

**CALEDONIAN CANAAN: THE SCOTCH-AMERICAN
COMPANY OF FARMERS (SACF) AND SCOTTISH
CULTURAL IDENTITY IN COLONIAL NEW ENGLAND**

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I

In the fall of 1773, James Whitelaw, a young Scottish surveyor in the colony of New York, received his first letter from home. His father had written him a loving and detailed account of the welfare of his family, friends, and parish. Although the letter spoke primarily of the world Whitelaw had left behind, buried in the heart of it was one line of enquiry: “We are longing for a letter to hear how you are taken with that new world of yours; whether it be a Canaan or a barren wilderness.”¹ What Whitelaw thought of his new home, and how well or poorly he and his fellow Scots adapted to it, illuminates an important and understudied aspect of creolization in frontier New England.

This particular study considers a group of Scots from the western Lowlands, both single adults and families, who planned and created an agricultural settlement in the Connecticut River Valley at Ryegate (in modern-day Vermont) in 1773. They called themselves the Scotch-American Company of Farmers (SACF). Careful scrutiny of their records illuminates heretofore-underutilized evidence of the enduring cultural legacies of Lowland Scots in rural New England. Furthermore, this same evidence reinforces and more clearly describes the depth of their economic and social absorption into the existing rural community, as described in more general studies of Scottish emigration. While such a project

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would usually compare several Scottish communities, several factors prevent this, namely the small number of large Lowland settlements in New England, and the difficulty of comparing Lowland and Highland social structures. However, we can gain much by a different method of investigation. By studying the socio-economic change from their birth communities to their new American home, we can see the degree to which the community maintained or abandoned traditions and practices from a shared starting point. It furthermore allows us to more accurately gauge and account for local tensions with neighbouring towns and their unique effect upon the adaptation of these Scottish settlers. This study will therefore contrast life and custom in the Ryegate settlement to the home parishes of the immigrants and thereby attempt to distil the emigrant experience of Lowland farmers in New England. Unfortunately, the scarcity of written material from other settlers has made it necessary to present Whitelaw as a focal point to represent of the community at large. By presenting his experiences surveying and purchasing land, settling that land, interacting with neighbouring towns, and working toward the final dissolution of the Company, Whitelaw serves as a vehicle to understand the rest of his community. His writings and papers do give voice to his compatriots although his individual experiences are not presented as those of all the Scots in Ryegate.

Despite the large amount of social history available on eighteenth-century Scotland, few secondary sources are available to aid this discussion directly in terms of emigration and settlement of New England at this time. Excellent works such as Marjorie Harper's *Adventurers and Exiles* deal primarily with Highland immigration and focus on the nineteenth-century experience. Other works, such as Tom Devine's *Scottish Emigration and Scottish Society*, likewise deals extensively with other aspects of Scottish emigration, and fails to focus entirely on the Lowland farmers of the last half of the eighteenth century, despite highlighting their importance. Notwithstanding the meticulous collection of quantitative data by Bernard Bailyn, historians have allocated very little space to the qualitative emigration experience of men such as James Whitelaw, though this is beginning to change. In general, the majority of studies have focused on Highland emigrants and their distinct and highly visible cultural traits. This is troubling, as, according to Devine, Lowland emigrants may

have outnumbered Highlanders three to one in the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century. Moreover, when historians have studied Lowlanders and their distinct emigration experiences, they have tended to focus on political figures or Chesapeake and West Indian merchants because of their disproportionately large pool of documentary evidence. However, as Devine notes in *Scotland's Empire*, the "vast majority of Scottish emigrants were not of that class but were small tenant farmers, cottars, indentured servants, weavers, craftsmen of all types," and farm labourers. Unlike merchants or politicians, farmers tended to migrate quickly inwards from their original ports of entry and thus extensive paper trails are lamentably absent for these individuals. As unfortunate for this study as the general lack of paper trail is the particular nature of immigration in the 1770s. On the one hand, they were the most active years of Scottish immigration to the mainland colonies. On the other, the relatively quick disintegration of friendly relations between the provincial elite and British Parliament led to a complete ban on mainland immigration to all but the Nova Scotia colony. Because of the War of Independence, emigration from Lowland Scotland to the thirteen colonies was interrupted as it approached its height, preventing the more dominant presence and cultural visibility that would appear later in Canada. Furthermore, hostile relations meant a breakdown of familial and communal correspondence between Scots living in North America and those back home. Thus, the amount of qualitative information on the practices of these colonists is paltry, despite the increasing number of immigrants.

Ryegate is an ideal choice to investigate to many of these problems. It was composed primarily of farmers and artisans, it was a relatively large cluster of Lowland immigrants, and its organization necessitated frequent business and personal correspondence. Fortuitously, James Whitelaw, the first settled member of the SACF, maintained an impressive folio of personal letters as well as the receipts and deeds of his many land transactions. These include letters to his family, which reveal a great deal of Whitelaw's character and personal mentality, and correspondence with the partners of the SACF in Scotland, which address the communal triumphs and trials as well as the welfare of his countrymen at home. Also included in these papers are letters from other members such as David Allan, Whitelaw's partner in

procuring land in New York, and Scottish friends and contacts they met in North America. Moreover, the Vermont Historical Society has preserved the journal of James Whitelaw, which was actually a collaboration of both Allan and Whitelaw. Although in the main a narrative of various transactions and a description of various plots of land, there are many implicit clues regarding intentions and cultural assumptions in the text. This journal encompasses their search for and purchase of the land and concluded with the arrival of the first wave of settlers. A second journal, that of the Managers of the Scotch-American Company of Farmers, records dates thereafter. It is, however, bare of non-essential information and is often lacking entries for months if not years at a time. The personal letters patch many, but unfortunately not all, of the missing time. Later histories of the community, notably Edward Miller's 1913 *History of Ryegate, Vermont*, can compensate for most of these deficiencies. Establishing the chronology of the SACF is not the goal of this study, as other historians have adequately created it, notably Bailyn, through legal papers and governmental records. Nor is it necessary to use them to discern the real quality of the lands described as geographers and land surveyors have studied them; they are matters of record. Instead, I will use them to discern the perception of these areas and the perception of the Company's needs. The actual merit of the Ryegate Township's geography, for example, is less important to this study than Whitelaw and Allan's analysis of the value to the Company's members.

This article will further discuss a particular type of acculturation. It is one in which two groups with similar but individual cultural identities combine forming a new and distinct set of cultural values and assumptions. It is one in which the foreign group is absorbed completely into the "native" population, but where their cultural affect remains particularly strong. Historians such as David Dobson have argued that the number of Lowland Scots was so comparatively small in New England, and that their educational advantages, though prominent in the Chesapeake, were so minimal in the highly literate northern colonies, that these immigrants swiftly, and completely, dispersed into existing communities. Relying almost solely on immigration records in his study of New England, it is not surprising that Dobson did not allocate more space to these men and women.ⁱⁱ Although

Devine estimates that there were some 17,323 Scots in the northern New England by 1790, eighteenth-century emigration records are paltry and remain difficult qualitative sources.ⁱⁱⁱ Furthermore, even at 17,323, these men and women represented only 4-5% of the population of Maine, Vermont, and New Hampshire, compared with the 10-15% of Scots present in the South.^{iv} The Scots were only a tiny minority of New England's population suggesting that Vermont naming the county around Ryegate "Caledonia," the Latin word for Scotland, implies that the Scots had a recognized, if local, influence. That the Ryegate settlers were farmers and artisans implies that their impact was similar to that of the majority of their countrymen in New England. Although its concentration of Scots makes Ryegate more visible, its composition makes it largely representative. Historians have generally not studied these Lowland settlers, the extent of their impact on New England, and its impact on them. This study hopes to be a step toward a more thorough investigation of their acculturation and influence.

II

Although emigration was common in eighteenth-century Scotland, most men and women sought financial support through localized migration. Most young Highland women, for example, travelled to Lowland farming communities and industrial centres in search of employment. For example, Devine notes that few Argyllshire families could have survived without this added support.^v Lowlanders, meanwhile, moved from parish to parish engaging in short, one-year contracts for farm labour or domestic service. Some even travelled as far as London in search of the industrial work available in developed centres.^{vi} This internal migration was the more common and expected form of travel for those Scots seeking to improve their economic status. During the eighteenth century, internal migration further increased as Scotland's towns began to grow. Urbanization and an increased productivity in agriculture grew proportionally, the larger towns and industrial centres relying on the nearby estates to produce foodstuffs specifically for urban consumers. Seeing an opportunity for commercial gain, landowners restructured their holdings, as the Improvers had attempted thirty years prior. Landowners denied tenants renewal

of their smallholding leases, which often forced them to exist as landless labourers who depended on selling their labour in order to subsist.^{vii} The number of Scottish towns that became the holdings of a single tenant increased and many of the scattered dwellings and workshops became consolidated into village-like farms.^{viii} Thus, more men and women than ever before were unattached to Scottish soil. Market pressures had begun to change fundamentally Scotland's countryside, and the Scottish mentality changed with it.

Most migration in the eighteenth century was economically driven, but military movement was an important factor. The renewal of hostilities between France and England meant a significant proportion of Scotland's surplus population left to fight in North America. The extent of their migration was unlike anything in the kingdom's past. Historian R. Scott Stephenson states that, "[m]ilitary service carried [the Scots] to the far corners of America: from the West Indies to the Lowlands and back country of the Carolinas' from New York and New England through Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Cape Breton, and the length of the St. Lawrence River Valley."^{ix} This represented the largest pre-revolutionary British mobilization in North America. At the conclusion of the Seven Years' War, British authorities were wary of leaving their newly conquered lands vacant and unguarded. They fortified their new American borders by granting frontier land to discharged soldiers.^x Many accepted, and still many others returned home to Scotland with their wages. Both of these helped to create the surge of colonial immigration and settlement between 1763 and 1776. Stephenson has made careful analysis of the letters sent home from Highland soldiers in the Seven Years' War. In them, he found delighted descriptions of the possibilities of American land for farming and settlement. One describes the Mohawk River Valley of New York as "the most beautiful country in the world," the soil's quality surpassing "anything I have yet seen." Both letters and returning soldiers brought back glowing word of the America landscape and these praises were instrumental in pulling countless Britons across the Atlantic Ocean.^{xi}

Despite the war ending in 1763, settlers from Scotland did not immediately storm the American shores. Instead, Stephenson argues the letters and verbal reports had a delayed effect on the

populace. Some Lowlanders, he notes, made efforts to emigrate, but finding opportunity in Glasgow or other ports, remained there for several years before eventually emigrating circa 1773.^{xii} At that time, a financial crisis broke out in Scotland precipitated by poor harvests and financial panics in Scottish houses in London. According to Devine, it was considered by some to be the worst disaster since the Darien Scheme of the 1690s.^{xiii} In addition to the hardship endured by farmers, the economic waves sent thousands of weavers and other artisans into unemployment. It was as this panic reached its heights in 1772, that a group of men and women, farmers and artisans, gathered to plan a settlement abroad.

III

Inchinnan was one of the smallest parishes in Scotland and lay midway between the two major western ports of Glasgow and Greenock. Across the various small rivers that surrounded it were the parishes of Renfrew (Whitelaw's home), Houston, and Erskine. It was here that 137 men and women formed the Scotch-American Company of Farmers. A few such companies had organized themselves in Scotland, though none of them had actually carried through their intentions. What went through the minds of these Scots is at first difficult to know. Very few written records exist from the planning stage of this venture. However, the Company's *Bond of Association*, dated 5 February 1773, gives the most direct account of the sort of community the SACF hoped to create in "his Majestys [*sic*] Dominions in America." The *Bond* was a legal document drafted and unanimously signed by the members of the Company and bound the undersigned and their "Heirs and Successors to observe and inviolably perform" the "fundamental rules and regulations" of the Company at its inception. By examining what issues it discussed, and which it neglected, we can construct a sketch of the particular character of the SACF.

In his brief narrative of Ryegate in *Voyagers to the West*, Bernard Bailyn argues that the Company Managers intended to hold the enterprise jointly in Scotland and in America. This is evident throughout the *Bond*. When the community was first established, it dictated that they should clear the land, and sell all

the products – turpentine, tar, and timber – to local markets or transport them back to Glasgow for sale. Proceeds would go to constructing public buildings, employing labourers, and into a general fund for incidentals and member aid. The two Commissioners, sent ahead to purchase land and later elected Managers in America, were to keep records of all profits and expenditures on Company property, the difference of which they would divide between the members in Scotland. The Managers would pay those who worked in Ryegate a salary and expenses for their labour, therefore not excluding them from the rewards of their effort. The Company's general funds were to remain in a Glasgow bank. This was a matter of practicality; since the Managers would recruit additional members from the neighbouring parishes and take the subscriptions there, it was only reasonable to maintain Company funds in Glasgow. Also, colonial currencies were often in a state of flux in this period, while Scottish banks were relatively stable. Lastly, Scottish banks, and their less formal predecessors, had been thriving since before the Union of 1707 and had grown rapidly in experience and prestige.^{xiv} This fiscal link connected the new American community firmly to its motherland.

The *Bond* also made clear the infrastructure of the American settlement. The physical organization was highly detailed and, under close inspection, seems to stem indirectly from Scottish practices. The Commissioners were to mark off a parcel of land for public use. Here would be established storehouses, churches, schools, and public markets. If it became necessary to sell or rent the land, the new owners would still be obliged to build these facilities. Company farmland would be cleared and worked in the same manner as individual farms and proceeds would be used in construction and maintenance of public facilities. The *Bond* also dictated that subscribers, in addition to their farming lots, were entitled to a small parcel of public land on which to build a townhouse.

Between 1770 and 1820, many Scottish landlords, especially in the belt between Buchan and Speyside, attempted to create similar planned villages, as part of the fashion for Improvement, by laying out patterned plots of land, access roads, and public facilities. Planners also provided subsistence cultivation near building sites in the village. These planned villages failed and succeeded for a variety of reasons, but proximity to an active

market usually allowed survival.^{xv} In general, planned villages were the whims of particular, usually north-eastern, landlords and not a consistent practice throughout Lowland Scotland. However, though no such endeavours are apparent near the Clyde, landowners generally publicized the concept and practice of such improvements and the SACF might have known about at least one such exercise. Even if this was not the case, the long history of planned settlements in New England and the Mid-Atlantic states, where kin of the SACF resided, also offered insight into their design. Knowledge of these endeavours may be why the Company was confident that it could successfully create a planned township.

In addition to brokering the original purchase of land, the Company would also provide certain social services to the community. Given proper notice, they stipulated six months, those in America would clear enough land on a purchased lot to provide for the family for one year. They would also build a house if they paid the Company's expenses. If they did not request a house, they would lodge in the public dormitory built on the Company's land for just that purpose. If the member exhausted his personal finances through travel costs, the Company would loan up to 90% of the member's investment, depending on Company solvency. The only stipulation was that the Company would maintain real right to the lot until they fully repaid the loan. There was no seeming rush as the *Bond* allowed a full ten years for repayment. However, if the member did not give proper notice, or if he arrived early, the Company could refuse him aid. In Scotland, too, there was a tendency to allow future work to pay off current debt. Instead of removing delinquent tenants in times of dearth, landowners usually let debts collect until a good harvest returned. The Lowland Scots also had a highly evolved system of ecclesiastical poor aid which relied on, and preferred, voluntary donations to provide support for those unable to work, though support for the "able-bodied" was usually minimal. This sense of assistance and pride is visible in such provisos in the *Bond*.

Politically, the SACF's method of representation allowed a strong sense of civic duty and participation. The members would form themselves into clubs which best met their personal needs and opinions. Although the *Bond* did not cite any examples of

clubs, they were most likely tools for representing the needs of Renfrew farmers as opposed to Glaswegian tradesmen, both of who were active members in the co-partnership. Each club would elect a leader who would represent the club to the Managers. There would be two sets of Managers, one in Scotland, and one in America. Though the *Bond* gave the majority of the explicit powers to the Managers in Scotland, they may have intended to transfer power over when the majority of members had emigrated. If this is so, they did not indicate it in writing. For elections and Company business, members purchased voting rights through their investment. Two pounds, ten shillings purchased one vote while ten pounds and four lots purchased two. No person could obtain more than two votes regardless of their pecuniary outlay.

The Company's hierarchy seems similar to the representative democracy that was developing in the New England colonies, but quite different from the contemporary government in Scotland. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, the Scottish subsystem of political representation was rife with corruption and the disenfranchisement. The electorate was very small and appointment relied on an intricate system of patronage and strategic voting in Parliament. Yet, it is important to note that the Company did not grant universal suffrage to the town's future inhabitants or even equal voting rights among its electorate. This was still a conservative group of men and women with traditional sensibilities of landownership earning a voice in government. Its progressive aspects, such as the small pecuniary and land requirements and the limit on influence of large landholders, were reforms in line with those brewing in Scotland, not a gross departure from them.

As stated earlier, the Company demanded a great deal of civic responsibility from its members. The members would elect officers and Managers yearly and, once elected, a person could not refuse an office except by paying a large penalty to the Company's general account. Furthermore, that person could not hold any position for the rest of that year. It would seem that if a member would not accept the role dictated to him by his peers, he could have no part of the civic government. While terms were short, they stipulated that at least half the Managers would be incumbents, presumably for continuity and conservatism in government. Although there was no direct link between the *Bond's* demand for

civic responsibility and traditional Scottish practice, the provisos most likely stemmed from the values impressed upon them by the Presbyterian Church, where, ideally, the public had a strong voice in the civic-religious establishment.

Despite this tangential influence, the *Bond* did not overtly mention religion except to require some land be set aside for a church. Although the Bond dealt almost exclusively with economic needs, its signatories were a pious people. For example, a 1774 letter from home reminded Whitelaw to “be sure always to keep good company. Especially take heed to the Sabbath day and read your bible if you have no preaching.” Moreover, they partly chose their settlement site because of its access to a Scottish minister. Lastly, the small settlement was to boast two Presbyterian churches by the second generation. Thus, the members for the SACF were keenly aware of religion in their lives. So why, then, was religion not mentioned in the *Bond of Association*? On the one hand, Devine notes that many Scottish emigrants belonged to the evangelical wing of the Church of Scotland. These Scots had a disdain for the concepts of patronage (wherein the landlords, rather than the church members, appointed ministers) and the tolerance of the doctrinal differences espoused by the Moderates in power. For some evangelicals, America seemed a new hope for the Church. However, Devine cautions that we cannot know for certain if these internal motives played an active role in their decision to settle in North America. While faith may have been a force in individual and unwritten motives, the overt and communal reasons for most, including the SACF, seem to be economic rather than religious, hence its absence in their *Bond*.

Although the SACF was unusual in its legal organization, the individual motives of its members appear to have been fairly consistent with not only Lowland Scots, but with most Scottish emigrants between 1763 and 1775. The enormous push factors of clearance and famine in the mid-nineteenth century, according to Devine, were not generally present in this period, and emigrants from the Highlands, like the Lowlands, were not the indigent. Devine notes that “they belonged overwhelmingly to the tenant group, [...] who could raise money for passage and resettlement for themselves and their kinsfolk.” Though these Highland emigrants travelled in larger kin-groups than the SACF (and certainly larger than most Lowlanders), and travelled with

servants and subtenants rather than neighbouring artisans, their movement “involved a degree of calculation and careful weighting of prospects on the part of social groups who were able to exert some choice and could exploit favourable circumstance.” Therefore, in size and degree of planning, the SACF very much resembled many contemporary Highland emigrants. However, their specific composition and the fundamental difference in their hierarchical organization meant their experience in America would be very different.

IV

The *Bond of Association* stipulated that the Company would send two Commissioners to the American colonies in search of suitable land for their settlement. They elected two men: David Allan, a farmer in his mid-thirties, and James Whitelaw, a twenty-five year old surveyor from Whiteinch. They sailed from Greenock aboard the Brigantine *Matty* on 25 March 1773. After nearly eight weeks of travel, they arrived in Philadelphia. Over the next four months, they travelled up and down the eastern coast of North America searching for a new home for their community, and, as summer ended, they found it.

When James Whitelaw and David Allan arrived in Philadelphia on 24 May 1773, Alexander Semple “was standing on the wharf ready to receive [them] in order to conduct [them] to his brother’s house” in which they had an appointment. There, in a serendipitous moment of Ryegate’s history, Semple was also entertaining another Scot, the Rev. Dr. John Witherspoon. The Managers in Scotland had instructed Whitelaw and Allan to begin their journey with a rendezvous with Philadelphia merchant William Semple, a kin of at least four of the members in the SACF. As friends of the Semple family and as fellow Lowland Scots, the two would find provisions for their first few nights and an escort around the area. Their contact in America, they hoped, would also introduce them to men of property, men like Witherspoon.

The Scots in the American colonies, especially those from Glasgow, were a tightly woven, and usually commercially linked, community. Many had ties, often cemented through kinship and marriage, in Glasgow and Philadelphia, the West Indies, or the Chesapeake. Sons, sons-in-law, cousins, and younger siblings

often left for colonial ports to run factories for the family's merchant Company while the senior partners dealt with business in Glasgow and London. Each of these affiliates might be further connected to several other families, landed and commercial, creating a large network of contacts throughout the empire. Thus, a Scot with some connections in Britain could find support, physical and even pecuniary, throughout the British colonies. The Commissioners of the SAFC were very fortunate in this respect. Thanks to the varied membership of the Company, and the number of Scots in the mid-Atlantic states, Whitelaw and Allan ran along the existing threads of this web of contacts using letters of reference. Each new acquaintance produced more letters and the Commissioners acquired new acquaintances. In this way, the two Lowlanders were rarely at a loss for a warm bed, a hot meal, and the opportunity to view the choicest real estate in the area. For example, Whitelaw's journal relates that:

... we were directed to Mr. Mason by the same person [Semple], where we had the pleasure to meet with Mr. Marshal from Philadelphia, and having delivered our letters of recommendation to them, they promised to do everything in their power to serve us, being exceedingly well pleased with our plan, and went immediately along with us to several gentlemen in this city who they knew had lands to dispose of.^{xvi}

Their first contact immediately led to three others, if we include Witherspoon, and an offer to meet with more local landholders.

Regarding their first new acquaintance, neither the journal nor the correspondence made mention as to the precise reason Witherspoon had called on Semple that day. While it is possible that the two well-educated Scots were visiting on any number of business matters, one cannot help but find Witherspoon's appearance somewhat suspect. At this point Witherspoon had already made his mark in land speculation. As a broker of large tracts of land, his meeting with the prospective buyers was perhaps more than fortuitous.

In order to capitalize on the waves of emigration from Europe to North America, many chose to invest their capital in uncultivated land. Edward Miller, Ryegate's 1913 historian, wrote, "[i]n

those days there were few ways in which people could invest their money, and so wild land was bought as an investment, as people now buy stocks and bonds, or western land.” Speculators then waited “for a rise in the value of wild land to realize a profit by selling their holdings.” While this is a simplistic view, it is sufficient for this discussion. After the Seven Years’ War, the surge in immigration, the availability of land previously held by French or Native rivals, and the glowing descriptions of these rich lands by soldiers returning to Britain all made speculation a profitable venture. Witherspoon’s own involvement in speculation began when Richard Stockton, a proprietor in the Philadelphia Company, went to Scotland in 1767 to offer Witherspoon the presidency of Princeton College in New Jersey. Through Stockton, Witherspoon learned of the Philadelphia Company’s efforts to colonize Pictou, Nova Scotia, with Philadelphian settlers. He quickly associated himself with John Pagan of Greenock and purchased shares in the venture. From 1770 onward, the two men successfully enticed Highland men and families to immigrate to mainland North America. It is not cynical, therefore, to question Witherspoon’s accidental meeting with the two agents. Semple had known of their intentions and arrival date for some time. Perhaps, having heard from Semple, or another associate, that a Scottish colonial venture was looking for land to farm, he made a point to call upon his friend that evening. Whitelaw’s Company, however, was fundamentally different from those Witherspoon and Pagan had dealt with before.

Unlike his previous buyers, the SACF was an independently organized, Lowland co-partnership seeking to buy its land as a large unit, not as individual lots by family. The Company’s *Bond*, written in most exact legal terms, makes it clear that the Company had taken painstaking efforts to prepare for their settlement. This may be why, upon meeting Allan and Whitelaw, Witherspoon only casually offered his lots in the New York colony. Whitelaw writes that “we met with Dr. Witherspoon, who informed us that he had a township of land called Ryegate, [...] which he was ready to dispose of [...] but in the meantime desired us to make every other trial, not to be too hasty in making a bargain.”^{xvii}

Witherspoon’s consideration should be carefully examined. On one hand, it is likely that Witherspoon felt some sort of obligation to his fellow Presbyterian Lowlanders. An evangelical

Presbyterian, perhaps he saw in the SACF like-minded men and women setting up a more holy community in North America.^{xviii} Whitelaw notes that he seemed “very fond that our scheme should succeed.”^{xix} Therefore, he offered his hospitality on their journey and the option to purchase Ryegate, at their leisure, if other options were exhausted. It should be remembered that the Connecticut River Valley, while then underdeveloped, was one of the most fertile tracts of land in New England and, at any rate, a much more bountiful lot than the Nova Scotia tracts he had sold to his Highlander countrymen.^{xx} To offer it so casually might have meant he hoped they would find more bountiful land than he could provide. On the other hand, his reticence may have also derived from the specialties of the two Commissioners. The SACF had sent an experienced farmer – a tenant, not merely a farm labourer – and a land surveyor of growing reputation as their Commissioners. Unlike the tacksmen of the Highlands, with whom many speculators dealt, Allan and Whitelaw were trained employees of a joint-stock company. A tacksmen was a middling lessor who intended to remain in power over those he was relocating. His resettlement decisions were not subject to shareholder review.^{xxi} As employees, Whitelaw and Allan negotiated differently. Witherspoon probably knew the Commissioners would quickly reject any attempt to unload unsavoury land and insulting such large and well-connected families might cut off future speculative opportunities for Witherspoon. In either case, Witherspoon’s negotiations with the SACF were decidedly different from those with Highland communities.

Allan and Whitelaw took Witherspoon’s advice to seek out all the other opportunities. The Commissioners set out on a four-month journey across the American landscape, searching for the proper country for their settlement. From their journal entries, it appears that they considered several factors in choosing a particular site. Their journal and correspondence verify that they were concerned with the extent, quality, and price of the land, the proximity to markets and trade routes, and the character and health of the current residences of the area. Their reasons for approving or discarding certain parcels and countries provide insight into the fundamental character of the Company and its members.

Having parted with Witherspoon, the two gentlemen explored the mainland colonies. They travelled up from Philadelphia to

New Hampshire, and then returned to Pennsylvania before heading south to Edenton, North Carolina. From there they made their way up the coast to New York City, and then on to their land in Ryegate. Throughout their journey, the two most important factors Whitelaw and Allan considered were the quality of the land and the access to markets, perhaps remembering their absence was the death knoll to so many planned villages in Scotland. Around Philadelphia, settlers had long since cleared the land and urban markets flourished. "About one mile back," Whitelaw wrote, "there is an excellent market for every article that farmers or others have to sell and commonly ready money."^{xxii} Further west, they were disappointed to find that the land was rocky, with homes often twenty miles apart and poorly provisioned. While tradesmen and merchants spread themselves throughout Lowland Scottish towns, the homes within them were generally still near each other. The familial isolation would be foreign and impractical to these settlers. They concluded that, while "Pennsylvania seems the most desirable to live in of any place we have yet seen, [...] it is mostly settled where it is good, and what is to settle is very dear."^{xxiii} Speculators in both Philadelphia and Ft. Augusta had long ago surveyed and sold their holdings, and they could not afford to settle too far from these established centres. The land in Pennsylvania was either impractical or unattainable by the SACF.

On another note, Whitelaw took great exception to the character of the German people of Pennsylvania. He wrote of them that they "mind nothing of gayety, but live niggardly and gather together money as fast as they can without having any intercourse with anybody but among themselves."^{xxiv} There is a sort of hypocrisy in this statement. The Scots, while traditionally mobile throughout the world, were generally keen to remain socially isolated. Likewise, the Commissioners thus far had dealt almost exclusively with Lowland Scots. However, future events show that these particular Scots did not actively maintain their separation from outsiders. It is possible that this statement indicates that Lowland farmers, at least those from the countryside surrounding Glasgow, felt differently about cultural isolation than their merchant kinsmen. There is good reason to expect this. While merchants relied upon kin networks to assure credit in uncertain and often far-away markets, farmers would be less susceptible to these risks.

Another Scot on their web of contacts suggested that the Commissioners next view the Ohio River area. Upon making enquiry, they agreed that, while this was the best land in all America for farming, its remoteness ruled it out positively. The nearest market by land was over 300 miles of poor road away and it would take almost six months back and forth by river to the mouth of the Mississippi. Their concern probably stemmed from recent events in Scotland. The rise of industrialization had prompted many landowners to invest heavily in internal improvement, namely roads and canals. Although still in its first stages, there was in Scotland at this time a widespread creation of estate, parish, and turnpike roads throughout the Lowlands.^{xxv} Living in Glasgow's hinterland, the members of the SACF would surely have seen first hand the importance and value of this transportation network to their market goals. The still relatively unimproved Ohio River area could not have met their needs and desires.

Finding Chesapeake land paltry and poor, the Commissioners headed north to New York and New Hampshire. There the land ranged from very fine to barren, or worse, swampy. Of the arable land, two possible locations emerged for their colony. One was near the Mohawk River, so adoringly described in the soldiers' letters, and was arguably of far better quality than the Ryegate township. However, that lot of land was only available for lease, not for purchase. The lease also stipulated that the lessor would maintain mineral rights to all the lots. This was very similar to the new, more rigorous leases landowners in Scotland were implementing.^{xxvi} Ryegate was seemingly less fine and more remote, but eventually deemed watered well enough by brooks, and near enough to Portsmouth and a waterway to Hartford to have a viable market for its crops. It is likely they chose the inferior land in Ryegate largely because they would not accept the role of tenant farmer that the Mohawk lands demanded, especially within the impersonal proprietor-lessee relationship they had chosen to leave behind in Scotland. Upon leaving Scotland, several members explicitly complained of Lords Blantyre and Douglas's rigorous leases.^{xxvii} The distinction of title and lease was an important one to these Scottish farmers. Unlike Highland clan emigration, which purposefully maintained traditional patriarchal tenant-lord relationships, the charter of the Company specifically granted title and rights of land to individual

stockholders safeguarding themselves from the tenuous lessor-lessee relationship.^{xxviii}

What the people could produce also concerned Whitelaw and Allan. They noted that most of Virginia was engaged in tobacco production, but that some men were producing wheat, and making a fine living doing so. However, enough of the land suitable for this crop was not available to the Company. In Pennsylvania, the journal included a large list of produce, ranging from Indian corn, wheat, and barley, to fruits of all sorts. Here, Whitelaw made an aside that none of the women had any teeth for they had eaten too much of their own sweet produce. His unkind comment toward the ladies of Pennsylvania notwithstanding, this remark reveals that the members of the SACF were not used to fruits in such large quantities or to the mid-Atlantic diet in general.

All their needs, however, seemed to have been met further north. Land was available in northern New York and men there grew all sorts of grains, selling them for a good price at local markets. As described by Whitelaw, New York most closely resembled Scottish norms; Lowland farmers generally produced bere, oats, wheat, malt, rye, peas, and beans in varying ratios and rotations. Any wise farmer would choose a region where he could grow crops to which he was accustomed and David Allan was no exception. Furthermore, farmers had yet sparsely settled the area, and those who had were almost exclusively Britons. In purchasing Ryegate from Witherspoon, Pagan, and Church (their third partner), Whitelaw and Allan had bought land as similar to Scotland as they could find, and as fertile as they could afford.

V

It is of course one thing to purchase land, but it is quite another to establish a successful settlement. Furthermore, the criteria for assessing success are not altogether clear. Should we gauge it merely by the town's survival, which is evident by its modern existence, or rather by the degree to which they fulfilled their original aims? In terms of the latter, the effectiveness of implementing the *Bond* is difficult to answer. The Company held elections and kept accounts as stipulated. The members sent two Commissioners and they secured for the Company a tract of land

for the conceived community. The Commissioners cleared the public land and sold the produce all according to the *Bond's* instructions. However, the appearance of settlers disrupted this flawless execution. The first members arrived months ahead of schedule, slowing the orderly survey and clearing of land. Then, after the first few families, no new members appeared for years, leaving much of the Company's land uninhabited and the village lacking an adequate number of artisans. The settlers had to employ labour from surrounding towns and migrant workers, inviting in outside influences to support the Scottish township. The small population also affected the aforementioned "club" hierarchy. Although the *Bond* specifically states that it applied to the members still in Scotland, Bailyn assumes that this club organization functioned in America as well. While there are records of elections for town officers and voting practices, the Company records do not mention the clubs, nor were there enough members in America to necessitate them. Had the entire Company membership emigrated together, perhaps they would have also transferred the organization they had created in Scotland. As it occurred, the size of the township did not require it and it therefore never materialized. Thus, if we measure success by the adherence to original edicts, the SACF's settlement was near failure even within the first year. However, the *Bond* itself allowed for amendment "as circumstances may require or as Shall be thought proper by two third parts of the partners." We should then instead measure success by survival of the Company and the prosperity of its members.

Whitelaw's journal concluded with the purchase and survey of the Ryegate township. Correspondence to and from the settlers, however, leaves a varied description of the emerging community. These letters were to and from Whitelaw, Allan, John Jones (another settler), and friends of Whitelaw in other parts of the mainland colonies. Ranging from business matters to those of a personal nature, these letters, along with legal records, form the bulk of our knowledge of the Company's business during the years surrounding the American War of Independence.

In 1774, the settlement was progressing well, but Whitelaw wrote that the citizens of the town were "sorry to hear of the hardships that still continue and seem to increase among the

poorer sort of people in our native country.”^{xxix} The economic crisis of 1771-73 that had prompted so many Scots to emigrate was still resonating deeply in the western Lowlands, and a series of floods and droughts had further aggravated the condition of the farmers left behind.^{xxx} Though they intended to remain permanently in America, their hearts were understandably still in the land they thought of as home. Over the next forty years, however, the identity of the townspeople changed, subtly and slowly, but changed nevertheless.

This change was perhaps unusual for Lowland emigrants, at least those typically studied. There was a tendency among recorded Scots to leave, sojourn, for many years, perhaps even most of one’s life, to make material gains, but eventually return home. For example, merchants that resided in major American ports considered their absence a sort of voluntary exile; most intended to return to Scotland after they had made some wealth. Their attachment to their new home was tenuous as most of these men left American shores as soon as Parliament declared the colonies in rebellion.^{xxxi} Even those who worked American land often sold their holdings as soon as their indenture expired and returned to Scotland. Yet, the men and women of the SACF “stood their ground.”^{xxxii} Unlike most of the well-recorded Lowland Scots in the American colonies, the Ryegate settlers had not intended to return “home” if they could manage there, despite the increasing transatlantic hostilities. Their early purchase of land at the start accounts for this seeming difference from the norm. Merchants and tradesmen often came to large cities as part of transatlantic partnerships. The organization of these usually allowed or required the Scot to return home or move on to more profitable locations. As for indentured servants who worked the land, even if they received land at the end of their contract, it was usually unimproved, despite the five to seven years of labour they had performed on their master’s land. With conflict again brewing in the 1770s, it was more sensible to sell it and return home. The members of the Company, like many smaller settlements and families, were different. Because they had invested so much in this new home by purchasing, clearing, and taking up residence on their land before the revolution, and because of their remoteness from the urban centres of the eastern seaboard, they had every reason to remain in America despite a political struggle

that was so wholly removed from their day-to-day lives.^{xxxiii}

Removed as the settlers were from turmoil brewing in the American ports, those standing on Scottish docks weighed heavily on their minds. Most notably among these were the wives and children the early settlers had left behind. In 1774, settler John Waddle sent word through Whitelaw to ask the Company to send his family to him. He offered to work for the Company until he repaid the cost. Whitelaw noted, “if he be spared in health I doubt not but in a few years he may be able to pay to the Company what he cost them in bringing over his family.” For Waddle, it seemed home really was where the heart was. Whitelaw warned the Managers in Scotland that, “if you do not send over his family to him he will be obliged to return home again.”^{xxxiv} Already short of settlers, his threat must have struck home. Waddle was not the only man longing for his Scottish wife and family. That same winter, another denizen, David Ferry, sent word both through Whitelaw and John Jones that the Company should, “let his wife know that if she could find any way among her friends to bring her over that he thought they could make out a great deal better here than at home.”^{xxxv} These settlers, as well as others, hoped to transfer permanently their entire family and network of friends to the American shore.

Eagerness to transplant their families abroad does not necessarily show a lack of attachment to their Scottish roots or culture. Single men and women with no intention of returning might have had an expectation of being absorbed into the colonial culture. Those wanting to transplant entire families might hope to spare their spouse and children an unfavourable situation at home. However, the Ryegate community, as originally planned, did not consist of one or even a handful of Scottish families. The members organized the venture to transplant the people from the entire socio-economic spectrum of the parishes surrounding Inchinnan. Transplanting not only a family but also a large number of friends, neighbours, and associates from adjacent parishes indicates that the Company hoped to re-create, albeit in miniature, the entire society from which they came.

An examination of the home parishes of the Company’s members makes clear their designs to emulate their home situation. The members of the SACF all lived within a very short

distance of each other and all within easy travel of Inchinnan, their appointed meeting place. They were neighbours and interacted frequently. They also represented a socio-economic cross-section of their society, including farmers, smiths, quarry workers, clerks, innkeepers, labourers, flax dressers, servants, and landowners.^{xxxvi} Had the entire Company been able to move at once, they would have most likely maintained the socio-economic and personal roles they had held in Scotland, thus re-creating their community in a land that could better support them.

Yet, inspection of their landholdings in America might seem to contradict their intentions of re-creation. Scottish tenant holdings ranged in this period from about fifty to 100 acres depending on the region's stage of land enclosure.^{xxxvii} In Renfrewshire particularly, around half the land possessions were still less than thirty-nine acres. These farmers generally only produced enough to subsist and to pay rents, usually in kind (produce or livestock); market sales were a secondary consideration. Yet, instead of the thirty or fifty acres of personal land most tenants and crofters had been accustomed to in Scotland, most of the members of the Company held several hundred in America. This may seem out of character for the Scots, a proof of changing social values. However, despite realities, the ideal for the 100-acre farm was already part of the changing Renfrewshire countryside. In the early 1770s, Robert Ainslie – the estate factor for Lord Douglas, managing his lands in Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, and Angus – was one of several men to describe optimal holdings as a minimum of 100 acres.^{xxxviii} Therefore, when, in 1783, Whitelaw advised the remaining members to “come over, but only if you can get 100 acres, which is the least one can do with” he was behaving no differently than affluent Renfrewshire Scots had done the preceding decade.^{xxxix}

The members in America were not trying to gain expanses of land unheard of for Scottish farmers, but merely secure their status in a time when definitions were rapidly changing. In order to maintain their status as tenant farmers, as opposed to landless farm labourers, they had to secure one of the larger farms that owners were enclosing throughout the Lowlands. However, by necessary consequence, for every one farmer that remained a tenant, two to five others became labourers. By immigrating to North America where such grants of land were readily available,

the Company was assuring the prosperity and pride of the entire community of farmers and their compliment of artisans and tradesmen. Scotland was changing, now defining a tenant as holding at least 100 acres of land. By attaining similarly sized plots in New England, the members of SACF were conforming to new Scottish definitions. It was the status of tenant, therefore, that was important and characteristic, not the actual size of the plot.

VI

Maintaining the cultural and hierarchical roles they had held in Scotland required not only the movement of the entire community, but also the non-interference of outsiders. New York's Connecticut River Valley was sparsely populated, but the Company of Farmers did have neighbours. On their southern border was the town of Newbury. Relations between the two townships were congenial and Miller writes, "the Scotch settlers of Ryegate liked the English settlers of Newbury, the Newbury people liked them."^{xi} The goodwill between them resulted from a similar cultural background. Newbury also had a "good Presbyterian meeting," spoke English, and were subjects of King George.^{xii} Yet, there was an important difference between them. Despite Miller referring to them as "English," first-generation settlers from Great Britain had not founded Newbury, New York. Instead, citizens from Newbury, Massachusetts had done so. Having heard of the agricultural possibilities of the region from soldiers returning from the Seven Years' War, many colonists moved northward, away from the relatively heavily populated Salem area.^{xiii} Because many of these settlers had been born in the colonies – some had settled there several generations prior – they had a conception of New England as home, and had adapted their diet and practices to the American environment. Their assistance to and influence over the newly arrived Scots proved to be considerable.

Whitelaw and Allan met the citizens of Newbury on their first night living in New York. They arrived in Newbury on 1 November 1774 and were "put up with Jacob Bayley Esq.," its founder, to whom they had been introduced by Ryegate land speculator John Church.^{xliii} Because of their shared border, and their relative remoteness from larger New England communities,

Whitelaw and Bayley interacted and cooperated with one another throughout their lives. One cooperative venture was the sharing of the mill rights on a border river. In January 1775, the Company negotiated for and succeeded in taking possession of a lot of land in the Newbury township containing a waterfall, to which Ryegate secured 50% of the water rights.^{xliv} This was a much better location for a mill than the streams that Whitelaw had originally included in their purchase. Though the members of SACF built the mill, both communities utilized it and benefited from its presence. This is a small but important example of cooperation and economic ties between the townships. Thanks to the number of waterways, late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century New England was home to thousands of mills, most towns had several to serve the various clusters of farmers. That Ryegate purchased water rights in Newbury is not particularly significant. What is important is that these two towns shared the mill. It not only indicates that Ryegate's first farms were very near Newbury, which maps clearly show, but that they shared a single economic community with them. Furthermore, since economic cooperation leads to social contact, this mill represents one of the cultural ties developing between Ryegate and its American neighbours.

The citizens of Newbury also attempted to actively create national/cultural ties with their northern neighbours. Bayley was a vocal advocate for independence and rose to the rank of Colonel in the colonial army. His influence probably prompted the small Ryegate community to "elect" their three military officers in May 1776. However, there is no record of a muster field or any exercises by these officers. Their election seems to have been a shallow attempt at involvement in the revolution. In fact, the only real mention of war activities in Ryegate was in July 1776. Hearing that:

St. John's [had been] retaken by the Regulars, and that Indians would be sent through to lay waste the country, all the people of Ryegate moved down to Newbury, where they had more Company and foolishly thought there was less danger, but after staying there about ten days, and seeing no appearance of danger, they all returned to their respective homes.^{xlv}

In fact, one settler, William Nielson, had seen the exodus as ridiculous and chose to remain in Ryegate. After this first alarm proved false, life settled in Ryegate and the residents rode out the war with little, if any, direct involvement. Although Miller boldly states that there was not a loyalist among the settlers, they did not seem to be very active patriots either.^{xlvi} In this respect, at least, the influence of their Yankee neighbours made little impact on the Scots.

Like most Europeans, if not peoples in general, the Scots have, because of their long histories, developed strong local ties and sensibilities. Those from Strathclyde, for example, are to this day distinguishable in mentality and culture from those of Stirling or the Lothians, although they are all nominally Lowlanders. These local loyalties, in addition to their remoteness from the hotbed of revolutionary activities, may be the reason that they were not particularly engrossed in the transatlantic battle for imperial control of North America.

That they had gone to Newbury, and that the Newbury settlers had happily lodged them, convincingly shows that they were good friends. However, a more direct influence on the settlers of the SACF came from non-members who settled within Ryegate itself. In 1773, Whitelaw and Allan had only purchased from Witherspoon the southerly portion of the township. Witherspoon and his partners continued to dispose of their land in the northern half of the town throughout the period. People from throughout the colonies, hearing the same news Colonel Bayley had, began to move to the township and surround the Company's settlers. Of the new arrivals, there was a fair mix of Scottish immigrants and Americans from the surrounding New England colonies.^{xlvii} The Company, therefore, was not deluged with English and American settlers. Neither, however, were they still a purely Scottish community. Even those who were Scottish were not always straight from Britain. Miller states that:

Some of the young men who came to this town worked for awhile near the east coast, or among their countrymen in the vicinity of Londonderry, N. H. Others worked for a season or two in Newbury or Haverhill and earned money to pay for their land, or took their pay in cattle or sheep

with which to begin farming for themselves.
Meantime they learned Yankee ways.^{xlviii}

Therefore, a blending of Scottish and American ways was not only created in Ryegate but was introduced by incoming settlers. The town was not made of two discrete groups of people, American and Scottish, but was also home to men and women who held the values of both. Since there was no clear cultural line of distinction between the citizens of Ryegate, the high level of mixing between them, even at the beginning, is not surprising. Furthermore, after Parliament declared the colonies in rebellion, the Managers in America began to actively rent out Company lands to these non-members, as their *Bond of Association* allowed. Again, economic proximity, such as their hiring of farm labour, allowed for the social mixing of the members with the people of New England.

As far as records show, the officials in Ryegate carried out these transactions without the permission of the Managers in Scotland. It is likely, however, that Whitelaw had sought permission but was unable to obtain it. He wrote in 1777 that “all the clear[ed] land that belongs to the Company is rented as I informed you [in the] beforesaid letter.”^{xlix} That letter had apparently gone unanswered. Communication was slow from the start of the settlement and stopped almost completely during the American War for Independence. By the end of the war, Managers on both sides of the Atlantic were frequently expressing their frustration at having to resend instructions and requests. The inability to conduct business with those in Scotland meant that those in Ryegate had to proceed as best they could without the assistance and permission of the Managers in Scotland.¹ They began to rely more on their American neighbours than the Scottish kin and Company that were rapidly becoming phantasmal. The Managers in America and the town officials, most notably Whitelaw, became the dominant guiding force for the members. More importantly, they became a source of guidance for the entire community, members and non-members alike.

Whitelaw, the town clerk and soon assistant to the Surveyor-General of Vermont, was known throughout the region and received a large number of queries seeking advice on where to settle in the area. Though there is no collection of his responses,

the great influx of settlers to the region immediately surrounding and within Ryegate seems to indicate that he gave a favourable account of the area to those who enquired. He, at least, did not seem to vocally desire the cultural isolation so characteristic of other Scottish communities. By the end of the American Revolution, the Ryegate township was no longer as homogenous as when it began. In 1793, two decades after the original settlement of the SACF, only eighteen of the seventy-nine households were original Company members. While an additional sixteen had purchased land through the Managers in Scotland later on, the majority of citizens were not from the same community that had gathered in Inchinnan to sign the *Bond of Association*. However, members and non-members alike had formed a single community in the township. While the connection began spatially, it soon evolved and helped to create a shared Ryegate mentality and culture. In fact, by the end of the eighteenth century, Ryegate possessed a Creole culture. Diet, faith, and habits of Scotland had combined with those of New England, and this creolization in many respects was unusually rapid.

The creolization, the combining of old and new world culture, of the settlers is shown in several aspects of their lives. In the beginning, there were several clues that the men and women of the SACF were remaining true to their Scottish heritage. Their diet still consisted of the same “English grains” and they supplemented it with “salmon and trout and several other kinds of fish [which] are caught in plenty in Connecticut river.”^{li} Lowland Scots had long relied on fishing to supplement their diet. Yet, the encroachment on the community by neighbours, welcomed or not, and the wholly new environment caused them to change their practices. While they were able to grow “all kinds of English Grain in perfection,” they also were able to grow foodstuffs “which the climate in Scotland will not produce such as water and muskmelon, cucumbers, [and] pumpkins.” They also enjoyed another luxury of the Vermont wilderness. “Sugar,” they found, “can be made here in abundance in March and Aprile [*sic*] from the Mapple [*sic*] tree which we have in great plenty.” The mention of various American foods in letters and journals does not necessarily indicate a fundamental shift in the members’ cultural, in this case culinary, values. Creole diets, however, do show an adaptation, a beginning of a change. The denizens of

Ryegate, by adding American foods to a primarily Scottish diet, were both becoming more like their American neighbours and adding to the collective culture developing there.

Concerning religion, adaptation seems more one-sided, in favour of the Scots. For the first two years at least, the citizens of Ryegate relied on Rev. Peter Powers of Newbury to take “them under his charge” and although the Newbury meeting was Congregationalist, Powers was a Presbyterian. Miller argues that the “church at Newbury was organized in 1764, upon a basis which was, in part at least, Presbyterian.”^{lii} A blending of Scottish and New England religious values had already begun in the area ten years before, and the influx of practice Presbyterians only strengthened its hold on the region; within Ryegate itself, the community was solidly Scottish Presbyterian. By 1824, the citizens of Ryegate had established two churches of their own, representing mainstream sects of Presbyterianism that existed in Scotland, but no other denominations were officially represented until well into the nineteenth century.^{liii}

The physical environment of Vermont and the religious amiability of their neighbours notwithstanding, perhaps the most pressing impediment to maintaining a pure Scottish culture in Ryegate was the utter lack of young Scottish women. Not all the men who came to Ryegate from the SACF were husbands and fathers. Whitelaw and about half of the other men were young and single and desired to be married. “We shall have a flourishing [*sic*] colony here in a short time,” Whitelaw wrote to the Company, except for the need “for young women as we have here about a dozen of young fellows and only one girl and we shall never multiply and replenish this wooden world as we ought without help meets for us.” He then notes, “as this is an excellent flax country a parcel of good spinners would be the very making of the place.”^{liv} Many of the available young women in Scotland at this time, both in rural and urban areas, were involved in the textile industry, engaging in temporary migration to earn money to set up households of their own. As the economic crisis of 1773 had particularly hit textile workers in Glasgow and Paisley, “good spinners” were the most likely “help meets” to emigrate.^{lv} A man of marrying age himself, Whitelaw, and presumably his single compatriots, must have been longing for the young women they had known back in Scotland.

In 1798, Whitelaw's friend Robert Hyslop wrote to him to ask him about his romantic conquests. "Let me know, my old mess-mate Whitelaw, whether you have spliced yourself to any Yankey lassie or whether you have ever bundled with them."^{lvi} The answer to this was "yes." In 1778, he had married the Yankee Miss Abigail Johnston of Newbury, and after her early death, he had wed Susanna Rogers of Bradford, also of Yankee stock. Before his death in 1829, he married once more, this time a Scottish widow from Barnet, the other Lowland Scottish settlement in Vermont. This is significant and a fair representation of what was happening throughout the township. The mother of Whitelaw's four children was not Scottish. Their stepmother, who took charge of them when they were all still under thirteen, was American as well. It was not until the children were all well into their thirties, and had children of their own, that Whitelaw took a Scottish wife. Considering their age, her cultural influence over Whitelaw's children must have been negligible. So while their father continued to assert that he had not changed fundamentally from his Scottish past, his children were raised by parents from two distinct cultural groups.^{lvii} Moreover, mothers traditionally have had a more significant cultural influence on their children, and this was almost certainly true in Whitelaw's case as he travelled widely during their childhood. It would be presumptuous, and grossly fallacious, to assert that all the children of Ryegate were culturally Anglo-American. However, the prevalence of Anglo-American mothers in the first generation, and the fact that by the second generation Scottish immigrants were a small minority, meant that the Ryegate children were generally being raised in accordance to Yankee, not Scottish, traditions.

What is more, the settlement did not only lack women, it lacked settlers in general. After the first few families and young men had arrived, there was a sudden tightening of immigration. The British authorities had long hoped to quell the surge of emigration of artisans and other useful young men to the colonies, but had no legal right to prevent them from moving within His Majesty's domain. However, once the mainland colonies rebelled, Parliament halted all legal immigration and sent back ships from American shores. One such ship was the *Glasgow Packet*, which carried the majority of the Company's members. Years later, Whitelaw records that the ship arrived in April 1775 but:

Unfortunately for them, before they arrived, the revolutionary war had commenced, and they were detained in Boston by Gen. Gage, who gave them their choice, to join the British army, go to Nova Scotia, or Canada, or return to Britain. Some of them settled in Nova Scotia, but they generally returned to Scotland so that no addition was made to the settlement during the revolution.^{lviii}

When the rest of the members failed to come, those already in America needed to fill those missing societal roles. As mentioned before, there had been a steady stream of settlers from surrounding colonies to newly formed Vermont, which established itself out of the northeast part of New York in 1777. These men and women completed the community the SACF had sought to create, and their intermarriage cemented the Scottish settlers to America, weakening their connection to Scotland. The growth in the region and the increasing interaction between the members of the SACF and their neighbours led to a blurring of cultural distinctions and a weakening of national differences.

Closeness to their neighbours was not the only dynamic force in Ryegate's cultural identity. Their separation from their friends and associates in Scotland also helped redefine the members in America. As mentioned earlier, the American War for Independence meant that transatlantic correspondence was painfully slow, but even as early as 1774, Whitelaw's letters showed annoyance at the lack of communication between the two halves of the Company. "I wish you would always send by two ships when you have anything of importance to write."^{lix}

When letters did make it through, they did not always say what the Company wanted to hear. Overall, the members who moved from Scotland to Ryegate "seem[ed] to be well pleased with the Country," both at their initial arrival and after having built their homes.^{lx} However, in late 1774, when David Allan returned home to Scotland, he brought "some scurrilous letters with him."^{lxi} They were "from John Wilson but chiefly from the Sensible Mr. Hugh Semple."^{lxii} The actual content of the letter is lost, but the Managers in Scotland explained to Whitelaw that Wilson's letter had fallen into the hands of Lord Blantyre, the

principal aristocrat from their native parishes. Blantyre had used it to defame and discredit the Company's efforts in Ryegate.^{lxiii} The Managers in Scotland blamed these letters for the failure to attract new members and raise additional funds in Scotland. This was the beginning of a long string of miscommunications and both sides placing the blame on those across the ocean. Fighting and disagreements within the Company were increasing. Even though those in Scotland tried to mend the relationship after the war, by then the attachment of those in America to the Company was weak at best.

The letters home may have been the first misunderstanding, but the real cause of disagreement between the two branches of the Company was the mill built in conjunction with Newbury. The Managers in America drew on the Company for the cost but the Managers in Scotland refused to pay the bill, presumably because of lack of funds. When this news reached the township in the spring of 1775, "they all unanimously signed an obligation to bear their proportional share of whatever [illegible] may be found necessary for completing the [mill] and have likewise promised us as much work gratis among them as makes 50 days of one man."^{lxiv} However, of the members still in Scotland, sixty did not meet their obligations.^{lxv} The money was particularly hard to collect as the membership had scattered and some had died. This was a continuing problem for the rest of the Company's history and unpaid debts remained on the books until the Managers closed them in 1820. In 1777, Whitelaw dutifully reported to the Managers in Scotland the status of the settlement. He noted, "the [mill] does very well [...] but I think it very strange that after you sent order to build then you returned the bill that was sold on you to pay for it."^{lxvi} It is evident from this point, if not earlier, that the members of the Company in America were practically on their own. This indicates that, even if the war had not broken out at such a crucial juncture, it is unlikely that they would have remained politically or economically tied to those back in Scotland. The Managers in Scotland did not seem concerned with the day-to-day needs and problems arising in the township, and those in America were more concerned with the survival of the settlement than of the Company itself. While the Managers in Scotland might have made a great deal of money in renting or selling their land in America, joint maintenance of the entire

community probably would have broken down regardless of the war.

Whitelaw, for his part, saw that the Company was growing increasingly insolvent. He therefore proposed to discharge all the annual labourers and instead pay per acre cleared. Furthermore, he discharged himself as a salaried employee, asking only for travelling expenses and as-needed wages. He would “then be at liberty to do business for” himself. The former Commissioner, town records show, had begun local ventures of his own, mostly in land, and wished to devote more of his time to them. Whitelaw, as early as 1775, was disassociating himself from the Company. In general, the demands of the Company’s finances soon became too much for the Ryegate settlers to sustain. By the end of the decade, “the people [t]here refused to pay anymore of the Company’s assessments.” When the Managers in Scotland pressed for the implementation of the original plans of the *Bond*, Whitelaw argued with their demands, saying, “there will never be a house on every lot. And common farms will produce no money for absentees or the Company.” They could not maintain the transatlantic management and financial backing envisioned at the start. Although the Managers in America did not officially dissolve the Company for another forty years, the settlers of Ryegate soon saw the SACF only as another branch of their local government, not as a partnership across the sea. For the last decades of its existence, the clerk made only a few notations in the Company books, mostly concerning the default or payment of old debts. After only six years in America, all of the settlers, not just Whitelaw, were dissolving their ties to the Company.

VII

In 1820, the Managers in America settled the final debts and credits to the Company and closed the books forever. The time of the Company was spent and the denizens of Ryegate were now a community on one continent instead of two. Remnants of the Lowland co-partnership remained, elected officers seemingly going through the motions, but their appearance was more imagined than real. In the end, there had been no complete transference of a Scottish community to their Caledonian Canaan. Marriage and necessity had blended the borders of the Scots and their American neighbours, in both directions.

Whitelaw wrote in his 1824 history of Ryegate that of the residents “2/3 were of Scottish descent” and they “still in great measure, follow the habits and subsist upon the diet to which they were accustomed in Scotland.”^{lxvii} He further added that though much of the rest of the membership of the Company was in Scotland to stay, “now and then a family, or young man [comes] from Scotland to join the settlement.”^{lxviii} Although he was probably correct in his estimations of ethnic composition, just under half of the population in Ryegate in 1820 was under the age of eighteen. Most had been born in the United States. Considering Whitelaw’s exasperation at the lack of Scottish “help meets,” it is likely that most of denizens he considered “of Scottish descent” were only half-Scottish. Yet, the members of the SACF still held sway over the community. They held most of the town offices, the largest estates, and filled the town coffers with their share of local taxes. William Neilson, the one settler who had stayed during rumours of invasion, had been an early and significant investor in the SACF and, according to Bailyn, became the richest man in the town’s history, holding 721 acres, 55% of which was under cultivation. Meanwhile, the adult son of an original Manager became the second principal landowner in early Ryegate and served as treasurer, surveyor of highways, selectman, and assessor during his life. Whitelaw, as has been mentioned previously, held great public prominence in the town and state, though his holdings were a comparatively meagre 190 acres.^{lxix} The members of the SACF had been the first group of settlers and their organization was the foundation of the township.

Religiously, the town was still Presbyterian in 1824, though it had split into two sects. Later loyalties indicate that, at the time of their emigration, the members of SACF had belonged to different dissension groups in Scotland, Whitelaw for one belonging to the Associate Presbytery. However, because of the small number of original settlers, they had combined under a single Presbyterian church. The later increase in population allowed them to separate once more and they (somewhat) peaceably negotiated use of the meetinghouse until they could build a second one. The relative civility in the separation suggests that the settlers had accepted their religious differences in Scotland and had intended to be separate from the beginning. The only conflict was an argument over proportional use of the town’s meetinghouse. Their arguments,

as recorded in the town history, are mild in comparison with the forceful divisions between Calvinists, Unitarians, and Baptists taking place throughout New England. A series of Scottish Presbyterians, including the Rev. Dr. Witherspoon, temporarily preached to the town until the Scottish Reformed Presbyterian Rev. William Gibson took up the entire Ryegate flock in 1800. Non-Presbyterian denominations eventually found homes in the expanding community, but the original members lived to ripe old ages without ever seeing them.

Socially, by 1824, the denizens of Ryegate had a Female Charitable Society, an increasingly common organization in 1820's New England, the members of which donated \$0.52 to its causes each year. The town was also home to a small, "but well chosen" library collected by Whitelaw himself. Education was a matter of importance and pride. Dobson argues that, in the southern colonies, the Lowland Scots had a distinct advantage over English colonists because of their rigorous education in Scotland. The appearance of eight schoolhouses in Ryegate by 1824 might suggest that their pride in education remained in their new home. However, Dobson also argues that the English colonists in New England were just as adamant about a proper education as their Scottish cousins. Averaging fifty students to a school, Ryegate was simply on a par with the rest of Vermont.^{lxx}

Bailyn casually ends his narrative of the purchase and settlement of the Ryegate by saying that:

the culture these Yankee villages generated was thinner, shallower, vaguer in their blendings, less rich in complex meanings and subtleties of expression than that of the ancient Renfrewshire and Dunbartonshire communities from which the Ryegate settlers had come.^{lxxi}

Though his discussion does not directly discuss the cultural identity of these Scots, one can infer from Whitelaw's writings that he is correct. Despite the intentions of re-creating their home abroad, the town of Ryegate became a typical Vermont village, its practices blending with those of its Massachusetts and New Hampshire neighbours to form a unique Vermont mentality. However, the feeling of pride, of separateness from their Anglo-Saxon cousins seems, to have remained with the members of the

SACF and their descendants. This is evident from the language of later town and state histories.

The influence of these men and women, born and raised in Scotland, was considerable. In his highly subjective introduction, Miller proudly describes his Scottish forebears. He states that:

All the changes of one hundred and thirty-five years have not materially altered the character of the town, and within the present year a well known clergyman declared at a public gathering that the only parts of Scotland he had ever visited were Ryegate and Barnet.^{lxxii}

In 1913, when the history was written, to be of Scottish stock was a source of much pride in the community. Although this study has shown that the town was not exclusively Scottish in its development and practices, the colonial myth that “a sturdy race were those Scotchmen in Yankee-land who subdued the wilderness, covered the hills with fruitful farms and planted there the church and the school” was still a powerful one.^{lxxiii}

Even today, nearly two hundred years after the Company’s last transaction was complete, the people of Caledonia County, and of Vermont, still look back fondly on those Scottish men and women. In doing my research at the Vermont Historical Society, I asked the librarian if she could help me find Whitelaw letters in the archives. Overjoyed, she chatted on about “the General” and her own connection to Vermont’s Scottish past. The Scots of Vermont seem as powerful a local legend as the Pilgrims of Massachusetts, the first families of Virginia, or the freedom fighters of Texas. As I left, I nodded to the statute of Robert Burns that stands guard outside the Barre Archives. The Lowland Scots might not have been the largest group to immigrate to New England, but their impact was very real.

VIII

Most historians agree that Ryegate, as a unit, was unusual. Except its less prominently Scottish neighbour Barnet, it was the only successful migration of a Lowland community to New England. However, its inhabitants were not unique in their character or

unusual in their basic situation. As mentioned previously, over 17,000 Scots were present in northern New England by the end of the eighteenth century. This area, newly booming, was one of the key frontiers of the United States. Unlike southern New England, the Mid-Atlantic, or the South, these states did not possess the major international ports to attract the large, well-documented merchant communities that accounted for so many Scots in Boston, Philadelphia, New York, and the Chesapeake. Therefore, these Scots were likely farmers and tradesmen, working alongside Yankee and other immigrant farmers and tradesmen. In this crucial respect, the men and women of Ryegate were typical of the Lowland Scots streaming to American shores in the 1770s.

Nor was the origin and construction of the town itself particularly unusual for New England. Its highly detailed *Bond*, a document that intricately planned land and social allotments, had been common of settlements throughout New England, New York and Pennsylvania. For example, its aims and standards were in many respects similar to New England townships of the previous century, when British immigrants were first settling Massachusetts. Furthermore, the fading of cultural borders and the increase of social interaction with outsiders had occurred in these early settlements just as they had in Ryegate. However, the rate at which Ryegate's particular cultural isolation faded is unusual. Unlike Puritan towns such as Dedham, which transformed over several generations, this study has shown that the character and composition of Ryegate changed dramatically within the first ten years of its existence. The sudden demand for land in the Connecticut River Valley by New Englanders, and the sudden inability for its own settlers to arrive in Ryegate, greatly accelerated the blending process making the experiences of its settlers more akin to smaller and family immigrant groups, despite their initial concentration.

Thus, the members of the SACF offer historians an invaluable view of the understudied Lowland farmer emigrant. Because they were such a relatively large and literate group, their impact and acculturation can be more precisely seen than the many families and young adults that seemingly disappeared into the American interior. Yet, despite their relative size, they could not, or chose not, to maintain a culturally pure settlement and blended

seamlessly within the first few generations. The give and take between the Yankees and the Scots of the Connecticut River Valley allows us to postulate what was happening on a much smaller scale throughout New England as young Scots and Scottish families spread northward and westward from well-documented ports. Furthermore, despite the fact that the Scottish Ryegate settlers were culturally similar to their neighbours, they have made a lasting and particular impact on their region. This indicates that the Lowland farmers, while numerically small in New England, could and did exert a distinct and powerful influence within their communities. Like the merchant communities of tidewater Virginia or the Highland cattle farmers of North Carolina, the Lowland farmers of New England are an important part of the history of colonization and creolization of British North America and cannot nor need not be represented by numbers alone.

NOTES

ⁱ While economic crises afflicting Lowland farmers in 1773 may have taken on religious undertones, it is likely that the central meaning of ‘Canaan’ in this statement was “land of plenty,” rather than “land of God’s people.” However, the two definitions, of course, are not mutually exclusive.

ⁱⁱ T.M. Devine, *Scotland’s Empire and the Shaping of the Americas, 1600-1815* (Washington, 2004), 100.

ⁱⁱⁱ Devine, *Scotland’s Empire*, 100; D. Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America, 1607-1785* (Athens, 1994), 84.

^{iv} To support his argument that there was no large-scale migration from Scotland to New England, Dobson notes only one shipload (as opposed to individual persons or families) of Scots reached New England in the early 1770s, the *Glasgow Packet*. Unfortunately, other sources indicate that these men and women were denied entry and forced to return to Scotland. Furthermore, many of Ryegate’s settlers arrived through Philadelphia and Nova Scotia. Therefore, Dobson’s research shows the difficulty of using emigration records to accurately reflect the number and dispersion of Scots in New England. Dobson, *Scottish Emigration*, 136; Z. Thompson, *A Gazetteer of the State of Vermont* (Montpelier, 1824), 239.

^v Devine, *Scotland’s Empire*, 100.

^{vi} T. M. Devine, ‘Temporary Migration and the Scottish Highlands in the Nineteenth Century’, *Economic History Review* 32.3 (1979), 344.

^{vii} C.A. Whatley, *Scottish Society, 1707-1830: Beyond Jacobitism, Towards Industrialisation* (New York, 2000), 112.

^{viii} T. M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation: A History, 1700-2000* (New York, 1999), 135-9. This was the case for several Ryegate settlers when their leases in Erskine suddenly fell due in 1771. Devine, *Scotland’s Empire*, 116.

^{ix} M. Gray, ‘The Social Impact of Agrarian Change in the Rural Lowlands’ in T. M. Devine and R. Mitchison (eds.), *People and Society in Scotland: A Social History of Modern Scotland in Three Volumes. Volume II* (Edinburgh, 1988), 59, 66.

^x R.S. Stephenson, “‘Were My Object to Make Money, I

Would Never Leave America': Highland Soldiers and Scottish Emigration to North America, 1756-1775', *Harvard University Working Paper No. 96-11*, 2. The author is grateful for permission to cite this article.

^{xi} Stephenson, 'Highland Soldiers and Scottish Emigration to North America', 16.

^{xii} British authorities, as Bailyn has noted in *Voyagers to the West*, did not keep accurate emigration records until the 1770s. The number of Britons (and other Europeans) who travelled to America between 1763 and 1773 can only be estimated, and these vary greatly.

^{xiii} Stephenson, 'Highland Soldiers and Scottish Emigration to North America', 20.

^{xiv} Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, 113.

^{xv} E. Miller, F.P. Wells, and G. Mason, *History of Ryegate, Vermont* (St. Johnsbury, VT, 1913), 15.

^{xvi} The *Bond of Association* is printed in full in 'Journal of the Managers of the Scotch American Company of Farmers', *Vermont Historical Society Proceedings, 1926-8* (Montpelier, 1926).

^{xvii} *Bond of Association*. Understanding the likelihood of change in future circumstances, the preamble allowed amendment by a 2/3 vote.

^{xviii} B. Bailyn and B. DeWolfe, *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution*, 1st edition (New York, 1986), 625.

^{xix} The *Bond's* third section states that the funds shall be kept in a bank in Glasgow or wherever most convenient. However, since Whitelaw had to rely on bills of credit from the Company while in Ryegate, one can infer that the money remained in Scotland.

^{xx} For a full history, see R. Saville, *Bank of Scotland: A History, 1695-1995* (Edinburgh, 1996).

^{xxi} Gray, 'Social Impact of Agrarian Change', 66-7.

^{xxii} Devine, *Scottish Nation*, 126.

^{xxiii} R. Mitchison, 'The Poor Law', in Devine and Mitchison (eds.), *People and Society in Scotland, Volume II*, 253.

xxiv William Whitelaw to James Whitelaw, Whiteinch, 14 June 1773, *James Whitelaw Papers [JWP]*, Vermont Historical Society.

xxv Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, 117-18.

xxvi Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, 122, 136-37.

xxvii 'Journal of the Managers', 181.

xxviii James Whitelaw, 'Journal of James Whitelaw, Surveyor General of Vermont', *Vermont Historical Society Proceedings, 1905-6* (Montpelier, 1928), 122.

xxix See I.C.C. Graham, *Colonists from Scotland: Emigration to North America, 1707-1783* (Ithaca, NY, 1956); J.H. Soltow, 'Scottish Traders in Virginia, 1750-1775', *Economic History Review*, 12, 1 (1959); A.L. Karras, *Sojourners in the Sun: Scottish Migrants in Jamaica and the Chesapeake, 1740-1800* (Ithaca, 1992); Bailyn and DeWolfe, *Voyagers to the West*.

xxx Whitelaw, 'Journal of James Whitelaw, Surveyor General of Vermont', 124.

xxxi Miller, Wells, and Mason, *History of Ryegate*, 9.

xxxii Graham, *Colonists from Scotland*, 86-7.

xxxiii 'Journal of the Managers', 181.

xxxiv Whitelaw, 'Journal of James Whitelaw', 122.

xxxv They must have agreed to some extent on theology as Witherspoon was invited to and did preach in Ryegate on several occasions.

xxxvi Whitelaw, 'Journal of James Whitelaw', 122.

xxxvii Preceding the arrival of the SACF in America, Witherspoon had exchanged with Pagan much of his holding in Pictou for lots in Ryegate at a rate of 4 to 1, showing that he valued the land in New York to be four times that of Nova Scotia. The average rate he sold land to settlers in Pictou was 12*d* (6*d*-18*d*, depending on time of purchase) while the average in Ryegate was 16*d*. Considering the relative value of the land, this shows a much better deal in both price and quality. Miller, Wells, and Mason, *History of Ryegate*, 12.

xxxviii W. Ferguson, *Scotland: 1689 to the Present* (Edinburgh, 1968), 179.

xxxix Whitelaw, 'Journal of James Whitelaw', 123.

xl Whitelaw, 'Journal of James Whitelaw', 137.

xli Whitelaw, 'Journal of James Whitelaw', 137.

xlii Devine, *Scottish Nation*, 135.

xliii Devine, *Scottish Nation*, 136.

xliv Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, 116.

xlv The same changes were taking place in artisan communities. Differences between employer and employee were becoming more obvious, and many artisans and craftsmen cited a hope of independency and opportunity as their reason for emigrating. Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, 114.

xlvi *Bond of Association*.

xlvii James Whitelaw to the Gentlemen of Scotch-American Company of Farmers, Ryegate, 9 May 1774, *JWP*.

xlviii Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, 116.

xlix Graham, *Colonists from Scotland*, 110; J.M. Price, 'The Rise of Glasgow in the Chesapeake Tobacco Trade, 1707-1775', *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* 11.2: Scotland and America (1954), 198.

¹ Thompson, *A Gazetteer of the State of Vermont*, 238.

^{li} A few of the members remained absentee landlords, never taking up residence on their plots. By 1820, all of these plots had been sold to American settlers or been forfeited because the owner could not be located.

^{lii} James Whitelaw to the Gentlemen of Scotch-American Company of Farmers, Ryegate, 26 Dec 1774, *JWP*.

^{liii} John Jones to the Gentlemen of Scotch-American Company of Farmers, Ryegate, 26 Dec 1774, *JWP*.

^{liv} *Bond of Association*.

^{lv} Gray, 'Social Impact of Agrarian Change', in Devine and Mitchison (eds.) *People and Society in Scotland, Volume II*, 53.

^{lvi} Devine, *Scottish Nation*, 128, 139.

^{lvii} James Whitelaw to the Gentlemen of Scotch-American Company of Farmers, Ryegate, 16 Oct 1783, *JWP*.

^{lviii} Miller, Wells, and Mason, *History of Ryegate*, 65.

^{lix} The meeting was actually an English Congregationalist Church, the second oldest in what would be Vermont. However, as they had hired a Scottish Presbyterian minister, the preaching would be similar in both meetings.

^{lx} Their eastern neighbour, the New Hampshire town of Haverhill, was of similar origin and christening.

^{lxi} James Whitelaw to the Gentlemen of Scotch-American Company of Farmers, Ryegate, 11 Feb 1774, *JWP*.

^{lxii} *Bond of Association*.

^{lxiii} Miller, Wells, and Mason, *History of Ryegate*, 80.

^{lxiv} Miller's declaration most likely stems from the high level of patriotism present throughout the United States when his book was published.

^{lxv} An examination of the genealogical records of the entire township of Ryegate shows that families coming to Ryegate in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century originated from Scotland, New Hampshire, New York, Maine, and Massachusetts. There was also at least one family, although probably not many more, from Ireland in the early 1800s.

^{lxvi} Miller, Wells, and Mason, *History of Ryegate*, 64.

^{lxvii} James Whitelaw to the Gentlemen of Scotch-American Company of Farmers, Ryegate, 28 Oct 1777, *JWP*.

^{lxviii} The *Bond of Association* allows that the "foresaid court of Directors and Managers Shall have the power of managing and disposing of the Company Stock Providing they apply it toward carrying on and execution the intended plan." Although this charter refers to the Managers in Scotland, perhaps the separation obliged the Managers in America to take over these responsibilities.

^{lxix} Bailyn and DeWolfe, *Voyagers to the West*, 632.

^{lxx} Although the Scots traditionally grew oats rather than English grains, Whitelaw refers to the "English grains" as those he was accustomed to. It is likely that he was referring to British grains, as opposed to American corn, in general.

^{lxxi} James Whitelaw to the Gentlemen of Scotch-American Company of Farmers, Ryegate, 11 Feb 1774, *JWP*.

^{lxxii} Miller, Wells, and Mason, *History of Ryegate*, 65, 106.

lxxiii Thompson, *Gazetteer*, 239.

lxxiv James Whitelaw to the Gentlemen of Scotch-American Company of Farmers Ryegate, 14 Oct 1774, *JWP*.

lxxv Devine, *Scotland's Empire*, 113.

lxxvi Robert Hyslop to James Whitelaw, 15 Jan 1798, *JWP*.

lxxvii In his history of the town in Thompson's *Gazetteer* Whitelaw is quite firm in his appraisal of the town's Scottish heritage and continuing culture. Although this view is shared by the local histories of the town and region well into the twentieth century, it might very well have been defensive reasoning. Perhaps others, even within the town, felt that Ryegate was not particularly Scottish in outward appearance and so Whitelaw made loud efforts to re-establish Scotland's cultural significance in the region.

lxxviii Bailyn and DeWolfe, *Voyagers to the West*, 57-66.

lxxix Thompson, *Gazetteer*, 239.

lxxx James Whitelaw to the Gentlemen of Scotch-American Company of Farmers, Ryegate, 14 Oct 1774, *JWP*.

lxxxi James Whitelaw to the Gentlemen of Scotch-American Company of Farmers, Ryegate, 11 Feb 1774, *JWP*.

lxxxii No mention is made of why Allan returned to Scotland after purchasing Ryegate with Whitelaw. It is likely he intended to be an absentee landlord and remain on his farm in Sandylands.

lxxxiii Hugh Semple, from descriptions in the papers, was a junior member of the large and wealthy Semple family in Scotland and Philadelphia.

lxxxiv William Houston to James Whitelaw, Glasgow, 27 Dec 1774, *JWP*.

lxxxv James Whitelaw to the Gentlemen of Scotch-American Company of Farmers, Ryegate, 29 May 1775, *JWP*.

lxxxvi Bailyn and DeWolfe, *Voyagers to the West*, 632.

lxxxvii James Whitelaw to the Gentlemen of Scotch-American Company of Farmers, Ryegate, 28 Oct 1777, *JWP*.

lxxxviii James Whitelaw to the Gentlemen of Scotch-American Company of Farmers, Ryegate, 29 May 1775, *JWP*.

lxxxix James Whitelaw to the Gentlemen of Scotch-American

Company of Farmers, Ryegate, 11 Dec 1780, *JWP*.

^{xc} Whitelaw made no further note on what he meant by “habits” but the rest of his article implied that he probably was referring to religion, education, and other social habits.

^{xc}_i Thompson, *Gazetteer*, 239-40.

^{xc}_{ii} Bailyn and DeWolfe, *Voyagers to the West*, 632-33.

^{xc}_{iii} Miller, Wells, and Mason, *History of Ryegate*, 568.

^{xc}_{iv} Thompson, *Gazetteer*, 239.

^{xc}_v Thompson, *Gazetteer*, 239, 249.

^{xc}_{vi} Bailyn and DeWolfe, *Voyagers to the West*, 636.

^{xc}_{vii} Miller, Wells, and Mason, *History of Ryegate*, 18.

^{xc}_{viii} Miller, Wells, and Mason, *History of Ryegate*, v. “Golden age” myths were becoming increasingly popular throughout the country in the later nineteenth and early twentieth century and many town and regional histories from this period are earnest but flawed representations of their past.

^{xc}_{ix} For more on the creation and evolution of Dedham and neighbouring communities, see K.A. Lockridge, *A New England Town The First Hundred Years: Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1736* (New York, 1985).