Belfast, and had dual identity to facilitate evading navigation acts. May have been the vessel lost at Barbados in 1669 - see *Mayflower* below. Perhaps a short-lived replacement for the *Unicorn*?

Mayflower?

Only known reference - one of the Scottish privateers sent out during the Second Dutch War 1666-67 (Captain John Kennedy). Apparently acquired for this purpose - not listed among the town's shipping in the 1665 levy report. The 7/1670 trade report stated that of the four vessels bought or built in recent times, one had been laid up due to age (possibly *Unicorn*) and a new one lost in a storm at Barbados during the past year. As the recently-acquired *Lamb* and *Unity* can be accounted for, the lost vessel may have been *Mayflower*. Alternatively, the report may exclude the *Unicorn*, the lost vessel may have been the *Providence*, and the *Mayflower* (already old when acquired?) may have been the vessel laid up (following the end of hostilities), having had no transatlantic involvement.

Lamb

Also a Second Dutch War privateer (Captain John Blair), and also apparently acquired for this purpose - doesn't appear in the 1665 report. Following a trading voyage to France 1672, sailed to Barbados and back 1673 under charter to the merchants of Belfast, with John Crawford aboard. Subsequent career and fate unknown.

***Unity* 28 tons ('vessel')**

Formerly *Mary* of Liverpool. Purchased in England by John Hodgson under 1668 commission from William Muir, John Caldwell and partners. Voyages to W.I. recorded 1671 (at Belfast 12/71), 1672 and 1673 (latter to Montserrat - Hodgson master) - may have commenced earlier. Sailed for W.I. 1674 shortly after end of Third Dutch War but captured by Dutch warships. Outcome of Hodgson's trip to Holland to seek her release unknown. No subsequent appearance on record. Either

declared lawful prize, released to Hodgson and then disposed of, or compensation awarded, he then purchasing the much larger *James*.

***James* (2) 100-120 tons**

Formerly Dutch *Egmont*. Purchased 1675 in Amsterdam from 'Hendry Falkeslyne' by John Hodgson for William Muir, John Caldwell and partners. Pass obtained for her ship's papers permitting her to trade to all the king's dominions. Voyages recorded 1678 (Montserrat), 1681 (W.I. - James Chalmers master on these and to France 1682) and 1683 (Montserrat - John Harrison master). Likely to have made unrecorded transatlantic voyages in some, if not all, of the years 1676, 77, 79 and 80. Sailed, with colonists and trade goods, to the Scots colony at Stuarts Town, Carolina, 1684 (David Ferguson master). During this voyage, lost on the Carolina coast - probably the vessel carrying emigrants from Belfast to Stuarts Town reported wrecked by a storm off Carolina.

***Swan* 36-40 tons**

First appearance - 1678 port bookrecord of return from Montserrat (David Ferguson master). Possibly other such voyages in years before and after this with no surviving port-books. When these resume 1680, recorded as voyaging regularly to France (and occasionally to Holland) until outbreak of war with France 1689. Active in Irish Sea 1689-90, apparently in connection with Irish War. Sailed to W.I. 1691 (James Angus master - died during voyage - John Milliken master on return). Arrested at Londonderry during return voyage due to irregular documentation - released by Irish Revenue Commissioners pending decision by English Treasury Lords. Sailed for W.I. 1692 but lost soon afterwards - circumstances unknown. May have been wrecked, captured by French, or seized by English as consequence of previous year's arrestment.

Providence of Coleraine

1686 - Brought tobacco from Virginia to Ayr via Londonderry (Alexander Doak master).

***Swan of Donaghadee* 80 tons**

Sailed from Ayr to Virginia via Belfast late 1689 (John Laird master on departure from Ayr). Apparently returned to Ayr 1690 - her master, Andrew Gregg, fined by the council for irregular tobacco trading. May have been the vessel in which Andrew and his brother William made a voyage to the W.I., probably in 1691, to obtain tobacco for Ayr merchants. (Returned via Whitehaven to Saltcoats.)

Daniel & Joseph (home port unknown)

Sailed to the Chesapeake via Madeira or the Azores 1693 (David Ferguson master) for John Crawford, John Ballantyne and partners. Returning with tobacco, captured by French privateer between Scilly and Scotland during return voyage. Captured again from French prize crew by nominally-allied Ostend privateer, but apparently retained by Ostenders as a prize.

Agnes & John (or Jane) (60-72 tons)

Built at Kirkcudbright in 1723 and certified for the plantation trade at Ayr in 1725. Sailed from Ayr via ? to the Rappahannock River Virginia arriving 22 August 1725. Departed for Ayr 7 May 1726, Captain John Boyd (also co-owner) with ? of tobacco. Sailed from Ayr to Virginia via Cork, Madeira & Barbados 1728, Captain Ged Gordon. At Barbados 9 September 1728, left for Virginia 30th with 102 pipers of wine, 80 firkins of butter, 46 barrels of muscado sugar and 14 hogshead, 4 tierces & 16 barrels of rum. Owners - William 'Bannatyne' (Ballantyne), William Rankin, Archibald 'Anter' (Hunter) and John Montgomery.

Appendix 2

Skipper David Ferguson's voyage to America on the *Joseph & Daniel* 1693

[AA, B6/35/6, small 1695 bundle, Summonds, David Fergusoune against Craufurd and utheris.']

Robert Muir dean of Guild of the burgh of Air

... it is humbly ... showne to me by David Fergusoune skipper burges of the sd burgh: That where the deceast John Craufurd laitt baillie there, Andro Craufurd, Elias Cathcart, John Ballantine and Hew Hamiltoune merchants of the said burgh of Air, by their commissione subscribed with their hands of the daitt the sixth day of Feberuar (16) nyntie three yeirs did authorize the complainer (*David Ferguson skipper*) to goe one board in the ship called the Joseph and Daniell; and to intromett with the goodes containt in ane particular envoyes (*invoice*) to which the said commissioun was subjoynt (whereof, viz of ship and cargoe, the complainer himself sixtein part owner); and to sail to the Maderas or westerne eislands, which of them the complainer should think fitt; and to have dispost one that pairt of the cargoe designed for that place; and with the frie effects whereof, the complainer wes to load aboard wyne or any uther goodes he should judge proper for Virginia; with which, and the remaining part of the cargoe, he wes to have sailed to Virginia or Maryland, where the complainer wes to have dispost of the same to his own and their best advantadge; and with the frie effects thereof to reload the said ship with good leif tobacco, and to return therewith to Lochryan ffor their next orders; and if the said the said partners their stock should fall short ffor accomplishing of the fairsaid design, the complainer wes thereby allowed to draw upon them; and if the said ship should happen to be challanged as ane unfrie ship or cargoe, or if the complainer should find himself too laitt for Virginia, so that they could not procurr the cargoe in tobacco, conform to the above dirrectiones, then and in that caice they left that and all uther things to the complainer his own prudence and discreit management, as in the said comissioune subscribed by them and the complainer of the daitt fairsaid in it self att moir lenth beirs.

In prosecution of which trust the complainer went aboard the said ship and did intromett with the fairsaid cargoe; and sailed therewith to the western eislands, where he disposed upon that part of the cargoe designed for that place, to his own and their best advantadge, and ther did reload wyne with the frie effects of the said cargoe; and proceedit with the said ship and new loadning to Maryland, wher the complainer did also dispos one the said wyne and the remaining pairt of the first cargoe to best advantadge; but when the complainer had done his outmost

endeavors he found that the cargoe fell considerable short of the foirsaid design and of clearing the charge of the ship, occasioned partly throw the lownes of the mercats in that plaice att the time; and partly throw the said old cargoe, itt being unfrie and among the prohibit goodes; [*margin note* - and by ane new imposition upon wyne in that place, never formerlie exacted, and raising of the duty of tobacco to be exported thence, and the considerable chairge of sloupag; (*sloopage* - *hire of sloops to bring the tobacco to the ship's anchorage*)] and partly also through the season of the yeir, which obliged the complainer, ffor the safty and preservacione of the ship, to carry the same ane great way from the place wher his mercats lay; and soe was not only neccessitat to be att ane great chairge but also to make clandestine seall of the said prohibit goodes to great dissadvantage and loss; and ffurther, the complainer wes putt to ane extraordinary chairge and expence in the necessary reparacione of the ship, provisiones and rigging; and so the complainer, out of regard he had to the foirsaid trust putt upon him, did not only advance of his own proper goodes extending in value to the soume of twenty three pound three shillings thrie pence and three farthings English mony, and to aply the same for the common intrest, but after all wes neccessitat to draw ane bill of fourty pound Sterling upon Mr James Ffowlls merchant in London payable to John Miller merchant in Glasgow or order, which he was to advyse the pairtners thereof and which they accordinglie payed; and ane uther bill upon themselves payable to Mr Hew Muir, which they also answered; and ane uther bill one the said Mr Ffowlls ffor the soume of nyn pound two shillings Sterling payable to lord Balltymoor or order, which bill Mr Ffowlls accepted and payed and drew upon the complainer ffor reimbursment after his return home, and who adressed himself to the pairtners for payment of their proportiones of it; they refused, and so the complainer wes neccessitat to make payment of it himself; and ane uther bill upon the said Mr Ffowlls of twenty one seventine shilling ten pence half penny mony foirsaid payable to Mr Robert King or order, and which last bill is not as yet come to the said Mr Ffowlls his hand so farr as is yet known, and soe lyes as ane personal debt upon the complainer.

The effects of all which bills, and the complainer his own goodes abovespecified wer applied in loadning and clearing of the said ship conform to the above instructiones ffor the common advantadge of the haill pairtners; and sicklyk the said complainer advanced fyfty shillings sterling of his own mony att Silly for ships provisiones and uther neccessaries; but upon the complainer his return with the ship from Silly, endeavoring his arryvall with ship and cargoe att Lochryan conform to the foirsaid instructions, he with the said ship and cargoe wer unfortunately taken by ane French pryvatre; whereupon the complainer used his outmost prudence for retrieving of the said ship and cargoe by way of ransom offered to the captaine of the pryvatre three hundereth pound sterling of ransom, and to have remained pledge for it till the payment; whereof the captain would not

accept, and upon his carrying of the complainer with the said ship and cargoe as ane pryse to France, was intercepted by ane Ostend privatire, who carryed up the complainer with the said ship and cargoe to Ostend; where the complainer was neccessitat to imploy his credit in borrowing of six pound Sterling for cloathing and subsisting of himself the space of fyve weeks, in which tyme he used his very outmost cair and endeavors, by taking advyce of the most eminent lawyers and merchants in that place, to preserve the said ship or cargoe from being declaired pryse; and in lyke maner the complainer was neccessitat while in Virginia to enter in bonds with ane sufficient securitie ffor returning of certificats from England for his entering of the said goods in England and paying English dewtie under the penaltie of ane thousand pound Sterling; and the complainer stands therby oblidgt to releive his cautioners, out of which the complainer cannot be extricat till certificats be had from Flanders that the said ship and cargoe had been legally declaired pryse ther; which cannot be manadged without ane considerable expence.

And soe the complainer hes unployed his outmost prudence and capacity in answaring of the instructiones containt in the fairsaid commission, tho not attendit with successe.

Endnotes

- ¹ The signed confession - dated 15 September 1647 - was part of the records of the Sailor's Society of Ayr, now lost. A transcript was included in articles which appeared in the 'Ayr Advertiser' in 1874-77 (at which time the records were still extant) and these were published as D.M. Lyon, *Ayr in the Olden Times*, (Ayr, 1928), transcript on pp.26-27. A full transcript including the names of those present is held in the local history library of the Carnegie Library, Ayr (miscellaneous manuscripts box).
- ² Their list of personal 'worldly and carnal' behaviour included - Atheism and unbelief - Neglect of secret communion with God - Breaking the Sabbath - Breaking vows unto God in their distress at sea - Idolatrous 'worschipe of the Mess' in their travels - Blasphemy - Much 'drunkenness and whordom following yrupon in some both married & unmarried persons - Disobedience 'to parents and scholmasters in the tym of their youth', *ibid.*
- ³ This would have outraged their minister, the Reverend William Adair, the obvious instigator of this spectacle.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, Confession no.6.
- ⁵ This challenges conventional opinion that the upper Clyde anchorages were the first to directly and regularly import the produce of the Americas.
- ⁶ As early as 1638 Aberdeen Council raised 1000 merks to help Ayr ransom ten seamen from the 'murderous Turk'; L. B. Taylor (ed), *Aberdeen Council Letters (1634-44)*, (London, 1950), II, pp.74, 81 & 83. In 1643 the Privy Council of Scotland authorised six Ayr burgesses to collect the ransom for three Scottish crews 'keept by them [merciless Turks] in great miserie and distresse' - one of which was the *Margaret* of Ayr; P. Hume Brown (ed.), *Records of the Privy Council of Scotland*, (RPCS), (Edinburgh, 1906), Series ii, VII, p.440. Some of the corsairs appear to have come through the Straits of Gibraltar from Algiers, but many were from Morocco's Atlantic coast port of Sale (the 'Salleemen' or 'Sallee Rovers'). They used vessels suited to Atlantic waters, and there were many European renegades among their number.
- ⁷ Confession no.11.
- ⁸ Privateers were privately-owned vessels authorised by a state to seize the shipping of its enemies.
- ⁹ During this period a vessel's tonnage denoted its estimated cargo-carrying capacity, originally based on 'tun' barrels of wine. This was usually calculated from its internal measurements. See E.J. Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland, 1650-1790*, (East Linton, 2002), Appendix A, and also for general background information to this study. Small merchantmen up to around 40 tons were designated 'bark' or 'vessel'. Those larger were 'ships', a term which was becoming specific to three-masted, square-rigged vessels.
- ¹⁰ National Archives of Scotland [NAS], General Register of Deeds, RD1/544/7, listed in D. Dobson, *Ships from Ireland to Early America 1623-1850*, (Baltimore, 1999), p.124. We are grateful to David Dobson for bringing this reference to our attention.
- ¹¹ Indentured servants, often destitute individuals, bound themselves to merchants or shipmasters (who could sell on their contracts to planters) to work in the plantations

for from four to seven years in exchange for free passage. During this time they would be in a condition little better than slavery, but on its expiry (if they survived) they would be given either a little piece of land, a small sum of money, or goods of equivalent value. Only men and boys were wanted as servants in the plantations during this period. Sources used for background information on the West Indies are R.S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713*, (London, 1973), and C.&R. Bridenbaugh, *No Peace beyond the Line; The English in the Caribbean, 1624-1690*, (New York, 1972), and for the English American colonies in general, A. McFarlane, *The British in the Americas, 1480-1815*, (London and New York, 1994). For a recent study of the Scots in early America see T.M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire 1600-1815*, (London, 2003).

- ¹² M. D. Young (ed.), *The Parliaments of Scotland: Burgh and Shire Commissioners*, (Edinburgh, 1992), 1, p.388.
- ¹³ See D. Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America 1607-1785*, (Athens and London, 1994), pp.66-72 for early Scottish settlement in Barbados. These settlers were from eastern Scotland, and Edward Carss may well have been already keeping in contact with them.
- ¹⁴ Ayrshire Archives [AA], Ayr Burgh Records, B6/12/9, Blair v Blair 14 Mar. 1649, and Wallace v Blair 9 Jan. 1650. Interestingly, Rowan is stated to have granted a bond acknowledging himself adebted to Donald Blair younger (son of Donald Blair in Corton) on 28 Nov. 1642, ten days after the date of the Collier-Carss *Rebecca* charter party.
- ¹⁵ NAS, Commissariat of Glasgow testaments, CC9/7/30, 23 Nov. 1648; noticed in H. McGhee, 'The Harbour', *The Royal Burgh of Ayr*, edited for Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society [AANHS] by A. I. Dunlop, (Edinburgh' 1953), p.198. Rowan also appears on record as Rowand and Rolland.
- ¹⁶ £12 Scots = £1 Sterling.
- ¹⁷ AA, B6/18/2, fol.41, 10 Oct. 1648. A parcel was an unspecified quantity involved in a transaction and could refer to a large amount.
- ¹⁸ AA, B6/12/9, fol.101, Dalrymple v Osborne 13 Feb. 1650. John Osborne was one of the town's most prosperous merchants; he had already been provost several times, and would be again; see Young, *The Parliaments of Scotland: Burgh and Shire Commissioners*, vol.2, p.557.
- ¹⁹ One merk = 13s. 4d. Scots.
- ²⁰ NAS, Commissariat of Edinburgh testaments, CC8/8/67, 24 Jun. 1653; listed in D. Dobson, *The Original Scots Colonists of Early America*, (Baltimore, 1612-1783), p.106, no.2185.
- ²¹ AA, B6/18/2, fol.68, Jun. 1650; fol.74, 17 Dec. 1650; and fol.87, 27 Apr. 1652.
- ²² AA, B6/12/9, 16 Dec. 1662. Dalrymple received nothing from Angus. Having apparently been able to obtain relevant information from the West Indies after the Restoration, he then accused Angus of having collected his (Dalrymple's) debts to the value of 12,000lb of tobacco and demanded £12,000 Scots from him at the price at which Angus had sold his own tobacco on return.
- ²³ AA, CC9/7/31, 23 Jan. 1651; noticed in McGhee, 'The Harbour', p.198.
- ²⁴ *The Swan*, a Cromwellian warship based at Ayr and wrecked off Mull in 1653, is at the time of writing the subject of a major underwater excavation.

- 25 D. Dobson, *Directory of Scots Banished to the American Plantations 1650-1775*, (Baltimore, 1984), p.4 (David Andrew), p.11 (John Blair), p.162 (Robert Miller) and p.231 (John Younger).
- 26 Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America*, p.68. The *Gift* had during the previous year made a voyage towards France under Ayr skipper Charles Dalrymple. She was attacked by several 'Biscay men of war' (Barbary pirate ships), escaping but with at least one crew fatality. AA, B6/35/1, large 1664 bundle, Hunter v Dalrymple.
- 27 C. H. Firth (ed.), *Scotland and the Protectorate 1654-1659*, (Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1899), pp.323-328.
- 28 *The Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Ayr 1647-1846*, edited by Alistair Lindsay and Jean Kennedy for the AANHS (Ayrshire Records Series, Ayr, 2002), p.6, 21 Jul. 1656.
- 29 J.D. Marwick, (ed.), *Miscellany of the Scottish Burgh Records Society*, (Edinburgh, 1881), p.26.
- 30 According to Tucker, Glasgow had six vessels of 100-150 tons at this time, and several smaller. Irvine had none larger than 16 tons; *ibid.*, p.27.
- 31 The 1648 arrival in the Clyde of the *Antelope* of Glasgow with 20,000lb of Martinique tobacco is generally regarded as the city's first recorded transatlantic voyage, but it does not appear to be certain that this was obtained direct from the West Indies and not from elsewhere in Europe; T.M. Devine, *Exploring the Scottish Past*, (East Linton, 1995), p.10.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p.28. Tucker's 100-ton vessel must be the *Gift*, which was large enough to hold off Barbary corsairs, and she is likely to have previously been the *James* (a name associated with the deposed Stuart monarchy), renamed to suit Puritan taste. The town's total population has been estimated at around 2,500 at this time; Strawhorn, *The History of Ayr*, p.78.
- 33 AA, B6/24/3, 5 Jan. 1660, Ferguson v Smith, and 12 Mar 1663, Ferguson v his debtors. This John Muir and his sons would come to dominate the town's affairs during the late seventeenth century. No evidence has emerged to connect him with the planter of the same name who arrived on the *James* in 1649. See Young, *The Parliaments of Scotland: Burgh and Shire Commissioners*, vol.2, p.154 for details of his career.
- 34 See E.J. Graham, *Maritime History of Scotland*, pp.14-18 for Scotland and the navigation acts. G. Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power*, (London and New York, 1993), has a summary of the legislation up to 1696, and of English colonisation in the Americas, on pp.440-441.
- 35 AA, B6/18/2, 27 Nov. 1660.
- 36 Robson stayed on in the demilitarised citadel and became one of the partners of the cloth manufactory established there by its new owner, the Earl of Eglington.
- 37 AA, B6/29/12.
- 38 NAS, CC9/7/32, p.352.
- 39 We are grateful to Dr C.B. Phillips of the Department of History, Manchester University, for information on Birkett.
- 40 AA, B6/12/9, 22 Jul. 1661.
- 41 *Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Ayr*, p.11, 4 Dec. 1660, 'Hodganne'. Although he signed his name Hodgson, local scribes almost invariably used a variant of Hodgeon, with which they were more familiar. 'Hudson' is sometimes used.
- 42 Kendal was served by the small harbour of Milnthorpe on the River Kent.

- ⁴³ AA, B6/33/1, 1661 bundle, 'Hodgeon' to the owners of the good ship called the *Unicorn*. It was registered in the court records of Ayr on 27 Feb. 1662 as a precaution in case legal action had to be taken in future – an indication that a voyage was about to commence.
- ⁴⁴ The other partners were John and William Cunningham, John Birnie, Robert Doak (brother-in-law of John Muir) and James Chalmers merchant – so designated to distinguish him from the skipper of the same name.
- ⁴⁵ See T.C. Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of Union*, (Edinburgh, 1963), for general background information on the organisation of Scottish foreign trade during this era.
- ⁴⁶ See Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America*, pp.51-53 for the apparently similar role performed on the Scottish east coast by the English Quaker merchant family of Trent, based in Leith and Inverness (also the sites of Cromwellian citadels), with relatives settled in the West Indies and North America. (Trenton, New Jersey, was named after one of them.)
- ⁴⁷ AA, B6/35/1, small 1664 bundle, Chalmers v Garven.
- ⁴⁸ The others were at Bonnington near Edinburgh and Newmills near Haddington.
- ⁴⁹ We are grateful to Jane Jamieson of the National Archives of Scotland for information on the manufactory. See also Strawhorn, *The History of Ayr*, pp.101-102.
- ⁵⁰ See Gordon Marshall, *Presbyteries and Profits; Calvinism and the Development of Capital in Scotland 1560-1707*, (Oxford, 1981, reprinted Edinburgh, 1992), chap.6 for a discussion of the Scottish manufactory movement in this period, and nos.27 and 33 in the appendix for the Ayr ventures.
- ⁵¹ RPCS, Series iii, VIII, p.314.
- ⁵² James Marr, overseer of the manufactory, appears regularly in the christening records as a witness. He would find employment at the Newmills cloth manufactory near Haddington when it was revived in the early 1680s.
- ⁵³ AA, B6/18/2, fol.243, noticed in J. Strawhorn, *The History of Ayr; Royal Burgh and County Town*, (Edinburgh, 1989), p.69. The other two Ayr vessels were the *Lyon* (to Bilbao) and the *Marie* (to Bristol), both 20 tons. This was early for the commencement of long-distance voyages, and they may have headed for some out-of-the-way anchorage to escape the levy before setting out in earnest.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, fol.243, 3 Oct. 1665, and fol.244, 20 Dec. 1665.
- ⁵⁵ AA, B6/33/1, 1665 bundle, Crichton to Chalmers.
- ⁵⁶ General Register Office for Scotland [GROS], Old Parish Records [OPR], Ayr baptisms, 578/1, 5 Aug. 1666, 'Margrat Hodgeon'. Microfilm copies held by North, East and South Ayrshire library services – frame reference (fr.) 75.
- ⁵⁷ This year also saw the Covenanters of the south-west rise in rebellion, occupying Ayr for a time before marching on Edinburgh and suffering defeat at Rullion Green.
- ⁵⁸ NAS, Ayr port books, E72/3/1.
- ⁵⁹ During this period, only the commanders of warships (whether Royal Navy vessels or privateers) or of particularly large, heavily-armed merchantmen received the title of captain instead of skipper or shipmaster.
- ⁶⁰ AA, B6/35/3, medium 1676 bundle, 'Hodgeon' v Chalmers, bond for the reimbursement of the commissioners and warrant referring to the *Mary* of Liverpool, afterwards the *Unity* of Ayr, enclosed.
- ⁶¹ NAS, E72/3/3.
- ⁶² Graham, *Maritime History of Scotland*, p.21. McAllan appears no more in references to the partnership.

- ⁶³ T.C. Smout, 'The Development and Enterprise of Glasgow, 1556-1707', in *The Scottish Journal of Political Economy*, VII, No.3, 1960, pp.209-210.
- ⁶⁴ The John Caldwell of the *Unity* partnership was apparently an outsider, originally a glover who had become a merchant burgess of Ayr through his marriage to Jean Garven; this would have been a valuable alliance with an important merchant family; *Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Ayr*, p.4, 5 Feb. 1656. See note 127 for evidence that he was also a burgess of Glasgow, although he and the John Caldwell of the Wester House refinery were definitely separate individuals.
- ⁶⁵ AA, B6/18/4, fol.22, 26 Jul. 1670.
- ⁶⁶ AA, B6/18/2, fol.281, 18 Aug. 1668. An 80-ton *Unicorn* of Ayr, apparently a different vessel, appears briefly in the Ayr port books trading to Europe at the beginning of the 1680s. In 1685 the ballast of the 'old Unicorn' was taken out, and one of the three old hulks ordered to be removed from the harbour in 1714 bore this name; AA, B6/18/4, fol.262, 11 Aug. 1685 and B6/18/9, 26 Jun. 1714.
- ⁶⁷ NAS, RD/4/23, p.707, no.683.
- ⁶⁸ The 1658 implication is noticed in Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America*, p68.
- ⁶⁹ AA, B6/24/3, Dalrymple to Smith, 29 Jan. 1672.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, Smith v 'Hodgeon', 7 Mar. 1673.
- ⁷¹ See J. Agnew, *Belfast Merchant Families in the Seventeenth Century*, (Dublin, 1996), pp.117-126 for the effects of the navigation acts on Irish trade.
- ⁷² AA, B6/35/3, medium 1676 bundle, Muir v 'Hodgeon', 16 Mar. 1676.
- ⁷³ AA, B6/18/4, fol.51, 21 Sept. 1672.
- ⁷⁴ AA, B6/24/3, Shaw v 'Hodgeon', Dec. 1674. The island's capital, Plymouth, had no harbour and the *Unity* would have lain offshore in the sheltered anchorage. The Soufriere volcano looming over the town had long been dormant and would remain so until 1995, when the eruptions began which would destroy Plymouth and force the evacuation of a large part of the island.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, Crawford v Hunter, Crawford v Angus, Crawford v Crawford, all 31 Dec. 1674. Crawford appears to have been one of the owning partnership, the others mentioned being skipper George Angus (who would have been too old now to have been actively involved), Robert Hunter, David Murdoch, and Helen Leslie, widow of John Lockhart.
- ⁷⁶ NAS, E72/3/3.
- ⁷⁷ This was the form in which West Indian tobacco was usually exported; the leaves were formed into a large sausage-shaped roll, sweetened with rum or molasses and treated to present an attractively dark and glossy exterior. This often concealed poor-quality produce within; Compton McKenzie, *Sublime Tobacco*, (London, 1957), pp.98 and 130-131.
- ⁷⁸ A principal use for this dye must have been in the production of blue bonnets, the universal headgear of the lower classes in Scotland.
- ⁷⁹ T.C. Smout, 'The Early Scottish Sugar Houses 1660-1720', in *Economic History Review*, XIV, no.2, Dec. 1961, p.244.
- ⁸⁰ AA, B6/24/3, Dunbar v Crawford, 4 Mar. 1675.
- ⁸¹ AA, B6/35/3, medium 1674 bundle, 'Hodgeon' v Crawford, 6 Jun. 1674, account enclosed.

- ⁸² AA, B6/35/3, medium 1676 bundle, Muir v 'Hodgeon', 16 Mar 1676, list of expenses enclosed. Hodgson travelled overland to Bo'ness on the Forth and took ship from there.
- ⁸³ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁴ *Ibid.* The merchant was Richard 'Rimar' or 'Rymer', who is likely to have been the previous owner.
- ⁸⁵ NAS, High Court of the Admiralty of Scotland, [HCAS], Registers of Decrees, AC7/8, 'Hodgeon' v Crawford, 13 Dec. 1687. We are indebted to Sue Mowat for all references from this source. The *James* was probably close to the largest size of vessel capable of entering Ayr harbour at this time. The port books list her as 100 tons.
- ⁸⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁷ AA, B6/35/3, medium 1676 bundle, 'Hodgeon v Chalmers, 9 Mar. 1676, and Muir v 'Hodgeon', 16 Mar 1676.
- ⁸⁸ AA, B6/35/4, large 1678 bundle, Bailie Dalrymple v his debtors, 4 Dec. 1678.
- ⁸⁹ GROS, OPR 578/1, 7 Oct. 1677, Janet Hunter, (fr.265). Adam Hunter succeeded to the estate of Abbothill. The Hunter Blair family of Blairquhan in Straiton parish are his descendants; Paterson, *History of the County of Ayr*, I, p.202-205; *ibid.*, II, (1852), p.473-475.
- ⁹⁰ RPCS, Series iii, V, pp.523 and 528.
- ⁹¹ NAS, E72/3/4.
- ⁹² Earlier in the year McColm and his fellow owner John Caldwell had quarrelled violently. Caldwell had been deprived of his burghess rights in 1662 while deacon convenor of the trades for inciting dissent against the town council. He was permitted soon after to continue practicing as a merchant on toleration, but now this was revoked for his abuse towards McColm, a bailie. However, at the end of the year Caldwell was allowed to resume trading, while McColm appears no more as a member of the *James* partnership: AA, B6/18/4, fol.139, 28 May 1678 and fol.146, 31 Dec. 1678.
- ⁹³ Fullarton, second son of Mr William Fullarton of Craighall, minister of Coylton, would not become a merchant burghess of Ayr until 1684. On 1 Jan.1679 he was licensed by the council to sell his tobacco to any freeman within the burgh at £22 Scots per hundred lb; AA, B6/18/4, fol.147.
- ⁹⁴ The remaining passengers were Jacob 'Haire' (licensed to sell his goods in Ayr 15 Oct. 1678; AA, B6/18/4, fol.145), William Chamberlain, Andrew Cathcart (brother of Hugh Cathcart of Carleton), Robert Clydesdale and William Jardine.
- ⁹⁵ David Smith and John Maxwell respectively.
- ⁹⁶ See James Gourlay (ed.), *The Provosts of Glasgow from 1609 to 1832*, (Glasgow, 1942), p.37 for an account of Gibson's career.
- ⁹⁷ It was part of mariners' conditions of service that they were allotted cargo space to bring in goods on their own account free of freight charges.
- ⁹⁸ As 'John Fletcher, H.M. Engineer', Slezer was made an Ayr burghess in March 1678. (*Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Ayr*, p.39).
- ⁹⁹ John McColm also made a second marriage to a sister of this David Ferguson around the same time. McColm was a bailie at this time, and both he and William Muir had been councillors for the previous two years.

- ¹⁰⁰ There are later indications that John Muir and his sons were associated with the *Swan*. She is not mentioned in the records of the Scottish Privy Council, and presumably got away to sea before the arrival of its committee in Ayr.
- ¹⁰¹ The leaves were tied together at the stalks in small loose bundles, dried, and then compressed in barrels.
- ¹⁰² Another Covenanting rebellion brought disruption to the west of Scotland in 1679 until crushed at Bothwell Bridge.
- ¹⁰³ NAS, E72/3/6 and/7.
- ¹⁰⁴ The other passengers were Robert Blaikley, William Davidson, James Wardrope, Andrew Hamilton, Alexander Peebles (possibly from Irvine) and William Warden.
- ¹⁰⁵ Smout, 'The Early Scottish Sugar Houses', p.244.
- ¹⁰⁶ This Thomas was the father of Thomas Garven or Garvine, surgeon apothecary, who would travel to Russia to enter the service of Peter the Great, cross Siberia to visit the Chinese imperial court, and finally return to Ayr to serve as provost for fourteen yearly terms between 1724 and 1755. We are grateful to Alastair Hendry for this information.
- ¹⁰⁷ Gourlay, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.46.
- ¹⁰⁸ John Kennedy 1682, Dougald McKenzie 1683-87, Matthew Whitaker 1687-91, John Findlay 1693, John McKenzie 1694, John Clark 1694-98, Robert Angus 1698.
- ¹⁰⁹ NAS, E72/3/6. This David Ferguson (not to be confused with the David Ferguson, skipper, who was master of the *Swan* in 1678, from another branch of this Ayr clan) was a brother of the James Ferguson who had been an owner of the *Unicorn* in the 1660s, and brother-in-law of William Muir, founder member of the *Unity/James* partnership.
- ¹¹⁰ Many of Slezer's images were engraved in Holland, and it is likely that the characteristically Dutch boats, with their leeboards, were added there along with the figures.
- ¹¹¹ NAS, E72/19/1,2,5 and 6.
- ¹¹² Graham, *Maritime History of Scotland*, p.51-55.
- ¹¹³ NAS, E72/3/9.
- ¹¹⁴ AA, B6/35/4, 1683 bundle, Crawford v Wallace.
- ¹¹⁵ Not divided into North and South until 1713.
- ¹¹⁶ L.G. Fryer, 'The Covenanters' lost Colony in South Carolina', in *Scottish Archives*, 1996, II, p.102.
- ¹¹⁷ AA, B6/33/3, 1683 bundle, 'Hodgeon' to Ferguson, 14 Feb. 1683.
- ¹¹⁸ See Strawhorn, *The History of Ayr*, pp.80-81; also RPC, Series iii, VIII, pp.445-446 for an attempt to prevent Hodgson from voting at Michaelmas 1682 by having him arrested for debt and taken to Whithorn.
- ¹¹⁹ NAS, E72/3/12.
- ¹²⁰ NAS, E72/3/11.
- ¹²¹ In Jul. 1682 Thomas Garven had taken charge of a bond just received by Edward Jamieson, merchant in Cockenzie, from Captain Thomas Cook of Montserrat by which the latter undertook to supply Jamieson with a little over 80,000lb of sugar in payment of outstanding debts. In Feb.1684 Garven delivered to Jamieson the 10,000lb which was all he had been able to recover. (Cook appears to have died not long after); NAS, HCAS, AC7/9, 21 Aug. 1688, Garven v Jamieson. Jamieson had been made an honorary burgess and guild brother of Ayr in 1680; *Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Ayr*, p.41, 18 Feb. 1680.

- 122 T.C. Smout, 'The Glasgow Merchant Community in the Seventeenth Century', in *Scottish History Review*, XLVII, 1968, p.64.
- 123 Smout, 'The Early Scottish Sugar Houses', p.241.
- 124 Dobson, (ed.), *Original Scots Colonists*, p.146.
- 125 *Ibid.*, p.338.
- 126 Smout, 'Development and Enterprise of Glasgow', p.211.
- 127 See T.C. Smout, 'The Overseas Trade of Ayrshire 1660-1707', in *Ayrshire Archaeological & Natural History Collections*, Series ii, VI, 1961. From the end of 1681 to the end of 1686, there were 32 arrivals in Ayr of vessels from France, 8 from Holland and 7 from Norway; *ibid.*, p.58.
- 128 NAS, HCAS, AC7/8, 'Hodgeon' v Crawford, 13 Dec. 1687. The ageing Hodgson may have been trying to withdraw from the partnership and force the sale of the ship to liquidate his share, as he was entitled to do; Smout, 'The Early Scottish Sugar Houses', p.248.
- 129 Caldwell's merchant burgh status, suspended since 1662, was fully restored shortly before his death, (AA, B6/18/4, fol.257, 10 Mar. 1685) and soon after, Robert Rodger became a merchant burgh of Ayr by his wife Margaret's right, along with John Caldwell junior. (*Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Ayr*, p.50, 17 Mar. 1685). In 1680 a Robert Rodger, of uncertain origin, became a merchant burgh of Glasgow by the right of his wife Margaret, daughter of John Caldwell, merchant burgh of that city. He became provost of Glasgow in 1707, serving for four terms between then and 1713. (Gourlay, *Provosts of Glasgow*, p.49.) It seems likely that all of this relates to the same Robert Rodger, and that John Caldwell of Ayr was also a merchant burgh of Glasgow and probably originated there.
- 130 NAS, HCAS, AC7/8, 'Hodgeon' v Crawford, 13 Dec. 1687.
- 131 Smout, 'Overseas trade of Ayrshire', p.79. She was ready to sail for Holland when she was torn from her moorings and capsized by a sudden spate.
- 132 AA B6/18/4, fol.246, 9 Sep. 1684. An inspection showed a depth of eight and a half feet over the wreck's remains at low water. It was remarked that this was a much greater depth than that over the bar at the harbour mouth at low water.
- 133 NAS, E/72/3/13.
- 134 NAS, E72/19/9
- 135 *Ibid.*; Walter Macleod, (ed.), *Journal of the Hon. John Erskine of Carnock 1683-1687*, (Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1893), pp.69-72.
- 136 David Dobson, (comp.), *The Original Scots Colonists of Early America - Supplement: 1607-1707*, (Baltimore, 1998), p.129; John S. Dobie, (ed.), *Cunninghame, Topographized by Timothy Pont, A.M., 1604-1608, with Continuations and Illustrative Notices by the late James Dobie of Crummock*, (Glasgow, 1876), p.141; *Index to Register of Deeds*, Scottish Record Office, (Edinburgh, 1957), XXIII, 1683, pp.389-390.
- 137 Marwick (ed.), *R.B.R.S. Miscellany*, p.77.
- 138 George Pratt Insh, 'The Carolina Merchant: Advice of Arrival', in *Scottish Historical Review*, XXV, 1928, p.101.
- 139 *The Life and Prophecies of Mr Alexander Peden, late Minister of the Gospel at New Glenluce in Galloway*, (Glasgow, 1871), pp.118-119. (An edition of Patrick Walker's eighteenth-century life of Peden.)

- ¹⁴⁰ During the year the Clyde region had been alarmed by the Earl of Argyll's ill-fated invasion in support of Monmouth's Rising; Graham, *Maritime History of Scotland*, pp.145-148.
- ¹⁴¹ GROS, OPR 578/2, 2 Nov. 1685, John Ferguson, (fr.418).
- ¹⁴² NAS, HCAS, AC/8, 'Hodgeon v Crawford, 13 Dec. 1687.
- ¹⁴³ NAS, CC9/7/48, p.128, 10 Apr. 1690.
- ¹⁴⁴ James Savage, *A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England*, (Baltimore, 1977), II, p.154. (See also III, pp.179-181 for the Mavericks).
- ¹⁴⁵ Dobson, *Original Scots Colonists – Supplement*, p.34. See also D. Dobson, (comp.), *Scots in New England 1623-1873*, (Baltimore, 2002), p.47, in which the date of membership is given as 25 Oct. 1684; the entries in the latter work for John Ballantyne, Alexander and Thomas McCulloch, and Andrew 'Malcolm' (McColm), all of Ayr, note their presence in Boston on the same date, apparently accompanying the Crawfords on this occasion. All would later join the Society; *ibid.*, pp.10, 126 and 146.
- ¹⁴⁶ Dobson, *Original Scots Colonists – Supplement*, p.49.
- ¹⁴⁷ Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America*, pp.36 and 41. The prominence of Ayr among members' places of origin is noted.
- ¹⁴⁸ David Dobson, (comp.), *Scots on the Chesapeake 1607-1830*, (Baltimore, 1992), p.91, 33 and 23. (Caution is required regarding references to 'Maryland' in Ayr records, as there was a landholding of that name in the Burrowfield.)
- ¹⁴⁹ NAS, E72/3/16.
- ¹⁵⁰ *Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Ayr*, p.56, (14 Dec. 1687).
- ¹⁵¹ Agnew, *Belfast Merchant Families*, p.221.
- ¹⁵² Marwick (ed.), *R.B.R.S. Miscellany*, pp.78-79.
- ¹⁵³ Dobson, (comp.), *Original Scots Colonists – Supplement*, p.9.
- ¹⁵⁴ Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary*, I, pp.107-108. (See also II, p.447 for the Hollards.) Amusingly, Savage (writing in America in the 1860s) cast doubt on the Boston family's belief in an Ayr origin as in his opinion - 'A cooper was more likely, two hundred years ago, to have been bred at Glasgow than its neighbouring little village of Ayr; and one of those tradesmen, whose motto was "Let Glasgow flourish", would hardly be called gentleman of Ayr.' The Ayr Ballantynes/Ballantines were descended from the Bannatynes (these surnames were interchangeable throughout this period) of Kames in Bute, and had formerly possessed the lands of Castlehill in the Burrowfield of Ayr (which they would in due course recover). William may well have laid claim to gentle status on these grounds: James Paterson, *History of the County of Ayr*, (Edinburgh, 1847), I, p.208; Strawhorn, *The History of Ayr*, p.52. Dobson, *Scots in New England*, p.11, gives his date of emigration to Boston as 1647.
- ¹⁵⁵ *Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Ayr*, p.58, 11 Dec. 1688.
- ¹⁵⁶ AA, B6/18/4, fol.336, 11 Jan. 1689.
- ¹⁵⁷ *Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Ayr*, p.58, (11 Dec. 1688). The new burgesses included skippers David Ferguson and James Angus, and John Muir's sons Robert and Samuel.
- ¹⁵⁸ NAS, OPR 578/2, 21 Apr. 1689, John Crawford, (fr.469). This nickname is applied to John in another baptism witness entry: *Ibid.*, 5 May 1689, Jonet Wright, (fr.470).
- ¹⁵⁹ See J. Grant, *The Old Scots Navy*, (London, 1914), pp.26-29 for a contemporary account.
- ¹⁶⁰ NAS, E72/3/21

- ¹⁶¹ AA, B6/18/4, fol.173 (actually 373), 14 Aug. 1690.
- ¹⁶² RPCS, Series iii, XIII, p.538.
- ¹⁶³ NAS, E72/3/21 and 23.
- ¹⁶⁴ Son of the George Angus who had sailed to the West Indies in 1649 and younger brother of the John who had been mate of the *James* on her 1678 voyage and one of Ayr's foremost skippers voyaging to France and Holland during the 1680s.
- ¹⁶⁵ Son of the John who had been in the *Unity/James* partnership.
- ¹⁶⁶ NAS, E72/3/28.
- ¹⁶⁷ *Calendars of Treasury Books, 1660-92, preserved in the Public Record Office*, (London, 1904-31), IX, pt.4, p.1645. We are grateful to David Dobson for this reference.
- ¹⁶⁸ *Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Ayr*, p.7, 15 Jun. 1658, and p.45, 8 Sep. 1682.
- ¹⁶⁹ NAS, E72/3/28.
- ¹⁷⁰ NAS, CC9/7/48, 4 Feb. 1692. Those owing money to him at the time of his death included the partners of the Easter and Wester sugar refineries of Glasgow. He had only recently married and a child had been born to him after his departure: GROS, OPR 578/7, 16 Oct. 1690, Agnes Lockhart, (fr.1954), and 578/2, 1 Aug. 1691, James Angus, (fr.502).
- ¹⁷¹ Dobson, *Original Scots Colonists*, p.120, (Andrew 'Malcolm'. This gives his year of entry as 1691, but in Dobson, *Scots in New England*, p.146 it is given as 1693.)
- ¹⁷² Dobson, *Scots in New England*, p.126 for both McCullochs.
- ¹⁷³ GROS, OPR 578/2, 5 May. 1695, Alexander McCulloch, (fr.561).
- ¹⁷⁴ Marwick (ed.), *R.B.R.S. Miscellany*, p.77. Her tonnage, consistently given as around 40 in the port-books during the course of her career, is erroneously listed as a tiny 14.
- ¹⁷⁵ A case in the High Court of the Admiral of Scotland (NAS, HCAS, AC7/8, Reid v Ferguson, 18 Nov 1687) reveals that the *Fortune* was formerly the *Tobias* of Leith, which had regularly voyaged from Ayr to France and Holland during the 1680s. The circumstances of her loss are unknown.
- ¹⁷⁶ Her designation as being 'of Ayr' in the Board's correspondence with the Irish Revenue Commissioners in May 1692, regarding that arrestment, shows that her true identity, presumably disguised when she was at Londonderry in 1691, had become known; *Calendars of Treasury Books*, IX, pt.4, p.1645.
- ¹⁷⁷ NAS, HCAS, AC7/9, Ferguson v 'Greg', 9 Aug. 1692.
- ¹⁷⁸ AA, B6/18/6, 5 Jun. 1691.
- ¹⁷⁹ GROS, OPR 578/2, 28 Aug. 1692, Mary Ballantyne, (fr.519).
- ¹⁸⁰ *Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Ayr*, p.62, (17 Sept. 1692). Situated just north of Boston, Marblehead and Salem are very close to each other, and it was in this very year that the notorious witchcraft trials took place in the latter.
- ¹⁸¹ AA, B6/18/4, 3 and 6 Sep. 1692.
- ¹⁸² AA, B6/35/6, small 1695 bundle, Ferguson v Crawford.
- ¹⁸³ T.M. Devine, *The Tobacco Lords*, (Edinburgh, 1975), p.57.
- ¹⁸⁴ This Elias died childless, but a namesake descended from a relation was the father of the David Cathcart who became Lord Alloway in the early 19th century.
- ¹⁸⁵ The Hamiltons of Rozelle, Belleisle and Sundrum were his descendants. Hugh Hamilton and Andrew Cathcart had been captured by the French in August 1689 while returning from the West Indies aboard the ship of an Arthur Tanner, but they were subsequently released in exchange for priests held in Scotland: RPCS, Series iii, XIV, p.584.
- ¹⁸⁶ AA, B6/35/6, small 1695 bundle, Ferguson v Crawford.

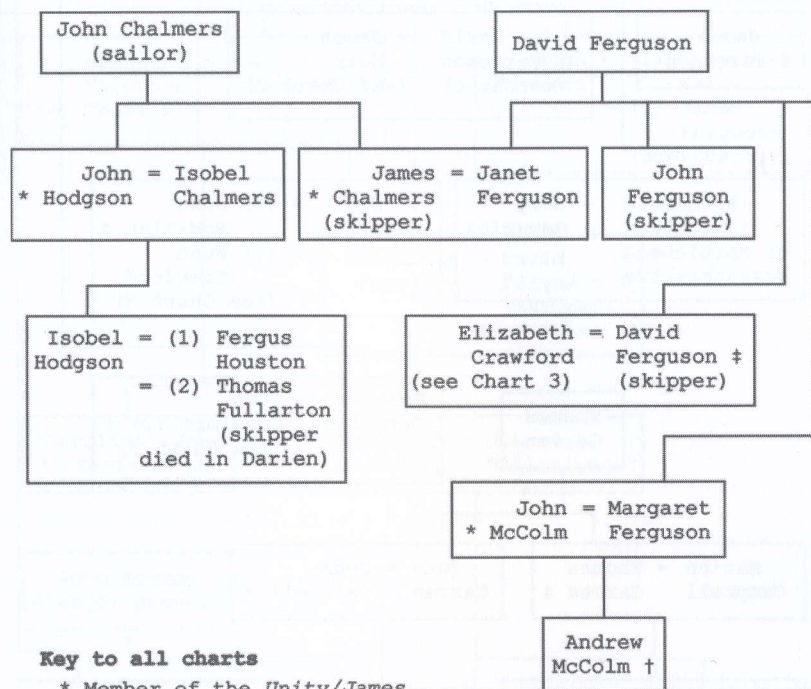
- ¹⁸⁷ This was becoming the favoured port of registration and clearance for Scottish vessels wishing to disguise themselves as English before sailing to the plantations and returning directly to Scotland; Graham, *Maritime History of Scotland*, p.50.
- ¹⁸⁸ GROS, OPR 578/2, 14 Jan. 1694, William Muir, (fr.543). Andrew Crawford, one of the partnership, was a witness.
- ¹⁸⁹ GROS, OPR 578/2, 17 Jun. 1694, Agnes McCole, (fr.547).
- ¹⁹⁰ AA, B6/35/6, small 1695 bundle, Ferguson v Crawford.
- ¹⁹¹ Armet, H., (comp.), *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1689-1701*, (Edinburgh, 1962), p.138, noticed in Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America*, p68.
- ¹⁹² *Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Ayr*, p.49, (11 Jul. 1684). Robert Blackwood was lord provost of Edinburgh 1711-1713, during which time he was knighted and acquired the estate of Pitreavie in Fife. He left the farm of Rodingrood, later Sessionfield, to the guardianship of the ministers and kirk session of Ayr, the rent to be used for the relief of the poor.
- ¹⁹³ See Gordon Marshall, *Presbyteries and Profits*, chap.7 and pp.202-204.
- ¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.203 and Appendix no.67.
- ¹⁹⁵ *Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Ayr*, p.65, (30 Jul. 1695). Thomas Coutts was not among those mentioned in the 1693 baize manufactory act, but was a close associate of theirs and probably became involved later.
- ¹⁹⁶ AA, B6/33/6, 1699 bundle, no.4, 'The proprietors of the citidale of Air and the owners of the baize manufactory'.
- ¹⁹⁷ *Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Ayr*, p.66 (13 Sep. and 19 Sep. 1695); D.R. Hainsworth (ed.), *The Correspondence of Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven 1693-1698: A Provincial Community in Wartime*, (London, 1983), p.679.
- ¹⁹⁸ In 1701 William Montgomerie of Bridgend, near the south end of the Old Brig of Doon, emigrated with his family to Doctor's Creek, East New Jersey: Paterson, *History of the County of Ayr*, II, p.517.
- ¹⁹⁹ See George Pratt Insh, *The Darien Scheme*, (London, 1947), for a general account of the scheme. John Prebble, *The Darien Disaster*, (London, 1968, republished Edinburgh, 2000, as *Darien: The Scottish Dream of Empire*) is a popularised but easily accessible narrative of events.
- ²⁰⁰ J.H. Burton (ed.), *The Darien Papers*, (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1849), pp.415-416.
- ²⁰¹ *Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Ayr*, p.67 (5 May 1696).
- ²⁰² GROS, OPR 578/2, 16 Jul 1696, Hugh Lees, (fr.579). Goodall was among those made burgesses in 1695 as already noted.
- ²⁰³ Burton, *Darien Papers*, p.396.
- ²⁰⁴ GROS, OPR 578/7, 29 Sep. 1696, (fr.1988). Isobel had children from her first marriage to lawyer Fergus Houston.
- ²⁰⁵ GROS, OPR 578/2, 4 Jul. 1697, Isabel Fullarton, (fr.590).
- ²⁰⁶ Prebble, *The Darien Disaster*, pp.115-116. A snow was a two-masted square rigged vessel similar to a brig, but with a gaff mizzen sail on a small separate mast stepped immediately behind the main mast.
- ²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p.161; NAS, CC8/8/83, 13 Sep. 1707, listed in Dobson, *Original Scots Colonists*, p.100.
- ²⁰⁸ See Smout, 'The Overseas Trade of Ayrshire', p.78.
- ²⁰⁹ *Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Ayr*, p.71, (29 Sept. 1699).
- ²¹⁰ NAS, CC8/8/84, 25 Feb. 1708, listed in Dobson, *Original Scots Colonists*, p.71.

- 211 NAS, CC8/8/84, 5 Jul. 1708, listed in Dobson, *Original Scots Colonists*.
- 212 NAS, CC8/8/84, 15 Jul. 1708, listed in Dobson, *Original Scots Colonists*, p.277.
- 213 NAS, CC8/8/84, 6 Aug. 1708, listed in Dobson, *Original Scots Colonists*, p.p.161.
- 214 He died of sickness aboard the *Rising Sun* before the end of 1699; Dunlop, *Dunlops of Dunlop*, pp.128-129, mistakenly referring to his father Alexander.
- 215 Smout, *Scottish Trade*, p.252.
- 216 GROS, OPR 578/2, 9 Jan. 1701, Mary Hamilton, (fr.624).
- 217 AA, B6/33/6, 1699 bundle, no.4, 'The proprietors of the citidale...', discharge on back.
- 218 AA, B6/35/7, 1701 bundle, Ferguson v McColm and Morton.
- 219 Dobson, *Original Scots Colonists – Supplement*, p.177.
- 220 Hainsworth, *The Correspondence of Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven*, p.452.
- 221 *Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Ayr*, p.71, John Harrison, 27 Oct. 1699; p.72, James Dickson, 12 Feb. and John 'Woosley' 15 Mar. 1701; and p.76, John Golding, 22 Aug. 1704.
- 222 Hainsworth, *The Correspondence of Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven*, p.571.
- 223 *Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Ayr*, p.72, (Cunningham, 21 Sep. 1700) and p.78, (Smallwood, 2 Jun. 1705).
- 224 *Ibid.*, (26 Jun. 1705); D. Malone, (ed.), *Dictionary of American Biography*, (London and New York, 1933), vol.XI, pp.318-319.
- 225 *Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Ayr*, p.81, 9 Feb 1708, Captain Samuel 'Welch' of New York. Original entry in AA, B6/18/8 for that date has 'Vetch': Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIX, pp.260-262.
- 226 *Ibid.*, p.76, 30 Dec. 1704.
- 227 One or other of the three Muirs headed the council for twenty five of these thirty three years.
- 228 The War of the Spanish Succession lasted from 1702 until 1713.
- 229 P.H. Scott, *Andrew Fletcher and the Treaty of Union*, (Edinburgh, 1992), p.196. This work has also provided background information on the Union.
- 230 Strawhorn, *History of Ayr*, pp.94-95. It is estimated to have dropped from around 3,000 in 1700 to about 2,000 in 1750.
- 231 See L.M. Cullen, *Smuggling and the Ayrshire Economic Boom of the 1760s and 1770s*, (AANHS, 1994), Monograph No.14.
- 232 Disposition, Captain Lawrence Nugent to the Countess of Eglinton, 4th Nov. 1747. (Incorporates John Cockburn's disposition of his fourth part of the Citadel, p.5.) Local history library, Carnegie Library, Ayr. (Miscellaneous manuscripts box.)
- 233 British Library, Harleian MSS 6269, list of Scottish vessels compiled for Whitehall by the Scottish Customs Service 1723/4, discussed in E.J. Graham, *The Shipping Trade of Ayrshire 1689-1791*, (AANHS, 1991) Monograph No.8, pp.12-14. The four additional vessels were the *St. John* (70 tons), the *Mary* (60 tons), the *John*, and the *William* (both 30 tons). Three other vessels listed, the *Unicorn* (60 tons), the *Success* (30 tons) and the *Hopewell* (20 tons), were actually old hulks (probably used for storage) whose owners would soon be ordered to remove them from the harbour as hazards to navigation. The tonnage assigned to the *Unicorn* appears to confirm that she was the vessel which sailed to the West Indies in the 1660s.
- 234 Graham, *Shipping Trade of Ayrshire*, p.15.
- 235 G. Jackson, 'Glasgow in transition, c. 1660 to c. 1740', in *Glasgow: Volume I: Beginnings to 1830*, edited by T.M. Devine and G. Jackson, (Manchester and New York, 1995), p.76.

- ²³⁶ *Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Ayr*, p.109, 19 Sep. 1722.
- ²³⁷ Dobson, *Scots in New England*, p.10. Patrick was described as a shipmaster in his entry as a burges and guild brother; *Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Ayr*, p.126, 28 Sep. 1733.
- ²³⁸ *Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Ayr*, p.122, 21 May 1729; GRO, OPR 615.2, 19 Jul.1715, (fr.303).
- ²³⁹ Barbados Naval Officer Accounts, PRO CO 33/16. Ballantyne appears as 'Bannatyne' and Hunter as 'Anter'.
- ²⁴⁰ See E.J. Graham, *The Port of Ayr 1727-1780*, (AANHS, 1995), Monograph No.15, particularly pp.9-10, for 1730-1740 voyages, and Graham, *Shipping Trade of Ayrshire*, Appendix 2, for 1740-1760. These have also provided general background information for this section.
- ²⁴¹ Major George 'Eschearge' of Westmoreland County, Colonel Nicholas Smith of King George's County, Colonel Alexander McKenzie Esq. of Elizabeth City County and Thomas Neilson Esq. of York County; *Burgesses and Guild Brethren of Ayr*, p.121, 25 Mar. 1729.
- ²⁴² Strawhorn, *History of Ayr*, p.95.
- ²⁴³ A.L. Taylor, 'The Braw New Coat' in *AANHS Collections Series ii*, VI, pp.193-194.
- ²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.93, 112-113 and 116. (Portrait on p.92.)
- ²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.115.

Charts

Chart 1: John Chalmers, David Ferguson, and families



Key to all charts

- * Member of the *Unity/James* partnership
 - † Member of the Scots Charitable Society of Boston, Massachusetts
 - ‡ Otherwise involved in transatlantic trade, including owners of the *Unicorn* and their partners, 1661.
 - = married
- Siblings are not necessarily arranged in order of birth, and only those relevant to this study are shown.

Chart 2: John Ferguson and family

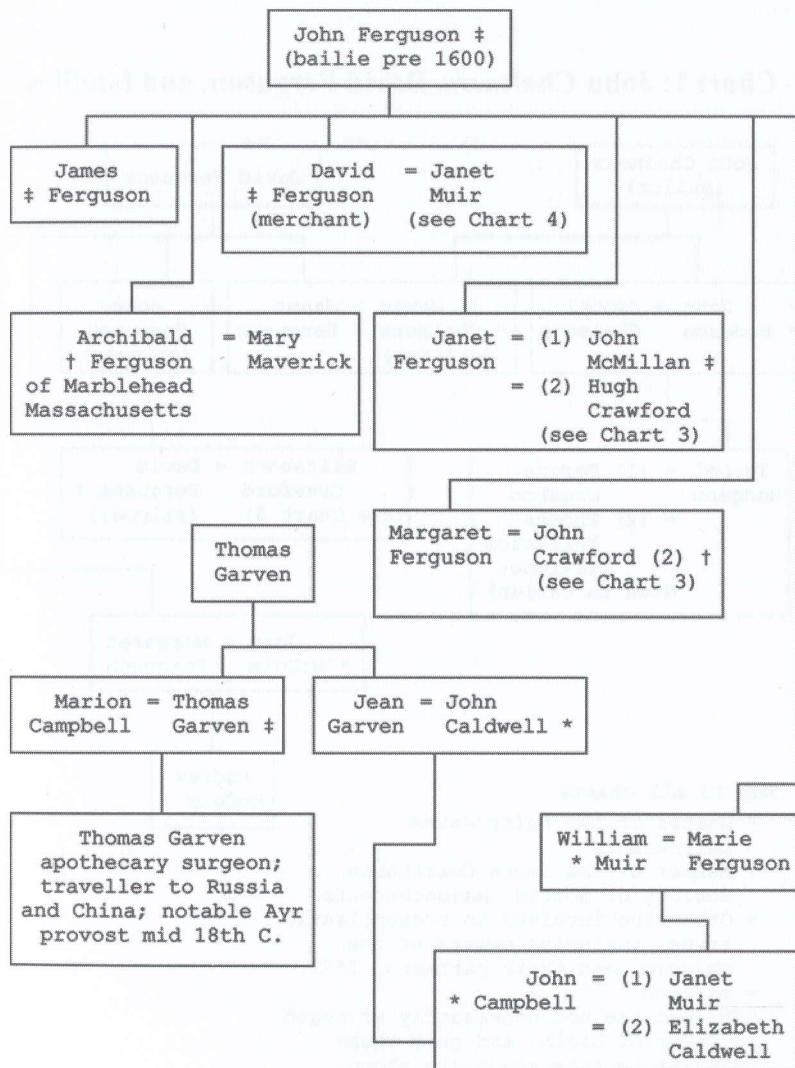


Chart 3: John Crawford and family

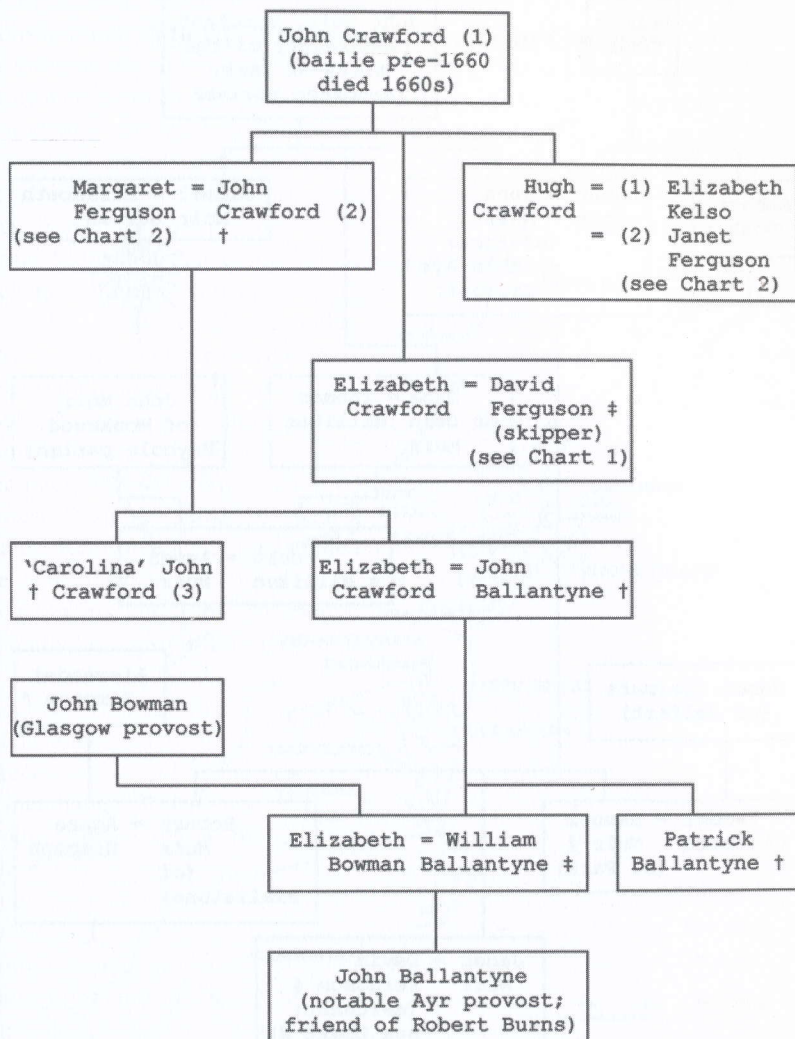
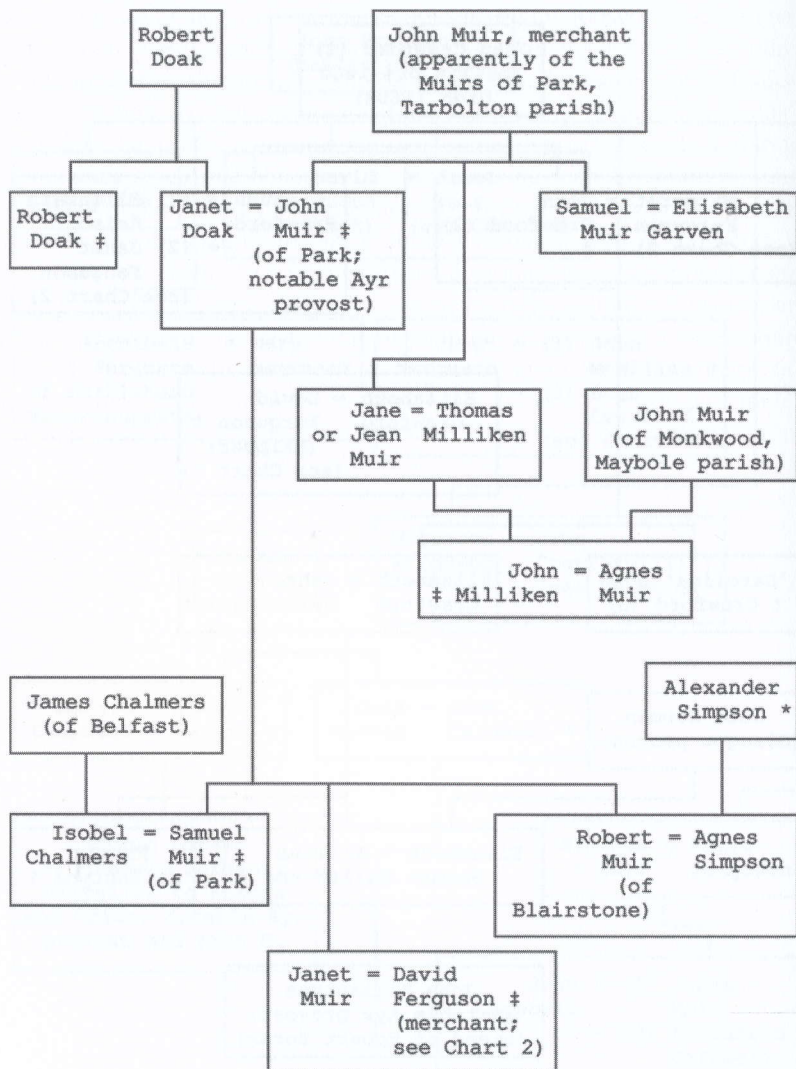
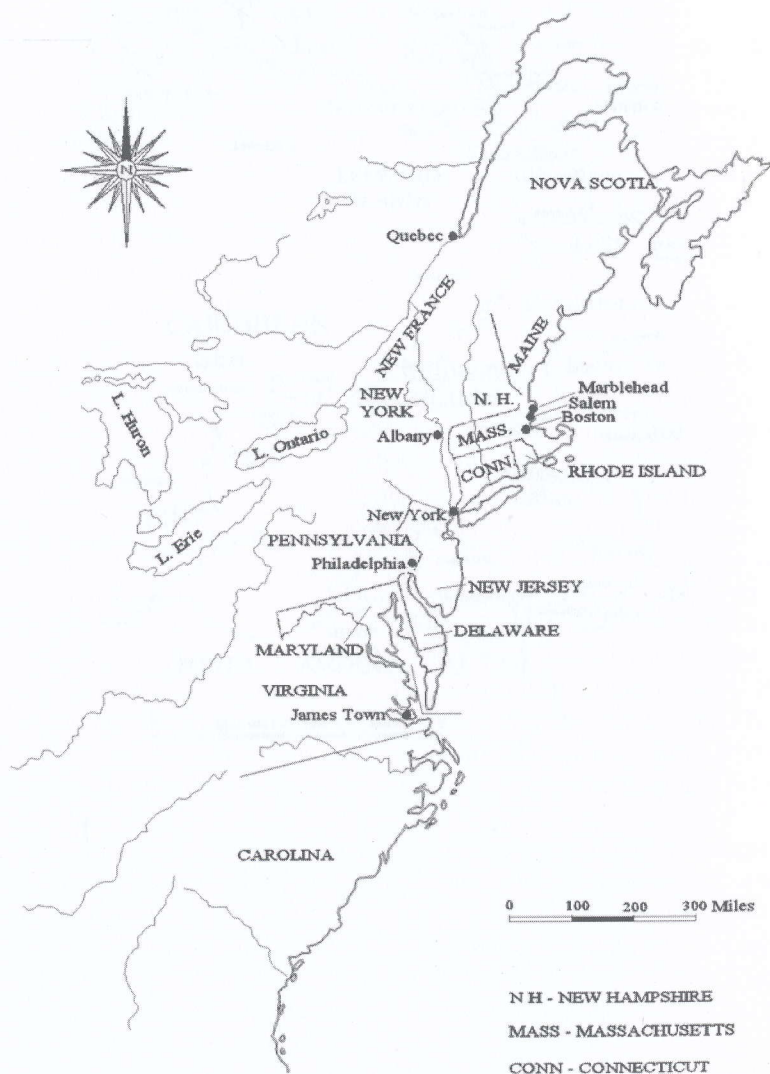


Chart 4: Robert Doak, John Muir, and families

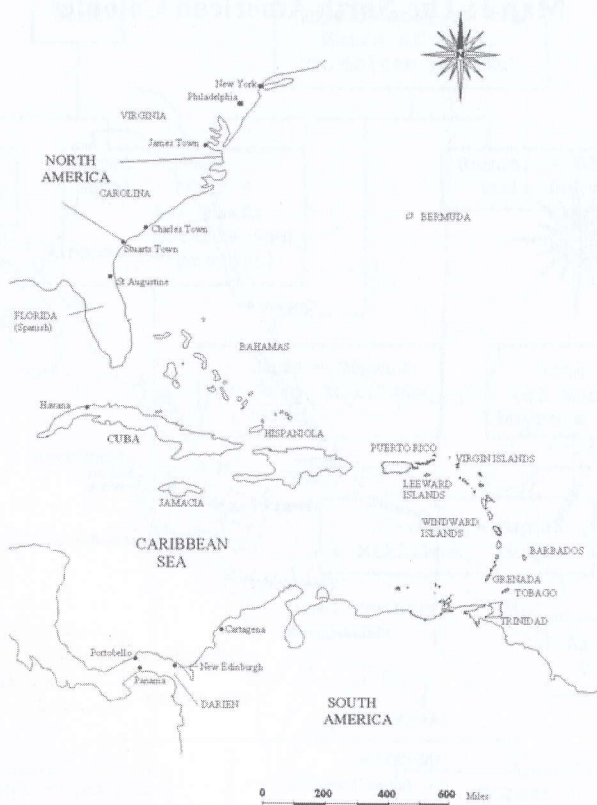


Maps

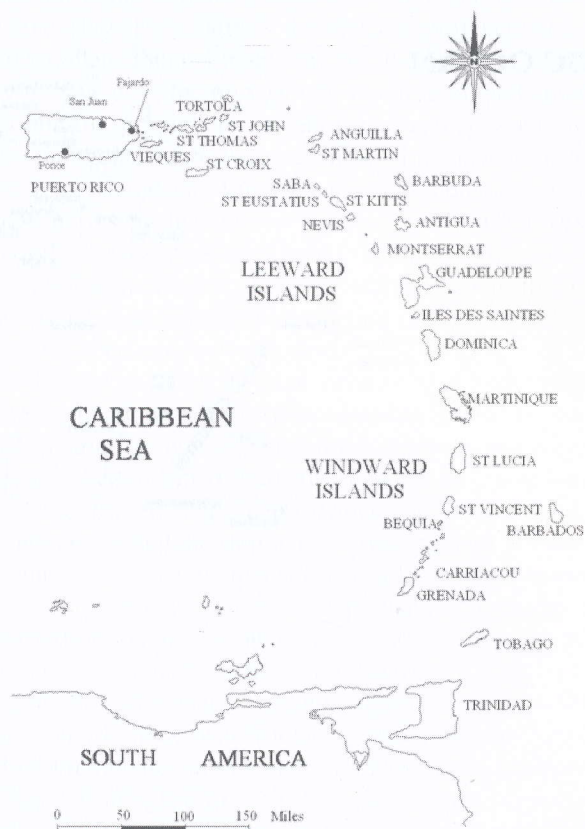
Map 1: The North American Colonies

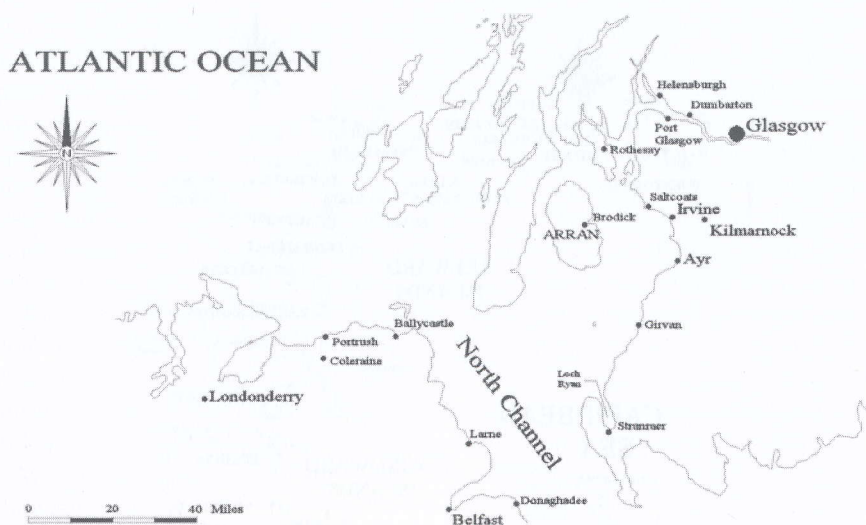


Map 2: The West Indies



Map 3: The Lesser Antilles



Map 4: The Firth of Clyde

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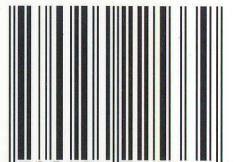
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