D. Litt. Thesis.

SCOTTISH COLONIAL SCHEMES PRIOR TO THE UNION.

by

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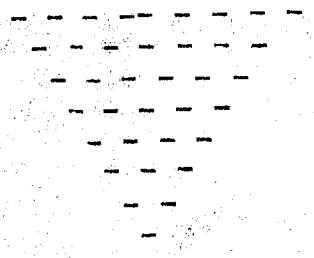

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SCOTTISH COLONIAL SCHEMES.

Volume I.

The Earlier Enterprises.

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SCOTTISH COLONIAL SCHEMES.

Introduction.

For many a year the call of the West, the summons to the new lands beyond the Atlantic, evoked from Scotland no response; the lure of strange landfalls, the wonders and the wealth of the great New Continent, failed to stir the imagination of the douce traders north of the Tweed. In Danzic or in Campvere the Scottish merchant still drove his trade, ignorant of or indifferent to the fabled riches of the New World; on the banks of the Seine, or amid the polders of the Netherlands the Scottish soldier of fortune still sought an employer for his sword.

When the Elizabethan age of voyaging and discovery was succeeded by the Stuart era of settlement and consolidation, the part played by Scotland in these latter activities was at first almost equally insignificant. For England the seventeenth century was a time of energetic and progressive Colonial expansion. "The years of our settlement", writes a distinguished American historian, "were a romantic period, a time of energy and heroism, of bold ventures at sea and exploration on the land, when island and continental colony in that wonderful region of Florida and the West Indies were planted in insecurity and like the frontier posts of Western America/

America were maintained amid the constant perils of existence. Along the coast of the Atlantic, from Hudson Bay on the North to the Amazon on the South, royalist and parliamentarian, Anglican and Puritan, feudal lord and democratic radical, sea rover and buc--caneer, sought to establish settlements that would directly enhance their own fortunes or furnish them with homes, and indirectly redound to the glory of God, the discomfiture of the enemy, and the good of the realm, and serve as strategic centres in the conflict for supremacy with the other pioneers of Europe." (1) The tale of effective English settlement begins with the plantation in 1607 of Jamestown in Virginia by the London Virginia Company. In 1612 the island of Bermuda, discovered three years previously by Sir George Somers, was added by a charter to Virginia, but was later formed into a separate Colony. On the reorganization of the Plymouth Virginia Company as the New England Council followed the gradual settlement of the Coast well to the North of Virginia: the decade 1620-1630 saw in its opening year the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth; in its closing year it witnessed the migration of the Massachusetts Bay Company to Salem. In the Caribbean Islands English settlers had within the same decade made a joint occupation with the French of St.Christophers, and had begun the plantation of Nevis and the Barbados. In the following/

(1) Andrews: "the Colonial Period". P.10.

following decade, Connecticut and Rhode Island were established; Maine was granted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges; the foundation of New Hampshire was laid by Captain John Mason; and Leonard Calvert, brother of the second Lord Baltimore, conducted a band of emigrants to Maryland.

Some of these settlements owed their origin to the political strife between the early Stuart Kings and those who opposed them either on political or religious grounds: others, again, were founded by courtiers who saw in the undeveloped lands beyond the Atlantic an opportunity of establishing a new feudalism. By absorbing the energies of Cavalier and Parliamentarian the Civil War brought to a close the first epoch of English colonial progress. The second epoch opened with the capture of Jamaica in 1655 by the expedition under Admiral Penn and General Venables, sent out by Cromwell. The decade following the Restoration saw the grant of a Charter to the Lords Proprietors of Carolina; the capture of New Amsterdam from the Dutch, followed by the grant of New Jersey to Carteret and Berkeley; the founding of a company for the development of the Bahamas. The next two decades saw the development of East and West Jersey under Proprietory governments, in which Quaker influence was very strong, and this led up naturally to the establishment in 1681 of the Quaker colony of Pennsylvania. The establishment of Georgia in 1732 stands outside the general range of English/

English colonial expansion; it owed its origin partly to the nascent philanthropic tendencies of the eighteenth century, partly to political considerations; designed by Oglethorpe as a colony of refuge for men who had suffered imprisonment for debt, Georgia connected itself both to the American colonists and to the Imperial government as a barrier against Spanish Aggression.

To the history of English colonial expansion during the seventeenth century the record of Scottish colonial enterprise in the days before the Union of 1707 offers a striking contrast. Virginia had struggled successfully through its critical early years and the Pilgrims had crossed the Atlantic, ere in 1621 Sir William Alexander received from King James the charter that conveyed to him the grant of Nova Scotia, to be holden of the Crown of Scotland. The expedition that sailed from Kirkcudbright in the summer of 1622 did not even reach the shores of Sir William's new domain but was obliged to winter at Newfoundland; the relief expedition dispatched in 1623 did indeed explore a part of the coast of Acadie but did not effect a settlement. Thereafter the project languished for some years but in 1629 (1) a small Scottish colony was established at Port Royal on the Bay of Fundy: its brief and precarious existence was terminated by the Treaty of St. German-en-Laye in 1632. In 1629, too, a small Scottish colony was planted by Lord Ochillree on one of the coves of the Cape Breton coast: after an existence of a few months it

(1) For discussion of date see Appendix B.

it was broken up by a French raiding force. Half a century after these fruitless efforts to establish Scottish colonies two attempts were made to form Scottish settlements within the territories occupied by the English colonists: the Quaker-Scottish settlement of East Jersey met with consider-:able success, but after a very brief and very troubled existence the small Presbyterian colony of Stuarts Town in South Carolina was destroyed by a Spanish ~~raiding~~ force from St.Augustine. The ever-growing desire of the Scottish merchants to have a colony of their own, to have a market for the goods produced by the factories that began to spring up in Scotland during the closing decades of the eighteenth century, found expression in the eagerness with which Scottish investors entrusted their carefully garnered savings to the Directors of the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies: and never was more tragic contrast than that between the anticipations roused by the Darien Scheme and the tale of disaster that is the record of the Darien expeditions.

Yet though the history of Scottish colonial enterprise reveals but a meagre record of actual achievement, that history is invested with a romantic interest that renders it more akin in its essential aspects to the story of French colonial activities in North America rather than to the somewhat prosaic annals of the English settlements along the Atlantic sea-board. When the Scots came into conflict in North America with their ancient ally the course of events seemed to threaten the very existence/

existence of the French power, not only in Acadie, where Port Royal was effectively occupied by the Master of Stirling, but also along the St.Lawrence valley: the security of the ocean gateway to that region was menaced by Ochillree's fortalice on Cape Breton Island: in 1629 Champlain surrender-:ed his fort and habitation of Quebec to Captain Kirke who was operating in connection with the Scots: the thistle had for the moment triumphed over the fleur-de-lys. It is not wholly chimerical to imagine that if Nova Scotia and the St.Lawrence valley had not been surrendered by Charles I. in 1632 the feudal organization designed for Sir William Alexander's province and the adventurous life that Canadian lake and forest and river offered to the daring pioneer would have ~~offered~~ opened up to the Scottish military adventurer a congenial sphere of activity and a life quite as attractive as that of a ~~military~~ career of arms in Sweden or in Muscovy. And the student of military history who remembers that on the Cape Breton Coast, near the spot where Ochillrees' fortalice was razed to the ground, there was erected a French fort that grew ultimately into the mighty citadel of Louisbourg will be not unwilling to concede the important part that the Scottish station might have played in colonial naval and military strategy.

And at the mention of Darien what romantic visions rise before one: of the St.Andrew and her consorts threading their way among the Carribean Islands and piloted to the Main by a grizzled buccaneer; of the huts and battery of New Edinburgh looking/

looking across the narrow channel of Caledonia Bay to the rugged jungle-clad Cordillera whence Balboa had gazed down on the distant shimmering radiance that was the South Sea; of Scottish claymore and Indian machete flashing together in the tropical sunshine as Captain Campbell of Fonab charged the entrenchments of Toubacante. By many who ~~are~~ were well acquainted with West Indian and Central American affairs the Scottish project was considered to stand more than a fair chance of success. And if Scotland had made good her footing on the Isthmus . . .

The latent possibilities of these Scottish schemes adds interest to the problem ~~of~~ why the Scots, who took a leading part in the colonial activities of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries achieved so little in the way of acquisition of colonies during the seventeenth century. The failure of the Scottish schemes was due mainly to the persistence of certain national tendencies, military, economic and religious and it will be not unprofitable to discuss these ere we take up the history of the various schemes.

I.

"The contempt of commerce entertained by young men having some pretence to gentility," says Sir Walter Scott, "the poverty of the country of Scotland, the national disposition to wandering and adventure, all conduced to lead the Scots abroad into/

into the military service of countries which were at war with each other."(1) To France, however, for two centuries and a half the ambitious Scot turned not only during war but during the unquiet intervals of peace. During the days of the Auld Alliance, indeed, the Scot though he crossed the seas, could hardly be described as going abroad: and in the Archer Guard of the French Kings there was a permanent institution that held out to the Quentin Durwards of the age this prospect of a career of distinction.

A picturesque legend ascribes the foundation of the Guard to St.Louis who is said to have enrolled, as a permanent bodyguard, a number of Scots Crusaders, whose vigilance had protected him against Moslem assassins. History, however, points to Charles VII as the founder of the Guard, and to the survivors of those Scots auxiliaries who fought so stoutly for France on the deadly field of Verneuil as its first members. It had an establishment of 100 gens d'armes and 200 archers. At the French court it held a position of special honour and privilege. It was responsible for the guarding of the royal dwelling by night; at mass and at vespers two of its members were in close attendance on the King; while he was at table one stood at each side of his chair. At every important Court function/

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(1) Introd to "A Legend of Montrose."

function a detachment of the Guard was on duty. The boat which bore the King across a river carried two of his trusted Scots. When the sovereign entered a town, six of them were beside him; the keys of the town, handed to the King in accordance with feudal practice, were delivered to the custody of the Captain of the Scots Guard. The defence of Louis XI. by his Scots Guard on the occasion of the desperate night sortie by the inhabitants of Liege, is but one proof that its duties involved more than court service of unshaken fidelity in an age of treachery and intrigue.

For a century and a quarter the Guard enjoyed without interruption the favour of successive sovereigns: for a century and a quarter it typified the esteem which the Scot enjoyed in France. The year 1560 is mentioned in a "Factum" or statement of their grievances, drawn up in 1611 by some of the Guard, as the date when clouds began to gather on the horizon. The year 1560 marked, indeed, the end of the Auld Alliance: in that year the Scots who had rebelled against the Queen-Regent, Mary of Lorraine, made common cause with England against the French forces in Scotland. But the first symptom of the impending change of fortune might have been observed a considerable time before when Francis I. decided that to the Captaincy of the guard, a post of great dignity held hitherto by a Scottish noble, a Frenchman should henceforth be appointed. The innovation, however, was made with gentleness and tact. The first commander under the new regime was Jacques de Lorge, Comte/

Comte de Montgomerie, who claimed descent from the Scottish family of Eglinton. The Comte de Montgomerie was succeeded in the captaincy by his son Gabriel, who, in the course of a tournament held in 1559, had the misfortune to inflict a mortal wound on Henry II. Gabriel de Lorges, whose captaincy was abruptly terminated by this mishap, was regarded by the Scots of a later generation as the last of their native captains.

The innovation in the captaincy was soon followed by changes in the method of recruiting the ranks. But in the sixteenth and seventeenth century it generally happened that when on the Continent ~~of Europe~~ one avenue to employment and distinction was closed to the soldier of fortune another was opened to him, and thus the traditional tendency to seek a career in continental campaigns was continued and strengthened. Little more than a decade after the severance of the bonds of amity that had linked together France and Scotland since the days of the Scottish War of Independence, the capture of Brill by the Beggars of the Sea inaugurated the revolt of the Netherlands against the dominion of Spain; and both during that fierce struggle and down almost to the end of the eighteenth century Scottish troops distinguished themselves in the service of the United Netherlands. "Being royal troops, they claimed, they demanded, and would not be refused the post of honour and the precedence of all the troops in the service of the States. Even the English regiments yielded it to the seniority of/

of the Scots Brigade. This station they occupied on every occasion for two hundred years, and in no instance did they appear unworthy of it."(1) To this encomium of the Brigade by their Chaplian, Dr. Porteous, may well be added his remarks concerning the traditional spirit of the Brigade: "The officers entered into the service very early; they were trained up under their fathers and grandfathers who had grown old in the service; they expected a slow, certain, and unpurchased promotion, but almost always in the same corps, and before they attained to command they were qualified for it. Though they served a foreign state, yet not in a distant country, they were still under the eye of their own, and considered themselves as the depositaries of her military fame. Hence their remarkable attachment to one another, and to the country whose name they bore and from whence they came; hence that high degree of ambition for supporting the renown of Scotland and the glory of the Scots Brigade." (2)

The Twelve Years Truce of 1609 brought to a close the first period of the campaigns of the Scots Brigade in the Netherlands. The outbreak of the Thirty Years War ushered in the Golden Age of the Scottish soldier of fortune. The general/

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(1) Quoted "The Scots Bgde. in Holland," Vol. I. P. XIX.

(2) Quoted "Scots Brigade in Holland," Vol. I. P. XXIV.

general characteristics of the Scottish service in the armies of Gustavus and of Wallenstein it is not necessary to recapitulate, but it is not inapposite to contrast the difficulty experienced by Sir William Alexander in 1622 in coaxing a small band of Galwegian peasants to join his Nova Scotian expedition with the ease with which Sir Donald Mackay, first Lord Reay in 1626 raised his 3,600 men within the brief space of nine weeks - a recruiting fact commemorated in an old Gaelic couplet

Na h-uile fear a thoid a dhollaidh
Gheibh e dolar O Mhae Aoidh. (1)

(Every man who's down in his luck
Will get a dollar from Mackay.)

From Sir James Turner's Memoirs one gets a vivid glimpse of the fascination ~~exorted~~ exercised by ~~the~~ continental campaigning on the eager, active mind of the young Scot. "I was not seventeen yeares old " writes Turner "when I left the schooles, where haveing lightlie passed thorough that course of philosophie which is ordinarlie taught in the Univarsaties of Scotland, I was commanded by my father and my grandfather to commence Master of Arts at Glasgow, much against my will, as never intending to make use of that title which undeservedlie was bestowed upon me, as it was on many others before me, and hath been on too many since. I stayed a yeare after with my father at/

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(1) Fescher: "The Scots in Germany" P. 74.

at Dalkeith, applying myself to the study of humane letters and historie, in bothe which I always tooke delight. I did reade also the controversies of religion betweene us and the Roman Catholickes (for the Presbyterians at that time made little nr or noyse) whereby I might be enabled to discern the truth of the Protestant persuasion and the fallacies of the Popish one or any other, that so I might not, in traversing the world, be carried away with everie wind of doctrine. But before I attained to the eighteenth yeare of my age, a restles desire entered my mind to be, if not an actor at least a spectator of these warrs which at that time made so much noyse over all the world, and were managed against the Roman Emperor and the Catholicke League in Germanie, under the auspitious conduct of the thrice famous Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden. Sir James Lumsdaine was then levieing a regiment for that service; with him (my neerest freinds consenting to it) I engaged to go over ensigney to his brother Robert Lumsdaine, eldest Capitaine" (1)

To the persistence of the tradition of a continental career among the Scots interesting testimony is afforded by the passage in the diary of Patrick Gordon of Auchleuehries, which records the motives that induced him to set out on his travels. Gordon was a Buchan man who rose to a position of the/

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(1) Turner: "Memoirs of his own Life and Times". pp. 1-2.

the highest honour in the service of Peter the Great. After a brief account of his Aberdeenshire school days, Gordon proceeds, under date 1651: "Haveing thus, by the most love-:ing care of my dear parents, atteined to as much learning as the ordinary country schools afford, and being unwilling, because of my dissenting in religion to go to the University in Scotland, I resolved, partly to dissolve the bonds of a youthfull affection, wherein I was entangled, by banishing myself from the object; partly to obtaine my liberty, which I fondly conceited to be restrained by the carefull inspection of my loveing parents; but, most of all, my patrimony being but small, as being the younger sone of a younger brother of a younger house, I resolved, I say, to go to some foreigne country, not careing much on what pretence, or to which country I should go, seeing I had no knowne ffriend in any foreign place."(1)

On the military tradition that mainly inspired Gordon of Auchleuchries interesting light is thrown by a passage in the Description of Aberdeen by his kinsman Robert Gordon of Seraloch: Negotiatio urbanis relinquitur: meliores (magno suo malo) id vitae genus, ut natalibus suis impar dedignanter; unde inopia multis; cui levandae, ad tractanda arma se accingunt, quae multis locis apud exteros, Belgas praesertim, Germanos et Gallos, semper amicam et illis adamatam gentem, a multis in armis/

(1) Diary of Gen. Patrick Gordon: Spalding Club: P. 5.

armis, cum laude, exercuerunt; ingenis, enim, acribus et fervidis, sive Musis sive Marti se manci[illegible], non leviter proficiunt.(1)

The influence of this military tradition, and its deterrent effect on early Scottish colonial schemes, were clearly recognised by those who were interested in these efforts. "Bee we so farre inferiour to other nations," asked Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar indignantly in his "Encouragements for New Galloway," or our Spirits so farre dejected froun ~~ever~~ our ancient predecessours, or our minds so upon spoyle, pyracie, or other villaine, as to serve the Portugal, Spaniard, French or Turk (as to the great hurte of Europe too many do) rather than our God, our King, our Countrie, and ourselves, excusing our idleness, and our base complaynts by want of employment? When heere is such chayse of all sorts, and for all degrees in this plantation." But the eloquence of Lochinvar was drowned amid the clatter of accoutrements as the levies crowded the East Coast ports ~~en route for~~ on their way the plains of Germanie.

Even at the very end of the seventeenth century, at the time of the Darien expeditions, the Scottish tradition of military adventure was not without influence on the progress of colonial schemes, though that influence was exerted along unusual/

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(1) Quoted Gordon's Diary. P. XXn.

unusual lines. The first Darien expedition sailed from Leith in July of 1698. In the previous autumn the Peace of Ryswick, which brought to an end the long-drawn-out war of the League of Augsburg, caused a sweeping reduction in the number of Scots required both in the Scots Brigade in Holland and in the Scottish regiments of the British army: during the winter of 1697 - 1698 nine Scots Dutch companies were disbanded;(1) the Records of the Scots Privy Council for this period reveal continued zeal and activity in the reduction of the strength of the Scottish regiments. To the Scottish soldiers thus thrown out of employment the adventurous possibilities of the Darien expedition and its semi-military organization offered just such prospects of a career as would appeal strongly to the soldier who has sheathed his sword but who does not altogether relish that return to civil life which in the course of an arduous campaign may have appeared to him so alluring. But those qualities which won distinction for the Scot in the sieges and battles of the Low Countries were found to be those for which the Darien enterprise gave but little scope; letters, from Darien, especially those of the Rev.Alex. Shields, reveal only too clearly that Scottish "planters" and "volunteers" in ceasing to be soldiers had acquired but little proficiency as colonists."(2)

(1) Scots Bgde in Holland Vol. I. P. 575.
(2) Letter from Rev.Alex.Shields to Colonel Erskine Feb.2. 1700. (Printed Erskine of Garnocks. Journal. Appendix. iii.)

II.

To the persistency of the Scottish tradition of military adventure the conservative ways of the Scottish merchants and seamen offer an interesting parallel. True it is that in the closing years of the sixteenth century the good folks who directed the affairs of the Burgh of Aberdeen had their minds stirred by the contemplation of the achievements of the Age of Discovery. On the 25th January, 1597 "the provest baillies and counsell ordaint the dean of gyld to pay Robert Lyndsey, pylot, the sowme of fourtie merkis for ane gratitude for the sey kart presentet this day be him to the provest, baillies, and counsell, conteining money guid profitable vreitis, instructione and devyses necessar for sic as treddis on sey, to ony forayne countreis, viz: the haill universall see kart of Europe, Affrica, and Asaia and new found landes of America, with the townes armes thereon affixit, quhilk the provest, baillies and counsell ressavit presentlie fra the said Robert, and ordainit the same to remaine in the handes and custodie of Mr. Thomas (Mollisoun) common clerk, quhill they appoint ane commoun place to affix the samen, quhilk sawme of fourtie merkis sall be allowed to the dean of guild in his comptes." (1) But it was probably long after the acquisition of this 'sey kart' till any Aberdeen shipmaster steered his course north about and braved/

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(1) Aberdeen Records, Spalding Club, Vol.II. p.158.

braved the storms of the Atlantic.

The essential difference between the instincts of Scot and Englishman is revealed broadly but significantly in the popular literature of Scotland and England. The interests and activities of the Elizabethan age are reflected in the sea songs, the narratives of the voyages, and the plays of the time. Thoroughly versed in the mystery of his calling, his skill tested in long and hazardous voyages, the English seaman could celebrate his dangerous existence in bluff and hearty rhyme, carrying the very tang of the sea, as in the following ditty (as old at least as 1576), with the rollicking chorus:-

Lustely, lustely, lustely, let us sayle forth,
The winde trim doth serve us, it blowes at the north.

All thinges wee have ready and nothing wee want,
To furnish our ship that rideth hereby:
Victals and weapons they be nothing skant,
Like worthy mariners our selves wee will try.

Her flags be new trimmed set flaunting aloft.
Our ship for swift swimming oh shee doth excell,
Wee feare no enemies, we have escaped them oft,
Of all ships that swimmeth shee bareth the bell.

And here is a master excelleth in skill,
And our master's mate hee is not to seeke:
And here is a boteswaine will do his good will,
And here is a ship boy we never had his leeke.

If fortune then faile not, and our next viadge prove,
Wee will returne merely and make good cheere:
And hould all together as freends linkt in love,
The cannes shall be filled with wine, aile and beere.

Of the narratives of the voyages there stands out pre-
eminent the "three severall Volumes" of Hakluyt, the outcome of that burning interest in navigation and discovery that urged him to the completion of his task in despite of "great charges and infinite cares, many watchings, toiles, and travils, and wearying out of his weake body." Of Elizabethan plays reflecting the sea-faring interest 'The Tempest' is of of course the chief; but a passage from a less familiar play, John Lyly's "Gallathea" "playde before the Queen's Majestie at Greenwiche on New Yeeres Day at Night" furnishes a passage that yields an even more significant commentary on the Elizabethan attitude to nautical life than does 'The Tempest'. 'Gallathea', which preceded 'The Tempest' by about forty years, is a romantic play having its setting on the Lincolnshire coast of the Humber estuary. In the first act for comic relief Lyly brings on to the stage a Mariner, and Raffe, Robin, and Dicke, three sons of a miller.

Robin. Now, Mariner, what callest thou this sport on the Sea?

Mar. It is called a wracke.

Raffe. I take no pleasure in it. Of all deaths I wold not be drownd; one's clothes will be so wet when hee is taken up.

Dicke. What calst thou the thing wee were bounde to?

Mar. A raughter.

Raffe. I wyll rather hang my selfe on a raughter in the house, then be so haled in the Sea: there one may have a leape for his lyfe: but I marvaille howe our Master speedes.

Dick. Ile warrant by this time he is wetshod. Did you ever see water buble as the Sea did? But what shall we doe?

Mar. You are now in Lyncolnshire, where you can want no foule, if you can devise meanes to catch them: there be woods hard by, and at every myles end houses: so that if you seeke on the lande, you shall speed better than on the Sea.

Robin. Sea? nay I will never saile more, I brooke not their diet: their bread is so hard, that one must carry a whetstone in his mouth to grinde his teeth: the meate so salt, that one would think after dinner his tongue had been powdered ten daies.

Raffe. O thou hast a sweet life, Mariner, to be pinde in a few boardes, and to be within an inch of a thing bottomlesse. I pray thee how often hast thou been drowned?

Mar. Foole, thou seest I am yet alive.

Robin. Why be they dead that be drowned? I had thought they had been with the fish, and so by chance been caught upwith them in a nette againe. It were a shame a little cold water should kill a man of reason, when you shall see a poor mynow lie in it that hath no understanding.

Mar. Thou art wise from the crowne of thy heade upwards: seeke you new fortune nowe, I will follow mine olde. I can shift the Moone and the Sunne, and know by one Carde, what all you cannot do by a whole payre. The Lode-stone that alwaies holdeth his nose to the North, the two and thirty poynts for the winde, the wandes I see woulde make all you blinde: you be but boyes, I fear the Sea no more than a dish of water. Why fooles, it is but a liquid element. Farewell. (Going).....

Now the jesting in this passage is concerned in the very spirit of the British soldiers in France, and across the centuries Bairnsfather might hail the author as a brother. But at present we are concerned less with the persistence of literary traditions than with the revelation the dialogue first quoted affords of the/

the Elizabethan attitude towards seafaring. That attitude is one of familiarity which breeds, not contempt, but humorous tolerance of hardship and danger.

When we turn to the few Scottish poems of early date that deal with sea-faring we are conscious at once of a change of mood. The sea is no longer a rough, but hearty antagonist: it is a fierce, implacable spirit, and sea-faring is a tragic contest between antagonists unequally matched. There is no drawing back from the contest when duty demands it, but the struggle is envisaged with grim and desperate resolution:

Our King has written a braid letter,
And seald it with his hand,
And sent it to Sir Patrick Spens
Was walking on the strand.

'To Noroway, to Noroway,
To Noroway o'er the faem;
The King's daughter of Noroway
'Tis thou maun bring her hame!

The first word that Sir Patrick read,
Sae loud, loud laughed he;
The neist word that Sir Patrick read,
The tear blinded his e'e.

'O wha is this has done this deed,
And tauld the king o' me,
To send me out at this time of the year
To sail upon the sea?

Be it wind, be it weet, be it hail, be it sleet,
Our ship must sail the faem;
The King's daughter of Noroway,
'Tis we must fetch her hame.

From stern and desperate strife the note now changes to plaintive/

plaintive keening:

> My love has built a bonny ship, and set her on the sea
> With seven score good mariners to bear her company;
> There's three score is sunk, and three score dead at sea,
> And the Lowlands of Holland have twind my loved and me.
>
> My love he built another ship, and set her on the main,
> And none but twenty mariners for to bring her home;
> But the weary wind began to rise, and the seas began to rout
> My love then and his bonny ship turned wither-shins about.

The Scot, if a wanderer by instinct and by tradition was neither by instinct nor by tradition a seafarer. The French and Spanish voyages of the sixteenth century, and those wonderful English voyages of the same age when English seamen crept down the coast of Africa in search of the ivory and gold and slaves of Guinea, crossed the Indian Ocean in quest of the spices and silks of the Orient, threaded the ice-lanes of the Arctic in search of that wondrous passage which was to lead to Kathai, and slipped from the narrow cliff-fringed passage of the Straits of Magellan into the vastness and solitude of the South Sea - to none of these activities does Scottish maritime history yield any parallel. Apart from the traditional poverty of the country - which in view of the history of the Netherlands may be regarded rather as an effect than as a cause of the lack of maritime enterprise - we may trace this lack of maritime enterprise on the part of Scotland to two main causes: these were the undeveloped nature of the fishing industry, and the rigid and conservative system of trading with the Low Countries.

"Among the more romantic and spectacular happenings of the sixteenth/

sixteenth century" says Professor Farrand, "the humble industry of fishing has been too little regarded, but it was of enough importance this to have special measures taken to encourage it. Protestant England, for example, found it desirable to re-establish Catholic fast days with their abstinence from meat, and to that end issued a whole series of ordinances and proclamations. That there should be no misunderstanding, the very first of these, an ordinance of Edward VI in 1548 averred "that one daye or one kynde of Meate is of it selfe not more holie more pure or more cleane than an other;" but "that due and godlye astynence ys a meane to vertue and to subdue mens Bodies to their Soule and Spirite, and consideringe also speciallye that Fysshers and men usinge the trade of lyvinge by fysshinge in the Sea, may there by the rather be sett on worke' abstinence from meat in Lent and on other specified days was duly ordered and heavy penalties imposed for disregard of the injunction. Apparently this proved to be worth while, as the number of these days was gradually extended, and a century later, it is said, over one hundred and forty days of each year were set aside on which the eating of flesh was forbidden." (1)

Not only did fishing provide a livelihood but it also furnished a splendid training in seamanship. On the demand for fish in England and on the Continent followed incessant efforts of/

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(1) Farrand: "The Development of The United States. pp. 2 & 3.

of enterprising fishers to meet it. During the fourteenth century English fishermen worker the Iceland waters.(1) The discovery of Newfoundland by Cabot in 1497 was soon followed by the development of the fisheries on the banks and within a very short time considerable fleets from the West of England and from the Breton and Basque coasts were using St.Johns as a base for cod-fishing. And from the West of England came a goodly number of the great English sailors and explorers of the sixteenth century; from St.Malo and La Rochelle sailed the expeditions that laid the foundation of New France.

In the prosecution of the "trade of lyvinge by fysshinge in the Sea" Scotland was decidedly backward. "The only fish exported in Halyburtons time (1492-1503) were salmon with the varieties of grilse and trout, the produce of the rivers. No sea fish was yet taken and cured in sufficient quantity for export." (1) Yet the improvement of the sea fisheries was a problem that at sundry times in the second half of the fifteenth century engaged the attention of the Scottish Kings and their parliaments. The parliament of James III that met on 6th May 1471 considered it "expedient for the comone gud of the realme and the gret encrese of riches to be brocht within the realme of uther countries that certain Lordes spirituale and temporale and burrowis ger mak or get schippis buschis and uther gret pynk botis witht nettis and all abilymentis gaining tharfor for fischingl

(1) K.H.Vickers: England in the Late Middle Ages (Second Edit), P 314

(1) C. Innes: "Introd to Halyburton's Ledger" P. LXX.

fisching."(1) In October 1487 the parliament dealt with "the fisching and making of hering at the West Sey;" three months later this same phase of the fishing industry was again under consideration. (2)

The most determined effort made by the government of Scotland to grapple with the problem of the sea fisheries found expression in the celebrated act passed by the parliament of James IV that met in the summer of 1493. The preamble gives a succint account of the evils for which a remedy was sought: "anent ye greit innumerable ryches yat is tint in fault of Schippis and buschis to be dispoint for fischeing siclyke as utheris realmes hes yat are marchand wt ye sey and for ye policy and conquest there may be had heirintill and to cause idill men to laubor for thair leving for the eschewing of vices and idilness and for ye commoun proffeit and universall weil of ye Realme." The statute then sought to inaugurate a reform which, if effectively carried out, would inevitably exerted a far-reaching influence both on the economic and on the political history of Scotland: "It is . . . statute and ordainit . . . yat thair be Schippes and buschis maid in all Burrowis and Towns within ye realme. And yat ye leist of ye said/

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(1) A.P.S. Vol. II. P.

(2) Ibid. P.

said Schippis and buschis be of XX tun." These fishing smacks were to be ~~properly and to be~~ provided with "marynares, nettes, and ye graith convenient for ye taking of greit fische and small." The fishing fleet was to be ready for the ensuing spring. Stringent regulations were laid down to ensure that energetic efforts should be made to recruit the crews by the inclusion of "all stark idill men." (1)

This insistent legislation seems, however, to have had but little effect on the Scottish sea fisheries. The only area where the industry appears to have flourished before this time was the Firth of Clyde; and after this time the Firth of Clyde and the adjoining sea lochs continued to be the principal district for sea-fishing.(2) And if one contrasts even to-day the small half-decked Loch Fyne skiff with the stout seaworthy drifter or "liner" that puts out from Wick or Peterhead one realises that the sheltered waters of the West Coast can hardly have provided at any time a training ground for venturous explorers.

The Scottish government did not entirely abandon its efforts to improve the fisheries. In 1535 "Oure Sourane lord Ordains ye acte and statute maid of before for making of buschis for fisching to be observit and kepit and to be putt to Executioun in all punctis."(3) This, however, is but a feeble

echo/

(1) A.P.S. Vol. II. P. 235 c. 20.
(2) Cochran Patrick: "Mediaeval Scotland. P. 71.
(3) A.P.S. Vol. II. P. 345 C. 18.

echo of the bold trumpet-blast of 1493. Early in the seventeenth century there is found some curious testimony regarding the persistent neglect of the North Sea fisheries. In 1601 there was published John Keymor's "Observation made upon the Dutch Fishing . . . Demonstrating that there is more Wealth raised out of Herrings and other Fish in his Majesty's Seas, by the Neighbouring Nations, in one Year than the King of Spain hath from the Indies in Fair." (1) Perhaps even more significant testimony to the extent to which the Dutch fishermen monopolised the traffic in the Northern seas is afforded by the experience of Captain John Mason who later played an important part in colonial history as the founder of New Hampshire. A native of King's Lynn and a whilom student of Oxford (2) Captain Mason first sails into the unquiet waters of Scottish history in command of "Two Shipps of War and Two Pynasses" with which he had been engaged by King James to escort Bishop Andrew Knox to the completion of his task of pacifying the Hebrides - "the Redshankes Islandes," Mason terms them. (3) The personnel of Mason's little Armada consisted of four score mariners and some gentlemen volunteers and, owing to the death of the Earl of Dunbar, Lord Chancellor and Treasurer of Scotland, the expenses/

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(1) Davidson and Gray: "Scottish Staple at Veese" P. 73n.

(2) D.N.B.

(2) Nova Scotia Papers: Bannatyne Club - P. 4.

expenses of an expedition lasting fourteen months had, in the first place to be borne by Mason himself. To recompense him for this outlay Mason was in May 1612 granted the Assize of herring in the Northern seas.(1) But it was easier for the Scots Privy Council to make the grant than for Mason to collect the assize herring. The Dutch fisheries succeeded in evading the impost entirely: both the methods by which this evasion was accomplished and the effects of it are of interest: the Dutch envoys who attended the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth "after congratulations of the said marriage and presents delivered, made suit to the King for a Remission of the Payments of the said assize Herring due by their nation: which was granted to the disanhulling of the said Captain John Mason his whole interest therein."(2)

But if the development of the Scottish seafisheries was retarded by persistent neglect that of the Scottish mercantile marine was hindered by a too officious supervision. The Exclusive spirit of the burghs and the eventual limitation of trade with the Netherlands - by far the most important branch of Scottish overseas commerce - to the Staple town of Veere were in themselves repressive influences of no little effect: but when to these general influences are added definite restrictions on seafaring it becomes apparent that little could be expected from the Scottish seaman in the way of initiative and/

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(1) Register PC. Vol. IX P. 18.

(2) Nova Scotia Papers. P. 6.

and enterprise. In January 1466 "it is statute and ordaint that in tyme to cum no schip be frauchtit furth of our Realme with any staple gudis fra the fest of symonds day and Jude (28th October) on to the fest of the purification of oure lady callit candilmes (2nd. February) under the pane of five pundis of usuate monie of our Realme to be raisit til oure Souranes Lordes use of ilk persoun frachting any schip in contrary hereof."(1) Even if this regulation were merely a precautionary measure, like the winter close season of the Hanse ships, the need for such extreme caution can hardly have existed three quarters of a century later when the statute was re-enacted, the penalty for breach of it being then increased fourfold. That the restriction was designed rather in consonance with government policy than out of regard for the safety of the mariners is shown by the promise in the Act of 1535 that "it salbe lefull to send any kynde of merchandise furt of the Realme in the tyme forsaid in ony schippis that bringes in salt or wyne." (2) That the re-enactment of the statute of 1466 formed part of a definite policy of restricting seafaring is shown by the very next measure on the Parliamentary record - "that na man sale in flandres bot twiss in the zeir." "It is Statute and ordaind for the honeste of the realme wele and proffett of all our sourane Lordis liegis specialie his burrowes and merchandis of/

(1) A.P.S. Vol. II. P. 87. c. 5.

(2) A.P.S. Vol. II. P. 348. C. 33.

ofhis Realme that na schip be frauchtit nor merchands sale therein with thare gudis and merchandise furth of the Realme in flandres bot twiss in the zeir. That is to say to the pasche (Easter) mercate and Rude (September) mercate under the pane of Ilk persoun cuming in the contrar thirof of XX li to be Rasil and Inbrot to the Kingis grace use" (1) It is only too evident that the royal regard for the "burrowis and merchandis" can hardly have been attended by consequences favourable to the "wele and profett" of Scottish mariners.

To this persistent lack of appreciation ofthe importance of a large, vigorous and enterprising mercantile marine can be traced the comparative obscurity that surrounds the history of the old Scottish navy except at one dazzling epoch. Rarely indeed in Scottish history do the sails of Scottish warships come clearly into view. The galleys of Alexander III, their scanty canvas trimmed to catch a favouring breeze, their oar-thresh urging the prows against the Hebridean tide-race: the stately carvels of the days of James IV with their tall forecastles bristling with moyennes, falcons, and other antique ordinance, and their towering poops, from which Sir Andrew Wood and other "captains courageous" scanned the North Seas for the sails of English privateers - these fleets, indeed, sail bravely into our ken. But the little squadrons of warships fitted/

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(1) A.P.S. Vol. II. P. 349. c. 34.

fitted out from time to time by the Scottish Government during the seventeenth century and the armed merchantmen bearing letters of marque that sailed from the Forth or the Clyde loom dimly through the mists of time to vanish like phantom ships.

III.

Important as Scottish military and economic traditions undoubtedly were in influencing the trend of Scottish emigration and in determining the objectives of Scottish maritime enterprise their importance in this respect is rivalled by that of the political and religious history of Scotland during the period of a century and a quarter that intervened between the Reformation and the Revolution of 1688. It is a fundamental axiom of colonial history that no state can engage effectively in colonising activities until it has developed harmony and security within its own borders. The voyages and conquests of Columbus, Cortes and Pizarro were the efflorescence of the vigorous national life enjoyed by Spain in virtue of the union of Castile and Aragon and the conquest of the Moorish Kingdom of Granada. The voyages of Cartier to the St.Lawrence were succeeded by half a century during which the French monarchy, engaged in deadly strife against foes both without and within its borders, had no energies for traffics and discoveries: the year 1598, the year of the Treaty of Vervins and the Edict of Nantes, marks the beginning of the second and greater epoch of French exploration of Acadie and New France, the period of the activities of De Monts and Champlain. In English history the Elizabethan church settlement prepared the way for the Elizabethan voyagers/

voyagers; and in the history of English colonial enterprise of the seventeenth century there is a well marked gap between the years 1639 and 1655 - between the Scottish campaign that perpared the way for the Civil War and the expedition sent to the West Indies by Cromwell. From the Reformation to the Revolution Scotland was a country that knew rest and peace only by snatches. The influence of these unquiet years is seen not only in the small part that Scotland took in the colonial enterprise of the early and middle seventeenth century in the widespread enthusiasm for the Darien scheme manifested in Scotland at a period when acute religious discussion was a thing of the past: long pent up the torrent broke forth with irresistible force: and it was of a piece with the tragic traditions of Scottish history that the work wrought by this new power should have been one of destruction.

In one way, indeed, the religious controversies that are such a marked feature of Scottish seventeenth century history, might have been expected to influence the Scottish attitude towards colonization. The persecution of the Covenanters might conceivably have been followed by an exodus to America and to the foundation of colonies of refuge beyond the Atlantic. The part played in English colonial history by the exodus of the Puritans during the third and fourth decades of the seventeenth centuries at once occurs to the mind. The Pilgrim colony of New Plymouth; the plantation at Salem, established by/

by the Massachussetts Bay Company and the settlement at Boston where the leading men of the Company took up their abode when in 1630 they carried their charter across the Atlantic; Connecticut and Rhode Island; the station of Saybrook at the mouth of the Connecticut river; the Island of Santa Katalina or Providence off the coast romantically held against the might of Spain for over a decade - all these represent colonies formed by the English Puritans as permanent homes beyond the sea. In contrast to this imposing list of settlements the historian of Scottish colonial enterprise can point only to the small Presbyterian colony of Stuarts Town in South Carolina founded late in the seventeenth century and swept away by a Spanish raid after a brief and troubled existence.

In the main this difference between the Scottish Covenanter and the English Puritan is to be ascribed to a difference in national temperament. The English Puritan, recognising the might of the forces against which he struggled - the strength of the church, the Court party and the landed aristocracy - sought like a prudent man to betake himself to a land where these powers exerted comparatively little influence. The Scottish Covenanter, with a grim resolution inherited from centuries of warfare with a more powerful neighbouring state would not admit to himself the possibility of the final downfall/

downfall of his cause. This note of impassioned confidence throbs alike in the letters of Samuel Rutherford and in the homilies of Alexander Peden. "Our Clergie is upon a Reconciliation with the Lutherians" wrote Rutherford from Aberdeen on 7th February 1637,(1) "and the Doctors are writing books, and drawing up a Common Confession at the Counsel's command: Our Service ~~b~~ book is proclaimed with sound of trumpet: The night is fallen upon the Prophets: Scotland's day of visitation is come: . . . But our skie will clear again: the dry branch of cut-down Lebanon will bud again, and be glorious, and they shall yet plant vines upon our Mountains." And almost half a century later the venerable Alexander Peden; in the closing years of his trying life could thus exhort his old congregation of Glenluce: "Once Scotland sent out her glory into all the lands about her. Now she sits as a widow and few to take her by the hand. But yet her husband will not forsake her. He will yet return to Scotland, and send out her glory unto all the lands around and that more gloriously than it formerly was." (2)

In 1648 Rutherford refused an invitation from the Dutch University of Hoederwyck to become Professor of Hebrew and Divinity; three years later he refused an invitation/

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(1) Rutherford's Letters. Edit. 1675. Epistle 198.

(2) Quoted. Dr. Carslaw: Exiles of the Covenant. P. 3.

invitation to the chair of Divinity at Utrecht and though the invitation was repeated he remained firm in his refusal to leave his native land. "Sed cum interea Oliverus Cromwellus Regem, eodem anno in Scotia coronatum, profligato ejus exercitu, regno ejecisset, omnia jam mala patriae metuens, negavit se, salva conscientia, in tantis periculis, eam posse deserere; sed teneri patriae ecclesiae, jam ~~animam~~ animam agenti, adesse et ~~saltem~~ saltem funeris deductioni et sepulturae adesse. (1)

"Dear and much honoured in the Lord," wrote Rutherford (2) from Edinburgh on 18th May 1651 to Colonial Gilbert Ker, one of the officers of the West County Army, "let me entreat you to be far from the thoughts of leaving this land. I see it and find it, that the Lord hath covered the whole land with a cloud in His anger. But though I have been tempted to the like, I had rather be in Scotland beside angry Jesus Christ, knowing that he mindeth no evil to us, than in Eden or any garden in the earth . . . "

Yet there were times when circumstances seemed too powerful for even the iron resolution of the Covenanter ". . . there were many things that might engage people to leave Scotland," wrote John Erskine of Carnock in his Journal, under date 7th January 1685, (3) "and I knew few there who had/

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(1) Nethenus: Praefatio to Rutherfords. Examin. Quoted Murray's Life. P. 261.
(2) Letters: edited Bonar. P. 662.
(3) Journal: Scottish History Soey. P. 103.

had any sense of its condition who were not desiring to be away, tho they did linger very much, few having determined what to do themselves or able to advise others. . . . Many of the most serious and godly of the land were now taken away by violent deaths on scaffolds (which it seems is not at an end) or otherways, or then leaving the land, and many in prisons. There was little now that the rulers set themselves for, but what was effectuated."

When in the day of tribulation the Covenanter thought of seeking refuge abroad it was not to the American plantations but to Rotterdam or Utrecht that he instinctively looked for an asylum. The Scottish trade routes led naturally across the North Sea, and there was at no time any great difficulty in obtaining a passage on some smack bound for Holland. The Scots Brigade formed a renowned detachment of the Dutch army. The law classes of Leyden or Utrecht were the natural pathway to the Scottish bar. The Scottish exile found himself, on landing, in the midst of fellow-countrymen. Let us note the experience of Erskine of Carnock during the opening week of his sojourn in Holland:

(March 4th, 1685) This forenoon I landed at Rotterdam, and went to James Bruce's coffee-house, where I met first with my brother Charles.

5th. I was dining in Mr. Robert Fleming's, and did see the Laird of Westshields.

6th. I met with Mr. Robert Langlands, my old master,

whom/

whom I longed much to see. I was with William Sythrum and several other friends.

7th. I dined with Mr. Forrester, and was afternoon in Mr. Russell's, and with Mr. P--- and Doctor Blackader, in the Scots coffee house. . . .

8th. I was at the Scots church, and did hear Mr. Robert Fleming, Acts 14,22, and Mr. John Hogg, Psalm 11,1, both ministers of the Scots congregation at Rotterdam. I heard also Mr. Patrick Verner in the Kirk.

9th. I took a chamber this day in Robert Gibb's, sometime merchant in Stirling, having staid until now with my brother Charles.

I was afternoon with Mr. Thomas Forrester, and with Andrew Turnbull a while.

10th. I did see Waterside, William Cleland, and was much with Mr. Robert Langlands, and having Mr. Kirktoun's evening exercise.(1)

To the Scot obliged to quit his native land the Netherlands offered a kindly welcome. And not the least commendable feature of this asylum was the convenience with which events in Scotland could be followed and the ease with which the return to Scotland could be accomplished. Mr. Robert McWard, the well-known Covenanting minister of the Outer High Church of Glasgow from his place of exile in/

(1) Journal. pp. 108,109.

in Rotterdam "kept up a close correspondence with his friends in Scotland, sending them frequent letters and phamplets suited to the times" (1) When in 1675 the Scots Consistory at Rotterdam decided to appoint an additional minister to the Scots Church there, their choice fell upon Mr. McWard. Mr. McWard accepted the call "on a mutual understanding, that, as soon as public affairs in Scotland allowed his return he should be at liberty to proceed thither." (2) When the Revolution brought happier days for Scotland the quays of Rotterdam were thronged with returning exiles. (3)

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(1) Dr. Carslaw: "Exiles of the Covenant" P. 113.

(2) Steven: "The Scottish Church at Rotterdam." P. 26.

(3) Ibid. P. 102.

SCOTTISH COLONIAL SCHEMES.

Chapter I.

(NEWFOUNDLAND).

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Chapter I.

NEWFOUNDLAND.

Scottish traditions, military, economic and religious - traditions deep-rooted and powerful - united, we have seen, to direct to the Continent of Europe Scotsmen who quitted their native shores to live by the sword, to find a competence in trade, or to seek a temporary shelter from the rigour of political-ecclesiastical persecution. When, indeed, the question of transatlantic enterprise was first brought to the notice of the Scots Privy Council, the emotions which it excited were those of distrust and repugnance.

It must, however, be admitted that the suggested exodus from Scotland against which the Lords of the Privy Council made a diplomatic but firm protest to King James, Sixth and First, had been designed by that monarch not wholly in the interests of the prospective emigrants: Towards the close of the year 1617, the Star Chamber, in pursuance of the royal policy of establishing a lasting peace throughout the Debatable Land, had evolved a code of stringent regulations for the suppression of disorder there. This code was, of course, applicable only to those districts of the Middle Shires that belonged to England, but the King had sent a copy of it to the Scots Privy Council with instructions to consider how far the measures designed to impart docility to the English Borderers might be made to apply North of the Tweed. This question was dealt with by the Scots Privy Council on the 8th January 1618. To the line of policy suggested by the thirteenth section of the

code, the Council took decided exception. This section provided for "a survey and information to be taken of the most notorious and leude persones and of their faultes within Northumberland, Cumberland, etc," and declared that the royal purpose was "to send the most notorious leiveris of thame into Virginia or to sum remote parts, to serve in the wearris or in collonies." On the course of action implied in this section the comment of the Council was discreet but unequivocal: "Sieing be the lawes of this Kingdome and General Band everie landislord in the Middle Schyres is bunded to be answerabil for all theis that dwell on his land, the Counsell sees no necessitie that the course prescryveit in the XIIj article be followed out here." On this judicious remonstrance the editors of the Privy Council Records make the apposite remark that "Virginia and all the other available colonies of that time being English, the Council probably disliked the idea of trusting even Scottish criminals to the tender mercies of English taskmasters.

Three months after the despatch of this diplomatic non-placet, the sage of Whitehall informed the Scottish Council that their judgment seemed "strange and unadvysed" and insisted on their acceptance of the principle in dispute. Dutifully they deferred to the royal mandate. Yet the Conciliar conscience was not altogether easy concerning the possible fate of kindly Scots from the Borders: at the beginning of 1619, the Council instructed the Commissioners of the Middle Shires to intimate to the Transportation Sub-Committee "that in the execution of that peece of servise

concredit/

concredit into thame they use the advyse and opinoun of the Lords of his Majestie's Previe Counsall." (1)

It is perhaps more than a coincidence that almost at the very time when the King's desire to employ Virginia as a convenient penitentiary for unruly Scots was engaged the attention of the Scots Privy Council, the Lord Mayor of London and Sir Thomas Smyth, the Treasurer of the Virginia Company should be not a little puzzled by a problem that had arisen from King James' determination to send some of his English subjects to Virginia. It was on 8th January, 1618 that the Scots Privy Council discussed the King's plan for dealing with turbulent Borderers. On 13th January 1618 King James wrote thus from his "Court att Newmarkett to Sir Thomas Smyth:

"Trustie and well beloved wee greet you well; whereas our Court hath of late been troubled with divers idle yonge people, who although they have been twise Punished still continue to followe the same havvinge noe ymployment; wee havvinge noe other course to cleer our court from them have thought fitt to send them into you desiringe you att the next oportunitie to send them away to Virginia and to take sure order that they may be sett to worke there, wherein you shall not only doe us good service but also doe a deed of Charitie by employinge them who otherwise will never be reclaymed from the idle life of vagabonds/. . ."

(1) Register P.C. Vol. XI. P. 506.

vagabonds. . . ." (1)

This letter Sir Thomas Smyth received on the evening of the 18th of January: some of the prospective deportees had already reached London. The perturbation of the worthy Treasurer reveals itself clearly in the letter which he addressed to the Lord Mayor immediately on the receipt of the royal mandate:

Right honob.le: I have this eveninge receaved a lre from his Matie att Newmarkitt requiring me to send to Virginia diverse younge people who wanting imployment doe live idle and followe the Courte, notwithstanding they have been punished as by his highnes Lres (which I send you Lp. herewith to yo to see) more at large appeareth. Now for as much as some of thies by his Mats royall comand are brought from Newmarkitt to London alreadie and others more are consigned after, and for that the companie of Virginia hath not anie shipp att present readie to goe thither neither any means to imploy them or secure place to detain them in untill the next oportunitie to transport them (which I hope wilbee very shortlie) I have therefore thought fitt for the better accomplishing his highness pleasure therein to intreat yor L'ps favour and assistance that by yr. L'ps favour these persons may be detained in Bridewill and there sett to worke untill our next/

(1) City of London Archives-Guildhall "Remembrancia" Vol. V. Fol. 8. (A Ltre from the King's Matie to Sir Tho. Smyth toughing idle persones for transportation to Virginia.)

next shipp shall depte for Virginia, wherein yor Lp. shall doe an acceptable Service to his Maty and myself bee enabled to pforme that which is required of me. Soe I comend you to God and rest.

Yr Lps assured Louvinge friend

Tho: Smith.

This Mundaie eveninge

18 Januar 1618.(1)

(Of the subsequent experiences of the young rufflers for whom the Treasurer in his perturbation besought the temporary hospitality of the Bridgewill the London Records give no account)

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The Delorraines of the Debatable Land were not the only Scottish subjects of King James for whom the New World seemed to offer itself obligingly as a spacious and convenient penitentiary. In the spring of 1619, while the religious controversy aroused by the issue of the Five Articles of Perth was still raging bitterly, one of the arguments by means of which Archbishop Spotswoad sought to influence the recalcitrant ministers of Midlothian was a threat of banishment to America(2) - an ominous foreshadowing of the practice that was to become all too common in Covenanting days.

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(1) "Remembrancia" Vol. V. f. 8 & 9 (A Lre from Sr.Tho:Smyth to ye Lo: Maior wherein his Mats. Lre above inserted is sent inclosed.)

(2) Reg. P.C. Vol XI. p. 562n.

II.

At the very time when both King and Archbishop were concerning themselves with the repressive efficacy of exile to Virginia, an obscure group of Scottish adventurers had found in the oldest of England's transatlantic possessions an attractive if somewhat exciting sphere of enterprise; and the claims of Newfoundland as a place of settlement suitable for Scottish emigrants were soon to be urged with some degree of ostentation. It is, indeed, but a brief glimpse that we obtain from colonial records of the activities of these Scottish pioneers. In March 1620 there was received by King James a petition from "the Treasurer and the Companie with the Scottish undertakers of the plantations in Newfoundland". After references to the growing prosperity of the country and to the magnitude of the fishing industry, the petitioners complain of the losses caused by the raids of pirates and by the turbulence of the fishermen. Steps, however, have been taken to combat these evils: "And theirfor since your Maties subjects of England and Scotland and now joyned togither in hopes of a happy time to make a more settled plantation in the Newfoundland. Their humble petition is for establishing of good orders and preventing enormities among the fishers and for securing the sd. Plantations and fishers from Pyrates. That your Mat^ie would be pleased to grant a power to John Mason the present governor of our colinies (a man approved by us and fitting for that service) to be Lieftenant for your matie in the sd. parts. This petition is endorsed:" The Scottish/

Scottish undertakers of the plantation in the new found land.[1]

Brief as is this glimpse of the activities of the early Scottish planters in Newfoundland and tantalising as is it/slack of detail, the meagre information it yields is of no little interest to the historian of colonial enterprise, for it is the first evidence that has come down to us of Scottish colonising activity in the New World. Moreover it affords an eminently reasonable explanation of why Captain John Mason should seek to stimulate Scottish interest in Newfoundland by the compilation of his "Brief Discourse of the New-found-land - - - inciting our natione to go forward in the hopefulle plantation begunne." Fortunately we can gather from the general course of colonial development in Newfoundland a tolerably complete idea of the plantation in which the Scots were undertakers: and it is possible to trace with some fulness both in Scottish and in Colonial history the romantic career of Captain John Mason.

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(1) Public Record Office. C.O. I No. 54: Col.Cae. Vol. I P. 25.

III.

By the time of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's visit to Newfoundland in 1583, the island - or at least its southern shore - was well known both to the fishermen and to the merchant seamen of the Western Counties of England. Indeed, the visit of Sir Humphrey was made primarily in order to revictual after the Atlantic voyage: St.John's was the last outpost of civilisation, the last glimpse of the familiar world, ere the voyagers should steer forth into those strange and baffling waters that lured them Northward and Westward towards the fabled treasures of the East. On the hillside above St.John's Harbour, Sir Humphrey in full view of an assembled fishing fleet, carried out, with impressive symbolism, the formal annexation of the island to the crown of England. But for a quarter of a century after this annexation, Newfoundland remained merely a depot for the fishing-vessels operating on the Banks, in the Gulf of St.Lawrence and along the shores of the Bay of Fundy.

This slow progress in the development of Newfoundland was due less to lack of effort on the part of Englishmen interested in Colonisation, than to misdirection of effort. Soon after the annexation there was published "A True Report of the Late Discover-ies", by Sir George Peckham - the first of a series of commendatory pamphlets that are useful guides to the early history of Newfoundland. In the retrospective light shed by the later history of the English plantations, it is instructive to consider the nature of the inducements held out, in the year of grace 1583, to prospective

pioneers/

pioneers. Much is naturally made of the claims of the fishing industry; but the importance of Newfoundland as a base for a voyage to India by the North West Passage, is also urged; and any feudal instincts that may have survived the ungenial regime of the early Tudors, are appealed to by the promise to £100 subscribers of a grant of 16,000 acres of land with authority to hold Court Leit. and Court Baron.

It lies, of course, primarily within the province of the feudal lawyer to determine how these franchises were to be exercised when there were no vassals to assemble in Court Baron and when such inhabitants of Newfoundland as might by the potency of seal and parchment find themselves transformed into customary tenants of a manor, were by no means likely to accept with docility such a change of status. For the "winter crews" whose scattered settlements fringed the southern and south-eastern shores of the island, belonged to a class of men long noted for turbulence and independence of spirit.

The first effective plantation of Newfoundland was carried out early in the 17th Century by a company imbued with a spirit differing widely from the feudal and romantic tendencies of Peckham. The "Compant of adventurers and planters of the cittie of London and Bristol for the colony or plantation in Newfoundland which received itscharter in 1611, had as one of its leading members, Sir Francis Bacon, and it was probably through his influence/

influence that it obtained, despite the royal impecuniosity, a considerable subsidy from the King. Of the merchants identified with the company, the most prominent was Alderman John Guy of Bristol, who in 1611 conducted the first colonists from the Severn sea-port to Cupid's Cove, a land-locked anchorage at the head of Harbour Grave. The prosperity that attended this settlement from its earliest days may be ascribed almost with certainty to the guidance it received from the practical counsel of Bacon and the commercial acumen of Alderman Guy. It was with the activities of this settlement at Cupid's Cove that the Scottish planters had identified themselves.

IV.

The only dangers that in any way threatened the success of the colony were the hostility shown towards the planters by the fishermen and the devastation caused by the raids of pirates and when, in 1615, Guy was succeeded in the governorship by Captain John Mason, the colonists might with reason feel confident that their destinies had been entrusted to a man well fitted both by character and by experience to protect the settlers from their foes. In his personality the new governor combined not a little of the fascinating daring of the Elizabethan adventurer with the stern resolution and sound commonsense that marked the pioneer of early colonial days.

Of the circumstances under which Mason entered the service of King James we have no information. But the fact that Mason sailed out of King's Lynn added to the fact that the royal commission for Mason's voyage to Scottish waters was dated from Thetford[1] leads one to infer that King James learned of Mason in much the same way as his royal ancestor learned of the reputation of Sir Patrick Spens. The royal commission was "for furnishing and setting forth of Two Shipps of Warr and Two Pynnasses to attend his Maty service conioyntly with Mr. Andrew Knox, then Bishopp of the Isles, for subduing of the then rebellious Redshankes in the Hebrides Islandes."[2] Some of the difficulties Mason experienced/

(1) Nova Scotia Papers P. 4.

(2) Ibidem.

experienced in seeking recompense for his outlays we have already seen.[1] But the loss of his Assize herring through the astute diplomacy of the Dutch envoys did not complete his tale of woe. The Scottish fishermen were less diplomatic in their resistance to the assize grant than their Dutch fellows, and Mason found himself thrown into prison by the magistrates of the Fifeshire burgh of Anstruther. He was released by order of the Privy Council,[2] who thereafter received from the burghs of Fife a strongly worded petition against the obstruction to the work of the fishermen caused by the activities of Mason who was described as "an Englishman pretending to have a commission for lifting the assize herring of the Northern Isles." (3)

For three years Captain Mason apparently vanished - and with good reason - from the Scottish seas: when he did reappear he was on his arrival in the Pentland Firth regarded by the good folks of Caithness as a pirate. Off Thurso he was pursued and captured.[4] Along with his mate and his crew he was taken to Edinburgh and lodged in the Tolbooth. There is not lacking a hint that the arrest of Mason had in it either some element of irregularity, or at least some possibility of offence to the Court/

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(1) Vide supra page . . .

(2) P.C. Reg. Vol. IX P. 377.

(3) Ibid. P. 531.

(4) P.C.Reg. Vol. X. p. 348.

Court at Whitehall, for the Scots Privy Council assured his captor that they exonerated him "of all payne and cryme that might be impute to him thairthrow for ever," and they were also careful to treat Mason and his crew not as pirates, but as prisoners of war.(1) The significance of the subsequent proceedings in Mason's case is baffling in the extreme. Mason reached Edinburgh at the end of June 1615. We get no hint of any trial by the Court of Admiralty, yet towards the end of August we find Mason making surrender to the Deputy Treasurer of his ship "callit the Neptune of King's Lynn of the burdyne of forty tuns or thairby, togidder with his ankeirs, cabillis, towis, munitioun and apparelling pertaining thereunto". On the day on which it was surrendered, the Neptune was disposed of for 800 Merks.(2) Might it be that Mason had by this time received from King James notice of his appointment as governor of Newfoundland, and that, in order to save delay in disposing of his property, he had taken an unconventional method of effecting a speedy sale of his ship?

It has been conjectured (3) that Mason's appointment as Governor of the Plantation at Cupid's Cove was in some degree a recompense for his outlay in the Hebridean expeditions. It does not appear that Mason himself was inclined to this view: fourteen years/

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(1) Reg. P.C. Vol. X. P. 350;
(2) Reg. P.C. Vol. X. P. 389;
(3) D.N.B.

years later he was urging his original claim on the notice of Charles I.[1] It is more probable that the choice of Mason was due partly to the desire of KIng James and Bacon (now Attorney General) to appoint a man thoroughly suitable for the strenuous task that lay before the Governor of the settlement in which they were deeply interested, and partly as a solatium for the indignity of his capture and incarceration. By his activity and enterprise Captain Mason in every way justified his selection and as the petition of 1620 shows, had gained the confidence and the esteem of his planters over whom he was placed. It is no slight tribute to his magnanity that, despite his experiences in Scotland, he harboured no rancour against the Scots.

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(1) Nova Scotia Papers. pp 4 & 5.

V.

In carrying out the duties of Governor of the little plant tion of Couper's Cove - now Mosquito Cove, in Conception Bay - Captain Mason displayed both zeal and enterprise. Of some of the activities pertaining to the government of such a colony we get a glimpse in a letter penned by Mason "from the plantacioun of Cuper's Cove in Terra Nova ult. Augusti 1617 and addressed "To the right worshipfull Mr. John Scot of Scottisterbal in Scotland, Director of His Majestie's Court of Chancery there, in his house on the Cawsey of Edinburgh." After a reference to a hope of being able to furnish his correspondent with "A Mapp thereof, with a particular relacioun of the severall parts, natures, and qualities," Mason proceeds: "I am now asetting my foote into that path where I ended last, to discover to the westward of this land; and for two months absence I have fitted myselfe with a small new galley of 15 tonnes, and to rowe with fourtien oars (having lost our former). We shall visit the naturalls of the country, with whom I propose to trade, and thereafter give you a tast of the event, hoping that withall Terra Nova will produce Dona Nova, to manifest our gratificacioun. Untill which tyme I rest and shall remayne tuus dum suus, John Mason." (1)

The/

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(1) Nova Scotia Papers. P. 5.

The interest which linked together Sir John Scott of Scot-starvet and Captain Mason, gives rise to some interesting speculation. Was it due mainly to Sir John's public-spirited zeal for the welfare of his country - so different from his private animadversions on the statesmen of his time - and to a desire to direct westward the unceasing stream of Scottish emigration? Can Sir John, in his capacity of Director of the Scottish Chancery have been in some way instrumental in delivering Mason from his captivity in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh? The question of the connection ~~of the connection~~ between Scott and Captain Mason is highly enigmatical, but as regards his "particular relacioun" we know exactly where we are. It took definite and practical shape in Mason's "Brief Discourse", a tract of seven pages dedicated to Sir John Scott and printed at Edinburgh by Andro Hart in the year 1620.(1)

In its moderation of tone and its precision of detail, this account of the possibilities of Newfoundland as a home for Scottish emigrants reveals Mason as eminently clear-headed and practical - the very man to guide, with energy and discrimination, the development of a young and struggling colony. Admitting that, in fertility of soil and "temperature of the climate" Newfoundland cannot compare favourably with Virginia, he yet advances "foure maine/

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(1) Reprinted Nova Scotia Papers.

maine Reasons" for which "it is to be paralleled to it, if not preferred before it." These reasons are: firstly, "the nearness to our own home;" secondly, "the great intercourse of trade by our Nation these threescore years and upward"; thirdly, the conveniency of transporting planters thither at the old rate, ten shillings the man and twentie shillings to find him victuals thither, likewise other commodities by shippes that goe sackes[x] at ten shilling per time out, and thirtie shillings home, whereas Virginia and Bermuda fraights are five pound the mann and three pound the tunne"; fourthly and lastly, "Securetie from foraine and domestick enemies, there being but few Salvages in the north, and none in the south parts of the countrie . . . . Also, if any warres should happen betwist us and other Nations, we should not fear rooting out. For the sea is a bulwark all Aprill commonlie, and after that, during the whole summer, we have a garrison of 9 or 10 thousand our owne Nation, with many good and warlike shippes, who of necessitie must defend the fishing season for their livings sake, as they always formerlie have done in the warres with Spain. And afterwards, in the monthes of Harvest and Winter, the winds are our friends and will hardlie suffer any to approach us, the which if they should, the cold opposite to the nature of the Spaniards will give him but cold entertainment; neither will the planters be altogether puffed up with careless securitie, but fortifie in some measure, knowing that Non/

(x) freight ships.

Non sunt securi qui dant sua Calla securi."

On the soundness of Mason's reasoning the whole course of English Colonial history supplies a poignant commentary. But the Governor's interests and activities were soon to be directed into other channels, and though his influence can certainly be traced in the history of the Scottish attempt to colonise Nova Scotia, those who undertook the direction of that scheme were unable, unfortunately, to obtain his counsel and co-operation The esteem in which Mason was held by the Newfoundland planters found expression in their petition to the King for the grant of "a power to John Mason the present governor (a man approved by us and fitting for that service) to be Lieftenant for your matie in the sd. parts." To uphold Mason's authority the petitions request "that he may have 2 shippes or more as shall be found requisite" and that the upkeep of these ships be met by a levy on each boat of "the som of five nobles in money or five hundred dry fishes, which is but the ffifteieth part of a boat's ordinary fishing voyadce in the somer time in Newfoundland". (1) The petition bears the following endorsement: "At the Court of Worksinge 16° Martii 1620. His Maties pleasure is that the Lo: Steward, Lo: Chamberlain, Earl of Arundell, the Lo: Viscount ffaulkland and Sir George Calvert, one of his Matie's principall secretaries or any ffocere of thine Doe consider of this petition and of the reasons thereto annexed." The commission issued to Mason by the Lord/

(1) C.O. 1 No. 54
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Lord High Admiral would appear to be the result of this petition.[1] By the grant of this Commission the home government greatly enhanced the status of Mason: "Thitherto he had been governor of an unimportant company: this made him Lieutenant of the King with large powers and the jurisdiction of the whole island."[2]

The return of Mason to England in the spring or early summer of 1621 brought to an end his connection with the Newfoundland plantation, but not his influence on Scottish colonial schemes. Through his official position Mason was inevitably brought into contact with Sir Ferdinando Gorges, "The Father of English Colonisation in North America - Gorges was one of the English commissioners for the regulation of the Newfoundland fisheries - and thenceforth in colonial history it is with the schemes of Gorges for the development of New England that the name of Mason is associated. In 1629 Mason and Gorges took the leading part in the formation of the Laconia Company - a company formed with the design of making a settlement in the territory adjacent to the Iraguoise Lakes. It is chiefly, however, in connection with the foundation of New Hampshire - the outcome of a grant to Mason and Gorges in 1631 of territory in the Piscataqua River - that Mason occupies an/

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(1) Tuttle: "Memoir of Captain John Mason" P. 13

(2) Ibid.

an important position in English Colonial history.

On his return to England in 1621 Mason had met Sir William Alexander, who had turned his versatile fancy towards a scheme of Scottish colonisation. It may be inferred that the counsel of the Governor of Newfoundland played no slight part in inducing Alexander to undertake the plantation of the land lying between New England and Newfoundland. For more than a decade Scottish Colonial history was to be dominated by the romantic and visionary zeal of the Laird of Menstree.

CHAPTER II.

NOVA SCOTIA.

From Stirling with its clustering memories of so much that is grim and fierce and crucial in the history of Old Scotland, it is but a short pilgrimage to the birthplace of the founder of New Scotland. After circling round the wooded slopes of the Abbey Craig the highway that strings together the villages nestling at the base of the Ochils, strikes due eastward. To one's right the Corse of Stirling stretches away to a dim horizon; on one's left the dark-green, far-stretching rampart of the Ochils rears itself abruptly from the plain. Soon one passes a single row of cottages flanking the highway and crosses a little bridge beneath which the Menstrie Burn trickles along its stone-strewn channel. And now before one, raising its time-worn red-brown roof above a cluster of weaving sheds is the goal of the pilgrimage, the House of Menstrie - that old mansion which gave to British History two men so diverse in personality and in destiny as Sir William Alexander and Sir Ralph Abercrombie.

The weather-beaten old building seems to feel, and to resent dumbly, the desolation that has fallen upon it. Its roof of weather-stained tiles sags despondently. Along the greater part of its grey stone facade three tiers of boarded-up windows stare blankly down at a forlorn yard, where weeds and rough grass flourish rankly. A rudely built, unrailed flight of steps leads up to a mean wooden doorway fastened with a leathern hasp. But

at/

at the southern end a part of the building is still inhabited; one climbs up a railed stairway to a trim lobby; small neatly curtained windows peep out from the midst of the thick growth of ivy that has cast its sheltering mantle over the ancient wall.

A low-browed Norman gateway leads to the inner court, from which one looks across a small orchard to the little parish church and the cluster of tiled or slated roofs of the village cottages. Behind the village a clump of woodland leads the eye upward to where, by turfed slope and dark rocky scarp, Dunmyat heaves up its huge shoulder and prints his blunt summit on the northern sky. In its strange mingling of pervading desolation and sporadic vitality, the old House of Menstrie stands to-day as a not unfitting memorial of the history of Sir William Alexander's efforts to colonise Nova Scotia; while its background of clustering woodland and steep mountain side may not inappropriately suggest memories of the romantic age of French colonial enterprise that furnished the historical setting of the Scottish scheme.

I.

From the homely courtyards of Menstrie it is a far cry to the Court of Whitehall. And the story of the Laird of Menstrie's progress in the royal favour has in it some hint of the career of the old Scots adventurer, but of an adventurer who instead of trailing pike or wielding broadsword relied on the potency of his pen. It is a strange, a romantic record this life-story of Sir William Alexander; a tale that touches the history of both

Scotland/

Scotland and England at many important points; a tale that furnishes the best clue to the understanding of what mannwr of man this was who sought to plant a New Scotland beyond the Atlantic.

Born, it is presumed in 1567 (1) - the fateful year that witnessed the assassination of Darnley, the surrender of Mary at Carberry Hill, and the acces ion to the throne of Scotland of that infant prince who was to be his friend and patron - William Alexander passed his boyhood close to the picturesque glens and hillsides of the Ochils. It is a district the scenery of which has been the theme of some of the most tender and charming lyrics inspired by the Scottish Muse. But on the verse of Alexander the influence of this scenery is slight and faint - almost, indeed, non-existent. The impressions of his boyhood were elbowed aside by his interest in the classical studies begun, it is conjectured, in the Grammar School of Stirling under the nephew of George Buchanan.(2) There is a tradition that Alexander's later studies were carried on in the Universities of Glasgow and Leyden.

This excellence in literary studies gave Alexander his passport to advancement. It was his achievements in the lore of the schools that led to his selection as a companion to Archibald, seventh earl of Argyle, on a tour through France, Spain, and Italy.(3) The Earl of Argyle brought Alexander to Court and there his learning and his poetical skill commended him to King James, who appointed him/

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(1)

(2) Rogers: Memorials of the Earl of Stirling. Vol. I. P. 33.
Ibid. P. 33.

(3) Ibid. P. 32.

him tutor to Prince Henry. When King James passed southward to his new realme the Bard of Menstrie was moved to let the English people know how highly they had been favoured by fortune:

> But this age great with glorie hath brought forth
> A matchless monarke whom peace highly raises,
> Who as th' untainted ocean of all worth
> As due to him hath swallowed all our praises;
> Whose cleere excellencie long knowne for such,
> All men must praise and none can praise too much.
>
> For that which others hardly could acquire
> With losse of thousand lives and endless pain
> Is heapt on him even by their owne desire
> That thirst tenjoy the fruits of his blest raigne,
> And never conqueror gain'd so great a thing
> As those wise subjects gaining such a King. (1)

Nor did the bard, while dwelling on the good fortune of the Southron, forget the consequences to Scotland of the migration of her King:

> We must our breasts to baser thoughts inure
> Since we want all that did advance our name
> For in a corner of the world obscure
> We rest ungraced without the boundes of fame.
>
> - - - - - - - - - - -
>
> This hath discouraged my high-bended minde
> And still in doute my drouping muse arrayes,
> Which if my Phoebus once upon me shin'd
> Might raise her flight to build amidst his rayes. (2)

Of the sincerity of the sentiments expressed in these Stanzas we have no reason to doubt: they are touched by that spirit of devoted/

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(1) Poetical works of Sir Wm. Alexander. Vol. 2 P. 328.

(2) Ibid. P. 330.

devoted personal loyalty to which must be attributed much both of the romance and of the tragedy of Scottish history.

When in 1604 he journeyed to London he entered upon a career which seemed at first merely a continuation of the scholastic pursuits in which he had distinguished himself in Scotland. Ere quitting his native land he had published at Edinburgh his "Tragedie of Darius". Having been appointed to the suite of Prince Henry he published in 1604 "A Paraenesis to the Prince" - a poetical homily inspired by a manly commonsense conception of a considerable amount of Alexander's more purely literary work. In it appeared his "Aurora" - a sonnet series - and his "Monarchicke Tragedies," containing his "Croesus" and the second version of his Darius. Next year he published a third tragedy - "The Alexandraen". In 1607 there was issued a quarto volume, containing "The Monarchicke Tragedies - Croesus, Darius, The Alexandraen, Julius Caesar; newly enlarged, by William Alexander, Gentlemen of the Prince's Privie Chamber." One interesting feature of Alexander's revision of his poems is that many Scottish turns of phrase that appeared in the earlier editions are eliminated from the later versions.

The lamented death of Prince Henry in 1612 called forth from Alexander his "Elegie". Next year Alexander turned his attention to prose and wrote an addition to Sidney's Arcadia; and the curious reader can detect some traces of the influence of the "Arcadia" in the brocaded prose of Alexander's "Encouragement to Colonies". A correspondence begun in this year with Drummond of Hawthornden (1) was/

(1) Archaeologica Scotica Vol. IV P. 84.

was followed in the autumn of 1614 by the visit of Drummond to the House of Ministry. The account of the meeting of the two poets is thus described by Drummond in a letter to a friend:

As to my long stay in these parts, ye sal rather impute it to so sociable a campaine from whom I am even loth to depart, to a wilful neglect of promiset coming to you. Fortune this last day was so favourable, as be plaine blindnesse to acquent me with that most excellent spirit and rarest gem of o^{r} North S.V.A (Sir William Alexander); for coming neare his house. I had almost beene a Christiane father to one of his childring. He accepted me so kindlie, and made me so good entertainement (which, whatsomever, with him I culd not have thocht but good) that I can not well schow Tables removed, efter Homer's fassion well satiat, he honord me so much as to schow me his bookes and papers. This much will I say, and perchance not with out raison dar say, if the heavens prolong his dayes to end his Day,* he hath done more in One Day, then Tasso did al his lyff; and Bartas in his Two Weekes: thocht both the ane and the other be most praise worthie. I estimed of him befor I was acquent with him, because of his Workes; but I protest hencefoorth, I will estime of his Workes, because of his owne good courtes meeke disposition. He entreatit me to have made longer stay; and beleave me, I was as sorrie to depart(1) as anew enamouret lover wold be from his mistress.

"Talk/

* "The Day" referred to is Alexander's "longest and most ambitious poem "Doomes-day; or, The Great Day of the Lords Ivdgement, by Sr. William Alexander, Knight." A sonnet by Drummond preceded the first part of it, which was published in 1614. In 1637 there was published a longer version in which the four books or hours of the earlier edition were increased to twelve.

(1) Quoted. Roger's Memorials. Vol. I. P.

"Talk of the first meeting of Goethe and Schiller," says Drummond's biographer, "or of this other modern poet with that! Have we moderns alone the deliciousness of such first meetings? Could not two people meet for the first time before the eighteenth century? Why here, two hundred and sixty years ago (three hundred years now) in the House of Menstrie near Alloa, in Clackmannanshire, which anyone may see to this day, there was a model first meeting of two poets, with a pleasant dinner between them to begin with, and, after the cloth was removed, an infinity of literary chat, and as much inspection as you like of papers and proof-sheets . . . Alexander, though rather verbose in his printed remains, for our modern tastes, may have been a most agreeable man personally, and full of interesting talk. At all events, he was "the rarest gem of our North" for young Drummond, and Drummond looked up to him admiringly . . . ."(1)

About this time, however, there were some of Alexander's fellow-countrymen who regarded him with sentiments different from those he inspired in Drummond. "Right honorable and most loving Brother" wrote Andro Murray of Balvaird on 31st January 1615 to John Murray (afterwards Earl of Annandale, their hes been much mervelling heir how it cumes that the goodman of Menstrie doeth now send and resaue the Bischopes packets, since your wer heirtofore imployed be them in all their business; and thoght it be a matter/

(1) Masson: Drummond of Hawthornden. P. 42.

matter of smal or no moment yet hes it been the subject of much speeche, and sum their bie who wold faine builde therupon ane argument to persuad others that your credit with his maiestie was in the decaye. I could not abstein from laughing, whan I hard such idle tales, and yet I thoght it was my dewtie, sa far as I could, to searche their grund and to adventise you. For any thinge, I can learn, the change proceids only from the Bischope of Saintandrous levitie and inconstancie, to the which humour, they say, that he is so naturallie inclyned, that nothinge can please him longe. All the rest of the Bischopes ar so angrie with him for imploying Menstrie and lewing you, as they can bie, and ye will not believe how hardlie they have censured him for it. He can not tell how to sett a goode face upon it, yet for his excuse, he alledges, (as I hier say) that he was commandit, and least willed so to do, both be his Maiestie and by my Lord Summerseat, and he sayes that his sone the archdean broght him home this commandement when he returned from Court last. Their is no man that ever hard this tale, bot they think it a meir fictioun. The only dout is whidder it be of the father or the sones invention. The archdean, indeed, since his last returne from Court, hes given out many great speaches, bot of the credit he had when he was their, and of his purpose to returne in hope to have more; bot he most find cautioun or he be relived in all. It is supposed that he has also said more to his father nor he had in commission, and his father belives him because he loves him. It could be no worse for them both to be somewhat more circumspict nor they are (1). . ."

The/

(1) Reprinted Analcela Scotica Vol II from Balfour M.S.S. Advocates Literary.

The career of Alexander as a man of affairs had, however, begun some years before the date when his "Sending and resauing of the Bischopes packets," caused "much mervelling". The first of those forlorn hopes that constitute his record of political experiment belongs to the year 1608. In that year William Alexander and a Kinsman Walter Alexander approached the King with an ingenious financial scheme. No modern summary of the proposal can vie in effectiveness with the recital of the high hopes that sparkle through the official prose of the royal patent . . "Whereas we have been informed by our wellbeloved subjects William Alexander, one of the gent. of the Privy Chamber to our Right Wellbeloved sonne Henry, and Walter Alexander, one of the gent. Ushers to our said Sonne, that divers debts of divers kinds and of great value did grow due to the Croen of England in the thirteenth year of the raigne of our late Sister, the late Queene Elizabeth, and at diver's times before upward to the first year of the raigne of King Edward the Sixt inclusively, which by the neglect of Sheriffs and other officers have not been levied nor paid, but are yet due to us - manie of which debts (at the first good and sperate) be now in process of time become either verie doubtfull and more desperate, and almost all of them, by reason that the debtors bee dead or deceased, and the estates hertofore subject and lyable to the payment of the same be now either consumed, or disposed, or aliened into so manie hands that it shall be verie difficult or chargeable at this daie to levage the same". Undaunted by the difficulty of the task the two Alexanders were willing/

willing to attempt the recovery of these debts - amounting, it was estimated to £12,000 sterling - and were to be rewarded by a grant of one half of any money that should accrue to the Crown "by the labour, meanes, industry, or endeavours of thim, the said William Alexander and Walter Alexander.(1)

In this sanguine scheme, alas, desire did vastly outrun performance, and there is not the slightest reason to question the cautious averment of Alexander's biographer that "it is extremely improbable that any substantial emolument accrued. Alexander's next financial experiment was both more romantic and, to all appearance, more promising. In 1613 Alexander, in company with an Edinburgh goldsmith and a Portuguese prospector received from the King the grant of a silver mine at Hilderston, near Linlithgow. Silver ore was actually brought to the surface. To a mind depressed by fruitless quest of occult Edwardian and Elizabethan debts this must have proved reassuring. But the outlay involved in the digging and refining of the ore was too great to make the working of the mine remunerative, and the scheme was soon abandoned.(2)

In the year following the futile Linlithgow prospecting Alexander received from King James an appointment designed to benefit both him that gave and him that took - the office of Master of Requests.(3) The principal duty of this post was to protect/

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(1) Rogers: Memorial: VOL. I. P.

(2) Rogers. Memorial. Vol. I. Page

(3) Ibid. P.

protect the king from the importunities of needy Scots. This opened to Alexander an almost unlimited field of endeavour. His policy may be traced in a royal edict of April 1619 wherein King James "discharges all manner of persons from resorting out of Scotland to this our Kingdome, unlesse it be gentlemen of good qualitie, merchants for traffiques, or such as shall have a generall license from our Counselle of that Kingdome, with expresse prohibition to all masters of shippes that they transport no such persones." Prevention was all very well in its way, but some more stringent measures were felt to be necessary and the same edict let it be known that "Sir William Alexander, Master of Requests, has received a commission to apprehend, and send home, or to punish, all vagrant persones who come to England to cause trouble or to bring discredit to their country."(1)

But though the work done by the Master of Requests doubtlessly contributed to the amenity of court life at Whitehall there were other court interests that appealed more strongly than the duties of court-constable to the sanguine and imaginative temperament of Sir William. Almost from the time of his arrival in England there had been displayed a keen interest on the part of the King and various prominent courtiers on the progress of the efforts made to colonise the territory claimed by England on the Atlantic seaboard of America. As the years went on that interest grew wider and more active. By 1619 Virginia had safely weathered the storms of the early years of its existence. The grant in November 1620 of the fresh/

(1) Ibidein.

fresh charter to the Plymouth Company, remodelled as "The Council established at Plymouth in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New England in America," seemed to promise a more successful issue to the efforts to colonise the more northern part of the territory. The leading part in the reorganisation of the Plymouth company was taken by Sir Ferdinando Gorges - "The Father of English Colonisation in North America." With Gorges Sir William was on terms of friendship: The colonising zeal of Gorges proved contagious. Alexander's mind was fixed by the possibilities of colonial enterprise. This resolution to engage in such enterprise seems to have been strengthened by arguments adduced by Captain John Mason on his return to England in 1621. Alexander no longer hesitated: he, too, would play his part in colonial enterprise. "Having sundry times exactly weighed that which I have already delivered, and being soe exceedingly enflamed to doe some goode in that kind," he declares in his "Encouragement to Colonies," that I would rather bewray the weaknesse of my power than conceale the greatnesse of my desire, being much encouraged hereunto by Sir Ferdinando Gorge and some others of the undertakers of New England. I shew them thay my countriemen would never adventure in such an Enterprise, unlesse it were as there was a New France, a New Spaine, and a New England, that they might likewise have a New Scotland, and for that effect they might have bounds with a correspondencie in proportion (as others had) with the Country thereof it should beare/

baare the name, which they might hold of their owne Crowne, and where they might be governed by their owne Lawes." (1)

Sir William's patriotic desires were respected. On August 5th, 1621, King James intimated to the Scots Privy Council that Sir William Alexander had "a purpose to procure a forraine Plantation, haveing made choice of landes lying betweene our Colonies of New England and Newfoundland, both the Governors whereof have encouraged him thereunto" and signified the royal desire that the Council would "graunt unto the sayd Sir William . . . a Signatour under our Great Seale of the sayd lands lying between New England and Newfoundland, us he shall designe them particularly unto you. To be holden of us from our Kingdome of Scotland as a part thereof . . ." A charter dated from Windsor, the 10th September 1621 was duty at Edinburgh on 29th September 1621. For Alexander New Scotland - the Nova Scotia in America of his Latin charter - the New England council had to surrender a territory comprising the modern Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and the land lying between New Brunswick and the St. Lawrence.

Over the province thus assigned to him Sir William Alexander was invested with wide and autocratic power. Some of the sweeping benefactions of the charter seem to contemplate the transference of Scottish home conditions across the Atlantic with almost too pedantic completeness. Along with many other strange and wonderful things Sir William to hold and to possess "free towns, free ports, towns, baronial villages, seaports, roadsteads, machines, mills, offices/

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(1) Encouragement. Pp. 31 & 32.

offices, and jurisdiction; - - - - bogs, plains, and moors; marshes, roads, paths, waters, swamps, rivers, meadows, and pastures; mines, malt-houses and their refuse; hawking, hunting, fisheries, peat-mosses, turf bogs, coal, coal-pits, correys, warrens, doves, dove-cotes, workshops, malt-kilns, breweries and broom; woods, groves, and thickets; wood, timber, quarries of stone and lime, with courts, fines, pleas, heriots, outlaws, . . and with fork, foss, sac, theme, infangtheiff, outfangtheiff, wrak, wair, veth, vert, venison, pit and gallows - - - - (1)

II.

The colony which was to enjoy the quaint and multitudinous benefits of Scots feudalism as it then existed - and was to exist for another century and a quarter - occupied a definite place in the scheme of English colonial expansion and the effort to found and to hold it was a definite strategic move in the triangular contest of Spain, France and Britain for the dominion of the continent of North America.

The Spanish conquest of Mexico and the establishment of the outpost of St. Augustine on the Florida coast had provided Spain not only with a valuable strategic base in America but with a claim to the coast lying to the north of Florida. The voyages of Cartier to the St. Lawrence had given France pre-eminence in the North. The seaboard stretching from the St. Lawrence to the peninsula of Florida was claimed by England in virtue of Cabot's discoveries/

(1) Nova Scotia Papers Pp. 2-15 Rogers Vol. II. P. 179-195. Reg. P.C. Vol. xii pp. 570 and 775.

discoveries. The foundation of the Virginia Company in 1606 was a definite effort to make good the English claim.

The Virginia Company had two branches. To the London Company, or southern colony, was given authority to settle the territory between the thirty-fourth and forty-first degrees of north latitude. The founding of the settlement of Jamestown in 1607 by the expedition sent out by the London Company was regarded by the Spanish authorities as a challenge, but the Spanish disfavour did not find expression in open hostilities. A more serious menace than Spanish enmity was found in the life of hardship of the earliest colonists - the struggle for subsistence, the hostility of the Indians, the harsh regime of Dale and Argall. But the recognition of the value of the tobacco crop soon brought economic security to the young colony, and the grant in 1619 of a certain measure of self-government to the colony by the establishment of the House of Burgesses marked the beginning of a happier state of political affairs.

In the Plymouth, or Northern Company, to which was given the right to plant lands between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth degrees of North Latitude the most influential man was Sir William Alexander's friend, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, one of the most interesting characters in early colonial history. Gorges belonged to an old Somerset family. He held the post of governor of the forts and islands of Plymouth, but varied his garrison duty with spells of service abroad. In 1591, when about twenty-five years of age, he was knighted by the Earl of Essex for valiant service at the siege of Rouen. When Essex rose in revolt against Elizabeth/

Elizabeth Gorges played a vacillating and not too creditable part towards his old commander.(1)

The active interest of Gorges in colonial affairs began in 1605 when Captain George Weymouth sailed into Plymouth Sound in the Archangell, a vessel that had been fitted out for trade and discovery by the Earl of Southampton and Lord Arundell of Wardour. From America Weymouth had brought home with him five Indians. Of these three were quartered in Gorge's house. As they became more proficient in the English tongue they had long talks with the Governor, who learned from them much concerning the climate soil and harbours of their native land. And to the knowledge thus romantically acquired was due the desire on the part of Gorges to take some part in the colonising of these regions beyond the Atlantic.

As a colonising agent the Plymouth Company in which Gorges was interested was less successful than the London Company. The expedition sent out in 1607 by the Plymouth Colony did indeed effect a settlement - the Popham Colony - on the coast of Maine but the rigours of the first winter spent on that bleak sea-board proved too much for the colonists. After they returned to England the activities of the company were connected solely with trading voyages until in 1620 it was remodelled as the Council for New England. To the Council was assigned the territory lying between the fortieth and forty-eighth degree of North Latitude. Within those limits/

(1) D.N.B.

limits, too, fishing could be carried on only by permission of the Council for New England, who thus acquired what amounted to a monopoly of the lucrative American fisheries. Both from the rival Company of London and from those who on political grounds were opposed to monopolies the Council for New England met with determined opposition. During the meetings held prior to the autumn of 1621 the chief subjects under discussion were the settlement of the Companies territories and the prevention of the infringement of the Company's rights by interlopers trading within its territories of fishing the adjoining seas.

It soon became evident that, for the time being, the company was more concerned with exploiting its privileges than with settling its territories, and soon a scheme was evolved for passing on to others the burden of colonisation. In September 1621, Gorges himself laid before the Mayor of Bristol the "Articles and Orders Concluded on by the President and Counsell for the affaires of New England for the better Government of the Trade and for the Advancement of the Plantation in those parts."(1) The salient features of this scheme are contained in Articles 1, 2, 3, and 9.

1. ffirst that, in the City of Bristol and Eron, and in the Townes of Plymouth, Dartmouth, Waymouth, and Barnstable, there shalbe a Treasauror in either of them, together wth certayne Commission chosen by the Adventurers. To all whome the Treasure, Government, and pollicye of Trade for New England shall bie/

(1) American Historical Review Vol. iv No. 4 P. 686 et seq.

bie Consilled; as alsoe such other officers as shall be founde convenient for that Service shalbe designed to their particuler charge.

2. And for the better Government of the said affaires: It is further ordered that there shalbee chosen XVIIj Commissioners out of the Adventurers of the Citty of Bristol and the parts thereunto adjoyning and XVIIj out of the citty of Exon and the parts thereunto adjoining, and XIj out of the Towne of Plimouth and the parts thereunto adioyning, and XIj out of the Towne of Dartmouth and the parts thereunto adioyning, and XIj out of the Towne of Barnstable and the parts thereunto adioyning; out of w^ch nomber they ar to choose their Treasouror for evry of the said places: And they soe chosen to nominate their Register, Auditors, Clarke, and other officers.

3. And it is further ordered that the Treasourors and Commissioners (being so chosen by the Company of Adventures of the Seu^rall cities and Townes Corporate or the greater parte of thim that shalbee present) shall receyve their commission for the Manadging of their affaires from us, the President and Counsell, according to his Mats authoritie in that behalfe granted unto us.

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9. That ev^ry yeere about Michaelmas and Easter, there shall be a Generall Meeting at Teurton, in the County of Devon, of the said sev^rall Citties and Townes, whither they are to send three out of ither Cittie and twoe out of either Towne, to resolve uppon their Mutuall proceeding; as, namely, to what Porte or portes of those Territories they will send any shipp or shipps and what

marketts/

marketts are fittest to vent their commodities in, and what shipps are meeted to go into those marketts, as, alsoe, whether the whole shall proceed uppon a jointe stocke or that ev^ry Cittie and Towne doe proceed upon their sev^rall adventures, w^ch by all meanes is conceyned to bee the worst, both for the publique and private good."

With this grandiose scheme the cautious Merchant Venturers of Bristol would have nothing to do. But the scheme brings out clearly the circumstances in which the Scottish venture had its origin and reveals the exact significance, from the English standpoint, of the Nova Scotia scheme. By the reorganization of 1620 the northern boundary of the Plymouth Company had been advanced two hundred miles further North. This northern frontier had now reached the sphere of French influence on the lower St. Lawrence. Already in 1613 an attempt on the part of the French to extend their sphere of influence southward had evoked reprisals on the part of the Virginian colonists and the French Jesuit settlement a Desert Island on the Coast of Maine had been broken up by an expedition under Captain Argall; in the following year Argall sailed north again and sacked the French settlement at Port Royal in the Bay of Fundy. But the French settlers had not been wholly driven from these northern latitudes and the hope that the occupation of the northern territory by the Scots would prove a barrier against French aggression was responsible for the cordiality with which the Nova Scotia scheme was urged on Alexander by Gorges and the others interested in English colonial projects.

III.

But if the Scottish scheme had an intimate connection with English colonial history it has an even more intimate connection with French colonial history. Though claimed by England in virtue of Cabot's discoveries,(1) the district allotted to Sir William Alexander was definitely regarded by the French as their territory: it was, indeed, the old French province of Acadie, the Debatable Land of the northern latitudes of America. When a decade later the restoration of this territory to France was under discussion, English diplomatists could not understand the reason of the vehemence and pertinacity with which the French urged their claim. The region was sparsely settled: economically it had proved of little value. But the romantic history of Acadie had already become part of the colonial history of France.

It was in Acadie that the French had established in these regions the first settlement that held out any promise of permanence. Their tentative pioneering expeditions of the sixteenth century to the St. Lawrence had been succeeded after the accession of Henry IV by a systematic attempt to explore and colonise the northern coasts of America. Appointed in 1603 Lieutenant-General of Acadie a Huguenot noble, the Sieur de Monts had, in the following year, set sail for his transatlantic province. With him went Samuel Champlain. To Champlain the commodious and/

(1) S.P.Col. Vol. I. P. 119.

and picturesque harbour of Port Royal (now Annapolis Basin) opening off the Bay of Fundy owed the name which it bore all through the stormy and romantic days of the old French regime. The beauty of Port Royal Harbour - its calm waters mirroring its wooded islands, its sheltering rampart of forest-clad hills - made a strong appeal also to the Sieur de Poutrincourt who had accompanied the expedition as a volunteer, and to him de Monts willingly made a grant of this fair seignory. Hither the French colonists, after the disastrous winter 1604-1605 spent on the bleak shores of the island of Ste Croix - on the western coast of the Bay of Fundy - transferred their settlement on the western side of Port Royal - at the very spot where a quarter of a century later the Master of Stirling was to plant his short-lived Scottish colony - there soon rose the 'habitation', a small cluster of timber buildings - workshops, stores, dwelling quarters - built round a rectabgular courtyard: on the left projected a square gun platform that mounted four small cannon: on the right was a small bastion constructed of palasades.(1)

De Poutrincourt had returned to France in the autumn of 1604, but eighteen months later he sailed again for Port Royal. With him went on this occasion his friend Marc.Leiscarbot, advocate, orator, and poet, who acted both as the Laureate and the special correspondent of the colony. Left in charge of the settlement whan de Poutrincourt and Champlain set off on a voyage of exploration across/

(1) Lescarbot Bk. IV Chap. 2 & 3. C O. 1/1 p. 4

across the Bay of Fundy and down the New England coast, Lescarbot supervisedthe labour of the workmen. Lescarbot himself toiled hard andhappily in his garden, and when night had fallen on the little settlement he retired to his study to read and write.

It was the middle of November ere de Poutrincourt returned. To greet him there issued from the fort a merry procession of Neptune and his tritons, who welcomed him in neatly turned verse. In the course of the winter, too, ceremonial gilded the routine of daily life. The ingenious mind of Champlain suggested the institution of the Order of Good Cheer. The duties of Steward of this Order were undertaken in turn by each man of de Poutrincourt's table. The Steward held office for one day: his duty was to provide, by his own hunting or fishing some special delicacy for the table. When the hour for the mid-day meal arrived the Steward marshalled the Companions of the Order: each of the latter picked up some dish destined for the table: then the Steward, wearing the Collar of the Order, raised his wand of office and, with a napkin flapping gallantly from his shoulder, headed the procession to the dining-hall. Nor were spectators lacking: a band of Indians, whose material wants were amply provided for, gazed daily with solemn admiration at this cheerful ritual.

Spring came; in the fields and gardens work was resumed; on the banks of a small river near the head of the Basin, de Poutrincourt constructed a water-mill. Now the settlers began to look eagerly for news from France. But when the longeexpected

relief/

relief ship arrived it bore the unwelcome tidings that the colony must be abandoned: the fur trade, on which depended the prosperity of de Mont's venture, had proved unprofitable: to crown all, his monopdy of that trade had been revoked. De Poutrincourt lingered until the grain he had sown had refined, and he could carry some of it home with him. Then, amid the lamentations of his Indian friends he steered slowly for the harbour mouth.

Indomitable in his efforts to perpetuate the existence of the settlement, de Poutrincourt returned to Acadie in 1610. But the next few years were marked by many variations. The attempt made in 1613 by the French to extend their influence southward led to the destruction of their settlement on the coast of Maine by Argall: next year Argall in command of a fleet of three vessels destroyed Port Royal. The French, however, still clung to their settlement. Port Royal was rebuilt; in the south of Acadie, in the neighbourhood of Cape Sable, another small fort provided an additional rallying point for the French pioneers.

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*But not alone did the romantic history of Acadie endear it to France. Its position - it lay between the seaboard territories of England and the inland settlements of France - gave it a supreme strategical importance in connection with the control of the St.Lawrence, the only route into New France. If to her Newfoundland colony England could add a strong naval base on the Northern/

Northern coast of Nova Scotia, she would hold the gateway of the St. Lawrence. To France therefore the retention of Acadie was of vital importance for the development - nay, for the very existence - of her struggling settlements on the St.Lawrence. In taking upon himself the responsibility of carrying out the settlement of Nova Scotia Alexander was unwittingly making the first move in what was destined to be a prolonged and embittered colonial struggle. Of the French claims to Acadie he was not unaware: but he does not seem to have realised fully the significance of the issues involved in his attempt to supplant the French pioneers.

IV.

Years were to pass, however, before in the New World the Old Allies were to come into conflict. When, however, at the opening of the third decade of the seventeenth century Sir William Alexander essayed the task of diverting to the New World the unceasing flow of Scottish emigration the time seemed not unpropitious for such an enterprise. Both merchant and soldier were now lamenting the loss of the old friendship with France. The emigration to Ulster had dwindled, not because there were no more planters anxious to cross the North Channel, but rather because there was little more land available. King James had endeavoured, with some degree of sternness, to repress thetendency of his Scottish subjects to seek for El Dorado on the banks of the Thames. The Northern War between Sweden and Poland and the earlier campaigns of the Thirty Years' War offered indeed a martial career to young and adventurous Scots; but the

king/

king, with his innate kindliness and humanity, resented the drain of the levies continually made for foreign wars in which Scotland's interest was mainly a mercenary one. By his patent of 1621 for the plantation by the Scots of the lands lying between New England and Newfoundland he sought expressly to provide a career for Scottish gentlemen: "The same being ane fitt warrandable and convenient means to disburding this his Majesties said ancient kingdome of all such younge brether and meane gentlemen, who otherwayes most be troublesome to the houses and friends from whence they are described (the common ruynes of most of the ancient families) or belak themselves to forren worke or baisser chifts."

But in spite of the apparently favourable circumstances the Nova Scotia scheme was long in obtaining even a small measure of success. The first expedition sent out by Sir William Alexander did not even reach the shores of his new domain. Its record is one unrelieved tale of disappointment and delay. The ship which in March 1622 he procured at London he sent round to Kirkcudbright in order that some interest in his project might be aroused among his fellow-countrymen and that "the businesse might beginne from that kingdome which it did concerne." (1) It was the end of May when the emigrant ship steered up the estuary of the Dee, and prudence might well have suggested to those responsible for the expedition the advisability of proceeding upon the Atlantic voyage with as little delay as possible. But various obstacles to a speedy setting forth were encountered, and Alexander's personality was/

(1) Encouragement P. 32.

was never seen to advantage in dealing with problems of practical life. In choosing Kirdcudbright as his port of call Sir William had been guided by the prospect of taking advantage of the local influence of some of his friends, such as Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar. But at the very time when their aid would have been invaluable, these gentlemen happened to be away from the neighbourhood. Provisions, too, had of late grown very scarce and very dear, as the season had been marked by great dearth:(1) but to abandon the enterprise at this point meant for Alexander not only loss of prestige among his fellow-courtiers, but also the loss of all money already expended on the charter and employment of the vessel: so Sir William did his utmost to procure stores. His main difficulty, however, was to induce any of the Gallovidians to bid even a temporary farewell to the shores of Scotland: some were reluctant to embark so long a voyage; others were sceptical about the very existence of Sir William's transatlantic province; artizans, in particular, the very class whose services he most desired to enlist, were most reluctant to venture forth.

June was already drawing to a close ere the little emigrant ship with its small band of pioneers, consisting of a minister a smith and a company of farm labourers at length dropped down the quiet reaches of the Dee with the ebb-tide and the hills of Galloway faded from view. Even now there was little continuity in their voyage. At the Isle of Man they remained for more than a month - probably wind-bound. Hindered in their Atlantic passage/

(1) Reg. P.C.S Vol. xiii. p. 257.

passage by baffling headwinds they did not make the coast of Newfoundland till mid-September, and as they struggled on towards the shores of Cape Breton Island a fierce westerly gale swooped down on them and thrust them far back. They decided to winter in St.John's Harbour - in all probability they imitated the procedure of the winter crews - and they sent their ship back to London for fresh supplies.

A ship laden with the stories requisitioned by the advance-guard was despatched from London in March 1623. Delayed at Plymouth, "first upon some necessaire occasion and later by contrary winds" this ship, the St.Luke did not get clear of the English Channel till the end of April. When on the 5th June it dropped anchor in St. John's Harbour, its passengers found things had not gone too well with the advance-party. The minister and the smith, "noth for Spiritual and Temporal respects the two most necessary members" had died during the winter. Some of the Company, not relying too absolutely on the coming of the relief ship, had, during the month of May, taken service with the fishing fleet. In these circumstances an effective attempt at planting a colony seemed out of the question, and it was resolved to limit the activities of the expedition to an exploration of the coast of Nova Scotia and to the selection of a site where a settlement might be made the following year.

Accordingly on the 23rd. June the St.Luke, having added to its personnel a contingent of ten of the leading members of the first party, cleared from St.John's. For a fortnight the voyagers

groped/

groped blindly amid the fogs of the Gulf or wrestled with unfavourable winds. Making at length the west coast of Cape Breton Island they crept down the rugged shores of Acadie, exploring various harbours: if they brought back to Sir William little in the way of solid gain, they were able to furnish him with the compensatory benefit of abundance of picturesque detail. On the 20th July the St.Luke turned its bow towards Newfoundland, there to receive a cargo of fish.

These two expeditions had involved Sir William in heavy expense: They had effected nothing. It was not without reason that when a year later fresh efforts were being made to carry the plantation of New Scotland to an effective issue, the Scots Privy Council suggested to King James that affairs might go more prosperously if the assistance could be obtained "of some of the English who are best acquainted with such forrayn enterprises." (1)

Despite the losses caused by the Nova Scotia voyages, however, Sir William was by no means inclined to abandon his enterprise. Ever sanguine and ever ingenious he resolved to employ the "learned pen which had attracted to him the royal favour, in an appeal to a wider circle of readers. In 1624 he published his "Encouragement to Colonies", a treatise which is at once a tribute to the scholarly and magnanimous aspects of his personality and a convincing revelation of his inability to grasp the nature of the difficulties against which his scheme had to struggle. It is highly instructive to compare with the "Encouragement" Captain Mason's "Brief Discourse". Mason's/

(1) Letter of P.C.S. 23 Nov. 1624. (quoted Rogers.)

Mason's pamphlet opens with a clear, precise account of the geographical position and the climate conditions of Newfoundland: the first six pages of the "Encouragement" contain a sketch of the history of colonisation from the days of the Patriarchs down to those of the Roman Empire; the next twenty five pages are devoted to a masterly resume of American history from the time of Columbus down to the settlement of New England. It will be remembered how definitely Mason set out the particular advantages Newfoundland offered to prospective settlers: Alexander's appeal if addressed to higher instincts, was correspondingly vaguer: "Where was ever Ambition baited with greater hopes than here, or where ever had Virtue so large a field to reape the fruits of Glory, since any man, who doth goe thither of good qualitie, able at first to transport a hundred persons with him furnished with things necessary, shall have as much Bounds as may serve for a great man, whereupon he may build a Towne of his owne, giving it what forme or name he will, and being the first Founder of a new Estate, which a pleasing industry may quickly bring to a perfection, may leave a faire inheritance to his posteritie, who shall claime unto him as the author of their Nobilitie there - - - -"(1) It is with little surprise that we learn that the only person who seems to have been encouraged by the publication of this treatise was Alexander himself.

To the text of the "Encouragement" there was added a map of New Scotland. With the object either of satisfying an academic craving/

(1) Encouragement. P. 42.

craving for patriotic consistency or of dispelling that dread of an unknown land which had proved such a deterrent to the peasants of Galloway, Alexander besprinkled his map with familiar names. And what Scot could persist in regarding as altogether alien that land which was drained by a Forthe and a Clyde, and which was separated from New England by a Tweed?

If the "Encouragement" did little to stimulate colonial enterprise in Scotland, it has an intrinsic interest as a literary production. To a modern reader Alexander's verse, despite its great reputation in its own day, seems to be strangely lacking in vital interest. It may be that the themes of his "Monarchicke Tragedis" and of his long poem on "Domesday" appealed to his intellect and not to his heart. But when he wrote of colonial enterprise he was treating a theme that had fired his imagination, and his prose is vigorous and impressive. Now it is vivid with Elizabethan brightness and colour: his explorers "discovered three very pleasant Harbours and went ashore in one of them which after the ship's name they called St.Luke's Bay, where they found a great way up a very pleasant river, being three fathoms deep at low water at the entry, and on every side they did see very delicate Medowes having roses red and white growing thereon with a kind of wild Lilly having a very daintie Smel." (1) Again it strikes a note of solemn grandeur that anticipates the stately cadences of Sir Thomas Browne: "I am loth", says Alexander, in referring to Roman military colonisation, "by disputable opinioun to dig up the Tombes of them that, more extenuated than the dust, are buried in/

(1) Encouragement. P. 35.

in oblivion, and will leave these disregarded relicts of greatnesse to continue as they are, the scorne of pride, witnessing the power of Time." (1)

V.

But if Sir William Alexander's appeal was made essentially to the higher emotions and interests of his countrymen, his friend the King was ready with a practical scheme designed to impart to indifferent or reluctant Scots the necessary incentive to take part in colonial enterprise. There is, indeed, in the closing lines of the "Encouragement" a hint of the prospect of royal aid: "And as no one man could accomplish such a Worke by his own private fortune, so it shall please his Majestie . . . to give his help accustomed for matters of less moment hereunto, making it appear to be a work of his own, that others of his subjects may be induced to concur in a common cause - - - I must trust to be supplied by some publike helps, such as hath been had in other parts for the like cause."

For the "publike helps" the ingenious King, well exercised in all the arts of conjuring money from the coffers of unwilling subjects, had decided to have recourse to a device of proved efficiency - the creation of an Order of Baronets. It is true that his first essay in this direction had not been altogether fortunate. Soon after his accession he had sought to finance a project for searching for precious metals in Britain/

(1) Encouragement P. 4.

Britain by instituting an Order of Golden Knights: two Knights of the Order had actually been created when, through Cecil's dissuasion the fantastic scheme was abandoned.(1) But experience brought wisdom, and the next effort was eminently successful. To the Plantation of Ulster welcome assistance had been furnished through the creation of the Order of Knights' Baronets: the 205 English landowners who were advanced to the dignity of Baronets had contributed to the royal exchequer the total sum of £225,000.

The Ulster creation formed the precedent that guided King James in his efforts to help Sir William Alexander. In October 1624, the King intimated to the Scots Privy Council that he proposed to make the colonisation of Nova Scotia "a work of his own" and to assist the scheme by the creation of an order of Baronets. Both in their reply to the King and in their proclamation of 30/Nov/1624, the Council emphasised the necessity of sending out colonists to Nova Scotia. The terms on which Baronets were to be created were set forth with absolute precision in the proclamation. Only those were to be advanced to the dignity who would undertake "To set forth six sufficient men, artificers or labourers sufficientlie armect, apparrelit, and victuallit for twa years . . . . under the pane of twa thousand merkis usual money of this realme." In addition, each Baronet so created was expected to pay Sir William Alexander "ane thousand merkis Scottis money towards his past charges and endeavouris."(2)

But/

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(1) Rogers: Memorials Vol I P. 45n.

(2) Proclam.P.C.S. (quoted Rogers.)

But the Scottish gentry seemed as reluctant to become Nova Scotia Baronets as the Galloway peasants had been to embark on Sir William's first expedition. When the first Baronets were created six months after the Proclamation of the Council, the conditions of the grant were modified in certain very essential respects. The terms on which, for example, the dignity was conferred on Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonston, the first of the Nova Scotia Baronets, make it clear that the main condition of the grant was now the payment to Sir William Alexander of three thousand marks, usual money of the Kingdom of Scotland, and that the interests of the colony were safeguarded only by an undertaking on the part of Sir William Alexander to devote two thousand merks of the purchase money "towards the setting forth of a colonie of men furnished with necessaire provision, to be planted within the said countrie be the advice of the said Sir Robert Gordon and the remanent Barronets of Scotland, adventurers in the plantation of the same." (1)

To render attractive the new dignity various devices were employed. To enter upon possession of the broad acres of his Nova Scotia territory, the baronet did not require to cross the Atlantic: he could take seisin of it on the Castlehill of Edinburgh. The King urged the Privy Council to use their influence to induce the gentry to come forward. When the precedency accorded to the baronets evoked a complaint from the lesser Scottish barons and the cause/

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(1)

Hist. M.S.S. Com. Report 6 P. 684.

cause of the complainers was espoused by the Earl of Melrose, principal Secretary of Scotland, Melrose was removed from his office and replaced by Sir William Alexander. Certain recal-:citrant lairds were commanded by royal letter to offer themselves as candidates for Baronetcies. Yet the number of Baronets grew but slowly, and the growth of the funds available for fresh colonial efforts was correspondingly slow.

That during these months of disappointment Sir William abated no whit of his zeal for his colonial scheme is convincingly attested by an account of a conversation between him and Sir William Vaughan, published by the latter in "The Golden Fleece". Vaughan a scholar and a poet, had been identified with a Welsh settlement planted in the south east of Newfoundland. Early in 1626, while on a visit to London, he met Sir William Alexander:

This learned Knight, with a joyful countenance and alacrity of mind, taking me by the hand thus began: 'I have oftentimes wished to confer with you but until this present I could not find the opportunity. It is necessary, and this necessity jumps with the sympathy of our constellations (for I think we were both born under the same Horoscope), that we advise and devise some Project for the proceeding and successful managing of our plantations.'

The remainder of Sir William's conversation - or soliloquy - is made up of eloquently expressed commiseration for the small measure of success thzt has attended the efforts both of Vaughan and of himself; of some doubt as to the adequacy of the revenues derived from the creation of Knights Baronets; and of much rhetor-:ical/

rhetorical insistence on the necessity of finding a suitable outlet for the surplus population of Scotland. "I would", he concludes, "we could invent ~~xxxxxx~~ and hit upon some profitable means for the settling of these glorious works, whereto it seems the divine Providence hath elected us as instruments under our Earthly Soveraigne.

VI.

By the summer of 1626, Sir William appeared to have hit upon the desired means, for preparations were being made for its despatch of a colonising expedition in the following spring. The exact nature of these means is clearly revealed in a letter of Sir Robert Gordon, the premier Nova Scotia Baronet, dated from London, the 25th May 1626. At a meeting held at Wanstead some time previously certain of the Baronets had covenanted to provide two thousand merks Scots a piece "for buying and rigging furth of a shipp for the furtherance of the plantatione of New Scotland, and for carreing our men thither." (1) In pursuance of this resolution Gordon wrote on 25th May, to the Earl Marischal of Scotland: "My Lord, - According to the conference wee hade togidder, at our last meeting, touching the plantation of New Scotland, and setting furth of a shipp by some of that worthie societie, to advance the said enterpryse, I, being loth to be posteriour to any of our number in furthering that noble work, do heirby intreet your Lordship to answer for my part in buying and setting/

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(1) Dunbar: Social Life in Former Days - Second Series. P. 17.

setting furth of the said shipp; and whatsoever soume your Lordship will advance for me in this particular (not exceiding two thousand merks, Scots money), be the advyse of Baronet Strachan, Baronet Clunie, and Baronet Lesmoir, I do obliss myself to repay the same to your Lordship againe providing I have my equal portion (pro rata) of the gain and comoditie that (God willing) shall aryse from the traffick of the said shipp or otherways, from tyme to tyme, and that such men as I shall send over into New Scotland be freelie transported in the said shipp into that Kingdome, and be landed either at the chief colonie or at my owne portion of land by Port du Monton, at my option . . ."(1) At Wanstead on the 11th July 1626, in presence of Sir William Alexander, Knight, Secretarie to His Majestie for Scotland, Gordon, Strachan, and the Earl Marischal concluded an agreement regarding the equal division of "anie prise or prises that shall happen to be taken by the said shipp, commander, souldiers, and marineris therein."(2)

Early in 1627 Alexander, probably in order to dispel an uncharitable assumption that the share of the Baronets' money destined for colonial purpose was being diverted to his own use, let it be known publicly that he had fulfilled his share of the compact, "having . . .prepared a schip, with ordinance, munition, and all other furnitour necessar for her, as lykwyse another schip of great burden which lyeth at Dumbartoune" (3) At the same time he/

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(1) Ibid. P. 17-18.
(2) Ibid. Pp. 18-19.
(3) Nova Scotia Papers. P. 36.

he made a requisition to the Master of the English Ordinance for 16 Minner, 4 saker and 6 falcor which were to be forwarded to Dumbartane[1]. Strenuous efforts, too, were made by King Charles to further Sir William's plans. The Scottish Treasurer of Marine was instructed [2] to pay Sir William the £6,000 which represented the losses incurred in the former Nova Scotia expeditions, and which, despite a royal warrant, the English Exchequer either could not or would not pay him: it does not appear, however, that in this matter the Scottish authorities proved in any way more complaisant than the English officials. A week after the issue of these instructions the Earl Marischal was directed to make a selection of persons "fitt to be barronetts" both among "the ancient gentrie" and also among "these persones who have succeeded to good estates or acquyred them by their own industrie, and ar generouslie disposed to concurre with our said servand (Alexander) in this enterprise."[3] A month later the Privy Council were urged to use their influence "both in private and publict" to stimulate the demand for Baronetcies.[4]

Early in March 1627, "the good shipp called the Eagle, of the burthen of one hundred and 20 tunnes" lay in the Thames "laden with powder, ordanance, and other provisions, for the use of a plantation, ordained to be made in New Scotland, . . . and for the use of ane other shippe of the burthen of 300 tunnes, now lying at/

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(1) Nova Scotia Papers. P. 38.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Nova Scotia Papers. P. 39.

(4) Nova Scotia Papers. P. 40.

at Dumbartane, in Scotland, which is likewise to go for the said plantation of New Scotland." Along with the Eagle there was to go from the Thames a consort, the Morning Star, belonging to Andrew Barter, a Scot. However, the Morning Star was arrested in Dover Roads by creditors of Baxter, and the Eagle continued her voyage to Dumbarton alone. She arrived in the Clyde early in June,(1) only to find that Sir William Alexander's other and larger ship was away on a cruise. Towards the end of June the Eagle was in the hands of the painter. At this time the bailies of Dumbarton were looking after the renovation of the burghal property: a broken window in the Tolbooth was down for repair; the old burgh ensign was replaced by a new one; instructions were issued for the painting of the Market cross and the roof of the Tolbooth. It was resolved to take advantage of the presence in the burgh of the painter who was exercising his craft on Sir William's ship: They did meit to cause him renew the paynting and cultering of the orloge, if the baillies can agree w^t him chaiplie on the toun's chairges." (2)

The activities of those who were connected with Sir William's expedition did not always so commend themselves to the douce burgher of Dumbarton. The placid life of the little community was at times disturbed by the boisterous frolics of nautical roisterers, and feet that had been wont to scramble briskly up the rigging of the Eagle were condemned to a reluctant rest in the burghal stocks.(3)

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(1) Dumbarton Burgh Records 13 June 1627.
(2) Dumbarton Burgh Records 22 June 1627.
(3) D.B.R. 23 Aug. 1627.

This ebullition of feeling was nothing new among the personnel of expeditions awaiting orders to sail. Lescarbot had experienced the same sort of thing at La Rochelle in 1606. The workmen bound for New France, who were lodged in the Quartier St. Nicolas near the harbour, and who were not stinted in the matter of living expenses, behave with a lack of decorum ("Faisoient de merveilleux tintamarres" says Lescarbot) that brought upon them inevitably the censure of the stern Calonistic community. Some of the more obstreperous spirits found themselves shut up in the Hotel de Ville, and escaped more sericus punishment only becamse the hearts of the magistrates were softened by the promonitions of the hardships that lay before the erring ones.

Nor were other Scottish magistrates unfamiliar with the problem. In the autumn of 1626 when some of the levies for the German Wars were at Aberdeen awaiting embarkation the authorities of the northern seaport were much exercised "anent the tumultis maid be Macky his souldeours". On 29th August 1626 "the provost, baillies, and cousell, considdering the many dissordouris, tumultis, and commotiounes maid within this burght be the souldeouris now present within the samen, levied be Colonell Macky and his capitaines for his Majesties service in the pairtes of Germaine, and how that some of the nichtbouris of the toune hes bein in great dainger for not haveing armes reddie upoun thame the tyme of the saids tumultis. Thairfoir and to the effect the nichtbouris may be upon thair gaird whan any sic tumultis shall fall out heirefter, and for the better repressing thairoff: Ordaines the haill inhabitantes of/

of this burght fensible persones, to wear thair swordis about thame at all occasiounes whan thay walk on the streattes, so long as the saids souldioures remaines within the toune: As lykways ordaines both merchandis and craftsmen to have long wapins in thair boothes to the effect they may be moir reddie to assist the magistrates for repressing such insolencies in tyme cumming . . ."(1)

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And while the Eagle lay with folded pinions in the shadow of Dumbarton Rock, and ~~while~~ the vagaries of her personnel vexed the minds of the Dumbarton bailies, what of Sir William Alexander's other ship? During the very month - June 1627 - when the Eagle was working her way up the Firth of Clyde, Sir William's eldest son, William Alexander, later Master of Stirling, steered the larger ship into the Firth of Forth: with him, to Leith Roads, he brought a prize, the St.Lawrence of Lübeck, laden with a cargo of salt.(2) To Sir William Alexander had been granted in May 1627 Admiralty jurisdiction over his American territories with power to seize vessels belonging to the King of Spain, the Infanta Isabella, or others, His Majesties enemies.(3) The St.Lawrence was charged with carrying contraband of war, and was adjudged a lawful prize by the Scottish Court of Admiralty. It is not an unwarrantable assumption that the cargo of salt which Alexander's skipper offered some months later for sale at Dumbarton(4) had at one time been stowed/

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(1) Extracts from Records of Burgh of Aberdeen. 1625-1642. (Burgh Rec.Socy.)
(2) Reg.P.C.Sec.Series Vol. LV F. 375.
(3) Nov.Sco. Papers P. 41.
(4) D.B.R. 7 Jan. 1628.

stowed beneath the hatches of the Lübeck trader. After the lapse of several years the owner of the St.Lawrence complained, through the magistrates of Lübeck, ruefully but vainly to the Scots Privy Council that his ship had carried no contraband and that those members of the ship's company who could have effectively refuted the charge had been landed by William Alexander on a remote part of the French coast.(1)

VII.

Leaving for the present Alexander's little fleet at its northern base under the shadow of Dumbarton Rock, let us consider what was in reality the vital question of the Nova Scotia scheme - the significance of his designs on Acadie from the standpoint of those who were interested in French colonial expansion. The validity of the English claim to the region the French did not admit, and despite the destruction of the 'habitation' at Port Royal by Argall the French pioneers did not abandon Acadie.(2) One section of these pioneers under Claude de St.Étienne, Sieur de la Tour and his son Charles, did indeed cross the Bay of Fundy and set up a fortified post at the mouth of the Penolascot River. But de Pautrincourt's son, Biencourt, with the rest of his company, clung to the district round Port Royal, wandering at first amid the Acadian forest and later succeeding in rendering habitable once more the buildings that had housed the Order of Good Cheer. The death of de Poutrincourt in France in 1615, during civil commotion/

(1) Reg.P.C. Sec. Series Vol. IV Pp. 401-402.

(2) Parkman. Pioneers of New France. P. 322.

commotion, left his son in possession of the Acadian seignory. There was at this time a brisk trade between France and the St. Lawrence region and Biencourt was by no means inclined to take a gloomy view of the prospects of his inheritance. Writing in September 1618 from Port Royal "aux Autorités de la Ville de Paris" he suggested the advisability of erecting in Acadie fortified posts which would not only defend the province from incursions of the English but would also be of service to the fur trade in which the city of Paris was directly interested.(1) Not only was the district around Port Royal in effective French occupation, but on the Atlantic coast, especially in the district around Canseau, there had sprung up a number of sporadic settlements, the homes principally of French and Dutch adventurers. In the presence of these adventurers one writer on Canadian history finds a convincing explanation of why Alexander's second expedition did not attempt to form a settlement.(2)

The expeditions of 1622 and 1623 did not pass without comment on the part of the French government. In the spring of 1624 the Comte de Tillieres, the French ambassador in England, addressed to the British government a strong remonstrance concerning the English hostilities in Canada, particularly those directed against the Sieur de Poutrincourt (Biencourt), pointing out that such activities might well prove a menace to the friendly relations then existing between/

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(2) Parkman. Pioneers. P. 322. note 3.
Kirke: First Eng. Cong. of Canada. Pp. 58 & 67.

between France and Britain.(1) The English possessions in America were described, in this memorial, as extending from Virginia to the Gulf of Mexico, and the King of Britain was requested to prohibit his subjects from disturbing the French in their settlements and especially the Sieur de Poutrincourt in his possessions in those parts. To this remonstrance the British official reply was a complete repudiation of de Poutrincourt's claims to the region in dispute, but a diplomatic desire was expressed to arrive at an amicable understanding with the French in Acadie.(2)

But though the French government thus unequivocally asserted its claim to Acadie, the real centre of French colonial enterprise by this time was the valley of the St.Lawrence, where had been set up the three trading posts of Tadoussac, Montreal, and Three Rivers, and the rock-perched citadel of Quebec. Hither Champlain had been sent by de Monts after the failure of the Acadian venture, and in 1608 the first buildings of Quebec rose on the cliffs above the St.Lawrence. Despite, however, the romantic interest of Champlain's explorations and Indian warfare, the life of the infant colony was by no means either a vigorous or a happy one. The conflicting interests of two powerful commercial companies proved a serious impediment to the progress of the colony. Even when those two companies were united matters were little better, for the leading men of the United Company proved more intent on the accumulation of profits from the fur trade/

(1) ~~1~~ No. 13. Cal. Col. I P. 60.

(2) ~~3~~ No. 14. Cal. Vol. I. P. 60.

trade than on sustaining and strengthening the strategic centre of the colony, the little fort at Quebec, and showed but a faint interest in colonial enterprise in general. In spite of the stipulations concerning the despatch of colonists which were laid down in the charter by which the United Company enjoyed the monopoly of Canadian trade, no serious effort was made to send out settlers.(1)

Such was the state of affairs in New France when Richelieu made good his position as supreme adviser of Louis xiii. Securely entrenched behind their carefully guaranteed privileges, the number of the United Company might well suppose that for a decade at least they could view with little apprehension whatever attitude might be adopted towards them by the new Minister. Little did they realise the character of the man who in 1626 took over the duties of Grand Master, Chief and General Superintendant of the Navigation and Commerce of France. Like some frail fishing craft overwhelmed by a winter gale the carefully guarded privileges of the United Company went down before the imperious will of the great Cardinal.(2)

In the history of Richelieu's colonial policy one finds a curious parallel to the history of the military fortunes of France in the Campaigns of the years immediately succeeding her entry into the Thirty Years' War. In each there is the same resolute, clearly defined/

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(1) Biggar: Early Trading Coys. of New France Chapter VII.

(2) Biggar. P. 132.

defined general policy: in each defeat and disappointment in the early stages due to insufficient expert attention to matters of detail. Among the duties of the Superintendant of Navigation and Commerce was "the consideration of all proposals, articles or treaties in regard to foreign trade or to the formation of companies for home or foreign commerce." It was not long after Richelieu had, in the early months od 1627, diverted part of his attention from the many pressing problems of home and foreign politics to questions of commercial policy till it was realised that in trade as in state-craft the Cardinal favoured a policy of centralisation and absolutism. But the proposal to establish at Morbihan in Brittany one great company that should number among its members the leading merchants of France and to the control of which every department of French trade should be entrusted failed to win the assent of the Parlement de Paris. Nor did a more prosperous career attend La Compagnie de la Nacelle de St Pierre Fleurdelisée - a French-Dutch Company planned on a similar grandiose scale. In view of the small success of those all-embracing projects, it was determined to concentrate upon improvement in particular departments of trade and colonisation, and one of the most important results of this more mature policy was the evolution of the Company of New France.(1)

The Company of New France, the formation of which was suggested to Richelieu by the Chevalier de Razilly, who brought to the study of colonial questions knowledge gained from long and varied experience,

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(1) Biggar P. 132.

was the outcome of a policy which had for its leading purpose the strengthening of the French hold on North America.(1) This purpose was to be carried into effect in two ways: Quebec was to be transformed from a frontier outpost to a fortress that could hold the St.Lawrence Valley against any aggression; the French occupation of the St.Lawrence region and Acadie was to be rendered more effective by the introduction of large numbers of settlers. Thus by a strange juxtaposition of fate the projects of the sanguine visionary who had dreamed of a New Scotland were brought into conflict with the schemes of the most astute clear-sighted and resolute politician of the age. And the interest of this political drama is heightened by the fact that, for not a short season it looked as if the victory lay with the Laird of Menstrie and not with Richelieu.

The Company of New France, through which the Cardinal's policy was to be worked out, had a capital of 300,000 livres, subdivided into 100 shares. The grant to the Company of many privileges - including twelve titles of nobility, ensured the speedy taking up of these shares. While the earlier traders to New France had been connected mainly with the ports of the Channel or the Bay of Biscay the Company of New France had its offices in Paris, to which city, indeed, the majority of the shareholders belonged.(2)

Finding that the initial labours of forming a company on such a large scale had been very considerable, the Directors of the Company/

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(1) Biggar. P. 133.

(2) Biggar. P. 137.

Company of New France were inclined to delay the despatch of their first expedition till 1629; moreover, England and France were at war, and though it might be safely assumed that the main English naval activity would be directed in the spring of 1628 to the relief of La Rochelle, the English channel could not be regarded as altogether free from danger. Such a policy of caution, however, did not commend itself to the eager and resolute spirit of Richelieu, and the work of fitting out a fleet of transports went steadily on throughout the winter of 1627-1628. By April 1628 the transports, crowded with colonists and laden with stores and ordinance for Quebec and Port Royal were ready to sail from Dieppe, and a squadron of four warships had been detailed to convoy them across the Atlantic.(1) And during the year that saw the vigorous preparations of the Company of New France, Alexander's two ships had been either lying idle at Dumbarton or engaging in a privateering cruise in home waters . . .

At the very time, however, when the prospects of the Nova Scotia scheme looked least promising, when Sir William Alexander found his designs seriously menaced by French colonial enterprise, inspired and directed by the indefatigable and undissuadable Richelieu, the Scottish cause received assistance from a new and altogether unexpected direction. The year 1627, which saw the inception of the Company of New France, witnessed also the outbreak of war between France and Great Britain. The energies of the British/

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(1) Ibid.

British navy were of course monopolised by the expedition dispatched to act in concert with the Huguenots of La Rochelle. But New France lay open to the attack of any resolute and enterprising privateer. During the winter of 1627 -1629, when the royal dockyard at Portsmouth was busy with the preparation of the fleet that was to make the futile attack on the mole at La Rochelle, when Dieppe formed the rendez-vous for the transports that were to be convoyed across the Atlantic by de Roquemants' squadron, there was being fitted out in England a fleet of three small privateers that was to shake to its very foundations the French power in Canada.(1)

The guiding spirits of this privateering expedition were an Anglo-French merchant named Gervase Kirke and his three sons, David, Lewis and Thomas. Descended from an old Derbyshire family Gervase Kirke had in his younger days, as a merchant adventurer in London, gained a considerable knowledge of English colonial trade.(2) When later in life he settled down at Dieppe, where he married a Huguenot lady, he must from his residende in the seaport that was the chief starting point for Canadian expeditions, have been well aware of the main trend of the activities of such pioneers as de Monts and Champlain. Bred to the sea and early noted for their daring and their enterprise his sons were the very men to whom colonial adventure with its abundant dangers but not less abundant possibilities of renown and reward, was certain to appeal/

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(2) C.O. $\frac{1}{6}$ No. 15; Cal. Vol. I P. 130; Kirke P. 64. Kirke P. 33-36.

appeal. It may be surmised that in the Channel sea-ports, the activities of the Company of New France, which had ousted from the lucrative Canadian fur-trade the companies whose shareholders belonged mainly to Rouen and Dieppe, would be followed with unremitting interest born of impotent jealousy. In 1627 too, Captain David Kirke, the eldest son of Gervase had, it seems, been voyaging in Canadian waters,(1) and appears to have brought home not only a clear conception of the commercial possibilities of New France, but also an intelligent appreciation of the slender hold that had so far been established by the French on the Valley of the St.Lawrence. Consequently the outbreak of war between Britain and France suggested to the enterprising minds of Gervase Kirke and his sons the possibility of driving the French from Canada. For this purpose a small company of London merchants was formed. Three ships were fitted out. The largest, the Abigail, a vessel of some 300 tons, was under the command of Captain David Kirke; the other two were commanded by his brothers Lewis and Thomas. Letters of Marque were obtained empowering the capture and destruction of French ships and of French settlements in Nova Scotia and in Canada. Ere de Roquemont's convoy had begun to sail out of the Harbour of Dieppe the Abigail and her consorts were driving steadily across the Atlantic. The Elizabethan spirit of adventurous enterprise had again flared up.

Kirke first resolved to await at Newfoundland the arrival of the French fleet as no enemy appeared the English fleet passed into the Gulf of St.Lawrence and began to ascend the river. At Quebec

Champlain/

(1) C.O.1. 5 No. 49. Cal. Col. I. P. 106.

Champlain, after a harassing winter, was eagerly awaiting the arrival of relief ships from France. In their stead arrived, to his dismay, two canoes, one of which bore a wounded refugee from the trading station at Cape Tourmente, who brought the news of the capture and destruction of the post by a landing party from the English fleet. On the following day there arrived a party of Basque fishermen, captured at Tadoussac by Kirke, and despatched to Champlain with a courteous demand for the surrender of Quebec.

Though the fortress was ill prepared to endure a siege, and though the garrison were on the verge of starvation, Champlain manned his ramparts and in reply to Kirke's demand returned a courteous but firm refusal. From Quebec Kirke's attention was turned to the lower reaches of the St. Lawrence by news of the approach of de Roquemont's squadron. Setting sail from Tadoussac he briskly attacked the French warships, overcame them, and captured the transports laden with emigrants, stores, and ordinance for the strengthening of Quebec and Port Royal. He then returned to England. Among the prisoners he took with him were the French Admiral, de Roquemont, and the elder La Tour, who had been captured as he returned from a mission to France, the object of which had been to acquaint the French government with the plight of the colonists in Acadie.(1)

In France the news of the defeat and total destruction of de Roquemont's/

(1) Kirke. Pp. 72-78.

Roquemont's fleet caused the utmost consternation. At one blow were dashed to the ground the hopes of the nation that had centred round the efforts of the Company of New France. In Paris the widespread detestation of the Kirkes found significant if somewhat melodramatic expression. The King and his Council condemned the brothers Kirke as public enemies and gave orders that they shou'd be burned in effigy. The bells of the churches of Paris were set a-tolling: a solemn procession bore through the streets three stout bundles that were supposed to represent the visitors of Gaspe: and in the Place de la Greve, while the leaping flames reduced these effigies to ashes, the popular indignation found an outlet in clamorous vociferation.(1)

In London, as may well be imagined, the tidings of Kirke's success, produced a somewhat different effect. Immediately on receipt of the news the merchants of Gervase Kirke's company delegated one of their directors, the Earl of Newburgh, to carry the report to the King and to make a request for "a patent for the sole trade and plantation of these countries." This the King at once promised and declared that when Kirke should arrive with his prizes and with full details of what he had accomplished, the formal grant of the patent would be carried through.(2)

But at this point Gervase Kirke's project found its progress menaced by an antagonism more subtle but more serious than that of which his privateers had encountered on the St.Lawrence. In opposition/

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(1) Kirke P. 79.

(2) Couper M.S.S. Hist. M.S.S. Cam. 12th Rep. App. I. P. 376.

opposition to the request of the London merchants for a patent, Sir William Alexander claimed "a sole right to the trade and plantation of these countries upon a grant from His Majesty under the great seal of the Kingdom of Scotland." (1) Alexander's province as defined by his charter of 1621 and its various ratifications did not, as a matter of fact, include any part of the St.Lawrence region beyond Gaspe. But of the precise limits of the Alexandrian domains the London merchants were ignorant. They knew, however, that Alexander stood high in the King's favour. The Scottish Privy Council, too, petitioned the King not to be neglectful of Alexander's interests. (2) It was therefore deemed expedient by Gervase Kirke and his Partners to come to an understanding with Sir William. They offered him "that in the right and interest of the Crown of Scotland he should possess for a sole plantation of his nation all la Cadia and all the country and coasts within the Gulf of Canada on both sides of the river till they arrive within two leagues of Tadoussac; which is much more than half of that which is already planted by the French, and a great part of it adjoining to New Scotland, reserving upon all those coasts free trade and harbours to the mixed company and colony of English and Scotch who should undertake the rest." (3) In addition to this ample concession it was proposed to allow Sir William an interest in the revenues derived from the remainder of the/

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(1) Ibid.

(2) Nov.Sco.Papers P. 46.

(3) Hist. M.S.S. Com. 12th Rep. App. I. P. 376.

the St.Lawrence territory, and a suggestion was also put forward for the plantation of an Anglo-Scotch colony above Tadoussac.

It was substantially upon the lines of this proposed accommodation that matters were finally adjusted.(1) The Anglo-Scotch Company was formed in the winter of 1628-1629, and energetic preparations were at once set on foot for carrying to its conclusion the work of conquest begun during the preceding summer by Captain David Kirke. Under him there sailed from Gravesend on March 25th, 1629, a fleet of six small warships and three privateers.(2) Using Tadoussac as a base the British commander sent two ships, commanded by his brothers Lewis and Thomas, on to Quebec. Cut off from communication with France, hemmed in by the hostile Iraquois, with his small garrison sadly wasted by famine and disease, Champlain had now no alternative but to surrender. On 20th August, 1629 Captain Lewis Kirke took possession of the fortress, and to the roll of drums and a salute of musketry and gunfire the ramparts and the warships, the flag of England was hoisted on the citadel of New France.(3)

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In the summer of 1629 Sir William Alexander's eldest son, Sir William the younger, had in vessels belonging to the Anglo-Scotch company carried a company of colonists to Acadie. On the 1st July 1629, sixty colonists under Lord Ochiltree were landed on/

(1) Ibid. P. 377.
(2) Kirke P. 81.
(3) Kingsford: Hist. of Canada. Vol. I P. 96.

on the eastern coast of Cape Breton Island: thereafter Alexander sailed for the Bay of Fundy and landed the remainder of the company of colonists at Port Royal. The first Scottish settlement of Nova Scotia was thus carried out in the summer of 1629.

VIII.

The history of the Scots settlement at Port Royal during the few years of its existence (1629-1632) is exceedingly obscure. Of the ingenious and persistent efforts made by Sir William Alexander and his royal master to foster the colonisation of Nova Scotia many traces have come down to us; of the political cross-currents that ultimately wrecked the enterprise we are also fully cognisant. But the incidents of the Atlantic voyage, the daily life and labours of the Scottish settlers as they tilled the soil or built their dwellings and their fortalice, are known to us only in the dim light of surmise. To turn from the story of the Scots occupation of Port Royal to that of the earlier French settlements in the same region is like viewing in the full light of day a landscape that one has seen before only in the grey mirk of early morning. Now and then, however, when the mist clears away for a brief interval in one direction or another, a glimpse of some feature of the landscape is obtained. A succession of such glimpses constitutes the history/

history of Port Royal during the year that it formed a Scottish colony.

There is no reason to doubt that the ships in which Sir William Alexander the Younger brought his colonists to Port Royal formed part of the fleet of six privateers and three pinnaces that sailed from Gravesend on March 25th, 1629, under Captain David Kirke. On the arrival of this fleet in Canadian waters, part of it was detached with orders to proceed to Nova Scotia.(1) Of the incidents connected with the visit to the shores of Nova Scotia we have what is practically an official account in the Egerton Manuscript entitled "William Alexander's Information touching his Plantation at Cape Breton and Port Royal".

" . . . . . The said Sir William resolving to plant in that place sent out his son Sir William Alexander this spring with a colonie to inhabite the same who arriving first at Cap-britton did finde three shipps there, whereof one being a Barque of 60 Tunnes it was found that the owner belonged to St.Sebastian in Portugall, and that they had traded there contrary to the power graunted by his Majestie for w^ch and other reasons according to the process which was formallie led, he the said Sir William having chosen the Lord Oghillvie and Monsieur de la Tour/

(1) Kingsford, Vol 1. p.95.

Tour to be his assistants adjudged the barque to be lawfull prize and gave a Shallop and other necessaries to transport her Companie to other shipps upon that Coast, according to their owne desire, as for the other two which he found to be french shipps he did no wise trouble them.

Thereafter having left the Lo. Oghiltree with some 60 or so English who went with him to inhabit there, at Cap-britton, the said Sir William went from thence directly to Port Royall w^ch he found (as it had been a long time before) abandoned and without signe that ever people had been there, where he hath seated himself and his Companie according to the warrant granted unto him by his Ma^tie of purpose to people that part."(1)

No opposition was encountered from the French. Claude de la Tour (son of Monsieur de la Tour, Alexander's "assistant"), to whom the seignory of Port Royal had passed on the death of Biencourt had, after having been driven in 1626 from his fort at the mouth of the Penobscot River, concentrated the remainder of the Port Royal colony at a new station which he had established at the south eastern extremity of Acadie, in the neighbourhood of Cape Sable.

The Indians of Acadie entered into friendly relations with the new settlers, and during the summer Port Royal became the deptt for a thriving trade in furs. When at the close of the season the Company's vessels sailed for home, Sir William Alexander/

(1) Egerton, 2395. f.23.

Alexander remained at Port Royal to share with his colonists whatever trials the coming winter might have in store. To the hardships endured in the course of his colonial experiences has been attributed his death in the prime of manhood.

With the fleet that sailed from Port Royal in the autumn of 1629 there travelled to Britain an Indian chief, the Sagamore Segipt, his wife, and his sons. The ostensible object of the chief's journey was to do homage to the King of Britain and invoke his protection against the French. Landing at Plymouth, the Indian party broke their journey to the capital by a short stay in Somersetshire. There they were hospitably entertained. "The savages took all in good part, but for thanks or acknowledgment made no sign or expression at all".(1)

Another emissary from Port Royal to Britain found himself subjected to attention that might well have disturbed even the taciturn dignity of the Indian chief. Sir George Home of Eskills, who had sought to save himself from a pertinacious creditor by joining Sir William Alexander's expeditions - he appears to have sailed with Alexander both in 1628 and 1629 - had been despatched by the Master of Stirling to Scotland to obtain stores and enlist recruits for the Nova Scotia colony. The indefatigable creditor, however, threatened Sir George with horning and, it was alleged, did so interfere with his activities on behalf of the Colony, that the sorely tried agent besought the/

(1) Birch. "Court and Times of Charles I. Vol II. p.60. (Quoted Rogers.)

the protection of the Scots Privy Council. He was granted a license permitting him to go about his business till the last day of April 1630.(1) On 26th May 1630 his creditor complained to the Privy Council that "lately the said Sir George, pretending his want of liberty to repair openly to the Burgh of Edinburgh, .. obtained a protection from their Lordships, under cover of which he conveyed himself and wife and children to Nova Scotia animo remanendi.(2)

The year 1629 which saw the settlement of the Scots at Port Royal witnessed also considerable activity in Scotland on behalf of the colony. Eager and optimistic as ever Alexander saw in the aid to be derived from his association with the English merchant adventurers the means whereby his long deferred hopes might be realised, and his imagination showed him the sailes of the ships bearing him wealth from his distant domains. His care now was to establish a commercial haven for ships engaged in transatlantic traffic. Like William Paterson almost seventy years later, Alexander clearly saw the importance of the Clyde Estuary in any scheme of American trade. On 11th April 1629 King Charles made a grant to Alexander of land at Largs to enable him to establish a port for colonial traffic: Rex, pro se et tanquam princeps et senescallus Scotiae - pro magnis servitiis sibi et patri suo prestitis per D. Gulielmum Alexander de Menstrie militem principalem suum secretarium Scotiae et ejus laboribus in/

(1) Reg.P.C.S. New Series. Vol III. p.488.
(2) do. do. do. p.543.

in fundand colonia in Nova Scotia et Canada et quia terre infrascripte idonee fuerunt ubi fieret emporium lie staple pro commercio cum dicta regione-cum consensee . . . . concissit et quitte alamavit dicto D.Guil. hereditibus ejus masc et assignates partem terrarum nuncapat the Largis and Largis-mure, una cum villa et oppido de Largis, terris, morris, carbonibus, montibus et communiis eidem spectantibus in ballcatu de Cunynghame, vie de Air - quam exexit in liberam baroniam de Largis: cum libertate burgum infra aliquam partem dictarum bondarum candendi, partum et mavium stationem lie hewin aedificandi: quem exexit in liberum burgum baronae, Bergum de Largis nuncupand.(1)

The spot chosen by Alexander for his projected port was one invested with historic interest. It was on the shore at Largs that Hakon's galleys swept landwards by an autumn gale had shattered their prows; and it was on the narrow strip of level ground between the Largs hills and the sea that the Norse warriors had been decisively beaten by the levies of King Alexander III. But as the site of a seaport Largs had little to recommend it. It had comparatively slight depth of water. It was open to the full sweep of the south west gales from the Atlantic. It was shut off by the steep escarpment of the Kilbarchan Hills, both from the plains of Ayrshire and from the lower portion of Strathclyde.

The/

(1) Reg. Mag. Sig. Scot. Vol.1620-1633. p.476. No.1404.

The interest shown by King Charles in Sir William Alexander's colonial schemes naturally did not abate after the actual settlement of the Scots at Port Royal. In the letters sent by the King to the Scots Privy Council during the year 1629 appear many traces of the keen desire on the part of Charles to second the efforts of Sir William. On 7th June the Earl of Menteith, the President of the Council, was instructed to negotiate with those who had no heritable office but were desirous of a title of honour, and to find out the number of men that could be provided for the plantation of New Scotland byeach of these aspirants for distinction. At this time, too, the President was invited to offer suggestions regarding any other expedients that might be employed to increase the number of baronets.(1) There is no evidence, however, to connect the Earl of Menteith in any way with the decision conveyed to the Council in the course of a royal despatch dated 17th November 1629: "We have been pleased to authorise and allow . . . the said Leivetennant and Baronettes, and everie one of them, and thare heires, male, to weare and carry about their neckis, in all time coming, ane orange tauney silk ribbone, whairon shalt hing pendant in a scutchion argent a saltoire azeur, thairon ane inscutcheone of the armes of Scotland, with ane imperiall crown above the scutchene, and encircled with this motto - "Fax mentis honestae gloria."(2) The hand is the hand of King/

(1) Menteith Letter. Hist. M.S.S.Cam. 3rd Report, Appendx. p.401.
(2) Nova Scotia Papers, p.49-50.

King Charles: but the voice is the voice of the author of the "Encouragement to Colonies".

Of the royal correspondence of this year dealing with Nova Scotia, the most interesting item, both from the standpoint of Scottish and of colonial history is the despatch of 17th October. ". . . . Whereas our trustie and well beloved Sir William Alexander, our Secretarie hath agreet with some of the heads of the Chief Clannes of the Highlands of that our Kingdome and with some other persones, for transporting themselves and thare followers, to setle themselves into New Scotland, as we doe very much approve of that course for advancing the said plantatione, and for deburdening that our kingdome of that race of people which in former times hade bred soe many troubles ther; soe since that purpose may very much import the publick good and quiet thereof, Wee are most willing that you assist the same by all fair and lawfull ways . . . ." The despatch then proceeds to direct the Privy Council to arrange for "a voluntarie contributione" in connection with this scheme.(1)

In the summer of 1630 the settlers at Port Royal received a useful reinforcement in the form of a party of colonists under the elder La Tour. Captured by Kirke in 1628 La Tour had been carried to England, and it may well have been his knowledge of Acadie combined with a complaisant disposition that soon advanced him to high favour at Court. He had sailed with Sir William Alexander/

(1) Menteith Letters, Hist. M.S.S. Com. 3rd Report.Append.p.401.

Alexander the Younger to Nova Scotia in 1629.(1) His experiences during this expedition seem to have made him decide to throw in his lot with the Scots for soon after his return to England there were drawn up, in rough outline, on 16th October, 1629, "Articles d'accord entre le Chevalier Guillaume Alexandre, sieg^r de Menstrie Lieu^t de la Nouvelle Ecosse en Amerique par ca Majeste de la Grande Bretagne, et le Chevalier Claude de St.Etienne, sieg^nr de la Tour et Claude de St.Etienne son filz et le Chevalier Guillaume Alexandre filz dud^t seig^nr Alexandre cy dessus nome . . . . tant pour le merite de keur persones que pour leur assistance a la meilleure recognoissance du pays.(2)

It was not however till 20th April 1630 that the agreement between Alexander and La Tour was definitely signed. "The s^d Sir Claud of Estienne being present accepting and stipulating by these presents for his s^d son Charles now absent, so much for the merit of their persons as for their assistance in discovering better the said country." La Tour obtained two baronies, the barony of St.Estienne and the barony of la Tour, "which may be limited between the said K^t of La Tour and his son if they find it meet equally."(3)

But neither the dignity conferred on him nor the wide stretch of territory that accompanied it appealed particularly to the "s^d son Charles now absent." When the two ships that carried La Tour and his party to Acadie anchored off For St.Louis in the neighbourhood of Cape Sable, La Tour found his son staunch in allegiance to/

(1) Egerton 2395.f.23. (2) Egerton 2395. fol.17.
(3) Egerton 2395. f.31.

to France. The paternal arguments having failed to influence the Commandant of Fort St.Louis , La Tour made an attempt to storm the Fort, but was repulsed. He then sailed on to Port Royal.

In the autumn of 1630 Sir William Alexander sailed for Britain leaving in command at Port Royal Sir George Holme who in the early summer of that had "conveyed himself and wife and children to Nova Scotia animo remanendi".(1) In the summer of 1631 a fleet despatched by the Anglo Scottish Company landed a band of colonists and some head of cattle at Port Royal.(2) Nor were continued evidences of royal support lacking: in the spring of 1631 the Scots Privy Council had received an assurance from the King that he was solicitous for the welfare of the Nova Scotia colony; a little later intimation was received that the furnishing of assistance to the Colony would be rewarded by the grant of baronetcies.(3)

IX.

Yet on the 10th July 1631 Sir William Alexander, now Viscount Stirling, received from King Charles instructions to arrange for the abdonment of Port Royal: the fort built by

his/

(1) Reg.P.C.S. New Series, Vol.3. P.543.
(2) Biggar, P.
(3) Earl of Stirling's Register of Royal Letters. Pp.516 and 518.

his son was to be demolished and the colinists and their belongings were to be removed "leaveing the boundis altogidder waist and unpeopled as it was at the tyme when your said sone landed first to plant ther."(1)

Like a later, more ambitious, and more tragic Scottish Colonial scheme, the Nova Scotia enterprise was to be sacrificed to the exigencies of English Royal policy. Indeed the forces which were to bring about th ruin of the Scots settlement at Port Royal had been at work practically from the time of its foundation. Quebec, taken almost three months after the signing of the Treaty of Suza, which in April 1629 terminated the hostilities between England and France could not well be withheld from the French, the Kirkes urged King Charles strongly to hold to his conquest: the place was well provided with arms and ammunition: "soe if it please his Ma^tie to keep it" runs their assertion, "wee doe not care what frenche or any other can doe thoe they have a ~~xx~~ 100 sayle of ships and 10,000 men."(2) To the Scottish mind, however, the Treaty contained nothing prejudicial to Port Royal: "this business of Port royall cannot be made Lyable to the articles of the peace, seeing there was no act of hostilitie comitted thereby, a Colony only being planted upon his Ma^ties ground."(3) Yet the French ambassador demanded both the restoration of Port Royal and Quebec.

This/

(1) Rogers, Vol 1. P.131.
(2) C.O. $\frac{1}{6}$. No.38.
(3) C.O. $\frac{1}{5}$. No.102.I.

This claim on the part of the French to Port Royal stirred the Scots to remonstrance. "Wee have understood", wrote the Privy Council to King Charles on 9th September 1630, "by yor Ma^ties Letter of the title pretended by the French to the Land of New Scotland: which being communicated to the states at their last meeting and they considering the benefit arising to this kingdom by the accession of these lands to this Crown and that yor Ma^tie is bound in honor carefully to provide that none of yor Majesties subjects doe suffer in that which for yor Ma^ts service and to their great charge they have warrantably undertaken and successfully followed out, Wee have thereupon presumed by order from the States to make remonstrance thereof to your Ma^tie, And on their behalf to be humble supplicants, desiring your Ma^tie that yor Ma^tie would be graciously pleased seriously to take to hart the maintenance of yor royall right to these lands, And to protect the undertakers in the peaceable possession of the same, as being a businesse which toucheth yor Ma^ts honor; the credit of this yor native kingdome, and the good of yor subjects interested therein, Remitting the particular reasons fit to be used for defence of yo^r Ma^ties right to the relatin of Sir William Alexander yor Ma^s Secretarie who is entrusted therewith . . . . ."(1)

The "particular relation" of Sir William(2) puts the Scots case clearly and emphatically. After tracing the history of Acadia before the Scottish settlement the "relation" points out/

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(1) C.O. $\frac{1}{5}$ No.102.

(2) C.O. $\frac{1}{6}$ No.102.I.

out how the Scots settlement had been followed by the visit of the Indian chief - Sagamo Sigipt - to this country. "So that his Matie is bound in honour to maintaine them both in regard of his subjects that have planted there upon his warrant and of the promises that he made to the Commissioners of the natives that came to him from thence - - - This business of Port Royall cannot be made Syable to the articles of the peace, seeing there was no act of hostilities comitted thereby, a Colony being planted upon his Maties owne ground, according to a Patent granted by his Maties late deare father and his Mats self, having as good right thereunto as to any part of the continent, and both the patent and the possession taken thereupon in the time of his Maties late dear father, as it set downe at length in the voyages written by Purchas. But neither by that possession nor by the subsequent plantation hath any thing beene taken from the frenche whereof they had any right at all, nor yet any possession for the time, and what might have been done either before the warre or since the warre without a breach of peace cannot be justly complained upon for being done at that time."

That these representations were not altogether without effect on the King is evident from the draft of a dispatch "to or trusty and well beloved Sr. Isaac Wake, Knight, our Ambassador resident with the French King." This dispatch belongs to a comparatively late period in the negotiations, when the question of the payment of the Queen's portion money was under discussion - - - we have formerly/

(1)

formerly consented and still continue our purpose and resolution that the one, that is Quebec, shalbe restorit and from the other such of our subjects as are there planted shall retyre, leaving these parts in the same state as before they appeared: w^ch wee doe not out of ignorance as if wee did not understand how little wee are thereunto obliged by the last treaty - - - but out of an affection and desyre to complye with our good brother the King of France in all things that may friendly and reasonably, though not rightly and duty be demanded from us."(1)

The story of the negotiations for the restoration of Port Royall to France is long and complicated.(2) The British diplomatists were inclined to leave the question as "a dispirited point" to be decided apart from the general post-bellum settlement. To the French this proposal did not commend itself. Their unequivocal demand was for the surrender without delay of Port Royal as both agreeable to reason and to the treaty itself." To Richelieu, keenly interested in the development of the French navy, Acadie and its proximity to the great fishing grounds of the West, assumed importance from its possibilities as a training ground for a race of seamen. Nor could he have been ignorant of its strategic importance. Moreover French prestige demanded that a territory the French claims to which had always been stragely asserted (3) should not be allowed to remain in the hands of interloping foreigners.

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(1) Harleian 1760 f. 11.
(2) Biggar Pp. 151-165; Parkman, "Pioneers of France P. 444; Kingsford Vol. I Pp. 105-109; C.O. 1/5 102, 102 I; C.O. 1/6 38,39; Harleian 1760 ff. 10711; Egerton 2395 ff 19-25.
(3) Vide Appendix A.

The English representatives in Paris were much impressed by the strong attitude adopted by the French. By it indeed they were more than a little puzzled: as far as they could gather all that the French had ever received from Acadie had been a few yearly cargoes of beaver skins and elk skins. Was it worth while to risk a recu rence of hostilities for such an unproductive province?

And so from year to year the negotiations dragged on, interrupted now by the pressure of other questions of Richelieu's intricate and far-reaching foreign policy, bow by the difficulties experienced by the plenipotentiaries who had to chase after the French King from chateau to chateau. In the persistence of the French demand for a concession which, it might plausibly be argued, went beyond the terms of the treaty of Suza,(1) King Charles saw an opportunity that might be turned to his advantage. Of the dowry of Queen Henriette Marie one half had been paid at the time of her marriage; the other money amounting to 400,000 crowns, due in 1626, had not yet been paid: the demand of Port Royal might be turned to account to exact a reciprocal advantage in the way of a monetory consession from France: "in balance, if not in contract, against the porcon money is the reudition of Quebec in Canada - - - and the retyring from Port Royal." (2) Finally the question at issue was narrow ed down to the "ther etyring from Port Royal." King Charles was careful to impress on his agent in France that all vulgar huckstering was to be avoided in regard to the balance of the dowry: De Vic, the English/

(1) C.O. 1 102 I; Harleian 1760 f. 11.

(2) Harleian 1760 f. 11.

English Agent was warned not "to make tender of his Majesties giving contentment in the point of Port Royal by way of bargain, which were a merchandly proceeding and in no way becoming negotiations betwixt Princes"[1]: if, however, the French King proved complaisant in the matter of the dowry, "Port Royall should not breed any interruption to a total agreement."[2]

These instructions enjoining delicacy in discussion of the Port Royal business were penned by Secretary Dorchester on March 2nd., 1631. The instructions issued to Viscount Stirling for the abandonment of Port Royal bear the date 10th July, 1631. But the matter was not finally settled until nine months more had passed. Alexander renewed his protest against the surrender of his settlement to France.[3] But the financial needs of the King were pressing; the problem of carrying on the government of the country without supplies from Parliament was one of unending difficulty; the army and the navy were mutinous from lack of pay. The balance of the marriage portion offered a welcome if temporary alleviation of pressing difficulties, and in March 1632,

King/

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(1) Quoted Biggar. P.156.
(2) Ibid.
(3) C.O. $\frac{1}{6}$, 56.

King Charles agreed to the terms of the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye. On the St.Lawrence the British garrison evacuated the rock-perched citadel from before which, sixty years later, the fleet of Sir William Phips was to retire, baffled and discomfited, and above which the fleur-de-lys was to wane until Wolfe should climb the Heights of Abraham. At Port Royal the Chevalier de Ragilly, whose ingenious mind had suggested to Richelieu the formation of the Company of New France, received from the Scottish commandant the surrender of the little colony established three brief years before.

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Despite the failure of his Nova Scotia scheme Sir William Alexander did not abandon his interest in colonial problems. In January, 1634-1635 Sir Williams, now Earl of Stirling and his son the Master of Stirling, were admitted Councillors and Patentees of the New England Company.(1) On the 22nd April 1635 the Earl of Stirling received from the "Councell of New England in America beinge assembled in publique Courte" a grant of "All that part of the Maine Land of New England aforesaid, beginningw from a certaine place called or known by the name of Saint Croix next adjoininge to New Scotland in America aforesaid, and from thence extendinge alonge the Sea Coast into a certain place called Pemaquid, and soe upp the River thereof to the furthest head of the same/

(1) C.O.$\frac{1}{8}$ No.44.

same as it tendeth northward, and extendinge from thence att the nearest unto the River of Kinebequi, and so upwards alonge by the shortest course which tendeth unto the River of Canada, ffrom henceforth to be called and knowne by the name of the Combe of Canada. And also all that Island or Islands heretofore comonly called by the severall name or names of Matowack or Longe Island, and hereafter to be called by the name of the Isle of Sterlinge. . . (2) Sir William sent out no more colonies: he was fully occupied with the stormy politics of Old Scotland. Long Island did not change its name. But the earliest settlers on Long Island brought their lands from James Farrell, who acted as Deputy for the Earl of Stirling. (2)

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(1) C.O. $\frac{1}{8}$ No.56.

(2) C.O. $\frac{1}{10}$ Nos.25. and 34.

SCOTTISH COLONIAL SCHEMES.

CHAPTER III.

CAPE BRETON ISLAND.

(New Galloway).

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CHAPTER III.

New Galloway.

If Sir William Alexander was essentially a man of contemplation who became by misadventure, as it were, a man of action - one who "was born a Poet, and aimed to be a King; therefore would he have his royal title from King James, who was born a King and aimed to be a Poet" - [1] his coadjutor in his earliest colonising efforts, Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar, was from his youth to his latest days a man of action - and of very decided action. Endowed with great physical strength and mental vigour - excelsi corporis robore, et animi magnitudine in omno aetate conspicuus viguerat - [2] Lochinvar soon attracted the notice of King James the Sixth for turbulence in an age that was not remarkable for docility. In the summer of 1601 his father, Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, was ordered to present the young Laird, his cautioners, and servants before the Privy Council: the servants were to answer "for their accompanying and assisting of Sir Robert Gordoun, Younger, of Lochinvar, in his persute of the Laird of Barnbarro in his hous, for convocatioun of our lieges in weirlyke maner and for beiring and weiring of pistolettis, prohibite to be borne or worne be our lawes." [3]

Lochinvar's physical prowess, if it did lead to official reprobation on the part of King James, appealed strongly to the youthful/

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(1) Scot of Scotstarvet.
(2) R.Johnstone Historia, P.714. (Quoted Nov.Sco.Papers).
(3) Register Scots Privy Coun. Vol.XIII. P.391.

youthful instincts of Prince Henry: Unde singularem gratiam apud magnanimum Poincipem Henricum promeruerat.(1) During the years that the Laird of Menstrie was advancing himself in the royal favour by devotion to the Muses, Lochinvar was equally conspicuous at Court through his skill in arms: solemni Armorum exercitatione, in Aula victor evaserat; ae premium meritae palmae tulerat.(2) From the hands of the Princess Elizabeth he received on Twelfth Night 1609-10 a prize he had gained at the tilting match - Prince Henry's Barriers.(3)

Despite his prestige at Court the life of the courtier does not seem to have appealed to him. The frank, simple, vigorous mind of Lochinvar viewed with contempt the ignoble shifts to which some of the less opulent members of the Court of King James were constrained to descend. Years after, when his days as a courtier were but a memory, indignation at the less worthy aspects of such a life could inspire his ingenuous pen to noble scorn: "Then, who would live at home idle (or think in him selfe any worth to live) onlie to eate, drinke, and sleepe, and so to die? or by consuming that carelesslie, which their predecessors hath got worthilie? or, for beeing descended noblie, pyne with the vaine vaunt of kinred in penurie? or (to maintaine a sillie show of braverie) toyle out the heart, soule, and time baselie, by shiftes, trickes, cardes/

(1) R.Johnstone, Historia. P.714.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Nov.Sco.Papers, P.107.

cardes, or dyce? or by relating newes of others actions, Sharke here or there for a Dinner or Supper? deceiving his friends by faire promises and dissimulation, in borrowing where he never intendeth to pay? offending the Lawes, surfeiting with excesse: burthening his countrie, abusing himselfe, despairing in want, and then cousening his kinred? although it is seene what honours the world hat h yet, and what affluence of all things; for such as will seeke and worthilie deserve them. Heere were courses for Gentle-men (and such as would be so reputed) more suting their qualities than begging from their Princes generous disposition the labours of his other subjects.(1)

Lochinvar's acquaintance with the decorum of the Court does not seem in any way to have subdued the vehemence of his Spirit, for early in 1611 he was "fyned in ane thousand merkis, my Lord Hereis in fyve hundreth merkis".(2) From this point until the time when, a decade later, he began to share the colonising labours of the Laird of Menstrie, the Privy Council had no occasion to concern themselves with the activities of Lochinvar. But both from the tone of his "Encouragements to New Galloway" and also from his record of public service in the years immediately following 1621, it may be presumed that the ten years preceding his colonising activities were occupied in energetic and devoted attention to the work that fell to the lot of a country gentleman of patriotic spirit and conscientious mind/

(1) Lochinvar's "Encouragements for New Galloway".
(2) Reg.Sco.P.C. Vol.XIII. p.618.

mind.

In November 1621 Cape Breton Island - part of the original grant bestowed on the Laird of Menstrie - was allotted to Lochinvar and his second son, Robert, in order to be formed into the Province of New Galloway.(1) At a later period Lochinvar's eldest son John, later first Viscount Kenmure, was closely associated with his father's colonial schemes. For the appearance of Robert's name in the charter of 8th November 1631 two explanations are possible. In the first place Lochinvar may have intended to emphasise the importance of colonial enterprises in affording a career to younger members of a gentleman's family: the fact that "wee have not such occasions, and uses at home for the Brethren, and second sonnes of our houses to get them preferment as of old" is regarded by Lochinvar in his "Encouragements" as one of the "three things that troubleth our estates that wee cannot live as our Predecessoures did before us". In the second place, it is highly probable that in 1621 John Gordon, after the completion of his studies, resided for some time at St.Jean d'Angely(2) in the household of Mr.John Welsh,(3) one of the Presbyterian divines exiled by James for having, in despite of the King's command, taken part in the General Assembly at/

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(1) Nov.Sco.Papers - Charters. p.16.

(2) Dict. N.B.

(3) Minister of Kirkcudbright before going to Ayr.

at Aberdeen in 1605. The fact that in the year 1622 Mr. Welsh addressed to King James a petition in which permission to emigrate to Nova Scotia was suggested as an alternative to permission to return to Scotland may certainly imply that knowledge of the Nova Scotia projects had penetrated to St.Jean d'Angely through the medium of the correspondence of John Gordon, then a young man of twenty one.

Having received an ample grant of territory and the usual accumulation of feudal powers and privileges over his distant domains, Lochinvar was not the man to delay his preparations for the effective occupation of New Galloway. "Knowing that the chief commendation of vertue consisteth in action" he says in his preface of 1625 'to the Adventurers, favourers, and well-willers of the enterprise for the inhabiting, and planting in Cape Briton, now New Galloway in America' " I have resolved a practice, and to trace the footsteppes of those heroic fore-runners, whose honourable actions shall ever live upon Earth." He was equally resolute three years earlier. In the summer of 1622 he had two ships fitting out at Beaumaris in Anglesey. (1) which he had chosen as the base for his expedition. Winter interrupted these preparations. They were resumed next summer, but with no more definite result. In view of the resolution and energy of Lochinvar's character, and of the important part he played at this time in the public life of Scotland/

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(1) Biggar, Pp.122, 123.

Scotland, such a discrepancy between intention and attainment certainly calls for comment. The circumstances which crippled the activities of Lochinvar were exactly similar to those by which Sir William Alexander had been hampered. The season 1622-1623 proved to be one of extraordinary dearth,(1) and provisions naturally became very scarce and very expensive. Propagandists of colonial enterprise, again, were met in Galloway by a disappointing lack of enthusiasm on the part of the Scots and even by expressions of frank incredulity:(2) to arouse interest and to remove this ignorant prejudice were the twin objects of Lochinvar's "Encouragements": "The chiefe (then) and the farthest point" he declares in his epistle dedicatory "that my intention shall seeke to arrive at; shall be to remove that unbeliefe, which is so grounded in the minds of men, to discredite most noble and profitable endevoures with distrust; and, first, to shake off their colourable pretences of ignorance, and then, if they will not be persuaded to make their self-willes inexcusable". Finally, the opening campaigns of the Thirty Years War and the renewal of the war between Spain and Holland held out to adventurous Scots the prospects of congenial employment in Central Europe and the Netherlands: Lochinvar, ever alive to the practical questions of his day, does not neglect the influences of European warfare on his projects: "Bee wee so farre inferiour to other Nations" he

asks/

(1) Reg. P.C. Sco. Vol.XIII. p.257.
(2) Alexander's "Encouragements". P.33.

asks indignantly, "or our Spirites so farre dejected from our ancient Predecessoures, or our minds so upon spoyle, pyracie, or other villanie, as to serve the Portugale, Spaniard, Dutch, French, or Turk (as to the great hurte of Europe too manie do) rather than our God, our King, our Countrie, and ourselves? excusing our idleness, and our base complaynts by want of employment? when heere is such choyse of all sorts, and for all degrees in this plantation."

An important commentary on Lochinvar's colonising activities is furnished by a consideration of some of the other questions that engaged his attention at this time. In October 1622 he was summoned by the Privy Council to attend a conference to discuss economic problems connected with the exportation of wool.(1) In the following January he attended as one of the representatives of Nithsdale and Galloway this conference "anent the propositioun made by his Majesty for sending of commissionaris to England, to confer, resoun, treate and conclude upon some goode way how the whole woll of Scotland not draped and wroght at home mycht be send to England, and sauld thair and no quhair els," and sat with delegates from other parts of Scotland in the Laich Counselhous of Edinburgh."(2) In April 1623 King James

intimated/

(1) Reg. S.P.S. Vol.XIII. p.70.

(2) Reg.S.P.C. Vol. XIII. P.141.

intimated to the Scots Privy Council his wish that "manufactures of all sortis, and speciallie of woll, sould be maid in that our kingdome:[1] On the 6th June, 1623, Lochinvar was summoned by the Privy Council to attend at Edinburgh a conference "anent the establishment of manufactoris."[2] The conference met on 9th July, and a week later Lochinvar was appointed a member of the standing Commission on manufactures- a commission appointed in deference to the King James's desire to improve existing manufactures in Scotland and to introduce new industries north of the Tweed.[3]

On other points, too, Lochinvar was appealed to by the Council as an authority. The season 1622-23 had been a time of great dearth. To provide temporary relief it had been proposed that a special eleemosynary tax should be levied in each parish on all who were well able to contribute: on 14th June 1625, Lochinvar's "opinions wer craved anent the poor".[4] The wide range of his interests and his thorough acquaintance with local conditions are testified to by a query propounded to him by the Council a year later. The Council had been discussing "the transportation of unlauchfull personis and guidis/

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(1) Reg. S.P.C., Vol.XIII. P.235.

(2) Ibid. P.236.

(3) Ibid. P.300.

(4) Ibid. P.257.

guidis too and fra Ireland," and had been furnished by the Border Commissioners and the Commissioners of Western Burghs with a list of ports employed in this traffic: this list comprised a number of small ports in Renfrewshire and Ayrshire and a few in Galloway: the Council resolved "that the Earle of Galloway and Lochinvar be demandit what otheris portis are in Galloway."(1) In July, 1625, Lochinvar was one of a Committee of ten - noblemen and lairds - summoned to give expert advice regarding the state of affairs disclosed by a petition from the Burghs of the Kingdom representing the widespread misery caused by the exportation of wool and praying for a revival of the Acts prohibiting its export.(2) Still further testimony is borne to Lochinvar's position by his appointment in November 1625 as one of the Commissioners of the Middle Shires.(3)

A man with such a record might well be expected to do his utmost for the success of any enterprise with which he identified himself, and Gordon's efforts on behalf of Scottish colonial schemes are marked by zeal, enterprise and pertinacity. Following the example of Sir William Alexander, who had issued his "Encouragement to Colonies" in 1624 Lochinvar published in 1625 at Edinburgh his "Encouragements/For such as shall have intention/ to bee Undertakers in the new plantation/ of Cape Breton, now New Galloway/ in America/ by/

(1) Reg.S.P.C., Vol.XIII. P.553.
(2) Reg.SP.C. New Series. Vol.I. P.75.
(3) Ibid. P.188.

By mee/ Lochinvar." The tract is dedicated "To the Right Worshipfull/ Sir William Alexander of Menstrie Knight,/ Master of Requestes for Scotland,/ and Lievetenant Generall to his/ Majestie in the Kingdome/ of New Scotland/ and To the remnant the noble/ men, and knights Baro/nets in Scotland, Undertakers/ in the plantations of New Scotland in America."

If the little work shows traces of the influence of Alexander in its references to classical and scriptural history and to the exploits of the Age of Discovery it resembles Mason's "Discourse" in the precision with which it sets out the shortness of the Atlantic voyage, the topography and the products of the Island, and the lack of danger from the natives. In other respects, too, Lochinvar favours the precise spirit characteristic of Mason: in the "Encouragements" are set out in detail the inducements offered to intending settlers. To ministers he offered a free passage for themselves, their families, and "theire necessaire household stuffe"; "their entertainment . . . in their whole passage on the ways thither: maintenance in New Galloway for three years; the creation of Parishes as soon as possible; the support of their authority "by causing the transgressours, and contemners of the same bee severlie punished". For "gentlemen and others undertakers" Lochinvar promised to provide free passage for themselves, their families, their household goods," their provision of victuals for their intertainment . . . together with/

with as much cornes asthey shall be able to sowe upon their lands, the first year:" and that they would "bee established and placed in the land: each man according to his qualitie - the various grants of land being clearly defined. In return Lochinvar would be "contented to receive from everie one of the said undertakers, the thirteenthe parte of that increase and commoditie, which their lands shall have made worthie unto them in the said plantation": but "each undertaker of the plantation of New Galloway shall bee free from the payment of any duetie for his landes, for all and whole the space of the first three yeares".

These "Offers" were preceded by an analysis of "The Motives which hath induced mee, and may happilie encourage such as have intention to bee Under-takers with Mee in the plantation of New Galloway ub America." These motives are thus summarised by Lochinvar in his simple and direct phraseology: "And since I doe propone to myselfe the same ends, which are first for the glorie of my great and mightie God; next the service of his M. my dread Soveraigne, and my native Countrie; and last the particular weale and utilitie of my selfe, and such as shall be generounlie disposed adventurers with me: "Why shall it be lawfull for others and not for mee: and not as possible and as commodious for mee as unto others of my qualitie?"

It is one of the interesting features of Lochinvar's tract that he possesses the power of viewing a problem clearly from his own/

own individual standpoint. After setting out at length his "Motives" and "Offers" he gives in his "Conclusion" an interesting glimpse of the troubles that afflicted the Scottish country gentleman of his day. "There are three thinges that troubleth our estates that wee cannot live as our Predecessoures did before us: First, the prodigalitie, both in ou selves, our servants, and our houses. Secondlie, wee have not such occasions and uses at home for the Brethren, and second sonnes of our houses to get them preferment as of old. Thirdlie, that universall plague of Cautionarie, throughout the whole kingdome, whereby their is such a generall intercourse of distresse, each one for another, as all are linked into it: which all in following out such honourable and honest indevoures abroad might bee remedied. I speake not of the favoured Courteour, nor of the fortunate States-man, for they have their owne blessinges from God, and favour of their Master in their severall places: but unto such, my noble friends, and Countrie-gentlemen, such as myselfe is, and so distressed as I am: and speaking out of mine owne experience; protesting that cautionarie hath been unto me; upon mine honour, and credite, the value of an Hundreth thousand pounds; which any imployment abroad, either in the service of my king, or my Countrie, might have spared unto me, and bettered the estate of mine House. Neither doe I speake so farre of my self, for want

of/

of abilitie to doe mine owne businesse, which I praise God is known to such, as knowe myself; but to give everie man a sense, and feeling out of mine owne experience, howe I see the estate of the Kingdome."

II.

In his "Offers" Lochinvar had promised generous assistance to the "Adventurers in the new plantation of Cape Breton". He had, moreover, offered to find substantial security to colonists against any loss that might be sustained: "For their assurance of a securitie and peaceable quietness in the possession of their Landes of New Calloway, whereof they bee undertakers: I shall find sufficient caution, and suretie unto each one of them within the Shyre where hee dwelleth in Scotland, that whatsoever his goods or geare thither transported, and placed upon the ground of the saids Landes, shall bee taken from him by violence of the Natives, or forraine Nations, that the double thereof shall be payed and refounded againe unto him in Scotland or to his heires, executors, or assignayes".

Despite Lochinvar's proffered assistance and his readiness to provide security against loss nothing came of his New Galloway project. For this negative result two explanations suggest themselves - one general, the other particular. In the first place there was in Scotland at this time a general apathy towards colonial/

colonial schemes, which even Lochinvar's direct and spirited call to action, could not at once dispel: it was not till three years later that Sir William Alexander, even though assisted by the institution of the Knights Baronets of Nova Scotia, was able to settle his first band of colonists at Port Royal. In the second place, an unexpected strain came upon Lochinvar's finances from another direction.

This strain was due to Cautionarie - villainous Cautionarie! It will be remembered that Lochinvar was appointed in 1625 one of the Commissioners of the Middle Shires. He was sworn to the Commission on 18th November. On the very same day the name of Lochinvar came before the Privy Council in connection with a totally different activity: the Council ordained the finding of "caution by John Gordoun, younger of Lochinvar, in 10,000 marks, for Sir Robert Gourdoun of Lochinvar, his father, and by James Gordoun of Butill, John Fullertoun of Cairleldin,(1) and John Lennox of Caley, for the said John Gordoun, younger, in like amount, that they will keep the peace with John Lord Hereis, and John, Master of Hereis, his son." At the same time a similar demand for caution was made from John Master of Hereis, for John, Lord Hereis, his father.(2)

But though his efforts in connection with the settlement of a plantation in North America were doomed to disappointment

Lochinvar/

(1) Now Carlston and part Earlston possessed by the Gordons of Earlston now head of the Southern Gordons.
(2) Reg.P.C.S. Sec.S. Vol.I. P.195.

Lochinvar, with characteristic energy and enterprise, soon turned his attention to South America, and on 1st May, 1626, he received from King Charles a grant of "Insula Caroli" - an island occupying rather a vaguely defined position off the coast of Brazil - at equinoctiali linea meridiem versus prope latitudinem 12½ et 14 gradum."(1) Four days later Lochinvar received a license for a ship "to pass to the southward of the Equinoctiall lyne."(2) Lochinvar's ship, however, was not ready to proceed for some three months. On 20thAugust, 1626, he applied to the Clerk of the Privy Council for Letters of Marque. After intimation that his messenger has been despatched with a reply to a query addressed to him by the Council, he proceeds: "Lykwyse I have written for a letter of Marc, quhilk I will desyr yow to drawe uppe in als ample manner as ye may, or at least as uthers gets thame, and send it to me with this bearer: for I have a schippe to go out within four dayes. Quhat is requisite to be done on my part I sall do: and shall satisfie yow to your contentment."(3)

The other letters which his messenger bore to Edinburgh was his reply to the charge of the Privy Council to report the names of wearers of fire-arms.(4) "My werie honourable Lords", he writes, "my service most respectivelie remembered - I have receaved/

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(1) Reg.Mag.Sig. (1620-33). P.344.
(2) Nov.Sco.Papers. Pref. P.35.
(3) Reg. P.C.S., N.S., Vol.I.P.678.
(4) Ibid.

receaved your Lordshippe's letter whereby your Lordshippes directis me to give uppe the names of such as weirs hacquebuts and pistolettes in this countrie. It will please your Lordshipis understand that it is so usuall and ordinarie in this countrie that it is a greater difficultie to give uppe their names that weirs nor of those that weirs not, for almost every man caries pistoletts. Yet gife it will please your Lordshipes, albeit I confesses it is a great wrong but that his majesties statutrs suld be observed and keepit, alwyse I wold wysche that your Lordshipis wold correct it with lenitie." He then suggests that in order to minimise trouble and expense "fonr sufficient men in everie schyre throughout the kingdom" be appointed "to compone with such as hath offendit: wilfull transgressouris to be punished in greater severitie both of bodie and goods". "Your Lordshipis" he continues, will excuse my boldnesse in wryting of my simple opinioun to your Lordshipis therein". His concluding sentence recalls the spirit of his "Encouragements": "Whereas your Lordshipes doth promis that it sall not be reveilled, for that I schall not care how publict it be quhat I can do in the service of my God, loyaltie to my King, and dutie to my countrie".

There is every reason to believe that Lochinvar's request for letters of marque was granted at this time - in view of the outbreak of hostilities between Spain and Britain letters of marque had been granted to two Fifeshire skippers as early as/

as April 1626[1] - but there is no record of his ship putting the letters of marque to use during the autumn of 1626. Early in the following spring however Lochinvar's privateer set sail from Kirkcudbright, in charge of two of his servitors, William Weir and Andro Martine.[2] Urged by somewhat undiscriminating zeal the said William and Andro, while cruising off Waterford,[3] "in hostile manner boorded and tane a ship of Middleburgh, laidind with merchandise and goods perteaning to his Majestie's friends and confederats in the Netherlands, removed and sett on land the whole companie and equipage of the said shippe, and brought the said shippe with her laidining to the Port of Kirkcudbright, where she with the said Sir Robert his owne shippe now presentlie (25.Apr.1627) lies."[4]

On receipt of the intelligence of this seizure the Scots Privy Council took immediate measure for the securing of the Dutch ship pending investigation of the case. The Provost and Baillies of Kirkcudbright were instructed "to remove and take out of the saids two shippes the haill munitioun, ordinance, poulder, leid, and matche, and all kyndes of armour being within thame, together alsua with the haill sailes of the said shippes." To support them in carrying out these orders the/

(1) Reg.P.C.S. N.S., Vol.I. Pp.283-4.
(2) Ibid. p.601.
(3) Ibid. P.633.
(4) Ibid. P.582.

the Provost and Baillies were authorised to "convene and assemble, if need beis, the haill inhabitants and bodie of the toun."(1) It is evident that the Lords of the Privy Council were well aware of the salient characteristics of the Gordon temperament.

While the Scots Privy Council were taking official measures for the security of Lochinvar's prize, one of her owners, a Dutch merchant, Gerard Secrar, had made his way to Kirkcudbright, where the ship lay "under the charge and power of John Gordon, appearand of Lochinvar".(2) The worthy Dutch trader's memories of his trip to Galloway must have been anything but pleasant. "The said Gerard was shifted and putt aff be the said John Gordon with manie impertinent and ydle excuisses, some tyme pretending his father's hame coming, which he made the poore stranger beleeve was daylie looked for, and when that served not his turn he pretended other excuisses; and in the meane tyme the said Gerard was keeped in a maner as a prissoner, depryved of freedom to come here and compleane (i.e. to the Privy Council).(3)

Being apprised by Thomas Buglair in Diveling, "commissioner and agent for the said Gerard" of the worthy Dutchman's plight, the Privy Council issued a peremptory order for John Gordon, William/

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(1) Ibid.
(2) Ibid. P.601.
(3) Ibid.

William Weir, Andrew Martine and Gerard to appear before them on the 22nd May.(1) On 14th June Lochinvar himself appeared before the Privy Council, and "being demandid yf he wolde insist again the ship of Middleburgh broght in be him for declaring hir to be a laughful pryse? he answered that he wold not insist."(2) The matter was finally settled by the issue, on 23rd June, by the Council, of instructions to Alexander, Earl of Linlithgow, Lord Admiral of Scotland, "to caus restitution and delyverie be maid of the said shippe and of her whole loading, with the sea brieff, cocquets, and uthers writs tane out of her, to Gerard Shorer and Giles Leanars, indwellers of Middleburgh, who has heir attendit thir diverse weiks biggans upon the recoverie of the same shippe and goods."(3)

The tedious and unsatisfactory interlude of the Middleburg merchants now ended, Lochinvar resumed with his wonted energy his colonial scheme. On 12th July, 1627, "Rex concessit D.Roberto Gordoun de Lochinvar, militi et ejus deputato vel deputatis - commissionem suscipiendi expeditionem pro plantatione insule Caroli, utendi aperta hostilitate contra Hispaniarum regem, archiducissam, et ecrum subditos vel contra subditos quorumcunque regis hostium, exercendi autoritatem, apprehendi praedas."(4) On the day on which this commission was issued to/

(1) RCg.P.CS., New Series, Vol.I. P.601.
(2) Ibid. P.630.
(3) Ibid. P.633.
(4) Reg.Mag.Sid. (1620-33) p.387.

to him "in presence of the Lords of Secreit Counsell compeirit personallie Sir Robert Gordoun of Lochinvar Knight, and declairit that notwithstanding of the Commissioun grantit and erped unto him this day for his furtherance and advancement in the Kingis Ma^tie service against the enemie, he was content, of his owne consent, that all the pryses that sall be tane be him, or b utheris having warrant and power from him, on this syde of the Equinoctiall Lyne shall be judged in no cuntrie but in this Kingdome be the Admirall of this Kingdome, and that he sall make payment to the King's Ma^tie and the Admirall of the proportion dew to thame out of the prysses. (1)

Lochinvar died in November 1627. It seemed at first as if his colonial schemes were to be taken up by his son, to whom in January 1628 the concessions regarding Insula Caroli were transferred - Quia Jac VI. rex concesserat quondam D.Roberto Gordoun de Lochinvar militi literas patentes pro plantatione Insulae Caroli, (2) et Deo visum fuerat dictum Rob.ex hac vita vocare - concessit Joanni Gordoun filio et heredi dicti D.Rob et ejus deputato vel deputatis - licentiam dct, plantationem susciplendi - sum omnibus libertatibus antea dicto Rob.concessis. (3)

But during the remainder of John Gordoun's life - he died in 1634 - his interests centred chiefly round the religious controversies of the day; and the colonial projects that had appealed so strongly to the mind of Sir Robert Gordoun apparently offered no attraction to that of his son.

(1) Nov.Sco.Papers. Pref.P.108.
(2) The official memory is here at fault. The grant made by King James was that of Cape Breton Island (Nov.Sco.Pap.P.16). The first grant of Insula Caroli was made on 1st May,1626.
(3) Reg. Mag.Sig. (1620-33). P.414.

III.

When we turn from the record of Lochinvar's varied and strenuous activities in the cause of Scottish colonisation to follow the narrative of the actual settlement in the summer of 1629, on one of the coves of the Cape Breton Coast of a party of Scottish colonists, it is impossible to suppress a feeling of disillusion: the story of the things that were not done is, as so often happens, infinitely more fascinating than the tale of the things that were actually accomplished. Yet the nobleman who led the Scottish colonists to Cape Breton was the son of a man who had played a notable part in a particularly stormy epoch of Scottish history; and the title that he bore had descended to him from a family that has left its mark on the story of our country.

Sir James Stewart of Killeith, fifth Lord Ochiltree, who founded the Scots' settlement at Cape Breton was the son of Captain James Stewart of Bothwellmuir, Captain of the King's Guard, "whose flaming career as Chancellor and Dictator of Scotland under the usurped title of Earl of Arran, from 1583 to 1585 is one of the most extraordinary romances of Scottish history." It was Captain Stewart of the Guard who thrust Morton to his doom by accusing him, before the Council, of being a party to the assassination of Darnley. It was Captain Stewart, now Earl of Arran - the real Earl was living in retirement - who freed the young King James from serious menace by the Capture in 1584 of Gawrie at Dundee by the defeat of the force with which the Earl of Mar and Angus had advanced into/

into Scotland. It was Captain Stewart, Earl of Arran, who had fallen from power through the unscrupulous intrigues of the Master of Gray at the Court of Elizabeth.

In 1615 Arran's son, Sir James Stewart of Killeith, became fifth Lord Ochiltree as the result of a family arrangement among the members of the Ochiltree branch of the Stewarts. In the reign of Queen Mary, Andrew, second Lord Ochiltree, father-in-law of John Knox, had been prominent in the party of the more extreme Reformers, and had been one of those who signed the "Bands" for the advancement of Darnley and the dispatch of Rizzio. "The good Lord Ochiltree's" grandson, the fourth Lord Ochiltree" had taken an important part in Scottish politics during the reign of James vi and had acted as Lieutenant for the King during the Hebridean expedition of 1608 that had effectively curbed the power of the chieftains of the Isles. Thereafter Lord Ochiltree had played a leading part in the colonisation of Ulster, and ultimately he and his son, the Master of Ochiltree, had resolved to devote themselves entirely to the development of their extensive Irish estates. With characteristic care for the family welfare - south of the Border they put the thing more bluntly - Lord Ochiltree arranged for the transference of his hereditory Scottish peerage to his uncle, Sir James Stewart of Killeith, who in 1615 became fifth Lord Ochiltree.*

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* To the Counsell.
Right etc., Having receaved a humble supplication from the Lord Ochiltree and his sonne makeing mention where the said Lord, being to retire himself to live in Ireland, and desireing exceedingly that his place and estate may continue with the ancient familie for benefit and other regards, hath made choice of Sir James Stewart of Killeith Knight hee/ (Contd. next page.)

Sir James Stewart's enjoyment of the revenues of the Ochiltree estates was no more permanent than his father's tenure of office at the court of King James. Lord Ochiltree "enjoyed the estate a few years, and was forced to sell all for defraying his debts." (1) It has been opined, probably with justice, that it was Ochiltree's impecuniosity that turned his attention to colonial enterprise. He stood well in the favour of King Charles and it is more likely - as he is not heard of in connection with colonising activities till 1629 - that Ochiltree hoped to share in the prosperity that seemed to be dawning for Sir William Alexander after his entry into partnership with the London merchant venturers. To aid Ochiltree's enterprise King Charles in April 1629 authorised the borrowing of £500 sterling for him.

Lord Ochiltree sailed with the fleet sent out by the Anglo-Scottish Company in 1629. On the arrival of Sir William Alexander's squadron/

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* hee and his sonne being as it were dead within that our Kingdome as next of the race to succeed him, earnestlie entreating our favour thereanent: whereupon considering that no party can justly complaine as any way interested by this course, the said Sir James comeing in by a king of succession aswell as by purchase, out of that affection which wee have ever had, that all such houses as have deserved well of us or of our anncestours should contynue and floorish: Our pleasure is, after the said Lord hath surrendered in his favours, that immediatly you accept the said Sir James in his place, enableing him, by as sufficient a warrant as can be given in such things, that he may enjoy all the priviledges, honours, and dignities belonging to the Lordship of Ochiltree, in as lardge and ample maner as the said Lord might have done befor his dimission, to contynue with him and his posteritie: Whereanent their presents shall be a sufficient warrant unto you - Greenwich, the 27 of May 1615 (Register of Royal Letters - Vol I Page 5.)

(1) Scot of Scot

squadron off the cape Breton coast three ships were discovered at anchor. The largest of these was a "Barque of 60 Tunnes". According to the Scots account this Barque was a Portuguese interloper and was confiscated after a "process which was formallie led" Lord Ochiltree acting as one of the two assessors chosen by Sir William Alexander to aid him in the exercise of his admiralty jurisdiction.(1) This Barque appears to have been, in reality, the French ship Marie of St Jean de Luz laden with whalebone.(2) The capture of French shipping by the Scots was later to be urged by Captain Daniell, who broke up the Scots settlement at Cape Breton, as one of the reasons that induced him to attack the colony.(3)

On 1st July 1629 Sir William Alexander landed Lord Ochiltree at a small cove near where later the great citadel of Louisbourg was to be erected. The colonists erected a small fort and seem to have entered upon fishing and other occupations with energy and enterprize.

But these activities were not to continue long. In the summer of 1629 a French relief expedition under Captain Daniell of Dieppe had been dispatched to Canadian waters. Owing to the signing of the Peace of Luza Daniell's squadron contained only two shipps. It was of course impossible for Daniell to effect anything against the strong naval force with which Kirke dominated the St Lawrence, but it was a comparatively simple matter to seize the outlying Scottish colony on Cape/

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(1)

(2) Egerton 2395 f. 23.
C.O.$\frac{1}{5}$ No. 50.

(3) Champlain Voyages - Edit 1632. Part 2. pp. 271 - 275.

Cape Breton Island - an achievement hailed, nevertheless, at that time as affording, in some measure, a counterpoise to the surrencer of Quebec.

Lord Ochiltrees official narrative - The Barbarous and perfid-:ious carraige off the frenche zowards the Lo. Wohiltrie in the Isle off Cape-Britaine proved in the Court of Admiralty off Dieppe - gives a vivid picture of the French raid. Daniell with "three score soiours and one certaine number off Savages in six shallops coming to the coasts off Cape Britaine and surpryzing too shallops and six fishermen in thim who were at fishing for the entertinement off the sayd Lo wohiltrie his colonis - having surpryzed the shallops, he seased upon the fishermen, inclosed them in one waste Ile without meatt drink fyr houses or any shelter from the rayne or cold.

Thereafter with his soiours and six shallops enterit the harborye the said Lo. wohiltrie and the greatest part of his men being abroad at bissinize. The said Lo. wohiltrie perseaving them enterit his foretis with the few that wer ny it esteming the daid Captain danyell and his people to have been savages caused discharge sum muskattrie att the schallopes to make them discover who they wer w^ch did so fall further, for they did immediatly approach the fortlys and the said Lo. wochiltrie finding by thayre apparell that they wer notsavage did demand to them who they wer - frenche. He said the french and they were friends because of the peace between the two kings. They replyed that they wer french and that they did know the peace and wer our friends." The new comers were welcomed, entered/

entered the fortalice - "and seased on us all and disarmed us."

Ochiltree's subsequent career showed that in formulating an accusation he was no meticulous stickler for a close adherence to facts, but in the tactics of Captain Daniell he seems to have had reasonable ground of complaint against "the barbarous and perfidious carraige off the frenche." His narrative receives corroboration, not however from an independent source, in the declaration by Captain Constance Ferrer, one of Ochiltree's companions, that they were "treacherously surprised. It is difficult, however, to see any reason why Daniell should have recourse to "perfidious carriage" accurate intelligence of the strength of the Scots settlement must have been easily obtainable, and the French possessed a decided superiority in number.

The Scottish fortalice was demolished. A short distance from its ruins the French commander set up a small fort that ultimately developed into the key-fortress of Louisbourg. The prisoners were transferred to Daniell's two warships which then steered for France. The sufferings of the captives, crowded in the dark and noisome holds of the small warships were intense. The majority of the displanted Scots were landed at Falmouth; sixteen of the leading men, among them Lord Ochiltree, were carried on to Dieppe.

Before the Admiralty Court at Dieppe Ochiltree averred that the break up of his settlement had involved him in losses exceeding £20,000. As he had apparently begun his colonial venture on the capital of £500 borrowed for him by King Charles, Ochiltree seems either to have adopted a singularly sanguine estimate of the possibilities/

possibilities of his settlement or to have assessed fairly highly the injury to his self-esteem caused by its destruction. To the British government he complained bitterly of the treatment meted out to him by Daniell. This complaint was brought to the notice of the French authorities. In jurisdiction of his actions Daniell alleged "an expres warrant from the Cardinal from whom he had shown a commission to recover for the French all plantations between 40 and 60 degrees."

IV.

With a tenacity thoroughly in harmony with the spirit that had inspired both Sir William Alexander and Gordon of Lochinvar, Lord Ochiltree was soon busy with a new colonial scheme. On 18th April 1631 Ochiltree's name was added to the list of Nova Scotia baronets: next day the king was considering a point arising out of a novel scheme for providing fresh funds for this enterprising baronet. In the spring of 1631 the King must have found it a task of some difficulty to decide where this new capital was to be obtained, but recourse was had, optimistically, to one of the old feudal revenues of the crown - there was a good deal of antiquarian zeal at this particular epoch - and Ochiltree was granted a lease "for twentie-one yeres of the benefite which may happin to ws by the year and day waste of all fellones landis and houses rendring 500 lib st. per annum. There was, however, an obstacle to the free enjoyment of these feudal revenues - Ochiltree was not post natus: "Bot be reasoun the said Lord Ochiltrie is not a free denizene, he cannot reallie enjoy the said grant in his owin name which he desyreth

But/

But administrative dexterity could make good this defect: "These are therfor to will and requyre you to repair a bill readie for our signatur whereby to mak the said Lord Ochiltree a free denizen of this our Kingdom of England and dominions thereof." (1)

On the very day - 19th April 1631 - of the issue of these instructions designed to clear away the legal difficulties attending the grant to Ochiltree, King Charles wrote also to the Justices of Ireland, intimating that "our right trustie and weillbeloved the Lord Ochiltrie, our Trustie and weilbeloved Counsellour Sir Peirse Corsbie and Sir Archibald Achiesone Knyts and baronets, and our trustie and weilbeloved Sir Walter Corsbie, Knyt and baronet" (2) had the intention of planting a colony "near unto the river of Canada." This colony the Judges were directed to assist both by arranging for "transporting thither such persones as shalbe willing to be imployed in that plantation" and by granting facilities for the dispatch of "provisions of Victuall, Ordinance, munition, and all other necessaries whatsoever fitt for their use." (3)

This second venture of Lord Ochiltree was to come to grief from a cause more akin to some of the difficulties that had hampered Gordon of Lochinvar than to the misfortunes experienced by Sir William Alexander. Within six months of the time when King Charles had/

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(1) Register Royal Letters. Vol. II. P. 513.

(2) Sir Archibald Achison had been created a Nova Scotia Baronet on 1st January 1628; Lord Ochiltree on 18th April 1631; "Sir Peirs Corsbie Knight one of the Privy Council in Ireland, and Walter Corsbie of Corsbie Park (Wicklow)" on 24th April 1621 - Roll of Nova Scotia Baronets. Nova Sco. Papers. pp.121-122.

(3) Register Royal Letters Vol II. Pp. 513 & 514.

had been taking steps to secure for Ochiltree the uninterrupted enjoyment of the year and waste of the felons' lands, Ochiltree was himself under arrest. His arrest was due to his activities in one of the great family feuds of Scottish history - that of the Stewarts and the House of Douglas - albeit the part played by Ochiltree seemed almost a travesty of the feud as it was but a generation before.

Ochiltree's father, Captain James Stewart of the Guard, had mounted to the Earldom of Arran on the prestige acquired through his accusation of Morton - a Douglas - of complicity in the taking off of Darnley. And now Ochiltree was to date his own downfall to his accusation of another Douglas - the Marquis of Hamilton - of high treason. (1) "The Lord Ochiltree" wrote the King to the Scots Privy Council from Hampton Court on 24th September 1631 "having bene examined befoir our Counsell heir tuitching some information gevin by him reflecting upon some nobilitie of that our Kingdome, we have bene pleased to remitt him thither to be tryed according to the lawes therof, haveing to that purpois sent you heirwith enclosed some depositions under his owin hand, and the authentic copies of others, whereof the principalls we cause reserve heir becaus they lykwyse concerne other persones: Our pleasur is, that haveing gevin ordour for receaving and committing him to safe custodie, you caus try and censure him according to ~~the extremitie~~ our saids lawis befoir what Judicatorie and judges you shall think fitt/

(1) Nov. Sco. Papers Pp. 54 & 55.

(2) Reg. Royal Letters Vol. II. Pp. 555 & 556

fitt and compitent for that purpois.[1]

The allegations made by Ochiltree were found, after a protracted investigation to be baseless: "the story appeared to be a piece of the most notorious folly and forgery that ever was invented; for which he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in Blackness Castle. In that gloomy keep by the tidal waters of the Forth he remained for twenty years. The Cromwellian invasion which brought gloom to many a leal Scottish heart, brought sunshine to the heart of Lord Ochiltree: the English invaders set him at liberty.

On his release he displayed an initiative and enterprise that showed that the failure of his Cape Breton colonial scheme was due to untoward circumstances and not to any defect of character on the part of Lord Ochiltree: it was now imperative for him to find some means of subsistence for himself and his family: "he took himself to be a Doctor of Medicine."

(1) Reg. Royal Letters Vol. II, Pp. 568, 596, 613.

Chapter IV.

"The Years Between."

It was in the summer of 1632 that the Chevalier de Razilly anchored off the fort the Scots had built on the Western shore of Port Royal and presented the commission, signed by the British ambassador at Paris, which authorised the surrender of the colony. Fully half a century was to elapse ere other systematic Scottish efforts should be made to establish a settlement in North America. It was a half century crowded with stirring and critical movements in Scottish History. The National Covenant and the Bishops' Wars: the Solemn League and Covenant; Dunbar and Worchester; Rullion Green, Drumclog, and Bothwell Brig - it was upon a weary and sorely wracked Scotland that the Revolution Settlement cast its anodyne of uneasy peace - a Scotland that had little leisure and little energy to spare for the planning of colonial schemes.

It is, however, in the history of those unquiet years of Scottish history that we find the motives that guided the Scots who in 1685 sought to establish the Presbyterian colony of Stuarts Town in South Carolina and also, to a considerable extent, the Scots who a few years earlier had interested themselves in the Quaker-Scottish settlement of East New Jersey. Apart, however, from the influence they exerted on these later schemes, those troubled years of Scottish history are of interest in the general history of Scottish colonisation The troubles of these times cast many an unfortunate Scot ashore in the New World in a condition differing little, if at all, from that

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of the negro slaves who toiled in the tobacco and the sugar plantations.

This enforced migration was due to two main causes. In the first place many of the Scots who fell into the hands of Cromwell after Dunbar and Worcester were transported to the plantations. In October 1651, for example, the Council of State directed the Committee for Prisoners to grant a license for transporting some Scots, prisoners, to the Barmudas, upon the usual security.(1) Such treatment was in general accord with the Cromwellian attitude towards "unruly men" - "A terrible Protector this; no getting of him overset! He has the ringleaders all in his hand, in prison or still at large; as they love their estates and their life, let them be quiet. He can take your estate:- is there not proof enough to take your head, if he pleases? He dislikes shedding blood; but is very apt "to barbadoes" an unruly man - has sent and sends us by hundreds to Barbadoes, so that we have made an active verb of it: "Barbadoes you."(2) In September 1655, the Council of State directed the Commissioners of the Admiralty to give orders for the English, Scotch, Irish and Dutch mariners, prisoners in the castle of Plymouth, not thought fit to be tried for their lives to be sent to Barbadoes.(3) Nine months later the Council of State were arranging for the transportation of 1200 men from Knockfergus in Ireland and Port Patrick in Scotland to Jamaica.(4)

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(1) S.P.C. Vol. I. P. 363.
(2) Carlyle: Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell. Part IX.
(3) S.P.C. Vol. I. P. 428.
(4) S.P.C. Vol. I. P. 44.

A generation later one of these exiles was excountered by the Scots settlers in East New Jersey: "I am now drinking to one of them (i.e. the 'old Buckskin planters') our countrymen who was sent away by Cromwell to New England, a slave from Dunbar. He is living now in Woodbridge like a Scots Laird, wishes his countrymen and his native soil very well, tho' he never intends to see it." (1)

After the Restoration the Cromwellian tradition of the disciplinary effectiveness of exile was continued. To the Scots Privy Council banishment to the plantations suggested itself as a simple and effective procedure for ridding the country of recalcitrant Presbyterians. The practice which when suggested by James I. had evoked the protest of the Scots Privy Council was freely employed by the Privy Councillors who governed Scotland on behalf of Charles II. The Covenanters sentenced to banishment were carried overseas by merchant ships whose masters gave bond of 1000 merks for each prisoners to the effective that the prisoner would be duly transported and a certificate of landing would be obtained under the hand of the governor of the colony to which the prisoner had been taken. The number of Covenanters exiled to the Plantations has been estimated at seventeen hundred; (2) of these exiles two hundred, prisoners from the Westland rising, perished by shipwreck off the Orkneys.

Nor were Covenanters the only Scotsmen to be banished to the Plantations/

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(1) Scots "Model".

(2) W.H.Carslaw. "Exiles of the Covenant." P. 13.

Plantations. In August, 1681, for example, the Privy Council received from Walter Gibson, merchant in Glasgow - an individual of considerable notoriety in Scottish colonial history - a supplication wherein he stated that he had a ship lying at New Port Glasgow about to sail for America and signified his willingness to take with him thieves or robbers sentenced by the Lords of Justiciory or other judges, to be banished thither, and all sorners, lusty beggars or gipsies," declaring his readiness to find caution to transport them to Virginia, Maryland, or the Carribee Islands. As a result of this petition Gibson received a warrant, which was to endure for three months and in which magistrates of burghs were ordered to deliver to him. "all such strong and idle beggars, gypsies or other vagabonds persones who live by slouth and robbery and have no visible means to maintaine themselves and are sentenced by the said Majistrats and are presently imprisoned, to the effect they may be transported in the petitioners ships to the plantations and the country freed of them." (1) *

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* It is of interest to compare the practice of the English government with that of the Scottosh government in the matter of banishment to the Plantations: "The English government systematically deported to the colonies many undesirable elements in its population - political prisoners, religious nonconformists, delinquents and criminals. Thus in 1665, 126 Quakers in Newgate, as well as some others imprisoned elsewhere, were ordered to be transported to the colonies. In 1666, 100 Irish rebels were deported to Barnados, and in 1685, after the collapse of Monmouth insurrection, 800 of his adherents were sent to enforced labor in the same colony, and some also were transported to Jamaica. Disorderly persons and convicts were regularly shipped to America Virginia objected to this policy and secured exemption from it; but in 1684 St.Kilts sent to England a petition, which was granted that the 300 malefactors long since ordered might finally be transport ed so as to strengthen the colony. "see G.L.Beer, "The Old Colonial System I,pp.29 & 30,and authorities there quoted.

(1) Reg.P.C.S.Third Series Vol.VII P.

In view of these practices it is not surprising to find that in a proposal laid before the Scots Privy Council in the spring of 1681 "to erect a colonie of Scotish subjects in any part of America" one of the advantages urged in favour of the establishment of such a settlement was that it "would void the countrey of very many both idle and dissenting persones." (1) It is only fair to remark, however, that this obiter dictum represents the personal - and probably sycophantic - "humble opinion" of the Provost of Linlithgow who was acting as spokesman for a conference of leading Scottish merchants summoned at the desire of the Committee of Trade "to give their advyse anent the causes of the decay of trade and what they should propose for the remeid thereof." (2) Of the penal usefulness of a settlement there is not a word in the finding of the Conference regarding colonial policy - a policy set forth with remarkable insight and sagacity in a memorandum entitled "Memorial concerning the Scottish plantation to be erected in some place of America." (3)

II.

Almost simultaneously with the transport of the Scottish prisoners to the plantations, enterprising Scottish traders began to make their presence felt among the scattered settlements on the Atlantic seaboard of North America. In general the presence of the Scots was/

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(1) Reg. P.C.S. Third Series Vol. Vii P. 671.

(2) Reg.P.C.S. Third Series Vol. VII, P. 652.

(3) Reg.P.C.S. Third Series Vol. VII, Pp. 664-665.

was resented by the inhabitants of these settlements. In the course of a petition addressed in 1657 to Governor Stuyvesant the good burghers drew attention to the doings of the Scots: "They sail hither and thither to the best trading places, taking the bread as it were out of the mouths of the good burghers and resident inhabitants, without being subject in time of peace or war to any trouble or expense. . .They carry away the profits in time of peace, and in time of war abandon the country and the inhabitants thereof." (1)

The complaints of the Dutch burghers were re-echoed at a later period in the English settlement. After the Restoration English colonial policy was regulated by a series of enactments, "determined by the current economic theory of colonization and by the ultimate end in view which was the creation of a powerful self-sufficient commercial empire, dominating the seas and controlling the course of foreign exchang(2) By the Navigation Act of 1660 and the complementory Statute, the Staple Act of 1663 Scots traders were debarred from trafficking with the English plantations. Vigorous efforts were made to enforce these restrictive regulations by the appointment in the colonies of the officials known as the "naval officers." "The naval officer early became a prominent feature of the local administrative system. - - - He was the personal representative of the Governor and was entrusted by him with the detailed work of enforcing the commercial code: the giving/

(1) Doyle. The Middle Colonies P. 47.

(2) G.L.Beer "The Old Colonial System" Vol. I. P. 57.

giving of bonds, the examination of ships' papers and cargoes, and the entrance and clearance of vessels." (1) The appointment in 1671 of Commissioners of Customs in England - to replace the Farmers of the Customs - was soon followed by the establishment in the Colonies of a hierarchy of Customs officials. Despite these precautions, however, illegal trade went on. The coast line was long. Secluded creeks and bays were frequent. The preventive service was on a relatively small scale. The gain from a successful venture - and most ventures proved successful - was considerable. Hence the illegal trade between Scotland and the Plantations flourished vigorously* - to take one colony alone, between 1688 and 1695 not fewer than fourteen ships, loading tobacco in Pennsylvania for England. - - - do not appear to have delivered the same in England Wales, or Berwick, as by their bonds they are obliged; (2) while Mr. Valentine Prowse, late agent in Scotland to the Commissioner of his Majesty's Customs in London "reported that between 13th April 1695 and 29th December 1696 there had been in Scottish harbours not fewer than twenty four "ships and vessels trading to and from Scotland to the tobacco Plantations."(3)

To the colonial government official the Scot who settled in the plantations appeared inevitably as the accomplice of the "brither Scot" who ran the illicit cargoes, and consequently the references to Scots settlers in colonial correspondence are generally couched in somewhat/

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(1) G.L. Beer "The Old Colonial System." Vol. I. pp. 267 - 268.

(2) Manuscripts of House of Lords. New Series Vol. II. P. 462.

(3) Manuscripts of House of Lords. New Series Vol. II. P. 464.

somewhat censorious terms. "There are several Scots men that inhabit here" runs a dispatch from the Governor of New Hampshire dated 10th January 1682, "and are great interlopers and bring in quantities of goods underhand from Scotland. I desire the Attorney Generall his opinion upon the Act off the 12th of the King ffor encouraging and increasing of shipping and navigation (i.e. the Navigation Act 1660) Whether a Scotsman born can be permitted to inhabitt and trade as a merchant or factor, they pretending a right thereunto as being born within the allegiance of our Sovereign Lord the King. I humbly conceive Scotsmen are not privileged by that Act to exercise the trade or occupation of a merchant or ffactor in his Majtys plantations. Since my arrival here a Scot's vessel was seized by Mr. Randolph and condemned and sold for 120l of which Mr. Randolph will give yo.hon. a more particular account." (1) In the same strain is a dispatch of 31 August 1685 from Mr. Mein, a Customs officer, reporting that "many prohibited goods are imported at East Jersey, the Governor being a Scotsman" (2)

Interesting testimony to the number of Scots settled at New York by the closing years of the seventeenth century is afforded by a passage in a dispatch of Lord Bellomont dated from Boston 26th Oct. 1699 and dealing with the arrival of two ships of force from the Scottish settlement at Dariey. When the first Darien Expedition/

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(1) C.O.$\frac{1}{51}$ No.

(2) M.S.S. House of Lords N.S. Vol. II. P. 465.

Expedition abandoned New Edinburgh in June 1699 the fleet of three ships scattered after working their way out of Caledonia Bay. The St.Andrew, after running aground on a rock in dangerous proximity to Carthagena succeeded in reaching Port Royal in Jamaica. After an extremely trying passage the Caledonia anchored off Sandy Hook, and the Unicorn reached the Hudson estuary a few days later. When the Darien ships came to New York the Governor, Lord Bellomont, was away at Boston on duty. Under the influence of a letter received from a private correspondent Bellomont conceived the idea that his representative, the Lieutenant Governor, had not acted with sufficient firmness in handling the situation " - - -I am the more particular in this acc^t of the ships from Caledonia, because I apprehend the Scotch that come in them, from a starving condition they were at their first coming, grew very Insolent, while they were at N.York - - - I have been cautious enough in my orders to the Lt.Governor of N.York not to suffer the Scots to buy more provisions than would serve to carry them home to Scotland, and if he have suffered them to exceed that he is to blame. And for any Insolences comitted by them, it had been easy, I should thinke, to have put a check to that by comitting the officers and principall passengers belonging to those ships, till such time as they had made satisfaction for any Irregularities done by them, and till they had given security to the Government for their good behaviour. There are Scotch enough there to have been securities for them." (1)

(1) C.O.5/1043. No. 2 I.

III.

If in the English colonies that fringed the Atlantic seaboard of North America the Scot was regarded with suspicion and distrust he received a cordial welcome in the English colonies among the Caribbean Islands. Nor is it difficult to find a reason for this difference of attitude. In these scattered islands the various maritime powers of Europe - Spain, France, England, Holland and even Denmark - had planted settlements wherever they could found, or make, a footing. During the first half of the Seventeenth century a wholesome dread of the power of Spain, who in virtue of the Papal grant laid claim to all the West Indian islands, tended to keep the settlers belonging to the other nations on friendly terms with one another. English and French entered with joint occupation of St.Kitts, dwelt in amity, and even entered on an understanding that even should war break out between the mother countries there should be no fighting in St.Kitts unless express commands to the contrary were received from the house governments. In Santa Cruz, Dutchman and Frenchman settled down together, and St.Martin also acknowledged the same dual ownership.

As the seventeenth century wore on, however, the early feeling of salutary respect for Spain wore off. The large island of Jamaica was wrested from the grasp of the Spaniard by Cromwell's expedition. Those cosmopolitan and picturesque marauders, the buccaneers, harried the coasts of the Spanish Main from Porto Bello to Maracaibo. When they had stripped the Atlantic coast towns of all available plunder

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they extended indefinitely the radius of their activities. One band under Morgan, acting under a commission obtained from a too complaisant governor of Jamaica trudged thrcugh the jungles and toiled across the cordillera of the Isthmus, defeated a large Spanish force covering Panama, and sacked and burned that fortress of the Pacific. Other bands sought to emulate, on a smaller scale "the unparalleled Exploits of Sir Henry Morgan, our English Jamaican Hero. One band under Captain Sharpe and Sawkins made a raid on St. Maria, paddled in canoes down the Santa Maria River, took unto themselves a squadron of Spanish warships, block-:aded Panama, and thereafter flitted up and down the coasts of Peru and Chile, working havoc among the Spanish settlements and the Spanish coastwise shipping.

As the power of Spain in the Caribbean and the adjacent mainland grew gradually weaker, the other European settlers were less influenced by the common respect for Spain that had before kept Englishman, Frenchman, and Dutchman on terms of prudent friendship. In the history of the West Indies during the latter part of the seventeenth century and during the eighteenth century there are political upheavals resembling both in suddenness and in intensity those volcanic upheavals that wrecked West Indian towns and those hurricanesthat overwhelmed West Indies fleets: "The West Indies" says Professor Andrews, "during our colonial era were the scene of some of the most varied and tempestuous struggles that we meet with anywhere in the New World. Here the naviesfought many famous sea-battles; here islands were wrested at heavy cost of men and money/

money, only to be rendered neutral or handed back with the signing of new treaties; here pirates and privateers found favourable opportunities for their livelihood, until it could be said that it was more dangerous for a merchant ship to sail from one island to another than it was to sail to England." (1)

With the English West Indian islands but thinly settled and constantly exposed to the danger of raids by Frenchman or Spaniard; it was but natural that the Scot should be welcomed in the Carribean islands where he had proved himself not only a sturdy workman but a stout fighter. Nor were external dangers the only ones the English planters had to take measures against. The rapid development of the sugar plantations had brought into the islands a very large population of negro slaves. In Barbadoes, where economic progress had been greatest, the problem of the slave population caused no little anxiety. "In 1667, it was estimated that in 1643, there were in Barbados only 6,400 negroes, as against more than 50,000 in 1666 - - - In 1668 Governor Willoughby stated that the total population was 60,000; of which 40,000 were negroes. Nicholas Blake in 1669 also estimated the slave population at 40,000. At this time the number of negroes in the other colonies was far less. According to Governor Willoughby, in 1668 there were in Antigua only 700 and in Montserrat 300. In 1670, it was estimated that Jamaica had 2,500 negroes." (2) But if Jamaica had a relatively small negro/

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(2) Andrews: "The Colonial Period." Pp. 18-19.
G.L.Beer- "The Old Colonial System: Part I. Vol. I. P. 320 n.

negro population it must be remembered that Jamaica had inherited from the days of the Cromwellian conquest a Maroon war which was to last for many generations.

"Of the West Indian dependencies of Great Britain the two which have played the most important part in history are Jamaica and Barbados. They stand at opposite poles, in size, in position, in mode and date of acquisition. Jamaica is large, Barbados is small, Jamaica lies inside the ring of islands, Barbados outside and beyond it; Jamaica is British in virtue of conquest, Barbados is British in virtue of settlement; Jamaica was acquired after British colonisation had taken root and spread in the West Indies, the settlement of Barbados, on the other hand, was almost its earliest effort." (1) Yet these two islands, presenting so many features of contrast, had at least one characteristic in common: each appreciated the virtues of the Scot as a colonist; each made strong efforts to secure contingents of Scottish settlers.

Among the hindrances to the development of Barbados the Governor, Lord Willoughby, notes, in a dispatch of the summer of 1667, "First the want of free trade with Scotland, by w^ch formerly this and the rest of the Islands was supplyed w^th brave servants and faithful subjects as by experience they have been found here." (2) In the official correspondence of Barbados at this time the desire to secure Scottish settlers is repeatedly expressed.(3)

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(1) Lucas. "Historical Geog. of Brit. Colonies." Vol. I. P. 122.
(2) C.O. 1/21 No. 89.
(3) See Appendix D.

To the good repute in which the Scots stood as settlers the Jamaican correspondence of this period also bears testimony. In his "Propositions for ye Speedy Settling of Jamaica" (sent to Secretary Lord Arlington on 20th Sept. 1670). Governor Sir Thomas Modyford urges "That all prudentiall meanes bie used to encourage ye Scotts to come hither, as being very good servants, and to prevent them from going to Poland and other nations, whereby they are absolutely lost to his Ma^ties service." (1) A month later Modyford writes to the same effect: "His Ma^tie may not doe amisse to suffer the Scots to come this way, who in 2 yeares will bring thousands of people and that will strengthen the place well, besides they are a hardy people to endure labour and (as I have heard say) have been the chief instruments of bringing Barbadoes to its perfection."(2)

The persistence of this desire on the part of the Jamaican authorities to obtain the services of Scots is revealed a generation later in the course of a letter concerning the Darien scheme, "I have letters to-day from Sir William Beeston of the 21st March," writes Secretary Vernon, on 8th June 1699, to the Duke of Shrewsbury. "He speaks of the Scotch at Darien, that their provisions begin to fall short, and their money likewise fails them - - - Sir William believes their wants will make them run to Jamaica, which he wishes, as thinking they will be an additional strength to the Island."(3) Sir William was not disappointed: a considerable number of the Scots who survived the fevers of Darien and the hardships of the sea passage to Jamaica settled in his colony.

(1) C.O.1/25 No. 59 III.
(2) C.O.1/25 No. 77 I.
(3) "Letters Illustrative of the Reign of William III" Vol. II. P. 303.

IV.

The claims of the West Indies as a possible location for a Scottish colony were not overlooked by the Scottish merchants who, at the desire of the Committee of trade, assembled in the spring of 1681 "to give their advyse anent the causes of the decay of trade and what they should propose for the remeid thereof." The proceedings of this conference of merchants - its discussion on trade with Norway, France and the Baltic, its views on inland traffic, and its suggestions concerning shipping - are of the greatest interest in connection with all the later Scottish colonial schemes. They also show a keen interest in commercial problems and reveal a state of eagerness for commercial expansion that explains the success of the New Jersey enterprise and accounts, to some extent, for the readiness with which Scotland welcomed the Darien scheme.

The views of the Conference regarding colonial policy are set forth in a memorandum entitled, "Memorial concerning the Scottish plantation to be erected in some place of America." (1) The "Memorial" does not seek to put forward in detail arguments in support of the benefits that may accrue from the establishment of such a colony: these are presumably regarded as self-evident: "it is thought the same, if effectual may prove of great advantage to the country." After this brief exordium its composers concern themselves with two problems: the choice of a site for the colony; the/

(1) Reg.P.C.S. Third Series. Vol. VII, pp. 664-665.

the procedure to be adopted to ensure its effective foundation.

"It is aggried on by all who knows the tradeing of these places and have had occasions to navigate to most of these parts, both of the continent and isleands lyeing in the great and spatious Gulf of Mexico, that there are several isleands and continents wherein a Scottish plantatione might be erected and established, provydeing those who have the charge now from his Majesty of regulating trade will take unto their considerations the following proposals and consider seriouslie the severall circumstances in which the said plantationa might stand involved and how the same may be rectified and the difficulties of erecting the said plantatione removed." The first location suggested for consider: ation is the coast of South America "from Surranam all along upon the coasts of New Andaluza . . . to the capeland of the Island Trinidat and from thence westward to Cape de Coquiboca" on "several islands", viz:- the Island of Margarita, Isle of Blanco, [Blanquilla], Isle of Orshila [Orchilla], Isle of Rocka, [Les Roques], Isle de Avis [Islas de Aves - Birds Islands], Isle Bonyra [Buen-Ayre], Coresaw [Curaçoa] (presentlie possessed by the Dutch), Isle Aruba [Oruba]. But to the occupation of any of the Colombian Islands there was one insuperable objection: "these lyeing all upon the coast of New Andaluza which is inhabited by the Spanziards who have considerable garrisons there, it is to be considered what inconveniences may be expected from so dangerous a neighbourhood."

After a reference to St.Lucia, St.Vincent, and Dominica and the remark that "all the rest of the Carribe Islands are already possest

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or inhabited be Dutch French or English to the Isle of Porto Rico and Santa Cruce" the "Memoriall" proceeds: "the consideration of them shall be waved and come to Jamaica, which is one Island possest be the Englishes but not on six pairt peopled or inhabited: so its thought the English for their own safetie would be content to allow a considerable pairt of that isleand for a Scotts plantation which (its thought) might serve our design."

"The next thing wee propose for a Scotts colony is Cape Florida or some pairt of it lyeing betwixt the 24 and 25 degrees of northern latitude, joyning with Carolina on the North, which is already ane English plantation, but the inconvenience the native Indians are there very numerous."

The "Isles of Bahama" are next commented on, but over them too is the cloud of Spanish jealousy: "The only inconveniences they lie along the coast of Cuba, which is possesst by the Spanzieards and lyeing in the mouth of the Gulf of Havana may be an eyesore to that nation who pretend to the empyre of the West Indies." It is instructive to compare the very evident dread of Spanish retaliation revealed in the "Memoriall" with the very different attitude towards Spain displayed by those responsible for the Darien Expedition.

After the consideration of possible sites the memorial proceeds to lay down "three preliminarie points to be mayurelie and seriouslie advysed and thereafter putt to execution to the establishing of a colony there, viz:-

"First, to establish a sufficient fond for carrieing on of that designe.

"Seconde/,

"Seconde, to send some persone of knowledge, such as the comitee shall think fit to trust, expresse with a small vessell furnished for a tyne with instructions to navigate throw all these places where many Scotts gentlemen of qualitie and present planters there doe reside to take informatione from them where it will be most convenient and most for the advantage of the countrey to erect a Scotts plantatione, especially considering that there are many Scotts men alredie planted in these ilands who, hearing of a designe of a Scotts plantatione for which they have longed these many yeirs, will be glad to remove themselves and their families to any place appointed, for that will be a considerable beginning to the said plantation, they being people acquainted and seasoned with these countries and will save much of the expense which the erecting of such a plantatione may occasion, and upon all these to make report to the comitee who may consider what is most expedient to be done for the advantage of the countrey.

"Also, for the more speedie satisfaction, its fitt to send for William Colquhoun, now resident in Glasgow, who hath been a planter amongst the Carribe Islands these 20 years and thereby hath acquyreda considerable fortune that hee hath now settled here in this country is the anelie persone fitt for giveing information for further encouragement to the settleing of a colony."

To the note of suggestion and suspended judgment evident throughout the "Memoriall" the personal opinion (1) of the Provost of Linlithgow who acted as spokesman of the Conference affords a striking contrast:

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(1) Reg. P.C.Sc. Third Series. Vol. VII. p. 671.

"The last thing relating to improving our trade is to erect a collonie of Scottish subjects in any part of America, which truly is efficient, would be a great ease to the countrey and void it of very maney both idle and dissenting persones. The place in my numble opinion most proper for this collonie is Cape Florida, which is ane isthmuss of land joyning with Carolina in the north and butting on the Gulf of Havana southward, in length 360 myles and 250 in breadeth, lying betwixt the 24 and 29 degrees of northern latitude in a very temperat clim, it being (as I am credibly informed from those who have the charge of his Majestie's plantationes) in his Majestie's grant, being within the verge of the lands excepted out of the Spanish jurisdiction by the last treatie betwixt the two kings and, in effect, is upon the mater presentlie possessed by savages and so primi occupantis, being juris nullius. This project, in September, came the length of a patent, which was drawen at large and ready for his Majestie's hand, and now is remitted to this honourable comitee to consider if it were not advysable to be renewed for improvement of our trade."

When one bears in mind the fate of the Scots who settled a few years later at Port Royal in South Carolina one trembles to think what might have befallen any of the Provost's fellow-countrymen who, relying too implicitly on the praepositorial interpretation of international law and treaty obligations, might have been rash enough to seek for peace and plenty in Cape Florida.

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Yet in simple justice to the good Provost, who, if something of a visionary in matters relating to colonisation, was sincerely and earnestly devoted to the welfare of his native land, it must be admitted that there was no other tract of land on the Atlantic seaboard of North America to which he could direct the attention of his countrymen. Acadie, wrested from France by Cromwell, had been restored to the French by the Treaty of Breda. The New Netherlands, the Dutch Colony on the Hudson and Delaware - thrust like a wedge between New England and Maryland - had in 1664 surrendered to Colonial Methods, and had become the provinces of New York, and East and West New Jersey - an arrangement that had survived the temporary success of the Dutch in 1673-4. The debatable land between Virginia and Florida had in 1663 been assigned to the Carolina Proprietors. Both in East New Jersey and in South Carolina the Scottish colonists who crossed the Atlantic a few years later made homes for themselves in the English plantations by arrangement with the authorities in control of the territory they had selected for their domicile.

V.

The Memorial concerning the Scottish plantation was presented to the Privy Council by the committee of merchants on 28th February 1681, and marks the close of a week of discussion and deliberation of the highest significance in the economic history of Scotland. On the very next day the Privy Council issued a proclamation designed to prohibit imports of textile goods - "Discharging the Importing of Forraign Linen, or Woolen Cloth, Gold and Silver Threed etc. . . . . Commodities which are either to be debarred as superfluous in/

in themselves, or supplied by Domestic Manufactures or private Industry of our own subjects." (1) Thus with characteristic Caledonian impetuosity was inaugurated the intensive campaign for the stimulation of home industries, bringing in its train the inevitable retaliatory closing of foreign markets to the Scottish trader, and the consequent necessity of finding a new outlet for Scottish manufactures: and in this impulse to search for new markets is to be found one of the chief causes of the popularity of the Darien scheme.

The problem which the Privy Council sought to solve so hastily and peremptorily had in reality been engaging the attention of the Scottish government for two decades. In Scotland as in England the period immediately following the Restoration was marked by active efforts to develop the commercial activities of the country. The first parliament of the reign of Charles II. "holden and begun at Edinburgh the first day of January one thousand six hundred threscore one years" was but eight days old when a Committee was appointed for "trade and complaints"-"the King's Maisetie conceiving it fit at this time for the more speedy dispatch of business in this Parliament that some be appointed for prepareing of overtures for advancing of Tread Navigation and Manufactories and for hiering of private complaints betwixt parties". The Committee for Trade consisted of twelve representatives of each of the three Estates. To the Committee was given power " to meet advise upon and prepare such overtures and Acts as they shall think fit/

(1) Reg.P.S.S. Third Series. Vol. VII. Page 45; Advocates Library, Proclamation of Privy Council.

fit to be past for advancing of trade, navigation and manufactories, and for that end to call for the advice and help of understanding Merchants, or any who can give best information in those affairs." (1)

The same spirit of commercial enterprise inspired later on in the same year the framing of the "Act establishing Compaines & Societies formaking linning cloth stuffs etc." (2) Those who were concerned in the drafting of this Act - in all probability the Committee of Trade - looked before and after. As they backward cast their glance they found not a little that was disheartening: but they faced the future resolutely. "Oure Soverane Lord Considering that all the lawdable lawes and Statutes made be his Majesties Ancestors anent Manufactories for enriching of his Maiesties antient, putting of poore children, ydle persons and vagabonds to work for the maintenance & relief of the Countrie of the burden of such unproffitable persones, have been hitherto rendered ineffectual, and that many good spirites having aimed at the publict good, have for want of sufficient stocks councill & assistance have been crushed by such undertakings doe conceave it necessar to create & erect companies and societies for manufactories, That what was above the capacity of single persons may be carried on by the joyut assistance Councell and means of many and therefor his Majestie with advice and consent of his Estates of Parliament Doth establish particular societies/

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(1) A.P.S. Vol. VII. P.8.

(2) A.P.S. Vol. VII. P.255.

socieities and compaines in the persones of such as shall enter themselves in the said Societies within any Shire or burgh, on or moe of this Kingdom."

The commodities to be manufactured by such companies were "lining cloath, worsted stockings, searges, baises, sayes, callons, sempiterniums, castilians, perpetuances, and all other wollen stuffs and cloaths." To facilitate the process of manufacture various concessions were granted to companies. They were allowed to regulate their own affairs. For a space of nineteen years they were to be free of all custome, excise, or any other imposition whatsoever" either on raw materials imported for their use or on manufactured goods sent out of the Kingdom. The export of the above named textiles was permitted only to those who were "Frie and of one of the socieites forsaid."

To provide the skilled labour necessary for the carrying on of such manufactures as were contemplated two schemes, distinct but complementary, were devised. In the first place an effort was to be made to establish an elementary system of technical education in Scotland: "and that this pious charitable and proffitable design may be no longer frustrate, nor poore children, vagabonds or idle persons continew to be burdensome to the Countrie, It is Statute and Ordained That ther be in each paroche one or more persones provided and appointed upon the charges and expenses of the heritors thairof for instructing of the poore children, vagabonds and other idlers to fine and mix wooll, spin worstead and Knit Stockings. In the second place, inducements were offered to attracted skilled craftsimen from abroad: "And that manufactories may/

may be promoved and for the encourageing of skillful artizans from abroad for traineing up the persones foresaids and worke ing for the use of the saids companies, It is hereby declared that all such as shall be brought home and imployed for the saids companies shall be frie to set up and worke in burgh and landward wher the companies shall think fit without paying any thing whatsoever to any person or persones under whatsoever or pretext for their freedom and shall be frie of tazes publict burdings or exactions during their lyfetime."

Emphatically this Act for Establishing Companies and Scoieties voiced a national desire for economic advancement. It was, indeed, merely the first of a series of measures passed in the year 1661 to stimulate Scottish industries. It was followed by an "Act discharging the exportation of lining Yearne and regulating the breadth of lining cloath."(1) Then, as a counterblast to the English Navigation Act of 1660, came the "Act for encourageing of Shiping and Navigation" designed for the prohibition of Scottish shipping and trade, "both which are much decayed if not wholly ruined by the late unhappie war and the said effects that have followed thereupon." (2) Closely akin to the ostensible purpose of this Navigation Act was the "Act for the Fishing and erecting of companies for promoving the same."(3) Then came a supplementary "Act for erecting manufactories," (4) followed by an "Act for planting and inclosing of ground."(5)

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(1) A.P.S. Vol. VII P. 257.
(2) Ibid.
(3) A.P.S. Vol. VII P. 259.
(4) A.P.S. Vol. VII P. 261.
(5) A.P.S. Vol. VII P. 263.

The supplementary "Act for erecting manufactories" reveals a keen desire on the part of the Government to protect and encourage textile industries. It confirmed the privilege of "masters, erectors, or enterteaners of manufactories" to regulate their own affairs. It forbade "all quartering or leveying of souldiers upon manufactories or the masters thereof." It protected the companies against attempts to tamper with their workmen, ordering "that no persone whatsoever intysse resset or intereane any of the servants or apprentices of the manufactories without consent of their masters under the paines contained in the acts of Parliament against coallhewers, salters, and their resetters." It sought to frustrate the wiles of the seventeenth century profiteer: "And also his Matie with advice forsaid Discharges all regraters and forestallers of mercats of wooll And that no merchant or persone whatsoever buy and keep up wooll to a dearth bot that they bring the same to be sold in open mercats under the paines contained in the Acts of Parliament made against regraters and forestallers. And in regarde ther is much diceat by wrapping up of wooll in the fleice by putting stones sand and other insufficient stuff in the same; It is heirby declared that all such wooll shall be confiscat, the one half to his Maiesties use and the other halfe to the use of those who shall apprehend discover and persue the same."

During the two decades that followed this strenuous legislation a few companies were set up for the carrying on of various industries, but in general the industrial horizon was heavy with ominous clouds when in January 1681 the conference of Scottish merchants was summoned/

summoned" to give their advyse anent the causes of the decay of trade and what they should propose for the remeid thereof." The result of the deliberations held during the week 21st-28th February and the "Committee for Trade"* was the immediate adoption by the government of a whole-hearted policy of protection. On the first of March 1681, the first steps were taken to put this policy into effect. The decisions of the Committee were "with all possible convenience and expedition to be formed into a Mature and Digested Proclamation, for Regulation of the Manufacture and Trade of the Kingdom." But this would take time, and therefore on 1st March was issued a premonitory proclamation . . ."because several merchants may either by mistake or upon a sinister design; give order for importing those goods which are prohibited; Therefore to prevent all inconveniencies which may arise to this Our Ancient Kingdom by the Import of those Commodities which are either to be debarred as superfluous in themselves, or supplied by Domestic Manufactures or private Industry of Our own subjects, and to make the Importers thereof inexcusable; We with Advice of Our Privy Council, do hereby discharge the Importation of all Silver and Gold/

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* This Committee differed widely from Parliamentary Committees of Trade; such as the Commission for trade and complaints appointed 8th January 1661 (See above Page . . .). This was a Committee of the Privy Council: the members of the Committee were "His Royall Highness (the Duke of York): Privy Seal: Queenberry: Argyle: Kintore: President of Session: Thesauser Depute: Register: Advocat: Justice Clerk: Collintoun: Haddo. (Reg.P.C.S. Third Series. Vol. VII P. 652.)

"Forasmuch as the Lords of our Privy Council, having for encrease of Money and improvements of the Manufactures of this Kingdom, appointed a Committee who with the advice of the Merchants and other Persons experienced in these affairs have agreed upon several Conclusions . .(Reg.P.C.S.Third Series VOL.VIII.P.45;Advocates Library/ (contd. next page.)

Gold Threed, Silver and Gold Lace, Fringes or Tracing, all Buttons of Gold and Silver Thread, all Manner of Stuff, or Ribbons in which there is any Gold or Silver Threed, all Philagram Work; as also all Forraign Holland Linen, Cambrick, Lawn, Darneck, Tyken, Bousten, or Damety, Tufted or Stripped Holland, Calligo, Muslin, Silesia and East India Linen, and all other Cloaths made of Linen or Cotton; as also, all Forraign Cloaths and Stuffs whatsomever, made of Woolen Yarn or Wool and Lint; all Forraign Silk and Woolen Stockings; all Forraign Laces made of Silk, Gimp or Threed, and all Manner of Laces and Paint of any sort or Collours; all Forraign made Gloves, Shoes, Boots, and Slippers; And do hereby discharge all merchants and others whatsomever to import unto this Kingdom any of the foresaid Commodities, after the date hereof: excepting only such as can be made appear upon Oath to have been ordered by preceding Commissions and shipped before the tenth of March."

The "Mature and Digested Proclamation which was issued six weeks later[1] is a pamphlet of twelve pages large quarto confirming the principles of the premonitory manifesto and elaborating certain matters of detail. The reasons for the initiation of the new policy were explicitly stated - "there being severall Representatives made to Us and our Privy Council by diverse of the most considerable merchants of this Kingdom and others, that by the undue ballance of trade, occasioned chiefly by the Import of many unnecessary and superfluous Commodities, consumed upon vanity and luxury, a great part of the stock of the Money of the Kingdom was exported, and the improvement/

(1) Advocates Library: Proclamation of Privy Council 11 th April 1681 Reg. P.C.S. Third Series Vol. VII. P. 97.

Library, A Proclamation discharging the Importation of Forraign Linen etc. 1st March 1681).

improvement of the native Export and Manufacture of the Kingdom neglected, notwithstanding of the many good and wholesome Laws made by Us and Our Royall Ancestors for encouragement thereof."[1]

A wide range of industries came within the Scope of this Proclamation. It sought to establish a ship-building industry: "Whereas it may be of great advantage to Trade, and improvement of Manufactorie that some encouragement may be given for building of Ships with this Kingdom; We have thought fit to ordain all Materials necessary for building and rigging of Ships in this Kingdom; such as Timber and Planks for Shipping, Sails, Anchors, Cables, and Towers, to bee free of all manner of Duty; and do prohibite and discharge the buying or building abroad, any ships or Vessels, after the first day of June next, under the penalty of confiscation thereof."[2]

With true Scottish zeal for education it did not neglect the things of the mind: "And for encouragement of Learning and Manufactorie of Book-Keeping; we have thought fit to ordain ten of the hundred to be exacted off all bound-Books warrantably imported for publick sale, conform to the book of Rates; but that all Books warrantably imported in Sheets not bound, be free of all manner of duty."[3]

With Caledonian caution it envisaged the possibility of there being Scots in whom the flame of patriotism might be extinguished by/

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(1) Proclamation P. 4.

(2) Proclam. P. 9.

(3) Proclam. P. 9.

by the dross of self-interest: "And whereas divers un-frie men and others, who do not bear publick burthen within Burghs are in use to import prohibited Commodities in Noblemen and Gentlemens' Trunks to the great prejudice of Trade, the Tackmen or Collectors of our Customs, Surveyors, Collectors, waiters and their servants are hereby required to sight the Trunks of any person of what quality soever and to seize upon, burn and destroy the said prohibited goods."(1)

The wholesale prohibition of the import of goods, the permission to import certain commodities free, and the grant of an allowance for the excise of salt on fish exported meant a considerable diminution of the revenue of the country, and to atone for this "an additional Excise" was decreed on French wine, brandy, tobacco, and "all Mum-beer, and other forraign Beer or Ale imported. But the cloud that this lowered over old Scots conviviality was not without its silver lining. With paternal solicitude the Privy Council sought to calm ruffled minds by pointing to brighter days ahead: "And that our subjects may have no account to murmur of any new burden, we do declare that the additions foresaids upon wine, Brandy, Tobacco, Mum-beer, and other Forraign Beer and Ale, is only in compensation of the Detriment our Customs and Excise does suffer by the saids Prohibitions and are to continue and endure while the Prohibitions appointed by this and Our former Proclamation are in Vigour, and our Customs and Excise in collection, and no longer."(2)

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(1) Proclam. P.8.

(2) Proclam. pp.11 & 12.

Six months after the issue of the Mature and Digested Proclamation the "Act for encourageing Trade and Manufactures"(1) confirmed the privileges granted by previous statutes of similar import consolidated the provisions of the spring proclamations, and added such amendements as prudence and reflection had suggested during the interval that had elapsed since the issue of the proclamations: e.g. the wearing of gold or silver thread was forbidden, but the sumptuory regulations were so far amended as to allow "to Officers and Souldiers of the King's whole standing forces the space of two years after the first of November next to wear out their Cloaths upon which ther is any gold or silver lace, threed, or Buttons."

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Of this strenuous and insistent legislation by Proclamation and by Statute the Scottish desire to found a colony in America was the inevitable complement. The shrewd Scottish merchants who suggested to the Government the prohibition of foreign imports can hardly have failed to realise that this policy would inevitably close to Scots traders the markets where hitherto they had disposed of their wares. No man of ordinary prudence could fail to see the importance of securing new markets. In Scotland there had grown up a strong feeling that in colonial enterprise alone could there be found an effective solution for this pressing economic difficulty. The glimpses of the possibilities of the Plantation trade gained by the Scots/

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(1) A.P.S. Vol. VIII. P. 348.

Scots first during the Cromwellian Union and later in the course of their systematic and persistent evasion of the English Navigation Acts had made the merchants of the Northern Kingdom acutely appreciative of the commercial advantages possessed by England in the chain of settlements stretching from the icy wastes of Hudson Bay to the palm-fringed islands of the Carribean. The desire on the part of Scots traders for the foundation of a Scots colony found clear and emphatic expression in the memoriall concerning the Scottish Plantation to be erected in some place of America. It was left, however, to William Paterson to give to Scottish mercantile ambitions a local habitation and a name.

VI.

Interesting as the Memorial concerning the Scottish Plantation is as the expression of Scottish commercial aspirations it is not less interesting in its approximation to the main principles that underlay contemporary English views on colonisation. From the various locations mentioned in the Memorial it is clear that what the Scottish merchants had in view was a tropical or sub-tropical colony of the plantation type. Among Englishmen interested in commercial progress and in colonial trade the tropical or sub-tropical plantation was precisely the type of colony that at this time was regarded with most favour. During the half century that had elapsed between the Union of the Crowns and the Restoration the English attitude towards colonisation had in one important respect undergone a radical alteration. Colonisation was no longer favoured as a simple and effective means of blood-letting for the body politic. Gradually it had been borne in upon the minds of Englishmen that the surplus population for which in Elizabethan and Early Stuart times colonisation had seemed to offer itself as a valuable outlet was in reality not a surplus population. The unemployment and the vagabondage then so rife were the inevitable concomitants of an era of transition. The dismissal of the bands of feudal retainers that followed on the enforcement of the Statutes of Livery and Maintenance; the tendency on the part of landowners, both lay and monastic, to substitute pasture for tillage; the dissolution of the monasteries; the enclosure of the common lands - all these had united to break up

the communal habits of centuries, and to cause a serious dislocation of population. But as the years passed and men gradually adapted themselves to the new order of things, as trade expanded and new markets were found in East and West the surplus population was gradually absorbed in home industry and foreign trade. In the battles and sieges of the Civil War had perished many of the best men of the country. In London the Plague had done its deadly work. The public conscience of the Restoration era, keenly alive to all that concerned commercial progress, saw clearly that a considerable portion of the land in England was as yet undeveloped(1) and that English trade was also capable of much improvement. The government that encouraged the immigration of Huguenot refugees was not likely to look with favour on the emigration of Englishmen to the American colonies; and it took no pains to conceal its view: " - - - this Kingdom hath, and doth daily suffer a great Prejudice by the Transporting great Number of the People thereof to the said Plantations for the peopling of them."(2) The view that "we have people enough and more than we can employ" is classed by Sir Josiah Child among the "vulgar errors" of the time.(3)

The most striking proof of the fact that at the time of the Restoration English industry was capable of giving employment to every Englishman then in the country is found in the ease with which the Cromwellian army was absorbed into the civilian population. Fifty thousand men, accustomed to the profession of arms were at once thrown/

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(1) See Preamble to 15° Car II. C.7.
(2) 22 and 23 Car II. C. 26.
(3) Macualay: History Chap. II. Child: Preface to "New Discourse of Trade"

thrown on the world: and experience seemed to warrant the belief that this change would produce much misery and crime, that the discharged veterans would be seen begging in every street, or that they would be driven by hunger to pillage. But no such result followed. In a few months there remained not a trace that the most formidable army in the world had just been absorbed into the mass of the community."(1) Not a little of this result was probably due, as Macaulay implies, to the sterling character of the Cromwellian soldier. Some of it must also be ascribed to the vigorous policy of the Restoration government as expressed in the "Act for inabling the Souldiers of the Army now to be disbanded to exercise Trades."(2) But to us who have experienced the difficulties of the post-bellum settlement of an army which bore approximately the same ration to the total population of Britain as Cromwell's did to the population of England, which had been under arms a much shorter period, and which had never lost its essentially civilian characteristics, it seems clear that the Cromwellian Army was absorbed so easily into the industrial population principally because there was abundant work to which the energies of the discharged soldiers could be turned.

Not only did it seem clear to many statesmen of the Restoration period/

(1) Child: Preface to "A New Discourse of Trade" (written circa 1669, first published 1693.) Macaulay, Hist. Ed. II

(2) 12° Car II. C. 16. This measure gave permission to all soldiers actually serving under General Monk on 25th April 1660 to exercise Trades though they had not served their time as Apprentices, and it also enabled all who had entered upon their apprenticeship before joining the army, to enjoy all Immunities as if they had completed their apprenticeship. Stringent measures were framed to make these provisions effective. In case of any action the discharged soldier might plead the General Issue: "- - and such Persons who notwithstanding/ (Contd. next page.)

period that there was abundant work for Englishmen at home; but it was also evident that the general trend of foreign politics suggested the wisdom of discouraging emigration. Despite the Francophile tendencies of Charles II public opinion gradually came to look upon a struggle with France as inevitable. Clarendon's friendly attitude to France had been one of the demerits of his policy which were urged at the time of his fall. The Triple Alliance against France had been negotiated by the Cabal. Hostility to France had guided the policy of Danly, as far as his royal master would permit. In these circumstances anything that tended to decrease the effective members of the population could not but meet with disfavour. The widespread objection to emigration to the Colonies was a subject which closely engaged the attention of the chief contemporary writers on colonial policy, such as Sir Josiah Child, Dalby Thomas, Dr.Charles Davenant and John Cary.

"The trade of our English Plantations in America," wrote Sir Josiah Child, "being now of as great bulk, and employing as much shipping as most of the trades of this Kingdom, it seems not unnecessary to discuss more at large concerning the nature of the plantations, and the good and evil consequences of them, in relation to this and other Kingdoms; and the rather, because some gentlemen of no mean capacities, are of opinion that his Majestie's plantations abroad, have/

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notwithstanding this Act shall prosecute the said Suite by Bill, Plaint Information or Indictment, and shall have a Verdict passed against them or become Non suite therein or discontinue their said Suite such Person or Persons shall pay unto such Officer or Officers Souldier or Souldiers double costs of Suite . . . "

have very much prejudiced this Kingdom by draining us of our people."(1) Dalby Thomas, a more sprightly contraversialist recognises equally the intensity of the feeling against the plantations, but is hardly so gentle towards the upholders of this opinion: "There is nothing more frequent amongst the Generality of Mankind than is the Drawing wrong conclusions from right Premisses, whereby the most concise and truest Maxims and Sayings that wise men upon solid thinking have contrived to guide us, like Landmarks, in the Search of Truth, are perverted by wrong Applications, to drown our Understandings in the Gulph of Error. Thus, because Truth itself is not truer than that People are the Wealth of a Nation, those who have not time, Experience, and Skill, to examine the Fund of that undeniable Verity, though, in other Things, Men of excellent Understandings, are aft to infer, that all, who set foot out of the Kingdom, are in some Degree a Diminution of its Wealth, and thence take for granted that the American Colonies occasion the Decay both of the People and Riches of the Nation; when upon a thorough Examination, nothing can appear more erraneous, as I doubt not to make plain to every Man."(2) Similarly Davenant denotes the opening pages of his Discourse on the Plantation Trade to the critical examination of "The most material objections to our colonies in America . . .1st, That they drain this Kingdom of people, the most important strength of any nation, 2dly, That they are a retreat to men of notions opposite to the religion of their country, and to persons disaffected to the government.(3) "I will consider our Objection/

(1) A New Discourse of Trade: Faulis Edition. 1751 Pp. 133 & 134.
(2) Historical Account of the Rise and Growth of the West India Colonies (1690). Harleian Misc. Edit. 1744. P. 342.
(3) Call. Edit. 1771. Vol. II. P. 2.

Objection" wrote Cary, "it having been a great question among many thoughtful men whether our Foreign Plantations have been an advantage to this Nation; the reasons they give against them are, that they have drained us of Multitudes of our People who might have been serviceable at home, and advanced Improvements in Husbandry and Manufactures that the Kingdom of England is worse Peopled by so much as they are increased; and that Inhabitants being the Wealth of a Nation, by how much they are lessened, by so much we are poorer than when we first began to settle our Colonies."(1)

The objection to emigration was both widespread and strongly root-:ed, and in meeting it the advocates of colonial expansion laid stress upon the benefits of the colonies as sources of the supply of materials which could not be procured at home, of the advantage to English industries of the colonial markets, and of the importance of the plantation trade to the shipping of the nation. "The men of that day argued in a circle of sea power, commerce, and colonies".(2) Such a line of argument tended to bring out the greater prominence of the West Indian plantations than the New England settlements in a scheme of policy guided by the idea of finding in the possession of colonies solid advantages to counterbalance the loss sustained by the mother country through emigration. Indeed Sir Josiah Child laid down diplomatically but firmly decided objections to New England from the stand point both of commerce and of politics. Of his/

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(1) "An Essay on Trade" - (Bristol, 1695). Pp. 65 & 66.

(2) Beer: Old Colonial System. Vol. I. P. 16.

his twelve propositions embodying his views on plantations, the eleventh one runs: "That New England is the most prejudiciable plantation to the Kingdom of England." (1) "I cannot omit" he declares after a tactful compliment to the character of the people of new England "to take notice of some particulars, wherein Old England suffers diminution by the growth of those colonies settled in New England, and how that plantation differs from those more southerly with respect to the gain or loss of this Kingdom. All our American plantations except that of New England produce commodities of different natures from those of this Kingdom, as sugar, tobacco, cocoa, wool, ginger, sundry sorts of dying woods, etc., whereas New England produces generally the same as we have viz. corn and cattle, some quantities of fish they do likewise kill, but that is taken and saved altogether by their own inhabitants, which prejudices our Newfoundland trade, where, as has been said, very few are, or ought, according to prudence, to be employed in those fisheries but the inhabitants of Old England. The other commodities we have from them are some few great masts, furs, and train oil - - - Other disadvantages of New England were, in Sir Josiah's eyes, the possible danger to the mother country that might arise from the maritime proficiency of the inhabitants of these northern colonies and the fact that "the people of New England by virtue of their primitive charters, being not so strictly tied to the observation of the laws of this Kingdom, do sometimes assume the liberty of trading/

(1) A New Discourse Ed. 1751. P. 134.

trading contrary to the act of navigation." (1)

Far otherwise was it with the island colonies: "The people that evacuate from us to Barbadoes and the other West India plantations do commonly work one English to eight or ten blacks; and if we keep the trade of our said plantations entirely to England, England would have no less inhabitants, but rather an increase of people by such evacuation, because that one Englishman, with the ten blacks that work with him, accounting what they eat use and wear, would make employment for four men in England . . ., whereas, peradventure, of ten men that issue from us to New England and Ireland, what we send to or receive from them does not employ one man in England."

"The Commodities they (the Plantations) afford us," wrote Cary, "are more especially Sugars, Indigo, Ginger, Cotten, Tobacco, Paimento, and Fustick, of their own growth, also Logwood, which we bring from Jamaica (though first brought thither from the Bay of Campeacha on the Continent of Mexico belonging to the Spaniard, but cut by a loose sort of People, Subjects to this Kingdom, Men of desperate Fortunes, but of wonderful Courage, who by force have made small Settlements there and defend themselves by the same Means, besides great quantities of Fish taken the Coasts of Newfoundland and New England; These being the Product of Earth, Sea, and Labour are clear Profit to the Kingdom, and give a double Imployment to the People of England, first to those who raise them there, next to those who prepare Manufactures here wherewith they are supplied besides the Advantage to/

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(1) A New Discourse. Edit. 1751. Pp. 160, 161.

to Navigation, for the Commodities Exported and Imported being generally bulky do thereby imploy more Ships, and consequently more Saylors . . ." (2)

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It was these advantages of the tropical or sub-tropical plantation as a source of supply and as a possible market for the products of Scottish factories that in 1681 attracted the favour of the Scottish merchants. Loss of population through emigration need cause Scotland no anxiety: the twelve proprietors who in 1682 acquired East Jersey from the trustees of Sir George Carteret might well assert in their Brief Account that "the chief Reason against Forraign Plantations - the drawing too many Inhabitants out of the Nation, and so leaving the Countries at Home unfurnished of people" (2) - was of negligible force where Scotland was concerned; and three years later George Scot could declare without fear of contradiction that "this Kingdom hath plenty of Inhabitants whereof yearly it may cast a fleece without the least prejudice of the general interest of the nation." (3) But sugar-works had already been set up at Glasgow (4) and despite the restrictions of the English Navigation Acts the city of St.Mungo had begun to anticipate the days of the Tobacco Lords. The protective measures designed in 1681 to stimulate Scottish/

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(2) Essay on Trade. Pp. 67 and 68.

(3) A Brief Account of East New Jersey.

(4) Model of the Government of East New Jersey.

Prof.Scott. Intrad. to "New Mills Cloth Manufactory" P.XXXVIII

Scottish industries made a search for fresh markets inevitable. And where might such markets be sought with better success than in the region of the Caribbean islands, where already the Scots had settled in considerable numbers, and whence manufacturing commodities could easily be shipped - as the Scottish merchants well knew - to the English plantations on the mainland of North America.

It is true that both in English and in Scottish colonial history the actual course of events seemed on the surface to proceed uninfluenced by contemporary theories. In the decade following the Restoration England lost Lord Willoughby's sub-tropical plantation of Surinam, but acquired the continental territories that became New York and East and West New Jersey and made a beginning with the planting of Carolina; behind the maritime frontier of the Jerseys, the boundaries of Pennsylvania were a decade later to be staked out. The Scottish colony of Stuart town in South Carolina was essentially a colony of refuge; the Quaker Scottish settlement of East New Jersey was at its inception inspired by a similar aim. But though the English acquisition of the New Netherlands may have been inspired mainly by strategic considerations, economic reasons were not lacking in support of this extension of territory: through New Amsterdam not a little of the tobacco of Virginia and Maryland found its way in Dutch ships, directly to Holland. The hope of Penn that "good skill in our most Southern Ports will yield us several of the Straights Commodities, especially Oyle, Dates, Figgs, Almonds, Raisins, and Currans" bears testimony to the fact that the founder of Pennsylvania was not uninfluenced by contemporary theories regarding/

regarding colonisation." (1) By these theories the Lords Proprietors of Carolina were also guided and "in South Carolina ultimately was developed the purest type of plantation colony that existed on the continent". (2)

And what is true of English colonial history is substantially true of Scottish colonial history. The Scottish enterprises in East New Jersey and South Carolina were on a very small scale, though the history of each enterprise has many features of interest, the logical outcome of Scottish commercial ambitions was the foundation of the Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies. And the outcome of the efforts of "the Court of Directors of the Indian and African Company of Scotland --- to settle a Colony in the Indies" was the Darien Scheme.

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(1)

(2) Beer: Old Colonial System. Vol. I. P. 55.
Ibidem.

SCOTTISH COLONIAL SCHEMES.

CHAPTER V.

EAST NEW JERSEY.

G. P. Insh
88 Hotham St
Cross-my-loof
Glasgow.

CHAPTER V.

EAST NEW JERSEY.

In the "Memoriall Concerning the Scottish plantation" of February, 1681, it is remarkable how persistently the Scottish interest confined itself to the region of the West Indies and the adjacent mainland. The establishment of the Quaker-Scottish colony of East New Jersey - the only really successful colonial enterprise undertaken by Scots before the Union - was the work of a mind that could rise superior to national preoccupations. From a personal standpoint, however, the New Jersey scheme was the lineal descendant of Sir William Alexander's enterprise: the first governor of the Quaker Scottish colony of East New Jersey was a grandson of the first of the Nova Scotia Baronets. And a further link with the earlier Scottish movement is found in the fact that George Scot of Pitlochie, who played a prominent and tragic part in one episode of the New Jersey enterprise, was the son of Sir John Scot of Scotstarvit, to whom Captain Mason had addressed his "Discourse" and who had, in 1625, acted as deputy for Sir William Alexander in connection with applications for Baronetcies.[1]

In spite of the colonial aspirations of Scottish merchants so clearly revealed in the "Memoriall" neither of the Scottish colonial enterprises of the decade 1680-1690 owed its origin to/

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(1) Nova Scotia Papers. Pref. p.23.

to mercantile activity. The foundation of the short-lived Presbyterian colony of Port Royal in South Carolina was the result of the efforts of a group of prominent Covenanters: the foundation of the Quaker-Scottish colony of East New Jersey was effected primarily through the influence of the celebrated Quaker apologist Robert Barclay of Urie. Barclay

It was through Barclay's friendship with Penn that the attention of the Scottish Proprietors of East New Jersey was directed to the Middle Colonies, and the influence of Penn's Colonial schemes can be clearly seen in the earlier history of the Quaker-Scottish enterprise. The territory of New Jersey, the district lying between the Hudson and the Delaware had originally formed part of the New Netherlands. When the New Netherlands became in 1664 a British possession, New Jersey was granted by the Duke of York, to Sir George Cartaret and Lord Berkeley; to the former ~~fell~~ was given the Eastern or Hudson portion of the province, to the latter the Western or Delaware district: the boundary between East New Jersey and West was defined a decade later as running "from the east side of Little Egg Harbor, straight north through the country to the utmost branch of the Delaware River", in 41°.40' latitude. In 1674 West Jersey was acquired from Berkeley by two Quakers - Byllinge and Fenwick; with Byllinge were soon associated three other Quakers, Nicholas Lucas, Gawain Lawrie, and William Penn. Eight years later a group of twelve Quakers, of whom the chief were Penn and Lawrie, acquired from the trustees of Sir George Cartaret the Province/

province of East New Jersey: the number of Proprietors of East New Jersey was soon doubled and among the new Proprietors Scotsmen occupied a prominent position: James, Earl of Perth, John Drummond of ~~Laudie~~ Lundie, Robert Barclay of Urie, Robert Gordon of Cluny, are the names that head the list of twenty-four proprie-:tors to whom the King on November 23, 1683, confirmed the grant of East New Jersey.(1)

Both Robert Barclay and his father Colonel David Barclay, the veteran of Gustavus' campaigns had suffered imprisonment for their religious opinions and, in seventeenth century Scotland, it was hardly to be expected that the Quakers would be treated with any remarkable degree of toleration. Primarily, therefore, the constitution of East New Jersey "was intended to be a practical application of the Quaker theory of toleration, and to provide an asylum for the persecuted."(2) But it is not unpermissible to think that a man of Barclay's intelligence and quick sympathy was stirred, in addition by a motive of broader philanthropy, to take up a project that offered some relief to the wretched peasantry of his native country. "There is nothing more strange than to see our Commons so besotted with the love of their own misery, that rather than quit their Native Country, they will live in much toyl and penury so long as they have strength, being hardly able all their life to acquire so much Riches as can save themselves from begging or starving/

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(1) S.P.Col.Series. 1681-85. p.554.

(2) D.N.B. - Article Robert Barclay.

starving when they grow old: meantime their children (so soon as they are able to walk) are exposed to the Cruelties of Fortune and the charity of others, naked and hungry, begging Food and Rayment from those that either can not or will not help them: and yet can hardly be perswaded to go to a most profitable fertile and safe Cuntrey, where they may have everything that is either necessary, profitable or pleasant for the life of man with very little pains and industry." - this noteworthy passage occurs in a broadsheet of 1684[1] which bears every evidence of coming from Barclay's pen.

To this desire to make the New Jersey enterprise a means of helping his countrymen as a whole may most probably be ascribed Barclay's policy of associating with himself influential Scotsmen who were not Quakers. It has been conjectured by Whitehead[2] that "the inclusion of the Scots was due either to allay jealousy of a government composed entirely of Quakers, or to fortify their interest at Court by engaging in the undertaking persons of influence." There is nothing to show, however, that jealousy was aroused in West Jersey by the fact that the Proprietors were all Quakers, nor could the introduction of Scottish influence be regarded in early colonial days as a lenitive measure. The influence of Penn himself at the English Court, moreover, did not need to be in any way buttressed. That Barclay was influenced by a strong desire

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(1) Reprinted Bannatyne Miscellany. Vol.III. p.385-8.
(2) "East Jersey under the Proprietary Governments."

to assist not only his own sect but also the whole body of his countrymen is confirmed, as we shall soon see, by what we know of his work on behalf of his scheme. With the governing class in Scotland, too, he possessed great influence. While the Duke of York was Governor of Scotland Barclay had frequent interviews with him. The Earl of Perth was a cousin and personal friend of Barclay. The Lord Advocate, Sir George McKenzie, was one of the New Jersey Proprietors. Among those who at Edinburgh consented to supply information to intending emigrants were the Lord Thesaurer-Depute and the Lord Register. With such influence to support him, Barclay might well hope to benefit his fellow-countrymen.

It was no doubt his influential connection with many of the leading men of Scotland combined with the outstanding position he occupied among his own sect that led to the selection of Barclay as Governor of East Jersey. The confidence of his brother Proprietors in him is clearly revealed in the terms of his appointment "Such is his known fidelity and capacity that he has the government during life: but that every governor after him shall have it for three years only."(1) He was also granted the right of appointing a Deputy Governor at a salary of £400. a year. His first Deputy Governor was Thomas Rudyard, a London attorney, who was a friend of Penn. Rudyard, who did not/

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(1) Fundamental Constit. Quoted Court Bk. of Urie, Introd. p. xxxv. (Scot. Hist. Soc.)

not hold office long, was succeeded by Gowen Lawrie. Other Deputy Governors were Lord Niegl Campbell, brother of the Duke of Argyll, and Andrew Hamilton, an Edinburgh merchant who played an important part in New Jersey history.

II.

It has been held (1) "that apparently it was the weight of Barclay's name rather than his actual ability which was valued by his brother Proprietors." But a study of Barclay's work at this time inclines one to the belief that the success of the settlement was largely due to Barclay's energy and enterprise. Though he never visited it, he threw himself into the working up of his colony with the same eagerness as he had shown in his studies as a youth at the Scots College in Paris. He brought to bear on its problems the resources of that powerful intellect which gained him renown as a controversialist. He employed every possible means of persuasion. One emigrant, presumably an Aberdeen student, who

One summer morn forsook
His friends, and went to learn the Jersey lore

has ascribed his "resolution so sudden" to the "Encouragement received from the chief Governor at Aberdeen." (2) Barclay, too, was active in securing the aid of his friends. To Sir John Gordon of Burnc: who in December 1683 had bought a Proprietory share/

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(1) Doyle: "The Middle Colonies". p.404.
(2) Charles Gordon to Prince.Paterson of Marischal College. (Quoted in Scots "Model").

he wrote as follows from Urie on "the 4 of the 1st month 1684.

Dear Cousine,

I suppose thou hast wrott ere now, to London, to thy brother George, and proposed to him to bring down his veshell here to carry passengers to East Jersey. I doubt not but he may made as good a resulte that way as any he can propose, and knows how to project a retourn for himself. There will not want passengers, besides those that fills another ship to be hired, and one that is goeing from Glasgow with Manyward, which will be the best way . . . I expect also from thee a speedy answere as to that part now in thy optione, that thou will determine itone way or other, that I may regulate myself accord-:inglie. If George cam with his ship so as to be ready to goe about Whitsunday, he will be sure to be full, for the other is to come afterwards. Desir him to call at London to William Bockura, at Little St. Helens over against Leathersellar's Hall in Bishopgait Street, who will give him full informationne in what may be needfull for him.

"So, expecting thy care in this, and that thou will lett no time be lost, which is the chief point in such caises, I rest thy affectionat cousine, B." (1) → Getting away of prisoners.

III

In the spring of 1684 Barclay appealed with his pen to those beyond the circle of his acquaintances. The printed broadsheet/

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(1) Quoted Dunbar: "Soc. Life in Former Days." Second Series. p.105

broadsheet, containing an "Advertisement/ To all Trades-men, Husbandmen, Servants and others who are willing to Transport them-:selves into the Province of New-East-Jersey in America, a great part of which belongs to Scots-men, Proprietors thereof" does not, it is true, carry the signature of Barclay. But in the masterly handling of the subject matter, in the skilful marshalling of argument and counter-argument, in its restrained but incisive appeal, the broadsheet reveals unmistakably the mind of the expert controversialist. Let those who deny it to be the work of Barclay declare who else in Scotland of that day could have written it.

Its preamble bears testimony to the activity with which the design was being pushed forward: "Whereas several Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others who (by undoubted rights derived from his Majesty and his Royal Highness are Interested and concerned in the Province of New-East-Jersey lying in the midst of the English Plantation in America, do intent (God-Willing) to send several Ships thither in May, June, July, ensuing 1684, from Leith, Montrose, Aberdeen and Glasgow." The general advantages offered by the colony to "Tradesmen, Husbandmen, Servants, and others" are set forth simply and clearly, and those "who incline to go thither and desire further information" are advised to "any of the Persons underwritten, who will fully inform them anent the Country, and every other thing necessary, and will answer and satisfy their scruples and objections, and

give/

(1) ~~This is probably not~~ John Swinton ~~is~~ the friend of David Barclay but a Friend who was a merchant in Edinburgh 1683 and presumed to have been a son of John Swinton (Miller P. 301) John Swinton is presumed to have died 1679

(2) Thomas Gordon, Register of New Jersey ? 1700 (Miller 107)

(3) Merchant to Jersey Representative

(4) A Friend of Barclay's. Sheriff-depute of Aberdeen (M. 95)

(5) Robert Gerard - P. 95

(6) Tulloch of Tulloch (M. 45) "under dealing for marrying with one of the world by a Priest IX. 1682 when he is designated 'late Tulloch of Tulloch'" and soon after disowned

(7) Belonged to a prominent family of Friends in Kelso (M. 223)

give them all other Incouragements according to their several abilities and capacities, viz:-

"At Edinburgh, let them apply themselves to the Lord Thesaurer-Depute, the Lord Register, Sir John Gordon, Mr. Patrick Lyon, Mr. George Alexander, Advocate, George Drummond (2) of Blair, John Swintoun, John Drummond, Thomas Gordon, David Falconer, (3) Andrew Hamilton, Merchants; at Brunt-Island, to William Robison, Doctor of Medicine; at Montrose, to John Gordon, Doctor of Medicine, John Fullarton (4) of Kinaber, and Robert and Thomas Fullertons his brothers; in the Shire of Mearns, to Robert Barclay of Urie, and John Barclay his brother; at Aberdeen to Gilbert Molleson, (1) Andrew Galloway, John and Robert Sandilands, William Gerard, (5) Merchants; in the Shire of Aberdeen, to Robert Gordon of Clunie, and Robert Burnet of Lethenity; (6) in the Shire of Pearth to David Toshach of Monyvard and Captain Patrick McGreiger; in Merss Shire to James Johnston of Spateswood; at Kelso to Charles Ormiston, (7) Merchant; in the Lewes to Kenneth McKenzie younger of Kildin."

Following the list of agents come the poignant reflections already quoted on the misery of "our Commons" and their reluctance to seek prosperity abroad. The stock objections to emigration to New Jersey are set forth in detail and refuted with the skill of the finished dialectician.

"First, they alledge that it is a long and dangerous voyage thither! To which it is answered that ordinarily it is not above 6 or 7 weeks sailing from Scotland, which in a good ship/

* He was Barclay's father-in-law.

ship, well victualled and with good Company in the Summer Time in rather a pleasant Divertissement than a Trouble or Toyl . . (As far as can be ascertained there exists only one adverse criticism of the arrangements on board the vessels despatched under Barclay's supervision: the critic was a certain John Reid, who had been gardner to the Lord Advocate: writing to a friend in Edinburgh John advises that 'provisions, especially beer and ale - should be laid in for the voyage beyond the ship's allowance.)' (1)

" Next, they say there is no Company to be had save Barbarians, Woods, and Wilderness! To which it is answered that this is a great mistake, for this Country has been Peopled and Planted these several years by gone . . . Nor are the Woods there anything so wild and inhospitable as the Mountains here . . . The natives are very few, and easily overcome, but these simple, serviceable creatures are rather an help and Incouragement than any ways hurtful or troublesome: and there can be no want of Company, seeing there are many thousands of Scots, English, and others living there already, and many more constantly going over: and this summer there are several gentlemen going from Scotland, such as . . .and many others, who are all persons of good quality and estates, and go not out of necessity but choice.

" Lastly, they object that far fetcht Fowls have fair Feathers, and they do not believe the half that is written and/

(1) Scots "Model".

and spoken in Commendation of these Countreys. To which it is answered, they may as easily deny the truth of everything which they have not seen with their own eyes, for all these things are as verily true as that there is any such pleasant Country as France, Italy, Spain, etc. The things being matter of Fact are confirmed by letters from persons of undoubted credit, living on the place, and by certain Information of many Eye-witnesses, who, having once been there, can never after be induced tolive in Scotland, nor can it reasonably be imagined that the persons above-written are all fools, to be imposed upon by lies and facies; on the contrary, there are none (save those that are wise in their own eyes, but are really Ignorant) that are not undebyably convinced of the excellency of the Design. Let such as condemn it be so just as first to hear it and know it, which they may easily do by applying to some of the foresaid Persons, who can best inform them, and then if they think it not below them to be convinced, they will be forced to homologat.

III.

That Barclay's arguments and appeals proved effective is shown by the fact that for some years there was a small but steady stream of emigration from Scotland to New Jersey.(1) These emigrants were mainly farmers, merchants and indentured servants. To the welfare of the young settlement Barclay and his/

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(1) S.P.Cal. Series. 1685-88. p.386.

his colleagues in Scotland attended assiduously.

Of the various Scottish colonies planted before the Union East Jersey alone had a real chance of success. The country was already partially settled, and the newcomers were enabled to assimilate the colonial experience of two generations of English pioneers. The climate was good. The soil was fertile. Game was abundant. The woods provided excellent timber; there was no lack of good clay for brick-making; a stone-quarry had been opened at Amboy - later Perty Amboy. The houses of the settlers were huts formed of wooden logs nailed to a framework of timber and carefully plastered. The provision of a stone chimney in many cases increased the amenities of these simple pioneer dwellings. The numerous waterways of East New Jersey facilitated communication between the groups of settlers.(1) The Indians were on friendly terms with the planters. Letters sent home by the emigrants spoke in encouraging, though not extravagant, terms of their prospects. The standard of life soon rose beyond the unremitting toil of the backwoodsman; there was a market both for books and for mathematical instruments;(2) at least one household possessed a lignum vitae punch bowl and a silver tumbler.(3)

It would have been well had the direction of emigration

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(1) Report of Gawen Lawrie printed (a) In Scots "Model"
(b) Dunbar - Soc.Life.Sec. Ser.P.106.
(2) Letter of Charles Gordon.
(3) Dunbar p.112.

to East Jersey been left entirely in the hands of Barclay. The one dark page in the story of the East Jersey enterprise was due to the intemperate colonising zeal of George Scot of Pitlochie. Pitlochie - according to the Scots custom he was generally referred to by the name of his estate - was a zealous Covenanter and had been repeatedly fined for attending conventicles;(1) he had also been a prisoner on the Bass Rock. His experiences led him to think - just as similar experiences led the Westland Covenanters of his own day, and the English Puritans of a former generation - of seeking for liberty of conscience in the New World. "When people find themselves straitened in point of their opinion", he wrote in his "Model of the Government of East New Jersey" no reasonable man will question their call to go whereby Law they are allowed that Freedom in this point which they themselves would desire; this is one great encouragement to anyone so circumstanced to remove to any one of the new plantations: the interest of which obligeth to lay this as a fundamental, that no man shall be in any way imposed upon in matters of principle but have their own freedom without the least hazard."

A visit to London in 1679 and the opportunity there "of frequent converse with several substantial and judicious gentlemen concerned in the American plantations" did much to confirm Pitlochie in his inclination to go overseas. He made a/

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(1) Wodrow ii, 238.
iii, 10.

a thorough study of all available literature bearing on English colonisation, and, seeking to arouse the interest of his countrymen in an enterprise which he considered highly beneficial, he published in 1685 "The Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey in America" which in its discursiveness and volubility offers an interesting contrast to the succinct analysis and polished dialectic of Barclay's broadsheet. Dedicated to the Earl of Perth, his brother, the Viscount Melfort and George, Viscount of Tarbet (~~Sir~~ George Mackenzie), the "Model" takes a form familiar to all students of colonial propaganda of the Darien epoch - "a letter from a gentleman at Edinboro . . . to his correspondent in the country." In its historical introduction, however, it follows the Alexandrian tradition in Scottish colonial literature. The actual information conveyed in the letter proper from the gentleman at Edinboro is, in all essentials, very similar to what is found in the earlier broadsheet. Two subsidiary points, however, are worthy of comment. The freedom of conscience offered by New Jersey to the persecuted in the days when "the sadness of distractions of this Kingdom anent matters of opinion is of greater weight than any other" is emphasised more than once. With the enthusiasm of a thorough zealot Pitlochie does not shrink from disparagement of that other settlement intended as a refuge for the oppressed - the Presbyterian colony at Port-Royal in Carolina.

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The climate of Carolina, he asserts, is unhealthy; there is the hazard of the Spaniards; little help is to be expected from Charleston. In New Jersey, on the other hand, the climate and the work are exactly suited to Scots settlers: and, though, the Governor is a Quaker, the defences of the colony are not being neglected: these defences, indeed, are occupying the attention of substantial citizens of London. New Jersey again is partially settled and for newcomers there is already some accommodation: "Sir" quoth the gentleman at Edinboro to his correspondent in the country, "you will be obliged to say we have, even upon this one consideration a great advantage of our countrymen lately settled at Port Royal in Carolina." In emphasizing the unhealthiness of the climate and the political disadvantages of Port Royal, Pitlochie may to some extent have been lacking in charity but he assuredly had reason on his side: the disadvantages which he enumerates were precisely those that brought about the abandonment of the Scots settlement in Carolina.

As an appendix to his own lengthy epistle Pitlochie published a collection of letters sent home by Scottish settlers in East New Jersey, and also two semi-official reports from the Deputy-Governors, Rudyard and Lawrie. These reports depict a busy thriving community and a land whose only need is the influx of settlers in greatrnnumbers. These private letters are of great interest, not only for the corroboration they give of the/

the Governor's statement, but also for the insight they give into the private ~~tackle~~ tastes of the settlers. [The sapient advice of the ex-gardiner of the Lord Advocate regarding provisions for the voyage - especially beer and ale - has already been noticed. In writing to his brother John Johnston, druggist in Edinburgh, James Johnston of Spotswoode emphasises the "excellent gunning for deer and turkeys" and the existence at New Perth of "a good stationers shop of Books". "George Keith hath brought mathema-:tics and Benjamin Clark a library of Books to sell" remarks Charles Gordon, in the course of his letter to Principal Paterson of Marischal College in Aberdeen. Holographs of the letters were perused by many persons in Edinburgh and were "to be seen by an inquisitive thereanent at Captain Hamilton's lodging at the Sign of the Ship".[Interesting testimony to the influence of letters from New Jersey on intending emigrants is supplied by a passage in a letter written from Edinburgh Sept.2, 1686, by Mrs.Dunlop to her husband William Dunlop (later Principal of Glasgow University) who was then in Carolina. "I apprehend there will be little comfortable living in that place, for thou wilt have no encouragement at all from this. All have deserted it, and frequent accounts coming from New Jersey engadgeth several more to it."(1)

For his propaganda work in the "Model" Pitlochie received from

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(1) Section xii. Appendix to Wodrow's "History".

from the Proprietors a grant of land in East Jersey and early in 1685 he addressed himself to the task of providing settlers for that Province. In the first instance he sought to persuade some of his co-religionists who were then suffering imprisonment to take advantage of an offer made to them by the Privy Council of release from prison providing they went to the plantations. On 10th March 1685 Pitlochie received from the Privy Council a warrant authorising him to visit the prisons of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Stirling, and take thence a hundred prisoners who were willing to go to the plantations:(1) all heritors of above a hundred pounds of rent to be excluded from taking advantage of this alternative. Pitlochie's round of the prisons at this time seems also to have included Dunottar Castle.(2) By the summer of 1685 he had a list of fifty prisoners who had volunteered* for East New Jersey and had engaged a number of tradesmen.(3) Meanwhile he had sold his estate and had chartered for the Atlantic voyage "The Henry and Francis" of Newcastle, a ship of 350 tons burthen and twenty great guns. In August 1685 the "Henry and Francis" lay in Leith Road, and in order to fill up the accommodation of the emigrant ship Pitlochie presented a petition to the Privy Council asking that some of the prisoners of ~~which~~ whom large numbers were then being sentenced each day to banishment to the/

(1) Woodrow. Bk.III. Sect.4. Chap.IX.
(2) Dunbar's Soc.Life". Sec.Seven. p.105.n.
(3) Wodrow, Bk iii. Ch.IX. Sect.IV. him (i.e Pitlochie) was now shipped with his family, others having gone voluntarily." Erskine of Carnock's Journal (i.e. Hist. Soc) 3 Sept. 1685

* Mr Archibald Riddell who was prisoner in the Bass, having got his liberty that he might go with several gentlewomen and

the Plantations, might be assigned to him. His request was granted, and during the month of August, more than one hundred prisoners were allotted to him.(1) With some two hundred people on board, including Pitlochie, his wife and his daughter, the "~~King~~ Henry and Francis" sailed from Leith Roads on 5th September.

Crowded under hatches in the ill-fated emigrant ship and bringing with them the seeds of disease contracted during their confinement in the dungeon of Dunottar the prisoners were soon stricken by a malignant fever which also affected the other passengers and the crew. More than sixty of the ship's company perished, and among the victims of the epidemic were Pitlochie and his wife. His daughter, Euphemia, had married John Johnston (formerly a druggist in Edinburgh) to whom Pitlochie left both his New Jersey estate and also the disposal of the prisoners. Johnston sought on arriving at New Jersey to obtain from the prisoners a "voluntary declaration" that they would work for four years as indentured servants. This the prisoners refused to do and were supported in their attitude they adopted by the New Jersey law courts. The jury summoned by the governor "to sit and cognosce upon the affair" found that "the pannels had not of their own accord come to that ship, nor bargained with Pitlochy for money/

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(1) ~~Ibid~~. Wodrow. Bk III, Sect. 4 Chap. ix.

money or services, and therefore they were assailed". Most of the prisoners subsequently went to New England. (1)

IV.

Until April 1688, when they made a full surrender of their authority, in view of the king's desire 'for several weighty reasons of state' to govern the country directly, the proprietors of East New Jersey found little to trouble them in the administration of their Province. It is true, indeed, that their attempt to impose upon the Province an elaborately framed constitution met with failure; but the simpler, if less ideal constitution which they sought in vain to oust proved quite adequate for the needs of the community. Their chief anxiety, as a matter of fact, came from outside and was due to the persistence of the neighbouring state of New York, in attempting to secure the annexation to it of East and West Jersey.

This was of course no new question in colonial politics. It dated back to the very earliest days of the Jerseys when the dismemberment of the Dutch territory and the grant of the land between the Hudson and the Delaware to Berkley and Cartaret had met with the strong disapproval of Governor Nicolls. The contest in diplomacy between the East New Jersey Proprietors and/

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(1) Wodrow, Bk.iii. Chap.ix. Sect.xii.

and the New York authorities is as interesting a piece of politi-:cal minor tactics as one could wish to follow.

The contest may be said to begin in May, 1685, when in the course of a covering note enclosing an address of condolence and congratilation to the King, the Mayor of New York writes: "Pray also acquaint the King that since he separated Delaware and the two Jerseys from New York, the city has lost a third of its trade. We bear the burthen with willingness and submission, but we hope that the King will re-unite these ports and enlarge the Government eastward." (1)

But there must have been some preliminary skirmishing for in the autumn of 1684 the Earl of Perth and the Proprietors of New Jersey, more in sorrow than in anger, had written from Edinburgh to the Governor of New York: "We thought to have found a kind neighbour in you, considering who we are and who your master is. We have apoken with his commissioners in London as to bringing our government under New York, and doubt not to have convinced them of the reasons why we are unwilling to do so. We doubt not that the Duke is convinced of our rights in every respect, and we found him to abhor to do anything contrary to what he has passed under his hand and seal. And we persuade ourselves that you will lay aside all thoughts of attempting anything that may reflect on the justice and honour of your master. (2)

Once/

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(1) S.P.Col.Ser.1681-85. p.667.

Once begun, the struggle went on unrelaxed. East Jersey survived the issue against if of writs of quo warranto in the years 1685 and 1686.(1) A letter written by the Secretary of New York on 25th November, 1686 to the Earl of Sunderland reveals a more subtle strategy: "It will be very difficult for this Government to subsist unless Connecticut and East and West Jersey be annexed. This place is the centre of the King's territory in these parts, and is therefore by situation the fittest to have them joined to it. The Proprietors of East Jersey have already disposed (as I hear) of more land than there is in that province, and I am sure they must be at great expense to support it, and it is very inconvenient to the King's interest here, this side of the river paying customs and the other being free. The goods that come here cannot be consumed there, but are "stolen" unto this government to the great prejudice alike of the King and the merchants. The Lord Niall Campbell is Governor of New Jersey, and one Mr. Hamilton, who has been sent by the Proprietors to report in the colony, has been convinced by me how disadvantageous it is to the Proprietors to keep it. I have promised Lord Niall Campbell to write to that effect, and to propose the exchange of Pemaquid for East Jersey, and I believe they will petition for an exchange or that the King will take over the plantation."(2)

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(1) S.P.Col.Series. 1685-88, p.67,73,77,173,182.
(2) Ibid. p.289.

In the following July the Proprietors of East New Jersey did present a petition to the King,(1) but its tenor was very different from what the New York authorities had been led to expect. The proprietors pointed out that they had not received their province as a grant but had bought it; the most considerable of them would not have been concerned in it unless they had received from his Majesty assurance of the soil, free trade and free navigation: relying on that grant as inviolable they had ventured great stocks in it, had sent many hundred of Scotchmen to the province, and would send more unless they were discouraged. After a clear and dispassionate discussion of the interstate problems that had caused friction between East New Jersey and New York, the Proprietors make several suggestions, the first being "That East Jersey may not be annexed to New York, but be continued as a distinct government, or be joined with West Jersey, the naming one of the Proprietors governor, and allowing the rest or their proxier to be always to the Council.

It was some reward to the pertinacity of the Proprietors that when, in the Spring of 1688, in deference to the King's centralising policy, they made surrender of their authority, East Jersey was joined not to New York, but, in company with New York and West Jersey to New England.(2) After the Revolution the Proprietors resumed their authority, but exerted little influence on the affairs of East Jersey. The earlier policy of the Proprietors, as evinced in the first Proposal of the Petition/

(1) S.P. Col. Se. 1685-88. P.386.
(2) Ibid. P.521 & 525.

Petition of 1687 was to some extent followed when in 1692 Andrew Hamilton became Governor of both East and West Jersey. In 1696 Hamilton was succeeded by Jeremiah Bass. In 1699, however, Hamilton again became Governor and retained office until East and West Jersey in 1702 were united to form one Crown Colony.

V.

During the period between the Revolution and the formation of the Jerseys into a Crown Colony, the Scottish settlers played a prominent part in the domestic politics of the Provinces. Governor Hamilton was accused of showing undue favour to "the Scotch traders, his countrymen."(1) The same charge could not be levelled against his successor; "I am too much discouraged in my zeal for the common good and His Majesty's services" writes in June 1699 the sorely tried Jeremiah Bass, "in that I have nothing beyond a Proprietory Commission to support me, and even their persons seeming to desert me because of my discountenancing the Scotch and pirates."(2)

In New Jersey the tidings of the settlement of the Scots in Darien caused much excitement. The news of the Scottish victory in a skirmish with the Spaniards - that of 6th February 1699 - raised high hopes. It was commonly reported that the Darien Scots had raised a fortress which mounted 150 guns/

(1) H.of Lords Journ. New Ser. Vol II. p.442.Anno 1696.
(2) S.P.Col.S. 1699. p.280.

guns, and would protect and encourage in every way all who would trade or corresponded with them. A wave of excitement swept over the New Jersey Scots. It was therefore with a certain grim satisfaction that on June 10th, 1699 Governor Bass penned the opening sentences of the dispatch to the Council of Trade and Plantation in which he acknowledged receipt of the instructions to forbid the furnishing of aid to the Scots in Darien: "I received yours of January 2, and immediately published enclosed proclamation. These orders arrived very opportunely to curb the endeavours of some gentlemen of the Scotch nation to promote not only the Scotch interest in general, but that particular settlement which they now call Caledonia." (1)

But the worthy Governor's satisfaction was short-lived. Some of the leading Scots of the Province were so little awed by the publication of the Proclamation that they asserted - in the hearing of Governor Bass and his Council - that King William's policy might bring about a rupture between Scotland and England and, in spite of the Proclamation, they continued to hold correspondence with their fellow-countrymen in Darien and encouraged the inhabitants of New Jersey to go to the Isthmus to trade. (1)

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(1) S.P.Col. Series. 1699., Pp.281-2.

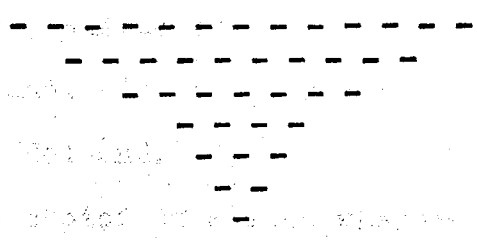
(2) Ibid. ~~Pp.281-2~~. (On receipt of the news of the abandonment of New Edinburgh by the first Darien Expedition the Directors of the Company of Scotland sent an agent to New York: this agent bore letters to Col. Hamilton, Governor of New Jersey" - Darien Papers, Bannatyne & Club. P.145).

SCOTTISH COLONIAL SCHEMES.

CHAPTER VI.

STUART TOWN.

(South Carolina)



CHAPTER VI.

STUART TOWN.

(South Carolina)

In its insignificance and its isolation, the Scottish settlement of Stuart Town, on Port Royal, in South Carolina - a settlement definitely established as a Presbyterian colony of refuge - offers a marked contrast to the importance of the group of settlements founded by the English Puritans who emi-:grated to North America in the reigns of James I and Charles I. It was not that in the days of persecution the Scottish Covenanters did not long for an asylum beyond the confines of their sorely tried country: "There were many things that might engage people to leave Scotland" wrote John Erskine of Carnock in his Journal, under date 7th January 1685, "and I knew few there who had any sense of its condition who were not desiring to be away, tho' they did linger very much, few being determined what to do themselves or able to advise others ...." (1) When the Covenanter, gentle or simple, did make up his mind to leave his native land, his thoughts turned almost invariably not to America, but to Holland.

In making his choice of a land wherein to sojourn during his exile, the Covenanter may have been influenced by several consider-:ations. The traditional Scottish trade routes led eastward across the North sea: the Atlantic voyage, as advocates of Scottish/

(1) Erskine of Carnock's Journal. (Soc. Hist. Scot). P103.

Scottish colonial schemes found, was regarded generally as an enterprize of extreme hazard. Not only was the Scottish merchant familiar with the seaports of Holland, but the Scottish student often resorted to the Dutch Universities. But most powerful of all considerations that guided the exiled Scot was the instinctive feeling that his banishment could endure only for a comparatively brief period. This feeling may have been the outcome of a stern affection for the rugged and sterile land where the feuds of religious partisanship raged as fiercely and as destructively as its own mountain storms; it may have been induced by the belief that the cause for which so much had been sacrificed must inevitably triumph: but to whichever of these influences it may be ascribed, the choice of the exiled Scot was that of a sojourn with his brother exiles at Rotterdam rather than that of seeking a new home beyond the Atlantic.

II.

The one American settlement of the Scottish Covenanters, however, was the meagre fruit of elaborate and ambitious designs. Both from the standpoint of Scottish and of Colonial history, it is of interest to trace in some detail these designs, in view of the fact that some members of a Scottish deputation that proceeded to London in the autumn of 1682, in connection with the Carolina scheme, became involved in the great Whig Insurrectionary Plot that was being elaborated at the same time as the Assassination Plot of Rumbold and Rumsey. When the plots were discovered in the/

the summer of 1683, the English authorities pronounced very decidedly on the motives that had induced the Scots' deput-:ation to visit London: in the course of a long dispatch sent by them to the Scots Privy Council occurs the following passage: " ... in order to a general insurrection by a correspondency with their party in Scotland and several counties of this our kingdom, and because a correspondency by letters ^ * should be sent into Scotland to invite the heads of the disaffected party in that our kingdom to come hither under pretence of purchasing lands in Carolina, but, in truth, to concert with them, the best means of carrying on the designe joyfully in both kingdoms." (1) Nor were the Scottish authorities less emphatic in the expression of their views. The Decreit of Forfalton" against Sir John Cochran of Ochiltrie declares that Sir John with others "went to Londone pretending to negotiat a setlement of ane scots Colonie. In Carolina bot truelie and reallie to treat anent and ~~doone~~ cause on the sd. rebellione and conspiracie with the Earl of Shaftsberrie and Essex, Lord Russel and others in England."(2)

Against this charge of dissimulation regarding the motive for the journey to London it is an argument of no little weight that in the autumn of 1684, a Scottish Presbyterian colony was actually established in the district acquired two years previously from the Lords Proprietors of Carolina. The contract between Sir John Cochran and Sir George Campbell and the Lords Proprietors of Carolina/

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(1) Register P.C. Sc. New Series Vol. VIII. P. 214.

(2) Act. Par. Scot. Vol. VIII - Appendix 40b.

* Insert ...' was thought dangerous, it was held necessary that some person-

Carolina for a county consisting of thirty-two square plats, each of twelve thousand acres, had been set forth with all due legal formality.(1) A study of the earlier stages of the enterprise confirms the conclusion suggested by the foregoing facts, namely that the scheme was primarily a colonial one and that the connection with the Insurrectionary Plot was a later and perhaps fortuitous development.

In the spring of 1682, a number of the leading Covenanters discussed fully and carefully a proposal for the purchase, for £15,000, of New York made to them on behalf of an English gentleman, a Presbyterian, "quho was informed of a designe of maiking ane interest in America from this countrey, and, by some agent of his, desyres we be acquainted that he is willing the one halfe goe to us and that we erect quhat government best pleaseth us, and haive the halfe shaire in the government." Lord Cardross, who had convened the meeting to discuss this proposal - and who eventually took out the colonists to Carolina - informed his friends that he had authority to state that if they became parties to this purchase, they might have Presbytery established," and as to the civill and joint interest in making of lawes and evrey things els relaitting to the government." After a minute and judicial analysis of the proposal it was considered to be attended by too many difficulties to promise success, and the committee of Covenanters directed their attention to Carolina.(2) Not only was the constitution of Carolina "accomodate/

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(1) Wodrow. Bk. III Ch. VII. Sect. I

(2) Hist. M.S.S. Com. 14th Rep. App. 3 P. 113.

"accomodate" to their minds, but they were also impressed by the reputation of Port Royal Harbour.

In the unsettled state of Scotland and with the Presbyterians suffering from the rigorous enforcement of the laws against nonconformity, high hopes were formed in some quarters of the support that might be afforded to the Carolina Colony. On 2nd. August 1682, a correspondent, of more moderate views, writes from Edinburgh to Sir George Campbell of Cessnock, one of the leading spirits of the colonial scheme. ".....I think it will not be headfull for you to be at the charge of procuring a license from the King for 10 ships, in that I believe some of them may not be employed upon transportation of people to Carolina. In that four or six vessels is all that you can expect to employ, thoe you were to transport a thousand persons next year, except the veshels * be for our advantage to transport a thousand next year; in that it will cost us much more charge for transportation of people the first year then it will doe the following years, in that 200 or 300 going over the first year will make room for twice so many the next year, and will make provisions for them: neither doe I believe that those that counselled you to buy a 1,000 cows to plant your ground gave you good advice, in that perhaps a hundred or two may serve all the passengers you are to transport next year, by whom, or at least by their overseers you may know whether it will be fitter to buy a 1,000 at the same rate or perhaps/

* Inset —" were the very small ... I believe it will not —

perhaps half so cheape." To help to defray expenses, the vessels, it is recommended should be licensed to call at Virginia or Barbadoes and carry goods if necessary. The dispatch at once of a small vessel with an advance party is suggested, and some useful information is also furnished regarding the stores that should be provided for the new colony.(1)

III.

The bond among the Scottish noblemen and gentlemen interested in the Carolina settlement was subscribed by between thirty and forty persons. Of these a small deputation went to London in the autumn of 1682, to negotiate with the Lords Proprietors of Carolina for the acquisition of land. Whatever may have been the private intentions of the leaders in the enterprise, a considerable section of the deputation knew of no motive for the journey except the acquisition of land.(2) The land was duly acquired. The dispatches of the Lords Proprietor to the Governor of Carolina of 21st. Nov. 1682, give some interesting details of the transaction. The Lords Proprietors agreed with Sir John Cochran and Sir George Campbell for themselves and other Scots for the settlement of a county in Carolina. The land chosen by the Scots was to be purchased by the Proprietors from the Indians and the Governor was directed to negotiate at once with the Indians for the acquisition of the land. Nor were the Scots interested merely in the land. They pointed

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(1) Hist. M.S.S. Com. 14th Rep. App. 3 P. 114.

(2) Act. Par. Scot. Vol. VIII. Appen. 33 b.

out to the Lords Proprietors that it was doubtful whether the oppression of the people had been sufficiently guarded against by the system of administration then in operation in the pro-:vince, and the Lords Proprietors, taking to heart the criticism of the Scots, made certain changes in their fundamental constitutions.(1)

Nor were the Lords Prpprietors the only persons who favoured the Scottish enterprise. The Carolina scheme met with the cordial support of the King himself. On 30th November the Scottish Privy Council received a letter "direct from the King to the Council" dealing with the project. After an intimation of the purchase of land in Carolina, the letter proceeds: ".... and we being graciously desirous to countenance and promote so laudable an undertaking, have now thought fit to authorise and require you to receive and consider all such overtures and proposalls as shall by the said commissioner and other principall undertakers be offered unto you for the more effectual prosecution of that their designe, and to grant unto them such privileges and encouragements (consistent with our lawes and the security of our government) as by you shall be thought fit and reasonable; whereof if there shall be any need of our royall approbation, upon notice thereof from you (with a particular accompt of those privileges and encouragements) the same shall readily be granted by us." (2) When it is noticed that at the same meeting of the Council at which this letter was read the

Council/

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(1) S.P. Col. Ser. 1681 - 85 Pp. 338, 339.

(2) Reg. P.C. Sc. New Ser. Vol. VII. P. 600.

Council ordered the Archbishops to prevent such nonconforming ministers from preaching as have not taken the test, and also issued instructions for his Majesty's Advocate to prosecute Cameron of Lochiel and others "for their accession to a ryot and violence committed upon a party of his Majestie's sojours," (1) it is perhaps no great cynicism to conclude that the royal support accorded to the colonial scheme of men whose brethren had fought at Rullion Green, Drumelog and Bothwell Brig was not altogether disinterested.

No sooner had the Scots' deputation received their grant of land than they set about preparations for the occupation of it. The first step contemplated was the dispatch of a small pioneering expedition. A certain Mr. Crawford was provided with a duplicate of the agreement made with the Lords Proprietors, and also with a letter to the Governor of Carolina. "Wee have commissioned these men" the latter communication runs "to search out for us the most navigable river; and to acquaint themselves so well with the entries of quhat river shall be chosen that they may be able to navigate our ships. We sent you by Captain Adams from London, a letter direct from the Lords Proprietors, desiring you to furnish men and sloupes unto such as wee should commissionat to sownd the rivers and take up our land." After pointing out to the Governor the importance of the effect of ~~the~~ such information as might be obtained by these commissioners/

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(1) Ibid. P. 599.

commissioners, and suggesting the advisability of their being given all possible assistance, the Scots declare that if the reports brought back concerning the land and the rivers are good, they will heartily enter upon the work of plantation and bring with them "suche a considerable number of gentlemen and ministers, and such a strength of people provided of all things necessary, as will exceedingly raise the reputation of that province." (1)

It cannot, unfortunately, be ascertained whether Mr. Crawford and his pioneers actually proceeded overseas as was intended, but the proposal to send them out is evidence that the Scots concerned in the scheme were, as a whole, eager to proceed with it. But elements of distraction soon interfered with the prosecution of their plans. The winter of 1682-83 was in London a time of exciting political intrigue and some of the leading members of the Scots' deputation became a party to the great Whig Insurrectionary Plot. The Carolina scheme, too, "conveniently covered the bustle that attended the communications of the discontented, and specially favoured the connection with Scotland. Colonel Walcot was brought over from Ireland on pretence of being Governor of the new colony ... Ferguson was active in connection with this project, and his abode in London was the rendezvous of many Scotsmen. It was observed that about him there flocked a society more various than even such a scheme of colonisation would account for.

Highlanders/

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(1) Hist. M.S.S. Com. 14th Rep. App. 3. P. 114.

Highlanders, "Society men" or Cameronians, foreigners and sailors, were among his visitors; and by means of numerous Scottish pedlars, he could send news rapidly to the North." (1)

The discovery in the summer of 1683, of the two conspiracies inevitably upset whatever arrangements had been entered upon for the settlement in Carolina. But it would seem, from the Colonial records, that the energies of the leading members of the Scots' deputation were early diverted to the activities connected with the Insurrectionary Plot. Between November 21st 1682, and 25th June 1684, there is only one reference in the correspondence of the Carolina Proprietors to the Scots' scheme, and that reference is merely a repetition and an elaboration of the dispatches of November 21st. 1682. The dispatch of 30th Sept. 1683, (2) throws an interesting light on the attitude of the Scots when considering the claims of Carolina as a location for their proposed settlement and it also reveals a very friendly spirit on the part of the Lords Proprietors. In support of their view that the Carolina constitution had made insufficient provision against oppression, the Scots had pointed out that the members of the Grand Council were appointed for life, that the judges, sheriffs and all other magistrates were chosen by the Lords Proprietors, and that juries were chosen by their officers. The Proprietors had therefore made important alterations in their constitutions: they had given the Parliament of Carolina power

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(1) Jas. Ferguson: "Robert Ferguson the Plotter" P. 68.

(2) S.P. Col. Ser. 1681-85 P. 510.

to punish any member of the Grand Council or any other officer for misbehaviour, and had also provided for the appointment of juries by lot. The dispatch in the autumn of 1683, to the Governor of Carolina of this reminder of the changes effected in the constitutions through the influence of "the Scots and some other considerable men that have a mind to become settlers" suggests that despite the turning aside of the leaders of the scheme to intermeddle with dangerous political intrigue some of the Scots interested in the scheme were steadfast in their adherence to the original plan. The tenor of this dispatch, too, corroborates the view regarding the division of labour suggested by Principal Story: "While Dunlop and his friends attended to the business of the emigration (and eventually went out and settled in Carolina) Carstares, Baillie of Jerviswood, Fletcher of Saltoun, and other patriots, prosecuted in London their correspondence with the revolutionary party." (1) The date of the dispatch would seem to indicate, too, that as soon as the confusion and excitement caused by the discovery of the plots had in some measure subsided, the work of Dunlop and his friends was quietly resumed.

IV.

The first definite trace we have of the activities of Dunlop and his friends, is the publication, very early in 1684, of a broadsheet entitled "Proposals"/ By Walter Gibson, Merchant in Glasgow, to such persons as are desirous to transport themselves to America, in a ship belonging to him, bound for the Barmudas, Carolina/

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(1) Principal Story "William Carstares" P. 65.

Carolina, New Providence, and the Carriby-Islands, and ready to set sail out of the River of Clyd against the 20 February in this instant year, 1684.[1] Both from the standpoint of matter and of form, this broadsheet is far below the standard set by Barclay in the corresponding tract issued on behalf of the New Jersey settlement, while in point of interest to the historian it is not for a moment to be compared to the earlier "Encouragements" of Lochinvar and of Sir William Alexander. "But the age of chivalry is gone. That of sophistes, economists and calculators has succeeded." And in the general level of dull mediocrity of the mass of pamphlets published in connection with the Darien Scheme the transition is only too apparent.

After detailing the cost of the passage and the grants of land to be allotted "to such as are willing to Transport themselves with a design to settle in Carolina", Gibson's pamphlet concludes with a recital of the various inducements offered to intending emigrants: "The said Walter Gibson will give his best advice to all such as will Transport themselves, anent these things, which will be necessary for them, to carry alongst with them; and hath at Glasgow Patterns of some Tools which are used there, which shall be showed to them. And these who go in this vessel will have the occasion of good company of several sober, discreet persons, who intend to settle in/

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(1) Fountainhall Tracts, Advocates Library.

in Carolina, will dwell with them, and be ready to give good advice and assistance to them in their choice of their Plantations, whose society will be very helpful and comfortable, especially at their first settling there."

Of these "sober and discreet persons" the most important were William Dunlop and Lord Cardross. Dunlop, who was at this time thirty-five years of age, had grown to manhood in an atmosphere of religious persecution and civil strife. Both his father (who was minister of Paisley) and his mother had been imprisoned for their constancy in the cause of the Covenant; for his adherence to that cause Dunlop's cousin and brother-in-law, William Carstares, had to seek refuge in Holland. Educated for the ministry of the Presbyterian Church, Dunlop was employed as tutor in the household of Sir John Cochran of Ochiltree, one of the leading covenanters engaged in the earlier negotiations for the settlement in Carolina. During the Westland Rising of 1679, Dunlop was sent by the Moderate Whigs to lay their views before the leader of the King's army.

In the dragonnades of these troubled days Lord Cardross and his family had undergone much suffering. Prior to the formulation of the Carolina scheme he had taken the leading part in the tentative negotiations for the ~~joint~~ purchase, by Scottish and English Presbyterians of New York. During the winter of 1883,(1) and the following spring(2) Dunlop and Cardross were together in Edinburgh. In the/

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(1) Erskine of Carnock's Journal Sc. Hist. Socy. P. 26.

(2) Ibid. P. 39.

the spring of 1684, too, Lord Cardross met in Edinburgh "one Mr. Gordon who had been several years in America, and gave a particular account of Carolina, and much commended the country." (1) On June, 13th, 1684, Dunlop left Edinburgh for Glasgow "to prepare for his own and other persons' going to Carolina." (2) A fortnight later Cardross, accompanied by his half-brother John Erskine of Carnock, reached the northern shore of the Firth of Clyde. Among the company who rowed over from Greenock to welcome them was William Dunlop.(3)

In company with Carnock and Montgomerie of Skelmorlie, Cardross spent some days cruising about the Firth of Clyde. During this time Dunlop remained at Greenock, where Walter Gibson's vessel, The Carolina Merchant, a ship of 170 tons burthen, armed with 16 guns, was completing her preparations for the Atlantic voyage. Among his merchandise for the Plantations Walter Gibson shipped thirty-five prisoners - a gift to him from the Tolbooths of Edinburgh and Glasgow. Including prisoners, colonists, and crew the ships' company numbered about 140 persons.

Day after day passed, and still The Carolina Merchant swung at anchor in Gourock Bay awaiting a favourable wind. The evening of Saturday 19th July, brought the long-desired breeze, and the skipper, Captain James Gibson (the owner's brother) resolved to sail next morning. But, unlike the Councillors of the Second Darien Expedition/

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(1) Ibid. P. 39.
(2) Ibid. P. 64.
(3) Ibid. P. 67.

Expedition who scuttled out of Rothesay Bay, leaving behind them their boats and landing parties, Captain Gibson's passengers refused to begin their voyage on a Sunday. On that day William Dunlop preached on shore "in a little garret .... the lady not daring to be any way public." At seven o'clock next morning the sails of the emigrant ship were bent. As The Carolina Merchant worked its way out to mid-channel, Lord Cardross put off from shore in a small boat. Along with him was a trumpeter, who sounded several times, "which" says Erskine of Carnock, who witnessed the departure, "was truly pleasant upon sea." (1)

V.

The coast for which Dunlop, Cardross and their companions had sailed was one over which brooded dark memories of early colonial tragedies. The strategical importance of the Florida coast had from early times been recognised by the Spaniards. It lay conveniently near the Bahama Channel through which the galleons laden with the riches of Mexico and Peru, worked their way out from the Carribean Sea to the Atlantic. When the Spanish merchantmen and treasure-ships began to attract the attention of English and French privateers, the advantage of having on the Florida Coast a sea-port that should act as a depôt for the warships which protected Spanish trade was clearly seen by the Spanish authorities, but two attempts to establish a colony on the Carolina coast were unsuccessful.

The Spaniards were stirred to fresh efforts by the appearance

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(1) "Erskine of Carnock's Journal." Pp. 67 - 72.

of the French in these regions. On one of the waterways leading from Port Royal, there had been founded in the year 1562, the Huguenot colony of Charlesfort. A year later the garrison which Ribaut had left there full of hope and ardour, quitted these shores a company of broken men, worn with famine and misery and discord, and with the still greater horrors of the Atlantic voyage before them. In 1564, Laudonnière planted another Huguenot settlement named Fort Caroline some distance to the south of Port Royal. Its history of mutiny and famine offers a gloomy parallel to that of Ribaut's fort. But its end was more drastic and more sanguinary. In the midst of a wild storm of wind and rain it was surprised by a Spanish force from St. Augustine, which had been founded but ten days before. The garrison of Fort Caroline, together with a large body of reinforcements but lately arrived, was put to the sword - a ruthless deed ruthlessly avenged by the private crusade of a Gascon gentleman, Dominique de Gourgues.(1) It was for the scene of these disasters that the Scottish Colonists sailed from the Clyde.

They sailed, too, at a time when the tension between the Spanish and the English colonists on the borders of Florida and of Carolina had become peculiarly acute. During the seventeenth century the sphere of Spanish influence in North America had in the centre of the continent and along the Pacific Coast been steadily extended to the North. On the Atlantic Coast, however, the territory to which Spain could assert an indisputed claim had been delimited first by the English colonisation/

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(1) Lescarbot: Histoire de la Nouvelle France: Bk. I Ch. 5-7. 8-18, 19 & 20. Parkman. "Pioneers of Fr." Section I Ch. 3-10.

colonisation of Virginia and then by the establishment of English settlements in Carolina. The English settlement of Charleston was particularly resented by Spain. " This intrusion into the old Spanish province of Santa Elena was viewed with alarm by Spain, and, as always in the border Spanish colonies, the foreign danger was followed by renewed missionary activity on the threatened frontiers." (1) The missionary activity was followed, in turn, by desultory skirmishing between the English and the Spaniards, each aided by Indian allies. This border warfare began in 1680. In 1684, the Lords Proprietors of Carolina were decidedly apprehensive regarding Spanish designs on their territory, and in the commission issued on 29th April of that year to Sir Richard Kyrle as governor of Carolina, they emphasised the necessity of taking adequate defensive measures: "The Spaniards have not always been very good neighbours, and we know not how soon they may attack you. You will therefore consult the Council and Parliament and put the country into the best posture of defence you can, in order to which you will hasten the settlement of the militia and set good men in command. You will cause the companies to be frequently trained and agree upon the rendezvous of each company and regiment in case of alarm ..... We hope that your prepar-:ations may make the enemy desist from attempts that are chiefly encouraged by carelessness in defence." (2) Whether the/

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(1) Bolton & Marshall "The Colonisation of North America." 1492-1783 P. 254.

(2) S.P. Col. Ser. 1681-85 P. 623.

the militory preparations of the governor acted as a deterrent or not, it is impossible to determine, but the enemy certainly did desist from attempts until fresh provocation was offered by the activities of the Scots settled at Stuart Town.

VI.

Ere sailing from Scotland the Carolina colonists had re-:quested the Lord Proprietors to permit the Scottish settlement to be the seat of justice for the country in which it was situated. In a spirit of accommodation similar to that in which they had met the Scottish criticisms of the constitution of the province, the proprietors signified their willingness to grant this supplementary request. There is indeed a note of almost paternal solicitude for the welfare of the Scots in the Proprietor's despatch of 25th June 1684, to the governor: "The Scotch emigrants desire that the town they pitch on may be the seat of justice for that county: we have no objection provided the site be healthy, the water good, the land high enough to admit of cellars underground and the situation far enough inland to render it safe from surprise by ships. The land must be reserved as laid down in our instructions, and you will direct all who settle in or near Port Royal to settle together as may be best for their defence and safety." (1)

From the benevolent attitude adopted towards them by the Proprietors throughout the negotiations, it might seem only natural/

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(1) S.P. Col. Ser. 1681-85 P. 661.

natural for the Scottish colonists to expect that on landing at Port Royal they would be treated with similar consideration by the representatives of the Proprietors at Charleston. Self-interest, too, might have been expected to suggest to the authorities at Carolina the advantages of a policy of active and unremitting support of the settlement at Port Royal. Spain was far from abandoning her claim to the territory occupied by the colony of Carolina. Despite the fact that Britain and Spain were nominally at peace, there had been since 1680, desultory border warfare between Carolina and Florida. At all seasons of the year Charleston lay open to attack by sea from St. Augustine. In the very year that saw the establishment of the Scottish colony there had been, as we have seen, considerable nervousness regarding the possibility of a Spanish attack on Carolina. The distance between St. Augustine and Charleston, was little more than one third of that between Charleston and the English settlements in Virginia - the nearest point from which effective aid could be expected. The Scottish settlement at Port Royal was therefore an outpost on the vulnerable flank of Charleston. It had all the strategical advantages which the site of such an outpost should possess. It was not too near to Charleston: no raiding force could overwhelm Port Royal and sweep on to Charleston ere adequate warning could reach the latter. It was not too remote from Charleston to permit of the speedy arrival of reinforcements.

Yet despite these incentives to co-operation and concerted action/

action in face of the common enemy, the relations between the Scottish settlers and the authorities at Charleston were far from friendly. This regrettable discord was due to two main causes: the first was the uncertainty as to the legal ~~status~~ status of the Scots in relation to the Governor and Grand Council of Carolina; the second was the apathy of the authorities at Charleston, despite the repeated warnings of the Scots, towards the menace of a Spanish attack.

Lord Cardross interpreted his agreement with the Lords Proprietors as giving him "co-ordinate authority with the Governor and Grand Council at Charleston." (1) "We doubt not", he wrote (25th March, 1685) to the Governor, "as to the contract between the Lords Proprietors and us, which we mean to keep ourselves and expect to be kept by others." This definition of what he conceived to be his rights was evoked from Cardross by the receipt on the part of Caleb Westbrooke, one of the residents within his county of a communication from Charleston authorising him to arrest a man "within our bounds" and citing Westbrooke to appear at Charleston, "to give information respecting some transactions that have lately taken place to southward" - "all this without notice to us." (2)

So strained did the relations between Charleston and Port Royal become that on May 5th, 1685 the Grand Council issued a warrant for the arrest of Lord Cardross. (3) When the Marshal arrived at Port Royal/

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(1) McCrady. "S. Carolina under the Prop. Governors." P. 214.
(2) S.P. Col. S. 1685-88 P. 22.
(3) Ibid. P. 40.

Royal with the warrant, Lord Cardross was suffering from fever and ague. The Grand Council interpreted his inability to come be-:fore them as contempt of their authority and on June 2nd. issued a second warrant for his arrest,(1) and at the same time "ordered a party to bring him down sick or well." (2) In response to those measures Cardross wrote to the Council, challenging the lagality "of the first paper that came from the council in the nature of a warrant," and pointing out his surprise at his absence being treated as contempt of the authority of the Council: he was suffer-:ing from fever at the time of the serving of the first "warrant;" he was still suffering from fever which would prevent his attend-:ance at the next meeting of the Council.(3) At the same time William Dunlop wrote privately to the Governor corroborating Lord Cardross's statement and expressing surprise at the rigour with which the Council had proposed to ~~visit~~ treat what they chose to regard as contempt of their authority.(4) So incensed was Cardross at the treatment meted out to him that he eventually withdrew from his colony. Strong representations were evidently made to the Lords Proprietors anent the treatment to which Cardross ~~was~~ had been subjected for they/

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(1) Ibid. P. 47.

(2) Ibid. P. 68.

(3) Ibid. P. 67.

(4) Ibid. P. 68.

they wrote (22nd. April, 1686) to the Governor. "We notice a violent run against Lord Cardross, which dissatisfies us much. We would have all persons of quality treated with civility and respect. We desire a report from you on the matter, and meanwhile you will stop all proceedings against him." (1)

While the Governor and Council were thus devoting themselves energetically - and somewhat tactlessly - to the assertion of their authority over the Scots settlement, the important duty of strengthening the Scots against a possible attack from St. Augustine was persistently neglected. The knowledge that the land on which they were to settle had been purchased on their behalf by Lords Proprietors from the Indians, may have ~~the~~ lulled the Scots into a sense of security prior to their arrival in Carolina: but once settled at Port Royal they did not long remain ignorant of the precarious nature of their tenure in view of the ever present menace of a Spanish attack. Early in January 1685, a party of Yamasee Indians brought to Port Royal a letter from the Governor of St. Augustine. Concluding that this message was in reality intended for the Governor of Carolina, the Scots forwarded it to Charleston. "As we be on their frontier," wrote Cardross in a covering letter, "it concerns us much to know the Spaniards' movements and intentions, and we beg therefore for a copy of the letter." (2) This eminently reasonable request was ignored. The same treatment was accorded to a requisition made by the Scots for six guns which the Proprietors had/

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(1) Ibid. P. 118.

(2) S.P. Col. Ser. 1681-85 P. 760.

had promised would be supplied to them from the fort at Charleston.(1) Complaint was made to the Proprietors and six months after the making of the request for the guns, fourteen months after the arrival of the Scots at Carolina, the Proprietors wrote to the Governor: "we hear that numbers of our cannon be useless and dismounted at Charleston. You will deliver five of them to Lord Cardross and Mr. Dunlop, for the defence of Stuarts Town, or some other town in Port Royal County, that frontier lying wholly open to the Spaniard." (2)

In February 1685, the inhabitants of Port Royal were alarmed by the arrival of Indians in such large numbers that it was a matter of some difficulty to find adequate accommodation for them in the neighbourhood.(3) At first it was feared that this migration was the harbinger of a Spanish descent. In reality the Indians, belonging to the Yamasee tribe were eager to enter into alliance with the Scots. Some years before the Indian tribes of the Carolina-Florida border had been ordered to move southwards in order that they might be withdrawn from the English influence.(4) The Yamasees proved recalcitrant. The authorities at Charleston had, probably out of wholesome respect for the Spaniards, kept studiously aloof from all dealings with the Indians but in the Scots, the Yamasees found a settlement with whom it was less difficult to enter/

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(1) S.P. Col. Ser. 1685-88 P. 22.
(2) Ibid. P. 118.
(3) Ibid. P. 5.
(4) Bolton and Marshal. P. 255.

enter into friendship. From their position in the debatable land and from their alliance with the Yamasees, the Scots were inevitably involved in the Indian border feuds. Their friendship with the Indians was viewed with disfavour by the authorities at Charleston[1] who, however, did little to render the Scots independent of their native allies. In May 1685, several Yamasee Indians, examined by the Governor of Carolina deponed "that the Scots at Port Royal sent an emissary to persuade them to go to war with some neighbouring Indians who had a Chapel and a Spanish Friar, and gave them arms for the purpose. They did so, and brought back twenty prisoners as slaves to the Scots, and a manuscript of prayers, produced."[2] The Indians had in fact raided the Spanish Mission Santa Catalina.[6]

The destruction of the Scots' settlement at Port Royal by the Spaniards has sometimes been regarded as having been carried out in retaliation for this Indian raid.[3] The Lords Proprietors chose to take this view in order to excuse their feeble policy of forbidding the dispatch from Charleston of a primitive expedition against St. Augustine.[4] But in view of the fact that sixteen months elapsed between the Indian raid and the destruction of Port Royal, the theory[5] that the Spanish expedition against the Scots was/

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(1) S.P. Col. Ser. 1685-88 Pp. 19 & 40.
(2) Ibid. P. 40.
(3) Bolton & Marshall. P. 255.
(4) S.P. Col. Ser. 1685-88 P. 451.
(5) McCrady. "S. Carolina under Prop. Gov." P. 220.
(6) Bolton and Marshall, P. 255

was a vindication of the claim of Spain to the territory on which the Scots had settled has much to commend it.

The destruction of the Scots settlement was effected in September 1686.(1) The raiders' party number about 150 - 100 Spanish soldiers with contingents of Indians and mulattos(2) and they came north from St. Augustine in three galleys. The Scots had suffered from the fevers of the coastal plain and at the coming of the Spaniards only twenty-five men were fit to oppose them. The settlement was completely destroyed, the survivors taking refuge in Charleston. During the course of the same raid the country house of the Governor of Carolina and that of the Secretary of the Province had been racked and a large amount of booty, including thirteen slaves had been carried off from these residences.(3)

Roused from their apathy by this raid, the inhabitants of Carolina determined to retaliate by an attack on St. Augustine. Preparations were energetically pushed forward. The Parliament of Carolina passed an act for the immediate invasion of Spanish territory and appointed two Receivers for an assessment levied for this purpose. Two French privateers were hired: the crews of these mustered two hundred men, and an additional force of three hundred colonists was prepared.(4) A new Governor, however, arrived/

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(1) S.P. Col. Series 1685-88 P. 295.
(2) Ibid. P. 336.
(3) McCrady. Pp. 216 - 220.
(4) S.P. Col. Ser. 1685-88 P. 295.

arrived at Charleston and forbade the sailing of the expedition. The Lords Proprietors approved of the action of the Governor.(1) And Scotland sent out no Dominique de Gourgues.

(1) Ibid. P. 336.