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**THE SCOTCH ELEMENT IN AMERICAN
CIVILIZATION**

BY

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**A. B. Illinois Woman's College,
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THESIS

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THE SCOTCH ELEMENT IN AMERICAN COLONIZATION

CHAPTER I

SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND, 1603-1707

During the seventeenth century when England and other European nations were pushing so rapidly into America, Scotland was absorbed in her own internal political and religious affairs. The predominant issue in the history of Scotland, from the accession of James to the English throne in 1603 to the Revolution of 1688, was religion. It determined political events and pushed into the background economic questions. This was due to the fact that the two chief aims of her Stuart kings were to establish absolute monarchy and to bring the Church of Scotland into conformity with that of England. These aims were in direct opposition to the will of the people. Although many of the highlanders were still Roman Catholics and the nobles were at first favorable to the Established Church, the great mass of the middle and lower classes were strong Calvinists, devoted to their religion and ready to defend it no matter what the cost.

Little by little James secured the reappointment of bishops and the restoration of at least part of their old powers. The Scottish parliament was subservient to James and in 1612 ratified what he had done so that, as far as legal sanction was concerned, Episcopacy as a form of church government was set up in Scotland. James wished to bring the church into conformity in worship as

well as in government, but in this he met with strong opposition from the people. The Five Articles of Perth decreed certain changes in worship, but these remained practically dead letters.¹

Charles I. took further steps to make the ritual of the Scottish Church like that of the English. In 1637 Archbishop Laud, at the command of the king, attempted to introduce a new prayer book similar to the one used in England. All classes opposed the new form of service because they felt that it was too much like the Catholic forms and because it was forced upon them in an unconstitutional way. The new service was read for the first time in St. Giles Church in Edinburgh in July 1637. Riots immediately broke out and during the next year the people bound themselves together in the National League and Covenant in which they took oath to support the Crown and the true religion.²

Charles made concessions but was not willing to yield to the extent desired. War soon resulted. Charles was not able to put down the rebellion because of conditions in England which soon resulted in war between the king and his adherents on one side and parliament with its adherents on the other. The Scotch allied themselves with parliament by a treaty called the Solemn League and Covenant. All those who signed it agreed to bring the religion of England, Scotland and Ireland to the same form which should be according to the word of God and the example of the best

1. Macmillan, A Short history of the Scottish People, p. 322.

2. Brown, H., History of Scotland, II, p. 304.

reformed churches.

The king was defeated and taken prisoner. In 1649 he was tried and executed. England was then declared to be a commonwealth. The form of government established did not prove entirely satisfactory. In 1653 a protectorate was formed with Oliver Cromwell, who had become the most influential man in the kingdom, at its head.

There had been a reaction in Scotland and in 1650 the Scotch acknowledged Prince Charles as their king. This brought about war with England. Cromwell led his army into Scotland and in September 1650 he defeated one Scottish army at Dunbar and captured Edinburgh. A second army organized by the Scotch was completely crushed a year later in the battle of Worcester. The power of the commonwealth was then established; Scotland was united in a political union with England, and peace, order, justice, and religious toleration were established in the kingdom.

Cromwell died in 1658, and with his death the commonwealth practically came to an end, though it lingered for a little more than a year under Richard, the Protector's son. In 1660 monarchy was restored and Charles II. became king. Scotland again became a separate kingdom, united to England only by virtue of a common sovereign.

Charles had agreed to accept the Covenant, but the people of Scotland soon learned that he had no intention of keeping his promise. The period from the Restoration to the Revolution

of 1688 forms one of the gloomiest chapters in the history of Scotland. Charles determined to restore Episcopacy but was met with stubborn resistance. "It is on the one side a continuous series of attempts made by the Government to force an ecclesiastical system of a kind inconsistent either with civil or religious liberty on a people to whom it was obnoxious, and on the other side, the series of acts by which that people resisted the pressure so long, so uninterruptedly and so heavily brought to bear on them.¹" Fines were imposed upon those who refused to conform and soldiers were quartered on them until the fines were paid. The people were denied the right to worship as they desired in their churches so they had recourse to Conventicles. These were secret meetings in lonely places with watches posted to give warning of danger. In these meetings they worshipped in accordance with their own simple forms. The government tried to suppress these Conventicles with the utmost severity. The thumb-screw and boot as forms of torture were brought into use.² There were numerous rebellions among the people which were put down with great harshness and cruelty. One of the most serious of the uprisings was crushed in the battle at Bothwell brig in 1679. Life became unsafe in Scotland for even the law abiding because any association with Covenanters was punishable with death or outlawry.

Charles II. died in February 1685 and James II. was proclaimed

1. Macmillan, History of Scottish people, p. 383.

2. Ibid., p. 386

king. Fortunately for Scotland he reigned only three years. The period is known as the killing time. "Shooting down without quarter was practiced on both sides."¹ Because of these conditions there were numerous plots to dethrone James. In 1685 one was planned by a number of men who had taken refuge in Holland. There was to be a simultaneous attempt on England and Scotland. The Earl of Argyll was in command of the Scottish expedition. The plot became known to the government and preparation was made to meet it. Argyll's men were soon put to flight and he was captured and executed.²

James was a Roman Catholic and in the latter part of his reign, in order to grant privileges to the Catholics, he issued letters of indulgence giving liberty of worship to all except Covenanters. Both England and Scotland were so strongly opposed to the Catholic religion that in 1688 they brought about the "Bloodless Revolution" by which James was deposed and William and Mary were put on the throne.

The Revolution marked a decided change in the history of Scotland. The strife between Church and State was peaceably settled and the center of interest of the nation changed from religion to trade, commerce, and other forms of economic development.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century Scotland "was a country of undeveloped economic resources, almost medieval

1. Macmillan, Short History of the Scottish people, p. 395.

2. Brown, H., History of Scotland, II, pp. 428-432.

in her organization of trade and industry.¹ She was remote from the main lines of traffic and the great centers of industry. Her soil was barren, the climate rigorous and the mineral wealth but little known. The highlands, about half the country, were still barbarous. Society was still feudal and in the highland also patriarchal. There were few industries and little commerce.²

The agricultural methods were crude. Practically all of the farm implements were made of wood. There were no fences and great stretches of marsh land were unreclaimed. This backward condition in agriculture was due very largely to the system of short leases. Tenants could be evicted at will; improvements only increased their rent and made more probable their eviction in favor of a higher bidder.³

The houses of lords and nobles were built more for security than comfort. The houses of the peasantry were mud cabins, thatched with turf, without windows or chimneys, the doors alone admitting light. Poverty was common. Beggars were found everywhere throughout the kingdom.⁴ The conditions in the Highlands were even worse than in the Lowlands, for the land was less productive. Cattle and sheep were raised but they were of

1. Article by Miss T. Keith. Eng. Hist. Rev. vol. 24, p. 44.
2. Montague, Polit. Hist. of Eng., p. 203
3. Macmillan, 412-416; Brown, II, 444-449.
4. Cunningham's Diary. Scottish Hist. Soc. Publications, vol. II. p. xii.

inferior breeds.

James I. was interested in the economic development of the country. He wished a political union with England in order that Scotland might share in the trade advantages of England, but neither country at that time desired the union. James encouraged the introduction of new manufactures by granting liberal patents. As a result such commodities as glass, soap, and leather were for the first time produced in that country. A "Commission of Manufacture was appointed to determine how woolen cloth could best be manufactured. An act imposing a new tariff and another for securing a uniformity in weights and measures were the results of an inquiry into the commercial conditions of the time."¹ The mutually hostile laws between Scotland and England were repealed and free trade was established between the two countries with the exception of certain native productions such as wool, skins, hides, etc. A very notable advance was made along all lines of economic development.

During the reign of Charles I. little further advance was made. In the period of the commonwealth which followed Scotland was united to England politically and enjoyed all the trade privileges of that country. Conditions were favorable to economic development but the nation had scarcely become adjusted to the new situation when the Restoration reversed conditions. Scotland again became a separate nation and the commercial policy

1. Brown, Hist. of Scotland, II, p. 278.

adopted by England in order to cripple her rivals, Holland and France, and to develop the plantation trade gave no consideration to her weaker neighbor. When after 1688 Scotland devoted her attention to the development of her industries and the extension of her commerce to a far greater degree than ever before, the interests of the two nations clashed to such an extent that the problem was only solved by the union of the two countries in 1707.

CHAPTER II

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS OF SCOTLAND WITH THE COLONIES

The commercial relations between England and Scotland especially during the period from 1660 to 1707 in so far as they involved the plantations have an important bearing upon the relations of the Scotch people to the American colonies and so must be considered in some detail.

When in 1660 the union of England and Scotland, which had been formed by Cromwell, was dissolved, Scotland expected to enjoy the same trade relations as had existed between the two countries previous to the commonwealth. The English parliament, however, decided otherwise.

In 1660¹ and 1663² England passed very stringent navigation laws. By these laws Scotland was excluded from the colonial trade. Certain enumerated articles could not be shipped directly from the colonies to Scotland; no goods could be imported from any of the English possessions in America, Africa, or Asia but in vessels belonging to the people of England or in such vessels as had been built in, and belonged to, any of the plantations. The master of the vessel and three fourths of the crew were re-

1. Statutes of the Realm, IV, 246-249.

2. Ibid., 450.

quired to be English. The acts also prohibited all aliens from acting as merchants or factors in the colonies. The act of 1663 prohibited importation into the colonies of any European commodities that had not been laden and shipped in England with the exception that horses, provisions, and servants were allowed to be exported directly from Scotland and Ireland to the colonies.¹

Scotland protested against the navigation act of 1660. The Privy Council ordered the act to be suspended in so far as it related to Scotland until an investigation could be made.² The Commissioners of Customs reported November 6, 1661, "that by allowing the Scots to trade as the English, the customs would be much injured, they bringing in foreign goods without paying alien duties; they might then trade to the Plantations that are absolute English, to the infinite prejudice of his Majesty's duties, and of the Englishmen who have property there both in goods and land, by whose cost and industry they have been planted. The Plantations are his Majesty's Indies, without charge to him raised and supported by the English subjects; they employ above 200 sail of good ships every year, breed abundance of mariners and begin to grow commodities of great value and esteem and tho some of them continue in tobacco yet upon the return it smells well and pays more custom to his Majesty than the East Indies four times over. The scotch would by this liberty overthrow the essence of the Act of Navigation, and they must not be allowed to trade from port to port for they are strangers and their bond is not sufficient security."³ The

1. G.L.Beer in *The Old Colonial System*, Part I, pp. 58-91.

2. *Acts of the Privy Council (Col.) 1613-1680*, No. 536.

3. *Calendar of State Papers (Am. & W.I.) 1661-1668*, No. 178.

decision of the Privy Council was adverse to the Scotch and the Navigation Act was again put in force against them¹. The Scotch parliament passed retaliatory measures, but because of the economic weakness of the country they were of no effect.²

There were, however, occasional exceptions made to the navigation laws, for we find that on August 25, 1663, a license was granted to John Brown, who had a patent for setting up work for refining sugar in Scotland, to use "four Scotch ships for full and free trade with the king's land, islands, plantations, and territories in Asia, Africa and America provided the said ships return directly to Scotland or England."³ Again on November 13, 1664, a license was given to John Brown "to trade with four ships to the English plantations notwithstanding the late acts of Navigation."⁴ Also on April 5, 1669, by an Order in Council, on the proposal of the Duke of York, passes were granted for "two Scotch ships one of 500 tons and the other of 25 tons to pass from Scotland to New York with such as shall desire to plant there and to trade between said places or remain at New York on account of the fishing, trade, or for transplanting the growth and manufactures of his Majesties territories to the Barbadoes and other Plantations"⁵.

1. Acts of the Privy Council (Col.) 1613-1680, No. 537.

2. T. Keith. Eng. Hist. Review, vol. 24, pp 44-46.

3. Cal. of S.P. (AM. & W.I.) 1661-1668, No. 543.

4. Ibid., No. 848; also 867.

5. Ibid., 1669-1674, No. 43.

There were numerous objections to these navigation laws from the colonies, especially from the Barbadoes. They complained because their supply of Scotch servants was cut off. The white servants were needed to keep the negro slaves in subjection. The law provided that servants could be sent to the plantations directly from Scotland, but the planters of the Barbadoes said that ships would not come there to bring servants when they might bring no other commodities¹. Numerous petitions and representations were sent to parliament asking for free trade with Scotland but seem to have availed nothing. An entry in the Journal of the Barbadoes, April 1679, reads, - "As free trade cannot be obtained with Scotland that his majesty be moved to license six ships yearly, at least, for that trade to bring recruits of white servants, the want of whom is become an apparent hazard of the place in regard to the dangers from without and the much greater within²."

That there was much violation of the navigation laws by the Scotch is to be judged by the numerous complaints and reports sent to the Board of Trade and Plantations by royal officials. The restrictions of the English laws and liberal concessions granted to Scotch industry enabled the Scotch to undersell the fair English or colonial trader. On the other hand, the

1. Cal. of S.P. (Am. & W.I.) 1675-1676, No. 714 II.

2. Ibid., 1679, No. 969.

colonists found a more profitable market for their tobacco in Scotland¹." The chief exports from Scotland were manufactured articles such as linen, coarse woolen cloth, stockings, hats, etc. The plantation goods imported by Scotland were chiefly tobacco and sugar.²

There were by this time a large number of Scotchmen in America, especially in Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, and Carolina³. Many were active traders and they assisted their countrymen in carrying on the illegal trade. "The merchants and shippers had various methods of avoiding the customs authorities. It was not difficult to land or ship goods without the knowledge of the authorities when the coast line was as long as that of the American colonies. The traders also called at English ports, especially Berwick, took on board a few goods there, got a certificate and then completed their cargo in Scotland. Another device was to forge certificates counterfeiting the seals of some English port⁴."

Numerous complaints were made by English merchants trading to Virginia, Maryland, and other colonies that the trade was in a great measure ruined by many Scotch ships trading directly to Scotland without paying duties.⁵ Robert Quarry wrote from

1. Root, The Relation of Pennsylvania with the Brit. Gov., p. 62.
2. Keith, Eng. Hist. Rev., vol. 24, p. 49.
3. Root, p. 62
4. Keith, Eng. Hist. Rev., vol. 24, p. 53. Methods are also indicated in many of Randolph's letters especially Cal. of S.P. (Am. & W.I.) 1696, No. 149.
5. Cal of S.P. (Am. & W.I.) 1693-1696, No. 22, 37; *ibid.*, 1698, No. 656.

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ioners of Customs in 1700 that "there of tobacco made in this country this e in any one year before. All of cotch (as almost all other trade here ant rates that I'm sure no person that give, not less than double the price and tho the tobacco of this place

ers and reports to the English author- aints of the illegal trade of the ions for methods to be used in curbing cotch ships that were engaged in the eported the costs involved in seizing e also charged Scotch officials, es- th conniving at the trade and complained g a verdict against Scotch ships that must take into consideration the bias ealize that they probably exaggerated a case against the colonists yet the st conclude that the activity of the y extensive and a large amount of trade land and the plantations in violation

107.

, passim, especially vol. V. Cal. of m. Copy of Randolph's Account of Eng., Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, 1871.

Philadelphia to the Commissioners of Customs in 1700 that "there is four times the quantity of tobacco made in this country this last year than ever was made in any one year before. All of which is engrossed by the Scotch (as almost all other trade here is) they give such extravagant rates that I'm sure no person that designs to trade fairly can give, not less than double the price that is given in Maryland and tho the tobacco of this place is not near so good¹."

Edward Randolph's letters and reports to the English authorities are filled with complaints of the illegal trade of the Scotch and with recommendations for methods to be used in curbing it. He sent in lists of Scotch ships that were engaged in the trade and in his accounts reported the costs involved in seizing several Scotch vessels. He also charged Scotch officials, especially in East Jersey, with conniving at the trade and complained of the difficulty of getting a verdict against Scotch ships that were seized. Although we must take into consideration the bias of Quarry and Randolph and realize that they probably exaggerated conditions in order to make a case against the colonists yet the evidence is such that we must conclude that the activity of the Scotch in this line was very extensive and a large amount of trade was carried on between Scotland and the plantations in violation of the laws².

1. Cal. of S.P., 1700, p. 107.

2. Tappan, Edward Randolph, *passim*, especially vol. V. Cal. of S.P. (Am. & W.I.), *passim*. Copy of Randolph's Account of Irregular Trade of New Eng., Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, 1871, p. 115.

Another problem resulting from the trade relations of England and Scotland was the question whether Scotchmen were to be considered Englishmen within the meaning of the law. A short time after James I. became king of England the question whether Scotchmen born after the date of his accession were to be considered Englishmen was referred to the law officers. They gave as their opinion that Scotchmen born after that date were Englishmen in the fullest sense of the term, in accordance with the common law. The decision was sustained by the court in 1608 in the Calvin case¹. The Statute of Fraudes, however, passed by parliament in 1662, provided that only inhabitants of England, Ireland or the Plantations were to be accounted English. The question was whether the common law or the statute of parliament was the law of the land. The Navigation law of 1660 had provided that three fourths of the crews of ships engaged in plantation trade must be English and that no alien could be a merchant or factor in the colony. In addition to this the "Act for Preventing Fraudes and Regulating Abuses in Plantation Trade", passed in 1697, provided that certain offices of trust and profit in the colonies should be filled by native born subjects of England, Ireland or the Plantations². Ships were occasionally seized because they were manned by Scotchmen, and Scotch officials

1. Beer, Old Colonial System, p. 90. S.R. Gardiner, Hist. of Eng. I, pp. 326, 355, 356.
2. Statutes of the Realm, VII, pp. 103-107.

were refused their commissions or removed from office because of the law of 1697. Complaints were also made of the Scotch merchants trading in the colonies in spite of the law excluding aliens. The Scotch protested strongly against these measures, claiming that they were subjects of the English king and that they fought in the English army and should be considered English within the meaning of the law. A number of cases were appealed to England and the opinion of the crown officials obtained. The Solicitor General, T. Hawles, and the Attorney General, Sir Thomas Trevor, gave their opinion in favor of the Scotch¹. It was finally definitely decided that the common law principle was the law of the land in spite of the Statute of Fraudes.²

1. Chalmers, G., *Opinions of Eminent Lawyers*, I, p. 644.
2. A large number of entries are found in *Cal. of S.P.* that involve the question, especially the cases of Alexander Skene in Barbadoes and Alexander Hamilton in New Jersey.

CHAPTER III

SCOTCH COLONIZATION BEFORE THE ACT OF UNION

We found in the discussion of the trade relations that by the end of the seventeenth century there were a considerable number of Scotch settlers in the colonies. Probably the first of these were occasional Scotch merchants or peddlers who made their way to the colonies and decided to settle there. As early as 1648 there were complaints in regard to small traders, including Scots, in New Amsterdam,¹ and in 1657 the Town Council of that city sent an address to Stuyvesant calling attention to the numerous traders who had no fixed connection with the colonies and asking that the right of trade should be restricted to burghers¹. The Scotch traders seemed to have been the special objects of their jealousy and disapproval².

A large number, however, emigrated not of their own free will but because of the policy of the government. From the time of Cromwell down through the next hundred years, large numbers of the Scotch were transported to the colonies as exiles. These were of two classes, political prisoners and criminals or vagabonds. The political prisoners were usually of the best type of Scotch

1. Records of New Amsterdam, II, pp. 286-287.

2. Ibid., I, p. 10.

people who opposed the government because of some principles of politics or religion. The other class was less desirable, being criminals or beggars and shiftless vagabonds though even among this group, there were probably many who were honest and capable but were the victims of circumstances.

After Cromwell had subdued Scotland large numbers of Scotch were sent to America. At the battle of Dunbar, in 1650, about ten thousand were taken prisoners and of these about five hundred were sent to the plantations¹. In 1656 we hear of the transportation of twelve hundred men from Knockfergus in Ireland and Port Patrick in Scotland to Jamaica². In the instructions from Cromwell to the Council in Scotland for the government of that nation, he granted power to transport to the English plantations such enemies of the State as were in arms³.

Following the numerous revolts and rebellions of the Scotch throughout the next hundred years, shiploads of political prisoners were sent to America where they became scattered throughout the various colonies. These prisoners were usually sold as servants for a number of years. After serving their time they settled in the colonies and made the best of citizens. Rev. John Cotton in a letter written to General Cromwell in 1651 referred to some Scotch prisoners who had arrived in the colony.

1. Brown, hist. of Scotland, III, p. 25.

2. Cal. of S.P. (Am. & W.I.) 1574-1660, p. 441.

3. Ibid., 1658-1659, p. 61.

He said, - "The Scots, whom God delivered into your hands at Dunbarre, and whereof sundry were sent hither, we have been desirous (as we could) to make their yoke easy. Such as were sick of scurvy or other diseases have not wanted physick and hyrurgery. They have not been sold for slaves to perpetual servitude, but for six or seven or eight years as we do our owne; and he that bought the most of them [I hear] buildeth houses for them, for every four an house, layeth some acres of ground thereto, which he giveth them as their owne, requiring three days in the week to work for him (by turnes) and four days for themselves and promises them, as soon as they can repay him the money that he layed out for them, he will set them at Liberty¹." It is probable that not all of them fared so well as these.

Scotch servants were much in demand especially with the Barbadoes and many evils grew up in connection with the transportation of criminals and poorer classes to the colonies. Some men of the lower classes made a business of carrying on this trade and sometimes even children were enticed away or stolen by spirits, as they were called, and sent to America as servants. The trade was carried on in England as well as Scotland. Parliament was forced to make regulations in order to eliminate the evils connected with it². Some of the colonies made regulations against the importation of exiles but the government seems to have set these rules aside. In September 1678 Ralph Williamson petitioned

1. New Eng. Hist. & Gen. Register, pp. 378-380.

2. Cal. of S.P. (Am. & W.I.) passim.

the king to "order the Governors of Virginia and the other governors of his Majesty's plantation to permit him, or his assigns to land and dispose of fifty prisoners who had been convicted in Scotland and sentenced to be transported to America"

His petition was granted and a letter directed to be sent "to the Governor, Lieutenant Governor and Assembly of Virginia to permit Mr. Williamson to land and dispose of convicts and such others as shall be convicted in Scotland and sentenced to transportation and so committed to petitioner, any Law, Order or custom of said Colony or Plantation of Virginia to the contrary notwithstanding¹."

Although a large number of Scotch were exiled to the plantations and were scattered throughout the English colonies, there were in the seventeenth century several special enterprises organized for the purpose of establishing Scotch colonies in America.

Early in the seventeenth century James I made an attempt to interest the Scotch in the colonization of America, but he met with no success. The plan was originated by Sir William Alexander of Menstrie. In 1625 he was granted a patent for the colonization of a vague territory to be called Nova Scotia². In order to encourage emigration James offered the title of baronet to anyone who would pay six hundred merks or send out six skilled workmen and maintain them for two years. He hoped that

1. Acts of Privy Council (Colonial) 1613-1680, No. 1229.

2. Cal of S.P. (Am. & W.I.) 1574-1660, p. 84.

this offer would appeal especially to younger brothers of Scotch noblemen, who did not inherit the estates. Little interest, however, was taken by any class in emigration to the colony. A greater interest was taken in the baronetcies and by 1627 there were as many as thirty five Scots who were going about with this title¹. In the year 1639 it was ordered that no more be issued².

In spite of the hardships to which they were subjected in their native land, the Scotch were very loath to leave it and try the new world. It was not until near the close of the seventeenth century that organized groups of Scotch people went voluntarily to settle in the colonies.

During the religious persecutions in Scotland of the latter part of the reign of Charles II. a group of nobles and gentlemen became so discouraged with the outlook that they determined to try for a more peaceful home in America and to establish a refuge for their persecuted brethren. They decided to form a colony in Carolina and several went to London in 1682 to make the necessary arrangements. One of the number became involved in the rye house plot, was arrested, sent to Edinburgh, tried for treason and executed. The others secured from the Proprietors permission to settle a county in Carolina. They were granted thirty plats of land of 12000 acres each. Titles to the land were to be secured by purchase and treaty from the Indians³.

1. Brown, Hist. of Scotland, II, pp. 273-274.

2. Acts of the Privy Council (Col.) 1613-1680, No. 419.

3. McCrady, Hist. of S. Carolina, pp. 195-196.

Also in order to encourage them the Proprietors made a few changes in the Fundamental Constitutions. The most important of these was one providing that in case the council should neglect to propose fitting laws to be passed by parliament, the grand juries of the counties should submit the desired propositions; if the council should then neglect to initiate them, the parliament itself might take them up and pass them¹. Also a prospect of exemption from payment of rent after 1689 was extended .

In 1683 Lord Cardross accompanied by about ten families landed at Port Royal. They called their settlement Stuarts Town in honor of the family of Lady Cardross. It had been expected that a large number of emigrants would come from Scotland some fleeing from persecution and others banished because of the opposition to the tyranny of the king. The colony had little time however in which to develop.

The colony at Charleston received the Scotch settlers with little favor. Jealousy soon arose in regard to the political power of the new settlement. Cardross had understood that the colony was to be independent and that he was to have coordinate jurisdiction with the governor at Charleston. The governor and grand council resented the claim of Lord Cardross to coordinate power and continued to exercise authority over the whole territory. Cardross with other prominent men of the colony sent a remonstrance to the Governor and Council. They pointed out the fact that the two colonies should act in harmony because of the danger

1. Osgood, II, p. 219.

from a Spanish invasion from St. Augustine. They also requested that six guns which the Proprietors had promised them be delivered. They met a rude repulse. The guns were not delivered until after a direct order was received from the Proprietors. The Grand Council even summoned Lord Cardross to appear before them as if to answer some grave offense, but he was ill with a fever at Port Royal and was unable to appear. He became disgusted with the treatment accorded him and fortunately for himself returned to Scotland. The Spaniards claimed the territory upon which the settlements were made and threatened their destruction. Cardross had warned Governor Morton but he seems to have taken no precautions. In the summer of 1686 a party of a hundred Spaniards with an auxiliary force of Indians and negroes landed on the Edisto. They sacked the house of Governor Morton and the Secretary of the province, murdered the governor's brother in law and carried away property amounting to three thousand pounds sterling. They then turned upon the Scotch settlers at Port Royal. The colony had been weakened by much sickness and only about twenty five were strong enough to offer opposition. The Spaniards killed some and made captives of others. They plundered and utterly destroyed the settlement. The few who escaped found refuge in Charleston¹.

At about the same time as the Port Royal expedition a more successful emigration began to the province of New Jersey.

1. Narratives of Early Carolina 1650-1700. Archdale's description of Carolina, p. 292. Letter of Edward Randolph, p. 205. Oldmixon's British Empire, p. 333.

In the year 1682 the heirs of Sir George Carteret sold East Jersey to William Penn and eleven associates. These soon associated with themselves twelve others making a board of twenty four proprietors for East Jersey. Among them were a number of Scotchmen, some of whom were very prominent men. The Earl of Perth, Chancellor of Scotland, Lord Drummond of Gilston, the Secretary of State for the kingdom, viscount of Tarbet afterwards Earl of Roncarty, and Robert Barclay of Uri were among the number¹. Barclay was a Quaker and a personal friend of William Penn. He was chosen governor of the colony for the time and subsequently was commissioned governor for life. He did not go to East Jersey in person, but was represented there by a deputy governor.

The first twelve associates, shortly after receiving their deed to the territory from the Carteret heirs had published a "Brief Account of East Jersey" in which they had presented in a very favorable light the situation, climate, and other natural advantages of the colony. This publication aided by the personal influence of Barclay and other Scotch proprietors aroused interest in the province and in 1684 a considerable number especially from Barclay's native county of Aberdeen decided to emigrate.

This was a period of religious persecution in Scotland and large numbers were suffering oppression because they clung

1. Dedication of Scots Model. White head E. Jersey under the Proprietors, Appendix, p. 261.

to their own form of religion. In spite of this it was not easy to persuade them to find refuge by exile from their native land. A short time after the first emigration of the Scotch to East Jersey in 1684, the proprietors, in order to make the colony better known and to arouse further interest in emigration, determined to publish a historical and statistical account of the province with a preliminary treatise combating the prevalent objections to emigration and showing its advantages. The work was delegated to George Scot of Pitloche although it is probable that Barclay and others contributed to the book. It was published in 1685 under the title "The Model of the Government of the Provinces of East Jersey in America.¹" It answered the religious prejudices against leaving their native land and set forth the advantages of the new. In it were published the concessions granted to settlers, a description of the settled towns and a number of letters from Scotch colonists describing the country in detail, its climate, soil products, and general economic advantages. Scot also added his example to precept and announced that he with his family would emigrate. Scot was at this time suffering imprisonment for persistent attendance at conventicles and for harboring non-conformist ministers. He asked and obtained permission from the Privy Council "to transport with him a company like himself undergoing imprisonment for their religious practices.²" But it was especial

1. Text reprinted in Whitehead, East Jersey under the Proprietors, pp. 240-333.

2. Doyle, English Colonies in America, IV, p. 327.

ly provided that he should not take advantage of this to remove any prisoners of importance since none might go who had real estate of more than a hundred pounds annual value. The effect of this publication was very satisfactory and a large number joined their Scotch brethren in East Jersey. Scot sailed on the first of August 1685 and was accompanied by about two hundred persons. The voyage was not fortunate, many dying on the passage including Scot and his wife.

"Many of the earlier settlers were sent out in the employ of the different proprietaries and most prominent landholders or under such agreements as would afford to them the benefits of "head-lands" grants for each individual brought into the province; fifty acres being allowed to each master of a family, and twenty-five acres for each person composing it, whether wife, child, or servant, each servant to be bound three years, at the expiration of which time he or she was to be allowed to take up thirty acres on separate account.¹"

The Scotch settled in various parts of the province. Samuel Smith, the first historian of the Province, says that the four towns Elizabeth, Newark, Middleton, Shrewsbury, and the country around received accessions from the large number of Scotch who came to that region. Whitehead says that the Scotch became especially interested in the town of Perth Amboy and from there spread westward, entering upon the unbroken interior or establishing themselves upon the banks of the Raritan and other

1. Whitehead, pp. 103-104.

streams.

In 1685 Lord Neil Campbell bought the rights held by viscount Tarbet and sent over a large number of emigrants who arrived in the province the following December. Lord Neil Campbell was the brother of the Earl of Argyle whose invasion of Scotland in 1685 to release his countrymen from oppression, ended so disastrously. Because of this relationship Lord Neil was forced to flee from Scotland for a time. The proprietors availed themselves of the opportunity to secure a new deputy governor of East Jersey. He was appointed on the fourth of June 1686 and reached the province the next October. Two of his sons had already emigrated to the colony. "John is mentioned as early as 1684, with his wife, three children, and eleven servants; and Archibald came out after the fatal termination of his Uncle Argyle's enterprise in which he was engaged as well as his father."¹ Lord Neil stayed but a short time in the province. The chief result of his appointment was that it induced some Scotch emigration. He resigned his commission and returned to Scotland. His return to Scotland was probably made possible by the fact that James in order to grant toleration to the Catholics had made concessions to all dissenters.

Hamilton, who was appointed as the successor of Lord Neil, had been a merchant of Edinburgh but had emigrated to the colony about the time of Campbell's arrival. During his administration the Scotch seem to have become a very influential class in the province. There gradually grew up a party strongly opposed to

1. Whitehead, p. 127.

Hamilton and his Scotch adherents¹.

In 1696 the Statute of Fraudes was passed which raised the question whether a Scotchman could hold the office of governor of the province. The proprietors thought that Hamilton, being a Scotchman was excluded by the act. The opinion was readily accepted by the party opposed to him and they secured the appointment of Jeremiah Bass, one of their partisans, in his place.³ The period that followed was marked by party strife and disorder. The Scotch and their Quaker allies were supported by the majority of the proprietors but a considerable number of them favored the opposition.

In 1699 a decision was given by the Attorney General Trevor in favor of Hamilton⁴ and he was reappointed. The party division still continued however. It was charged that Hamilton and Scotch officials connived at illegal trade and that the Scotch party used arbitrary methods in government especially in elections⁵. In 1702 the proprietors transferred the province to the crown. Lord Comberry was appointed governor in place of Hamilton⁶.

Col. Quary wrote to the Lords of Trade, - "The Contest in

1. Whitehead, pp. 116-119.
2. General discussion of the province, Doyle, IV. 325-374. Whitehead, pp. 86-155.
3. N.J.Archives, II, pp. 143-144.
4. N.J.Archives (1st. ser.) II, pp. 272, 297.
5. Cal of S.P. 1696-1697, No. 396.
6. N.J.Archives, II, pp. 488-503. Commission.

East Jersey is of a different nature, whether the Country shall be a Scotch Settlement or an English Settlement. The Scotch have had for many years the advantage of a Scotch governor Col. Hamilton. But it is the expectation of all that his Excellency My Lord Cornbury will reconcile all these differences unite all interests and settle em on a sure foundation¹." The expectation was not realized, however, for it was not until the administration of Governor Hunter that the province reached a more peaceful condition.

The last of the special enterprises in the seventeenth century was a great national project growing out of the increasing desire of Scotland to take a more prominent part in the commercial and colonization movements of the time. After the Revolution of 1688, as has been indicated, the religious and political troubles that had absorbed the interest of the nation for over a century began to subside, and an interest in industry and commerce developed. The people of Scotland were jealous of England's great colonial trade and wished to share her advantages. A series of bad harvests, at this time, which reduced thousands to destitution, emphasized the need for economic development.

On the 14th of June 1693, the Scottish Parliament passed a measure entitled an "Act for Encouraging Foreign Trade wherein it was declared that Scottish companies might be formed to trade with any country not at war with their majesties - to the East and West Indies, the Straits and Mediterranean, African and the

1. N.J.Archives, (1st ser.) II, p. 544.

northern parts¹." Mr. James Chiesly, a merchant in London saw the opportunities that this act offered for the establishment of a Scottish East India Company. In 1695 he communicated his ideas to William Paterson, founder of the Bank of England. Such a bill was introduced in the Scottish parliament probably through the efforts of Mr. Chiesly and Mr. Coutts. The bill was received with general favor and was passed on the 26th of June 1695. King William was on the continent at this time so the royal assent to the bill was given by his Commissioner, Tweedale, though it seems that William had given directions that such a bill should first be presented to him.

This act constituting "The Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies" granted extensive privileges. It gave to the company a monopoly of the trade of Scotland to Asia and Africa for all time and to America for the space of thirty years. Colonies could be planted in any uninhabited place in Asia, Africa, or America, or in any other place by the consent of the natives if it was not possessed by any European sovereign. The amount of the capital stock was to be determined by the promoters. Half of it was to be reserved for Scotchmen, the other half could be subscribed by foreigners².

In August there was a meeting of the directors of the company in London but none of the Scotch members were present. Paterson wrote to Sir Robert Chiesly urging that at least three

1. Babour, William Paterson & the Darien Co., pp. 5-6.
2. Text of Act - Babour, Wm. Paterson & Darien Co., App. pp. 201-210.

representatives be sent from Scotland, because, owing to an error in the names listed in the act, they were necessary to form a quorum for legal business. He urged haste in order to have the company organized before the meeting of the English parliament.¹ After considerable delay the Scotch representatives arrived in London and the company was organized. The capital stock was set at 600,000 pounds. The books were opened for subscription and within a few days the portion assigned to England was over-subscribed. The books were closed on November 22, the day that parliament opened. A great deal of jealousy and opposition had been aroused in England. The matter was brought before parliament and an investigation was made into the affairs of the company, the House of Lords taking the lead.² The East India Company, the Commissioners of Customs and private traders gave in opinions regarding the probable effect of the Scots Company on English trade. The opinions given were adverse to the company. On the 17th of October both the Lords and Commons presented an address to the king in which they represented the evil effects that the company would have on English trade. "I have been ill served in Scotland", was William's reply, "but I hope some remedies may be found to prevent the inconveniences which may arise from the Act³." Lord High Commissioner Tweeddale and Secretary Johnston were dismissed from service³. The Commons

1. Letters from Paterson to Chiesly, S. Bannister, Life of Wm. Paterson, pp. 131-143.
2. Hansard, Parliamentary History, V, p. 975.
3. Ibid., V, p. 975; Brown, Hist. of Scotland, pp. 29-30.

went still further in their investigation and even instituted impeachment proceedings against Paterson, Lord Belhaven, and twenty other promoters of the company¹. These proceedings, however, were afterwards abandoned. A circular letter was sent to the governors of the colonies warning them of the dangers feared from the new company and ordering "strict performance of the duties enjoined by the Commissioners of Customs and a like enforcement of the Acts of Trade and Navigation².

Because of this opposition on the part of the king and parliament, the English subscribers withdrew. This aroused the pride and patriotism of the Scotch and the venture became a great national affair. The capital was reduced to 400,000 pounds and was soon subscribed in Scotland, in spite of the limited resources of its people.

Up to this time it had not been determined what place should be the center of the company's activities. Owing to the hostility of England, trade with Asia and Africa was made impossible. Paterson had long had in mind a scheme for the colonization of the Isthmus of Darien, between North and South America, which he thought was the natural center of the world's trade. In a meeting of the directors, July 23, 1696, this place was adopted but was not made public.

The next two years were spent in preparations. Ships and supplies were bought and emigrants enlisted. Unfortunately Paterson was robbed of part of the company's funds by an unscrupulous agent abroad and because of this lost authority and

1. Commons Journal, XI, pp. 400-407.

2. Cal. of S.P. (Am. & W.I.) 1693-1696, No. 2273.

influence. The first expedition set sail from Leith on the 17th of July 1698. It consisted of three armed vessels and two tenders with twelve hundred colonists. The government was placed in the hands of seven councillors with no one at their head. Paterson went with the expedition but was not named as one of the councillors. After the ships had set sail it was discovered that they had only six months provisions instead of nine as had been intended and a part of these was in bad condition. At Madeira, however, they obtained some new supplies. One of the councillors, having found it impossible to go at the last moment, the others now elected Paterson to take his place.

The fleet reached its destination early in November and possession was taken of the shores of Darien with sanction of the native chiefs. In a letter sent back to Scotland "the Council represented themselves as being highly pleased with the situation and climate of their place of settlement and hopeful of the ultimate success of their enterprise¹." But the councillors soon quarrelled among themselves, the provisions became scarce, the water was bad, and pestilence broke out. They were also soon involved in trouble with the Spaniards, who likewise claimed this territory.

The destination of the expedition had been kept secret but King William had heard rumors of the plans. He sent secretly Captain Richard Long to determine the place of their settlement. He returned in December with the news of the settlement near the

1. Barbour, pp. 82-86.

bay of Darien¹. Letters were immediately sent to governors of the English colonies ordering them to prevent their colonists from corresponding with or giving provisions or other aid to the Scotch at Darien. Governor Beeson of Jamaica was the first to issue a proclamation to this effect². Later other governors issued similar proclamations.²

When the news of the proclamation of Governor Beeson reached Darien the colonists stampeded and insisted upon leaving immediately. Paterson who was ill at the time protested strongly but on the 20th of June 1699 the settlers who were now reduced to less than nine hundred hurriedly evacuated Darien³. The return voyage was very disastrous, and few reached their native shore⁴.

Before the news of the desertion of the colony reached Scotland, a new expedition of two vessels with three hundred colonists and a cargo of supplies had been sent as reinforcements.

1. Bingham, Eng. Hist. Rev. X, p. 812-1815.
2. Mr. Bingham in his introduction to the "Virginia Letters on the Scots Darien Colony, 1699, (Am. Hist. Rev. X pp. 812- 813) says that only the governors of Jamaica and of the Barbadoes and Bellmont of New York and New England issued proclamations against the Scotch and that Virginia was one of the colonies in which a proclamation was not issued. The Calendars of State Papers give items that indicate that a proclamation was issued in Virginia and also in other colonies, including Maryland and New Jersey. Cal. of S.P., 1699, passim, especially Nos. 841, 579, 334, 398.
3. Barbour, p. 91.
4. Cal. of S.P., (Am. & W.I.) 1699, passim, especially No. 878, 677, and 739.

They left Leith May 12, 1699. When after a prosperous voyage they reached their destination they were amazed to find the settlement in desolation. They decided to wait for reinforcements, but one vessel took fire and the cargo was burned. The other vessel left for Jamaica where most of the crew died of fever. Meanwhile another vessel had been sent out but was wrecked on one of the western islands of Scotland.

The directors received word of the failure of the first expedition in September 1699, but before that time a third fleet had been fitted out and was ready to start. The directors sent word to the council of the expedition to delay departure but probably because they feared that they were to be superseded, they put off to sea with such haste that some of the colonists were left behind. When they arrived at Darien they found the settlement deserted but decided to remain. They sent home very depressing news in regard to the situation. The Spaniards became aggressive and threatened an attack. A small force was sent out from the colony which was entirely victorious over them,¹ but in a short time Spanish war ships appeared in the harbor and the settlement was soon surrounded. Their supplies were cut off, ammunition ran short and fever was wide spread. To make matters worse a fire broke out which destroyed many of the huts. On March 30, 1700, they surrendered to the Spanish. They were allowed to depart with all their supplies². Even worse misfortunes

1. Cal of S.P. (Am. & W.I.), 1699, No. 667

2. Ibid., 1700, p. 224; No. 523 lv

occurred on the voyage and not one of the four ships of the third expedition returned to Scotland.

Thus the first great commercial and colonization project ended in a complete disaster. "The country had lost two thousand men and two hundred thousand pounds in money¹." People of all classes had invested money and could ill afford the loss. It was a great national disaster and cast gloom over the whole country.

1. Macmillan, Hist. of Scotland, p. 409.

CHAPTER IV

SCOTTISH COLONIZATION AFTER THE ACT OF UNION

The failure of the Darien enterprize aroused the anger and bitterness of the Scotch against William and the English people for they felt that the disaster was due to the opposition that the project had encountered from the king and English Parliament. England was coming to realize that it would be better to allow Scotland a legal share in trade privileges which she could control than to have her organize rival enterprizes which might even threaten England's peace with foreign countries as the Darien expedition had done. She feared that if Scotland became independent she would ally herself with England's old enemy France, and would give aid to Holland in her rival trade with the plantations. Those in Scotland who were not blinded by prejudice realized that Scotland was too weak in capital and natural resources to undertake any great colonial or commercial enterprizes without the aid of England and that a closer union would be to their advantage in the plantation trade.

King William advised that immediate steps be taken to effect a political union but nothing was done until after his death. At Queen Anne's instigation, the matter was taken up and commissioners were appointed from both kingdoms. After negotiating for

some time they succeeded in formulating the "Articles of Union" which were adopted, with slight changes, by both countries in 1707. England had insisted that the Scotch African Company should be dissolved but agreed to pay an indemnity to Scotland because of the losses sustained by the stock holders. She also agreed that Scotland should share in the trade privileges of England.¹

There was strong popular feeling in Scotland against the union with England. The opposition was especially strong among the Jacobites who were anxious for the restoration of the Stuarts to the Scottish throne. Their plots resulted, in 1715, in actual rebellion under the leadership of the Earl of Mar who gained many adherents among the Highland clans. This uprising was soon crushed by the forces of the government. The penalties inflicted were moderate in comparison with those of the Stuart kings. There were few death penalties but several hundred of the rebels were transported to the American colonies.²

As most of the adherents of Mar were from the Highlands, the government proceeded to devise means of preventing similar outbreaks from that region in the future. Two measures were adopted: the clans were disarmed and roads were made through the kingdom. The clansmen gave up their arms very readily but it was afterwards discovered that the hostile clans had given old, useless weapons and had concealed for future use the new and effective arms. The building of roads was effective in reducing the Highlands not so much because they were an aid in putting down a rebellion but

1. Statutes of the Realm.

2. Leadam, Political History of England, p. 265.

because they made possible social and commercial intercommunication with the Low lands.¹

In 1715 the old clan conditions still prevailed in the Highlands and the social, industrial, and religious customs of the the people were much the same as they had been for centuries. Travelers who for the first time now ventured into that region were surprised at the existing conditions. "The houses of the cottars were nothing more than huts. A little patch of ground here and there might be cultivated. The women did most of the labour. The cattle and sheep reared were of the poorest quality." "When short of food, the clansmen bled the cattle, boiled the blood, or mixed it with oat meal and so made a hearty repast."² Agricultural implements and methods were of the most primitive type. After closer relations were established with the Lowlands, new customs and methods were adopted and conditions rapidly improved.

In the Lowlands it had taken some time to become adjusted to the new economic conditions incident to the union. But in 1727 an act was passed by which a grant of six thousand pounds was annually contributed for three years for the encouragement of Scottish industries. The progress of industry and trade was marvelous from that time. The center of trade chaged from the East to the West owing to the increased opportunities of trade with America that came with the Union.³

The Jacobite party had not been entirely crushed and in 1745 another attempt was made to restore the Stuart dynasty. Charles

1. Macmillan, p. 440.

2. Ibid., pp. 449-450.

3. Macmillan, pp. 451-452.

Edward, The Young Pretender, landed in Scotland and by his attractive personality and persuasiveness soon gained the adherence of a number of Highland clans. He advanced rapidly at first but was soon checked and all hope of success crushed in the Battle of Culloden on April 16, 1745. Charles Edward finally escaped to the continent after wandering for five months as a fugitive through the Highlands. His adherents were punished with great severity. "Repressive legislation was put in force. By it the Episcopal Church and clergy, who were believed to have been responsible in a large measure for the late rebellion, were severely dealt with. The clansmen were prohibited from wearing their national dress and the hereditary jurisdiction of the chiefs was abolished."¹ This last measure was a great advantage for it destroyed the last vestiges of feudalism in Scotland.

The period following 1745 was marked by the great advance of Scotland as a united nation. Schools were established and industry and commerce were developed. One of the main hindrances to agriculture had been the insecurity of tenure. "This was now remedied and longer leases were granted; farms became large, fields were enclosed and the run rig system, by which proprietors owned alternate ridges of a field, was abolished; rotation of crops was introduced and tillage was improved."² Sheep raising was introduced in the Highlands to a greater extent than ever before and 'large tracts of hill pasture was soon covered with thriving flocks.' Such changes always bring distress to some classes while they bring profit to others. "The landlords who

1. Macmillan, p. 464.

2. Ibid., p. 468.

were now profitting by the increased rents, cleared the glens of the cottars in order to make way for sheep farms. Many of the inhabitants were driven to the seacoast, some sought refuge in the towns and cities, while thousands emigrated to the colonies."¹

During the period following the Union of the Kingdoms a large amount of the Scotch emigration was turned towards the Southern states and interesting colonies were established in Georgia and North Carolina.

In 1732 the king had created by charter the Georgia Trustees, a company to plant a colony between the Savannah river and Florida. This colony was to be a refuge for the poor debtor class in England and it was also to be a "buffer" between South Carolina and the Spanish possessions.² Governor Oglethorpe arrived in Charleston with the first colonists in January 1733. The colony grew very slowly and was constantly exposed to danger from the Spaniards who claimed the coast as far north as Charleston.

In 1735 the Trustees petitioned parliament for a further grant of money for the settling, fortifying, and defending of their colony. The general assembly of South Carolina in a memorial to the king represented the dangers to which the colony was subjected because of the jealousy of the Spaniards and the rivalry of France. They indicated that the best way to protect the colony of South Carolina was to further strengthen Georgia as a barrier between them and their enemies.³ Urged by the

1. Macmillan, p. 468.

2. Channing, vol. ii, p. 363

3. Georgia Historical Collections, vol. iii, appendix No. 4, p. 316.

petition of the trustees and the memorial of South Carolina, parliament granted the sum of 26000 pounds for the further settlement and defense of the colony.¹

The Trustees, with ample means now at thir command, decided to enlist a colony to settle on the banks of the Altamaha river in order to strengthen the southern frontier. They had found by experience that those who were idle and worthless in England were, as a rule, idle and worthless in America. For the hardships and dangers of the frontier they needed a different class of emigrants. They decided to enlist colonists from among the protestants of Germany and from the Highlands of Scotland. Lieutenant Hugh Mackay was commissioned to enlist one hundred and ten men with fifty women and children.² He was so successful that in a short time after the terms which the Trustees offered had been published at New Inverness, he had recruited more than the required number.

These recruits were men of good character and were selected because of their military qualities. The officers came from among the best families of the Highlands. They were probably influenced to emigrate to America by the prospects of greater economic opportunities. The fertile soil of the new world offered greater returns for their labor than the barren hills of their native land. In addition to the economic reasons there was the

1. Journal of House of Commons, vol. xxii, p. 421.

2. Colonial Records of Georgia, vol. iii, p. 110.

additional fact that many of these men were connected in their clans with the rebellion of 1745 and were still regarded with suspicion.¹ They sought peace and security in the new world.

The Trustees were pleased to secure such colonists for their new settlement on the frontier. Besides the military band many of the wealthier families applied for large grants of land to people with their own servants. Many of them went over themselves to Georgia and settled there. Among these grantees were the Mackays, the Bunbars, the Balies, and the Cuthberts.²

The colonists sailed on the 18th of October on board the Prince of Wales, commanded by Captain George Dunbar. They arrived safely at the mouth of the Savannah river in the following January. They were conveyed southward and ascended the Altamaha river to the place that had been selected for their settlement. It was a place about sixteen miles above St. Simonds Island. They built temporary huts until they were able to replace them by more permanent structures. They also built a fort, a guard house, a chapel and a store. On the fort they mounted four pieces of cannon. They called their town New Inverness in honor of their home in Scotland. The surrounding district they named Darien in remembrance of the great national project of 1698.

They were a hardy and industrious people and struggled to overcome the difficulties of frontier life. Governor Oglethorpe visited the settlement and was very much pleased with the appearance of the men in their Highland dress and with their broad swords, when they came out in a band to welcome him. He was also pleased with the evidences of their industry.³

1. Brown, Hist. of Scotland, III, p. 260

2. Jones, Hist. of Ga., I, p. 200

3. Ga. Hist. Col. III, p. 15. Letter of Oglethorpe.

Georgia soon became involved in conflicts with the Spaniards to the south. Throughout the struggle the Highlanders did active and efficient service. At the skirmish of Fort Moosa, the highlanders bore the brunt of the fighting, a number were killed and others were made prisoners. So many went to the war that little progress could be made at home.¹

There is some evidence that the colonists at Darien became discouraged and dissatisfied for a time and wished to remove to a better location but were not allowed to do this². In 1739 a petition was sent to the Trustees asking that they should allow the importation and use of negro slaves in Georgia. Many of the Scotch signed a counter petition in which they predicted some of the evils that would result from negro slavery³.

They had brought with them their minister, the Reverend John McLeod, a native of the island of Skye. He ministered to all of the Presbyterian faith and made some attempts to convert the Indians.

In 1741 an additional number of highlanders came to Georgia and others came at intervals to join their friends and relatives⁴.

An account of a Tour through parts of America, published in a London magazine in 1745 gives us a picture of the settlement at that time. "Our first stage, we made New Iverness or the Darien,

1. Col. Rec. of Ga., IV, Stephens Journal, passim.

2. Ibid., especially p. 239; ibid., V, p. 138.

3. Stephens, Hist. of Ga., I, p. 299.

4. Col. Rec. of Ga., V, p. 541.

on the Continent near twenty miles from Frederica, which is a settlement of Highlanders, living and dressing in their own Country Fashions very happily and contentedly. There is an independent Company of Foot of them consisting of seventy men who have been of good Service. The town is regularly laid out and built of Wood mostly, divided into Streets and Squares, before the town is the Parade and a fort not yet finished. It is situated upon a very high Bluff or Point of Land from whence, with a few Canon they can scour the River. Otherways it is surrounded by Pine barrens and Woods and there is a Rout of Land to Savannah by Ft. Argyle which is stately reconnoitred by a Troop of Highland Rangers who do Duty here. The Company and Troop, armed in highland Manner, made an extremely good appearance under arms. The whole settlement may be said to be brave and industrious people; but were more numerous, planted more and raised more cattle before the Invasion, with which they drove a good Trade to the Southwards but things seem daily mending with them¹."

Probably the largest and most permanent of the Scotch settlements was made on the Cape Fear River in North Carolina. The time when the first Scotch settlers came to the Cape Fear is not known with exactness. There were probably some there at the time of the separation of North and South Carolina in the year 1729. Rev. William Foot in his "Sketches of North Carolina" says that from records in the possession of Alexander Clark it appears that he came over and took up his residence on the river in 1736 and that a shipload of emigrants came over with him. It also appears

1. Coll. Ga. Hist. Soc., IV, Itinerant Observations in America, p. 13

that he found a good many Scotch in Cumberland at the time of his arrival. Alexander Clark paid the passage of many poor emigrants and gave them employment until repaid. Many other companies of poor Scotch came to America in a similar way¹.

In 1734 Gabriel Johnston, a Scotchman, became Governor of North Carolina. He received his education at the University of St. Andrews and was later appointed Professor of Oriental Languages in that institution. "Later still he removed to London, where he employed himself as a political writer with such effect that he was appointed Governor of North Carolina²."

Johnston encouraged his fellow Scotchmen at home to emigrate to the colony in order to better their condition. He was charged with showing undue favor to Scotch rebels and that he dispossessed the poor Palatines on the Neuse to make room for them. These charges were probably untrue but without doubt he was fond of the people of his native land and was anxious to aid them³.

In 1739 Colonel Mc Alister arrived in North Carolina with three hundred fifty Scotchmen and settled in Cape Fear county. In 1740 a petition was brought before the colonial assembly by Dugalt McNeal and Colonel McAlister in behalf of themselves and other Scotch gentlemen and several poor people, brought into the provinces, setting forth that they had arrived in the province in the month of September with about three hundred fifty people and

1. Foote, Sketches of North Carolina, pp. 125-6.

2. Prefatory Notes on the Colonial Rec. of N.C., Saunders, p. 73.

3. Col. Rec. of N.C., pp. ix, x, and 926.

that if proper encouragement were given them that they would invite the rest of their friends and acquaintances to come over and settle. The petition was received with favor and the following resolution was passed, "Resolved that the persons mentioned in the said Petition shall be free from the payment of any public or County tax for ten years next ensueing their arrival. Resolved that towards their subsistence the sum of one thousand pounds be paid out of the public money by his Excellency's warrent to be lodged with Duncan Campbell, Dugalt McNeal, Daniel McNeal, Colonel McAlister and Neal McNeal and to be by them distributed among the several families in the said petition mentioned. Resolved that as an encouragement for Protestants to remove into this Province, that all such as shall so remove into this province, providing they exceed forty persons in one body or company, they shall be exempted from payment of any public or county tax for a period of ten years next ensueing their arrival¹." The lower house concurred except the clause relating to the thousand pounds which was referred to the next session for consideration². "Further consideration was shown the new comers on the next day by the appointment by the governor and council of Duncan Campbell, Dugalt McNeil, Dan McNeil and Colonel McAlister and Neal McNeil as magistrates for Baden county³."

The greatest emigration to the Cape Fear region came after the defeat of the Scotch at Culloden in 1745. After the disaster

1. Col. Rec. of N.C., IV, pp. 489-490.

2. Ibid., p. 532.

3. Ibid., p. ix.

the adherents of Charles Edward were treated with the utmost severity. The leaders were executed and the humble people were hunted down like wild beasts. In many cases their huts were burned and women and children were left without shelter. Finally a proclamation of mercy and pardon was issued exempting from the death penalty nineteen out of every twenty. It was determined by lot which ones should receive the death penalty. The more fortunate nineteen, after taking an oath of allegiance, were transported to the colonies. A large number of their friends and relatives chose to share their life in the New World rather than remain in their deserted homes. Shipload after shipload of these emigrants landed at Wilmington and penetrated into the interior. In 1749 Neal McNeal brought over at one time five or six hundred and they scattered through Bladen, Anson and what is now Cumberland counties. From this time to the Revolutionary period large numbers came every year. "Belial of Jura, one of the Hebrides Islands, found employment for a vessel regularly engaged in bringing in annually Scotch emigrants." Even as late as 1773 a colony of three hundred and fifty arrived and joined their countrymen on the upper Cape Fear¹.

In that year the Scottish heroine, Flora McDonald, with her family and some friends came to America and lived for a time at Cross Creek, then at Cameron Hill in Cumberland County, and later in Anson County. After a few years residence in America they re-

1. Ash, Hist. of N. Car., pp. 265-266.

turned to Scotland.

The town of Cross Creek was the center of the Scotch settlements. The name of the town was afterward changed to Campbellton and is now Fayetteville. The settlements grew rapidly and were very prosperous. Mr. Foote says that the descendants of these Scotch settlers are found in the counties of Cumberland, Bladen, Sampson, Moore, Robeson, Richmond, and Anson, all of which were included in Bladen at the time of the first migration; and that they are a moral, religious people noted for their industry and economy, perseverance and prosperity.¹

In general we have found that the earliest Scotch emigrants were adventurous traders or peddlers. These were followed, from the time of Cromwell by hundreds of political prisoners and criminals who were transported to the colonies and sold as slaves. After serving their time, they settled in the provinces and became good capable citizens. These colonists aided their countrymen in evading the navigation laws which excluded the Scotch from the plantation trade.

The special colonization enterprises undertaken before the union of the two kingdoms were failures in respect to the founding of permanent settlements in America except in East New Jersey where, through the influence of Scotch proprietors and encouraged by Scotch governors, the emigrants from the northern kingdom became an influential element in the province. The Darien expedition, though it ended in disaster, was very important because it was the one great national colonial and commercial enterprise and because its failure was an important factor in bringing about the union of England and Scotland in 1707.

1. Foote, Sketches of N. Car., p. 129-130.

Although the Scotch were persecuted because of their religion and the economic conditions were deplorable in the seventeenth century comparatively few seem to have sought refuge in the colonies during this period. The Port Royal colony was founded as a refuge from religious persecution, but it received few settlers and was soon destroyed. It was with much difficulty that emigrants were induced to seek religious liberty and greater economic advantages in New Jersey.

After the union of the kingdoms the emigration of the Scotch was due to political and economic conditions. Large numbers were transported to the colonies after the rebellions of 1715 and 1745 and these prisoners were accompanied by many of their friends and relatives. The economic conditions due to the breaking down of the clan system in the Highlands and the introduction of new methods and industries in both Highlands and Lowlands led large numbers to seek for greater opportunities in the New World. The two chief colonies established in this period were the group of Highlanders on the Georgia frontier and the Scotch settlements in North Carolina, and in the Cape Fear region.

Although New Jersey, Georgia, and North Carolina seem to have been the colonies in which the most important permanent settlements were made, the Scotch emigrants were by no means limited to these colonies. The Scotch merchants and traders found their way to ports along the sea coast and the numerous groups of prisoners who were transported to America were scattered throughout the colonies. New York seems to have received a large number of Scotch settlers. Mr. Ford in his recent book, "The Scotch-

Irish in America" says that at one time it looked as if New York was about to become New Scotland.¹

The Scotch emigrants were, as a rule, industrious, capable and religious. They were accustomed to hardships and were able to adapt themselves to the conditions that they found in America. They became good citizens, interested in education and the general progress of the colonies. They were in every way a very valuable element in the population of the American Colonies.

1. Ford. Scotch Irish in America, p. 258.

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