

Frederick Douglass: Speaking Engagements and Individual / Family Contacts - Scotland 1846

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My starting point in compiling this list was the 'Partial Speaking Itinerary, 1839-46' (FDP 1:1, lxxxvi-cii) but I express doubt about the date, venue or existence of some of the meetings listed there, as well as adding others FDP does not mention.

Meetings rendered in **red** denote those which (almost certainly) did not take place or at which FD did not speak. Those with no supporting information in the notes are listed in FDP but I have not yet found confirmation in contemporary sources that they took place. I would prefer at least two independent references in contemporary letters or newspapers. Dates rendered in **blue** are approximate.

Dates of meetings rendered **bold** are those for which reports have been found and will be transcribed for the website.

In the FDP column, 'FDP' indicates that FD's speech reproduced in the Frederick Douglass Papers Series 1, Volume 1; '(FDP)' indicates that FD's speech was not reproduced in that volume, but was included in the 'partial speaking itinerary.'

Abbreviations

FDP 1:1	<i>Frederick Douglass Papers Series One: Speeches, Debates and Interviews. Volume 1: 1841-46</i> , edited by John W Blassingame. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979.
FDP 3:1	<i>Frederick Douglass Papers Series Three: Correspondence. Volume 1: 1842-1852</i> , edited by John R. McKivigan. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.
Foner 5	<i>The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass, Vol 5: Supplementary Volume, 1844-1860</i> , edited by Philip Foner. New York: International Publishers, 1965.
WLG Letters 3	<i>The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison. Volume 3: No Union with Slave-Holders</i> , edited by Walter M. Merrill. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1973.
Lib	Liberator newspaper, published in Boston
FD	Frederick Douglass
JB	James Buffum
HCW	Henry Clarke Wright
GT	George Thompson
WLG	William Lloyd Garrison
JR	James Robertson
MWC	Maria Weston Chapman
BPL	Boston Public Library, Anti-Slavery Collection
Smeal Collection	Smeal Collection, Mitchell Library, Glasgow; microfilms. Reel 1 has (handwritten) minute books of Glasgow Emancipation Society; Reel 2 has its (printed) annual reports.

Taylor	<i>British and American Abolitionists: An Episode in Transatlantic Understanding</i> , ed. Clare Taylor (Edinburgh University Press 1974)
Midgeley	Clare Midgeley, <i>Women Against Slavery: The British Campaigns, 1780-1870</i> (London: 1992)
Whyte	Iain Whyte, <i>'Send Back the Money': The Free Church of Scotland and American Slavery</i> (Cambridge: James Clarke, 2012)
Edinburgh PO	<i>Post-Office Edinburgh and Leith Directory 1846-7</i> (Edinburgh: Balantyne and Hughes, 1846)
Glasgow PO	<i>The Post-Office Annual Glasgow Directory for 1845-46</i> (Glasgow: Edward Khull, 1845)
Dundee PO	<i>The Dundee Post Office Directory for 1845</i> (Dundee: Advertiser, 1845)
Greenock PO	<i>Hutcheson's Greenock Register, Directory and General Advertiser for 1845-46</i> (Greenock: Scott & Mackenzie, 1845)
Angus PO	<i>The Angus and Mearns Directory for 1846</i> (Montrose: James Watt, [1846?])
'FD in Greenock'	Colin MacDonald, 'Frederick Douglass in Greenock', https://sonofskye.wordpress.com/2017/02/14/frederick-douglass-in-greenock/

Tour 1: 10 Jan to 17 May

Date	Town	Venue	Speakers	FDP	Notes
Arrives evening of Sat 10 Jan Glasgow from Belfast with JB					JB to WLG, Bowling Bay, 14 Apr (repr Lib 15 May)
Sat 10 Jan 1846	Glasgow			(FDP)	Unlikely; possibly a slip for 12 Jan when FD and JB attended committee meeting of GES but no evidence they formally addressed that meeting (Smeal Collection)
Thu 15 Jan 1846	Glasgow	City Hall	FD JB	FDP	Report in Glasgow Argus 22 Jan; brief reports in Glasgow Examiner, 17 Jan; and even briefer one in Witness [Sat] 24 Jan that refers to a meeting ‘on Thursday evening’ which suggests 22 Jan but the description seems to match the 15 Jan meeting (ditto brief items in Scotsman 24 Jan & Greenock Advertiser 23 Jan & Belfast Commercial Chronicle 28 Jan & Edinburgh Evening Post 28 Jan re a meeting ‘on Thursday evening’).
(Fri 16 Jan 1846)	Glasgow	(City Hall)	(FD, JB)		Evidence that a second Glasgow meeting was planned, and some evidence that a second took place, but tantalizingly slight. FD to James Standfield (repr Belfast Chronicle, 4 Feb) speaks of the Argus ‘containing an excellent report of two great meetings in that city’. The Argus (22 Jan) covers only 15 Jan meeting but does end: ‘The meeting then adjourned at a quarter past ten o’clock till next evening’, suggesting that maybe there was a continuation on 16 Jan. And the minutes of GES committee meeting on 12 Jan (Smeal Collection) do indicate a desire to hold ‘another meeting in the City Hall here, or elsewhere, as circumstances may answer, on Friday evening next.’ Furthermore the Glasgow Examiner on 17 Jan refers to the 15 Jan meeting as ‘the first of a series of meetings’, again suggesting another. The Northern Whig (29 Jan) talks of FD ‘giving lectures [plural], on the subject of slavery, to large and respectable audiences, in the City Hall, Glasgow.’ Puzzling.
FD travels to Perth probably Mon 19 or Tue 20 Jan. It is an eight-hour journey					FD writes to RW from Perth on 20 January (FDP 3.1). FD letter to

by coach.					James Standfield, Dundee (date not given but after second meeting in Dundee on 28 Jan and before third on 29 Jan) says 'I left Glasgow about ten days ago' (repr Belfast Commercial Chronicle, 4 Feb). Minutes of GES committee meeting 12 Jan (Smeal Collection) indicate that the plan was for FD and JB to go to Perth on the 19 th .
Fri 23 Jan 1846	Perth	City Hall	FD JB HCW	(FDP)	Reports in Perthshire Constitutional 28 Jan (repr. Lib 27 Feb); Perthshire Advertiser, 29 Jan.
Jan 1846	Perth	venues not known	FD JB HCW		HCW refers to meeting of 26 Jan as the fourth meeting they have held in Perth: HCW to WLG, Perth, 26 Jan (repr. Lib 27 Feb) which suggests there were two meetings between 23 and 26 Jan (probably both on 24 Jan), although could have been prior to 23 Jan also. No notices for, or reports of, these meetings found. FD letter to James Standfield, Dundee, 29 Jan, refers to 'five meetings in Perth' (repr Belfast Commercial Chronicle, 4 Feb)
Mon 26 Jan 1846	Perth	City Hall	FD JB HCW	(FDP)	Reports in Perthshire Constitutional 28 Jan (repr. Lib 27 Feb); Perthshire Advertiser, 29 Jan. The report in the Perthshire Courier, 29 Jan covers 'several lectures' delivered 'during the last two days ... in the City Hall and other meeting-houses'.
Tue 27 Jan 1846	Dundee	School Wynd Chapel	FD JB	(FDP)	Composite reports in Dundee Perth & Cupar Advertiser 30 Jan; Northern Warder 29 Jan.
Wed 28 Jan 1846	Dundee	School Wynd Chapel	FD JB	(FDP)	
Thu 29 Jan 1846	Dundee	School Wynd Chapel	FD JB		Alluded to in Dundee Courier report of 30 Jan meeting as the fourth of four, but no report of this meeting found so far.
Fri 30 Jan 1846	Dundee	Bell Street Chapel	FD JB HCW	FDP	Reports in Dundee Courier 3 Feb; Dundee Perth & Cupar Advertiser 3 Feb; Northern Warder 5 Feb.
FD returned to Glasgow; though no evidence of speaking engagements. Possibly to make arrangements for second Dublin edition, including having his portrait in Boston edition engraved by J Swan of Glasgow for insertion in this new edition.					FD's preface to the second Dublin edition of his Narrative, is signed 'Glasgow, Feb. 6 th , 1846.'
Mon 9 Feb 1846	Dundee	McGavin's Chapel,	FD JB	(FDP)	Reports in Dundee Courier 10 Feb; Dundee Perth & Cupar

		Tay Square			Advertiser 10 Feb; Montrose, Arbroath & Brechin Review, 13 Feb (abridged from Dundee Courier).
Tue 10 Feb 1846	Arbroath	Trades' Hall	FD JB	(FDP)	Report in Arbroath Guide 14 Feb (repr. Lib 27 Mar); also Northern Warder 12 Feb. Announced in Arbroath Guide 7 Feb.
Wed 11 Feb 1846	Arbroath	Abbey Church	FD JB	(FDP)	Referred to briefly in Arbroath Guide 14 Feb (repr. Lib 27 Mar)
Thu 12 Feb 1846	Arbroath	Abbey Church	FD JB	FDP	Report in Arbroath Guide 14 Feb (repr. Lib 27 Mar)
Tue 17 Feb 1846	Glasgow	City Hall	JB, HCW		Glasgow Anti-War Society, public meeting. Report in Glasgow Argus, 26 Feb. FD not on the platform.
Wed 18 Feb 1846	Glasgow	Assembly Rooms	FD		'Ladies Meeting', 1pm (Notice in Glasgow Herald, 16 Feb; Glasgow Argus, 16 Feb)
Wed 18 Feb 1846	Glasgow	City Hall	FD JB	FDP	Scottish Temperance League Tea Party. Glasgow Saturday Post 21 Feb; Glasgow Examiner, 21 Feb. Also brief account in Glasgow Herald, 20 Feb. Poss also Glasgow Citizen, 21 Feb (not examined). Chartist Henry Vincent also addressed the meeting. Notice in Glasgow Saturday Post (14 Feb) says 'A SPECIAL TRAIN has been engaged for the occasion by the friends in Paisley' which would leave Glasgow at midnight.
Thu 19 Feb 1846	Glasgow	United Secession Church	FD	(FDP)	I think these three meetings were postulated by FDP on the basis of a misreading of the notice in the Glasgow Argus 16 Mar, missing that it was a reprint from the Montrose Standard, and that the date at the end of the report ('Glasgow 27 February') referred to the date of a GES meeting not the public meetings mentioned at the beginning (hence 'In the latter half of last week' leads it to conclude the meetings in question took place on 19-21 Feb).
Fri 20 Feb 1846	Glasgow	United Secession Church	FD	(FDP)	
Sat 21 Feb 1846	Glasgow	United Secession Church	FD	(FDP)	
Thu 26 Feb 1846	Montrose	Mr Hyslop's Chapel, Market Street	FD JB		'For three successive nights last week' [ie Sun 22 to Sat 28 Feb] FD and JB 'addressed large and respectable audiences' (Montrose, Arbroath and Brechin Review, 6 Mar). As 'Saturday evening' is specifically mentioned, it is likely they took place on 26-28 Feb. Thu 26 meeting ('last night') reported in Montrose Standard, 27 Feb (specifying Hyslop's Chapel as the venue). All three meetings
Fri 27 Feb 1846	Montrose	Mr Hyslop's Chapel, Market Street	FD JB		
Sat 28 Feb 1846	Montrose	Thistle Hall	FD JB		

					briefly reported together in Montrose Standard 6 Mar (repr Glasgow Argus 16 Mar) (specifying Thistle Hall as third venue; and simply ‘United Secession Church’ as the first and second) and Montrose, Arbroath and Brechin Review, 6 Mar. According to Mearns PO (p180) there were two United Secession congregations in Montrose, that of Andrew Wilson at Mill Street and that of Henry Hyslop at Market Street.
Mon 2 Mar 1846	Aberdeen	Bon Accord Music Hall, George St	FD JB		Brief report in Aberdeen Journal, 11 Mar and Aberdeen Herald 7 Mar, referring to an unspecified number of meetings that week in the ‘Music Hall, George St’ and ‘Assembly Rooms’ as venues.
Fri 6 Mar 1846	Aberdeen	Assembly Rooms, Union Street	FD JB		FD writes from Aberdeen on 2 March: ‘My first meeting in this place will take place this evening. We shall probably hold three here – and from here return to Montrose, hold one more meeting there ...’ (FD to RW, 2 March, BPL). The ‘we’ suggests JB was also on the platform. I think we can say that the 2 Mar meeting was at the Music Hall (given that the Aberdeen Herald specifies the Assembly Rooms as the venue for the Friday meeting). A notice in Aberdeen Herald of 22 Nov 1845 publicises an event at the ‘Bon-Accord Music Hall (formerly the Temperance Hall) in George St’ (and another notice the previous week specifies the address as 206 George Street). The hall was built around 1841. Not to be confused with the later ‘Bon-Accord Music Hall’ on St Nicholas Lane, which opened in 1888. If there were three meetings the exact date and venue of the third is not known, but probably one or the other on 3, 4 or 5 Mar.
Mon 9 Mar 1846	Montrose	Mr Hyslop’s Chapel, Market Street	FD JB	(FDP)	Brief report in Montrose Standard, 13 Mar (repr. Lib 24 Apr).
Tue 10 Mar 1846	Dundee	George’s Chapel (George Gilfillan)	FD JB	FDP	<i>Anti-Slavery Soiree</i> (Dundee: 1846) (abridged version in Dundee Courier, 17 Mar). Shorter report in Northern Warder, 12 Mar. Held ‘in honour’ of FD, HCW and JB, though HCW does not appear to address the meeting.
Thu 12 Mar 1846	Perth		FD		‘A meeting of <i>ladies</i> ’ (afternoon) Advertisement in Perthshire

					Advertiser 12 Feb (Previously advertised for 11 Feb in Perthshire Advertiser 5 Mar)
Thu 12 Mar 1846	Perth	City Hall	FD JB		'Anti-Slavery Soiree'. Reports in Perthshire Constitutional (18 and 25 Mar); Perthshire Advertiser, 19 Mar; and Northern Warder 19 Mar. Advertisement in Perthshire Constitutional 11 Mar and brief advance mention in Perthshire Constitutional 4 Mar.
FD probably in Glasgow on 14 Mar; may not have addressed meetings, however					FD to RW 2 March (BPL) says 'I shall be in Glasgow on the fourteenth and shall remain there and in its vicinity several days', urging RW to send more copies of the Narrative there.
Tue 17 Mar 1846	Paisley	Secession Church, Abbey Close (William Nisbet)	FD JB	FDP	Report in Renfrewshire Advertiser, 28 Mar
Wed 18 Mar 1846	Paisley	Secession Church, Abbey Close (William Nisbet)	FD JB	(FDP)	FDP posits this on the basis of the Glasgow Saturday Post referring to meetings on 'Wednesday, Thursday and Friday this week' (21 Mar) but as the Renfrewshire Advertiser of 28 Mar reports meetings on Tue, Thu and Fri, this might be slip for 'Tuesday, Thursday and Friday'. That there were only three meetings that week appears to be confirmed by FD who refers to his appearance on 25 April as his seventh in Paisley.
Thu 19 Mar 1846	Paisley	Secession Church, Abbey Close (William Nisbet)	FD JB	FDP	Report in Renfrewshire Advertiser, 28 Mar
Fri 20 Mar 1846	Paisley	Secession Church, Abbey Close (William Nisbet)	FD JB	FDP	Report in Renfrewshire Advertiser, 28 Mar; also a composite report of Wed-Fri meetings in Glasgow Saturday Post 21 Mar (but the days of meetings may be a slip for Tue, Thu and Fri)
Mon 23 Mar 1846	Ayr	Relief Church (Robert Renwick)	FD JB	(FDP)	Report in Ayr Advertiser, 26 Mar
Tue 24 Mar 1846	Ayr	Relief Church (Robert Renwick)	FD JB	FDP	Report in Ayr Advertiser, 26 Mar; Ayr Observer, 31 Mar
Wed 25 Mar	Kilmarnock	George Inn Hall	FD JB	(FDP)	Venue not identified in FDP. Report of all three meetings in

1846					Kilmarnock that week in Ayr Advertiser, 2 Apr; and of first two in Ayr Observer, 31 Mar. The Kilmarnock Herald covered the first two on 27 Mar and the third on 3 Apr. But all brief reports.
Thu 26 Mar 1846	Kilmarnock	Clerk's Lane Chapel (James Morison)			Report of all three meetings in Kilmarnock that week in Ayr Advertiser, 2 Apr; and of first two in Ayr Observer, 31 Mar (which mistakenly identifies the Thursday venue as the Low Church). The Kilmarnock Herald covered the first two on 27 Mar and the third on 3 Apr. But all brief reports
Thu 26 Mar 1846	Paisley		FD	(FDP)	Is not reported in Renfrewshire Advertiser of 28 Mar or 4 Apr or in Glasgow Saturday Post; apart from the listing in FDP I can find no evidence for this meeting. That it did not take place appears to be confirmed by FD who refers to his appearance on 25 April as his seventh in Paisley. And that there are several reports of his speaking in Kilmarnock 25-27 March.
Fri 27 Mar 1846	Greenock		FD	(FDP)	This did not take place, indicated by the fact that there are several reports of his speaking in Kilmarnock 25-27 March.
Fri 27 Mar 1846	Kilmarnock	Low Church	FD JB		Report of all three meetings in Kilmarnock that week in Ayr Advertiser, 2 Apr; and of first two in Ayr Observer, 31 Mar. The Kilmarnock Herald covered the first two on 27 Mar and the third on 3 Apr. But all brief reports
FD evidently stayed in Kilmarnock over the weekend.					FD writes at least two letters there on 29 Mar (FD to RW and FD to MWC, both in FDP 3:1). So he didn't return to Paisley until Sun 29 or Mon 30 Mar.
Mon 30 Mar 1846	Paisley	Secession Church, Abbey Close (William Nisbet)	FD JB	FDP	Temperance Meeting. Report in Renfrewshire Advertiser, 4 Apr; Glasgow Saturday Post, 4 Apr.
Tue 31 Mar 1846	Bonhill	Relief Church (John Robertson Swan)	FD JB	(FDP)	JB writes: 'I am writing this at the house of our excellent friend John Murray, who is to go to-night with us to a meeting at Bonhill' (JB to WLG, 31 Mar, Bowling Bay, repr Lib 1 May). The meeting almost certainly took place: FD subsequently quoted a letter dated 1 April in the Scottish Guardian from someone who heard him speak

				<p>there the previous evening. It was probably the first of several meetings in the area, dates and venues unknown: ‘We have now commenced a series of meetings in the Vale of Leven, the place from which, as you will recollect, we had that thrilling remonstrance against our slave system in 1837, which, when it was unrolled in our annual meeting, caused such a thrill of joy to pass through all present. The people are still the same warm-hearted friends of the cause they were in 1837. They will again remonstrate in more earnest tones’ (JB to WLG, Bowling Bay 31 Mar, repr. Lib 1 May). (GT in Glasgow 13 March 1837 commended the 4200 people of Dumbarton who signed a remonstrance against American slavery, Lib 5 May 1837 from the pre-chartist paper <i>New Liberator</i>, 15 March) (the ‘celebrated’ remonstrance was presented to the 4th annual meeting of the AASS at the Tabernacle, NYC by Elizur Wright; it ‘was unrolled and extended up and down the orchestra, disclosing upwards of 4,000 original signatures.’) (Thomas Price, <i>Slavery in America, with Notices of the Present State of Slavery and the Slave Trade throughout the World</i>, London: G. Wightman, 1837), p316.) At a speech in Belfast on 16 Jun, FD refers to having spoken in ‘Helensburgh and Dumbarton’ among other towns in Scotland (Belfast News-Letter, 19 Jun). A Helensburgh meeting took place shortly after 10 Apr, but it is possible he spoke there (and in Dumbarton) the same week as Bonhill; And in Paisley on 6 Apr he refers explicitly to having recently spoken in Duntocher (Renfrewshire Advertiser 11 Apr).</p>
1-14 Apr 1846	Hawick, Galashiels, Coldstream, Kelso		FD	(FDP) No evidence that FD visited the Borders at this time, although HCW made numerous speeches there during this time. ‘I have now been in the borders six weeks, have delivered thirty lectures ... and left a storm behind me in every town. To-day I go to Jedburgh - on Saturday, 18th, to Glasgow’ (HCW to WLG, Selkirk, 15 Apr; repr. Lib, 8 May). Neither local newspapers nor HCW’s letters make ref to FD as a speaker on any of these occasions.
Fri 3 Apr 1846	Kilmarnock	Clerk’s Lane Chapel	FD JB	Anti-Slavery Soiree in honour of FD and JB ‘who have been

		(James Morison)			lecturing there... Rev Mr Morrison occupied the chair.' Brief report in Ayr Advertiser, 9 April.
Sat 4 Apr 1846	Fenwick	Secession Church (William Orr)	FD	(FDP)	FDP identifies venue as simply 'Kilmarnock'. Brief report in Kilmarnock Herald, 10 Apr. ('His address was short, on account of the exhaustion of his body from speaking every night for some time previously'). Also recorded by James Taylor in a diary entry dated 5 Apr: 'Mr Frederick Douglass, once an American slave, addressed a public meeting of the inhabitants of Fenwick in the Secession meeting house, on the subject of "American Slavery."' James Taylor, <i>The Annals of Fenwick</i> , ed. Tom Dunnachie Taylor (Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 1970), 70.
Mon 6 Apr 1846	Paisley	Secession Church, Abbey Close (William Nisbet)	FD JB	FDP	Report in Renfrewshire Advertiser, 11 Apr
Fri 10 Apr 1846	Greenock	West Blackhall Street Chapel	FD JB		Notice of meeting that day in in Greenock Advertiser, 10 Apr. No newspaper report of the meeting has come to light, but JB refers to this meeting in Paisley on 17 Apr. He said 'the minister of the church where their former meeting was held refused to give it. He supposed that in consequence of this they would have to go back to Glasgow. They had, however, got the established church. It was magnanimously given without any charge.' West Blackhall Street Chapel was a Church of Scotland parish church (later known as North Church) built in 1823. Which church they formerly spoke at (and when) – and which was their original venue for this 10 Apr meeting – we do not know.
Sat 11 Apr 1846	Helensburgh				After referring to the meeting in Greenock in his speech in Paisley on 17 Apr, JB said 'they next went to Helensburgh' and briefly described the meeting there, but with no more details of date or venue, possibly Sat 11 or early the following week. No further details of this meeting have come to light.
Wed 15 Apr 1846	Glasgow		FD	(FDP)	No confirmation of meetings found so far, but FD writes letters from

Thu 16 Apr 1846	Glasgow		FD	(FDP)	Glasgow on 15 Apr (to Horace Greeley), 16 Apr (to WLG) (FDP 3:1)
Fri 17 Apr 1846	Paisley	Exchange Rooms	FD JB	FDP	Report in Renfrewshire Advertiser, 25 Apr
Tue 21 Apr 1846	Glasgow	City Hall	FD JB HCW GT	FDP	<i>Free Church Alliance with Manstealers</i> (Glasgow: 1846), pp7-43.
Thu 23 Apr 1846	Glasgow	Assembly Rooms	FD JB HCW GT		Glasgow Ladies Emancipation Society. Afternoon? Brief report in <i>Free Church Alliance with Manstealers</i> (Glasgow: 1846), p44.
Thu 23 Apr 1846	Glasgow	City Hall	FD JB HCW GT	(FDP)	Great Anti-War Meeting. Report in Lib, 5 Jun (but only reproduces GT's speech) Report in Glasgow Argus 30 Apr implies that FD did not speak at length and merely proposed a resolution (if 'in an eloquent address' which is not given) (the main speaker was GT).
Sat 25 Apr 1846	Paisley	West Relief Church, Canal Stret & Secession Church, Abbey Close (two meetings)	FD HCW JB GT		Report in Renfrewshire Advertiser 2 May in which FD refers to it as his seventh lecture in Paisley. Letter FD to RW, probably started on 25 Apr says 'We [ie FD and GT at least] go to night to Paisley. A tremendous gathering is expected' (FDP 3:1) and the misdated letter ('Glasgow, 28 April') from FD to Edward Quincy that refers to his going to Edinburgh the next day, and therefore written on Sun 26 Apr, talks of GT speaking the night before in Paisley. (Previously advertised – in Renfrewshire Advertiser of 25 Apr – as scheduled to take place at the High Church that afternoon).
Sun 26 Apr 1846	Paisley		FD	(FDP)	Sunday meeting unlikely. This may be a slip for Sat 25 (not listed in FDP).
FD, JB and GT arrived Edinburgh evening of Mon 27 Apr. HCW joins them the following day, having secured venues on a visit the previous week.					<i>Free Church Alliance with Manstealers</i> (Glasgow: 1846), p45.
Mon 27 Apr 1846	Edinburgh		FD	(FDP)	This seems unlikely as the abolitionists only arrived in Edinburgh that evening and there is no reference to a meeting on this date in the <i>Free Church Alliance with Manstealers</i> pamphlet which claims to 'give a sketch of the Meetings held between the 27th April and the 2d of May' (p45)
Tue 28 Apr 1846	Edinburgh	McGilchrist's Church,	FD JB GT	(FDP)	Report in <i>Free Church Alliance with Manstealers</i> (Glasgow: 1846),

		Rose Street	HCW		pp46-51; also brief report in Scotsman 29 Apr, repr with minor variations Caledonian Mercury, 30 Apr; Edinburgh Evening Post, 2 May.
Wed 29 Apr 1846	Edinburgh	McGilchrist's Church, Rose Street	FD HCW GT		'Ladies' Meeting'. Afternoon? Brief report in <i>Free Church Alliance with Manstealers</i> (Glasgow: 1846), pp51-2.
Wed 29 Apr 1846	Edinburgh	College Street Church	JB GT		Report in <i>Free Church Alliance with Manstealers</i> (Glasgow: 1846), pp52-4; also Edinburgh Evening Post, 2 May; neither mention FD so he probably did not speak.
Thu 30 Apr 1846	Edinburgh	College Street Church	HCW GT		Report in <i>Free Church Alliance with Manstealers</i> (Glasgow: 1846), pp54-5; also Scotsman 2 May and Edinburgh Evening Post, 2 May (the latter very brief) neither mention FD so he probably did not speak.
Fri 1 May 1846	Edinburgh	Waterloo Rooms	FD GT		'Public Breakfast', 8.30am (Notice, Scotsman 29 Apr – 'in honour of' GT, JB, FD and HCW); followed by 'Meeting of the Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society' (afternoon). Brief report in <i>Free Church Alliance with Manstealers</i> (Glasgow: 1846), pp55-7.
Fri 1 May 1846	Edinburgh	Music Hall	FD JB HCW GT	FDP	Report in <i>Free Church Alliance with Manstealers</i> (Glasgow: 1846), pp57-8; fuller report in Edinburgh Evening Post 6 May (repr Caledonian Mercury, 7 May); also brief report Scotsman, 6 May.
Sat 2 May 1846	Edinburgh		FD	(FDP)	
Thu 7 May 1846	Edinburgh	McGilchrist's Church, Rose Street	FD JB	(FDP)	Brief report in Edinburgh Evening Post, 9 May and almost identically in Scotsman 9 May; fuller account in Caledonian Mercury, 11 May.
Fri 8 May 1846	Edinburgh	Broughton Place Church	FD		United Associate Synod. (Official proceedings carried in <i>United Secession Magazine</i> , June 1846). FD attended the church for this, the fifth day of the 'half-yearly meeting of this reverend court' (its evening sitting debated overtures condemnatory of the Free Church 'accepting money from the slave states' and approved a motion to 'withhold Christian fellowship from the Presbyterian Church of America while they continue in that system'). However: 'A proposal

					to allow Mr Frederick Douglass, a fugitive slave, then in the church, to be heard in returning thanks for the decision of the Synod, was rejected' (Aberdeen Journal 13 May; but reported in many other Scottish newspapers). The report in the Greenock Advertiser has additional details, including reference to an earlier proposal to invite 'a black, at present in the town' (shouted down) and FD's subsequent entrance in company with Dr Ritchie, to applause by the audience in the gallery (Greenock Advertiser 12 May).
FD leaves Edinburgh for London on Sun 17 or Mon 18 May to attend the anniversary meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.					FD to WLG, London, 23 May (FDP 3:1, 127). Probably a last-minute decision, as FD had scheduled meetings in Scotland on 19, 20 and 22 May (see below)
Tue 19 May 1846	Kirkcaldy	Bethelfield Chapel	JB		Report in Fife Herald. JB 'apologised for the absence of Mr Douglass'
Wed 20 May 1846	Edinburgh	Music Hall	JB HCW		Report in Edinburgh Evening Post 23 May. A 'letter of apology ... was read from Mr Thompson, stating that he and Mr Douglass were detained in London, but that they would here next week...'
Fri 22 May 1846	Edinburgh	Music Hall	JB HCW		Report in Caledonian Mercury 24 May; Edinburgh Evening Post 27 May.

Tour 2: 23 or 24 May to early June

Date	Town	Venue	Speakers	FDP	Notes
Arrives Edinburgh from London on 23 or 24 May.					Last engagement in London was on the evening of 22 May. FD writes to WLG from the house of GT in London on 23 May (FDP 3:1). Probably travelled on Sat 23 (or Sun 24) by train to Newcastle and then coach.
Sun 24 May 1846	Edinburgh			(FDP)	Sunday meeting not likely. Possibly a slip for 25 May.
Mon 25 May	Edinburgh	Music Hall	FD GT		Two reports in Edinburgh Evening Post, 30 May; brief report in

1846					Scotsman 27 May.
Wed 27 May 1846	Edinburgh	Music Hall	FD GT	(FDP)	Report in Edinburgh Evening Post, 3 Jun; report in Caledonian Mercury 28 May (covering 25 and 27 May meetings); report Scotsman 30 May.
Thu 28 May 1846	Leith		FD GT		Report in Edinburgh Evening Post, 30 May
Fri 29 May 1846	Edinburgh	Music Hall	HCW GT		Report in Scotsman 30 May
Sat 30 May FD, GT, JB and HCW attend (as observers) the Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland at Canonmills, Edinburgh					Refs to their presence in Glasgow Herald, 1 Jun; Caledonian Mercury, 4 Jun; Perthshire Advertiser, 4 Jun.
Mon 1 Jun 1846	Kirkcaldy	Bethelfield Chapel	FD JB	(FDP)	Brief report in Fife Herald, 4 Jun. Kirkcaldy had to wait a while to see Douglass. Already in April, the Fife Herald (23 Apr) was reporting that ‘a movement is going on here at present to get Messrs Douglass and Buffum ... to visit Kirkcaldy.’ (on 30 Apr the paper reported that a similar ‘movement is in progress to secure a visit to Cupar’). And when a visit was finally confirmed (19 May), only JB showed up, FD having been called to London.
Tue 2 Jun 1846	Edinburgh	Music Hall	FD JB GT HCW	(FDP)	Report in Scotsman, 3 June; Edinburgh Evening Post, 6 Jun; also Caledonian Mercury, 4 Jun
Wed 3 Jun 1846	Edinburgh	Music Hall	FD GT HCW	(FDP)	No reports found
Thu 4 Jun 1846	Edinburgh	Music Hall	FD GT HCW	FDP	Reports in Edinburgh Evening Post, 10 Jun; Caledonian Mercury, 8 Jun; Edinburgh Advertiser, 9 Jun; Scotsman 6 Jun
Sat 6 Jun Edinburgh Town Council confers freedom of the city on GT; FD and JB attend the ceremony at the Council Chamber.					Report of event and preceding debate in town council in Caledonian Mercury, 4 & 8 Jun; Scotsman 3 Jun.
Tue 9 Jun 1846	Edinburgh	Music Hall	FD JB GT HCW	(FDP)	Reports in Witness, 8 Jun; Caledonian Mercury 11 Jun; Edinburgh Evening Post, 13 Jun. Caledonian Mercury refers to it as a ‘fruit soiree’ marking the departure of the speakers ‘to prosecute elsewhere’, but perhaps esp for JB who was to sail from Liverpool on 4 Jul (GT to WLG, Edinburgh 1 Jun, repr. Lib, 26 Jun)
Wed 10 Jun 1846	Glasgow	City Hall	GT HCW		Notice in Glasgow Herald, 8 Jun; brief report in Glasgow Herald, 12

					Jun. No mention of FD.
<p>After Edinburgh 9 Jun, FD's next known engagement was in Belfast on 16 June. And then in England (Birmingham, Worcester, Manchester) at the end of June / beginning July, seeing JB off at Liverpool on 4 July, then sailing back to Belfast.</p>					<p>FD 'has returned to Belfast after his anti-slavery agitation tour in Scotland' (Belfast News-Letter, 16 Jun). Report in Belfast News-Letter (19 Jun) has FD summarising his activities in Scotland since early Jan, with list of towns spoken at: two meetings in Glasgow then 'Perth, Dundee, Arbroath, Montrose, Aberdeen, Paisley, Kelso, Ayr, Greenock, Helensburgh, and Dumbarton, in succession.'</p>

Tour 3: late July

<p>FD was in Belfast (sailing there from Liverpool after seeing off JB on 4 July) from at least 5 Jul to 23 Jul. Presumably travelled to Edinburgh via Ardrossan and Glasgow during the last week of July.</p>					<p>See Manchester Examiner 11 Jul for an account of the departure (of the Hutchinsons as well as JB) – their farewell concert on 3 Jul and farewells on the deck of the Cambria itself on 4 Jul (and FD's presence there).</p>
Fri 31 Jul 1846	Edinburgh	Brighton St Chapel	FD	(FDP)	<p>Scottish Anti-Slavery Society meeting 'to commemorate the anniversary of the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies'. Brief report in Edinburgh Evening Post, 5 Aug.</p>
<p>FD left Edinburgh for Newcastle on 1 Aug, and thence to London (where WLG had arrived on 3 Aug from Liverpool where he landed on 31 Jul)</p>					<p>FD to anon, Edinburgh, 30 Jul (Foner 5, 46); FD to William White, Edinburgh, 30 Jul (FDP 3:1, 149). Account of his journey from Edinburgh to Newcastle in FD to Eliza Nicholson, Newcastle, 1 Aug (FDP 3:1, 154).</p>

Tour 4: 21 Sep to 2 Oct

<p>While WLG travelled direct from London to Glasgow, arriving on the evening of 19 Sep, FD spoke in Sunderland on 18 Sep, and rejoined WLG in Glasgow on 21 Sep.</p>					<p>WLG Letters 3:423-5, 432.</p>
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Mon 21 Sep 1846	Glasgow	City Hall	FD WLG		Meeting planned, but had to be postponed as the building ‘was to be occupied during the week with an exhibition of statuary’ (WLG Letters 3:432)
Tue 22 Sep 1846	Greenock	[Mid-Church?]	FD WLG	(FDP)	Reference in WLG Letters 3:425 (check) where it is misdated 23 Sep; and 3:428, 433. Also ref in Andrew Paton to Edmund Quincy, Glasgow, 2 Oct (repr. Lib, 30 Oct). See ‘FD in Greenock’ for support of identification of venue.
Wed 23 Sep 1846	Paisley	Secession Church, George St	FD WLG	FDP	<i>Report of the Proceedings of the Great Anti-Slavery Meeting...</i> (Paisley: 1846); also ref in Andrew Paton to Edmund Quincy, Glasgow, 2 Oct (repr. Lib, 2 Oct). (Also WLG letters?)
Thu 24 Sep 1846	Edinburgh	Brighton St Chapel	FD WLG	FDP	Scottish Anti-Slavery Society meeting. Reports in Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle, 26 Sep; Scotsman, 26 Sep; Caledonian Mercury, 28 Sep. Also ref in James Robertson letter to Edmund Quincy, Glasgow 2 Oct; repr Lib, 30 Oct) (ref Andrew Paton letter to Edmund Quincy, Glasgow 2 Oct; repr. Lib,r 30 Oct) (also WLG Letters?) (report in Scotsman, undated, repr Lib, 20 Nov under heading ‘The Evangelical Alliance and American Slavery’)
Fri 25 Sep 1846	Edinburgh		FD WLG	(FDP)	Edinburgh Female Anti-Slavery Society. Morning. Ref in WLG Letters 3:433; Andrew Paton to Edmund Quincy, Glasgow, 2 Oct (repr. Lib 30 Oct)
Fri 25 Sep 1846	Edinburgh	Brighton St Chapel	FD WLG	(FDP)	Scottish Anti-Slavery Society meeting. Report in Scotsman, undated, repr Liberator 20 Nov under heading ‘The Evangelical Alliance and American Slavery’; also in Edinburgh Evening Post, 30 Sep which mentions that the meeting closed with FD ‘giving an outline of his controversy with Dr Smythe’. Also Witness 26 Sep (repr Dumfries & Galloway Standard, 30 Sep, online). Also ref in WLG Letters 3:433 check; James Robertson letter to Edmund Quincy, Glasgow 2 Oct; repr Lib, 30 Oct); Andrew Paton letter to Edmund Quincy, Glasgow 2 Oct; repr. Lib, 30 Oct).
Mon 28 Sep 1846	Dundee	Bell Street Hall	FD WLG	(FDP)	Reports in Dundee Courier, 29 Sep and Dundee, Perth & Cupar Advertiser, 29 Sep. Also ref in WLG Letters 3:433 (check); James

					Robertson letter to Edmund Quincy, Glasgow 2 Oct; repr Lib, 30 Oct); Andrew Paton letter to Edmund Quincy, Glasgow 2 Oct (repr. Lib, 30 Oct). See also Northern Warder, 1 Oct for an attack that dwells on this meeting as an example of the abolitionist methods.
Tue 29 Sep 1846	Edinburgh		FD WLG	(FDP)	Reference in WLG Letters 3:433 (check) ; James Robertson to Edmund Quincy, Glasgow 2 Oct (repr Lib, 30 Oct) – which refers to it as a ‘social tea party’
Wed 30 Sep 1846	Glasgow	City Hall	FD WLG	FDP	Report in Glasgow Argus 5 Oct & 15 Oct; Glasgow Citizen, 3 Oct. Also ref in James Robertson letter to Edmund Quincy, Glasgow 2 Oct (repr Lib, 30 Oct); Andrew Paton to Edmund Quincy, Glasgow 2 Oct (repr. Lib, 30 Oct).
Thu 1 Oct 1846	Glasgow	City Hall	FD WLG	(FDP)	Glasgow Female Anti-Slavery Society. Noon. Ref in WLG Letters 3:434; Andrew Paton to Edmund Quincy, Glasgow 2 Oct (repr. Lib, 30 Oct)
Thu 1 Oct 1846	Glasgow	City Hall	FD WLG	(FDP)	Ref in WLG Letters 3:434; James Robertson to Edmund Quincy, Glasgow 2 Oct (repr Lib, 30 Oct); Andrew Paton to Edmund Quincy, Glasgow 2 Oct (repr. Lib, 30 Oct)
Fri 2 Oct 1846	Glasgow	Eagle Temperance Hotel	FD WLG	(FDP)	GES meeting. Ref in WLG Letters 3:434; Andrew Paton to Edmund Quincy, Glasgow 2 Oct (repr. Lib, 30 Oct) which refers to it as a ‘break-fast party’ attended by ‘seventy friends’.
Fri 2 Oct 1846	Kilmarnock		FG WLG	(FDP)	2pm. Ref in WLG Letters 3:434; James Robertson to Edmund Quincy, Glasgow 2 Oct (repr Lib, 30 Oct); Andrew Paton to Edmund Quincy, Glasgow 2 Oct (repr. Lib, 30 Oct). Brief report in Ayr Advertiser, 8 October (does not specify venue: ‘A meeting was held during the day, as the two gentlemen were on their way to ireland, and had only, at the urgent request of friends, taken Kilmarnock in their route.’)

FD and WLG then took the overnight steamer from Ardrossan to Belfast, where they spoke on 3 Oct.	
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Tour 5: 21 Oct to 30 or 31 Oct

After speaking in Liverpool on Mon 19 October, FD, WLG and GT took the train to Fleetwood on Tue 20 Oct then overnight steamer from Fleetwood to Ardrossan (rough passage) and then the train to Edinburgh via Glasgow, arriving just in time for the evening meeting.					WLG to RW, Dundee, 24 Oct (Letters 3:442).
Wed 21 Oct 1846	Edinburgh	Brighton St Church	FG WLG	(FDP)	Report in Scotsman 24 Oct (repr. Lib, 25 Dec); also brief report in Caledonian Mercury, 22 Oct; Edinburgh Evening Post 24 Oct. Ref in WLG Letters 3:442. Also Inverness Courier 28 Oct.
Thu 22 Oct 1846	Kirkcaldy		FD WLG	(FDP)	Ref in WLG to RW, Dundee, 24 Oct (Letters 3:442).
Fri 23 Oct 1846	Dundee	James' Chapel, Bell St	FD WLG GT	(FDP)	Report in Dundee Courier, 27 Oct; Dundee, Perth and Cupar Advertiser, 27 Oct; also ref in WLG Letters 3:442 and 3:446 which both mention GT. Also Northern Warder 29 Oct.
Sat 24 Oct 1846	Perth	City Hall	FD WLG GT	(FDP)	Reports in Perthshire Advertiser, 29 Oct and Perthshire Constitutional, 28 Oct. Notices in Perthshire Advertiser 22 Oct and Perthshire Constitutional 21 Oct specify City Hall and lists all three speakers. Also ref in WLG Letters 3:446. Notice in Perthshire Constitutional 21 Oct also refers to Perth Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society organising a display of 'many, various, elegant and FANCY ARTICLES' donated to the Boston Bazaar in the Guild Hall on Fri 30 Oct. Also Northern Warder 29 Oct.
Mon 26 Oct 1846	Aberdeen		FD WLG GT	(FDP)	Undated in FDP. But it is clear that the meeting was cancelled. 'It was out intention to hold a meeting in Aberdeen on Monday evening ... but we find that we shall be compelled to ride on the

					outside of the coach all night to-night, and we dare not run this risk to our health. So, we shall send word to this effect to our Aberdeen friends, and hold another public meeting in this place to-morrow evening' (WLG to Elizabeth Pease, Perth, 25 Oct – Letters 3:446)
Mon 26 Oct 1846	Perth		FD WLG GT		Reports in Perthshire Advertiser, 29 Oct. Brief ref in Perthshire Constitutional 28 Oct, full report of speech by GT who appears to have been the principal speaker, in Perthshire Constitutional 4 Nov but the 'other orators' did address the meeting according to the Perthshire Advertiser, even if their words were not reported (only those of GT).
Wed 28 Oct 1846	Glasgow	City Hall	FD WLG GT	(FDP)	Report in Glasgow Argus (date?) abridged in Glasgow Herald, 30 Oct. Ref in WLG Letters 3:447. Notice in Glasgow Herald, 26 Oct.
Thu 29 Oct 1846	Edinburgh		FD WLG	(FDP)	Plans for this meeting mentioned in WLG Letters 3:442, 446.
Fri 30 Oct 1846	Edinburgh		GT		Lecture on British India. Plans for this in WLG Letters 3:446. FD writes from Salisbury Road, Edinburgh on this day (FDP 3:1, 167, 178n). Not sure if WLG and/or FD attended this lecture, but likely.
GT and WLG head south to Carlisle, probably by train (the line, via Dumfries, opened in Aug 1846) (31 Oct) then Rochdale (2 Nov) and Liverpool on 3 Nov, with WLG departing on the Acadia on Wed 4 Nov. Meanwhile FD headed to the Borders by coach.					WLG outlines plans – 'on Saturday evening [31 Oct], we [WLG and GT] shall be in Carlisle; on Monday evening [2 Nov] in Rochdale, and on Tuesday [3 Nov], in Liverpool. – On Wednesday, the 4 th , I shall leave for "home, sweet home"' – in letter to Elizabeth Pease, Perth, 25 Oct (WLG Letters 3:446)
Mon 2 Nov 1846	Hawick	West-End Chapel	FD JR		FD arrived in Hawick on Mon 2 Nov afternoon with James Robertson. Originally planned to address a meeting at the Relief Church, but a meeting of the Deacons on Sun 1 Nov withheld permission and it was held in Mr Rodgie's West-End Chapel instead (the United Secession Church, Myresland Green; Rodgie is rendered 'Rev E Rogie' in one source, but 'Andrew Rodgie' is probably more reliable; he was minister there for a while – he is named ['Rodgie']

				on an 1824 map). Kelso Chronicle, 6 Nov. (It is possible FD and JR accompanied GT and WLG as far south as Carlisle and then peeled off and headed north to Hawick while the others proceeded ahead of them; but seems more likely that FD and JR left Edinburgh separately, prob on Sat 31; but where they spent Sat and Sun night is not known). (Moses Roper spoke in Rogie's Chapel on 7 Mar that year: Kelso Chronicle, 13 Mar).
Tue 3 Nov 1846	Hawick	West-End Chapel	JR	James Robertson addressed a second meeting alone, 'Mr Douglas having left for the south by the morning coach' (Kelso Chronicle, 6 Nov)
FD rejoined WLG in Liverpool on 3 or 4 Nov; in time to see him off on the Acadia. According to FDP his next engagements were in Rochdale (10-11 Nov) and Stockport (13 Nov).				According to a report in the Bristol Mercury (8 Nov; repr Lib 18 Dec), FD was among those seeing WLG off on the Acadia. No evidence that FD returned to Scotland on this trip. Although he wrote a letter from Carlisle on 2 Jan 1847 (FDP 3:1, 190) he probably did not cross the border as this was part of a North of England tour with HCW that took in Newcastle (28-29 Dec), Sunderland (30 Dec), Hexham (31 Dec), Carlisle (1-2 Jan), Shields (4 Jan) and (probably, not listed in FDP) Hexham again (5 Jan).

Homes and other places associated with Douglass

Excluding speaking venues. Entries rendered in **red**: no firm evidence so far that FD visited these homes..

Most British and Irish abolitionists could accommodate only one guest in their homes. So when several were on tour together, it was likely that, if they did stay in private homes (rather than hotels), they would be split up. In Glasgow, for example, I suspect that FD stayed with William Smeal, JB with John Murray, while HCW had a special relationship with the Patons. The situation in Edinburgh is less clear. Elsewhere, it is almost certain that they would have stayed in hotels.

Home etc	Notes
George Combe, 45 Melville Street, Edinburgh Phrenologist	PO Edinburgh p25. FD (with JB and GT) went to ‘breakfast’ there on Sun 7 June; see Combe to WLG, Lib 31 July. In LT FD recalls WLG being present, but WLG was still in the US at this time; perhaps they visited on another occasion as well.
Robert Chambers, 1 Doune Terrace, Edinburgh (home address) or 339 High Street (business address of William and Robert Chambers, publishers) Author, editor and publisher	PO Edinburgh, p22. ‘I have found myself in the society of the Combes, the Crowe’s and the Chamber’s the first people of this city and no one seemed alarmed by my presence’ (FD to William White, Edinburgh 30 July: FDP 3:1). The ‘Chamber’s’ refers to Robert Chambers and his wife Anne and/or Robert Chambers and his brother William, but I have not established when and where they met, but most likely in early June (like his visit to Combe) once the frantic activity leading up to the Free Church General Assembly had subsided. <i>Chambers’ Edinburgh Journal</i> carried a review of FD’s Narrative on 24 Jan. William and Robert Chambers would have been a natural choice if FD wanted to pursue the possibility of a Scottish edition of the Narrative, and he may have met them to discuss this possibility.
George Gilfillan, Paradise Road, Chapelside, Dundee	PO Dundee, p36 (GG’s residential address). Given that Gilfillan was the main force behind FD’s speaking engagements in Dundee, it is likely that FD visited him at the manse, but no evidence found so far.
John Murray, Customs House, Bowling Bay Joint secretary of Glasgow Emancipation Society.	FD ‘spent a few hours’ here according to Andrew Paton (Andrew Paton to Edmund Quincy, Glasgow, 2 Oct, repr. Lib, 30 Oct) on Wed 23 Sep <i>en route</i> from Glasgow to Paisley (where he spoke that night), although

	<p>it isn't really on the way and it is more likely he stopped there the day before on the way to Greenock (where he spoke on Tue 22 Sep), taking the ferry across the Clyde, or on the way back to Glasgow the next morning (again, via the ferry). This would be more consistent with WLG's account: 'Our faithful friend John Murray was up from Bowling Bay; and I went down with him [from Glasgow], yesterday morning [22 Sep] to his romantic and quiet residence, where I got a kind reception from his wife and family, and spent a portion of the day with him in climbing the neighboring hills ... In the evening we went to Greenock' (presumably via Erskine ferry across the Clyde) and 'this morning I [ie. not with FD?] came up to Glasgow, via Bowling Bay' (WLG to HCW, Glasgow 23 Sep; WLG Letters 3:426). Perhaps, to be more consistent, we might suppose that FD followed WLG to Bowling Bay from Glasgow (afternoon of 22 Sep), and perhaps made his own way to Paisley directly from Greenock (staying on that side of the river) (during 23 Sep) while WLG returned to Bowling Bay.</p> <p>Murray's house would also have been a natural base for FD and JB for their speaking engagements in the Vale of Leven, starting in Bonhill on 31 March. But no firm evidence so far that he stayed there then.</p> <p>JB stayed on several occasions, writing from here to WLG on 31 Mar (Lib 1 May); 14 Apr (Lib 15 May), and referring to an encounter with 'Lord Blantyre's gamekeeper' in the hills nearby in a speech in Dundee (27 or 28 Jan; Dundee, Perth and Cupar Advertiser, 30 Jan) (an incident also referred to by WLG to Lib, Belfast 3 Oct (Lib 30 Oct)). Given this early reference, it is possible, even likely, that when JB and FD first arrived in Glasgow in January JB was put up here, while FD stayed with Smeal.</p> <p>HCW wrote from here 1 Jun 1845 (Lib 4 Jul 1845)</p>
<p>Andrew Paton and Catherine Paton [siblings], 16 Richmond Street, Glasgow</p>	<p>PO Glasgow, p230. Identifies this as home address of Andrew Paton, 'commission merchant'. Catherine writes letters from here (eg 17 Nov –</p>

<p>Andrew: committee member of Glasgow Emancipation Society.</p> <p>Catherine: office holder of the Glasgow Female Anti-Slavery Society</p> <p>Eliza: possible third sibling, also involved in the Society.</p>	<p>Taylor 298).</p> <p>HCW stayed here, writing from Glasgow (to WLG, 12 Nov 1845; Lib 12 Dec 1845) ‘I make my home with Andrew Paton and his sisters’.</p> <p>WLG stayed here in September. Arriving from Edinburgh (evening of 19 Sep) ‘At the station I was met by a very dear and excellent friend of the anti-slavery cause, Andrew Paton, who took me to his residence, where I received a hearty welcome from his sister Catherine’ (WLG to Lib, Belfast 3 Oct ; WLG Letters 3:432). ‘I am now under the roof of Andrew Paton and sister, and sitting by their side’ (WLG to HCW, Glasgow, 21 Sep; WLG Letters 3: 423).</p> <p>HCW writes of the pleasure of staying with Andrew Paton and his two sisters, Catherine and Eliza who, ‘with Mary Welsh, are the secretaries and Treasurer of the Glasgow Female Anti- Slavery Society’ (HCW to WLG, Glasgow 12 Nov 1845; Lib 12 Dec 1845). Catherine is HCW’s ‘wee darling’, playing a significant role in HCW’s autobiographical <i>Human Life</i> (1849). Catherine identified as the treasurer of the Glasgow Ladies’ Emancipation Society in the <i>British Friend</i>, March 1852, possibly a slip for the GFASS, which was a more radical Garrisonian organisation.</p>
<p>Andrew Paton and Catherine Paton [siblings], Roseneath, Argyll (summer residence)</p>	<p>HCW seems to have spent several summers here (1845, 1846, 1847); forging a close relationship with the siblings. See esp HCW to WLG 26 Jul 1845 (Lib 22 Aug 1845): ‘I am rustivating with the Patons’.</p> <p>Describes it as ‘a little cottage, on the shore of Loch Long’ (HCW to WLG 28 Jun 1846, Lib 31 Jul). ‘Andrew is a merchant in Glasgow, and in the spring they [the family] take a furnished cottage in the Highlands, on the shores of some one of these Lochs, and here they spend some four months for the benefit of pure air and bathing’ (HCW to WLG, Roseneath, 3 Jun 1847).</p> <p>So far unable to locate the home more precisely. The village of Roseneath (or Rosneath) is actually on Gare Loch rather than Loch Long, but the name is also given to the peninsula (which has Gare Loch on the east side and Loch Long on the west). Perhaps a more careful</p>

	examination of HCW's letters might help.
Andrew Paton, Moodie's Court, 31 Argyle Street, Glasgow (business address)	PO Glasgow p313 (Paton identified as a 'commission merchant') (also p482)
Rev James Robertson, 33 Gilmore Place, Edinburgh Secretary of the Scottish Anti-Slavery Society.	<p>PO Edinburgh pp105, 225. FD writes from here on 30 July (FD to 'Eliza' [unidentified Grey Point, Belfast correspondent], 30 July – FD Papers Digital Edition http://frederickdouglass.info/set.io/islandora/object/islandora%3A4950) having agreed to serve as the agent of the newly-formed Scottish Anti-Slavery Society (after an initial refusal) (FD to Anon, 30 July – Foner 5); this is on the eve of a Scottish Anti-Slavery Meeting at Brighton St Chapel on 31 July.</p> <p>It is likely that WLG stayed here in the autumn. In Oct 1845 WLG wrote: 'I am under very heavy obligation to the unwearied cooperation and warm hospitality of the Rev. James Robertson, of Edinburgh, the intelligent, faithful, and uncompromising Secretary of the Scottish Emancipation Society. We have formed for each other a friendship, which I trust will never be broken. He is truly a most valuable acquisition to our cause.'¹ (WLG to Lib, Belfast, 3 Oct 1846; Letters 3:433-4) (The editor of Letters identifies JR with the James Robertson, 1803-60, who was professor of divinity at Edinburgh University at the time, but this is doubtful).</p> <p>Robertson accompanied Garrison on his two tours of Scotland (late Sep, and late Oct), appearing on the platform with him (and FD) in Dundee on 28 Sep and 23 Oct.</p> <p>According to Whyte, GT 'on 4 June 1846 proposed the formation of a Scottish Anti-Slavery Society based in Edinburgh in an attempt to unify abolitionists in Scotland. It petered out within two years' (SBM, p162). [See eg Caledonian Mercury 8 June]. Robertson wrote a number of letters to the Charleston Presbyterian minister Thomas Smyth (from 33 Gilmore Place) defending FD in the summer of 1846; and in 1847 clashed with visiting Rev Alexander Campbell of Virginia.</p>

<p>William Smeal, 161 Gallowgate, Glasgow Joint secretary of Glasgow Emancipation Society</p>	<p>PO Glasgow, p260 (identifying William Smeal’s residence as the ‘house above’ the shop of William and Robert Smeal’ [brothers] at 161 and 163 Gallowgate (with Robert’s residence given as 4 Greenhead); also pp358, 505. Robert is identified as a ‘tea dealer’ (p371); and the brothers’ shop is listed under ‘Tea Dealers’ elsewhere (p584)</p> <p>FD to RW, Glasgow, 14 January (FDP 3:1, 79) asks him to send 300 copies of the Narrative ‘to the care of Wm Smeale 161 Gallowgate’, suggesting this is where FD stayed at least on his first visit to Glasgow and probably subsequently: FD to RW, Perth 20 January (FDP 3:1, 81) says ‘A letter will reach me by directing to Wm. Smeale Glasgow as I shall return to that place in the course eight or ten days’.</p>
<p>Mary Welsh, 7 Montpelier, Bruntsfield Place, Edinburgh Office holder of Glasgow Female Anti-Slavery Society.</p>	<p>Welsh writes to MWC from this address on 1 Dec 1845 (BPL) (rendered ‘Monpelier’ in Taylor) and from ‘Montpelier’ on 15 May 1845 (BPL) though PO Edinburgh, pp102, 248 has Rev William Reid at number 7 (possibly a relative?).</p> <p>Identified as treasurer of Glasgow Female Anti-Slavery Society by HCW (letter to WLG, Glasgow 12 Nov 1845); as secretary of Glasgow Ladies Emancipation Society in the <i>British Friend</i>, March 1852 (possibly confusing it for the GFASS, a more radical, Garrisonian organisation). Her letter to MWC postmarked 17 Nov 1846 (BPL; abridged in Taylor) suggests she was formerly of Glasgow but kept up her commitment to the society there even after moving to Edinburgh.</p>
<p>John Wigham [tertius] and Jane Wigham (née Smeal; William’s sister) and John’s daughter from his first marriage, Eliza Wigham, 5 South Gray Street, Edinburgh John: committee member of Edinburgh Emancipation Society Jane: office holder in Glasgow Ladies Emancipation Society, then of Edinburgh Ladies Emancipation Society Eliza: office holder in Edinburgh Ladies Emancipation Society.</p>	<p>PO Edinburgh, p226 (‘Wigham, J., manufacturer’). Jane writes from here: see esp letter to MWC 1 Apr 1847 where she outlines the relationships between the Edinburgh Wighams (Taylor, 313-4): ‘We live within 5 minutes walk of each other and are on terms of the closest love & friendly intercourse’. See also simplified family tree in Taylor Appendix II. Perhaps FD stayed here on one or more occasions?</p> <p>Jane sometimes referred to as William Smeal’s daughter (eg Midgley, Temperley, Biog Dictionary of Scottish Women but this can’t be right, as he would have been around 9 when she was born). Married John</p>

	Wigham in 1840. Secretary of the Glasgow Ladies Emancipation Society (when? Until her marriage, says Midgley, p133, but perhaps later became involved in the Edinburgh Women's Society after moving to Edinburgh)
John Wigham [tertius], 52 Nicolson Street, Edinburgh (business address)	PO Edinburgh, p134: 'silk-man, shawl and tartan manufr.'
John Wigham [Jr] and Sarah Wigham (née Nicholson), 10 Salisbury Road, Edinburgh	PO Edinburgh pp134, 270., This John Wigham was the first cousin of John Wigham [tertius]. And Sarah's sister was Eliza Nicholson of Whitehaven, who was probably a frequent visitor, as FD wrote to Eliza at this address from Newcastle, 1 Aug (FDP 3:1, 154). (Eliza Nicholson later moved to Edinburgh – 1 Pilrig Street - when she married John Barlow in 1851). FD stayed on night of 29-30 (poss also 30-31) Oct as he wrote to Samuel Cox from 'Salisbury Road, Edinburgh' on 30 Oct (FDP 3:1) before leaving for Carlisle later that day or the day following. Possibly stayed on other occasions.
Royal Hotel, 54 Nethergate, Dundee	PO Dundee, pp79, 88, 137. FD writes from there on 29 Jan (FD to Francis Jackson, 29 Jan; FDP 3:1); may have been his base in Dundee on other occasions
York (Temperance) Hotel, 19 Nicolson Street, Edinburgh	PO Edinburgh, pp160, 250. 'I am putting up at the "York" hotel': FD to Amy Post, Edinburgh, 28 Apr, FDP 3:1. He later refers to buying a violin, which he 'brought...to the Hotel' (FD to Ruth Cox, 16 May, FDP 3:1, 125). So this may have been his base through May and June. There is an expansive advert for the hotel placed by the proprietor Robert Balcarres, listing its many advantages in the Glasgow Examiner 14 Feb.
Melvin's Temperance Hotel, Cathcart Square, Greenock	PO Greenock, p148 (proprietor: William Melvin); also in adverts, np, at end of the volume. '[John] Murray, Douglass and myself staid over night at the Temperance hotel'[after addressing meeting in Greenock on 22 Sep] (WLG to HCW, Glasgow 23 Sep: WLG Letters 3:426). See 'FD in Greenock' for further details of the venue and its history.